On the Nature of Verbal Non-Local Doubling in Patagonian Spanish

José Silva Garcés 1,*† and Gonzalo Espinosa 2†

1 Faculty of Humanities, Universidad Nacional del Comahue, Neuquen 8300, Patagonia, Argentina
2 Faculty of Languages, Universidad Nacional del Comahue, General Roca/Fyskv Menuko, Neuquen 8332, Patagonia, Argentina; gonzalo.espinosa@fadel.uncoma.edu.ar
* Correspondence: jose.silva@fahu.uncoma.edu.ar
† These authors contributed equally to this work.

Abstract: The main objective in this study is to describe and offer an account of verbal non-local doubling in Patagonian Spanish (PatSp), an understudied non-standard variety of Spanish in Argentina. We focus on data in which there are duplicated verbs surrounding an XP that bears the nuclear accent of the phrase (XPNA). First, our analysis describes the prosodic, semantic, and morphosyntactic behaviour of the data gathered. Second, we present the problems and challenges that doubling phenomena in PatSp pose for approaches that have tried to explain similar data in other Spanish varieties and other languages, such as the copy theory or prosodic cloning. Third, this work explores a biclausal analysis of verbal non-local doubling in PatSp in which each duplicate originates in a different clause, CP1 and CP2. In this approach, duplicated verbs (V1 and V2, according to their linear distribution) are not derivationally related. We also argue that the XPNA moves to the left periphery of CP2. This movement would account for the three typical traits of verbal duplication in PatSp: the mandatory adjacency between the nuclear accent and V2, the non-locality between verbal duplicates, and the semantic value of mirativity.

Keywords: verbal non-local doubling; biclausal approach; mirative focus; Patagonian Spanish

1. Introduction

Non-local doubling can be considered a crosslinguistic phenomenon in which one element seems to occur twice in the same sentence, as shown in the underlined elements in (1)–(6).

(1) **European Portuguese** (Martins 2007, p. 81)

O João comprou o carro, comprou the João bought the car bought

‘John did buy the car.’

(2) **Italian** (Jokilehto 2016, p. 151)

Te scerca Gianni, te scerca! CL.2SG.ACC seek.3SG John CL.2SG.ACC seek.3SG

‘John is looking for you.’

(3) **Rioplatense Spanish** (Saab 2017, p. 2)

Vino Juan, vino came John came

‘John came!’
(4) **Niue** (Kandybowicz 2008, p. 7)

*Musa à gi bise gi*

Musa FUT eat hen eat

‘Musa will in fact eat a hen!’

(5) **Greek** (Göksel et al. 2013, p. 188)

*Ο γιάνις xliπίσε tin maría o γιάνις*

DET John-NOM hit-PAST.3SG DET Mary-ACC DET John-NOM

‘John hit Mary!’

(6) **Turkish** (Göksel et al. 2013, p. 189)

*Ali köy-e gid-ecek Ali*

Ali village-DAT go-FUT Ali

‘Ali will go to the village.’

As can be observed, in non-local doubling, an element (a verbal or nominal phrase) is duplicated with some linguistic material in between. Most scholars recognise that this phenomenon is associated with particular syntactic, prosodic, and semantic-pragmatic behaviours. In addition, several proposals agree on the fact that the duplicated elements are the materialisation of copies of the same syntactic object. From this perspective, non-local doubling involves the extraction or escape of an element, followed by a remnant movement of ΣP (Saab 2017) or TP (Cvejanov and Druetta 2020), creating the structural conditions for preventing the deletion of one of the copies. Both movements are shown in (8):

(7) **Rioplatense Spanish**

*Vino Juan, vino*

came John came

(8) a. Escape of second duplicate from TP/ΣP domain

[XP X° vino [TP/ΣP yıbı] Juan]

b. Remnant movement of TP/ΣP (which contains the first duplicate)

[XP [TP/ΣP vino Juan] X° vino]

Cases of non-local doubling, then, would be considered instances of multiple copy spell-outs (Nunes 2004), which would give empirical support to the copy theory of movement (see Martins 2007; Jokilehto 2016; Saab 2017; inter alia).

In the current study, we analyse verbal non-local doubling in a non-standard Spanish variety spoken in Patagonia, Argentina, that we refer to as Patagonian Spanish (henceforth, PatSp); see Acuña and Menegotto (1996) and Virkel (2004) for a general description of this variety. PatSp has barely been described from a generative perspective (see Menegotto 2006). In particular, verbal non-local doubling has only been addressed by Silva Garcés (2019). Some examples are shown below.

(9) *Se fueron por Bariloche se fueron los chicos*

REFL.3 go.PST.3PL por Bariloche REF.3 go.PST.3PL the guys

‘The guys went by Bariloche!’
(10) Sabíamos amansar TROPILLAS amansábamos
know.PST.IPFL.1PL tame.PL tame.PST.IPFL.1PL

‘We used to tame herds!’

As in the data in (1)–(6), examples in (9) and (10) exhibit that the duplicated verbs (V1 and V2, according to their linear disposition) are not adjacent because the XP that carries the nuclear accent (henceforth, XPNA, indicated in small capitals in the examples) takes place in between. In addition, in PatSp, non-local doubling triggers a special meaning related to surprise, which is indicated with ‘!’ in glosses.

The data in this study show behaviours that cannot be accounted for in the same terms as other similar constructions that have been explained for Rioplatense Spanish and other Romance languages. For example, an XP can occur after the second duplicate, as in (9). The presence of this XP is unexpected given that the remnant movement of TP/ΣP implies the deletion of all material in the post-V2 area, as shown in (8). In addition, duplicated elements can share all or some morphological features, as in (10), an unexpected behaviour if V1 and V2 were copies.

Our analysis of non-local doubling in PatSp differs from the explanations offered in the literature. Instead, we hypothesise that non-local doubling in this Spanish variety involves two different clauses (i.e., CP1 and CP2), similarly to right dislocation in Germanic languages (Ott and de Vries 2016), Romance languages (Fernández-Sánchez 2020), and Cantonese (Cheung 2015), inter alia. Accordingly, each duplicate is part of a different independent clause. Additionally, we argue that a focus fronting movement takes place in CP2, which triggers a special semantic import. The structure proposed, then, for verbal non-local doubling in PatSp is shown in (11).

(11) [CP1 ...V1... ] [CP2 XPNAi V2 ti ]

This work is organised as follows. Section 2 shows the methodology of the corpus collection. Section 3 provides a basic description of verbal non-local doubling in PatSp in prosodic, semantic, and morphosyntactic terms. Section 4 develops a biclausal analysis for our data, supported by morphosyntactic, semantic, and prosodic evidence. Final remarks are presented in Section 5.

2. Methodology

The data presented in the current study have been taken from different field trips to the Southern Region of the Province of Río Negro, Argentina, particularly to the Somuncurá area. This is a volcanic rock plateau of approximately 20,000 square kilometres in Río Negro and Chubut provinces in Patagonia, Argentina (41°–43° S and 66°–68° W). The altitude ranges from 500 to 1600 metres above sea level. The highest region corresponds to the volcanic plateau, where living conditions are hostile and there are very few inhabitants. The land is mainly arid, with scarce rains along the year and high temperatures in summer and low ones in winter. The lowest areas have more water reservoirs, allowing for better life conditions. This plateau represents one of the areas with the lowest population density in the country, with inhabitants living in smallholdings several kilometres apart. It is possible to reach most houses by special vehicles through winding and steep gravel roads, but in some areas, the only means of transport is horses. In the inner parts of the plateau, there is no electricity supply or telephone signal. Most inhabitants have radios powered by batteries, which constitute their main source of information (Masera 1998). The environmental features of this region probably explain the lack of population masses.

The data analysed in this study were taken from 19 interviews conducted with people who were born and raised in the Southern Region. The authors of this study conducted 13 of these interviews during different field trips. The remaining six interviews were conducted with local women as part of the development of a community project aimed at retrieving and revalorising life stories by women. In 2017 and 2018, this project was promoted by social workers from hospitals of the cities of Los Menucos, Maquinchao, and Jacobacci, and
teachers and students from the region also participated. One of its outcomes is the book
*Mujeres del viento. Historias de vida de mujeres de la Línea Sur de Río Negro* (Women of
the wind. Life stories of women from the Línea Sur of Río Negro). During the arranged visits,
speakers were asked to participate in interviews in which they were free to talk about life
in the plateau, their families, childhood, or personal anecdotes. In relation to their mother
tongue, all 19 interviewees reported to speak Spanish as their only first language. However,
in some cases, they claimed to have parents or grandparents who spoke Mapuzungun as a
first language. This means that our participants might have been exposed to some other
languages apart from Spanish during their childhood. Another aboriginal language that
had been spoken in the plateau was Günün a lajüch, which belonged to the Günün a küne
people (*Malvestitti* 2009). This language was not familiar to our informants, according to
their reports. Participants’ ages range from 35 to 80. Their occupations consist mainly of
rural activities related to agriculture and raising animals such as goats, cows, and horses.
Some of them have attended rural primary schools for some years, and most of them have
not had any formal education at all. Given that most inhabitants, especially the older ones,
do not know how to write, PatSp is mainly a spoken language. Because of the very low
population density, we believe that the number of participants in this study is significant.
In addition, due to the fact that PatSp speakers have not been influenced by standard Spanish,
our data represent a variety that is far from being conditioned by normative restrictions.

All interviews were conducted in participants’ places with a portable battery-powered
recorder, obtaining WAV files of 24 bit and 96 kHz. Out of the 20 h corpus, 68 instances
of non-local doubling were registered in 75 intonational phrases. These instances were
analysed perceptually and acoustically by means of Praat (*Boersma* and *Weenink* 2023).
The phonological analysis is based on autosegmental-metrical (AM) theory (*Ladd* 2008;
*Pierrehumbert* 1980), following the conventions of Tones and Break Indices in order to
transcribe and analyse intonation. In short, this notation employs two levels of pitch
accents and boundary tones: H (high) and L (low). Boundary tones can be of two types:
they can refer to an intonational phrase (IP) with a level-4 break index (H% and L%) or
to an intermediate phrase (ip) with a level-3 break index (H- and L-). For the Spanish
intonation, a third pitch level has been proposed in the literature, M (mid) (*Beckman* et al.
2002; *Estebas Vilaplana* and *Prieto* 2008). This level represents a fundamental frequency
that is at a midpoint in a speaker’s pitch height, which seems to be phonologically contrastive
in Spanish. In our study, the contributions for Rioplatense Spanish (spoken around the
River Plate and in central Argentina; henceforth RSp) by *Gabriel* et al. (2010, 2013) and
*Labastía* (2018) have been considered as a starting point in the analysis of PatSp.

The ungrammatical sequences and other data constructed ad hoc for the current
research have been corroborated by native speakers of the studied Spanish variety.

3. Data Description

The main objective of this section is to provide a detailed description of the doubling
phenomenon in PatSp. First, we offer a prosodic characterisation of the data in our corpus.
Second, we offer an account of the morphosyntactic behaviours, and, third, we show our
data from a semantic point of view. In order to systematise the information, an outline of
this three-angled description is provided.

3.1. Prosody

In relation to intonation and phrasing in PatSp, and from an impressionistic point
of view, this variety of Spanish has been described in the literature as having a particular
intonational pattern that can be easily imitated (*Malvestitti* 1993, p. 138). This intonation
has been equated to a particular “melody” that differs from other regions in the country
(*Muñoz* and *Muscí* 2007, p. 32; *Stell* 1987, p. 81; *Virkel* 2004, p. 185). According to
the perceptual analysis by *Acuña* and *Menegotto* (1996, p. 251), PatSp can be associated with
Chilean speakers who, in turn, have been in contact with Mapuzungun, whose specific
pronunciation features can be found in some vowels and consonants and in some intonation
patterns. Given that the prosodic studies on PatSp are merely perceptual, the analysis in the current study means a significant contribution to this variety of Spanish in this respect.

As mentioned before, we have analysed the intonation and phrasing of verbal non-local doubling in PatSp following the AM theory. In general terms, the great majority of sequences with non-local doubling have a falling intonation, L%, which is related to the fact that these constructions occur in statements with concluding information; only a small percentage of sentences (5 percent) have been produced with a rising intonation, indicating that the speakers have not finished conveying their message (cfr. Labastía 2018 for more details on the interface between prosody and information in Spanish).

To begin with a more exhaustive prosodic analysis, the registered prosodic patterns of RSp found in Gabriel et al. (2010) and Labastía (2018) were considered as a first attempt to describe PatSp. However, some intonational contours encountered in the perceptual and acoustic analysis of our data did not match the inventoried intonation in the consulted bibliography. Specifically, the pitch accent L+H* is not found in nuclear position in RSp when there is a falling intonation, but we propose such a contour for PatSp because L+H* seems to be representative of the melody in the plateau. Our decision is partly based also on the fact that the contour H+L* L-, which is typical of RSp, is found only once in our data. This could suggest that L+H* L- and H+L* L- are phonologically contrastive in PatSp, but further research is necessary. Figure 1 shows the total number of instances of non-local doubling with their corresponding prosodic analysis.

As Figure 1 shows, the most typical intonational contour in PatSp is /(L+H* L-)(L%)/. In this notation, there is one IP signalled by slashes and two ip represented by round brackets. In other words, the two ip make up one IP. The first ip, (L+H* L-), is composed of the pitch accent L+H* followed by the boundary tone L-. The second ip does not have pitch accents due to deaccentuation (i.e., there is a lack of pitch accents), and it also ends with a falling boundary tone, L%. The division between the two ip is not signalled by an actual short cease of phonation, as could be expected in a level-3 break, but by an abrupt decrease in the fundamental frequency that is represented in our proposal by L- in the first boundary tone. This is illustrated in the spectrographic evidence in Figure 2.
The example in Figure 2 clearly shows that the first ip, *La Corona saben de ir mucha gente* ‘Many people usually go to the Corona!’, contains the first duplicate and the nuclear accent (NA) on *gente*, indicated with small capital letters. This ip is produced with the following nuclear tonal configuration: L+H* L-. The second duplicate, *saben de ir* ‘(they) usually go’, lacks a prominently accented syllable and ends in a falling intonation, L%. These contours can be seen as fully manifested because there are post-tonic syllables. When there is no relevant linguistic material after the tonic syllable, we still implement the same prosodic annotation because the perceptual impression remains the same. The example in Figure 3 shows a case in which the contour */(L+H* L-)(L%)*/ cannot be fully realised due to the fact that there is less material after the tonic syllable. 

**Figure 2.** Spectrogram of the sentence *La Corona saben de ir mucha gente* *saben de ir* ‘Many people usually go to the Corona!’.

In relation to phrasing, our data indicate that the second duplicate categorically occurs in an ip that is adjacent to the NA. In other words, these two elements are never disrupted with a level-4 break, i.e., they do not form two independent IP. This enables us to state that, in the data of PatSp, the NA and the second duplicate should appear in the same IP. This is why a case such as (12) is ungrammatical, because these elements are separated with a level-4 break (signalled with slashes).

*(12) */ tiene CHIVAS tiene/ have.3SG goats have.3SG ‘She/he has goats!’*
The prosodic relationship between the first duplicate and the NA is somehow different. These two elements can appear in a different IP, as the level-4 breaks indicate in (13).

(13) a. (/ ahora está en ) (/ RAMOS ) ( está ) / now be.3SG in Ramos be.3SG

‘Now (s)he is in Ramos!’

b. (/ acá también que tengo es una ) (/ GALLINA ) ( también ) / here also that have.1SG is a chicken also

‘Also, I have a chicken also here!’

c. (/ tiene un ) (/ terreno LIMPIO ) ( tiene ) / have.3SG a clean land plot have.3SG

‘She/he has a clean land plot!’

d. (/ eso dan linda ) (/ BRASA ) ( dan viste ) / that produce.3PL good embers produce.3PL you see

‘They produce good embers, you know!’

e. (/ yo era ) (/ muy apegado a PAPÁ ) ( era ) / I was very attached to father was

‘I was very attached to my father!’

The examples in (13) demonstrate, then, that speakers can insert pauses before the NA, but they can never do so after it due to the adjacency requirement mentioned above. We can conclude that the second duplicate does not target an independent IP. On the contrary, this element is embedded within a major IP that includes the NA.

In synthesis, from a prosodic point of view, non-local doubling in PatSp shows the following behaviour:

• rising pitch accent L+H*;
• one IP with two ip;
• the first ip has the contour L+H*L-, while the second ip does not have pitch accents due to deaccentuation and ends with a falling boundary tone, L%;
• unlike the first duplicate, the second duplicate and the NA are never disrupted with a level-4 break (i.e., two independent IP are not possible).

So far, the structure of non-local doubling in PatSp is shown in (14).

(14) / ( V1  NA  ) ( V2  ) /
     / ( L+H* L- ) ( L% ) /

In the following section, we offer a description of this structure in morphosyntactic terms.

3.2. Sintactic Behaviours

Non-local verbal duplicates in PatSp show particular syntactic behaviours, which are described below.

3.2.1. Non-Adjacency between V1 and V2

In verbal doubling from PatSp, duplicates are not adjacent. This means that constructions are anomalous if V1 and V2 are contiguous, as (15b) shows.
(15) a. * Nos fuimos en VERANO nos fuimos a Chile
   us went.1PL in summer us went.1PL to Chile
   ‘We went to Chile in summer!’
   
b. * Nos fuimos nos fuimos a Chile en VERANO
   us went.1PL us went.1PL to Chile in summer
   In addition to this, there is another condition for the above-mentioned lack of adjacency: the XP$^\mathrm{NA}$ is always between V1 and V2. This is illustrated when the constituents in (15a) are altered. For instance, even when duplicates are not adjacent, the sequences in (16) remain anomalous because the constituent between V1 and V2 does not bear the NA.

(16) a. * Nos fuimos a Chile nos fuimos en VERANO
   us went.1PL to Chile us went.1PL in summer
   
b. * En VERANO nos fuimos a Chile nos fuimos
   in summer us went.1PL to Chile us went.1PL

(17) a. La Corona sabe de ir mucha GENTE sabe de ir
   the Corona know:PRS.3SG of go:INF many people know:PRS.3SG of go:INF
   ‘Many people usually go to the Corona!’
   
b. * Sabe de ir (a) la Corona sabe de ir mucha
   know:PRS.3SG of go:INF (to) the Corona know:PRS.3SG of go:INF many
   GENTE people

(18) a. Elvio levantó varias CASAS levantó
   Elvio built.3SG many houses built.3SG
   ‘Elvio built many houses!’
   
b. * Varias CASAS levantó levantó Elvio
   many houses built.3SG built.3SG Elvio
   As can be observed, our data show that the syntactic function of the XP between V1 and V2 is not relevant: it can be an adjunct (16a), a subject (17a), or a direct object (18a). What matters is that the XP carries the NA.

3.2.2. XP(s) on the Right of V2

In non-local verbal doublings of RSp, V2 is necessarily placed on the right margin of the sequence. In Saab’s (2013, p. 240) words, “another relevant property of capicías$^6$ is that V2 should always occur in final position. This happens with all types of constituents”. The following data illustrate this behaviour.

(19) RSp (Saab 2013, his examples (35, 37, and 38))
   a. * Limpié la casa, limpié hoy
      cleaned.1SG the house cleaned.1SG today
      Int. ‘Today, I cleaned the house!’
   
   b. * Le gusta mucho, le gusta su casa
      to.him/her like.3SG a lot to.him/her like.3.SG his/her house
      Int. ‘(S)he loves his/her house!’
c. * La besó hoy, la besó a María
   her kissed.3SG today her kissed.3SG to María
   Int. ‘Today (s)he kissed Maria!’

The behaviour of Saab’s (2013) data clearly differs from the one found in non-local verbal doubling in PatSp. Concretely, V2 is not always the rightmost element of the sequence, as our previously shown examples demonstrate (16a). Additionally, it is worth highlighting that whether the XP on the right is an argument (20) or not (21) is not relevant.

(20) a. Tenía queso RALLADO tenía la tarta
   had.3SG cheese grated had.3SG the pie
   ‘The pie had grated cheese!’

b. Se creó ACÁ se creó la Mabel
   REF.3 grew up here REF.3 grew up the Mabel
   ‘Mabel grew up here!’

(21) a. Sabe de ir mucha GENTE sabe de ir a la
   know.PRS.3SG of go.INF many people know.PRS.3SG of go.INF to the
   Corona
   ‘Many people usually go to the Corona!’

b. Llegaban hasta los GUANACOS llegaban ahí
   arrived.3SG even the guanacos arrived.3SG there
   ‘Even the guanacos arrived there!’

As it can be observed, the examples from RSp (19) analysed in Saab (2013) would be well-formed sequences in PatSp.

3.2.3. Differences between V1 and V2

The examples in (22) indicate another characteristic of verbal non-local doubling in PatSp: duplicated elements can share all or some morphological features.

(22) a. Tenían ARROYO tienen ahí
   have.IMFV.PST.3PL brook have.PRS.3PL there
   ‘They had a brook (and still have) there!’

b. Sabíamos amansar TROPILLAS amansábamos en el campo
   know.PST.IPFV.1PL tame.INF herds tame.PST.IPFV.1PL in the countryside
   ‘We used to tame herds in the countryside!’

In (22a), we can observe that in PatSp, the duplicated elements can display the same root and non-identical morphological features because the duplicated verbs do not have the same tense inflection. In (22b), the same set of syntactic-semantic features (1PL, imperfective and habituality) can be identified, but it is differently materialised: while V1 is a periphrastic form, V2 is a synthetic one.

In addition, V1 and V2 can show lexical differences, as the following data prove.
(23) a. Entraban hasta las CULEBRAS llegaban ahí
   get inside.IPFV.PST.3PL even the snakes arrive.IPFV.PST.3PL there
   ‘Even the snakes used to get inside (or arrived) there!’

   b. Tiene cuarenta y OCHO va a cumplir
   have.PRS.3SG fourty and eight go.PRS.3SG to turn
   ‘(S)he is 48 years old (actually, go to turn)!’

(24) a. V1 = entraban, V2 = llegaban
   b. V1 = tiene, V2 = va a cumplir

   The fact that there are morphological and even lexical differences between V1 and V2
   is controversial. Can we still refer to data such as (22) and (23) as instances of doublings? To
   what extent can V1 and V2 be different? To answer these questions, the contexts in which
   these data were obtained should be considered. In this respect, (22a) was produced in a
   conversation about crops in the area of Somuncurá, Patagonia. Given that this landscape is
   dry and rains and watercourses are scarce (see Masera 1998 and Section 2), the interviewer
   asked how fields were irrigated in the past.

(25) A: ¿Y cómo regaban?
   ‘And how did they irrigate (the land)?’

   B: Tenían ARROYO tienen ahí
   have.IMFV.PST.3PL brook have.PRS.3PL

   In (25B), V1 refers to an action in the past, while V2 corresponds to an action in the
   present. In this particular context, then, the tense in V2 implies a clarification or even a
   correction with respect to the temporal information in V1. In other words, in the past, there
   was a stream, but actually it still exists today.

   In addition to temporal information, we have found instances of verbal doublings in
   which V1 and V2 differ in terms of person, as in (26), in which V1 refers to 1SG and V2 to
   1PL.

(26) Traje tres PERCAS trajimos esa vuelta
   brought.1SG three perches brought.1PL that time

   Again, we claim that the features of 1PL in V2 rectify the information in V1. A possible
   paraphrase of (26) would be to use the discourse marker mejor dicho ‘rather’, as in (27).

(27) Traje tres percas esa vuelta. Mejor dicho, trajimos (porque éramos dos personas)
   ‘I brought three perches that time. Or rather, we brought (because we were two
   guys)’

   In cases of non-local doublings with different roots, V2 also has an explanatory discur-
   sive value. The example in (23a) can be paraphrased as shown in (28).

(28) Entraban hasta las culebras, es decir, llegaban ahí
   ‘Even the snakes used to get inside, I mean, arrived there!’

   In cases such as (23a), an argumental restriction applies: duplicated verbs select the
   same number of arguments and assign the same thematic roles. For instance, in (29), the
   verbs entrar and llegar are monadic and assign the role of theme to their only one argument.
(29) a. \( \text{entrar} \rightarrow \langle \text{theme} \rangle \)
get inside

b. \( \text{llegar} \rightarrow \langle \text{theme} \rangle \)
arrive

If the duplicated verbs did not assign the same argumental information, such as \text{entrar} ‘get inside’ and \text{cazar} ‘catch’ in (30), the resulting duplicated construction would not be possible.

(30) * \text{Entraban hasta las CULEBRAS cazábamos} 
get inside.IPV.PST.3PL even the snakes catch.IPV.PST.3PL

(31) a. \( \text{entrar} \rightarrow \langle \text{theme} \rangle \)
get inside

b. \( \text{cazar} \rightarrow \langle \text{agent, theme} \rangle \)
catch

3.2.4. Agreement Relations in V2

As discussed above, V1 and V2 can be identical or they can present some lexical or morphosyntactic differences. This can be observed in the following examples.

(32) a. \( \text{Traje tres PERCAS traje esa vuelta} \)
brought.1SG three perches brought.1SG that time

b. \( \text{Traje tres PERCAS trajimos esa vuelta} \)
brought.1SG three perches brought.1PL that time

In (32b), V1 and V2 have different person and number features.

(33) a. V1 = \( \text{traje} \rightarrow 1SG \)
brought.1SG

b. V2 = \( \text{trajimos} \rightarrow 1PL \)
brought.1PL

Now, if the information for 1PL appears on the right, coded by the pronoun \text{nosotros} ‘we’ (see discussion in Section 3.2.2), V1 and V2 cannot be identical anymore (34).

(34) a. \( \text{Traje tres PERCAS trajimos nosotros esa vuelta} \)
brought.1SG three perches brought.1PL we that time

b. * \( \text{Traje tres PERCAS traje nosotros esa vuelta} \)
brought.1SG three perches brought.1SG we that time

This behaviour seems to indicate that V1 and V2 establish morphosyntactic relations in independent domains.

3.2.5. Adjacency between the NA and V2

In Section 3.1, we indicated that there is a difference between V1 and V2 with respect to how they relate to the NA. Precisely, while there can be a 4-level break between V1 and the NA, the adjacency between the NA and V2 cannot be interrupted by such a break.
This asymmetry between verbal duplicates has a syntactic counterpart. In this respect, as it is shown in (36), it is possible to add one constituent between V1 and the NA. However, (37) shows that the same constituent cannot interrupt the adjacency between the NA and V2.

(36) a. Se fueron \[AdvP ayer \] por Bariloche se fueron
   refl.3 went.3pl yesterday by Bariloche refl.3 went.3pl

   b. Entraban \[SP a la casa \] hasta las CULEBRAS
   get into.IPFV.PST.3PL to the house even the snakes

   llegaban
   arrive.IPFV.PST.3PL

(37) a. * Se fueron por Bariloche \[AdvP ayer \] se fueron
   refl.3 went.3pl by Bariloche yesterday refl.3 went.3pl

   b. * Entraban hasta las CULEBRAS \[SP a la casa \]
   get into.IPFV.PST.3PL even the snakes to the house

   llegaban
   arrive.IPFV.PST.3PL

There is another similar behaviour. This is related to the combination of a non-local verbal doubling with the counterexpectation particle si, which is typical in PatSp (Pellejero and Silva Garcés 2015). From a semantic point of view, counterexpectation particle si eliminates a potential conversational implicature coming from the interlocutor. From a syntactic angle, a key feature of this discursive particle is its adjacent position to the XP\(^{\text{NA}}\), as shown in the following data.

(38) ¿Salimos a caminar?
   ‘Do you want to go for a walk?’

   B1. \(\textbf{Está frío} \ si \ afuera\)
   is cold si outside

   ‘But it is cold outside!’

   B2. * \(\textbf{Está frío} \ afuera \ si\)
   is cold outside si

   B3. * \(\textbf{Está si frío} \ afuera\)
   is si cold outside

(39) Al final Juan no quedó seleccionado para ese trabajo...
   ‘In the end, John did not get the job...’

   a. ... \(\textbf{lo llamaron de otro si}\)
   him called.3pl from other si

   ‘But they called him for another job’

   b. * ... \(\textbf{lo llamaron si de otro}\)
   him called.3pl si from other
If the adjacency between the NA and V2 cannot be interrupted, it follows that verbal duplicates in PatSp and the counterexpectation si are not compatible together. This is evidenced by the impossibility of constructions such as (40).

(40) a. * Se **fueron** por **BARIROCHE** si **fueron**
     REF.L.3 went.3PL by **BARIROCHE** si REF.L.3 went.3PL

b. * **SABIAMOS** amansar **TROPILLAS** si amansábamos
     know.PST.IPV.1PL tame.**INF** herds si tame.PST.IPV.1PL

3.2.6. Incompatibility with Subordination

Non-local verbal doubling in PatSp is not compatible with subordination. This behaviour is found with factive (41), communication (42), and perceptual (43) predicates.

(41) a. **ÉRAMOS** ARISCAS **ÉRAMOS**
     be.IMFV.PST.1PL unsociable.F.PL be.IMFV.PST.1PL
     ‘We were unsociable!’

b. * A **MI HERMANA LE** molesta [haber sido] ARISCAS **HABER SIDO**
     to my sister to.her bother [to have been unsociable to have been]

(42) a. **TENÍA** un campo **LINDO** tenía
     have.IMFV.PST.3SG a land beautiful have.IMFV.PST.3SG
     ‘(S)he had a beautiful land!’

b. * **CONTÓ QUE TENÍA** un campo **LINDO** tenía
     say.PST.3SG that have.IMFV.PST.3SG a land beautiful have.IMFV.PST.3SG

(43) a. **VENÍAN** de **ROCA** venían
     come.IMFV.PST.3PL from **ROCA** come.IMFV.PST.3PL
     ‘They came from Roca’

b. * **ESCUCHÉ QUE VENÍAN** de **ROCA** venían
     hear.PST.1SG that come.IMFV.PST.3PL from **ROCA** come.IMFV.PST.3PL

However, V2 can appear in subordinate constructions. In these cases, the subordinating verbs (creo ‘I believe’ in (44a) and parece ‘it seems’ in (44b)) mitigate the speaker’s commitment to his/her proposition. As (44a) shows, the subordinating verb can inflect for 1SG.

(44) a. **TENÍA** un campo **LINDO** creo que tenía
     have.IMFV.PST.3SG a land beautiful believe.1SG that have.IMFV.PST.3SG
     ‘I believe that (s)he had a beautiful land!’

b. **VENÍAN** de **ROCA** parece que venían
     come.IMFV.PST.3PL from **ROCA** seem.3SG that come.IMFV.PST.3PL
     ‘It seems that they came from Roca’
3.2.7. Incompatibility with Questions and Wish Clauses

Non-local verbal doublings in PatSp are not possible in cases of questions and of clauses that express desire. This is evidenced in the ungrammatical constructions such as (46) and (47).

(45) \La{it.ACC.F} cocinan \textit{ENTERA la} cocinan \it{it.ACC.F} cocinan.PRS.3PL entire \it{it.ACC.F} cocinan.PRS.3PL

‘They cook it whole!’

(46) a. * \La{it.ACC.F} cocinan \textit{ENTERA la} cocinan?
\it{it.ACC.F} cocinan.PRS.3PL entire \it{it.ACC.F} cocinan.PRS.3PL

Int. ‘Do they cook it whole?!’

b. * Me \textit{pregunto} si \La{it.ACC.F} cocinan \textit{ENTERA la} cocinan
\it{to.me ask1.SG} whether \it{it.ACC.F} cocinan.PRS.3PL entire \it{it.ACC.F} cocinan
\it{cook.PRS.3PL}

Int. ‘I wonder whether they cook it whole!’

(47) * \textit{Ojalá que} \La{it.ACC.F} cocin\textit{en ENTERA la} cocin\textit{en}
\it{hopefully that it.ACC.F} cocin.en.PRS.3PL entire \it{it.ACC.F} cocin.en.PRS.3PL

Int. ‘I hope that they cook it whole!’

3.3. Semantic Import

The semantic characteristics related to non-local doublings in PatSp are somehow paradoxical. On the one hand, there seem to be no differences between the propositional meaning of a sequence without doubling and the one with duplicated elements (48). On the other hand, sequences with verbal doublings and sequences without them cannot occur in the same contexts. For instance, while constructions without duplicates can be the answer to a wh-question, non-local verbal doublings in PatSp are anomalous in the same context.

(48) a. \textit{Los chicos se} \textit{fueron por} Bariloche
\textit{the guys REF\textit{L.3} went\textit{3PL} by} Bariloche

‘The guys went by Bariloche’

b. \textit{Los chicos se} \textit{fueron por} BARILOCHE \textit{se} \textit{fueron}
\textit{the guys REF\textit{L.3} went\textit{3PL} by} Bariloche \textit{REFL.3 went\textit{3PL}}

‘The guys went by Bariloche!’

c. \exists x, \exists y, x=\textit{los chicos}, y=\textit{Bariloche}, such that x went by y

(49) A: \textit{¿Por dónde se} \textit{fueron los chicos?}
‘Which way did the guys take?’

B1: \textit{Se} \textit{fueron por} Bariloche
\textit{REFL.3 went\textit{3PL} by} Bariloche

B2: # \textit{Se} \textit{fueron por} BARILOCHE \textit{se} \textit{fueron}
\textit{REFL.3 went\textit{3PL} by} Bariloche \textit{REFL.3 went\textit{3PL}}
In general terms, we could claim that verbal duplicates express the non-expectation and surprise that the proposition could cause on the listener, depending on the knowledge that the speaker assumes to share with his/her interlocutor. In this respect, (50a) can be paraphrased as in (50b).

(50) a. \(\text{Había GUANACOS sabía haber} \)
    \(\text{there.were guanacos know.IMFV.PST.3SG there.be.INF} \)
    ‘There were guanacos and I understand that this could be unexpected for you’

In this work, we claim that in the duplicated verbal constructions, there are two layers of meaning: one that is at-issue and another one that is not-at-issue (see Potts 2007). An at-issue meaning corresponds to the informative content of the sentence, that is to say, to the main information that the speaker wants to convey. At-issue content (henceforth, \(p\)) is equivalent to the proposition coded in the sequence, and it is not presupposed. In contrast, non-at-issue meaning (henceforth, \(m\)) conveys content that is secondary or irrelevant to the truth conditions of \(p\). Accordingly, \(m\) indicates that \(p\) may be unexpected for the listener and, as a consequence, it can cause surprise.\(^8\)

That \(p\) and \(m\) constitute two independent layers of meaning can be evidenced by certain behaviours. Firstly, the listener can react distinctively either in relation to \(p\) or \(m\). The different answers in B can be compared in the following example.

(51) A: \(\text{Más allá hay otro pueblito, Treneta se llama, está CERQUITA está} \)
    \(\text{There is another little village, its name is Treneta, it’s really near!’} \)
B1: \(\text{Eso no es verdad, Treneta está muy lejos de acá} \rightarrow \neg p \)
    ‘That is not true, Treneta is really far away’
B2: \(\text{Está bien, pero eso no tiene nada de sorpresivo} \rightarrow \neg m \)
    ‘Ok, but that is not unexpected at all’

Secondly, \(m\) cannot be refuted by the same speaker who produces the verbal doubling without resulting in a semantic contradiction. In (51), then, A cannot deny the surprise that the sequence could cause on the listener.

(52) \(\text{Más allá hay otro pueblito, Treneta se llama, está CERQUITA está, #y no creo que te resulde sorpresivo} \)
    ‘There is another little village, its name is Treneta, it’s really near! #And this is not unexpected for you’

Thirdly, unlike \(p\), the meaning of \(m\) cannot be retrieved in an ellipsis process, as is shown in the following contrast.

(53) a. \(\text{Mi hermano tiene un campo LINDO tiene} \)
    \(\text{my brother has a field beautiful has} \)
    ‘My brother has a beautiful field!’
    \(p \rightarrow \exists x, \exists y, x=\text{mi hermano}, y=\text{un campo}, \text{such that } x \text{ has } y \text{ & } y \text{ is lindo} \)
    \(m \rightarrow \neg p \text{ could be unexpected for you} \)

b. \(\text{Mi viejo también [corto] tiene campo LINDO tiene} \)
    \(\text{my dad too has a field beautiful} \)
    ‘My dad too’
\[ p \rightarrow \exists x, \exists y, x=\text{mi viejo}, y=\text{un campo}, \text{such that } x \text{ has } y \text{ & } y \text{ is beautiful} \]

\[ m \rightarrow 'p \text{ could be unexpected for you}' \]

The above-mentioned semantic traits indicate that \( m \)—i.e., non-expectation and surprise—is not part of the coded proposition in verbal duplicates. In this sense, it could be argued that \( m \) does not have an assertive semantic content but one that is suggested by the speaker. In other words, in verbal non-local doublings, it is implied that \( p \) is surprising, but it is not explicitly stated.

In order to conclude this section, it is worth mentioning that the surprise element is not attributed to the speaker, but to the listener. Particularly, the layer of meaning \( m \) is systematically built up thanks to the expectations that the speaker has in relation to his/her interlocutor. This can be demonstrated by means of two other characteristics: verbal doublings in PatSp are not compatible with 2nd person singular or plural (54), or with imperative constructions (55).

| (54) a. | Sabías amansar TROPILLAS amansabas
amans.PST.2SG tame.INF herd.PL tame.PST.IPFV.2SG
b. | (Ustedes) sabían amansar TROPILLAS amansaban
you.PL know.PST.IPFV.2PL tame.INF herd.PL tame.PST.IPFV.2PL |

(55) a. | ¡Amansá TROPILLAS amansá!
tame.IMP herd.PL tame.IMP
Int. ‘Tame herds!’
b. | ¡(Ustedes) vayan por BARILOCHE vayan!
you.2PL go.IMP by Bariloche go.IMP
Int. ‘Go by Bariloche!’

The incompatibility between verbal doublings and the 2nd person can be accounted for in a direct way if the source of the surprise and the non-expectation is assumed to belong to the shared knowledge that the speaker assigns to the listener.

3.4. Summary

We now sum up the descriptions developed so far in terms of the prosodic, syntactic, and semantic aspects of verbal non-local doubling in PatSp. Table 1 offers a summary of the behaviours and characteristics found in our data.

| Table 1. Synthesis of the prosodic, syntactic, and semantic behaviours of verbal non-local doubling in PatSp. |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Prosody** | **Syntax** | **Semantics** |
| • Rising pitch accent \( L+H^* \) | • V1 and V2 cannot be adjacent | • Two layers of meaning: \( p \) as an *at-issue* or propositional content and \( m \) with a *non-at-issue* value |
| • One IP with two ip | • XP(s) can occur on the right of V2 | • The \( m \) layer ✓ encodes mirativity, i.e., surprise and non-expectation ✓ is based on the expectations that the speaker creates in relation to what is expected for the interlocutor ✓ is implied content, not asserted |
| • The first ip has the contour \( L+H^*L^- \), while the second ip is completely deaccented (L%) | • V1 and V2 can have morphological and lexical differences | |
The evidence provided in the sections above constitutes the basics for the analysis that follows.

4. Analysis

In the generative literature, the phenomena related to non-local doubling have been explained mainly in terms of the copy theory (Chomsky 2000; Nunes 2004; Corver and Nunes 2007). The analyses conducted in this framework reveal that doubling is the materialisation of the same syntactic object that is placed, at the same time, in two different positions in the hierarchy. The reason for this double manifestation is structural: one syntactic object X escapes from TP/ΣP and moves up to the C domain; then, the remnant of TP/ΣP moves to a higher structural position. In this configuration, none of the copies of X are deleted (Nunes 2004; Muñoz Pérez 2017). The escape movement of one of the duplicates and the movement of ΣP/ST are illustrated in what follows with an example taken from RSp.

(56) a. RSp (Saab 2017)

\[ Vení \text{ acá, } vení \]
\[ come.\text{IMP.}2\text{SG here} \text{ come.IMP.}2\text{SG} \]

‘Come here!’

b.

As is shown in the diagrams in (56b), initially, V moves to C (by means of v, T, and Σ). Then, ΣP moves to the highest position in the hierarchy (Spec,CP). From this position, the copy of the verb in Spec,CP does not c-command the copy of the verb in C; this is why they cannot be deleted. This strategy (with minor changes) has been applied in the study of non-local doubling in different languages (see, for example, Jokilehto 2016 for Italian and Cvejanov and Druetta 2020 for Argentinian Sign Language).

Despite the explanatory potential of the copy theory, it cannot account for the data in PatSp. There are at least two empirical reasons. Firstly, proposals within the copy theory predict that the duplicated elements have to be identical, as exemplified in (56a). However, as we develop in Section 3.2.3, duplicates in PatSp can have different morphological features and roots. Secondly, from the analysis in (56b), it follows that no element can appear on the right margin of the second duplicate because the lowest ΣP in the hierarchy is deleted. In accordance with Muñoz Pérez (2018), this is the reason why instances such as (57) are ungrammatical in RSp.

(57) RSp (Muñoz Pérez 2018, his example (81c))

\[ * Compré el AUTO compré ayer \]
\[ bought.3SG the car bought.3SG yesterday \]

Int. ‘I bought the car yesterday!’

Unlike RSp, in PatSp, some elements can occur on the right of V2, as we show in Section 3.2.2 (in fact, a case such as (57) is perfectly grammatical in PatSp).
These two empirical reasons and others that are of a conceptual nature lead us to rule out the copy theory of movement as a possible explanation of non-local doubling in PatSp. The proposal that we put forward here adopts a radically different point of view. Precisely, we argue that duplicated sequences are not monoclausal but biclausal. In what follows, we present the key hypotheses of our analysis.

(58) **First hypothesis**
Verbal non-local doublings in PatSp are built with two different clauses, CP1 and CP2, and V1 and V2 belong to independent syntactic domains.

(59) **Second hypothesis**
In CP2, XP\textsuperscript{NA} moves to the left periphery of the clause, i.e., it is focalised.

In Section 4.1, we provide findings from research studies that support our proposal. In Section 4.2, we explain how our two hypotheses can account for the behaviours in doublings in PatSp.

4.1. **Background for the Hypotheses**
The hypotheses underlying our analysis of doublings in PatSp are based on recent research on right dislocation (henceforth, RD) and focalisation. This subsection is aimed at showing previous studies in this respect.

As for the first hypothesis, it predicts that non-local doublings are biclausal constructions. Biclausality has been the focus of attention in order to explain recent findings on RD in Mandarin (Cheung 2015), Germanic languages (Truckenbrodt 2015; Ott and de Vries 2016), and Romance languages (Estigarribia 2020; Fernández-Sánchez 2020). One example of RD is shown in (60).

(60) **German** (Ott and de Vries 2016, p. 646, their example (12))

\begin{align*}
\text{Tasman} & \text{ heeft } \text{ ze} & \text{ gezien}, \text{ die } \text{ Maori’s} \\
\text{Tasman} & \text{ has } \text{ them} & \text{ seen} \text{ those Maoris} \\
\text{‘Tasman saw them, those Maoris’}
\end{align*}

In an RD, a constituent XP\textsubscript{d} that carries given information (Schwarzschild 1999) is placed on the right margin of a clause (CL) that is prosodically, semantically, and syntactically complete. In general terms, XP\textsubscript{d} has a correlate in CL, and RD has the following structure.

(61) \[[\text{CL} \ldots \text{ correlate} \ldots ] \text{XP}\textsubscript{d} \]

The consulted literature highlights the fact that XP\textsubscript{d} is structurally independent from CL. In relation to prosody, XP\textsubscript{d} is a deaccented constituent that separates from CL by means of a special prosodic change. In (60), this change is indicated with a comma (hence the term \textit{comma intonation}; see Potts 2007). From a semantic point of view, the presence of XP\textsubscript{d} is irrelevant to the truth conditions of CL. This means that CL (62a) and CL + XP\textsubscript{d} (62b) are semantically equivalent, as (62c) indicates.

(62) a. Tasman heeft \text{ ze} \text{ gezien}  \\
b. Tasman heeft \text{ ze} \text{ gezien, die } \text{ Maori’s}  \\
c. \exists x, \exists y, x=\text{Tasman}, y=\text{ze}, x \text{ heeft gezien y } (\text{ze}=\text{die Maori’s})

Lastly, in syntactic terms, XP\textsubscript{d} does not play a role in the syntactic relations of CL. In order to illustrate this point, the example in (63a) can be considered, in which the coreference between \textit{ella} and the XP\textsubscript{d} \textit{Ana} does not violate Principle C, a behaviour that directly contrasts with the version in (63b), in which XP\textsubscript{d} is part of CL (as can be observed in its prosodic aspect).
(63) **General Spanish**

a. *Ella* lavó *su* suéter, *Ana*
   she washed her sweater Ana

b. *Ella* lavó *su* suéter *Ana*
   she washed her sweater Ana

However, right dislocations surprisingly behave as if XPd was part of CL. This has been referred to as **connectivity effects** (Merchant 2004). One of these effects has to do with case features in those languages in which this information is morphologically realised. The following example illustrates this.

(64) **German** (Ott and de Vries 2016, p. 658, their example (44a))

Ich habe ihm geholfen, (*der, *den, *dem)* Peter
I have him.DAT help {the.NOM, the.ACC, the.DAT} Peter

‘I helped him, Peter’

As shown in (64), dative case in XPd *has* (explicit in the article *dem*) has to match with dative case in the correlate *ihm*. This behaviour seems to suggest that case assignment for XPNA takes place in CL.

Another similar behaviour is related to reconstruction effects. This is shown in the following example.

(65) **General Spanish** (Fernández-Sánchez 2020, p. 29, his example (25a))

pro*i/j* metió en la secadora, [el suéter de *Ana*]
pro it put in the dryer-machine, the Ana’s sweater

‘She put it in the dryer, Ana’s sweater’

In (65), subscripts indicate that coreference between pro and Ana is ungrammatical. This behaviour seems to show that in the LF el suéter de Ana, CL is reconstructed in the position of its correlate, which would violate Principle C.

This Janus-faced trait of RD can be explained if we assume that these constructions are formed with two semantically parallel clauses, CP1 and CP2, and that XPd is a fragment, i.e., the remnant of a clausal ellipsis process in CP2.10 From this perspective, in (60), the underlying structure is the following.

(66) [CP1 Tasman heeft ze gezien ] [CP2 die Maori’s, [HATTY TASMAN W/ [HATTY] ]]

We have argued so far that, in accordance with the biclausal analysis of RD, non-local verbal doublings in PatSp are constituted by two clauses, CP1 and CP2, in which V1 and V2 correspond to different clauses. Additionally, we claim that CP1 and CP2 are semantically parallel.

Now, there are at least two differences between RD and verbal doublings in PatSp. The first one is semantic. While in an RD, XPd constitutes a paraphrase, an explanation, or a richer description of the correlate, in verbal doublings in PatSp, the duplicated sequence is associated with mirativity, as developed in Section 3.3. The second difference is syntactic. Unlike what happens with RD, in verbal doublings in PatSp, a process of clausal ellipsis does not take place in CP2. In particular, we argue that V2 is not a fragment, as is the case for XPd. This is precisely our second hypothesis: in CP2, focus fronting occurs, i.e., movement of XPNA to the left periphery of the clause, which results in the mirative value that has been identified.

Similar findings can be observed in studies by Frey (2010), Bianchi et al. (2016), and Cruschina (2019). These works attest that, in different languages, focus fronting results in an emphatic or mirative interpretation. The following examples can be considered.
(67) **German** *(Frey 2010, p. 1424, his example (27))*

A: Wat has Otto dieses Mal Besonderes auf dem Markt gekauft?

‘What extraordinary thing did Otto buy on the market this time?’

B: PaP Ayas, hat er dieses Mal t₁ gekauft  
papayas has he this time bought

(68) **Italian** *(Bianchi et al. 2016, p. 15, their example (19))*

Gianni è innamorato pazzo di Maria. Pensa un po’... Un anello di diamanti  
Gianni is in-love mad with Maria. think a little a ring of diamonds  
le ha regalato!  
to-her.CL has given

‘John is madly in love with Maria. Guess what! He’s given her a diamond ring!’

(69) **European Spanish** *(Cruschina 2019, p. 136, his example (19))*

¡Y yo que pensaba que no tenían ni un euro!  
and I that think.IMPF.3SG that not have.IMPF.3PL not-even a euro  
¿Sabes qué? ¿A las Maldivas se fueron de luna de miel!  
know.PRS.2SG what to the Maldives REF.L.3 go.3PL of moon of honey

‘I thought they were penniless! Guess what?! To the Maldives they went on honey-moon!’

In the data of (67)–(69), the fronting of the XP[^NA] *(papayas, un anello di diamanti and a las Maldivas)* brings about some alternatives to XP that are relevant to the interpretation of the whole sequence. This idea can be retrieved in (70).

(70) Let S be a declarative sentence involving A’ movement of a constituent a containing a stressed subconstituent β. A set M denoting salient referents becomes part of the interpretation process, |M| ≥ 2. M contains a and expressions denoting alternatives to the referent of a, varying in the denotation of β [...] *(Frey 2010, p. 1423)*

Considering (70), then, the fronting of XP[^NA] allows to identify a set of alternatives (M) that are salient in a given discursive context. In M, the denotatum of XP is one of the options available. The reviewed literature affirms that the A’ movement of XP triggers a conventional implicature, according to which the proposition contained in the duplication is not the most expected one according to a stereotypical ordering of the alternatives in M, defined in line with the normal course of events *(Kratzer 2012)*. Bianchi et al. *(2016, p. 14)* characterise the mirative implicature as follows.

(71) The proposition expressed by the clause is less likely than at least one distinct alternative proposition w.r.t. a contextually relevant modal base and stereotypical ordering source.

Taking into account (69), in what follows, we illustrate these proposals. When A las Maldivas fueron de luna de miel is uttered, the movement of a las Maldivas to the left periphery of the clause brings about some alternatives at a propositional level. These options share the same background, and they differ in the focalised element.

(72) ¡A las Maldivas _ fueron de luna de miel!  
| − − − focus − − − |  | − − − background − − − |
As shown in (73), the set of alternatives due to the fronting of a las Maldivas is \( p_1, p_2, p_3, p_4, p_n \), and the underlying proposition of the sequence of (69) is one of the options. Following Cruschina (2019, p. 140), the number of relevant alternatives depends on the context and the shared knowledge of the participants in a particular communicative situation. The key point in the proposal is that the mirative import projects a hierarchy of alternatives according to the expectations of the speakers and the normal course of events (Kratzer 2012). In this ranking, the underlying proposition is less probable than one of the options in the set. The contrast between the expectations of the interlocutors and the statement in (72) results in a mirative meaning.

In short, our analysis of verbal doublings in PatSp is based on two claims: they are biclausal sequences (such as RD) and, in the second clause, fronting of the constituent that bears the NA takes place (similarly to German, Italian, and Spanish, as studied by Frey 2010; Bianchi et al. 2016; and Cruschina 2019, respectively). We can assert, then, that verbal non-local doubling in PatSp presents the structure in (11), repeated below in (74).

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ & \text{CP}_1 \ldots V_1 \ldots \} \quad \{ & \text{CP}_2 \text{XP}^{\text{NA}_1} \quad V_2 \quad t_i \} \\
\end{align*}
\]

We suggest that the (most of the) behaviours and traits described in Section 3 can be accounted for by the structure in (74).

4.2. Deriving the Properties of Verbal Doubling in PatSp

4.2.1. Biclausality

Let us first consider the hypothesis related to the biclausal nature of the analysed doublings. Claiming that the underlying structure of non-local doubling is (74) implies that between V1 and V2 there are no derivational relations. In fact, we suggest that the duplicated verbs belong to different clausal domains and, as a consequence, V1 and V2 are not related in the syntactic derivation.

The derivational independency between V1 and V2 allows us to explain three of the morphosyntactic properties described in Section 3.2. V1 and V2:

- can have different morphological information and roots,
- can establish subject–verb agreement relations independently,
- establish argumental relations in different domains.

Concerning the first point above, the data in (22a) and (23a), repeated in (75) below, present the structures in (76).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \quad \text{Tenían} \quad \text{ARROYO} \quad \text{tienen} \quad \text{ahí} \\
& \quad \text{have.IMFV.PST.3PL} \quad \text{brook} \quad \text{have.PRS.3PL} \quad \text{there} \\
\text{b. } & \quad \text{Entraban} \quad \text{hasta las} \quad \text{CULEBRAS} \quad \text{llegaban} \quad \text{ahí} \\
& \quad \text{get inside.IPV.PST.3PL} \quad \text{even the} \quad \text{snakes} \quad \text{arrive.IPV.PST.3PL} \quad \text{there} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \quad \{ \text{CP}_1 \ldots \text{tenían} \ldots \} \quad \{ \text{CP}_2 \text{XP}^{\text{NA}_1} \quad \text{tienen} \quad t_i \} \\
\text{b. } & \quad \{ \text{CP}_1 \ldots \text{entraban} \ldots \} \quad \{ \text{CP}_2 \text{XP}^{\text{NA}_1} \quad \text{llegaban} \quad t_i \} \\
\end{align*}
\]
The possibility that V2 carries morphological and lexical information that is different from that of V1 is directly related to the non-at-issue semantic aspect associated with non-local doubling. In accordance with the proposals about RD developed above, CP2 encodes a secondary meaning that corresponds to the semantic background and that, as a consequence, is irrelevant to the truth conditions of CP1.11 In this respect, CP2 presents metacommunicative information directed to the participants in a particular situation (Schneider 2015, p. 288). In the case of verbal non-local doubling in PatSp, we argue that the morphological and lexical differences can be explained by means of the semantic nature of CP2 and its possibility of encoding secondary information (in this case, declarations and corrections).

In relation to the second point, a datum such as (26), repeated in (77a), would have the structure in (77b) according to our proposal.

(77) a. Traje tres PERCAS trajimos esa vuelta
   brought.1SG three perches brought.1PL that time
   
b. [CP1 ...traje...] [CP2 XP\(^{NA}\)\(_1\) trajimos \(_t\) ]

If (77a) actually has the structure in (77b), it is expected that V1 and V2 can establish subject–verb agreement relations in an independent way. The reason for this is that, in our view, CP1 and CP2 present different subjects and, even though features of person and number in both subjects are typically the same (see below), identical manifestation is not obligatory. Along these lines, the structure of (78) could be specified as follows.

(78) [CP1 1SG traje ... ] [CP2 XP\(^{NA}\)\(_1\) trajimos 1PL \(_t\) ]

Finally, the third point indicates another relevant behaviour in verbal doublings in PatSp. Since V1 and V2 are part of different clauses, it is expected that both predicates select their arguments independently. In (78), for example, we observe that while the external argument of V1 is 1SG, the external argument of V2 is 1PL.

As we saw in Section 3.2.3, duplicate verbs are equivalent in argument terms, that is, they select the same number of arguments and assign the same thematic roles. Now, if this is so, it is necessary to explain what happens in CP1. Consider again the structure of (78). Both V1 and V2 are dyadic predicates, so each of them selects two arguments in their clause domains. As shown (79), the argument structure of V1 is incomplete because one of its arguments does not materialise (a situation that we represent by ‘...’ in the data).

(79) a. V\(_1\)\(_{traje}\) → ⟨agent = 1SG, ...⟩
   
b. V\(_2\)\(_{trajimos}\) → ⟨agent = 1PL, theme = tres percas⟩

In this paper, we argue that CP1 is an incomplete clause only in appearance. In (79), V1 selects a theme (in addition to an agent), which is semantically and syntactically equivalent to XP\(^{NA}\) in CP2, as shown in (80).

(80) V\(_1\)\(_{traje}\) → ⟨agent = 1SG, theme = tres percas⟩

One of the reasons for arguing that CP1 is an incomplete clause is the Projection Principle (Chomsky 1981, 1986), according to which syntactic structure is a projection of lexical requirements, while the subcategorisation properties of lexical pieces must be satisfied. In this sense, if the argument requirements of V1 \(_{traje}\) were not satisfied, (77a) would be an ungrammatical sequence, contrary to the facts. In Section 4.2.3, empirical evidence is offered for this statement.
4.2.2. A’ Movement in CP2

Our second hypothesis is that \(\text{XP}^{\text{NA}}\) moves \(A’\) on the left periphery of CP2. In other words, we assert that in CP2, a process of focalisation takes place. Most of the behaviours described in Section 3 can be directly accounted for with this claim.

In relation to prosody, one of the characteristics of focalisation is prominence or emphatic stress (Leonetti and Escandell Vidal 2021, p. 100). In verbal doubling in PatSp, this prosodic trait is manifested with the tonal configuration \(L^+H^*L^-\), in which there is a rising movement followed by an abrupt fall.

Focalisation of \(\text{XP}^{\text{NA}}\), moreover, implies the obligatory adjacency between the NA and V2. This characteristic is directly explained if we assume, together with Torrego (1984), Rizzi (1996), and related literature, that in the process of focalisation, \(V\) rises up to \(C\), similarly to what happens in a \(\text{wh-}\) movement. The tree diagram in (81), adapted from Kotzoglou (2006, p. 97), illustrates this movement.

\[(81)\]

![Tree diagram illustrating A’ Movement in CP2](image)

The result of this configuration presents the following order: \(\text{XP}^{\text{NA}}\)-V-subject. The structure in (81) allows us to explain not only the adjacency between the NA and V2, but also the obligatory subject inversion and the impossibility of introducing linguistic material between the NA and V2.

In addition, with respect to the prosodic configuration of (81), \(\text{XP}^{\text{NA}}\) and V2 cannot be separated by an interruption in phonation. This behaviour has been pointed out by Fábregas (2016) for cases of focalisation in general Spanish. As the minimal pair in (82) indicates, there cannot exist a prosodic break (as represented by comma in (82b)) between the focalised constituent and the verb.

\[(82)\quad \text{General Spanish (Fábregas 2016, p. 33, adapted from his example (109))}\]

a. \(A \ \text{JUAN} \ \text{he} \ \text{visto} \)  
   to Juan have.1SG seen  
   ‘I have seen JUAN’

b. * \(A \ \text{JUAN}, \ \text{he} \ \text{visto} \)  
   to Juan have.1SG seen  
   ‘I have seen JUAN, he’

As we can observe in Section 3.1, verbal doubling in PatSp exhibits the same behaviour.
Leonetti and Escandell Vidal (2021) suggest that the acceptability of focalisation is questionable in subordinated clauses, as shown in (84).

(84) General Spanish (Leonetti and Escandell Vidal 2021, pp. 60–61, their examples (39)).

a. ?? Ella quería que ([el POSTre] lleváramos nosotros) she wanted.3SG that the dessert bring.SBJV.1PL us

b. ?? {Cuando [manteQUilla] le añades}, sabe mejor when butter to.it add.2SG taste.3SG better

c. * Pretendía [con el presiDENte] tener una entrevista] intended.3SG to with the president have.INF an interview

As described in Section 3.2, the same behaviour can be identified in non-adjacent doubling in PatSp. However, the data presented in (44a) and (44b), repeated below, indicate that V2 can appear in cases of subordination.

(85) a. Tenía un campo LINDO, creo que [tenía t,] have.IMFV.PST.3SG a land beautiful believe.1SG that have.IMFV.PST.3SG

b. Venían de ROCAi parece que [venían t,] come.IMFV.PST.3PL from Roca seem.3SG that come.IMFV.PST.3PL

The possibility of V2 subordination, nonetheless, seems to be semantically and syntactically conditioned by the properties of the subordinating verbs. In semantic terms, with verbs such as creo and parece in (85), the speaker mitigates his/her commitment on the propositional value of the sequence (expected values due to the not-at-issue nature of CP2; see Schneider 2015, p. 287 et seq.). Syntactically, subordinated sentences with verbs such as creer and parecer present main clause properties (Fábregas 2016, Section 6). For example, they allow for the use of speaker-oriented adverbs (86a) and the topicalisation of the verbal phrase (86b).

(86) a. Parece que, [lamentablemente, no van a llegar hasta el sauce] Seems that unfortunately not go.3PL to get.INF to the willow

‘It seems that, unfortunately, they won’t get to the willow’

b. Creo que, [llegar hasta el sauce, no lo lograremos] think.1SG that get.INF to the willow not it.ACC.M manage.FUT.1PL

‘I think that, getting to the willow, we won’t manage’

The fact that the verbal duplications of PatSp cannot occur in subordination contexts is evidence in favour of the claim that these sequences involve a focalisation process.

It has also been pointed out that focalisation is not compatible with any sentence modality (Leonetti and Escandell Vidal 2021, pp. 60–61). Sentences that have a focalised constituent cannot occur in interrogative or desiderative sentences, as the examples in (87) show.

(87) General Spanish
a. * ¿Cuándo hasta el SAUCE vamos?  
   when until the willow go1PL  
   Int. ‘When does until the WILLOW we go?’

b. * Ojalá que hasta el SAUCE vayamos  
   hopefully that until the willow go.SUBJ.1PL  
   Int. ‘I hope that we go until the WILLOW’

As we have seen in Section 3.2, the same behaviours are observed in non-local doubling in PatSp.

In short, there is sufficient empirical evidence to support that in verbal doubling of the studied variety, the XP\textsuperscript{NA} moves to the left periphery of CP\textsubscript{2}. Now, it is worth analysing how this movement triggers the mirative import associated with sequences that include a duplication.

As we discuss in Section 3.3, non-local doubling presents two layers of meaning: a propositional meaning, \(p\), and a secondary meaning, \(m\). Unlike \(p\), the semantic value \(m\) is not an asserted content, but an implied one. This means that \(m\) is not obtained compositionally, i.e., it does not arise from the sum of the meanings of the elements that make up the sequence, rather, it is an implicit content systematically encoded in a specific syntactic structure (for an in-depth discussion on the characteristics of conventional implicatures, see Fernández Ruiz 2015, 2018). In verbal doubling of PatSp, the implicit meaning encoded in the duplication is that \(p\) could be unexpected for the listener.

In Section 4.1, we discuss the way in which focalisation encodes a mirative semantic value in Italian (Bianchi et al. 2016), German (Frey 2010), and Peninsular Spanish (Cruschina 2019). In this paper, we argue that this reasoning can be applied to the verbal doubling in PatSp.

Let us see an example. In (88), the values \(p\) and \(m\) can be differentiated, as (89) shows.

(88)  
\begin{align*}  
\text{La Corona sabe de ir...} & \quad \text{mucha GENTE sabe de ir}  
\text{the Corona know.PRS.3SG of go.INF many people know.PRS.3SG of go.INF}  
\end{align*}

(89)  
\begin{align*}  
\text{a. } p &= \text{many people use to go to the Corona}  
\text{b. } m &= p \text{(i.e., the fact that many people use to go to the Corona), could be unexpected for you}  
\end{align*}

We argue that the meanings \(p\) and \(m\) are constructed in different clauses. Specifically, CP\textsubscript{1} is responsible for the coding of \(p\) and, in CP\textsubscript{2}, the focalisation that triggers \(m\) takes place. In (90), this claim is illustrated.

(90)  
\begin{align*}  
[\text{CP}_1 \text{ la Corona saben de ir ...}] \quad [\text{CP}_2 \text{ mucha GENTE}_{1} \text{ saben de ir } t_{1}]  
\end{align*}

Let us first consider what happens in CP\textsubscript{2}. In line with the works by Krifka (2007) and Krifka and Musan (2012), we understand that focus signals a set of relevant alternatives for the interpretation of the entire sequence. Indeed, in CP\textsubscript{2}, the focalisation of many people triggers the set of alternatives \(M\) described below.

(91)  
\begin{align*}  
M &= \{ \begin{align*}  
\text{p}_1 \text{ few people use to go (to the Corona)} &  
\text{p}_2 \text{ a lot of scientists use to go (to the Corona)} &  
\text{p}_3 \text{ a lot of animals use to go (to the Corona)} &  
\text{p}_4 \text{ many people use to go (to the Corona)} &  
\text{...}  
\end{align*} \}  
\end{align*}
The members of the set M, that is, the alternative propositions of p, are ordered in line with a probability scale that operates in the listener’s interpretation process, according to the state of knowledge that the speaker attributes to him/her. Thus, for the speaker, the state of knowledge of his/her interlocutor at the moment prior to enunciating the sequence containing the duplication is such that p₁ is more likely than p₂, p₂ is more likely than p₃, etc. The value m emerges precisely from the contrast between the order of the alternatives in M and the fact that the alternative that is finally stated is not the most probable option.

The hypothesis of focalisation in CP2, as we have seen, may account for the way in which the additional layer of meaning present in verbal non-local doubling in PatSp arises. This is certainly an advantage of our proposal compared to other analyses that exist in the literature on non-local doubling.

In addition, the hypothesis of focalisation in CP2 allows us to explain one of the fundamental properties of the analysed data: the condition of non-adjacency between the duplicates. In our analysis, the non-adjacency between V₁ and V₂ is a direct consequence of the movement of XP^{NA} to the left periphery of CP₂, which is required to trigger the characteristic mirative value of duplications. In other words, V₁ and V₂ are not contiguous because the XP^{NA} systematically stands between them. Thus, the order V₁-XP^{NA}-V₂ described in Section 3.2 and repeated here in (92a) can be reinterpreted as in (92b) in the light of our proposal.

\[(92) \quad \begin{align*}
&\text{a. } V₁ - XP^{NA} - V₂ \\
&\text{b. } [CP₁ V₁] [CP₂ XP^{NA}, V₂ t₁]
\end{align*}\]

If this analysis is correct, the non-adjacency between the duplicated verbs is not in itself a formal (morphosyntactic or prosodic) requirement for the good formation of verbal doubling in PatSp. Instead, it is a corollary of the way mirativity is encoded in this type of sequence.

4.2.3. On the Prosodic Materialisation of Doublings

To conclude this section, we briefly comment on some aspects related to the materialisation of doubling in PatSp. According to Match Theory, the syntactic structure determines the phonological representation in such a way that the units in Syntax have a direct prosodic correlate. Thus, while constituents are projected into phonological phrases (ϕ), (non-subordinate) clauses are projected into intonation phrases (ι).

\[(93) \quad \text{Match Theory (Selkirk 2011, p. 439)}
\]

a. \textit{Match clause}

A clause in syntactic constituent structure must be matched by a corresponding prosodic constituent, call it ι, in phonological representation.

b. \textit{Match phrase}

A phrase in syntactic constituent structure must be matched by a corresponding prosodic constituent, call it ϕ, in phonological representation.

Therefore, Match Theory argues in favour of the following correlation:

\[(94) \quad \text{One CP} \iff \text{one IP}\]

If the correlation in (94) is correct, then our data exhibit a paradoxical behaviour. On the one hand, as observed in Section 3.1, verbal non-local doubling in PatSp is generally expressed in a single IP. On the other, these sequences are made up of two independent CPs, given the ample empirical evidence presented in previous sections. Then, our data seem to go against Match Theory and the one-to-one relation between CP and IP by establishing a reformulation of (94) in the following terms.
Two CPs ⇐⇒ one IP

One way to resolve this (apparent) paradox is to propose that CP1 is an incomplete clause, because the element that receives the NA is not pronounced (something we express by means of ‘...’ in (90)).

There is empirical evidence to support the claim that in CP1 there is silent material. The following example can be examined, in which the quantifiers ∀ and three interact.

\[ \text{CP1 } todos \ los \ albañiles \ construyeron \ldots \ \text{CP2 } tres \ CASAS \ construyeron \] all the constructors built.3PL three houses built.3PL

The sequence in (96) receives an ambiguous interpretation, as shown in (97).

(97) a. Interpretation 1:
\[ ∀ > three \]
‘For all \( x \), \( x = \) constructor, it is true that \( x \) built three houses’

b. Interpretation 2:
\[ three > ∀ \]
‘There is three houses, such that for all \( x \), \( x = \) constructor, three houses were built by \( x \)’

Where does this ambiguity come from? To answer this question, it is necessary to consider the two clauses that, in our analysis, form the doubling sequences. As can be seen in (98), CP2 only allows the second reading, according to which there are three houses that were built by all the constructors. The first interpretation, however, is not available in CP2.

(98) a. Tres CASAS construyeron (todos los albañiles)
three houses built all the constructors

b. *∀ > tres
\[ tres > ∀ \]

If interpretation \( ∀ > tres \) is not available in CP2, it follows that it must be available in CP1. This implies that CP1 contains quantifier \( tres \) in the domain of quantifier \( ∀ \). A plausible option is that this quantifier is part of the silent material in CP1, as shown in (99).

(99) a. Todos los albañiles construyeron \ldots [tres]
all the constructors built \ldots [three]

b. ∀ > tres
\[ tres > ∀ \]

In other words, it is possible to affirm that CP1 contains the quantifier \( tres \) that makes interpretation 1 possible.

The identity between the silent element in CP1 and \( Xp^{NA} \) in CP2 must also be syntactic. It can be demonstrated thanks to the categorical selection requirements of the predicates. To illustrate this observation, let us focus on the uses of the verb ganar(se) ‘to place oneself’, a typical verb in PatSp.

In a recent work, Garrido Sepúlveda et al. (n.d.) provide a detailed description of the grammaticalisation process of the verb ganar(se) in the Spanish spoken in Chilean and Argentine territory.

According to these authors, the verb ganar exhibits three well-defined grammaticalisation stages in Chilean Spanish. In the first one, ganar is used as a transitive verb with the meanings (perhaps the most widespread in the Spanish-speaking world) of ‘to acquire some wealth or increase it’, ‘to earn a wage or a salary’, or ‘to obtain what is disputed in a match, game, contest, election, etc.’. In a second stage, ganar acquires a pronominal form, ganarse, and a locative meaning close to ‘stay’ or ‘take place’. Finally, the most advanced
stage of this process is the one in which ganarse loses (part of) its lexical content and it starts to denote an inchoative value as an auxiliary in an aspectual periphrasis. These values are systematised in Table 2.

Table 2. Meaning of ganar(se) in Chilean Spanish.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘acquire’, ‘obtain’, ‘win’</td>
<td>La selección argentina ganó el torneo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganar(se)</td>
<td>‘The Argentine national team won the tournament’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative</td>
<td>Nos ganamos en la fila del cajero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘We stood in the line of the ATM’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inchoative</td>
<td>Se ganó a tocar la guitarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘(S)he began to play the guitar’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pronominal uses of ganarse with a locative value have been registered in PatSp. Garrido Sepúlveda et al. (n.d.) point out that ganarse in this sense can only be combined with adverbial or prepositional phrases. The data in (102) are anomalous because, despite denoting location, the complement of ganarse is an AP, NP, or DP.

(100) Ganate más cerca/debajo de la parra
      take your place near/under the vine
      ‘Get closer/under the vine’

(101) a. Mi gata se ganó en el sillón y se quedó ahí toda la tarde
        my cat REFL sit in the couch and REFL stay there all the afternoon
        ‘My cat sat down in the couch and she stayed there during the evening’

        b. ¡Gánense en/a la sombrita!
           stay.REFL in/to the little.shadow
           Stay away from the sun!

(102) a. * Ganate [Adj cercano]
       get close

        b. * Ganate [N biblioteca]
           get library

        c. * Nos ganamos [DP un costado]
           We got a side

With this in mind, let us resume our discussion on verbal doubling in PatSp. In the case of (103), in which the verb ganarse is duplicated, there is only one interpretation available: that of ganarse as a locative verb. This means that both V1 and V2 must be assembled with a PP/AdvP. The conclusion then is that, in CP1, ‘...’ is a PP/AdvP.

(103) Nos ganamos en esta ORILLA nos ganamos
      take our place in this side take our place

      Int. OK: We placed ourselves on this side and I understand that it sounds surprising to you.
      Int. *: We won X and we placed ourselves on this side; I understand that it sounds surprising to you.
In short, there seem to be reasons that justify the assertion that a silent XP occurs on the right margin of CP1 with the same semantic values and the same syntactic nature as the XP\textsuperscript{NA} of CP2. This is shown in (105).

\begin{equation}
\text{(105) } \left[ \text{CP1 } V_1 [\text{XP } \ldots] \right] \left[ \text{CP2 } \text{XP}\text{\textsuperscript{NA}}_1 V_2 [\text{TP } t_1] \right]
\end{equation}

The fact that a silent element occurs in CP1 is the reason why verbal non-local doubling in PatSp materialises as a single IP. The reasoning is the following. According to Zubizarreta (1998), the NA is assigned by default through c-command relationships. Specifically, the NA is received by the constituent that is most embedded in the syntactic structure and, given Kayne’s (1994) Axiom of Linear Correspondence, it is also the constituent that occurs in the right edge of the clause. This rule is known as the Nuclear Stress Rule.

\begin{equation}
\text{(106) } \text{Nuclear Stress Rule (Zubizarreta 1998, p. 38)}
\end{equation}

The lowest constituent in the asymmetric c-command ordering in the phrase is the most prominent in that phrase.

In this sense, the two CPs $\iff$ one IP correlation exhibiting non-local doubling in PatSp could be explained from the incompleteness of CP1. In other words, CP1 cannot be materialised as an independent IP because the most embedded constituent in CP1, i.e., the one that should receive the NA, is not phonetically realised.\footnote{12}

5. Conclusions

In this work, we have put forward an analysis of verbal doubling in PatSp, a vernacular variety of Spanish spoken in Patagonia, Argentina. Our first objective has been to provide a prosodic, syntactic, and semantic description of the behaviours of this phenomenon. The accounts of the data have led us to identify a set of relevant features. In prosodic terms, a typical tonal configuration has been established: L+H* L-. This contour has not been registered in the inventory of prosodic patterns in RSp (Gabriel et al. 2010; Labastía 2018). From a semantic point of view, doublings in PatSp have a mirative interpretation. For the speaker, the underlying proposition of the sequence that contains the duplicated verbs could turn out to be surprising or non-expected for the listener. Lastly, in syntactic terms, we have discussed the interesting behaviours of V2 with respect to its structural relation with the previous sequence. V2 can present different morphological features or even different roots in comparison with V1 (which allows us to claim that duplicates belong to syntactically independent domains); simultaneously, the second duplicate seems to interact with the previous constituents in terms of argumental relations. In our view, most of the behaviours described in Section 3 had not been addressed in the literature regarding (non-local) doubling.

Our second objective has been to offer an analysis of the data and the particular behaviours observed. Our proposal consists of two central claims. In accordance with recent analyses of RD (Ott and de Vries 2016; Fernández-Sánchez 2020; inter alia), we argue that verbal non-local doubling in PatSp is not formed by one clause but by two clauses, CP1 and CP2. The second claim is that CP2 is the locus of the mirative value of duplications, which is syntactically encoded by the fronting of XP\textsuperscript{NA} (an idea developed in Frey 2010, Bianchi et al. 2016, and Cruschina 2019).

Following these claims, we affirm that (105), repeated below, is the underlying structure in verbal non-local doubling in PatSp.

\begin{equation}
\text{(107) } \left[ \text{CP1 } V_1 [\text{XP } \ldots] \right] \left[ \text{CP2 } \text{XP}\text{\textsuperscript{NA}}_1 V_2 [\text{TP } t_1] \right]
\end{equation}

We argue that the particular behaviours of this phenomenon in PatSp (or at least most of them) receive a comprehensive and more simple explanation from (107).
Finally, it is possible to formulate some lines of work for further research derived from the discussions in this article. One of them is related to the incompleteness of CP1. In Section 4.2.3, we argue that in CP1 there is a silent element that is semantically and syntactically identical to XP\textsuperscript{NA}. Furthermore, we demonstrate that this property of CP1 is what guarantees that verbal doubling materialises in one single IP. However, the question remains open in relation to the nature of this silent material and the formalisation of the mechanisms that generate the incompleteness of CP1.

Along this article, for the sake of clarity, we have offered examples of verbal non-local doubling in the RSp, a Spanish variety that is very close to PatSp in geographic and historical terms (see Vidal de Battini 1964; Virkel 2004). Verbal non-local doubling in both varieties, as we have seen, share a number of properties (non-adjacency requirement, V1-XP\textsuperscript{NA}-V2 order, emphatic/mirative value; see Muñoz Pérez 2017, 2018), but they differ in some other relevant behaviours (in PatSp, V1 and V2 may present morphological and lexical differences and different elements may occur on the right of V2, characteristics that are not present in RSp). Then, another line of research for a further study is to elaborate on a detailed comparison of the non-local doubling in both varieties of Spanish in order to determine whether (i) it is indeed the same phenomenon, (ii) the differences between both varieties can be explained in terms of microparametric variation (Kayne 2000), and (iii) the biclausal analysis developed here for PatSp can be applied to RSp data.

Dialectological research on PatSp has explained many of the morphosyntactic and phonological peculiarities of this variety in terms of language contact. Along this line, for example, Acuña and Menegotto (1993, 1995) explain the restructuring of number marking and pronominal systems of PatSp on the basis of the influence of the Mapuzungun on the Spanish varieties of the region. In the phonological domain, Virkel (2004, p. 203) understands that the assimilation of /r/ in PatSp is mainly observed in Spanish-speaking Mapuche people. Such considerations raise the question of the possible influence of Mapuzungun on the formation of the duplications studied in the previous pages. This enquiry will be addressed in the next stages of this research.

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**Abbreviations**

The following abbreviations are used in this manuscript:

- AM: Autosegmental-metrical (theory)
- CP1: Clause which contains V1
- CP2: Clause which contains V2
- IP: Intonational phrase
- ip: intermediate phrase
- m: Secondary meaning which expresses that p may be unexpected for the listener
- M: Set of alternatives that are salient referents in a given context
- NA: Nuclear accent
- p: Proposition coded in the sequence
PatSp  Patagonian Spanish  
RD     Right dislocation
RSp    Rioplatense Spanish
V1     Verbal duplicate to the left of NA
V2     Verbal duplicate to the right of NA
XPd    Right dislocated constituent
XPNA   Constituent which bears NA

Notes

1 In this sense, this paper does not discuss the linguistic iteration generally known as reduplication, in which a lexical item is repeated contiguously (e.g., English: I had a JOB-job once, see Gomeshi et al. 2004; Spanish: Me dieron café-cáfe ‘They offered me a cup of real coffee’; see Escandell Vidal 1991).

2 Silva Garcés (2019) explores an analysis of verbal non-local doubling in PatSp in terms of base generation of the second duplicate in the left periphery plus remnant movement of the TP, as is shown in (i).

   (i) a.  Se fueron por Bariloche se fueron  
   REF3 go.PST.3PL by Bariloche REF3 go.PST.3PL  
   ‘They went by Bariloche!’

   b. Generation in situ of the second duplicate:  
   [[TOP [TP se fueron] Top’ [TP se fueron por Bariloche]]]

   c. Remnant movement of TP above the second duplicate:  
   [[XP [TP se fueron por Bariloche], X’ [[TOP [TP se fueron] Top’ [TP se fueron por Bariloche]]]]
   (adapted from Silva Garcés 2019, Chapter V)

In the present work, Silva Garcés’s (2019) analysis will not be considered given that both the generation in situ of the second duplicate and the remnant movement of the TP lack empirical motivation. See note 9.

3 The book Mujeres del viento. Historias de vida de mujeres de la Línea Sur de Río Negro can be found here (https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1mAsZRccKZ9oL05cvg906QkkGlgmCm0On?usp=drive_link accessed on 16 August 2023).

4 We use L- proposed in Hualde (2002, p. 107; 2014, p. 271) and Hualde and Prieto (2015, pp. 368–69) to indicate that the preceding pitch accent L+H* cannot continue its contour in the post-tonic syllable.

5 In relation to the prosodic analysis of the second duplicated element, our data indicate that there are no prominent syllables after NA in 94% of the analysed constructions. We have found only three instances of post-NA accents in the second ip, which could be related to two possible reasons not developed here. Post-NA accents could be due to (i) large phonological material between the accented post-NA word and its reference, or (ii) the lack of parallelism in the duplicated elements, as in habíamos mandado ‘(1PL) had sent’ and mandamos ‘(1PL) sent’, in which the speaker might feel the need to indicate that the two apparent different elements refer to the same event.

6 The term capicúa refers to a palindromic construction at the phrase level.

7 See the Diccionario de partículas discursivas del español (http://www.dpde.es/#/entry/mejordicho accessed on 16 August 2023), of Briz et al. (2008), online version.

8 Bianchi et al. (2016, note 8) observe that non-expectation is also one of the values that is usually associated with exclamative sentences (see also Zanuttini and Portner 2003; Rett 2011; Torres Bustamante 2013). Thus, one might wonder if the PatSp doublings are not, in fact, exclamative sentences. The answer, however, is negative: the duplications studied in this work cannot be considered exclamations for two reasons. The first is that, unlike exclamations, in sequences that include a verbal doubling in PatSp, the propositional content is presupposed, not asserted. Hence, it can be denied independently.

   (i) Verbal duplication in PatSp

   A:  Se fueron por Bariloche se fueron los chicos  
   ‘The guys went by Bariloche!’

   B:  Eso no es verdad, se fueron por Villa la Angostura  
   ‘That is not true, they went by Villa la Angostura’
(ii) Exclamatives

A: (¡No te lo puedo creer!) ¡Se fueron por Bariloche!

‘(I can’t believe it!) They went by Bariloche!

B: #Eso no es verdad, se fueron por Villa la Angostura

Int. ‘That is not true, they went by Villa la Angostura

The second reason is that exclamations always have an interpretation of degree according to a scale, a value that is not part of our data.

9 There are conceptual reasons so as to discard an analysis in terms of an escape and remnant movement. One of them has to do with motivation: what triggers the movement of the remnant phrase (ΞP en (56a))? Which features are checked by means of the movement of the remnant phrase to the left periphery? Another reason is that the remnant movement (ΞP to Spec,CP) is not falsifiable. In Fernández-Sánchez’s (2020, p. 72) words: “[T]he most serious problem with postulating remnant movement is that its effects are undetectable, modulo the rightward movement effect it creates, and therefore stands as an unfalsifiable proposal”.

10 There is consensus in the literature that ellipsis has to be recoverable and that it should have an identical or parallel antecedent in the previous discourse. In this sense, Fernández-Sánchez (2020, p. 19) observes that “[t]he key issue is how we define identity”. The parallelism between the elliptical gap and its antecedent could be semantic, syntactic, or a combination of both (see Van Craenenbroeck and Merchant 2013, for a detailed discussion). However, the explanatory potential of the biclausal analysis presented in this section does not depend on the theory of identity assumed.

11 In this sense, CP2 behaves as a parenthetical clause (see Burton-Roberts 2006; de Vries 2008; Kluck 2011; inter alia).

12 In principle, there are two alternatives to explain why the most embedded constituent in CP1 is not pronounced. The first is that XP without prosodic realisation is elided. In this case, the question that arises is under what structural conditions is the elision of XP possible.

(i) Se fueron REFL.3 go.PST.3PL by Bariloche by Bariloche REFL.3 go.PST.3PL the guys

CP2 por Bariloche se fueron los chicos]

The second alternative is that that constituent is a null element (a variable, for example) that acts as the correlate of CP2 in CP1.

(ii) Se fueron e CP2 por Bariloche se fueron los chicos]

REFL.3 go.PST.3PL by Bariloche REFL.3 go.PST.3PL the guys

This second alternative was defended by Kluck (2011) for sentence amalgamation, as shown below.

(iii) Kluck (2011, p. 156, her example (167))

Bea date e’ [you’ll never guess who]

The intuition behind both options is that CP2 should be adjacent to the unspoken XP in CP1.

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