

Chilean Clitic Reduplication: Implications for Morphology and Syntax

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the phenomenon of clitic duplication in Spanish as seen in the sentence *Te voy a pegarte* ('I'm going to hit you'). Structures like these have several interesting implications for the Spanish language and generativist syntax. Nevertheless, clitic duplication has not been extensively examined in the generativist literature. This working paper will critically review the small body of existing work on clitic reduplication. Furthermore, based on data gathered from native speakers of Chilean Spanish, it will provide some preliminary evidence for strengthening the argument that Spanish clitics are object agreement morphemes. Ultimately, this paper aims to provide a base to further pursue the topic of Chilean clitic reduplication to make more theoretically sound claims, provide more robust empirical data, and to propose a more formalized argument of the phenomena. Pedagogical implications of the argument are also considered.

INTRODUCTION

Clitics are typically defined as morphemes that are phonologically dependent, while remaining syntactically independent, on a word.² In English, morphemes such as that bolded in the contraction: *John should've gone*, are defined as clitics. The 've' phonologically leans on a host, in this case 'should,' yet is syntactically independent, as demonstrated when the sentence transforms into the interrogative: *Should John've gone?* In standard Spanish, clitics typically appear in one of three places: preceding a finite verb (1a), an enclitic attached to a non-finite verb (1b), or, as in the case of imperatives, an enclitic on finite verbs (1c):

- (1) a. **Me** tengo que ir³
Myself_{cl} have_{1sg} to go
'I have to go'
b. **Odio** hacer**lo**.
Hate_{1sg} to do.it_{cl}

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² This definition of clitic is overly simplistic and even the concept of clitic as a formal category has been criticized (see Bermúdez-Otero, R. & Payne, 2011). Despite this, the term *clitic* is useful as an umbrella term, since it does highlight certain properties and characteristics, even if it does not deserve a formal category unto itself.

³ Clitics will be indicated by a subscript *cl* in the gloss and in boldface. Person will be marked by a 1/2/3 and number by sg/pl, both as subscripts to the verb.

- 'I hate to do it'
c. **Déselo.**
Give_{2sg}-it_{cl}-him_{cl}
'Give it to him'

Standard Spanish traditionally prohibits the duplication of clitics like (2), where both instantiations of 'te' perform the same grammatical function:

- (2) **Te** voy a pegarte.
You_{cl} go_{1sg} to hit.you_{cl}
'I'm going to hit you.'

Nevertheless, several dialects of South American Spanish do occasionally permit the usage, the Chilean variation perhaps being the most well-known for this phenomenon (Silva-Corvalán, 1989).

At first glance, this seems like a welcome problem for generativist syntax. One might assume that there is movement from a post-verbal position to the higher matrix. It is plausible that these constructions lend strong evidence to the copy theory of movement, which states that a moved element leaves a copy of itself in its original syntactic position once moved (Chomsky, 1995). In (2), the clitic 'te' has been copied and moved to a higher position. This empirical support for the copy theory of movement might parallel the findings of Crookston's research, in which he recorded the utterings of a 2-year-9-month-old English-speaking child (cited in Radford, 2004):

- (3)
a. ***Can** its wheels **can** spin?
b. ***Did** the kitchen light **did** flash?
c. ***Is** the steam **is** hot?
d. ***Was** that **was** Anna?

Of course, the problem with comparing English and Spanish clitic reduplication is that such utterances such as those in (3) are considered ungrammatical in Standard English, and the child will soon stop creating them. As Radford noted, the child has acquired the copy-merge aspect of language, but has not yet mastered the related component of copy-deletion. Movement has long been essential to generativist grammar and has strong empirical evidence, but it is incomplete without some mechanism to explain the reasons for which sentences exemplified in (3) are not uttered by competent speakers of English, as well as an explanation for the impossibility of similar sentences in Spanish, such as *¿**Cuándo** fuiste a la biblioteca **cuándo**? The deletion component is integral to the copy theory of movement, since it explains why these sentences are ungrammatical. While clitic duplication may give credence to the copy theory of movement, there is much more that needs to be explained, for duplication is not a developmental stage in acquisition, but rather an acceptable variation of Spanish.

Before the argument proceeds, however, a distinction must be made between true clitic reduplication and cases of *seeming* reduplication, upon which this paper does not focus. The examples in (4) appear to be evidence for Spanish clitic reduplication, yet all have alternative explanations:

(4)

- a. **María lo_i** hizo poner**lo_j** en el patio.
Maria him_{cl} made put.it_{cl} on the patio
'Maria made him put it on the patio'
- b. Juan **se_i** atrevió a **irse_i** a Paris.
Juan _{cl} dared to leave_{cl} to Paris
'Juan dared to leave for Paris'
- c. **Me_i** gusta comprarme_i ropa.
Me_{cl} pleases to.buy.myself_{cl} clothes
'I like to buy myself clothes.'
- d. A Juan_i **le_i** gusta comprarse_i ropa.
To Juan him_{cl} pleases to.buy.himself_{cl} clothes
'Juan likes to buy himself clothes'
- e. pero **me_i** tengo que **irme_i** de mi casa
but _{cl} have_{1Sg} that go.myself of my house
'but I have to leave my home'

Although example (4a) repeats the clitic 'lo,' the two are not co-referential, as shown in the English gloss. (4b) has two co-referential clitics, yet both are required, as both verbs are reflexive; removing the second clitic slightly changes the meaning of the sentence. Example (4c) is also an instance in which there are two co-referential clitics that do not have the same grammatical function in the sentence. The first is dative, referring to an indirect object, whereas the second is a dative reflexive. In fact, if person is changed, as in (4d), it becomes apparent that there is a change in grammatical function. (4e) appears to be an example of clitic reduplication, though if (4e) is considered in light of (5), one might propose a different argument:

(5)

Me tengo que leer!
{cl} have{1Sg} that read
'I have to read!'

The presence of the first person singular clitic 'me' is certainly unexpected, since it cannot refer to the object of the verb 'leer.' Proclitic 'me' in 'tengo que' constructions are generally used to add additional obligation and urgency when compared to variants without the clitic. In (4e), if the proclitic 'me' does in fact belong to 'tener' and the enclitic 'me' to 'ir,' then there is no evidence of clitic reduplication and the construction would be similar to (4b) rather than (2). Making this analysis requires us to assume that the speaker intended to add urgency or emphasis to his statement, which we cannot be sure of without more context.⁴ Nevertheless, considering

⁴ Note that while the entire construction *CL tengo que V.CL* suggests urgency or emphasis, the clitic itself does not receive emphatic stress. One defining feature of clitics is that they do not receive stress. However, recent work has shown that this may not be universal for clitics (e.g.Ordenez and Repetti 2006).

that (4e) was uttered by a speaker of Andalusian Spanish, which does not permit clitic duplication, this conclusion may be reasonable. The work reported here focuses solely what I argue to be true cases of clitic reduplication as they occur in Chilean Spanish.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Clitics

In order to first understand clitic reduplication, an understanding of clitics, especially Spanish and Romance clitics, is necessary.⁵ This is by no means an easy task to undertake. The debate on countless aspects of clitics and cliticization has persisted since the emergence of generative grammar. In generative grammar, there are two main approaches to the placement of clitics: (1) the movement hypothesis and (2) the base-generation hypothesis. The movement hypothesis (Kayne, 1975, 1991, 1994; Rosen, 1990) argues that clitics are base generated as pronominal arguments to the Verb Phrase (VP), and thus they would originally be in same position as the object noun. Move- α is responsible for taking the clitic and moving it higher in the structure and attaching it to the verb, either to the left of a finite verb or to the right of an infinite verb.⁶ Base generation (Strozer, 1976; Rivas 1977; Borer 1984; Suñer, 1988) argues that the clitic is originally generated as a constituent of a complex verb phrase, in more or less the same position as the output structure. The clitic creates an agreement chain with the verb's object, much like subject-verb agreement.

The primary evidence for the movement approach comes from French, in which the clitic is in complementary distribution with the full Determiner Phrase (DP) complement:⁷

(6)

- a. Marie **le** voit
Mary him_{cl} see
'Mary sees him'
- b. Marie voit Jean
Mary sees John
'Mary sees John'
- c. *Marie **le** voit Jean
Mary him_{cl} sees John

⁵ This is by no means meant to be a comprehensive look at the theories of clitic placement. This section is meant to provide a stepping stone for the later arguments. While using information from all of the articles in this section, I received most of the information from Zagona (2002), Franco (1993), and Gonzalez Lopez (2008).

⁶ Movement of constituents is an important component of generative grammar, perhaps the most well-known of which is *wh*-movement. The base generated structure of a sentence like 'What did you see?' would have *what* in the object position of the verb, as in 'You saw what?', and through movement would arrive at 'What did you see?' Move- α allows for any movement. While this seems like a powerful operation which would lead to overgeneralization, movement is typically constrained by other generative rules, such as c-command, the extended category principle, government, etc.

⁷ This paper will use Determiner Phrase (DP) instead of Noun Phrase (NP) in accordance with the convention that all NPs (at least in English, Spanish, and the relevant languages in this paper) are complements to a determiner head.

‘Mary sees John’
(Kayne, 1975)

Not only do the clitic and the complement not appear in the same sentences, but the clitic is marked for number, person, and gender features that correspond to the DP, leading us to assume that a clitic is pronominal in nature. However, data from Spanish indicate that the movement hypothesis cannot fully account for the placement of clitics. Unlike standard French, Spanish allows both a full DP and a clitic as seen in (7):

(7)
Pedro **la_i** ha visto a Sandra_i
Pedro her_{cl} has seen to Sandra.
‘Pedro has seen Sandra.’
(Franco, 1993)

This utterance poses several problems for the movement approach. According to the hypothesis, both the clitic and the DP are placed at V', as a complement to the verb. In (7), however, the clitic would not have occupied this location before movement, since there is already a DP. Additionally, there is a violation of the theta criterion, which states that “each argument bears one and only one theta role, and each theta role is assigned to one and only one argument” (Chomsky, 1981). Both ‘la’ and ‘a Sandra,’ as co-referential arguments, would be assigned the same theta role.

The base generation hypothesis arose primarily to account for the problem of clitic doubling. It argues that the clitic is not produced in an argument position and therefore does not receive a theta-role. This approach typically argues that Case can be assigned to one or the other, and that when both are present, there is an additional Case assigner, in the case of Spanish the preposition *a*. Another benefit of this approach is that it is possible to account for clitics that do not correspond to any argument, like the spurious ‘se,’ present in inherent reflexive, middle, and aspectual constructions. However, base generation is not without its problems. The issue of Case is not as clear-cut as the base generation hypothesis shows. There are many varieties of Spanish, particularly in the Southern Cone, which allow constructions like (8):

(8)
La_i comí la torta_i
It_{cl} ate_{1Sg} the cake
‘I ate the cake.’

It is not clear how both ‘la’ and ‘la torta’ receive Case in this sentence since there is no Case-transmitting preposition. Base generation also does not give a clear explanation for clitic climbing either, since it does not predict any movement (Zagona, 2002). Finally, base generation does not account for the fact that clitics do not always appear next to the verb with which they share a grammatical relationship. It is quite common for an auxiliary to separate the clitic and the verb it is attached to as in (9):

(9)
Le voy a dar el dinero.

Him_{cl} go_{1sg} to give the money .
'I'm going to give him the money.'

More recently, another approach has gained popularity among proponents of both theories. This approach has been termed *the determiner head hypothesis* by Franco (1993) and *the mixed approach* by Gonzalez Lopez (2008). It is primarily based on work by Uriagereka (1995) and Sportiche (1993), though some of the ideas can be found in Kayne (1989, 1991). It states that clitics are more similar to determiners than pronominals, and as such are the head of a projection with a complete internal structure. For the movement hypothesis, this helps to solve the theta criterion violation. The full DP, with the clitic as its head, receives both Case and the theta role, and then the clitic can be moved out. For the base generation hypothesis, this helps to solve the issue of the separation of the clitic from its main verb. It argues that the clitic is base generated as the head of a functional category that is related to the VP rather than being generated as part of the verb. INFL, COMP, AGR (an agreement phrase), and F, a Focus phrase proposed by Uriagereka (1995), which encodes a speaker's point of view, have all been proposed categories for the generation of clitics, or for a landing spot in the case of the movement hypothesis.

Finally, one final alternative worth mentioning does not base itself primarily in Spanish clitics, but rather deals with the phenomenon of clitics in general: the idea that clitics cannot be fully explained in syntactic terms, but rather, must be seen as phrasal affixes. The definition of a clitic has long been problematic, and most agree that a clitic lies somewhere between an affix and a full word. Of course, this makes it difficult to define what is and is not a clitic. Phrasal affixes are argued to abide by neither syntactic nor morphological rules, but rather a distinct set of rules that govern clitics. This idea has been primarily advanced by Anderson (1992, 2005) and Klavans (1982, 1995), and is based on cross-linguistic evidence showing the quirky behavior of clitics. Clitics appear to be, in some sense, words; that is, they are syntactically free (albeit normally phonologically bound). They seem, however, to share many more properties with affixes. While they are syntactically free, their behavior is not purely syntactic, for clitic order is much less free than word order. Even in languages like Warlipri, which have an almost completely free variation in word order, clitic order is quite constrained. In fact, Spanish provides clear examples of how syntactic rules do not fully capture the manner in which clitics work. First, the ordering of accusative and dative object clitics is reversed from that of the full Determiner Phrase / Prepositional Phrase (PP) in an argument position. Furthermore, the syntactic role is not the only determining factor, as 1st and 2nd person typically precede 3rd person clitics and 'se,' if present, precedes all other pronominal clitics, irrelevant to the syntactic role (Cuervo, 2002). This order is reflected regardless of whether the clitic is enclitic or preclitic.

Affixes and clitics share many other qualities, such as: (1) the lack of phonologic stress, (2) the prosodic dependence on a word, (3) the impossibility to insert something between them and the host, and (4) the inability to coordinate (e.g. ***me** y **te** dio el dinero'). According to Klavans (1995), the primary difference between clitics and affixes is simply that affixes are attached to a head, whereas clitics are attached to a phrase. For this reason, clitics are placed into a special category of phrasal affixes, which lie between full words and affixes. This explains why a clitic and its host are oftentimes not syntactically related. Consider the genitive form in English: 's. This construction marks a DP for the genitive case, yet it does not have to be encliticized to the possessor as shown in (10):

(10)

- a. The man's car
- b. The man who is wearing a red hat's car
- c. The man I know's car
- d. The man that I was telling you about's car

The 's can encliticize to any type of content word, even though it marks genitiveness of a noun. The treatment of clitics as phrasal affixes helps explain Wackernagel's law, a typological law for Indo-European clitics which states that the placement of clitics must be in the 2nd position, after the first word or phrase in a sentential unit, irrelevant to the syntactic role the host plays.

However, there are certain problems with phrasal affixation. Bermudez-Otero and Payne (2011) argue that phrasal affixation makes incorrect predictions for clitic placement. Furthermore, clitics share very little in common cross-linguistically and can be accounted for with the current morphological and syntactic rules, eliminating the need for a separate clitic category. A more serious issue concerning Spanish is that its clitics attach to V rather than V' and so cannot be considered for phrasal affixation (Gonzalez Lopez, 2008). As shown in (9), 's can be attached to any content word, whereas the clitic must be hosted to a verb.

Clitic Reduplication

Despite the extensive research on clitics, there have been relatively few researchers within the field of syntax who have commented on the phenomenon of clitic reduplication in Spanish. Those that do so, do not focus principally on the phenomenon. Nunes (2004), Bošković and Nunes (2007), and Kimper (2008) see clitic reduplication as problematic to their theses. González López (2008), on the other hand, treats it as evidence for her claims.

Nunes (2004) and Nunes and Bošković (2007) deal with clitic reduplication within their work on the copy theory of movement. Under the minimalist program, the copy theory of movement states that, ideally, a copy should be deleted after movement, leaving only one copy to be realized at the Phonetic Form (PF). In order to fully understand the copy theory of movement, one must consider cases in which there is an apparent violation of the deletion component. These violations include instances where a lower copy is realized instead of the higher copy, as in a *wh*-fronting language such as Romanian. In Romanian, unlike in English, all *wh*-words should be fronted. However, (11) shows that this rule is sometimes violated:

(11)

- a. **Cine ce** precede?
who what precedes
'Who precedes what?'

- ***Cine** precede **ce**?
who precedes what
'Who precedes what?'

- b. **Ce** precede **ce**?
'What precedes what?'

***Ce ce** precede?
what what precedes
'What precedes what?'

The authors argue that for phonological reasons 'ce' is not fronted in (11b), and thus the lower copy must be phonetically realized instead of the higher one as in (11a). Additionally, Nunes and Bošković must also explain cases in languages in which more than one copy is realized, such as Spanish clitic reduplication. Like Chilean Spanish, Argentine Spanish also allows reduplication as in (12):

- (12)
- a. Yo **lo** iba a hacerlo. (Argentine dialect I⁸)
I it_{CL} went to do-it_{CL}
'I was going to do it'
- b. *Yo **se lo** iba a decir**se**lo.
I him_{CL} it_{CL} was-going to say- him_{CL} -it_{CL}
'I was going to say it to him'

They contend that this is an example of head adjunction; a copy is moved to join the head of a functional phrase. Under these conditions, there is the possibility of morphological fusion, where the moved copy is fused to the head and then rendered invisible to linearization.⁹ This morphological fusion occurs in (12a) but due to the complexity of the clitic string 'se lo,' it does not occur in (12b). They provide further evidence from a second Argentine dialect (13):

- (13)
- a. Nos vamos acostumbrando a este país poco a poco (Argentine dialect II)
us_{cl} go-1_{pl} getting-accustomed to this country little by little
- b. Vamos acostumbrá**ndonos** a este país poco a poco
go-1_{pl} getting-accustomed/us_{cl} to this country little by little
- c. *Vá**monos** acostumbrá**ndo** a este país poco a poco.¹⁰
go-1_{pl} /us_{cl} getting-accustomed to this country little by little
'We are getting accustomed to this country little by little.'
- d. Vá**monos** acostumbrá**ndonos** a este país poco a poco.

⁸ Nunes (2004) reverses the dialects. Further information about the dialects is not given.

⁹ Linearization is "the procedure that maps a given syntactic structure into a sequence of terminals, in compliance with the LCA [Linear Correspondence Axiom] (Nunes, 2004, p. 24)."

LCA is defined as "[l]et X, Y be nonterminals and x, y terminals such that X dominates x and Y dominates y. Then if X asymmetrically c-commands Y, x precedes y (Kayne, 1994). Assuming clitics are moved and not base generated, clitic reduplication is essentially a problem because the same entity c-commands itself. According to LCA this form will crash at the point it reaches phonetic realization.

¹⁰ (12c) and (12d) would be imperative forms whereas the others are simple present. Under Nunes and Bošković's (2007) hypothesis, this should have no bearing on the grammaticality.

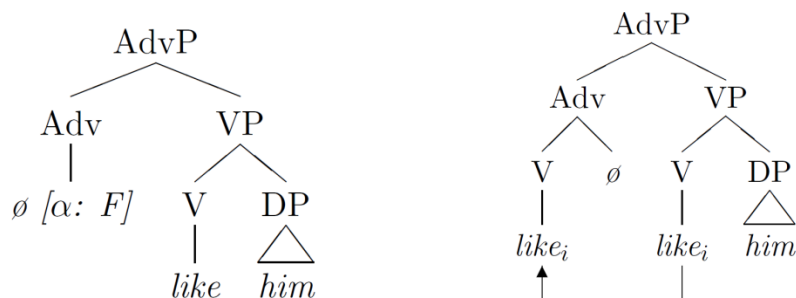
go-1pl /us-cl getting-accustomed/us-cl to this country little by little
 'We are getting accustomed to this country little by little.'

- e. ***Nos vamos acostumbrándonos** a este país poco a poco.
 us-cl go-1pl getting-accustomed/us-cl to this country little by little
 'We are getting accustomed to this country little by little.'

(13a) and (13b) are the Standard Spanish forms with a required clitic in its canonical position. Due to head adjunction followed by morphological fusion, linearization does not recognize the required clitic in (13c), rendering the construction ungrammatical. In order to make the construction grammatical, enclisis is required as shown in (13d). However, (13e) is ruled as unacceptable due to lack of fusion.

In a similar fashion to Bošković and Nunes (2007), Kimper (2008) attempts to solve problems of reduplicated entities in several languages. As an example of a problematic structure, he gives the contrastive sentence 'Do you like-like him?' (or, 'Do you like him romantically as opposed to liking him in a friendly manner?'). He argues that this sentence poses problems for the same syntactic reasons that Bošković and Nunes outline. Kimper reasons that there must be a reduplicative morpheme present in order to allow syntactic reduplication. This reduplicative morpheme would be the head of an Adverb Phrase (AdvP) that takes some type of content phrase as its complement. The head of the content phrase would then be moved into the head of the AdvP in order to check features as in (14):

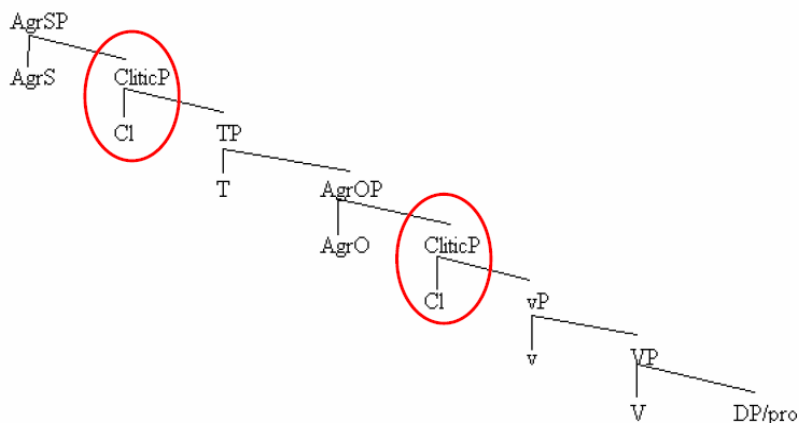
- (14) Do you like-like him?



Kimper claims that clitic reduplication in Spanish poses a problem for his hypothesis that a reduplicative morpheme must be present to allow syntactic reduplication, since there doesn't seem to be one present in the structure. However, he contends that while a movement approach would be problematic, under a base generation approach this is not an issue.

In contrast to Kimper (2008) and Bošković and Nunes (2007), González López (2008) argues that Spanish clitic reduplication is evidence for her claims. Using cross-linguistic data, she argues against the movement hypothesis and for base generation, in which there are two separate functional phrases housing clitics. She refers to this functional phrase as CliticP:

- (15)



Clitic climbing, the existence of seemingly free variation between enclisis to an infinite verb and proclisis to a finite verb, is accounted for in this structure. Languages which do not allow clitic climbing do not have the higher CliticP. González López contends that the existence of clitic reduplication is evidence that there are two separate projections.

The literature's attempt to explain Spanish clitic reduplication cannot fully account for the phenomenon. Nunes and Bošković (2007) argue that morphological complexity prohibits (12b), but according to Silva-Corvalán (1979), the statement is grammatical in Chilean Spanish. Morphological complexity does not make correct cross-dialect predictions. Is it possible, then, that something can be too complex in one variety and not in another? It is not clear what a formal definition of complexity might be and how it could account for the fact that something is complex in an Argentine dialect, but not a Chilean one. Another issue, which Nunes (2004) mentions, is that not all head adjunction results in morphological fusion, V to T, for example, does not leave two copies of the verb.

Likewise, Kimper's (2008) claim is not without problems. There are few parallels between Kimper's reduplication and clitic reduplication. With clitic reduplication there are multiple copies playing the same grammatical function. However, in the example *like-like him* the two iterations of *like* are performing different roles. As Kimper mentioned, the first *like* may be syntactically replaced with a prototypical adverb *really*, whereas the second is the head of a VP. This could be a case of two different versions, both in meaning and grammatical function, of *like* at numeration, meaning there would be no LCA violation and the phrase could be linearized. Kimper is correct in arguing that the relationship between *like-like* is much closer than that of *really like* since it is more difficult to separate the adverb *like* from the head than to separate the adverb *really*. He may be justified in making a case for a reduplicative morpheme, but what is clear is that there is a great difference between clitic reduplication and Kimper's data.

Of those who substantively engage with clitic duplication, González López's (2008) argument seems to be the least problematic. To strengthen her claims, she cited the occurrence of clitic duplication in the Piedmontese dialect of Italian. Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004) also used this information to undergird their claim that there is a lexical clitic position and a functional clitic position. Yet as they remarked, the rare occurrence of triplification of clitics, as in (16) creates a problem for their argument, and ostensibly for González López's as well.

(16)

I m'aveisi pusciume gitème.

(Piedmontese Italian)

you me_{cl}.had could.me_{cl} help.me_{cl}
'You could have helped me.'

So far this paper has looked at the various ways Romance clitics and reduplicated Chilean clitics have been explored in the literature. While there has not been much consensus on how to deal with clitics, various ideas have been put forward to account for the data, both in Spanish and other Romance languages. The following sections will provide some data and analysis to the debate in the hopes of elucidating the topic a bit further.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

In order to gain a more complete understanding of Spanish clitic reduplication, the research presented here reports the results of a twofold approach. First, I provided a grammar acceptability survey to five speakers of Chilean Spanish, two of whom are students of Applied Linguistics.¹¹ They were asked to determine the acceptability of thirty-one sentences on a scale of one to five, five being completely acceptable and one being completely unacceptable. Many examples were taken or adapted from Nunes and Bošković (2004), Kimper (2008), and González López (2008). Sentences from Suñer (1988), Uriagereka (1995), and Franco (1993) were also used, as these scholars have made significant claims with respect to Spanish clitics, even though they have not dealt explicitly with reduplication. Sentences were also taken or adapted from Silva-Corvalán (1979, 1989) as she has examined the phenomenon from a sociolinguistic perspective.¹² Twenty-six sentences had instances of clitic reduplication and five served as distractors. The sentences focused on duplication of direct object (DO) clitics, indirect object (IO) clitics, the different incarnations of *se*, and co-occurrences of all of the above.¹³ The clitics were placed in sentences with negation, emphatic elements, questions, and embedded clauses, in order to gain a better understanding of their syntactic position. The participants were also interviewed, and the post interviews revealed that all of them held negative views of the phenomenon, as it is pedagogically discouraged and has strong negative social connotations. They understood the prescriptive/descriptive distinction, but as a precaution, to combat any possible prescriptivist attitudes in the responses, the less technical, non-generativist literature mentioning clitic reduplication was reviewed with them. The majority of this information comes from sociolinguistics, especially the work of Silva-Corvalán (1979). Her dissertation contains numerous examples of clitic reduplication in more natural speech. This information does not give evidence as to what is impermissible, but it gives clear verification as to what is acceptable.

¹¹ While a broader more formal study was considered, research has supported the use of small, informal syntactic experiments (Sprouse & Almeida 2010, 2011).

¹² Adaptations were made to the sentences to add variation. Changes were made to person, number, and verb.

¹³ These are the types clitics typically referred to as the spurious *se* (Perlmutter, 1971). They include the aspectual *se*, the middle *se*, and the inherent reflexive.

The aspectual *se*: Los niños **se** comieron todos los dulces.
The children *cl* ate all the sweets
'The children ate all the sweets.'

The middle *se*: El barco **se** hundió.
The boat *cl* sank
'The boat sank.'

Inherent reflexive *se*: Juan **se** parece a Pedro.
Juan *cl* seems like to Pedro
'Juan resembles Pedro.'

RESULTS

The data from the surveys and interviews reveal that there seem to be few restrictions on clitic reduplication. The only restrictions follow from general restrictions on clitic climbing. For example, (17a) is not permitted, but it is not permitted because *insistir* doesn't allow the clitic to be in a proclitic position as shown in (17b):

(17)

- a. *Rodrigo **las_i** insistió en comprar**las_i**
Rodrigo them_{cl} insisted in buy.them_{cl}
'Rodrigo insisted on buying them.'
- b. *Rodrigo **las_i** insistió en comprar
Rodrigo them_{cl} insisted in buy
'Rodrigo insisted on buying them.'

The data suggest that duplication is permitted with the dative as in (18a), in the accusative (18b), with a "spurious *se*" (18c), and unlike the Argentine dialect in Bošković and Nunes (2004), with a "morphologically complex" pairing two clitics (18d):

(18)

- a. **Le** iban a ofrecer**le** ayuda a la niña.
Her_{cl} were to offer.her_{cl} help to the girl
'They were going to offer her help.'
- b. No **lo** puedo creer**lo**.
No it_{cl} can_{1sg} believe.it_{cl}
'I can't believe it.'
- c. El barco **se** iba a hundirse.
The boat itself_{cl} was to sink.itself_{cl}
'The boat was going to sink.'
- d. Ya **se lo** puedo decir**se lo**.
Now it_{cl} him_{cl} can_{1sg} say.it_{cl}.him_{cl}
'Now I can tell it to him.'

Clitic reduplication is seen in all cases, and there is no degradation in grammaticality judgments for the negative, with an emphatic, in a question, or in an embedded clause. This is reflected in the literature as well. The literature lends more credence to this notion; double clitics without *se* in the primary position, a form not included in the survey, is also permissible:

(19)

- Y que me **los** iba a echármelos. (Silva-Corvalán, 1979)
And that me_{cl} them_{cl} went to throw.me_{cl}them_{cl}
'and he was going to throw them to me.'

There do not seem to be any restrictions on duplication which do not already exist on non-duplicated clitics.

DISCUSSION

Ultimately, the limited data do not lend any further support for the current theories for clitics and their duplication. Clitic clusters appear to be permitted to be reduplicated, which as stated before, does not support Bošković and Nunes's (2004) theory that invisibility at linearization allows duplication and morphological complexity causes a derivation to crash. Similar to the Piedmontese dialect of Italian, clitic triplification is also acceptable, which potentially causes problems for González López's hypothesis.¹⁴ This suggests the data fit best within another framework, one that characterizes Spanish clitics as object-agreement morphemes. This theory has been well attested in the literature (Franco, 1993, 2000; Suñer, 1989; Fontana, 1993; Klavans, 1995). In many ways, this theory is related to the base generation hypothesis and the view of clitics as phrasal affixes. In fact, Franco (1993, 2000) argued that there is a continuum from inflectional affixes to full words, though he does not claim separate rules for all clitics. He contends that Spanish clitics are moving toward inflectional affixation.

Languages that have object agreement morphology are quite prevalent. In fact, even the English prefix *be* at one point functioned as an object marking morpheme, converting an intransitive verb into a transitive. For example, the word *be-speak* meant "to speak about, for, or to" in contrast to the intransitive *speak* (OED). When Spanish is compared with a language like Basque, which has a clear example of an object agreement inflectional system, it seems plausible that Spanish clitics are best interpreted in this way. Franco (1993, 2000) gave ten attributes of languages with object agreement morphology: strict adjacency to host, syntactic unit with host, same specific host, fixed order, feature erosion in forms, different paradigms selection, co-occurrence with accusative arguments, unrestricted co-occurrence, obligation of co-occurrence, and co-occurrence with prepositionless noun phrase. Southern Cone Spanish adheres to eight of these features, whereas Standard Spanish adheres to six. As previously shown, Spanish clitics cannot be separated from the host, either V or the auxiliary. They have a set order, whether they appear as enclitics or proclitics, and they also enter into syntactic operations with the host V (*i.e.* the entire constituent of Clitic + V would move Infl). Furthermore, Franco (1993) and Landa (1995) argued that *leísmo* is further evidence for this view, as it is an instance of feature erosion.¹⁵ It is interesting to note that *leísmo* is purely morphological. The etymological dative behaves exactly as the accusative in syntactic operations. By casting Spanish clitics as object agreement morphemes this further solves the aforementioned thorny problem of doubled DPs. With an object agreement morphological system there is typically co-occurrence of the DP and the object morpheme. When there is no full DP, there may be object dropping, similar to Spanish subject

¹⁴ The sentence that showed triplification was: 'Le quiero irle a darle una sorpresa.'
Him_{cl} want_{1sg} go.him_{cl} give.him_{cl} a surprise
'I want to go give him a surprise'

This sentence was the most problematic for the subjects. Perhaps since there are such strong prescriptive feelings against this construction, the respondents stated that it sounded strange but possible, especially, as one speaker noted, "in fast speech due to inattention." Unlike Italian, it is much more difficult to have a clitic in three positions, since enclisis is prohibited on past participles. This, as well as general lexical prohibitions, may be the reason for the difficulty in creating a realistic sentence with triplification.

¹⁵ *Leísmo* refers to the phenomenon in which the etymologically dative form is used for the accusative in certain contexts.

dropping. Franco argues that Romance languages in general are moving toward object agreement morphology, but it is Spanish which is most advanced in this respect.

Etymologically, this view appears valid. Klavans (1995) claimed that Spanish does not fit well into her view of clitics. She contends that the language is moving away from phrasal affixation to verbal affixation and therefore no longer attaches to V' but to V. Old Spanish did comply with Wackernagel's law. Fontana (1993) showed that, unlike Modern Spanish, Old Spanish required that the clitic appear after the 1st clause, irrelevant to the syntactic conditions.

(20)

- a. pero que **lo** non fallamos en toda la estoria¹⁶ (Alphonse X, in Fontana 1993)
But that it_{cl} not find_{3 pl} in all the history
'but never have we found this in all of history'
- b. por que **las** vos dexastes (Poema del Mio Cid, in Fontana, 1993)
because them_{cl} you left
'because you abandoned them'
- c. por que **te** assi encerreste (Alphonse X, in Fontana 1993)
why yourself_{cl} thus locked₂
'Why did you lock yourself up this way?'

The examples in (20) coincide more strongly with the other examples provided by Klavans (1995) and Anderson (2005) to argue for phrasal affixation. In fact, Klavans further stated that Old Spanish words such as *quem* (*que* + *me*) and *fuel* (*fue* + *el*) show that the host to the clitic is C, rather than V. Additionally, Comrie (1989) contended that most inflectional affixes are derived from full words. Consider the Spanish example of the future tense that once was a phrase made up of an infinitive and the auxiliary *haber*.

(21) Spanish Future

Old Spanish	→	Modern Spanish
amar he	→	amaré
amar has	→	amarás

Spanish clitic reduplication fits quite well within the view of Spanish clitics as object agreement morphemes. Fontana (1993) cited Lipski (1990), who showed that Andean Spanish also produce utterance with clitic reduplication, complicating the notion that the phenomenon was restricted to Southern Cone Spanish. Lipski argues that Quechua has inflectional morphology marking for object agreement and that there is a possible transfer effect to Spanish. The transfer effect would not explain Southern Cone Spanish and begs the question concerning the reasons for which the benefactive, locative, ablative, or any of the other nineteen case suffixes present in Quechua are not transferred to Spanish, unless the transfer effect is facilitated due to Spanish already having most of an object agreement system. Interestingly, Mapudungun, the language of the largest indigenous Chilean group, the Mapuche, also has object agreement morphology (Baker, 2003).

The reduplication of object agreement morphemes could be added to the list of eight features that Basque and Southern Cone Spanish share. Fernández & Albizu (2006) show that in

certain varieties of Basque, the dative suffixes may occur twice and even three times as shown in (22):

- (22)
- | | | | |
|----|--------------------|--|--------------------------|
| a. | (Niri) esaten | d-i- da -zu ¹⁷ | (Standard Basque) |
| | I say | expl-root-D _{1sg} E _{2sg} | |
| | ‘You say it to me’ | | |
| b. | (Niri) erraiten | d- e- i- ta -zü-t | (Zuberoa ¹⁸) |
| | I say | expl-vow-root-D _{1sg} -E _{2sg} -D _{1sg} | |
| | ‘You say it to me’ | | |
| c. | (Niri) erraiten | d- e- i- ta- da - zü-t | (Zuberoa) |
| | I say | expl-vow-root-D _{1sg} -D _{1sg} -E _{2sg} -D _{1sg} | |
| | ‘You say it to me’ | | |

Much like Spanish, there is no ostensible change in meaning between the instances of a single morpheme and those with two or three. It seems as though whatever restrictions exist in the language module, reduplication of object agreement morphemes is not among them.

As (22) shows, there do not seem to be as many restrictions on repetition in morphology as there is in syntax. Redundancy is not only permitted, but in fact appears to be a common feature of morphology. In English, for instance, the phrase *is running* marks the progressive tense with both the auxiliary *be* and the suffix *-ing*. This is not restricted to dissimilar morphemes performing the same function. In a pluralized English DP, as in *the white cars*, the plural is only reflected in the noun *cars*. However, the Spanish equivalent is marked by the plural suffix *os* on all of the words: *los autos blancos*.¹⁹ At the word level, a parallel construction can be seen in dialects of the Berber languages. The feminine form on nouns is marked by the circumfix *t...t*, so that the word for hand *afus* is changed to *tafust*. Ostensibly, it also explains why the clitic’s host is not necessarily the word with which it shares a grammatical relationship.

Sportiche (1993) and Eisenclas (2003) found that many Spanish- and French-speaking children make the “error” of clitic reduplication. Instead of providing evidence for the argument that the speakers have not yet mastered copy-deletion, it is possible that the children are set to a system in which the present morphological features must permeate through an XP, number and gender agreement in DPs, and object-agreement in VPs, thereby only restricting their grammar once they receive evidence that reduplicated clitics are not permitted. Children do not receive robust negative evidence in certain Spanish dialects.

Further evidence for treating Spanish clitics as closer to inflectional morphemes comes from those with language impairments. Bedore and Leonard (2001) showed that children with SLI (Specific Language Impairment) did not perform as well as younger children with similar Mean Length of Utterances (MLU) with respect to direct object clitics, noun plural inflections, and adjective agreement inflections.²⁰ While the authors associated clitics with NPs rather than VPs, the data have some important implications. The children were weaker with the three

¹⁷ D-dative, E-ergative, expl- expletive , vow- thematic vowel

¹⁸ An eastern dialect of Basque.

¹⁹ Note that gender, which is not present in English, also extends through the phrase.

²⁰SLI is a genetic impairment of an aspect or aspects of language when there are no other developmental impairments. The impairment varies by person, and the type of impairment depends on the area of the brain affected. The study by Bedore and Leonard deals with SLI in Broca’s area. Any type of impairment in Broca’s area, genetic (SLI) or by an insult (aphasia), impairs fluency and leaves only content words available to the speaker.

aforementioned morphemes, yet they performed just as well as the children with similar MLUs with respect to indefinite and definite articles. In addition, the children performed better on function words but worse on agreement inflections and direct object clitics, implying that Spanish clitics share a closer relationship with agreement inflections than function words. Miceli and Caramazza (1988) found that an Italian aphasic performed poorly with inflectional affixes, while maintaining a high level of competence in derivational affixation. The patient also showed difficulty with clitics. While there are some differences between Italian and Spanish clitics, they are perhaps similar enough to make assumptions about Spanish clitics based on this study, especially if one assumes Franco's argument that the Romance languages may be moving toward object-agreement systems. Data from the aphasic patient demonstrated that there are strong similarities between inflectional affixes and clitics.

This view of clitic duplication implies that these grammatical features represent a continuum rather than a strict division. It is not so simple to label Spanish clitics; they are not words, pronouns, affixes, or phrasal affixes. As has been shown, morphological features may be duplicated, as in the *os* in Spanish or *t...t* in Berber, yet duplication is present in morphemes which are not yet fully bound. Assuming a continuum, could it be assumed that grammatical duplication exists in other places along the scale? Between lexical content words and bound grammatical morphemes more co-referential duplication closer to right of the scale should be seen:

(23)

Content words	Function words	Phrasal Affixes/Clitics	Spanish Clitics	Bound morphemes
---------------	----------------	----------------------------	-----------------	--------------------

Content words should adhere to Kayne's Linear Correspondence Axiom (1994) and Nunes's (2004) linearization, but the farther right one moves on the scale, the less these principles hold. In fact, this is exactly what is seen. Two co-indexed content words which perform the same grammatical function are rarely seen, but do exist:

(24)

- a. R-yu'lààa'z **Gye'eihllyi Gye'eihllyi.** (San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec)
 HAB-like Mike Mike
 'Mike likes himself.'
- b. **I LOSE_i BOOK LOSE_i** (Brazilian Sign Language)
 'I lost the book.'

In both of the examples from Bošković and Nunes (2007), content words are repeated, yet both duplicated instances play different grammatical roles. The proper name *Gye'eihllyi* in (24a) actually acts as the reflexive, as is the norm for San Lucas Quiaviní Zapotec, and the duplicated VP in Brazilian sign language is an optional constituent which acts as a focus phrase.

Contrastively, duplication with function words is much more common. McDaniel (1986) cites examples of duplication of both prepositional phrases and wh-phrases in German. De Volgelaer and Devos (2008) show that certain dialects of Dutch permit subject pronoun doubling. West Swedish permits up to three 1st person singular subject pronouns (Barbiers, 2008). In

comparison with content words, these reduplicative elements have no obvious difference in meaning, similar to reduplicated clitics and bound morphemes.²¹

Ultimately, further research will need to be pursued to reinforce or dispute the findings of this quite limited study. Due to the prescriptive attitudes of some of the participants, it may be more helpful to interview Chilean speakers who are more accustomed to reduplicating clitics, as they perhaps would not be as biased against the phenomenon. While the sociolinguistic literature helps to counteract some of these negative attitudes by providing authentic examples, the literature only gives positive evidence of the phenomenon. Finally, a consideration of previous literature in addition to the current study reveals that it appears to be more difficult to reduplicate content words without changing the meaning. It seems that whatever the rules formulated for explaining the deletion process for moved constituents, they must take this into account. Linearization clearly treats non-function words differently; whether this is a result of morphological fusion, separate constituents at numeration, and/or abstract meaning related invisibility at linearization is debatable.

IMPLICATIONS FOR SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

This view of clitics has some important implications for second language acquisition and language pedagogy. For instance, the argument that clitics are pronouns may inhibit a learner's understanding of the phenomenon. Liceras (1985) found that while native English-speaking learners of Spanish could come to acquire clitics, their most common mistakes were omitting clitics in clitic doubling situations, as in (25a), or placing the clitics behind finite verbs as in (25b):

(25)

- a. *Ella ofrece a él
She offers to him

- b. *una azafata preguntales
a flight.attendant asks.them_{cl}

These mistakes reflect an assumption that clitics are pronominal in nature and take the place of a full DP. In (24a) the native speaker of English assumes that the clitic is not necessary since there is already an object (possibly giving credence to the idea of a Universal Grammar based resistance to violating the theta criterion). In (25b) the speaker places the clitic in an argument position, seemingly treating it as a pronominal variant of the full DP. If it is assumed that Romance “pronominal” clitics are a move toward affixation (Chilean Spanish being the most developed), this could partially explain why French or Spanish learners of English rarely, if ever, make the mistake of **I them see* (Zobl, 1980). The correct structure for (25b) would be *una azafata les pregunta*, which would run counter to the normal SVO structure of Spanish, just like *je les vois* runs counter to French's standard SVO structure. These errors are consistent with the idea that French and Spanish speakers do not represent their clitics as object pronouns but rather

²¹ This is not to say that there is no meaning difference between a sentence with a reduplicated function word and/or clitic and one without, just that the meaning difference is much more subtle. Reduplicative content words have clear meaning differences, like that of pluralization or focus. See Leal de Andrad (2010) for a discussion on clitic climbing and differences in register in European Portuguese.

as part of an object agreement morphology system.²² Spanish clitics are one of the most difficult aspects to master for L2 speakers of Spanish (Sanchez, 1999). While pronouns can be problematic, they are not considered one of the more difficult aspects of language learning. Morphology, however, is considered much more difficult. Ideally, Spanish teachers should not treat these clitics as pronouns, but recognize that as part of object agreement morphology, clitics may present a greater challenge to learning.

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²² French causes some problems for this view since it does not permit clitic doubling nor is it a pro-drop language. It would need to be explained why French permits object dropping but not subject dropping. Morphological richness is often given as an explanation for the licensing of subject dropping so this could be an explanation for object dropping as well. Spanish and Italian verbs are inflected for subject so dropping is licensed. French and English, in this case morphologically poor languages, are not inflected for subject so dropping is not permitted. By extension, French and Spanish are (becoming) morphologically rich with respect to object agreement so object dropping is allowed. This argument has problems though. The relationship between richness and pro-dropping is not as strong as it first seems. German and Icelandic are morphologically rich but not pro-drop and Chinese and Korean are morphologically poor but are pro-drop (Muller, 2007). Possibly there is not a unifying argument dropping parameter but rather separate parameters for object dropping and subject dropping. Or possibly the French object agreement system is so much less developed that it still performs in many ways like a pronoun.

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APPENDIX

1. Voy a leer las noticias de lo que pasó ayer.
2. María se fue a dormir hace un rato
3. A mí me gusta tener toda la información antes de empezar.
4. ¿Qué les iba a contarles Juan?
5. ¿Cuándo se lo vas a recordárselo?
6. Vámonos acostumbrándonos a este país poco a poco.
7. Su mascota se acaba de morir.
8. Juan se atrevió a tirarse al río.
9. ¿Cuándo lo vas a intentarlo?
10. Me voy a la playa para tomar el sol.
11. Nos vamos acostumbrándonos a este país poco a poco.
12. Le iban a ofrecerle ayuda a la niña
13. No lo puedo creerlo
14. Rodrigo se la acaba de ponérsela.
15. Los niños no se iban a comerse los dulces.
16. Las personas que no la van a escucharla van a ver un video.
17. Ya le voy a darle el dinero.
18. Iván no se lo iba a decírselo.
19. La profesora que me iba a darme una mala nota se rompió su pierna esquiando.
20. El barco se iba a hundirse.
21. No le voy a cobrarle todavía.
22. Ya se lo puedo decírselo.
23. Les voy a cortarles los ruedos(los hilos) a esas polleras (a esas camisas).
24. Le quiero irle a darle una sorpresa.
25. Los alumnos que ya se lo van a entregárselo pueden empezar a leer el próximo capítulo.
26. Los trabajadores ya se acabaron de tomarse unos tragos.
27. El jefe que le va a despedirle a David se fue de vacaciones.
28. Le quiero irle a darle una sorpresa.
29. Mis tías le acabaron de hablarle a ella.
30. Rodrigo las insistió en comprarlas.