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ON THE LOCI AND TIMING OF CASE-LICENSING: INSIGHTS FROM MICROVARIATION
IN GALICIAN

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Para mi familia, pero sobre todo para mi madre

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Ningún idioma alleo –por ilustre que sexa –poderá expresar en nome do noso os íntimos sentimentos,

as fondas dores e as perdurables esperanzas do pobo galego; se aínda somos diferentes e capaces de existir, non é máis que por obra e gracia do idioma – Afonso Daniel Rodríguez Castelao

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Abstract

This dissertation aims to contribute the landscape of microvariation in Romance (Kayne 2000, 2005, 2013) through an investigation of definite article contraction in Galician (northwest Spain). In Galician, the definite article undergoes contraction with a left-adjacent, phonologically appropriate host element. This phenomenon is illustrated in (4):

- (1) *fixemos as empanadas* → *fixémos-**las** empanadas*
make_{1pl.pst} **the_{f.pl}** empanadas
'We made the empanadas.'

Under contraction, the final segment of the verbal complex is deleted, and an *l*-initial allomorph of the definite article surfaces in place of its vowel-initial form. Definite article contraction is in part sensitive to phonology: the left-adjacent host element must have a final segment of /r/ or /s/. However, definite article contraction is not solely a more surface-oriented phenomenon. Contrast (4) with (2):

- (2) *fixemos os panadeiros as empanadas* → *fixémo-**los** panadeiros as empanadas*
make_{1pl.pst} **the_{m.pl}** bakers the_{f.pl} empanadas
'We bakers made the empanadas.'

Some speakers accept contraction from an internal and external argument (as in (4-2)), respectively, but others accept it only from the former, as in (4). A third category of speakers reject contraction in (4) and (2). Examples such as these reveal that definite article contraction is regulated by deeper syntax constraints.

Beyond the contrast shown here, speakers of Galician exhibit even more complex patterns of variation in definite article contraction. In particular, some speakers allow contraction only from a direct object, as in (4), but reject it from an unaccusative subject; conversely, contraction from both types of internal arguments are licit for other speakers. More striking patterns of variation in article contraction concerns speakers who accept it in (4) and (2). Many speakers who accept contraction from an external

argument in a clause without pronominal clitics reject it when a clause contains a clitic. Further, the position of the clitic (pro- or enclitic), the type of clitic (direct object or dative), or both in some cases affect whether contraction from an external argument is well formed. Finally, the article also undergoes contraction with P and certain nominal-internal elements (quantifiers, strong pronouns, and conjunctions). Here, too, we find variation as to whether article contraction with such elements is licit.

This phenomenon is well documented in the descriptive literature (e.g., Álvarez 1983, 1984, 2003, Álvarez, Regueira & Monteagudo 1989, Dubert García 2001, 2014, 2015, Álvarez & Xove 2002), and there have been several previous analyses of the phonological aspects of contraction (Kikuchi 2006, Nevins 2011b, Ulfsbjorninn 2020, Kastner 2024). Some researchers have explored certain syntactic effects of article contraction (Uriagereka 1988, 1996, Bošković 2013, 2020), and others have given accounts of article contraction in some contexts but not all (Uriagereka 1996, Gravely 2019, Gravely & Gupton 2020). However, I advance an analysis that encompasses article contraction at the clausal and nominal levels as well as the variation speakers display regarding the acceptability of contraction in a range of environments.

Article contraction is argued to be generated in part by case licensing. Case is here taken not to be a nominative-accusative system, as is traditionally assumed for Galician (e.g., Gravely 2021a), but, rather, the same type of abstract case licensing Halpert (2012, 2013, 2016) adopts for Zulu. Specifically, I propose that a nominal must be structurally case licensed by a functional head or else bear intrinsic case. Attachment of the article onto a host element is assumed to occur at PF (cf. Uriagereka (1996), Gravely (2019), and Gravely and Gupton (2020) for whom contraction is produced by syntactic movement). Further, the PF operations that give rise to the segmental changes of contraction are dependent upon prior licensing in the syntax. Only an article bearing structural case undergoes leaning (Zwicky & Pullum 1983, Zwicky 1985, Embick & Noyer 2001) onto a left-adjacent element; an article bearing intrinsic case does not. Additionally, an article and its structural-case licenser must be contained in the same prosodic word after leaning applies. I argue that neither a strictly syntactic- nor PF-based approach is able to encompass the complex behaviors of the definite article. Syntax-prosody mapping therefore is an integral component of this analysis, but, critically, an approach to mapping in which PF processes are dependent upon prior syntactic operations. This argument is novel but is

reminiscent of work on vowel assimilation in Lekeitio Basque (Elordieta 1994a,b, 1997), in which syntactic licensing yields unique phonological domains.

In the first part of the dissertation, I propose a tripartite classification of idiolectal variation in Galician and attribute the variation to the loci and number of structural-case licensers in each idiolect group. In an idiolect in which only internal arguments licitly launch article contraction, *v* is the sole structural-case licenser. In an idiolect in which internal and external arguments licitly launch contraction, *v* and T are taken to license structural case. Thirdly, in an idiolect in which neither type of argument launches contraction, there are no structural-case licensers at the clausal level. Under this view, variation is cumulative: the more the structural-case licensing heads in a given idiolect, the more permissive it is. This analysis also captures implicational relationships across idiolect types. If a particular grammar has T as a case licenser, it must also have *v*. This affords us a natural way of understanding why if a grammar allows licit contraction from an external argument, it also does so for an internal argument. Similarly, if an idiolect does not have *v* as a structural case licenser, it will also not have T. This proposal accounts for the fact that in one type of idiolect, neither internal nor external arguments licitly launch contraction. As for variation at the nominal-level or with P, I propose that the relevant elements are structural case licensers in some idiolects, but in others. An absence of structural case licensing bleeds the later PF operations required to trigger the segmental changes of article contraction.

In the second part of the dissertation, I further investigate variation in the idiolect type that allows contraction from an external argument. Speakers vary widely as to whether contraction from an external argument is well formed if a clause contains a clitic, as described above. I attribute this variation to the presence of an additional functional head, *f*, that has two stacked features (Müller 2010, Georgi 2017): structural-case licensing and a structure-building feature triggering movement of a clitic to its specifier. *f* heads can have varying ordering of features across speakers' grammars. When *f*'s structural-case feature precedes its structure-building one, a transitive subject receives structural case licensing, and contraction is licit. However, if the ordering of features is reversed, a clitic acts as an intervener for structural case; consequently, the transitive subject does not receive structural case, which bleeds the relevant PF operations that yield the segmental changes of contraction. I also inves-

investigate variation in article contraction with different types of dative clitics and ascribe such variation to the internal syntax of dative clitics: some are assumed to be K's heading KPs, which intervene for structural case to an argument, while others are P's, and do not intervene.

Under this analysis, microvariation is the result of derivational timing, in the spirit of Georgi (2017), and of differences in the inventory of structural-case licensing across idiolect types.

Chapter 1

Microvariation of the Definite Article in Galician

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation seeks to expand the landscape of syntactic microvariation, i.e., the application of formal syntactic analysis to more minor differences between related languages. Microvariation has been the subject of considerable discussion in the literature, particularly for Romance languages (e.g., Kayne 2000, 2005, 2010, 2013). This dissertation offers a new perspective on microvariation through an investigation of Galician, a minority Romance language spoken in the autonomous community of Galicia, Spain. The specific empirical focus of the dissertation is on variation regarding cliticization or, equivalently, contraction of the definite article.¹ Definite article contraction is illustrated in (3):²

- (3) Fixemos **as** empanadas. → fixémo-**las** empanadas
make_{1PL.PST} **the**_{PL.F} empanadas
'We ate the empanadas.'

As shown in (3), the article heading the direct object undergoes contraction with the left-adjacent verbal complex. Definite article contraction is in part sensitive to phonology: it only occurs between the vowel-initial definite article and a left-adjacent host element with a final segment of /r/ or /s/. After

1. I adopt the terminology of 'article contraction,' but 'article/determiner cliticization' is an equivalent term used in the literature.

2. There are other types of contraction in Galician, which I do not address because they are distinct from each other phonologically and morphosyntactically. See Álvarez (1983, 1984), Álvarez, Regueira, and Monteagudo (1989), Álvarez and Xove (2002), and Kastner (2024) for further reference.

contraction, the final segment of the host is deleted, and an *l*-initial allomorph of the article appears.³

Article contraction is also regulated by syntactic constraints, and how syntax regulates article contraction varies widely across idiolects of Galician. By way of example of such variation, contrast (3) with (4):

- (4) Fixemos **os** panadeiros as empanadas. → **fixémo-los** panadeiros ...
make_{1PL,PST} **the**_{PL,M} bakers the_{PL,F} empanadas
'We bakers made the empanadas.'

The sentence in (4) exemplifies article contraction from a postverbal transitive subject with a verbal complex. For many speakers of Galician, contraction is well formed only in (3) (i.e., from a direct object). Other speakers, however, accept contraction in (3) and in (4) (i.e., from both a direct object and transitive subject). Minimal pairs like that in (3-4) reveal that article contraction is not simply a more surface-oriented phenomenon. Instead, rather, something deeper and syntactic must be at play.

Regarding previous work, definite article contraction in Galician has been thoroughly discussed in the descriptive literature (Álvarez 1983, 1984, 2003, Álvarez, Regueira & Monteagudo 1989, Dubert García 2001, 2014, 2015, Álvarez & Xove 2002). There have also been several theoretical analyses of the phonological aspects of article contraction (as mentioned above, e.g., Kikuchi (2006), Nevins (2011b), Ulfsgjorninn (2020), Kastner (2024)), and some researchers in the theoretical syntactic literature have commented on the phenomenon (Gravely 2021a,b). As for syntactic analysis, certain effects of article contraction have been examined (Uriagereka 1988, 1996, Bošković 2013, 2017, 2020, to appear). However, most directly pertinent to the analyses developed here is work by Uriagereka (1996) and others who expand upon Uriagereka's original proposal (Gravely 2019, Gravely & Gup-ton 2020). Under these accounts, definite article contraction is generated via movement in the syntax and is constrained in that it occurs only between an article and a c-commanding head with which the article shares ϕ -features or case.

The present analysis also maintains that case is key in accounting for article contraction, but advances a highly novel approach to case in Galician. Case is here taken not to be a nominative-accusative

3. There is disagreement as to whether the underlying form is the vowel-initial or *l*-initial one. See Kikuchi (2006), Nevins (2011b), Ulfsgjorninn (2020), and Kastner (2024) for discussion, and see also chapter 3.

system, as is traditionally assumed for Galician (e.g., Gravely 2021a). Instead, I posit that Galician has the same type of abstract case licensing Halpert (2012, 2013, 2016) argues for Zulu, and I adduce striking cross-linguistic parallels between the two unrelated languages as evidence in support of this hypothesis. Another novel component of this analysis concerns the mechanisms by which the definite article attaches to an adjacent host element. In contrast to the aforementioned proposals, under this analysis, attachment of the article onto a host occurs at PF. Moreover, these PF operations are dependent upon prior case licensing in the syntax. As I demonstrate, neither a strictly syntactic- nor PF-based approach is able to adequately account for the complex behaviors of the definite article. Syntax-prosody mapping therefore is an integral component of this analysis, but, critically, an approach to mapping in which PF processes are contingent upon prior syntactic operations. This argument is novel but is reminiscent of work on vowel assimilation in Lekeitio Basque (Elordieta 1994a,b, 1997), in which syntactic licensing yields unique phonological domains.

However, while this bipartite analysis accounts for the patterns of article contraction for an individual speaker (or even for several speakers), it has nothing to say on the range of variation we find when we cast a wide net and compare patterns of article contraction across a wider sampling of speakers. I therefore posit an analysis in which variation is partly the result of the number and loci of case licensers along the clausal spine, but is also the result of how case licensing interacts with movement of nominals—more specifically, how the two operations are timed with respect to one another. Contrasting ordering of operations (case licensing versus movement) gives rise to many distinct patterns of article contraction. This approach is in alignment with previous accounts of syntactic variation (e.g., Georgi (2017)).⁴ From this perspective, syntactic microvariation—or, at least, this instance of it—is, at its core, about derivational timing.

Along with what definite article contraction reveals regarding syntax-prosody mapping, even further insights on the language faculty can be gained by analyzing the considerable variation that Galician speakers exhibit. As I noted above, and as I discuss in the following section, this dissertation can be situated within the larger enterprise of investigating microvariation (Kayne 2000, 2005, 2010, 2013). As Kayne argued, theoretical advances must be made through comparative tools (to borrow the phras-

4. Georgi is concerned with an entirely different phenomenon, i.e., reflexes of \bar{A} -movement.

ing of Ordóñez and Roca (2013: 8)). Through a microvariationist lens, all variation, even if minor, can help us to continue to develop and refine contemporary syntactic theory. If our aim, therefore, is to investigate variation closely at the micro-level, Galician is an especially promising language to study. Firstly, it has only fairly recently undergone a process of standardization. Additionally, Galician has been and continues to be subjected to strong influences from Spanish, which was the dominant language in the community of Galicia for several centuries (and arguably remains so to this day). How one speaks Galician is, among many other factors, the product of one's language attitudes and language education. Such interrelated social and historical forces led to a modern language with extensive syntactic variation, which, it is critical to point out, has yet to receive in-depth theoretical analysis.

1.2 Microvariation: Framing the Analysis

Variation and comparative analysis emerges as a prominent component in generative syntax with the advent of Principles and Parameters (P&P) theory (Chomsky 1981). As it was originally defined, a parameter can be construed as a marker, whose value can vary across languages. As Chomsky (1988: 149) characterized it (attributing the metaphor to James Higginbotham), a parameter is like an electrical switch, with only a few possible settings. The role of parameters was to yield an account of variation (i.e., a given syntactic property in particular languages can be analyzed as the result of a + or – parameter setting). Parameters were also crucial in understanding clustering properties: when one parameter is set, its setting has consequences in other domains (Brandner 2012). That is, a particular property in a language is connected to a cluster of other, related effects; variation is not random and unpredictable (Ordóñez & Roca 2013). For example, perhaps the most well-known example of comparative analysis is Rizzi's (1982) work on pro-drop (a property in some languages that allows unstressed pronominal subjects to be covert). Rizzi observed that the strength of person morphology had consequences for subject inversion, *that*-trace effects, and null subjects. Since parameters were first introduced in the classical P&P framework, linguists have debated the role of parameters in syntactic theory and where variation belongs within the architecture of grammar (Brandner 2012). For example, Boeckxs (2014) and Gallego (2011) have argued against parameters in the Minimalist program.

In contrast to the aforementioned proposals questioning the role of parameters, perhaps most relevant to this dissertation is Kayne's (2000, 2005, 2010, 2013) work on microvariation in Romance (but also Holmberg and Sandström (1996)). Under this approach, micro-parameters account for more minor points of variation across dialects or languages. As pointed out above, a parameter does not necessarily have to have far-reaching consequences; even variation on a smaller scale warrants investigation (Ordóñez & Roca 2013).⁵ According to Kayne (2012), if we compare closely related or similar languages, we have fewer variables to control for, and, as a result, we are more likely to pin down successfully valid correlations (p. 7). It must also be highlighted, as Kayne notes, that comparative syntax is not solely concerned with delineating parameters and arriving at a better understanding of variation, but also to adduce new kinds of evidence that help us to understand the general character of the language faculty (2012: 8).

This dissertation is also in dialogue with Henry (2004, 2005). Henry (2002) observes that, in general, variation has not been of primary concern in syntactic theory, and, moreover, that (to quote Chomsky (1965)), 'the subject of study should be an ideal speaker-hearer in a homogeneous speech community.' However, as Henry aptly argues, syntax is inherently variable, and therefore we cannot improve our knowledge of it by assuming that it were otherwise (2002: 268). Moreover, Henry continues, certain components of syntactic theory depend upon the lack of variation, e.g., Chomsky (1995)'s economy principle according to which movement occurs only when forced to. By this principle, no movement can be optional, since movement must occur if forced to, but cannot do so otherwise (2004: 236).⁶ However, if, as Henry maintains, variation is inherent to syntax, our theory must be both simultaneously flexible and constrained enough to account for variation. Henry (2005) also sheds light on another critical aspect of studying variation, namely, variation at the idiolectal level. While variation at the level of the dialect has been analyzed by, among others, Haegeman (1992), Henry (1995), and Tortora (2003), variation at the idiolectal has yet to be pursued rigorously (but see Tyler and Wood (2019) and Hewett (2023b) for analyses of idiolectal variation). For Henry (2005), the aim of syntactic theory is to investigate the internal (or I-) grammars of native speakers. Despite this objective, researchers have concentrated their energies on aspects of languages or dialects, which, as Henry notes, are external (or E-) language concepts not recognized by the theory. Moreover, variation is

5. See Baker (2008) for some relevant discussion of micro-parameters.

6. See chapter 3, section 3.9 for a brief commentary on the issue of optionality in article contraction in Galician.

commonly ‘screened out,’ since current methodologies in data collection involve prioritizing the most frequent judgment of a group of speakers or the judgment of a subset of speakers (Henry 2005: 110). In other words, more fine-grained points of variation between individual speakers are ignored.

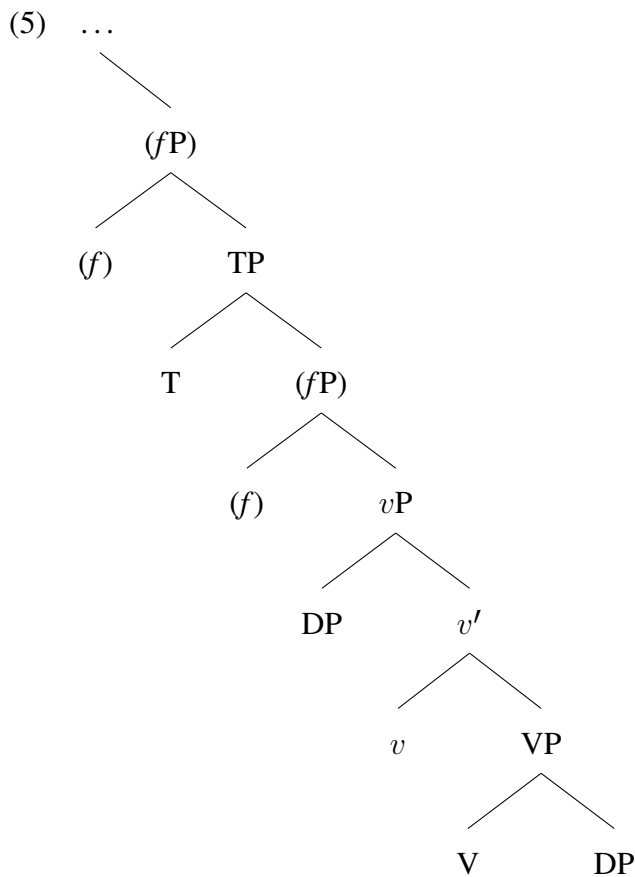
This dissertation expands upon the ideas and proposals from Kayne and Henry. The goal of the analysis is to present an analysis of article contraction across idiolects of Galician (see chapter 3 for discussion of dialects versus idiolects in the language). It concentrates on a single syntactic phenomenon and constrains the scope of inquiry to variation at the idiolectal level. From an analytical standpoint, the dissertation seeks to provide a novel account of a case and syntax prosody-mapping phenomenon in an understudied minority language. From a more macroscopic perspective, though, this dissertation emphasizes the role that variation, more precisely microvariation, should have in the development of syntactic theory. Significant insights can be gained through a study such as this one, which we risk losing if we do not prioritize comparative syntactic analysis.

1.3 Core Claims: Abstract Case Licensing and Dependencies Between Modules of Grammar

As briefly described in section 1.1, this analysis makes several overarching arguments. The first is that Galician is not a nominative-accusative language. Instead, the language is regulated by the same type of abstract case licensing Halpert (2012, 2013, 2016) proposes for Zulu. Under a Halpert-style case system, nominals must bear case: they either are structurally case licensed by particular functional heads, or are intrinsically licensed. Nominals that are structurally case licensed surface with a special type of morphology. I adopt this case system for Galician and also propose that nominals bearing structural case exhibit special morphology, i.e., a contracted article. However, more is needed to generate article contraction beyond operations in the syntax. In particular, two PF operations are involved in article contraction. The first of these is leaning (rebracketing) (Zwicky & Pullum 1983, Zwicky 1985, Embick & Noyer 2001). Leaning groups together a definite article and adjacent element into the same prosodic word. There are two constraints on leaning, however. Firstly, only an article bearing structural case undergoes leaning; and secondly the article must be contained in the same prosodic word with its structural case licenser after leaning applies. The second PF operation

is a phonological rule that triggers the segmental changes associated with contraction (i.e., deletion of the host's final segment and appearance of the *l*-initial allomorph). This phonological rule applies to prosodic words. In other words, article contraction is taken to be generated via a series of feeding relationships: structural case feeds leaning, which in turn creates a domain in which the phonological rule applies. Lack of structural case (if an article bears intrinsic case) bleeds the application of leaning, which in turn bleeds the phonological rule.

Regarding microvariation, this dissertation identifies several distinct patterns with regard to article contraction across idiolects of Galician. I further propose that such patterns are not random; instead, there are a series of implications regarding contraction from different types of arguments. Specifically, if an idiolect of Galician allows contraction from an external argument, it also does so for internal arguments. No such implication holds, however, for contraction from an internal argument: if an internal argument licitly launches article contraction, contraction from an external argument may or may not be acceptable. Conversely, if an idiolect does not allow contraction from an internal argument, contraction from an external argument is also ruled out. By this analysis, such implicational relationships across idiolects arises from the locus and number of structural licensers along the clausal spine. These licensers are given in (5-6):



The full inventory of structural case licensers in Galician are given in the structure above: *v*, T, and a functional head I posit termed *f*. An *f* head may be positioned above or below T (but not in both positions within the same structure). Each head structurally case licenses the nominal closest to it within its c-command domain. I discuss the properties of *f* heads in depth in chapters 4-6. However, not every idiolect has each of these three licensing heads. A summary of idiolects and their respective structural case licensers is below:

(6) Idiolects & Structural Case Licensers

	Least Permissive	More Permissive	Most Permissive
<i>f</i>	✗	✗	✓
T	✗	✗	✓
<i>v</i>	✗	✓	✓

I define the various kinds of idiolects in Galician in more detail in the following chapter (chapter 2). Note for now, however, that in the most permissive grammars in which contraction from an external and internal argument is licit, all three functional heads are structural case licensers. In contrast, the least permissive idiolect in which neither type of argument licitly launches article contraction has none of these heads as structural case licensers. Finally, in an idiolect in which only internal argu-

ments licitly launch contraction, *v* is the sole structural case licenser. The most permissive kind of idiolect therefore is one that has high and low case licensers, which c-command external and internal arguments, respectively. In the least permissive idiolects, no structural case licensing is available at the clausal level. Finally, a more permissive grammar is so because it has a single structural case licenser. This analysis captures the implications mentioned above by means of the posited clausal-level case licensing heads. Variation is cumulative: the more structural-case licensing heads that an idiolect has, the more permissive it is.

Beyond variation regarding article contraction at the clausal level, this analysis also investigates article contraction between certain nominal-internal elements as well as P. As I discuss in chapter 3, variation at the nominal level does not fully correlate with that at the clausal level, and I consequently analyze these two domains separately. However, the core approach to contraction remains the same: variation in article contraction at the nominal level is due to whether P or a given nominal-internal element is a structural case licenser. For example, contraction between a strong pronoun and article is acceptable in some idiolects of Galician but ill-formed in others:

- (7) *vós os dous marchastes d-a festa* → *vó-los dous*
 2_{PL} **the**_{PL,M} two leave_{2_{PL},PST} from-the_{SG,F} party
 ‘You two left the party.’

By this analysis, whether contraction in (7) is licit depends on whether the strong pronoun is a structural case licenser. I posit the same account for other elements with which the article undergoes contraction: P, quantifiers, and the conjunction (*e*)-*mais* ‘and (also).’ The argument that P is a source of structural case is a standard assumption. Concerning other elements, previous accounts have also contended that nominal-internal elements assign case: e.g., quantifiers assigning genitive case in Polish (Rutkowski 2002); numerals (Nelson & Toivonen 2000); N (Georgi & Salzmann 2011); and D (Pesetsky 2013).

Finally, although they are not the main focus of the dissertation, I also analyze pronominal clitics and contraction of clitics insofar as they pertain to article contraction. Cliticization is generated via movement of a clitic to the specifier of the posited *f* head mentioned above. A postverbal clitic (enclisis) is produced via movement to an *f* head below T, while a preverbal clitic (proclisis) is the result of movement to the specifier of an *f* above T. Further, a clitic, like lexical DPs, must be licensed

in the syntax; for the latter, licensing is about structural case, whereas for the former, licensing is movement based. A clitic, like the article, undergoes leaning, and leaning is regulated by the same two constraints: it only occurs if prior licensing in the syntax (here movement) has taken place, and the article and its licenser must be contained in the same prosodic word after leaning applies. A clitic is licensed via movement to the specifier of an *f* head. This analysis departs from previous work on cliticization in Western Iberian (e.g., Raposo & Uriagereka 2005) as well as in Galician (e.g., Gravely 2021b, Gupton 2010, 2012, 2014, Raposo & Uriagereka 2005) in which proclisis is the default position, produced via movement of a pronominal clitic to a position high in the clausal spine; enclisis, on the other hand, is generated via movement of the verbal complex to the left of the clitic. I demonstrate that the approach to cliticization defended here accounts for the various interactions between clitics and article contraction across idiolects of Galician. In particular, in some idiolects, a clitic blocks contraction from a transitive subject, but in others, contraction in this context is licit. Like the definite article, third-person direct-object clitics also undergo contraction. For the article, contraction is fairly restricted; however, assuming that the phonological conditions are met, a direct-object clitic obligatorily undergoes contraction, either with an adjacent verbal complex, or within a clitic cluster. This analysis captures this asymmetry between article versus clitic contraction in the availability of syntactic licensing. Across idiolects of Galician, a lexical DP and the article it heads is not invariably in a position to receive structural case. In contrast, since a clitic uniformly undergoes movement in all idiolects, it is always licensed. And since the relevant PF operations that yield the segmental changes associated with contraction depend upon syntactic licensing, they apply consistently only for clitics.

1.4 Summary of Chapters

The remainder of the dissertation is organized as follows.

Chapter 2 provides a brief overview of Galician, including the historical and social factors that have impacted the language for several centuries. It also touches on debates concerning standardization of the language and language attitudes of speakers. As I observe in this chapter, such issues, although they are sociolinguistic in nature, are nonetheless pertinent to the larger objective of syntactic variation, from both a synchronic and diachronic perspective. I discuss methodology, data collection,

and some background on the language consultants whose judgments form the empirical foundation of this analysis. Chapter 2 also articulates differences the traditionally recognized Galician dialects and the classes of idiolects uncovered and investigated here. While there is some overlap between these two categories, dialect is not synonymous with idiolect. I define three distinct idiolectal patterns with regard to article contraction: the key point of variation concerns contraction from external arguments.

Chapter 3 presents an analysis of the three idiolectal patterns identified in chapter 2. Specifically, it investigates article contraction patterns in clauses that do not contain clitics. I propose that a grammar in which contraction is licit from external and internal argument arises because *v* and T are structural case licensers. In a grammar in which contraction is licit only from an internal argument, only *v* is a structural case licenser. Thirdly, in a grammar in which an article never undergoes contraction at the clausal level, neither *v* nor T are structural case licensers. I also provide an analysis of contraction between an article with P or with nominal-internal elements. I attribute variation in article contraction with these elements to whether the latter are structural case licensers in a particular idiolect. If contraction between P or a nominal-internal element and an article is licit, the former is taken to be a structural case licenser; on the other hand, if contraction in these contexts is ruled out, P or the nominal-internal element does not license structural case.

Chapter 4 provides background on clitics and cliticization in Galician. Cliticization is produced via movement of a clitic to an intermediate position in an outer specifier of *v* and then to a specifier of a designated *f* head. I argue that there is a case-discriminating *f* that triggers movement only of clitics bearing dative case. Additionally, there is a second type of *f* that is category discriminating: it triggers movement of direct-object clitics, which are argued to bear a [CAT D] feature. Enclisis is the result of movement of a clitic to the specifier of a low *f* below T, while proclisis is generated via movement to the specifier of a high *f*, above T. I also argue for a three-way structural distinction in the internal syntax of clitics. A direct-object clitic is a D head, bearing [CAT D]. Dative clitics are not uniform in terms of their internal syntax, however. Some datives are taken to be K's heading KPs, but others are P's heading PPs. This chapter also offers an analysis of clitic contraction, which is essentially the same as that for article contraction: licensing in the syntax and application of leaning and a phonological rule at PF. The main point of difference between clitic and article contraction is the form of

licensing: a clitic is licensed via movement, while a lexical DP and its article are licensed via case.

Chapter 5 expands the scope of inquiry and analyzes contraction in clauses containing an IO clitic, DO clitic, or a clitic cluster. In this chapter, I show that idiolects in which contraction from external and internal arguments is licit exhibit even more complex patterns of variation when a clause contains a clitic. Depending on the idiolect, the type of clitic (IO versus DO versus clitic cluster), the position of the clitic (pro- versus enclitic), or both affect whether contraction from a transitive subject is well formed. I analyze this variation to the ordering of features (Müller 2010, Georgi 2017) on f heads. f heads are assumed to have two features, a structural-case feature and a structure-building feature. When the former feature precedes the latter, a clitic intervenes for structural case licensing to a transitive subject; a subject must consequently bear intrinsic case. Intrinsic case licensing bleeds the PF operations that generate the phonological changes of contraction. In contrast, when the structure-building feature precedes the structural-case feature on f , a clitic moves out of the domain of the case licenser, which feeds structural case to the subject. Structural case in the syntax gives rise to a series of feeding relationships of the relevant PF operations, which cause an article to surface in its l -initial form. In stark contrast to variation regarding contraction from a transitive subject, we find no variation regarding contraction from a direct object lexical DP in a clause containing a clitic. In idiolects in which external and internal arguments both licitly launch article contraction, and in idiolects in which only the latter type of argument launches article contraction, contraction from a direct object in a clause containing a clitic is well formed. I attribute this absence of variation to the fact that v is a structural case licenser in both kinds of idiolects.

Chapter 6 investigates another aspect of variation in article contraction: contraction from external arguments with distinct types of dative clitics (possessors and oblique complements). Contraction from an external argument is acceptable with the former type but not the latter in some idiolects; in other idiolects, however, the opposite pattern surfaces. This variation is analyzed as a difference in the internal syntax of dative clitics. If a dative clitic is a licit host for contraction from an external argument, it is argued to be a P and not an intervener for structural case. But if contraction in this environment is ill formed, the clitic is taken to be K, which is argued to be an intervener for structural case. Similarly to the contrast highlighted in chapter 5, contraction from internal arguments with vari-

ous types of dative clitics is consistently well formed across idiolect types. I take this lack of variation to be due to *v* as a case licenser in the relevant idiolects.

Chapter 7 concludes the dissertation by summarizing its main empirical and theoretical contributions and laying out some open questions that deserve further investigation in the future.

Chapter 2

Galician: An Overview

2.1 Syntax in Context

Crucial to developing a syntactic analysis of definite article contraction is addressing the historical, political, and social factors that have impacted and continue to impact modern Galician. Doing so is key for two main reasons.

Firstly, because of these sociolinguistic factors, Galician displays an extensive range of dialectal variation across multiple dimensions. Most relevant to this analysis is in its syntax, but variation also abounds in its phonology, morphology, and lexicon. That variation is partly the result of the language's complex history and, within that history, most significantly perhaps, the result of Galician's marginalization to Spanish for several centuries (in fact, only relatively recently was Galician revived as an official language of everyday discourse). But this variation is also the product of contemporary language attitudes and ideologies, both at the institutional and individual levels. For example, what one views as 'real' Galician versus a Spanish borrowing differs widely and depends on, among other things, the speaker, her background, and her language attitudes. Secondly, from a more sociolinguistic-oriented vantage point, I believe an investigation of Galician would be incomplete without at least some discussion of the historical and social context surrounding the language. This latter point seems to me to be especially imperative given that Galician is a minoritized language, and that tensions between Galician and Spanish, the two co-official languages in the region, persist to this day. I consider such sociolinguistic factors to be highly relevant to a study of Galician, since, for many individuals, speaking the language in everyday life necessarily involves navigating through

complex social and political forces as well as personal beliefs.

2.2 Background on Modern Galician

Galician is a Romance language from the region of Galicia, an autonomous community of Spain. From 1981 onward, the language has been co-official with Spanish. Today, there are around 2.2 million Galician speakers in the community of Galicia, and, of those, about 2 million people speak the language in their daily life (Xunta de Galicia).¹ According to the Instituto da Lingua Galega (ILG), however, only 1.4 million of the 2.7 million people in Galicia usually speak the language. The language is spoken in the autonomous community of Galicia as well as in neighboring areas of Asturias, León, and Zamora, Spain (Frías Conde 1999, Costas González 2011).² Galician is also spoken in Madrid, Catalonia, and the Basque Country (Consello da Cultura Galega).³ Outside of Spain, there are emigrant communities throughout the world: for example, in Latin America, such as in Mexico City, with the greatest number of speakers in Uruguay and Argentina; in Germany, France, and Switzerland (particularly Zurich); and the U.S. (New York, New Jersey, and San Juan, Puerto Rico). Within these international communities of Galician immigrants, about 1 million usually speak Galician (Instituto da Lingua Galega).

As for people living in Galicia itself, Ramallo and Rei-Doval (2015) report that the number of speakers has decreased over the last two decades, especially among younger individuals. Along with the decrease in Galician speakers, Spanish has become more prevalent in rural areas, where Galician is traditionally spoken (p. 62). Recent research shows that speakers use Galician less in comparison to Spanish in their daily lives (Instituto Galego de Estatística 2018). I reproduce results of a 2018 survey conducted by the Instituto Galego de Estatística below. For further details of this survey, the reader is referred to the Instituto's website.⁴

1. Additional information can be found at the Xunta's website: [Mhttps://www.lingua.gal/basic-data-on-galician-language/competence-and-use](https://www.lingua.gal/basic-data-on-galician-language/competence-and-use).

2. In Extremadura, Fala (a language classified as a member of the Galician-Portuguese subgroup) is spoken, which has "controversial linguistic affiliation" with Galician (Ramallo 2011).

3. Statistics available through Loia, an initiative of the Sección de Lingua and the Centro de Documentación Sociolingüística do Consello da Cultura Galega. Further reference is available at the following URL: [Mhttp://consellodacultura.gal/cdsg/loia/aterrar.php?idioma=2&seccion=10&id=58](http://consellodacultura.gal/cdsg/loia/aterrar.php?idioma=2&seccion=10&id=58).

4. The site is accessible at this URL: [Mhttps://www.ige.eu/web/mostrar_actividade_estadistic](https://www.ige.eu/web/mostrar_actividade_estadistic)

Comparativa de persoas que se comunican en galego na súa vida ordinaria

Galicia	2003	2008	2013	2018
En galego sempre	42,98%	29,96%	30,84%	30,33%
Máis galego ca castelán	18,22%	26,44%	20,06%	21,55%
Máis castelán ca galego	18,73 %	22,45 %	22,00%	23,14%
En castelán sempre	19,56 %	20,05%	25,95%	24,21%
Outras situacións	0,50 %	1,10 %	1,15%	0,77%
Total	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00%	100,00%
Falantes de galego "en maior ou menor medida"	79,93 %	78,85 %	72,9%	75,02%

IGE. Enquisa estrutural a fogares. □

Figure 2.1: COMPARISON OF PEOPLE WHO SPEAK GALICIAN IN THEIR EVERYDAY LIFE

Since 2003, the number of people who always speak Galician has decreased (the top row); the number of individuals who speak more Galician than Spanish has slightly increased since 2003 (the second row); and slightly more people speak more Spanish than Galician in recent years (the third row). Finally, the number of people who speak Galician *en maior ou menor medida*, “to a greater or lesser extent”, has decreased slightly (the final row). Generally, the number of people who can speak Galician has decreased, while the number of people who can write in the language has slightly increased (Instituto Galego de Estatística 2018); see Figure 2.2.

descenso.

Comparativa de persoas que saben falar galego/persoas que saben escribir galego

	Persoas que saben falar galego				Persoas que saben escribir galego			
	2003	2008	2013	2018	2003	2008	2013	2018
Moito	67,94%	54,13%	57,31%	57,59%	28,08%	25,25%	29,40%	29,54%

Fonte: IGE. Enquisa estrutural a fogares. □

Figure 2.2: COMPARISON OF PEOPLE WHO KNOW HOW TO SPEAK/WRITE IN GALICIAN

On the left-hand side in Figure 2.2 are percentages of people who know how to speak the language, and on the right-hand side are percentages of people who know how to write in it. According to the 2018 survey, 83.36% of people who speak Galician learn it from their families. However, individuals younger than 30 mainly learn Galician at school, although 70% of those in this demographic say that they also learn Galician with family (Instituto Galego de Estatística 2018). For more information, the reader is referred to the Xunta de Galicia website.⁵

a. [jsp?idioma=gl&codigo=0206004](http://www.lingua.gal/idioma=gl&codigo=0206004).

5. The website is available at this URL: <https://www.lingua.gal/o-galego/conhecendo/competencia-e-usos>.

2.3 History of the Galician Language

Galician emerged in the 10th century in the Kingdom of Galicia, which encompassed the northern part of modern-day Portugal and all of modern-day Galicia. The language is derived from Galician-Portuguese, the same language from which modern Portuguese is derived. From approximately the 13th century to the end of the Middle Ages, there was a vibrant Galician literature (Mariño Paz 1998, Monteagudo 1999, Boullón Agrelo 2007, Monteagudo 2008). But by the 12th century, Galician and Portuguese had diverged. Portugal became an independent kingdom, and the varieties of Portuguese became standardized based on the language spoken in central Portugal (Ramallo & Rei-Doval 2015). Following Portugal's independence, Galicia was annexed, first to the Kingdom of León and then to Castile. Annexation led to marginalization of Galician to Spanish. Marginalization of Galician and language shift from Galician to Spanish were driven in large part by the influx of Spanish nobility, clerics, and administrators, who supplanted local leaders (Ramallo & Rei-Doval 2015). From roughly the 16th to the 19th centuries Galician was only an oral language: no legal documents or literature were produced during this period. Language shift to Spanish continued into the 18th century. According to Ramallo and Rei-Doval (2015), language shift was accelerated by language education policies that sought to make Spanish the only language used in the field of education (p. 63). However, the 18th century ushered in a new era of Galician history: the resurgence of a "language consciousness" (Ramallo & Rei-Doval 2015). Due to this newfound "language consciousness," written Galician documents began to emerge by the 19th century, and Galician was effectively revived as a written language.

Despite the reemergence of written Galician a century prior, the 20th century presented more obstacles for the language. Under the Second Republican Constitution (1931-1936), Galician was recognized, but this progress was promptly lost during the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975), during which the language was again marginalized and repressed. After Franco, however, democracy was restored to Spain and the new Spanish Constitution was created in 1978. In the new democracy, Galician was established as an official language, and in 1981 it became co-official with Spanish through the Galician Statute of Autonomy (Ramallo & Rei-Doval 2015).

Although the language had acquired the status of an official language, Galician faced yet another

challenge: standardization. The question of how to standardize Galician is a long-standing and complex question. With the rebirth of written Galician came the Real Academia Galega (RAG) in 1906 (Seefeldt-Strickland 2008, Edwards 2012, Ramallo & Rei-Doval 2015). In 1983, the Galician Parliament made the RAG the main organization in charge of creating a standard variety, an official grammar, and a dictionary. Only some of these goals have been achieved from the 1980s to the present (Ramallo & Rei-Doval 2015). The RAG has published a dictionary and morphological and orthographic rules, but has yet to produce a completed institutional grammar (Álvarez, Cidrás, González-Seoane, Regueira, Xove 2004). Another problem modern Galician now faces is how the language should be codified: the so-called “normative debate” (Monteagudo 2003, Beswick 2007, Ramallo & Rei-Doval 2015). On one side of the debate is the *reintegracionismo* position. Supporters of this view believe Galician should be standardized based on modern continental standard Portuguese (Peres Gonçalves 2014). On an institutional level, agencies such as the Associação Galega da Língua (AGAL) or the Academia Galega da Língua Portuguesa (AGLP) advocate for a standard that “approaches”—to borrow the language of Ramallo and Rei-Doval (2015)—continental Portuguese. On the other side of the debate is the “autonomist” and official position: under this view, Galician should be standardized based on oral varieties from the 16th to the 19th centuries and on the literature from the 19th to the 20th centuries. Organizations that hold this position are the RAG and the Instituto da Lingua Galega (ILG). The official (and “autonomist”) standard variety is “transdialectal” (Monteagudo 2004). That is, it draws from all three dialectal regions of Galicia: western (“bloque occidental”), central (“bloque central”), and eastern (“bloque oriental”). I discuss some of the major distinguishing characteristics between the three dialects in the next section. The official standard integrates features from all dialects but not to the same degree. According to Fernández Rei (2013), there are “majority solutions,” which borrow features from the western and central regions, since these areas have larger populations and are geographically larger as well. There are also “minority solutions,” which utilize features from the eastern region. Several combinations of “majority” and “minority solutions” have been proposed. For a more thorough examination of solutions to codification, the reader is referred to Fernández Rei (2013) and Ramallo and Rei-Doval (2015).

Before proceeding to a more detailed discussion of Galician dialects and their unique characteristics, one final comment about a standard orthography is in order, as this is a subject that has proven con-

tentious for several decades. In tandem with its role in creating a standard spoken language, the ILG is responsible for establishing a standard orthography. Analogous to the oral standard, there are two schools of thought regarding a standard orthography. One camp holds that the standard writing system should closely resemble Portuguese; the other maintains that the writing system must be separate from Portuguese (Ramallo & Rei-Doval 2015). A standard orthography has been put forth: the ILG and RAG published *Normas ortográficas e morfolóxicas do idioma galego* “Orthographic and Morphological Norms of the Galician Language” in 1983. Still, standard orthography is not a fully resolved issue: more recently, for example, orthography norms were revised in 2003 in response to demands that writing more closely resemble Portuguese (Ramallo & Rei-Doval 2015).

One important note regarding orthography as it concerns this thesis is in order. According to Galician grammars, in some contexts contraction between a definite article and adjacent element is represented orthographically with a hyphen (e.g., between an article and verbal complex: *Cóme-lo pan* ‘You eat the bread’). In others, however, contraction is not written with a hyphen (e.g., between a preposition and article: *Camina pola rúa* ‘She walks through the street’). Despite these orthographic norms, speakers exhibit variation in terms of how they write Galician (e.g., some omit the hyphen between a contracted article and verbal complex). To represent examples as neutrally as possible, without adopting either a standard or non-standard orthography, I always use a hyphen to demarcate the morphological boundary between an article and an adjacent element with which it has contracted. This orthographic choice should also aid reader comprehension, as it highlights key interactions between the article and adjacent elements.

2.4 Three Galician Dialects

As I noted in the previous section, Galician has three main dialects: western, central, and eastern. These regions are depicted in the map below. Also shown in this map are the sub-varieties within each dialect.⁶

In Figure 2.3, the boundaries of the three Galician dialects are marked with thicker blue lines, while the respective areas for the sub-varieties are color coded.

6. Map in Figure 2.3 provided by a Galician consultant.

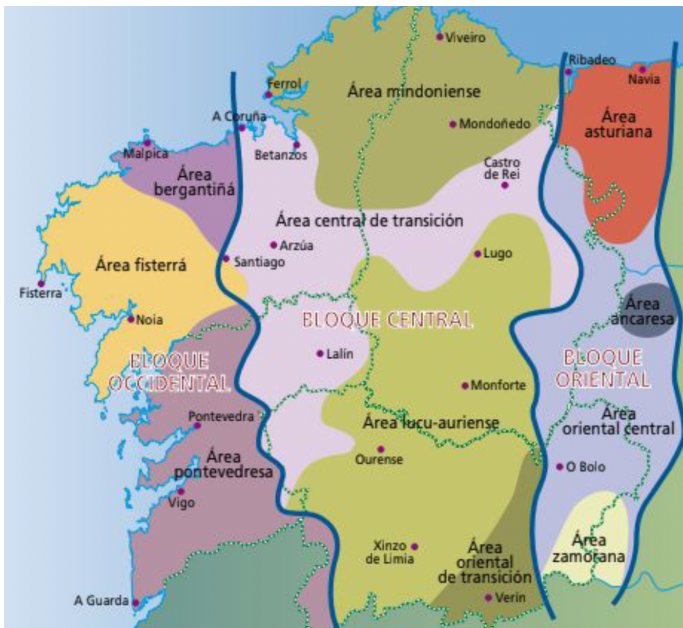


Figure 2.3: MAP FROM AS VARIETADES LINGÜÍSTICAS

A more detailed map is shown below:⁷

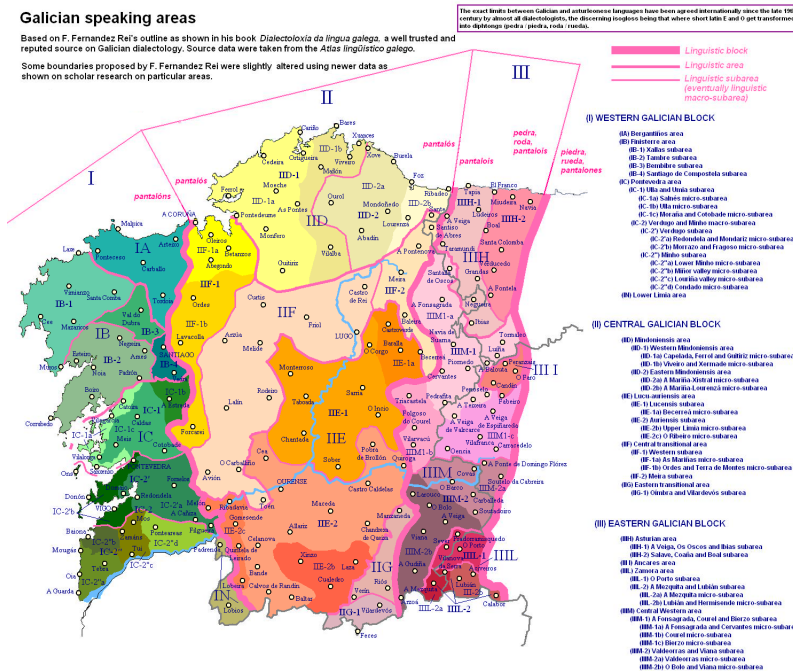


Figure 2.4: MORE DETAILED MAP OF GALICIAN DIALECTS

As in the map in Figure 2.3, each dialect and subvariety is color coded. As Figure 2.4 shows, even a sub-variety of a dialect can be further broken down into kinds of sub-sub-varieties. For example, Área fisterrá is a sub-variety of western Galician, and within that sub-variety exist other varieties (Xallas area, Santiago de Compostela area, etc.).

7. Map taken from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Galician_language#/media/File:Galician_linguistic_areas.PNG, adapted from Fernández Rei (2003)

Unsurprisingly, differences between dialects and sub-varieties abound. Although my dissertation concentrates solely on syntactic phenomena, it will nonetheless be worthwhile in this section to paint a fuller picture of the language. Therefore, I outline some major characteristics that distinguish the dialects, adapted from Fernández Rei (1990).

(8) Western Dialect (Bloque Occidental)

1. *Gheada*: voiced, velar occlusive [g] and the presence of some type of aspiration, a voiced or voiceless velar, glottal, pharyngeal, or uvular fricative (Thomas 2007): e.g., a word like *gato* ‘cat’ is pronounced [ˈhatʊ] rather than [ˈgatʊ] (Recalde Fernández 1994, 1995).
2. *Seseo*: a voiceless alveolar fricative [s] in place of a voiceless dental fricative [θ]: e.g., a word like *facen* ‘do’ is pronounced [faˈser] instead of [faˈθer] (Recalde Fernández 1994, Thomas 2007).
3. *Ti* for the second-person singular strong pronoun, rather than *tu*.
4. *Cheísmo* or *teísmo*, depending on the sub-variety. In varieties with *cheísmo*, the clitic *che* is used for second-person singular dative and accusative; conversely, in varieties with *teísmo*, the clitic *te* is used for second-person singular dative and accusative. Standard Galician as well as the central and eastern dialects retain *che* for second-person singular dative and *te* for second-person singular accusative.

(9) Central Dialect (Bloque Central)

1. *gheada* only in certain sub-varieties.
2. No *seseo*.
3. No *cheísmo* or *teísmo*.
4. Use of the diphthong *-oi-* instead of *-ui-* in other dialects.

(10) Eastern Dialect (Bloque Oriental)

1. No *gheada*.
2. No *seseo*.
3. No *cheísmo* or *teísmo*.

The features in (8-10) are not exhaustive: several other characteristics differentiate one dialect from another. For a more detailed look at these characteristics, the reader is referred to Fernández Rei (1990).

2.5 Language Attitudes and Galician Speakers

There are two predominant and competing stances on Galician's relationship to Spanish: "hybridism" versus "purism" (Ramallo & Rei-Doval 2015). Those who espouse "hybridism" allow the use of Spanish borrowings or Spanish-Galician hybrid forms. "Purists," on the other hand, are opposed to the use of Spanish borrowings and mixed expressions. The primary language organizations, the ILG and RAG, are proponents of the purist view; purists' beliefs are the ideological foundation of their linguistic work, such as the RAG's dictionary *Vocabulario ortográfico da lingua galega* (VOLG) (González González & Santamarina 2004), and the *Bases para unificación lingüística do galego*.

From a more practical perspective, in everyday contexts speakers must navigate between their own non-standard varieties, Standard Galician, and Spanish. As Ramallo and Rei-Doval phrase the issue, it's unclear whether the Galician standard "is authoritative enough ... in light of the recent nature of the standard itself and the pressure that Galician speakers experience from Spanish" (p. 76). In addition, Galician is not "enforced" (to quote Ramallo and Rei-Doval) outside of the educational system: speakers have no financial, professional, or social advantage by speaking Galician in such environments (p. 76). Further, private and financial sectors do not require fluency in Galician for advancement in the workplace (Ramallo & Rei-Doval 2015: 76). Because of social pressures to speak Spanish, in some circles the decision to speak Galician is considered a "political act" (Clara Lago Caamaño, personal communication, spring 2021). Finally, my own work with native speakers reveals that many individuals possess a strong meta-linguistic awareness. For example, speakers are aware of points of variation across dialects and idiolects, e.g., how their language differs from that of others in terms of their lexicon, morphology, etc. Another way in which speakers' meta-linguistic awareness surfaces is the way in which they utilize certain aspects of Galician. For example, *gheada* is a socially marked feature of Galician and is associated with 'rustic and uneducated speech' (Thomas 2007: 61). Generally speaking, it is looked upon unfavorably (Freixeiro Mato 1998). The use of *gheada* in speech is conditioned by sociolinguistic factors (Recalde Fernández 1994, 1995, Thomas

2005). That is, whether a speaker uses gheada in any given utterance is largely dependent upon social context (Thomas 2007). As Thomas (2007) observes, and as my own fieldwork has shown, many speakers are conscientious of gheada in speech, opting not to use it in socially ‘stigmatizing situations’ (Thomas 2007: 68). Interestingly, though, through my work I have found that even in such situations, speakers sometimes still use gheada in words associated with aspects of life more personal in nature: e.g., words related to family, the home, friends, etc.⁸ Finally, how speakers view the relation between Galician and Portuguese versus that between Galician and Spanish seems to be another critical aspect in language attitudes. For example, some speakers with whom I collaborated were reintegracionistas; their view is that Galician is a variety of the Portuguese linguistic diasystem (Ramallo & Rei-Doval 2015). This language ideology influences how these speakers believe Galician should be spoken and written (e.g., Galician should be written following Portuguese orthography), but it also impacts how one uses the language in their daily life. For example, these particular speakers chose to speak Galician even when an interlocutor speaks to them in Spanish.⁹

2.6 Consultants for the Dissertation Project

During the initial stages of this project, I collaborated remotely with three Galician language consultants over three years. Two are speakers of the western dialect and of the same sub-variety, Área Fisterrá. The third initial consultant is a speaker of the central dialect, whose sub-variety is Área Mindoniense. Below is a map displaying the areas that each of the three initial Galician language consultants is from:

8. Thank you to Dr. David Rodríguez Lorenzo for pointing this out.

9. For these consultants, language ideology is also tied to the broader sociological and historical matters, such as the relation between Galicia and Spain.

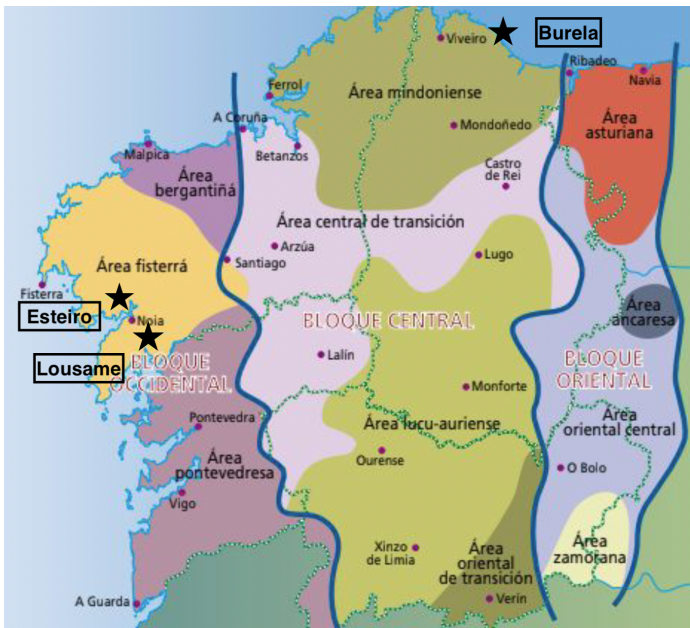


Figure 2.5: INITIAL THREE SPEAKERS

As shown in Figure 2.5, one consultant is from the village of Esteiro, and another is from the village of Lousame. Both towns are in the province of A Coruña. Both are speakers of the western dialect. The third consultant, a native speaker of the central dialect, is from the village of Burela in the province of Lugo. These speakers are similar in several ways: they are close in age (late 20s), and they work in the educational system or in academia. One speaker was a doctoral student at the University of Santiago de Compostela; another is a language teacher; and a third works in standardized Galician language testing. The consultants all spoke Galician as their first language, learning Spanish later in high school and through media (such as television). As for their own language attitudes, all three speakers use Galician in the workplace, given that they work in contexts where Galician is prioritized. In formal or professional environments, they primarily speak Standard Galician, rather than their non-standard varieties. In many public settings (e.g., at restaurants or shops), particularly in the major cities, consultants speak Spanish (p.c. language consultant); however, Spanish is not always dominant across social settings.¹⁰ All three speakers tend to disfavor Spanish borrowings and hybrid forms. During elicitation sessions, consultants consistently point out such forms and observe that, for them, such forms are not *real* Galician. The speaker of central Galician in particular has expressed strong opinions on *real* Galician and feels strongly about opposing “Castilianization” (i.e., influences from Spanish). This consultant has stated that some speakers are content just to hear Galician being spoken at all (particularly younger people), but for him, it is important to speak a Galician free from

10. Nandi (2017) reports that many people use Galician in informal contexts, such as with friends or acquaintances (49% of speakers polled). However, people may prefer to use Spanish in formal domains: at the bank (53%); with a doctor (34%); with their children’s teachers (34%); or with their bosses at work (24%).

Spanish influence.

In addition to these three consultants, I conducted original fieldwork in all four provinces of Galicia (Pontevedra, Ourense, Lugo, and A Coruña). The majority of the patterns analyzed here come from this fieldwork. Below is a map of the sites and list of locations in which interviews were conducted.¹¹



Figure 2.6: MAP OF FIELDWORK SITES

Carril	1 informante		
Gondomar	1 informante		
Tui	3 informantes		
A Cañiza	4 informantes (2 A Cañiza)	1 Crecente	1 Arbo)
Entrimo	2 informantes.		
Castro de Miño	3 informantes (2 entrevistas)		
Viana do Bolo	2 informantes.		
A Peroxa	1 informante		
Xinzo da Limia	1 informante (entrevistada en Tui)		
Moeche	1 informante (entrevistada en Ferrol).		
Carballo	2 informantes.		
Fiaderna	1 informante.		
Agolada	2 informantes		
Ribadavia (Cortegada)	1 informante.		
A Arnoia	1 informante.		
Quiroga	2 informantes (+17)		
Arbo	2 informantes (1 entrevistada en Tui e 1 entrevistada na Cañiza)		
Porqueira	1 informante (entrevistada en Ourense)		
Negreira de Muñiz	2 informantes.		
Lugo	1 informante.		
Cospello	1 informante (+ 1 informante auxiliar entrevistado conjuntamente en Cervo).		
Cervo	2 informantes na mesma entrevista (+ 1 informante de Cospello).		
Alba (Vialba)	2 informantes.		
Santiago de Compostela	1 informante.		
Ordes	2 informantes.		
A Baña	1 informante (entrevistado en Santiago)	familia da Baña e de Santiago).	
Mos	1 informante (entrevistado en Santiago)	familia en Mos e en Santiago).	
Santa Sía de Roma	1 informante (entrevistada en Ordes).		

Figure 2.7: FIELDWORK SITES

As the map in Figure 2.6 shows, interviews were conducted throughout Galicia, primarily in rural areas, so as to collect as comprehensive a data set as possible, and one which reflects the idiolects of individuals who use Galician in their daily life (in urban areas, speakers primarily speak Spanish). Figure 2.7 summarizes the sites in which interviews took place and how many interviews there were in each location. Note that a few locations are missing from Figure 2.6: other speakers included in this data set were from Vigo, Pontevedra; Meaño, Pontevedra; and Porriño, Pontevedra. Consultants were of a wide range of ages (the youngest individuals were in their early 20's, while the oldest were in their 90's) and of different backgrounds (e.g., teachers, farmers, winemakers, etc.).

11. Map and table were made by Dr. David Rodríguez Lorenzo, the guide who assisted me with my fieldwork.

During my fieldwork, I worked with speakers of all three dialects of Galician (western, central, eastern). Moreover, this set of speakers is, to the greatest degree possible, intended to be a representative sampling of the variation within each dialect. During my fieldwork, I collaborated with a guide who helped to select speakers from a range of geographical areas in order to document the various patterns that surface not just across dialects but also within them.

Note that not every interview conducted during this fieldwork was used in the data set that comprises the empirical foundation of this analysis. Interviews were not used if the audio recording was poor or unusable or if the data collected were not relevant to the main research objectives of this dissertation. For example, in some areas of Galicia, speakers of the eastern dialect alternated between the definite article in Galician and Spanish (*o* versus *el*, respectively). Further, if the patterns under analysis could not be elicited with a given speaker (e.g., which was the case for some older speakers), those interviews were not used. One speaker was excluded whose patterns of article contraction was radically different than all others; this speaker accepted contraction in all phonologically appropriate contexts. Since this was the sole speaker who exhibited such a pattern, I leave it as a puzzle for future inquiry. Finally, a couple of interviews were not included for reasons of time: i.e., they are relevant to this analysis, but I did not have the proper time needed to listen to fully recordings and notations. Although the judgments of this speakers do not appear in the data set analyzed here, their judgments are in line with the categories of idiolects analyzed here. The total number of speaker patterns/interviews used for this dissertation is 27.

In the next section, I outline these patterns that emerged from my fieldwork and explain in more detail how in the varieties they differ from the three traditional dialects of Galician.

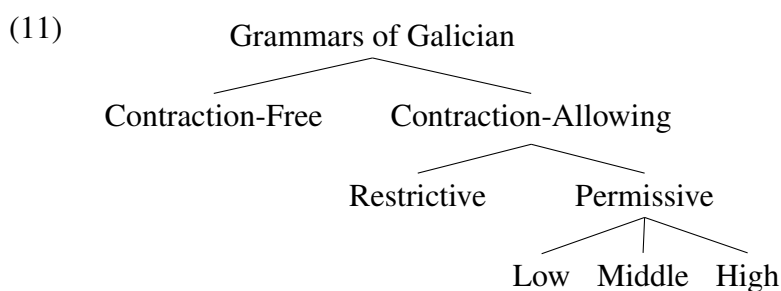
2.7 Dialects versus Idiolects

As observed above, there is a standard variety of Galician. However, the standard is a constructed variety, and therefore not directly relevant to the variation under investigation.¹² Directly pertinent to

12. Note, also, the complex and often conflicting language attitudes that speakers have towards the standard. Some speakers find it to be artificial and far from authentic speech (Observatorio da Cultura Galega 2012: 43, Ramallo & Rei Doval 2019); others, who accept the standard, nonetheless express resistance to certain standardized forms (Ramallo &

this analysis is the matter of Galician dialects versus idiolects. As described in the previous section, there are three dialects of Galician: western, central, and eastern. However, the patterns I analyze do not conform to this three-way categorization (or at least not fully). Instead, rather, the focus of this investigation is variation across individual speakers. That is, while some speakers of the same dialect display similar patterns with regard to article contraction, others exhibit very different patterns. Therefore, I hereafter refer to the varieties under study as idiolects, or synonymously, as grammars.

The distinct types of grammars (or idiolects, equivalently) under analysis here are schematized in (11). I elaborate on the distinguishing characters of these three grammars below.



As (11) illustrates, the first division among grammar types is between contraction-free and contraction-allowing grammars. Contraction-free grammars are idiolects in which the definite article never undergoes contraction. In contrast, contraction-allowing idiolects are those in which the article does undergo contraction, although contraction is restricted to certain contexts.¹³ Within the contraction-allowing genus are two sub-types: restrictive and permissive. Speakers of restrictive grammars accept article contraction but only from internal arguments: some accept article contraction from a direct object and unaccusative subject, but others accept it only from the former. Contraction from an external argument is illicit in restrictive grammars. On the other hand, speakers of permissive idiolects accept contraction from internal arguments and external arguments, though contraction from the latter is restricted to varying degrees. This contrast with respect to external arguments is reflected in the three sub-types of permissive grammars: low, middle, and high. Low permissive grammars permit contraction from an external argument *only if the clause does **not** contain a clitic*. High permissive grammars permit contraction from an external argument in clauses that do contain clitics and in those

Rei-Doval 2019).

13. I did find one speaker for whom contraction seemed to be entirely unrestricted, i.e., acceptable in environments in which it is ordinarily ruled out for other grammars. On this speaker's judgments, I have nothing further to add and leave it as a question for future research.

that do not; further, neither the type of clitic (e.g., indirect- versus direct-object) nor the position of the clitic affects the licitness of contraction. Finally, middle permissive grammars exhibit complex patterns of variation: whether a speaker accepts contraction from an external argument depends on the type of clitic (indirect- versus direct-object), clitic position (pre- or postverbal), or sometimes both. To summarize the discussion above, then, the following generalizations can be put forth. Restrictive grammars allow contraction only from an internal argument, but permissive grammars allow it from internal and external arguments. Further, permissive grammars allow contraction from external arguments but not uniformly: some sub-types are more restrictive than others. Finally, note that in permissive grammars, contraction from an internal argument is always licit.¹⁴

Article contraction also occurs with P and in nominal-internal contexts, which I discuss in more detail in the following chapter. However, for now, note that the definite article undergoes contraction with phonologically appropriate P's, quantifiers, strong pronouns, and the conjunction (*e*)-*mais*. Speakers also display variation in the acceptability of article contraction with P and such nominal-internal elements: some accept contraction with all such elements and some with only a subset.

In the next chapter, I introduce analysis and show how some properties of these three idiolect types (contraction-free, restrictive, and permissive) can be accounted for in fairly straightforward fashion.

14. For a brief discussion of contraction from a DP adjunct and of contraction between an article and adverb, see chapter 6.

Chapter 3

Presenting the Analysis

3.1 Fundamental Claims

In this chapter, I begin presenting the analysis by discussing *l*-contraction in a range of comparatively more basic contexts. I return to more complex configurations in chapters 5 and 6. These patterns analyzed in this chapter constitute the initial investigation into microvariation concerning article contraction in Galician. Although such patterns of microvariation occur in more basic configurations, from a microvariationist perspective, all variation, even if minor, helps us to improve our advance our understanding of syntactic theory. I propose in this chapter that microvariation in article contraction arises from the locus and number of structural case licensing, giving rise to a range of distinct idiolectal patterns. The more permissive an idiolect is, the more structural-case licensors it has.

The fundamental claim I advance is for a multifaceted view of licensing. Firstly, following a predominant view in the literature (e.g., Vergnaud 2006 [1976], Chomsky 1980, 1981), I maintain that nominals must be licensed. This licensing constraint holds for lexical DPs and pronominal clitics. Note that this chapter analyzes only lexical DPs; I discuss clitics and how they interact with article contraction in the following chapters. The particular approach to nominal licensing in Galician that I adopt, however, is a novel one, although it is not without precedent (see section 2.4 for a brief discussion on work by Uriagereka (1988, 1996), Bošković (2013, 2017, 2020, to appear), Gravely (201), and Gravely and Gupton (2020)). Specifically, I argue that the system of nominal licensing in this language parallels that proposed for Zulu (Halpert 2012, 2013, 2016). In Galician, DPs either must be structurally licensed by some functional head or be intrinsically case licensed. Case licensing in

the syntax is an integral component of the analysis. Structural case licensing in the syntax feeds later operations at PF, which give rise to the phonological changes associated with article contraction. In contrast, intrinsic case licensing bleeds those PF operations.

By this analysis, there are two PF operations that yield article contraction. The first of which is leaning (rebracketing) (Zwicky & Pullum 1983, Zwicky 1985, Embick & Noyer 2001), which groups together a definite article and left-adjacent element, and a phonological rule triggers the phonological changes associated with *l*-contraction. Crucially, though, leaning does not indiscriminately apply to any article and adjacent element. I posit two constraints on leaning. First, leaning only occurs if a lexical DP is structurally case licensed; I assume that the article heading that DP is structurally case licensed in virtue of being the head of the projection.¹ In contrast, intrinsically case licensed articles do not undergo leaning. The second constraint on leaning is that an article and its structural case licenser must be contained in the same prosodic word. Along with leaning, another PF operation produces article contraction: a phonological rule, *contract*, which applies to prosodic words and triggers the pertinent segmental changes associated with *l*-contraction. More broadly, in terms of the relationship between syntactic and post-syntactic operations, I posit the following: the post-syntactic operations that yield contraction of the definite article do not apply unless licensed by a prior operation in the syntax.² Tentatively, I expand upon this claim and submit that, more generally, post-syntactic processes themselves must be licensed by syntactic operations, along with the fairly standard notion that nominals require licensing. Although this proposal in particular is novel (to the best of my knowledge), it has precedent in Elordieta's (1994a,b, 1997) studies of vowel assimilation in Lekeitio Basque. For Elordieta, certain functional elements must be morphosyntactically licensed, and such licensing subsequently creates new domains for phonological processes. I present the connection between Elordieta's analyses of vowel assimilation and definite article contraction in Galician more fully later in this chapter.

1. Although it may be somewhat unconventional to speak of an article—or, more generally, a D—being case licensed, as opposed to a DP, I assume that a head and all the nodes projected from it (see Chametzky (1996), p. 17–18 and works cited there for discussion) are identical in featural content at every point in the derivation, following a strong (and dynamic) interpretation of the logic of Bare Phrase Structure (Chomsky 1995). (This view is argued for in Zyman (2021), p. 548 and investigated in greater detail in Zyman (2024), esp. sect. 4.2.) On this view, when a DP node (more precisely, a D node that is relationally maximal) is case licensed, the (minimal) D node is as well, as an automatic consequence.

2. I advance the same claim for clitics; see chapter 3.

Regarding the empirical focus of this chapter, I first discuss contraction between the definite article and nominal-internal elements (section 3.3). In particular, I investigate contraction between the article and strong pronouns, quantifiers, conjunctions, and prepositions. Note that the classification of some of these elements as ‘nominal-internal’ could certainly be disputed, but they are grouped together here essentially only for ease of exposition; nothing about the analysis will change if some of them cannot be considered “nominal-internal” in any sense. There are two types of idiolectal variation with respect to contraction in this context: some speakers allow contraction between the definite article and a nominal-internal element, but others reject it. For example, some speakers find the sentence in (1) to be well formed, but others find it illicit:

- (1) %Vó-**los** dous marchastes d-a festa. *vós + os → vó-los*
 2_{PL}-**the**_{PL,M} two leave_{2PL,PST} from-the_{SG,F} party
 ‘You two left the party.’

I propose that such variation can be straightforwardly accounted for by assuming that, for grammars in which contraction between an article and nominal-internal element is licit, that element is a structural case licenser. In contrast, for grammars in which contraction is unacceptable, that element is not a licenser.

Variation in article contraction surfaces at the clausal level as well. In restrictive idiolects, article contraction is only licit from direct objects and, for some speakers, from unaccusative subjects; that is, contraction from external arguments is unacceptable in restrictive varieties. This pattern is shown in (2-3):

- (2) Plantámo-**los** tomates. *plantamos + os → plantámo-los*
 plant_{1PL,PST}-**the**_{PL,M} tomatoes.
 ‘We planted the tomatoes.’
- (3) Gritamos **os** vecinos. (*Gritámo-**los** vecinos.)
 shout_{1PL,PST} **the**_{PL,M} neighbors
 ‘We neighbors shouted.’

Restrictive patterns are attributed to the presence of a low clausal-level case licenser, specifically *v*, which can only structurally case license nominals within its c-command domain, i.e., internal arguments. I elaborate on this claim in section 3.2.

In contrast to restrictive idiolects, in section 3.3, I analyze article contraction in more permissive grammars, in which contraction from internal and external arguments is well formed. In other words, in permissive idiolects, both (2) and (3) are acceptable. I attribute this more permissive pattern to the presence of two structural case licensers along the clausal spine: *v* and T. The former licenser *c*-commands and therefore structurally licenses internal arguments, while the latter, as a structurally higher licenser, *c*-commands and therefore licenses external arguments.

Finally, section 3.4 focuses on idiolects in which article contraction from any argument with clausal-level elements is illicit. These grammars I refer to as 'contraction-free' idiolects, (2-3) above are both ill formed. Such contraction-free grammars are hypothesized to arise from the absence of any clausal-level structural case licenser. The idea that case licensing heads can be parameterized is also proposed by Halpert (2012, 2016), who distinguishes between English and Zulu. In the former, T is a case assigner, while in Zulu, the case assigner is another functional head, L(licenser). While Halpert draws this distinction between languages, the same line of analysis can be extended to different grammars within the same language, as I propose for Galician.

By this analysis, idiolectal variation arises to the inventory of structural-case licensers in a given idiolect. Permissiveness is cumulative and correlates directly with clausal-level structural-case licensers. Permissive grammars have two licensers, (T and *v*) and allows contraction from a larger set of types of arguments. In contrast, restrictive grammars have just a single licensers (*v*) and consequently permit contraction from a comparatively smaller set of argument types. In addition, this analysis offers a straightforward means of accounting for implications across kinds of idiolects (i.e, implications between contraction-free, restrictive, and permissive grammars) (see section 3.9 for further discussion).

Note that variation in contraction at the nominal level does not correlate with the permissive versus restrictive classifications of Galician idiolects. That is, speakers of restrictive idiolects are not more restrictive in terms of contraction between the definite article and nominal-internal elements, and conversely, and speakers of permissive idiolects do not accept contraction at the nominal-internal level more so than their restrictive idiolects. One exception to this generalization concerns contraction-free grammars. Some speakers of contraction-free idiolects reject article contraction with clausal-level

elements but accept it with nominal-internal elements. Other speakers of contraction-free idiolects, however, find contraction at both the clausal and nominal levels to be illicit.

3.2 Background on the Phenomenon on *L*-Contraction

In Galician, the definite article contracts with several nominal-internal elements: prepositions, conjunctions, strong pronouns, and quantifiers (Álvarez, Regueira, & Monteagudo 1989, Álvarez & Xove 2002). I discuss contraction between the article and each of these nominal-internal elements in depth shortly, but, by way of initial example, I illustrate *l*-contraction between an article and a preposition:

- (4) Unha muller camina po-la rúa. *por + a* → *po-la*
a_{SG.F} woman walk_{3SG.PRS} through-**the**_{F.SG} street
'A woman walks through the street.'

Contraction deletes the final segment of the preposition (*/r/*) and triggers the appearance of an *l*-initial allomorph of the definite article, instead of the underlying vowel-initial form (4). Due to the appearance of the *l*-initial allomorph, contraction of this sort is hereafter referred to as *l*-contraction (or, equivalently, contraction). It is important to point out that *l*-contraction also applies to direct-object pronominal clitics, which are morphologically syncretic with and exhibit the same allomorphy under *l*-contraction as definite articles.³ This syncretism is depicted in the table below. I investigate *l*-contraction of clitics insofar as is necessary to analyze in depth contraction of the definite article.⁴

3. The two are not fully syncretic, however. The direct-object clitic has allomorphs that surface under other types of contraction. See chapter 4, section 4.6.

4. See chapters 4 for an analysis of clitics and chapters 5-6 for an account of how clitics interact with article contraction.

Definite Article & Direct-Object Clitics

	Masculine	Feminine
Singular	<i>o, lo</i>	<i>a, la</i>
Plural	<i>os, los</i>	<i>as, las</i>

The definite article and direct-object clitics share the same set of forms: the vowel-initial forms and the *l*-initial allomorphs (Álvarez & Xove 2002, Dubert García 2014). For both the definite article and direct-object clitics, the *l*-allomorph appears as a result of contraction with a left-adjacent element, while the vowel-initial form surfaces when the article or clitics remain separate from a preceding element, i.e., when they remain ‘un-contracted.’⁵ Descriptively speaking, definite articles and direct-object clitics contract in a range of environments. For now, I summarize the morphosyntactic contexts and phonological conditions of contraction (for both the article and clitics) below.

(5) Morphosyntactic Contexts for Definite Articles

- (a) verb + article
- (b) clitic + article
- (c) preposition + article
- (d) strong pronoun + article
- (e) quantifier + article
- (f) conjunction + article

(7) Phonological Conditions

- (a) a host whose final segment is /r/ or /s/
- (b) a vowel-initial definite article or direct-object clitic

(6) Morphosyntactic Contexts for Clitics

- (a) clitic + clitic
- (b) verb + clitic

Observe that *l*-contraction is also sensitive to phonological restrictions: the element with which the article contracts (i.e., the host element) must have a final segment of /r/ or /s/. I do not analyze the phonological restrictions here; the reader is referred to Kikuchi (2006), Nevins (2011b), Ulfsbjorninn (2020), and Kastner (2024) for analyses of this aspect of contraction. Further, although pronominal clitics are not the primary focus of this thesis, they do affect contraction of the article. Therefore,

5. In the descriptive literature, the vowel-initial forms are traditionally called the “first forms,” and the *l*-initial as the “second forms” (Álvarez & Xove 2002, Dubert García 2014).

I analyze contraction and cliticization of pronominal clitics insofar as is necessary to explain the behaviors of the article in chapters 5-6. With regard to previous work on this complex phenomenon, *l*-contraction has been well documented in the descriptive literature (e.g., Álvarez 1983, 1984, 2003, Álvarez, Regueira, & Monteagudo 1989, Dubert García 2001, 2014, 2015, Álvarez & Xove 2002). Regarding more theoretically oriented work, researchers have examined the phonological constraints (as mentioned above, e.g., Kikuchi (2006), Nevins (2011b), Kastner (2024), Ulfsgjorninn (2020)). Other researchers (Uriagereka 1988, 1996, Bošković 2013, 2017, 2020, to appear, Gravely 2019, Gravely & Gupton 2020) have studied the syntactic effects of article *l*-contraction but analyzed it in limited contexts (see section 3.8 for discussion of these analyses.). The interrelated and complex syntactic factors that affect *l*-contraction have yet to be investigated systematically. I therefore offer a more comprehensive analysis of this phenomenon, which accounts for the wide range of syntactic environments in which articles contract.

3.3 Contraction at the Nominal Level

In this section, I provide an account of contraction between the definite article and nominal-internal elements, specifically those elements in (5c-f). As noted above, variation in contraction at the nominal versus clausal levels does not generally correlate in terms of the restrictive versus permissive versus contraction-free classifications (except in some varieties of contraction-free grammars). Therefore, in terms of presentation, I provide an analysis of contraction at the nominal level separately from that at the clausal level. In particular, I argue for a two-pronged analysis in which contraction is generated in part by syntactic licensing and in part by PF processes, as described above. By this analysis, only nominals that are structurally case licensed launch article contraction; articles heading nominals that are intrinsically case licensed do not undergo contraction. For grammars in which contraction between an article and the elements in (5c-f) is licit, I argue that those elements are structural case licensers; for those in which it is unacceptable, those elements are not licensers. Idiolectal variation thus arises from whether a given element is a structural case licenser. Although it may initially seem surprising to claim that the nominal-internal elements in (5c-f) are case licensers, similar ideas can be found in the literature: e.g., P (Chomsky 1980), numerals (Nelson & Toivonen 2000), Q (Rutkowski 2002), N (Georgi & Salzmänn 2011), and D (Pesetsky 2013)).⁶ Nominal-internal case licensers can

6. But see Weisser (2020) for arguments against conjunctions as case assigners.

also be assigned structural case themselves. This hypothesis expands on previous work according to which nominals are divided into multiple domains of case assignment and in which nominal-internal elements assign case (e.g., Georgi & Salzmann 2011, Pesetsky 2013, Norris 2014). Interactions between nominal- and clausal-level case licensers are discussed in section 3.5-3.6.

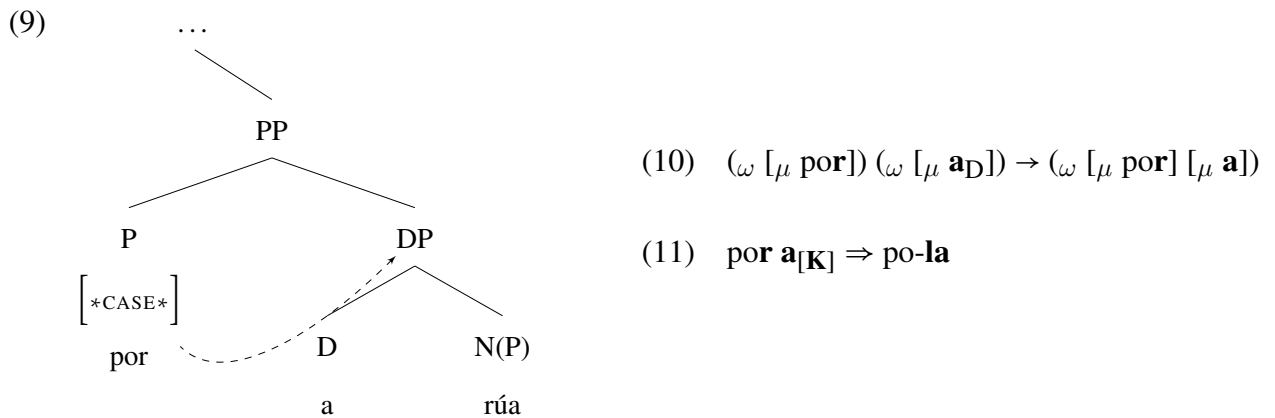
Along with syntactic (structural case) licensing, article contraction is also produced in part by post-syntactic processes. Articles are adjoined to a left-adjacent host at PF by leaning/rebracketing (Zwicky & Pullum 1983, Zwicky 1985, Embick & Noyer 2001). Recall that an article only undergoes leaning if it is structurally case licensed in the syntax; intrinsically case licensed articles do not. As mentioned above, by this proposed constraint, leaning itself must be syntactically licensed. Moreover, leaning of the article onto another element *y* applies only if the former's syntactic licenser is contained in *y*. As I demonstrate later in this chapter, an account based solely on case licensing and leaning over-generates and incorrectly predicts contraction in certain contexts that it is not licit. That is, even articles that are structurally case licensed do not indiscriminately undergo leaning onto any left-adjacent host. Positing both PF and syntactic mechanisms explains the more 'surface-oriented' aspects (to borrow a term from Halpert (2012)) of contraction as well as its deeper syntactic properties. Neither a strictly syntactic nor strictly PF-based approach is able to account for the complex variation of article contraction but also to rule out contraction in environments in which it cannot occur.

Speakers of Galician exhibit a range of variation with regard to the acceptability of contraction between a definite article and nominal-internal element: some accept contraction with them all; some with only a subset; and some reject contraction entirely in this context. To account for variation across idiolects, I posit that, for any well-formed instance of contraction, the article is structurally case licensed and is contained within the same prosodic word as its structural case licenser after leaning applies. To begin, consider a comparatively straightforward instance of contraction between an article and preposition (originally (4), repeated below):

- (8) (%)Unha muller camina po-la rúa. *por + a* → *po-la*
 one_{SG,F} woman walk_{3SG,PRS} through-the_{F,SG} street.
 'A woman walks through the street.'

As shown in (8), the article undergoes contraction with the left-adjacent preposition, and, as a result, after contraction the final segment of the preposition is deleted, and the *l*-initial allomorph of the arti-

cle appears instead of the underlying vowel-initial form. Note that I use the (%) notation to indicate that an example is acceptable for some speakers, and illicit for others. I provide sample derivations for both patterns below, starting with those grammars in which contraction with a preposition is well formed.



For grammars in which the article licitly contracts with P, the latter is taken here to be a structural case licenser. As such, P structurally case licenses the closest nominal in its c-command domain. As exemplified in (9), P structurally case licenses its DP complement in the syntax. The second stage of the derivation, at PF, is shown in (10-11). I adapt notation from Embick and Noyer (1999) in (10), which depicts leaning (Zwicky & Pullum 1983, Zwicky 1985, Embick & Noyer 2001).⁷ At PF, P and D, which are two morphological words (MWds), are mapped into the same prosodic word via leaning. In other words, D attaches (undergoes leaning) onto the adjacent P, and the two form a phonological word (10). Crucially, leaning occurs for two reasons. Firstly, because prior syntactic licensing has taken place, i.e., without structural case licensing in the syntax, there can be no leaning later in the derivation. Secondly, after leaning, the article and its structural case licenser (P) form a prosodic word (recall that the second constrain on leaning is that the article its licenser be grouped together into the same prosodic word). Leaning feeds the application of a phonological rule, which deletes the final segment of P and triggers the appearance of the *l*-initial allomorph. This component of the derivation is given in (11). Note that subscript K indicates that structural case was previously assigned to the article (see footnote 1). Since the phonological changes associated with *l*-contraction are outside the scope of this analysis, I remain agnostic as to the precise nature of this rule, and simply refer to it hereafter as *contract*.⁸

7. μ refers to morphological word (MWd), and ω signifies prosodic word.

8. See section 3.2 for analyses of the phonological constraints on article contraction, and see chapter 4, section 4.6,

In contrast, in grammars in which the definite article does not licitly contract with a preposition, I posit that P is not a case licenser. In the absence of structural case, no contraction surfaces:

(12) (ω [μ por]) ($[\mu$ a])

(13) por a_[I] ⇒ por a

If P is not a case licenser and therefore cannot license its DP complement, the latter instead is intrinsically case licensed, as indicated by subscript I in (13). Without the requisite structural case in the syntax, leaning does not occur, and the preposition and article remain separate prosodic words (12). In the absence of leaning, the article and its licenser (P) are not contained in the same prosodic word, and *contract*, the phonological rule yielding *l*-contraction, does not apply (13). The lack of structural case licensing consequently bleeds leaning, and, in turn, the absence of leaning bleeds the *contract* rule. This proposed case system for Galician is adapted from Halpert’s (2012, 2013, 2016) analysis of case in Zulu. For Halpert, structural case is licensed by a specific functional head to any nominal that is structurally closest to that head. If a nominal in Zulu is structurally case licensed, it will appear without a piece of nominal morphology known as the augment vowel.⁹ Further, under Halpert’s account, nominals not structurally case licensed must instead be intrinsically case licensed, which, Halpert argues, is done by the augment vowel. Regarding article contraction in Galician, the morphophonological realization of structural case is a contracted article (assuming that the PF conditions on article contraction are also met), while that for intrinsic case is an un-contracted article.

Before transitioning to a discussion of contraction between the article and other nominal-internal elements, it is necessary to comment briefly on other configurations in which the complement of P is not headed by a definite article or in which P does not have a final segment of /r/ or /s/, such as the sentences in (14-15), respectively:¹⁰

(14) Foi detido por **un** policía.
 be_{3SG.PST} arrested by **a**_{SG.M} policeman

for discussion of Kastner’s (2024) account of *l*-contraction.

9. Halpert posits a specific case licensing head along the clausal spine. I discuss the details of Halpert’s account and structural case licensing at the clausal level in Galician later in this section. See also chapters 5-6.

10. (14) is taken from *Dicionario da Real Academia Galega*, and (15) comes from Álvarez, Regueira, and Monteagudo (1989: 139).

‘She was arrested by a policeman.’

- (15) Anda **n-a** rúa. *en + a → na*
 walk_{3SG.PRS} **in-the**_{SG.F} street
 ‘She walks in the street.’

If P’s complement is not headed by a definite article, as in (14), no *l*-contraction surfaces. In configurations such as these, I assume P structurally case licenses its complement and leaning applies. However, because the phonological conditions are not satisfied, the article and preposition do not contract. On the other hand, if P’s complement is headed by a definite article, but P itself does not have an appropriate final segment, there can be no *l*-contraction. Note that a different type of contraction, other than *l*-contraction, appears with a preposition and the definite article in (15) (Álvarez, Regueira, & Monteagudo 1989). I do not analyze other types of contraction in Galician, like that exemplified in (15), since they are morphosyntactically and phonologically distinct from *l*-contraction. Nonetheless, a tentative proposal is that the same licensing relationship holds: P structurally case licenses its DP complement, which subsequently feeds leaning at PF, and, after P and D form a prosodic word through leaning, some phonological rule gives rise to the contraction in (15). I leave the overarching question of contraction in Galician more generally for future inquiry.

Another nominal-internal element with which the article contracts is strong pronouns. As is the case for prepositions, some speakers find contraction between an article and a strong pronoun to be licit, but for others it is unacceptable. As in the preceding discussion, I use the (%) notation to indicate that the acceptability of contraction in this context varies per idiolect.

- (16) %Vó-**los** dous marchastes d-a festa. *vós + os → vó-los*
 you_{PL}-**the**_{PL,M} two left_{2PL} from-the_{SG.F} party
 ‘You two left the party.’

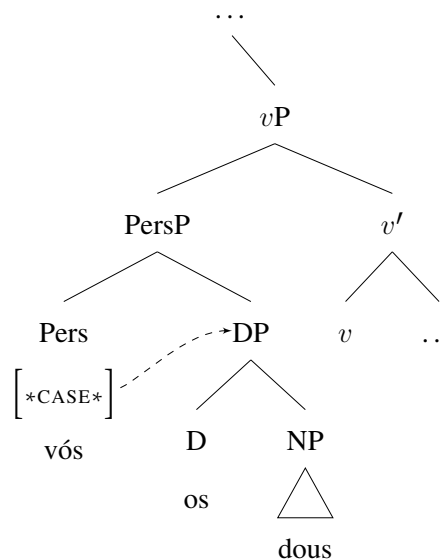
- (17) %O avó viu-nos a nó-**los** dous. *nós os → nó-los*
 the_{SG,M} grandfather see_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DO} a us-**the**_{PL,M} two
 ‘Grandfather saw the two of us.’

An article licitly contracts with a second-person strong pronoun for some speakers, while other speakers reject contraction in this context (16). The same generalization holds for a first-person strong pronoun, as in (17).¹¹ This variation is attributed here to whether the strong pronoun is a structural

11. Note that I gloss the differential object marker in Galician (and Spanish) as *a* in all examples.

case licenser: for those grammars in which contraction is well formed, the pronoun case licenses DP; but for those in which it is not, the pronoun is not a case licenser. I discuss a construction containing a second-person pronoun, but the derivation is the same for a first-person pronoun, modulo the person of the pronoun. I first provide a sample derivation for grammars in which contraction in this context is acceptable, and then one for grammars in which it is illicit.

(18)



(19) $(\omega [\mu \text{ vós}]) (\omega [\mu \text{ os}]) \rightarrow (\omega [\mu \text{ vós}]) [\mu \text{ os}]$

(20) $\text{vós os}_{[\mathbf{K}]} \Rightarrow \text{vó-los}$

To analyze the structure of constructions like these containing a strong pronoun, I adopt Höhn's (2016) analysis of adnominal pronoun constructions (i.e., constructions involving the pronoun, definite article, and noun). I assume that the pronoun is the realization of a Pers head, and the numeral is the only overt reflex of the NP complement of D. The analysis advanced here does not depend on any particular analysis of the adnominal pronoun construction so long as the pronoun occupies a position from which it c-commands the rest of the nominal and therefore can structurally case license it. As illustrated in (18), Pers case licenses the structurally closest nominal in its c-command domain: its DP complement. The PF-stage of the derivation is shown in (19-20): since structural case licensing has occurred in the syntax, leaning produces a prosodic word containing the article and its case licenser, Pers. Lastly, since the two are within the same prosodic word, the *contract* rule produces the relevant phonological changes. On this analysis, then, article contraction is the result of a series of feeding relationships across different modules of the grammar: the application of syntactic licensing feeds a PF operation, and, in turn, that PF operation feeds phonological rules.

In contrast, for those grammars in which the article does not undergo contraction with a strong pro-

noun, the pronoun (a Pers head) is hypothesized not to be a case licenser, and absence of case licensing bleeds later application of PF operations:

(21) (ω [μ vós]) (ω [μ os])

(22) vós **os**_[I] \Rightarrow vós **os**

If the pronoun does not structurally case license its DP complement in the syntax, the DP must be intrinsically case licensed. Further, because leaning must be licensed by prior syntactic licensing (structural case), it does not occur at PF. The article and the strong pronoun therefore remain distinct prosodic words (21), and the *contract* rule does not apply (22).

For local-person pronouns, variation with respect to contraction is relatively straightforward: either it is licit or illicit. However, there is considerably more variation in terms of contraction between an article and a third-person strong pronoun, as exemplified below:

(23) Eles dous / Eles **os** dous / Ele-**los** dous saíron d-a festa.
 they two / they **the**_{PL.M} two / they-**the**_{PL.M} two leave_{3PL.PST} from-the_{SG.F} party
 ‘The two of them left the party.’

Some speakers reject an article entirely in this context; others accept an article but only if it is uncontracted; a third group of speakers judge contraction between a third-person pronoun and article to be well formed, though many find it to be marginal. I account for configurations in which the article co-occurs with a third-person pronoun here. I adopt the same analysis as for local-person pronouns and posit that, in idiolects in which contraction is licit, the third-person pronoun (Pers, more precisely) structurally case licenses its DP complement, and application of structural case feeds leaning, and leaning feeds *contract*. But in idiolects in which contraction between *eles* and the article is unacceptable, the former is not a case licenser; the DP must then bear intrinsic case. Neither leaning nor *contract* apply, and the article is uncontracted with the third-person pronoun. As for those grammars in which the article and third-person pronoun do not co-occur, the latter may or may not assign case: since there the definite article is not present, there is no way to determine if the DP is structurally or intrinsically case licensed (or, indeed, if the DP layer is present at all). Nothing critical to the analysis hinges on this matter.

Beyond licensing, a main claim advanced here is that Galician is misclassified as a nominative-accusative language. Instead, I argue that Galician has a different kind of case system, similar to the one Halpert (2012, 2013, 2016) proposes for Zulu. I pursue this idea in more detail in the next section, which focuses on article contraction at the clausal level. However, support for a parallel between these two unrelated languages (Galician and Zulu) is also found in the nominal domain. For example, consider (24-25):

(24) %Thina **madoda** si-thanda inyama.
 we **6men** 1PL-like AUG.9meat
 ‘We men like meat.’ (adapted from Halpert’s (2012) (164b))

(25) Thina **amadoda** si-thanda inyama.
 we AUG.6men 1PL-like AUG.9meat
 ‘We men like meat.’/‘We, the men, like meat.’ (adapted from Halpert’s (2012) (164a))

In Zulu, nominals can optionally appear without the augment vowel when immediately following a pronoun.¹² An augmentless nominal in Zulu mirrors a contracted DP in Galician in that special nominal morphology can surface when that nominal is immediately preceded by a pronoun. Halpert (2012) discusses (24-25) but does not offer an analysis of these patterns. It may well be that the case-based analysis of contraction advanced here can be extended to nominal-internal behaviors in Zulu. However, I set this matter aside for future research.

Along with prepositions and strong pronouns, yet another category of nominal-internal hosts of article contraction is quantifiers, in particular, the quantifiers *todos* ‘all’, *ambos* ‘both’, and *entrambos* ‘between the two’. As for prepositions and strong pronouns, there is variation in terms of acceptability: in certain grammars, contraction is well formed, but, in others, illicit. Further, in some idiolects, articles do not co-occur with *ambos* or *entrambos*: speakers utilize *os dous* ‘the two’ in place of the former, and *entre os dous* ‘between the two’ instead of the latter. I do not analyze these constructions and focus only on those contexts in which contraction a quantifier and article do co-occur and contraction is either acceptable or unacceptable. As in the previous examples, variation is attributed to the presence or absence of structural case licensing, respectively. In this instance, the structural

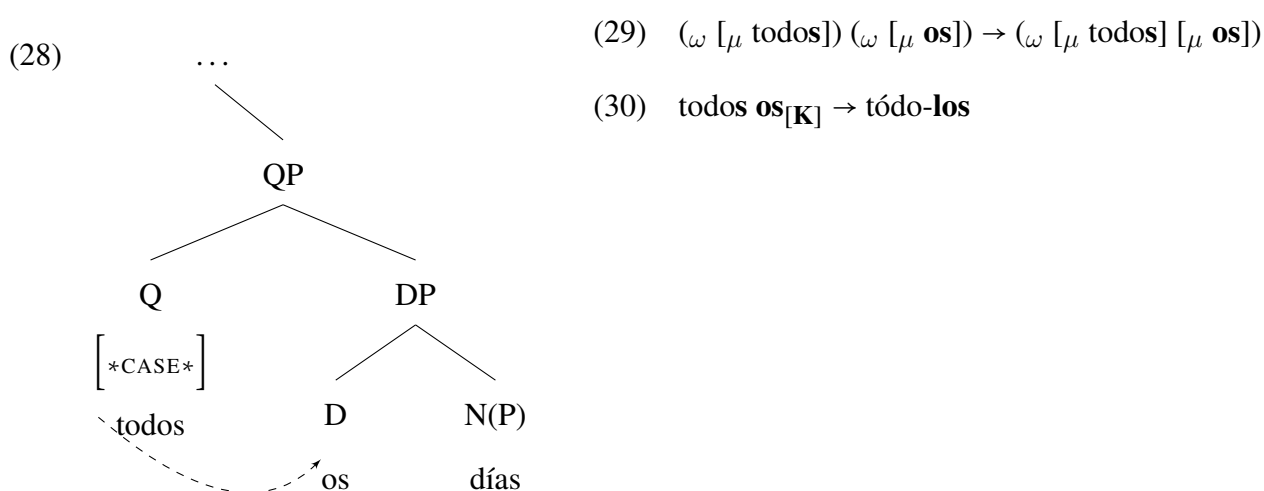
12. Halpert notes that some speakers of Durban Zulu prefer an augmented nominal after a pronoun. On the interpretive differences between the versions of these structures with and without the augment, and on the idiolectal variation in this domain, see Halpert (2012: 130–131).

case licenser in question is the quantifier. I illustrate contraction with a quantifier using *todos*, but contraction is derived in the same manner for other quantifiers.

(26) %*Tódo-los* estudiantes aprobaron o examen. *todos + os* → *tódo-los*
 all-**the**_{PL,M} students pass_{3PL,PST} the_{SG,M} exam
 ‘All the students passed the exam.’

(27) %*Vou* andar media hora *tódo-los* días.
 go_{1SG,PRS} walk_{INF} half hour all-**the**_{PL,M} days
 ‘I am going to walk a half hour every day.’

Whether a quantified nominal is an argument (26) or an adjunct (27) does not affect the acceptability of contraction: speakers consistently either accept or reject contraction with a quantifier.¹³ I posit that quantifiers are structural case licensers for grammars in which contraction in this context is licit. For those grammars in which contraction is ill formed, quantifiers are not case licensers. Evidence in support of the idea that quantifiers can be case licensers comes from work by Rutkowski (2002), who argues that in Polish a quantifier assigns genitive case to its complement. Additional evidence that is broadly consistent with this idea comes from proposals to expand the inventory of case assigners to include nominal-internal elements such as numerals (Nelson & Toivonen 2000), N (Georgi & Salzmann 2011), and D (Pesetsky 2013). A derivation for licit contraction between a quantifier and article is depicted in (28-30):



I analyze the quantifier as a head, Q, that takes a DP as its complement (Sportiche 1988, Shlonsky 1991, Merchant 1996, *inter alia*). Like other licensers, Q structurally case licenses the closest nom-

13. Note, though, that some speakers accept contraction but prefer the un-contracted form. Further, some speakers find contraction more acceptable in what they describe as phrases that occur more frequently in speech, such as *tódo-los días*.

inal that it c-commands: its DP complement (28). At PF, leaning applies, given that structural case licensing occurs in the syntax, and the quantifier and article are grouped together into a prosodic word (29). Since the article and Q are contained within the same prosodic word, *contract* applies and yields *l*-contraction (30).

In contrast, in idiolects in which Q is not a structural case licenser, the article (like the DP it heads; see footnote 1) must be intrinsically case licensed. As in the previous derivations, non-application of structural case in the syntax leads to a sequence of bleeding relationships:

- (31) (ω [μ todos]) (ω [μ os]) (32) todos os_[I] → todos os

There can be no leaning at PF because Q does not license structural case in the syntax. Therefore, Q and the article remain separate phonological words (31), and *contract* does not apply (32).

Like strong pronouns, quantifiers constitute a second source of evidence in support of the notion that Galician and Zulu have the same kind of case system. According to von Staden (1973) and Halpert (2012, 2016), nominals in Zulu can appear without the augment when they immediately precede a quantifier. For example, consider (33-34), which are adapted from (von Staden 1973: 186, Halpert 2012: 171):

- (33) Ng-a-qala uku-qalaza zindawo zonke.
 1SG-PAST-start INF-look.around 10places 10all
 ‘I started to watch all the places (every place).’

- (34) Ng-a-qala uku-qalaza izindawo zonke.
 1SG-PAST-start INF-look.around AUG.10places 10all
 ‘I started to watch all the places (every place).’

According to von Staden (1973), there is a difference in interpretation: an augmentless nominal is interpreted as non-specific (as in (33)), while an augmented nominal is specific (as in (34)).¹⁴ This semantic difference aside, the sentence in (33) strongly resembles that in (26) (repeated here for the reader’s convenience):

- (35) Tódo-**los** estudiantes aprobaron o examen.
 all-**the**_{PL,M} students pass_{3PL,PST} the_{SG,M} exam

14. Halpert (2012) notes that speakers of Durban Zulu reject an augmentless nominal in these constructions.

‘All the students passed the exam.’

In (some idiolects of) both Zulu and Galician, a nominal surfaces with special morphology (augmentless or with a contracted article, respectively) within a quantified expression. For now, I leave for future investigation the question of why the languages differ in terms of linear order, i.e., why the augmentless DP precedes the quantifier in Zulu, but the DP containing the contracted article follows the quantifier in Galician.

Another nominal-internal element with which the article contracts is a conjunction. And, as for other nominal-internal elements, there is variation with regard to the licitness of contraction in this environment: some speakers accept it, and others reject it. Another point of variation concerns the syntactic category of elements being coordinated. Examples are given in (36-37):

(36) \$O can (e-)mai-**lo** gato cazaron o rato. *e-mais + o* → *e-mailo*
the_{SG.M} dog (and)-**the**_{SG.M} cat chase_{3PL.PST} the_{SG.M} mouse
‘The dog and the cat chased the mouse.’

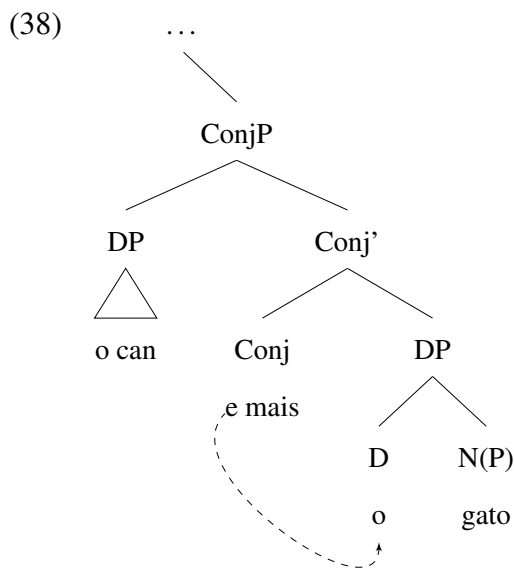
(37) \$A mestra foi á clase (e-)mai-**la** estudante foi a casa.
the_{SG.F} teacher go_{3SG.PST} to.the_{SG.F} class (and)-**the**_{SG.F} student go_{3SG.PST} to home
‘The teacher went to class, and the student went home.’

Among speakers who judge contraction between an article and conjunction to be licit, the majority accept contraction if two DPs are coordinated (36).¹⁵ A smaller set of speakers accept contraction if two sentences are coordinated, but find the use of (*e*) *mais* to be degraded, preferring another conjunction, *e* ‘and,’ in this context. Other speakers disallow coordinating sentences with (*e*-)*mais* entirely (these speakers accept only *e* to coordinate two sentences). Other points of variation regarding article contraction with (*e*) *mais* are the following. Some speakers accept (*e*) *mais* when two verb phrases are coordinated. Additionally, contraction is unacceptable for many speakers if *mais* is interpreted as ‘but’ rather than ‘and.’¹⁶ In this analysis, I provide an account only of contraction with coordinated nominals, as other uses of (*e*-)*mais* vary considerably in terms of acceptability, and I have yet to examine these thoroughly.

15. Indeed, some speakers report very clear judgments that (*e*-)*mais* is used only to coordinate nominals.

16. *Mais* with an interpretation of ‘but’ is often judged to have more of a formal register. A more colloquial equivalent is *pero* ‘but.’

For grammars in which article contraction is licit with a conjunction, the latter is taken here to be a case licenser; for those in which contraction is illicit, the conjunction is hypothesized not to be a licenser, leading to intrinsic case licensing of the article.



(39) $(\omega [\mu \text{ e mais}]) (\omega [\mu \text{ o}]) \rightarrow (\omega [\mu \text{ e mais}]) [\mu \text{ o}])$

(40) $\text{e mais } \mathbf{o}_{[\mathbf{K}]} \rightarrow \text{e mai-}\mathbf{lo}$

As shown in (38), the conjunction structurally case licenses the closest nominal that it c-commands, the DP that is in the second conjunct. At PF, since structural case licensing has occurred in the syntax, leaning generates a prosodic word containing the article and its licenser (Conj), which yields a phonological domain in which the *contract* rule applies (39-40).

For grammars in which contraction is illicit, the conjunction (*e mais*) is not a case licenser, and the DP that is in the second conjunct is instead intrinsically case licensed. Therefore, leaning does not apply and the *contract* rule is bled:

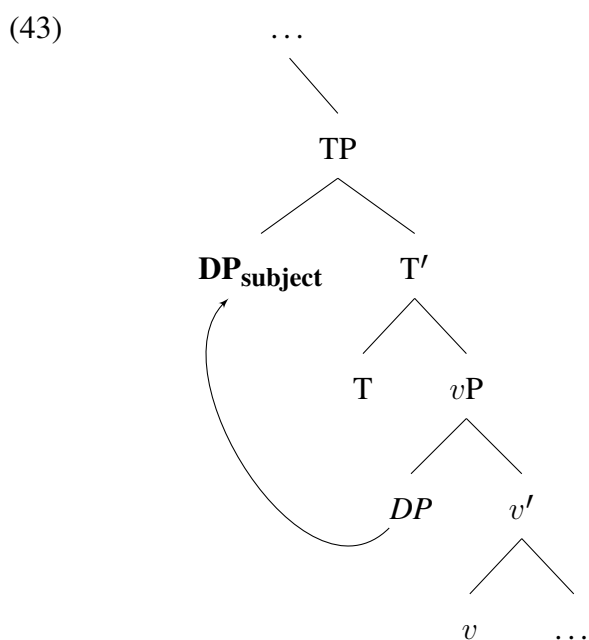
(41) $(\omega [\mu \text{ mais}]) (\omega [\mu \text{ o}])$

(42) $\text{mais } \mathbf{o}_{[\mathbf{I}]} \rightarrow \text{mais } \mathbf{o}$

If leaning does not take place, the article and its licenser, Conj, are not contained in the same prosodic word (41); the *contract* rule does not apply, and the two remain separate elements (42).

3.4 Structure of Clauses in Galician

In this section, I make explicit my assumptions regarding the syntax of Galician clausal structure. In particular, I concentrate on how SVO, VOS, and VSO clauses are derived. To begin, preverbal subjects in Romance languages have provoked considerable debate in the syntactic literature. One side of the debate holds that preverbal subjects occupy an A'-position (some left-peripheral position, such as clitic left dislocated elements occupy) (e.g., Barbosa 1996, 2000, Ordóñez & Treviño 1999, Uribe-Etxebarria 1992, 1995). The competing view is that preverbal subjects occupy an A-position (Spec,TP) (e.g., Duarte 1997, Costa 2004, Goodall 2001, Burga 2008, Gupton 2014). Much of this research has focused on Spanish (e.g., Ordóñez & Treviño 1999, Goodall 2001, Suñer 2003) or European Portuguese (e.g., Barbosa 1996, 2000).¹⁷ One analysis of preverbal subjects in Galician specifically, though, is Gupton's (2014). Based mostly on data from formal experiments, Gupton tentatively concludes that in Galician, a preverbal subject moves from its *v*P-internal base position to an A-position (Spec,TP) (though he does not rule out the possibility that, in some contexts, subjects move higher to some left-peripheral position).



Gupton discusses a variety of data in support of derivations like that in (43), some of which I briefly reproduce here. Firstly, Gupton observes that there is an asymmetry between preverbal subjects and left-peripheral preverbal objects ((44-45) correspond to Gupton's (6a-b)):

- (44) *A quen cres que o premio lle deron?
 to whom think_{PRS.2SG} that the_{M.SG} prize CL_{3SG.DAT} give_{PST.3PL}

17. See also Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998) for an analysis of Greek and several other languages.

‘To whom do you think that they gave the prize?’

- (45) A quen cres que Xoán lle dou o premio?
to whom think_{PRS.2SG} that Xoán CL_{3SG.DAT} give_{PST.3SG} the_{M.SG} prize
‘To whom do you think Xoán gave the prize?’

A topicalized direct object in a subordinate clause triggers island effects (44), but a preverbal subject in a subordinate clause does not (45). According to Gupton (and Goodall (2001) who argues similarly for Spanish), if topics and preverbal subjects are indeed both A'-elements, they both should trigger island effects for wh-movement, contrary to fact (2012: 142). Another piece of evidence Gupton provides in support of the notion that preverbal subjects in Galician are not in an A'-bar position comes from scope relations ((46-47) are Gupton's (4a-b)):

- (46) A quién dices que cada senador amaba (Wh > ∀, *∀ > Wh) (Spanish)
a who say_{PRS.2SG} that each senator love_{IMPF.3SG}
- (47) A quen dis que cada senador amaba (Wh > ∀, ∀ > Wh) (Galician)
a who say_{PRS.2SG} that each senator love_{IMPF.3SG}
‘Who is it you say that each senator loved?’

According to Uribe-Etxebarria (1992, 1995) topicalization freezes elements for Quantifier Raising. That is, an element that has been topicalized cannot undergo covert quantifier movement. In the Spanish example in (46), then, the preverbal subject cannot undergo covert quantifier movement and have a wide scope interpretation over the *wh*-element because it is a topic. However, Gupton points out that no such scope-freezing effects arise in Galician (47) (See also Goodall (2001: 208–209) on the idiolectal variation to which the judgments on (46) are subject in Spanish.).

A final piece of evidence that I adduce in support of the claim that preverbal subjects in Galician occupy an A-position (Spec,TP) (or at least pass through Spec,TP en route to a higher left-peripheral position) comes from Fernández-Salgueiro (2011a,b). Fernández-Salgueiro argues that a preverbal subject in Galician and Spanish must be in Spec,TP due to the fact that non-referring elements cannot be topicalized, but they can be preverbal subjects.¹⁸ The Galician sentence in (48) is Fernández-Salgueiro's (2011b) (5). Note, too, that (49-50) are Fernández-Salgueiro's (2011b) original examples in Spanish (his (12a-b)). (51) is a close equivalent of the sentence in (49) in Galician.

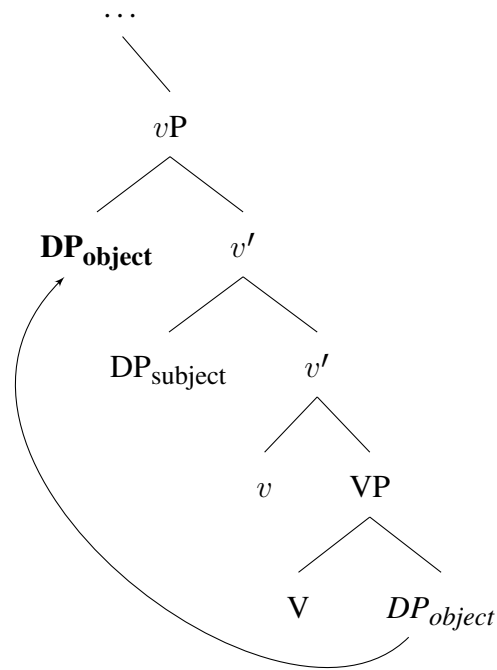
18. See Costa (2004) who formulates the same claim for European Portuguese.

- (48) [Algúns nenos]_i parece que *t_i* están tolos.
 some kids seem_{PRS.3PL} that be_{PRS.3SG} crazy
 ‘Some kids seem to be crazy.’
- (49) Nada parece que vaya a cambiar España.
 nothing seem_{PRS.3SG} that go_{SUBJ.3SG} to change_{INF} Spain
 ‘It seems nothing is going to change the way Spain is.’
- (50) *Nada, yo creo que vaya a cambiar España.
 nothing I think_{PRS.3SG} that go_{SUBJ.3SG} to change_{INF} Spain
 ‘It seems nothing is going to change the way Spain is.’
- (51) Nada parece que vaia cambiar o país.
 nothing seem_{PRS.3SG} that go_{SUBJ.3SG} change_{INF} the_{M.SG} country
 ‘It seems nothing is going to change the country.’

Fernández-Salgueiro (2011a,b) explores constructions like that in (48), which seem to involve raising of the subject from the embedded finite clause to the matrix clause (cf. Fernández-Sánchez (2015) for counterarguments that the preverbal subject undergoes \bar{A} -movement). As Fernández-Salgueiro observes, negative quantifiers can be preverbal subjects (as in (49) for Spanish and (51) for Galician), but quantifier expressions cannot be topics (50) in both Spanish and Galician. In accordance with this body of research laid out by Gupton and Fernández-Salgueiro, I also assume that in Galician preverbal subjects occupy Spec,TP, an A-position.

Beyond the puzzle of preverbal subjects, another aspect of constituent order in Romance is deriving VOS and VSO clauses. Previous work (Ordóñez 2007, Gallego 2013) contends that in Spanish as well as certain other Romance languages, VOS order is derived by means of object shift. Gallego (2013) and Gravely (2020) argue that, for Galician in particular, VOS constituent order is derived by means of object shift. According to these proposals, the object shifts to a position above the subject (what is typically thought to be an outer specifier of *v* or the specifier of some functional projection), as in (52):

(52)



From this derived position, the object c-commands the subject. Since Gallego's arguments regarding VOS order come from Ordóñez's (1997, 1998, 2000) original analysis of VOS order in Spanish, I apply Ordóñez's diagnostics to Galician. Consider the following sentences ((53-55), which are the equivalent of Ordóñez's (1998) Spanish examples (16), (17b), and (18b)):

(53) Os irmáns de Eva_i compráron-lle o libro a ela_i.
the_{M.PL} brothers of Eva buy_{PST.3PL-CL3SG.DAT} the_{M.SG} book to her
'Eva's brothers bought the book for her.'

(54) O libro, compráron-ll-o os irmáns de Eva_i a ela_i.
the_{M.SG} book buy_{PST.3PL-CL3SG.DAT-CL3M.SG.DO} the_{M.PL} brothers of Eva to her
'The book, Eva's brothers bought for her.'

(55) *O libro, compráron-lle a ela_i os irmáns de Eva_i.
the_{M.SG} book buy_{PST.3PL-CL3SG.DAT} to her the_{M.PL} brothers of Eva
'The book, Eva's brothers bought for her (Eva).'

In a sentence with SVO order (53) or VSO order (54), an R-expression contained within the subject that can be licitly co-indexed with the pronominal indirect object. However, in a VOS sentence (55), co-indexation is ruled out: VOS order induces a Condition C violation. This indicates that the indirect object *ela* c-commands the R-expression *Eva* contained in the subject. Note that (55) is acceptable if the pronoun does not refer to *Eva*, e.g., 'The book, Eva's brothers bought for her (Estela).'

A second diagnostic that Ordóñez utilizes is reconstruction. A possessive pronoun contained in the object be bound by a quantificational subject not only in the VSO order but also in the VOS order. The examples in ((56-57) correspond to Ordóñez's (1998) examples (21a-b), respectively):

(56) Aquí besó cada niña_i a su_i amiga. (VSO)
 here kiss_{PST.3SG} every girl a her friend

(57) Aquí besó a su_i amiga cada niña_i. (VOS)
 here kiss_{PST.3SG} a her friend every girl
 'Here, every girl kissed her friend.'

That the possessive pronoun within the object can be bound by the subject not only in (56) but also in (57) suggests that the object in (57) must have been below the subject at some point in the derivation (crucially, if the possessive pronoun is contained within the subject and the quantificational expression is the object, binding is illicit in the VSO order but possible in the VOS order, suggesting that S underlyingly asymmetrically c-commands O, but O can come to c-command S by leftward object shift. The interested reader is referred to Ordóñez (1998) for further discussion.) This same reconstruction test can be applied to Galician:

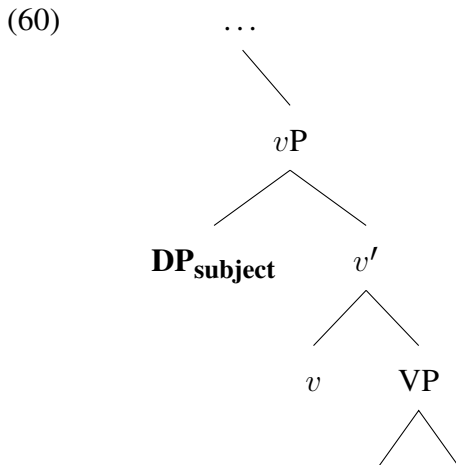
(58) Aquí bicou cada nena a súa amiga. (VSO)
 here kiss_{PST.3SG} every girl the_{F.SG} her friend

(59) Aquí bicou a súa amiga cada nena. (VOS)
 here kiss_{PST.3SG} the_{F.SG} her friend every girl
 'Each girl kissed her friend here.'

The Galician sentence in (58) corresponds to the Spanish sentence in (56): in a VSO sentence, the subject can bind the possessor contained in the object. Further, the Galician sentence in (59), corresponds to the Spanish sentence in (57): in a VOS sentence, the subject can still bind the possessor within the object.¹⁹ Given the evidence from Condition C violations, and given Gallego's (2013) arguments that Spanish and Galician both generate VOS orders by means of object shift, I, too, adopt this analysis of VOS clauses.

19. Note that in Galician (58-59) are actually ambiguous. (58) can also have a VOS parse (i.e., 'Here, her friend kissed each girl'). Likewise, (59) can also have a VSO parse (i.e., 'Here, her friend kissed every girl'). The ambiguity arises from the fact that Galician does not have DOM in this context, while in Spanish the object is differentiated by the DOM marker.

Another aspect of clausal structure that warrants discussion is the position of the subject in VSO sentences. Ordóñez (2007) proposes that, in VSO clauses, a postverbal subject is not *in-situ*. Instead, rather, the subject moves to a specifier position between *v*P and T (see also Gallego (2013) for discussion of this and other analytic options).²⁰ However, since nothing critical to this analysis of article contraction hinges on the subject occupying such a derived position, I simply assume (with Gallego 2013: 442) that postverbal subjects remain in their *in-situ* positions:²¹

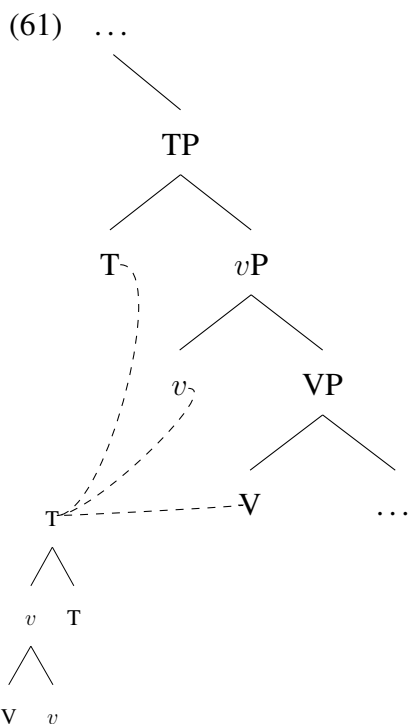


Finally, in addition to deriving the position of nominals within a sentence, it is also necessary to account for that of the verbal complex, given that Galician has verb-initial constituent orders.²²

20. Ordóñez (2007) provides a variety of evidence that a postverbal subject moves to such a specifier position in Spanish but not in Catalan. Gallego extends this contrast between Spanish and Catalan further: Spanish derives VOS order by means of object shift, whereas VOS order in Catalan is argued to be derived by VP fronting (Gallego 2013); Catalan also possesses only one postverbal subject position. In light of this correlation, Gallego proposes that only languages that derive VOS order through object shift license VSO order.

21. Gravely (2019) argues that contraction from postverbal agentive subjects depends on certain discourse factors. More specifically, articles contract from transitive subjects only if they are interpreted as a topic, and the direct object is focused. Both the postverbal subject and direct object shift to outer specifiers of *v*, according to Gravely. If subjects remain *in situ*, article contraction is unacceptable. Gravely argues that evidence in support of this claim is that unergative subjects do not licitly contract with verbs in VS sentences (note that in later work, Gravely (2021a) proposes that subjects move to a specifier position between *v*P and TP). Regarding contraction from a postverbal unergative subject, for at least some Galician speakers, contraction in this context is licit. See Section 3.8.

22. Note that relevant nominals (e.g., a subject or object) are omitted from the derivation below for ease of exposition.



To derive the verbal complex, I adopt the syntactic operation of Generalized Head Movement (Arregi & Pietraszko 2018, 2021). Generalized Head Movement (hereafter GenHM, as in Arregi & Pietraszko’s terminology) relates a head to the head of its complement and creates a new complex head (an M-value) combining the shared morphological features (M-features) of the heads related by the operation. This new complex head is associated with two or more structural locations (Arregi & Pietraszko 2021). In (61), then, GenHM relates *v* to the head of its complement, *V*, as well as *T* to the head of its complement, *v*, ultimately creating a complex head (or M-value) containing all M-features of each terminal node. This complex head is represented by the smaller left-hand tree in (65). As for where this complex head is realized, Arregi and Pietraszko argue for an operation in post-syntactic linearization termed *Head Chain Pronunciation*, according to which some heads are lexically specified for a strong feature, which entails that the complex head is produced pronounced in that position. I propose that *T* in Galician is lexically specified for this strong feature (see chapter 4, section 4.6 for further discussion).²³

With the relevant background on clausal architecture having been laid out, I now turn to patterns of article contraction in restrictive grammars of Galician.

23. I simplify Head Chain Pronunciation here since all that is necessary for the purposes of this analysis is that the verbal complex is realized in *T*, i.e., the highest strong head.

3.5 A Low Case Assigner Gives Rise to Restrictive Grammars

This section examines contraction patterns in restrictive idiolects of Galician. In these idiolects, only internal arguments launch article contraction. More specifically, articles contract from direct objects and unaccusative subjects. External arguments (unergative and transitive subjects) do not launch article contraction in these grammars. I propose that these idiolects are as restrictive as they are because their clause-level case assigner is a structurally low head, in particular, *v*: this head structurally case licenses nominals within its c-command domain. The only those nominals that occur within this (rather small) domain are internal arguments. The illicit status of contraction from external arguments arises from the fact that there is no higher, c-commanding functional head to structurally case license these nominals. Recall that nominals that are not structurally case licensed must be intrinsically case licensed. Only structurally case licensed nominals launch contraction; intrinsically case licensed nominals do not. This idea builds on Halpert's (2012, 2013, 2016) analysis of nominals in Zulu according to which nominals either bear structural case licensed by a functional head, or else are intrinsically licensed by insertion of the augment vowel.

To begin, observe that contraction between the verbal complex and article heading a direct object is well formed in restrictive grammars of Galician:

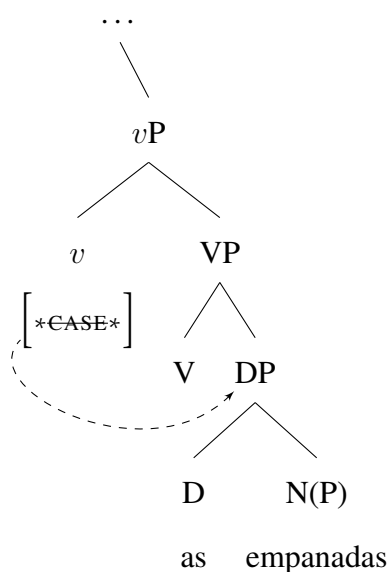
- (62) Comémo-**las** empanadas. *comemos + as* → *comémo-las*
eat_{1PL.PST}-**the**_{PL.F} empanadas
'We ate the empanadas.'

- (63) A rapaza vai come-**lo** pan. *comer + o* → *comé-lo*
the_{SG.F} girl go_{3SG.PRS} eat_{INF}-**the**_{SG.M} bread
'The girl is going to eat the bread.'

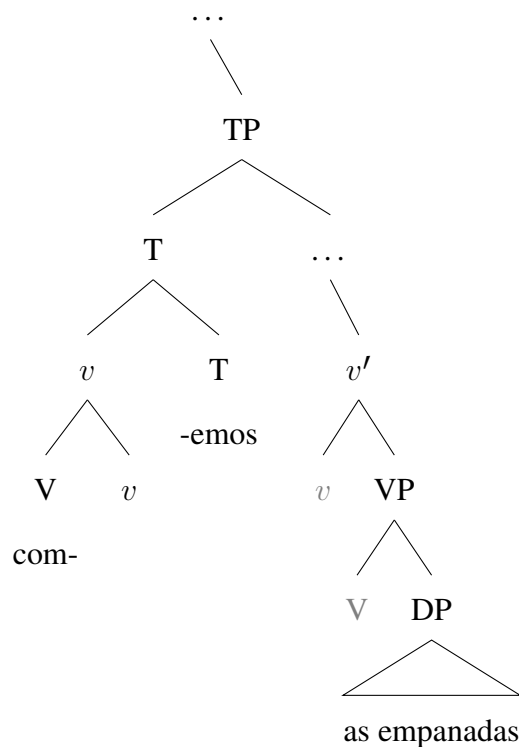
A direct object licitly undergoes contraction with finite verbs (e.g., 62) and non-finite ones (e.g., 63). The acceptability of contraction is attributed here to the role of *v* as a case licenser. I provide a sample derivation for contraction below, using (62) as my example:²⁴

24. Note that the *pro* subject is omitted from the derivations below for ease of exposition.

(64)



(65)



As depicted in (64), once v is merged into the structure, it structurally case licenses the closest nominal it c-commands, i.e., the direct object. As discussed in the previous section, GenHM (Arregi & Pietraszko 2018, 2021) derives the verbal complex (or, equivalently, a shared M-value) pronounced in T, the highest strong position (see section 3.4). Note that I abbreviate GenHM in (65) and represent the shared value associated with v and V as a complex head in T.

Article contraction is not generated solely through syntactic operations, however. Crucially, the phenomenon is also dependent upon PF processes. The PF-stage of the derivation is provided in (66-67):

(66) $(\omega [\mu \text{ comemos}]) (\omega [\mu \text{ as}]) \rightarrow (\omega [\mu \text{ comemos}] [\mu \text{ as}])$

(67) $\text{comemos as}_{[K]} \rightarrow \text{comémo-las}$

Leaning applies because syntactic licensing (structural case) has previously taken place, generating a prosodic word containing the verbal complex and article heading the direct object (66). Recall that, in addition, the article must be contained in the same prosodic word as its licenser. Although the article is not linearly adjacent to its licenser (v)—since T intervenes between the two—it is contained in the same prosodic word as v . This constraint on leaning is therefore satisfied. Leaning feeds the *contract* rule, and contraction surfaces (67).

The same derivation holds for unaccusative subjects, although some speakers of restrictive idiolects reject or find highly marginal contraction from an unaccusative subject. I propose that the source of this variation is that unaccusative *v* is a structural case licenser in some restrictive idiolects but not in others.

- (68) **Chegámo-los** operarios po-la mañá cedo. (%**Chegámo-los** operarios ...)
 arrive_{1PL.PST} **the**_{PL.M} workers in-the_{SG.F} morning early
 ‘We workers arrived early in the morning.’

For those speakers who judge contraction between the verbal complex and article heading the unaccusative subject to be acceptable, I assume unaccusative *v* is always a structural case licenser, which licenses all nominals in its c-command domain. However, for those speakers who reject contraction in this environment, I posit that only transitive *v* is a structural case licenser; unaccusative *v* is not.

- (69) (ω [μ chegamos]) (ω [μ **os**]) \rightarrow (ω [μ cheg- (70) chegamos **os**_[K] \rightarrow **chegámo-los**
 amos] [μ **os**])

- (71) (ω [μ chegamos]) (ω [μ **os**]) (72) chegamos **os**_[I] \rightarrow chegamos **os**

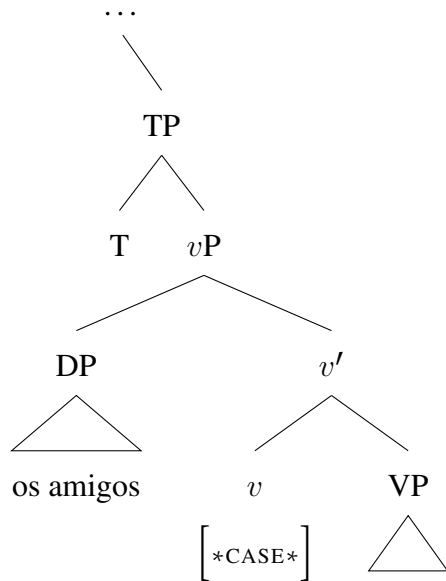
In idiolects in which unaccusative *v* structurally case licenses the internal argument, leaning groups together the article and verbal complex (which contains the case licenser, *v*) into the same prosodic word (69). And leaning creates a domain in which *contract* applies (70), giving rise to contraction. By contrast, in idiolects in which unaccusative *v* is not a structural case licenser, leaning is not licensed and therefore does not apply; the article and verbal complex remain separate phonological words (71), thereby bleeding *contract* (72).

In contrast to internal arguments, external arguments (unergative and transitive subjects) do not launch article contraction in restrictive grammars. For example, consider the sentences below:

- (73) **Bailamos os** amigos n-a festa. (***Bailámo-los** amigos n-a festa.)
 dance_{1PL.PST} **the**_{PL.M} friends in-the_{SG.F} party
 ‘We friends danced at the party.’
- (74) **Fixemos os** panadeiros o pan. (***Fixémo-los** panadeiros o pan.)
 make_{1PL.PST} **the**_{PL.M} bakers the_{SG.M} bread
 ‘We bakers made the bread.’

The article heading the unergative subject in (73) and that heading the transitive subject in (74) must remain un-contracted, despite being adjacent to a phonologically appropriate host. I argue that this is because these nominals are above the sole case licenser, *v*, and therefore not within the latter's c-command domain. Additionally, there is no higher, c-commanding head above external arguments to case license them. Consider firstly a derivation for the sentence in (73):

(75)



(76) (ω [μ bailamos]) (ω [μ os])

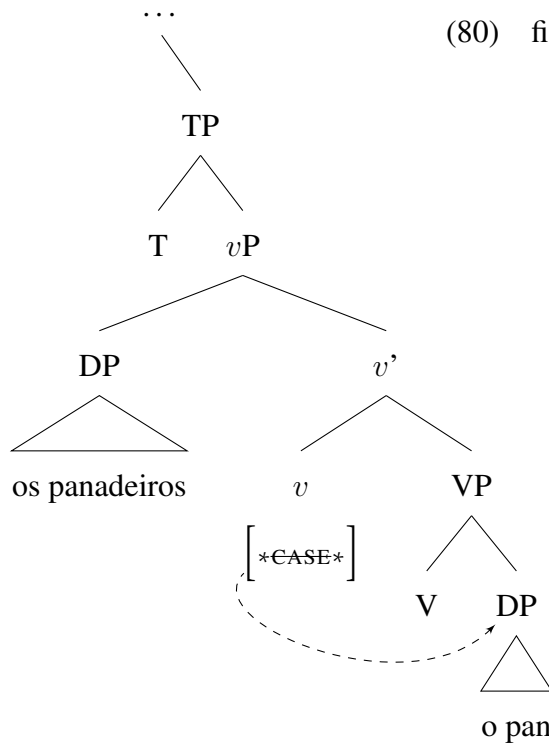
(77) bailamos **os**_[I] → bailamos **os**

Without a higher head to structurally case license the subject in Spec,*v*P, the nominal must be intrinsically case licensed (75).²⁵ At PF, leaning does not occur since the article is not structurally case licensed; the article and the verbal complex (built by GenHM) remain distinct prosodic words (76). Because leaning does not apply, the *contract* rule is bled, and the article surfaces in its un-contracted form (77).

The same logic holds for illicit contraction from a transitive subject in restrictive idiolects: without a c-commanding structural case licenser, the nominal is intrinsically case licensed and does not launch contraction. A sample derivation for (74) is given below.

25. I assume that structural case licensing is a fallible operation (Preminger 2011, 2014). Therefore, when *v* searches for a nominal to structurally case license but does not find one, no crash arises.

(78)



(79) (ω [μ fixemos]) (ω [μ os])

(80) fixemos os_[I] → fixemos os

As shown in (78), *v* case licenses the direct object, but no functional head is available to structurally case license the transitive subject, which therefore bears intrinsic case. Without the prior application of structural case licensing, leaning is not licensed. Consequently, neither leaning nor *contract* apply (102-103), and the article surfaces in its un-contracted form.

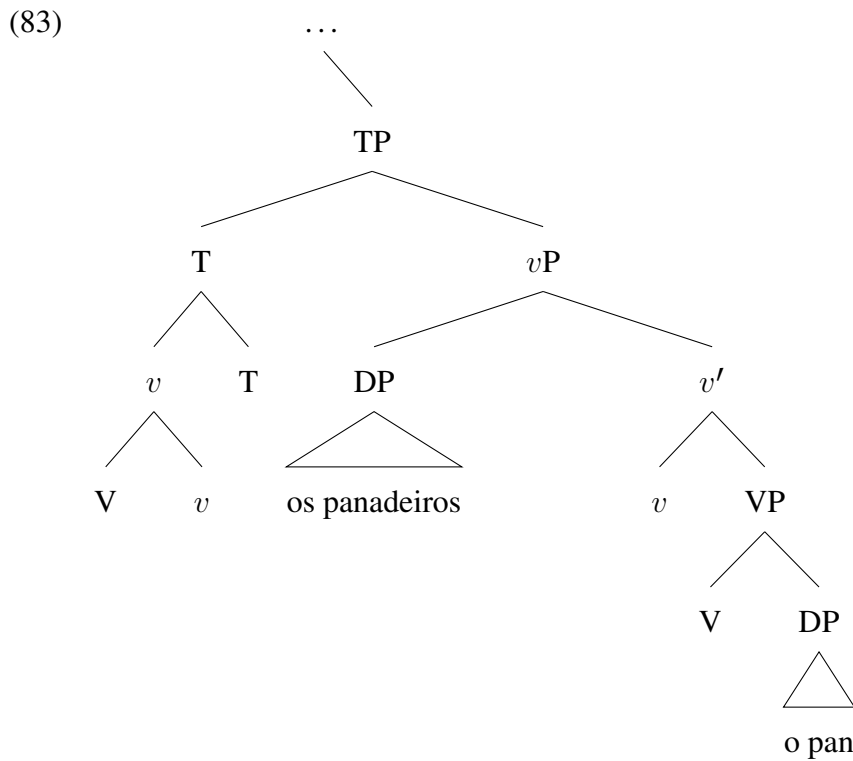
However, more remains to be said regarding the transitive VSO sentence in (74). Observe that contraction between the left-adjacent noun contained in the subject and article heading the direct object is illicit. Contrast (81) with (82), replicated from (62)

(81) *Fixemos **os** panadeiro-**lo** pan.
 make_{1PL.PST} **the**_{PL.M} bakers-**the**_{SG.M} bread
 ‘We bakers made the bread.’

(82) Comémo-**las** empanadas.
 eat_{1PL.PST}-**the**_{PL.F} empanadas
 ‘We ate the empanadas.’

By hypothesis, the object is structurally case licensed by *v* in both (81) and (82), and the article is adjacent to a phonologically appropriate element (the noun *panadeiros* in (81) and the verbal complex in (82)) fulfill the phonological constraints of contraction (both have a final segment of /s/), contraction

is only ruled out in the former sentence. I attribute this unacceptability to the fact that the article and its case licenser, *v*, are not contained within the same prosodic word in (81), although they are in (82) (see (64-67) above for a derivation for (82)).



(84) (ω [μ fixemos]) (ω [μ os]) (ω [μ panadeiros]) (ω [μ o]) (ω [μ pan])

After GenHM applies, the verbal complex (a shared M-value, or complex head) is built and is realized in T, the highest strong position (83). Realization of the M-value in T entails that the linear order of elements at PF is: VERB - SUBJECT - OBJECT. Although the direct object is structurally case licensed by *v*, leaning cannot apply due to the second constraint on the operation: the article and its case licenser, *v*, would not be contained in that same prosodic word. Instead, leaning would create a prosodic word exclusively containing the article and noun contained in the subject (84). Therefore, contraction between the two is ruled out.²⁶

A similar configuration of illicit contraction from a direct object also occurs with quantified expressions. For example, consider the sentences in (85-86) (adapted from Álvarez & Xove 2002: 445):

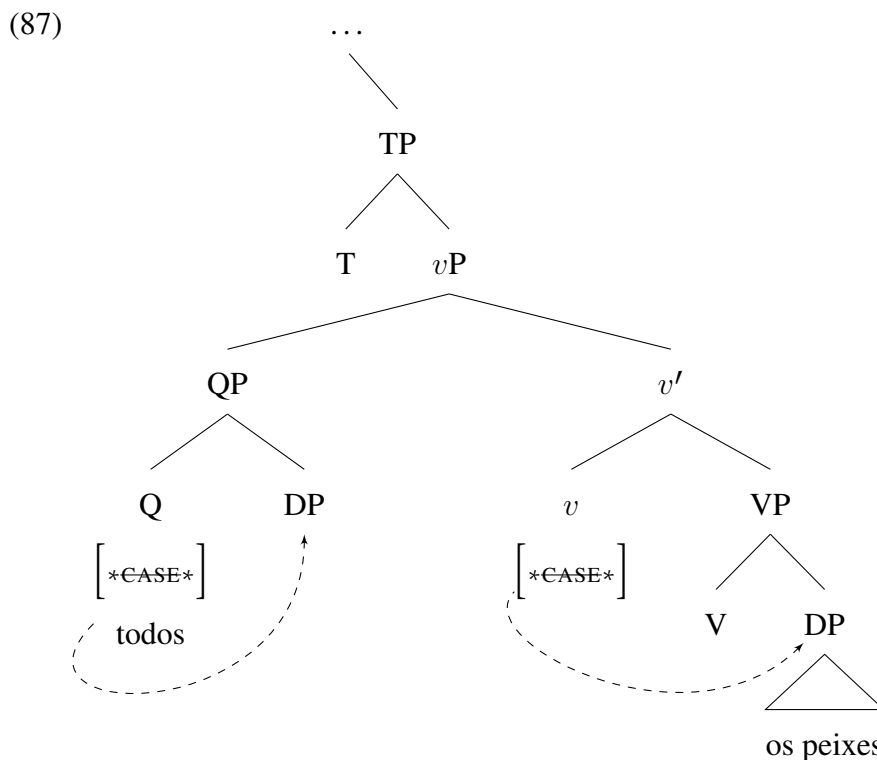
(85) Viron todos **os** peixes. **VSO**
 see_{3PL.PST} all the_{PL.M} fish

26. This analysis predicts contraction between a verb and article heading an object in VOS clauses in restrictive grammars: e.g., *Fixémo-lo pan os panadeiros* ‘We bakers made the bread.’ I do not have data on the acceptability status of contraction in this context, but, if this analysis is on the right track, contraction should be acceptable.

'Everyone saw the fish.'

- (86) Viron *tódo-los* peixes. **VO**
 see_{3PL.PST} all-**the**_{PL.M} fish
 'They saw all the fish.'

As (85) reveals, the quantifier only contracts with the article in the following nominal. More specifically, contraction between the quantifier and adjacent article is only acceptable if the sentence has a VO parse, i.e., if the object is quantified. In contrast, if the subject corresponds to a VSO parse, contraction between the quantifier and article is ruled out, i.e., there can be no well formed contraction between the bare quantified subject *todos* and the article heading the object *os peixes*. On the analysis developed here, contraction is ruled out in (85) because leaning would not generate a prosodic word containing the article heading the direct object and its structural case licenser, *v*:



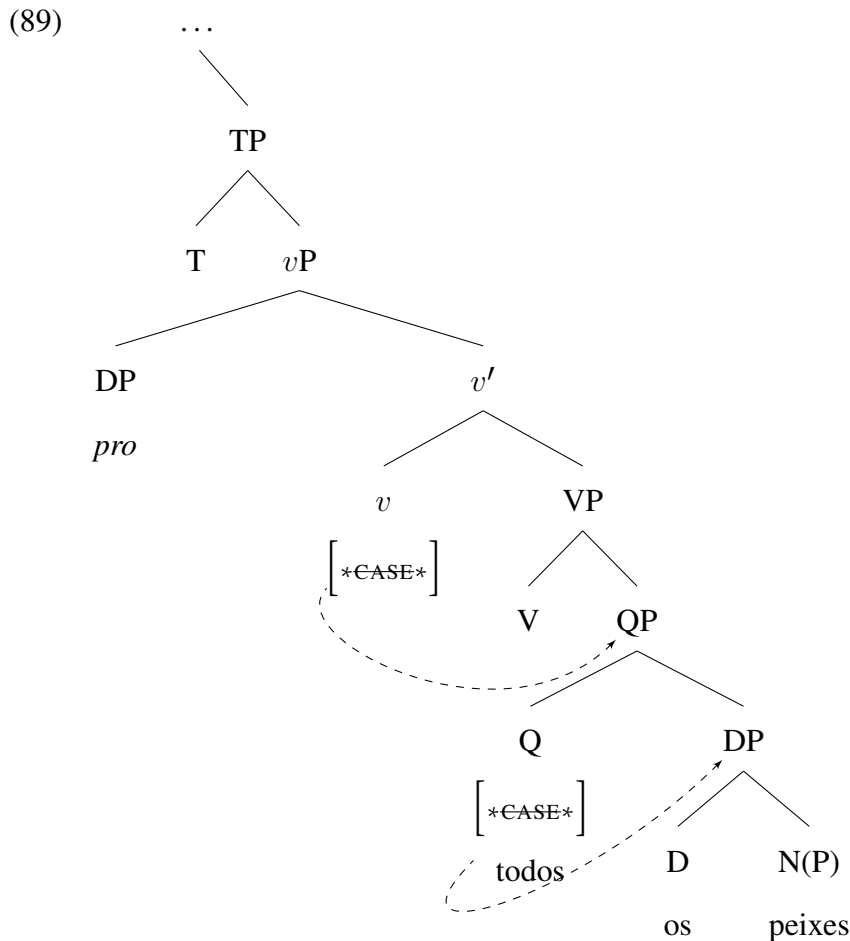
Recall that, under this analysis, Q is a structural case licenser. Therefore, as in (87), Q case licenses its DP complement, which I assume to be null in instances of bare quantifiers. *v* case licenses the direct object as well. However, despite the fact that the article heading the object is structurally case licensed, leaning does not occur due to the second proposed constraint on the operation:

- (88) (ω [μ viron]) (ω [μ todos] [μ **os**]) (ω [μ peixes]) \times

Leaning would generate a prosodic word containing the article heading the object and quantified subject (88), and, crucially, this prosodic word excludes *v*. Without leaning, *contract* does not apply, and

the article surfaces in its un-contracted form. In other words, contraction in (85) is unacceptable when the sentence has a reading in which the subject is quantified.

However, contraction is licit under an alternative reading, i.e., that in (86) in which the direct object is quantified. I derive this reading straightforwardly:



As (89) demonstrates, Q first structurally case licenses its DP complement; after it is merged with VP, *v* case licenses the entire quantified object, the QP. The crucial step in terms of licensing leaning at PF is that the DP *os peixes* is structurally case licensed by Q. I remain agnostic as to whether the DP is structurally case licensed twice, first by Q and a second time by *v*. Since DP (and, derivatively, D; see footnote 1) has been assigned structural case, leaning groups together the article and quantifier:

(90) (ω [μ viron]) (ω [μ todos] [μ os]) (ω [μ peixes]) ✓

The critical difference between (88) and (90) is that, in the former, the second constraint on leaning is violated in that the prosodic word that would be created does not contain the article's structural case licenser. But in the latter, the article *os* is contained in the same prosodic word its licenser, namely, Q.

A few final comments are in order regarding restrictive idiolects. Firstly, a preverbal external argument does not launch article contraction, even if adjacent to a phonologically appropriate host. Consider the example in (91):

- (91) *Mientras os niños xogaban n-a rúa todo estuvo tranquilo.*
 while **the**_{PL.M} boys play_{3PL.IMPF} in-the_{SG.F} street everything be_{3SG.IMPF} peaceful
 (**Mentre-los niños ...*)

‘While the boys were playing in the street, everything was peaceful.’

The article heading the subject in (91) does undergo contraction because it is not structurally case licensed (in restrictive grammars, only *v* is structural case licenser, and a transitive subject is not within *v*’s c-command domain). Without structural case, the subject instead bears intrinsic case, which bleeds leaning at PF.²⁷

Secondly, related to the position of a transitive subject in restrictive idiolects is the matter of *pro*. More specifically, if a transitive subject is *pro*, it could be postverbal, yielding a VSO parse in a sentence such as that in (92):

- (92) *Cóme-lo pan.*
 eat_{2sg.PRS}-**the**_{SG.M} bread
 ‘You eat the bread.’

pro in (92) could structurally intervene between the verbal complex and object. Nonetheless, contraction between the verbal complex and article heading the object is well formed. To account for the acceptable status of contraction in this context, I propose that silent elements do not block leaning, i.e., are ignored in terms of linear adjacency.

Having now analyzed contraction from external and internal arguments across various contexts in restrictive idiolects, in the next section I investigate contraction from types of arguments in permissive grammars.

27. Note that a fronted object is also predicted not to launch contraction in a restrictive idiolects. Despite being structurally case licensed by *v*, a fronted object would not be linearly adjacent to its case licenser, and leaning would therefore be bled at PF. The same prediction holds for permissive grammars. I do not have data to corroborate (or dispute) this prediction, and I therefore leave it as a topic for future research.

3.6 High and Low Case Assigners Give Rise to Permissive Grammars

Unlike restrictive grammars, permissive idiolects allow contraction from internal arguments (direct objects and unaccusative subjects) as well as external ones (transitive and unergative subjects). I attribute this variation to the loci of structural case licensing. In restrictive grammars, the structural case licenser along the clausal spine is *v*. But in permissive ones, there are two clausal-level structural case licensers, namely, *v* and T.

A shared property of restrictive and permissive grammars, however, is that a direct object licitly launches article contraction with a verbal complex. For example, consider the sentences in (93):

- (93) Ti cóme-**lo** pan.
you_{SG} eat_{3SG.PRS}-**the**_{SG.M} bread
'You eat the bread.'

Contraction from an object in an SVO clause is well formed (93). I adopt the same derivation for licit contraction from an object in an SVO sentence in a permissive as for a restrictive one: contraction arises in this context is because of structural case licensing by *v* (see also (64) in section 3.5). The absence of variation regarding direct objects in restrictive versus permissive grammars is due the fact that both have *v* in their inventory of structural case licensers. To account for the preverbal subject in (93), I posit that T optionally also bears a structure-building feature, which triggers movement of the closest nominal to its specifier. I return to contraction from an object in VSO and VOS clauses later in this section.

In contrast, there is a stark contrast between restrictive and permissive grammars regarding subjects. In the former type of idiolect, contraction from external arguments is illicit, but it is well formed in the latter:

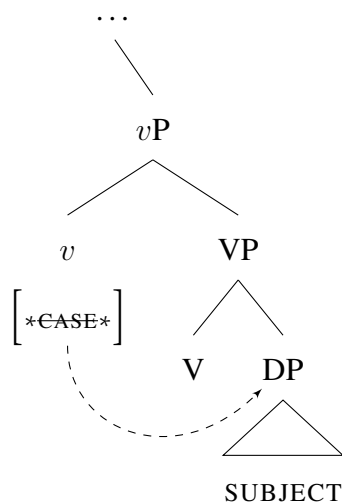
- (94) Gritámo-**los** veciños.
shout_{1PL.PST}-**the**_{PL.M} neighbors
'We neighbors shouted.'
- (95) Chegámo-**los** nenos cedo.
arrive_{1PL.PST}-**the**_{PL.M} boys early
'We boys arrived early.'

- (96) Comémo-**los** rapaces o pan.
 eat_{1PL.PST}-**the**_{PL.M} boys the_{SG.M} bread
 ‘We boys ate the bread.’

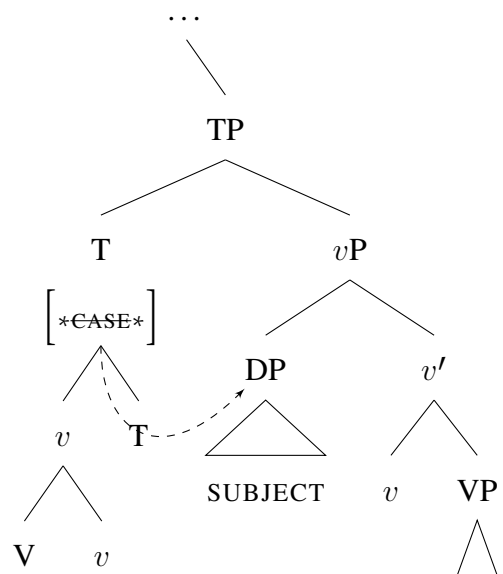
In permissive idiolects, contraction is acceptable from an unergative subject (93), an unaccusative subject (95), and a postverbal transitive subject (96). This core point of variation between restrictive and permissive grammars is attributed to the structural case licenser in restrictive versus permissive grammars. Only in the former is T a structural case licenser. T structurally case licenses unergative and transitive subjects, all of which are within T’s c-command domain and are the closest (or sometimes sole) nominal to T. On the other hand, *v* structurally case licenses an unaccusative subject, as in the varieties of restrictive grammars that allow contraction in this context.

I first provide a derivation for contraction from intransitive subjects, both unaccusative and unergative, as in (95) and (101), respectively.

(97) Unaccusative Subject



(98) Unergative Subject



An unaccusative subject (97) and an unergative one (98) receive structural case licensing from T as the closest, and sole, nominals in the structure. The verbal complex is built by GenHM in the syntax, which is associated with each terminal node, but which is pronounced in T, the highest strong position. Along with operations in the syntax, operations at PF are also needed to generate *l*-contraction of the article.

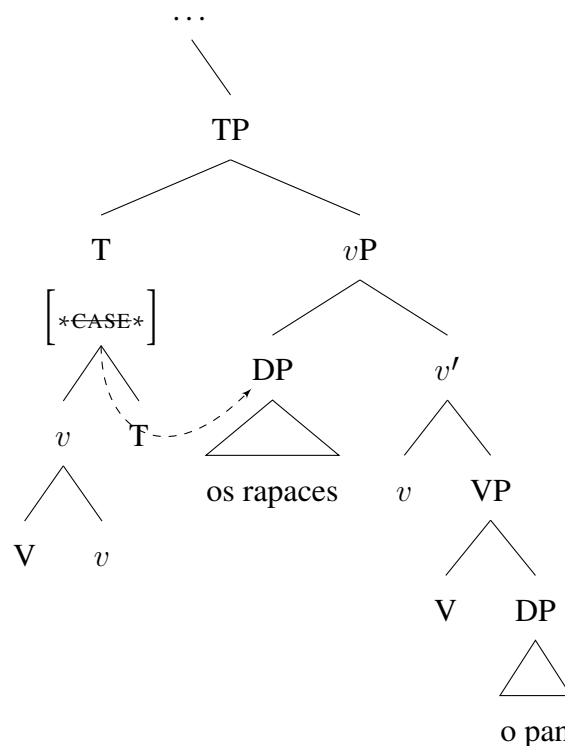
Since an unaccusative and unergative subject is structurally case licensed by *v* or T, respectively, leaning is licensed at PF. Leaning creates a prosodic word containing the article heading the intransitive subject and its licenser: *v* for the unaccusative subject, and T for the unergative (99). For both kinds of intransitive subjects, leaning feeds *contract*, which triggers the phonological changes associated with contraction (100).

(99) (ω [μ comemos]) (ω [μ os]) \rightarrow (ω [μ comemos] [μ os])

(100) comemos **os**_[K] \rightarrow comemo-**los**

Intransitive subjects are, of course, not the only type of argument that launches article contraction in permissive grammars. Contraction from a transitive subject with a left-adjacent verb is due to structural case licensing by T. A sample derivation for (96) is shown below:

(101)



In a VSO clause, such as that in (96), I assume T is merged into the derivation without a structure-building feature (see discussion of (93) above). T therefore discharges its relevant sole feature, structural case licensing, to the closest nominal: the transitive subject in *v*'s specifier. The verbal complex is assembled by GenHM and realized in T, the highest strong position (101). The next stage of the derivation takes place at PF:

(102) (ω [μ comemos]) (ω [μ os]) \rightarrow (ω [μ comemos] [μ os])

(103) comemos **os**_[K] → comémo-**los**

As (102) exemplifies, because the article heading the subject is structurally case licensed in the syntax, leaning applies at PF, yielding a single prosodic word. And, importantly, this prosodic word contains the article and its case licenser, T. Having being grouped together into the same prosodic word, the *contract* rule applies (103).

In addition to subjects, contraction from a direct object is acceptable in permissive grammars. As discussed above, licit contraction from an object in an SVO clause is due to structural case licensing by *v*. In contrast, contraction from an object with a left-adjacent noun in a VSO clause is ill formed, as in restrictive grammars (see section 3.5, (81)). Consider the example below:

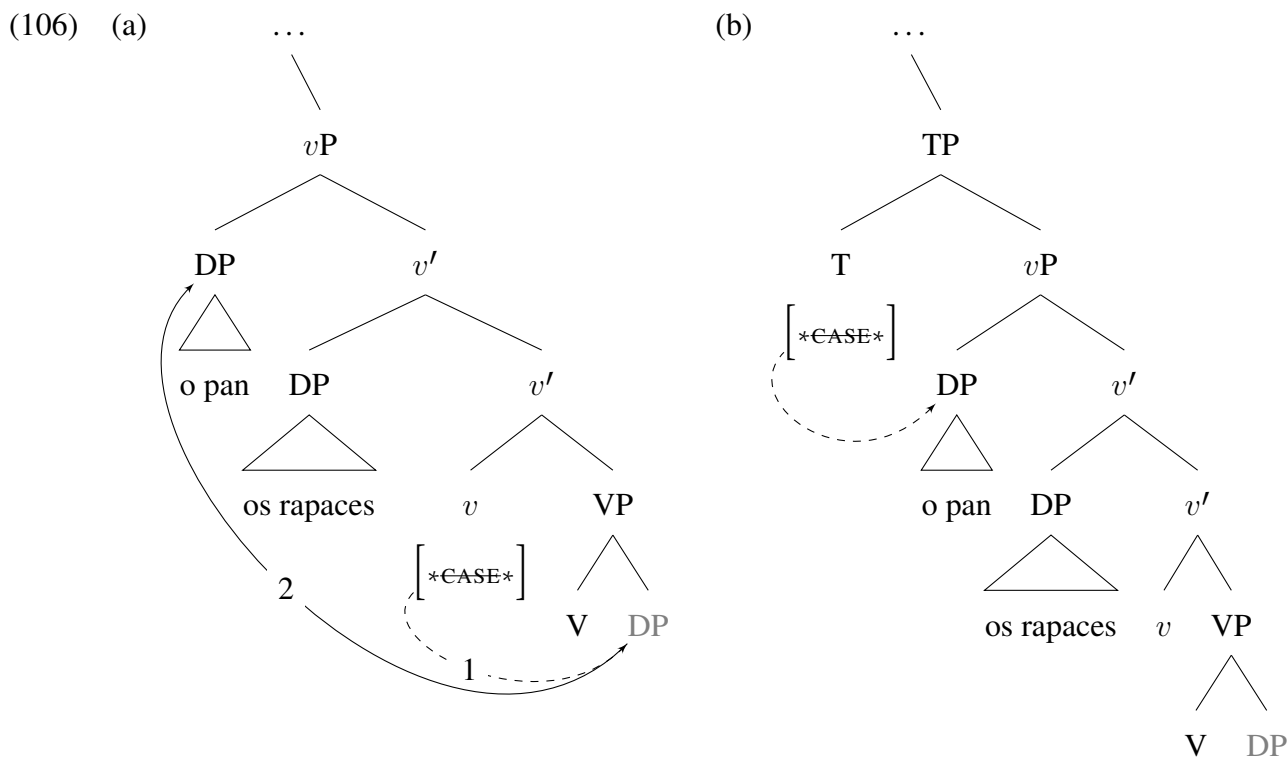
(104) Comemos os rapaces **o** pan. (*Comemos os rapace-**lo** pan.)
eat_{1PL.PST} the_{PL.M} boys **the**_{SG.M} bread
'We boys eat the bread.'

In both restrictive and permissive idiolects, contraction between the noun contained in the subject and the article heading the direct object is ill formed. Although the the object is structurally case licensed, leaning cannot apply at PF, given that the article would not form a prosodic word with its licenser, *v* (it would instead form a prosodic word with the noun contained in the subject). Note, too, that the postverbal subject blocks structural case licensing from T to the lower object. See (109-110) below for further discussion of how the subject prevents case licensing from T.

The final aspect of deriving contraction in permissive grammars is accounting for contraction from a direct object a VOS sentence. Consider the example provided below:

(105) Comémo-**lo** pan os rapaces.
eat_{1PL.PST}-**the**_{SG.M} bread the_{PL.M} boys
'We boys eat the bread.'

Licit contraction from the object in (105) is attributed to structural case licensing from *v* and T. In a VOS clause, *v* structurally case licenses the object in its base position, and because the object moves above the subject, it also receives structural case from T. The subject remains in its base position, i.e., it does not move to Spec,TP.



v discharges its structural case feature to the object. Recall from section 3.2 that VOS constituent order in Galician is derived by means of object shift. The object moves from its base position to an outer specifier of *v*, above the subject (Gallego 2013) (106a). T is merged with *v*P. In VOS sentences, I posit no structure-building feature on T; T therefore discharges its sole feature, structural case licensing, to the shifted object, which is closer to T than the subject is after object shift (106b).

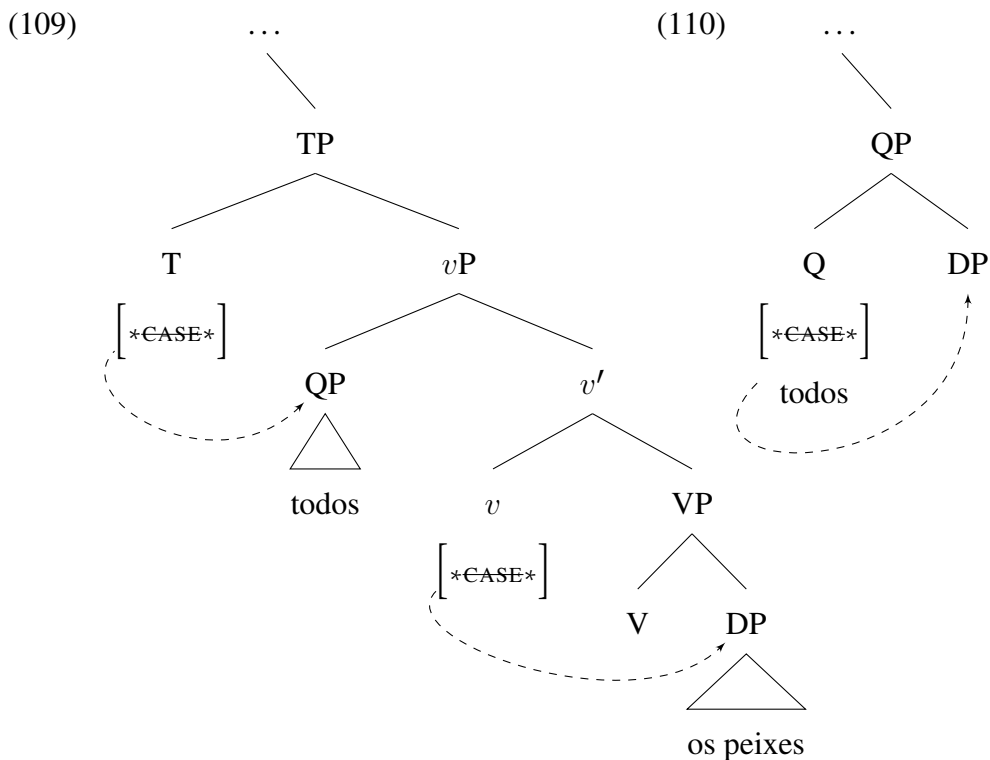
The remainder of the derivation is identical to the ones above. The verbal complex is assembled by GenHM in the syntax and pronounced in T, the highest strong position. At PF, leaning is licensed by structural case in the syntax and groups into one prosodic word the article heading the object and both of its licensors, *v* and T. Lastly, the *contract* rule applies, and contraction surfaces.

Recall from the previous section that in a transitive sentence containing a postverbal quantifier, contraction has a semantic effect ((107) and (108) are reproduced from (85) and (86), respectively).

- (107) Viron todos os peixes. **VSO**
 see_{3PL.PST} all **the**_{PL.M} fish
 ‘Everyone saw the fish.’

- (108) Viron *tódo-los* peixes. VO
 see_{3PL.PST} all-**the**_{PL.M} fish
 ‘They saw all the fish.’

Contraction between the DP and quantifier has an SVO or VSO reading (108), while the un-contracted variant has only a VSO interpretation (107). As I argued for restrictive grammars, contraction cannot occur in (107) because the article heading the DP does not form a prosodic word with *v*, its structural case licenser (see section 3.5).

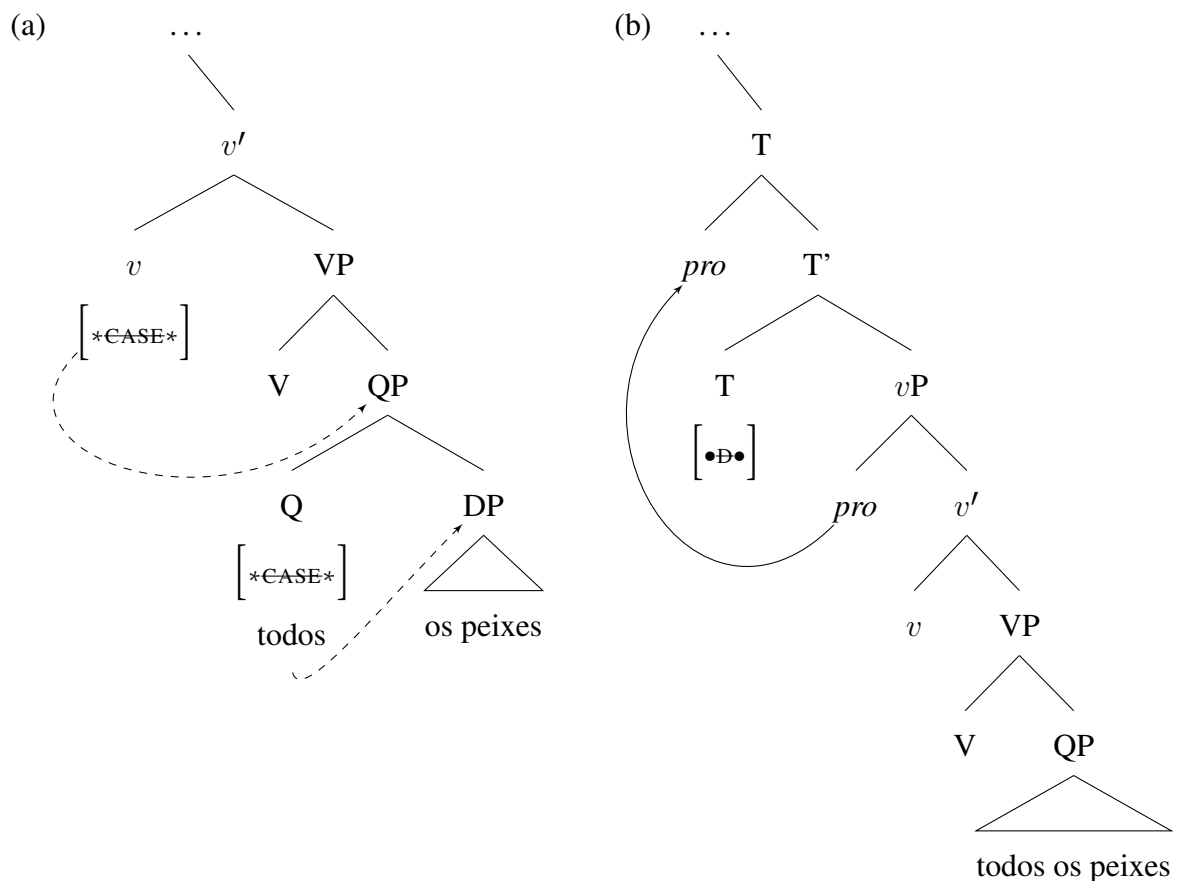


In a VSO clause, the bare quantifier (subject) is structurally closer to T and therefore marauds (Assman *et al.* 2015) T’s case feature (109). That is, in this context, I adopt maraudage (Georgi *et al.* 2009, Müller 2011, Georgi 2012, Assmann *et al.* 2015) to account for blocking of T’s structural case-feature by QP. Maraudage is a configuration in which one nominal, A, that already bears structural case from one probe, P₁, may check the case features of a second probe, P₂, which would otherwise assign case to another nominal, B. Or, to paraphrase Assmann *et al.*’s language, an argument A ‘uses up’ a case feature that it does not need (because A already has one) but that is necessary for A’s co-argument, B (2015: 359). Maraudage can be construed as an expansion on the notion of *case stacking* (Andrews 1996, Nordlinger 1998, Merchant 2006, Richards 2013), in which a nominal that already possesses a structural case value can still be an active goal for a different structural case probe (Assmann *et al.* 2015). The bare quantifier in Spec,*v*P cannot case license the lower subject because the former

does not c-command the later; the quantifier can only case license its null DP complement (110). Although the bare quantifier QP is structurally case licensed once (by T), its DP may be structurally case licensed once twice, by Q and T. The lower object is structurally case licensed by *v*, as in previous derivations. However, the object cannot launch article contraction with the adjacent quantifier because the latter is not the structural case licenser of the object.

In restrictive grammars, contraction in (108) is licit because the article *does* form a prosodic word with its structural case licenser, Q (see section 3.5). The same derivation holds for licit contraction in (108) in permissive grammars:

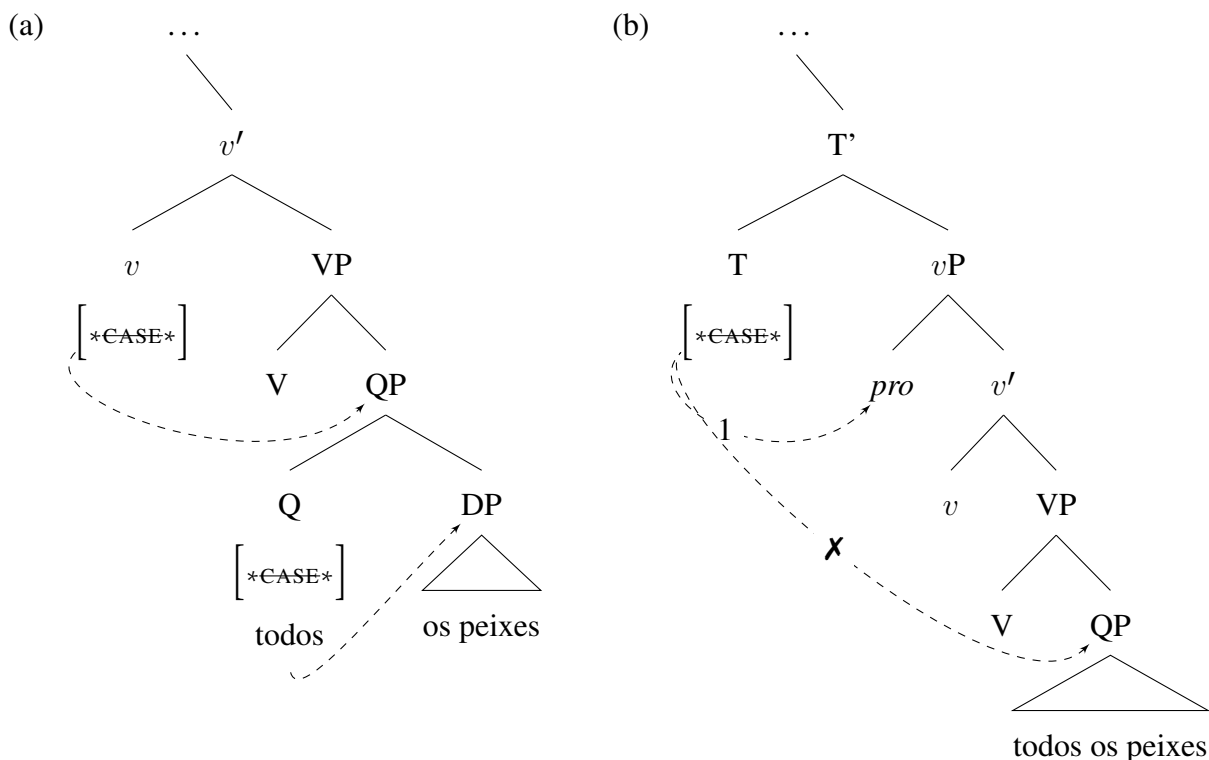
(111)



As in (111a), *v* structurally case licenses the quantified direct object, and Q does so for its DP complement. Since the subject is *pro*, one reading of (108) is as an SVO sentence. As noted at the beginning of this section, a preverbal transitive subject is generated by an optional structure-building feature on T, which triggers movement of the subject to its specifier. This aspect of the derivation is given in (111b).

Because the subject in (108) is *pro*, it may be preverbal (as in the derivation above), or it may remain *in situ*. Therefore, (108) also allows a VSO reading. Even if the subject remains postverbal and marauds T's case feature, Q case licenses the DP, and contraction surfaces:

(112)



Q structurally case licenses its DP complements, and *v* structurally case licenses QP (135a). When T is merged without an structure-building feature, the subject remains *in situ*, and marauds T's case feature, blocking structural case licensing to the object (135b). However, the DP, *os peixes*, is structurally case licensed by Q (135a), and contraction is therefore licit. Note that if one were to assume that *pro* does not intervene for case licensing, QP would receive structural case twice, once from *v* and once from T. Crucially, however, the article is structurally case licensed by Q, which later feeds leaning and *contract*.

In summation of the patterns analyzed above, the fundamental difference between restrictive and permissive grammars of Galician lies in the inventory of structural case licensors: a single low licensor yields restrictive idiolects, while a high and low licensor are responsible for permissive ones. But a third type of grammar exists as well: one in which contraction is invariably illicit, from both internal

and external arguments. I discuss this third class of grammars in the next section.

Finally, it is important to point out that the structural case licensed by *v* and T is not accusative or nominative case, respectively (see Gravely (2020a) for an explicit proposal of how T assigns nominative case in Galician). As observed in section 3.5, one important point of departure between a Halpert-style case system, which I adopt, and a nominative-accusative system concerns intrinsic case licensing. Under this analysis, external arguments are not always structurally case licensed. For example, as we have seen, in restrictive grammars, external arguments bear intrinsic case because of the lack of a higher structural case licenser. Another context in which an external argument bears intrinsic case is in VOS clauses in permissive grammars (see (106) above). Because the object shifts to a position above the subject before T is introduced into the derivation, the former marauds T's structural case feature. The subject consequently bears intrinsic case. Crucially, case on an external argument varies, i.e., structural in some environments, but intrinsic in others. Although T does license structural case to the closest nominal that it c-commands (as we expect in a nominative-accusative system), that nominal may be a subject or object. Further, in contraction-free grammars, neither T nor *v* are structural-case licensers. Consequently, in this type of idiolect, external and internal arguments are both intrinsically case licensed. I discuss contraction-free grammars in the following section.

3.7 An Absence of Structural-Case Licensers Generates a Contraction-Free Grammar

In some idiolects, articles never undergo contraction with any nominal-level elements; in others, however, articles undergo contraction but only with nominal-internal elements. Regarding the latter, I posit that, in these idiolects, the relevant nominal-internal elements (P, Q, Pers, Conj) are not structural case licensers; without structural case, articles bear intrinsic case, and neither *lean* nor *contract* apply at PF (see section 3.3 for discussion). For the former, in which article contraction at the nominal-level is acceptable, the relevant nominal-internal elements are structural case licensers; structural case in the syntax feeds the relevant PF operations. However, in both idiolects, articles also remain un-contracted from clausal-level elements, in particular, verbs. For example, consider the sentences below:

- (113) Comemos **as** empanadas. (*Comemo-**las** empanadas.)
eat_{1PL.PST} **the**_{PL.F} empanadas
'We ate the empanadas.'

- (114) Fixemos **os** panadeiros o pan. (*Fixémo-**los** panadeiros o pan.)
 make_{1PL.PST} **the**_{PL.M} bakers the_{SG.M} bread
 ‘We bakers made the bread.’
- (115) Gritamos **os** veciños. (*Gritamo-**los** veciños.)
 shout_{1PL.PST} **the**_{PL.M} neighbors
 ‘We neighbors shouted.’
- (116) (a) Chegamos **os** operarios por a mañá cedo.
 arrive_{1PL.PST} **the**_{PL.M} workers in the_{SG.F} morning early
 ‘We workers arrived early in the morning.’
- (b) *Chegamo-**los** operarios por a mañá cedo.
- (c) *Chegamo-**los** operarios pola mañá cedo.
- (d) *Chegamos **os** operarios pola mañá cedo.

In contraction-free idiolects, neither a direct object (113), transitive subject (114), unergative subject (115), nor unaccusative subject (116) can launch article contraction. In (116), note that contraction between P and the article heading its complement is illicit.²⁸ For restrictive grammars in which contraction from internal arguments was licit, I argued above that the clause-level structural case licenser is *v*, and for permissive grammars, which allow contraction from external and internal arguments, *v* and T were argued to be the clause-level structural case licenser. In contraction-free grammars, I posit that neither *v* nor T licenses structural case. Without structural case, all nominals bear intrinsic case, and articles bearing intrinsic case do not undergo contraction. For hyper-restrictive contraction-free grammars (in which contraction at the nominal-level is also illicit), an alternative way of accounting is that, while they have structural case licensing, the *contract* rule does not apply to articles. That is, it is a lexical property of *contract* in contraction-free grammars that it does not apply to an article, while it does for restrictive and permissive grammars.²⁹ Under this alternative approach, although nominals are structurally case licensed in the syntax and undergo leaning at PF, these grammars lack the proposed requisite PF operation. Either possible approach to the hyper-restrictive type of contraction-free grammars is compatible with the overarching analysis of variation in article contraction advanced here. In the absence of evidence in support of one approach over another, I will continue to assume

28. The judgments in (116) come from contraction-free idiolects in which article contraction with nominal-internal elements is ruled out.

29. *Contract* would apply only to pronominal clitics, since only a direct-object clitic undergoes contraction in these idiolects.

that, for both types of contraction-free grammars (those that permit contraction at the nominal-level and those that do not), there is no structural case licensing at the clausal level, and leave the alternative as a question for later inquiry.

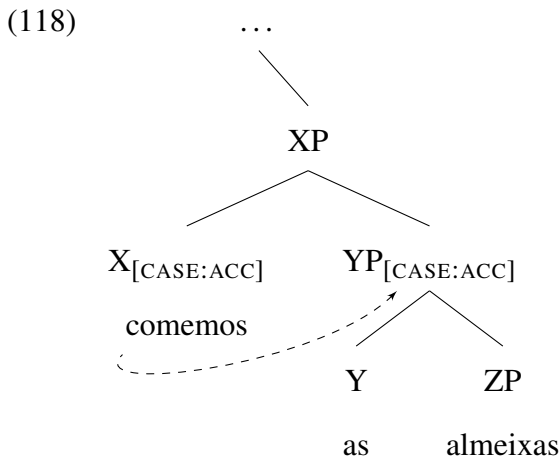
3.8 Antecedents of the Analysis

Although this analysis is the first to investigate syntactic variation contraction of the definite article in Galician (as far as I am aware), the phenomenon has been studied in the literature. Most directly relevant to this analysis is work by Uriagereka (1988, 1996), Bošković (2013, 2017, 2020, to appear), Gravely (2019), and Gravely and Gupton (2020).³⁰ In this section, therefore, I discuss these previous approaches to definite article in contraction and their relation to the analysis presented here.

Gravely and Gupton (2020) adapt a proposal from Uriagereka (1996), according to which the definite article in Galician only contracts (or ‘clitize’ in their terms) with a head that is structurally adjacent and that c-commands it. Further, that adjacent, c-commanding head must share ϕ -features or case with the article. They argue that this proposed constraint explains why, for example, contraction between a verbal complex and article heading a direct object is licit, but not between a quantifier and un-associated DP ((117-118) and (119-120) are adapted from Gupton and Gravely (2020) (36-38) and (40), respectively):

- (117) Comémo-**las** almeixas.
eat_{1PL,PST}-**the**_{PL,F} claims
‘We ate the claims.’

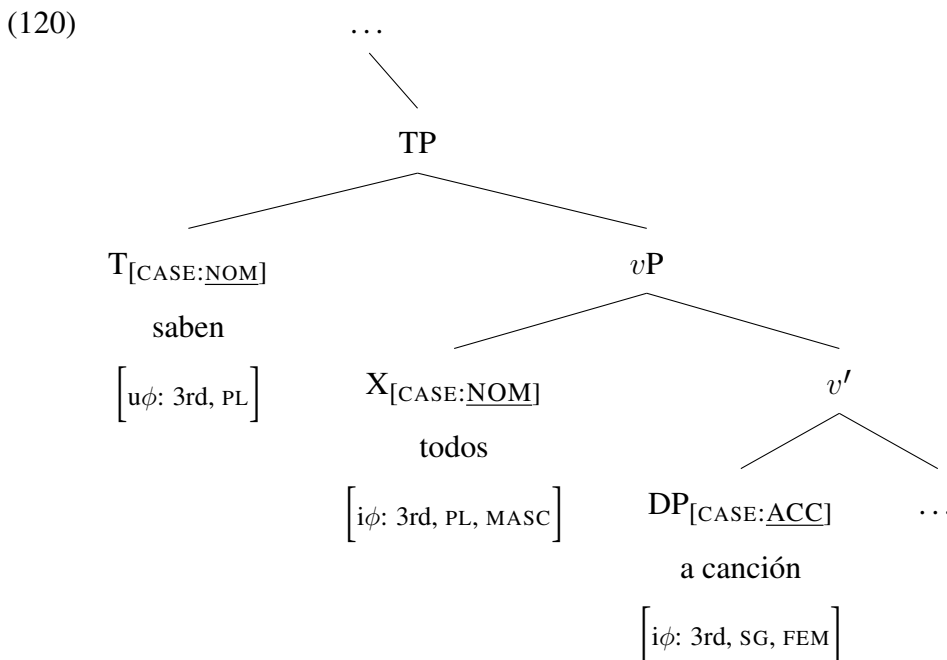
30. See chapter 4 for a discussion of Kastner’s (2024) account of allomorphy in the definite article versus allomorphy in clitics.



Gupton and Gravely posit the structure in (117) to account for contraction between a verbal complex and article heading a direct object. Specifically, they argue that some functional head, which they label X, assigns accusative case to the object. Because of accusative case assignment, and because the verbal complex and article are in a structurally adjacent relationship in which X c-commands the article, contraction between in this configuration is licit.

In contrast, contraction between a quantifier and DP not associated with it is unacceptable:

- (119) Saben todos **a** canción xa, non é? (*Saben **tódo-la** canción ...)
 know_{3PL.PRES} all **the**_{SG.F} song now, neg be_{3SG.PRES}
 ‘They all know the song by now, right?’



Gravely and Gupton give the structure in (120), according to which T assigns nominative case to the bare quantified subject *todos*, while the lower direct object bears accusative case. Although the

quantifier is in a structurally adjacent relationship with and c-commands the article heading the object, contraction between the two is ruled out because because the quantifier and article heading the associated DP do not share case nor ϕ -features.

Uriagereka's (1996) original proposal, and its continuation in Gravely and Gupton (2020), are similar to the analysis advanced here in that article contraction is regulated by case (or at least can be regulated by case in some contexts, for them), and by structural constraints. Note that Uriagereka and Gravely and Gupton, article contraction is syntactic movement, i.e., the article moves to adjoin to a higher functional head in the left periphery in the syntax. In contrast, this analysis maintain that the process by which an article adjoins to an adjacent element is leaning at PF. Some compelling evidence that article contraction cannot derived by syntactic movement is the fact that an article cannot be separated from its NP complement by another element, such as an adverb:

- (121) *Comémo-**lo** onte pan.
eat_{1PL.PST}-**the**_{SG.M} yesterday bread
'We ate the bread yesterday.'

If article cliticization were generated by movement in the syntax (e.g., head movement or long head movement), it should be able to bypass an intervening adverb, contrary to fact.

Other questions raised by Gravely and Gupton's adaptation of Uriagereka's original analysis concern the elements with which the article undergoes contraction. For example, Gravely and Gupton submit that an article does not contract with an adverb or conjunction. which can be explained by the constraints described above. However, articles do undergo contraction with a conjunction, and, depending on the speaker, contraction with an adverb ranges from acceptable to somewhat degraded, rather than fully illicit.³¹ In addition, building on Uriagereka (1996), Gravely and Gupton note that a definite article can 'piggyback' (a term originally from Uriagereka) on a dative clitic. In their analysis, the verbal complex and dative clitic both undergo movement and adjoin to a high functional head in the left periphery; a definite article is therefore able to undergo movement to this high head as well. For example, they offer the following account of the sentence below:³²

31. Gravely and Gupton point out that an article does not contract with the conjunction *mais*. However, their example is a sentence in which the conjunction is adversative, i.e., meaning 'but.' When it has a reading of 'and,' articles do indeed contract with *mais*

32. The sentence in (122) comes from Uriagereka (1996), who himself took it from Álvarez, Regueira, and Monteagudo

tion is generated by means of movement of the clitic to *F/f* in the syntax, and that an article only undergoes contraction with a c-commanding head with which it shares ϕ -features and/or assigns case (as in originally proposed by Uriagereka 1996). Gravelly further submits that postverbal agentive subjects launch article contraction only if they have a topical common-ground interpretation, since they undergo movement to an outer specifier of *v*. Postverbal agentive subjects (e.g., unergative subjects) that remain *in-situ* are islands for extraction of the article. Some speakers do, however, accept contraction from unergative subjects in VS clauses. As to the information-structure components of article contraction, I have nothing further to comment.

Other analyses of definite article contraction come from Uriagereka (1988, 1996) and Bošković (2013, 2017, 2020, to appear). According to these analyses, definite article contraction voids islandhood. Consider, for example, the sentences below: (124-125) are adapted from Uriagereka (1988); (126-127) are adapted from Bošković (2017).³³

- (124) *E de quen_i viches [_{DP} **o** [_{NP} retrato t_i]]?
 and of whom saw_{2SG} [**the** [portrait]]
 ‘so, who have you seen the portrait of?’
- (125) E de quen_j viche-**lo**_i [_{DP} t_i [_{NP} retrato t_j]]?
 and of whom saw_{2SG}-**the** [[portrait]]
 ‘so, who have you seen the portrait of?’
- (126) ??De que semana_j traballastedes [_{DP} **o** Luns t_j]
 of which week worked_{2PL} [Monday]
 ‘Of which week did you guys work the Monday?’
- (127) De que semana_j traballastede-**lo**_i [_{DP} t_i Luns t_j]
 of which week worked_{2PL}-**the** [Monday]
 ‘Of which week did you guys work the Monday?’

According to Uriagereka and Bošković, extraction from definite NPs is illicit (124). Adjuncts are also islands (126). But, they contend, cliticization (or incorporation in Bošković’s terms) ameliorates (or voids) islandhood, as in (125) and (127).

33. In Bošković’s examples, *quen* ‘who’ is written with an accent mark. *Wh*-expressions in Galician are not written with an accent, unlike in Spanish. In the interest of correctness, I omit the accent here. I have also corrected what seems to be a typo in Bošković’s example: *viches* (‘you sg. saw’) is given as *viche*. I correct this mistake as well. Finally, it is worth noting that Bošković’s original examples here use a dialectal form for the second-person plural preterite verb. The standard form is *traballastes*.

Bošković (2020) advances the same argument for extraction from coordinate structure ((128-129) are adapted from Bošković (2020, ex. 34-35)):

(128) *De quen_i vistedes [o amigo *t*_i] e-mais [a Xan] onte?
of who saw_{2PL.PST} the_{SG.M} friend and a Xan yesterday
'You saw the friend of who and Xan yesterday?'

(129) ??*De quen_i vistede-**lo**_j [*t*_j amigo *t*_i] e-mais [a Xan] onte?
of who saw_{2PL.PST} friend and a Xan yesterday
'You saw the the friend of who and Xan yesterday?'

Bošković (2020) submits that conjuncts are islands in Galician, given the ill-formed sentence in (128). However, Bošković argues that article contraction improves extraction, in light of the improved status of the sentence in (129). In Bošković's analysis, the barrier to movement is the head of an island, not the entire island. Therefore, when that head undergoes movement (i.e., contraction of the definite article), it leaves behind a copy in its base position within the island. However, that copy will later get deleted under copy deletion at PF. An element can therefore undergo extraction from the DP, since the head of the island has been deleted. Both Bošković and Uriagereka view definite article contraction as movement in the syntax. Crucially, however, as (121) above show, assuming article contraction is derived by syntactic movement leads to incorrect predictions.

Under Bošković's and Uriagereka's analyses, definite article contraction is generated via movement in the syntax. However, as mentioned above, this argument makes predictions that are not borne out (see (121) above). However, there is another way of accounting for the mitigating effect of article contraction that is compatible with the analysis advanced here. Specifically, rather than argue islandhood is voided by movement, we could adopt an 'unlocking'-based approach to phases (Rackowski & Richards 2005, van Urk & Richards 2015, Halpert 2016, 2018, Branan 2018). Under this style of analysis, a phase can be 'unlocked' by Agree: if some probe agrees first with the phase itself, a second probe is then able to agree with some other element deep within the phase. We might further propose, then, that structural case licensing unlocks phases, just as Agree does. If so, then the islandhood is voided not by movement of the article, but, rather, unlocked by case licensing, which then feeds subextraction. It is also intriguing to note that, in my work with Galician speakers, article contraction does not void islandhood; these structures remain islands for extraction regardless of whether the article undergoes contraction with an adjacent element. To resolve the discrepancy, one could appeal

to dialectal or idiolectal variation. Perhaps the varieties from which Bošković and Uriagereka's examples come is not the same as the varieties of my consultants. In theory, definite article cliticization could be syntactic in one variety and post-syntactic in another. I leave this question and that regarding an unlocking-based analysis for future investigation.

Another predecessor of this analysis of definite article contraction in Galician is Elordieta's (1994a,b, 1997)'s account of vowel assimilation in Lekeitio Basque. Specifically, Elordieta investigates vowel assimilation (VA), a process by which a vowel assimilates in all its features to an immediately preceding vowel (1997: 171). Critically, however, VA only occurs in certain morphosyntactic contexts: at the nominal level, between the final vowel of a noun or adjective and the initial vowel of a determiner or case marker; and at the clausal level, between the final vowel of a lexical verb and the initial vowel of a following auxiliary verb. For example, consider the sentence in (130-131), adapted from Elordieta (1997, ex. 1a and 6a):

(130) /ormi-a/ → or.mi.i
 wall-det.sg
 'the wall'

(131) /galdu e-ba-s-an/ → galdu ubasan.
 lose 3erg.-rt-abs.pl-past
 '(S)he lost them.'

As illustrated in (130), the vowel in the definite article assimilates to the stem-final vowel in the noun, and in (131), the the auxiliary-initial vowel assimilates to the final vowel in the lexical verb (or 'participial verb,' as it is termed in the traditional literature). Elordieta observes that VA does not occur uniformly, but is restricted to the contexts listed above.

To account for this limited distribution of VA, Elordieta proposes that morphosyntactic features must be licensed by associating with a syntactic head with lexical import, a head that constitutes an independent word by itself. Further, morphemes realizing syntactic features are integrated into the word with the syntactic head that licenses them (1997: 194). This licensing constraint is schematized below, adapted from Elordieta (1997, ex. 37):

(132) [α]_{w(lic.)} [β] → [$\alpha \beta$]_w

The determiner and finite T (Infl in Elordieta's analysis) in Basque are both functional heads that must be licensed overtly by attaching to a licenser, some lexical category. The licensing process for the determiner and finite T are in (133-134), which correspond to Elordieta's (38a-b):

(133) [umi]_{w(lic.)} [-a]_{+F} → [umi -a]_w
 child det.sg 'the child'

(134) [ekarri]_{w(lic.)} [eban]_{+F} → [ekarri eban]_w
 bring aux '(s)he brought it'

As depicted in (133), the determiner is argued to be licensed morphologically by suffixing to the final element in NP at PF. And as in (134), a participial verb morphosyntactically licenses T in the syntax. Elordieta's argues that VA occurs when some inflectional element realizing inflectional features is licensed by being integrated into the same word as its licensing element, either in the syntax or at PF. This licensing process (licensee and licenser being integrated into the same word) consequently creates a new domain in which phonological rules can apply, specifically a domain in which VA can apply. Elordieta's proposal is not dissimilar to the one advanced here in that syntactic licensing can give rise to new domains in which certain phonological rules can apply.

3.9 Overview of the Analysis

In this chapter, I presented an analysis of contraction between an article and nominal-internal elements and of contraction between articles and verbs in restrictive, permissive, and contraction-free (i.e., ultra-restrictive) grammars. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, considerable insights into syntactic theory can be gained by investigating variation, even if minor. The essential claims of the analysis so far are summarized in (135):

- (135) (a) Nominals must be case licensed. They can be structurally case licensed by a nominal- or clausal-level element in the syntax.
- (b) If they are not structurally case licensed, nominals are assigned intrinsic case as a last resort.
- (c) At PF, leaning groups together an article and left-adjacent element into the same prosodic word; however leaning only applies if the article was structurally case licensed prior.

This component of the analysis hints at a (possible) broader generalization to the effect that PF operations must be licensed by prior syntactic ones.

- (d) Even if leaning could in principle apply and group together a structural-case-bearing article and left-adjacent element, an additional constraint is that the article and its structural case licenser have to be contained within the same prosodic word.
- (e) If leaning successfully groups together a structural-case bearing article and its licenser into the same prosodic word, a rule termed *contract* applies and generates the phonological changes associated with *l*-contraction (deletion of the host's final /r/ or /s/ segment and appearance of the *l*-initial allomorph of the definite article).
- (f) If leaning does not take place, there is no appropriate phonological domain in which *contract* applies. The article consequently remains un-contracted.

The analysis argues that idiolectal variation is due to the locus and type of structural case licensers. In a contraction-free idiolect, no article contraction arises at the clausal level because of a total absence of structural-case-licensing heads. A restrictive grammar allows only contraction from internal arguments because of a single structural-case licensing head, which is low along the clausal spine. Finally, permissive grammars permit article contraction in more environments than a restrictive one because they have two structural case licensers, *v* and T. Critically, we find no variation across restrictive and permissive grammars with regard to contraction from a direct object (it is uniformly acceptable) because both types of grammars have *v* in their inventory of structural-case licensers. Cross-idiolectal variation in contraction from external arguments is due to the presence or absence of particular structural-case licensers in a given grammar. This analysis argues that permissiveness as a property of idiolects is cumulative, as I noted earlier in this chapter. Contraction-free idiolects, the most restrictive type, are so because of their lack of clausal-level structural-case licensers. Restrictive idiolects are comparatively more permissive because their inventory of clausal-level structural-licensers contains one licensing head. And the most permissive grammars have one more structural-case licenser than restrictive idiolects do. We then have a straightforward way of accounting for the implicational relationships across idiolect types. A grammar with no clausal structural-case licenser entails no other structural-case licenser. If a particular grammar has T as a case licenser, it must also have *v*. However, for a grammar with *v* as its single case licenser, T may nor may not be a structural-case licenser. This affords us a natural way of understanding why if a grammar allows licit

contraction from an external argument, it also does so for an internal argument, and if it does not allow contraction from an internal, it also does not allow it from an external argument. As for the lack of variation regarding contraction from an internal argument in restrictive and permissive idiolects, I attribute this pattern to the presence of *v* as a structural-case licenser in both grammars (see chapters 5-6).

In the next chapter, I provide relevant background on clitics, which is necessary for analyzing more complex patterns of article contraction in permissive grammars.

Chapter 4

The Syntax of Clitics

4.1 Overview of Clitics and Cliticization

This chapter provides background on pronominal clitics and cliticization in Galician. Such information is indispensable to an analysis of definite article contraction because whether or not an argument licitly launches article contraction is, in many contexts, dependent upon whether a clause contains a clitic, the type of clitic it contains, and the position of the clitic within the clause (I analyze article contraction in sentences containing clitics in chapters 5-6).

Regarding the internal syntax of clitics, I assume a variant of the big DP hypothesis (e.g., Torrego 1988, 1995, Uriagereka 1995, 2005, Bleam 2000, Roberts 2010, Arregi & Nevins 2012, Kramer 2014) for clitics in Galician. However, I argue for a three-way structural distinction between direct-object (DO) and dative clitics. While the former are always D heads, dative clitics are not syntactically identical. Specifically, some dative clitics are K's heading KPs and bear structural dative case, while others are P's heading PPs and assign inherent dative case. I pursue motivations for this three-way distinction in chapters 5-6 in more detail, but offer some preliminary evidence in this chapter.

As for cliticization, a clitic is assumed to be attracted to the specifier of a functional head within the TP domain (Bošković 2004). I term this functional head *f*. A clitic is attracted to *f*'s specifier by means of a structure-building feature on the latter. Enclisis is produced by movement of a clitic to the specifier of an *f* head above *v*P but below TP (a low *f*). Conversely, proclisis is generated via movement of a clitic to the specifier of an *f* head above TP (a high *f*). As I argue later in this chapter,

a DO clitic is attracted to a designated f head, while a dative clitic likewise is attracted to its own corresponding f (cf. Gupton (2010, 2012) and Raposo and Uriagereka (2005) for whom enclisis versus proclisis is the result of the verbal complex moving above a clitic or remaining below it, respectively).

As I posited for lexical DPs, I assume that pronominal clitics must be licensed in the syntax. The former are licensed either by structural or intrinsic case, but a clitic is hypothesized to be licensed via movement in the syntax. More specifically, this analysis argues for a reciprocal licensing constraint between f heads and clitics: a clitic must be licensed by moving to f 's specifier, and f must be licensed by moving a clitic to its specifier. I demonstrate that reciprocal licensing yields a one-to-one correspondence between f and a clitic, which is essential to derive interactions between article contraction and clitics.

Related to licensing in the syntax is the matter of syntax-prosody mapping. Earlier I argued that post-syntactic processes are contingent on syntactic licensing. Specifically, I proposed that leaning of an article onto an adjacent element applies only if structural case licensing in the syntax has taken place previously, and if the article and its licenser are contained in the same prosodic word. I propose the same constraint for clitics. A clitic also undergoes leaning onto an adjacent element. However, leaning of a clitic only occurs when licensing via movement in the syntax has occurred, and if the article and its licenser are contained within the same prosodic word. This prosodic word consequently forms a domain in which *contract* applies. This analysis accounts for the fact that contraction of clitics is more common than that of the definite article since a clitic is uniformly licensed in the syntax (via movement), while licensing of an article (structural case) is not always available.

The rest of this chapter is organized as follows: section 4.2 provides relevant background on clitics and cliticization; section 4.3 focuses on the syntactic differences between different kinds of clitics in Galician; section 4.4 presents the properties of f heads in more detail; section 4.5 investigates how certain f heads select for corresponding clitics; section 4.6 offers an account of *l*-contraction of clitics themselves; and, finally, conclusions are in section 4.7.

pronominal clitic in this configuration.

As for the types of clitics in the language, Galician has direct-object (DO) and dative clitics. The ‘dative’ label encompasses a range of functions that clitics possess, though all such clitics are morphologically dative. I discuss the structure of dative clitics below and investigate them in detail in chapter 6. Beyond DO and dative, other types of clitics exist in the language. I do not analyze those types in this thesis, although I offer a few brief comments now. Galician has reflexive and solidarity clitics. Solidarity clitics morphologically mark non-thematic addressees. For further reference on reflexives, see Freixeiro Mato (2000); for discussion of solidarity clitics, the reader is referred to Álvarez, Regueira, and Monteagudo (1989), Álvarez and Xove (2002), Haddican (2019), Huidobro (2022), and Alok and Haddican (2022). Paradigms for DO and IO clitics are given in the tables below, adapted from Álvarez, Regueira, and Monteagudo (1989).

(4) 1st- & 2nd-Person DO Clitic

	Singular	Plural
1st	<i>me</i>	<i>nos</i>
2nd	<i>che/te</i>	<i>vos</i>

(6) Dative Clitic

	Singular	Plural
1st	<i>me</i>	<i>nos</i>
2nd	<i>che/te</i>	<i>vos</i>
3rd	<i>lle</i>	<i>lle/lles</i>

(5) 3rd-Person DO Clitic

	Masculine	Feminine
Singular	<i>o, lo</i>	<i>a, la</i>
Plural	<i>os, los</i>	<i>as, las</i>

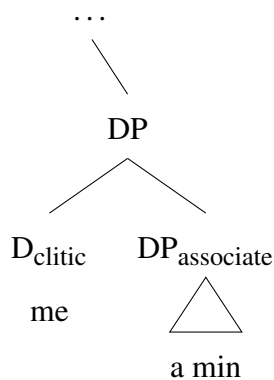
The forms of DO clitics are given in (4-5). As shown in (4), local persons are not differentiated for gender. As noted in chapter 3, third-person DO clitics are syncretic with the definite article: the vowel-initial form surfaces when the clitic remains un-contracted, and the *l*-initial allomorph appears when it undergoes *l*-contraction. Dative clitics are shown in (6). As described in chapter 2, there is dialectal variation in the forms of the second-person singular clitic. Standard Galician and some non-standard dialects distinguish between *che* and *te*: the former is dative, and the latter, DO and reflexive. Other dialects use *te* for the dative, DO, and reflexive forms. A third category of Galician dialects does not make a distinction between dative and DO forms, but in a different manner: in these dialects, *che* is the dative and DO form.¹ Finally, some speakers make a number distinction in the

1. Dialects that collapse the *che/te* distinction and use only *te* are traditionally called *teísta* dialects. Those that neu-

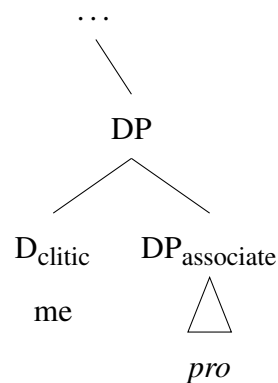
third-person dative forms, while others do not. That is, some speakers use *lle* for singular and plural forms, while others use *lle* for singular and *lles* for plural.

Regarding the internal syntax of clitics, I adopt a widespread approach based on a ‘big DP’ structure (e.g., Torrego 1988, 1995, Uriagereka 1995, 2005, Bleam 2000, Roberts 2010, Arregi & Nevins 2012, Kramer 2014, Hewett 2023a, among many others). I expand on the syntax of DO versus dative clitics in section 4.3, but illustrate some initial assumptions in (7-8):

(7) clitic doubling



(8) bare cliticization



Various formulations of the internal structure of a big DP have been proposed, but the goal of big-DP-style analyses is to derive clitic doubling constructions. A clitic doubling construction can be defined as one in which a clitic co-occurs with a co-referential lexical DP. The specific DP structure I adopt is one in which the clitic is a D head, and its associate is its DP complement (Belletti 1999, 2005, Cecchetto 2000, Papangeli 2000). I propose that DO clitics in Galician have the syntax in (7). Galician exhibits clitic doubling of all strong pronouns and of dative lexical DPs. The latter are taken here to have the structure in (7) (I return to the structure of lexical dative DPs in section 4.3). In the case of bare cliticization (i.e., when the clitic surfaces without an overt associate), I assume the structure in (8), in which the clitic remains an overt D head, but the associate is *pro*.²

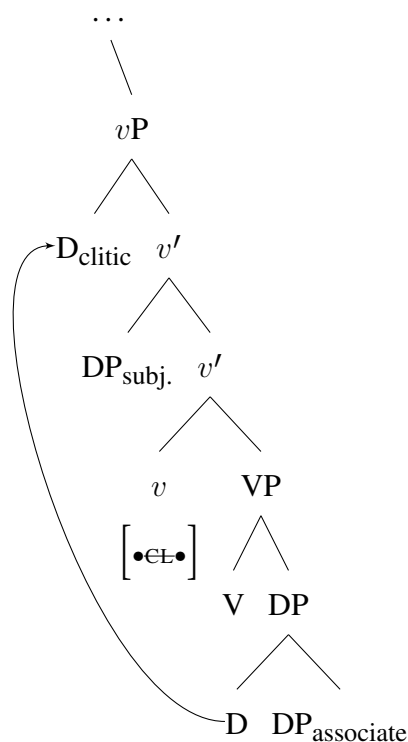
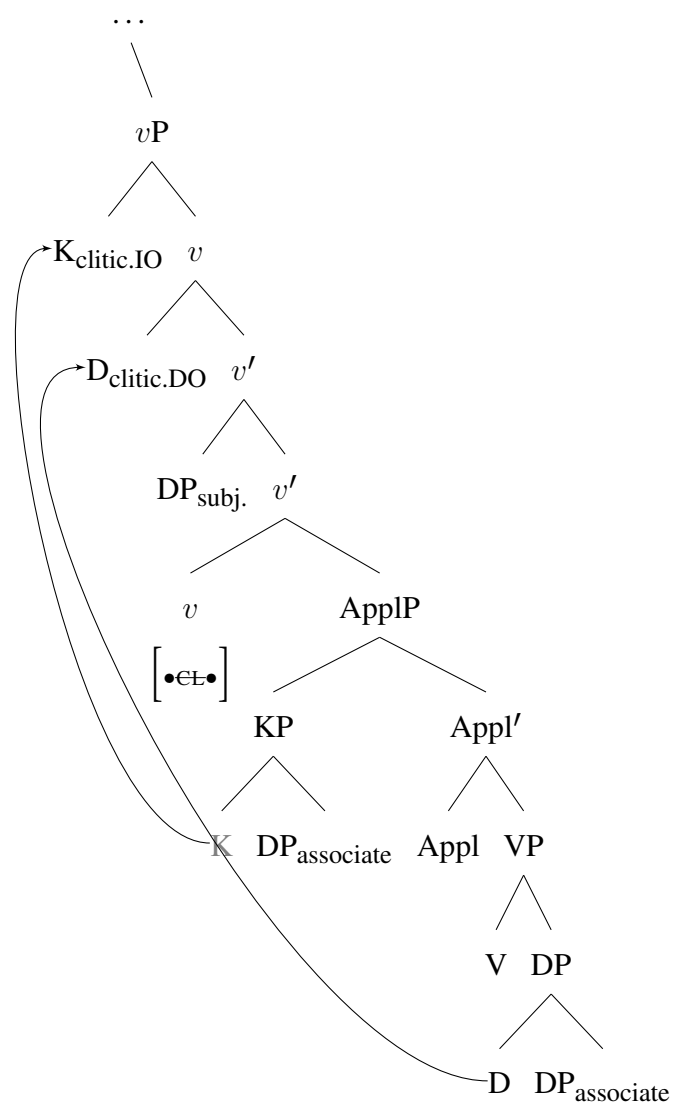
Beyond their internal syntax, it must also be explained how clitics undergo displacement to various positions within a clause. As for clitic movement itself, I maintain that clitics undergo long head

tralize this distinction and have only *che* are *cheísta* dialects. In *cheísta* dialects, the reflexive second-person singular form is *te*

2. Note that Galician does not have doubling of direct object lexical DPs.

movement (Rezac 2008, Roberts 2010, Preminger 2019). These accounts maintain that long head movement of a clitic is from one head to another. However, by this analysis, clitics undergo long head movement from their base positions to specifiers of functional heads in the TP domain, building on work by Bošković (2004). But before moving to these higher specifier positions, clitics must undergo an intermediate step of movement to an outer specifier of *v*. Similar arguments are advanced by Raposo and Uriagereka (2005), Nevins (2011a), Harizanov (2014), and Kramer (2014). While the latter three proposals contend that movement to this position is final, generating enclisis, for Raposo and Uriagereka (2005), movement to Spec,*v*P is also an intermediate step of movement, in alignment with this analysis.³

3. As I discuss in chapter 5 (section 5.7), I posit a structure-building feature on *v*, which attracts a clitic to *v*'s specifier. As for evidence in support of this feature on *v*, one salient possibility is that *v* is a phase head, and, therefore, a clitic must stop off at the edge of the *v*P phase en route to its final landing site (i.e., this is an ordinary case of an intermediate step of successive cyclic movement, however that is ultimately to be understood at the level of mechanisms). The driving force for the final step of clitic movement will be discussed below.

(9) DO clitic(10) IO-DO clitic cluster

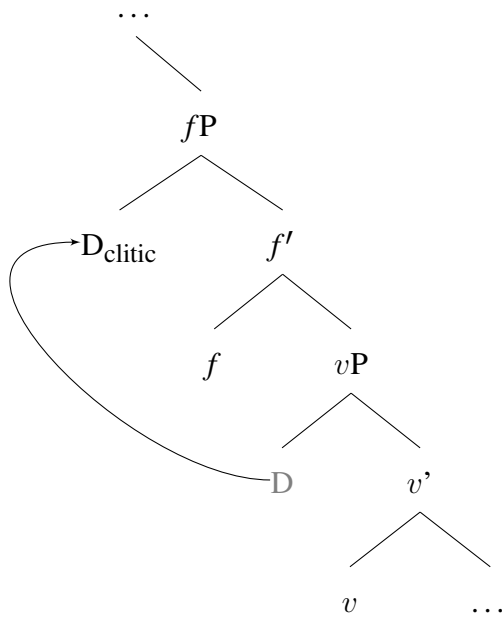
I assume that the derivation for cliticization for a single clitic *mutatis mutandis* is identical for all clitics, but I provide a sample derivation for a single DO clitic in (9). The clitic moves from its base position to an outer specifier of v , above the subject. For clitic clusters, I assume both clitics (DO and IO) raise to Spec,vP (10). Note that I adopt Pylkkänen (2008)'s high applicative structure for ditransitive clauses. Note, too, that I analyze clauses containing only one clitic (a single DO or IO) or a two-clitic cluster (both a DO and IO) (it is possible in Galician to have a cluster containing more than two clitics).⁴ Note that I analyze the IO clitic as a K heading a KP, as noted above. I return to the syntax of dative versus DO clitics in the following section. I assume that the ordering of the IO

4. A cluster containing more than two clitics is possible in Galician because the language also has solidarity clitics, as mentioned above. Solidarity clitics morphologically mark non-thematic addressees, and “involve the listener in facts being related” (Álvarez, Regueira, & Monteagudo (1986) or ask for solidarity or complicity from the addressee (Haddican 2019).

and DO clitics in *v*'s specifier are the same as their surface ordering, i.e., with the IO preceding the DO, although the opposite ordering (IO > DO) is compatible with this analysis as well (see Cardinaletti (2007) for an analysis in which the surface ordering of IO-DO in clitic clusters in Romance is underlying DO-IO). As for what triggers movement of clitics, I assume firstly that *v* bears a structure-building feature that triggers movement of clitics to its specifier and that clitics bear a unique [**•cl•**] feature, which lexical DPs lack. The idea that clitics are featurally distinct, i.e. bear a [**•cl•**] feature, has been proposed by Newman (2020) and Arregi and Nevins (2012). I return to the features of clitics below.

After the intermediate step of movement to an outer specifier of *v*, clitics undergo another step of movement to the specifier of a functional head within the TP domain (Bošković 2004). I posit a functional head, *f*, which attracts a clitic to its specifier. The next section discusses the specific features posited on *f* heads and how those features trigger movement of clitics. Note that this *f* differs from that of Raposo and Uriagereka (2005); their *f* head is a 'clitic-like' element in the left-periphery to which pronominal clitics adjoin via head movement. A low *f* head below TP but above *v*P generates enclisis:

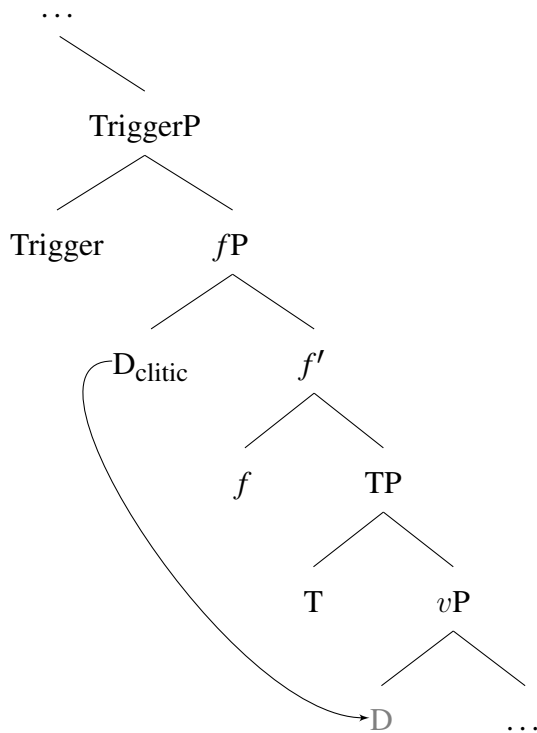
(11)



In Galician, clitics are generally postverbal, i.e., enclitic, in affirmative finite matrix clauses. More precisely, clitics are postverbal in affirmative finite matrix clauses except when certain elements at the left-edge of a clausal force a clitics to be preverbal. I posit that the derivation of enclisis crucially involves an *f* head above *vP* and below TP: low *f*. A clitic undergoes movement from its intermediate landing site in an outer specifier of *v* to the specifier of low *f* (26).

Enclisis is not the only possible outcome for clitics in Galician, however. In certain contexts, clitics are obligatorily preverbal, i.e., proclitic. If the clitic is preceded by negation, a negative QP, affective adverbial, or *wh*-element, it must be proclitic. It must also be proclitic if it is in an embedded clause (Gupton 2012). I assume that, just as enclisis is produced by a low *f* below T, proclisis is brought about by a high *f* head, above T. Therefore, the clitic undergoes long head movement from Spec,*vP* to the specifier of a high *f* head (pace Uriagereka (1995), Raposo (1999), Raposo & Uriagereka (2005), and Gupton (2012), who contend that clitics attach to a functional head above T, which produces proclisis, while enclisis is generated via movement of the verb to the left of the clitic). Consider the following trees:

(12)



Like enclisis-inducing f , proclisis-inducing f attracts a clitic to its specifier (12). Lastly, I argue that proclisis-inducing f is selected for by the various elements that trigger proclisis (so-called ‘proclisis triggers’), e.g., negation. Although there is undoubtedly much more to be understood about the specific (sub)structures involved in triggering proclisis, I abstract away from specific proclisis triggers in (12) and represent them as Trigger.

By this analysis of procliticization, proclisis is triggered by high f heads, not by the traditional proclisis trigger itself: e.g., a proclisis trigger such as negation itself does not have a structure-building feature that attracts clitics. Separating the position of the proclitic from the proclisis trigger conforms with previous work on proclisis-enclisis alternations (e.g., Uriagereka 1995, Raposo 1999, Shlonsky 2004, Raposo & Uriagereka 2005, Gupton 2012) (though, as noted above, some researchers argue that clitics adjoin to a functional head, rather than move to a specifier position, e.g., Raposo & Uriagereka (2005)’s f head). If an enclitic f is merged with vP , enclisis is generated. Conversely, if a proclitic f is merged with TP, proclisis is generated (cf. for an alternative approach for cliticization in Galician, see Gupton (2012), who adopts Raposo & Uriagereka’s (2005) analysis of proclisis-enclisis alternations). Since a proclisis trigger selects for proclitic f , it cannot instead merge directly with TP.⁵

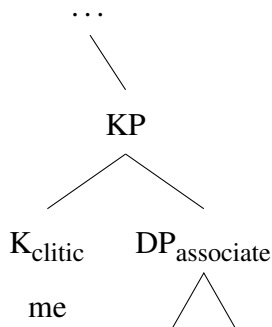
5. I argue that only a high or low f can be generated, i.e., a structure cannot contain both a high and low f . I leave the question of how to constraints the generation of f heads for future research.

Having outlined preliminary background on the syntax on clitics and cliticization, in the next section I present a more detailed account of the different types of clitics in Galician.

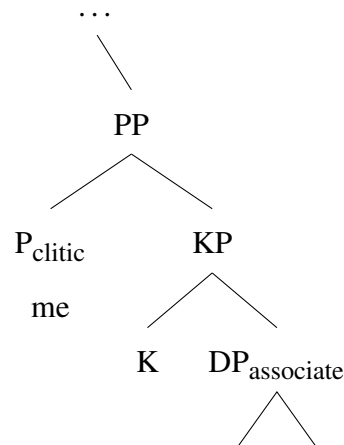
4.3 The Internal Syntax of Clitics

As noted above, this analysis maintains that clitics in Galician do not possess the same internal syntax. A DO clitic is hypothesized to be a D heading a big DP (as shown in (7-8)), but dative clitics have a different structure. Furthermore, dative clitics themselves are not structurally identical. I propose that Galician has two types of dative clitics:

(13) KP: structural dative



(14) PP: inherent dative



Specifically, dative clitics in the language are either K's or P's. The clitic itself is a K head that takes a DP complement, or a P head taking a KP complement. A structure similar to that in (14) comes from Cardinaletti's (2019) account of clitics in Italian. Cardinaletti argues that clitics are an inflectional projection (IP) adjoined to a big KP.⁶ I posit the structure in (13) for all indirect-object (IO) clitics. In some idiolects, possessor and oblique complement clitics are K's, but P's in others.⁷ I propose that K clitics are interveners for structural case licensing, while P's are not. The various types of dative clitics in Galician are: possessors, oblique complements of verbs such as *falar* 'talk (to),' and experiencers (see below for examples). By this analysis, the structure of the former two types of datives

6. Cardinaletti reformulates the big DP as a big KP, since KP is assumed to be the highest projection of nominal structure, as proposed by Giusti (1993, 1997), Bittner and Hale 1996, Cardinaletti and Starke 1999, and Caha (2009).

7. In some permissive grammars as well as restrictive and contraction-free idiolects, all of these types of dative may be K's or P's, but, given the properties of *f* in these dialects, it cannot be determined whether they are K or P. See chapter 6 for further discussion.

alternates between that in (13) and that in (14). I assume that the DP in (13) and (14) is the associate in clitic doubling constructions.⁸

I further argue that the K-P structural distinction between dative clitics corresponds to the type of dative case borne by clitics. I propose that a K clitic bears structural dative. I return to the assignment of structural dative case in chapters 5 and 6, but for now note that it is assigned via configurational case rule, following previous work by Baker and Vinokurova (2010), Baker (2015), and Puškar and Müller (2018). As for the realization of dative case on P, I propose that it is the realization of agreement between P and its KP associate. P assigns inherent dative case to and agrees with its KP complement. The argument that dative clitics in Romance are agreement markers has already been proposed. One comparable approach to this analysis comes from Ormazabal and Romero (2013) for clitics in Spanish. Under their account, clitics in Spanish (except third person DO's) are the realization of object agreement, i.e., agreement between *v* and an internal argument (either a DO or IO) ((15-16) are adapted from Ormazabal and Romero (2013, ex. 62)):

(15) Os verán a los que vayáis pronto.
 CL_{2PL}.DO see_{3PL}.FUT *a* the_{PL.M} COMP go_{2PL}.SUBJUNCTIVE early
 'They will see those of you who arrive early.'

(16) Os darán el libro a los que vayáis pronto.
 CL_{2PL}.DO give_{3PL}.FUT the_{SG.M} book *a* the_{PL.M} COMP go_{2PL}.SUBJUNCTIVE early
 'They will give the book to those of you who arrive early.'

The second-person plural clitic, *os*, marks an agreement relation between *v* between an internal argument, which can be a DO (as in (15)), or an IO (as in (16)). An analysis similar to Ormazabal and Romero (2013) is Blear's (2000). Blear proposes that dative clitics are agreement heads along the clausal spine. More precisely, a dative clitic is the realization of an agreement head (e.g., Asp), when that head has a +dative feature.⁹

The argument that dative clitics in Romance have a different syntax and some bear inherent case

8. An alternative proposal, equally compatible with this overall account of clitics, is that a clitic is the spell-out of the entire KP or PP. The reduced realization of a clitic could be the result of m-merger as defined in Harizanov (2014) and Kramer (2014). Since nothing critical to this analysis depends on whether the clitic exponent is the realization of a head or a maximal projection, I simply assume the clitic is a K or P head.

9. In Blear's analysis, clitic doubling and matching of case and ϕ -features arises when an argument undergoes movement to the head's specifier.

while others bear structural has already been put forth in the literature. One such account is Cabré and Fábregas's (2019) for dative clitics across varieties of Catalan, in particular Valencian Catalan versus what they term non-Valencian Catalan. In the former variety, dative clitics are KPs; they bear inherent case and do not require structural case assignment. In contrast, in non-Valencian Catalan, dative clitics are structurally identical to DO clitics. Dative and DO clitics are both DPs and compete for structural case, what Cabré and Fábregas refer to as 'accusative case.' Borrowing from F.J. Martín (2012a), T. Martín (2012), Cabré and Fábregas contend that the 'dative' interpretation of a clitic in non-Valencian Catalan comes from the presence of a locative clitic embedded in the DP structure. Importantly, as Cabré and Fábregas point out, calling an object 'dative' does not guarantee they share the same set of properties cross-linguistically or across varieties of the "same" language (2019: 170); see Preminger (to appear) for important arguments for (a broader version of) the same conclusion. This view of variation in Catalan holds for idiolectal variation in Galician. In some grammars, certain kinds of dative clitics are K's (heads of a KP), and consequently bear structural dative case, but, in others, these same kinds of dative clitics are P's (head of a PP), and therefore bear inherent case. In chapter 6, I return to the structures of dative clitics and investigate how these structural differences interact with case licensing.

We can also identify Galician-internal evidence that clitics in the language are not syntactically identical. One such piece of evidence is clitic doubling of lexical DPs:

- (17) *Vimos* *a Toño.*
*see*_{1PL.PST} *a Toño*
 'We saw Toño.'
- (18) **Vímo-**lo*** *a Toño.*
*see*_{1PL.PST-CL3SG.M.DO} *a Toño*
 'We saw Toño.'
- (19) *Mandámos-**lle*** *a Toño unha carta.*
*send*_{1PL.PST-CL3SG.DAT} *a Toño*
 'We sent Toño a letter.'

In Galician, a DO lexical DP cannot be doubled by a corresponding DO clitic (17-18), but an IO lexical DP can be (by a corresponding dative clitic) (19). The argument that the ability of an argument to be clitic doubled suggests a different syntax is not novel. For example, contrasting patterns of clitic

doubling of DO lexical DPs versus IO lexical DPs in Romance has been attributed to a difference in the syntax of clitics (e.g., Poletto 1996, Ormazabal & Romero 2013, Blears 2000, Marchis & Alexiadou 2013).

We can also adduce evidence from Galician indicating that not only are DO and dative clitics syntactically distinct, but also that dative clitics are distinct from one other. In particular, dative clitics interact differently with definite article contraction. These interactions are complex and vary across restrictive, permissive, and contraction-free grammars (see chapters 5-6 for an analysis of interactions between clitics and article contraction). However, I provide some initial examples here, which corroborate the proposed structures for clitics:

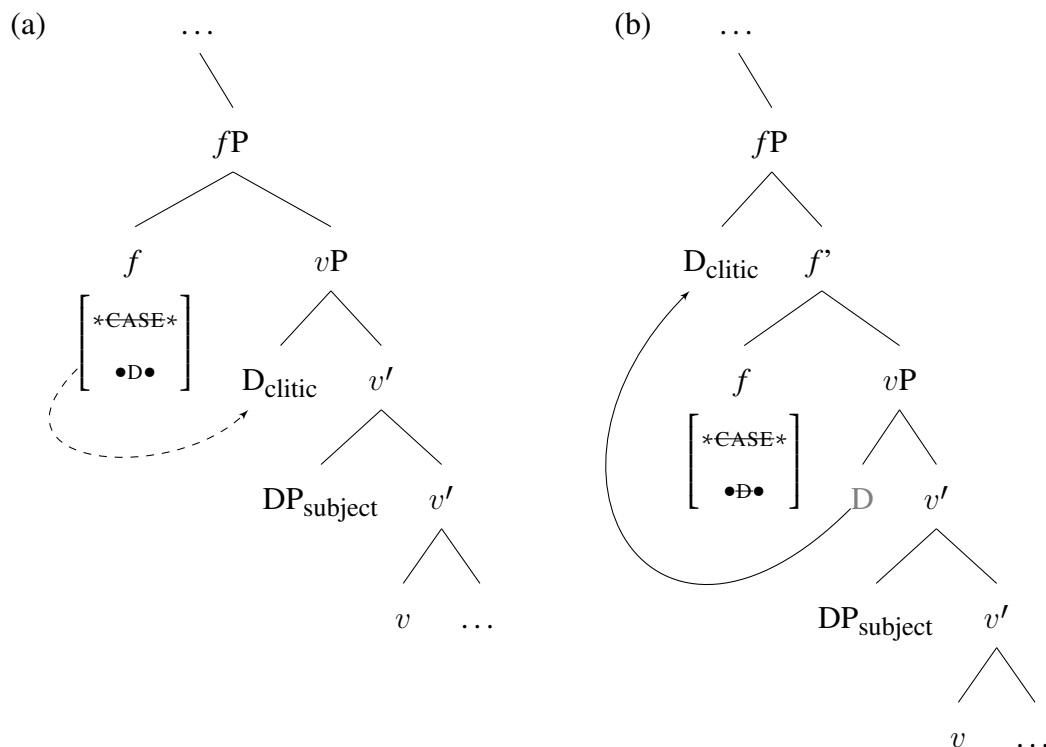
- (20) Falóu-no-**lo** mestre.
 talk_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT}-**the**_{SG.M} teacher
 ‘The teacher talked to us.’
- (21) Gústa-no-**lo** pan.
 like_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT}-**the**_{SG.M} bread
 ‘We like bread.’
- (22) Viu-nos **o** avó a cara. (*Viu-no-**lo** avó a cara.)
 see_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT} **the**_{SG.M} grandfather the_{SG.F} face
 ‘Grandfather saw our face.’
- (23) Enviou-nos **a** avoa a carta. (*Viu-no-**lo** avó a cara.)
 send_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT} **the**_{SG.M} grandmother the_{SG.F} letter
 ‘Grandfather sent us the gift.’
- (24) Viu-no-**lo** mestre.
 see_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DO}-**the**_{SG.M} teacher
 ‘Grandfather saw us.’

In some permissive grammars, contraction from an agentive subject with an oblique complement clitic is acceptable (20), as is contraction from an unaccusative subject with a dative experiencer (21). But contraction is ruled out between from a transitive subject and possessor clitic (22) or from a transitive subject with an IO clitic (23). But this speaker accepts contraction from a transitive subject with a DO clitic (24). The contrast between IO and DO clitics (23-24) and between different types of dative clitics (20-23) suggests that syntactically they should not be analyzed in the same manner, i.e., a three-way distinction is necessary. DO clitics are D heads heading a big DP; IO clitics are always

and case features on f heads (both high and low f 's) are stacked (Müller 2010, Georgi 2017). These two features can be ordered with movement before case (Move > Case)—or the ordering can be inverted so that the feature triggering structural case licensing is ordered before the movement-triggering one (Case > Move). Contrasting orderings of features on f give rise to various patterns of contraction across idiolects of Galician (cf. Georgi (2017) who attributes patterns of reflexes of \bar{A} -movement across and within languages to different orderings of features on particular heads).

For example, in idiolects in which contraction in (25) is illicit, I argue that the structural-case feature is ordered before the structure-building one. As (26) demonstrates, after the clitic moves to an outer specifier of v , it is the closest nominal to f .¹⁰ I illustrate the features on f on a low head, i.e., an f below TP agenerating enclisis. I assume the same derivation for proclisis, modulo the position of f : proclisis involves a high f positioned above TP.

(26)



When f discharges its case feature, it structurally case licenses the closest nominal that it c-commands. Recall that all clitics undergo an intermediate step of movement from their base positions to an outer

10. I adopt Georgi's (2017) notation for features in (26).

specifier of *v* above the subject. Since a clitic in this intermediate position is above the subject and structurally closer to *f*, *f* structurally case licenses the clitic (26a). After *f* discharges its structure-building feature, it triggers movement of the clitic to its specifier.¹¹ I return how *f*'s probe for particular clitics (DO versus IO) shortly (26b). Attraction to the specifier of *f* is a twofold and integral component of this analysis. In particular, I posit a reciprocal licensing constraint on *f* and a clitic. *f* must attract a clitic to its specifier. Further, a clitic, like a lexical DP, must be licensed. However, while a DP is licensed by case, clitics are licensed by movement. Specifically, clitics must move to *f*'s specifier to be licensed. I elaborate on syntactic licensing of clitics in section 4.6. After the clitic undergoes movement to *f*'s specifier, it no longer structurally intervenes between *f* and the subject. Crucially, though, *f* has already checked its structural case feature, and, as a result, no structural case licensing is available for the subject. Without having received structural case, the subject must be intrinsically case licensed. Recall from chapter 3 that absence of structural case licensing in the syntax creates a series of bleeding relationships of PF operations (specifically, bleeding of leaning and *contract*). If these PF operations do not apply, the article heading the subject surfaces in its vowel-initial or un-contracted form.

In contrast to (26), if the features on *f* are reversed (Move > Case), contraction from the subject with the IO enclitic is well formed. Licit contraction is due to the fact that the clitic moves out of *f*'s c-command domain before the latter discharges its structural case feature. When *f* discharges its case feature, it will structurally case license the subject, which is the closest nominal to *f*, given that the clitic has moved to *f*'s specifier previously. Structural case licensing feeds leaning and *contract*: the article will surface in its *l*-initial form as a result. See chapter 5 for an in-depth analysis of how derivational timing and article contraction across idiolect subtypes.

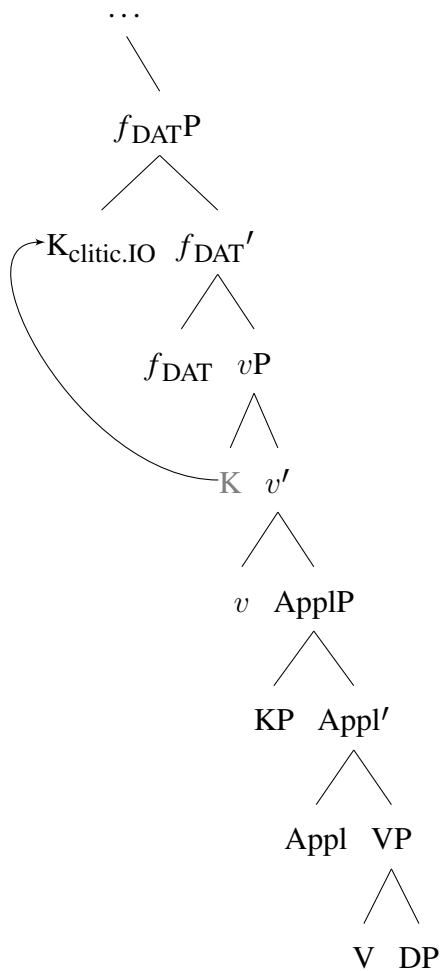
Beyond their stacked features, *f* heads are argued to have additional properties. Specifically, a key property of *f*'s is that some are case-discriminating but others are category-discriminating when triggering movement of a clitic to their specifier. The fact that the structure-building feature on *f* is relativized for certain clitics is necessary to account for the wide range of idiolectal variation regarding different types of clitics.

11. More remains to be said about the structure-building feature. I assume there there is actually a feature set that triggers movement of the clitic. See the following section.

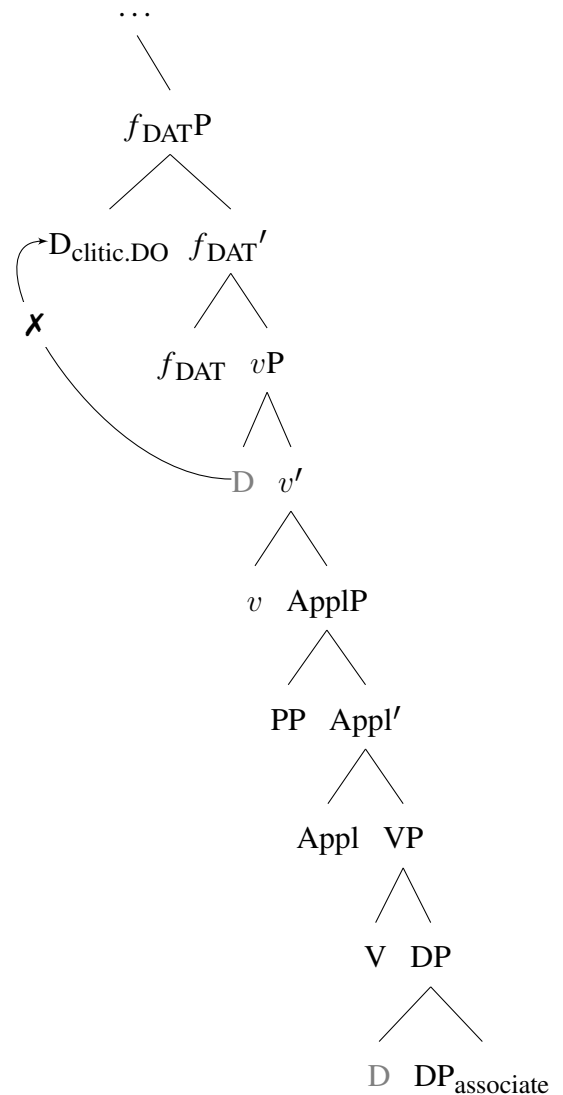
clitic.

To illustrate relativized probing by an f head, I provide a derivation for a structure containing a single clitic and one for a structure containing a clitic cluster. Consider the following:

(29) IO enclitic ✓



(30) DO clitic ✗

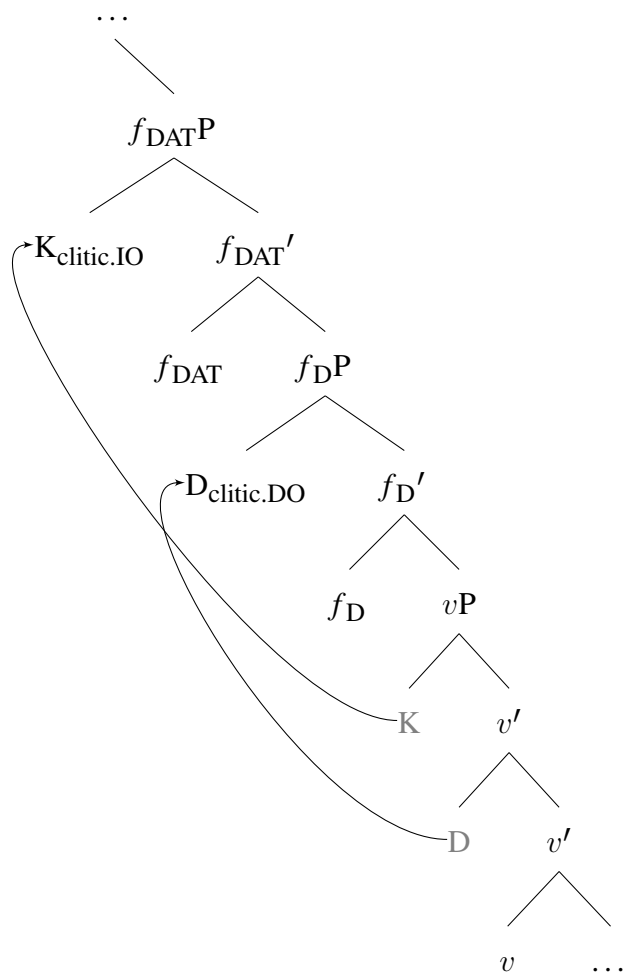


Recall from section 4.4 that there is a reciprocal licensing constraint between f and a clitic: both must be licensed via movement of a clitic to f 's specifier. I expand upon this constraint and argue that it is even more specific. Each type of f head must attract its corresponding clitic to its specifier, and a clitic must move to the specifier of its corresponding f head. When low f_{DAT} is merged with $v\text{P}$, it searches for a dative clitic, and, in the case of a ditransitive structure, it successfully attracts the IO clitic (a K head under this analysis) and the reciprocal licensing constraint is met (29). In contrast, if low f_{DAT} does not find a dative clitic, a crash results. For example, as in (30), if there is a single DO clitic (if

the IO is a full lexical PP, for example), f_{DAT} cannot attract it because it does not bear dative case. The clitic remains in Spec, $v\text{P}$. If this happens, the requirements of f and the clitic are not met. The derivation therefore crashes. The inverse holds for f_{D} , which is category discriminating, rather than case discriminating. If f_{D} encounters a DO clitic, which bears the [CAT D] categorial feature, the head successfully attracts the clitic, satisfying its structure-building feature as well as the clitic's licensing requirement. If, however, f_{D} encounters a single dative clitic (recall that dative clitics are either K or P), the derivation crashes: f_{D} cannot attract a dative clitic since the latter lacks the requisite categorial feature, so the structure-building feature of f_{D} remains unsatisfied, and the dative clitic's licensing requirement is not met. The same considerations apply for high f_{DAT} and high f_{D} : if these high f heads cannot find an appropriate goal, the derivation crashes. This interaction between relativized (i.e., specific) structure-building features on f and the licensing-via-movement requirement of clitics ensure that there is a one-to-one correspondence between the clitic-attracting head and its respective clitic.

If the structure contains two clitics (DO and IO), it must also contain two f heads. Each respective f head attracts a matching clitic. I propose that f_{DAT} is positioned above f_{D} , i.e., that the surface order of clitics is representative of the underlying order.

(31) IO-DO enclitic cluster



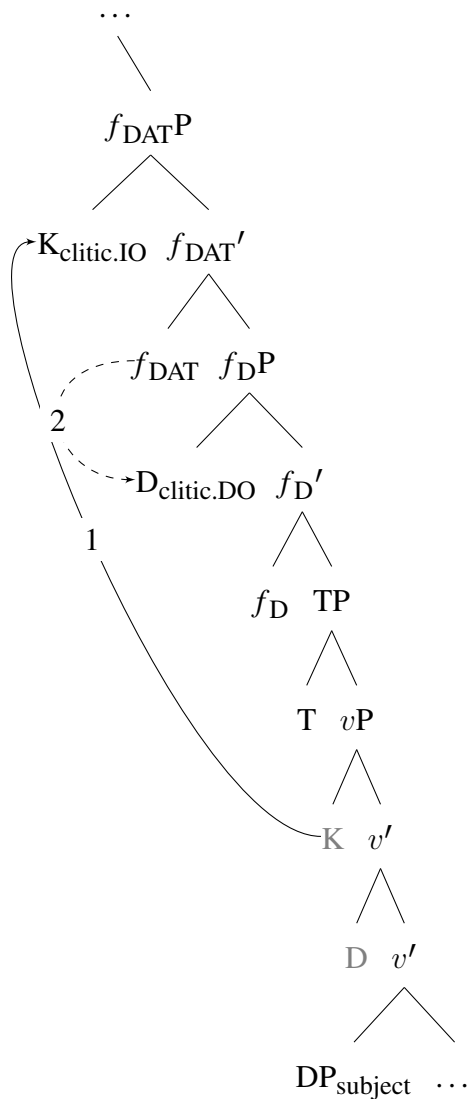
Each f head attracts the clitic that will satisfy its structure-building feature: f_{DAT} attracts the dative (IO) clitic, and f_{D} , the DO (31). The applications of (Internal) Merge thus triggered satisfy not only the structure-building features of the attracting f heads but also the licensing requirements of the clitics. If two clitics were generated in the structure, but only one f head were merged in, the derivation would fail. The same applies for a structure containing two f heads and only one clitic. A proclitic cluster is derived in the same manner, mutatis mutandis: each f head attracts its corresponding clitic, with f_{DAT} positioned above f_{D} .

Yet another property of f requires explication. I argue that, in certain permissive idiolects, high f_{DAT} has a unique property in that it can attract all clitics within its-command domain to its specifiers (in the spirit of Bošković's (1998, 1999, 2007) 'attract-all' property for heads triggering focus fronting or an insatiable probe, as in Deal (2015)). I discuss attract-all- f_{DAT} in chapter 5, but offer some evidence supporting this aspect of the analysis in (32):

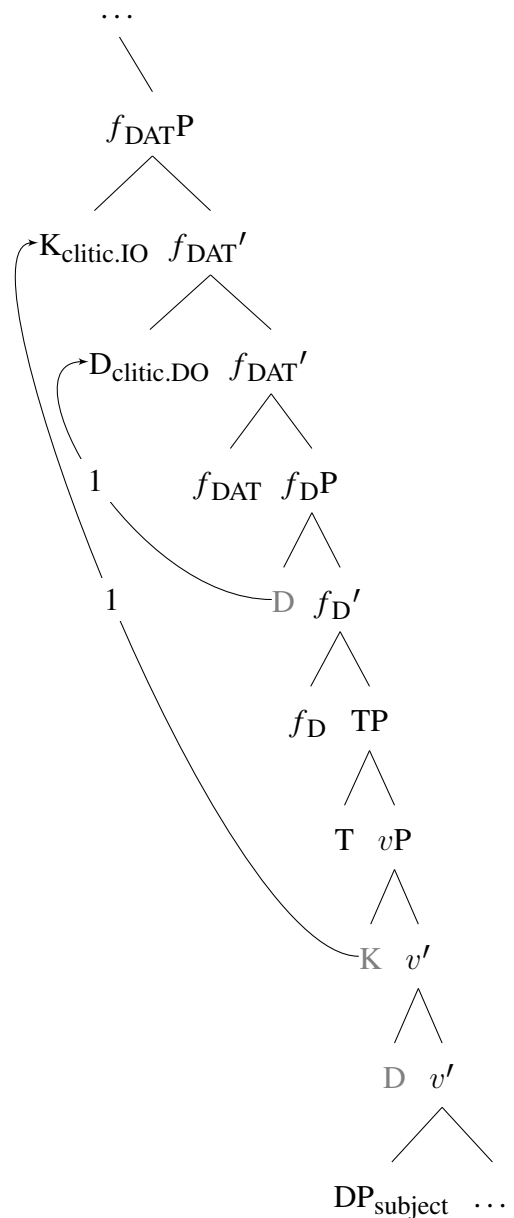
- (32) Nunca ll-o *démo-los* pais.
 never CL_{3SG.DAT}-CL_{3SG.DO.M} give_{1PL.PST}-**the**_{PL.M} parents
 ‘We parents never gave it to her.’

In some idiolects, contraction from a transitive subject with a verbal complex is acceptable with a proclitic cluster. By this analysis, licit contraction in (32) arises because the subject is structurally case licensed, i.e., that neither clitic intervenes for structural case licensing between *f* and the subject. The fact that neither clitic intervenes for structural case licensing is attributed to the attract-all property on high *f*_{DAT}, which triggers movement of all clitics within its c-command domain to its specifiers. Contrast (33) with (34):

(33) Attract-All ✗



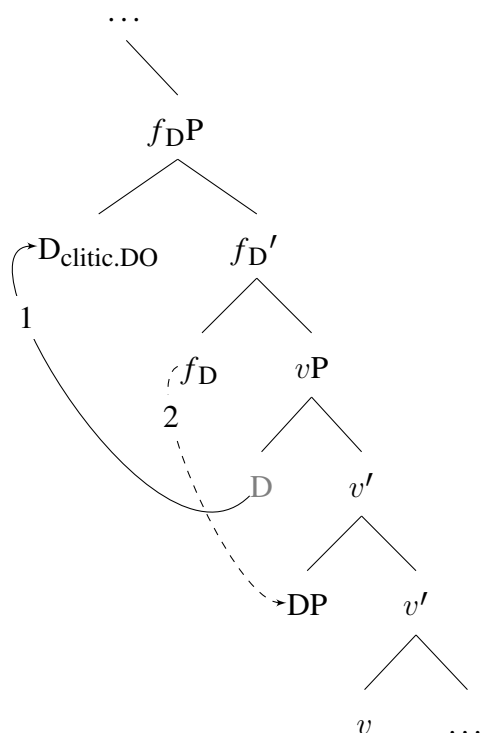
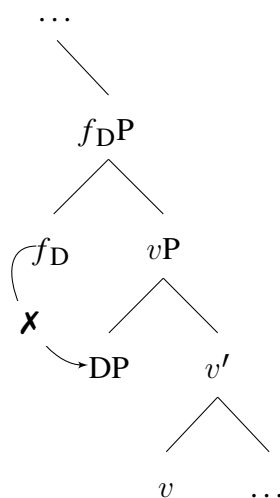
(34) Attract-All ✓



Consider the structure containing a clitic cluster and f_{DAT} that does not have the attract-all property (33). f_{DAT} first attracts the IO clitic to its specifier, which therefore no longer intervenes for structural case licensing. However, note that the DO clitic in high f_{D} 's specifier is structurally closer to f_{DAT} than the subject. Therefore, when f_{DAT} discharges its case feature, it structurally case licenses the DO clitic, not the subject. Without structural case in the syntax, *leaning* and *contract* are bled at PF, and the article heading the subject surfaces in its un-contracted form. On the other hand, if high f_{DAT} does have the attract-all property, as in (34), it attracts both clitics to its specifier before it discharges its structural case feature. See chapter 5 (section 5.2) for discussion of structural case licensing from a high f_{DAT} with the attract-all property.

It is important to highlight a key difference between structures containing attract-all- f_{DAT} and either a single DO clitic or a clitic cluster. In the former, f_{DAT} cannot attract the single DO clitic, though it can in the latter. In a structure containing a clitic cluster, attract-all- f_{DAT} successfully attracts a dative clitic, but it cannot do so in a structure containing a single DO clitic. In the case of a clitic cluster, attracting the IO (dative) clitic allows the f_{DAT} to continue probing, in line with its 'attract-all' property. This understanding of probing by f follows Richards' Principle of Minimal Compliance (PMC) (1997, 1998, 2001): after the requirement that f_{DAT} attracts a *dative* clitic specifically to its specifier is met, that requirement can be ignored for the rest of the derivation, and the head can continue to probe 'insatiably' (again, in keeping with its intrinsic, lexically specified 'attract-all' property) for any clitic that it c-commands, not just dative ones. In contrast, the requirement just mentioned is not satisfied if the only clitic in the structure is a DO clitic; what is more, because the DO clitic remains in *Spec,vP*, the clitic's licensing-via-movement requirement goes unsatisfied as well.

One final aspect concerning cliticization and f remains to be explicated. In particular, by hypothesis, f heads trigger movement only of clitics; they cannot trigger movement of a lexical DP. However, f can structurally case license lexical DPs, as well as clitics. For example, consider the sample derivations in (35-38):

(35) Case licensing of DP(36) No movement of lexical DP

As briefly noted above, in some permissive grammars of Galician, the features on f (triggering structural case licensing and movement) are stacked such that movement precedes case. This makes it possible for f to structurally case license a lexical DP. For example, as in (35), f_D first triggers movement of the DO clitic to its specifier, and then discharges its case feature, case licensing the closest nominal, which, after the clitic moves out of f_D 's c-command domain, is the subject in Spec, vP . In contrast, as depicted in (38), although f_D seeks to attract a syntactic object bearing a [CAT D] feature, it cannot trigger movement of a lexical DP, such as an external argument. If no element moves to its specifier, its structure-building feature remains unsatisfied, and the derivation crashes.¹² By this analysis, the inability of lexical DPs to satisfy the structure-building feature on f_D is due to a featural distinction between this class of nominals and clitics. Only the latter bear a [cl] feature (independent evidence for the existence of this feature will be provided shortly). I notate this in later sample derivations with the following notation: $[\bullet D_{cl} \bullet]$ for the feature on f_D , which attracts DO clitics; and $[\bullet DAT_{cl} \bullet]$ for the feature on f_{DAT} , which attracts dative clitics. In view of this feature, then, the relativized structure-building features on f must be further refined. f heads bear feature sets: CL-D and

12. Recall that external arguments (e.g., transitive subjects) do move from their base positions in Spec, vP , as Galician allows SVO constituent order (in fact, this is order is preferred for many speakers). However, as discussed in chapter 2, SVO constituent order is comes about as a result of a structure-building feature on T.

CL-DAT. The dative-selecting head, f_{DAT} , triggers movement to its specifier of nominals bearing dative case as well as the [cl] feature; f_{D} , triggers movement of nominals bearing both [CAT D] and [cl] features. Lexical DPs bear only a [CAT D] feature and therefore cannot satisfy the structure-building feature on any f head.

The existence of the [cl] feature has been argued for on independent grounds. For example, Newman (2020) argues for the existence of a structure-building feature [$\bullet cl \bullet$] based on Past Participle Agreement in Romance (see also Newman (2021) for discussion of a cl/ϕ -probe and Arregi and Nevins (2012) for additional arguments in support of a clitic feature). There is also Galician-internal evidence for the existence of the [cl] feature. For example, while lexical DPs can be sentence initial, clitics cannot be:

(37) **Os** mestres foron á escola.
the_{PL.M} teachers go_{3PL.PST} to.the_{SG.F} school
 ‘The teachers went to school.’

(38) **Os** mestres viu-nos ela xa.
the_{PL.M} teachers see_{3SG.PST-CL_{3PL.M.DO}} she already
 ‘The teachers she already saw.’

(39) Xa **os** viu ela.
 already **CL_{3PL.M.DO}** see_{3S.PST} she
 ‘She already saw them.’

(40) ***Os** viu ela xa.
CL_{3PL.M.DO} see_{3SG.PST} she already
 ‘She already saw them.’

As (37) exemplifies, an article heading a preverbal subject can be sentence initial. In contrast, as (39-40) show, a morphologically identical clitic cannot be: the clitic must instead be preceded by another element. Yet another difference between lexical DPs and clitics comes from how they undergo contraction. Recall that phonologically appropriate prepositions are hosts for article contraction. One such preposition is *por*, with which articles contract in restrictive and permissive idiolects of Galician. However, this same preposition cannot host contraction of a clitic, as shown in the examples below. The sentence in (42) is taken from Álvarez, Regueira, and Monteagudo (1989: 164).

(41) Pasa po-la estrada a=o sur.
 pass_{3SG.PRS} by-**the_{SG.F}** highway to=**the_{SG.M}** south
 ‘He goes on the highway southbound.’

- (42) Andei todo Lugo por **o** mercar.
 walk_{1SG.PST} all Lugo for CL_{3SG.M.DO} buy_{INF}
 ‘I walked all over Lugo in order to buy it.’
- (43) *Andei todo Lugo po-**lo** mercar.
 walk_{1SG.PST} all Lugo for-CL_{3SG.M.DO} buy_{INF}
 ‘I walked all over Lugo in order to buy it.’
- (44) Andei todo Lugo por merca-**lo**.
 walk_{1SG.PST} all Lugo for buy_{INF}-CL_{3SG.M.DO}
 ‘I walked all over Lugo in order to buy it.’

Contraction between the preposition and an article is well formed (41), but contraction between that preposition and a clitic is illicit (42-43). Note, though, that the clitic can surface to the right of the infinitive, which licitly hosts contraction of the clitic (44). Crucially, the sentence in (44) reveals that it cannot be the case that clitics simply do not undergo contraction in this context. Moreover, other elements that host article contraction cannot do so for clitics. In particular, a quantifier or strong pronoun can host article contraction, but neither can do so for clitics.¹³ In light of the clear differences in distribution and contraction between clitics and lexical DPs, as well as the independent (Galician-external) evidence mentioned above, the postulation of a [cl] feature seems well warranted.

In the next section, I investigate contraction of pronominal clitics in Galician. Although the primary focus of this dissertation is on contraction of the definite article, I offer a brief analysis of how contraction occurs between a clitic and a verbal complex and within a clitic cluster. I also comment on Kastner (2024), who argues for an alternative approach to understanding the differences in contraction between clitics and the definite article.

4.6 Analyzing Contraction of Clitics

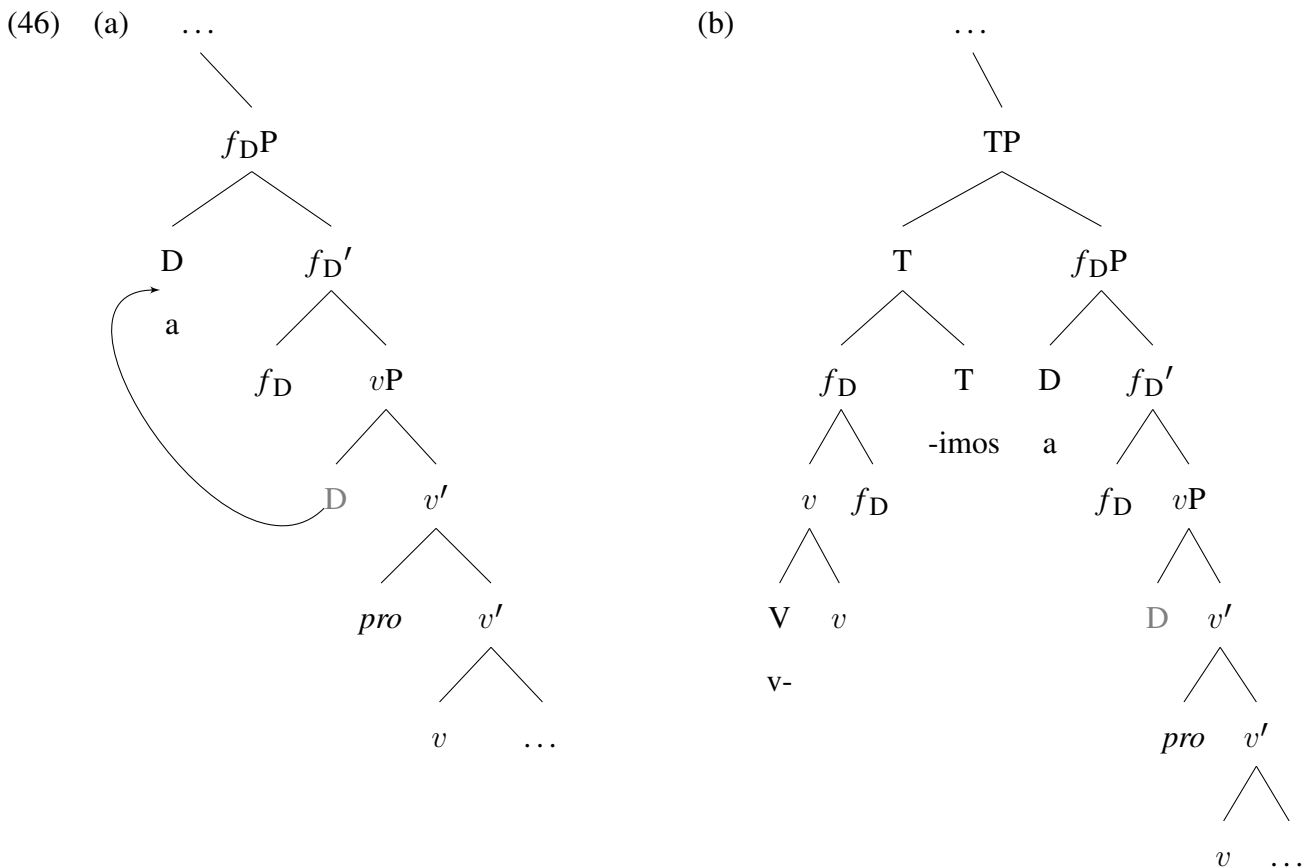
Recall that the third-person DO clitic is syncretic with the definite article.¹⁴ Both have a vowel-initial (or un-contracted) form and an *l*-initial allomorph that surfaces under contraction. When a DO clitic is adjacent to a phonologically appropriate host, the *l*-initial allomorph appears:

13. Two speakers I consulted did, in fact, accept contraction between a quantifier and clitic. For example, these speakers accepted contraction in the following sentence: *tódo-lo leron* ‘Everyone read it.’ The vast majority of speakers, however, reject contraction between these two elements, accepting only an un-contracted clitic: *todos o leron*.

14. The two are not fully syncretic; the DO clitic has allomorphs that the article does not. However, for the purposes of this analysis, only the two forms associated with *l*-contraction are relevant.

- (45) *Vímo-la*. *vimos + a* → *vímo-la*
 see_{1PL.PST}-CL_{3SG.F}.DO
 ‘We saw her.’

As (45) reveals, if a host of cliticization, such as a verbal complex, is phonologically appropriate (has a final segment of /s/ in this instance), the clitic undergoes *l*-contraction. I propose that contraction of a clitic occurs because it is licensed in the syntax, which feeds the requisite PF operations needed to generate *l*-contraction. While a definite article is assumed to be licensed by structural case, clitics must be licensed via movement (although they can receive structural case). I provide a sample derivation for contraction of the DO clitic in (45):



The clitic is licensed in the syntax by undergoing movement to f_D 's specifier (likewise f_D is licensed by attracting the clitic to its specifier) (46a). GenHM generates the verbal complex, which is pronounced in T, the highest strong position (46b). I argued in chapter 2 that leaning of a definite article only takes place if it is structurally case licensed in the syntax. In addition, leaning must group together an article and its licenser in the same prosodic word. I propose a similar constraint for pronominal clitics. A clitic only undergoes leaning at PF if it is licensed via movement to f 's specifier,

and leaning must yield a prosodic word containing a clitic and its licenser (f). Because the clitic is licensed via movement to f_D 's specifier in (46a), it leans onto the verbal complex at PF, as depicted in (47):

$$(47) (\omega [\mu \text{ vimos}]) (\omega [\mu \text{ a}]) \rightarrow (\omega [\mu \text{ vimos}] [\mu \text{ a}]) \quad (48) \text{ vimos} + \text{a} \rightarrow \text{vímo-la}$$

Leaning yields a prosodic word containing the clitic and its licenser, f_D (which is a constituent of the verbal complex) (47). Since this requirement of leaning is satisfied, and because the verb is phonologically appropriate, the *contract* rule gives rise to the relevant segmental changes (48). For an alternative account of contraction between articles versus clitics, see the discussion of Kastner (2024) later in this section.

For both a third-person DO clitic and a definite article, the *l*-initial allomorph is a morphophonological reflex of syntactic licensing, whether via movement for the former, or structural case licensing for the latter. But because of the phonological constraints on *l*-contraction, the *l*-initial allomorph surfaces only in phonologically appropriate contexts. That is, a clitic or article may be syntactically licensed and form a prosodic word with its licenser, but if the host element does not have a final segment of /r/ or /s/, the vowel-initial allomorph surfaces. For example, consider the sentences in (49-50):

(49) Os estudiantes aprobaron o exame.
 the_{PL.M} students pass_{3PL.PST} **the**_{SG.M} exam
 ‘The students passed the exam.’

(50) Non o vimos os amigos (de María).
 neg **CL**_{3SG.M.DO} see_{1PL.PST} the_{PL.M} friends (of María)
 ‘Her friends/María’s friends didn’t see him.’

By hypothesis the object is structurally case licensed by v in restrictive and permissive grammars. Structural case licensing feeds leaning, and leaning feeds the phonological *contract* rule. However, in (49), the vowel-initial form of the article surfaces, not the *l*-initial allomorph. The absence of the *l*-initial allomorph is not due to absence of structural case licensing of the object, but, rather, because the verbal complex is not a phonologically appropriate host, i.e., it does not have a final segment of /r/ or /s/. The same is true of the DO clitic in (50). The clitic is syntactically licensed via movement to high f_D 's specifier, yet it appears in its the vowel-initial form.¹⁵

15. The clitic does, however, undergo contraction with negation. There is variation with respect to how this contraction

In clauses containing an enclitic cluster, I propose that both clitics undergo leaning. As the sentence in (51) reveals, contraction occurs between the two clitics:

- (51) Mandóu-**no-lo**. *mandou + nos + o* → *mandóu-no-lo*
 send_{3SG.PST}-**CL_{1PL.DAT}**-**CL_{3SG.M.DO}**
 ‘She sent it to us.’

When the terminal nodes are linearized, an IO clitic is right-adjacent to the verbal complex, and the DO right-adjacent to the IO. I assume that the IO clitic undergoes leaning onto the verbal complex, and the DO onto the prosodic word formed by leaning of the IO in the previous step of leaning. The sentence in (51) would have the partial derivation in (51) (I say partial because it excludes the relevant operations in the syntax):

- (52) (ω [μ mandou]) (ω [μ nos]) (ω [μ o]) → (ω [μ mandou] [μ nos] [μ o])

- (53) *mandou + nos + a* → *mandou-no-la*

Because both clitics undergo movement to the specifier of their respective *f* heads (the IO clitic to *f_{DAT}*, and the DO clitic to *f_D*), leaning applies, grouping together each clitic and its respective licensor (both *f* heads, which are constituents of the verbal complex) (52). Leaning subsequently creates a phonological domain in which *contract* applies (53).

Clitic clusters appear not only postverbally but also preverbally. Contraction in a proclitic cluster occurs between the two clitics, just as it does for an enclitic cluster:

- (54) Non **no-lo** enviou a avoá.
 NEG **CL_{1PL.DAT}**-**CL_{3SG.M.DO}** send_{3SG.PST} the_{SG.F} grandmother
 ‘Grandmother did not send it to us.’

Contraction occurs between the IO and DO clitic (as in (54)), deleting the final segment of the former, as for an enclitic cluster. Identical to an enclitic cluster, both clitics in a proclitic cluster must be grouped together into the same prosodic word as their licensor:

- (55) (ω [μ nos]) (ω [μ o]) (ω [μ enviou]) → (ω [μ nos] [μ o] [μ enviou])

is realized, but one possible realization of contraction between negation and the clitic is *no-no*. Note, though, that contraction between a third-person DO clitic and negation is expressed in oral speech but never appears in the orthography (Álvarez, Regueira, & Monteagudo 1989).

(56) nos + **o** + enviou → no-**lo**-enviou

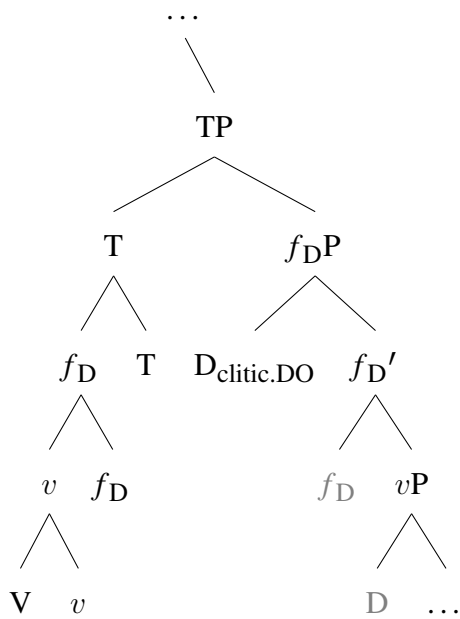
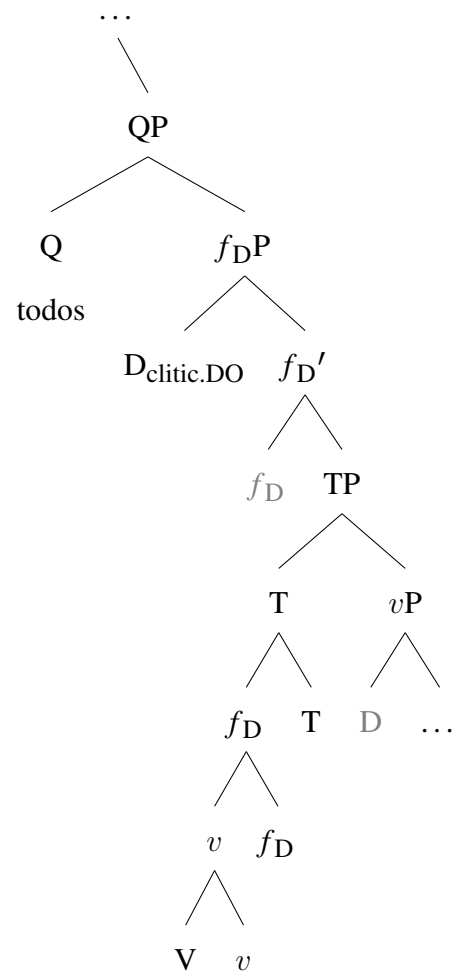
Both clitics are licensed via movement in the syntax, and therefore leaning applies at PF. The verbal complex in T contains the high *f* heads. Both clitics lean rightward: the IO on the right-adjacent DO clitic, and the DO clitic onto the verbal complex. Critically, leaning yields a prosodic word containing the clitics and their licensors (both *f* heads) (55). Leaning then feeds *contract* (56). I also assume a single proclitic leans on the verbal complex, which contains *f*, its licensor.

It is important to note that a proclitic does not lean onto a proclitic trigger. For example, consider the sentence below:¹⁶

(57) Todos **o** viron. (*Tódo-**lo** leron.)
all **cl**_{3SG.M.DO} read_{3PL.PST}
'Everyone saw him.'

Although the quantifier, *todos*, is a left-adjacent element with a final segment of /s/, the DO proclitic remains un-contracted. Proclisis triggers therefore obligatorily force a clitic to be preverbal, but nonetheless cannot be hosts of leaning. By this analysis, a trigger cannot be a host for leaning because it is not the syntactic licensor of the clitic. Consider the examples below:

16. Two speakers did accept contraction in this context. The vast majority of speakers, however, reject contraction between a proclitic and phonologically appropriate trigger. As noted in footnote 15, however, a DO proclitic does contract with negation.

(58) Enclisis(59) Proclisis

As in (58), an enclitic undergoes leaning because the verbal complex contains its licenser, namely, low f_D . In contrast, as in (59), although the DO proclitic is adjacent to the quantifier (a proclisis trigger), leaning cannot occur because the clitic would not be contained in the same prosodic word as its licenser (high f_D). Although the quantifier and the verbal complex in T are both heads, and although both are left-adjacent to the clitic at PF, only the latter can be a host for leaning because it contains f , the licensing head. Specifically, in instances of both pro- and enclisis, f heads are constituents of the complex head pronounced in T. Therefore, both pro- and enclitics lean onto the verbal complex/complex head in T.

Another approach to contraction of clitics and the definite article that is compatible with that proposed in this dissertation is Kastner's (2024). Kastner examines a range of contraction types in Galician, including *l*-contraction, and advances a phonological approach to contraction. A full review of the various types of contraction and how a clitic versus definite article undergoes these contraction types falls outside the scope of this analysis. However, his account of *l*-contraction is directly relevant and

therefore warrants discussion. Examples (60-61) are adapted from Kastner (2024, ex. 5):

(60) *Cóme-lo* pan. / *Comes o* pan.
eat_{2SG.PRS}-**the**_{SG.M} bread / eat_{2SG.PRS} **the**_{SG.M} bread
'You eat the bread.'

(61) *Cóme-lo.* (**Comes o.*)
eat_{2SG.PRS}-**CL**_{3SG.M.DO}
'You eat it.'

I simplify the details of Kastner's account but provide the aspects pertinent to this analysis. Specifically, the definite article and clitic are segmental clitics that are concatenated with a floating subsegmental bundle. When these floating features dock (to borrow Kastner's terminology) onto a final /r/ or /s/ segment, it overwrites certain phonological values on these segments, which results in the realization of the *l*-allomorph. Further, Kastner submits that a definite article wants to cliticize onto a host but is heavy enough to a host on its own. A clitic, on the other hand, must cliticize, since it is not heavy enough to act as a host independently. Concerning the phonological aspect of *l*-contraction, Kastner's account could easily be combined the analysis in this dissertation. In particular, it may be that the *contract* rule proposed here could be reformulated as Kastner's floating-features-based approach. The optional versus obligatory status of contraction for clitics and articles is, however, a more complex issue, which I discuss in the following section.

4.7 Remaining Issues

In this section, I briefly comment on some aspects of clitics Galician of which I do not have an analysis, but that warrant discussion nonetheless.

The first concerns the matter of optionality of contraction. Citing Dubert García (2014), Kastner observes that a definite article need not contract with a host, i.e., it can remain un-contracted (60), but a pronominal clitic obligatorily contracts with a host (61). All speakers with whom I collaborated (including speakers of contraction-free grammars) judge contraction of clitics to be obligatory, in both speech and written language. However, contraction of the article is more challenging to characterize. Some speakers display what can reasonably be called true optionality, i.e., these speakers accept a

contracted and un-contracted article in the same context. Other speakers judge the contracted form to be the correct oral form, and the un-contracted one to be correct written form. Another group of speakers report the opposite pattern (contracted as the written form, and un-contracted as the spoken). Some speakers generally reject contraction between an article at the clausal level (e.g., a verbal complex), but accept it nominal-internal elements and P. And in some contraction-free grammars, the definite article never undergoes contraction. Finally, some speakers judge article contraction at the clausal level to be optional but obligatory with P or certain nominal-internal elements, e.g., quantifiers, as pointed out by Álvarez Cáccamo (1989), Uriagereka (1996), and Gupton and Gravely (2020). Kaster notes that Galician displays dialectal variation, and that the variety he analyzes is that spoken in Santiago de Compostela. A more comprehensive account of article contraction, however, must account for the varying behaviors of the article.

The second aspect of clitics in Galician on which I have not commented is interpolation, i.e., certain elements can intervene between a clitic and a verbal complex. (62-63) are taken from Álvarez, Regueira, and Monteagudo (1989) and were given to speakers of different idiolects.

(62) Fai o que **eu** *che* digo.
do_{IMPR} the_{3SG.M} COMP **I** CL_{2SG.DAT} say_{1SG.PRS}
‘Do what I tell you.’

(63) ^MFai o que *che* **eu** digo.
do_{IMPR}. the_{3SG.M} COMP CL_{2SG.DAT} **I** say_{1SG.PRS}
‘Do what I tell you.’

All speakers that I consulted judge (62) to be well formed. In contrast, some speakers allow interpolation with proclisis. That is, in some idiolects of Galician, a strong pronoun can licitly intervene between the proclitic and the verb, as depicted in (63). Many speakers find this construction marked, and judge it either to be archaic or literary sounding, or a means of focusing the subject in some way. I notate markedness with superscript *M*. Further, according to Álvarez, Regueira, and Monteagudo (1989), other elements can appear between a verb and proclitic: a DO strong pronoun (e.g., *min* ‘me’) (note that the sentences in (62-63) contain a subject strong pronoun); an adverb (e.g., *alí* ‘there’); or negation (*non*) (1989: 205-206). In contrast, nothing can appear between an enclitic and a verb:

(64) Digo-*ch-o* **eu.** *che + o* → *cho*
say_{1SG.PRS}-CL_{2SG}-CL_{3SG.M} **I**

'I'm telling it to you.'

- (65) *Digo-**eu-ch-o**.
say_{1SG.PRS}-**I**-CL_{2SG}-CL_{3SG.M}
'I'm telling it to you.'

As in (64), the order VERB - CLITIC(S) - SUBJECT (strong pronoun) is licit; by contrast, the subject strong pronoun cannot intervene between the clitic(s) and verb (65).¹⁷

Finally, this analysis makes a clear prediction regarding speakers of permissive grammars who also accept interpolation. Consider the sentences in (66-67):

- (66) María dixo que non o vimo-**los** amigos.
María say_{3SG.PST} COMP NEG CL_{3SG.M}.DO see_{1PL.PST}-**thePL.M** friends
'María said that her friends didn't see her.'
- (67) María dixo que o non vimos **os** amigos.
María say_{3SG.PST} COMP CL_{3SG.M}.DO NEG see_{1PL.PST} **thePL.M** friends
'María said that her friends didn't see her.'

The account for well-formed contraction in (66) is that the subject is structurally case licensed by high f_D , and because f is contained in the verbal complex in T, the article heading the transitive subject undergoes leaning at PF. However, in cases of interpolation, such as that in (67), high f_D is assumed not to be contained in the verbal complex in T. Therefore, we predict contraction in (67) to be ill formed. Specifically, although the article heading the subject is structurally case licensed, it cannot undergo leaning because the verbal complex does not contain f , the subject's structural case licensor. At this point, however, I have nothing to add concerning interpolation in proclisis, and I leave this as a puzzle for future research.

In the next chapter, I investigate article contraction in sentences containing clitics for restrictive and contraction-free grammars of Galician, and I demonstrate how the relative timing of derivational operations plays a crucial role in giving rise to the patterns of contraction and non-contraction observed.

17. Note that *cho* in (64-65) is a clitic cluster: a contraction between the second-person singular clitic *che* and the third-person DO masculine clitic *o*. For further reference on contraction of this sort, the reader is referred to Álvarez, Regueira, and Monteagudo (1989) and Álvarez and Xove (2002).

4.8 Summation of Clitics and Cliticization

In summation of the previous sections, the analysis of clitics advanced here is as follows. There is a three-way distinction between DO and dative clitics; DO clitics are D's, while datives can be K or P. Enclisis and proclisis is generated via movement of a clitic to its corresponding low or high f head. Specifically, f_{DAT} is case-discriminating and attracts only K's and P's to its specifier; while a f_{D} is category-discriminating and attracts only D's to its specifier. Further, f heads are case licensors. The ordering of features on f heads (Case > Move) or (Move > Case) either bleed or feed structural case licensing to a transitive subject. I argue in the next chapter the integral role of derivational timing in accounting for idiolectal variation. Finally, clitics, like lexical DPs, must be licensed in the syntax; a clitic, however, are licensed via movement to the specifier of its designated f head. Licensing-via-movement in the syntax feeds leaning at PF. Clitics undergo leaning like the definite article. Note, though, that a proclitic does lean to the left (like the article or enclitics) since the clitic would not be contained in the same prosodic word as its licensor (f). In this context, a clitic instead leans rightward.

In the next chapter, I turn to idiolectal variation involving contraction from a transitive subject. I show how the analysis of clitics posited in this chapter accounts for the wide range of variation Galician exhibits.

Chapter 5

Interactions between Article Contraction and Clitics

5.1 A Brief Overview of Galician Grammars

This chapter expands on the profile of microvariation introduced in chapter 3. Specifically, I argue that the landscape of variation in article contraction becomes even more complex when we expand the scope of inquiry to include clauses that contain clitics. As I proposed in chapter 2, variation arises in clauses not containing clitics is due to structural case licensing (or the absence thereof). I argue in this chapter that microvariation concerning article contraction in clauses containing clitics allows us to better understand how derivational timing, along with structural case licensing, creates distinct idiolectal patterns.

As discussed in chapter 2 (section 2.6) and chapter 3 (section 3.6), there are permissive idiolects of Galician in which a transitive subject licitly launches article contraction in a sentence without clitics. For example, consider the example in (1):

- (1) Fixémo-**los** panadeiros o pan.
make_{IPL.PST}-**the**_{PL.M} bakers the_{SG.M} bread
'We bakers made the bread.'

In all permissive idiolects, contraction between a verbal complex and article heading a transitive subject is well formed when a sentence does not contain a clitic. Crucially, however, this uniform pattern of licit contraction across permissive idiolects changes when sentences contain clitics. In sentences

(4) **Middle Permissive**

%Deu-nos a avoa o regalo.
give_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT} **the**_{SG.F} grandmother the_{SG.M} gift
'Grandmother gave us the gift.'

In this grouping of idiolects (middle permissive), whether contraction from a transitive subject is licit depends on the kind of clitic (IO versus DO), the position of the clitic (pro- versus enclitic), or, in some grammars, both. For example, as illustrated in (4), contraction from a transitive subject with an IO enclitic is acceptable in some middle permissive grammars, but ill formed in others. Middle permissive grammars therefore contrast with high and low permissive grammars in that only in the former do the kind and position of the clitic play a role in the acceptability of contraction. Contraction from a transitive subject is invariably well formed in high permissive grammars, while contraction from a transitive subject is only acceptable when a sentence does not contain a clitic in low permissive grammars.

I argue that these three categories of permissive grammars are the product of the ordering of features on *f*. Recall from chapter 4 that *f* heads have two features: (1) a structure-building feature that attracts a particular clitic to their specifiers; and (2) a structural-case-licensing feature. Recall further that there are high *f* heads that yield proclisis, and low *f* heads that give rise to enclisis. By hypothesis, the two features on *f* heads can be freely ordered. For example, the features on a low *f* head can be ordered so that the structure-building feature precedes the case-licensing one, while a high *f* head can bear the opposite ordering. Finally, as discussed in chapter 4, there is one category-discriminating *f* that attracts only DO clitics to its specifier, and a case-discriminating *f* that attracts only dative clitics to its specifier. These parameters give rise to high permissive, low permissive, and multiple types of middle permissive grammars (some more restrictive than others). I discuss middle permissive grammars in section 5.4. Firstly, however, I analyze high and low permissive grammars, the former in section 5.2, and the latter in section 5.3. I show that high and low permissive idiolects can be straightforwardly accounted for if we assume that all *f* heads in these grammars have the same ordering of features. Specifically, in high permissive grammars, for all *f*'s, the order of features is such that the structure-building feature is ordered before the structural-case-licensing feature (Move > Case). In contrast, in low permissive grammars, all *f* heads have the opposite ordering of features: Case > Move. The former ordering of features ensures that clitics are never interveners for structural

case licensing from f to the subject, while the latter ensures that clitics always intervene for structural case licensing, thereby bleeding the later operations at PF needed to generate article contraction.

The remainder of this chapter is organized as follows. Sections 5.5-5.6 investigate contraction from a postverbal transitive subject in a clause containing clitics in restrictive and contraction-free grammars. I show that restrictive and low permissive grammars pattern together in terms of contraction from a transitive subject in a clause containing clitics. In both grammars, f is assumed not to be a structural case licenser, i.e., the functional has only Move. Section 5.7 analyzes contraction from a direct object in a ditransitive clause containing a clitic, which is well formed in restrictive and permissive grammars. This cross-idioclectal uniformity I attribute to v as a structural case licenser in the aforementioned grammars. Section 5.8 discusses parallels between nominal behaviors in Zulu and Galician, which corroborate the case-based analysis to article contraction advanced here. Finally, conclusions to this chapter are in section 5.8.

5.2 High Permissive Grammars: Move Always Precedes Structural Case

If we assume that the features on f can be freely ordered, one prediction that the analysis then makes is that all f heads in one grammar will have the same order of features. More specifically, we predict that on high and low f_{D} , the functional heads that attract DO clitics, as well as on high and low f_{DAT} , the functional heads that attract IO clitics, Move is ordered before Case. I argue that this prediction is indeed borne out: in a high permissive grammar, all f heads have this ordering. However, before presenting the analysis in detail, it is necessary to discuss the relevant patterns of article contraction from a transitive subject in high permissive grammars.

Because a complete analysis of high permissive grammars necessarily entails accounting for a range of patterns, I divide the discussion in this section into several subsections. I first present an analysis of contraction from a transitive subject in clauses containing a single DO clitic (both enclitic and proclitic) in section 5.2.1. The next subsection (5.2.2) analyzes contraction from a transitive subject in clauses containing a single IO clitic, again both en- and proclitic. Finally, subsection 5.2.3 focuses on contraction from a transitive subject in clauses containing pro- and enclitic clusters.

5.2.1 Contraction from a Transitive Subject and DO Clitics

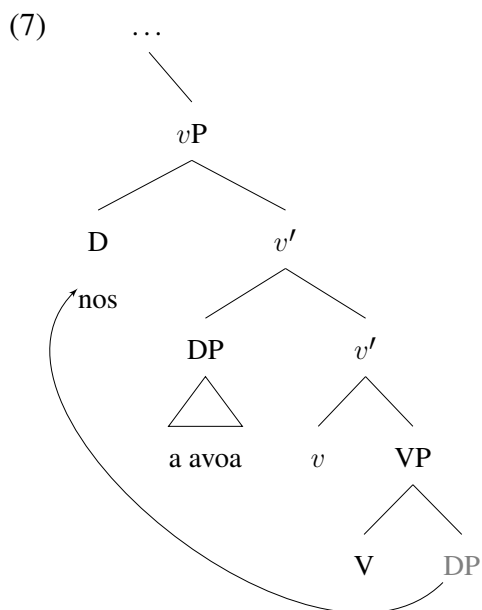
In a high permissive idiolect, contraction from a postverbal transitive subject is acceptable if the clause contains a DO clitic.¹

- (5) **Bicóu-no-la** avoa.
 kiss<sub>3SG.PST-CL_{1PL.DO}-**the_{SG.F}** grandmother
 ‘Grandmother kissed us.’</sub>

- (6) Non a vímo-**los** amigos de María.
 not CL_{3SG.F.DO} see_{1PL.PST}-**the_{PL.M}** friends of María
 ‘We, María’s friends, did not see her.’

Contraction from a transitive subject is well formed whether the DO is enclitic, as in (5), or proclitic, as in (6).

I argue that this pattern is due to the fact that the ordering of features on high and low f_D is Move > Case. A sample derivation for (5) is provided below.



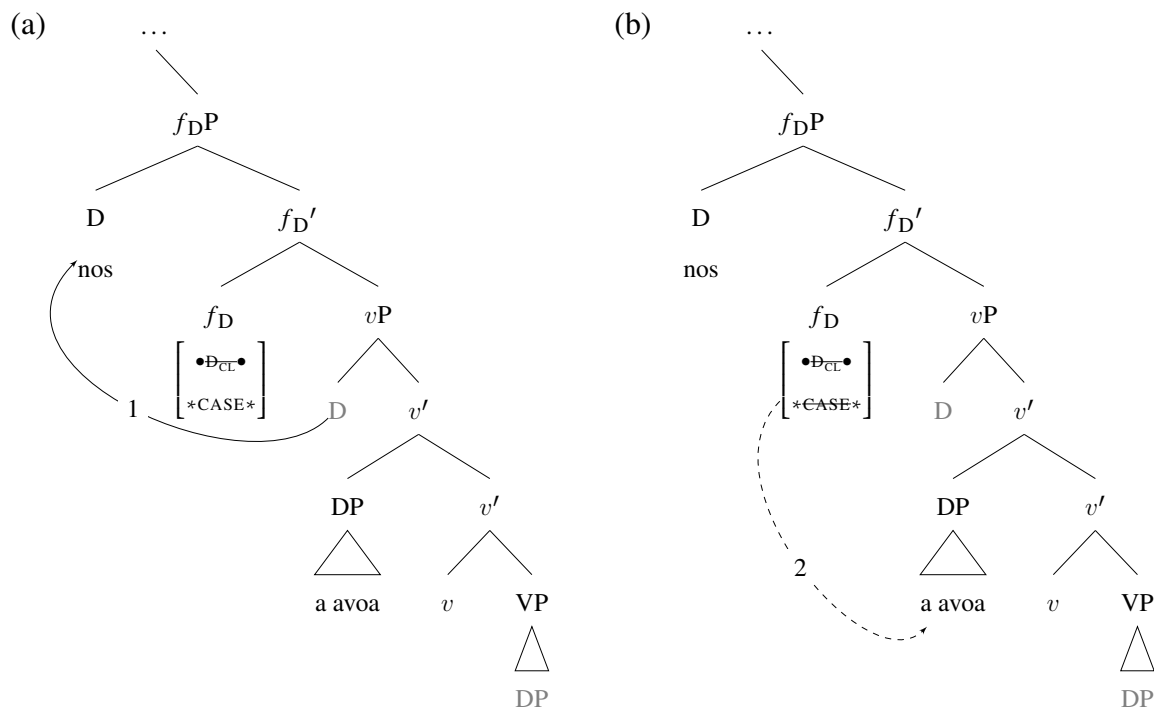
As discussed in chapter 4, a clitic first moves from its base position to an outer specifier of v , above

1. Some speakers of high permissive idiolects exhibit a person-based restriction on article contraction. For example, the sentence in (5) is ambiguous, since the clitic *nos* could be first person plural or third person plural (a third person DO clitic displays an *n*-initial allomorph when it follows a diphthong (Álvarez, Regueira, & Monteagudo 1989, Álvarez & Xove 2002, Kastner 2024)). Some speakers of high permissive idiolects accept contraction from a subject in (5) but only if the clitic is interpreted as first person plural (i.e., ‘Grandmother saw us’). If the clitic is instead interpreted as third person (i.e., ‘Grandmother saw them’), contraction from the subject is ill formed. This asymmetry cannot be attributed to any phonological factors (the clitic has the same phonological shape, regardless of its person specification). I leave this puzzle for future research.

the subject (7).²

The next stage of the derivation is depicted below, with f being merged into the structure:

(8)

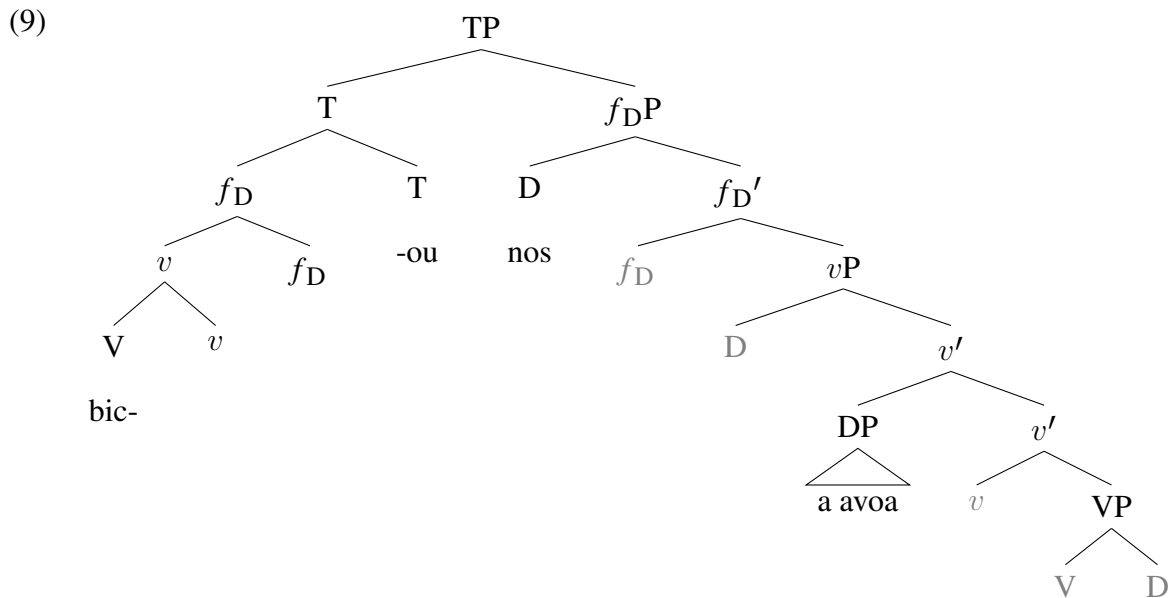


Recall from chapter 4 that licensing between f heads and clitics is reciprocal. If a clitic is present in a structure but not licensed by moving to the specifier of its corresponding f head, or, conversely, if f is merged into a structure and does not trigger movement of a clitic, the derivation crashes. After it is merged with vP , f_D discharges its first feature, which triggers movement of the clitic to its specifier (8a). After it undergoes movement to f_D 's specifier, the DO clitic is no longer within f_D 's c-command domain, and consequently not a potential intervener for structural case licensing. Therefore, when f_D discharges its second feature, structural case licensing, it case licenses the subject, which is now the nominal closest to f_D (8b). I omit T from the derivation above and in derivations throughout sections 5.2-5.3 for ease of exposition. Note, however, that when T is merged above low f_D , the DO clitic in f_D 's specifier marauds the head's structural case feature, as the DO clitic is the closest nominal that T c-commands. Further, since the DO clitic already bears structural case assigned by v (see footnote 2 above), it is structurally case licensed twice (by v and T). Under the maraudage-based account to

2. Note that v is hypothesized to be a structural-case licenser in restrictive and permissive grammars (see chapter 3, sections 3.5-3.6). Therefore, a DO pro- or enclitic in both types of idiolects is always structurally case licensed by v , just as lexical DP DO's are.

case licensing that I adopt (Assmann *et al.* 2015), a nominal can be structurally case licensed more than once without issue.³

After the remaining portion of the structure is built (e.g., merger of T with f_{DP}), GenHm creates a complex head associated with the relevant terminal nodes along the clausal spine.



GenHm produces a shared M-value that is associated with T, f_D , v , and V, but this M-value is pronounced in T, the highest strong position (see chapter 2 for discussion on GenHM).

After the syntax, the remainder of the derivation takes place at PF:

$$(10) \quad (\omega [\mu \text{ bicou}]) (\omega [\mu \text{ nos}]) (\omega [\mu \mathbf{a}]) \rightarrow (\omega [\mu \text{ bicou}] [\mu \text{ nos}] [\mu \mathbf{a}])$$

$$(11) \quad \text{nos} + \mathbf{a}_{[K]} \rightarrow \text{bicou-no-}\mathbf{la}$$

As I argued in chapters 3 and 4, leaning must be licensed by licensing in the syntax. For the clitic, licensing has taken place via movement to f_D 's specifier. Therefore, the clitic leans onto the verbal complex. The subject is structurally case licensed in the syntax by f_D , and therefore leaning also applies to its article. After two applications of leaning, a single prosodic word is generated, which contains the verbal complex, the clitic, the article heading the subject, and f_D (10). Crucially, this

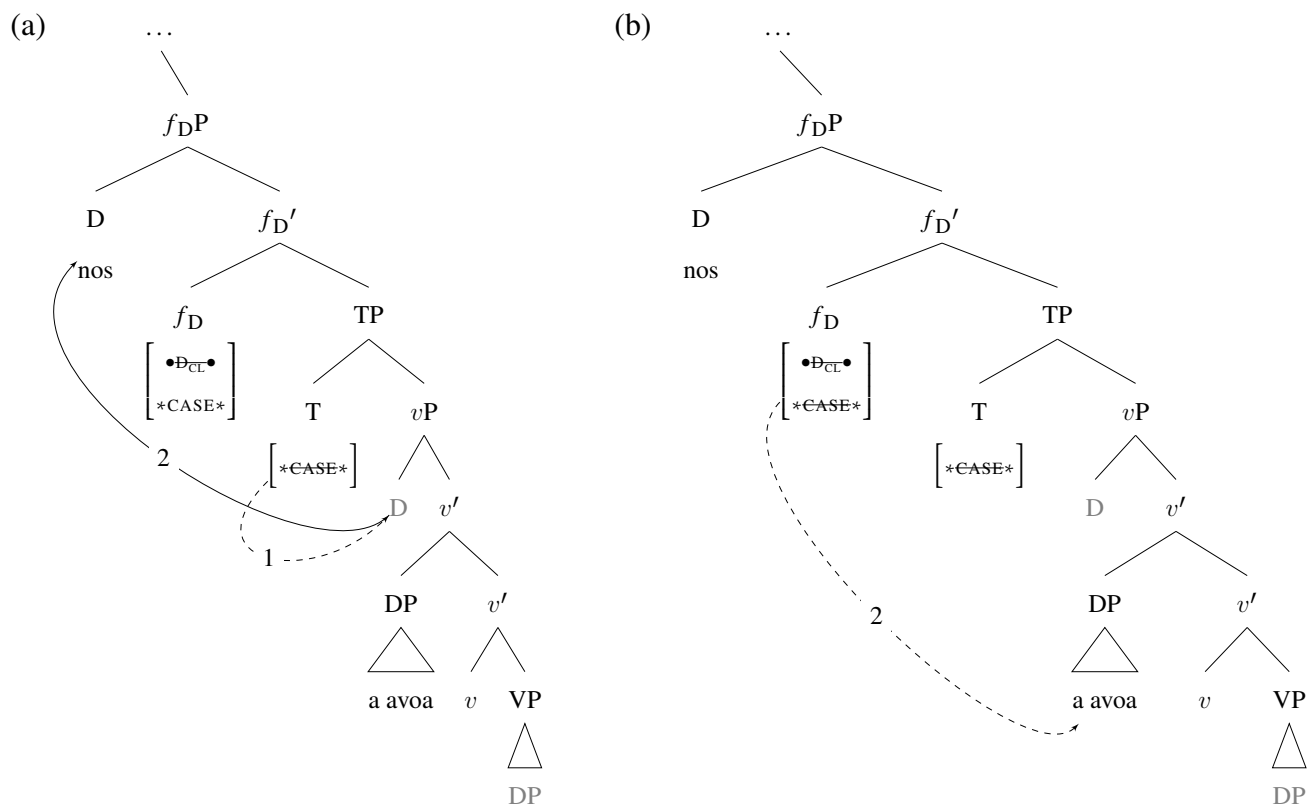
3. In all derivations for a DO clitic (pro- and enclitic) in a monotransitive or ditransitive clause across all types of permissive idiolects, I continue to assume that it is structurally case licensed by v . I do not represent this aspect of the derivations since it are not relevant to structural case licensing of transitive subjects. In addition, note that a clitic, whether -pro- or enclitic, uniformly marauds T's structural case feature across idiolect types in both mono- and ditransitive clauses.

prosodic word contains f_D , the structural case licenser of the subject and licenser-via-movement of the DO clitic. This prosodic word comprises a domain in which the *contract* rule applies, giving rise to the phonological changes associated with *l*-contraction (11).

One brief comment is in order regarding the DO clitic. Note that in (5), the clitic surfaces with an *n*-initial allomorph. This particular allomorph of the clitic appears after a diphthong, i.e., *nos* instead of *os* (Álvarez, Regueira, Monteagudo 1989, Álvarez Blanco & Xove 2002, Kastner 2024). Third-person DO clitics and the definite article are syncretic in Galician, except for the *n*-initial allomorph that is unique to the clitic.

As for contraction from a transitive subject in a clause containing a DO proclitic, such as that in (6), I advance an analysis similar to that for a sentence containing a DO enclitic. However, as I argued in chapter 4, a proclitic structure involves a high *f* head, above TP. Like an enclitic, a proclitic undergoes leaning on onto its licenser, *f*. Below is a sample derivation for (6):

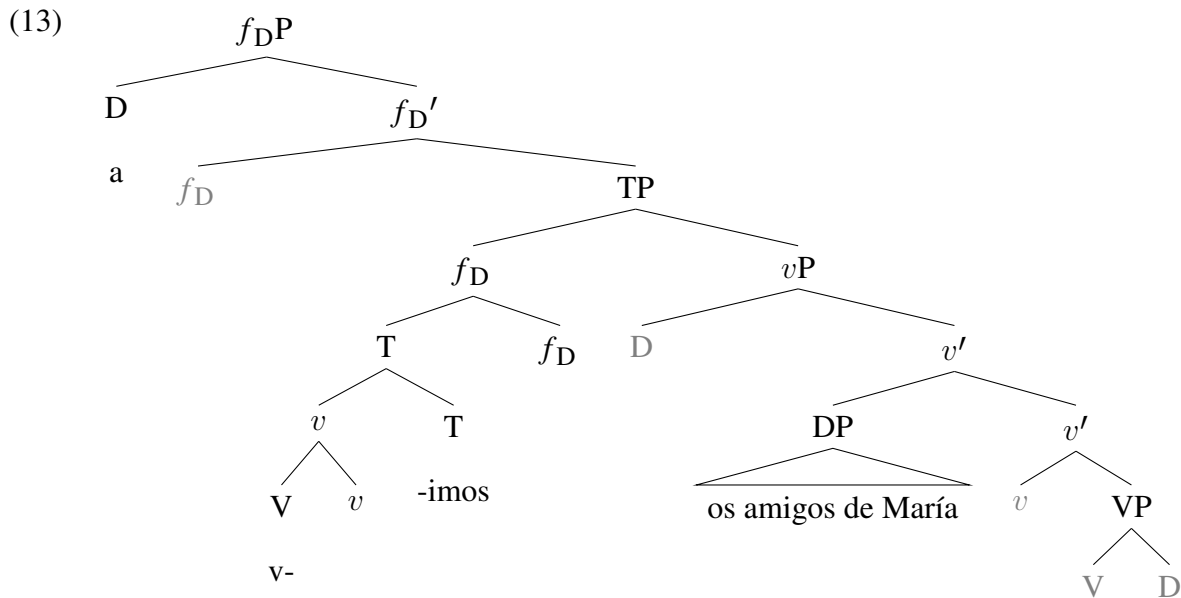
(12)



T is merged with *vP*, and discharges its structural case feature to the DO clitic in *v*'s specifier (recall

that T is the structural case licenser in permissive grammars). And like low f_D , high f_D discharges its first feature and triggers movement of DO clitic to its specifier (12a). After discharging its structure-building feature, f_D then discharges its second feature, structurally case licensing the subject (12b).

The remaining components of the derivation are illustrated in (13-15):



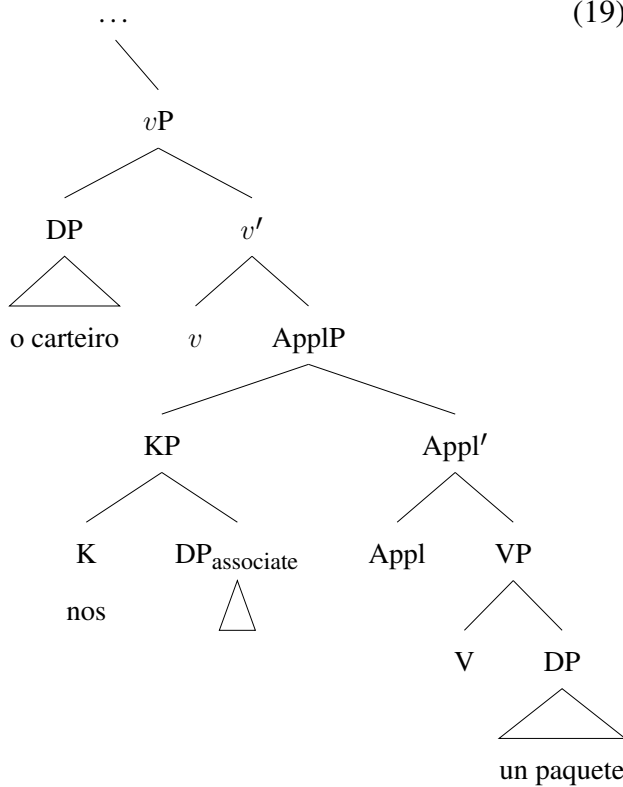
(14) $(\omega [\mu \mathbf{a}]) (\omega [\mu \mathbf{vimos}]) (\omega [\mu \mathbf{os}]) \rightarrow (\omega [\mu \mathbf{a}] [\mu \mathbf{vimos}] [\mu \mathbf{os}])$

(15) $\mathbf{a-vimos} + \mathbf{os}_{[K]} \rightarrow \mathbf{a-vimo-los}$

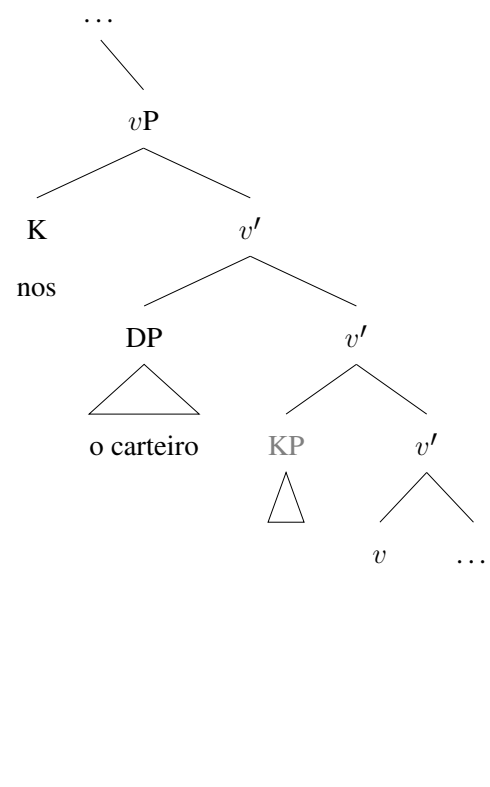
As shown in (13), GenHM produces a shared M-value associated with each relevant terminal node along the clausal spine in the syntax; this M-value is pronounced in T, the highest strong position (see chapter 4, section 4.6). At PF, two applications of leaning apply: one to the DO clitic, which leans onto the verbal complex, having been previously licensed via movement to f_D 's specifier; and another to the article, which leans onto the complex head composed of the verbal material and DO clitic (14). Importantly, this prosodic word contains the licenser of the clitic and the article, which, for both elements, is f_D . Lastly, leaning creates a prosodic domain in which *contract* applies (15).

Having analyzed contraction from a transitive subject in monotransitive clauses containing DO clitics, I turn to contraction from a transitive subject in ditransitive clauses containing a single IO clitic.

(18)

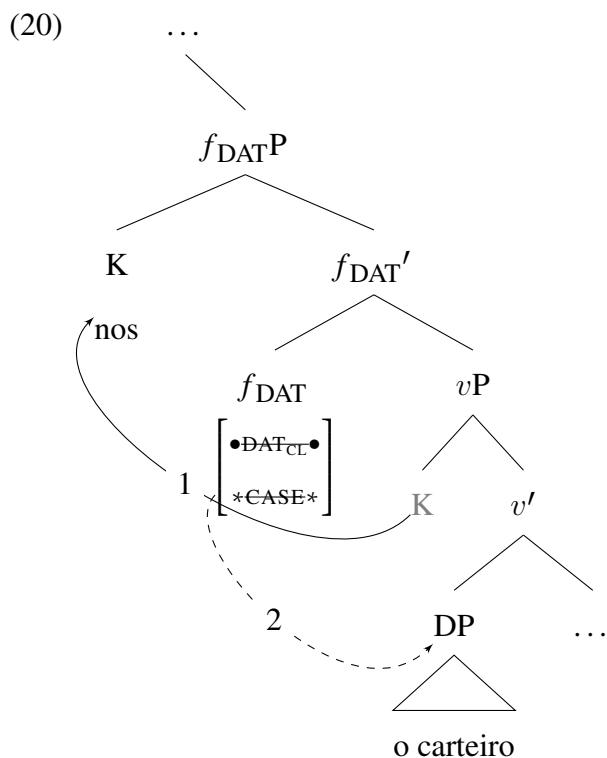


(19)



I adopt a high applicative structure for a ditransitive clause in Galician, in which v 's complement is ApplP (Pylkkänen 2008). As I argued in chapter 4, IO clitics are K 's heading a KP, as shown in (18). Further, recall that IO clitics bear structural dative case. To understand why the clitic surfaces as structural dative, I hypothesize that dative case is assigned via a configurational rule (Baker & Vinokurova 2010, Baker 2015, Puškar & Müller 2018). According to these researchers, if there are two distinct nominals in the same clause-internal spellout domain and one nominal c-commands the lower, structural dative is assigned to the c-commanding nominal (Baker & Vinokurova 2010: 5). Therefore, since the IO clitic c-commands the direct object DP, the former is assigned structural dative case. As in (19), the IO clitic, K , moves from its base position in KP to an outer specifier of v' , above the subject.

Given the reciprocal licensing between a clitic and f head, the latter must be merged into the structure for the derivation to converge, as illustrated in (20):



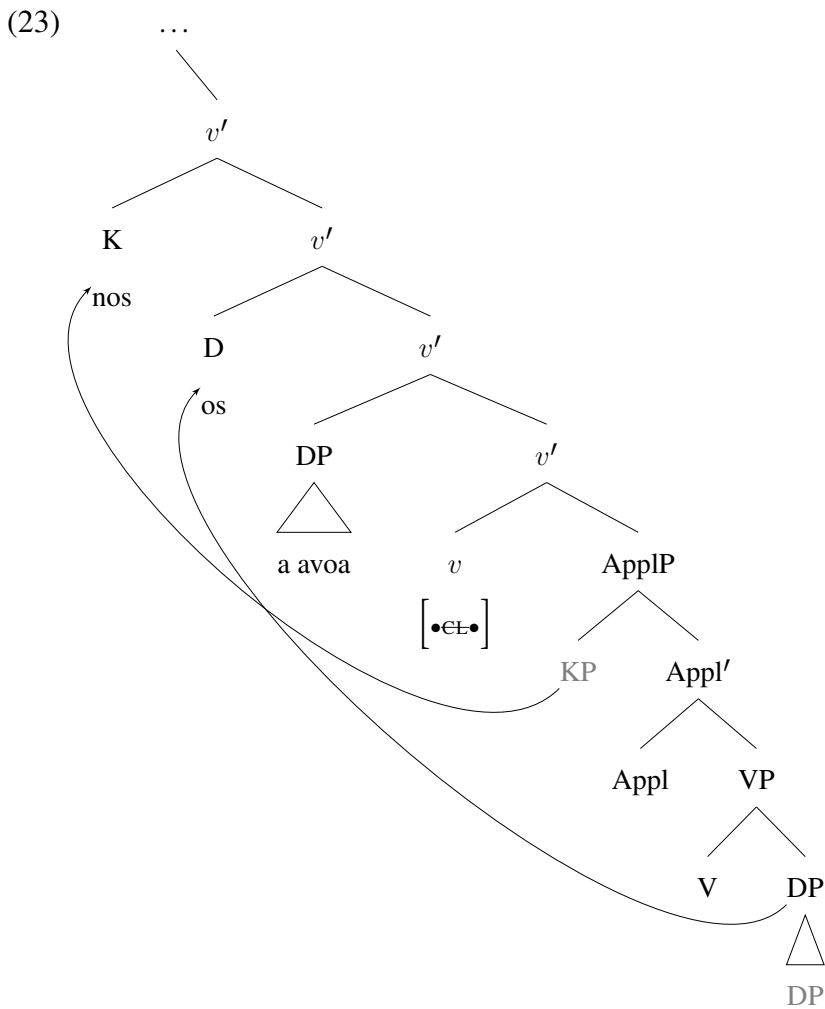
f_{DAT} is merged with $v\text{P}$. f_{DAT} discharges its first feature, and probes for a clitic bearing dative case; it encounters the IO clitic in an outer specifier of v , and triggers movement of the clitic to its specifier. f_{DAT} then discharges its second feature, structural case, to the closest nominal, which is the subject, given the prior application of movement of the IO clitic.

The same derivation holds for an IO proclitic in a ditransitive sentence (e.g., (17)) as for a DO proclitic in a monotransitive sentence (see section 5.2.1 (12-15)). The only point of difference is that the f head is a high f_{DAT} , the head that is case discriminating for datives, rather than high f_{D} , which is category discriminating for [CAT D] elements.

Contraction from a transitive subject in a clause containing a single DO or IO clitic is well formed irrespective of whether the clitic is pro- or enclitic. However, contraction from a transitive subject is not uniformly licit when it comes to clitic clusters. I analyze this pattern in the next subsection.

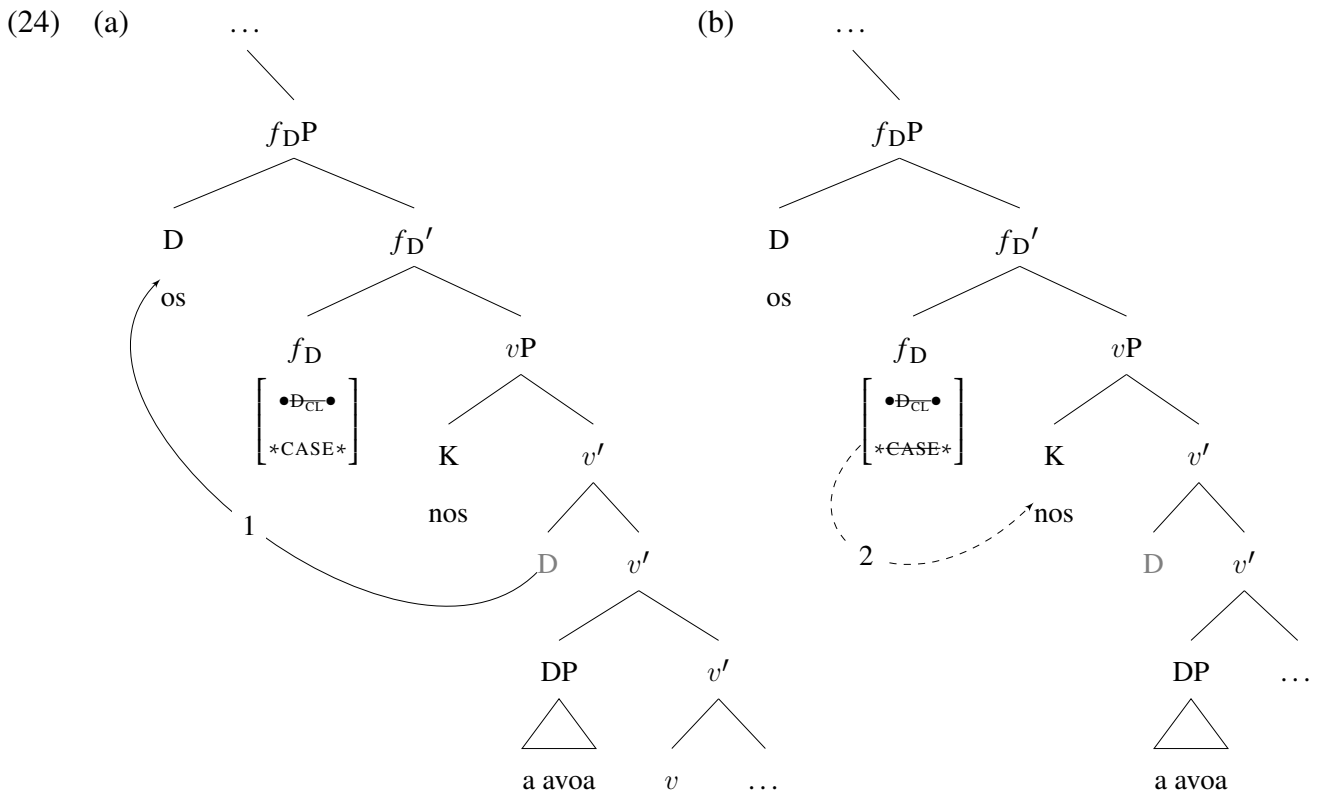
5.2.3 Contraction from a Transitive Subject and Clitic Clusters

Speakers of high permissive idiolects accept contraction from a transitive subject when a clause contains a proclitic cluster. However, none of the Galician speakers of high permissive grammars with whom I collaborated allow contraction between an enclitic cluster and article heading a postverbal



Recall from chapter 4 (section 4.2) that *v* bears a structure-building feature that triggers movement of clitics in its c-command domain to its specifier. Both clitics move from their base positions to outer specifiers of *v* above the subject (23). As argued in chapter 4, I assume that the surface order of clitics (IO > DO) is indicative of the underlying order. The IO clitic consequently moves to a specifier above the DO.

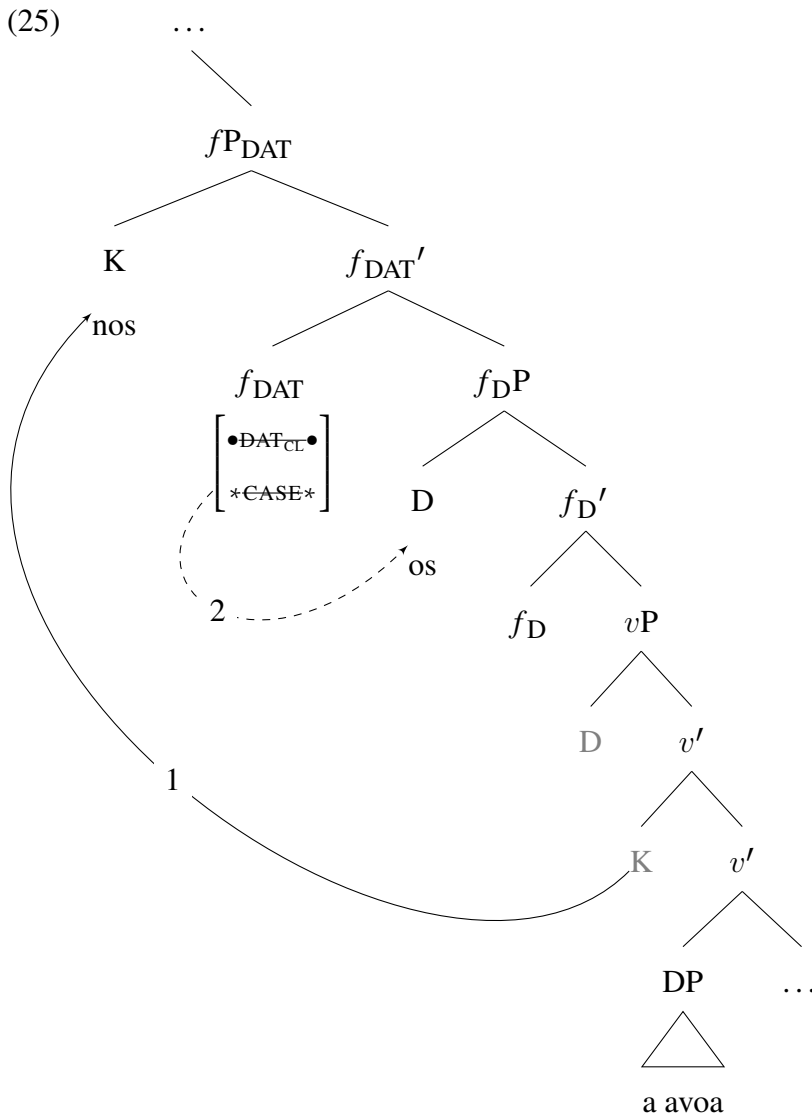
Since there are two clitics in the structure, there must also be a corresponding *f* head in order for reciprocal licensing between *f* and clitics to be satisfied. Each *f* head probes for its matching clitic:



As depicted in (24a), f_D first discharges its structure-building feature and probes for the DO clitic. f_D cannot probe for the IO clitic, since the latter is a K, and the former is category discriminating (probing only for [CAT D] clitics). f_D discharges its second feature, structural case licensing. The structurally closest nominal is the dative clitic, in the outermost specifier of v . Therefore, f_D structurally case licenses the IO clitic (24b). Although the IO clitic already bears structural dative case (assigned by a configurational case calculus; see (18)), it nonetheless marauds f_D 's case feature, preventing the lower subject from being structurally case licensed. Under Assmann *et al.*'s (2015) notion of maraudage, if a nominal bears a case feature that conflicts with the case feature on a probe, the derivation still succeeds: the nominal simply retains its original case feature. Therefore, the IO clitic retains its original case feature, namely, structural dative.⁶

Since there is an IO clitic, another f head is required, namely, f_{DAT} , whose features are ordered Move > Case, like f_D (see also (20)).

6. See chapter 6 for further discussion of how other types of dative clitics interact with structural case licensing.



f_{DAT} discharges its structure-building feature and triggers movement of the IO clitic to its specifier (recall that f_{DAT} is case discriminating and probes only for dative clitics, i.e., it cannot probe for the DO clitic). The IO clitic and f head are both licensed via movement to f_{DAT} 's specifier. f_{DAT} discharges its second feature and structurally case licenses the DO clitic in f_{D} 's specifier, which is the closest nominal to the licensing head (25). Note that T is later merged above low f_{DAT} and discharges its structural case feature, licensing the closest nominal, the IO clitic. Neither f head nor T is able to structurally case license the subject, which therefore must bear intrinsic case.

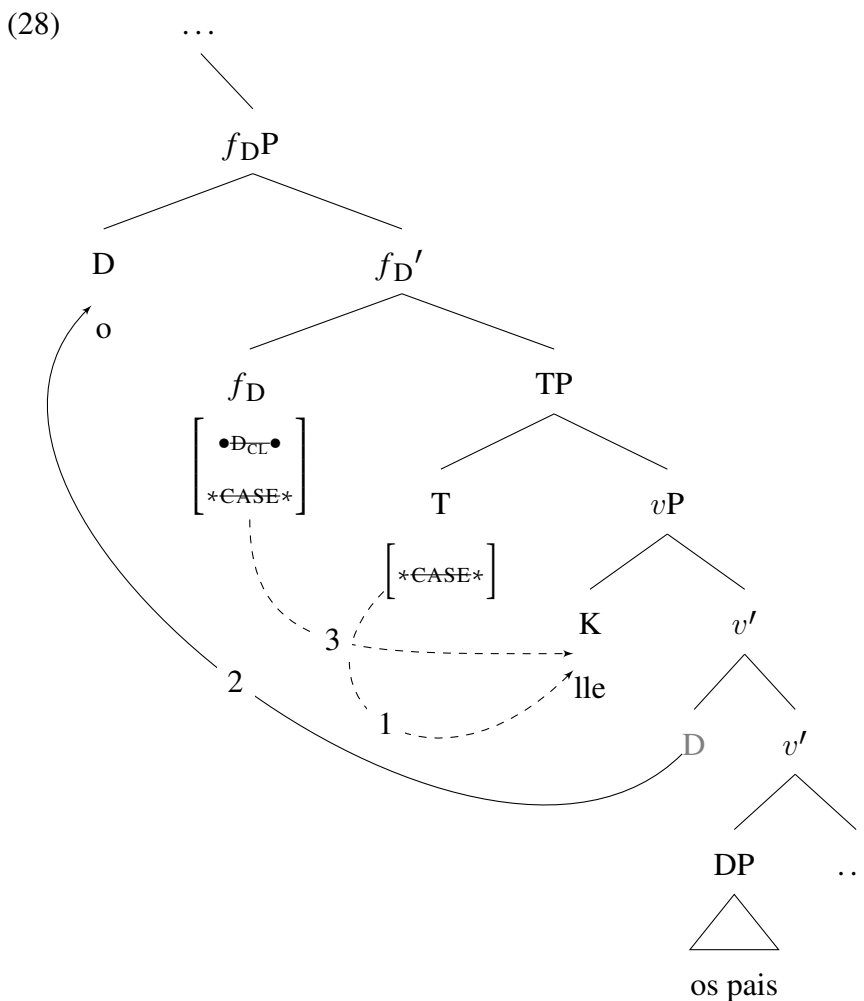
Since syntactic licensing has occurred for both clitics (via movement to the specifiers of their corresponding f heads), each clitic undergoes leaning:

$$(26) \quad (\omega [\mu \text{ deu}]) (\omega [\mu \text{ nos}]) (\omega [\mu \text{ os}]) (\omega [\mu \text{ a}]) \rightarrow (\omega [\mu \text{ deu}] [\mu \text{ nos}] [\mu \text{ os}]) (\omega [\mu \text{ a}])$$

$$(27) \quad \text{deu} + \text{nos} + \text{os} + \mathbf{a}_{[\text{I}]} \rightarrow \text{deu-no-los } \mathbf{a}$$

The IO clitic leans onto the adjacent verbal complex, and the DO clitic onto the IO. However, because the subject is intrinsically case licensed, leaning cannot apply to it; the article remains a distinct prosodic word (26). Because the two clitics are contained within the same prosodic word as their licensors (their respective f heads), and because the phonological conditions are met, *contract* applies, yielding *l*-contraction between the two clitics. The article heading the subject surfaces in its un-contracted form (27).

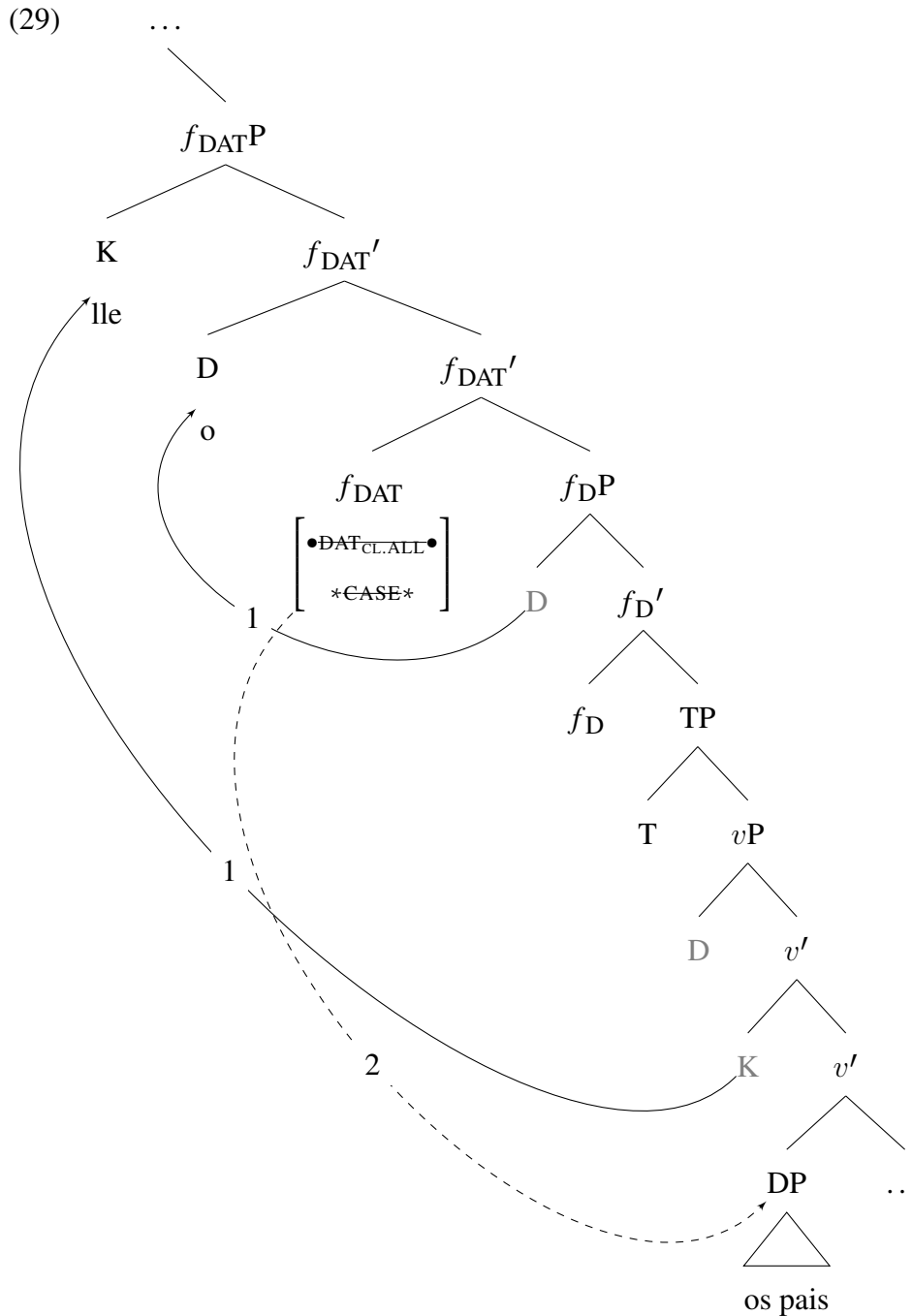
In contrast to an enclitic cluster, speakers of high permissive idiolects allow contraction when a cluster is proclitic (as in (21)). This asymmetry I attribute to the attract-all property on high f_{DAT} . When the structure contains an attract-all f_{DAT} whose features are ordered Move > Case, both clitics (IO and DO) move out of f 's c-command domain before it discharges its case feature. Because neither clitic intervenes between f_{DAT} and the transitive subject, the latter receives structural case from the former. A sample derivation for (21) is given below:



As (28) illustrates, T is merged into the structure first and discharges its structural-case-licensing fea-

ture to the IO clitic. High f_D is merged above TP; it discharges its first feature, triggering movement of the DO clitic to its specifier, and then discharges its structural case feature to the closest nominal, the IO clitic.

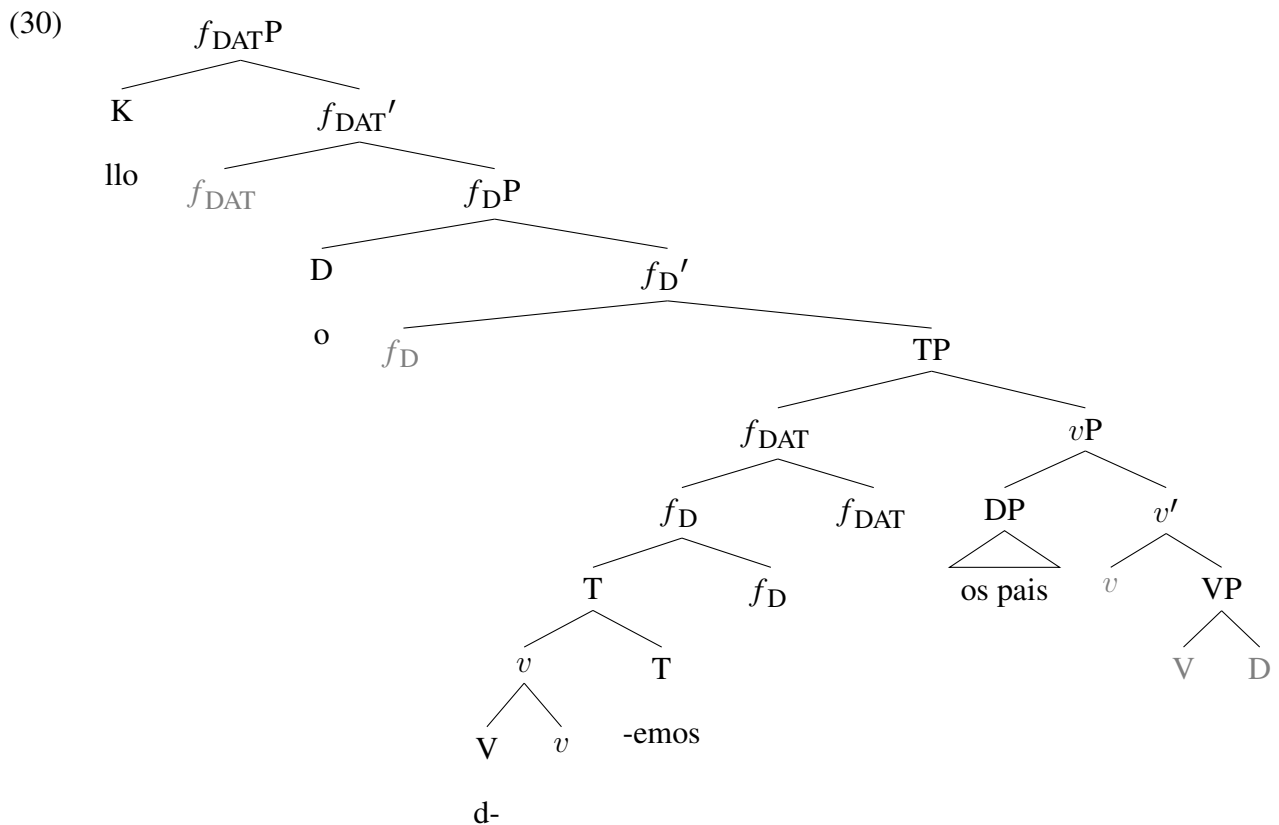
Although the reciprocal licensing requirements of f_D and the DO clitic are satisfied, f_{DAT} must be merged into the structure to license the IO clitic:



The ordering of features on high f_{DAT} is Move > Case. Furthermore, high f_{DAT} in high permissive idiolects is argued to have an attract-all property (see chapter 4). Therefore, f_{DAT} first triggers movement of both clitics within its c-command domain. Recall that probing of f_{DAT} complies with

the PMC (Richards 1997, 1998, 2001). After f_{DAT} probes for a dative-case-bearing clitic, it then is free to probe for any clitic within its c-command domain. This attract-all feature on f_{DAT} entails that both clitics raise out of the licensing head's c-command domain before it discharges its structural case feature. Finally, when f_{DAT} discharges its case feature, it structurally case licenses the subject, which is now the closest nominal, after the prior application of movement of both clitics. Note that in a sentence containing a single dative proclitic (e.g., (17)), high f_{DAT} bears the attract-all property, just as for high f_{DAT} in a sentence containing a proclitic cluster. In the case of a single IO proclitic, however, attract-all f_{DAT} simply triggers movement of the sole clitic in the structure.

GemHM constructs the verbal complex in the syntax containing both f heads; this head is pronounced in T (30). The relevant operations apply at PF, given that prior syntactic licensing has successfully taken place:



(31) $(\omega [\mu \text{ lle}]) (\omega [\mu \text{ o}]) (\omega [\mu \text{ demos}]) (\omega [\mu \text{ os}]) \rightarrow (\omega [\mu \text{ lle}] [\mu \text{ o}] [\mu \text{ demos}] [\mu \text{ os}])$

(32) $\text{lle} + \text{o} + \text{demos} + \text{os}_{[\mathbf{K}]} \rightarrow \text{llo-demo-los}$

At PF, leaning of the two clitics applies because they are licensed via movement in the syntax; both clitics lean rightward, the DO clitic onto the right-adjacent verbal complex, and the IO clitic onto the

DO.⁷ Further, because the article heading the subject is structurally case licensed, it leans onto the left-adjacent verbal complex (31). Crucially, the verbal complex contains f_{DAT} , which licenses the IO clitic by movement to its specifier, and the subject by licensing structural case, and f_{D} , which licenses the DO clitic by movement. Therefore, leaning of both clitics and the article occurs. The prosodic word created via two applications of leaning give rise to a domain in which *contract* applies (32).

High permissive grammars are the result of all four f 's (high and low f_{D} and high and low f_{DAT}) having an ordering of features in which Move precedes Case, as well as high f_{DAT} having a unique attract-all property. If we further extend this line of reasoning, we predict a grammar that contrasts with high permissive, in which all four f heads have the same ordering, but one in which Case precedes Move. This prediction is borne out, namely, in low permissive grammars, which I investigate in the next section.

5.3 Low Permissive Grammars: Case Always Precedes Move

A high permissive grammar is one in which the features on all f heads are ordered Move > Case. Since this analysis allows an identical ordering on all f 's, we should also expect the inverse of high permissive grammars, i.e., idiolects in which the ordering of features on all f 's is Case > Move. That is, f discharges its structural case feature before it triggers movement of a clitic to its specifier. And, in fact, this grammar of Galician is attested: low permissive grammars. In a low permissive grammar, contraction from a transitive subject is unacceptable because a clitic always intervenes for structural licensing from f . In a high permissive grammar, the only context in which contraction from a subject is ruled out is in a sentence containing an enclitic cluster. In contrast, as I demonstrate below, speakers of low permissive idiolects reject contraction from a postverbal transitive subject in any clause containing a clitic.

To begin, speakers of low permissive idiolects accept contraction from a transitive subject in clauses that do not contain a clitic:

- (33) Fixémo-**los** panadeiros o pan.
 make_{1PL.PST}-**the**_{PL.M} bakers the_{SG.M} bread

7. Note that the final vowel of the IO clitic is deleted. See Álvarez, Regueira, & Monteagudo (1989), Álvarez and Xove (2002), and Kastner (2024) for further discussion of clitic contraction in Galician.

‘We bakers made the bread.’

Like in a high permissive idiolect, a postverbal transitive subject licitly launches article contraction in a low permissive idiolect. However, this pattern of well formed contraction from a postverbal transitive subject changes when the clause contains a clitic, as pointed out above.

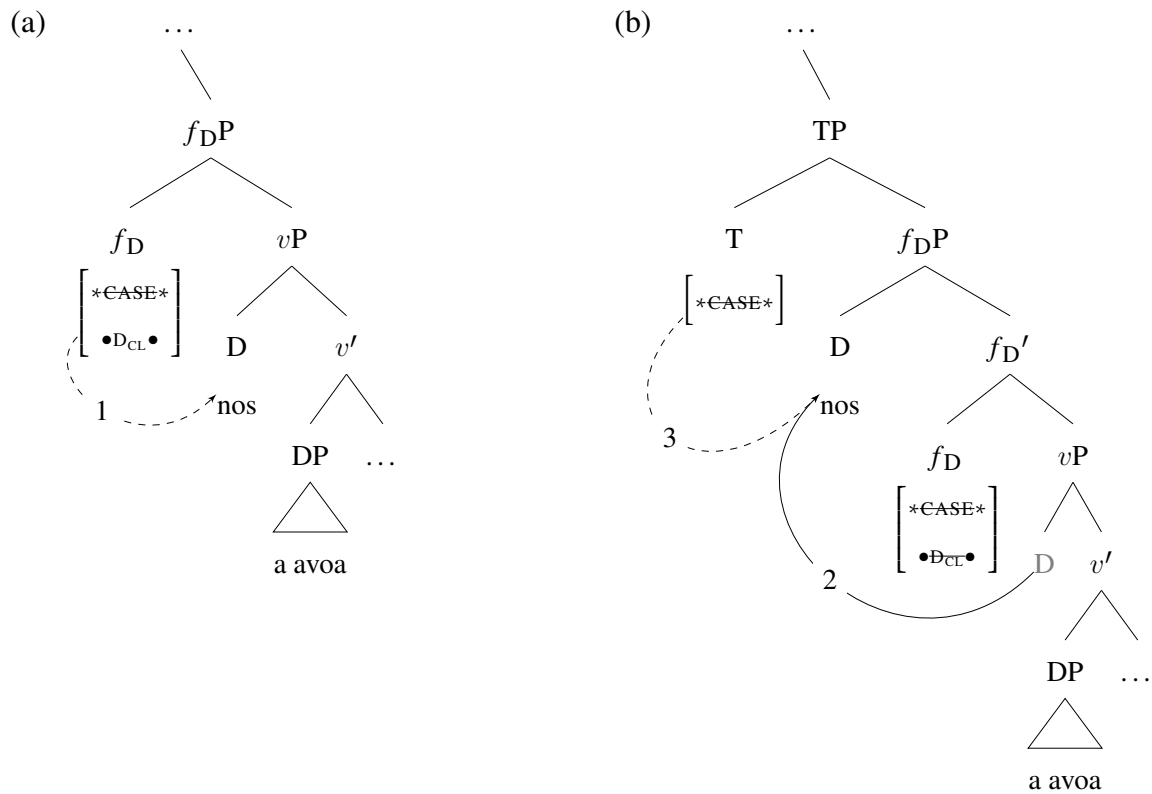
Specifically, a transitive subject does not launch article contraction if the sentence contains a DO clitic:

(34) Bicóu-nos **a** avoa. (*Bicóu-no-**la** avoa.)
kiss_{3SG.PST-CL_{1PL}.DO} **the**_{SG.F} grandmother
‘Grandmother kissed us.’

(35) Non a vímos **os** amigos de María. (*Non a vímo-**los** ...)
not _{CL_{3SG.F}.DO} see_{1PL.PST} **the**_{PL.M} friends of María
‘We, María’s friends, did not see her.’

In a low permissive idiolect, the article heading a transitive subject does not licitly contract with a DO enclitic (as in (34)) or with an adjacent verbal complex if the DO is a proclitic (as shown in (35)). This pattern is attributed to the ordering of features on f_D wherein structural case is ordered before movement. I provide a sample derivations for the sentences in (34-35).

(36) DO enclitic



On f_D , the structural case feature is ordered before the structure-building one. Consequently, f_D first discharges its case feature and structurally licenses the clitic, which is the closest nominal having moved to a specifier of v , above the subject (36a). f_D discharges its second feature, which triggers movement of the DO clitic to its specifier, thereby licensing the clitic. T is merged, and, because T is assumed to be a structural case licenser in permissive grammars, it structurally case licenses the closest nominal that it c-commands, namely, the clitic (36b). Not having been structurally case licensed either by T or f_D , the subject instead bears intrinsic case.

At PF, the clitic undergoes leaning, but the article heading the transitive subject does not:

$$(37) (\omega [\mu \text{ bicou}]) (\omega [\mu \text{ nos}]) (\omega [\mu \text{ a}]) \rightarrow (\omega [\mu \text{ bicou}] [\mu \text{ nos}]) (\omega [\mu \text{ a}])$$

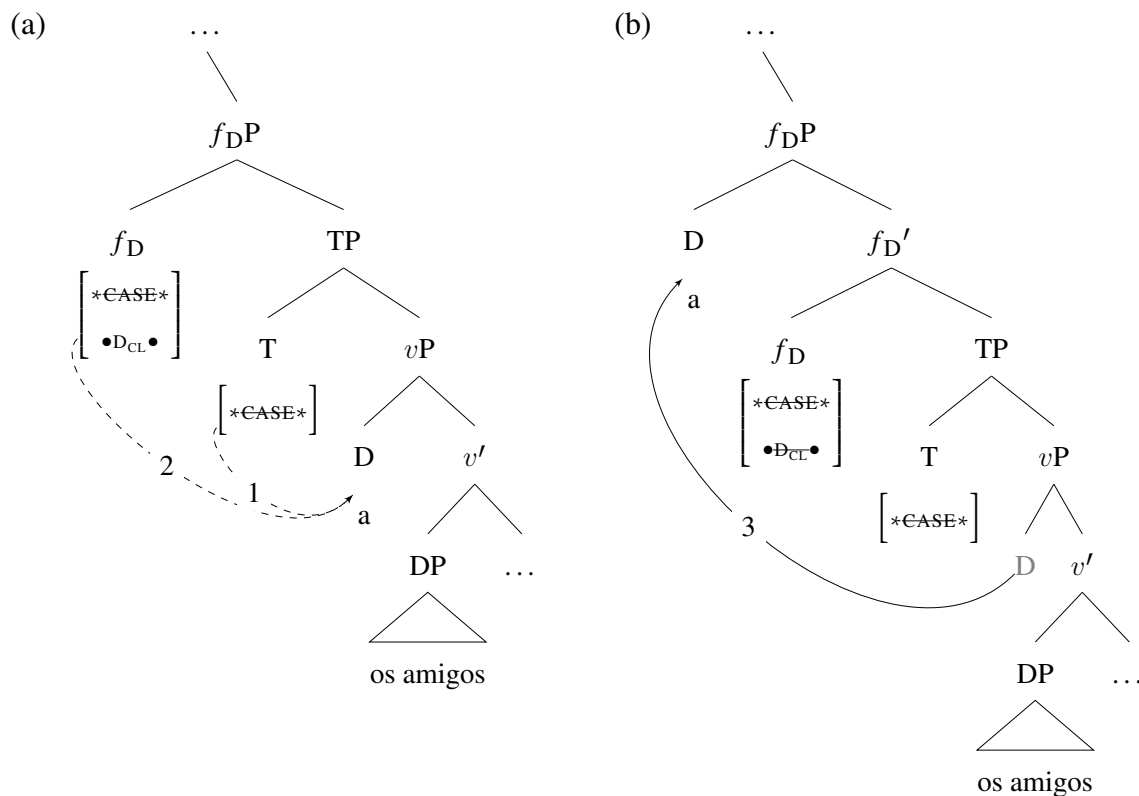
$$(38) \text{bicou} + \text{nos} + \mathbf{a}_{[\Pi]} \rightarrow \text{bicou-nos } \mathbf{a}$$

Since the DO clitic is licensed by movement in the syntax, it undergoes leaning onto the verbal complex, which, crucially, contains its licenser, f_D . The article does not bear structural case, and therefore leaning does not apply to it. The DO clitic and verbal complex form a prosodic word that excludes

the article (82). Because it comprises its own prosodic word, *contract* does not apply (38).

A similar derivation holds for contraction from a transitive subject if the DO is a proclitic:

(39) DO proclitic

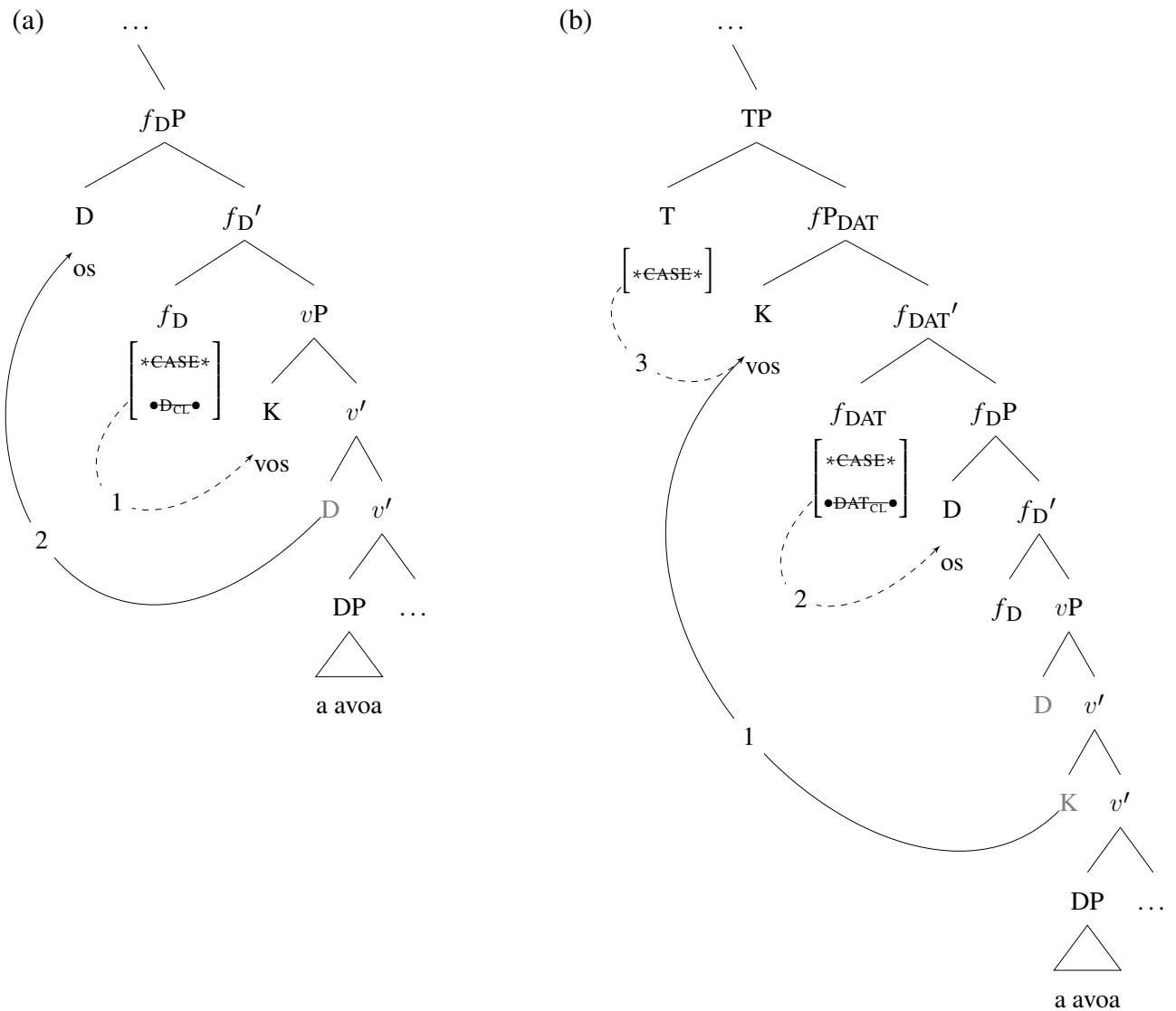


As in previous derivations, the DO clitic moves to an outer specifier of v . T is merged above vP , and, because T is assumed to be a structural case licenser in permissive grammars, it discharges its structural case feature to the closest nominal, which is the DO clitic, having moved to a position above the subject. A high f_D is merged above TP (recall that an f_D head must be merged into the structure to ensure reciprocal licensing between f and the clitic is satisfied). By hypothesis, in low permissive grammars, f_D discharges its structural case feature before its structure-building one; therefore, f_D structurally case licenses the DO clitic, the closest nominal (39a). f_D then discharges its second feature, triggering movement of the DO clitic to its specifier, which licenses the clitic and f itself (39b). The subject does not receive structural case from T or f and consequently must be intrinsically case licensed.

While speakers of high permissive idiolects accept contraction from a transitive subject in a ditransi-

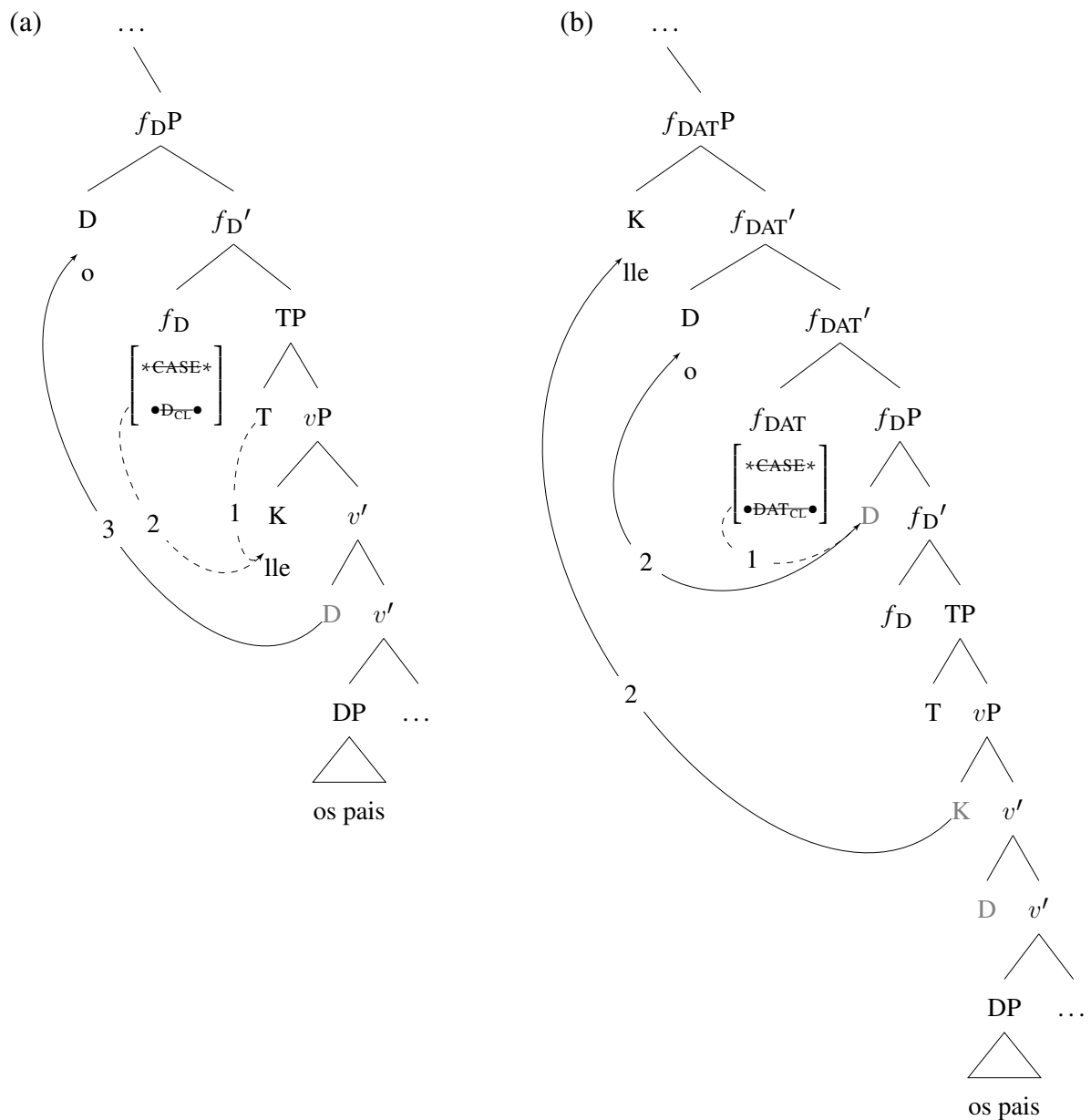
a clitic always intervenes for case licensing between T, f_D , f_{DAT} and the subject, despite the fact that the features on the latter two heads are ordered Move > Case (see section 5.2.3 (24-25)). In a low permissive idiolect, the features on f_D and f_{DAT} have the opposite ordering: Case > Move. This ordering of features still results in a clitic intervening between both f heads and T, as exemplified below:

(43)



As depicted in (43a), f_D discharges its first feature, structural case, to the closest nominal, the IO clitic, which marauds f_D 's case feature. By Assmann *et al.*'s (2015) system of maraudage, the dative IO clitic can check f_D 's case feature without issue, blocking structural case licensing to the lower DO clitic and subject; the IO clitic surfaces with its original case feature, structural dative. f_D then discharges its second feature, which triggers movement of the DO clitic to its specifier. Next, as in

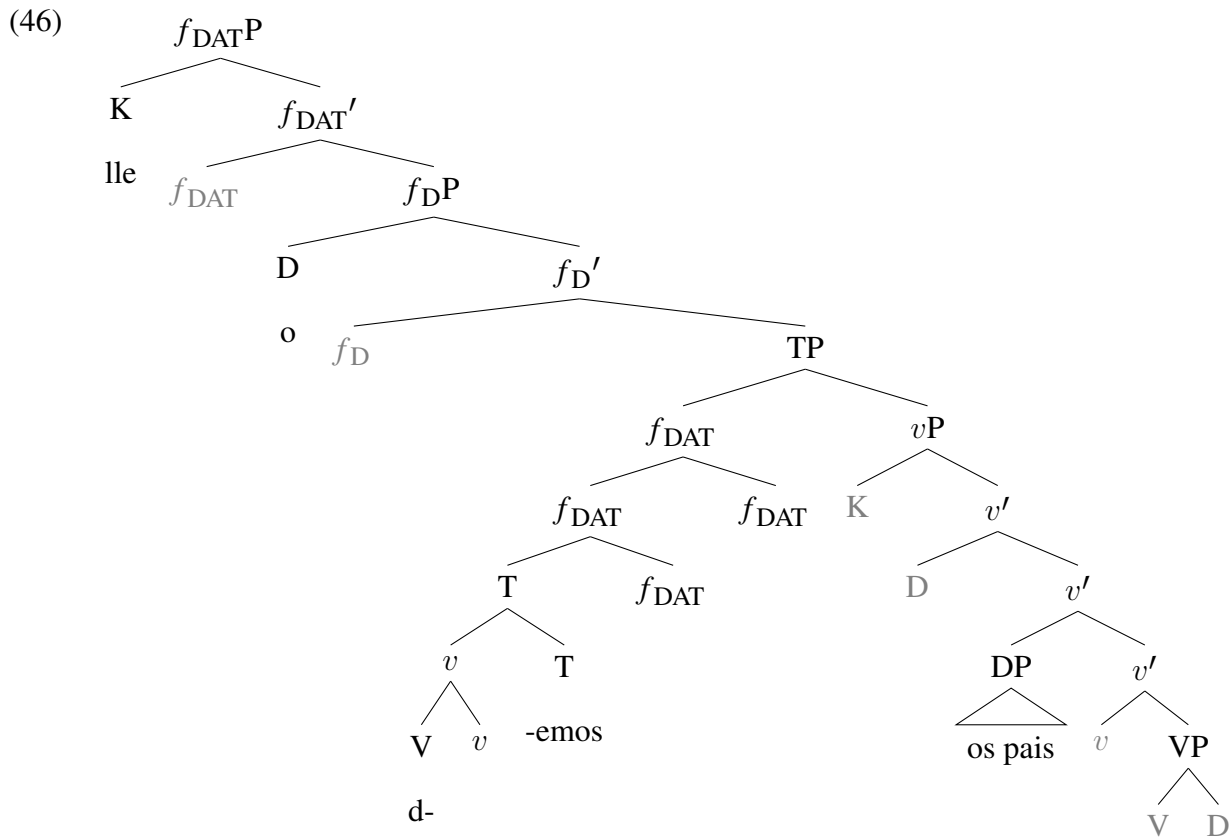
(45)



As illustrated in (45a), T is merged with *v*P and discharges its structural case feature to the closest nominal, which is the IO clitic in the outermost specifier of *v*. High *f_D* is merged with TP. Since the features on *f_D*, both high and low, are argued to be Case > Move, high *f_D* discharges its first feature, case licensing, to the closest nominal, which is IO clitic. *f_D* then discharges its structure-building feature, probing for a nominal bearing [CAT D]. It encounters the DO clitic, which consequently moves to *f_D*'s specifier. And as in (45b), high *f_{DAT}* is merged with *f_D*, and discharges its features. The first of which is structural case; *f_{DAT}* therefore structurally case licenses the closest nominal, the DO clitic in *f_D*'s specifier. Finally *f_{DAT}* discharges its second feature, which causes both clitics to move to *f_{DAT}*'s specifier. The subject does not receive structural case from either *f* head, nor from T, and

therefore must bear intrinsic case. Intrinsic case bleeds leaning and *contract* at PF, as we have seen.

The remainder of the derivation concerns deriving the verbal complex and cliticization of the clitics:



(47) (ω [μ lle]) (ω [μ o]) (ω [μ demos]) (ω [μ os]) \rightarrow (ω [μ lle] [μ o] [μ demos]) (ω [μ os])

(48) lle + o + demos + **os**_[I] \rightarrow llo-demos **os**

In the syntax, GenHM builds the complex head associated with each terminal node; this complex head is pronounced in T (46). At PF, each proclitic undergoes rightward leaning, having been licensed via movement in the syntax. Importantly, the verbal complex contains the licenser of each clitic, i.e., their corresponding *f* heads. But the article, which bears intrinsic case, does not undergo leaning, and remains a separate prosodic word (47). Without leaning, *contract* does not apply (48) to the article.

High and low permissive idiolects are the inverse of each other: the former allows contraction when a clitic is present, while the latter disallows. This contrasting pattern is attributed to the ordering of features on *f* heads, but, critically, all *f* heads have the same ordering in each idiolect. However, this analysis places no additional PF constraints on *f*'s features. Given this assumption, we predict that the ordering of features *f* heads should vary freely, since the features on one *f* do not condition those of

another. And, indeed, this prediction is borne out in what I refer to as middle permissive idiolects. These are the focus of the following section.

5.4 Middle Permissive Grammars: Varying Order of Operations

Nothing in this analysis constrains the ordering of features on f heads. Therefore, under this approach, any combination of features on high and low f_D and f_{DAT} is possible. By way of concrete example, this system predicts a hypothetical grammar such as that in (49-50):

(49)

		contraction from trans. subject
high f_{DAT} (Case > Move)	DAT. PROCLITIC	✗
low f_{DAT} (Move > Case)	DAT. ENCLITIC	✓

(50)

		contraction from trans. subject
high f_D (Move > Case)	DO PROCLITIC	✓
low f_D (Case > Move)	DO ENCLITIC	✗

A high f_{DAT} head could have its features ordered Case > Move, while its low f_{DAT} head may have the opposite ordering of features. In this grammar, a transitive subject would only licitly launch contraction with an IO enclitic. Moreover, this same hypothetical grammar could have a high f_D head whose features are ordered Move > Case, and a low f_D whose features are the inverse. Contraction from a subject would only be well formed if the DO were proclitic. In short, varying features across f 's would give rise to a kind of mixed grammar, permissive in some environments, but restrictive in others, i.e., middle permissive. While not every possible grammar predicted by this system is attested in my fieldwork, some are. Specifically, four speakers displayed middle permissive patterns. I discuss each of these four patterns, and briefly touch on grammars that this analysis predicts, but that none of my consultants displayed.

5.4.1 Fully Permissive with Proclitics; More Restrictive with Enclitics

In the grammar investigated in this subsection, article contraction from a transitive subject is mostly permissive, with the exception of an IO enclitic. This pattern arises because all f heads, except low

f_{DAT} , have their features ordered so that Move precedes Case.

To begin contraction from a subject is licit if the sentence contains a DO proclitic, an IO proclitic, or a proclitic cluster.⁹

(51) Non a vímo-**los** amigos.
NEG CL₃SG.F.DO see₁PL.PST-**the**_{PL,M} friends
'We, the friends, didn't see her.'

(52) Non lle-lo démo-**los** pais.
NEG CL₃PL.DAT-cl₃SG.M.DO give₁PL.PST-**the**_{PL,M} parents.
'We parents did not give it to them.'

To account for acceptable contraction in (51), the features on f_{D} are ordered in the same manner as for high permissive idiolects: Move > Case (see subsection 5.2.1 (12-13)). Similarly, (52) is generated via the same ordering of features but on high f_{DAT} , which also bears the attract-all property (see subsection 5.2.3 (28-32)). Note that I have omitted a ditransitive sentence containing a single IO proclitic because this particular data point is missing from this middle-permissive speaker. However, contraction in this context should be licit, given that the features on high f_{DAT} are Move > Case, which feeds structural case licensing of the transitive subject.

On the other hand, for middle-permissive speaker, contraction from a transitive subject is comparatively more restrictive with enclitics:¹⁰

(53) Víu-no-**la** maestra.
see₃SG.PST-CL₁PL.DO-**the**_{SG,F} teacher
'The teacher saw us.'

(54) Envióu-nos **a** abuela a carta. (*Envióu-no-**la** avoa a carta.)
send₃SG.PST-CL₁PL.DAT **the**_{SG,F} grandmother the_{SG,F} letter
'Grandmother sent us the letter.'

9. The speaker of this grammar accepted contraction from a subject in this environment, but noted that it may be dispreferred or less common.

10. Some of the words in the examples below are Spanish borrowings, e.g., *maestra* 'teacher' instead of the Galician *mestra*, or *abuela* instead of the Galician *avoa* 'grandmother.' Other example sentences provided later in this chapter also contain Spanish borrowings. Adopting Spanish borrowings instead of their Galician equivalents is very common for Galician speakers. I replicate the sentences produced from Galician speakers using these Spanish borrowings in order to accurately represent the speech of my consultants.

Contraction in (53) is acceptable, though perhaps dispreferred in some contexts, according to the speaker. This asymmetry can be explained by the ordering of features on low f heads. For well-formed contraction between a DO enclitic and article heading a subject in (53), I argue that the features on low f_D are: Move > Case (see section 5.2.1 (7-11)). In contrast, contraction in (54) is unacceptable. Unacceptable contraction is assumed to be due the ordering of features on low f_{DAT} head, namely, Case > Move (see discussion of (40) in section 5.3). Data on contraction from a transitive subject with an enclitic cluster is missing from this speaker, but, given that speakers of high and low permissive grammars reject contraction in this environment, it is predicted to be illicit here as well. Note that contraction from a transitive subject with an enclitic cluster is invariably illicit because a subject never receives structural case in this context, irrespective of the ordering of features on f heads.¹¹

For this middle-permissive speaker, both high f heads have the same order of features (Move > Case). Furthermore, high f_{DAT} 's structure-building feature has an attract-all property. On the other hand, low f heads have contrasting orders. This pattern is summarized in the tables below:

(55)

		contraction from trans. subject
high f_{DAT} (Case > Move _{attract.all})	DAT. PROCLITIC	✗
low f_{DAT} (Move > Case)	DAT. ENCLITIC	✓

(56)

		contraction from trans. subject
high f_D (Move > Case)	DO PROCLITIC	✓
low f_D (Case > Move)	DO ENCLITIC	✓

In the next subsection, I turn to a middle-permissive speaker that is restrictive with regard to proclitics and both restrictive and permissive in terms of enclitics.

11. If a speaker did accept contraction from a subject with an enclitic cluster, this analysis can easily accommodate such a pattern. A low f_{DAT} head would be assumed to bear an attract-all feature, just as I assume for a high f_{DAT} to account for licit contraction in a sentence containing a proclitic cluster.

These patterns of illicit contraction are due to the ordering on features on the relevant f 's. For all relevant f heads, Case precedes Move, which entails that a clitic or clitics in the case of clitic clusters maraud the licensers' structural case feature and prevent a transitive subject from receiving structural case. For (58), I the relevant head is low f_{DAT} (see (40) in section 5.3). To account for (59), the appropriate licenser is high f_{D} (see section 5.3, (39)). And for (60-60), the particular f is high f_{DAT} (see section 5.3 (45)).

For this speaker, all f heads have the same values, except for low f_{D} . The respective f 's and their respective ordering of features are given in the tables below:

(62)

		contraction from trans. subject
high f_{DAT} (Case > Move _{attract.all})	DAT. PROCLITIC	✗
low f_{DAT} (Move > Case)	DAT. ENCLITIC	✗

(63)

		contraction from trans. subject
high f_{D} (Move > Case)	DO PROCLITIC	✗
low f_{D} (Case > Move)	DO ENCLITIC	✓

This particular combination of f heads yields a pattern that is permissive only with respect to a DO enclitic and restrictive in the other relevant respect.

In the next subsection, I turn to middle-permissive speakers that are the mirror image of the one investigated in this subsection. For them, enclisis is fully restrictive, while proclisis is restrictive in some contexts but permissive in others.

5.4.3 Fully Restrictive Enclisis; More Permissive Proclitics

Yet another type of middle permissive idiolect is one in which IO and DO enclitics as well as a DO proclitic block contraction from a transitive subject; contraction from a transitive subject is only acceptable only if the sentence contains a single IO proclitic or proclitic cluster. In other words, this grammar is fully restrictive with respect to enclitics, and permissive and restrictive with regard to proclitics.

For example, consider the representative example sentences in (64-67):

- (64) Déu-nos **o** avó o libro. (*Déu-no-**lo** avó o libro.)
 give_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT} **the**_{SG.M} grandfather the_{SG.M} book
 ‘Grandfather gave us the book.’
- (65) Víu-nos o avó. (*Víu-no-**lo** avó.)
 see_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DO} **the**_{SG.M} grandfather
 ‘Grandfather saw us.’
- (66) Déu-no-los **o** avó. (*Déu-no-lo-**lo** avó ...)
 give_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT-CL3PL.M.DO} **the**_{SG.M} grandfather
 ‘Grandfather gave them to us.’
- (67) Nunca me vistas **os** homes. (*Nunca me víste-**los** homes.)
 never CL_{1SG.DO} see_{2PL.PST} **the**_{PL.M} men
 ‘You men never saw me.’

In the middle-permissive variety of this speaker, contraction between an article heading a postverbal transitive subject and an IO enclitic is ruled out (64). The same is true for contraction between an DO enclitic and article heading a transitive subject (65). Contraction from a subject is also blocked with an enclitic cluster (66). In addition, a subject does not launch article contraction with a verbal complex when the DO is a proclitic (67). Note, though, that contraction between the verbal complex and article heading the subject is licit, but forces another reading in which the postverbal DP is an object, and the clitic, possessive (i.e., ‘You never saw my men’).¹³

To account for illicit contraction from a transitive subject in a clause containing an enclitic, I propose that Case is ordered before Move on both low *f* heads (see section 5.3 (36) for a derivation of illicit contraction from a transitive subject with a DO enclitic and discussion of (40) on illicit contraction from a transitive subject with an IO enclitic.) As for an enclitic cluster (such as that in (66)), both clitics structurally intervene for case licensing from *f*’s and maraud the structural case feature of both licensing heads (see section 5.3 (43)). Contraction from a subject in a clause containing a DO proclitic is also due to the fact that Case precedes Move, here on high *f*_D (see section 5.3, (39)).

13. The same pattern emerges for speakers of low permissive and restrictive idiolects in which contraction from a subject in a ditransitive sentence forces a reading in which the argument that launches contraction is the direct object. See footnote 5.

In contrast to sentences containing enclitics and a DO proclitic, for this middle-permissive speaker, contraction from a transitive subject is licit if a clause contains an IO proclitic:

(68) Nunca che démo-**los** homes o libro.
 never CL_{2SG.DAT} gave_{1PL}-**the**_{PL.M} men the_{SG.M} book
 ‘We men never gave you the book.’

(69) Nunca ch-os démo-**los** homes.
 never CL_{2SG.DAT}-CL_{3PL.M.DO} give_{1PL.PST}-**the**_{PL.M} men
 ‘We men never gave them to you.’

As (68) reveals, a transitive subject licitly launches contraction with the verbal complex if the clause contains a single IO proclitic, or, as (69) illustrates, if the sentence contains a proclitic cluster. Well-formed contraction in (68-69) is attributed to the fact that the features on high f_{DAT} are Move > Case and the head bears the attract-all property (see section 5.2.3 (28-32)).

The patterns of this middle-permissive speaker are summarized in the tables in (70-71):

(70)

		contraction from trans. subject
high f_{DAT} (Move _{attract.all} > case)	DAT. PROCLITIC	✓
low f_{DAT} (Case > Move)	DAT. ENCLITIC	✗

(71)

		contraction from trans. subject
high f_D (Case > Move)	DO PROCLITIC	✗
low f_D (Case > Move)	DO ENCLITIC	✗

If we consider the tables above, we can conclude that this restrictive enclitic pattern versus the mixed permissive-restrictive proclitic pattern arises because three f heads (low f_{DAT} and both f_D 's) have the same ordering of features. Only on high f_{DAT} does Move precede Case, and which possesses the attract-all property.

In the next subsection, I analyze speaker who display even more complex variation, and in which neither proclisis nor enclisis is more permissive than the other.

For these speakers, contraction is always licit whenever there is an IO proclitic present in the structure (whether as a single clitic or part of a clitic cluster), but ruled out if the sentence contains just a single DO proclitic.

The analysis of this pattern follows from the ordering of features on f . To rule out contraction from a subject as in (74), we can assume that the features on high f_D are ordered so that Case precedes Move (see section 5.2.2 (39)). In contrast, for licit contraction from the subject when a clause contains a single IO proclitic, I propose that high f_{DAT} 's features are ordered Move > Case. As we have seen, this ordering of features feeds structural case licensing of the subject (see section 5.2.2 (18-20)). And to account for well-formed contraction in (73), I propose that high f_{DAT} 's structure-building feature has the attract-all property (see section 5.2.3 (28-32)).

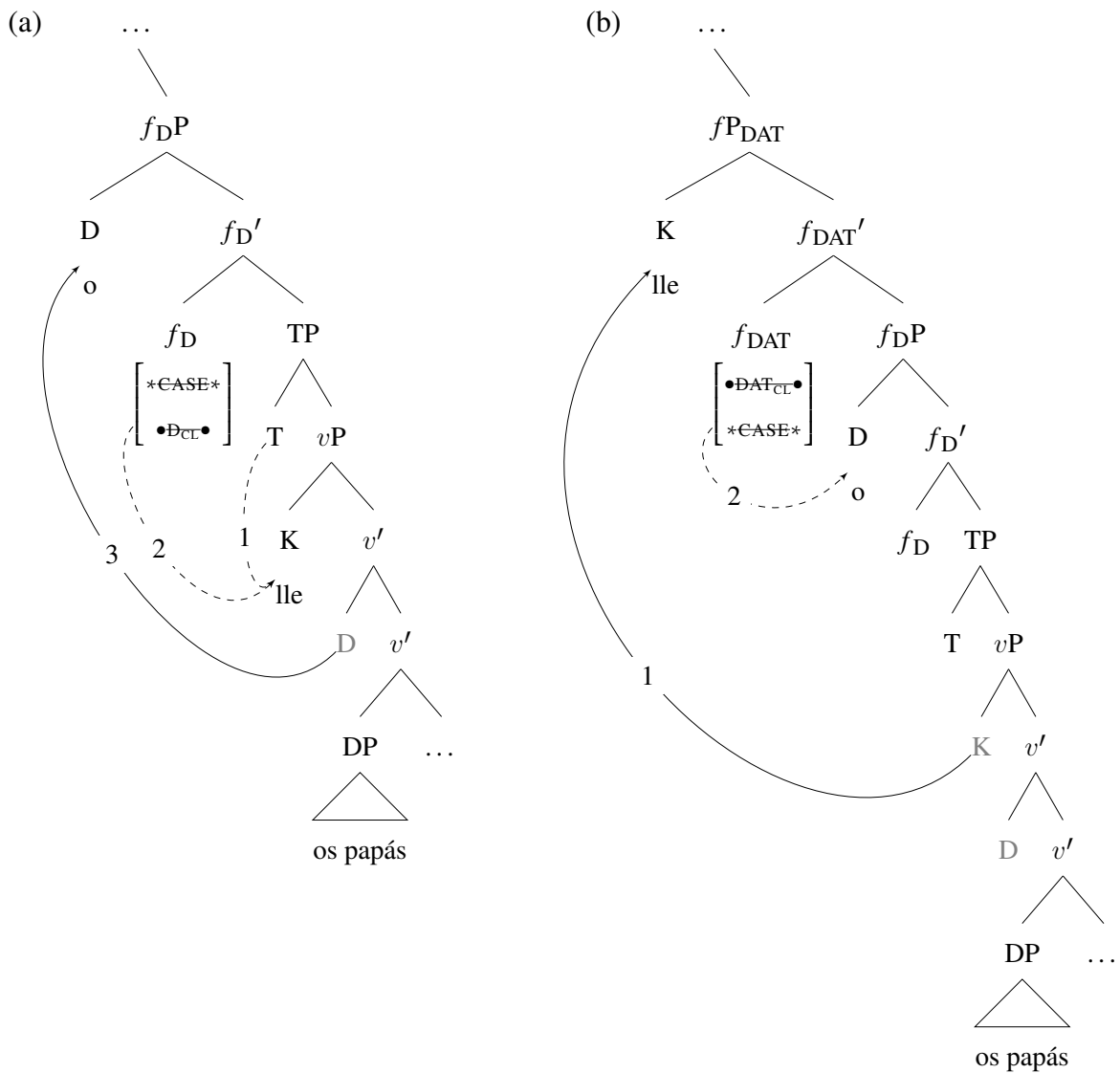
The fourth token of the hyper-mixed grammar also disallows contraction from a transitive subject if the clause contains a DO proclitic, like the other three just discussed. However, one key difference between this fourth variety and the other three concerns a single IO proclitic versus a proclitic cluster. In this variety, a subject licitly launches contraction only when a clause contains a single IO proclitic. When it contains a proclitic cluster, however, contraction is unacceptable.¹⁴

- (75) Non ll-o demos **os** papás. (*Non ll-o démo-**los** papás.)
 NEG CL3SG.DAT-CL3SG.M.DO give_{1PL.PST} **the**_{PL.M} parents
 ‘We parents did not give it to them.’

I argue that contraction is ruled out in this environment because f_{DAT} 's structure-building feature lacks the attract-all property. A sample derivation is shown in (76):

14. The speaker of this idiolect used a Spanish borrowing, *papás*, instead of the Galician, *pais* ‘parents.’

(76)



As shown in (76a), f_D discharges its features, first its structural case feature, and then its structure-building one. Since contraction from a transitive subject is illicit when a clause contains a DO proclitic, we can assume that the ordering of features on high f_D is Case > Move. f_D structurally case licenses the closest nominal, the IO clitic, as does T. Secondly, as in (76b), high f_{DAT} discharges its two features. Because contraction from a transitive subject is acceptable when the sentence contains a single IO clitic, the ordering of features on this head is Move > Case. However, because contraction from a subject is not acceptable if the sentence contains a proclitic cluster, I assume that the structure-building feature on f_{DAT} lacks the attract-all property. Therefore, f_{DAT} first triggers movement of the IO clitic to its specifier, and then structurally case licenses the clitic, which is the DO clitic in f_D 's specifier.

The proclisis patterns of these four tokens of the hybrid-mixed permissive idiolect are given in (77-78):

(77) Hybrid-Mixed Idiolects (attract all)

		contraction from trans. subject
high f_{DAT} (Move _{attract.all} > Case)	DAT. PROCLITIC	✓
high f_{D} (Case > Move)	DO PROCLITIC	✗

(78) Hybrid-Mixed Idiolects

		contraction from trans. subject
high f_{DAT} (Move > Case)	DAT. PROCLITIC	✓
high f_{D} (Case > Move)	DO PROCLITIC	✗

The variety in (77) is more permissive in that it allows contraction from a transitive subject when the structure contains an IO proclitic (including in a clitic cluster), while that in (78) is comparatively more restrictive, since contraction from a subject is only acceptable when the sentence contains a single IO proclitic.

5.4.4.2 Article Contraction from a Subject and Enclitics

Another layer of complex variation regarding these hybrid-mixed varieties pertains to how article contraction from a transitive subject interacts with enclitics. All four of the tokens of the hyper-mixed idiolect pattern differently with respect to contraction between enclitics and an article heading a postverbal subject.¹⁵

- (79) **Víu-no-la** abuela/avoa. (✓ (2); ✗ (2))
 see_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DO}-**the**_{SG.F}
 ‘Grandmother saw us.’

Two speakers of the hybrid-mixed variety with the attract-all property reject contraction in (79). Another speaker of the hybrid-mixed variety with the attract-all property accepts contraction in the context in (79). Finally, the fourth speaker, whose grammar lacks the attract-all property, judges contrac-

15. Note that I use Spanish and Galician words in the sentences below to reflect the language used by speakers as accurately as possible.

tion in the sentence above to be acceptable.¹⁶

To account for the two grammars in which contraction from a transitive subject with a DO enclitic is illicit, I posit that the features on low f_D are ordered Case > Move, which blocks structural case licensing to the subject, as I have argued previously (see section 5.3 (36)). To explain why contraction in this same context is acceptable for other speakers of the hybrid-mixed idiolect, I propose the inverse ordering on low f_D : Move > Case (see section 5.2.1 (8)). This ordering of features ensures that a transitive subject is structurally case licensed by the low f head.

Even more surprisingly, when we compare patterns of contraction from a transitive subject with an IO enclitic, the grouping of idiolects changes yet again. In particular, one speaker of the hybrid-mixed idiolect with the attract-all property rejects contraction in this instance. The other three speakers (two with the attract-all property; one without it) accept contraction between an IO enclitic and article heading a transitive subject:

- (80) Envióu-no-**la** abuela/avoa a carta. (✓ (2); ✗ (2))
send_{3SG.PST-CL₁PL.DAT}-**the**_{SG.F} grandmother the_{SG.F} letter
'Grandmother sent us the letter.'

Licit contraction in (80) arises because Move precedes Case on low f_{DAT} (see section 5.2.2 (20)), while illicit contraction because the features are reversed on low f_{DAT} (see the discussion of (40) in section 5.3).

Three speakers of the hybrid-mixed grammar with the attract-all property are equally restrictive regarding enclitics: one speaker accepts contraction with an DO enclitic but not an IO, while others report the opposite pattern of contraction (illicit with a DO enclitic and licit with an IO). Interestingly, the grammar without the attract-all property is the most permissive in terms of enclitics: contraction from a subject is acceptable with a DO or IO enclitic. Note that all speakers reject contraction from a subject with an enclitic cluster, which is due to the fact that a clitic always intervenes between an f head and a subject, as I proposed earlier in this chapter.

The interactions between article contraction from a subject and enclisis are summarized below:

16. Although contraction for this fourth speakers in this environment is somewhat marginal, it was still accepted.

(81) Hybrid-Mixed Idiolect (attract-all) I

		contraction from trans. subject
low f_{DAT} ($\text{Move}_{\text{attract.all}} > \text{case}$)	DAT. ENCLITIC	✓
low f_{D} ($\text{Case} > \text{Move}_{\text{attract.all}}$)	DO ENCLITIC	✗

(82) Hybrid-Mixed Idiolect (attract-all) II

		contraction from trans. subject
low f_{DAT} ($\text{Case} > \text{Move}_{\text{attract.all}}$)	DAT. ENCLITIC	✗
low f_{D} ($\text{Move}_{\text{attract.all}} > \text{case}$)	DO ENCLITIC	✓

(83) Hybrid-Mixed Idiolects

		contraction from trans. subject
high f_{DAT} ($\text{Move} > \text{Case}$)	DAT. ENCLITIC	✓
high f_{D} ($\text{Move} > \text{Case}$)	DO ENCLITIC	✓

The tokens of hybrid-mixed varieties in (81-83) are the mirror images of each other. One is restrictive with respect to DO enclitics (type I), and the other is restrictive (II). Further, the speaker represented by (81) is permissive with respect to IO enclitics, while that in (83) is restrictive. Finally, the speaker represented in (83), which lacks the attract-all property, is the most permissive in terms of enclisis and article contraction from a subject.

As I observed earlier, there are speakers who can be categorized as middle permissive that this analysis predicts, but that I did not find in my work with Galician language consultants. I return to this issue in more detail in the conclusion (chapter 7). However, for now, I offer the following brief remarks. Nothing in this analysis prohibits these predicted but so far unattested grammars, and, at this point of my research, I am unsure what sorts of constraints might be placed on the features or feature ordering on f heads. Given the considerable amount of idiolectal variation that Galician displays, a reasonable, though tentative, assessment of these missing idiolects is that such gaps are merely accidental, that is, an artifact of the data set that comprises the empirical foundation of this dissertation. This hypothesis can easily be proven or challenged by further collaboration with native Galician speakers. If, after more extensive work with Galician speakers, none of these missing idiolects are identified, we should begin questioning how the analysis can be constrained, so as to avoid over-generating idiolects. On the other hand, if more of these idiolects are discovered, I believe that we can safely assume that this

analysis is on the right track, and that all of the predicted idiolects do indeed exist.

Permissive grammars not the only idiolect type, however. Recall that another is restrictive idiolects. How article contraction from a subject in a clause containing clitics in restrictive idiolects can be straightforwardly accounted by this analysis. I present such an analysis in the following section.

5.5 Restrictive Idiolects

In restrictive idiolects, contraction from a transitive subject is unacceptable. Recall from chapter 3 that restrictive idiolects disallow contraction from a transitive subject in a clause without clitics. This pattern remains unchanged in a clause that does contain a clitic. In other words, in restrictive idiolects, contraction from a transitive subject is still unacceptable when a sentence contains clitics. I propose that in these grammars, no *f* heads are structural case licensers. That is, all *f*'s have a single feature, namely, its structure-building one, which triggers movement of a clitic to its specifier. No higher case licenser is available in a restrictive grammar (i.e. neither T nor *f*).

For example, in a monotransitive sentence containing a DO clitic, the article heading the postverbal transitive subject must remain un-contracted:

(84) Bicóu-nos **a** nai. (*Bicóu-no-**la** nai.)
kiss_{3SG.PST-CL_{1PL.DO}} **the**_{SG.F} mom
'Mother kissed us.'

(85) Non a vimos **os** amigos (de María). (*Non a vímo-**los** amigos.)
NEG CL_{3SG.F.DO} see_{1PL.PST} **the**_{PL.M} friends (of María)
'We, the / María's friends, didn't see her.'

As (84) reveals, the transitive subject does not licitly launch contraction with the DO enclitic.¹⁷ Further, when a DO clitic precedes the verbal complex, as in the case of a proclitic, such as that in (85), the subject does not licitly launch article contraction.

17. There is a difference in information structure between a pre- and postverbal subject in Galician. Some speakers strongly prefer a preverbal subject, and accept a postverbal subject when it is focused. I do not pursue this aspect of constituent order any further, but see Cruschina (2022) for an overview of focus in Romance. See also Gravely (2019) for arguments that postverbal subjects launch article contraction only if they have a topical reading.

precedes Move on the licensing head. In contrast, in a restrictive idiolect, *f* triggers movement of a clitic but does not license structural case (i.e., *f* has only Move). Despite these underlying syntactic differences, the surface pattern is identical regarding contraction from a transitive subject in a clause containing clitics. A transitive subject never receives structural case licensing and bears intrinsic case instead. Without structural case licensing in the syntax, leaning cannot apply at PF, which in turn bleeds the environment in which *contract* applies.

Along with permissive and restrictive grammars, yet another idiolect of Galician requires analysis, namely, contraction-free grammars. In the next section, I discuss how article contraction from a transitive subject behaves in a clause containing clitics for contraction-free varieties.

5.6 Contraction-Free Grammars

In chapter 3 (section 3.5), I showed that, in contraction-free idiolects, in clauses not containing clitics, transitive subjects never licitly launch contraction. In contraction-free idiolects, these patterns of contraction remain unchanged in clauses that do contain clitics. Contraction from a subject is invariably unacceptable:

- (90) Bicóu-nos a nai. (*Bicóu-no-**la** nai.)
 kiss_{3SG.PST-CL_{1PL}.DO} **the**_{SG.F} grandmother
 ‘Grandmother kissed us.’
- (91) Non a vimos os amigos (de María). (*Non a vímo-**los** ...)
 neg CL_{3SG.F.DO} see_{1PL.PST} **the**_{PL.M} friends (of María)
 ‘Her friends/María’s friends didn’t see her.’

Like in restrictive and low permissive grammars, contraction from a subject is ill formed in a monotransitive sentence containing a DO clitic, whether en- or proclitic.

Furthermore, like in restrictive and low permissive idiolects, contraction from a postverbal transitive subject is ruled out in a ditransitive sentence containing a single IO clitic (92-93) or a clitic cluster (94-95). Whether the single clitic or cluster is en- or proclitic has no effect on the status of contraction: it remains uniformly unacceptable.

well formed across grammar types:¹⁹ Consider the examples below:

(96) A avoa enviou-no-la carta.
the_{SG.F} grandmother send_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT}-the_{SG.F} letter
'Grandmother sent us the letter.'

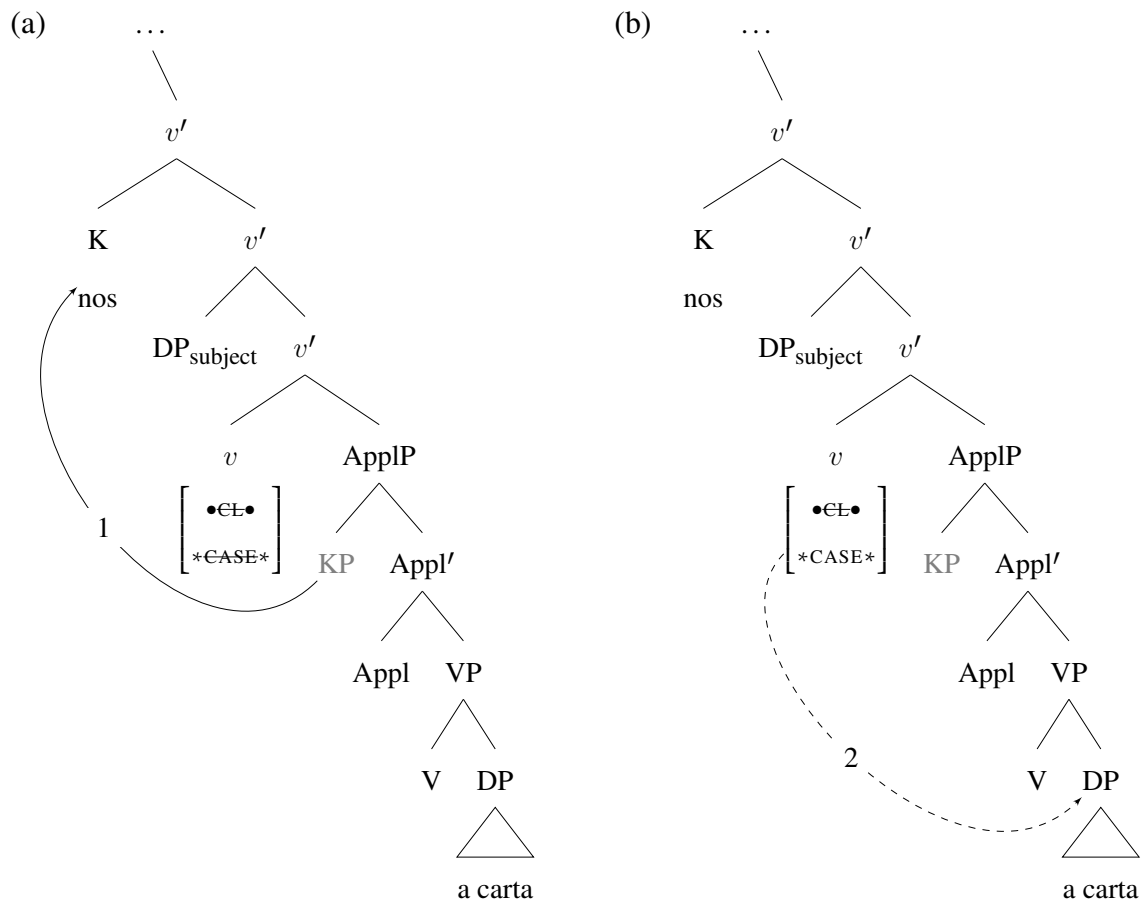
(97) Non lle démo-los regalos.
neg CL_{3SG.DAT} give_{1PL.PST}-the_{PL.M} gifts
'We never sent the gifts to her.'

In both types of grammars, the article heading an object contracts with an IO enclitic (as in (96)) or with a verbal complex, if the IO is a proclitic (as in (97)). I propose that this pattern arises because, in both grammars, the object is structurally case licensed by *v*. That is, absence of idiolectal variation in this context is attributed to a structural case licenser that is shared by restrictive and permissive grammars.

To account for well-formed contraction in this configuration, I argue that *v* structurally case licenses the object, as the licensing head does for a lexical DP direct object in a monotransitive clause without clitics (see chapter 3, sections 3.5-3.6). Recall, too, *v* bears a structure-building feature, which triggers movement of a clitic to its specifier (see chapter 4, section 4.2). I further propose that these two features on *v* are stacked, such that its structure-building feature precedes its structural case feature (Move > Case). Derivational timing as it is encoded in the ordering of features on *v* is key. A sample derivation is shown below:

19. Galician does not have doubling of direct object lexical DPs. Therefore, it is not possible to test contraction from a direct object in a monotransitive clause.

(98)



As illustrated in (98a), v discharges its first feature, which triggers movement of the subject to its specifier. v then discharges its second feature, namely, structural-case licensing. Since the clitic has previously moved out of v 's c-command domain before the latter licenses structural case, the nominal nearest to v is the DO. The DO consequently receives structural case from v (98b). Note that the DP associate contained in the remnant KP does not intervene for case licensing between v and the lower object. Following Anagnostopoulou (2003), Preminger (2009) and Kalin and van Urk (2015), I propose that cliticization can 'rescue a construction that would otherwise involve intervention' (Kalin & van Urk 2015: 679). A clitic and the DP it doubles form an A-chain (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1997, Anagnostopoulou 1994, Sportiche 1996, 1998); the head of this chain is the clitic, and only the head is an intervener. Therefore, only the clitic (K) in a ditransitive construction can intervener; its associate does not.

The derivation above accounts for licit contraction from a direct object in a ditransitive clause in

restrictive and permissive grammars. But in a contraction-free grammar, a direct object does not licitly launch article contraction. I argue that ill-formed contraction in this context arises because, in contraction-free grammars, *v* is not a structural case licenser. In contraction-free grammars, *f* is structural case licenser, but nominals higher in the structure (specifically, a clitic as well as a transitive subject) always intervene for structural case between *f* and a direct object. Because a direct object never receives structural case in contraction-free grammars, it instead bears intrinsic case, which bleeds the relevant PF operations.

We have already seen that Galician exhibits considerable idiolectal variation regarding contraction from a transitive subject. This variation is attributed to derivational timing, i.e., how features are ordered on licensing heads. Although a ditransitive clause always has *v* has an additional case licenser across idiolect types, a transitive subject is outside of the head's c-command domain, and therefore can never receive case from it. In contrast, there is no idiolectal variation in terms of contraction from an object because *v* is always present in the structure, and because its ordering of features is fixed (i.e. Move always precedes Case). As a result, the IO clitic never intervenes between *v* and an object. This lack of variation holds not only for direct objects across idiolect types, but also for internal arguments generally (i.e., objects and unaccusative subjects). In chapter 6, I return to this absence of variation in a different context, namely, from internal arguments and other kinds of dative clitics. More broadly, we do not find idiolectal variation in terms of contraction from an internal argument (whether in a clause without clitics or in one with clitics) in restrictive or permissive grammars. By this analysis, absence of variation is due to *v*, a structural case licenser, which both types of grammars have in their inventory of structural-case licensers.

Contraction from a direct object in a ditransitive clause containing clitics also allows us to further pursue the parallel between nominal behaviors in Galician and in Zulu, which serves as additional evidence that the analysis Halpert (2012) posits for nominals in Zulu is the correct one for Galician. I discuss this point of similarity as well as other parallel patterns for nominals in Zulu and Galician in the following section.

5.8 Parallel Behaviors of Nominals in Zulu and Galician

A central claim of this analysis is that the same kind of case system that regulates nominal distribution and morphology in Zulu (Halpert 2012, 2013, 2016) also does so for nominals in Galician. In section 3.3, I argued for a parallel between Zulu and Galician in terms of how DPs interact with nominal-internal elements, specifically with quantifiers and strong pronouns. However, the parallel between the two languages extends beyond the nominal-domain into the clausal-level. In the discussion above, we have seen that in a ditransitive clause containing clitics, either an IO clitic or transitive subject (but not both) is structurally case licensed by *f* (which nominal receives case from the licenser depends on the order of features on the latter). Further, I showed in section 5.7 that contraction from a direct object in a ditransitive clause containing an IO clitic is acceptable. In other words, in a ditransitive clause with three arguments, a maximum of two bear structural case. A parallel pattern arises for nominals in a ditransitive clause in Zulu. Consider the sentences below, adapted from Halpert (2012, ex. 141):

(99) Augmentless-Augmented-Augmentless ✓

A-ku-thum-el-anga muntu inzingane mali.
 NEG-17s-send-appl-NEG_{PST} 1person AUG10.child 9.money
 ‘Nobody sent the children any money.’

(100) Augmentless-Augmentless-Augmentless ✗

*A-ku-thum-el-anga muntu zingane mali.
 NEG-17s-send-appl-NEG_{PST} 1person 10.child 9.money

(101) Augmented-Augmentless-Augmentless ✗

*A-ku-thum-el-anga **u**muntu zingane mali.
 NEG-17s-send-appl-NEG_{PST} AUG.1person 10.child 9.money

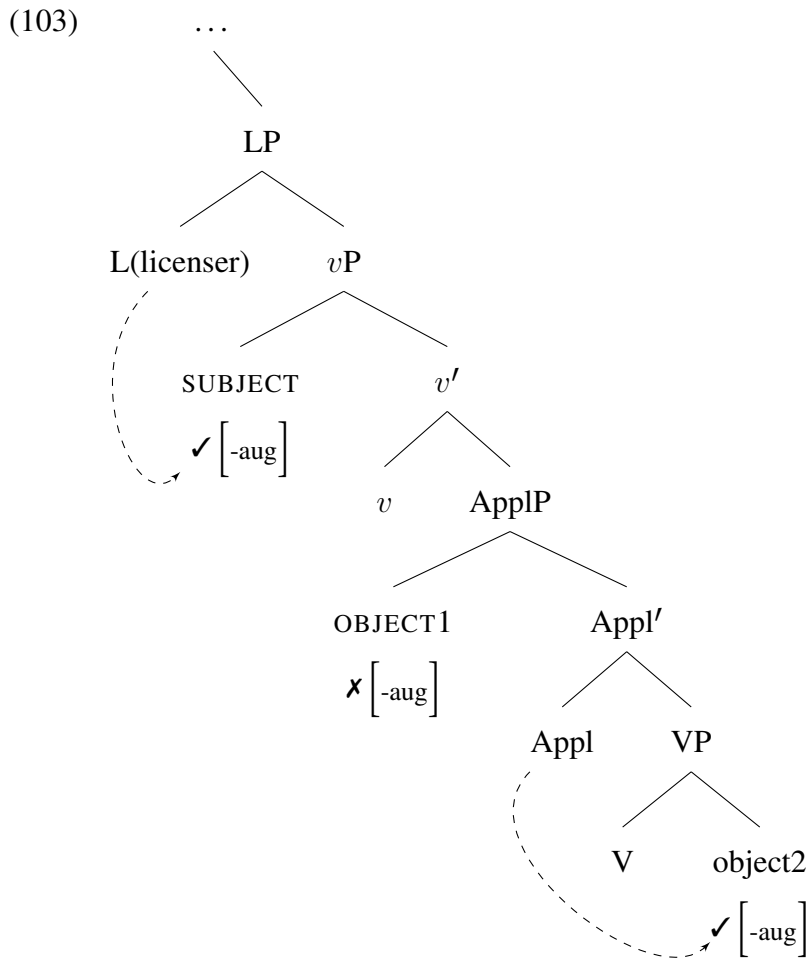
(102) Augmentless-Augmentless-Augmented ✗

*A-ku-thum-el-anga muntu zingane **i**mali.
 NEG-17s-send-appl-NEG_{PST} 1person 10.child AUG9.money

According to Halpert (2012), in a ditransitive construction, such as those in (99-102), only two arguments can appear without the augment vowel, namely, the subject and the direct object. In contrast,

the middle argument must co-occur with the augment.²⁰

Under Halpert's case-based analysis, this pattern of augmentless versus augmented nominals in a triadic construction arises because only the middle argument is not in a position to be structurally case licensed, as illustrated in (103), adapted from Halpert (2012, ex. 136):



Halpert posits a licensing head above vP , $L(\text{licenser})$, which structurally case licenses the closest nominal. In a ditransitive construction, as in (103), the closest nominal is the subject, which can therefore surface without the augment vowel. Likewise, Appl structurally case licenses the closest nominal it c-commands, which is object2 (the direct object), and it, too, can appear without the augment. However, object1 , the middle argument, never receives structural case licensing, and therefore must be case licensed via insertion of the augment, which is an intrinsic case licenser.

20. These constructions in Zulu are ditransitive expletive constructions. The same pattern surfaces in causative constructions in Zulu: although the structure contains three arguments, only two are structurally case licensed.

The same pattern of a middle argument lacking structural case licensing also holds for Galician. Specifically, in a low permissive, some middle permissive, or restrictive idiolects, the IO clitic is structurally case licensed by f_{DAT} , and the object is structurally case licensed by v . However, nothing structurally case licenses the transitive subject: IO.CL ✓ – SUBJECT ✗ – DIRECT OBJECT ✓. In a high permissive idiolect, it is actually the highest nominal, the IO clitic, which is not structurally case licensed, given that f_{DAT} triggers movement of the clitic before it discharges its structural case feature. In this instance, only the subject and direct object are structurally case licensed. Further, in permissive grammars, the structure contains a third case licenser (T). Nevertheless, a maximum of two arguments in a three-argument construction receive structural case, thereby paralleling Zulu in that one argument must be intrinsically case licensed.

Nominals in Galician mirror those in Zulu in another respect. Along with three-argument constructions, nominals behave similarly in two-argument constructions. In Zulu, when there is more than one nominal within vP , only the highest can surface without the augment vowel.²¹ The following sentences are adapted from Halpert’s (2012) (127):

- (104) A-ku-phek-anga muntu. **VS**
 NEG-17S-cook-NEG.PAST 1person ✓ **augmentless S**
 ‘Nobody cooked.’
- (105) A-ku-phek-anga muntu iqanda. **VSO**
 NEG-17S-cook-NEG.PAST 1person AUG.5egg ✓ **augmentless S – augmented O**
 ‘Nobody cooked the/an/any egg.’
- (106) *A-ku-phek-anga muntu qanda. **VSO**
 NEG-17S-cook-NEG.PAST 1person 5egg ✗ **augmentless S – augmentless O**
- (107) *A-ku-phek-anga **umuntu** qanda. **VSO**
 NEG-17S-cook-NEG.PAST AUG.1person 5egg ✗ **augmented S – augmentless O**

In an intransitive sentence with VS constituent order, the postverbal subject can be augmentless (104). The subject can also be augmentless in a transitive sentence with VSO order (105). In contrast, the object in a VSO sentences must be augmented (105-107). Importantly, the sentence in (107) reveals that even if the subject in a VSO sentence bears the augment, the object still cannot be augmentless. Halpert accounts for (105-107) by means of L(icenser), which is located immediately above vP (see

21. The distribution of augmentless nominals is also restricted to downward entailing environments (Giannakidou 2000; Adams 2008; Cheng & Downing 2009; Halpert 2012).

(103) above). L structurally case licenses the structurally closest nominal, which is always the subject in a VS or VSO sentence. Since the object in a VSO sentence is farther from L than the subject, it cannot be structurally case licensed. The object then must be intrinsically case licensed, which is accomplished by insertion of the augment vowel.

Similarly, in Galician, we find a highly similar configuration in which there are two nominals but one structural case licenser. In particular, in a monotransitive clause containing a DO clitic, there are two *v*P-internal nominals (the postverbal subject and DO clitic, both of which occupy specifiers of *v*). In a restrictive grammar or certain middle permissive grammars in which Case precedes Move on *f*, the clitic receives structural case from the licensing head (*f*), as it is closer than the subject. In contrast, in high permissive or some middle permissive varieties in which Move precedes Case on *f*, it is the subject that receives structural case from *f*. Crucially, however, whether it is the clitic or subject, the nominal that is structurally case licensed is the nominal closest to T, just as in Zulu the nominal bearing structural case is that which is closest to L. In other words, a DP that launches article contraction in Galician parallels an augmentless nominal in Zulu, while a DP that does not launch article contraction parallels an augmented nominal in Zulu. In view of these common properties, then, nominals in Zulu most closely resemble permissive grammars of Galician. This striking cross-linguistic parallel between nominal behaviors in the two languages offers persuasive evidence that *l*-contraction in Galician is best understood in terms of case, as Halpert proposes for the distribution of the augment vowel in Zulu.

5.9 Representing the Complete Analysis

This chapter investigates contraction from an article heading a postverbal transitive subject in clauses containing clitics, specifically IO and DO clitics, both pro- and enclitic, as well as pro- and enclitic clusters. Article contraction in this configuration is analyzed in contraction-free, restrictive, and permissive (high, middle, and low) idiolects. In restrictive and low permissive grammars, a transitive subject does not licitly launch contraction in a clause containing a clitic. My account of these two types of idiolects is that *f* heads are never structural case licensers; *f* has a single feature, namely its structure-building feature, attracting clitics to its specifier. In contrast, in high permissive grammars,

f bears two features: a structure-building feature and a structural-case feature. In high permissive grammars, a transitive subject invariably launches licit article contraction in a clause containing a clitic. For these grammars, I argue that Move precedes Case on all f 's. In a low permissive grammar in which a transitive subject never licitly launches contraction, I propose that Case precedes Move on all f 's. Finally, the speakers whom I categorize as middle permissive display a range of patterns with regard to licit versus illicit contraction from a transitive subject. I attribute these patterns to different values on f heads: on some, Case precedes Move, but on others, Move precedes Case.

Along with f heads, other structural case licensers are present in a structure. In all permissive grammars, T and v are case licensers; in restrictive grammars, v is a case licenser. Each grammar and its licensing heads are summarized in the table in (108):

(108) Grammars & Structural Case Licensers

	Contraction-Free	Restrictive	Low Permissive	Middle Permissive	High Permissive
f	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓
T	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓
v	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓

Only permissive grammars have f as a structural case licenser, the ordering of features gives rise to the variation regarding article contraction from a transitive subject, as discussed above. As for clauses that do not contain clitics, a combination of T and v yields a permissive grammar in which contraction from external and internal arguments is acceptable. In contrast, v alone yields restrictive grammars, in which only internal arguments launch article contraction. Still, we can further subdivide restrictive grammars. One sub-type is hyper-restrictive grammars in which only transitive v is a structural case licenser, and therefore only objects launch contraction. Another sub-type of restrictive grammars are those in which both transitive and intransitive v are case licenser, which gives rise to licit contraction from objects and unaccusative subjects. In contraction-free grammars, neither T nor v is a structural case licenser.

With regard to microvariation of article contraction in clauses containing clitics, we can better understand not only the role of structural case licensing, but also derivational timing as it is generated by orders of operations. A more permissive grammar has an increasing number of structural case

licensors along the clausal spine. Further, ordering of operations on certain case licensors gives rise to licit or illicit patterns of contraction.

Still, even more patterns of article contraction than those investigated above exist in idiolects of Galician. Specifically, idiolects also exhibit variation with respect to interactions with different types of dative clitics. Specifically, certain dative clitics (e.g., possessors) allow article contraction, while others (e.g., oblique complements) block it. And these patterns vary across idiolects. In the next section, therefore, I present an analysis of contraction between the definite article and different types of dative clitics.

Chapter 6

Dative Case is a Heterogeneous Category

6.1 What are Datives?

In the previous chapter, I argued that Galician displays considerable idiolectal variation with respect to contraction from a transitive subject in sentences with DO or IO enclitics. I concentrate solely on enclitics.¹ Idiolectal variation in contraction is not limited to IO and DO clitics, however. Various types of dative clitics in Galician interact differently with article contraction from transitive subjects across permissive grammars. In particular, the types of dative clitics that I investigate in this chapter are oblique complements, possessors, and experiencers. Crucially, these speakers who exhibit variation in possessor and oblique complement clitics also reject contraction between an IO enclitic and article heading a transitive subject. Examples of the former two are shown in (1-3), respectively. I return to experiencers below.

- (1) Envióu-nos a avoa o regalo. (*Envióu-no-**la** avoa ...)
send_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT} **the**_{SG.F} grandmother the_{SG.M} gift
'Grandmother sent us the gift.'
- (2) %Falou-no-**lo** mestre.
talk_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT}-**the**_{SG.M} teacher
'The teacher talked to us.'
- (3) %Pintou-no-**lo** pintor a casa.
paint_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT}-**the**_{SG.M} painted the_{SG.F} house
'The painter painted our house.'

1. This section excludes proclisis because I did not have enough time to collect this data with Galician consultants. A prediction of this analysis, however, is that the proclisis versus enclisis distinction should not affect the patterns of (il)licit article contraction. This prediction is fruitful avenue of inquiry for future research.

In the particular permissive grammars under investigation in this chapter, a transitive subject invariably does not launch contraction with an IO clitic (1). In contrast, as shown in (2), contraction between the oblique complement clitic and article heading the subject is acceptable for some speakers but illicit for others. Likewise, contraction between a dative possessor and article heading a transitive subject varies in terms of its acceptability across speakers (3).

I account for the contrast illustrated in the examples above by arguing that different types of dative clitics have a distinct internal syntax. Recall from chapter 4 that dative clitics were hypothesized to alternate in their syntax between K's heading KPs, while others are P's heading PPs. I characterize this structural distinction and in greater detail and propose that the K and P alternation is only for possessor and oblique complement clitics. The former intervene for structural case licensing; that is, they maraud a licensing head's structural case feature, preventing a lower argument from receiving structural case. In contrast, the latter do not intervene for structural case; if they are positioned between a licensing head and a lower argument, the licensing head bypasses them when discharging a case feature. The licensing head instead will structurally case license the next closest goal.

In permissive grammars in which a given dative clitic (whether an oblique complement, as in (2), or a possessor, as in (3)) is not a licit host of article contraction, that clitic is assumed to be a K. In contrast, if contraction with that dative clitic from a transitive subject is acceptable, it is a P. In other words, the syntax of dative clitics is not uniform for speakers of the same idiolect type. I contrast this variation with contraction between an IO clitic and article heading a transitive subject. This consistently ill-formed contraction is due to the fact that, in the idiolects under analysis here, Case precedes Move on f_{DAT} , and that IO clitics are uniformly K's, i.e., they are never P's for any variety of Galician. Consequently, an IO clitic is always an intervener for structural case. As I pointed out in chapter 4 (section 4.3), the idea that dative clitics can vary in terms of their syntax is not novel. As Cabré and Fábregas (2019) submit, even if we refer to particular objects as 'dative,' this classification does not guarantee they share the same properties (p. 170).

In contrast to contraction from a transitive subject, in all permissive idiolects contraction from internal arguments with experiencer and possessor dative clitics is well formed. Likewise, in restrictive

grammars that allow contraction from all internal arguments, the same pattern surfaces.²

- (4) *Gústa-vo-la* *zorza*.
like_{3SG.PST-CL2PL.DAT}-**the**_{SG.F} *zorza*
'You like *zorza*.'
- (5) *Chegóu-vo-lo* *correo*.
arrive_{3SG.PST-CL2PL.DAT}-**the**_{SG.M} *mail*
'Your mail arrived.'
- (6) *Pintóu-no-la* *casa* (o *pintor*).
paint_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT}-**the**_{SG.F} *house* **the**_{SG.M} *painter*
'(The painter) painted our house.'

Contraction from an unaccusative subject in the presence of a dative experiencer is acceptable (as in (4)), as is contraction from an unaccusative subject or object with a possessor clitic (as in (5-6)). Absence of variation regarding contraction from an unaccusative subject and experiencer and possessor clitics is due to the fact *v* is a structural case licenser in permissive idiolects and the restrictive idiolects just described. That is, structural case licensing is invariably available for internal arguments, while no such licenser exists for external arguments. In permissive grammars in which a transitive subject does not launch article contraction with a possessor, the subject does not always receive structural case, given that dative clitics intervene for case licensing, depending on their internal syntax.

In terms of the overarching body of work with which this dissertation is in conversation, microvariation here provides us with a unique insight into the internal syntax of clitics. That is, although a class of clitic in Galician bears 'dative' case, they are internally syntactically distinct. Such an insight can only be arrived at through a study of article contraction.

The remainder of this chapter is organized as follows. I provide an account of variation regarding oblique complements and possessor clitics in section 6.2; an analysis of contraction from internal arguments with experiencer and possessor clitics is given in section 6.3; section 6.4 offers a straightforward account of article contraction and dative clitics in certain permissive grammars, contraction-free idiolects, and restrictive grammars that only allow contraction from a direct object (i.e., not from an unaccusative subject); finally, conclusions are in 6.5.

2. The word *zorza* in (4) refers to a Galician minced meat dish.

6.2 K versus P: The Internal Syntax of Dative Clitics

In this section, I investigate variation regarding contraction from a transitive subject with different types of dative clitics in permissive grammars. In the grammars under analysis, contraction from a transitive subject with an IO clitic is ill formed because this type of clitic is uniformly a K heading a KP: that is, here we find no variation (see chapter 5, section 5.3). In contrast, possessor and oblique complement clitics vary in terms of whether they are K's or P's.

To rule out illicit contraction in this context I argued that IO clitics are always K's, and that they consequently maraud structural case licensing from *f* (and from T). However, as I noted above, these same grammars are not consistent with regard to contraction from a transitive subject with other types of dative clitics. In this section I present an account of variation with dative clitics. In subsection 6.2.1, I analyze a grammar in which contraction from a external argument subject with a possessor clitic is unacceptable but well formed with an oblique complement. In subsection 6.2.2, I give an account of the opposite pattern: one in which contraction from an external argument with an oblique complement is ill formed but acceptable with a possessor.

6.2.1 Possessors are K's and Oblique Complements are P's

In some permissive grammars, contraction from a transitive subject is illicit with an IO and with a possessor clitic. In contrast, however, contraction from an unergative subject with an oblique complement is acceptable:

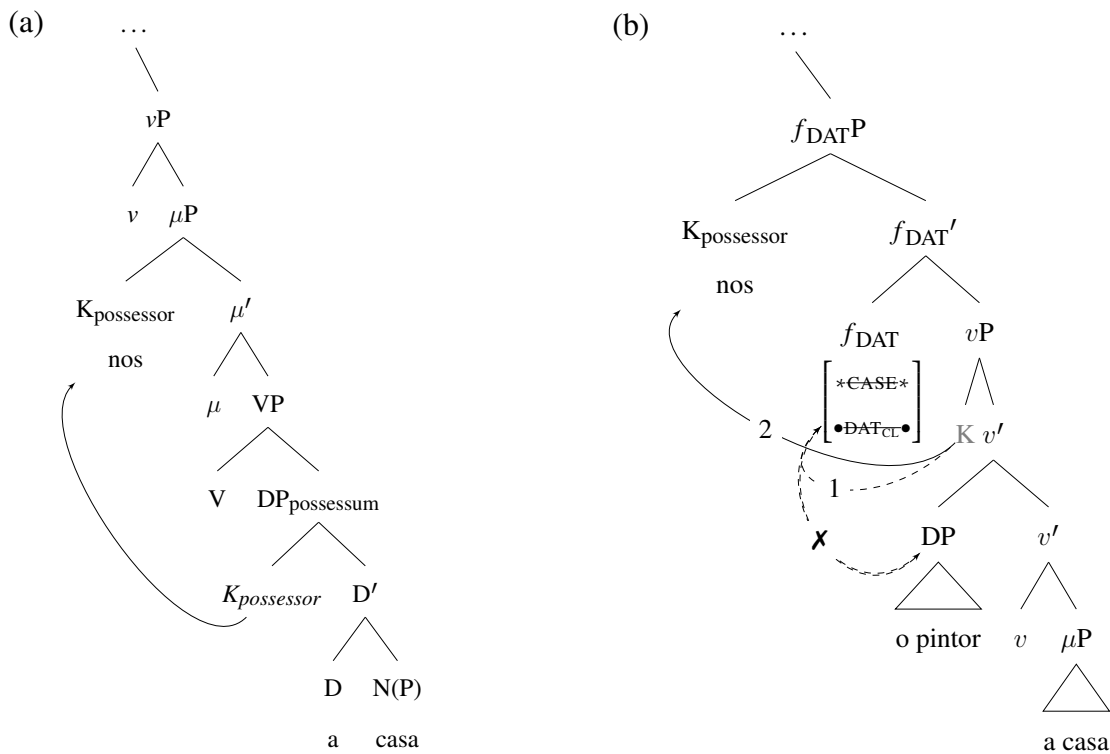
- (7) Envióu-nos **a** avoa o regalo. (*Envióu-no-**la** avoa ...)
send_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT} **the**_{SG.F} grandmother the_{SG.M} gift
'The painter painted our house.'
- (8) Pintóu-nos **o** pintor a casa. (*Pintóu-no-**lo** pintor ...)
paint_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT} **the**_{SG.M} painter
'The painter painted our house.'
- (9) Falóu-no-**lo** mestre.
talk_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT}-**the**_{SG.M} teacher
'The teacher talked to us.'

To account for unacceptable contraction, as illustrated in (7-8), I propose that both IO and possessor clitics are K's and therefore block structural case licensing to a subject. Acceptable contraction in

(9), on the other hand, licit because an oblique complement is assumed to be a P in these varieties. I first provide a derivation for (8) (see chapter 5, section 5.3, example (43) for a derivation of illicit contraction with an IO clitic).

I assume that (8) is an instance of external possession: the dative clitic is interpreted as a possessor but behaves like a dependent of the verb (Deal 2013: 392). I adopt Deal's (2013) analysis of external possession:

(10) Pintou-nos o pintor a casa.



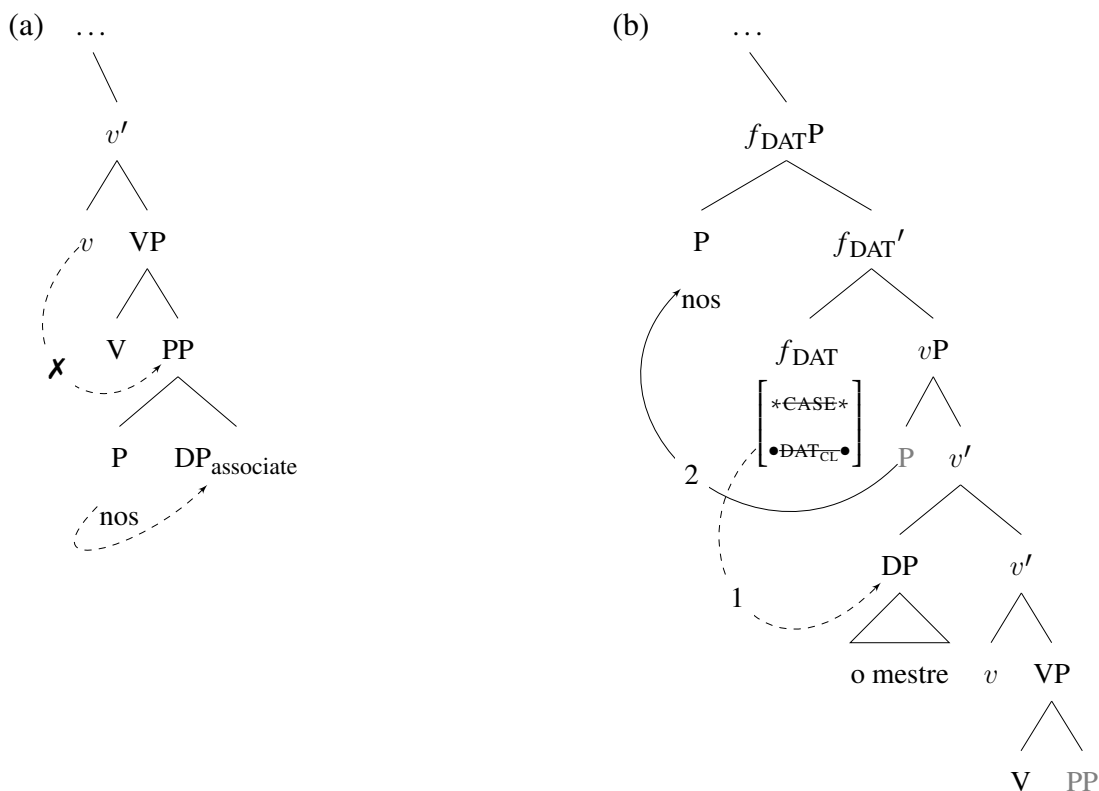
Regarding the derivation in (10), I first outline the assumptions I make regarding external possession and then how contraction is ruled out. For Deal (2013), external possession is derived via possessor raising. Deal posits μ , a head positioned below v that forces movement to its specifier, which provides a landing site for A-movement, thereby generating possessor raising. For the Galician sentence in (8), this step of movement entails the dative clitic moving to μ 's specifier (10a). For Deal, raising is obligatory due to case needs of the other the relevant nominals. Specifically, the possessor must move to μ 's specifier since this is the position from which it assigned objective case by v (2013: 411). I also propose that the possessor clitic undergoes movement for case-based reasons: specifically, the clitic must move to μ 's specifier, from which position it c-commands the remnant possessum DP. Therefore, the configurational case rule (Baker & Vinokurova 2010, Baker 2015, Puškar & Müller 2018) I posited for IO clitics in chapter 5 applies, and the possessor clitic is assigned structural dative case.

As depicted in (10b), like IO and DO clitics, the possessor clitic moves to an outer specifier of v . Low f_{DAT} discharges its movement feature first, triggering structural case. Since the possessor is a K, it marauds f 's case feature, blocking structural case licensing to the subject. The subject must instead

bear intrinsic case. f discharges its second feature, which triggers movement of the clitic to the head's specifier. Because the transitive subject is not structurally case licensed, leaning and *contract* are bled. Contraction from a transitive subject with possessor and IO clitics is ill formed because both are K's and therefore intervene for structural case licensing.

In contrast to possessor and IO clitics, an unergative subject licitly launches contraction with an adjacent oblique complement clitic. I propose this asymmetry between possessor and IO clitics on the one hand and oblique complement clitics on the other, arises because the former two K's but the latter is a P, which renders it invisible to the case feature on low f_{DAT} .

(11) Falou-no-lo mestre.



As I argued in chapter 4 (section 4.3), in grammars in which an oblique complement is a P, the clitic is realized as dative because of an agreement relation between it and its DP associate (11a). Note that v is a case licenser (as I have argued for permissive and restrictive grammars). However, since the oblique complement is a PP, v cannot discharge its structural case feature. I assume that structural case licensing is a fallible operation (Preminger 2011, 2014). Therefore, when v searches for a nominal to structurally case license but does not find one, no crash arises. When f_{DAT} enters the

derivation, it discharges its first feature, structurally case licensing the closest nominal, which is the subject in this configuration. Because the clitic is a P, it is not a viable goal for the case feature on *f*. As in all other previous derivations, structural case on the subject feeds leaning and *contract*.

As I have shown in this subsection, for some speakers of permissive varieties, IO and possessor clitics cluster together, while oblique complements behave differently. In the next section, I turn to the opposite pattern: one in which IO and oblique complements group together, and possessor clitics are distinct.

6.2.2 Possessors are P's and Oblique Complements are K's

Unlike the patterns of article contraction from a subject analyzed above, for other speakers, contraction with an IO clitic and oblique complement is ruled out. Contraction with a possessor clitic, however, is acceptable. This pattern is illustrated in the sentences below:

(12) Envióu-nos **a** avoa o regalo. (*Envióu-no-**la** avoa ...)
 send_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT} **the**_{SG.F} grandmother the_{SG.M} gift
 'The painted painted our house.'

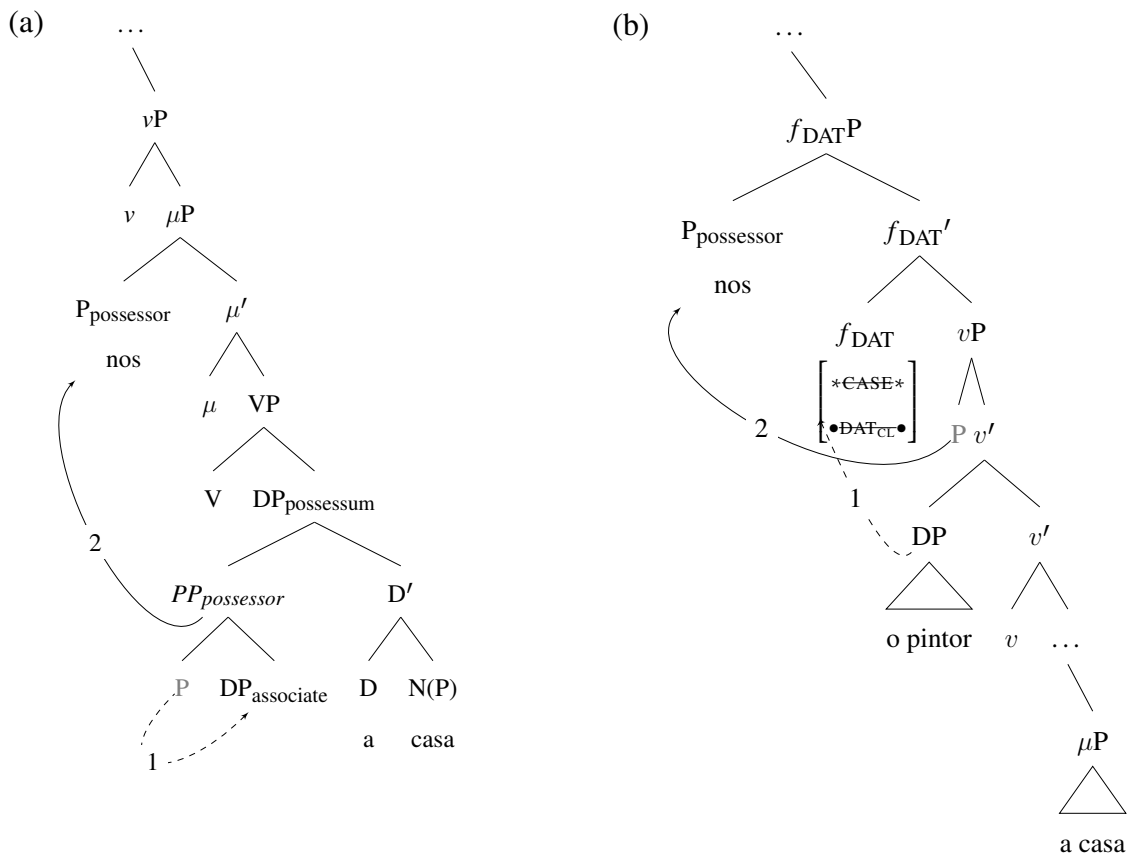
(13) Pintóu-no-**lo** pintor a casa.
 paint_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT}-**the**_{SG.M} painter the_{SG.F} house
 'The painter painted our house.'

(14) Falóu-nos **o** mestre. (*Falóu-no-**lo** mestre.)
 talk_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT} **the**_{SG.M} teacher
 'The teacher talked to us.'

I argue that, in these grammars, an oblique complement is a K, which consequently marauds structural case licensing from *f* (and T), while possessors are P's. I first offer a sample derivation for (13) and then one for (14).

Since contraction between a possessor clitic and article heading a transitive subject is acceptable, I propose that the latter is a P, which does not intervene for structural case licensing to the subject.

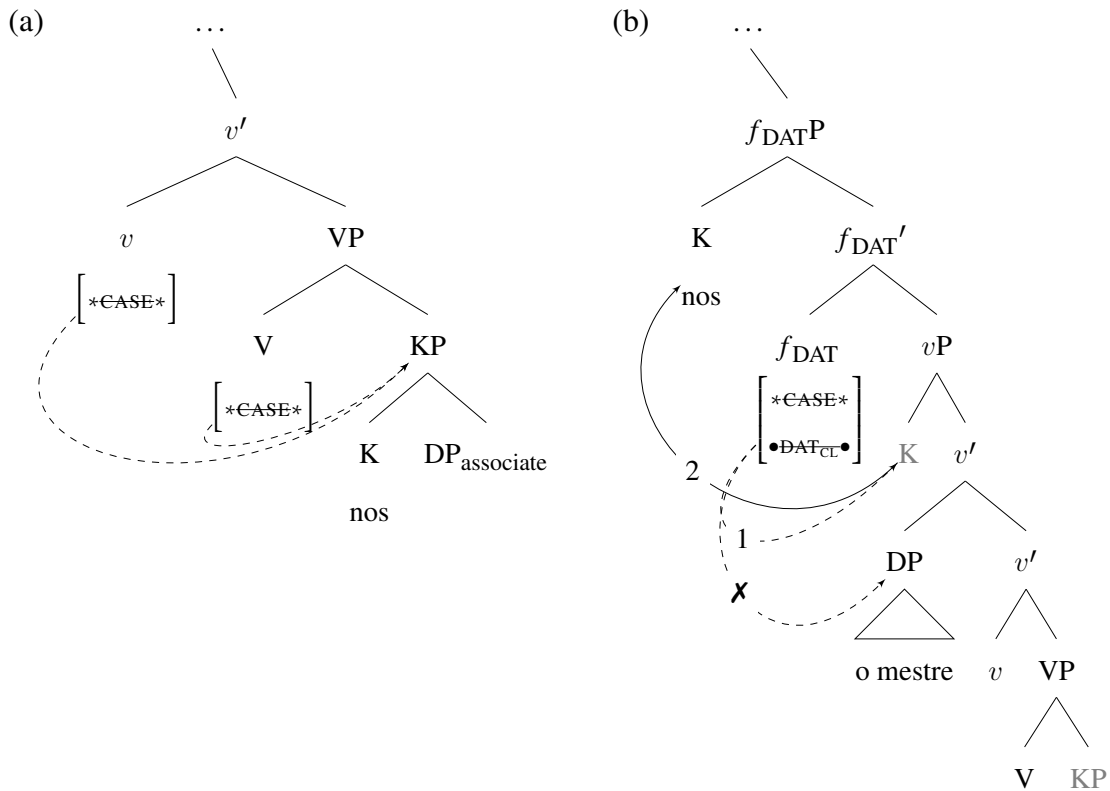
(15) Pintou-no-lo pintor a casa.



The derivation in (15a) is identical to that (10) in that the possessor raises to μ 's specifier, after which it moves to Spec, vP . In (10), I argued that structural dative case is assigned to a K possessor clitic by a configurational case rule (Baker & Vinokurova 2010, Baker 2015, Puškar & Müller 2018). However, the possessor here is a P. As I proposed above (see (11)), a P clitic is exponed as dative as the result of an agreement relation with its associate. As depicted in (15b), f_{DAT} discharges its first feature. In this configuration, the clitic is closer to the licensing head than the subject; however, because it is a P, it does not maraud f_{DAT} 's case feature. As a result, f_{DAT} bypasses the clitic and instead structurally case licenses the subject. f_{DAT} discharges its second feature, triggering movement of the P possessor clitic to its specifier. Since the subject bears structural case, the relevant operations take place at PF. Omitted from (15a) is case licensing from v . I return to this aspect of the derivation in the following section.

For speakers who reject contraction from an external argument and oblique complement, I propose that the latter is a K:

(16) Falou-nos o mestre.



For oblique complements that are hypothesized to be K's, I assume the KP's that they head are assigned structural dative case by V as well as structural case by *v* (16a). And, as previous derivations for a clause containing clitics, the clitic moves to an outer specifier of *v*P, as illustrated in (16b). f_{DAT} first discharges its case feature and structurally case licenses the closest nominal, the clitic. Since the latter is a K, it marauds f 's structural case feature. The subject must therefore bear intrinsic case. f then triggers movement of the oblique complement clitic to its specifier. Because the subject bears intrinsic case, leaning is bled at PF.

The pattern that arises here is one in which oblique complement and IO clitics are grouped together, while possessors exhibit distinct behaviors with regard to article contraction from an external argument. I attribute this to the syntax of the clitics: the former two are K's, while the latter is a P. This pattern contrasts with that investigated in section 6.2.1, in which possessors and IO clitics are K's, while an oblique complement is a P. In other words, variation regarding different types of dative clitics arises because the internal syntax of possessors and oblique complements is not uniform across idiolects. Note, however, that IO clitics are assumed to always be K's.

I further propose that IO clitics are not the only dative clitics with a uniform internal syntax across idiolects. Another is dative experiencers. The next section investigates this class of dative clitics and why contraction between them and an article heading an unaccusative subject is invariably acceptable.

6.3 Contraction from Internal Arguments is Always Licit: The Importance of *v*

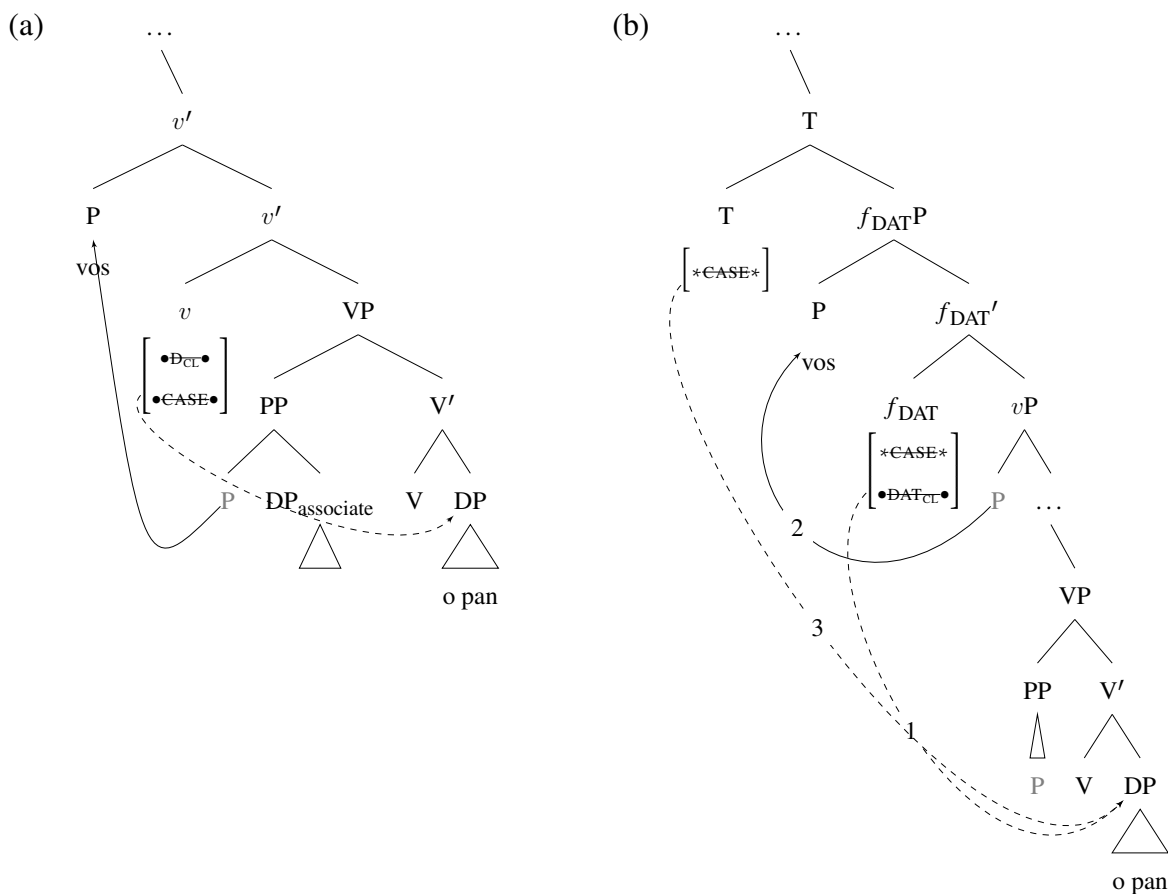
As we have seen, contraction from a transitive subject with a possessor clitic is licit for some speakers, but illicit for others. Unlike transitive subjects, however, unaccusative subjects and direct objects display no such complex variation. A parallel pattern emerges regarding transitive subjects and direct objects in a ditransitive clause containing an IO clitic: contraction from the former varies widely across speakers, while contraction from the former is consistently well formed (see chapter 5, section 5.8). Licit contraction from internal arguments with experiencer or possessor clitic occurs in all three subtypes of permissive grammars (high, middle, and low) as well as in some restrictive grammars. For example, consider (17-19):³

- (17) Gústa-vo-**lo** pan.
 like_{3SG.PST-CL2PL.DAT}-**the**_{SG.M} bread
 ‘You like bread.’
- (18) Chegóu-vo-**lo** correo.
 arrive_{3SG.PST-CL2PL.DAT}-**the**_{SG.M} mail
 ‘Your mail arrived.’
- (19) O pintor pintóu-no-**la** casa.
 the_{SG.M} painter paint_{3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT}-**the**_{SG.F} house
 ‘The painter painted our house.’

Instead, the invariably acceptable status of contraction from an unaccusative subject with an experiencer clitic as well as contraction from an internal argument (unaccusative subject or direct object) with a possessor clitic arises for the same reason: the uniform availability of *v* as a low structural case licenser. I provide a sample derivation of (17) first and then one for internal arguments and a possessor clitic.

- (20) Permissive Grammars (Case > Move)

3. See section 6.5 for further discussion on restrictive grammars.



Previous work on psych predicates such as *gustar* (Belletti & Rizzi 1988, Pesetsky 1995, Landau 2009, Davison 2003) maintains that these verbs are unaccusative: both the theme and experiencer are internal arguments, and the experiencer is oblique or dative. Oblique/dative case is assigned by a preposition. Following this line of research, I assume *gustar* is unaccusative. The theme is a DP and the experiencer is a PP, head by an covert P. I adapt these previously proposals slightly, however, and argue that the P proposed by previous researchers is the clitic itself in this analysis. As I proposed for other P clitics, the realization of dative case on P (the clitic) is the result of agreement and case licensing between the clitic and its DP associate. Note, however, that the experiencer could also be K heading a KP. Recall that v has two stacked features. The first of which triggers movement of the clitic to its specifier. v then discharges its second feature, and structurally case licenses the theme (see chapter 5, section 5.8 for why v bypasses the DP associate when for purposes of case licensing) (20a). It is important to point out that since the experiencer clitic is never an intervener for structural case between v and the theme, it could also be analyzed as K. That is, we cannot conclude definitively whether experiencer clitics are K's or P's; I therefore simply assume they are P's. As in (20b), the clitic moves to a specifier of v , and f_{DAT} discharges its first feature, structural case. f case licenses the theme, which is the closest nominal. Because the clitic is a P, it is not a potential goal for f_{DAT} 's

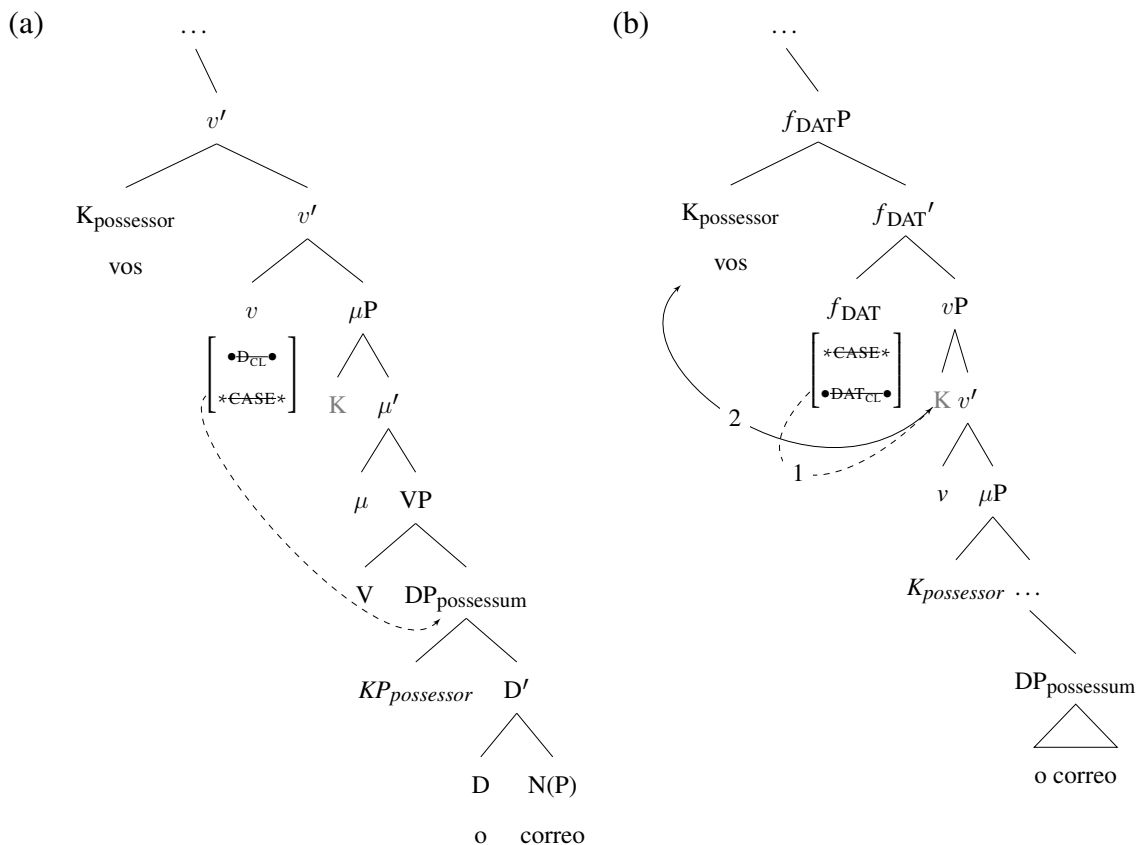
structural case feature. When T is merged into the structure, it also bypasses the P clitic in f_{DAT} 's specifier and structurally case licenses the theme. Structural case licensing to the theme consequently feeds leaning of its article and the *contract* rule.

In a permissive grammar in which Move precedes Case on low f_{DAT} , the derivation is almost identical to that in (20) except for the ordering of features on f . When Move > Case on f , the experiencer clitic moves first to the former's specifier. Both f_{DAT} and T bypass the experiencer clitic, as it is a P, and instead structurally case license the lower theme argument.

For restrictive grammars in which an unaccusative subject launches contraction with an experiencer clitic, I assume the derivation in (20) except that T is not a structural case licenser (recall that only in permissive grammars is T a case licensing head). However, the theme argument receives structural case from both v and low f_{DAT} , which feeds leaning of the article at PF.

As discussed above, contraction from an unaccusative subject with a possessor clitic or from a direct object with a possessor clitic is uniformly acceptable across permissive and some restrictive grammars. Note that we cannot determine whether an experiencer is a K or P. Although we can do so for a possessor at least in some idiolects, given that contraction from a transitive subject and possessor is illicit. I provide a derivation for (18) in which the possessor clitic is a K:

(21) Chegou-vo-lo correo.



As in (21a), v discharges its first feature, and the possessor clitic consequently moves to the head's specifier. When v discharges its second feature, it structurally case licenses, the remnant DP possessum, as it is the closest nominal given that the clitic has previously moved out of v 's c-command domain: *o correo* receives structural case as a result. In restrictive grammars and permissive grammars in which Case precedes Move, low f_{DAT} first case licenses the possessor clitic, which marauds the licensing head's structural case feature. The remnant DP possessum consequently does not receive structural case from f . f_{DAT} then triggers movement of the possessor clitic to its specifier (21b). In a permissive grammar, T also structurally case licenses the possessor clitic, which marauds the head's case feature given that it is a K. Although the DP possessum does not bear structural case from higher licensing heads, it does do so from v . Licensing of the article heading *o correo* is licensed at PF.

In a permissive grammar in which a possessor is a P, the DP possessum receives structural case from v , f_{DAT} , and T, since P clitics are not interveners for structural case licensing, by hypothesis. Under the maraudage-based approach to case assignment (Assmann et al. 2015), a nominal can be assigned structural case more than once without issue. The same holds for grammars in which Move precedes

Case on low f_{DAT} : the possessor clitic (whether a K or P) moves out of the licensor's c-command domain before it discharges its case feature, which feeds case licensing to the DP possessum by f_{DAT} . Note that in these grammars (in which Move > Case on low f_{DAT}), only K clitics maraud structural case licensing from T. Critically, though, these various interactions between a clitic and higher licensing heads have no effect on structural case licensing to the unaccusative subject: this category of nominal consistently bears structural case from v . Finally, in a restrictive grammar, v is the only source of structural case licensing to the unaccusative subject. In restrictive grammars, a transitive subject never launches article contraction with a possessor clitic because neither f (nor T) is not assumed to be a structural case licensor (see chapter 5, section 5.5).

Contraction from a direct object with a possessor clitic is also acceptable because of structural licensing from v . I assume a similar derivation for contraction from a direct object in a ditransitive clause containing an IO clitic (see chapter 5, section 5.6, (98)). v first triggers movement of the clitic to its specifier and then structurally case licenses object (more precisely, in the case of external possession), the remnant DP possessum. In a grammar in which Case > Move on low f_{DAT} and in which the possessor is a K, the latter marauds the former's structural case feature. The clitic also marauds structural case from T. Neither the transitive subject nor direct object receives structural case. While no structural case licensing is available for the transitive subject, the object is case licensed by v . Therefore, only the latter type of argument uniformly launches article contraction with a possessor.

In a permissive grammar in which the possessor is a P or in which Move > Case on low f_{DAT} , the transitive subject receives structural case licensing from f_{DAT} as well as T. The object however does not depend on structural case from some higher structural case licensor, given that v is always present in the structure. Further, as I argue for unaccusative subjects above, in a restrictive grammar, a direct object only receives structural case from v (i.e., structural case licensing from a higher licensor is never available because a dative clitic invariably marauds the licensor's case feature).

Contraction from an internal argument and possessor clitic is well formed across idiolects because of the presence of v , which is able to uniformly case license nominals in its c-command domain. Therefore, contraction from this class of argument does not depend upon structural case from a higher

licensing head, as do external arguments.

More still remains to be said regarding dative clitics and article contraction. In the next section, I offer a brief account of certain permissive grammars as well as contraction-free grammars.

6.4 Other Comments on Dative Clitics

Some varieties of Galician allow contraction between an article heading a subject and all dative clitics (oblique complements, possessors, and experiencers). Moreover, in these same varieties, contraction from a transitive or unaccusative subject are both well formed with a possessor clitic. For example, contraction is acceptable in all of the sentences below:

- (22) Falou-no-**lo** mestre.
talk<sub>3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT-the_{SG.M} teacher
'The teacher talked to us.'</sub>
- (23) Pintou-no-**lo** pintor a casa.
paint<sub>3SG.PST-CL1PL.DAT-the_{SG.M} painter the_{SG.F} house
'The painter painted our house.'</sub>
- (24) Chegou-vo-**lo** correo.
arrive<sub>3SG.PST-CL2PL.DAT-the_{SG.M} mail
'Your mail arrived.'</sub>
- (25) Gústa-no-**lo** pan.
like<sub>3SG.PRS-CL1SG.DAT-the_{SG.M} bread
'We like bread.'</sub>

Crucially, in these varieties, contraction between an IO clitic and article heading a transitive subject is acceptable. Recall from the previous chapter that well-formed contraction in this context is assumed to be from the ordering of features on f_{DAT} : specifically, Move > Case. Therefore, an IO clitic is never an intervener for structural case licensing to the transitive subject. I adopt the same analysis for the other types of dative clitics illustrated above. Move precedes Case on f_{DAT} , and therefore structural case licensing is always available for external and internal argument. Further, because of this ordering of features, we cannot ascertain whether possessors or oblique complements are K's or P's. That is, because Move precedes Case on f , a dative clitic never occupies a position from which we can determine whether it blocks structural case licensing. Consequently, in these varieties, oblique

complements and possessors may be K's or P's.

As for restrictive grammars, those that allow contraction from an internal arguments (unaccusative subjects and direct objects) with a verbal complex also allow it with an experiencer or possessor clitic. This pattern I attribute to the fact that v is a structural case licenser (see section 6.4). However, other restrictive grammars permit contraction only from a direct object and a verbal complex. These same grammars also permit contraction only from an object with a possessor, not from an unaccusative subject. I propose that in these grammars only transitive v is a structural case licenser; neither T nor f licenses structural case. Therefore, if intransitive v is not a structural case licenser, an unaccusative subject never receives structural case. Illicit contraction from external arguments and oblique complements and possessors arises because low f_{DAT} is not a structural case licenser.

In contraction-free idiolects, v , T, and f are argued not to be structural case licensers. As a result, neither external nor internal arguments can be structurally case licensed by any of these functional heads. That is, there is no clausal-level structural-case licenser in these idiolects.

6.5 Overview of Datives and Article Contraction

This chapter investigates the way in which article contraction interacts with different kinds of dative clitics, specifically, oblique complements, possessors, and experiencers. I propose that microvariation allows us to better understand the internal syntax of clitics.

Across grammars, there is variation as to whether an external argument launches article contraction with a possessor or oblique complement. I analyze this asymmetry to a difference in the internal syntax of these two types of clitics. In varieties in which contraction from a subject with a possessor is acceptable, I propose that the clitic is a P, and consequently does not intervene for structural case licensing. The opposite pattern (in which contraction in this environment is unacceptable) arises because the possessor is a K and does intervene for structural case. The same derivation applies for an oblique complement clitic: if contraction is illicit from a transitive subject, the oblique complement is a K, but if contraction is well formed, it is a P.

In permissive and some varieties of restrictive grammars, contraction from an internal argument is consistently well formed, i.e., this is an area of the language in which no variation in article contraction surfaces. Absence of variation is assumed to be due to the presence of *v* as a structural case licenser, which consistently structurally case licenses internal arguments.

Finally, I noted that in some grammars contraction from an external and internal argument with all dative clitics is acceptable. I analyze this pattern to the fact that Move always precedes Case on low f_{DAT} . Finally, in contraction free and some restrictive idiolects, *f* and *v* are not licensers of structural case, and therefore contraction from any argument with a dative clitic is ruled out.

The next chapter concludes the dissertation, summarizing the analysis developed in the preceding chapters. It also touches on other patterns of article contraction that fall outside the parameters of the present investigation and discusses possible directions for future research on article contraction in Galician from a syntactic and sociolinguistic perspective.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 Overview of Main Claims

This dissertation advances a twofold approach to definite article contraction in Galician. In part, article contraction is regulated by case licensing in the syntax, but also by operations at PF (leaning and a phonological rule). I also argue for a particular approach to syntax-prosody mapping in which PF operations depend upon prior operations in the syntax. I posit two constraints on one such PF operation, leaning. Leaning applies to an article heading a lexical DP only if the latter bears structural case; further, an article and its structural-case licenser must be contained within the same prosodic word after leaning. In contrast, intrinsic case licensing of a lexical DP bleeds leaning at PF, and bleeding of leaning in turn bleeds application of the *contract* rule.

As far as they pertain to an analysis of definite article contraction, I also provide an account of pronominal clitics. Like lexical DPs, clitics must also be licensed in the syntax. However, clitics are licensed not by case but by movement to the specifier of a designated functional head, f . A high f head generates proclisis, while a low one gives rise to enclisis. Further, licensing of clitics and f heads is argued to be reciprocal: a clitic must be attracted to the specifier of a designated f head; and an f head must attract a designated clitic. In particular, I propose that one f , f_D , is category discriminating, attracting only DO clitics, which bear a [CAT D] feature. A second type of f , f_{DAT} , is case discriminating, and triggers movement only of dative clitics to its specifier. Additionally, in certain dialects, the structure-building feature on high f_{DAT} bears a unique attract-all property, which triggers movement of all clitics in the head's c-command domain to its specifiers. Leaning also applies to clitics, and the

same two posited constraints apply.

At the nominal level, I ascribe the variation to whether a given element (P, quantifier, strong pronoun, conjunction) is a licenser of structural case. For speakers in which article contraction with a given nominal-internal element is well formed, that element is taken to be a structural case licenser. If contraction is unacceptable, the element does not license structural case.

7.2 Types of Idiolects

I discuss three types of idiolects, which display variation with regard to article contraction at the clausal level. I attribute this variation to the locus and number of structural case licensers along the clausal spine. These types and their respective inventories of structural-case licensers are summarized and below:

(26) Types of Idiolects

- (a) Contraction-Free: neither external nor internal arguments (no structural-case licenser)
- (b) Restrictive: internal arguments only (*v*)
- (c) Permissive: external and internal arguments (T and *v*)

In contraction-free grammars in which an article never undergoes contraction with clausal-level elements, neither T nor *v* are structural-case licensers. In restrictive grammars, only internal arguments launch article contraction because they contain only *v* as a structural-case licenser. Finally, permissive grammars, which permit contraction from internal and external arguments, have both T and *v* as structural case licensers. This analysis captures the implicational relationships across idiolects. In particular, if a grammar allows contraction from an external argument, it also does so from an internal argument. This arises from the fact that such a grammar has both T and *v* in their inventory of structural-case licensers. Further, if a grammar does not permit contraction from an internal argument, contraction from an external argument is also ruled out. This pattern arises because if *v* is not a licenser of structural case, T is also not a structural-case licenser. Variation is therefore cumulative: the most structural-case licensers, the more permissive a grammar is.

Permissive grammars can be further analyzed into distinct subtypes. These subtypes are the result of contrasting ordering of features on f heads, as shown below:

(27) Types of Permissive Grammars

- (a) High Permissive: Move > Case on all f heads
- (b) Low Permissive: Case > Move on all f heads
- (c) Middle Permissive: orders vary between different f heads

In a high permissive grammar, a postverbal transitive subject licitly launches contraction in a clause containing a clitic, regardless of the type of clitic and the position of the clitic. The acceptability of contraction arises because a clitic always moves out of the c-command domain of f before the head discharges its structural-case feature; the clitic is therefore never an intervener for structural-case licensing to a transitive subject. In contrast, a low permissive grammar has the opposite order of features on all f heads: this ordering entails that a clitic always intervenes for structural-case licensing to a transitive subject, since it undergoes movement after f discharges its case feature. Finally, for the various speakers grouped together as middle permissive grammars, whether a transitive subject launches contraction depends on whether the clitic in the clause is pro- or enclitic as well as whether the clitic is a DO or IO. These patterns arise because the ordering of features differ across types of f heads (f_{DAT} versus f_{D}) and their positions (high versus low).

Finally, in some permissive grammars in which a transitive subject does not licitly launch contraction with an IO clitic, it does licitly do so with other types of dative clitics. Specifically, some speakers allow article contraction from an external argument with oblique complement clitics but not with possessors; other speakers exhibit the opposite pattern. This asymmetry arises because of differences in the internal syntax of dative clitics. If contraction with a possessor clitic is licit, the possessor is assumed to be a P, which does not intervene for structural case licensing. The same assumption holds for an oblique complement clitic. On the other hand, for the inverse pattern of acceptability regarding possessor and oblique complement clitics, the clitics are taken to be K's, which do intervene for structural case. Contraction from internal arguments with possessor clitics or with experiencer clitics is well formed across permissive and restrictive grammars due to the presence of v in both idiolect types.

In terms of the larger context of this dissertation, an investigation of microvariation of the definite article in Galician offers us insights into how case licensing and derivational timing across the language generates a range of idiolectal patterns. More specifically, we can attribute variation from different types of arguments across clauses with and without clitics both to which functional heads are license structural case in a given variety of Galician as well as how structural case interacts with movement of nominals.

7.3 Other Puzzles

Beyond the patterns analyzed in the previous chapters, article contraction also surfaces in other contexts and, for some speakers, article contraction is regulated by additional constraints. I do not offer an analysis of these properties, since I have not yet examined them in depth, but I offer a brief summary of them below.

This dissertation focuses solely on contraction from arguments, but contraction from DP adjuncts is also possible in Galician, and, like arguments, speakers exhibit variation as to whether contraction is licit in this environment:

(28) %Llegamo-**lo** domingo.
 arrive_{1PL.PST}**the**_{PL.M} Sunday
 ‘We arrived on Sunday.’

(29) %Os homes lemo-**lo** luns o libro.
 the_{PL.M} men read_{1PL.PST}**the**_{SG.N} Monday the_{SG.M} book
 ‘We men read the book on Monday.’

(30) %Víu-no-**lo** luns o avó.
 see_{3SG.PST-CL}_{1PL.DO}**the**_{SG.M} Monday the_{SG.M} grandfather
 ‘Grandfather saw us on Monday.’

(31) %Nunca o vímo-**lo** luns os homes.
 never _{CL}_{3SG.M.DO} see_{1PL.PST}**the**_{SG.M} Monday the_{PL.M} men
 ‘We men never saw him on Monday.’

Some speakers accept contraction from a DP adjunct with an intransitive verb (as in (28)), while others reject it. The same holds for contraction from a DP adjunct and a transitive verb (as as in (29)),

or from a DP adjunct and an enclitic (30), or with a verbal complex if the clitic is a proclitic (31)). The same patterns of varying acceptability hold regardless of whether the clitic is pro- or enclitic or whether it is an IO or other type of dative clitic (possessor, oblique complement, or experiencer).

Whether a speaker accepts contraction from a DP adjunct does not correlate with the three classes of idiolects. For example, some speakers of restrictive idiolects accept contraction from a DP adjunct, while others reject it. Likewise, speakers of permissive grammars do not uniformly accept contraction from DP adjuncts. However, speakers of contraction-free idiolects reject contraction from DP adjuncts, as they do for arguments.

Another context in which article contraction surfaces is with adverbs. Consider the sentence in (32-33):

(32) %Botaron antes o café e despoi-**lo** leite.
 add_{3PL.PST} before the_{SG.M} coffee and after-**the**_{SG.M} milk
 ‘They added the coffee first and then the milk.’

(33) %Botaron ante-**lo** café e despois o leite.
 add_{3PL.PST} before-**the**_{SG.M} coffee and after the_{SG.M} milk
 ‘They added the coffee first and then the milk.’

Some speakers reject contraction between an article and adverb entirely. Others accept it but in some contexts. For example, some speakers accept it in (32) but not in (33). Interestingly, no speakers showed a preference for (33) over (32). Others accept it in both example sentences above. Additionally, some speakers allow contraction with an adverb, but judge it to be marginal or severely degraded.

Finally, some speakers display a person restriction on article contraction. For example, consider the following sentences:

(34) N-o colexio viu-nos **a** mestra. (*No colexio viuno-**la** mestra.)
 in-the_{SG.M} school see-CL_{3PL.M.DO} **the**_{SG.F} teacher
 ‘The teacher saw them at school.’

(35) N-o colexio viu-no-**la** mestra.
 in-the_{SG.M} school see-CL_{1PL.DO}-**the**_{SG.F} teacher
 ‘The teacher saw us at school.’

The sentences above are nearly string identical. A third-person DO enclitic is syncretic with a first-person plural enclitic when a verbal complex has a final diphthong. In this context, the form of the third-person DO enclitic is not *os*, but *nos*; that is, a unique *n*-initial allomorph of the third-person DO clitic surfaces after a diphthong (see Kastner (2024) for analysis of this allomorph). Despite the fact that (34) and (35) are identical, some speakers only allow contraction if the clitic is interpreted as first person. If it is interpreted as a third-person clitic, the article must remain un-contracted. It is worth noting that speakers who exhibit this person restriction also accept contraction from an article heading an external argument and second-person clitic (*vos*).

The aspects of article contraction outlined above constitute potentially fruitful avenues of investigation. A logical next step in developing this analysis is to determine whether there are any correlations or implications between the idiolect types identified here and these other properties of article contraction.

7.4 The Social Dimensions of Article Contraction

Beyond the syntactic properties described in the previous section, other aspects of article contraction merit discussion. Specifically, there are certain sociolinguistic factors that come into play when considering syntactic variation in article contraction. I refer to these as factors, but it is important to point out that these are observations and language attitudes that Galician language consultants shared with me during elicitation sessions.

One observation that many speakers shared during our collaborations together was that the contracted form of the article sounded like the language of older speakers. For example, several speakers commented that it sounded like the language of their grandparents. Intriguingly, however, in my work with older speakers, I did not find a correlation between age and use of the contracted form of the article. That is, my impression is that older speakers did not accept the contracted form more than younger speakers. One avenue of future inquiry is to investigate further these opinions of speakers regarding age and to see whether, in fact, there are any such correlations.

Another observation that speakers shared was the influence of written language on oral language. As

I noted in chapter 4 (section 4.7), some speakers noted that the un-contracted form of the article is the correct written form, while the contracted form is the correct spoken form. These judgments often came from younger speakers who received their Galician language education after 2003, after which the un-contracted form of the article was standardized in orthography. Before 2003, the contracted form was the oral and written form. Intriguingly, some older speakers describe the reverse pattern of acceptability: the un-contracted form is the correct spoken form, and the contracted, the correct written form. These were usually speakers who received their language education before the change in standardization of orthography in 2003. Some speakers, particularly younger speakers, stated that their language education might influence their speech: e.g., some told me that they believe that they prefer an un-contracted form because of the influence of written language. This was true especially for examples were academic in nature (e.g., *ler o libro* ‘read the book’ versus *cóme-lo pan* ‘eat the bread’). Additionally, some speakers told me that they allowed both the contracted and un-contracted forms in speech, stating that the forms varies depending on who they were talking to. In addition, there is a standardized orthography regarding contraction. A hyphen is used between a contracted article and a verbal complex or between a contracted article and a clitic. With quantifiers, strong pronouns, the conjunction (*e*)-*mais*, or *P*, no hyphen is used with contracted article. However, speakers disagree in terms of what the correct orthography is, even those with advanced levels of education or those who work in language education or language examinations. That is, even individuals who are highly knowledgeable with respect to standardization of Galician reported contrasting statements with respect to where to use a hyphen. At times the same individual provided different judgements, noting at some points a hyphen in certain contexts was correct, but later observing that the hyphen was, in fact, not used in that same context. Future research on this topic may shed light on any potential correlations between speakers’ levels of education and article contraction.

Yet another sociolinguistic component of article contraction that speakers shared with me concerns their meta-linguistic awareness. Many speakers stated that there is a correct form for them, but that others speak differently from them. Further, some speakers reported their own judgements (e.g., the un-contracted form is correct), but also pointed out that they have heard other speakers use the opposite form (e.g., the contracted one) and therefore the contracted form may also be correct. These same speakers, however, drew another contrast, observing that while they personally may not say an

expression in a particular way, they know others do, although some forms were completely ruled out. For example, some speakers stated they do not use a contracted article from a direct object, but others speakers do. These speakers, though, reported contraction from a transitive subject to be fully illicit. Better understanding speakers' meta-linguistic awareness and its relation to their grammars may also be revealing.

Much remains to be investigated regarding Galician, its syntax, and the connection between syntax and sociolinguistics. This dissertation therefore lays the groundwork for further studies of this minority language, in particular, of the broader theoretical implications of the empirical phenomena found therein.

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