

“Clitic doubling in different varieties of Spanish: Corpus data and experimental evidence”

Based on corpus data and experimental evidence, this paper confirms but also challenges some of the current generalizations on clitic doubling (CD) in Peninsular (PS) and Rioplatense Spanish (RS). CD is exemplified in (1) where a clitic pronoun and a co-referential pronoun or noun phrase in canonical object position surface.

- (1) a. **Lo** *veo* **a** *él.*
 Cl.ACC.3SG.MASC see1SG PREP him
- b. **Le** *doy* *el libro* **a** *María.*
 Cl.DAT.3SG give1SG the book to Mary
- c. (*) **Lo** *veo* **a** *Juan.*
 Cl.ACC.3SG.MASC see1SG PREP John

This talk discusses the variability of CD on different levels: **1.) object type:** CD with pronominal objects is obligatory, CD with dative noun phrases is optional. **2.) Case:** In PS CD of accusative noun phrases is ungrammatical. **3.) dialect:** In RS (Buenos Aires), CD with dative noun phrases is obligatory and CD with accusative objects is possible under certain conditions.

A comparative corpus investigation confirms many of the generalizations, but leaves open the question whether patterns of language use reflect underlying grammatical knowledge. E.g., it is unclear whether the strongly preferred use of dative noun phrases in PS reflects obligatory CD and whether the avoidance of CD with accusative noun phrases reflects ungrammaticality or actually dispreference.

An acceptability judgement test (AJT) with 126 participants of PS and RS reveals that CD of dative noun phrases is *optional* in both varieties with a preference for doubling. CD of animate, definite and specific accusatives is clearly acceptable in RS, although non-CD is rated higher. In PS, CD of accusative noun phrases is not accepted.

These results are in line with previous analyses assuming that the dative clitic *le* marks agreement with dative DPs in both varieties and realizes an applicative head, whereas non-doubling of a dative noun is associated with a PP realization (Cuervo 2003). The fact that accusative CD is not an option in PS has been associated with a determiner status of *lo/la*; whereas the accusative clitics in RS seem to be on their way of becoming agreement-markers.