

Lack of iteration: a problem for Accusative Clitic Doubling^{*}

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Introduction

In this paper I show that accusative clitic doubling in Spanish affects the aspectual interpretation of the VP in that it blocks iterative readings of eventive predicates. The addition of the aspectual problem to the more traditional problems (how can there be two DPs and only one thematic role; why not all DPs can be doubled; and what is the role of the preposition *a* that appears with the doubled DP) reduces to a large extent the space of possible solutions to the clitic doubling problem. More specifically, solutions that treat accusative clitic doubling as simply a case of object agreement will have to be discarded, since they are unable to account for the aspectual effect. Instead, I will argue that accusative clitic doubling is best analysed as an identificational small clause in which the clitic occupies the position of a pleonastic subject. This structure will provide a unified account for the traditional problems of accusative clitic doubling in Spanish and will shed some light on the iteration problem.

- (\\$N1) a. Toqué la sonata. (Cordoba Spanish)
(I) played the sonata
'I played the sonata'
- b. La toqué.
(I) it played
'I played it'
- c. La_i toqué [a la sonata]_i
(I) it_i played [*a* the sonata]_i
'I played the sonata'

(\$1a) illustrates a regular transitive construction with a DP object; (\$1b) illustrates the clitic version of the simple transitive construction; and (\$1c) illustrates what has been called accusative clitic doubling. Besides the DP argument, we also have a clitic that is interpreted as being "the same" as the phrase *a la sonata*.

In the remainder of this introduction I will describe the "aspectual problem" and sketch the argument I will try to develop. Consider first the following:

- (\\$N72) John played the sonata for 3 hours
John played sonatas for 3 hours

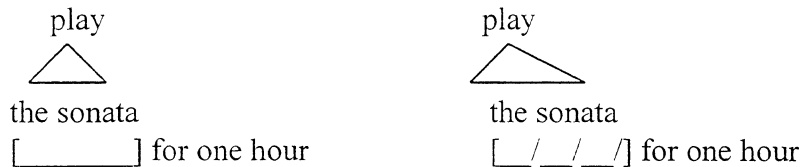
The predicate *play the sonatas* is said to be terminative or bounded since the definite determiner imposes an upper bound on the amount of sonatas. The predicate *played sonatas*,

^{*} A longer version of this paper which extends the analysis to participial absolutes and *have*+agreeing participle constructions will appear as Schmitt (forthcoming). I wish to thank here Elena Anagnostopoulou, Anna Cardinaletti, Chris Piñon, Michael Stark and Ilse Zimmermann for discussion, questions and comments. I would also like to thank Alan Munn for commenting on a draft.

on the other hand, is said to be durative or unbounded since we do not have information about the amount of sonatas that are played.

Adverbials such as *for x time* or *until x time* can do two things to a terminative VP predicate: either they stretch the event so that the duration of the event can cover the period described by the adverbial (as illustrated schematically in (\$4a)) or they force the mapping of subevents of the event described onto the stretch of time covered by the adverbial (\$4b). In the first case, we play a sonata in slow motion and, in the second case, we repeatedly play the sonata so that it fills the duration of the adverbial (let's say three times, as in the drawing):

(\$N4)



If such an adverbial is added to an accusative clitic doubling construction, however, the only possible reading is the one in which a single event has been artificially stretched to the point of covering the duration of the modifying adverbial.

Thus we cannot get subevent readings of the event described by the VP if the direct object is doubled, as the contrast in (\$5) demonstrates. Without the clitic, it is possible to play the sonata ten times; with the clitic, this reading is impossible. The only possible reading of (\$5b) is the stretched reading.

- (\$N5) a. Toqué la sonata hasta las 12, de hecho la toqué 10 veces. (Cordoba Spanish)
 (I) played the sonata until 12, in fact (I) played it 10 times.
- b. #La; toqué [a la sonata]; hasta las 12, de hecho la toqué 10 veces.
 (I) it; played [a the sonata]; until 12, in fact (I) played it 10 times
 'I played the sonata until 12, in fact I played it 10 times.'

It should be noted that the lack of iteration is not to be related merely to the presence of the clitic or to the presence of the clitic and a full DP associated with it. Iteration is possible when just the clitic is present, as in (\$7a); and also in clitic-left dislocated structures, illustrated in (\$7b).

- (\$N78) a. La toqué hasta las 12. (Cordoba Spanish)
 (I) it played until 12. (iterative reading)
 'I played it until 12.'
- b. A la sonata, la toqué hasta las 12.¹ (Cordoba Spanish)
 The sonata, I played it frequently

If the clitic were purely an agreement marker, we would need two different agreement markers to account for the lack of iteration in (\$5b) and its availability in (\$78). If the lack of iteration were to be associated with the presence of a clitic and a coindexed DP, both accusative clitic doubling and clitic left dislocation should behave identically; we should expect iteration to be blocked in both cases or allowed in both cases.

¹ The variation in the use of the preposition *a* in these constructions is outside the scope of this work.

The question is what distinguishes (\$5b) from (\$78b). I will argue that there is a structural difference between clitic-left-dislocation and clitic doubling accusative complements and that aspectual interpretations are crucially dependent on the internal structure of the DP complements. As for (\$78), following Cinque (1990), I will assume that the DP in clitic left dislocated constructions is base-generated in a pre-sentential position and is not part of a small clause. In the complement position we only have the clitic. Thus the behaviour is the same in (\$78a) and (\$78b). In accusative clitic doubling, on the other hand, the structure is more complex, i.e., an identificational small clause.

Before we move to section 1, however, an observation about the data I will be discussing is necessary. There is a lot of variation among Spanish dialects. Many dialects of Spanish allow accusative clitic doubling of pronouns and animate objects only. This is true, for instance, for many dialects of Spanish spoken in Spain and in some dialects spoken in Uruguay. The dialect I am going to be discussing here is the Spanish spoken in the central part of Argentina (Cordoba more specifically) where accusative clitic doubling is equally possible with both animate and inanimate objects. I will not have anything to say here as to why an animacy restriction should be crucial to license accusative clitic doubling in other dialects, and know of no current treatment of these matters.

It should be noted that the main distinction between dialects that allow doubling of animates only versus the dialects that allow doubling of inanimates and animates does not affect what I have to say about the aspectual properties of accusative clitic doubling in Spanish. Lack of iteration holds equally well in the animate only dialects.

The variation, however, does not stop there. In the dialects that double animates and inanimates, as, for example, one of the dialects of River Plate Spanish, the status of *a* is very unclear. It is apparently optional for some speakers, and can also appear where the Cordoba dialect does not allow it (as in *have*+agreeing participles). Specific indefinites are also acceptable, as pointed out by Suñer (1988) (see also Everett 1992 for a careful discussion of the dialectal variation in River Plate Spanish). The optionality of *a* and the possibility of specific indefinites are both completely unacceptable in Cordoba Spanish in accusative clitic doubling. What accounts for this variation is unclear, and only a much more in-depth analysis of the subtle syntactic and semantic differences between the determiners and the preposition *a* across dialects may be able to tease them apart.

For the purposes of this paper, however, I will concentrate on the Cordoba dialect for accusative clitic doubling, since in this case there is no variation: (i) the *a* is obligatory; (ii) doubling is possible with animates and inanimates as illustrated in (\$2) and (\$3); and (iii) indefinites are not acceptable.

- (\$N2) a. Lo_i vi [[al/a este/a su] hombre]_i (Cordoba Spanish)
 (I) it_i saw [*a* [the/this/ his] man]_i
 'I saw the/this/his man.'
- b. Lo_i vi [[al/ a esto/ a su] libro]_i
 (I) it_i saw [*a* [the/this/his] book]_i
 'I saw the/this/his book.'

- (\\$N3) a. *Los_i vi [a hombres/ a libros]_i
 (I) them_i saw [*a* men/*a* books]_i
 'I saw men/books.'
- b. *Los_i vi [a muchos hombres/pocos hombres]
 (I) them saw [*a* many men/few men]
 'I saw many/few men.'

The paper is divided as follows: in section 1 I propose an analysis of accusative clitic doubling, and in section 2 I discuss the lack of interaction in view of the small-clause analysis and an independently motivated analysis of aspect.

2. Accusative Clitic Doubling as an Identificational Small Clause

In this section I will develop a parallel between Identificational Small Clauses and Accusative Clitic doubling.² Based on the similarities between the two cases I will argue for a treatment of accusative clitic doubling as an instance of identificational small clauses. Such a proposal will account for the three traditional problems posed by the construction.

First we face the problem of having two DPs apparently competing for the same thematic role. I will call this the *thematic role problem*. Why don't we interpret (1c) as *I played it_j and [the sonata]_i*? Given that this is not the interpretation we get, the picture is similar to constructions with pleonastic elements, i.e., constructions in which one of the DPs does not have a thematic role and is just present for predication reasons. If the intuition that one of the elements in accusative clitic doubling is pleonastic is in the right track, then the questions are the following: which of the elements is the dummy element, and how can the pleonastic element appear in object position?

I would like to argue here that the clitic is the non-thematic subject of a small clause (i.e. a pleonastic element), in the same way that certain pronominal elements can be thematic or non-thematic, as the examples below (from Rothstein 1995) show:

- (\\$N27) a. It is obvious that John will arrive late.
 b. It is obvious.

In the first case *it* is not an argument but in the second case *it* is definitely an argument, for while we can ask *what is obvious?*, we cannot ask *what is obvious that John will arrive late*. Pleonastics are the canonical case of pronominal non-arguments in case positions, and it is standardly assumed that pleonastics can only appear in subject position.³

Besides the canonical cases of pleonastic elements *there* and *it*, Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992), in their discussion of inalienable possession in French, have argued that definite determiners in certain languages can be pleonastic in the sense that they do not provide reference for a noun phrase (i.e. they do not bind the <R> position of nominals in

² Due to lack of space, I will not review the literature nor compare my proposal with previous analyses of Accusative clitic doubling in Spanish. See (Torrego ms.; Jaeggli (1986); Suñer (1988); Sportiche (1993); Uriagereka (1995)). For a review and comparison see Schmitt (forthcoming).

³ The standard assumption that expletives always appear in subject position has been challenged by Pullum and Postal (1988). However, Rothstein (1995) argues convincingly that the cases discussed by Pullum and Postal can be divided in two groups and that the pleonastic elements are in fact subjects of small clauses. In the other cases, the *it* element is argumental.

Higginbotham's (1985) sense) and therefore have no semantic role.⁴ They have only a syntactic role, being licensed by the agreement with the NP. The NP gets its <R> element by being bound by another element (see Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992, and Schmitt 1996). Thus although the determiner shows agreement with the noun (unlike *it/there* which seem to be invariable) it is still treated as a pleonastic element by Vergnaud and Zubizarreta.

There is yet another class of constructions in which the pronominal element in subject position could also be taken as pleonastic. It is this type of construction that I will concentrate on because it is this particular type of small clause that I want to associate with accusative clitic doubling in Spanish. This construction, exemplified in (\$28) for English and (\$29) for Spanish, has been grouped by Higgins (1985) under the heading of Identificational sentences and are typically used for teaching the names of people.

- (\$N28) a. This is John.
 b. It is John.
 c. These are the Smiths.
 d. This is John and Mary.
 d. It is the Windsors.

- (\$N29) a. Es Juan. (Spanish)
 pro is Juan
 b. Son los Vilas.
 pro are the Vilas
 c. Es Pedro y Maria.
 pro is Pedro and Maria

In (\$N31) we have a pronominal element in subject position followed by a proper name or a definite description. As in regular expletive constructions, the pronoun cannot appear after the copula, without inducing a radically different interpretation. This is illustrated in (\$31c,d) for English and in (\$31e-f) for Spanish:

- (\$N31) Who is this/that/it?
 a. This/that/it is John.
 b. This/that/it is the Mayor.
 c. *John is this/that/it.
 d. *The Mayor is this/that/it.⁵
 e. Es el Prefecto. (Spanish)
 pro is the Mayor
 f. *El prefecto es (pro) (Spanish)
 the Mayor is (pro)

⁴ For example, in inalienable constructions a singular definite article does not imply a semantic singular. In the following example the doctor didn't examine a single stomach. The reference of *estomac* is given by *leur* and not by the definite singular determiner.

(i) Le docteur leurs a examiné l'estomac.
 the doctor them examined the stomach
 'The doctor examined their stomachs'

⁵ The only way to accept *this* in the complement of *be* is by adding *one* in English. In this case, however, we have a different construction (an equative) because the demonstrative followed by *one* can appear as the complement of *be* with the same meaning.

Moreover, we cannot naturally question the pronoun in the cases above: *who is John* cannot be answered by *it* or *that*. Higgins notes yet another property of the pronominal element in these constructions. The pronominal element has what he calls "common gender". To illustrate this, consider (\$32a) and (\$32b).

- (N32) a. That woman is the Mayor of Cambridge.
 b. That woman is Mayor of Cambridge.
 c. That is the Mayor of Cambridge.
 d. *That is Mayor of Cambridge.
 e. It is the Mayor of Cambridge.
 f. *It is Mayor of Cambridge.

In (\$32a) we can establish an equivalence between two DPs in which they either have the same extension or we can establish an intensional equivalence by assigning a property to *that woman*. In (\$32b) we have only the latter possibility. In other words, in (\$32a) the definite description after *be* can be interpreted either as an argument of *be*, in which case it is not a predicate, or as a predicate that selects for an argument, in this case the subject *that woman*. In (\$32b) the indefinite can only be interpreted as a predicate. Thus *that woman* functions as its subject.

Higgins has noted that, if *that woman* is substituted for *that* or *it* in (\$32a), the result is acceptable, as we can see in (\$32c). However, if we substitute *that woman* for *that* in (\$32b), the sentence is unacceptable as shown in (\$32d), since *Mayor of Cambridge* is a predicate that requires a [+human] subject. *That* does not satisfy this requirement and consequently the sentence is unacceptable.

Higgins' observation can be reinterpreted in the following way: *that/it* can appear in (\$32c) because in this case it need not be an argument of *the Mayor of Cambridge*. In fact, I would like to argue that *the Mayor of Cambridge* is an argument of *be* and the pronominal element is an expletive in that it does not receive a theta role from the predicate *is the Mayor of Cambridge*. Thus it will not have to obey selectional restrictions from *the Mayor of Cambridge*. It is there to satisfy the predication relation as in other constructions with pleonastic elements.

The contrast between (\$32c) and (\$33a) again illustrates the distinction between the so called common gender pronoun and the regular pronoun. (\$33a) can appear in the reversed order, as illustrated in (\$33b). The ability to be reversed means that the personal pronoun is not playing the role of an expletive, since expletives can only appear in subject position.⁶

- (N33) a. He is John.
 b. John is him.
 c. Mayor Barry is the Mayor for life.
 d. The Mayor for life is Mayor Barry.

In fact we should consider sentences in (\$33a,b) as comparable to sentences in (\$33c,d), where identity of reference is being established. (\$32c) differs from (\$33) in that in (\$32c) we are not establishing identity of reference; instead, we are identifying a referent: we are not

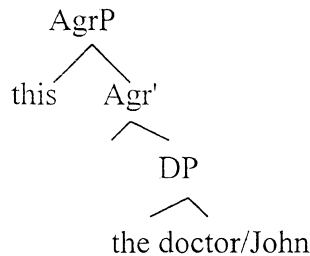
⁶ Treating *this* as an expletive will also account for the inability of it to appear in other object positions as the following example due to Greg Carlson, without adding an odd interpretation:

(i) #I'd like to introduce you to this. This is John.

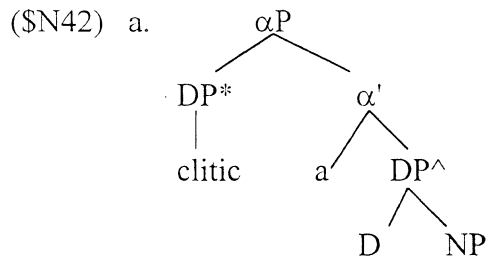
asserting existence. The pleonastic pronominal element *it* has no reference, and *that* has only the locative information that is in the demonstrative part of the DP (which can vary).⁷

In sum, the pronominal element in subject position of the sentence *It's John* bears case but no thematic role and is related to an element that it c-commands.⁸ The schematic structure for such identificational small clauses is given in (§34).

- (§N34) a. This is the doctor/John.
b.



The structure for accusative clitic doubling I am proposing is given in (§42a):



The DP marked DP^ in (§42) corresponds to the doubled phrase and the DP marked DP* corresponds to the clitic, which, being a pleonastic element has to be licensed as the non-thematic subject of a predicate. The *a* element corresponds to the copula in the identificational small clause and has DP^ as its complement. I will call the small clause projection αP for expository purposes.

In the following I present evidence that justify the parallel between identificational small clauses and accusative clitic doubling.

2.1 DP restrictions

Consider the DPs that can appear in the complement position of *be* in identificational sentences and the types of DPs that can appear in accusative clitic doubling constructions. As we can see in (§35) and (§13), the same noun phrases that can appear in identificational small

⁷ What I have in mind here is an analysis of demonstratives constituted of two parts: a location and a nominal element. Thus the real expletive part of the demonstrative is the nominal element and not the locative part. *This is John* means basically *here it is John*. The pleonastic part is the *it*. Semantic support for an analysis of demonstratives in such a way comes from Bennett (1978) and for syntactic evidence see Schmitt (1996).

⁸ A thorough discussion of the ways that have been proposed for interpreting pleonastics (e.g. Chomsky 1993) is beyond the scope of this paper. The technical problems of implementation are irrelevant for the discussion. Overtly, the DP with the demonstrative has checked its strong morphological phi-features by Spell-Out. I will come back to the issue of expletive replacement when I deal with the aspectual properties of accusative clitic doubling and case.

clauses are exactly those that can appear in accusative clitic doubling: definites, proper names and pronouns.

- (\\$N35) a. This is the mayor.
 b. These are all the prisoners.
 c. This is John.
 d. This is him.

- (\\$N13) a. Lo_i vi [[al hombre]_i (Cordoba Spanish)
 (I) it_i saw [*a* the man]_i
 'I saw the man.'
 b. Los_i vi [[a todos los libros]_i
 (I) it_i saw [*a* [all thebooks]_i
 'I saw all the books.'
 c. Lo_i vi [a Juan/ a el]_i
 I him_i saw [*a* Juan/ *a* el]_i
 'I say Juan / him.'

The DPs that are banned in accusative clitic doubling are also banned in identificational small clauses. (§36) shows that non D-determiners can only give rise to predicational interpretations. The same determiners are unacceptable in accusative clitic doubling:

- (\\$N36) a. *These are friends.
 b. *This is every friend.⁹
 c. *These are all friends.¹⁰
 (\$N74) a. *Los_i vi [a hombres/ a libros]_i
 (I) them_i saw [*a* men/*a* books]_i
 'I saw men/books.'
 b. *Lo_i vi [a todo hombre]_i¹¹
 (I) him_i saw [*a* every man]_i

⁹ Norbert Hornstein (p.c.) has pointed out that the following sentence is perfectly acceptable:

(i) This is every prisoner

In fact, I believe this is correct but only with a group reading, which we have seen to be impossible for *todo*:

(i) *É todo prisioneiro

(It) is every prisoner

¹⁰ Alan Munn (p.c.) notes that this sentence is grammatical with a predicative interpretation with *all* modifying the predicate similar to *They all left*. I am concerned here with the identificational reading in which *all* would be modifying just *friend*. This is perhaps more clearly shown with the example **This is all milk*, in which the predicative reading is much harder to obtain.

¹¹ Notice that while *todos los* 'all the' is acceptable in accusative clitic doubling, *todo* 'every' is not. In both cases we have a universal quantifier, which in both Milsark (1977) and de Hoop (1992) would count as strong quantifiers. The inability of *todo* to appear in accusative clitic doubling rules out the hypothesis that specificity (Suñer 1988); Sportiche (1993) is what is at stake to guarantee a well-formed clitic doubling constructions. For a detailed discussion see Schmitt (1995) and (forthcoming).

I will call the determiners that can appear in the complement position of *be* in identificational sentences D-determiners. Given that the restrictions are the same for accusative clitic doubling, I will assume that DP^{\wedge} must be headed by a D-determiner.

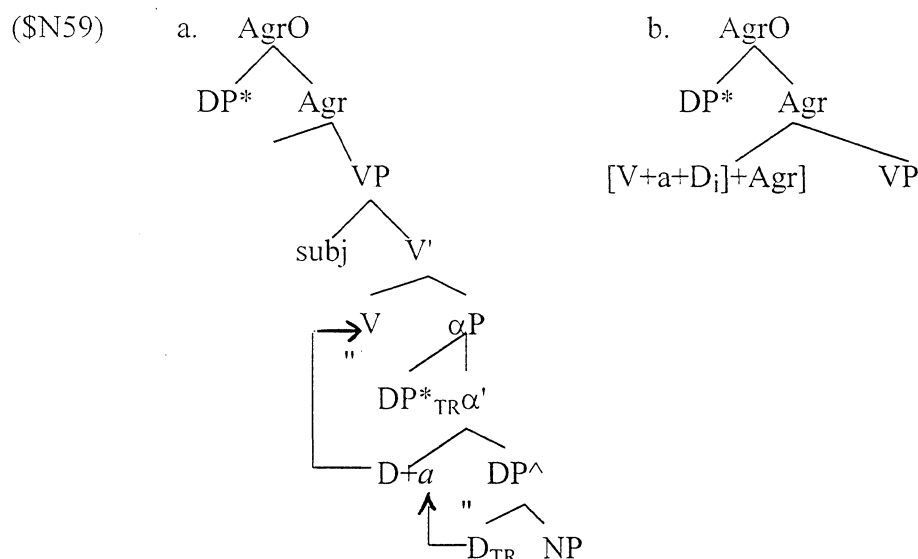
2.2 Case

Being a D-determiner is undoubtedly a semantic property. However, it seems that the DP with a D-determiner also has to fulfill a syntactic requirement in that it requires its Case to be checked. The need for a D-determiner to have its Case checked encounters empirical support from the following contrast, adapted from Higginbotham (1987):

- (\\$N37) a. *I consider [that [the man]
b. I consider [that [to be[the man]]

When a copula is not present, a definite description in a complement clause such as (§37a) must have a predicate reading rather than an argument interpretation. *That* is then the argument of the property *the man*, and we get an odd reading that roughly corresponds to *that thing is the man*. In (§37b) the copula is present. In this case, the D-determiner can check case in the specifier of AgrO of *be*. Thus *the man* can be interpreted as the argument of *be*, and *that* can be interpreted as a pleonastic element.

If accusative clitic doubling is an instance of an identificational small clause, then DP^{\wedge} also needs to check Case features. DP^{\wedge} will check case by incorporating into *a*, as illustrated below. This explains the presence of the preposition *a*. I will assume that *a* can only be a Case checker if it is incorporated into the verb (see Baker 1988). The verb will check the Case of the pleonastic clitic that moves overtly to AgrO and from there the its PF position. The structure at LF is given in (§59b).



So far we have a way to account for the three basic problems of accusative clitic doubling: the clitic is the pleonastic subject of a small clause, i.e., it does not receive a thematic role. The thematic role is assigned to the *a*-phrase. The determiner restrictions follow from the semantic property of identificational small clauses. The *a* is a Case marker, since in identificational small clauses both DPs need to have their Case checked.

2.3 Agreement

However, we still have an apparent important difference between the two small clauses that has to be addressed. The pleonastic element in the accusative clitic doubling displays agreement, unlike most expletive pronouns. In the following I will show that this agreement is purely syntactic agreement and has the characteristics of agreement under government. The evidence will come from conjoined noun phrases.

A conjoined noun phrase in the canonical subject position triggers plural agreement on the verb and masculine plural agreement on the adjective, as illustrated in (\$44) and (\$45) for Spanish and English. This is taken to be the canonical specifier-head agreement relation.

- (N44) a. Juan y María son médicos. (Spanish)
b. John and Mary are doctors.

- (N45) Ellos son la médica y el médico que se graduaron el año pasado. (Spanish)
They-M.PL are the doctor-F.SG and the doctor-M.SG that graduated last year
'They are the female and the male doctor that graduated last year.'

There is another pattern of agreement found cross-linguistically, which descriptively takes place under government rather than the spec-head relation: this type of agreement has been widely discussed in the literature (see McCloskey (1986) for Irish; Bahloul and Harbert (1992) for Arabic; Munn (1993) for English and Munn (1996) for a minimalist account of these facts). One of the most distinguishing factors of agreement under government is that it gives rise to first conjunct agreement with conjoined DPs. Thus, in [V [DP₁ and DP₂]] order, agreement will be with DP₁. In [[DP₁ and DP₂] V], agreement cannot be with the first conjunct. A clear case of agreement under government arises in English *there* constructions as in (\$46) from Munn (1993):

- (N46) a. There is a man and a woman in the garden.
b. *There are a man and a woman in the garden.
c. There are two men and a woman in the garden.
d. *A man and a woman is in the garden.

Here, the verb agrees with the post-verbal subject, and first conjunct agreement is obligatory. If the subject is pre-verbal, first conjunct agreement is impossible.

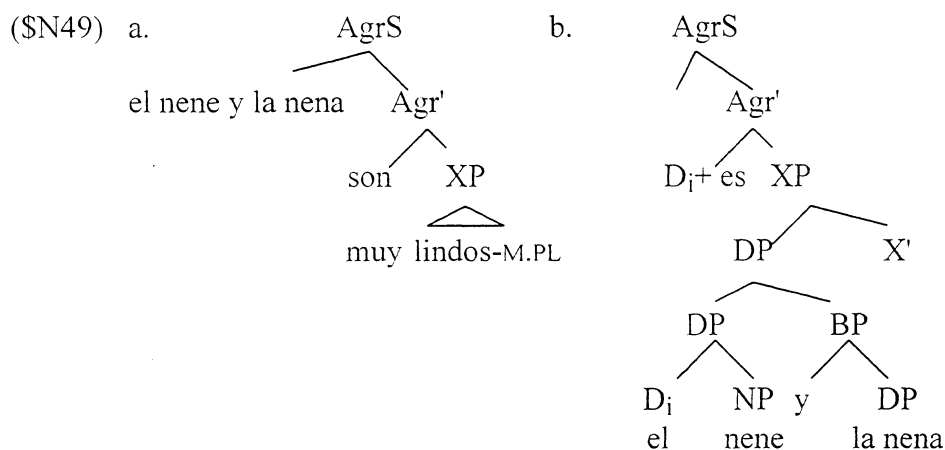
The same pattern arises in the identificational small clauses discussed above, in English and Spanish, as exemplified below:

- (N47) a. This is John and Mary.
b. These are the Windsors and the Smiths.
c. *These are John and Mary.

- (\\$N48) a. Es Juan y María. (Spanish)
'(pro) is J. and M.'
- b. *Son Juan y María. (Spanish)
'(pro) are J. and M.'
- c. Son los Clintons. (Spanish)
'(pro) are the Clintons'

If the identificational small clause has a conjoined noun phrase as its complement, first conjunct agreement is obligatory, as (§47) and (§48) show. Note that both the demonstrative and the copula show agreement with the first conjunct and not agreement with both conjuncts.

Munn (1992, 1993) proposes that conjoined structures are adjunction structures in which a Boolean phrase (BP) headed by a conjunction is adjoined to the first conjunct which is the head of the whole construction. According to Munn (1996), a way to deal first conjunct agreement in Minimalist terms is to assume that in (§44) and (§45), the agreement with the verb obtains in a specifier head relation as in (§49a) and the agreement with the first conjunct obtains by incorporation of the head of the first conjunct onto the verb, as in (§49b):



- c. El nene y la nena son muy lindos.
The boy and the girl are very pretty.

- d. Es el nene y la nena.
(It) is the boy and the girl.

(Cordoba Spanish)

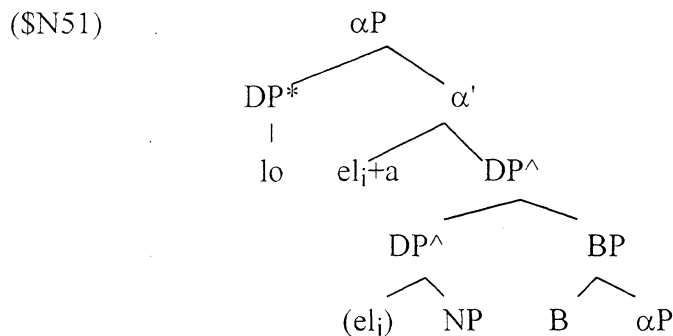
Spec-head configurations only allow agreement with both conjuncts. Agreement under government, on the other hand, allows agreement with the first conjunct. In identificational small clauses what we find is agreement under government, in which agreement with the first conjunct is possible, although not always obligatory.¹² If accusative clitic doubling has the

¹² What is important here is that agreement under government can trigger first conjunct agreement but spec-head agreement cannot. Judgments on agreement under government are not always clear cut. Prescriptive rules seem to get in the way and somehow plural agreement (i.e. agreement with both conjuncts) in government configurations is also accepted by some speakers, even when the first conjunct is singular. This phenomenon is attested in various languages, Arabic being one of them (see Munn 1996). One of the speakers I consulted for the Spanish identificational small clauses and for the clitic doubling coordinated objects told me (of first conjunct agreement) "it makes no sense, but this is fine." The others accepted the facts in (§50) without question, although

same structure as identificational small clauses, as we proposed above, the prediction is that the clitic would allow agreement with the first conjunct. This follows from the fact that the head of the DP, which is incorporated into the a , is the D of the first conjunct. The clitic in the specifier of Agr will have to agree with it. In fact this is exactly what we find, as illustrated in (§50):

- (§N50) Lo vi al profesor y las alumnas.
 (I) him-M.SG saw a the-M.SG teacher.M.SG and a the-F.PL student-F.PL
 'I saw the professor and the female students.'

A partial structure is given in (§51):



First conjunct agreement in clitic doubling thus provides independent motivation for both the small clause analysis and the incorporation of the doubled DP's determiner into a . Now we need to address the aspectual problem.

3. The Aspectual Properties of Accusative Clitic Doubling

There are at least two routes one can take in attempting to explain the lack of iteration in accusative clitic doubling, given the analysis proposed above. One could argue that the lack of iteration in accusative clitic doubling and its possibility in regular clitic complements and left dislocated structures is to be related to the fact that the thematic role from the verb is assigned to different complements: a small clause in one case and a simple DP in the regular verb complement or in the clitic left dislocated construction. Alternatively we the route that aspectual interpretations are (like scope) semantic properties that depend on particular syntactic configurations.

Recent work on possessives, relative clauses and partitive objects has shown that these structures are complex, in the sense that they are not simple DPs, but rather CPs or small clauses (see Szabolsci 1983; 1994; Uriagereka 1993; Schmitt 1996). In spite of the complexity of the structure, when possessives, relative clauses and partitive complements appear in complement position of eventive verbs, iteration is not blocked. Thus, to associate

they do not accept first conjunct agreement when the coordinated DP is a subject of a clause in its canonical specifier of AgrS position.

Variation exists with respect to whether the a has to be repeated in the second conjunct. Some speakers accept (i) but others only accept (ii). I will leave this matter open (for a discussion of how the second conjunct would get case in (i) see Munn (1993)).

- (i) a. Lo vi al muchacho y la chica
 b. La toqué a la sonata y el adagio
 (ii) a. Lo vi al muchacho y a la chica
 b. La toqué a la sonata y a el adagio

lack of iteration to the fact that more than a simple DP is in the complement position does not seem to be a promising solution. Given this, I will pursue the hypothesis that iteration is dependent on syntactic configuration. First, though, I need to clarify my assumptions about aspect.

The first assumption is that aspect is compositional. Since Verkuyl (1972) it has been well known that properties of the determiner system affect the interpretation of the VP aspect, as illustrated in (§52). In (§52a) the bare plural renders the VP with an eventive verb durative and, therefore, compatible with adverbs such as *for an hour*, but incompatible with adverbs such as *in an hour* which are only compatible with terminative predicates. The indefinite, the definite and the numeral render the predicate terminative since the cardinality of the head noun in the object position is specified.

- (§N52) a. John ate sandwiches for an hour/ #in an hour.
 b. John ate a sandwich/ three sandwiches in an hour / #for an hour.

Terminative aspect is then the result of a combination of a verbal and a nominal feature mediated by a theta role. Stative verbs and verbs like *push* will be indifferent to the information provided by the object. Depending on the verbal feature and on the nominal feature, the interpretation will be that of a durative or a terminative predicate.

Following Schmitt (1996) I will assume that aspectual interpretations, like scope, are dependent on structural configurations. Specifically, the checking domain of the verb (AgrO in Chomsky 1995) is the locus for terminative interpretations of the VP:

- (55) A VP is terminative if an eventive verb is adjoined to AgrO and quantity information is specified at AgrO.

There are both conceptual and empirical advantages of making AgrO the locus for VP aspect interpretation.¹³ In the Minimalist program we cannot motivate raising to a certain position in order to derive a certain interpretation. The motivation for movement has to be syntactic. Given that the internal argument have to move to AgrO for Case reasons, there is then independent syntactic motivation for the raising to this position.

Moreover, empirically the proposal to calculate aspect at AgrO allows us to unify the treatment of terminativity in English and Finnish. Consider (§56) from De Hoop (1989) (see also Heinämäki 1984):

- (§N56) a. Tuula rakensi taloa. (Finnish)
 Tuula built house-PART
 'Tuula was building a/the house.'
 b. Tuula rakensi talon.
 Tuula built house-ACC
 'Tuula built a/the house.'

In Finnish, a partitive case-marked object can never receive a terminative interpretation and, according to Heinämäki (1984), the VP does not receive an iterative interpretation either. If we assume that the verb is the same, and accusative is an intrinsic feature of verbs, then it is possible to assume that the partitive complement does not move to the specifier of AgrO,

¹³ Note that since durative is the default interpretation, if there is no internal argument or there is null incorporated argument, the reading will be durative as is the case of *run*, *yawn* etc.

since it has another way of checking its Case. I assume (see Schmitt 1996) that partitive is checked in situ by a null preposition.

If terminative aspect is calculated at AgrO, the partitive complement will not be in a configuration that will allow terminative readings. Consequently durative readings will always obtain. Accusative objects, on the other hand, will give rise to terminative readings, provided the verb is eventive. If the verb is not eventive the result will be durative.

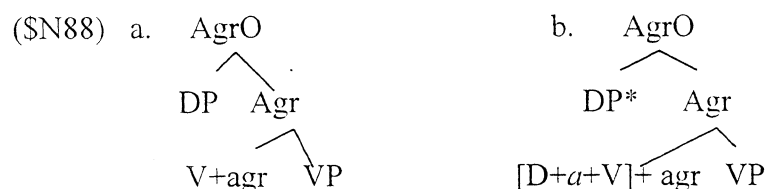
What is important from the Finnish case is that the different cases are not encodings of different semantic aspectual features per se. Instead, different cases will force, for syntactic reasons, different configurations and, therefore, different interpretations. Note that by assuming this hypothesis we don't need to treat English aspectual interpretations differently from Finnish and we can associate different aspectual interpretations to different configurations. (For a more detailed exposition of the use of AgrO as the locus of Aspect interpretations see Schmitt (1996).

Following this line of reasoning, i.e., that terminative/durative aspect is dependent partially on syntactic configurations, let's suppose that iteration is also dependent on structural configurations. In other words, let's suppose that the difference between accusative clitic doubling constructions and regular DP complements is a structural difference. And it is this structural difference that blocks iteration.

First we should note that iteration is sensitive to the type of complement. Thus while we can have an iterative reading in (\$89a) but not in (\$89b), since the mass noun disallows subevent partition into discrete subevents.

- (\$N89) a. John played the sonata for 3 hours
b. John played music for 3 hours

Let's suppose then that iteration of the VP is dependent on configurations at AgrO. (\$88) schematically illustrates the AgrO of a regular DP complement and of accusative clitic doubling. Terminativity (i.e., boundedness) is certainly not a problem to obtain in accusative clitic doubling since a definite determiner is at AgrO by the time aspect is calculated. The question is what allows/ disallows iteration.



By comparing the two structures we can see two major differences: while in the regular DP complement the DP is in the specifier of AgrO, in the accusative clitic doubling we have a pleonastic element in the specifier of AgrO and in Agr we have V and an incorporated D.

The pleonastic element has no content and therefore has to be eliminated at LF since it is uninterpretable at the interface. The raising of the complex [D+a+V] to Agr will allow the pleonastic element DP* to be eliminated.¹⁴ Thus the presence of the pleonastic element is not what is relevant for the aspectual interpretation.¹⁵

¹⁴ Munn (1996) argues on independent grounds that expletive replacement configurations are head-head rather than spec-head configurations.

¹⁵ In other words, we cannot associate the overt position of the clitic in accusative clitic doubling to a particular semantic interpretation (contra Sportiche 1993 and others). The final position of a clitic is a PF phenomenon.

If we compare (\$88a) and (\$88b) we can see that in regular complement constructions the DP is in a specifier head relation with the verb and this relation is mediated by Agr. In (\$88b), on the other hand, this is not the case. Instead, the D element that carries the information that the cardinality of the object is specified is not in the specifier of AgrO. It is incorporated into the verb.

Although it is unclear how exactly determiner incorporation blocks iteration, some evidence for the correlation between determiner incorporation and lack of iteration comes from Galician. Although Galician disallows clitic doubling, it allows overt determiner incorporation (see Uriagereka 1988). When the determiner incorporates to the verb, the result is the same as in accusative clitic doubling, as the unacceptability of (\$72) exemplifies below:

- (\$N72) *?Deude que tiñas dezeroito anos, (ti) chocachelos coches.
 since you were eighteen years old, you crashed-the cars

Here the result of the determiner incorporation is pragmatically odd, since a single crashing that lasted 10 or more years is quite implausible.

Tentatively I would like to suggest that the determiner, when incorporated cannot be used to combine with the verb in a way that will allow partition of the event into subevents that are discretely identifiable. Notice that it is crucial for this hypothesis that iteration is partition of the event into subevents, and my suggestion here is that it has to be mediated by the spec-head relation. Otherwise, the relation between the VP and the adverbial that will allow iteration does not obtain.

Needless to say that more research in the area of the appropriate semantics for iteration is necessary, but the point of this discussion is to show that the appropriate analysis of Spanish accusative clitic doubling cannot simply treat the clitic as an agreement marker. Even if the agreement is made to be agreement in specificity (as Suñer 1988 proposes), it still cannot account for the lack of iteration, since specific complements do allow iteration. We also cannot subsume clitic left dislocated structures to accusative clitic doubling (contra Kayne 1994). They involve different interpretations and different agreement properties (no first conjunct agreement).

3 Final remarks

The proposal that accusative clitic doubling is an instance of an identificational structure allows us to account for the three classical problems:

- (i) *the thematic role problem*: the clitic is an expletive kind of element of an identificational small clause, thus it does not have a thematic role assigned by the predicate.
- (ii) *the 'a' problem*: *be* in identificational small clauses is a case assigner. The *a* in accusative clitic doubling structures plays the same role as a case assigner to its complement, checking the Case of the D-determiner.
- (iii) *the NP-restrictions problem*: identificational small clauses require D-determiners as their complements. Thus we can associate the determiner constraints to the identificational properties of the small clause.

As for the aspectual problem, we showed its addition to realm of problems posed by the Spanish accusative clitic doubling allows us to separate clitic left dislocated structures from accusative clitic doubling and allows us to establish a correlation between determiner incorporation and lack of iteration. What is left open waiting for further research is the proper treatment of iteration and cross-linguistic variation in accusative clitic doubling.

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