Spanish VP Ellipsis as clitic doubling.
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The goal of this paper is to discuss certain elliptical structures in Spanish that have not been analyzed in prior literature. These structures offer novel evidence countering the widespread assumption that VP Ellipsis is not possible in Spanish (Brucart 1987, Martins 1994, Saab 2008, 2022). This assumption is based on the well-known (though poorly understood) observation that, contrary to what happens in English (1a-b), Spanish auxiliaries cannot be stranded as a result of VPE (1a'-b'). However, previous literature has failed to notice that, in Spanish, the omission of the VP is accompanied by the appearance of the so-called neuter clitic *lo* (henceforth VPA *lo*). As (2a) and (2b) illustrate, this clitic attaches to the inflected auxiliary and functions as a VP anaphor: that refers back to an antecedent VP in the previous clause. Furthermore, in those cases where no auxiliary is present, as in (3a), the light verb *hacer* 'do' serves to lend morphological support to the VPA clitic *lo* and to the inflectional morpheme /*mos*/ (1PL.PRS), which would otherwise remain stranded. Interestingly, the perfect auxiliary *haber* behaves in a similar manner, as shown in (3b). While the progressive and passive auxiliaries in (2a) and (2b) can stand alone, the perfective auxiliary *haber* in (3b) must be followed by *hecho* 'done' (the past participle form of the LV *hacer* 'do').

(1) a.   Juan was investigated before Mary was [investigated].   (*English*)
     a'.* Juan fue investigado antes de que María fuera [investigada].   (*Spanish*)
      b.   Juan is studying now, but 5 minutes ago he was not [studying]   (*English*)
      b'.* Juan está estudiando ahora, pero hace 5 minutos no estaba [estudiando]   (*Spanish*)

(2) Aux Lo (Spanish)
  a. Juan fue [investigado]^1 antes de que *(lo^1)   fuera María.
     Juan was   investigated before of that   CL.PRED was María
  b. Juan está [estudiando]^1 ahora, pero hace 5 minutos no *(lo^1)   estaba.
     Juan was studying   now   but before 5 ago   not CL.PRED was

(3) Hacer-support (Spanish)
   a. ¿Compras   tú la birra   o lo   *(hace)-mos   nosotros?
      buy.2SG.PRS you the beer   or CL.PRED   do-1PL.PRS   we
   b. Primero ha entrado Juan y   luego lo   ha *(hecho) Pedro.
      First   has entered Juan and then   CL.PRED has done   Pedro.

This paper presents new evidence in support of the VPE analysis of the clitic structures in (3) and (4) in Spanish. Specifically, I will argue that in these structures, the VPA clitic *lo* doubles a fully articulated VP that has been deleted at PF, as schematically represented in Fig. 1. Under this analysis, the observed variation between English and Spanish reduces to the choice of head licensing ellipsis: (i) T/Aux in English (Fig. 2) and the VPA clitic *lo* that attaches to T/Aux in Spanish (Fig. 1) (cf. Bentzen et al 2014, Vinka & Waldman 2013 for a similar analysis of the Scandinavian pronoun *det* 'it').

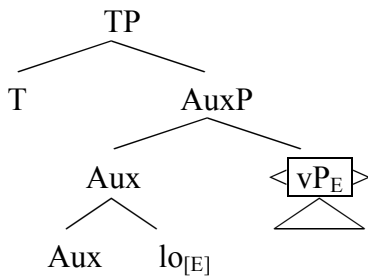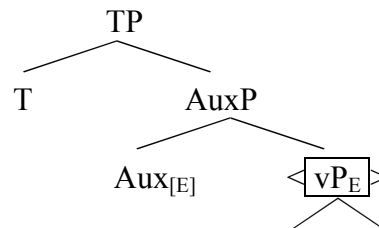Fig 1. Clitic-stranding VPE (Spanish)   Fig 2. Aux-stranding VPE (English)

Evidence in support of the VPE analysis that I defend here comes from independent sources: (i) from inverse scope, (ii) idioms, (iii) voice mismatches and, most importantly, (iv) from the ability of the elided VP to host the trace/copy of different types of movement chains.

1. **Inverse Scope**: Quantifier Raising applies to Spanish clitic-stranding VPE constructions. As shown in (4), wide scope of the universal quantifier in the antecedent clause leads to a parallel scope in the elliptical clause. In the context of a comparable phenomenon in Norwegian, Bentzen et al (2015) suggest that the inverse scope observed in these VPE structures results from reconstructing the subject DP to its original position within the elided VP. Under this view, Quantifier Raising (QR) takes place within VPE, enabling the quantifier to c-command the reconstructed subject DP without exiting the elided VP. This is illustrated in Figure 3.

(4)   a .Este hospital es famoso porque un medico visita a cada paciente antes de que lo haga una
         enfermera.
         'This hospital is famous because a doctor visits every patient before a nurse does [visit every
         patient]' ✓(∃>∀)/✓ (∀<∃)
      b. Según la política de este hospital, un medico atenderá a cada paciente tantas veces como lo haya
         hecho una efermera
         'According to the current policy of this hospital, a doctor would take care of every patient as many
         times as a nurse does [take cares of every patient].' ✓(∃>∀)/✓ (∀<∃)

Fig 3.
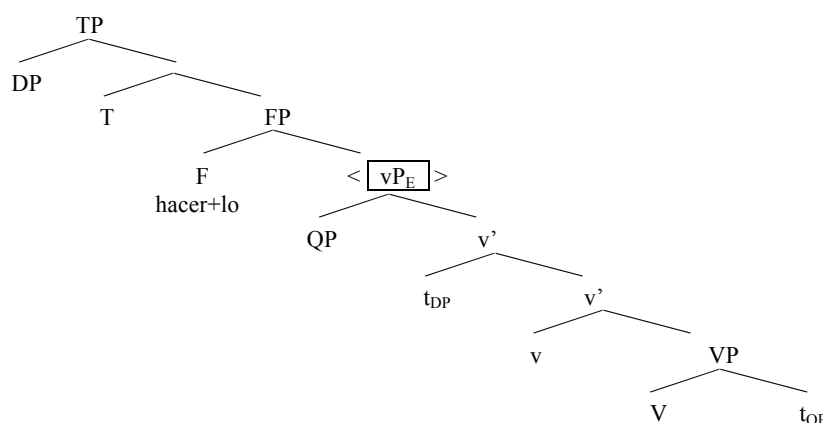
2. **Idioms**. VP-idioms involving a subject DP are rare but exist in Spanish. This is the case of *llegar la sangre al río* (lit: 'the blood arrives to the river'/idiom: 'to come to blows). As shown in (5), the VP-proform *hacerlo* preserves the idiomatic reading of its antecedent VP in the previous clause.

(5)   Todos pensaban que la sangre [$_{VPA}$ llegaría al río]. Así que se sorprendieron cuando no lo hizo.
      (lit.)'Every one thought that the blood will arrive to the river. So they get confused when it didn't.'
      (idiom.) 'Every one thought that problems will rapidly scalate. So they get confused when they don't.'

3. **Voice Mismatches**. It is well-known that English VPE constructions tolerate voice mismatches between the antecedent and the elided VP (Merchant 2013 et seq). The same is true for clitic-stranding constructions in Spanish.

(6) a. *active antecedent, passive ellipsis*
       Sancionaremos a quienes deben serlo
       'We will penalize those persons that must be [$_{VPE}$ penalized].'
    b. *passive antecedent, active ellipsis*
       ?Este información pudo haber sido filtrada por Gorvachov, pero decidió no hacerlo.
       'This information could have been released by Gorvachov, but he chose not to [$_{VPE}$ release this
       information].'

4. **Extraction**. As demonstrated in example (7a), *Hacer Lo* can have an unaccusative verb as its antecedent. In the passive sentence provided in example (7b), the subject DP that originates as the internal argument of the verb is able to move to [Spec,TP] in order to check/value its Case feature.

(7) a. Ahora ya no muere tanta gente de sida como lo hacía antes.
       'Nowadays less people die because of AIDS than they$_1$ used to [$_{VPE}$ die t$_1$].'
    b. Tú estuviste siendo investigado por tantos policías como lo estuve (siendo) yo.
       'You were being investigated by as many police officers as I$_1$ was (being) [$_{VPE}$ investigated t$_1$].'