

Extraposition in River Plate Spanish. A case of clausal doubling

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Abstract

This paper explores a set of constructions from River Plate Spanish in which propositional attitude verbs occur both with a third person feminine accusative clitic and a CP in final position (e.g., No me la esperaba *que hiciera tanto frío*, 'I didn't expect it to be so cold'). The data under analysis, which resemble the well-studied phenomenon of extraposition in English (Jespersen 1933, Postal & Pullum 1988, Rosenbaum 1967, Rothstein 1995, 2004, etc.), have not so far received much attention in the study of Spanish syntax. Our conclusion is that the 'extraposed' CPs do not constitute cases of right dislocation or right-adjunction but clear instances of clausal doubling, analogous to the well-known process of clitic doubling with accusative DPs characteristic of Argentine Spanish (e.g., *Lo vi a Gonzalo*, 'I saw Gonzalo'). Along the lines of Rothstein (1995, 2004), we argue that the mechanism for licensing the CP is predication and we provide evidence against the hypothesis that the clitic is an object expletive.

Keywords: CP doubling; object expletives; clitic doubling; right dislocation; predication

1. Introduction

This paper focuses on a group of constructions from River Plate Spanish (RPS) containing a propositional attitude verb which occurs both with a third person singular feminine clitic in the accusative case (*la*) and a subordinate noun clause in final position, as illustrated in (1) below.¹

- (1) No me la veía venir *que Tomás fuera un fascista.*
 not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL.ACC saw come that Tomas was a fascist
 ‘I didn’t see it coming that Tomas was a fascist.’

As the translation in the gloss in the example above shows, these structures closely resemble what Otto Jespersen (1933: 95) described as **extraposition** in English. According to the author, this process takes place when “a word or group of words is often placed by itself, outside the sentence proper, in which it is represented by a pronoun”. Jespersen observes that, in order not to cause “ambiguity or obscurity”, the position of the extraposed clause is occupied by a third person neuter pronoun, which he dubs ‘preparatory *it*’ (p. 154):

- (2) a. We have it in our power *to do great harm or good.*
 b. He thought it a pity *that Mary should be absent.*
 c. I resent it *that my friends will travel without me.*

What is particularly noteworthy about the constructions in (1) and (2) is that the third person pronoun seems to be interpreted as the CP in final position, as though it were doubling it. Similar examples are attested in Italian with the neuter clitic *lo*:

- (3) a. Non lo sapevo *che fosse il tuo compleanno.*
 not 3.SG.CL knew that was the your birthday
 ‘I didn’t know it was your birthday.’
 b. Gliel-l ho detto *che avrebbe funzionato.*
 2.SG.CL-3.SG.CL have said that had worked
 ‘I told him it would work.’
 c. Non lo sa *che sono venuta a trovar-ti.*
 not 3.SG.CL know that was come to find-you
 ‘She doesn’t know that I’ve come to see you.’

When it comes to Spanish, some authors such as Bello (1945 [1847]),² Keniston (1937) and Poston (1953) have documented cases of clausal doubling with

¹ For expository purposes, in the examples given throughout the paper, third person pronouns are underlined, while extraposed clauses are italicised. The following abbreviations for the glosses will be used: CL= clitic, REFL= reflexive, ACC= accusative, Sg= singular, Pl= plural, INT= intensifier, F= feminine, M= masculine, IND= indicative, SUBJ= subjunctive, IMP= imperative, PRES= present, INF= infinitive.

² Andrés Bello refers to the example below, taken from Cervantes’ *Don Quixote*, and comments that, although the structure is exceptional, it is very natural and expressive, as opposed to clitic doubling of direct objects, which, according to the linguist, produces a ‘very negative effect’. As an anonymous reviewer observes, the comma after *decir* might indicate

the neuter clitic *lo*. More recent research conducted by Belloro (2012) and Gómez Seibane (2021) offers other examples with the same clitic from other dialects, including Mexican Spanish (4a) and different varieties of Peninsular Spanish (4b). Interestingly, as Belloro (2012) observes, the clitic *lo* is found with cognitive verbs and verbs of communication.³

- (4) a. ¿Y lo aceptó bien la familia *que usted anduviera con la hija?*
and 3.SG.CL accepted good the family that you went with the daughter
'And did they accept that you were with the daughter?'
- b. Te lo juro *que cuando tu hermano empiece...*
2.SG.CL 3.SG.CL swear that when your brother started
'I swear that when your brother starts...'
- (Belloro, 2012: 417, 422)

The RAE-ASALE (2009: 1243) observes that, even though this type of doubling was relatively frequent in medieval Spanish⁴ (5) and still is in some varieties in colloquial contexts so as to add emphasis (6), nowadays it is not a common or productive pattern (7).

- (5) a. Quíso-lo Dios *que fuese electo en abad.*
wanted-3.SG.CL God that be elected in abbot
'God wanted him to be appointed abbot.'
- (Berceo, *Santo Domingo*)
- b. Yo lo veo en ti *que querrías más estar a-l sabor que a-l*
I 3.SG.CL see in you that wanted more be to-the taste that to-the
olor deste negocio.
smell of.this business
'You would rather have the taste than the scent of this business.'
- (Rojas, *Celestina*)
- (6) a. Tú ya lo sabes *que me tienes a tu disposición.*
you already 3.SG.M.CL know that 1.SG.CL have to your disposal
'You already know that you have me at your disposal.'

that this is in fact an instance of right dislocation, and not of clausal doubling as suggested by DeMello (2004).

- (i) Siempre, Sancho, lo he oído decir, *que el hacer bien a villanos es echar agua en la mar.*
'I have always heard it said, Sancho, that to do good to boors is to throw water into the sea.'

³ In Belloro's corpus of doubled constituents, European Spanish appears to be more productive than Mexican and RPS when it comes to doubling clauses with *lo*. While clauses are involved in 42% of the doubling data from European Spanish she works with, in Mexican and RPS this only happens in 28% and 7% of the corpus, respectively. The low frequency of the phenomenon in Belloro's account of RPS might be associated, I believe, with the fact that her corpus does not take into account the feminine clitic *la*.

⁴ See Riiho (1988: 35) for more examples from medieval texts.

- b. Te lo dije *que tenías que tener más cuidado*.
 2.SG.CL 3.SG.M.CL told that had that have more care
 ‘I told you that you should be more careful.’
- c. Todavía no me lo creo *que vaya a ser esta noche, coño*.
 still not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.M.CL believe that was to be this night cunt
 ‘I still can’t believe it that it’s going to be this night, fuck.’
 (Vargas Llosa, *Fiesta*)
- (7) *José lo piensa *que Rosa está informada*.
 José 3.SG.CL believes that Rosa is informed
 ‘Jose thinks it that Rosa is informed.’

In spite of these references, which mostly focus on doubling with the neuter pronouns *it* and *lo*, the phenomenon has not received adequate treatment in the literature so far, especially from a morphosyntactic perspective. In this paper, although the data in (2) – (7) seem to indicate some type of syntactic isomorphism, we will be particularly concerned with the constructions with the feminine clitic *la* in RPS so as to determine the nature of the structural relation between the clitic in internal position and the propositional clause in the rightmost area of the sentence. To this end, we will provide a descriptive and explanatory account of the structures in (1) from the perspective of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993 and subsequent work). Our hypothesis is that the third person feminine pronoun is not expletive or redundant but a marginal clitic functioning as complement of the verb. Along the lines of Rothstein (1995, 2004), we propose that *la* is interpreted as the CP and that the mechanism by means of which these CPs are licensed is predication. We will provide substantial evidence in favour of the hypothesis that these are clear cases of clausal doubling, as opposed to those authors who argue that they should be analysed as instances of clitic right dislocations (e.g. Fernández Sánchez 2020, RAE-ASALE 2009).

The paper is organised as follows. In section 2, we present our corpus and a description of the data. In §3, we argue against a right-adjunction and a right-dislocation analysis of the structures in order to show that these constitute cases of clausal doubling. Focusing on the morphosyntax of the clitic in light of a framework like Distributed Morphology, section 4 spells out an analysis in terms of Rothstein’s theory of predication. Finally, in section 5, we outline the conclusions of our research and discuss predication in relation to other ‘redundancy’ phenomena from a microparametric perspective.

2. Description of the data

In RPS, the cooccurrence of a third person feminine accusative clitic (*la*) and a CP is circumscribed to *propositional attitude verbs*, i.e., verbs which introduce cognitive relations individuals bear to a proposition. Our corpus, compiled with examples drawn from social media and spontaneous speech, contains 32 predicates of this kind, most of which can be subclassified into modality verbs of cognition (8) and verbs of communication (9), as shown in the following host of representative examples (see *Appendix* for the rest of the data).

- (8) a. No te la perdono *que te* *hayas olvidado de mi cumple*
 not 2.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL forgive that 2.SG.CL had forgotten of my birthday
 ‘I won’t forgive you for having forgotten my birthday.’
- b. Te la regalo *ir-te* *de vacaciones con él.*
 2.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL gift go.INF-2.SG.CL of holidays with him
 ‘Going on holiday with him: thanks but no thanks.’
- c. La veo difícil *sacarse un diez en el parcial.*
 3.SG.F.CL see difficult get a ten in the test
 ‘It won’t be easy to get an A in the test.’
- d. Se la re creyó *que estábamos casados.*
 CL.REFL 3.SG.F.CL INT believed that were married
 ‘He bought it, that we were married.’
- (9) a. Me la juró *que había tomado las pastillas*
 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL swore that had taken the pills
 ‘She swore that she had taken her pills.’
- b. Me la re chamuyó *que me iba a bancar en todas.*
 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL INT bullshitted that 1.SG.CL was to stick in all
 ‘He bullshitted me when he told me he would stick with me through it all’
- c. Me la negó *que estaba soltero.*
 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL denied that was single
 ‘He strongly denied being single.’
- d. ¡No me la container⁵/contés *que Messi se fue del*
 Not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL tell that Messi CL.REFL left of-the
Barcelona!
 Barcelona
 ‘Don’t tell me Messi has left Barcelona!’

One of the most salient properties of the structures under discussion is their colloquial and informal nature, which is also attested in other kindred constructions with feminine morphology characteristic of RPS, such as nominal exclamatives headed by ‘*la de + N*’ (10a), or verbs (10b) and nouns (10c) expressing an elative or emphatic meaning.

- (10) a. ¡*La* de birras *que tomamos anoche!*
 3.SG.F of beers that drank last night
 ‘We drank so many beers last night!’
- b. Messi *la* viene rompiendo en el PSG.
 Messi 3.SG.F.CL comes breaking in the PSG
 ‘Messi has been rocking it at PSG.’
- c. ¡*Buena!* ¡Te felicito!
 good.SG.F 2.SG.CL congratulate
 ‘Wow! Congratulations!’

⁵ *Container* has the same meaning as *contar* (‘tell’) and is an instance of *paranomasia*, used to create a humorous or playful effect.

As to the idiomaticity of the structures, only two of the structures from the corpus have an idiomatic flavour, in the sense they exhibit a considerable degree of lexicalization, their morphological and syntactic form being highly fixed. Both in (11) and (12) the expressions *te la regalo* and *no me la contés/container* reject other clitics, tenses or moods. Besides, while the former cannot be negated (11d), the latter must always be used with the negative adverb *no* ('not') (12d).

- (11) a. *Te la regalo irte de vacaciones con él!*⁶
 'Going on holiday with him: thanks but not thanks.'
 b. **Vos me la regalaste irme de vacaciones con él!*
 you 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL gift-2.Sg.Past go-1.SG.CL of holidays with him
 c. **¡Regalá-se-la irte de vacaciones con él!*
 gift.IMP.2.Sg-CL.REFL-3.SG.F.CL go-1.SG.CL of holidays with him
 d. **No te la regalo ir-te de vacaciones con él.*
 not 2.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL gift.1.Sg.Pres go-2.SG.CL of holidays with him
- (12) a. *¡No me la contés que Messi se fue del Barcelona!*
 'Don't tell me Messi has left Barcelona!'
 b. **No te la conté que Messi se fue del Barcelona.*
 not 2.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL told that Messi CL.REFL left of-the Barcelona
 c. **No me la contás que Messi se fue del Barcelona*
 not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL told.2.SG.PRES that Messi CL.REFL left of-the
 Barcelona
 d. **Me la contés que Messi se fue del Barcelona.*
 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL told that Messi CL.REFL left of-the Barcelona

The combination of the clitic *la* with propositional attitude verbs is closely linked to the subjectivity and expressivity of the speakers. As is the case with idioms, the propositions introduced by the extraposed CPs "imply a certain evaluation or affective stance toward the things they denote," as opposed to situations which are regarded neutrally (Nunberg *et al.* 1994: 493). In this sense, these structures indicate that there is a counterexpectation, a presupposition on the part of the speaker that the truth value of the CP is false, surprising, hypothetical or implausible, or else, contrary to what is expected, all of which sheds light on the fact that the subordinate clauses tend to be infinitival (13) or in the subjunctive mood (14).

- (13) a. *No me la esperaba [tener que corregir tantos exámenes].*
 not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL expected have.INF that correct many tests
 'I didn't expect having to correct so many tests.'
 b. *No me la vi venir [tener que leer todas esas novelas].*
 not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL saw come have.INF that read all those novels
 'I didn't see it coming having to read all those novels.'
- (14) a. *No me la esperaba [que te olvidaras de mi cumpleaños].*
 not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL expected that 2.SG.CL forget.SUBJ of my birthday
 'I didn't expect that you'd forget my birthday.'

⁶ Glosses will not be provided if the example has already been glossed before.

- b. No me la vi venir [que Tomás *fuera* un facho]
 not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL saw come that Tomas be.SUBJ a fascist
 ‘I didn’t see it coming that Tomas was a fascist.’

Although the extraposed CPs typically reject the indicative (15), this is not always the case (16), especially when the reading is not hypothetical or uncertain.

- (15) a. *No me la esperaba [que hoy *es* el parcial].
 not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL expected that today is.IND the test
 b. *No me la vi venir [que Tomás *es* un fascista].
 not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL saw come that Tomas is.IND a fascist.
- (16) a. Los medios te la venden [que *están* con nosotros].
 the media 2.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL sell that are.IND with us
 ‘The media makes you believe that they are with us, but it’s a pack of lies.’
 b. Mi hermana la tiene re clara [qué quiere para su futuro].
 my sister 3.SG.F.CL has INT clear what wants.IND for her future
 ‘My sister really knows what she wants for her future.’

As noted in (13) – (14) and in line with the aforementioned counterexpectation, representative of these constructions, the verbs of the main clause are generally negated by *no* (‘not’). Notice that, in the absence of negation, the CP might be followed by an adversative or concessive coda, as is confirmed by the following examples.

- (17) a. Me la juraste *que ibas a cambiar*, pero no fue así.
 2.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL swore that were to change but not was so
 ‘You swore to me that you were going to change, but it wasn’t true.’
 b. Se la re creyó *que ya nos conocíamos*,
 CL.REFL 3.SG.F.CL INT believed that already 1.Pl.CL knew
 aunque era la primera vez que te veía.
 although was the first time that 2.SG.CL saw
 ‘She bought that we already knew each other, although it was the first time I’d seen you.’

In light of the expressive nature of these constructions, it is possible to establish a relation between these sentences and exclamative clauses, in that the speech act that exclamatives perform constitutes the manifestation of an emotional reaction of the speaker, such as surprise, amazement or elation (Bosque 2017). In fact, one of the basic assumptions in the literature on exclamatives is that their key ingredient is the speaker’s surprise (Castroviejo 2006, Elliot 1974, Rett 2011, among many others). The resemblance to these clauses is borne out by the examples in (18), whose illocutionary force is exclamative.

- (18) a. ¡No me la contener *que Messi se fue del Barcelona!*
 ‘Don’t tell me Messi has left Barcelona!’
 b. ¡No la pensé nunca *que te fueras a vivir solo en la montaña!*
 not 3.SG.F.CL thought never that 2.SG.CL were to live alone in the mountain
 ‘I would have never imagined that you’d live in the mountains on your own!’

In Zanuttini & Portner’s terms (2003), the examples above are tantamount to exclamative clauses by virtue of the fact that in both cases the speaker implies that the extent in which X is predicated –the clitic, in our case, and a qualifying adjective in exclamative sentences such as *How X she is!*– exceeds or outranks the range of possibilities under consideration. In this sense, there is a *widening process* by which the clitic introduces a variable whose domain includes a set of non-standard propositions, i.e., of all the possible values X can take, the CP belongs to the subset of the least expected ones. The exclamative flavour of these constructions, then, lies in the process of assigning a value to the proposition they denote to “the extremes of implicit pragmatic scales of standardness, expectation, relevance, or plausibility” (Bosque 2017: 9).

By the same token, both exclamative clauses and the root clauses in (18) are factive, since they presuppose the truth of their propositional content. In (18a), the speaker is committed to the truth of the proposition that they cannot believe that Messi has left Barcelona, whereas in (18b) it is a fact that they had never considered the possibility that the addressee would ever live in the mountains on his own.

According to Bosque’s classification of exclamative clauses (2017), the structures in (18) would fall into the category of *intonational-only exclamative sentences*, also known as *declarative exclamatives* or *total exclamatives*. These are a subtype of ‘secondary exclamatives’, that is, those sentences whose exclamative illocutionary force is derived from their intonation as well as their pragmatic interpretation, not from a lexical and/or syntactic clue, such as a *wh*-element or an interjection. Given the fact that the constructions under discussion are not always exclamative in force, it is possible to classify them as *plain elatives* (Masullo 2017), which comprise expressions of different kinds and categories associated with an extreme degree feature, but which may only optionally be used in exclamative sentences. As Masullo observes when analysing a set of related phenomena from RPS, unlike bona fide exclamatives, the data in (8) – (9) act as exclamatives only when bound by an empty exclamative operator, owing to the fact they do not intrinsically possess an exclamative feature. Further evidence that they are not fully-fledged exclamatives comes from their compatibility with negation⁷ as well as from the fact that they can occur within primary *wh*-exclamative sentences.

- (19) a. ¡Cómo me la creí *que estabas casada!*
 how 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL believed that were married
 ‘How fooled I was to believe you were married!’

⁷ Declarative or intonational-only exclamatives (i) also allow for negation (ii) and can be turned into root *wh*-exclamative clauses (iii):

- (i) ¡Tienes razón!
 ‘You’re right!’
 (ii) ¡No tienes razón!
 ‘You aren’t right!’
 (iii) ¡Cuánta razón tienes!
 ‘How right you are!’

Although incompatibility with negation is often regarded as one of the distinguishing features of exclamations, whether exclamative structures reject negation or not is far from being settled, as they encompass a wide range of heterogeneous constructions with complex and nuanced syntactic properties (see Bosque 2017, and references therein).

- b. ¡Cuánta gente la flashó *que estábamos casados!*
 how-much people 3.SG.F.CL flashed that were married
 ‘How many people imagined that we were married!’

Morphologically speaking, the clitic is always singular, accusative and feminine, even though it might occasionally alternate with the neuter clitic *lo*, in which case the register is less informal and the counterexpectation encoded by the sentence is less evident.

- (20) a. No me la esperaba *que te olvidaras de mi cumple.*
 ‘I didn’t expect that you’d forget my birthday.’
 b. *No me las esperaba *que te olvidaras de mi cumple.*
 not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL expected that 2.SG.CL forgot of my birthday
 c. No me lo esperaba *que te olvidaras de mi cumple.*
 not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.CL expected that 2.SG.CL forgot of my birthday

As pointed out by several authors (Arias 2021, Bosque & Moreno Cabrera 1990, Di Tullio 2019, Espinal 2009), in these cases, neither the feminine nor the neuter clitic denote individual entities but abstract semantic objects, like propositions, states of affairs, indeterminate objects, etc. In spite of these similarities, the alternation is not always possible, feminine morphology being the most natural and productive option for RPS speakers.

- (21) a. Mi mamá la/*lo re flashó *que Silvia era mi novia.*
 my mum 3.SG.F.CL /3.SG.CL INT flashed that Silvia was my girlfriend
 ‘My mum thought that Silvia was my girlfriend, but she’s totally wrong’
 b. Te la/*lo regalo *irte de vacaciones con él.*
 2.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL /3.SG.CL gift go.INF-2.SG.CL of holidays with him
 ‘Going on holiday with him: thanks but no thanks.’

As regards the omissibility of the clitic, this is possible in all of the examples of our corpus as long as the CP is present.

- (22) a. No te (la) perdono *que te hayas olvidado de mi cumpleaños.*
 ‘I don’t forgive you for having forgotten my birthday.’
 b. (La) veo difícil *sacarse un diez en el parcial.*
 ‘I find it difficult to get an A in the test.’
 c. Se (la) re creyó *que estábamos casados.*
 ‘He really bought it that we were married.’
 d. Me (la) juró *que había tomado las pastillas anticonceptivas.*
 ‘She swore that she had taken her contraceptives.’
 e. Te (la) regalo *irte de vacaciones con él.*
 ‘Going on holiday with him: thanks but no thanks.’

However, without the CP, the omission of the clitic renders the sentences ungrammatical under the relevant transitive interpretation.⁸

⁸ Notice that (23a) and (23d) might get implicit arguments as complements.

- (23) a. No te *(la) perdono.
 not 2.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL forgive
 ‘I don’t forgive you for *(it)’
- b. *(La) veo difícil.
 3.SG.F.CL see difficult.
 ‘I think *(it)’s difficult’
- c. Se *(la) creyó.
 CL.REFL 3.SG.F.CL thought
 ‘He bought *(it)’
- d. Me *(la) juró.
 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL swore
 ‘He swore *(it)’

Another interesting property of the constructions under consideration is that the extraposed CP is the rightmost constituent in the clause, in accordance with the *principle of end-weight* –which states that heavier units of information tend to like to come at the end of sentences–, and the *principle of end-focus*, according to which it is customary to introduce new and more detailed information towards the end of the sentence. Crucially, the CPs are prosodically integrated into the main clause, i.e., they are parsed in the same intonational phrase as the clitic.⁹

Finally, it must be stressed that the CPs can be left-dislocated with clitic doubling and can even be replaced with the feminine demonstrative pronoun *esa* (24) (‘that’). Interestingly, as shown in (25), the position of the demonstrative and the clause can vary.¹⁰

- (24) *Que Tomás sea un facho, esa, no me la vi venir.*
 that Tomas were a fascist that.F not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL saw come
 ‘That Tomas was a fascist, that, I didn’t see it coming’.

⁹ This does not rule out the possibility of finding an intonation break between the verb and the CP, as evidenced in the examples below. However, these data should not be regarded as equivalent variants of the structures under consideration in this paper but as actual cases of clitic right-dislocation, a phenomenon which is productive in all Spanish dialects (see §3).

- (i) a. La veo difícil, *sacarse un diez en el parcial.*
 ‘I find it difficult, to get an A in the test.’
 b. Se la re creyó, *que estábamos casados.*
 ‘He bought it, that we were married.’

¹⁰ As a reviewer points out, these examples hint at the possibility of there existing some link between our data and a phenomenon characteristic of RPS: *tripling* (also known as Left Dislocation + epithets), which is illustrated below and has been studied by Suñer (2006), López (2009) and Estigarribia (2014 and subsequent work):

- (i) A los políticos los odio a los idiotas
 to the politicians.M.PL CL.M.PL hate to the idiots.M.PL
 ‘I hate politicians, those idiots’ (Estigarribia 2020)

Although the relation is worth exploring in greater depth, doing so exceeds the purposes of the present paper and deserves a study of its own.

- (25) a. **Esa** no me la esperaba, *que se olvidara de mi*
 that.F not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL expected that CL.REFL forgot of my
cumple.
 birthday
 ‘That one, that he’d forget my birthday, I didn’t expect it’
- b. No me la esperaba **esa**, *que se olvidara de mi*
 not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL expected that.F that CL.REFL forgot of my
cumple.
 birthday
 ‘I didn’t expect it, that he’d forget my birthday.’

3. Analysis: Right-Adjunction, Right-Dislocation or Clausal Doubling?

With the description of the data provided above as background, we can now proceed to specify our analysis. In what follows, we will attempt to determine whether the structures under scrutiny can be treated as cases of right-adjunction, right-dislocation or clausal doubling. After applying tests proposed in the literature to tell these phenomena apart (Di Tullio et al. 2019, Saab & Zdrojewski 2013, Zdrojewski 2008), we will reach the conclusion that they should be analysed as bona fide instances of *clausal doubling*.

A traditional analysis of the structures in (2), repeated in (26) below, is that English has a rightward movement operation called *Extraposition*, which allows a CP positioned as complement of a verb to be moved rightwards in the syntax. An implementation of this proposal is Postal & Pullum (1988), according to which the CPs are base-generated and then moved out of it, leaving a vacuous third person pronoun to fill the empty position. An alternative analysis, undertaken by Authier (1991), claims that the neuter pronoun is base-generated and that the CP is not extraposed but base-generated as well in a caseless position, adjoined to V’.

- (26) a. We have it in our power *to do great harm or good*.
 b. He thought it a pity *that Mary should be absent*.
 c. I resent it *that my friends will travel without me*.

Apart from the fact that an account along these lines conflicts with the well-established hypothesis that object expletives do not exist (Chomsky 1981, Marantz 1984, 1997, Rothstein 2004, among many others), it is possible to gather evidence in favour of the thesis that an extraposition or right-adjunction analysis is fundamentally inadequate when applied to the data in RPS. First and foremost, if the CPs were adjuncts, no material could be extracted out of them, as this would constitute a violation of Huang’s Condition on Extraction Domain (1982: 505):

- (27) *Condition on Extraction Domain (CED)*: A phrase A may be extracted out of a Domain B only if B is properly governed.

In line with Ross’s contributions on syntactic islands (1967), the CED states that only complements allow material to be extracted out of them. As can be observed

in the examples below, this condition forbids the extraction out of an adjunct or a specifier.

- (28) a. Who did you say *that Peter saw* ____ *at the station*? [Complement]
 b. *What did *a part of* ____ break? [Subject]
 c. *Who did he go to the party *after* ____ *slept the child*? [Adjunct]
- (29) a. ¿Cuántos hijos dijo Juan *que teníamos* ____? [Complement]
 how-many children said John that had
 ‘How many kids did John say that we had?’
 b. *¿De quién estudió mucho este fenómeno *el hijo* ____? [Subject]
 of who studied much this phenomenon the son
 ‘Of whom did the son study this phenomenon a lot?’
 c. *¿Qué leía el libro Pedro *mientras Susana comía* ____? [Adjunct]
 what read the book Peter while Susan ate
 ‘What was Peter reading the book while Susan ate?’

Although extraction out of the CPs in the data does not always yield grammatical outcomes (30), this is possible in many cases, especially when the displaced constituent is a PP, and not a QP or a DP (31):

- (30) a. ¿Cuántos hijos no me (*la) perdonás *que tenga* ____?
 how-many children not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL forgive that had
 ‘How many children don’t you forgive me for having?’
 b. ¿Qué se (*la) creyó *que habíamos comprado* ____?
 what CL.REFL 3.SG.F.CL believed that had bought
 ‘What did he believe that we had bought?’
 c. ¿Qué (*la) flashó tu mamá *que robaste* ____?
 what 3.SG.F.CL flashed your mum that stole
 ‘What did your mum think that you stole?’
- (31) a. ¿Con quién (la) ves más difícil *sacarse un diez* ____? ¿Con él o
 with who 3.SG.F.CL see more difficult get a ten with him or
 con ella?
 with her
 ‘Who do you think it’s more difficult to get an A with? With him or with her?’
 b. ¿Con quién (la) tiene re clara mi hermano *que se quiere*
 with who 3.SG.F.CL has INT clear my brother that CL.REFL wants
casar ____?
 marry
 ‘Who is my brother really sure he will get married with?’
 c. ¿Adónde (la) flashó tu mamá *que te habías ido* ____?
 to-where 3.SG.F.CL flashed your mum that 2.SG.CL had gone
 ‘Where did your mum imagine that you had gone to?’
 d. ¿Con quién no te (la) esperabas *tener que corregir tantos*
 with who not 2.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL expected have that correct so-many
parciales ____?
 tests

- ‘Who didn’t you see it coming having to correct so many tests with?’
 e. ¿A qué hora se (la) comió *que llegaste* ____?
 at what time CL.REFL 3.SG.F.CL ate that arrived
 ‘What time did he believe that you arrived?’

As can be observed in (30) and (31), the questions are grammatical or sound more natural for speakers in the absence of the clitic *la* or when headed by a PP. One possible explanation to account for this contrast is to attribute the ungrammaticality of the data in (30) to *intervention effects* (Rizzi 1990, Chomsky 1995, etc.). The clitic in the ungrammatical structures seems to intervene between the probe launched by the interrogative matrix C and the goal in the CP, turning these structures into what appear to be weak islands. Apart from that, as Rizzi (2018) observes, the nature of the extracted element should also be taken into consideration, there being a systematic, if slight, preference for lexically restricted *wh*-elements (PPs in this case) than for bare operators in extraction domains. In (31), as the C of the main clause attracts a PP to Spec-CP and not a DP, the clitic does not appear to intervene, making these questions much more natural when compared with those in (30).¹¹

As a reviewer observes, there also seem to be different extractions effects depending on the kind of verb involved. Certain verbs, such as *creérsela* or *perdonársela*, reject extraction out of the CP, although questions headed by a PP still tend to sound more natural than their DPs or QPs counterparts.

- (32) a. ¿Qué cosa no me (*la) perdonás *que compre* ____?
 what thing not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL forgive that bought
 ‘What thing don’t you forgive me for having bought?’
 b. ¿Cuántos hijos no me (*la) perdonás *que tenga* ____?
 how-many children not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL forgive that had
 ‘How many children don’t you forgive me for having?’
 c. ¿Con quién no me (??la) perdonás *que haya trabajado* ____?
 with who not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL forgive that had worked
 ‘Who don’t you forgive me for having worked with?’
- (33) a. ¿Qué cosa se (*la) creyó *que habíamos comprado* ____?
 what thing CL.REFL 3.SG.F.CL believed that had bought
 ‘What did he believe that we had bought?’

¹¹ In a similar vein, notice that in English extraction out of an extraposed CP gives rise to graded judgements among native speakers of English whom I have consulted:

- (i) ??What did he think it a pity that Peter should study?
 (ii) ?What did he think a pity that Peter should study?
 (iii) ???What do I resent it that my friends will buy without me?
 (iv) What do I resent that my friends will buy without me?
 (v) *What did they announce it that she had passed?
 (vi) What did they announce that she had passed?
 (vii) ?What topic did you find it difficult to study?
 (viii) What topic did you find difficult to study?

- b. ¿Cuánto dinero se (*la) creyó *que gastamos* ____?
 how-much money CL.REFL 3.SG.F.CL believed that spent
 ‘How much money did he believe that we had spent?’
- c. ¿Con quién se (^{??}la) creyó *que me fui a Disney* ____?
 with who CL.REFL 3.SG.F.CL believed that 1.SG.CL went to Disney
 ‘Who did he believe that I went to Disney with?’

All other things being equal, the examples in (31) indicate that the CPs do not behave like genuine adjuncts but as complements, inasmuch as the extraction of the *wh*-elements would be in clear violation of Huang’s CED. The lexical constraints attested by the examples above might be in fact produced by the novelty of the data under study and the ensuing degree of individual variation among native speakers of RPS among whom this recent innovation has emerged.¹²

The second line of analysis we will pursue to explore in this section is whether the structures in question are instances of right-dislocation or of clitic doubling [RD and CD, henceforth]. In order to ascertain whether either of these possibilities is on the right track, we will apply some of the tests carried out in the bibliography to distinguish between them (mostly Zdrojewski 2008 but also Di Tullio *et al.* 2019, Saab & Zdrojewski 2013). The discussion will lead us to the conclusion that the constructions at hand display the behaviour characteristic of CD.

The first difference between CD and RD is the optionality of the clitic. While it is mandatory to include the accusative pronoun in the former, this does not happen when it comes to CD, as shown in the examples below:

- (34) a. (La) vio a María. [CD]
 3.SG.F.CL saw to Maria
 ‘He saw Mary’
- b. *(La) vio, a María. [RD]
 3.SG.F.CL saw to Maria
 ‘He saw her, Mary’

As was discussed in §2, the clitic *la* is also optional as long as the CP is present (35). Notice, however, that in (36) RD is indeed possible with the verbs under study, the omissibility of the clitic now being ruled out. The asymmetry between these sentences suggests then that it is necessary to draw a line between those cases in which

¹² One potential counterargument against our proposal is that these CPs can be stacked, as is the case with adjuncts:

- (i) Juan no se la vio venir *que hiciera tanto frío, que estuviera nevando ni que fuera a suspenderse el festival.*
 ‘John didn’t see it coming that it was so cold, that it was snowing nor that the festival would be called off.’

However, the italicised CPs are not instances of adjunct recursiveness but of ellipsis/coordination, as in the following more traditional examples including *that*-noun clauses:

- (ii) Juan dijo *que hacía frío, que estaba nevando y que el festival se suspendió.*
 ‘John said it was cold, that it was snowing and that the festival was called off.’

the CP is integrated into the matrix clause (35) and those in which the CP appears to be right-dislocated as in (36).

- (35) (La) veo difícil *sacarse un diez con Ruiz.*
 3.SG.F.CL see difficult get a ten with Ruiz
 ‘I think it’s difficult to get an A with Ruiz.’
- (36) *(La) veo difícil, *sacarse un diez con Ruiz.*
 ‘I think it’s difficult, to get an A with Ruiz.’

The structures in (35) and (36) are fundamentally different in that, when there is a prosodic break as indicated by the comma in (36), extraction out of the CP is impossible, given the well-known fact that dislocated constituents are opaque domains for extraction (cf. 31).

- (37) A: La veo difícil *sacarse un diez con Ruiz.*
 B: ¿Con quién la ves difícil *sacarse un diez?*
 with who 3.SG.F.CL see difficult get a ten
 ‘Who do you think it is difficult to get an A with?’
- (38) A: un veo difícil, *sacarse un diez con Ruiz.*
 B: *¿Con quién la VES DIFÍCIL, *sacarse un diez?*
 ‘Who do you think it’s difficult, to get an A with?’

The second test concerns *information focus* in questions like (39).

- (39) A: ¿Qué hiciste ayer?
 what did yesterday
 ‘What did you do yesterday?’
 B’: (Lo) visité a mi hermano. [CD]
 3.Sg.M.CL visited to my brother
 ‘I visited my brother.’
 B’’: #Lo VISITÉ, a mi hermano. [RD]
 ‘I visited him, my brother.’

In answers containing RD the results obtained are not licit, as opposed to those in which there is CD. If this test is applied to our examples, only sentences where the CP is integrated to the main clause –i.e., those without an intonation break or a comma– can be used as the answer to a question to convey new information, which strengthens their resemblance to CD.

- (40) A: ¿Qué hiciste ayer cuando te quisieron asaltar?
 what did yesterday when 2.SG.CL wanted mug
 ‘What did you do yesterday when they tried to mug you?’
 B’: La careté *que no tenía dinero.*
 3.SG.F.CL pretended that not had money
 ‘I pretended that I had no money.’
 B’’: #La CARETÉ, *que no tenía dinero.*
 ‘I pretended it, that I had no money.’

Another test related to information structure applied by Zdrojewski (2008) is that objects in sentences with CD, and not with RD, can be *contrastive foci* (41). In our case, the CPs again exhibit the same behaviour as doubled objects (42a), unless the CP is right-dislocated, as in (42b).

- (41) a. Juan la vio a MARÍA, no a LUISA [CD]
 John 3.SG.F.CL saw to Mary not to Luisa
 ‘John saw MARY, not LUISA.’
 b. *Juan la vio, a MARÍA, no a LUISA. [RD]
 ‘John saw her, MARY, not LUISA.’
- (42) a. Juan se la creyó *que estábamos casados*, no *que teníamos hijos*.
 John CL 3.SG.F.CL believed that were married not that had children
 ‘John bought that we were married, not that we had children.’
 b. *Juan se la CREYÓ, *que estábamos casados*, no *que teníamos hijos*.
 ‘John bought it, that we were married, not that we had children.’

Association with focus gives rise to the same results (Zdrojewski 2008). While it is possible for doubled objects (43a) and the CPs in (43b) to be focus-marked by *solo* (‘only’), it is not so when the constituents are right-dislocated as in (43c) and (43d):

- (43) a. Juan solo la vio a María, pero no a Luisa. [CD]
 John only 3.SG.F.CL saw to Mary but not to Luisa
 ‘John only saw Mary, but not Luisa.’
 b. Juan solo se la creyó *que estábamos casados*, pero no *que teníamos hijos*.
 John only CL 3.SG.F.CL believed that were married but not that had children
 ‘John only bought that we were married, but not that we had children.’
 c. *Juan solo la vio, a María, pero no a Luisa. [RD]
 ‘John only saw her, Mary, but not Luisa.’
 d. *Juan solo se la CREYÓ, *que estábamos casados*, pero no *que teníamos hijos*.
 ‘John only bought it, that we were married, but not that we had children.’

According to Zdrojewski (2008), it is also possible to differentiate CD from RD by means of *gapping*, a form of ellipsis in which a head word is omitted from one or more parallel structures so as to avoid repetition. Crucially, the structures in (44a) and (44b) admit gapping, whereas those in (44c) and (44d) reject it.

- (44) a. Juan la vio a María y Pedro a Luisa. [CD]
 John 3.SG.F.CL saw to Mary and Peter to Luisa
 ‘John saw Mary, and Peter Luisa.’
 b. Juan se la creyó *que estábamos casados y Pedro, que teníamos hijos*.
 John CL 3.SG.F.CL believed that were married and Peter that had children
 ‘John bought that we were married and Peter, that we had children.’

- c. *Juan la vio, a María, y Pedro a Luisa. [RD]
 ‘John saw her, Mary, and Peter Luisa.’
- d. *Juan se la re CREYÓ, *que estábamos casados*, y Pedro, *que teníamos hijos*.
 ‘John bought it, that we were married, and Peter, that we had children.’

As is the case with CD, a sentence with *la* + CP can be used at the beginning of a communicative exchange to convey new information. In contrast, this is not possible when the sentence contains a right-dislocated constituent, as revealed by the following examples:

- (45) a. Ayer lo vi a Juan [CD]
 yesterday 3.Sg.M.CL saw to John
 ‘Yesterday I saw John.’
- b. Nunca me la imaginé *que Tomada se volviera así*.
 never 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL imagined that Tomada CL.REFL became this-way
 ‘I would have never imagined that Tomada would turn into this.’
- c. #Ayer lo VI, a Juan. [RD]
 ‘Yesterday I saw him, John.’
- d. #Nunca me la IMAGINÉ, *que Tomada se volviera así*.
 ‘I would have never imagined it, that Tomada would turn into this.’

Additionally, CD and the constructions studied in this paper can occur in contexts where RD is odd. The last sentences in (46a) and (47a) introduce an alternative which was not contemplated in the previous discussion. By contrast, the use of RD in these dialogues renders the sentences infelicitous, as noted in (46b) and (47b).

- (46) *Context:* The PSG coach is deciding how to organise the team for the next match.
- a. En este partido, no sé si poner a Mbappé o a Neymar. Mejor lo pongo a Messi, porque es el mejor. [CD]
 3.Sg.M.CL put to Messi because is the best
 ‘In this match, I don’t know whether to put Mbappé or Neymar in the game. I’d better put Messi, because he’s the best.’
- b. #En este partido, no sé si poner a Mbappé o a Neymar. Mejor lo PONGO, a Messi, porque es el mejor. [RD]
 ‘In this match, I don’t know whether to put Mbappé or Neymar in the game. I’d better put him, Messi, because he’s the best.’
- (47) *Context:* Two friends are discussing whether to go to the movies on Tuesday or Thursday. As they do not reach an agreement, one of them states:
- a. Yo no puedo ir el martes y vos no podés ir el jueves.
 I not can go the Tuesday and you not can go the Thursday
 ¿La ves difícil ir el viernes?
 3.SG.F.CL see difficult go the Friday
 ‘I can’t go on Tuesday and you can’t go on Thursday. Do you think it’s possible to go on Friday?’

- b. #Yo no puedo ir el martes y vos no podés ir el jueves. ¿La ves DÍFICIL, ir el viernes?
 ‘I can’t go on Tuesday and you can’t go on Thursday. Do you think it’s possible, to go on Friday?’

As is the case with CD, the feminine clitic and the CP can occur in a preverbal clausal subject, while RD results in infelicitous utterances:¹³

- (48) a. El ver-lo a mi ex cada mañana me enfurece. [CD]
 the see-3.Sg.M.CL to my ex every morning 1.SG.CL infuriates
 ‘Seeing my ex every single morning makes me really angry.’
 b. #El VERLO, a mi ex, cada mañana me enfurece. [RD]
 ‘Seeing him, my ex, every single morning makes me angry.’
- (49) a. El caretear-la que todo está bien me destruye.
 The pretend-3.SG.F.CL that everything is good 1.SG.CL destroys
 ‘Pretending that everything is OK destroys me.’
 b. #El CARETEARLA, que todo está bien, me destruye.
 ‘Pretending it, that everything is OK, destroys me.’

Last but not least, one of the most salient differences between CD and RD is that in clitic doubling constructions, the doubled constituent and the clitic occur within the same prosodic contour, i.e., they belong to the same intonational phrase. In RD, by contrast, the dislocated constituent is typically outside the intonational phrase projected by the clause that contains the clitic (Fernández Sánchez 2020, and references therein). In this respect, as described in §2, the CPs we are looking at are prosodically integrated into the main clause, once again mirroring the behaviour of CD.

There are several differences between accusative CD and the phenomenon studied in this paper which are worth mentioning, though. While *la* can double different types of CP predicates, not all verbs pattern with this type of doubling; i.e., CP-doubling is circumscribed to a subclass of propositional attitude verbs. By contrast, accusative clitics can be used freely with *all* transitive verbs in RPS but there are restrictions when it comes to the type of DP they double, as they tend to reject weak indefinites, bare nouns and inanimate objects (see Di Tullio *et al.* 2019). Furthermore, the literature on CD profusely highlights its connection with Differential Object Marking (DOM), but clausal doubling goes a different path, as the preposition *a* is not required. Finally, it should be noted that CD is not restricted to the rightmost position in the sentence as clausal doubling is.

In light of the results obtained after the application of Zdrowejski *et al.*’s tests, which are summarised in the table below, we can arrive at the conclusion that the data under analysis, albeit the differences abovementioned, show a striking similitude to CD phenomena. The analysis outlined in this section has provided us with ample proof against treating these structures as instances of right-adjunction or right-dislocation. Contrary to what is generally assumed, it is then possible to posit that in RPS there are clear cases of what we have dubbed *clausal doubling* or *CP-doubling*, a phenomenon

¹³ I would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for noting to me the tests for (45) – (49).

which we will further explore from a morphosyntactic perspective in the following section of the paper.

Table 1. Clitic doubling, clausal doubling and right dislocation

	Clitic doubling [CD]	Clausal doubling	Right dislocation [RD]
<i>Optionality of the clitic</i>	Yes	Yes	No
<i>Information focus</i>	Yes	Yes	No
<i>Contrastive focus</i>	Yes	Yes	No
<i>Association with focus</i>	Yes	Yes	No
<i>Gapping</i>	Yes	Yes	No
<i>New information at the beginning discourse</i>	Yes	Yes	No
<i>New alternative in discourse</i>	Yes	Yes	No
<i>Preverbal clausal subject</i>	Yes	Yes	No
<i>Prosodic integration to the main clause</i>	Yes	Yes	No

4. The morphosyntax of clausal doubling

In the following section, we will proceed to flesh out the morphosyntactic analysis of clausal/CP-doubling. First of all, in §4.1, we will focus on the debate between Postal & Pullum (1988) and Rothstein (1995, 2004) concerning extraposition and object expletives in English, as our account thrives mostly on Rothstein's observations. We will then move on to explain the semantics of clausal doubling in RPS and the proposed syntactic structure, which will be schematized within the framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993, and subsequent work) and Acedo Matellán's theory of argument structure (2016). Finally, in §4.2, we will provide a morphological analysis of the clitic in light of previous work on marginal clitics (Arias 2021, Bibis & Roberge 2004, Di Tullio 2019, Espinal 2009, among many others), paying special attention to the gender morphology of the clitic.

4.1. The syntax and semantics of clausal doubling

By the end of the twentieth century, English extraposition structures had been subject to a vigorous debate among scholars, one which mostly orbited around the existence of object expletives or pleonastics (Authier 1991, Bennis 1986, Chomsky 1981, Hoekstra 1983, Postal & Pullum 1988, Rothstein 1995, 2004, Vikner 1995, etc.). One of the most influential papers on this topic was written by Postal & Pullum (1988), who attempted to offer several kinds of evidence that expletive NPs *do* occur in subcategorised positions, contrary to the general consensus in the bibliography. Both traditional and modern grammars have assumed that complements and internal

arguments –direct objects, to be more precise– are closely connected with the lexical meaning of a verb (Chomsky 1981, Jespersen 1933, Marantz 1997, to name but a few). By studying extraposed clauses and other sampling of data, Postal & Pullum intend to rebut the contention that expletives can only appear in subject position and that direct object pronouns are necessarily theta-marked by verbs. Strictly speaking, they argue that in a sentence like *I blame it on you that we can't go*, the verb *blame* is typically subcategorised for a NP and a PP but, in this case, it assigns a theta-role to the CP and the PP, the third person pronoun being an object expletive linked to the *that*-clause “by the mechanism postulated for other extraposition constructions” (p. 653).

Several authors have provided evidence against this analysis. Kiss (2002), for instance, presents examples from extraposition in Hungarian and demonstrates that extraposition pronouns can be focused or topicalised and must therefore have semantic content. It is Susan Rothstein's paper (1995), however, that which more extensively contests Postal & Pullum's conclusions. According to her, there are no explanations for why extraposition should occur, why it is optional, neither for how the pleonastic or the extraposed elements are licensed. In the theory she presents, the third person pronouns in (50) are theta-marked and semantically interpreted as a free variable denoting a specific entity recoverable from the discourse.

- (50) a. I regretted it *that he was late*.
 b. They confirmed it *that you had passed the entrance exam*.
 c. He resented it *that his friends worked so hard*.
 d. They announced it *that she had passed her exams*.

In the above examples, Rothstein observes that *it* is optional and, although including it or dropping it does not seem to make an appreciable difference in meaning, it does affect meaning in a predictable way. As pronouns denote specific entities, identifiable through syntactic coindexing or pragmatic factors, in (50) *it* is appropriate when the object of the matrix verb is a specific event. Following Bolinger (1977), she proposes that in these circumstances *it* refers to some fact already broached, which is illustrated with the examples in (51). (51a), without *it*, is “appropriate as a report of the fact that John and Mary made an announcement of information that is new to the speaker,” while (51b) is “more appropriate if the speaker is reporting that John and Mary have made a public announcement of an event that she already knew to have occurred” (p. 520). From this perspective, the pronoun would denote a specific event prominent in the discourse, which is explicitly identified by the CP.

- (51) a. John and Mary have announced that they got married.
 b. John and Mary have announced it *that they got married*.

What is the relevant mechanism for licensing these CPs? Rothstein argues that this mechanism is *predication*. Based on Hegarty's (1992) hypothesis that in a CP the event argument of the main verb contains an unsaturated event position, she suggests that the CPs in (50) are predicate constituents which require saturation by a subject, *subject* being defined as “subject of a syntactic predicate,” and not as “subject of a clause”. Under this view, the CPs are predicated of *it* so as to satisfy the following condition:

- (52) *Predication Condition* (Rothstein 1995, 2004)
Every syntactic predicate must be syntactically saturated.

From a more contemporary perspective, Rothstein's account can be complemented with what is known as the *CP predicate analysis* (Kratzer 2006, Moulton 2015). Kratzer's hypothesis is that the root of attitude verbs and *verba dicendi* (or verbs of communication) have two internal arguments, an eventuality argument – which would be of a Davidsonian event nature – and an individual argument referring to the content of the attitude or report. This issue is particularly relevant, since these are precisely the semantic class of verbs with which clausal doubling occurs in RPS (§2). Given Kratzer's analysis, Moulton notes that *that*-clauses are predicates of propositional content, which do not denote propositions *per se* but properties of individuals that carry propositional content (*type* $\langle e, st \rangle$). To support this, she brings up the following sentence (2015: 311):

- (53) The idea/myth/story/rumor/fact is that Bob is a fraud.

In (53), there is *equative predication*, which entails that if the CP denotes a proposition, a set of possible worlds, then the DP subjects should have to denote propositions too. While stories, myths or ideas can be boring or great, propositions cannot. What these nouns denote in fact, Moulton claims, is individuals with propositional content, variables which are subscripted as X_c . These CP are predicates that spell out propositional content and, according to Kratzer, it is the complementiser that functions as the bridge between things with propositional content to propositions proper. If *that*-clauses are predicates, this offers a natural explanation for those cases where the CP is the complement of a content noun which does not select an argument.

- (54) a. The idea that Bob is a fraud.
b. *The idea of that.

The same applies to nominalisations derived from clause-taking verbs, which can be equated with *that*-clauses.

- (55) a. I believe that Edna was stealing.
b. My belief is that Edna was stealing.

An interesting fact, ignored by the authors, is that it is possible to find a noun as complement of the verbs along with the *that*-clause, as is the case in (50a). Naturally, in (50b), the DP can also be replaced with the pronoun *it*, which would yield structures with extraposition, further challenging Postal and Pullum's claim that the third person pronoun is non-referential. The same holds true for the data in RPS in (57), which are translations of the examples in (56).

- (56) a. I can't believe **the fact** *that it is my son's thirteenth birthday!*
b. I can't believe it *that it is my son's thirteenth birthday!*

- (57) a. ¡No puedo creer **el hecho** (de) *que mi hijo cumple 13!*
not can believe the fact of that my son turns 13

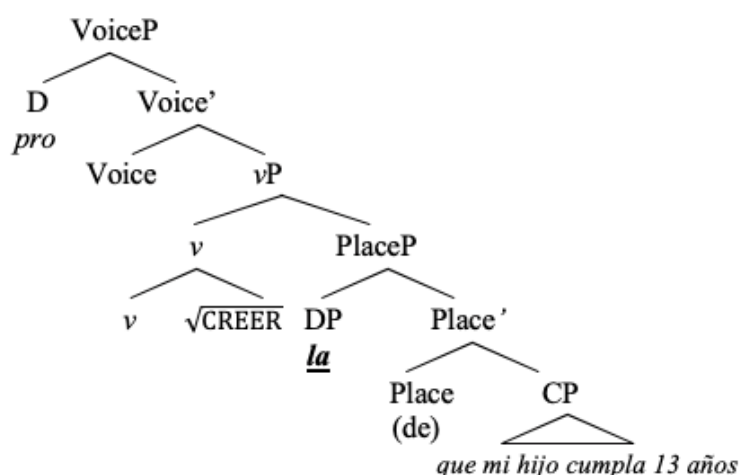
- b. ¡No lo/la puedo creer *que mi hijo cumple 13!*
 not 3.Sg.M.CL/3.SG.F.CL can believe that my son turns 13

Let us now turn to establishing how Rothstein's, Kratzer's and Moulton's proposals translate into a neoconstructionist framework like Distributed Morphology, which is characterised by the following two main tenets (Bobaljik 2017): (i) *Syntax-all-the-way-down*: the internal hierarchical structure of words is syntactic (complex words are derived syntactically), and (ii) *Late insertion*: the syntax operates on abstract morphemes, defined in terms of morphosyntactic features, and the spell-out (realization, exponence) of these abstract morphemes occurs after the syntax.

More specifically, we will adopt Acedo Matellan's theory of argument structure (2016), according to which there are two types of relational elements within the domain of the vP : an eventive v head, and the adpositional p heads *Path* and *Place*. The v head acquires different 'flavours' or semantic interpretations depending on the types of complements it combines with. If it takes a single adpositional projection, *Place*, it is interpreted as stative and as a predicative relation between two entities. If it merges with an adpositional *Path* head, which in turn selects for a *PlaceP* as complement, the event is interpreted as a transition. In this way, *Place* correlates with Hale and Keyser's (2002) *central coincidence relation*, while *Path* corresponds to their *terminal coincidence relation*, p being a birelational head. The external argument is introduced by an independent head, *Voice*, merged on top of the vP .

On the basis of the above framework and discussion, the syntactic structure we propose for clausal doubling in RPS is schematized below in (58).¹⁴

- (58) ¡No *la* *puedo creer (de) que mi hijo cumpla 13 años!*
 'I can't believe it that it is my son's thirteenth birthday!'



The structure in (58) captures several facts about the discussion in the previous paragraphs. The eventive head merges with a stative adpositional *Place* head, which is in charge of establishing a predicative relation between the clitic and the CP. As is often assumed in the literature on predication (Heycock 2013 and references therein), the predicational head may be phonologically realized or not. In this particular case,

¹⁴ In the current approach, the clitic should be further decomposed into features, but, for the purposes of this subsection, we will not go into its internal structure yet (see §4.2).

we propose that in Spanish an instantiation of this head is the functional preposition *de* ('of'), which can regularly be found with these constructions (59)¹⁵ and is normally obligatory in other contexts of predication, as shown in (60). In Den Dikken's terms (2006), *de* would act as a copulative element.

- (59) a. ¡Ni yo me la puedo creer **de** *que me estoy poniendo las pilas en el colegio!*
 not I 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL can believe of that 1.SG.CL am putting the batteries in the school
 'Not even me believes that I'm getting my act together with school!'
- b. No me la container **de** *que hoy sí voy a poder dormir siesta.*
 not 1.SG.CL 3.SG.F.CL container of that today yes go to can sleep nap
 'Don't tell me that today I'll be able to nap!'
- c. No me la veía venir **de** *que Emma podía ser más linda de lo que es normalmente hasta que vi esta foto*
 3.SG.CL that is normally until that saw this photo
 'I didn't see it coming that Emma could be prettier than she normally is until I saw this picture.'
- d. ¡Jaja la mayoría se la re creyó **de** *que éramos primos con Ian y nada que ver!*
 haha the majority CL 3.SG.F.CL INT believed of that were cousins with Ian and nothing that see
 'Haha, most people thought that Ian was my cousin and no way!'
- f. La veo difícil **de** *que pueda dormir hoy.*
 3.SG.F.CL see difficult of that can sleep today
 'I don't think I'll be able to sleep today.'
- g. ¿Sabés que la pensé **de** *ir en Uber?* jajajaja pero no sé.
 know that 3.SG.F.CL though of go.INF in Uber hahahaha but not know
 'You know I thought about going by Uber hahaha but I don't know.'
- (60) a. La idea **de** que el sexo es un problema es rara.
 the idea of that the sex is a problem is rare
 'The idea that sex is a problem is weird.'
- b. El imbécil **de** tu novio llegó.
 the imbecile of your boyfriend arrived
 'Your stupid boyfriend has arrived.'
- c. La propuesta **de** que vayamos a Cuba prosperó.
 the proposal of that went to Cuba prospered
 'The proposal that we should go to Cuba was successful.'

In (58), the pronoun is predicated of the CP. The eventive head and the roots of propositional attitude verbs and verbs of communication combine with the *pP*, which hosts, following Kratzer's analysis, two internal arguments. The first one, in Spec-PlaceP, is an eventuality argument instantiated by the clitic, which is semantically interpreted as the *Figure*, the entity to which some property is ascribed.

¹⁵ All of these examples have been taken from social media (Twitter).

The second argument, the predicate of propositional content, is the CP functioning as complement of the prepositional head and is interpreted as the *Central Ground*, for it corresponds to a static description or predication. Interestingly, there are cases where the PlaceP is nested within another PlaceP, as in (61) below, where the adjective *difícil* ('difficult') predicates something about the complex PlaceP made up of the clitic and the infinitival CP.¹⁶ The same can be said of structures in English like those in (62).

- (61) a. *La veo difícil sacarse un diez en el examen.*
 'I think it's difficult to get an A in the test.'
 b. [_v veo [_{SPlace} [_{SPlace} *la* [_{Place} sacarse un diez en el examen]]]_{Place} difícil]]
- (62) a. I find it difficult to get an A in the test.
 b. [_v find [_{SPlace} [_{SPlace} *it* [_{Place} to get an A in the test]]]_{Place} difficult]]

In Rothstein's terms, the CP in the tree diagram in (58) would be a predicate whose syntactic subject is the clitic. As is usually the case with subjects, *la* has referential function and constitutes a theme, a topic introducing given/presupposed information or some fact or event already broached from the discourse. Accordingly, the CP has predicative function and constitutes a rheme expressing new information, which is why it can be regarded as focused with respect to the clitic.¹⁷ In this light, the clitic is not an expletive but an argument of the verb which is specified or explicated by the *that* clause.¹⁸ The proposed syntactic structure also abides by the principle of end-weight and of end-focus mentioned in the description of the data in §2, as well as it is in tune with the exclamative flavour of the data, considering the well-known fact that exclamative sentences are units of predication (RAE-ASALE 2009).

4.2. The morphology of clausal doubling

An evident question which arises upon examination of the data involves the morphology of the clitic. Why are its features valued singular and feminine? While singular morphology is the default option in the nominal domain, this is not the case

¹⁶ A reviewer wonders whether *la* can refer endophorically to a CP. This is indeed possible, as shown in the dialogue below, reinforcing thus the hypothesis that the clitic is doubling the clause given their coreferentiality.

- (i) A: Dicen que es muy difícil [sacarse un 10 con Ruiz]_i
 'It is said it's really difficult to get an A with Ruiz.'
 B: Yo no *la*_i veo difícil. Es más, me saqué varios diez con ella ya.
 'I don't find it difficult. In fact, I've already got many As with her.'

¹⁷ Further research needs to be done to elucidate whether an account in terms of predication could cover, with some slight modifications, other potential structures such as clitic doubling in RPS and other varieties.

¹⁸ An alternative analysis—which we do not defend here, though—could be to treat the clitic as an expletive. Either way, the prediction that there cannot be object expletives proves to be correct (*pace* Postal and Pullum's hypothesis), given that the pleonastic pronoun would be the subject of the embedded predicate expression, and not the object of the verb. If our hypothesis is on the right track, and the pronoun is not an expletive, it would even be possible to extend the predication analysis to standard cases of "expletives" in ECM (e.g. *I believe it to be true that snow is white*). I am thankful to an anonymous reviewer for making this observation.

with the feminine, as it is undoubtedly the marked gender in the Spanish language. Not only in English but also in other varieties of Spanish, the object pronouns (*it* and *lo*, respectively) obtain the unmarked features when used in parallel configurations like those in (50) and (6). For this reason, the use of feminine morphology in the structures in question turns out to be, at least at first glance, an entirely unexpected phenomenon.

In order to comprehend this initial puzzle, it becomes fundamental to mention that part of the ‘extraordinariness’ of the gender morphology of the pronoun is accounted for by the fact that the clitic is marginal. In a seminal paper by Bibis & Roberge, *marginal clitics* (2004)¹⁹ are defined as those which make a semantic contribution to the string they appear in, as opposed to regular clitics, which make a formal contribution and typically agree in person, gender and number with another DP or constituent they refer to. The contrast is clearly illustrated in (63). In (63a), the clitic is regular and shares its phi-features with the noun *gata*, whereas in (63b) it is not possible to unequivocally find a feminine referent for it.

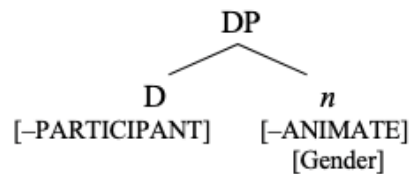
- (63) a. Cuando Juan supo que su gata_i murió, la_i quiso ver.
 when John knew that his cat.F.SG died 3.SG.F.CL wanted see
 ‘When John knew his cat had died, he wanted to see her.’
- b. Juan la ve difícil sacarse un diez en el examen.
 John 3.SG.F.CL sees difficult get a ten in the test
 ‘John thinks it’s difficult to get an A in the test.’

In RPS the feminine clitic *la* is the most frequently used marginal clitic and it is very productive in transitive, unergative and unaccusative contexts (see Arias 2021), which is why its occurrence in clausal doubling does not come as a surprise. Although it does not agree with any specific antecedent,²⁰ the pronoun, as Espinal indicates (2009), is a *free variable* denoting abstract semantic objects such as propositions, states of affairs, etc. In clausal doubling, the clitic is semantically interpreted as the CP and, when the CP is not available, it behaves like a *deep anaphor* (Hankamer & Sag 1976), in that its content can be recovered by means of pragmatic and inferential mechanisms relying on contextual information.

Under the assumption that clitics are DPs with internal structure (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999, Panagiotidis 2002, etc.), we propose the syntax of the marginal clitic *la* is the following one:

¹⁹ Also known as *inherent* (Espinal 2009), *non-referential* (Di Tullio 2019) or *expletive clitics* (Masullo & Bértora 2014, Ormazabal & Romero 2015).

²⁰ A notable difference between clitic doubling and clausal doubling is that in the latter there is no matching between the clitic and the doubled constituent. This is not a problem for the analysis presented here, as the standard assumption in the field is that CPs lack any specification for phi-features (although see Picallo 2002 for an alternative view on this matter). What is indeed problematic is the fact that the clitic obtains feminine morphology and is not spelled out as the default neuter clitic *lo*, an issue which will be addressed further below.

(64) Internal structure of *la*

The structure in (64) is in conformity with the fact that marginal clitics are severely deficient pronouns, much more underspecified than regular clitics. As regards D, where the exponent /l/ is late-inserted, we agree with Mare (2021) that this head contains two relevant features. The first one is [-PARTICIPANT] and corresponds to the third person. Building on previous accounts on features (Halle & Marantz 1993 and subsequent work), Mare proposes that the second feature is [+CASE], which is added post-syntactically as a dissociated feature to identify the D node as a case marker. Note that, under this view, D is not specified neither with definiteness nor with specificity features. In this respect, we follow the *Semantic Underspecification Hypothesis* (Leonetti & Escandell-Vidal 2015), according to which the grammatical computation produces a minimal semantic representation whose definiteness and specificity are determined by means of general cognitive inferential processes of an interpretative nature. The defectiveness and the underspecification of the clitic constitute then an essential ingredient of marginal clitics considering their lack of semantic referentiality.

As for the inclusion of a Number node, which is regularly found in many DP representations in the literature (e.g. Kornfeld & Saab 2005, Panagiotidis 2002), we posit that just like uncountable nouns (Borer 2005), the clitic does not project one, which would explain why the clitic never gets plural morphology.²¹

Going back to the problem posed by the feminine gender of the clitic, we must first specify some central assumptions regarding *n*. This head carries two features: (i) a [-ANIMATE] feature, since it can never be used to denote a human or animate entity. As was aforementioned, the clitic licenses a large ontology of abstract semantic objects, including propositions (Espinal 2009); (ii) a [Gender] feature, which, according to Estomba (2016), is the distinguishing property of all nouns in Spanish and must always be valued as [+FEM]. If the noun is [+HUMAN], the valuation takes place in the syntax and the feature is interpreted as ‘female’ or ‘not female’ but, in the rest of the cases, [+FEM] is assigned post-syntactically in the mapping from the syntax to the phonetic form in accordance with the following condition:

(65) *Gender Exhaustivity Condition* (Estomba 2016: 44)

In the Morphology, assign [+FEM] or [-FEM] to all nouns which have not received these features in the Syntax.

Accordingly, [+FEM] is inserted post-syntactically to comply with the unsatisfied gender feature the clitic possesses by virtue of its inanimacy, thus preventing the derivation from crashing. The pertinent question to be answered, however, is why the feature is valued [+FEM], notwithstanding its markedness in the

²¹ Notice that the structure in (64) corresponds to marginal clitics only, as regular clitics (i.e. referential clitics) do project a NumP.

system. Apart from the marginality of the clitic, several authors associate feminine morphology with remnants of Latin neuter forms (Arias 2021, Di Tullio 2019, Espinal 2009, Mariner 1968, Silva Garcés 2017, Spitzer 1941, etc.). The hypothesis, originally formulated by Spitzer (1941) after studying Romance languages from a diachronic perspective, is that the *-s* of the plural accusative demonstrative pronouns *illos* and *illas* (masculine and feminine, respectively) was transferred to *illa*, the neuter plural accusative pronoun, resulting in the syncretism between the feminine and the neuter plural forms. Afterwards, the neuter plural nominative form (e.g. *illa ossa*) was reanalysed as the feminine singular nominative form (e.g. *illa mensa*). This phenomenon is known as the ‘feminization of the neuter.’ Likewise, Mariner (1968) proposes that in Spanish the feminine is strongly intertwined with indeterminacy, abstraction, indefiniteness and neology given its markedness.

Synchronically speaking, the occurrence of feminine morphology can be accounted for irrespective of the diachronic explanation. According to our proposal, in RPS, the feature [Gender] is assigned [+Fem] and hence realised as <a> if and only if it is symmetrically c-commanded by D, and not by Num, and as long as *n* contains a [–ANIMATE] feature. An account of the feminine morphology of the clitic along these lines implies conceiving of the notion of gender in the traditional sense, inanimacy being one of the ways in which nouns can be classified in the language. On this point, Di Tullio (2019) proposes that feminine morphology be analysed as another variant of the neuter. If an analysis of this kind is correct and [–ANIMATE] is realized as <a>, Estomba’s hypothesis and much of the bibliography on Spanish morphology that assume that gender is uninterpretable with non-human nouns or pronouns should be revisited (see Arias, in progress).

Note that the clitic *la* is undoubtedly preferred over the neuter clitic *lo* in contexts where marginal clitics are used (see Arias 2021, Albano & Ghio 2013, Masullo & Bértora 2014, Di Tullio 2019, Silva Garcés 2017, etc.). While it is true that in some varieties the neuter clitic can be found in similar constructions like (6), and that both *la* and *lo* are refractory to contexts where they receive a human or animate interpretation, their structure is not the same, *lo* being just a functional head that does not include a nominal projection (Bosque & Moreno Cabrera 1990, Estomba 2016, Kornfeld & Saab 2005) (cf. (64)). Crucially, in this variety, the use of the feminine has *prima facie* extended to other domains, including these cases of clausal doubling and others which can be subsumed under the realm of the speaker’s subjectivity and expressivity (10), probably due to processes pertaining to language change.²²

Regarding the exclamative flavour of clausal doubling, as anticipated in §2, this is not part of the construction *per se* but might be obtained when the C of the main clause is exclamative in force. The elation and unexpectedness can also be argued to be epiphenomenal and not inherently codified as a feature, given the fact that the marginal clitic need not always be associated with these meanings. It is precisely the underspecification and defectiveness of the clitic along with its behaviour as a variable that brings about Zanuttini & Portner’s *widening process* (§2), the use of the feminine opening up the possibility to denote a set of non-standard propositions and, as a result, manifesting the emotional reaction of the speaker.

²² I refer the reader to Arias (2021, in progress) for a more extensive and nuanced treatment of the syntactic and morphological differences between *lo* and *la* and for other recent, creative uses of the feminine in RPS.

5. Conclusions and directions for the microparametric enterprise

In this paper, we have examined a phenomenon which has been, to the best of my knowledge, rather understudied in Spanish grammars and in the generative literature. After applying a series of diagnostics to distinguish between clitic doubling and right dislocations, we have arrived at the conclusion that in RPS it is possible to find clear cases of clausal doubling, in particular with *verba dicendi* and propositional attitude verbs. In the structures under scrutiny, these verbs occur with a third person feminine accusative marginal clitic, which is, according to our proposal, predicated of the CP which follows it, in keeping with the analysis of related CP phenomena put forward in Rothstein (1995, 2004), Kratzer (2006) and Moulton (2015). In spite of not there being morphological matching between the marginal clitic and the CP, the constructions exhibit the behaviour of clitic doubling in relation to the obligatoriness of the pronoun, information and contrastive focus, association with focus, gapping, the prosodic integration of the CP to the main clause, etc.

One of the basic assumptions that has governed much linguistic thought ever since Aristotle is that the predicate of a clause predicates something about the subject, one of the reflexes of such relation of predication being subject-verb agreement. From a more modern perspective (Chomsky 2001 and subsequent developments), the T node serves as a probe which searches for a c-commanded nominal expression to agree with, which, most of the times, happens to be the subject of the clause. The phi-features of the DP are shared with the finite verb and thus appear repeated in the structure. From this point of view, agreement is conceived of as a redundant and semantically vacuous operation.

A peculiarity of subject-verb dependencies and clausal doubling is that the inclusion of the constituent occupying Spec-TP and Spec-*p*P, i.e., the ‘subject’, is a source of cross and intra-linguistic variation when it comes to its optionality. Although the analysis laid out here is far from being exhaustive and calls for a much more thorough treatment than the one received here, we can tentatively propose the parameterisation in Table 2 to account for the differences between English, RPS, Peninsular Spanish and Italian. Just as languages can be parameterised in connection with the *Null Subject Parameter*, it seems to be a reasonable line of inquiry to regard the omissibility of the pronouns in clausal doubling in a similar fashion.

Table 2. Parameterisation of null subjects in predication structures

	Subject – T	Subject – CP [clausal doubling]
<i>River Plate Spanish</i>	Subjects can be null	Subjects can be overt
<i>Peninsular Spanish</i>	Subjects can be null	Subjects tend to be null
<i>English</i>	Subjects must be overt	Subjects can be overt
<i>Italian</i>	Subjects can be null	Subjects can be overt

As is well-known, in Spanish and in Italian subjects can be dropped in main clauses, while this is not possible in English. Regarding clausal doubling, in English, Italian and RPS the pronoun in Spec-*p*P tends to be overt in specific syntactic contexts, as was discussed above, while this is not generally the case in other varieties of Spanish, even though it was in Medieval times. As can be easily deduced from the discussion in these pages, there is little doubt that RPS has a penchant for doubling

(see Arias 2021 and Fábregas 2018 for other examples of doubling with marginal clitics).²³

We believe that the data explored in this paper can and should be treated on a par with extraposed clauses in English as well as with similar examples from Italian. While collecting the data to design our corpus, we found several examples of structures of clausal doubling with the feminine clitic among speakers from Mexico and Chile, which suggests that further research should be carried out so as to confirm the prediction that clausal doubling is not to be circumscribed to RPS. At least as far as RPS is concerned, the phenomenon is in expansion and should be further scrutinised in light of other uses of marginal clitics and, especially, of feminine morphology, which appears to be in a close-knit relationship with expressivity, subjectivity and what would correspond to Jakobson's emotive function of language. Another issue pointed out by Fábregas (2018) that is left as a matter for future research is whether operations such as agreement and doubling, which are traditionally thought to be semantically vacuous, are indeed so, given the assumption that syntax is a perfect computational system that builds structures which are to be interpreted at the interfaces (Chomsky 1995).

In the spirit of Di Tullio *et al.*'s analysis of clitic doubling (2019: 216), “we endorse the view that linguistic change should be mainly attributed to the way in which syntax manipulates the set of formal features that UG provides (*Chomsky- Borer's conjecture*),” the spell-out and realization of phi-features in Spec-TP and Spec-*p*P being pivotal to making sense of the parametric differences between human languages concerning null subjects in predicational structures. In this respect, we hope that the present study has contributed to our understanding of linguistic variation from a microparametric perspective and, above all, has opened the way for future investigations on the nature of predication and other doubling phenomena.

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²³ In Arias (2021), for instance, we argue in favour of the hypothesis that in RPS it is possible for the marginal clitic *la* to double ‘events’ with unergative verbs, as in the examples below:

- (i) Ayer la mateamos.
yesterday 3.SG.F.CL mate.1.Pl.Past
‘Yesterday we had *mate!*’
- (ii) ¡Vamos a chomskyar-la!
go.1.Pl to Chomsky.INF-3.SG.F.CL
‘Let’s Chomsky it!’

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APPENDIX – Corpus with examples collected from Twitter

1. Ya no te creo más nada. Dos veces me la **DIBUJASTE** *que ibas a tal lado y naaada.*
2. Stalkeo y despues no me la **BANCO** *haber visto algo que no me gusto.*
3. No te la **PERDONO** *que Cardona no haya jugado en Brasil.*
4. ¡Te la **REGALO** *irte a dormir en los países donde hay alertas de tsunami!*
5. Por lo menos **DISIMULA**la *que no te importo.*
6. Mal juego, otra vez con los árbitros en contra. La **VEO DIFÍCIL** *ganar en Paraguay, pero Boca es Boca y confío en que lo va a hacer.*
7. 10 puntos hablar con este chico. No me la **VEÍA VENIR** *que íbamos a tener profundidad en una conversación.*
8. La Ori se la re **CREYÓ** *que la iba ir a buscar.*
9. Ayer a una amiga le daba MUCHA LÁSTIMA Messi porque no se la **ESPERABA** *tener que mudarse de país y los nenes y blabla... mucha lástima.*
10. Yo no te la puedo creer *que hoy hay que ir a trabajar.*
11. Te la **JURO** *que por un momento pensé que era Momo de Twice.*
12. jajsjdjajd mal no jaja cómo no la **PENSÉ** *ir a un psicólogo a decirle por qué me gustan los boludos.*
13. Le dije a mi sobrino que el conejo de pascua le trajo un huevo, y me dice "noo porq salió si está el coronavirus", la **TIENE RE CLARA** *que no hay que salir y tiene 4 años.*
14. Me la **TIRARON** *de irme a hacer temporada en Bariloche, será che??*
15. Sol me la re **CHAMUYÓ** *que venía a cebarme mates.*
16. Jajaja y sí, yo nunca me la **IMAGINÉ** *que Tomada se volvería así.*
17. Y no te la **NIEGO** *que estoy para un vino eh.*
18. La **CARETEO** *que estoy bien pero entrás a mi perfil de tw y te das cuenta q me siento como el culo y a veces se me hace re difícil hacerme la que no me pasa nada, cada vez me cuesta más.*
19. Jajajajajaj estoy tan bien con este loco pero a veces la **FLASHO** *que me está inventando una re contra historia y después me va a re contra cagar y me va a hacer sufrir.*
20. Nuuuuu me la re **COMÍ** *que estaba muerto Iván de Pineda.*
21. La re **CAPTASTE** *que era para vos, objetivo cumplido.*
22. **CONTAME**la a mí *que los que están en el Obelisco están por convicción.*
23. Yo al principio me la re **MORFÉ** *que la China Rossi estaba embarazada.*
24. Son tan ignorantes y pelotudos que encima se la **TRAGARON** *que el video era real qué pobres cabeza de termo que son los convencen de cualquier cosa no sé si dan risa o pena pobre Argentina con los votos de estos cerebro quemado.*
25. Te la **VENDEN** *que era un drogadicto (Cuando el Diego siempre dijo que se equivocó y estuvo mal). Y los pendejos boludos idolatran artistas que en sus canciones hablan de drogas, de putas, etc. En conclusión LA PELOTAA SIEMPRE AL DIEEEEEZ.*
26. No me la **CONTAINER** *que tengo que pasar navidad solo.*
27. Yo una vez me vi con una mina del face, que me la **PINTÓ** *que era coreógrafa, lesbiana y blah. Terminé en la casa con su marido, su hija y no era coreógrafa solamente le gustaba ver showmach o como se escriba, desde ese momento nunca más chamuyo por ninguna red.*

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28. Jaja nunca me saqué un nueve en NADA, la DUDO *que puedan ser más burra que yop.*
 29. Cuánto la LAMENTO *que hoy en día le crean a periodistas mediocres que se prestaron para que los anteriores políticos entregarán los recursos energéticos en manos de invasores corruptos y LADRONES, estos ni siquiera deberían decir que son mexicanos por traicionar a nuestra patria.*
 30. Sabés q la PENSÉ *de ir en Uber jajsjdj pero no sé aaa.*
 31. Volviendo a CDE.. Sequísimaaaa luego, no estaba en mis planes quedarme un día nomás :/ #KeepCalm y SUPONGÁMOSla *que es por algo ! (;*
 32. No me la DIGAS *que mi hermana me hizo levantar al pedo por 569 mil vez.*