

# The Morphological, Syntactic and Semantic Agreement Status of Spanish Object Clitics<sup>1</sup>

JON FRANCO

(Universidad de Deusto)

## Introduction

This paper investigates the grammar of object clitic-doubled constructions in Spanish. Specifically, we pursue and refine the widely spread idea that Spanish object clitics should be analyzed as object agreement morphemes on the verb on a par with subject-verb agreement, and not as pronominal arguments that are phonologically dependent. This work could be divided into two natural bodies of argumentation. The first one is devoted to pinpoint pieces of evidence that motivate the core insight that clitics are verbal agreement morphemes and that their relation to the elements they “double” is that of a verb-argument agreement relationship. The second one concentrates on the technical implementation of this hypothesis within the complex syntax of clitic-doubled constructions in Spanish and, additionally, shows how the analysis proposed here can be extended to other parts of the Spanish syntax.

Evidence for the agreement morpheme status of object clitics is drawn from the morphological component as well as from the syntactic one. The fixed order of clitics, the strict adjacency to the same host (i.e. the verb or auxiliary), and the variation in the agreeing features, that is, the *leísmo* and *lo/lloísmo* phenomena, for instance, morphologically advocate the morpheme status. From the syntactic point of view, the fact that the clitic-doubled elements are originated in argument positions also argues in favor of our hypothesis.

This study is organized in three sections. Section 1 is designed to provide a background on the framework and the phenomenon under study for the discussion that follows in the next sections. The first part describes the rise and importance of the functional category AGR in contemporary Principles and Parameters framework

(1) This is a restructured version of the first three chapters of my doctoral dissertation, completed at the University of Southern California in September, 1993. This study has benefited from valuable suggestions and extremely insightful commentary from Joseph Aoun, Bernard Comrie, Josep Fontana, Alazne Landa, Errapel Mejías-Bikandi, Mario Saltarelli, Carmen Silva-Corvalán and María Luisa Zubizarreta. I am also grateful for their feedback to the audience at the 1993-94 Linguistic Colloquium Series held jointly at the University of the Basque Country and Universidad de Deusto.

(Chomsky 1986ab, 1989, 1992 and much related work). Subsequently, I review some representative previous analyses in competition for Romance clitics, that is, Kayne's (1975) movement hypothesis, Jaeggli's (1982, 1986) base-generation hypothesis, and Uriagereka's (1992a) and Torrego's (in progress) DP hypothesis. Along with the discussion of these three proposals, I point out some of their conceptual and empirical problems, which in turn motivate the present research.

Section 2 analyzes the morphological properties of object clitics as well as outstanding characteristics of the syntax of clitic doubling constructions. As a matter of fact, we observe that, morphologically, Spanish object clitics do not differ much from attested verb-object agreement systems such as that of Basque, when comparing one to the other. Former objections in the literature to the agreement analysis are discussed and shown to fall within the patterns of cross-linguistic agreement relations.

Section 3 takes as the starting point the claim defended in previous sections. Thus, several syntactic phenomena in Spanish are accounted for in the light of the mapping of object clitics as AGRO heads whose specifiers are to be occupied either by a *pro* or by the doubled NP object that the clitic head is related to. The latter option can take place via movement from within the VP at some point of the derivation, that is, covertly or overtly. This, for instance, enables us to give a standard account of Case licensing in clitic doubling structures, along the lines of Chomsky (1992).

## 1. Theoretical Positions and Analyses of Romance Object clitics in Generative Grammar

### 1.1. Introduction

In this research, I have adopted as framework the main assumptions of the Government and Binding Theory and its later offspring, the Principles and Parameters Theory. The core of the theory can be found in the studies of Chomsky (1981, 1982, 1986ab, 1989, 1992), Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) and much related work.

As its name indicates, this theory of language consists of a well-defined set of general principles, which should have cross-linguistic validity since the ultimate goal of the theory is to construct a Universal Grammar. Now, the parameters complement the principles in the sense that they aim to account for the apparent great differences found among the languages of the world. Hence, linguists have engaged in the quest of the significant parameters that operate across languages. Incidentally, having a parameter marked with a positive value entails a series of specific phenomena co-occurring at the same time, as if we were dealing with a chain reaction. That is to say, if a language is positively defined for  $\alpha$ , the prediction is that it will also have [+ $\beta$ ] and [+ $\delta$ ]. Moreover, linguistic investigations of data occasionally show that the principles are not comprehensive enough or accurate enough to account for certain phenomena, then a refinement of the principle is in order.

## 1.2. The Syntactic Realization of Agreement

Pollock (1989), inspired by the works of Emonds (1978) and Travis (1984), proposes an articulation of the IP node which, in his work, is divided into Tense Phrase, Negation Phrase and Agreement Phrase in this order. Ever since Pollock's work, a multiplication of functional categories has taken place in the syntactic phrase marker. Thus, Chomsky (1989) and Mahajan (1990) claim that object AgrP exists in all languages; Ouhalla (1990) argues for the existence of an Aspect Phrase and Saltarelli (1993) for the existence of an Active/Passive Voice head as the last XP projection of the IP node in Romance Languages. As Iatridou (1990) points out, this mushrooming of functional categories in the IP node raises a logical question, that is, to what extent and which of these functional categories are universally motivated? In other words, since some languages have Benefactive, Locative, Causative morphemes, etc. affixed to the verb, one could argue in favor of the existence of a Benefactive Phrase, a Locative Phrase, a Causative Phrase and more, so the verb morphology can be derived via head to head movement of the verb. Another possibility would be to parametrize languages with respect to the type of functional categories they project, so languages like English would not have vacuous projections like, for example, Benefactive Phrase. Finally, a third approach to this problem would be to consider only universal Negation Phrase (or Laka's (1990)  $\Sigma$ P) and those functional categories that play a role in Case assignment, namely, Agreement and Tense, or those that are universally syntactically relevant (the latter is far from being uncontroversial).

Intriguingly, in Pollock's analysis, there is nothing specific to the nature of Agreement or of Tense that suggests that these two categories must head their own separate projections in French or English<sup>2</sup>. As a matter of fact, Pollock justifies the existence of AgrP on the grounds of a need for a landing position for infinitival verbal heads different from the landing site for verb movement in finite clauses. In this way, the order [<sub>[-finite]</sub> auxiliary + adverb] in English can be easily generated. However, Iatridou (1990) shows that this order can be attributed to other factors that have nothing to do with a putative short movement of the verb to AGR. As for Spanish, even though one could separate the Tense morphemes from the Agreement ones in some tenses, there is no clear case in which the verbal-subject AGR morphology occurs independently of Tense and viceversa.

Despite these problems, Pollock's division has been accepted with a few refinements in the Principles and Parameters framework. Thus, Chomsky (1992) and Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) consider the subject AGR + Tense order to be the correct one as opposed to that proposed by Pollock which was Tense + Subject Agreement. There are two pieces of evidence that Chomsky and Lasnik mention in order

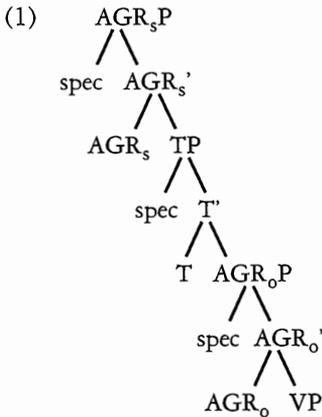
(2) As for Spanish, Heles Contreras pointed out to me in a personal communication that coordination structures might be worth exploring as evidence for the split of INFL into AGR and Tense. For instance:

- (i) Yo he trabajado y trabajo para la agencia.  
I have worked and work for the agency.

It could be possible to argue that in (i) there are two different coordinated TPs under one single AGR with the feature 1st person singular. So the coordination would begin from the Tense Phrase downwards excluding the AGRP.

to justify the hierarchical organization of the IP node they propose. First, if the structure configuration were [SPEC-T-AGR-VP], as proposed by Pollock, there would be no natural expression of subject-verb agreement. That is to say, since the specifier of IP is not c/m-commanded by AGR the locality constraint on relations between elements is trespassed. The second piece of evidence in favor of the order [SPEC-AGR-T-VP] is drawn from the derivation of morphological facts and was suggested by Belletti (1990) among others. That is, languages in which the Tense morpheme can be distinguished from the subject Agreement morpheme marked on the verb have the agreement inflection in the periphery of the verbal element, whereas the tense morphology is normally affixed to the verb stem (Ken Hale has questioned in a personal communication to Iatridou the cross-linguistic validity of this claim). Thus, if we derived verbal morphology by upward head-to-head movement of the verb, the verb should pick up first the Tense morphology and subsequently the Agreement morphology in order to obtain the right output (see also Baker's 1985 Mirror Principle)<sup>3</sup>.

A reconciliatory proposal for these two competing hierarchical organizations is put forward in Chomsky (1992) and Chomsky and Lasnik (1993), that is, there are two AGR elements in IP, one involved in subject agreement and nominative Case, the other involved in object agreement and objective Case. Thus, the final configurational structure of a declarative sentence would be as shown in (1) below:

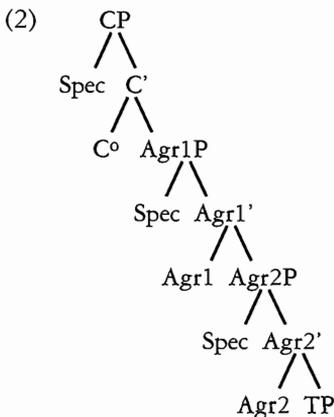


Chomsky (1989, 1992) points out the advantages of adopting the structure in (1). In this configuration, AGR<sub>o</sub> selects a VP, hence it must be "close to the verb", thus providing us with a structural landing site for verb rising in infinitival clauses and eliminating vacuous AGR<sub>s</sub> in these clauses. At the same time, according to Chomsky, the existence of a higher AGR<sub>s</sub> allows us to avoid, in addition to the problems mentioned above, Head Movement Constraint violations which were involved under Pollock's structure for sentences like *John does not write books* in which AGR<sub>s</sub> skips the negation head to incorporate itself onto the auxiliary.

(3) *The Mirror Principle* (Baker 1985 (4)): Morphological derivations must reflect syntactic derivations (and viceversa).

Curiously, the proposals for the positing of the object Agreement node have been built either on languages that have very restricted object agreement such as French participial object agreement (see Kayne 1989a), or languages like English that have abstract agreement (at the LF level, according to Chomsky). Less attention has been paid, however, to those languages that exhibit a full-fledged verb object agreement paradigm that works on a par with subject agreement. Be that as it may, the possibility of having two AGR nodes together with the assumption that agreement relations hold in Spec-head configurations independently of the fact that this is done overtly or abstractly, endows the theory with greater descriptive and explanatory power. I am not going to engage in a detailed discussion of Chomsky (1992) and Chomsky and Lasnik (1993), but in agreement with these works, the order of constituents, SVO, VSO, SOV, etc., of a language is determined by whether subject-raising or object-raising is overt at S-structure and the directionality of the heads in that language, that is, right-headed or left-headed. For instance, if in a right-headed language the subject and the object raise overtly to the Specs of AGRs and AGRo respectively, we would obtain the SOV order. For example, this would be the case of Basque (cf. Oyharçabal 1992). It is also possible that a left-headed language has overt subject-raising but covert object-raising. This would be the case of an SVO language like English. Several combinations can occur.

Furthermore, Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991) claim that there are two subject Agreement heads, that is AGR1 and AGR2. The former of these Agreement heads, i.e. AGR1, is responsible for Nominative Case assignment and hosts clitics as well as inflected verbs, whereas AGR2 simply contains the verbal agreement morphology with the subject. The positing of these two heads allows these authors to account for second position phenomena such as V-2 and Wackernagel's Law and Tobler-Mussafia Law effects. Thus, the structure they propose is the following:



The label Agr1 is a misnomer since elements that move to Spec of Agr1 do not concord in the literal sense with this head. Regardless of the motivation for this new functional category, it would be more accurate to label it something else, NomP or FP as in Zubizarreta (1992). In addition to this technical minor problem, there is a need for an explanation for how Nominative Case assignment gets divorced from

verbal agreement. There is no evidence in the languages that Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991) analyze that instantiates that an overt subject can appear with an agreementless verb in a root clause.

Also, Cardinaletti and Roberts state openly, as quoted in (3) below, that Romance clitics are placed under Agr1, without making a distinction between object and subject clitics. This claim implies that strong mismatches of features are allowed to occur in Spec-AGR(head) configurations, especially in [S CL<sub>O</sub> V] orders.

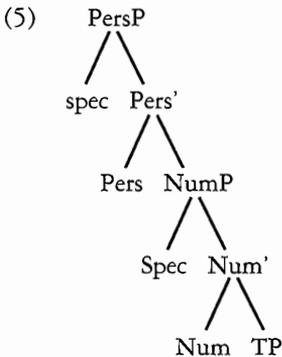
(3) Agr1° is a position for clitics. (Cardinaletti and Roberts 1991 (24))

Little has been said about the internal composition of AGR. Chomsky (1992) assumes that AGR is a collection of  $\phi$ -features, that is, person, number, gender, and Case, depending on the richness of language-particular morphology. Nevertheless, it seems that not all of the  $\phi$ -features have the same relevance and that they may be organized hierarchically. Kayne (1989b), for instance, claims that non-person AGR fails to be a Case assigner in some Romance dialects that exhibit participial agreement. Rigau (1990) exploits this insight to account for some subject-verb agreement variation between Central Catalan and North-Western Catalan. She concludes that this variation depends on the following facts: "The node Person selects Number Phrase as its complement. In Central Catalan, a negative Person does not necessarily select a negative Number. In North-Western Catalan, a negative Person selects a negative Number" (Rigau 1990: 36). Hence, the following dialectal contrast:

- |     |   |  |
|-----|---|--|
| (4) | a. Arriben parents.<br>Arrive relatives<br>Some relatives arrive. | b. Arriba parents.<br>Arrive relatives<br>Some relatives arrive. |
|-----|---|--|

(Central Catalan ok, North-Western \*) (Central Catalan ok, North-Western ok)

Thus, Rigau decomposes subject AGR in this hierarchical structure:



As for Spanish, I would like to suggest that whereas person and number have equal status for subject AGR, it seems that the feature [person] is the most relevant one for Object AGR, since the number distinction is lost or underspecified for Dative clitics when followed by an Accusative clitic (e.g.: *se lo*) and also some dialects use

the singular Dative form *le* for third person Dative singular and plural clitic forms<sup>4</sup>. This issue will be addressed later on in section 2.

### 1.3. Romance Object Clitics in Generative Grammar

There have been two main competing analyses with respect to Romance clitics in the generative grammar literature. On the one hand, we have the analysis put forward in Kayne (1975, 1987) and also adopted by Rizzi (1986) in which, roughly, object clitics are pronominal arguments generated in the canonical position of the verb arguments; subsequently, clitics attach to the verb by rule of move- $\alpha$  abiding by all the theory constraints on movement. On the other hand, there are Aoun's (1979), Borer's (1984), Jaeggli's (1982, 1986), and Suñer's (1988) proposals which inspired by work of Strozer (1976) and Rivas (1977) in the transformational framework argue in favor of a solution that generates clitics as affixes attached to their host (i.e. the verb) and constitute a chain with the argument positions of the syntactic categories they stand for. The former analysis has been referred to in the literature as the *movement hypothesis*, whereas the latter has been referred to as the *based-generation hypothesis*. These two competing analyses are reviewed and discussed in detail in the present section. As will be shown, both hypotheses are going to turn out to be descriptively faulty and incur in principle violations in their own theoretical framework when confronting some data from Spanish.

Furthermore, a recent approach to object clitics in Spanish and verb-argument agreement in Basque put forward in Torrego (in progress) and Uriagereka (1992a, b) respectively will also be examined here. To these authors, Spanish object clitics and Basque verb-argument agreement morphemes are generated as determiner heads of DPs, therefore, I will refer to this proposal as the *Determiner Head Hypothesis*.

#### 1.3.1. *The Movement Hypothesis*

In this subsection, I will illustrate the claim that the movement hypothesis by which clitics are lexical pronominal heads that project noun phrases is highly jeopardized when confronting structures where the clitic is duplicated by a noun phrase of the same grammatical function. Be that as it may, let us assume for the sake of the discussion that object clitics are generated in the canonical position of the internal verb arguments and due to either their weak phonological nature (they are always unstressed) or their affixal nature (they are bound morphemes), they must attach to a host (presumably, a phonological head). This is illustrated by the French example in (6):

(4) Strikingly, Bianchi and Figueiredo Silva (1993) claim that there is an implicational ordering in the features of the agreement morphology which can be spelled out as: if a verbal form is specified for person it is also specified for number and, if it is specified for number it is also specified for gender. It is almost impossible to maintain this hierarchical entailment for Spanish verbal agreement since only the direct object clitic paradigm encodes a gender distinction and this distinction does not even hold in every dialect (see the discussion in section 2.1.1).

- (6) Pierre la<sub>i</sub> a vue t<sub>i</sub>.  
 Pierre CL-3s. have-3s. seen  
 Pierre has seen her

Moreover, according to my informants, the co-occurrence of a clitic with another NP displaying the same Case or grammatical function is banned from French as shown in (7):

- (7) \*Pierre la<sub>i</sub> a vue Sandrine<sub>i</sub>.  
 Pierre CL-3s. have-3s. seen Sandrine  
 Pierre has seen her Sandrine.

The contrast shown between (6) and (7) is to be expected under Kayne's (1975) movement hypothesis since the structure-preserving principles would disallow the nominal *Sandrine* to occupy the position of a trace that results from movement. However, the Spanish equivalent of (7) is perfectly grammatical, as shown in (8):

- (8) Pedro la<sub>i</sub> ha visto a Sandra<sub>i</sub>.  
 Pedro CL-3s. have-3s. seen Sandrine  
 Pedro has seen her Sandra.

The Spanish sentence in (8) and any other sentence in which the clitic and its nominal counterpart are not in complementary distribution pose a problem for the movement hypothesis from various perspectives. To begin with, the structure-preserving principles would be nullified for Spanish, which is something unlikely and undesirable from the point of view of a formal grammar since we assume that an element cannot occupy the position of the trace of another element. Second, if the clitic *la* 'her' in (8) as well as the coreferential direct object *a María* were endowed with argument status, this analysis would violate the second clause of the  $\theta$ -Criterion of Chomsky (1981)<sup>5</sup>.

In a last attempt to save the movement hypothesis, one could claim, in the spirit of Aoun (1981) and Hurtado (1984) (both subscribers to the alternative hypothesis), that the doubled NPs occupy A' positions so they would be like dislocated elements. This proposal has been proven to be untenable by Jaeggli (1986) and Suñer (1988) in view of the extraction properties that these constituents display. In brief, Jaeggli shows that extraction of the clitic-doubled nominal is subject to subjacency which is something unexpected for dislocations. Also, Suñer points out that wh-extractions such as the ones illustrated in (9) would be rather unorthodox if the launching position were an A' position:

- (9) ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> le<sub>i</sub> pegaste e<sub>i</sub> ?  
 To whom CL-3s. hit-PAST-2  
 To whom did you hit?

With respect to Binding Theory, one could say that the doubled nominal has to be in an A position since it can serve as the antecedent of an anaphor as in (10), and anaphors must be bound from A positions according to Principle C of this theory:

(5) Basically, the Theta Criterion monitors the distribution of thematic roles:

(i) *Theta Criterion*: Each argument is assigned one and only one theta role. Each theta role is assigned to one and only one argument.

- (10) a. El decano (les<sub>i</sub>) habló a los estudiantes<sub>i</sub> de sí mismos<sub>i</sub>.  
 The dean CL-Dat-3p. talked to the students about themselves  
 The dean them talked to the students about themselves.
- b. \*El decano les<sub>i</sub> habló de sí mismos<sub>i</sub> a los estudiantes<sub>i</sub>.  
 The dean CL-Dat-3p. talked about themselves to the students  
 The dean them talked about themselves to the students.
- c. El decano les<sub>i</sub> habló de la vida a los estudiantes<sub>i</sub>.  
 The dean CL-Dat-3p. talked about the life to the students  
 The dean them talked about life to the students.

The contrast between (10a) and (10b) illustrates that it is the doubled NP that counts as the antecedent for the binding of the anaphor and not the clitic trace. If we destroy the c-command configuration for the clitic-doubled NP to govern the anaphor, the sentence is ill-formed. Moreover, if the clitic or its trace were the valid c-commanding antecedent for the anaphor when clitic-doubling occurs, (10a) would be wrongly ruled out as a violation of Principle C since the clitic-doubled NP would not be able to stay free in its governing category.

The last piece of evidence from Binding Theory that argues in favor of the argumental status of the clitic-doubled element comes from the fact that object anaphors in Spanish can be and must be clitic-doubled. Crucially, this fact constitutes an obstacle to a possible extension to Spanish of Aoun's (1993) analysis of clitic-doubled elements in Lebanese Arabic as adnominals since, object anaphors do not occupy non-argumental positions.

There are additional motivations that induce us to disregard the idea that the clitic-doubled element is an adjunct or a dislocated element, for instance, the absence of pause between this element and the rest of the sentence and the possibility of embedding clitic-doubled constituents, both facts already pointed out in Suñer (1988):

- (11) Lo último que escuché, claro que la<sub>i</sub> encontré pesada la audición<sub>i</sub>, fue el reportaje.  
 The last that listened-1s, of course that CL-Acc-3s found boring the program was the report.  
 The last thing I listened to, of course I found (it) boring the radio program, was the interview.

(Barrenechea & Orecchia (1979), translation provided by Suñer 1988)

Moreover, at the theory level, we would be forced to leave the argument/adjunct distinction depending on whether there is a clitic duplicating the noun phrase element or not, since clitic doubling in Spanish is optional with nominals. Also, assuming that clitic doubling was a strategy to encode nominal adjuncts, one may wonder why Spanish has not kept (diachronically speaking) prepositional clitics to do the same with prepositional phrases.

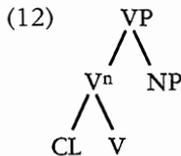
Finally, there is another type of element that is unlikely to occupy an A' position and relevantly, can be clitic-doubled in Spanish, namely, subjects of small clauses and subjects of ECM verbs (Pat Schneider, p.c.). Both structures are treated in detail in section 3.2 and Franco (1993a: 221) respectively, so I am not entering into the discussion of these constructions here. Interestingly, in Catalan, a clitic doubling lan-

guage across the board, that is, with NPs and PPs, the doubling of these subjects does not yield felicitous sentences (Josep Fontana personal communication).

I would like to state clearly that the movement hypothesis and all its variants has been dismissed here as a possible analysis for Spanish object clitics, yet, nothing has been said in this dissertation about the nature of French and Italian object clitics.

### 1.3.2. *The Base-Generation Hypothesis*

The base-generation approach has meant a step forward with respect to previous analyses of Romance clitics by overcoming quite successfully some of the problems that the movement hypothesis had to face, notwithstanding, this more recent hypothesis is not exempt of problems either. The basic tenet of the base-generation hypothesis is that the clitic is originally generated to the left of the verb, that is, the position where the clitic appears on the surface, as examples (5) through (11) illustrate. In this way, the canonical object position would be available for a coreferential NP if clitic doubling was to take place. Yet, we still have two tasks pending: (i) to determine the nature of the structural position of the clitic, and (ii) to specify how this position fits within the X'-schema. Along the lines of Rivas (1977), Jaeggli (1982, 1986) and Borer (1984), Romance clitics should appear in the following configuration:



Nevertheless, Borer (1986) and Saltarelli (1990) note the drawbacks encountered by adopting the structure in (12) for clitics. Assuming that the pronominal clitics enter syntactic operations—and they do since they undergo movement such as clitic climbing, and may serve as A' binders (cf. Aoun 1985)—if  $V^n$  equals  $V^o$ , that is, if the constituent [<sub>v</sub> CL + V] forms a lexical item, then the Lexical Integrity Hypothesis of Chomsky (1970), which in broad terms, states that syntactic operations cannot look into the composition of lexical items, must be abandoned. On the contrary, if  $V^n$  equals  $V'$ , as proposed in Jaeggli (1982), then we do not have an explanation for the affix-like properties of clitics. In section 3, I will give a solution to this puzzle by considering Spanish object clitics functional heads (AGRo) within the IP node.

The main burden that the base-generation hypothesis had to face at the time is that its followers still considered clitics as arguments. This implies that their analyses must have a mechanism to assign Case to the clitic as well as to the doubled NP in a sentence like (8) or (9) above. Given the structure in (12), it seems unlikely that one can account for Case and  $\theta$ -role assignment without stepping out of the null hypothesis. Thus, Aoun (1981) and Hurtado (1984) propose that clitics may be  $\theta$ -role absorbers, so the doubled NP becomes an adjunct. This possibility was already argued against in 1.3.1. In parallel fashion, Jaeggli (1982) suggests that clitics absorb government from the verb, hence, they are Case absorbers also.

In terms of Case assignment, leaving aside considerations of simplicity, the base-generation analysis would hold for example (8). Along the lines of Jaeggli (1982), the verb gets the accusative Case absorbed by the clitic whereas, simultaneously, the preposition-like element *a* discharges or —as refined in Jaeggli (1986)— transmits it on the nominal. However, this assumption, although accurate for Romanian which only allows clitic doubling with NPs introduced by the preposition *pe*, is not sufficient to account for additional cases of Spanish clitic doubling without a preposition, such as the one shown in (13):

- (13)  $La_i$  comí la torta $_i$ . (Southern Cone Spanish)<sup>6</sup>  
 It-CL ate-I the cake  
 I ate the cake.

Finally, if in the Government and Binding framework, the directionality of structural Case assignment under government is relevant and has to be specified either from left-to-right or from right-to-left for every language, all of the analyses seen so far will have to add some clarifications in this regard making their solutions even more cumbersome. For instance, most Romance languages have attested head initial orders which entail them to govern and assign Case to the right; this directionality would have to be weakened and reversed in those analyses that require clitics to have Case. It is arresting to note that none of these controversies would arise if we posited that the clitic is an inflectional affix of the verb, as I will demonstrate in this investigation.

Be that as it may, the most significant insights of the base-generation hypothesis (which I adopt in the sections that follow) are: (i) the idea that object clitics do not move from canonical object positions in languages which exhibit clitic doubling like Spanish, and (ii) the identification by the clitic of the empty position of the object as a *pro*, as claimed in Jaeggli (1986) and illustrated in (14):

- (14) Juan  $la_i$  miró  $pro_i$ .  
 Juan her-CL saw  
 Juan saw her.

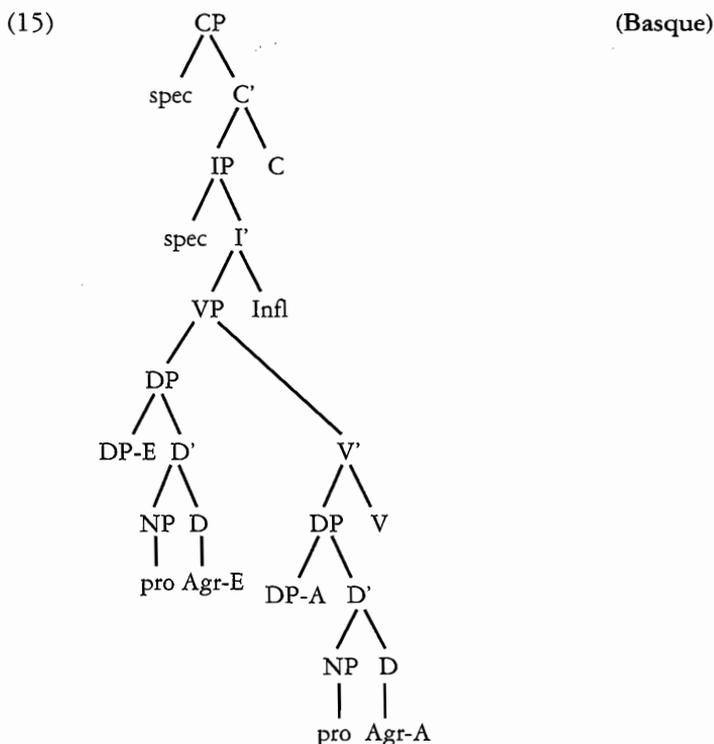
This assumption indirectly leads us to give, saving the obvious differences of course, an equivalent treatment to the clitic doubling phenomenon and the subject-verb-agreement morphology since both license pronominal null verb-arguments and satisfy in this way the subcategorization frame of the verb. This established parallelism precisely constitutes the backbone of my alternative analysis of object clitics in Spanish which is developed in sections 2 and 3.

### 1.3.3. The Determiner Head Hypothesis

Very recently, a new solution to the problem of clitic doubling has been sketched out in the works of Torrego (in progress) and Uriagereka (1992a, b). Both authors consider verbal agreement markers and clitics that participate in clitic doubling

(6) Southern Cone Spanish is a comprehensive cover term for some main stream Spanish varieties spoken in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay. Needless to say that sometimes, grammatical judgements might be subject to variation among the speakers from these countries.

constructions as equivalent, that is, as determiners that head their own projection. Hence, I will refer to this analysis as the Determiner Head Hypothesis. Under this hypothesis, one should assume that in clitic doubling constructions, the doubled phrase would initially occupy the specifier position of the DP headed by the clitic, in the same fashion as arguments occupy the specifier of a DP headed by an agreement marker in Basque, as shown in the somehow simplified tree in (15) ((34) in Uriagereka 1992a: 294):



Notice that, since Basque is a head last language all  $X^{\circ}$  categories are projected to the right. The mapping of Spanish clitic doubling constructions onto the syntactic tree would be the same as (15) provided that heads are projected to the left of their complements. From the point of view of explanatory adequacy, this proposal comes out more advantageous than the ones seen so far, since it subsumes different possible analyses for pronominal clitics on the one hand, and verbal agreement markers, on the other. Despite the high degree of uniformity across languages that this proposal accomplishes, it does not seem to be exempt from some problems. The first thing that draws one's attention is the fact that a DP selects another DP as its specifier. This might be a minor difficulty, but as we follow the mapping of (15) into further levels of derivation along the lines of Uriagereka, new problems arise. Thus, Uriagereka proposes the derivations via incorporation that are shown in (16) and (17) to obtain the surface orders in Spanish and Basque respectively:



operation. To begin with, the movement of the arguments as a type of NP-movement is totally unmotivated if one assumes the standard position that NPs or DPs for that matter, move from non-Case positions to Case positions to receive their Case. Now, there is no reason why the DP arguments cannot get Case in their D-structure configuration shown in (15). The ergative DP-E is able to receive Case from the Agreement marker, both being in a spec-head relation, whereas the absolutive DP-A can obtain Case either by the spec-head relation that it maintains with the absolutive agreement marker, or by government from the verb. Also, it is worth pointing out that "massive raising" in (16) does not yield the final constituency of the elements since a supplementary movement of head to head incorporation is necessary in order to amalgamate together the absolutive and ergative agreement markers, which is the way they appear on the surface in Basque.

As for Spanish, there is no independent evidence that indicates that the clitic adjoins to this abstract category X in (17). Assuming that there exists some sort of X category higher than the last verbal morpheme projection, one still wonders what would be the reason(s) why the clitic moves up to this category X and not somewhere else, apart from the simple fact that this movement apparently produces the right surface order of elements. We do not know of any property of X that can be associated to its incorporated head, that is, the clitic, or viceversa. However, under the proposal illustrated in (17), we fail to capture one property of Spanish clitics, that is, they must exhibit strict adjacency to the verb in all the contexts, which suggests that the clitic and the verb form a unit. Moreover, regardless of whether we take this last possibility seriously or not, the real problem that a structure such as the one in (17) has to face is that nothing would prevent the occurrence of an adjoined intervening element between the clitic and the verb, a construction that, even though it might be grammatical in Galician or other Romance languages, is not so in Spanish.

At any rate, there are two insights which are present in Torrego's or Uriagereka's analyses as well as in Franco (1991) and are shared in this dissertation. First, Spanish clitics are functional heads with their own X-bar projection. Second, languages with verbal object agreement and languages with object clitic doubling on the verb should be treated similarly. Still, even though our insights are the same, there are several points of departure in my analysis pertaining to the nature of the functional category of clitics as well as to the place they occupy in the phrase marker (cf. section 3).

## 2. Spanish Object Clitics as Verbal Agreement Morphemes

### 2.0. Introduction. Agreement as a Continuum

The main challenge that clitics present for a theory of grammar is that they exhibit mixed syntactic and morphological properties that make it difficult for a linguist to classify them either as phonologically bound words or inflectional agreement affixes. A further degree of difficulty for this classification task is posed by pronominal clitics, whose feature resemblance with inflectional agreement affixes makes them at

first sight undistinguishable from one another. For the sake of categorization, let us assume that clitics, in general, are intermediate elements between bound words and inflectional affixes or, more accurately put for the pronominal clitics under study, between pronouns and inflectional affixes. Now, since not all pronominal clitics in the languages of the world have the same behavior or distribution, we can place them along a spectrum such as the one given in (18), so that their position on this spectrum will depend on how much the properties of each type of clitic resemble those of a pronoun or those of a verbal inflectional agreement affix. This is represented in (18):

- (18) Infl. Affixes [—Z——Y——X——W—] Pronouns  
 pronominal clitics

In this section, I will focus my analysis on the syntactic and morphological behavior of object clitics in contemporary Spanish and will show that they have gone beyond the realm of unstressed pronominal affixes to approach the distributional patterns of desinential object-verb agreement morphemes. The two basic approaches that I am going to take in order to verify this claim are the following: (a) to compare the properties of Spanish object clitics to those of agreement morphemes; (b) to contrast the behavior of Spanish object clitics to that of other clitics in Romance and non-Romance languages. Specifically for the first step, we will look for similarities between Spanish object clitics and verbal inflections in languages, such as Basque, which have attested verb-object agreement systems<sup>7</sup>. For the second step, since not all pronominal clitics fall uniformly under one single occurrence pattern, we will point out a number of features of the Spanish object clitic system that are absent in other clitic systems of other languages and are responsible for the categorization of the former as agreement morphemes.

### 2.1. Object Clitics: Pronominal Affixes or Verbal Inflectional Morphemes?

Romance pronominal clitics have moved in the direction of inflectional affixes or, even further, they are in the process of acquiring the status of object verbal inflection, as claimed in Saltarelli (1987). In what follows, I will show that Spanish object clitics in comparison with some modern main stream Romance languages are ahead in this process. For this purpose, I am going to single out Spanish clitics in three varieties of Spanish from other clitics in other languages, especially Romance languages, by a number of properties.

(7) I am aware of the fact that even if Spanish object clitic doubling resembled the verb-object agreement relations of languages with well-attested object conjugations on the verb, this would not be full proof of the existence of a true lexical argument agreeing with the verbal inflection. There is an alternative analysis, also pursued by Hurtado (1985) for Spanish, which claims that the true argument is the agreeing inflection or an empty *pro* licensed by this verbal morphology, whereas the double NP would be treated as an adnominal (see also Aoun 1993 in regard to the adnominal status of the clitic doubled NP in Lebanese Arabic). I believe that the choice of any of these competing analyses is an empirical issue. However, in favor of the Agreement Hypothesis analysis pursued in the present article, I must point out that since clitic doubling is non-obligatory with nominals in Spanish, the strength of the alternative analysis is somehow undermined due to the fact that optional occurrence is not precisely a property of subcategorized arguments. I owe this observation to Bernard Comrie.

The phonological component of the grammar draws a firm line between clitics, which normally have no independent stress, and full words, which are always stressed; however, it does not shed much light on the categorization of pronominal clitics as unstressed pronouns or as inflectional agreement affixes. Even though Spanish clitics and agreement morphemes alike do not bear independent stress, this does not force us to group them together since stress does not constitute a distinctive feature to differentiate ordinary clitics from agreement morphology. It is a well-known fact that clitics in general are unstressed, moreover, some languages, like German for instance, have weak pronominal paradigms, which precisely owe their name to the fact that they are unstressed. Thus, in order to locate Spanish clitics along the spectrum in (18), we are going to focus on the morphology, that is, their distribution with respect to the elements and features they occur with, and the syntactic operations into which they may enter.

### 2.1.1. The Categorical Type of the Clitic Host, Clitic Ordering, Adjacency Conditions and Paradigm Variation

Along the lines of Zwicky (1985), morphological rules specify the class of words an inflectional affix can be attached to. Contrastively, the rules that account for the distribution of words are not specified for word classes but for the XP constituents and the structure in which these words can occur. Consequently, we can assume that whereas words barely have adjacency constraints with respect to the type of lexical items that can appear next to them, inflectional affixes are very restricted in this regard.

In this way, we are going to take a look at clitics from some languages in the world using this descriptive generalization as a sounding board. For instance, pronominal clitics in Arabic can cliticize to verbs, nouns and prepositions (cf. Aoun 1993). Yagua object clitics, according to Everett (1989), can be affixed to any constituent as long as the clitic is minimally *c*-commanding its double. In Czech (Comrie 1989), the object clitic has to be positioned after the first constituent of the clause—probably as a reflection of Wackernagel's Law—regardless of its lexical nature. Almost the same constraint as in Czech holds for Old Spanish, Old French, and Old Italian, a constraint that is known in the literature on Romance languages as the Tobler-Mussafia Law<sup>8</sup>. From a morpho-syntactic point of view, this freedom in affixation places the clitics above (in Arabic, Czech, Old Spanish, etc.) closer to a wordlike status than to an inflectional status (see Rivero 1986 for this view of Old Spanish clitics).

The pronominal clitics in contemporary French, Italian, and Spanish contrast, however, with their medieval counterparts in terms of the type of host they can cliticize to since they are restricted to preverbal or postverbal positions depending on the verb's feature [ $\alpha$  finite] and have lost any effects of the Tobler-Mussafia Law. One could conjecture that this strict morphological dependency on the verb found in today's Romance clitics with the exception of those in European Portuguese (cf. Uriagereka 1992a) has reinforced the conception of the Agreement Hypothesis.

(8) See Mussafia (1983) and Wackernagel (1892).

Also, on a closer look at the morphology of cliticization of today's Romance clitics, we can see that they are subject to ordering constraints in relation to other inflectional affixes. For instance, Modern Spanish clitics can no longer be attached to the subject inflection of a finite verb as opposed to Old Spanish clitics. Example (19) is taken from Lapesa (1986: 58) (Apud. *Cantar de Mio Cid*):

- (19) Acogensele omnes de todas partes. (OK Old Spanish)  
 Join Rflx.CL-Dat.CL3s. men from everywhere (\* Modern Spanish)  
 Men join him from everywhere.
- (20) Se le acogen hombres de todas partes. (Modern Spanish)  
 CL-Rflx. Dat-CL3s. join men from everywhere  
 Men join him from everywhere.

Furthermore, Spanish clitics not only appear in a fixed order with respect to their host in tensed clauses, but also with respect to one another. Thus, the unalterable order of Spanish argumental object clitics is: Dative.Cl-Acusative.CL-verb. Italian object clitics also observe this order, whereas French inverts the order Dative-Accusative when both clitics are third person:

- (21) Juan se lo mandó. vs. \* Juan lo se mandó (Spanish)  
 Juan Dat-CL Ac-CL sent. Juan Ac-CL Dat-CL sent  
 Juan sent it to him.
- (22) Je le lui donnerai. (Modern French)  
 I Acc-CL Dat-CL give-will  
 I will give it to her/him.

Rigidity in element order is a feature typical to inflectional affixation but seldom to words which enjoy more freedom as regards the order in which they can appear. I will propose that the clitic order Dative-Accusative-Verb can be obtained in the syntax of modern Spanish whose clitic systems have been diachronically simplified in comparison with those of other Romance languages<sup>9</sup>. It is also worth noting that, in Spanish, the order of object clitics and subject agreement morphemes affixed to the verb mirrors the order of the arguments that they represent. This fact is paralleled by Basque data in which the agreement morphology on the verb follows the order Absolutive-Dative-Ergative, that is, the opposite of the order of the verb arguments which is Ergative-Dative-Absolutive. This parallelism between these two languages is not due to coincidence but to principles that ensure that the syntactic projection of agreement heads in configurational languages form non-crossing referentiality chains with their antecedents<sup>10</sup>.

(9) Brazilian Portuguese would be the exception to this group. In any case, it seems that Brazilian Portuguese is undergoing certain morphosyntactic changes, such as the new direction taken by the null subject parameter or the novel strategies employed by the relativization system (cf. Kato and Tarallo 1986) and the emerging of unidentified object *pros* (cf. Maia 1991) that resemble very little of any of the present developments of its Romance peers.

(10) Cheng and Demirdash (1993) claim that the syntactic projection of arguments in Basque reflects the Thematic Hierarchy Agent > Goal > Theme..., and that all arguments are generated in the specifier of AGRPs. Hence, since Basque is head-last the inflectional order is Absolutive-Dative-Ergative, so that the verb/auxiliary can incorporate up to the agreement inflections and maintain the spec-head relations between the agreement markers and their coindexed arguments without further movement.

In relation to affix ordering there is also the apparently disturbing fact —for those exploring the idea of treating clitics as agreement morphemes in contemporary Spanish— that the subject agreement morphology and the clitic morphology lie in the opposite extremes of the finite verb. Significantly, this morphological arrangement does not have any bearing on the truth of the hypothesis. As a matter of fact, some languages with subject and object agreement morphology on the verb/auxiliary choose to distribute the agreement inflection on both ends of the host stem, whereas others prefer to amalgamate all the agreement morphology on one side. Basque and Mopan would be an example of the former case and Cuzco Quechua of the latter:

(23) Eman d-i-da-zu.  
 given 3ab-have-1dat-2erg  
 You have given it to me.  
 (Basque)

(24) Maqa-rqa-yki.  
 hit-past-1/2  
 You hit me.  
 (Cuzco Quechua  
 from Ortiz de Urbina 1989)

Curiously, the always present morphology on the verbal inflection of finite clauses, that is, the absolute agreement morpheme in Basque and the subject agreement morpheme in Spanish, is the one that emerges separated from the other verbal agreement morphemes.

Finally, contemporary Romance object clitics, with the exception of those in Portuguese, require strict adjacency to their host, this being the main verb or the auxiliary verb. There is no independent lexical material, not even negation elements, that can intervene between the clitic and the host carrying all the other inflectional morphology, as we see in (25):

(25) \*Juan lo ya vió. vs. Juan ya lo vió. (Spanish)  
 Juan Acc-CL already saw Juan already Acc-CL saw  
 Juan already saw it.

However, unlike in Spanish, in Italian and in French one can interpolate impersonal clitics and prepositional clitics respectively between the object clitic and the verb. Yet, I will not count this fact as a violation of this strict adjacency condition since, first, the intervening elements are of the same nature and, second, these languages have much more complex clitic systems than Spanish does<sup>11</sup>, and the morphological component of the grammar could possibly apply some reordering to these strings of clitics, as claimed in Bonet (1991).

(11) Carstairs (1981) contrasts the properties of clitics with those of inflectional elements and classifies the latter as 'members of a relatively small closed system'. In this respect, Spanish clitics qualify better for the inflectional element status than their Romance counterparts since the Spanish clitic inventory has been reduced to seven initial forms. The other Romance languages, on the other hand, exhibit relatively large sets of clitics.

In any case, the important fact of this discussion is that verbs and clitics form a syntactic constituent unit<sup>12</sup>. This can be additionally seen in instances in which the verb undergoes syntactic operations, such as verb-subject inversion in questions, and the clitic and the verb remain as a unit, which is how one should expect the agreement morphology to behave:

- (26) a. Alfredo la trajo del Perú. (Spanish)  
 Alfredo Acc-CL brought from Perú  
 Alfredo brought her/it from Perú.
- b. ¿La trajo Alfredo del Perú de verdad?  
 Acc-CL brought Alfredo from Peru truly  
 Did Alfredo really bring it from Peru?

The restrictions on cliticization we have seen above for Catalan, French, Italian, Romanian and Spanish object clitics are closer to the morphological conditions of the verb-object agreement morphology of Basque, for instance, than to those of other clitic systems, such as the clitic systems of their corresponding medieval counterparts, or for that matter, those of Czech.

The emerging of different paradigm sets is also one of the characteristics of inflectional affixation. Interestingly, Spanish, in addition to the etymological system, has three groupings with object clitics, namely, the phenomena of *leísmo*, *loísmo* and *laísmo*. These phenomena constitute a departure from the etymological clitic system in the sense that the speakers perceive the need to express on the clitic one of the features of its referent in detriment of another. Thus, most *leísta* speakers emphasize on the animacy of the referent of the accusative clitic<sup>13</sup>, whereas *loísta* and *laísta* speakers emphasize on the gender of the referent of the dative clitic. To the best of my knowledge, no other European Romance language has a phenomenon similar to

(12) The phenomenon of clitic climbing does not constitute counter evidence against the hypothesis that the clitic forms a syntactic unit with the verbal host. Note that once the clitic has "chosen" its host, be that either the upper or the lower verb, the syntactic unit is unbreakable after subsequent syntactic operations apply to it. For instance,

- (i) Yo ahora lo quiero poner aquí. ¿Dónde lo quieres poner(lo) tú ahora?  
 I now it-CL want-1 put here where it-CL want-2s put it-CL you now  
 I want to put it here now. Where do you want to put it now?

The important point illustrated in these examples is that, again, the clitic *lo* remains attached to an inflectional category instead of being cliticized to the *wh*-word, the adverb or the subject pronoun when question inversion takes place.

(13) To be truthful to all the Spanish data, this description covers a good number of dialects, but is not exhaustive. There are, however, several degrees of *leísmo*. In this way, two *leísta* dialects may differ from one another in the extent to which they carry this phenomenon. For instance, one dialect (or idiolect) may carry it across the board in such a way that the accusative clitics *lo(s)/la(s)* are eliminated from the clitic system. Another dialect may only allow *leísmo* to replace the masculine accusative clitic. These two examples illustrate the two maximum and minimum realizations of the phenomenon. Most *leísta* dialects I am familiar with or I have seen in the written language range between these two poles and fall under the above description. However, let us not forget that there are inconsistencies in the manifestation of this phenomenon, mostly due to the normative nature of language teaching in schools.

these ones in their clitic system<sup>14</sup>. Lyons (1990) reports some clitic occurrences of the *laismo* type in Macedonian, a language very similar to Southern Cone Spanish as far as the phenomenon of clitic doubling is concerned (cf. Berent 1980).

Most likely, the phenomena of *loísmo* and *laismo* are linked to an attempt to introduce the distinction of the feature gender that is manifested elsewhere in the dative paradigm in Spanish. On the other hand, there are several instances in which feature distinctions are lost in Spanish. One is in the combination of dative and accusative third persons in which the dative form *le/les* becomes the opaque form *se*, thus, eliminating the number distinction. Other examples of this process take place in different dialects of Spanish such as colloquial Chilean or Caribbean Spanish in which almost only the form *le* has survived for the third person dative clitic. Regardless of whether this process takes place in the syntax or in the morphology (as argued in Bonet 1991), feature erosion in pronominal affixes is a characteristic typical of agreement systems. Contrastively, Italian has incorporated the feature gender distinction in the dative clitic paradigm. A conclusion that can be drawn from here is that while *leísmo* is an agreement driven phenomenon —i.e., it is geared on an anymacy distinction typical of agreement systems— *loísmo* and *laismo* are regressive moves of the agreement system<sup>15</sup> towards the pronominal one. Since Spanish in general is developing a verb-object agreement system, the phenomenon of *leísmo* is mushrooming in many unrelated dialects at the same time that the other two are reduced to the speech of a few individuals in Spain.

Additionally, the phenomenon of *leísmo* has a special relevance on the issue of the status of Spanish object clitics. It has been reported by Ortiz de Urbina (1989), as well as by many teachers of Basque (p.c.), that when a *leísta* speaker of Spanish learns Basque, that is, the majority of current students of Basque, s/he transfers the *leísmo* marking to the agreement morphology of the Basque verb. The fact that the *leísta* learner chooses not to render this phenomenon through the regular nor the intensive pronominal paradigms of Basque, but through the agreement inflection, somehow constitutes indirect evidence in favor of the categorization of Spanish object clitics as verbal agreement morphemes.

## 2.2. Clitic Doubling and Agreement with Verbal Complements

### 2.2.0. Introduction

The term doubling stands for the duplication of a complement or an adjunct by a clitic. This concept can overlap with that of verbal agreement, that is, a crossreference marking (in  $\phi$  features) of the verbal arguments on one of the clause-inflection-bearing elements. The problem is that when clitic doubling is limited to the arguments

(14) Mario Saltarelli pointed out to me that there is a syncretism between masculine and feminine dative clitics in the form of *gli* in some informal registers of Italian, but in any case, clitic syncretisms are a different issue or at the most, a subcase of the *leísmo* phenomenon in Spanish. See Saltarelli (1986) for a wider discussion of clitic syncretisms in Spanish.

(15) Significantly, *loísta* and *laissta* speakers do not usually clitic double with direct object nominals and they do not do it with indirect object nominals as often as the speakers of the etymological system.

of the verb in A positions, the distinction between agreement and doubling turns out to be very fine, sometimes inexistent. Spanish and Macedonian seem to be some of the languages that pose the problem above mentioned.

Clitic doubling with verb complements in argument positions (cf. Jaeggli 1986 and Suñer 1988) is an outstanding characteristic of Romanian and Spanish that distinguishes them from other Romance languages. Spanish, moreover, unlike Romanian, does not have any independent clitic system other than the reflexive and the object clitic paradigms, which makes the case for the existence of an actual cliticization process in Spanish not as clear as it is in other Romance languages.

In this subsection, I will point out some of the properties by which established agreement systems and clitic doubling<sup>16</sup> differ. The problem for this kind of approach is that one may feel tempted to compare object clitic-doubling with subject agreement since the latter is the most ordinary form of agreement. Notwithstanding, there should be a common print between the two, the relevant comparison for the issue at stake would be object clitic doubling versus object agreement. Interestingly, object agreement is not as unrestricted as subject agreement nor as common.

### 2.2.1. *Two Issues in Object Agreement: The Animacy Hierarchy and the Preposition a*

Sportiche (1992) claims that agreement viewed as a Spec-Head(AGR) relation must be semantically free. Hence, he concludes that clitic doubling is not an agreement relation since the clitic imposes certain semantic specifications on the doubled DP. However, even though subject agreement in general or object participial agreement in French do not seem to have any semantic restrictions, it is not out of the question that agreement relations can be geared on the semantics of the agreeing NP. The disguised fact in this issue is that, in many instances, the semantic conditions for an element to agree with the verb are derived from the structural position of the element.

On the other hand, Comrie (1989), Paus (1990) and Silverstein (1976), the latter for ergative languages, show that many agreement relations are driven by an Animacy hierarchy which has an overall crosslinguistic validity. Thus, arguments that occupy a high position in this animacy hierarchy hold stronger or more uniform agreement relations than those that occupy a lower position. For the time being, let us say in very broad terms that first and second, and third person pronouns in this order occupy the highest positions in this hierarchy followed by definite human nouns, definite nouns etc, whereas inanimate generic nouns occupy the lowest ones<sup>17</sup>. On a first look, Basque object agreement does not seem to be sensitive to this animacy hierarchy or to any other semantic restriction. Nevertheless, there is a

(16) From now on, I will refer to clitic doubling as the reduplication of an XP in an A position by a co-referential clitic attached to the verb. If the element doubled by the clitic is in an A' position, I will refer to it as left dislocation or right dislocation. This terminology basically follows the nomenclature established in the literature on this topic.

(17) *Animacy* can only be understood here as a cover term that subsumes the notions of saliency and definiteness/referentiality. Any literal reading of the label *animacy* would be inaccurate for this description. However, the term becomes handy since animate nouns and pronouns are usually associated with a higher degree of saliency or referentiality than inanimate ones.

“quirk” in the agreement marking on the verb in the past, conditional and potential paradigms. This split, according to Ortiz de Urbina (1989), is related to the Animacy Hierarchy since when the ergative argument (this being first or second person) outranks in this hierarchy the absolutive one (this being third person), the former is cross-marked on the verb/auxiliary with the absolutive verbal agreement morphology, whereas the absolutive hypothetically takes the zero morpheme of the ergative morphology for third persons or none. Controversially, one could argue that the split in the agreement marking is due to the fact that the absolutive agreement morphology takes precedence over the ergative one in certain contexts<sup>18</sup>.

In Swahili, object agreement does not occur with lower elements of the Animacy Hierarchy (cf. Wald 1979), that is generic nouns or indefinite inanimate nouns. Still, definite-accusative agreement and, as a small extension, indefinite-human accusative object agreement take place obligatorily. Macedonian exhibits a similar behavior with respect to the direct object agreement pattern, with the exception that in this language, it is referred to as clitic-doubling<sup>19</sup>. Now, Southern Cone Spanish clitic-doubling is not far from the object agreement patterns of Macedonian and Swahili. As a matter of fact, the distribution of Macedonian clitic doubling and that of this dialect of Spanish are almost identical, that is, the lowest elements in the hierarchy that can be clitic doubled are indefinite referential humans.

There is, however, an important difference between Basque, Macedonian and some varieties of Swahili on the one hand and Spanish on the other. Whilst in the former, object agreement or clitic doubling is obligatory when possible, in Spanish, object agreement is optional with most nominals<sup>20 21</sup>. Still, even the obligatoriness of object agreement seems to be mapped onto the Animacy Hierarchy, since clitic doubling is obligatory with pronouns as well as with animate indirect objects in inversion predicates and other contexts in all dialects of Spanish.

The fact that in many languages, clitic doubling cannot be realized with prepositionless nominals has led many researchers such as Lyons (1990) in recent times, to believe that the NP coreferential with the clitic is not an argument but some kind of PP adjoined to VP, whereas the clitic itself licenses a *pro* in argument position. In order to validate this hypothesis for Spanish, one should at least be able to show that, first, clitic doubling is impossible with prepositionless NP objects and, second, that the occurrence of the preposition is directly related to the phenomenon of clitic doubling. However, none of these tests can be passed by the adjunction hypothesis.

As mentioned in section 1, clitic doubling with prepositionless NP direct objects is grammatical in Southern Cone Spanish. In addition, the occurrence of the preposi-

(18) See Laka (1993) for a thorough alternative account of this phenomenon.

(19) To top this terminology mess off, Laka (1993) adopts the label “agreement clitics” to describe the verb-argument agreement morphemes in Basque. Again, regardless of what we call them, the crucial point is to determine whether these elements are part of the canonical composition of IP or are lexical categories.

(20) For the sake of comparison, according to Lyons (1990), Piraha clitic doubling is semantically unrestricted but always optional.

(21) It is not my contention in this article to enter into a discussion of the characterization of the optionality of clitic doubling in terms of parameters. As a mere conjecture, we can assume that those speakers that can clitic double with nominals have two patterns in competition, the clitic doubling pattern and the non-clitic doubling one.

tion *a* with clitic doubled NPs has nothing to do with the phenomenon under study, as shown by the independent distribution of this preposition in non-clitic doubling clauses, for example:

- (27) *Vimos a María, a los niños, a los payasos, etc.*  
 (we)saw to Mary to the kids to the clowns.  
 We saw Mary, the kids, the clowns, etc.

Conversely, clitic doubling constructions in Berber always demand the presence of a supplementary preposition, i.e., in addition to the one in the clitic doubled constituent. Without doubt the occurrence of this extra preposition is linked to clitic doubling. For instance, to illustrate this point notice the following contrast in the Berber example in (28) in which only the clitic doubled phrase repeats the preposition twice:

- |   |     |          |
|---|-----|----------|
| (28) In-s <sub>i</sub> n Munat <sub>i</sub> | vs. | In Munat |
| Of-3CL of Munat                             |     | Of Munat |
| Munat's                                     |     | Munat's  |

Thus, an analysis in the vein of Lyons (1990) or Aoun (1993) for Lebanese Arabic is more likely to hold for different dialects of Arabic than for Spanish, which does not have prepositional occurrences conditioned by clitic doubling.

I will not discuss here what determines the presence or absence of the Spanish preposition *a* with direct objects, nonetheless, it is a well-known fact (cf. Lois 1982 and King 1984) that there is a combination of certain direct object features such as [+animate], [+specific], [+referential], etc. which triggers the presence of this preposition. Coincidentally, the direct objects that contain these features rank high in the Animacy Hierarchy, which in turn is a requirement for an argument to be clitic doubled. In this regard, Lazard (1984) claims that the definiteness and humanness of constituents, which are two factors of the Animacy Hierarchy, regulate the presence versus absence of a post/preposition with verb arguments in several languages in addition to Spanish. For instance, this variation is carried out in Hebrew by the preposition *et* and, in Persian, Hindi, and Aymara is rendered by the postpositions *ra*, *ko ru*.

For the sake of the hypothesis proposed in this study, let us say that Southern Cone Spanish is at a more advanced stage of developing a full-fledged verb-object agreement system than other varieties of Spanish. In this way, the former has extended the process of clitic doubling to definite [-animate] nouns, which do not bear the preposition *a*. The other varieties of Spanish are in a more "primitive" stage in regard to this phenomenon and clitic doubling only reaches definite [+animate] nouns, hence, all these nouns by virtue of this feature are preceded by the preposition *a*.

Returning to Lyons' analysis, if "the duplicating NP (in the PP) is not coindexed with the clitic, and is in fact completely independent of it" (Lyons 1990: 51), as he claims, one has to explain the fact that, in contradiction with this hypothesis, the semantic content of the duplicating [P +NP] rules its co-occurrence with the clitic. Moreover, if the clitic-doubled NP was an adjunct there should not be any restriction for clitic doubling to take place with any type of preposition as sister to the co-

referential NP. However, this is not the case as shown by the contrast between (29) and (30):

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (29) (Le <sub>i</sub> ) hablé a María <sub>i</sub> .<br>3-CL spoke to María<br>I spoke to María. | (30) (*Le <sub>i</sub> ) hablé con María <sub>i</sub> .<br>3-CL spoke with María<br>I spoke with María. |
|--|---|

A further undesirable consequence of Lyons' approach is that it predicts that agreement with accusative overt NPs takes precedence over agreement with dative NPs since dative NPs, as opposed to Accusative NPs, are normally marked by a preposition in many languages, for instance, Macedonian. However, crosslinguistic studies on this issue, such as Givón (1976) to cite one, show that it is the other way around, that is, there is in general<sup>22</sup> an agreement primacy of datives over accusative objects. Furthermore, as far as the semantic restrictions on the agreeing DP are concerned, it is a well known fact that dative-verb agreement is much freer than accusative agreement. For instance, Macedonian and Spanish allow clitic doubling with indefinite dative objects, but seldom with indefinite accusative objects.

### 2.3. Agreement Features. Summary

If one considers agreement as an absolute full-fledged unrestricted verb-argument relationship across the board, that is, as an either/or issue, probably, there will not be many languages that can be described as having an agreement system, let alone an object-verb agreement system. On the other hand, one could relativize the concept of agreement, going back to the view of agreement as an increasing continuum, and propose that there are different degrees of agreement that range from high to low. In the same way that there is a transitivity continuum, as proposed in Hooper and Thompson (1980), that is, the transitivity degree of a verb is determined in relation to the number of properties out of a set of transitivity characteristics that that verb exhibits, I claim that agreement is also the accumulation by fulfillment of a number of properties. Thus, the parametric account of agreement can be done with respect to how many agreement properties the two elements involved in the putative agreement relationship exhibit.

Now, the issue at stake at this point is to determine when the "shade" of agreement is strong enough, that is, whether the number of properties is sufficient to make itself visible in the syntactic component.

Bearing this in mind, let us summarize how differently object agreement or clitic doubling systems, for that matter, pattern across the properties of agreement elements we have seen above. In other words, we are going to determine how strong the degree of agreement is in a number of languages by their compliance with these properties which are listed in the following table:

(22) Hungarian and Arabic would be counterexamples to this generalization however.

(31) *Properties of Object Agreement Bearing Elements*

|  | Bq | SC | BqS | AS | F | I | P | R | Mac |
|--|----|----|-----|----|---|---|---|---|-----|
| A. Strict adjacency to [Aux/V]           | 1  | 1  | 1   | 1  | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1   |
| B. Syntactic unit with host              | 1  | 1  | 1   | 1  | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1   |
| C. Same specific host [Aux/V]            | 1  | 1  | 1   | 1  | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1   |
| D. Fixed order                           | 1  | 1  | 1   | 1  | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1   |
| E. Feature erosion in the forms          | 1  | 1  | 1   | 1  | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1   |
| F. Different paradigm selection          | 1  | 1  | 1   | 1  | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1   |
| G. Co-occurrence with Acc arguments      | 1  | 1  | 1   | 0  | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1   |
| H. Unrestricted co-occurrence            | 1  | 0  | 0   | 0  | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0   |
| I. Obligatoriness of co-occurrence       | 1  | 0  | 0   | 0  | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1   |
| J. Co-occurrence with prepositionless NP | 1  | 1  | 0   | 0  | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1   |
| TOTAL                                    | 10 | 8  | 7   | 6  | 2 | 5 | 1 | 5 | 9   |

The languages contrasted in the table in (31) are from left to right: Basque (Bq), Southern Cone Spanish (SC), Basque Spanish (BqS), other dialects of Spanish (AS), French (F), Italian (I), European Portuguese (P), Romanian (R) and Macedonian (Mac). A number of clarifications on the characteristics from A. to J. ought to be made. A. *strict adjacency* refers to the absence of interpolation phenomena, which are the occurrence of intervening elements between the clitic and the host which is either the verb or the auxiliary. In Romanian, the adverbial clitic *mai* 'more' occurs between object clitics and the verb (Dobrovie-Sorin 1990: 373). B. *syntactic unit with host* refers to whether or not the clitic is left stranded after the host moves in the syntax. C. *same specific host {Aux/V}* refers to the categorial type of syntactic host, not the phonological host (we are not at this point interested in the latter). I subscribe here to Dobrovie-Sorin's (1990) analysis which claims that in addition to syntactic cliticization, Romanian clitics undergo phonological or prosodic cliticization to a word that has nothing to do with the selection of the clitic, as illustrated in (32), taken from Dobrovie-Sorin (1992):

- (32) Maria-mi scrie des.  
 Maria-1-CL writes frequently  
 Maria writes to me frequently.

C. *Same specific host* aims at isolating cases of cliticization to hosts other than the verb, such as cliticization to a preposition in Galician and in European Portuguese, as illustrated in (33) (example taken from Uriagereka 1992a):

- (33) Pra lle (ti) (enton) falar(es),... (Galician)  
 To 3-CL you then talk-2s  
 In order for you to talk to him,...

D. *fixed order* refers to whether there is an unaltered order of clitics or agreement elements among themselves that applies everywhere. E. *feature erosion in the forms* refers to the loss of feature distinctions, whereas F. refers to the co-existence of differ-

ent agreement paradigms in one language, for example, the *léista* paradigm versus the *laísta* paradigm and so on. G. *co-occurrence with Acc arguments* refers to the co-occurrence of agreement elements with a verb internal accusative argument in an A position, so that we can differentiate dialects that only have clitic doubling with dative nominals from those that have it with datives and accusatives. Left-dislocations fall out of the domain of this property. H. *unrestricted co-occurrence* refers to an across-the-board co-occurrence of the agreement element and the argument, regardless of the semantic composition of the latter. I. *obligatoriness of co-occurrence* refers to optional versus obligatory co-occurrence of a clitic and an object nominal every time the conditions for agreement are met. In this case, we have left object pronouns out in order to assign whole values, otherwise Spanish would obtain 1/2 for this row. Finally, J. *co-occurrence with a prepositionless NP* is self-explanatory since it indicates whether a pseudo-preposition must precede the argument for agreement with the verb to take place. If we hold up Basque as a model of object agreement, the languages that score closest to Basque in the table in (31) will rank higher in the agreement continuum.

## 2.4. Object Agreement in Spanish

### 2.4.1. Object Agreement with Strong Pronouns and Obligatory Agreement

If we assume that “reanalysis” occurs in languages, it would not be very illogical to conjecture that Spanish banned subject clitics, eliminated the prepositional clitics and reduced its argument clitic system to the object paradigm, so that the function of argument clitics would be redefined for verb object agreement. Another phenomenon that can be observed at first sight in the evolution from Old Spanish to Modern Spanish is the birth of the obligatoriness of clitic doubling with pronouns in Spanish. These two characteristics of contemporary Spanish are absent in Old Spanish as well as in the other Romance languages (at least in the written varieties), which have kept their prepositional clitics as well as the option of non-doubling with non dislocated pronouns.

Some researches such as Gerfen (1991), whose main source of data is Andalusian (p.c.), a dialect of Spanish whose clitic doubling is limited to strong object pronouns and to nominal indirect objects, consider clitic doubling with object pronouns as a mere device to place a mark of referential contrast or focus on the object. This claim is reinforced by the fact that the clitic-doubled pronouns, unlike nominals, bear phonological prominence in the sentence. This hypothesis is reminiscent of that of Lyons (1990) under which the doubled pronoun is not a syntactic argument, but an adjunct to VP, in a structure such as (34):

(34) [ [CL<sub>i</sub> V pro<sub>i</sub>][Pronoun]]

However, I believe that the phonological facts deserve to be paid closer attention before conclusions can be drawn. Furthermore, one could take the alternative stand to that of Gerfen, that is, the phonological prominence of strong pronouns in the clause is not indicative of their syntactic status, but a typical feature of overt strong pronouns in pro-drop languages. Nevertheless, both analyses can be pure speculations if we do not look into the nature of the so-called phonological prominence of

strong pronouns. Probably, this claimed phonological prominence of Spanish overt strong object pronouns has been primarily detected in the singular forms. Since they are monosyllabic independent elements they bear a salient primary stress. Thus, there are: [*a mi*] '(to)me', [*a ti*] '(to) you', [*a él*] 'to him'. This stress is distinctive for the first and third person pronouns for being the only feature that distinguishes them from the first person possessive *mi* 'my' and the masculine definite article *el* 'the'. Now, automatically, by virtue of having this primary stress, these pronouns are going to pick up one of the clause intonational peaks, that is to say, they are going to be phonologically prominent. Therefore, the real issue we should be concerned with is whether this stress provides the strong pronoun with a phonological prominence equal to that of other stressed monosyllabic elements or whether the phonological prominence of these pronouns goes beyond that and makes them emphatic elements with no argument status whatsoever.

Fortunately, there are diagnostic criteria in the theory that allow us to determine whether a pronoun is being used emphatically as a non-argument or not. Also, it comes as no surprise that emphatic pronouns are able to escape a grammar's constraints. For instance, infinitival clauses due to their lack of inflection, which has as a consequence their inability to assign nominative Case, cannot take overt subjects, so the Case Filter is not violated. However, this constraint can be overcome if the subject is an emphatic pronoun:

- (35) Parece EL/\*él tener más confianza que yo.  
 Seems HE/he to have more confidence than I  
 He seems to be more confident than I am.

Only an emphatic reading of the subject pronoun would yield the sentence in (35) as grammatical. In regard to pronominal objects, even though it is hard to find a sentence parallel to (35) that illustrates for objects the overriding of the Case Filter by emphatic pronouns, hopefully, a clause with a fronted object pronoun and no co-referential clitic on the verb will serve this purpose. For instance, let us consider example (36) below:

- (36) Juan cree que A EL/\*a él deberían dar una respuesta.  
 Juan believes that to HIM/to him should-3p give an answer.  
 Juan believes that they should give him an answer.

Again, the only way to have a minimal felicitous reading for (36) is by giving an extra emphasis to the object pronoun in addition to the intonational force provided already by its inherent stress. Note, moreover, that the non-emphatic reading would be allowed if a coreferential clitic is realized either on the modal or the main verb (cf. (37) below). This fact may be also interpreted as evidence in favor of the hypothesis that the clitic is an agreement element capable to assign Case to the strong pronoun, so no Case Filter violation would be obtained, as shown in (37):

- (37) Juan cree que a él<sub>i</sub> le<sub>i</sub> deberían dar una respuesta.  
 Juan believes that to him CL-3s should-3p give an answer  
 Juan believes that they should give him an answer.

In the vein of Montalbetti's (1984) analysis of coreference and binding of Spanish strong overt pronouns versus non-overt ones (*pro*), one could also find asymmetries in coreference between *emphatic* strong overt pronouns and *plain* strong overt pronouns.

Let us consider the following sentences<sup>23</sup>:

- (38) Si se entera Juan<sub>i</sub> *pro*<sub>i/?k</sub>/a *él*<sub>\*i/k</sub>/a *EL*<sub>i/k</sub> *le*<sub>i/k</sub> da un ataque.  
 If CL find Juan to him/HIM CLs goes give an attack  
 If Juan finds out he is going to have a (heart) attack.
- (39) Juan<sub>i</sub> cree que María *le*<sub>i/k</sub> pagó *pro*<sub>i/?k</sub>/a *él*<sub>k/i??/?/\*</sub>/a *EL*<sub>i/?k</sub>.  
 Juan believes that Mary CL3s paid to him/to HIM  
 Juan does believe that Mary paid him.

Along the lines of Montalbetti (1986), when there is the possibility to have an alternation between overt and non overt pronouns, the coreferential reading with a close antecedent is much more preferred with *pro*. In addition, (38) and (39) show that a coreferential reading with an overt strong pronoun comes out more naturally if this element is emphasized phonologically, or also with a modifier as in (40):

- (40) Juan<sub>i</sub> cree que María *le*<sub>i/k</sub> pagó a *él*<sub>i/k</sub> *sólo/nada más*.  
 Juan believes that Mary CL3s paid to him only/just  
 Juan believes that Mary paid him only.

In sum, the data show that overt strong object pronouns can be emphatic or non-emphatic, thus, in principle, the insights of both competing hypotheses were correct. However, the fact that overt strong object pronouns are able to occur without any phonological prominence other than that of any stressed monosyllabic element opens the possibility to analyze them on a pair with regular arguments. Furthermore, the polysyllabic forms of object pronouns represent even clearer evidence in support of the latter idea since the absence of a heavy monosyllabic stress in these forms does not interfere with the intonational pitch of the sentence and allows us to establish—in the same way as with noun arguments—a clear distinction of those cases in which the polysyllabic pronoun is being used emphatically. Hence, we conclude that strong pronouns do not pick a high intonational pitch per se, whether they are going to have phonological prominence or not will depend on the speaker's intended meaning, as it is the case with nominals too.

As for Gerfen's (1991) focus account, it is not within the scope of this article to provide an analysis for referential contrastive elements or focus structures in Spanish, notwithstanding, whatever clitic-doubled strong object pronouns are used for it is not significantly different from the use of strong subject pronouns which

(23) At this point, a word of caution should be said about the data. Peruvian speakers (Arnaiz p.c.) seem to have clear-cut intuitions about the coreferential coindexing in (39). I myself share their intuitions. However, there are some speakers that somehow contemplate a possible coreferential relation between *a él* and the upper subject under the right context. Be that as it may, the clarification I want to make in this regard is that for this second group of speakers the grammatical labels given in (39) rather correspond to the speakers' preferred and most natural readings. So, the contrast still remains.

obligatorily agree with the verb. Thus, following this line of reasoning, the implication of Gerfen's hypothesis is that subject pronouns would also be adjuncts and not arguments, which is something that has not been proved in the literature. The second drawback of this hypothesis is that one has to posit two drastically different structures for clitic doubled IO pronouns and clitic doubled IO nominals, which takes away any desired unity that Gerfen's analysis may have had for clitic doubled elements. In this way, in opposition to the structure for clitic-doubled IO *pronouns* in (34), the structure for a clitic doubled indirect object *nominal* would be:

(41) [CL<sub>i</sub> [V NP<sub>i</sub>]]

Finally, the possibility that strong pronouns are exclusively contrastive focus elements in Spanish is highly jeopardized when confronting clauses that contain more than one strong pronoun, such as (42) for instance.

(42) Yo te<sub>k</sub> la<sub>i</sub> presenté (a) ella<sub>i</sub> a ti<sub>k</sub>.  
 I CL-2s CL-3sf introduced her to you.  
 I introduced her to you.

Normally, focused elements are correlated with a focus position<sup>24</sup>, hence, a sentence may have at the most one focused element. Thus, the sentence in (42) challenges Gerfen's claim since not all three strong pronouns can be used simultaneously for focus or referential contrast purposes, which again removes the attempted generalization in this type of analysis for clitic-doubled or agreeing strong pronouns. One of the problems that one encounters when dealing with strong pronouns in Spanish has to do with the fact that Spanish is object and subject *pro*-drop, hence, we should expect that overt strong pronouns are not used in complete free alternation with the less marked null pronominal forms. This is a typical feature of subject and object *pro*-drop languages such as Basque (cf. Ortiz de Urbina 1989). Now, there is a difference in descriptive accuracy between claiming that strong argument pronouns often entail a contrastive/emphatic interpretation and claiming that these elements exclusively occur with this interpretation and have an adjunct status<sup>25</sup>. The second claim is far from being a sound one.

Conversely, the hypothesis I will pursue here is that strong pronouns in Spanish are true arguments and their obligatoriness to co-occur with a clitic is derived from the correlation between agreement and the Animacy Hierarchy. In this way, in regard to object agreement in Spanish, the initial hypothesis is that dialects that behave conservatively with respect to clitic doubling such as Manchego or Andalusian, bear object agreement with the highest elements in the Animacy Hierarchy, namely, pronouns and referential definite humans which are what indirect objects normally

(24) Interestingly, Silva-Corvalán (1989) shows that in Spanish, when the object bears a referential contrast or the focus (new information) of the sentence, it is likely to occupy a preverbal position.

(25) In this regard, Carmen Silva-Corvalán pointed out to me that in Chilean Spanish, the strong object pronoun *a él* in a sentence like (i) is usually neither emphatic nor contrastive:

(i) Lo<sub>i</sub> he visto a él<sub>i</sub>.  
 Acc.CL-3Sg. have-1 seen him  
 I have seen him.

stand for<sup>26</sup>. Indefinite indirect objects may agree by a function analogy<sup>27</sup>. Other Iberian dialects such as Basque Spanish have extended their object verb agreement to animate direct objects, as for instance:

- (43)  $Le_i$  he visto a  $Pedro_i$ .  
 CL-3m have(I) seen to Pedro.  
 I have seen Pedro.

Southern Cone Spanish goes further down on the Animacy Hierarchy than Basque Spanish, which has restricted clitic doubling on an animacy basis, by allowing object-verb agreement with inanimate definite direct objects.

To summarize the data of obligatory clitic-doubling, in all dialects of Spanish, verb-object agreement is obligatory with pronouns and indirect objects of psych verbs and other inversion predicates which happen to be always human. Indirect objects of ditransitive verbs require almost obligatory agreement with the verb, especially in those dialects that exhibit greater freedom for clitic-doubling. Finally, clitic doubling with direct object nominals in an A position has never become obligatory in any Spanish dialect.

To our advantage, the case of the obligatoriness of clitic doubling with inversion predicates can be easily explained by the two hypotheses pursued here, namely, the Agreement Hypothesis and the one outlined above which states that the strength of agreement is a reflection of the position that the agreement element occupies in the Animacy Hierarchy. Unlike in Italian, Spanish inversion predicates of the type illustrated in (44) and (45) require the presence of a dative clitic that is coindexed with the logical subject, regardless of whether the latter is phonologically overt or not:

- (44) A  $Juan_i$ ,  $le_i$  gustan los libros.  
 To Juan CL-3 like-3p the books.  
 Juan likes the books.
- (45) A  $María_i$ , no  $le_i$  caben los pantalones.  
 To María not CL-3 fit-3p the pants  
 The pants do not fit María.

Example (44) illustrates an inversion predicate with an Experiencer as the logical subject<sup>28</sup>, whereas in (45) the logical subject is a Benefactive. Under the non-agreement hypothesis, (44) and (45) would only bear regular desinential verb agreement with the grammatical subjects *los libros* and *los pantalones*, whose thematic roles correspond to that of a Theme. However, this description would run against universal principles that establish that agreement relations take place preferably with the ar-

(26) See Givón (1976) for a different account of this phenomenon in the functional framework.

(27) Clitic doubling with indefinite indirect objects is not a counterexample to Animacy. According to Comrie (1989), functions are also mapped onto the Animacy Hierarchy, so that indirect objects rank higher than direct ones. As said above, there are many factors in interlock.

(28) For these instances, I am essentially following the subject/predicate distinction of Aristotelian logic as well as that of Kuroda's (1992) and Mejías-Bikandi's (1993) works. Thus, the logical subject of the predication is the expression that denotes the entity of which a property is predicated. The logical subject may be the same as the grammatical subject, but this is not necessarily always the case, as (44) and (45) illustrate.

guments that bear the higher  $\theta$ -roles in a thematic hierarchy along these lines: Agent < Experiencer < Benefactive < Theme... This assumption is ultimately hinged on the Animacy Hierarchy since high  $\theta$ -roles are likely to be [+animate] (cf. Comrie 1989).

In this way, it could be said that if a language has the parameter of AGRO marked positively, the morphology of verb-object agreement will surface in inversion predicates, so that no universal tendency is compromised. It is arresting to note that, under the alternative Agreement Hypothesis which, again, assumes that object clitics are agreement morphemes, Spanish has the possibility of conveying the AGRO parameter through clitic doubling. Along these lines, the dative clitics in (44) and (45) fulfill the expected agreement relations between the verb and the higher  $\theta$ -roles.

#### 2.4.2. Differences and Features in Common of the Spanish Three-Way Agreement System.

##### *A View of the Data*

Another problem that, at least at first sight, the Agreement Hypothesis has to face when accounting for object clitics is to explain why direct object agreement is not always possible like indirect object or subject agreement are. Still, we can formulate the following safe starting generalization for Spanish verb-argument agreement. That is, argument-verb agreement is always present when the argument is a pronominal, whereas it is never present when the argument is a determinerless generic noun. This generalization holds for the three types of verbal agreement in Spanish, that is, subject, direct object, and indirect object verbal agreement, as shown below:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (46) a. Yo salgo.<br>I leave-1s.<br>I am leaving.<br>(Subject agreement)                         | d. Las <sub>i</sub> compramos *(las) casas <sub>i</sub> .<br>CL3pl-f.bought-1pl. the houses.<br>We bought the houses.<br>(DO agreement) ( <i>Southern Cone</i> ) |
| b. *(Las) guerras son duras.<br>The wars are tough.<br>Wars are tough.<br>(Subject agreement)    | e. Le <sub>i</sub> dije la verdad a él <sub>i</sub> .<br>CL-3s. told-1s the truth to him.<br>I told him the truth.<br>(IO agreement)                             |
| c. Lo <sub>i</sub> vi a él <sub>i</sub> .<br>CL-3m saw-1s to him<br>I saw him.<br>(DO agreement) | f. Les <sub>i</sub> arreglé las ruedas a *(los) coches <sub>i</sub> .<br>CL3pl. fixed-1s the tires to the cars.<br>I fixed the cars' tires.<br>(IO agreement)    |

Two preliminary conclusions, a syntactic one and a semantic one, can be drawn from the examples in (46). First, Spanish verb agreement can only take place with DPs (there are plenty of reasons to consider proper nouns to be DPs too). Second, the



Even though specificity seems to play a role in the clitic doubling phenomenon, I believe it is the result of a side effect, that is, all elements that occupy a low position in the Animacy Hierarchy are likely to be [-specific], and hence, cannot be clitic doubled. Relevantly, there is some evidence that may shake the whole argument for an exclusive correspondence between the feature [+specific] and clitic doubling<sup>30</sup>. For instance:

- (50) Juan lo<sub>i</sub> invitaba a uno<sub>i</sub> y luego se olvidaba.  
 Juan CL-him used to invite to one and then CL-3S forgot  
 Juan used to invite people and then forget all about it.
- (51) En ese departamento, lo<sub>i</sub> admiten a cualquiera<sub>i</sub>.  
 In that department, CL-him admit-3PL to anyone<sub>i</sub>.  
 In that department, they admit anyone.

Examples (50) and (51) are clear cases of DO-clitic doubling with non-specific NPs. In (50), *a uno* 'to one' can be analyzed as a generic pronoun (as suggested to me by Zubizarreta, p.c.) and, as in any object-verb agreement with a pronoun in Spanish, a fully specified overt clitic is required<sup>31</sup>. Similarly, *a cualquiera* 'to anyone' in (51) is an animate indefinite pronoun, and although the indefinite itself is not specified for gender, the verbal agreement takes the masculine for this feature, unless AGR inherits the opposite value from a higher NP that would be functioning like a discourse topic á la Borer (1989):

- (52) Si mi hermana fue admitida para enfermera, ahí la<sub>i</sub> admiten a cualquiera<sub>i</sub>!  
 If my sister was accepted in the nursing program, there CL-3s accept-3p to anyone  
 If my sister was accepted in the nursing program, there, they would accept anyone.

Crucially, despite the fact that the direct objects *uno* and *cualquiera* are marked [-specific], both trigger agreement with the verb since they rank high in the Animacy Hierarchy as [+human] entities.

There is supplementary evidence against Suñer's requirement that the referent of the clitic has to be [+specific]<sup>32</sup>. Existential sentences with *haber* 'there is/are', in

(30) In this study, we have been using the notion of specificity in the sense that an element is specific if we can recover its reference from an *x* that belongs to a known set or class with a property *z* (see Enç 1991 and the works cited in this article for a more thorough account of the semantics of specificity).

(31) For the hard-core believers in specificity as the trigger for clitic doubling, one could argue that normally, generic elements like *uno* show specificity effects, nonetheless, the core semantic notion of specificity loses its root meaning (see footnote 30).

In this regard, I must explicitly state, lest this analysis is misinterpreted, that I am not arguing against what has been labeled in syntax as *specificity effects*, which generics and perhaps some clitic doubled elements are subject to, but against the ability of the feature [+specific] to license accusative clitic doubling in Spanish.

At any rate, under my approach, *uno* triggers clitic doubling because of its pronominal nature, not because, as a generic, it may behave like specific elements. Otherwise, we would be able to clitic double all generics, which is not the case.

(32) It is also worth mentioning that clitic doubling does occur with inanimate quantifiers like *todo* 'everything', as for instance:

- (i) Este crío lo<sub>i</sub> come todo<sub>i</sub>.  
 This kid CL-3s eats all.  
 This kid eats it all.
- (ii) Los<sub>i</sub> vimos a todos<sub>i</sub> (ellos<sub>i</sub>).  
 CL-3pl saw-1pl. to all them  
 We saw them all.

Spanish take [-specific] complements obligatorily, as shown in (53), still, one can refer to these complements with accusative clitics, as in (54), for instance:

- (53) \*Había los hombres vs. Había unos hombres.  
 There were the men. There were some men.
- (54) A: Parece que hoy no había mejillones; en la pescadería.  
 It seems that today there were no mussels in the fish market.  
 B: Sí que los<sub>i</sub> había, pero estaban ya vendidos.  
 Yes CL-3 there were, but they were already sold.  
 Yes, there were indeed, but they were already sold.

Furthermore, contra Suñer's claim, there is not only evidence from cases in which [-specific] nouns can be clitic doubled, but the opposite also occurs, that is, there are cases in which [+specific] nouns cannot be clitic doubled. For instance, it is a well known fact that the verb alternation subjunctive versus indicative in relative adjectival clauses depends on the specificity of the antecedent head. That is to say, if the antecedent is [+specific] the verb takes the indicative inflection, whereas if the antecedent is [-specific] the verb takes the subjunctive inflection. This mood alternation is shown in (55):

- (55) *pro*<sub>i</sub> busca a un hombre que es/sea de su país.  
 pro looks for to a man that is-Ind/Subj from his/her country.  
 S/he looks for a man that is from his/her country.

Assuming that the account in terms of the antecedent's specificity of the mood alternation in (55) is correct, Suñer's analysis would predict that all direct object antecedent heads of adjectival relative clauses that take the verb in the indicative can be clitic-doubled. Significantly, the data refutes this prediction, as shown in (56):

- (56) a. (\*Lo<sub>i</sub>) busca a un médico<sub>i</sub> que vino de New York ayer.  
 Acc.CL-3Sg looks for a doctor that came from New York yesterday  
 S/he looks for a doctor that came from New York yesterday.
- b. (\*Lo<sub>i</sub>) busca a un hombre<sub>i</sub> que lleva camisa azul.  
 Acc.CL-3Sg.M looks for to a man that wears shirt blue  
 S/he looks for a man wearing a blue shirt.

In (56ab), the antecedents of the relative clause *un médico* 'a doctor' and *un hombre* 'a man' can be interpreted as some specific doctor that came from New York and someone specific that wears a blue shirt respectively, however, only the sentences without clitic doubling are grammatical.

In an attempt to provide a uniform account of the entire phenomenon of clitic doubling, Suñer (1988) also tackles the problem of the well-known contrast between

A good paraphrase of (i) would be *este crío come todo lo que se le da* 'this brat eats all that is given to him'. The data in (i) could be easily explained if we rather considered *todo* as a licenser of an empty pronominal (*pro*), as the English translation seems to point at. Even though it would be hard to falsify this hypothesis since Spanish does not have inanimate pronouns parallel to the English *it*, indirect evidence for this claim can be obtained from the animate counterpart of *todo*, where the overt realization of the pronoun is optional as shown in (ii). See section 3.3.5. for a full-fledged discussion of these data.

DO-clitic doubling and IO-clitic doubling with *wh*-elements in the light of specificity. Consider the following asymmetry:

- (57) \* ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> lo<sub>i</sub> viste e<sub>i</sub>?  
 who CL-3Acc-masc saw-you  
 Who did you see (him)?
- (58) ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> le<sub>i</sub> hablaste e<sub>i</sub> por teléfono?  
 who CL-3Dat talked-you by phone  
 Who did you talk to (him/her) on the phone?

Along the lines of Suñer (1988), due to the fact that *wh*-words of the *quién* 'who' and *qué* 'what' type are [-specific] and since accusative clitics, such as *lo*, are the only ones inherently marked [+specific], there is in (57) a feature mismatching that results in a violation of the Matching Principle.

Nonetheless, the ungrammaticality of sentences such as (57) and the like cannot be always understood as a specificity issue, let alone the fact that it is more than questionable that *wh*-elements can take whole values for the feature specificity. For instance, Suñer gives the following example as ungrammatical:

- (59) \* ¿A cuántas/cuáles pasajeras<sub>i</sub> las<sub>i</sub> rescataron e<sub>i</sub>?  
 How many/which passengers-fem CL-3pl-fem rescued-3  
 How many/which passengers did they rescue (them)?  
 ((51b) in Suñer (1988))

Curiously, the *a cuáles pasajeras* 'which passengers' variant has a specific interpretation<sup>33</sup> (though never acknowledged in Suñer 1988) yet, the sentence is ruled out by the grammar, contrary to our expectations. Moreover, according to Dobrovie-Sorin (1990, 1992), the Romanian counterpart of (59) is grammatical, which suggests that in the spirit of Dobrovie-Sorin, the ungrammaticality of (59) derives from the syntax of *wh*-elements in interaction with the structures projected by accusative clitics. The issue of clitic doubling with extracted *wh*-elements will be covered extensively in section 3.2.. To conclude, specificity by itself does not succeed in accounting for clitic doubling phenomena, moreover, the notion of specificity has no independent formal status in the grammar (cf. Mahajan 1992), that is, it does not constitute a primitive notion<sup>34</sup> of the theory of Principles and Parameters.

(33) Thus, due to its status of [+specific] (according to the definition in footnote 30), the *wh*-question with *cuáles* in example (59) can be answered as *las de la primera clase* 'those (traveling) in first class', but the same question could never be answered as *a algunas* 'some'.

(34) While one can discern the animacy status of any given lexical item—unless pragmatic conditions interfere, for instance a fisherman may consider his boat [+animate]—it is not always possible to predict the specificity value of an element independently of the context. To illustrate this point, let us discuss a sentence almost identical to that in (50), but with a different tense (this example came up in a class discussion between Juan Martín and Carmen Silva-Corvalán):

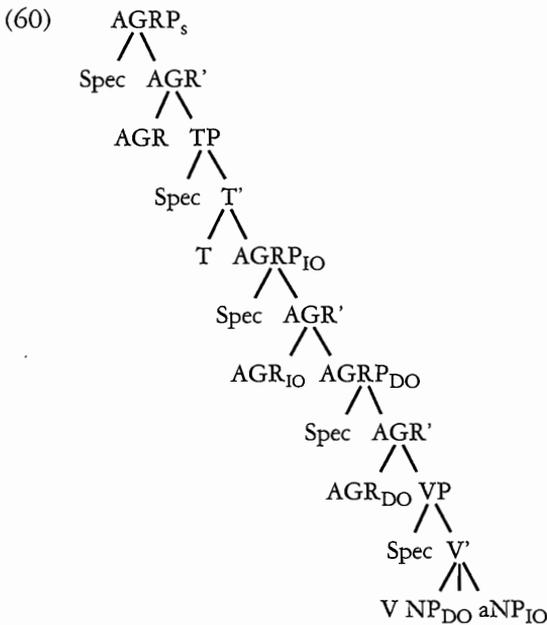
- (i) Juan lo invitó a uno y luego se olvidó.  
 Juan CL-3s invited to one and then CL-3SG forgot  
 Juan invited one and then, forgot all about it.

In (i) as well as in (50), it is the chosen verb tense what determines whether the clitic-doubled element is [+specific] or not. Thus, the Preterite favors the specific reading as in (i), whilst the Imperfect past tense favors the non-specific one, as in (50).

Finally, there is an older analysis, put forward in Aoun (1981, 1985) which attributes the differences in clitic doubling to the value of the abstract feature [referential] that the clitic takes. As will be shown later on, the referentiality of the elements involved play an important role in clitic doubling and probably, if we have to use any feature it is also more accurate to use the feature [referential], rather than [specific]. However, even the notion of (co)referentiality, as important as it is for Binding Theory, only comes into play in the grammar after the structural configurations have been manifested. Bearing this in mind, the following section is devoted to the mapping of object agreement onto a syntactic structure, which will be the starting point in the elaboration of an account of the data above.

## 2.5. The Structural Mapping of the Agreement Hypothesis Analysis

By adopting Pollock's (1989), Chomsky's (1989) and Mahajan's (1990) (among others) decomposition of the IP node in several functional categories, the theory of Principles and Parameters provides us indirectly with a structural possibility to solve the problem of the initial mapping of Spanish object clitics onto the X' schema in a non-argument position (cf. section 1). In this way, assuming these analyses and the hypothesis that the so-called object clitics are verbal agreement morphemes in Spanish, I am going to pursue an analysis in which object clitics are agreement heads (AGRo) that project agreement phrases (AGRPo), as illustrated in (60). Based on this analysis represented in the structure (60), I will attempt to derive the Spanish data discussed so far.



There exists the possibility of articulating other additional functional categories such as Aspect Phrase (cf. Ouhalla 1990, Landa & Franco 1992), Negation Phrase or  $\Sigma$ P (cf. Laka 1990), etc.; however, for the sake of exposition, I have only included in (60) the ones that are relevant for the primary data discussed in this section. Other functional categories will be incorporated as they become relevant for the analysis.

With respect to the AGRPo projections, there is evidence beyond Baker's (1985) Mirror Principle, of course, that points at the order given in (60) as being the correct one for Spanish. Let us take a look at the examples in (61) and (62):

- (61) a. Juan  $le_i$  dio la nota a Pedro $_i$ .  
 Juan Dat.CL-3Sg gave the grade to Pedro  
 Juan gave the grade to Pedro.
- b. \*Juan  $la_i$  dio  $pro_i$  a Pedro.  
 Juan Acc.CL-3Sg gave to Pedro  
 Juan gave it to Pedro.
- c. Juan  $se_i$   $la_k$  dio  $pro_k$  a Pedro $_i$ .  
 Juan Dat.CL-3Sg Acc.CL-3Sg gave to Pedro.  
 Juan gave it to Pedro.
- (62) a. \*Pedro  $se_i$   $me_k$  entregó  $pro_k$  a la policía $_i$ .  
 Pedro Dat.CL-3Sg Acc.CL-1s handed to the police.  
 Pedro handed me to the police.
- b. Pedro $_i$   $se_i$   $me$  entregó a la policía.  
 Pedro Reflx.Cl Ethic.Dat.CL handed to the police  
 Pedro turned himself in to the police for me.
- c. Pedro  $me$  entregó a la policía.  
 Pedro CL<sub>DO</sub>1s handed to the police  
 Pedro handed me to the police.
- d. Peruk ni polizei bidali nau [-dative AGR]  
 Peru-Erg I-Abs Police-Dat send 1s-Aux-3s  
 (Basque version of (62c))

In (61), we can see that in a ditransitive structure the indirect object Agreement may or may not subcategorize for direct object Agreement, however, DO agreement cannot stand without IO agreement in these double object constructions, as shown in (61b). Actually, the data in (62) seems to indicate that IO-Agreement can only semantically select third person DO-Agreement<sup>35</sup>, hence, the ungrammaticality of

(35) Bonet (1991) describes this phenomenon, that is, the \**me lui/l-II* Constraint, as taking place in the Morphological Component. This constraint seems to have a universal character since it is found in the morphology of languages as different as Catalan, Georgian and Greek. The stand I will take on this issue along with that of Laka (1993) is that the object clitic morphology in Spanish is restricted enough to read off this constraint from the syntax. Thus, Laka (1993) argues that if the ungrammaticality of sentences such as (62a) was derived from a strictly morphological well-formedness condition one could not explain why a dative clitic which does not correspond to a thematic argument, that is, an ethical dative, is able to escape this constraint, as illustrated in (i), taken from Laka's (1993) (10):

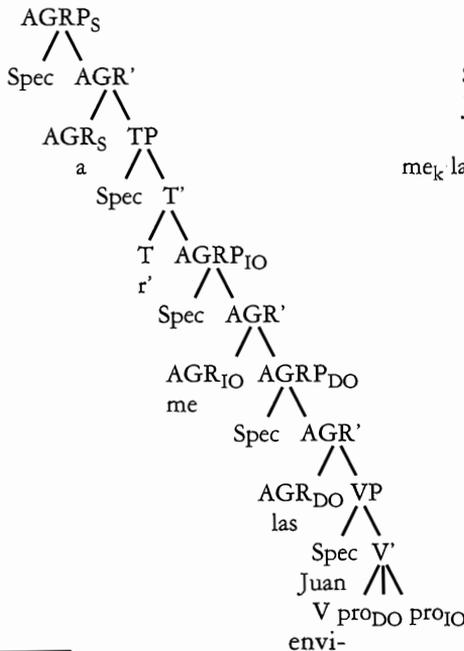
(62a), otherwise, the combination CL3 CL1 can only stand for a reflexive and an ethical dative respectively, as in (62b). Thus, in order to render the meaning of the sentence *Pedro handed me to the police*, the agreement chain with the indirect object argument must disappear, as in (62c). Interestingly, the same anti-agreement effect with datives occurs in Basque as illustrated in (62d). Since Basque is a language with obligatory verb agreement with IOs we conclude that this phenomenon can be derived from a universal selectional pattern in the projection of AGR Phrases which is:

- (63) An agreement head cannot outrank in the person paradigm a c-commanding agreement head of the same morphological type.

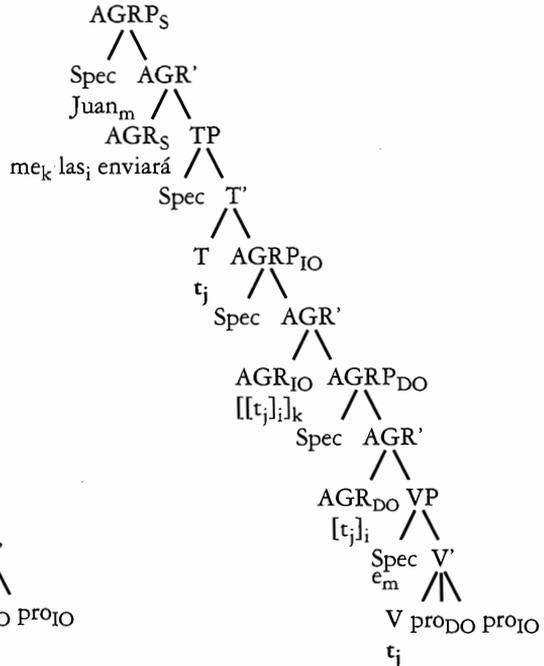
In sum, IO Agreement imposes selectional restrictions on DO Agreement<sup>36</sup>, but not viceversa, hence, we assume the hierarchical organization given in (60). Bearing this in mind, as a first approach (cf. section 3.1. for a refined version), I propose the following derivation for a simple sentence in Spanish with a three-way agreement:

- (64) a. Juan me<sub>i</sub> las<sub>k</sub> enviará pro<sub>i</sub> pro<sub>k</sub>.  
 Juan CL1s CL3pl send-will-3s  
 Juan will send them to me.

b. Initial stage in the derivation:



c. Input to Phonetic Form:



- (i) Te<sub>i</sub> me han vendido pro<sub>i</sub> al enemigo.  
 CL2 CL1-eth. have-3 sold to the enemy.  
 They have sold you to the enemy (on me).

The fact that the constraint under study only affects clitics that corefer with verb arguments is crucially indicative that it has its source in the syntactic structure.

(36) Note that the selectional restrictions that IO-clitics impose on DO-clitics constitute a good piece of evidence against having all clitics under the same node, as Cardinaletti and Roberts (1991) propose.

In the mapping from the configuration of elements in (64b) to that of (64c)<sup>37</sup>, the verb incorporates to the functional heads à la Baker (1988). Also, under Baker's (1988) Government Transparency Corollary, the fact that the verb incorporates to the heads of the higher maximal projections also entails the elimination of barriers for the government of the traces left by this movement of heads as well as of the elements within the VP.

It is arresting to note that whereas the verb adjoins to the right of the object agreement heads, it incorporates to the left of the Tense and Subject Agreement heads. If one takes into consideration the Head-Parameter Condition on Adjunction proposed in Laka (1993) and Uriagereka (1992a), by which the head adjunction operation on inflectional morphemes observes the head parameter of the language in question, since Spanish is a head initial language, the incorporation of the verb to the right of the object agreement morphemes is a licit one in this respect<sup>38</sup>.

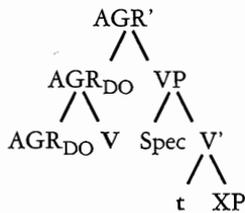
On the other hand, the incorporation of the verb to subject agreement seems to be a violation of this condition at least at first sight. However, on a second look, we can see that no such a problem exists. Notice that this is a condition on adjunction or, in Laka's (1993) terms, on agglutinative morphology, and crucially, the subject agreement as well as the tense morphology are far from being purely agglutinative<sup>39</sup>, as Laka herself points out. Hence, subject agreement morphemes are outside the domain of application of the Head-Parameter Condition on Adjunction.

As for the nature of verb incorporation to tense and subject agreement, we will propose that *semi-fusional* morphology incorporates by the merging of heads as illustrated in (65), whilst agglutinative morphology incorporates via adjunction as in (66):

(65) Semi-Fusional Morphology Incorporation.



(66) Agglutinative Morphology Incorporation.



(37) Whether we assume the Internal Subject Hypothesis put forward in Kuroda (1988), Koopman and Sportiche (1991) and related work, under which the subject is generated within the VP, bears no relevance on the issue of treating object clitics as verbal agreement morphemes.

(38) I am aware of the fact that the order Verb + clitic in non-finite verbal forms would be counterevidence for this condition. I believe that additional morphological conditions come into play, however, I do not dare to further speculate on this issue for the time being.

(39) Even though it is not difficult to determine the boundary between the tense morphology and the agreement morphology in some tense paradigms, Spanish subject-verb agreement morphology tends to appear fused to the tense morphology in one single morph, that is, what traditional grammars have called 'suppletive forms'. In other words, this morphology is of a mixed type, that is, neither fully agglutinative nor fully fusional. Hereafter, I will refer to it as *semi-fusional* morphology.

This morphological typological division between subject and object Agreement is carried along to the syntactic component in a significant way, as will be seen in the next section.

### 3. The Syntax of Clitic-Doubled Object Constructions in Spanish

#### 3.0. Introduction: Possible Structural Mappings for Object Constructions

There is a very important proposal in recent literature in the Generative Grammar framework (see Diesing 1990, and Mejías-Bikandi 1993 for Spanish) that states that elements will occupy two different structural positions, one within the VP and another outside the VP, in accordance with their semantic nature. Thus, Diesing (1990) claims that specific constituents must be outside the VP. In a similar fashion, Mejías-Bikandi (1993) claims that in Spanish, generic subjects are outside the VP. In principle, this insight could also be broadened to other parts of the grammar and thus shed some light on the phenomenon of object agreement in Spanish, since, in certain ways, Spanish verb-object agreement entails some degree of semantic agreement of the elements involved. In the line of what has just been said above, the particular analysis that one could pursue is that Spanish clitic doubled elements are either generated in the Specifier of AGRo or moved to this position, whereas non-clitic-doubled elements stay in the VP, at least in the overt syntax. In other words, the object clitic and the doubled constituent establish a Spec-head relation in one of the structural mappings. This analysis would be complemented by positing the existence of an anaphoric *pro* within the VP, in what has been considered the canonical position of objects. In this way, since the doubled NPs are coreferential with this anaphoric *pro* with which they form a coindexed chain, we can still abide by  $\theta$ -Theory and the Projection Principle. Needless to say, this type of anaphoric *pro* is not subject to Principle B of the Binding Theory and it can be equal to that of regular anaphoric constructions in Spanish (as well as in other Romance languages for this matter), for instance.

- (67) Pedro<sub>i</sub> se<sub>i</sub> miró *pro*<sub>i</sub> en el espejo.  
 Pedro CL-Refx. looked in the mirror  
 Pedro looked at himself in the mirror.
- (68) Pedro<sub>i</sub> se<sub>i</sub> cortó *pro*<sub>i</sub>/a sí mismo antes de venir.  
 Pedro CL-Refx. cut-Past himself before to come  
 Pedro cut himself before coming.

Interestingly, Uriagereka (1993) proposes an analysis under which the clitic directly moves out of the VP as the head of the DP object to a higher-up position labeled *F*. A first glance objection to this approach is that, in principle, any in-situ analysis should be preferred over a movement analysis that accounts for the same set of facts, so that the spirit of the economy of the derivation (see Chomsky 1989, 1992) can be preserved by restricting movement operations to the minimum. Leaving aside the particulars of the execution of this proposal, a basic problem that this analysis may have is that the motivation for such specific movement is rather un-

clear. If clitics (at least, accusative third person clitics) must be outside the VP due to specificity requirements, as claimed by Uriagereka, why not generate them in the functional head from the beginning like the other morphological heads? After all, clitics also exhibit affix-like properties and, in addition, the clitic is not needed to satisfy the verb's lexical subcategorization frame since in Uriagereka's analysis this is done by a *pro* in the canonical position of the object.

Furthermore, assuming along the lines of Chomsky (1992) that all operations are morphologically motivated, we would need to presuppose an arguable functional category F with the abstract feature [+specific] that sanctions the raising of the accusative clitic to this position; however, the positing of F immediately creates a huge gap for a uniform parametrization of the derivation of both, the accusative clitics and the immune-to-specificity dative clitics. Lastly, in order to avoid a violation of the Head Movement Constraint and obtain the right ordering between the elements, Uriagereka's (1993) analysis has to resort to the positing of two levels of representation. Thus, this author has to contemplate the head movement of the verb and the head movement of the clitic as two different processes, adding in this way unnecessary complexity to the whole system.

Almost contrary in execution to the analysis to be put forward here but not in flavor, Zubizarreta (1993) suggests that there is an expletive *pro* in the Spec of AGRo which is coindexed with the clitic doubled element. Although this analysis matches with the line of standard Government and Binding proposals for agreement relations with postverbal subjects as in Chomsky (1982) or Hermon (1985), it is a well-known fact that Romance expletive *pros*/overt pronouns are characterized as neutralizers of agreement features, as for instance in constructions with existential, unaccusative, or weather verbs:

- (69) *pro*<sub>i</sub> Hay(\*an) varios hombres<sub>i</sub> de Elantxobe<sup>40</sup>. (Spanish)  
 There is(are) several men from Elantxobe  
 There are several men from Elantxobe.

- (70) (Hi)<sub>i</sub> arriba(\*en) parents<sub>i</sub> (North-Western Catalan)  
 It-CL arrive-3s(3PL) relatives.  
 Some relatives arrive.

(40) One could argue that in some dialects the imperfective existential bears full agreement with the expletive, as in (i):

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (i) <i>Pro</i> <sub>i</sub> Habían unos hombres <sub>i</sub> de Elantxobe.<br>(There) were3-PL some men from Elantxobe. | (ii) *Sí, los habían.<br>Yes, CL-them there were-3PL<br>Yes, there were. |
|---|--|

However, it is less than clear that (i) should be analyzed on a par with (69) at all. If we turn both sentences into questions just by giving them a raising intonation, only the interrogative version of sentence (69) can be responded with the clitic *los*+verb formula. This type of answer, which is good for (69), cannot be obtained as a response to the interrogative version of (i), as shown in (ii):

The evidence given by (ii) strongly suggests that the sentence in (i) does not have any preverbal expletive at all, but the agreement takes place as in a regular Spec-head relation between the subject *unos hombres* 'some men' and the verb. The order V+NP can be obtained by a subsequent movement of the verb to a higher node.

- (71) *pro*<sub>i</sub> Ha(n) llovido cinco litros por metro cuadrado. (Modern Spanish)  
*pro*<sub>i</sub> Has/have rained five liters per square meter  
 It has rained five liters per square meter.

Intriguingly, the expletive *pro* proposed in Zubizarreta's (1993) analysis contrasts deeply with the expletive *pros* in (69), (70) and (71) since this type of null expletive, unlike the other null expletives, would not only fail to minimize the agreement features on the AGR head, but would also trigger maximum agreement in the case of accusative clitic doubling, as shown below:

- (72) Yo *pro*<sub>i</sub> los<sub>i</sub> encontré a los niños<sub>i</sub> bastante repis durante la conversación.  
 I CL-3Pl found-1S to the children rather smarty-PL during the conversation  
 I found the children rather smarty during the conversation.

Basically, (72) illustrates the fact that, if there was an expletive *pro* in the specifier of the clitic head *los*, this would be transmitting the person, number, and gender features to the clitic-doubled element *a los niños* 'the children', so that at least initially, the agreement relation is fulfilled on a desirable Spec-Head basis. However, I believe this is not the case in view of the fact that there are no instances in which uncontroversially attested expletive *pros* in Spanish participate in such a type of rich agreement relation.

Be that as it may, in the next subsection, we will pursue an analysis in the line of the Agreement Hypothesis and in consistency with the main proposals put forward in sections 1 and 2. That is, the structural mapping in which Case licensing for clitic and non-clitic double objects takes place relies crucially on the existence of two functional projections, namely, AGRP<sub>IO</sub> and AGRP<sub>DO</sub>, headed by the dative and accusative clitics respectively.

### 3.1. Case Licensing and the Agreement Hypothesis

One of the pursuits of today's studies on Case Theory is to establish the extent to which we can reduce Case assignment to a Spec-Head Agreement relation in the spirit of Chomsky (1992). However, for the sake of simplicity, it is sensible to push this strategy to license Case to its limits. In other words, Case assignment under government should be constrained to a set of particular instances —let us say inherent Case— in which Case assignment in a Spec-Head relation is not available.

Bearing this in mind, Chomsky's (1992) Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory also provides us with the possibility to develop an illuminating account of Case licensing in clitic doubling constructions in the terms outlined above. For this purpose, let us take as our starting point the following Chomskian claims:

I. "The Case Filter is an interface condition —in fact, the condition that all morphological features must be checked somewhere, for convergence" (Chomsky 1992: 41).

II. "The morphological features of Tense and AGR have two functions: they check properties of the verb that raises to them, and they check properties of the Noun Phrase (DP) that raises to their specifier position; thus they assure that DP and V are properly paired" (Chomsky 1992: 41).

The implications of the second claim deserve some comment since it probably holds the key to account for a number of facts with respect to agreement relations and Case assignment across languages. Thus, functional heads like AGR or Tense seem to be doubly valued, that is, they have one value for the V-features and one value for the NP-features independently of one another. Consequently, assuming that the global value for each of the two kinds of features in these heads is either *strong* or *weak*, all four combinations can be obtained in principle for the specification of a functional head such as AGR. For instance, there might be a language which has a *strong*<sup>41</sup> AGR for the NP-features at the same time that this AGR is *weak* for the V-features, or viceversa, or has equal values for both sets of features and so on. Now, depending on the values that a particular functional head takes, a language may have one type of overt syntax or another since syntactic operations are morphologically driven to check the matching of features between the lexical items and the inflectional component (in accordance with Claim I above). In this way, for the language exemplified above with a *strong* AGR for NP-features and a *weak* one for V-features, the NP has to move to Spec of AGR in the overt syntax obligatorily, whereas V moves at LF to AGR, so that the PF output is [NP V]. Also, Chomsky (1992: 44) sets forth a further option: "a language might allow both weak and strong inflection, hence *weak* and *strong* NP-features: Arabic is a suggestive case, with SVO versus VSO correlating with the richness of visible verb-inflection".

What I would like to propose in the light of this theory is that the facts of Case assignment and clitic doubling in Spanish are borne out of the global values of the functional heads. Again, we are going to assume that Spanish has a three-way agreement system, therefore we are going to be dealing with four functional categories as far as values are concerned, namely, T, AGR<sub>S</sub>, AGR<sub>DO</sub>, AGR<sub>IO</sub><sup>42</sup>.

For the sake of the presentation of the data, let us remember, as pointed out in section 2, that it is the AGR<sub>DO</sub> inflection the only one that seems to impose semantic constraints on the agreeing NP, whilst all that the other heads (AGR<sub>S</sub> and AGR<sub>IO</sub>) require is that the agreeing element is not a determinerless NP<sup>43</sup>. I would like to claim that this asymmetry can be captured by virtue of the different *strong/weak* specification of the NP-features of the functional categories mentioned

(41) Actually, we do not really know in absolute terms what kind of morphological agreement can be considered *strong* with regard to its effects on the syntax. Even though there is a significant correlation between a feature-rich paradigm and certain syntactic effects attributed to *strong* inflectional morphology, the correspondence does not hold completely and sometimes there seems to be something else at work, as claimed in Jaeggli and Safir (1989). Hence, the label "strong" should be understood only as a label for a set of properties manifested in the interface between the morphology and the syntax. One could also read off the term *strong* as a diacritic that marks certain syntactic properties of functional heads.

(42) At this point, I may differ from Chomsky's views, who states that "AGRs and AGR<sub>o</sub> are collections of features, with no relevant subject-object distinction, hence no difference in strength of features." (Chomsky 1992: 44). It is not clear from the text whether he refers to English only or to languages in general. Yet, since there are languages that are subject pro-drop, but not object pro-drop, there must be a difference in the strength of features between AGRs and AGR<sub>o</sub>. In my analysis, the strength differences for the NP-features of the two agreement heads would be crucial.

(43) There are some cases of subject-verb agreement with determinerless NPs in poetry, however, this study does not deal with the syntax of Spanish poetry or affected speech.

above. Thus, the taxonomy for Spanish inflectional categories that are phonologically overt would be as follows:

(73) *Taxonomy of strong/weak I-categories for AGR<sub>S</sub>, AGR<sub>DO</sub>, AGR<sub>IO</sub>, T.*  
(Spanish)

|             | AGR <sub>S</sub> | AGR <sub>DO</sub> | AGR <sub>IO</sub> | T      |
|-------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------|
| V-features  | strong           | strong            | strong            | strong |
| NP-features | weak             | strong            | weak              | strong |

The primary significance of the value [*strong*] of the head is that it is going to trigger movement in the overt syntax; therefore, the Spanish verb raises overtly checking its features for every functional head it adjoins to. It seems reasonable to assume that when the verb raises to an AGR head only the relevant  $\Phi$  features of the verb are checked. Notwithstanding, the nature of the checking of NP-features in the Spec position of the functional head is not so well determined.

The question that I am addressing here is whether in addition to the visible morphological features, that is, Case and  $\Phi$  features, there are other features checked as well for the NP (DP) raised to the specifier position. In the affirmative case, the grammar can warrant "that the DP and the V are properly paired" (Chomsky 1992: 42) in every sense by checking beyond the morphological  $\Phi$  features. That is to say, former constraints on what could and could not appear in a specifier position, such as selectional restrictions, for instance, can be taken care of in the NP-related checking. The insight behind this is that if the AGR or TENSE head is *strong* for the NP-features, it does not necessarily mean that all the head's NP features that contribute to its strength are going to be overtly expressed on the morphology. English would be the perfect example for this, in which TENSE is marked *strong* for the NP-features triggering subject raising and yet, the value [*strong*] is not manifested anywhere in the morphology of the head TENSE. As a matter of fact, this head is considered to be *weak* with respect to the V-features according to Chomsky (1992).

Taking these facts into consideration, I would like to propose that some of the NP-features that give the head the value [*strong*] for the checking of the properties of the NP raised to its specifier are often abstract. In this way, let us contemplate the possibility that positions that require specific or referentially recoverable NPs are specifiers of heads that are *strong* for the NP-feature checking. In the line of this approach, I hypothesize the following:

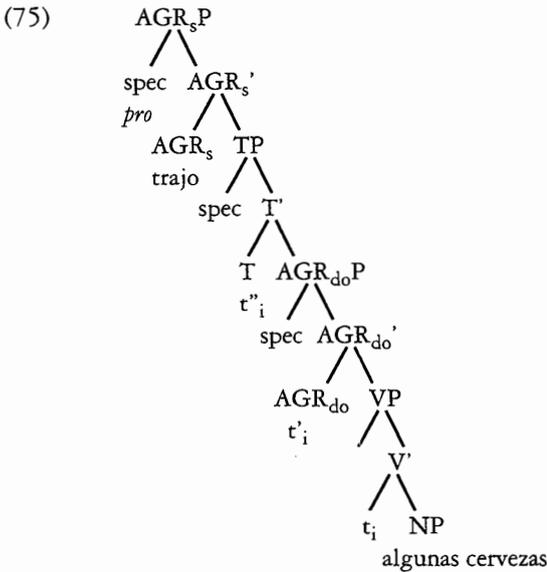
- A. The accusative clitic in Spanish, that is, the head of AGR<sub>DO</sub>, is marked *strong* in relation to the NP-feature checking as opposed to the *weak* status in this respect of the two other AGR heads. Consequently, all accusative clitic-doubled NPs must raise in the overt syntax to the specifier of AGR<sub>DO</sub>, where the checking takes place.
- B. The *strong* status of overt AGR<sub>DO</sub> for NP-features is given among other things by some features that correlate with high positions in the Animacy Hierarchy such as [+salient], [+animate], [+specific], [+referential], etc.

Thus, the application of hypotheses A and B to the data makes the following prediction: when Accusative NPs that do not meet the specifications of some of these

features, for instance, indefinite or determinerless NPs, raise to the Spec of *strong* AGR<sub>DO</sub>, a clash of features is produced, yielding ungrammaticality as illustrated by (74) with the clitic-doubling version:

- (74) *Pro* (\**las*<sub>i</sub>) trajó algunas cervezas<sub>i</sub>.  
*Pro* CL-3Pl-F brought-3 some beer-3Pl-F  
 (He/She) brought some beers.

Crucially, *weak* AGR<sub>DO</sub> in Spanish occurs when the clitic is not phonologically overt, that is, with non-clitic doubled direct objects. In theory, *weak* AGR<sub>DO</sub> does not force the raising of the direct object in the overt syntax, nor does any checking of the features outlined in B at LF when the direct object raises covertly to Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub>. Thus, the derivation of non-clitic-doubled direct objects would be accounted for under the option of having *weak* AGR<sub>DO</sub>. Assuming Chomsky's (1989, 1992) basic structure of the clause and its adaptation into Spanish put forward in Franco (1991, 1993a, b), the overt syntactic mapping that gives the grammatical version of sentence (74) will be as in (75):



Incidentally, the fact that overt AGR<sub>DO</sub> is the only AGR head that contains the feature [gender] constitutes indirect evidence in favor of the *strong* mark of AGR<sub>DO</sub> for the NP-feature checking of its specifier, since [gender] is a typical nominal agreement feature rather than a verbal one. Moreover, even though we do not want to claim that the feature [gender] is solely responsible for the *strong* status of AGR<sub>DO</sub> —*laísta* dialects would falsify this<sup>44</sup>— we must acknowledge that it does play an

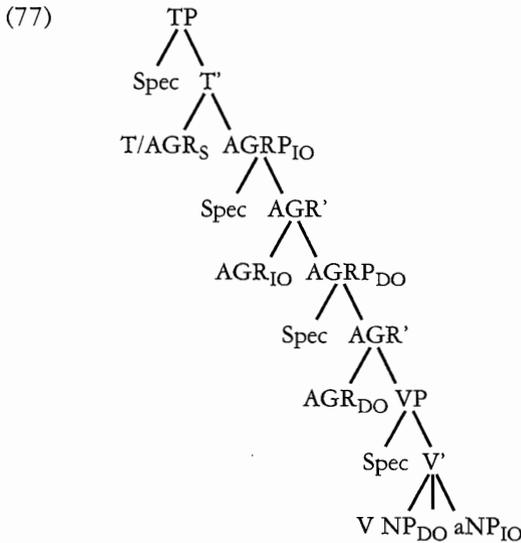
(44) As a reminder, *laísta* speakers use the etymological accusative feminine clitic *lallas* for indirect objects instead of the etymological dative genderless *lelles*. Interestingly, the syntax of indirect object constructions clitic doubled by *lallas* does not reflect any difference from that of standard indirect object constructions clitic-doubled by *lelles* in the cases of wh-extractions (cf. section 3.3).



ish as the cheapest derivation (i.e., the derivation with the fewest steps). Obviously, supplementary mechanisms will be necessary to obtain the more marked VSO order in plain transitive sentences, perhaps a rule of V-adjunction to a topic head.

Finally, the unmarked basic VS order in structures with unaccusative verbs in some Romance languages would be derived from the lexicon. In other words, along the lines of Chomsky's (1992) minimalist program, since inflectional features are an intrinsic part of the lexicon, there is a robust possibility that one of the properties of unaccusative verbs would be that they come from the lexicon marked as *weak* for the NP-feature of the T/AGRs head. For instance, this would be the case for Northwestern Catalan (cf. example (70)). Hence, the subject would not need to raise overtly and the order VS would be yielded<sup>47</sup>.

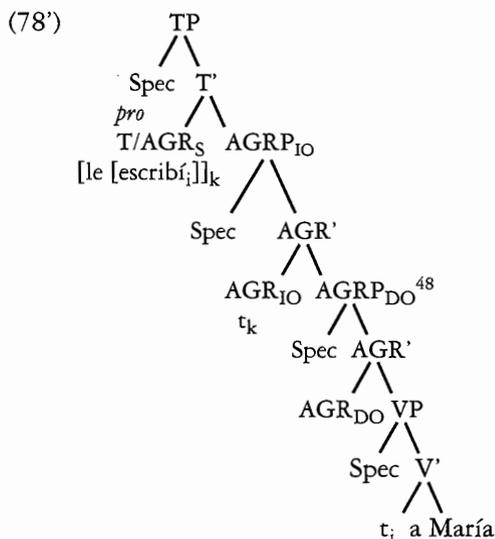
Bearing in mind all these clarifications for the Spanish data, the primary phrase marker tree is as in (77):



Now, given (77) as a quasi-universal structure, the parametrization across languages or even across dialects comes down to the workings of the morphology, that is to say, to the values of features of the set of functional heads. For our purposes, the subset exemplified in (73) is descriptively powerful enough to account for most of the data regarding the phenomenon under study, that is, Spanish object agreement. Having said that, let us move onto the syntactic derivation of the relevant paradigm, that is transitive sentences with object agreement. The example in (78) illustrates the corresponding representation for a sentence with overt indirect object-verb agreement:

(47) Suffice it to say that for the marked order for unaccusative constructions, that is, SV, an additional movement rule of fronting of the Nominative would be necessary. For the time being, it is unclear what the nature of this XP-movement would be (cf. Zubizarreta 1993), but we presume it would be the same type of movement of other cases of fronting that gives the output for topicalization, contrastive focus structures, etc.

- (78) *Pro* le<sub>i</sub>                escribí a María<sub>i</sub>.  
*Pro* Cl-IO-3Sg wrote-1 to María  
 I wrote to Mary.



In the overt syntax, the indirect object *a María* does not raise to the Spec of  $AGR_{IO}$  because this head is *weak* with respect to NP-features, yet this movement takes place at LF covertly to check for Dative Case. To contrast this, the verb moves obligatorily to  $AGR_{IO}$  and to T in the overt syntax since both heads are *strong* with respect to the V-features. Needless to say that the  $AGR_{IO}$  morphology goes along with the verb on its way to T.

It must be noted that I have assumed that *pro* is generated directly in Spec of the T/AGRs head. As a matter of fact, our next claim is that pronominal arguments, whether they are phonologically visible or not, must occupy the Specifier position of an AGR head. Indeed, one could behold pronouns as direct reflections of the  $\Phi$  features of the corresponding agreement morphemes, after all that is what both categories are: a collection of  $\Phi$ -features that diverge in the type of X-bar position they occupy. The generalization on pronominals put forward above allows us to explain a number of things on universal and language specific grounds. First, the *Pro*-drop Parameter can be reduced to a Spec-Head agreement relation, in which the head AGR is *strong* for the V-features. Hence, all morpho-phonological overt AGR heads in Spanish license a *pro*, as suggested in Jaeggli (1986) for object clitics in this language. Second, there are some data that seem to argue in favor of the idea that pronouns are always in the Spec of AGR heads. Specifically, we are going to take a look at two

(48) The node  $AGRP_{DO}$  remains projected in the structural mapping since it is logical to assume that most transitive verbs that subcategorize for an indirect object only can be interpreted as regular ditransitive clauses containing an abstract arbitrary third person direct object. For instance, the sentence in (78) is equivalent to *I wrote something to Mary*. However, sentences with inversion predicates would be deprived of the  $AGRP_{DO}$  node since the latter is never manifested.

phenomena involving certain occurrences of pronouns. The first one takes place in Spanish:

- (79) a. Juan \*(la<sub>i</sub>)                    vio a ella<sub>i</sub>.                    c. Juan \*(le<sub>i</sub>)                    preguntó a ella<sub>i</sub>.  
           Juan CL-DO-3Sg-F saw to her                    Juan CL-IO-3Sg asked to her.  
           Juan saw her.    Juan asked her.  
       b. Juan la<sub>i</sub>                    vio *pro*<sub>i</sub>.                    d. Juan le<sub>i</sub>                    preguntó *pro*<sub>i</sub>.  
           Juan CL-DO-3Sg-F saw                    Juan CL-IO-3Sg asked  
           Juan saw her.    Juan asked her.

(Modern Spanish)

Example (79) above illustrates the phenomenon of the obligatoriness of object clitic doubling with strong object pronouns in Spanish. This phenomenon could be analyzed as an extension of the *Pro*-drop Parameter for "morphologically oriented" languages. To put it simply, in languages with a three-way agreement system, object pronouns regardless of whether they are realized phonologically or not can only be licensed by the presence of inflectional morphology in AGRO, which in Spanish is rendered by the traditionally called object clitics. This can be better understood if we state that pro-drop languages generate all pronominal arguments as *pro* and subsequent inter-sentential conditions, such as those of contrastive focus or topicalization for instance, will determine whether the pronoun will be realized as a *pro* or as a phonologically strong pronoun<sup>49</sup>.

The second set of data that may shed some light on the position of pronouns is drawn from English:

- (80) a. John woke him up.    b. \*John woke up him.    c. John woke up Pete.

Example (80) illustrates, to put it in neutral terms, the phenomenon of obligatory adjacency between a phrasal verb and an object pronoun in English, which is contrasted with the behavior of a referential expression in this respect (see Koopman 1990). The prepositional verb *wake up* is given by the lexicon as a single item, so the issue at stake is how to account for the fact that this verbal item is split by the pronoun. In the line of the analysis that has been pursued so far, one sensible way to approach this problem is by assuming that the verb *wake* moves via Head-to-Head movement outside the VP leaving the preposition behind, and crosses over the argu-

(49) Actually, the same analysis can be applied to anaphors in Spanish. In parallel to pronominal constituents, Spanish anaphors can be expressed by a clitic which supposedly licenses an anaphoric bound *pro*, as assumed in (67) and (68) in this section or by a clitic and an overt anaphoric item simultaneously, that is, the overt anaphor requires clitic doubling obligatorily. The only difference with respect to pronouns is that the clitic doubling the anaphor is at the same time coindexed with the subject, which is something very much expected for the satisfaction of Principle A. All this can be seen in the following examples:

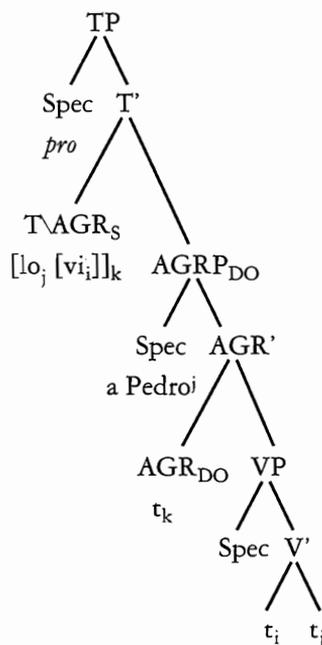
- (i) *Pro*<sub>i</sub> nos<sub>i</sub> perjudicamos *pro*<sub>i</sub>.                    (ii) *Pro*<sub>i</sub> \*(nos<sub>i</sub>) perjudicamos a nosotros mismos<sub>i</sub>.  
       *Pro*<sub>i</sub> CL-1Pl harmed-1Pl                    *Pro*<sub>i</sub> CL-1Pl harmed-1Pl to ourselves  
       We harmed ourselves.                    We harmed ourselves.

Definitely, whatever triggers the phonological realization of the object anaphor in (ii) is identical in nature to what triggers the overt realization of the object pronoun in (79a) and (79c). It has been suggested that this overt realization is an strategy to endow the argument with a contrastive focus, but again, the null/overt alternation of anaphoric arguments escapes the scope of this article.

mental pronoun which stays in Spec of  $AGR_{DO}$  after moving from the VP internal complement position. On the other hand, since the object NP in (80c) does not need to be in Spec of  $AGR_{DO}$  in the overt syntax it remains in its canonical VP internal position. Even though English is not an object-drop language, the same condition put forward in our claim above holds like a common thread between Spanish and English, that is, pronouns must maintain a local relation (presumably a Spec-head relation) with the corresponding head that shares the same  $\Phi$  features.

As far as Spanish declarative sentences are concerned, we are left with the last set of data, which is represented by clitic-doubled direct objects. We have proposed above in (73) that the head  $AGR_{DO}$  is *strong* for NP-features and this property forces NP direct objects to raise to Spec of  $AGR_{DO}$  in the overt syntax, so that the following structural mapping is obtained for these constructions:

- (81) *Pro* lo<sub>i</sub> vi a Pedro<sub>i</sub>.  
*Pro* CL-3Sg-M saw-1 to Pedro  
 I saw Pedro.



If we compare (78) and (81) we can see that structurally speaking, the main contrast between indirect object clitic doubling and direct object clitic doubling is that only in the latter the object moves overtly outside the VP. The positing of this exclusive movement, in addition to giving us some advantages to explain some restrictions on direct object clitic doubling, also accounts for the unmarked complement order in Spanish *V DO IO*. Thus, the fact that Spec of  $AGR_{IO}$  is projected higher than the Spec of  $AGR_{DO}$ , for the reasons outlined in section 2, does not pose a problem anymore for overt word order in Spanish since the Spec of  $AGR_{IO}$  is only active covertly at LF.

Furthermore, this solution makes it feasible for us to offer a principled syntactic explanation of why clitic doubling with direct objects is not even half as productive

as indirect object clitic doubling is<sup>50</sup>. In the light of the Minimalist Program, the question is answered by the economy principles of derivation such as the Procrastinate principle, which is ultimately linked to the Last Resort principle. Along the lines of Chomsky (1992), the main tenets of these economy conditions are:

- (a) Covert LF operations are “cheaper” than overt operations.
- (b) Only those operations that are needed for convergence are permitted in the course of the derivation.

Assuming that the grammar is driven by these economic constraints, it is logical to adopt the claim that ‘the system tries to reach PF “as fast as possible,” minimizing overt syntax’ (Chomsky 1992: 43).

These theoretical assumptions have a direct bearing on Spanish clitic doubling, provided that we adopt the analysis suggested above. First, since indirect object clitic doubling can reach PF without resorting to any particular operation of NP movement in the overt syntax, the system turns it into a productive construction. Conversely, we have proposed that direct object clitic doubling requires the NP object to be raised overtly to Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub>, thus, this construction becomes a costly derivation. Therefore, the system is compelled to limit the production of direct object clitic doubling to a small percentage.

Up to this point, the motivation for the overt direct object movement to Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub> has been essentially analysis internal. Actually, the distinction between a structure with this movement and one without is hard to tease out at first sight, since there is not a well-established interpretative solid difference between most clitic-doubled direct objects and non-doubled ones, other things being equal<sup>51</sup>. Let us remember that clitic doubling is optional with those nominal elements that can be doubled. Also, evidence from floating quantifiers cannot be used as a test to show the existence of this movement in the same way that Koopman and Sportiche (1991) use it to demonstrate how subjects move outside the VP, since the grammaticality of

(50) For the sake of clarity, in this case, the term “productivity” refers to the frequency of the occurrence of these constructions. That is, we are addressing the issue of why sentences like the one exemplified in (i) occur only in 8.1% of the cases with the direct object clitic doubling construction according to Barrenechea and Orecchia’s (1977) study, in spoken Porteño Spanish, while sentences with indirect objects like the one illustrated in (ii) have a 51.1% of clitic doubling occurrence following the same study (the sentences are mine):

- |                        |               |                                     |                         |          |                                     |
|------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|
| (i) (Lo <sub>i</sub> ) | vi            | al decano <sub>i</sub> esta mañana. | (ii) (Le <sub>i</sub> ) | hablé    | al decano <sub>i</sub> esta mañana. |
|                        | CL-Acc.3.Sg.M | saw-I                               | Cl-Dat.3.Sg             | talked-I | to-the dean this morning            |
|                        | I             | saw the dean this morning.          |                         | I        | talked to the dean this morning.    |

There are other studies on the same dialect that show a higher occurrence of direct object clitic doubling such as that of Suñer (1986) but, significantly, a steady gap in the frequency percentage with respect to indirect object clitic doubling still remains.

(51) The examples I have in mind are illustrated in (i):

- |                        |              |                                     |
|------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|
| (i) (La <sub>i</sub> ) | he           | visto a María/a la profesora.       |
|                        | Acc.CL-3Sg.F | have-I seen to María/to the teacher |
|                        | I            | have seen María/the teacher.        |

The main point here is that the presence or absence of the clitic in (i) does not affect in any way the interpretation of the sentence.

the occurrences of floating quantifiers with direct objects in Spanish leaves a lot to be desired<sup>52</sup>.

Despite the fact that we cannot rely on traditional tests to falsify our hypothesis, the semantics of indefinite objects may shed some light on the existence of object movement to Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub>. Thus, in those Spanish dialects that allow clitic doubling with indefinite NPs, it is possible to discern a difference in interpretation between the clitic-doubled structure and the non-clitic doubled ones in terms of Diesing's (1992) analysis of indefinite NPs. In broad lines, Diesing (1992) claims that an indefinite NPs can be presuppositional or non-presuppositional. It happens to be the case that presuppositional indefinites can be paraphrased by a partitive. According to Diesing's analysis, the way this semantic distinction is encoded in the syntax—at least in Dutch—is that presuppositional indefinites are placed outside the VP, whereas non-presuppositional ones remain within the VP<sup>53</sup>. Now, if we align Diesing's proposal with my proposal for clitic-doubled direct objects in Spanish, we may find worth examining the contrasts given by the following data from Basque Spanish (Mejías-Bikandi p.c) and other Spanish dialects:

- (82) a. *Le<sub>i</sub>/lo<sub>i</sub> he visto a un pescador/a uno<sub>i</sub> de los pescadores.*  
 Acc.CL-3Sg. have-1 seen to a fisherman/one of the fishermen  
 I saw a fisherman/one of the fishermen.
- b. *He visto a un pescador.*  
 have-1 seen to a fisherman  
 I saw a fisherman.

In (82a), along the lines of Diesing (1992) the alternative paraphrase of the indefinite object with the partitive does not change the meaning of the sentence, hence, the indefinite can only be presuppositional and outside the VP. Precisely, this is what my analysis predicts independently. Since AGR<sub>DO</sub> is headed by a clitic the direct object must move from within the VP to Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub>. Conversely, in (82b) the indefinite object does not have a presuppositional reading as a first hand interpretation, which is also the prediction borne out by our analysis since the absence of the clitic entails that the indefinite object has to stay inside the VP in the overt syntax<sup>54</sup>. To summarize, the primary relevance of this test is that once the clitic doubled

(52) The grammatical contrast between subjects and objects co-occurring with floating quantifiers can be seen in (i) and (ii), the former is taken from Arnaiz (1991):

- (i) *Los hombres<sub>i</sub> dedicaron todos<sub>i</sub> un poema a María.*  
 The men dedicated all a poem to María.
- (ii) *\*Los niños (los<sub>i</sub>) vieron a los hombres<sub>i</sub> todos<sub>i</sub> ayer.*  
 The children Acc.CL-3Pl saw to the men all yesterday  
 the children saw the men all yesterday.

(53) Interestingly, in Turkish, this distinction is encoded in the morphology as pointed out in Enç (1991). Thus, Turkish presuppositional indefinite objects are discriminated from the other indefinites by being marked with an accusative Case suffix.

(54) According to Zubizarreta (personal communication), it seems that in Paraguayan Spanish, the presuppositional/non-presuppositional reading for direct objects is respectively encoded in the grammar by the presence/absence of the so-called personal *a*. Thus, this test is non-applicable for some speakers of this dialect.

indefinite direct object has been extracted overtly from the VP, it is bound to have a presuppositional reading<sup>55</sup>.

### 3.2. Direct Object Agreement with Small Clauses.

In this section, we are going to consider some evidence from the interpretation of small clause structures that also substantiates the proposal that clitic-doubled direct objects undergo overt movement outside the VP. Thus, let us take a look at the following contrast:

- (83) El capitán<sub>i</sub> los<sub>i</sub><sup>56</sup> pilló a los marineros<sub>i</sub> borrachos.  
 The captain CL-Acc-3Pl.M caught-3 to the sailors-M drunk-Pl.M  
 The captain caught the sailors drunk.
- (84) El capitán pilló a los marineros borrachos.  
 The captain caught-past to the sailors-M drunk-Pl.M  
 The captain caught/took the sailors drunk.

The sentence in (83) has the small clause predicative interpretation, in the sense that the captain found (literally “caught”) the sailors drunk. Contrastively, the sentence in (84) is ambiguous between the small clause interpretation seen above and an additional preferred regular adjectival restrictive interpretation, under which the captain took the drunk sailors or those that were drunk (but maybe he left the ones that were only stoned alone)<sup>57</sup>.

Bearing these data in mind, our next step is to investigate how the semantic contrast between (83) and (84) is captured in the syntax. Especially, we will study how the accusative clitic triggers mainly the small clause predicative interpretation. For this purpose, let us assume Chomsky’s (1992) structure for small clauses and map (83) onto it:

(55) Partitive objects pattern on their own. They are always able to take wide scope over the subject and, consequently they always raise out of the VP. Thus, the presuppositional reading is inherently guaranteed. That is to say, the phenomenon of clitic doubling does not have any bearing on the presuppositionality of partitive objects.

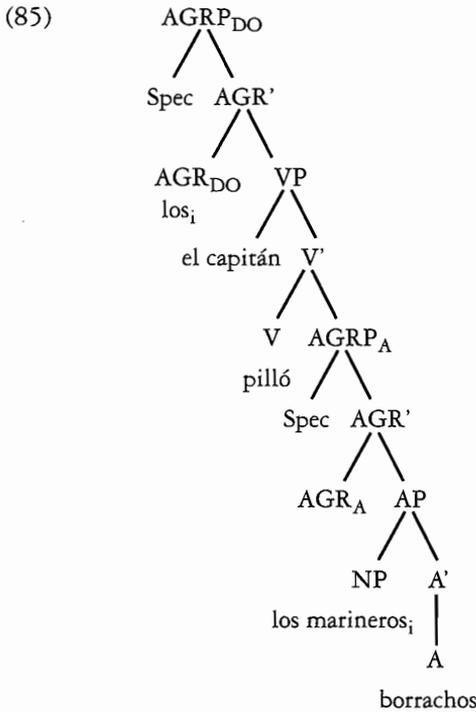
(56) This sentence can also be rendered with the clitic *les* instead of *los* in most *leísta* dialects.

(57) These judgments on the semantic interpretation of (83) and (84), are primarily based on —*ceteris paribus*— first native intuitions. Perhaps, though it is not many people’s case, a twist in the neutral intonation pattern could make the restrictive interpretation available for (83), too. In any case, it is arresting to note that the sentence in (83) cannot be continued with a final clause as in (i), whereas this is not the case with (84), as illustrated in (ii) below:

(i) ? El capitán los<sub>i</sub> pilló a los marineros<sub>i</sub> borrachos para completar su tripulación  
 The captain CL-Acc-3Pl caught-past to the sailors drunk to complete his crew  
 \*The captain caught/took the sailors drunk to complete his crew.

(ii) El capitán pilló a los marineros borrachos para completar su tripulación.  
 The captain caught-past to the sailors drunk to complete his crew  
 The captain took the drunk sailors to complete his crew.

This contrast is expected since the adjectival restrictive interpretation is not available at first hand in (i) or (84).



Along the lines of Chomsky (1992), the small clause internal agreement of the predication, that is, the agreement in gender and number between *marineros* and *borrachos*, is obtained by raising the NP to Spec of  $AGR_A$  and the predicative adjective to  $AGR_A$ . Then the NP *los marineros* raises up to Spec of  $AGR_{DO}$  to receive accusative Case. In order to explain the absence of the restrictive reading in (83), that is, the structure with Accusative clitic doubling, I would like to propose the following analysis. Let us adopt as our starting assumption that the restrictive reading of the adjective can only be obtained if the NP and the adjective form an XP unit, and this XP constituency is maintained throughout the derivation<sup>58</sup>. In accordance to our

(58) This assumption is well-motivated on independent grounds in the syntax of Spanish (Mejías-Bikandi personal communication). There are a number of additional relevant cases in which every time that the [NP + Adjective(Clause)] unit is broken overtly the restrictive interpretation becomes impossible. Consider the following contrasts:

- (i) a. Deje a los invitados borrachos pasar la noche. (Restrictive reading)  
I let the drunk guests spend the night over.
- b. Deje a los invitados todo borrachos pasar la noche. (Non-restrictive)  
I invited the professors (who were) all drunk to spend the night over.
- (ii) a. Los estudiantes borrachos acabaron mal. (Restrictive reading)  
The drunk students got in trouble.
- b. Los estudiantes, borrachos, acabaron mal. (Non-restrictive reading)  
The students (who were) drunk got in trouble.

characterization of functional heads in (73),  $AGR_{DO}$  in (83) is *strong* for NP features and this value percolates down to  $AGR_A$  demanding the overt immediate raising of the NP to Spec of  $AGR_{DO}$ . In order to form a legitimate chain the NP has to raise first to Spec of  $AGR_A$  and, consequently, the raising of the adjective to  $AGR_A$  takes place as well in order to establish agreement between the NP and the adjective. Furthermore, the overt raising of the NP does not stop here, but continues to Spec of  $AGR_{DO}$  to do the checking of features for the convergence of the derivation; otherwise, if the checking of strong features is done after SPELL OUT the strong features will remain until PF and the derivation will crash (cf. Chomsky 1992: 43). Be that as it may, if the NP *los marineros* has to move a second time we no longer have this NP and the adjective *borrachos* under one single XP constituent, hence, the adjective restrictive interpretation is excluded.

On the other hand, in a sentence like the one exemplified in (84), all movement to Spec of  $AGR_{DO}$  for feature and Case checking is realized covertly at LF since this is a *weak* head. Now, *weak* heads are less demanding than *strong* heads so I would like to hypothesize that, in (84), the covert movement to Spec of  $AGR_{DO}$  can follow two strategies. The first one would be the covert version of the one proposed for (83) in the overt syntax; this will give us the predicative interpretation. The second possibility would be that the whole chunk NP + ADJ moves as a 'last resort' movement to spec of  $AGR_{DO}$ , so that the complement of the main verb can get Accusative Case. This second type of movement would yield the restrictive interpretation since the adjective would be still modifying the NP under one XP.

There is one more piece of data that may help us clarify this issue. Spanish also allows to have the following order in small clause complements:

- (86) El capitán (los)<sub>i</sub>                      pilló                      borrachos a los marineros<sub>i</sub>.  
 The captain CL-Acc-3Pl catch-past drunk-PL.M to the sailors-M  
 The captain caught the sailors drunk.

However, regardless of the presence or absence of the clitic there is only one possible interpretation in (86), that is, the predicative reading. A plausible analysis for this sentence, which I will assume, is that after the adjective has raised to  $AGR_A$  there is a subsequent overt head-to-head movement that adjoins the adjective to the verb. The NP *los marineros* would stay in Spec of  $AGR_A$  for the non clitic-doubled version or would raise to Spec of  $AGR_{DO}$  in the clitic-doubled version. The order

- (iii) a. Los pasajeros que llegaron tarde morirían.      b. Los pasajeros, que llegaron tarde, morirían.  
 The passengers that arrived late would die.      The passengers who arrived late would die.  
 (Restrictive reading)    (Non-restrictive reading)

In the (b) versions of the examples above, the adjective is separated from the NP either by a lexical item or a pause which can be translated into an absence of structural constituency between both elements, hence, the restrictive interpretation is unavailable. Other things being equal, we can extend this analysis to clitic-doubled subjects of small clauses and claim that the unavailability of the restrictive reading stems from the fact that at some point of the derivation the NP and the adjective are not immediately dominated by the same XP, as will be explained in the text.

CL=V=ADJ + NP is obtained in any case since the verb has to move all the way up to the Tense head carrying along all the material that has been incorporated onto it before. Leaving execution details behind, the relevance of the sentence in (86) is that it shows again that whenever the XP constituency of the NP and the adjective is discontinued by overt movement (or covert), the restrictive adjective interpretation is ousted. As an application of the latter hypothesis, we can conclude that the NP *los marineros* in (83) has moved overtly to Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub> aborting the possibility to have the restrictive adjective reading at LF.

### 3.3. Wh-Extractions and Quantifier Movement in Clitic Doubling Constructions

In this subsection, I deal with the well-formedness conditions at Logical Form that must be met by clitic-doubled elements that move to Spec of Comp at some point of the derivation, namely, wh-words and quantifiers in general. In my analysis, I stick to the data that present clear grammatical contrasts that have been acknowledged either by native speakers or by the literature.

#### 3.3.1. A Dissection of the Data.

The long time standing problem of the asymmetry in grammaticality between extracted wh-elements doubled by accusative clitics and those doubled by dative clitics entails more subtleties than the simplified contrast illustrated in examples (57) and (58) of section 2 and repeated here as (87) and (88):

- (87) ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> (\*!o<sub>i</sub>) viste?  
 To whom Acc-CL3-Sg saw-2  
 Who did you see (him)?
- (88) ¿A quién le hablaste por teléfono?  
 To whom Dat-CL3-Sg talked-2 by the phone  
 Who did you talk to (him) on the phone?

Despite the clear contrast shown by examples (87) and (88), it would be inaccurate to claim that wh-extractions are banned from any accusative clitic doubling structures<sup>59</sup>. On a further introspection into the data one can find that wh-extractions from accusative clitic doubling constructions are sensitive at least to three factors. First, the referentiality of the wh-word, that is to say, the degree of referentia-

(59) Even though this phenomenon is illustrated with wh-questions throughout this article, the same facts are obtained in relative constructions:

- (i) La chica<sub>i</sub> a la que (\*!a<sub>i</sub>) vimos en la playa.  
 The girl to the whom Acc-CL3Sg-F saw-us in the beach  
 The girl that we saw at the beach.
- (ii) La chica<sub>i</sub> a la que (le<sub>i</sub>) dijimos adiós.  
 The girl to the whom Dat-CL3Sg told-1Pl. goodbye  
 The girl we said goodbye to.

lity of the operator plays a role in the extractions from accusative clitic doubling constructions:

- (89) a. ¿A quiénes nos viste?  
 To whom-Pl. CL-1Pl. saw-2  
 Which ones of us did you see?
- b. ¿A quienes de vosotros os mandaron para casa?  
 To whom-Pl of you CL-2Pl sent-3Pl for home  
 Which ones of you did they send home?

As a matter of fact, what seems to be important here is that there is either an explicit pronoun (as in (89b)) or an implicit one (as in (89a)) that is part of the whole *wh*-word constituent which may or may not get pied-piped with the *wh*-word to the scope position. Thus, (89a) and (89b) should be analyzed similarly, the former contains a *pro*, whereas the latter contains an overt pronoun. Needless to say that (89a) can be rephrased with an overt pronoun and (89b) can be rephrased with a null pronoun and nothing would change.

The second factor to be taken into account is the distance between the operator and the clitic. Jaeggli (1982) already noticed an improvement of the grammatical status of this type of extractions as the distance between the operator and the clitic augments:

- (90) ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> me dijiste que la<sub>i</sub> acabas de ver e<sub>i</sub>?  
 To whom Dat.CL-1Sg told-2 that Acc.CL-3Sg.F finish-2 to see  
 Who did you tell me that you have just seen?

Third, the type of morphological clitic also marks a difference in determining the possibilities for extractions. For instance, *leísta* speakers from the Basque Country and Argentina accept 'their' version of (87) exemplified by (91) below<sup>60</sup>:

- (91) ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> le<sub>i</sub> viste e<sub>i</sub>?  
 To whom CL3-Sg saw-2  
 Who did you see (him)?

The use of the genderless clitic *le* instead of the masculine *lo* or feminine *la* renders sentence (91) if not completely perfect at least, only slightly marginal. Possibly, one could argue that the speakers that accept (91) as grammatical are attributing it the same reading as that of (89a). In other words, the *wh*-element in (91) is carrying along a partitive *pro*, whose overt realization would be as in (92):

(60) With respect to the phenomenon of nominal direct object clitic doubling, *leísta* dialects can be divided into two categories, those that allow clitic doubling, such as Basque Spanish and many South American dialects, and those that do not clitic double, such as some varieties of Castilian. The clitic doubling of the first group of dialects patterns in broad lines like the etymological dialect described in Jaeggli (1982, 1986) for River Plate Spanish. The second group of *leísta* dialects patterns the same as the etymological dialects that do not allow direct object clitic doubling, such as Andalusian Spanish or Mexican Spanish.

In this investigation, the label *leísta* only stands for the clitic-doubling *leísta* dialects.

- (92) ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> de ellos le<sub>i</sub> viste e<sub>i</sub>?  
 To whom of them Dat-CL3-Sg saw-2  
 Which of them did you see (him)?

Still, it is conceivable to create a context in which the partitive reading is not so obvious. For instance:

- (93) ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> le<sub>i</sub> han premiado e<sub>i</sub> con el Nobel de química.  
 To whom CL-3Sg have awarded with the Nobel of chemistry  
 Who has been awarded with the Nobel Prize in chemistry.

The question in (93) can be perfectly answered as *a algún alemán con el apellido muy largo* 'to some German with a long last name.' Interestingly, sentence (93) would not be possible with the clitic *lo*, so, at the end, the morphological shape of the clitic does seem to affect the extraction possibilities with wh-words.

The data from (87) to (93) are reminiscent of the agreement phenomenon with extracted elements in Fiorentino, studied in Brandi and Cordin (1989) (see subsection 3.3.2. for further discussion on this issue). In this Central Italian dialect, a default clitic *gli* is the only type of clitic that can agree (i.e., clitic-double) an extracted wh-subject. Taking this fact as a point of reference for our reasoning, it could be the case that the direct object clitic *le* in (93) functions as a default clitic for *léista* speakers. Actually, one might be tempted to state that the clitic *le* regardless of the type of object argument it doubles is specified as *weak* for NP features, as opposed to the *strong* status of *lo*. Thus, once we align *le* with AGR<sub>IO</sub> across the board, the same explanation in terms of *weak* features that accounts for the well-formedness of (88) which is given in subsection 3.3.4. can be extended to that of (93).

However, it is my contention to show that the data in (88) and in (93) are misleading as far as the positing of *le* forms as *weak* when used as AGR<sub>DO</sub> heads is concerned. First, it is not clear that the question-answer test in (93) is a valid one. The person that formulates the question can have a group of people in mind, whereas the person that answers is totally unaware of the existence of that group. Second, the verb *premiar* 'to award' is often decomposed as *dar un premio* 'to give an award' whence, the wh-element is re-interpreted as an indirect object. Thus, the example in (93) becomes irrelevant since as seen above, indirect object wh-elements do not pose a problem for clitic doubling. Finally, in example (82), we saw that the *le* and *lo* forms freely alternate in the clitic doubling of a presuppositional direct object, but none of them occurs when the object is non-presuppositional. This means that both forms must be [+strong] AGR<sub>o</sub> heads when co-occurring with an accusative nominal. Bearing these facts in mind, my claim in regard to the greater tolerance of the *le* forms in *léista* dialects when doubling accusative objects is that the doubled element is always interpreted as referential and presuppositional, which entails that if the doubled element is an operator this element is carrying along a *pro* in the same XP<sup>61</sup>.

(61) Consider the sentence in (i) from the *léista* dialect from Northern Spain:

(i) Tienes cara de susto! ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> (\*le<sub>i</sub>) has visto? ¿a un fantasma?  
 have-2Sg. face of scare To whom Acc.CL.3Sg have-2 seen to a ghost  
 You look scared! Who have you seen? A ghost?

In sum, there is no single factor but several factors in interplay conditioning the grammaticality of *wh*-extractions from clitic doubled constructions, which makes this issue rather complex. Thus, our next step is to build an analysis in the line of the hypotheses proposed above that captures the *wh*-extraction facts.

### 3.3.2. Cross-Linguistic Agreement Restrictions in *WH*-Extractions

The phenomenon of the presence of agreement as a trigger to yield coindexed ungrammatical extractions as the one illustrated in (87) is not an isolated feature of Spanish, but bears a strong parallelism in other languages with what has been referred to as the Anti-Agreement Effect (cf. Ouhalla 1993) which, incidentally, advocates the agreement status of the clitic-NP chain relation. Thus, Brandi and Cordin (1989), for instance, after demonstrating that subject clitics in Trentino and Fiorentino are agreement morphemes, point out that the *wh*-extraction of the subject becomes ungrammatical when full agreement between the subject agreement head and the extracted subject takes place. In other words, all subject *wh*-extractions must occur with a default third person invariant agreement in these two Italian dialects, as shown in the sentences below (examples from Brandi and Cordin 1989):

- (94) a. \**Quante ragazze<sub>i</sub> le<sub>i</sub> hanno parlato con te?* (Fiorentino)  
 how-many girls CL-Nm.Pl have-3Pl talked with you  
 How many girls have spoken to you?
- b. \**Quante putele<sub>i</sub> le<sub>i</sub> ha parla con ti?* (Trentino)  
 how-many girls CL-Nom.Pl have talked with you  
 How many girls have spoken to you?

In (i), the *wh*-element cannot be interpreted as referential, hence, not even the clitic *le* can double it since overt *AGR<sub>DO</sub>* heads must do the NP-feature checking against a referential element.

The idea that we would like to entertain is that object clitic paradigm variations in features, that is, *leísmo*, *laísmo* and *loísmo* have little bearing on the phenomenon of clitic doubling. What seems to be crucial for clitic doubling is the grammatical function of the *AGRO* head and the doubled element, not the morphological form. In this way, consider the following two contrasts between (ii) and (iii) in a *leísta* dialect on the one hand, and between (iv) and (v) in a *laísta* dialect on the other:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(ii) <i>Le<sub>i</sub> saqué los tornillos a la mesa<sub>i</sub>.</i><br/>       IO.CL-3 took-1 the screws to the table.<br/>       I took the screws out of the table.</p> | <p>(iv) <i>¿A quién<sub>i</sub> la<sub>i</sub> dijiste la verdad?</i><br/>       To whom IO.CL-3.Fm told-2 the truth<br/>       To whom did you tell the truth?</p> |
| <p>(iii) *<i>Le<sub>i</sub> saqué (a) la mesa<sub>i</sub> fuera</i><br/>       DO.CL-3 took-1 the table outside<br/>       I took the table out.</p>                           | <p>(v) *<i>¿A quién<sub>i</sub> la<sub>i</sub> viste?</i><br/>       To whom DO.CL-3.Fm saw-2<br/>       Who did you see?</p>                                       |

If the particular morphological form of the clitic played a role in the determination of the well-formedness of clitic-doubling the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (iii) would be unexpected, especially when compared with the grammatical example in (ii). As for (iv), the fact that an accusative clitic form *la* doubling the *wh*-element does not yield the expected ungrammaticality is also puzzling when contrasted with (v). Hence, since the only difference between the minimal pairs in the examples above is the type of grammatical function involved in the object agreement relationship we conclude that again, it is the abstract specification of the *AGRO* head for NP-feature checking that determines the well-formedness of clitic doubling.

- (95) a. Quante ragazze<sub>i</sub> gli<sub>i</sub> ha parlato con te? (Fiorentino)  
 how-many girls CL-Nm.3Sg has-3Sg talked with you  
 How many girls have spoken to you?
- b. Quante putele ha parla con ti? (Trentino)  
 how-many girls has talked with you  
 How many girls have spoken to you?

Notice that, in Trentino, one can discriminate that, significantly, it is really the doubling with the subject clitic what gives rise to ungrammaticality for the sentence in (94b) since other things remain equal. Actually, sentence (94b) in Trentino and sentence (87) in Spanish could respectively be considered the subject and direct object versions of the same anti-agreement (clitic doubling) constraint on extractions. Fiorentino, moreover, exhibits subject clitic doubling and fusional agreement morphology on the verb simultaneously, so, the ungrammaticality of (94a) cannot be exclusively attributable to subject clitic doubling, but probably to the presence of all the different agreement morphs.

Be that as it may, the relevance of this discussion is that there are wh-extractions that do not tolerate agreement with the verb regardless of whether this agreement is carried out by agglutinative morphology or (semi) fusional morphology. Furthermore, in addition to the Romance languages just mentioned above, this phenomenon has been attested and discussed (cf. Ouhalla 1993) in a number of diverse languages, such as Berber, Breton and Turkish. Interestingly, some of the analyses given for this phenomenon, for instance, Brandi and Cordin (1989), Franco (1993ab) and Ouhalla (1993) rely heavily on Jaeggli's (1986) proposal under which the ungrammaticality of (87) and (94) results from a Principle B violation. That is, full-fledged agreement features identify the variable trace left by operator movement as *pro* which gets to be governed in its functional category by the moved operator itself, hence, Principle B is trespassed. Our next step would be to test this hypothesis when confronted with the Spanish data.

### 3.3.3. *The pro Analyses for Wh-extractions*

Actually, if Jaeggli's (1986) proposal that the clitic determines the variable of a coindexed operator as *pro* is true, we should expect that clitic doubling will condemn certain constructions and save others. Indeed, this seems to be the case. Namely, it has been noticed in the literature on Spanish clitic doubling that the presence of the clitic neutralizes Weak Crossover effects (cf. Hurtado 1984, Jaeggli 1986, Suñer 1988 & 1992), as illustrated below:

- (95) Su<sub>i</sub> madre \*(los<sub>i</sub>) quiere a todos<sub>i</sub>.  
 His/her mother Acc-CL-3Sg loves to everybody  
 \*His<sub>i</sub> mother loves everybody<sub>i</sub>.

The Weak Crossover Constraint states roughly that variables cannot be coindexed with a non c-commanding pronominal element to their left (cf. Chomsky 1976).

This constraint has been attested in English as indicated by the ungrammaticality of the gloss in (95) as well as in Spanish as shown in (96):

- (96) \*¿A quien<sub>i</sub> vio su<sub>i</sub> madre e<sub>i</sub>?  
 to whom saw his/her mother  
 Who did his/her mother see?

As for (95), *todos* 'everybody' leaves a variable trace at LF coindexed with the non c-commanding pronoun *su* 'his/her' to its left, assuming standardly that quantifiers raise to COMP at LF to have scope over the entire sentence. However, it has been claimed for Spanish (cf. Jaeggli 1986, Suñer 1988 & 1992, among others) that the presence of the clitic *los* 'them' devoids the construction in (95) of weak crossover effects<sup>62</sup>.

Furthermore, Suñer (1992) claims that the clitic functions as a savior in the extraction of doubled wh-elements from wh-islands in Spanish by anchoring their traces with a pronominal. For instance, let us consider (97a) and (97b) below:

- (97) a. ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> no sabes cuando e<sub>i</sub> \*(lo<sub>i</sub>) tenías que recoger e<sub>i</sub>?  
 To whom not know-2Sg when Acc.Cl-3Sg had-2 to pick up  
 Who don't you know when you had to pick (him) up?  
 b. ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> no sabes quién e<sub>i</sub> \*(lo<sub>i</sub>) tenía que recoger e<sub>i</sub>?  
 To whom not know who Acc.Cl-3Sg had to pick up  
 Who<sub>i</sub> don't you know who had to pick (him<sub>i</sub>) up?

Whereas the cliticless versions of (97) incur in a wh-island violation, that is, the trace of the wh-direct object cannot antecedent-govern its trace e<sub>i</sub> since this relation is blocked by the lower filled Comp, the overt occurrence of the clitic renders the same set of sentences in (97) grammatical.

On the other hand, there are cases in addition to the one illustrated in (87) in which the presence of a clitic doubling the wh-element condemns the sentence. For instance, parasitic gap constructions cannot be licensed when the clitic is present even in dialects in which wh-extractions of clitic-doubled elements is possible, as pointed out in Jaeggli (1986: 42):

- (98) ¿A qué personas querías invitar (\*las<sub>i</sub>) e<sub>i</sub> sin conocer e<sub>i</sub>?  
 Which persons wanted-2Sg invite Acc.Cl-3Pl without know  
 Which persons did you want to invite without knowing?

Jaeggli claims that the failure to sanction the parasitic gap in (98) can be explained if we assume that the trace left by the wh-element gap is not a variable, but

(62) Crucially, those dialects that allow clitic doubling with direct wh-elements, as for instance, the *leís-ta* dialect discussed above, also seem to circumvent weak crossover effects in sentences such as (95) by introducing a clitic:

- (i) ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> \*(le<sub>i</sub>) vio su<sub>i</sub> madre e<sub>i</sub>?  
 Whom CL-3Sg. saw his/her mother  
 \*Whom<sub>i</sub> did his/her<sub>i</sub> mother see?

a *pro* identified by the clitic. Hence, the occurrence of the parasitic gap would be barred since only true variables can license parasitic gaps.

Bearing the facts above in mind, we can assume that the insight that Spanish object clitics are able to determine operator traces as *pro* empirically points to the right direction. However, because of the way the analyses above are individually laid out, they are limited to capture either the asymmetries, as in Jaeggli (1986), or the symmetries, as in Suñer (1992), between direct and indirect object clitic doubling. For instance, in order to explain the asymmetry given in (87) and (88) Jaeggli (1986) suggests that accusative clitics, but not dative clitics, license a *pro*. However, the parallel function of dative and accusative clitics in *wh*-island constructions is left unaccounted for. As for Suñer's (1992) analysis, if both, accusative and dative clitics always license a pronominal we need an additional explanation outside the realm of the *pro* hypothesis to cover the asymmetry illustrated in (87) and (88). Therefore, the goal of the following analysis is to provide a unifying proposal that in the spirit of the trace identification as *pro*, is able to account for both, the contrasts and similarities of indirect and direct object clitic doubling throughout the various sets of data.

#### 3.3.4. *Theoretical Considerations in the Licensing and Identification of pro*

In addition to what we have just discussed above, we are going to adopt a number of initial basic assumptions for this analysis. First, as a starting point to develop Jaeggli's insight, we are going to appeal to Chomsky's (1986a) suggestion that movement to an A' position can leave a *pro* as a trace. Second, we are going to adopt the A' Disjointness Requirement on the distribution of pronouns studied and formulated in Aoun and Hornstein (1992) as:

(99) *The A' Disjointness Requirement*

A pronoun must be A'-free in the minimal complete functional complex (CFC) containing a c-commanding subject and the pronoun.

Third, under the Minimalist Program *pro* licensing has been subsumed under Case Theory. In other words, in parallel to structural Case assignment, the licensing of *pro* is also done under a Spec-head relation. As a matter of fact, an early formulation of this notion of the licensing of *pro* was latent in Jaeggli and Safir's (1989) Theory of Identification:

(100) *Theory of Identification:*

AGR can identify an empty category as thematic *pro* iff the category containing AGR Case-governs the empty category.

The relevant reading of (100) should be that whatever functional head assigns structural Case, let us call it AGR or F, this head could license a *pro* in principle. This reading will also cover the licensing of *pro* in languages such as Korean and Chinese (Aoun's 1993 class lectures).

Let us elaborate more carefully on the notion of the parallelism between Case assignment and *pro* licensing. The Case Filter has been reduced to a condition on visibility of  $\theta$ -roles at LF. That is, all thematic chains in order to be "visible" must in-

clude a Case position (cf. Chomsky 1992, Chomsky and Lasnik 1993). Under this new approach, there are reasons to believe that Case assignment must be done at LF. Nonetheless, even though the ultimate Case checking may take place at LF like most conditions on well-formedness, let us recall that Case is also morphologically driven at its core, so that the type of morphological features that are realized overtly should make a difference in the derivation to LF. Whereas we have agreed on what syntactic position is structural Case checked, namely, Spec of T or AGR, it is less clear that there is *one single point* in the derivation at which Case is assigned<sup>63</sup> or checked. For instance, if the head Tense is strong for NP features we will have overt raising of the subject to Spec of Tense before the bifurcation to LF. Conversely, if the head Tense is *weak* the same process takes place *after* the bifurcation to LF.

That is to say, due to the fact that unlike *weak* features, *strong* features are not legitimate objects at PF (cf. Chomsky 1992: 43) the checking of the NP features and Case must be done before SPELL-OUT, so that, the *strong* features can be deleted once they have fulfilled their function. Relevantly, this prerequisite is not encountered by heads with *weak* features, which perform the checking as well as the triggering of NP raising (covertly) at LF and survive after SPELL-OUT since they are not visible at PF.

Turning now to the relation between Case theory and *pro*, similar considerations can be applied to the licensing of *pro*. That is to say, *pro* is licensed and identified at the same point of the derivation as the point at which the checking of features and Case takes place.

After this brief theoretical discussion and first approximation to the Theory of *pro* Identification, let us return to the occurrences of object *pros* in Spanish, which are determined by object clitics according to Jaeggli (1986) and Franco (1991) among others, and accommodate them within this analysis. If AGR<sub>DO</sub> is *strong* for NP features, and contrastively, AGR<sub>IO</sub> is *weak* for NP features, as assumed above, the implication that emerges from this morphological difference is that whilst the direct object null pronominal is identified before SPELL OUT, the indirect object null pronominal is identified after the bifurcation, specifically at the Logical Form level. The claim to be presented here is that the asymmetry in clitic doubled wh-extractions between direct and indirect objects in Spanish is borne out from their asymmetry where their points for the checking of features and *pro* identification are in the derivation. For concreteness, let us take a look at the contrastive sentences in (87) and (88) and, in the light of the present analysis, let us account for their respective derivations in (101) and (102) that will give us their corresponding grammatical status:

- (101) ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> (\*lo<sub>i</sub>) viste *pro*<sub>i</sub> e<sub>i</sub>?  
 To whom Acc-CL3-Sg saw-2  
 Who did you see (him)?

(63) Actually, "Case assignment" is the old standard term, which is not accurate anymore since, according to Chomsky's (1992) Minimalist Program, verbs and nouns already emerge from the lexicon with all the morphological specifications, being Case one of them. "Case matching" should be a more proper term in this instance.

- (102) ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> le<sub>i</sub>                    hablaste e<sub>i</sub> por    teléfono?  
 To whom Dat-CL3-Sg talked-2    by the phone  
 Who did you to talk to (him) on the phone?

In the sentence in (101), overt wh-movement of the object applies from the canonical VP internal position and on its way to Comp it passes through Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub> abiding in this way by the economy principle of "minimize shortest links", put forward in Chomsky (1992). Since the occurrence of the accusative clitic *lo* makes AGR<sub>DO</sub> strong for both NP features and V features, checking must be done overtly. However, in the overt syntax, Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub> in (101) is only occupied by an unidentified empty category trace. Hence, since AGR<sub>DO</sub> finds no lexical item to check the features against, it identifies the empty category as *pro*. Note that assuming that binding conditions apply at LF, the previous identification of the variable as *pro* in the overt syntax condemns the derivation since there is a violation of the disjointness requirement on the distribution of pronouns stated in (99). In other words, the wh-operator in (101) is c-commanding the *pro* in Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub> yielding an ungrammatical sentence on the account of the Binding Theory.

Let us turn to the sentence in (102). The same type of wh-movement as in (101) takes place in (102). The only difference is that the moved wh-element is an indirect object and the first step of the movement must obviously be to Spec of AGR<sub>IO</sub>. Nevertheless, we have assumed above that AGR<sub>IO</sub> is *weak* for NP features<sup>64</sup>, which means that the Spec-head checking of features in AGR<sub>IO</sub> will not be done until the derivation reaches the level of LF. Now under the hypothesis that LF conditions on well-formedness apply simultaneously, the checking of features by AGR<sub>IO</sub> in its specifier cannot occur before the binding conditions have applied. Furthermore, when the binding relations among the elements of the chain are being checked a transmission of features takes place from the moved constituent to the traces, unless the traces have been previously determined in the overt syntax. This amounts to saying that in (102), the operator establishes the status of its trace in Spec of AGR<sub>IO</sub> as a well-formed variable. Therefore, when the checking of  $\Phi$ -features and Case in Spec of AGR<sub>IO</sub> is performed by the head AGR<sub>IO</sub>, this will be done against an item with features inherited from the operator that binds it. Hence, the trace is not empty of content anymore and cannot be determined as *pro* by the AGR<sub>IO</sub> head in (102), which is what caused the derivation go sour in (101). To put it simple, *pro* identification only applies to undetermined empty categories.

(64) Significantly, the fact that AGR<sub>IO</sub> is *weak* for NP features does not entail in our analysis that it cannot license a *pro* in its Spec position. First, it is not clear whether a particular morphology, e.g. rich versus poor, etc., is responsible for the licensing of *pros*. This claim is also evidenced within the languages of the same family, for instance, the problem of the sanctioning of *pro* posed by referential null objects in Brazilian Portuguese (cf. Maia 1991) and Basque Spanish (Franco and Landa 1991 and, Landa 1990, 1993) within Romance. Second, the main entailment of a head specified as [*strong*] is that overt movement of an element is going to take place either as a head adjunction to it or as XP movement to its Specifier or both, depending on the head specification for NP and V features. Then the head has to get rid of the features before the derivation reaches the bifurcation to PF. Third, let us remember that AGR<sub>IO</sub> is a hybrid head, that is, it is strong for V-features and *weak* for NP features. A possibility that comes to our minds is that a *strong* AGR for V-features may suffice to license a *pro* in the absence of an overt argument or a well-determined empty category that satisfies the Projection Principle.

The explanation just proposed does not only account for the well-known contrast between the sentences in (101) and (102), but a good amount of the supplementary data presented in sections 3.3.5. and 3.3.6. is also covered. For instance, in the sentence illustrated in (90), repeated here as (103), the pronoun abides by the A' Disjointness Requirement and stays free in his CFC which is the lower CP. Notice that the lower CP contains a c-commanding subject ( $pro_k$ ), another condition of this requirement:

- (103) ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> me dijiste [t<sub>i</sub> que  $pro_k$  la<sub>i</sub> acabas de ver  $pro_i/e_i$ ]?  
 To whom Dat.CL-1Sg told-2 that Acc.CL-3Sg.F finish-2 to see  
 Who did you tell me that you have just seen?

Needless to say that the trace of the operator in the lower Comp does not bind the  $pro$  since à la Lasnik and Saito (1984) intermediate traces of arguments get deleted at LF, where binding conditions apply.

As noted earlier in example (97), the occurrence of a clitic can rescue wh-islands violations on extractions. The nature of these violations can be considered as subadjacency effects remaining at LF (see Lasnik and Saito 1984, and related work). Following the logic of the approach presented here, we can expect that the well-formedness of (104) below is also owed to the identification of the operator trace as  $pro$ :

- (104) ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> no sabes [<sub>CP</sub> quien \*(lo<sub>i</sub>) tenía que recoger  $pro_i$  e<sub>i</sub>]?  
 To whom not know who Acc.CL-3Sg had to pick up  
 Who<sub>i</sub> don't you know who had to pick (him<sub>i</sub>) up?

Thus, in (104), the intermediate trace left by the wh-element in Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub> would be potentially an illegitimate one, due to the fact that as a variable it must be operator bound. Actually, this is the source of ungrammaticality for the cliticless examples in (97). However, since, in (104), the AGR<sub>DO</sub> morphology (i.e. the overt clitic) determines this trace as a  $pro$  depriving it of the possibility of becoming a variable, a different binding principle (i.e., principle B) applies and the trace need not to be bound anymore. Equal implementation is carried out for apparent wh-island violations with extracted clitic-doubled indirect objects but, in this case, the process applies entirely at LF as a last resort operation. Crucially, for the latter process, we must assume that variable traces are not well-formed and determined as such until the binding conditions have been checked at LF.

Moreover, in contrast with the case in (101), the null pronominal in (104) is able to escape the Disjointness Requirement stated in (99) since the pronoun is free in its minimal complete functional complex (CFC), namely, the lower clause.

Another way to analyze this contrast is to state that the pronoun in (104) is protected from the binding of the operator by the lower CP. Nonetheless, the second proposal lacks the empirical strength of the former since it would have to face a number of problems when confronting the sentence in (103). Under the second solution, no element in the upper clause would be able to bind anything in the lower clause at LF in the cases at stake. That is to say, if the  $pro$  is free from any A' binder in the upper clause, any other empty category that may occur in the lower clause should also be free. This is contrary to the facts, as shown by the example in (105) in

which a well-formed true variable according to the Binding Theory can occur in the lower clause (always under the standard assumption that intermediate argument traces in A' positions delete at LF):

- (105) ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> me dijiste [<sub>CP</sub> que [<sub>AGR<sub>doP</sub></sub> t<sub>i</sub> acabas de ver e<sub>i</sub>]]?  
 To whom Dat.CL-1Sg told-2 that finish-2 to see  
 Who did you tell me that you have just seen?

In the flavor of Aoun and Li (1993), the grammaticality of (105) as well as the ungrammaticality of the cliticless version of (104) is due to their respective abiding by and violation of the Minimal Binding Requirement which is formulated as:

- (106) *Minimal Binding Requirement*  
 Variables must be bound by the most local potential A' binder.

Thus, whereas in (105) the variable is bound by the most local potential antecedent—there is no other potential antecedent—in (104) the most potential antecedent *quién* does not bind the object variable. Hence, the sentence is bad without a coindexed clitic that identifies the variable trace (cf. Suñer 1992 for a varying implementation of Jaeggli's 1986 insight).

### 3.3.5. Highly Referential Quantifiers in Clitic-Doubled Constructions

It remains to settle the status of referential quantifiers with respect to clitic doubling. In the discussion of the data, we have seen that there is a parallel gradation between the referentiality of the wh-quantifier and the grammaticality of the clitic doubled construction. That is, the more referential the quantifier is the more the sentence improves in grammaticality<sup>65</sup>.

It becomes obvious that this fact could present an obstacle for our analysis if we are to treat all wh-words the same. Nevertheless, in addition to the standard distinction between wh-operators that quantify over individuals such as *who*, *what*, *where* and *when* and those that quantify over propositions such as *how* and *why*, there is another class of wh-elements that by virtue of their particular syntactic and semantic properties ought to be distinguished. In this regard, Pesetsky (1987) claims that there is a distinction for instance, between *what books* and *which books* which is based on discourse ties. In this way, a question formulated with the *which*-phrase ranges over a set of elements known by the speaker and hearer, whereas this might not be the case with the *what*-phrase. Hence, he labels the former *discourse-linked* (*D-linked*) wh-phrases as opposed to *discourse-free* (non-*D-linked*) wh-phrases. The motivation for this distinction stems independently from the following contrast between (107) and (108) below:

- (107) \*Winston asked [what<sub>i</sub> [who<sub>k</sub> burned t<sub>i</sub>]]  
 (108) Winston asked [which book<sub>i</sub> [which fascist<sub>k</sub> burned t<sub>i</sub>]]

(65) This fact bears a strong parallelism to the findings in Rizzi's (1990) investigation on the correlation between the high referentiality of the operator-variable chain and the well-formedness of long distance extractions.

In view of these data, Pesetsky argues that D-linked *wh*-phrases are not true quantifiers. I am not going to question the accuracy of Pesetsky's last statement nor undertake a thorough analysis of the properties of *wh*-words in Spanish since this escapes the scope of the present work. Nonetheless, it seems that the positing of this class of *wh*-words which I have called "highly referential" quantifiers is universally needed to account for a number of phenomena.

Interestingly, Dobrovie-Sorin (1990) argues for a similar disassociation of these two types of *wh*-elements in Romanian, which is initially based on their ability to co-occur with a clitic. In this way, *wh*ich-phrases are, in Dobrovie-Sorin's terms *restricted quantifiers* and, as such, they range over the set of elements that the noun head of the *wh*ich-phrase refers to.

However, the set of *wh*-words is not equally divided in Spanish and Romanian with respect to their possibilities of being clitic doubled. Somehow, the *wh*ich-phrase in Spanish does not have enough degree of referentiality to allow clitic doubling<sup>66</sup>. As a matter of fact, only *wh*-partitive phrases that range over a well defined class of individuals can be clitic-doubled out of the whole set of *wh*-words; hence, the ungrammaticality of sentences such as (109) below (taken from Suñer 1988):

- (109) \*¿A cuáles pasajeras<sub>i</sub> las<sub>i</sub> rescataron?  
 \*To which passengers Acc.CL-3Pl.F rescued  
 \*Which passengers did they rescue?

More interestingly, notice the grammatical contrast (also pointed out in Suñer 1988) between (109) and the version containing an interrogative partitive, which is shown in (110):

- (110) ¿A cuál de mis pasajeras<sub>i</sub> la<sub>i</sub> rescataron?  
 To which of my passengers Acc.CL-3Pl.F rescued  
 Which of my passengers did they rescue?

For the explanation of this asymmetry with the two types of *wh*-words, a few possibilities come to our minds. À la Dobrovie-Sorin, one could claim that the *wh*-word in (110) is not a quantifier and does not occupy a quantifier position, i.e. Spec of CP, but maybe that of left-dislocations as suggested by this author. As much as this line of analysis might be worth pursuing, this hypothesis is not problem free either. First, the *wh*ich of-phrase still has a quantificational force even though it is a limited one. Second, while there is a difference in intonation between left-dislocated constituents and discourse-free *wh*-words, such a difference does not exist between the latter and interrogative *wh*-partitives (*wh*ich of-phrases).

Alternatively, we pursue an explanation built on the particular composition of the *wh*ich/*wh*ich-of phrase. Let us assume that on their way to Spec of Comp, bare *wh*-operators pass through Spec of AGRo "as fast as they can" leaving a trace in the in-

(66) Probably, the reason why Spanish, unlike Romanian, does not have clitic-doubling with the *wh*ich-phrase is because the distinction between the *wh*at-phrase and the *wh*ich-phrase, for instance, between *qué personas* 'what persons' and *cuáles personas* 'which persons' is not a well-defined one. Many native speakers of Spanish including myself use both types of *wh*-phrases interchangeably.

intermediate position for Case and feature checking. Conversely, operator phrases qualify as full heavy NPs and do the checking of NP features directly in Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub> without using the trace as a mediator<sup>67</sup>.

Turning back to the opposite possibilities of clitic doubling between the *which*-phrase and the *which of*-phrase, notice that the former is always accompanied by an indeterminate noun, e.g. *cuáles pasajeros* 'which passengers' in contrast with the latter which takes a highly referential noun, e.g. *cuáles de las pasajeras* 'which of the passengers'. Now, in (109), the morphological realization of AGR<sub>DO</sub> via a clitic makes it strong, which triggers the overt movement of *cuáles pasajeros* to the Specifier of AGR<sub>DO</sub>. Since the noun *pasajeras* is not referential, the same criteria that rule out clitic doubling in a declarative sentence apply here. That is, the derivation crashes at the checking of features because *strong* AGR<sub>DO</sub> needs to match its features with a specifier that is high in referentiality (or in the Animacy Hierarchy for this matter) as shown in (111):

- (111) \*Las<sub>i</sub>                    oímos    a algunas pasajeras<sub>i</sub>.  
 Acc.CL-3Pl.F heard-1Pl to some    passengers  
 We heard some passengers.

In (110), on the other hand, the derivation converges at the Spec-head/AGR<sub>DO</sub> checking of NP features and the *wh*-phrase continues to Spec of Comp to satisfy the Q-morpheme (question morpheme) checking. It is important to note that once the checking of NP features is done, the trace left by the *wh*-partitive on its way to CP cannot be identified as *pro* anymore since, again, *strong* features disappear after they have fulfilled their function. Thus, the problem with clitic-doubled bare operators is not present with referential quantifiers. Finally, one can assume that the movement to Spec of Comp in (109) employs the pied-piping strategy<sup>68</sup>, so that the whole *wh*-phrase ends in sentence initial position.

Evidently, the particle *de* 'of' in the *wh*-partitives should not be considered as a true preposition, but as the partitive marker. Independently of whether we analyze the *wh*-phrase as a DP or not, we claim that any structure onto which the *wh*-phrase is mapped should capture the relation between the *wh*-element and the accompanying constituent as that of a determiner/specifier and its head respectively, all this in the spirit of Suñer (1988). Assuming the existence of this type of relation between

(67) An alternative way to slice the data is to state that bare *wh*-operators, *what*-phrases and *which*-phrases behave as a class in Spanish. Thus, the explanation given for the ungrammaticality of clitic-doubled bare *wh*-operators can be extended to these other *wh*-phrases. Contrastively, the *which of*-phrase would pattern on its own, "lingering" in Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub> for the NP-feature checking. Again, how we divide the set of *wh*-words in Spanish becomes an empirical issue.

(68) As a matter of fact, it seems that pied-piping could be optional. For some speakers, for instance, (109) can also be realized as (i) below:

- (i) ¿A cuál<sub>i</sub> la<sub>i</sub> rescataron e<sub>i</sub> de mis pasajeras<sub>i</sub>?  
 To which Acc.CL-3Pl.F rescued of my passengers  
 Which of my passengers did they rescue?

It would be worth studying whether the partitive *de mis pasajeras* 'of my passengers' has the same status in (109) as in (i). It might be the case, that the partitive is expressed as an afterthought. Be that as it may, we leave this issue open for future research.

the *wh*-element and the nominal element, we could state that the  $AGR_{DO}$  head agrees either with the Specifier or the head of the *wh*-phrase as long as both elements share the feature [+referential]. The choice of the agreeing element goes back to certain cases of clitic-doubling with *wh*-words that Hurtado (1984) referred to as the *unagreement* phenomenon. This is illustrated in (112):

- (112) ¿A quiénes<sub>i</sub> nos<sub>i</sub> viste?  
 To whom-Pl Acc.Cl-1Pl saw-2  
 Which ones of us did you see?

Actually, the fact that the clitic is first person plural, whereas the doubled *wh*-direct object is third person plural is far from indicating that any un-agreement phenomenon is taking place. Under our proposal already outlined for the sentence in (89), the clitic *nos* as the head of  $AGR_{DO}$  with  $\Phi$  features is licensing and identifying a *pro*, which is the head of the *wh*-phrase. This is supported by the overt-covert pronominal alternation seen in (89) and repeated here as (113) for convenience:

- (113) ¿A quiénes<sub>i</sub> (de nosotros<sub>i</sub>) nos<sub>i</sub> viste?  
 To whom-Pl of we Acc.Cl-1Pl saw-2  
 Which ones of us did you see?

In (112) and (113),  $AGR_{DO}$  (the clitic) establishes the agreement relation with the pronominal head of the *wh*-phrase and not with the *wh*-specifier, however, the opposite is also possible<sup>69</sup>:

- (114) ¿A quiénes<sub>i</sub> de nosotros<sub>i</sub> los<sub>i</sub> pusieron en la lista?  
 To whom-Pl of we Acc.CL-3Pl.M put on the list  
 Which ones of us did they put on the list?

Incidentally, subject-verb agreement in Spanish also exhibits the so-called *unagreement* phenomenon<sup>70</sup>, which only shows that there is one more piece of evidence that argues in favor of treating subject-verb agreement ( $AGR_S$ ) and object clitic-doubling ( $AGR_O$ ) equally:

- (115) ¿Quiénes<sub>i</sub> correremos<sub>i</sub> por la mañana?  
 Who-Pl run-Fut.1Pl by the morning  
 Which ones of us will run in the morning?

(69) Again, this comes as no surprise, since it is typical of Agreement systems to exhibit some variation with respect to the elements involved in the matching of features.

(70) Suffice it to say, the same set of facts are found for clitic-doubled *wh*-extractions with indirect objects:

- (i) ¿A quiénes<sub>i</sub> nos<sub>i</sub> responderán?  
 To whom-Pl Dat.CL-1Pl answer-3Pl.Fut  
 To which ones of us will they answer?
- (ii) ¿A quiénes<sub>i</sub> de nosotros<sub>i</sub> les<sub>i</sub> responderán?  
 To whom-Pl of us Dat.CL-3Pl answer-3Pl.Fut  
 To which ones of us will they answer?

In parallel to (112), the subject agreement morphology on the verb is specified for first person plural and the subject quantifier is third person plural<sup>71</sup>. This is not an anomaly in the paradigm but it is borne out of our hypothesis that suggests the occurrence of the *implicit pro* shown in (116) below:

- (116) ¿[Quiénes *pro*<sub>i</sub>] correremos<sub>i</sub> por la mañana?  
 Who-Pl run-Fut.1Pl by the morning  
 Which ones of us will run in the morning?

There are a number of diverse phenomena that the hypothesis of the *implicit pro* entails us to account for. For instance, non-clitic doubling dialects of Spanish (let us say the *Manchego* dialect in Spain to mention one) allow sentences such as (112) above. This could be considered as an exceptional case at first sight, unless one posits the existence of *pro*, which would regularize the paradigm in these dialects since object clitics always co-occur with pronominals in all the Spanish dialects. Mostly, this hypothesis can be extended to certain object quantifiers which can appear with a coindexed clitic in the “non-clitic doubling” dialects just mentioned:

- (117) Juan ??/\*(lo<sub>i</sub>) puede todo<sub>i</sub> *pro*<sub>i</sub>.  
 Juan Acc.CL-3Sg.M can everything.  
 Juan can do everything.

Intriguingly, in (117), an inanimate quantifier noun is obligatorily clitic-doubled contrarily to what one would expect since only inanimates that are [+definite] can be clitic-doubled. Moreover, this is restricted to a few Southern Cone dialects that have a broader class of nominals that can be clitic-doubled. Be that as it may, the co-occurrence of a clitic and coindexed quantifier in (117) follows straightforwardly from the Implicit *pro* Hypothesis. In sum, the Implicit *pro* Hypothesis provides us with a consistent account of (112) with the clitic-doubled wh-element and (117) with the clitic-doubled quantifier which, again, move to Spec of strong AGR<sub>DO</sub> where the checking of features takes place as well as the identification of *pro*. This takes us next to the issue of absence of Weak Crossover effects with clitic-doubled quantifiers.

### 3.3.6. Weak Crossover and Clitic Doubling

Actually, the lack of Weak Crossover effects illustrated in (95) and repeated here as (118) is only a puzzling fact if we consider the quantifier in this sentence as a regular quantifier:

(71) For the sake of descriptive adequacy, it seems that the *unagreement* phenomenon illustrated in (112) and (115) is only partial. That is, when the agreement of AGR<sub>DO</sub> is with the pronoun head, the latter does not only transfer its referential nature to the wh-element, but also the specification for the feature [number]. Therefore, in contrast with (115), the following sentence is ungrammatical:

- (i) \*¿A quién<sub>i</sub> (de nosotros) nos<sub>i</sub> viste?  
 To whom-Sg. of we Acc.CL-1Pl. saw-2Sg  
 Which one of us did you see?

Agreement in number but not in person is characteristic of NP internal agreement and both nominal and adjectival agreement in general.

- (118)  $Su_i$  madre  $*(los_i)$  quiere a  $todos_i$ .  
 His/her/their mother Acc.CL-3Pl loves to everybody  
 Their mother loves everybody.

Significantly, however, the only reading available for (118) is that in which *todos* 'everybody' refers to a group of people that the speaker and hearer have in mind. Most certainly, the facts are obscured by the ambiguous usage of the word *todos* in Spanish, which can mean 'everybody' or 'everyone'. Relevantly, there is an expression in colloquial Peninsular Spanish that disambiguates the meaning of *todos*, namely, *todo dios* literally, 'every god'. *Todo dios* can only have a non-referential interpretation. Interestingly, the *todo dios* quantifier cannot be clitic-doubled, as shown in (119), consequently, the trace of this quantifier is also subject to Weak Crossover effects at LF, as in (120):

- (119)  $*María$   $lo_i$  quiere a todo  $dios_i$ .  
 María Acc.CL-1Pl.M loves to every god.  
 Their mother loves (absolutely) everybody.
- (120)  $*Su_i$  madre  $lo_i$  quiere a todo  $dios_i$ .  
 His/her/their mother Acc.CL-1Pl loves to every god.  
 Their mother loves (absolutely) everybody.

The conclusion I am driving at is that the +/- sensitivity to Weak Crossover effects with clitic-doubled direct object quantifiers can be derived from the well-formedness conditions on Accusative clitic-doubling. Thus, both in (118) and (120), both quantifiers move overtly to Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub>, for the checking of features. However, only in (118), but not in (119) and (120), the quantifier passes the check with the clitic since only the former is [+referential]. So, by the time the derivation of (120) reaches LF and the quantifier additionally moves to the Comp phrase yielding a context of application for the Weak Crossover Constraint, the sentence is already ill-formed. This is shown by the ungrammaticality of (119) in which there is no offending pronoun to trigger WCO effects and still the derivation cannot converge. Furthermore, in (118), in accordance with the hypothesis defended here, the clitic has identified a *pro* as part of the referential quantifier phrase before the derivation continues to LF. Now, the possessive pronoun *su* 'his/her' is able to take the identified *pro* as its antecedent, therefore, when the quantifier-word raises to Comp at LF, the possessive does not need to look for antecedency in the variable trace, which in turn allows the structure to escape Chomsky's (1976) Leftness Condition, as stated in (121):

- (121) *Leftness Condition* (Chomsky 1976)  
 A variable cannot be an antecedent for a pronoun to its left.

The "absence" of Weak Crossover effects with clitic-doubled indirect object wh-quantifiers, on the other hand, constitutes a more challenging type of data since the quantifier at stake does not need to be referential, as illustrated by the sentence in (122) below:

- (122) ¿A quién<sub>i</sub> \*(le)<sub>i</sub> entregó su<sub>i</sub> padre un premio?  
 To whom Dat.CL-3Sg. gave his/her father a prize.  
 To whom did his/her father give a prize.

Before, we have assumed for (103) that the trace left by the clitic doubled indirect object *wh*-element becomes a variable and is not identified as *pro* either in the overt syntax nor in LF. From where we stand now, the sentence in (122) is a blunt violation of the Weak Crossover constraint. In any case, there is no doubt that the WCO constraint operates on variables licensed by indirect object operators since the cliticless version of (122) is ruled out under the effects of this constraint. Hence, there must be an additional role played by the dative clitic that we have not unveiled yet.

One of the significant properties of datives is that they seem to keep a spare secondary thematic role. For instance, in addition to the “regular”  $\theta$ -role of Goal, it can be argued that datives can carry on a secondary stratum a Benefactive  $\theta$ -role or that of a Possessor<sup>72</sup>. Taking this fact into account, we suggest that the possessor thematic nature of the dative clitic sanctions the coindexing relations in (122). Specifically, I would like to propose that the dative clitic is able to license a supplementary *pro* with the role of a Possessor adjoined to  $\text{AGR}_{\text{IO}}$  when no other primary *pro* (Goal) has been identified previously. Hence, since the offending pronoun in (122) *su* is a possessive one, it can take its antecedency from the Possessor *pro* ensuring in this way the well-formedness of the variable at LF.

Moreover, the presence of a dative clitic (cf. footnote 72) seems to be necessary—independently of WCO contexts—in order to ground the coreferentiality of the possessive *su* with the indirect object, as shown in (123):

- (123) Yo ??(le)<sub>i</sub> comenté sus<sub>i</sub> últimos trabajos a los colegas.  
 I Dat.CL-3Pl commented their last works to the colleagues  
 I commented their last works to the colleagues.

The coreferentiality of *sus* with *colegas* ‘colleagues’ without the clitic is not available at first hand according to the native speakers’ intuitions. Crucially, WCO effects cannot be responsible for the unfelicitous status of (123) without the clitic, hence, we must conclude that the intra-sentential referentiality of the possessive pronouns in Spanish depends on the presence of a clitic capable of licensing an antecedent *pro*.

### 3.3.7. Quantifier Scope and Object Agreement

Suñer (1992) investigates the interaction of the phenomenon of clitic doubling with the scope properties of object quantifiers. In this regard, she claims that whilst

(72) This property of datives is not gratuitous in the grammar; for instance, Jaeggli (1982) points out that datives that are inalienable possessors must be clitic-doubled in Spanish:

- (i) \*(Le)<sub>i</sub> cortaron la pierna a María.  
 Dat-CL3 cut-Pst-3Pl the leg to María  
 They cut María’s leg.

As shown by the English gloss, *la pierna* ‘the leg’ can only belong to María. Unlike English, standard Spanish primarily encodes this possessor relation by means of a dative clitic.

clitic doubled DO quantifiers can only have a wide scope interpretation, non-clitic doubled ones are ambiguous between the wide scope and narrow scope reading. This can be better seen in the examples in (124) and (125), (examples (11a) and (13a) in Suñer 1992):

- (124) Todos los electores los<sub>i</sub> eligieron a algunos de los candidatos<sub>i</sub>.  
 Every voter Acc.CL-3Pl elected to some of the candidates.  
 Every voter elected some of the candidates.
- (125) Todos los electores eligieron a algunos de los candidatos.  
 Every voter elected to some of the candidates.  
 Every voter elected some (of the) candidates.

According to Suñer (1992), the sentence in (124) only has a wide scope interpretation which means that every voter elected the same set of candidates. On the other hand, the sentence in (125) has a competing narrow scope interpretation, that is, there is not only a set of candidates that was elected by every voter, but also the reading that voter Y elected candidate X, and voter Z elected candidate W, etc.

In addition to this, it is worth noticing that indirect object quantifiers are ambiguous regardless of whether they are clitic doubled or not. This is illustrated in (126) below, which is taken from Suñer's (1992) (12a) and (15):

- (126) Todos los candidatos (les<sub>i</sub>) han dicho la verdad a algunos electores<sub>i</sub>.  
 Every candidate Dat.CL-3Pl have-3Pl told the truth to some voters.  
 Every candidate has told the truth to some voters.

In (126), the presence or absence of the clitic does not affect the scope relations of the quantified indirect object with respect to the subject. That is to say, the clitic and cliticless versions of the sentence can have both the wide scope interpretation, under which every candidate told the truth to the same set of voters and the narrow interpretation which has a distributional reading.

How do all these data above fit in our analysis? The scope contrast illustrated in (124) and (125) between clitic doubled DO quantifiers and non-clitic doubled ones is straightforwardly accounted for by our proposal that clitic doubled direct objects must move to Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub> in the overt syntax. In this way, the DO quantifier in (124) raises to Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub> and the subject quantifier raises to Spec of Tense before the bifurcation to LF. These two specifier positions are equidistant (cf. Chomsky 1992) from the landing site of quantifier raising (QR) at LF. Thus, the only assumption we need to make is that under equidistance, QR applies first to the lower constituent, that is, in this instance, QR of the object takes precedence over the subject so that, the direct object wide scope interpretation is obtained and the narrow interpretation is excluded in (124).

As for the ambiguous readings in (125) and (126), under our analysis, only the subject quantifier raises out of the VP in the overt syntax, so when the derivation reaches LF the subject is the only candidate outside the VP to undergo QR and be able to take narrow scope over the object. In addition, since the object quantifiers in (125) and (126) must move to Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub> and Spec of AGR<sub>IO</sub> at LF for NP-feat-

ure checking —let us remember that these heads are *weak* for NP features, as proposed in (73)— the indirect object and non-clitic doubled DO object can also receive a wide scope reading due to the fact that they bind the subject via chain binding (cf. Barss 1986 and Saito 1989)<sup>73</sup>, that is, the object c-commands the trace of the subject which is in Spec of VP.

Relevantly, our taxonomy of functional heads, which specifies  $AGR_{IO}$  in general and non-overt  $AGR_{DO}$  as [*weak*] for NP-features, predicts that non-clitic doubled DOs and all IOs should pattern the same with respect to the properties which are given by the structural mapping since they only move at LF. Furthermore, along these lines, we also expect that morphologically overt and non-overt  $AGR_{IO}$  heads are not correlated to a syntactic difference. So far, all these predictions have been borne out by the data, however, there is one instance that at least at first sight, might be problematic for the latter prediction (as pointed out to me by Zubizarreta).

It seems that for some speakers, the co-occurrence of the IO clitic changes the scope relations of the indirect object quantifier with respect to the direct object. The relevant data to be compared are the following:

(127) El profesor le<sub>i</sub>            entregó su<sub>i</sub> tarea            a cada alumno<sub>i</sub>.  
 the teacher Dat.CL-3 gave-3    his/her homework to each student  
 The teacher gave his/her homework to every student.

(128) El profesor entregó su<sub>i</sub>    tarea            a cada alumno<sub>i</sub>.  
 the teacher gave-3 his/her homework to each student  
 The teacher gave his/her homework to every student.

For those speakers that have a contrast between (127) and (128), the distributional reading, under which each student individually received his/her own homework from the teacher is only available in (127) in which the clitic is present. In other words, the indirect object only has scope over the direct object when the former is clitic doubled. In (128), the ambiguous reading is in order. Apparently, this asymmetry could be a challenge for our analysis since we claimed that there is no additional overt movement for clitic doubled IOs under the proposal that  $AGR_{IO}$  is always a [*weak*] head for NP-feature checking independently of whether it contains an overt clitic or not. However, once again, we are dealing with instances in which the clitic which is doubling the IO quantifier is c-commanding the possessive pronoun *su* 'his/her'. This was also an obscuring factor —due to the possessor flavor of IO clitics— when analyzing the absence of Weak Crossover effects with clitic doubled IOs, as shown in example (123) above. Therefore, if we were consistent with our line of reasoning, the same solution that was given to explain the behavior of clitic doubled IOs in WCO contexts such as that in (123) should apply to the data in (127). In this way, the distributional scope reading in (127) follows from our hypothesis that states that overt  $AGR_{IO}$  may locally license a possessor *pro* that serves as the

(73) Chain Binding is defined in Saito (1989) as:

- (i) X chain-binds Y =<sub>df</sub> X and Y are coindexed, and  
 a) X c-commands Y, or b) X c-commands a trace of Z, where Z = Y or Z contains Y.

binding antecedent of the possessive *su*. Hence, the direct object *su tarea* 'his/her homework' even at LF would never c-command this *pro* which entails that there is no possibility for ambiguity in scope relations. On the other hand, in (128) the scope relations are determined by chain binding relations between the indirect object and direct object after they have undergone covert movement to the specifiers of their respective AGR<sub>o</sub> heads. Since both chains c-command each other scope ambiguity is obtained.

It goes without saying that, if we are to have a difference in scope interpretation between a clitic doubled IO and a non-clitic doubled one this asymmetry will occur when a relation of possession is involved. This has been illustrated by the inoperativity of clitic doubling on the reading of the sentence in (126) versus the particular semantic interpretation that the clitic endows the sentence with in the example in (127).

### 3.3.8. Summary

In section 3.3., I have aimed to provide a uniform account of clitic-doubling extraction phenomena, regardless of whether the extraction was done in the overt syntax or not. The one feature that all my accounts of the great amount of data covered have in common is that the well-formedness of the construction depends on the *composition* and *categorial* status of the element in the launching site of the extraction. In some cases, it is important to consider the referential composition of the quantifier phrase; in others, we must consider what type of empty category gets determined by the clitic. In this regard, the Implicit *pro* Hypothesis plays an important role in accounting for occurrences of well-formed clitic-doubled extractions that were unpredicted under the general hypothesis that direct object quantifiers are excluded from clitic-doubling constructions. The following summary reviews the most significant cases of clitic doubling with wh-elements and regular quantifiers.

*Object clitic doubling with operators and quantifier-like elements:*

*Bare WH-questions and what-phrases. Status: (DO \*, IO ok).*

Wh-direct objects are ungrammatical because the clitic identifies the wh-trace as a *pro* in the overt syntax and the Disjointness Constraint is violated. The trace of wh-indirect objects is not identified in the overt syntax as *pro*, so Binding conditions that apply at LF are not trespassed in the course of the derivation.

*Which-phrases. Status: (DO \*, IO ok).*

*Which*-phrases carry an indeterminate noun. Since these phrases are headed by a noun they move overtly to Spec of *strong* AGR<sub>DO</sub> to do the checking of NP-features. DO agreement is not available with indeterminate nouns even in declarative sentences, so the *which*-phrase direct object does not pass the checking. Conversely, the *which*-phrase indirect object does the NP-feature checking in Spec of AGR<sub>IO</sub> at LF via the variable. That is, the same derivation that renders clitic doubled wh-indirect objects as grammatical takes place here with IO *which*-phrases.

*Which of-phrases. Status: (OD ok, IO ok).*

*Which of*-phrases take a definite referential noun. Thus, the *which of*-phrase (DO) passes the checking in Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub>. The indirect object *which of*-phrase does the

checking at LF with an already well-formed variable full of features (with the pied-piping option, cf. footnote 68).

*Referential bare wh-elements and quantifiers. Status: OD ok, IO ok).*

The operator takes an implicit *pro* along as part of the operator phrase. The AGR<sub>DO</sub> head matches its features with the referential *pro* not with the operator word.

*Weak Crossover violations.*

Only referential quantifiers can yield apparent Weak Crossover violations as well-formed sentences when co-occurring with direct object agreement (*lo, la,...*). Same as above, the Implicit *pro* Hypothesis accounts for this phenomenon. On the other hand, non-referential IO quantifiers overcome Weak Crossover constraint effects provided that they co-occur with overt AGR<sub>IO</sub> (*le, les,...*) that licenses a possessive *pro* that serves as the antecedent of the "offending" non-c-commanding pronoun of Weak Crossover structures.

*Wh-islands violations.*

The overt object Agreement morphology saves these constructions by determining the illicit trace within the island as *pro*, either in the overt syntax, as suggested for the *wh*-extraction of the direct object, or at LF, as proposed for the *wh*-extraction of the indirect object, the latter being a last resort rescuing operation.

### 3.4. Appendix: Left Dislocations

In this appendix, I briefly address the issue of clitic left dislocations (CLLD) in Spanish. Here, this phenomenon is only analyzed as far as it may have any relevance for the study of the nature of agreement relations. In other words, the purpose of this section is to elucidate the fact that a left dislocated NP constituent is coindexed with an overt AGR<sub>o</sub> head-clitic<sup>74</sup>, as illustrated in (129) below:

- (129) A Juan<sub>i</sub>, lo<sub>i</sub> vimos el primer día nada más.  
 To Juan Acc.CL-3.M saw-1 the first day nothing else  
 Juan, we saw him the first day only.

#### 3.4.1. A Foreword on Left Dislocations

There are some studies in clitic doubling such as Hurtado (1984, 1985) for Spanish or Schneider-Zioga (1993) for Modern Greek that aim to draw a unifying analysis that accounts for clitic-doubled left-dislocated arguments and clitic-doubled non-left-dislocated ones. As desirable as this goal might be in order for any analysis to achieve maximal generalizations, there are syntactic and semantic reasons that indicate that, at least in Spanish, clitic doubled arguments in canonical positions and left dislocations are not two manifestations of the same phenomenon. This theoretical position is also set forth in Cinque's (1990) work. Specifically for Spanish, we are

(74) See Cinque (1990) for a thorough analysis of clitic left dislocations in Romance exemplified with data from Italian. Also, see Rivero's (1980) and Zubizarreta's (1993) analyses for left-dislocations in Spanish since the Italian and the Spanish data do not always correspond with each other. Other fronting phenomena, such as those analyzed in Zubizarreta (1993), will not be discussed in this work.

claiming on the one hand, that clitic left-dislocations are not genuine instances of object agreement, but a subcase of predication; and on the other, that clitic-doubled arguments are not instances of predication nor of topicalization. In the discussion that follows in the next section, I take for granted conclusions that have been amply demonstrated in the works of Cinque (1990) and Rivero (1980), namely, clitic left-dislocations are not the result of *wh*-movement nor involve an operator-variable chain<sup>75</sup>. This leaves us with the option of treating these constructions either as the result of NP movement or as generated in situ. Along the lines of these two authors, though with a different motivation, we take the base generation stand for clitic left-dislocations.

### 3.4.2. Object Agreement and Left Dislocations

If we consider a sentence like (129), one might be tempted to propose that the left-dislocated constituent *A Juan* went out from the VP internal position through Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub>—to trigger agreement—and continued its way to sentence initial position. This overt movement would be able to explain why left-dislocated objects require the presence of an overt agreement head.

However, this solution can be called into question due to the number of problems that it poses. First, if the whole derivation is an instance of NP movement throughout, it is not clear that the landing position—presumably, Spec of the head TOP, which takes a CP complement—is an A position, as one might expect. Alternatively, if the derivation consists of two types of a movement, that is, NP-movement plus a subsequent *wh*-movement, the lack of properties of standard *wh*-movement in clitic left-dislocations, as shown in Cinque (1990) would not be easy to explain without a cost<sup>76</sup>. In any case, the well-known absence of subjacency effects for clitic left dislocations would be a great burden for any version of the  $\alpha$ -movement analysis. In addition, the pause or the change in the intonational contour that immediately follows the left dislocated constituent would be harder to explain under a move- $\alpha$  analysis than under the predication in-situ analysis. To the best of my knowledge, ordinary instances of move  $\alpha$  do not have repercussions at the suprasegmental level<sup>77</sup>.

The second area of trouble for the NP-movement hypothesis for CLLD is that related to the checking of NP-features in Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub>. It is rather striking that the class of direct object NPs that can enter into an agreement relation is less restricted when the NP lands in Spec of AGR<sub>DO</sub> and subsequently moves out than when the NP remains in this position. If clitic doubling, using the old terminology, and clitic left dislocations were two manifestations of object agreement under a Spec-Head relation, this difference on the selectional restrictions, illustrated in (130) and (131)

(75) See Dobrovie-Sorin (1990) for a different view in regard to CLLD in Romanian.

(76) For instance, Cinque (1990) mentions that, unlike *wh*-moved elements, CLLDs do not license parasitic gaps, are not subject to successive cyclic movement constraints, and lack Weak Crossover effects.

(77) As for the proper conditions on the binding of traces, the trace of the hypothetically moved left dislocated NP would not be problematic since, as discussed below, a potential Principle A violation can be avoided by having the clitic (AGR<sub>DO</sub>) identifying the trace as *pro*.

below for each case, should not exist. However, consider the minimum pairs in the following examples:

- (130) Un bote<sub>i</sub>, lo<sub>i</sub> compra cualquiera hoy en día.  
 A boat Acc.CL-3Sg.M buys anyone nowadays  
 A boat, anyone (can) buy one nowadays.

- (131) \*Cualquiera lo<sub>i</sub> compra un bote<sub>i</sub> hoy en día.  
 Anyone Acc.CL-3Sg.M buys a boat nowadays  
 Anyone (can) buy a boat nowadays.

In (130), a left dislocated inanimate generic NP *un bote* 'a boat' co-occurs with a coreferential accusative clitic *lo*. Contrastively, this co-occurrence is impossible when the same NP is in the unmarked object position, as shown in (131). The ungrammaticality of examples like (131) has been explained above in subsection 3.1. as a failure to pass the checking of NP-features with overt AGR<sub>DO</sub>, which requires a high ranking element in the Animacy Hierarchy in its Specifier. Thus, the sentence in (130) would constitute an unwelcome counter example to previous explanations given for sentences like (131) if it were derived from the the same source configuration.

In consonance with the analysis of object agreement put forward in this study, I propose that clitic left dislocations involved the licensing of a *pro* by the clitic in Spec of AGRO. In turn, the left dislocated NP is generated in-situ and coindexed with the *pro* element. Under this proposal, the possibility for a left dislocated indefinite NP to be doubled by an accusative clitic shown in (130) ensues from the fact that syntactic object agreement is rendered by the relation between the AGR<sub>DO</sub> clitic head and a null pronoun and not between the left dislocated nominal and the AGR<sub>DO</sub> head.

Following the logic of this proposal, it is not unreasonable to claim that it is the *pro* in Spec of AGRO the element that satisfies the subcategorization frame of the verb and fulfills the Projection Principle. Bearing in mind that subcategorized arguments are never optional, the former claim would additionally explain why only left dislocated objects in Italian require the obligatory presence of a coindexed object clitic, whereas left dislocated prepositional phrases take a clitic optionally<sup>78</sup>.

From a semantic perspective, it is also counterfactual to equate clitic-doubling with clitic-left dislocation. In rough terms, one can correlate left-dislocated objects with high topicality as opposed to the neutral character of objects in their unmarked position in Spanish. However, the same contrast does not hold between definite clitic-doubled objects and non clitic-doubled ones. Let us consider the following sentence:

- (132) Juan no (lo<sub>i</sub>) ha llamado a Pedro<sub>i</sub>.  
 Juan not Acc.CL-3Sg.M has called to Pedro  
 Juan has not called Pedro.

(78) Unfortunately, this phenomenon cannot be compared with the Spanish data since there are no prepositional clitics in Spanish.

In (132), it is close to impossible to tease out any non-impressionistic difference in meaning between the version with the clitic and the one without. In other words, semantically, clitic-doubled and non-clitic-doubled objects in situ pattern together as expected since overt manifestations of agreement do not necessarily operate on the event of the clause. On the other hand, clitic-left dislocations have a bearing on the semantics of the clausal event since they are not instances of verb-argument agreement.

In sum, the alignment between clitic doubling (object agreement) and clitic left-dislocations in Spanish is undermotivated. Even though Romance clitic left dislocations differ from English left dislocations, as adequately shown in Cinque (1990), they are not two phenomena completely apart. As a matter of fact, we would like to suggest that both types of left dislocations belong to a universal strategy of predication in which a topical element is generated outside the sentence intonational unit and replicated in the sentence by a coreferential pronoun. Interestingly, whereas object agreement seems to be a morphosyntactic phenomenon parametrized in terms of covert and overt, and *strong* and *weak* features across languages, left dislocation seems to be a much more universal phenomenon produced in the interface between syntax and discourse semantics.

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