

Variation in accusative clitic doubling across three Spanish dialects



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Abstract

In this paper, an account of the differences between three varieties of Spanish with accusative clitic doubling is proposed. The dialects studied are: Andean, Buenos Aires and Lima Spanish. Buenos Aires and Lima Spanish are varieties that express full agreement (i.e. agreement in gender and number) between the clitic and a doubled direct object, whereas Andean Spanish is a dialect that neutralizes gender and number distinctions in 3rd person clitics. It is commonly assumed that clitic doubling is derived through object movement to Spec,vP. This is the case of Lima and Buenos Aires dialects. We claim that, in Andean Spanish, the doubled constituents remain in a vP internal position. We propose that the apparent doubling phenomenon registered in some varieties of Andean Spanish is not a case of clitic doubling, but a different phenomenon. A second source of variation explored is Kayne's Generalization – the condition on object DPs to bear a visible morphological case marker in order to be clitic doubled. Buenos Aires Spanish differs from Lima and Andean Spanish with respect to this condition. Finally, two issues are discussed: (a) to what extent it is possible to trace a correlation between clitic doubling via object movement and the full agreement pattern and (b) to what extent these conditions on clitic doubling can be linked to Baker's (2008) Parameters of Agreement.

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1. Introduction

The main goal of this paper is to explore microvariation in accusative clitic doubling in three varieties of Spanish: Andean Spanish, Buenos Aires Spanish and Lima Spanish.¹ The most salient contrasts among these dialects arise in the morphology of the third person doubling clitic and in the extension of the phenomenon in each dialect. Lima and Buenos

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¹ The clitic doubling phenomenon in the Buenos Aires dialect has received exhaustive and extensive attention in the literature (Barrenechea and Orecchia, 1979; Jaeggli, 1982, 1986; Hurtado, 1984; Suñer, 1988, 2000; Estigarribia, 2006; Di Tullio and Zdrojewski, 2006; Belloro, 2007; Zdrojewski, 2008; Saab and Zdrojewski, 2012; Di Tullio et al., 2013). As noticed by Belloro (2007) and Di Tullio et al. (2013), the way this dialect has been labeled has generated some confusion in the literature. It has been referred to as River Plate Spanish, Porteño Spanish, Rioplatense Spanish. We will refer to it as Buenos Aires Spanish. The variety of Lima Spanish described here as having a direct object clitic with gender and number features corresponds to that of speakers with very little contact with Quechua or other indigenous languages in Peru. We will refer to this variety as Lima Spanish. We must note however that due to extensive migration from the Andes to the city of Lima there is now a complex demographic composition in the city that results in Andean Spanish varieties with non-agreeing clitics being also spoken in Lima. In this paper, we

Aires Spanish exhibit gender and number marking on the agreeing clitic, *lo* [masc.sg], *los* [masc.pl], *la* [fem.sg], *las* [fem.pl] (hereafter, full agreement), whereas these distinctions are lost in Andean Spanish in favor of an invariable form *lo*, consistent with the singular masculine form in other varieties.² As for the extension of the phenomenon, these three dialects differ from other varieties of Spanish in that clitic doubling is not restricted to strong pronouns, and it extends to other kinds of DPs. However, each dialect makes a different cut in a continuum of doubling that goes from personal pronouns to bare plurals.

These variation facts, although well documented in the literature, have not been, to the best of our knowledge, extensively analyzed from a comparative perspective, with the exceptions of Leonetti (2008), Sánchez and Zdrojewski (2013), Ormazabal and Romero (2013), and Di Tullio et al. (2013). Our main goal in this paper is to explore a less studied source of variation: the (strict) observation of *Kayne's Generalization*, namely, the requirement that doubled DPs must bear a visible morphological case marker.

We claim that *Kayne's Generalization* is an instantiation of a more general condition: a case dependency requirement on agreement (Baker, 2008). Buenos Aires Spanish obeys *Kayne's Generalization*. In this variety, clitic doubling, which we assume to be an instance of agreement marking, is dependent on case marking (Jaeggli, 1986; Zdrojewski, 2008; Saab and Zdrojewski, 2012; Di Tullio et al., 2013).³ Instead, the analysis of this requirement in Lima Spanish reveals that in this variety, *v*^o can agree with unmarked DPs (in a clear violation of *Kayne's Generalization*), and *T*^o can agree with accusative marked DPs. In other words, in Lima Spanish, clitic doubling, and agreement in general, does not seem to be exclusively dependent on case marking.

In addition to this, we take into consideration another syntactic factor related with the phenomenon under study. It has been proposed in the recent literature that clitic doubling configurations have to meet a structural condition, i.e., the doubled DP must move to Spec, *v*P. We assume the movement analysis for Lima and Buenos Aires Spanish and we propose that in Andean Spanish dialects the object remains *v*P internal. Furthermore, we claim that clitic doubling in this dialect has to be understood as anti-EPP effect.

The paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, we present the distribution of clitic doubling phenomena in the three varieties: Buenos Aires, Lima and Andean Spanish, with a focus on Peruvian varieties in contact with Quechua languages. We present the distribution of gender and number marking in Section 2.1 and the limits of definiteness and specificity accounts of clitic doubling in Section 2.2. In Section 3, we show that the doubling phenomenon in Andean Spanish dialects should not be derived by movement of the doubled DP, in contrast to what is assumed for Lima and Buenos Aires varieties. In Section 4, we analyze the behavior of these three dialects with respect to *Kayne's Generalization*. Finally, in Section 5, we present some concluding remarks including a possible connection of our data with Baker's (2008) Agreement Parameters.

² This non-agreeing clitic *lo* has been attested in varieties of Andean Spanish in areas of high contact with Quechua by Escobar (1978, 2000), and Caravedo and Klee (2005) among others. In those varieties it has been labeled an archimorpheme by Caravedo and Klee (2005) because it can double direct objects (animate, inanimate, definite, indefinite and some quantifiers as well as other VP-internal constituents). Mayer (2010) labels it *strange lo*. In some varieties of Andean Spanish the form that emerges is not *lo* but *le*. These two forms may coexist in the speech of some speakers (Camacho and Sánchez, 2002; Sánchez, 2003).

³ We make this assumption on the basis of previous work (Jaeggli, 1982, 1986; Zdrojewski, 2008; Saab and Zdrojewski, 2012; Ormazabal and Romero, 2013). We will not focus in this paper on providing a systematic review of the distinction between clitics as pronouns and clitics as agreement markers. An anonymous reviewer suggests that we use a coordination test to show that doubling clitics are agreement markers. While pronouns can be dropped in coordination structures, agreement markers cannot as shown in (i) where the pronoun *he* is dropped in the second conjunct but the subject agreement on the verb is not:

- (i) He eats and drinks.

This is also the case for clitic doubling in the varieties under study. The following example from Buenos Aires Spanish illustrates this point:

- (ii) #Lo_i abraz-ó y bes-ó a Pedro_i
 DEF.ACC.MASC.S hug-PST.3.S and kiss- PST.3.S DOM Pedro
 "(S/he) hugged and kissed Pedro."

This sentence can only be interpreted as having a different referent for *lo* and Pedro. If the referent is the same then clitic doubling is required:

- (iii) Lo_i abraz-ó y lo_i
 DEF.ACC.MASC.S hug-PST.3.S and DEF.ACC.MASC.S
 bes-ó a Pedro.
 kiss- PST.3.S DOM Pedro
 "(S/he) hugged and kissed Pedro."

2. A basic description: morphological and semantic variation

2.1. Morphological variation: gender and number

One of the most important distinctions across the three Latin American Spanish dialects analyzed in this paper is the marking of gender (and number) on the doubling clitic. Accusative clitics in most Latin American Spanish varieties, as has traditionally been noticed in dialectological work (Lipski, 1994), are characterized by the distinction between feminine and masculine clitics as illustrated for the Buenos Aires and Lima varieties in the following examples (Sánchez and Zdrojewski, 2013):

Lima and Buenos Aires Spanish

- (1) a. Lo atacaron a-l Papa.
DEF.ACC.MASC.3.S attack-PST.3.PL DOM-DEF.MASC.S Pope
“They attacked the Pope.”
- b. Los insultaron a
DEF.ACC.MASC.3.PL insult-PST.3.PL DOM
los empresarios.
DEF.ACC.MASC.3.PL entrepreneurs
“They insulted the entrepreneurs.”
- (2) a. La salud-é a la abogad-a.
DEF.ACC.FEM.3.S greet-PST.1.S DOM DEF.FEM.S lawyer-FEM
“I greeted the lawyer.”
- b. Las salud-é a las
DEF.ACC.FEM.3.PL greet- PST.1.S. DOM DEF.ACC.FEM.3.PL
maestr-a-s del jardín
teacher-FEM-PL from.DEF.ACC.MASC.3.S kindergarten
“I greeted the teachers from the kindergarten.”

These examples show a clear correlation between gender and number marking on the clitic and the doubled DP.

Unlike Buenos Aires and Lima Spanish, there are some varieties of Andean Spanish spoken along the Andes of Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia that have historically been in contact with Quechua languages and have been spoken by large numbers of Quechua–Spanish bilingual speakers (Escobar, 1978; Cerrón-Palomino, 1987; Lipski, 1994; Adelaar and Muysken, 2004, among others). Some of these varieties exhibit neutralization of gender marking on the accusative clitic in the doubling construction. Extended bilingualism in Quechua and Spanish has brought about changes not only in bilingual morphosyntax but also among monolingual speakers of Andean Spanish (Cerrón-Palomino, 1987; Adelaar and Muysken, 2004). One of the characteristics of some of these Andean varieties is the use of generalized *lo* forms for masculine and feminine DPs in clitic doubling constructions as illustrated in the following examples.⁴

Andean Spanish

- (3) Este es el perro que lo
this is the dog that DEF.ACC.MASC.3.S
mord-ió a mi herman-o
bite-PST.3.S DOM my brother-MASC

(Escobar, 1978:111)

- (4) Se lo llev-ó una caja.
3.S DEF.ACC.MASC.3.S take-PST.3.S INDEF.FEM box
“(S/he) took a box (with her/him)”

(Luján, 1987:115)

⁴ We acknowledge that there is wide variation in Andean Spanish with respect to the generalized *lo* form. Some varieties do have gender distinction and others have *le*. In this paper, we focus on varieties that exhibit neutralization of gender and extended use of *lo* (Caravedo and Klee, 2005; Escobar, 1978, 2000; Mayer, 2006; Rivarola, 1989).

Table 1
Gender and number marking on 3rd person clitics.

	Buenos Aires	Lima	Andean
Gender and number marking	Yes	Yes	No (generalized <i>lo</i>) ^a

^a As mentioned before, in some varieties of Andean Spanish the non-agreeing clitic has the dative form *le*.

- (5) Eso también *lo* mat-a l-a-s planta-s.
that too DEF.ACC.MASC.3.S kill-3.S.PRS the-FEM-PL plant-PL
“That too kills the plants.”
- (6) Te *lo* sac-as tu-s hij-o-s.
2.S. DEF.ACC.MASC.3.S take-2.S.PRS your-PL child-MASC-PL
“You take your kids.”
- (7) Lo vend-o tod-it-o-s los carro-s.
DEF.ACC.MASC.3.S sell-1.S.PRS all-DIM-MASC-PL DEF.MASC.PL car-PL
“I sell all the cars.”

(Caravedo, 1996–97 and Cutts, 1973 *apud* Rataj, 2005:155–156)

Example (4) shows that, while the DP *una caja* ‘a box’ has an indefinite determiner morphologically marked as feminine, the corresponding doubling clitic is *lo*, the masculine form in varieties such as Buenos Aires and Lima. The same observation can be made with respect to number marking in (5). This type of generalized *lo* has been attested in studies on currently spoken varieties as well as on historical data (Caravedo and Klee, 2005; Escobar, 1978, 2000; Mayer, 2006; Rivarola, 1989).

The scenario of morphological variation about third person doubling clitics in the three varieties under study is summarized in Table 1.

In the next subsection, we present another source of variation across dialects: the types of direct object constituents that can be doubled, a property that defines the extension of clitic doubling.

2.2. The extension of clitic doubling in Buenos Aires, Lima and Andean Spanish

Early research on the semantic restrictions on accusative clitic doubling attributed the presence of the clitic to a single property, *definiteness* (Jaeggli, 1982, 1986) or *specificity* (Sportiche, 1996; Suñer, 1988; a.o). A special fine-grained proposal regarding specificity developed by Bleam (1999) associates clitic doubling with specificity as derived from the structural configuration of the sentence. More recently, a more general discursive property, *cognitive accessibility*, has been associated with clitic doubling (Belloro, 2007). In this paper, we do not evaluate these previous proposals as general accounts for accusative clitic doubling. Rather, we will just describe the complex distribution of doubled DPs in terms of definiteness and specificity in the three dialects under study (see also Leonetti, 2008).

Following Farkas (2002), we assume that definite DPs may have a uniqueness or a familiarity requirement. The uniqueness requirement fixes the value set of their referent as a single element. In this respect, definite DPs resemble proper names that also have a single referent. The familiarity requirement forces a familiar discourse referent on the DP, and, in that respect, DPs are anaphoric and closer to pronouns than to proper names. While definiteness is assumed as a primitive by Farkas (2002), specificity is derived from the restrictions imposed on the value assigned to the referent of the variable introduced by a DP. Following Farkas (2002), we will assume that specificity is not a primitive feature. It is rather a by-product of the way in which the referent of a DP is restricted or not restricted by the context.⁵

⁵ Leonetti (2007) has a similar intuition in relation to the source of specificity effects in clitic doubling configurations. He proposes that the doubling clitic does not encode specificity, but definiteness. In his view, specificity arises as a by-product of a more general notion of prominence, which affects doubled DPs. We depart from his view, at least, in one important aspect. In our view, doubling clitics do not encode specificity or definiteness because we assume that clitics are agreement markers, not pronouns. (See Zdrojewski (2008) and Saab and Zdrojewski (2012) for a post-syntactic analysis of clitic doubling as agreement. See also Ormazabal and Romero (2013) for a syntactic one.) In our view, the whole burden of the interpretation falls on the doubled DP.

Both Buenos Aires and Lima Spanish allow clitic doubling with definite DPs, as can be seen in the examples below:

- (8) Le-í en las noticias que hace unas horas
 read-1.PST in the news that ago some hours
 (I-o) atac-aron al Papa
 DEF-ACC.3.MASC attack-3.PL.PST DOM-DEF.ACC.3.MASC Pope.
 “I read on the news that some hours ago the Pope was attacked”
- (9) (L-a) v-i a l-a chica
 DEF-ACC.3.MASC see-1.S.PST DOM the-FEM girl
 que conoc-imos en la fiesta
 that meet-PST.1.PL at the party.
 “(I) saw the girl we met at the party.”

These dialects differ, instead, on the availability of clitic doubling with other kinds of DPs. In effect, Lima Spanish accepts quantified DPs and strong indefinite DPs in clitic doubling structures. In Buenos Aires Spanish, these DPs tend to be ungrammatical if they are doubled.⁶

- (10) a. Lo salud-é a cada estudiante.
 DEF-ACC.3.MASC.S greet-PST.1.S DOM each student
 “I greeted each student.”
 (Lima: OK/Buenos Aires:??)
- b. Los salud-é a cinco estudiante-s
 DEF-ACC.3.MASC.S greet-PST.1.S DOM five student-PL
 que conoz-co.
 that know-1.S
 “I greeted five students that I know.”
 (Lima: OK/Buenos Aires: *)
- c. Los saludé a un-o-s
 DEF-ACC.3.MASC.PL greet-PST.1.S DOM some-MASC-PL
 estudiante-s que conozco.
 student-PL that know-1.S
 “I greeted some students that I know.”
 (Lima: OK/Buenos Aires: *)
- d. Lo saludé a un estudiante
 DEF-ACC.3.MASC.S greet-PST.1.S DOM a student
 que conoz-co.
 that know-1.S
 “I greeted a student that I know.”
 (Lima: OK/Buenos Aires: *)

Despite these differences, Lima and Buenos Aires varieties reject clitic doubling with weak indefinites:

- (11) a. Ayer (*los) salud-é
 Yesterday DEF-ACC.3.MASC.PL greet-PST.1.S
 cinco estudiante-s.
 five student-PL

⁶ In the Buenos Aires dialect, it is possible to double a quantified or indefinite DP, if the DP is also modified by a first person possessive pronoun:

- (i) a. Los v-i a tod-o-s mi-s amig-o-s.
 DEF-ACC.3.MASC.PL see-PST.1.S DOM all-MASC-PL my-PL friend-MASC-PL
 “I saw all of my friends.”
- b. Lo v-i a uno de mi-s amig-o-s
 DEF-ACC.3.MASC.S see-PST.1.S DOM one of my-PL friend-MASC-PL
 “I saw one of my friends.”

- b. Ayer (*lo) salud-é un estudiante.
 yesterday DEF-ACC.3.MASC.PL greet-PST.1.S a student
 “Yesterday, I saw a student.”

Next to the contrasts aforementioned, an important difference across dialects is related to other features such as animacy. Buenos Aires and Lima speakers exhibit different patterns in relation to the doubling of definite, specific inanimate direct objects, of the type shown in (12):

- (12) Después de años de espera, finalmente...
 after of years of waiting finally...
 la arregl-aron la calle de mi mamá.
 DEF-ACC.3.FEM.S fix-3.PL.PST DEF-ACC.3.FEM.S street of my mother
 “After years of waiting, they finally fixed my mother’s street.”

In a survey conducted with a group of Buenos Aires and a group of Lima speakers, [Sánchez and Zdrojewski \(2013\)](#) found out that speakers from Buenos Aires consistently rejected this kind of example. In turn, judgments from Lima speakers varied. The survey indicates that Buenos Aires speakers allow doubling of inanimate objects only if they are differentially case marked with *a*.⁷ Some Lima speakers, on the other hand, can double unmarked direct objects (see Section 4).

This difference is crucial to understand object agreement patterns. The obligatory presence of the differential case marker on doubled DPs, a.k.a. *Kayne’s Generalization* ([Jaeggli, 1982](#)), has been the main focus of a longstanding discussion on clitic doubling not only in Spanish, but cross linguistically (see, for instance, [Anagnostopoulou, 2000, 2006](#), among others). As we will argue later, an important part of such discussion is misguided. That debate has centered on whether or not *Kayne’s Generalization* is spurious. We think that a close inspection of cross-dialectal variation facts shows that some dialects obey it strictly while others do not. We will show in Section 4 that different behaviors with respect to *Kayne’s Generalization* can be correlated with different agreement patterns. As a preview to that discussion, we will advance that Buenos Aires Spanish is consistent with *Kayne’s Generalization* (see [Zdrojewski, 2008; Saab and Zdrojewski, 2012, 2013; Di Tullio et al., 2013; pace Suñer, 1988](#)), whereas Lima Spanish and Andean Spanish are not.

These data seem to point to a more complex situation than the one analyzed in [Suñer’s \(1988\)](#). In her proposal, a single feature, specificity, triggered agreement. This analysis is not descriptively adequate for data from clitic doubling varieties such as Buenos Aires, Lima Spanish or Andean Spanish. In fact, it is highly problematic for Andean Spanish, a variety that exhibits a wide range of semantic features correlated with doubling. Along with doubling of definite animate and inanimate DPs, Andean Spanish has been documented as allowing clitic doubling with non-specific indefinites, weak indefinites and bare plurals, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (13) a. Lo h-a busc-ado
 DEF.ACC.MASC.3.S have-3.S look for-PART
 a alguien para que lo ayud-e.
 DOM somebody so that DEF.ACC.MASC.3.S help-3.S.SUBJ
 “He has looked for somebody to help him.”
 (Merma Molina, 2007:223)
- b. Se lo llev-ó una caja.
 3.S DEF.ACC.S.MASC.3 take-PST.3.S INDEF.FEM box
 “(S/he) took a box (with her/him)”
- c. Se lo llev-ó caramelo-s.
 3.S DEF.ACC.MASC.3.S take-PST.3.S candy-PL
 “(S/he) took candies (with her/him)”

(Luján, 1987:115)

In this respect, Andean Spanish is the most permissive of the three varieties analyzed. Given the differences in the distribution of doubling with respect to the definiteness and animacy of direct objects, we propose that a proper analysis of

⁷ We refer the reader to [Zdrojewski \(2008\)](#) and [Di Tullio et al. \(2013\)](#) for an extensive and thorough analysis of clitic doubling of inanimate DPs in Buenos Aires Spanish. [Di Tullio et al. \(2013\)](#) show that in simple transitive clauses, differentially marked inanimate DPs do not behave as animate DPs with respect to clitic doubling. However, if the inanimate DP is the subject of a secondary predicate or the subject of a non-finite clause in an ECM structure, it patterns with animate DPs.

clitic doubling in these three varieties is not congruent with the idea that a single semantic feature such as definiteness is the sole trigger of agreement. On the contrary, in order to account for this distribution, it seems necessary to delink clitic doubling from semantic features as their trigger. An alternative route to account for the differences in the extension of this phenomenon across varieties is related to the requirement for the object to move out the vP.

3. Clitic doubling and object movement

In the literature on accusative clitic doubling of the last 20 years, one of the most accepted hypotheses is that this phenomenon requires movement of the object out of the vP domain. In fact, since the seminal work of Sportiche (1996), many scholars have traced the analogy between clitic doubling phenomena and Scandinavian object shift or Germanic scrambling. For instance, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1997) have presented empirical evidence that Greek clitic doubling presents properties similar to those of the Germanic phenomenon such as anti-Weak Cross Over (WCO) effects, Principle C effects and a similar distribution of floating quantifiers.

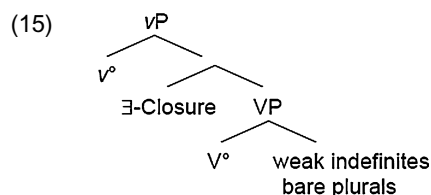
In the domain of Spanish, the idea that clitic doubling may involve some type of object movement has been adopted mainly for conceptual reasons (cf. Uriagereka, 1995; Torrego, 1998; Cecchetto, 1999). However, Franco (1993), Bleam (1999) and Suñer (2000), among others, have advocated this idea on empirical grounds. More recently, Sánchez (2010) and Sánchez and Zdrojewski (2013) presented new evidence related to some word order restrictions in Lima and Buenos Aires Spanish that supports object movement as an account for clitic doubling. Di Tullio et al. (2013) show, on the basis of anti-reconstruction effects, that this type of object displacement in Buenos Aires Spanish, is a case of A-movement to Spec,vP. Based on the existing and compelling evidence presented in the literature on clitic doubling and movement, we will assume that clitic doubling in Lima and Buenos Aires Spanish varieties is dependent on an A-movement of the object to Spec,vP.⁸ We do recognize the fact that movement of the doubled object cannot be assumed for all doubling varieties and that evidence must be found for each variety. In fact, we propose that clitic doubling may be subject to parametric variation depending on the availability of object movement. In the remainder of this section, we present evidence supporting our proposal that the main difference between clitic doubling in the Lima and Buenos Aires varieties and in the Andean variety is the lack of object movement in the latter.

As we saw before, unlike in Buenos Aires and Lima Spanish, in Andean Spanish, any kind of DP can be doubled, including weak indefinites and bare plurals as in (14):

- (14) a Se lo llev-ó una caja.
 3.S DEF.ACC.MASC.3.S take-PST.3.S INDEF.FEM box
 “(S/he) took a box (with her/him)”
- b. Se lo llev-ó caramelo-s
 3.S DEF.ACC.MASC.3.S take-PST.3.S candy-PL
 “(S/he) took candies (with her/him)”

(Luján, 1987:115)

The common assumption since Heim (1982) is that weak indefinites remain in the domain of Existential Closure ($\exists$ -Closure) (Diesing, 1992; López, 2012; among others) and do not move outside of the VP. The same holds for bare plurals in Spanish. In fact, contrary to their English counterparts, Spanish bare nouns in object position do not necessarily have a generic interpretation, as noticed by Leonetti (2004) especially when they are in the scope of episodic verbs. That is precisely the case in (14b) where the non-generic reading is favored by the use of the preterit tense. As observed by Brugé and Brugger (1996) and López (2012), this type of bare plurals in Spanish do not move outside the VP. On the basis of the compatibility of indefinites with clitic doubling in Andean Spanish and following the previous proposals mentioned, we will assume the structure in (15) for (14a) and (14b):



⁸ For a different approach, see López (2009).

In this structure, weak indefinites and bare plurals remain in VP-internal positions in the scope of existential closure and do not undergo object movement.

The picture that emerges from examining the distribution of clitic doubling in these three varieties is one in which: (a) Buenos Aires and Lima Spanish have differential gender and number marking, but Andean Spanish has a neutralized masculine form for third person clitics, (b) Buenos Aires Spanish allows doubling of some definite inanimate DPs only if they are marked with the differential object marker *a*, whereas Lima Spanish can be more flexible in allowing inanimate doubling without a differential object marker requirement, (c) Andean Spanish extends doubling to different types of direct objects without requiring differential object marking, and (d) the doubling phenomenon in Andean Spanish does not require the object to be moved out of the vP.

4. Clitic doubling and Kayne's Generalization

An important concern in the discussion on clitic doubling in Spanish and other languages is whether this phenomenon obeys Kayne's Generalization in (16):

(16) *Kayne's Generalization*: (Jaeggli, 1982:20)

An object NP may be doubled by a clitic only if the NP is preceded by a preposition.

The gist of this generalization is that clitic doubling is dependent on the presence of a morphological case marker on the doubled DP. In Spanish accusative clitic doubling, this requirement must be met only by (a subset of) differentially marked objects, which bear a marker syncretic with the dative marker *a* and homophonous with the preposition *a*. In what follows, we examine data from Buenos Aires, Lima and Andean Spanish in order to determine whether they fall under this generalization.⁹

As we saw before, some Andean Spanish varieties exhibit neutralization in the third person clitic in favor of the form *lo* in clitic doubling structures. The clitic can double a wide range of DPs, including inanimate weak indefinites and inanimate bare plurals (see 13b and 13c). These two kinds of DPs are not differentially marked and are never allowed to bear a DOM marker in other Spanish dialects. It is clear, then, that Andean Spanish does not obey Kayne's Generalization.

This fact raises the question of whether these cases can be considered as instances of clitic right dislocation. It seems unlikely, mainly because Andean Spanish information structure is different from that of other Spanish dialects. In this dialect, topics precede the verb, resulting in (S)OV structures as a result of crosslinguistic influence from Quechua.

In addition, Andean Spanish varieties with generalized *lo* (Caravedo and Klee, 2005) differ from the two other varieties in that *lo* can double different types of vP-internal material as shown by the following example that illustrates the availability of doubling with some unaccusative verbs that involve directionality (Escobar, 2000):

- (17) Al un mes y cinco días todavía
 at-DEF a month and five days yet
 lo h-emos llegado a Sicaya.
 ACC.MASC have-3.PL arrived to Sicaya
 "After a month and five days we arrived to Sicaya."

(Escobar, 2000:85)

This type of accusative doubling of a vP-internal constituent is not surprising given the availability of accusative marking for vP-internal constituents in Southern Quechua varieties (Van de Kerke, 1996), with which the Andean Spanish varieties with generalized *lo* are in contact with Southern Quechua varieties, as shown in:

- (18) a. Chay alqu wawa-y-ta manchay-ta khani-rqa
 that dog child-1.S.-ACC terrible-ACC bite- PST.3.S.
 "That dog has bitten my child terribly."
 b. Tarata-ta ri-saq
 Tarata-ACC go- FUT.1.S
 "I will go to Tarata."

(Van de Kerke, 1996:93)

⁹ We will not discuss here case assignment or DOM in Spanish since that discussion is beyond the main goals of the paper. It is enough to point out that in Buenos Aires Spanish, DOM seems to be more extended than in other dialects. For instance, this dialect accepts DOM with inanimate DPs in some contexts (For an exhaustive description see Di Tullio and Zdrojewski, 2006; Zdrojewski, 2008; Di Tullio et al., 2013).

What it is surprising is that the adverb in (18a) and the directional constituent in an unaccusative configuration in (18b) receive both an accusative case marker. Further evidence that there is some correspondence between *lo* in Andean Spanish and the case marker */-ta/* in Quechua comes from Quechua–Spanish code-switching data produced by bilingual speakers. As observed by Sánchez (2012), in code-switching contexts, bilingual speakers of different varieties of Quechua add the accusative case marker */-ta/* to the Spanish vP internal constituents of the sentence: an indefinite DP in (19), a dative object in (20), a directional PP in (21):

- (19) Algo gati-pu-n a un niño-ta.
dog follow-DIR-3.S ACC a boy-ACC
“The dog follows a boy.”

(Sánchez, 2012:521)

- (20) Suk wambrillo miedu-yka a sapu-ta.
one boy fear-PROG ACC toad-ACC
“A boy was afraid of a toad.”

(Sánchez, 2012:522)

- (21) Avent-aron en agua-ta.
throw-PST.3.PL in water-ACC
“(They) threw (them) in the water.”

(Sánchez, 2012:522)

These examples show that generalized accusative marking of vP internal material is available to bilingual speakers. Another important piece of this puzzle is that Quechua has first and second person object agreement markers but lacks third person direct object markers on the verb when the subject is a third person subject. At the same time, Quechua allows for null objects with referential direct objects that are continuing topics, a property shared by Andean Spanish. Clitic doubling in those varieties of Andean Spanish that allow sentences like (17) does not seem to correspond exclusively to referential object marking of topics but rather it is a way of marking phonologically overt vP-internal material on the verb. This seems to indicate that doubling by *lo* in those varieties is not exactly the same phenomenon as clitic doubling in other dialects.

We turn now to the Lima and Buenos Aires varieties. These dialects differ with respect to *Kayne's Generalization*. Along with extended clitic doubling, these dialects exhibit clitic right dislocation [CLRD]. The productivity of this second phenomenon in Buenos Aires Spanish has been a confusing factor for scholars investigating clitic doubling. Without an appropriate test, it is impossible to decide if examples in (8) and (12) (repeated below as (22) and (23)) should be considered cases of legitimate clitic doubling or instances of CLRD.

- (22) Le-í en las noticias que hace unas horas
read- PST.1.S in the news that ago some hours
lo atac-aron al Papa
DEF.ACC.3.MASC.S attack- PST.3.PL to-DEF.ACC.3.MASC.S Pope.
“I read on the news that some hours ago the Pope was attacked”

- (23) Después de años de espera, finalmente...
after of years of waiting finally...
la arregl-aron la calle de mi mamá.
DEF.ACC.3.FEM.S fix- PST.3.PL DEF.ACC.3.FEM.S street of my mother
“After years of waiting, they finally fixed my mother's street.”
(Buenos Aires: */Lima: OK)

Di Tullio and Zdrojewski (2006), Zdrojewski (2008), and Di Tullio et al. (2013) have proposed tests to distinguish between both phenomena in Buenos Aires Spanish that are based on the fact that clitic doubling is compatible with a focus interpretation on the doubled DP (as first noticed by Hurtado, 1984). CLRDed constituents, on the other hand, are always non-contrastive topics, as observed by Villalba (2000) and López (2002). In a similar vein, Sánchez (2006, 2010) observed that clitic doubling in Lima Spanish receives typically an exhaustive focus interpretation. With this in mind, we turn now to the compatibility of focus with clitic doubling structures in both dialects.

First, clitic-doubled DPs can be contrastively stressed, whereas CLRDed DPs cannot. Consider example (24):

- (24) a. La bes-ó a MARÍA, (no a Cecilia)
 DEF.ACC.3.FEM.S kiss.PST.3.S DOM María not DOM Cecilia
 “(S/he) kissed Maria, not Cecilia.”
(Buenos Aires: OK/Lima: OK)
- b. Lo manej-ó el TREN,
 DEF.ACC.3.MASC.S drive.PST.3.S DEF.MASC train,
 (no el camión).
 not DEF.MASC truck
 “S/he drove the train, not the truck.”
(Buenos Aires: */Lima: OK)

Both Buenos Aires and Lima Spanish coincide in the grammaticality of the DOM DP in (a), but they differ with respect to (b), which is only grammatical in Lima Spanish.¹⁰

A second test proposed by Zdrojewski (2008) and Di Tullio et al. (2013) is Association with Focus. As is well known, adverbs like *solo* ‘only’ associate with the focus of the sentence, leading to an exhaustive interpretation. The DPs in clitic doubling structures are compatible with the focal adverb, but those in CLRD structures are not. The contrast between DOM DPs in Buenos Aires and Lima is found in this context too:

- (25) a. Juan la besó sólo [a María],
 Juan DEF.ACC.3.FEM.S kiss.PST.3.S only DOM María
 (no a Cecilia).
 not DOM Cecilia
 “Juan kissed only Maria, not Cecilia.”
(Buenos Aires: OK | Lima: OK)
- b. Juan lo manej-ó solo
 Juan DEF.ACC.3.MASC.S drive.PST.3.S only
 el TREN, (no el camión)
 DEF.MASC train, (not DEF.MASC truck)
 “Juan drove the train, not the truck.”
(Buenos Aires: * | Lima: OK)

The third test proposed in the aforementioned papers is based on López (2002) observation that CLRD is ungrammatical in gapping structures, since gapping requires the remnants to express contrastive information. Again, the patterns observed before are replicated in this context:

- (26) a. Juan la besó a María
 Juan DEF.ACC.3.FEM.S kiss.PST.3.S DOM María
 y Pedro a Ana.
 and Pedro DOM Ana
 “Juan kissed Maria and Pedro (kissed) Ana.”
(Buenos Aires: OK | Lima: OK)
- b. Juan lo manejó el tren
 Juan DEF.ACC.3.MASC.S drive.PST.3.S DEF.MASC train
 y Pedro el camión.
 and Pedro DEF.MASC truck
 “Juan drove the train and Pedro (drove) the truck.”
(Buenos Aires: * | Lima: OK)

These three tests show that in Buenos Aires Spanish, clitic doubling is only possible if the doubled object bears a DOM marker. Instead, clitic doubling in Lima Spanish is possible with unmarked objects as well. The logical conclusion to be

¹⁰ If the object is not stressed in (25b), it is grammatical in Buenos Aires dialect, but in that case it is considered as a case of CLRD.

drawn from these data is that *Kayne's Generalization* constitutes another source of variation for clitic doubling: Buenos Aires Spanish obeys it strictly (see Jaeggli, 1986; Zdrojewski, 2008; Di Tullio et al., 2013), whereas Lima Spanish does not (see Sánchez, 2006, 2010).

Consider now the following contrasts with respect to agreement with T° . Some unaccusative Spanish verbs like *faltar* 'lack' can take a clause as a subject. In both dialects, as in many others, the main verb can optionally agree with the object of the embedded verb as in (27).

- (27) Falt-a-(n) correg-ir **estos exámenes**.
 lack.3(PL) grade.INF these exams
 "These exams need to be graded."

This kind of long distance agreement is captured in Pujalte and Saab's (2013) generalization in (28):

- (28) *Subject–Verb Agreement Effects Generalization*
 Only those objects that are not explicitly marked with accusative case display Subject–Verb agreement effects.
 (Translated from Pujalte and Saab, 2013:12)

It is worth pointing out that this generalization seems to complement *Kayne's Generalization* with respect to agreement with T° . Notice that in (27) the object *estos exámenes* 'these exams' does not bear a morphological case marker and it allows for subject agreement on the verb. Interestingly, there seems to be some variation with respect to the generalization in (28). Configurations where an accusative marked DP agrees with T° (see Pujalte and Saab, 2013) have been observed in Old Spanish and in modern dialects, as well. In fact, Lima Spanish, *inter alia*, does not obey (28). In Buenos Aires Spanish, some idiolectal variation can be found but there is a strong tendency among speakers to obey this generalization. This is shown by the contrast between both dialects in (29b) and (29c).

- (29) a. Falt-a-(n) contrat-ar **a tres músicos**.¹¹
 lack.3.PL hire.INF DOM three musicians
 "Three musicians need yet to be hired."
 (Lima: OK/Buenos Aires: *)
- b. Falt-a-(n) contrat-ar-**los**.
 lack.3.PL hire.INF-DEF.ACC.3.MASC.PL
 "They need yet to be hired."
 (Lima: OK/Buenos Aires: *)
- c. Falt-a-(n) contrat-ar-**los a los músicos**.
 lack.3PL hire.INF- DEF.MASC.PL DOM DEF.MASC.PL musicians
 "The musicians need yet to be hired."
 (Lima: OK/Buenos Aires: *)

In these examples, the object bears DOM and agrees with T° in the main clause, in a clear violation of (28). Additionally, in (29c), the object bears DOM and not only agrees with T° , but also with v° in the embedded clause. This contrast shows that in Lima Spanish, T° and v° are not sensitive to the case value of the DP with which they agree, while in Buenos Aires Spanish, T° and v° are both sensitive to the case of the DP.

In this section we have shown that the variation across dialects not only appears in the morphological realization of the third person doubling clitic, but also in the morphosyntactic conditions involved. As we have seen, in Lima and Buenos Aires dialects, the clitic expresses all the features of the doubled object (person, gender and number), they differ in the requirement of the object to have a case marker.

5. Concluding remarks

In this paper we have explored the morphosyntactic variation of accusative clitic doubling in relation with two factors (a) object movement and (b) *Kayne's Generalization*. We have also linked some of the properties of clitic doubling to the

¹¹ These judgments correspond to speakers that allow for clitic doubling with indefinites. There are also Lima speakers for whom this type of agreement is not grammatical. These uses can also be considered deviant from the norm from a prescriptivist approach and not accepted by speakers with high levels of formal instruction. This type of agreement has not been documented for Andean Spanish in the previously existing literature.

Table 2
Sources of variation of clitic doubling- Buenos Aires, Lima and Andean Spanish.

Property	Dialect		
	Buenos Aires	Lima	Andean
Gender/number marking	Yes	Yes	No (generalized <i>lo</i>)
<i>Kayne's Generalization</i>	Yes	No	No
<i>S–V agreement effects generalization</i>	Yes	No	?
Clitic doubling via object movement	Yes	Yes	No
Maximum extension	(Some) Quantifiers	Strong indefinites	Bare plurals

subject–verb agreement effects generalization (Pujalte and Saab, 2013) and to the extension that this phenomenon has in each of the three dialects. The general scenario of variation is schematized in Table 2:

These results point out in the direction of establishing some connections between these conditions and macroparameters of agreement. Indeed, the condition on object movement, *Kayne's Generalization* and its counterpart condition on agreement with T°, the subject–verb agreement effects generalization, resemble Baker's (2008) parameters on agreement in (30) and (31):

(30) *The Direction of Agreement parameter*

F agrees with DP/NP only if DP/NP asymmetrically c-commands F

(31) *The Case-Dependency of Agreement parameter*

F agrees with DP/NP only if F values the case feature of DP/NP or vice versa

(Baker, 2008:155)

Notice that the requirement on object movement is consistent with one of the values for the Direction of Agreement parameter. Similarly, *Kayne's Generalization* – the condition for the doubled object to bear a visible morphological case maker – is consistent with one of values of the Case-Dependency of Agreement parameter, in some broad sense (see below). This resemblance seems to be more than a coincidence. However, tying the conditions observed in this paper with Baker's (2008) parameters can be misguided to the extent that Baker's (2008) macro-parameters distinguish between consistent behaviors of typologically different languages.¹² Some broad empirical generalizations about typological crosslinguistic distinctions can be lost if micro-parametric differences, as those observed in these three dialects, are accounted for by these two macro-parameters. More cross-dialectal research is needed before arriving at a conclusive answer about the relationship between macro and micro parameters affecting agreement. The dialects we have analyzed give us just an initial window into the connection between Baker's (2008) parameters and the restrictions we have observed.

Let us consider Andean Spanish varieties with invariable *lo*. Doubling with invariable *lo* does not behave in many respects as clitic doubling in the other varieties. Invariable *lo* can double directional arguments of some unaccusative verbs. This kind of doubling seems to be close to an anti-EPP effect (a default morpheme appears if nothing satisfies the EPP).¹³ When the object (or any other vP internal material) vacates the vP, this invariable clitic disappears: either the object is not doubled or is doubled by a full agreeing clitic. In this respect, Andean Spanish does not seem to be a language in which invariable clitic doubling is related to Baker's (2008) parameters in an obvious way. The correlation between lack of agreement in the clitic and the lack of object movement does not seem an obvious one either. One can speculate that such a correlation can only be traced if the EPP is not an independent property of heads, but is tied to agreement.

Let us consider, now, Lima and Buenos Aires varieties. Clitic doubling in these dialects behaves as if the directionality parameter was set to "YES", but as if the case dependency parameter was set differently in each one. In Buenos Aires Spanish, the strict obedience to *Kayne's Generalization* and *Subject–Verb agreement effects generalization* is consistent with a view in which agreement is dependent on the case marking of the argument, in other words, the vice versa part of the parameter in (31) (i.e. the accusative marked object determines the agreement value of v°). In Lima Spanish, on the other hand, this parameter seems to be set to "NO." In this respect, neither agreement with v° nor T° seem to be sensitive to the case of the DP (See Section 4). As we have noticed before, these two patterns of agreement are an innovative feature of Lima Spanish with respect to other Spanish dialects, but more research on these agreement patterns is needed.¹⁴

¹² We would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

¹³ See, for instance, Pujalte and Saab (2012), Pujalte (2013) and Saab (2013) for a proposal of this kind of repair strategies in the domain of passive and impersonal SE constructions in Spanish.

¹⁴ If more data were to confirm this pattern, then Lima Spanish would exhibit a pattern closer to those found in Bantu languages (Baker, 2008).

Is it possible to correlate the agreement patterns of clitics with the restrictions on clitic doubling? The data from the dialects of Lima and Buenos Aires suggest that agreement in gender and number of the doubling clitic can be associated with the movement of the object DP to Spec,vP. Here too, more cross-dialectal research is needed to determine the extent to which lack of full agreement correlates with lack of movement. Concretely, a systematic study is needed of dialects of Spanish in contact with Guaraní spoken in Paraguay and the northeast of Argentina, as well as of some varieties of Amazonian Spanish and Andean Spanish that privilege the dative clitic *le* over *lo* as the neutralizing option and may still exhibit movement. These varieties resemble the Basque Leista Spanish studied by Franco (1993, 2000), Franco and Landa (1999), Bleam (1999), Ormazabal and Romero (2007, 2013), among others.¹⁵ The crucial difference between Paraguayan and Basque dialects is that some of the varieties of Spanish in contact with Guaraní have lost the number distinction in the doubling clitic as is the case in Andean Spanish varieties with invariable *lo*.

Finally, we would like to point out that whereas an immediate correlation between full agreement patterns and the object movement requirement cannot be established, some important conclusions can be drawn from the data analyzed. First, clitic doubling has to be delinked from semantic features as its trigger. Clitic doubling structures can be assigned different semantic values as well as information status at the interfaces with syntax, but it is not triggered by them. It is triggered by syntactic factors (formal features in connection with case marking and object movement). Secondly, the understanding of variation in clitic doubling requires a change of perspective regarding Kayne's *Generalization* and the dependence of this phenomenon on object movement. The traditional view took as a premise that clitic doubling is a monolithic phenomenon that presents variation only on the form of the clitic and the extension of the DPs doubled. Under such a premise, the problem was to determine whether Kayne's *Generalization* is spurious or not and whether clitic doubling involves object movement or not in all clitic doubling varieties. What we propose is that the main issue is to determine which combination of conditions (Kayne's *Generalization*, S–V agreement effects, or object movement) gives rise in each dialect.

Once clitic doubling is understood as an agreement phenomenon in a more abstract sense than agreement in semantic features, then research on this topic can further explore the syntactic conditions for agreement. Once the monolithic vision of the phenomenon is abandoned, a wide range of not so subtle differences emerges.

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¹⁵ From the description given in the literature (Franco, 1993, 2000; Franco and Landa, 1999; Bleam, 1999; Ormazabal and Romero, 2007, 2013, among others), Basque Leista Spanish seems to be consistent with Buenos Aires Spanish with respect to Kayne's *Generalization* (see Ormazabal and Romero, 2013). In that literature it is less clear whether it has an object movement requirement. In any case, doubling clitics in this dialect preserve number distinction, contrary to Andean Spanish.

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