

# Lectures on non-representational grammar

## *Lecture #3: Other ways of recycling within and beyond syntax*

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## Plan for today

1. **The slurs – epithet direction and the representation-first conjecture**
  - 1.1. *Syntactic recycling again*
  - 1.2. *From representation to expression*
2. **Beyond feelings: indexation by duplication revisited**
  - 2.1. *A case study on non-expressive recycling in Río de la Plata Spanish*
    - 2.1.1. Basic facts
    - 2.1.2. CD clitics as predicate-makers
  - 2.2. *Resolving the puzzle*
3. **Recycling beyond syntax**
  - 3.1. Argument extension revisited
  - 3.2. Expressive expansion in the morphology
4. **A possible case for syntactic deviation: inclusive gender in Spanish**
5. **Conclusion**

# 1. The slurs – epithet direction and the representation-first conjecture

## 1.1. Syntactic recycling again

Recall from Lecture #1:

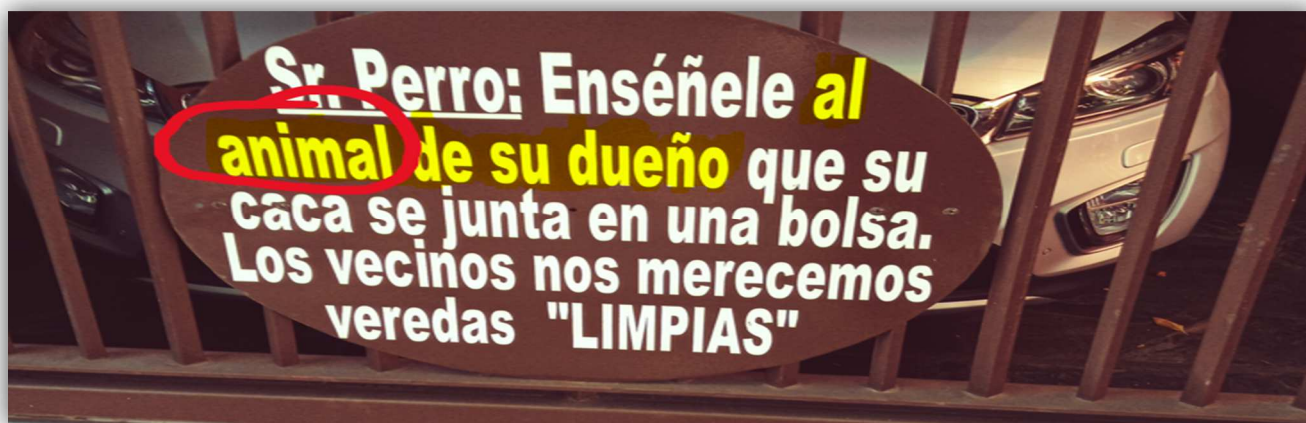
**The representation-first conjecture (RF-conjecture):** language is mainly a representational system.

and from Lecture #2:

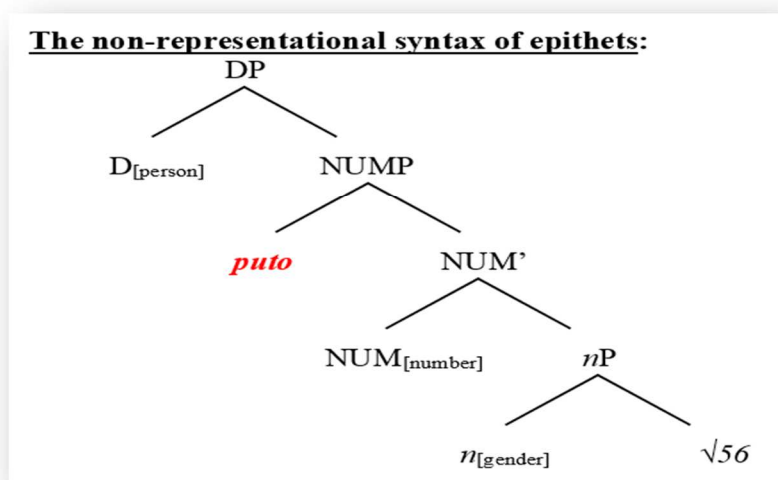
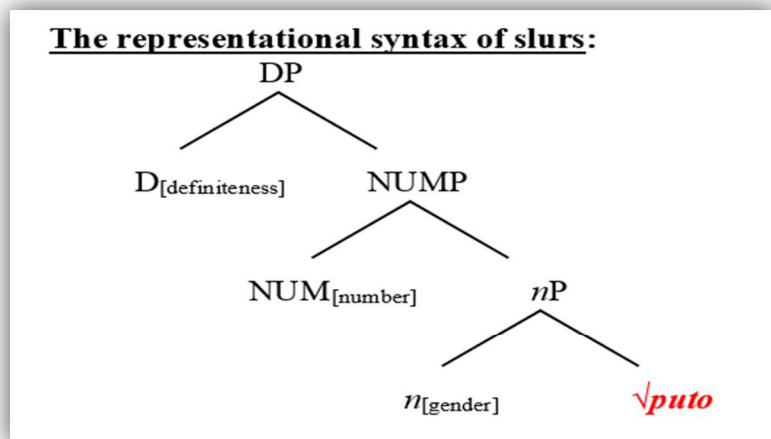
**Syntactic recycling thesis:** there is a grammar of expressivity that requires syntactic manipulation, which essentially consists of merging material in “expletive” positions. This manipulation creates a non-representational syntax. Syntactic recycling must not be confused with syntactic deviation (in Corver’s 2016 sense).

As we saw yesterday, syntactic recycling explained why epithets have no predicative import at the at-issue dimension:

- (1) a. Andrés es puto.  
Andrés is homosexual<sub>PEJORATIVE</sub>
- b. Ana es puta.  
Ana is prostitute<sub>PEJORATIVE</sub>
- (2) a. el *puto* de Andrés...  
the *epithet* of Andrés
- b. la *puta* de Ana...  
the *epithet* of Ana
- (3) Andrés es un animal.  
Andrés is an animal  
*Reading #1:* Andrés is a living being  
*Reading #2:* Andrés is a “stereotype of animal”
- (4) el animal de Andrés  
the animal of Andrés  
~~*Reading #1:* Andrés is a living being~~  
*Reading #2:* Andrés is a “stereotype of animal”



According to the syntactic recycling approach I have proposed yesterday, Spanish allows for reusing a predicative noun, like a slur, in a non-predicative position.



This is exactly one of the expected patterns under the RF-conjecture. Let's then show why I think this is the correct way to look at the slur-epithet distinction.

1.2. From representation to expression

**Property #1: Principle-C and antilogophoric effects**

- (5) a. \*Andrés<sub>i</sub> dijo que [ el puto]<sub>i</sub> llegó tarde.  
 Andrés said that the homosexual<sub>.PEJ/EPITHET</sub> arrived late  
 'Andrés said that the F... arrived late.'

- b. Andrés<sub>i</sub> es tan extrovertido que todos piensan que [el puto]<sub>i</sub> se va a meter en problemas con la policía.

'Andrés is so outgoing that everyone thinks that [the epithet / \*slur]<sub>i</sub> is going to get in trouble with the police.'

**Antilogophoricity constraint for epithets:**

- (6) An epithet must not be anteceded by an individual from whose perspective the attributive content of the epithet is evaluated.

[Dubinsky & Hamilton 1998: 689]

**Property #2: Degree modification**

- (7) El muy puto llegó tarde. [only epithet reading]  
 the very EPITHET arrived late  
 ‘that complete f... arrived late.’

**Property #3: binominal occurrences**

- (8) El puto de Andrés llegó tarde.  
 the EPITHET of Andrés arrived late  
 ‘That f... Andrés arrived late.’

**Property #4: presence/absence of NP-ellipsis**

- (9) a. el puto de al lado y el <puto> de arriba  
 the SLUR of to.the side and the SLUR of upstairs  
 ‘the f... next doors and the one living upstairs....’  
 b. \* el puto de Andrés y el <puto> de Pablo  
 the EPITHET of Andrés and the EPITHET of Pablo

**Property #5: restrictive modification**

- (10) a. el puto inteligente de arriba  
 the SLUR intelligent of upstairs  
 ‘the intelligent f... living upstairs’  
 b. \* el puto inteligente de Andrés  
 the EPITHET intelligent of Andrés

Table 1: *epithets vs. slurs*

Syntactic class	Syntactic position	Antilogoph. effects	Principle-C effects	(some) degree modif.	Binominals	Nominal ellipsis	Restrictive modification
<b>Epithet</b>	Spec, NUMP (or related non-predicative position)	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no
<b>slur</b>	NP head	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes

**From representation to expression:** I, then, conclude that syntactic recycling is one of the ways in which pure expressive meanings (e.g., epithet meanings) can be obtained by simply merging syntactic objects, which are otherwise truth-conditionally relevant, in positions which are not representational. At least for the cases under consideration yesterday and today, no deviation from normal syntax is observed.

## 2. Beyond feelings: indexation by duplication revisited

Recall Corver's theory of emotive indexation (see Lecture #1):

1. **Space-based indexation:** a symbol (e.g., a functional category) indexes high amount of information and high distinguishability if it is in a deviant (marked) position in a linguistic representation.
2. **Symbol-based indexation:** a symbol indexes high amount of information and high distinguishability if its form deviates from the expected form (e.g., an augmented form, an unexpected case or gender form).
3. **Indexation by duplication:** a symbol (e.g., a suffix or a phonological feature) 'spreads out' across a linguistic expression and this way indexes high amount of information and high distinguishability. [Corver 2016: 244-245]

I would like to inquiry now on indexation by duplication:

- (11) Jan kocht een hele erge dure auto.  
Jan bought a real-*e* very-*e* expensive-*e* car  
'Jan bought a really expensive car.'

[Corver 2016: 245]

In particular, I explore a case in which facultative duplication does not trigger emotion in language, namely, Rioplatense clitic doubling of full DPs:

- (12) \* (Me) vio a mí. [General Spanish]  
CL.1.SG.ACC see:PST.3.SG ACC me  
'(S)he saw me.'
- (13) a. Santos (la) miró a Rosa. [Argentinean Spanish]  
Santos CL.3F.SG.ACC look-at:PST.3SG ACC Rosa  
'Santos looked at Rosa.'
- b. La vieja (lo) tomó al llorón de la mano.  
DET old-woman CL.3.M.SG.ACC take:PST.3SG ACC-DET weeper of DET hand  
'The old woman took the weeper one by the hand.'

**The puzzle (Corver's version):** Why is the case that optional clitic doubling does not trigger emotion in Rioplatense Spanish?

**My version:** assuming that clitic doubling is an instance of syntactic recycling, why is the case that optional clitic doubling does not trigger/evocate any expressive meaning dimension in Rioplatense Spanish?

### 2.1. A case study on non-expressive recycling in Río de la Plata Spanish

I will make use of a particular type of construction involving focus fronting plus CD (see Di Tullio & Zdrojewski 2006, Saab & Zdrojewski 2012 and Di Tullio *et al* 2019):

- (14) A MARÍA (la) critiqué. [CD]  
ACC María CL.3.F.SG.ACC criticize:PST.1.SG  
'I criticized MARÍA.'

And I will compare this kind of structures with the more familiar CLLD constructions (Cinque 1990):

- (15) A María, la critiqué ayer. [CLLD]  
 ACC María CL.3.F.SG.ACC criticize:PST.1.SG yesterday  
 ‘Mary, I criticized her yesterday.’

**A-Movement:** Doubled objects (IOs or DOs) A-move above VoiceP. Such movement is triggered by the clitic itself, which serves as a probe for A-movement.

**Clitic recycling:** The A-movement thesis is a consequence of the fact that clitics in Rioplatense Spanish were recycled in non-representational positions.

### 2.1.1. Basic facts

**Property #1: Subject inversion**

- (16) a. A MARÍA (\*Juan) (la) vio (Juan). [CD]  
 ACC María Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC see:PST.3.SG Juan  
 ‘Juan saw MARÍA.’  
 b. A María, (Juan) la vio (Juan). [CLLD]  
 ACC María Juan CL.3.F.SG.ACC see:PST.3.SG Juan  
 ‘María, Juan saw her.’

**Property #2: obligatory duplication**

- (17) a. A MARÍA (la) critiqué. [CD]  
 ACC María CL.3.F.SG.ACC criticize:PST.1.SG  
 ‘I criticized MARÍA.’  
 b. A María, \*(la) critiqué. [CLLD]  
 ACC María CL.3.F.SG.ACC criticize:PST.1.SG  
 ‘María, I criticized her.’

**Property #3: Kayne’s Generalization**

**Kayne’s Generalization (KG):** An object NP may be doubled by a clitic only if the NP is preceded by a preposition.

[Jaeggli 1982, p. 20, (1.18)]

- (18) a. La vi a María. [CD]  
 CL.3.F.SG.ACC see:PAST.1.SG ACC María  
 ‘I saw María.’  
 b. A MARÍA la vi. [CD]  
 ACC María CL.3.F.SG.ACC see:PAST.1.SG  
 ‘I saw MARÍA.’  
 c. \* Lo compré el auto.  
 CL.3.M.SG.ACC buy:PST.1.SG DET car.  
 ‘I bought the car.’  
 d. \* El AUTO lo compré.  
 DET car CL.3.M.SG.ACC buy:PST.1.SG  
 ‘I bought THE CAR.’

- (19) a. A María, la vi ayer. [CLLD]  
 ACC María CL.3.F.SG.ACC see:PAST.1.SG yesterday  
 ‘María, I saw her yesterday.’
- b. El auto, lo compré ayer. [CLLD]  
 DET car CL.3.M.SG.ACC buy:PST.1.SG yesterday  
 ‘The car, I bought it yesterday.’

**Property #4: Hurtado’s Observation and Weak Crossover effects (WCO)**

- (20) a. [ A algunos candidatos]<sub>i</sub>, creo que su<sub>i</sub> edad  
 DOM some candidates believe.I that his age  
 los<sub>i</sub> perjudica.  
 CL.MASC.3PL.AC hinders  
 [CLLD, Hurtado 1984: 224]
- b. Su<sub>i</sub> cómplice ??(lo<sub>i</sub>) acusó a JUAN<sub>i</sub>.  
 his accomplice CL.MASC.3PL.AC accused DOM Juan  
 [CD, Hurtado 1984: 126-127]

**Hurtado’s Observation (HO):** Predication clitic chains escape crossover effects.  
 [Hurtado 1984: 125]

**(Predication clitic chain):** (XP)<sub>i</sub> (... clitic<sub>i</sub> ... e<sub>i</sub> ...)

I argue that (i) HO is only partially correct, *i.e.*, there are cases in which a predicate clitic chain cannot obviate WCO, and that, on the basis of this, (ii) the doubled nominal of a CD sentence and the dislocated topic of a CLLD construction cannot be conceived of in the same way, specifically: **whereas CD triggers A-movement to the doubled nominal, CLLD corresponds to an uniform A-bar chain.**

As for (i), consider the following paradigm:

- (21) a. A Juan<sub>i</sub>, su<sub>i</sub> profesor cree que [CLLD]  
 ACC Juan POSS.3.SG professor think:PRS.3.SG that  
 lo<sub>i</sub> criticó María.  
 CL.3.M.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG María  
 ‘His professor thinks that María criticized Juan.’
- b. A Juan<sub>i</sub>, María cree que [CLLD]  
 ACC Juan María think:PRS.3.SG that  
 lo<sub>i</sub> criticó su<sub>i</sub> profesor.  
 CL.3.M.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG POSS.3.SG professor  
 ‘María thinks that his professor criticized Juan.’
- (22) a. \*? A JUAN<sub>i</sub> cree su<sub>i</sub> profesor que [CD]  
 ACC Juan think:PRS.3.SG POSS.3.SG professor that  
 lo<sub>i</sub> criticó María (no a Pedro).  
 CL.3.M.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG María not ACC Pedro
- b. A JUAN<sub>i</sub> cree María que lo<sub>i</sub> criticó [CD]  
 ACC Juan think:PRS.3.SG María that CL.3.M.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG  
 su<sub>i</sub> profesor (no a Pedro).  
 POSS.3.SG professor not ACC Pedro  
 ‘María thinks that his professor criticized Juan.’

- (23) a. ?\* A JUAN<sub>i</sub> cree su<sub>i</sub> profesor que criticó <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>  
 ACC Juan believe:PRS.3.SG POSS.3.SG professor that criticize:PST.3.SG  
 María (no a Pedro).  
 María (not ACC Pedro)  
 ‘His professor believes that María criticized JUAN, (no Pedro).’
- b. ?\* A JUAN<sub>i</sub> cree María que criticó <sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub>  
 ACC Juan believe:PRS.3.SG María that criticize:PST.3.SG  
 su<sub>i</sub> profesor (no a Pedro).  
 POSS.3.SG professor (not ACC Pedro)  
 ‘María believes that his professor criticized Juan, (not Pedro).’

**Property #5: Absence of reconstruction effects**

- (24) a. \* A su HIJO<sub>i</sub> lo castigó cada padre<sub>i</sub>. [CD]  
 ACC POSS.3.SG son CL.3M.SG.ACC punish:PST.3.SG each father  
 ‘Each father punished his son.’
- b. A su HIJO<sub>i</sub> castigó cada padre<sub>i</sub>.  
 ACC POSS.3.SG son punish:PST.3.SG each father  
 ‘Each father punished his son.’

As observed in Zubizarreta (1998), Cecchetto (2000), and Arregi (2003), among others, the same absence of pronominal binding is attested in CLLD environments with subject postposition:

- (25) \* A su hijo<sub>i</sub>, lo castigó cada padre<sub>i</sub>. [CLLD]  
 ACC POSS.3.SG son CL.3M.SG.ACC punish:PST.3.SG each father  
 ‘Each father punished his son.’

**Property #6: EPP-suspension under ellipsis**

- (26) a. \*Which Marx brother did she say that [a biography of \_\_], she refused to read.  
 b. \*Which Marx brother did she say that [a biography of \_\_] {is going to be published/will appear} this year?  
 c. \*Which Marx brother did she say that [a biographer of \_\_] {interviewed her / worked for her}?  
 [Merchant 2001]
- (27) a. A: A biography of one of the Marx brothers, she refused to read.  
 B: Which one?  
 b. A biography of one of the Marx brothers {is going to be published / will appear} this year?  
 Guess which!  
 c. A biographer of one of the Marx brothers {interviewed her / worked for her}, but I don’t remember which.  
 [Merchant 2001]

**Merchant’s analysis:** extraction takes place from postverbal positions, which, as is well-known, cancel island effects.

- (28) A: A biography of one of the Marx Brothers, she refused to read.  
 a. B: Which one <[she refused to read a biography of t]>  
 b. B: \*Which one <[a biography of t, she refused to read]>  
 [Merchant 2001]



This is allowed **only if the EPP requirement on T is canceled under ellipsis**, which, on some assumptions, amounts to saying that the EPP is a PF requirement (see van Craenonbroeck and den Dikken (2006) for further evidence).

(29) ...which <[IP \_\_ is going to be published [a biography of *t*]]>

[Merchant 2001]

Consider Spanish now. Saab & Zdrojewski (2012) first noted that only the doubled version of a focus fronting configuration improves extraction from some islands. One case is the sentential subject condition:

- (30) a. \* A MARÍA creo que [desaprobar *t*]  
 ACC María believe:PRS;1SG that fail:INF  
 va a causar un escándalo.  
 go:PRS;3SG to cause:INF DET scandal
- b. A MARÍA creo que [desaprobar=*la*]  
 ACC María believe:PRS;1SG that fail:INF=her;acc  
 va a causar un escándalo.  
 go:PRS;3SG to cause:INF DET scandal  
 ‘I believe that failing MARÍA is going to cause a scandal.’

Secondly, they also observe that this repair effect vanishes in contexts of ellipsis, specifically, with fragment answers, a kind of TP-ellipsis construction according to Merchant (2004) and much subsequent work. In this respect, see the response in (27B):

- (31) A: ¿Creés que [desaprobar=(*la*) a MARÍA]  
 believe:PRS;2;SG that fail:inf=(her;ACC) ACC María  
 va a causar un escándalo?  
 go:PRS;3SG to cause:INF DET scandal  
 ‘Do you believe that failing María is going to cause a scandal?’
- B: \* No, a ANA.  
 no ACC Ana

Whatever the right explanation of why this type of resumption improves island effects, the Spanish facts make sense if CD is an EPP-related phenomenon, which, like in English, is suspended under ellipsis.

Related to this, one additional prediction involves Weak Cross Over effects (WCO). Recall first that CLLD does not trigger WCO, but regular focus movement does, unless CD applies:

- (32) A María<sub>i</sub>, su<sub>i</sub> padre **la<sub>i</sub>** criticó.  
 ACC María POSS;3SG father her;ACC criticize:PST;3SG  
 ‘María, her father criticized her.’
- (33) A MARÍA<sub>i</sub> ??(*la*) criticó su<sub>i</sub> padre.  
 ACC María her criticize:PST;3SG POSS;3SG father  
 ‘Her father criticized MARÍA.’

Saab & Zdrojewski show that the absence of WCO effects in (32) and (33) has different behaviours under ellipsis. WCO amelioration in CLLD also shows up when the TP is elided:

- (34) A María<sub>i</sub> su<sub>j</sub> padre **la<sub>j</sub>**  
 ACC María POSS;3SG father her;<sub>ACC</sub>  
 criticó y a Ana<sub>i</sub> también <su<sub>i</sub>  
 criticize:PST;3SG and ACC Ana also POSS;3SG  
 padre **la<sub>i</sub>** criticó>.  
 father her;<sub>ACC</sub> criticize:PST;3SG  
 ‘María, her father criticized her and Ana too, her father criticized her.’

In contradistinction, WCO effects reappear under ellipsis in CD contexts.

- (35) A: ¿Su<sub>i</sub> madre **la<sub>i</sub>** ama a  
 POSS;3SG mother her;<sub>ACC</sub> love:PRS;3SG ACC  
 MARÍA<sub>i</sub>?  
 María  
 ‘Does her mother love MARÍA?’  
 B: \* No, a ANA<sub>i</sub> <ama su<sub>i</sub> madre>  
 not ACC Ana love:PRS;3SG POSS;3SG mother  
 |#‘No, her<sub>i</sub> mother loves ANA<sub>i</sub>.’

Of course, a non-elliptical answer can be doubled and interpreted as desired:

- (36) A: ¿Su<sub>i</sub> madre **la<sub>i</sub>** ama a MARÍA<sub>i</sub>?  
 POSS;3SG mother her;<sub>ACC</sub> love:PRS;3SG ACC María  
 ‘Does her mother love MARÍA?’  
 B: No, a ANA<sub>i</sub> **la<sub>i</sub>** ama su<sub>i</sub> madre.  
 not ACC Ana her;<sub>ACC</sub> love:PRS;3SG POSS;3SG mother  
 ‘No, her mother loves ANA.’

Table 2: *summary of properties*

	(Focus+)CD	Focus	CLLD
Associated DP is part of the focus set	Yes	Yes	No
Agreement dependency	Yes	No	Yes
Obligatory subject inversion	Yes	Yes	No
DOM dependent	Yes	No	No
Reconstructs	No	Yes	No
WCO effects	No	Yes	No
Suspended under ellipsis	Yes	--	No

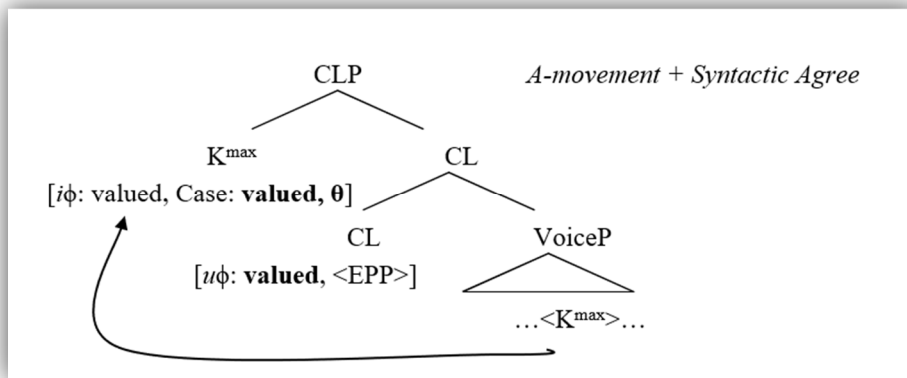
### 2.1.2. CD clitics as predicate-makers

I will adopt the main idea behind my previous account of *se* constructions, according to which certain clitics became formal probes through a process of diachronic impoverishment (see Saab 2020):

- (37)  $D^{\min/\max}$ : [ $u\phi$ : unvalued, EPP]

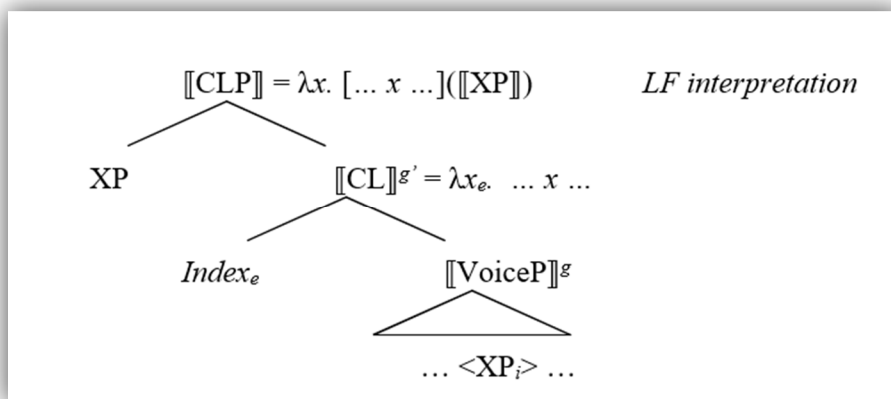
CD clitics contrast with full nominals, which bear interpretable  $\phi$ , a  $\theta$ -role, and a more extended functional structure:

- (38)  $K^{\max}$ : [ $i\phi$ : valued, Case: unvalued,  $\theta$ ]



At LF, clitics are read off as mere indexes, whose referential value was obtained through syntactic *Agree* in the syntax. Then, the object that LF receives feeds predicate abstraction over an individual variable:

- (39) **Predicate abstraction:** Let  $\alpha$  be a branching node with daughters  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ , where  $\beta$  dominates only a numeric index  $i$ . Then, for any variable assignment  $g$ ,  $[[\alpha]]_g = \lambda x. [[\gamma]]_{g(i \rightarrow x)}$   
 [Heim & Kratzer 1998: 186]



**Some important ingredients of the analysis:**

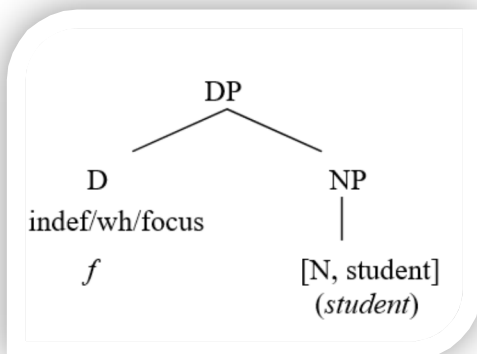
- A. The probe-goal relation in CD configuration results in morphological agreement at PF.
- B. At LF, the *Agree* relation feeds predicate abstraction, *i.e.*, as I said, the clitic is a mere LF abstractor over individual variables. On this theory, we do not need to stipulate a particular rule of  $\lambda x$ -adjunction like that in (38) (see also Heim & Kratzer 1998); **the clitic itself is the *e*-type abstractor.**

- (40) **Interpretation rule for A-chains:**  
 In a movement structure formed by *Agree* for  $\phi$ -features, adjoin a node  $\lambda x$  to the probing head.  
 [van Urk 2015: 41]

- (41) **Clitics as Probes:**  
 LF:  $CL_{\text{Probe}} \langle n, e \rangle$

The theory explains all the WCO facts in a similar way to the so-called **scope theories of WCO** (among others, Sauerland 1998, Ruys 2000, and van Urk 2015).

**The account in a nutshell:** Given that A-movement triggered by *Agree* reasons always results in abstraction over individuals, the possessive pronoun, an *e*-denoting expression, can be properly bound by the abstractor. Wh/Focus movement, as other types of A'-movements, instead, abstracts over choice function variables and, consequently, can never bind a variable of the *e*-type.



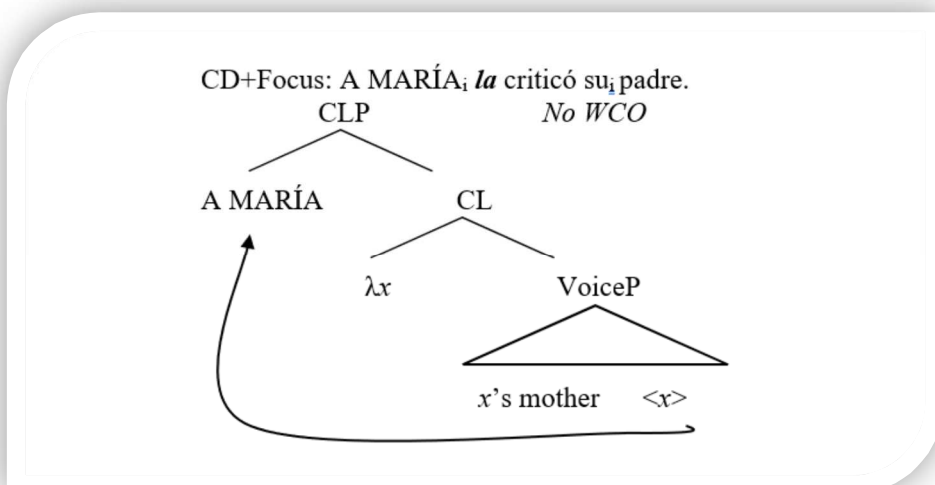
(42)  $\text{choice}(f) = 1$  iff  $\emptyset \notin \text{Dom}(f)$  &  $\forall X \in \text{Dom}(f): f(X) \in X$

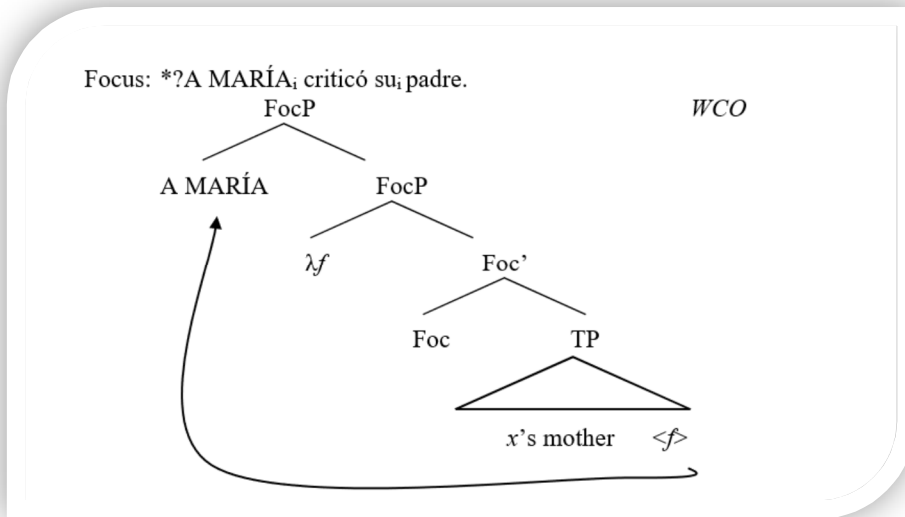
[Reich 2004: 10]

- (43) a. Ana criticó a JUAN.  
 Ana criticized DOM JUAN  
 ‘Ana criticized JUAN.’  
 b. Ana criticó  $f(\text{alt}(\text{JUAN}))$ .

In words, the choice function choses the individual Juan from the set of alternatives  $\text{alt}(\text{Juan})$ . That is, the result of applying  $f$  to  $\text{alt}(\text{Juan})$  is the individual Juan -  $f(\text{alt JUAN}) = \text{juan}$ . Avoiding some particular complexities, I conclude that focus movement involves abstraction over choice functions. This implies two different semantic derivations for our minimal pair in (44):

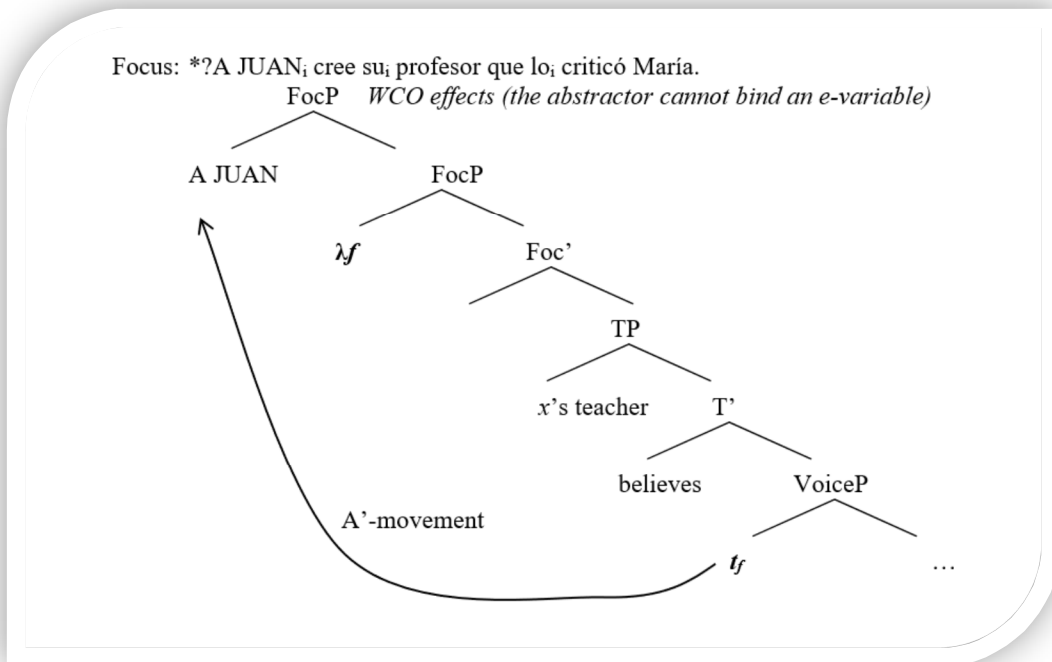
- (44) A MARÍA<sub>i</sub> ??(la) criticó su<sub>i</sub> padre.  
 ACC María her criticize:PST;3SG POSS;3SG father  
 ‘Her father criticized MARÍA.’





Now, recall that the position of the possessive is crucial when it comes to calculating WCO in focus + CD sentences. Concretely, only when the first step of movement is of the A-type, WCO is repaired:

- (45) a. ?\* A JUAN<sub>i</sub> cree [<sub>VP</sub> t su<sub>i</sub> profesor [<sub>CP</sub> t que [<sub>VP</sub> t lo<sub>i</sub> criticó María t. (cf. (22a))
- 
- b. A JUAN<sub>i</sub> cree [<sub>VP</sub> t María [<sub>CP</sub> t que [<sub>VP</sub> t lo<sub>i</sub> criticó su<sub>i</sub> profesor t. (cf. (22b))
- 

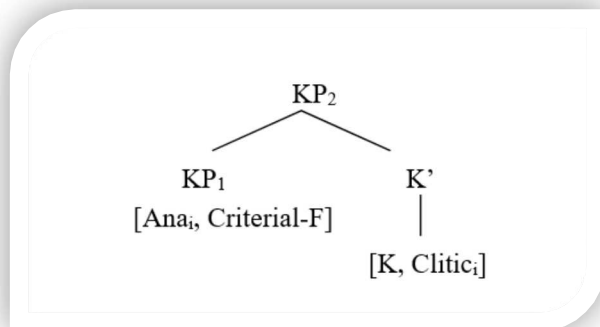


Recall also that CLLD is always immune to WCO effects, a crucial difference when compared with CD.

- (46) a. A Juan<sub>i</sub>, su<sub>j</sub> profesor cree que [CLLD]  
 ACC Juan POSS.3.SG professor think:PRS.3.SG that  
 lo<sub>i</sub> criticó María.  
 CL.3.M.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG María  
 ‘His professor thinks that María criticized Juan.’
- b. A Juan<sub>i</sub>, María cree que [CLLD]  
 ACC Juan María think:PRS.3.SG that  
 lo<sub>i</sub> criticó su<sub>j</sub> profesor.  
 CL.3.M.SG.ACC criticize:PST.3.SG POSS.3.SG professor  
 ‘María thinks that his professor criticized Juan.’

On my analysis, the WCO facts regarding CD are the byproduct of EPP-induced movement. If clitics are mere probes triggering A-movement, the WCO facts receive a satisfactory explanation; **no A-bar chain is involved in CD. What about CLLD?**

- (47) K-clitic<sup>max</sup>: [*i*φ: valued(?), Case: unvalued, θ]



The analysis has two general consequences:

- (C1) Uniform abstraction over individuals results in uniform immunity to WCO.  
 (C2) Ellipsis cannot suspend the syntactic and semantic effects created by movement of the left dislocated constituent. This is so, because it is not an EPP-induced movement triggered by φ-reasons.

- (48) A María<sub>j</sub> su<sub>j</sub> padre **la<sub>j</sub>**  
 ACC María POSS;3SG father her;ACC  
 criticó y a Ana<sub>i</sub> también <su<sub>j</sub>  
 criticize:PST;3SG and ACC Ana also POSS;3SG  
 padre **la<sub>i</sub>** criticó>.  
 father her;ACC criticize:PST;3SG  
 ‘María, her father criticized her and Ana too, her father criticized her.’
- (49) A: ¿Su<sub>i</sub> madre **la<sub>i</sub>** ama a  
 POSS;3SG mother her;ACC love:PRS;3SG ACC  
 MARÍA<sub>i</sub>?  
 María  
 ‘Does her mother love MARÍA?’
- B: \*No, a ANA<sub>i</sub> <ama su<sub>j</sub> madre>  
 not ACC Ana love:PRS;3SG POSS;3SG mother  
 ‘No, her mother loves ANA.’

As already discussed, our basic reconstruction facts with CD behave as expected by the vast literature on the issue: CD does not allow reconstruction when the subject is postponed, blocking for instance pronominal binding in cases like (50a):

- (50) a. \* A su HIJO<sub>i</sub> lo castigó cada padre<sub>i</sub>. [CD]  
 ACC POSS.3.SG son CL.3M.SG.ACC punish:PST.3.SG each father  
 ‘Each father punished his son.’  
 b. A su HIJO<sub>i</sub> castigó cada padre<sub>i</sub>.  
 ACC POSS.3.SG son punish:PST.3.SG each father  
 ‘Each father punished his son.’

As noted by Arregi (2003) and others, CLLD behaves the same (but see below):

- (51) \* A su hijo<sub>i</sub>, lo castigó cada padre<sub>i</sub>. [CLLD]  
 ACC POSS.3.SG son CL.3M.SG.ACC punish:PST.3.SG each father  
 ‘Each father punished his son.’

I will assume Arregi’s (2003) account based in turn on Lechner (1998). Lechner’s idea is that reconstruction in the semantics is allowed only for certain intermediate traces denoting in higher types (GQ, types, for instance). This is the case, I assume, for (50b) in which no clitic is involved but the focused element denotes a higher type (if a regular choice function:  $\langle\langle e, t \rangle, e \rangle$  or in  $\langle e, \langle\langle e, t \rangle, e \rangle\rangle$  on Reich’s proposal). **The case (50a) is different since the first step of movement is A-movement above the subject**, and then no semantic reconstruction below the subject is possible. The next step of movement is A-bar, but this is innocuous given that semantic reconstruction would apply above the subject.

The prediction is that in long-distance focus movement, reconstruction should reappear if the possessive is above the first step of A-movement. This is correct:

- (52) A SU<sub>i</sub> HIJO dijo cada madre<sub>i</sub>  
 DOM his son told each mother  
 que ese profesor lo maltrata.  
 that that professor CL.3M.SG.ACC mistreats  
 ‘Every mother told that that professor mistreats HER SON.’

**Simplified representations:**

- (53) a. A SU<sub>i</sub> HIJO dijo cada madre<sub>i</sub> [<sub>CP</sub>  $t_f$  que ese profesor lo maltrata  $t_e$ ]  
 b. A SU<sub>i</sub> HIJO dijo cada madre<sub>i</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> <A SU<sub>i</sub> HIJO> que ese profesor lo maltrata  $t_e$ ]

Now, following the Arregi-Lechner’s approach, I will assume that (i) clitics in CLLD are individual bound variables and (ii) movement of the left dislocated constituent, being of the *e*-type, never reconstructs.

- (54) **Left Dislocation and Clitics:**  
 In left dislocation, the clitic is interpreted as an individual variable.  
[Arregi 2003: 10]

The net prediction is that the position of the putative bound variable is irrelevant, simply because there is no higher type variable left by topic movement. Again, this prediction is borne out:

- (55) \*A su<sub>i</sub> hijo, cada madre<sub>i</sub> dijo  
 DOM his son each mother told

que ese profesor lo maltrata.  
 that that professor CL.3M.SG.ACC mistreats  
 ‘His son, every mother told that that professor mistreats him.’

In summary,

- A. Clitics in CD are formal EPP-probes in the syntax and mere  $\lambda x_e$ -abstractor in the semantics.
- B. Clitics in CLLD instead are full arguments in the syntax (*i.e.*, KP), interpreted as bound individual variables in the semantics.

## 2.2. Resolving the puzzle

**The puzzle (Corver’s version):** Why is the case that optional clitic doubling does not trigger emotion in Rioplatense Spanish?

**My version:** assuming that clitic doubling is an instance of syntactic recycling, why is the case that optional clitic doubling does not trigger/evocate any expressive meaning dimension in Rioplatense Spanish?

**A (perhaps plausible) answer:** clitic doubling is a case of syntactic recycling inert at the expressive meaning dimension because the clitic, although truth-conditionally irrelevant, makes, however a semantic contribution at LF. I then contend that when this happens, emotion/expressivity is not triggered.

## 3. Recycling beyond syntax

### 3.1. Argument extension revisited

As we saw in Lecture #1, expressive adjectives (EAs) and epithets show a noteworthy difference: only the former exhibit argument extension (Gutzmann, 2019), an apparent mismatch between syntax and semantics whereby EAs affect a syntactic constituent other than the one they seem to directly modify. To see the point, consider again the following examples (Potts 2005, 166):

(56) The damn republicans should be less partisans.

😞  $\cap$ republicans

(57) We have to look after Sheila’s damn dog.

😞 Sheila’s dog

(58) The damn machine didn’t come with a plug.

😞 The machine didn’t come with a plug

[cfr. *That bastard Andrés* or the honorific *doña Paula* ‘HON Paula’]

Moreover, based on experimental evidence, Frazier et al. (2015) claim that EAs may exhibit other kinds of non-local readings as well:

(59) The dog ate the damn cake.

😞 the dog

[right-to-left argument hopping]

(60) The damn dog ate the cake.

😞 the cake

[left-to-right argument hopping]



**Challenge:**

If EAs and epithets function semantically and syntactically in the same way, why is it only EAs that exhibit argument extension?

Potts (2005) and Gutzmann (2019) offer different solutions to this challenge, but both resort to ambiguity; according to Potts there is lexical ambiguity, while according to Gutzmann there is structural ambiguity. However, Lo Guercio & Orlando (2022) show that both accounts suffer significant problems:

A. Gutzmann’s account makes incorrect predictions, e.g., it incorrectly predicts that an EA within an embedded clause cannot scope over a constituent outside that clause.

B. Neither view can account for the fact that EAs may target non-at-issue contents like implicatures, presuppositions or mutually manifest and salient utterance-external contents that are neither implicated nor presupposed.

(61) Peter forgot that today is our damn anniversary.

😞 Peter forgot that today is our anniversary/ 😞 Peter

(62) I want my damn money.

a. Asserted content: the speaker wants his money

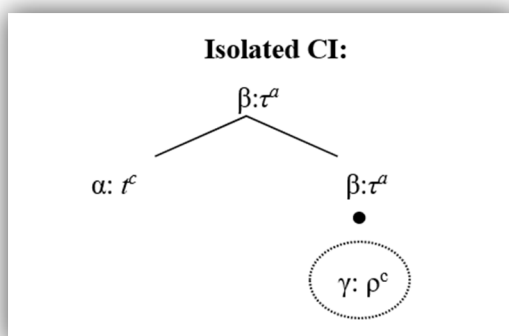
b. Mutually salient content: the addressee owes money to the speaker

c. # 😞 the money / # 😞 the speaker wants his money

d. 😞 The addressee has not paid his debt yet.

[Lo Guercio & Orlando 2022]

Lo Guercio & Orlando (2022) put forward a different account, according to **which EAs are isolated CIs** (recall section 2.3.2 in Lecture #1), that is, expressions that “do not interact with the at-issue material around them in a way that is representable in terms of function application. (Potts 2005: 65).



In other words, they propose a semantic solution, along the following lines:

(63) a. Damn  $\rightsquigarrow$  **Damn:**  $t^c$

b.  $\llbracket \text{Damn: } t^c \rrbracket^{Mi.g}$  = the speaker is in a heightened emotional state at @

Now, Lo Guercio & Saab (2022) explore an alternative approach, according to which the semantic difference between EAs and epithets has a syntactic origin. More specifically, they toy with the idea that EAs constitute an instance of **morphological, as opposed to syntactic, recycling**:

(64) **Syntactic recycling thesis:** there is a grammar of expressivity that requires syntactic manipulation, which essentially consists of merging material in “expletive” positions. This manipulation creates a non-representational syntax. Syntactic recycling must not be confused with syntactic deviation (in Corver’s 2016 sense).

(65) **Morphological recycling:** EAs undergo a different kind of syntactic recycling, whereby they are inserted in the sentence after syntax, at the PF interface. Put differently, EAs are dissociated morphemes (see Embick & Noyer 2007).

**Dissociated morphemes:**

i. they are inserted at PF, hence they are relevant to pronunciation but are not present in syntax prior to Spell-Out and Morphology. In other words, dissociated morphemes are not bona fide syntactic entities; they are purely morphological

ii. addition of nodes in this way introduces one kind of syntax–morphology mismatch, in the sense that there are more positions in the morphological (PF) structure than there are in the syntactic structure

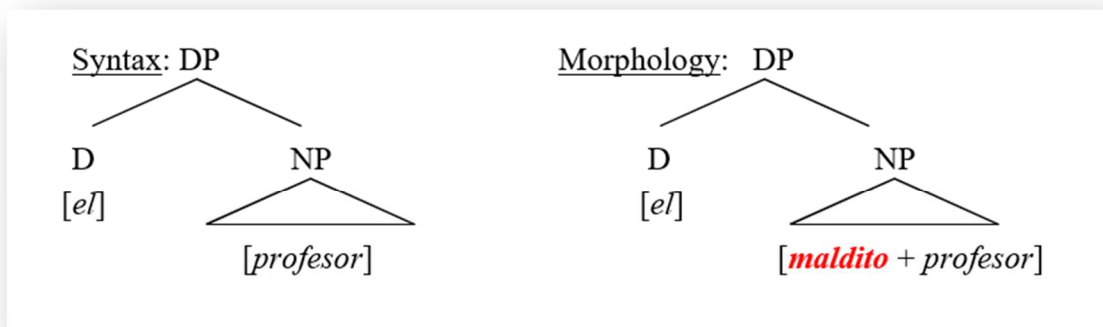
iii. dissociated morphemes may reflect (or not) certain syntactic properties (or configurations) but do not in any sense contribute these properties to syntax.

iv. dissociated morphemes are not interpreted at LF, since they are inserted only at Spell-Out

3.2. Expressive expansion in the morphology

Thus, we contend that the syntax of a DP containing an expressive like the one in (66) (see (67) in Lecture #1):

(66) El *maldito* profesor me desaprobó de nuevo.  
 the damn professor CL.1SG.ACC failed again  
 ‘That damn professor failed me again.’



**Rule of Expressive Expansion:**

(67)  $N \rightarrow [\text{Exp} + N]$

Some kinds of dissociated morphemes reflect certain syntactic features or configurations (like case and agreement morphemes in at least some languages, see Embick and Noyer 2007) and do not contribute any meaning.

By contrast,

A. EAs do not reflect any syntactic feature or configuration, that is, they are like diacritic features (e.g., thematic vowels in Latin), and

B. EAs contribute an additional layer of meaning which introduces a constraint on felicitous contexts of use:

**Bias/use-condition:**

(68)  $[N [\text{Exp} + N]]$  is felicitously used in a context  $c$  if and only if  $c \in \{c: c_s \text{ is in a heightened emotional state at } @\}$

Thus, Lo Guercio and Saab treat here EAs as an instance of expressive semantics in the sense of Saab (2021) and Lecture #1. Expressive semantics encompasses conventionalized meanings that are not interpreted at LF, since they are the result of PF processes. Recall the analysis for mixed terms:

(68) Mañana            trabajo /            laburo.  
tomorrow            work.1SG            work.INFORMAL.1SG

We understand PF meanings as triggers of conventionalized inferences restricting contexts of felicitous use, hence they must be distinguished from truth-conditional meanings, but also from expressive meanings as they are understood by Potts (2005) and many others, i.e., as conventional implicatures. Although fully justifying the point would require further discussion (see Corver 2016, Saab 2021 and Lecture #1), let me note the main empirical arguments in favor of the existence of PF meanings:

**Property #1: behavior under ellipsis (see also Potts et al 2009)**

(69) A: Perdí            las            putas            llaves.  
lost.1SG            the.F.PL            fucking.F.PL            keys.F  
'I lost the fucking keys!'  
B: Yo            también <            perdí            las            llaves >,  
I            also            lost.1SG            the.F.PL            keys.F  
pero            estoy            super            relajado.  
but            am.1SG            super            relaxed  
'Me too, but I am super relaxed.'

[discuss possible confounding factors]

**Property #2: Degree modification**

- (70) \*las más putas llaves  
the most fucking keys  
\*las bastante / un poco / algo / demasiado putas llaves  
the pretty a little somewhat too fucking keys  
[discuss potential counterexamples, e.g., *las re putas llaves* ‘the intensifier fucking keys’]

**Property #3: absence of adverbial modification:**

- (71) a. las tristemente putas llaves  
the sadly fucking keys  
b. el sorpresivamente puto auto  
the surprisingly fucking car

**Property #4: absence coordination:**

- (72) las putas y malditas llaves  
the fucking and damn keys

**Summary:** EAs may receive non-local interpretations because, being introduced at PF, they do not constitute *bona fide* syntactic objects and are not interpreted at LF, hence they do not partake in standard compositional processes. Moreover, they contribute a kind of meaning that is unspecific, thus they leave room for the audience to draw pragmatic inferences concerning the target of the speaker’s negative attitude. By contrast, epithets and the relevant honorifics discussed in Lecture #1 (*don/doña*) are present in syntax, and they are interpreted at LF, through the standard compositional processes. Hence, they cannot receive non-local readings.

A. Therefore, this view is able to account for standard data concerning argument extension, which were shown to be problematic both for the approaches advanced by Potts and Gutzmann), without positing syntactic ambiguity between different interpretations of EAs.

B. This approach is well-suited to account for further data concerning EAs, such as their behavior under ellipsis, the incompatibility with superlative or comparative forms or other kind of degree modification and total the absence of adverbial modification and coordination.

**4. A possible case for syntactic deviation: inclusive gender in Spanish**

The new engendered system (still an L2 artificial language) of inclusive language in Spanish could be a concrete instance of grammatical deviation in Corver’s sense, both space and symbol-based.

**The current gender system:**

human nouns:

- (73) a. niño ‘child.M.SG’    b. niña ‘child.F.SG’  
c. niños ‘child.M.PL’    c. niñas ‘child.F.PL’

definite articles:

- (74) a. el ‘ART.M.SG’    b. la ‘ART.F.SG’  
c. los ‘ART.M.PL’    c. las ‘CHILD.F.PL’

**The “unwanted” rule:** use the “masculine” form in plural referring to mixed-groups and in singular generics:

**Plurals (for mixed groups):**

- (75) *Los niños* llegaron tarde.  
ART.M.PL child.M.PL arrived late  
'The children arrived late.'

**Singular generics:**

- (76) Usualmente, *el niño* habla solo.  
usually ART.M.SG child.M.SG speaks alone.M.SG  
'Usually, the child speaks alone/to himself.'

Table 3: The current gender system in Spanish

system: binary / feminine in <i>-a</i> and variants unidimensional		masculine in <i>-o</i> and variants
Feminine	+	-

**Evidence:** *Maximize presupposition!*

[context: A group of female students decides to meet to do a final project to present the next class]

- (77) #*Ellos/ellas* se encuentran en la casa de Anita este viernes.  
\*they.M.PL / they.F.PL SE meet.PL in the house of Anita this Friday  
'They (fem.) meet at Anita's house this Friday.'

Then, the current system is a marked one, in which **the marked member is the feminine. This produces non-inclusive gender effects.**

**One of the proposed "inclusive" gender systems:**

human nouns:

- (78) a. *niño* 'child.M.SG' b. *niña* 'child.F.SG' c. ***niñe*** 'ART.INCLUSIVE.SG'  
d. *niños* 'child.M.PL' e. *niñas* 'child.F.PL' f. ***niñes*** 'child.INCLUSIVE.PL'

definite articles:

- (79) a. *el* 'ART.M.SG' b. *la* 'ART.F.SG' c. ***le*** 'ART.INCLUSIVE.SG'  
d. *los* 'ART.M.PL' e. *las* 'CHILD.F.PL' d. ***les*** 'ART.INCLUSIVE.PL'

**Plurals (for mixed groups):**

- (80) *Les niños* llegaron tarde.  
ART.INCL.PL child.INCL.PL arrived late  
'The children (no gender) arrived late.'

**Singular generics:**

- (81) Usualmente, *le niño* habla solo.  
usually ART.INCL.PL child.INCL.PL speaks alone.INCL.PL  
'Usually, the child speaks alone/to themself.'

Table 4: The “inclusive” gender system in Spanish

system: binary/bidimensional	feminine in <i>-a</i> and variants	masculine in <i>-o</i> and variants	inclusive form in <i>-e</i>	predicted / non-existent
Feminine	+	-	-	+
Masculine	-	+	-	+

For any binary system (and perhaps also privative) the calculus is very simple: power of base 2, that is:

$$2^n$$

[where  $n$  stands for any dimension we would like to include]

(82) a. Current system:  $n = 1$

[dimensions = {feminine}]

b. “Inclusive” system:  $n = 2$

[dimensions = {feminine, masculine}]

and so on...

## 5. Conclusion

During this lecture, I have discussed the recycling thesis in greater detailed. The preceding discussion led me to the following conclusions:

A. Syntactic recycling is one of the ways in which the RF-conjecture could be concretely instantiated in human languages.

**Syntactic recycling thesis:** there is a grammar of expressivity that requires syntactic manipulation, which essentially consists of merging material in “expletive” positions. This manipulation creates a non-representational syntax. Syntactic recycling must not be confused with syntactic deviation (in Corver’s 2016 sense).

**The representation-first conjecture (RF-conjecture):** language is mainly a representational system.

B. Yet, syntactic recycling does not always lead to emotion/pure expression, i.e., there are also non-expressive instances of syntactic recycling (clitic doubling in Rioplatense Spanish, which partially contradict one of the strategies Corver’s thinks is behind emotion (i.e., indexation by duplication). I argued that this happens when syntactic recycling still has certain LF imports (in the case of doubling clitics, the fact that they are predicate-makers or abstractors).

C. Expressive recycling can also take place at PF through expressive dissociation, i.e., the free introduction of certain dissociated morphemes in PF that triggers particular use-conditions. Again, this is regular morphology, no deviation in Corver’s sense.

D. Now, conscient manipulation of language rules, like the one observed in the so-called “inclusive” gender system in Spanish seems to point out to the perhaps robust conclusion that deviation is, indeed, another form of linguistic expressivity.

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