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# Emphatic affirmative verb reduplication in Spanish: implications for the theory of multiple copy realization

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## Abstract

In this article, I present a type of verb reduplication observed in Rioplatense Spanish that has not yet been discussed in the literature. This type of construction, which I will call *emphatic affirmative verb reduplication*, is similar to a type of reduplication present in European Portuguese but has specific properties that make it different and it simultaneously motivates an alternative analysis to that proposed in the literature. Here, I provide a comprehensive description of the phenomenon, situating it within the set of other reduplications, and outline a syntactic proposal that captures the main properties of the phenomenon.

**Keywords:** emphatic affirmative reduplication, Rioplatense Spanish, local reduplication, copy theory, periphrasis.

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## 1. Introduction

Within the domain of the diverse types of verb reduplication, there is a construction called *emphatic affirmative verb reduplication* (EAVR) present in Rioplatense

Spanish, which is characterized by the explicit realization of two verbal copies in a sentence.<sup>1</sup> Typically, this reduplication appears as a short fragment response:

- (1) Rioplatense Spanish  
 A: ¿Estudiaste para el examen?  
     studied.2SG for the exam  
     ‘Did you study for the exam?’  
 B: (Sí,) estudié estudié.  
     yes studied.1SG studied.1SG  
     ‘Yes, I studied!’

This construction is part of other types of verb reduplications attested in Rioplatense Spanish –namely, *capicúa* constructions (Saab 2010; 2011; 2017) and clausal and predicate doubling (Muñoz Pérez & Verdecchia 2023)– as well as in other Romance languages such as European Portuguese (EP) (Martins 2007; 2013). Particularly, EP exhibits a type of local reduplication used as a corrective fragment answer (1):<sup>2</sup>

- (2) European Portuguese (Martins 2007: 81)  
 A: Ele não comprou o carro, pois não?  
     he not bought the car CONFIRM not  
     ‘He didn’t buy the car.’  
 B: Comprou comprou.  
     bought.3SG bought.3SG  
     ‘John did buy the car.’

Martins posits a correlation between the possibility of having verb reduplication and the presence of head movement to functional categories such as  $\Sigma$  or C. Therefore, the possibility of emphatic affirmative verb reduplication as in (2) and bare verb response as in (3) depends on the presence of head movement from T to  $\Sigma$  as it happens in EP.

- (3) European Portuguese (Martins 2007: 94)  
 A: O João comprou o carro?  
     the João bought a car  
     ‘Did John buy a car?’

<sup>1</sup> Rioplatense Spanish in Argentina includes the Buenos Aires province, the city of Buenos Aires and the provinces of Santa Fe, Entre Ríos, La Pampa and some areas of the Patagonia region (Vidal de Battini 1964).

<sup>2</sup> Martins (2007) argues that there is a difference between the terms *doubling* and *reduplication*. While the former is used to describe syntactic structures where two elements share the same grammatical relation/function but are not copies of the same lexical item (e.g., clitic doubling), the latter describes the explicit realization of two copies of the same string. Additionally, the term *reduplication* has an advantage over the term *copying* as it suggests that no more than two copies are phonetically realized. Therefore, I will use the concept of *reduplication* to address the constructions studied here.

B: Comprou.  
bought.3SG  
'Yes.'

Now, while it is true that Spanish does not allow bare verb answers as shown in (4a), it does allow reduplication with bare verb (1) or with the verb plus its clitics (4C b):

- (4) Rioplatense Spanish  
A: ¿Compraste los libros de Chomsky?  
bought.2SG the books of Chomsky  
'Did you buy Chomsky's books?'  
B: a. \*Compré.  
bought.1SG  
'Yes, I did.'  
C: a. Los compré. [Single verb response]  
ACC.3PL.M bought.1SG  
'(Yes), I bought them!'  
b. Los compré, los compré.<sup>3</sup> [Reduplicated verb response]  
ACC.3PL.M bought.1SG ACC.3PL.M bought.1SG  
'(Yes), I bought them!'

The problem is that, according to Martins, Spanish does not allow movement to  $\Sigma$  in non-imperative sentences and, therefore, emphatic affirmative verb reduplication should not be possible. If this is the case, a reduplication like (4C b) either refutes the correlation between verbal movement to the left periphery and reduplication or it indicates a different analysis for Spanish.

In this article, I argue that verb reduplication in Rioplatense Spanish is, in fact, the result of a strictly local and double copying process.<sup>4</sup> That is, I reject the idea that Spanish lacks any type of verbal movement to the left periphery.

The discussion is guided by the following two questions:

- (Q1) What are the specific characteristics of emphatic affirmative verb reduplications?  
(Q2) What morphosyntactic conditions trigger reduplication?

This article is organized as follows. In SECTION 2, I place the construction within the domain of verb reduplications and account for the specific characteristics that differentiate it from other reduplications present in Rioplatense Spanish (RS). In SECTION 3, I review the different existing accounts to analyze these constructions contrasting the proposals made by Martins (2007; 2013), Saab (2008; 2017) and Lipták

<sup>3</sup> Here, and in the following examples, the use of commas is restricted to orthographic convention. As will be explained in SECTION 2, there is no prosodic pause between the verbs in either European Portuguese or Rioplatense Spanish.

<sup>4</sup> I will refer to local reduplication as those involving a configuration of two identical adjacent elements  $X_1$  and  $X_2$  with no intervening material between them (*e.g.*, EAVR), and to non-local reduplications as structures in which the same element  $X$  appears twice with intervening material between  $X_1$  and  $X_2$  (*e.g.*, *capicúa* constructions).

& Saab (2019) to present my own analysis in SECTION 4. Finally, in SECTION 5, I offer some conclusions.

## 2. Verb reduplications in Rioplatense Spanish

In order to capture some restrictions involving EAVR, it is important to distinguish between morphosyntactic reduplication and fragment repetition. First, reduplication does not involve more than two elements, whereas repetition can include two or more. Kato, Martins & Nunes (2023) point out that in repetition there is a pause separating the fragments, and each of these fragments is assigned a descending intonational contour. In contrast, in emphatic reduplication, the verbal copy is assigned an ascending intonational contour without prosodic pause:

- (5) European Portuguese (Kato, Martins & Nunes 2023: 288)

[Context: A: – O João não saiu, pois não?  
the João not left, CONFIRM not  
‘João didn’t leave, did he?’]

- a. Emphatic affirmation:

B: – Saiu, saiu. (↑)  
left left  
‘Yes, he did, indeed.’

- b. Fragment repetition:

B: – Saiu (↓), saiu (↓), saiu (↓). Quantas vezes vais repetir essa  
left left left how.many times go-2.SG repeat this  
pergunta?  
question  
‘Yes, he did. How many times are you going to repeat this question?’

Note that the same contrast appears in RS: in (6a), speaker B asserts that Noelia went out around the Palermo neighborhood, whereas in (6b), speaker B is implying that Noelia went out every night during her vacation. Each of the responses can be paraphrased in such a way that makes the enabled interpretation explicit:

- (6) Rioplatense Spanish

[Context: A: –¿Noelia salió por Palermo?  
Noelia went.out.3SG around Palermo  
‘Did Noelia go out around Palermo?’]

- a. Emphatic affirmation:

B: – (Sí), salió salió.  
(yes) went-out.3SG went-out.3SG  
‘Yes, she did.’ [Reading: *Noelia went out around Palermo!*]

- b. Fragment repetition:

B: – Salió, salió, salió y salió.  
went-out.3SG went-out.3SG went-out.3SG and went-out.3SG  
‘Yes, she did.’ [Reading: *Noelia went out every single night.*]

Next, it is worth noting that in Rioplatense Spanish, EAVRs contrast with another type of verb reduplication called *capicúa* constructions in which the two verbs are separated by intervening material. These constructions also encode emphatic information and affect some properties of the left periphery in the sentential domain (Saab 2011).<sup>5</sup>

As illustrated in (7a), this type of non-local reduplication is characterized by the obligatory presence of an intervening element between both copies:

- (7) Rioplatense Spanish (Saab 2011: 206)
- a. *Vino Juan, vino.*  
 came Juan came  
 ‘Juan came!’
- b. *\*Juan viene, viene.*  
 Juan comes comes  
 ‘Juan comes!’

Although the encoding of emphatic information also occurs in EAVR, one of the main differences is that each of the constructions –*capicúa* and EAVR– has a different context of use; namely, *capicúa* constructions can appear at the beginning of the discourse (7) or as a response to a partial question (8a), while EAVRs cannot (7b–8b):

- (8) Rioplatense Spanish (Saab 2011: 208)
- a. A: *¿Quién corre esta tarde?*  
 who runs this afternoon  
 ‘Who runs this afternoon?’
- B: *Corre Juan, corre.*  
 runs Juan runs  
 ‘Juan runs!’
- b. *\*(Juan) corre, corre (Juan).*  
 Juan runs runs Juan  
 ‘Juan runs!’

In contrast, *capicúas* cannot be uttered in contexts like (9) –tag questions which presuppose a negative answer– which are the most natural ones for EAVRs:

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<sup>5</sup> Rioplatense Spanish is not the only variety of Spanish that has non-local reduplications. In this regard, Silva-Garcés has shown that in a non-standard variety of Patagonian Spanish, there are also structures that involve the reduplication of verbs in a non-adjacent configuration:

- (1) Patagonian Spanish (Silva-Garcés 2019 *apud* Silva-Garcés & Espinosa 2023: 2–3)
- a. **Se fueron** por Bariloche **se fueron** los chicos.  
 REFL.3 go.PST.3PL by Bariloche REFL.3 go.PST.3PL the guys.  
 ‘The guys went by Bariloche!’
- b. Sabíamos **amansar** tropillas **amansábamos**.  
 know.PST.1PFV.1PL tame.INF herd.PL tame.PST.1PFV.1PL  
 ‘We used to tame herds!’

- (9) Rioplatense Spanish  
 A: No vino Juan, ¿no?  
     not came Juan NEG  
     ‘Juan did not come, did he?’  
 a. Capicúa:  
 B: #Vino Juan, vino.  
     came Juan came  
     ‘John came!’  
 b. Emphatic affirmation:  
 B’: Vino, vino.  
     came.3SG came.3SG  
     ‘Juan came!’

Beyond these differences, I argue that EAVRs, like capicúas, are sentences that imply the existence of verb reduplication understood as a process in which both copies are pronounced. This indicates that both structures should be analyzed as mono-clausal phenomena and not as two distinct sentences containing mere repetitions of the verbal heads.

The tests that allow us to identify the presence of a mono-clausal structure in EAVRs are: (i) presence vs. absence of apparent null objects, (ii) the possibility of pronominalization of a full DP that occurs with the first verb, and (iii) the structural position of the second verb.

Hence, in SUBSECTION 2.1., I will use these tests to show the mono-clausality of EAVRs and to compare non-local reduplications like capicúas with local reduplications like those studied here.

## 2.1. Capicúas and emphatic affirmations in contrast

First, and before beginning to develop the diagnostics for mono-clausality, it is important to highlight the difference in terms of adjacency between the two types of reduplication analyzed here.

As I have previously indicated, capicúa constructions are characterized by being non-local copies that must meet the requirement of anti-adjacency, *i.e.*, copies  $X_1$  and  $X_2$  cannot be adjacent.

According to Saab, adjacency refers to morphosyntactic words X and Y in the sense of Embick and Noyer (2001) (see the definitions in 40). Crucially, clitics incorporated into the verb copies in cases like (10B) do not avoid anti-adjacency, since both occurrences of *lo hice* are morphosyntactic words. This is not the case in (10B’), in which *el trabajo*, a maximal phrase, intervenes between the two verbal copies.

- (10) Rioplatense Spanish (examples adapted from Saab 2011)  
 A: ¿Hiciste el trabajo hoy?  
     did the work today  
     ‘Did you do the work today?’

Mono-clausal capicúa:

B: **Lo hice** el trabajo, **lo hice**.  
ACC.3SG.M did.1SG the work ACC.3SG.M did.1SG  
'I did the work!'

B': \*El trabajo lo hice, lo hice.  
the work ACC.3SG.M did.1SG ACC.3SG.M did.1SG  
'I did the work!'

Bi-clausal repetition:

C: Hoy no, no **lo hice**. **Lo hice** ayer.  
today no not ACC.3SG.M did.1SG ACC.3SG.M did.1SG yesterday  
'I did not do it today. I did it yesterday!'<sup>6</sup>

In contrast, EAVR requires strict adjacency:

(11) Rioplatense Spanish

A: ¿Hiciste el trabajo hoy?  
did.2SG the work today  
'Did you do the work today?'

B: (Sí), **lo hice**, **lo hice**.  
yes ACC.3SG.M did.1SG ACC.3SG.M did.1SG  
'Yes, I did it!'

B': \*(Sí,) **lo hice** rápido, **lo hice**.  
yes ACC.3SG.M did.1SG quickly ACC.3SG.M did.1SG  
'Yes, I did it!' [OK with repetition reading]

Therefore, in Rioplatense Spanish, as in European Portuguese, there are both non-local and local reduplications: capicúas and emphatic affirmatives.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> According to an anonymous reviewer, the following sentence is possible in his/her dialect with the same intonation as (11B):

(1) Sí, lo hice ayer, lo hice ayer.  
'Yes, I did it yesterday, I did it (yesterday).'

It remains to examine other distributional and interpretative facts in the reviewer's dialect to test whether the phenomenon is the same.

<sup>7</sup> In EP, emphatic affirmative reduplications have a non-local (1) and a local (2) configuration:

(1) European Portuguese (Martins 2013: 100)

A: Ele não comprou o carro.  
he not bought a car  
'He did not buy a car.'

B: Comprou o carro comprou.  
bought the car bought  
'He bought the car!'

(2) European Portuguese (Martins 2013: 101)

A: O João não comprou o carro, pois não?  
the João not bought the car CONFIRM not  
'João did not buy the car, did he?'

### 2.1.1. Definite null objects and clitics

Even though Spanish does not allow definite null objects (12a), in *capicúa* sentences there appears to be an omission of the object in  $V_2$ :

- (12) Rioplatense Spanish (Saab 2011: 311)
- A: ¿Visitaste a María hoy?  
 visited.2SG ACC María today  
 ‘Did you visit María today?’
- a. B: \*Visité.  
 visited.1SG  
 ‘I did.’
- b. B’: Sí, visité a María, (\*la) visité.  
 yes visited.1SG ACC María ACC.3SG.F visited.1SG  
 ‘Yes, I visited María!’

Nevertheless, if a clitic –and not a full DP DO as the one in  $V_1$  of (12b)– appears in  $V_1$ , it must also appear in  $V_2$ :

- (13) Rioplatense Spanish (example adapted from Saab 2011)
- A: ¿Visitaste a María?  
 visited.2SG ACC María  
 ‘Did you visit María?’
- B: La visité ayer, (\*la) visité.  
 ACC.3SG.F visited.1SG yesterday ACC.3SG.F visited.1SG  
 ‘Yes, I visited her yesterday!’

In contrast, EAVR requires the mandatory presence of the clitic in  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  (14c), and as expected, they do not allow the presence of a full DP since its appearance in  $V_1$  would violate the strict adjacency requirement (14a).

Likewise, the presence of a full DP DO in  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  is only possible in a construction with a repetition reading (14b).

- (14) Rioplatense Spanish
- A: ¿Visitaste a María hoy?  
 visited.2SG ACC María today  
 ‘Did you visit María today?’
- a. Full DP DO in  $V_1$  violates the strict adjacency:
- B: \*La visité a María, la visité.  
 ACC.3SG.F visited.1SG ACC María ACC.3SG.F visited.1SG  
 ‘I visited María!’

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B: Compró compró.  
 bought bought  
 ‘He bought it!’



b. Full DP DO in V<sub>1</sub> and V<sub>2</sub> only triggers repetition reading:

B: \*La visité a María, la visité a María.  
ACC.3SG.F visited.1SG ACC María ACC.3SG.F visited.1SG ACC María  
'I visited María!'

c. Pronominalization of the DP in V<sub>1</sub> and V<sub>2</sub> with affirmative emphatic reading:

B: (Sí) la visité, la visité.  
yes ACC.3SG.F visited.1SG ACC.3SG.F visited.1SG  
'Yes, I visited her!'

Additionally, the presence of the clitic in EAVRs contrasts with the distribution of the clitic in the emphatic reduplication of EP as it is not possible to reduplicate the verb and its clitic:

(15) European Portuguese (Martins 2013: 105)

A: Não me devolveste o livro que eu te emprestei, pois não?  
not me returned.2SG the book that I you-DAT lent CONFIRM not  
'You haven't returned me the book I lent you, did you?'

B: \*Devolvi-te, devolvi-te.  
returned-CL.DAT.2SG returned-CL.DAT.2SG  
'Yes, I did.'

B': \*Devolvi-to, devolvi-to.  
returned-CL.ACC.3SG return-CL.ACC.3SG  
'Yes, I did.'

In RS, it is possible to answer a question such as (16) with two types of verb reduplication: (i) a capicúa reduplication that meets the requirement of anti-adjacency and has a structure of the type V<sub>1</sub>+full DP+V<sub>2</sub> (16a B) or CL+V<sub>1</sub>+CL+V<sub>2</sub> (16a B') or (ii) an emphatic reduplication that meets the requirement of strict adjacency and has a structure of the type CL+V<sub>1</sub>+CL+V<sub>2</sub> (16b):

(16) Rioplatense Spanish

A: ¿Juan compró los libros de Chomsky?  
Juan bought.3SG the books of Chomsky  
'Did Juan buy Chomsky's books?'

a. Capicúa answer:

B: **Compró** los libros, \*(los) **compró**. [V<sub>1</sub>+full DP+V<sub>2</sub>]  
bought.3SG the books ACC.3PL.M bought.3SG  
'He bought the books!'

B': **Los** compró Juan, (\***los**) compró. [CL+V<sub>1</sub>+CL+V<sub>2</sub>]  
ACC.3PL.M bought.3SG Juan ACC.3PL.M bought.3SG  
'Juan bought them!'

b. EAVR answer:

B: **Los** compró, **los** compró. [CL+V<sub>1</sub>+CL+V<sub>2</sub>]  
ACC.3PL.M bought.3SG ACC.3PL.M bought.3SG  
'He bought them!'

### 2.1.2. $V_2$ final position

As Saab (2011) argues regarding capicúa constructions, no constituent can follow  $V_2$ . The idea is that neither adjuncts, subjects, nor complements can follow  $V_2$  and be part of the same prosodic domain that simultaneously includes  $V_1$ :

(17)

Rioplatense Spanish (Saab 2011: 312)

- A: ¿Qué hiciste hoy?  
 what did.2SG today  
 ‘What did you do today?’
- B: \*Limpié la casa, limpié hoy.  
 cleaned.1SG the house cleaned.1SG today  
 ‘I cleaned the house today!’

Given that EAVRs are mono-clausal structures, the same restrictions apply for an emphatic affirmative reading:

(18) Adjuncts

- A: ¿Compraste los libros de Chomsky?  
 bought.2SG the books of Chomsky  
 ‘Did you buy Chomsky’s books?’
- B: \*Los compré, los compré {ayer/a buen precio/  
 ACC.3PL.M bought.1SG ACC.3PL.M bought.1SG {yesterday/for a good price/  
 en la plaza}.  
 in the square}  
 ‘I bought them {yesterday/for a good price/in the square}.’

(19) Subjects

- A: ¿Viene Nicolás a la fiesta?  
 come.3SG Nicolás to the party  
 ‘Does Nicolás come to the party?’
- B: #Viene, viene Nicolás.  
 come.3SG come.3SG Nicolás  
 ‘Nicolás will come!’

In contrast, note that the same constructions with repetition structures are perfectly acceptable:

- (20) a. Los compré. ¡Los compré {ayer/a buen precio/en la plaza}!  
 ‘I bought them. I bought them {yesterday/at a good price/in the square}!’
- b. Viene. Viene Nicolás.  
 ‘Nicolás will come. He will!’

In the table presented below, I summarize the properties of both types of reduplications in Rioplatense Spanish. Although capicúa constructions and emphatic reduplications are mono-clausal and have similarities, they also have non-trivial differences:

**Table 1.** Properties of verb reduplication in Rioplatense Spanish

Verb reduplication in Rioplatense Spanish	Capicúas	Emphatic affirmatives
Discourse initial	yes	no
Tag questions	no	yes
Adjacency	no	yes
Definite null objects	no	no
Distribution of clitics	yes in V <sub>1</sub> and V <sub>2</sub>	yes in V <sub>1</sub> and V <sub>2</sub>
V <sub>2</sub> final position	yes	yes

Among these non-trivial differences are the requirement of adjacency and the context of utterance of EAVRs, which I will explain in detail in the following subsection.

## 2.2. Other properties of affirmative emphatic verb reduplications

### 2.2.1. Context of utterance

One of the distinctive features of the reduplications addressed in this article is their context of utterance. In RS, it is possible to use EAVRs in three different contexts: (i) as a response to a preceding negative statement (21), (ii) as a response to a tag question which presupposes a negative answer (22), and (iii) as a response to a polar question which does not presuppose a negative answer (23).

(21) Response to a preceding negative statement

- A: Creo que Juan no viene a la fiesta.  
 think.1SG that Juan not come.3SG to the party  
 ‘I think John will not come to the party.’  
 B: Viene viene.  
 come.3SG come.3SG  
 ‘Yes, he will come!’

(22) Response to a tag question which presupposes a negative answer

- A: Marisol no estudió para el examen, ¿no?  
 Marisol not studied.3SG for the exam NEG  
 ‘Marisol didn’t study for the exam, did she?’  
 B: Estudió estudió.  
 studied.3SG studied.3SG  
 ‘She did study!’

(23) Response to a polar question which does not presuppose a negative answer

- A: ¿Agarraste las llaves?  
 took.2SG the keys  
 ‘Did you take the keys?’  
 B: Las agarré, las agarré.  
 ACC.3PL.F took.1SG ACC.3PL.F took.1SG  
 ‘(Yes,), I took them!’

Now, there are other relevant characteristics of EAVRs, namely: (i) the impossibility of negation and (ii) their behavior with respect to transitive and intransitive verbs, periphrastic forms and clitics, which I will address below.

## 2.2.2. Interaction with other phenomena

### 2.2.2.1. Negation

According to Kato, Martins & Nunes (2023), in European Portuguese, emphatic reduplication is incompatible with negation since such a construction necessarily encodes an affirmative value; in contrast, in repetitive structures, negation is perfectly possible.

(24) European Portuguese (Kato, Martins & Nunes 2023: 290)

[Context: A: O João ganhou a lotaria.  
the João won the lottery  
'João won the lottery.']

a. Emphatic verb reduplication:

B: \*O João não ganhou a lotaria, não ganhou. (↑)  
the João not won the lottery not won  
'João did NOT win the lottery.'

b. Fragment repetition:

B: O João não ganhou a lotaria (↓). Não ganhou (infelizmente). (↓)  
the João not won the lottery. not won regrettably  
'João didn't win the lottery. Regrettably, he didn't.'

In Rioplatense Spanish, a similar behavior to EP is observed both in constructions where only the verb is reduplicated (25) and in those that require the reduplication of the verb and its clitic (26).

(25) A: ¿Estudiaste para el examen?  
studied.2SG for the exam  
'Did you study for the exam?'

B: #No estudié, no estudié.  
not studied.1SG not studied.1SG  
'I did not study.'

(26) A: ¿Compraste los libros de Chomsky?  
bought.2SG the books of Chomsky  
'Did you buy Chomsky's books?'

B: #No los compré, no los compré.  
not ACC.3PL.M bought.1SG not ACC.3PL.M bought.1SG  
'I did not buy them.'

Hence, in both EP and RS, negation is incompatible with emphatic affirmative verb reduplication.

### 2.2.2.2. Simple verbal forms

Regarding the types of verbs that can be reduplicated in RS it is possible to reduplicate –and to maintain the emphatic affirmative reading– transitive (27), ditransitive (28), intransitive verbs (29) and, the existential verb ‘*haber*’ (to have) (30):<sup>8</sup>

(27) Reduplication of transitive verbs

A: ¿Compraste los libros de Chomsky?  
bought.2SG the books of Chomsky  
‘Did you buy Chomsky’s books?’

B: Los compré, los compré.  
ACC.3PL.M bought.1SG ACC.3PL.M bought.1SG  
‘(Yes), I bought them!’

(28) Reduplication of ditransitive verbs

A: ¿Les avisás a los alumnos que hoy no vengo?  
DAT.3PL warn.2SG to the students that today not come.1SG  
‘Will you let the students know that I’m not coming today.’

B: Les aviso, les aviso.  
DAT.3PL warn.1SG DAT.3PL warn.1SG  
‘I will let them know!’

(29) a. Reduplication of unergative verbs

A: ¿Dormiste todo el viaje?  
slept.2SG entire the trip  
‘Did you sleep the entire trip?’

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<sup>8</sup> Among the possibilities of reduplication with simple verbal forms, it is only possible to include the copulative verb ‘*ser*’ (to be) in tag questions contexts:

- (1) a. A: Martin no es tu novio, ¿no?  
‘Martin is not your boyfriend, is he?’  
B: Es, es.  
‘He is!’  
b. A: No es feriado hoy, ¿no?  
‘Today is not a holiday, is it?’  
B: Es, es.  
‘It is!’

However, for the other contexts pointed out in 2.2.2.1., reduplication as a response is less acceptable:

- (2) a. A: ¿Martin es tu novio?  
‘Is Martin your boyfriend?’  
B: ?? Es, es.  
‘He is!’  
b. A: ¿Es feriado hoy?  
‘Is it a holiday today?’  
B: ‘It is!’

B: Dormí, dormí.  
slept.1SG slept.1SG  
'Yes, I did!'

b. Reduplication of unaccusative verbs

A: ¿Llegó el paquete de Amazon?  
arrived.3SG the package of Amazon  
'Did Amazon package arrive?'

B: Llegó, llegó.  
arrived.3SG arrived.3SG  
'It arrived!'

(30) Reduplication of the existential *haber*

A: ¿Hay muchas personas en la sala?  
have many people in the room  
'Are there many people in the room?'

B: Hay, hay.  
have have  
'There are!'

2.2.2.3. *Complex verbal forms*

As can be seen, the reduplicated forms discussed so far are simple verbal forms. Therefore, I still need to describe what happens with complex verbal forms. In this regard, under the term 'periphrasis' I will encompass, on the one hand, compound verb tenses that I will call *default* periphrasis (*i.e.*, those formed by a dummy verb such as '*ser*' (*be*) or '*haber*' (*have*) and a lexical verb) (Pietraszko 2023) and, on the other hand, another type of periphrastic structure formed by an auxiliary, a linking element—a preposition—, and a main verb in a non-finite form (*i.e.*, infinitive, gerund, or participle) (Fábregas 2019).

It is of particular interest to understand how periphrases work in RS since, in EP, reduplication applies to the auxiliary verb (Kato, Martins & Nunes 2023).

In contrast, RS exhibits different patterns of reduplication in aspectual and modal periphrases. In some cases, the auxiliary is reduplicated (31), as in EP, while in other cases, reduplication is not compatible with either the auxiliary or the mono-clausal structure formed by the auxiliary and the main verb (32).

(31) Rioplatense Spanish

a. Iterative periphrasis

A: Brenda no volvió a entrenar, ¿no?  
Brenda not returned.3SG to exercise.INF NEG  
'Brenda did not return to exercise, did she?'

B: Volvió, volvió.  
returned.3SG returned.3SG  
'She returned!'

B': \*Volvió a entrenar, volvió a entrenar.  
 returned to exercise.INF returned.3SG to exercise.INF  
 'She returned to exercise!'

b. Terminative periphrasis

A: Noelia no terminó de trabajar todavía, ¿no?  
 Noelia not finished.3SG of work.INF yet NEG  
 'Noelia did not finish working yet, did she?'

B: Terminó, terminó.  
 finished.3SG finished.3SG  
 'She finished!'

B': \*Terminó de trabajar, terminó de trabajar.  
 finished.3SG of work.INF finished of work.INF  
 'She finished working!'

c. Durative periphrasis

A: No sigue pensando en él, ¿no?  
 not follows.3SG thinking.GER in he NEG  
 'She does not still think about him, does she?'

B: Sigue, sigue.  
 follows.3SG follows.3SG  
 'She still thinks!'

B': \*(Lo) sigue pensando, (lo) sigue  
 ACC.3SG.M follows.3SG thinking.GER ACC.3SG.M follows.3SG  
 pensando.  
 thinking.GER  
 'She still thinks about him!'

d. Inchoative periphrasis

A: No comenzó a trabajar, ¿no?  
 not started.3SG to work.INF NEG  
 'She did not start to work yet, did she?'

B: Comenzó, comenzó.  
 started.3SG started.3SG  
 'She started!'

B': \*Comenzó a trabajar, comenzó a trabajar.  
 started.3SG to work.INF started.3SG to work.INF  
 'She started to work!'

(32) a. Habitual periphrasis

A: Nicolás no suele desayunar tostadas, ¿no?  
 Nicolás not uses.3SG to.have.breakfast.INF toasts NEG  
 'Nicolás does not usually have toast for breakfast, does he?'

B: \*Suele, suele.  
 uses.3SG uses.3SG  
 'He does!'

B': \*Suele desayunarlas, suele desayunarlas.  
 uses to.have.breakfast.INF-ACC.3PL.F uses to.have.breakfast-ACC.3PL.F  
 'He usually has them for breakfast!'

b. Prospective periphrasis

A: Está por llegar a la fiesta, ¿no?  
 is for to.arrive.INF to the party NEG  
 'She is about to get to the party, is she?'

B: #Está, está.  
 is is  
 'She is!'

B': \*Está por llegar, está por llegar.  
 is for arrive.INF is for arrive.INF  
 'She is about to get to the party!'

c. Imperfective periphrasis

A: Está llegando a la fiesta, ¿no?  
 is arriving.GER to the party NEG  
 'She is getting to the party, is she?'

B: #Está, está.  
 is is  
 'She is!'

B': \*Está llegando, está llegando.  
 is arriving.GER is arriving.GER  
 'She is getting to the party!'

d. Epistemic periphrasis

A: No puede nevar mañana, ¿no?<sup>9</sup>  
 not can snow.INF tomorrow NEG  
 'It cannot snow tomorrow, can it?'

B: \*Puede (nevar), puede (nevar).  
 can snow.INF can snow.INF  
 'It can!'

e. Deontic periphrasis

---

<sup>9</sup> Regarding the epistemic periphrasis with *'poder'* (*can*), there is an asymmetry in those structures formed with *poder* and meteorological verbs (32d) compared to structures formed with *poder* and other type of verbs that accept emphatic reduplication and would fall within the first class of periphrases (31). Thanks to Matías Verdecchia for this observation.

(1) a. A: Juan no puede ir al cine, ¿no?  
 'John can't go to the movies, can he?'

B: Puede, puede.  
 'He can!'

b. A: Marisol no puede hablar alemán, ¿no?  
 'Marisol can't speak German, can she?'

B: Puede, puede.  
 'She can!'



- A: No tenés que hacer este trabajo, ¿no?  
not have.to that do.INF this work NEG  
'You do not have to do this work, do you?'
- B: \*Tengo, tengo.  
have.to have.to  
'I have to!'
- B': \*Lo tengo (que hacer), lo tengo (que hacer).  
ACC.3SG.M have.to that do.INF ACC.3SG.M must that do.INF  
'I have to do it!'

Furthermore, the compound tenses in the indicative mood, which are formed by the auxiliary '*haber*' (*have*) and the main verb in the participle form, exhibit the same behavior as the periphrastic structures in (32), as they do not allow the reduplication of either the auxiliary or the combination of the auxiliary and the main verb:

- (33) a. Past perfect  
A: ¿Marisol había estudiado para los exámenes?  
Marisol had studied.PERF for the exams  
'Had Marisol studied for the exams?'
- B: \*Había (estudiado), había (estudiado).  
had studied.PERF had studied.PERF  
'She had studied!'
- b. Future perfect  
A: ¿Marisol habrá estudiado para los exámenes de la semana que viene?  
Marisol will.have studied.PERF for the exams of the week  
that comes.3SG  
'Will Marisol have studied for the exams of the following week?'
- B: \*Habrá (estudiado), habrá (estudiado).  
will.have studied.PERF will.have studied.PERF  
'She will have studied!'

#### 2.2.2.4. Distribution of clitics

Recall the difference regarding the behavior of clitics: unlike EP (34), RS requires obligatory reduplication of the verb and its clitics:

- (34) European Portuguese (Martins 2013: 105)
- A: Não me devolveste o livro que eu te emprestei, pois não?  
not me returned.2SG the book that I you-DAT lent CONFIRM not  
'You haven't returned me the book I lent you, did you?'
- B: \*Devolvi-te, devolvi-te.  
returned-CL.DAT.2SG returned-CL.DAT.2SG  
'Yes, I did.'
- B': \*Devolvi-to, devolvi-to.  
returned-CL.ACC.3SG return-CL.ACC.3SG  
'Yes, I did.'

## (35) Rioplatense Spanish

a. A: ¿Agarraste las llaves?

took.2SG the keys

‘Did you take the keys?’

B: Las agarré, las agarré.

ACC.3PL.F took.1SG ACC.3PL.F took.1SG

‘I took them!’

b. A: ¿Le devolviste el libro a María?

DAT.3SG returned.2SG the book ACC María

‘Did you return the book to María?’

B: Se lo devolví, se lo devolví.

SE ACC.3SG.M returned.1SG SE ACC.3SG.M returned.1SG

‘I returned it!’

Thus, in the light of data presented, it is necessary to explore an analysis that captures the properties of emphatic affirmative reduplication in Rioplatense Spanish.

Table 2 summarizes the main properties discussed so far:

**Table 2.** Compatibility of emphatic affirmative verb reduplication

<b>Negation</b>	no	
<b>Simple verbal forms</b>	yes: transitive and intransitive verbs existential ‘haber’	
<b>Periphrastic verbal forms</b>	yes, but only auxiliary: iterative periphrasis terminative periphrasis durative periphrasis inchoative periphrasis	no, neither of the auxiliary nor the auxiliary + main verb: habitual periphrasis prospective periphrasis imperfective periphrasis epistemic periphrasis deontic periphrasis past perfect future perfect
<b>Distribution of clitics</b>	yes, obligatory reduplication of V+CL	

So far, in this section I have presented the specific properties of emphatic affirmative verb reduplications, contrasting them with other types of non-local reduplications also attested in Rioplatense Spanish, and explaining how they interact with other phenomena.

### 3. Previous approaches to verb reduplication in Romance

#### 3.1. Verb reduplication by Fusion

As indicated in INTRODUCTION, emphatic reduplication falls under the umbrella of a general theory of movement (Chomsky 1993; 1995) and, in turn, as a subcase of multiple copy realization.

To explain how multiple copy realization occurs, Martins (2007; 2013), following Nunes's theory (2004), argues that Morphological Fusion allows the formation of EAVRs in EP.

Nunes's account posits that multiple presence of copies in a chain (*e.g.*, *wh*-elements in Afrikaans and German or predicate clefting in Vata) is the result of making an intermediate copy unrecognizable as a link chain, thereby preventing Chain Reduction from applying:

(36) Chain Reduction (Nunes 2004: 27)

Delete the minimal number of constituents of a nontrivial chain CH that suffices for CH to be mapped into a linear order in accordance with the Linear Correspondence Axiom

This possibility is tied to morphological reanalysis or Fusion –in terms of Halle & Marantz– which “takes two terminal nodes that are sisters under a single category and fuses them into a single terminal node” (1993: 116).

In Nunes' sense, morphological reanalysis consists of the adjunction of an intermediate copied element (*e.g.*, a verbal head) to a preceding  $X^\circ$  where both elements ( $V^\circ$  and  $X^\circ$ ) fuse.

Consequently, a syntactically opaque object is derived in the form of a single head that prevents the application of Chain Reduction: the copy of V is reanalyzed with X, and the single head is disregarded by Chain Reduction.

Since verb reduplication is an instance of phonetic realization of multiple links in a verbal chain, Martins (2007; 2013) proposes an analysis that involves the presence of two functional heads:  $\Sigma$ , which encodes affirmative polarity features, and C, which encodes emphatic features. Both heads participate in the syntactic expression of emphatic polarity and must be phonetically realized.

The analysis of Martins (2013) for a structure like (2), repeated here as (37), involves the presence of cyclic head movement from V to T to  $\Sigma$  to C and VP-ellipsis:<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Martins' (2013) analysis presents significant differences when compared to the (2007) analysis, as in the latter case, reduplication is the result of Fusion between the highest verbal copy  $\Sigma$  and C and the ellipsis of VP, which is licensed by the verbal movement towards  $\Sigma$ :

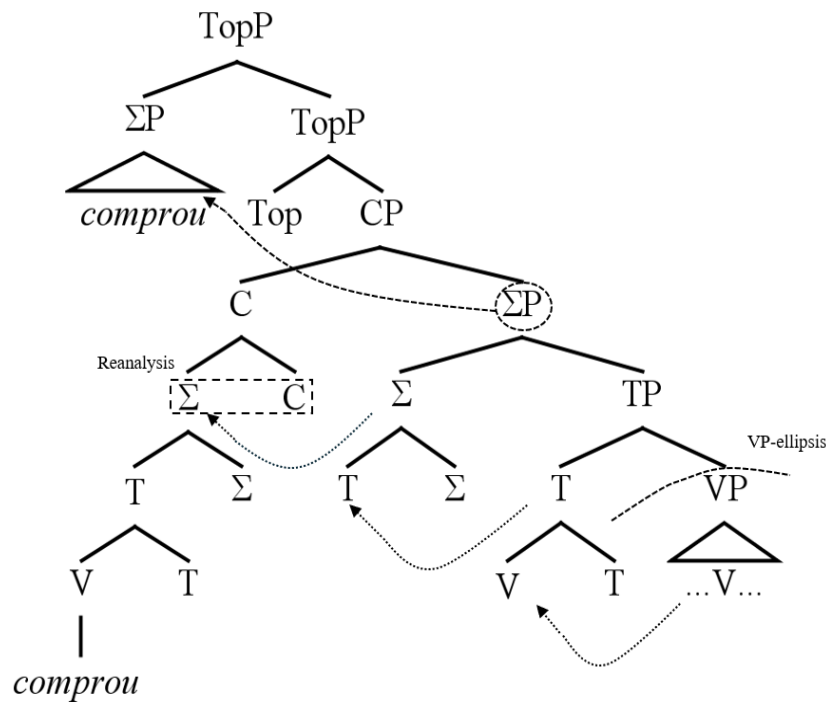
(1) [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>C'</sub> [<sub>C</sub> comprou<sub>i</sub> [<sub>ΣP</sub> [<sub>Σ'</sub> comprou<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>T'</sub> ~~eomprou<sub>i</sub>~~ [<sub>VP</sub> (~~Θ João comprou o carro~~)]]]]]]]]]]

(Martins 2007: 86)

- (37) European Portuguese (Martins 2007: 81)  
 A: Ele não comprou o carro, pois não?  
     he not bought the car CONFIRM not  
     ‘He didn’t buy the car.’  
 B: Comprou comprou.  
     bought.3SG bought.3SG  
     ‘John did buy the car.’

Likewise, the double phonetic realization is possible because a higher copy fuses with C [<sub>C</sub> Σ C], making the moved element invisible to the Linear Correspondence Axiom (Kayne 1994). Then, the movement of the remaining ΣP to Spec,Top places the clausal constituent in the initial position and the reanalyzed C in the final position:

- (38) **Figure 1.** Emphatic affirmative reduplication by Fusion



Now, there is a fundamental aspect that leads me to conclude that this analysis is not suitable for Rioplatense Spanish: the obligatory distribution of clitics – considered by Martins as key evidence in favor of Fusion– in Spanish is sufficient reason to develop an alternative analysis that better captures the set of data.

### 3.2. Verb reduplication by Excorporation

The architecture of grammar that I adopt here (Distributed Morphology) diverges from the lexicalist perspective, which treats words as indivisible units formed in the lexicon and it has important advantages when analyzing morphosyntactic phenomena such as emphatic affirmative verb reduplication.

Distributed Morphology –initially presented in Halle & Marantz (1993)– posits that words are constructed through the syntactic combination of morphemes. These

are the primitive elements of syntactic structures, which are spelled out and subjected to post-syntactic operations relevant to sound in the Phonetic Form and meaning in the Logical Form.

Furthermore, there are two types of relevant objects that are the basic atoms of post-syntactic movement operations: *morphosyntactic words* and *subwords* (Embick & Noyer 2001). In DM, the notion of a morphosyntactic word (MWd) is crucial, as it allows us to distinguish between elements that can and cannot undergo deletion or movement independently of their containing structure. This distinction is formalized in the Subword Deletion Corollary (Saab 2008; 2017), which posits that subwords cannot be deleted independently of the morphosyntactic word containing them.

Within this framework, Saab (2008; 2017) and Lipták & Saab (2019) argue that there are two types of reduplications: (i) non-local vs. (ii) local. Within the first type, it is possible to place particle reduplication in Hungarian and *capicúa* constructions addressed in SECTION 2.1., while emphatic affirmative reduplications in EP and RS fall within local reduplications.

These two types of multiple copy realization are the result of two different scenarios. Under scenario #1, you obtain local reduplications, and under scenario #2, you obtain non-local reduplications.

So, to explain local reduplications, Saab (2008; 2017) resorts to the Subword Deletion Corollary, which states:

- (39) Subword Deletion Corollary (adapted from Saab 2008)  
Subwords cannot be deleted with independence of the morphosyntactic word containing them.

Additionally, there are two associated definitions to (39) that must be considered:

- (40) a. Subword: A node  $X^\circ$  is a subword (SWd) if  $X^\circ$  is a terminal node and not a morphosyntactic word.  
b. Morphosyntactic word: At the input to Morphology, a node  $X^\circ$  is (by definition) a morphosyntactic word (MWd) iff  $X^\circ$  is the highest segment of an  $X^\circ$  not contained in another  $X^\circ$ .

(Embick & Noyer 2001: 574)

Hence, the two scenarios that explain how local and non-local reduplications occur are presented below:

- (41) Scenario #1: Multiple copy realization occurs whenever some syntactic or morphological process blocks deletion because of the Subword Deletion Corollary.

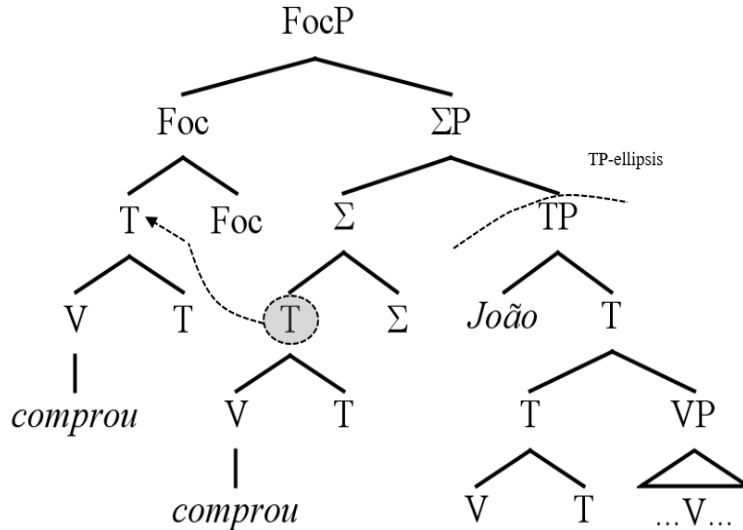
Scenario #2: Multiple copy realization whenever the locality conditions relevant for head deletion are not met for some syntactic or PF reasons.

(Lipták & Saab 2019: 564)

Saab (2017) takes some of the ingredients from Martins's analysis and posits that this type of reduplication in EP (37) is derived through cyclic head movement of

V-to-T-to- $\Sigma$ -FOC and TP-ellipsis. Additionally, this proposal assumes the existence of Excorporation of  $[_T V T]$  out of  $\Sigma$  towards FOC as shown in (42).

(42) **Figure 2.** Emphatic affirmative reduplication by Excorporation



**Source:** adapted from (Saab 2017: 34)

To explain how the double pronunciation of *comprou* occurs, I must refer to the Subword Deletion Corollary; hence, as shown in (42), there are two terminals that count as subwords: on the one hand, the lowest copy of T, which is part of the complex head  $[_\Sigma T \Sigma]$ , and on the other hand, the highest copy of that same T, which excorporates from  $[_\Sigma T \Sigma]$  and moves to  $[_{Foc} T Foc]$ . Therefore, both copies, as subwords, are not deleted and are indeed pronounced.

In favor of this proposal is the impossibility of reduplication of a verb and its clitic in European Portuguese (EP):

(43) European Portuguese (Martins 2013: 105)

A: Não me devolveste o livro que eu te emprestei, pois não?  
not me returned.2SG the book that I you-DAT lent CONFIRM not  
'You haven't returned me the book I lent you, did you?'

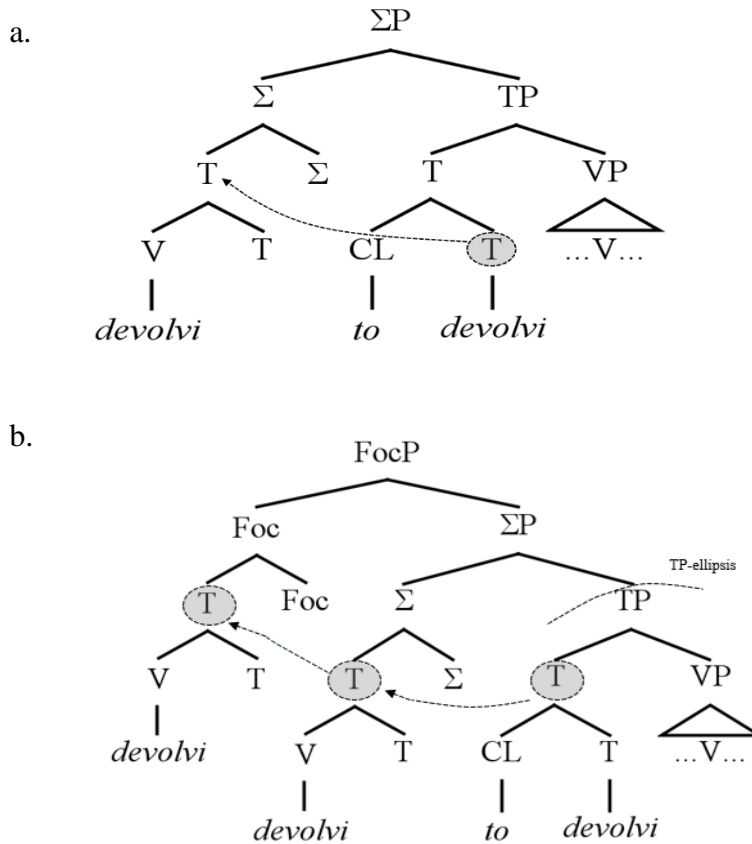
B: \*Devolvi-te, devolvi-te.  
returned-CL.DAT.2SG returned-CL.DAT.2SG  
'Yes, I did.'

B': \*Devolvi-to, devolvi-to.  
returned-CL.ACC.3SG return-CL.ACC.3SG  
'Yes, I did.'

The analysis proposed by Saab (2017) captures the restriction: the clitic attaches to a maximal head containing the verb (e.g., TP) and Excorporation only applies to the verb in T, leaving the clitic behind.

Firstly, in the subderivation of (44a), it is observed how the V-T- $\Sigma$  heads are merged, and only the T contained in  $[_T CL T]$  excorporates towards  $\Sigma$ , forming the head  $[_\Sigma T \Sigma]$ :

- (44) **Figure 3.** Emphatic affirmative reduplication in European Portuguese by Excorporation



Subsequently, T excorporates again towards FOC forming [<sub>Foc</sub> T FOC]. The complex head [<sub>Σ</sub> T <sub>Σ</sub>] is not deleted due to its subword nature and TP-ellipsis applies deleting the lower heads where the unpronounced clitic is merged (44b).

However, although this proposal captures the formation of EAVRs in EP, the reduplication of the verb and its clitic in Spanish is mandatory, making it necessary to review part of the analysis.

#### 4. Analysis of EAVR

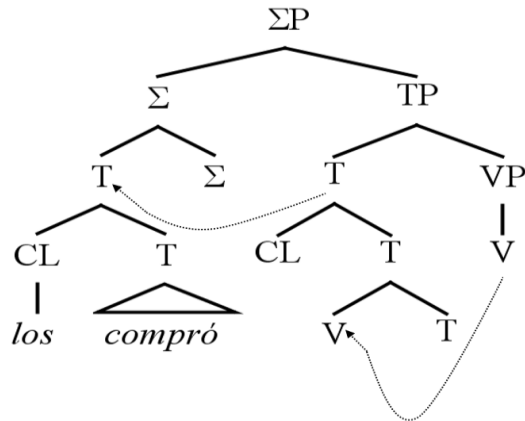
The hypothesis underlying the analysis presented here is that there is head movement to  $\Sigma$  in non-imperative clauses (*contra* Martins 1994; 2007; 2013) that generates emphatic affirmative verb reduplications.

Moreover, I maintain that the distribution of clitics in reduplication is not sufficient evidence in favor of Fusion.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, an analysis that dispenses with Fusion must be able to explain two phenomena of RS: (i) the mandatory reduplication of the verb and its clitic(s), and (ii) the reduplication of the auxiliary element in periphrastic constructions.

<sup>11</sup> In this regard, Saab (2017) argues that the incompatibility of reduplication with complex tenses cannot be taken as evidence in favor of Fusion, as there is no reason for complex tenses to not be susceptible to this operation. Likewise, the distribution of clitics is not evidence in favor of Fusion because in *capicúa* constructions –and in EAVRs– if a clitic occurs in  $V_2$ , it must obligatorily occur in  $V_1$ .

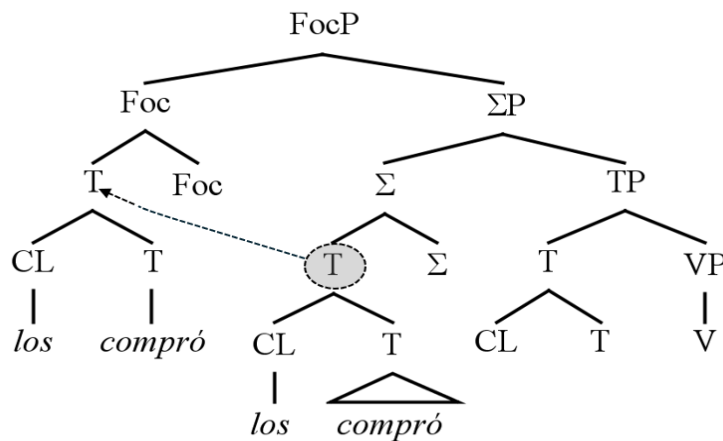
Regarding the first case, we will assume that the clitics attach to T, forming a complex head  $[T\ CL\ T]$ , and there is cyclic movement from V-to-T-to- $\Sigma$ :

(45) **Figure 4.** First step of the derivation



Considering the possibility of Excorporation, I propose, in line with Saab (2017), that a FOC head is merged to  $\Sigma$  and the complex head  $[T\ CL\ T]$  excorporates to FOC.

(46) **Figure 5.** Second step of the derivation



Subsequently, since the complex head  $[T\ CL\ T]$  merged with  $\Sigma$  forms a subword, deletion does not apply according to the Subword Deletion Corollary, generating a reduplicated structure.

Now, it remains to be answered how some periphrastic structures, as described in SUBSECTION 2.2.2.3, are generated. In this regard, I will take the following cases as examples to outline my analysis:

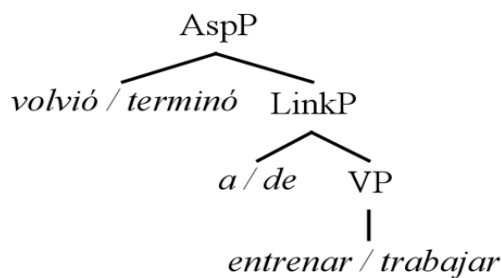
- (47) a. A: Brenda no volvió a entrenar, ¿no?  
 Brenda not returned.3SG to exercise.INF NEG  
 ‘Brenda did not return to exercise, did she?’  
 B: Volvió, volvió.  
 returned.3SG returned.3SG  
 ‘She returned!’



- b. A: Noelia no terminó de trabajar todavía, ¿no?  
 Noelia not finished.3SG of work.INF yet NEG  
 ‘Noelia did not finish working yet, did she?’  
 B: Terminó, terminó.  
 finished.3SG finished.3SG  
 ‘She finished!’

Both types of periphrasis are aspectual and share the same structure composed by an auxiliary, a linking element, and a main verb. Fábregas (2019) posits that modal and aspectual periphrases have a syntactic structure like that of (48):

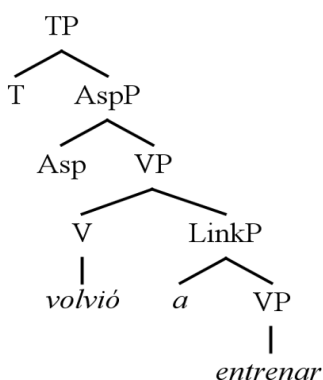
- (48) **Figure 6.** Structure of a periphrasis



Taking a structure like the one mentioned above as a starting point, reduplications like those in (47) can be derived using mechanisms identical to those in (46). Specifically, TP-ellipsis allows us to explain why only the auxiliary verb, which is the only element susceptible to reduplication, survives.

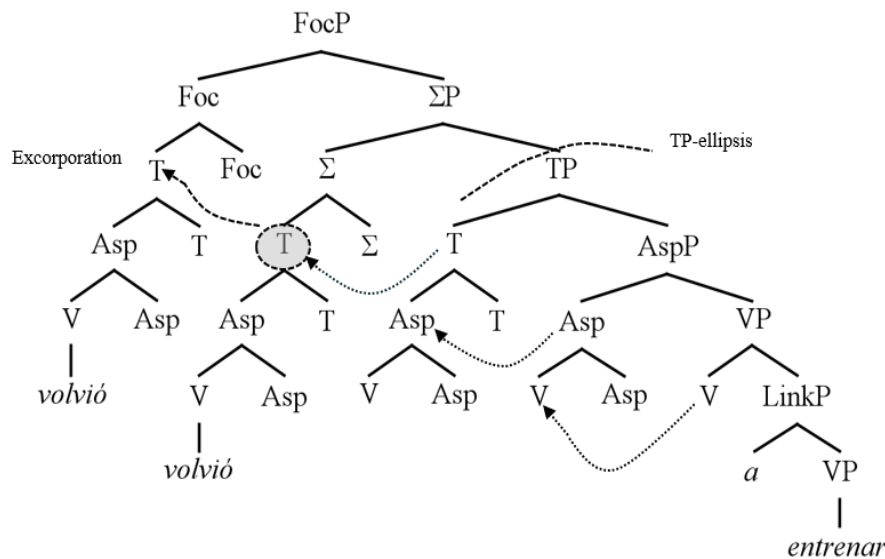
Firstly, I have a structure (49) in which only the auxiliary verb, which carries tense, aspect, and mood, moves to Asp head and then to T head:

- (49) **Figure 7.** First step of the derivation



Next,  $\Sigma$ P is merged, and the head movement continues to  $\Sigma$ , where the complex head [<sub>T</sub> ASP T] excorporates towards FOC. The copy of that complex head [<sub>T</sub> ASP T], dominated by  $\Sigma$ , is a subword and cannot be deleted, leading to the reduplication of the auxiliary verb, while the linking element and the main verb, located below TP, are deleted through ellipsis.

(50) **Figure 8.** Second step of the derivation



Finally, we emphasize that this analysis is compatible with the impossibility of reduplicating the linking element and the main verb:

- (51) a. A: Brenda no volvió a entrenar, ¿no?  
 ‘Brenda did not returned.3SG to exercise, did she?’  
 B: \*Volvió, volvió a entrenar. [OK with repetition reading]  
 returned.3SG returned.3SG to exercise.INF  
 B’: \*Volvió a, volvió a.  
 returned.3SG to returned.3SG to
- b. A: Noelia no terminó de trabajar todavía, ¿no?  
 ‘Noelia did not finish working yet, did she?’  
 B: \*Terminó, terminó de trabajar. [OK with repetition reading]  
 finished.3SG finished.3SG of work.INF  
 B’: \*Terminó de, terminó de.  
 finished.3SG of finished.3SG of

In both cases, the proposed analysis in (50) predicts that both the linking element and the main verb remain within the ellipsis domain of TP, making it impossible to reduplicate the entire periphrasis as in the cases of (51a-b B), nor to reduplicate with the main verb accompanied by the linking element as shown in (51a-b B’).

## 5. Conclusions

In this article, I have addressed a type of construction that is part of the set of reduplications in Spanish. Specifically, I have studied a type of strictly local reduplication not addressed by the literature so far: the emphatic affirmative verb reduplication in RS.

In this regard, and as a reminder, I began this article by stating that the two questions guiding the development of this work would be:

(Q1) What are the specific characteristics of emphatic affirmative verbal reduplications?

(Q2) What morphosyntactic conditions trigger reduplication?

I studied this construction from three perspectives to answer both questions: the comparative, the descriptive, and the theoretical.

Regarding (Q1), I placed emphatic affirmative verb reduplications within the set of reduplications and compared them with *capicúa* constructions –which also encode emphatic information– to highlight the similarities and differences between local and non-local reduplications in Rioplatense Spanish.

Additionally, in SUBSECTION 2.2, I developed the set of general properties of these constructions, considering their interactions with other phenomena such as negation, the distribution of clitics, and the reduplication of periphrases.

Finally, concerning (Q2), from a theoretical standpoint, I pointed out that the correlation proposed by Martins does not hold for Spanish and that a Fusion-based analysis fails to capture the relevant data. Specifically, I assumed, *contra* Martins, the existence of head movement to  $\Sigma$  in non-imperative clauses in Spanish.

Taking as a starting point the proposal of Saab (2008; 2017) and Lipták & Saab (2019), I outlined an analysis that allows us to better study the data presented. Concretely, verb reduplication in Rioplatense –and in other languages– illustrates the architecture of grammar proposed by Distributed Morphology.

In this framework, phenomena such as reduplication involve processes that take place in Syntax and PF providing a robust account for understanding how morphosyntactic and phonological factors interact in word formation processes.

## Acknowledgments

I especially want to thank Andrés Saab and Jairo Nunes for their comments. I am very grateful to the members of *Theory and Analysis of Language Group*, *Grupo de Pesquisa Minimalismo e a Teoria da Gramática* and the audience of *DM30* who made valuable suggestions in previous versions of this article. All mistakes are mine.

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