Specificity in Clitic Doubling and in Differential Object Marking[1]

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Abstract

Many languages that display Differential Object Marking (DOM) and Clitic Doubling (CD), like Spanish and Romanian, show specificity restrictions in both grammatical environments. This paper is devoted to the problem of explaining why specificity effects are present in those constructions. I intend to give an answer to two interrelated questions: (i) What kind of connection holds between the two kinds of object marking?; (ii) How do specificity effects arise in both cases?

An answer to question (i) involves a reexamination of the fundamental intuition behind so-called 'Kayne's generalization', i.e., the assumption that CD requires the object to be case-marked. I claim that the systematic co-occurrence of CD and DOM in certain languages is simply an effect of their semantic contribution to the proposition expressed. As for question (ii), my claim is that there is no unified account of specificity restrictions. In CD, they originate in the [+definite] feature of the clitic and the interpretive requirements it imposes on the associate DP (Gutiérrez-Rexach 2001): when the associate is an indefinite DP, the only way it can obey the matching condition established by the

definite clitic in the doubling configuration is being assigned a specific (partitive or discourse-linked) reading. DOM, on the contrary, is not associated with specificity by means of definiteness and discourse-dependence. The basic property that triggers specificity constraints in DOM contexts, whatever it may be, does not give rise to the same presuppositionality effects and anaphoric readings that CD forces. Thus, specificity effects derive from different semantic features in the two constructions.

1.   Introduction

Spanish and Romanian, among Romance languages, exhibit a systematic combination of two different devices for object marking, i.e., Clitic Doubling (hereinafter, CD) and Differential Object Marking (hereinafter, DOM). In this paper I will discuss mostly Spanish[2] data, with the aim of focusing on the well known specificity constraints that hold both in CD and in DOM, and offering an account of their similarities and differences. I will restrict my attention to direct object CD; moreover, I will assume that Clitic Dislocation constructions are different from genuine CD and I will have nothing to say about them (see Jaeggli 1986, Fernández Soriano 1999 and Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2006 for some arguments along these lines[3]).

There are two reasons to look at the grammatical properties of CD and DOM jointly. The first one was already pointed out in Kayne (1975): there seems to be a strong grammatical dependence between the two mechanisms, because in Spanish and Romanian DOM is required for CD to occur. Such dependence is usually expressed by means of what is known as *Kayne's Generalization*, which I reproduce in (1), from Jaeggli (1982: 20):

(1)   An object NP may be doubled by a clitic only if the NP is preceded by a preposition.

Examples like those in (2) and (3), again from Jaeggli (1982: 14), show that in Spanish, at least in Standard European Spanish[4] and in the Porteño[5] variety,

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2. See von Heusinger and Onea (this volume) for a thorough study of CD and DOM in Romanian.

3. Apart from solid arguments based on syntactic differences, there are also semantic reasons for treating CD and Clitic Dislocation as independent constructions: the strongest one is that Clitic Dislocation does not obey any constraint on definiteness or specificity, while CD typically does. Nonetheless, there seems to be a robust historical relation between the two constructions (see Gabriel and Rinke to appear).

4. I use the term *Standard European Spanish* to refer to the common variety spoken in Spain that is also the default variety described in grammars and textbooks.

5. Porteño or Rioplatense is the variety spoken in the River Plate area, in Argentina and Uruguay.

the generalization holds: CD only occurs when the direct object is preceded by the preposition *a*.

(2)   a.   *Vimos   a   él.*   (Standard and all varieties)
           see.PST.1.PL DOM him
           'We saw him.'

        b.   **Lo** *vimos   a   él.*
           CL   see.PST.1.PL DOM him

        c. *__Lo__ *vimos   él.*
           CL   see.PST.1.PL him

(3)   a.   *Vimos   a   Guille.*   (Porteño)
           see.PST.1.PL DOM Willy
           'We saw Willy.'

        b.   **Lo** *vimos   a   Guille.*
           CL   see.PST.1.PL DOM Willy

        c. *__Lo__ *vimos   Guille.*
           CL   see.PST.1.PL Willy

Kayne's Generalization immediately raises two questions: is there a causal relation between CD and DOM? If so, what is the nature of such relation? I conflate these questions into the following one, which constitutes the first issue I intend to address (in Section 2):

> Question A
> *What kind of connection holds between CD and DOM?*

A second reason for considering CD and DOM as related matters is the fact that they share a significant number of properties. The following three can be emphasized:

(a) Although there is some significant dialectal variation that I cannot address here, both devices are basically sensitive to animacy factors, as shown in (4) and (5), where CD and DOM are ungrammatical with inanimate objects (see Fernández Soriano 1999 and Torrego 1999 for an overview of the animacy constraint). This is certainly not unexpected among object marking mechanisms, which tend to distinguish human and animate objects from inanimate ones (see, for instance, Lyons 1999: Chapter 5, and Corbett 2006: Chapter 6 for an overview of the interaction of animacy and agreement)

(4)   *__Lo__ *vimos   eso*   (Standard European)
        CL see.PST.1.PL that
        'We saw that.'

CD in Porteño has been extensively studied and discussed in Jaeggli (1982, 1986), Suñer (1988, 1989, 1991), Parodi (1998), Estigarribia (2006) and Belloro (2007), among others.

(5)   **Vimos   *a*   *la*   *casa*.   (Standard European)
       see.PST.1.PL   DOM   the   house

(b) Another common property of CD and DOM is a more or less systematic requirement of a specific interpretation of the object (see Suñer 1988, Brugè and Brugger 1996, Anagnostopoulou 1999, Torrego 1999, Aissen 2003, von Heusinger and Kaiser 2003, Leonetti 2004, Bleam 2006). This is the central issue addressed in this work, and thus I will leave its discussion for Sections 3 and 4; I will use the term *specificity effects* to refer to the consequences of the requirement in both constructions. A number of related facts may be treated as simple by-products of the specificity condition in CD and DOM: the constraint against bare nouns and incorporated nominals, the preference for wide scope readings, and the fading of weak-crossover effects (see Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, Suñer 1991, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1997; also Section 3).

It is important to recall that the vast majority of specificity effects in environments such as DOM, CD and other kinds of object marking like scrambling (Object Shift) appear when the grammatical operations involved (marking, doubling, movement) are optional. Once they become obligatory, the usual result is the loss of semantic import and thus the disappearance of referential constraints on direct objects.

(c) Both from a diachronic and a synchronic perspective, CD and DOM expand along the same paths obeying the same general principles. Basically, their evolution and their cross-linguistic distribution reproduce the internal structure of the well known animacy and definiteness scales in (6) and (7). Such scales have revealed themselves to be fundamental tools for the comparative analysis of several grammatical phenomena[6] (cf. Ariel 1990, Aissen 2003).

(6)   *Animacy Scale*
       Human > Animate > Inanimate

(7)   *Definiteness Scale*
       Personal Pronoun > Proper Name > Definite NP > Specific Indefinite NP > Non-specific Indefinite NP

The diachronic evolution of the two types of object marking starts from animate personal pronouns and proper names and develops along the definiteness scale towards definite direct objects, and finally to specific indefinites, and even

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6. The semantic property underlying the definiteness scale is the easiness of location of referents, understood as a gradual or scalar notion (*referential stability*, in Farkas and von Heusinger's 2003 terms). This means that the scale can be reduced to the combination of a few basic notions, and that it is not a theoretical primitive itself.

non-specific indefinites in certain varieties; as for the animacy scale, the process always starts with human referents and extends towards animate and inanimate beings (see von Heusinger and Kaiser 2003, 2005, von Heusinger and Onea this volume, Aissen 2003 and Laca 2006 for recent approaches to the evolution of DOM in Spanish, and Company 2006 and Gabriel and Rinke to appear for CD). The result of this evolutionary path is a picture of contemporary dialectal variation that still reproduces the internal order of the scales: the most restrictive varieties allow CD with human referents and pronouns only, and DOM with animate referents mostly and definite and indefinite specific direct objects, but innovative varieties (in Latin America) use both CD and DOM even with inanimate referents and non-specific indefinites (see 3.3 for data). This diachronic and synchronic parallelism cannot have originated by chance and is in need of an explanation which is not merely stipulative. The properties shared by CD and DOM raise a number of interesting questions, but in this paper I intend to concentrate exclusively on the following one, as the second central issue I want to address:

> Question B
> *How do specificity effects arise in CD and DOM? Is there a unified*
> *explanation for them?*

I intend to devote Section 3 to a discussion of specificity effects in CD, and Section 4 to some general considerations on specificity effects in object marking. Section 5 presents my conclusions and some unanswered questions.

My argumentation, mainly inspired by previous work by M. Suñer, J. Gutiérrez-Rexach and E. Anagnostopoulou, will be essentially as follows. As for question A, I maintain that there certainly is a strong connection between CD and DOM, but Kayne's Generalization is not the appropriate way of dealing with it. I argue that an answer based on semantic principles has to be given to question A, which ultimately depends on the way we approach question B. Given that in this case I assume that something has to be said on the semantic contribution of CD and DOM to the proposition expressed, I try to explain specificity effects in CD on the basis of the role of the clitic's [+definite] feature inside the doubling configuration, in order to show that specificity effects in CD and DOM must originate in different ways. An immediate consequence is the unavailability of a unified explanation for all of them. A second consequence is the possibility of accounting for the fact that CD contexts are a subset of DOM contexts in Spanish, as noticed by some authors (Bleam 1999).

The basic hypothesis I am developing in this paper, already advanced in Leonetti (2004), is the idea that specificity is not among the semantic features that syntactic nodes can encode, and is thus neither encoded in CD syntax nor in DOM syntax: it is rather inferentially obtained in the process of recovering

the proposition explicitly communicated by an utterance.[7] Once an explicit answer to question B has been given, I try to add some final speculations on the answer to question A.

Although in this paper I am focusing on the semantics of CD, some clarification concerning the syntax of pronominal clitics and doubling constructions in Spanish is worth here. My proposal is basically in line with the so-called 'Big DP Hypothesis' (Uriagereka 1995, Cecchetto 1999): I assume that (accusative) clitics are definite determiners, as in most recent research.[8] They are generated in argument position and give rise to complex referring expressions ('big DPs') when they combine with their associated DPs. This analysis ensures that the clitic and the associate stand in a local relation at some stage in the derivation. The version of the 'Big DP Hypothesis' advocated in Uriagereka (1995) is reproduced in (8).

(8)
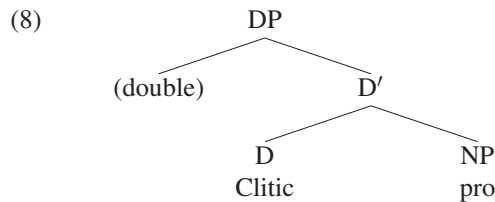
Treating clitics as D heads means avoiding an analysis of clitics as agreement markers, at least for accusative forms in most Spanish varieties.[9] However, this is perfectly compatible with considering Spanish dative clitics as inflections or agreement morphemes. In fact a non-uniform analysis of accusative and dative clitics is justified by the absence of distributional and interpretive

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7. See Sperber and Wilson (1986) for a comprehensive view of the role of inference in human communication. In this paper I will be concerned with the inferential development of the output of grammatical principles (the level of *logical form* in Sperber and Wilson's terms) into the proposition explicitly communicated by an utterance (the level of *explicatures*).

8. There are alternative proposals that regard clitics as φ heads instead of D heads (cf. Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002), which I do not adopt for several reasons, the main one being that treating clitics as D elements is a natural way of capturing the semantic properties of doubling constructions.

9. It is important to stress the fact that, in my proposal, CD would be a full instance of object agreement only when it is the default option for any kind of object DP and when it triggers no interpretive effects (i.e. when it is close to the functioning of subject agreement); this could be the case of obligatory dative CD with experiencer arguments, in most Spanish varieties. As for accusative CD, it is slowly evolving towards object agreement status, but still is an optional mechanism of object marking that is governed by certain semantic constraints. This precludes an analysis of accusative clitics in CD as proper agreement markers (at least if a distinction between "pure agreement markers" and "pronominal affixes" is to be maintained; cf. Corbett 2006: 101).

restrictions on dative CD, compared to accusative CD, and it has been advocated in Sportiche (1996), Roca (1996), Bleam (1999) and Gutiérrez-Rexach (2000).[10] As I intend to focus on accusative CD and its relation with DOM, I am not dealing with the asymmetry between accusative and dative clitics.[11]

2.   Kayne's generalization

As already mentioned, the goal of this section is to answer question A (*What kind of connection holds between CD and DOM?*). The Spanish data in (2) and (3) represent prima facie evidence in favour of Kayne's Generalization and suggest that CD implies DOM. Romanian confirms the generalization, as shown in (9) and (10), quoted in Anagnostopoulou (2006: 540–541):

(9)   a.   *Am   văzut-o   pe   ea*.
                have.1.SG   seen-CL   DOM   her
                'I have seen her.'
         b.   **Am văzut-o ea*.
         c.   *?Am văzut pe ea*.

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11. One of the reviewers points out that the behaviour of accusative and dative clitics in doubling might not be as asymmetric as it is usually stated, in the light of contrasts such as the following one:

   (i)   *Los bancos comerciales prestan dinero a los pobres.*

   (ii)   *Los bancos comerciales les prestan dinero a los pobres.*
           'Commercial banks lend money to the poor'

   According to the reviewer, the indirect object *los pobres* is interpreted as already mentioned information (salient in the discourse) if there is clitic doubling, as in (ii), but it is not necessarily presuppositional when there is no doubling, as in (i). This is quite a subtle contrast (which I do not share), but it shows that at least in some varieties dative CD has the same kind of semantic import that accusative CD typically has, forcing anaphoric, D-linked, or presuppositional readings (see 3.2). An account of the facts could be obtained simply extending my proposal for accusatives to datives too, in environments where dative CD is the preferred option, but is not strictly obligatory, such as ditransitive constructions –just the syntactic contexts where some semantic effect is expected, if the clitic is definite. Moreover, some well known properties that dative CD shares with English double object constructions (binding asymmetries, frozen scope effects; cf. Cuervo 2003) could also be derived from the conditions that the clitic enforces in the doubling configuration. In that case, dative CD in ditransitive constructions should be treated in the same way as accusative CD, and dative clitics should be regarded as definite determiners in that case (but as inflections in other instances of CD with no semantic import). I will not pursue this matter further here.

(10) a. *Am   văzut   altceva.*
          have.1.SG seen   something else
          'I have seen something else.'
     b. **Am văzut *pe altceva*.*
     c. ***L*-am   văzut   *pe*   *altceva*.
          CL-have.1.SG seen   DOM   something else

In (9) CD is strongly preferred (cf. von Heusinger and Onea, this volume), and DOM (*pe*-marking) is obligatory (the direct object is [+human] and [+pronominal]), while in (10) both *pe*-marking and CD are impossible (the direct object is a non-specific, [−human], indefinite). Assuming, then, that the generalization is adequate, what has to be established is whether the dependence of CD on DOM is a reflection of certain syntactic principles or, alternatively, is due to semantic factors (see Bleam 1999: Chapter 5 and Anagnostopoulou 2006: 534–548 for a thorough discussion). Classical accounts of Kayne's Generalization, like the one defended in Jaeggli (1982), favour a purely syntactic solution, which Bleam (1999: 190) dubs *The Dependence Hypothesis*. The responsible mechanism is Case: as in a doubling construction clitics are supposed to absorb accusative case from the verb, the lexical NP would be caseless, hence violating the Case Filter, unless an extra case assigner, the preposition *a*, provides an independent way to receive case. This means positing a causal relation between CD and DOM (CD implies, and requires, DOM), and treating *a*-marking as a simple case-saving device. This last assumption is difficult to argue for, given that *a*-marking appears independently of doubling, and Suñer (1988) already criticized Case-theoretic approaches to CD and DOM.

Even if alternative technical solutions could be implemented to obtain a suitable version of the Dependence Hypothesis, there would still be, in any case, enough evidence that it is clearly inadequate, at least for two reasons. The first one is the existence of empirical data that do not fit the hypothesis, and the second one is that it is unable to offer any insight on the deep underlying connection between CD and DOM. As for the first issue, Anagnostopoulou (1999, 2006) shows that all Balkan languages that have CD (e.g., Bulgarian, Albanian, Macedonian and Greek) present counterexamples to Kayne's Generalization, given that in such languages CD is not dependent on the presence of a preposition (in Greek CD is actually blocked when the indirect object is a PP). This means not only that the generalization was a spurious one, but that any approach to CD based on the absorption of Case by clitics will fail to capture the Balkan CD data. Clear counterexamples to the generalization can be found in Spanish dialects too. Suñer (1988: 399–400) puts forward examples from Porteño where CD is possible in the absence of *a* (notice that they constitute violations of the previously mentioned animacy restriction, because CD is extended to inanimate objects):

(11)   a.   ***Lo***   *voy*   *a*   *comprar* ***el diario***   *justo*
           CL   go.1.sɢ   to   buy   the   newspaper   just
           antes de subir.
           before coming up
           'I am going to buy the newspaper just before coming up.'

      b.   *Ahora tiene*   *que seguir usándo***lo el apellido***.*
           Now   have.3.sɢ   to   go on   using   it   the   surname
           'Now (s)he has to go on using the surname.'

Similar examples are perfectly acceptable in several Spanish dialects spoken in bilingual areas in Latin America, in particular those where Spanish is in contact with languages like Quechua, Aymara and Guaraní (see Suñer 1989, Lipski 1996 and Sánchez 2003, 2005, among many others, for relevant data on contact varieties). The following ones are from Lipski (1996) and again show the extension of CD to inanimate objects in many varieties of American Spanish (see Section 3.3):

(12)   a.   *Se*   ***lo***   *llevó*   ***una caja***.
           CL   CL   take.ᴘsᴛ.3.sɢ   a   box
           '(S)he took a box.'

      b.   ***Lo***   *vio*   ***el libro***.
           CL   see.ᴘsᴛ.3.sɢ   the   book
           '(S)he saw the book.'

      c.   *Ya*   ***lo***   *he*   *dejado* ***la llama***.
           Already   CL   have.1.sɢ   left   the   llama
           'I have already left the llama.'

The data show that Kayne's Generalization is falsified not only by languages that exhibit CD and lack DOM (like Greek), but even by languages that possess both CD and DOM and have extended the contexts for CD beyond those for DOM; such is the case in contact varieties of Spanish in Latin America.

     Let's turn now to the second reason for abandoning the hypothesis that there is a causal dependence between CD and DOM. It is simply that such a hypothesis is intrinsically unable to provide insights on the reasons why CD and DOM are somehow related, and in particular on the significant list of common properties that I mentioned in the previous section: the common pattern of synchronic and diachronic variation, the presence of animacy and specificity constraints, their limitation to direct objects. To bring something to light in this area of research a semantically-based hypothesis is needed.

     This is in fact the second option discussed by Bleam (1999: 197) in her overview of Kayne's Generalization: she calls it *The Independence Hypothesis*, because "according to this view, clitic doubling is not dependent on *a*-marking. Both arise for the same reason, but independently". Bleam (1999: 197–201)

notices that CD and DOM cannot depend exactly on the same semantic factor, given that CD cannot appear in all the contexts where DOM appears. In Standard European Spanish the conditions for CD are in fact more restrictive than the conditions for DOM: as already mentioned, only personal pronouns trigger CD, while any kind of animate and definite/specific nominals activate the insertion of *a* (even non-animate objects under certain conditions). In dialects where CD is governed by less restrictive conditions, like the *leísta* variety spoken in the Basque Country, doubling is still acceptable in a smaller number of cases than DOM. In Romanian too, CD takes place only with a subset of the direct objects marked by the preposition *pe* (Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, Farkas and von Heusinger 2003, von Heusinger and Onea this volume). A significant fact, for most Spanish dialects, is that negative quantifiers are usually excluded from CD, but can be *a*-marked, as can be seen in (13):

(13)   *No   conocía   a   nadie.   /   No   (*le/*lo)*
       Neg   know.PST.1.SG   DOM   noone   /   Neg   CL
       conocía   a   nadie.
       know.PST.1.SG   DOM   noone
       'I did not know anyone.'

Moreover, quantifiers like *cada* 'each', *demasiado* 'too much/too many' and *poco(s)* 'few' are compatible with DOM, especially when the object denotes human or animate beings, but unacceptable if doubled in several American varieties (Gutiérrez-Rexach 2000: 328), surely because they cannot be easily assigned specific interpretations:

(14)   a.   *(*Lo) vi   a   cada   hombre.*
            CL   see.PST.1.SG   DOM   each   man
            'I saw each man.'
       b.   *(*Las) quiero   a   demasiadas   mujeres.*
            CL   love.1.SG   DOM   too-many   women
            'I love too many women.'
       c.   *(*Los) conozco   a   pocos   invitados.*
            CL   know.1.SG   DOM   few   guests
            'I know few guests.'

Therefore, the conditions governing CD, at least in Romance languages, are more restrictive than those governing DOM: CD occurs in a subset of the environments where DOM occurs.[12] Actually, this leads to the insight in Kayne's

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12. Further evidence for the different distribution of CD and DOM is provided by the fact that *a*-marked indefinite direct objects can still be ambiguous between a specific and a non-specific interpretation, but if the doubling clitic is added only the specific interpretation survives.

Generalization, i.e., the idea that CD implies DOM. However, the facts still need to be accounted for, possibly in semantic terms. The semantic contribution of the two grammatical devices has to be made precise: only in this way can a plausible answer to question A be obtained. A syntactic approach along the lines of the 'Dependence Hypothesis' does not have much to say on the facts gathered in (13)–(14).

To sum up, CD and DOM seem to be somehow related, in the sense that they are independent mechanisms that, on the one hand, are governed by the same basic factors, and, on the other, show a different distribution due to the more restrictive conditions holding for CD. Thus, an account is needed for both similarities and divergences between the two. Leaving aside the issue of animacy, I will assume that the key factor to examine is represented by specificity effects, so that question B (*How do specificity effects arise in CD and DOM? Is there a unified explanation for them?*) has to be addressed. This is the topic of the following sections.

3.   Specificity in Clitic Doubling

3.1.   Suñer's analysis

The crucial facts for an analysis of specificity effects were pointed out for the first time by Suñer (1988, 1989) in her study of CD in colloquial Argentinian Spanish (Porteño), and are reproduced in the examples in (15):

(15)   a.   ***La*** *oían*   {***a***   ***Paca*** */* ***a***   ***la***   ***niña*** */*
               CL   listen.PST.3.PL {DOM   Paca / DOM   the   girl   /
               a   ***la***   ***gata***}.
               DOM   the   cat}
               'They listened to {Paca / the girl / the cat}.'
         b.   *Diariamente,* ***la*** *escuchaba*   ***a***   ***una mujer***   ***que***
               Daily,   CL   listen.PST.3.SG DOM   a   woman   who
               cantaba.
               sang
               'Daily, (s)he listened to a woman who sang.'

Usually CD further restricts the range of readings available with DOM. Thus, in (i), where the subjunctive mood in the relative clause forces a non-specific reading of the object, DOM is acceptable but CD is excluded (Bleam 1999: 198).

(i)   *Luis   (*****le*/*****lo*) *busca*   ***a***   ***un estudiante***   ***que***   ***hable***   ***francés***.
      Luis   CL   look.3.SG for   DOM   a   student   who   speaks   French
      'Luis is looking for a student who speaks French.'

    c.   *(*La) buscaban   a   alguien   que   los*
         CL   look.PST.3.PL for DOM somebody who CL
         ayudara.
         could help
         'They were looking for somebody who could help them.'

    d.   *(*Lo) alabarán   al   niño que termine*
         CL   praise.FUT.3.P DOM the boy   who finishes
         primero.
         first
         'They will praise the boy who finishes first.'

The data in (15) show that clitic doubling in Porteño requires the object to be specific: it is definite and specific in (15a), indefinite and specific in (15b), indefinite and non-specific in (15c), and finally definite and non-specific in (15d), with the last two examples being ungrammatical in Porteño. The specificity requirement seems to be the essential licensing condition for doubling.[13]

Suñer's analysis takes Spanish clitics as manifestations of object agreement and considers clitic doubling as the mirror image of subject-verb agreement processes, in line with a widely accepted view in recent Spanish linguistics.[14] Suñer suggests that the natural way to capture the facts in (15) is combining a Matching Principle, which states that there can be no clash in features between the clitic and the associate DP, with the specification of certain features in the lexical entry of doubling clitics. It suffices to assume that such clitics may be inherently specified as [+specific] (and maybe [+human]) to derive the semantic restrictions: only DPs with human and specific referents will qualify as elements entering an agreement relation with the clitic in the doubling configuration. The Matching Principle is merely a consequence of indexing in agreement.

Suñer's analysis seems at first sight suitable for doubling phenomena in other languages, like Romanian, where CD is restricted to specific nominal expressions (Farkas and von Heusinger 2003, von Heusinger and Onea this volume). Another obvious advantage of Suñer's approach to direct object doubling in Porteño is the possibility of reducing cross-linguistic variation to language-particular differences in the lexical specification of clitics.[15]

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13. See Belloro (2007) for some critical remarks on this assumption.
14. See Franco (1993, 2000), García Miguel (1991), Roca (1996), Fernández Soriano (1989, 1999). However, the full identification of clitic doubling and agreement poses certain problems, and deserves accurate analyses of all of the factors involved; see Lyons (1999: 5.2.1), Franco (2000) and Corbett (2006) for discussion.
15. Sportiche (1996) represents another attempt to offer a uniform analysis of clitic constructions which is able to deal with cross-linguistic variation, again assigning a prominent role to the feature [+specific], although it is not taken to be an inherent feature of clitics in this case.

However, this approach is based, as much research in the last two decades (cf. Uriagereka 1995), on the assumption that at least accusative clitics are inherently specific expressions. There are good reasons to think that clitics, and in general personal pronouns, are simply [+definite], but not [+specific]. Due to space limitations, I refer the reader to Leonetti (2007) for a number of arguments against positing a [+specific] feature in the lexical entry of pronominal clitics, i.e. against the idea that clitics encode specificity. If clitics and personal pronouns are not inherently specific, then the constraints illustrated in (15) for Porteño cannot be explained along the lines of Suñer's proposal. This will be a basic starting point of my approach to CD in what follows.

3.2. *Definiteness and Clitic Doubling Structures*

In what follows I intend to propose a simple account of specificity effects and related phenomena and then, in the light of such a proposal, discuss the role of CD in discourse and its cross-linguistic variation. An account of the interpretive effects of CD should be based on very simple assumptions: there must be some sort of matching condition (Suñer 1988) holding between the clitic and the doubled DP, and the features involved are limited to case, person, gender and number, on one side – in case they are encoded in the clitic –, and just definiteness, but not specificity, on the other side (see Gutiérrez-Rexach 2001 for a representation of the lexical entries of pronominal clitics). I am assuming a view of definiteness as the encoding of a uniqueness condition: the referent of a definite expression is supposed to be the only entity to which the descriptive content applies, and it is uniquely identifiable by means of such content together with available contextual information (Abbott 1999). If this is true, familiarity, givenness and other properties usually associated to definites are inferentially derived from uniqueness.[16]

Now the crucial question is this: what kind of semantic conditions hold inside a CD configuration? Suppose that the clitic and the DP form a complex

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16. Given that the uniqueness condition encoded in definiteness must be fulfilled in the interpretive process, and that pronouns offer no descriptive content that can lead to the identification of the referent, the only referents pronouns can be associated with are entities which are represented in current short-term memory and at the current centre of attention, i.e., highly accessible referents whose contextual saliency guarantees their identifiability. Such entities in focus generally represent the topic of the preceding utterance and are likely to be the topics of subsequent utterances. It is the interaction between the procedural semantics of definiteness and the hearer's inferential ability that is responsible for the topical and (predominantly) specific nature of the referents corresponding to pronominal clitics. Topicality – in the sense of givenness and discourse prominence- and specificity in pronominal clitics are thus simply contextual effects of definiteness. The fact that clitics and pronouns are high accessibility markers, due to their meaning, becomes the key factor to account for the mostly specific readings of such elements.

referring expression. The clitic behaves like a definite pronoun/determiner and, more precisely, like the head of the complex definite expression (cf. Gutiérrez-Rexach 2001). Thus, it plays a dominant role inside the doubling configuration: it is the clitic that imposes its referential properties on the associate DP. An argument in favour of this crucial assumption can be found in Ordóñez and Treviño (1999: 58–61). They rely on a well known fact in Spanish grammar, i.e., the possibility that certain plural DPs agree with first and second person as well as with third person in the plural verbal paradigm; this can be observed both in subject agreement, as in (16), and CD – to some extent equivalent to object agreement-, as in (17).

(16)   a.   *Los estudiantes tenemos mala memoria.*
            The students   have.1.PL bad   memory
            'We students have bad memory.'
       b.   *Los estudiantes tienen   mala memoria.*
            The students   have.3.PL bad   memory
            'The students have bad memory.'

(17)   a.   *(Los) acusaron   a   los estudiantes.*
            CL.3.PL accuse.PST.3.PL DOM the students
            'They accused the students.'
       b.   *Nos   acusaron   a   los estudiantes*[17]
            CL.1.PL accuse.PST.3.PL DOM the students
            'They accused us students.'

Binding patterns change depending on whether the plural DP is associated or not with first/second person agreement. Plural DPs not associated with such elements can only be coindexed with third person pronouns (this is the default option); plural DPs associated with first/second person agreement/clitics, on the contrary, can only bind first or second person pronouns. Subject agreement and object clitics behave the same way in this respect. Here I will be concerned with clitics only, thus the relevant data are in (18) (from Ordóñez and Treviño 1999: 59):

(18)   a.   **Los acusaron   a   [los estudiantes]$_i$ después*
            CL   accuse.PST.3.PL   DOM   the students   after
            de que hablasen   de   nosotros$_i$
            that   talk.PST.3.PL about us
            'They accused the students$_i$ after they talked about us$_i$.'

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17. This absence of matching in person features (1p/2p in the clitic, 3p in the DP) produces the only case of CD with lexical DPs that is perfectly acceptable in all Spanish dialects, including Standard European Spanish.

b. ***Nos*** *acusaron*   *a*   [***los estudiantes***]ᵢ *después*
CL   accuse.PST.3.PL DOM   the   students   after
de que hablasen   *de*   *nosotrosᵢ.*
that   talk.PST.3.PL about us
'They accused us studentsᵢ after they talked about usᵢ.'

In (18a) the plural DP, be it associated with the third person clitic *los* or not, cannot be coindexed with the first person pronoun *nosotros* – but it could bind a third person pronoun like *ellos*; in (18b) there is doubling with a first person clitic *nos*, and in this case the plural DP can only be coindexed with a first person pronoun – a binding relation with *ellos* being here completely excluded. This means that in the doubling construction it is the clitic that determines the coreference possibilities of the associate. Such facts suggest that the clitic determines the referential properties of the complex DP. The dominant role of the clitic will be the central idea in what follows.

The consequences of this assumption for the semantics of CD are considered in Gutiérrez-Rexach (2000, 2001). Gutiérrez-Rexach (2001: 124) states that, as a result of the feature selection by the clitic with respect to the associate DP, definiteness – and not specificity – is the relevant feature in doubling constructions: the clitic requires that the expression it merges with have the feature [+ definite], i.e., denote an identifiable entity. According to Gutiérrez-Rexach (2001: 127), the presence of a doubling accusative clitic forces the associated nominal "to behave like a definite" in the context. This is the basic idea I intend to exploit: definiteness has the main role in the interpretive process. Quite informally, I would like to put things this way: the condition imposed by the clitic forces the associate DP to obtain a referential value which corresponds to the clitic's one.[18]

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18. A reviewer notices that the opposite situation could be quite plausible too, especially if the clitic is considered as an agreement marker in doubling contexts: in that case, the level of referentiality of the associate DP would be the factor determining the availability of doubling, and thus doubling as object agreement would simply be a reflection of the pragmatic value of the DP. I believe there are reasons for maintaining the role of the clitic as the trigger of all interpretive conditions, and not as a mere effect of the discourse prominence of the associate DP. On the one hand, the definiteness of the clitic offers a natural explanation for the synchronic and diachronic extension of CD along the Definiteness Scale, as will be shown in Section 3.3. If the opposite view is taken, no account is available for the fact that the relevant factors in CD are just definiteness, specificity or referentiality. Such fact should be derived from general conditions on agreement systems, and certain phenomena, such as CD with complement clauses, would hardly receive an explanation. Moreover, we would lose the possibility to account for the difference between instances of doubling characterized by specificity constraints (accusative CD, due to the definiteness encoded in the clitic) and instances of doubling that are free from those constraints (most cases of dative CD, where I would claim that clitics are no longer [+definite] elements, but proper agreement markers).

However, the condition imposed by the clitic is not always a strict matching condition. Here I depart from the feature identity condition invoked in Suñer (1988). Let's review some different possibilities allowed by grammars.

The most severe case of identity requirement in doubling is manifested when doubling is limited to pronouns, as in Standard European Spanish. In this case the features of the associate DP (except the morphophonological ones) are identical to those of the clitic. It is a pronoun, it is definite, it agrees in gender and number, and it receives the same interpretation. The matching condition, thus, involves definiteness and pronominal status (apart from agreement). But this is just one of the admissible ways out that doubling systems define.

As [+definite] is the only referential feature encoded in clitics, another strict form of matching may involve definiteness but not necessarily pronominal status, and require that the associate DP be not only a definite, but a familiar or discourse-dependent definite, so that the DP shows the same kind of definite reading that a clitic typically exhibits. This is the kind of D-linked reading that Delfitto and Corver (1998) associate to pronouns as incomplete definite descriptions. Such a type of interpretive coincidence between the clitic and its associate clearly manifests itself in Greek. As exhaustively argued in Anagnostopoulou (1999), CD of direct objects in Greek is restricted to definite DPs (there seems to be individual variation in the acceptability of doubled indefinites). Moreover, it excludes novel definites, and requires familiar and prominent referents, identifiable to both speaker and hearer. The two examples in (19), from Anagnostopoulou (1999: 771–772), nicely illustrate the constraint. They differ in their felicity conditions: only (b) (with doubling) indicates shared knowledge by speaker and hearer that the referent is perceptually salient, while (a) (without doubling) is appropriate when the presence of the pedestrian in the street has not been perceived by the hearer.

(19)　　a.　*Proseche! Tha　chtipisis **ton pezo**!*
　　　　　　watch-out FUT hit.2.sɢ　the　pedestrian
　　　　　　'Watch out! You will hit the pedestrian!'
　　　　b.　*Proseche! Tha　**ton** chtipisis **ton pezo**!*
　　　　　　watch-out FUT CL　hit.2.sɢ　the　pedestrian
　　　　　　'Watch-out! You will hit him, the pedestrian!'

Greek data fit into the general picture I am presenting as a case of strong matching not only in definiteness, but in the kind of definite interpretations that pronouns receive (i.e., restricted to familiar/'old', salient/prominent, activated or in focus referents). The facts can be attributed, thus, to the leading role of the clitic inside the doubling chain, as the associate DP is constrained to reproduce the range of readings that clitics allow.

The next possible step in this expansion of doubling to different kinds of DPs is a situation that permits the combination of clitics and indefinite nominals. It

is in this case that specificity effects can be detected (i.e., the case of Porteño and Romanian). Here the matching cannot obviously involve inherent features of the two elements, because the clitic is definite and its associate is indefinite. Then the doubling configuration should be ruled out. But the crucial fact is that, far from giving rise to anomalous sequences, the kind of indefinite associates appearing in examples like (20), from Gutiérrez-Rexach (2001), produces acceptable clitic doubling constructions:

(20) ***Las*** *he*   *visto* ***a***   ***tres*** ***monjas***.
       CL   have.1.sg seen DOM three nuns
       'I have seen three nuns.' (=three of them)

This fact suggests that some sort of matching relation is still operating in (20). The only way of maintaining such a relation is by means of a contextual dependency as part of the indefinite's reading, in the sense of a link to previously established discourse referents: such a dependency insures that the referential properties of the clitic and those of the indefinite DP are equivalent, i.e., both refer to a uniquely identifiable entity, as imposed by definiteness, and both refer to an entity that has to be determined by accessing some kind of contextual information. Now in most cases this means that the indefinite DP has to be given a specific interpretation. In other words, specificity effects arise because a specific interpretation of the associate indefinite DP is the obvious way to obey the matching condition inherent to doubling, thus saving the acceptability of the construction. The [+definite] feature in the clitic finds its corresponding feature in the indefinite DP because the indefinite determiner is assumed to operate on a contextually given set that is inferentially retrieved: it is this given domain of quantification that satisfies the definiteness requirement. The inferential task needed to introduce such an implicit contextual domain into the explicature of the utterance (in Sperber and Wilson's terms; see Sperber and Wilson 1986) is triggered by the need to match the definiteness of the clitic. By means of such a mechanism, a sentence like the one in (20) is thus assigned a reading equivalent to 'I have seen three of the nuns' or 'I have seen three particular nuns'. Notice that there is no formal matching in definiteness in (20), but the mismatch between the definiteness of the clitic and the indefiniteness of the associate is solved at the interpretive level. In fact, it is the definiteness feature encoded in the syntax that drives the inferential task and orients it towards a plausible interpretation: as far as such an interpretation is contextually available, CD is acceptable.

My point is that specificity effects are simply the consequence of the dominant role of the clitic in the doubling configuration. If this is on the right track, specificity, mostly manifested in partitivity, anaphoricity or discourse-linking, as already noticed in Suñer (1988), is triggered by the definite feature

in the clitic,[19] simply because the natural reading of a clitic pronoun has to be discourse-dependent and oriented towards highly accessible referents (the idea that specificity is only a side effect of the combination of other factors is stated explicitly in Gutiérrez-Rexach 2000, 2002). According to this view of specificity effects, the kind of specific readings usually classified under partitivity or discourse-linking (Enç 1991, Farkas 2002) are the most commonly found in doubling constructions.

The device underlying specificity effects should also be responsible for the remaining interpretive properties of CD. In fact such properties can all be derived from my assumptions about the role of the clitic, as I try to show in the rest of this section:

(a) As pointed out in Gutiérrez-Rexach (2000, 2002), only nominals that can have a contextually dependent interpretation – typically, a discourse-linked reading – are acceptable in doubling constructions[20] (cf. the examples in (14)). Discourse-linking is a result of the way the associate DP obeys the matching in definiteness imposed by the clitic. Another well known semantic property of CD, the tendency of doubled DPs to take wide scope over other elements, seems to be a consequence of discourse-linking as well. The scopal effects of CD can be observed in this pair of examples from Sánchez (2005):

(21) a. *Todos   los   estudiantes   respetan   **a   la   profesora   de***
          all   the   students   respect   DOM   the teacher   of
          matemáticas.
          math

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19. The constraints on CD operate at the Semantics/Pragmatics interface, as suggested by Gutiérrez-Rexach (2002); this seems to be due to the following division of labour between semantic content and pragmatic inference: linguistic semantics provides a [+definite] feature and the absence of descriptive content in the clitic, plus whatever semantic content the associate DP carries, and pragmatics introduces the inferential calculus required to adjust the interpretation of the DP to match the referential value of the clitic, as long as it is possible, as a part of the specification of the explicature of the utterance (the process by which the optimization of utterance interpretation obtains). The combination of both levels produces the particular readings that have been signalled in the literature. Definiteness is the trigger of pragmatic inference, as in many other interpretive phenomena (discourse anaphora, or bridging, for instance).

20. Such a constraint also covers the contrasts between different interrogative words in Spanish and Romanian CD (*qué* vs. *cuál*, *cine/ce* vs. *care*), given that only interrogative quantifiers with discourse-linked readings are admissible in CD contexts. Moreover, the absence of weak crossover effects with doubled quantifiers, already pointed out in Suñer (1988, 1991), Dobrovie-Sorin (1990) and Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1997), is due to the disappearance of such effects with referential expressions, and the same account works for a property of doubling constructions that is known as a typical specificity restriction, i.e. opacity for extraction processes (Sánchez 2005).

b. *Todos los estudiantes **la** respetan **a**   **la profesora***
  all   the   students   CL respect DOM the teacher
***de matemáticas**.*
  of math
  'All the students respect the math teacher.'

While (21a) is scopally ambiguous and may describe two different situations, one with a single math teacher who is respected by every student and another one with different teachers respected by students, (21b) is unambiguous: due to CD, the object DP *la profesora de matemáticas* gets wide scope over the quantified expression *todos los estudiantes*, thus referring to a single specific math teacher. The simplest way to give an account of the effect of CD is assuming that distributivity is hardly compatible with context dependent DPs and, generally speaking, with specific and referential expressions: as CD triggers a discourse-linked interpretation of the definite DP and thus blocks distributive readings, the object cannot be interpreted under the scope of the quantified subject. The prediction is that CD makes direct objects scopally independent.[21]

(b) Latin-American linguists have pointed out that in Porteño and other American varieties of Spanish doubling of lexical definite DPs is optionally used to refer to referents that must be accessible from discourse or situational context, but not maximally salient (see Silva-Corvalán 1984, Dumitrescu 1998, Suñer 2000, Sánchez 2003, DeMello 2004, Estigarribia 2006, Belloro 2007). Suñer (2000: 268-271), in her description of doubling in Porteño, states that

> Only those (direct objects) whose referents have previously been introduced in the (extra-) linguistic discourse are doubled; i.e., doubling occurs when the referent is presupposed or identifiable in Suñer's (1988) terminology. Hence, a novel referent is not doubled even if definite; but if it is mentioned again, it is . . .

Sánchez (2003: 49) analyzes CD in the speech of some Quechua – Spanish bilingual communities in Peru, and confirms that doubling is used when the direct object referent is presupposed as a topic or is reintroduced as a potential topic in discourse. Briefly put, she shows that in Peruvian varieties of Spanish, doubling marks certain kinds of given referents, thus working mainly as an anaphoric device (notice that Greek doubling with definite DPs, as described before, does not look very different from doubling of definite DPs in American Spanish). I assume that this is just the kind of situation one can expect in a language when CD is optional with definite lexical DPs.

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21. As pointed out by I. Bosque (p.c.), the contrast in (21) has probably to do with a 'type/token' ambiguity more than with distributivity. If this is true, the effect of CD involves selecting the 'token' reading and excluding the 'type' reading, and the proposed account still holds, given that D-linking would favour 'token' readings.

Once the place of doubling structures among anaphoric markers is made explicit, the relevant question is how to derive this characterization of doubling from the hypothesis on definiteness in CD. Why should doubling typically mark salient / accessible referents instead of active/maximally salient ones, or non-salient ones? A minimal answer needs to rely on two factors. One is an economy principle that bans complex doubling constructions for tasks that can successfully be executed by means of simple clitics or simple DPs. The other one is, again, the role of the two components of the doubling configuration. The lexical DP provides the addressee with the descriptive content needed for referent identification; the clitic introduces definiteness together with a requirement to match its referential value (the Matching Principle). Obeying the clitic's requirement means selecting a subset of the possible readings for the lexical DP: more precisely, those readings based on contextual dependence, with the consequent specialization of doubling structures in familiar, activated, salient referents – or partitivity in the case of indefinites. In sum, the discourse function of doubling is the result of interpretive constraints imposed by the clitic, together with general economy principles that govern pragmatic inference. This is in accordance with my hypothesis on the nature of specificity effects.

(c) The heavily restricted possibility of CD with complement clauses, exemplified in the contrast in (22), is clearly related to the constraint on context dependence, because the main effect triggered by the insertion of the clitic is forcing the embedded proposition to be a part of the contextual background (i.e., the presuppositional reading of the complement clause is once again the result of the need to satisfy the matching condition, as far as definiteness is concerned).[22]

(22) a. *Creo   que esto tiene importancia.*
        think.1.SG that this has   importance
     b. *Ya   lo   creo   que esto tiene importancia.*
        already CL think.1.SG that this has   importance
        'I think this is important indeed.'

In fact, a superficial look at the felicity conditions of two utterances like (22a) and (22b), acceptable in all Spanish dialects and differing only in the presence of the accusative clitic *lo* (as well as the intonational contour and the adverbial *ya*, whose role I can't comment upon here),[23] shows that the first one is context-

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22. See Leonetti (2007) for discussion, and Tsakali (2003) and Kallulli (2006) for related data in Greek and Albanian.

23. The crucial fact is that a sentence like *Ya creo que esto tiene importancia* (with the adverbial *ya*, but without the clitic) conveys something similar to 'Now I think that this is important', with no presuppositional import, which shows that it is the clitic the element that triggers

neutral, while the second one requires accessing some contextual assumptions: more precisely, that the subordinate proposition conveys given information and has to be a part of the contextual background (i.e., has to be pragmatically pre-supposed). Notice that the contrast cannot be described in terms of specificity. A presuppositional reading is the only way for the subordinate proposition to satisfy the condition imposed by CD. The same phenomenon shows up in the following colloquial examples, which may be heard both in European dialects and American varieties:

(23)   a.   *El   día   que   se   **lo**   dije*   ***que si quería***
                 the   day   that   CL   CL   tell.PST.1.SG   that   if   want.PST.3.SG
                 salir   conmigo ...
                 to go out   with me
                 'The day I told {him/her} if (s)he wanted to go out with me ...'

       b.   *Te   **lo**   prometo*   ***que se lo voy   a contar*** ...
                 CL   CL   promise.1.SG   that   CL   CL   go.1.SG   to   tell
                 'I promise you that I am going to tell {him/her} ...'

       c.   *Ya   **lo**   sabía*   ***que tenía   una cosa***
                 already   CL   know.PST.1.SG   that   have.PST.3.SG   a   thing
                 de estas ...
                 of   these
                 'I already knew that (s)he had one of these things ...'

Thus, both specificity effects (with indefinite DPs) and presuppositionality effects (with subordinate clauses) must be seen as a consequence of the clitic's definiteness. To sum up, it seems that most properties of doubling structures can be accounted for without resorting to the coding of particular features (apart from definiteness) in the clitic or in the associated expression.

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the presuppositional value, not the adverbial (I am grateful to Olga Fernández Soriano for this observation). In any case, CD with complement clauses deserves a more careful analysis than the one I can offer here. On the one hand, as already observed in Gutiérrez-Rexach (2002: 339), not all verbs allow CD on their complement clauses; moreover, there is a certain amount of dialectal variation that has never been properly analyzed, as far as I know. On the other hand, as noticed by I. Bosque (p.c.) and one anonymous referee, a sentence like *Lo creo que esto tiene importancia* (without the adverbial *ya*) is not acceptable in most Spanish varieties, which calls for an explanation. The reason is that the string *ya lo creo que* ... has probably become an idiomatic expression in Spanish; as an idiom, it is reluctant to accept any formal modification. This obviously makes it a poor example of CD with complement clause. However, it can still be shown that CD is a productive pattern with subordinate clauses – though a heavily constrained one- by looking at examples like those in (23), systematically present in spontaneous speech. I use the *Ya lo creo que* ... example in (22) simply because it creates a particularly clear presuppositional contrast.

3.3. Clitic Doubling systems

Adopting the hypothesis I am presenting for the interpretation of CD structures allows us to shed some light on how languages and dialects differ in the extension of the doubling mechanism. Cross-linguistic variation in the extension of accusative doubling does not preclude the possibility of a uniform analysis. As pointed out by Anagnostopoulou (1999: 783), all doubling systems occupy a specific position along the definiteness/referentiality scale, and the fact that they observe the grammatical pattern of definiteness underlying the scale allows us to capture basic generalizations (for instance, if a language has doubling with definite descriptions it must permit it with pronouns, but not vice versa; if a language has doubling with indefinites, it must permit it with definites). We might still wonder why definiteness/referentiality has to be the crucial factor in doubling. I propose that this is due to the role of definiteness in the doubling configuration. This factor governs the distribution of doubling constructions in the languages that display clitic doubling: conventional (language-specific) rules determine the extent to which the features in the associate DP have to match the features in the clitic, but the internal organization of referentiality/definiteness scales guarantees that the spreading of doubling will always follow the same path (from pronouns to definite descriptions and then to indefinites) and predicts what kind of doubling systems are conceivable, and which ones are not. The matching condition becomes less and less strict as one proceeds from the left end of the scale towards the right one, with the resulting extension of doubling.

In Standard European Spanish, the condition on doubling states that the associate must agree with the clitic in all its features and even in its pronominal status, so that it has to be a strong pronoun. In Greek, the condition states that the associate DP must refer to an entity that is uniquely identifiable to both speaker and addressee (i.e., it has to be familiar, salient or activated): such a condition extends doubling to pronouns and definite lexical DPs. In Porteño, finally, the condition states that the associate must refer to an entity that is identifiable by the speaker (i.e., specific): in this case, even indefinites are allowed into the doubling configuration, provided that a specific interpretation is available for them.[24] It is important to bear in mind that these conditions on the co-occurrence of clitic and associate DP always represent general properties of the interpretation of pronouns. They constitute a component of each grammatical system.

The definiteness scale is able to capture the main generalizations concerning the extension of doubling, both synchronically and diachronically, as shown in

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24. I am grateful to Udo Klein for his ideas on the formulation of the conditions. See Klein (2007) for a proposal on the successive stages in the reanalysis of identifiability conditions.

Table 1. *Extension of accusative clitic doubling in Spanish*

	Pronouns	Names	Definites	Indefinites	
				+Spec	−Spec
Standard European Spanish	×				
Lima, Córdoba	×	×	×		
Porteño Spanish	×	×	×	×	
Contact dialects	×	×	×	×	×

Table 1, where I include the grammatical systems mentioned so far (Standard European Spanish, Porteño), together with some varieties not mentioned previously (Lima and Córdoba Spanish, which allow doubling with definites, but not with indefinites), and finally the special case of contact varieties in South America.[25]

Standard European Spanish is obviously the most restrictive doubling system: clitic doubling is only allowed with personal pronouns, so that the two expressions involved match in definiteness and in pronominal status too. However, there is evidence showing that spoken Spanish is slowly evolving towards the next stages in the hierarchy.

Greek, as already discussed, admits doubling with familiar and context-dependent definite descriptions. In this case feature matching involves definiteness as well as context-dependence, as definite descriptions have to reproduce that characteristic property of pronouns. It seems that the Spanish varieties spoken in Lima (Peru) and Córdoba (Argentina) are quite similar to Greek as far as the use of doubling is concerned (see Mayer 2003, Sánchez 2005 for Lima, and Schmitt 1998 for Córdoba): on the one hand, they allow for doubling with definite DPs, but not with indefinites, and, on the other hand, discourse constraints on doubled definite DPs in Spanish dialects seem to correlate with the constraints that Anagnostopoulou (1999) shows for Greek.

Porteño (and Romanian) represent the extension of doubling to specific indefinites. In such cases the matching condition involves just identifiability: as previously advanced, forcing the indefinite determiner to quantify over a contextually given domain, in order to get a uniquely identifiable referent to match the clitic's definiteness, produces a specific (partitive) reading in the indefinite DP whenever it is possible. This is how specificity effects emerge in CD constructions.

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25. Table 1 refers exclusively to CD and does not entail that other phenomena sensitive to definiteness have to reach the same cut-off points along the scale in the mentioned languages and dialects. DOM, for instance, shows different degrees of extension with respect to CD in most cases.

Now the striking fact is that certain doubling systems, such as the ones we find in contact dialects in Latin America, reach the final stage in the extension of the phenomenon, thus allowing for doubling with non-specific indefinites. The varieties spoken by bilingual individuals in Mexico, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Paraguay, among other areas, deserve a special consideration. They show a cluster of interesting grammatical phenomena that involve the whole clitic system and represent a significant divergence from the Standard model (cf. the examples in (12)): there is a tendency to simplify case and gender distinctions, using the dative clitic *le* (in some cases the accusative *lo*, never the feminine accusative *la*) in every doubling construction, and even number agreement is frequently lost in CD. Interestingly, the absence of grammatical agreement suggests that there is no matching in features between the clitic and the associate and that doubling is evolving towards a purely syntactic device with no semantic effects. It is not surprising, then, that specificity and animacy constraints tend to disappear in these dialects, so that doubling extends to non-specific expressions, reaching the final stage in the definiteness scale, and is often used with inanimate objects. These two properties are clearly present in the sentences in (24), quoted in Lipski (1996) and Sánchez (2003) as samples of this kind of doubling systems:

(24) a. *Pero yo nunca **lo** entendía   **nada**.*
          But   I   never CL   unterstand.PST.1.SG nothing
          'But I never understood anything.'
      b. *Mi mamá me **lo** compró   **dos truzas**.*
          My mom   CL CL   buy.PST.3.SG two stockings
          'My mom bought two stockings for me.'
      c. *No **lo** traigo   **nada**   **que dar**.*
          Not CL   carry.1.SG nothing to   give
          'I do not carry anything to give.'

The resulting situation looks, on the one hand, similar to what we observe in dative CD (absence of semantic constraints, generalization of doubling, even loss of number agreement in some contexts), and, on the other hand, hardly compatible with the hypothesis I put forward on the role of definiteness in the interpretation of CD. However, the data can find their place into the general picture again if we assume that Spanish clitics undergo a diachronic process that progressively turns them into agreement morphemes (or maybe simply object markers, in contact dialects), and that definiteness is an active feature in CD only while the transition process from pronouns / determiners to agreement markers is still at work. Such a process has reached different stages – manifest in different conditions on doubling – in different dialects. Once the final stage represented in Table 1 has been reached, when non-specific indefinites are allowed to enter doubling configurations, definiteness is deactivated and is

Table 2. *Impossible CD systems (obtained from violations of the definiteness scale)*

	Definites		Indefinites	
	Pronouns	Lexical DPs	+Spec	−Spec
*System 1	×		×	×
*System 2		×		
*System 3			×	×
*System 4		×	×	×

no longer a feature in the clitic, and specificity effects disappear, along with any kind of semantic constraint on doubling. Thus, the possible emergence of doubling systems like the one observed in contact varieties is in some sense to be expected, and in no way contradicts my analysis of specificity effects.

One additional merit of looking at clitic doubling from the perspective of the definiteness scale is that the relevant predictions about possible and impossible doubling systems are easily derived from the scale itself. The range of possible systems is restricted to those options included in Table 1 and representing different cut-off points in the definiteness scale: each language or dialect conventionally chooses a cut-off point, and each point represents a particular interpretive condition on doubling. This is a consequence of the interpretive properties that clitics project on the associate. If this is correct, we do not expect to find doubling systems that contradict the internal organization of definiteness scales, like the following ones, reproduced in Table 2:

1. Doubling with pronouns and indefinites, but not definite descriptions.
2. Doubling with definite descriptions, but not with pronouns.
3. Doubling with indefinites and bare nouns, but not with definite DPs.
4. Doubling with definites and indefinites, but not with pronouns.

In fact the prediction is borne out, as far as I know. Such systems would represent strong counterexamples for my hypothesis on the role of definiteness in clitic doubling (both from a diachronic and a synchronic point of view), but they do not seem to exist. This welcome result demonstrates that the cross-linguistic variation of CD is constrained by the definiteness scale. If we wonder why there should be such a connection, the most natural answer leads us again towards the interpretive condition imposed by the clitic on the associate: none of the CD systems in Table 2 corresponds to a possible condition based on definiteness, such as familiarity or identifiability.

To sum up, now we have a partial answer to question B: specificity effects in CD arise as a result of the interpretive requirements imposed by the clitic on the associate DP (i.e., the requirement to reproduce the clitic's interpretation at some extent). The semantic feature that is responsible for specificity effects

is [+definite], and it is possible to account for most grammatical, semantic and discourse properties of CD by resorting to this feature together with the Matching Condition holding inside CD constructions. In order to obtain a full answer to question B (and question A too), a comparison of specificity effects in CD and DOM is needed. This is the topic of the next section.

4. Different triggers for specificity effects

It is well know that DOM is sensitive to factors like animacy, definiteness, specificity and topicality. I am assuming that DOM, as the rest of object marking devices, does not grammatically encode specificity. Thus, there are no reasons for positing a [+specific] feature in the linguistic meaning of Spanish *a* or Romanian *pe*. If this is right, an account of specificity effects in DOM has to be based on some other abstract semantic feature that forces specific readings as inferential effects of the integration of procedural semantics and contextual assumptions. The central problem in this case is finding the adequate semantic trigger that explains how interpretations are obtained and underlies both animacy and specificity restrictions, at the same time allowing for the cases where specificity restrictions disappear. The following examples from Standard European Spanish can illustrate the complexity of the problem: the examples in (25) show that DOM is associated to specific interpretations in the direct object, while the examples in (26) show that the correlation with specificity is not systematic.

(25) a. *Han   contratado *(a)   un prestigioso especialista*
          have hired.3.PL DOM a   prestigious specialist
          extranjero.
          foreign
          'They hired a prestigious foreign specialist.'
      b. *Había   (*a)   una enfermera*.
          there-be.PST.3.SG DOM a   nurse
          'There was a nurse.'

(26) a. *No conocía   a   nadie*.
          Neg know.PST.1.SG DOM noone
          'I did not know anyone.'
      b. *Cada estudiante entrevistará   a   un actor*.
          each   student   interview.FUT.3.SG DOM an actor
          'Each student will interview an actor.'

In (25a) the evaluative adjective is in prenominal position, thus forcing a specific reading of the direct object, and *a* is obligatory; it is reasonable to trace

the ungrammaticality of (25b) back to an incompatibility between the semantic constraint against strong DPs introduced by the existential context and the specific (i.e., strong) reading of the DP associated to *a*. Both examples offer some motivation to connect DOM with specificity. On the other hand, in (26a) *a* precedes a negative quantifier and a specific reading is excluded; in (26b) the distributive nature of the quantifier *cada* forces the object DP to be interpreted with narrow scope, thus as a non-specific expression. Notice that in both cases *a* is obligatory, but not associated to any specificity effect. There are two main reasons why specificity effects are not systematic in Spanish DOM: the first one is the cluster of different factors that interact in the distribution of accusative *a* (for instance, the lexical semantics of governing verbs, discussed in von Heusinger this volume, can override specificity and definiteness); the second one is that, as pointed out in de Swart and de Hoop (2007), animacy takes priority over specificity in many DOM systems (in particular, in two-dimensional ones, i.e., systems based on animacy and definiteness/specificity, like Spanish DOM). This explains why DOM appears even with non-specific animate DPs in (26), and why a strict correlation between semantic interpretation and case morphology cannot be maintained (de Swart and de Hoop 2007: 599). Some of the differences between the grammar of DOM and the grammar of CD originate in the complexity of factors underlying DOM (although many doubling systems are two-dimensional as well).

Different candidates have been recently proposed for the role of basic semantic content of DOM. Topicality as the semantic contribution of DOM provides a suitable account of specificity effects, given that topic positions tend to favour strong readings in indefinites (see Leonetti 2004 and Escandell-Vidal 2007 for the role of topicality in Spanish and Catalan). Naess (2004: 1201–1203) explores an alternative perspective and suggests that what DOM marks is a high degree of affectedness in the object, with animacy and specificity constraints as by-products of affectedness marking. More general notions of *prominence*, *salience* or *individuation* are often invoked too (Aissen 2003): they reflect our intuitions about the role of DOM, but are in need of further specification. Some authors deal with the referential aspects of DOM exclusively, focussing on specificity and definiteness and leaving aside animacy and topicality issues. Bleam (2006) proposes that DOM in Spanish indicates that the semantic type of the object DP is e or $\langle\langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle$, while the absence of differential marking indicates that the semantic type is $\langle e, t \rangle$ and the nominal expression is property-denoting or semantically incorporated (this is basically equivalent to the idea that DOM is a way of distinguishing strong readings from weak readings in object nominals). In their study of DOM in Romanian, Farkas and von Heusinger (2003) introduce the concept of *referential stability* (see Farkas 2002) as the basic property underlying the definiteness scale and DOM: referential stability is a matter of relative stability of value choice for

the variables contributed by DPs to the semantic representation, so that definite DPs are described as *dynamically stable DPs*, whilst indefinites show different degrees of *dynamic non-stability*. The correlation of DOM with referential stability is quite obvious: the more referentially stable a direct object is, the stronger DOM trigger it is. Nevertheless, Farkas and von Heusinger (2003) are very clear in stating that referential stability is not the main DOM trigger in Romanian (and the same goes for Spanish): in fact, DOM in Romance is sensitive to a series of scalar dimensions that make up a multi-dimensional bundle of factors, as in Aissen (2003), and cannot be reduced to referential stability marking.

This overview has mentioned a number of possible answers to the question *What is the semantic contribution of DOM?*. Some of the notions presented should be further clarified, and here I cannot dwell on an extensive discussion of the relative merits and limitations of each of them, but the overview offers enough clues to conclude that DOM, at least in Romance languages, cannot be simply equated with specificity marking and that it is not inherently tied to any of the different kinds of specificity distinguished in Farkas (2002) and von Heusinger (2002). Whatever abstract property is encoded by *a* in Spanish and *pe* in Romanian, it is neither intrinsically related to partitive specificity, nor to scopal specificity or epistemic specificity, but to some complex notion of prominence or individuation that encompasses them all (Leonetti 2004: 78). Let's refer to such abstract and complex property as *prominence*, just for convenience, and let's assume that the grammatical marking of prominence gives rise to specificity effects in all their varieties (wide scope, identifiability and knowledge of the referent, discourse activation), at least when object marking is optional and no other factor intervenes.

Now the crucial issue (question B) is whether specificity effects in DOM and CD are amenable to a unified account. I believe that the answer has to be negative. I have been arguing for a view of specificity in CD as a result of the matching in definiteness imposed by the clitic. This means that the kind of specificity triggered in CD is what is known as *partitive specificity*, a particular type of specific reading that involves accessing familiar or old information, establishing anaphoric links, and quantifying into contextually given sets. This is all part of what it means "to behave like a definite".[26] The major consequence of this view is that specificity in CD is a restricted interpretive effect in comparison with specificity in DOM. This is a welcome result, because it

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26. It is true that this kind of specificity is not incompatible with scopal specificity, or with epistemic specificity, and identifiability. But the grammar of CD shows that it is an interpretive effect of definiteness, thus something independent of the presence of operators, scope bearing elements, or epistemic anchors. Specificity in CD is related to discourse-linking, familiarity and anaphoric devices, but not to intensional contexts or to knowledge and belief.

matches all the descriptive observations in the literature, at least for Spanish and Romanian.

As already mentioned in Section 2, CD environments are a subset of DOM environments (cf. the examples in (13)–(15)). The fact that the conditions governing CD are more restrictive than the conditions governing DOM must be taken as a consequence of two different triggers for specificity effects: one is the combination of definiteness and discourse anchoring in the clitic (for CD), and the other is prominence (for DOM). Prominence is a more comprehensive condition and licenses DOM even with certain direct objects that could not be doubled. In the case of Spanish, animacy seems to be the primary factor for DOM, with definiteness and specificity as secondary factors, whilst definiteness is the main trigger of CD, animacy being secondary and dependent on definiteness. As for Romanian, Farkas and von Heusinger (2003) observe that CD seems to be more sensitive to referential stability and topicality, and DOM more sensitive to animacy. Such an asymmetry has often been noticed (cf. Dumitrescu 1998), but never explained. If my proposal on the interpretation of doubling constructions is right, the asymmetry is a natural consequence of the linguistic semantics of CD and DOM.[27]

Under this view, Kayne's Generalization simply reflects a distinction between two different semantic triggers for specificity: one requires a familiar and discourse-linked object and is thus a restrictive mechanism (CD), the other requires prominent objects (DOM) and applies in a wider set of contexts and grammatical conditions, given that prominence includes discourse-linking and partitive specificity. Discourse-linking entails prominence, but the contrary is not true. This is why CD entails DOM –when the generalization holds-, but DOM does not necessarily needs CD to occur. If CD requires a specific and

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27. An alternative perspective is suggested in von Heusinger and Onea (this volume) by means of the notion of *anchoring* applied to specificity. The idea is that specific indefinites are referentially anchored on existing discourse referents; there may be different kinds of anchors (the speaker, or some character already introduced into the discourse), and different functions connecting referents (epistemic, emotional, ...). The category of *discourse anchoring* includes indefinites referentially anchored on the speaker (identifiable through the speaker) and indefinites anchored on a partitive relation; they correlate with high degrees of individuation of the referent. A lower degree of specificity is found in cases of *local anchoring* (on discourse referents in the same sentence), and an even lower level corresponds to *non-anchoring*. Anchoring types give rise to a specificity scale. Von Heusinger and Onea argue that CD involves discourse anchoring in Romanian and a high degree of individuation of the referent, whilst DOM alone is ambiguous between discourse anchoring and local anchoring. Again CD is represented as a more constrained and specialized device for object marking than DOM. How can this characterization be justified? I suggest that CD involves discourse anchoring and a high level of specificity because its interpretation is controlled by the clitic, which forces the associate to develop a discourse-linked reading. On the contrary, no component of DOM places such a condition on the object; DOM yields specificity effects in a more flexible and less systematic way.

discourse-linked object in a language with DOM, then the object will need to be marked, because the conditions for DOM will be met; if DOM requires some kind of prominence in the object – varying from language to language –, this will not necessarily imply CD, as prominence is not equated with discourse-linking. Kayne's generalization is thus motivated on semantic grounds, which confirms Bleam's (1999) Independence Hypothesis and provides an answer to question A (*What kind of connection holds between CD and DOM?*): CD and DOM are independent phenomena that share a significant part of their abstract meaning and differ in a small set of conditions.

As for the counterexamples to the generalization, they are fully compatible with this point of view: either they occur in a language without DOM, which is irrelevant for the conditions on CD, or they represent languages and dialects where certain conditions – typically on animacy – have disappeared from CD but are still in force for DOM, thus yielding further expansion of CD in comparison with DOM.[28]

5.   Conclusions

In this paper I have dealt with the relationship between Clitic Doubling (CD) and Differential Object Marking (DOM) in Spanish, with special attention to specificity effects in CD. Two questions define the goals I pursued. The first one addresses the grammatical connection that holds between CD and DOM and the intuition behind Kayne's Generalization: I maintain that there is indeed a connection – although not a systematic one – and that it is rooted in the semantic contribution of the two devices to the proposition expressed. The second one is related to the origin of specificity effects in the two constructions and constitutes the main topic of the paper. The answer is based on a proposal concerning specificity effects in CD: such effects are derived from the definiteness feature in the clitic, and specificity is conceived as an inferential effect obtained at the Semantics/Pragmatics interface. This perspective allows us to capture some additional properties of CD, from its anaphoric function and its presuppositional effects to its cross-linguistic distribution, controlled by the definiteness scale. A consequence of this analysis is that CD triggers partitive specific readings

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28. There is an issue that falls beyond the limits of this paper and I cannot treat here. I mentioned three important common features of CD and DOM: animacy constraints, specificity constraints, and synchronic and diachronic variation controlled by animacy and definiteness scales. The question is why the two phenomena display these common properties. I have concentrated on the specificity problem, and now the analysis has to be extended to the remaining issues with questions like *Why do animacy and specificity constraints tend to appear together?* and *Why do direct objects and indirect objects behave in a different way?*. These could be topics for future research.

in the object DP, based on familiarity and discourse-linking, whilst DOM licenses different kinds of specific – and even non-specific – readings, in a less restrictive and systematic way, given its complex nature. CD is thus a more restrictive trigger of specificity. This explains the original idea behind Kayne's Generalization (CD requires DOM) on semantic grounds, and at the same time accounts for some of the common properties of the two constructions. Some consequences for the relationship between grammar and interpretation can be drawn that represent topics for future discussion:

1. The combination of CD and DOM in certain Romance languages is an instance of a more general situation: the existence of two different grammatical devices for object marking in one language. According to usual assumptions on the division of labour among competing mechanisms in a grammatical system, we should expect that CD and DOM make distinct contributions to the proposition expressed, and in fact this expectation is confirmed in the case of Spanish and Romanian. Another interesting example is Kannada (Lidz 2006). This language shows two forms of direct object marking that interact with animacy distinctions: one is accusative case, obligatory with animates and optional with inanimates, and the other is syntactic position, with interpretive effects on non-case-marked DPs (the object may be internal or external to VP). Lidz (2006) demonstrates that two kinds of specificity, *inherent* and *positional* in his terms, correspond to the two marking strategies, thus describing a system that shares significant properties with Romance (there is no one-to-one relationship between morphological form and interpretation; marking has interpretive effects only when it is optional; the two strategies are governed by different conditions).

2. Some aspects of cross-linguistic variation have to be captured by means of sets of conventional rules and do not seem to be reducible to a parametric approach or to a solution based on different lexical features. A comparative grammar of CD needs to resort to such rules in order to determine the cut-off points on the definiteness scale where each language or dialect chooses to distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable instances of doubling. There does not seem any independent way to predict the position of such cut-off points in terms of parametric variation. The same happens in the cross-linguistic variation of DOM. This raises an interesting issue for comparative syntax.

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