

ONLY SYNTACTIC MOVEMENT WILL DO: MORPHOSYNTACTIC VARIATION IN GALICIAN AND ICELANDIC

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1. WHERE SYNTACTIC MOVEMENT TAKES PLACE (& WHERE IT DOES NOT)

If your theory X requires ‘post-syntax’ or the ‘PF-branch’ to traffic in [...] the finer details of syntactic phrase structure, then your theory is a bad one.
(Preminger 2018)

- Assertions such as this one have become ever so prevalent in syntactic theory due to the duplication of syntactic-like power in the post-syntactic branch
- The mechanics of a ‘second-syntactic’ mechanism outside of the syntax proper has bled into work on head movement, case assignment, chain uniformity, agreement, etc.
- I show that the Icelandic clitic DU and Galician determiner cliticization shed light on what must occur in the syntax proper and what can be left to the PF-branch

GOALS: 1- Show that not all morphological allomorphy can be explained solely by mechanisms based in the PF-branch; the surfacing of at least some allomorphy is rooted in syntactic movement
2- Provide an analysis of syntactic clitics and show that they may move for one of two reasons: agreement to a functional head and/or morphophonological cohesion with the verb (which is also rooted in agreement of some type)

- I shall present data from Icelandic and Galician, demonstrating how the phenomena are strikingly similar in three ways (host constraints, clause-bound constraints, and phase-bound constraints) and arguing that both must be accounted for within the syntax

2. ICELANDIC DATA (SIGURDSSON & WOOD 2019)¹

- Icelandic shows phonologically reduced forms of several personal pronouns (Figure 1). S&W claim that the reduced form of the 2nd-person singular (DU) is not a phonological clitic but a syntactic one

FIGURE 1. CLITICIZED FORMS OF ICELANDIC PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	FULL FORM	CLITICIZED FORM
2 ND SG.	þú	ðu (‘you’)
3 RD SG.	hann hún	‘ann (‘he’) ‘ún (‘she’)

- As a subject, DU can cliticize onto verbs that end in /ar/, /ist/, and /nnst/ (S&W 2019:117)²

- (1) a. Hér málar-ðu á hverjum degi
here paint-DU on every day
‘Here you paint every day.’
b. Hér virðist-u hærrí en flú ert
here seem-DU taller than you are
‘Here you seem taller than you are.’
c. Hér finnst-u strax (Feldu flig frekar þarna)
here find-DU immediately (hide yourself rather there)
‘Here you will be found right away. (Hide over there instead.)’

- DU may be phonologically realized as *-du* [tʏ], *-ðu* [ðʏ], or *-tu* [tʰʏ] depending on the verb ending
- S&W claim that the surfacing of DU differs from the other reduced forms in that
 - i.) the phonological clitics have no host restrictions whilst DU does
 - ii.) the phonological clitics have no clausal boundaries whilst DU does
 - iii.) the phonological clitics are not phase-bound to their host whilst DU is

2.1 HOST SPECIFICATIONS

- S&W claim that DU may only attach to a finite or imperative verb

¹ Unless otherwise noted, all examples come from S&W (2019)

² Per several examples offered by S&W, this may not be an exhaustive list

- (2) a. Sýn-**ðu** það
show.IMP.SG-DU it
'Show it.'
- b. Gerðir-**ðu** þetta?
did.2SG-DU this
'Did you do this?'
- c. Last-**u** bókina?
read.PST.2SG-DU the.book
'Did you read the book?'

- That the host must be a verb is shown by the possible cliticization to the imperative of *semja* 'to write' (3a) but the ungrammaticality of cliticization to the complementizer *sem* (3b)

- (3) a. Sem-**ðu** ljóð fyrir kærustuna þína
write.IMP.SG-DU poem for the.sweetheart your
'Write a poem for your sweetheart.'
- b. *Lagið sem-**ðu** söngst fyrir kærustuna þína
the.song COMP-DU sang for the.sweetheart your
er mjög fallegt
is very beautiful
'The song that you sang for your sweetheart is really beautiful.'

- When cliticization onto the complementizer does not occur, the result is grammatical and the form *þú* surfaces (4a, 5b)
- The phonological clitics, however, may cliticize to both verbs and the complementizers *sem* (4b) and *að* (5a)

- (4) a. Lagið *sem-**ðu** / sem **þú** söngst fyrir
the.song COMP-DU / COMP you sang for
kærustuna þína er mjög fallegt
the.sweetheart your is very beautiful
'The song that you sang for your sweetheart is really beautiful.'
- b. Lagið sem-**ún** söng fyrir kærustuna sinn
the.song COMP-**she** sang for the.sweetheart her
er mjög fallegt
is very beautiful
'The song that she sang for her sweetheart is really beautiful.'

- (5) a. Ég held að-**ann** væri farinn
I thought COMP-**he** was gone
'I thought that he was gone.'
- b. Ég held *að-**u** / að **þú** værir farinn
I thought COMP-DU / COMP you were gone
'I thought that *DU/you were gone.'

- We may conclude from these data that DU shows properties that the phonological clitics do not: only finite verbs and imperatives may host DU whilst phonological clitics may attach to both verbs and other functional elements (e.g. complementizers)

2.2 CLAUSAL BOUNDARIES

- Icelandic permits COMP-drop in complement clauses (Thráinsson 2007:44, 409-410)
 - This is particularly common when the subject of the embedded clause is a personal pronoun
- Again, the phonological clitic forms may cliticize in these instances (6a-b), but DU may not (7a-b)

- (6) a. Ég held-**ann** elski mig
I think.1SG-**he** loves.SBJV me
'I think he loves me.'
- b. þú veist-**ún** á þetta skilið
you.SG know.2SG-**she** has this deserved
'You know she deserves this.'
- (7) a. *Hún heldur-**ðu** misskiljir mig
She think.3SG-DU misunderstand.SBJV me
Intended: 'She thinks you misunderstand me.'
- b. *þú veist-**u** átt þetta skilið
you.SG know.2SG-DU have this deserved
Intended: 'You know (that) you deserve this.'

- As expected, the non-clitic form of the 2nd-person singular is grammatical in these instances

- (8) a. þú veist [(að) þú átt þetta skilið]
you.SG know.2SG COMP you.SG have this deserved
'You know (that) you deserve this.'
b. Hún heldur [(að) þú misskiljir mig]
she thinks COMP you.SG misunderstand.SBJV me
'She thinks (that) you misunderstand me.'

- These data show that DU is not only limited by the verbal host that selects it but that it must also be in the same clause as the verb

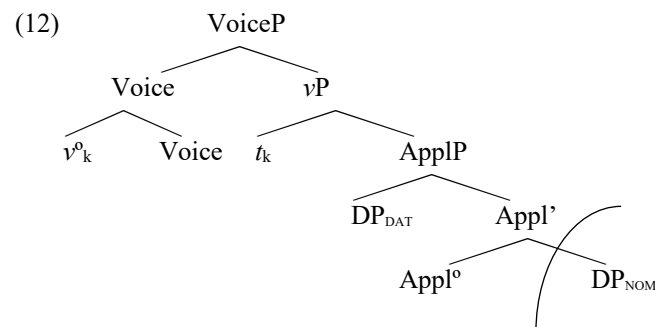
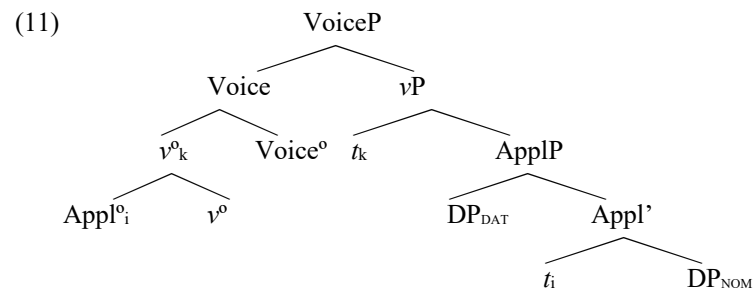
2.3 PHASE LOCALITY

- S&W pull evidence from asymmetric and symmetric verbs in Icelandic in order to show that DU is not just clause-bound but must also be phase-bound
- Asymmetric verbs are those in which the dative argument is structurally higher than the nominative one, making it the only argument that may move to subject position (9)
- Symmetric verbs exhibited both DAT-NOM and NOM-DAT alternations (10)

- (9) a. Mér hefur aldrei líkað þetta
me.DAT has never liked this.NOM
b. *þetta hefur aldrei líkað mér
this.NOM has never liked me
'I have never liked this.'
- (10) a. Mér hefur aldrei hentað þetta
me.DAT has never suited this.NOM
b. þetta hefur aldrei hentað mér
this.NOM has never suited me.DAT
'This has never suited me.'

- Wood & Sigurðsson (2014) explain the DAT-NOM alternation with symmetric verbs (and the impossibility of NOM-DAT order with asymmetric verbs) via den Dikken's (2007) phase-extension theory
- Specifically, W&S claim that for symmetric verbs the Appl^o that hosts the dative argument in its specifier is a phase head (McGinnis 2008) and incorporates into v^o (and subsequently into Voice^o) (11)

- This leaves the availability of either the dative and/or the nominative argument to be probed
- Asymmetric verb derivations, however, do not experience Appl^o- v^o -Voice^o and the nominative DP is unable to be probed beyond the Appl phase (12)



- It stems from this that DU should not arise as a nominal object in asymmetric constructions (13)

- (13) a. *Mér líkar-ðu ekki
me.DAT like-DU not
Intended: 'I don't like you.'
b. *Mér lieðst-u
me.DAT is.bored.by-DU
Intended: 'You bore me.'

- S&W conclude from these data that DU must be a nominative subject in symmetric verb constructions^{3,4}

³ There are details regarding asymmetric verbs resisting topicalization and their nominative arguments not moving to subject position (e.g. *líka* 'like') (S&W 2019:120) that I leave aside here.

⁴ There are speakers that roughly accept DU as a nominative object, which I review in §3 of the Appendix

2.4 FURTHER CLITIC INTERACTION

- S&W also show that DU interacts with the middle voice clitic *-st*
- DU normally appears to the right of *-st* (14a)
 - However, nonstandard Icelandic permits the reverse order in imperative clauses (14b)

- (14) a. Ger-st-**u** meðlimur í klúbbnum
 become-ST-DU member in the.club
- b. %Ger-**ðu**-st meðlimur í klúbbnum
 become-DU-ST member in the.club
 ‘Become a member of the club.’

- These data reveal crucial assumptions about the derivational movement of DU that I return to in §4

3. GALICIAN DATA

- Galician boasts a phenomenon known as determiner cliticization (Uriagereka 1996)
- Much like DU in Icelandic, determiner clitics show strict host and adjacency constraints
- Determiners and clitics share two identical paradigms in Galician, often referred to as ‘first forms’ and ‘second forms’ (Freixeiro 2006):

FIGURE 2. GALICIAN CLITIC FORMS

	SG	PL
FIRST FORMS	o, a	os, as
SECOND FORMS	lo, la	los, las

- Building off of work from Gravely (2019), I claim that determiner cliticization shows very similar constraints to DU:
 - Determiner clitics have host restrictions
 - Determiner clitics must be in the same clause as their hosts
 - Determiner clitics must be in the same phase as their hosts
- The main difference is that determiner cliticization may occur freely with subject and object DP constituents

3.1 HOST SPECIFICATIONS

- When the verb is the host, the second forms of both clitics and determiner clitics appear in instances in which the verbal inflection is that of *-r* or *-s*, corresponding to infinitival forms (15) and conjugations of the 2nd-person singular (16a), 2nd-person plural (16b), and the 1st-person plural (17a) of all tenses (including inflected infinitivals; (17b) shows 2nd-person plural inflection)

- (15) a. Queremos face-**lo** ben
 want.PRS.1PL do.INF-CL_{M.SG} well
 ‘We want to do it well.’
- b. Queremos face-**las** **cousas** ben
 want.PRS.1PL do.INF-CL_{F.PL} things well
 ‘We want to do things well.’
- (16) a. Amañache-**los** xa?
 fix.PST.2SG-CL_{M.PL} already
 ‘Did you fix them already?’
- b. Comeste-**las** **almeixas**?
 eat.PST.2PL-CL_{F.PL} clams
 ‘Did you eat all of the clams?’
- (17) a. De puidermo-**lo** ver...
 COMP be.able.INF.1PL-CL_{M.SG} see.INF
 ‘If we were able to see it...’
- b. Pra conseguirde-**los** **resultados**...
 COMP achieve.INF.2PL-CL_{M.PL} results
 ‘In order to get the results...’

- Incorporation of the determiner clitic is also possible onto a verbal host with a plural dative enclitic pronoun: 1st-, 2nd-, or 3rd-person (*nos*, *vos*, *lles*) (18)

- (18) a. Xantaron-no-**lo** almuerzo
 eat.PST.3PL-CL_{DAT.1PL}-CL_{M.SG} breakfast
 ‘They ate breakfast for us.’
- b. Pasei-vo-**la** factura
 pass.PST.1SG-CL_{DAT.2PL}-CL_{F.SG} bill
 ‘I sent you the bill.’
- c. Chegaron-lle-**las** nenas dende lonxe
 arrive.PST.3SG-CL_{DAT.3PL}-CL_{F.PL} girl from far
 ‘The girls arrived to them from far away.’

- Incorporation of the clitic onto the verb is obligatory (19), whilst determiner cliticization is optional (20)

- (19) a. *Queremos facer **o** ben (cf. 15a)
want.PRS.1PL do.INF CL_{M,SG} well
- b. *Amañaches **os** xa? (cf. 16a)
fix.PST.2SG CL_{M,PL} already
- c. *De puidermos **o** ver... (cf. 17a)
COMP be.able.INFCON.1PL CL_{M,SG} see.INF
- (20) a. Queremos facer **as cousas** ben (cf. 15b)
want.PRS.1PL do.INF CL_{F,PL} things well
- b. Comiches **as almeixas?** (cf. 16b)
eat.PST.2SG CL_{F,PL} clams
- c. Pra conseguirdes **os resultados...** (cf. 17b)
COMP achieve.INF.2PL CL_{M,PL} results

- Determiner cliticization is obligatory in some contexts, however, as when the DP is the complement of a preposition (21) or a quantifier (22)

- (21) a. *Por **o** / Po-**lo** ben de todos
for CL_{M,SG} for-CL_{M,SG} good of all
'For the good of everyone'
- b. *Con **as** / Co**as** rapazas que temos
with CL_{F,PL} with-CL_{F,PL} girls COMP have.PRS.1PL
- (22) *Todas **as** / Toda-**las** veces que foron
all CL_{F,PL} all-CL_{F,PL} times COMP go.PST.3PL
'All of the times that they went'

- I claim that determiner cliticization here is obligatory due to the fact that the DP is base generated in the structural adjacency relation I argue for on the basis of movement in §4

- Uriagereka (1996) called viable hosts for determiner cliticization *structural governors*
- Gravely & Gupton (2020:111) formalized this notion in Minimalism terms:

STRUCTURAL GOVERNORS

A structural governor is a functional head in a structural adjacent relationship that c-commands a determiner clitic with which it shares ϕ -features and/or to which it assigns Case⁵

- This structural relation rules out determiner cliticization to adverbs (23), conjunctions (24), bare-quantifier nominals (25), or verbs with which the DP of the determiner shares no ϕ -features or Case (26)
- (23) *Iñante-**la** / Iñantes a cousa era mellor
before-CL_{F,SG} before CL_{F,SG} thing be.IMPV.3SG better
'Things were better before.'
- (24) As mazás non *mai-**las**/ mais as laranxas si
the apples NEG but-CL_{F,PL} but CL_{F,PL} oranges yes
'Not the apples, but the oranges, yes.'
- (25) Saben *todo-**la** / todos a canción?
know.PRS.3PL all-CL_{F,SG} all CL_{F,SG} song
'Does everyone know the song?'
- (26) Fixemos *canta-**los** dous / cantar os
make.PST.1PL sing.INF-CL_{M,PL} two sing.INF CL_{M,PL}
dous a Xabier
two at Xabier
'The two of us made Xabier sing.'

- In summary, the data show that determiner clitics, like DU, may only incorporate onto specific hosts (and only when they bear a particular inflection) and are not phonological clitics

3.2 CLAUSAL BOUNDARIES

- The clause-bound constraints with determiner cliticization are simpler than those of DU, as COMP-drop is not permitted in any variety of Galician

⁵ Structural adjacency was formalized by Marantz (1988, 1989):

A head X is structurally adjacent to a head Y if:

i) X c-commands Y
ii) There is no head Z that
a. is c-commanded by X and
b. c-commands Y

- The furthest boundary we see is in when the matrix verb selects an infinitival complement

(27) [TP [T Pensamos] [AspP [Asp estai-**los**_k] [DP *t_k* homes]]] || [TP [T *t_i*] [PP na casa] [XP logo]]
 think.PRS.1PL be.INF-CL_{M,PL} men in-the house later
 ‘Us men are planning on being home later.’

- I follow Cardinaletti & Shlonsky (2004) in that this is an instance of restructuring in which the infinitive moves to the matrix clause for aspectual purposes
- I have argued elsewhere (Gravely in press, forthcoming) that determiner cliticization is a case-marking strategy in Galician, which follows from our assumptions about structural governors above

3.3 PHASE BOUNDARIES

- Evidence for phase boundaries of determiner cliticization comes from ungrammatical examples of [ACCUSATIVE CLITIC+DETERMINER CLITIC] combinations
- Although determiner clitics may cliticize to any plural dative (18), they may not cliticize to plural accusative clitics which show the same morphological constraints (e.g., ending in -s)

(28) a. Sacharon-as os pÍcaros
 harvest.PST.3PL-CL_{F,PL} CL_{M,PL} kids
 b. *Sacharon-a-**los** pÍcaros
 harvest.PST.3PL-CL_{F,PL}-CL_{M,PL} kids
 ‘The kids harvested them.’ (e.g. the potatoes)

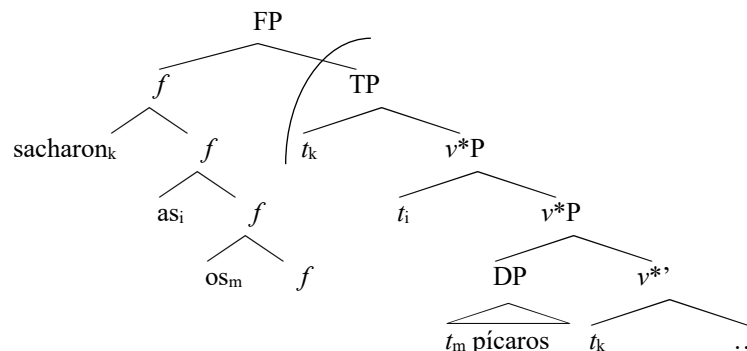
- In Gravely (2019), I claimed that this was due to the *Distinctness Condition* (Richards 2010)

DISTINCTNESS CONDITION

If a linearization statement $\langle \alpha, \alpha \rangle$ is generated, the derivation crashes⁶

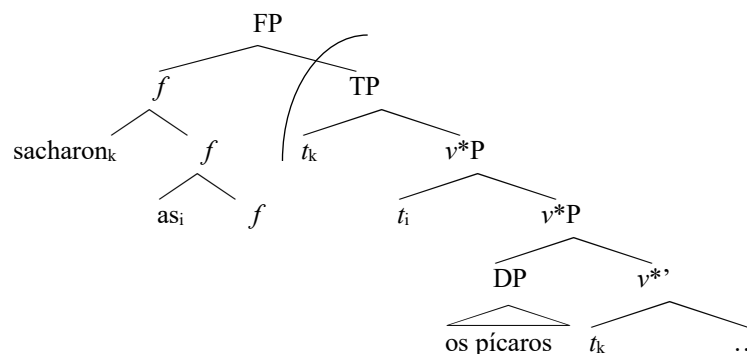
- Following Raposo & Uriagereka’s (2005) claim that clitics are hosted in an ‘active’ left-peripheral head *f* in Western Iberian (WI) and Fernández-Rubiera’s (2013) claim that *f* is a phase in WI, the ungrammaticality in (28b) arises only if the determiner clitic incorporates onto the accusative

(29) *Sacharon-a-los pÍcaros (28b)



- Grammaticality arises, however, if the determiner stays in its base-generated position alongside its NP complement (30)

(30) Sacharon-as os pÍcaros (28a)



- These data show that incorporated determiner clitics are indeed within the same phase as their host and, in being so, must be in a structural adjacent relationship

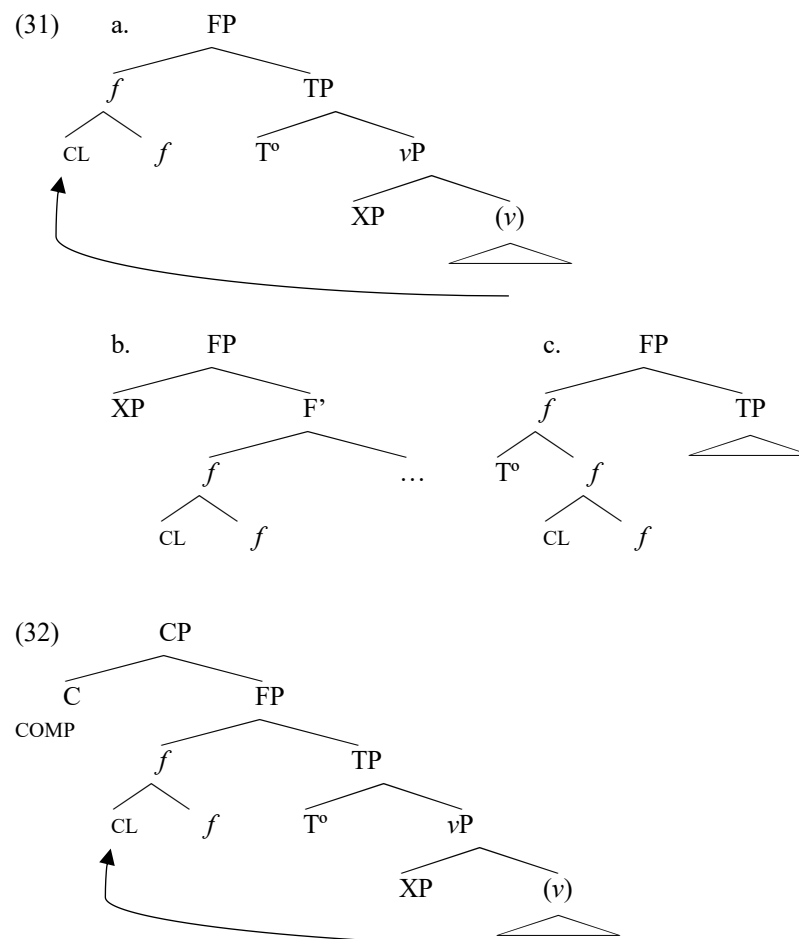
⁶ Richards’ account details that this may be with respect to labels or sub-labels (i.e., ϕ -features)

4. CLITICIZATION THEORY

- Theories related to motivations for cliticization have come in two waves:
 - Morphophonological
 - Syntactic
- Morphophonological accounts of clitics are typically centered around the idiosyncrasies of clitic combinations and their features (Bonet 1991, 1995; Auger 1994; Halpern 1995; Heap 2005; Soto-Corominas & Heap 2015; Soto-Corominas 2017, *i.a.*)
- Syntactic accounts of clitics hold that movement to a functional head occurs within the syntax via agreement of some kind (Ormazabal & Romero 1998; Béjar & Rezac 2003, 2009; Rezac 2008; Roberts 2010; Preminger 2014, 2019; Deal 2020, *i.a.*)
- Within a theory of syntactic movement, motivating movement related to word order in finite enclisis-proclisis splits has proven difficult to explain and is often resorted to post-syntactic mechanisms (e.g. Shlonsky 2004)
 - This is a poor approach to explaining a possible learning strategy a child must adopt in order to understand what triggers enclisis or proclisis⁷
 - And this will be important for explaining how DU & determiner cliticization differ in their derivational steps from other syntactic cliticization
- I show how the finer-grained details of enclisis (locality constraints, adjacency & allomorphic behavior, etc.) narrow down the path that DU and determiner clitics must take in order to surface as they do

4.1 WHAT ENCLISIS TELLS US ABOUT MOVEMENT

- Finite enclisis on the verb is the unmarked pattern in WI varieties, with proclisis only surfacing in utterances in which either i) an XP other than the verb shifts over and serves as a host for the clitic, or ii) a matrix- or subordinate-clause complementizer is present to host the clitic
- Raposo & Uriagereka (2005) claim that clitics obligatorily move to a left-peripheral head f independently of the verb and then are hosted by some local constituent to their left



HOSTING THE CLITIC

- Option 1: XP moves (local SPEC)
- Option 2: The verb complex on T° moves (HEAD-to-HEAD)
- Option 3: The clitic is locally adjacent to COMP

⁷ See §1 of the Appendix for an argument as to why this is the case

- This approach necessarily implies that the clitic must move before the verb
 - While it is the correct assumption for pronominal clitics, this *is not* the solution that we should look for in accounting for DU and determiner cliticization more generally
- This is because the functional head *f* bears the probe for the clitic's features *independently* of the verb
 - The morphological realization of DU and the determiner clitics, on the other hand, are *dependent* on the verbal morphology
 - In addition, these morphological realizations only surface enclitically on the verb

4.2 WHAT ENCLISIS TELLS US ABOUT ADJACENCY

- S&W question the need for DU to move in order to cliticize, ultimately leaving it for further research
- I claim that evidence from Galician should lend support for assuming movement of DU to a functional head immediately adjacent to the verb
- We have seen evidence from Galician (31-32) that either an XP in the specifier of the clitic's functional projection or an X^o that immediately c-commands the clitic may host it
- Gravely & Gupton (2020) argue, however, that phonological alternation in cliticization patterns only arises in HEAD-TO-HEAD adjacency between a clitic and its host
 - These alternations are found in multiple host-clitic combinations beyond the verb (33a) such as the negative marker *non* (33b), and the *wh*-word *quen* (33c)⁸

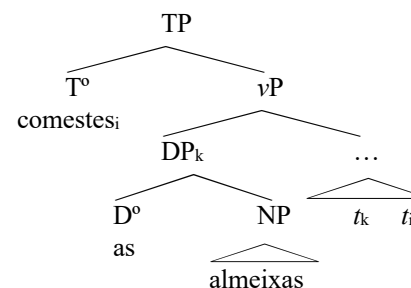
- (33) a. Recollemo-**lo** [-s + o] → [lo]
pick.up.PST.1PL-CL_{M.SG}
- b. Non **a** veu [-ŋ + a] → [-na]
NEG CL_{F.SG} see.PST.3SG
- c. Quen **os** fixo? [-ŋ + os] → [-nos]
who CL_{M.PL} do.PST.3SG

- Constituents ending in the same morphology in the specifier of the clitic may host it, but no phonological alternation occurs

- (34) a. Cantas **o** reciben? [-s + o] → [lo]
how.many CL_{M.SG} receive.PRS.3PL
- b. [No chan] **a** atoparon [-ŋ + a] → [-na]
in-the floor CL_{F.SG} find.PST.3PL

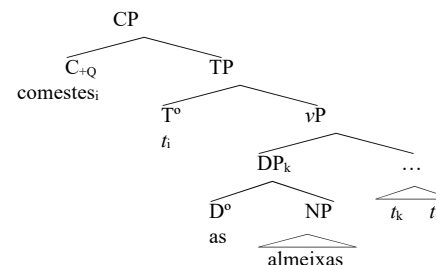
- This HEAD-TO-HEAD adjacency applied to determiner cliticization means that the Galician determiner must move from within the DP

- (35) Comeste-las almeixas ('You ate the clams.')



- In (35), the verb *comestes* and the determiner *as* are not in a HEAD-TO-HEAD relation, as the determiner is embedded within the object DP
- Determiner movement from this position to one in which there is a HEAD-TO-HEAD, immediate c-command relation seems necessary
 - We see this by converting this sentence into a question, which yields the same result but with the verb on C^o (cf. 16b)

- (36) Comeste-las almeixas? ('Did you eat the clams?')



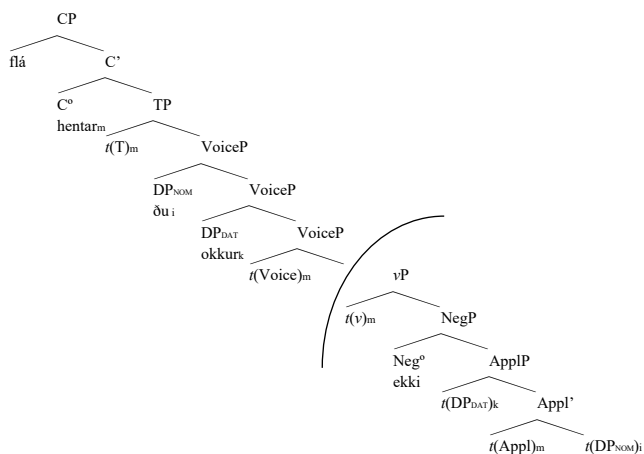
⁸ The idea that a *wh*-word may be a head and not a specifier is nothing new (cf. Westergaard 2005, 2009 on this approach for *wh*-elements in Norwegian based on van Gelderen's 2004 Head Preference Principle)

- Just as in (35), the determiner is not in the necessary local or structural relation in order to cliticize
 - In (36), that the determiner must move is clearer based on the distance and the intervening syntactic structure

4.4 THE IMPLICATIONS FOR DU

- Let’s look at the structure of the derivation in which DU as a subject clitic arises in symmetric NOM-DAT patterns

(37) Ef flú ert eldri en 30 ára, flá hentar-**ðu** okkur ekki.
 if you are older than 30 years then suit-DU us.DAT not
 ‘If you are older than 30, then you do not suit us.’

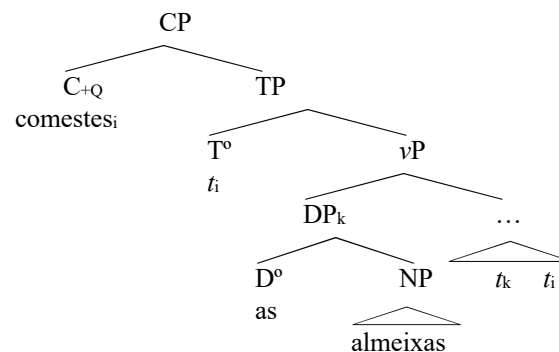


- Following Wood (2015) and Thráinsson (2007, 2010), the verb passes through T° before landing on C°
- In symmetric verb constructions, I assume both DP constituents may be probed to the edge of the phase (VoiceP)
- Basing our analysis of DU off of the structural relations we see in Galician determiner cliticization, I claim that DU must move to meet the verb in a similar structural relation (HEAD-TO-HEAD)
- This explains why DU must be not just in the same clause but the same phase:
 - It must be in a particular structural relation to the verb
 - (But first!) It must be in a position to be probed by the verb

4.5 COUNTER-CYCLIC HEAD MOVEMENT: THE HOW, WHY, AND WHERE

- Based on the observations above, we are forced to assume a counter-cyclic, tucking-in strategy (Richards 1998, 2001; Guimarães 2004) of DU and determiner cliticization
 - This is based on the fact that the verb must come to rest before probing

(38) Comeste-las almeixas? (‘Did you eat the clams?’) (cf. 36)



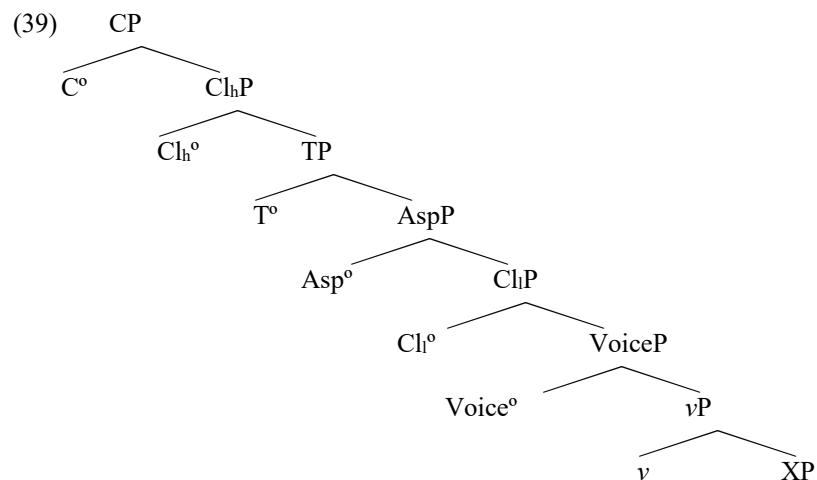
- In (38), by the determiner not cliticizing within the vP (as in Roberts 2010), we see the derivation respecting the Principle of Minimal Compliance (Richards (1998, 2001)

PRINCIPLE OF MINIMAL COMPLIANCE (Richards 1998:601)

For any dependency D that obeys a constraint C, any elements that are relevant for determining whether D obeys C can be ignored for the rest of the derivation for purposes of determining whether any other dependency D’ obeys C

- This type of encliticization (i.e., that which may occur in more than one position and, therefore, requires the derivation to “wait”) is distinct from 2nd-position (en)clitics (cf. Bošković 2001), which follow the same sort of independent movement to its own functional projection as shown for pronominal clitics in Western Iberian (cf. 31-32)

- Because these clitics attach directly to the verb (no matter what functional projection it may be found in), I claim that the verb is endowed with the necessary probe in order to bring the clitic to its side
 - The ϕ -features on the goal may be related to person (Béjar & Rezac 2003, Preminger 2019, Deal 2020, *i.a.*), which is surely the case with DU
 - Or some sort of morphological ϕ -features (Raposo & Uriagereka 2005), which seems to be accurate for determiner clitics⁹
- Building off of work by Cardinaletti & Shlonsky (2004), Wood (2015, Ch.2) claims that for the Icelandic middle voice clitic *-st* (also an element that is always enclitic on the verb) there may be two attachment points:



- He claims that the clitic originates in the specifier of VoiceP and either
 - ends in ClhP when the verb moves to C
 - ends in ClP when an auxiliary verb is in T°, leaving the lexical verb in Asp

⁹ Wood (2015:73) claims something similar for the middle voice clitic *-st*, as it has no person features but must be ϕ -rich enough in order to

- merge in an argument position
- be licensed as a clitic
 - ... yet it does not intervene in any ϕ -licensing as to disrupt other syntactic operations

- (40)
- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|--------|--------------|----------------|
| a. | Rúðan | hefur | splundrast | |
| | window.the.NOM | has | shattered-ST | |
| | ‘The window has shattered.’ | | | |
| b. | *Rúðan | hefst | splundrað | |
| | window.the.NOM | has-ST | shattered | [Wood 2015:98] |

- Following his observations, I claim that his ClhP and Raposo & Uriagereka’s (2005) FP are one in the same
 - This is where DU attaches and where determiner clitics cliticize when the verb already hosts a plural dative (cf. 18)
- I also claim that the lower clitic projection is where DU is hosted for those speakers that accept DU as a nominal object (cf. §3 of Appendix) and where determiner cliticization may occur when the verb is in T° or in cases of restructuring in Romance (cf. 27)

5. CONCLUSION

- I have argued that all movement operations must occur in the syntax proper (even seemingly cryptic ones that show allomorphic alternations that are often attributed to PF-mechanisms)
- The cases provided here have shown that these phenomena are
 - clause-bound
 - phase-bound
 - and host-type reliant
 - ... and all of these must be accounted for in the syntax-proper
- Therefore, there exist morphophonological forms that may arise by way of the PF machinery that should be seen as byproducts of syntactic movement

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Appendix

1. LEARNABILITY IN CLITIC PATTERNS: WHY THE CLITIC MUST MOVE FIRST

- The idea behind Raposo & Uriagereka’s (2005) claim that the clitic moves to a left-peripheral head before the verb is based on the notion that “proclisis is the basic, unmarked order that results from clitic placement” (2005:656)
 - From a cross-linguistic standpoint, yes
 - Most Romance varieties have finite proclisis and may only show enclisis on infinitives or gerunds
 - From a language acquisition standpoint, no
- Costa, Fieis, & Lobo (2015) (CFL) lay out the development that children undergo in European Portuguese (EP)¹⁰
 - They show that enclisis, not proclisis, is the unmarked word order in Western Iberian
 - Children produce enclisis systematically, deviating from the adult grammar (AG) for up to four years (although rarely exceeding five years), and must learn when proclisis arises
- Constituents that trigger proclisis on the verb are:
 - negation
 - preverbal negative subjects & quantified subjects
 - finite complement clauses with no preverbal
 - focused and *wh*-XPs
 - some preverbal adverbs (e.g. *já* ‘already’)

(1) Foste tu que **daste-me** (age 4;8) [AG: me deste]

be.PST.2SG you COMP give.PST.2SG-CL_{1SG}

‘It was you that gave it to me.’

(2) O mano não **deixa-me** dormir (age 3;8) [AG: me deixa]

the brother NEG let.PRS.3SG-CL_{1SG}

‘My brother doesn’t let me sleep.’

(3) Porque **partiu-se**, mãe? (age 3;4) [AG: se partiu]

why break.PST.3SG-CL_{REFL.3} mom

‘Why did it break, mom?’

¹⁰ Galician pairs identically to EP, therefore I claim that these child data are equally relevant for Galician, as well

- CFL show that the learnability path is extremely salient:
 - 1) negation
 - 2) negative DPs/finite complement clauses
 - 3) adverbs (e.g. adverbs of manner)
 - 4) finite adverbial clauses
 - 5) quantified subjects
 - In negative clauses, proclisis is categorical and these clauses are always marked with a head (not a phrase), thus this is acquired very early
 - Negative DPs may be heads (*ninguén* ‘no one’) or phrases (*nunca* ‘never’); regardless, they all carry a [+NEG] feature which is acquired fairly early
 - Complement clauses, particularly ones with no preverbal material, typically show proclisis
 - Only in certain situations with preverbal material (e.g. preverbal subjects) do embedded clauses show enclisis, so this pattern is recognized quite early, as well
 - There are adverbs (*xa* ‘already’, *sempre* ‘always’) that always trigger proclisis, but this must be learned individually and with some variation (e.g. *agora* ‘now’ may or may not force proclisis (4))
 - This group of lexical items is more difficult and takes longer to acquire the rules of the adult grammar
- (4) a. Agora cho digo
 now CL_{DAT.2SG}-CL_{M.SG} say.PRS.1SG
 ‘I’ll tell you now.’ (i.e., as soon as possible)
- b. Agora digo-cho
 now say.PRS.1SG- CL_{DAT.2SG}-CL_{M.SG}
 ‘I’ll tell you now.’ (i.e., when I get the time)
- Finite adverbial clauses headed by *porque* (‘because’) often give off the interpretation of coordinated structures and, therefore, show a varied behavior regarding proclisis and enclisis
 - Only quantified subjects headed by *todos* (‘all’) consistently show proclisis, and due to the fact that normal preverbal topics are base-generated topics in Western Iberian (Fernández-Rubiera 2013, Barbosa 1996) the child may ignore a single lexical item that differs from the rest of her data

- Clitics in WI may be proclitic or enclitic on the verb, but they are always enclitic on *some* material
- It is therefore more economical to assume that clitics move to a functional head unrelated to the verb and are then formed within a well-formed prosodic word based on how the derivation unfolds
- A PF-mechanism that makes decisions regarding word order cannot account for odd asymmetries such as words like *agora* (‘now’) that may head clauses marked with enclisis and proclisis
 - Only syntactic machinery may do this

2. NONSTANDARD GALICIAN DETERMINER CLITICIZATION

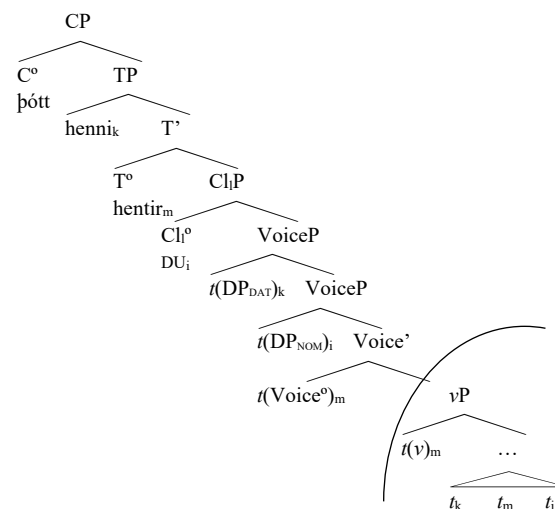
- In addition to the determiner cliticization that arises on the morphology described in §3.1, Álvarez Cáccamo (1989) and Dubert-García (2014) provide evidence for a dialectal variation of Galician that treats verbal inflection ending in *-n* [ɲ] as hosts for determiner cliticization
 - Systematically, this is all 3rd-person plural inflections, certain irregular morphological forms of 3rd-person singular (e.g. *ter* ‘have’, *vir* ‘come’), and rare 1st-person singular cases such as *son* (‘I am’)
 - This is shown by the same [ɲ]/-[n] alternation seen in (33b-c)
- (5) a. Ten as mazás /ɲ/ + /as/ → /nas/
 have.PRS.3SG CL_{F.PL} apples
 ‘She has the apples.’
- b. Chegaran os golpes /ɲ/ + /os/ → /nos/
 arrive.PST.3PL CL_{M.PL} foxes
 ‘The foxes are coming.’
- c. Son a persoa que buscas /ɲ/ + /a/ → /na/
 be.PRS.1SG CL_{F.SG} person COMP search.for.PRS.2SG
 ‘I am the person that you’re looking for.’
- I claim that this phonological alternation shows that determiner cliticization also occurs with these verbal inflections, as well
 - In these varieties only the 1st-person singular would systematically not show the ability to attract definite determiners, with the 3rd-person singular varying by predicate

3. EVIDENCE FOR DU AS A NOMINATIVE OBJECT

- S&W (2019:120-122) make a peripheral observation in the data of DU that reveals this clitic being marginally accepted as a nominative object for a certain group of Icelandic speakers¹¹
- DU as a nominative object of symmetric verbs seems to hold the same general host constraints as DU when it is a subject:

- (6) a. %Mér hefur alltaf reynst þú vel
me.DAT has always turned.out you.NOM.SG well
‘You have always turned out well for me (in my view).’
- b. *Mér hefur alltaf reynst-u vel
me.DAT has always turned.out-DU well
- c. %Ef mér reynist-u vel...
if me.DAT turn.out-DU well
‘If you turn out well for me...’

- DU may not attach to infinitives (6b) but only finite verbs (6c), contrary to the non-reduced form *þú* (6a)
 - S&W claimed that for speakers that accept DU as a nominative object, it must follow the same derivational movement as we saw with subject DU (cf. 37)
 - Even in DAT-NOM alternations of symmetric verbs, nominative DU must be within the same phase as the verb in order to cliticize
- (7) %María ætlar ekki að ráða þig, þótt henni hentir-ðu í
María intends not to hire you although her.DAT suits.SBJV-DU in
sjálfu sér vel
self well
‘María doesn’t intend to hire you, although you suit her well per se.’



- With the verb presumably in T° (Angantýsson 2011), the DAT argument moves to [Spec,TP] from its shifted position out of the phase marked by Voice°
- The clitic DU, also having shifted, raises to ClP (cf. 39) in order to cliticize to the verb on T°

¹¹ See S&W (2019:125, fn. 12) for further details as to why these phrases were all marked ‘%’. These points are largely orthogonal to my focus here, so I leave them aside.