

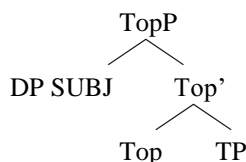
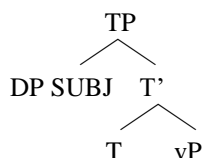
# Object Clitics in Galician and Complications for Clausal Analyses

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## 1. Introduction

There has been a considerable amount of debate surrounding the position of preverbal subjects in Iberian Romance over the past 20-plus years. According to peripheral analyses, preverbal subjects are not arguments, but rather A'-elements (e.g. Uribe-Etxebarria 1992, 1995, Ordóñez & Treviño 1999, Camacho 2006 for Spanish, Barbosa 1996, 2000 for European Portuguese; henceforth EP). However, according to canonical analyses, preverbal subjects are arguments (A-elements), as in English (e.g. Goodall 2001, Suñer 2003 for Spanish, Costa 2004, Duarte 1997 for EP). With respect to syntactic position, proponents of the preverbal subjects as argument hypothesis generally posit that canonical preverbal subjects appear in Spec, TP (1a), while proponents of the preverbal subjects as non-argument (A') hypothesis (e.g. Ordóñez & Treviño 1999) generally suggest that these elements appear in a structurally higher, left-peripheral position such as Spec, TopicP (1b).

- (1) a. preverbal subject as A-element                      b. preverbal subject as A'-element



Although the analysis of clitic pronouns is an issue frequently taken for granted in this debate, it is potentially crucial for the structural position and the status of preverbal subjects. In a language like Spanish (as well as others like French, Italian, etc.) clitics appear to the left of a finite verb and to the right of a preverbal subject (2).

- (2) Juan        lo                      compró.  
      Juan     CL.ACC.3SG.M buy.PST.3SG  
      *Juan bought it.*
- (3) [TP Juan [T' [T lo [T compró]] ...]]

Following a clitic-adjunction analysis like Kayne (1991), the clitic left-adjoints to the verb, (correctly) netting proclitic CL-V order for finite verbs (3). Although Romance clitics have been examined extensively in the literature (see e.g. Kayne 1975, 1991, Sportiche 1996 for French; Belletti 1999 for Italian; Raposo 1999 for EP; Uriagereka 1995a for Spanish & Galician), many clitic analysis proposals either do not take finite verb enclisis into account or encounter problems correctly deriving (i.e.

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without recourse to right-adjunction) V-CL word order in languages such as EP and Galician, which only allow enclisis (4a) with finite verbs in certain situations, but proclisis (4b) in others.

- (4) a. (Xoán) mercouno.  
 Xoán buy.PST.3SG-CL.ACC.3SG.M  
*Xoán bought it.*  
 b. \*(Xoán) o mercou.  
 Xoán CL.ACC.3SG.M buy.PST.3SG  
*Xoán bought it.*

Analyses that do provide mechanisms for deriving enclitic and proclitic word orders propose additional functional architecture to the left of the IP/TP level. Uriagereka (1995a), Raposo (1999), and Raposo & Uriagereka (2005) propose an F functional position structurally higher than T in the left periphery in their analyses of finite verb enclisis (see Uriagereka 1995a, 1995b for more on F). Shlonsky (2004) also proposes an F projection in his clitic proposal. Nash & Rouveret (2002) propose an IP<sub>proxy</sub> projection structurally higher than I, which is a last resort operation involving the projection of a fissioned feature (see McGinnis 1995 for more on fission). The extension of the TP/IP field common to these analyses is relevant for the analysis of preverbal subjects because if a clitic moves to a structurally higher position, then a preverbal subject must also move. The question then is whether this higher specifier position should be analyzed as an A- or A'-element. Putting aside the minor differences in the label for the identity of this higher projection, the more substantive differences between these analyses lie 1) in the motivation for deriving the direction of cliticization, and 2) which order is considered the default. In essence, the latter two analyses propose (differing) feature-checking accounts for enclisis and proclisis, in line with Chomsky's (2001, 2005) reformulation of checking theory as involving an Agree relation, and propose that proclisis results from some flavor of syntactic last-resort operation.<sup>1</sup> Raposo & Uriagereka (2005), however, propose that clitic movement/placement involves a type of PF-interface condition unrelated to  $\phi$ -feature checking and that enclitic word orders result from a last-resort crash of (default) proclitic order at the interface.

Recent analyses have suggested that left-peripheral syntactic positions do not involve narrow syntactic features. Zubizarreta (1998) and Szendrői (2001, 2004) argue that positing the existence of syntactic [+Focus] features for a discourse phenomenon violates Chomsky's (1995) Inclusiveness Condition.<sup>2</sup> López (2009) proposes a *Pragmatics* module that interfaces with the narrow syntax at the phase edge and assigns pragmatic features, thus providing a calculus for determining which syntactic objects are appropriate candidates for CLLD (topicalization) or focus fronting. Uriagereka's (1995b) description of the F functional projection suggests that it, too, may involve discourse features. For him, F encodes point of view and illocutionary force, thus suggesting that F is somehow anchored to the deictic center (i.e. speech time) of an utterance. Bianchi (2001) describes the Fin projection in a similar manner (2001:10, see also Rizzi, 1997), proposing that "the Speech Time S is syntactically represented in [+finite] Fin<sup>0</sup>" since it is the lowest C-realm head that "interfaces with the inflectional structure".<sup>3</sup> In the spirit of such interface analyses, in the current paper I examine main clause, subordinate clause, and recomplementation data in Galician within the context of Raposo & Uriagereka's 2005 (henceforth R & U) interface analysis for cliticization in Western Iberian Romance, focusing in

<sup>1</sup> Although this is an admittedly extreme simplification of these analyses, space restrictions preclude examining these analyses in their deserved detail. Summarizing briefly, last resort *proclisis* in Shlonsky (2004) is a cover term for a variety of cross-linguistic CL-V order phenomena. For Nash & Rouveret (2002), a dependent Infl root requires the projection of a proxy IP in order for the fissioned [EPP]-feature to be checked. A by-product of this dependent Infl is that the clitic may only be checked in the proxy I head, thus resulting in proclisis.

<sup>2</sup> Note that Zubizarreta (1998) still assumes checking of [+F] features despite the theoretical problem posed by inclusiveness. 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

particular on the interaction of clitics with preverbal subjects, fronted focus elements, and topicalized XPs in Galician. In Section 2, I present main clause and subordinate clause cliticization patterns in Galician, and in Section 3, I examine Raposo & Uriagereka's (2005) clitic analysis (henceforth R & U) with respect to this data. Following R & U's analysis, a preverbal subject should always appear in Spec, FP. I show that according to their calculus, this cannot be the case, and that preverbal subjects appearing with an enclitic pronoun cannot appear in Spec, FP. In Section 4, I present clitic data in recomplementation contexts in Galician and discuss the complications that it holds for R & U's proposal. In Section 4.2, I propose a reformulation of the left periphery following a combination of notions in Martín-González (2002) and Demonte & Fernández-Soriano (2009). I offer concluding remarks and directions for further research in Section 5.

## 2. Direction of cliticization in Galician

### 2.1. Main clauses

In main clauses, clitic pronouns in Galician appear enclitically on affirmative finite verbs when preceded (or not) by a preverbal subject (5a), a topicalized XP (5b), or a fronted focus element (5c, d).<sup>4</sup>

- (5) a. (Xoán) regaloume /\*me regalou un libro.  
 Xoán give.PST.3SG-CL.DAT.1SG a book  
*Xoán gave me a book.*
- b. Un bico dáballo /\*llo daba eu a esa rapaza.  
 a kiss give.IMPFV.1SG-CL.DAT.3SG-CL.ACC.3SG.M I to that girl  
*A kiss I was giving to that girl.*
- c. O MEU ÚLTIMO LIBRO deille /\*lle dei eu a Paco (non  
 the my last book give.PST.1SG-CL.DAT.1SG I to Paco not  
 o meu primeiro).  
 the my first  
*I gave MY LAST BOOK to Paco (not my first).*
- d. A CENORIA o coello comeuna /\*a comeu (non a mazá).  
 the carrot the rabbit eat.PST.3SG-CL.ACC.3SG.F not the apple  
*The rabbit ate THE CARROT (not the apple).*

Proclisis obtains in main clauses when the verb is preceded by negation (6a), a negative QP (6b), an affective adverbial XP (6c), or when the verb is preceded by a *wh*-element.

- (6) 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 already CL.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?*

<sup>4</sup> Although these judgments seem to conflict with respect to the obligatory nature of a clitic double for a fronted focus element, the intuitions of my informants were very clear on these sentences. (5c) is also acceptable (but not preferred) with a direct object clitic double in addition to the indirect object pronoun (i), but (5d) was judged ungrammatical without a direct object clitic double (ii). I discuss this further in section 4.

(i) O MEU ÚLTIMO LIBRO deillo eu a Paco (non a Pedro).  
 (ii) \*A CENORIA o coello comeu (non a mazá).

Note that despite the common assumption that *wh*-elements and fronted focus elements target the same structural position (as in e.g. Rizzi 1997), they behave differently with respect to cliticization in Galician. I return to this issue below.

## 2.2. Subordinate clause asymmetries

There are a number of asymmetries with respect to main clause versus subordinate clause direction of cliticization in Galician. In subordinate clauses, both preverbal subjects (7a) and fronted focus elements (7b) trigger proclisis.

- (7) a. Xoana díxome que Paulo me prestaría o  
 Xoana say.PST.3SG-CL.DAT.1SG that Paulo CL.DAT.1SG lend.COND.3SG the  
 seu dicionario.  
 his dictionary  
*Xoana told me that Paulo would lend me his dictionary.*
- b. Xoana díxome que O SEU ÚLTIMO LIBRO lle  
 Xoana say.PST.3SG-CL.DAT.1SG that the her last book CL.DAT.3SG  
 deu a Paco (non o seu primeiro).  
 give.PST.1SG to Paco (not the her first)  
*Xoana told me that she gave HER LATEST BOOK to Paco (not her first).*

Despite the main clause cliticization asymmetry between *wh*-elements and fronted focus above (cf. (5c,d) and (6d)), this disappears in embedded environments. *Wh*-elements in subordinate clauses trigger proclisis in echo questions (8a) and in subordinate relative clauses (8b).

- (8) a. 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?*
- b. Xoán di que quen o merque vai  
 Xoan say.PRS.3SG that who CL.ACC.3SG.M buy.SBJ.PRS.3SG go.PRS.3SG  
 ter boa sorte.  
 have.INF good luck  
*Xoan says that whoever buys it is going to have good luck.*

Topicalized elements in subordinate clause exhibit asymmetry with respect to preverbal element type, not with respect to clause type. They trigger enclisis (9) just as they do in main clause environments (5b).

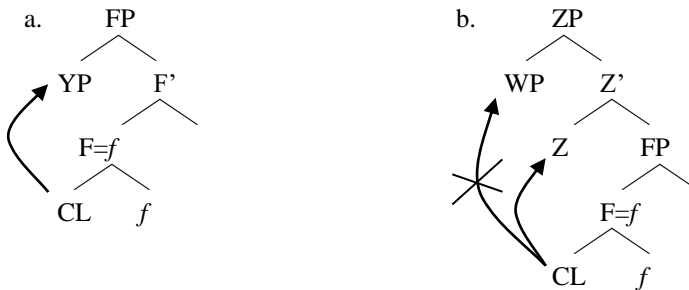
- (9) Santi dixo que o poema traducírao / \*o traducira ao  
 Santi say.PST.3SG that the poem translate.PSTPRF.3SG-CL.ACC.3SG.M to-the  
 inglés algún australiano.  
 English some Australian  
*Santi said that the poem some Australian had translated it to English.*

## 3. An interface account of cliticization

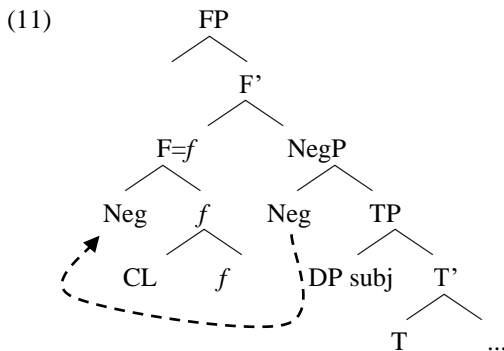
According to R & U (2005), pronominal clitics in Western Iberian Romance are determiners whose direction of cliticization is not the result of some morphological property of clitics. As such, any clitic may appear on either side of the verb. They are also phonological clitics, which must find a well-formed prosodic word at PF. To do so, clitics move and merge with TP, projecting FP, where clitics cluster and display clitic “solidarity.” Clitic directionality or placement results from a hierarchy of options. If neither a specifier (10a) nor a head (10b) appears to the immediate left of a clitic to provide a host site (for proclisis), enclisis results as a Last Resort operation. Following R & U, affective adverbial XPs, Neg QPs and *wh*-elements appear in the YP specifier of FP in (10a) in main and

subordinate clauses, whereas preverbal subjects and fronted focus elements may only appear in Spec, FP (i.e. YP) in subordinate clauses.

(10) Leftward fusion sites for clitics (following R & U 2005)



The implication of this somewhat circular logic is that a specifier appearing higher than Spec, FP cannot host a clitic, thus suggesting that this is the structural position of preverbal subjects and fronted focus in main clauses, and topics in either type of clause. Negation heads in main or subordinate clauses and complementizer-type heads then appear in the Z head position (10b), also providing a clitic host. Note that there is a tiny wrinkle related to negation. If Neg appears higher than T (as in e.g. Pollock (1989) or Belletti (1990)) it should appear between T and F within the left-peripheral architecture that I have been assuming. However, since CL-Neg word orders are unattested in Galician (a notable exception being interpolation environments), I would like to suggest that the Neg head left-adjoins to the clitic projection F=f, as in (11).



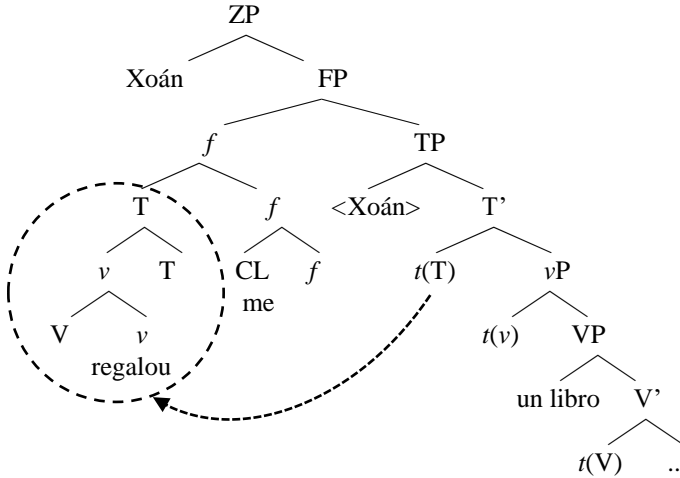
If we assume that Neg is attracted to the F head for reasons of clitic solidarity<sup>5</sup>, we have an (admittedly circular) explanation for the fact that negation always triggers proclisis.<sup>6</sup> The advantage of this explanation is that it elegantly piggybacks Neg movement onto movement related to clitic solidarity rather than postulating some sort of additional movement operation to the left-periphery.

As noted, preverbal XPs that trigger enclisis then must appear in Spec, ZP in (10b), thus leaving the clitic “unhosted”, an eventuality that leads to last resort “verb swallowing” by R & U’s analysis. The displacement of an appropriate leftward host involves adjunction of the verb complex in T to F (F=f). The result is enclisis, as in (12=5a).

<sup>5</sup> Clitic ‘solidarity’ refers to the tendency of clitics to cluster together in a proclitic or enclitic position when more than one appears. Here, I suggest that negation, which also appears in a preverbal position in Galician, behaves like a clitic in that it must precede any other proclitic. Although negation tends to precede clitics cross-linguistically, there are notable exceptions, such as Pontic Greek, in which preverbal negation is accompanied by enclisis (see Condoravdi & Kiparsky 2002).

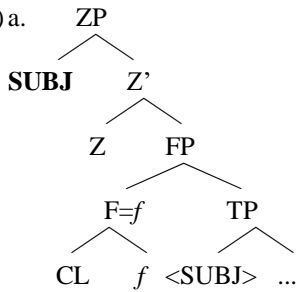
<sup>6</sup> While I do not suggest that negation is a clitic *per se*, it shares many similarities with other clitic elements. They are both minimal-maximal projections, and both preferentially appear preverbally when present. Note also that in other Romance languages (e.g. French) both negation and clitic pronouns undergo phonological assimilation to rightward elements.

(12) Xoán regaloume un libro.

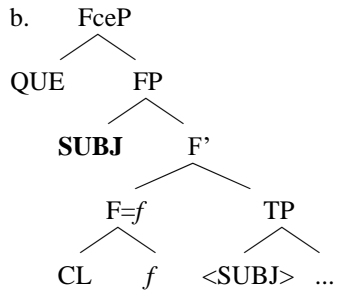


The clitic placement possibilities in Galician according to clause type examined thus far suggest that preverbal subjects may appear in multiple preverbal positions when accompanied by a clitic and F is projected: Spec, ZP in main clauses (13a), and Spec, FP (13b) in subordinate clauses.

(13) a.



b.



If preverbal subjects *always* appear in Spec, FP (as R & U suggest), we expect preverbal subjects to always provide a leftward clitic host and thus trigger proclisis, contrary to fact. This poses a problem for R & U's analysis. If their proposal that the position of preverbal subjects may vary (as in 13a,b) is on the right track, fronted focus elements should appear in the same structural positions as preverbal subjects in main and subordinate clauses because they trigger the same clitic directionality that preverbal subjects do. Since topics trigger enclisis in main and subordinate clauses, they should always appear in in a higher specifier position, perhaps Spec, ZP. Before proceeding with my proposal for the identity of ZP and the implications for the analysis with respect to the preverbal architecture, I examine recomplementation structures in Galician.

**4. Recomplementation**

*4.1. Recomplementation in Galician*

Recomplementation is a highly informal, conversational construction involving the apparent doubling of a complementizer, accompanied by intervening elements. In Galician, a topical subject DP (14a), a topical direct object DP (14b), or a topical PP (14c) may appear in recomplementation structures (complementizer-type elements appear in bold for expository purposes).

(14) a. Din            **que** o irmán de Iago    **que** o                    prepara /\*prepárao  
 say.PRS.3PL that the brother of Iago    that CL.ACC.3SG.M prepare.PRS.3SG  
 moi    ben.  
 very    well  
*They say that Iago's brother that he prepares it very well.*

- b. Dixéronme **que** a ese rapaz **que**  
 say.PST.3PL-CL.DAT.1SG that to that boy that  
 o coñecemos /\*coñecémolo 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. Dixeron **que** nesa discoteca **que** a Xoán  
 say.PST.3PL that in-that disco that to Xoán  
 o viron /\*vírono onte.  
 CL.ACC.3SG.M see.PST.3PL yesterday  
*They said that in that disco that they saw Xoan yesterday.*

Note that recomplementized topical elements trigger proclisis in the lower conjunct. The same goes for recomplementized fronted focus elements (15a).

- (15) a. Dixeron **que** A XOÁN **que** o viron /\*vírono onte (non a  
 say.PST.3PL that to Xoán that CL.ACC.3SG.M see.PST.3PL yesterday not to  
 Pedro).  
 Pedro  
*They said that XOAN that they saw him yesterday (not Pedro).*
- b. \*Dixeron **que** A XOÁN **que** viron onte (non a Pedro).

Note that (15b), which lacks a clitic double for the recomplementized fronted focus element, triggers ungrammaticality, suggesting that fronted focus elements in Galician are in fact contrastive topics<sup>7</sup> in recomplementation structures since they require a resumptive clitic double.<sup>8,9</sup> While an analysis of contrastive elements may appear orthogonal to my analysis of clitics and preverbal subjects, the line of reasoning that I pursue here correctly predicts that recomplementized elements must be topical, thus ruling out *wh*-elements (16a-c) and negative quantifiers (17a-c).

- (16) a. \*Preguntáronme **que** a onde **que** viaxei durante a fin de semana.  
 ask.PST.3PL that to where that travel.PST.1SG during the end of week  
*They asked me that to where that I traveled over the weekend.*
- b. \*Preguntáronme **que** quen **que** mercou a moto nova.  
 ask.PST.3PL that who that buy.PST.3SG a motorcycle new  
*They asked me that who that bought a new motorcycle.*
- c. \*Preguntáronme **que** a quen **que** (lle) dei o billete.  
 ask.PST.3PL that to whom that CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.1SG the ticket  
*They asked me that to whom that I gave the ticket.*

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. Arregi (2003) for more on this interesting line of investigation.

<sup>8</sup> The notable exception that an analysis of apparent fronted focus as contrastive topicalization would have to contend with is the fact that subordinate clause focus fronting triggers proclisis, unlike topicalization in the same clause environment, which triggers enclisis. Note, however, that subordinate clause focus fronting does not require a clitic double when an indirect object clitic is present (5c). It may be that, as an eligible leftward clitic host, fronted focus in Galician requires *some sort of* clitic to be present, but this sort of explanation seems *ad hoc*.

<sup>9</sup> Note the asymmetry with data in Martín González (2002: 91) showing that neither focus fronted elements (i) nor *wh*-elements (ii) may appear in recomplementation contexts in Spanish.

- (i) \*Dijeron **que** A JUAN **que** vieron ayer (no a Pedro).  
 say.PST.3SG that to Juan that see.PST.3PL yesterday (not to Pedro)  
*They said that JUAN that they saw yesterday (not Pedro).*
- (ii) \*Me preguntaron **que** a quién **que** vimos ayer.  
 CL.DAT.1SG ask.PST.3PL that to whom that see.PST.3PL yesterday  
*They asked me that who(m) that we saw yesterday.*

- (17) a. \*Xoán dixo **que** a ningunha parte **que** (non) viaxou durante  
 Xoán say.PST.3SG that to no part that not travel.PST.3SG during  
 a fin de semana.  
 the end of week  
*Xoán said that to nowhere that he went/didn't go over the weekend.*
- b. \*Xoán dixo **que** ninguén **que** (non) mercou unha moto nova.  
 Xoán say.PST.3SG that nobody that not buy.PST.3SG a motorcycle new  
*Xoán said that nobody that bought/didn't buy a new motorcycle.*
- c. \*Xoán dixo **que** a ninguén **que** (non) (lle) deu o  
 Xoán say.PST.3SG that to nobody that not CL.DAT.3SG give.PST.3SG the  
 billete.  
 ticket  
*Xoán said that to nobody that he didn't give the ticket.*

If fronted focus elements in Spanish and Italian appear in the same structural position as *wh*-elements and negative quantifiers (as in e.g. Rizzi 1997), the fact that contrastive elements in Galician may move to an otherwise topic-dedicated position (see also fn. 8) constitutes further evidence that they are not focus fronted elements, but rather contrastive topics. That only topic elements may appear in recomplementation contexts has been suggested by numerous scholars in the literature. In the section 4.2 I examine the basics of these proposals and suggest a modification of the left-peripheral architecture to account for clitics in main clauses, subordinate clauses and recomplementation.

#### 4.2. Syntactic analyses of Romance recomplementation

Paoli (2006), working within the cartographic approach (Rizzi 1997), proposes an analysis of various varieties of early Romance proposes the existence of three different types of complementizers available in recomplementation contexts (18): QUE1, QUE2, and *che2*.

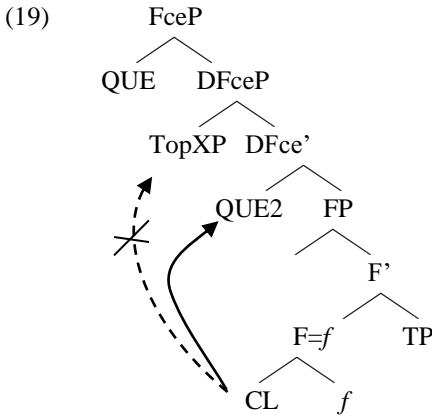
(18) [<sub>FceP</sub> [<sub>Fce'</sub> QUE1 [<sub>TopP</sub> [<sub>Top'</sub> QUE2 [<sub>FocP</sub> [<sub>FinP</sub> [<sub>Fin'</sub> [*che2*<sub>i</sub> SCL<sub>[+Fin]</sub> [<sub>MoodP</sub> *t*<sub>i</sub> ...]]]]]]]]]]

Following her analysis, QUE1 is a complementizer appearing in the head of Force (FceP), and is the same complementizer that selects a subordinate clause. QUE2 is characteristic of early Romance (early Tuscan, early Castilian, and early French), and lexicalizes topic features in Top<sup>o</sup>, thus entering a spec-head relation with a fronted element that moves into its specifier. For her, 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. Lower *che2* is the overt realization of the Fin head (bearing [+mood] and [+finite] features). Researchers of Modern Spanish also describe a complementizer similar to QUE2 in recomplementation contexts. Rodríguez Ramalle (2003), in a similar analysis to Paoli (2006), proposes that QUE2 in Spanish serves as the lexicalization of Topic features for Spanish. Martín-González (2002: 91-94) proposes a ‘‘Doubled FceP’’ projection for Spanish, which lacks mood specification and appears hierarchically lower than FceP but higher than FocP.

If we assume, following Martín-González (2002), that QUE2 (lower *que*) heads the DoubledForce projection (DFceP) in recomplementation contexts (19), then we have a straightforward explanation for proclisis in recomplementation structures since QUE2 will always provide an immediately left-adjacent head for clitic hosting. I would like to suggest that topicalized XPs appear in the specifier of DFceP regardless of clause type. Since Spec, FP is the only eligible left-adjacent specifier position that can host a clitic, we correctly predict that topicalized XPs only trigger proclisis when QUE2 is merged in the head of DFceP (i.e. in recomplementation structures); otherwise, Spec, DFceP with a null head is syntactically too far away to serve as a leftward host.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Note that in Martín-González (2002), DFceP only appears in recomplementation sentences and topic XPs always appear in a separate functional projection (TopP). I depart from this view here.

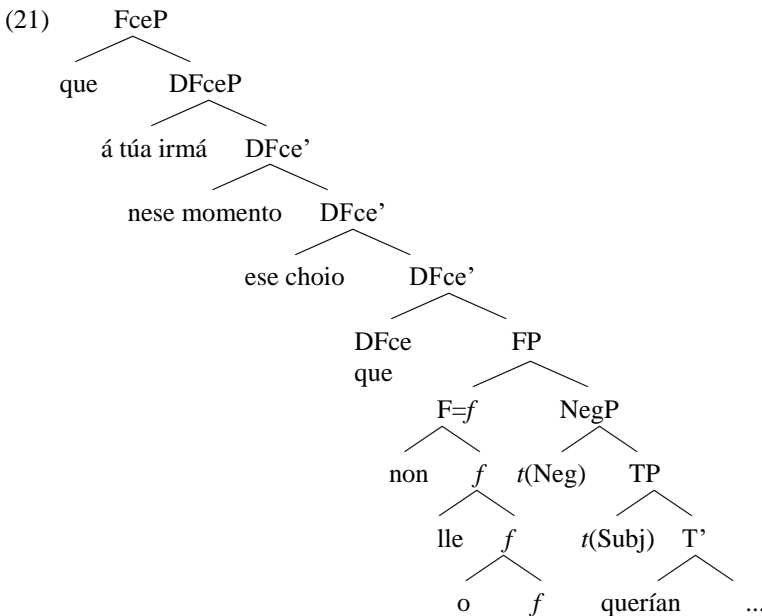




This recomplementized Topic position is a recursive one in Galician, and may tolerate any number of topicalized elements permitted by the semantics of the subordinate clause predicate in question (20).

- (20) Dixéronme                                que á                túa                irmá,                (\*que) nese                momento,  
 say.PST.3PL-CL.DAT.1SG                that to-the                your                sister                that                in-that                moment  
 (\*que) ese choio,                (que) non llo    querían  
 that                that job                that                not CL.DAT.3SG-CL.ACC.3SG.M                want.IMPFV.3PL  
 ofrecer.  
 offer.INF  
*They told me that to your sister, at that time, that job, they didn't want to offer.*

For Rodríguez Ramalle's (2003) analysis of recomplementation in Spanish, the QUE2 projection serves as the lexicalization of Topic features for Spanish. Demonte & Fernández-Soriano (2009) note, however, that in examples like (20), it is not complementizer-type QUE2 elements that are recursive, but rather the topical elements that appear to their left. I follow Demonte & Fernández-Soriano in assuming that Spec, DFceP in (21) is a recursive specifier position, thus allowing additional recomplementized topics to appear in adjoined specifiers of DFce.



It has been well-noted in the literature that preverbal subjects possess topic-like characteristics. Following up on this, I would like to suggest that the Spec, DFceP position may be where topicalized

preverbal subjects appear in main clauses. In the following section, I address some of the remaining issues for the analysis of preverbal subjects within the context of R & U (2005).

#### 4.3. Further complications for the analysis of preverbal subjects

Within the analysis we have considered thus far, the presence or absence of clitics plays an important part in determining where preverbal elements may appear, and in turn, the type of preverbal element that appears influences clitic directionality in that the preverbal element in question may or may not be an eligible clitic host. Therefore, the syntax-interface model that we propose should ideally represent this unconscious knowledge in the mind of the Galician speaker. The question we must ask with respect to preverbal subjects is whether there is evidence of more than one “type” of preverbal subject in order to somehow justify its appearance in (minimally) two distinct syntactic projections. In some cases, word order alone is not enough to indicate whether a preverbal subject is dislocated. In the response in (22), a clear pause (from the interview recording) follows the preverbal subject.

- (22) (Interviewer) - Como ves o futuro de Galicia?  
 (Interviewer) – How do you see Galicia’s future?  
 (Respondent) - **Eu, véxoo** moi ben.  
 (Respondent) – Me, I see it positively.

It is only when intervening left-peripheral material appears that we may be entirely sure that a preverbal subject is in fact left-dislocated (23).

- (23) **A dictadura**, a min, non me **afectou** en nada.  
 The dictatorship, to me, didn’t affect me at all.

Although preverbal subjects *may be* left-dislocated, it is not necessarily the case that they *must be*. If R & U (2005) are on the right track, preverbal subjects in main clauses with clitics should appear in a left-peripheral, perhaps A’-position, perhaps in the specifier of a dedicated preverbal subject-of-predication projection like SubjP (see e.g. Cardinaletti 1997, 2004).<sup>11</sup> This additional preverbal position structurally higher than F would have to be freely available in order to account for the fact that clitic doubled pronouns are optional in underivedthetic sentences as long as all other c-command relations between direct and indirect object are maintained (24, from Uriagereka 1988).<sup>12,13</sup>

- (24) a. Xán botou(-lle) o cuxo á (súa) nai.  
 Xán throw.PST.3SG-(CL.DAT.3SG) the calf to-the its mother  
 Xán threw the calf to its mother

<sup>11</sup> In Cardinaletti (2004), SubjP is part of the Infl domain, and one of the various components of her exploded preverbal subject field proposal. Although this might suggest that SubjP is an A-position in her analysis (an issue she does not discuss), it is AgrSP that participates in  $\phi$ -feature/Case checking of Nominal DPs, not SubjP. SubjP checks subject of predication feature and is relevant for dative fronting (with unaccusative and psych verbs), locative fronting, and predicate fronting in inverse copular sentences.

<sup>12</sup> See Demonte (1995) for similar judgments in Spanish. Note that in the current orthographic standard for Galician, a hyphen is not written between the verb and the enclitic pronoun. This is an inconsequential difference.

<sup>13</sup> An anonymous reviewer asks whether this higher subject position should be freely available because other CLLD phrases have optional clitics. If Romance CLLD is defined as requiring a resumptive clitic (e.g. Cinque 1990, Rizzi 1997), then topicalized XPs are clearly CLLD elements, since they require a clitic double in both matrix clauses (5b), subordinate clauses (9), and in recomplementation (contrastive or otherwise). I do not claim that preverbal subjects appearing in A’-positions are CLLD elements, although I do not discount the possibility that they may be doubled by a null clitic such as expletive *pro*. I leave this matter to future research. Further research is also required on the asymmetries that result w.r.t. cliticization in matrix and subordinate clauses with contrastive XPs, which appear to optionally require a clitic double only in matrix clauses (cf 5c, d and 7b). It may be that the lack of an overt clitic double for contrastive XPs in matrix clauses is a null (operator-type) clitic.

- b. Xán botou-lle / \*botou á vaca o (seu) fillo.  
 Xán throw.PST.3SG-(CL.DAT.3SG) to-the cow the its child  
*Xán threw to the cow its child.*

The sentence in (24a) exhibits underived S-V-DO-IO order, thus permitting an optional indirect object clitic double, but in (24b), the indirect object has been scrambled over the direct object, thus requiring the indirect object clitic double. I assume that such object-shift operations target an outer Spec, vP position (following e.g. Torrego 1998, Chomsky 2000). Assuming that the appearance of a preverbal subject in Spec, TP in a clitic-lessthetic sentence is uncontroversial, we are forced into a curious predicament in our current analysis when we are confronted with athetic sentence that does contain an indirect object double, and are forced to posit additional architecture to which athetic subject DP moves (structurally higher than F) if we adhere to R & U (2005). Thus far, I have suggested that this position should be Spec, DFceP, or a Spec, SubjP projection. Perhaps more relevant than the specific identity of this projection is whether such a left-peripheral preverbal subject position is necessarily an A'-position, or whether it may be an A-position.

Within the GB framework, 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 recent, predicate-internal subject analyses, it has become standard practice to refer to the subject as the external argument. Despite this sea change, reference to A- and A'-elements and positions is still widespread. Perhaps it is time that we re-examine such terms and their implications for current syntactic theory, or that we consider alternative metrics such as experimental measures of the type used in SLA research.<sup>14</sup> Psycholinguistic questionnaire data followed by statistical analysis can be used to inform questions of grammaticality, acceptability, unacceptability, and even ungrammaticality (e.g. Bernstein et al. 1999, Clifton et al. 2006, Featherston 2005a, b, Goodall 2008, and Sprouse 2007, among others). According to Penke and Rosenbach (2004), quantitatively elicited grammar judgments can help provide the theoretical researcher with a more complete picture of native-speaker intuitions and competencies.

## 5. Conclusions

In this paper I have examined clitic directionality with a variety of preverbal elements in main clauses, subordinate clauses, and recomplementation in Galician. I have examined Raposo & Uriagereka's (2005) interface analysis for cliticization in Western Iberian Romance, focusing in particular on clitic directionality when preverbal subjects, *wh*-elements, fronted focus elements, and topicalized XPs appear in Galician. I have shown that, following R & U's analysis, when these preverbal constituents trigger enclisis they cannot appear in Spec, FP. In affirmative main clauses then preverbal subjects, fronted focus phrases and topicalized XPs must appear in a Spec, ZP position because they cannot serve as an eligible leftward clitic host, thus triggering enclisis. In subordinate clauses, only topicalized XPs appear in Spec, ZP since they are the only preverbal elements that trigger enclisis. In recomplementation contexts, I have shown that preverbal subjects, fronted focus elements and topicalized XPs all trigger proclisis and have proposed that in such contexts, proclisis is triggered due to QUE2 appearing in leftward adjacent Z<sup>0</sup>. I have proposed a reformulation of the left periphery, adopting a combination of notions in Martín-González (2002) and Demonte & Fernández-Soriano (2009). I have followed Martín-González (2002) in proposing that QUE2 appears in DoubledForceP (DFceP), but have suggested that recomplementized topic elements appear in Spec, DFceP, which, following notions in Demonte & Fernández-Soriano (2009) is a recursive specifier position.

Issues remain for the analysis of preverbal subjects and fronted focus elements in Galician. If preverbal subjects must appear in Spec, ZP in main clauses with clitics and in Spec, FP in subordinate clauses with clitics, then they should appear in Spec, TP in sentences lacking clitics, especially inthetic sentences. If elements appearing in Spec, ZP (or possibly Spec, DFceP) are topical, then it seems unlikely that preverbal subjects should appear in a topical specifier position inthetic sentences with (optional) indirect object clitic doubles. Additionally, I have speculated that preverbal subjects may

<sup>14</sup> Note that Costa (2004) suggests that syntactic metrics such as A- and A'-binding may have limited cross-linguistic validity.

appear in a Spec, SubjP position following Cardinaletti (1997, 2004). Regardless of the precise identity of this position, the question remains whether preverbal subjects are A- or A'-elements when appearing in projections extending into the left periphery. In the future, I have suggested that we revisit the concepts A and A' within the context of current Minimalist theory, and that we examine alternative metrics such as experimental data to inform theoretical issues. With respect to focus fronting, the resumptive clitic asymmetries examined suggest that fronted focus elements may in fact be contrastive topic elements, perhaps on par with European Portuguese, a language which has been reported to lack focus fronting (e.g. Costa 2004). Given the historical connections between EP and Galician, this may prove to be productive line of investigation. Future research in Galician in particular should examine resumptive cliticization with contrastive elements, the syntactic and prosodic properties of contrastive elements, as well as their status with respect to information structure.

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