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This is a contribution from *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2010*.

Selected papers from 'Going Romance' Leiden 2010.

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Anti-repair effects under ellipsis

Diagnosing (post-)syntactic clitics in Spanish*

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This paper centers on the nature of clitic doubling in River Plate Spanish. We present some novel empirical observations regarding clitic doubling and its relation with extraction and ellipsis. Concretely, we show that clitic doubling ameliorates some island effects. However, this repair effect disappears under ellipsis. We claim that this anti-repair effect follows if clitic doubling is a PF operation (in the sense of Distributed Morphology) that is blocked under ellipsis. Crucially, anti-repair effects are not observed in contexts of clitic left dislocation. We propose then that this is because clitic left dislocation is a purely syntactic phenomenon and, as expected, is not affected by ellipsis. One important consequence that follows from our analysis is that Kayne's Generalization (i.e. the fact that clitic doubling is dependent on differential object marking) has to be seen as a purely PF-phenomenon, an idea in consonance with Bobaljik's (2008) recent findings on the relation between case and agreement.

Keywords: clitic doubling; focus fronting; island repair; ellipsis; PF-resumption

* Different versions of this work were presented at the workshop *Romania Nova IV* (Campos de Jordão, 2010), *Going Romance 24* (Leiden, 2010), and the workshop *Islands in Contemporary Linguistic Theory* (Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2011). Hereby, we thank the organizers and the audience of those conferences for comments and discussion. We would particularly like to thank Dave Embick, Ángel Gallego, Anikó Lipták, Jason Merchant, Jairo Nunes, Javier Ormazabal and Paco Ordóñez for detailed comments and fruitful discussion at different stages during the writing process of this paper. We are also grateful to two anonymous reviewers whose comments have led to improvements in the final version of this paper. We also thank Adriana Álvarez and Anikó Lipták, who helped us in making this paper more readable by correcting our English. Finally, a special acknowledgment goes to Irene Franco and Sara Lusini for their editorial assistance and endless patience. Usual disclaimers apply.

1. Introduction

Island repair under ellipsis is a pervasive phenomenon across languages. At least since Ross (1969), it is well known that some island effects are ameliorated under sluicing. Take, for instance, a case of extraction from a relative island in sluicing contexts:

- (1) a. *They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't remember which.*
 b. **They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't remember which₁ (Balkan language) they want to hire [someone [who speaks t₁]]* [Merchant 1999: 119]

In this paper, we focus on the opposite phenomenon. That is, we explore a case where ellipsis bleeds a repair effect attested in non-elliptical contexts. The empirical domain is clitic doubling (CD) in River Plate Spanish. Let us see the minimal pair to be accounted for. In this dialect, contrastive focus movement optionally triggers CD:

- (2) A MARÍA (la) *critiqué.*
 ACC María her;ACC criticize:PST;1SG
 'I criticized MARÍA.'

Our argument begins with a novel observation: only the doubled version of a focus fronting configuration improves extraction from some islands.¹ One case is the sentential subject condition:

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

1. Of course, the fact that resumption ameliorates some islands effects is not new, although it was not previously observed for CD in Spanish. See Boeckx (2003) for references and extensive discussion on islands and resumption.

Interestingly, this repair effect vanishes in contexts of ellipsis, specifically, with fragment answers, a kind of TP-ellipsis construction according to Merchant (2004) and much subsequent work. In this respect, see the response in (4B):

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

As we will see, the situation in (4B) contrasts with clitic left dislocation (CLLD), a doubling configuration that also repairs some islands, although in this case no anti-repair effect under ellipsis is attested. We propose that this difference between both types of resumption strategies follows from the component of the grammar where resumption applies. In a nutshell, whereas CLLD is a purely syntactic phenomenon, CD is a kind of PF resumption. In both cases, resumption is responsible for island repair effects. However, only PF resumption is blocked under ellipsis and, consequently, the repair effect vanishes with elliptical CD configurations, but not with CLLD ones.

The paper is organized in the following way. In Section 2 we discuss Kayne’s Generalization (i.e. the correlation between CD and differential object marking) in River Plate Spanish and present independent evidence in its favor. In Section 3, we explore the relation between clitic doubling and extraction and show that focus movement with CD in River Plate Spanish repairs the same islands as CLLD, although both doubling configurations behave differently in other relevant respects. We propose then that whereas CLLD is a purely syntactic phenomenon, CD is the result of PF resumption. In Section 4, we show that this view on resumption is independently confirmed by the anti-repair effects seen in (4B). We claim that these effects follow from the generalization that morphological operations, but not syntactic ones, are blocked under ellipsis. In Section 5, we demonstrate that the same contrast observed in the domain of island (anti)-repair is also attested in the context of Weak Cross Over effects and briefly suggest some possible analyses to deal with this empirical issue. Section 6 contains the conclusions.

2. On Kayne’s generalization: Syntax or PF?

It is a long-standing assumption about CD that clitics are syntactically active objects. Although many approaches debate the status of clitics as agreement

markers or as *bona fide* pronouns (Jaeggli 1982; Sportiche 1996; Uriagereka 1995; among others), their presence in syntactic derivations did not arise as an issue (with the exception of Depiante 2004a and Zdrojewski 2008). In this section, we present a challenge to this standard assumption by showing that CD in River Plate Spanish is dependent on Differential Object Marking (DOM). Although not conclusive, this correlation fits very well with Bobaljik's (2008) approach to agreement and case, according to which agreement is dependent on overt case marking, a PF-phenomenon. As a starting point, let us focus on this correlation between CD and DOM, named by Jaeggli as *Kayne's Generalization* (Jaeggli 1982; Suñer 1988; Blear 1999; Anagnostopoulou 2006 and Zdrojewski 2008, among others):

(5) *Kayne's Generalization*:²

An object NP may be doubled by a clitic only if the NP is preceded by a preposition. [Jaeggli 1982, p. 20, (1.18)]

In other words, Kayne's Generalization claims that CD is dependent on DOM. As is well known, Spanish DOM is realized by a preposition-like element (*a* 'to') and typically applies to personal pronouns and to animate, specific DPs (see Laca 1995; Leonetti 2004, 2008 and Zdrojewski 2008, among many others).

- (6) a. *Juan me vio a mí.*
 Juan me:ACC saw ACC me
 'John saw me.'
- b. *Juan vio a un tigre.* (only specific)
 Juan saw ACC DET tiger
 'John saw a tiger.'

Clitic doubling, in turn, applies to a subset of DOM objects. On the one hand, it is obligatory with personal pronouns (7a). On the other hand, it is optional with animate, definite DPs (7b). Crucially, it cannot apply either to non-marked DPs (7c) or to indefinite DPs, even when they are *a*-marked (7d):

River Plate Spanish:

- (7) a. *Juan *(la) ama a ella.*
 Juan her;ACC love:PRS;3SG ACC her
 'Juan loves her.'

2. As far as we know, this generalization was formulated as such by Osvaldo Jaeggli – first in his dissertation and later in the volume quoted in the main text –, who attributed it to an observation made by Richard Kayne. This is the reason why the generalization has the name it has in the literature.

- b. *Juan (la) ama a María/la enfermera.*
 Juan her;ACC love:PRS;3SG ACC María/the nurse
 'Juan loves María/the nurse.'
- c. *Juan (*lo) compró el auto.*
 Juan it:ACC;M;SG buy:PST;3SG DET car
 'Juan bought the car.'
- d. *Juan (*lo) vio a un tigre.*
 Juan him;ACC see:PST;3SG ACC DET tiger
 'John saw a tiger.'

Kayne's Generalization (i.e. the ungrammaticality of 7c) and the definiteness requirement (i.e. 7d) are both controversial. In the Spanish literature, these two claims have been challenged especially by Suñer (1988), who defends the idea that clitic doubling is only constrained by specificity. However, Zdrojewski (2008) has shown that Kayne's Generalization holds in River Plate Spanish and that some putative counterexamples have to be seen as cases of clitic right dislocation.³ Let us review one of Zdrojewski's arguments, which is crucial for the main purpose of this paper.

As is well known, the accusative marker *a* in Spanish is always mandatory with personal pronouns and proper names. Yet, it has also been observed that accusative *a* can be dropped with proper names in one particular environment (see Brugè & Brugger 1996; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007 and Zdrojewski 2008, among others). In a nutshell, when both internal arguments of ditransitive verbs like *presentar* ['to introduce'] are realized as full *a*-DPs in the same syntactic domain (see 8), accusative *a* dropping is obligatory in some dialects, including River Plate Spanish.⁴

- (8) a. **Juan le presentó [do a María]*
 Juan him;DAT present:PST;3SG ACC María
[lo al doctor].
 DAT;DET doctor
- b. *Juan le presentó [do María]*
 Juan him;DAT present:PST;3SG María
[lo al doctor].
 DAT;DET doctor
 'Juan presented María to the doctor.'

3. Zdrojewski also shows that definiteness, and not specificity, is the relevant factor for CD, but this point is orthogonal to the main argument made in this paper.

4. This restriction can be understood as a distinctiveness condition in the sense of Richards (2010). See Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007), Zdrojewski (2008) and Richards (2010) for some proposals along these lines.

This case offers a suitable context to establish if Kayne's Generalization holds in River Plate Spanish. As we have already mentioned, CD in this dialect is optional with proper names (see 7b). Then, the next step is to determine whether or not accusative CD in a context like (8b) produces a grammatical outcome. See (9):

- (9) **Juan se la presentó [_{OD} María]*
 Juan him;DAT her;ACC present:PST;3SG María
 [_{IO} *al doctor*].
 DAT;DET doctor
 'Juan presented María to the doctor.'

As shown by the strong deviance of (9), the conclusion is that the presence of the doubling clitic depends on the presence of the accusative marker. In other words, accusative marker drop in (8b) bleeds CD, a clear indication that Kayne's Generalization is on the right track.

Zdrojewski (2008) claims that (9) constitutes an independent argument in favor of Bobaljik's (2008) theory of case and agreement. According to Bobaljik, morphological case, a PF phenomenon, is the trigger for agreement. If this is correct, it follows that agreement has to be seen as a PF phenomenon as well, given its dependence on another PF process. In other words, what these facts actually show at least in this empirical domain is that agreement is dependent on case and not the other way around (against Chomsky's 2000, 2001 view on agreement and case). However, the conclusion that CD takes place at PF is controversial and depends on some architectural assumptions on the syntax-PF connection. In this respect, it is an empirical matter whether or not Kayne's Generalization is a syntactic or post-syntactic phenomenon. We believe that such an empirical argument can be constructed in the domain of ellipsis, concretely, in what we call anti-repair effects. In the following sections, we present this new argument and argue that it indeed constitutes strong evidence in favor of Bobaljik's approach to case and agreement.

3. Focus fronting, clitic doubling and island repair

The data considered so far show that only *a*-DPs can trigger CD. Now, River Plate Spanish also allows for *a*-DPs to be focus-fronted and to be optionally doubled by a clitic (Di Tullio & Zdrojewski 2006):

- (10) *A MARÍA (la) critiqué.*
 ACC María her;ACC criticize:PST;1SG
 'I criticized MARÍA.'

As shown in (11), focus fronting plus doubling is impossible if the DP is not *a*-marked:

- (11) *El AUTO me (*lo) prestó, no el camión.*
 DET car me;DAT it.ACC;M;SG lend:PST;3SG not DET truck
 ‘She lent me the CAR, not the truck.’

This contrast is a clear indication that focus fronting with doubling obeys Kayne’s Generalization and, consequently, has to be considered as a case of CD.

Interestingly, like other types of resumption strategies across languages, long extraction facts show that CD repairs some syntactic islands. Specifically, interrogative and subject islands are repaired by CD (see 13 and 14, respectively), although some speakers also find a clear improvement in contexts of sentential complements of a noun (see 15):

Bridge verbs

- (12) *A JUAN creo que (lo)*
 ACC Juan believe:PRS;1SG that him;ACC
desaprobaron.
 fail:PST;3PL
 ‘I believe that they failed JUAN.’

Interrogative island

- (13) a. *??A JUAN no sé quién desaprobó.*
 ACC Juan not know:PRS;1SG who fail:PST;3SG
 b. *A JUAN no sé quién lo desaprobó.*
 ACC Juan not know:PRS;1SG who him;ACC fail:PST;3SG
 ‘I don’t know who failed JUAN.’

Sentential subjects

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

Noun complement clauses

- (15) a. **A MARÍA escuché [el rumor de [que desaprobaron t]]*
 ACC María hear:PST;1SG DET rumor of that fail:PST;3PL

- b. ?A MARÍA escuché [el rumor de [que
ACC María hear:PST;1SG DET rumor of that
la desaprobaron]]
her;ACC fail:PST;3PL
'I heard the rumor that MARÍA was failed.'

No repair effect is attested with relative and adjunct islands:

Relative island

- (16) *A MARÍA conozco al profesor
ACC María know:PRS;1SG ACC;DET professor
que (la) desaprobó.
that her;ACC fail:PST;3SG
Intended: 'I know the professor that failed MARÍA.'

Adjunct island

- (17) *A MARÍA me enojé porque
ACC María me get-angry:PST;1SG because
(la) desaprobaron.
her;ACC fail:PST;3PL
Intended: 'I got angry because they failed MARÍA.'

Crucially, the same pattern is attested in contexts of clitic left dislocation (CLLD) (Cinque 1990 and much subsequent work):

Bridge verbs

- (18) A Juan, creo que lo desaprobaron.
ACC Juan believe:PRS;1SG that him;ACC fail:PST;3PL
'Juan, I believe that they failed him.'

Interrogative island

- (19) A Juan, no sé quién lo desaprobó.
ACC Juan not know:PRS;1SG who him;ACC fail:PST;3PL
'Juan, I don't know who failed him.'

Sentential subjects

- (20) A María, creo que [desaprobar=la]
ACC María, believe:PRS;1SG that fail:INF=her;ACC
va a causar un escándalo.
go:PRS;3SG to cause:INF DET scandal
'María, I believe that failing her is going to cause a scandal.'

Noun complement clauses

- (21) ?A *María, escuché [el rumor de [que*
 ACC *María* hear:PST;1SG DET rumor of that
la desaprobaron]]
 her;ACC fail:PST;3PL
 ‘María, I heard the rumor that they failed her.’

Strong islands are not repaired by CLLD:

Relative island

- (22) *A *María, conozco a[l profesor [que*
 ACC *María* know:PRS;1SG ACC;DET professor that
la desaprobó]]
 her;ACC fail:PST;3SG
 ‘(As for) María, I know the professor that failed her.’

Adjunct island

- (23) *A *María, me enojé [porque*
 ACC *María* me get.angry:PST;1SG because
la desaprobaron]
 her;ACC fail:PST;3PL
 ‘(As for) María, I got angry because they failed her.’

To sum up, CD behaves as CLLD as far as island repair effects are concerned. This raises the question whether we are dealing with the same kind of phenomenon in the two cases. As is well known, there are important syntactic differences between focus movement (with and without doubling) and CLLD, mainly, connected to word order facts (Rizzi 1997 and Villalba 2000, among many others). Other crucial morphosyntactic differences, which lie at the heart of the problem we are exploring here, are especially noteworthy now.

First, doubling is optional in focus movement contexts, but obligatory in CLLD ones:

- (24) a. A *MARÍA (la) critiqué.* [CD]
 ACC *María* her;ACC criticize:PST;1SG
 ‘I criticized MARÍA.’
 b. A *María, *(la) critiqué.* [CLLD]
 ACC *María* her;ACC criticize:PST;1SG
 ‘María, I criticized her.’

Second, whereas focus movement observes Kayne's Generalization, CLLD does not. In this respect, compare (10) and (11) with (25):

- (25) a. *A María, la vi ayer.*
 ACC María her;ACC see:PST;1SG yesterday
 'María, I saw her yesterday.'
- b. *El auto, lo compré ayer.*
 DET car it.ACC;M;SG buy:PST;1SG yesterday
 'The car, I bought it yesterday.'

Therefore, we have to account for the crucial fact that, although syntactically different in several aspects, both types of doubling structures can repair islands. In the next section, we propose that the main difference between CD and CLLD is in the component of the grammar where resumption applies: Syntax or PF. In other words, we conceive of pronominal resumption as an operation that can apply at various points in the derivation: whereas CLLD is a case of syntactic resumption, CD is the result of PF resumption. The empirical evidence in favor of this division comes from what we call anti-repair effects under ellipsis. This is the topic of the following section.

4. Anti-repair effects under ellipsis: Diagnosing (post-)syntactic resumption

In this section, we provide independent evidence for the hypothesis that CD is a kind of PF resumption. The argument has the following form: We first observe that ellipsis bleeds whatever morphological operation could take place in an elliptical site. It is predicted then that the repair effects performed by this morphological operation are cancelled when ellipsis applies. This is precisely the case of CD in River Plate Spanish. In turn, CLLD -to the extent that it is a purely syntactic phenomenon- is not affected by ellipsis. Therefore, we predict that no anti-repair effect should be attested in contexts of elliptical CLLD configurations. In what follows, we demonstrate that both predictions are correct.

4.1 The Ellipsis-Morphology generalization

The hypothesis that some island effects arise only at the PF component has been proposed in the ellipsis literature through different implementations (Merchant

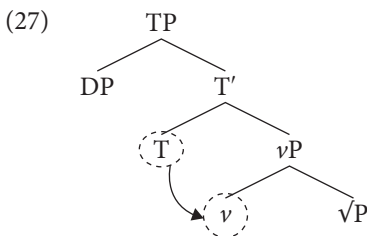
2004, 2008; Fox & Lasnik 2003; Craenenbroeck & den Dikken 2006 and Saab 2009, 2010, among others). Support for this claim comes from island repair effects under ellipsis (see 1). Under certain particular circumstances, ellipsis, an operation with clear PF consequences, is able to improve – as an independent result of its application – island effects. If this is on the right track, it follows that at least some types of island effects should arise only at PF. It is a matter of debate how and when ellipsis improves island effects and which are exactly those circumstances (see Saab 2009 for extensive discussion and references, and Footnote 6 below). It seems that island repair effects only arise with certain particular type of remnants (some varieties of sluicing and focus answers; see Griffiths & Lipták in press, for extensive discussion), but never with other types of TP-ellipsis, such as contrastive answers or elliptical CLLD constructions, as the ones explored in this paper (see below for more discussion).

We claim that the opposite case is also attested, namely, anti-repair effects in cases where a morphological operation is responsible for some repair effect. In other words, ellipsis is also able to destroy island repair whenever that repair is executed at PF. The broad generalization that underlies this scenario can be formulated as a kind of ellipsis-morphology interaction (see Saab 2009 and Lipták & Saab 2012 for extensive discussion):

Ellipsis-Morphology Generalization (Elmo Generalization):

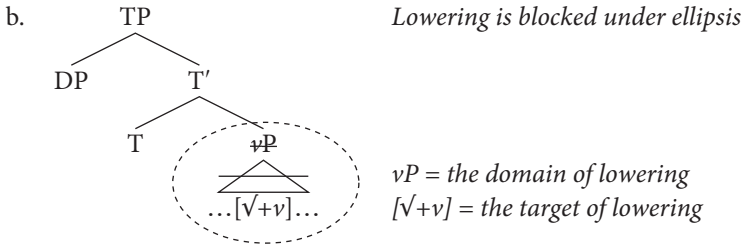
- (26) For every morphological operation MO that affects the domain of X, where X contains the target of MO, MO cannot apply in X if X is subject to ellipsis.

As an illustration of the Elmo Generalization, consider the case of T to ν lowering in English. In this language, T lowers to ν under a specific condition: immediate locality, which is the relation between a head and the head of its complement (Embick & Noyer 2001: 586).



In contexts of *vP*-ellipsis, lowering is prevented, and *do* has to be inserted:

- (28) a. *I went to the cinema and Mary did [go to the cinema] too.*



vP-ellipsis then creates a stranded affix filter violation that is rescued in English by a particular rule of this language (*do*-support).⁵

As for the motivation of the Elmo Generalization, it obviously depends on some specific commitments about the architecture of the grammar, especially, about the syntax-PF connection. According to DM, morphology is the branch of the syntactic computation where lexical items are inserted and where some morphological operations (such as lowering, fusion, insertion, and so on) apply in order to satisfy well-formedness conditions of that level. This entire set of operations takes as input the information provided by the syntax. Assume now that ellipsis is a syntactic phenomenon, whose effect at PF is blocking the lexical insertion rules that apply on terminal nodes (see Saab 2009). That is, ellipsis has a direct impact on morphology; concretely, it bleeds lexical insertion. Now, if morphological operations are ultimately motivated to satisfy lexical insertion, then the Elmo Generalization follows, given that there is no reason for satisfying an operation that is blocked by ellipsis. It is a matter of future research whether this particular explanation of the Elmo Generalization is on the right track. In any case, this empirical observation constitutes an ideal scenario for exploring the nature of resumption in River Plate Spanish.

4.2 Testing the Elmo Generalization in CD configurations:

Anti-repair effects

A relevant context for testing the Elmo Generalization in the case of focus fronting and CD is provided by fragment answers, a kind of elliptical construction that behaves as focus fronting followed by a process of TP-ellipsis (see Merchant 2004).

5. In Saab (2009) and Lipták & Saab (2012), the Elmo Generalization is explored in other relevant empirical domains.

Under this analysis, a simple answer such as the one in (29B) would receive the analysis in (30):

- (29) A: *¿Qué lengua habla Juan?* / B: *Español.*
 what language speak:PRS;3SG Juan Spanish
 ‘Which language does Juan speak?’ / ‘Spanish’
- (30) [_{XP} *español* [_{TP} ~~*habla t-Juan*~~]]
 Spanish speaks Juan

The main evidence in favor of this analysis comes from the island effects observed in fragment contexts. As an illustration, consider the following contrast between a complement sentence and a relative island (see Merchant 2004:688, for similar examples in English):

- (31) a. *¿Juan piensa que está loco PEDRO?*
 Juan think:PRS;3SG that be:PRS;3SG crazy Pedro
 ‘Does Juan think that PEDRO is crazy?’
- b. *No, CARLOS.*
 no Carlos
 ‘No, CARLOS.’
- c. *No, Juan piensa que está loco CARLOS.*
 no Juan think:PRS;3SG that be:PRS;3SG
 crazy Carlos
 ‘No, Juan thinks that CARLOS is crazy.’
- (32) a. *¿Viste la casa que compró ANA?*
 see:PST;2SG DET house that buy:PST;2SG Ana
 ‘Did you see the house that ANA bought?’
- b. **No, PEDRO.*
 no Pedro
 ‘No, PEDRO.’
- c. *No, vi la casa que compró PEDRO.*
 no see:PST;1SG DET house that buy:PST;3SG
 Pedro
 ‘No, I saw the house that PEDRO bought.’

Now, we can test the Elmo Generalization (see 26) in the empirical domain of CD. Recall first our prediction: if CD is a PF phenomenon, we expect anti-repair effects, because CD is bled by ellipsis. Then, the logical step is to construct the

fragment answers that correspond to the paradigm in (12)–(15). As shown in the following examples, no repair effect is attested with fragment answers:

Bridge verbs

- (33) A: ¿Creés que (lo) desaprobaron
believe:PRS;2SG that him;ACC fail:PST;3PL
a JUAN?
ACC Juan

‘Do you believe that they failed JUAN?’

- B: No, a PEDRO.

no ACC Pedro

‘No, I believe that they failed PEDRO.’

Interrogative islands

- (34) A: ¿No sabes quién (lo) desaprobó
not know:PRS;2SG who him;ACC fail:PST;3SG
a JUAN?
ACC Juan

‘Don’t you know who failed JUAN?’

- B: ??No, a PEDRO.

no ACC Pedro

‘No, I don’t know who failed PEDRO.’

Subject islands

- (35) A: ¿Creés que [desaprobar=(la) a MARÍA]
believe:PRS;2SG that fail:INF=her;ACC ACC María
va a causar un escándalo?
go:PRS;3SG to cause:INF DET scandal

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

- B: *No, a ANA.

no ACC Ana

‘No, ANA.’

Noun complement clauses

- (36) A: ¿Escuchaste [el rumor de [que (la)
hear:PST;2SG DET rumor of that her;ACC
desaprobaron a MARÍA]]?
fail:PST;3PL ACC María

‘Did you hear the rumor that they failed MARÍA?’

- B: *No, a ANA.

no ACC Ana

In all these cases, fragment answers behave as non-doubled DPs (i.e. as the examples (a) in 13–15). Thus, these facts confirm the PF nature of CD and constitute another case of the Elmo Generalization: a PF clitic cannot be introduced in an elliptical site.

A possible objection to this conclusion, raised by an anonymous reviewer and Anikó Lipták (p.c.), is that the correlates and the fragment remnants in each of the examples involving islands are not parallel. In effect, as it can be observed in (34–36), whereas the correlates are focused *in situ*, the fragments are left fronted. For this reason, it could be concluded that the examples at hand are ungrammatical for well-known restrictions on syntactic parallelism in ellipsis (see Fox 2000; Fox & Lasnik 2003, and Griffiths & Lipták in press). Before continuing, let us then explore this issue with some detail.

First, it is worth noting that the examples in (34)–(36) obey the felicity condition on contrastive fragments as formulated by Griffiths & Lipták (in press):

- (37) Contrastive fragments are only felicitous if their correlate is contrastively focused.

This is the case in our relevant examples where each correlate is focused as required by (37). Notice also that the sentences are ungrammatical regardless of the fact whether the correlate is doubled or not. This is crucial, because in the CD cases there is no island to begin with and, as a consequence, island effects with the fragment answers are completely unexpected. Put differently, given that no island is involved when a clitic-doubled correlate is present in the antecedent, the prediction is that the fragment answers should show the same pattern as those contexts that do not contain islands, e.g. those with the bridge verbs, like (33). This is not borne out.

Second, despite this observation, some of our informants do find that the fragment answers in (34)–(36) improve when the correlate is also fronted. Let us illustrate this point with a sentential subject island:

- (38) A: ¿A MARÍA creés que [desaprobar=(la)]
 ACC María believe:PRS;2SG that fail:INF=her;ACC
 va a causar un escándalo?
 go:PRS;3SG to cause:INF DET scandal
 ‘Do you believe that failing MARÍA is going to cause a scandal?’
 B: %No, a ANA.
 no ACC Ana
 ‘No, ANA.’

The questions then are why for some speakers focus movement alters the grammaticality judgments and whether this fact is a real problem for our analysis.

Our impression is that parallelism is indeed playing a role here but that this does not modify the conclusion obtained so far. Let us see why.

An important empirical observation on island repair, especially, connected to fragments (including sluicing as a type of fragment), is that only non-contrastive fragments can repair some islands under certain circumstances. This is stated as follows by Griffiths & Lipták (in press):

- (39) Contrastive fragments cannot repair islands. Non-contrastive fragments can potentially repair islands.

This generalization was already illustrated in this paper by (1a), a sluicing case, and the contrastive fragment in (32). Griffiths & Lipták propose that the difference between these two types of fragments follows from the condition on scope parallelism in ellipsis (see also Fox 2000):

- (40) Variables in the antecedent and the elided clause are bound from parallel positions.

As they show in detail, non-contrastive fragments respect (40) because the indefinite correlates in sluicing can take wide scope even when they are generated inside islands (see also Reinhart 2006 and the references therein). This is not the case with contrastive correlates, which never can take scope outside islands (*pace* Merchant 2008).

Our data partially confirm Griffiths & Lipták's analysis in an interesting way. Strictly speaking, the generalization in (39) is not about contrastive and non-contrastive phrases *per se*, because for those informants that accept an answer like (38B), contrastive fragments can indeed repair islands. This nicely follows from Griffiths & Lipták's proposal given the fact that these focused correlates overtly take scope outside the island, obeying thus parallelism. But at the same time this confirms our basic observation here in the following way. If the elliptical answer in (38B) is analyzed as a real case of island repair at least for those speaker that tolerate them, then it follows that an island is underlying the derivation of these fragments. Put differently, we have a situation where ellipsis first creates an island by blocking clitic insertion at PF (i.e. ellipsis creates the anti-repair situation) but then the same island is repaired by whatever mechanism underlies repair effects.⁶ It is a matter of future research how

6. Space considerations do not allow us to explore this issue in detail, but we refer to Saab (2009, 2010) for an explicit theory of island repair, according to which island repair effects occur whenever an illegitimate trace/copy can find an identical phrase in the antecedent. The crucial assumption in these works is that traces/copies and ellipsis form a natural class (see Chomsky 1995) and, as a consequence, can interact with each other in terms of feeding

LF-parallelism should be formulated in a way that can affect PF. For our purposes here it is important to note that these cases of island repair do not constitute counterevidence to our main observation.

Moving on, we must evaluate the relation between CLLD and island repair in contexts of ellipsis. If our analysis is on the right track and CLLD is a case of syntactic resumption, then ellipsis should not affect the island repair effects triggered by CLLD.

The relevant case here is TP-ellipsis or pseudo-stripping, a kind of ellipsis that displays all the properties of CLLD plus a process of TP-deletion (see López 1999; Depiante 2004b, and Saab 2009, 2010).

- (41) a. *Juan desaprobó a María pero a Ana no.*
 Juan fail:PST;3SG ACC María but ACC Ana not
 'Juan failed MARÍA, but not Ana.'
- b. *Juan no desaprobó a María pero a Ana sí.*
 Juan not fail:PST;3SG ACC María but ACC Ana yes
 'Juan did not fail María, but he did fail Ana.'
- c. *Juan desaprobó a María y a Ana también.*
 Juan fail:PST;3SG ACC María and ACC Ana too
 'Juan failed MARÍA and Ana too.'
- d. *Juan no desaprobó a María y a Ana tampoco.*
 Juan not fail:PST;3SG ACC María and ACC Ana neither
 'Juan did not fail MARÍA and Ana neither.'

relations (i.e. ellipsis can feed copy deletion and *vice versa*). Under this theory, a typical case of island repair such as sluicing with an explicit, indefinite correlate is accounted for assuming that indefinites and *wh*-traces are equivalent for the identity condition in ellipsis. Thus, island repair is seen as a case of ellipsis feeding copy deletion. Island repair, according to this analysis, should not be possible whenever an illegitimate trace cannot find such an antecedent in ellipsis contexts. This is indeed attested in several domains such as sluicing of the sprouting type (Chung et al. 1995), TP-ellipsis with clitic left dislocated remnants (see below in the main text) and several varieties of contrastive answers as the ones explored by Griffiths & Lipták (in press), among others. The answer in (38B) constitutes a challenge for this and other theories of island repair given the fact that judgments are not uniform across speakers. However, it seems to us that there is a clear correlation between parallelism and island repair that can be understood under Saab's theory. Concretely, scope parallelism, conceived as an independent requirement, creates an identity relation between the trace in the antecedent and the trace of the remnant in the elliptical gap. If this is correct, then the illegitimate trace can be deleted in the same way as sluicing with indefinite correlates. The remaining questions are whether it can be independently demonstrated that variables of focus constituents can establish this type of identity relation and why the grammaticality judgments show a large amount of variation.

As shown in (42), the non-elliptical continuations for (41) involve a CLLD structure, with a contrastive topic in the left periphery of the clause and a doubling clitic in the base position:

- (42) *pero a Ana {no / sí / también / tampoco} la desaprobó.*
 but ACC Ana {not / yes / also / neither} her;ACC failed

Now, if CLLD involves syntactic resumption, we expect to find no anti-repair effects. This prediction is borne out:

Bridge verbs

- (43) A: *A Juan, Pedro cree que lo desaprobaron.*
 ACC Juan Pedro believe:PRS;3SG that him;ACC fail:PST;3PL
 ‘Pedro believes that they failed Juan.’
 B: *Y a María también cree que la desaprobaron.*
 and ACC María also believe:PRS;3SG that her;ACC fail:PST;3PL
 ‘And he also believes that they failed María.’

Interrogative islands

- (44) A: *Juan, no sé quién lo desaprobó y a Pedro tampoco sé quién lo desaprobó.*
 ACC Juan not know:PRS;1SG who him;ACC fail:PRS;3SG and ACC Pedro neither know:PRS;1SG who him;ACC fail:PRS;3SG
 ‘I don’t know who failed Juan and I don’t know who failed Pedro either.’

Sentential subjects

- (45) A: *Juan cree que [desaprobar=la a María] va a causar un escándalo.*
 Juan believe:PRS;3SG that fail:INF=her;ACC ACC María go:PRS;3SG to cause:INF DET scandal
 ‘Juan believes that failing María is going to cause a scandal.’
 B: *Y a Ana también Juan cree que [desaprobar=la] va a causar un escándalo.*
 and ACC Ana also Juan believe:PRS;3SG that fail:INF=her;ACC go:PRS;3SG to cause:INF DET scandal
 ‘And Juan also believes that failing María is going to cause a scandal.’

Noun complement clauses

- (46) A: ?A *María, Juan escuchó [el rumor*
 ACC María Juan hear:PST;3SG DET rumor
de [que la desaprobaron]], sabías?
 of that her;ACC fail:PST;3PL know:PST;2SG
 'Juan heard the rumor that they failed María. Did you know that?'
- B: ?Sí, ya sé. Y a Ana también
 yes already know:PRS;1SG and ACC Ana also
Juan escuchó — [el rumor de [que la
 Juan hear:PST;3SG DET rumor of that her;ACC
desaprobaron]]
 fail:PST;3PL
 'Yes, I know. And Juan also heard the rumor that they failed Ana.'

These data show that syntactic doubling in CLLD environments is not blocked under ellipsis, a fact that is accounted for under the typology of resumption proposed in this paper, according to which anti-repair effects can only be attested with morphological clitics.⁷

Notice that scope parallelism plays no role in (43)–(46). Some examples are constructed in such a way that the correlate of the remnant is also dislocated (cf. 43, 44 and 46). However, this is not mandatory as shown by the example in (45), where the correlate is *in situ*. Our conclusion is then that ellipsis with CLLD remnants is not subject to (40). Probably, this type of ellipsis is not subject to anything similar to (37), either, because although the remnant is always a contrastive topic, as it is also usual with non-elliptical CLLD structures (see Arregi 2003;

7. An anonymous reviewer raises the question on whether the contrast between the elliptical CLLD cases in (44–46) and the fragment answers (34–36) can be accounted for by Merchant's (2004) approach to island repair, according to which island repair effects can be detected only in cases where ellipsis deletes every possible illegitimate trace in a given phrase marker. Under this approach, the well-known contrast between VP-ellipsis and sluicing with respect to island repair follows because sluicing deletes all the offending traces, creating the repair effect, but VP ellipsis leaves at least one offending trace outside the scope of ellipsis. The reviewer wonders whether the contrast between the focus answers in (34–36) and the elliptical CLLD cases in (44–46) is not amenable to a similar account, assuming for instance that focus movement targets a higher position than CLLD and leaves an offending trace outside the elliptical site. We think that this cannot be the case because of the following main reason: the elliptical sentences in (44–46) are not cases of repair as their non-elliptical counterparts are perfectly grammatical (see 19–21). Indeed, CLLD cannot repair islands, as shown in (49–50) in the main text. See Saab (2009, 2010) for a detailed criticism of Merchant's theory on the basis of ellipsis and CLLD in Spanish.

López 2009, among others), the correlate is not required to be a contrastive topic, as shown by the examples in (41).

We believe that this contrast between fragments (focus or interrogative ones) and TP-ellipsis with CLLD remnants is crucial for the theory of island repair. As far as we can tell, island repair under ellipsis is only attested with fragments (sluicing or focus answers) whenever (40) is also satisfied.

Before concluding this section, let us mention an important prediction made by our analysis: neither focus fragment nor TP-ellipsis with dislocated remnants should improve island effects in contexts of relative and adjunct islands. Recall from Section 3 that these two types of islands are not repaired either under focus fronting with CD (see 16–17) or under CLLD (see 22–23). Therefore, we expect to find no island repair effect in the elliptical counterparts of such islands. This prediction is borne out. The fragments in (47B) and (48B) illustrate this for fragment answers and the TP-ellipsis cases in (49B) and (50B) do the same for CLLD structures (data from Saab 2010):

Relative island

- (47) A: ¿Conocés al profesor que (la)
 know:PRS;2SG ACC;DET professor that her;ACC
 desaprobó a MARÍA?
 fail:PST;3SG ACC María
 ‘Do you know the professor that failed MARÍA?’
 B: *No, a ANA.
 No ACC ANA
 ‘No, I know the professor that failed ANA.’

Adjunct island

- (48) A: ¿Te enojaste porque (la)
 you get-angry:PST;2SG because her;ACC
 desaprobaron a MARÍA.
 fail:PST;3PL ACC María
 ‘Did you get angry because they failed MARÍA?’
 B: *No, a ANA.
 No ACC ANA
 ‘No, I know the professor that failed ANA.’

Relative island

- (49) A: Juan no conoce al profesor que
 Juan not know:PRS;3SG ACC;DET professor that

desaprobó a Ana.

failed:PST;3SG ACC Ana

'Juan does not know the professor that failed Ana.'

B: **y a María tampoco*

and ACC María neither

'And neither does he know the professor that failed María.'

Adjunct island

(50) A: *¿Adiviná qué? Juan está enojado solo*
guess what Juan be:PRS;3SG angry only

porque (la) desaprobaron a Ana
because her;ACC fail:PST;3PL ACC Ana

'Guess what? Juan is angry just because they failed Ana.'

B: *Se enoja por todo.*

CL;3SG get-angry:PRS;3SG by everything

**A María también*

ACC María also

'He gets angry for everything. He is also angry just because they failed María.'

As pointed out to us by an anonymous reviewer, the fact that no island repair is attested with relative and adjunct islands, either under elliptical CD configurations or under elliptical CLLD ones, leads to important questions connected to the nature of these islands. On the one hand, one could argue that these islands are LF objects and, as a consequence, ellipsis cannot alter their nature at PF. However, the fact that sluicing does repair this type of island (see 1a) casts some doubts on the correctness of such a claim. On the other hand, it could be the case that parallelism is again playing some role at least in the elliptical cases. In this respect, notice that one crucial difference between the sluicing case in (1a) and the contrastive fragment answers in (47–48) is that only the former obeys parallelism as formulated in (40), because specific indefinites can always take scope outside islands. Given that overt focus extraction with this type of islands is not repaired by CD (see 16–17), the focused correlates in (47–48) cannot (c)overtly escape the island in which they are generated and, as a consequence, parallelism is violated. While this reasoning could be sound for the contrast between fragments and sluicing, it still does not account for the CLLD cases where, as we already mentioned, parallelism seems to play no role.

To sum up, according to the Elmo Generalization in (26) morphological operations cannot apply to an elliptical site. Then, we have shown that CD, but

not CLLD, presents anti-repair effects under ellipsis. This follows if CD is a PF operation blocked by ellipsis. Our conclusion then is that anti-repair effects in CD contexts confirm Bobaljik's (2008) general view on case and agreement as PF phenomena and, in particular, the PF approach to Kayne's Generalization proposed by Zdrojewski (2008).

In the next section, we explore an additional prediction of our analysis regarding Weak Cross Over effects and CD.

5. More on anti-repair: WCO effects, resumption and ellipsis

One immediate prediction of our analysis involves Weak Cross Over effects (WCO). As is well-known, CLLD does not trigger WCO (see Cinque 1990 and much subsequent work), as shown in the following example:

- (51) A *María_p su_i padre la_i criticó.*
 ACC María POSS;3SG father her;ACC criticize:PST;3SG
 'María, her father criticized her.'

Regular focus movement, in turn, does trigger WCO effects:

- (52) *A *MARÍA_i criticó su_i padre.*
 ACC María criticize:PST;3SG POSS;3SG father
 'Her father criticized MARÍA.'

However, doubled DOs in focus movement constructions seem to behave as CLLD as far as WCO is concerned:⁸

- (53) A *MARÍA_i la_i criticó su_i padre.*
 ACC María her;ACC criticize:PST;3SG POSS;3SG father
 'Her father criticized MARÍA.'

Yet, it can be shown that the absence of WCO effects in (51) and (53) has different sources. If the clitics in CLLD have some syntactic representation, we expect that ellipsis does not produce any difference regarding WCO. This prediction is borne out. In (54), the second conjunct can have a sloppy reading where *Ana* was criticized by her own father.

8. To the best of our knowledge, Hurtado (1984) first noted that doubled DPs do not trigger WCO effects in contexts of focus *in situ* (e.g. *Su madre_i *(la) criticó a ANA_i* 'his_i mother criticized ANA_i'). What remained unnoticed is that the same occurs in focus fronting environments.

- (54) A *María_j su_j padre la_j*
 ACC María POSS;3SG father her;ACC
criticó y a Ana_i también su_i——
 criticize:PST;3SG and ACC Ana also POSS;3SG
padre la_i——criticó.
 father her;ACC criticize:PST;3SG
 ‘María, her father criticized her and Ana too, her father criticized her.’

Now, let us see what happens in connection with CD constructions. In a fragment answer like the one in (55B), there is no sloppy reading available. This follows if the underlying structure of the elliptical site is not a doubling structure, as indicated in (55B).

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

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

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

Even though these WCO facts seem to confirm our prediction regarding CD and its relation with ellipsis, they also lead us to ask how it is possible that a PF phenomenon like CD has effects on the pronominal interpretation of a given sentence. One line of thinking is to accept that some semantic-pragmatic aspects of meaning might have access to some PF information. As shown in detail by Reinhart (2006), this is not an implausible hypothesis. However, one can alternatively think that WCO effects are the result of a specific syntactic configuration that is circumvented by CD. In other words, a CD structure is not syntactically equivalent to a non-doubled one. Suppose for instance that a doubling structure like (53) involves some kind of predicate fronting to a position higher than the subject and that the doubled DO is extracted from this position (as in Collins’ 2005 smuggling approach). Under this scenario, the DO never crosses the subject and, as a consequence, no WCO effect is observed. While further evidence is needed to evaluate whether or not a smuggling approach to CD is on the right track, we believe that

this conjecture could have interesting consequences as far as the syntax of CD is concerned. In this respect, we would like to conclude emphasizing that the PF resumption strategy could be the visible result of a particular syntactic configuration. WCO effects, then, could be a useful context to evaluate the underlying syntax of CD.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we have presented some novel facts in relation to the nature of CD in River Plate Spanish. We have shown that accusative doubling ameliorates the same types of island effects as CLLD. However, these island repair effects disappear under ellipsis only in the case of CD. This mysterious fact vanishes once it is assumed that resumption is a phenomenon that can take place at syntax or at PF and that some island effects are only calculated at PF.⁹ We proposed then that CLLD instantiates a case of syntactic resumption and CD a case of PF resumption. Like other types of morphological operations (PF lowering, for instance), PF resumption is bled under ellipsis and, consequently, no island repair effect is attested in contexts of CD and ellipsis. Island repair does not disappear in cases of elliptical CLLD configurations because syntactic resumption is never blocked under ellipsis.

We think that anti-repair effects under ellipsis can be thought of as a new tool to diagnose (post-)syntactic processes. In this respect, we have shown that they shed light on the so-called Kayne's Generalization, providing additional evidence for the hypothesis that agreement (at least, when dependent on morphological case) should be seen as a PF phenomenon (Bobaljik 2008).

Finally, anti-repair effects under ellipsis constitute another case of what we call the Ellipsis-Morphology Generalization, an empirical issue still pending a theoretical solution (see Saab 2009 and Lipták & Saab 2012). In this respect, we hope that future research on Spanish CD and on other related phenomena across languages can contribute to a better understanding of this empirical generalization and, in a broader sense, to what we know about the syntax-morphology connection.

9. An anonymous reviewer thinks that the fact that a syntactic process like CLLD can repair some islands is an indication that islands cannot be exclusively calculated at PF. Notice, however, that in a model where syntax is the input of PF, the fact that syntactic resumption ameliorates certain islands is entirely consistent with the hypothesis that these islands are calculated at PF. In any case, we agree with the reviewer that the facts are more complex than the conclusions extracted here could suggest. Indeed, as discussed in Section 4, the role between parallelism and island repair is still waiting for a solution.

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