



47 syntactic relation, *pace* recent claims in Kastner (2024) that posit this surface-level allomorphy  
 48 as simply a case of resyllabification. We build on the work in Gravely & Gupton (2020), paying  
 49 particular attention to the underlying syntactic structures that do or do not feed allomorphy at  
 50 both the morphological and phonological level. Although Galician is rich in dialectal variation  
 51 with respect to these phonological alternations (-o, -lo, -no; cf. Dubert García 2015 and  
 52 references therein), a fact that has important implications for studies of intergenerational  
 53 language change (Gravely 2021) and microparameterization (e.g. Kayne 2005), we focus on the  
 54 syntactic constraints required in order for the aforementioned phonological alternations (and  
 55 cliticization more generally) to arise, namely that of categorial selection and head-to-head  
 56 relations.

57

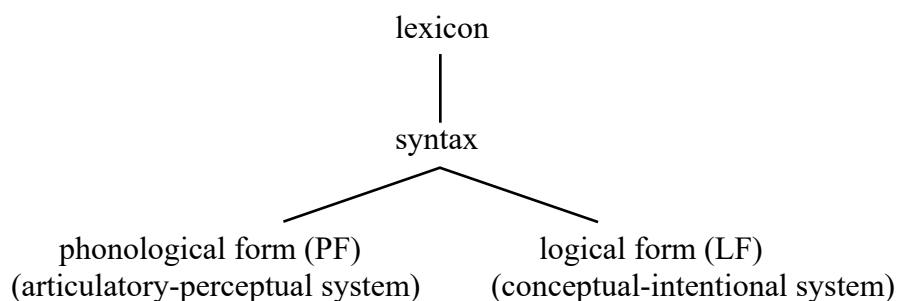
### 58 1.1. Formal notions of the interfaces

59

60 Chomsky (2007) describes the interfaces as the points of contact between the computational  
 61 system of human language and two critical language modules: articulatory-perceptual systems  
 62 (speech production) and conceptual-intentional systems (thought, meaning, and the lexicon).  
 63 This model is often conceived of in the guise of the inverted-Y model (1), as in e.g. Irurtzun  
 64 (2009):

65

66 (1)



74

75 In this particular model, the articulatory-perceptual system is expanded to include speech  
 76 perception. The computational system is viewed as an individual, generative grammar (I-  
 77 grammar) that assembles items from the lexicon endowed with abstract semantic and formal  
 78 features and functional features recursively in the syntax in an operation called *merge* until the  
 79 lexical array is exhausted. Importantly, according to this proposal, all uninterpretable features  
 80 must be deleted prior to the interface. The by-product of this process is that utterances produced  
 81 by derivations that successfully value lexical/functional features form the set of possible  
 82 sentences in a particular language. This grammatical configuration results from continued  
 83 childhood exposure to the ambient linguistic input. Reinhart (2006) refines this view, further  
 84 dividing the Conceptual-Intentional System into Context and Inference, given that in her  
 85 examination of four interface phenomena, these are foundational in reference-set computation.<sup>1</sup>  
 86 Reinhart examines evidence from the first language acquisition of English showing that children  
 87 experience delays in reference-set computation compared to adult speakers. Consider, for  
 88 example, experimental sentences from research on Principle B effects by Chien & Wexler  
 89 (1991).

90

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<sup>1</sup> Reinhart (2006) examines scope-shift, focus calculation, anaphora resolution, and the interpretation of scalar implicatures in English.

- 91 (2) a. Kitty<sub>i</sub> says that Sarah<sub>j</sub> should point to herself<sub>\*i/j/\*k</sub>.  
 92 b. Kitty<sub>i</sub> says that Sarah<sub>j</sub> should point to her<sub>i/j/k</sub>.

93  
 94 According to Principle A of Chomsky's Government and Binding theory (e.g. Chomsky 1981),  
 95 anaphoric expressions like *herself* in (2a) must be locally bound, meaning that reflexive  
 96 pronouns like *herself* (2a) that must refer to an antecedent have to find the source of their  
 97 reference in a structurally closer position—typically within the same clause—than referential  
 98 object pronouns like *her* (2b) do. The result of this is that *herself* can only refer to *Sarah*.  
 99 According to Principle B, pronouns may not be locally bound, thus ruling out the interpretation  
 100 of *her* in (2b) as *Sarah*. Chien & Wexler's (1991) results show that young children under 5 to 6  
 101 years of age successfully acquire the syntactic constraints on pronouns, evidenced via adult-like  
 102 interpretation of Principle A effects, but experience difficulties in certain situations requiring  
 103 pragmatic knowledge. Questions of this type were designed to target linguistic competence  
 104 related to Principle B. In this task, children were presented with brief scene-setting sentences  
 105 followed by questions like (3), which were accompanied by illustrations either showing Mama  
 106 Bear touching Goldilocks or Mama Bear touching herself.

107  
 108 (3) This is Mama Bear; this is Goldilocks. Is Mama Bear touching her?  
 109

110 In response to the context in which Mama Bear was touching herself and not touching  
 111 Goldilocks, children 5-6 years of age responded at chance levels, in that they continued to allow  
 112 referential pronouns like *her* to be interpreted reflexively.<sup>2</sup> Grodzinsky & Reinhart (1993)  
 113 attribute this to a delay in acquiring a pragmatic principle determining possible pronoun  
 114 reference. Reinhart (2006) considers additional examples finding similar issues related to stress-  
 115 shift, focus calculation, and the interpretation of scalar implicatures in English, all of which are  
 116 attributed to delays in development of systems governing reference-set computation.  
 117 At first blush, 5-6 years of age may seem to be rather late for children to be experiencing delays  
 118 related to interface phenomena. However, Blake (1983) found that children acquiring L1 Spanish  
 119 did not fully acquire the subtler uses of the subjunctive mood until adolescence, particularly  
 120 those that involved the codification of what Blake labels doubt (4a) and attitudinal comment  
 121 (4b):

- 122  
 123 (4) a. Dudo            que    lo                    sepa  
 124        doubt.PRS.1SG COMP CL.ACC.M.SG know.PRS.SBJV.3SG  
 125        ;I doubt that s/he knows it.;  
 126        b. No        me                    gusta                    que    lo                    sepa  
 127        NEG CL.DAT.1SG please.PRS.3SG COMP CL.ACC.M.SG PRS.SBJV.3SG  
 128        'I don't like that s/he knows that.'

129  
 130 Note that the sentences in (4) involve the mental states of others, a concept that requires the  
 131 development of *The Theory of Mind* (Premack & Woodruff 1978), which according to Mayes &  
 132 Cohen (1996) develops in children between the ages of 4 and 6. Despite the fact that sentences  
 133 like the examples in (4) require a more developed mind, once this development is complete,  
 134 acquisition of the subjunctive-mood contexts like these may proceed. In this case, the mental

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<sup>2</sup> See Grodzinsky & Reinhart (1993) for additional discussion of this issue.

135 states of others is what invokes subjunctive mood in a fairly categorical manner. However, not all  
 136 subjunctive-mood contexts are uniform or categorical. Consider (5), from Borgonovo, Bruhn de  
 137 Garavito, and Prévost (2015: 35).

138  
 139 (5) Busco                    unas   tijeras        que   cortan     /   corten                    alambre  
 140        look.for.PRS.1SG   some   scissors   COMP cut.PRS.3PL/ cut.PRS.SBJV.3PL wire  
 141        ‘I’m looking for some scissors that cut wire.’

142  
 143 The sentence in (5) is acceptable with indicative mood under the definite meaning that can be  
 144 assigned by the indefinite article *unas* (‘some’) such that the scissors in question already exist in  
 145 the real world as the speaker knows it, but she simply cannot find them. The meaning  
 146 corresponding to the subjunctive mood, however, is one in which the speaker has not yet found  
 147 such a pair of scissors—and may not know for sure if such scissors exist. These examples  
 148 demonstrate that mood selection corresponds with distinct possible states of affairs in the real  
 149 world. These additional subtleties can further complicate and potentially delay the acquisitional  
 150 task, in that it may initially suggest to the acquirer the presence of mood optionality. Therefore,  
 151 from a probabilistic perspective, the individual who is acquiring subjunctive mood is now  
 152 confronted with a more complex task, sorting through subjunctive mood triggers in the ambient  
 153 data, identifying those that uniformly require the subjunctive and those that express different  
 154 realities.<sup>3</sup> The acquisition of mood variation is further complicated by the fact that the  
 155 subjunctive exhibits geographical variation. Consider the following context from Bove's (2018:  
 156 108) study on mood expression in Yucatec Spanish:

157  
 158 (6) Context: Estoy muy ocupada en mi trabajo y en mi vida personal, pero hay un  
 159        puesto más avanzado que quiero solicitar en el trabajo. Cuando lo solicito, mi  
 160        jefe me dice que no. Aunque, en mi opinión, puedo dedicar el tiempo  
 161        necesario...  
 162        ‘I am very busy with my job and in my personal life, but there is a more advanced position  
 163        that I want to apply for at work. When I apply for it, my boss says no. Although, in my  
 164        opinion, I can dedicate the necessary time...’

165  
 166        a. Él no        cree                                    que   yo tengo                    suficiente tiempo  
 167            he NEG   think.PRS.3SG        COMP I   have.PRS.1SG   sufficient time  
 168        b. Él no        cree                                    que   yo tenga                    suficiente tiempo  
 169            he NEG   think.PRS.3SG        COMP I   have.PRS.SBJV.1SG   sufficient time  
 170        ‘He does not think that I have enough time.’

171  
 172 Lacking context, the finite matrix epistemic verb form *cree* (*he*) *believes* in the candidate  
 173 responses should select a subjunctive-mood clausal complement, thus rendering response (6a)  
 174 ungrammatical. However, Bove notes that, in this variety of Spanish—one that has been in  
 175 contact with Yucatec Mayan for over 500 years—it is the veridicality of the subordinate-clause  
 176 proposition within the context of the preceding discourse that determines the appropriate mood  
 177 of the subordinate-clause predicate chosen. Within the context in (6), the speaker of the sequence

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<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Yang (2002, 2006, 2018) for discussion and numerous examples of how such language acquisition might proceed within a probabilistic formal linguistic framework.

178 believes that she has the requisite time, despite her boss's opinion to the contrary. This is what  
179 allows speakers of Yucatec Spanish to prefer response (6a) to (6b).

180 The subjunctive mood in Spanish involves numerous points of interaction between the syntax  
181 and other modules of the grammar, invoking morphology, semantics, and pragmatics. Perhaps  
182 not surprisingly, it is also difficult to acquire for monolinguals, bilinguals, and multilinguals.  
183 Points of interaction between modules are referred to as *interfaces* and have been of great  
184 interest to researchers of bilingualism and multilingualism over the past two decades. Research  
185 by Sorace & Filiaci (2006) proposed the Interface Hypothesis to capture the fact that extremely  
186 advanced, near-native second-language (L2) speakers of Italian exhibited instability related to  
187 the use of subject pronouns in Italian that required the consideration and reconciliation of  
188 pragmatic information, leading to performance that was not native-like and suggestive of  
189 residual optionality with respect to subject pronoun use. This is of relevance because the L1 of  
190 these speakers (i.e. English) is not a null-subject language, allowing only very limited uses of  
191 null subjects.

192 Studies on heritage speakers of null-subject languages who also know a non-null-subject like  
193 English have uncovered similar tendencies of interface instability among these speaker  
194 populations (e.g. Montrul 2005a, b; Rothman 2007; Pires & Rothman 2009).<sup>4</sup> Heritage speakers  
195 are defined as individuals who start life as monolingual speakers of a home language that differs  
196 from the majority language of a particular society, but subsequently become bilinguals who are  
197 proficient in the societal language—often as a result of compulsory, state-funded education  
198 programs—in addition to proficiency in their heritage language. Although the heritage language  
199 is very often an immigrant language, but this is not a strict requirement. Gupton (2010, 2014a)  
200 has explored whether speakers of a minority language like Galician may be considered to be  
201 heritage speakers of Galician, despite the fact that it is spoken by the majority of individuals in  
202 Galicia. The Galician Statistical Institute's (IGE, *Instituto Galego de Estatística*) 2018 report of  
203 language usage suggests an extremely high level of bilingualism: roughly 75%.

204

205 Table 1. Self-reported language use in Galicia, 2018 (IGE)

Language used in speech	Per cent
Always Galician	30.57
More Galician than Spanish	21.72
More Spanish than Galician	23.32
Always Spanish	24.40
total	100.00

206

207 Bilingualism is widespread in Galicia, and involves a language with global presence (Spanish) in  
208 a situation of diglossia with a minority language (Galician) that was rarely used in public for  
209 approximately 500 years, dating from the post-Franco years back at least to the *Irmandiño* Wars  
210 (1467-1469) and the ensuing centralization of administrative power by the Catholic Monarchs,

<sup>4</sup> See also Filiaci & Sorace (2009) and White (2011) for a discussion of a proposed division between internal and external linguistic interfaces.

211 Fernando and Isabel.<sup>5</sup> Given the asymmetric nature of Galician bilingualism, Gupton (2010,  
 212 2014a) suggests that speakers of Galician should be considered heritage speakers, with an  
 213 important caveat. Given the reduced linguistic input that speakers may experience based on a  
 214 dynamic combination of social factors, it may be that Galician speakers exhibit the same sort of  
 215 instability that multilinguals do.<sup>6</sup> Notwithstanding, the vast majority of Galician speakers are  
 216 bilingual, with a vast range of dominance and usage patterns. The Spanish *Ley Orgánica de*  
 217 *Educación* (Fundamental Law of Education) states that education within the Spanish state is free  
 218 and compulsory from ages 6 to 16. For many children raised monolingually in Galician, the start  
 219 of public schooling is their first point of contact with Castilian Spanish, where classes are taught  
 220 in Spanish as well as Galician. Given that the majority of the population is literate (2.1% literacy  
 221 rate in Galicia in 2001 according to IGE), an inevitable outcome of compulsory public schooling,  
 222 it stands to reason that the only Galician monolinguals who would be monolingual, with  
 223 extremely limited experience with Spanish, are those who do so intentionally, in essence, living  
 224 off-grid administratively and linguistically. Therefore, Gupton (2014a) contends that a  
 225 comparison of Galician-Spanish bilingual competence with some idealized Galician monolingual  
 226 competence is unrealistic and unrepresentative of reality.<sup>7</sup> It is worth noting, however, that  
 227 Loureiro-Rodríguez (2009) found that her adolescent Galician informants admired rural  
 228 vernacular speech for its authenticity, suggesting that non-standard rural Galician-dominant  
 229 speech, in particular the type that is less influenced by contact with Castilian Spanish, exerts  
 230 covert prestige. We consider bilingual competence among Galicians to be a valid representative  
 231 of the Galician norm and a valuable source of data as well as syntactic theorizing, despite the  
 232 potential for the presence of optionality at the interfaces.<sup>8</sup>  
 233 Given that the interfaces have been found to be problematic for bilinguals who may experience  
 234 variable levels of input, we examine the formal analysis of two structures in Galician that invoke  
 235 interfaces of the syntactic module of language with other modules, such as semantics, phonology,  
 236 pragmatics, or information structure. First, however, we return to the view of the interface from  
 237 the perspective of the syntax.

238

## 239 1.2. A syntactic view of interfaces

240

241 The current study is theoretically situated within a formal model of the grammar that emerged  
 242 from the Government and Binding model (e.g. Chomsky 1981) of the syntax through to its  
 243 current form, based on a Minimalist Program (e.g. Chomsky 1995 *et sequens*) that conceives of  
 244 the grammar as a generative system of recursive merge, or combination of syntactic objects, that  
 245 acts on lexical items made up of formal features and functional features. The notion of multiple  
 246 spell-out of the type proposed in e.g., Uriagereka (1999) marks a departure from the  
 247 transformational grammar notion of syntactic movements taking place all at once to derive  
 248 surface form from the underlying deep syntactic structure. These ideas figure into Phase Theory  
 249 (e.g. Chomsky 2000, 2001), which views the edge of the syntactic projections vP and CP as

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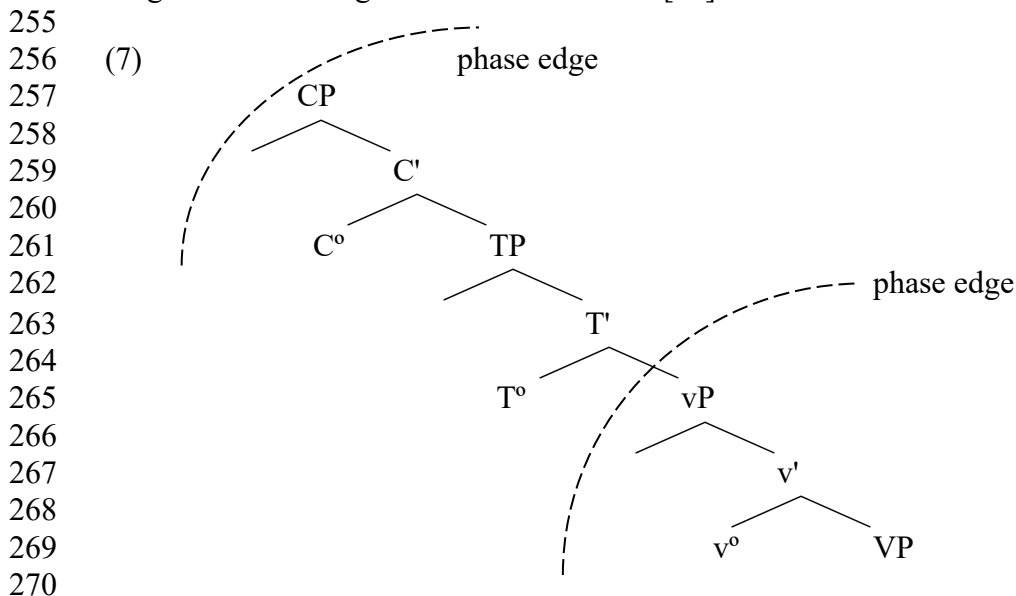
<sup>5</sup> See e.g. Gemie (2006) for more, as well as references in Spanish and Galician.

<sup>6</sup> See Benmamoun, Montrul & Polinsky (2013), Putnam & Sánchez (2013), Kupisch & Rothman (2016) for further discussion of heritage speakers and the problematic notion of the idealized monolingual native speaker.

<sup>7</sup> Note that the notion of the native speaker as an idealized norm and point of comparison has been a rich point of discussion and debate in recent years. (e.g. Cheng et al. 2021, Gudmestad 2021). See Kupisch (2019) for an exploration of simultaneous bilinguals as heritage speakers.

<sup>8</sup> Native speakers of a language also exhibit optionality. See Gupton & Sánchez-Calderón (2023) for further discussion of its relevance to second language acquisition and Lasnik (2024) for its relevance to syntactic theory.

250 points of derivational pause and partial spell-out. An example of an interface proposal  
 251 incorporating phase theory is López (2009), which examines the syntax-information structure  
 252 interface. By his proposal, the Pragmatics component can inspect the syntactic structure at the vP  
 253 phase edge in (7) and assign the Pragmatic feature [ $\pm a$ ] (anaphoric). Later, at the CP phase edge,  
 254 Pragmatics can assign a contrastive feature [ $\pm c$ ].



271 Within this proposal, these [ $\pm a$ ,  $\pm c$ ] features are strictly pragmatic, information structure-related  
 272 features, and not lexical features. He combines these to derive a number of focus-dependent  
 273 structures in Castilian Spanish and Catalan, including topical clitic left-dislocation (CLLD) and  
 274 contrastive focus structures. The postulation of an independent Pragmatics module generating  
 275 these features sidesteps potential problems for the Inclusiveness Condition (Chomsky, 2000),  
 276 which states that no new features can be introduced by the computational system, which would  
 277 include the marking of syntactic objects in a derivation with diacritics related to e.g. topic or  
 278 focus.<sup>9</sup> Current views of syntax incorporating a Cartographic approach to the CP (e.g. Rizzi  
 279 1997, 2013) divide this realm into a number of specialized functional sub-projections, including  
 280 Finiteness (FinP), Focus (FocP), Force (FceP), and, in some languages, recursive Topics (TopP\*)  
 281 appearing to the left or right of FocP. The structural hierarchy related to these positions appears  
 282 in (8).

283  
 284 (8) FceP > TopP\* > FocP > (TopP\*) > FinP > TP > vP > VP  
 285

286 Each of these functional projections is intended to capture a particular interface between the  
 287 propositional content and its practical incorporation into the discourse-pragmatic context.  
 288 Criterial features are proposed to exist related to these particular demands of speech, and others  
 289 have been proposed to capture more finely-tuned subdivisions of topic type. Researchers like  
 290 Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) have proposed these features for Italian and German, noting  
 291 correspondences between intonation and information structure-related meanings in context found  
 292 in corpora. Gupton (2021) analyzed experimentally-controlled data in Galician collected in voice  
 293 recordings of Galician-dominant participants reading sentences preceded by a contextualized

<sup>9</sup> See Szendrői (2001, 2004) for further discussion.

294 prompt to better construct the situations in which the sentences appear. Curiously, the results did  
 295 not suggest specialized intonation curves by distinct information structure types in Galician, but  
 296 they did reveal that constituents in the left or right peripheral positions exhibit a particular  
 297 characteristic intonation: the left edge is marked by a post-tonic rise (L\*+H), while the right edge  
 298 is marked by a tonic fall (H+L\*) or low tone (L%). This outcome suggests that marked syntactic  
 299 positions are additionally—perhaps redundantly—marked prosodically in Galician, which may  
 300 be a small first step in gaining insight on the characteristic prosody of Galicia that is often  
 301 described as a sing-song intonation, and is found in Galician as well as Galician Spanish (e.g.  
 302 Ramallo, 2007). Despite the fact that much generative theorizing has favored the view of the  
 303 grammar from the perspective of an idealized monolingual, new models of bilingualism and  
 304 multilingualism have appeared in recent years. López (2020) is a bold new model of code  
 305 switching, based on a Minimalist view of syntax augmented by Distributed Morphology (Halle  
 306 & Marantz 1993, 1994, a.o.). Following this proposal, bilingual grammar consists of a single  
 307 combined lexicon feeding into a single computational system in which the grammars of both  
 308 languages coexist. This stands in opposition to the model proposed by MacSwan (1999, 2000), in  
 309 which a bilingual has two separate lexicons that can feed into a single computational system  
 310 (syntax), the output of which is sent to one of two dedicated PF output systems. It seems clear  
 311 that there is still much for us to learn regarding the grammatical competence of bilinguals and  
 312 multilinguals. The potential for cross-linguistic interference and/or potential residual optionality  
 313 or instability related to the interface of the syntax with the phonology and the discourse (via  
 314 information/focus structure) is precisely what attracts the attention of the syntactic researcher to  
 315 the functional field and functional categories at the word level (NP-DP) and sentence level (CP).  
 316 As discussed previously above, studies on the acquisition of syntactic structures that differ in the  
 317 mental grammar(s) of the bilingual are of particular interest to linguists, especially when (so-  
 318 called) target production alternates with non-target production at the highest levels of  
 319 proficiency. One particular structure that differs between Galician and Spanish is clitic  
 320 directionality. Galician has split directionality, allowing finite enclisis in a variety of affirmative,  
 321 declarative sentence types (9, more examples to follow below), but finite proclisis in main  
 322 clauses in which a *wh*-element (10a), negation (10b), a negative quantifier (10c), a preverbal  
 323 affective phrase (10d), or *verum focus* fronting (10e) precedes the verb.

324

325 *Galician*326 (9) Xoán (regalou=*me* /\**me* regalou) un libro.

327 Xoán gift.PRS.3SG=CL.DAT.1SG / CL.DAT.1SG gift.PRS.3SG a book

328 ‘Xoán gave me a book.’ (Gupton 2012: 274)<sup>10</sup>

329 (10) a. A quen (\*Xoán) (lle debe /\*debe=lle) (Xoán) o aluguer?

330 to who(m) (Xoán) CL.DAT.3SG owe. PRS.3SG (Xoan) the rent

331 ‘To whom does Xoan owe rent?’ (Gupton 2014b: 141)<sup>11</sup>

332 b. Non (o fixen /\*fixen=o).

333 NEG CL.ACC.3SG.M do.PST.1SG

334 ‘I didn’t do it.’ (Gupton 2014a: 205)

335

336

<sup>10</sup> In this series of examples, we separate the clitic from the finite verb form with the symbol ‘=’ for clarity of presentation for those unfamiliar with Galician. This symbol does not appear in any standard Galician orthography.

<sup>11</sup> Note that all examples that are not explicitly cited are the product of consultation with native speakers of Galician.



- 337 c. Nada (lle dicen /\*díxen=lle) porque nin a  
 338 nothing CL.DAT.3SG say.PST.1SG because neither CL.ACC.3SG.F  
 339 lembrar-á.  
 340 remember.FUT.3SG  
 341 ‘I told him nothing because he won’t remember anyway.’ (Jaureguizar 2022)  
 342 d. Xoán xa (me dixo /\*díxo=me) o segredo.  
 343 Xoán already CL.DAT.1SG say.PST.3SG the secret  
 344 ‘Xoán already told me the secret.’ (Gupton 2012: 274)  
 345 e. Algo (lle dixo /\*díxo=lle.)  
 346 something CL.DAT.3SG say.PST.3SG  
 347 ‘She told him something.’  
 348

349 Castilian Spanish, however, does not have finite enclisis; rather, it has finite proclisis in main and  
 350 subordinate clauses, as we can see in the Castilian analogues in (11). As we will see in (13)  
 351 below, Spanish only allows enclisis with verbal infinitives.  
 352

- 353 *Castilian Spanish*  
 354 (11) a. A quién (\*Juan) le debe (Juan) el alquiler?  
 355 to who(m) (Juan) CL.DAT.3SG owe. PRS.3SG (Juan) the rent  
 356 ‘To whom does Juan owe rent?’  
 357 b. No lo hice.  
 358 NEG CL.ACC.3SG.M do.PST.1SG  
 359 ‘I didn’t do it.’  
 360 c. Nada le dije porque ni la  
 361 nothing CL.DAT.3SG say.PST.1SG because neither CL.ACC.3SG.F  
 362 recordará.  
 363 remember.FUT.3SG  
 364 ‘I told him nothing because he won’t remember anyway.’  
 365 d. Juan ya me dijo el secreto.  
 366 Juan already CL.DAT.1SG say.PST.3SG the secret  
 367 ‘Xoán already told me the secret.’  
 368 e. Algo le dijo.  
 369 something CL.DAT.3SG say.PST.3SG  
 370 ‘She told him something.’  
 371

372 It is well documented (e.g. Dubert 2005, Ramallo 2007, González-González 2008, Enríquez-  
 373 García 2017) that the difference in finite clitic directionality causes problems for Castilian  
 374 Spanish-Galician bilinguals who acquire Galician in adulthood. Enríquez-García (2017) found  
 375 that *neofalante* speakers of Galician overgenerated finite enclisis, leading to a large number of  
 376 ungrammatical utterances. Another unique characteristic of Galician is that determiners exhibit  
 377 behavior similar to object clitics, participating in unique phonological and syntactic  
 378 dependencies within the Noun Phrase (NP).  
 379  
 380  
 381  
 382

- 383 (12) a. Comemos o caldo  
 384 eat.PRS.1PL the soup  
 385 ‘We eat soup.’  
 386 -> Come[mo.so.kal]do  
 387 -> Come[mo.lo.kal]do  
 388 b. Son boas as cancións  
 389 be.PRS.3PL good.F.PL the.F.PL songs.PL  
 390 ‘The songs are good.’  
 391 -> Son [bo.a.sas.kan]cións  
 392 ~> \*Son [bo.a.las.kan]cións  
 393

394 In (12a), there are two possible pronunciation options, one of which involves suppletion of a  
 395 verb-final *-s* and a determiner immediately following. In (12b), however, we find that only one  
 396 pronunciation is possible. If this were a simple phonological issue, we would not expect such an  
 397 asymmetry in pronunciation, which strongly suggests that some sort of syntactic constraint is at  
 398 play when the Noun Phrase *as cancións* syntactically merges with the rest of the clause in  
 399 question. More specifically, this appears to involve the interface of the syntax module with the  
 400 phonological module. It is worth noting that this sort of phonological phenomenon does not exist  
 401 in any variety of Spanish that we know of. We are also unaware of any study on the acquisition  
 402 of this characteristic of determiner clitics in Galician.

403 Clitic directionality and determiner clitic phonology are two notable differences between  
 404 determiner systems in Castilian Spanish and Galician. Both involve a syntactic interface and both  
 405 present data that might suggest to the L2 acquirer that optionality is at play, thus making them  
 406 ideal structures to examine. Doing so will provide us with greater insight on the syntax of the  
 407 Galician language, but its comparison with Spanish affords us an opportunity to identify how  
 408 specifically these languages differ and how this is competence is represented in the grammar of  
 409 the bilingual mind. In the following sections, we review the syntactic properties of determiner  
 410 clitics at the word level and the clausal level in Galician, an enterprise that will allow us to  
 411 identify the critical formal differences between the languages as well as potential points of  
 412 difficulty and cross-linguistic interference. Before we do that, however, we want to contextualize  
 413 the task at hand by briefly reviewing some of the relevant literature on the bilingual acquisition  
 414 of clitic pronouns in Spanish and Galician.

415 Studies on the L2 acquisition of clitic pronouns in Spanish such as Duffield & White (1999)  
 416 reveal that speakers of L1s like English that do not have clitic pronouns can acquire the syntactic  
 417 properties of clitics in monoclausal sentences, but experience difficulty with biclausal sentences,  
 418 given that some allow for restructuring (13a, b) for clitics, while others do not (14a, b).<sup>12</sup>  
 419

- 420 (13) a. María quiere comprar=lo.  
 421 Mary want.PRS.3SG buy.INF=CL.ACC.M.SG  
 422 ‘Mary wants to buy it.’  
 423 b. María lo quiere comprar.  
 424 Mary CL.ACC.M.SG want.PRS.3SG buy.INF  
 425 ‘Mary wants to buy it.’  
 426  
 427

<sup>12</sup> It is not possible to place the clitic pronoun between the verb forms in either Castilian Spanish or Galician.

- 428 (14) a. María lo hizo caminar.  
 429 Mary CL.ACC.M.SG make.PST.3SG walk.INF  
 430 ‘Mary makes him walk.’  
 431 b. \*María hizo caminar=lo.  
 432 Mary make.PST.3SG walk.INF=CL.ACC.M.SG  
 433

434 The structure in (13a) is more similar to English word order, and consequently this non-  
 435 restructured order tends to be preferred for English L1 acquirers of L2 Spanish. This tendency  
 436 causes problems for forms like (14a), which are not the product of restructuring of an underlying  
 437 form like (14b).

438 Peace (2020) reveals that English L1 speakers tend to avoid use of Spanish L2 clitics when  
 439 possible, using a tonic pronoun or omitting a clitic altogether. Although performance is largely  
 440 native-like at advanced levels with accusative clitics, Peace (2020) found that instability persists  
 441 in the use of dative clitics, which may have to do with the availability of dative clitic doubling in  
 442 Spanish. Studies on the L2 acquisition of Italian clitics reviewed in Belletti & Guasti (2015)  
 443 reveal similar results. They note that Leonini & Belletti (2004) found that their most advanced  
 444 participants did not omit clitics, using them correctly 64% of the time, while opting for a tonic  
 445 pronoun 30% of the time. Smith, Spelozzi, Sorace, and Garraffa (2022), examined adult  
 446 immigrant (AI) speakers of Italian living in Scotland and among heritage speakers (HS) of Italian  
 447 raised in Scotland. This study focused on examining two markers of Developmental Language  
 448 Disorder (DLD, Bishop 2017) among non-dominant speakers of Italian: repetition of nonce  
 449 words and object clitic production. While the AI group was largely target-like (~80% accuracy),  
 450 the HS group was less target-like (~35% accuracy) and exhibited a tendency to avoid clitic  
 451 pronouns in production rather than to produce non-target structures. Curiously, previous studies  
 452 (Arosio et al. 2014; Guasti et al. 2016) found that school-age children with DLD produce object  
 453 pronouns more consistently and in a greater variety of structures than the HS participants in this  
 454 study did. Results from the nonce-word repetition task, however, showed that the HS group  
 455 performed similarly to the AI group, producing ~97% target-like responses. They note that this  
 456 performance differs from research on DLD individuals (Bishop et al. 1996; Casalini et al. 2007;  
 457 Conti-Ramsden 2003; Vernice et al. 2013), who have been found to experience difficulties with  
 458 memory and phonological awareness.

459 Early bilingual acquirers of English and Spanish reported on in Pérez-Leroux, Cuza & Thomas  
 460 (2011) participated in an elicited repetition task, and experienced difficulty with stimuli with  
 461 clitic climbing sentences like (13b), with preverbal clitic pronouns. They attribute this behavior  
 462 to cross-linguistic interference from English, which does not allow object pronouns to precede  
 463 the verb. Heritage speakers of Spanish from Brazil who also spoke Brazilian Portuguese (BP) in  
 464 López Otero, Cuza & Jiao (2022) revealed that these speakers experienced extended null objects  
 465 from BP to their Spanish in situations that did not allow null clitics, such as (15).

- 466  
 467 (15) Nunca pido café, pero hoy sí pedí.  
 468 never order.PRS.1SG coffee, but today yes order.PST.1SG  
 469 ‘I never order coffee, but today I did.’ (López Otero et al. 2022: 162)  
 470

471 Studies on the L1 or L2 acquisition of Galician clitics are decidedly less numerous, but also are  
 472 suggestive of learner difficulty with clitic directionality. Enríquez García (2017) conducted  
 473 sociolinguistic interviews with *neofalante* L2 speakers of Galician (L1 Castilian Spanish), and

474 found that, in the resulting oral corpus, 19% of sentences produced diverged from the Galician  
 475 norm with respect to clitic directionality.<sup>13</sup> However, this number rose to 39% when considering  
 476 only contexts where enclisis is predicted (Enríquez García 2017: 57). Although this is one of the  
 477 only studies that we are aware of on the L2 acquisition of clitic directionality in Galician, there  
 478 are studies on structurally similar languages. Madeira & Xavier (2009) examined the L2  
 479 acquisition of split clitic directionality in European Portuguese (EP), which is very similar to  
 480 Galician, among L1 speakers of Romance (French, Italian and Spanish) and Germanic languages  
 481 (Danish, Dutch, English, and German), eliciting written production and grammaticality judgment  
 482 data. On the written task, their participants displayed target-like written production of enclitic  
 483 word orders from the earliest levels. Nevertheless, their participants produced obligatory  
 484 proclitic word orders at chance levels among beginners. They also acknowledge that many L2  
 485 participants avoided using clitic pronouns or used tonic pronouns instead. On the grammaticality  
 486 judgment task, participants showed indeterminate knowledge of the enclisis-proclisis split  
 487 overall, but they performed better when judging grammatical sentences versus ungrammatical  
 488 ones. Curiously, Costa, Lobo & Fiéis (2015) report that native EP-acquiring children experience  
 489 target acquisition early followed by a period of overextension of non-target enclitic orders  
 490 between the ages of 5 and 7. They note that variability in adult production of the enclisis-  
 491 proclisis split may complicate the task, as children are exposed to a variety of complex clause  
 492 types. It is unclear to what degree that native Galician speakers exhibit variability in clitic  
 493 placement during first language (L1) acquisition. Although we are unaware of L1 acquisition  
 494 studies on clitic pronouns in Galician, Pérez-Pereira's (1996) examination of the L1 acquisition  
 495 of possessives in Castilian Spanish and Galician found that children acquiring Galician, which  
 496 has a formally more complex possessive system, experienced a different developmental path in  
 497 L1 acquisition as compared to children acquiring L1 Castilian Spanish. If formal complexity is  
 498 associated with a different order of L1 acquisition, then we should expect delays in Galician that  
 499 are similar to those experienced by children acquiring EP as an L1.

500

## 501 2. Sentence-level functional projections in Galician

502

503 As we have briefly seen above, in order to determine the precise syntactic analysis of clitic  
 504 pronouns, we have to consider a variety of preverbal constituent types.<sup>14</sup> With respect to the  
 505 sentence level, Gupton (2014a) proposes the following hierarchy of projections (16a):

506

507 (16) a. FceP > TopP\* > SubjP > FP(=FinP) > TP > vP > VP

508 b. FceP > TopP\* > FocP > (TopP\*) > FinP > TP > vP > VP

509

510 There are some notable differences in this hierarchy of projections as compared to the one  
 511 proposed in (8, repeated as 16b) by Rizzi (1997, 2013). Based on the fact that contrastive fronted  
 512 constituents exhibit clitic doubling and finite enclisis (17), Gupton concludes that Galician does  
 513 not have Spanish-style focus fronting, thus eliminating the FocP projection in (16a).

514

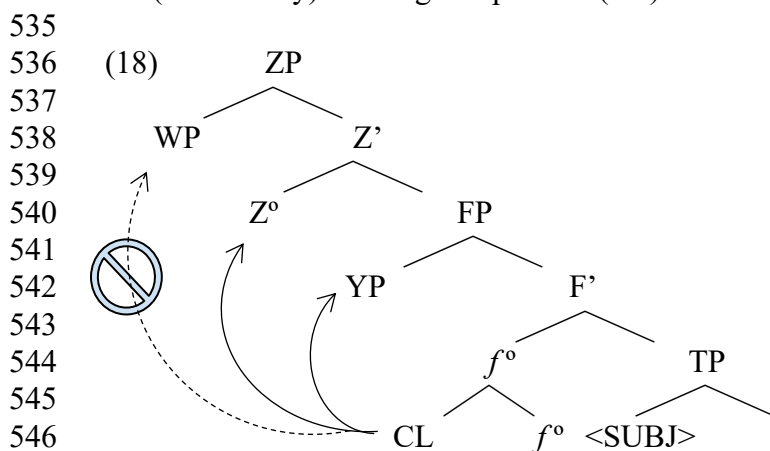
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<sup>13</sup> *Neofalantes* are literally ‘new speakers’ of Galician. These are defined by Vázquez-Fernández (2022) as native speakers of Castilian Spanish who have abandoned their native language in favor of Galician. See Vázquez-Fernández as well as e.g. O'Rourke & Ramallo (2013) for a more detailed discussion of these individuals.

<sup>14</sup> These facts are also acknowledged elsewhere, such as Enríquez García (2017), but her approach is not as fine-grained in its distinction of preverbal constituent types as they relate to the syntax-discourse interface.

- 515 (17) A CENORIA o coello comeu=na / \*a comeu (non a mazá)  
 516 the carrot the rabbit eat.PST.3SG=CL.ACC.F.SG not the apple  
 517 ‘The rabbit ate THE CARROT (not the apple).’ (Gupton 2014a: 200)  
 518

519 He additionally proposes that the FP projection found in Uriagereka (1995a, b) and Raposo &  
 520 Uriagereka (2005) is FinP, a proposal that we will return to shortly as we examine novel  
 521 recomplementation data from Galician. FP plays a critical role in their analysis of clitic  
 522 directionality: syntactic elements to the left of FP are understood to trigger enclitic word orders,  
 523 while those in Spec, FP and to the right trigger proclitic word orders.<sup>15</sup> According to Raposo &  
 524 Uriagereka’s (2005) proposal, clitic pronouns (CL) are base generated as verbal complements for  
 525 reasons related to function (for thematic role assignment within the vP, as in Baker, 1988) and  
 526 subsequently attracted to F<sup>o</sup> and adjoin to F=<sup>o</sup>. Once in this configuration, a clitic must find a  
 527 leftward leaning host within an immediately-local domain. If a left-adjacent specifier (YP) or  
 528 head (Z<sup>o</sup>) is available, this can serve as host (18). The abstract structure in (18) is understood to  
 529 be operative in main clauses and subordinate clauses with wh- elements (19a), negation (19b),  
 530 negative quantifiers (19c), so-called “affective” adverbial phrases (19d), and verum focus  
 531 fronting (19e) in main clause contexts. In these sentences, the clitic pronoun (CL in 18) is base  
 532 generated in its argument position within the VP and subsequently moves, attracted to the F head  
 533 by a strong *f*-feature. The constituent serving as “leftward-leaning host” is proposed to occupy  
 534 the (structurally) next higher specifier (YP) or the head position (Z).



- 548 (19) a. A quen (\*Xoán) lle debe (Xoán) o aluguer?  
 549 to who(m) (Xoán) CL.DAT.3SG owe. PRS.3SG (Xoan) the rent  
 550 ‘To whom does Xoan owe rent?’ (Gupton 2014b: 141)<sup>16</sup>  
 551 b. Non o fixen  
 552 NEG CL.ACC.3SG.M do.PST.1SG  
 553 ‘I didn’t do it.’ (Gupton 2014a: 205)

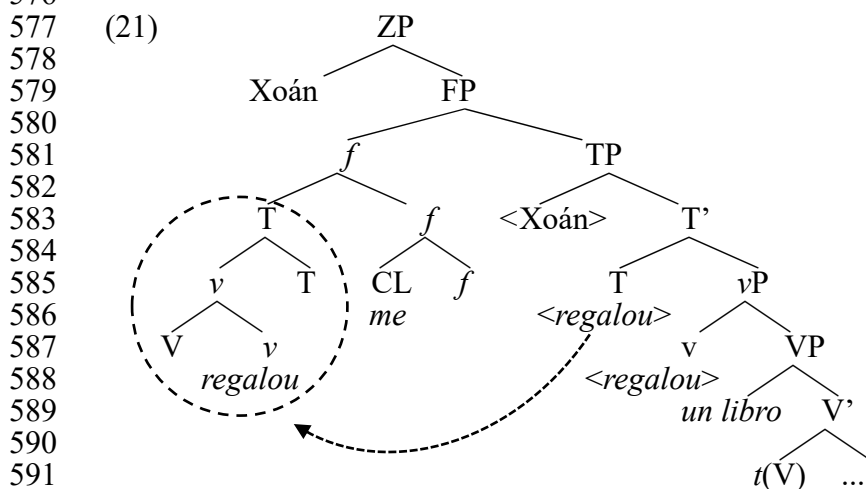
<sup>15</sup> These are known in the literature as *Wackernagel effects* (Wackernagel 1892) or the *Tobler-Mussafia Law* (Mussafia 1888; Tobler 1875/1912). Gupton (2010, 2012) assume an analysis based on Raposo & Uriagereka’s (2005) proposal, but Gupton (2014a) additionally considers the Sportiche (1996)-style model by which clitics are base generated, and not the product of syntactic movement. He concludes that this model, which is also assumed by Fernández-Rubiera (2009), captures the data identically, makes the same predictions, and is equally economical in derivational terms.

<sup>16</sup> Note that all examples that are not explicitly cited are the product of consultation with native speakers of Galician.

- 554 c. Nada lle dixen porque nin a  
 555 nothing CL.DAT.3SG say.PST.1SG because neither CL.ACC.3SG.F  
 556 lembrar.á.  
 557 remember.FUT.3SG  
 558 ‘I told him nothing because he won’t remember anyway.’ (Jaureguizar 2022)  
 559 d. Xoán xa me dixo o segredo.  
 560 Xoán already CL.DAT.1SG say.PST.3SG the secret  
 561 ‘Xoán already told me the secret.’ (Gupton 2012: 274)  
 562 e. Algo lle dixo.  
 563 something CL.DAT.3SG say.PST.3SG  
 564 ‘She told him something.’  
 565

566 In sentences where a leftward host is unavailable, a Last Resort process that they name *clitic*  
 567 *swallowing* takes place. Consider the structure for the Galician sentence in (20) from Gupton  
 568 (2012: 277), where only a preverbal clitic precedes the verb. The fact that proclisis is impossible  
 569 here suggests that the preverbal subject *Xoán* does not constitute a leftward-leaning host. In  
 570 absence of such a host, the finite verb itself moves leftward and provides a host, resulting in  
 571 finite enclisis (21).  
 572

- 573 (20) Xoán regalou=me (\*me regalou) un libro.  
 574 Xoán gift.PRS.3SG=CL.DAT.1SG a book  
 575 ‘Xoán gave me a book.’ (Gupton 2012: 274)  
 576



593 These are proposed to be the relevant syntactic structures for sentences with finite enclisis, such  
 594 as preverbal subjects (20), contrastive topics (22a), and regular CLLD topics (22b).<sup>17</sup> Following  
 595 this logic then, main- and subordinate-clause proclisis results when a leftward-leaning host is  
 596 available. When one is not, the verb moves to provide one, resulting in finite enclisis.  
 597

598  
 599  
 600

<sup>17</sup> Contrastive constituents appear in BOLD.

- 601 (22) a. O MEU ÚLTIMO LIBRO dei=lle /\*lle dei eu a Paco (non  
 602 the my last book give.PST.1SG=CL.DAT.1SG I to Paco NEG  
 603 o meu primeiro).  
 604 the my first  
 605 ‘I gave MY LAST BOOK to Paco (not my first).’ (Gupton 2012: 274)<sup>18</sup>  
 606 b. Un bico dába=llo /\*llo daba eu a esa rapaza.  
 607 a kiss give.IMPV.1SG=CL.DAT.3SG=CL.ACC.3SG.M I to that girl  
 608 ‘A kiss I was giving to that girl.’ (Gupton 2012: 274)  
 609

610 Table 2, from Gupton (2014a: 209), summarizes clitic directionality phenomena in main clauses  
 611 and subordinate clauses with a variety of preverbal constituents.

612

613 Table 2. Summary of cliticization by clause type and preverbal element in Galician

constituent	clause type	
	main	subordinate
wh- element (19a)	proclisis	proclisis
negation (19b)	proclisis	proclisis
negative quantifier (19c)	proclisis	proclisis
affective adverbial (19d)	proclisis	proclisis
verum focus fronting (19e)	proclisis	proclisis
<b>preverbal subject (20)</b>	<b>enclisis</b>	<b>proclisis</b>
<b>contrastive topic (22a)</b>	<b>enclisis</b>	<b>proclisis</b>
CLLD topic (22b)	enclisis	enclisis

614

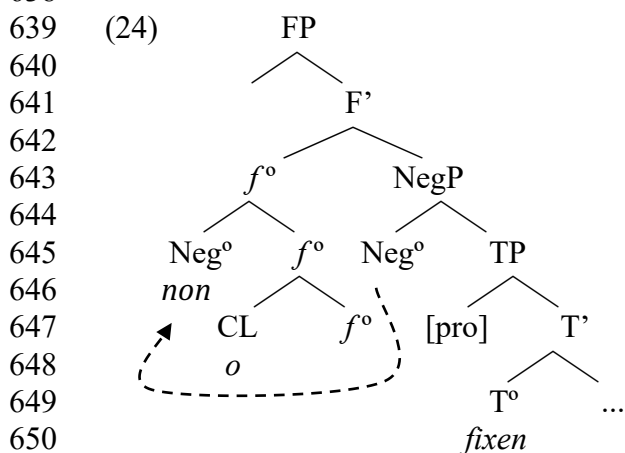
615 As we can see in Table 2, Gupton (2012: 275) reports a curious clitic directionality asymmetry  
 616 results with preverbal subjects (20) and contrastive topics (22a), both of which trigger enclisis in  
 617 main clauses, but proclisis in subordinate clauses (Cf. 23a, 23b). Regular CLLD topics, however,  
 618 still result in enclisis (23c).  
 619

- 620 (23) a. Xoana díxo=me que Paulo me prestaría o  
 621 Xoana say.PST.3SG=CL.DAT.1SG that Paulo CL.DAT.1SG lend.COND.3SG the  
 622 seu dicionario.  
 623 his dictionary  
 624 ‘Xoana told me that Paulo would lend me his dictionary.’  
 625 b. Xoana díxo=me que O SEU ÚLTIMO LIBRO  
 626 Xoana say.PST.3SG=CL.DAT.1SG that the her last book  
 627 lle deu a Paco (non o seu primeiro).

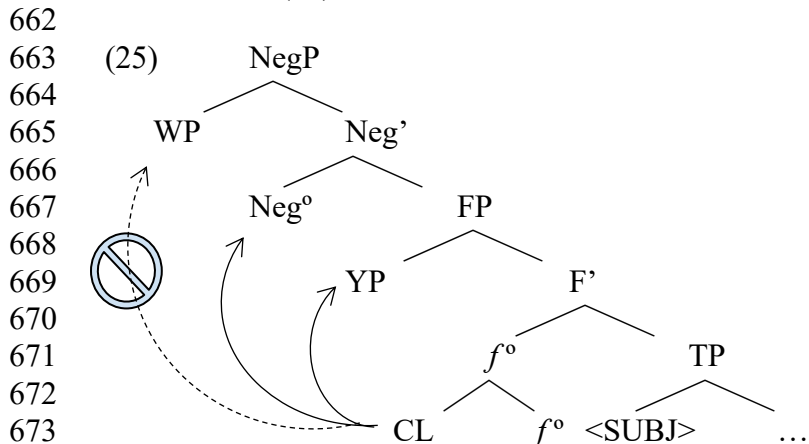
<sup>18</sup> Gupton (2014a: 200) discusses differing clitic directionality judgments from Northeastern Galicia, reported on in Fernández-Rubiera (2009: 77), which suggest dialectal variation in sentences expressing a contrastive reading of the direct object constituent. In these varieties, it seems that *proclisis* (i.e. CL-V order) is the only order possible for (22a), which suggests to us that, in these varieties, the left peripheral hierarchy is endowed with a Focus (Foc) projection, similar to Italian and Spanish (16b). We thank one of the editors of this special issue, who has similar judgments, for bringing this to our attention. Given the similarity to Spanish in this respect, the existence of dialectal variation not only further complicates the acquisition task for *neofalantes*, but it also sheds new light on apparent target-divergent competence and performance among *neofalante* speakers. More investigation is warranted to tease apart the different variables that may come to bear on clitic directionality among different bilingual speaker groups.

628 CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.1SG to Paco (not the her first)  
 629 ‘Xoana told me that she gave HER LATEST BOOK to Paco (not her first).’  
 630 c. Santi dixo que o poema traducíra=o / \*o traducira ao  
 631 Santi say.PST.3SG that the poem translate.PSTPRF.3SG=CL.ACC.3SG.M to-the  
 632 inglés algún australiano.  
 633 English some Australian  
 634 ‘Santi said that the poem some Australian had translated it to English.’  
 635

636 Gupton (2014a:205) speculated that negation may be a clitic-like element, moving from the Neg  
 637 head, and adjoining to the functional head  $f^{\circ}$  (24):  
 638



652 Upon reflection, however, it seems unlikely that negation is a clitic because, if it were, it too  
 653 would require a left-adjacent host, contrary to fact (19b). It is *clitic-like* in the sense that it  
 654 adjoins to another head, which goes a long way toward explaining how negation takes part in  
 655 phonological reduction processes in structurally similar Romance languages like French when  
 656 adjacent to verb forms (*Il me a dit que... → Il m'a dit que...* ‘He told me that...’); however, it is  
 657 not clitic-like in Galician in that it does not require a leftward-leaning host. The predictive power  
 658 of this hypothesis is largely dependent upon the explanatory power of Raposo & Uriagereka’s  
 659 (2005) description of local, eligible syntactic positions for a leftward-leaning host, like we saw in  
 660 (18). A possibility not examined by Gupton (2010, 2014a) is that negation should be generated to  
 661 the left of FP (25):  
 662





674  
 675 Were negation generated in this position, it would be a possible leftward-leaning host for clitic  
 676 pronouns, thus correctly generating proclitic order. We see this as welcome new insight on the  
 677 structural position of negation within the syntax of Galician and will not explore it further in the  
 678 current paper beyond highlighting that it is important in the sense that negation must appear to  
 679 the right of a subject in preverbal position.<sup>19</sup>  
 680 Turning to preverbal subjects, we find the following positions available in Galician as proposed  
 681 by Gupton (2014a):

682  
 683 (26) [<sub>TopP</sub> (Subj<sub>Top</sub>) [<sub>SubjP</sub> (Subj<sub>Thetic</sub>) [<sub>FP</sub> (Subj<sub>Embed</sub>) [<sub>f</sub> [CL+*f*]] [<sub>TP</sub> (Subj) [<sub>vP</sub> (~~Subj~~)...]]]]]]

684  
 685 In (26), note that only the base-generated, postverbal position of the subject appears in  
 686 strikethrough. Here, we have four possible preverbal positions: (i) Spec, TP - this position is used  
 687 for preverbal subjects in sentences lacking a discourse-active FP projection to host clitic  
 688 pronouns; (ii) Spec, FP - this position is used for preverbal subjects in subordinate-clause (non-  
 689 root) sentences with an active FP projection hosting clitics. In such sentences, the preverbal  
 690 subject serves as leftward-leaning host for clitic pronouns; (iii) Spec, SubjP - preverbal subjects  
 691 in thetic sentences. It would seem that thetic sentences shouldn't contain clitics given that, by  
 692 definition, thetic sentences do not privilege subjects or objects. However, dative clitics can  
 693 appear as doubled clitics (27a) in “out of the blue” thetic sentences or as interlocutor/solidarity  
 694 clitics (27b).

695  
 696 (27) a. Dei=che                      a ti        un libro.  
 697            give.PST.1SG=CL.2SG to you    a book  
 698            ‘I gave you a book.’        (Freixeiro Mato 2006: 133)  
 699            b. A miña filla            casou=che.  
 700            the my daughter marry.PST.3SG=CL.2SG  
 701            ‘My daughter got married.’<sup>20</sup>  
 702

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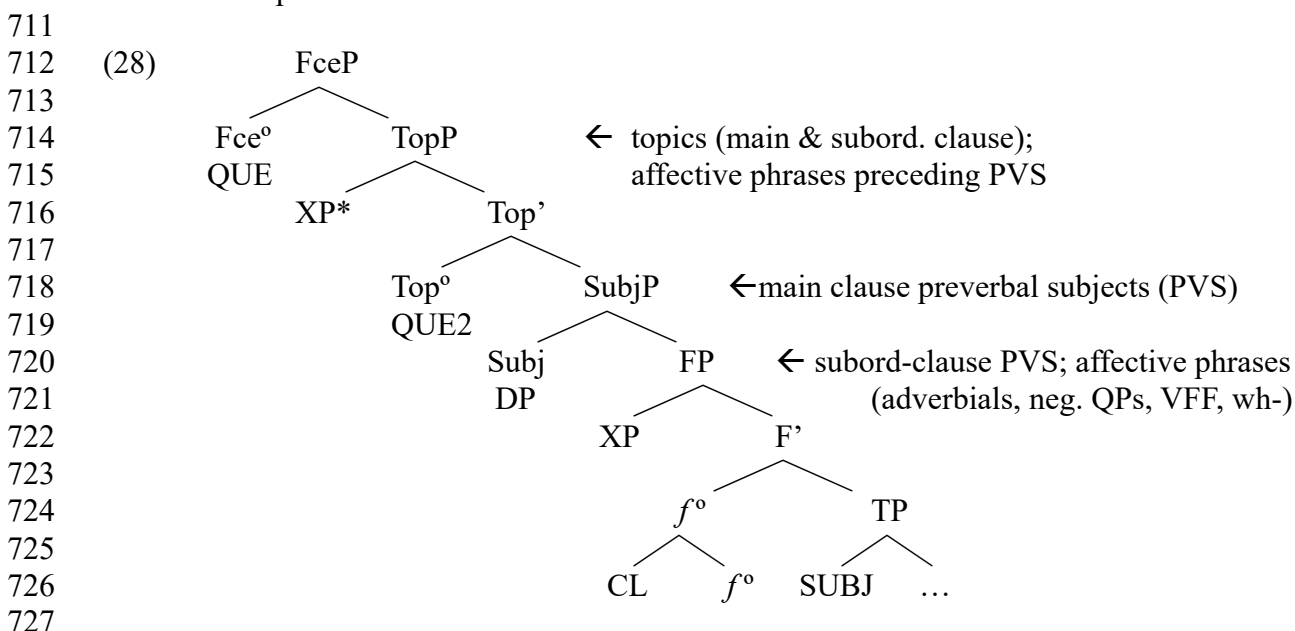
<sup>19</sup> An anonymous reviewer inquires whether subjects can occur after negation in Galician. A subject may appear in postverbal position (ia), but cannot intervene between negation and the verb resulting in either proclisis or enclisis (ib).

- (i) a. Non        o                      fixo            Xoán.  
       NEG    CL.ACC.3SG.M    do.PST.3SG   Xoán  
       b. \*Non    Xoán    o                      fixo / fixo=o.  
       NEG    Xoán    CL.ACC.3SG.M    do.PST.3SG  
       ‘Xoán didn’t do it.’

By hypothesis, the proclitic sentence is impossible because the intervening subject puts too much syntactic distance between the clitic and the potential host. As with other SVO sentences, preverbal subjects do not count as potential clitic hosts, but negation does count as a potential host. The presence of negation would prevent clitic swallowing from taking place, which would be necessary to generate the enclitic sentence in (ib).

<sup>20</sup> This does not mean ‘My daughter got married to you.’, nor is it an ethical dative implying that the daughter got married with the goal of producing some sort of reaction in the interlocutor; rather, it simply means ‘I am telling you that my daughter got married.’

703 Position (iv) Spec, TopP - this position is for topicalized XP constituents in matrix or embedded  
 704 sentences, both of which trigger enclitic orders.<sup>21</sup> Following Raposo & Uriagereka (2005), this  
 705 means that this position lies beyond the range of what may serve as a leftward-leaning clitic host.  
 706 As we can see in (28), Gupton (2014a: 237) places a number of preverbal subject (PVS)  
 707 constituents in Spec, FP, among these subordinate clause preverbal subjects and affective  
 708 phrases, which includes adverbials, negative QPs, verum focus fronting (VFF) and wh-  
 709 elements). Curiously, however, this model of the clausal hierarchy does not account for  
 710 contrastive topics in Galician:



728 At the time, this was because it came to light that Galician has a contrastive fronting mechanism  
 729 that requires clitic doubling (29; cf. Gupton 2014a: 63) unlike Spanish, which does not allow for  
 730 clitic doubling with contrastive focus fronting (30).<sup>22</sup>

- 731  
 732 (29) A CENORIA o coello comeu=na / \*a comeu (non a mazá)  
 733 the carrot the rabbit eat.PST.3SG=CL.ACC.3SG.F NEG the apple  
 734 ‘The rabbit ate THE CARROT (not the apple).’
- 735 (30) LA ZANAHORIA (\*la) comió el conejo (no la manzana)  
 736 the carrot CL.ACC.3SG.F eat.PST.3SG the rabbit NEG the apple  
 737 ‘The rabbit ate THE CARROT (not the apple).’  
 738

<sup>21</sup> We remain agnostic regarding whether topicalized XPs are base generated in the left periphery or the product of movement since nothing hinges on it in this paper. For interesting discussion of this issue, see López (2009) and Li (2024: Ch. 2).

<sup>22</sup> Contrastive focus fronting in Spanish does not allow a preverbal subject to appear between the contrastive constituent and the verb (i), behavior that differs from Galician.

- (i) LA ZANAHORIA (\*el conejo) comió (no la manzana)  
 the carrot the rabbit eat.PST.3SG NEG the apple  
 ‘The rabbit ate THE CARROT (not the apple).’

739 Given that preverbal subjects (20) and contrastive topics (22a) have similar clitic behavior, with  
 740 finite enclisis in main clauses and proclisis in subordinate clauses (23a, 23b), we can conclude  
 741 that these topic XPs do not appear as high as topical CLLD topics (22b, 23c) because CLLD  
 742 topics do not trigger proclisis in either situation. Therefore, they must appear to the immediate  
 743 left or right of the preverbal subject in SubjP. Consider (31) from Gupton (2014a:223):  
 744

745 (31) Dubido que onte Fran a Ana (\*que) a  
 746 doubt.PRS.1SG COMP yesterday Fran to Ana COMP CL.ACC.3SG.F  
 747 chamase  
 748 call.PST.SBJV.3SG  
 749 ‘I doubt that yesterday Fran called Ana.’  
 750

751 Here, a series of topics precedes the proclitic direct object pronoun. Now, bearing in mind that  
 752 regular topics are accompanied by finite enclisis in main clauses as well as subordinate clauses,  
 753 this is strongly suggestive that *a Ana* (‘to Ana’) is a contrastive topic, which would leave us with  
 754 an explanation of why we have a proclitic subordinate clause in this example. To gain a more  
 755 precise idea of exactly where in the clausal architecture these subjects appear, let us examine  
 756 them in the lowest clause within a recomplementation structure.<sup>23</sup> For Villa-García (2012), the  
 757 lowest complementizer QUE in a recomplementation structure appears in the Fin head in  
 758 jussive/optative sentences. Following the predictions of Villa-García (2012) for Spanish,  
 759 jussive/optative QUE should be required when the embedded predicate appears in the  
 760 subjunctive mood. The Galician data in (32, 33) confirm a similar behavior to Spanish.<sup>24</sup>  
 761

762 (32) a. Dixéron=me que, se chove, (que) vén  
 763 tell.PST.3PL=CL.DAT.1SG COMP if rain.PRS.3SG COMP come.PRS.3SG  
 764 o seu curmán  
 765 the his cousin  
 766 ‘They told me that, if it rains, (that) his cousin is coming.’  
 767 b. Dixéron=me que, se chove, \*(que) veña  
 768 tell.PST.3PL=CL.DAT.1SG COMP if rain.PRS.3SG COMP come.PRS.SBJV.3SG  
 769 o seu curmán  
 770 the his cousin  
 771 ‘They told me that, if it rains, his cousin should come.’  
 772 (33) a. Dixéron=me que, se chove, (que) o seu curmán  
 773 tell.PST.3PL=CL.DAT.1SG COMP if rain.PRS.3SG COMP the his cousin  
 774 cobre o tractor  
 775 cover.PRS.3SG the tractor  
 776 ‘They told me that, if it rains, (that) his cousin is coming.’  
 777  
 778

<sup>23</sup> Here we assume a cartographic analysis. Based on intonation contours, Gupton (2021) suggests that a simplified left periphery of the type suggested in Kempchinsky (2013), incorporating discourse shells (Emonds 2004) may prove more fruitful. See also Villa-García & (2023) for an alternative non-cartographic analysis of recomplementation.

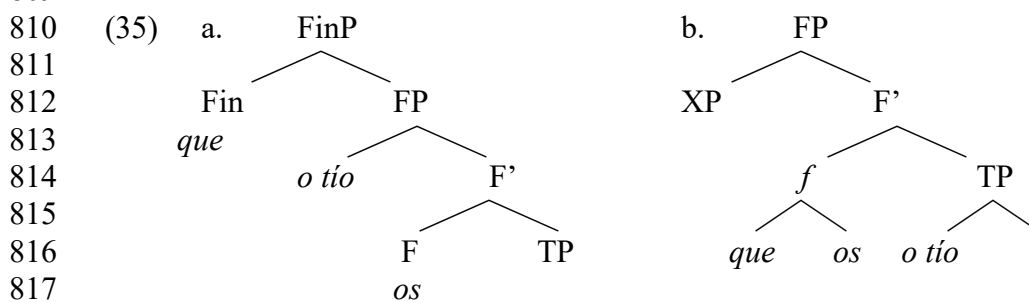
<sup>24</sup> An anonymous reviewer suggests that we add Spanish examples. Given that Castilian Spanish is not the focus of the current discussion, we refer the interested reader to Villa-García (2012) for the Castilian Spanish data.

779 b. Dixéron=me que, se chove, \*(que) o seu curmán  
 780 tell.PST.3PL=CL.DAT.1SG COMP if rain.PRS.3SG COMP the his cousin  
 781 cubra o tractor.  
 782 cover.PRS.SBJV.3SG the tractor  
 783 ‘They told me that, if it rains, his cousin should come.’  
 784

785 Within the clausal hierarchy proposed in (28) clitics appear in F/Fin. Assuming that the  
 786 jussive/optative QUE appears in the Fin head of the most deeply embedded clause, this should  
 787 preclude the clitic from appearing as high as F/Fin. Therefore, the prediction is that we should  
 788 find proclisis following jussive/optative QUE, a prediction that is borne out (34).  
 789

790 (34) Dixéron=me que, se neva, [FinP [Fin' que o tío  
 791 tell.PST.3PL=CL.DAT.1SG COMP if show.PRS.3SG COMP the uncle  
 792 os chame / \*chame=os porque non queren  
 793 CL.ACC.3PL.M call.PRS.SBJV.3SG because NEG want.PRS.3PL  
 794 perde-lo]]  
 795 lose.INF-CL.ACC.3SG.M  
 796 ‘They told me that, if it snows, that (my) uncle should call them because they don’t want  
 797 to lose him.’  
 798

799 Given that the clitic pronoun appears to the right of jussive/optative QUE, which is proposed to  
 800 occupy Fin, it seems that Gupton’s (2010, 2014a) suggestion that FP and FinP are one and the  
 801 same functional projection appears to not be sustainable. What is more, in (34) we have an  
 802 intervening preverbal subject *o tío* ‘(my) uncle’, which appears between the complementizer and  
 803 the clitic. Gupton assumes Raposo & Uriagereka’s (2005) clitic account, by which clitic  
 804 pronouns in languages like Galician and European Portuguese are attracted to the F head. In  
 805 order to maintain the Raposo & Uriagereka account of F being the locus of clitics in the  
 806 preverbal field, it seems preferable to propose that the FP projection appears lower than Fin in  
 807 the clausal hierarchy (35a) rather than to assume that jussive/optative complementizers may be  
 808 base generated in a position that is head-adjoined to  $f^{\circ}$  (35b).  
 809



819 In both structures, jussive/optative complementizer QUE is available to serve as a local,  
 820 leftward-leaning host, as discussed above (18). However, it is not clear how the analysis in (35b)  
 821 would account for the fact that a preverbal subject *o tío* ‘his uncle’ appears between the  
 822 jussive/optative complementizer and the clitic pronoun. If we assume that the preverbal subject  
 823 here appears in Spec, TP in (35b), it would be descriptively inadequate to propose that the clitic  
 824 pronoun appears between the complementizer *que* and the subject (i.e. \*...*que os o tío chame*...)

825 because this order is not attested in Galician. In (35a), the preverbal subject can appear in Spec,  
 826 FP, which is structurally between the complementizer and the clitic.  
 827 In the preceding, we have seen that Galician has a wide number of positions available for  
 828 subjects in the preverbal field, which bears potential for deepening our understanding of cross-  
 829 linguistic micro-variation of the type discussed in Kayne (2005) and Lardiere (2009), whose  
 830 proposals suggest that crosslinguistic differences can be captured by differences of features, and  
 831 how those features are distributed and/or assembled across associated syntactic projections.  
 832 Moving on, how do the theoretical proposals square with the empirical data? According to the  
 833 experimental results presented in Gupton (2010, 2014a, 2014b) and Gupton & Leal-Méndez  
 834 (2013), Galician participants rated sentences with preverbal subjects (i.e., SV(O)) highest in  
 835 response to a wide variety of contexts that manipulated information structure. These contexts  
 836 adopted the basic information structure assumptions of López's (2009) model of the syntax-  
 837 information structure interface for Spanish and Catalan. Subject-verb (SV) word orders were  
 838 preferred inthetic sentences and object narrow-focus contexts, while SV and verb-subject (VS)  
 839 sentences were similarly preferred in response to subject narrow-focus contexts, which suggested  
 840 that Zubizarreta's (1998) account of syntax-focus structure, which predicts that narrow-focused  
 841 (i.e. rheme) constituents should appear at the rightmost clausal edge, would require some  
 842 reformulation for Galician.<sup>25</sup> The design of this task, however, was based on quantitative studies  
 843 of SLA from a generative perspective, employing an Acceptability Judgment Task (AJT)  
 844 accompanied by a five-point Likert scale. Participants read constructed contexts and then rated  
 845 three possible response/continuation sentences with different word orders (36a-c).

- 846  
 847 (36) Context: Xoán and Iago are friends. They are talking about the weekend.  
 848 *Xoán* – Que fas esta noite?  
 849 what do.PRS.2SGthis night  
 850 *Xoán* – ‘What are you doing tonight?’  
 851 *Iago* – Por que? Que pasa?  
 852 why what happen.PRS.3SG  
 853 *Iago* – ‘Why? What’s up?’  
 854 a. *Xoán* – Carlos vai celebrar o seu aniversario. (SVO)  
 855 Carlos go.PRS.3SGcelebrate.INF the his birthday  
 856 b. *Xoán* – Vai celebrar Carlos o seu aniversario. (VSO)  
 857 go.PRS.3SGcelebrate.INF Carlos the his birthday  
 858 c. *Xoán* – Vai celebrar o seu aniversario Carlos. (VOS)  
 859 go.PRS.3SG celebrate.INF the his birthday Carlos  
 860 *Xoán* – ‘Carlos is going to celebrate his birthday.’  
 861

862 A methodological limitation of this task reported on in Gupton (2010, 2014a, 2014b), is that  
 863 participants are limited by the word orders provided, and some remarked that the sentences that  
 864 they were asked to rate did not seem very natural. Given that a goal of this study was to inform  
 865 the syntactic position of preverbal subjects, repeating potentially repetitive constituents in  
 866 possible replies was often necessary, even when that might not have resulted in the most natural

<sup>25</sup> These results are not so different from experimental results from several varieties of Spanish reported on in, e.g. Mexican Spanish (Hoot 2012), Argentine Spanish (Gabriel 2010) and Andalusian Spanish (Jiménez-Fernández 2015). López's (2009) model makes similar predictions to Zubizarreta (1998) in predicting that rheme constituents should remain *in situ* at the rightmost syntactic edge.

867 order. An additional criticism of this methodology is that it requires minimal speech production,  
 868 thus calling into question whether such sentence responses appear in naturally-occurring speech.  
 869 Cruschina & Mayol (2022:10) propose a methodology that seeks to remedy limitations related to  
 870 information structure context while encouraging natural repetition of previously mentioned  
 871 information and plausibility in production at once. Consider the English examples in (37-38).  
 872

873 (37) You go to your parents' place. You show your mum a watercolor portrait of yourself. She  
 874 asks "Who drew it?". At that point you get a phone call. Somebody got the wrong  
 875 number. You hang up and, to answer your mum, you say:  
 876

877 (38) You are watching a film with your roommate. Since she wakes up really early every day,  
 878 she falls asleep and misses the ending. When you switch off the TV, she wakes up and  
 879 asks you: "What did they find? I don't think I'll watch this movie again. I'm sure I would  
 880 fall asleep again." To reply you say:  
 881

882 The authors show that this methodology can be employed with an open reply, thus better  
 883 assuring the collection of production data; however, it may also be used as part of an  
 884 acceptability judgment task, but with one single response option. Given the success that  
 885 Cruschina & Mayol have testing the protocol for Catalan, its potential for application for further  
 886 study of Galician is enticing, and promises to be a more reliable and more natural tool in eliciting  
 887 introspective judgments in addition to speech production.  
 888

### 889 3. Word-level interactions

890  
 891 We now turn our attention to the allomorphy seen between definite determiners and 3<sup>rd</sup>-person  
 892 (accusative) object clitics in Galician, a topic which has been reviewed in both traditional  
 893 grammars and by formal accounts. Concerning the latter group of investigations, there has been  
 894 considerable overlap regarding the most reliable source for the surface phonological forms. What  
 895 these authors' analyses have in common is that the phonological component is claimed to be the  
 896 locus for the observed variation.  
 897

898 We focus on the recent contributions to this puzzle, such as Kastner (2024:3), who argues that  
 899 what we see in the phonological alternation of determiners and clitics is not true allomorphy but  
 900 instead "a series of phonological adjustments that Galician makes to stem codas when a clitic  
 901 triggers resyllabification and turns them into onsets." We shall not attempt to make an argument  
 902 for or against true allomorphy versus the simpler posit of phonological alternations, and we use  
 903 these terms interchangeably here. We believe that the resyllabification highlighted by Kastner is,  
 904 indeed, an elemental aspect of the surface form of these morphemes, as we may not rely solely  
 905 on the syntax and morphology to derive the given forms. However, we do contend that  
 906 cliticization of all types is obligatory when possible (cf. Preminger 2019, Deal 2024. a.m.o.), and  
 907 thus the syntax proper is ultimately responsible for the possible modifications made in the  
 908 phonological component. That is, we may say that for all phonological alternations, the syntax  
 909 feeds the phonology.<sup>26</sup> Our goal in this section is to challenge a number of aspects of arguments  
 910 focused solely on the phonological branch and wish to highlight the compositional module  
 911 responsible for the data below. First, we contend that the most important component of this

912 alternation lies in the syntax. Without assuming a strict understanding of the syntactic  
 913 configuration that feeds cliticization (as well as determiner cliticization), it is impossible to  
 914 account for why this alternation is only found in the specific structures observed in the literature  
 915 and not others.<sup>27</sup> We then briefly address what we consider to be morphological aspects of  
 916 allomorphy. Assuming a Late-Insertion model of morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993, 1994), we  
 917 draw on notions from Deal & Wolf (2017) regarding the syntactic nature of allomorphic  
 918 variability, showing that the phonological variation found in Galician clitics and determiner  
 919 clitics is heavily conditioned by the serial inside-out manner of allomorphic conditioning.  
 920 Finally, we touch on what we show to be the primary aspect of the alternation that falls within  
 921 the realm of the phonological component and that which deals with the most intricate system of  
 922 phonological alternation seen in the resyllabified forms of both clitics and determiners. We claim  
 923 that it is here where the phonology plays the largest part, but only after the contributions of the  
 924 syntax and the morphology have been accounted for.

925 Before continuing to our data and analysis, it is important to note that there is no ‘one size  
 926 fits all’ approach to all of the variation seen with this phenomenon across all ages and geo-  
 927 linguistic delineations throughout Galicia. The data and grammatical judgements under  
 928 investigation in this section are those of what we deem a *conservative syntactic* system, i.e., a  
 929 system that indeed has syntactic restrictions and is typically found to be broader in its extension  
 930 than that commonly encountered in younger speakers. However, it is worth pointing out that  
 931 there are also speakers of older generations with systems that lack the syntactic-based determiner  
 932 cliticization patterns we describe below, which may point to the linguistic exposure within a  
 933 given geographical area of a speaker as the primary motivation for variation here.

934

### 935 3.1 Descriptive analysis

936

937 The observations concerning clitic and determiner allomorphy have been at the heart of  
 938 descriptive analyses in Galician since the earliest descriptive grammars (Lugrís Freire 1931) and  
 939 have occupied an important place in the more contemporary approaches to the language  
 940 (Freixeiro 2006). While there is vast dialectal variation amongst speakers due to factors such as  
 941 age (Louredo 2022) and geographical location (Dubert-García 2014, 2015), we primarily focus  
 942 on the most conservative patterns.<sup>28</sup>

943

944 Freixeiro (2006) makes reference to these allomorphs as ‘first forms’ and ‘second forms’.

945 Additionally, we will make use of the term ‘third form’, although we shall see that there

946 resyllabification plays an important part in determiner cliticization with these forms.

947

948 Table 3. Galician clitic-determiner allomorphy

949

	first forms	second forms	third forms
singular	o, a	lo, la	no, na
plural	os, as	los, las	nos, nas

950

<sup>27</sup> Following in Uriagereka (1996), Gravelly (2021a), and Gravelly (2024) we adopt the perspective that determiner cliticization be syntactic in nature.

<sup>28</sup> Our use of ‘conservative’ here is in reference to what Louredo (2022) cited as the patterns found in older generations, which seem to be more inconsistent amongst younger speakers.

951 First forms clitics are said not to (significantly) modify its host phonologically, e.g. when the  
 952 clitic matches the declension of a verb, with most of the literature dealing with phonological  
 953 reduction as in the case of (39a). The same may be considered for determiner clitics (39b).

- 954  
 955 (39) a. Véxo=o    claramente  
 956            see.PRS.1SG=CL.ACC.M.SG clearly  
 957            ‘I clearly see it.’  
 958            [be.fo:]  
 959         b. Baralla                                  as                          cartas  
 960            shuffle.PRS.3SG    the.F.PL                  cards  
 961            ‘She shuffles the cards.’  
 962            [ba.ra.ja:s]

963  
 964 Second forms are found under very specific contexts, all of which are enclitic in nature (although  
 965 not necessarily on the verb; cf. 40c). For verbs, these forms appear when they end in /s/ or /r/  
 966 (40a), while determiners may cliticize to verbs (40b) or plural quantifiers such as *todos* (‘all’)  
 967 and *ambos* (‘both’) (40c). In both instances, the lateral /l/ replaces the rhotic or sibilant phoneme.

- 968  
 969 (40) a. Fixémo=lo    (\*Fixemos o)  
 970            do.PST.1PL- CL.ACC.M.SG  
 971            ‘We did it.’  
 972         b. Cantámo=las                                  mulleres                  (Cantamos as mulleres)  
 973            sing.PST.1PL-the.F.PL women  
 974            ‘Us women sang.’  
 975         c. Tódo=los                                  cans                          (%Todos os cans)  
 976            all-the.M.PL                  dogs  
 977            ‘All of the dogs’

978  
 979 Third forms are unique in the sense that clitics and determiners do not share these forms in the  
 980 same contexts or, as some may argue, at all.<sup>29</sup> The cliticized version of these third forms appears  
 981 only on verbs ending in a diphthong, which is restricted to 3<sup>rd</sup>-person past tense forms (41a).  
 982 However, these forms are not attested with determiners in the same manner, unlike what we saw  
 983 with first and second forms above (41b).

- 984  
 985 (41) a. Veu=no    na                          beira  
 986            see.PST.3SG=CL.ACC.M.SG    in.the bank  
 987            ‘She saw it along the bank.’  
 988         b. \*Levou=nos                                  regalos                  á                          festa  
 989            carry.PST.3SG=CL.ACC.M.PL    gifts                  to.the party  
 990            Intended: ‘She took the gifts to the party.’

991  
 992 From a purely phonological perspective, it is unclear why third form determiners would differ  
 993 from those of the first or second forms, which has been an issue of much discussion in the

---

<sup>29</sup> As pointed out by Uriagereka (1996) and Gravelly (2024), there are speakers whose 3<sup>rd</sup>-person plural forms undergo a type of resyllabification which mirrors that of first form clitics attaching to said hosts. We leave these instances of phonological alternation aside here.



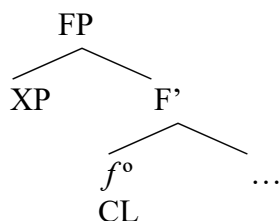
994 literature on the phonological alternation outlined here (cf. Kikuchi 2006, Ulfsbjorninn 2020,  
 995 Kastner 2024). What these accounts fail to take into consideration is the syntactic relation of  
 996 these constituents in both pre- and post-verbal scenarios. We find the comparison between these  
 997 two patterns to be an underexplored area of Galician clitics and determiners, albeit in a different  
 998 manner than discussed in §2.  
 999

### 1000 3.2 Returning to the syntax

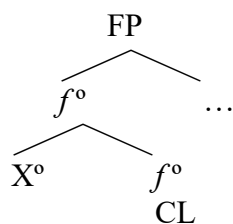
1001  
 1002 We begin by reviewing the underlying syntactic dependency that feeds the phonological  
 1003 alternation in direct object cliticization. While commenting on the precise syntactic mechanism  
 1004 that is responsible for cliticization and determiner cliticization more generally is beyond the  
 1005 purview of our purposes here (see Uriagereka 1996 and Gravely & Gupton 2020 for proposals),  
 1006 our focus will be on the structural relation that we claim is predicated on the phonological  
 1007 variation in clitics and determiners. The outcome of these claims will have a direct correlation to  
 1008 the morphological component observe in the next subsection.  
 1009

1010 As we saw in §2, Galician clitic positioning requires a preceding constituent local enough to host  
 1011 it, be that the verb or another left-peripheral element (Uriagereka 1995, Raposo & Uriagereka  
 1012 2005, Gupton 2014a, a.o.). Recall that there are two structural possibilities for this relation,  
 1013 depicted in (42a) and (42b), where either XP or X<sup>o</sup> are understood to have undergone movement  
 1014 to the left of the head that hosts the clitic (cf. 10).  
 1015

#### 1016 (42) a. *Phrasal hosting of clitics*



#### 1025 b. *Head hosting of clitics*



1034 While both (42a) and (42b) are viable clitic hosting structures, Gravely (2021a) showed that they  
 1035 result in different phonological outputs. There it was claimed that the velarization in (43a) versus  
 1036 the resyllabification in (43b) is a direct result from the phrasal nature of the former versus the  
 1037 head-to-head relation of the latter.  
 1038  
 1039

- 1040 (43) a. No chan a atoparon  
 1041 on.the floor CL.ACC.F.SG find.PST.3PL  
 1042 ‘On the floor they found it’  
 1043 -> No [tʃaŋ.a:.to]paron  
 1044 ~> \*No [tʃa.na:.to]paron  
 1045 b. Non o vin  
 1046 NEG CL.ACC.M.SG see.PST.1SG  
 1047 ‘I didn’t see it.’  
 1048 -> [no.no] vin  
 1049 ~> \*[noŋ.o] vin  
 1050

1051 The same may be observed with the more phonologically salient second forms when a plural  
 1052 preverbal nominal constituent provokes proclisis.

- 1053  
 1054 (44) Todas o facemos  
 1055 all.F.PL CL.ACC.M.SG do.PRS.1PL  
 1056 ‘We all do it.’  
 1057 -> [to.ða.so] facemos  
 1058 ~> \*[to.ða.lo] facemos  
 1059

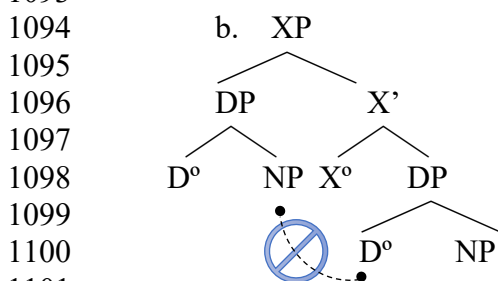
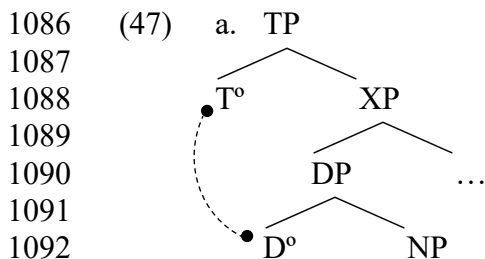
1060 We may refer to this as the *phrase-head hosting restriction*:

- 1061  
 1062 (45) *Phrase-head hosting restriction*  
 1063 Where both phrases and heads may serve as syntactic hosts for a clitic element, only  
 1064 clitics in a head-to-head relation may undergo phonological reconstruction.  
 1065

1066 For determiner cliticization, the same structural relation applies. Consider the (im)possibility of  
 1067 determiner cliticization below (12a,b repeated as 46a,b).

- 1068  
 1069 (46) a. Comemos o caldo  
 1070 eat.PRS.1PL the soup  
 1071 ‘We eat soup.’  
 1072 -> Come[mo.so.kal]do  
 1073 -> Come[mo.lo.kal]do  
 1074 b. Son boas as canciones  
 1075 be.PRS.3PL good.F.PL the.F.PL songs.PL  
 1076 ‘The songs are good.’  
 1077 -> Son [bo.a.sas.kan]ciones  
 1078 ~> \*Son [bo.a.las.kan]ciones  
 1079

1080 Much like the phrase/head hosting restriction for cliticization more generally, the same may be  
 1081 postulated for determiner cliticization. Although *boas* (‘good’) and *as canciones* (‘the songs’) are  
 1082 in a predicative relation semantically, their syntactic structure fails to meet the standards in (45)  
 1083 as schematized in (47b). The structure in (47a), however, meets these requirements and, thus,  
 1084 determiner cliticization is licit.  
 1085



1103 In Gravelly & Gupton (2020), it was proposed that this relation was the direct result of Marantz's  
 1104 (1988, 1989) notion of *structural adjacency*:

- 1105 (48) *Structural adjacency*  
 1106 A head X is structurally adjacent to a head Y if:  
 1107 i) X c-commands Y  
 1108 ii) There is no head Z that  
 1109 a. is c-commanded by X and  
 1110 b. c-commands Y  
 1111  
 1112

1113 This head-to-head relation is the first requirement for the perceived phonological alternations in  
 1114 (determiner) cliticization.  
 1115

1116 The second aspect that takes the notion of structural adjacency and the head-to-head relation a  
 1117 step further is that of *structural governor*. This term was introduced in Uriagereka (1996) upon  
 1118 showing that determiner cliticization was not simply the result of phonological allomorphy but,  
 1119 instead, held in only a certain number of syntactic environments. Compare the (in)ability of the  
 1120 cliticization patterns to undergo phonological alternation in data below.  
 1121

- 1122 (49) a. Por o faceres ben  
 1123 COMP CL.ACC.M.SG do.INF.2SG well  
 1124 'For (you) doing it well'  
 1125 -> [por.o.fa]ceres ben  
 1126 ~> \*[po.lo.fa]ceres ben  
 1127 b. Por o ben de todos  
 1128 for the.M.SG well of all.M.PL  
 1129 'For the wellbeing of everyone'  
 1130 ~> \*[por.o.beŋ] de todos  
 1131 -> [po.lo.beŋ] de todos

1132  
 1133 Without accounting for the syntactic differences of (49a-b), the only viable claim would be that  
 1134 determiners have more robust cliticization patterns than syntactic clitics, a claim that has been  
 1135 argued against on multiple accounts (Uriagereka 1996, Gravely 2021). However, the lack of  
 1136 determiner cliticization is also seen when the lexical item *por* ('for') serves as a complementizer  
 1137 (C°) rather than a preposition (P°).

1138  
 1139 (50) Por a nai ir amodiño  
 1140 COMP the.F.SG mother go.INF slow.DIM  
 1141 'For mom going slowly'  
 1142 -> [por.a.naj] ir amodiño  
 1143 ~> \*[po.la.naj] ir amodiño

1144  
 1145 The idea of category selection is not present in Kastner's (2024) rejection of a syntactic account,  
 1146 where he argues that the syntax is unable to explain cases as in (51).

1147  
 1148 (51) Ver a Rosa  
 1149 see.INF DOM Rosa  
 1150 'To see Rosa'  
 1151 -> [ber.a.ro.sa]  
 1152 ~> \*[be.la.ro.sa]

1153  
 1154 In fact, we believe that this explanation is readily available to the syntax if one considers the  
 1155 homophonous *a* may indeed cliticize but only as a determiner for (e.g. *Vemo-la Rosa* 'We see  
 1156 Rosa').<sup>30</sup> If we consider that the differential object marker is a P° or K° (cf. Kalin 2018, Gravely  
 1157 2021b), we should not expect phonological alternation at PF due to the fact that prepositions (or  
 1158 case-marking heads) do not cliticize to verbs. What we find here, in addition to what we show  
 1159 below, proves that there are both structural and categorial syntactic considerations that play a  
 1160 larger role than what we find in the phonology.

### 1161 3.3 What impossible combinations say about syntax

1162  
 1163 For further evidence for a syntactic consideration of the phonological alternations in question, we  
 1164 may look at situations in which determiner cliticization is completely banned. Observe the data  
 1165 in (52) below.

1166  
 1167  
 1168 (52) a. Levantáron=nos os toldos  
 1169 lift.PST.3PL=CL.DAT.1PL the.M.PL column.PL  
 1170 'They picked up the columns for us.'  
 1171 -> Levantaro[no.sos] toldos  
 1172 -> Levantaro[no.los] toldos

---

<sup>30</sup> Like much of Romance, Galician also has dialectal varieties that boast proper names with a corresponding (definite) determiner.

- 1176           b. Asustáron=os                    as            curuxas  
 1177            scare.PST.3PL=CL.ACC.M.PL   the.F.PL   owl.PL  
 1178            ‘The owls scared them.’  
 1179            -> Asusta[ro.no.sas] curuxas  
 1180            ~> \*Asusta[ro.no.las] curuxas

1181  
 1182 In addition to verbs and prepositions, we see that dative clitics are structural governors that may  
 1183 provoke allomorphy with a cliticizing accusative or determiner clitic, as well (52a). However,  
 1184 this phonological alternation is impermissible for a determiner attempting to cliticize onto an  
 1185 accusative clitic (52b). We may immediately rule out a phonological account of this restriction,  
 1186 as, e.g. 1<sup>st</sup>-person plural morphology, contains the same (final) phonological segment as plural  
 1187 direct object clitics /os/ (53; cf. 52a).

- 1188  
 1189 (53) Falamos           o            tema  
 1190        speak.PRS.1PL the.M.SG   topic  
 1191        ‘We talk about the topic.’  
 1192        -> Fala[mo.lo] tema

1193  
 1194 Moreover, it cannot be a question of the morpho-phonology of the clitic the determiner attempts  
 1195 to cliticize to, as seen with the ambiguous /nos/, which can be either 1<sup>st</sup>-person accusative or  
 1196 dative. Determiners are only banned from cliticizing in the former case (54), not the latter (52a).

- 1197  
 1198 (54) Asustou=nos                    o            estrondo  
 1199        scare.PST.3SG=CL.ACC.1PL   the.M.SG   bang  
 1200        ‘The bang scared us.’  
 1201        -> Asustou[no.so] estrondo  
 1202        ~> \*Asustou[no.lo] estrondo

1203  
 1204 Finally, we see that accusative clitics play a part in determiner cliticization even when they are  
 1205 not found together in linear order.

- 1206  
 1207 (55) Non   os                    collemos    as            pícaras    nunca  
 1208        NEG   CL.ACC.M.PL   grab.PRS.1PL   the.F.PL   girls       never  
 1209        ‘Us girls don’t ever take them.’  
 1210        -> Non os colle[mo.sas] pícaras  
 1211        ~>\* Non os colle[mo.las] pícaras

1212  
 1213 In (55), there is nothing inherently morphological or phonological that should prevent the  
 1214 cliticization of the determiner *as* to the verb in the 1<sup>st</sup>-person plural. If we consider that there are  
 1215 restrictions within the syntax that bleed cliticization of the determiner based on the cliticization  
 1216 of the accusative, we may rule out both morphological and phonological explanations which fall  
 1217 short.

1218  
 1219  
 1220  
 1221

## 1222 3.4 A note on the morphology and phonology after syntax

1223

1224 While there are considerations that extend beyond the space limitations of this paper, we first  
 1225 comment on some morphological and phonological determining effects based on the syntax  
 1226 discussed above. Before addressing the phonological component, we wish to highlight what we  
 1227 consider to be the instances of allomorphic spell-out of the morphemes in question. We follow  
 1228 Deal & Wolf (2017) in assuming that morphological allomorphy may be accounted for via a  
 1229 direct reading off of the syntax in a cyclic manner. While this does not inherently involve an  
 1230 inside-out serial direction, what these authors show is that within the same cyclic domain  
 1231 morphemes may provoke allomorphy in either direction, inside out or vice versa. For the  
 1232 phenomenon in question, we maintain that the phonological alternations under investigation are  
 1233 indeed cases of inside-out serial allomorphy, where additional phonological alternations to the  
 1234 hosts may be made after Vocabulary Insertion has taken place.

1235 The most obvious case of this is the second forms highlighted above in Table 3. Descriptively,  
 1236 we saw in §3.1 that the second form appears when the verb ends in /r/ or /s/. We may posit the  
 1237 second-form spell-out condition as below:

1238

- 1239 (56) a.  $CL \leftrightarrow lo / \_ \{T^{\circ}, \emptyset\}$   
 1240 b.  $CL \leftrightarrow lo / \_ \{T^{\circ}, 2SG\}$   
 1241 c.  $CL \leftrightarrow lo / \_ \{T^{\circ}, 1PL\}$   
 1242 d.  $CL \leftrightarrow lo / \_ \{T^{\circ}, 2PL\}$

1243

1244 We should expect similar spell-out rules for cliticized determiners (i.e., those that have vacated  
 1245 the DP), with the only caveat concerning our reference above to syntactic situations in which  
 1246 determiner cliticization is illicit (cf. 52b, 55).<sup>31</sup> For example, in cases of determiner cliticization  
 1247 within PPs, we may find a spell-out rule as in (57).<sup>32</sup>

1248

- 1249 (57)  $CL \leftrightarrow lo / \_ \{P^{\circ}, \sqrt{POR}\}$

1250

1251 One may be tempted to posit the same for the third forms, claiming that /n/-insertion of these  
 1252 allomorphs can be simply the result of cliticization to a 3<sup>rd</sup>-person past tense verb.

1253

- 1254 (58)  $CL \leftrightarrow no / \_ \{T^{\circ}, +PST, 3SG\}$

1255

---

<sup>31</sup> Space precludes a full analysis of the inability of cliticization to happen in these examples, as formal notions related to Agree and Case assignment seem to be relevant factors, but see Gravely (2024) for a complete theoretical approach.

<sup>32</sup> As not all prepositions undergo phonological changes (i), it may be the case that this is specific to the root paired with P<sup>o</sup>. We leave a full account of this for further work.

- (i) Perante      o              meu      veciño  
 before        the.M.SG    my       neighbor  
 ‘In front of my neighbor’  
 -> [pe.ran.te.o]  
 ~->\*[pe.ran.to]

1256 However, with irregular past tense forms such as *fixo* ('do') and *trouxo* ('bring'), this Vocabulary  
 1257 Item overgenerates. For Kastner (2024:8-9), this is simply a rewrite rule that requires /n/-  
 1258 insertion after a diphthong syllable in a specific conditioning environment. However, this, too,  
 1259 lacks explanatory power, as nothing about Kastner's system prevents cases as in (59), which he  
 1260 claims to be hesitant to try to explain within a system of phonological resyllabification.

1261

1262 (59) \*EU=no                fixen,                non        ela  
 1263                I=CL.ACC.M.SG    do.PST.1SG    NEG    she  
 1264                'I did it, not her.'

1265

1266 In (59), we see that resyllabification is banned although the phonological conditions are met.  
 1267 Returning to our hypothesis in (45), we may posit that *eu* ('I') and the clitic are not in a head-to-  
 1268 head relation and, unlike the obligatory resyllabification we showed in (43b), the clitic may not  
 1269 cliticize. This is directly accounted for in a syntactic approach, whereas a purely phonological  
 1270 one fails to do so.

1271

#### 1272 4. Conclusion

1273

1274 In this paper, we have addressed two phenomena in Galician syntax that are at the heart of core  
 1275 theoretical topics in the present-day literature. First, exploring the syntax-pragmatics interface,  
 1276 we showed fruitful investigation regarding aspects related to subject positions throughout the  
 1277 clause, in particular those hosted in the left periphery. Building off work in Gupton (2010, 2014a,  
 1278 2014b), we set out to test the interaction between subjects with different information structure  
 1279 purposes and clitic patterns, including but not limited to those boasting structure of  
 1280 recomplementation. While preliminary conclusions point to the fact that a theory of clitic hosting  
 1281 and word order that relies on the locus of these patterns being predicated on one and the same  
 1282 projection fails to address several data points, there is still much left to uncover. Second, we  
 1283 explored a different set of interface phenomena, namely that of clitic surface-form allomorphy at  
 1284 the syntax-morphology and syntax-phonology interfaces. Whereas several recent accounts  
 1285 attempt to derive the patterns of cliticization and determiner cliticization via a purely  
 1286 phonological account (Kikuchi 2006, Ulfsbjorninn 2020, Kastner 2024), we showed that  
 1287 restrictive systems of cliticization are inexplicable at the phonological level alone. Specifically,  
 1288 we explained that a purely phonological account is unable to account for the instances in which,  
 1289 segmentally, we should get phonological alternations but do not. Subsequently, we discussed at  
 1290 what level the syntax-morphology interface plays a role in the surface form of clitics and  
 1291 determiners, as well as when the phonology is, indeed, the deciding factor. These preliminary  
 1292 findings are crucial for giving explanatory understanding to the different systems highlighted in  
 1293 the sociolinguistic literature (e.g. Dubert García 2015) and beyond.

1294 The concerns examined in the preceding are hardly theory-internal, or of interest to those only  
 1295 working on minority/minoritized languages; they have serious implications for wider studies of  
 1296 bilingual competency and acquisition worldwide. Given that the clitic-determiner structures  
 1297 examined in the current paper involve a phonological interface, there is a need for critical  
 1298 baseline research on bilingualism among Galician speakers. In turn this may pay dividends by  
 1299 allowing specialist professionals to better distinguish DLD from effects that may result from  
 1300 simply being bilingual, and having relatively diminished linguistic input. It is worth bearing in  
 1301 mind, however, that Gutiérrez-Clellen & Simon-Cerejido (2010) found that the language of

1302 testing assessment played an important role, suggesting that clinical professionals should adopt  
 1303 bilingual techniques in carrying out assessments. Research on Galician has important insights to  
 1304 provide to the greater linguistics community with important implications and applications on  
 1305 both local and global scales.

1306

1307 References

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