

Formal Linguistics and the Syntax of Spanish: Past, Present and Future¹

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The organizers of the Symposium suggested the topic of this presentation. From the very beginning my main purpose was to discuss an example of how one works within formal linguistics, my area of specialization.

I must also make clear that I do not believe that there is an entity called the *syntax of Spanish*, but that rather there exists what we call *syntax* and that we apply its principles and hypotheses to different languages. The idea is that syntax is unique, *universal* according to Chomsky – the top guru of formal linguistics according to my estimate. To a large degree this concept is based on the acquisition of first languages, given that all children learn their language or languages that surround them quickly and without effort. Moreover, they all go through the same learning stages at roughly the same maturational time.

It is true that languages differ, but the main differences are lexical; the other ones turn out to be mainly superficial once we study any given phenomenon *comparatively* and *in depth*. An example of this is given later when I compare Spanish to the Germanic languages in Section 3.

The studies related to Spanish have contributed to a better understanding of many of the syntactic subareas. I divided the *Bibliography* into these subareas and within each of them, the works appear in strict chronological order. I must also point out that there have been several articles that give a panoramic view of studies concerning Spanish in the formal linguistic framework. Among them you can find those in (A):

A) *Panoramic Studies on Formal Research*

- 1981 Contreras, Heles. Romance Syntax in the 70s. In H. Contreras & K. Klausenburger (eds.), *Papers in Romance* 3:26-40.
- 1989 Suñer, Margarita. Spanish Syntax and Semantics in the 80's: The Principles-and-Parameters Approach. *Hispania* 72: 832-847.
- 1993 Bosque, Ignacio. La gramática generativa y los estudios de sintaxis española. Breve estado de la cuestión. ALFAL X, Veracruz (inédito).
- 2000 Brucart, José Ma. 25 años de sintaxis española (1970-1995). En M. Bargalló Escrivá C. Garriga Escribano (eds.): *25 años de investigación de la lengua española*. Tarragona, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, 111-188.
- 2002 Brucart, José Ma. Los estudios de sintaxis en el generativismo: balance y perspectiva. *En Presente y futuro de la lingüística en España*, La Sociedad de Lingüística 30 años después, Actas del II Congreso de la Sociedad Española de Lingüística (Madrid, 2000), 21-51.

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2006 Toribio, A. Jacqueline. The Revitalization of Spanish Linguistics. *Hispanic Issues On Line* 1.1: 133-136.

In what follows I briefly present the situation of formal linguistics as applied to Spanish and then discuss an example of how we work within the formal framework using the clitic systems, that is, the Spanish unressed pronouns.

1. The past

Chomskian grammar begins to have disciples towards the end of the 60s and the beginning of the 70s. Among them I can name Sol Saporta, Carlos Otero, Heles Contreras, James Harris, Mercedes Roldán, William Cressey and also Marisa Rivero, Marta Luján, Jorge Guitart, Susan Plann, Alberto Rivas and myself. In Spain one finds V. Sánchez Zavala, Violeta Demonte, Carlos Piera and Esther Torrego among others.

During the 80s there appear in the US Osvaldo Jaeggli, Karen Zagona, Héctor Campos, María Luisa Zubizarreta and Paula Kempchinsky. One of the gatherings that fostered the interest in formal linguistics was the meeting started in Florida in 1970, the *Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages* which this year celebrated its 37 anniversary. Because of the quality and quantity of the works presented, Spanish always occupies the main stage in this meeting. Many years later the *Hispanic Linguistics Symposium* and *The Conference on the Acquisition of Spanish and Portuguese as First and Second Languages* are established.

However, not everything was rosy. As with any science, the theory kept evolving because new facts showed it to be deficient in certain areas. Thus, from the *Aspects* model, we went to the *Theory of Government and Binding*, then to *Barriers* and from there to *Minimalism* in 1995. These frequent changes disappointed some and they decided to abandon the area of formal linguistics.

Among US universities that excelled in the first stage of formal linguistics are MIT, Georgetown, Indiana, USC, UCLA, UC Santa Cruz, and University of Washington in Seattle. Cornell joins the formal camp in the middle 70s. In Spain in the mid eighties we find the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid and the Fundación Ortega y Gasset (which sponsors the annual *Coloquium on Generative Grammar*), the Universitat Autònoma of Barcelona, and also the University of Deusto-Bilbao and that of the Basque Country. A large number of graduates of these Spanish universities obtain their PhDs from US universities and have a great impact when they return to Spain as professors of formal linguistics.

2. The present and the future

My evaluation is that Spanish departments in the US are in a great situation. The number of students ready to study Spanish as a second or foreign language continues to increase disproportionately when compared to other foreign languages. In part, this is due to immigration and the need to communicate with Spanish speakers in all spheres of society (medicine, law, commerce, construction, schools, radio, TV, etc.). The number of students studying linguistics in these departments does not compare favorably to the number studying literature, but it must be remembered that linguistic students take some classes in Linguistic Departments. Moreover, there are linguists who work with Spanish – although not necessarily exclusively – in General Linguistic departments (for example, Zubizarreta, Zagona, Contreras, Plann, Strozer, Rivero, among others).

Another consequence of the interest in formal linguistics can be gleaned from the explosion in the number of journals that have begun publication in this area. As an example see the non-exhaustive list in (B) of those which compose the top tier:

- B) 1924 *Language* (LSA)
 1947 *Lingua* (Elsevier)
 1964 *Journal of Linguistics* (Cambridge)
 1970 *Linguistic Inquiry* (MIT).

1974	<i>Theoretical Linguistics</i> (Walter de Gruyter)
1977	<i>Linguistics and Philosophy</i> (Springer Netherlands)
1983	<i>Natural Language and Linguistic Theory</i> (Kluwer)
1983	<i>The Linguistic Review</i> (Walter de Gruyter)
1989	<i>Probus</i> (Mouton de Gruyter)
2001	<i>Syntax</i> (Blackwell Publishers)

If we stop to consider their starting publication dates we see that while I was a graduate student, *Linguistic Inquiry* was founded and since then all the rest have emerged. To (B) one needs to add the publications emanating from Spanish departments and those that are published on the web.

On the web one also finds several corpus (see (C)):

C) *Corpus*:

- *Real Academia Española* (RAE)
 - *Univ. de Santiago de Compostela* (directed by Guillermo Rojo).
 - *La Norma Culta de las principales ciudades de Latinoamérica y España* in disk and a portion of it in the CREA of the RAE
 - www.corpusdelespanol.org (Mark Davies)
 - Corpus Oral Centropeninsular
 - Corpus Escrito del Español de Chile
 - Corpus Escrito del Español de Argentina
- (The last three directed by F. Marcos-Marín and available on the web)

When a researcher uses these corpus for empirical data, s/he gets a more realistic and adequate vision of how a given language works regarding the phenomenon under study.

There are many good linguists in Spanish departments. Among them Almeida Jacqueline Toribio (Penn State), Luis López (U. of Illinois Chicago), Paula Kempchinsky (Iowa), Pascual Masullo (Pittsburg), Liliana Sánchez (Rutgers), Francisco Ordoñez (SUNY-Stony Brook), José Camacho (Rutgers), Javier Gutiérrez-Rexach (Ohio State), Marta Luján (TX-Austin), among others.

Another indication of the expansion of formal linguistics is the partial list in (D) of linguists hired by Spanish departments in the last few years, included 3 hired by the University of Illinois at Chicago, which even surprises me:

- D)
- Miguel Rodríguez-Monzoño: Indiana U. (syntax)
 - Cristina Cuervo: U. of Toronto (syntax)
 - Asier Alcázar: U. of Missouri (syntax and interfaces)
 - Karlos Arregi: U. of Illinois Urbana-Champaign (syntax)
 - Alejandro Cuza: U. of Illinois Chicago (acquisition of 2nd. languages and attrition) 2007
 - Kay González-Vilbazo: U. of Illinois Chicago (code-switching from a formal point of view) 2006
 - Kara Morgan-Short: U. of Illinois Chicago (acquisition of 2nd. languages from a neurolinguistic methodology) 2007

Hence, although it is difficult to predict the future with complete certainty, since my crystal ball gets a bit cloudy at times, I'm very optimistic because formal linguistics as applied to the Spanish language enjoys a privileged position in the US.

3. An example of formal comparative syntax as applied to Spanish

I'll be talking about clitics. For the most part, I concentrate on object clitics, mainly DO ones because they are the ones that differ the most in terms of both Clitic-systems and Clitic-doubling. All data are from Suñer 1988, 1989, 2000, and Suñer and Yépez 1988, and references therein.

3.1. Morphological Variation: Four Clitic-Systems

I limit myself to the following four dialects: *Normative Spanish*, *Madrid Spanish*, *Porteño* and *Colloquial Quiteño*. Hence, the comparison here is among dialects of the same language (Fernández-Ordoñez 1993, Klein-Andreu 1993, among many others).

By *Normative Spanish* I mean the idealized Spanish described by traditional grammarians as in (1):

- 1) *Normative Spanish*
DO: la(s) (fem) / lo(s) (masc) **IO:** le(s)
- 2) *Madrid Spanish* has two subvarieties
 - a. *leísmo*: **DO:** la(s) (fem) / le(s) (masc) **IO:** le(s)
 - b. *laísmo*: **DO:** la(s) (fem) / le(s) (masc) **IO:** le(s) (masc) / la(s) (fem)
- 3) *Porteño* (= etymological system)
DO: la(s) (fem) / lo(s) (masc) **IO:** le(s)
- 4) *Colloquial Quiteño*
DO & IO: le(s)

I'd like to suggest that the variation found in these four CL-systems is *morphological*. In other words, speakers of these dialects assign different features to the clitic morphemes. For example, the *laísta* dialect of Madrid marks both DOs and IOs for gender.

3.2. DO Clitic-doubling

The four dialects also respond differently to the possibility of doubling.

Normative Spanish only allows doubling of DOs with personal pronouns (5).

- 5) La recordamos a ella con gran cariño.

This NS situation fosters the misconception that peninsular dialects do not permit DO-D. However, doubling is found in the *leísta* subvariety in the educated spoken corpus of Madrid provided the doubled DO is interpreted as *specific/identifiable* (in Suñer's 1988 terminology); see (6-7):

- 6a) No le he oído a ese señor. Quilis et al 1985:101 *leísta dialect*
- b) El Señor le atrae a uno.
- 7a) La encuentro a la tía.
- b) . . . sí, pero no la voy a pisar la Universidad. (note the absence of a) *leísta dialect*

And doubling also occurs in the *laísta* dialect with IO's. See (8):

- 8a) La dejó sus libros a su sobrina. Quilis et al 1985:101 *laísta dialect*
- b) La rogaron a Juana que no se incomodara.

Nevertheless, that speakers — whether *leístas* or *laístas* — "know" the differences between DOs and IOs is confirmed by the fact that IO doubling does not obey the specificity constraint (9a-b) that DOs must obey (9c), as made clear by adding a relative clause in the subjunctive mood to the respective object.

- 9a) La darán el premio a una niña de 4 años que sepa (subj) dividir. *laísta*
- b) Le darán el premio a un niño de 4 años que sepa (subj) dividir. *leísta*
- c) *le necesitan a un cocinero que prepare (subj) sushi. *le = DO*

Porteño, the variety of Spanish spoken in the city of Buenos Aires and surrounding area, doubles a specific animate DO without any trouble, whether pronominal or not, as in (10).

- 10) La vi a ...
 (i) ella / la mujer / la gata [+spec +anim +def]
 (ii) una mujer que vendía empanadas [+spec +anim -def]

Moreover, although less frequent, the doubling of inanimates is possible, as in (11).

- 11a) ... lo vamos a empujar al ómnibus. (recorded) [+spec -anim +def]
 b) Lo quiero mucho a este arbolito porque me lo regaló mamá. (spont.) [+spec -anim +def]

As expected, no doubling occurs with non-specific DOs; see (12):

- 12) (*La) buscaban (a) una mujer que vendiera (subj) globos. [-spec -anim -def]

At first sight, **Colloquial Quiteño** — the Spanish dialect of Quito, Ecuador — appears to differ considerably from general Spanish so I outline some of its main characteristics as it concerns object CLs. All data are from Yépez 1986. The most salient trait of this dialect is that DO-CLs have been almost universally replaced by *le(s)*, that is, by the etymological IO-CL forms. This replacement applies irrespective of the features of animacy and / or gender; see (13).

- 13a) Tuve que salvarle. (*le = mi amiga*)
 b) Ya le vendió. (*le = el carro*)

Thus, it seems save to claim that QS has carried *leísmo* to conclusion.

CLs used as DOs allow DO-D quite freely (see (14)), so even inanimates double with ease; as in (14c).

- 14a) ... le conoció a mamá. [+hum]
 b) ... les calentara a los pollitos. [+anim]
 c) Le contrataré al taxi. [-anim]

QS also avoids sequences of IO and DO CLs, so that instead of the generalized (15a), they use (15b) with the exact same meaning, and instead of (16a), (16b).

- 15a) Dámelo.
 b) Dame \emptyset .

- 16a) Bueno, yo te lo saco.
 b) Bueno, yo te \emptyset saco. ($\emptyset = el vestido$)

This trait is not unknown in other varieties of Spanish where it happens sporadically and where, for the most part, it is circumscribed to Vs of knowledge and understanding (*decir, saber, preguntar*, etc; cf. Kany 1969, Keniston 1937), but Quiteño regularly omits the DO indiscriminately in the presence of an IO with all kinds of verbs.² Even more, DO CLs vanish when the referent of the DO is clear from the context as it happens in Left-dislocations in (17), or when the referent appears in the preceding sentence as in (18).

- 17a) *Las elecciones* yo nunca \emptyset entendí.
 b) *La leche* \emptyset vendían a \$1.20.

² In Yépez 1986 recorded corpus there is not a single example of cooccurring IO + DO CL in which one of them is not reflexively interpreted.

- 18a) Me dejaban *el formulario* para que yo \emptyset vea.
 b) A mi mamá le quedó un poco mal cerrado *el armario* y logré abrir \emptyset

Moreover, IO CLs may work as DOs provided there is no ambiguity as to function; that is, provided there is no IO phrase in the same sentence, as in (14) above (*le conoció a mamá*). However, if there is an IO phrase, the CL unambiguously refers to the IO argument, and the DO automatically goes to \emptyset or surfaces as a lexical DP, see (15b)-(16b) above and (19) below.

- 19a) Al chofer le \emptyset di. (\emptyset = *los papeles*)
 b) Decidí ponerle los cuernos, y le \emptyset puse.

Could the QS CL usage cause confusion? Certainly; to speakers of other dialects. I must confess that at times, I had no idea what María Yépez was saying or asking me. But Quiteños do not even perceive the possible confusions/ambiguities they create for others. This shows that they have a deep unconscious knowledge of grammatical relations. Validation for this comes from three argument verbs where *le(s)* always refers to the IO slot. Consider (20) where only one of the logically permitted interpretations of the sentence obtains, even though the other reading is the only one possible whenever the same verb is construed with subject and DO.

- 20a) Ella no permitía que le \emptyset toque. (\emptyset = *el pie*)
 (i) She did not allow that I touch her foot (lit: the foot of her).
 (ii) #She did not allow that I touch her.
 b) Capaz que le iba y le \emptyset enseñaba. (\emptyset = *la foto*)
 (i) Perhaps s/he would go (to him) and show it to him.
 (ii) #Perhaps s/he would go (to him) and show him.

To sum up, we have reviewed four Clitic-systems and their possibilities for DO CL-doubling. Keep in mind that the morphological shape the CLs adopt in the dialects are a consequence of the diverse solutions different areas have given to the system inherited from Latin. However, the shape of the CLs is irrelevant to the doubling process. What is important to the phenomena is the *features of the element in argument position*; it must be *specific/identifiable*.

For comparison's sake, the results for DO-D are summarized as in (21) by a minimal system of features, an indication that this approach to dialectal variation holds some promise. (21) also illustrates a tendency towards simplification of the feature system by either suppressing or generalizing a feature.

21)	<i>DO-doubling</i>
N. Spanish	+ pron + spec + anim
Porteño	+ spec (+/(-) anim)
Madridian	+ spec (+ anim)
Quiteño	+ spec (+/- anim)

4. Comparison across languages: Spanish CL-D and Germanic Object-shift

My objective here is to show that Spanish CL-D is very much like what is known as *Object-shift* in the Germanic languages, a phenomenon intensively studied by Vikner 1990 & 1995, Thrainsson 1997 and Holmberg 1986, among others. Similarly to Spanish, Object-shift is semantically motivated in that it only occurs with *specific/identifiable DPs*. However, as we will see, the outwards look of this shared phenomenon is very different.

The main manifestation of Object-shift consists of non-contrastive pronouns obligatorily jumping leftwards over an adverb or the sentential negator as in (22) for German and (23) for Scandinavian:

- 22) ... weil ich <*sie*> selten <*&i>sie> streichle. German
 ya-que yo a *ella* raramente <*&i>ella> acaricio
 'ya que (yo) a ella raramente la acaricio'
- 23a) Hann las <*thaer*> ekki <*&i>thaer>. Icelandic (Insular Scandinavian)
 él leyó *las* no <*&i>las>
 '(El) no las leyó'
- b) Anna läste <*den*> kanske inte <*&i>den> Swedish (Mainland Scandinavian)
 A. read it maybe never it
 'Anna tal vez nunca las leyó'

I'd like to claim that Spanish has pronominal Object-shift, but it differs from Germanic in that it is expressed through CL-D. Recall that CL-D is obligatory with direct (24) and indirect object (25) pronouns across all dialects (as opposed to the variation found with non-pronominal objects).³

- 24a) ¿Cuándo *(te) nombraron a *tí*?
 b) Y luego *(lo) miré a *él*.
- 25a) (Antes de permitirnos entrar,) *(nos) devolvió las entradas a nosotras.
 b) *(Les) mandaron regalos a ellos.

But what explains the obligatoriness of pronominal CL-D? Spanish strong pronouns are definite and referential; hence, they are given contextually specified values and thus, act as definite descriptions. This means that strong pronouns cannot be interpreted existentially because they would violate Heim's (1982) *Novelty Condition* which requires that entities inside the VP be new to the discourse; consequently, the pronouns must move out of the VP. In essence, *the CL works as a scope marker for the interpretation of the pronouns* and the structure complies with Diesing's 1992 *Mapping Hypothesis* in the overt syntax.⁴

4.1. Strong pronominals and Object-shift in a crosslinguistic perspective

My plan of action is the following: To start, I review the characteristics of strong pronouns in non-oblique positions. Then, I compare Spanish to the Germanic languages to show that the latter exemplify a more limited distribution of object shift.

First, we already know that strong pronouns are definite and referential. They refer to entities already in the (linguistic or extralinguistic) discourse, so they are [+specific] defined as identifiable.

Second, strong pronouns in subject, DO and IO positions are interpreted as [+human] (occasional counterexamples aside⁵) (Strozer 1976, and others since then). See (26a) for a pronoun in subject position. This fact contrasts with what happens in PPs, for example, where pronouns maybe [\pm human], as in (26b):

- 26a) Ella √she[+hum]/#it me recuerda momentos gratos.

³ *Leísta* dialects show an exception to obligatory pronominal doubling already noticed by Perlmutter (1970): a 1st or 2nd person Acc clitic and a 3rd person Dat clitic cannot cooccur, so the Dat is instantiated by a non-doubled strong pronoun.

Me recomendaron a ellos.

Te presentaron a ella.

⁴ *The Mapping Hypothesis*: (Diesing 1992)

a. VP maps into the nuclear scope (the domain of existential closure)

b. IP/TP maps into the restriction of an (implicit or explicit) operator

⁵ The one below is from Sampedro's novel (1995); relevant coreferent constituents appear underlined:

En las noches de viento sur el viejo oye las campanas del Duomo a pesar de la ventana cerrada. Acaso ellas ahora le despiertan, o quizás [...] (Son:94)

- b) Luis cerró el portón y Lisa se acercó a él. (= Luis) / (= portón)

Third, although it is generally thought that strong pronouns in Spanish are contrastive or focused, when one pays attention to the context, this is not necessarily true. One such context is provided by displacing a contrastively stressed constituent to the front of the sentence (indicated by capitals; only a single constituent per clause can be focus-fronted), so in (27a) the postverbal subject pronoun receives an almost flat intonation. And something very similar happens in the quotative inversion example in (27b):

- 27a) ADELANTE gritaron ellos.
 b) – ¿Necesita Ud algo más? – pregunta al fin él.

Coordination is another environment where these pronouns are not necessarily contrastive. In (28a) the subject pronoun is conjoined to a full DP and the normal sentential stress falls on *pronto* 'soon'. And the same happens when the conjunction is in object position; in (28b) the pronoun does not deserve contrastive stress, for the main stress is on the last constituent.

- 28a) Ella y su madre regresarán pronto.
 b) Se quedaron mirándonos a Rosa y a mí por un rato largo.

But even strong non-conjoined, non-fronted object pronouns can be interpreted as non-contrastive. In (29), they materialize mainly for reasons of clarification and perhaps style, and not because of focus or contrast. As usual, all are CL-D:

- 29a) Luego de la mudanza, los vemos a ellos pero menos seguido.
 b) El marido la fundió por malos negocios y la arrastró a ella en su caída.

Quantified object pronouns must also be CL-D, see (30):

- 30a) Los invitamos a todos ellos.
 b) Las visitaron a ellas dos.

That strong pronouns are not necessarily focused does not mean that they can not be. In the two examples in (31) the pronouns are heavily stressed (in capitals). The interesting fact is, regardless of whether the use is contrastive (31a) or deictic (31b), they still require CL-doubling:

- 31a) ¿Tú me reclamas a MÍ por tus pantalones?
 b) Díselo a ÉL. (pointing to the person)

That Spanish uses CL-D to shift non-contrastive strong object pronouns should not come as a surprise, given the Spanish data in (24) and (25) and the Germanic in (23), which I repeat for ease of exposition:

- 23a) Hann las <thaer> ekki <*thaer>. Icelandic (Insular Scandinavian)
 él leyó *las* no <*las>
 '(El) no las leyó'
 b) Anna läste <den> kanske inte <*den> Swedish (Mainland Scandinavian)
 A. leyó it maybe never it
 'Anna tal vez nunca las leyó'
- 24a) ¿Cuándo *(te) nombraron a tí?
 b) Y luego lo miré a él.
- 25a) (Antes de permitirnos entrar,) *(nos) devolvió las entradas a nosotras.
 b) *(Les) mandaron regalos a ellos.

What is a bit more surprising from a crosslinguistic point of view is that Spanish also requires *obligatory* CL-D (i.e., shifting) of contrastive, conjoined and quantified strong pronouns.

To corroborate this unusualness, I now review some comparative data. I continue to use Icelandic for Insular Scandinavian⁶ and Swedish as representative for Mainland Scandinavian. What we see in (32)-(37) is that Mainland Scandinavian does not allow the shifting of contrastive (33), conjoined (35) or quantified pronouns (37), and that Icelandic allows it but only optionally. Thus, the Scandinavian languages contrast with the obligatoriness of the shifting/CL-D in Spanish.

Contrastive contexts

- 32) Anna las <HANA> kannski ekki <HANA> Icel. (insular)
 A. read IT maybe not IT
 ‘A. perhaps did not read it.’
- 33) Anna läste <*DEN> kanske inte <DEN> Swe. (mainland)
 A. read IT maybe never IT

Conjoined pronouns

- 34) Anna sá <mig og þig> líklega ekki <mig og þig> Icel.
 A. saw me and you probably not me and you
 ‘A probably didn’t see me and you.’
- 35) Anna såg <*mej och dej> förmodlingen inte <mej och dej> Swe.
 A. saw me and you probably not me and you

Quantified pronouns

- 36) Anna sá <phá bátha> alls ekki <phá bátha> Icel.
 A. saw them both not at all them both
 ‘A. did not see them both at all.’
- 37) Anna såg <*dem båda> förmodlingen inte <dem båda> Swe.
 A. saw them both probably not them both

No doubt the means used to achieve the shifting of the object plays a role in the contrast between Spanish and the other languages. The data suggest that it is more difficult to move the actual object when it has been made "heavy" through contrastive stress, conjunction or quantification. Instead, *CL-D* achieves *object shift* without really moving the object itself since it uses the *CL* as a scope marker to show where the object is interpreted.

To sum up, we have discussed two different instances of Object shift: Germanic shifting and Spanish CL-D. We have also taken note of their similarities and divergences.

4.2. Further confirmation for CL-D as Object-shift: CL-D doubling of DPs

Keeping in mind that CL-D of other than pronominal DOs in Spanish is dialectally constrained, supporting evidence for CL-D as object shift is found in the doubling of Accusative human DPs in Portefño.⁷ In this dialect, CL-D of DOs is common, which is not to say that all definite DOs are doubled.

⁶ However, (insular) Faroese only allows the shifting of non-contrastive pronouns.

⁷ Human DOs are the ones doubled with the greatest ease. Animates double but less frequently (i), and even some inanimates occasionally double (ii):

(i) Juana lo quiere más al perrito que a su marido.

Only those whose referents have previously been introduced in the (extra-) linguistic discourse are doubled; that is, *doubling occurs only when the referent is identifiable*. Hence, a novel referent is not doubled even if definite; but if it is mentioned again, it is, as in the examples in (38) where coreference is indicated through underlining. Observe that although the first mention may be done through the DO function, as in (38a-b), this is not necessarily the case; in (38c) it is first introduced as the object of a PP:

- 38a) Ahora, según escuché, ha hecho ir a un tal Martínez [...]; yo presente lo tengo al tal Martínez [...] (Am: 259)
- b) – Llámame a Doña María Josefa – le ordena. Hace días que quiere verla a la cuñada del Restaurador. (Am: 63)
- c) Corrí hacia la esquina, en busca del agente que había visto antes. No estaba. Tomé por la calle transversal, me parece que es Viamonte y llegué a la esquina de Reconquista. Allí lo veo al agente. – "Venga, venga", grité ... (Ros: 119)

The universal doubling of strong pronouns in Spanish differs from the doubling in (38) with DPs in that pronouns by nature are never considered 'new'. On the other hand, even definite DPs can be conceived of as introducing novel information into the discourse; thus, they may or may not be doubled depending on their interpretation. As the examples in (38) show, even proper name referents are not necessarily considered as presupposed. This is clearly illustrated in the pair in (39) in the context of a gathering. In (39a), CL-D is inappropriate given that the situation specifies that *Luis* constitutes a completely novel referent. Contrariwise, doubling is perfect in (39b) when the person whom Luis was introduced to talks to a third party:

- 39a. – Te (#lo) presento a Luis, un amigo de mi infancia.
- b. – Sí, Mariana me lo acaba de presentar a Luis.

Further confirmation for the above comes from different quarters. First, *uno* 'one' may receive an indefinite interpretation, in which case it rejects CL-D, see (40a); but it may also be read as specific partitive as in (40b) or as generic as in (40c) (Suñer 1988). In the latter two cases, CL-D is permitted precisely because the referent is presupposed:

- 40a) ¿Ya (#lo) consultaste a uno?
- b) La examinamos a una de ellas.
- c) Hoy en día lo contratan a uno sin garantías de trabajo permanente.

Something similar occurs with *ninguno* 'no one', an inherently partitive negative term in Spanish (as opposed to *nadie* which is not partitive); because of this, CL-doubling is permitted in appropriate contexts (keep in mind that doubling of any constituent but strong pronouns is "optional"):

- 41a) Aunque no (lo(s)) consultaron a ninguno de ellos, tuvieron en cuenta sus proyectos.
- b) No nos invitaron a ninguno.

Moreover, scope facts further support my hypothesis about the import of CL-D. In (42), we find CL-D of a quantified DO DP. This causes the quantified DO to have wider scope than the quantified subject. Note that the reverse interpretation of the quantifiers is totally impossible because a CL-D DO can only be understood as specific/presupposed (Hurtado 1984; Suñer 1988) and as such, it must be read outside the VP as in (42b) (Both orders of the quantifiers are possible when the DO is not doubled).

- 42a) Todos los electores los eligieron a algunos de los candidatos. Hurtado 1984
'Every voter elected some of the candidates.'

(ii) Yo la tenía prevista esta muerte. (Ros.: 102)

- b) y, y a candidate, x, x a voter (x elected y)
(i.e., every voter elected the *same* set of candidates)

When we again look for crosslinguistic evidence, we find that Icelandic permits the shifting of a lexical DO DP as in (43a), but only optionally, while Swedish, as expected, forbids such a move in (43b):

- 43a) Jón las <bókina> aldrei <bókina> Icel.: optional
J. read book-the never book-the
'J. never read the book.'
- b) Anna läste <*boken> kanske inte <boken> Swe.: *
A. read book-the maybe never book-the
'A. perhaps never read the book.'

We can speculate that the optional shifting correlates with whether the object is novel (non shifted alternative), or whether it has previously been introduced into the discourse (shifted alternative), in parallel to the Spanish examples in (38).

Icelandic also behaves like Spanish with respect to the scope facts in (42). Consider (44) (from H.Thráinsson, p.c.): the universal quantifier in the unshifted version (44a) has wider scope than the numeral; it can be paraphrased as 'It holds of all the students that they rarely read three books.' But in the shifted version (44b), the quantifiers have the opposite scope: 'There are three books such that all the students rarely read them'; that is, the shifted object is interpreted as specific (the same three books):

- 44a) Allir nemendurnir l'asu sjaldan þrjúar bækur. x = students, y = three books
all students-the read rarely three books
'All the students rarely read three books.'
- b) Allir nemendurnir l'asu þrjúar bækur sjaldan. y = three books, x = students
all students-the read three books rarely
'All the students rarely read [the same] three books.'

Observe further, that in the German examples in (45) the shifting of a quantified object does interact with the scope of the adverb (examples from Diesing and & Jelinek 1995):

- 45a) ... weil ich selten jedes Cello spiele. Diesing & Jelinek 1995
since I seldom every cello play
'since I seldom play every cello.' DO in scope of adverb
- b) ... weil ich jades Cello selten spiele.
since I every cello seldom play
'since I play every cello (only) seldom.' DO has wider scope than adverb

In brief, Spanish, Icelandic and German do have object shift. Importantly, if we had circumscribed our research to just Spanish, we would have ended with a nice generalization about the language but *we would not have learned that CL-D has a first cousin in the Germanic languages called Object-shift. And we would not have learned either that the semantics of these two processes are identical even though the means used to convey this semantics looks radically different on the surface.* Hence, it becomes necessary to investigate languages comparatively so we may discover the deeper generalizations that are common between and among languages. Somebody might object that the comparative approach takes too much effort because one needs to go far beyond what is published about the syntax of Spanish. One needs to read widely across languages in what is being done in formal syntax. But I believe that the extra effort also produces greater rewards, and for me at least, that was enough to propel me forwards.

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