Clitic doubling: The Case of Nariño Andean Spanish

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Clitic Doubling: The Case of Nariño Andean Spanish

Jessica P. Jurado Eraso

Thesis submitted
to the Eberly College of Arts and Sciences
at West Virginia University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in Linguistics

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Department of World Languages, Literatures, and Linguistics

Morgantown, West Virginia
2022

Keywords: clitic doubling, agreement, prepositional marker, animacy, definiteness, specificity, Spanish, Nariñense

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ABSTRACT

Clitic doubling: The Case of Nariño Andean Spanish

Jessica P. Jurado Eraso

This thesis examines the behavior of clitic doubling in Nariñoense, a little-studied Andean Spanish variety spoken in the southwest of Colombia, and compares it to well-studied varieties such as standard Peninsular, Rioplatense, and other Andean Spanish varieties. Its aim is to present novel data about clitic doubling in order to shed more light into the extensive literature about this phenomenon in Spanish. Through spontaneous speech recordings obtained from thirty native speakers of Nariñoense, 133 sentences involving clitic doubling were analyzed. Features such as agreement matching between the clitic and the doubled NP, use of the preposition a to introduce the doubled NP, animacy, specificity, and definiteness were considered in the comparison between the four varieties. The results show that clitic doubling in Nariñoense partially parallels other Spanish varieties. Nariñoense exhibits agreement matching in most of the cases paralleling standard Peninsular and Rioplatense Spanish. However, it also shows neutralization of number and/or gender features in favor of the invariable lo for DO NP and le for IO NP clitic doubling, as in other Andean Spanish varieties. Another characteristic shared with Andean Spanish is doubling of animate and inanimate, definite and indefinite NPs. While doubling of inanimate NPs is allowed in Rioplatense, doubling of indefinite DO NPs is ungrammatical, as it is in standard Peninsular. Finally, the use of the preposition a to introduce doubled IO and DO NPs was attested in Nariñoense. However, several examples without this preposition were also found. This occurs not only with inanimate DO NPs, as in Rioplatense, but also with animate DO NPs, as in Andean Spanish. This preposition was also absent in the doubling of some overt pronominal and proper name IO NPs. This last feature differs from standard Peninsular and Rioplatense Spanish, varieties that require a mandatory presence of this preposition.
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<td>preposition <em>a</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
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<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>clitic</td>
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<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative</td>
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<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
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<tr>
<td>DOM</td>
<td>differential object marking</td>
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<td>DO</td>
<td>direct object</td>
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<td>fem</td>
<td>feminine gender</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUB</td>
<td>subjunctive</td>
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<td>*</td>
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Clitic doubling, a phenomenon which involves a structure where a full lexical NP co-occurs with a clitic, both referring to the same entity (Aoun, 1981), has been extensively discussed within generative grammar. The syntax involved in the doubled construction has been widely analyzed in Romance languages such as French, Italian, Spanish, and in a few other languages like Hebrew, Lebanese Arabic, Greek, Bulgarian, among others. An example from Spanish is illustrated in (1).

(1) *Lo vimos* a Juan. (Rioplatense Spanish)

In (1), the NP Juan co-occurs with the accusative clitic *lo*. This phenomenon has been examined mostly with respect to the placement of the clitic in the structure of sentences. More specifically, two main directions have been proposed in the literature. On one hand, the movement hypothesis suggests that clitics are generated in the argument position of the host verb and then, they move to a position closer to it (Kayne, 1975, 1989, 1991, 1994, 2000; Aoun, 1981; Rizzi, 1982, 1987; to mention a few). On the other hand, the base-generation hypothesis proposes that clitics are base generated in their surface position (Borer, 1984; Jaeggli, 1982; Rivas, 1977; Suñer, 1988, Sportiche, 1993; among others). Within these two main approaches, agreement marking, the use of a prepositional marker, and animacy, definiteness, and specificity restrictions have been the basis of accounts of variation in Spanish when it comes to clitic doubling. Further studies propose to analyze accusative and dative clitic doubling in two separate ways. Whereas accusative clitic
doubling is subject to specificity restrictions (Suñer, 1988), dative clitic doubling is not, and it only involves case and agreement considerations (Sportiche, 1993). Because previous research has shown that the behavior of clitic doubling in Spanish is versatile, this study aims to analyze this phenomenon within my native variety of Spanish, a little-studied variety of Andean Spanish spoken in Nariño, Colombia (henceforth Nariñense).

Although clitic doubling has been examined within different Spanish varieties, Nariñense has not been included in previous literature. This variety is spoken in the extreme southwest of Colombia, where the general population reaches 1,335,521. This variety has had language contact influence mainly by Quechua but also by other indigenous communities such as Awá Pit, Inga, Quillacingas, Pastos and Kofán (Carrasco, 1972; Bolaños, 1975; Albor, 1981; Montes, 1982; Arboleda, 2000, 2002; and Portillo, 2010, 2018). Due to this historical language contact, Nariñense Spanish shows features not found in other regions of Colombia reflecting a Quechua substratum (Lipski, 1994). For instance, within the few studies about this variety, morphological and phonological variation has been attested.

This language contact situation also seems to have influenced its syntactic variation. One aspect of this variation involves clitic doubling. Nariñense Spanish has been considered an Andean variety; however, it seems to behave differently from other Andean Spanish varieties found in Ecuador, Perú, and Bolivia. For instance, this variety appears to mark agreement in gender and number in 3rd person clitics, whereas in other Andean varieties, this marking seems to be neutralized (Zdrojewski and Sánchez, 2014). Due to the lack of syntactic studies on Nariñense Spanish, this study will present and describe novel data involving clitic doubling as a first insight into the behavior of Nariñense Spanish with respect to the theories proposed for clitic doubling in other varieties, such as standard Peninsular, Rioplatense, and Andean Spanish.
Hence, one of its goals is to broaden the empirical base upon which generalizations about clitic doubling are made.

In the reminder of Chapter One, the literature review about clitic doubling will be provided. This brief description will explain why these constructions have been considered complex to analyze and why they have been the topic of a long-standing debate. The two main approaches to clitic doubling (movement and base-generation) will be discussed. This chapter will also present the most salient characteristics of standard Peninsular, Rioplatense and Andean Spanish. In Chapter Two the description of the methodology employed in this study will be presented, including a detailed description of the participants, instruments, and procedures to gather the data. In Chapter 3, collected data will be analyzed in order to explain how the clitic doubling constructions behave in Nariñense in comparison to other previously studied Spanish varieties. Finally, in Chapter 4, I will discuss how this variety bears on the syntactic theories of clitic doubling that have been proposed in the literature. There will also be a summary of the findings and some concluding remarks.

1.2 Literature Review

1.2.1 Clitic doubling in Spanish

Clitics in Spanish correspond entirely to internal arguments of the verb, and never occur with other grammatical categories (Zagona, 2003). All varieties of Spanish allow an object of the verb to be replaced by either an accusative or dative clitic (Ordoñez, 2012; Lipsky, 2012). The third person clitic system, which is the focus of this study due to its variation among dialects, are summarized in Table 1. Notice that whereas accusative clitics show both gender and number inflection, dative clitics only show number inflection.
Table 1. Object clitic system in Spanish

<table>
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<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Dative</th>
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<td>Singular</td>
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<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>lo</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>las</td>
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Clitics may occupy two main positions in the sentence, either a postverbal position, in which case they are called *enclitics*, or a preverbal position, where they are called *proclitics*. Whereas enclitics are written as part of the verb forming one single word (see (2)), proclitics are orthographically separated (see (3)).

(2) a. Haz *lo* ahora.
    Do-1.+CL(ACC) now
    ‘Do it now.’
    (Zagona, 2002, p.17)

    b. Juan parece *saber lo*.
    J. seems to know-CL(DO)
    ‘Juan seems to know it.’

    c. Juan está *estudiándolo*.
    J. is studying+CL(ACC)
    ‘Juan is studying it.’
    (Zagona, 2002, p.178)

There are also some restrictions on where enclitics and proclitics can occur. For instance, enclitics occur with positive imperatives (2a), infinitives, (2b), and gerunds (2c), whereas proclitics occur with negative imperatives (3a) and finite verbs (3b).

(3) a. No *lo* escriba ahora.
    not CL(ACC) write-1. now
    ‘Don’t write it now!’

    b. María *lo* escribió ayer.
    M. CL(ACC) write-pa.3rd..SG yesterday
    “Maria wrote it yesterday.”
    (Zagona, 2002, p.18)
In (2) and (3), notice that the clitic *lo* appears as the DO complement of the verb. Across several Spanish varieties, it is also common to find utterances in which an argument of the verb is represented twice: once by a full NP, and once by a clitic referring to it. This phenomenon is known as *clitic doubling*.

Clitic doubling has been generally defined as the occurrence of a clitic in conjunction with an NP, where they both refer back to the same entity (Borer, 1984). Belloro (2007) further points out that clitic doubling in Spanish involves direct and indirect objects exclusively, since Spanish does not have ‘subject’ clitics. According to previous literature, clitic doubling can be mandatory or optional. For instance, all Spanish varieties obligatorily double overt pronominal indirect and direct object NPs, as shown in (4) and (5).

(4) a. *(Les₁) di el libro a ellas₁.  
   CL.DAT gave the book to them  
   ‘I gave the book to them.’

b. *Les di el libro.

(5) a. *(Lasᵢ) vi a ellasᵢ.  
   CL.ACC saw them  
   ‘I saw them.’

b. Las vi.  

(Ordoñez, 2012, p.440)

The dative clitic *les* in (4a) is doubling the overt pronominal IO NP *ella*. This is mandatory in all Spanish varieties. Whereas the sentence becomes ungrammatical if the pronominal NP does not co-occur with the clitic, it is still grammatical if the clitic stands alone without an overt pronominal NP (4b). A similar pattern obtains in the sentences in (5) with the accusative clitic *los*.

---

1 For the purposes of this work, pronominal object NPs include only personal pronouns such as *él, ella, ellos,* and *ellas.*
and the overt pronominal DO NP *ellas*. As seen above, clitic doubling is obligatory if there is an overt pronominal IO or DO NP. Contrary to doubling of pronominal NPs, doubling of full lexical NPs is only allowed in some dialects. Standard Peninsular Spanish rules out these constructions while, for instance, Rioplatense and Andean Spanish allow them.

(6) La encontré a mi hija. (*Peninsular, √ Rioplatense, Andean)

‘I met my daughter.’

(based on Rinke et al., 2019, p.4)

In recent decades, these doubling constructions have been the topic of long-standing debate. Two approaches to clitic doubling have been proposed in the literature (Marchis and Alexiadou, 2013). First, the base-generation approach, in which clitics are analyzed as being base-generated in their surface position, and second, the movement approach, which suggests that clitics are generated in the complement position of the verbal host, and are, then, moved to a position closer to it. Both approaches are briefly described below.

1.2.2 Proposals about clitic doubling

One of the first analyses concerning clitic placement in Romance was provided by Kayne (1975). He argues, on the basis of data from French, that the clitic is base generated in the object position of an appropriate verb and then undergoes movement to a position adjacent to it. It was later pointed out that this kind of analysis of clitic placement seems to only account for languages like French, where clitic doubling is not possible, as illustrated in (7):

(7) Marie (*leur) parle à mes amis.

‘Marie them talks to my friends.’

(Aoun, 1981, p.83)
Note that in (7) the clitic *les* and the NP *mes amis* cannot appear together in the same clause. In languages such as French, in which the NP and the clitic cannot co-occur, the clitic and the doubled NP are considered to be in complementary distribution (Bleam, 2000). Regarding Romance languages in which this doubling construction is possible, Kayne (1975) proposes that “an object NP may be doubled by a clitic only if the NP is preceded by a preposition” (Jaeggli, 1982, p.20). This proposal is known as Kayne’s Generalization. Given this generalization, sentences like (8a) are possible since the preposition *a* is present, whereas sentences such as (8b-c) are ruled out because they lack this preposition.

(8) a. El año pasado yo *la* invité *a* Mabel. (Buenos Aires Spanish)
    the last year I CL.ACC invited A M.
    ‘Last year I invited Mabel.’

    b. *Lo* vimos Juan. (Spanish)
    him saw we J.
    ‘We saw Juan.’

    c. *Lo* vi *(a)* él. (Spanish)
    him saw I to him
    ‘I saw him.’

It is worth noting that the status of the preposition *a* in Spanish to introduce indirect and direct objects is controversial. Some authors (Rinke et al., 2019; Fischer et al., 2018; Di Tullio, et al., 2019) label this preposition as a Differential Object Marking (DOM), which introduces animate and definite direct objects (see (9a)). However, according to Rinke et al. (2019), referring to Jaeggli (1982), DOM can also mark inanimate objects (9b).

(9) a. Los *vi* a ellos / *Vi* a ellos. (DO-Pron)
    CL.ACC saw DOM them
    ‘(I) saw them.’

    (Rinke et al., 2019, p.4)
b. Los ácidos atacan a los metales.
the acids attack DOM the metals
‘Acids attack metals.’

(Jaeggli 1993:165 in Rinke et al., 2019, p.10)

On the other hand, other authors have referred to the preposition preceding a DO as Personal a (Zagona 2002, Suñer, 1988), and the preposition preceding IOs as a dative preposition (Torrego, 1994). Zagona (2002), for instance, makes a distinction between the preposition a and the Personal a (PA). She argues that whereas the preposition a marks dative case (as shown in (4a)), the PA is, superficially, a preposition which mainly occurs when the DO bears the features [+human] and [+specific] (see (10)).

(10) a. En el mercado vi *(a) los vecinos.
at the market saw-1ST.SG. PA the neighbors
‘At the market (I) saw the neighbors.’

b. En el escritorio vi (*a) los papeles.
on the desk saw-1ST.SG. PA the papers
‘On the desk (I) saw the papers.’

(Zagona, 2002, p.13)

Sentence in (10a) becomes ungrammatical if the preposition does not precede the lexical DO NP los vecinos because this NP is animate. This implies that if the utterance is ungrammatical without a, then clitic doubling is also ungrammatical without a (see (8a)). Notice that this proposal seems to work in varieties such as Rioplatense Spanish, which mandatory requires this preposition to introduce animate NPs, but not in varieties such as Andean Spanish, in which the doubling of animate NPs can occur in the absence of this preposition. Opposite to this, in (10b) this preposition is not possible because the DO NP los papeles is inanimate. However, inanimate NPs preceded by the preposition a have also been attested in varieties such as Porteño Spanish (Suñer, 1988, p.399).
Since the discussion about the categorization of this preposition is outside the scope of this study, I will use the term *preposition a* to refer to the preposition that introduces both direct and indirect objects in clitic doubling.

Returning to the discussion about *Kayne’s Generalization*, Jaeggli (1982), following this generalization, argues that in Spanish this prepositional element is obligatory with clitic doubling in order to assign Case to the doubled DO NP. The preposition *a* functions as an independent Case assigner, and without it, the doubled NP will be ruled out by the case-filter since it will no longer be able to receive Case by other means. This generalization also accounts for languages such as Lebanese Arabic. Aoun (1981) states that in this language, the derivation of clitic doubling requires the insertion of a case-marker, which is generally a preposition, for instance *la* or *šel* in Lebanese Arabic (or *a* in Spanish) to assign Case to the doubled NP.

Aoun (1981) maintains the Movement Hypothesis for clitic doubling. Using quantifier scope as a diagnostic for movement at LF. Aoun argues that in clitic doubling, the doubled NPs form islands for extraction. This leads him to conclude that the doubled NP must not be generated in a complement position, but in some kind of dislocated position since if it were in complement position, the extraction out of the doubled NP would be expected to be grammatical (Bleam,
Following a movement analysis, the clitic is analyzed as being generated in the complement position and moving to its surface position, whereas the doubled NP is in a dislocated position. Nevertheless, there were several arguments against categorizing the doubled NP as a dislocated phrase.

Based on the obligatoriness of a prepositional marker on doubled NPs, Jaeggli (1982) proposes that doubled NPs are not in dislocated positions as other authors may suggest (Aoun, 1981; Hurtado, 1984). He argues for this proposal based on the fact that the prepositional marker is optional in dislocated structures, whereas it is obligatory with clitic doubling. Moreover, Jaeggli points out that doubled NPs are articulated with the same unbroken intonation curve they would have without the clitic. In clitic doubling constructions, there is no break or pause between the doubled NP and the rest of the sentence, and there are no comma breaks separating the doubled NP from the rest of the sentence, unlike in examples involving dislocation. This was later supported by Suñer (1988), who provided examples with doubled NPs within embedded clauses and in non-sentence final positions. An example of the latter is given in (13).

(13) Yo lo voy a comprar el diario justo antes de subir. (Porteño)
    I it go.1s to buy the newspaper just before come up
    ‘I am going to buy the newspaper just before coming up.’
    (Suñer, 1988, p.400)

Sentences such as (13) allowed Suñer (1988) to argue in favor of a base-generation hypothesis to analyze these doubling constructions, an approach considered earlier by Borer (1984). Contrary to the movement analyses proposed in the literature, Borer proposes that clitics are best categorized as part of the lexical head. The clitic should not be treated as an independent element that fills the verb argument position, but as a spell-out of the “non-inherent” features of the verb, such as Case and Phi-features. Then, she proposes that if clitics are the spell-out of features, they
should be treated as agreement morphemes. This motivated a base-generation analysis for clitics in doubling configurations.

Initially, on the basis of data from Porteño Spanish, a dialect from Argentina, Suñer (1988) challenges Jaeggli’s (1982) assumption about the obligatoriness of a special case marker in clitic doubling. She argues that the presence of $a$-phrases is not a necessary condition for clitic doubling, as illustrated in (14) above and (15) below.

(14) Ahora tiene que seguir usándolo el apellido. (Porteño Spanish)
Now have.3S that go on using-it the surname
‘Now s/he has to go on using (it) the surname.’

(Suñer, 1988, p.399)

Suñer (1988) also considers clitics as agreement morphemes, but contrary to Borer (1984), she does not adopt the view that Spanish clitics are the spell-out of the host Case features, arguing that neither indirect nor direct object clitics are Case absorbers. As agreement morphemes, clitics enter into some sort of relation with the corresponding full NP; as a result, the clitic agrees with the grammatical features of the lexical NP it refers to (Zagona, 2002; Preminger, 2009). IO clitics, for instance, only agree in number features with the doubled lexical NP. Zagona (2002, p. 141-142) exemplifies this as in (15), in which the NP *Eduardo* and the NP *su hija* are doubled by the clitic *le*, both bearing the feature [sg].

(15) a. Juan le golpeó la nariz a *Eduardo*.
   J. CL(DAT.) hit the nose A E.
   ‘Juan hit Eduardo’s nose.’

   b. Beatriz le frotó los dedos a *su hija*.
   B. CL(DAT.) rubbed the fingers A her daughter
   ‘Beatriz rubbed her daughter’s fingers.’
In both examples, the clitic *le* is used regardless of the gender of the NP it is referring to. Even if there is no doubling, the clitic *le* must be used with indirect object NPs. Contrary to dative clitics, accusative clitics in Spanish do express gender distinction. The clitic *la* is used to refer to feminine DO NPs while the clitic *lo* is used to refer to masculine DO NPs.

(16)  
\begin{align*}
  \text{a. } & \text{Susana *(lo) pateó a él.} \\
  & \text{S. CL-DO kicked A him} \\
  & \text{‘Susana kicked him.’} \quad \text{(Zagona, 2002 p. 136)} \\
  \text{b. } & \text{Juan la i sacó la nota sin esfuerzo.} \\
  & \text{Juan it-fem-cl got-3SG the grade without effort} \\
  & \text{‘Juão got the grade without effort.’} \\
  \text{c. } & \text{Juan la sacó (la nota) sin esfuerzo.} \quad \text{(Franco, 1993 p. 290)}
\end{align*}

In (16a), the pronominal phrase *él* is masculine and singular, thus, the clitic *lo* [masc.sg] matches both features. Note that the sentence (16a) is ungrammatical without the clitic since doubling of a pronominal phrase is mandatory in all Spanish varieties. Sentence (16b) shows agreement matching of feminine and singular features between the DO NP *la nota* and the clitic *la* [fem.sg]. In (16c), even if there is not a doubled NP, the clitic *la* still has the features [fem.sg] because it stands for the NP *la nota*. Because the accusative clitic and the doubled NP seem to agree in more features than dative clitics, Suñer (1988) proposes to analyze DO and IO clitic doubling in separate ways.

Suñer claims that since accusative and dative clitics are manifestations of object agreement, they should obey the *Matching Principle*, which states that the clitic must agree in all features with the corresponding doubled NP, such as [GENDER], [NUMBER], [PERSON], [ANIMATE], and [SPECIFIC]. One relevant difference between DO and IO clitics is that accusative clitics are marked in the lexicon with the feature [+specific], whereas IO clitics have no specification at all.
for this feature. In other words, DO clitic doubling occurs only if the doubled NP referent is intended as specific, while IO clitic doubling can occur with specific and non-specific NPs. The clitic and the doubled NP then form a chain, which should be coindexed following θ-role assignment (Borer, 1984), and should share only one Case and one θ-role (Chomsky 1986). Moreover, the clitic should c-command the full NP with which it is coindexed. These specificity restrictions are evidenced in sentences such as (17) and (18), from Rioplatense Spanish (Bleam, 2000, p.12).

(17) a. (Lo) ví a Juan.
   CL saw.1sG A J.
   ‘I saw Juan.’

   b. (La) oían a Paca/ a la niña/ a la gata.
   CL heard.3PL A Paca/ A the girl/ A the cat.FEM
   ‘They heard Paca/ the girl/ the cat.’

(18) a. No (*lo) oyeron a ningún ladrón.
   NEG *CL they.heard A any thief
   ‘They didn’t hear any thieves.’

   b. (*La) buscaban a alguien que los ayudara.
   *CL looked.for.3PL A someone that CL help.SUBJ
   ‘They were looking for someone who could help them.’

(17) illustrates that definite, animate NPs Juan, Paca/la niña/la gata can be doubled using the accusative clitics lo [masc.sg] and la [fem.sg] respectively, whereas in (18), the doubling is not possible since the DOs are marked as non-specific. Contrary to this, specificity restrictions do not hold for dative clitic doubling, so they may occur with specific or non-specific referents (Belloro, 2007).
Notice that in (19) dative clitic doubling is not restricted in the way that accusative doubling is because both sentences are grammatical regardless of the specificity (or definiteness) of the doubled NP. For instance, (19a) can take the NP la niña or una niña and still be grammatical. Following Suñer’s proposal, Sportiche (1993) distinguishes accusative from dative clitic doubling as well. He observes that dative clitic doubling only involves case and agreement feature checking, and they are not subject to specificity restrictions as accusative clitic doubling is. Subsequent literature also treats accusative and dative clitic doubling as derived from a different underlying syntax.

In general, the literature on clitic doubling in Spanish has focused on the following factors when arguing for the right approach to this phenomenon: the necessity of a prepositional marker (for movement hypothesis), agreement marking, as well as specificity restrictions (for base-generation hypothesis). In the next section, standard Peninsular, Rioplatense and (Southern) Andean Spanish will be briefly described in order to illustrate how these varieties behave with respect to the accounts proposed for clitic doubling.

1.3 Clitic doubling in three Spanish varieties

As seen in section (1.2) above, clitic doubling in Spanish varies significantly among dialects. In this section, the most salient characteristics of three varieties of Spanish will be described to
serve as a basis for comparison with the constructions found in the data collected from Nariño. These three varieties include: standard Peninsular Spanish, the more often referred to as a standard variety; Rioplatense Spanish, which has been one of the most often discussed in clitic doubling literature and which has been widely defined as allowing clitic doubling more freely than other varieties; and (Southern) Andean Spanish, which seems to behave simpler than other varieties regarding clitic doubling.

1.3.1  *Standard Peninsular Spanish*

In standard Peninsular Spanish, clitic doubling is mainly optional, obligatory in only some contexts (Gabriel and Rinke, 2010), and is a distinctive property of indirect objects (Rinke et al., 2019). Overt pronominal direct and indirect objects, for instance, are obligatorily doubled in this variety.

(20)  a. Pedro *le* dio una manzana a él. / *Pedro dio una manzana a él.
P.  CL.DAT gave an apple A him
‘Peter gave an apple to HIM.’

b. Pedro *lo* vio a él. / *Pedro vio a él.
P.  CL.ACC saw A him
‘Peter saw HIM.’  

(20)  a. Pedro *le* dio una manzana a él. / *Pedro dio una manzana a él.
P.  CL.DAT gave an apple A him
‘Peter gave an apple to HIM.’

Both sentences in (20) are ungrammatical without the clitic in standard Peninsular Spanish, just as it is in all other varieties of Spanish that have been studied so far. Clitic doubling of nominal DOs, on the other hand, is considered to be ungrammatical in standard Peninsular Spanish (Rinke et al., 2019; Gabriel and Rinke, 2010).

P.  CL.ACC saw A the professor
‘Pedro saw the professor.’
With proper name DO NPs, clitic doubling is ungrammatical (Anagnostopoulou, 2014) or slightly acceptable by standard Peninsular Spanish speakers.

(22) */Pedro lo vio a Juan.
    P. CL.ACC saw A J.
    ‘Pedro saw Juan.’ (Gabriel and Rinke, 2010 p.68)

Doubling of proper name and lexical IOs is optional in all Spanish varieties including standard Peninsular Spanish. However, in this variety there is a strong tendency to realize the clitic (Gabriel and Rinke, 2010 p.68).

(23) Pedro le dio una manzana al profesor./?Pedro dio una manzana al profesor.
    P. CL.DAT gave an apple A the professor
    ‘Peter gave an apple to John / the professor.’

As seen in the examples above, the dative and accusative clitics in standard Peninsular agree in features with the corresponding NPs they double, number for IO NPs and both, number and gender with DO NPs. Likewise, in all the utterances presented above (20-23) the preposition a is required to double the NPs. In sum, standard Peninsular Spanish does not allow clitic doubling of direct object NPs unless the doubling involves an overt pronominal phrase. Doubling of indirect objects is mandatory with pronominal NPs and optional with non-pronominal NPs, though strongly preferred.

1.3.2 Rioplatense Spanish

Rioplatense is spoken in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and some areas of Chile. This Spanish variety has been one of the most often referred to in the literature about clitic doubling (Jaeggli, 1982; Suñer, 1988; Estigarribia, 2006; Di Tullio and Zdrojewski, 2006; among others). Estigarribia (2006), and Rinke et al. (2019), for instance, point out that Rioplatense has been largely described as allowing clitic doubling more freely than other Spanish varieties (e.g.
standard Peninsular Spanish), although they still share some behavior. For instance, clitic
doubling of overt pronominal NPs is mandatory in all Spanish varieties (Suñer, 1988; Fontana,
1993; Ordoñez 2012; Rinke et al., 2019), including Rioplatense.

(24) a. …se equivocó y le dejó a él la cuenta y la tarjeta de crédito…
   CL got wrong and CL-DAT gave A him the bill and the card of credit
   ‘he got wrong and gave him the bill and the credit card…’

   b. *…se equivocó y dejó a él la cuenta y la tarjeta de crédito…
   (based on Bogard, 2015, p.8)

(25) a. Laura lo busca a él,
   L. him looks-for him
   ‘Laura is looking for him.’

   b. *Laura busca a él.
   (Fontana, 1993, p.221)

Doubling of proper name phrases, on the other hand, seems to be optional in some Spanish
varieties including Rioplatense, as illustrated in (26).

(26) Miguelito (le) regaló un caramelo a Mafalda.
   M. CL-DAT gave a candy a M.
   ‘Miguelito gave Mafalda a piece of candy.’
   (Anagnostopoulou 2014 p.3)

Dative clitic doubling of lexical NPs is extensively accepted, but mainly optional in the majority
of dialects, including Rioplatense, and has extended to specific and non-specific (27a), definite,
and indefinite full NPs (27b).

(27) a. Les ofrecieron queso y leche a familias de pocos medios.
   to them 3PL-offered cheese and milk to low-income families
   ‘They offered cheese and milk to low-income families.’
According to Rinke et al. (2019), in Rioplatense doubling of non-specific lexical IO NPs occurs as often as doubling of specific full IO NPs, whereas in standard Peninsular Spanish non-specific nominal objects do not represent a favoring context for clitic doubling. As with dative clitics, doubling of direct nominal objects has also been reported in Spanish, although not in all varieties (Zagona, 2002). Whereas in standard Peninsular Spanish DO clitic doubling is considered to be ungrammatical, in Rioplatense direct nominal objects may be doubled (Jaeggli, 1982; Zdrojewski and Sánchez, 2014; Rinke et al., 2019; to name a few), provided that the NP bears the feature [+specific] (Suñer, 1988). Thus, while (29) is ungrammatical with the doubling of a non-specific direct object, (14) above with a doubled specific DO is grammatical. While (14) is an example from the Porteño variety, Rioplatense accepts it as well.

(29) No (*1o) oyeron a ningún ladrón. [+anim, -spec] not him 3PL-heard to any thief
‘They didn't hear any thieves.’ (Suñer, 1988, p.396)

Clitic doubling of both animate and inanimate DO NPs has also been attested in Rioplatense. Whereas clitic doubling of animate direct object NPs occurs only if it is introduced by the preposition a (30a), doubling of inanimate DO NPs must occur without this preposition (30b). Doubling of inanimate direct object phrases is ungrammatical in standard Peninsular Spanish (Zagona, 2002).

(30) a. Lo vimos a Guille.
    CL-ACC saw-we a G. ‘We saw Guille.’ (Anagnostopoulou, 2014, p.14)
b. estíralas bien (*a) las piernas estíralas.  
    stretch out.CL.ACC well the legs stretch out.them.CL  
    ‘Stretch out your legs, stretch them out well!’  
    (based on Rinke et al., 2019, p.35)

Finally, doubling of strong and weak indefinite DO NPs tends to be ungrammatical in Rioplatense, just as in standard Peninsular Spanish.

(31) a. *Los saludé a un-o-s estudiante-s que conozco.  
    ‘I greeted some students that I know.’

b. *Ayer lo saludé un estudiante.  
    yesterday DEF-ACC3.MASC greet-PST.1.S a student  
    ‘Yesterday, I saw a student.’  
    (Zdrojewski and Sánchez, 2014, p.166)

In the examples above (25-31), notice that the dative and accusative clitic and the doubled NP agree in phi-features (number with IO NPs and number and gender with DO NPs). Thus, clitic doubling in Rioplatense behaves similar to standard Peninsular Spanish in agreement matching features. Summarizing, clitic doubling in Rioplatense parallels standard varieties such as standard Peninsular Spanish, with mandatory doubling of overt pronominal IO and DO NPs, optional doubling of proper name IO NPs, and doubling of specific and non-specific IO NPs. Rioplatense differs from standard Peninsular Spanish in allowing the doubling of both animate and inanimate DO NPs, which is ungrammatical in the latter. This feature in Rioplatense is shared with Andean Spanish varieties, which will be briefly described in the next section.

1.3.3 Andean Spanish

According to Zagona (2002), the Spanish varieties in Latin America show variation in the grammar of clitic doubling. For instance, agreement mismatch and omission of the prepositional
marker $a$ have been attested in the production of clitic doubling in the varieties spoken in the Andean regions of Ecuador, Perú, Bolivia, northwest Argentina, and northeast Chile (Lipski, 2012). Camacho et al. (1997) argue that clitic doubling in Andean Spanish is simpler than in other Spanish varieties (e.g. standard Peninsular and Rioplatense) because this variety seems to lack agreement between the clitic and the lexical NP it doubles (Escobar, 1978; Mayer, 2003; Zdrojewski and Sánchez, 2014). Examples showing these features have been attested in both DO and IO clitic doubling.

In Rioplatense Spanish, the clitic $lo$ [masc.sg] can be used to double masculine and singular direct object NPs only. In Andean Spanish varieties, however, the clitic $lo$ can be also used to double DO NPs regardless of grammatical gender or number (Lipski, 1994; Fischer et al., 2018).

(32) a. *Lo tengo el carro.*
   CL.ACC have.I the cart
   ‘I have the cart.’

   b. *Lo pongo la caja.*
   CL.ACC place.I the box
   ‘I place the box.’
   (Lipski, 1994, p.83)

In (32a) the clitic $lo$ refers to the DO NP *el carro* which is masculine and singular, similar to Rioplatense. Nevertheless, the sentence in (32b) has non-agreeing clitic doubling. The clitic $lo$ refers to the NP *la caja* which is feminine and singular. In other Spanish varieties that allow clitic doubling, the clitic used for *la caja* is *la* [fem.sg]. This invariable clitic $lo$ has extended to double plural DO NPs as well (Zdrojewski and Sánchez, 2014, p.165).

(33) a. *Eso también lo mat-a l-a-s planta-s.*
    that too DEF.ACC.MASC.3.S kill-3.S.PRS the-FEM-PL plant-PL
    ‘That too kills the plants.’
b. No lo vi a sus hermanitos.

‘I did not see their little brothers.’

(Pozzi-Escot, 1972, p.130)

Note that in (33a), the clitic lo does not agree with the full NP las plantas ‘the plants’ in either gender or number features since the lexical NP is feminine and plural. In (33b), the clitic lo only agrees in gender with the NP sus hermanitos ‘the little brothers’, but not in number. Zdrojewski and Sánchez (2014) acknowledge that there is wide variation in Andean Spanish varieties with respect to the invariable form lo, since some varieties do show gender and number distinction, similar to standard Peninsular and Rioplatense. Likewise, cases were the clitic le is used instead of the clitic lo to refer to DO clitic doubling have been attested (Parodi et al., 2012). Such an example (see (34)) is given by Lipski (1994, p.251). He points out that in most highland Ecuadorian dialects, (restricted to the Andean region), the dative clitic le is used to double inanimate DO NPs.

(34) Le veo el carro.

‘I see the car.’

Notice that the clitic le is used to double only singular indirect object NPs in other Spanish varieties. Mayer’s (2003) study about Limeño, a Spanish variety spoken in Perú, shows that there is also lack of agreement between the dative clitic and the doubled IO NP. She argues that this phenomenon has extended from Andean Spanish clitic doubling to Limeño.

(35) La canción, ........., se le quedó en la cabeza y le pidió a los organizadores del festival .........

‘The song…it stayed in his mind and he asked the festival organizers….’

(Mayer, 2003, p.25)
In sentence (35), there is no agreement in number features between the dative clitic le and the plural IO NP los organizadores. As in all varieties, dative clitic doubling does not show agreement in gender features. As observed in examples (32-35), Andean Spanish allows clitic doubling of animate and inanimate DO and IO NPs, paralleling Rioplatense. However, while doubling of definite and specific DO and IO NPs is allowed in Rioplatense and Andean Spanish, doubling of non-specific and weak indefinites is only attested in Andean Spanish (see (36)). This last feature is ungrammatical in Rioplatense and standard Peninsular Spanish.

(36) Se lo llevó una caja.
‘(S/he) took a box (with her/him).’
(Zdrojewski and Sánchez, 2014, p.167)

In their study, Zdrojewski and Sánchez (2014) conclude that Andean Spanish was the most permissible variety with respect to clitic doubling, compared to the other two varieties (Buenos Aires and Lima) included in their analysis. The authors also point out that Andean Spanish is not consistent with Kayne’s Generalization since clitic doubling of animate and inanimate lexical NPs can occur without being introduced by the preposition a.

(37) La ves una señora.
CL.ACC see.you a woman
‘You see a woman.’
(Lipski, 2012, p. 12)

Overall, Andean Spanish varieties differ from standard Peninsular and Rioplatense in terms of agreement matching, in favor of the invariable clitic lo (or le as has been attested in some utterances). However, there are also cases where the clitic agrees with the doubled IO and DO NP. Likewise, doubling of animate and inanimate, and non-specific and weak indefinites DO and IO NPs is also allowed in this variety, even without the preposition a. There is another variety of
Andean Spanish, spoken in Nariño, Colombia, which has not been included in previous literature on clitic doubling. However, clitic doubling in Nariñense would be interesting to examine, given its extensive contact history with languages of neighboring indigenous communities, such as Inga, Awá Pit, Quillacingas, Pastos and Kofán (Carrasco 1972). This language contact situation has shaped the phonological, morphological, and syntactic variation in Nariñense, as explained below.

1.4 Nariño

1.4.1. Geographical information

The Department of Nariño, established as such in 1904, is located in the southwest of Colombia. It is bordered in the north by the Pacific Ocean and the Department of Cauca, in the east by the Department of Putumayo, in the west by the Pacific Ocean, and in the south by the Republic of Ecuador. It is divided in three main regions: the Pacific plain, which covers roughly half of the Department’s surface; the Andean or central plain, the most populated area; and the Amazonian plain, which is mostly covered by jungle (Sociedad Geográfica de Colombia, 2005). These three regions cover the 64 municipalities and 288 corregimientos ‘small towns’ of the Department of Nariño.
Figure 1: Map of the political divisions of the Department of Nariño (Source: Sociedad Geográfica de Colombia, 2005)

According to El Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística (henceforth DANE) (2019), the general population reaches 1,335,521, with its highest percentage, 34.11%, located in Pasto, its capital. This population is diverse and multiethnic. It consists of Mestizos and Whites 70.42%, Afro-Colombians 18.82%, and Indigenous 10.76% (DANE, 2019). 36.2% of the total population lives in urban settings whereas 63.7% lives in rural areas. These percentages indicate that the rural sector predominates in the Department (Plan Departamental de Extensión Agropecuaria – PDEA, 2019).
1.4.2. **Past accounts of language contact**

The diverse and multiethnic population in Nariño is caused by the expansion of the Inca empire through the Andean region to the north, approximately as far as the Mayo River, and the strong expansion of its language, Quechua, which was adopted by the Spaniards for evangelization (Arboleda, 2000). Furthermore, Arboleda (2000) adds that there were also other native languages existing in this region at the arrival of the Incas and Spaniards. According to Ortiz (1954), quoted in Arboleda (2000), there were three languages found in Nariño at their arrival: the Pasto, found in the current provinces of Ipiales and Túquerrez; the Quillacinga, in the provinces of Pasto City, Mayo and Juanambú; and the Malla, in the province of Barbacoas, which were then divided in 4 groups: Sindagua, Telembíes, Barbacoas, and Iscuandés. Although the Quechua language had greater expansion than the other languages, there are still some remnants and few speakers of these languages in the region.

![Figure 2: Indigenous communities in Nariño (Source: www.observatorioddr.unal.edu.co)](image)
Even though the Department of Nariño had a substantial indigenous population, the use of Spanish is now predominant (Adelaar, and Muysken, 2004). Nevertheless, the historical context, geographic proximity, and contact with the indigenous languages within the region have shaped the phonological, morphological, and syntactic variation of the Spanish spoken in Nariño (Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 2000). According to Lipski (1994), “the highland speech of Nariño shares many of the morphosyntactic characteristics of Andean dialects to the south” (p.208). As a result, Nariñense has been considered as part of the Andean Spanish variety of Colombia (Ruiz Vásquez, 2013).

1.4.3. Spanish in Nariño

According to Lipski (1994), Nariño “exhibits characteristics not found elsewhere in Colombia, reflecting a Quechua substratum” (p.207). The few studies about this variety have shown that Nariñense exhibits its Andean character in its phonological variation, such as in the assimilation of /rr/, as well as its morphological and lexical variation in the use of abundant quechuismos, words that are considered as borrowings or calques from Quechua (Patiño, 2000). However, the Andean Spanish of Colombia has not been previously mentioned in the literature analyzing the language variation in the Andean zone in South America (Arboleda, 2000; Chaparro Rojas, 2017). For instance, in Zdrojewski and Sánchez (2014)’s study, the Andean Spanish variety analyzed comes from the Andes of Ecuador, Perú and Bolivia which have historically been in contact with Quechua languages as well, but nothing is mentioned about Colombia.

According to Arboleda (2000), one of the reasons why Colombia has not been included in these analyses is the insufficiency of studies on the Andean Spanish of Colombian regions and the weak framing of these in the general research of Andean Hispanic American Spanish. Of the few studies analyzing the Andean Spanish in Colombia, the ones referring to Nariñense (Andean
Spanish variety spoken in Nariño) are scarce and of limited scope. Some researchers who have studied this dialect include Bolaños (1975), Carrasco (1972), Albor (1981), Arboleda (2000; 2002), Portillo (2010; 2018), among others. Nevertheless, their studies have been mostly focused on the lexical and phonological analysis of Nariñense, which are its most prominent and distinct features, compared to the Spanish spoken in the rest of the Colombian territory.

Among the studies that concern lexical analysis, Carrasco (1972) contributes with a description of the lexicography of Nariñense Spanish. His study includes more than a hundred quechuismos that demonstrate the linguistic diversity present in this variety. Some of these quechuismos include everyday words illustrated in (38). A more recent study is Portilla’s (2018). Portilla also lists some terms from Quechua which have been incorporated into Nariñense and makes an etymological analysis of these loanwords. He concludes that there have been no significant changes in word meaning between the two languages and only a few words have reduced their semantic range.

(38)  ACHACHAY. De /ačačáy/. Interjection used to indicate coldness and, sometimes, approval.

ACHUCARSE. From the Quichua verb /čukana/. It means 'choke’. Choking on cigarette smoke, food, or any liquid.

CUY. De /quwi/ ‘guinea pig’. Traditional dish. Its meat is appreciated in Nariño, not on the coast.

ÑAPANGA. De /l̬apangu/ ‘barefoot’. Village girl, honest and honorable.

PAUCHADO (also PAICHADO). From /pagčana/ 'turn fase down’.

(My translation from Carrasco 1972, p.335-341)
Regarding phonological studies, Albor (1981) focuses on the vowel system and accentuation, while Portilla (2018) examines phonological adaptation of loanwords from Quechua in Nariñense. He concludes that the lexical items of Quechua origin have been adapted to Nariñense on the basis of more or less fixed rules, such as the vowel opening at the end of words, the assimilation of consonants, and other less regular rules, such as diphthongization and aphaeresis. Although Albor (1981) suggests that apart from the phonological particularities found in Nariñense, there are also some syntactic constructions that should be studied, he does not analyze them in this or later studies. In this sense, it seems that these particularities, as Albor describes them, have not been explored in subsequent analysis of the Spanish spoken in Nariño.

In reference to these previous studies, we can conclude that thanks to the language contact, Nariñense presents some particular features which are distinct from Spanish spoken in other parts of Colombia. This variety has also been regarded as different from other Andean Spanish varieties, such as the ones in the regions of Ecuador and Perú, where bilingualism is still present (Portilla, 2010). Such varieties have been analyzed regarding clitic doubling, however, data from Nariño or Colombia have not been included. The aim of this thesis is to present and describe novel data involving clitic doubling in Nariño as a first insight into the behavior of this variety with respect to the theories already proposed for clitic doubling in varieties such as standard Peninsular, Rioplatense, and Andean Spanish. In particular, given the variation that has been noted with clitic doubling in these Spanish varieties (as summarized in Table 2. below), this study aims to find out the answers to the following research questions:

1. Does Nariñense allow clitic doubling with direct and indirect objects? If so,
2. How does agreement matching behave with DO and IO clitic doubling in Nariñense?
3. To what extent is the preposition *a* mandatory or optional with DO and IO clitic doubling in Nariñense?

4. Does DO and IO clitic doubling in Nariñense occur with animate and inanimate, definite and indefinite, as well as specific and non-specific NPs?

*Table 2. Summary of variation in clitic doubling in the three Spanish varieties*

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<thead>
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<th>proper name NP</th>
<th>overt pronominal NP</th>
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<td>IO</td>
<td>DO</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clitic doubling</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>opt.</td>
<td>*/?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agreement marking</td>
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*obl.* = obligatory; *opt.* = optional; *(yes)* = optional but less prefer; ? = slightly accepted, * = ungrammatical.
CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

2.1 Participants

The data in this study were collected from thirty native speakers of Nariñense who are currently living in the Department of Nariño. Because the political division of the Department comprehends 64 municipalities, it was not possible to include speakers of each single part of the region. However, there was an attempt to include participants from different municipalities and corregimientos ('small towns' that conform the municipalities of the Department of Nariño), and from urban and rural settings (see Table 3. below). The ages of the participants ranged from 23 to 87. There were 18 female and 12 male participants. An attempt to have one male and one female from each region was made. However, in some cases only women of the same municipality or corregimiento participated in the study.

All participants were born in the Department of Nariño and reported that they had never been or lived outside the Department for more than 1 year (3 participants) and 2 years (1 participant). Their levels of education varied considerably. Whereas most of the participants only attended elementary school (n=14/30), others completed secondary school (n=5/30), or tertiary education (n=11/30). A summary of the total number of speakers and some background information is displayed in Table 3. below.

Table 3. Total number of participants, and some background information.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Age</th>
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<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Subject</th>
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### 2.2 Instruments

To examine whether and to what extent clitic doubling occurs in Nariñense Spanish, twenty-three audio recordings of spontaneous speech, each sample averaging fifteen minutes, were analyzed. They included a total of 133 utterances including direct object (DO) and indirect object (IO) clitic doubling. The participants also filled an online questionnaire before audio-recording themselves. This questionnaire asked for background demographic information, such as place of birth, age, gender, occupation, level of education, social stratum and setting (rural or urban), language(s) they speak, and places where they have lived if outside the Department of Nariño. The questionnaire was sent to the participants using *Qualtrics XM*, a web-based survey tool. To

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\(^2\) Places in italics are not municipalities but corregimientos ‘small towns’ within the main municipalities. Catambuco, Cruz de Amarillo, El Encano, and Genoy are part of Pasto. Las Lajas is part of Ipiales.
audio-record themselves, the participants were asked to use *voice recorder*, an application on their smart phones that is easy to use.

**2.3 Procedure**

Both data gathering methods were implemented in the following manner: First, the participants were asked to acknowledge to voluntarily participate in the study and fill an online background questionnaire. The link of the questionnaire was sent via email or another application on the participants’ smart phones (e.g. *WhatsApp*). Once they acknowledged to participate, they were asked to audio-record themselves in a quiet room in their homes. They were asked to have a conversation with any adult members of their families who consented to participate in the study as well.

The participants used *voice recorder* on their smartphones to record their conversations. Emphasis was made on asking them to record for around twenty minutes and to record a spontaneous conversation, talking about any topics that they feel comfortable about. The recordings of spontaneous speech included common topics such as lifestyle, traditions and changes of their hometowns, traditional food and recipes, general health, education, personal anecdotes, among others. Once they finished their recordings, they were asked to send them via email or via the same application from which they previously received the background questionnaire. The audio-recordings were thoroughly analyzed to identify any examples of clitic doubling. A total of 133 instances of clitic doubling (including doubling of both direct and indirect objects) were found in the recordings. They were transcribed and included in the analysis.
CHAPTER THREE: RESULTS

This section presents the results of the data collected from the audio-recordings of the participants’ conversations. The study primarily aimed to describe clitic doubling in Nariñense. For this goal, thirty participants were asked to fill in an online background questionnaire and to audio-record themselves in a conversation with other participants. The first research question for this study aimed to identify whether clitic doubling of DOs and IOs occurs in Nariñense. The recordings demonstrated that direct and indirect clitic doubling was produced in this Andean Spanish variety by the speakers participating in the conversations. For this study, dative and accusative clitic doubling in Nariñense are described in two separate sections (3.1 and 3.2), each one including a description of agreement matching, the obligatoriness of the preposition a, and animacy, definiteness, and specificity features.

3.1 Dative (IO) clitic doubling

As seen in section 1.2.2, dative clitics agree only in number with the doubled NP in all three varieties of Spanish presented earlier. Dative clitics also require the presence of the preposition a to double the pronominal, proper name and lexical NP in some of these varieties. In all three varieties (standard Peninsular, Rioplatense, and Andean), dative clitic doubling is not subject to specificity restrictions, unlike accusative clitic doubling. IO clitic doubling in Nariñense is described below based on these features.

3.1.1. Agreement marking in IO clitic doubling

Agreement marking in IO clitic doubling in Nariñense widely parallels the conditions on agreement marking in standard Peninsular and Rioplatense Spanish because the majority of indirect object clitics agree in number features with the doubled NP. However, Nariñense also
shows some instances of lack of number agreement as found in other Andean Spanish varieties. The data collected from spontaneous speech include examples of IO clitic doubling with pronominal, proper name, and lexical NPs, as shown in (39)-(42) below. Regarding overt pronominal NPs, sentences in (39) show that the dative clitics le and les are referring to the pronominal NPs él, ellos, and ella.

(39) a. la cuñada le había contado a él que...
   the sister-in-law CL.DAT had.she told A him that
   “the sister-in-law told (him) him that…”

b. eso es lo que yo les decía a ellos
   that is CL that I CL.DAT told.I A them
   “that is what I told (them) them”

c. ¿Cómo le va el matrimonio a ella?
   how CL.DAT go.it the marriage A her
   “how is her marriage going?”

These examples illustrate agreement matching in number features between the dative clitics, either le or les, and the pronominal NPs. This is also the case when proper name NPs are doubled.

(40) a. pa’ comprarle una a Harold también
   to buy.CL.DAT one A H. too
   “to buy (him) one for Harold too”

b. anda ligero dijo avisarle a la Emilia que amarre ese puerco
   go quickly said.she tell.CL.DAT A the E. that tie up that pig
   “go quickly she said, tell Emilia to tie up that pig”

c. yo le dije a Marcela / doña Graciela
   I CL.DAT told.I A M. / Mrs. G.
   “I told (her) Marcela / Mrs. Graciela”
As in standard Peninsular and Rioplatense Spanish, dative clitic doubling in Nariñense has extended to lexical NPs. In this variety the doubling can occur with either definite or indefinite, animate or inanimate, and specific or non-specific NPs, as seen below.

(41) a. y no sé si decirle a la chica and NEG know.I whether tell.CL.DAT A the girl
“and I don't know whether to tell (her) the girl”

b. al papá y a la mamá ya les ha salido la vacuna A.the father and A the mother already CL.DAT has.it issued the vaccine
“the father and the mother have already been vaccinated”

c. el dolor que le deja a una madre the pain that CL.DAT leave.he A an mother
“the pain that he leaves to (her) a mother”

d. a un señor borracho le había salido la viuda A a man drunk CL.DAT had.he appeared the widow
“the widow had appeared to (him) a drunk man”

e. estaba haciéndole mantenimiento al aire acondicionado was.he doing.CL.DAT maintenance A.the air conditioning
“he/she was servicing (it) the air conditioning”

f. y ya se le da vueltas a la candela and already CL CL.DAT turn over A the candle
“and the candle is already being turned over”

g. que odio que me hizo cogerle a la materia what hatred that CL made.it get.CL.DAT A the subject
“what a hatred it made me have for the subject”

(41a) and (41b) illustrate examples of animate and definite NPs which are doubled with the corresponding dative clitic. In (41c) and (41d) the doubled NPs are examples of animate and indefinite NPs. (41c) is non-specific because it refers to a general mother rather than some specific mother, whereas (41d) is specific because it refers to a particular man. Finally, (41e-g) exhibit examples of doubling of definitive and inanimate NPs. Note that in all the sentences in
(41) there is agreement in number features between the dative clitic and the full NP. Interestingly, there are also cases of lack of agreement in Nariñense, similar to other Andean Spanish varieties (e.g. Limeño in Mayer’s (2003)). These sentences were produced by 4 out of 30 speakers, from both settings, rural and urban. Three of them are from a similar age range, 28 to 30 – only one speaker is 65 years old. All of them have completed tertiary education. It seems then that although this is a less acceptable structure of clitic doubling, it is found even in speakers with a higher level of education.

(42) a. suele aparecérsele a los hombres ebrios
    tend.to.she appear.CL.CL.DAT A the men DRUNKEN.PL
    “she usually appears to (them) drunken men”

   b. le hacen el daño a las personas
    CL.DAT hurt.they A the people
    “They hurt (them) people”

   c. pero háblele a sus amigos y familiares
    but tell.CL.DAT A your friends and family
    “but tell (them) your friends and family”

Sentences in (42) use the singular dative clitic le to refer to plural full NPs. In other varieties, such as standard Peninsular and Rioplatense Spanish, the plural clitic form les would be used to doubled plural IO NPs. In sum, dative clitic doubling in Nariñense shows agreement marking in number features with the doubled NP in the majority of the cases found in the data, with 57 out of 62 sentences (reaching 91.93%). However, out of the 62 sentences, only 5 dative clitic doubling cases show agreement mismatch in number features between the clitic and the full NP (reaching 8.06%).

3.1.2. Preposition a in IO clitic doubling

The dependence on the presence of a prepositional marker to allow clitic doubling has been at the center of much discussion in the literature (see section 1.2.2 above). As seen in 3.1.1, Nariñense
also uses the preposition *a* to double pronominal, proper name and lexical NPs. Although most of the doubling occurred with the preposition *a* (n=52/62 sentences) in my data, several examples without it were also attested (n=11/62 sentences, 17.74%). These utterances were produced by five speakers, two of them also produced examples without agreement between the clitic and the doubled NP (examples in 3.1.1). These two speakers completed tertiary education, while the other 3 have only attended primary or secondary education. It seems that this may not be a crucial factor involved in the production of clitic doubling sentences lacking this preposition because it is present in all levels of education. Notice that the lack of the preposition *a* in the doubling can occur not only with full lexical NPs (as in 43a-d), but also with pronominal (43e) and proper name NPs (43f).

(43)  

a. el *sazón* pues se *le* echa cebolla  
the seasoning so CL CL.DAT add.it onion  
“so onion is added to the seasoning”

b. y *ese caballo* yo *le* estaba dando aguíta que tome  
and that horse I CL.DAT was giving water.DIM that drink  
“and I was giving (it) the horse water to drink”

c. mi *papa* *le* dieron la dirección  
my father CL.DAT gave.they the address  
“they gave the address to (him) my father”

d. cuando *alguien* de la casa *le* dolía el estómago  
when someone of the house CL.DAT hurt the stomach  
“when someone in the house had a stomach ache”

e. porque *ella* no *le* llama la atención  
because she NEG CL.DAT draw.it the attention  
“because it does not draw her attention (to her)”

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3 Note that most of these examples involve fronting of the doubled object, which resembles instances of Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD). I leave for future research uncovering the conditions that govern this fronting, as well as determining whether such cases here and elsewhere in the thesis should be teased apart from clitic-doubled structures without this fronting.
f. y Juan Felipe no le gusta el inglés
and J. F. NEG CL.DAT like.he the English
“and Juan Felipe does not like English”

In (43) the pronominal, proper name and lexical NPs are doubled by the clitic *le*, however, none of them are introduced by the preposition *a*. Note that this preposition can be omitted with both, animate and inanimate NPs. This fact differs considerably from standard Peninsular and Rioplatense Spanish, which obligatorily require the preposition to double the NPs. In general, the tendency in Nariñense was to use the preposition *a* for clitic doubling. This was found in 51 out of 62 utterances (82.25%). However, a few examples lacking this preposition to introduce a doubled IO NP were also attested.

### 3.2 Accusative (DO) clitic doubling

As with indirect objects, doubling of DOs is also possible in Nariñense. In this section, cases of accusative clitic doubling are described regarding agreement marking, use of the preposition *a*, and animacy and specificity features.

#### 3.2.1 Agreement marking in DO clitic doubling

In Spanish, DO clitic doubling involves agreement in number and gender features between the clitic and the doubled NP, and it is considered to be subject to specificity restrictions. This fact makes DO clitic doubling more restricted than IO clitic doubling (Suñer, 1988). In Nariñense, agreement in gender and number occurs with animate DO NPs.

(44) a. yo lo voy a llamar al doctor fulano de tal
    I CL.ACC going to call A.the doctor so-and-so
    “I am going to call (him) the doctor so-and-so”

    b. a mi mamá no la mordía
    A my mother NEG CL.ACC bit.he
    “it did not bite my mother”
c. y poderlos cargar a los bebés
   and be able to CL.ACC hold A the babies
   “and be able to hold (them) the babies”

d. a las niñas más bonitas mejor las persigue
   A the girls more beautiful better CL.ACC pursue. he
   “he better pursues (them) the most beautiful girls”

Agreement matching also occurs with inanimate direct object NPs in Nariñense. This is illustrated in (45).

   (45)  a. las escuelas en ese tiempo las donaba
         the schools in that time CL.ACC donated. they
         “they donated (them) the schools in that time”

   b. yo el negro no lo he visto
      I the black NEG CL.ACC have.I seen
      “I have not seen (it) the black one”

   c. ella los pelaba los plátanos y decía…
      she CL.ACC pealed the plantains and said
      “she pealed (them) the plantains and said…”

   d. Pues yo la chaza la juego fue cuando yo tuve 22 años
      so I the chaza CLA.CC play was when I had 22 years
      “so I have been playing chaza4 since I was 22 years old”

Sentences in (44) and (45) involve agreement between the accusative clitics la, lo, las, los and the corresponding NP in number and gender feature marking respectively. As with dative clitic doubling, there were also found instances of agreement mismatch between the accusative clitic and the lexical NP. This occurs in 5 out of 71 sentences (7.04%). These were produced by four speakers, three of whom have only attended primary education. Likewise, this lack of agreement

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4 *La Chaza* is a traditional game in Nariño. It is similar to tennis but instead of using a racket, the players use their hands to hit the ball.
occurs with animate (46a-b) and inanimate NPs (46c-d). The clitic form lo does not agree in
gender, or in some cases number features (46b), with the doubled NP.

(46)  

a. estoy saludándolo de aquí de Colombia a Jessica  
am.I greeting.CL.ACC from here from C. A J.  
“I am greeting (him) Jessica from here, from Colombia”

b. entonces lo veía a los amigos  
then CL.ACC saw.I A the friends  
“then I saw (him) the friends”

c. a un primo nuestro se lo vendió la finca con casa  
A a cousin our CL CL.ACC sold.he the farm with house  
“a cousin of ours was sold (it) the farm with house”

d. él lo metía toda la plata  
he CL.ACC invested all the money  
“he invested (it) all the money”

In this agreement mismatch, only the clitic lo is used to double feminine and plural NPs. These
eamples may suggest that at least some speakers of Nariñense share the use of the invariable
clitic lo with speakers of other Andean Spanish varieties mentioned earlier. Another feature that
Nariñense seems to share with Andean Spanish is the doubling of IO NPs and DO NPs without
requiring the preposition a, as discussed below.

3.2.2.  Preposition a in DO clitic doubling

The use of the preposition a to double a DO NP has been found to be mandatory in varieties such
as standard Peninsular Spanish, and optional in other varieties such as Rioplatense Spanish. In
Nariñense, this preposition occurs before doubled pronominal (47a-b) and proper name (47c-d)
DO NPs.

(47)  

a. a él sí se lo cargó la viuda  
A him do CL CL.ACC took the widow  
“the widow did take (him) him”
b. estamos llamados a invitarla a ella
are.we called.PL to invite.CL.ACC A her
“we are called to invite (her) her”

c. entonces se lo llevó a Diego
then CL.CL.ACC took.he A D.
“then he took (him) Diego”

d. van a joderla a la Empera
go.they to annoy.CL.ACC A the E.
“they are going to annoy (her) Empera”

Paralleling dative clitic doubling in Nariñense, the preposition a does not seem to be mandatory with doubling of lexical DO NPs, as seen in (48) below.

(48) a. por llevarla muy bien arreglada la virgen
to take.CL.ACC very well groomed the virgin
“to take the virgin very well groomed”

b. y la llevamos a la virgen
and CL.ACC take.we A the virgin
“we take (her) the virgin”

c. que mi mamá se la llevaron los duendes
that my mother CL.CL.ACC took.they the elves
“the elves took (her) my mother away”

d. lo llevó mi mamá al niño
CL.ACC took my mother A.the child
“my mother took (him) the child”

Sentences (48a-d) take the same verb llevar ‘to take’ to double the full NPs but in only two of them (48b and d) the preposition a appears. These examples suggest that the use of this preposition may not be mandatory with doubling of animate direct object NPs in Nariñense. Other examples without the preposition a and with other verbs are also found (see 49). The examples in (48) and (49) were produced by a third of the 30 participants (33.33%), four of
which only attended primary education, three attended secondary and other three tertiary education.

(49)  a. el cuy se lo mata el día anterior
      the guinea pig CL CL.ACC killed the day previous
      “the guinea pig is killed the previous day”

      b. o ¿me lo están ocultando el marido?
         or CL CL.ACC are.you hiding the husband
         “or are you hiding the husband from me”

      c. el de gafas lo matan primero
         the of glasses CL.ACC kill.they first
         “the one with glasses is killed first”

      d. no pues esa señora la llevaron por allá a otra casa
         NEG so that woman CL.ACC took.they over there to another house
         “so they took that woman to another house over there”

In the sentences in (49), the doubling of the lexical NPs occurs with animate, definite, and specific NPs, and the preposition a is not used with the verbs matar ‘kill’, ocultar ‘hide’, and llevar ‘take’. This is the same case with indefinite and animate (50b-c) or inanimate (50a and d) NPs, which do not require this preposition.

(50)  a. estaba cocinando y lo probé uno
      was.I cooking and CL.ACC tried one
      “I was cooking and tried (it) one”

      b. hay conejos del monte, ayer mi perro lo cogió uno
         there are rabbits of.the forest yesterday my dog CL.ACC caught one
         “there are wild rabbits, my dog caught (it) one yesterday”

      c. cuando lo ve un guagüita pues
         when CL.ACC see.she a child.DIM so
         “when she sees (him) a little child then”

      d. un radiécito así lo fuimos a empeñar en ese entonces
         a radio.DIM like this CL.ACC went.we to pawn in that then
         “we went to pawn a little radio like this in that time”
Nariñense seems not to obligatorily require the use of the preposition *a* to double lexical NPs since examples with and without this preposition are attested. This occurs mainly when the indirect object NP precedes the clitic. In short, Nariñense parallels other Andean Spanish varieties regarding the optionality of the preposition *a* to double animate and inanimate lexical DO NPs, but considerably differs from standard Peninsular and Rioplatense Spanish, which require this preposition for clitic doubling of animate DO NPs. Likewise, while agreement matching in Nariñense occurs in most of the examples in my data, similar to what we find in standard Peninsular and Rioplatense, several examples with the invariable form *lo* were also attested, as in other Andean Spanish varieties.

### 3.3 Summary

As seen in the examples in section 3.2 above and summarized in Table 4. below, clitic doubling in Nariñense shares more characteristics with Andean Spanish varieties than with standard Peninsular or Rioplatense Spanish. Nariñense expresses agreement between the clitic and the pronominal, proper name and lexical NP as Rioplatense. This occurs with dative and accusative clitic doubling. However, cases using the invariable form *lo* to double the NPs were also attested in Nariñense, paralleling other Andean Spanish varieties.

Another characteristic shared between Andean Spanish and Nariñense is the fact that the preposition *a* seems not to be required to double not only inanimate but also animate NPs. This significantly differs from Rioplatense, which obligatorily requires the presence of the preposition *a* to double animate DO NPs. Interestingly, this lack of preposition can occur with the doubling of pronominal, proper name, and lexical NPs in Nariñense. Finally, clitic doubling also occurs with animate and inanimate IO and DO NPs in this variety, which is similar to what we find in Rioplatense. Nevertheless, Nariñense also doubles definite and indefinite lexical IO and DO NPs,
paralleling other Andean Spanish varieties. This last feature considerably differs from Rioplatense Spanish which allows clitic doubling of indefinite indirect object NPs but prohibits doubling of indefinite DO NPs.

*Table 4. Summary of variation in clitic doubling in the three Spanish varieties and Nariñense*

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<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non-specific</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
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<th></th>
<th>lexical NP</th>
<th>proper name NP</th>
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<td></td>
<td>DO</td>
<td>IO</td>
<td>DO</td>
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<tr>
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<td>opt.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agreement marking</td>
<td></td>
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45
Preposition ± a
- animate: yes, yes, yes, yes
- inanimate: no, yes

Definiteness
- definite: yes, yes
- indefinite: yes, yes

Specificity
- specific: yes, yes
- non-specific: yes, yes

<table>
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<th>Clitic doubling</th>
<th>opt.</th>
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<th>opt.</th>
<th>opt.</th>
<th>obl.</th>
<th>obl.</th>
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<tr>
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<td>inanimate</td>
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<td>opt.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>yes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>indefinite</td>
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<td>yes</td>
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<tr>
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<td>non-specific</td>
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<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

5 I have assumed that this context is ungrammatical because any examples of non-specific DO NPs were attested in the data. For future research, a grammaticality judgement test may help identify if this doubling is not possible in Nariñense or the speakers did not use it.
CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study describes how Nariñense behaves with respect to clitic doubling in comparison to the other varieties of Spanish previously discussed in the literature, including standard Peninsular, Rioplatense, and Andean Spanish. On the basis of recordings of spontaneous speech obtained from thirty Nariñense native speakers, in which 133 utterances of clitic doubling were found, this study concludes that clitic doubling in Nariñense shares some behavior with clitic doubling in standard Peninsular, Rioplatense and Andean Spanish.

According to Lipski (1994), clitic doubling of inanimate DO NPs is one of the most interesting syntactic phenomena to study in Latin America due to the correlation of the invariable form lo with an indigenous presence. According to Zdrojewski and Sánchez (2014), neutralization of direct object NPs in gender and number features are instances of some correspondence between Andean Spanish and Quechua since the latter “has first and second person object agreement markers but lacks third person DO markers on the verb” (p.170). Nariñense slightly parallels other Andean Spanish varieties in this regard.

It should be noted that in the majority of cases, 66 out of 71 sentences, direct clitic doubling express agreement matching in Nariñense. This fact parallels standard Peninsular and Rioplatense Spanish. However, some properties found in Andean Spanish have also been noticed in DO clitic doubling in Nariñense. This variety uses the invariable form lo to double not only masculine and singular NPs, but also plural and feminine NPs. This was found in 5 out of 71 tokens (7.04%), suggesting that the use of invariant form lo has extended to this Andean region. Likewise, this lack of agreement has extended to indirect object clitic doubling. The singular clitic form le is also used to double plural NPs, reaching 8.06% of the total number (n=5/62).
Accusative and dative clitic agreement mismatch was produced by roughly one third of the participants. Interestingly, it occurs in all ages and all social groups, although primarily in speakers who have completed tertiary education (66.66%). Whereas some speakers (e.g. S30, S27, and S1) produced agreement mismatch with indirect object clitic doubling, other speakers (e.g. S24 and S2) produced agreement matching with indirect object clitic doubling, but agreement mismatch with DO clitic doubling. Two thirds of the speakers produced agreeing clitic doubling.

The gender and number feature neutralization between the dative and accusative clitic to double lexical IO and DO NPs respectively found in some examples in Nariñense then seems to exhibit a more complex situation than the one proposed by Suñer (1988). Her analysis seems not to adequately describe some of the data found in Nariñense, since accusative and dative clitics in this variety appear to be inconsistent with the Matching Principle. Note that in my Nariñense data, doubling of animate IO NPs occurs more frequently than doubling of inanimate IO NPs, 90.03% (n=56/62) against 9.68% respectively. Contrary to this, doubling of animate DO NPs occurs less often, roughly 28 out of 71 (39.43%), than doubling of inanimate DO NPs (60.56%). Further investigation including more data from other parts of the region seems to be necessary to obtain a more precise description of the invariable form lo to double DO NPs and le to double IO NPs in Nariñense. More natural speech examination or acceptability judgement tasks, which were not conducted in this study, may be relevant to determine how speakers deal with these variants. Moreover, it seems interesting to observe whether these phenomena are present in other Spanish dialects within Colombia, including dialects with and without language contact. This may shed more light onto understanding whether and to what extend the historical contact with indigenous
languages in this region have influenced the syntactic variation in Nariñense. I leave these questions for future research.

Another feature found in clitic doubling in Nariñense is the lack of the preposition *a* to introduce some doubled NPs. The use of a prepositional marker such as *a* in Spanish (*la* or *šel* in Lebanese Arabic) for clitic doubling has been widely discussed in the literature. Authors such as Kayne (1975), Jaeggli (1982), Aoun (1981), to name a few, argued that a prepositional element is mandatory in clitic doubling in order to assign Case to the doubled NP. In Spanish, this approach has been challenged by authors such as Suñer (1988), who found instances of clitic doubling without this preposition in Porteño Spanish. Suñer proposes then that the presence of a prepositional marker is not obligatory for clitic doubling. This has also been attested in more recent studies (DeMello, 2004; Zdrojewski and Sánchez, 2014) where this preposition may be optional in some Spanish varieties such as Andean Spanish.

The data in this study support this view because instances of clitic doubling in which the preposition *a* is absent are attested. Interestingly, whereas in all Spanish varieties the use of preposition *a* to double an animate NP is mandatory with pronominal and proper name NPs, in Nariñense, this seems not to be a requirement. In this variety not only lexical DO and IO NPs, but also pronominal and proper name IO NPs can be doubled without this preposition. 12 out of 30 speakers (40%) produced doubling of pronominal, proper name and lexical NPs without the preposition. Six of them have only completed primary education, three secondary and three tertiary education. It can be noticed that although the production of these utterances can be found in all levels of education, these are produced mainly by speakers in lower levels of education, elementary and secondary school.
In Nariñense, all cases of inanimate DO NPs are doubled without the preposition *a* whereas doubling of animate DO NPs exhibits variation. In total, 22 out of 29 examples of animate direct object NPs examined in this study occur with the preposition *a*, the other seven utterances show lack of this preposition. Dative clitic doubling also shows variation. Although most of the dative clitic doubling cases, 51 out of 61 (83.60%), make use of the preposition, 16.04% shows no preposition, both cases including animate and inanimate doubled NPs. This has also been found in other Andean Spanish varieties (Zdrojewski and Sánchez, 2014). Contrary to this, in Rioplatense only inanimate DO NPs can be doubled without the preposition *a*. It can be concluded that Nariñense is not consistent with Kayne’s (1975) generalization because clitic doubling in this variety does not require the use of the preposition *a* to double a pronominal, proper name IO NP and a lexical IO and DO NP. More work should be carried out with respect to this, in order to not only complement the current results of this study, but also to follow the evolution of clitic doubling in Nariñense.

In general, the results of this study show that clitic doubling in Nariñense partially parallels other Spanish varieties such as standard Peninsular, Rioplatense, and other Andean Spanish varieties. Nariñense exhibits agreement matching in most of the cases, but it also shows neutralization of number and/or gender features in favor of the invariable *lo* for DO NP and *le* for IO NP clitic doubling. This suggests that Nariñense is not consistent with the Matching Principle proposed by Suñer (1988). Likewise, Nariñense uses the preposition *a* to double IO and DO NPs. However, several examples without this preposition are also attested in this variety even with pronominal and proper name IO NPs. Future studies including a larger number of participants and clitic doubling sentences will be necessary to identify why Nariñense does not exhibit a single pattern in clitic doubling constructions and what features cause its variation.
### APPENDIX

#### BACKGROUND INFORMATION QUESTIONNAIRE

*(English Version)*

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<tr>
<th>Nationality:</th>
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<th>☐ Other. Please, specify.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender:</td>
<td>☐ Female</td>
<td>☐ Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>☐ Other</td>
<td>☐ I prefer not to say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>☐ University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>☐ High school</td>
<td>☐ Specialization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social stratum:</td>
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<td>☐ 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>☐ Spanish and other language. Please, specify</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Were you born in Department of Nariño?</td>
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<td>☐ Si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you answer Yes. In which part of the Department of Nariño were you born?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you or your family a member of an indigenous community?</td>
<td>☐ No</td>
<td>☐ Yes. Which?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you lived outside the Department of Nariño?</td>
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<td>☐ Yes. Where?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you answer Yes. How long have you lived outside the Department of Nariño?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
REFERENCES


*Proceedings of the VIII Nereus International Workshop “Referential properties of the Romance DP in the context of multilingualism”* 129, 87-102


[Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania]


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