

# Why Clitic Doubling? A Functional Analysis for Rioplatense Spanish

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## 1. Introduction

The existence of direct object clitics in Spanish allows transitive structures in which the direct object argument of a transitive verb is expressed by a lexical NP (1), others where it is instantiated by a direct object clitic (2),<sup>1</sup> or structures where a direct object clitic is coreferential with a lexical NP in the same clause (3).<sup>2</sup>

(1) a. <Beto-42>

*Aldo le pidió un mate*  
Aldo IOCL he. asked a mate  
'Aldo ordered a "mate" (from the waiter)'

b. <PerInv-14>

*De inmediato miró fijamente a sus compañeros*  
Immediately he. looked. at fixedly A his-PL partners  
'He immediately looked at his partners'

(2) a. <Beto-42>

*Roque lo miró fijo*  
Roque CL he. looked. at fixed  
'Roque looked at him fixedly'

b. <Lig-45>

*Las debés tener*  
CL you. must have  
'You sure have them'

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<sup>1</sup> The direct object clitics will be glossed "CL", without indication of person, number or gender. Refer to the appendix for a table of DOCLs. Indirect Object Clitics, when they appear, will be glossed "IOCL". Reflexive clitics will be glossed "REFL".

<sup>2</sup> These are all slightly modified utterances from my corpus. The codes for different sources are explained below. I will indicate constructed examples and examples from other sources in parentheses.

## (3) a. &lt;Lig-110&gt;

Yo            **lo**        quiero    a        mi        país<sup>3</sup>  
 I              CL        I.love    A        my        country  
 ‘I do love my country’

## b. &lt;Beto-50&gt;

¿**La**        vas        a        llamar    a        Marta?  
 CL        you.go    to        call        A        Marta  
 ‘Are you going to call Marta?’

I will refer to Structures of type 1 as *Independent-Node structures* (IN-Ss), to structures of type 2 as *Clitic structures* (CL-Ss), and to structures of type 3 as *Clitic Doubled structures* (CLD-Ss). Note that these will always refer to direct object arguments: I will not address indirect object CLD here. In this paper, I will focus on my native variety of Spanish, the dialect of Buenos Aires, Argentina (henceforth Rioplatense Spanish).<sup>4</sup> This dialect is generally described as allowing CLD more freely than most other varieties (including Standard Peninsular Spanish). The data were extracted from Ligatto (1996), consisting of seven conversations involving a total of 15 participants plus two interviewers, ranging from 10 to 60 years of age, born and raised in Buenos Aires, middle-class, European descent. With the exception of the ten-year old, all completed at least high school. One participant was born in northeastern Argentina, but had lived in Buenos Aires since her adolescent years. Data from a participant born in Spain were excluded. Also included in the corpus are two short excerpts from a political talkshow, *Tiempo Nuevo*, involving the two journalists and three politicians. These date from the 1980’s.

Other examples come from two short stories by Argentinian writer Roberto Fontanarrosa (1995), “*Periodismo Investigativo*” and “*Beto*”, which contain fictional dialogues in the vernacular of Rosario (also within the Rioplatense area). The characters in these stories are middle-class men and women in their forties and fifties, acquaintances and work colleagues in the first, old friends in the second. The different texts are referred to in the examples by abbreviations between angled brackets, followed by the page number in the original text (see ex. 4 and fn. 8). The few constructed examples I used are clearly marked as such (obviously, all ungrammatical examples are constructed).

Research has so far focused on establishing a structural representation for CLD-Ss and on finding factors that explain the restricted distribution of direct object CLD-Ss vs. indirect object CLD-Ss. The issue of whether lexical DO arguments occupy an argumental or a non-argumental position, and the correlated properties of agreement, case assignment, extraction and binding have been addressed, for instance, by Groos (1980), Jaeggli (1982, 1986), Luján (1987), Roberge (1990), Schrotten (1980), Sportiche (1998), Suñer (1988, 1991, 1999), Torrego (1995), and Zagana (2002). Some distributional analyses exist that try to link the presence or absence of CLD to animacy, topicality and other dimensions, like Barrenechea and Orecchia (1977), Colantoni (2002), Morales (1992), Poston (1953), and Silva-Corvalán (1984). Still other analyses, more formally oriented, constrain CLD to appear with different classes of DO arguments: specific DOs in Suñer (1988), principal filter/referential, presuppositional, and salient DOs in Gutiérrez-Rexach (2000, 2002), presuppositional/strongly quantified DOs in Franco and Mejías-Bikandi (1999), and partitive DOs in Anagnostopoulou and Giannakidou (1995).

I see two main problems with these proposals. The first is that neither has mustered enough consensus among linguists. We are still debating whether “doubled” DOs are in A or A’ positions (see, e.g., Sánchez’s 2005 arguments for their adjunct status vs. those of Suñer 1999 for their argumental status). Formal analyses of restrictions on CLD in particular are controversial because, as we will see,

<sup>3</sup> In all the examples in this paper, underlining signals the clitic and its associated constituent, boldface signals the clitic; when necessary, small capitals will mark focal stress. The glosses will be as transparent and non-technical as possible; however, the technical gloss A will be used for the animacy marker *a* which is obligatory before animate direct objects and is homophonous with the indirect object marker *a* and the preposition *a*.

<sup>4</sup> This dialect is also called *Porteño Spanish* or *River Plate Spanish* in the literature. It is spoken in a wider area than Buenos Aires, hence my choice of “Rioplatense.”

counterexamples exist: non-specific DOs can be doubled, as well as non-principal filters, non-presuppositional and non-partitive DOs, at least if those notions are given their traditional definitions. These proposals do not accommodate well the complexity of real language data. Most importantly, these models do not have real explanatory or predictive power, and this constitutes their second shortcoming. In particular, they cannot address why and when speakers use CLD-Ss. At best, they can pinpoint cases where CLD is seemingly “obligatory” (personal pronouns as DOs), and cases where it is prohibited. In the remaining cases, CLD-Ss are somehow “optional”. This is unsatisfactory from a perspective that seeks to explain language use in a dialogue/discourse context (see Silva-Corvalán 1984).

This paper consists of two parts. In the first I will show that different subgroups of CLD-Ss have different properties. I will review transitive clauses with personal pronouns (2.1), with in-situ focused DOs (2.2), with quantifiers (2.3), with left-periphery DOs (2.4), and with focused verbs or secondary predications (2.5). An interim summary is given in 2.6. In the second part I will propose that those groups arise through the simultaneous instantiation of two types of constructions available in Spanish: *Clitic-Only Constructions* (CL-Cxs) and *Independent-Node Constructions* (IN-Cxs). In 3.1, I will explain “obligatory” doubling with personal pronouns. In 3.2 and 3.3, I will describe the effects of animate DOs and quantifiers as DOs. In 3.4, I will show how two independent factors, the level of activation of the direct object referent and speaker perspective give rise to the most idiosyncratic cases of inanimate CLD in Rioplatense. I will conclude by giving a synthesis of the proposal in 4.

## 2. Transitive clauses, CLD-Ss and their properties

CLD-Ss come in “different flavors”. The following five sections will group transitive types according to their properties. Note that these types are not subclasses of CLD: all will also allow either IN-Ss or CL-Ss. However, CLD-Ss in each type will have properties that differentiate them from those in other types.

### 2.1 Personal pronouns as DOs

CLD with personal pronouns is uncontroversially considered “obligatory” (see e.g., Andrews 1990, Fernández-Soriano 1993, Jaeggli 1982, Suñer 1988, 1999 for authors that state this explicitly).<sup>5</sup> Both (4a, b) are acceptable, but their counterparts (4c, d) (with the same intended semantics) aren’t.

#### (4) a. <Lig-148><sup>6</sup>

<i>me</i> llamó	<u>a</u> <i>mí</i>	<i>Cámpora</i>
CL he.called	A me	Cámpora
‘Cámpora called me’		

#### b. <Beto-50>

<i>Ya</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>estaba</i>	<i>extrañando</i>
Already	CL	was	missing
‘I missed you already’			

#### c.

\**Llamó a mí Cámpora*

#### d.

\**Ya estaba extrañando a vos*

<sup>5</sup> Poston (1953:269) notes, however, that *usted* can appear undoubled in “rather formalized utterances.”

<sup>6</sup> I.e., Ligatto (1996:148).

But from (4b) it is clear that CLD itself is not obligatory. Rather, there is a prohibition for personal pronouns to appear in IN-Ss. Spanish transitive clauses do not allow stand-alone full pronouns. This constraint is so strong that even non-specific pronouns abide by it.

(5) (adapted from Poston 1953)<sup>7</sup>

*Un descuido y lo meten a uno en una celda.*  
 A inattention and CL they.put A one in jail  
 ‘A moment of inattention, and one gets thrown in jail’

This results in a counterexample to the “specificity constraint” on CLD (Fernández-Soriano 1993, Suárez 1988, Treviño 1994), and to the “Principal Filterhood/Referentiality constraint” (Gutiérrez-Rexach 2000, 2002).

## 2.2 *In-situ focused DOs*

By *focus* I understand here the part of the sentence which is most informative, roughly the part that is not the presupposed content of the utterance (Vallduví 1992). This focus could be “neutral / completive” (no specific contrast present) as in (6a) or “contrastive” as in (6b) (see Choi 1997, Dik et al. 1981, Zubizarreta 1999). Focused CLD-Ss are those in which the DO is all or part of the focus of the sentence, and are exemplified in the following excerpt.

(6) a. <Beto-50>

- ¿La vas a llamar a MARTA?  
 CL you.go to call A Marta  
 ‘Are you going to call [Marta]<sub>FOC</sub>?’

b.

- No querido... La voy a llamar a ESTA MINA DE LA QUE HABLÁBAMOS ANOCHE  
 No dear CL I.go to call A this girl of CL that we.talked last.night  
 ‘No my dear, I’m gonna call [this girl we were talking about last night]<sub>FOC</sub>.’

The preceding context for this exchange is a request by the speaker of (6b) to borrow a telephone card from the speaker of (6a). The content “going to make a phone call” is presupposed when (6a) is uttered; the rest, that is the doubled DO, is a completive focus. The DO in the second sentence of (6b) is a contrastive focus, excluding the previously proposed referent “Marta” and replacing it by “this girl we were talking about last night”; this contrastive focus is also doubled.

No constraint against stand-alone NPs (that are not personal pronouns) applies in the case of DOs that are part of the sentence focus.

(7) <Beto-48><sup>8</sup>

- ¿Te enganchaste a la Sonia en lo del Pitu?  
 REFL you.hooked A the Sonia at.Pitu’s  
 ‘You picked up Sonia at Pitu’s?’

However, CLD-Ss in this case are more restrictive than those involving personal pronouns, in that only animates are allowed (8a) and non-specific arguments are apparently acceptable only if partitive (8b).

<sup>7</sup> Poston’s example uses *chirona* (not a Rioplatense word) instead of *cana*.

<sup>8</sup> This is an all-focus sentence.

- (8) a.  
 \*¿**Los** vas a buscar **LOS LIBROS**?  
 CL you.go to seek the books  
 ‘Are you going to get [the books]<sub>FOC</sub>?’

b. (Constructed example)

La iba a llamar a una de las minas que conocí ayer, pero me  
 CL was to call A one of the girls that I.met yesterday but REFL  
 olvidé a cuál  
 I-forgot A which  
 ‘I was gonna call one of the girls I met yesterday, but I forget who’

Although the above definition of focus is not without problems when used to analyze naturally occurring data (Ocampo 2003), its link to presuppositionality is helpful here. The systematicity of these examples is important, since presuppositionality/non-focus is sometimes explicitly asserted as a condition for CLD (Gutiérrez-Rexach 2000, 2002), or implicitly entailed (e.g., Anagnostopoulou & Giannakidou 1995, Givón 1976). There is obviously no general constraint against focused CLD in Rioplatense. The examples above show that CLD-Ss exist with focused DOs, which are not good candidates in any other published account (especially in those that assume presuppositionality as a condition on CLD).

### 2.3 Quantifier doubling

Quantifiers can appear in IN-Ss (9a) or CLD-Ss (9b).

- (9) a. <Lig-44>  
 Ya habían anotado a todos  
 Already they.had inscribed A all-PL  
 ‘They had already entered everyone’s name’

b. <Lig-51>  
Nos llamaron a todos  
 CL they.called A all-PL  
 ‘They called us all’

The structure of (9b) involves two separate nodes instantiating the direct object argument. Interestingly, quantifiers over inanimate (10b) and over non-specific/non-principal-filter DOs (11) can appear in CLD-Ss, thus making these transitive clauses more permissive than the two previous ones.

- (10) a. (Comunidad Virtual)  
 Todos los juegos hechos por esta compañía son iguales  
 All the games made by this company are equal  
 ‘All the games made by this company look the same’

b.  
 [Los juegos] Los jugaron TODOs???  
 CL played all  
 [The games] ‘Did you play them [all]<sub>FOC</sub>?’

- (11) (Arenaza)  
Nos hizo a algunos hasta con piernas que no pueden moverse  
 CL he.made A some even with legs that no can move  
 ‘[Reality] even made some of us with legs that can’t be moved’

## 2.4 Left-periphery DOs

On occasion, a DO argument is expressed preverbally, on the left periphery of the clause. Cases like (12) are sometimes called *Clitic Left Dislocations* (CLLD; Cinque 1990, Escobar 1997).

(12) a. <Lig-132>

*Esa película yo la vi*  
 that movie I CL I.saw  
 'I saw that movie'

b. (phone conversation with a friend of mine)

*No A MI MAMÁ la tiene preocupada*  
 no A my mom CL has worried  
 'No, it is [my mom]<sub>FOC</sub> who [that thing] worries'

These structures permit both inanimate (12a) and animate DOs (12b). There are, however, certain restrictions. First, only specific arguments can appear here (Escobar 1997). In my corpus there are no examples of non-specific DOs in this construction. Second, whereas both animate and inanimate preverbal DOs can be topics, only animates can be foci, as in (12b). Note that the same animacy restriction for focused CLLD-Ss applies when the DO is in situ (see section 2.2). The reasons why this should be the case will be addressed in 3.2.

## 2.5 V-focusing and secondary predication focusing

The evidence from my corpus suggests that, when either the verb or a secondary predication constituent are focused, the only possible structures are CLD.

(13) a. <PerInv-15>

*¿No la SABÉS a ésa?*  
 no CL you.know A that  
 'You don't [know]<sub>FOC</sub> that one [i.e., that story]?'

b. <Lig-45>

*Yo las tenía GUARDADAS las cartas*  
 I CL had stored the letters  
 'I had the letters [stored]<sub>FOC</sub>'.

In this case, unlike in in-situ focused DOs, inanimates are allowed.<sup>9</sup> These are the examples usually used to show that Rioplatense allows inanimate CLD (e.g., Suñer 1988:399) and from them it would be tempting to conclude that the clitic in these constructions must be marked [-focus]. However, we saw above that this characterization is inaccurate.

## 2.6 A class of structures

From the above, we can conclude that CLD is not a single grammatical mechanism with uniform properties. It is a label that designates a class of related structures that all consist of a direct object clitic coreferential with an independent NP node somewhere in the same clause. The transitive types

<sup>9</sup> Although I do not address structural issues here, this is the case where the doubled DO is most obviously an adjunct, whereas the cases with focused DO are most likely arguments. Rodrigo Gutiérrez-Bravo (personal communication, 2004) noted that these sentences are acceptable in Mexican Spanish and suggested they are Right Dislocations. This explains the difficulty of reaching agreement over this issue: different cases have different properties!

above are not exclusive of one another: one particular transitive clause may fit more than one type. These types differ along the following set of parameters of variation:

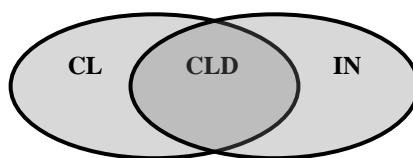
- Are stand-alone independent nodes allowed?
- Are non-specific DOs allowed in CLD-Ss?
- Are inanimate DOs allowed in CLD-Ss?
- Are focused DOs allowed in CLD-Ss?

The following table summarizes the differences noted in sections 2.1 to 2.5.

	Stand-alone IN	Non-specific DO	Inanimate DO	Focused DO
Personal pronoun IN	NO	YES	NO	YES
In situ IN	YES	YES (partitives)	NO	YES
Quantifier IN	YES	YES	YES	YES
Preposed IN	YES	NO	YES	YES (animates)
V or SP focusing	NO	NO ?	YES	NO

These differences among subgroups are responsible to a large extent for the proliferation of proposals about the syntax and semantics of CLD. All proposals work for some cases, but no single one seems to be able to account for the diversity of naturally occurring data.

How do CLD-Ss arise in these diverse transitive clauses? I will propose that it is possible to think of the spectrum of Spanish transitive clauses as deriving from the presence of two constructions in the grammar: Independent Node Constructions (IN-Cxs) and Clitic Constructions (CL-Cxs).



IN-Ss and CL-Ss instantiate only one of these types, whereas CLD-Ss instantiate both constructions at the same time. Linguistic and dialogue/discourse factors (to be analyzed below) motivate use of either IN-Cxs or CL-Cxs, or both. CLD-Ss are the optimal response of the language to cases where both constructions are independently motivated. Space precludes me from giving a detailed formalization, which would follow the approach to combining constructions given in Kay (2002)

This approach will in turn allow us to make sense of the different properties for each subgroup of CLD-Ss. I offer the idea that those differential properties are determined by the factors that motivate IN-Cx use and CL-Cx use for each subgroup.

### 3. Interacting factors in CLD

The analysis above brings to light certain interactions between CLD-Ss and other linguistic properties of the DO argument. These have usually been expressed in terms of “constraints” on CLD. I have demonstrated above that this view is not entirely correct: exceptions to constraints abound, and they are systematic. However, there are “effects” of certain linguistic dimensions on the availability of CLD: it seems that animate referents are doubled “more frequently” or “more easily” than inanimate ones, or that non-specific or focused arguments are hard to “double”. In some sense, these “effects” do exist, and the next few sections will try to demonstrate how and why they arise.

#### 3.1 Obligatory CLD

Why is doubling of personal pronouns “obligatory”? We know that personal pronouns cannot stand alone as independent DO nodes in any variety of Spanish, and that this is an inviolable constraint. But using two kinds of pronominals that are semantically synonymous to refer to the same



### 3.2 The effect of animacy

For Peninsular Spanish, CLD-Ss are restricted to appear only with animate direct objects.<sup>11</sup> Although this does not apply to Rioplatense, there is in this dialect a noticeable effect of animacy. Some works admit implicitly or explicitly a privileged relation between CLD and DO topicality (Contreras 1976, Givón 1976), or with presuppositionality (e.g., Franco & Mejías-Bikandi 1999, Gutiérrez-Rexach 2000), effective also in languages other than Spanish (e.g., Jaeger & Gerassimova 2002 for Bulgarian). However, animacy allows CLD-Ss with focused/non-presupposed non-pronominal DOs in Rioplatense.

(17) <Beto-50>

*No querido... **La** voy a llamar A ESTA MINA DE LA QUE HABLÁBAMOS ANOCHE*  
 No dear CL I.go to call A this girl of CL that we.talked last.night  
 ‘No my dear, I’m gonna call [this girl we were talking about last night]<sub>FOC</sub>.’

This could be stated as an **animacy effect**: lexical DOs can be focused in a CLD-Ss only if animate. Now, why can’t inanimates be focused when doubled? In my corpus, 71% of human DOs are expressed by clitic pronouns (N=178), and 89% of inanimates by full NPs (N=626).

Human > Clitic/Pronoun

Inanimate > Full NP

That is, human arguments prefer pronominal expression and inanimate arguments prefer full NP expression. These preferences are attested elsewhere in the literature on Spanish (e.g., Bentivoglio 1993).<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, focus needs an independent constituent that can carry its stress (and is usually correlated with lexical content). Once again, CLD-Ss has the potential to satisfy both constraints. The answer to why inanimates don’t participate in focused CLD is because the above constraints do not conflict for inanimates: an IN-Ss works just fine in that case, and no pronominal (clitic) expression is required. So with human DOs, CL-Ss are structurally well-formed, but any independent reason to express a lexical NP will produce CLD. In this case too, it is seemingly the lexical NP that is doubling the clitic, and not the other way around.

Focus is only one possible reason for needing an independent constituent. Another one is both more prosaic and more surprising: the need to introduce a referent in the discourse. This explains examples like the following, where a brand-new animate referent (Prince 1981) is introduced in a CLD-Structure, therefore showing that givenness/salience is by no means a necessary condition on CLD. The next sentence was excerpted from a point in the short story “Beto” where the narrator introduces a character named “Willy” and the reader neither knows who this is nor can possibly “bridge” it (Asher & Lascarides 1998, Clark 1977), or expect it. That the referent is indeed brand-new and not merely unused is shown by the fact that this sentence is used to **create** the new entity in the discourse-model (Prince 1981:235).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> As far as I know, this is a rather uncontroversial claim.

<sup>12</sup> Although the typological generalization is for human arguments to be expressed by full pronouns, and not necessarily clitics, the fact that Spanish default DO pronouns are its DO clitics derives the result as a preference for cliticized expression of human arguments.

<sup>13</sup> Of course, this is an atypical construction for a brand-new referent (as pointed out by a reviewer). In a written narrative, this is perhaps made possible by a sort of “suspension of judgment”, that allows the reader to accommodate mention of a brand-new character as if it were known. One could argue that story contexts allow an indeterminate number of “placeholders” for unused characters, whereas in dialogue an example like (18) would only occur if the speaker mistakenly believed the hearer to know who Willy is (hence believed to be unused, not brand-new). The CLD construction is nonetheless unequivocally being used here to introduce a new referent.

(18) &lt;Beto-48&gt;

[Previous context] *A la mañana siguiente, sábado, Roque aterrizó casi cerca del mediodía en El Cairo. Otra vez, antes de entrar, le mangueó el diario a Sandro, dispuesto a leerlo mientras tomaba el desayuno.*

‘The next morning, on a Saturday, Roque landed near noon in [the bar] El Cairo. Before going in he borrowed the newspaper from Sandro once again, intent on reading it during breakfast.’

<i>Fue</i>	<i>cuando</i>	<u><i>lo</i></u>	<i>encontró</i>	<u><i>a Willy</i></u>	<i>que</i>	<i>pasaba,</i>	<i>con</i>	<i>su pibe,</i>
It.was	when	CL	he.found	A Willy	that	passed	with	his kid
<i>rumbo a</i>	<i>la calle</i>	<i>Córdoba.</i>						
toward	the street	Córdoba						

‘Then he ran into Willy who was passing by with his kid, toward Córdoba Street.’

In this case, CLD gets us a Differential Object Marking effect (Aissen 2003): more marked objects, in this case animate ones, get more overt expression than less marked ones (inanimates). That is, if inanimates can appear in a certain marked structure (assuming CLD-Ss are more marked than both IN-Ss and CL-Ss), so can animates, but the converse is not true.

### 3.3 Quantification

As I showed above, CLD-Ss with a quantifier as independent DO node are even more permissive. They allow DOs that are both inanimate and focused. In this case, the “division of labor” between clitics and independent constituents is the clearest. In these CLD-Ss, the quantifier specifies the extent to which a predicate obtains (i.e., *quantifies*) over a set that is *identified* by the clitic.

(19) (constructed contrasts; the first sentence of the pairs is a corpus sentence)

a.

<u><i>Nos</i></u>	<i>sientan</i>	<u><i>a todos</i></u> / <u><i>Los</i></u>	<i>sientan</i>	<u><i>a todos</i></u>
1PL.CL	they.make.sit	A all 3PL.CL	they.make.sit	A all

‘They make us all sit’ / ‘They make them all sit’

b.

<u><i>Nos</i></u>	<i>sientan</i>	<u><i>a todos</i></u> / <u><i>Nos</i></u>	<i>sientan</i>	<u><i>a varios</i></u>
1PL.CL	they.make.sit	A all 1PL.CL	they.make.sit	A several

‘They make us all sit’ / ‘They make a few of us sit’

The absence of either clitic or quantifier may entail a failure to quantify or to identify the quantified set. Focused quantifiers over sets of inanimates serve to overcome this difficulty. In the examples below (repeated from section 2.3), (b) is the actual continuation of (a) in the forum thread, whereas IN-Structure (c) and CL-Structure (d), although grammatical, would be inappropriate continuations to (a): in (c) the quantifier is interpreted as subject, and in (d) there is simply no quantification.

(20) a. (Comunidad Virtual)

*Todos los juegos hechos por esta compañía son iguales*

All the games made by this company are equal

‘All the games made by this company look the same’

b.  
 [Los juegos] Los jugaron TODOS???  
                   CL played all  
 [The games] ‘Did you play them [all]<sub>FOC</sub>?’

c.  
 #¿Jugaron todos?  
   played all  
 ‘Did you all play?’

d.  
 #¿Los jugaron?  
   CL played  
 ‘Did you play them?’

### 3.4 Activation and change of perspective

As Lambrecht (1994) notes, activated referents are preferably encoded by pronouns (also Ariel 1988, 1990). On the other hand, lexical referential NPs perform two operations: one of *reference* by which a speaker ‘points’ at a discourse object or creates a discourse object and the function of *denomination* by which a speaker conveys a particular perspective on a discourse object, chooses to encode or qualify a referent in a certain way (Apothéloz 1995). We may think of the operation of *denomination* as linked to what Frege (1892/1949:187) called the “manner and context of presentation” of an object, and also as expressing “speaker point of view.” It should be clear by now that when activated referents are not recoverable (see below) or when the speaker intends to give a new perspective on them, CLD-Ss will be the weapons of choice.

The referential properties of NPs are called for when recoverability is compromised, for example, because several referents are possible (contrastive uses), as in (21).<sup>14</sup>

(21)b. <Lig-115>

*Es mucho más fácil montar un jardín que un hospital o un consultorio-*  
 is much more easy mount a garden than a hospital or a consultancy  
 ‘It is much easier to start a kindergarten than a hospital or a private practice – you

*el jardín lo podés hacer poner con nada casi*  
 the garden CL you.can make put with nothing almost  
 can set up a kindergarten with almost no investment’

Note that (21) involves a left-periphery DO and shows how, even though the clitic is used to refer to a given/salient, and therefore activated discourse object, the lexical NP ensures recoverability in a situation where two possible referents compete.<sup>15</sup>

The denominational properties of lexical NPs are needed when a speaker chooses to encode a new aspect of a given referent. In the following e-mail excerpt, *la camioneta* ‘the van’ is recategorized as *esa chatarra* ‘that piece of junk’ by speaker B.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Topic-shifting is another possibility that I will not illustrate here.

<sup>15</sup> A discussion of why the NP appears “left-dislocated” would take me too far afield here.

<sup>16</sup> Incidentally, myself, replying to an e-mail by my aunt, who kindly gave me permission to use this excerpt.

(22) (e-mail exchange)

Speaker A: *Queremos vender la camioneta.*  
 We want sell the van  
 ‘We want to sell the van.’

Speaker B: *Sí, espero que la vendan esa chatarra de una vez.*  
 Yes I hope that CL you sell that junk once and for all  
 ‘Yes, I hope you sell that piece of junk once and for all.’

So, in this case, whereas a clitic may suffice as a referential device because the intended discourse object is salient or active, or even in some sense topical, referents are not monolithic entities. Speakers of Rioplatense Spanish can use CLD-Ss as a means to pack what are seemingly two predications into one clause (cf. Ocampo 1993). Of the van, it is said that one hopes it will be sold soon and also that it is only junk.

#### 4. Conclusion

Clitic Doubled Structures (CLD-Ss) are not the result of the presence of a single grammatical mechanism in Spanish. Rather, they arise as simultaneous instantiations of two independently attested constructions: Independent-Node Constructions (IN-Cxs), where a direct object is expressed by a non-cliticized constituent; and Clitic Constructions (CL-Cxs), where the direct object appears as a verbal clitic. CL-Cxs are preferably used with pronominal/activated or animate DOs, when identifying a context set to be quantified over and in anaphoric resumption cases. IN-Cxs are required by prosodic constraints (focal stress), quantification needs, referent identification (contrastive cases or referent introduction) or to accomplish shifts of perspective on already-given referents (recategorization). When these two sets of factors apply independently, both constructions are called for, and CLD emerges. This approach can successfully account for the particular properties of each subclass of CLD-Ss by allowing a more detailed analysis of how different structures respond to different functions.

#### Appendix

	Masculine	Feminine
<b>1 Sg</b>	me	
<b>2 Sg</b>	te	
<b>3 Sg</b>	lo	la
<b>1 Pl</b>	nos	
<b>2 Pl</b>	los	las
<b>3 Pl</b>	los	las

*Direct object clitics in Rioplatense Spanish*

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