

Left Sentence Peripheries in Spanish

Diachronic, Variationist
and Comparative Perspectives

Edited by

Andreas Dufter

Álvaro S. Octavio de Toledo

John Benjamins Publishing Company

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and Comparative Perspectives
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Preface

Andreas Dufter and Álvaro S. Octavio de Toledo
University of Munich

The idea for this volume originated in the workshop entitled “To the Left: Dislocations and Frontings in Old and Modern Spanish” that we convened at the 18th *Hispanis-tentag*, the Biannual Meeting of the German Association of Hispanists, in Passau, Germany in March 2011. Judging from both our own impressions, and the feedback received, the workshop proved quite successful in bringing together different research traditions and approaches, as it provided some inspiring theoretical stimuli for the historical descriptive linguists as well as some empirical hard nuts for the more theoretically-minded. All in all, eighteen papers were presented, many of which gave rise to lively discussions about recent findings and theoretical analyses of various aspects of left sentence peripheries in Spanish. During that meeting, it became clear that a collection of articles exploring the many facets of the topic would be more than welcome: Until now Spanish has continued to figure less prominently in the descriptive and theoretical literature on left peripheries than other major European languages, such as English or Italian. Furthermore, considerable progress has been achieved over the last few years in accounting for some of the intriguing properties of the higher functional field in Spanish clausal syntax, and their implications for semantics, information structure and discourse pragmatics. With these reasons in mind, we felt it was high time for a collection of articles to be compiled, which attest recent developments and insights in this dynamic field of investigation. This volume features nine contributions submitted by participants of the conference workshop and four additional contributions by syntacticians from Europe and America.

Acknowledgments are due to a number of people and institutions: To begin with, we would like to thank all participants in the Passau workshop for actively engaging in stimulating discussion, in an open-minded, albeit critical spirit, and all contributors to this volume for their cooperation and commitment. In addition, we are indebted to Kerstin Kazzazi, to Rohaana Wijekulasuriya, and to no less than twenty-eight anonymous reviewers for their constructive criticism and many insightful suggestions for improvement. Last but not least, we wish to express our special debt of gratitude to Werner Abraham and Elly van Gelderen, the editors of the *Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today* series, and to the editorial staff of John Benjamins, in particular Kees Vaes,

for their patience and professional guidance during the production process. In the course of compilation of this manuscript, a number of circumstances changed for us, most for the better, some for worse. The project took its start while we were working at the Universities of Erlangen-Nürnberg (Andreas Dufter) and Tübingen (Álvaro S. Octavio de Toledo), however its final stages saw us working together at the University of Munich. In May 2013, in the midst of the editorial process, Prof. Emilio Octavio de Toledo y Ubieto sadly passed away. In April 2014, Theresia Dufter, Andreas' mother, died after several months of illness. We would like our editorial efforts to stand as a very modest tribute to their memory.

Andreas Dufter and Álvaro S. Octavio de Toledo y Huerta
Munich and Madrid, April 2014

Left forever

Subject datives and clitic doubling in Old Spanish

Javier Elvira

Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

The traditional approach to clitic doubling in Spanish has usually attempted an explanation for the absence or presence of redundant pronouns that is based on mechanisms related to discourse or the organization of information (topicalization, focus, contrast, etc.). These very same principles raise some problems when trying to explain clitic doubling in biargumental stative constructions whose person argument is expressed by a dative (*a mi padre le gusta el cine* ‘my father likes cinema’). This paper proposes a contrastive approach to specific cases of dative clitic doubling in stative constructions, which compares them with redundant uses of the dative pronoun in transitive constructions. This distinction leads to a better understanding of clitic doubling as agreement. The research is based on both synchronic and diachronic data.

1. Pronoun redundancy: Basic synchronic data

This research is primarily focused on the relationship between anticipation of direct and indirect object and unstressed pronoun doubling. In fact, as it is well known, one of the factors that currently favor this phenomenon is the shift of the direct or indirect constituent to the left position of the sentence. In this position, clitic doubling is mandatory in present-day Spanish (doubling clitics are underlined):

- (1) a. *Entregó el informe a su jefe.*
deliver.3SG the report to his boss
‘He delivered the report to his boss.’
- b. *A sus padres les regaló un libro.*
to his parents them.CL gave.3SG a book
‘To his parents (topic), he gave them a book.’
- c. *Leí el libro entero.*
read.1SG the book entire
‘I read the entire book.’

- d. *El libro lo leí entero.*
 the book it.CL read.1SG entire
 ‘The book, I read it entirely.’

In addition to topic anticipation, there are some other factors that trigger clitic doubling in contemporary Spanish. Specifically, doubling appears when the indirect object is expressed by a preposition followed by a stressed pronoun:

- (2) *Nos envió a nosotros los negativos.*
 to-us.CL sent.3SG to us the negatives
 ‘He sent the negatives to us.’

Clitic doubling is also mandatory with non-argumental indirect objects, i.e. those arguments not required by the valency of verbs such as *coser* ‘sew’, *cantar* ‘sing’, etc. (Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1999: 1871–1873):

- (3) a. *Les cosió la ropa a los huéspedes.*
 to-them.CL sewed.3SG the clothes to the guests
 ‘He sewed the clothes for guests.’
 b. *Le cantó un aria al público.*
 to-it.CL sang.3SG an aria to-the public
 ‘He sang an aria to the public.’

In what follows, we will focus on the first factor, namely movement to the left position, which is the first that influenced directly clitic doubling in the medieval language.

The fronting of syntactic elements, also called left dislocation, is motivated by functional and discursive reasons (contrast, anaphoric relations with the precedent context, etc.). Consequently, whenever we find a sentence with direct or indirect object left dislocation, it is usually possible to reconstruct a non-marked construction serving as a starting point for the movement:

- (4) a. *Pedro compró el jarabe en la farmacia.* (non-marked use)
 Pedro bought.3SG the syrup at the pharmacy
 ‘Pedro bought the syrup at the pharmacy.’
 b. *El jarabe lo compró Pedro en la farmacia.* (marked use)
 the syrup it.CL bought.3SG Pedro at the pharmacy
 ‘The syrup, Pedro bought it at the pharmacy.’
 (5) a. *Pedro entregó el dinero a sus padres.* (non-marked use)
 Pedro delivered.3SG the money to his parents
 b. *A sus padres les entregó el dinero Pedro.*
 to his parents to-them.CL delivered.3SG the money Pedro
 (marked use)

The idea that a preposed element is a topic was suggested by Gili Gaya (1973: 227–229) a long time ago. According to this idea, the initial position of a direct or indirect object can be analyzed as topic preposing, which would help to explain the occurrence of the pronoun as a mechanism for recovering the reference of the preposed topic. From this point of view, the presence of an anaphoric pronoun receives a uniform explanation in the three following examples, which exhibit topic preposing. In the second example, the topical nature of the fronted element is made explicit through the formula *en cuanto a* ‘as for’. The third example can be considered a case of *nominativus pendens*, i.e. a preposed element that has been deprived of any argument role in the following verb:

- (6) a. *A mi padre, lo vi en la estación.*
to my father him.CL saw.1SG at the station
‘My father, I saw him at the station.’
- b. *En cuanto a mi padre, lo vi en la estación.*
as for my father him.CL saw.1SG at the station
‘As for my father, I saw him at the station.’
- c. *Mi padre, lo vi en la estación.*
my father him.CL saw.1SG at the station
‘My father, I saw him at the station.’

This topic-based explanation for clitic doubling makes sense both for direct objects and also for indirect objects in transitive constructions with three arguments:

- (7) a. *Encontré el libro en casa.*
found.1SG the book at home
‘I found the book at home.’
- b. *El libro lo encontré en casa.*
the book it.CL found.1SG at home
‘The book, I found it at home.’
- c. *Entregué el libro a María.*
delivered.1SG the book to María
‘I delivered the book to María.’
- d. *A María le entregué el libro.*
to María to-her.CL delivered.1SG the book
‘To María, I delivered her the book.’

However, there is a special type of indirect objects for which the topic-based motivation of doubling is far from clear. These arguments occur in certain two-argument constructions with verbs of experience, feeling or interest (*aburrir* ‘to bore’, *agobiar* ‘to smother’, *agradar* ‘to please’, *apetecer* ‘to fancy’, *divertir* ‘to amuse’, *doler* ‘to hurt’, *encantar* ‘to love’, *gustar* ‘to like’, *interesar* ‘to interest’, *irritar* ‘to irritate’, *molestar* ‘to bother’, *preocupar* ‘to

worry', *pesar* 'to sadden', etc.), lack or excess (*faltar* 'to lack', *sobrar* 'to be left over') and modality (*convenir* 'to be suitable'). They do not usually refer to an agentive transitive action, but rather to a stative situation or a non-controlled event with a dative argument. The so-called indirect object of these constructions is most naturally located in initial position. These clause-initial indirect objects do not have a marked character (8a,c), whereas subject–verb–object orderings appear to be excluded (8b,d):

- (8) a. *A Pedro le duele la cabeza.*
to Pedro to-him.CL hurt.3SG the head
'Pedro has a headache.'
- b. **La cabeza duele a Pedro.*
the head hurt.3SG to Pedro
'The head hurts (causes pain) to Pedro.'
- c. *A mi hermano le apetece un aperitivo.*
to my brother to-him.CL fancy.3SG a snack
'My brother fancies a snack.'
- d. **Un aperitivo apetece a mi hermano.*
a snack fancy.3SG to my brother
'A snack produces craving to my brother.'

In light of this, the construction with fronted dative itself does not seem to result from any fronting or topicalization movement.¹ If, due to discursive or pragmatic reasons, the usual arrangement of the dative argument is inverted, clitic doubling also necessarily takes place in present-day Spanish:

- (9) a. *A mi padre le gusta el cine.*
to my father to-him.CL like.3SG the cinema
'My father likes the cinema.'
- b. *El cine le gusta a mi padre.*
the cinema to-him.CL like.3SG to my father
'My father likes the cinema.'

Some stative verbs are in an intermediate position as regards preposed position and clitic doubling. This is the case of some verbs like *gustar*, *agradar*, or *preocupar*, which may occasionally lose their usual stative meaning and assume a new causative value.² With this new value, reduplication does not occur, and the indirect object appears in postposed position:

1. Hidalgo Downing (2001: 216–220) describes this dative as a verbal argument integrated into the sentence it belongs to, unlike other fronted datives with an extra-predicative syntactic function.

2. The view that certain psychological verbs may have a causative value is not new. The underlying idea is that these verbs indicate the effect caused by an agent (often non-animate) on an experiencer (Cano Aguilar 1987: 54, n. 11 and passim).

- (10) a. *A los españoles les gusta el vino.*
 to the Spanish people to-them.CL like.3SG the wine
 ‘Spanish people like wine.’
- b. *El vino gusta a los españoles.*
 the wine like.3SG to the Spanish people
 ‘The wine is a cause of pleasure to the Spanish people.’ (marked use)

This new argument arrangement (10b), which is close to the basic prototype of transitive sentences, has itself a marked character and is not possible in all contexts and situations. In fact the causative use of *gustar* can only be found in generic contexts, denoting frequent and reiterated states of affairs, as in (10b) above. For the very same reason, the following sentence, which lacks the generic nuance of (10b), is unusual or sounds strange in present-day Spanish:

- (11) **El vino gusta a mi padre.*
 the wine like.3SG to my father

Following the analyses of Verhoeven (2008, 2009a,b, 2010) for similar uses of verbs in modern Greek, we will use the term *labile* to refer to these marked uses of certain originally stative verbs, which may assume new transitive uses, thereby blocking the occurrence of clitic doubling.

The indirect objects in these sentences with two arguments show a syntactic behavior that is very different from that of the indirect objects of transitive sentences with more than two arguments. These differences also refer to unstressed pronoun doubling. I have already explained elsewhere my idea that the structural configuration of these sentences is similar to that of the transitive sentence, but with an inverted disposition of the mark of the arguments (Elvira 2011a,b):

- (12) a. Transitive construction:
 [*Juan [rompió la pelota]*]
 Juan broke.3SG the ball
- b. Stative construction:
 [*A Pedro [le gusta el cine]*]
 to Pedro to-him.CL like.3SG the cinema

From a structural point of view, both constructions show a similar configuration. Both of them combine two units or phrases of the same syntactic hierarchy: a topical element and a complex predicate. In the transitive configuration the subject is the topical argument, located in a position external to the core predication; this very same external position is filled by the prepositional dative in the stative configuration. Some scholars refer to these dative arguments as non-canonical or quirky subjects (Campos 1999, Fernández-Soriano 1999), in order to underline the behavioral specificity of these peculiar arguments, which in some respects are similar to real subjects.

2. Doubling and focus

While in general, the occurrence of clitic doubling in Spanish is strongly favored with fronted dative objects, it is categorically excluded with objects targeted by focus. In other words, focus on a fronted direct or indirect object ‘deactivates’ the process of fronted object doubling. In order to determine the focused part of a sentence, question–answer tests provide a useful diagnostic, as can be seen from the contrasts in (13). It should be noted that the judgments of grammaticality that are provided below must be restricted to the dialect of standard cultivated Spanish of Spain. It is highly probable that other areas or dialects of Spain or America require a different assessment.

- (13) a. Focus on the non-personal object:

QUESTION:

¿*Qué buscas?*

what look-for.2SG

‘What are you looking for?’

ANSWERS:

El libro busco. / **El libro lo busco.*

the book look-for.1SG / the book it.CL look-for.1SG

‘It is the book what I am looking for.’

- b. Focus on the indirect object:

QUESTION:

¿*A quién (le) entregué el libro?*

to whom to-him/her.CL delivered.1SG the book

‘To whom did I deliver the book?’

ANSWERS:

A la chica entregué el libro.

to the girl delivered.1SG the book

‘It is the girl that I delivered the book to.’

**A la chica le entregué el libro.*

to the girl to-her.CL delivered.1SG the book

- c. Focus on the subject:

QUESTION:

¿*Quién busca el libro?*

who look-for.3SG the book

‘Who is looking for the book?’

ANSWERS:

**El libro busco.* / *El libro lo busco yo.*

the book look-for.1SG the book it.CL look-for.1SG I

‘It is me who is looking for the book.’

As shown in the above examples, focus on the subject does not affect clitic doubling, which occurs without problem. On the contrary, a fronted indirect or direct object does not trigger doubling if it is within the domain of focus. In short, object focus and object doubling are incompatible in Spanish.

However, such a deactivation of doubling caused by the focus does not occur in constructions with verbs of feeling or experience, as *doler* or *importar*. In these two-argument constructions, doubling of preposed datives is obligatory regardless of the domain of focus:

- (14) a. Focus on subject dative:

QUESTION:

¿A quién le duele la cabeza?
to whom to-him.CL hurt.3SG the head
'Who is having a headache?'

ANSWERS:

*La cabeza duele a Pedro.
the head hurt.3SG to Pedro
La cabeza le duele a Pedro.
the head to-him.CL hurt.3SG to Pedro
'The head hurts Pedro.' = 'It is Pedro who has a headache.'

- b. Focus on the subject:

QUESTION:

¿Qué le duele a Pedro?
what to-him.CL hurt.3SG to Pedro
'What does hurt to Pedro?'

ANSWERS:

*A Pedro duele la cabeza.
to Pedro hurts the head
A Pedro le duele la cabeza.
to Pedro to-him.CL hurt.3SG the head
'It is the head that hurts Pedro.'

Again labile verbs are in an intermediate position with respect to clitic doubling and focus. When they have stative or experiential readings, they trigger compulsory doubling. Conversely, when they have agentive value, they show a behavior very similar to that of other transitive verbs, and doubling may be 'deactivated' if there is focus on the dative:

- (15) a. Focus on the dative:

QUESTION:

¿A quién le molesta el humo?
to whom to-him.CL bother.3SG the smoke
'Whom does smoke bother?'

CAUSATIVE ANSWER:

El humo molesta a mi padre.

the smoke bother.3SG to my father

'Smoke bothers my father

(= It causes discomfort to my father in this specific situation).'

STATIVE ANSWERS:

El humo le molesta a mi padre.

the smoke to-him.CL bother.3SG to my father

'Smoke usually/always bothers my father

(= He cannot support it, it is beyond his strength).'

**El humo molesta a mi padre.*

the smoke bother.3SG to my father

b. Focus on the subject:

QUESTION:

¿Qué le molesta a mi padre?

what to-him.CL bother.3SG to my father

'What bothers my father?'

ANSWERS:

A mi padre le molesta el humo.

to my father to-him.CL bother.3SG the smoke

'It is smoke that bothers my father.'

**El humo molesta a mi padre.*

the smoke bother.3SG to my father

These facts are summarized in Table 1, in which the '+' sign marks the pervasive presence of doubling with datives linked to verbs of experiencing and in constructions with focus on the subject or on the dative subject. In contrast, clitic doubling is absent in clauses with causative uses of labile verbs and with focus on non-subject arguments.

As can be seen in Table 1, clitic doubling is much more widespread with datives of two-argument stative verbs than with indirect objects of three-argument transitive

Table 1. Clitic doubling in different configurations (+ clitic doubling usual, – clitic doubling unusual, S = Subject, O = Object, D = Dative (Subject), F = Focus).

	Causative verbs	Labile verbs		Stative verbs	
		causative uses	non-causative uses		
S _F VO	+	+	+	D _F VS	+
SVO _F	–	–	+	DVS _F	+
SVOD _F	–	–			

verbs, so that the influence of fronting and focus on the presence or absence of clitic doubling is much higher in the former case than in the latter. In spite of these differences, even the best-known works on clitic doubling fail to distinguish systematically between these two types of indirect objects, both in synchronic and in diachronic analyses (Riho 1988: 40, Rini 1991, Company Company 2006). In the remainder of this article, we will investigate the historical causes that may have given rise to these differences.

3. Clitic doubling in the Middle Ages

It is worth remembering that the construction under discussion is found only with a small number of verbs in the medieval language. In Old Spanish, there are about half a dozen of two-argument verbs, of stative or non-agentive character, that express experiences, feelings or quantifications (*atañer* ‘to concern’, *bastar* ‘to be enough’, *convenir* ‘to be desirable’, *faltar* ‘to lack’, *pesar* ‘to sadden’, *plazer* ‘to please’, *sobrar* ‘to be left, to be more than enough’, etc.). These predicates occur with a low frequency and do not yet seem to constitute an established type of constructions. They often lack a grammatical subject, maintaining an impersonal structure, as was the case in Latin:

- (16) *Dixo Patronio: mucho me plaze*
 said.3SG Patronio a-lot to-me.CL cause-pleasure.3SG
de todas estas razones que avedes dicho.
 of all these things that have.2PL said
 ‘Patronio said: I am very pleased about everything you have said.’
 (Lucanor 29)

Clitic doubling with these two-argument verbs is clearly not the preferred option in the medieval language. In most cases, the presence of a dative argument headed by a preposition does not trigger an unstressed resumptive dative pronoun:

- (17) *A Turin peso mucho de aquellas cosas que el infante*
 to Turin caused-pain.3SG a-lot of those things that the infant
viera.
 had-seen.3SG
 ‘Turin was very sorry about all things the infant had seen.’ (Estados 215)

Likewise, clitic doubling may fail to occur when the indirect object preposition *a* heads a stressed pronoun (remember that this configuration is ungrammatical in present-day Spanish):

- (18) *A ellos plogo mucho e vinjeron-le a ayudar.*
 to them caused-pleasure.3SG a-lot and came.3PL.to-him.CL to help
 ‘They liked it very much and came to help him.’ (Veinte Reyes 293)

Of course, clitic doubling with a stressed preposed pronoun is perfectly possible, but much less common:

- (19) ¡A mí non me pesa, sabet,
 to me not to-me.CL cause.pain.3SG know.IMPERATIVE.2PL
muchome plaze!
 a-lot to-me.CL cause.pleasure.3SG
 '(You must know that) I am not sorry, I like it very much!' (*Cid* 194)

A factor that indirectly contributes to the relative scarcity of clitic doubling in the medieval language is that the presence of prepositional datives is itself limited. The dative with preposition, followed by a stressed noun or pronoun, is used to make explicit the reference of this argument, but these verbs frequently dispense with that prepositional dative, because its reference is usually activated in the previous discourse. This implies that the pronominal dative of these stative constructions shows high topicality. In this regard, it behaves like the subject of agentive or transitive constructions, which is also highly topical and prefers nominal expression. In fact, this subject dative is frequently coordinated with other transitive subjects in the medieval language:

- (20) *El Rey don ferrando amaua mucho a este cardenal*
 the King don Ferrando loved.3SG a-lot to this cardinal
e plogo le con el quando le vio.
 and was-pleased.3SG to-him.CL with him when to-him.CL saw.3SG
 'The king Don Fernando loved this cardinal very much and was very pleased
 when he saw him.' (*Veinte Reyes* 296)

The verb *plazer* is, among all the verbs mentioned above, the one used most frequently and syntactically in the most consistent way. This verb is also the oldest of all, since it has a Latin origin. An overall account of the uses of *plazer* with or without prepositional dative yields the results given in Table 2:

Table 2. Old Spanish *plazer*: prepositional datives vs. pronominal datives.

	Prepositional (<i>Al rey plogo</i>)	Pronominal (<i>Plogole</i>)
<i>E. de España</i> I and II	84	148
<i>Ultramar</i> BN-2454	9	34
<i>LCZifar</i> (Paris)	22	73
J. Manuel, <i>Estados</i>	8	38
<i>Castigos</i> BN-6559	11	14
<i>Historia Troyana</i>	13	26
<i>Veinte Reyes</i>	29	68
Total	176 (30.5%)	401 (69.5%)

As we mentioned, clitic doubling is only possible with prepositional datives. But even there, it is relatively infrequent in our corpus of medieval Spanish texts, as Table 3 shows.

Overall, then, dative doubling is only found in a fraction of cases with verbs such as *plazer* in the medieval language. Figure 1 summarizes the relative frequencies of the different construction types.³

Interestingly, in any case, in the 6% fraction of cases in which clitic doubling is found, most prepositional datives are fronted (*al rey plogole*). Some quantitative data is offered in Table 4.

Table 3. Old Spanish *plazer*: prepositional datives with and without doubling.

	- Doubling (<i>Al rey plogo</i>)	+ Doubling (<i>Al rey plogol(e)</i>)
<i>E. de España</i> I and II	71	13
<i>Ultramar</i> BN-2454	7	2
<i>LCZifar</i> (Paris)	13	9
J. Manuel, <i>Estados</i>	8	0
<i>Castigos</i> BN-6559	11	0
<i>Historia Troyana</i>	10	3
<i>Veinte Reyes</i>	21	8
Total	141 (80.1%)	35 (19.9%)

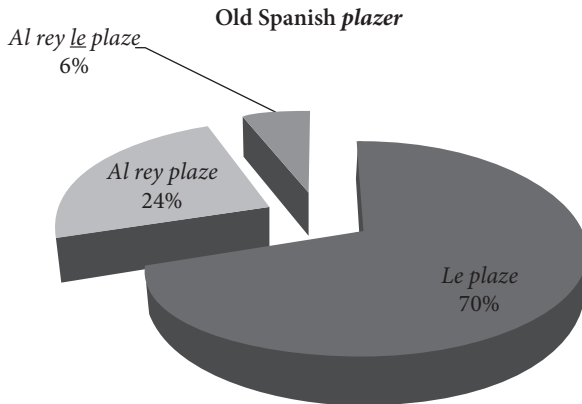


Figure 1. Relative frequencies of construction types for Old Spanish *plazer*.

3. Similar results are provided by Dufter and Stark (2008: 120), who also address the evolution of the dative with two-argument verbs.

Table 4. Old Spanish *plazer*: relative order of dative and verb in cases of clitic doubling.

	Preverbal dative (<i>Al rey plogol(e)</i>)	Postverbal dative (<i>Plogol(e) al rey</i>)
<i>E. de España</i> I and II	13	0
<i>Ultramar</i> BN-2454	2	0
<i>LCZifar</i> (Paris)	7	2
<i>Historia Troyana</i>	3	0
<i>Veinte Reyes</i>	7	1
Total	32 (91.4%)	3 (8.6%)

It seems clear then that clitic doubling in medieval Spanish is strongly correlated with sentence-initial nominal datives. Doubling with non-fronted datives, while not impossible, constitutes a rare type:

- (21) *E con esta respuesta plogo-l al conde*
 and with this answer was-pleased.3SG.to-him.CL to-the count
e tornosse pora su tierra.
 and he-returned.3SG to his land
 ‘The count liked this answer and returned to his land.’
 (*Gran Conquista de Ultramar* 156v)

So far, we have restricted our empirical analysis to the Old Spanish verb *plazer*, the most frequent verb of experiencing with dative subject in the Middle Ages, and also the most representative of its class. Of course, we may ask to what extent the results found for *plazer* resemble those for verbs with an indirect object dative. To answer this question, we conducted a number of corpus searches within the same set of texts and in a parallel fashion to those for *plazer*, investigating the datives governed by the verb *dar* ‘give’, which is also frequent and arguably a representative instance of transitive verbs with two objects.

In Table 5 we provide the relative frequencies of indirect pronominal objects and prepositional objects, in order to deduce from these figures the level of topicality of indirect objects of *dar*.

A comparison of the figures in Table 5 with those in Table 2 shows that the pronominal use of the indirect object with *dar* is less frequent than the pronominal dative with *plazer*. This suggests that the topicality of the indirect object dative is lower than that of the dative subject. The difference is eloquent but not overwhelming. In any case, this result is not surprising, and fits well with typological findings according to which indirect objects tend to be highly topical.

Table 6 provides the frequencies of clitic doubling of indirect objects of *dar*. A brief comparison with Table 3 makes it clear that the rate of clitic doubling with *dar* is significantly lower than with *plazer*.

Figure 2 is a statistical diagram which combines the results given in Tables 5 and 6.

Table 5. Old Spanish *dar*: prepositional datives vs. pronominal datives.

	Prepositional (<i>dio al rey</i>)	Pronominal (<i>diol(e)</i>)
<i>E. de España</i> I and II	195	271
<i>Ultramar</i> BN-2454	41	74
<i>LCZifar</i> (Paris)	40	61
J. Manuel, <i>Estados</i>	16	25
<i>Castigos</i> BN-6559	54	66
<i>Historia Troyana</i>	38	43
<i>Veinte Reyes</i>	96	117
Total	480 (42.2%)	657 (57.8%)

Table 6. Old Spanish *dar*: prepositional datives with and without doubling.

	- Doubling (<i>dio al rey</i>)	+ Doubling (<i>dio le al rey</i>)
<i>E. de España</i> I and II	192	3
<i>Ultramar</i> BN-2454	40	1
<i>LCZifar</i> (Paris)	40	0
J. Manuel, <i>Estados</i>	16	0
<i>Castigos</i> BN-6559	53	1
<i>Historia Troyana</i>	37	1
<i>Veinte Reyes</i>	96	0
Total	474 (98.8%)	6 (1.2%)

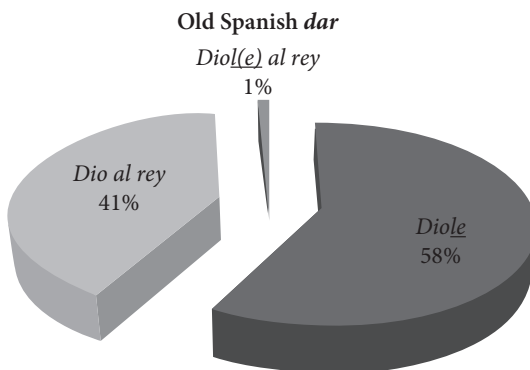
Figure 2. Relative frequencies of construction types for Old Spanish *dar*.

Figure 2 shows that the frequency of pronominal indirect object (*dirole*) is significantly lower than the frequency of pronominal use of the dative subject (*plogole*). This difference is significant but not dramatic. At the same time, we can observe that the frequency of doubling with indirect objects is minimal.

4. The attraction to the left position

The corpus data presented in the last section strongly suggest that clitic doubling originated in constructions with subject datives, and was only later extended to dative indirect objects. In addition, our quantitative findings show that it was with preposed datives rather than with postverbal ones that clitic doubling gradually became established.

In addition to such quantitative analyses, a closer look at medieval texts reveals that the phenomenon of dative fronting can be related to a more general trend, viz. the strong preference of medieval Spanish for topicalized structures, which can be clearly observed in the historical prose of King Alfonso X (Elvira 1993, 2002). This preference is not restricted to contexts of clitic doubling, but also occurs with other types of constructions and verbs. In many cases, there is a considerable distance between such topicalized elements and the rest of the predication, which in turn makes necessary a pronominal resumption of the topicalized element clause-internally:

- (22) *Aquel Rey don Ordonno, que a esta sazón comenzó a regnar, cuenta la estoria que aquel fue rey manso et sofrido.*
 ‘That King don Ordonno, who began to reign at that time, the history tells that that was a tame and resigned king.’ (Estoria de España-II, 364a: 8–10)

Due to the structural distance to the main clause, the fronted element may become syntactically isolated, which gives rise to the phenomenon traditionally called *nominativus pendens* (Elvira 1993):

- (23) *Et el, pues que esto ouo fecho, uiniendose dalla, llegol mandado de como una muy grand hueste salie de tierra de moros et uinie contra el.*
 ‘And he, after he had done it, while he was coming from there, a message arrived to him that a big army left moors land and came against him.’
 (Estoria de España II 28r)

Constructions with *nominativus pendens* were also possible with dative subjects:

- (24) *El conde quando la vio plogole mucho conella.*
 ‘The count, when he saw her, he liked her very much.’ (Veinte Reyes 18v)

It should be clear that the Old Spanish preference for structures with initial topics and the tendency for datives to occupy the initial position constitute two independent trends, although in this case they may have conspired to produce the same effect, viz.

the gradual increase of clitic doubling with dative subjects. The medieval language preference for initial topic structures has to do with the organization of medieval discourse, which was still fundamentally guided by information criteria. This preference favors the appearance of clitics, which resume within the clause the reference of the initial topic. On the other hand, the leftward bias of the dative is also based on some of its discourse properties, as it usually refers to human entities with higher relevance and topicality in the discourse.

In fact, it is possible to find significant differences between the dative subject and the indirect object dative in this respect. In the medieval language, both datives always exhibit a preference for postposition, but the rate of preposed dative subjects turns out to be significantly higher than that of preposed indirect objects. Compare in this respect Tables 7 and 8.

According then to the quantitative and qualitative data that we have discussed so far, the emergence of the redundant unstressed pronoun is far from being frequent or compulsory in some Old Spanish texts, and is statistically linked to certain cases of topic fronting of the subject dative, which makes necessary an anaphoric resumption

Table 7. Old Spanish *dar*: preverbal vs. postverbal indirect objects.

	Preverbal (<i>al rey dio</i>)	Postverbal (<i>dio al rey</i>)
<i>E. de España</i> I and II	8	187
<i>Ultramar</i> BN-2454	0	41
<i>LCZifar</i> (Paris)	4	36
J. Manuel, <i>Estados</i>	5	11
<i>Castigos</i> BN-6559	8	46
<i>Historia Troyana</i>	2	36
<i>Veinte Reyes</i>	1	95
Total	28 (5.8%)	452 (94.2%)

Table 8. Old Spanish *plazer*: preverbal vs. postverbal dative subjects.

	Preverbal (<i>al rey plogo</i>)	Postverbal (<i>plogo al rey</i>)
<i>E. de España</i> I and II	32	52
<i>Ultramar</i> BN-2454	6	3
<i>LCZifar</i> (Paris)	13	7
J. Manuel, <i>Estados</i>	6	2
<i>Castigos</i> BN-6559	7	4
<i>Historia Troyana</i>	7	6
<i>Veinte Reyes</i>	17	12
Total	88 (50.6%)	86 (49.4%)

of the topic in the main clause. The preposed use of the dative fits in very well with the medieval organization of discourse information and could be favored by the higher topic affinity of the dative subject.

The development we are dealing with thus leads from an occasional resumptive anaphor to its regular and compulsory use. How should we understand this process?

5. Clitic doubling as agreement

From the typological literature we know that the scenario described above parallels some processes that give rise to the development of agreement markers. According to well-known descriptions of these processes (Givón 1976, Siewierska 1999, 2004), verbal agreement usually has its origin in a process of reanalysis of constructions in which a pronoun refers anaphorically to a marked topic, which is informationally isolated from the rest of the sentence. Agreement markers are frequently erstwhile anaphoric items that assume the new discourse task of signaling the referential continuity of a previously mentioned element.

The theory of the topic anaphor origin of the construction with redundant pronoun has been recently questioned by Vázquez Rozas & García Salido (2012). These scholars worked with medieval data which show, like those used here, that the structures with initial indirect object and doubled clitic were unusual and scarce in the medieval language. According to their view, it is hard to believe that such an uncommon structure may end up grammaticalizing. Instead, Vázquez Rozas and García Salido surmise that agreement was the effect of the dative preference for unstressed pronoun coding, which in turn results from the usually high activation of its referents. The texts used in this study also reveal this preference of datives to be expressed by an unstressed pronoun (as shown in Table 1 and Figure 1), but these very same data show that redundant structures predominantly appeared when the dative was located in initial position (see Table 4). It is therefore likely that both explanations are not necessarily incompatible.

The affix status of dative unstressed pronouns seems to be confirmed in present-day Spanish by the fact that they meet certain requirements that help to distinguish bound morphemes from pronouns. Clitic object pronouns in contemporary Spanish are fused with the root and occur in a fixed position, either before the root (as in the personal verbal forms, cf. *lo digo* 'I say it') or after it (as in non-finite forms, viz. *decirlo* 'to say it'). On the contrary, no such affix-like status can be maintained for Old Spanish object pronouns, because their position relative to the verb is much more variable and they can also occur separated from the verb (Enrique-Arias 2003):

- (25) *Non te fies del tu priuado que*
do-not trust of-the your secretary who
le non plaze del tu bien.
to-him.CL not cause.pleasure.3SG of-the your good
'Do not trust your secretary who does not like your good look.' (Castigos 201)

The idea that clitic doubling can be considered as an instance of agreement is not new. In connection with Spanish, it has already been advanced by several authors, among them Riiho (1988), García-Miguel (1991) and Enrique-Arias (2003). However, the implicit assumption among all these authors is that all instances of clitic doubling constitute cases of object agreement rather than subject agreement.

In a similar vein, other authors conceived of clitic doubling in Spanish as “objective conjugation”. This term originally refers to the presence of some specific changes in verbal inflections which are motivated by object agreement. Objective conjugation can be found in a number of genetically unrelated languages, such as Basque, Quechua or Hungarian. Llorente and Mondéjar (1972), following an earlier proposal by Heger (1967), devote a long and rather confusing article to examining the possibility that pronominal redundancy in Spanish could be analyzed as an instance of objective conjugation with both direct and indirect objects. Similar proposals for Italian can be found in the works of Francesconi (2005) and many others.

However, such a treatment of clitic doubling as objective conjugation is only partially justified, as acknowledged by Llorente and Mondéjar themselves (1972: 43), since clitic doubling does not meet the requirement of obligatoriness that we observe in the most typical examples of agreement.⁴ Yet, Llorente and Mondéjar did not realize that clitic doubling in Spanish is certainly compulsory for the dative of stative verbs of experience, for which the concept of agreement could then be considered meaningful. We hasten to add, however, that the dative arguments that combine with verbs of experiencing are not real indirect objects, as we have already shown. Therefore the phenomenon of doubling with dative subjects should be seen as a case of subject agreement, not object agreement.

We know from typological research that agreement is restricted to core arguments of the verb, i.e., subjects, direct and indirect objects, and that it becomes compulsory for subjects earlier than for direct or indirect objects. This diachronic priority can be explained because the subject is usually the verbal argument with higher topical persistency. The subjects of transitive verbs usually constitute the center of the subsequent discourse, which means that their reference remains potentially activated. This in turn may be held responsible for the fact that such subjects are often expressed pronominally and that this mark of activation may eventually become a mark of agreement. Conversely, agreement is less common with objects, and, in a way, less needed, since direct or indirect objects refer less often to an activated discourse referent. The coordination of transitive clauses in Spanish entails the omission of the subject in the non-first conjuncts, which keep track of it only in the verbal endings:

4. A second requirement, related to the modification of subject endings in contact with object endings, is also not fulfilled. It is due to the basically proclitic character of the unstressed pronoun in Spanish, which precludes formal contiguity to the object morpheme, which is located in the end of the word (Llorente & Mondéjar 1972: 41).

- (26) *Pedro compró un libro y después cogió un taxi*
 Pedro bought.3SG a book and then took.3SG a taxi
y después se tomó una ducha en casa...
 and then took.3SG a shower at home
 ‘Pedro bought a book, and then took a taxi, and then took a shower at home.’

The same is true for dative subjects. As we saw in Table 2 and in Figure 1, dative subjects already show a statistical preference for pronominal expression in Old Spanish. Since these typically refer to activated topics, they can be coordinated with other datives and also with transitive subjects. Sentences such as (27) are perfectly possible both in the language of the past – see also (20) – and in present-day Spanish:

- (27) *A Pedro le inquieta tu actitud,*
 to Pedro to-him.CL worry.3SG your attitude
le sorprende tu obstinación y por ello
 to-him.CL is-surprised.3SG your stubbornness and therefore
prefiere no insistir.
 prefer.3SG not to-insist
 ‘Pedro is concerned about your attitude and surprised about your stubbornness and therefore he prefers not to insist.’

6. Concluding remarks

The notion of indirect object has some descriptive and theoretical flaws, as far as it includes under a single label two different types of verbal arguments that show different syntactic behavior and occur in different types of syntactic constructions. Indirect objects of two-argument verbs exhibit some features that make them largely similar to subjects of transitive three-argument verbs. For this reason, some research on the syntax of Romance languages resorts to the notions *non-canonical* or *quirky subject* to refer to these peculiar arguments. The fact that studies of clitic doubling in Spanish have not paid attention to this distinction has had negative consequences for its description and for understanding its diachronic extension.

By distinguishing between indirect objects of three-argument transitive verbs and dative objects of stative verbs of experiencing, we have been able to detect some relevant differences between the behavior of both types in relation to clitic doubling. Over time, clitic doubling in two-argument stative constructions has become mandatory, except in those cases in which a verb belonging to this class is used with a causative nuance. In these constructions, pronoun reduplication applies across the board, irrespective of whether the so-called indirect object is positioned before or after the governing verb. By contrast, the presence or absence of clitic doubling with indirect objects of three-argument agentive constructions is determined to a large extent by syntactic factors such as object fronting.

Quantitative medieval evidence shows that clitic doubling with these two-argument stative verbs emerged in the medieval language with relatively scarce frequency and that doubling clitics originated as anaphoric devices resuming topics in sentence-initial position. These data also show that this two-argument dative (or non-canonical subject), which has the semantic role of an experiencer, is most frequently expressed by an unstressed pronoun. This is likely to be due to the fact that experiencer-subject datives, like transitive subjects, are highly topical arguments, i.e., they are discourse elements that commonly show high activation and strong referential continuity in the subsequent parts of discourse. That is probably the reason why clitic doubling has been more firmly established with the dative of these stative verbs, and has become obligatory in present-day Spanish, where it has eventually been reinterpreted as subject dative agreement.

In order to lend additional support to this conclusion, this study has provided parallel data about the indirect object dative of the verb *dar* 'give', which is one of the most characteristic three-argument verbs in Old Spanish. In particular, we provide quantitative information concerning the pronominal use of this dative, its preference for initial placement, and its use with a doubled clitic. Compared to these three variables, the figures for the indirect object dative are lower than those for the subject dative.

In conclusion, clitic doubling with two-argument constructions can indeed be viewed as an instance of agreement, as suggested in previous works, but should be conceived of as subject agreement – with dative subjects – rather than as object agreement. This view fits perfectly with findings from typology, according to which agreement tends to be obligatory, with the subject being the first argument to develop and consolidate agreement markers.

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Medieval sources

The corpus which forms the basis for this research has been established so as to maximize homogeneity and size. All corpus texts, except the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, were written in prose, date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (although usually transmitted in later copies) and are of some length so as to provide a sufficient amount of dative arguments. El *Cantar de Mio Cid* is older and plays a minor role for the present study, because it is a text in verse and therefore does not permit reliable conclusions about syntactic fronting, even though it offers very interesting insights into other aspects of older medieval syntax.

The texts used are:

Admyte-II = Archivo digital de manuscritos y textos españoles. 1999. Madrid: Micronet-Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia.

- Castigos* = Sancho IV. 1293, copied in the 15th c. *Castigos y documentos para bien vivir*. Madrid Nacional, ms. 6559, ff 1r–244v; BETA CNUM 1737; Madison TEXT-CTS. *Admyte-II*.
- Cid* = *Cantar de Mío Cid* (12th c., copied in the 14th c.), ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe. 5th ed. 1976.
- Estados* = Juan Manuel. 1330, copied between 1450–1500. *Libro de los estados*. BETA CNUM 1396. Madison TEXT-MES. Madrid Nacional ms. 6376. In *Admyte-II*.
- Estoria de España* = Alfonso X. 1270 *a quo*–1284 *ad quem*, copied in 1284. *Estoria de España*. BETA CNUM 0006. Madison TEXT-EE1. *Estoria de España I*, Escorial Monasterio Y-I-2.; Madison TEXT-EE2. *Estoria de España II*, Escorial Monasterio X-I-4. In *Admyte-II*.
- LCZifar* = Anonymous. 1300–1305. *Libro del caballero Zifar*. Paris: Nationale Esp. 36; BETA CNUM 0560; Madison TEXT-CZP. In *Admyte-II*.
- Lucanor* = Juan Manuel. 1331, copied between 1450–1500. *El conde Lucanor*, ed. José Manuel Blecua. In Don Juan Manuel. 1981. *Obras Completas*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Ultramar-2454* = Anonymous. 1293?, copied between 1450–1500. *Gran conquista de ultramar*. BN, ms. 2454. BETA CNUM 0484. Madison TEXT-ULT. In *Admyte-II*.
- Veinte Reyes* = Anonymous. 1289, copied 1300–1400. *Crónica de veinte reyes*. BETA CNUM 0352. Madison TEXT-REY. Escorial Monasterio Y-I-12. In *Admyte-II*.

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