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The syntax-information structure interface: subjects and clausal word order in Galician

Timothy Michael Gupton
University of Iowa


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THE SYNTAX-INFORMATION STRUCTURE INTERFACE: SUBJECTS AND
CLAUSAL WORD ORDER IN GALICIAN

by
Timothy Michael Gupton

An Abstract

Of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Doctor of
Philosophy degree in Spanish
in the Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

May 2010

Thesis Supervisor: Associate Professor Paula Kempchinsky

ABSTRACT

Previous accounts of preverbal subjects in Spanish and European Portuguese (EP) in the literature have debated the syntactic position of these elements. According to some analyses, preverbal subjects are canonical arguments appearing in an A-position (e.g. Goodall 2001, 2002; Suñer 2003 for Spanish; Duarte 1997; Costa 2004 for EP). Other analyses propose that preverbal subjects are non-arguments appearing in a left-peripheral – perhaps CLLD – A'-position (e.g. Uribe-Etxebarria 1990, 1995; Ordóñez & Treviño 1999 for Spanish; Barbosa 1996, 2000 for EP). Although Galician is an ideal language for insight on this debate due to linguistic ties with EP and political ties with Spain, Gupton (2006) obtained inconclusive results regarding the status of preverbal subjects in Galician.

As the literature on Galician lacks descriptions of preferred word orders according to discourse context, I collected quantitative and qualitative experimental data to describe the syntax-information structure interface in Galician. The vast majority of speakers of this minority language are Spanish-Galician bilinguals with (self-reported) high levels of competency in both languages. This is of relevance because a variety of bilinguals, including heritage speakers, attrited L1 speakers, and those who have been claimed to have incompletely acquired the heritage language have been shown to exhibit instability and optionality at the linguistic interfaces, in particular at the syntax-discourse pragmatics interface (e.g. Hulk & Müller 2000; Sorace 2005 among numerous others), which is the subject of investigation in this dissertation. The data collected indicate a marked preference for SVO in a wide variety of discourse contexts, a preference that differs from those claimed to apply in similar contexts in Spanish (e.g. Ordóñez 1997, Zubizarreta 1998, Casielles 2004).

Assuming that the presence of clitics implies the projection of *f* (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005) and the extension of the preverbal field into the left periphery, the

cliticization data gathered for Galician in main clauses, subordinate clauses and recomplementation contexts suggest a number of preverbal positions in which preverbal subjects, affective phrases, and Topic elements may appear, one of which I suggest is Spec, DoubledFceP, following Martín-González (2002), but with proposed modifications. The data also suggest necessary modifications for López's (2009) syntax-information structure interface proposal in Romance, which suggests a reduced, syncretic left-peripheral position (Spec, FinP) in which CLLD Topics, wh- elements, and Fronted Focus elements appear and are assigned [+c] (contrastive) by the Pragmatics module. Within the preverbal architecture I propose, preverbal subjects and other left-peripheral elements coincide, but in a variety of syntactic positions. Therefore, for pragmatic feature assignment to successfully assign [+c], Pragmatics must distinguish between preverbal subjects and other left-peripheral phrases.

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Thesis Supervisor: Associate Professor Paula Kempchinsky

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

PH.D. THESIS

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

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Maria Duarte

To my parents, Merwyn and Tina Gupton.

Between thought and expression lies a lifetime.

Lou Reed, *Some Kinda Love*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: THE SYNTACTIC PROBLEM

1.1. Background of a long-standing dichotomy: Argument vs. Non-argument positions

A long-standing dichotomy within generative syntax has involved that of arguments and non-arguments (typically referred to as A- and A'-elements, respectively). The subject and object(s) were considered the arguments of the verb, or A-elements. A-elements were those that appeared in A-positions, which were thought to be positions that could potentially receive a thematic role (Chomsky 1981), i.e. of subject or object. These positions were also relevant for (A-)binding within the GB framework. The canonical, base-generated position for subjects of transitive verbs was considered to be Spec, IP (or Spec, TP or Spec, AgrSP within the Split-INFL framework of Pollock 1989). This type of analysis predates the predicate-internal subject hypothesis (e.g. Kuroda 1988, Koopman & Sportiche 1991). Within recent, predicate-internal subject analyses, it has become standard practice to refer to the subject as the external argument, and the object(s) as internal argument(s). By current Minimalist analysis (e.g. Chomsky 1995, 2001, 2005 among numerous others), the syntactic derivation selects two lexical items from the lexical array for first merge thus forming a syntactic object. Lexical items are continuously merged (internally or externally) until the lexical array is exhausted, and all relevant morphological, semantic, and (perhaps) pragmatic features have been appropriately checked. The resulting C-I elements are sent, phase-by-phase, to PF(Articulatory-Perceptual system) for spell-out. The external argument merges in its VP-internal thematic position, and then later moves to Spec, TP to check Case and Tense. Therefore, by such an analysis, the canonical, preverbal subject position (i.e. Spec, TP) is no longer related to its thematic role, which creates potential complications for the A/A' distinction. Yet despite these current theoretical difficulties, similar complications in the

A/A' distinction predate Minimalism (see e.g. Koopman & Sportiche 1991). A'-elements were considered to be constituents which were not A-elements. This included elements in the CP-field, as well as adjuncts. Recent research in syntax has proposed that preverbal subjects in languages like Greek (Alexiadou & Agnostopoulou 1998, henceforth A & A), Spanish (Uribe-Etxebarria 1990, 1995; Ordóñez & Treviño 1999, henceforth O & T), and European Portuguese (Barbosa 1996, 2000) do not behave as A-elements, but rather as A'-elements. In section 1.2, I examine some of the syntactic tests used in the literature for determining argument or non-argument status. In section 1.3, I present the debate on preverbal subjects as arguments or non-arguments in Spanish, and in section 1.4, I discuss the same debate for analyses of European Portuguese. These form the backbone of the syntactic problem that I investigate in my dissertation. In section 1.5, I provide a brief summary of the debate on preverbal subjects. In section 1.6, I discuss the relevance of the Galician language to this debate, and discuss the important role that minority languages such as Galician have played in theoretical linguistic research. As not all minority languages are alike in prestige or practice, I describe the past and present sociolinguistic situation in Galicia in section 1.7. I also present language usage data and discuss bilingualism and bilingual issues relevant to linguistic interfaces.

1.2. Syntactic tests for arguments and non-arguments

Over the years, certain tests have been formulated to determine the status of constituents. Phrases in A-positions have been found to be able to bind a strong reflexive pronoun (1a cf. 1b), they can reconstruct (1c, Sportiche 1999: 34, ex. 48a), they are hampered by intervening A-antecedents (1d), they do not display minimality effects when a constituent is extracted over them (1e), and they cannot license parasitic gaps (1f).¹

¹ Example (1f) comes from Haegeman (1994: 475, ex. 88).

- (1)
- a. John_i looked at himself_i in the mirror.
 - b. *John_i, Bill looked at himself_i in the mirror.
 - c. [Pictures of each other] seemed to the boys [t to be fuzzy.]
 - d. *John_i thinks that Bill hurt himself_i.
 - e. [The magazine,] John left [t] on the counter.
 - f. *Poirot is a man [_{CP} who_i [_{IP} t_i runs away [when [you see e_{2i}]]]].

A'-elements are specifiers of an XP in which the specifier shares A'/Operator features with the X° head. They can license a parasitic gap (2a), are not hampered by an intervening A-antecedent (2b), and exhibit certain differences depending on whether they are base-generated or A'-moved (2c-2g, ex. 13, 14, 25, 26, respectively, in Cinque 1990: 64-67).

- (2)
- a. [Which book] did you leave [t] on the counter without reading [t]?
 - b. [Who_i] did John say [t] saw himself_i?
 - c.

	PER	QUESTA	RAGIONE	ha	detto	che
	for	this	reason	have.PRS.3SG	say.PTCP	that
	se	ne	andrà t _i .			
	CL.SE	CL.PART	leave.FUT.3SG			

FOR THIS REASON he said that he will leave
 - d.

	*Per	questa ragione	ha	detto	che
	for	this reason	have.PRS.3SG	say.PTCP	that
	se	ne	andrà t _i .		
	CL.SE	CL.PART	leave.FUT.3SG		

For this reason, he said that whe will leave.
 - e.

	Consideriamo	Anna	stupida.
	consider.PRS.1PL	Anna	stupid

We consider Anna (to be) stupid.

- f. GIANNI_i riteniamo essere stupido.
 Gianni consider.PRS.1PL be.INF stupido
- GIANNI we consider stupid.*
- g. *?Gianni, invece, riteniamo essere
 Gianni on the contrary consider.PRS.1PL be.INF
- intelligente.
 intelligent
- Gianni, on the contrary, we consider intelligent.*

According to Cinque, (2c) shows evidence that fronted focus elements are moved successive cyclically, while (2d) shows that CLLD elements are not. He also claims that if CLLD moves in the same manner as wh- movement, it should be possible to dislocate the subject of the infinitival phrase in (2g), contrary to fact. This stands in contrast with the fronted focus element in (2f), which behaves like a moved element. These movement restrictions distinguish A'-moved elements (wh- elements, fronted focus elements) from base-generated elements (CLLD). According to Cinque, the former involve an operator, while the latter do not. Additionally, one of the well-noted differences between CLLD elements and other apparently fronted elements is the requirement for a clitic double for dislocated object DPs (3).

- (3) a. Gianni, *(lo) vedrò domani.
 Gianni CL.DAT.3SG.M see.FUT.1SG tomorrow
- Gianni, I will see tomorrow.*
- b. GIANNI, (*lo) vedrò domani.
 Gianni CL.DAT.3SG.M see.FUT.1SG tomorrow
- GIANNI I will see tomorrow.*

By his analysis, the clitic in (3a) involves a variable, while (3b) has no such variable, but rather an operator. Therefore, by Cinque's analysis, A'-moved elements have an operator in CP, while CLLD A'-elements do not. Although base-generation has been the subject

of considerable debate in the literature, I mention it here since Cinque draws a distinction among A'-elements along these lines.²

1.3. The debate on subjects as arguments or non-arguments:

Spanish

Uribe-Etxebarria (1990, 1995) sparked further debate on the status of subject positions in Spanish by building upon Jaeggli's (1985) observation of Superiority Effects in Spanish. Based on possible scope interpretations of quantified DPs in preverbal versus postverbal positions, she proposes that preverbal subjects in Spanish are A'-elements. Subordinate clause preverbal quantified DPs as in (4) cannot take scope into the higher clause.

- (4) a. A quién dices que cada senador amaba *t* ?
 to who say.PRS.2SG that each senator love.IMPFV.3SG
 Who do you say that each senator loved? (* $\forall > wh$, $wh > \forall$)
- b. Qué dices que todo dios ha comprado *t* ?
 what say.PRS.2SG that all God have.PRS.3SG buy-PTCP
 What do you say that everybody bought? (* $\forall > wh$, $wh > \forall$)

Therefore, the only possible responses to these questions are single answers which apply to all involved in the reply, as in (5).³

- (5) a. It is John whom each senator loved.
 b. It is this model computer that everybody bought.

² For the moment, I do not take a position on CLLD items being A'-moved or base-generated. I return to CLLD elements in chapters 2 and 5.

³ Note that this possibility is not the result of coincidence in individual (pair-list) replies.

However, subordinate clause postverbal quantified DPs (6) can take scope over the matrix *wh*-, thus allowing for ambiguity in scope interpretation.

- (6) a. A quién dices que amaba cada senador *t* ?
 to who say.PRS.2SG that love.IMPFV.3SG each senator
 Who do you say that each senator loved? ($\forall > wh, wh > \forall$)
- b. Qué dices que ha comprado todo dios *t* ?
 what say.PRS.2SG that have.PRS.3SG buy.PTCP all God
 What do you say that everybody bought? ($\forall > wh, wh > \forall$)

The additional scope interpretation that becomes available for a postverbal subject in the lower clause is a pair-list reading, therefore additionally admitting the replies in (7).

- (7) a. Senator Smith loves Gary Cooper, Senator Brown loves Ava Gardner, ...
 b. Mary bought a book, Susan bought a computer, ...

Uribe-Etxebarria argues that the scope interpretation behavior of preverbal subjects in (7) is typical of A'-elements, which may not move after S-structure, thus prohibiting further covert quantifier movement (i.e. to take scope over the already extracted *wh*- element). The preverbal subject, already in a peripheral position, may not acquire the additional scope interpretation available to postverbal subjects at LF.⁴ The postverbal subject *cada senador* in (4a), however, is under no such limitation as an A-element, and may move further at LF to take scope over the *wh*- element.

⁴ In recent analyses such as Gallego (2005), the inability of preverbal subject quantifiers to move further (i.e. at LF) has been attributed to Criterial Freezing, which essentially makes this an A'-position. Note, however, that Rizzi (2006) also makes 'normal' Spec, TP a Criterial Position. For more on Criterial Freezing, see Rizzi (2006).

In light of the VP-internal subject hypothesis (e.g. Kuroda 1986, Fukui & Speas 1986, Koopman & Sportiche 1991), she speculates that this difference in scope interpretation in Spanish as compared to English may be due to Case-marking taking place in Spec, vP in Spanish, as compared to Spec, IP in English.

In the following section, I examine proposals of several other authors who argue on the basis of additional evidence that preverbal subjects in Spanish behave as nonargumental A'-elements. In section 1.3.2, I examine the opposing side of this argument, which maintains that preverbal subjects in Spanish behave like canonical A-elements.

1.3.1. Analyses of Spanish preverbal subjects as non-arguments

O & T (1999) propose that preverbal subjects in Spanish are A'-elements. They point out important similarities between preverbal subject DPs and preverbal direct and indirect objects in clitic left-dislocation (CLLD) constructions, generally considered to be left-peripheral (i.e. A') elements. They suggest that these preverbal elements be uniformly analyzed due to their parallel behaviors with respect to remnant ellipsis, extraction possibilities for quantifiers and *wh*- elements, and preverbal quantifier scope.

In the examples below, a preverbal subject (8a), a preverbal direct object (8b), and a preverbal indirect object (8c) may all stand as remnants of ellipsis.

- (8) a. **Él** le dio unos libros a Pía y Pepe
 he CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3SG some books to Pía and Pepe
 también [le dio unos libros a Pía]
 also [CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3SG some books to Pía]

He gave some books to Pía and to Pepe, too.

b. **Unos libros** le dio a Pía y unos cuadros
 some books CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3SG to Pia and some books

también [le dio a Pía]
 also [CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3SG to Pia]

Some books, he gave to Pia and some pictures, too.

c. **A Pía** le dio unos libros y a Sara
 to Pia CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3SG some books and to Sara

también [le dio unos libros]
 also [CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3SG some books]

To Pia, he gave some books and to Sara, too.

O & T also show that these ellipsis remnants can be subordinated without issue, as in (9).

(9) a. Juan le dio unos libros a Pía y
 Juan CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3SG some books to Pia and and

me parece que Pepe también [le
 CL.DAT.1SG seem.PRS.3SG that Pepe also [CL-DAT.3SG

dio unos libros a Pía]
 give.PST.3SG some books to Pia]

Juan gave some books to Pia and it seems to me that Pepe did, too.

b. Unos libros le dio a Pía y me
 some books CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3SG to Pia and CL.DAT.1SG

parece que unos cuadros también [le
 seem.PRS.3SG that some pictures also [CL.DAT.3SG

dio a Pía]
 give.PST.3SG to Pia]

Some books, he gave to Pia and it seems to me that some books, too.

c. A Pía le dio unos libros y me
 to Pia CL.DAT.3SG give-PST.3SG some books and CL.DAT.1SG

parece que a Sara también [le
 seem.PRS.3SG that to Sara also [CL.DAT.3SG

dio unos libros]
 give.PST.3SG some books]

To Pia, he gave some books and it seems that to Sara, too.

It is interesting to note that O & T do not consider cases in which a preverbal subject appears adjacent to a preverbal direct (10a, b) or indirect object (11a, b). (Note that the preverbal subject *Juan* appears in bold for illustrative purposes only)

- (10) a. **Juan**, unos libros le dio a Pía y
 Juan some books CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3SG to Pía and
 (me parece que) unos cuadros también.
 CL.DAT.1SG seem.PRS.3SG that some pictures also
- b. Unos libros **Juan** le dio a Pía y
 some books Juan CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3SG to Pía and
 (me parece que) unos cuadros también.
 CL.DAT.1SG seem.PRS.3SG that some pictures also
- (11) a. **Juan**, a Pía le dio unos libros y
 Juan to Pía CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3SG some books and
 (me parece que) a Sara también.
 CL.DAT.1SG seem.PRS.3SG that to Sara also
- b. A Pía **Juan** le dio unos libros y
 to Pía Juan CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3SG some books and
 (me parece que) a Sara también.
 CL.DAT.1SG seem.PRS.3SG that to Sara also

Examples (10b) and (11b) show that a preverbal subject may follow a left-dislocated direct or indirect object. While the preverbal subject DP is clearly left-dislocated in (10a) and (11a), it is not so clear that this is the case in (10b) and (11b) based on the linear alone. At bare minimum, the direct object (10b) and the indirect object (11b) appear in left-peripheral positions, but the status and position of the preverbal subjects in these examples is unclear.⁵ In the uniform analysis that O & T propose for preverbal subjects,

⁵ O & T do not specify the syntactic location of the elided elements in (12). By current Minimalist assumptions, however, the elided element should be T or v. Note also that nothing *a priori* requires that *pro* in (12) appear preverbally. Since it is phonologically null, one cannot be entirely sure. I follow O & T here in placing it preverbally, but see comments below regarding [EPP] checking and expletive *pro*.

direct and indirect objects (12), a preverbal subject appears in a left-peripheral position, while *pro* appears in the canonical preverbal subject position.

(12) [_{YP} DO/IO/SU [_{TP} *pro* ...no/también/tampoco/sí ...]]

Despite the fact that the phonologically null element *pro* cannot be seen, O & T place it preverbally in (12). They place it there based on evidence as in (13a) and (13b), which, following their analysis, suggests that an overt subject may not substitute preverbal *pro*.

- (13) a. *A María, los niños le dieron un libro
to Maria the children CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3PL a book
y a Pía, Pedro también.
and to Pía Pedro also
To Maria, the children gave her a book, and to Pía, Pedro did, too.
- b. *A María, Juan le dio un libro y
to Maria Juan CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.1SG a book and
me han dicho que a Tomás,
CL.DAT.1SG have-PRS.3PL say.PTCP that to Tomas
Tito también.
Tito also
To Maria, Juan gave her a book and I've been told that to Tomas, Tito did, too.

Their other examples, given below in (14), in support of this argument are unclear, and (14a) in particular is of dubious grammaticality. In (14a), the projection in bold is assumed to be subject to ellipsis. The issue here lies with the referent of the direct object clitic *la*, which in this example may only refer to the subject DP *la policía* in the matrix conjunct. The fact that (14b) may not be derived from (14a) is supposed to demonstrate that a remnant with a preverbal DO cannot admit a preverbal subject.

- (14) a. A ti la policía te va a detener,
to you the police CL.ACC.2SG go.PRS.3SG to detain.INF
- pero Pedro el juez no **la** **va**
but Pedro the judge not CL.ACC.F.3SG go.PRS.3SG
- a detener.**
to detain.INF

You, the police are going to detain, but Peter, the judge is not going to detain her.

- b. *A ti la policía te va a detener,
to you the police CL.ACC.2SG go.PRS.3SG to detain.INF
- pero a Pedro el juez no.
but to Pedro the judge not

You, the police are going to detain, but Pedro, the judge is not (going to).

Assuming that *Pedro* and *el juez* are not the same person in (14b) would support their point, but would require a modification of (14a), as in (15a), in order to arrive at (15b).

- (15) a. A ti la policía te va a detener,
to you the police CL.ACC.2SG go.PRS.3SG to detain.INF
- pero el juez no [te va a detener]
but the judge not CL.ACC.2SG go.PRS.3SG to detain.INF
- You, the police are going to detain, but the judge is not (going to).*
- b. *A ti la policía te va a detener,
to you the police CL.ACC.2SG go.PRS.3SG to detain.INF
- pero a Pedro el juez no [te va a
but to Pedro the judge not CL.ACC.2SG go.PRS.3SG to
detener]
detain.INF

You, the police are going to detain, but Peter, the judge is not (going to).

Despite the apparent person mismatch in the second-person accusative clitic *te* (which is not required for ellipsis), the point that an overt preverbal subject in (15b) *el juez* cannot be in the same position as *pro* becomes much clearer, thus supporting O & T's argument

that such substitution would predict the possibility of a two-constituent remnant. In fact, a two-constituent remnant is impossible regardless of whether a constituent in the second conjunct is a subject, as demonstrated in (16).

- (16) *A María, los niños le dieron un libro
 to Maria the children CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3PL a book
 y a Pía, **un cuadro** también.
 and to Pía a picture also

To Maria, the children gave a book and to Pía, a picture, too.

The deeper issue in the examples above lies not with the two-constituent remnant, but with the *order* of the remnants. In (15a), the ellipsis construction establishes a contrast between the preverbal subjects *la policía* and *el juez*. Examples (15b) and (16) also attempt to do this, but with a topicalized direct object in the former and a topicalized indirect object in the latter. If we alter the order of these peripheral elements (17), however, we obtain a grammatical result for a two-constituent remnant.

- (17) La policía a ti te va a detener,
 the police to you CL.ACC.2SG go.PRS.3SG to detain.INF
 pero el juez a Pedro no.
 but the Judie to Pedro not

The police are going to detain YOU, but the judge isn't (going to detain) PETER.

Example (17) then suggests that the possibility of a two-constituent remnant is not what is at stake, but rather the order and type of elements in opposition. In (17) the (fronted focus) direct objects (*a ti* and *a Pedro*) are in opposition with one another while the dislocated subjects (*la policía* and *el juez*) are topical. Example (15b) compared with (17) suggests an asymmetry between subjects and direct objects. In (16), however, if we

follow O & T in assuming that TP that is elided then we also assume the abstract structure in (18), in which the elided elements in TP and lower appear in brackets.

- (18) *A María, los niños [le dieron un libro]
 to Maria the children CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3PL a book
 y a Pía, **un cuadro** también [le dieron
 and to Pia a picture also CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3PL
 un libro]
 a book

To Maria, the children gave a book and to Pia, a picture, too (gave them a book).

Clearly, *un cuadro* cannot stand in opposition to *un libro* when the latter forms part of the elided element. In this case there are two competing direct objects in the second conjunct. In (18), since *un cuadro* cannot be in opposition with *un libro*, then it is forced into opposition with the preverbal subject *los niños*, which is impossible given their argument status within the sentence (indirect object vs. subject). Therefore, the examples in (13) do not constitute proof that *pro* and overt subjects do not have the same distribution, but rather evidence suggesting an asymmetry between subjects and indirect objects when topicalized in the presence of a fronted focus element (15b cf. 17).

O & T also discuss negative quantifier displacement. As is well known, in Spanish a preverbal subject may not appear following a direct object (19b) or indirect object (19c) negative quantifier.

- (19) a. Nadie le debe la renta a María.
 nobody CL.DAT.3SG owe.PRS.3SG the rent to Maria

Nobody owes rent to Maria.

- b. Nada (*Juan le debe)
 nothing Juan CL.DAT.3SG owe.PRS.3SG
- /(le debe Juan) a sus amigos.
 / CL.DAT.3SG owe.PRS.3SG Juan to his friends
- Juan owes nothing to his friends.*
- c. A nadie (*Juan le debe) /(le
 to nobody Juan CL.DAT.3SG owe.PRS.3SG / CL.DAT.3SG
- debe Juan) la renta.
 owe.PRS.3SG Juan the rent
- Juan owes rent to nobody.*

This impossibility suggests that either a) preverbal subjects are A'-elements that incur a minimality violation when a negative quantifier is fronted over them, or b) the two elements compete for the same structural position. O & T reject the “dual hypothesis” for negative quantifiers, according to which a subject negative quantifier (19a) would appear in a different structural position (e.g. Spec, TP) than a direct or indirect object negative quantifier (19b, c, respectively). By their analysis, if a preverbal subject appeared in an A-position, the ungrammaticality of (20a) would be unexpected.

- (20) a. *A nadie [Juan [le debe la renta]]
 to nobody [Juan [CL.DAT.3SG owe.PRS.3SG the rent]]
- To nobody Juan owes rent.*
- b. *Nadie [a Juan [le debe la renta]]
 nobody [to Juan [CL.DAT.3SG owe.PRS.3SG the rent]]
- Nobody to Juan owes rent.*

Given that the preverbal subject *Juan* in (20a) and the preverbal indirect object *a Juan* in (20b) incur the same sort of blocking effect, they propose that both are A'-elements.⁶

⁶ Note, however, that in (i) when we reverse the order of the subject negative quantifier *nadie* and the indirect object *a Juan* we do not see the same intervention/blocking effect as in (20b).

Similar well-known effects are also found for *wh*- elements in Spanish. The fronting of a simple *wh*- element (21a, b) triggers an inversion effect.

- (21) a. ¿Qué (*Pedro compró) / (compró Pedro)
 what Pedro buy.PST.3SG / buy.PST.3SG Pedro
 en el mercado?
 in the market
What did Pedro buy at the market?
- b. ¿A quién (*Susana le dio)
 to whom Susana CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3SG
 / (le dio Susana) el paraguas?
 CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3SG Susana the umbrella
To whom did Susana give the umbrella?

If a preverbal subject appears in Spec, IP/TP, however, this effect is unexpected. If a preverbal subject appears in a left-dislocated A'-position (as proposed for negative quantifiers), we have a straightforward explanation for these facts.⁷ This also provides an explanation for the facts in (22).

-
- (i) A Juan nadie le debe la renta.
 to Juan nobody CL-DAT.3SG owe-PRES.3SG the rent

To Juan, nobody owes rent.

O & T note that no such minimality effect occurs in the case of left dislocated XPs, for example under multiple dislocation. They suggest that the preposing of a negative quantifier (or *wh*-element) involves some sort of special agreement. If such agreement takes place with NegP in (i), the prepositioning of *A Juan* would create no apparent obstacle. If it is the case that agreement is responsible for the ungrammaticality of the examples in (14), and not the A/A'-status of the constituents in question then this would appear to be an independent phenomenon. For further discussion of such issues, see Rizzi 1991, Chung & Georgopoulos 1988 (on *wh*-elements), and Laka 1990, Haegeman & Zanuttini 1991 (on negative quantifiers).

⁷ Remaining issues for O & T's analysis have to do with complex *wh*- elements, as in (i), and long *wh*-extraction, as in (ii), neither of which trigger inversion effects.

- (22) a. ¿Qué compró en el mercado?
 what buy.PST.3SG in the market
What did he/she buy at the market?
- b. ¿A quién le dio el paraguas?
 to whom CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3SG the umbrella
To whom did he/she give the umbrella?

Whether we assume that *pro* stays in Spec, vP or moves to Spec, TP (e.g. to check EPP features) is irrelevant as it triggers no such inversion effect.⁸

Jaeggli (1987) notes that *in situ* subject wh- elements in Spanish may appear in postverbal position (23b), but not in preverbal position (23a).

-
- (i) ¿Qué tipo de literatura Octavio Paz nos
 what type of literature Octavio Paz CL-DAT.1PL
 sugiere?
 suggest-PRES.3SG
What kind of literature does Octavio Paz suggest to us?
- (ii) ¿Qué dijiste que tus padres te iban a
 what say-PST.2SG that your parents CL-DAT.2SG go-IMPV.3PL to
 regalar?
 give-INF
What did you say that your parents were going to give you?

For (i), O & T speculate that complex wh- elements are not really in Spec, CP, following Ordóñez 1997 and Rizzi 1997. Given the complexity of the expanded left periphery, it is unclear where such elements might move to. For (ii), O & T conclude that inversion effects depend on the syntactic nature of the moved wh- element, yet do not expand on this conclusion.

⁸ O & T do not specify a syntactic location for *pro*. They contend that *pro* and lexical subjects have a distribution (cf. 15a & 16a), thus ruling out *pro* as a verbal argument. Following Taraldsen (1992), they propose rather that a verbal agreement clitic is the true subject argument (see also Kato for a similar proposal for verbal agreement in Brazilian Portuguese). I do not examine the issue of expletive *pro* in this dissertation.

- (23) a. *¿Qué dijiste que quién compró el otro día?
 what say.PST.2SG that who buy.PST.3SG the other day
What did you say that who bought the other day?
- b. ¿Qué dijiste que compró quién el otro día?
 what say.PST.2SG that buy.PST.3SG who the other day
What did you say that who bought the other day?

O & T demonstrate that the same restriction holds for other preverbal elements, such as an indirect object, in Spanish.

- (24) a. ¿Quién crees que a ti te va
 who think.PRS.2SG that to you CL.DAT.2SG go.PRS.3SG
 a dar eso?
 to give.INF that
Who do you think is going to give you that?
- b. *¿Quién crees que a quién le
 who think.PRS.2SG that to whom CL.DAT.2SG
 va a dar eso?
 go.PRS.3SG to give.INF that
Who do you think (that) to whom is going to give that?
- c. ¿Quién crees que le va a
 who think.PRS.2SG that CL.DAT.2SG go.PRS.3SG to
 dar eso a quién?
 give.INF that to whom
Who do you think is going to give that to whom?

Example (24a) shows that a regular, non-wh- indirect object may appear preverbally (in at least some embedded clauses), but that a wh- indirect object may not (24b). Comparing (24b) and (24c), we see that the indirect object wh- *a quién* in (24c) may appear *in situ* postverbally, but it may not move to a preverbal position in (24b), on par with the subject wh- element in (20a).

O & T further base their uniform hypothesis on observations in Uribe-Etxebarria (1995), discussed in section 1.3 above, which demonstrate differing interpretations for preverbal versus postverbal subject universal quantifiers.⁹ Therefore, the parallel behaviors of preverbal subjects, direct objects and indirect objects with respect to remnant ellipsis, extraction possibilities for quantifiers and *wh*- elements, and preverbal quantifier scope serve as the empirical basis upon which they state their uniform (A') hypothesis. While O & T were not the first to claim that preverbal subjects are A'-elements, they were the first to do so in a systematic manner, and in so doing, reenergized the debate on preverbal subjects in Spanish, as well as in other null subject languages.

Camacho (2006) concentrates on data for preverbal subjects with modals and preverbal subjects in ellipsis contexts. He sums up the different preverbal subject positions as dependent on the following: i) subject-type (e.g. lexical v. expletive); ii) verb position (e.g. modal v. non-modal); and iii) locality constraints (e.g. negative quantifier v. expletive). Camacho proposes that the only preverbal subject elements merged (i.e. internally or externally) in Spec, TP are *pro* and expletives.¹⁰ Referential preverbal subjects are proposed to be left-peripheral, A'-elements, but not CLLD elements as in O & T (1999) above. As an argument of a modal verb, the preverbal subject appears in Spec, ModP, since neither a CLLD element nor a preverbal subject can precede a modal verb. He interprets this to be suggestive of preverbal subjects and CLLD elements not occupying the same position. For preverbal negative quantifiers, the NPI moves to Spec, NegP. Since Camacho's analysis suggests at least three different pre-verbal subject positions, he adopts a modification of Poletto's (2000) cartographical clausal structure for

⁹ See also Uribe-Etxebarria (1990).

¹⁰ Camacho does not specify whether *pro* is internally or externally merged.

the Northern Italian dialects as in (25), with various different functional positions for the preverbal subject.¹¹

(25) $[_{TopP} \text{Subj } DP_i [_{NegP} [_{NumP} t_i [_{Num} \text{infl } V_i] [_{HearerP} t_i [_{Hearer} t_j [_{SpeakerP} t_j [TP]]]]]]]$

Within his proposed architecture, lexical preverbal subjects appear in a left-peripheral position, while *pro* and expletives appear in Spec, IP. By his analysis, pre-verbal subjects are not base-generated (CLLD) A'-elements, but *may* move to A'-positions in the left periphery from their initial Spec, vP position once a certain projection becomes agreement-active, and thus L-related.¹² This is derivationally determined by verb movement in the case of a modal, which activates ModP.¹³

The above analyses for preverbal subjects share the assumption that postverbal subjects are merged in Spec, vP and remain *in situ* in VSO order. While this is a common assumption in the literature, it is not universal. Zubizarreta (1998) argued that postverbal subjects occupy a position outside (i.e. higher than) the VP. This argument is based on the position of manner and aspectual (low VP) adverbs, which may appear between subjects and objects in VSO word order.¹⁴ Zubizarreta (2007) proposes that postverbal

¹¹ It is unclear why Camacho adopts Poletto's (2000) clausal structure with Number, Hearer, and Speaker projections since these are subject clitic (SCL) positions in her analysis. Poletto suggests that SCLs serve as a sort of substitute for verbal features when the main verb cannot support a given feature. This builds on her (1993) analysis in which she suggests that verbal auxiliaries do not have their own VP, and are instead inserted in a SCL head.

¹² However, note that this would create complications of mixed A- and A'-chains, as discussed in Chomsky (2005).

¹³ Camacho does not expressly state where ModP appears relative to the positions in Poletto's analysis. ModP appears higher than IP, and lower than CLLD constituents.

¹⁴ See also Ordóñez 2007 for a similar proposal for VSO in Spanish. By his analysis, post-verbal subjects optionally move from Spec, vP to the specifier of a Subj(ect) projection, which appears hierarchically lower than T. This movement is motivated by an additional EPP feature on Subj.

subjects in VSO appear in Spec, TP, while the inflected verb moves to a higher *Extended-I*, or φ projection. Therefore, preverbal subject DPs in SVO must appear in positions higher than TP. Importantly, preverbal DP subject arguments do not move to Spec, Ext-I from a lower position in SVO. Rather, they are base-generated there and linked via Agree to a syntactic verbal agreement clitic (see Rizzi 1982, O & T 1999, Kato 1999, 2000 for similar concepts), which is also linked to *pro* in argument position via Agree as well. The basics of Zubizarreta's (2007) clausal structure proposal are summarized below in (26) with special attention paid to subject positions (subject positions appear in bold-face for convenience).

(26) [φ P/Ext-IP [**pre-V subj./XP**] [φ : [V+T+Agr] [TP [**post-V subj.**] [T' <V+T> [vP [v' <V>...]]]]]]]]

She proposes a separation of subject-verb agreement and nominative Case checking from the EPP feature typically considered characteristic of the Spec, TP position. Spec, φ P is formalized as a *subject of predication* position, which may or may not host a "logical" preverbal subject in the clause structure. In this analysis, *pro* only appears in sentences with preverbal subjects, and moves from Spec, vP to Spec, TP from whence it links (via Agree) with the preverbal subject in Spec, φ P/Ext-I. Presumably then preverbal subjects receive a theta-role via this Agree relation with *pro*. It is noteworthy that *pro* is lacking in postverbal subject sentences. In these, the postverbal subject DP undergoes the same movement steps as *pro* in preverbal subject sentences, and thus directly receives theta-role assignment in v. Zubizarreta's (2007) analysis differs from Camacho (2006) in that apparent left-peripheral elements do not move there from non-peripheral positions (e.g. Spec, vP). While it might seem to share base-generation for preverbal subjects with O & T (1999), Spec, φ P differs from the left-peripheral projection for a subject in O & T. Zubizarreta's subject of predication is related to feature checking. Feature checking is a

crucial function of this preverbal subject position in the analyses of Camacho (2006), as well as in Suñer (2003), which I discuss below in 1.3.2.

1.3.2. Analyses of Spanish preverbal subjects as canonical arguments

Numerous other analyses have disputed the hypothesis that preverbal subjects in Spanish are non-arguments. Such analyses show evidence that such subjects are canonical subject arguments that behave as preverbal subjects do in other languages.

Goodall (2001, 2002) examines the analysis of Ordóñez & Treviño (1999), challenging the suggestion that preverbal subjects move to a left-peripheral position. Goodall shows that preverbal subjects do not appear in complementary distribution with either topic or focus elements. He points out that preverbal subjects do not have the intonational qualities of either focused or topicalized left-peripheral elements; therefore, he argues, A'-fronted elements have a different informational status as compared to preverbal subjects. Unlike others, Goodall considers the information structure status of preverbal subjects, the possibility of bare nominals, and various *wh*- extraction contexts. He illustrates, following Fernández Soriano (1999), that in response to a neutral, or *thetic*, question as in (27), preverbal subjects are possible (27a). In contrast, sentences with other fronted elements are infelicitous (27b).

(27) ¿Qué pasó?
what happen.PST.3SG

What happened?

a. Juan me regaló un anillo en el parque.
Juan CL.DAT give.PST.3SG a ring in the park

Juan gave me a ring in the park.

b. #En el parque Juan me regaló un anillo.
in the park Juan CL.DAT.1SG give.PST.3SG a ring

In the park, Juan gave me a ring.

For Goodall, elements within the CP layer tend to have a specific informational role, such as topic or focus, while elements within the inflectional TP layer do not. He suggests that this fact casts doubt on the idea that preverbal subjects such as *Juan* (27a) and topicalized PPs such as *en el parque* (27b) are moved to the same preverbal syntactic position.

Syntactically, Goodall shows that preverbal subjects behave differently from Topic or Focus elements in that the latter create an island for *wh*- extraction from an embedded clause. Embedded topics (28a), embedded contrastive focus (28b), and embedded *wh*- elements (28c) all create islands, while preverbal subjects do not (28d). (Note that relevant elements appear in bold for convenience)

- (28) a. *A quién crees que **el premio** se
to whom think.PRS.2SG that the prize CL.DAT.3SG
lo dieron?
CL.ACC.3SG.M give.PST.3PL
The prize, who do you think that they gave it to?
- b. *A quién crees que **EL CARRO** le
to whom think.PRS.2SG that THE CAR CL.DAT.3SG
dieron (no la moto)?
give.PST.3PL not the motorcycle
Who you think they gave THE CAR (and not the motorcycle)?
- c. *A quién quieres saber **cuál premio** le
to whom want.PRS.2SG know.INF which prize CL.DAT.3SG
dieron?
give.PST.3PL
To whom do you want to know which prize they gave?
- d. A quién crees que **Juan** le dio
to whom think.PRS.2SG that Juan CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3SG
el premio?
the prize
To whom you think that Juan gave the prize?

The fact that preverbal subjects do not create islands for *wh*-movement, in conjunction with the factors above, leads Goodall to conclude that preverbal subjects in Spanish must be merged lower than both FocP and TopP, in Spec, TP, (i.e. the clausal hierarchy *Top > Foc > Preverbal Subject*) and that they are probably A-elements.

Suñer (2003) also takes the position that preverbal subjects are A-elements, and not left-dislocated or A'-elements. She examines the distribution, interpretation, and binding facts of preverbal subjects in order to challenge the proposal made by A & A (1998), who argue in a proposal similar to that of O & T (1999) that overt preverbal subjects in Spanish have A'-properties parallel to those of Greek preverbal subjects. She proposes that preverbal subjects in Spanish move (from Spec, vP) to the outer Spec of TP (as in (29) below), following the specialization hypothesis of Cardinaletti & Roberts (1991) and Cardinaletti (1997) for subject positions.¹⁵

- (29) a. [TP {Juan/Él} [XP parenthetical [TP {ello/pro} [T [v V_{finite} ...]]]]]
- b. Juan/Él, a mi parecer, es muy simpático.
 Juan/He to my view be.PRS.3SG very nice
Juan/He, in my opinion, is very nice.
- c. En esta clase/ Aquí, a mi parecer, faltan sillas.
 in this class/ here to my view lack.PRS.3PL chairs
In my view, chairs are lacking here/in this class.
- d. Ello (*a mi parecer) no sería malo
 it to my view not be.COND.3SG bad
 estudiar.
 study.INF
It, in my opinion, would not hurt to study.

¹⁵ Suñer (2003) examines an older version of the specialization hypothesis. In a newer version (e.g. Cardinaletti 2004), the different T positions are labeled SubjP (which hosts subject of predication features), EPPP (which hosts EPP features), and AgrSP (which hosts Case and ϕ -features).

- e. Me (*a mi parecer) consta
 me.CL.DAT.1SG to my view be evident.PRS.3SG
 que Mara estuvo ausente.
 that Mara be.PST.3SG absent

It is evident to me, in my view, that Mara was absent.

By this version of the specialization hypothesis, T has multiple specifier positions: the upper Spec, TP position is reserved for overt subjects (29a), strong pronouns (29b), and locative clitics (29c, following Fernández Soriano 1999), while the lower Spec, TP position is reserved for weak subject pronouns like Dominican expletives (24d, Henríquez Ureña 1939) and dative clitics (29e, Fernández Soriano 1999).¹⁶ This hypothesis, which captures asymmetries between overt subjects and null subjects, is merged with the observation in Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) that subjects may be of different ‘strengths’, which are determined via their syntactic behavior.

Burga (2008) examines the Spanish preverbal subject debate from the perspective of scope facts, taking into account the conflicting judgments of sentences.

- (30) a. Un estudiante leyó cada libro.
 a student read.PST.3SG each book
A student read each book.
- b. Un libro lo leyó cada estudiante.
 a book CL.ACC.3SG.M read.PST.3SG each student
A book each student read.

A & A (1998) observed that an SVO sentence such as (30a) may only have surface scope ($*\exists > \forall / \forall > \exists$). They report the same scope facts for CLLD elements (which are base-

¹⁶ In certain varieties of Spanish, most notably Dominican Spanish, *ello* is an overt expletive. (see Toribio 2000 for further discussion)

generated in their analysis), as in (30b). Given the parallel scope behaviors between CLLD elements and preverbal subjects, A & A conclude that preverbal subjects are also CLLD elements. However, Suñer (2003) presents the same scope data, but with differing judgments, to the effect that SVO sentences may have either surface or inverse scope interpretations. This formed part of her proposal that preverbal subjects in Spanish do not occupy a left-peripheral position, but rather a canonical, Spec, TP position. Given this conflict in judgments of the data, as well as the limited data available, Burga gathered impressionistic data from three naïve Peruvian informants testing surface scope as well as inverse scope interpretations.¹⁷ She found that CLLD constructions allow for inverse scope readings, while SVO sentences do not. This led her to refute the left-peripheral subject hypothesis of O & T (among others), and conclude that preverbal subjects are not left-peripheral elements, but rather canonical preverbal subjects (appearing in Spec, TP).

While the analyses presented thus far propose that preverbal subjects in Spanish are either left-peripheral or canonical subjects, the debate is further complicated by regional differences (Burga 2008, Suñer 2003, Uribe-Etxebarria 1995, Zubizarreta 1998), which may in fact prove to be a source of the variation found by the above mentioned analyses. Yet even restricting one's research to a limited area such as Portugal presents complications as well, as a similar debate exists among researchers of EP, which I discuss in section 1.4.

1.4. The debate on subjects in European Portuguese

Although there are numerous phonological and morphological differences between European Portuguese (henceforth EP) and Spanish, the main syntactic difference as related to clausal syntax is enclisis in direct and indirect object weak pronouns.

¹⁷ Note, however, that numerous researchers have commented on dialectal variation in regard to scope interpretation (e.g. Suñer 2003). Others have commented anecdotally (Ordóñez, p.c., Zubizarreta, p.c.) that the left periphery is much more active for peninsular Spanish speakers.

Despite this difference, a similar debate over the status of preverbal subjects also exists in EP.

1.4.1. Analysis of EP subjects as non-arguments

Barbosa (2000) strongly links her left-peripheral proposal for pre-verbal subjects to her phonological analysis of enclisis in EP. She suggests that enclisis results from a last-resort operation at PF which repairs any syntactic output which results in a clitic starting the first Intonational Phrase (see also Uriagereka & Raposo 2005 for a similar proposal for EP and Galician). The Last Resort prosodic filter in (31) prevents a clitic from starting an Intonational Phrase (i.e. the left-most position of a clause lacking an overt complementizer), thus ruling out (32a) based on the abbreviated Intonational Phrase structure in (32b).

(31) *_[IntP cl V...] IntP = Intonational Phrase

- (32) a. *O viu o João.
 CL.ACC.M.3SG see.PST.3SG the João
- João saw it.*
- b. *_[IntP o viu]
- c. *O João o viu.
- d. O João viu-o. / Viu-o o João.

The rule in (31) requires proclisis in most cases, including those with a preverbal subject (32c). This prosodic filter provides a minimalist account for the Tobler-Mussafia Law in expressions that include a subject that does not belong to the subset of quantified expressions that trigger proclisis (see below). In EP matrix declaratives, a clitic pronoun may not appear in the very first, far-left position (32a), or as a proclitic (32c). Regardless of the position of the subject, the clitic pronoun must appear as an enclitic (32d).

Topicalization contexts trigger enclisis (33a) or a null clitic (33b) in EP.

- (33) a. Esses livros, dei-os à Maria.
 those books give.PST.1SG-CL.ACC.1PL.M to Maria.
Those books, I gave (them) to Maria.
- b. Esse livro, João já leu [e].
 that book João already read-PST.3SG
That book, João already read.
- c. O MEU LIVRO, o Paulo leu (não o teu).
 the my book the Paulo read.PST.3SG not the yours
Paulo read MY BOOK (not yours).
- d. ESSE LIVRO dou-lhe, mas este não.
 that book give.PRS.1SG-CL.DAT.3SG but this not
I will give you THAT BOOK, but not this one.
- e. O João, está a estudar na biblioteca.
 the João be.PRS.3SG to study-INF in-the library
(As for) João, he is studying in the library.

Examples like (33c) would seem to demonstrate that contrastive focus also allows for a topic-drop-like behavior, but by Cinque's (1990) analysis, contrastive elements do not allow for resumptive clitics. In this sense, the ditransitive verb *to give* in (33d) is more enlightening on this issue, thus demonstrating that contrastive focus elements also trigger enclisis in EP.¹⁸ Returning to the preverbal subject example in (32d) then, if the enclitic pronoun were to refer to a topicalized João, the result would be a Condition B violation in

¹⁸ Note however that there is debate on this issue. According to Raposo & Uriagereka (1996), a contrastively focused subject triggers proclisis in EP.

- (i) a. A MARIA me criticou (não Fernanda).
 to Maria CL.ACC.1SG criticize.PST.3SG not Fernanda
- b. *A MARIA criticou-me (não Fernanda).
 to Maria criticize.PST.3SG-CL.ACC.1SG not Fernanda
MARIA criticized me (not Fernanda)

EP, as the appropriate reflexive pronoun is *se*. In fact, in EP, topicalized subject DPs are not accompanied by a resumptive clitic (33e). Following Barbosa (2000), proclisis in EP occurs in embedded clauses (34a), when a bare QP precedes the verb (34b), in the presence of nonspecific indefinite QPs (34c), in the presence of affective operators such as negative QPs (35d) or DPs modified by a focus particle (34e), when accompanying a (fronted) wh- element (34f), in the presence of negation (34g), or following a preverbal aspectual adverb (34h).

- (34) a. Eu duvido que ele a
I doubt.PRS.1SG that he CL.ACC.3SG.F
visse.
see.PST.SUBJ.3SG
I doubt that he saw her.
- b. Ninguém / Alguém o viu.
no one / someone CL.ACC.3SG.M see.PST.3SG
No one / Someone saw him.
- c. Algum aluno se esqueceu do livro.
some student CL.REFL.3SG forget.PST.3SG of-the book
Some student forgot the book.
- d. Nenhum aluno se esqueceu do
no student CL.REFL.3SG forget.PST.3SG of-the
livro.
book
No student forgot the book.
- e. Só o Pedro o viu.
only the Pedro CL.ACC.3SG see.PST.3SG
Only Pedro saw him.
- f. Quem o viu?
who CL.ACC.3SG see.PST.3SG
Who saw him?

- g. O João não o viu.
 the João not CL.ACC.3SG see.PST.3SG
João didn't see him.
- h. O Pedro já / nunca o viu.
 the Pedro already / never CL.ACC.3SG see.PST.3SG
Pedro already / never saw him.

The split in cliticization properties in (33) and (34) drives Barbosa's classification of preverbal subjects. She proposes that preverbal subjects are not arguments, and that the only true A-position for subjects in EP is the postverbal position. Therefore, preverbal subjects in EP are either clitic-left dislocated (CLLD) A'-elements or A'-moved elements. In a VS sentence like (35a), the verb has raised and the subject remains in VP (35b).¹⁹

- (35) a. Telefona Gianni.
 telephone.PRS.3SG Gianni
Gianni telephones / is telephoning.
- b. [IP [I' telefona [VP Gianni t]]
- (36) a. Gianni telefona.
 Gianni telephone.PRS.3SG
Gianni telephones / is telephoning.
- b. [IP Gianni [IP telefona pro i]]

In a SV sentence like (36a), however, she proposes that the subject *Gianni* is a base-generated CLLD adjunct that is doubled by *pro*, not an A-moved argument.²⁰ This

¹⁹ I take these examples direct from Barbosa (2000: 31, ex. (2a), (2b)). Although the verb in these examples behaves as an intransitive verb, I understand it to be her intention for this analysis to apply to transitive verbs as well.

²⁰ In Barbosa's analysis, *pro* remains in a postverbal position, and does not move to Spec, IP (e.g. to check an EPP feature), yet nothing in her analysis necessarily rules out this possibility.

preverbal subject is licensed by Chomsky's (1977) Rules of Predication, which preceded an articulated left periphery. Following Raposo (1996), CLLD elements appear outside CP and are base-generated.²¹ The XP predicated of the CLLD subject contains a resumptive clitic whose reference is fixed by the topic. According to Barbosa, CLLD subjects in EP do not obey subjacency, do not exhibit Weak Crossover (WCO) effects (see also Duarte 1987, Rizzi 1997, and Raposo 1996), and do not license parasitic gaps (see also Duarte 1987, Raposo 1996). Despite the fact that CLLD elements are typically considered to be A'-elements (i.e. non-arguments), Barbosa differentiates base-generated CLLD adjuncts such as fronted topics which may have an enclitic clitic double (e.g. 33a) from A'-moved elements such as quantificational operators which may not have a clitic double and may not serve as discourse links (37).

(37) Nada_i posso fazer *ec_i* por ti.
 nothing be able.PRS.1SG do.INF for you

I can't do anything for you.

Unlike quantificational operators which trigger proclisis (34), CLLD subjects or objects obligatorily trigger enclisis (33). The symmetry between CLLD elements noted in Barbosa's analysis resembles O & T's analysis for CLLD elements in Spanish, thus casting further doubt on the idea that there is a dedicated preverbal position for subjects (i.e. Spec, IP/TP following A-movement). In this case, one would predict that subject DPs would behave differently from other fronted DPs, contrary to the facts presented by Barbosa.

²¹ I present her analysis here, which does not take into account Rizzi's (1997) split-CP hypothesis. Within an articulated CP, a CLLD element would not be considered CP-external.

Preverbal subjects in EP which are A'-moved elements are QPs that cannot be discourse topics, or discourse links (Vallduví 1990, 1992). These are a) bare QPs (*ninguém, alguém*), b) non-specific indefinite QPs (*algum*), c) affective operators such as negative QPs (*nenhum*) and DPs modified by a focus particle (*só..., até...*), and d) Wh-phrases. These expressions trigger proclisis in EP. For Barbosa, CLLD is barred in these proclitic expressions, which also prevents doubling by a resumptive clitic.

1.4.2. Analyses of EP preverbal subjects as canonical arguments

Duarte's (1997) analysis of preverbal subjects in EP is a more strictly Minimalist proposal, by which the discourse function and syntactic position of subjects is driven by formal features in the grammar. By her analysis, information structure is also encoded in these features (see Chapter 2 for arguments both for and against such proposals). She starts out with the generalization that preverbal subjects in EP are typically unmarked topics and express given information. However, she cautions that this fact cannot allow one to attribute the same syntactic structures to sentences with preverbal subjects as those with unmarked topics.

In EP, the type(s) of DPs that can be preverbal subjects and marked topics are not the same. EP (as well as in other Romance languages) does not allow [-referential] argumental bare NPs that are not governed by a nucleus (Contreras 1986, Giorgi & Longobardi 1991, Longobardi 1994).

- (38) a. *Mulheres adoram homens.
 women adore.PRS.3SG men
 Women adore men.
- b. Mulheres, os homens adoram.
 women the men adore.PRS.3SG
 Women, men adore.

- (39) a. Nenhuma pessoa conhecida viu os nossos amigos
 no person known see.PST.3SG the our friends
 na festa.
 in-the party

Nobody we know saw our friends at the party.

- b. *Nenhuma pessoa conhecida, os nossos amigos (não)
 no person known the our friends (not)
 viram na festa.
 see.PST.3SG in-the party

Nobody we know, our friends didn't see them at the party.

The contrast between (38a) with the bare NP preverbal subject *mulheres* and (38b) with the dislocated bare DP object suggests that these two bare NPs do not have the same structure, and therefore should be analyzed differently. In (39) however, it becomes clear that not all DPs that can be preverbal subjects can be marked topics. Therefore, by her analysis these, too, must have different syntactic structures.

Contrary to other languages like Italian (Belletti 1990), speaker-oriented adverbs in EP may occur between the preverbal subject and the verb without necessarily creating a marked topic interpretation for the subject.

- (40) a. O João... provavelmente ele vai
 the João probably he go.PRS.3SG
 chegar atrasado.
 arrive.INF late

João... probably he is going to arrive late.

- b. O João provavelmente vai chegar
 the João probably go.PRS.3SG arrive.INF
 atrasado.
 late

João probably is going to arrive late.

- c. Ninguém provavelmente vai chegar
 nobody probably go.PRS.3SG arrive.INF
 atrasado.
 late

Nobody probably is going to arrive late.

For Duarte, the fact that a speaker-oriented adverb may appear to the right of a hanging topic (40a), a preverbal subject (40b) or a NegQP (40c) suggests that not all preverbal elements are left-dislocated.²²

An interjection like *oxalá* “would that / God willing” can appear between a marked topic and its comment (41b), but not between a preverbal subject and its predicate (41c).

- (41) a. Oxalá que os alunos leiam esse livro
 oxalá that the students read.PRS.SUBJ.3PL that book
 antes do exame!
 before of-the exam

Would that the students read that book before the exam!

- b. Esse livro, oxalá os alunos o
 that book oxalá the students CL.ACC.M.3SG
 leiam antes do exame!
 read.PRS.SUBJ.3PL before of-the exam

That book, would (that) the students read it before the exam!

²² Note that for López (2009), a hanging topic in an HTLD context (see Cinque 1983/1997, 1990) is different from CLLD because they can be doubled by a strong pronoun or an epithet, while CLLD elements cannot. López follows Haegeman (1991) and Shaer & Frey (2005) in assuming that HTLD elements are “orphans” and should not be considered part of the sentence structure. Therefore, HTLD elements would not necessarily provide insight on the status and/or position of preverbal subjects.

- c. *Os alunos oxalá leiam esse livro
 the students oxalá read.PRS.SUBJ.3PL that book
 antes do exame!
 before of-the exam

The students would that they read that book before the exam!

By her analysis, preverbal subjects and marked topics in EP appear in different structural positions: preverbal subjects in an IP-internal position and topics external to IP, adjoined either to IP or CP in the left periphery (see also Duarte 1987, 1989, 1996), which would be somewhere within the CP realm in Rizzi's (1997) expanded left periphery.

With respect to information structure, Duarte presents question-answer pairs to show that both preverbal subjects (42a) and marked topics (followed by a pause, as in 42b) must transmit given information.

- (42) a. - Quem é que reagiu mal ao teste?
 who be.PRS.3SG that react.PST.3SG badly to-the test
 - *Who is it that reacted badly to the test?*
 - #Os alunos reagiram mal ao teste.
 the students react.PST.3PL badly to-the test
 - *The students reacted badly to the test.*
- b. - O que é que as mulheres adoram?
 the what be.PRS.3SG that the women adore.PRS.3PL
 - *What is it that women adore?*
 - #Perfumes, as mulheres adoram.
 perfumes the women adore.PRS.3PL
 - *Perfumes, women adore.*

These infelicitous replies to subject narrow-focus (42a) and object narrow-focus (42b) questions support her proposal that preverbal subjects and topics in EP represent

discourse-known information, and thus cannot appear preverbally when they are new (narrow-focused) information.

Duarte distinguishes between *informational focus*, the part of a sentence with the greatest level of novelty, and *identificational focus*, which exclusively identifies or identifies to the exclusion of other elements (Szabolcsi 1981, Kiss 1995). The examples in (43) show that left-dislocated contrastive focus differs from informational focus.

- (43) a. - Quem é que o rei governa?
 who be.PRS.3SG that the king govern.PRS.3SG
 - *Who is it that the king governs?*
 - #AO POVO governa o rei.
 to-the people govern.PRS.3SG the king
 - *THE PEOPLE governs the king.*
- b. - De quem é que se
 of whom be.PRS.3SG that CL.PASS.3SG
 sabe pouca coisa?
 know.PRS.3SG little thing
 - *Who is it that little is known about?*
 - #DELE se sabe pouca coisa.
 of-him CL.PASS.3SG know.PRS.3SG little thing
 - *ABOUT HIM little is known.*
- c. - Como venceram os Gregos os Troianos?
 how defeat.PST.3PL the Greeks the Trojans
 - *How did the Greeks defeat the Trojans?*
 - #POR ESTE MEIO os venceram
 by this way CL.ACC.M.3PL defeat.PST.3PL
 os Gregos.
 the Greeks
 - *THIS WAY the Greeks defeated them.*

This rules out the stressed, left-peripheral elements in (43a – c) as informational focus. A test of the same sentences as replies to *exhaustive-list* questions (44) also results in infelicitousness.

- (44) a. - Que classe é que o rei governa?
 what class be.PRS.3SG that the king govern.PRS.3SG
 - *What class is it that the king governs?*
 - #AO POVO governa o rei.
 to-the people govern.PRS.3SG the king
 - *THE PEOPLE governs the king.*
- b. - Dos três autores considerados, de qual
 of-the three authors considered of which
 é que se sabe pouca coisa?
 be.PRS.3SG that CL.PASS.3SG know.PRS.3SG little thing
 - *Of the three authors considered, which is it that little is known about?*
 - #DELE se sabe pouca coisa.
 of-him CL.PASS.3SG know.PRS.3SG little thing
 - *ABOUT HIM little is known.*
- c. - Os Gregos usaram a astúcia para vencer
 the Greeks use.PST.3PL the astuteness for defeat.INF
 os Troianos.
 the Trojans
 - *The Greeks used astuteness to defeat the Trojans.*
 - #POR ESTE MEIO os venceram
 by this way CL.ACC.M.3PL defeat.PST.3PL
 os Gregos.
 the Greeks
 - *THIS WAY the Greeks defeated them.*

Left-dislocated contrastive focus elements are therefore not identificational focus elements for Duarte either. However, even when an appropriate context for contrastive focus is created (45), it doesn't always produce the desired results.

- (45) a. - Na sociedade medieval, o rei governa
 in-the society medieval the king govern.PRS.3SG
 the aristocracy
 a aristocracia.
 - *In medieval society, the king governs the aristocracy.*
- #Não, AO POVO governa o rei e
 no to-the people govern.PRS.3SG the king and
 não À ARISTOCRACIA.
 not to-the aristocracy
 - *No, THE PEOPLE the king governs and not THE ARISTOCRACY.*
- b. - ... mas sabe -se pouca coisa
 but know.PRS.3SG -CL.PASS.3SG little thing
 da vida de Laurence Olivier e de Vivien Leigh.
 of-the life of Laurence Olivier and of Vivien Leigh
 - *...but little is known about the life of Laurence Olivier and Vivien Leigh.*
- #DELE se sabe pouca coisa.
 of-him CL.PASS.3SG know.PRS.3SG little thing
 e não DELA.
 and not of-her
 - *ABOUT HIM little is known and not ABOUT HER.*

- c. - ... os Gregos recorreram à astúcia para
 the Greeks resort.PST.3SG to-the astuteness for
 vencer os Troianos.
 defeat.INF the Trojans
- ...*the Greeks resorted to astuteness to defeat the Trojans.*
- ?/#POR ESTE MEIO os venceram
 by this way CL.ACC.M.3PL defeat.PST.3PL
- os Gregos e não PELA FORÇA.
 the Greeks and not by-the force
- *THIS WAY the Greeks defeated them and not BY FORCE.*

For Duarte, the absence of WCO effects in (46b) further demonstrates that this dislocated element differs from identificational focus (cf. 46c), which lacks quantificational force.

- (46) a. *His_i mother loves JOHN_i.
- b. [Ao povo]_i governa o seu_i legítimo
 to-the people govern.PRS.3SG the POSS.M.3SG legitimate
 rei.
 king
- The people, its legitimate king governs.*
- c. *É [ao povo]_i que governa o
 be.PRS.3SG to-the people that govern.PRS.3SG the
 seu_i legítimo rei.
 POSS.M.3SG legitimate king
- It is the people that its legitimate king governs.*

Duarte makes use of the terms *categorical judgments* and *thetic judgments* (*predication* and *presentational* relations, respectively, in Guéron's (1980) terminology).²³ By her

²³ As far as I can tell, this use of *thetic* is the same as Zubizarreta's (1998) *out-of-the-blue*, in which all information involved is new in the common ground. This is how I understand the term, and it is also how I use it in this chapter, as well as in chapter two.

analysis, categorical judgments follow an (X)-S-V word order pattern, whilethetic judgments follow a pattern of (X)-V-(Y)-S, in which X represents a variable with the information status of given, or known.²⁴

- (47) a. O João chegou. predication/categorical (X)-S-V
 the João arrive.PST.3SG
João arrived.
- b. Chegou o João. presentational/thetic (X)-V-(Y)-S
- c. Ao povo governa o rei. D-linked presentational/thetic X-V-(Y)-S

The variable X is D(iscourse)-linked (Pesetsky 1987), and its status of *given* or *not given* is unknown to the computational system. Subjects of predication (48a) and D-linked elements (49a, b) do not exhibit the same behaviors in the contexts below.

- (48) a. Por isso, [os meninos]_i prometeram [PRO_i arrumar
 for that the children promise.PST.3PL clean up.INF
 os brinquedos].
 the toys
For that reason, the children promised to clean up the toys.
- b. ??Por isso prometeram [os meninos]_i [PRO_i arrumar os brinquedos].
- (49) a. Por isso, o João_i pensa nele_{i/j} com
 for that the João think.PRS.3SG in-him with
 preocupação.
 worry
For that reason, João worries about him.

²⁴ Note that this definition of *thetic*, as well as its default word order, differs slightly from Costa's definition (see (53) below). Note also that the verbs in (40) are not transitive verbs, which may suggest a differing word order pattern for such verbs. Duarte does not make mention of what modifications in these patterns are necessary (e.g. substitution of S by *pro*) when a subject is D-linked.

- b. Por isso pensa [o João]_i nele_j/*_i com preocupação.

Example (48) involves subject control, and (48b) displays a downgrade in acceptability when the matrix subject appears postverbally. In (49b), binding of the PP with a pronoun is compromised when the subject appears postverbally as opposed to (49a), in which such binding is fine with a preverbal subject. Putting aside a particular syntactic analysis to explain this issue, Duarte simply states that the facts above strongly suggest that preverbal and postverbal subjects appear in different structural positions within the syntax.

Duarte assumes a syntax with both AgrSP and AgrOP projections (AgrSP > TP > AgrOP > VP). Since EP has visible V-movement, nominative Case is checked by a DP moving to Spec, TP. She proposes that this is the position of postverbal subjects. As EP does not show definiteness effects, Spec, TP is not reserved for indefinite DPs (50).²⁵ Similarly, Spec, AgrP is not reserved for definite DPs (51).

- (50) a. - Quem é que comeu o quê?
 who be.PRS.3SG that eat.PST.3SG the what
- Comeu *o* *João* todo o bolo.
 eat.PST.3SG the João all the cake
- *Who ate what?*
 - *John ate all of the cake.*
- b. - O que é que chegou?
 the what be.PRS.3SG that arrive.PST.3SG
- Chegou *a* *carta*.
 arrive.PST.3SG the letter
- *What (is it that) arrived?*
 - *The letter arrived.*

²⁵ See e.g. Diesing 1992, Bobaljik & Jones 1996 for a discussion of definiteness effects in German.

- c. Foi comprado *todo o lote* por cem
 be.PST.3SG buy.PTCP all the lot for one hundred
 contos.
 escudos
The whole lot was bought for one hundred escudos.
- d. Encontraram -se *estas moedas* na baía de Lagos.
 find.PST.3PL -CL.PASS these coins in-the bay of Lagos
These coins were found in the bay of Lagos.
- (51) a. *Alguns convidados* preferiram *queijo*.
 some invitees prefer.PST.3PL cheese
Some invitees preferred cheese.
- b. *Um pseudo-ovni* assustou *os habitantes de Mirandela*.
 a pseudo-UFO scare.PST.3SG the inhabitants of Mirandela
A fake UFO scared the inhabitants of Mirandela.
- c. *Poucos gatos* conseguem *caçar* *ratos*.
 few cats succeed.PRS.3PL hunt.INF rats
Few cats are able to hunt rats.
- d. *Uma carta perfumada* chegou *esta manhã*.
 a letter perfumed arrive.PST.3SG this morning
 pelo correio.
 by-the mail
A perfumed letter arrived this morning in the mail.

She proposes that the formal features of heads AgrS and T codify discourse properties (thetic judgments or categorical judgments, respectively). Strong vs. weak EPP is the feature of AgrS that codifies this distinction. She also proposes that in languages like English, an argumental or expletive DP in Spec, AgrSP does not encode a distinction between predications and presentations, or the status (e.g. topic) of a DP. The relevant feature for AgrSP is [+D] in English (52).

(52) English-type languages:²⁶

SVO [[_{Spec, AgrSP} DP] [_{AgrSP [+D]} [_{Spec, TP} *t* [_{TP} [_{VP} V]...]]]]

(53) EP-type languages:

SVO [[_{Spec, AgrSP} DP] [_{AgrSP [+EPP]} V+T [_{Spec, TP} *t* [_{TP} [_{VP} *t*]...]]]]

VSO [[_{Spec, AgrSP} *pro*] [_{AgrSP [-EPP]} V+T [_{Spec, TP} DP [_{TP} [_{VP} *t*]...]]]]

In EP (53), a DP in Spec, AgrSP encodes the predicational status of the sentence and consequently, the topic status (given or not) of the DP in question. Thus, the relevant feature of AgrSP in EP is [+EPP]. A subject DP moved to Spec, AgrSP (attracted by [+EPP]) results in a predicational status for the sentence, and with it, a categorical judgment and (typically) an interpretation of unmarked topic. Essentially, [\pm EPP] determines informational status and whether a subject moves past the verb to Spec, AgrSP. If a [-EPP] head is in AgrS, the argument DP subject merges in Spec, TP (at Spell Out), and *pro*_[expl] is inserted in Spec, AgrSP.²⁷ The resulting derivation is presentational (athetic judgment), and as expected, the DP subject doesn't receive a topical interpretation, and is considered new information. [+D-linked] encodes a D-linked presentation.

This proposal gives formal form and content to the categorization of *discourse-oriented language* (see also Raposo 1986, Duarte 1987). She suggests that discourse-oriented languages, via formal features that characterize their corresponding functional heads, make use of features that encode behaviors relevant at the level of discourse structure. On the other hand, a *discourse-configurational language* makes use of

²⁶ Note that these structure typologies are mine based on the article, and may be mistaken. Her analysis for English seems to suggest verb movement for English – perhaps as high as AgrS. Duarte does not specify the details.

²⁷ Note that if AgrSP is in fact [-EPP], the merge of an expletive *pro* in (49) is superfluous.

specialized functional heads to encode relevant behavior(s) at the level of discourse structure (e.g. Kiss 1995). For Duarte, EP does not have specialized heads to encode discourse structure. This is somewhat of a paradox, however, because it is basically doing the same thing as specialized heads with pre-existing “core” heads by assigning them special (potentially ad hoc) features to encode discourse structure within the core syntax.

Costa (2004) offers an extensive argument in support of EP preverbal subjects as canonical elements that appear in Spec, TP.²⁸ He first examines multiple preposing.

- (54) a. Aos alunos, sobre sintaxe, o Rui falou.
 to-the students about syntax the Rui speak.PST.3SG
 To the students, about syntax, Rui spoke.
- b. Sobre sintaxe, aos alunos, o Rui falou.
 about syntax to-the students the Rui speak.PST.3SG
 About syntax, to the students, Rui spoke.
- (55) a. Esse bolo, o Paulo comeu -o.
 that cake the Paulo eat.PST.3SG -CL.ACC.M.3SG
 That cake, Paulo ate.
- b. ??O Paulo, esse bolo, comeu -o.
 the Paulo that cake eat-PST.3SG -CL.ACC.M.3SG
 Paulo, that cake, ate.

While the ordering of the indirect object *aos alunos* and the PP adjunct *sobre sintaxe* is flexible (54a, b), such flexibility does not extend to preverbal subjects (55b), as the preverbal subject appears to require adjacency to the verb (55a). If preverbal subjects were adjuncts, or had the (A'-) status of other preposed elements, one would expect (55b) to be as acceptable as (55a), contrary to fact. Despite the facts above that suggest that

²⁸ Costa (2004) also provides data on Portuguese-based Creoles and dialectal Portuguese. I omit these data here for the sake of brevity and conciseness.

subjects are not adjuncts, Costa also gives evidence that preverbal subjects may appear in a left-dislocated position.

According to Belletti (1990) the contrastively focused Italian negative quantifier *NESSUNO* in (56) is A'-moved (presumably to a focus position).²⁹

(56) *NESSUNO*/**Nessuno* probabilmente ha sbagliato.
 nobody probably have.PRS.3SG make mistake.PART

NOBODY/Nobody probably has made a mistake.

The stressed Neg QP may appear in a position non-adjacent to the verb, unlike the unstressed negative QP *nessuno*. Belletti attributes the fact that the inflected verb and the unstressed negative QP cannot be adjacent to one another to the inability of (unstressed) negative QPs in Italian to be left-dislocated, thus suggesting that it appears in a canonical subject position. Costa presents (57) as evidence that preverbal negative QPs in EP are not necessarily left-dislocated.

(57) *Ninguém* provavelmente leu esse livro.
 nobody probably read.PST.3SG that book

Nobody probably read that book.

However, (57) may also be interpreted as indicating that preverbal subjects *may be* (although not necessarily always) left-dislocated, as the contrast with the Italian facts above may also suggest that EP allows negative QPs to appear in the left periphery.

Recall, however, as noted in section 1.4.3, that negative QPs cannot serve as discourse topics.

²⁹ I take this liberty here although Costa claims that the contrastively focused Neg QP in (49) appears in Spec, IP.

An important contrast between preverbal subjects and other left-peripheral elements exists with a fronted Wh-element in embedded contexts (58).

- (58) a. Perguntei que livro o Pedro leu.
ask.PST.1SG what book the Pedro read.PST.3SG
I asked what book Pedro read.
- b. *Perguntei que livro, á Maria, lhe deram.
ask.PST.1SG what book to-the Maria CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3PL
I asked what book, to Maria, they gave.

Although the presence of a matrix wh- element in EP prefers subject-verb inversion, in, it is not obligatory (58a), thus suggesting that the wh-element *que* is not competing with the preverbal subject for a left-peripheral position. If the subject in (58a) were left-dislocated like the fronted indirect object *á Maria* in (58b), (58a) should incur the same minimality violation as (58b), contrary to fact.

Costa assumes that A'-movement reconstructs and that A-movement cannot.³⁰ Therefore, following this assumption, a preverbal subject in Spec, IP should not be able to reconstruct, while a left-dislocated subject should be able to. Consider (59).

- (59) a. Três livros foram lidos por dois estudantes.
three books be.PST.3PL read by two students
Three books were read by two students. (S > Ag; *Ag > S)
- b. Três livros, dois estudantes leram -nos.
three books two students read-PST.3PL -CL.ACC.M.3PL
Three books, two students read them. (S > O; O > S)

³⁰ Note that the inability of A-movement to reconstruct has been debated (e.g. Sportiche 1999)

By Costa's analysis, the preverbal passive subject in (59a) cannot reconstruct, thus ruling out an interpretation in which the agent (Ag) takes scope over the subject theme. In (59b) however, the left-dislocated object can reconstruct to a postverbal position, thus allowing for scope ambiguity.³¹

Another problematic aspect of the left-peripheral subject analysis for EP by Costa's analysis is the fact that in a thetic, or "out of the blue", situation, the unmarked word order for EP is SVO.

- (60) A: O que é que aconteceu?
 the what be.PRS.3SG that happen.PST.3SG
What (is it that) happened?
- B: a. O Pedro partiu o braço.
 the Pedro break.PST.3SG the arm
- b. #Partiu o Pedro o braço.
 break.PST.3SG the Pedro the arm
Pedro broke his arm.
- c. #O braço, o Pedro partiu -o.
 the arm the Pedro break.PST.3SG -CL.ACC.M.3SG
His arm, Pedro broke (it).

For Costa, the facts in (60) are problematic for two reasons. First, left-dislocation in (60c) is infelicitous in response to the question *What happened?*, which does not explain why the subject can be left-dislocated (by his analysis) when other elements cannot. Secondly, if we assume that the subject in (60a) is left-dislocated, we then have to explain why it

³¹ Example (55a) is hardly ideal for showing reconstruction; for even if we admit A-reconstruction, the reconstruction site for the subject theme would be structurally higher than the PP adjunct *por dois estudantes*. Example (55b) would be more enlightening if it were compared with *Dois estudantes leram três livros* as this would indicate the scope possibilities of a sentence that is canonically ordered. Even with A-reconstruction, one would predict S > O scope, but not O > S.

cannot stay in its (Spec, VP) base position, as in (60b).³² By his analysis, (60b) is not out due to the exhaustive nature of the subject in inversion constructions, because its behavior is the same in mono-argumental intransitive contexts (61).

(61) A: O que é que aconteceu?
the what be.PRS.3SG that happen.PST.3SG

What (is it that) happened?

B: a. O João espirrou.
the João sneeze.PST.3SG

João sneezed.

b. #Espirrou o João.
sneeze.PST.3SG the João

João sneezed.

c. O João viajou.
the João travel.PST.3SG

João traveled.

d. #Viajou o João.
travel.PST.3SG the João

João traveled.

His claim is that if the A-position (Spec, VP) were the only position for the subject, we would predict VS in these contexts.

Examples like (62) are typically thought to involve dislocation, and not movement to Spec, IP, or it would be a case of super-raising.

³² Note that if Barbosa (2000) is on the right track, and preverbal subjects of this flavor are CLLD elements, it is base-generated in the left-periphery and co-indexed with *pro*, and not moved there.

- (62) a. O homen parece que viu un monstro.
 the man seem.PRS.3SG that see.PST.3SG a monster

The man it seems that he saw a monster.

- b. O João parece que está parvo.
 the João seem that be.PRS.3SG foolish

João it seems that he is foolish.

Costa notes that there is also a definiteness effect in this construction. Indefinite preverbal subjects cannot be left-dislocated (63).

- (63) a. *Umas meninas parece que estão
 some girls seem.PRS.3SG that be.PRS.3PL

doentes.
 sick

Some girls seems that (they) are sick.

- b. *Baleias parece que comem peixe.
 whales seem.PRS.3SG that eat.PRS.3PL fish

Whales seems that (they) eat fish.

For Costa, this definiteness effect is expected, since left-dislocation normally only can affect definite XPs. Comparing similar examples (64) with constructions not normally analyzed as left-dislocated, SVO word orders exhibit no such definiteness effect, thus indicating that they are not left-dislocated elements.

- (64) a. O homem foi assassinado.
 the man be.PST.3SG assassinated

The man was assassinated.

- a'. Un homem foi assassinado.
 a man be.PST.3SG assassinated

A man was assassinated.

b. As meninas estão doentes.
 the girls be.PRS.3PL sick

The girls are sick.

b'. Umas meninas estão doentes.
 some girls be.PRS.3PL sick

Some girls are sick

c. As baleias comem peixe.
 the whales eat.PRS.3PL fish

The whales eat fish.

c'. Baleias comem peixe.
 whales eat.PRS.3PL fish

Whales eat fish.

If preverbal subjects were necessarily left-dislocated, examples (64a'-64c') should not be grammatical, contrary to the facts presented above.

Barbosa (1995) points out that some null-subject Romance languages require subject clitic-doubling, evidence which works in favor of Barbosa's left-peripheral subject analysis. Costa illustrates that in EP, doubling is possible (65a), but not required (65b). Inthetic contexts, however, subject doubling is very marginal (66b).

(65) A: Quem leu o que?
 who read.PST.3SG the what

Who read what?

B: a. O João, ele leu o livro.
 the João he read.PST.3SG the book

João, he read the book.

b. O João leu o livro.
 the João read.PST.3SG the book

João read the book.

(66) A: O que é que aconteceu?
 the what be.PRS.3SG that happen.PST.3SG

What (is it that) happened?

B: a. O João leu o livro.
 b. ??*O João, ele leu o livro.

Barbosa's (1995) analysis predicts that a left-dislocated preverbal subject can always be doubled but given the data above, this does not appear to be the case for EP. If one considers the possibility that EP has subject clitics (a possibility she considers in her analysis), then one also has to consider its interaction with other pronouns and clitics. In (67) the doubled pronoun/clitic *ele* may appear in a preverbal or postverbal position.

(67) a. (O João,) leu ele o livro.
 the João read.PST.3SG he the book

(João,) he read the book.

b. (O João,) ele leu o livro.
 the João he read.PST.3SG the book

(João,) he read the book.

The trick now is telling which *ele* is a pronoun and which is a subject clitic. If we continue to assume that preverbal subjects are left-peripheral elements then both *O João* and *ele* are left-peripheral. Costa points out that nothing *a priori* rules out such an analysis, as (68) is a grammatical construction.

(68) O João, a ele, vi -o no
 the João to him see-PST.1SG -CL.ACC.M.3SG in-the

cinema.
 cinema

João, him I saw at the theater.

In (68) both *o João* and *a ele* are left-peripheral elements as well. The object clitic *o* here co-occurs with multiple fronting, which would suggest that the subject clitic *ele* should be able to co-occur with the dislocated preverbal DP subject *O João* and the preverbal pronoun *ele*, contrary to fact (69).³³

(69) O João, ele leu (*ele) o livro.
the João he read.PST.3SG he the book

*João, he read (*he) the book.*

Example (69), representing Costa's analysis, not only indicates that *ele* is a pronoun, but that preverbal *ele* appears in a canonical (Spec, TP-type) position, thus explaining why it may not appear both postverbally and preverbally.

Like English, EP allows for complementizer-less *if*-clauses in hypotheticals.

Following Costa, these constructions force I-to-C movement in EP, also as in English.

With these, a preverbal subject is not possible (70b).

(70) a. Tivesse o João ido ao Brasil...
have.PST.SUBJ the João go.PTCP to-the Brazil

Had João gone to Brazil...

b. *O João tivesse ido ao Brasil...
the João have.PST.SUBJ go.PTCP to-the Brazil

João had gone to Brazil...

³³ This analysis makes crucial (and necessary) leaps in regards to cliticization. It is worth pointing out that Barbosa's (1995) analysis is the only one I am aware of that treats EP pronouns as subject clitics. Note that EP does not allow both a preverbal pronoun and a "subject clitic" to appear adjacent (i), or separated by the verb (ii) without dislocation of *O João*.

(i) *Ele ele leu o livro.

(ii) *Ele leu ele o livro.

A preverbal subject appearing in Spec, IP correctly predicts (70a), since the auxiliary verb *ter* moves across the preverbal subject to the C realm. If the preverbal subject were left-dislocated, however, we would expect (70b) to be grammatical, contrary to fact. A preverbal subject may appear in a left-dislocated position, however, as long as there is an overt subject lower than the verb (71).

(71) O João, tivesse ele ido ao Brasil...
 the João have.PST.SUBJ he go.PTCP to-the Brazil

João, had he gone to Brazil...

Example (71) shows again that even though a preverbal subject may appear in a left-peripheral position, it is not required to appear in the left periphery.

Costa's analysis also examines child acquisition data for EP. If preverbal subjects are left-dislocated, the prediction is that VSO should be the unmarked word order.

Adragão (2001) showed that inversion is marked in early child production, appearing in only 7% of a total of 1060 sentences. Most of the VS sentences produced were passives, unaccusatives and predicative structures, which have unmarked VS order in adult production also. That very little left-dislocation appears in the data is claimed to be the result of the late acquisition of clitics in EP (Duarte & Matos 2000), thus further indicating that preverbal subjects are unmarked in EP. Therefore, Adragão & Costa (2003) predict that only once children master left-dislocation should they produce SV orders.

Despite the indications of Costa's tests in favor of a canonical preverbal subject analysis, he suggests that the results of the tests above do not imply that the results may be extended to other null subject languages, i.e. there is a need for thoroughness when examining the data, and that a few syntactic or pragmatic tests alone may be misleading. I

return to Costa (2004) in section 2.3.2., where I discuss Costa's analysis of the syntax-information structure interface in EP.

1.5. Summary of analyses of preverbal subjects

As we have seen in sections 1.3 and 1.4, there are substantive arguments for and against each side of the argument/non-argument debate in both Spanish and European Portuguese. The only definitive conclusion that one may arrive at after considering the above analyses is that preverbal subjects *may* appear preverbally. In addition to Costa's (2004) warning that cross-linguistic factors may limit the validity of the syntactic tests examined above, Burga (2008) also suggests that dialectal factors may influence the outcome of such tests. Gupton (2006) applied many of the tests in this chapter to the Galician language, but with inconclusive results, suggesting that the analysis of preverbal subjects depends on more than syntactic tests of A- or A'-status. In this dissertation, I examine information structure and the influence that this may have on the possible clausal word orders in Galician. In the next section, I provide introductory remarks on the Galician language, as well as comments on the utility of minority languages in linguistic research.

1.6. The role of minority languages in theoretical linguistic research

Syntactic theory involves positing the structure of the mental grammar of a given speaker. The challenge for Universal Grammar as a theory has always been to determine what it is that humans share in regards to their inherent propensity for language. According to current work in the Minimalist Program, crosslinguistic differences result from differing features present (or absent) in the linguistic input that humans receive while acquiring language(s). Early studies in generative grammar involved majority European languages such as English, French and German, and have since expanded to include languages from all over the world, thus continuously putting current theory to the

test. Minority languages have proven to be an extremely fruitful realm for syntactic research. For example, research on the so-called *dialetti*, or dialects, of Italy within the Cartographic Program (e.g. Benincà 1983; Poletto 1993, 2000, among numerous others) has been invaluable for the testing, as well as revising, of hypotheses for clitics. These Italian varieties possess crucial differences from both standard Italian, as well as from the “majority” Romance languages. It is in this spirit that I examine Galician in this dissertation. Given Galician’s similarity to both Spanish and European Portuguese, I investigate whether the data gathered for this language may provide insight to the syntactic debate introduced above for Spanish and European Portuguese.

1.6.1. The relevance of Galician

Galician is an ideal language to examine due to its linguistic proximity to both Spanish and Portuguese, and because it has not been extensively studied in modern linguistics. Galician and Portuguese share a direct linguistic ancestor, and share syntactic similarities such as enclisis, inflected infinitives, and a maintained (although restricted) use of the future subjunctive. Despite such similarities, Galician is a minority Romance language in Spain and parts of Northern Portugal. Not surprisingly, the sociolinguistic situation of Galician within the autonomous Spanish province of Galicia plays an important role in the status of Galician, which affects its use and maintenance. In the following section, I discuss the sociolinguistic situation in Galicia in greater detail.

1.7. The sociolinguistic situation in Galicia

Although the Galician language has enjoyed periods of resurgence over time, including the present day, it has existed as a minority language for over five hundred years. Ramallo (2007) cites the thirteenth century as the origin of Spanish-Galician contact in Galicia, when the kingdom of Galicia became part of the Kingdom of Castile. The gradual process of infiltration of Spanish into Galicia culminated in the sixteenth century with the installation of Castilian as the official language of the Kingdom of

Castile and the disappearance of Galician from official documents (Monteagudo 1999). While Galician was still spoken in rural areas, it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that Galician enjoyed resurgence as a language of culture. The Galician language continued in this renewal until the end of the Spanish Civil War and the rise of the Francisco Franco regime (1939-1975), during which Galician suffered a public disappearance. While speakers of Galician were not as viciously persecuted as their Catalan and Basque counterparts (perhaps owing to the fact that Franco himself was Galician), Galician was strongly stigmatized as a rural, uneducated, and uncivilized language. Urbanization and modernity arrived late in Galicia, and Spanish was seen as part of this modernity, thus leading to a gradual rise in bilingualism that left Galician relegated to a chiefly rural and familial language. Since that time, the minority languages of Spain have been legalized, revitalized, and standardized (Siguán 1992), but Galician has not enjoyed the prestige of Basque or Catalan, owing principally to Galicia's (comparatively) weaker economy. While all official minority languages co-exist with Spanish in situations of *diglossia*³⁴ within the Spanish State, the situation of Galician differs in that in Galicia, Spanish is perceived in the high position, while Galician is perceived in the low position. Galician is considered the language of the poorer, less-educated portion of society, while Spanish continues to be the language of social mobility and elite status (Murillo 1988; del Valle 2000). According to the Galician Statistical Institute, the population of Galicia in 2009 was 2,796,089. According to 2001 (census) estimates, there were roughly 2.2 million speakers of Galician, 1.4 million of whom reported always speaking Galician, and 780,000 of whom reported speaking Galician occasionally. Despite the successes of (re)establishing instruction of Galician in primary

³⁴ For Murillo (1988) and del Valle (2000), only Galician should be considered a case of *diglossia*, while Basque or Catalan are considered to be different due to reasons of prestige and use.

and secondary school, according to Del Valle (2000), over 50% of speakers aged 16-25 speak only Spanish (17.7%), or more Spanish than Galician (35.7%). According to the *Ley Orgánica de Educación* (Fundamental Law of Education), education within the Spanish state is free and compulsory from age 6 to 16. Although the Galician Parliament issued a new decree (124/2007) in 2007 requiring that a minimum of 50% of school instruction be conducted in Galician (Loureiro-Rodríguez 2009, but see also Regueira 2009 for a more in-depth history of the decree and recent reaction), this measure was taken largely in order to address previous failures of compliance with laws in private schools and schools in urban areas (Ramallo 2007).³⁵ According to Huguet (2004), linguistic normalization laws in the provinces of Cataluña, Valencia, the Balearic Islands, Navarra, the Basque Country and Galicia are a response to a desire that students finish their years of compulsory education with relatively balanced dominance of Spanish and the minority language. He argues that the result of bilingual education is that monolingual Basque (Euskera), Catalan or Galician speakers no longer exist, and that all native speakers of these languages also know and can use Spanish. In the subsections that follow, I will show that the majority of Galician speakers are also speakers of Spanish – especially among the younger segments of the population. This is of utmost importance since many of the individuals who participated in the quantitative tasks that I detail in Chapter 3 reported being bilingual to greater or lesser degrees. In 1.7.1, I discuss bilingualism in Galicia as well as bilingual phenomena such as attrition and incomplete acquisition. I also present figures on self-reported native language and self-reported habitual language use. In section 1.7.2, I present figures on self-reported competence in Galicia, showing that those who claim to speak Galician to varying degrees report high

³⁵ Among Castilian monolinguals and the Castilian-dominant community, this decree caused uproar and led to the creation of a protest group against the decree, ironically titled *Galicia Bilingüe* (Bilingual Galicia, see Regueira 2009 as noted above).

levels of competence in both Spanish and English. In section 1.7.3, I discuss how bilingualism can lead to residual optionality and instability at the linguistic interface that I examine.

1.7.1. Bilingualism in Galicia

According to data reported by the Galician Statistical Institute for the year 2008 in Table 1, 73.52% of Galicians older than 65 years of age surveyed, and 56.3% of Galicians between the ages of 50 and 64 surveyed reported having learned only Galician as their first language. For speakers younger than 50, these figures fall below 50%. Interestingly, however, younger age groups reported higher levels of exposure to both Galician and Spanish as a child. According to MSG 2004 data (González González et al 2007: 281), over 70% of those surveyed learned or acquired Galician in the family environment. Primary exposure to a minority language in a naturalistic setting such as the home is a typical hallmark of a *heritage speaker* of a language.³⁶

Table 1. Self-reported first language(s) percentages by age group in Galicia.

language(s) learned as a child	age				
	15-29	30-39	40-49	50-64	65+
Galician	31.33	32.75	43.28	56.30	73.52
Both	31.46	28.12	22.02	19.17	13.19
Spanish	33.54	34.39	31.80	23.05	12.83
Other	3.68	4.74	2.90	1.47	0.46
Totals	100.01	100.00	100.00	99.99	100.00

Source: Galician Statistical Institute (www.ige.eu). Santiago de Compostela, 2008.

³⁶ Rothman (2009) notes that the terms *heritage speaker* and *heritage language* are used principally in North America (see also Valdés 1995, 2000). In other areas of the world, heritage languages and speakers are referred to by terms such as *minority*, *ethnic*, or *background*, without much difference terminologically.

Heritage speakers (see e.g. Rothman 2009 among numerous others) are adults who started as simultaneous bilinguals or child second language (L2) acquirers. Heritage speakers are native speakers of their first language (L1) in that they have acquired it naturalistically, but crucially, their L1 is not the dominant language of society. The crucial factors involved in heritage language acquisition involve potential qualitative and quantitative differences in input, the influence of the societally dominant language, and difference in literacy aptitudes, potentially related to formal education in the heritage language. Typically, there is a distinct inequality between the support that the heritage language receives in the home on the one hand and the support that the dominant language possesses or receives in the community at large on the other. In comparison with native monolinguals, the combination of these factors can result in what may be interpreted as either arrested development or language attrition.

Exposure to the societally dominant L2 sets the stage for the onset of bilingualism. Sorace (2004) suggests that there is a direct association between incomplete learning and the onset of bilingualism as well as the onset of attrition. Montrul (2008) differentiates between incomplete L1 acquisition and L1 attrition as specific cases of intergenerational language loss. For Montrul, incomplete acquisition happens in childhood when certain linguistic properties do not reach age-appropriate levels of proficiency. This is essentially childhood attrition, which occurs due to intense exposure to the L2. Essentially, following childhood exposure, the L1 proficiency of the speaker fossilizes, or ceases to mature beyond a certain point as the individual matures. Montrul views L1 attrition as a phenomenon that can occur in childhood or adulthood. In attrition, a linguistic property y that was mastered for some time with native-like proficiency and mastery is lost. Although the definitions of these terms differ slightly, Montrul notes that they are not mutually exclusive concepts, as both may result simultaneously or even sequentially for given linguistic properties. There are also a variety of causes as to why a certain linguistic property may not be acquired. For example, if a given property is

lacking in the ambient input the child is exposed to, this can lead to incomplete acquisition. Rothman (2007) found that bilingual children who acquired Brazilian Portuguese in a purely naturalistic setting in the home but attended school in English did not acquire inflected infinitive forms. While one might interpret these results as suggestive that the consequence to not being exposed to schooling in a standard form of a language can lead to an incomplete grammar when compared to the grammar of an educated adult speaker, Pires & Rothman (2009) found that bilingual children who acquired European Portuguese in a similar naturalistic environment did, in fact, acquire inflected infinitives. The crucial difference between the groups in these studies lay in the input that the groups of children received. The monolingual vernacular that the Brazilian Portuguese-speaking children were exposed to and acquired lacked the feature of the grammar crucial to acquiring inflected infinitives. As for the children who were exposed to monolingual European Portuguese, they were exposed to these features and did acquire inflected infinitives in their speech. The results of Pires & Rothman (2009) suggest that the children who were exposed to and acquired Brazilian Portuguese in a naturalistic setting did not have incomplete grammars; rather they fully acquired the grammar of the vernacular of the language that they were exposed to.

Schmid & Köpke (2007) list a number of conditions generally assumed necessary for L1 attrition to set in: 1) emigration, 2) extensive use of the L2 in daily life, 3) extremely reduced use of the L1 in daily life, plus 4) a fairly long time span (decades). Conditions (2), (3) and (4) may be found in the Galician context, but (1) exists to varying degrees. Given that the L1 (Galician) is a minority language within Galicia, I will assume that (1) is not a requirement, and that (2), (3) and (4) provide sufficient conditions for L1 attrition within the context of Galicia. Given conditions (2) and (3) above, it is not a stretch to assume that language use plays a large role in language maintenance as well as in language loss. The Galician Statistical Institute statistics in Table 2 for self-reported habitual language use show that – even in the youngest age group – at least 74% of the

population reported using Galician to some degree. Among individuals over age 65, approximately 78% reported using only Galician or Galician more than Spanish, and roughly 66% of individuals aged 50 to 64 reported using only Galician or Galician more than Spanish. For individuals under age 50, however, usage figures for only Galician or more Galician than Spanish fall below 50%. For this age group, at least half of those surveyed reported using Spanish more than Galician or only Spanish.

Table 2. Self-reported habitual language use percentages by age group in Galicia.

habitual language	age			
	15-29	30-49	50-64	65+
always Galician	18.59	22.06	34.26	52.90
more Galician than Spanish	24.37	26.59	32.67	25.60
more Spanish than Galician	31.58	26.87	17.30	10.52
always Spanish	25.47	24.48	15.77	10.98
Totals	100.01	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Galician Statistical Institute (www.ige.eu). Santiago de Compostela, 2008.

If we examine the figures in Table 2 from a bilingual usage perspective, over half of those surveyed between the ages of 15 and 49 reported using both languages, and nearly half of those surveyed between the ages of 50 and 64 reported using both languages. For those over age 65, bilingual usage reported decreased to 36%. While these figures indicate a decrease in strictly monolingual Galician usage in younger generations, they also indicate an increasingly high level of bilingualism. Language usage does not necessarily equate to competence. In section 1.7.2, I examine self-reported competences in the areas of oral comprehension, oral expression, written comprehension, and written expression for both Spanish and Galician. In 1.7.3, I discuss the role of interface instability in bilingual and heritage speaker competences.

1.7.2. Self-reported language competence ratings

According to figures from the 2004 Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia (henceforth MSG) in Table 3, the majority of Galicians surveyed rated their Galician abilities high in areas of oral and written comprehension and expression (González González 2007: 171-174).

Table 3. Percentages of Galicians surveyed who rated their Galician abilities as 3 or 4 (4=highest).

	self-rating (4=highest)	Galician abilities			
		oral comprehension	oral expression	written comprehension	written expression
Galicia	4	76.2	59.5	59.3	49.3
	3	16.8	23.0	22.8	25.1
TOTAL		93.0	82.5	82.1	74.4

Source: González González, Manuel et al. 2007. Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia 2004, vol. 1: Lingua inicial e competencia lingüística en Galicia. A Coruña: Real Acedemia Galega.

In Galicia as a whole, the percentages of the same abilities in Spanish self-reported as high increased to near ceiling figures (Cf. Table 3 & Table 4), with notable increases in the areas of oral expression, written comprehension and written expression (González González 2007: 225-228).

Table 4. Percentages of Galicians surveyed who rated their Spanish abilities as 3 or 4 (4=highest).

	self-rating (4=highest)	Spanish abilities			
		oral comprehension	oral expression	written comprehension	written expression
Galicia	4	90.9	84.4	86.5	83.8
	3	7.7	12.1	10.4	12.3
TOTAL		98.6	96.5	96.9	96.1

Source: González González, Manuel et al. 2007. Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia 2004, vol. 1: Lingua inicial e competencia lingüística en Galicia. A Coruña: Real Acedemia Galega.

For self-reported habitual Galician monolinguals, self-rated oral abilities in Galician were rated highly more frequently than they were for Spanish (Cf. Table 5 & Table 6). Written comprehension abilities were rated highly nearly on par with Spanish abilities, but written expression abilities were rated high less frequently than they were for Spanish written expression.

Table 5. Percentages of self-reported Galician-only speakers surveyed who rated their Galician abilities as 3 or 4 (4=highest).

self-reported habitual language	self-rating (4=highest)	Galician abilities			
		oral comprehension	oral expression	written comprehension	written expression
only Galician	4	86.3	81.5	67.8	58.3
	3	12.5	16.1	21.3	25.0
TOTAL		98.8	97.6	89.1	83.3

Source: González González, Manuel et al. 2007. Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia 2004, vol. 1: Lingua inicial e competencia lingüística en Galicia. A Coruña: Real Acedemia Galega.

Table 6. Percentages of self-reported Galician-only speakers surveyed who rated their Spanish abilities as 3 or 4 (4=highest).

self-reported habitual language	self-rating (4=highest)	Spanish abilities			
		oral comprehension	oral expression	written comprehension	written expression
only Galician	4	83.4	63.0	72.3	67.7
	3	13.0	25.0	18.1	21.4
TOTAL		96.4	88.0	90.4	89.1

Source: González González, Manuel et al. 2007. Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia 2004, vol. 1: Lingua inicial e competencia lingüística en Galicia. A Coruña: Real Acedemia Galega.

For speakers who reported speaking mostly Galician (i.e. more Galician than Spanish), all Galician abilities were rated high as frequently as they were for Spanish except for written expression abilities, which were rated high less frequently than they were for the same abilities in Spanish (Cf. Table 7 & Table 8).

Table 7. Percentages of self-reported predominantly Galician speakers surveyed who rated their Galician abilities as 3 or 4 (4=highest).

self-reported habitual language	self-rating (4=highest)	Galician abilities			
		oral comprehension	oral expression	written comprehension	written expression
mostly Galician	4	87.0	78.0	68.9	58.4
	3	10.9	18.3	21.3	26.1
TOTAL		97.9	96.3	90.2	84.5

Source: González González, Manuel et al. 2007. Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia 2004, vol. 1: Lingua inicial e competencia lingüística en Galicia. A Coruña: Real Acedemia Galega.

Table 8. Percentages of self-reported predominantly Galician speakers surveyed who rated their Spanish abilities as 3 or 4 (4=highest).

self-reported habitual language	self-rating (4=highest)	Spanish abilities			
		oral comprehension	oral expression	written comprehension	written expression
mostly Galician	4	87.8	77.6	81.9	77.8
	3	10.0	17.8	14.0	16.7
TOTAL		97.8	95.4	95.9	94.5

Source: González González, Manuel et al. 2007. Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia 2004, vol. 1: Lingua inicial e competencia lingüística en Galicia. A Coruña: Real Acedemia Galega.

According to the MSG 2004 figures in Table 9, speakers who reported speaking more Spanish than Galician on a habitual basis rated their Galician abilities high nearly as frequently as those who report speaking mostly Galician (Cf. Table 5) and those who report speaking only Galician (Cf. Table 7).

Table 9. Percentages of self-reported predominantly Spanish speakers surveyed who rated their Galician abilities as 3 or 4 (4=highest).

self-reported habitual language	self-rating (4=highest)	Galician abilities			
		oral comprehension	oral expression	written comprehension	written expression
mostly Spanish	4	77.2	56.2	61.3	50.9
	3	17.5	28.8	24.4	26.7
TOTAL		94.7	85.0	85.7	77.6

Source: González González, Manuel et al. 2007. Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia 2004, vol. 1: Lingua inicial e competencia lingüística en Galicia. A Coruña: Real Acedemia Galega.

Most Galician abilities in Table 9 were rated in the two highest rating categories in more than 80% of the responses. The only ability that rated high in less than 80% of responses

was written expression. In Table 10, these same speakers rated their Spanish abilities in the two highest categories nearly 100% of the time.

Table 10. Percentages of self-reported predominantly Spanish speakers surveyed who rated their Spanish abilities as 3 or 4 (4=highest).

self-reported habitual language	self-rating (4=highest)	Spanish abilities			
		oral comprehension	oral expression	written comprehension	written expression
mostly Spanish	4	94.3	92.5	92.5	90.3
	3	5.4	6.9	7.0	8.6
TOTAL		99.7	98.4	99.5	98.9

Source: González González, Manuel et al. 2007. Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia 2004, vol. 1: Lingua inicial e competencia lingüística en Galicia. A Coruña: Real Acedemia Galega.

While one might speculate that the lower Galician written expression ratings overall may have to do with modifications that were made to the Galician orthographic norm in 2003, it is more likely that the lower ratings have more to do with lower levels of literacy in standard(ized) Galician as compared to Spanish.³⁷ What is important in these self-reported ratings is that the majority of those who report using Galician to some degree rate their oral and written abilities as high. Assuming the Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia (MSG) and Galician Statistical Institute figures to be a reliable estimate of these individuals' competence in both Spanish and Galician, it would appear that Huguet's (2004) description of language competences in (officially) multilingual Spanish provinces like Galicia is at least mostly accurate, thus suggesting that the majority of

³⁷ The original norm was introduced in 1982 and made law in Galicia in 1983. Note that there is a competing orthographical norm advocated by the AGAL (*Associaçom Galega da Língua*, or Galician Association of the Language).

native speakers of Galician also know and can use Spanish.³⁸ This is of particular importance to this dissertation because, despite reports that older, less literate speakers are the nearest approximation to monolingual speakers in Galicia (Siguán 1992), the majority of the Galician population is bilingual. As we saw in Table 2 above, these near-monolingual speakers (with respect to usage) are over the age of 65. Given that the Spanish Civil War ended in 1939, only those well over the age of 75 would have had a chance of little or no formal education in Spanish. Therefore, it is important to bear in mind that while a description of Galician spoken by Spanish-Galician bilinguals is not representative of Galician as it is/was known by those who are/were monolingual Galician speakers, it is more representative of the Galician spoken by the majority of speakers in the present day, and it is even more representative of the Galician that will be spoken in the future. As discussed in section 1.7.1, bilingual speakers of Galician fit the description of heritage speakers. With respect to questions of language maintenance and use, exposure, societal pressures and literacy, speakers of Galician as bilinguals are also susceptible to incomplete acquisition, language attrition, and even language loss phenomena. Such phenomena have been found to manifest themselves via interface instability in a variety of bilinguals. In 1.7.3, I discuss interface instability and the relevance that it may have for the linguistic interface that I examine in this dissertation.

1.7.3. Interface instability in bilinguals

According to research in child bilingualism (Genesee 1989, Meisel 1989, Genesee & Paradis 1996, among numerous others), child bilinguals possess separate grammars from a very early stage. Acquiring two (or more) grammars differs from acquiring each language separately (i.e. as a monolingual would). Hulk & Müller (2000) argue that cross-linguistic interference can occur if an interface is involved and the languages in

³⁸ Note however that MSG 2004 only reported on participants between the ages of 15 and 54.

question overlap at the surface level. They argue that a second condition for interface vulnerability is satisfied if the input of one of the two languages incorrectly reinforces a seemingly possible structural (mis)analysis in the other L1. Such language-internal factors are what cause cross-linguistic interference, and not external factors such as language dominance. The Interface Hypothesis is based on the assumption that narrow syntactic features are acquired without issue (Sorace & Serratrice 2009; Belletti, Bennati & Sorace 2007; Sorace & Filiaci 2006; Sorace 2005), or that they are impermeable to cross-linguistic interference (Tsimplici 2007). Grammatical structures that form a portion of the interface between the syntax and other modules, however, are vulnerable and may be subject to instability and optionality (Sorace 2005). Numerous psycholinguistic factors may affect the acquirability or stability of interface structures, including: 1) underspecification of interface features, which gives rise to optionality in mapping of such features from one module to another when one language instantiates a more complex setting than the other language; 2) processing limitations on the mapping and coordination of syntactic and contextual non-syntactic information; and 3) the quantity and quality of input received by bilinguals, which in turn may affect speed and accuracy of processing.

Not all interfaces are equal. While some syntax-semantics violations incur violations of ungrammaticality, and thus lead to more categorical intuitions among speakers, the syntax-pragmatics interface involves pragmatic conditions that determine appropriateness in context, thus often leading to gradient judgments regarding appropriateness. White (2008) calls the former ‘internal interfaces’, which are thought to be acquirable in an L2, and the latter ‘external interfaces’, which are problematic (but not inevitably so) even at very advanced stages of second language acquisition (e.g. Belletti, Bennati & Sorace 2007; Iverson, Kempchinsky & Rothman 2008; Rothman 2007a; Sorace & Filiaci 2006, Sorace 2000). Yet interface vulnerability is also found in L1 attrition (e.g. Tsimplici et al 2004) as well as in heritage speakers (Montrul 2002, 2004;

Rothman 2007b). It has also been cited as a factor in developmental delays and general instability in language development in L1 acquisition (Schmitt & Miller 2007) and in child bilingual acquisition (Serratrice, Sorace & Paoli 2004). All of these groups have been found to exhibit instability and optionality in their use and judgments of morpho-syntactic constructions whose distribution is governed by the syntax-discourse interface. Montrul (2009) argues that a problem with the Interface Theory is that it does not precisely define or predict which interfaces are complex or difficult to acquire. In fact, the term complexity has yet to be defined or measured. White (2010) suggests that both internal and external interfaces are subject to vulnerability in SLA.

In Chapter 2, I examine a variety of analyses of information structure, and define the information structure concepts that I assume in this dissertation. As this dissertation investigates the interface between syntax and information structure, which involves the discourse context, the Interface Hypothesis described above would predict instability and indeterminacy for the individuals involved in this investigation. In Chapter 3, I discuss the methodology that I made use of to gather quantitative and qualitative data on this interface in Galician. In Chapter 3, I also return to the sociolinguistic situation in Galicia as it pertains to the sociolinguistic variables involved in data collection. In Chapter 4, I present the results of the quantitative and qualitative measures introduced in Chapter 3. In Chapter 5, I take into account the data discussed in Chapter 4, as well as additional data obtained in one-to-one consultation with a native, habitual Galician speaker in presenting the syntactic analysis that I propose for Galician. I then offer concluding comments.

CHAPTER 2

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SYNTAX AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE

2.1. Syntactic structures in context

In Chapter 2, I discuss the importance that the structuring of information can have for the acceptability and the analysis of certain word orders. Certain languages such as Spanish and Galician appear to allow for a large degree of flexibility with respect to word order. However, once certain word orders are placed within communicative contexts, they cease to be acceptable. In section 2.2, I introduce some examples of these word orders and accompanying contexts. In section 2.3, I introduce some of the basic concepts and dichotomies used to describe information structure. In section 2.3.1, I discuss some of the definitions of topic/ theme that have been proposed in the literature, and present the definition that I adopt in this dissertation. In section 2.3.2, I examine the accompanying definitions of focus/rheme in the literature, and discuss the assumptions that I make for this concept in this dissertation. In section 2.4, I briefly discuss the way in which the syntax-discourse interface has been described from a syntactic perspective, and some of the theoretical problems involved in such analyses. In section 2.5, I examine syntactic accounts of the syntax-information structure interface. In section 2.6, I examine López's (2009) proposal for the syntax-information structure interface. In section 2.7, I conclude the chapter by discussing the implications of discourse factors in speaker judgments, as well as the research questions guiding the methodology that I present in Chapter 3.

2.2. When syntax meets discourse

According to Casielles (2004), SVO word orders in Spanish (1d) are felicitous as replies for a variety of question types. SVO can answer athetic question (1a), a wide (predicate) focus question (1b), or a direct object narrow-focus (rheme) question (1c).

- (1) a. ¿Qué pasó?
 what happen.PST.3SG
What happened?
- b. ¿Qué hizo Juan?
 what do.PST.3SG Juan
What did Juan do?
- c. ¿A quién llamó Juan?
 to whom call.PST.3SG Juan
Who did Juan call?
- d. Juan llamó a su mujer.
 Juan call.PST.3SG to his wife
Juan called his wife.

For Zubizarreta (1998) SVO is not a felicitous response to a subject narrow-focus (rheme) question (2a). A reply such as (2a) with main prominence (indicated by underscore) on the unknown (focused) element would be appropriate in English, but inappropriate in Spanish. Such prominence in a language like Spanish would force a contrastive or emphatic interpretation (2b). According to Zubizarreta, VOS (2c) is an appropriate reply to a subject narrow-focus question.¹

¹ Note that for Ordóñez (1997) VOS is an infelicitous reply forthetic questions (ia), but VSO (ib) is. Ordóñez notes that VSO improves with a preverbal time adverbial.

- (i) What happened yesterday?
- a. #(que) ayer ganó la lotería Juan
 that yesterday win.PST.3SG the lottery John
(that) yesterday John won the lottery.
- b. Ayer ganó Juan la lotería.
 yesterday win.PST.3SG John the lottery
Yesterday John won the lottery.

- (2) Who ate an apple?
- a. #Juan comió una manzana.
Juan eat.PST.3SG an apple
- b. #JUAN comió una manzana (no Pedro).
JUAN eat.PST.3SG an apple not Pedro
- #JUAN ate an apple (not Pedro).
- c. Comió una manzana Juan.
eat.PST.3SG an apple Juan
- Juan ate an apple.*

By her analysis, main prominence in Spanish lies on a phrase-internal constituent (i.e. Juan in 2c), which renders SVO incompatible with non-contrastive (i.e. new information/rheme) focus on the subject in (2). The same can be seen in a direct object narrow-focus question-answer set (3).

- (3) What did Maria put on the table?
- a. María puso sobre la mesa el libro.
Maria put.PST.3SG on the table the book
- Maria put the book on the table.*
- b. #María puso el libro sobre la mesa.
Maria put.PST.3SG the book on the table
- c. #María puso el LIBRO sobre la mesa (no
Maria put.PST.3SG the BOOK on the table not
la revista).
the magazine
- #Maria put THE BOOK on the table (not the magazine).*

In (3) only the narrow-focused new information can appear at the rightmost edge (Cf. 3a & 3b). As in (2), placing main prominence on a phrase-internal constituent forces a contrastive reading (3c), which is incompatible with the direct object narrow-focus question. Main prominence on the object makes SVO completely compatible with object narrow focus questions. By Zubizarreta's analysis, rightmost prominence is a result of the

interaction of the NSR (see Chomsky & Halle 1968 for its original formulation) and the FPR (focus prominence rule) in Spanish. According to Zubizarreta, only the C-NSR portion of the NSR (4a) is active in Spanish.

- (4) *Spanish NSR*
- a. Given two sister nodes C_i and C_j , the one lower in the asymmetric c-command ordering is more prominent (the C-NSR).
 - b. All phonological material is metrically visible for the NSR in Spanish.

The additional statement in (4b) sets Spanish apart from a language like French, in which defocalized and anaphoric constituents are metrically invisible for the NSR. The NSR interacts with the FPR (5).

- (5) *FPR*
- Given two sister nodes C_i (marked [+F]) and C_j (marked [-F]), C_i is more prominent than C_j .

Zubizarreta makes use of the diacritic [+F] to mark constituents that form part of the focus, and [-F] to mark constituents that form the presupposition or part of the presupposition.² To avoid conflicts between the NSR and the FPR, [-F] constituents undergo movement. It is important to note that this movement is not motivated by feature checking, but rather Last Resort scrambling which ensures that a focalized constituent is in position to receive prominence via the C-NSR. Zubizarreta calls such movement in languages like Spanish and Italian *p-movement*, or prosodic movement, which is absent in languages like German, French or English. She traces the differences in the output of *p-movement* in Spanish and Italian to a difference in the preverbal field, specifically on T,

² Note that for Zubizarreta, the feature [F] is not a lexical feature, but a derived phrase marker, which remains undefined until after Σ -structure, which essentially constitutes a pre-PF interface level. It is at this level that *p-movement* also takes place in her analysis.

which she suggests is a syncretic category in Spanish, and which may check the discourse-based functional features focus, emphasis or topic. The results differ because in Italian, VOS is derived by movement of VO around S, which has moved from Spec,T to Spec,Foc, and this movement is subject to the Relative Weight Constraint. Recall from Chapter 1 that Spec, T is also claimed to be the syntactic position for preverbal subjects according to proponents of the canonical subject argument. However, whether this is the true position for preverbal subjects is not of immediate importance. What is of relevance, however, is that there is clearly a relation between the clausal structure of a sentence or phrase and its appropriateness within the discourse information structure in examples (1)-(3). This relation must be taken into account in order to describe the clausal word orders that are operative and, more importantly, appropriate in Galician. Among the few extant works available that discuss the discourse configurability of Galician (e.g. Freixeiro Mato 2006a, 2006b), infelicitous word orders are rarely discussed. Only once this work has been completed can I return to the implications that the syntactic analysis of Galician may have for the larger debate regarding argument positions. In the remainder of this chapter, I discuss the information structure considerations that come to bear in the methodology that I employ to gather such preference data for Galician.

2.3. Defining Information Structure

The division of sentences into informational units goes back to Weil (1879 [1844]: 29), in which he proposes an informational split distinct from that of subject-predicate. He describes this split as starting with “the ground upon which the two intelligences (speaker and hearer) meet”. From this point, the statement, or *énonciation* proceeds. Vallduví & Engdahl (1996: 460) describe information packaging as the “structuring of sentences by syntactic, prosodic, or morphological means that arises from the need to meet the communicative demands of a particular context or discourse.” It has been well noted in the literature on information structure that sentences consist of a less

informative part (Topic or Theme), and a more informative part (Focus or Rheme). Many different dichotomies have been proposed to account for this split in the information structure: Theme-Rheme, Topic-Comment, Topic-Focus, Focus-Presupposition, Focus-Open Proposition, and Focus-Background (Hockett 1958, Kuno 1972, Halliday 1967, Erteschik-Shir 1986, 1997, Prince 1986, Rochemont 1986, Ward 1988, Vallduví 1990, among others). Vallduví (1990) observes that, while such proposals share the fundamental idea of a split, they diverge in where the split occurs. For example, many proposals that separate the Topic/Theme from the rest of the sentence disagree on how to identify the topic. The same frequently results from definitions of focus or rheme. The paradoxical result is that, despite such disagreement in definition, the definitions of these terms are frequently taken for granted.

2.3.1. Definitions of Topic/Theme

Descriptions of theme, or topic, in the literature generally share notions of aboutness, discourse-oldness, shared knowledge, or discourse salience. Mathesius (1975 [1961]: 81) describes the theme as “the element about which something is stated”. Firbas (1964: 272) proposes that, within the approach of communicative dynamism (CD), the theme possesses the lowest level of CD. For him, the theme “need not necessarily convey known information or such as can be gathered from the verbal and situational context. It can convey even new, unknown information.” Contreras (1976: 16) finds the notion of CD too arbitrary, and proposes rather that “the theme contains those elements which are assumed by the speaker to be present in the addressee’s consciousness”. Hockett (1958: 201), who introduced the dichotomy Topic-Comment, describes the topic as “what the speaker is going to talk about”. In a similar vein, Halliday (1967: 212) describes the theme as “what I am talking about now”, or the point of departure for the clause in question. Gundel’s (1988) description of topic characterizes it as what the sentence is about as well, but specifies that it is associated with given (nonfocal) information in the

sentence, and never has primary stress. Sgall et al (1986: 80) describe the topic as “the items the speaker supposes to be activated in the hearer’s memory at a given point of time”. Erteschik-Shir (1997), among others, describes topics as old or presupposed information; however, Reinhart (1981) disagrees with the classification of topics as old information. Building on Stalnaker (1978), she characterizes discourse as a joint procedure of building a “context set” consisting of subsets of propositions. Within the context set, sentence topics are one such subset, a way in which one classifies referential entries. Dahl (1974) argues for a tripartite structure involving the two separate articulations: topic-comment and focus-background. Vallduví (1990) refines this idea, noting an overlap in Dahl’s (1974: ex. 3) two dichotomies as in (6).

	topic		comment	
(6) What does John drink? -	John		drinks	beer.
	background			focus

In (6), *John* is both topic and background, and *drinks* forms part of both the comment and background. He resolves what he calls a redundancy by proposing a different sort of trichotomy. For Vallduví, topics are called *links*; they only appear in a sentence-initial position and serve to activate the hearer’s ‘knowledge store’. By this proposal, the sentence is divided first into Focus-Ground, and, from there, the Ground is separated into Link-Tail. In this proposal, Focus is “the only nonelidable part of the sentence” (p. 57), and the Tail is non-topic and non-focus. By this analysis then, *John drinks* would form the link, and *beer* would be the focus.³

Lambrecht (1994) takes a view of topics in line with aboutness. He argues that, since pronominal elements may be topical, Vallduví’s sentence-initial characterization of

³ I discuss the various characterizations of *focus* in the literature in the following section.

topics is inappropriate. Lambrecht restricts topics to discourse referents. In his classification, such referents are what a proposition is about.

Others have characterized topics in different terms such as presupposition, background, or open proposition. Jackendoff (1972) describes presupposition as information assumed by the speaker to be shared with the interlocutor. Dahl (1974) describes the background as the nonfocused part of the sentence, a description quite similar to Vallduví's (1990: 58) description of ground as "the complement of the focus". Ward (1988) describes an open proposition in terms of its salience assumed by the speaker in the discourse.

Aside from the number of ways in which topical elements have been described, there is the added complexity of the number of flavors topics come in. Languages mark topics in a variety of ways: phonologically, morphologically, lexically, and syntactically. Because of the degree of cross-linguistic variation in how languages may mark topical elements, Casielles (2004) proposes that the definition of topic in one language may be insufficient for describing and characterizing a topic in another language. She suggests that to understand the nature of topics in a language, one must consider the specific characteristics of that language, and how it encodes topical behavior. I examine her treatment of topics in greater detail in section 2.5.1.

The basic definition of *topic* that I assume in subsequent chapters is a rather vanilla one based on the notions of "aboutness" or "discourse old" discussed above. Topical, discourse-old elements tend to appear in preverbal or CLLD positions. I return to CLLD, in particular the limitations involved in discourse-oldness for CLLD discussed in López (2009), and its relevance for the syntax-information interface briefly in section 2.4, and in greater detail in section 2.6. As most accounts of topic occur in a dichotomy with terms like *comment* or *focus*, they inevitably involve an accompanying definition of the term *focus* as well. In the following section, I present some of these characterizations of focus in the literature.

2.4. Definitions of Focus/Rheme

Informally, focus or rheme elements are “more informative and less topical” elements (Casielles 2004:127) and, generally speaking, are prosodically prominent. They are often assumed to represent new information within the discourse, and also tend to occur toward the rightmost edge of a sentence. Perhaps expectedly so, there are exceptions and complications to this definition.

Rochemont (1986) disagrees with the notion that focus correlates with new information based on the existence of focused pronouns (7), which for him are old information.

- (7) Who did they call?
Pat said they called HER.

The pronoun *her* must refer to known, old information. Therefore, since *her* may be focused, Rochemont claims that the correlation between focus and new information does not hold. Casielles (2004) points out that even though a pronoun may refer to a prominent, discourse-old entity, it does not preclude it from being new information and the focus of a sentence. In (7), the informative element is the direct object, which is active enough in the discourse to warrant being expressed by the pronoun *her*. Rochemont’s initial definition of Focus (new information) is based on the notion of c-construability. A c-construable element has a semantic antecedent in the discourse δ . Focus elements are not c-construable. A problem noted for such an analysis is the case of a focused pronoun, as in (8).

- (8) John hit Mary, then SHE hit HIM.

As (8) suggests that a discourse element be both focused and c-construable, Rochemont proposes abandoning a definition of focus based on new information, and instead proposes two types of focus: Presentational focus and Contrastive focus. Presentational focus is described as non-rightmost, non-contrastive stress, and is used with verbs like *appear*, which in the unmarked variety, have an accented subject (9a).

- (9) a. The case was judged. Then a LAWYER appeared.
 b. The case was judged. Then a lawyer APPEALED.

By his analysis, verbs like *appear* differ from others like *appeal* in that they seem to transfer their status as the focus of new information to their subject. However, Casielles (2004) notes that verbs like *appear* coincide with the set of unaccusative verbs, which need not necessarily affect focus projection.⁴

For Rochemont, Contrastive focus is defined by a rather complex calculus (10).

⁴ Chomsky (1971) proposed that focus may project in sentences like (i) in which any bracketed elements may be part of the focus in English.

- (i) He was (warned (to look out for (an ex-convict (with (a red SHIRT)))))).

However, Casielles observes that this is only possible with rightmost focus in English. Focus that does not appear in a rightmost position in a sentence (ii) cannot project, and must remain narrow.

- (ii) Laurie followed RALPH into the bedroom.

For Rochemont, nonrightmost accented elements are not Contrastive focus elements. The notions of marked and unmarked accent are crucial for focus projection (see e.g. Cinque (1993), Reinhart (1995), Nash (1995), Zubizarreta (1998)). Unmarked accent is generated by the grammar, falls on the rightmost constituent, and identifies the unmarked focus of the sentence. Only this type of focus may project.

- (10) An expression P is a Contrastive Focus in a discourse δ , $\delta = \{\varphi_1, \dots, \varphi_n\}$, if, and only if,
 (i) P is an expression in φ_i , and
 (ii) if P/φ_i is the result of extracting P from φ_i , then P/φ_i is c-construable, and φ_i is not c-construable.

Casielles takes issue with Rochemont's definition of c-construability because it would treat certain reflexive pronouns as Contrastive (11).

- (11) Who did John hit?
 He hit HIMSELF.

While (11) does not appear to be contrastive – at least lacking further information on the discourse context – the fact that *himself* has a semantic antecedent would make it c-construable, and therefore contrastive. For Casielles, an additional complication to this analysis is that certain expressions may be both Presentational and Contrastive Focus. Following the definition in (10), both (12) and (13) should be Contrastive since, in Casielles's view, the nonfocused part is c-construable in both examples.

- (12) A: Bill's financial situation is a source of constant concern to Mary.
 B: Bill's financial situation is a source of constant concern to BILL.
- (13) John hit Mary, and then he KICKED her.

However, the only focus that is c-construable by Rochemont's analysis is the one in (12) because it has an antecedent. The verb *KICKED* in (13), however, qualifies as Contrastive Focus in that the non-focused portion of the expression is c-construable and the whole sentence in (13) is not. It qualifies as Presentational Focus in that the focus is not c-construable. While Rochemont finds this overlap in focus types a desirable consequence of his calculus, Casielles finds this problematic, not only because only-Contrastive, only-Presentational, and Contrastive and Presentational are not clearly

defined, but also because the additional concept of direct and indirect c-construability are introduced as important, but only for non-focused material (Rochemont 1986: fn. 103). In the end, Casielles rejects the notion of a proposed division of focus which allows for most Presentational foci to be Contrastive foci at the same time.

Gundel (1994) discusses three ways focus has been used in the literature, describing three types of focus: Psychological, Semantic, and Contrastive focus. Psychological focus refers to the center or focus of attention (AI focus in Hajičová (1987)), which would be topical by many of the analyses of topic in section 2.1.1. Casielles (2004) refers to psychological focus as the current center of attention in a discourse, which is more akin to topical elements. Semantic focus refers to new information being asserted, or “the part of the sentence that answers the relevant wh-question (implicit or explicit) in the particular context in which the sentence is used” (Gundel 1994: 461). This semantic focus can be marked by pitch accent, word order (including special focus positions), focus-marking particles, or any combination of these. Semantic focus includes context-active, discourse-old elements such as the pronoun *SHE* in (14).

(14) Mary said it was SHE (=Mary) who called.

By this analysis then, semantic focus may fall on a previously mentioned element without affecting its status as focus. Therefore, according to this definition, not all semantically focused material need be entirely new to a discourse. This is the concept of focus that Casielles (2004) adopts. Gundel’s Contrastive focus (CF) differs from that of Rochemont in that her CF refers to a strategy (phonological or syntactic) for making an element prominent in order to focus an interlocutor’s attention on said element. Due to the fact that Gundel’s CF falls primarily on topics, and due to the potential confusion that can result from such a definition, Casielles prefers to call Gundel’s CF “emphatic stress”.

As previously discussed, Vallduví (1990) separates the sentence into Focus and Ground. Ground represents the unfocused portion of the sentence, and is further divided into link and tail. For him, focus is the informative part of the sentence, and is the only part of the sentence that may not be elided. I will not go into the particulars of Vallduví's Information Packaging calculus, but in his system, Focus comes in two varieties: Retrieve-add focus and Retrieve-substitute focus. When a sentence lacks a tail in its information structure, the relevant information is retrieved by adding focus (thus retrieve-add), and when it has a tail, information is retrieved by substituting focus in the relevant position within the structure. Structures with tails (retrieve-substitute) correspond with narrow focus, and structures lacking them (retrieve-add) correspond to wide focus. Casielles (2004) has a problem with Vallduví's treatment of structures with tails, particularly when focus is either retrieve-substitute focus, or narrow focus. She claims all are Focus-Background structures (in her terms), or Focus-Ground, viewing the distinction between link and tail as irrelevant in these cases. She argues that when one has an instance of narrow focus, Vallduví's distinction does not take into account that the rest of a sentence is necessarily part of the background (Vallduví's ground).

Kiss (1998) bases her analysis on Hungarian, proposing two types of focus: Identificational focus and Information Focus. By her analysis, identificational focus possesses syntactic and semantic properties lacking in information focus sentence. The following are the basics of her proposal, as listed in Casielles (2004).

- (15) Information Focus
- a. merely marks the nonpresupposed nature of the information
 - b. allows for any type of phrase
 - c. does not take any scope
 - d. does not involve any movement
 - e. can be either smaller or larger (i.e. it can project)

- (16) Identificational Focus
- a. expresses exhaustive information
 - b. does not allow for all kinds of phrases (excluding universal quantifiers, *also*-phrases, and *even*-phrases)
 - c. takes scope
 - d. moves to the specifier of a functional projection
 - e. is always coextensive with an XP available for operator movement (does not project), although it can be iterated

Casielles (2004) notes a similarity in this division with Rochemont's Presentational vs. Contrastive Focus, and Vallduví's Retrieve-add vs. Retrieve-substitute system, both of which (ignoring some crucial differences) essentially draw a line between narrow and wide focus. She also points out that Spanish allows for universal quantifiers (17) and *even*-phrases (18) in identificational focus contexts.

- (17) TODOS LOS SOMBREROS quería
 all the hats want.IMPFV.3SG
- llevarse
 take.INF-SE.3SG la niña.
 the girl

The girl wanted to take ALL THE HATS.

- (18) HASTA UN SOMBRERO quería llevarse.
 until a hat want.IMPFV.3SG take.INF-SE.3SG

She wanted EVEN A HAT.

Kiss's characterizations of focus are based on Hungarian, which possesses important differences from other languages. Although (17) and (18) bear similarities to identificational focus in Hungarian, they do not express the same propositions: for example, *hasta un sombrero* in (18) is hardly exhaustive. Furthermore, identificational

focus in Spanish, English, and Catalan does not allow for iteration, thus prohibiting multiple narrow foci, a structure allowed in Hungarian. Information focus (what I later call narrow focus) does not require movement either in Spanish or English (or in Hungarian), although Spanish is more restrictive with respect to narrow focus (20).

(19) What did Mary buy her sister?

a. She bought a HAT for her sister.

b. She bought her sister a HAT.

(20) ¿Qué le compró María a su hermana?
 what CL.DAT.3SG buy.PST.3SG Maria to her sister

What did Maria buy her sister?

a. #?Le compró un SOMBRERO a su
 CL.DAT.3SG buy.PST.3SG a hat to her

hermana.
 sister

b. #Le compró un sombrero a su
 CL.DAT.3SG buy.PST.3SG a hat to her

hermana.
 sister

c. Le compró a su hermana un
 CL.DAT.3SG buy.PST.3SG to her sister a

sombrero
 hat

She bought her a hat.

In English (19), narrow focus may or may not involve movement since emphatic stress is used to identify narrow focused information. Although the Spanish examples may involve movement (e.g. prosodic movement), this movement is distinct from the type of movement typical of identificational focus in Hungarian. As previously discussed in examples (2) and (3), Spanish does not allow emphatic stress (20a) without forcing a

contrastive focus interpretation. As nuclear stress falls on the rightmost edge, (20b) inappropriately places narrow focus on *her sister*, and is therefore infelicitous in this question context. Only when the informational focus coincides with the rightmost edge (20c) does a felicitous reply result. Casielles points out that the fact the Identificational focus takes scope may be related to its position, and not necessarily to the fact that it is narrow focus. She suggests that wide and narrow foci are not necessarily different types of focus.

For Lambrecht (1994), topic and focus do not form a dichotomy; rather, they are separate relations. For Lambrecht, topic has to do with the aboutness of a proposition, while focus has to do with the conveying of new information (his Pragmatic Assertion). All declarative sentences convey information: therefore, all declaratives have a focus, but not all have topics. Focus is information that is added to, not superimposed upon, a pragmatic presupposition. “The focus is, therefore, the element of information whereby the presupposition and the assertion differ from each other... It is the unpredictable element in the utterance”(op. cit.:158-159).

The types of focus functions in his analysis are Predicate-Focus (21), Argument-Focus (22), and Sentence-Focus (23). These focus types correspond to the sentence types Topic-comment, Identificational, and Event-reporting, respectively.

- | | | |
|------|--|---------------------------------|
| (21) | (What did the children do next?)
The children went to SCHOOL. | Predicate-focus/Topic-comment |
| (22) | (Who went to school?)
The CHILDREN went to school. | Argument-focus/Identificational |
| (23) | (What happened?)
My CAR broke down. | Sentence focus/Event-reporting |

In predicate-focus sentences, the predicate forms the focus. In Argument-focus sentences, the focus is the missing argument. In Sentence-focus sentences, the focus includes the

subject and the predicate. Casielles (2004) disagrees with Lambrecht's characterization of Sentence-focus, preferring to incorporate this sentence type with his Predicate-focus type, as they are both wide-focus in nature. She further disagrees with Lambrecht's proposal that Sentence-Focus lacks a topic, in line with Erteschik-Shir's (1997) "here and now" stage-topic (discussed further below).

Reinhart (2006) proposes that focus is coded in the phonological component (PF). She suggests that the identification of a focus unit may be determined for each derivation via a set of *possible pragmatic assertions (PPA)*. In the case of foci, at the point where syntax and stress are visible, at the interface between syntax and pragmatics a reference set of possible foci are generated. The discourse then selects the member appropriate to the given context. Reinhart formalizes this proposal (24) for a stressed object in English (bold face indicates a stressed constituent).

(24) *Focus Set*

The focus set of a derivation D includes all and only the constituents that contain the main stress of D.

- (25) a. [IP Subject [VP V **Object**]]
 b. [IP Subject [VP **Object** V]]
 c. *Focus set:* {IP, VP, Object}

While in theory any of the members of the set in (25c) may be chosen as the focus of the utterance, at the interface only one may be chosen. At that point, the discourse conditions will choose which set(s) are appropriate.

Given the difficulties in arriving at a consensus on the meaning of focus, I follow López (2009) in defining regular focus as in Jackendoff (1972): focus resolves a variable left open in the previous discourse. López provides the following example (p. 28, ex. 31).

- (26) - What did John bring? [x | John brought x]
 - John brought the wine. [x=the wine, 'the wine' is focus]

The initial discourse in (26) leaves open the variable *x*. Therefore, the part of the question that resolves this variable (=the wine) is the focus/rheme of the sentence reply. In the following chapters, I frequently make use of the term *narrow focus*, which I use when either the subject or object is the unresolved variable.

In many Romance languages a focused element can be displaced to the front of a clause or sentence, as in the Catalan example ((27), López's example (32)).

- (27) [Context: You gave him the spoons.]
 - ELS GANIVETS li vaig donar.
 the knives CL.DAT.3SG PST.1SG give

THE KNIVES I gave him.

In (27), the context does not leave a variable open to be resolved. Focus fronting (FF) then creates this variable (λx you gave him/her *x*), which in turn opens up the set {*x* | *x*=things I may give him/her}. At the same time, FF provides this value for *x* (=the knives), thus creating a contrast with the preceding context. The interpretive import of focus fronting (FF) then is contrastive, and may not answer a *wh*- question, explicit or implicit. Crucially, this definition of contrast departs from other definitions of contrast discussed earlier on this chapter.

For López, the difference between contrastive focus in FF and regular focus, or *rheme*, is the type of discourse that each may felicitously integrate with. He argues that regular focus is always in situ, while contrastive focus is always fronted. This goes against the standard assumption in Romance linguistics that in situ focus may be contrastive.

López notes that FF differs from CLLD in that it may not be doubled by a resumptive clitic. Additionally, FF may not be followed by an emphatic particle like *sí* (que) (28b) while CLLD may (28a).⁵

- (28) a. Las judías sí me las he
 the beans yes SE.1SG CL.ACC.3PL.F have.PRS.1SG
 comido.
 eat.PTCP
The beans indeed I have eaten them all.
- b. *LAS JUDÍAS sí me he comido.
 the beans yes SE.1SG have.PRS.1SG eat.PTCP
 **THE BEANS indeed I have eaten them all.*

With respect to interpretation, López notes that CLLD is necessarily linked to an antecedent while FF is not. Both FF and CLLD open a variable and close it, however CLLD differs in that it must open a variable that stands in a (minus transitive) poset relation with its antecedent. Consider the following example (53 in López, 2009: 37).

- (29) [Context: Joan brought the furniture.]
 a. La llet va portar, res mes.
 the milk PST.3SG bring.INF nothing more
He brought the MILK, nothing else.
- b. #La llet, la va portar...
 the milk CL.ACC.3SG.F PST.3SG bring
The milk, he brought...

⁵ See Arregi 2003 for more on this test. López notes that, although this example appears for Spanish, the same test also holds for Catalan.

- c. Les cadires les va portar el Joan, pero
 the chairs CL.ACC.3PL PST.3SG bring the Joan but

 les taules...
 the tables

Joan brought the chairs, but the tables...

In (29), FF in (29a) opens up the predicate [x | Joan brought x], whereas CLLD in (29b) opens up the more restrictive [x | xR{furniture} & Joan brought x]. Here, R refers to a relation between x and its antecedent. López notes that this notion of a poset relation for CLLD is not quite exact because a poset relation is transitive. The relation between an antecedent and anaphor, however, is not transitive. Therefore a (minus transitive) poset relation would rule out (30).

- (30) [Context: What did you do with the furniture?]
 - # Les potes de les cadires les vaig deixar
 the legs of the chairs CL.ACC.3PL PST.3SG leave

 al magatzem.
 in-the storage area

The legs of the chairs I left in the storage area.

In (30), chairs belong to the set of furniture, and chair legs forms part of chairs, but chair legs do not belong to the set of items of furniture. Therefore, *furniture* cannot be the antecedent of *chair legs*. López notes that this limitation is crucial because without it, any number of potential anaphoric relationships could be conceived such that any notion of discourse coherence would be lost altogether. I discuss in greater detail the framework that López adopts for determining felicitous discourse relations for CLLD elements in section 2.4.

In this section, I have provided some examples of the various notions of focus that have been presented in the literature. Although this review has been far from exhaustive, I have discussed some of the important issues that must be taken into consideration. The

notion of focus that I adopt in this dissertation follows the very basic notion assumed by López: regular focus provides resolution of a variable left open in the preceding discourse. The constituent providing such resolution is also referred to as the *rheme* (especially in López 2009). When I use the terms *subject narrow-focus* or *object narrow-focus*, I am referring to a particular variable that is resolved in the discourse. Focus fronting should be distinguished from regular focus in that it simultaneously opens a variable and closes it, but without the anaphor-antecedent restrictions found to exist for CLLD. The experimental measures that I describe in Chapter 3 and report on in Chapter 4 do not make use of focus fronting. However, I return to a discussion of focus fronting in my syntactic analysis of Galician in Chapter 5. In the following section, I discuss some of the chiefly syntactic accounts of the interaction between syntax and information structure in the literature.

2.5. Syntactic accounts of the syntax-information structure interface

A number of researchers have described the syntax-information structure relation in purely syntactic terms. Costa (2004) provides some basic generalizations for clausal word orders in EP as they relate to information structure. According to his analysis, SVO word order with transitive verbs in EP may answer sentence-focus questions (31a), VP-focus questions (31b), or object-focus questions (31c).

- (31) a. What happened?
 b. What did Paulo do?
 c. What did Paulo break?

VSO word order is appropriate for answering object-focus questions or subject- and object-focus questions (e.g. Who broke what?). VOS word order is appropriate only for

subject-focus. Syntactically, VOS involves object-scrambling over the subject by his analysis, presumably to a VP-adjoined position since he maintains that postverbal subjects in VOS remain *in situ*, just as they do in VSO sentences. I summarize the above information below in Table 11, along with the subject positions that Costa proposes.

Table 11. Summary of EP word orders and subject positions according to information structure

word order	information status	syntactic position of subject
SVO	sentence-focus VP-focus object-focus	Spec, IP
VSO	subject- & object-focus object-focus	Spec, VP
VOS	(only) subject-focus	Spec, VP

Source: Costa, João. 2004. *Subject Positions and Interfaces: The Case of European Portuguese*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Crucially, there is no indication of what word orders are *preferred* in EP. Clearly, SVO or VSO are both appropriate for object-focus sentences, but there are no indications of which word order(s) are preferred in such situations.

But what of structures involving left-peripheral elements? Costa uses the term *old information* to refer to topics. According to Costa, old information “has to be either topicalized or defocused”. He uses the term *defocused* in a similar manner to Zubizarreta’s (1998) [-F]-marking, which provides a likely explanation for preverbal subjects in SVO. However, his use of *topicalization* merits brief mention. Costa refers to (32a) as an example of topicalization, and (32b) as clitic-left dislocation.

- (32) a. O bolo, o Pedro comeu.
 the cake the Pedro eat.PST.3SG
- b. O bolo, o Pedro comeu-o.
 the cake the Pedro eat.PST.3SG-CL.ACC.3SG.M

The cake Pedro ate (it).

Although example (32a) might appear more similar to focus-fronting since it lacks a resumptive clitic, it is in fact more similar to the type of topicalization found in English (see Villalba 2000 for an analysis of English topicalization). According to Costa, EP lacks focus fronting of the type found in Spanish. Despite this claim that such focus preposing is ungrammatical in EP (33a), in other examples (33b), Costa presents contexts which would seem to be comparable to exactly the type of preposing found in Spanish.

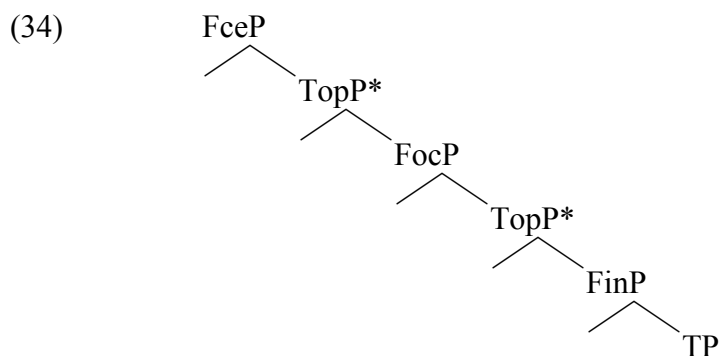
- (33) a. *ESSE LIVRO, o João leu.
 that book the João read.PST.3SG
- THAT BOOK João read.*
- b. O MEU LIVRO, o Paulo leu (não o
 the my book the Paulo read.PST.3SG not the
 teu)
 your

Paulo read MY BOOK (not yours).

As (33b) lacks a resumptive clitic, it appears to be focus fronting of the type attested in Spanish. There is a great amount of variation and debate as related to focus fronting in EP (see also discussion in Chap. 1, fn. 19). Due to this disagreement, I will put this matter aside for now. For the moment, I focus our attention on the linear orders indicated for EP, which appear to be more or less analogous to those of Spanish. Subjects representing new information appear to the right, by Costa's analysis *in situ* (i.e. post-verbally) in Spec, VP, as per the Nuclear Stress Rule (NSR) as discussed by Caselles (2004) and

Zubizarreta (1998) for Spanish. As previously mentioned, the object in VOS is proposed to scramble in EP, presumably adjoining to VP to escape the projection of focus. This appears quite similar to Zubizarreta's and Casielles's respective analyses of Spanish. Importantly, however, Costa's (2004) analysis lacks a clear statement explaining how syntax, information structure and phonology interface.

Rizzi (1997) proposed the expanded CP field as an interface layer between the propositional content (IP/TP) and the superordinate structure. For embedded clauses, the superordinate structure is the higher clause; for matrix (root) clauses, this is the discourse. This proposal incorporates Topic and Focus both as features and as labels of heads and projections in the narrow syntax.⁶ For Rizzi, the left-periphery has the following structure (34):

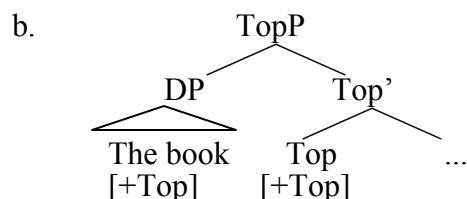


By this analysis, TopP is a recursive element which may appear prior to or following a focused element. As many languages only allow for one focus element per sentence (Hungarian is a notable exception in this respect), FocP is not afforded an asterisk for recursivity. Topic and Focus projections are only activated when their corresponding features are present in a given numeration as a phonologically null lexical item. When

⁶ Note that in Rizzi (2004), focus and topic are referred to as *criterial features*.

this happens, the feature occupies the head of the projection, and the topicalized or focused element occupies the specifier, as in (35b).

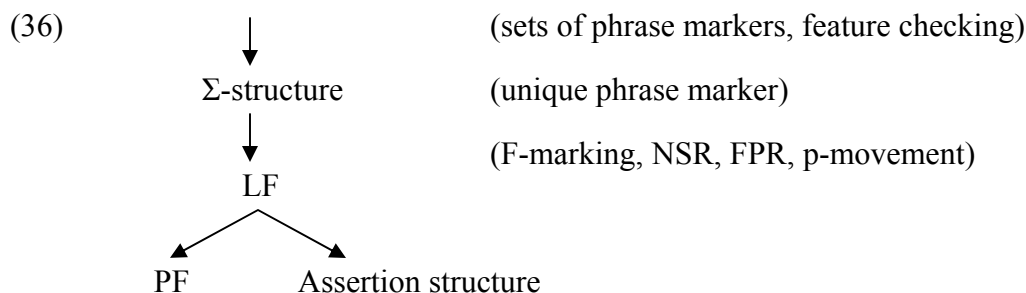
(35) a. The book I gave to John.



By this analysis then, the phonologically null Topic feature is posited to be part of the lexicon, and is internally merged in the head of Topic projection that receives the label of the functional feature. The lexical item *book*, which is marked with a [+Top] feature is attracted to Spec, TopP by the corresponding [+Top] feature on the Top head, and thus checks this feature. Therefore, for any left-peripheral Topic or Focus element, two crucial assumptions must be made: 1) that the features [+Top] and [+Foc] must exist in the lexicon as phonologically null lexical items, and 2) that some subset of phonologically realized lexical items may be [+Top]- or [+Foc]-marked in the Numeration prior to entering the syntactic derivation. An alternative to option 2 is that some number of phonologically realized lexical items also have a corresponding [+Top]- or [+Foc]-marked entry within the lexicon. This is an extremely implausible scenario since it would triple the lexical learning burden on the part of a child acquiring the language.

In the earliest generative analyses, F-marking was proposed by Jackendoff (1972) as an “artificial construct” to account for focused elements. Pollock (1989) proposed the functional projection FocP and a corresponding [+F] feature. However, the existence of this syntactic feature [+F] (Focus) has been challenged in the literature. Despite making use of a [+Focus] feature in her analysis, Zubizarreta (1998) observes that [±F] as a lexical feature is conceptually problematic since it would violate the Inclusiveness

Condition (see also Szendrői 2001, 2004).⁷ As mentioned in section 2.0, however, Zubizarreta proposes [F] not as a lexical feature, but as a derived phrase marker, which remains undefined until after Σ -structure.



In this model, phrase features remain essentially inert at the stage in which features are checked. It is after Σ -structure (and prior to LF and PF) that F-marking, the NSR, the FPR, and p-movement take place in her analysis.

Despite the debate surrounding topic and focus features, numerous analyses have made use of them for lack of a more attractive alternative. Casielles (2004), which I discuss in the next section, is one such analysis.

2.5.1. Casielles (2004)

Casielles (2004) examines the information structure dichotomies (e.g. New–Old information, Topic–Focus, Topic–Comment, Theme–Rheme, etc.) discussed above, and after thorough analysis, she arrives at two basic dichotomies which become the backbone of her proposal: Sentence Topic (STopic)–Focus and Focus–Background. Casielles draws a division between topic and background based on the following phonological, syntactic, and discourse features.

⁷ Inclusiveness involves the manners by which a node may acquire a feature – in this case, the discourse feature Focus. Following Chomsky (1995: 228), a non-terminal node inherits features from its daughter, while a terminal node may be assigned a feature from the lexicon. Therefore, the assignment of [+F] features to a constituent would have to happen in the lexicon.

(37)	<u>Sentence Topic (STopic)</u>	<u>Background</u>
	+ single	± single
	+ sentence-initial	± sentence-initial
	+ referential	± referential
	± discourse-old	+ discourse-old
	± unaccented	+ unaccented

Both STopics and Background elements are topical in her analysis. Casielles suggests, however, that STopics could (and perhaps should) be referred to as *preverbal subject topic*, and Background as *wide topic* (p. 99, fn. 41). Unlike Background, STopics may be [- discourse-old], suggesting that STopics are present in thetic, “out of the blue” sentences, which bears similarity to Cardinaletti’s (2004) subject of predication.⁸ A crucial difference between STopics and Background has to do with their syntactic status and the syntactic positions available to them. The pre-verbal subject position to which STopics move in Casielles’s analysis results from a VP-internal subject moving to the pre-verbal specifier position Spec, TP. This movement of a subject DP is motivated by checking of a [+topic] feature. Crucial to her analysis is that Spanish STopics may only be DPs, and not NPs. This is due to constraints on the distribution of bare nominals, which may only appear post-verbally ((38a) vs. (38b)) in Spanish.

⁸ Casielles admits trouble classifying thetic sentences (Kuroda 1972, Sasse 1987) by the two dichotomies she proposes. She notes that Lambrecht (1994) has a third sentence type for thetic sentences called *Event-reporting*, by which the whole sentence is focused when answering the question “What happened?”. Another possibility that Casielles considers is that they are STopic-Focus sentences with a null STopic, but she notes that Erteschik-Shir (1997) disagrees with such a notion, and instead posits a “here and now” stage-topic to describe such sentences (which is supposed to correspond with Kratzer’s (1989) spatio-temporal argument). The limit to this possibility, however, is that only stage-level predicates can be stage-topics in such a system (and would thus exclude individual-level predicates – perhaps not a problem since they are not eventive). Casielles also hypothesizes that thetic sentences may be instances of STopic-Comment structures, a structure that does not appear within her classification of sentence types.

- (38) a. Jugaban niños en la calle.
 play.IMPFV.3PL children in the street
- b. *Niños jugaban en la calle.
 children play.IMPFV.3PL in the street

Children were playing in the street.

Bare nominals in their grammatical, post-verbal position (38a) may only receive an existential reading in Spanish, and not a generic reading, which is more easily exemplified with the use of a present tense verb (39).

- (39) Juegan niños (generalmente) en la calle.
 play.PRS.3PL children generally in the street

√ *(Generally) there are children playing in the street.*

* *Children generally play in the street.*

In Spanish, the bare nominal cannot receive the generic interpretation and cannot move to a preverbal position. To account for this in Spanish, Casielles builds on Diesing's (1992) mapping hypothesis proposing the Bare Noun Movement Constraint (BNMC), according to which only DPs can escape VP and move to Spec, TP.⁹ Since bare nominals are not DPs, but rather NPs, they cannot escape the VP to move to preverbal Spec, TP.

While bare nominals may be focused (40a), focus movement is proposed to be more akin to *wh*-movement (following Cinque 1990), which requires an operator, thus distinguishing this sort of movement from DP-movement. Bare nominals may appear pre-

⁹ Following Diesing (1992) it is in Spec, IP that a DP is mapped into the Restrictor and therefore bound by the Generic Operator, which allows DPs to receive a generic interpretation. Since bare NPs cannot reach the Restrictor in Spanish, they may not receive a generic interpretation.

verbally as Topics (40b), but these are considered to be clitic left-dislocated (CLLD) elements (bold face for convenience).

- (40) a. **LANGOSTAS** destruyeron las cosechas.
 grasshoppers destroy.PST.3PL the crops
- GRASSHOPPERS destroyed the crops*
- b. **Dinero** tengo yo.
 money have.PRS.1SG I
- Money I have*

The main difference then between a topicalized bare nominal in pre-verbal position and a pre-verbal subject has to do with Casielles' categorization of *topicalized* information. The dislocated bare nominal in (40b) is Background, or nonfocused information and not a topic. Pre-verbal subjects are Sentence Topics (STopics), and may not be bare nominals. Since a bare nominal subject may only appear pre-verbally as a focused or (dislocated) topicalized element, it therefore must not appear in Spec, TP.

Other non-DP elements such as a PP (41a), an AP (41b), or a VP (41c) may appear preverbally, and any number of them may appear.

- (41) a. **De la conferencia** no he oído
 of the conference not have.PRS.1SGhear.PTCP
- nada.
 nothing
- About the conference I haven't heard anything.*
- b. **Listo** no lo parece.
 clever not CL.ACC.3SG.M seem.PRS.3SG
- Clever he doesn't seem.*

- c. **Estudiando** nunca está.
study.PROG never be.PRS.3SG

Studying he never is.

Syntactically, Casielles suggests that these preverbal elements are Background elements which appear in a CLLD position (at times with a null resumptive clitic). Yet it still remains to be explained how such moved elements escape the VP to arrive in their CLLD location. Although Spanish CLLD is sensitive to island constraints (42a), the dislocated BNs in (42b) and (42c, from Rivero 1980) do violate the wh-island constraint.

- (42) a. *A Carlos conozco solo a las personas
to Carlos know.PRS.1SG only to the people
que le gustan.
that CL.DAT.3SG please.PRS.3PL

To Carlos I know only the people that appeal.

- b. Dinero te pregunta (que) por qué no
money CL.DAT.2SG ask.PRS.3SG that why not
tiene.
have.PRS.3SG

Money she asks you why she doesn't have.

- c. Dinero dicen que cree que tiene
money say.PRS.3PL that believe.PRS.3SG that have.PRS.3SG
ganas de ahorrar
desire of save.INF

Money, they say that he believes that he has the desire to save.

Given the BN data above, Casielles suggests that the CLLD items in (41) are base generated, as in Cinque (1990).¹⁰ An attractive facet of this possibility is that if CLLD

¹⁰ It is worth noting that whether CLLD involves movement or not is a matter of theoretical debate. Movement for CLLD items is crucial for López's (2009) analysis.

items do not involve movement, they are not subject to the BNMC, thus causing no problem for Casielles's proposal.

Although Casielles's analyses creates an adequate calculus in which focus prominence interacts with information structure to appropriately configure the word order, it makes use of a computational system that is dependent on the features [+topic] and [+focus], which, as it has been suggested, violates the Inclusiveness Condition (see fn. 6). Additionally, while her view of the interface rules out certain word orders (e.g. with preverbal bare NP subjects), not many comments are made with respect to the *acceptability* of word orders according to information structure context. The lone exception to this is where she notes that an SVO sentence (43d), which she classifies as a case of STopic-Focus, does not have any specific discourse requirements.

- (43) a. ¿Qué pasó?
 what happen.PST.3SG
 What happened?
- b. ¿Qué hizo Juan?
 what do.PST.3SG Juan
 What did Juan do?
- c. ¿A quién llamó Juan?
 to who call.PST.3SG Juan
 Who did Juan call?
- d. Juan llamó a su mujer.
 Juan call.PST.3SG to his wife
 Juan called his wife.

As seen at the start of this chapter, Casielles claims that (43d) may appropriately answer any of the three questions in (43a-c), but does not comment on other word orders such as VSO or VOS, nor whether other such word orders are more or less appropriate an answer than SVO to such questions in Spanish. She points out that Background-Focus structures

are inappropriate replies to start a discourse, or to reply to a narrow focus question. Yet the argument could be made that the subject and verb in (43d) are Background elements in a reply to an object-narrow-focus question (43c).

With the advent of multiple spell-out (Uriagereka 1999) and phase theory (Chomsky 2005), the possibility of derivational “pauses” has come about. It is at such pauses, or phase edges that interface relations such as PF-syntax or syntax-pragmatics have been proposed to take place. In the following section, I examine some of the interface phenomena that have been proposed to occur at these points.

2.5.2. The Interface and Phases

Parafita Couto (2005) examines the interface of information structure and syntax as it pertains to focus in Galician. Due to the existence of sentences such as (44a, cf. 44b), she, too, suggests that the [+Focus] feature must exist in the grammar.

- (44) a. Para TI ires ó partido, tiñan
 for you go.SBJV.FUT to-the game have.IMPV.3PL
 que ser as entradas ben baratas.
 that be.INF the tickets well cheap
- b. Para ires ó partido TI, tiñan que
 for go.SBJV.FUT to-the game you have.IMPV.3PL that
 ser as entradas ben baratas.
 be.INF the tickets well cheap

For YOU to go to the game, the tickets must have been cheap.

For Parafita Couto, movement of the type in (44b) is rightward p(rosodic)-movement to a phase edge. In this proposal, each phase edge is the locus for focus encoding. PF and semantics have access to the syntactic module at these phase-edges. Such access is necessary to ensure that the emerging structure meets the demands of the unfolding discourse. By her analysis then, phase edges are landing sites for p-moved XPs. This

proposal is attractive in that it obeys Chomsky's (2005) notion of phases, which allows for multiple Spell-out over the course of a given derivation, thus granting PF cyclic access to non-phase-edge material at the end of each syntactic phase.¹¹ However, just because focused elements may be moved by what appears to be phase-related p-movement phenomena does not justify the existence of a [\pm focus] feature in the lexicon.

Szendrői (2001, 2004) argues that the inclusion of such pragmatic features in the lexicon violates the Inclusiveness Condition in Chomsky (1995) since, for a [+Focus] feature to be assigned to a constituent in a given Numeration, it would have to be a feature on that lexical item. She notes that there is no way in which this could be so, thus suggesting that [+F] is no more than a diacritic inserted to account for characteristics unrelated to a lexical property of a lexical item (see also Brunetti 2004, Emonds 2004 and Reinhart 2006 for critiques along similar lines). She proposes that Focus denotes and encodes an information status relation of constituents relative to the rest of an utterance. The same holds for Topic. However, the encoding of this relation via diacritics or features may not occur in the syntactic computation without violating inclusiveness.

Revithiadou & Spyropoulos (2004, 2009) and Spyropoulos & Revithiadou (2007) focus on reconciling phase theory and Multiple Spell-Out (Uriagereka 1999; see also Kratzer & Selkirk 2007 for a similar prosody-syntax interface treatment). They examine left-peripheral clitic-doubled objects and preverbal subjects in Greek. They show that prosodic islands match syntactic islands in the case of clitic-doubled objects, thus suggesting a syntax-prosody interface point. Crucially, however, this island correspondence does not hold for subjects. Therefore, they propose that clitic-doubled

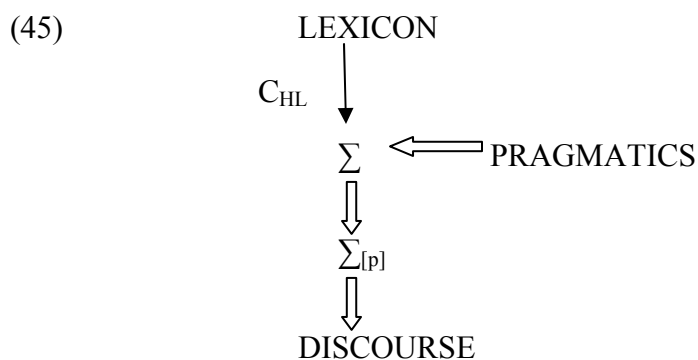
¹¹ Note that similar, but unrelated proposals possess interesting similarities in this respect. In Steedman's (2000) Combinatory Categorical Grammar (CCG) approach to the interface, for example, intonational boundaries coincide with major syntactic boundaries (see also Selkirk 1990 for a similar approach). Within this particular framework, surface structure, information structure, and intonation coincide within a given clause.

objects are (in Uriagereka’s terminology) separate derivational cascades, assembled and spelled-out before they reach the main derivational cascade. Preverbal subjects in Greek, however, may be extracted from and are susceptible to prosodic restructuring. Based on such evidence, they propose that preverbal subjects in Greek form part of the main syntactic and prosodic derivation.

The preceding interface analyses agree in proposing that some sort of syntactic interface coincides with phase edges. This concept is central to López’s (2009) analysis of the syntax-pragmatics interface in Spanish and Catalan. A crucial difference to his proposal lies in the model of the grammar that he proposes, which makes more concrete predictions regarding grammaticality and acceptability.

2.6. López’s (2009) interface model

López’s (2009) analysis proposes that discourse relations are determined by their syntactic configuration. Within this model of the grammar (45), information structure functions are assigned by a module called *pragmatics*, which “inspects” the syntactic structure at each phase end and assigns pragmatic values to constituents in certain syntactic positions.



In this proposal, pragmatic values may only be altered within the boundaries of the phase. Otherwise, they are unaffected by further syntactic movement – the pragmatic value stays

with a constituent assigned a value as it continues to move within the computational system. The resulting values of a given constituent at its phase-end Spell-out dictate its discourse-pragmatic interpretation.

By his analysis, which centers on Catalan, the pragmatics module assigns interpretive values related to discourse anaphoricity and contrastiveness. These pragmatic features [$\pm a$] (anaphoric) and [$\pm c$] (contrastive) are not assigned to lexical elements in the numeration as they enter the derivation; rather, they are assigned derivationally as the pragmatics module “reads” the output from the syntactic module. Therefore, constituents appearing in certain structural positions at phase end get assigned interpretive pragmatic features [$\pm pf$]. The possible combinations of these (quasi)post-syntactic pragmatic features determine the discourse function of a constituent. For López, they are the following in Table 12.¹²

Table 12. Interpretive values assigned by Pragmatics module

	+c	-c
+a	CLLD	CLRD
-a	FF	Rheme

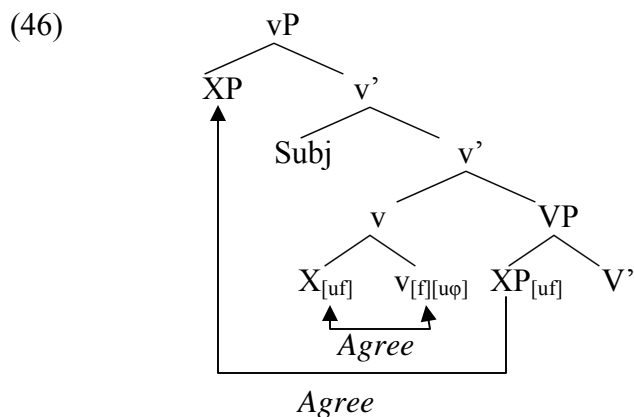
Source: López, Luis. 2009. *A Derivational Syntax for Information Structure*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Assignment of the [+a] feature is assigned to a clitic X, which López assumes to already be in a feature dependency Agree relation with the verb prior to phase end.¹³ I take a step

¹² Note that in this table, López uses the term *rheme*. He uses this term interchangeably to refer to *regular focus* (as in §2.2), a term that encompasses narrow-focus. Recall that for López regular focus differs from *contrastive focus* chiefly in syntactic terms. Contrastive focus is fronted, while regular focus occurs *in situ*.

¹³ For López, the clitic X is a feature matrix that merges early with v (see Bonet 1995). This feature matrix later gets spelled out as the clitic in the Morphology module. Note that if the clitic

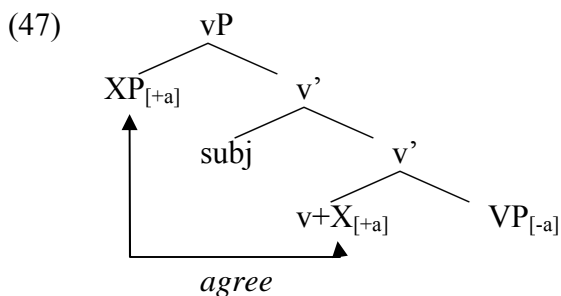
backward here to describe the Agree relations at play prior to assignment of pragmatic features (46).



The feature [f] on v is proposed to be akin to Case, and is valued by the clitic X. The object XP then does not have its [uf] satisfied yet. Following merge of the external argument, the remaining unvalued feature on the object XP triggers movement of the object XP to the outer Spec of vP, which allows it to have its features checked/valued.¹⁴ This in turn creates a local dependency between the clitic and verbal argument (object). This dependency relation is crucial with respect to the assignment of [+a] features. When [+a] features are assigned to the (anaphoric) clitic X by the pragmatic module at the end of the vP phase, Spec, vP also becomes [+a], as in (47).

X adjoins to the verb as low as little v, it will have to exorporate following v-to-T movement in order to net proclisis.

¹⁴ Note that López assumes feature checking to be a very local process that may only occur within the c-command domain of the probe (i.e. the feature that requires checking). This assumption is crucial in motivating the movement (by Attract) of the doubled XP to Spec, vP.



The VP complement of X is then assigned [-a], which matches with information focus elements being non-anaphoric. Note that the Agree relationship between the clitic X and the clitic double is crucial for López's proposal, as elements that do not enter into such a relationship with the clitic X (e.g. fronted focus, which does not have a clitic double) cannot be marked [+a] by the pragmatics module. While on the one hand this prevents the external argument, elements that will be focus fronted, and non-D-linked phrases, which also stop in Spec, vP on their way to higher positions, from being marked with the [+a] feature, on the other hand it does not prevent the complement of Spec, vP from being marked [-a].¹⁵ [+a]-marked elements then are peripheral elements which either remain in Spec, vP for CLRD, or CLLD elements that later move higher in the structure for another interpretation. Since only constituents that move to Spec, FinP are assigned [+c] by the pragmatics module, let's examine how [$\pm a$]-assignment would work with contexts that would not involve structures in the higher, left-peripheral realm, and the sort of pragmatic predictions that it would make.¹⁶ Consider SVO (48a), VSO (48b) and VOS (48c) word orders.

¹⁵ D-linked wh-determiners (e.g. *which*, *quin* in Catalan) are inherently [+a] in López's analysis (i.e. they enter the derivation already so marked). Therefore, they are not susceptible to the rules on [$\pm a$] assignment

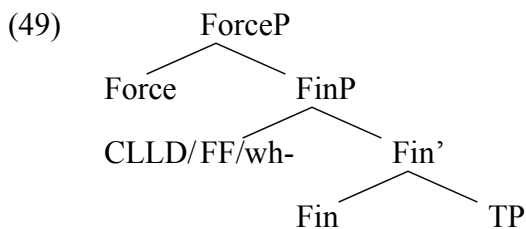
¹⁶ Note that this one of the reasons behind CLLD involving movement in López's analysis.

- (48) [Context: What did John eat?]
- a. [TP (Xoán) [T'comeu [vP [v' [VP unha mazá_[-a] ...]]]]]]
 Xoán eat.PST.3SG an apple
- Xoán ate an apple.*
- b. [T'comeu [vP (Xoán) [v' [VP unha mazá_[-a] ...]]]]]]
- c. # [T'comeu [vP unha mazá [v' Xoán_[-a] [VP...]]]]]]

For the context provided in (48), both (48a) and (48b) are felicitous replies (with or without the subject *Xoán*) since in both of these *unha mazá* is marked [-a] for regular focus/rheme. In (48a) the external argument is not in an Agree relation with a clitic prior to moving on to Spec, TP, and therefore is unaffected by [+a]-marking at the end of the vP phase. The same applies in (48b), but *Xoán* does not continue to move higher. In (48c), *Xoán* is marked [-a] thus correctly predicting its infelicitousness for this context. If we alter the question context to *Who ate an apple?*, however, then only (48c) is appropriate since it is the only configuration in which *Xoán* is marked [-a].

López's analysis runs into a bit of a problem for all-focus, orthetic sentences since in this sort of context, the whole sentence should be marked [-a]. To deal with this, he suggests that subjects can also bear an additional feature which he calls [ud]. The interpretable counterpart of this is [d], which appears on Fin. Unvalued ϕ -features on Fin allow it to probe and trigger movement of the subject DP to Spec, TP. This portion of the proposal is problematic, namely due to the [d] feature that he proposes to initiate a new discourse. If [d] is a discourse feature like [\pm a] and [\pm c], it is unclear why this particular feature would be purely syntactic and not be involved with the pragmatic module. I return to this issue and its importance for the analysis of Galician that I propose in Chapter 5.

Prior to continuing with an example of [\pm c]-assignment, let's examine the structure that López proposes for the left periphery. Since he does not assume topic and focus features, his left periphery consists of only ForceP and FinP (49).



López assumes that wh-phrases, focus phrases and clitic-dislocated phrases occupy specifier positions of FinP. When more than one of these is present, they appear as stacked specifiers of FinP. Notably, preverbal subjects do not appear here.

Now that we are familiar with López's left peripheral structure, let's take a look at how [+c] assignment is supposed to work if we modify our context from (48).

- (50) [Context: Who ate the apple?]
- a. A mazá comeuna Xoán.
the apple eat.PST.3SG Xoán
- The apple, John ate.*
- b. [_{FinP} a mazá_[+a,+c] [_{Fin'}[_{TP}[_{T'} comeuna [_{vP} <a mazá_[+a]> [_{v'} Xoán_[-a] [_{VP}...]]]]]]
- ↑

Following López, in a CLLD reply (50a) to the context in (50), *a mazá* first moves to Spec, vP, after which pragmatics marks it [+a] due to its agree relation with the clitic *a* (the epenthetic consonant is the result of the clitic attaching to a diphthong), also marked [+a], while still in v. The direct object *a mazá* then later moves to Spec, FinP (50b). At the end of the phase, pragmatics [±c]-marks the element appearing in Spec, FinP, and the complement of FinP (i.e. the remaining structure) gets marked [-c]. Fronted focus elements are proposed to make the same movement steps as CLLD save for [+a] marking in Spec, vP, which does not apply due to the lack of a clitic-double dependency.

A particularly attractive aspect of this proposal is that it examines in detail how to determine the appropriateness of CLLD elements.¹⁷ López proposes that CLLD requires a particular type of discourse relation in order to be felicitous and appropriate. Analyses of discourse generally assume a hierarchical structure for discourse (see e.g. Hobbs 1985, Polanyi 1988, Grosz & Sidner 1986, Mann & Thompson 1987, Asher 1993, van Kuppevelt 1995). Asher & Vieu (2005), working in the Segmented Discourse Representation Theory framework, distinguish between two particular types of discourse structure relations: coordination and subordination. The two are summarized as in (51).

- (51) Coordination: narration, background, result, continuation, parallel, contrast, question-coordination, correction
- Subordination: elaboration, instance, topic, explanation, precondition, commentary, question-answer pairs

According to these relations, both narrow- and wide-focus (López's *regular focus* or *rheme*) question-answer pairs would qualify as subordination contexts. Foci expressing contrast, however, would qualify as coordinating. This division matches López's proposed division between regular and contrastive focus. While thetic, "out of the blue" contexts can answer the question "What happened?", they may also initiate a discourse without such a question. Asher & Vieu provide only one example with such a question, and in that example, they define discourse relations as related to the first sentence of the reply. I therefore assume that thetic contexts are coordinating.

López proposes that CLLD requires discourse subordination as well as a discourse antecedent in the superordinate sentence in order to be felicitous and

¹⁷ López also discusses appropriateness for CLRD elements. Since I do not discuss CLRD phenomena in Galician in this dissertation, I omit this portion of his proposal.

appropriate. In a continuation context then, which is coordinating, CLLD would be inappropriate (52).

- (52) a. El Joan va portar els mobles
 the Joan AUX.PST.3SG carry.INF the furniture
 en un camió.
 in a truck
Joan brought the furniture in a truck.
- b. Va obrir el camió i...
 AUX.PST.3SG open.INF the truck and
He opened the truck and...
- c. #la taula de fòrmica, la va
 the table of formica CL.ACC.3SG.F AUX.PST
 portar a la cuina.
 carry.INF to the kitchen
...the formica table, he carried to the kitchen.
- d. va portar la taula de fòrmica, a
 AUX.PST carry.INF the table of formica to
 la cuina.
 the kitchen
...carried the formica table to the kitchen.

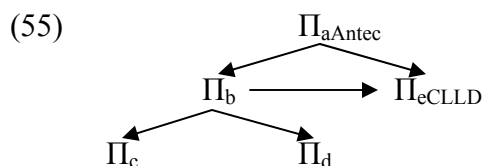
In both (52c) and (52d), there is an appropriate antecedent for *the formica table* in *the furniture*, but the CLLD sentence (52c) is infelicitous because it is a continuation of the discourse initiated in (52b). However, if the proper discourse context is created (53), CLLD is appropriate.

- (53) a. El Joan va portar els mobles
 the Joan AUX.PST.3SG carry.INF the furniture
 en un camió.
 in a truck
Joan brought the furniture in a truck.
- b. Va obrir el camió i
 AUX.PST.3SG open.INF the truck and
 va començar a portar-los
 AUX.PST.3SG start.INF to carry.INF-CL.ACC.3PL.M
 cap a casa.
 to the house
He opened the truck and started carrying them into the house.
- c. La taula de fòrmica, la
 the table of formica CL.ACC.3SG.F
 va portar a la cuina...
 AUX.PST.3SG carry.INF to the kitchen
The formica table, he took to the kitchen...

Sentence (53c) elaborates on the discourse continued in (53b), thus permitting an appropriate use of CLLD. For López, CLLD is most naturally found when symmetrically contrasted with another similarly related CLLD element. Therefore (53c), could be followed with a sentence like *The chairs, he left in the front room*. While (53c) could likely stand alone in a given discourse, there would be an implicit contrast with other similar elements relevant in the discourse. *The formica table* in (53c) is related to its antecedent *the furniture* in (53a) by a sort of subset relation (since a formica table is an article of furniture). The antecedent for CLLD need not be immediately adjacent, but must be found within the preceding discourse in the appropriate subordinating relation.

- (54) a. John brought in the food.
 b. He put the fish in the fridge.
 c. It was an excellent fish
 d. and he didn't want it to go bad.
 e. De la carn, se'n va
 of the meat CL.REFL.3SG-CL.PART AUX.PST
 olvidar completament.
 forget.INF completely
He completely forgot about the meat.

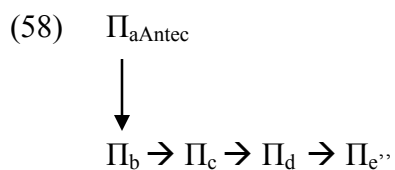
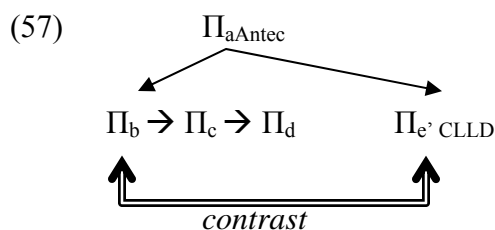
Above, (54c) and (54d) are subordinate to (54b), but this does not block the connection between *the meat* in (54e) and its antecedent *the food* in (54a). In the graph below (55), the relations between the propositions (Π) in (54) are represented graphically. Coordinating relations are horizontal lines, and subordinating relations are vertical.



In (54e), CLLD is appropriate, and thus unaffected by the non-adjacency of propositions (a) and (e). López presents another example (56) to additionally illustrate that discourse structure is more important than adjacency.

- (56) a. John brought in the food.
 b. He put the fish in the fridge
 c. and went out to the terrace for a second to smoke.
 d. Then he spoke to Theresa on the cell for a little while.
- e'. De la carn, se'n va
 of the meat CL.REFL.3SG-CL.PART AUX.PST
 oblidar completament.
 forget.INF completely
He completely forgot about the meat.
- e''. #a l'entrar, la carn la va
 to the-enter.INF the meat CL.ACC.3SG.F AUX.PST
 posar al congelador
 put.INF in-the freezer
When he came in, he put the meat in the freezer.

Following López's analysis, (56e') is able to create a symmetrical contrast between *the fish* and *the meat*, irrespective of (56c) and (56d) which intervene. In (56e''), beginning with *when he came in* makes it the next in a series of events starting with (56b). This sequence of events makes (56e'') a coordination context, which is not amenable to CLLD of *la carn*. The graphs in (57) and (58) show the two discourse progressions from above.



In (58), no subordination relation can be made between proposition (a) and (e''), which rules out CLLD according to his analysis.

López's proposal then provides not only a mechanism by which the pragmatic module interfaces with the syntax in order to assign discourse features to a variety of sentence elements, but also provides metrics for creating discourse appropriate clitic-left dislocations. The calculus López proposes was crucial in designing discourse contexts to test for discourse appropriateness in Galician. As this proposal informs the methodology that I discuss in Chapter 3, the results that I gather will help to determine the preferred, appropriate word orders for Galician and also test the adequacy of López's analysis for the Galician language.

2.7. Implications: Discourse factors in the collection of speaker judgments

Although SVO word orders have been claimed to be acceptable in all discourse contexts in Spanish and EP, it is unclear if SVO is preferred to other word orders like VSO and VOS in all of these discourse contexts. In order to determine word order preferences, one must create discourse contexts and test them with native speakers of the target language.¹⁸ However, there are certain challenges present in creating discourse contexts and potential replies. In particular, subjects can be problematic in languages like Spanish, EP, Catalan, and Galician in part because they are null-subject languages. The Spanish question-answer pair in (59) typifies the phenomenon I am referring to.

- (59) a. ¿Qué cocinó Juan?
 what cook.PST.3SG Juan
- What did Juan cook?*

¹⁸ Recall the limitations related to monolingual Galician discussed in chapter 1.7.

- b. ((Juan) cocinó) una tortilla.
 Juan cook.PST.3SGa tortilla

((*Juan*) *cooked*) *a tortilla*.

In (59b), the subject or the subject and verb may be lacking in a reply to the object-narrow-focus question in (59a). In fact, the two-word reply would likely be the most common reply to this question. However, in order to effectively establish word order preferences for the subject, verb, and object, all of these constituents must be present. Therefore, for all of the discourse contexts I examine, all of the possible replies are full sentences including a DP subject, verb and DP object.

As previously discussed, since there are many more possible word orders in a language like Galician (as compared to a language like English or French), additional care must be taken since word orders like SVO, VSO and VOS are never ungrammatical, but may be *dispreferred*. Therefore, the goal of eliciting judgments will be establishing *word order preferences* according to information structure context. The result may be that not all well-constructed syntactic structures are acceptable at the level of discourse structure. Determining these preferences then will assist in describing the syntax-information structure interface for Galician. I describe the quantitative and qualitative data-gathering methods that I employ to determine these preferences in Chapter 3.

2.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reviewed many of the definitions of *topic* and *focus* in the literature. I have also discussed some analyses for the syntax-information structure interface in the literature. As López's (2009) analysis of information structure in Spanish and Catalan is the most extensive, I follow many of his assumptions in creating appropriate discourse contexts in my methodology in order to determine which word orders are most appropriate for a variety of discourse contexts in Galician. Before

proceeding with a description of the methodology that I employ, I briefly summarize the information structure assumptions that inform the following chapter.

The definition of *thetic contexts* that I assume in this dissertation follows Zubizarreta's (1998) characterization of these contexts as "out of the blue", or what many others have called "all focus". Such sentences may either initiate a discourse or provide replies to questions like "What happened?".

As previously discussed, the basic definition of *topic* that I assume is based on the notions of "aboutness" or "discourse old" in the literature outlined in section 2.1.1. However, since I examine CLLD topics in particular, I assume López's (2009) analysis for CLLD, as discussed in section 2.4. According to López's proposal, CLLD requires discourse subordination, which consists of a discourse antecedent and a subordinating discourse context as defined by Asher & Vieu (2005). In the methodology described in Chapter 3, I design task conditions to test the validity of this proposal for Galician. When I refer to topics in Chapters 3 and 4, I occasionally make use of the terms *subject old* and *object old*. In most cases, this is due to space constraints in tables. These terms refer to topical, discourse-old subject DPs and discourse-old object DPs, respectively.

The definition of *focus* that I assume follows López (2009). Recall that for him, the difference between regular focus (rheme) and contrastive focus depends on how the focus integrates into the existing discourse. While regular focus resolves an open variable in the discourse, contrastive focus simultaneously opens and resolves a variable. Regular focus provides an answer to an explicit or implicit wh-question, while contrastive focus cannot answer a wh-question. The regular focus contexts I will employ are what I refer to as *narrow focus*, whereby a wh- question elicits either the subject or object. I do not employ any contrastive focus or focus fronting contexts in the quantitative data that I gather.

In the following chapter, I detail more precisely how the above information structure assumptions are tested for in the quantitative tasks and conditions that I employ

in my investigation of clausal word order in Galician. Via this research methodology I collected descriptive corpus data on the clausal structure of Galician not only for the sake of documenting this minority language, but also for the implications that this data may have for the theoretical analysis of similar Romance Languages like Spanish and Portuguese. The chief questions to be addressed by this dissertation are the following:

1. What is the preferred clausal structure in Galician for *out-of-the-blue*,thetic, sentences?
2. What is the preferred clausal structure in Galician for sentences in which the grammatical subject represents discourse-old information?
3. What is the preferred clausal structure in Galician for sentences in which the grammatical object represents discourse-old information?
4. What is the preferred clausal structure in Galician for sentences in which the grammatical subject is narrow-focused (rheme)?
5. What is the preferred clausal structure in Galician for sentences in which the grammatical object is narrow-focused (rheme)?
6. Do CLLD elements in Galician conform to López's (2009) analysis of CLLD?
7. How does the data collected contribute to the overall analysis of clausal structure in Galician?
8. What does the data obtained for Galician imply for previous analyses of clausal structure in Spanish and Portuguese?

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Preliminary concerns

As discussed in Chapter 1, there are difficulties involved in determining the exact status of arguments within Galician clausal structure. I assume that the syntactic module assembles the lexical building blocks of the clause, which in turn feed into the pragmatic module. Since not all well-constructed syntactic structures are acceptable at the level of discourse pragmatics, the syntax–information structure interface is a crucial step in the building of an acceptable clause. Accurately describing this interface requires systematic, empirical data on what types of sentence structures are appropriate in what kinds of discourse contexts to serve as a guide. Therefore, I have designed quantitative and qualitative tasks to collect such data for Galician, which will then provide the part of the empirical base for my analysis of Galician clausal structure.

The experimental measures detailed in this chapter seek to gather data on acceptability judgments, preferences, and uses of a variety of word orders for a variety of information structure contexts. The verbs used to elicit judgments and preferences in these tasks are all agentive transitive verbs in order to guarantee the presence of a subject and object argument in the clausal structure, as opposed to intransitive verbs—either unaccusative or unergative—which have only one or the other. I have designed these question contexts bearing in mind in particular the proposals of Zubizarreta (1998) for Spanish and Italian, Costa (2000, 2004) for European Portuguese, Casielles (2004) for Spanish, and López (forthcoming) for Spanish and Catalan, all of whom have examined in some detail the syntax-discourse interface.

In section 3.2, I describe the subjects who participated in this investigation. In section 3.2.1, I describe the variables that I examined, and justify the modifications that I made in these variables. In section 3.2.2, I describe the data-gathering procedures that I

used and the conditions involved in each task. In section 3.3, I describe Task 1 and each of the seven conditions that I examined in this task. In section 3.4, I explain Task 2 and the six conditions that I examined in that task. In section 3.5, I explain the methods I used in Task 3 as well as the participant groups and the experimental procedures involved in this task. I offer concluding remarks for this chapter in section 3.6.

3.2. Participants: Tasks 1 and 2

Prior to completing tasks 1 and 2, participants completed a linguistic history questionnaire, which included a maximum of 63 questions about age, place of birth, current place of residence, experience living outside of Galicia, the language(s) that participants spoke and learned as a child, as well the language(s) that they speak at home, at school, at work, with friends and colleagues, and with family relations. The linguistic questionnaire also includes questions about experience with Galician-language education at the primary, secondary and tertiary (university) level. These questions and the response options were very similar or identical to questions included in questionnaires used by the Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia (MSG, González González 2007). This questionnaire was also administered in a computer-assisted module using the WebSurveyor Internet survey interface via Information Technology Services at University of Iowa. I report on their responses to these questions below in my description of the variables I originally planned to consider, and explain the decisions that I made to remove variables from consideration.

3.2.1. Participant variables

For this investigation, I recruited 54 male and female participants currently living in the Galician province of Pontevedra. Pontevedra is located on the western Atlantic coast of Spain, just north of the border with Portugal. Among the 54 who started the Internet-based quantitative tasks, the results from 34 of these participants were removed from statistical consideration. 28 of these did not complete the second day of tasks and 6 belonged to an age group not under consideration in this dissertation (31-49 years old).

Of the 20 remaining participants, 10 were male and 10 were female, all of whom reported using Galician on a daily basis. According to 2007 figures from the Galician Statistic Institute, the province of Pontevedra has a population of 947,639, of which 48.4% is male and 51.6% female. The two age groups examined in this study are ages 18-30, and older than 50. Considering groups differing by one generation enables me to control for and to detect potential intergenerational grammar differences, which may provide evidence of linguistic changes in progress.

The next variable I consider is primary living environment. The Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia (henceforth MSG) divides Galician population centers into the following four groups according to population size:

1. fewer than 5,000 inhabitants over 15 years of age
2. 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants over 15 years of age
3. 10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants over 15 years of age
4. greater than 50,000 inhabitants over 15 years of age

Group four corresponds to the seven major Galician cities: Vigo, A Coruña, Santiago de Compostela, Lugo, Ferrol, Ourense and Pontevedra. Upon taking into account economic sectors, the MSG further divides these groups into eight categories: urban-1, urban-2, suburban, *vila*-1, *vila*-2, *vila*-3, rural-1, rural-2. Urban and suburban areas are those with 40,000 or more inhabitants, *vila* (small town) areas are those with between 2,000 and 39,999 inhabitants, and rural areas are those with fewer than 2,000 inhabitants. The least populous urban environment among the seven major Galician cities is the city of Pontevedra, with 75,148 inhabitants as of 1991. Lois González (1992) defines *vila* more conservatively, having between 2,000 and 15,000 inhabitants, thus leaving a grey area of some 60,000 between the categories of *vila* and urban. In fact, Lois González argues that inhabitants of *vilas* such as Carballo, Oleiros, Nalón or Vilagarcía de Arousa with populations of between 30,000 and 40,000 should also be considered as urban speakers owing to the lifestyle and industries present in these areas. Ramallo (p.c.) agrees with this

assessment, stating that *vilas* like Vilagarcía de Arousa have all of the characteristics of an urban environment. For the purposes of this investigation, I adopt the binary variable [\pm urban] to describe the primary living environment of Galician-speaking participants. I define [+urban] as speakers who primarily reside in areas of greater than 30,000 inhabitants, thus including a subset of speakers classified as *vila-1* in the Fernández & Rodríguez (1994) portion of the MSG. Therefore, I consider speakers in this investigation from the areas of Pontevedra (city), Vigo and Vilagarcía de Arousa to be [+urban]. I define [-urban] as speakers who primarily reside in areas of fewer than 30,000 inhabitants, which includes all remaining areas of Pontevedra province which do not lie in the immediate surroundings of the urban centers above. See Table 13 below for a summary of the [+urban] populations involved in this investigation.

Table 13. [+urban] areas in the Galician province of Pontevedra and their current population figures.

Area	Population
Vigo	294,772
Pontevedra	80,202
Vilagarcía de Arousa	36,743

Source: Galician Statistical Institute (www.ige.eu). Santiago de Compostela, 2007.

The remaining participant variable that I consider in this investigation is level of education. The MSG reports similar dominance percentages for reading, writing, speaking and comprehension for those with secondary and university education (see Figure 1 below). While the level of speaking ability is reported to decline slightly with an increase in formal education, there is a notable difference in reported reading and writing abilities between those with and without a minimum of secondary education. The MSG attributes this difference in ability between primary and secondary studies to the fact that,

as a general rule in Spain, one becomes more familiar within the written text at the secondary level. While this reported increase in reading and writing ability is of interest, the MSG does not specify, for example, whether those with secondary education actually *completed* their secondary education. Speakers who were classified as having *primary* level studies, however, included speakers who had and had not completed their primary studies.

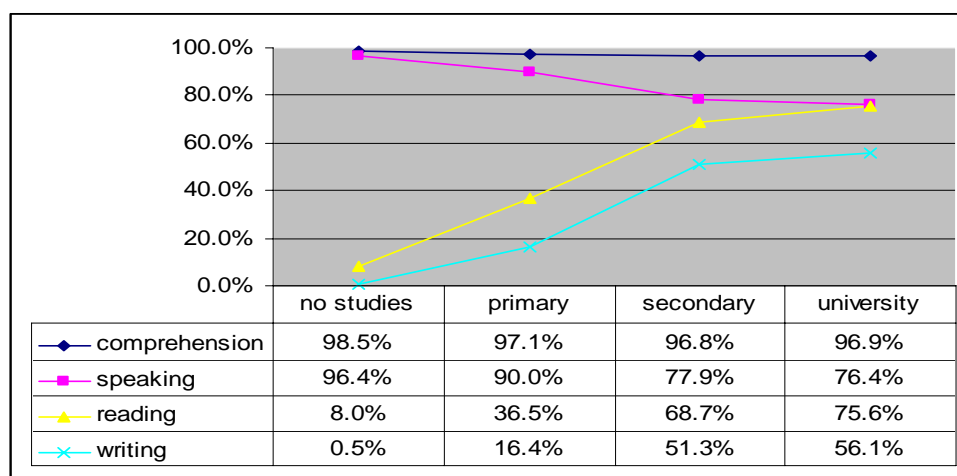


Figure 1. Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia. Reported competences in Galician according to level of studies.

Source: Fernández Rodríguez, Mauro & Modesto Rodríguez Neira (coords.), 1994, *Lingua Inicial e Competencia Lingüística en Galicia*, Vigo, Real Academia Galega.

Lacking such specifics in definitions, I define [+educated] as Galician speakers who have completed at least some level of secondary education.¹ Because Ramallo (p.c.) reports that Galician speakers whose university majors in some way involve Galician (e.g.

¹ Following the 1990 educational reform law, or LOGSE (*Ley de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo*), secondary education is compulsory until 16 years of age, as compared to 14 years of age prior to the law. I expect that [-educated] speakers in the 18-25 age group may be non-existent.

Translation, Galician Philology) possess a greater metalinguistic awareness than those whose major studies do not, I attempt to include a wide spectrum of [+educated] speakers.

A summary of the participant variables under consideration to this point, as well as their numerical representation in the questionnaire results, appears in Table 14 below.

Table 14. Summary of participant variables.

	Male		Female	
	18-30 n=5	50+ n=3	18-30 n=6	50+
[+urban]/[+educated]	18-30 n=5	50+ n=3	18-30 n=6	50+
[+urban]/[-educated]	18-30	50+ n=1	18-30	50+ n=1
[-urban]/[+educated]	18-30	50+	18-30 n=3	50+ n=1
[-urban]/[-educated]	18-30	50+	18-30	50+

As can be seen above, not all of the variables are represented in the participant population that successfully completed both days of the Internet-based tasks. Over half of the participants came from [+urban], [+educated] backgrounds, and the majority of those belong to the 18-30 year-old group. There were very few participants from [-urban] backgrounds, yet among those, there were no participants from [-urban], [-educated] backgrounds. As many of the above variables were not sufficiently represented in the results gathered, I only report on the variable age as it relates to participant preferences and ratings in Chapter 3.

While my particular interest lay in the Galician-dominant portion of the population (i.e. native and habitual speakers of Galician), *post hoc* examination of participant responses to the linguistic history indicated differing levels of Galician

language use in their experience and daily life. Therefore, based on participant replies to the linguistic history questionnaire, I separated participants into three language-dominance groups: Galician-dominant, Spanish-dominant, and dual dominance based on their replies. The definition of the term *Galician-dominant* that I adopt for the purposes of this dissertation includes speakers who replied to language use questions with either *only Galician* or *more Galician than Spanish*. These answer options match the classifications used in the Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia (MSG), 1992-1996 (Fernández & Rodríguez 1994), the Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia (MSG) 2004 (González González 2004), and those in Rei-Doval (2007) which examined a subset of data from the MSG of urban speakers from the seven major urban areas of Galicia.

According to Rei-Doval's (2007) figures for *only Galician* and *more Galician than Spanish* usage groups, 45.7% of urban Galician males are Galician-dominant speakers compared to 40.3% of Galician females. Among these speakers, however, literacy figures are quite low owing to the fact that Galician has been largely orally transmitted for the past five hundred years among a mostly rural population. According to the MSG, only about half of Galician-dominant speakers reported to be competent reading Galician, and only a quarter reported to be competent writing in Galician – a figure which steeply decreases in older age groups. All of the individuals that I classified as Galician-dominant individuals reported Galician as their first language, and reported using only Galician more Galician than Spanish in the majority of the family, social, and work contexts included in the linguistic questionnaire.

The group that I classified as dual-dominance based on their linguistic history questionnaire replies reported “both Galician and Spanish” as their first languages and reported everyday use of Galician as either only Galician or more Galician than Spanish in no less than half of the questions related to family, social, and work.

The group that I have classified as Spanish-dominant based on their linguistic history questionnaire responses reported their first language as Spanish. Among these

individuals, the frequency with which they reported speaking only Galician or more Galician varied more widely than in the other two language dominance groups. These speakers reported that they started to learn the language as early as six years old, and as late as 40 years old.²

Although approximately 90% of Spanish-dominant³ speakers report being able to understand Galician, and approximately 50% report being able to speak it (Fernández & Rodríguez 1994), Galician is typically perceived as the low-prestige variety, while Spanish is the high-prestige variety within Galicia. An extremely large percentage of the population is exposed to Spanish in school at a very young age. In urban environments with greater levels of domestic and foreign immigration and industry such as Vigo or A Coruña, this exposure to Spanish in society is even greater. This is reflected in habitual language preference among the younger (16-25) urban generation, among whom 87.6% prefer to use Spanish, compared to 12.4% who prefer to use Galician (Ramallo 2007). Del Valle (2000), however, argues that such analyses of prestige and preferential use are based on a “linguistic culture of monoglossia” prevalent in Western thought. By his analysis, the “language attitudes and linguistic behavior of Galicians are grounded in the linguistic culture of heteroglossia: acceptance of multiple norms and resistance to convergence.”

The group that I have classified as Galician-dominant consists of six individuals between the ages of 19 and 28. The dual-dominance group consists of eight participants between the ages of 18 and 29, and one individual who was 57. The Spanish-dominant

² These ages represent the extremes reported. Most of these speakers reported starting to learn the language between the ages of 12 and 15.

³ Note that as with the term *Galician-dominant*, I have collapsed the two MSG speaker categories of *Only Spanish* and *More Spanish than Galician* into the category *Castilian-dominant*. When I use the term *Castilian-dominant*, I am referring to Castilian Spanish speakers. I use these terms interchangeably.

group consists of six people between the ages of 50 and 57, and one who was 24. I summarize these numbers in Table 15 below.

Table 15. Summary of gender, age and language-dominance variables

language dominance	Male		Female		Total
	18-30	50+	18-30	50+	
Galician	2	0	4	0	6
dual	2	1	5	0	8
Spanish	1	4	0	1	6
TOTAL	5	5	9	1	20

Due to the numerical presence of each age and language dominance, separating the age variable from language dominance presents definite complications. I discuss this issue in greater detail in the results in section 4.2.10.

3.2.2. Procedures: Tasks 1 and 2

Tasks 1 and 2 were quantitative data-gathering tasks administered by computer-assisted modules using the WebSurveyor interface on the University of Iowa servers. Participation was entirely voluntary and anonymous. Monetary compensation or otherwise was not provided. Subjects were given the Internet address of the survey and participated from their homes and without supervision. These tasks consist of a total of 65 questions completed over the course of two separate visits to avoid participant fatigue and linguistic saturation. In each visit, each participant responds to either 33 or 32 linguistic task questions, which involve 17-18 questions from task 1, and 15 questions from task 2. Question items were randomized by an online random number generator (<http://stattrek.com>) prior to creation of modules in WebSurveyor. Participants are randomly divided into two groups, thus varying the order in which the quantitative

linguistic tasks as well as the items within the tasks are presented in order to avoid a task effect. In the case of task 1, which includes audio files, the gender of the interlocutors in the task items is also varied between the two groups. For Task 1, there were seven different condition types, and five tokens for each condition, yielding a total of 35 tokens total. There were six different condition types in task two, and five tokens for each condition type, netting a total of 30 tokens. As Task 2 was composed of six different extended discourse contexts, participants completed three discourse contexts per visit in order to avoid task-type fatigue as well as overall saturation fatigue. Context presentation order for Task 2 was also randomized, but the question items within each context were not, as this would have adversely affected the construction of the information structure contexts within them.

3.3. Task 1: Scaled Pragmatic Appropriateness Task

Task 1 is based on the grammaticality judgment task (Bley-Vroman & Yoshinaga 1992, among others) used in Second Language Acquisition research to test the acceptability of sentences in learner grammars, results from which were then compared with a native speaker results. In this task however, participants read a conversational context and then provided an appropriateness rating for (syntactically) grammatical sentences that varied in clausal structure. For each conversational context, a triad of possible responses with varying word orders was provided following Kallestinova's (2007) methodology employed for gathering data on clausal variants in Russian. Participants were instructed to click on a speaker icon (🗣️) to listen to each possible response in the triad and then to rate them on a scale of acceptability. As all clausal word order options were grammatical, this task scale utilized an ordinal scale of 1 to 5, (1 meaning 'unacceptable', and 5 meaning 'preferred'), following recommendations in Schütze (1996) and White (2003), and thus differed from Bley-Vroman & Yoshinaga's

(1992) original scale, which used a five-point ordinal scale from -2 to 2. This scale accompanied each task 1 triad for the participants' convenience.

1 = not acceptable	<i>(non acceptable)</i>
2 = marginally acceptable	<i>(pouco acceptable)</i>
3 = more or less acceptable	<i>(máis ou menos acceptable)</i>
4 = rather acceptable	<i>(bastante acceptable)</i>
5 = totally acceptable (preferable)	<i>(totalmente acceptable (preferible))</i>

Instructional sample tokens preceded the task so that participants would know that there may be more than one acceptable manner in which to conclude the discourse situations in the task, (i.e. that two or more sentences may receive the same acceptability rating).

Pragmatic conditions included thetic (*out-of-the-blue*) situations, subject narrow-focus or rheme, object narrow-focus or rheme, subject arguments as old information, and object arguments as old information. Audio links accompanied both the conversational context and the possible responses in order to control for the intonation properties of the clausal structures presented. I discuss each condition type below.

3.3.1. Condition A

Condition A tokens sought to establish a clausal word order preference for thetic contexts or, as Zubizarreta (1998) labels them, *out-of-the-blue* situations. These do not presuppose knowledge of the subject, verb, or object, but only presuppose that something occurred (i.e. they ask the basic question "What happened?") These questions examine three word orders: Subject-Verb-Object (SVO), Verb-Subject-Object (VSO), and Verb-Object-Subject (VOS), as in (1).

- (1) Contexto: Xoán e Iago son amigos. Están
 Context: Xoán and Iago be.PRS.3PL friends be.PRS.3PL
 a falar sobre a fin de semana.
 to speak.INF about the end of week

Context: Xoán and Iago are friends. They are talking about the weekend.

Xoán – Que fas esta noite?
 what do.PRS.2SG this night

Xoán – What are you doing tonight?

Iago – Por que? Que pasa?
 why what happen.PRS.3SG

Iago – Why? What's up?

A. Xoán – Carlos vai celebrar o seu aniversario.
 Carlos go.PRS.3SG celebrate.INF the his birthday

B. Xoán – Vai celebrar Carlos o seu aniversario.
 go.PRS.3SG celebrate.INF Carlos the his birthday

C. Xoán – Vai celebrar o seu aniversario Carlos.
 go.PRS.3SG celebrate.INF the his birthday Carlos

Xoán – Carlos is going to celebrate his birthday.

3.3.2. Condition B

Condition B items sought to determine the preferential position of the subject when it is discourse-old information (i.e., it has already been introduced into the common ground of the discourse), as discussed in Chapter 2. To avoid a null subject as well as unnatural repetition of an overt subject in these items, a switch reference or paraphrase of the subject referent is used (e.g. in (2), the switch from “your daughter” to “Belén”). The word orders examined in item B are SVO, VSO, and VOS, as in example token (2).

- (2) Contexto: Xoán e Felipe son amigos. Están
 context Xoán and Felips be.PRS.3SG friends be.PRS.3SG
 a falar da filla de Felipe.
 to speak.INF of-the daughter of Felipe

Context: Xoán and Felipe are friends. They are talking about Felipe's daughter.

Xoán – Cantos anos ten a túa
 how many years have.PRS.3SG the your
 filla máis pequena?
 daughter more small

Xoán – How old is your youngest daughter?

- A. Felipe – Pois, Belén ten cinco anos.
 well Belén have.PRS.3SG five years
 B. Felipe – Pois, ten Belén cinco anos.
 well have.PRS.3SG Belén five years
 C. Felipe – Pois, ten cinco anos Belén.
 well have.PRS.3SG five years Belén

Felipe – Well, Belén is five years old.

Condition B contexts were all Question-Answer (Q-A) pairs, which are classified as *subordination* contexts according to Asher & Vieu's (2005) analysis of discourse relations in the Segmented Discourse Representation Theory (SDRT) framework (Asher 1993). According to López (2009), discourse subordination creates a context appropriate for clitic left-dislocation of previously introduced referents. Since in this condition the subject has already been introduced within the discourse, the preferred word order for this condition will provide data to inform this question. Recall that, as discussed in Chapter 1, whether preverbal subjects are left-dislocated is a matter of considerable debate. Note, however, that in SVO word order it is impossible to detect whether a preverbal subject appears in a canonical or left-peripheral position. This item type is of particular interest since Gupton (2006) indicated that either SVO or VSO are acceptable for this discourse context in Galician. The availability of CLLD is also of relevance for discourse-old objects, as in Condition C below.

3.3.3. Condition C

Condition C tokens were designed to establish preferred clausal structure when an object is discourse-old information within the context presented. These contexts also involved Q-A pairs, thus serving as a counterbalance for the Condition B tokens above. These items seek to test the availability and relative appropriateness of clitic left-dislocation for Galician clausal structure. The response triads in this condition have a biclausal structure, placing the first conjunct with CLLD in opposition to the second conjunct. This creates an anaphoric relation appropriate for opposition with a CLLD constituent. Following (Villalba 2000), an appropriate relation between a CLLD constituent and its antecedent must belong to one of the following categories: subset, superset, set-membership, or part-whole. This creates a contrast between each answer and its corresponding clause in reply to the context question. According to López (2009), such a contrast is the most natural way of using CLLD in Romance. Furthermore, the CLLD object in the first conjunct will create a strong preference for a parallel CLLD structure in the second one. Note that the resumptive object clitic in these tokens is enclitic on the verb since Galician requires enclisis with CLLD. The word order possibilities for the first conjunct in these triads are CLLDSVcl (clitic left-dislocated object followed by a preverbal subject and a verb with enclisis), CLLDVclS (clitic left-dislocated object followed by a verb with enclisis and a postverbal subject), and SVO, as in (3).

- (3) Contexto: A mudanza. Carlos e Patricia son
 context the moving Carlos and Patricia be.PRS.3PL
- unha parella.Cando entran no seu piso novo,
 a couple when enter.PRS.3PL in-the their apartment new
- hai un montón de mobles no interior.
 expl.PRS.3SG a pile of furniture in-the inside

Context: Moving day. Carlos and Patricia are a couple. When they enter their new apartment, there is a ton of furniture inside.

Patricia – Caramba! Meteu a túa familia todos
 caramba put.PST.3SG the your family all
 os mobles xa?
 the furniture already

Patricia – Wow! Your family already brought in all the furniture?

A. Carlos – As mesas os meus tíos metéronas
 the tables the my uncles put.PST.3PL-CL.ACC.F.3PL
 pero as cadeiras deixáronas
 but the chair leave.PST.3PL-CL.ACC.3PL.F
 no portal
 in-the doorway

B. Carlos – As mesas metéronas os meus tíos
 the tables put.PST.3PL-CL.ACC.F.3PL the my uncles
 pero as cadeiras deixáronas
 but the chair leave.PST.3PL-CL.ACC.3PL.F
 no portal
 in-the doorway

Carlos – The tables my uncles brought in, but the chairs they left in the doorway.

C. Carlos – Os meus tíos meteron as cadeiras pero
 the my uncles put.PST.3PL the chairs but
 as cadeiras deixáronas no
 the chair leave.PST.3PL-CL.ACC.3PL.F in-the
 portal
 doorway

Carlos – My uncles brought in the tables, but the chairs they left in the doorway.

Word orders did not vary in the second conjunct in this condition, and all included an appropriately anaphoric CLLD object according to the prerequisites introduced above. Following López (2009) then, the prediction is that the object would be preferred in a CLLD position in the first conjunct. Were it to appear in its canonical position, this would violate the parallel structure of CLLD between the two conjuncts. This item also sought to determine whether a preverbal or postverbal subject would be available or preferred in the first (CLLD) conjunct. Note that the second conjunct involves a null

subject. All subjects in the response triads were subsets, recasts, or switch references of the subject in the elicitation context in order to avoid 1) repetitiveness, which would create an unnatural response, and 2) null subjects, since a null-subject response in the first conjunct would not indicate the preferential position of the subject.

3.3.4. Condition D

Condition D tokens were designed to determine preferred clausal structure for contexts in which a subject is old information within the discourse context. This information structure condition serves as a counterbalance for Condition B (above) on the one hand, and for Condition E (below) on the other. This item is similar in nature and structure to Condition B; however, Condition D responses employed in this item are *continuation* and *result* in relation to the elicitation contexts, both of which are classified as coordination contexts by Asher & Vieu (2005). According to López (2009), *coordination* contexts prohibit CLLD. The word orders examined in this item set are SVO, VSO, and VOS, as in (4).

(4) Manuel – Escoitaches?
hear.PST.2SG

Manuel – Did you hear?

Agustín – O que?
the what

Agustín – What?

Manuel – Samuel Sánchez gañou unha medalla
Samuel Sánchez win.PST.3SG a medal
de ouro!
of gold

Manuel – Samuel Sánchez won a gold medal!

Agustín – Si? Que ben!
yes how good

Agustín – Yeah? That's so great!

A. Manuel –	Pois, well	si. yes	E and	como as	resultado, result	o the	rapaz young man
	conseguiu get.PST.3SG		un a	bo good	contrato contract	de of	publicidade. publicity
B. Manuel –	Pois, well	si. yes	E and	como as	resultado, result	conseguiu get.PST.3SG	o the
	rapaz young man		un a	bo good	contrato contract	de of	publicidade. publicity
C. Manuel –	Pois, well	si. yes	E and	como as	resultado, result	conseguiu get.PST.3SG	un a
	bo good	contrato contract		de of	publicidade publicity	o the	rapaz. young man

Manuel – Well, yes. And as result, the fellow got a good advertising contract.

The availability of CLLD in this discourse condition is crucial in regards to the preferred clausal position of the subject. If López's (2009) argument that coordination contexts prohibit clitic left-dislocation in Spanish and Catalan extends to Galician, a preference for SVO clausal word order in this condition may provide indirect evidence that subjects in a preverbal position are not left-peripheral elements. Therefore, if discourse-old preverbal subjects appear to be non-peripheral elements, this would suggest additional evidence against left-peripheral accounts of preverbal subjects as in Barbosa (1996) for European Portuguese, or Ordóñez & Treviño (1999) for Spanish (an account which specifically argues that preverbal subjects are CLLD elements).

3.3.5. Condition E

Condition E contexts also sought to verify the availability and appropriateness of dislocation of objects for Galician clausal structure. In these discourse contexts, objects represent discourse-old information, as in Condition C. However, the contexts employed in these response triads are *continuation* and *result*, as in Condition D above, thus providing a counterbalance on two fronts. The word orders examined in this item were CLLDSVcl, CLLDVclS, and SVcl, as in (5a) and (5b) below. Three questionnaire items

of this type included PP adjuncts, and two include Adv adjuncts, neither of which was predicted to affect the appropriateness of the replies in the triads.

- (5) Contexto: Pedro viu a María na biblioteca o
 Pedro see.PST.3SG to Maria in-the library the
 sábado.
 Saturday

Context: Pedro saw Maria at the library on Saturday.

- A. O domingo, a rapaza viuna
 the Sunday the girl see.PST.3SG-CL.ACC.F.3SG
 Marco alí tamén.
 Marco there also

- B. O domingo, a rapaza Marco
 the Sunday the girl Marco
 viuna alí tamén.
 see.PST.3SG-CL.ACC.F.3SG there also

On Sunday, the girl, Marco saw (her) there also.

- C. O domingo, Marco viuna alí
 the Sunday Marco see.PST.3SG-CL.ACC.F.3SG there
 tamén.
 also

On Sunday, Marco saw her there also.

As with Condition D, these contexts were *coordination* contexts, and should therefore prohibit clitic-left dislocation (CLLD) of an object DP.

3.3.6. Condition F

Condition F tokens were designed to establish a preference for Galician clausal architecture when there is narrow focus on the subject (i.e. the subject is the rheme, or new information). According to the Zubizarreta's (1998) reformulation of the Nuclear Stress Rule, new information appears to the right of the VP *in situ*. By her analysis, this is

the result of the object scrambling past the subject to avoid the projection of focus. This task seeks to establish this preference/constraint for Galician for subjects. Condition F is a counterbalance for Condition G below, in which objects are narrow focus. The word order permutations that appeared in triads of this type are SVclX, VclSX and VclSX. Within an information structure context in which only the subject is unknown, frequently the verb and object complement(s) have already been introduced into the discourse. Three of the five tokens in this condition involved permutation of an adverbial XP adjunct instead of the object, as in (6).

- (6) Contexto: Sandra e Beatriz son amigas. Sandra
 Sandra and Beatriz be.PRS.3PL friends Sandra
 Sandra
 preguntalle sobre unha caixa no seu
 ask.PRS.3SG-CL.DAT.3SG about a box in-the her
 piso.
 apartment

Context: Sandra and Beatriz are friends. Sandra asks Beatriz about a box in her apartment.

Sandra – Que é iso? Que bonito!
 what be.PRS.3SG that how pretty

Sandra – What's that? How pretty?

Beatriz – Iso? Pois, é un regalo que
 that well be.PRS.3SG a gift that
 chegou por correo para o meu
 arrive.PST.3SG by mail for the my
 aniversario.
 birthday

Beatriz – That? Well, it's a gift that arrived in the mail for my birthday.

Sandra – Quen cho enviou?
 who CL.DAT.2SG-CL.ACC.M.3SG send.PST.3SG

Sandra – Who sent it to you?

- A. Beatriz – A miña irmá
the my sister
- envioumo a
send.PST.3SG-CL.DAT.1SG-CL.ACC.M.3SG the
- semana pasada.
past week
- Non vai poder vir para a
not go.PRS.3SG be able.INF come.INF for the
- miña festa.
my party
- B. Beatriz – Envioumo a miña
send.PST.3SG-CL.DAT.1SG-CL.ACC.M.3SG the my
- irmá a semana pasada. Non vai
sister the week past not go.PRS.3SG
- poder vir para a miña festa.
be able.INF come.INF for the my party
- C. Beatriz – Envioumo a semana
send.PST.3SG-CL.DAT.1SG-CL.ACC.M.3SG the week
- pasada a miña irmá. Non vai poder
past the my sister not go.PRS.3SG be able.INF
- vir para a miña festa.
come.INF for the my party

Beatriz – My sister sent it to me last week. She won't be able to come to my party.

If Zubizarreta's configuration of the NSR for Spanish also applies to Galician, VOS (also VPPS and VAdvS) will be the preferred word order chosen by experiment participants.

3.3.7. Condition G

Condition G tokens counterbalance those of Condition F, seeking data on the preferred clausal structure for Galician when the information structure involves the object as new information (rheme). The word orders examined in these object-focus triads were SVO, VSO and VOS, as in (7).

- (7) Contexto: Afonso, Mateo e Beto son amigos.
 Afonso, Mateo and Beto be.PRS.3SG friends
 Afonso e Beto están a falar
 Afonso and Beto be.PRS.3SG to speak.INF
 dun gran sorteo que houbo recentemente.
 of-a big drawing that expl.PST.3SG recently

Context: Afonso, Mateo and Beto are friends. Afonso and Beto are talking about a drawing that took place recently

Afonso – Gañou Mateo algunha cousa no
 win.PST.3SG Mateo some thing in-the
 sorteo?
 drawing

Afonso – Did Mateo win anything in the drawing?

Beto – Pois, si.
 well yes

Beto – Well, yes.

Afonso – Entón? Que gañou?
 then what win.PST.3SG

Afonso – So? What did he win?

A. Beto – O cabronazo gañou un televisor!
 the bastard win.PST.3SG a television

B. Beto – Gañou o cabronazo un televisor!
 win.PST.3SG the bastard a television

C. Beto – Gañou un televisor o cabronazo!
 win.PST.3SG a television the bastard

Beto – The bastard won a television!

As previously mentioned, if Zubizarreta (1998) is on the right track, narrow-focus new information appears to the right of the VP *in situ*. If this is the case, experiment participants should rate VOS as the most appropriate word order in this condition.

3.4. Task 2: Word Order Preference Task

Since Task 1 allowed for the possibility that participants may rate differing clausal structures with identical or very similar ratings, Task 2 was designed to encourage participants to choose a clear preference from two word order possibilities. If it turns out that two word orders are equally acceptable, this task will also provide confirmation of such a preference. Although Task 2 items did not include accompanying audio for the word order possibilities, they appeared in an extended pragmatic context of three to seven items in a connected, continuous discourse. Task two items involved the same information structure contexts as in task one, with the exception of subordination versus coordination items testing the availability of clitic left-dislocation.

Three sample questions preceded the items in task two in order to provide instructions to participants on how the contexts will be presented and how they may be answered. These instructions highlighted to participants that while more than one word order may be possible, one or another may not be appropriate depending on the context. This was included to encourage them to pay particular attention to the discourse contexts provided in the tasks that follow. The three sample contexts involved Adjective–Noun order. As is well known, Spanish adjectives may precede or follow a noun. In the case of some adjectives, the placement of the adjective determines one or another specific meaning (see e.g. Bernstein 2001, among many others). The same applies to Galician.

(8) O meu amigo Pedro ten moito diñeiro, pero
 the my friend Pedro have.PRS.3SG much money but
 ten moi mala sorte na súa vida.
 have.PRS.3SG very bad luck in-the his life

My friend Pedro has a lot of money, but he has very bad luck in life.

A. Pedro é un home pobre.
 Pedro be.PRS.3SG a man poor

Pedro is a poor man.

- B. Pedro é un pobre home.
 Pedro be.PRS.3SG a poor man

Pedro is an unfortunate man.

- C. As dúas posibilidades.
 the two possibilities

Both possibilities.

In option A, *home pobre* means ‘poor (not rich) man’, while *pobre home* in option B means ‘unfortunate man’. Therefore, only Noun–Adjective order, option B, is appropriate. In the first sample token only NA order was appropriate, in the second sample only AN order was appropriate, and in the third sample, both AN and NA orders were possible and appropriate. This was to highlight to participants that all three possible answers provided over the course of the task were possible responses. Therefore, if it was the case that two word order options are equally possible and appropriate in a given context, participants should indicate this.

3.4.1. Condition A

Condition A involved thetic, or *out-of-the-blue*, contexts. Participants had to choose the appropriate word order, with the subject preceding or following the verb. Therefore the possible word orders in this item type were SV or VS:

- (9) Cristiano - Que aconteceu?
 what happen.PST.3SG

Cristiano – What happened?

- Samo - Non se sabe exactamente.
 not CL.PASS know.PRS.3SG exactly

Samo – Nobody knows exactly.

- A. Samo – A señora da limpeza encontrou a muller
 the lady of-the cleaning find.PST.3SG the woman
 morta.
 dead

- B. Samo – Encontrou a señora da limpeza a muller
 find.PST.3SG the lady of-the cleaning the woman
 dead
 morta.

Samo – The cleaning lady found the wife dead.

- C. As dúas posibilidades.
 the two possibilities

Both possibilities.

SVO and VSO orders are predicted to be the most acceptable clausal word orders for
 thetic contexts. This item was designed to elicit a preference between these two word
 orders in case it turned out that both of these responses in the triads received statistically
 similar ratings in the corresponding Task 1 condition.

3.4.2. Condition B

Condition B tokens involved a discourse old subject DP. The possible word
 orders in this context were SVO or VSO:

- (10) Veciño – Quen foi o outro rapaz que vin
 neighbor who be.PST.3SG the other fellow that see.PST.1SG
 hai pouco?
 haber.PRS.3SG little

Neighbor – Who was the other fellow that I saw a little bit ago?

- Manuel – Foi o seu amigo, Fran. Veu
 be.PST.3SG the his friend Fran come.PST.3SG
 para xogar ao baloncesto esta tarde,
 for play.INF to-the basketball this afternoon

Manuel – That was his friend, Fran. He came to play basketball this afternoon...

- A. pero non sabía que Daniel ten
 but not know.IMPFV.3SG that Daniel have.PRS.3SG

 un exame mañá.
 an exam tomorrow
- B. pero non sabía que ten Daniel
 but not know.IMPFV.3SG that have.PRS.3SG Daniel

 un exame mañá.
 an exam tomorrow
- ...but he didn't know that Daniel has an exam tomorrow.*
- C. As dúas posibilidades.
 the two possibilities

 Both possibilities.

3.4.3. Condition C

In Condition C, the subject represented the rheme within the extended discourse provided. The word orders participants can choose from in this condition are SVcl or VclS, as in (11).

- (11) Uxío - Quen che suxeriu esta empresa?
 who CL.DAT.2SG suggest.PST.3SG this business
- Uxío – Who recommended this business to you?*
- A. Henrique – O meu irmán
 the my brother
- suxeriuma porque
 suggest.PST.3SG-CL.DAT.1SG-CL.ACC.F.3SG because
- é amigo do dono.
 be.PRS.3SG friend of-the owner
- B. Henrique – Suxeriuma o meu
 suggest.PST.3SG-CL.DAT.1SG-CL.ACC.F.3SG the my
- irmán porque é amigo do dono.
 brotherbecause be.PRS.3SG friend of-the owner
- Henrique – My brother suggested it to me because he's a friend of the owner.*

- C. As dúas posibilidades.
the two possibilities

Both possibilities.

If Galician clausal structure adheres to Zubizarreta's (1998) configuration of the Nuclear Stress Rule (NSR) for Spanish, I predict that participants will place narrow-focus (i.e. new information) subjects in a postverbal position.

3.4.4. Condition D

Condition D presented an object narrow-focus (rheme) information structure context. These tokens counterbalance Condition C, eliciting participants to choose between VSO and VOS order, as in (12).

- (12) Xulia – Está lista xa a túa irmá?
be.PRS.3Sg ready already the your sister

Xulia – Is your sister ready yet?

Noelia – Case, case...
almost almost

Noelia – Almost, almost...

Xulia – Que busca?
what look for.PRS.3SG

Xulia – What is she looking for?

A. Noelia – Busca unha toalla a pobriña para
look for.PRS.3SG a towel the poor for
secar o pelo.
dry. INF the hair

B. Noelia – Busca a pobriña unha toalla para
look for.PRS.3SG the poor a towel for
secar o pelo.
dry. INF the hair

Noelia – She's looking for a towel to dry her hair (with).

- C. As dúas posibilidades.
the two possibilities

Both possibilities.

If Galician objects in VOS imply scrambling of the object to avoid the rightward projection of information focus as discussed above, the prediction is that the object will remain *in situ*, therefore favoring a choice of VSO order in these discourse contexts. As the grammatical subjects in this condition represent old information, it was not assumed that SVO would be a preferred word order in the corresponding Task 1 condition. Yet, if object DPs remain in their thematic position, SVO should have been one of the word orders under consideration in this condition. This methodological shortcoming was remedied in the Task 2 follow-up condition, which gathered preference data for all three of the word orders examined in Task 1 for object narrow-focus conditions. I provide the methodological details of this follow-up as well as its results in section 4.3, following the results for Task 2.

3.4.5. Condition E

Condition E items are a counterbalance for Condition B. Within these contexts, the object represents discourse-old information, therefore satisfying the anaphoric requirements of CLLD, as previously introduced for Condition C in Task 1. The two possible word orders in this item type were CLLDSVcl and CLLDVclS, with the discourse-old object clitic left-dislocated, as in (13).

- (13) Uxío – E onde deixaron os outros mobles?
and where leave.PST.3PLthe other furniture

Uxío – And where did they leave the rest of the furniture?

A. Henrique – Uff! O sofá a miña filla
uff the sofa the my daughter
encontrouno no balcón.
find.PST.3SG-CL.ACC.M.3SG on-the balcony

B. Henrique – Uff! O sofá encontrouno a
uff the sofa find.PST.3SG-CL.ACC.M.3SG the
miña filla no balcón.
my daughter on-the balcony

Henrique – (Sigh) The sofa my daughter found (it) on the balcony.

C. As dúas posibilidades.
the two possibilities

Both possibilities.

The response options for this token did not include SVO for two reasons: 1) it was not assumed that SVO would be a preferred word order when an object is discourse-old, and 2) I predicted that the CLLD word orders would receive higher ratings in Task 1.

3.4.6. Condition F

To ensure that participants faithfully performed the tasks in Task 2, I included five distractor items, which constitute Condition F. The distractors were of the same type in the instruction section of Task 2, and elicited a choice between Noun–Adjective and Adjective–Noun word orders, as in (14).

(14) Xulia – E non levas a túa mochila?
and not carry.PRS.2SG the your backpack

Xulia – And you are not taking your backpack?

Noelia – Que dis?
what say.PRS.2SG

Noelia – What are you saying?

- A. Noelia – A mochila azul? Non.
 the backpack blue no
- Perdina na praia
 lose.PST.1SG-CL.ACC.F.3SG in-the beach
- hai un ano.
 haber.PRS.3SG one year
- B. Noelia – A azul mochila? Non.
 the blue backpack no
- Perdina na praia
 lose.PST.1SG-CL.ACC.F.3SG in-the beach
- hai un ano.
 haber.PRS.3SG one year

Noelia – The blue backpack? No. I lost it at the beach a year ago.

- C. As dúas posibilidades.
 the two possibilities

Both possibilities.

These questions served not only as distractors, but also to ensure that participants completed the tasks properly. The word order options in conditions A through E did not incur sharp ungrammaticality depending on the choice of clausal word order; however, a choice of Adjective–Noun order, option B in item (14), would. Three different reply contexts were included: two in which only Adjective-Noun order was possible, two in which only Noun-Adjective order was possible, and one in which either Noun-Adjective or Adjective noun order was possible. If a participant chose an ungrammatical reponse, their questionnaire results were highly scrutinized, as it was taken as a potential indication that they did not complete the task(s) in a faithful or mentally-focused manner.

3.5. Task 3: Recorded field interview

Researchers in sociolinguistics have found that obtaining linguistic evidence from minority, non-prestige varieties present unique challenges. Cheshire and Stein (1997) claim that the “fluid” nature of non-prestige varieties makes grammaticality judgments a difficult task, and that only standardization and the establishment of a grammar make such judgments possible. However, Henry (2005) points out that such ‘standard forms’ of a variety can also cloud the matter since speakers may consider certain standardized forms or uses to be ‘incorrect’, and therefore ‘ungrammatical’. When such standardized forms are reinforced by an education system, it can lead to otherwise grammatical structures being highly stigmatized. Henry’s (2005) examination of Belfast English found that follow-up interviews with participants uncovered subtleties in acceptability judgments from linguistic questionnaires that otherwise would have been overlooked. She suggests, therefore, that linguistic questionnaires alone often cannot provide a complete picture of a speaker’s grammar. She also points out that paper-and-pencil questionnaires typically make use of a standard variety of a minority language which is often unfamiliar to older or less literate speakers of non-prestige languages. Such individuals are frequently not receptive to written questionnaires. This is an important consideration because in the Galician context, these individuals represent the nearest approximation to monolingual speakers of the language (Siguán 1992).

The third task consisted of 19 field interviews recorded with an Olympus DS-40 digital voice recorder. Although participants volunteered to be interviewed, a Crown flat microphone was used as well to lessen potential recording anxiety. A small subset of the interviewees also participated in Tasks 1 and 2, but since anonymity was preserved, it is unknown which of the interviewees they were. A Galician-speaking male conducted the interviews in Vigo, which numbered seven. A Galician-speaking female conducted 11 interviews in Louredo (Mos), a rural village roughly 45 minutes from Vigo. A third Galician-speaking female conducted the lone interview recorded in Pidre, a small village

located roughly 3.5 miles from the city of Pontevedra. Galician-speaking individuals conducted the interviews in order to guarantee comprehension on the part of the interviewer, and to avoid simplification of linguistic structures for the benefit of the Primary Investigator and author of this dissertation. Although I did not conduct the interviews, I was present for all of them and familiarized the interviewers with the questions and expectations of the interview beforehand. The interviewees were acquaintances, family or friends of all the interviewers, which greatly assisted in gathering more relaxed, informal data. The interview questions for Task 3 included questions about family, hometown, opinions about older and younger generations, opinions about the Galician language, and thoughts about the future of Galicia. Participants are also asked to tell an anecdote from their youth or from their hometown. The older participants were asked about their experiences during the transition to democracy after the death of Franco. Although Task 3 is ostensibly a spontaneous field interview, the interview questions asked of these speakers are quite structured. This task has been designed in this manner to attempt to ensure analogous, and therefore comparable, responses among interviewees. The goal of these short interviews is also to gather a qualitative sample of spontaneous speech with which to compare the results of the quantitative tasks (Tasks 1 and 2) in this experiment.

3.6. Conclusion

The methodology detailed in the above three tasks provide indications of preferred word orders in Galician in a variety of pragmatic contexts. Bearing in mind the above limitations and difficulties in eliciting grammaticality judgments from native speakers of non-prestige minority languages, I took great care in designing the tasks in this chapter. All of the tasks detailed above were created with the consultation and advice of native Galician speakers working in sociolinguistics and Galician education in order to

assure that these tasks would focus more on Galician speakers' estimations of what is pragmatically acceptable and appropriate, and less on what is lexically appropriate.⁴

Statistical results from tasks 1 and 2, which appear in the following chapter, indicate the clausal preferences of Galician speakers for these contexts. The spontaneous production data gathered in task 3 help to shed further light on how common such word orders are in the elicited speech of interviewees. Crucially, a lack of such word orders should not be taken as an indication that such word order(s) are lacking in their grammars. The combination of the indications in these task results provide vital qualitative and quantitative evidence guiding the syntax-information structure analysis that I propose for Galician in Chapter 5.

⁴ Note that the Galician speakers who advised me in this capacity were also supposed to pilot the tasks and conditions. While they did not provide ratings to the tokens from tasks 1 and 2 (thus precluding the possibility of a true pilot test), they were exhaustive in their commentaries and suggestions with respect to word choice in the task tokens.

CHAPTER 4

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE MEASURES

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I present the results of the quantitative and qualitative tasks described in Chapter 3. In section 4.2, I present the statistical results for each Task 1 condition. In section 4.3, I present the statistical results for each Task 2 discourse condition. In section 4.4, I report on a follow-up quantitative task that I carried out for two conditions whose results in Task 2 did not indicate a clear word order preference. I describe the follow-up task and present the statistical results gathered for this task. I report on the word orders attested and their accompanying discourse contexts in the recorded field interviews in section 4.5. In section 4.6, I make closing comments on this chapter and the tasks reported on within.

The number of participants in the quantitative tasks described below did not approach or surpass the critical number of 30 required to analyze the data with standard parametric statistics (Student 1908). Additionally, initial data inspection for both tasks indicated that participant responses were not normally distributed. Rather, they were quite skewed. The five-point rating scale by which the word order options in Task 1 were rated for appropriateness is ordinal and not scalar (i.e. a rating of 4 is not necessarily twice as high as a rating of 2). The choices available in Task 2 were also ordinal, as they only provided a word order preference choice of a, b, or c. Therefore, when inter-group comparisons can be made, I have analyzed the data using the Friedman test, which is the non-parametric statistical alternative to either an ANOVA or a two-tailed t-test. In section 4.2 I detail the statistical results for Task 1. Sections 4.2.1 through 4.2.7 I provide descriptive statistics for the word order triads for each condition, and then provide statistical comparisons of the word order responses for each triad. I summarize these

results in 4.2.8. In section 4.2.9 I provide statistical comparisons for Task 1 conditions by dominant language.

4.2. Task 1

Recall that Task 1 was the Scaled Appropriateness Task in which participants rated continuation/response triads to a variety of information structure contexts on a five-point scale. For each condition in Task 1, I present descriptive statistics as well as a prose description below. I follow the data descriptions with Friedman ranks of means measures to discover statistical differences. Additional comparisons follow when such differences are detected.

4.2.1. Condition A

For thetic contexts, SVO word order received a mean acceptability rating near ceiling (4.91), as in Table 16. In comparison with the mean ratings for VSO (3.14) and VOS (2.63), these statistics suggest that SVO is the preferred word order. The ratings for VSO and VOS display greater individual variation than SVO (minimum 4, maximum 5), as both received ratings between 1 and 5.

Table 16. Word order triad ratings for Task 1 Condition A (thetic sentences)

word order	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
SVO	100	4.91	0.28762	4	5
VSO	100	3.14	1.08265	1	5
VOS	100	2.63	1.26055	1	5

Not surprisingly, the small range of variation in ratings for SVO is reflected in its small standard deviation (0.28762). Despite the wide range of ratings given for VSO and VOS, they do not exhibit very large standard variations (1.08265 and 1.26055, respectively).

Table 17. Friedman statistics for Task 1 Condition A

word orders	N	χ^2	df	p value
SVO v VSO v VOS	100	145.531	2	< .001
SVO v VSO	100	87.044	1	< .001
SVO v VOS	100	93.000	1	< .001
VOS v VSO	100	7.667	1	.006

The p-value of the Friedman non-parametric test ranking the means for all three word orders (< .001) in the first row of Table 17 suggests a statistically significant difference between the distributions of the three scores. When the word orders are compared pairwise, there are statistically significant differences between SVO and VSO ($p < .001$), SVO and VOS ($p < .001$), and VSO and VOS word orders ($p = .006$).

4.2.2. Condition B

In contexts in which the subject represents old information and dislocation is appropriate (discourse subordination contexts, following López 2009), mean ratings for SVO are near maximum (4.96). Mean ratings from for VSO (2.03) and VOS (3.01) are quite lower. As in Condition A, ratings for VSO and VOS for condition B received a wider range of scores (4 and 5, respectively) than SVO did (range of 2, min. 4 and max. 5). SVO had a much smaller standard deviation (0.19695) than either VSO (0.93695) or VOS (1.23497).

Table 18. Descriptive statistics for Task 1 Condition B (subject old subordination)

word order	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
SVO	100	4.96	0.19695	4	5
VSO	100	2.03	0.93695	1	4
VOS	100	3.01	1.23497	1	5

When the mean rankings are compared for Condition B, the Friedman p value indicates a statistically significant difference between the distributions of word order ratings. When compared pair-wise, there are also statistically significant differences among each of the three word orders compared.

Table 19. Friedman statistics for Condition B

word orders	N	χ^2	df	p value
SVO v VSO v VOS	100	159.314	2	< .001
SVO v VSO	100	99.000	1	< .001
SVO v VOS	100	84.045	1	< .001
VOS v VSO	100	27.597	1	< .001

4.2.3. Condition C

For subordination discourse contexts in which the object represents old information, mean ratings for SVO are 4.59. SVO for this discourse context received a wide range of ratings, and a standard deviation of 0.68306. CLLDSVcl (i.e. clitic left-dislocation with a preverbal subject and enclisis on the verb) received a mean rating of 1.87, a range of 5, and a standard deviation of 0.94980. CLLDVclS received a mean rating of 3.70, a range of 5, but a larger standard deviation of 1.19342.

Table 20. Descriptive statistics for Task 1 Condition C (object old subordination)

word order	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
SVO	100	4.59	0.68306	2	5
CLLDSVcl	100	1.87	0.94980	1	5
CLLDVclS	100	3.70	1.19342	1	5

The Friedman test statistic for the distributions of the three word orders in Table 21 ($p < .001$) indicates statistically significant differences between the word orders. Pair-wise comparisons also indicate statistically significant differences among each word order, thus indicating that SVO is the preferred word order in subordination discourse contexts in which the object represents old information.

Table 21. Friedman statistics for Condition C

word orders	N	χ^2	df	p value
SVO v CLLDSVcl v CLLDVclS	100	136.622	2	< .001
SVO v CLLDSVcl	100	91.162	1	< .001
SVO v CLLDVclS	100	21.278	1	< .001
CLLDSVcl v CLLDVclS	100	64.205	1	< .001

4.2.4. Condition D

For coordination contexts in which the subject is old information within the discourse context provided, mean ratings for SVO are 4.79, means for VSO are 3.16, and means for VOS are 2.72. As with Condition C, all three word order possibilities received a wide range of ratings, yet despite such variation, all three word order ratings have relatively small standard deviations (0.6559 for SVO, 1.10755 for VSO and 1.13778 for VOS).

Table 22. Descriptive statistics for Task 1 Condition D (subject old coordination)

word order	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
SVO	100	4.79	0.6559	1	5
VSO	100	3.16	1.10755	1	5
VOS	100	2.72	1.13778	1	5

Friedman test results comparing the three word orders indicate statistically significant differences between them ($p < .001$). There are also statistical differences between SVO and VSO ($p < .001$), SVO and VOS ($p < .001$), and between VOS and VSO ($p < .001$). These results suggest that SVO is the preferred word order in contexts in which dislocation is inappropriate and the subject represents old information within the discourse.

Table 23. Friedman statistics for Condition D

word orders	N	χ^2	df	p value
SVO v VSO v VOS	100	130.08	2	< .001
SVO v VSO	100	73.179	1	< .001
SVO v VOS	100	85.172	1	< .001
VOS v VSO	100	10.889	1	.001

4.2.5. Condition E

In coordination contexts in which the (direct) object represents old information within the discourse, SVcl word orders received the highest mean rating (4.75), followed by a mean rating of 2.70 for CLLDVclS, and a mean rating of 1.55 for CLLDSVcl. For this task, all three word orders received a wide range of ratings, and all have fairly similar standard deviations.

Table 24. Descriptive statistics for Task 1 Condition E (object old coordination)

word order	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
SVcl	100	4.75	0.70173	1	5
CLLDSVcl	100	1.55	0.8333	1	4
CLLDVclS	100	2.70	1.15907	1	5

Friedman statistics for the mean rating distributions for the three possible word orders indicate a statistically significant difference between the three word orders ($p < .001$). Pair-wise Friedman comparisons also indicate statistically significant differences between each word order rating pairing. These results suggest that among the word order options given, SVcl is the preferred word order option for discourse condition E.

Table 25. Friedman statistics for Condition E

word orders	N	χ^2	df	p value
SVcl v CLLDSVcl v CLLDVclS	100	163.107	2	< .001
SVcl v CLLDSVcl	100	95.040	1	< .001
SVcl v CLLDVclS	100	86.170	1	< .001
CLLDSVcl v CLLDVclS	100	43.556	1	< .001

4.2.6. Condition F

As previously discussed, Condition F sought to test word order preferences for subject narrow focus contexts (i.e. when the subject is the rheme following López 2009). For this discourse context, none of the word order options available approached the maximum possible rating, but both SVX and VSX word orders received mean ratings around the “rather acceptable” level of four (4.09 and 4.07, respectively). VXS received a mean rating of 3.66, which also approaches the same level of acceptability. All word order options received the full range of ratings, and have very similar standard deviations.

Table 26. Descriptive statistics for Task 1 Condition F (subject narrow focus/rheme)

word order	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
SVX	100	4.09	1.16424	1	5
VSX	100	4.07	1.13933	1	5
VXS	100	3.66	1.08451	1	5

Friedman test results for this condition indicate the presence of statistically significant differences, but pair-wise comparisons only indicate significant differences between SVX and VXS ($p=.021$), and between VXS and VSX ($p<.001$), but no significant difference between SVX and VSX ($p=.448$), thus complicating the matter of determining a word order preference for this discourse context. Since determining a preference was problematic, I separated the X discourse response tokens according to their constituent identity for post-hoc analysis.

Table 27. Friedman statistics for Condition F

word orders	N	χ^2	df	p value
SVX v VSX v VXS	100	13.019	2	.001
SVX v VSX	100	0.576	1	.448
SVX v VXS	100	5.313	1	.021
VXS v VSX	100	16.000	1	< .001

Unlike the previous discourse conditions, only two of the five discourse context response tokens for Condition F included an argument direct object DP. The other three contexts included an adverbial XP adjunct. I examined these XP adjuncts in an attempt to determine if the ratings for these contexts are similar to the ratings for argument object

DPs. For these possible replies, VSA word orders¹ received the highest mean rating (4.75), VAS received the second highest mean (3.95), and SVA received the lowest mean rating (3.583). VSA displays a smaller range of ratings (range=2) compared to VAS (range=4) and SVA (range=5), as well as a smaller standard deviation (0.437) compared to the other word orders (0.852 for VAS, 1.239 for SVA)

Table 28. Descriptive statistics for Task 1 Condition F with adjunct XP

word order	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
SVA	60	3.583	1.239	1	5
VSA	60	4.75	0.437	4	5
VAS	60	3.95	0.852	2	5

Friedman statistics for these word orders indicate a statistically significant difference ($p < .001$), and pair-wise comparisons display statistical differences for VSA and SVA ($p < .001$) and VSA and VAS ($p < .001$), but not between SVA and VAS ($p = .238$), thus suggesting that VSA is preferred to both SVA and VAS for these contexts.

Table 29. Friedman statistics for Condition F with adjunct XP

word orders	N	χ^2	df	p value
SVA v VSA v VAS	60	31.387	2	< .001
SVA v VSA	60	17.163	1	< .001
SVA v VAS	60	1.391	1	.238
VAS v VSA	60	29.432	1	< .001

¹ Note that I do not use 'A' as a label for adjective, as it is typically used. Rather I use it to signify adjunct XP.

SVO received the highest mean rating (4.85), quite near the “totally acceptable” ceiling of five points. VOS received the second highest mean rating (3.225), and VSO received the lowest mean rating (3.05), both near “more or less acceptable” levels. For these tokens, SVO received the lowest range of ratings (range=2) as well as the smallest standard deviation (0.36162). Both VOS and VSO received the full range of possible ratings and had comparatively higher standard deviations (1.25038 and 1.10824, respectively).

Table 30. Descriptive statistics for Task 1 Condition F with DP object

word order	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
SVO	40	4.85	0.36162	4	5
VSO	40	3.05	1.10824	1	5
VOS	40	3.225	1.25038	1	5

Friedman analysis of the mean rating distributions for these three word orders indicates a statistically significant difference between the three word order options provided. Ratings for SVO were significantly higher than either VSO or VOS ($p < .001$ in each case), while the comparison of VSO and VOS shows no significant difference between these word orders. This suggests that SVO is the preferred word order for these discourse contexts.

Table 31. Friedman statistics for Condition F word orders with DP object

word orders	N	χ^2	df	p value
SVO v VSO v VOS	40	46.217	2	< .001
SVO v VSO	40	36.000	1	< .001
SVO v VOS	40	22.730	1	< .001
VOS v VSO	40	0.037	1	.847

The difference between ratings of discourse contexts with adverbial adjuncts and those with argument direct object DPs therefore explains the lack of a clear word order preference in Condition F contexts as a whole.

4.2.7. Condition G

For direct object narrow focus contexts (i.e. rheme in López 2009), SVO received a mean rating of 4.89, despite receiving ratings ranging from three to five and a rather small standard deviation (0.37322). VOS received a mean rating of 2.75, and VSO a mean of 2.18. Even though both of these word orders showed a wide range of variation in their ratings (range=5 for both), the standard deviation for VSO (0.95748) was smaller than it was for VOS (1.28216), thus displaying a lesser degree of variability in ratings for VSO.

Table 32. Descriptive statistics for Task 1 Condition G (object narrow focus/rheme)

word order	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
SVO	100	4.89	0.37322	3	5
VSO	100	2.18	0.95748	1	5
VOS	100	2.75	1.28216	1	5

Friedman tests show statistically significant differences between the word order ratings for this discourse condition.

Table 33. Friedman statistics for Condition G

word orders	N	χ^2	df	p value
SVO v VSO v VOS	100	144.005	2	< .001
SVO v VSO	100	98.000	1	< .001
SVO v VOS	100	78.681	1	< .001
VOS v VSO	100	8.333	1	.004

When pair-wise comparisons were analyzed with the Friedman test, all p-values were lower than the statistically significant level of (.05), thus indicating a statistical difference between the distributions of each pair-wise word order comparison in Table 33. The statistical results suggest that SVO is the preferred word order for contexts in which the direct object is narrowly focused.

4.2.8. Summary of Task 1 discourse conditions

In Table 34, I provide a summary of the preferred word orders for the discourse contexts provided in Task 1 based on participant ratings of possible word order triads on a five-point scale as discussed in Chapter 3. For the majority of the information structure contexts provided SVO is the preferred word order. In Condition E, the object appears as a direct object clitic since it is old information within the given discourse context. The presence of an adverbial adjunct in Condition F appears to affect the preferred position of the subject as VSA is the preferred word order in these environments.

Table 34. Summary of Task 1 word order preferences by discourse condition

Condition	information structure context	preferred word order
A	thetic, “out of the blue”	SVO
B	subject as old information subordination	SVO
C	object as old information subordination	SVO
D	subject as old information coordination	SVO
E	object as old information coordination	SVcl
F	subject narrow focus with argument direct object XP subject narrow focus with (adverbial) XP adjunct	SVO VSA
G	object narrow focus	SVO

I discuss the implications of these preferences further in the syntactic analysis I propose for Galician clausal structure in Chapter 5. In section 4.3., I present the results of the word order preference task, which was the second of the online questionnaire tasks presented in Chapter 3.

4.2.9. Task 1 by language dominance

As discussed in Chapter 3, due to variation in participant responses to language history and use questions in the linguistic history questionnaire, I separated them into three language dominance groups: Galician-dominant, Spanish-dominant, and balanced dominance. I did this out of curiosity as a *post hoc* measure in order to determine if any differences would surface between those who speak Galician to a greater or lesser degree. Note that the labels for these groupings are relative, and match MSG labels only in name. All of the participants reported exposure to and use of Galician in their everyday lives, but to varying degrees. The classifications I made were made based on self-reported replies to questions involving perceived first language, and language use among family members and in different spheres of everyday life (work, school, home, etc) on the linguistic history questionnaire. In an attempt to determine the presence of statistical differences between the three groups’ Task 1 results, I compared each dominant language

groups' ratings for each possible word order for each condition in Task 1 using the Friedman Test. As the size of the groups was unequal (six Galician-dominant individuals, six Spanish-dominant individuals, and eight dual-dominance, or balanced dominance individuals), and as the Friedman test requires equal sample sizes for data comparisons, the data gathered from the balanced dominance group was examined for outlying data. This examination determined two individuals whose data exhibited outlier characteristics as compared to the rest of this language dominance group. Therefore, for this particular statistical comparison, the data from two individuals were removed from the data set.

Table 35 shows the descriptive statistics for the Condition A SVO word order option in the first three rows, VSO in the second three rows, and VOS in the final three rows. The Friedman test statistics obtained did not indicate a significant difference based on dominant language for SVO ($p=.549$), or for VOS ($p=.489$), but did indicate a difference approaching significance for VSO ($p=.07$).

Table 35. Descriptive statistics for Condition A by dominant language

word order	dominant language	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
SVO	Galician	30	4.97	0.183	4	5
	Spanish	30	4.90	0.305	4	5
	dual	30	4.93	0.254	4	5
VSO	Galician	30	3.33	1.241	1	5
	Spanish	30	2.90	1.094	1	5
	dual	30	3.17	1.020	1	4
VOS	Galician	30	2.83	1.392	1	5
	Spanish	30	2.50	1.253	1	5
	dual	30	2.50	1.167	1	5

Table 36 shows the descriptive statistics for Condition B word orders. For SVO, the Friedman test indicated no significant difference according to language dominance

for SVO ($p=.223$), but did indicate the presence of statistical differences for VSO ($p=.01$) and for VOS ($p=.006$). Follow-up pair-wise Friedman measures for VSO indicate a difference between Galician-dominant ratings and balanced dominance ratings ($p=.012$), and between Spanish-dominant ratings and balanced dominance ratings ($p=.003$). No such difference was found between the Spanish-dominant speaker group and the Galician-dominant speaker group for VSO ($p=.827$).

Table 36. Descriptive statistics for Condition B by dominant language

word order	dominant language	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
SVO	Galician	30	4.97	0.183	4	5
	Spanish	30	5.00	0.000	5	5
	dual	30	4.93	0.254	4	5
VSO	Galician	30	1.73	0.640	1	3
	Spanish	30	1.77	0.935	1	4
	dual	30	2.37	1.033	1	4
VOS	Galician	30	3.27	1.172	1	5
	Spanish	30	2.60	1.329	1	5
	dual	30	3.20	1.215	1	5

For VOS, the Friedman statistics indicate a statistical difference between ratings for Galician-dominant speakers and Spanish-dominant speakers ($p=.014$), and between Spanish-dominant speakers and balanced dominance speakers ($p=.005$). No significant difference was found between Galician-dominant speakers and balanced dominance speakers ($p=.819$).

For Condition C discourse contexts are described in the statistics in Table 37. Friedman test measures do not indicate the presence of statistical differences by language dominance for SVO ($p=.796$), CLLDSV ($p=.406$), or for CLLDVS ($p=.783$).

Table 37. Descriptive statistics for Condition C by dominant language

word order	dominant language	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
SVO	Galician	30	4.67	0.547	3	5
	Spanish	30	4.60	0.622	3	5
	dual	30	4.70	0.596	3	5
CLLDSV	Galician	30	1.93	0.944	1	4
	Spanish	30	1.63	0.890	1	5
	dual	30	1.77	0.898	1	4
CLLDVS	Galician	30	3.67	1.269	1	5
	Spanish	30	3.80	1.243	1	5
	dual	30	3.60	1.163	1	5

Table 38 shows the descriptive statistics for Condition D information structure contexts by dominant language and word order. The Friedman test statistic does not indicate a statistical difference according to dominant language for SVO ($p=.529$). For VSO, however, there is a difference. Pair-wise Friedman measures uncover a statistical difference between ratings by Spanish-dominant speakers and Galician-dominant speakers ($p=.023$), but not between Galician-dominant and dual dominance speakers ($p=.108$), nor between Spanish-dominant and dual dominance speakers ($p=.102$). The Friedman test also indicates a statistical difference by dominant language for VOS ($p=.039$). Pair-wise comparisons show a statistical difference between Galician- and Spanish-dominant speakers ($p=.022$). The comparisons also show the minimum statistical difference at a 95% confidence interval between Spanish-dominant ratings and dual dominance ratings ($p=.05$). No statistical difference was found between Galician-dominant speakers and balanced dominance speakers ($p=.835$).

Table 38. Descriptive statistics for Condition D by dominant language

word order	dominant language	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
SVO	Galician	30	4.73	0.785	1	5
	Spanish	30	4.77	0.774	1	5
	dual	30	4.93	0.254	4	5
VSO	Galician	30	3.63	1.066	1	5
	Spanish	30	2.67	1.124	1	5
	dual	30	2.97	0.999	1	4
VOS	Galician	30	2.93	1.337	1	5
	Spanish	30	2.60	1.329	1	5
	dual	30	3.20	1.215	1	5

The descriptive statistics for the information structure contexts in Condition E appear in Table 39 separated by language dominance and by word order response options provided in Task 1. The Friedman test does not indicate any presence of statistical differences based on self-reported language dominance for SVcl ($p=.459$), CLLDSVcl ($p=.112$), or for CLLDVclS ($p=.519$).

Table 39. Descriptive statistics for Condition E by dominant language

word order	dominant language	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
SVcl	Galician	30	4.73	0.640	3	5
	Spanish	30	4.93	0.253	4	5
	dual	30	4.77	0.817	1	5
CLLDSVcl	Galician	30	1.67	0.922	1	4
	Spanish	30	1.37	0.669	1	3
	dual	30	1.53	0.860	1	4
CLLDVclS	Galician	30	2.80	1.297	1	5
	Spanish	30	2.53	1.074	1	4
	dual	30	2.77	1.104	1	5

Recall that the response triads for Condition F information structure contexts varied due to constituent type, and for each subject narrow focus data set there were only two context tokens with an argument direct object. This would net a total of only twelve response tokens for each language dominance group. Given that these are not sufficiently numerous to warrant statistical comparison, I do not consider Condition F results for comparison by language dominance.

The descriptive statistics for object narrow focus information scenarios in Condition G appear in Table 40. A Friedman comparison of mean ranks do not indicate statistical differences by language dominance for SVO ($p=.646$) or for VOS ($p=.322$). For VSO however, the Friedman test statistic does indicate the presence of a statistical difference by language ($p=.006$). Pair-wise comparisons indicate a statistical difference between Galician-dominant speakers' and Spanish-dominant speakers' ratings ($p=.014$), as well as between Spanish-dominant speakers' and the dual dominance speakers' ratings ($p=.005$), but not between Galician-dominant speakers' ratings and those of balanced-dominance speakers ($p=.322$).

Table 40. Descriptive statistics for Condition G by dominant language

word order	dominant language	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
SVO	Galician	30	4.90	0.403	3	5
	Spanish	30	4.93	0.365	3	5
	dual	30	4.90	0.305	4	5
VSO	Galician	30	2.30	0.988	1	5
	Spanish	30	1.67	0.802	1	4
	dual	30	2.33	0.884	1	4
VOS	Galician	30	2.77	1.305	1	5
	Spanish	30	2.60	1.404	1	5
	dual	30	2.83	1.147	1	5

In summary, significant differences were found for five different word orders in three different information structure conditions. These were conditions B, D, and G, which share a subject as old information.² The two word orders that display significant statistical differences are VSO and VOS which, for their respective discourse conditions, were not the most highly rated word order options in their triad. The Galician-dominant and dual-dominance groups both rated VOS higher than their Spanish-dominant counterparts for Conditions B and D, but only for Condition B was VOS rated higher than VSO. VSO word orders were not rated as uniformly with respect to language dominance. Both Galician-dominant and balanced dominance bilingual groups rated VSO significantly higher than the Spanish-dominant group for Condition G. For Condition D, the Galician-dominant group rated VSO significantly higher than the Spanish-dominant group, but not significantly higher than the dual-dominance group. VSO received the lowest mean ratings for both Condition B and G triads, but for Condition B, the dual-dominance group rated VSO significantly higher than either the Galician-dominant or Spanish-dominant groups.

Although Galician-dominant and dual-dominance speakers rated VSO and VOS word orders more highly than Spanish-dominant speakers for information structure contexts with discourse-old subjects, there is a lurking variable that obscures any sort of language-dominance-based conclusions that might otherwise be suggested: age. Five of the six Spanish dominant individuals were older than 50 years of age. While this might suggest the presence of a diachronic change in progress, the fact that I lack sufficient data for comparison in the over-50 age group for the other language dominance groups makes teasing apart the cause of the statistical difference in this data set impossible.

² Conditions B and D were designed as subject-old discourse contexts. Condition G was designed as an object narrow-focus (rheme) discourse context, but all of these included a discourse-old subject DP.

As discussed in section 1.7, since the syntax-information structure interface involves an interface between syntax and the discourse, we should expect to see greater signs of instability and optionality in heritage bilinguals and second language learners. Such instability should manifest itself in this task as a wide(r) range of ratings for certain word orders depending on the discourse-pragmatic context. What we have seen in this section, however, is that the variation between groups is nearly identical – appropriate rating ranges and standard deviations differ only slightly from one language dominance group to another. When there are differences, they are not unidirectional. At the level of individual variation, there are individuals in all three groups that gave the full range of ratings to certain word orders – even for preferred word orders. If there is residual interface optionality and instability in these groups then, the data in this chapter suggest that this comes as an all-or-nothing proposition: either all of them are showing signs of instability at this particular interface or none of them are. This is a difficult issue to address with the data gathered and presented here due to lack of a truly monolingual control group with which to make comparisons and draw conclusions. I return to this issue later in the chapter.

4.2.10. Task 1 by gender

In this section, I report on statistical differences detected according to gender. As there were very few statistical differences based on gender, I only report on these differences in this section. Note however, that in many of these cases, the ratings in question are very low, thus indicating marginal acceptability. Although little, if anything, may be concluded based on these ratings, I report on these statistical differences for the sake of completeness.

The descriptive statistics for VSO word order in Condition D, coordination contexts in which subjects were discourse-old, appear in Table 41.

Table 41. Task 1, Condition D. Descriptive statistics for VSO word order by gender

gender	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
female	50	3.46	1.054	1	5
male	50	2.86	1.088	1	5

Statistical differences by gender were found for VSO word orders in reply to Condition D ($p=.002$, $\chi^2=9.256$). It is interesting that these word orders received the full range of ratings, and that they were rated as more or less acceptable by the participants.

Statistical differences by gender are also present for VSO word orders for Condition G ($p=.005$, $\chi^2=7.811$). Although this condition was an object narrow-focus (rheme) context, it also included a discourse old-subject DP, as previously discussed. The descriptive statistics for this condition appear in Table 42.

Table 42. Task 1, Condition G. Descriptive statistics for VSO word order by gender

gender	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
female	50	2.42	1.032	1	5
male	50	1.94	0.818	1	4

Female participants gave higher maximum ratings for VSO than their male counterparts did, which led to a higher standard deviation for female ratings. However, the statistics above indicate that females tend to rate VSO word orders higher than males when a discourse-old subject is present. Despite the statistical difference, the low mean ratings for these word orders do not provide indication of any sort of meaningful conclusion.

Females rated CLLDSVcl word orders significantly higher than males for subordination discourse contexts with a discourse-old object ($p=.005$, $\chi^2=7.811$). The descriptive statistics for Condition C appear in Table 43 below.

Table 43. Task 1, Condition C. Descriptive statistics for CLLDSVcl by gender

gender	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
female	50	2.14	0.948	1	4
male	50	1.60	0.881	1	5

Although males assigned higher maximum ratings for VSO in this condition, their standard variation shows less variation. Even though female participants rated this word order higher overall than their male counterparts did, the low overall ratings of these word orders preclude any sort of meaningful conclusion.

The ratings of the discourse context counterbalance for Condition C displayed results approaching statistical significance ($p=.072$, $\chi^2=3.240$). Condition E also involved a discourse-old object, but in a coordination (i.e. continuation) context. The descriptive statistics for this condition appear in Table 44.

Table 44. Task 1, Condition E. Descriptive statistics for CLLDSVcl by gender

gender	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
female	50	1.70	0.909	1	4
male	50	1.40	0.728	1	4

While it is interesting that females show a tendency to rate these word orders higher than males do, the mean ratings for this word order were still quite low on the five-point appropriateness scale, somewhere between marginally acceptable (2) and not acceptable (1). Therefore, no conclusion can or should be made based on these results.

4.3. Task 2

Recall that Task 2 was the Word Order Collocation Task, in which participants responded to an information structure context with a choice of clausal word order

options, with the additional option for no preference. As discussed in Chapter 3, in Task 2 I sought to gather further data on the word order preferences indicated in the first task, the scaled pragmatic appropriateness task. In order to detect tendencies in the data from token to token, in initial data analysis, the two word order options presented were assigned a value of either 1 or 3, while the option for both word orders was assigned a value of 2. By this method, mean data preference values gravitating towards one extreme or another would appear at either vertical extreme of the figure, while a preference of “both” would gravitate towards the middle of the figure. Following initial analysis, outlying or unexpected results were examined in further detail. For each discourse context, I also report mean preference percentages for the condition as a whole.

4.3.1. Condition A

Condition A in Task 2 was a follow-up for Condition A in Task 1. Recall that there were five tokens for each information structure preference context in this task, and that the word orders tested in this condition were SVO and VSO. I report on the mean preference percentages for each questionnaire token for this condition in Figure 2 (following page). The results for Condition A indicate a strong preference for SVO order inthetic sentences, thus echoing the indications from Task 1 above. For this condition overall, SVO was preferred in 83% of the ratings, VSO was preferred in 1% of the ratings, and both word orders was chosen in 16% of the replies.

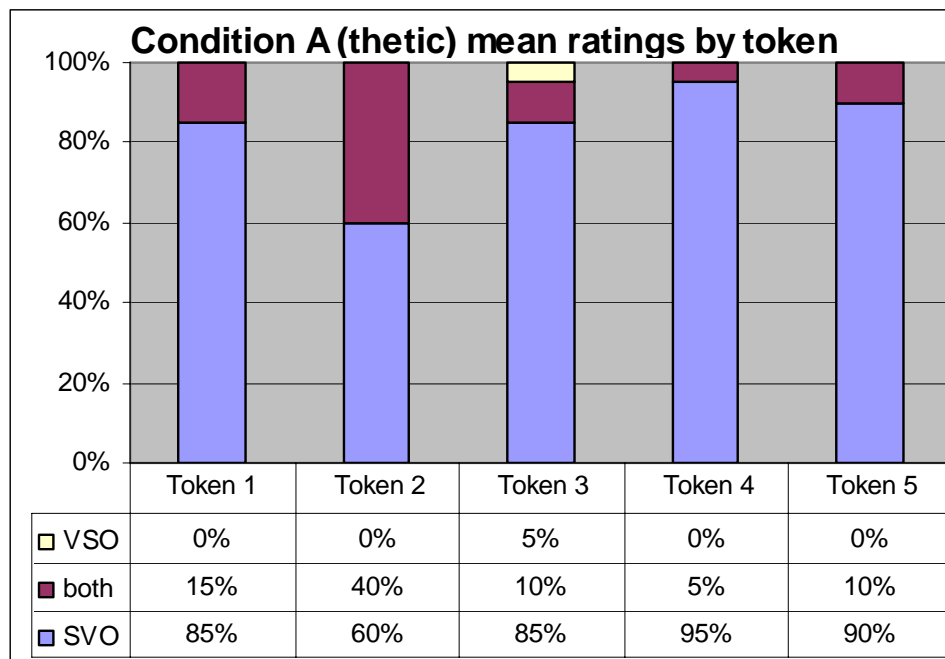


Figure 2. Condition A mean word order preference percentages by token

4.3.2. Condition B

Condition B was a follow-up task for Condition B in Task 1. Although this task did not seek to test clitic-left dislocation in general or López's (2009) proposal for CLLD in particular, all of the discourse contexts provided were subordination contexts. These information structure contexts involved a subject DP that was topical, or discourse-old, and tested the preference of SVO against VSO. The mean preference percentages for each token in Figure 3 (following page) show a strong preference for SVO order in this condition. For the condition as a whole, participants chose SVO in 98% of the contexts provided, VSO in 0%, and both word orders in 2% of the tokens. These results confirm the results of Condition B in Task 1.

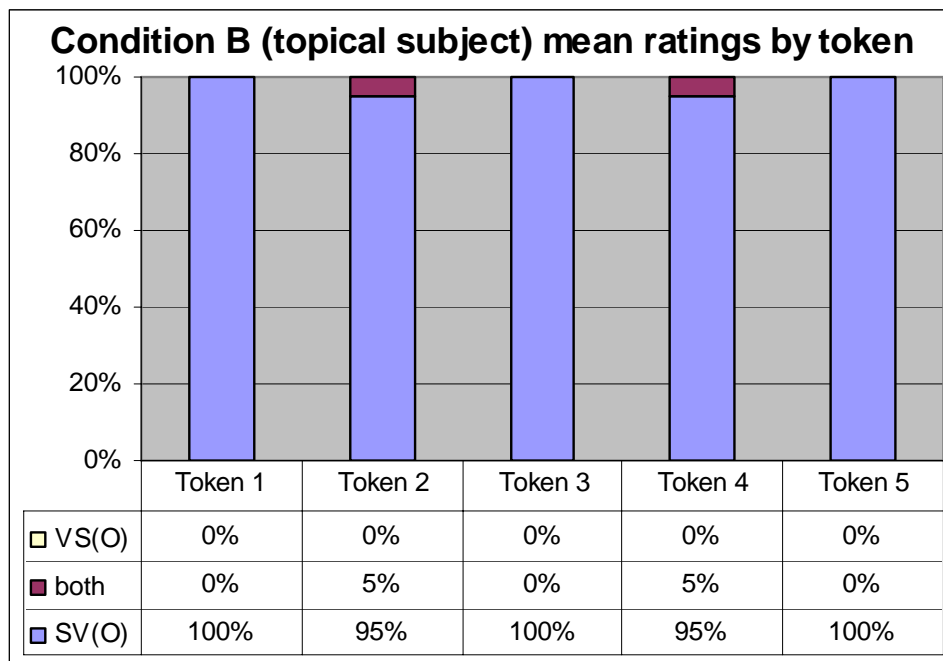


Figure 3. Condition B mean word order preference percentages by token

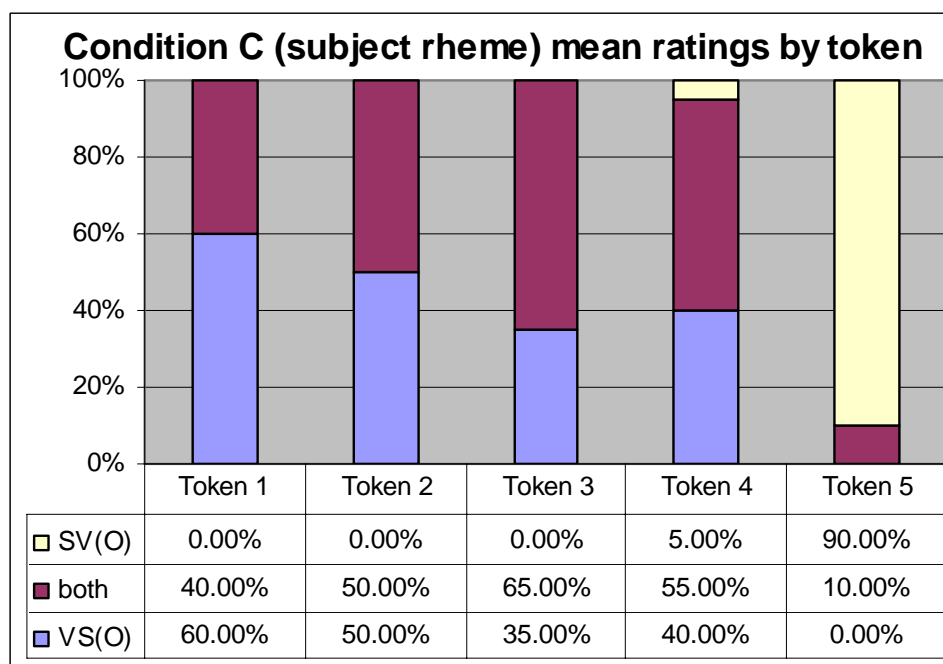


Figure 4. Condition C mean word order preference percentages by token

4.3.3. Condition C

Condition C sought to test word order preference in subject narrow focus (rheme) information structure contexts. This condition served as a follow-up to Task 1, Condition F and compared the relative preference of SV(O) and VS(O) word orders. Recall that the results for this condition in Task 1 indicated differing preferences depending on whether an argument direct object DP or an adverbial adjunct was present in the possible responses. For Condition C in Task 2, all of the context tokens except for one (C5) involved a direct object clitic, and of these, only one token included an adverbial adjunct (C2). Clearly, the results of token C5 in Figure 4 (preceding page) are not in accordance with the other tokens for this condition. The key to this difference may lie in a methodological error related to an improper discourse context for this condition. Token C5 appears as the final interaction between Miguel and a reporter who is interviewing him about his family's restaurant (1).

- (1) Reporteiro - Din que alguén famoso comeu
 reporter say.PRS.3PL that someone famouseat.PST.3SG
- no restaurante do seu avó recentemente.
 in-the restaurant of-the your grandfather recently
- Pódeme dicir quen foi?
 be able.PRS.3SG-CL.DAT.1SG tell.INF who be.PST.3SG
- Miguel – Non che podo dicir,
 Miguel - No CL.DAT.2SG be able.PRS.1SG tell.INF
- pero (o escritor) probou (o escritor) o caldo
 but (the writer) try.PST.3SG (the writer) the soup
- e gustoulle moito!
 and please.PST.3SG-CL.DAT.3SG much

Reporter – I heard that someone famous ate in your grandfather's restaurant recently. Can you tell me who it was?

Miguel – I can't tell you, but the writer tried the soup and he liked it a lot!

In this context, the subject narrow focus question *Who was it?* is answered with *I can't tell you*, thus avoiding a direct reply to the question. In conserving the anonymity of the customer, Miguel recasts his reply and adds a variety of new information to the exchange. The quantity of new information provided may have caused the reply to no longer be interpreted as a narrow focus reply, and perhaps instead to have been interpreted as athetic sentence. If we exclude the rating of token C5 from this consideration, the rating of token C2, which contains an adverbial adjunct, appears perfectly concordant with the rest of the ratings for this condition. But even if we exclude token C5, no clear word order preference emerges for this discourse condition. Including C5, SV(O) was preferred in 19% of the responses, VS(O) was preferred in 37% of the responses, and the option “both” was preferred in 44% of the responses. Excluding C5 however, SV was chosen 1% of the time, VS 46% of the time, and “both” 53% of the time. Given that such a high percentage preference of both could tip the preference scales in favor of either word order option, I must conclude that the overall word order percentages do not conclusively suggest a word order preference for this discourse condition. Due to the complications involved in this condition, I conducted a follow-up task that did not provide the response option “both”. I describe this task and its results in section 4.3.

4.3.4. Condition D

Condition D in Task 2 was a follow-up measure for Condition G in Task 1. In both conditions, the information structure context under consideration was object narrow focus. The word orders under consideration in this condition were VOS and VSO. As the mean preference percentages in Figure 5 show, there is no clear preference for either of the word orders. Although VOS appears to be clearly preferred in token 2, the high percentage of ratings choosing “both” prevent drawing a clear conclusion as to word order preference for the remaining tokens.

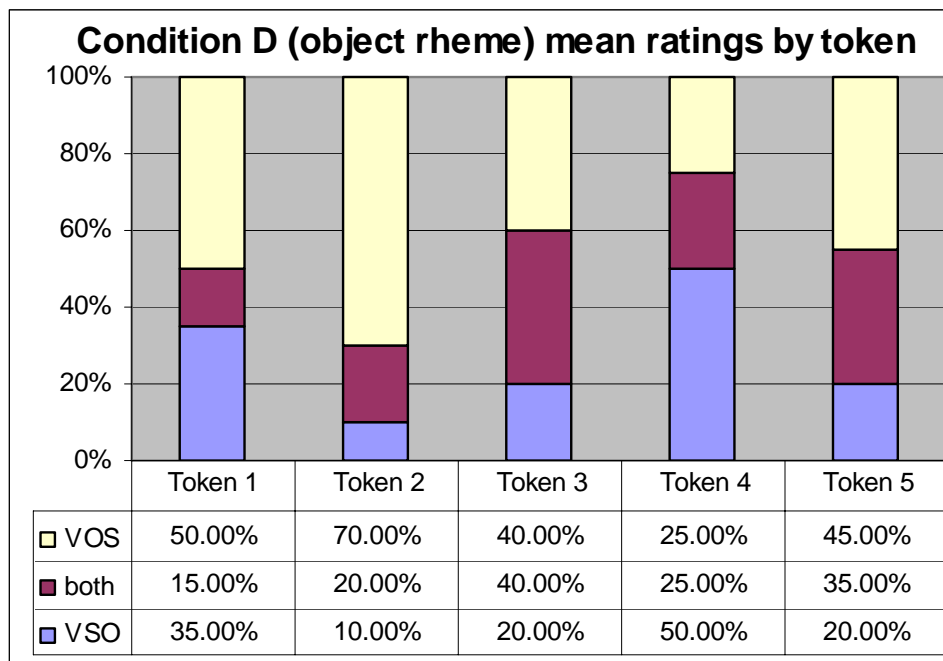


Figure 5. Condition D mean word order preference percentages by token

The overall percentage ratings for this condition suggest a preference for VOS, as this word order was chosen in 46% of replies in comparison with 27% of replies in favor of VSO. As with Condition C in the previous section, a large percentage of participants (27%) chose “both” for their preference. A complicating factor for declaring a preference based on these data lies in the fact that this large of a percentage could potentially sway a preference for either possible word order. Recall that in Task 1, Condition G, SVO was the preferred word order, not VSO or VOS (see Table 17)³, and that the mean rating for SVO (4.89) was significantly higher than that of VOS, the next highest rated word order (2.75). Therefore, in retrospect, the competing word orders in the current task and condition should have been SVO and VOS. Given the difficulty involved in determining

³ It was not expected that SVO should rate so highly for Task 1, Condition G when the tasks were originally conceived and created.

a preference for object narrow focus based on the results gathered, I conducted a supplemental follow-up task for this condition as well. I describe this task in section 4.4.

4.3.5. Condition E

Condition E served as a follow-up to Condition C in Task 1. Recall that this task provided subordination discourse contexts involving an object DP that was topical, or discourse-old. This condition examined a preference between CLLDVcIS and CLLDSVcI word orders. With the exception of token E3 in Figure 6, most of the data suggests a preference for CLLDVcIS word order. The overall percentages for this condition suggest the same preference, as CLLDVcIS was preferred in 77% of the replies, CLLDSVcI was preferred in 7% of the replies, and “both” was chosen in 16% of the replies. Removing token E3 from consideration results in a complete disappearance of preferences for CLLDSVcI word orders (84% CLLDVcIS, 16% “both”).

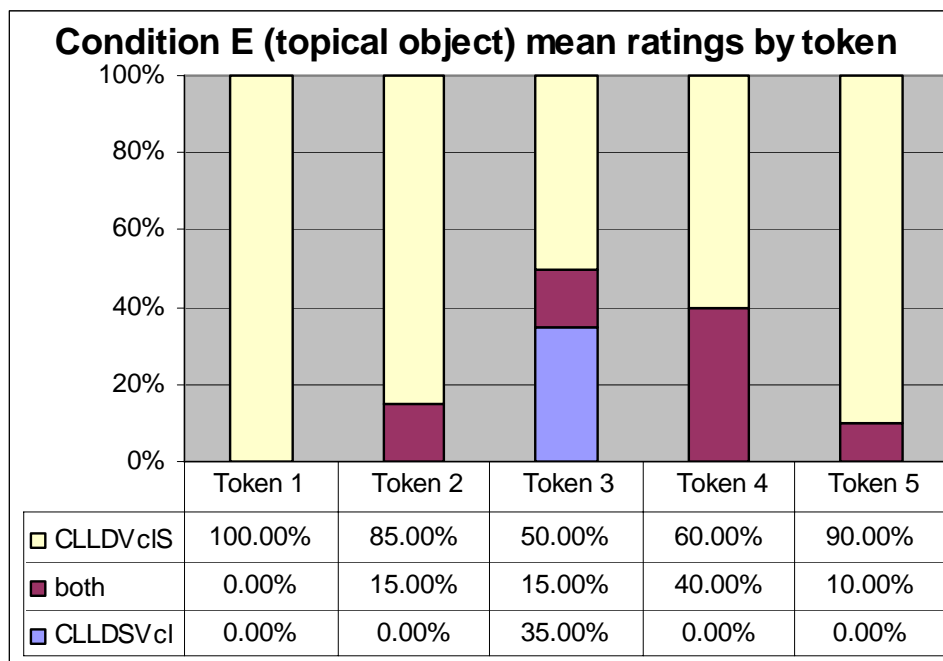


Figure 6. Condition E mean word order preference percentages by token

It merits mentioning that *post hoc* examination of token E3 (2 below) does not suggest any significant variation in information structure or constituent structure from the other Condition E tokens.

- (2) Uxío – E onde deixaron os outros mobles?
 and where leave.PST.3PL the other furniture
- Henrique – Uff! O sofá (a miña filla)
 sigh the sofa the my daughter
- encontrouno (a miña filla) no
 find.PST.3SG-CL.ACC.3SG.M the my daughter on-the
- balcón.
 balcony

*Uxío – And where did they leave the rest of the furniture?
 Henrique – Sigh! The sofa my daughter found on the balcony.*

In the Task 1 results, mean ratings for SVO were significantly higher (4.59) than either CLLDSVcl (1.87) or CLLDVclS (3.70). Although SVO was the preferred word order, it was left out of this condition in the early stages of design so that the verb and its enclitic direct object pronoun would not have to be modified. In the original task design, I had envisioned participants filling in one of two possible blank spaces within the provided continuation of the discourse context, in the spirit of a cloze test. For this particular condition, this would have involved the participant placing the subject to the left or the right of the verb. In the end, the limitations of the online survey system precluded such a response design, so full sentences were provided as response options. However, the provided reply context remained unchanged. I recognize that the design chosen limits the type of conclusions that I can make for this particular discourse context in comparison with the other conditions, but this should not diminish the clear preference for SVO as indicated in Task 1 for this information structure context.

4.3.6. Condition G

As the majority of the tokens in Task 2 involved placement of the subject within the provided response context, Condition G was included as a distractor item. This was included to ensure that participants were paying proper attention to the discourse contexts since (as discussed in Chapter 3) only in certain cases may an adjective be placed before a noun. Recall that for this condition, two tokens (3 & 4) sought to elicit Adjective-Noun word order, two tokens (2 & 5) sought to elicit Noun-Adjective order, and one token (1) could elicit a preference of either or both constituent orders.

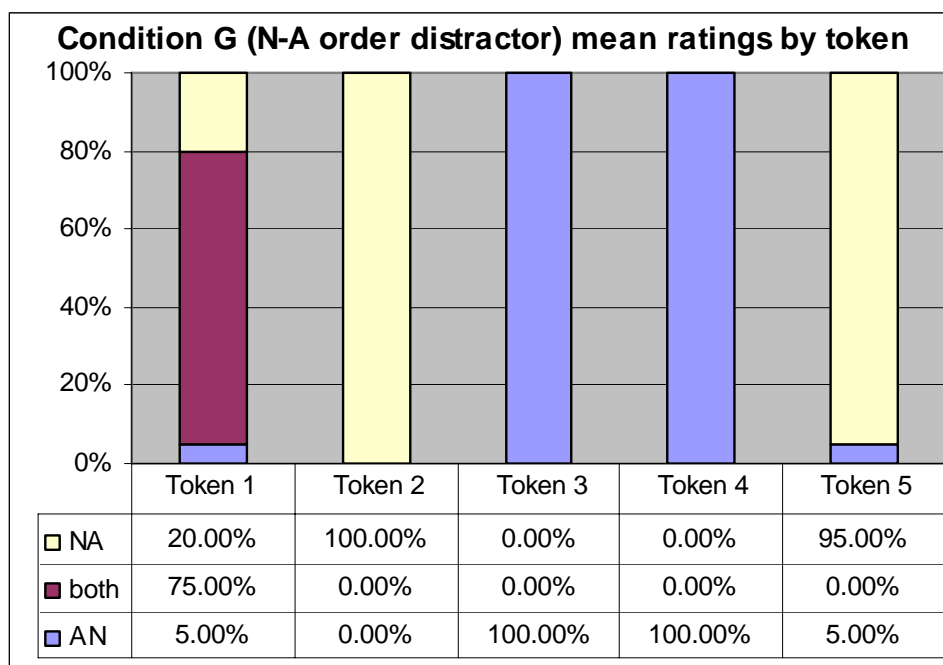


Figure 7. Condition G mean word order preference percentages by token

Token G1 shows a clear tendency toward a response of “both”, which was on target as this token involved placement of the adjective *nova* (*new*), which may appear either before or after a noun. Although the mean for token G5 shows a slight divergence from

Noun-Adjective order, this resulted from one subject's preference in this particular token. Note that this subject's word order preference for token G5, originally intended as a distractor, did not constitute grounds for their remaining being removed from statistical consideration. This is because the response in question involved placement of the adjective *agarimosa* (*kind, loving*). Unlike its Spanish equivalent *cariñosa*, this adjective may in certain cases appear prior to the noun in Galician, thus placing emphasis on the quality of the person in question.⁴ The results of Condition G reported in this section strongly suggest that all of the participants involved in Tasks 1 and 2 performed them faithfully, paying attention to the discourse contexts and possible responses presented to them.

4.3.7. Task 2 by language dominance

As I conducted Friedman Tests for Task 1 to determine the presence of statistical differences between the three language dominance groups, I carried out the same comparisons for these groups' Task 2 results as well. Recall that the determination of dominant language was made *post hoc* based on participant replies to questions on the linguistic history questionnaire. For these particular Friedman measures, I compare the overall ratings by the group for each condition. In order to maintain consistency with the graphical analyses of each condition in the figures above, I have maintained the numbers assigned to each word order possibility as previously described. As with Task 1, the size of the groups was unequal, consisting of six Galician-dominant individuals, six Spanish-dominant individuals, and eight dual-dominance individuals. Since the Friedman test requires equal sample sizes for data comparisons, the data gathered from the balanced dominance group was examined for outlying data. This examination determined two individuals whose data exhibited outlier characteristics as compared to the rest of the

⁴ The behavior of *agarimosa* was pointed out to me by one of my Galician-speaking consultants.

language dominance group. For statistical comparison, I excluded the data gathered in Task 2 from two other outlier individuals.

The descriptive statistics for Condition A appear in Table 45. Each mean clusters toward 1, and a preference for SVO word order. The Friedman statistic for the three-way comparison of these groups does not indicate any statistical significance between the distributions of the mean scores ($p=.704$).

Table 45. Descriptive statistics for Condition A by dominant language

language dominance	N	mean	std. dev.
Galician	30	1.20	0.484
Dual	30	1.10	0.305
Spanish	30	1.17	0.379

The Condition B means in Table 46 show a greater preference for SV(O) word order, and a lesser degree of variation, as seen in the standard deviations. The Friedman statistic for this condition ($p=.607$) does not indicate the presence of any statistical differences between the language dominance groups' preferences.

Table 46. Descriptive statistics for Condition B by dominant language

language dominance	N	mean	std. dev.
Galician	30	1.00	0.000
Dual	30	1.03	0.183
Spanish	30	1.03	0.183

The means for Condition C in Table 47 cluster toward 2, indicating a preference for both SV(O) and VS(O) for each language dominance group. There is also a very

larger degree of variation in the groups' ratings, as seen in the standard deviations for each group. The Friedman Test measure indicates a lack of statistical significance in the differences between the distributions of the mean ratings of the groups for this condition ($p=.167$).

Table 47. Descriptive statistics for Condition C by dominant language

language dominance	N	mean	std. dev.
Galician	30	2.00	0.643
Dual	30	1.80	0.761
Spanish	30	1.77	0.728

The statistics for Condition D in Table 48 display mean scores slightly higher than 2, suggesting a mild preference for the word order option “both” in all of the groups, but more so for the Galician-dominant group. As with the results for Condition C, the standard deviations for each group indicate a fairly large degree of variation for this condition as well, hardly surprising when one considers that neither of the overall percentages for these two conditions pointed toward a clear word order preference. The Friedman test statistic for this condition indicates an absence of statistical differences between the language dominance groups.

Table 48. Descriptive statistics for Condition D by dominant language

language dominance	N	mean	std. dev.
Galician	30	2.13	0.819
Dual	30	2.23	0.774
Spanish	30	2.40	0.855

The average means for Condition E in Table 49 show a rather strong preference for CLLDVcIS for each of the groups. The Friedman statistic for this condition ($p=.622$) does not indicate the presence of any statistical differences between the mean rating distributions for the three language dominance groups.

Table 49. Descriptive statistics for Condition E by dominant language

language dominance	N	mean	std. dev.
Galician	30	2.70	0.596
Dual	30	2.73	0.583
Spanish	30	2.63	0.669

As Condition G tokens served as distractors in this task, I do not report on their ratings by dominant language. Overall, none of the Friedman measures conducted for the conditions in Task 2 indicate significant differences based on the dominant language of the participants.

4.3.8. Task 2 statistical results by gender

When subjected to Friedman analysis for statistical differences, only one discourse condition indicated the presence of statistical significance among the numbers assigned to the word order preference options. This was Condition D, which was the object narrow-focus (rheme) information structure context. I provide the descriptive statistics for this condition in Table 50 below.

Table 50. Task 2, Condition D. Descriptive statistics for object narrow-focus (VSO vs. VOS)

gender	N	Mean	std. dev.	min.	max.
female	50	2.00	0.857	1	3
male	50	2.38	0.780	1	3

Although a statistical difference was present ($p=.012$, $\chi^2=6.259$), these results must be taken with caution. Recall that, as discussed in section 4.3.4, SVO was not a possible word order option for this particular preference condition. Also, as the means gravitate very near to two, the number that was assigned to “both are acceptable”, little can be concluded with respect to word order preference by gender for the statistical difference present for this particular discourse condition.

4.3.9. Task Two Summary

The word order preferences for Task 2 as a whole are reported in the first two columns of Table 51. In the third column, I show the corresponding word order condition from Task 1. In the fourth column, I show whether the results from Task 2 confirm the indications from Task 1. The word order preferences for conditions A and B in Task 1 are confirmed in Task 2, i.e. they show a preference for SV(O) word order.

Table 51. Summary of Task 2 conditions

Task 2 condition	discourse context	preferred word order	corresponding Task 1 condition	confirmation of Task 1 results?
A	thetic	SVO	A	Yes
B	subject old	SV(O)	B	Yes
C	subject focus	“both”	F	unknown
D	object focus	VOS	G	unknown
E	object old	CLLDVclS	C	Yes?
G	N-Adj.	N/A (target)	N/A	N/A

As previously mentioned, the results of conditions C and D in Task 1 could not be confirmed in Task 2, and for that reason, a further follow-up task was conducted. I report on the results of this task in section 4.3. The results of Condition E confirm the findings of Condition C in Task 1 in showing a preference for CLLDVclS over CLLDSVcl, but crucially did not include SVO, the preferred word order in Task 1, as an option. Condition G in Task 2 did not have a corresponding condition in Task 1, and therefore, no correspondence was possible.

4.4. Follow-up task for Task 2 (Task X)

A total of 54 subjects participated in the follow-up for Task 2, which attempted to clarify the results for subject and object narrow-focus information structure contexts. There were four discourse conditions with ten tokens each, netting a total of 40 questions. These question tokens were randomized using a random number generator on www.random.org. The questionnaire was conducted using the WebSurveyor Internet-based survey tool, as in Tasks 1 and 2. The format of the Task X was identical to the format of Task 2, but with a couple of exceptions. First, the option of “both word orders” was removed in order to arrive at clearer conclusions, thus leaving only two word order response options. Secondly, the cloze format of the prompts used in Task 2 was completely eliminated in favor of sentence-length replies to the narrow-focus questions in the priming contexts. Among the 54 subjects who participated in the online questionnaire task, eight did not complete the task, and thus were removed from consideration. As the goal of this dissertation is to describe the word order preferences of native and habitual Galician speakers, the results of 14 completed questionnaires were removed from statistical consideration based on participant responses to a brief revised linguistic history questionnaire that preceded the discourse conditions. Therefore, this task only considers Galician-dominant individuals. The summary of the participants from Task X appear below in Table 52.

Table 52. Galician-dominant participant representation by age and gender in Task X

Age group	Gender		Total
	male	female	
18-30	5	6	11
31-49	7	11	18
50+	1	2	3
Total	13	19	32

As very few significant statistical differences were detected among some of the non-preferred word orders as discussed in sections 4.2.10 and 4.3.8, I did not take into account the variable of age in Task X. Rather, this task focused on clarifying the previous results for subject and object narrow-focus discourse contexts, as stated at the beginning of this section. The results for the following four conditions are based on the remaining 32 participants who successfully completed the Internet-based questionnaire.

Follow-up Condition X1 involved subject narrow focus information structure contexts. For this condition the possible word order response options were SV or VS, nine of which included an enclitic direct object pronoun, while one included a proclitic pronoun due to its appearance in a subordinate clause. Participants chose VS word order in 96.88% of the contexts provided and SV word order in 3.12% of the contexts, thus showing a clear preference for VS word order in subject narrow focus information structure situations.

Follow-up conditions X2, X3, and X4 were designed to clarify the results gathered in Tasks 1 and 2 for object narrow focus discourse contexts. Each condition compared two word orders in order to more clearly establish a word order preference for this pragmatic context. The results for these conditions are summarized on the following page in Table 53.

Table 53. Summary of object narrow-focus follow-up conditions

Condition X2	VSO	46.25%
	VOS	53.75%
Condition X3	SVO	83.13%
	VOS	16.17%
Condition X4	SVO	90%
	VSO	10%

In Condition X2, VOS was preferred to VSO only slightly. However, SVO was preferred to VOS in Condition X3, and was also preferred to VSO in Condition X4. Given the difference between the rating percentages of SVO to both VSO and VOS, these ratings strongly suggest a preference for SVO in object narrow focus discourse contexts.

4.5. Task 3

The 19 interviews recorded lasted between 12 minutes 51 seconds and one hour 34 minutes 58 seconds, totaling 14 hours 34 minutes 47 seconds of interviews. It should be pointed out that, in the interview corpus, there are numerous cases of SVO word order. There are also many null subjects and one-word replies, which are more typical in everyday conversation, thus following a Gricean model more faithfully than the quantitative tasks reported on in the other sections of this chapter. Recall, however, that such word order options and preferences had to be constructed in the quantitative tasks in order to be able to reach conclusions about Galician clausal word order according to discourse context. Although many of the word orders may have appeared to be artificial and forced within their particular information structure context in the quantitative tasks, many of them did surface during the interview sessions. In this section, I report on word orders that departed from SVO, those that involved a postverbal subject (either VSO or VOS), and those that contained CLLD elements.

Forthetic sentences, the only word order found in the recordings was SVO, as indicated by participant preferences and ratings in Tasks 1 and 2. As these types of sentences were extremely numerous, and no other word orders were found for this sort of discourse context, I do not report on these sentences here.

For discourse contexts in which a subject was old information, SV(O) was preferred in the previous quantitative tasks. Despite such preferences, I found greater clausal word order variety in the Task 3 interviews. In over fourteen and a half hours of interview recordings, I found only four examples of VS word order, which represents an extremely small percentage. All of these appeared in subordinate clauses. The first example (3) followed a discourse in which the interviewee was recounting a childhood experience during which she and her playmates were searching for the body of someone who had disappeared during the Spanish Civil War (subject and verb bolded for illustrative purposes).

- (3) ...esa curiosidade que **temo-los** **rapaces** mentres
 that curiosity that have.PRS.1PL-the children when
 somos pequenos...
 be.PRS.1PL small

“...that curiosity that we children have when we are young...”

Within this parenthetical, the postverbal subject serves to clarify the subject of the present-tense verb within the past-tense narration. The following example (4) of VS involves a discourse-old subject (Álvaro) that is being re-activated within the discourse, thus changing topic (i.e. topic-switch).

- (4) ...pasamos de non ter nada a ter
 pass.PST.1PL from not have.INF nothing to have. INF
- moitas cousas, anque foran poucas
 many things although be.PST.SBJ.3PL few
- tíñamos moitísimas cousas por co que
 have.IMPFV.1PL many things because with-the that
- decía** **Álvaro...**
 say.IMPFV.3SG Alvaro

“...we went from not having anything to having a lot of things, even though they weren’t very many things, we had a lot of things because, with what Alvaro was saying...”

The interviews also attest VS word order for topic-switch to a previously discourse active subject topic in a subjunctive subordinate clause (5).

- (5) Interviewer – Falas galego con eles?
 speak.PRS.2SG Galician with them
- Participant – No, no piso falo galego
 in-the in-the apartment speak.PRS.1SG Galician
- con unha. E coas outras dous, pero depende.
 with one and with-the other two but depend.PRS.3SG
- Normalmente falo galego cando alguén
 normally speak.PRS.1SG Galician when someone
- me fala galego. Cambio de
 CL.DAT.1SG speak.PRS.3SG Galician change.PRS.1SG of
- chip segundo me **falen** **eles** entón.
 chip according CL.DAT.1SG speak.PRS.SBJ they then

(Interviewer) – “Do you speak Galician with them?”

(Participant) – “In the, in the apartment I speak Galician with one girl. And with the other two, but it depends. Normally, I speak Galician when someone speaks Galician to me. So, I switch (linguistic) chips according to (the language) they speak to me.”

Within this discourse, the interviewee is speaking about her university roommates and their linguistic preferences when speaking to one another. In (5), the subject of the subjunctive subordinate clause is the same subject from the interviewer question.

VS word order also appeared in one recomplementation context (6).

Recomplementation (see e.g. Paoli 2006) is a very informal, conversational type of structure which involves the presence of two complementizers (*que*, ‘that’).

(6)	Tanto	botellón,	tanta	cousa, non		
	so much	public drinking	so many	thing not		
	sei	se	é	culpa	dos	pais... Eu
	know.PRS.1SG	if	be.PRS.3SG	fault	of-the	parentsI
	penso	que	algunha	culpa	que	tamén teñen
	think.PRS.1SG	that	some	fault	that	also have.PRS.3PL
	os	pais.				
	the	parents				

“So much public drinking, so many things, I don’t know if it’s the parents’ fault...I think that some fault that the parents also have some of the fault.”

In this example, the subject *os pais* is already discourse-active in the preceding copulative subordinate clause. It is also of interest that under recomplementation the quantified DP direct object *algunha culpa* lacks a resumptive clitic pronoun⁵, perhaps indicating that it is a null-object language like European Portuguese (e.g. Raposo 1986). I return to recomplementation in my syntactic analysis of Galician in Chapter 5.

Although there was one example of VOS word order in the corpus gathered, it surfaced in an idiomatic expression (7).

⁵ Note that *algunha culpa* did not receive emphatic or focal stress in this example.

- (7) ...non **ten** nada que ver **a** **libertá**
 not have.PRS.3SG nothing that see.INF the liberty
 con libertinaje, eh! Que son cosas distintas...
 with licentiousness eh that be.PRS.3PL things distinct

“Freedom has nothing to do with licentiousness, eh! They are different things...”

Interestingly, the only VOS example in the whole corpus displays a large amount of cross-linguistic interference from Spanish. At a bare minimum, however, such a word order caused no communication breakdown or problems otherwise in this particular conversation, thus suggesting that VOS forms part of the clausal word order inventory of these speakers.

The word order attested in (8) also shows that a discourse-old subject may appear in a dislocated preverbal position.

- (8) **A** **dictadura**, a min, non me **afectou**
 the dictatorship to me not CL.DAT.1SG affect.PST.3SG
 en nada.
 in nothing

“The dictatorship, to me, didn’t affect me at all.”

This particular example occurred during a couple interview, and was uttered by the wife following her husband’s response. The fact that *a dictadura* appears before the CLLD indirect object shows that a preverbal subject may be dislocated in Galician. Examples of this type are important because in similar examples (9) it may be unclear whether a preverbal subject is clearly dislocated or not.

- (9) (Interviewer) - Como ves o futuro de Galicia?
 how see.PRS.2SG the future of Galicia
- (Participant) - **Eu, véxoo** moi ben.
 I see.PRS.1SG-CL.ACC.3SG.M very well
- (Interviewer) – How do you see Galicia’s future?*
(Participant) – Me, I see it positively.

In (9), despite the clear pause during the interview, word order alone would not tell us that the preverbal subject was left-dislocated. I comment further on this in Chapter 5.

When direct objects were discourse-old information in the interviews they tended to surface as clitic pronouns and were not frequently accompanied by an overt subject. Example (10) is one of the few in which a discourse-old direct object appears in a CLLD position.

- (10) Non falo galego por conciencia, pero
 not speak.PRS.1SG Galician for conscience but
- teño máis conciencia sobre o galego.
 have.PRS.1SG more conscience about the Galician
- Sea, **o galego, fáloo**
 be.PRS.SBJ.3SG the Galician speak.PRS.1SG-CL.ACC.3SG.M
- porque si, porque sempre falei galego.
 because yes because always speak.PST.1SG Galician
- “I don’t speak Galician out of conscience, but I have a greater conscience about Galician. In other words, Galician, I speak it because I do, and because I’ve always spoken Galician.”*

In this example, *o galego*, clearly discourse-old due to its mention in the previous sentence, is clearly repeated for clarification purposes, and the following sentence provides this clarification. According to Asher & Vieu (2005), this would be considered either *elaboration* or *explanation*, both of which fall under the classification of *subordination*, which for López (2009) is required for CLLD to be appropriate. The first-

person singular subject was also already discourse-active, and remains clear due to the inflection of the verbal suffix.

Example (11) is unique in that it contains both an overt subject DP and an overt object DP.

- (11) Nós vivimos nun sitio privilegiado. Estamos a un
 we live.PRS.1PL in-a place privileged be.PRS.1PL at a
 cuarto de hora de todo. **Este privilegio**
 quarter of hour of everything this privilege
teno **moi pouquiña** **xente...**
 have.PRS.3SG-CL.ACC.3SG.M very few people

“We live in a very privileged place. We are 15 minutes from everything. This privilege very few people have.”

In this example, the CLLD element is topical in that *privilege* has already been mentioned, but the sentence following the CLLD element also elaborates on this privilege described in the previous two sentences, thus making it a subordination context. The postverbal subject *pouquiña xente* is new information here, and was not previously mentioned or salient in the discourse. The same goes for the postverbal subject *meu irmán* in example (12).

- (12) ...**Esa casa,** esa casa, pois **colleulle** **meu irmán**
 that house that house well get.PST.3SG-CL.DAT.3SG my brother
 á Tía Peregrina. **Deixoulla**
 to-the Aunt Peregrina leave.PST.3SG-CL.DAT.3SG-CL.ACC.3SG.F
ela. Entonces vendeuna a un señor
 she then sell.PST.3SG-CL.ACC.3SG.F to a man
 non sei de onde. E esa era
 not know.PRS.1SG from where and that be.IMPFV.3SG
 a casa de meu pai.
 the house of my father

“...that house, that house, well my brother got it from Aunt Peregrina. She left it to him. Then he sold it to some man I don’t know where from. And that was my father’s house.”

In (12), the postverbal subject *meu irmán* represents new information regarding the house, and within a clause that elaborates on the topical, discourse-old *esa casa*. *Esa casa*, however, although in a CLLD position, is not accompanied by a resumptive clitic, similar to (6). In the following sentence above, *ela* clearly refers to *Aunt Peregrina* in the discourse, which indicates that, as in (3)-(7), a postverbal subject may be discourse-old.

There are various other cases like (12) in which a postverbal subject represents new information without elicitation by a subject-focus context (i.e. rheme).

- (13) seica un home entrou un tractor que
 seica a man enter.PST.3SG a tractor that
 tiña. Quería entrar nun pub para
 have.IMPFV.3SG want.IMPFV.3SG enter.INF in-a pub to
 atopellar a un tipo que estaba dentro do
 runo ver.INF to a fellow that be.IMPFV.3SG inside of-the
 pub, e ó final... **levárono** **a**
 pub and at-the end take.PST.3PL-CL.ACC.3SG.M the
policía...
 police

“I heard a man entered (on) a tractor he had. He wanted to go in a pub and run over a guy who was inside the pub, and in the end...the police took him away...”

In the above example DP subject *the police* is entirely new information within the story being told. This information status of new is even better exemplified by the indefinite subject DP *un profesor* in (14).

- (14) (Interviewer) – A señora Tilia?...Pili?
 the Mrs. Tilia Pili
- (Participant) – É esta Pili! E iso, me
 be.PRS.3SG this Pili and that CL.REFL.1SG
- acordo que chegaran a dicir a casa
 remember that arrive.PST.3PL to say.INF at home
- que **lle** **pegaba** **un** **profesor**, porque
 that CL.DAT.3SG hit.IMPV.3SG a professor professor because
- ese profesor noso foi verdá! Si!
 that professor our be.PST.3SG truth yes

(Interviewer) – “Mrs. Tilia? Pili?”

(Participant) – “That’s it, Pili! And so, I remember that they came to say at home that a professor hit her, because, that professor of ours was the real deal! Yes!”

Indefinite DPs are generally considered to represent new information when they appear.

In this sentence, the only discourse-old information is *Pili*, the direct object from the previous sentence, which does not appear as a clitic-doubled DP.

Postverbal subjects also appear as contrastive or emphatic elements in the interview corpus, as in examples (15) and (16).

- (15) O galego, eu penso que ao final,
 the Galician I think.PRS.1SG that at-the end
 sendo como é a xente, eu penso
 be.PRS.PRT as be.PRS.3SG the people I think.PRS.1SG
 que vai desaparecer en Galiza, seguro.O que non
 that go.PRS.3SG disappear.INF in Galicia surely the that not
 sei é cando. Dcir que
 know.PRS.1SG be.PRS.3SG when say.INF that
 desapareza non significa que
 disappear.PRS.SBJ.3SG not mean.PRS.3SG that
 o **vaiamos** **a** **ver** **nós.**
 CL.ACC.3SG.M go.PRS.SBJ.1PL to see we

“Galician, I think that in the end, being how people are, I think that it’s going to disappear in Galicia, surely. What I don’t know is when. To say that it will disappear doesn’t mean that we will see it.”

- (16) (Interviewer) – Bo, como ves a diferenza entre
 okay how see.PRS.2SG the difference between
 a túa xeración, as xeracións novas e a
 the your generation the generations young and the
 túa xeración?
 your generation
 (Participant) – As xeracións novas, creo que
 the generations young think.PRS.1SG that
 viven un pouco no aire, que pensan que
 live.PRS.3SG a little in-the air that think.PRS.3SG that
 todo é moi bonito e todo de as cousas
 everything be.PRS.3SG very pretty and all of the things
 tampouco son así. Pero tamén son novos talvez
 neither be.PRS.3PL so but also be.3SG.PL young maybe
 e creo que tamén o
 and think.PRS.1SG that also CL.ACC.3SG.M
pensaba **eu.**
 think.IMPFV.1SG I

(Interviewer) – So, how do you see the difference between your generation, the young generation and your generation?

(Participant) – The young generations, I think that they live a bit up in the air, that everything is wonderful and all of... things aren’t like that, either. But also they are young maybe, and I think that I also thought that way.

While in both cases, the subject pronouns in question had already been stated within the discourse, in (15), *nós* is an emphatic element, while in (16) *eu* stands in contrast with *as xeracións novas*.

While attempts were made to elicit narrow-focus subjects (i.e. rheme) during the interviews, the answers given typically lacked a verb. There was only one case (17) in which a verb accompanied a subject response to such a question.

- (17) (Interviewer) - Quen ten máis responsabilidade encanto á
 who have.PRS.3SG more responsibility
 encanto á protección da lingua galega?
 as far as to-the protection of-the language Galician
- (Participant) – Eu creo que a responsabilidade
 I think.PRS.1SG that the responsibility
 de certa maneira temo-la, a moita
 of certain way have.PRS.1PL-it the much
 responsabilidade **temos** **nós.** Personalmente penso
 responsibility have.PRS.1PL we personally think.PRS.1SG
 que a temos nós, nós como xeración,
 that CL.ACC.3SG.F have.PRS.1PL we we as generation
 nós.
 we

(Interviewer) – Who has more responsibility with respect to protection of the Galician language?

(Participant) – I think that the responsibility in a way we have it, the most responsibility we have it. Personally, I think that we have it, we as a generation, we.

Example (17) gives an example of VS word order, which was chosen as the preferred word order for subject narrow-focus contexts in follow-up Condition X1. While it was not very common in this corpus, clearly it is an attested word order. Despite its low rate of appearance, it should be pointed out that such field interviews are not typically the most natural of venues for questions of this sort, especially considering that object

narrow-focus replies including a verb are non-existent within this interview corpus. This surely does not indicate that such contexts are non-existent, but rather that replies that would help to shed light on clausal word order were in short supply.

To summarize this section, SVO word orders were well attested forthetic sentences as well as numerous other discourse contexts. In fact, SVO was the most common word order in this corpus. As exemplified in the data presented above, a discourse-old subject may appear postverbally in either VS(O), as in (3)-(6) or VOS word orders, as in (7). It may also appear preverbally in a dislocated, left-peripheral position, as in (8) and (9). Discourse-old direct objects appeared in a CLLD position in examples (10)-(12). While not entirely common within the corpus, clearly these structures also form part of these speakers' grammars. Subjects that represent new information may appear postverbally, as we saw in examples (11)-(14), and in a variety of ways. Narrow-focus (rheme) subjects also appear postverbally in the corpus (17). With the exception of examples (9) (dislocated preverbal subject) and (10) (null subject), what these various examples of canonical-divergent word order share is a postverbal subject DP, and a left periphery that has been activated either by the presence of a CLLD element (examples (6), (10), (11), (12)) or a PP adjunct (13). In examples (3), (4), (5), (6), (14), (15), and (16), postverbal subjects appear in subordinate clauses, all of which contain a clitic pronoun of some sort. I discuss the importance of the left-periphery and cliticization for the syntactic analysis of Galician in the following chapter.

4.6. Summary and discussion: quantitative measures

In this section I summarize the results and indications of the above quantitative tasks and discourse conditions. For convenience, these results are also represented in Table 54. For the majority of the information structure contexts provided, the participants in this investigation showed a preference for SVO word order. In four of these five

discourse contexts, this preference was confirmed by participant results in two separate task conditions.

Table 54. Summary of quantitative data measures

information structure context	Task 1 condition	Task 2 condition	Follow-up task condition	word order preference
thetic	A	A	N/A	SVO
subject old (subordination)	B	B	N/A	SVO
object old (subordination)	C	E	N/A	SVO
subject old (coordination)	D	N/A	N/A	SVO
object old (coordination)	E	N/A	N/A	SVcl
subject narrow focus	F	C	A	VclS
object narrow focus	G	D	B, C, D	SVO

In the two remaining discourse conditions, SVO was not the preferred word order. In both of these situations, the direct object DP appeared as a clitic pronoun. The direct object had been previously entered into the common ground of the discourse in these contexts and could not be subordinated (i.e. repeated) in each of these conditions without causing an inappropriateness violation. Participant ratings displayed a preference for VScI word order in only one of these two conditions: the subject narrow focus context. I discuss the syntax-information structure ramifications of this preference in Chapter 5.

4.6.1. A note on CLLD response ratings

Coordination contexts involving a discourse-old direct object only appeared in one task condition (Task 1, Condition E), and merit some discussion. This was one of the two discourse conditions that offered CLLD response alternatives. Although SVO was the preferred word order ($\mu=4.75$), I would like to offer comments on participant ratings of the CLLD response options for this condition. Participants gave CLLDVclS word

order a mean rating of 2.70, which neared on the “more or less acceptable” level defined by a rating of 3 in this task. CLLDSVcl word order however, received a significantly lower rating ($\mu=1.55$), which places this mean near a midpoint between the ratings “not acceptable” = (1) and “marginally acceptable” = (2). These results suggest a rather strong dislike for SV order when preceded by clitic-left dislocation.

The only other information structure condition with one or more response options involving clitic-left dislocation also involved a discourse-old direct object, but these were subordination discourse contexts. These appeared in Tasks 1 and 2. In Task 1 Condition C, SVO was the preferred word order receiving the highest score ($\mu=4.59$). Despite the fact that the Friedman test measure determined this score to be significantly higher than the mean ratings for either CLLDVclS or CLLDSVcl, the former still received a mean ($\mu=3.70$) nearing on the level of “rather acceptable” = (4), thus suggesting this word order as a valid response option to this discourse context. In contrast, CLLDSVcl only received a mean rating ($\mu=1.87$) approaching the level of “marginally acceptable” = (2). While Task 2 did not offer SVO as a response option (for reasons discussed above), the response percentages for CLLDVclS (77%) were more than ten times that of CLLDSVcl (7%), and five times that of “both” (16%) as preferred response options. These indications, in conjunction with the results for CLLDSVcl above, therefore strongly suggest a distinct dislike for a preverbal subject when preceded by a CLLD element. I return to this dispreference for CLLDSVcl word order and the ramifications it holds for the syntactic analysis I propose for Galician in Chapter 5.

4.7. Methodological considerations

The results of the research presented in this chapter would have benefited from a larger number of participants in the quantitative tasks. This would have allowed for more powerful statistical comparisons, and for more varied comparisons based on education level, living environment [\pm urban], and age. I do not doubt that the length of the

linguistic history questionnaire completed by participants who participated in tasks 1 and 2 led to the high levels of attrition discussed in Chapter 3. With higher participant numbers, shorter questionnaires overall may be used, thus precluding the need for all participants to complete all of the tokens. This could be remedied by random participant assignment to groups, each of which would complete a subset of the conditions from each task type. This strategy can be useful in a setting where sociolinguists in the host country discourage cash payments to survey participants, as was the case during the data-gathering stage of this dissertation research.

Although (follow-up) Task X employed a shorter, more precise linguistic questionnaire, it did not provide the data that led to dividing the participants who did complete the 65 questions in tasks 1 and 2 into language dominance groups. If bilinguals belong to a continuum, as suggested by Silva-Corvalán (1991), such data should not be surprising. However, as we saw in section 4.2.9, dividing the data into groups based on dominant language only uncovered restricted inter-group differences by condition. As these were multi-directional in nature, I concluded that none of these statistical differences suggested overall differences among the language-dominance groups. Looking toward the future, these results would benefit from comparison with results from participants who were truly more Spanish-dominant, i.e. adult learners of Galician, or *novofalantes*. They would also benefit from comparison with results from similar quantitative questionnaires *in Spanish* in order to determine if these Galician speakers' word order preferences differ between languages. In light of the appropriate and inappropriate Spanish word orders discussed in section 2.2, one would predict differences in clausal word order preferences depending on the language involved in the discourse context. Another possibility, however, is that there has been a sort of *interface leveling* due to the extended exposure that these languages have had to each other in the minds of speakers for centuries now. This sort of scenario would predict that, among bilingual speakers, preferred word orders should not differ between the two languages. Therefore,

in future research on Galician speakers' interface preferences for Spanish, comparison should also be made with those in Galicia who self-report speaking only Spanish.

With respect to the syntax-information structure discourse interface in Spanish, it would be of particular interest to investigate heritage speakers of Spanish in the US, comparing them to their parents and/or their monolingual counterparts from whence they emigrated. Such comparison data would provide further insight on issues related to the influence of linguistic input in the output (as in e.g. Pires & Rothman 2009) of heritage speakers. It would also contribute to current theories on attrition and incomplete acquisition (as discussed in Chapter 1), thus deepening our understanding of language in the bilingual mind.

With respect to diachronic changes, the data reported in this chapter does not appear to indicate any significant changes in progress related to the syntax-information structure interface among Galician speakers. However, since only six speakers over 50 years of age participated, the above conclusion is strictly limited in scope to the data presented above. Clearly, this conclusion would be more definitive had a larger population of speakers from this age group participated in the quantitative tasks. Future research related to diachronic differences should also consider speakers from the 31-49 year old age group – an age group not considered in this dissertation. As I excluded 6 speakers from this age group in the results reported in this research, I will analyze the data gathered from this age group in follow-up research to this dissertation.

For many of the quantitative tasks, the data displayed a large amount of variation, or gradience. In other words, for Task 1 (which used a 5-point scale), many of the response sentences provided in the triads received the full range of possible ratings. One participant in particular whom I spoke with described her '4' ratings as scores that would have been '5' ratings had it not been for other elements in the discourse context that she did not feel comfortable with. These were mostly individual preference issues related to word choice, and not word order. She also indicated that her ratings of '1' were very

similar to her ratings of ‘2’, which perhaps would have warranted collapsing the two extreme point values. However, since total participant numbers had already not reached Student’s (1908) critical number⁶, I opted to not potentially weaken the power of my data set further.

The issue of gradience in speaker grammars with respect to grammaticality remains an issue of debate.⁷ Wasow (2007: 261) entertains the possibility that grammars may be gradient, citing three key factors that may lead to such gradiency.⁸

First, it is possible that at least some cases of apparent gradience in the choice of grammatical form are actually cases in which different meanings are being expressed. Second, some cases of gradience may be the result averaging over the usage of multiple individuals, who have different internalized grammars. Third, there are gradient factors affecting language use that are not part of linguistic competence.

If gradience may exist for grammaticality judgments, a greater level of gradience is expected for pragmatic acceptability judgments, where categorical judgments are harder to come by. As an alternative to ordinal scales, Bard et al. (1996) suggest Magnitude Estimation methodology for linguistic research, and Adli (2005) discusses a (somewhat) practical manner in which to put such methodology into practice.⁹ Despite the benefits of magnitude estimation data as opposed to ordinal data (e.g. a judgment of ‘4’ in the former carries a statistical value equivalent to double the value of ‘2’, but not in the latter), research using such methodology may be limited not only by methodological inertia, but

⁶ Informally, this involves having a sample set greater than 30 for a 95% confidence interval.

⁷ Note that the debate regarding gradience is of relevance not only for bilinguals, but for monolingual speakers as well

⁸ See Newmeyer 2003 for an opposing view on gradience in grammars.

⁹ Note however that Sprouse (2007) argues that research subjects impose a sort of categorization on magnitude estimation grammaticality judgments.

by practical concerns such as participant fatigue/patience and (in the case of this dissertation) compatibility with statistical survey packages.¹⁰

Although it is not the norm in theoretical generative syntax to gather experimental data (at least not quantitative) to arrive at theoretical conclusions, there are those who have expressed the need for quantitative data (e.g. Zubizarreta 1998), and those who have collected it (e.g. Goodall 2008 for Dominican Spanish) outside of SLA research. In the case of minority languages, it may be difficult to access native and habitual speakers. As noted previously, in the case of Galician, there are few extant works on information structure as related to syntax. Among those available (e.g. Freixeiro Mato 2006a, 2006b) infelicitous word orders are rarely discussed. Therefore, the data that I have presented on Galician represents an important first step in describing Galician on the one hand, and on the other, in gathering more varied data to inform a theoretical issue such as the information structure-syntax interface in languages in general. This type of research has the potential to be a useful tool in other languages (e.g. Spanish) for describing dialect differences and perhaps even diachronic change in progress.

As a follow-up to my discussion in section 1.7, there are dangers inherent in gathering bilingual data and using such data to make claims about a language. Given the dynamics at play in this particular minority language situation, I have attempted to defend the validity of the qualitative and quantitative data gathered, thus showing that the vast majority of Galician speakers – even those who self-report only speaking Galician – also self-report having high competence levels in Spanish. Although the data presented would have benefited from oral field consultation with near or virtual monolinguals of advanced age on information structure and possible and preferred clausal word order, the data gathered and presented in this chapter is representative of Galician how it is spoken today

¹⁰ An icon-controlled sliding bar devoid of defining values – save for extremes – would have been ideal, but were not available using the WebSurveyor platform at the time this research was conducted.

and of how it will be spoken in the future. I did conduct additional one-to-one consultations with native, habitual Galician speakers on matters related to direction to cliticization (enclisis vs. proclisis in weak pronouns) in Galician. Consultant judgments on this facet of the grammar were universally categorical. I discuss cliticization, as well as its importance in the clausal analysis of other preverbal elements (including preverbal subjects) in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF GALICIAN

5.1. Introduction

In earlier chapters, I examined a couple of complications related to preverbal subjects. In Chapter 1, I showed that there are difficulties involved in determining the A- or A'- status of preverbal subjects in Galician. In Chapter 2, I showed that in Spanish information structure contexts can affect the acceptability of certain word orders. As discussed in Chapter 3, information structure played a critical role in designing discourse task conditions for Galician speakers. The data that I discussed in Chapter 4 showed a preference for SVO word order in almost every discourse context, even those in which the subject was not topical, discourse-old information. Recall that this represents a departure from the word order appropriateness data reported in the literature for Spanish in Chapter 2. While SVO appears to be preferred almost to the exclusion of other word orders, other word orders were rated rather highly and, despite their low occurrence rate, were also attested in the recorded field interviews. The data gathered for discourse subordination and coordination contexts suggests that preverbal subjects in Galician are not left-peripheral elements – at least not always. The analysis of preverbal subjects in Galician remains incomplete, however, without taking into account the syntax of clitics, principally because Galician allows for enclisis in finite verbs. This distinguishes Galician from other Ibero-Romance languages like Spanish and Catalan, as well as from majority Romance languages like French and Italian. Although cliticization phenomena have been extensively studied – in Minimalist and pre-Minimalist approaches – most accounts do not consider enclitic languages like European Portuguese and Galician.

In this chapter, I propose a syntactic analysis for Galician based on the results from earlier chapters, as well as on additional cliticization data from Galician. I assume a Minimalist-type approach (e.g. Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2005), by which the computational

system merges (sets of) lexical items from the Numeration in the course of deriving a phrase or sentence. I assume that lexical items are endowed with certain interpretable and uninterpretable features which motivate a variety of operations such as syntactic movement. I assume that movement is driven by the target, or probe, and not the moving element. It is through the checking of uninterpretable features that a derivation arrives at forming a successful, grammatical phrase or sentence. I assume a phase-type approach (Chomsky 2000, 2005) by which operations at the edge of a phase involve an interface with modules such as PF and pragmatics. Despite such an approach, however, there are many challenges involved in pure, feature-driven movement, especially at the PF interface. In this chapter, I will be particularly concerned with the syntactic structure above (i.e. to the left of) the T-realm, as these come to bear on the position of clitic pronouns and preverbal subjects, especially following Raposo & Uriagereka's (2005) proposal for clitics in Ibero-Romance (henceforth R & U). As R & U's analysis of clitics takes enclisis into account, this will be my point of departure in this chapter. As I will show, the analysis of clitics is crucial to any analysis of preverbal subjects, especially for languages that exhibit both proclisis and enclisis. The curious contradiction in accounting for clitics is that once clitics are accounted for, it appears that clitics must appear higher than T, which suggests a left peripheral location for preverbal subjects regardless of their discourse properties.

In section 5.2, I examine the facts of cliticization in Galician and introduce the basics of R & U's proposal. In section 5.3, I examine main clause left-peripheral elements in Galician and their behavior in the presence of clitics. In section 5.4, I examine subordinate clause left-peripheral elements in Galician and their behavior in the presence of clitics. In section 5.5, I discuss recomplementation analyses for Spanish and discuss the implications of the recomplementation data that I present for Galician. In section 5.6, I discuss the different subject positions suggested by the data I have presented and examine their fit with the experimental data reported on in Chapter 4. I also

propose an amended left-peripheral architecture for Galician. In section 5.7, I review the syntactic positions for preverbal elements suggested by the data presented within the framework of R & U (2005). In section 5.8 I revisit López's (2009) proposal for the interface between syntax and information structure in light of the clausal architecture I propose in section 5.6 and explore possible revisions for this architecture. In section 5.9, I discuss the implications that the Galician data have for the A vs. A' debate as discussed in Chapter 1. In section 5.10, I summarize the preceding sections, and in 5.10 I offer concluding comments.

5.2. Cliticization in Galician

The clitic system in Galician is essentially identical to European Portuguese (henceforth EP): both systems allow for enclisis and proclisis. Direct and indirect object pronouns, all forms of SE, and pronouns of solidarity appear enclitically on a finite verb in matrix declaratives (1a), and when preceded by a topicalized constituent (1b). As with EP, a clitic pronoun may not start a sentence or begin a clause after a pause. Unlike EP, however, focus fronted elements (1c) trigger enclisis.¹

- (1) a. (Xoán) regaloume (*me regalou) un libro.
 (Xoán) give(as gift).PST.3SG-CL.DAT.1SG a book.
Xoán gave me a book.

¹ Costa (2004) claims that EP does not have focus fronting of the type found in Spanish. Even still, there are sentence contexts that look very much like FF sentences in Spanish, as discussed in Chapter 1 (fn. 19) and section 2.3. The direction of cliticization with focus seems to set it apart from other “affective” elements that typically trigger proclisis despite the fact that it shares very similar presuppositional qualities.

- b. Un bico dáballo eu
 a kiss give.IMPFV.1SG-CL.DAT.3SG-CL.ACC.3SG.M I
 a esa rapaza.
 to that girl

A kiss I was giving to that girl.

- c. O MEU ÚLTIMO LIBRO deille
 the my last book give.PST.1SG-CL.DAT.3SG
 eu a Paco (non o meu primeiro).
 I to Paco not the my first

I gave MY LAST BOOK to Paco (not my first).

- d. O porco, Xoán (xa) non o
 the pork Xoán already not CL.ACC.3SG.M
 come.
 eat.PRS.3SG

Pork, Xoán no longer eats.

Despite the dispreference for preverbal subjects to the right of a topicalized element attested in the data discussed in Chapter 4, such sentences do not trigger ungrammaticality (1d). Note, however, that in the presence of either negation or an adverbial, preverbal subjects trigger proclisis.

Negation (2a), negative polarity items (2b), “affective” adverbials (2c), and *wh*-elements (2d) trigger proclisis for any type of clitic (direct and indirect object pronouns, all forms of SE, and pronouns of solidarity). Clitics in embedded environments also appear proclitically (2e).

- (2) a. Meu irmán non a mercou. (*non mercouna)
 my brother not CL.ACC.3SG.F buy.PST.3SG

My brother did not buy it.

- b. Ninguén o probou. (*probouno)
 nobody CL.ACC.3SG.M try.PST.3SG

Nobody tried it.

- c. Xoán xa me dixo o segredo.
 Xoán alreadyCL.DAT.1SG say.PST.3SG the secret
Xoán already told me the secret.
- d. Que che serviron (*servíronche) na cea?
 what CL.DAT.2SG serve.PST.3PL in-the dinner
What did they serve you at the dinner?
- e. Miña irmá non sabía que meu irmán
 my sister not know.IMPFV.3SG that my brother
 me regalou ese libro.
 CL.DAT.1SG give(as gift).PST.3SG that book
My sister didn't know that my brother gave me that book.

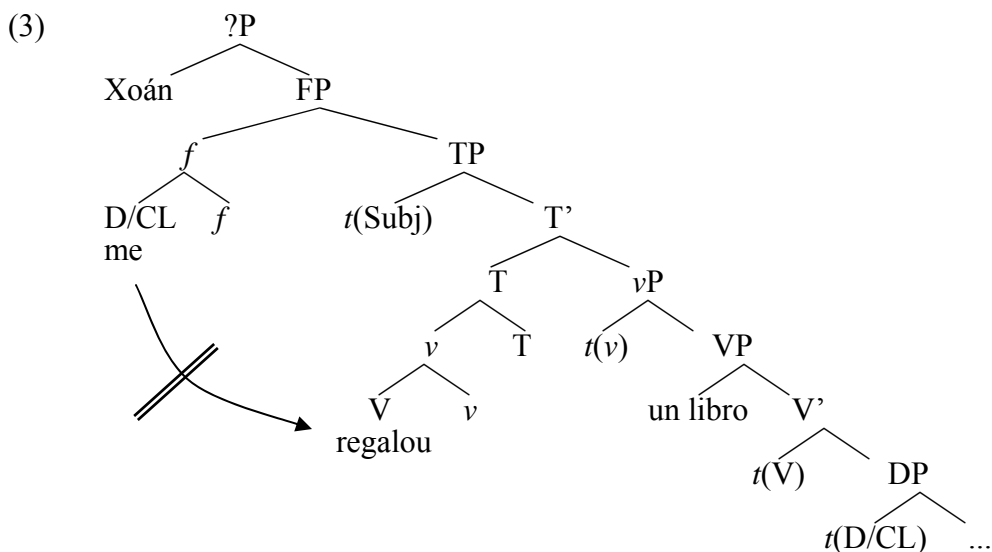
R & U (2005) group the above clause and sentence types in (2) as clauses with “affective” elements in their analysis for clitic placement in Western Iberian (EP and Galician). The above all share the fact that they trigger proclisis.²

Clitic pronouns have been treated extensively, especially in the Romance language literature. Analyses of French (e.g. Kayne 1975, 1991, Sportiche 1995) and Italian (e.g. Belletti 1999) have made relevant insights related to clitic adjunction sites and clitic doubling, but do not treat enclisis in finite verbs since these languages lack such phenomena. Uriagereka (1995a) proposes a unified analysis of languages with proclisis in finite verbs such as Spanish as well as languages with enclisis such as Galician. A critical issue with Uriagereka (1995a) lies in the fact that it proposes rightward adjunction to account for enclisis, an outlawed operation following Kayne (1994). Raposo (1999) resolves these issues by proposing that enclisis results from verb movement to Spec, FP,

² The speakers of Galician I have consulted accept fronted focus elements with proclisis, but claim that this is typical of non-native production (see Dubert 2005 for more on the influence of Spanish on Galician pronoun placement). They show a marked preference for enclisis in the presence of contrastive fronted focus (1c). I follow this native intuition and judgment on fronted focus XPs, thus separating them from the group of affective elements. Fronted focus, preverbal subjects and topics do not count as affective elements, as they trigger enclisis, the same as a null subject does.

which is problematic in proposing head-to-spec movement. Raposo & Uriagereka (2005), which I discuss below, resolves the issues of these researchers' previous, individual analyses.

By R & U's (2005) analysis, Romance pronominal clitics are Ds that fuse early (i.e. shortly following initial external merge) to a null noun or adjective. These Ds are phonological clitics that must be located within a well-formed prosodic word at PF. To find such structure, these clitics must move. For R & U, the direction of cliticization in Western Iberian is not the result of some morphological property of the clitics themselves since any clitic may appear on either side of the verb. They propose the existence of a phonologically null clitic *f*, which, when merged with TP, projects F, a projection that serves as an interface between syntax and discourse. This projection hosts elements with semantic and pragmatic importance related to the discourse, as well as point of view (see Uriagereka 1995b for more on F). For R & U, F attracts determiner clitics. In languages like Galician and European Portuguese, clitics cluster together (i.e. they display "solidarity") in *f*, and are the last elements to adjoin to their target head. Consider the partial derivation of sentence (1a) *Xoán regaloume un libro* in (3) below.

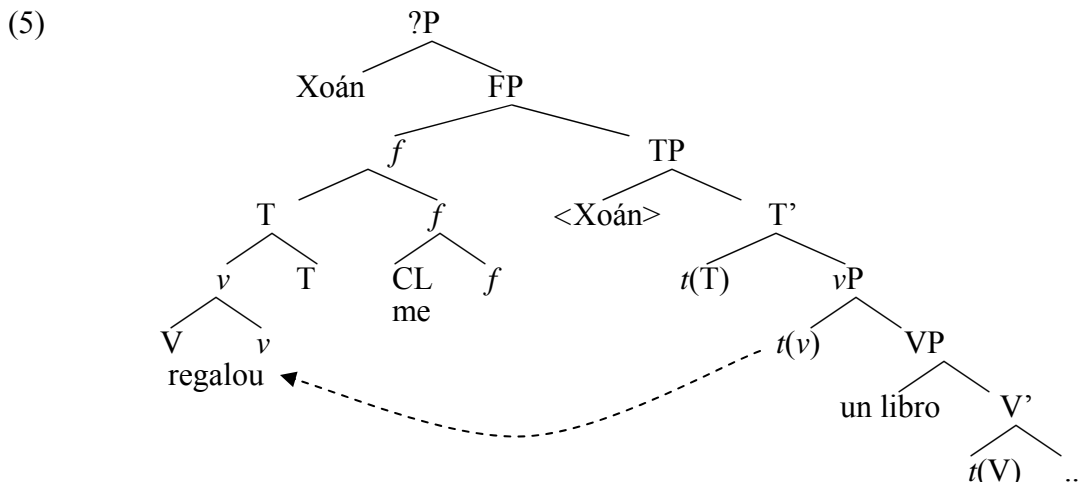


In (3), since the clitic is the last element to adjoin, the verb complex has already moved to T, and the preverbal subject *Xoán* has already moved to a position higher than Spec, TP. Following R & U, the clitic *me* has moved from within the VP, and has attracted to the clitic *f*, as discussed above. From this point in the derivation, a ranking of “clitic placement” options applies (4).

- (4)
- a. If there is a right-adjacent head, the clitic fuses rightward
 - b. Otherwise, the left-adjacent head or phrase is the target for fusions of the clitic
 - c. otherwise, optimal clitic placement or displacement of an appropriate host provides a target for clitic fusion

Rightward fusion, option (4a), is blocked by the intervening trace of the preverbal subject in (3), and is essentially a non-existent option for finite verbs.³ By this hierarchy, the proclitic option (4b) is the default, unmarked option, which is well motivated as it is more common cross-linguistically (in addition to the fact that no language with enclisis lacks proclisis). However, since a left-adjacent head or phrase is lacking in (3), option (4b) is precluded, thus forcing option (4c) to be chosen as a last resort. This forces the displacement of the verbal complex to *f*, as in (5). R & U call this operation “verb-swallowing”, or verb-clitic fusion.

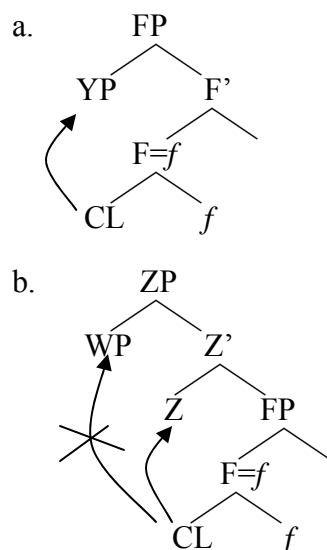
³ Note that for R & U, the same “blocking” effect would result with a null subject, which necessarily implies that *pro* also moves to a preverbal, Spec, TP position.



Note that by R & U's analysis, if the preverbal subject moved to Spec, FP, it would provide a suitable host for leftward fusion of the clitic. This sort of operation would predict proclisis in a main clause sentence with a preverbal subject, contrary to fact. Sentence (1a) must be enclitic – be it with a preverbal, postverbal or null subject. The enclisis in (5) then is the result of a last-resort operation to save a (proclitic) derivation that would otherwise crash at the PF interface.⁴

Following option (4b) then, leftward fusion of a clitic results when an XP specifier of F (6a) or a higher head (6b) is available for the clitic to “lean on”.

⁴ This would presumably be due to PF-related constraints on well-formed intonational phrases, as in Barbosa's (2000) proposal for enclisis in EP, as in section 1.4.1 (although see Duarte & Matos 2000, for an alternative by which *proclisis* is the Last Resort operation that saves default enclitic order from crashing). Note that, for Raposo & Uriagereka's (2005) proposal to work, a couple of critical modifications are necessary. First of all, low-leftward fusion needs to be abandoned to avoid violating the PIC. Otherwise, the determiner clitic will be unable to escape the first derivational phase. Also, to account for enclisis in modal constructions we would be required to assume an analysis like Cardinaletti & Shlonsky (2004) by which functional verbs such as aspectuals and modals are restructuring verbs and as such, are monoclausal. Note additionally that, accepting the possibility of verb swallowing also carries with it the implication that postverbal subjects appear higher than Spec, vP (see Zubizarreta 2007 for a similar, but unrelated proposal for postverbal subjects).

(6) *Leftward fusion sites for clitics (following R & U 2005)*

Following (4b) then when left-adjacent Spec, FP is available, the clitic may leftward fuse to it (6a). Lacking such a constituent, a left-adjacent head is also eligible for leftward fusion (6b). Critically, following R & U's analysis, strict adjacency applies, thus making higher XPs (e.g. WP in 6b) unavailable as leftward fusion candidates. R & U present interesting evidence that leftward fusion is a cliticization-type operation in (7, Raposo & Uriagereka 2005: 665, ex. 47).

- (7) Deu-lo tenha na gloria!
 God-CL.ACC.3SG.M have.SBJ.PRS.3SG in-the glory

May God have him in Heaven!

In (7), the affective XP *Deus* serves as the leftward fusion host for the clitic. In this case, the clitic phonologically attaches to the host XP, triggering assimilation in the host XP.

A common complication for analyses of preverbal subjects of the type examined in Chapter 1 involves reconciling them with clitic analyses. As with R & U (2005), many clitic analyses for Romance languages (e.g. Raposo 1999, Sportiche 1996, Uriagereka 1995a, 1995b) propose a projection for clitics higher than TP/IP, so that the clitic can

appear to the left of the verb. Once clitics are accounted for then, one is practically forced into an analysis of preverbal subjects as more peripheral, C-realm elements.⁵ In the following section, I examine the behavior of preverbal elements and their interaction with clitics in Galician, highlighting complications that arise in R & U's proposal. I then return to R & U's analysis of clitics and propose some modifications that are necessary in order to account for the behavior of preverbal elements and their interaction with clitics.

5.2.1. A brief excursus on F

Descriptions of FP and FinP in the literature share many characteristics. Bianchi (2001:10, see also Rizzi, 1997) proposes that “the Speech Time S is syntactically represented in [+finite] Fin⁰” since it is the lowest C-realm head that “interfaces with the inflectional structure”. Uriagereka (1995b) suggests that F encodes point of view and illocutionary force, similar to Bianchi's (2001) characterization of Fin, thus suggesting that F is somehow anchored to the deictic center (i.e. speech time) of an utterance.⁶ This description seems to fit with the behavior we have witnessed for clitics in R & U above: in the left-peripheral, PF-interface realm Galician clitics adjoin to the clitic *f* and find their connection with the verb and the inflectional structure via various “clitic placement” possibilities.⁷ The fact that affective elements (including *wh*- elements) are attracted to Spec, FP also lends support to the notion that F and Fin are the same, since these elements ultimately relate to the discourse context. As the exact identity of F is not

⁵ See Raposo & Uriagereka (2005: 690, fn. 12) for similar comments. Note also that Uriagereka (1995a) also explicitly assumes this for Spanish sentences with 3rd person object clitics and preverbal subjects, proposing that they are topicalized.

⁶ For Paoli (2006, among others), Fin⁰ encodes [+finite] and [+mood] features, perhaps even an imperative or subjunctive operator (see also Kempchinsky 2009). See Uriagereka (1995a, 1995b) Raposo (1999), and Raposo & Uriagereka (2005) for more on the F position.

⁷ Note that this is contingent on the verb moving to F/*f*.

crucial to the discussion of preverbal elements that I pursue in this dissertation, I put this issue to the side, leaving it for future research.

5.3. Main clause preverbal elements in Galician

As in Spanish, negative quantifiers in Galician may be fronted to a preverbal position. Galician subjects (8a), direct objects (8b), and indirect objects (8c) may be negative quantifiers, and display symmetry in their distribution.⁸

- (8) a. Ningúen lle debe o aluguer a María.
 nobody CL.DAT.3SG owe.PRS.3SG the rent to Maria
Nobody owes rent to Maria.
- b. Nada lle debe Xoán aos seus amigos.
 nothing CL.DAT.3SG owe.PRS.3SG Xoán to-the his friends
Xoan owes nothing to his friends.
- c. ?A ningúen lle debe Xoán o aluguer.
 to nobody CL.DAT.3SG owe.PRS.3SG Xoan the rent
Xoan owes rent to nobody.

Fronted direct object (9a) and indirect object (9b) negative quantifiers however may not appear to the left of a preverbal subject.

⁸ Note that the use of ? at the left edge of a question is not a marker of interrogation as per the orthographical standard in Spanish (¿), but a judgment of grammaticality. I adhere to this convention throughout this chapter so as to not confuse the two. While nothing appears to be wrong with (8c) structurally, one of my informants in particular found it to be “very unnatural, almost poetic”. This is why I classify it as ?. The asymmetry between negative quantifier subjects and direct objects versus indirect objects is certainly worthy of further investigation, but is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

- (9) a. *Nada Xoán lle debe aos seus
 nothing Xoán CL.DAT.3SG owe.PRS.3SG to-the his
 amigos.
 friends
Xoán owes his friends nothing.
- b. ?A ninguén Xoán lle debe o
 to nobody Xoán CL.DAT.3SG owe.PRS.3SG the
 aluguer.
 rent
Xoan owes rent to nobody.

In examples (9a, b), it appears that the preverbal subject is responsible for the impossibility of object fronting and the accompanying minimality effects. Descriptively, object negative quantifiers form part of the set of elements in Galician requiring subject-verb “inversion”. Therefore, object negative quantifiers may not be fronted when there is a preverbal subject because they must appear adjacent to the clitic-verb cluster.

Following R & U’s proposal for clitics, since negative quantifiers allow for proclisis, they must count among the preverbal elements that may appear in Spec, FP. Whether these originate in a lower Neg position and later move to a preverbal position (a possibility discussed in Martín-González 2002) or merge directly in Spec, FP, following R & U’s (2005) analysis, they must end up in Spec, FP because they trigger proclisis.

Wh-elements are typically assumed to target the same structural position as fronted focus elements (e.g. Rizzi 1997). Consider (10a-d).

- (10) a. *Que Xoán comprou no mercado?
 what Xoan buy.PST.3SG in-the market
- b. Que comprou Xoán no mercado?
 what buy.PST.3SG Xoan in-the market
What did Xoan buy at the market?

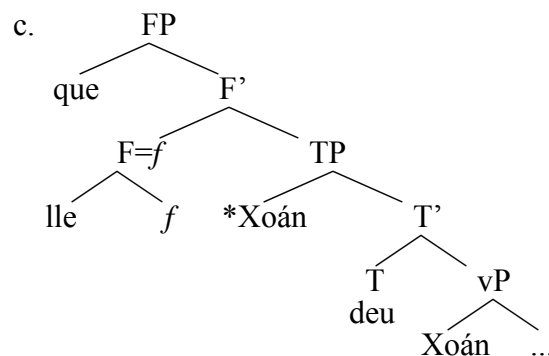
- c. *A quen Susana lle dou o paraugas?
to whom Susana CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3SG the umbrella
- d. A quen lle dou Susana o paraugas?
to whom CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3SG Susana the umbrella

Who did Susana give the umbrella (to)?

When a *wh*-element is fronted, Galician requires subject-verb inversion. As with negative quantifiers, neither a direct object *wh*-element (10a), nor an indirect object *wh*-element (10c) may be fronted over a preverbal subject. Additionally, the fact that *wh*-fronting in Galician triggers proclisis suggests that *wh*-elements appear in a Spec, FP position since they may provide a successful clitic fusion site. Yet if *wh*-elements appear in Spec, FP when a clitic is present, thus providing a leftward fusion host, it is unclear what rules out a preverbal subject in such structures. Consider the sentences in (11).

- (11) a. Que lle deu Xoán?
b. *Que lle Xoán deu?

What did Xoán give him/her?



If the *wh*-element moves directly to Spec, FP from its argument position in (11c), (11b) should not be a ruled out word order. Therefore, some mechanism has to prevent subject movement to Spec, TP. I would like to suggest that the same type of mechanism that rules out subject movement to Spec, TP in (10a) also rules it out in (10c) and (11b). In

(10a) the *wh*- element in moves to Spec, TP (following Rizzi 1996), thus ruling out subject movement to Spec, TP.⁹ In (10a), this movement would check [*wh*-] features and [EPP]-type features in T in one movement. In (11c), these features appear in separate projections. Therefore, I suggest that in (11c) the *wh*- element moves to Spec, TP prior to moving to Spec, FP and that this is what precludes subject movement to Spec, TP in these sentences.

A key complication in Rizzi's (1997) suggestion that fronted focus constituents and *wh*- elements appear in the same structural position involves direction of cliticization. Fronted focus elements in Galician (12a, b) trigger enclisis, which suggests that they appear in a different position from negative quantifiers since they may not host a clitic.

- (12) a. A CENORIA o coello comeuna (e
 the carrot the rabbit eat.PST.3SG-CL.ACC.3SG.F (and
 non a mazá).
 not the apple).

The rabbit ate THE CARROT (and not the apple).

- b. O MEU ÚLTIMO LIBRO deille eu
 the my last book give.PST.1SG-CL.DAT.3SG I
 a Paco (non o meu primeiro).
 to Paco (not the my first)

I gave MY LATEST BOOK to Paco (not my first).

An interesting difference between Galician and Spanish has to do with (12a), which contains the apparent resumptive clitic (*n*)*a*, which doubles for the fronted direct object *a cenoria*. Focus fronting of the type found in Spanish never involves a resumptive clitic.

⁹ Although see Gallego 2005 for arguments against [*wh*]-features appearing on T in Spanish and Galician.

In fact, the presence of this clitic suggests that what we are seeing in (12a) is not focus fronting, but clitic-left dislocation of the type found in Spanish topicalization. In (12b) however, we can see that no accusative resumptive clitic is required for the fronted direct object *o meu ultimo libro*. The fronting of a topic without a corresponding resumptive clitic suggests that Galician has topicalization that is more similar to English or Portuguese topicalization.¹⁰ The curious difference for Galician is the fact that it plays a contrastive discourse role. As an investigation of the intricacies of what I will call *contrastive topicalization* in Galician would take us too far afield, I leave it for further research. We are left with two important facts for this phenomenon: 1) fronted contrastive topic elements may appear to the left of a preverbal subject (12a), and 2) they trigger enclisis. Both of these facts suggest that fronted focus elements occupy a different position from negative quantifiers and wh- elements.

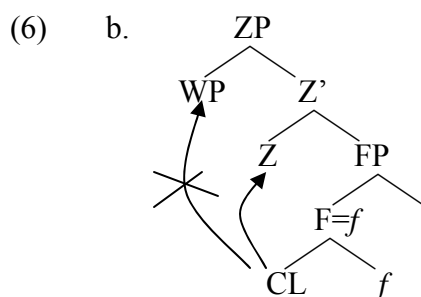
While the preverbal distribution evidence in (9) and (10) above might be taken to suggest that preverbal subjects compete with negative quantifiers and wh- elements for the same syntactic position, preverbal negative quantifiers (8a-c) and wh- elements (10d) trigger proclisis, while preverbal subjects trigger enclisis (13a) unless accompanied by one or more affective elements such as an adverbial and/or negation (13b).

- (13) a. Xoán débelle o aluguer a María.
 Xoán owe.PRS.3SG-CL.DAT.3SG the rent to Maria
Xoán owes rent to Maria.
- b. Xoán (xa) non lle debe o aluguer
 Xoán now not CL.DAT.3SG owe.PRS.3SG the rent
 a María.
 to Maria
Xoán doesn't owe rent to Maria (any longer).

¹⁰ Note however, that EP has this kind of topicalization (without a clitic double) *and* CLLD.

Example (13a, cf. 8a) suggests that preverbal subjects may not appear in a Spec, FP position since they are unavailable as leftward fusion hosts for the clitic. This may also be the reason that preverbal subjects may not intervene between a negative quantifier (9a, b) or a wh- element and the clitic (10a, c).

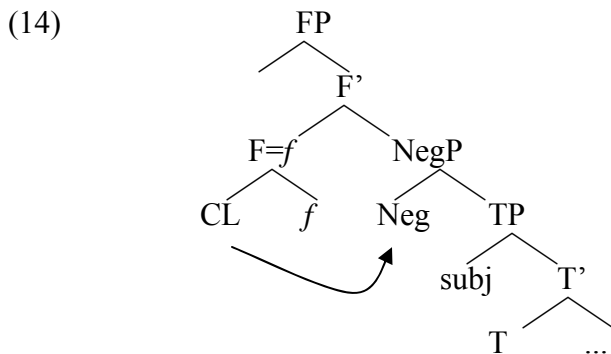
As we saw above, negative quantifiers, wh- elements, and a certain subset of subject-oriented adverbials all trigger proclisis.¹¹ All of these elements are XPs, which may appear in Spec, FP. In this sense, negation presents a complication because it is typically considered to be a head. As we saw in (6b), repeated here below, the clitic may fuse leftward to a specifier or head.



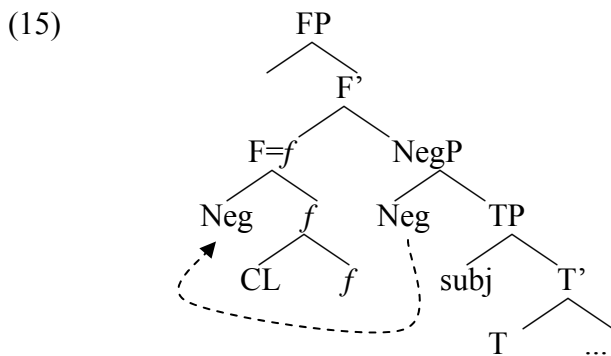
There is nothing wrong *a priori* with saying that the Z head in (6b) may be Neg, except for the fact that negation is generally considered to appear to the left of T.¹² If negation appears to the left of T, it should appear between T and F in the left-peripheral architecture I have been assuming (14). The advantage of this configuration is that R & U's rightward fusion option (4a) will be available, and no preverbal subject will intervene between the clitic head and the Neg head.

¹¹ I borrow Barrie's (2002) characterization of subject-oriented adverbials in his analysis of cliticization in EP even though the list of affective adverbials that trigger proclisis in Galician differs from that of EP. I do not go into an in-depth discussion of this subset of adverbials here, as it would take the analysis too far afield.

¹² See e.g. Pollock (1989) and Belletti (1990) for the separation of Agr and T, as well as the appearance of Neg between these projections.



The problem with the configuration in (14), however, is that under rightward fusion, the clitic will always appear to the left of negation. This is problematic for a couple of reasons: first, CL-Neg word orders are not a grammatical word order configuration, and second, the clitic would never have a target for leftward fusion.¹³ Movement of Neg to a head to the left of Spec, FP would also predict that negation would appear to the left of negative quantifiers and wh- elements, contrary to fact. For this reason, I would like to suggest that the Neg head left-adjoins to the clitic in F=f, as in (15).



¹³ It might perhaps be possible to generate the word order CL-Neg in so-called *interpolation* contexts. However, the observation remains that some leftward fusion host would have to be available.

If we assume that Neg is attracted to the F head for reasons of clitic solidarity, we have an (admittedly circular) explanation for the fact that negation always triggers proclisis.¹⁴ The advantage of this explanation is that it piggybacks Neg movement onto movement related to clitic solidarity rather than postulating some sort of additional movement of negation to the preverbal realm.

Descriptively, so far we have seen that preverbal subjects, contrastive topic elements, and (CLLD) topics all trigger enclisis in matrix clauses, while negative quantifiers, negation, wh- elements, and affective adverbs all trigger proclisis in main clauses. Recall that following R & U (2005), only elements that trigger proclisis may appear in Spec, FP. Therefore, if R & U are on the right track, elements that trigger enclisis appear structurally higher than Spec, FP, and are thus beyond the range of preverbal elements that can provide a leftward fusion site for clitic hosting. As topicalized XPs and preverbal subjects trigger enclisis, it may be that both of these appear in the same, higher functional projection. I examine this possibility below.

5.4. Subordinate clause preverbal elements in Galician

One would expect that subordinate clause elements in would behave similarly to their main clause counterparts. As we will see, however, there are important asymmetries between main clause and subordinate clause preverbal elements in Galician. In a subordinate clause, preverbal subjects (16a) and fronted focus elements (16b, what I have suggested is contrastive topicalization) trigger proclisis.

¹⁴ While I do not suggest that negation is a clitic *per se*, it shares many similarities with other clitic elements. They are both minimal-maximal projections, and both preferentially appear preverbally when present. Note also that in other Romance languages (e.g. French), both negation and clitic pronouns undergo phonological assimilation to rightward elements.

- (16) a. Xoana díxome que Paulo me
 Xoana say.PST.3SG-CL.DAT.1SG that Paulo CL.DAT.1SG
 prestaría o seu dicionario.
 lend.COND.3SG the his dictionary
Xoana told me that Paulo would lend me his dictionary.
- b. Xoana díxome que O SEU ÚLTIMO
 Xoana say.PST.3SG-CL.DAT.1SG that the her last
 LIBRO lle deu a Paco (non o
 book CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.1SG to Paco (not the
 seu primeiro).
 her first)
Xoana told me that she gave HER LATEST BOOK to Paco (not her first).

This behavior is on par with the behavior of other preverbal affective elements in Galician. Following R & U, the fact that these elements trigger proclisis suggests that they all may appear in Spec, FP in embedded clauses. This behavior of (16b) is unexpected – if contrastive elements behave like topicalized XPs in main clauses, they should trigger enclisis in subordinate clauses like other topicalized XPs (17), contrary to fact.

- (17) Santi dixo que o poema
 Santi say.PST.3SG that the poem
 traducírao ao ingles algún australiano.
 translate.PSTPRF.3SG-CL.ACC.3SG.M to-the English some Australian
Santi said that the poem some Australian had translated it.

Descriptively then, preverbal subjects, contrastive elements, affective adverbials, negative quantifiers and wh- elements all trigger proclisis when appearing in embedded

clauses, which, following R & U, suggests that they all appear in Spec, FP.¹⁵ Topics, which for many are claimed to be CLLD elements, are the only elements that (lacking the presence of negation or an affective adverbial) trigger the last resort operation that nets enclisis in subordinate clauses. I summarize this data in Table 55 below.

Table 55. Summary of cliticization by clause type and preverbal element in Galician

element	clause type	
	main	subordinate
Wh- element	proclisis	proclisis
negation	proclisis	proclisis
negative quantifier	proclisis	proclisis
affective adverbial	proclisis	proclisis
preverbal subject	enclisis	proclisis
contrastive topic	enclisis	proclisis
topic	enclisis	enclisis

¹⁵ R & U note this asymmetry for preverbal subjects also (their fn. 19). One of the options that they consider is that nonaffective elements may only appear in Spec, FP in embedded clauses. The insight provided by this option is limited, as it basically amounts to a restatement of the facts. On a separate note, wh- elements in subordinate clauses trigger proclisis in echo questions (i) and in subordinate relative clauses (ii).

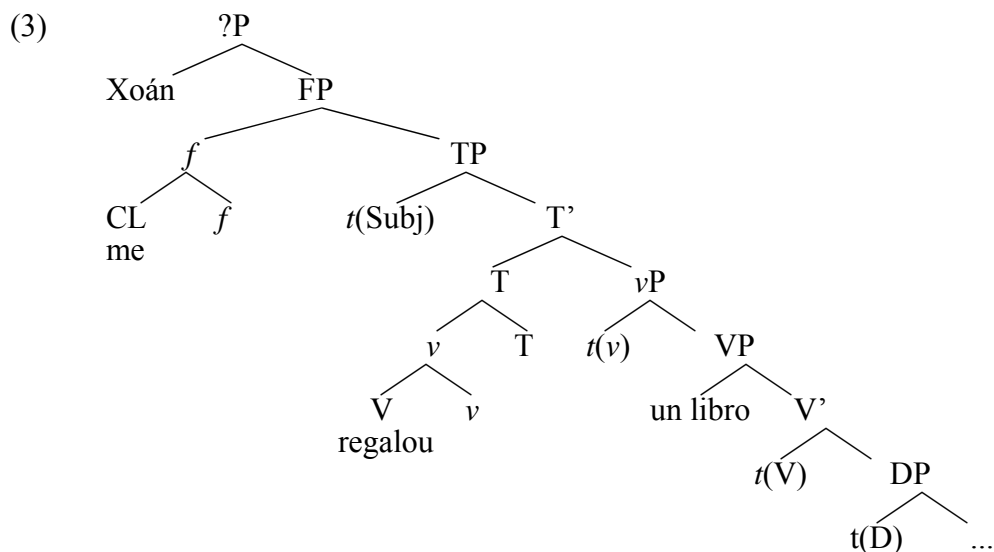
- (i) Xoán dixo que quen o mercou?
 Xoan say.PST.3SG that who CL.ACC.3SG.M buy.PST.3SG

Xoan said that who bought it?

- (ii) Xoán di que quen o merque
 Xoan say.PRS.3SG that who CL.ACC.3SG.M buy.SBJ.PRS.3SG
- vai ter boa sorte.
 go.PRS.3SG have.INF good luck

Xoan says that whoever buys it is going to have good luck.

As the syntactic derivation with a clitic proceeds then, the crucial moment comes after the clitic D head is internally merged, adjoined to the *f* clitic head, as in (3). After this point, when certain elements (e.g. negation, subject-oriented adverbs, and other affective elements) merge with FP, the derivation converges without R & U's last resort operation, and proclisis results. When others merge, however, and neither Spec, FP nor the head immediately higher is filled, the derivation must take last resort measures to avoid crash, resulting in enclisis. Consider the partial derivation in (3), repeated below.



When negation is present to host the clitic, or when affective elements merge with F, proclisis always results – regardless of what is merged next. In absence of either of these constituents, however, the curious difference between Topics, Galician contrastive topics, and preverbal subjects begs explanation. To review, all three trigger (last resort) enclisis in matrix declaratives, but in presence of a (structurally higher) complementizer, only Topics are enclitic. Following R & U, this means that preverbal subjects and contrastive topics may appear in Spec, FP in embedded clauses. Topics, however, may never apparently appear in Spec, FP. So where do Topics appear? In the following section, I examine recomplementation, a phenomenon that offers insight on this issue.

5.5. Extending the left-periphery: recomplementation

Recomplementation is a highly informal, even conversational construction that involves the doubling of a complementizer. Paoli (2006) analyzes recomplementation structures in various varieties of early Romance, such as (18a), from Old Spanish.

- (18) a. Onde dize Josepho **que** en casa de so
 where say.PRS.3SG Josepho that in house of his
 padre **que** le llamaron primera mientras
 father that CL.DAT.3SG call.PST.3PL first -ly
 Ciro.
 Ciro

Where Joseph says that in his father's house he was first called Ciro.
 (Gen Est 177r2.6, 13th-c. Castilian from Wanner 1995: 422, cf. Paoli 2006: 3, ex. 1e)

- b. [_{FceP} [_{Fce'} QUE1 [_{TopP} [_{Top'} QUE2 [_{FocP} [_{FinP} [_{Fin'} [che2_i SCL_[+Fin]] [_{MoodP} t_i
 ...]]]]]]]]]]

Within Paoli's left-peripheral architecture (18b), QUE1, QUE2, and che2 refer to different types of complementizers available in recomplementation contexts. By her analysis, QUE1 is a complementizer appearing in FceP, QUE2 lexicalizes Top⁰, and che2 is the overt realization of the Fin head (bearing [+mood] and [+finite] features).

Following Paoli, QUE2 is characteristic of early Romance (early Tuscan, early Castilian, and early French), and enters a spec-head relation when a fronted element moves into its specifier. By her proposal, QUE2 is a complementizer in that it appears in the CP-realm, but is not a complementizer *per se* because it does not introduce a clause. Rather, it signals the element in its Spec as discourse prominent. Researchers of Modern Spanish also describe a complementizer similar to QUE2 in recomplementation contexts.

Rodríguez Ramalle (2003) proposes a QUE2 projection that serves as the lexicalization of Topic features for Spanish. Martín-González (2002: 91-94) proposes a "Doubled FceP" projection that appears hierarchically lower than FceP but higher than FocP and

lacks mood specification. In his Spanish data, a topicalized XP may appear between complementizers (19a, b), but a focus or *wh*-phrase (19d,e) may not. (Note: complementizers appear in bold for expository clarity.)

- (19) a. Me dijeron **que** a ninguno de ellos
 CL.DAT.1SG say.PST.3SG that to none of them
- que** Juan no los invitó.
 that Juan not CL.ACC.3PL invite.PST.3SG
- They told me that none of them Juan didn't invite.*
- b. Dijeron **que** en esa discoteca **que** a Juan
 say.PST.3SG that in that disco that to Juan
- lo vieron ayer.
 CL.ACC.3SG.M see.PST.3PL yesterday
- They said that in that disco that Juan, they saw him yesterday.*
- c. Dijeron **que** en esa discoteca **que** A JUAN
 say.PST.3SG that in that disco that to Juan
- vieron ayer (no a Pedro).
 see.PST.3PL yesterday (not to Pedro)
- They said that in that disco that JUAN they saw yesterday (not Pedro).*
- d. *Dijeron **que** A JUAN **que** vieron ayer
 say.PST.3SG that to Juan that see.PST.3PL yesterday
- (no a Pedro).
 (not to Pedro)
- They said that JUAN that they saw yesterday (not Pedro).*
- e. *Me preguntaron **que** a quién **que** vimos
 CL.DAT.1SG ask.PST.3PL that to whom that see.PST.3PL
- ayer.
 yesterday
- They asked me that who(m) that we saw yesterday.*

While a fronted focus phrase may not appear between complementizers (19d), it may appear following the lower complementizer (19c). A topic, however, may appear either

For Demonte & Fernández-Soriano (2009), if any instance of QUE in (22) were the lexicalization of Topic features and Topic features are encoded in (lower) QUE as proposed in Rodríguez Ramalle (2003), one would expect to find an instance of QUE for each recursive Topic, contrary to fact. I would like to suggest then that recursive recomplementized topics appear in recursive topic specifier positions. In the following section, I assume Martín-González's (2002) proposal for a DoubledFce (henceforth DFce) projection to account for the appearance of a second complementizer in recomplementation contexts. I also present analogous recomplementation data for Galician and discuss the ramifications for the clausal architecture of this language.

5.6. Recomplementation: preverbal subjects in Galician

In Galician, a wide variety of elements may appear in recomplementation contexts. Subject DPs (23a), direct object XPs (23b, c) and PPs (23d) may be recomplementized. Crucially however, when an element appears in recomplementation, any clitic pronoun appearing must be proclitic (24a, b cf. 23c, d).

- (23) a. Din que o **irmán de** **Iago** que
 say.PRS.3PL that the brother of Iago that
 sabe xogar moi ben ao futbolín.
 know.PRS.3SG play.INF very well to-the foosball
 They say that Iago's brother that he knows how to play foosball very well.
- b. Dixéronme **que** a ese rapaz **que**
 say.PST.3PL-CL.DAT.1SG that to that boy that
 o coñecemos na festa.
 CL.ACC.3SG.M meet.PST.1PL in-the party
 They told me that that guy that we met him at the party.

- c. Dixerón **que** a Xoán **que** o
 say.PST.3PL that to Xoán that CL.ACC.3SG.M
- viron onte.
 see.PST.3PL yesterday
- They said that Xoan that they saw him yesterday.*
- d. Dixerón **que** nesa discoteca **que** a Xoán
 say.PST.3PL that in-that disco that to Xoán
- o viron onte.
 CL.ACC.3SG.M see.PST.3PL yesterday
- They said that in that disco that they saw Xoan yesterday.*
- (24) a. *Dixerón **que** a Xoán **que**
 say.PST.3PL that to Xoán that
- vírono onte.
 see.PST.3PL-CL.ACC.3SG.M yesterday
- They said that Xoán that they saw him yesterday.*
- b. *Dixerón **que** nesa discoteca **que** a Xoán
 say.PST.3PL that in-that disco that to Xoán
- vírono onte.
 see.PST.3PL-CL.ACC.3SG.M yesterday
- They said that in that disco that they saw Xoán yesterday.*

Contrastive elements, especially those lacking a resumptive clitic may not appear in recomplementation (25), providing further evidence that these are contrastive topics and not focus fronting of the type found in Spanish.

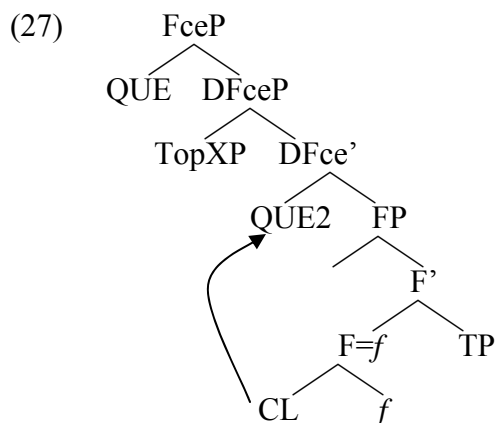
- (25) Dixerón que A XOÁN que *(o) viron
 say.PST.3PL that to Xoán that CL.ACC.3SG.M see.PST.3PL
- onte (non a Pedro).
 yesterday not to Pedro
- They said that XOAN que they saw yesterday (not Pedro).*

Contrastive elements without a resumptive pronoun may appear to the right of the lower QUE (26), suggesting an asymmetry between Topic and Focus elements, if in fact Spanish-type foci exist in Galician.

- (26) Dixeron que nesta discoteca que A XOÁN viron
 say.PST.3PL that in-this disco that to Xoan see.PST.3PL
 onte (non a Pedro).
 yesterday not to Pedro

They said that in this disco that they saw XOAN yesterday (not Pedro).

The above evidence suggests the existence of two separate complementizer-type elements, similar to what we saw in section 5.5. If Topics appear in the specifier position of DoubledFceP (DFceP), we have a straightforward explanation for the cliticization facts that we have seen for Topics in Galician.¹⁶ Consider (27).

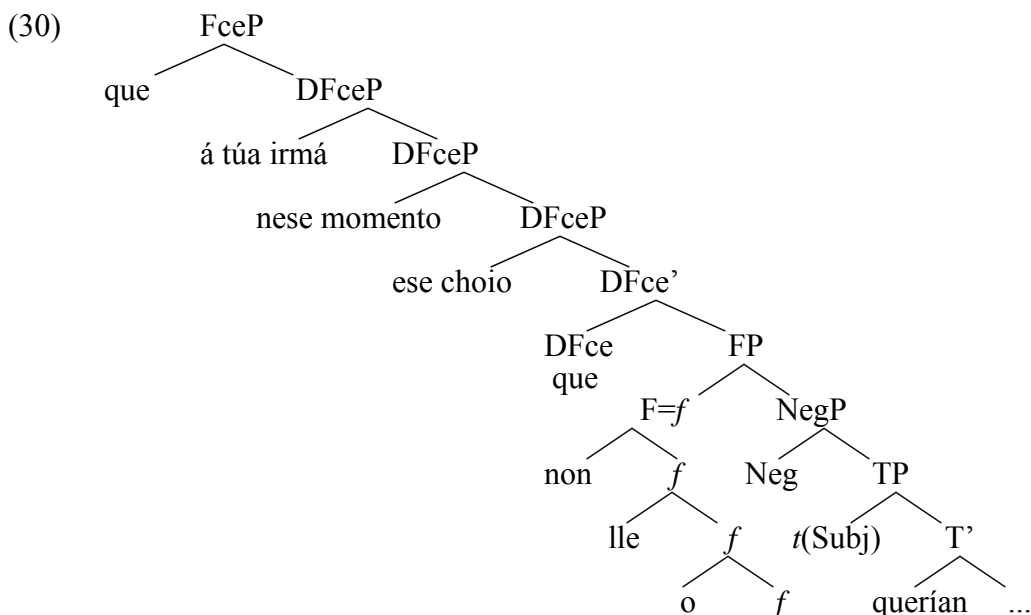


¹⁶ Note that for Martín-González (2002), DoubledFceP only appears in recomplementation sentences. I depart from this view.

- (29) Dixéronme que á túa irmá, (*que) nese
 say.PST.3PL-CL.DAT.1SG that to-the your sister that in-that
 momento, (*que) ese choio, que non
 moment that that job that not
 llo querían ofrecer.
 CL.DAT.3SG-CL.ACC.3SG.M want.IMPFV.3PL offer.INF

They told me that to your sister, at that time, that job, they didn't want to offer.

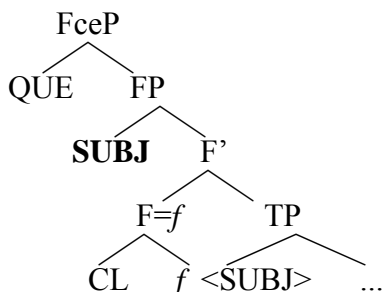
As in Spanish then, the recomplementized Topic position is a recursive one in Galician and may tolerate any number of topicalized elements permitted by the semantics of the predicate in question, but this recursivity lies in the specifier position. Therefore, this constitutes further evidence suggesting that Martín-González's (2002) DoubledFceP is the correct characterization of QUE2 in Galician. Sentence (29) would have the (abbreviated) syntactic structure in (30) for the relevant recursive topics appearing in “stacked” specifier (Spec, DFceP) positions.



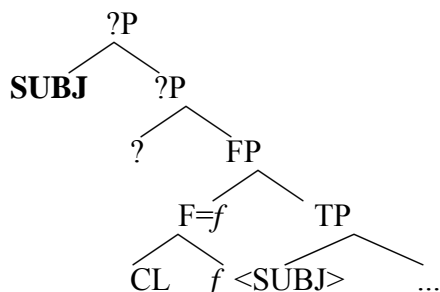
5.7. Subject positions in Galician

Thus far, it appears that there are three possible positions for preverbal subjects. When a clitic is not present and *F* is not projected, preverbal subjects in main clauses or embedded clauses appear in Spec, TP. When a clitic is present in embedded clauses, a preverbal subject may appear in Spec, FP (31); otherwise it must appear in the specifier of an undetermined higher projection (32).

(31) *Preverbal subject position for embedded clauses when F is projected*



(32) *Preverbal subject position for main clauses when F is projected.*



The logical next question is whether a preverbal subject in a main clause with a clitic may appear in the specifier of the position that I have been calling DFceP, following Martín-González (2002). In other words, do we have reason to suspect that preverbal subjects appear in the same position as topicalized XPs? For the moment, let us assume that we do for reasons of structural economy. In the information structure contexts discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, participants displayed a preference for SVO word order for only one discourse condition in which a preverbal subject represented discourse-new information:

thetic sentences. Recall that the results of Condition X1 (reported in section 4.3) show that when the subject is narrow-focused (rheme), new information, it is preferred in a postverbal position. In thetic sentences, preverbal subjects also represent new information (along with the rest of the sentence), but their preferred position is preverbal. In the Task 1 thetic condition, two of the five tokens involved clitic doubling in the possible reply, as in (33).¹⁷

- (33) Berta - Fuches á festa na casa de Carlos o
 go.PST.2SG to-the party in-the house of Carlos the
 sábado?
 Saturday
- Fernanda - Claro. Divertinme muito alí,
 of course have-fun.PST.1SG-CL.REFL.1SG much there
- pero adiviña o que pasou.
 but guess.IMP the what happen.PST.3SG
- Berta - Pois, que? Que aconteceu?
 well what what happen.PST.3SG
- A. Fernanda – Reinaldo regaloulle un anel á
 Reinaldo give.PST.3SG-CL.DAT.3SG a ring to-the
- súa noiva.
 his girlfriend

Berta – Did you go to the party at Carlos’s house on Saturday?
Fernanda – Of course. I had a lot of fun there, but guess what happened.
Berta – Well, what? What happened?
A. Fernanda – Reinaldo gave his girlfriend a ring.

In response option (A) for (33), there is a dative clitic double. Given the enclitic position of the dative clitic, we have been assuming that the preverbal subject appears in the specifier of a projection higher than F, as in (32). If this syntactic position is a topic-like

¹⁷ I only show response option (A) here with SVO. See Appendix B for the full token.

Freixeiro Mato 2006b: 133, fn. 102), however, claims that Galician is “a language that tends to require the presence of an indirect complement clitic when this function has a lexical realization” (translation mine). Varela Barreiro classifies (35) as ungrammatical.

- (35) *As perdas da Renfe custarán ós españois 1.2 billións
 the losses of-the Renfe cost.FUT.3PL to-the Spanish 1.2 billion
 de pesetas.
 of pesetas

Renfe's losses will cost the Spanish people 1.2 billion pesetas.

Within the context of (34), this judgment is rather surprising, that is, unless this judgment is based on a prescriptive judgment.¹⁹ It should be pointed out that Varela Barreiro's statement about clitic doubling in Galician is placed in opposition with comparative comments on (European) Portuguese, which is much more flexible in regards to clitics, and does not require them inthetic sentences (36, from da R. Prista, 1966: 16).

- (36) Dei a minha bagagem ao motorista.
 give.PST.1SG the my baggage to-the driver

I gave my baggage to the driver.

Given the variability in judgments above, it is difficult to determine just how obligatory or optional clitic doubling is in Galician.

According to Uriagereka (1988) clitic doubling in Galician is optional in underived sentences.²⁰ In (37a), the direct object precedes the indirect object and is

¹⁹ Note, however, that in this sentence, the order of complements is IO > DO. It has been argued that this order triggers obligatory dative clitic doubling in Spanish, while in DO > IO order, clitic doubling is optional (see e.g. Demonte 1995, Blean 2000).

²⁰ See also Demonte (1995) for similar phenomena and judgments in Spanish.

therefore underived. As with other constructions, c-command relations between direct and indirect object must be respected (Cf. 37a and 37a').

- (37) a. Xán botou(-lle) o cuxo
 Xán throw.PST.3SG-(CL.DAT.3SG) the calf
 á (súa) nai. (S-V-DO-IO)
 to-the its mother
Xán threw the calf to its mother
- a'. *Xán botou(-lle) o (seu) fillo á
 Xán throw.PST.3SG-(CL.DAT.3SG) the its child to-the
 vaca. (*S-V-DO-IO)
 cow
Xán threw its child to the cow.
- b. Xán *botou(-lle) á vaca o (seu)
 Xán throw.PST.3SG-(CL.DAT.3SG) to-the cow the its
 fillo. (S-Vcl-IO-DO)
 child
Xán threw to the cow its child.
- b'. *Xán botou-lle á (súa) nai
 Xán throw.PST.3SG-(CL.DAT.3SG) to-the its mother
 o cuxo. (*S-Vcl-IO-DO)
 the calf
Xán threw to its mother the calf.

For the proper c-command relations to obtain from underived (37a'), the indirect object must be scrambled (37b). Once such scrambling occurs, however, the dative clitic double is no longer optional. Uriagereka notes that scrambling that undoes c-command relations (37b') is also a prohibited operation. This begs the question then: if preverbal subjects appear in Spec, TP in thetic sentences without clitics, where should they appear in sentences with clitics? Let us suppose that López (2009) is on the right track and there is a Pragmatics module that assigns the discourse function [+c] to elements at the edge of

familiarity, in conjunction with the fact that Spanish and Galician have been in contact for over 500 years, it is nearly impossible to tease out the exact diachronic source of clitic doubling in Galician.

Returning to my previous line of reasoning then, assuming that dative clitic doubling is (at least occasionally) optional in Galician, then some subset of preverbal subjects inthetic sentences may appear in Spec, TP since F is not projected in the absence of a clitic. I am not suggesting that Spec, TP is a syntactic position that is unique to preverbal subjects inthetic sentences; in Task 1 conditions B and C, the prompting discourse contexts involved a discourse-old subject and object, respectively, and SVO word orders (lacking clitics) were preferred. In Task 1, Condition B, no clitic was present in any of the possible replies. In Condition C, only the SVO option lacked a clitic. Recall that, for Condition C, CLLDVclS was still rated quite high ($\mu=3.70$) in comparison to CLLDSVcl ($\mu=1.87$). If preverbal Topics and preverbal subjects appear in the same syntactic position in main clauses, it is possible that they compete for the same syntactic position, which, for the moment, we will assume to be Spec, DFceP. Recall however, that a preverbal object may appear adjacent to a preverbal subject (1d, repeated below as 39a, and 39b, from Task 1, Condition C) without incurring ungrammaticality.

- (39) a. O porco, Xoán (xa) non o
 the pork Xoán already not CL.ACC.3SG.M
 come.
 eat.PRS.3SG
Pork, Xoán no longer eats.

- b. Contexto: *María Cristina e Lara, dúas amigas,*
 context *María Cristina and Lara two friends*
- están a falar do noivo de Lara.*
 be.PRS.3PL to talk.INF of-the fiancé of Lara
- María Cristina – E o teu noivo non*
 and the your boyfriend not
- levou a roupa que lle compraches?*
 wear.PST.3SG the clothes that CL.DAT.3SG buy.PST.2SG
- Lara – Os pantalóns Marco levounos*
 the pants Marco wear.PST.3SG-CL.ACC.3PL.M
- pero a camisa non a estreou*
 but the shirt not CL.ACC.3SG.F debut.PST.3SG
- aínda.*
 still

Context: María Cristina and Lara, two friends, are talking about Lara's boyfriend.

María Cristina – And your boyfriend still hasn't worn the clothes you bought him?

Lara – The pants, Marco wore, but the shirt, he hasn't worn yet.

In (39b) both the fronted direct object and the subject are discourse-old elements. Now, continuing with the possibility that topicalized elements and preverbal subjects both appear in Spec, DFceP, the low rating of CLLDSVcl in Condition C might be attributed to a limit on topicalized elements. However, recall that we saw in (29, repeated below) that there is no limit on the number of elements that may appear in a topicalized position.²⁴

²⁴ Although the topicalized elements in (28) appear in an embedded clause, I have no reason to suspect that the number of topicalized elements would be limited in main clauses.

Condition D, only one token included a clitic, which appeared enclitic on the verb. For Condition E, all of the tokens included a clitic, which also appeared enclitic on the verb (40).

- (40) O equipo de fútbol de Xesús gañou un trofeo
 the team of football of Xesús win.PST.3SG a trophy
 no torneo.
 in-the tournament
- A. Como resultado, o presidente do equipo
 as result the president of-the team
 colocouno no seu estante.
 put.PST.3SG-CL.ACC.3SG.M in-the his bookcase

Xesús's football team won a trophy in the tournament.

A. As result, the president of the team put the trophy on his bookcase.

In R & U (2005: 691, fn. 19), show that in EP, when a preverbal subject appears between an affective phrase and a clitic-verb segment, proclisis results (41).

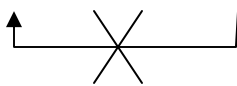
- (41) Muitos libros os meus pais me deram.
 many book the my parents CL.DAT.1SG give.PST.3PL

Many books my parents gave me.

Note that the result in (41) appears to be different than the data we have seen for Galician thus far: they would predict enclisis due to the intervening preverbal subject. R & U suggest two possibilities for cases like (41). One is that the subject appears in Spec, TP with a standard (Spanish-like) instantiation of F (i.e. not *f*), in which case the verb adjoins to the verb cluster in T. The other possibility is that *f* is instantiated and the preverbal subject appears in Spec, FP, thus providing a leftward fusion site for the clitic. I will not speculate on the potential solution for this issue in European Portuguese. In Galician,

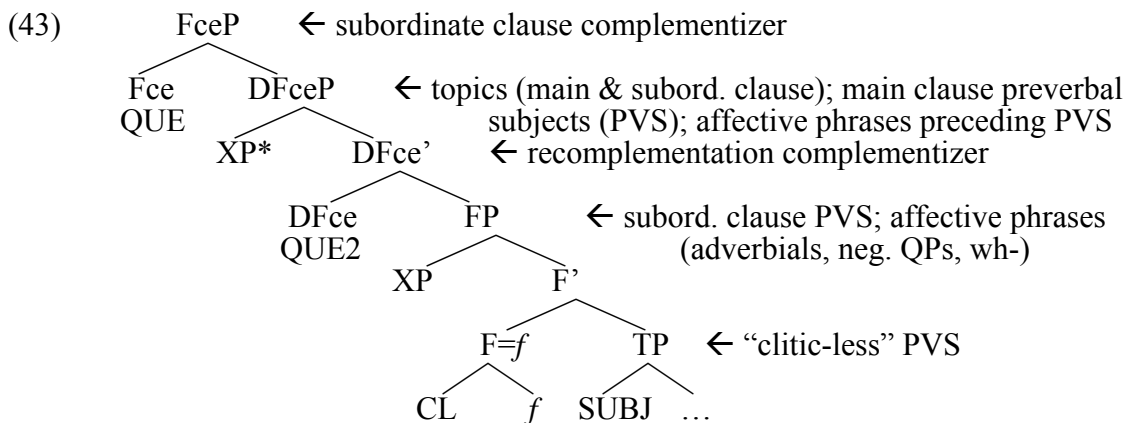
however, since we have enclisis, the preverbal subject may not appear in Spec, FP, which means that it appears higher, perhaps in Spec, DFceP.

(42) [DFceP Como resultado [DFce' o presidente do equipo [DFce' [FP [F o f][TP[T' colocou [...]]]]]]]]

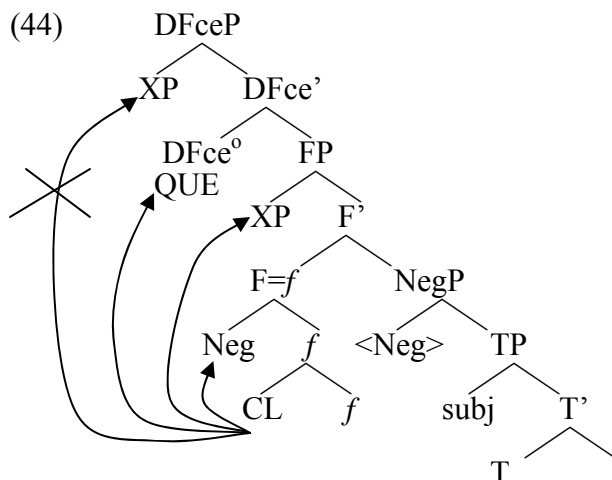


In (42), the affective adverbial appears in a structurally higher position than the preverbal subject, thus preventing it from being a leftward fusion host for the clitic in *f*, and forcing Last Resort verb swallowing in (42).

The clausal architecture that I propose to account for the data that I have examined thus far in Galician is as follows (43):



Assuming following R & U (2005) that clitics move to *f*, sentences without clitics will lack *F/f*. Therefore, preverbal subjects in these sentences should appear in Spec, TP. Clitics with *F/f* should force movement of preverbal subjects to one of the higher structural positions in (43). Recall that there are three types of elements that can provide a leftward fusion site for the clitic (i.e. allowing proclisis) in Galician (44).



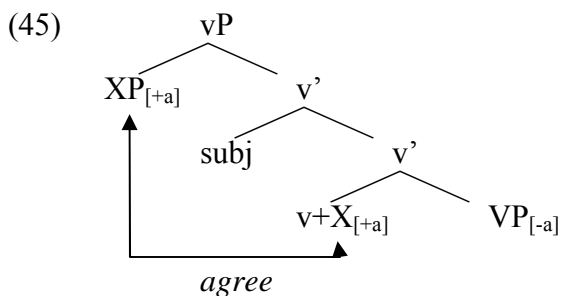
Following R & U's basic analysis for clitics in Western Iberian Romance, the Galician data has shown that only a head or a specifier in the immediate c-command domain of the clitic may provide a successful leftward fusion site for the clitic, thus resulting in proclisis. Otherwise, the result is (last resort) verb-swallowing and enclisis.

Before I offer closing comments on some remaining loose ends in regards to preverbal subjects in Galician – namely the A vs. A' debate – in the next section, I briefly examine postverbal subjects within the context of López's (2009) description of the syntax-information structure interface.

5.8. Subject positions and information structure in López (2009)

Before I evaluate the appropriateness of López's (2009) analysis of pragmatic feature assignment to preverbal elements in Galician, I examine the significance of the data discussed in Chapter 4 in relation to López's (2009) proposal. In particular, I examine his analysis of v-realm elements in this section and whether such $[\pm a]$ feature assignment can account for the behavior of postverbal subjects and objects in Galician.

Recall that for López, the v-realm is where $[\pm a]$ (anaphoric) assignment is performed by the module Pragmatics, which inspects the syntactic structure and the end of the first phase (45).



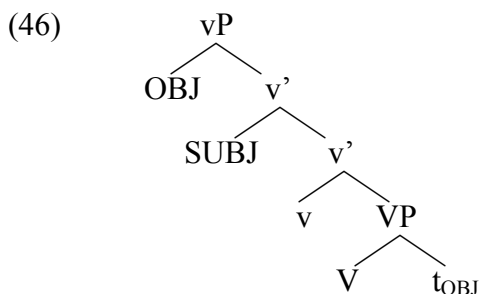
Elements that form an agree relationship with a clitic that move to Spec, vP are assigned the pragmatic feature [+a], while the complement of v is assigned [-a]. Now, since any (remaining) *in situ* object would appear in the complement of v, it would be assigned [-a]. But what of the external argument in the lower specifier of v? As we have seen in the Galician data, a discourse new subject XP is preferred either at the right edge of the clause in reply to subject narrow-focus (rheme) contexts, or in a preverbal position forthetic sentences. However, discourse-old subjects may also appear in a preverbal position.²⁵ For López, elements appearing *in situ* are assigned [-a] by default by Pragmatics. Since preverbal subjects (once they move on from Spec, vP) may be either discourse-old or new, there are two directions we can take from here: we can assume that they are not marked either way, or we can assume that they are marked [-a] by default owing to their *in situ* position at the end of the first phase. López does not opt for either in his analysis. Following his analysis to the letter regarding an *in situ* position would have us mark the external argument as [-a] in Galician. This buys us an explanation for narrow-focus subjects, which may remain *in situ* and be rheme elements. It also explains preverbal subjects inthetic sentences, which move on from Spec, vP to Spec, TP (or higher if a dative clitic double is present). The disadvantage to assignment of [-a] in Spec, vP is that it cannot explain the discourse anaphoricity of discourse-old preverbal subjects.

²⁵ Recall that a minor exception to this generalization occurs for CLLDVclS sentences, which seem to indicate a preference for a sparse left-periphery.

As we have seen, however, López's definition of [+a] strictly applies to elements that have a discourse antecedent and enter an appropriate structural relation with that antecedent. Since it appears that there is no simple solution to this issue, for the moment I will follow López in assuming that the external argument in Spec, vP is not assigned any pragmatic feature in the v-phase. Of greater interest with respect to [±a] assignment for the moment are objects, and how they interact with v-realm subjects at the end of the first phase.

Recall from Chapter 4 that two tasks were carried out to gather data on participant judgments of narrow focus (rheme) contexts. In two separate object narrow-focus conditions, my Galician subjects displayed a preference for SVO word order as compared to VSO or VOS. In Task 1, Condition G, SVO received a mean rating of 4.89, while VOS received a mean of 2.75, and VSO a mean of 2.18. This preference does not cause any significant conflict for López's proposal since rheme constituents remain *in situ* and are appropriately marked [-a] by Pragmatics. Following López's proposal, an object moving to Spec, vP over the external argument should be assigned [+a]. Recall however, that *only* elements that establish an agree relation with a clitic (i.e. elements on their way to be CLLD elements) are those that get marked [+a] by the pragmatic module at the end of the first derivational phase. Let us assume that VOS is the result of "object shift" to Spec, vP (as in e.g. Torrego 1998, Ordóñez 1998) as in (46).²⁶

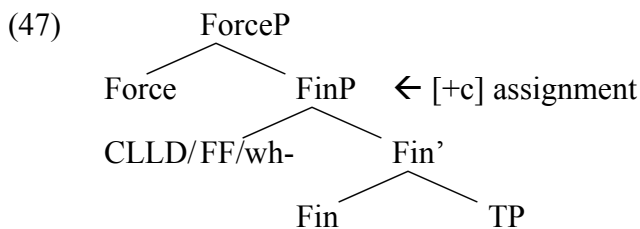
²⁶ I recognize that other processes have been claimed to be responsible for VOS word order, such as Belletti's (2004) VP fronting (i.e. topicalization) mechanism. In such proposals the object is also topical. As the objects I am treating here are not topical elements, but rather narrow-focus ones, I do not consider such proposals here.



With this sort of movement, the scrambled object in VOS does not enter into a relation with a clitic in *v* since it is not marked [+a], as in (45). However, since it has moved from its *in situ* position as complement of *v*, it should not get marked [-a] either, thus preventing it from being regular focus, which is underived in López's proposal. This movement bears similarity to Zubizarreta's (1998) p-movement for Spanish. By Zubizarreta's analysis VOS in Spanish is the result of the object scrambling to escape the scope of focus at the rightmost edge, similar to (46) above. Movement for reasons of interpretation is in line with current Minimalist discussions of scrambling or object shift (e.g. Chomsky 2005), by which movement must be motivated by some feature having an influence on the eventual derivational outcome.

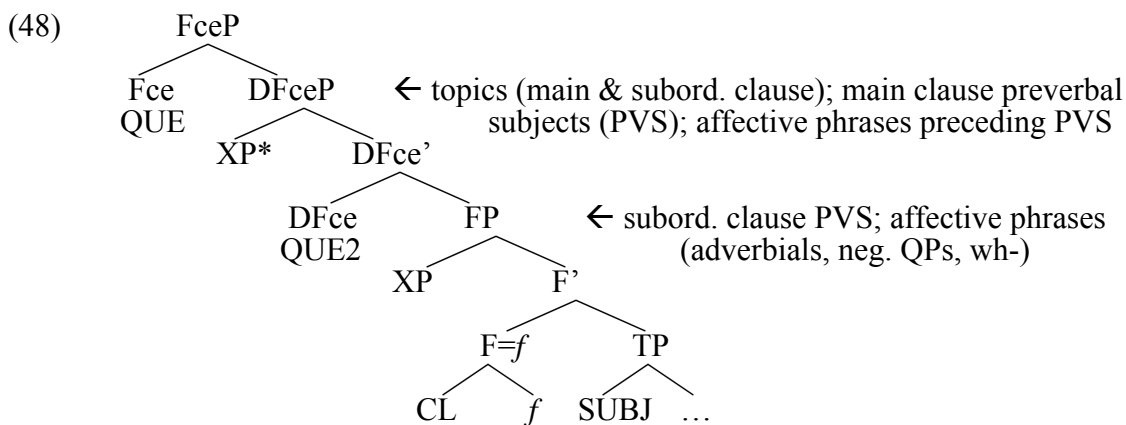
While both of these analyses explain why VOS is not preferred in object narrow-focus contexts, López's analysis does not predict that VSO should not be preferred in the same context. In VSO the underived object gets correctly marked [-a] while the *in situ* postverbal subject should remain unmarked. By Zubizarreta's analysis, the subject in VSO also falls within the scope of focus, thus correctly predicting that VSO would not be preferred for object narrow focus contexts.

So, how does López's proposal fare in the left periphery? Recall that he proposes a reduced, syncretic left periphery in which a variety of elements appear in Spec, Fin (47).



For López, if more than one FF/wh- or CLLD element appears the result is stacked specifiers of Fin. At the end of the second phase in López's proposal, the Pragmatics module assigns [+c] to Spec, Fin, and [-c] to the complement of Fin (i.e. TP).

In light of the cliticization data I have presented for Galician, some changes would have to be made for López's proposal to work. First of all, it would have to be modified so that [+c] assignment could take place in the projection I have been calling DFceP. This is not entirely problematic if it is just a question of labels, but a revision would have to be made to account for affective, contrastive elements that appear in Spec, FP (48).



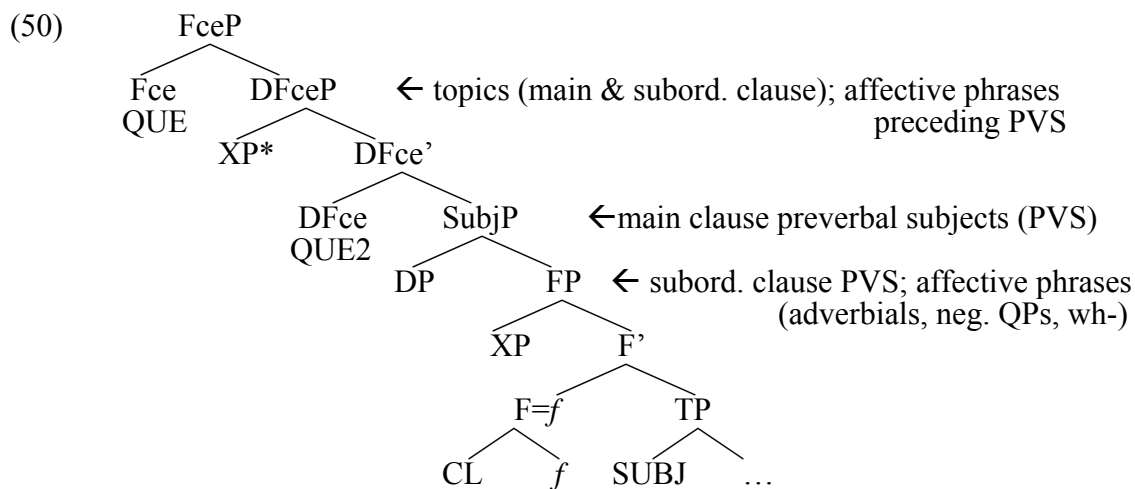
Such a modification of [$\pm c$] assignment is not *a priori* problematic: it would only have to be made for cases in which a clitic appears and *f* is projected; otherwise, it would target Spec, DFceP. Another, more substantive revision to López's proposal would have to be

made to account for preverbal subjects, which, in his proposal, never get assigned [+c] unless they move to Spec, FinP, i.e. when they are clearly topicalized (49).

- (49) **Xoán**, mercou unha moto recentemente.
 Xoán buy.PST.3SG a motorcycle recently

Xoán, he bought a motorcycle recently.

It is unclear to me how the Pragmatics module would be able to “filter out” preverbal subjects in (48), especially since they appear in a variety of positions when *f* is projected. Let us consider a separate preverbal subject-dedicated projection for instances when *f* is projected (50).



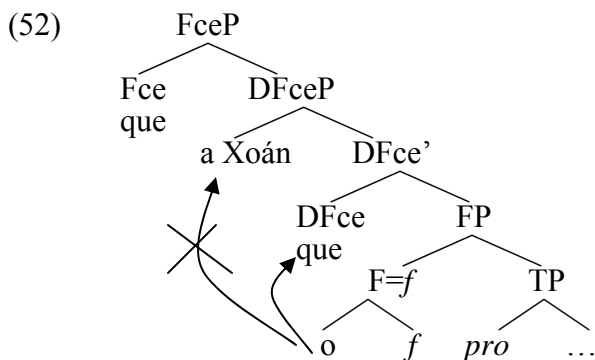
In a clausal architecture like (50), the first immediate disadvantage that surfaces is that we are required to posit additional clausal architecture in SubjP, which must be a freely available preverbal subject position. The second disadvantage is that two separate preverbal subject positions are still required since when *f* is projected, preverbal subjects provide a leftward fusion site in subordinate clauses, but not in main clauses. The latter is not as problematic as the former since there are two separate preverbal subject positions

in (45) as well. Given the leftward fusion domain that I have proposed, we have to make sure that the same cliticization predictions still obtain. Consider (23c), repeated as (51).

- (51) Dixeron **que** a Xoán **que** o viron
 say.PST.3PL that to Xoán that CL.ACC.3SG.M see.PST.3PL
 onte.
 yesterday

They said that Xoan that they saw him yesterday.

When an element does not intervene between the lower *que* (QUE2) and the clitic, no additional architecture intervenes, so nothing prevents QUE2 from serving as a leftward fusion host (52).

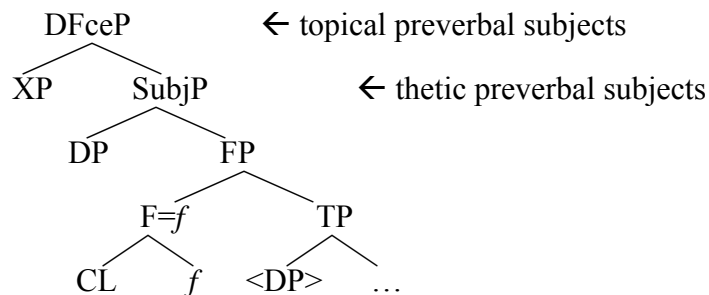


If the DFce head *que* (QUE2) is not merged, Spec, DFceP is still correctly ruled out as a clitic host, as previously. Any element intervening between a complementizer (QUE or QUE2) or a topicalized element and the clitic will correctly appear in Spec, FP and provide a leftward clitic host, and proclisis will result.

Now, we have been assuming that topicalized elements are attracted to Spec, DFceP following Martín-González (2002) due to the fact that topics appear between two complementizers without triggering proclisis. Now if the DFce projection is the lexicalization of topic features as suggested by Paoli (2006) and Rodríguez Ramalle

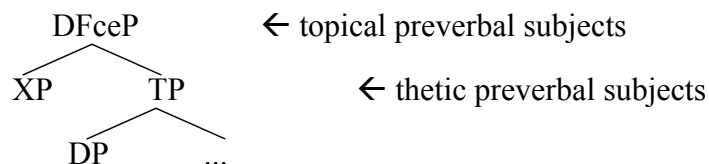
(2003), it is also possible that topical preverbal subjects are attracted to the same Spec, DFceP position. If topical preverbal subjects appear in Spec, DFceP, when f is projected (as we have been assuming for all preverbal subjects), enclisis will still obtain in main clauses. Since preverbal subjects inthetic sentences lack topical properties, when f is projected in main clauses they will not be attracted to Spec, FceP. Recall also that because of the enclisis facts, they may not appear in Spec, FP in main clauses, either. This could explain the appearance of preverbal subjects in Spec, SubjP as in (53).

(53) *Preverbal subject positions in main clauses with f*



In main clauses without a clitic (i.e. when f is not projected), a preverbal subject in Spec, DFceP would be practically indistinguishable from a preverbal subject in Spec, TP in a main clause (54).

(54) *Preverbal subject positions in main clauses without f*



In subordinate clauses lacking a projection of f , a preverbal subject appears in either Spec, TP or Spec, DFceP, as in (54). In subordinate clauses when f is projected, any sort

of preverbal subject – except for truly topicalized ones (49) – will appear in Spec, FP since it can provide a leftward clitic fusion site.

The remaining problem in the clausal architecture above (with SubjP) in the context of López's Pragmatics module is that it still has to possess some sort of mechanism for determining which elements should be [+c]-marked (affective phrases) and which elements should not be [+c]-marked (preverbal subject) in the Spec, FP position. If Pragmatics can determine which elements to mark [+c] in Spec, FP, I see no compelling reason why it would not also be able to do the same in Spec, DFceP. Therefore, the alternative clausal architecture with an additional dedicated position for preverbal subjects (50, 53) is no more advantageous than the architecture in (48) with respect to [+c] assignment.

In López's proposal for the information structure-syntax interface in Romance pragmatic roles are assigned at phase edges ([±a] in Spec, vP at the end of the first phase, and [±c] in Spec, FinP at the end of the second phase), which makes pragmatic feature assignment rather uncomplicated in his analysis. We have seen in this section that the left periphery in Galician requires a greater number of projections in order to account for the cliticization data. A crucial issue for López (2009) in light of the clausal architecture I have proposed for Galician has to do with what "counts" as the edge with respect to pragmatic feature assignment. Even if more than one projection may count as an edge, López's Pragmatics module would need to be modified in order to correctly assign [+c] discourse features to topical(ized) elements and affective phrases on the one hand, and not assign them to non-topical preverbal subjects on the other. Even putting aside this complication, edge calculation for [EPP] checking is even more problematic. Following e.g. Chomsky (2005), the [EPP] feature is inherited by T from C. Even if [EPP] inheritance can be "intercepted" by a C-realm head higher than T, given the variety of possible preverbal subject positions described above, such interception would have to be

arbitrary and *ad hoc* to fit the purposes of the preverbal element in question. This is clearly an undesirable proposition.

5.9. The A vs. A' debate revisited

The results of the quantitative tasks in Chapter 4 suggest that SVO is a preferred word order for a variety of discourse situations, with the only exception being subject narrow-focus contexts. If López (2009) is correct in positing that CLLD is impossible in discourse coordination contexts, then the fact that SVO word orders were preferred in these contexts provides indirect evidence that preverbal subjects are not left-peripheral, CLLD elements.

What about their occasional A'-behavior? It may be the case that the A-/A'-distinction may no longer be a relevant syntactic metric for determining the position of syntactic elements such as preverbal subjects, at least in languages with clitic pronouns that project F. As we have seen, if one adopts R & U's (2005) clitic analysis for Galician, we arrive at the rather paradoxical conclusion that preverbal subjects must appear higher than F when a clitic is present, thus suggesting a left-peripheral position for preverbal subjects. The question is whether subject positions higher than F qualify as A'-positions – clearly it is for Topic elements, so why should it not be for preverbal subjects? In the analysis I have proposed, preverbal subjects at least occasionally appear in the same position as Topics. So even though preverbal subjects *may* appear in A'-positions, must they? I propose that the answer is *sometimes*. If Spec, DFceP is an A'-position for topicalized XPs, it would seem that it must be so for preverbal subjects as well. If Spec, TP is not an A'-position, but rather an A-position, then preverbal subjects in languages like Galician already have double behavior since they sometimes appear in Spec, TP, and other times in Spec, FP, Spec, DFceP, and perhaps even Spec, SubjP. Therefore, it should not be entirely surprising that they exhibit dual A- and A'-behavior. There is nothing *a priori* about the presence of a clitic in F that should cause F to attract a subject DP to its

specifier in subordinate clauses, or to other, higher positions in main clauses.²⁷ In fact, R & U (2005) suggest that the presence of anything to the left of a clitic in F should result in proclisis, yet as I have shown above, this is clearly not so. While F is an extension of the inflectional projection T (especially when a clitic is merged), T also inherits features from the C-realm (following Chomsky 2005). Therefore, these projections work in conjunction as the derivation builds toward the left periphery and the interface with the phonological component. I propose that it is the very existence of clitic pronouns and cliticization in languages like Galician, Spanish and European Portuguese that is responsible for the dual A/A'-behavior of preverbal subjects in these languages.

5.10. Summary

In this chapter, I have attempted to provide an analysis for elements in the preverbal field in Galician based on their behaviors in conjunction with clitic pronouns and recomplementation contexts. I have argued that any meaningful syntactic analysis of preverbal subject positions must consider the position and behavior of clitics – especially in a language like Galician, which is enclitic. Raposo & Uriagereka's (2005) clitic pronoun analysis for Western Iberian, which was our point of departure in this chapter, forces preverbal subjects into the left periphery when a clitic is merged in F/*f* regardless of their discourse properties. In light of these complications, it still remains to be explained why preverbal subjects sometimes behave like A'-elements, and not always even when a clitic is present. I have suggested that the presence of clitics in languages like Galician is what extends the T-realm, and thus causes preverbal subjects to sometimes behave like A-elements. I have also suggested that the A-/A'-distinction may

²⁷ That is, unless the presence of a clitic in F causes an extension of the EPP checking domain to higher domains. This is purely speculation.

no longer be a relevant syntactic metric for determining the status of elements such as preverbal subjects, at least in languages with clitic pronouns.

I have shown main clause and subordinate clause cliticization data in Galician. Based on recomplementation cliticization data, I have determined the clausal positions that preverbal elements should appear in following R & U (2005). The amended left periphery that I have proposed for Galician includes a DoubledForceP (DFceP) projection. Following observations in Martín-González (2002), Rodríguez Ramalle (2003), and Demonte & Fernández-Soriano (2009), the lower complementizer in recomplementation sentences may appear in the head of this projection and preverbal subjects, topicalized elements, and affective phrases may appear in its specifier. I have discussed the possible positions that preverbal subjects may appear in, and have examined the applicability of López's (2009) proposal for the syntax-information structure interface, by which the Pragmatics module assigns pragmatic roles to certain syntactic positions at the end of each phase. I have examined the possibility that certain preverbal subject positions are assigned pragmatic roles following López (2009) and have discussed the modifications of his proposal that would be necessary to account for the Galician cliticization data. I have proposed that main clause preverbal subjects may move to a Spec, SubjP position which would escape [+c] assignment so that preverbal subjects inthetic sentences may remain non-topical. This possibility assumes the notion proposed by Rodríguez Ramalle (2003) that DFce is the lexicalization of topic features, which potentially involves invoking [+Topic] features hosted in DFce which would attract Topic XPs and topical preverbal subjects to its specifier and notthetic preverbal subjects. As we have seen, however, the complication involved in invoking such features is that doing so has been argued to violate the Inclusiveness Condition (e.g. Szendrői 2001, 2004). Since preverbal subjects may appear in the same structural positions as affective phrases or Topics, I have also suggested that Pragmatics may not be a blind mechanism, assigning [+c] to the edge of the second derivational phase; rather, it must somehow

“know” which elements to assign [+c] features to. Regardless of whether the DFce projection possesses [+Topic] features or not, the Galician cliticization data examined above indicates that in main clauses, preverbal subjects and Topics may not appear in Spec, FP, but in a higher structural position that triggers the Last Resort verb-swallowing operation that results in enclisis. Recall that fronted contrastive/focus elements in Galician only behave like Focus Fronting in Spanish in subordinate clauses; in main clauses and recomplementation, however, they behave like English or European Portuguese topicalization. Since these elements trigger enclisis in main clauses and recomplementation (like topicalized XPs) I have proposed that they are contrastive topics in these contexts, appearing in Spec, DFceP. This differs from R & U’s classification of these elements as affective phrases, which appear in Spec, FP in their analysis. Following R & U’s analysis, only elements in a specifier or head position immediately to the left of the clitic may qualify as elements within the leftward clitic fusion domain of the clitic. This asymmetry clearly merits further research.

The cliticization asymmetries for contrastive/fronted focus elements suggest that they may not appear in the same structural position as *wh*- elements, as suggested by e.g. Rizzi (1997). Recall that by R & U (2005), *wh*- elements move to Spec, FP, where they provide a leftward fusion site for clitics. As I have discussed, such an operation raises complications, as it would predict the possibility of preverbal subjects in *wh*- questions, contrary to fact. As simple *wh*- elements and subjects may not coincide in the preverbal field, I have suggested that *wh*- elements check [EPP] features in Spec, TP prior to moving to Spec, FP and that this is what precludes preverbal subjects in *wh*- questions.²⁸

²⁸ Note that the *simple* distinction must be made because *complex wh*- questions (e.g. *Por que...?* with the reading of ‘How come...?’) have been shown to not trigger inversion. See e.g. Gallego 2005 for more on this phenomenon.

I have suggested that negation (i.e. Neg head) left adjoins to the clitic in a move similar to clitic solidarity, and that this is what is responsible for negation serving as a leftward clitic fusion host. Given the structural positions for preverbal subjects, they must appear structurally lower than Spec, FP, the position for preverbal subjects in subordinate clauses, and higher than object clitics, which move to *f* in R & U's (2005) proposal.

With respect to preverbal subject movement to the specifier of the projections DFceP or SubjP there is the issue of [EPP] checking. As discussed above, [EPP] is not a feature that can appear and be checked wherever it is deemed convenient. Perhaps a larger question has to do with whether feature-checking as a motivation for movement (as per the basic assumption in minimalism for inflectional-type features) necessarily extends to “discourse” features, and whether movement to such specifier positions is “free”. Recall that the definition of “syntactic edge” is relevant not only for [EPP] feature-checking, but also for assignment of [+c] within López's (2009) syntax-information structure framework. The data that I have shown suggests that if one assumes R & U's proposal for enclisis, preverbal elements may appear in a variety of positions. This presents no minor complication for [+c] assignment. Another question related to López's proposal has to do with the validity of interpreting a given XP as topicalized or not by virtue of its eventual landing site in a particular syntactic configuration. As the C-realm has been claimed to be the locus of the syntax-discourse interface (e.g. Chomsky 2005), such a proposal appears to be well motivated.

5.11. Concluding remarks

This dissertation thus far has dealt with the syntax-information structure interface as it pertains to theoretical issues regarding clausal word order in Ibero-Romance. Within, I have examined the syntactic issues related to preverbal subjects and clausal word order on a theoretical level, and have sought to inform the issues and debate by examining Galician, a minority Romance language of northwest Spain. I have noted sociolinguistic

issues related to bilingualism as well as linguistic competence issues related to the gathering of linguistic data from minority language communities. I have discussed and established the notions that I have assumed related to information structure in developing a quantitative data-gathering methodology, and have detailed this methodology. This methodology was counterbalanced and supplemented by qualitative data gathering. I have presented the results that I gathered using this methodology and I have described how the variety of experimental data that I gathered for Galician informs this issue. I have discussed the implications that these experimental data have for analyses and proposals related to cliticization (namely R & U 2005), as well as the interface between syntax and information structure (López 2009). I have noted complications and challenges for these analyses, and have proposed modifications and improvements where possible in my analysis in this chapter.

Prior to concluding this dissertation, I would like to return to the research questions that guided this dissertation and, to the best of my ability, provide answers for these questions. The first five questions sought to establish word order preferences for a variety of discourse information structure contexts. I repeat these questions below:

1. What is the preferred clausal structure in Galician for *out-of-the-blue*,thetic, sentences?
2. What is the preferred clausal structure in Galician for sentences in which the grammatical subject represents discourse-old information?
3. What is the preferred clausal structure in Galician for sentences in which the grammatical object represents discourse-old information?
4. What is the preferred clausal structure in Galician for sentences in which the grammatical subject is narrow-focused (rheme)?
5. What is the preferred clausal structure in Galician for sentences in which the grammatical object is narrow-focused (rheme)?

As discussed in Chapter 4, according to the data gathered in this dissertation, the preferred word order for questions 1-3 and 5 is SVO. For a subset of the data related to question 3, discourse subordination contexts with a discourse-old object, CLLDVclS was also rated very highly – much higher than CLLDSVcl. For question 4, VclS is the preferred word order.

Question 6 sought to discover whether CLLD elements in Galician conform to López's (2009) analysis of CLLD within his proposal for the syntax-information structure interface in Romance. As we saw in Chapter 5, the answer to this question was not an easy one, and requires significant modification of his Pragmatics module to correctly assign [+c] to phrases appearing in a variety of left-peripheral projections.

Question 7 sought to describe how well the Galician data gathered contribute to the overall analysis of clausal structure in Galician. The Galician data was very informative in this respect. As we saw, however, the syntactic analysis of a language like Galician must take into account the clitic pronoun system. If Raposo & Uriagereka's (2005) analysis of cliticization in Western Iberian Romance is on the right track in positing F as the syntactic position to which clitics are drawn in these languages, the existence of clitics and their accompanying syntactic projection F requires an extension of the left periphery. The data examined in Chapter 5 also suggest the existence of additional left-peripheral architecture to which preverbal constituents are attracted when a clitic is present. I have pointed out, however, that there are complications related to motivating such movement within current Minimalist assumptions.

Question 8 asked what the data obtained for Galician implies for previous analyses of clausal structure in Spanish and European Portuguese. On the one hand, I have shown data that indirectly suggest that preverbal subjects are not left-peripheral elements. On the other hand, we have also seen that when clitics enter the derivation, following an analysis like Raposo & Uriagereka (2005) requires an extension of the left-peripheral, preverbal field. The data examined in Chapter 5 suggests that preverbal

subjects may appear in at least two and perhaps three additional preverbal projections when $F=f$ is projected in Galician. I have suggested that the variety of preverbal subject positions suggested by my analysis (especially in the presence of clitics) may be responsible for the dual A/A'-behavior of preverbal subjects in Galician. Ultimately, this may also be responsible for the same dual behavior in other Romance languages such as Spanish and European Portuguese. Further research on preverbal subjects in these languages, Slavic languages, and other minority Romance languages (e.g. Asturian, Eo-Navian (Eastern) Galician) that exhibit cliticization will help clarify and refine our understanding of clitics and the positions available to subjects – postverbal and preverbal.

APPENDIX A

LINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE FOR INITIAL TASKS

1. É vostede home ou muller?
2. É vostede estudante universitario?
3. Cantos anos ten vostede?
4. Naceu vostede en Galicia?
5. Cal é a súa cidade/vila/aldea de orixe?
6. Onde vive vostede hoxe en día?
7. Que lingua considera que é a súa lingua inicial (ou sexa, a lingua na que vostede aprendeu a falar)?
 - A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
8. Se vostede non se considera galegofalante inicial, a que idade comezou a aprender o galego?
9. Viviu vostede tempo fóra de Galicia?
10. Canto tempo pasou fóra de Galicia? (meses, anos)
11. Con que frecuencia fala vostede o galego en xeral?
 - A. todos os días
 - B. frecuentemente, pero non todos os días
 - C. de cando en vez
 - D. raras veces / case nunca
 - E. nunca

12. Que lingua(s) fala vostede en casa?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
13. Que lingua(s) fala vostede coa súa parella?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
14. Que lingua(s) fala a súa parella con vostede?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
15. Ten vostede emprego?
16. Con que frecuencia fala vostede o galego no traballo?
- A. todos os días
 - B. frecuentemente, pero non todos os días
 - C. de cando en vez
 - D. raras veces / case nunca
 - E. nunca
17. Ten vostede fillos?

18. Que lingua(s) fala vostede con ele/ela(s)?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
19. Que lingua(s) fala(n) o(s) seu(s) fillo(s) con vostede?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
20. Asiste(n) o(s) seu(s) fillo(s) a unha escola que ensina lingua galega?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
21. Cantas horas de instrución recibe(n) en galego por día? (un prometio é aceptable)
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
22. Que lingua(s) fala(ba) o seu pai con vostede?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas

23. Que lingua(s) fala(ba) vostede co seu pai?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
24. Que lingua(s) fala(ba) a súa nai con vostede?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
25. Que lingua(s) fala(ba) vostede coa súa nai?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
26. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) o seu pai para falar coa súa nai?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
27. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) a súa nai para falar co seu pai?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas

28. Que lingua(s) fala(ba) o seu avó paterno?

- A. gallego / galego
- B. castellano / castelán
- C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
- D. ningunha das dúas

29. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) el para falar con vostede?

- A. gallego / galego
- B. castellano / castelán
- C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
- D. ningunha das dúas

30. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) vostede para falar con el?

- A. gallego / galego
- B. castellano / castelán
- C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
- D. ningunha das dúas

31. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) el para falar coa súa avoa?

- A. gallego / galego
- B. castellano / castelán
- C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
- D. ningunha das dúas

32. Que lingua(s) fala(ba) a súa avoa paterna?

- A. gallego / galego
- B. castellano / castelán
- C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
- D. ningunha das dúas

33. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) ela para falar con vostede?

- A. gallego / galego
- B. castellano / castelán
- C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
- D. ningunha das dúas

34. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) vostede para falar con ela?

- A. gallego / galego
- B. castellano / castelán
- C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
- D. ningunha das dúas

35. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) ela para falar co seu avó?

- A. gallego / galego
- B. castellano / castelán
- C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
- D. ningunha das dúas

36. Que lingua(s) fala(ba) o seu avó materno?

- A. gallego / galego
- B. castellano / castelán
- C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
- D. ningunha das dúas

37. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) el para falar con vostede?

- A. gallego / galego
- B. castellano / castelán
- C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
- D. ningunha das dúas

38. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) vostede para falar con el?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
39. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) el para falar coa súa avoa?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
40. Que lingua(s) fala(ba) a súa avoa materna?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
41. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) ela para falar con vostede?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
42. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) vostede para falar con ela?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas

43. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) ela para falar co seu avó?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
44. Que nivel de formación ten vostede?
- A. ningunha
 - B. primaria
 - C. secundaria
 - D. universidade
 - E. algún nivel máis avanzado (p.e. Máster, Doutoramento)
45. Estudou vostede o galego na escola primaria?
46. Por cantos anos?
47. Con que frecuencia fala(ba) vostede o galego na escola primaria?
- A. todos os días
 - B. frecuentemente, pero non todos os días
 - C. de cando en vez
 - D. raras veces / case nunca
 - E. nunca
48. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) vostede para falar cos seus profesores?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas

49. Que lingua(s) usa(ba)n os seus profesores para falar con vostede?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
50. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) vostede para falar cos seus colegas da escola primaria?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
51. Estudou vostede o galego na escola secundaria?
52. Por cantos anos?
53. Con que frecuencia fala(ba) vostede o galego na escola secundaria?
- A. todos os días
 - B. frecuentemente, pero non todos os días
 - C. de cando en vez
 - D. raras veces / case nunca
 - E. nunca
54. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) vostede para falar cos seus profesores?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas

55. Que lingua(s) usa(ba)n os seus profesores para falar con vostede?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
56. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) vostede para falar cos seus colegas da escola secundaria?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas
57. Estudou vostede o galego na universidade?
58. Por cantos anos?
59. Con que frecuencia fala(ba) vostede o galego na universidade?
- A. todos os días
 - B. frecuentemente, pero non todos os días
 - C. de cando en vez
 - D. raras veces / case nunca
 - E. nunca
60. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) vostede para falar cos seus profesores?
- A. gallego / galego
 - B. castellano / castelán
 - C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
 - D. ningunha das dúas

61. Que lingua(s) usa(ba)n os seus profesores para falar con vostede?

- A. gallego / galego
- B. castellano / castelán
- C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
- D. ningunha das dúas

62. Que lingua(s) usa(ba) vostede para falar cos seus colegas da universidade?

- A. gallego / galego
- B. castellano / castelán
- C. as dúas (galego e castelán)
- D. ningunha das dúas

APPENDIX B

TASK 1: SCALED PRAGMATIC APPROPRIATENESS TASK

Condition A: Thetic contexts

*Instrucións: Nesta parte, vostede vai ler e escoitar un contexto. Na maioría dos casos os contextos se tratan da primeira parte dunha conversación. Despois, lea e escoite as posibles maneiras de continuar a conversación. Para cada posibilidade, avalíe a súa propiedade **segundo o contexto dado**.*

A1/1 Contexto: Xoán e Iago son amigos. Están a falar sobre a fin de semana.

Xoán – Que fas esta noite?

Iago – Por que? Que pasa?

A. Xoán – Carlos vai celebrar o seu aniversario.

1 2 3 4 5

B. Xoán –Vai celebrar Carlos o seu aniversario.

1 2 3 4 5

C. Xoán –Vai celebrar o seu aniversario Carlos.

1 2 3 4 5

A2/2 Contexto: Berta e Susana son amigas. Están a falar do fin de semana pasado.

Berta – Fuches á festa na casa de Carlos o sábado?

Fernanda – Claro. Divertínme moito alí, pero adiviña o que pasou.

Berta – Pois, que? Que aconteceu?

A. Fernanda – Reinaldo regaloulle un anel á súa noiva.

B. Fernanda – Regaloulle Reinaldo un anel á súa noiva.

C. Fernanda – Regaloulle un anel á súa noiva Reinaldo.

A3/3 Contexto: Xulia e María son amigas. Están a falar da fin de semana pasada que María pasou co seu noivo.

Xulia – Cómo che foi a excursión á praia?

María – Ben, pero ocorreu algo sorprendente!

Xulia – Anda! Que pasou?

A. María – Lourenzo deume un colar de ouro!

B. María – Deume Lourenzo un colar de ouro!

C. María – Deume un colar de ouro Lourenzo!

A4/4 Contexto: Manuela e Aurelia son colegas do traballo. Están a falar sobre unha reunión á que asistiu Aurelia.

Manuel – Que tal a reunión ca empresa construtora?

Antonio – Moi ben.

Manuel – E logo, que pasou?

A. Antonio – Un enxeñeiro presentou unha técnica innovadora.

B. Antonio – Presentou un enxeñeiro unha técnica innovadora.

C. Antonio – Presentou unha técnica innovadora un enxeñeiro.

A5/5 Contexto: Samuel e Andrés son amigos. Están a falar dunha cea recente.

Samuel – Que tal foi a cea?

Andrés – Non oíches o que aconteceu?

Samuel – Non. O que?

A. Andrés – Alicia declarou o seu amor para Ramón! Que sorpresa!

B. Andrés – Declarou Alicia o seu amor para Ramón! Que sorpresa!

C. Andrés – Declarou o seu amor Alicia para Ramón! Que sorpresa!

Condition B: Discourse-old subject (subordination)

B1/6 Contexto: Xoán e Iago son amigos. Están a falar sobre a filla de Iago.

Xoán – A túa filla foi ao campo có teu irmán, verdade?

Iago – Si, foi con el.

Xoán – Gústalle o campo?

A. Iago - Si, Branca adora os animais.

B. Iago - Si, adora Branca os animais.

C - Iago - Si, adora os animais Branca.

B2/7 Contexto: Xoán e Felipe son amigos. Están a falar da filla de Felipe.

Xoán – Cantos anos ten a túa filla máis pequena?

A. Felipe – Pois, Belén ten cinco anos.

B. Felipe – Pois, ten Belén cinco anos.

C. Felipe – Pois, ten cinco anos Belén.

B3/8 Contexto: Roberto e Carlos son amigos.

Roberto – Como está o teu curmán? Non o vin no autobús hoxe.

A. Carlos – Ese tolo mercou unha moto! Xa non vai no autobús.

B. Carlos – Mercou ese tolo unha moto! Xa non vai no autobús.

C. Carlos – Mercou unha moto ese tolo! Xa non vai no autobús.

B4/9 Contexto: Marta e Susana están a falar dos seus amigos, Xoán e Ana. Xoán e Ana son parella.

Marco – Que aconteceu con Xoán e Ana?

Fernán – Non puideron vir.

Marco – Por que?

A. Fernán – Porque Xoán ten un exame mañá.

B. Fernán – Porque ten Xoán un exame mañá.

C. Fernán – Porque ten un exame mañá Xoán.

B5/10 Contexto: Bélen e Celia son amigas.

Belén – Acabo de ver a túa irmá menor. Parecíame moi feliz!

A. Celia – Pois si. Ana alugou un piso novo. É precioso!

B. Celia – Pois si. Alugou Ana un piso novo. É precioso!

C. Celia – Pois si. Alugou un piso novo Ana. É precioso!

Condition C: Discourse-old object (subordination)

C1/11. Contexto: A mudanza. Carlos e Patricia son unha parella. Cando entran no seu piso novo, hai un montón de mobles no interior.

Patricia – Caramba! Meteu a túa familia todos os mobles xa?

A. Carlos – As mesas os meus tíos metéronas pero as cadeiras deixáronas no portal.

B. Carlos – Os meus tíos meteron as mesas pero as cadeiras deixáronas no portal.

C. Carlos – As mesas metéronas os meus tíos pero as cadeiras deixáronas no portal.

C2/12 Contexto: María Cristina e Lara, dúas amigas, están a falar do noivo de Lara.

María Cristina – E o teu noivo non levou a roupa que lle compraches?

A. Lara – Os pantalóns Marco levounos pero a camisa non a estreou aínda.

B. Lara – Marco levou os pantalóns pero a camisa non a estreou aínda.

C. Lara – Os pantalóns levounos Marcos pero a camisa non a estreou aínda.

C3 /13 Contexto: María Laura e Carolina son amigas. As súas fillas están facendo preparativos para saír.

María Laura – As rapazas están usando toda a túa maquillaxe, non si?

- A. Carolina - O lapis de labios Marta está usándoo pero a máscara non.
- B. Carolina - Marta está usando a lapis de labios pero a máscara non.
- C. Carolina - A lapis de labios está usándoo Marta pero a máscara non.

C4/14 Contexto: Iolanda e Ánxela son amigas. Iolanda está limpando o seu piso.

Ánxela – Levaron os compañeiros algúns dos teus libros vellos?

- A. Iolanda - *O Quixote* levouno Oscar pero *Crime e Castigo* deixouno.
- B. Iolanda - Oscar levou *O Quixote* pero *Crime e Castigo* deixouno.
- C. Iolanda - *O Quixote* Oscar levouno pero *Crime e Castigo* deixouno.

C5/15 Contexto: Roxelio e Eugenio son amigos. Eugenio vaise mudar moi pronto.

Roxelio - Viñeron recoller as túas cousas xa?

- A. Eugenio - A bici levouna o meu cuñado e o ordenador levarao a semana que ven.
- B. Eugenio - A bici o meu cuñado levouna e o ordenador levarao a semana que ven.
- C. Eugenio - O meu cuñado levou a bici e o ordenador levarao a semana que ven.

Condition D: Discourse-old subject (coordination)

D1/16 Contexto: Agosto 2008. Manuel e Agustín son compañeiros do traballo. Manuel está animado polos xogos olímpicos.

Manuel – Escoitaches?

Agustín – O que?

Manuel – Samuel Sánchez gañou unha medalla de ouro!

Agustín – Si? Que ben!

A. Manuel – Pois, si. E como resultado, o rapaz conseguiu un bo contrato de publicidade.

B. Manuel – Pois, si. E como resultado, conseguiu o rapaz un bo contrato de publicidade.

C. Manuel – Pois, si. E como resultado, conseguiu un bo contrato de publicidade o rapaz.

D2/17 Contexto: Agosto 2008. Rafael e Xosé Ramón son irmáns. Rafael ten moito interese no baloncesto olímpico.

Rafael - Sabías que a selección española de baloncesto gañou o partido contra Lituania?

Xosé Ramón – Non. Non me decatei.

A. Rafael – Ben, como resultado desa vitoria, o equipo xoga contra EE.UU. na final.

B. Rafael – Ben, como resultado desa vitoria, xoga o equipo contra EE.UU. na final.

C. Rafael – Ben, como resultado desa vitoria, xoga contra EE.UU. na final o equipo.

D3/18 Contexto: Sabela e Pilar son amigas e están a falar dunha amiga mutua.

Sabela - Seica Alicia saíu con Antonio o sábado pasado.

Pilar - Si? Pero é tan tímida...

- A. Sabela - E despois a rapaza deulle un bico na boca!
- B. Sabela - E despois deulle a rapaza un bico na boca!
- C. Sabela - E despois deulle un bico na boca a rapaza!

D4/19 Contexto: Amanda e Uxía son colegas da universidade. Amanda asistiu a un curso de verán.

Uxía - Que tal che foi o curso de verán?

Amanda – Tivemos o exame final o venres...

- A. Amanda – E inmediatamente despois todos os compañeiros bebemos unha copa no centro.
- B. Amanda – E inmediatamente despois bebemos todos os compañeiros unha copa no centro.
- C. Amanda – E inmediatamente despois bebemos unha copa no centro todos os compañeiros.

D5/20 Contexto: Xurxo e Emilio son amigos. Xurxo está a falar dunha cea familiar.

Xurxo – Reuniuse a miña familia onte a noite para cear xuntos.

Emilio – Isto non é moi común, non?

Xurxo – Non, pero fíxache...

- A. Emilio – Pouco despois da cea, o meu irmán tivo unha consulta no hospital.
- B. Emilio – Pouco despois da cea, tivo unha consulta o meu irmán no hospital.
- C. Emilio – Pouco despois da cea, tivo o meu irmán unha consulta no hospital.

Condition E: Discourse-old object (coordination)

- E1/21 Pedro viu a María na biblioteca o sábado.
- A. Tamén o domingo, a rapaza viuna Marco alí.
- B. Tamén o domingo, a rapaza Marco viuna alí.
- C. Tamén o domingo, Marco viuna alí.
-
- E2/22 Elvira telefonou o seu noivo. El dixo que ía durmir porque tiña sono.
- A. Mais tarde, o tipo ela e as súas amigas vírono no centro.
- B. Mais tarde, o tipo vírono ela e as súas amigas no centro.
- C. Mais tarde, ela e as súas amigas o vírono no centro.
-
- E3/23 A tía de Antón deulle un novo xoguete para o seu aniversario.
- A. Pouco despois, o xoguete rompeuno o seu irmán cun martelo.
- B. Pouco despois, o xoguete o seu irmán rompeuno cun martelo.
- C. Pouco despois, o seu irmán rompeuno cun martelo.
-
- E4/24 O equipo de fútbol de Xesús gañou un trofeo no torneo.
- A. Coma resultado, o trofeo colocouno o presidente do equipo no seu estante.
- B. Coma resultado, o trofeo o presidente do equipo colocouno no seu estante.
- C. Coma resultado, o presidente do equipo colocouno no seu estante.
-
- E5/25 Carlos comprou un videoxogo novo a semana pasada.
- A. Coma resultado, o xogo xógano el e os seus amigos todos os días.
- B. Coma resultado, o xogo el e os seus amigos xógano todos os días.
- C. Coma resultado, el e os seus amigos xógano todos os días.

Condition F: Subject narrow-focus (rheme)

F1/26 Contexto: Sandra e Beatriz son amigas. Sandra preguntalle sobre unha caixa no seu piso.

Sandra – Que é iso? Que bonito!

Beatriz – Iso? Pois, é un regalo que chegou por correo para o meu aniversario.

Sandra – Quen cho enviou?

A. Beatriz – A miña irmá envioumo a semana pasada. Non vai poder vir para a miña festa.

B. Beatriz – Envioumo a miña irmá a semana pasada. Non vai poder vir para a miña festa.

C. Beatriz – Envioumo a semana pasada a miña irmá. Non vai poder vir para a miña festa.

F2 /27 Contexto: Xan e Pedro son amigos e están a falar no bar cando Pedro, outro amigo, se acerca.

Antón – Como estades?

Xan, Pedro – Ben, e ti?

Antón –Escoitei un pouco de lonxe, pero qué diciades? Quen comprou un tractor novo?

A. Xan – Paulo comprou un tractor novo.

B. Xan – Comprou un tractor novo Paulo.

C. Xan – Comprou Paulo un tractor novo.

F3/28 Contexto: Andrés e Felipe son irmáns. Andrés acaba de chegar a casa.

Andrés – Uff! Quen cociñou?

- A. Felipe – Alexandre preparou toda a comida.
- B. Felipe – Preparou Alexandre toda a comida.
- C. Felipe – Preparou toda a comida Alexandre.

F4/29 Contexto: Mariana, Teresa e Andrea son irmás. Mariana abriu e pechou a neveira.

Mariana – Jo! Quen comeu o último xeadó?

- A. Teresa – Non te deches conta? Andrea comeuno onte.
- B. Teresa – Non te deches conta? Comeuno Andrea onte.
- C. Teresa – Non te deches conta? Comeuno onte Andrea.

F5/30 Contexto: Martín vai preguntarlle algo ao seu pai.

Martín – Quen levou o coche?

- A. Pai – Laura levouno esta mañá.
- B. Pai – Levouno Laura esta mañá.
- C. Pai – Levouno esta mañá Laura.

Condition G: Object narrow-focus (rheme)

G1/31 Contexto: Afonso, Mateo e Beto son amigos. Afonso e Beto están a falar dun gran sorteo que houbo recentemente.

Afonso – Gañou Mateo algunha cousa no sorteo?

Beto – Pois, si.

Afonso – Entón? Que gañou?

- A. Beto – O cabronazo gañou un televisor.
- B. Beto – Gañou o cabronazo un televisor.
- C. Beto – Gañou un televisor o cabronazo.

G2/32 Contexto: Jesús e Carlos son amigos. É o aniversario de Carlos.

Jesús – Feliz aniversario, Carlos.

Carlos – Grazas.

Jesús – Que che regalou a túa familia?

A. Carlos - Meus pais regaláronme un libro.

B. Carlos - Regaláronme meus pais un libro.

C. Carlos - Regaláronme un libro meus pais.

G3/33 Contexto: Manuela e Claudia son amigas. Están a falar da selectividade.

Manuela – Que nota sacou o teu fillo na selectividade?

A. Claudia – Miguel sacou unha 5,3.

B. Claudia – Sacou Miguel unha 5,3.

C. Claudia – Sacou unha 5,3 Miguel.

G4/34 Contexto: Nai e filla. Están a falar da irmá, Ánxela.

Nai - Que comeu a túa irmá para o xantar?

A. Filla - Angélica comeu un bocadillo.

B. Filla - Comeu Angélica un bocadillo.

C. Filla - Comeu un bocadillo Angélica.

G5/35 Contexto: Eduardo e Amancio son amigos. Están a falar da filla de Amancio.

Eduardo – Entón, que tipo de coche decidiu comprar a túa filla?

A. Amancio – Diana comprou un Fiat.

B. Amancio – Comprou Diana un Fiat.

C. Amancio – Comprou un Fiat Diana.

APPENDIX C

TASK 2: WORD ORDER PREFERENCE TASK

Instructions and Practice Items

Instrucións: Nos exemplos abaixo, imos ver exemplos de ordes de palabras diferentes. A idea deste exercicio é colocar a palabra entre parénteses no lugar certo dentro da oración. En cada caso é posible escoller un dos lugares, ou os dous lugares.

Non todos os ordes de palabras son aceptables. No primeiro exemplo (Ex. 1), un só orden de palabras é posible no contexto dado.

Ex. 1 O meu amigo Pedro ten moito diñeiro, mais ten moi mala sorte na súa vida.

Pedro é un _____ home _____.
(pobre)

- A. Pedro é un home pobre.
- B. Pedro é un pobre home.
- C. As dúas posibilidades.

Pedro é un home pobre. → Non é apropiado neste contexto, xa que sabemos que Pedro ten moito diñeiro.

Pedro é un pobre home. → Aquí o adxectivo está no lugar certo para o contexto dado. Pedro ten mala fortuna.

Vostede escolle “B” con “pobre home”.

No exemplo número 2 un só orden de palabras é posible tamén.

Ex. 2. A miña amiga Sandra ten mala sorte tamén.

Onte perdeu o seu _____ bolso _____.

(vermello)

- A. Onte Sandra perdeu o seu bolso vermello.
- B. Onte Sandra perdeu o seu vermello bolso.
- C. As dúas posibilidades.

Onte Sandra perdeu o seu bolso vermello. → *Vermello* é a calidade que describe o bolso. Ocorre despois do nome.

**Onte Sandra perdeu o seu vermello bolso.* → Non é un orden de palabras aceptable.

Vostede escolle “A” con “bolso vermello”.

En outros casos, dous ordes de palabras son posibles.

Ex. 3. O fin de semana pasado ceamos nun restaurante de luxo.

Alí serven _____ comida _____.

(boa)

- A. Alí serven boa comida.
- B. Alí serven comida boa.
- C. As dúas posibilidades.

Alí serven boa comida.

Alí serven comida boa.

Neste caso, non hai diferenza de significado si colocamos o adxectivo antes ou despois do nome. Tamén, é apropiado no contexto dado.

Vostede escolle “as dúas posibilidades”.

Nas outras frases que imos ver, vostede ten que colocar outros elementos gramaticais dentro da frase.

NOTA IMPORTANTE: Fíxese no contexto da conversación nas oracións. En moitos casos o contexto determina o orden correcto de palabras.

Instrucións: Le o contexto seguinte. Abaixo, indica a posición correcta para o elemento entre parénteses. Escriba na caixa o orden de palabras máis apropiada, ou no caso que os dous ordes son posibles, escriba “os dous ordes”.

Contexto 1: Universidade

NOTE: The context tokens below are coded according to their discourse condition. “A” tokens correspond tothetic contexts. “B” tokens involved a discourse-old subject DP. “C” tokens are subject narrow-focus (rheme). “D” tokens are object narrow-focus (rheme). “E” tokens involved a discourse-old object DP, which is left-dislocated. “F” tokens are distractors involving Noun-Adjective order.

A1 Manuel – Velaí vén o meu irmán. Agora xa non vive con nós, senón na casa dos avós, porque está estudando fóra da aldea. Alí xunta eles, ten tódalas comodidades de casa. Ademais, _____ viven _____ enriba e o seu fillo estuda onda el.

(os nosos tíos)

- A. Ademais, os nosos tíos viven enriba e o seu fillo estuda onda el.
- B. Ademais, viven os nosos tíos enriba e o seu fillo estuda onda el.
- C. As dúas posibilidades.

B1 Manuel – O amigo do meu irmán, Fran, veu para xogar ao baloncesto esta tarde, pero non sabía que _____ ten _____ un exame mañá.

(Daniel)

A. Manuel – O amigo do meu irmán, Fran, veu para xogar ao baloncesto esta tarde, pero non sabía que Daniel ten un exame mañá.

B. Manuel – O amigo do meu irmán, Fran, veu para xogar ao baloncesto esta tarde, pero non sabía que ten Daniel un exame mañá.

C. As dúas posibilidades.

B2 Veciño – Mmm. Ese foi Fran! Hai tempo que non o vin. E que fixo o teu curmán durante o verán?

Manuel – _____ pintou _____ a casa dos meus avós.

(Vicente)

A. Manuel – Vicente pintou a casa dos meus avós.

B. Manuel – Pintou Vicente a casa dos meus avós.

C. As dúas posibilidades.

D1 Veciño – Pagáronlle algo?

Manuel – Pois si, un pouco.

Veciño – E que mercou cos cartos?

Manuel – Mercou _____ o rapaz _____. É un estudante moi serio.

(unha impresora)

A. Manuel – Mercou unha impresora o rapaz.

B. Manuel – Mercou o rapaz unha impresora.

C. As dúas posibilidades.

Contexto 2: A entrevista sobre o restaurante

B3 Miguel – Moita xente preguntame sobre o meu avó. É moi famoso porque tivo o primeiro restaurante na miña vila e logo foi alcalde. Aos 23 anos casou coa muller máis bela da vila, María José García Bastos. _____ gañou _____ un premio
(o meu avó)

polo seu servizo ao pobo no ano 1984 e aínda ten aquel restaurante.

- A. O meu avó gañou un premio polo seu servizo ao pobo no ano 1984 e aínda ten aquel restaurante.
- B. Gañou o meu avó un premio polo seu servizo ao pobo no ano 1984 e aínda ten aquel restaurante.
- C. As dúas posibilidades.

D2 Reporteiro - Que serven no seu restaurante?

Miguel – Serven _____ os meus avós _____, claro! Son moi
(comida galega)

famosos pola variedade de pratos que serven alí.

- A. Miguel – Serven os meus avós comida galega, claro!
- B. Miguel – Serven comida galega os meus avós, claro!
- C. As dúas posibilidades.

E1 Reporteiro – De onde veñen os alimentos que usades?

Miguel – Os mariscos _____ tráeos _____ da costa dúas veces por semana.
(o meu tío)

- A. Miguel – Os mariscos o meu tío tráeos da costa dúas veces por semana.
- B. Miguel – Os mariscos tráeos o meu tío da costa dúas veces por semana.
- C. As dúas posibilidades.

A2 Reporteiro – Seica é un restaurante moi familiar. Pódeme explicar máis?

Miguel – _____ escolle _____ os viños que serven no restaurante.

(o meu avó)

El é amante do viño.

A. Miguel – Escolle o meu avó os viños que serven no restaurante.

B. Miguel – O meu avó escolle os viños que serven no restaurante.

C. As dúas posibilidades.

G1 Reporteiro – Traballa a túa avoa no restaurante?

Miguel – Pois, si.

Reporteiro – Como é a túa avoa?

Miguel – É unha _____ muller _____.

(agarimosa)

A. Miguel – É unha agarimosa muller.

B. Miguel – É unha muller agarimosa.

C. As dúas posibilidades.

B4 Reporteiro - E que fai a túa irmá?

Miguel – Pois, _____ traballa _____ no restaurante como camareira.

(Silvia)

A. Miguel – Pois, Silvia traballa no restaurante como camareira.

B. Miguel – Pois, traballa Silvia no restaurante como camareira.

C. As dúas posibilidades.

C1 Reporteiro - Din que alguén famoso comeu no restaurante do seu avó recentemente. Pódeme dicir quen foi?

Miguel – Non che podo dicir, mais _____ probou _____ o caldo e
(o escritor)

gustoulle moito!

A. Miguel – Non che podo dicir, mais probou o escritor o caldo e gustoulle moito!

B. Miguel – Non che podo dicir, mais o escritor probou o caldo e gustoulle moito!

C. As dúas posibilidades.

Contexto 3: Unha mudanza de pesadelo

E2 Uxío - Que tal a mudanza?

Henrique - Pois, mais ou menos. Pero con esta empresa nada está no seu lugar.

Uxío - Anda! Os mobles grandes tamén?

Henrique - Ben, polo menos, a mesa _____ deixárona _____ no comedor!
(os rapaces)

A. Henrique - Ben, polo menos, a mesa os rapaces deixárona no comedor!

B. Henrique - Ben, polo menos, a mesa deixárona os rapaces no comedor!

C. As dúas posibilidades.

E3 Uxío – E onde deixaron os outros mobles?

Henrique – Uff! O sofá _____ encontrouno _____ no balcón.
(a miña filla)

A. Henrique – Uff! O sofá a miña filla encontrouno no balcón.

B. Henrique – Uff! O sofá encontrouno a miña filla no balcón.

C. As dúas posibilidades.

C2 Uxío - Quen che suxeriu esta empresa?

Henrique - _____ suxeriuma _____ porque é amigo do dono.

(o meu irmán)

A. Henrique – O meu irmán suxeriuma porque é amigo do dono.

B. Henrique – Suxeriuma o meu irmán porque é amigo do dono.

C. As dúas posibilidades.

Contexto 4: Unha noite de festa

G2 Xulia – Onde imos ir esta noite?

Noelia – Primeiro, imos a casa de Carlos. Despois diso, imos ir

á _____ discoteca _____ ao lado do porto.

(nova)

A. Noelia – Primeiro, imos a casa de Carlos. Despois diso, imos ir

á nova discoteca ao lado do porto.

B. Noelia – Primeiro, imos a casa de Carlos. Despois diso, imos ir

á discoteca nova ao lado do porto.

C. As dúas posibilidades.

A3 Xulia – Non coñezo esa zona.

Noelia – Non? Pois, xa verás. Vai moita xente as fins de semana. Ademais,

_____ teñen _____ certo encanto.

(os bares)

A. Noelia – Non? Pois, xa verás. Vai moita xente as fins de semana. Ademais,

os bares teñen certo encanto.

B. Noelia – Non? Pois, xa verás. Vai moita xente as fins de semana. Ademais,

teñen os bares certo encanto.

C. As dúas posibilidades.

G3 Xulia – E non levas a túa mochila?

Noelia – Que dis? A _____ mochila _____ ? Non. Perdina na praia hai un ano.

(azul)

A. Noelia – Que dis? A azul mochila?

B. Noelia – Que dis? A mochila azul?

C. As dúas posibilidades.

E4 Xulia – Pensades estrear a roupa que comprastes onte?

Noelia – A saia _____ estrearaa _____ pero os zapatos non os levará

(a miña irmá)

porque non fan xogo.

A. Noelia – A saia a miña irmá estrearaa pero os zapatos non os levará porque non fan xogo.

B. Noelia – A saia estrearaa a miña irmá pero os zapatos non os levará porque non fan xogo.

C. As dúas posibilidades.

D3 Xulia – Está lista xa a túa irmá?

Noelia – Case, case...

Xulia – Que busca?

Noelia – Busca _____ a pobriña _____ para secar o pelo.

(unha toalla)

A. Noelia – Busca unha toalla a pobriña para secar o pelo.

B. Noelia – Busca a pobriña unha toalla para secar o pelo.

C. As dúas posibilidades.

C3 Xulia – E dime. Quen comprou a torta de aniversario?

Noelia – _____ comprouna _____ esta tarde.

(Dora)

A. Noelia – Comprouna Dora esta tarde.

B. Noelia – Dora comprouna esta tarde.

C. As dúas posibilidades.

Contexto 5: O escándalo

G4 Cristiano - Por que dimitiu o deputado?

Samo - Porque é o _____ asasino _____ da súa muller.

(presunto)

A. Samo - Porque é o presunto asasino da súa muller.

B. Samo - Porque é o asasino presunto da súa muller.

C. As dúas posibilidades.

A4 Cristiano - Que aconteceu?

Samo - Non se sabe exactamente. _____ encontrou _____ a muller

(a señora da limpeza)

morta.

A. Samo -A señora da limpeza encontrou a muller morta.

B. Samo -Encontrou a señora da limpeza a muller morta.

C. As dúas posibilidades.

G5 Cristiano - Que dixo o deputado sobre o asunto?

Samo - Ata agora, di que foi un _____ accidente _____ e que é inocente.

(mero)

A. Samo - Ata agora, di que foi un mero accidente e que é inocente.

B. Samo - Ata agora, di que foi un accidente mero e que é inocente.

C. As dúas posibilidades.

D4 Cristiano - Que evidencias encontrou a policía?

Samo - Encontraron _____ os detectives _____ debaixo da muller. Ese

(un coitelo)

coitelo tiña as pegadas dixitais do deputado.

A. Samo - Encontraron un coitelo os detectives debaixo da muller.

B. Samo - Encontraron os detectives un coitelo debaixo da muller.

C. As dúas posibilidades.

C4 Cristiano - Quen vai defendelo con evidencias así?

Samo - No telexornal din que _____ o defenderá _____! É

(o cuñado)

avogado en Madrid.

A. Samo - No telexornal din que o cuñado o defenderá!

B. Samo - No telexornal din que o defenderá o cuñado!

C. As dúas posibilidades.

Contexto 6: A tenda de animais

- C5 Carmen – Paula, dime, quen foi na túa familia que decidiu abrir a tenda de animais?
- Paula - _____ abriuna _____ porque notou que cada día a xente
(o meu home)
compraba máis mascotas.
- A. Paula - O meu home abriuna porque notou que cada día a xente compraba máis mascotas.
- B. Paula - Abriuna o meu home porque notou que cada día a xente compraba máis mascotas.
- C. As dúas posibilidades.
- D5 Carmen – E que tipo de animais vende o teu home?
- Paula – Vende _____ Serxio _____ , principalmente.
(gatos e cans)
- A. Paula -Vende Serxio gatos e cans, principalmente.
- B. Paula -Vende gatos e cans Serxio, principalmente.
- C. As dúas posibilidades.
- B5 Paula – Pero hai outros tipos de tendas de animais tamén
- Carmen – Por exemplo?
- Paula – Pois, _____ venden _____ animais mais exóticos como
(outras tendas)
hámsters, peixes ou víboras.
- A. Paula - Pois, outras tendas venden animais mais exóticos como hámsters, peixes ou víboras.

B. Paula - Pois, venden outras tendas animais mais exóticos como hámsters, peixes ou víboras.

C. As dúas posibilidades.

A5 Paula – Mmm...!

Carmen – Que pasa?

Paula – Isto dos animais exóticos me fai lembrar unha historia graciosa.

Carmen – Conta, conta!

Paula – _____ mercou _____ algúns roedores – ratos, hámsters –
(a miña cuñada)

porque pensou que sería boa idea vendelos.

A. Paula - A miña cuñada mercou algúns roedores

B. Paula - Mercou a miña cuñada algúns roedores

C. As dúas posibilidades.

E5 Carmen – E que? Ninguén quixo comprar os roedores?

Paula – Non. Que va! Os ratos, _____ comprounos todos _____ ,
(un home)

pero cando a miña cuñada se decatou para qué os quería, rexeitou venderllos.

Pensaba usar os ratos como comida para a súa víbora!

A. Paula - Os ratos, un home comprounos todos,

B. Paula - Os ratos, comprounos todos un home,

C. As dúas posibilidades.

APPENDIX D

TASK 3: RECORDED FIELD INTERVIEW

Interview A: Questions for young people

1. Pódesme contar un pouco sobre ti/tú?
Cantos anos tes? De onde és? Onde vives agora?
2. Pódesme contar un pouco sobre a súa familia? Son todos do mesmo lugar?
3. Pódesme contar unha anécdota da túa mocidade?
4. Por onde saes en xeral?
5. Como ves a diferenza entre a xeración nova e a túa xeración?
6. Como ves a diferenza entre a túa xeración e as xeracións anteriores?
Por exemplo, no tema da relixión ves moita diferenza?
7. Pódesme contar un pouco sobre a súa vila/aldea/cidade?
8. Houbo algún escándalo nesa vila/aldea/cidade nos últimos anos? Céntame un pouco.
9. Que opinas sobre a lingua galega?
10. Como ves o futuro para Galicia/Galiza? E o futuro da lingua?
11. Que estudas?
12. Como escolleches a carreira?
13. Preguntas sobre os irmás. Os seus nomes, idades, que fan, etc.

Interview B: Questions for older people

1. Pódeme contar un pouco sobre vostede?
Cantos anos ten? De onde é? Onde vive agora?
2. Pódeme contar un pouco sobre a súa familia? Son todos do mesmo lugar?
3. En que traballa(ba)? É moi diferente hoxe en día (a industria, o traballo, etc.)?
4. Pódeme contar unha anécdota da súa mocidade?
5. Como ve a diferenza entre a xeración nova e a súa xeración?
6. Como ve a diferenza entre a súa xeración e as xeracións anteriores?
Por exemplo, no tema da relixión ve moita diferenza?
7. Pódeme contar un pouco sobre a súa vila/aldea/cidade?
8. Houbo algún escándalo nesa vila/aldea/cidade nos últimos anos? Cónteme un pouco.
9. Como foi a súa experiencia durante a transición á democracia?
10. Cal foi a reacción da xente onde vivía?
11. Que opina vostede sobre a lingua galega?
12. Como ve o futuro para Galicia/Galiza? E o futuro da lingua?
13. Preguntas sobre os irmás. Os seus nomes, idades, que fan, etc.
14. Preguntas sobre os fillos. Os seus nomes, idades, que fan, etc.

APPENDIX E

TASK X: NARROW FOCUS FOLLOW-UP FOR TASK 2

Cuestionario lingüístico

1. Indica o teu sexo: masculino feminino
2. Indica a túa idade:
3. Indica o último nivel de formación que completaches:
 - primaria
 - secundaria
 - licenciatura (ou equivalente)
 - estudos superiores / posgrao
4. Onde naciches?
5. Onde medraches?
6. Onde vives actualmente?
7. Consideráste falante inicial de galego?
8. Consideráste falante habitual de galego?

Condition 1: Subject narrow focus (SV vs. VS)

Instrucións: Tomando en conta as seguintes situacións breves, escolle a mellor maneira de continuar a conversa entre as dúas opcións presentadas.

1. CONTEXTO: Paulo e Xurxo son amigos. Están a falar dun coche novo que está en fronte do piso deles.

Xurxo – Quen comprou o coche novo?

- a. Paulo – Daniel comprouno.
- b. Paulo – Comprouno Daniel.

2. CONTEXTO: Iria e Xavier son irmáns. Xavier está a buscar no conxelador.

Xavier – Iria! Quen comeu o último xeador?

a. Iria – Non te deches conta? Andrea comeuno.

b. Iria – Non te deches conta? Comeuno Andrea.

3. CONTEXTO: Martín acaba de entrar no piso, perplexo. Vai preguntarlle algo ao seu pai.

Martín – Papá! Quen levou o coche?

a. Pai – Lara levouno.

b. Pai – Levouno Lara.

4. CONTEXTO: Carme e Marcos son amigos. Carme acaba de entrar no piso de Marcos para unha cea de amigos.

Carme – Uff! Quen preparou toda a comida?

a. Marcos - Iago preparouna.

b. Marcos - Preparouna Iago.

5. CONTEXTO: Pepa e Beatriz son amigas do traballo. Están a falar cando Beatriz nota un regalo encima do escritorio de Pepa.

Beatriz – Guau! Quen che enviou o regalo? Que bonito!

a. Pepa – A miña irmá envioumo.

b. Pepa – Envioumo a miña irmá.

6. CONTEXTO: Uxío e Henrique son amigos. Están en fronte do garaxe dun mecánico. O coche de Henrique está en malas condicións. Uxío está a mirar o garaxe dun xeito desconfiado.

Uxío – E quen che suxeriu este garaxe?

a. Henrique - O meu irmán suxeriumo porque é amigo do dono.

b. Henrique - Suxeriumo o meu irmán porque é amigo do dono.

7. CONTEXTO: Xulia e Eva están na festa de aniversario dunha colega.

Xulia – Que bonita! Quen comprou a torta de aniversario?

a. Eva – Comprouna Dora.

b. Eva – Dora comprouna.

8. CONTEXTO: Basilio e Anxo son amigos. Anxo cóntalle a Basilio dun escándalo recente.

Basilio - Quen vai defender o alcalde con evidencias así?

a. Anxo - No telexornal din que o seu cuñado o defenderá. É avogado en Madrid.

b. Anxo - No telexornal din que o defenderá o seu cuñado. É avogado en Madrid.

9. CONTEXTO: Ana é colega de Paula. Están a falar na tenda de animais da familia de Paula.

Ana – Paula, nunca cho preguntei. Dime, quen na túa familia abriu a tenda?

a. Paula – O meu avó abriuna.

b. Paula – Abriuna o meu avó.

10. CONTEXTO: Un reporteiro entrevista ao dono dun restaurante moi luxoso.

Reporteiro – Dinme que moitos galegos célebres visitan o seu restaurante. Quen probou as súas ameixas famosas recentemente?

- a. Dono – Probounas Méndez Ferrín.
- b. Dono – Méndez Ferrín probounas.

Condition 2: Object narrow focus (SVO vs. VSO)

11. CONTEXTO: David e Xoán son amigos. Están a falar do aniversario de David.

Xoán – Que che regalou a túa familia?

- a. David – Meus pais regaláronme un libro.
- b. David – Regaláronme meus pais un libro.

12. CONTEXTO: Agustín e Miguel son veciños e están a falar dos fillos.

Agustín – Que tipo de coche decidiu comprar a túa filla?

- a. Miguel – Diana comprou un Citroën.
- b. Miguel – Comprou Diana un Citroën.

13. CONTEXTO: Miguel Anxo entra na sala onde está sentado o seu pai.

Pai – Que comeu a túa irmá para o xantar?

- a. Miguel Anxo – Ánxela comeu un bocadillo.
- b. Miguel Anxo – Comeu Ánxela un bocadillo.

14. CONTEXTO: Fernando e Daniel son amigos. Están a falar dos fillos.

Fernando - Cantos anos ten a túa filla máis pequena?

- a. Daniel - Pois, Belén ten cinco anos.
- b. Daniel - Pois, ten Belén cinco anos.

15. CONTEXTO: Ana e Iria teñen fillos na mesma promoción do instituto.

Ana – Que notas sacou o teu fillo na selectividade?

a. Iria – Miguel sacou un 5,3.

b. Iria – Sacou Miguel un 5,3.

16. CONTEXTO: Iris está a falar con Santi, o irmán de Mateo.

Iris – Que gañou Mateo no sorteo?

a. Santi – O cabronazo gañou un televisor!

b. Santi – Gañou o cabronazo un televisor!

17. CONTEXTO: Xurxo e Manuel son veciños. Están a falar dos fillos.

Xurxo – E que mercou teu fillo cos cartos que gañou?

a. Manuel – Mercou o rapaz unha impresora nova. É un estudante moi serio.

b. Manuel – O rapaz mercou unha impresora nova. É un estudante moi serio.

18. CONTEXTO: Un reporteiro está a entrevistar a Miguel. El traballa no restaurante familiar.

Reporteiro - Que serven no seu restaurante?

a. Miguel – Serven os meus avós comida galega, claro!

b. Miguel – Os meus avós serven comida galega, claro!

19. CONTEXTO: Raquel, Xulia e Xoana son amigas. Estanse a preparar para saír.

Xulia – Está lista xa a túa irmá?

Raquel – Case, case...

Xulia – Que busca?

a. Raquel – Busca a pobriña unha toalla para secar o pelo.

b. Raquel – A pobriña busca unha toalla para secar o pelo.

20. CONTEXTO: Cristián e Samo son colegas do traballo. Están a falar dun escándalo recente.

Cristián – Que evidencias encontrou a policía?

- a. Samo – Encontraron os detectives un coitelo debaixo da muller.
- b. Samo – Os detectives encontraron un coitelo debaixo da muller.

Condition 3: Object narrow focus (SVO vs. VOS)

21. CONTEXTO: Carme é a nova veciña de Paula.

Carme – E que tipo de animais vende o teu home?

- a. Paula – Vende gatos e cans Patricio, principalmente.
- b. Paula – Patricio vende gatos e cans, principalmente.

22. CONTEXTO: Serxio está na festa de despedida da súa amiga Iris. Ela vai pasar o próximo ano en Italia.

Serxio – Que che regalou a túa familia para a viaxe?

- a. Iris – Meu irmán regaloume unha cámara de fotos!
- b. Iris – Regaloume unha cámara de fotos meu irmán!

23. CONTEXTO: Olga e Margarida son amigas. A familia de Olga foi a unha tenda de segunda man o día anterior.

Margarida – Que encontrou a túa familia alí?

- a. Olga – Meu pai encontrou unha radio antiga.
- b. Olga – Encontrou unha radio antiga meu pai .

24. CONTEXTO: Xulio e Antón son amigos. Intentan decidir en que bar van beber.

Xulio – Que che pon a xente do Ourensán?

- a. Antón – O dono ponche unha zorza moi boa.
- b. Antón – Ponche unha zorza moi boa o dono.

25. CONTEXTO: Manuel e Elisa son amigos e colegas na universidade. Están a falar no bar universitario.

Manuel – Que mercou o teu irmán xa que ten emprego?

- a. Elisa – O tolo mercou unha moto! Non mo creo!
- b. Elisa – Mercou unha moto o tolo! Non mo creo!

26. CONTEXTO: Helena e María Carme son nais que teñen fillas na mesma escola.

Están a falar mentres esperan a que saian as fillas da escola.

María Carme – Que fixeron as túas fillas no curso de arte?

- a. Helena – Natalia fixo un retrato do seu pai. Ten tanto talento!
- b. Helena – Fixo un retrato do seu pai Natalia. Ten tanto talento!

27. CONTEXTO: Dous veciños, Avelino e Uxío, están a mirar o can de Uxío. O can está a dar voltas pola xardín.

Avelino – Que busca o can?

- a. Uxío – O pobriño busca o seu óso. Perdeuno onte.
- b. Uxío – Busca o seu óso o pobriño. Perdeuno onte.

28. CONTEXTO: Bea está na porta da súa nai cos fillos. Acaba de chegar.

Nai – Que comeron os pequeniños na viaxe? Teñen cara de fame!

- a. Bea – Fran comeu medio bocadillo. Está ben por agora.
- b. Bea – Comeu medio bocadillo Fran. Está ben por agora.

29. CONTEXTO: Xosé Luís está a explicarlle ao seu avó Renato o grupo EZLN.

Renato – E que leva na cara o líder do grupo?

a. Xosé Luís – O Subcomandante Marcos leva un pano negro. Quere protexer a súa identidade.

b. Xosé Luís – Leva un pano negro o Subcomandante Marcos. Quere protexer a súa identidade.

30. CONTEXTO: Begoña e David son amigos e colegas no instituto. Están a falar.

David – Que gañou o teu irmán no torneo de fútbolín?

a. Begoña – Gañou un trofeo pequeno Gabriel.

b. Begoña – Gabriel gañou un trofeo pequeno.

Condition 4: Object narrow focus (VSO vs. VOS)

31. CONTEXTO: Olalla e fillos están na porta do piso da nai dela. A muller fala coa súa nai. Os fillos teñen cara de enfermos despois de volver da feira.

Nai – Que cara! Que comeron na feira?

a. Olalla – Comeu Iago unha palmeira de chocolate. Caeulle moi mal.

b. Olalla – Comeu unha palmeira de chocolate Iago. Caeulle moi mal.

32. CONTEXTO: Pilar e a súa irmá Sara. Pilar acaba de entrar da rúa.

Sara – Hei! Como che foi a festa de aniversario?

Pilar – Moi ben!

Sara – Que che regalaron?

a. Pilar – Regaloume o meu mozo esta bufanda.

b. Pilar – Regaloume esta bufanda o meu mozo.

33. CONTEXTO: Serxio está con Xoana. Están a saír da librería cando ven unha amiga mutua Xema.

Xema – Ola! Que comprastes na librería?

- a. Serxio – Comprou Xoana unha escolma de poesía.
- b. Serxio – Comprou unha escolma de poesía Xoana.

34. CONTEXTO: Sol e Pati son colegas de traballo. Están a beber un café mentres falan.

Sol – Que gañou o teu home no sorteo do bar?

- a. Pati – Gañou Xavier un portátil! Anda premio, non si?
- b. Pati – Gañou un portátil Xavier! Anda premio, non si?

35. CONTEXTO: Víctor e Beni son amigos. Están a falar das noticias.

Víctor – Din que o presidente americano vai visitar Madrid en maio.

Beni – Si? Que discutirá?

- a. Víctor – Discutirá Obama a situación en Irak.
- b. Víctor – Discutirá a situación en Irak Obama.

36. CONTEXTO: Sabela e Luísa son nais que teñen fillas na mesma escola. Están a falar mentres esperan a que saian as fillas da escola.

Sabela – Que pintou a túa filla para o concurso de arte?

- a. Luísa – Pintou Silvia un barco pesqueiro.
- b. Luísa – Pintou un barco pesqueiro Silvia.

37. CONTEXTO: Ignacio e Óscar son amigos. Están a falar dunha pelexa nun club recentemente.

Ignacio – Que encontrou o dono despois da liorta?

- a. Óscar – Encontrou Xosé un coitelo.
- b. Óscar – Encontrou un coitelo Xosé.

38. CONTEXTO: Xosé María sae do piso e ve varios veciños na rúa. Pregúntalle ao Señor Viveiro.

Xosé María – Que busca a policía na escaleira?

Señor Viveiro – Non escoitaches? Houbo un roubo onte.

- a. Señor Viveiro – Buscan os detectives as pegadas dixitais dos criminais.
- b. Señor Viveiro – Buscan as pegadas dixitais dos criminais os detectives.

39. CONTEXTO: Anxo e Tío Xurxo. Tío Xurxo acaba de chegar á casa da nai de Anxo para unha cea familiar.

Tío Xurxo – Uff! Que ben cheira! Que prepararon esas mulleres?

- a. Anxo – Preparou a avoa unha bica.
- b. Anxo – Preparou unha bica a avoa.

40. CONTEXTO: Alba chega á casa da Tía Inés despois de ir á feira do libro..

Tía Inés – Ola! Que tal che foi a feira do libro?

Alba – Ben, pero lle gustou ao meu mozo máis que a min.

Tía Inés – Anda. Que comprou?

- a. Alba – Comprou Martín tres novelas alemás.
- b. Alba – Comprou tres novelas alemás Martín.

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