Clausal extraposition and syntactic doubling: *pro*-legomena*

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"Ad Adriana, che mi ha insegnato linguistica e resistenza."

The relationship between an expletive and its sentential associate happens via doubling in pro-drop languages. In non-pro-drop languages doubling is also an option, unless the expletive is inherently a full argument (Dutch *het*, French *cela*), in which case the expletive is generated as an argument and the clause is generated in a non-argumental position. The emerging grammaticality patterns follow naturally from well-known constraints on sub-extraction. If the [expl [clause]] doubling structure is generated in a licit extraction domain (typically object position), then sub-extraction of the expletive is grammatical; when the clause is a bona fide extraposition structure, then extraction of the expletive yields ungrammaticality. Certain hypothetical-looking structures are amenable to the same analysis.

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