Neither agreement nor pronouns. Clitic doubling and Weak Crossover in Rioplatense Spanish

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Abstract

Baker & Kramer (2018) suggests that the distribution of clitic doubling in Spanish follows from Weak Crossover. Thus, the fact that in accusative clitic doubling bare *wh*-phrases cannot be doubled (e.g., *¿A quién lo viste? 'Who did you see?') is explained by the same reason that explains a standard WCO violation (e.g., *?¿A quién vio su madre? 'Who did her mother see?'). If this in on the right track, then, accusative doubling clitics must be considered plain pronouns. The fact that the distribution of dative clitic doubling is wider than accusative clitic doubling, allowing, for instance, the doubling of bare *wh*-phrases (e.g., ¿A quién le diste un libro? 'Who did you give a book?'), is, consequently, taken by Baker & Kramer as evidence that dative doubling clitics cannot be pronouns, but mere agreement markers. In this reply, I show, mainly based on data from Rioplatense Spanish, that both conclusions are incorrect. Baker & Kramer's suggestion regarding accusative doubling both overgenerates and

undergenerates. What regulates the distribution of doubling clitics in Rioplatense Spanish and beyond is the inflectional makeup of objects. Concretely, direct objects are doubled whenever they bear a [person] feature (Di Tullio et al 2019), whereas indirect objects are doubled by the mere presence of a [D]-feature (Pujalte & Saab 2018). Yet, despite this difference, both are probes for A-movement and predicate-makers at LF, i.e., neither plain pronouns nor mere agreement markers.

Keywords: clitic doubling, Weak Crossover, pronouns, probe, agreement, A-movement, Rioplatense Spanish

1. Introduction

Doubling clitics in the languages of the world have been conceived of under, essentially, two main analytical options: agreement markers or pronominal variables. Baker & Kramer (2018) have constructed an argument to the effect of showing that in Amharic, and arguably in Spanish and other Indo-European languages, accusative clitics or object markers must be considered plain pronouns. In their own words,

"Our central claim is that the OM [= Object Marker] is a D(P) merged into the structure at the *v*P level, and as a D(P) it itself is interpreted as a pronoun at LF, distinct from the doubled DP."   Baker & Kramer (2018: 1037)

The argument is based on the following observation. Pure agreement markers do not use to be sensitive to the formal makeup of the agreement controller. For instance, in Spanish, subject agreement applies to any type of subjects (definite, indefinite, bare, and so on) and does not care about the internal properties of subjects. Yet, accusative clitic doubling in, say, Rioplatense Spanish is highly restricted to certain type of objects but not to others. For instance, a proper name in object position can be optionally doubled (the favored option) but quantificational or interrogative ones cannot:

(1)   a.   Ana   (la   )   desaprobó   a   Paula.
              Ana   CL.ACC.F.3SG failed   DOM Paula
              'Ana failed Paula.'
       b.   Ana   (*   la   )   desaprobó   a   cada
              Ana   CL.ACC.F.3SG failed   DOM each
              estudiante.
              student
              'Ana failed each student.'
       c.   Ana   no   (?*   lo   )   desaprobó   a   nadie.
              Ana   not   CL.ACC.M.3SG failed   DOM nobody
              'Ana failed nobody.'
       d.   ¿A   quién   (*   lo   )   desaprobó   Ana?
              DOM   who   CL.ACC.M.3SG failed   Ana
              'Who did Ana failed?'

According to Baker & Kramer this is unexpected for an agreement marker, but it is fully derivable as a Weak Crossover Effect (WCO) if the doubling clitic is a plain

pronoun. Compare the paradigm in (1) with a classic WCO paradigm, like the one in (2) from English, in which any attempt to make the direct object coreferential with the possessive pronoun fails (coreference is indicated underlining the referential dependency):

(2)   Baker & Kramer (2018: 154, ex. 32)
        a. His mother loves John.
        b. ?*His mother loves everyone.
        c. ?*His mother loves nobody.
        d. ?*Who does his mother love?

Descriptively, WCO arises whenever an operator overtly or non-overtly moves across a coreferential pronoun:

(3)   ?*   OP [his mother] *t*

Assume, then, as Baker & Kramer do for Amharic, that accusative clitics are merged with the head *v* as pronouns. If this is the case, then the conditions for a WCO situation are met, and any attempt to cross the direct object in the syntax or at LF will cause a WCO violation in the relevant situations:

(4)
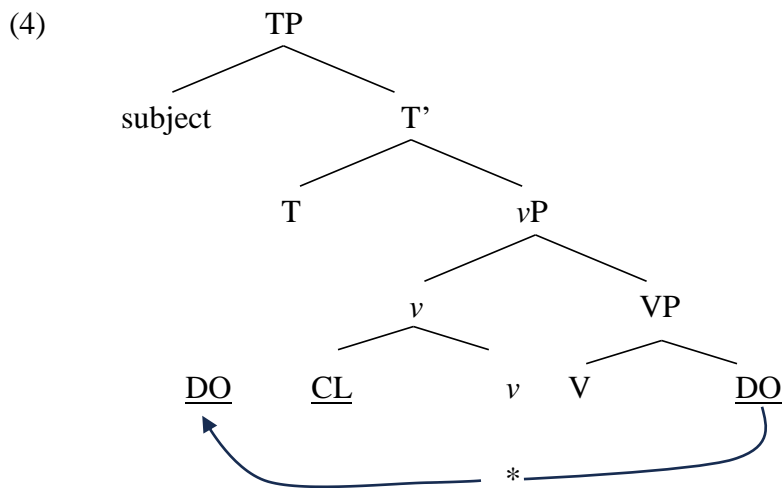
Now, as in many other Spanish dialects, dative doubling in Rioplatense Spanish is not equally restricted. Compare the paradigm in (1) with the dative doubling pattern in (5), in which all the doublings are licit regardless of the referential nature of the doubled indirect objects:

(5)   a.   Ana   le   entregó   el   premio a   Paula.
                Ana   CL.DAT.3SG   gave   the   prize   to   Paula
                'Ana gave the prize to Paula.'
        b.   Ana   le   entregó   el   premio a
                Ana   CL.DAT.3SG   gave   the   prize   to
                cada   estudiante.
                each   student
                'Ana gave the prize to each student.'

c.	Ana	no	le	entregó	el	premio
	Ana	not	CL.DAT.3SG	gave	the	prize
	a	nadie.				
	to	nobody				

'Ana gave the prize to nobody.'

d.	¿A	quién	le	entregó	el	premio Ana?
	to	who	CL.DAT.3SG	gave	the	prize Ana

'To whom did Ana give the prize?'

Even when Baker & Kramer's proposal is based on Amharic, they are aware of this pattern in Spanish and suggest the following:

"Many I-E [Indo-European] languages with clitic doubling differ from Amharic in this respect: for example, in Spanish, dative clitics can double any kind of IO without restrictions, as emphasized by Suñer (1988) and Gutiérrez-Rexach (1999), among others. But Spanish is significantly different from Amharic also in that it distinguishes a set of dative clitics from a set of accusative clitics (with some overlap, and different details in different dialects). It is thus not unnatural to say for Spanish that accusative clitics are true pronominal elements while dative clitics are pure agreement markers."

Baker & Kramer (2018: 1058), my underlining

The goal of this article is to argue that this claim is incorrect. Despite initial appearances, the attested patterns of accusative clitic doubling cannot be derived from WCO. First, because the extension of the phenomenon in Rioplatense Spanish and other Spanish dialects is not as it would be predicted by a putative WCO effect. For instance, in most Spanish dialects pronominal objects are doubled, but non-pronominal ones are not, an unexpected pattern under Baker & Kramer's approach. Second, there are cases in which the presence of a clitic repairs an otherwise WCO violation (Hurtado 1984, Di Tullio et al 2019, among others), showing, again, that doubling clitics cannot be considered plain pronouns. Now, this conclusion does not force us to claim that doubling clitics are agreement markers. They are not. The problem with Baker & Kramer's point of view is that they, as in other mainstream approaches to clitic doubling, reduce the analytical space to only two options: either clitics are agreement markers or plain pronouns. However, clitics can also be probes for A-movement in the syntax and abstractors at LF. If this is on the right track, Baker & Kramer's observation regarding the restricted distribution of clitic doubling is naturally accounted for in terms of feature attraction. As I will show, both dative and accusative doublings behave alike with respect to A-movement tests (i.e., they both trigger A-movement) but are distinguished in terms of the relevant feature that induces the A-movement: (i) [person] in the case of accusative doubling, and (ii) [D] in the case of dative doubling.

The paper is structured as follows. In the next section, I first show that the distribution of accusative clitic doubling in Rioplatense Spanish and other dialects does not fit the distribution predicted by the WCO theory and, then, I discuss an additional undergeneration problem for Baker & Kramer that involves licit instances of clitic doubling, which, on their account, should be ruled out as WCO violations. In section 3, I introduce the basic ingredients of a new theory of clitic doubling in Rioplatense Spanish, based on previous work by Di Tullio et al (2019) and Saab (2022). The theory assumes a tripartite typology of clitics: (i) pronouns, (ii) probes for

A-movement, and (iii) mere agreement markers. I show that both accusative and dative doubling clitics are probes for A-movement, not pronouns or mere agreement markers. The different distribution the two types of doublings have follows from the formal makeup of direct and indirect objects. Essentially, accusative doubling is triggered by [person] features, whereas dative doubling by [D]-features. Rioplatense Spanish is special only in that it allows for accusative doubling to also target non-pronominal objects. As argued by Di Tullio et al (2019), this is the byproduct of a microparameter that says that Rioplatense Spanish can optionally add a pronominal [3 person] feature to non-pronominal direct objects. In the final section, I conjecture that if Baker & Kramer are right at least in their analysis for Amharic, then, there must be diachronic and parametric reasons setting apart both types of languages. Taking for granted their analysis for Amharic and my analysis for Rioplatense Spanish here, then the Clitic Doubling Parameter must include a critical difference among languages that allow for plain pronouns to participate in true doubling configurations and languages that do not.

2. The distribution of accusative Clitic Doubling in Rioplatense Spanish

In this section, I show that accusative clitic doubling in Spanish does not behave as predicted by Baker & Kramer's theory. As we will see, the paradigm in (1), repeated below, is only a partial representation of the extension of clitic doubling in Rioplatense Spanish.

(6)   a.   Ana   (la   )   desaprobó   a   Paula.
          Ana   CL.ACC.F.3SG   failed   DOM   Paula
          'Ana failed Paula.'

      b.   Ana   (*   la   )   desaprobó   a   cada
          Ana   CL.ACC.F.3SG   failed   DOM   each
          estudiante.
          student
          'Ana failed each student.'

      c.   Ana   no   (?*   lo   )   desaprobó   a   nadie.
          Ana   not   CL.ACC.M.3SG   failed   DOM   nobody
          'Ana failed nobody.'

      d.   ¿A   quién   (*   lo   )   desaprobó   Ana?
          DOM   who   CL.ACC.M.3SG   failed   Ana
          'Who did Ana failed?'

      But before advancing in the Rioplatense patterns, let us introduce some details of Baker & Kramer's approach, which will be relevant for later discussion. In the concrete implementation they propose, a clitic or an object marker is merged with the *v* head, by definition, a non-argumental position. Consider their analysis for Amharic, which is the focus of their study. As (7) illustrates, in this language, an optional object marker can be added to the verbal base whenever the direct object has the right referential properties. Like in Spanish, the doubling marker in (7c), *w*, is the same used in cases in which there is no doubling and the marker itself is interpreted as the direct object (7b):

(7)   Baker & Kramer (2018: 1036)
        a.   Lämma   wɨʃʃa-w-in   ayy-ä.
               Lemma.M   dog-DEF.M-ACC   see.PFV-3MSG.S
               'Lemma saw the dog.'
        b.   Lämma   ayy-ä-_w_.
               Lemma.M   see.PFV-3MSG.S-3MSG.O
               'Lemma saw it/him.'
        c.   Lämma   wɨʃʃa-w-in   ayy-ä-_w_.
               Lemma.M   dog-DEF.M-ACC   see.PFV-3MSG.S-3MSG.O
               'Lemma saw the dog.'

The analysis for a case like (7c) is provided below:

(8) Baker & Kramer (2018: 1048)
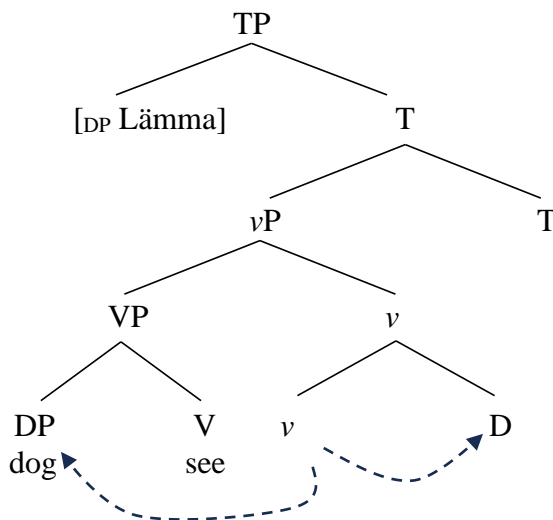
        The D head in _v_ is the abstract representation for the object marker _w_ in (7c).
The arrows indicate _Agree_ relations. Empirically, a D head in non-thematic position is
not interpretable at LF; it is just an expletive. Compare with the English pronoun _it_,
which is interpreted as a referential pronoun only when occurring in thematic position
(see Jaeggli 1986):

(9)   a. _It_ rains.
        b. I saw _it_.

        To make an expletive interpretable at LF some referential link must be
stipulated between the non-interpretable pronoun and the associated DP. Baker &
Kramer make the follow stipulation:[1]

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[1]   A mechanism like (10) should also account for the referential dependency in true cases
of expletive-associate relations, as the well-known English expletive construction in (i):

(i) There are many guests in the party.

(10)　　A D adjoined to head H is referentially dependent on the DP it agrees with via H.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Baker & Kramer (2018: 1049)

Now, similarly to what we observed in Rioplatense Spanish, the doubling of nonreferential *wh*-phrases or quantifiers gives rise to ungrammatical results if the object marker is introduced:

(11)　　Baker & Kramer (2018: 1054, ex. 31)
　　　a.　Almaz　　　　mann-in　　　　sam-ätʃtʃ?　　(*sam-ätʃtʃ-ɨw)
　　　　　Almaz.F　　　who.M-ACC　　kiss.PFV-3FSG.S kiss.PFV-3FSG.S.3MSG.O
　　　　　'Who (in the world) did Almaz kiss?'
　　　b.　Tɨgist　　　　hullu-n-imm　　　　mäs'haf　　　gäzz-atʃtʃ.
　　　　　Tigist.F　　　every-ACC-FOC　　　book.M　　　buy.PFV-3FSG.S
　　　　　(*gäzz-atʃtʃ-ɨw)
　　　　　'Tigist bought every book.'
　　　c.　Lämma　　　mann-in-imm　al-ayy-ä-mm.
　　　　　Lemma.M　　one.ACC.FOC　NEG.see-PFV.3MSG.S-FOC
　　　　　(*al-ayy-ä-w-imm)
　　　　　NEG.see-PFV.3MSG.S- 3MSG.O-FOC
　　　　　'Lemma saw nobody; Lemma didn't see anybody.'

Baker & Kramer propose to explain the badness of the examples in (11) in terms of the Crossover Condition stated below, which heavily relies on Safir's (2004) independence theory:

(12)　　The Crossover Condition, Baker & Kramer (2018: 1057)
　　　　X can be interpreted as dependent on a quantified antecedent Y only if
　　　　(i) X is a q-variable of Y, or
　　　　(ii) there is no q-variable of Y, or
　　　　(iii) X is dependent on a variable of Y *that no constituent containing X c-commands*.
　　　　Associated definition: X is a q-variable if X is in an A-position and X replaces the deleted copy of an operator.

Consider a simplified representation of the sentence in (11b), adapted from Baker & Kramer (2018: 1057):

(13)　　[TP every book [TP Tigist T [$_{v}$P [it – *v*] [VP bought <every book*>]]]]

Yet, a sentence like (i), which contains a quantifier DP as associate, is perfectly licit and does not trigger any WCO effect. Thus, I doubt that the mechanism of referential dependency they propose is the correct way to capture the putative pronominal behavior of object markers or doubling clitics, but in what follows, I will assume their analysis and show that, even taken for granted, it cannot account for the distribution of clitic doubling in Rioplatense Spanish and other dialects.

As is clear, the pronoun *it* cannot be interpreted as dependent on the quantified antecedent *every book*. First, it is not a q-variable, so clause (i) is not met. Second, there is indeed a q-variable of the raised quantifier, namely, its deleted copy *<every book*>*, so clause (ii) does not apply either. Finally, clause (iii) is not met either, since, although the pronoun *it* is referentially dependent on the q-variable (by (10)), it is also the case that a constituent containing the pronoun, the complex head [it – *v*], fatally *c*-commands the q-variable.

2.1. A first set of challenges for Baker & Kramer

Rioplatense Spanish is a language with productive clitic doubling of accusative direct objects. As all Spanish dialects, it has mandatory clitic doubling of pronominal objects:[2]

(14) a.   Ana   me   vio   a   mí.
            Ana   CL.ACC.1SG   saw   DOM   me
            'Ana saw me.'
      b.   Ana   te   vio   a   vos.
            Ana   CL.ACC.2SG   saw   DOM   you
            'Ana saw you.'
      c.   Ana   lo/la   vio   a   él/ella.
            Ana   CL.ACC.M.3SG / CL.ACC.F.3SG   saw   DOM   he/she
            'Ana saw him/her.'
      d.   Ana   nos   vio   a   nosotros/nosotras.
            Ana   CL.ACC.1PL   saw   DOM   we.M/we.F
            'Ana saw us.'
      e.   Ana   los/las   vio   a   ustedes.
            Ana   CL.ACC.M.3PL/CL.ACC.F.3PL   saw   DOM   you
            'Ana saw you.'
      f.   Ana   los/las   vio   a   ellos/ellas.
            Ana   CL.ACC.M.3PL/CL.ACC.F.3PL   saw   DOM   they.M/they.F
            'Ana saw them.'

Now, unlike many other dialects, Rioplatense Spanish also permits optional doubling of non-pronominal direct objects whenever those objects are differentially marked through the marker *a* 'to' (Jaeggli 1982):

(15) a.   Ana   (la   )   vio   a   Paula.
            Ana   CL.ACC.F.3SG saw   DOM Paula
            'Ana saw Paula.'

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[2]   The most salient properties of the Rioplatense pronominal pattern in (14) are (i) the well-known absence of a distinguished pronoun for second-person plural (e.g., as most American dialects, Rioplatense has lost the form *vosotros* 'you_2PL'), (ii) the absence of any form of *leísmo* attested in other European or American dialects (i.e., Rioplatense Spanish distinguishes masculine and feminine third person pronouns both in the singular and in the plural), and (iii) the use of *voseo* in the slot for the second-person singular (i.e., Rioplatense use *vos* 'you.2SG' instead of the more common *tú*).

	b.	Ana	(	lo	)	desaprobó	a	su
		Ana		CL.ACC.M.3SG	failed		DOM	POSS
		estudiante	preferido.					
		student	preferred					

'Ana failed her favorite student.'

However, non-DOM objects cannot be doubled (*pace* Suñer 1988, see Di Tullio et al 2019):

(16)	a.	Ana	(* lo	)	leyó	el	libro.
		Ana	CL.ACC.M.3SG	read.PST		the	book

'Ana read the book.'

	b.	Ana	(*	la	)	trajo	la	perra.
		Ana		CL.ACC.F.3SG	brought		the	dog.FEM

'Ana brought the dog.'

The case in (16b) is particularly interesting because, being an animate object, it also allows for the DOM marker, in which case the doubling is perfect:

(17)	Ana	(	la	)	trajo	a	la	perra.
	Ana		CL.ACC.F.3SG	brought		DOM	the	dog.FEM

'Ana brought the dog.'

Evidently, this contrast between DOM and non-DOM direct objects cast immediate doubts on the interaction between WCO and the availability for clitic doubling. Indeed, the dialectological distribution of the phenomenon in general casts doubt on Baker & Kramer's idea. For instance, the fact that in most Spanish dialects, clitic doubling is mandatory with accusative pronouns but impossible with accusative non-pronominal objects cannot be reduced to WCO. But note now that, even in dialects without productive clitic doubling of non-pronominal accusative objects, non-pronominal doubling of third person direct objects is allowed whenever the clitic mismatches the person features of the direct object. Thus, the doubling in (18) is licit in all Spanish dialects I am aware of.

(18) Fernández-Soriano (1999: 1250, 141e)

Nos	vieron	a	los	estudiantes.
CL.ACC.1PL	saw.PST.3PL	DOM	the	students

'They saw us students.'

As Leonetti (2008: 46, footnote 17) has observed "this absence of matching in person features (1p/2p in the clitic, 3p in the DP) produces the only case of CD with lexical DPs that is perfectly acceptable in all Spanish dialects, including Standard European Spanish." Again, this is unexpected under the WCO account of Baker & Kramer, since there is no reason for non-pronominal doubling to be permitted under unagreement but not under regular agreement in those dialects that do not license non-pronominal doubling.

Another intriguing fact, when looked at from Baker & Kramer's perspective, involves doubling with the quantifier *todos/todas* 'ALL.M.PL/ALL.F.PL', which takes

definite DPs as complement. In Rioplatense Spanish, the three doublings illustrated below are perfectly good:

(19) a.   (Los)   vi   a   todos   los   estudiantes.
            CL.ACC.M.3PL saw.1SG   DOM   all.M.PL the.M.PL students
            'I saw all the students.'
      b.   Los   vi   a   todos   ellos.
            CL.ACC.M.3PL saw.1SG   DOM   all.M.PL   them.M.3PL
            'I saw all of them.'
      c.   Los   vi   a   todos.
            CL.ACC.M.3PL saw.1SG   DOM   all.M.PL
            'I saw all.'

Yet, in Peninsular Spanish dialects that have only the pronominal doubling option, the doublings with the bare quantifier and the pronominal complement are highly favored, but the doubling with the non-pronominal DP is ungrammatical.[3]

(20) a.   *Les   vi   a   todos   los   estudiantes.
            CL.ACC.3PL   saw.1SG   DOM   all.M.PL the.M.PL students
            'I saw all the students.'
      b.   Les   vi   a   todos   ellos.
            CL.ACC.3PL   saw.1SG   DOM   all.M.PL   them.M.3PL
            'I saw all of them.'
      c.   Les   vi   a   todos.
            CL.ACC.F.3PL   saw.1SG   DOM   all.M.PL
            'I saw all.'

Any reasonable theory of clitic doubling must account for this contrast. The intuition is that the explanation must exploit the formal makeup of direct objects (i.e., their featural constitution). WCO looks irrelevant here.

Finally, let us discuss a final piece of evidence against the attempt to extend Baker & Kramer's theory to Rioplatense Spanish. Concretely, Baker & Kramer's approach incorrectly rules out the bound variable reading for a case like (21), which, against their expectations, perfectly allows for the possessive pronoun to co-vary with the antecedent quantifier:

(21) Rioplatense Spanish
      Cada   hombre   la   ama   a   su   madre.
      each   man   CL.ACC.F.3SG   loves   DOM   POSS   mother
      'Every/each man loves his mother.'
      Ok under the reading that "every person x loves x's own mother."

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[3]   Thanks to Olga Fernández Soriano for pointing out to me this contrast in her *leísta* Spanish and Francisco Ordóñez for additional judgments. An anonymous reviewer points out that in her partly *leísta* dialect, the doublings in (20b) and (20c) are also highly preferred. Finally, Ormazabal & Romero (2013: 318, 327) claim that the doubling in (20b) is grammatical in Basque *leísta* Spanish but not in Central Peninsular *leísta* Spanish.

Indeed, Baker & Kramer provide the same example and claim that is ungrammatical under the relevant bound reading in Spanish, although acknowledging some controversy in footnote (see Baker & Kramer 2018: 1977, ex. (76) and footnote 43). According to them, the impossibility of a bound variable reading for those speakers or dialects (they are unclear with respect to this point) which consider (21) out in the relevant reading follows from the same reason that explains why adding the object marker in (22) in Amharic also blocks the bound variable reading for the possessive pronoun.

(22)   Baker & Kramer (2018: 1065, ex. 57a)
        Hullu   säw   lɨdʒ-u-n
        every   person   child.M-his-ACC
        yɨ-wädd-ä-(#w)-all.
        3MSG.S-love.IPFV-3MGS.S-(3MSG.O)-AUX.3MSG.S
        'Everyone loves his child.'
        (Bad with OM as 'every person x loves x's own child')

As they show, the Crossover Condition in (12), repeated below, straightforwardly accounts for this fact in Amharic and Spanish as a sort of WCO violation.

(23)   The Crossover Condition, Baker & Kramer (2018: 1057)
        X can be interpreted as dependent on a quantified antecedent Y only if
        (i) X is a q-variable of Y, or
        (ii) there is no q-variable of Y, or
        (iii) X is dependent on a variable of Y *that no constituent containing X c-commands*.
        Associated definition: X is a q-variable if X is in an A-position and X replaces the deleted copy of an operator.

The problem is that the clitic *la* in Spanish or the object marker *w* in Amharic is dependent on a variable for the quantifier (the possessive pronoun in both languages), which is *c*-commanded by a constituent containing *la* or *w*, namely, the complex head [D-*v*]. Consequently, both examples constitute flagrant deviations from the Crossover Condition. Yet, as mentioned, the example in (21) is perfectly grammatical in Rioplatense Spanish.

In summary, the distribution of accusative clitic doubling in Rioplatense Spanish and other Spanish dialects shows that WCO cannot be the reason of such a distribution. Here is a list of the problems discussed so far:

(24)   a. the pronominal vs. non-pronominal division that sets apart Rioplatense Spanish from other Spanish dialects (cf. (14) and (15)),
        b. the DOM vs. non-DOM distinction that rules out clitic doubling of non-DOM objects in Rioplatense Spanish (cf. (16b) and (17)),
        c. the unagreement facts in all Spanish dialects, i.e., the fact that non-pronominal doubling is allowed in all Spanish dialects provided that the doubling clitic does not match the ϕ-features of the direct object (cf. (18)),

d. the distribution of clitic doubling with the quantifier *todos/as* in Peninsular Spanish and other pronominal doubling dialects which shows that the quantifier can be doubled only if it is bare or has a pronoun as complement (cf. (20)),

e. the compatibility between accusative doubling and quantifier binding of the doubled object by the subject (cf. (21))

Of course, it could be argued that more than one factor accounts for the distribution of clitic doubling across Spanish dialects. For instance, clitic doubling could be restricted by WCO and by other factors perhaps related to certain accessibility to a hierarchy of formal features. From this perspective, the contrasts in (1), repeated below, would be accounted for by WCO, but the facts listed in (24) would be accounted for by other factors.

(25) a.   Ana   (la   )   desaprobó   a   Paula.
            Ana   CL.ACC.F.3SG failed   DOM Paula
            'Ana failed Paula.'
      b.   Ana   (*   la   )   desaprobó   a   cada
            Ana   CL.ACC.F.3SG failed   DOM each
            estudiante.
            student
            'Ana failed each student.'
      c.   Ana   no   (?* lo   )   desaprobó   a   nadie.
            Ana   not   CL.ACC.M.3SG failed   DOM nobody
            'Ana failed nobody.'
      d.   ¿A   quién (*   lo   )   desaprobó   Ana?
            DOM   who   CL.ACC.M.3SG failed   Ana
            'Who did Ana failed?'

However, there are other reasons to suspect that WCO would be the cause that accounts for the facts in (25). As we will see, there are typical WCO scenarios in Spanish that are totally insensitive to clitic doubling, pointing out to the conclusion that the distribution of clitic doubling cannot be explained in WCO terms.

2.2. WCO vs. Clitic Doubling

A clear piece of evidence against the assimilation of doubling clitics with plain pronouns comes from focus fronting. In Spanish, focus operators trigger WCO:[4]

(26) *?A   ANA   criticó   su   madre.
     DOM   Ana   criticized her   mother
     Intended: 'Her mother criticized ANA.'

Now, focus fronting admits optional accusative doubling as the following example illustrates:

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[4]   See footnote 10 for a discussion regarding the interaction between WCO and focus *in situ*, a possibility not discussed in the main text.

(27)   A   ANA   (la   )   criticó   Paula.
        DOM   Ana   CL.ACC.F.3SG criticized   Paula
        'Paula criticized ANA.'

However, unlike (25), in this case the coreference is perfectly licit, contradicting Baker & Kramer's expectations. Put differently, Baker & Kramer's account undergenerates (27), leaving the contrast between (26) and (27) unexplained.

Another undergeneration scenario involves clitic doubling with indefinites. As noticed by Suñer (1988), accusative doubling is extending to indefinite objects:

(28)   Suñer (1988: 396, ex. 7b)
        Diariamente, la   escuchaba
        daily   CL.ACC.F.3SG listened.3SG
        a   una   mujer   que   cantaba   tangos.
        DOM   a   woman   that   sing.PST.3G tangos
        'Daily, she listened a woman who used to sing tangos.'

According to Suñer, licit instances of indefinite doubling require the indefinite to be interpreted as specific. Yet, I think this is more a tendency than a robust generalization. There are corpus examples in which the indefinite does not need to be specific. Here is a clear case in which the indefinite is non-specific but clitic doubled:

(29)   http://www.acontecercalchaqui.com.ar/tag/novedades/page/5/, last access in 2017
        Así   lo   confirmó   el   comisario   Sergio Soria,
        thus   CL.ACC.3SG   confirmed   the   commissioner Sergio Soria
        que   dos   personas   […]   la   asaltaron   a
        that   two   persons   […]   CL.ACC.F.3SG assaulted   DOM
        una   mujer […]
        a   woman
        'In this way, the commissioner Sergio Soria, confirmed that two persons assaulted a woman…'

According to Baker & Kramer's theory, the example should be ungrammatical, since non-specific indefinites are WCO triggers, but it is not. Additionally, we can construct examples like the focus fronting ones in (26) and (27). In effect, like in (26), WCO is active in the relevant indefinite scenarios, i.e., with the quantifier overtly crossing the subject that contains the possessive pronoun:

(30) *?A   TRES CHICOS   criticó   su   madre.
        DOM   three kids   criticized   their   mother
        Intended: 'Their mother criticized three kids.'

Yet, indefinite doubling is insensitive to WCO:

(31)   A   TRES CHICOS   los   criticó   Ana.
        DOM   three kids   CL.ACC.M.3PL criticized   Ana
        Intended: 'Ana criticized three kids.'

In sum, Baker & Kramer's theory of clitic doubling undergenerates crucial examples involving putative WCO violations.

3. Accounting for the distribution of accusative doubling

In this section, I present the main ingredients for a theory of clitic doubling, according to which (i) doubling clitics are sensitive to the featural makeup of objects, and (ii) doubling clitics are triggers for A-movement in the syntax and predicate-makers at LF (see Saab 2022). The first ingredient accounts for the distribution of clitic doubling in a given language or dialect, but also for the attested cross-dialectal extensions. The second ingredient explains why accusative and dative clitic doubling repairs WCO effects, a fact that is at the heart of the tripartite taxonomy of clitics to be proposed here.

3.1. The Person Condition

Accusative doubling can be captured through the following condition (Di Tullio et al 2019):

(32)   *The Person Condition*
        Direct objects encoding a [person] feature must be clitic doubled.

The Person Condition in Spanish is just another instance of the Person Licensing Condition, as stated by Preminger (2019) (π = person):

(33)   *The Person Licensing Condition (PLC),* adapted from Preminger (2019: 7)
         A π-feature on a DP that is canonical
        agreement target must participate in a valuation relation.[5]

Now, the peculiar distribution of clitic doubling in Rioplatense Spanish can be accounted for in a unified way through the following microparameter:

(34)   *Microparameter*, Di Tullio et al (2019: 234)
        Lexical DPs in Argentinean Spanish are optionally assigned with a [3Person] feature in the syntax.

In the general case, non-pronominal DPs are third person by default, but Rioplatense Spanish licenses, perhaps redundantly, an explicit [person] feature in clitic doubled DPs. Given that person features trigger clitic doubling in all Spanish dialects, it follows that, in addition to the pronominal doublings in (14), Rioplatense Spanish also has optional clitic doubling with non-pronominal direct objects. Consider the examples in (15), repeated below:

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

(35) a. Ana   (la   )   vio   a____ Paula.
          Ana   CL.ACC.F.3SG saw DOM Paula
          'Ana saw Paula.'
      b. Ana   (lo   )   desaprobó   a____   su
          Ana   CL.ACC.M.3SG failed   DOM   her
          estudiante____   preferido.
          student   preferred
          'Ana failed her favorite student.'

On Di Tullio et al's approach, the occurrence of the clitic is an indubitable indication of the presence of a [person] feature on the direct object. To put another way, non-pronominal DPs can be "pronominalized" through the addition of a [3 person] feature. This is enough to explain the distribution of clitic doubling in Rioplatense Spanish and other dialects. Referential DOM objects, even the non-pronominal ones, can have a [person] feature. As shown in the previous section, the relevant set of objects that can be [person]-bearers also includes some indefinites (see, e.g., (28) and (29)). And recall that even in dialects in which non-pronominal doubling is not allowed, the doubling is licensed whenever there is a person mismatch between the doubling clitic and the direct object:

(36) Fernández-Soriano (1999: 1250, ex. 141e)
      Nos____   vieron   a____ los____ estudiantes.
      CL.ACC.1PL   saw.PST.3PL DOM   the   students
      'They saw us students.'

According to Saab (2008, 2013), unagreement, a phenomenon attested in all Spanish dialects, arises whenever the relevant third person DP contains an additional [1/2 person] feature. Simplifying, for a case like (37a), a definite D head that contains an additional abstract [1 person] feature triggers first person agreement with the verb, even when the definite D head is impoverished for person features in Spanish and is realized as *l-* uniformly.[6]

(37) a. Los estudiantes   trabajamos.
          the   students   work.1PL
          'We students work.'
      b. [DP [D definite, [1 person]] estudiantes]

If this is on right track, a case like (36), in which there is doubling of a full DP even in dialects that prohibit doubling of non-pronominal objects, is directly explained

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[6]   An anonymous reviewer wonders why unagreement does not occur in the singular (e.g., **el estudiante trabajo* 'the student work.1SG'). Under the analysis I propose in Saab (2008, 2013), this straightforwardly follows from the fact that adding a [1 person] feature to a [α definite] DP can only give a first-person plural, i.e., the Halle's fourth person pronoun (see Halle 1997). This is because the [α definite] specification on a given D head is redundantly read off as [3 person] in the morphological component. Put differently, any adding of a [1/2 person] feature to any [α definite] D head would result in a [1/2 + 3 person] combination, which can only be a plural form.

by the Person Condition, since that the direct object in (36) has, in fact, an underlying [person] feature and, consequently, must be doubled.

The Peninsular Spanish facts in (20), repeated below, also follow from the Person Condition, if the bare quantifier in (38c) is a *pro*, i.e., a plain pronoun:

(38) a.   *Les   vi   a   todos   los   estudiantes.
            CL.ACC.3PL   saw.1SG   DOM   all.M.PL the.M.PL students
            'I saw all the students.'
      b.   Les   vi   a   todos   ellos.
            CL.ACC.3PL   saw.1SG   DOM   all.M.PL   them.M.3PL
            'I saw all of them.'
      c.   Les   vi   a   todos.
            CL.ACC.F.3PL saw.1SG   DOM   all.M.PL
            'I saw all.'

As we have already observed, in Rioplatense Spanish, all the doublings are possible, with the difference in the mandatory or optional nature of the relevant [person] feature, a fact which, again, follows from the Person Condition and the microparameter in (34):[7]

(39) a.   (Los)   vi   a   todos
            CL.ACC.M.3PL saw.1SG   DOM   all.M.PL
            [los   estudiantes]([person]).
            the.M.PL students
            'I saw all the students.'
      b.   Los   vi   a   todos   ellos[person].
            CL.ACC.M.3PL saw.1SG   DOM   all.M.PL   them.M.3PL
            'I saw all of them.'
      c.   Los   vi   a   todos *pro*[person].
            CL.ACC.M.3PL saw.1SG   DOM   all.M.PL
            'I saw all.'

---

[7]   A pattern I do not discuss in the main text involves the use of the quantifier *todos* 'all' in non-DOM contexts. Consider the following example, in which the use of a non-DOM object preceded by *todos* can be doubled by a clitic to the extent the [- animate] DP *todos* modifies is null:

(i)   Los   compré   todos   (*los   libros).
       CL.ACC.M.3PL bought.1SG   all.M.PL the   books
       'I book all.'

As shown in Di Tullio et al (2019), Rioplatense Spanish cannot have clitic doubling with non-DOM objects. Then, the example in (i) cannot be considered as a case of clitic doubling in the favored sense. A plausible analysis for cases like this is to assume object scrambling of *los* to the edge of VoiceP as proposed for non-doubling examples like (42) (see footnote 8 for additional discussion). This movement leaves *todos* stranded, giving rise to the string in (i), which superficially looks like a clitic doubling structure. I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for calling my attention to facts like (i).

The Person Condition approach to clitic doubling in Rioplatense Spanish also explains why the clitic doubling sentence in (21), also repeated below, is licit even if the quantifier *cada* binds the possessive pronoun. Affecting the formal makeup of the direct object by adding a redundant [person] feature should not interfere with the possibility for the quantifier to bind the possessive pronoun.

(40)   Rioplatense Spanish
         Cada   hombre   <u>la</u>   ama   <u>a   su   madre</u>.
         each   man   CL.ACC.F.3SG loves DOM   POSS   mother
         'Every/each man loves his mother.'
         Ok under the reading that "every person *x* loves *x*'s own mother."

For the reasons just adduced, the initial facts in (1)/(25) should be derived from the Person Condition, as well. Put differently, the ungrammatical doublings are explained if non-referential bare *wh*-phrases or quantifiers cannot be [person] bearers. In sum, despite initial appearances, the distribution of accusative clitic doubling in dialects of Spanish cannot be explained by WCO. The available evidence leads us to conclude that the explanatory force is in the *Agree* system that connects valued and unvalued features in well-defined syntactic configurations (i.e., those defined by the *Agree* theory). As we will see, this does not imply that doubling clitics must be considered pure agreement markers. Indeed, they are not.

3.2. Doubling clitics as probes for A-movement

I assume, then, that accusative clitic doubling is the surface reflex of an underlying *Agree* relation between the clitic and the direct object. This follows from the *PLC* as stated in (33). In Di Tullio et al (2019), the (more or less implicit) assumption is that the clitic must be considered an agreement marker and not a pronoun. Yet, such a conclusion is not forced; it depends on the typology of clitics one takes as valid. I think that the binary distinction agreement marker vs. pronoun is too simplistic. As I argue in Saab (2022), under closer inspection, Rioplatense doubling clitics behave as syntactic probes for A-movement and predicate-makers at LF. To implement the idea formally, let us assume that doubling clitics, like pronouns, are mere indexes in the lexicon. Now, what distinguishes a true pronoun from a syntactic probe is its merge position. An index merged in argument position is a trigger for an assignment function, whereas an index merged in non-argumental position is a semantic abstractor. This straightforwardly follows from well-known assumptions about indexes in contemporary formal semantics. Consider first an index denoting in individuals (type *e*), i.e., a pronoun in argument position. Semantically, it is interpreted via an assignment function *g*, which takes an index as argument and gives an individual as value:

(41) $[\![index]\!]^g = g(index)$

In terms of an example, suppose that the clitic *la*, which is just the realization of a semantic index and a set of ϕ-features, is merged in object position.[8]

(42)   Ana   <u>la₁</u>   vio.
       Ana   CL.ACC.F.3SG   saw
       'Ana saw her.'

And suppose, in addition, that the context of utterance provides the following assignment function:

(43) $g = [1 \rightarrow$ Paula]

Then, the pronoun *la* in object position has the individual Paula as semantic value:

(44) $[\![la_1]\!]^g = g(1) =$ Paula

Now, pronouns can also be merged in non-argumental position. Let us assume that in some languages, clitics can be merged as sisters of the Voice head:

(45)   ClP
                    ╱   ╲
            Cl: *index*   VoiceP

In this position, a clitic triggers predicate abstraction:

(46)   *Predicate abstraction,* Heim & Kratzer (1998: 186)
       Let α be a branching node with daughters β and γ, where β dominates only a numeric index *i*. Then, for any variable assignment γ, $[\![\alpha]\!]^g = \lambda x.[\![\gamma]\!]^{g[i \rightarrow x]}$.

This is the case of doubling clitics. Consider, again, a basic clitic doubling example in Rioplatense Spanish:

(47)   Ana   <u>la</u>   vio   <u>a   Paula</u>.
       Ana   CL.ACC.F.3SG   saw   DOM   Paula
       'Ana saw her.'

Before the relevant head and phrasal movements that give rise to the final word ordering, there is a step of the derivation that looks roughly as follows:

(48)   [TP [ClP *la* [VoiceP Ana [VP ver [DP[3 person] a Paula]]]]]

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[8]   This analysis assumes that non-doubling object clitics work as plain pronouns in object position and A-move by scrambling to the VoiceP edge, i.e., they are true arguments of the relevant predicates. But this is just an assumption. My analysis is compatible with other alternatives that have been proposed in the literature. For instance, Jaeggli (1982) analyzes sentences like (42) as containing a *pro* in object position. On this view, the sentence in (42) is an underlying clitic doubling configuration. For Uriagereka (1995), clitics head big DPs which take little *pros* as complements and, optionally, allow for doubled DPs in their specifiers.

The direct object, which encodes a [3 person] feature, agrees with the clitic, which, by assumption, has a set of unvalued φ-features. Now, the clitic also bears an EPP feature and attracts the direct object, which moves, then, to the Spec,ClP position:[9]

(49)   Syntax: [TP [ClP a Paula *la* [VoiceP Ana [VP ver [DP[3 person] *t*$_{a\ Paula}$]]]]]

Finally, at LF, the direct object saturates the individual argument that the open predicate has as a byproduct of the clitic doubling configuration.

(50)   LF: ⟦[λ*x*. Ana ver *x*]⟧(⟦[Paula]⟧)

According to this view, the doubling clitic is not a pronoun, although it has some semantic import at LF, i.e., it is a λ-abstractor. This makes it different from pronouns, but also from pure agreement markers, which are conceived of as pure set of unvalued φ-features, without any detectable import at LF. We have, then, a tripartite division of clitics or, more generally, of φ-marker elements.

(51)   The typology of clitics/φ-markers
        a. pronoun: b. probe: c. agreement
        [D φ: valued, index]   [D φ: unvalued, index, EPP]   [D φ: unvalued]

The next question is how to detect a probe/abstractor and to distinguish it from the two other elements in the typology. In the next subsection, we will see that true WCO effects is a powerful diagnostic tool in this respect.

3.3. Weak crossover again

In Di Tullio et al (2019), WCO effects are used as key factor to this end, but in a way clearly different from the use Baker & Kramer make. Recall that focus fronting in Rioplatense Spanish triggers WCO:

(52)   *?   <u>A   ANA</u>   criticó   <u>su</u>   madre.
              DOM   Ana   criticized   her   mother
              Intended: '<u>Her</u> mother criticized <u>ANA</u>.'   [cf. (26)]

As Hurtado (1984) shows, although with another set of data, clitic doubling repairs this WCO effect (see also Suñer 1988, Di Tullio et al 2019 and Saab 2022).[10]

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[9]   Further movements (V-to-T movement, clitic attachment to T, or subject movement in SVO configurations, for instance) must of course apply to derive the final word order.
[10]   Hurtado (1984) also provides examples with focus *in situ*, like (i):

(i)   Hurtado (1984: 127, ex. 18c)
         <u>Su</u>   cómplice   ??(<u>lo</u>   )   acusó   a   <u>JUAN</u>.
         his   accomplice   CL.ACC.M.3PL   accused DOM   Juan
         'His accomplice accused JUAN.'

(53)   A   ANA   *la*   críticó   su   madre.
        DOM   Ana   CL.ACC.F.3SG   criticized   her   mother
        'Her mother criticized ANA.'

As observed in section 2.2, the contrast between sentences (26) and (27) presents a clear challenge to Baker & Kramer's suggestion that the distribution of accusative clitic doubling can be explained if clitics are pronouns. Of course, the sentence in (53), which is a combination of (26) and (27), is problematic for such an approach, as well. Now, if doubling clitics are probes for A-movement, then the contrast between (52) and (53) can be straightforwardly derived from the scope theory of WCO (Sauerland 1998, Ruys 2000, and van Urk 2015). To see the idea, consider first a classic WCO minimal pair in English:

(54)   Wasow (1972: 135)
        a. Who$_i$ fed his$_i$ dog?
        b. *?Who$_i$ was his$_i$ dog fed by?

Like Di Tullio et al (2019), I prefer to use focus fronting examples to avoid possible confounding factors having to do with linear ordering. For all consulted speakers, although it is true that clitic doubling improves WCO effects both with focus *in situ* and with focus fronting, the fronting cases make the contrast with the non-doubled examples sharper. The situation changes when the object is an indefinite (see below in the main text). In this case, it seems that only focus fronting repairs WCO. Consider the following pair:

(ii)   a.   A   UN   VECINO ?*(lo   )   denunció   su
              DOM   a   neighbor   CL.ACC.M.3PL   denounced   his
              madre.
              mother
        b. ?* Su   madre (lo   )   denunció
              his   mother   CL.ACCM.3PL   denounced
              A   UN   VECINO.
              DOM   a   neighbor
              Intended: 'His mother denounced a neighbor.'

The doubled version of (iib) sharply contrasts with the doubled version of the proper name in (i). Here, it seems impossible to understand that we are talking about the neighbor's mother. Therefore, the badness of (iib) seems to be something deeper than a mere linear effect. As we will see, on my analysis, doubling clitics trigger an intermediate step of A-movement to Spec,ClP, which, as is well-known, is the responsible for the WCO repairment. Further reordering related to verbal and subject movement opaques this intermediate step of movement, but the fact that (i) repairs WCO even with the focus *in situ* shows that the theory is on the right track at least for the case of definite doubling. As for indefinite doublings, the facts seem to be more complicated, first, because the phenomenon is not fully generalized to all Rioplatense speakers and even for those who accept indefinite accusative doubling, the doubling is not preferred as is the case with definite objects. And second, the WCO facts in (ii) suggest that WCO is repaired only when there is overt focus movement. This could mean that the clitic position is an A-position available for intermediate steps of movement, but also that the same position does *not* force the A-movement of the doubled indefinite object. I will leave further inquiry into the nature of indefinite doubling for another occasion.

(55)   Sauerland (1998: 264, exx 44;46)
         a. Which boy$_i$ received a postcard from his$_i$ sister?
         b.??Which boy$_i$ did his$_i$ sister send a postcard to?

The examples in (54a) and (55a) involve no WCO effect. In this case, the subject moves first by A-movement and then by A'-movement. In the examples in (54b) and (55b), instead, the coreference (indicated by Sauerland with subindexes) is banned. According to Sauerland (1998), *Q*-raising, a variety of A'-movement, abstracts over choice functions and leaves the restrictor of the *wh*-element *in situ*. This amounts to abstraction over higher semantic types (choice functions are <<e,t>, e>, i.e., functions that take a set as input and return an individual as value) with the crucial consequence that the choice function abstractor that *Q*-raising introduces cannot bind the possessive pronoun, which denotes over *e* types. The essential analysis for (55b) is given in (56), in which the semantic mismatch between the possessive and the λ-abstractor is illustrated with the *f* and *x* subscripts:

(56)   Sauerland (1998: 265, ex. 47)
         ??[Which boy] λ*f* did his$_i$ sister send a postcard to [*f*, boy]

Now, the examples in (54a) and (55a) also involve *Q*-raising, but crucially preceded by subject movement to Spec,TP, i.e., there is a step of A-movement preceding *Q*-raising, a type of movement which is insensitive to WCO, as illustrated in the following example:

(57)   Sauerland (1998: 265, ex. 48)
         Which girl$_i$ seemed to her$_i$ brother to be a good player.

Under the scope theory of WCO, the reason for the absence of WCO in (57) and in the (a) examples in (54) and (55) is that, in these cases, A-movement uniformly abstracts over individuals. To illustrate the theory, consider the analysis for (57) in (58), in which subject movement opens the possibility for the possessive pronoun to be bound by the individual abstractor:

(58)   [$_{TP}$ Which girl$_i$ λ*x* [seemed to her$_i$ brother $t_{which\ girl}$ to be a good player]]

As I have shown in Saab (2022), this analysis generalizes to the contrast in (52) and (53). If focus movement also abstracts over choice functions, as proposed by Reich (2004), then a partial (and simplified) representation for (52) would be as in (59), where the pronoun cannot be bound by the λ-operator, because of a type mismatch:

(59)   *?[$_{FocP}$ A PAULA λ*f* [$_{TP}$ [$_{VoiceP}$ [*su$_x$* madre] [$_{VP}$ ver t_f]]]]

In the clitic doubling case, like in the case of subject movement in English, there is a previous step of A-movement, which triggers abstraction over individuals, licensing the binding of the possessive:

(60)   [$_{TP}$ [$_{CIP}$ a Paula λ*x* [$_{VoiceP}$ *su$_x$* madre] [$_{VP}$ ver [$_{DP[3\ person]}$ t_x]]]]]

I take this type of WCO facts as a clear indication that clitics are probes, not mere agreement markers or pronouns. Now, as we have already observed, dative clitic doubling in Spanish in general has a wider distribution than accusative doubling. Recall the patterns in (5) again:

(61) a.   Ana   le   entregó   el   premio a
            Ana   CL.DAT.3SG   gave   the   prize   to
            Paula.
            Paula
            'Ana gave the prize to Paula.'
      b.   Ana   le   entregó   el   premio a
            Ana   CL.DAT.3SG   gave   the   prize   to
            cada   estudiante.
            each   student
            'Ana gave the prize to each student.'
      c.   Ana   no   le   entregó   el   premio
            Ana   not   CL.DAT.3SG   gave   the   prize
            a   nadie.
            to   nobody
            'Ana gave the prize to nobody.'
      d.   ¿A   quién le   entregó   el   premio Ana?
            to   who   CL.DAT.3SG   gave   the   prize   Ana
            'To whom did Ana give the prize?'

As already observed, the contrast between this distribution and the accusative clitic doubling pattern is what justifies the claim in Baker & Kramer already commented in the introduction:

"It is thus not unnatural to say for Spanish that accusative clitics are true pronominal elements while dative clitics are pure agreement markers." (Baker & Kramer 2018: 1058)

Yet, I think that, again, this does not follow. Dative doubling in Spanish behaves exactly as accusative doubling regarding WCO. For instance, in the following minimal pair, clitic doubling of the indirect object repairs WCO, showing that the clitic behaves as a probe in the syntax and a predicate-maker at LF:[11]

(62) a. ?*   ¿A   quién entregó un   libro su   madre?
               to   who   gave   a   book   POSS mother

---

[11]   An anonymous reviewer attributes the contrast in (62) to the fact that dative doubling is highly preferred, not to WCO. While I agree with the reviewer that many Spanish dialects, including Rioplatense, strongly favor the dative doubling version over the non-doubled one, WCO effects are still detected for many speakers I have consulted. At any rate, regardless of the optional or mandatory nature of dative clitic doubling, the robust grammaticality of (62b) shows that A-movement applies in dative doubling scenarios.

b.   ¿*A*   *quién*   *le*   entregó un   libro   <u>su</u>
       to   who   CL.DAT.3SG   gave   a   book   POSS
       <u>madre</u>?
       mother
       '<u>To whom</u> did <u>his/her</u> mother give a book?'

A simplified analysis for (62b) would be as shown below, where the possessive can be bound by the λ-operator created by clitic doubling.

(63)   [$_{TP}$ [$_{CIP}$ *a quién* λ*x* [$_{VoiceP}$ [<u>*su$_x$* madre</u>] [$_{VP}$ entregó un libro *t$_{a\ quién}$*]]]]

Absence of the clitic amounts to absence of the relevant step of A-movement. Consequently, a standard WCO violation is obtained:

(64)   ?* [$_{CP}$ *a quién* λ*f* [$_{VoiceP}$ [*su$_x$* madre] [$_{VP}$ entregó un libro *t$_f$*]]]

In sum, dative doubling clitics are not mere agreement markers. The different distribution of dative clitic doubling and of accusative clitic doubling must be found in the formal makeup of both types of objects. Pujalte & Saab (2018) propose that the wider distribution of dative doubling derives from the fact that the trigger of A-movement is a [D]-feature, not a [person] feature.

(65)   a. accusative probe   b. dative probe:
         [$_D$ φ: unvalued, index, EPP$_{[π]}$]   [$_D$ φ: unvalued, index, EPP$_{[D]}$]

By assumption, non-doubling clitics are plain pronouns, both when they occur alone, i.e., as a free variable, like in (66) or when they serve as pronominal variables in clitic left-dislocated constructions like in (67), but my point here stands even if this assumption is incorrect:[12]

(66)   a.   Ana   la   vio.
                Ana   CL.ACC.F.3SG   saw
                'Ana saw her.'
         b.   Ana   le   dio   un   libro.
                Ana   CL.DAT.3SG   gave   a   book
                'Ana gave him/her a book.'

(67)   a.   <u>A   Paula</u>, Ana   <u>la</u>   vio.
                DOM   Paula   Ana   CL.ACC.F.3SG   saw
                'Paula, Ana saw her.'
         b.   <u>A   Paula</u>, Ana   <u>le</u>   dio   un   libro.
                to   Paula   Ana   CL.DAT.3SG   gave   a   book
                'Paula, Ana gave him/her a book.'

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[12]   I refer the reader to Di Tullio et al (2019) for several arguments to the effect of showing that clitics in dislocated constructions are pronominal variables, different from doubling clitics.

In sum, there is no evidence for treating accusative or dative doubling clitics as plain pronouns (i.e., triggers of assignment functions at LF) or as mere agreement markers (i.e., mere φ-bearers). The WCO data discussed in this section show that they are, indeed, involved in the *Agree* system, but unlike mere φ-bearers, they also induce the A-movement of the doubled objects and have, consequently, some semantic import at LF (opaqued by the truth-conditional calculus).

4. Final diachronic and dialectological remarks

In this paper, I have given reasons to reject Baker & Kramer's suggestion that Spanish clitic doubling can be characterized in terms of their theory for Amharic clitic doubling. Despite initial evidence in favor of deriving patterns of clitic doubling in Spanish through WCO, I have shown, following previous proposals, that the distribution of clitic doubling is sensitive to the formal features of direct and indirect objects ([person] and [D], respectively). Doubling clitics serve two basic functions in the clause: (i) they trigger an instance of syntactic *Agree* with the doubled DP, and (ii) they attract the doubled DPs via A-movement. Yet, they are not semantically innocuous, although truth-conditionally a sentence with clitic doubling is extensionally identical to a sentence without clitic doubling. The difference is that the clitic opens its sister node at LF, creating a predicate that is saturated by the doubled object. This is the crucial difference with a pure agreement marker, which is totally vacuous at LF. Formally, such a difference can be captured if pure agreement markers are mere φ-ornaments without any index in their internal representation. The typology of clitics behind the main claims made here contains at least the three elements in (51), repeated below:

(68)   The typology of clitics/φ-markers
         a. pronoun: b. probe: c. agreement
         [$_D$ φ: valued, index]   [$_D$ φ: unvalued, index, EPP]   [$_D$ φ: unvalued]

As far as I can tell, Rioplatense clitics instantiate (68a) and (68b), but not (68c), which is, instead, instantiated by subject agreement markers. In effect, a quick look at subject-verb agreement properties in typical null subject languages like Spanish, in which absence of A-movement properties in overt subjects is widely attested (see, among others, Barbosa 1995, Ordóñez 1997 and Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998), seems to give some initial plausibility to the hypothesis that subject agreement is purely ornamental in this case, instantiating a true case of (68c).

I would like to conclude this paper adding some general diachronic and parametric remarks, which could provide some further insights to understand the situation of Rioplatense Spanish and beyond. Crucially, the preceding discussion does not invalidate Baker & Kramer's theory for clitic doubling in Amharic, since, as we will see, it is perfectly conceivable that Amharic and (Rioplatense) Spanish instantiate different stages of the Clitic Doubling Cyclic and, consequently, trigger different parametric properties.

4.1. The Clitic Doubling Cycle

Doubling clitics are not pronouns but, undoubtedly, they diachronically derived from pronouns. The important empirical observation is that all Spanish varieties have clitics but not all Spanish varieties have clitic doubling of the Rioplatense type. For instance, most dialects, if not all, have clitic left dislocation. Therefore, it must be the case that, diachronically, non-doubling configurations precede doubling ones. For evidence corroborating this path of change in the history of Spanish and other Romance languages, see Fischer & Rinke (2013) Gabriel & Rinke (2010) and, more recently, Fischer et al (2019). In this last study, the authors propose the Clitic Doubling Cycle in (69) to explain the systematic patterns of language change in the realm of clitic doubling in Romance.[13]

(69)   The Clitic Doubling Cycle, Fischer et al (2019: 60)

Stage I → no CD   (Latin/Protoromance)
Stage II → optional CD with full pronouns   (Old Spanish / Old Catalan)
Stage III
→ obligatory CD with full pronouns
→ obligatory CD with indirect nominal objects [+ animate, +definite, +specific]
                        Early Modern Spanish/ Decadència Catalan / Spanish / Catalan
Stage IV
→ obligatory CD with full pronouns,
→ obligatory CD with indirect nominal objects,
→ spread of CD to direct nominal objects [+animate, +definite, +specific]
                                (Rioplatense Spanish, Judeo-Spanish)

Stage V → generalized CD (with all objects, even inanimates)
                                (Lima, Andean Spanish)

According to Fischer et al (2019), Rioplatense Spanish is in a stage in which accusative clitic doubling is not fully grammaticalized as an agreement marker, which is the case in Lima and Andean Spanish, dialects in which clitic doubling generalized to almost any type of object. In the most advanced stages, Stage V for instance, the doubling clitic does not agree with the ϕ-features of the doubled object:

(70)   Andean Spanish, Zdrojewski & Sánchez (2014) *apud* Fischer et al (2019: 60)
    a.   lo   vendo   toditos los   carros.
          CL.ACC.M.SG   sell.1SG   all.DIM the   cars
          'I sell all the cars.'
    b.   Eso   también   lo   mata   las   plantas.
          that   too   CL.ACC.M.SG   kills   the   plants
          'That too kills the plants.'

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[13]   See also Rinke et al (2019) and Rinke et al (2023) for recent corpus and judgment studies comparing Peninsular and Rioplatense Spanish. The results are consistent with the Clitic Doubling Change.

According to Fischer et al, there is, then, a path of grammaticalization that can be expressed as follows:

Grammaticalization path of the clitic, Fischer et al (2019: 60)

(71) Clitic >   Clitic >   Clitic
      DPs   D-heads   φ-features

Therefore, the path of change can be characterized as a process in which the referential properties of clitics and their formal makeup is eroded until the final stage in which they become mere agreement markers. In my terms here, in the first stages we have plain pronouns, i.e., indexes in argument position subject to assignment functions. In the intermediate step, the abovementioned erosion is concretely expressed in the lexicon of a language by the presence of indexes ornamented with unvalued φ-features, i.e., formal probes. Finally, the index is lost, and the relevant item only expresses φ-features. Yet, I do not think that the φ-impoverishment attested at Stage V is, really, a crucial factor. Put differently, the facts in (70) cannot be taken as compelling evidence that the index has been lost. To show that some clitic became a mere agreement marker, it must be shown, first, that the clitic at hand is not a syntactic probe for A-movement and a predicate-maker at LF. As we have seen, dative clitic doubling, even when it substantially differs from accusative doubling and tends to be characterized as being closer to a pure agreement marker, still triggers A-movement of the indirect object.

Coming back to the contrast between Rioplatense Spanish and Amharic, one could speculate that both languages are at different evolutionary stages. It seems clear that Rioplatense Spanish is at Stage IV. Arguably, Amharic is in a previous stage, with their object markers still in a pronominal stage (Stage II?).

4.2. The Clitic Doubling Parameter

Now, this brief remark on the Clitic Doubling Cycle directly bears on the question of how to characterize the so-called Clitic Doubling Parameter properly (see Anagnostopoulou 2014 for an overview). In effect, the stages described by the Clitic Doubling Cycle in (69) also characterize important linguistic differences among different Romance and non-Romance languages regarding clitic doubling. A first obvious division can be made among languages with and without clitic doubling (e.g., Standard Italian vs. Spanish). For instance, Standard Italian, a non-clitic doubling language, lacks the subset of impoverished probes Spanish has. Its object pronoun set contains indexes ornamented with valued φ-features, which can only occur in argument position read off as variables at LF.

(72) Verdecchia (2022: 293)
      a.   Maria conosce   Gianni.
            Maria knows   Gianni
            'Maria knows Gianni.'
      b. * Maria lo   conosce   Gianni.
            Maria CL.ACC.M.3SG   knows   Gianni
            'Maria knows Gianni.'

(73)   a.   Maria   conosce   lui.
                Maria   knows   him
                'Maria knows him.'
        b. *   Maria   lo   conosce   lui.
                Maria   CL.ACC.M.3SG   knows   him
                'Maria knows him.'

This pattern extends to reflexive constructions. In effect, as is well known, in Standard Italian, the reflexive pronoun *si* does not allow for reflexive doubling. This is in sharp contrast with Spanish, a language in which reflexive anaphora are obligatorily doubled in object position.

(74)   a.   Gianni difende   se stesso.
                Gianni defends   himself
        b.   Gianni si   difende.
                Gianni REFL   defends
                'Gianni defends himself.'
        c. *   Gianni si   difende   se stesso.
                Gianni REFL   defends   himself

(75)   Ana   *(se   )   critica   a   sí misma.
          Ana   REFL   criticizes   DOM   herself

Like in transitive environments, absence of reflexive doubling in Italian is expected if *si* is still a variable in argument position. Therefore, diachronically, pronouns and anaphora did not evolve as probes in the language and clitic doubling is ruled out for well-known reasons having to do with thematic theory, namely, sentences with identical thematic arguments are excluded.

But of course, attested variation in the clitic doubling terrain across languages is much more than absence vs. presence of a set of impoverished clitics. Many other factors regarding the presence vs. absence of differential object marking, the activity of the *PLC* (see (33)) and the option of allowing π-encoding on full DPs, among other factors, should lead us to a proper characterization of the Clitic Doubling Parameter consistent with the general proposal in this paper. Thanks to the vast contributions to the theory of clitic doubling in the last five decades, we already know where Rioplatense Spanish is regarding the attested range of variation in the clitic doubling realm. Concretely, Rioplatense Spanish is placed in that parametric space in which: (i) the object clitic system evolved as stated in (69), (ii) the DOM system produces Kayne's Generalization effects (i.e., doubling restricted to DOM objects), and (iii) the formal makeup of direct objects allows for encoding π-information on full DPs. In this sense, on top of the many clitic constructions that this Spanish variety shares with most dialects (clitic dislocation constructions, for instance), the language also has at its disposal a subset of impoverished clitics serving as probes for A-movement.[14] Now, these parametric considerations do not

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[14]   Rinke & Fischer (2013: 468) propose a parametric hierarchy that introduces finer distinctions. For instance, it seems that clitic doubling of non-pronominal indirect objects is a precondition for clitic doubling of non-pronominal direct objects.

contemplate languages as Amharic. If both Baker & Kramer and I are right, then the theory must introduce finer distinctions regarding the nature of the clitic itself. For instance, given a licit instance of clitic doubling (not to be confused with clitic duplication in dislocations), we must know whether the clitic is still pronominal in the sense favored by Baker & Kramer.

(76)   Clitic Doubling?

            No: Italian   *Yes*: Is the clitic a pronoun?

                            Yes: Amharic   *No:* Rioplatense Spanish
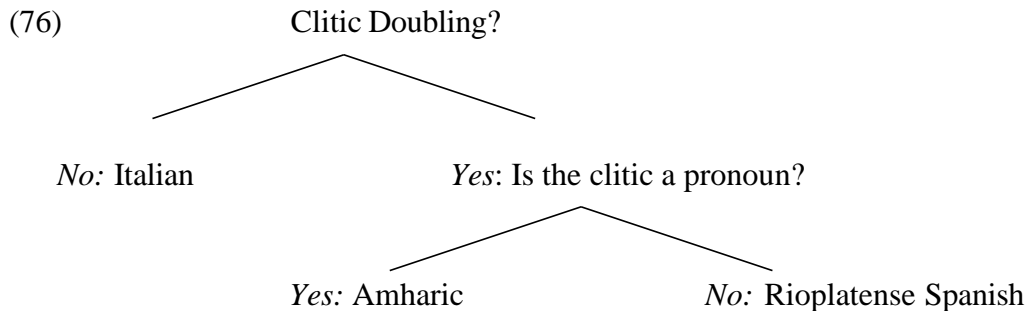
I think that the plausibility of introducing this type of parametric division largely depends on the theoretical validity of Baker & Kramer's claim that there are indeed licit instances of clitic doubling in the languages of the world that allow for syntactic pronouns to be merged in non-argumental positions without ceasing of being true semantic pronouns at LF.

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