ANTI-REPAIR EFFECTS UNDER ELLIPSIS: DIAGNOSING (POST)-SYNTACTIC CLITICS IN SPANISH[1]

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1. INTRODUCTION

➢ Our main goals in this talk are:

> **(A)** To present a new empirical argument in favor of the hypothesis that some island effects arise only at PF: anti-repair effects under ellipsis; i.e., the fact that some repair effects attested in non-elliptical contexts vanish under ellipsis.
>
> **(B)** To show that clitic doubling (CD) in River Plate Spanish, but not clitic left dislocation (CLLD), is a purely PF phenomenon.

➢ Our main claims:

> **(A)** Anti-repairs effects in River Plate Spanish are (another) instance of what we call the *Ellipsis-Morphology Generalization*: the fact that ellipsis blocks post-syntactic operations (in the sense of Distributed Morphology).
>
> **(B)** Resumption can apply all-the-way- down from syntax to PF. From claim (A), it follows that only PF-resumption should be bled by ellipsis. This accounts for why anti-repair effects under ellipsis are attested in clitic doubling environments but not in clitic left dislocation ones.

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2. BASIC FACTS

➢ River Plate Spanish (RPS) allows clitic doubling in focus fronting environments:

(1) A MARÍA (la)   critiqué.
    ACC María   CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG   criticized.1SG
    'I criticized MARÍA.'

➢ As other resumption phenomena, clitic doubling ameliorates some islands effects.

(2) a. * A MARÍA creo   que [desaprobar t]   va   a causar   un   escándalo.
        ACC María   believe.1.SG that fail.INF   goes to cause.INF a   scandal
    b. A MARÍA creo   que [desaprobar**la**]   va a   causar   un escándalo.
        ACC María   believe.1.SG that fail.INF-CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG goes to cause.INF   a   scandal
        'I believe that failing María is going to cause a scandal.'

➢ This repair effect vanishes under ellipsis.

(3) A: ¿Creés   que [desaprobar a   MARÍA] va   a causar   un   escándalo?
        believe.2.SG that   fail.INF   ACC María   goes to cause.INF a   scandal
        'Do you believe that failing María is going to cause a scandal?'
    B: *No, a   ANA.
         no   ACC Ana   'No, ANA.'

➢ In what follows, we show that this puzzling fact follows from a pervasive generalization about the connection between ellipsis and morphology, according to which **ellipsis blocks morphological/post-syntactic operations** (Saab 2009, Lipták & Saab 2010):

Ellipsis-Morphology Generalization (E-M Generalization):

(4) For every morphological operation MO that affects the domain of X, where X contains the target of MO, MO cannot apply in X if X is subject to ellipsis.

➢ If we are on the right track, we have a new empirical argument in favor of the PF character of some island effects. The next step then is to present independent evidence in favor of the PF nature of CD. This evidence comes from the so-called *Kayne's Generalization*.

3. KAYNE'S GENERALIZATION IN RP SPANISH

➢ The literature on CD has discussed whether it is constrained by a morphosyntactic condition such as the one expressed by Kayne's Generalization (Jaeggli 1986, Suñer 1988, Bleam 1999, Anagnostopoulou 2000, 2003, 2006, a.o.):

(5)   **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)]

3.1. On the PF nature of *a*-marking

➢ *a*-marked DPs behave on a par with non-marked DPs and differs, crucially, from true PPs. In this regard, Hernanz & Brucart (1987) notice, first, that this marker differs from the dative preposition, since *a*-marked DPs can become subjects in passive constructions (contrast 6b and 7b), and, second, that *a*-marked DPs don't behave as prepositional complements, because they can alternate with not *a*-marked DPs in the same position (contrast 8 and 9).

(6)   a. Juan golpeó a   Pedro.

    Juan hit.3.SG ACC Pedro

    'Juan hit Pedro.'

    b. Pedro fue   golpeado por Juan.

    Pedro was   hit   by Juan.

(7)   a. Sansón propuso una tregua a los filisteos

    Sansón proposed a truce to DET Philistines

    'Sansón proposed a truce to the Philistines.'

    b. * Los filisteos   fueron propuestos una tregua

    DET Philistines were   proposed   a   truce

    'The Philistines were proposed a truce.'   [Hernanz & Brucart 1987; p. 251, n. 27 (i)]

(8)   a. María no soporta a   Juan.

    María not bear   ACC Juan

    'María doesn't bear Juan.'

    b. María no soporta las acelgas.

    María not bear   DET chards

    'María doesn't bear chards.'

(9) a.   María confía   en Juan.

María trust.3.SG in Juan

'María trust in Juan.'

b. * María confía   la   democracia.

María trust.3.SG DET democracy

'María trusts in democracy.'   [Hernanz & Brucart 1987; p. 251, n. 27 (ii)]

➢   In addition, Demonte (1987) observes that *a*-marked DPs can be subjects of secondary predicates whereas IO cannot:

(10) a. Juan (la)   encontró a   María borracha

Juan CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG found   ACC María drunk

'Juan found María drunk.'

b. * Juan le   habló a María borracha

Juan CL.DAT.3.SG spoke to María drunk

'Juan spoke to María drunk'   [Demonte 1987, p. 148, (1-2)]

➢   If accusative *a* were a syntactic element, it would be expected to obey the same syntactic restrictions as the dative *a* or selected prepositions. In this respect, accusative *a* seems to lack any syntactic import. Let us present a more conclusive argument in favor of this idea.

3.2. Case marker drop and its bleeding effects on CD

➢   It has been noticed that accusative *a* must be dropped in cases where both internal arguments of ditransitive verbs like *presentar* 'to introduce' are realized as non-clitic forms in the same syntactic domain (see 11) (Brugè & Brugger 1996, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, Zdrojewski 2008, a.o.).

(11)   a. * Juan le   presentó   [DO a   la   enfermera] [IO al   doctor]

Juan CL.DAT introduced.3.SG   ACC DET nurse   DAT-DET doctor

b.   Juan le   presentó   [DO la   enfermera] [IO al   doctor]

Juan CL.DAT introduced.3.SG   DET nurse   DAT-DET doctor

'Juan introduced the nurse to the doctor.'

➢   In Spanish, DOM is mandatory with proper names; the only exception is found in contexts like

the one in (12), where accusative *a* must be dropped in some dialects.

(12) a. * Juan le presentó [_DO a María] [_IO al doctor].

Juan CL.DAT introduced.3.SG ACC María DAT-DET doctor

b. Juan le presentó [_DO María] [_IO al doctor].

Juan CL.DAT introduced.3.SG María DAT-DET doctor

'Juan introduced María to the doctor.'

➢ Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007) and Zdrojewski (2008) observe that Case marker drop is a PF phenomenon, since it is sensitive to the presence of an adjacent IO realized as a full DP (i.e., not a clitic form) and to the phonological weight of the DO.

➢ Crucially, Zdrojewski (2008) observes that when Case marker drop applies, accusative CD is not possible.

(13) a. *Juan se la presentó [_OD la enfermera] [_OI al doctor].

Juan CL.DAT CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG introduced Det nurse DAT-Det doctor

b. *Juan se la presentó [_OD María] [_OI al doctor].

Juan CL.DAT CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG introduced María DAT-Det doctor

➢ From the strong deviance of (13), we conclude that the presence of the doubled clitic depends on the presence of the accusative marker. Now, this fact leads us to the same conclusion Bobaljik (2008)'s reaches in relation to the ordering between morphological case marking and agreement marking: If accusative *a* is introduced at PF and its introduction feeds CD, then the doubled clitic should be introduced at PF, as well. The absence of CD in contexts of Case marker drop posits a problem for purely syntactic accounts of CD (Uriagereka 1995, Cecchetto 2000, Anagnostopoulou 2000, 2003, Belletti 2005, a.o.), given that it is unlikely for a PF phenomenon (Case marker drop) to bleed a putative syntactic one (i.e. CD).

4. FOCUS FRONTING, CLITIC DOUBLING AND ISLAND REPAIR

➢ The data considered so far show that only *a*-DPs can trigger CD at PF. Now, RP Spanish also allows for *a*-DPs to be focus-fronted and to be optionally clitic doubled (Di Tullio & Zdrojewski 2006):

(14) A   MARÍA   (la)   critiqué.

    ACC María   CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG   criticized.1SG

    'I criticized MARÍA.'

➢   Focus fronting is possible with any kind of DPs when it is not doubled (15). Nevertheless, in the context of a clitic, only the *a*-marked ones are allowed (16). I.e., the phenomenon in (14) obeys Kayne's Generalization:

(15) a. A   JUAN vi   ayer,   no a   Luis.

    ACC Juan   saw.1.SG yesterday not ACC Luis

    'Yesterday I saw JUAN, not Luis'

    b. EL   AUTO me   prestó,   no el   camión.

    DET car   CL.DAT.1.SG borrowed.3.SG not DET truck

    'She borrowed me the CAR, not the truck.'

(16) a. A   JUAN lo   vi   ayer,   no a   Luis.

    ACC Juan   CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG   saw.1.SG yesterday not ACC Luis

    'Yesterday I saw JUAN, not Luis.'

    b. * El AUTO   me   lo   prestó,   no el   camión.

    DET car   CL.DAT.1.SG CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG borrowed.3.SG   not DET truck

    'She borrowed me the CAR, not the truck.'

4.1. Island repair effects under CD

➢ Long extraction facts show that CD repairs some syntactic islands. In particular, weak and subject islands are repaired by CD.

Bridge verbs

(17) a. A   JUAN creo   que *(lo)*   desaprobaron.

    ACC Juan   believe.1.SG that CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG failed.3.PL

    'I believe that they failed JUAN.'

    b. A   JUAN dijo   que *(lo)*   va a desaprobar.

    ACC Juan   said.3.SG that CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG go to fail.INF

    'He said that he is going to fail JUAN.'

Interrogative island

(18) a. ?? A   JUAN no   sé   quién desaprobó.
           ACC Juan not know who   failed.3.PL

      b.   A   JUAN no   sé   quién *lo*   desaprobó.
           ACC Juan not know who   CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG   failed.3.PL
           'I don't know who failed JUAN.'

Sentential subjects

(19) a. * A   MARÍA creo   que [desaprobar *t*]   va   a causar   un   escándalo.
          ACC María   believe.1.SG that fail.INF   goes to cause.INF a   scandal

      b.   A   MARÍA creo   que [desaprobar*la*]   va a   causar   un escándalo.
          ACC María   believe.1.SG that fail.INF-CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG goes to cause.INF a   scandal
          'I believe that failing María is going to cause a scandal.'

Noun complement clauses

(20) a. * A MARÍA escuché   [el   rumor   de [que desaprobaron *t*]]
            ACC María heard.1.SG DET rumor   of   that failed.3.PL

      b. ? A MARÍA escuché   [el   rumor   de [que *la*   desaprobaron]]
            ACC María heard.1.SG DET rumor   of   that CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG failed.3.PL
            'I heard the rumor that MARÍA was failed.'

➢   No repair effect is attested with relative and adjunct islands:

Relative island

(21) * A MARÍA conozco   al   profesor que *(la)*   desaprobó.
        ACC María know.1.SG ACC-DET   professor that CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG failed.3.SG
        Intended: 'I know the professor that failed MARÍA.'

Adjunct island

(22) * A MARÍA me   enojé   porque *(la)*   desaprobaron.
        ACC María CL.1.SG got-angry.1.SG because CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG failed.3.PL
        Intended: 'I got angry because the professor failed MARÍA.'

➤ Crucially, the same pattern is attested in contexts of Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) (Cinque 1990 and much subsequent work).

Bridge verbs

(23) a. A   Juan, creo   que *lo*   desaprobaron.
      ACC Juan believe.1.SG that CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG failed.3.PL
      'Juan, I believe that they failed him.'

   b. A   Juan, dijo   que *lo*   va a desaprobar.
      ACC Juan said.3.SG that CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG go to fail.INF
      'Juan, he said that he is going to failed him.'

Interrogative island

(24) A   Juan, no sé   quién *lo*   desaprobó.
     ACC   Juan not know.1.SG who   CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG failed.3.PL
     'Juan, I don't know who failed him.'

Sentential subjects

(25) A   María, creo   que [desaprobar*la*]   va   a causar un escándalo.
     ACC María, believe.1.SG that   fail.INF-CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG goes to cause   a scandal
     'María, I believe that failing her is going to cause a scandal.'

Noun complement clauses

(26) ? A   María, escuché   [el rumor   de [que *la*   desaprobaron]]
        ACC María heard.1.SG DET rumour of   that CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG failed.3.PL
        'María, I heard the rumour that they failed her.'

➤ Strong islands are not repaired by CLLD:

Relative island

(27) * A   María, conozco   a[l   profesor [que *la*   desaprobó]]
       ACC María know.1.SG ACC-DET   professor that CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG failed.3.SG
       '(As for) María, I know the professor that failed her.'

Adjunct island

(28) * A María, me   enojé   [porque *la*   desaprobaron]
ACC María CL.1.SG got-angry.1.SG because CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG failed.3.PL
'(As for) María, I got angry because they failed her.'

➢   We have shown that CD behaves as CLLD as far as island repair effects is concerned. This raises the question whether we are dealing with the same kind of phenomenon or not. There are obvious differences between CD and CLLD beyond, of course, the distinct semantic-pragmatic import both constructions have. First, doubling is optional in CD contexts, but not in CLLD ones:

(29) a. A MARÍA (la)   critiqué.   ***CD***
ACC MARÍA CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG criticized.1.SG
'I criticized MARÍA.'
b. A   María, *(la)   critiqué.   ***CLLD***
ACC María   CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG criticized.1.SG
'María, I criticized her.'

➢   Second, whereas CD observes Kayne's Generalization, CLLD does not.

(30) a. La   vi   a María.
CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG saw.1.SG ACC María
'I saw María.'
b. A   MARÍA la   vi.
ACC María   CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG saw.1.SG
'I saw MARÍA.'
c. * Lo   compré el auto.
CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG bought   DET car.
'I bought the car'
d. * El AUTO lo   compré.
DET car   CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG bought.1.SG
'I bought THE CAR.'

(31) a. A   María, la   vi   ayer.

       ACC   María CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG saw.1.SG   yesterday

       'María, I saw her yesterday.'

    b. El   auto, lo   compré   ayer.

       DET car   CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG bought.1.SG   yesterday

       'The car, I bought it yesterday.'

➢   We can maintain the differences and similarities between CLLD and CD if we make the following hypotheses:

Hypotheses:

(A)	Resumption is a process that can take place at syntax or PF.
(B)	CLLD is a case of syntactic resumption and CD is PF resumption.
(C)	Some island effects (interrogative, subject islands and so on) are computed in the PF component of the grammar.

➢   These hypotheses allow us to preserve the basic CD facts discussed in section 3 (Kayne's Generalization effects and, especially, the absence of CD under PF deletion of the marker *a*) and to capture, by the same token, the island repair effects attested with CD and their similarities with CLLD. Now, if the syntactic *vs*. PF resumption hypothesis is on the right track, we expect to find a different set of interactions for syntactic or PF resumption with other PF processes. In other words, we have to test the following prediction:

Conjecture:

(32) PF resumption should interact with other PF phenomena in ways not attested with syntactic resumption.

5. ANTI-REPAIR EFFECTS UNDER ELLIPSIS: DIAGNOSING (POST)-SYNTACTIC RESUMPTION

➢   In this section, we provide independent evidence for the PF nature of CD and some island effects. The argument has the following form: Ellipsis, a PF phenomenon, bleeds whatever morphological operation could apply in an elliptical site. It is predicted then that the repair effects produced by a morphological operation vanish when ellipsis applies. Syntactic operations, instead, are not bled by ellipsis. Therefore, we predict that syntactic repairing is not blocked under ellipsis.

5.1. Island repair under ellipsis: evidence for the PF nature of island effects

➢ The hypothesis that some island effects arise only at the PF component has been proposed in the ellipsis literature through different implementations (Merchant 2001, 2004, 2008, Fox & Lasnik 2003, Craenenbroeck & den Dikken 2006, Saab 2009, 2010, a.o.). The empirical motivation for such a view comes from the so called *island repair effects under ellipsis*, a fact first discovered by Ross (1969).

Island repair:

(33) Some islands effects are ameliorated under ellipsis.

➢ The best studied case of island repair is sluicing with explicit indefinite correlates.

Relative islands

(34) a. They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't remember which.

b. * They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't remember which$_1$
(Balkan language) they want to hire [someone [who speaks t$_1$]]   (Merchant 2001)

➢ Assume that relative island effects are computed at PF. An island effect arises because the *wh*-copy cannot be deleted whenever it crosses an island producing a PF crash (34b). However, when ellipsis applies in (34a) the *wh*-copy can be deleted by ellipsis because it has an indefinite correlate in the antecedent that, by hypothesis, is identical to the copy of the *wh*-sluiced phrase. At PF then no crash is produced because every copy was deleted in the syntactic component in the ellipsis cycle (see Saab 2009, 2010 for discussion). Under this view, some island effects only arise at PF, although the syntax can be the responsible for such a failure.

➢ Notice now that this view on island effects together with an articulated view of the syntax-PF connections (Distributed Morphology) also predicts the opposite case: anti-repair effects should be attested in cases in which a morphological operation is responsible for some repair effect. That is, ellipsis should eliminate the repair effect produced at PF. The broad generalization that underlies this prediction can be formulated as a kind of ellipsis-morphology interaction:

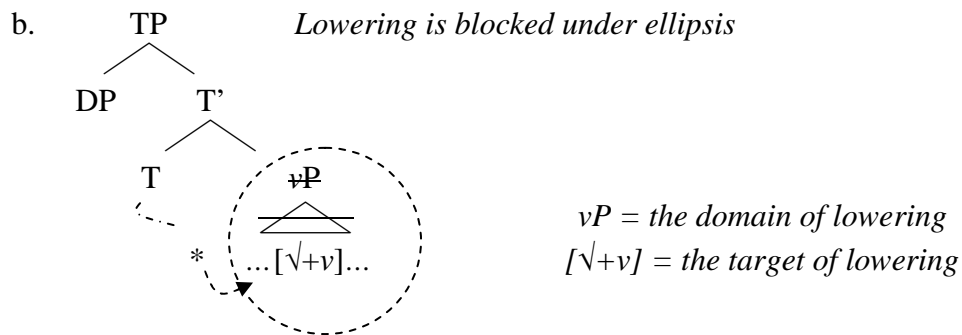**Ellipsis-Morphology Generalization (E-M Generalization):**

(35) For every morphological operation MO that affects the domain of X, where X contains the target of MO, MO cannot apply in X if X is subject to ellipsis.

➢ As an illustration of the E-M generalization, consider the case of T to *v* lowering in English. In English, T lowers to *v* under a specific condition: immediate locality, which is the relation between a head and the head of its complement (Embick & Noyer 2001: 586).

PF-Lowering:

(36)
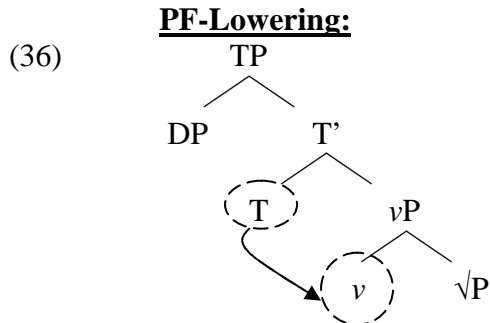
➢ In contexts of *v*P ellipsis, lowering is prevented, and *do* has to be inserted.

(37)   a. I went to the cinema and Mary did [~~go to the cinema~~] too.

    b.   TP   *Lowering is blocked under ellipsis*

*v*P = *the domain of lowering*
[√+*v*] = *the target of lowering*

➢ *v*P-ellipsis then creates a stranded affix filter violation that is rescued in English by a particular insertion rule. In Saab (2009) and Lipták & Saab (2010), other cases instantiating the E-M generalization are explored.

5.2. Testing the E-M generalization for CD: anti-repair effects

➢ Recall the island repair effects under CD:

Bridge verbs

(38) a. A   JUAN creo   que *(lo)*   desaprobaron.
        ACC Juan   believe.1.SG that CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG failed.3.PL
        'I believe that they failed JUAN.'

b. A   JUAN dijo   que *(lo)*   va   a   desaprobar.

   ACC Juan   said.3.SG that CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG goes to fail.INF

   'He said that he is going to fail JUAN.'

Interrogative island

(39) a. ?? A   JUAN no sé   quién desaprobó.

      ACC Juan   not know.1.SG who   failed.3.SG

b.   A   JUAN no sé   quién *lo*   desaprobó.

      ACC Juan   not know.1.SG who   CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG failed.3.SG

      'I don't know who failed JUAN.'

Sentential subjects

(40) a. * A   MARÍA creo   que [desaprobar *t*] va   a   causar un   escándalo.

      ACC María   believe.1.SG that fail.INF   goes to   cause   a   scandal

b.   A   MARÍA creo   que [desaprobar*la*]   va   a causar un escándalo.

      ACC María   believe.1.SG that fail.INF- CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG goes to cause a scandal

      'I believe that failing MARÍA is going to cause a scandal.'

Noun complement clauses

(41) a. * A   MARÍA escuché   [el rumor   de [que desaprobaron *t*]]

      ACC María   heard.1.SG DET rumour of   that failed.3.PL

b. ? A   MARÍA escuché   [el rumor   de [que *la*   desaprobaron]]

      ACC María   heard.1.SG DET rumour of   that CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG failed.3.PL

      'I heard the rumour that they failed MARÍA.'

➢   A relevant context for testing the E-M generalization for focus fronting is fragment answers, a kind of elliptical construction that behaves as focus fronting plus TP-ellipsis (cf. Merchant 2004 and Saab 2009, 2010 for discussion). Under this analysis, a simple answer such as the one in (42B) would receive the analysis in (43):

(42) A: ¿Qué lengua   habla Juan?   /   B: Español.

      what language speaks Juan   Spanish

      'Which language does Juan speak?'

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(43)   [$_{XP}$ español   ~~[$_{TP}$ habla   t   Juan]~~]
         Spanish   speaks   Juan

➤   We can test now what happens in relation to the repairs effect observed with doubled focus fronted DPs. As we can see in the following examples no repair effect is attested with fragment answers.

Bridge verbs

(44) A: ¿Creés   que (lo)   desaprobaron a   JUAN?
          believe.2.SG that CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG failed.3.PL   ACC Juan
          'Do you believe that they failed JUAN?'

      B: (a) No, a   PEDRO.
               no, ACC   Pedro
               'No, I believe that they failed PEDRO.'

          (b) No, a   PEDRO creo   que (lo)   desaprobaron.
               no ACC   Pedro   believe.1.SG that CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG failed.3.PL
               'No, I believe that they failed PEDRO.'

Interrogative islands

(45) A: ¿No   sabés quién desaprobó   a   JUAN?
          not   know.2.SG who   failed.3.SG ACC Juan
          'Don't you know who failed JUAN?'

      B: (a) * No, a   PEDRO
                 not ACC   Pedro

          (b) ?? No, a   PEDRO no sé   quién desaprobó.
                 no ACC   Pedro   not know.1.SG who   failed.3.SG

          (c)   No, a   PEDRO no sé   quién *lo*   desaprobó.
                no ACC   Pedro   not know.1.SG who   CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG failed.3.SG
                'No, I don't know who failed PEDRO.'

Subject islands

(46) A: ¿Creés que [desaprobar a   MARÍA] va   a causar   un escándalo?

   believe.2.SG that   fail.INF   ACC María   goes to cause.INF a   scandal

   'Do you believe that failing María is going to cause a scandal?'

   B: (a) *No, a   ANA.

   no ACC Ana

   'No, ANA.'

   (b) *No, a   ANA creo   que [desaprobar *t*] va   a causar   un escándalo.

   no ACC Ana believe.1.SG that fail.INF   goes to cause.INF a   scandal

   (c) No, a   ANA creo   que [desaprobar*la*]   va   a causar un escándalo.

   no ACC Ana believe.1.SG that fail.INF-CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG goes to cause.INF a scandal

   'No, I believe that failing ANA is going to cause a scandal.'

Noun complement clauses

(47) A: ¿Escuchaste [el   rumor de [que desaprobaron a   MARÍA]]?

   heard.2.SG   DET rumor of   that failed.3.PL   ACC María

   'Did you hear the rumor that they failed MARÍA?'

   B: (a) *No, a   ANA.

   no ACC Ana

   (b) *No, a   ANA escuché   [el   rumor   de [que desaprobaron *t*]]

   no ACC Ana heard.1.SG DET rumor   of   that failed.3.PL

   (c) ?No, a   ANA escuché   [el   rumor de [que *la*   desaprobaron]]

   no ACC Ana heard.1.SG DET rumor of   that CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG failed.3.PL

   'No, I heard the rumor that they failed ANA.'

➢   In all these cases, fragment answers behave as non-doubled DPs. **Thus, these facts confirm the PF nature of CD and constitute another case of the E-M generalization**: a dissociated morpheme (i.e., a doubling clitic) cannot be introduced in an elliptical site.

➢   Now we must evaluate the relation between CLLD and island repair in contexts of ellipsis. If our analysis is on the right track and CLLD is a case of syntactic resumption, then ellipsis should not affect the island repair effects triggered by CLLD.

➢   The relevant case here is TP-ellipsis or pseudo-stripping, a kind of ellipsis that displays all the

properties of CLLD plus a process of TP deletion (López 1999, Depiante 2004b and Saab 2009, 2010).

(48) a. Juan desaprobó a María pero a Ana no.
Juan failed ACC María but ACC Ana not
'Juan failed MARÍA, but not Ana.'

b. Juan no desaprobó a María pero a Ana sí.
Juan not failed ACC María but ACC Ana yes
'Juan did not fail María, but he did fail Ana.'

c. Juan desaprobó a María y a Ana también.
Juan failed ACC María and ACC Ana too
'Juan failed MARÍA and Ana too.'

d. Juan no desaprobó a María y a Ana tampoco.
Juan not failed ACC María and ACC Ana neither
'Juan did not fail MARÍA and Ana neither.'

➢ We assume the following structure for TP-ellipsis (Depiante 2004b, Saab 2009, 2010).

(49) $[_{TopP}$ **XP$_i$** $[_{\Sigma P} \Sigma^0_{[E]}$ $[_{TP} ...CL_i...$

➢ Evidence in favor of the CLLD nature of TP-ellipsis comes from the fact that: (i) it allows for multiple remnants (50) (López 1999) and, (ii) it is sensitive to the same strong islands as CLLD (51) (Saab 2009, 2010):

(50) El libro, a María, se lo di el viernes y la revista,
DET book to María CL.DAT.3.SG CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG gave.1.SG DET Friday and DET magazine
a Pedro, también.
to Pedro also
'I gave the book to María on Friday and I also gave the magazine to Pedro on Friday.'

(51) A: ¿Adiviná qué? Juan está enojado solo porque la desaprobaron a Ana
guess what Juan is angry only because CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG failed.3.PL ACC Ana
'Guess what? Juan is angry just because they failed Ana.'
B: Se enoja por todo.

CL.3.SG get-angry.3.SG by everything

* A María también.

ACC María also

'He gets angry for everything. He is also angry just because they failed María.'

(52) A: Juan no conoce al profesor que desaprobó a Ana.

Juan not knows ACC-DET professor that failed.3.SG ACC Ana

'Juan does not know the professor that failed Ana.'

B: * y a María_i tampoco [Juan conoce al profesor [que la_i desaprobó]]

and ACC María neither Juan knows ACC-DET professor that CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG failed.3.SG

'And neither does he know the professor that failed María.'

➢   Now, if CLLD involves syntactic resumption, we expect to find no anti-repair effects. This prediction is borne out:

Bridge verbs

(53) A: A Juan, Pedro cree que lo desaprobaron.

ACC Juan Pedro believe.3.SG that CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG failed.3.PL

'Pedro believes that they failed Juan.'

B: Y a María también ~~cree~~ ~~que la~~ ~~desaprobaron.~~

and ACC María also believe.3.SG that CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG failed.3.PL

'And he also believes that they failed María.'

Interrogative islands

(54) A Juan, no sé quién lo desaprobó y

ACC Juan not know.1.SG who CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG failed.3.SG and

a Pedro tampoco ~~sé~~ ~~quién lo~~ ~~desaprobó~~.

ACC Pedro neither know.1.SG who CL.ACC.3.MASC.SG failed.3.SG

'I don't know who failed Juan and I don't know who failed Pedro neither.'

Sentential subjects

(55) A: A María, Juan cree que [desaprobar**la**] va a causar un escándalo.

ACC María Juan believe.3.SG that fail.INF-CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG goes to cause.INF a scandal

'Juan believes that failing María is going to cause a scandal.'

B: Y Ana también ~~Juan cree~~ ~~que [desaprobar~~**la**~~]~~ ~~va a causar un escándalo~~.

and Ana also Juan believe.3.SG that fail.INF-CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG goes to cause a scandal

'And Juan also believes that failing María is going to cause a scandal.'

Noun complement clauses

(56) A: ? A María, Juan escuchó   [el rumor de [que *la*   desaprobaron]], sabías?

  ACC María Juan heard.3.SG DET rumour of that CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG failed.3.PL   knew.2.SG

  'Juan heard the rumour that they failed María. Did you know that?'

  B: ? Sí, ya sé.   Y   a   Ana también ~~Juan escuchó~~

  yes, yet know.1.SG and ACC Ana also   Juan heard.3.SG

  ~~[el rumor   de [que *la*   desaprobaron]]~~

  DET rumour of that CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG failed.3.PL

  'Yes, I know. And Juan also heard the rumour that they failed Ana.'

6. CONCLUSIONS

➢   In this talk, we have presented a set of new facts involving CD and its interaction with Kayne's generalization, island effects and ellipsis. Taken together, all these facts show that **what we call anti-repair effects under ellipsis clearly indicate that some islands are computed at PF.**

APPENDIX
MORE ON ANTI-REPAIR: WCO EFFECTS, SUBJECT ISLANDS AND SMUGGLING

➢   One immediate prediction of our analysis involves weak cross over effects. As is well-known, CLLD does not trigger WCO (see Cinque 1990 and much subsequent works), as shown in the following example:

(57) A   María$_i$, su$_i$ padre la$_i$ criticó.
  ACC María POSS.3.SG father CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG   criticized.3SG
  'María$_i$ her$_i$ father criticized her$_i$.'

➢   Regular focus movement, in turn, triggers WCO:

(58) * A   MARÍA$_i$ criticó   su$_i$ padre.
  ACC María   criticized.3.SG   POSS.3.SG father
  'Her$_i$ father criticized MARÍA$_i$.'

➢   However, doubled DOs in focus movement constructions seem to behave as CLLD as far as WCO is concerned:

(59) A   MARÍA$_i$ la$_i$ criticó   su$_i$ padre.
  ACC María   CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG criticized.3.SG POSS.3.SG   father
  'Her$_i$ father criticized María$_i$.'

➢   Yet, it can be shown that the absence of WCO effects in (57) and (59) has different origins. If the clitics in CLLD have some syntactic representation we expect that ellipsis does not produce any

difference regarding WCO. This prediction is borne out. In the sentence in (60) the second conjunct can have a sloppy reading where Ana was criticized for her own father.

(60) A   María$_j$ su$_j$ padre la$_j$ criticó
      ACC María POSS.3.SG father CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG criticized.3SG
      y   a   Ana$_i$ también ~~su$_i$~~   ~~padre la$_i$~~   ~~criticó~~.
      and ACC Ana also   POSS.3.SG father CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG criticized.3SG
       'María her father criticized her and Ana too ~~her father criticized her~~.'

➤   Now, let's see what happens in connection with CD constructions. In a fragment answer like the one in (61B), there is no sloppy reading available. This follows if the underlying structure of the elliptical site is not a doubling structure, as indicated in (61B).

(61) A: ¿Su$_i$ madre   la$_i$ ama   a   MARÍA$_i$?
             POSS.3.SG mother CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG love.3SG ACC   María
             'Does her$_i$ mother love MARÍA$_i$?
      B: * No, a   ANA$_i$ ~~ama~~   ~~su$_i$~~   ~~madre~~
             not ACC Ana   love.3SG POSS.3.SG mother
             'No, Ana ~~her mother love~~.'

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

(62) A: ¿Su$_i$ madre   la$_i$ ama   a   MARÍA$_i$?
             POSS.3.SG mother CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG love.3SG ACC   María
             'Does her$_i$ mother loves MARÍA$_i$?'
      B: No, a   ANA$_i$ la$_i$ ama   su$_i$ madre.
             not ACC Ana   CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG love.3SG POSS.3.SG mother
             'No, her mother loves ANA.'

➤   Although WCO facts seem to confirm our prediction regarding CD and its relation with ellipsis, they also lead us to ask how it is possible that a PF phenomenon like CD has effects on pronominal interpretation. One line of thinking is to accept that some semantic-pragmatic aspects of meaning might access to some PF information. This is not an implausible hypothesis as shown in detail by Reinhart (2006). However, there is also an alternative analysis under which WCO effects are the result of a specific syntactic configuration that is circumvented by CD. It is worth noting that to claim that CD is a kind of PF resumption does not imply that the syntax of CD has to be equivalent to a non-CD construction. As for the obviation of WCO effects observed in (59), we propose that it is obtained by a smuggling analysis (Collins 2005) of focused doubled DPs described in two steps: there is an initial predicate remnant movement to a Spec,XP position in the left periphery (63a), followed by the extraction of the focused DP object from the remnant as in (63b).

(63) a. [$_{XP}$ [$_{TP}$ t$_i$ la criticó a MARÍA]$_k$ [$_{X'}$ X° [$_{TOPP}$ su$_i$ madre [$_{TOP'}$ TOP° t$_k$]]]]
      b. [$_{FOCP}$ A MARÍA$_j$ [$_{FOC'}$ FOC° [$_{XP}$ [$_{TP}$ t$_i$ la criticó t$_j$]$_k$ [$_{X'}$ X° [$_{TOPP}$ su$_i$ madre [$_{TOP'}$ TOP° t$_k$]]]]

      Conjecture:
(64)   Extraction of a DO from a smuggler (i.e., a kind of specifier) in River Plate Spanish is allowed
         only if the object is doubled by a clitic.

➤   If this is correct, the contrast with respect to Subject Condition effects in (65) (and also in CLLD constructions) can be thought of in the same way: extraction from a specifier is allowed only if CD applies.

Sentential subjects

(65) a. * A   MARÍA creo   que [desaprobar *t*] va   a causar   un   escándalo.
         ACC María believe.1.SG that fail.INF   goes to cause.INF a   scandal

   b. A   MARÍA creo   que [desaprobar***la***]   va   a   causar   un escándalo.
      ACC María   believe.1.SG that fail.INF-CL.ACC.3.FEM.SG goes   to cause.INF a scandal
   'I believe that failing María is going to cause a scandal.'

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