

Sound, Syntax and Contact in the Languages of Asturias

Edited by Guillermo Lorenzo

John Benjamins Publishing Company

Sound, Syntax and Contact in the Languages of Asturias

Issues in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics (IHLL)

ISSN 2213-3887

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Volume 36

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Amsterdam / Philadelphia



The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

DOI 10.1075/ihll.36

**Cataloging-in-Publication Data available from Library of Congress:
LCCN 2021060520 (PRINT) / 2021060521 (E-BOOK)**

ISBN 978 90 272 1093 7 (HB)

ISBN 978 90 272 5790 1 (E-BOOK)

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Northern soul

A brief guide to the linguistic diversity of Asturias

Guillermo Lorenzo

University of Oviedo

This introductory chapter provides some background to the rest of the book. It first outlines some major topics of the grammar of the languages of Asturias. After that, some prior approximations to these languages from a generative perspective are reviewed. Finally, the specific issues dealt within each chapter are advanced.

Keywords: Asturian, Asturian Galician, Asturian Spanish, generative grammar

1. Introduction

The Principality of Asturias, located in the north-western part of the Iberian Peninsula (Figure 1), contributes two autochthonous languages to the linguistic diversity of Spain, namely, Asturian (or Bable) and Asturian Galician (or Fala) (Figure 2).¹ Spanish (or Castilian) was introduced in the area following the assimilation of the old Kingdom of Asturias and Leon by the Kingdom of Castile in the 13th Century, with particular strength from the following century on, becoming the official language until today.² In any event, so many centuries of contact with both Asturian and Asturian Galician have stamped many distinguishing

1. The legal document that recognizes the political autonomy of the Principality of Asturias (1981) refers to Bable as the autochthonous language of the territory. Afterwards, a law for the protection and diffusion of the language (1998) refers to it as Bable/Asturian. With the years, Asturian has become the most common denomination. No mention is made to Asturian Galician in the former document, but the latter incorporates the denomination Asturian/Galician. Asturian Galician is also customarily referred to as Fala or Eonavian, the latter incorporating the mention of the two rivers (Eo and Navia) which delimit its specific territory.

2. At the moment of writing this (02.06.2021), neither Asturian nor Asturian Galician have the status of official language in the Principality of Asturias, despite the constitutional command that entrusts this mission to the autonomous government.



Figure 1. Location of the Principality of Asturias



Figure 2. Linguistic border between Asturian Galician (left side) and Asturian (right side)

marks into the varieties of Spanish spoken in the region. This book is about the linguistic melting-pot of contemporary Asturias, from the perspective of generative linguistics.

According to the most recent estimate, which dates from 2017, approximately 62% of the population of Asturias (1,034 million in that year, 1,029 million now) understood and spoke Asturian fluently (González Riaño *et al.*, 2018). In its specific area, with a population of about 40,000, Asturian Galician was fluently used by approximately 72% in 2006, when the most recent estimate was made (Muñiz Cachón, 2018).

The Government of the Principality of Asturias has a sub-office devoted to the protection of the autochthonous languages of the territory and it helps the maintenance of the Academia de la Llingua Asturiana,³ the institution which has

3. www.academiadelalingua.com

supported most of the research, educational and informative activities on behalf of the linguistic richness of Asturias from 1980 (VVAA, 2001, pp. 217–222). Gingerly, but at an increasing pace in the last decades, the languages of Asturias have gained some space at all levels of the educational system.

In any event, the *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (updated version of 2017) ranks Asturian as a ‘definitely endangered’ language.

2. Some relevant features of the languages of Asturias

Asturian and Asturian Galician are Romance languages that partake of many of the most idiosyncratic features routinely associated with the Galician-Portuguese group. However, due to geographical and sociological reasons, Asturian Galician remains closer to the Galician-Portuguese type than Asturian, which has been more receptive to the assimilation of features from Spanish. To refer to a single, albeit representative case, Asturian used to exhibit inflected infinitives, one of the most distinguishing traits of the Galician-Portuguese type, but it lost them rather early in time due to the influence of Castilian (Egido Fernández, 1992; Lorenzo, 2016). Asturian Galician still retains them. In this section I review some noteworthy properties of Asturian and Asturian Galician, setting some background for the chapters to follow.

Both languages match the Galician-Portuguese type regarding the pattern of clitic placement. In a nutshell, enclisis is the default option (1a, 2a), but a number of different triggers make proclisis mandatory (1b, 2b), with the exception of a few contexts in which either location is possible (1c, 2c) (ALLA, 2001, pp. 363–369; Andrés, 1993):

- (1) Asturian
- a. *muéyalo con un pocu d'agua*
moisten-ACC.3P.SING with a some of-water
‘Moisten it with some water’
 - b. *Xuan nun-yos da manzanes a los niños*
Xuan NEG-DAT.3P.PL give-PRS.3P.SING apples to the boys
‘Xuan refuses to give apples to the boys’
 - c. *nun sé si (vos) dar/da(vos)*
NEG know-PRS.1P.SING COMP (DAT.2P.PL) give-INF(-DAT.2P.PL)
les gracias
the thanks
‘I’m doubting whether say thank you’

Another topic that has particularly caught the attention of students is the existence of a neuter gender in Asturian, which applies to ‘non-countable’ nouns. This neuter gender has a morphological reflex in the agreeing articles, adjectives and pronouns (ALLA, 2001, pp. 89–90). (5) offers an example of the resulting threefold gender variation (feminine, masculine, neuter) for the case of adjectival agreement in Asturian:

- (5) a. *muyer xusta*
 woman fair-FEM
 ‘Fair woman’
 b. *home xustu*
 man fair-MASC
 ‘Fair man’
 c. *xente xusto*
 people fair-NEU
 ‘Fair people’

A shared feature of the verbal system of Asturian and Asturian Galician is the preference for the expression of aspectual distinctions by means of synthetic, instead of periphrastic forms aided by an AUX element. Thus, in the following examples, a simple inflected form *V-ra* is used where the Spanish counterpart would correspond to a HAVE + PAST PARTICIPLE compound:

- (6) Asturian
Cuando yo llegué él nun entamara a falar
 when I arrive-PAST.1P.SING he NEG start-PAST.PERF to talk-INF
 ‘When I arrived, he had not started to talk’
 (7) Asturian Galician
Condo eu chegué él nun empezara a falar
 when I arrive-PAST.1P.SING he NEG start-PAST.PERF to talk-INF
 ‘When I arrived, he had not started to talk’

In any event, most speakers use complex forms of the HAVE + PAST PARTICIPLE type, but, interestingly, these forms are associated with certain idiosyncratic meanings relative to their Spanish counterparts. For example, in the Asturian sentence in (8) the complex form does not merely express the idea of past perfect, but also the idea of termination (Viejo, 1998, pp. 46–47):

- (8) *al nietu, ya lu hubieren visitao y ya taben*
 the grandson already him had-3P.PL visit-PART and already be-PAST.3P.PL
casi de regresu cuando tú llegasti
 almost of back when you arrive-PAST.2P.SING
 ‘Their grandson, they have already visited him, and they were almost back when you arrived’

Besides, the complex verbal forms most regularly used in Asturian and Asturian Galician for the expression of aspectual meanings similar to those in charge of complex forms in Spanish do not resort to HAVE as the AUX component, but to TENER/TER, as in Galician (García Arias, 2003, p. 285; Harre, 1991, pp. 155–159). (9) and (10) offer some representative examples:

(9) Asturian
Xuana tien venío per esti pueblu abondes vegaes
 Xuana have-PRES.3P.SING come-PART to this town many times
 ‘Xuana have been in this town many times’

(10) Asturian Galician
Xuana ten vido por este poblo abundas veces
 Xuana have-PRES.3P.SING come-PART to this town many times
 ‘Xuana have been in this town many times’

Another hot topic of the grammar of the languages of Asturias is the morphosyntax of the nominal phrase, especially the diversity of possessive DP types (ALLA, 2001, pp. 107–114; Rodríguez Castellano, 1957). To start with, both Asturian and Asturian Galician match the Galician-Portuguese type, in that in either language most possessive DPs are introduced by the definite article:

(11) Asturian
les tos neñes
 the-FEM.PL your-PL girl-FEM.PL
 ‘your girls’

(12) Asturian Galician
As túas nenas
 the-FEM.PL your-PL girl-FEM.PL
 ‘your girls’

A plethora of variations of order and agreement patterns are grammatical in these languages, as illustrated in (13), all of which are grammatical in Asturian:

- (13) a. *les neñes tos*
 the-FEM.PL girl-FEM.PL your-PL
 ‘my girls’
 b. *les neñes tuyes*
 the-FEM.PL girl-FEM.PL your-MASC.PL
 ‘your girls’
 c. *les neñes de to*
 the-FEM.PL girl-FEM.PL of yours
 ‘your girls’

Type (13c), routinely referred to as the ‘periphrastic possessive construction,’ also exists in Asturian Galician (Fernández Braña *et al.*, 1990, p. 38):

- (14) *os nenos de voso*
 the-MASC.PL boy-MASC-PL of your-PL
 ‘your boys’

This construction is particularly intriguing, as it has close correlates in some dialects of Southern Italy, like Calabrese and Napolitan (Rohlf, 1949/1968, p. 129). This observation appears to feed the old thesis regarding the southern Italian demographic component of the romanization of the area, traditionally inspired by some other morphophonological phenomena of Asturian, like vowel metaphony or cacuminal consonants (Menéndez Pidal, 1954).

Suffice this brief collection of topics, which have been selected for their relation with the subject matter of the chapters to follow, as a first glance to the opportunities that the languages of Asturias offer in order to deepen our knowledge of the formal properties of the Romance family and to provide new clues for the resolution of old puzzles that the group still raises.

3. Previous generative approaches to the languages of Asturias

Most of the topics reviewed in Section 2 have been on the focus of generative grammar in the last decades. The placement of pronominal clitics in Asturian, to start with, was approached in Lorenzo (1994b, 1995), after the postulation of functional categories in Western Romance that would explain the specificities of the location of clitics in these languages (Rouveret, 1992; Uriagereka, 1995). Aspects of the same issue were also touched from a comparative perspective in Longa and Lorenzo (2001b) and Longa *et al.* (1996, 1998). In these latter contributions, the scope of such comparative approaches led to the discovery of several contexts wherein object clitics are ‘recycled’ for subject/locative and modal uses in the different languages of the Iberian Peninsula (or variants thereof), including Asturian and Asturian Spanish. These seminal approaches paved the way to a series of papers and a doctoral dissertation by Fernández-Rubiera (2006, 2009, 2010, 2013, 2014), in which the position of clitics in Asturian is rigorously explained as reflecting discourse-related interface determinants. González i Planas (2007) also focuses on clitic placement in Asturian and its relation to the cartography of the left periphery and the pro-drop character of this language. San Segundo (2012) contains important insights as regards the same issues, framed within a general reconstruction of the origins of Romance clitics from Latin. Lorenzo (2019) offers a historical approach to the general compatibility of clustered dative and accusative clitics in Old and Modern Asturian.

The syntax of the Asturian DP is approached in Lorenzo (1998) and, more recently, in Lorenzo (2020). In both papers, a panoply of word arrangements in possessive phrases is derived from a single skeleton together with other independently motivated internal-merge operations. In a similar spirit, González Escribano (2012) offers a general view of the systems of complementation and specification of the Asturian DP.

The ‘mass/count’ distinction attested in Asturian has attracted the attention of many generativist scholars along the years. For example, Bonet (2013); Bonet *et al.* (2015); Bonet and Mascaró (2012) and Mascaró (2011) are partially or completely devoted to the morphophonology of that distinction in this language. Burner (2016); Cambor and Wood Bowden (2005); Carretero García (2017) and San Segundo (2015) approach different facets of the morphology and syntax of the same phenomenon. Hualde (1992, 1998) in turn touches the phonological implications of the intertwining of this distinction and the (declining) phenomenon of metaphony attested in a broad area of Asturias, also approached in Martínez-Gil (2006).

The specificities of the aspectual and auxiliary system of the languages of Asturias have also been the target of some generativist approaches, namely, Gupton (2000) and Jardón Pérez (2016). Interestingly, both papers focus on the variety of Spanish spoken in the Asturian Galician speaking area. This is not surprising, however, as this is an area wherein the superposition of these two languages and the proximity of a third one (Asturian) make very likely the emergence of distinctive features without parallels in other Spanish dialects. The area certainly deserves more attention than it has hitherto received.

The set of topics of the grammar of the languages of Asturias that have been approached from the generative perspective in previous projects also includes the word order of Old Asturian, including V2 phenomena (Corral Esteban, 2019), quantification, negation and polarity (San-Segundo-Cachero, 2006/8, 2016, 2017a, 2017b, 2018, 2019).

4. This book

The typology, placement and combinatorics of pronominal clitics are the subject matter of four contributions of this book. Chapter 2, by Julio Villa-García and Hugo Sánchez-Llana (‘Asturian and Asturian Spanish at the syntax-phonology interface: clitic directionality, imperatives, and inversion in *wh*-interrogatives’), explains enclisis as the outcome of derivations wherein the general PF-rule of silencing the lower copy of a displaced clitic is overridden for the sake of convergence. In any event, the chapter has a broader focus, as the authors also argue that the derivational trick at work is not different from the one that explains certain verb-subject order effects in

the languages concerned. In Chapter 3 ('What clitic placement can tell us about semantic anchoring: Evidence from Asturian'), Francisco J. Fernández-Rubiera claims that subordinate contexts offer the perfect litmus test in order to clarify that the order of clitics (proclisis/enclisis) is sensitive to anchoring conditions of an epistemic kind of the propositions concerned. From this finding, he proceeds to unfold the thesis that the conspiracy of such syntactic/semantic determinants suffices and can be generalized to all kinds of contexts, with the net result of explaining the location of clitics in the absence of any phonological condition. In Chapter 4 ('Are Asturian clitics distinctly distinct?'), Guillermo Lorenzo argues that the appearance that Asturian defies the general constraint against third person clitic clusters is a deceiving one. He shows that Old Asturian resorted in those contexts to contracted forms of the Galician-Portuguese type, but that the language finally found an idiosyncratic formula for avoiding the underlying identity of the clitics concerned, thanks to the conflation of the dative forms and the now lost locative clitic. In Chapter 5 ('¿Qué che femos con el *che*? Some properties of ethical dative 'che' in Asturian Galician'), which closes this series on clitics, Elena Vares and Guillermo Lorenzo first introduce the conditions of use of the ethical dative in Asturian Galician, which surfaces as a second person, singular dative clitic. From combinatorics evidence, they conclude that this form is neither a D-type clitic nor an Agr-type one, but belongs to a third kind of clitics that may be likened to the family of 'modal recycled clitics' originally brought to the fore by Longa *et al.* (1996).

The verbal system is approached in Chapter 6 ('Pluractional perfects in Eonavian Spanish') by Natalia Jardón. She explains that analytical monoclausal verbal forms are attested in the variety of Spanish spoken in the westernmost area of Asturias, which convey perfect meanings and require the iteration of the event. These forms have no exact correlates neither in Spanish nor Galician, so they are to be thought of as an in situ development of the autochthonous verbal system.

Chapter 7 ('Middle formation and inalienability in Asturian') deals with a puzzle that raises in Asturian when applying the Applicative Phrase (ApPlP) based analysis of left-dislocated datives/possessors in middle constructions with a theme/possessee subject, along the lines of Cuervo (2003) and Pylkkänen (2002). From such an anomaly, Imanol Suárez-Palma reconsiders the internal composition of possessive DPs with a weak possessive pronoun in Asturian – as the one in (11) above, paving the way for the suggestion that such DPs are apt to assume in Asturian a role which is fulfilled by the ApPlP in other languages.

The topic of Chapter 8 is negation ('Negation in Asturian: pragmatic differences at the syntax-phonology interface'). In her contribution, Rosabel San Segundo Cachero offers strong support to the idea that the two Asturian negative markers, *non* and *nun*, which have hitherto been routinely introduced as variants of the same unit of negation, are in fact two different units. For concreteness, *non* may add the

role of metalinguistic negative marker to the one of sentential negative marker, which it shares with *nun*. The data offered as evidence is also highly informative about other questions regarding the left periphery of Asturian. From a comparative perspective, the paper also explores and emphasizes how Asturian locates itself, typologically speaking, at a middle ground position relative to the neighbor Western Iberian Romances and Spanish.

Chapter 9 ('Intonational form and speaker belief in Mieres Asturian polar questions') locates at the crossroads between syntax, phonology and pragmatics. It is based on an analysis of a South-Central variety of Asturian and it unveils the prosodic means by which speakers convey polar questions, which are shown to vary consistently according their having bias regarding the actual state of affairs being questioned or about the confidence of the information held by interlocutors. In doing so, Eduardo García-Fernández is able to settle some previously unattended lines of continuity and rupture between Asturian and other Romance varieties.

Closing the book, Chapter 10 ('Minority language bilingualism and its role in L3 acquisition: the case of Asturian') widens the scope of the grammar-oriented contributions of previous chapters by adding a relevant note of a psycholinguistic character. The author, María Turrero-García, takes advantage of two important facts: (1) most Asturian speakers are bilinguals, and (2) Asturian is not official in its territory, it is poorly implemented in the educational system, and its use is mostly restricted to family contexts. Given this background, Asturian aptly offers itself as a natural experiment in order to corroborate whether this kind of bilingualism (even trilingualism) offers the kinds of cognitive advantages that bilingualism has been proved to render in other, more balanced situations. An answer in the affirmative is good news, as it somewhat compensates the social disadvantages associated to minority, non-official languages.

Acknowledgements

I want to express my gratitude to Kimberly Geeslin and Megan Solon for their support of this proposal. I also thank Anna Gavarró for suggesting to me the Issues in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics series as an optimal target for a book about the languages of Asturias.

Funding

This book has benefitted from a grant of the Spanish Government (FFI2017-87699-P).

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	NEU	neuter
COMP	complementizer	PERF	perfect
DAT	dative	PRS	present
ETH	ethical	REFL	reflexive
INF	infinitive	SING/PL	singular, plural
MASC/FEM	masculine, feminine	1P, 2P, 3P	first, second, third persons
NEG	negation		

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Asturian and Asturian Spanish at the syntax-phonology interface

Cliticization phenomena and beyond

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A number of movement-related phenomena from Asturian as well as from the Spanish spoken in the Principality of Asturias are amenable to accounts where the Pronounce-Highest-Copy requirement in Phonetic Form can be overridden if convergence so demands. Therefore, the evidence adduced here supports the view that the requirements imposed by the Phonetic Form component may take precedence over purely syntactic requirements. In this connection, we argue for a novel analysis of the enclitic-proclitic contrast in Asturian and Asturian Spanish in finite and non-finite contexts, alongside extensions to other constructions, which add to the ample stock of phenomena supporting the rather successful Copy Theory of Movement.

Keywords: pronominal clitics, morphology, PF, copy theory, pronounce lower copy, subject-verb inversion, imperatives, enclisis, proclisis, Asturian, Asturian Spanish

1. Introduction

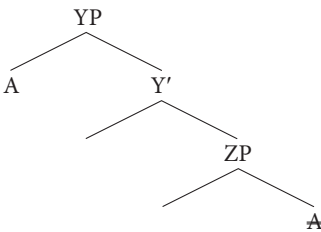
In this paper, we investigate a number of phenomena from Asturian and Asturian Spanish which reside at the intersection between syntax and morphophonology – P(honetic)F(orm): the syntax-phonology interface. The idea behind all the cases explored in this paper, which include clitics in different environments as well as subjects in *wh*-questions, is the observation that when a problem arises if a moved element is overtly realized in the moved position, the grammar opts to pronounce the element in a different syntactic position, effectively voiding the problem that would otherwise ensue.

Current theoretical assumptions make this repair strategy possible, given Chomsky's (1995, 2013) overarching Copy Theory of Movement (movement as

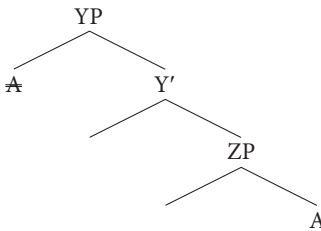
copy and deletion) (CTM). Since movement operations leave copies in those positions through which the moving element transits, the grammar is able to select which of those copies to pronounce. Normally, the highest copy is chosen, given that detectability of movement is necessary in the normal case (Chomsky, 1995). However, when a problem arises due to an element appearing in a position where it causes an issue, or because PF imposes a certain requirement forcing a certain copy to surface, the system salvages the derivation by realizing a low copy in PF, thus rescuing a derivation that would otherwise crash (e.g., Bobaljik, 1994; Franks, 1998). Under this approach, all movement is overt, the choice of copy to pronounce being a PF decision; different copies left by movement (i.e., created by the syntax) are independently present in different positions and eligible to be privileged by PF if convergence so demands. This is in sync with the more general approach to salvation-by-PF deletion developed in the recent literature, that is, the fact that ellipsis/deletion ameliorates syntactic violations (on which see, *inter alia*, Bošković, 2011; Villa-García, 2015).

The CTM approach is shown schematically in the following arboreal structures. In (1a), we have the run-of-the-mill case in which the highest copy of a moved element is chosen in PF – the default case scenario, with deleted/unpronounced low copies. In (1b), on the other hand, we have the case in which a lower copy is PF-privileged due to the overt high copy inducing a problem, which is now deleted in PF (i.e., it is not pronounced), consequently ceasing to create an issue.

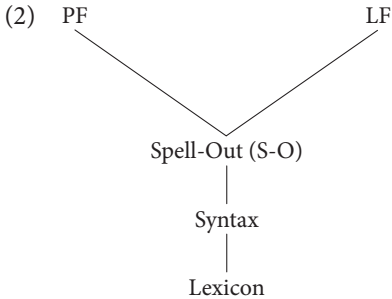
(1) a. Pronounce Highest Copy



b. Pronounce Lower Copy



The model of grammar assumed herein is, in broad strokes, the standard inverted-T model sketched in (2), where in addition to the lexicon, the syntactic component, and PF, we have L(ogical)F(orm) and Spell-Out (S-O), the point of the derivation at which the structure formed by the syntax is handed over to PF and LF.



The empirical scope of this paper is clitic placement in finite and non-finite contexts in Asturian. We also show that other constructions that are unrelated to the issue of cliticization are also amenable to the account pursued herein. Although data from other linguistic varieties will be provided when appropriate, the focus will be on the Western Iberian language Asturian, and on the Spanish spoken in the Principality of Asturias. This dialect displays features of both Asturian and Spanish and has come to be popularly known as *Amestáu* (Teso, 2015, and references therein) or *Asturñol* (Villa-García, 2019c); however, we shall refer to this contact variety as Asturian Spanish throughout.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 outlines the theoretical framework. Section 3 investigates clitic-related phenomena in Asturian and Asturian Spanish, namely clitic directionality (enclisis vs. proclisis) in finite contexts in Asturian (Section 3.1); clitic placement in positive and negative infinitival imperatives in Asturian Spanish (Section 3.2); and optional preverbal and postverbal clitics in certain infinitival configurations in Asturian (Section 3.3). Section 4 extends the approach to other constructions beyond clitics, namely postverbal subjects in wh-questions in Asturian. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Theoretical background: The Copy Theory of Movement (CTM)

A key assumption of the transformational generative paradigm is that a syntactic derivation involves movement operations, also known as transformations. By way of illustration, in a sentence where the location of the event is questioned, this constituent is expressed by means of a wh-item (typically *where*) that appears at the beginning of the sentence via the displacement property, also known as movement

(or internal merge/re-merge, as in Chomsky, 2001, *et seq.*). In early conceptions of the generative paradigm, operations moving constituents were assumed to leave a t (race) generated by movement in the base position, as in (3).

(3) **Where_i** did you find this Asturian manuscript **t_i**?

With the advent of the Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory (Chomsky, 1995, *et seq.*), Trace Theory was replaced by the CTM, primarily for empirical reasons (e.g., Bošković & Nunes, 2007). According to this proposal, movement is a composite operation that involves copying and deleting, as in (4). Copies of moved elements are identical to each other, but the system normally realizes only one copy of a moved element. Subsequently, even though copies of a moved element are duplicates of each other, the difference between them lies in PF realization.

(4) **Where** did you find this Asturian manuscript **where?**

A point of detail here is that deleted (i.e., unpronounced) copies are conventionally represented by means of <angle brackets> or ~~strikethrough~~, the latter of which will be adopted henceforth:

(5) **Where** did you find this Asturian manuscript <where>/~~where?~~

The different copies create a non-trivial chain, that is, a chain that is formed by movement. The head of the chain is the highest element, and its tail is the element in the base position.

A question which immediately arises in the wake of our brief outline of the CTM proposal is why it is the highest copy of a movement chain that tends to get overtly realized. The following quotation by Bošković (2001, p. 125) provides a natural answer to this question:

Why is there a preference for pronouncing heads of chains? We can think of this as phonology trying to be “faithful” to syntax by reflecting syntactic movement whenever it can. In slightly different terms, the system is trying to provide evidence for (overt) syntactic movement. An obvious way of doing this for phonologically overt elements is to pronounce them in the moved position.

Put another way, movement must in principle be detectable (see also Trinh, 2011; Radford, 2016). Nunes (2004) and Roberts (2010) make the related claim that not all copies can be deleted, given the principle of recoverability of deletion. In this sense, it is worth drawing a connection with the parallelism requirement found in elliptical constructions, which fulfills the recoverability requirement: *I met somebody in the Principality of Asturias, but I don't remember who I met in the Principality of Asturias* (Villa-García, 2013, 2015, 2019a; b).

Crucially, however, there are cases in which the highest copy is not PF-realized, as will be shown in relation to several Romance constructions in the following subsection.

2.1 Pronounce lower copy/Lower copy pronunciation

Despite the general preference to privilege the highest copy created by movement in PF (cf., Pronounce Highest Copy/Highest Copy Pronunciation) – (1a), a vast body of research has shown that oftentimes, a non-high copy in a movement chain must be pronounced for the derivation to succeed. In other words, there are cases when phonologically realizing the highest, leftmost copy causes a problem in PF; nevertheless, this issue can be sidestepped by favoring a different, lower copy (i.e., by pronouncing the element in question in a different position), while keeping movement in the (narrow) syntax, as in (1b).

A number of works have offered a host of empirical arguments from different constructions and from different languages to this effect, including cases of A-movement, A-bar movement, head movement, and remnant movement (e.g., Bobaljik, 1994, 2002; Barbosa, 1995, 2000; Pesetsky, 1997, 1998; Franks, 1998; Bošković, 2001, *et seq.*; Nunes, 2004; Reglero, 2004, 2007; Bošković & Nunes, 2007; Kandybowicz, 2008; Saab, 2008; Villa-García, 2013, 2015, 2019a; b; see also the collection of papers in Corver & Nunes, 2007). The operation in question has been dubbed Pronounce Lower Copy (PLC) or Lower Copy Pronunciation (LCP). The strong version of PLC (Franks, 1998) would have it that a low copy in a movement chain can only be pronounced if convergence so demands (i.e., if pronouncing the head of the chain induces a problem). Thus, the requirement to realize the highest copy of a non-trivial chain can be overridden *iff* the derivation fails in the event that the PF realization of the highest copy takes place. On this view, PLC is a last-resort operation effected to save a derivation that would otherwise crash.

One of the most convincing arguments for PLC comes from the behavior of *wh*-phrases in Romanian, a multiple-*wh*-fronting language (Bošković, 2001, 2015; Bošković & Nunes, 2007). In questions involving more than one question word, all the *wh*-phrases are normally fronted to the preverbal field. This is shown by (6).

- (6) *Cine ce precede?*
 who what precedes
 ‘Who precedes what?’

By the same token, if the requirement that all *wh*-phrases in multiple-*wh*-questions be fronted in this language holds, one would expect *all* of the *wh*-phrases in a question to appear at the beginning. For instance, if we replace *cine* ‘who’ with

ce ‘what’ to form the Romanian equivalent of *What precedes what?*, we would obtain (7).

- (7) **Ce ce precede?*
 what what precedes
 ‘What precedes what?’

However, in contrast to (6), the question in (7) is unacceptable for most native speakers, as it creates an issue *vis-à-vis* phonologically identical forms, which are barred (**ce ce*) – as noted by Villa-García (2019a), there may be dialectal variation in this regard. Can the meaning of (7) be expressed at all in Romanian, then? In other words, how does the system avoid the problem caused by (7)? Bošković (2002) shows that in cases like this, the object wh-phrase, *ce*, must appear postverbally. Put differently, *ce* seems to stay postverbally in a low position (i.e., as if it had not undergone movement to the preverbal field). This is indicated by (8), which is the grammatical counterpart of (7).

- (8) *Ce precede ce?*
 what precedes what
 ‘What precedes what?’

There are in principle two options for the derivation of (8). One would be to assume that the relevant wh-constituent does not move to the left of the clause, despite evidence that wh-phrases ordinarily front in Romanian, as shown by (6) above:

- (9) $ce_1 V \text{ } \bar{e}e_4 ce_2?$

In contrast, the reason for the putative absence of movement in this case seems to be morphophonological in nature, as has been noted, which begs the question of why the syntax would care about factors that pertain to PF. The analysis sketched in (9), simplified by only showing the derivation of the constituents that are directly relevant to our discussion, would suffer from an acute ‘look-ahead’ problem, as ce_2 would not move to avoid a problem arising only once the derivation reaches PF – cf. the model outlined in (2) in the previous section.

Following Bošković’s (2001) lead, the other derivational possibility would be to assume instead that syntactic movement in (8) actually takes place, in compliance with the requirement that all wh-phrases move in Romanian, as in (6)/(10). Critically, however, a problem ensues in the PF component if the highest copies of the moved wh-phrases are pronounced together – cf. (7), as represented schematically in (11). As argued extensively by Bošković (2001), there is a filtering effect of PF on syntax – see Bošković & Nunes (2007) for evidence that movement of ce_2 does indeed occur.

(10) $ce_1 ce_2 V ce_1 ce_2?$

(11) $ce_1 ce_2 V ce_{\pm} ce_2?$ (PF = ✗ - *ce ce)

Instead, this is one instance in which the system can – and in fact must – choose a low copy of a moved element in order to bypass a violation. The PLC-based analysis is shown in (12), which illustrates the simplified derivation of (8).

(12) $ce_1 ce_{\pm} V ce_{\pm} ce_2?$ (PF = ✓ - ce V ce)

Therefore, (8) is an illustration of the intricate interplay between syntax and morphophonology, with a PF requirement taking precedence over a syntactic one (Bošković & Nunes, 2007). *Contra* the previously outlined account – cf., (9), the PLC analysis solves the issue posed by (7) without making changes to the syntax of multiple-wh questions, without appealing to PF movement, and importantly, without incurring a rather theoretically unappealing ‘look-ahead’ problem. As a result, the PLC alternative in (12) is preferable to the account in (9).

With special reference to Spanish and other Romance languages, Villa-García (2013, 2015, 2019a; b) has extended this type of analysis to account for a number of old and novel contrasts in Spanish and Romance. Most recently, Villa-García (2019a) has argued for the CTM/PLC proposal using data from clitic-climbing constructions in Spanish, as in (13).

(13) *Se quedó mirándose en el lago*
 cl.refl stood looking+cl.acc in the lake
 ‘He or she stared at himself/herself in the lake’

The configuration involving *quedarse* + -ing can normally feature climbing of the low direct object clitic to the front of the construction, as in (14).

(14) *Se lo quedó mirando*
 cl.refl cl.acc.masc. stood looking
 ‘He or she stared at him/it’

Importantly, however, whereas the clitic in (14) can appear either in the climbed position or in its base position as the object of *mirando*, when the clitics are homophonous – or, more generally, when the clitics clash owing to some morphophonological reason, including the Person Case Constraint (PCC; Bonet, 1991) –, a problem arises and the clitic must remain low, as shown by the contrast between (13) and (15).

(15) **Se se quedó mirando en el lago*
 cl.refl cl.acc stood looking in the lake
 ‘He or she stared at himself/herself in the lake’

Villa-García (2019a) argues that this state of affairs is rather similar to the Romanian case outlined above. A problem arises in the PF component if two identical clitics are realized adjacent to one another (i.e., **se se*). In principle, there is no *a priori* reason why the syntax would prevent climbing of the clitic in the relevant configuration – cf. (14). As a consequence, the contrast can be accounted for by assuming that syntactic movement of the clitic to become a proclitic of the main verb is in principle free to apply, but then the PF component favors a low copy of the clitic in order to avoid the violation that would arise were the clitic pronounced in the head position of the movement chain. This is abstractly represented in (16), which is the derivation of (13) under clitic climbing – see Villa-García (2019b) for discussion of how, in principle, there are two derivations for such sentences: one where restructuring occurs and a non-restructuring one; the relevant derivation here is the restructuring one, whose effects are masked in PF by choosing the original copy of the clitic (i.e., the tail of the chain).

- (16) **Se se quedó mirando en el lago*
 cl._{refl} cl._{acc} stood looking-CL.ACC in the lake
 ‘He or she stared at himself/herself in the lake’

Still within Romance, but departing from cacophony/haplology-related effects, Villa-García (2015) has extended this type of analysis to account for the famous contrast in (17), assuming that subjects are also amenable to a CTM account (Stjepanović, 1999; Ortega-Santos, 2006; Boeckx & Gallego, 2008):

- (17) a. *¿Qué el Grúfalo ha hecho?
 what the Gruffallo has done
 b. ¿Qué el ~~Grúfalo~~ ha hecho el Grúfalo?
 ‘What has the Gruffallo done?’

On this view, pronouncing a high copy of the subject, as in (17a), would lead to an ill-formed outcome in PF. This problem vanishes if a low copy of the subject is PF-privileged, as in (17b), an analysis that is also explored for Asturian below.

In what follows, we make the novel proposal that an analysis along the lines of CTM/PLC can also offer an account of a number of contrasts in Asturian and in the Spanish spoken in Asturias, with especial attention to the syntax of clitics in these varieties.

3. This is PF's doing: Asturian and Asturian Spanish clitics

There are different areas of the grammar of Asturian and Asturian Spanish amenable to the CTM/PLC account sketched above and supported by a vast literature cross-linguistically. One such area is proclitics and enclitics in Asturian, discussed in the following subsections. In the last part of the paper, we will touch upon additional constructions where CTM/PLC plays a role.

3.1 Proclisis and enclisis in Asturian finite contexts

In sentences featuring the SVO order, Asturian exhibits enclitic (i.e., postverbal) clitics, as (18) illustrates (*Gramática de la llingua asturiana*, 2001, *inter alia*):

- (18) *(Lucas) rellambiose col arroz con llechi*
 Lucas smacked+cl._{refl} with+the rice with milk
 'Lucas/he/she had the rice pudding and smacked his lips together'

In line with authors such as Barbosa (1995, 2000), Bošković (2001), and Villa-García (2019b), we will assume that there is a copy of the clitic above and below the verb. This assumption receives support from certain considerations.

First, since the seminal work of Kayne (1991), pronominal clitics in Romance are deemed to be inflection-related elements (e.g. agreement markers), thus associated with INFL/IP/TP. This is shown for Asturian by the following piece of data – cf. (19), featuring the aspectual auxiliary *tener* 'have.' The obligatory occurrence of the clitic with a T-element indicates that the clitic normally surfaces in the TP domain, even if enclitic:¹

- (19) *Tengo-y dao paseos tol día*
 have+cl._{dat} given walks all+the day
 'I've walked him/her/it around all day before' (Lit. 'I've given walks to him/her/it all day before')

Note that if the clitic is not associated with a T element, the resulting sentence is ungrammatical:

- (20) **Tengo dao-y paseos tol día*
 have given+cl._{dat} walks all+the day

1. It is true, however, that in (19), even in the absence of an auxiliary, the inflected verb may move to T with the clitic, assuming V-to-T movement in Asturian. Verb movement in Asturian provides evidence for movement of the clitic, indicating that there are different low positions for the clitic.

Second, and most importantly, when a preverbal proclisis-triggering constituent occurs in the sentence, such as a *wh*-phrase, the clitic mandatorily surfaces preverbally, as a proclitic of the verb, as in (21). As indicated by the orthography, which actually employs a hyphen in the case of the indirect (dative) object, the clitic is now an enclitic of the *wh*-item, rather than of the verb (but visually at least, it is a proclitic of the verb).

- (21) *¿Cuándo-y das paseos?*
 when+cl._{dat} give walks
 (cf. **¿Cuándo das-y paseos?*)
 ‘When do you give him/her walks?’

It would be unreasonable to believe that the clitic is always in its base position – e.g., in (18) or that it *only* moves to a position above the verb in cases like (21), with a *wh*-phrase. If, as is standardly assumed, clitics are weak elements that require phonological support via a host to their left in Asturian (i.e., they are enclitics), supposing that the clitic only moves preverbally when a proclitic-triggering element like *cuándo* occurs would be rather odd. The occurrence of the clitic as an enclitic or a proclitic is a PF-driven decision, since it has to do with its phonological properties (though see Fernández-Rubiera, 2009, *et seq.*, for a dissenting view). Therefore, it would be rather difficult to assume that a preverbal clitic position is present in the syntax only when a *wh*-item like *cuándo* lands in the Asturian preverbal field. This move would imply that movement of a *wh*-item to the left periphery would create a position for the clitic and force the clitic to move to that newly-created position, while in the absence of the *wh*-item, the clitic would stay low. The connection between the two operations is not at all obvious. In fact, on the face of it, this assumption would violate constraints such as the syntactic cycle (in that introducing a projection for clitics *ad hoc* once an element has been moved to a higher projection would not extend the root) and excorporation (in that a clitic that has formed a cluster with a verb – i.e., V+cl, cannot be excorporated and move further up the syntactic tree on its own). Even if these objections were circumvented, such an analysis would create a serious look-ahead problem, since a PF-related operation requiring clitics to be enclitics would be dictating the creation of a syntactic position, an operation that is standardly assumed to occur pre-PF. Thus, on the basis of the architecture in (2), the syntax would have to be able to anticipate a later, PF-related requirement (i.e., appropriate prosodic support to the left of the clitic), which is clearly an undesirable move.

By contrast, it would be far less costly to assume that there are two clitic positions (minimally) in all cases, one above and one below the verb. This is wholly consistent with the facts in (18) and (21) and is compatible with the view that

movement occurs in the syntax, but then aspects of the PF component may affect which occurrence (which copy, under our assumptions) is favored.

Cross-linguistic evidence from related languages such as present-day Spanish lends further plausibility to our assumption that there are two different copies of the clitic: as is well known, languages like Spanish manifest proclitics in finite contexts, as in (22a), enclitics being reserved for non-finite forms (i.e., infinitival, gerund, and imperative), as shown in (22b) for gerunds:

- (22) a. *La llamé ocho veces desde las siete*
 cl._{acc.fem.} called eight times since the seven
 ‘I called her eight times since 7’
 b. ... *llamándola desde las siete*
 calling+cl._{acc.fem.} since the seven
 ‘calling her since 7’

Armed with the tools provided by the CTM/PLC system and the independently motivated assumption discussed in the preceding paragraphs that there are different copies of the clitics above and below the verb, let us see how to account for the relevant clitic-related word-order contrasts attested in Asturian – see Barbosa (1995, 2000) for a similar analysis of the Portuguese case.

As noted in relation to (18) above, Asturian routinely displays enclisis, as shown again by the contrasting examples in (23).²

- (23) a. *Comprola*
 bought+cl._{acc.fem.}
 ‘He/she bought it’
 b. **La compró*
 cl._{acc.fem.} bought

There are a number of well-documented contexts, however, which trigger proclisis. According to the *Gramática de la llingua asturiana* (2001, pp. 364–365; see also Lorenzo, in progress, and references therein), proclisis in finite contexts obtains in the presence of complementizers (both declarative and interrogative) and derived variants such as *porque* ‘because’ – as in (24a); *wh*-interrogatives in both matrix – cf., (24b) – and embedded contexts – cf., (24c); exclamatives – as in (24d); negation – as in (24e) – and preposed negative phrases – as in (24f); and other focused phrases in the preverbal field – as in (24g); see Fernández-Rubiera (2009, 2014, this volume).

2. Needless to say, the example in (b) is standard in Spanish and therefore deemed grammatical in Asturian Spanish (Amestáu/Asturñol).

- (24) a. *Que nos engañó ye cosa perclara*
 that cl._{acc} misled is thing super+clear
 ‘That he/she lied to us is very clear.’
- b. *¿Qué-yos pasó?*
 what-cl._{dat} happened
 ‘What happened to them?’
- c. *Nun sabe qué-yos pasó*
 not knows what+cl._{dat} happened
 ‘He or she doesn’t know what happened to them.’
- d. *¡Ónde s’esconderien!*³
 where cl._{refl}+hide
 ‘God knows where they hid!’
- e. *Nun lo quiera Dios*
 not cl._{acc} want_{Subj.} God
 ‘I hope that this does not happen’
- f. *Tampoco-yos lo dixo*
 neither+cl._{dat.} cl._{acc} said
 ‘He or she didn’t tell it to them either’
- g. *Muncho me prestó la película*
 much cl._{dat} pleased the movie
 ‘I really enjoyed the movie’

We return below to finite cases in which certain seeming optionality in clitic directionality is allowed. For the time being, it will suffice to keep in mind that whereas in regular cases in finite environments – cf., (23) – Asturian displays enclitics, there are certain environments where proclisis is used instead – cf., (24).⁴

Let us then see how the CTM/PLC system applies to the Asturian cases above. First, recall that we are adopting the assumption, independently motivated, that

3. Note that, preverbal as this clitic is, and hence an enclitic of the *wh*-item, there is also phonological evidence that the word to its right, namely the verb, also matters. And once again, the standard orthography reflects this (*s*+*V*). After all, pronominal clitics in Romance are INFL-related elements and the verb standardly rises to T/INFL, as noted.

4. We will not discuss the issue of why multiple co-occurring clitics must appear in the same position (high-low, in our terms); we will simply assume that they cluster together in the general case, although there are speakers of Asturian who allow non-adjacent clitics, with the dative clitic appearing in the low position:

- (i) *¿Cuándo lo compraron-y?*
 when. cl._{acc.masc} bought+cl._{dat.sing.}
 ‘When did they buy it for him/her?’

We defer investigation of cases like (i) for future research.

there is a copy of the clitic above and below the verb, as in the abstract simplified structure in (25):

(25) cl V cl

Now, the derivation of a regular enclisis sentence like (23a) would go as follows. First, the direct object position next to the transitive verb is filled by the low copy of the clitic. There is another clitic position above the verb (by assumption, in the IP/TP domain). This clitic chain (cl – cl) is generated by movement of the clitic from the lowest position to the highest one (see Roberts, 2010, *inter alia*), as in (26). (We ignore potential intermediate positions for the clitic along the structure in our discussion).

(26) cl compró cl

Now, recall from Section 2 that under normal circumstances, the highest copy of a moved element (i.e., the head of a movement chain) is pronounced (i.e., chosen in PF), an operation that has been dubbed Pronounce Highest Copy (cf. (1a)). This is certainly a possibility that the system allows, which would yield (23b), with proclisis, as shown in (27), with deletion of the lowest copy of the clitic.

(27) cl compró eɫ (= (23b))

However, (23b) is ungrammatical in Asturian, as the sentence should display the enclitic word order in Asturian – cf. (23a). How does the current approach circumvent this issue? Given the CTM/PLC system, the PF component has the option of favoring a low copy instead of a high one, in order to comply with the requirements of the language. As we know, the reason for enclisis to be obligatory in (23) results from the fact that Asturian clitics require phonological support to their left. In other words, the prosodic word (W) on which clitics piggyback in Asturian appears to the left of the clitic (i.e., W-cl) (see Lorenzo, in progress, for much relevant discussion). Thus, it is far from unreasonable to assume that given the presence of two copies of the clitic, the requirements of the PF component (in this case, the enclitic requirement positing that the clitic be phonologically supported by an element to its left) determine that the low copy of the clitic be favored in PF, instead of the default, high one. Note that the syntax has already done its job at this stage; it is now up to PF to choose which copy to pronounce. Since pronouncing the highest copy in this case is in breach of a PF requirement – cf. (27), the system favors the low copy instead, leading to a fully grammatical output – cf. (23a)/(28):

(28) eɫ compró cl (= (23a))

Further evidence that clitic placement in Asturian is contingent upon PF-related factors comes precisely from those cases noted above – cf., (24), in which a suitable prosodic word occurs in the preverbal field (i.e., generally a focused element).⁵ What happens in such cases, then? Let us examine (24b), a *wh*-interrogative, as an illustrative example. In the abstract derivation in (29), we focus on the relevant parts of the derivation of the sentence (and ignore low copies of the *wh*-phrase to avoid visual clutter).

(29) *wh*-item cl V cl

The *wh*-item, being a focal element, certainly qualifies as a prosodic word for the weak pronominal to cliticize into. Consequently, nothing goes wrong if the highest copy of the clitic is pronounced, in compliance with Pronounce Highest Copy (cf., (1a)); the clitic will find a supporting word to its left, satisfying its enclitic requirement without further ado. This is precisely what we obtain – cf., (24b), shown schematically in (30a), with (30b) displaying the derivation of the example in question.

5. By non-tonic we mean not tonic, but not weak (which is usually the meaning associated with the term atonic). In this connection, complementizers may not be stressed, but they are not as weak as pronominal clitics. Still, there are preverbal phrases, such as subjects and topics/Clitic Left Dislocations, which do not trigger proclisis (see e.g. Fernández-Rubiera, 2009; Lorenzo, in progress), as in (i):

- (i) [*Al mi collaciu*] *llamáronlo*
 ACC.+the my friend called+cl.acc.masc.
 ‘They called my friend.’

In the case of such topics/dislocations, the reason for their not triggering proclisis may be evident, particularly if they are set apart from the rest of the sentence by an intonational boundary, which is however not obvious in all cases (Feldhausen, 2016). Note that Villa-García & Ott (in progress) argue that Clitic Left Dislocated XPs (including left-dislocated adverbials) are derived biclausally, with the dislocated XP being an elliptical fragment that is linearly juxtaposed to its host clause (so that dislocate and host are paratactically ordered but anaphorically related). This would in principle account for why the clitic shows postverbally as an enclitic of the verb in such constructions (i.e., the clitic would be an enclitic of the leftmost appropriate host in its clause, that is, the verb in the host clause/the second clause/CP₂: [_{CP1} \bar{V} XP] [_{CP2} \bar{e}_L + V + cl.]). However, further research regarding the situation of embedded dislocations in Asturian is in order. Whatever the case may be, what is clear is that topics are not as strong as focal phrases, which bear main sentence stress (see Lorenzo, in progress). As for subjects, what happens in those cases is far from clear, but when they are focal, they do prompt proclisis (see Fernández-Rubiera, 2009 and Lorenzo, in progress, for further discussion). In any case, under certain accounts, preverbal subjects in Spanish-style null-subject languages have been commonly analyzed as instances of Clitic Left Dislocation/topics (see Villa-García, 2015, 2018, for a critical review of exiting accounts).

- (30) a. wh-item cl V cl (= (24b))
 b. qué yos pasó yos

A point of detail concerns the fact that, as noted above, even the standard orthography reflects the intuition that there is enclisis of the clitic onto the wh-item, since the Asturian dative clitic is represented with a hyphen to its left in (24b).

A question which immediately arises in light of (30) is what prevents the clitic from surfacing in its low position as an enclitic of the verb, in effect yielding (31).

- (31) *¿Qué pasó-yos?
 what happened+cl.dat
 ‘What happened to them?’

In this case, pronouncing a low copy would go against the spirit of the CTM/PLC system, according to which high copies of moved elements are chosen by default, low copies being limited to cases where the grammar so demands (under the current approach, PF considerations). This amounts to saying that if a high copy can be chosen, it should be chosen (Franks, 1998). Put differently, in (31), nothing goes wrong if the highest copy of the clitic is PF-favored; thus, the high copy is – and must be – selected in PF. The impossibility of (31) thus now reduces to a violation against a constraint requiring us to pronounce the highest copy in a non-trivial (i.e., movement) chain (see Section 2). As noted, under a strict version of PLC, pronouncing a low copy is a last-resort operation effected exclusively in order to save a structure that would not survive otherwise. On this view, pronouncing a low copy of the clitic when there is no need would be a violation of last resort (or more generally, an economy violation). The scenario just described is represented in (32).

- (32) a. wh-item cl V cl (= (31))
 b. qué yos pasó yos

All in all, the CTM/PLC system provides a principled account of the contrast in Asturian sentences involving enclisis and proclitics – see Rivero (1986) for Old Spanish, Campos (1989) for Galician, Barbosa (1995, 2000) for Portuguese, and Fernández-Rubiera (2009, 2014) for Asturian. Rivero assumes that enclitics result from the verb moving past the clitic (i.e., V – cl. – V), while Barbosa adopts a PLC-type of analysis.

An interesting question is posed by our discussion above. Note that in (24a), an example featuring a complementizer is provided. Whether a complementizer is sufficient to function as a prosodic word is not immediately evident, since complementizers in languages like Asturian are actually the non-tonic counterparts of interrogative *qué* ‘what’ (and as such complementizers are written without the

orthographic representation of stress).⁶ In fact, the *Gramática de la llingua asturiana* (2001, p. 365) offers examples with complementizers involving enclisis, such as (33) – see also Fernández-Rubiera (2014).

- (33) *Ye que molestábame enforma*
 is that bothered+cl._{acc} a lot
 ‘It is the case that he/she/it bothered me a lot’

Prima facie, examples like (33) may be taken to indicate that enclisis and proclisis are optional in the presence of complementizer-like elements. However, closer inspection reveals that this is not the case. In fact, according to the *Gramática de la llingua asturiana*, (33) is possible *iff* a pause/intonational break occurs between *que* and the verb (i.e., *que* # V). This should come as no surprise, since in a scenario such as this one, the clitic finds no support to its left (the intonational break being immediately discarded as a potential host); hence, the clitic must surface in a position in which its enclitic requirement is satisfied, namely in the postverbal position – see Barbosa (1995, 2000) for the relevance of intonational phrases for the enclisis-proclisis dichotomy in Portuguese and Lorenzo (in progress) for the inapplicability of this hypothesis for the Asturian case and the relevance of metrical boundaries instead. (34) abstractly reflects both possibilities, namely the case in which there is no intonational break and the complementizer supports the clitic – cf., (34a), and the case in which the prosodic boundary deprives the high copy of the clitic of the necessary leftward phonological support, forcing the pronunciation of the lowest copy of the clitic, which can then phonologically lean on the verb – cf., (34b). Furthermore, the fact that the presence of an intonational break prevents proclisis strongly indicates that the complementizer – albeit not tonic – provides enough support for the clitic (Fernández-Rubiera, 2009, 2014).

- (34) a. complementizer cl V cl (= (24a))
 b. complementizer # cl V cl (= (33))

Having looked at enclisis and proclisis in Asturian finite contexts, the next subsection provides additional evidence from Asturian Spanish for the system proposed here. We then discuss the optionality of clitic placement in certain infinitival contexts in Asturian.

6. As observed by an anonymous reviewer, since Romance pronominal clitics are INFL-related and complementizers are too (in that, for instance, they mark finiteness), perhaps the ability of clitics to encliticise into complementizers goes beyond mere PF reasons, an issue that we will not investigate in detail here.

3.2 Clitic directionality in infinitival imperatives in Asturian Spanish

Another configuration where a CTM/PLC-based approach is at work, still within the domain of cliticization, is infinitival imperatives in the Spanish spoken in Asturias, as shown in (35).

- (35) a. *Comprarla*
 buy+cl._{acc.fem.}
 '(You_{plural}) buy it!'
- b. *No la comprar*
 not cl._{acc.fem} buy
 'Don't (you_{plural}) buy it' (Villa-García, 2019b)
- c. *Enfadaros sin motivo*
 get-angry+cl._{refl.} without reason
 '(You_{plural}) get angry without reason.'
- d. *No os enfadar sin motivo*
 not cl._{refl.} get-angry without reason
 'Don't (you_{plural}) get angry without reason.'

The data in (35b,d) are not characteristic of either Asturian or Spanish, since both languages standardly employ surrogate (i.e., suppletive) subjunctive forms to express negative imperatives. The neg+cl+infinitival order is specific to the informal Spanish spoken in Asturias – although Villa-García (2019b) reports that it can also be found in other regions, such as Galicia. What matters for our purposes at present is that clitic placement in such constructions is crucially dependent on the (non-) appearance of the negative head *no* 'not'.

Villa-García (2019b) advances an explanation for the contrast in (35) which relies on the assumption that imperatives involve an F feature (possibly located in C), which is affixal in nature (albeit null) (Bošković, 2004, 2012; Bošković & Nunes, 2007; Bošković, 2004, for discussion of the issue of PF-null elements with a PF reflex). This F feature must be adjacent to a verbal host, and even clitics disrupt the necessary adjacency between F and the verbal head. This is shown in simplified form in (36).

- (36) [_{CP} F [_{IP/TP} cl V cl]]

In positive imperatives like (35a,c), where enclisis obtains, the F system works thus: F and the verb must be PF-adjacent to each other. Remember that there are different occurrences of the clitic, at least a high one in the INFL-domain and a low one in the VP area (although it is highly likely that there are other intermediate occurrences in different positions along the tree). Choosing to pronounce the high copy of the clitic, which would otherwise be the default option, disrupts the required adjacency

between F and the verb. Since F is an affix that needs a PF-host, the affix is stranded in PF and the derivation fails as a result. This is illustrated in (37).

(37) [CP F [IP/TP cl V ϵ]] cf. **La comprar*

However, if the low copy of the clitic is favored in PF instead, no problem ensues, as F and the verb are now PF-adjacent and affixal F is no longer stranded. This is shown in (38).

(38) [CP F [IP/TP ϵ V cl]] cf. *Comprarla* (= (35a))

This state of affairs is very similar to the Asturian, Spanish, and Romanian cases discussed above.

Now, once the negative head *no* ‘not’ is brought into the picture, a different situation emerges. Although Villa-García (2019b) offers several possibilities for what happens with negation, we will only consider one here for reasons of space. Basically, the idea is that negation moves to the CP domain (we ignore its movement trajectory below). Since negation in the relevant varieties is strong (see Villa-García, 2019b, for evidence that this negative head carries extra stress in Asturian Spanish), it can support the F affix, which therefore does not need the verb to be adjacent to it anymore. This sets the scene for the high copy of the clitic to be PF-realized, which is precisely what we expect on condition that pronouncing the highest copy causes no problem in PF, as in (39).

(39) [CP no F [IP/TP cl V ϵ]] cf. *No la matar* (= (35b))

Much like before, pronouncing the low copy instead in a situation in which there is no need to do so would violate economy, which is why the postverbal-clitic version of (35b) (that is, **No matarla*) is ungrammatical in the Spanish spoken in Asturias – Villa-García (2019b) actually provides an account of dialects of Spanish where the order neg+infinitival+cl is legitimate. Despite the linguistic dominance of the Spanish language, Asturian Spanish still shows a strong tendency for enclisis (RAE-ASALE, 2009). On this view, then, the clitic is now an enclitic of the negative head (or, more specifically, of *no* + F). Put differently, pronouncing the highest copy of the clitic not only satisfies the Pronounce Highest Copy requirement, but also the (vestigial) enclitic requirement observed by Asturian Spanish.

The data just reviewed provide further evidence for the CTM/PLC system argued for in this paper. In what follows, we will consider intriguing cases of optionality in clitic placement in non-finite contexts.

3.3 Optionality in certain infinitival environments in Asturian

The picture presented so far has shown that in Asturian and Asturian Spanish, clitics can be either preverbal or postverbal, but in principle no optionality is possible. Nevertheless, there exist cases when the placement of a clitic is not as rigid as the preceding discussion suggests. One such case is clitic climbing, found across Romance:

- (40) a. *Nun pienso llamala*
 not think call+cl._{acc.fem.}
 b. *Nun la pienso llamar*
 not+cl._{acc.fem.} think call
 Both: ‘I am not planning to call her’

We will not explore the complex issue of clitic climbing in ordinary climbing contexts here. Suffice it to say that the apparent optionality observed in (40) has been accounted for as a case in which there is restructuring/monoclausality (i.e., clause union) when the clitic climbs – cf., (40b), but not if the clitic stays in its *in-situ* position – cf., (40a) (Rizzi, 1982, see Section 2.1, and Villa-García, 2019a, on different accounts in languages like Spanish).

We will focus instead on infinitival cases in Asturian and Asturian Spanish like those in (41), from Asturian, based on those presented in Lorenzo (1994), and in (42), from Asturian Spanish, inspired by RAE-ASALE (2009, p. 3132):

- (41) a. *Nun sé ónde topalo*
 not know where find+cl._{acc.masc.}
 b. *Nun sé ónde lo topar*
 not know where cl._{acc.masc.} find
 Both: ‘I don’t know where to find him/it’
- (42) a. ... *pa no liala*
 for not mess-up+cl._{acc.fem.}
 b. ... *pa no la liar*
 for not cl._{acc.fem.} mess-up
 Both: ‘In order not to mess it up’

Admittedly, we will keep the discussion rather tentative throughout this section, hoping to investigate the relevant patterns in future work. Still, some observations are in order.

First, these cases seem to involve either a *wh*-phrase (*ónde*) or negation, which makes them reminiscent of the cases discussed in Section 3.1. Second, speakers report no semantic differences between the pairs in (41) and (42), aside from emphasis, with the high-clitic version being generally perceived as more emphatic,

though our consultants do not report any noteworthy meaning-related differences. Thus, optionality is apparent in both cases. Given this, an account that relies on Pronounce Highest Copy *vis-à-vis* Pronounce Lower Copy does not seem to easily distinguish between both possibilities, unless we make the claim that negation is stronger, for instance, in (42b) versus (42a), à la Villa-García (2019b) for infinitival imperatives, as discussed in Section 3.2. If this were the case, then negation would be the most optimal prosodic word to support the clitic, and the highest copy would have to be pronounced, as in (42b). On the assumption that this is the right account, then a similar story would have to be developed for *ónde* in (41a,b).

An alternative analysis would be to assume that such examples involve an abstract (null) auxiliary that selects the infinitival, effectively making them cases akin to clitic-climbing contexts like (40). Kayne (1992, 2013) has indeed made a similar proposal for negative infinitival imperatives in Italian, where there seems to be optionality in terms of the neg.+cl.+V/neg.+V+cl. word order. The presence of the abstract auxiliary/modal would trigger monoclausality, hence leading to transparency effects such as clitic climbing. Importantly, for Kayne this null auxiliary is selected by the presence of the negation (which is also a requirement for the clitic to appear preverbally in Asturian Spanish cases like (42b)). Suppose for the sake of the argument that wh-phrases can also select this abstract modal. This account is outlined in high simplified form in (43).

(43) *ónde*/neg. cl. Aux._{null}+inf. cl.

Likewise, there are actually contexts in Asturian and Asturian Spanish where a clitic can also optionally move, not just with wh-phrases and negation, but also with *que* ‘that’ (recall from Section 3.1 that *que*-like elements are included in the list of contexts triggering proclisis):

- (44) a. *Hay que facelo*
 have that do+cl._{acc.masc.}
 b. *Hay que lo facer*
 have that. cl._{acc.masc.} do
 Both: ‘That needs to be done.’

If an account along the lines of the analysis described above is correct, then the clitic will move up in such contexts, given monoclausality. The presence of either *ónde*, the negation, or the complementizer provides support for the clitic and satisfies its enclitic requirement. Therefore, the high copy of the clitic would be chosen in PF, exactly as expected under the Copy-Theory-of-Movement analysis argued for here, as in (45a). If, alternatively, no restructuring/monoclausality occurs, then the clitic will stay low in its base position within the clause headed by the infinitival, and hence get PF-realized there -as in (45b):

- (45) a. *ónde/neg./que* cl. Aux._{null}+inf. cl.
 b. [*ónde/neg./que* Aux._{null}] [inf. cl.]

We will not explore this possibility further here, hoping that future work will pursue this hypothesis and its consequences. In what follows, we extend our proposal to a construction that is unrelated to clitics: obligatorily postverbal subjects in *wh*-questions in Asturian.

4. Additional constructions amenable to a PLC/LCP account: The case of postverbal subjects in constituent questions in Asturian

Asturian, like many other languages, exhibits Torrego's (1984) subject-verb inversion in interrogative sentences introduced by a *wh*-word. (46) illustrates:

- (46) a. *¿Qué dixo Xabel?*
 what said Xabel
 'What did Xavier say?'
 b. **¿Qué Xabel dixo?*
 what Xavier said

The relevant effect is not owing to the interrogative nature of the sentences, as other focal phrases that are not *wh*-words trigger an analogous effect (e.g., focal phrases such as *nunca en mi vida* 'never in my life'). Similarly, inversion is not related to the subject *per se* either, as other preverbal elements such as adverbs are also illicit in the position sandwiched between the *wh*-phrase and the verb. The equivalent contrast in languages like Italian, non-Caribbean Spanish, and Portuguese has also commanded much attention in a body of literature that spans four decades.⁷

Villa-García (2013, 2015) has pursued an account of the notorious contrast in Spanish which again assumes CTM/PLC, as shown in Section 2.1. First of all, although different subject positions in Spanish-style languages are associated with different information-structural properties (with SV being typically connected to subject topics and VS being related to new-information focus), the case of obligatory postverbal subjects in *wh*-questions is different. Indeed, such postverbal subjects cannot constitute new information, since it is the *wh*-item that embodies new-information focus in *wh*-interrogatives. Hence, the question arises as to why

7. We will set aside here well-known cases of apparent exceptions to the obligatory-inversion effect, including D(iscourse)-linked *wh*-phrases and rhetorical questions introduced by *wh*-phrases such as *por qué* 'why'. Such phrases could be treated as non-genuine questions, thus containing no interrogative C affix that would trigger inversion (see Villa-García, 2015, for much relevant discussion).

such subjects are postverbal, if they do not carry new information. The reason why they are postverbal must therefore be related to the presence of a focal element (more specifically, a *wh*-item) in the preverbal field. Buesa-García (2008) has made the suggestion that the Spanish homolog of (46) contains an interrogative C, which, much like F in Section 3.2, is a null affix that requires PF-adjacency with the verb – see Zubizarreta (2012) for the claim that the reason for the ungrammaticality of sentences like (46b) is actually phonological. To make the discussion more concrete, consider the highly simplified derivation in (47).

(47) [_{CP} *wh*-item C [_{IP/TP} subject V [_{VP} subject ...]]]

If the affixal C head (whose specifier position is occupied by the *wh*-phrase) is adjacent to the verb in PF, the derivation will converge, as the verb will provide the necessary support for C, which is a null interrogative affix.

Before we look at how the relevant account works in more detail, let us spell out some necessary (but independently motivated) assumptions. If we adopt the standard VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis – Koopman & Sportiche (1991) and much subsequent work, we will make the assumption that there are different positions for the subject (at least the base position in Spec,_{νP} for transitive cases, and Spec,_{IP/TP/AgrSP} to be able to accommodate preverbal subjects). Similarly, it is natural to assume that subjects undergo movement from their merge position to a preverbal position, since in SVO cases, the subject surfaces preverbally. That the subject is not in the same position in SV and VS cases is shown by the following contrast, inspired by Brucart's (1993) data for Spanish, but adapted here to the Asturian case:

- (48) a. *Xurde siempre bebe llechi*
 Xurde always drinks milk
 'Xurde always drinks milk'
- b. **Siempre Xurde bebe llechi*
 always Xurde drinks milk
- c. *Na so casa ta siempre Xurde*
 in his home is always Xurde
 'Xurde is always at his/their place.'
- d. *¿Qué bebe siempre Xurde?*
 what drinks always Xurde
 'What does Xurde always drink?'

As shown by (48a,b), in preverbal position, the subject must precede the adverb *siempre*. In postverbal position, by contrast, the subject can follow *siempre*. This indicates that the syntactic position occupied by the subject in SV configurations is not the same as in VS configurations, including constituent questions, as shown by (48d). What is more, the data indicate that an analysis of inversion which assumes

T-to-C movement, as shown schematically in (49), cannot be correct (in line with a number of authors, such as Suñer, 1994; Ordóñez, 1997; Ordóñez & Olarrea, 2006; Buesa-García, 2008).

(49) [_{CP} qué [_C bebe [_{IP/TP} Xurde [_{I/T} bebe]]]]

Put another way, if inversion arose as a result of verb movement from T to C, the combination *siempre* + subject should in principle still be ungrammatical, contrary to fact. Hence, it seems reasonable to conclude that postverbal subjects in constituent questions in Asturian (and in Spanish) do not occupy the canonical subject position (i.e., Spec, TP), which coheres well with our claim that in constituent questions, the postverbal subject is actually the PF realization of a low copy of the subject.

Now, if we adopt a Copy-Theory-of-Movement of subjects à la Stjepanović (1999), Ortega-Santos (2006a; b), and Villa-García (2013, 2015), preverbal and postverbal subjects would arise as a result of pronouncing different copies (e.g. SVS₁, SVS₂). For instance, as has been noted, postverbal subjects are generally instances of new-information focus (narrow focus) in declarative sentences, in accordance with the widely-held view that new information consistently comes last in the sentence – Ortega-Santos (2006a; b) and references therein.⁸ Such elements bear nuclear (i.e., main sentence) stress (Zubizarreta, 1998). Hence, the choice of the lowest copy of the subject would be due in such cases to the requirement that this element bear nuclear stress – cf. the Nuclear Stress Rule, according to which nuclear stress falls “on the ‘lowest’ element in the (visible part of the) syntactic tree,” as noted by Zubizarreta & Vergnaud (2000, pp. 14–15).

However, regarding obligatorily postverbal subjects in constituent questions – cf., (46), the fact that the subject needs to occur postverbally in such environments cannot be due to its being new information, since in this configuration, it is not (i.e., the subject must occur postverbally for a different reason). What happens in such cases is that pronouncing the highest copy of the subject would result in an ill-formed outcome – cf., (46b), since the *wh*-item+C and the verb would not be contiguous to one another in PF. This is shown in (50).

(50) [_{CP} *wh*-item C [_{IP/TP} subject V [_{VP} subject ...]]] (= (46b))

8. As noted by an anonymous reviewer, the description of Spanish is more nuanced in that the language also allows presentational focus on preverbal subjects + destressing of non-focused material, much like in English or French. See Ortega-Santos (2016) for an overview of the relevant body of work and for a review of the extant literature regarding the derivation of postverbal subjects.

In contrast, if a low copy of the subject is pronounced, the problem vanishes, as C is now free to attach to the verb, given that no intervening material blocks adjacency between the two. This is illustrated in (51) – see Villa-García (2015) for discussion of the compatibility of this type of analysis of the contrast in (46) with a locality-of-movement account of Torrego's (1984) obligatory-inversion effect, and Saab (2008, among others) on approaches to *pro* as deletion.

(51) [CP wh-item C [IP/TP subject V [_{VP} subject ...]]] (= (46a))

The overall system adopted in this paper predicts that if it is the overt highest copy of a moved element that is responsible for a given violation, then pronouncing any non-high copy (not just the lowest; cf., Pronounce Lower Copy, PLC) should remedy the violation. This empirical prediction is borne out, as shown by (52). Note that in Asturian, much like in Spanish, the VSO order – cf. (52a) – is permitted.

- (52) a. ¿Qué-y dixo Xabel al to xenru?
 what+cl._{dat} said Xabel dat+the your son-in-law
 b. ¿Qué-y dixo al to xenru Xabel?
 what+cl._{dat} said dat+the your son-in-law Xabel
 Both: 'What did Xavier say to your son-in-law?'

Asturian therefore provides further cross-linguistic support for a repair strategy that once again solves a derivation by privileging a low copy of a moved element. In this case, the relevant element is a subject, although the evidence adduced in this paper, alongside the evidence accrued in the literature, points to the conclusion that different types of movement enable us to make use of a CTM/PLC-based account of a variety of intriguing contrasts.⁹

9. The account pursued here raises interesting questions about what counts as a trouble-maker. For instance, we have seen cases where the clitic requires a particular context of occurrence, given its enclitic nature in Asturian (Section 3.1.). We have also investigated a case in which the high pronunciation of a clitic creates an issue for affix attachment (cf. imperatives, Section 3.2). Similarly, we have explored the notorious mandatory inversion generally observed by wh-interrogatives (Section 4), where high clitic pronunciation is in fact obligatory. As the careful reader might have noticed, the data in Section 3.2 and Section 4 present an intriguing difference: in imperatives, clitics do create an issue, preventing F from properly getting support from the verb (i.e., *F cl V). In questions, however, clitics create no problem at all, as they do not disrupt the adjacency between wh-item+C and the verb (presumably they form part of the verbal cluster formed by the clitic(s) plus the verb i.e. wh-item+C cl V). Given the affixal nature of both F and C, this contrast is in principle unexpected. The difference may lie in the fact that whereas in infinitival imperatives the projection headed by F is null, this is not the case in wh-interrogatives, where the spec position is lexicalized (and in fact constitutes a focal phrase); thus, C may be null, but the wh-item occurs in its specifier, effectively making the wh-phrase overt. Recall, furthermore, that clitics in Asturian are enclitics. Thus, there may be two seemingly contradictory

5. Concluding remarks

This paper has looked at a variety of contrasts in Asturian and in the Spanish spoken in Asturias which share something in common: an element (be it a clitic or a subject, in the cases at hand) must be realized in different positions in the sentence in order to avoid a violation in the PF component. The cases explored here thus empirically support the highly influential hypothesis that movement operations in language consist of copying and deleting – the cornerstone of Chomsky’s Copy Theory of Movement. A large array of works investigating a wealth of constructions in multiple languages have pointed to the conclusion that the highest copy of a moved element is not always the copy that survives in PF: on occasion, the system chooses a lower copy with the aim of circumventing a violation that would be incurred if the highest copy were PF-privileged. The behavior of the relevant elements in the constructions at issue is the same as far as their meaning is concerned (e.g., the meaning of such pronominal clitics is not altered depending on whether they are required to be preverbal or postverbal);¹⁰ the actual difference between a preverbal or a postverbal clitic in languages like Asturian then reduces to the physical sentence position in which they surface. Importantly for the system proposed here, such differences are standardly attributed to PF factors (e.g., the enclitic requirement).

More generally, we have shown that the data contrasts presented throughout this paper, which concern clitic directionality in Asturian in finite and non-finite environments, the position of clitics in affirmative and negated infinitival imperatives, and subjects in *wh*-interrogatives, can be accounted for in a principled manner under the Lower Copy Pronunciation/Pronounce Lower Copy hypothesis, therefore lending further cross-linguistic support to this approach. The LCP/PLC system has the additional welcome result that it dispenses with a number of undesirable theoretical issues, such as potential ‘look-ahead’ problems from the syntax to the phonology – cf., (2), the need to appeal to PF movement under alternative

PF-related requirements at work in such cases: on the one hand, C needs to be PF-adjacent to the verb (see Section 4), but at the same time the clitic needs to have prosodic support to its left (see Section 3.1; Section 3.2 on negative infinitival imperatives) and it is thus more economical to favor the default, high copy in PF, on the presumption that a clitic does not disrupt adjacency between the *wh*-item (which provides the required phonological support) and the V, as noted. Whether the two pulling forces can be reconciled is not a trivial question, which further research should address.

10. Whether there is a difference in meaning (regarding, for instance, information structure) in clitic-climbing contexts such as (40) in languages like Asturian and Spanish is, as far as we can tell, an open empirical question at present.

accounts, and the stipulation that the phonology overrides syntax (Bošković & Nunes, 2007; Bošković, 2015).

Further research will likely unveil additional phenomena from Asturian, Asturian Spanish, and other linguistic varieties where the system pursued here applies, and it will hopefully also tackle the various intriguing questions that the facts raise.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	MASC/FEM	masculine feminine
CL	clitic	REFL	reflexive
COMP	complementizer	SING	singular
DAT	dative		

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Semantic anchoring

Evidence from Asturian clitic placement

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In Asturian, and differently from its western Iberian neighbors (i.e., Galician and European Portuguese), enclisis (or postverbal clitics) is also attested in embedded contexts. This syntactic structure is shown to give rise to a [+epistemic] reading of the content in the embedded clause, an interpretation that may be anchored either to the speaker, to the matrix subject, or to an intermediate subject. Following previous work, I show that both the different clitic patterns attested and the [±epistemic] anchoring these patterns give rise to can receive a principled account under the analysis entertained. In turn, this chapter contributes to further our understanding of how syntax works in parallel with semantics to derive these syntactic structures and their interpretation.

Keywords: enclisis, epistemicity, syntax-semantics interface, embedded clauses, left-periphery, Asturian

1. Introduction

Asturian exhibits enclisis/proclisis alternations (alternatively, post- and preverbal clitics) in matrix environments, similarly to what we may find in Galician and European Portuguese, but distinctively different from what we observe in Spanish, Catalan, Italian, etc. Consider the following examples in (1) from Andrés (1993) – the clitic will be indicated in bold in all the relevant examples for the reader’s convenience:

- (1) a. *Xuan diéra-yos **unes** manzanes a los niños*
Xuan had.given-3SG-them-DAT some apples to the kids
‘Xuan had given some apples to the kids’
- b. *Xuan nun-yos **da** manzanes a los niños*
Xuan NEG-them-DAT give-3SG apples to the kids
‘Xuan doesn’t give apples to the kids’

These alternations in clitic placement have been at the core of much debate in the generative syntax literature, and analyses proposed to explain these patterns have ranged from purely phonological accounts to syntactic ones. However, there is one aspect that has not been much discussed in the literature and that distinguishes Asturian from Galician and European Portuguese, namely similar clitic placement alternations in the embedded environment. Relevant examples are shown in (2) and (3).¹

- (2) a. *Xulia pensaba [que dixéralo Mon]*
 Xulia thought-3SG that had.said-3SG-it-ACC Mon
 b. *Xulia pensaba [que lo dixera Mon]*
 Xulia thought-3SG that it-ACC had.said-3SG Mon
 ‘Xulia thought that Mon had said it’
- (3) a. *Ana trai les bebides [porque mandó-ylo Pin]*
 Ana brings the drinks because ordered-3SG-her-DAT-it-ACC Pin
 b. *Ana trai les bebides [porque-ylo mandó Pin]*
 Ana brings the drinks because-her-DAT-it-ACC ordered-3SG Pin
 ‘Ana is bringing the drinks because Pin ordered her to’

1. Data similar to these reported here can be found scattered in the literature. See for instance D’Andrés (1993, p. 27) and the references cited therein, as well as the *Gramática de la llingua asturiana* – ALLA henceforth (2001, p. 365), and Viejo (2008). However, I disagree with the following explanation that ALLA puts forward:

la posición del pronome produzse pola existencia d’una pausa manifiesta depués de *que*.
 (ALLA, 2001, p. 365)

[the postverbal pronoun is brought about due to the existence of a clear pause after the *que*; trans. FJFR].

Other than ALLA, the other cited sources do not make reference to this alleged “pause,” neither do native speakers – Xulio Viejo (p.c.) – in this regard. In turn, this analysis would have to account for two related issues. First, it will need to explain why this “pause” triggers enclisis in those subordinate contexts and not in others, even when a speaker makes a pause; e.g., where “...” is used to indicate the intonational break of a pause:

- (i) *si a Ramón ... -y dan el premiu, merezlu*
 if to Ramón him-CL.DAT give-3.SG the award deserve-3.SG it-CL.ACC
- (ii) **si a Ramón ... dan-y el premiu, merezlu*
 if to Ramón give-3.SG-him-CL.DAT the award deserve-3.SG it-CL.ACC
 ‘If they give Ramón the award, it will be well-deserved.’

Second, how the presence/absence of a pause, if that is the trigger of enclisis/proclisis patterns respectively in subordinate clauses, may correlate with a different interpretation, as I will be discussing at length in this chapter, would be far from clear.

The different clitic patterns we observe in the examples in (2) and (3) correlate with different interpretations. In short, whereas a subordinate context as that in (2a) entails what I will label a [+epistemic] interpretation of the content in the embedded clause, which in turn is anchored to the matrix predicate subject (i.e., *Xulia*), this interpretation does not arise in the case of (2b), which I will take to signal a [–epistemic] interpretation of the content in the embedded clause. A similar interpretation difference arises in the embedded context in (3): whereas (3a) conveys a [+epistemic] interpretation of the content in the embedded clause, (3b) does not. Moreover, and differently from the semantic anchoring in (2), the [epistemic] interpretation in (3) is anchored to the speaker.

Previous analyses of enclisis/proclisis alternations like those illustrated in Asturian in (1), which will be discussed in the next section, have failed to predict the availability of data as those in (2) and (3). Furthermore, the different interpretations that each clitic pattern gives rise have gone completely unnoticed. The main goal in this chapter is to argue for a syntactic analysis of clitic alternations as those in (1)–(3) which also accounts for the different interpretations that sentences as those in (2) and (3) give rise to. In short, following previous work of my own (Fernández-Rubiera, 2009, 2010, 2013, 2015), I will argue that enclisis and proclisis alternations arise as a result of Finiteness^o (Rizzi, 1997) requiring that an element move or merge in that position, in the absence of which last-resort T^o-to-Fin^o movement is triggered and enclisis is derived. This analysis will be shown to explain the enclisis/proclisis alternations we find in Asturian in both matrix and embedded contexts. In turn, this analysis will be shown to naturally capture the [epistemic] interpretation that these different patterns correlate with in the embedded context, as well as the different semantic anchors that this interpretation may be attributed to. Further evidence for the analysis proposed will come from novel data showing multiple embedding.

This chapter is divided as follows. In Section 2, I discuss previous accounts of enclisis/proclisis alternations as those we find in Asturian, concluding that none of them can predict nor explain the availability of enclisis in subordinate contexts, a pattern attested in Asturian as shown in (2) and (3). Section 3 presents my assumptions regarding the left-periphery of Asturian, and a syntactic proposal to account for enclisis/proclisis in Asturian is introduced. How this analysis accounts for the enclisis/proclisis alternations in both the matrix and the embedded context is presented in Section 4. Section 5 is devoted to extending the syntactic analysis presented in Section 4 to account for the semantic interpretation that embedded contexts showing enclisis/proclisis alternations gives rise to. Drawing on novel data showing multiple levels of embedding in Asturian, Section 6 presents further evidence for the analysis proposed. Section 7 closes the chapter with some final remarks.

2. Previous approaches to enclisis/proclisis alternations

In order to account for the different positions in which the clitic may surface in those languages in which enclisis/proclisis are attested, different proposals have been put forth. Briefly put, there are two main lines of analysis: Phonological and syntactic. I review some of these proposals next.

Phonological approaches assume that clitics in these languages must find a suitable host to their left, in the absence of which different PF-filters are triggered and enclisis obtains as a result. In this line of analysis, we find proposals such as Lema and Rivero (1990, 1991) for Old Spanish, Campos (1989) for Galician, and Barbosa (1995) for Portuguese. For these approaches, the data in (1), repeated below for convenience, receive the following analysis.

- (4) a. *Xuan diéra-yos unes manzanes a los niños*
 Xuan had.given-3SG-them-DAT some apples to the kids
 ‘Xuan had given some apples to the kids’
 b. *Xuan nun-yos da manzanes a los niños*
 Xuan NEG-them-DAT give-3SG apples to the kids
 ‘Xuan doesn’t give apples to the kids’

In (4b), the negative marker acts as a suitable host for the clitic, thus explaining the preverbal clitic pattern we find. However, the preverbal subject in (4a) is not a suitable host – as it creates its own prosodic unit, triggering a repair mechanism (i.e., last-resort verb movement for Lema and Rivero, and Campos, or pronounce a lower copy of the clitic for Barbosa). This repair mechanism accounts for the enclitic pattern we find. The problem these analyses face is the fact that both enclisis and proclisis are available in examples such as those in (2) and (3), repeated below for convenience.

- (5) a. *Xulia pensaba [que dixéralo Mon]*
 Xulia thought-3SG that had.said-3SG-it-ACC Mon
 b. *Xulia pensaba [que lo dixera Mon]*
 Xulia thought-3SG that it-ACC had.said-3SG Mon
 ‘Xulia thought that Mon had said it’
 (6) a. *Ana trai les bebides [porque mandó-ylo Pin]*
 Ana brings the drinks because ordered-3SG-her-DAT-it-ACC Pin
 b. *Ana trai les bebides [porque-ylo mandó Pin]*
 Ana brings the drinks because-her-DAT-it-ACC ordered-3SG Pin
 ‘Ana is bringing the drinks because Pin ordered her to’

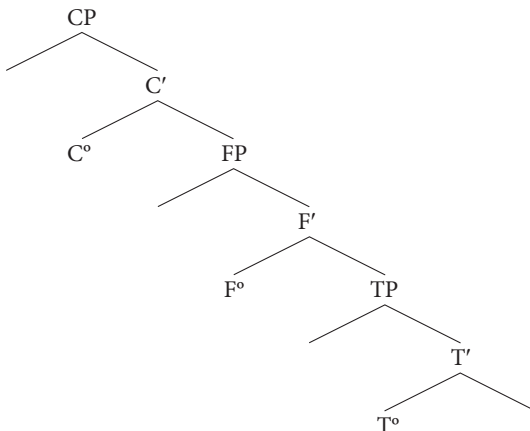
In short, if the complementizer can act as a host in the (b) examples, what the trigger is for a last-resort operation to account for the enclisis in (a) remains unexplained.

Furthermore, as I will show in Section 5 below, (a) and (b) examples have different [epistemic] interpretations. An analysis relying on purely phonological grounds would also need to explain how these different interpretations may be connected to the different PF-filters proposed. What I will adopt from these approaches is that clitics are PF-deficient elements of sorts that need a phonological host – see the seminal work of Fernández Soriano (1993) and references cited therein for evidence in this regard.

Turning now to syntactic approaches, these account for clitic placement alternations as those in (4) assuming these patterns are epiphenomenal to the underlying structure in these languages, and to the syntactic operations that this structure triggers. In this line, we find, among others, the seminal work of Uriagereka (1988, 1995a, 1995b) and Raposo and Uriagereka (2005) for Galician and European Portuguese, Rouveret (1992) for European Portuguese, Lorenzo (1994, 1995) for Asturian, and Longa and Lorenzo (2001) for western Iberian, which I review next – for Asturian, see also González i Planas (2007); as for European Portuguese, Martins' (1994a, 1994b) bears some resemblance to the analysis that will be proposed here to account for enclisis/proclisis alternations.

Starting with Raposo and Uriagereka (2005) – R&U henceforth, they follow previous work of their own and propose that enclisis/proclisis alternations arise as a result of a left-peripheral projection, which they label FP, located between TP and CP as depicted in (7), and which they argue is present in all Romance languages. This projection is claimed to act as an interface between syntax and discourse, the *locus* “where semantic properties with a pragmatic import, often ‘discourse-oriented’ and encoding the speaker’s or the matrix subject’s ‘point of view’ (in main and subordinate clauses, respectively) are realized by merging or moving appropriate elements into its projection” (Raposo & Uriagereka, 2005: 642).

(7) Raposo and Uriagereka’s (2005) clausal structure



For R&U, F° in western Iberian (i.e., Galician and European Portuguese, but which may be extended then to Asturian since the same clitic placement alternations are also found in this language) is morphologically active, attracting the clitic(s) to it. The licensing conditions for the clitic(s) attracted to F° are the main trigger for the enclisis/proclisis observed. Leaving many technicalities aside, and briefly put, either [Spec, FP] has a suitable “affective” (i.e., operator-like) element, or an adjacent head (i.e., C°) contains an element that can act as a licenser for the clitic(s) in F°, in which case proclisis obtains. In the absence of such configurations, last-resort T°-to-F° results in the enclitic pattern we find.

Thus, starting with (4a), *Xuan*, not an “affective” element, is adjoined to [Spec, FP], and last-resort T°-to-F° to license the clitics gives rise to the enclisis we observe. Consider,

- (8) a. *Xuan diéra-yos unes manzanes a los niños*
 b. [CP[FP[DPXuan] [FP [F° -yos [TP [T° diera ... unes manzanes a los niños]]]]]]
 c. [CP[FP[DPXuan] [FP [F° diera-yos [TP [T° diéra ... unes manzanes a los niños]]]]]]
 ‘Xuan had given some apples to the kids’

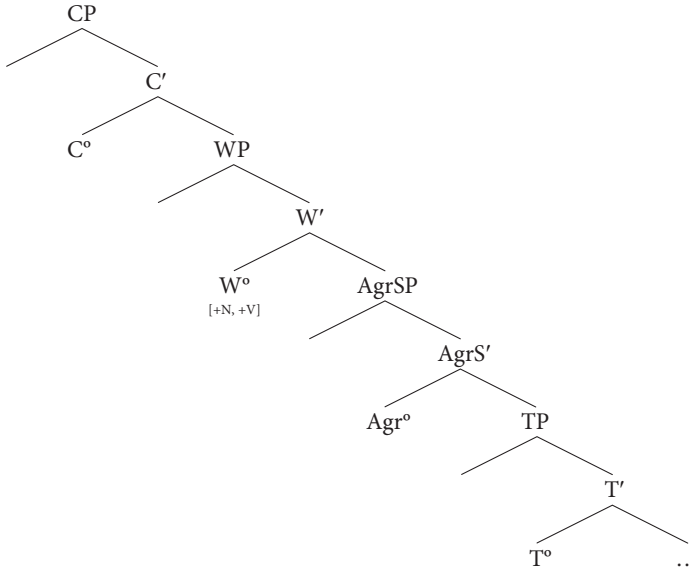
Proclisis obtains when an “affective” element in [Spec, FP] licenses the clitics in F°, as it is the case with the negative marker. Thus, the clitic pattern we find in (4b) can be analyzed as follows:

- (9) *Xuan nun-yos da manzanes a los niños*
 [CP[FP[DPXuan] [FP nun [F° -yos [TP [T° da ... manzanes a los niños]]]]]]
 ‘Xuan doesn’t give apples to the kids’

The problem with R&U’s proposal comes from data as those in (5) and (6) above. In short, if the complementizer in C° is adjacent to satisfy the licensing conditions of the clitic(s) in F° triggering proclisis – i.e., (5b) and (6b), what motivates last-resort T°-to-F° movement and consequently enclisis, as in (5a) and (6a), when exactly the same elements as in (b) examples showing proclisis are involved, is far from clear.

Turning now to Rouveret (1992), his proposal also maintains that western Iberian, specifically European Portuguese, also manifests a left-peripheral position, which he codes as WP – Wackernagel Phrase, after Wackernagel (1882). However, differently from R&U’s proposal, WP is argued to be only present in western Iberian, and not in every structure and instance. Further, differently from FP, Rouveret’s WP is not argued to be the landing site of operator-like elements, but similarly to FP, WP is argued to be a potential landing site for clitics. For Rouveret, WP bears both a verbal [+V] and a nominal feature [+N], and it is the licensing conditions of these features that trigger the clitic placement alternations we find in this group of languages. The clausal structure Rouveret assumes is represented below:

(10) Rouveret's (1992) clausal structure



Thus, starting with (4a), for Rouveret, the clitic is attracted to W° , *Xuan* raises to [Spec, WP] to license the [+N] feature, and T° -to- W° is triggered to license the [+V] feature, movement that brings up the enclisis we observe. Consider,

- (11) a. *Xuan diéra-yos unes manzanes a los niños*
 b. [CP[WP[DP*Xuan*] [W° [W° [+N, +V]] -yos [$AgrSP$ [T_{DP} ~~*Xuan*~~] [TP *diera* ... unes manzanes a los niños]]]]]]]
 c. [CP[WP[DP*Xuan*] [W° [W° [+N, +V]] *diera-yos* [$AgrSP$ [T_{DP} *Xuan*] [TP *diera* ... unes manzanes a los niños]]]]]]]
 'Xuan had given some apples to the kids'

For Rouveret (1992), the source of proclisis comes from two possible scenarios: (a) when the structure is incompatible with the projection of WP, as he argues to be the case in interrogative contexts, or (b) there is a licenser in the structure that satisfies the [+V] feature in WP, and thus verb-movement to W° is precluded and, consequently, enclisis, as he claims to be the case in subordinate environments – see discussion in Rouveret (1992, pp. 114–115). In either case, the clitic is not attracted to W° , and it is assumed to left-adjoin to the verb in whichever head it may be located in the structure. Although there is no specific discussion dealing with these examples, we can assume that the proclitic pattern we find in (4b) can therefore be analyzed as in (12b):

- (12) a. *Xuan nun-yos da manzanes a los niños*
 b. [CP[$AgrSP$ [DP*Xuan*] [$NegP$ *nun* [TP -yos da manzanes a los niños]]]]]
 'Xuan doesn't give apples to the kids'

The problem I see with Rouveret's analysis is that not only it assumes that WP is only available in this group of languages, but also it does not predict or account for the enclisis we find in embedded contexts as those in (5) and (6). For, if WP is present in these contexts, a WP governed by a lexical C° is argued to license its [+V] feature, generating proclisis exclusively – see Rouveret (1992, p. 112, Example (29)). In turn, if WP is not present, the enclisis we find in these instances would have to receive a different analysis that does not follow from the claims made, and it would not align with the analysis entertained to account for this clitic pattern in matrix contexts. All things being equal, an analysis that accounts for the same patterns in both contexts, main and embedded, is clearly superior.

Building on Rouveret's (1992) proposal, Lorenzo (1994, 1995) and Longa and Lorenzo (2001)'s analysis is discussed next. Two key aspects make Lorenzo's and Longa and Lorenzo's approach different from Rouveret's. First, they argue for a more uniform treatment of WP and claim that this projection is present in all instances. In turn, and differently from Rouveret, Lorenzo (1995, p. 197, (6) and subs.) and Longa and Lorenzo (2001) argue for a treatment of clitics as instances of Agreement that are licensed in the extended projections of the AgrS-T complex. Thus, the treatment of enclisis is similar to that of Rouveret's, with the only difference that since the clitic is sitting in an Agreement projection, it right-adjoins to the verbal head that has moved to W° to license the [+V] feature, accounting for the postverbal clitic we find as in (13).

- (13) a. *Xuan diéra-yos unes manzanes a los niños*
 b. [CP[WP[DPXuan] [W' [W° [+N,+V] [AgrP [DPXuan] [Agr' -yos [TP diera ... unes manzanes a los niños]]]]]]]]]
 c. [CP[WP[DPXuan] [W' [W° [+N,+V] diera [AgrSP [DPXuan] [Agr' -yos [TP diera ... unes manzanes a los niños]]]]]]]]]
 d. [CP[WP[DPXuan] [W' [W° [+N,+V] diera-yos [AgrSP [DPXuan] [Agr' -yos [TP diera ... unes manzanes a los niños]]]]]]]]]
 'Xuan had given some apples to the kids'

For the proclisis we find with the negative marker, Lorenzo (see 1995, p. 205, (18)) leaves open the possibility that WP may also be present in the structure, and that the preverbal clitic pattern obtains via clitic left-adjunction to the verbal head, thus resulting in the following derivation:

- (14) a. *Xuan nun-yos da manzanes a los niños*
 b. [CP[WP[DPXuan] [W' [W° [+N,+V] [NegP nun [AgrSP [DPXuan] [Agr' -yos [TP da ... manzanes a los niños]]]]]]]]]]]
 c. [CP[WP[DPXuan] [W' [W° [+N,+V] [NegP nun [Neg° da [AgrSP [DPXuan] [Agr' -yos [TP da ... manzanes a los niños]]]]]]]]]]]
 d. [CP[WP[DPXuan] [W' [W° [+N,+V] [NegP nun [Neg° -yos da [AgrSP [DPXuan] -yos [TP da ... manzanes a los niños]]]]]]]]]]]
 'Xuan doesn't give apples to the kids'

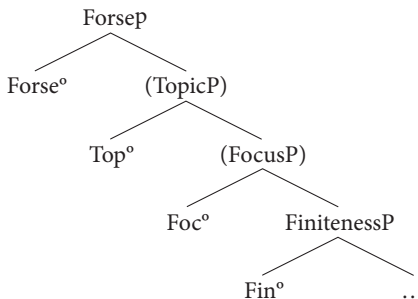
Although it addresses some of the issues that Rouveret's analysis faces, e.g. assuming that WP is present in all instances, Lorenzo's (1994, 1995) and Longa and Lorenzo (2001) proposal is not free of problems. First, it resorts to right/left-adjunction to account for the order of the clitic we find in (13) vs. (14). Second, it is not clear to me how the [+V] feature in W° can be satisfied by the verb sitting in Neg° . If we were to assume that the verbal complex raises to W° , then we would expect to find the negative marker after the verb, which is not the case. Furthermore, this proposal runs into the same problems that I pointed out for Rouveret's (1992): As it stands, there is not clear source for a potential enclisis in embedded environments as those in (5) and (6). In turn, rather than resorting to right-adjunction, all things being equal, a preferred analysis would be one that keeps operations similar in nature, whereby only left-adjunction is permitted by UG.

What I will adopt from these syntactic approaches is that enclisis/proclisis alternations as those we find in Asturian are a side-effect of syntactic operations related to the left-periphery of the clause. In turn, and building on Uriagereka's (1988, 1995a, 1995b, and subs.) intuition about FP and its connection to the semantics interface, I will show how the analysis I propose captures these intuitions and presents a formal account for the different [epistemic] interpretations that enclisis and proclisis give rise to in the embedded environment.

3. Fin° and clitics: A cartographic account of enclisis/proclisis

The analysis I entertain is one that builds on Rizzi's (1997, 2004) seminal work on what is standardly called "left-peripheral" or "cartographic" approaches. In these proposals, CP is decomposed into different projections that provide a transparent relation between the syntactic and the semantic component. With that in mind, the underlying clausal structure I assume, with parenthesis indicating that those projections are available only when needed, is shown in (15).

(15) Rizzi's (1997) structure of the left-periphery



The benefits of Rizzi's (1997, 2004) proposal, besides providing a direct mapping between syntax and semantics for long-standing notions like Focus and Topic,

is that other syntactic differences can be explained in a more elegant way. For instance, (a) Topics may be recursive, but Focus cannot, (b) a Focus does not allow for clitic-doubling, but Topics must be clitic-doubled – if there is a clitic in the language to represent that function,² (c) if both Topic(s) and Focus appear in a sentence, the order is fixed, with Topic(s) immediately preceding Focus. In turn, the two remaining projections, namely ForceP and FinitenessP, are also motivated on interface grounds. Force is claimed to contain the information that relates to clause-typing (e.g., declarative, interrogative, etc.). Finiteness^o (Fin^o for short), on the other hand, establishes a direct connection with T^o in terms of the morphological specifications that certain complementizers bear (e.g., *that* vs. *for* in English, or *che* vs. *di* in Italian); that is, information directly related to the finiteness that the clause has, thus responsible for the selection and licensing of a particular type of T^o.

With that structure in mind, and following previous work of my own (Fernández-Rubiera, 2009, 2010, 2013, 2015), I will argue that clitic placement in western Iberian is sensitive to Fin^o as follows:

- (16) Fin^o is a phase-head in western Iberian which bears an edge-feature [EF] and requires the merger or movement of an element to this position.

Chomsky (2008) contends that both CP and *v**P are phases, “where C is a shorthand for the region that Rizzi (1997) calls ‘the left-periphery’” (Chomsky, 2008, p. 143). What I will argue for is that Fin^o is what Chomsky considers the CP-phase.³ As I will show, entertaining this analysis will allow us to explain not only the syntax of enclisis/proclisis, but also the semantic interpretations that these alternations give rise to in the finite embedded context in Asturian.

Turning now to clitics, sharing the spirit of Fernández-Soriano (1993) and Lorenzo (1994, 1995) and differently from Kayne (1991), I assume that these elements are agreement-like morphemes licensed as part of the extended TP-field

2. As an anonymous reviewer indicates, this is not universal, as European Portuguese has both Clitic Left-Dislocation (which is doubled by a clitic) and English-like Topicalization (which is not doubled by a clitic) – see Duarte (1987) and Costa and Martins (2011). However, given that Asturian does not have exhibit Topicalization like European Portuguese, I will leave this lack of parallelism among Western Iberian languages here, as it does not affect the proposal that will be put forth in this chapter.

3. For Chomsky (2008), T^o inherits its agree (i.e., ϕ) and probe (i.e., EPP) features from C^o. Rizzi (1997) argues for the connection that Fin^o and T^o have in terms of selection of morphological finiteness. As I will show, equating Fin^o to a phase will have a threefold benefit: (a) it will allow me to account for the clitic patterns we find in western Iberian in matrix and embedded clauses alike, (b) it will be shown to provide a natural explanation for the interpretation differences that enclisis/proclisis gives rise to in embedded contexts, and (c) it will also explain naturally what those interpretations are semantically anchored to.

as argued for in Sportiche (1996). In this regard, I assume in line with all the syntactic approaches reviewed before (i.e., Uriagereka, 1988, 1995a, 1995b; Raposo & Uriagereka, 2005; Rouveret, 1992) that clitics appear proclitic (i.e., preverbal) in the phrase marker, and that the enclitic pattern observed arises by an independently required syntactic operation; namely, (16). Next, I will show how this analysis accounts not only for the enclisis/proclisis we find in matrix environments, but also for those clitic placement alternations in the embedded context.

4. The role of Fin° in deriving enclisis/proclisis in matrix and embedded contexts

The licensing properties of Finiteness° are argued to trigger the different clitic patterns observed in Asturian as follows: (16) requires that an element be merged or moved to Fin° to satisfy its edge-feature ([EF]). In the absence of this licensor, last-resort T° -to- Fin° is triggered and enclisis obtains as a result. As I will show, this analysis allows us to account not only for the clitic patterns we find in matrix environments, but also for those in the embedded ones.

Consider first the clitic patterns we find in matrix environments as those in (1), repeated below for convenience.

- (17) a. *Xuan díera-yos unes manzanes a los neños*
 Xuan had.given-3SG-them-CL.DAT some apples to the kids
 ‘Xuan had given some apples to the kids’
 b. *Xuan nun-yos da manzanes a los neños*
 Xuan NEG-them-CL.DAT give-3SG apples to the kids
 ‘Xuan doesn’t give apples to the kids’

The enclisis we observe in (17a) would receive the following analysis. *Xuan*, the subject, is a Topic-like element,⁴ which is licensed by merge in [Spec, TopicP].⁵ In turn,

4. At least since Contreras (1978), non-focalized non-quantified preverbal subjects are argued to appear in a Left-Dislocated (i.e., Topic) position. The same claim can be found in Barbosa (1995); Raposo (2000) and Raposo and Uriagereka (2005) for Portuguese, and in Olarrea (1997) and Ordóñez (1998, 2000) for Spanish.

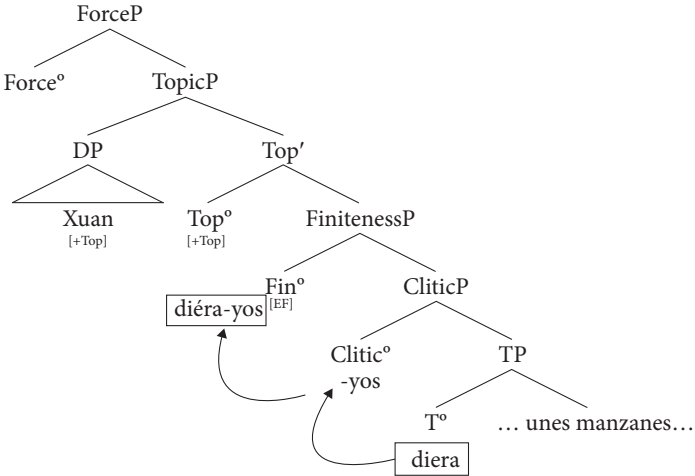
5. I take *wh*-extraction in (i) below as evidence for the lack of A' -movement properties of Topics like the one in (i):

- (i) *Xuan, yo nun sé [por qué-yos ~~Xuan~~ díera unes manzanes ...]*
 Xuan I not know-1.SG for what-them-CL.DAT had.given-3.SG
 some apples
 ‘Xuan, I don’t know why he had given some apples [to the kids]’

See Barbosa (1995) and Raposo (2000) for a similar claim regarding Topics in European Portuguese.

the [EF] assumed for Fin° is not satisfied. In order to do so, last-resort T° -to- Fin° is triggered, with the verb picking up the clitic on its way up and triggering the enclisis we find.⁶ This derivation is shown in (18).

- (18) a. *Xuan diéra-yos unes manzanes a los niños*
 b.

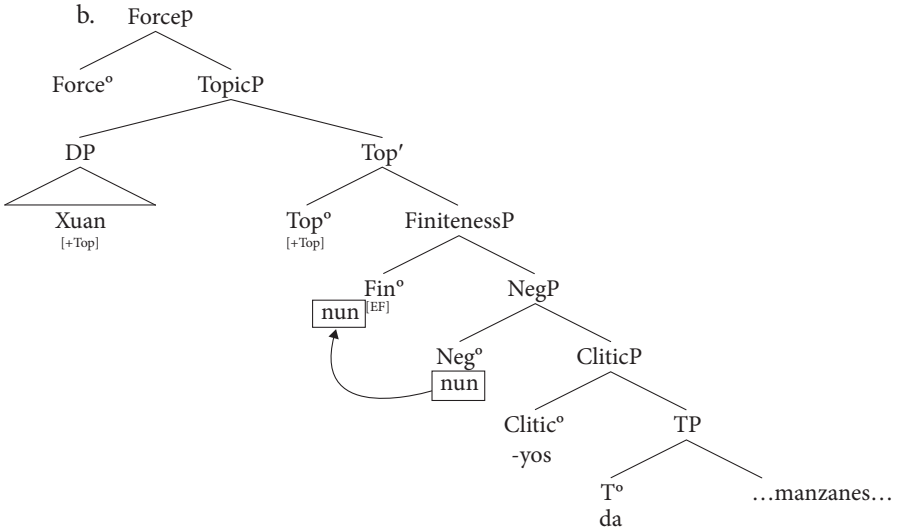


‘Xuan had given some apples to the kids’

Under my analysis, proclisis arises as a result of a licenser satisfying the [EF] of Fin° proposed in (16), either by merge or move, voiding last-resort T° -to- Fin° and accounting for the preverbal clitic pattern observed. A case in point is that in (17b) involving the negative marker. *Xuan*, the preverbal subject, is a Topic, similarly to what is proposed for (17a). Assuming the negative marker is sitting in a projection higher than T° in Romance languages – see Zanuttini (1991, 1997), it will be this head that raises to Fin° to license its [EF], thus accounting for the proclitic pattern in (17b) as in (19).

6. The reader may wonder why, if the clitic in Clitic° is closer to Fin° than T° , it doesn't raise to satisfy the proposed [EF]. I assume, in line with the phonological proposals reviewed (e.g., Campos, 1989; Barbosa, 1995; etc.), as well as Fernández-Soriano (1993), that clitics are phonological deficient elements of sorts, and as such are not suitable licensers for the [EF] in Fin° I am arguing for. In a way, it would be similar to assuming that the agreement features in T° (e.g., “-mos” for [1PERSON.PL]) could be sitting in T° without the verbal root raising, with the proviso that clitics (but not the agreement features on T°) are “independent” words in that they do not need to merge with the verbal head – as in (19). An anonymous reviewer indicates that (16) is a syntactic – not a phonological – requirement, with which I completely agree. However, I do not find this problematic for the analysis I entertain. If the clitic were to raise to Fin° , a PF-violation could be triggered (i.e., post-syntactic) – either because of the phonological (enclitic) status of clitics or because clitics are not suitable candidates to appear at a phase-edge, and enclisis would still be generated.

(19) a. *Xuan nun-yos da manzanes a los niños*



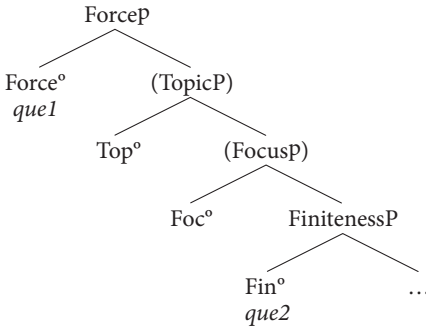
'Xuan doesn't give apples to the kids'

Embedded environments exhibiting the same clitic placement alternations in Asturian were shown to be neither expected nor accounted for by previous analyses discussed in Section 3 above. However, following Rizzi (1997, 2004) and assuming a cartographic approach to the left-periphery in Asturian, these data can also be accounted for by the licensing condition of Fin° presented in (16) as follows. Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009) examine certain constructions in Spanish exhibiting a double-complementizer, also called recomplementation patterns (Uriagereka, 1988; Raposo & Uriagereka, 2005; Villa-García, 2012, 2015), a relevant example in (20):

(20) *Dijo que a ese empleado que no sabía cuánto le pagaban*
 said-3SG that to that employee that no knew how-much him-CL paid
 'S/He said that s/he didn't know how much they paid that employee'

Assuming a cartographic approach as the one entertained here, Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009) argue that these instances involve two homophonous but different complementizers which are realized in different heads in the left-periphery of the clause. In short, with the structure in (15), they assume that the Topic *a ese empleado* – 'that employee' – is sandwiched in a TopicP projection, and that whereas the complementizer before the Topic, which they label *que1* 'that1', is sitting in Force°, the second one following the Topic, which they label *que2* 'that2', is located in Fin°, giving us the structure in (21).

(21) Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009) recomplementation



With this structure put forth by Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009), my proposal in (16) can be extended to account for the embedded enclisis/proclisis alternations we find in (2) and (3), repeated below for convenience, as follows.

- (22) a. *Xulia pensaba [que dixéralo Mon]*
 Xulia thought-3SG that had.said-3SG-it-CL.ACC Mon
 b. *Xulia pensaba [que lo dixera Mon]*
 Xulia thought-3SG that it-CL.ACC had.said-3SG Mon
 ‘Xulia thought that Mon had said it’

- (23) a. *Ana trai les bebides [porque mandó-ylo Pin]*
 Ana brings the drinks. because ordered-3SG-her-CL.DAT-it-CL.ACC Pin
 b. *Ana trai les bebides [porque-ylo mandó Pin]*
 Ana brings the drinks because-her-CL.DAT-it-CL.ACC ordered-3SG Pin
 ‘Ana is bringing the drinks because Pin ordered her to’

In the (a) examples, I contend that the complementizer these sentences exhibit is *que1* ‘that1’, which is sitting in Force°. This proposal analyzes in parallel the enclisis we find here with that of matrix contexts as that in (18): Last-resort T°-to-Fin° to license its [EF] is the trigger for the enclitic pattern we find, giving us the analysis in (24) and (25):

- (24) a. *Xulia pensaba [que dixéralo Mon].*
 b. *Xulia pensaba* [_{ForceP}que1 [_{FinP}[EF] [_{CliticP}lo [_{TP} dixera ... Mon]]]]
 c. *Xulia pensaba* [_{ForceP}que1 [_{FinP}dixéralo[EF] [_{CliticP}dixeralo [_{TP} dixera Mon]]]]
 ‘Xulia thought that Mon had said it’
 (25) a. *Ana trai les bebides [porque mandó-ylo Pin].*
 b. *Ana trai les bebides por* [_{ForceP}que1 [_{FinP}[EF] [_{CliticP}-ylo [_{TP} mandó Pin]]]]

- c. Ana trai les bebides por [_{ForceP}que1 [_{FinP}mandó-ylo[EF] [_{CliticP}mandó-y-lo
[_{TP} mandó Pin]]]]
‘Ana is bringing the drinks because Pin ordered her to’

For the (b) examples, which exhibit proclisis, I contend that the proclitic pattern arises as a result of the complementizer that is found in these instances, namely *que2*, which for Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009) is merged in *Fin*^o. By virtue of merging the complementizer in *Fin*^o, I argue that *Fin*^o's [EF] is satisfied, blocking *T*^o-to-*Fin*^o – and therefore, enclisis. The proclitic pattern we find will be analyzed as follows:

- (26) a. *Xulia pensaba [que lo dixera Mon]*
b. *Xulia pensaba* [_{FinP} que2 [EF] [_{CliticP}lo[_{TP} dixera ... Mon]]]
‘Xulia thought that Mon had said it’
- (27) a. *Ana trai les bebides [porque-ylo mandó Pin].*
b. *Ana trai les bebides por* [_{FinP} que2 [EF] [_{CliticP}-y lo [_{TP} mandó Pin]]]
‘Ana is bringing the drinks because Pin ordered her to’

What the syntactic analysis just discussed amounts to saying is that these embedded environments may select two different types of sentential complements, namely one headed by *Force*^o and one headed by *Fin*^o. These selection properties, coupled with Demonte and Fernández-Soriano's (2009) analysis of complementizers that I extend to Asturian, account for the different clitic patterns we find in both the embedded and the matrix contexts with a unified proposal. In the next section, I lay out the implications that these selection properties have to the semantics of these structures, discussing the findings reported in Fernández-Rubiera (2009). These findings are extended later to propose how semantic anchoring and syntactic structure work in parallel to convey the interpretations we find in these embedded contexts.

5. *Force*^o/*Fin*^o selection and semantic [epistemic] interpretation

The previous section dealt with the different enclitic/proclitic patterns we find in Asturian both in matrix and in embedded contexts, and how these may be amenable to an analysis that attributes enclisis/proclisis to the licensing conditions of a left-peripheral head, namely *Fin*^o. This analysis opens the possibility that if both selection properties are available for the embedded CPs discussed, different interpretations be also observed. The extension of these syntactic structures to different interpretations were discussed at length in Fernández-Rubiera (2009), and I summarize the findings here.

Predicates selecting embedded clauses that may exhibit enclisis in Asturian belong to a set of verbs and structures that have been attributed special syntactic and semantic properties. Since at least Hooper and Thompson (1973), embedded clauses to verbs such as *pensar* ‘to think’ have been observed to license structures that resemble those that can only be found in matrix environments, giving rise to what is standardly called *root* or *main clause phenomena* – see Heycock (2006) and Haegeman (2012). However, not much debate was created regarding the interpretation that these environments may give rise to. Interestingly, the different interpretations that enclisis/proclisis structures encode in the embedded context in Asturian can shed light on the general interpretative properties that these clauses may bear. Consider the sentences below:

- (28) a. *Xulia pensaba [que dixéralo Mon]*
 Xulia thought-3SG that had.said-3SG-it-CL.ACC Mon
 b. *Xulia pensaba [que lo dixera Mon]*
 Xulia thought-3SG that it-CL.ACC had.said-3SG Mon
 ‘Xulia thought that Mon had said it’
- (29) a. *Ana trai les bebides [porque mandó-ylo Pin]*
 Ana brings the drinks because ordered-3SG-her-CL.DAT-it-CL.ACC Pin
 b. *Ana trai les bebides [porque-ylo mandó Pin]*
 Ana brings the drinks because-her-CL.DAT-it-CL.ACC ordered-3SG Pin
 ‘Ana is bringing the drinks because Pin ordered her to’

Starting with (28), (a) and (b) do not convey the same meaning and interpretation. The enclitic structure in (28a) gives rise to an interpretation in which the information contained in the embedded clause is anchored to the belief state of the matrix predicate’s subject, what I call a [+epistemic] interpretation.⁷ However, this interpretation is not available when we have a proclitic structure as that in (28b), whereby no such attribution to the belief state of the matrix predicate’s subject is detected, which I call a [–epistemic] interpretation. For illustration, a fragment that

7. The semantic anchoring I am proposing in terms of [+/- epistemic] is not different from Sirguðsson’s (2004) *logophoric agent* and Λ features. Although I do not intend to provide a full-comparison, Sirguðsson’s Λ features can be subsumed under the selection properties I am advocating for as follows: I claim that the [+/- epistemic] reading of embedded complements to assertive predicates is anchored to the matrix predicate’s subject by virtue of the verb selection properties. In turn, if we are dealing with a construction that lacks selection of an external θ -role, as I will claim to be the case of those introduced by *porque* ‘because’, the [+/- epistemic] reading is anchored to the speaker. I will devote Section 6 in this chapter to discuss in detail how multiple embedding works in Asturian in this regard.

cancels the proposed epistemicity anchored to the matrix subject as that in brackets is only felicitous with proclisis, but not with enclisis:^{8,9}

8. An anonymous reviewer wonders whether similar [+/- epistemic] interpretation differences may also be observed in other Romance languages. In Fernández-Rubiera (2009) I have shown this to be the case in e.g., Spanish, even though it is not related to the clitic position. If the predicates that bring about these interpretation differences in their embedded contexts may select Force^o or Fin^o, as argued in this chapter, the sentences below are expected to show this difference:

- (i) *Pedro dice que a los vacunados ya los ve sin mascarilla.*
 Pedro says-3.SG that to the vaccinated already them-CL.ACC see-3.SG
 without mask
 ‘Pedro says that those vaccinated, s/he already sees them without a facemask.’
- (ii) *Pedro dice que los ve sin mascarilla.*
 Pedro says-3.SG that them-CL.ACC see-3.SG without mask
 ‘Pedro says that s/he sees them without a facemask.’

With the presence of the left-dislocated element “a los vacunados” in (i), and assuming the structure of the left-periphery in (15), the analysis I advocate would predict that only a [+epistemic] interpretation ensures, which the inadequacy of the fragment in (iii) cancelling this interpretation indicates. On the other hand, and in the absence of left-peripheral material in the embedded clause – as in (ii), both interpretations would be available, as differently from Asturian, the position of the clitic in Spanish cannot tease apart whether Force^o (and [+epistemic]) or Fin^o (and [-epistemic]) is selected. I take the adequacy of the fragment in (iii) to follow the sentence in (ii), but crucially not that in (i), to show that the analysis I am entertaining may be extended to other languages.

- (iii) *... pero no está seguro.*
 but not is-3.SG sure
 ‘... but he is not sure.’

For an extension of this proposal to other languages (including Germanic), see Fernández-Rubiera (2012).

9. The same reviewer indicates whether mood (i.e., indicative vs. subjunctive) has any bearing in the interpretation differences. Clearly, assertions and [+epistemic] interpretations can only surface in the indicative mood. However, if these interpretation differences were to be reduced to mood, one would expect to find similar structures (i.e., enclisis) and interpretations (i.e., [epistemic]) in contexts were this prediction is not fulfilled. Consider,

- (i) *Si a Xuan lu ves enfermu, muy malu debe tar [*veslu]*
 If to Xuan him-CL.ACC see-2.SG.IND sick very bad must-3.SG be
 ‘If you see Xuan sick, he must be really ill.’

In (i), the embedded *if*-clause shows indicative mood. However, neither enclisis nor [+epistemic] (i.e., it is not the case that you have seen Xuan sick) obtain. I take examples as those in (i) to show that mood cannot be all there is to account for the interpretation or the clitic position observed.

- (30) a. *Pensaba_i que dixéralo Mon, [#pero nun taba_i segura]*
 thought-3SG that had.said-3SG-it-CL Mon but not was-3SG sure
- b. *Pensaba_i que lo dixera Mon, [pero nun taba_i segura]*
 thought-3SG that it-CL had.said-3SG Mon but not was-3SG sure
 ‘She thought that Mon had said it, but she was not sure (whether Mon had said it or not)’

The same observation can be extended to examples as those in (29). The enclitic structure in (29a) gives rise to an interpretation in which information contained in the embedded clause is attributed a [+epistemic] interpretation, and such interpretation is not detected in the case of proclisis in (29b), which I analyze as [–epistemic]. However, and differently from (28), in which the matrix predicate’s subject is the anchor, the anchoring for (29) is established with the speaker. As shown in (31), if the proposed epistemicity anchored to the speaker is cancelled, proclisis, but not enclisis, is pragmatically felicitous:

- (31) a. *Trailés porque mandó-ylo Pin, [#pero nun toy segura]*
 brings-them because ordered-3SG-her-CL-it-CL Pin, but not
 am sure
- b. *Trailés porque-ylo mandó Pin, [pero nun toy segura]*
 brings-them because-her-CL-it-CL ordered-3SG Pin but not
 am sure
 ‘She brings them because Pin ordered her to, but I am not sure (whether Pin ordered her to or not)’

As I discussed in Section 2, Uriagereka (1988, 1995a, 1995b) and Raposo and Uriagereka (2005) argue that FP encodes “the speaker’s or the matrix subject’s ‘point of view’ (in main and subordinate clauses, respectively).” I contend that this same observation and intuition can be naturally accounted for by the analysis I entertain as follows. In the previous section, I have argued that enclisis in the embedded context correlates with selection of Force° and *que1* ‘that1’, whereas selection of Fin° and *que2* ‘that2’ correlates with proclisis. What I will claim is that the semantic difference in (30) and (31) in terms of epistemicity (i.e., [+/- epistemic]), as well as the different anchoring we observe (i.e., matrix predicate’s subject or speaker), can receive a principled explanation.

For a predicate like *pensaba* ‘she thought’, an assertive predicate of the kind discussed in Hooper and Thompson (1973), I contend that it may select Force° or Fin°. These different selection properties are available to this predicate depending on the interpretation that the embedded clause will convey: selection of Force° corresponds to a [+epistemic] interpretation, and selection of Fin° to a [–epistemic] one.

When Force° is selected, enclisis is triggered in the absence of an element merged or moved to Fin° – as per the [EF] of Fin° presented in (16), and a [+epistemic] reading obtains. For the proclisis cases, enclisis is barred by merger of *que2* ‘that2’ in Fin°, which licenses the [EF] of Fin°, giving rise to a [–epistemic] interpretation of the content in the embedded clause. In both instances, namely selection of Force° or of Fin°, the anchoring is established with the subject of the main clause by being selected as the external ϑ -role of *pensaba* ‘she thought.’¹⁰

For an embedded clause introduced by *porque* ‘because,’ I argue that the same selection options are available, namely Force° or Fin°, and that the selection of either of these corresponds to the [+epistemic] or [–epistemic] interpretation conveyed by the content in the embedded clause. Clitic placement follows the same

10. An anonymous reviewer observes three predictions of this analysis, some of which I have addressed in previous work of my own, but which I do not discuss here for space reasons. A first prediction is that those languages and their varieties that exhibit recomplementation would only allow for proclisis – as the second *que* complementizer would be satisfying (16). A discussion in this regard may be found in Fernández-Rubiera (2009), which digs into different varieties of Asturian, as well as Galician and European Portuguese, in which recomplementation only triggers proclisis whenever this structure is grammatical, a prediction that this analysis makes – as the second *que* would be sitting in Fin° and license (16). A second prediction would be that all matrix verbs allowing for recomplementation would also license enclisis/proclisis in Asturian. This prediction is not fulfilled. In Villa-García (2012, 2015), certain predicates (e.g., “*querer*” – to want) also exhibit recomplementation, yet enclisis is not licensed in these embedded environments. For this reason, so-called “assertive predicates” (e.g., verbs of saying, etc.) have been teased out and indicated to correlate with the enclisis/proclisis structures they exhibit in their embedded contexts in Asturian, as well as the matching of these patterns to the [epistemic] interpretations that will be discussed at length in this chapter. Volitional or factive predicates do not encode this [epistemic] difference in their embedded clauses – see Fernández-Rubiera (2009) for some discussion, so this prediction cannot follow from this analysis. A third prediction indicated is that if a Topic were to appear in the embedded contexts discussed, only a [+epistemic] reading would obtain, a prediction that is fulfilled, as the following examples indicate – (i) with a preverbal subject, and (ii) with an adverb:

- (i) *Xulia pensaba [que los chigres taben cerraos,] [#pero nun taba segura]*
 Xulia thought-3SG that the bars were-3PL closed but not was sure
 ‘Xulia though that the bars were closed, (but she wasn’t sure)’
- (ii) *Xulia pensaba [que seguramente taben cerraos,] [#pero nun taba segura]*
 Xulia thought-3SG that surely were-3PL closed but not was sure
 ‘Xulia though that most likely, they were closed, (but she wasn’t sure)’

Finally, if a Topic were to appear in these embedded contexts, only enclisis would be expected to arise, which again, is a prediction that the example below confirms:

- (iii) *Xulia pensaba [que a Pin dixéras-ylo tús] [*-ylo dixerás]*
 Xulia thought-3SG that to Pin had.said-2SG-him-CL.DAT-it-CL.ACC you
 ‘Xulia though that Pin, you had told him (about it)’

logic as in the case of *pensaba* ‘she thought.’ Both selection options in this embedded context are anchored in this case to the speaker – and not the matrix subject, which I argue stems from the fact that (a) these sentences are adjuncts, and (b) there is no ϑ -role mediating as in the case of *pensaba* ‘she thought.’ The table below summarizes this proposal.

Table 1. Type of embedded clause, clitic pattern and semantic anchoring in Asturian

Type	Clitic pattern	Epistemicity	Anchored to	Example
CP-complement to an assertive predicate	Enclitic	[+epistemic]	Matrix subject	(28a)
	Proclitic	[-epistemic]		(28b)
CP-adjunct	Enclitic	[+epistemic]	Speaker	(29a)
	Proclitic	[-epistemic]		(29b)

What I will show in the next section is how this proposal can also be extended to capture the different semantic anchors we may have in multiple embedding contexts, discussing novel data that may help us shed light on the intricacies of the syntax-semantics interplay to give rise to the structures we find and with the interpretations they convey.

6. Further evidence: Multiple embedding in Asturian

In the previous sections, I have discussed the enclisis/proclisis we find in Asturian in embedded clauses, the different [epistemic] interpretations that these sentences bear depending on the clitic pattern observed, and what these interpretations may be anchored to. What I will review now is how the proposal I entertain may predict, using novel data, the different clitic patterns, interpretations and anchoring with multiple levels of embedding. Thus, consider the following example:

- (32) *Ana diz que Xulio creyía [que topáranlu nel chigre]*
 Ana says that Xulio believed that had.found-3PL-him-CL in-the bar
 ‘Ana says that Xulio believed that they had found him at the bar’

In (32), we find an enclitic pattern in an embedded CP-complement to the assertive predicate *creyía* ‘she believed.’ Bearing in mind the summary provided in Table 1, it should be the case that the content of the embedded clause in brackets is interpreted as [+epistemic], and that this interpretation is anchored to the matrix predicate’s subject – in this case, *Ana*. Consider the following:

- (33) a. *Pero Ana sabe que ye mentira que lu toparon ehí*
 but Ana knows that is lie that him-CL found-3PL there
 ‘But Ana knows that it is not true that they found him there’

- b. *#Pero Xulio sabe que ye mentira que lu toparon ehí*
 but Xulio knows that is lie that him-CL found-3PL there
 ‘#But Xulio knows that it is not true that they found him there’

As (33a) shows, a fragment that cancels this [+epistemic] interpretation anchored to *Ana*, the matrix predicate’s subject, is pragmatically adequate. However, cancelling this [+epistemic] interpretation anchored to *Xulio*, as in (33b), is pragmatically infelicitous. Therefore, it is not the case that the [+epistemic] interpretation is attributed to the matrix predicate’s subject, contrary to what was discussed in Table 1. Rather, what (33) indicates is that the [+epistemic] interpretation is anchored to the intermediate subject. Let us turn now to another relevant example, as that in (34).

- (34) *Xicu diz que Ana trai bebidas [porque mandó-ylo Pin]*
 Xicu says that Ana brings drinks because ordered-her-CL-it-CL Pin
 ‘Xicu says that Ana is bringing drinks because Pin ordered her to’

This time, we find an enclitic pattern in an embedded CP-adjunct introduced by *porque* ‘because.’ With the summary provided in Table 1, it should be the case that the content of the embedded clause in brackets is interpreted as [+epistemic], and that this interpretation is anchored to the speaker. Now, consider the following fragments:

- (35) a. *Pero yo sé que ye mentira que-y lo mandó Pin*
 but I know that is lie that-her-CL it-CL ordered-3SG Pin
 ‘But I (speaker) know that it is not true that Pin ordered her to’
 b. *#Pero Xicu sabe que ye mentira que-y lo mandó Pin*
 but Xicu knows that is lie that-her-CL it-CL ordered-3SG Pin
 ‘#But Xicu knows that it is not true that Pin ordered her to’

A fragment as that in (35a) cancelling the [+epistemic] interpretation anchored to the speaker is pragmatically felicitous. However, a fragment cancelling the [+epistemic] interpretation anchored to the matrix predicate’s subject – in this case, *Xicu* – is not pragmatically adequate. Therefore, it is not the case that the [+epistemic] interpretation is attributed to the speaker, contrary to what was discussed in Table 1. (35) indicates that the [+epistemic] interpretation is anchored to the matrix subject, namely *Xicu*.

What I will argue for (32), repeated below, is that *creyía* ‘he believed’ is the predicate selecting an embedded CP-complement headed by Force^o (as hinted at by the enclisis we find), and that the [+epistemic] interpretation that this selection conveys is attributed to the external θ -role selected by this predicate, namely *Xulio*. Therefore, by virtue of the selection mechanisms of the predicate involved – i.e., *creyía* ‘he believed,’ the anchor in this case can be easily accounted for, and the (in) adequacy of the fragments in (33) explained.

- (36) *Ana diz que Xulio creyía [que topáranlu nel chigre]*
 Ana says that Xulio believed that had.found-3PL-him-CL in-the bar
 ‘Ana says that Xulio believed that they had found him at the bar’

As for (34), repeated below, notice that there is a CP-complement to an assertive predicate, namely *diz* ‘he says.’ I will claim that since the embedded CP-adjunct is contained in an embedded clause selected by this assertive predicate, by virtue of this selection the [+epistemic] interpretation can only be attributed to the external θ -role selected by this predicate, namely *Xicu*.

- (37) *Xicu diz que Ana trai bebides [porque mandó-ylo Pin]*
 Xicu says that Ana brings drinks because ordered-her-CL-it-CL Pin
 ‘Xicu says that Ana is bringing drinks because Pin ordered her to’

In the two cases we have examined so far, rather than proving to be counterexamples to the analysis I entertain, they provide further evidence for it as follows: If there is an intervening assertive predicate, the [epistemic] interpretation encoded in the embedded clause selected by this predicate will only be attributed to its external θ -role, and not to the speaker. Therefore, for the interpretation of an embedded CP-adjunct to be anchored to the speaker, it must be the case that there is no intervening embedded CP-complement that will force, by virtue of selection, anchoring the [epistemic] interpretation to the subject selected by the assertive predicate.

A final piece of evidence I would like to discuss is presented next. In this case, we have two CP-complements that exhibit enclisis:

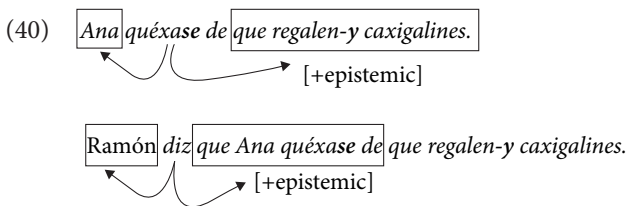
- (38) *Ramón diz [que Ana quéxase de [que regalen-y caxigalines]]*
 Ramón says that Ana complains-self-CL of that give-her-CL trifles
 ‘Ramón says that Ana complains that they just give her trifles’

In this instance, we find two embedded-CP complements, each of which exhibits an enclitic pattern. In light of this pattern, the analysis I am advocating for will contend that both of these embedded clauses illustrate selection of Force^o, which will convey a [+epistemic] interpretation. What remains to be accounted for is what the anchor is and how it may be established. Consider the following fragments as illustration:

- (39) a. *Pero yo sé que nun-y regalen caxigalines*
 but I know that not-her-CL give-3PL trifles
 ‘But I know that they don’t give her trifles’
 b. *Pero Ramón sabe que nun-y regalen caxigalines*
 but Ramón knows that not-her-CL give-3PL trifles
 ‘But Ramón knows that they don’t give her trifles’
 c. **Pero Ana sabe que nun-y regalen caxigalines*
 but Ana knows that not-her-CL give-3PL trifles
 ‘#But Ana knows that they don’t give her trifles’

- d. *#Pero Ramón sabe que Ana nun se queixa d'eso*
 but Ramón knows that Ana not self-CL complain of-that
 ‘#But Ramón knows that Ana doesn’t complain about that’
- e. *Pero yo sé que Ana nun se queixa d'eso*
 but I know that Ana not self-CL complain of-that
 ‘But I know that Ana doesn’t complain about that’

Starting with the embedded clause selected by *quéxase* ‘she complains,’ the felicitousness of the fragments in (39a) and (39b) indicates that the [+epistemic] anchoring is neither attributed to the speaker or to matrix predicate’s subject *Ramón*. As the pragmatic inadequacy of the fragment in (39c) indicates, the anchor for the [+epistemic] reading must be the subject selected by the predicate *quéxase*, namely *Ana*. Moving now to the embedded clause selected by *diz* ‘he says,’ the contrast between (39d) and (39e) indicates that the [+epistemic] interpretation is only anchored to the subject selected by this predicate, and not to the speaker. What we may conclude from these data is that selection by the predicate is crucial, not only to convey a [+epistemic] or [–epistemic] interpretation of the embedded clause by virtue of selecting Force° or Fin° respectively, but also to establish where this interpretation will be anchored. In the two cases in (38), each of the predicates combines the CP-selection and its own external ϑ -role to provide a direct and straightforward mapping as shown in the schema below:



Therefore, from the data discussed in this section and the resulting anchoring observed, I contend that the Table 1 must be revised as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Type of embedded clause, clitic pattern and semantic anchoring in Asturian

Type	Clitic pattern	Epistemicity	Anchored to	Example
CP-complement to an assertive predicate	Enclitic	[+epistemic]	Predicate’s external ϑ -role	(28a), (32) and (38)
	Proclitic	[–epistemic]		(28b)
CP-adjunct	Enclitic	[+epistemic]	Speaker iff there is no assertive predicate intervening	(29a) vs. (37)
	Proclitic	[–epistemic]		(29b)

7. Concluding remarks

The main goal of this chapter has been to contribute with new data from a lesser studied language, as it is the case of Asturian, to a better understanding of how two different components in the grammar – namely syntax and semantics – function in parallel to capture a specific word order and the interpretation(s) that it may give rise to. Drawing on enclisis/proclisis alternations in Asturian, I have shown that this language exhibits enclisis/proclisis alternations not only in the matrix context like its western Iberian neighbors – i.e., Galician and European Portuguese, but also in the finite embedded one. Clitic placement alternations in the latter context were shown not to be predicted by previous analyses dealing with these phenomena, thus opening new ground and lines of inquiry to tackle this variation, with this chapter being an attempt towards that goal.

Following previous work of my own, I have proposed an analysis of these clitic placement alternations from a cartographic approach – following Rizzi (1997, 2004), arguing that enclisis/proclisis arise as a result of independently triggered operations, namely Fin° bearing an [EF] that triggers and requires internal or external merge to be satisfied. I have shown that this proposal is not only sound to account for the syntax of clitic placement in Asturian in both matrix and embedded contexts, but it lends itself naturally to be extended to account for the interpretation differences that each of these patterns give rise to in the finite embedded context. In short, whereas an enclitic pattern in an embedded clause is interpreted in terms of what I have called a [+epistemic] semantic interpretation, which attributes the content of the embedded clause to an anchor that could be the speaker or the predicate's subject, a [–epistemic] interpretation obtains when we find proclisis in those very same instances.

These interpretation differences were attributed to the selection properties of the predicates that exhibit these clitic placement alternations. Briefly put, I have argued that assuming that the predicates involved may select Force° or Fin° , the syntactic clitic pattern and the semantic [\pm epistemic] interpretation can be analyzed uniformly: Selection of Force° was equated to [+epistemic] interpretation, and selection of Fin° to [–epistemic]. Furthermore, what these interpretations are anchored to – namely, whether the matrix predicate's subject, an intermediate predicate's subject or the speaker – were illustrated and discussed. The syntactic analysis I entertained could also capture which anchor the interpretations were attributed to, as they were shown to stem from the selection properties of the predicates involved.

The rich and transparent data that Asturian provides us with in this regard allow us to present new angles to old problems, in turn hypothesizing about the general architecture of generative syntax and its interface with other components and opening new venues in this regard. Empirically, Asturian provides an excellent

testing ground for new hypotheses related to how these interfaces may operate and how we may formalize our findings. What remains to be determined is whether other cross-linguistic phenomena related to the syntax and interpretation of finite embedded clauses may also be amenable to an analysis along the lines that I have argued for here.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude first and foremost to Guillermo Lorenzo for putting together this volume, next to the two anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments, and finally, to the multiple audiences to which this material was presented and their suggestions, all of which contributed to what is presented in this chapter. Usual disclaimers apply.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	NEG	negation
CL	clitic	SG/PL	singular, plural
DAT	dative	1, 2, 3	first, second, third persons

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Are Asturian clitics distinctly distinct?

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This chapter is focused on an idiosyncratic feature of Asturian in the context of other neighboring Romance languages. In all these languages, the regular clitic forms for the third person dative and the third person accusative cannot cluster together; as a consequence, one or the other must be replaced by another item or they must fuse into a single form. In Asturian, however, clitics remain the same in that context. This chapter explores the thesis that such a state of affairs is due to the fact that the Asturian dative clitics incorporate the properties of a locative and justifies it historically.

Keywords: pronominal clitics, distinctness, morphology, modern and Medieval Asturian

1. Introduction

Compared with other neighboring Romance languages, clitics clusters show the following distinctive trait in Asturian: The combination of a third person dative (e.g. *-y* 'DAT, 3P, SING') and a third person accusative (e.g. *-lu* 'ACC, 3P, MASC, SING') does not induce any formal change in one or both clitics,¹ as illustrated in (1):

-
1. According to the Academy of the Asturian Language:

N'asturianu nengún pronome átonu camuda la so forma por axuntase con otru pronome átonu. Ye lo que s'observa, por exemplu, en *compré-y* y *comprélu*; los pronomes *-y* y *lu*, combinándose cola mesma forma verbal, dan llugar a la secuencia *compré-y lu*, calteniendo caún de los dos pronomes la forma orixinal. (ALLA, 2001, 147)

[In Asturian, clitic pronouns do not change their form when in combination with some other clitic pronoun. This is observed, for example, in *compré-y* and *comprélu*; the pronouns *-y* and *lu*, in combination within the same verbal form, compound the sequence *compré-y lu*, both maintaining their original forms; trans. GL]

For a detailed description, see Junquera Huergo (1869/1991).

- (1) *compré-y lu* Asturian
 buy-PAST.1P.SING.-DAT.ACC.3P
 ‘I bought it to her/him’

The situation is thus different from the one observed, for example, in Catalan, where the dative (e.g. *li* ‘DAT, 3P, SING’) displays the form of the locative *hi* (2a), or in Spanish, where the dative (e.g. *le* ‘DAT, 3P, SING’) shows up with the form of the reflexive/impersonal *se* (2b):

- (2) a. *l’hi he dit* Catalan
 ACC/LOC AUX.1P say-PART
 ‘I said it to her/him’
 b. *se lo he dicho* Spanish
 REFL ACC AUX.1P say-PART
 ‘I said it to her/him’

In some Aragonese dialects, the dative clitic (e.g. *le* ‘DAT, 3P, SING’), as in Catalan, displays the locative form *ye* (3a), and in other dialects the dative remains the same and the accusative (e.g. *lo* ‘ACC, 3P, MASC, SING’) adopts the form of the partitive *ne* (3b):²

- (3) a. *lo ye daré* (Eastern) Aragonese
 ACC LOC give-FUT.1P.SING
 ‘I will give it to her/him’
 b. *le ne dare* (Western) Aragonese
 DAT PAR give-FUT.1P.SING
 ‘I will give it to her/him’

A different strategy is followed in Galician, where the clitics (e.g., *o* ‘ACC, 3P, MASC, SING’; *lle* ‘DAT, 3P, SING’) fuse together (4):

- (4) *non llo digas* Galician
 NEG DAT.ACC say-SUBJ.2P.SING
 ‘Do not say it to her/him’

This brief catalogue of morphological mechanisms shows that either the dative (Catalan, Spanish, Aragonese) or the accusative (Aragonese) may be the clitic which undergoes some kind of change, but also that both clitics may be affected (Galician). It also shows that cross-linguistically speaking no kind of clitic appears to be particularly prone to ensue from the operation (DAT → LOC, in Aragonese and Catalan; DAT → REFL, in Spanish; ACC → PAR, in Aragonese), albeit some properties of the

2. For some other strategies in different dialects of Catalan, Spanish and Aragonese, see Colomina (2020) and references therein.

corresponding systems maybe determine the mechanism to which each language resorts. Be it as it may, in this chapter I shall only deal with two main generalizations that (2) to (4) inspire, namely:

1. The third person accusative and dative clitics belong under mutually repellent categories, which do not tolerate clustering with each other; however,
2. they unproblematically combine with clitics belonging under some other alternative category (Aragonese, Castilian, Spanish), or transfer their feature values to an alternative third fused form (Galician).

Within this background, the case of Asturian, illustrated in (1), appears to be exceptional.³ However, the main goal of this chapter is to argue that such an appearance is deceptive, and that the generalizations above are not alien to Asturian, which has simply fixed an alternative strategy in order to avoid the accusative/dative mutual repulsion in third person clitic clusters.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 2 introduces the main theoretical underpinnings of my approach to the Asturian clitics, concerning both their internal composition and their external clustering capabilities. Sections 3 and 4 explore some historical data which demonstrates that old Asturian was subject to the same kind of phonological constraint than its Romance neighbors and that it tried several solutions before fixing the pattern presently observed. Section 5 contains an elaboration of different formal aspects of the (partial) theory on clitics that old and nowadays Asturian, considering its Romanic background, appears to support. A closing section offers some further reflections on the comparative significance of the contributions of this chapter.

2. Theoretical background: Clitic clusters and Distinctness

The mutual avoidance of the third person accusative and dative clitics has mostly been dealt with as a filter to be complied at the Syntax-Phonology interface (Bonet, 1991; Cuervo, 2013; Harris, 1995; Perlmutter, 1971; for a syntactically oriented approach, see Ordóñez, 2002). Recently, such a filter has been interpreted as one that prohibits the linearization of two syntactic objects at Phonology, if the objects concerned are contained within the same relevant domain for externalization and they are perceived as identical at a certain level of abstraction. Richards' (2010) formulation of this condition is the following:

3. Colomina (2020) points out some exceptions to this generalization, namely, Valencian Catalan, Basetan Aragonese and a restricted area of Spanish in Alicante (Valencia). It would deserve a separate investigation whether diachronic processes akin to the Asturian one reported here favored these apparent exceptions.

(5) Distinctness Condition

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

(Richards, 2010, p. 5)

Thus, according to (5), if a cluster of clitics sent together for linearization contains a third person accusative and a third person dative clitic, the system rejects it because the clitics are perceived to be identical at some level of abstraction (Colomina, 2020). Some clarifications are in order.

First of all, clitics at this stage are “lexical atoms,” not “vocabulary items,” following Chomsky’s (2013, 2016) distinction. Lexical atoms, according to Chomsky, are like words, albeit devoid of an associated phonological representation; in other words, they are pure computational symbols (abstract features, or bundles thereof), only to be associated with items of the language-particular vocabulary later on at Phonology (Embick & Noyer, 2007; Halle & Marantz, 1993). This entails that the kind of identity that (5) refers to is more abstract than, for example, the phonological quasi-identity between $\langle le, lo \rangle$ in Spanish, or similar cases. Complementarily, it also entails that the case of Asturian cannot be right off explained as due to the fact that $\langle y, lu \rangle$ are different enough, phonologically speaking. Distinctness conflicts are more abstract than that.

Secondly, the fact that no distinctness violation is observed in a clitic cluster when first or second person datives concur with a third person accusative, as in (6), shows that the kind of abstract identity concerned has something to do with the distinction coded by the “person” feature:

- | | | |
|--------|-----------------------|---------|
| (6) a. | <i>m 'ho ha dit</i> | Catalan |
| | DAT ACC AUX say-PART | |
| | ‘He said to me’ | |
| b. | <i>me lo ha dicho</i> | Spanish |
| | DAT ACC AUX say-PART | |
| | ‘He said to me’ | |

The main axes of the clitics’ combinatorics thus far reviewed follow rather straightforwardly from Ormazabal and Romero’s (2007, 2013) theory of clitic combinations, which is nicely summarized in the following fragment:

3rd person DO [Direct Object] clitics and Determiners belong to the same category; cliticization in this case amounts to Determiner movement. All other object clitics, including first and second person DO and the entire IO [Indirect Object] series, are agreement markers base-generated in the verbal or inflectional head.

(Ormazabal & Romero, 2007, p. 343)

Thus, it is possible to postulate a first gross distinction between D-type clitics and AGR-type clitics. The former clitics are inherently “–person” (i.e. 3rd), but variable regarding “number” and “gender,” whilst the latter are open for both “person” and

“number” variation, but they lack the “gender” feature. In the representations below, κ provides the interface instruction that the whole unit is bound to cliticization (Figure 1).

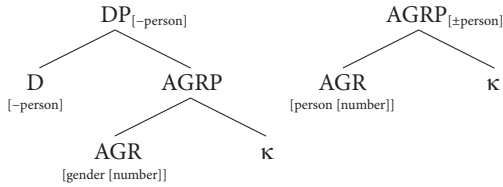


Figure 1. D-type (left-hand side) and AGR-type (right-hand side) clitics: Internal structure

Considering this background, the specificities of clustering may be made derivative from the following set of auxiliary ideas. Firstly, only D-type clitics are allowed to E-merge as a VP-internal argument (first Merge), having afterwards to I-merge the nearest category (X) apt to satisfy the “ κ ” requirement. In turn, AGR-type clitics E-merge directly the same X category. The expected ordering (i.e., AGR-type > D-type) follows if it is further assumed that an I-Merge operation aimed at satisfying the “ κ ” requirement must happen as soon as possible. Thus, D-type clitics must I-merge X before AGR-type ones E-merge – the latter in turn doing it respecting Chomsky’s (2008) Non-Tampering Condition. As a consequence, AGR-type clitics command D-type clitics in the hierarchized syntactic tree sent to externalization and the former appear first in the linear sequence, following the consensual view on linearization based on Kayne’s (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom (Figure 2).

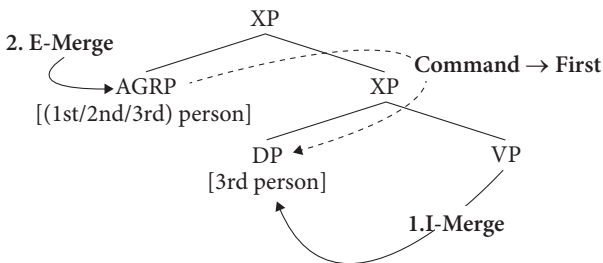


Figure 2. D-type and AGR-type clitics: Hierarchy and ordering

Thus framed, dative clitics must take precedence over accusative clitics, which is violated in (7), and dative clitics cannot concur with first or second person accusative clitics, as illustrated in (8):

- (7) a. **ho m'ha dit*
 ACC DAT/AUX say-PART
 ‘He said to me’

Catalan

- b. **lo me ha dicho* Spanish
 ACC DAT AUX say-PART
 ‘He said to me’
- (8) a. **li t’ha lliurat (a ell)* Catalan
 DAT ACC-AUX deliver-PART to him
 ‘He has delivered you to him’
- b. **le te ha entregado (a él)* Spanish
 DAT ACC AUX deliver-PART to him
 ‘He has delivered you to him’

Importantly, in cases like the ones in (7) and (8) there are not corrective strategies comparable to the ones illustrated in Section 1. This is to be interpreted as suggestive that the structures underlying (7) and (8) are right off banned at Syntax. The same applies to other prohibited combinations of first and second person clitics (Perlmutter, 1971, pp. 25–27). Consequently, there may exist a syntactic ban, not unlike phonological Distinctness, which forbids the successive iteration of syntactic operations with the same input and output conditions, like E-merging an extra AGR-type clitic yielding an extra segment of the same XP – in all likelihood, a particular instance of an overarching cognitive bias against representational identities (Nakusawa & van Riemsdijk, 2014).

Nevertheless, these early syntactic constraints still allow for a two-clitic cluster comprising an AGR-type third person dative, in the upper XP layer, and a DP-type accusative, in the lower one. The result is straightforward and, consequently, it is submitted to Phonology. There, according to my interpretation, the combination is scanned as in (9) and refused for containing a Distinctness violation:

- (9) * $\langle \kappa, -\text{person}; \kappa, -\text{person} \rangle$

3. Distinctness in Asturian clitics: A first insight from history

In Section 1, I have illustrated different strategies for avoiding the distinctness conflict in (9), which are summarized in (10):

- (10) a. Aragonese
 i. $\langle \text{CL}_{\text{DAT}} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \text{CL}_{\text{LOC}} \rangle$
 ii. $\langle \text{CL}_{\text{ACC}} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \text{CL}_{\text{PAR}} \rangle$
- b. Catalan
 $\langle \text{CL}_{\text{DAT}} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \text{CL}_{\text{LOC}} \rangle$
- c. Galician
 $\langle \text{CL}_{\text{DAT}}, \text{CL}_{\text{ACC}} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \text{CL}_{\text{DAT.ACC}} \rangle$
- d. Spanish
 $\langle \text{CL}_{\text{DAT}} \rangle \rightarrow \langle \text{CL}_{\text{REFL}} \rangle$

In all cases, what ensues is a new combination or a fusion in which the duplicated <-person> object is reduced to a single (meaning-preserving) instance of such an object. The question that I want to face now is the fact that clitics seemingly escape from the filtering effect of (9) in Asturian. My thesis is that they do not. In fact, they have never done. Let me introduce some historical data.

Some documents written in Medieval Asturian support the claim that the distinctness constraint (9) was certainly active at that historical point, and that Asturian occasionally reacted with a solution along the lines of Galician – (10c), which correspond to the general strategy referred to as “cluster reduction” by Laenzlinger (1993).⁴ The documents concerned contain a good deal of pronominal forms in which the dative and accusative values fuse together (Table 1). These pronouns were first screened by García Arias (1990), who interpreted them as special forms of the accusative, namely, as pronominals derived from the Latin *is*, *ea*, *id*, instead of *illum*, *illam*, as it is the case of the regular forms. Later on, Lorenzo (1994) argued against such an origin and value ascription, suggesting instead that they were fused forms comprising both the dative and accusative value, thus similar to the forms which are still used in Galician (see also García Arias, 2003, pp. 299–300; Hilty, 2010; Lorenzo, 2019). The Asturian forms, however, did not last beyond the 13th century.⁵

Table 1. Dative/accusative fused clitics in Medieval Asturian

DAT + ACC	SING	PL
FEM	<i>ya</i>	yas (unreported)
MASC	<i>yo</i>	<i>yos</i>

Lorenzo’s (1994) claim was based on some referential and distributional properties of the forms concerned, which are rather transparent in the documentation. For example, these pronouns, which García Arias originally interpreted as accusatives, never concur with datives, a restriction that is right off explained if, as suggested by Lorenzo, they actually contained both the dative and the accusative value. Moreover, they frequently appear within fragments where it is easy to find a separate antecedent for each of the two values associated to the pronominal. (11) offers some illustrations:

4. All the data of this section belong to the *Fuero de Zamora*, written in the 13th century (Carasco, 1987).

5. García Arias (2017) has recently suggested that these forms might be still alive as recently as in the 17th century, based on some previously unknown poems published by García Sánchez (2016). However, a close inspection of the pronouns contained in these texts clearly reveals that the author was “yeísta” and that he frequently wrote the accusative forms *llo* and *llos*, common at the time, as *yo* and *yos*.

- (11) a. *E se estos atales [a otro] fezieren [estas cosas*
 and if these ones to another make-SUBJ.FUT.3P.PL this things
de suso dichas], peyche[yo]_{DAT+ACC} commo abonnos (ms. Q 7916)
 above said pay-IMP.DAT.ACC like tributes
 ‘And if they make the above said things to another, then they must pay for it to him by way of a tribute’
- b. *Omme que denostar [aotro] de[nuestos deuedados],*
 man that criticize-SUBJ.FUT.3P.PL to-other of our prohibitions
desdiga[yos]_{DAT+ACC} (ms. S 4812)
 unsay-imp.DAT.ACC
 ‘If a man who criticizes our prohibitions to some others, he must unsay it before them’

Finally, the same documents offer several examples in which a two-valued pronoun partakes in parallel structures with a cluster of two one-valued correlates. (12) offers some illustrations:

- (12) a. *E se aquesto non quisier fazer elos iuyzes*
 and if this NEG want-SUBJ.FUT.3P.SING make-INF the judges
[yo]_{DAT+ACC} fagan fazer; ese no [lelo]_{DAT+ACC}
 DAT.ACC make-IMP make-INF and-if NEG DAT.ACC
fizieren fazer, cayales en periuro (ms. Q 417)
 make-SUBJ.FUT.3P.PL make-IMP incur-IMP in perjury
 ‘And if they do not want to make this, then the judges must force them to do, and if they don’t, they will incur in perjury’
- b. *desdiga[yo]_{DAT+ACC} e non [gelo]_{DAT+ACC} peche* (ms. E 6711.7)
 unsay-IMP.DAT.ACC and NEG DAT.ACC pay-IMP
 ‘Unsay it before him and do not pay him for it’

Some of the examples above illustrate that clitic clusters comprising a third person dative and a third person accusative (*lelo*) are certainly attested at this stage. However, the examples illustrate, above all, that such clusters were somewhat unstable – perhaps merely existent as a written formula, as evidenced by the fact they coexisted with forms in which the sequence of two adjacent third persons were avoided. Interestingly, fused forms like *yo* and *yos* were not the only alternative deployed, as the documents also show instances of the Castilian-style solution *gelo*, the phonological precursor of nowadays Spanish *se lo* (Menéndez Pidal, 1918/1985, pp. 253–254). All in all, the resulting general picture appears to be that the phonological distinctness constraint in (9) was certainly active in Asturian from its earliest documented stages.

4. Distinctness mayday: Locatives to the rescue

According to the theoretical background introduced in Section 2, the specific instance of the distinctness constraint which I am dealing with here cannot be interpreted as a conflict related to the partial identity of the phonological segments associated to the vocabulary items that materialize the pronominal atoms post-syntactically. Therefore, it cannot be the case that the constraint appears to be avoided in Asturian because the phonological segments associated to the third person dative and third person accusative (Table 2) are dissimilar enough in this language. The thesis that I am going to unfold in this section explains how Asturian solves the constraint by appealing to the identity of the third person dative and a locative clitic. At first sight, this hypothesis may appear to be absolutely unmotivated for Asturian, attending to the fact that this language, unlike Catalan or Aragonese, does not comprise an overt locative in its clitic paradigm nowadays. Furthermore, it may appear somewhat odd to appeal to an identity solution in order to solve a distinctness problem. The idea thus needs to be carefully explained.

Table 2. Accusative and dative clitic paradigm of Asturian (3rd person)

3rd person	SING			PL	
	MASC	FEM	NEU	MASC	FEM
ACC	<i>lu</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>los</i>	<i>las</i>
DAT		<i>y</i>		<i>yos</i>	

Let me start by briefly reviewing the Catalan case, where a locative-centered solution to the same distinctness conflict is currently the active one. According to Colomina (2020), such a solution is possible because the dative value is not a grammatical primitive, but one derivative from other, more elementary ones (see Kayne, 2008; Martín, 2012; Boeckx & Martín, 2013). Colomina further argues that the dative clitic (*li*) obeys to an internal articulation, cross-linguistically variable, which in Catalan obeys the following pattern:

$$(13) \text{ dative} = [\text{K} [\text{P} [\text{D}]]]$$

(13) roughly means that the case (K) and pronominal (D) values of the dative clitic in Catalan are connected by means of an intermediary deictic/prepositional value (P) (see Kayne, 2008, and comments in the Concluding Remarks section below), which is selected by K and in turn selects D. Colomina's suggestion is that such an articulate structure allows for the application of a deletion operation affecting the upper layer, which outputs a fragment that matches the vocabulary item for the locative clitic (*hi*). This operation holds at Phonology and, thus, it is not accompanied by any meaning effect:

- (14) a. dative = [K [P [D]]] \Leftarrow *li*
 b. dative = $\{ \cancel{K} [P [D]] \} \Rightarrow [P [D]] \Leftarrow$ *hi*

According to Colomina, in languages like Spanish the dative, contrary to what happens in Catalan, do not contain the locative substructure proper, i.e. [P [D]], but something like a P/D element (maybe along the lines of Kayne, 1993; Colomina is not very specific on this point), which does not match any vocabulary item and thus calls for an alternative default or elsewhere strategy (Longa *et al.*, 1998). Considering what I claimed in Section 2 as regards the internal structure of clitics, I shall necessitate some adjustments on Colomina's proposal, albeit maintaining its general guidelines intact.

First of all, I assume that all case values, including the "accusative," are derivative, so no K head is required for representing the clitic's structure. Their upper head is either a D^0 or an AGR^0 , depending of their belonging under one or the other suggested typologies (see Figure 1). If they belong under the AGR-type, they are directly E-merged to the tree. Thus, if in the third person, they are automatically signaled as not corresponding to an internal argument; if not, they may be interpreted as an internal argument, except when clustering with a D-type clitic. Secondly, in order to accommodate, along the lines of Colomina, the contrast between the Catalan-type and the Spanish-type of datives my suggestion is that AGR^0 may select a P^0 in Catalan, which in turn selects the κ element as usual; in Spanish, contrarily, a single head, which amalgamates both values, selects κ . Correspondingly, Figure 1 above must be elaborated as in Figure 3, which already captures the contrast as suggested:

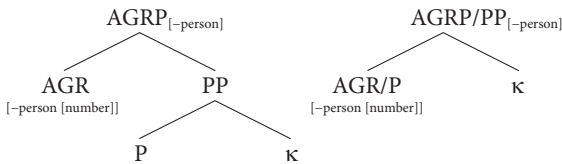


Figure 3. Catalan-type (left-hand side) and Spanish-type (right-hand side) 3rd person dative clitics

Let's now go back to the case of Asturian. Asturian, on the one hand, does not resort to a default clitic, unlike Spanish (*se*); but, on the other hand, it does not have an overt locative in its clitic paradigm, unlike Catalan (*hi*). How does Asturian then manage to overcome the predictable distinctness conflict? In a nutshell, the solution that I suggest is the following.

The Old Asturian clitic paradigm (García Arias, 2003, p. 287), like the one of old Castilian (Meilán García, 1988, 2007), used to have an overt locative unit.

Moreover, there existed some overlapping between the uses of the dative and the locative in both languages (for old Castilian, see Sánchez Lancis, 1992). Indeed, Meyer-Lübke (1890–1906) already pointed out this phenomenon as a general Romance characteristic. However, in Asturian, presumably favored by the identity of the corresponding vocabulary items,⁶ the dative fixed the Catalan-type of internal structure, with a distinct locative/prepositional substructure (Figure 3; left-hand side). Apparently, this does not happen in Old Castilian, where the dative/locative overlapping had a more reduced coverage (Sánchez Lancis, 1992). As a consequence, *y*, containing a hidden, but proper, PP structure, became capable, and still is, of being involved in a procedure parallel to my revised version of (14b), namely, the deletion of the upper AGR at Phonology, with the subsequent insertion of the still matching vocabulary item *y*. Thus, according to my thesis, such contingent a fact as the phonological identity of the locative and the dative clitics paved the way for the latter to behave as a locative in Asturian, albeit disconnected, *qua* vocabulary item, with a locative meaning proper. All in all, the structural inheritance that it received from the old locative item still qualifies it as apt to come through the filter in (9). The following data support my thesis.

In the oldest Asturian documents, one finds cases wherein the uses of the dative and the locative appear to overlap, in a way that makes it difficult to assert whether *hy/hi* has been chosen attending to their coding one or the other value. In the cases below, for example, the clitic appears in the context of a ditransitive verb and it refers to an inanimate recipient which may also be interpreted as a location:⁷

- (15) a. *Et damus [ad ista ecclesia iamdicta] nostra*
 and give-PR.2P.PL to this church above-mentioned our
hereditate (...) et damus [hy]DAT-LOC missale et calze
 heritage and give-PR.2P.PL DAT~LOC service-book and hoses
et deus pares de vestimenta (...)
 and two pairs of clothing
 ‘And we give our heritage to this above-mentioned church, and we give a
 service book, hoses and a pair of clothing to it’
 (Monesterio de San Vicente d’ Uvieu, 1236;
 from Álvarez Arias & Metzeltin, 2008, p. 195)

6. The dative and locative clitics are, respectively, descendants of the Latin *illi* and *ibi* forms. It is customarily accepted that the former evolved from the Latin as when followed by a vowel (*illi* + vowel), ensuing, in parallel to (e.g.) lat. *muliere* > ast. *muyer* ‘woman’, a form *yi*, then reduced to *y*. The plural *yos* is a generalization from *y*, followed by the analogization to the first and second forms *nos* and *vos* (Alarcos, 1960; García Arias, 2003; Neira, 1976).

7. See Rigau (1978), for this kind of use in Catalan.

- b. *ffação uso saber que sobre querella que me*
 make-PR.1P.SING to know that about complaint that to-me
enviaron fazer [el Concejo de Leon] (...) que don
 send-PAST-.3P.PL to make the council of León that Mr.
Ramir dıaz [...] demendaua [hi]DATLOC [...] lo que ellos
 Ramiro Díaz claim-PAST.3P.SING DAT~LOC ART that they
dezien que non devejen adar los de ardon (...)
 say-PAST.3P.PL that NEG should-3P.PL give ART.PL of Ardon
 ‘I make to know, about the claim that the Council of León ordered me to
 do, concerning that Don Ramiro Díaz demanded the Council concerning
 what the Council argued that it should not pay to the people of Ardón...’
 (Archivu Municipal de Lleón, 1274;
 from Menéndez Gómez, 2008, p. 147)

Similarly, in the formula that closes many old legal documents, the *hy/hi* clitic is ambiguously used to refer to something which may be interpreted as a recipient (dative) or as a location (locative). This use is illustrated in (16), wherein *hy* refers to the document itself, which is the recipient of a seal and the location where the seal is to be stamped at the same time:

- (16) a. *Hio fernando moniz [aquesta carta] mande fazer*
 I Fernando Moniz this letter order.PAST-1P-SG make-INF and
hie oi leer en concello; conmiyas manos proprias
 listen- PAST-1P-SG leer-INF in council with-my hands own
la roure hi la confirme hie
 AC mark-SUBJ-1P-SG and AC confirm- SUBJ-1P-SG and
mande poner [hy]DAT~LOC esti sigal
 order-SUBJ-1P-SG put-INF DAT~LOC this seal
 ‘I, Fernando Moniz, order to make this letter, and I listened to it when being
 read in council; with my own hands I mark and confirm it and I order to
 put this seal to/on it’ (Monasterio de San Vicente de Oviedo, 1242;
 from Miranda Duque & Álvarez Arias, 2008, p. 110)
- b. *hio fernan moniz cum patre meo munion garcia [aquesta karta]*
 I Fernando Moniz with fahter mine Muñoz García this letter
quemandamos fazer ¬ oymos leer
 that-order-PAST-1P-PL make-INF and listen-PAST-1P-PL read-INF
enconcello con nostras manos proprias larouramos ¬ la
 in-council with our hands own AC-mark-PRES-1P-PL and AC
confirmamos ¬ mandamos [hy]DAT~LOC poner
 confirm-PRES-1P.PL and order-PRES-1P-PL DAT~LOC. put-INF
estos sinales.
 these seals

‘I, Fernán Moniz, together with my father Muñoz García, regarding this letter that we order to make and that we listened in council, we mark it with our own hands, we confirm it and we order to put these seals to/on it’
 (Monasterio de San Vicente de Oviedo, 1247;
 tomado de Miranda Duque & Álvarez Díaz, 2008, p. 274)

My suggestion is that contexts like the ones of (15) and (16), and purportedly some similar others, created the conditions for the development of a properly locative (PP) internal layer within the third person AGR-clitic in Asturian. Contrarily, in Castilian, where similar opaque contexts certainly existed, the dative and the old locative were markedly different from each other and no conflation followed.

Finally, data from Old and nowadays Asturian may also offer further support to the claims of this section. Torrego (2002, pp. 13ff) observes that the dative preposition *a* has lost the locative value in Portuguese and Spanish which it used to have together with the directional one that it still retains. Contrarily, in some other Romances languages, like Catalan, French and Italian, both values coexist in their respective prepositional correlates:

- | | | |
|---------|------------------------------------|------------|
| (17) a. | <i>la Maria és a París</i> | Catalan |
| b. | <i>Marie est à Paris</i> | French |
| c. | <i>ho passato venerdì a Parigi</i> | Italian |
| d. | <i>*faz frio a Paris</i> | Portuguese |
| e. | <i>*hace frío a París</i> | Spanish |

Interestingly, the locative value is still alive in some uses of the Asturian correlate of the dative preposition (García Arias, 2003, p. 288, 2017, p. 59), as in the following example:

- (18) *tengo un dolor a esti brazu* Asturian (ALLA, 2001, p. 238)

García Arias (2003, 2018) points out that uses of *ad/a* meaning ‘lugar onde’ (‘place where’) or ‘sitiu en que’ (‘place in which’) are common from the oldest documents in Asturian, expressing both spatial and temporal localizations: *ad illum puzu* ‘prep det well; in the well’, *al março* ‘prep.det March; in March’ (García Arias, 2018, p. 59).

Considering such an overlapping of *in/en*-headed and *ad/a*-headed PPs, it seems but reasonable the conclusion that *hy/hi* could serve as a clitic pro-form for both kinds of PP, in turn favoring the transfer of that form to the dative domain.

5. Some theoretical consequences concerning the internal composition of clitics

According to the view that I have been endorsing in the previous sections, clitics have a richly articulated internal structure, notwithstanding the phonological weakness and brevity of their vocabulary-items correlates. Moreover, the labels customarily used to distinguish them (accusative, dative, locative, and so on) are not grammatical primitives, but derivative from such hypothesized structural complexity. As a partial elaboration of this general idea, I shall add now the following claims, regarding the specific cases of Asturian, Catalan, and Spanish:

1. Third person accusatives are the same in all the three languages;
2. Asturian and Catalan third person datives are alike, but different from their Spanish counterparts; and
3. the internal structure common to Asturian and Catalan third person datives contains a hidden locative layer, which can be overtly spelt-out in both languages. However, in the case of Asturian, spell-out is only possible after a structural pruning operation at Phonology, and the vocabulary item that matches its output has not an independent, differentiated locative meaning by its own.

The structures in Table 3 attempt to capture these claims.

Table 3. Alternative internal clitic structures (Asturian, Catalan and Spanish)

		3rd		Locative
Accusative		Dative		
Asturian, Catalan, Spanish	Spanish	Asturian, Catalan		Asturian, Catalan
DP / \ D κ	AGR/PP / \ AGR/P κ	AGRP / \ AGR PP / \ P κ		PP / \ P κ

These structures result from the application of Merge to the atom κ , which provides a sound-interface instruction, and the atoms D, AGR/P, or P, ensuing, respectively, an accusative (first cell), a dative (second cell) or a locative clitic (forth cell). Spanish does not allow merging κ and P; Asturian and Catalan do, but in the case of Asturian the operation is obligatorily followed by a further merge operation of the resulting PP and AGR. In other words, only Catalan has a free-standing locative clitic; Asturian only has a locative clitic structure “gobbled up” within the AGRP

corresponding to the dative, which Catalan has as well; Spanish has no locative clitic structure at all.⁸ In both Asturian and Catalan, the dative results from the conflation of P and AGR after I-Merge (head movement). The resulting AGR/P upper layer can then be pruned at Phonology, if needed, with the output still serving for matching a locative vocabulary item which nevertheless expresses the dative. The Spanish dative is, from the start, a sort of inflected preposition (AGR/P), which projects a structure where pruning is not an option. In contexts of distinctness conflict, Phonology must thus react differently than in Asturias and Catalan, resorting to an elsewhere/default strategy.

In the light of this account, clitics must be given a conceptualization different from more traditional ones, in that no reference is needed to case (accusative, dative, etc.) and/or function (OD, OI, etc.) labels. For example, it is possible to distinguish, firstly, a D-type series, which restricting myself to the case Asturian may be organized as in Table 4. These (and only these) clitics can undergo first-Merge, followed by an I-Merge operation to a higher functional head (X) – arguably a voice-related one, along the lines of Sportiche (1996).

Table 4. Determiner clitics (Asturian)

D				
MASC		FEM		NEU
SING	PL	SING	PL	
<i>lu</i>	<i>los</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>las</i>	<i>lo</i>

Secondly, a complementary series comprises the set of AGR-type clitics (Table 5), which may directly Merge X or target it after a D-clitic has done it – but nor the other way around. These clitics, contrary to those of the D-type, exhibit person variation, but not gender variation. This entails that D is inherently 3p and that gender is a feature parasitic on D.

Table 5. Agreement clitics (Asturian)

AGR					
1st		2nd		3rd	
SING	PL	SING	PL	SING	PL
<i>me</i>	<i>nos ~ mos</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>vos</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>yos ~ ys</i>

8. In this and other points of this chapter, claims on the non-existence of a certain clitic in the corresponding language-specific paradigm may perhaps be relativized and read as a claim on the “covert” character of the clitics concerned, along the lines of Longa *et al.* (1998) theory. This chapter admits both readings and thus keeps neutral on the issue.

Every single clitic clustering of type [_K AGR + D] is well-formed in Asturian – in contrast to * [_K AGR + AGR] and * [_K D + D], including the regularly problematic [_K AGR_{3rd} + D]. One of the main objectives of this chapter has been to argue in favor of a solution according to which this latter cluster obeys an articulate structure of type [_K AGR_{3rd}/PP + D]. Such a template allows a further pruning operation – i.e. [_K AGR_{3rd}/PP + D], which neutralizes the distinctness conflict due to the simultaneous occurrence of two 3rd person clitics. The output of this operation still matches *y/yos*, thanks to the underlying locative character of the 3rd person agreement clitic in Asturian.

6. Concluding remarks

This chapter has been an attempt to show that Asturian clitics are as conditioned by the particular instance of Richards' (2010) Distinctness condition reflected in (9) as other neighbor Romance languages. According to my interpretation, what is special about Asturian, if anything, is that a contingent fact of its history (namely, the structural conflation of the locative and dative clitics, favored by their phonological similitude) paved the way to a solution of such Distinctness conflict which appears to give the impression that Asturian is unconcerned with it.

Interestingly, the condition that according to my interpretation favored the Asturian solution is not exceptional either. Kayne (2008) draws attention to the case of many Veneto dialects, wherein a clitic *ghe* seems to cover both the locative and third person dative values. The following are two representative examples from Paduan (Kayne, 2008, p. 177; Example (5) and (6)):

- (17) a. *ghe meto el libro* Paduan
 LOC put-1P.SING the book
 'I put the book there'
- b. *ghe dago el libro*
 DAT give-1P.SING the book
 'I give the book to her/him/them'

As regards (17), Kayne comments (1) that this syncretic form is invariable and indistinctly used for the singular and plural dative, and (hidden in a footnote) (2) that it remains the same “whether or not the sentence contains an accusative clitic – differently from the Spanish so-called ‘spurious *se*’ that Perlmutter (1971) discusses” (Kayne, 2008, p. 177; fn.2).

As for (1), it is important to note that the Asturian normative dative *y* coexists with a form *yi*, not dissimilar to the Paduan counterpart; moreover, the plural of the Asturian dative *yos* (which coexists with *ys*, both normatively acceptable) is

clearly analogical, which makes the existence of a single form *y* (*hi*, *hy*) both for the singular and the plural a very likely possibility in the old times.⁹ As for (2), the Paduan case is but an expectation of the theory that I have unfold in this chapter. Presumably, the dative *ghe* belongs under the Catalan/Asturian type reflected in Table 3 – i.e., it comprises an inner PP layer, maybe in charge of expressing the “deitic” value that Kayne (2008) assigns to these kinds of units. This distinguishing trait signals it as capable of differentiating itself relative to the accusative as regards condition (9).

In this context, Asturian and Paduan offer two complementary patterns. In Asturian, when the dative AGR_PP turns into a (pruned) AGR_PP, it becomes structurally a locative, but not semantically; in Paduan, AGR_PP comprises both conditions. In the two languages, nevertheless, the full-fledge and the pruned structural variants match with the same vocabulary item (Ast. *y/yos*; Pad. *ghe*). In turn, Catalan is different to both Asturian and Paduan, in that distinctness is not solved via pruning, but resorting to the derivationally independent locative PP, the matching spell-out of which (*hi*) is different from the one of the AGR_PP dative (*li*).

Romance clitic may perhaps impress observers as an impossible jigsaw puzzle. The truth is that when one adopts an overarching enough perspective, such an impression rapidly changes and transforms itself into one of a delicate mosaic, wherein the same or a similar set of pieces compound sophisticated variations of a single motive all along its lengthiness. This chapter has been an attempt to shed some light on a particular aspect of the Asturian variations of such clitic mosaic, which I believe to be supportive of the continuous character of the overall picture, notwithstanding the idiosyncrasies that observers may be able to find in every minimal spot of this large and exciting landscape.

Acknowledgements

I want to express my gratitude to two anonymous reviewers for their relevant comments. All remaining errors are my own.

Funding

This chapter has benefitted from a grant of the Spanish Government (FFI2017-87699-P).

9. Indeed, in example (15b), *hi* ambiguously makes reference (anaphorically) to the singular *el Concejo de Leon* (the Council of León) and (cataphorically) to the plural *ellos* (they) – which co-refer in that fragment.

Abbreviations

AC	accusative	NEU	neuter
AUX	auxiliary	PAR	partitive
DAT	dative	PART	participle
FUT	future	PR	present
IMP	imperative	REFL	reflexive
INF	infinitive	SING/PL	singular, plural
LOC	locative	SUBJ	subjunctive
MASC/FEM	masculine, feminine	1P, 2P, 3P	first, second, third persons
NEG	negation		

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¿Qué *che* femos con *el che*?

Some properties of the ethical dative ‘*che*’ in Asturian Galician

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This chapter is devoted to the pervasive use in Asturian Galician of a clitic token formally identical to the second person singular dative, albeit with different conditions of use and subject to very different placement restrictions. We claim that such item incorporates a ‘clusivity’ feature as an extension of the second person, compatible with its modal meaning, and that it benefits from the underspecification of the vocabulary item that also materializes the dative. We also claim that it belongs to a class different to ‘determiner-type’ clitics and ‘agreement-type’ clitics, which we deem ‘other-type.’ Despite its specificities, the chapter shows that it is not, however, a periphrastic unit, inasmuch as its behavior is fully consistent with UG dictums.

Keywords: pronominal clitics, modal clitics, ethical dative, clitic clusters

1. Introduction

In Asturian Galician, as in Galician but unlike Asturian and Spanish (Table 1), the second-person singular clitic pronoun exhibits a different form when in association with accusative case (*te*) or with dative case (*che*). This is illustrated in (1) and (2), where clitics respectively assume Direct Object (DO) and Indirect Object (IO) roles:

- (1) a. *Vinte* *na* *escola*
 See-PAST.1P.SING-ACC.2P.SING in-DET.FEM.SING school
 ‘I saw you at school’
- b. *Vinte* (*a ti*)
 See-PAST.1P.SING-ACC.2P.SING (to you. 2P.SING)
 ‘I saw you’

- c. *Vin* *a María* ≈ *Vinla*
 See-PAST.1P.SING to María ≈ see- PAST.1P.SING-ACC.3P.SG.FEM
 ‘I saw María’ = ‘I saw her’
- (2) a. *Dinche* *veinte euros fai un bocadín*
 Give-PAST.1P.SG-DAT.2P.SING twenty euros a while ago (idiom)
 ‘I gave you twenty euros a while ago’
- b. *Dinche* (*a ti*)
 Give-PAST.1P.SING-DAT.2P.SING (to you)
 ‘I gave (something) to you’
- c. *Din* *a Manolo veinte euros*
 Give-PAST.1P.SING to Manolo twenty euros
 ‘I gave Manolo twenty euros’
 ≈ *dinye*
 ≈ give- PAST.1P.SING-DAT.3P.SING
 ‘I gave (something) to him’

Besides, as IO pronominals, the *te/che* contrast also serves to oppose the reflexive use (*te*) and the non-reflexive (*che*) use of the second-person singular, as in the following two examples:

- (3) a. *Nun sei* *dúnde* *sacas* *os*
 NEG know-PRES.1P.SING from.where get- PRES.2P.SING DET-MASC-PL
cuartos, cómpraste *toda a* *roupa que*
 money, buy-PRES.2P.SING.REFL all DET-FEM-SG clothes REL
ques
 want-PRES.2P.SING
 ‘I don’t know where you get the money, you by all the clothes you want’
- b. *Nun sei* *dúnde* *saca* *os*
 NEG know-PRES.1P.SING from.where get- PRES.3P.SING DET.MASC.PL
cuartos tou *padre, cómprache* *toda*
 money POS.2P.SING father buy-PRES-3P.SING 2P.SING.DAT all
a *roupa que ques*
 DET.FEM.SG clothes REL want-PRES.2P.SING
 ‘I don’t know where your father gets the money, he buys you all the clothes you want’

Table 1. Second-person singular clitic pronouns in different Ibero-Romance languages

2P SING	Galician	Asturian Galician	Asturian	Spanish
ACC	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>		
REFL			<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>
DAT	<i>che</i>	<i>che</i>		

Finally, in Asturian Galician, as in Galician (Longa & Lorenzo, 2001), there is another role for *che*, different from the one that it has in the IO position, which belongs to the kind customarily referred to as ethical dative (ED). This use is pervasive in the area, albeit its meaning and the kind of expressivity that it injects into the utterance is difficult to grasp by means of a definition. The following examples illustrate this use:

- (4) a. *Bolito súbeteche as escaleiras de dous*
 grandpa climb-PRES.3P.SING-ED DET-FEM-SG stairs of two
en dous
 in two
 ‘Grandpa climbs (ED) the stairs two at a time’
- b. *Dixéronme que taba mui malo, a*
 tell-PAST.3P.PL-DAT.1P.SING COMP be- PAST.3P.SING very sick to
min xa nun che me pintaba nada ben
 DAT.1P.SG already NEG ED DAT.1P.SING seem- PAST.3P.SG nothing well
 ‘They told me he was very sick, it already seemed (ED) to me that he was not very well’
- c. *Mira que ye insistín, pero nun che*
 Look-IMP.2P.SING COMP DAT.3P.SING insist-PAST.1P.SING but NEG ED
mo quixo dicir
 DAT.1P.SG-ACC.3P.MASC.SING want- PAST.3P.SING tell-INF
 ‘Look that I insisted, but he didn’t want (ED) to tell me it’

Indeed, the semantic contribution of ED is extremely context-sensitive, and if presented out of context it usually appears to be indeterminate or ambiguous, as the following example nicely captures:

- (5) *Sabes lo que che digo,*
 Know-PRES.2P.SING ACC.3P.MASC.SING REL DAT.2P.SING say-PRES.1P.SING
qu’òs cuartos nel banco nun dan
 COMP-DET.MASC.PL money in-DET.MASC.SG bank NEG give- PRES.3P.PL
nada, asina que vouche comprar úa
 nothing thus COMP go- PRES.1P.SING-ED buy- INF INDEF.FEM.SING
casa
 house
 ‘You know what I think? That the money in the bank is of no use, so I’m going (ED) to buy a house’

Notice that the second token of *che* which appears in (5) does not mean that the speaker is going to buy a house for the benefit of the interlocutor, but merely that she is determined to buy a house, for no particular beneficiary, or perhaps for

herself. Despite its fixed second person singular form (*che*), this pronoun does not refer to the listener – contrarily to the first token of the same form in (5), but to the entire communicative situation, including the speaker herself, the listener and everyone who may be concerned in the context of the utterance.

In common to ED in other Romance languages (Branchadell, 1992), *che* does not admit being questioned. For example, taking (4a) as a reference point, it is nonsensical asking ¿*A quién sube as escaleiras de dous en dous?* (‘To whom does he climb the stairs two at a time?’), expecting as an answer the mention of some kind of person concerned about. ED cannot be doubled either, which is normal with regular datives. For example, it does not make any sense a sentence like *Bolito che sube as escaleiras de dous en dous a ti* (‘Grandpa climbs the stairs two at a time to you’), taking (4a) again as a reference point, as if stressing who is specifically concerned about such an unexpected ability for an old person. Some other properties of Galician Asturian *che* will be detailed in Section 3 and Section 4 below, which are particularly illuminating for a principled comprehension of this unit.

The organization of this chapter is the following. After this preliminary introduction, a general framework for the analysis of clitics is presented in Section 2, mostly resorting to Chomsky’s (2004) probe-goal feature-valuation technology. The most distinguishing properties of *che* (ED) are then specified in Section 3, paving the way for an application in the following section of the general theoretical framework. The claim will be made that *che* (ED) instantiates a ‘other’ kind of clitics, which mixes the properties of the classic determiner-type and agreement-type clitics. Some concluding remarks in Section 5 close the chapter.

2. The syntax of clitic pronouns

Clitics are phonologically defective units that lack phonetic and prosodic autonomy. As a consequence, they cannot occupy the canonical syntactic position of the units of the major grammatical categories to which they are equivalent and sometimes freely interchangeable surrogates. Zwicky (1977) refers to them as mixed units, because they share some features with words and some features with affixes. The pronominal clitics of Romance languages, for example, may assume grammatical roles typical of noun and prepositional phrases. In the case of the Iberian Romance languages referred to in Table 1, there only exists a subset of the whole inventory of Romance clitics, namely, the ones corresponding to OD and OI. They codify for grammatical information like ϕ -features (namely, person, number and gender) and case features (namely, accusative and dative). Here, we follow Jakubowicz *et al.* (1998)’s claim that pronominal clitics are defective as regards categorial lexical

features ($\pm N$, $\pm V$), in opposition to strong pronouns in the same languages. This is the reason that prevents them for entering the derivation within the inner VP. As an alternative, they Merge the first functional category above VP, namely, the light ν verb associated to transitivity. Later on, due to the clitics' non-head condition, the verb and the clitic(s) fuse to form a syntactic unit. According to Torrego (1998), Spanish clitics (but the idea may be extended to the languages concerned here) are D units legitimated under the ν head, as in (6):

(6) [νP [D cl] ν [VP V ...

The issue about the base position of clitic pronouns is a controversial one (see Jaeggli, 1982; Sportiche, 1996, for a base-generation hypothesis; see Kayne, 1975, 1989, and subsequent works; Uriagereka, 1995; Torrego, 1998). Here, in the spirit of the theory of Agree defended in Chomsky (2004) and subsequent works, we assume the following tenets: (a) the argument position is saturated by bundles of (valued) features, which serve as a goal to the unvalued counterparts of the probing ν ; and (b) clitics, as vocabulary items, are directly inserted after spell-out in ν , under a best feature-matching criterium. All this is depicted in Figure 1, where ν is a Probe with unvalued features that instigate a (Minimal) Search operation for valued counterparts, which are found in the inner VP, without any putative disturbing goal-like intervening category:

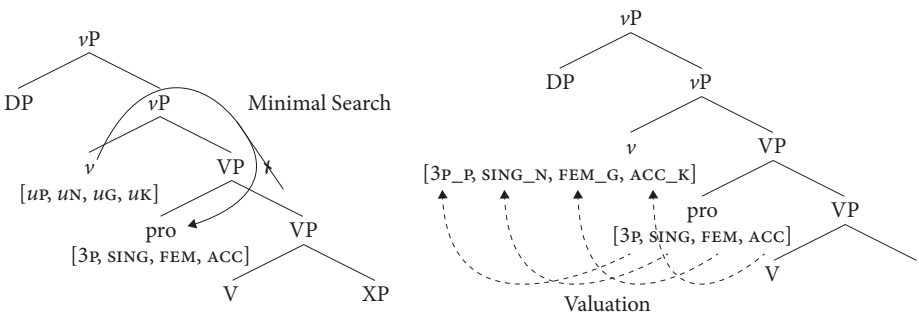


Figure 1. ν -features valuation as the source of clitic matching at vocabulary insertion. VP represents a shell (Larson, 1988) for a ditransitive predicate

Within this framework, a Spec position within the phrasal projection of the (empty) complement elicits the structure for a doubling of the clitic pronoun, as in Figure 2, where an instance of the regular dative *che* is to be materialized in Asturian Galician, doubled by the prepositional phrase *a ti* – as in (2b) above (*Dinche a ti* ‘I gave (something) to you’).

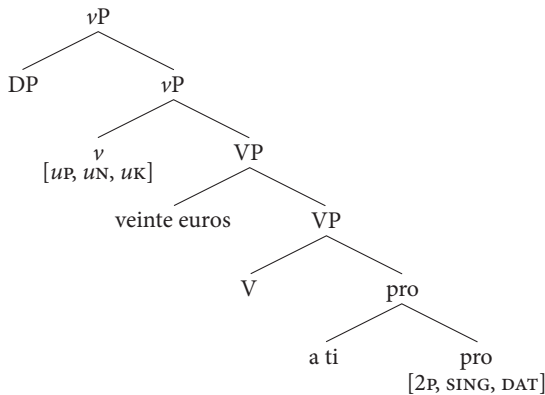


Figure 2. (Pre-valuation) dative clitic-doubling configuration

However, as already noticed, doubling is not an option with ED *che*. This preliminary observation, together with the fact that there appears not to exist an ED-related version of movement from an A to and an A' position, points to the conclusion that Figure 2 is not apt to capture the functioning of ED *che*. In order to clarify the syntactic status of this unit, in the next section we deepen on other properties of ED *che* in Asturian Galician.

3. Syntactic characterization of ED *che* in Asturian Galician

In this section, we introduce three distinguishing properties of Asturian Galician ED *che*, which any theoretical characterization of this unit should satisfactorily deal with.

3.1 Compatibility with other kinds of datives

Some kinds of datives – namely, subcategorized and non-subcategorized – cannot cooccur with each other in the same sentence. Nevertheless, ED is compatible and may cooccur with other datives (Leclère, 1976; Strotzer, 1978). Thus, in (7), *che* can be interpreted as an ED, whilst a possessive or benefactive interpretation is banned in the presence of *ye* (dative, 3rd person, singular):

- (7) *Ela púxocheye un bebé nos*
 she put-PAST.3P.SING-ED-DAT.3P.SING a.MASC.SING baby in-DET.MASC.PL
brazos
 arms
 ‘She put (ED) her a baby in his arms’
 #‘She put her a baby in his arms (e.g. for helping you)’

In standard Spanish, for example, ED can only cooccur with non-clitic datives – (8), whilst in Asturian Galician ED is compatible with clitic, non-clitic and even doubled clitics – (9):

- (8) *Ese hombre te (*le) compraba bombones todos*
 that MASC.SING man ED DAT.3P.SING buy-PAST.3P.SING chocolates all
los días (a su mujer)
 the.MASC.PL days to his wife
 ‘That man bought (ED) chocolates to his wife every day’
- (9) *Ese home mercábache(ye) bombóis todos*
 that.MASC.SING man buy-PAST.3P.SING-ED-DAT.3P.SING chocolates all
os días (à muyer)
 the.MASC.PL days to-the wife-FEM.SING
 ‘That man bought (ED) chocolates to his wife every day’

3.2 Incompatibility with phrasal associates

Most datives can be associated to a Prepositional Phrase headed by a ‘to’ (10):

- (10) a. *Ela regalouye un cuadro (a sua hermé)*
 she gave-DAT.3P.SING a painting (to her sister)
 ‘She gave a painting to her sister’
- b. *Ela regalouche un cuadro (a ti)*
 she gave-DAT.2P.SING a painting (to you)
 ‘She gave a painting to you’
- c. *Ela regalounos un cuadro (a mia hermé y a min)*
 she gave-DAT.1P.PL a painting (to my sister and to me)
 ‘She gave a painting to me and my sister’

Contrarily, this kind of clitic/associate link is banned when the former is an ED clitic (11):

- (11) a. *Fóronche úas vacacióis muy búas (*a ti)*
 was.3P.PL-ED a.FEM.PL holidays very good to you
 ‘Holidays were (ED) really good’
- b. *Tuven toda a mañá na biblioteca*
 was.1P.SING all the.FEM.SING morning in.the.FEM.SING library
*y bebinche mais de cinco cafés (*a ti)*
 and drink.PAST.1P.SING-ED more of five coffees to you
 ‘I spent the whole morning in the library and I drank (ED) more than five cups of coffee’

3.3 Invisibility to the Person-Case Constraint (PCC)

In general, the clustering of accusative and dative clitics is severely restricted (Bonet, 1991; Ormazabal & Romero, 2015). Asturian Galician is not exceptional in this regard. In Table 2, dark cells contain combinations that are not allowed in this language:

Table 2. Clitic combination in Asturian Galician

IO →	1P	2P	3P
DO ↓	<i>me</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>ye (se)</i>
1P <i>me</i>	* <i>me me</i>	* <i>che me</i>	* <i>ye me</i>
2P <i>te</i>	* <i>me te</i>	* <i>che te</i>	* <i>ye te</i>
3P <i>lo/la</i>	<i>me lo ~ mo</i>	<i>che lo ~ cho</i>	<i>ye lo ~ yo</i>

Table 2 shows, on the one hand, that the Person-Case Constraint (PCC, also referred to as the ‘*me-lui* restriction’) holds in Asturian Galician. The PCC captures the generalization that the presence of a dative clitic blocks the appearance of 1st and 2nd person accusative clitics (Perlmutter, 1971). Following Bonet (1991), the generalization may be expressed as follows:

(12) Person-Case Constraint (PCC)

If DATIVE, then ACC = 3P

This generalization extends to datives at large – (13); however, ED seems to be invisible to it – (14):

(13) a. *Ela xa che (*me) presentóu*

She already DAT.2P.SING ACC.1P.SING introduce-PAST.3P.SING

‘She already introduced me to you’

b. *Ela xa che (*m’) atopóu*

She already DAT.2P.SING ACC.1P.SING find- PAST.3P.SING

‘She already found me for you’

c. *Ela xa che (*me) puxo nos*

She already DAT.2P.SING ACC.1P.SING put-PAST.3P.SING in-DET.MASC.PL
brazos

arms

‘She already put me in your arms’

(14) *Ela xa che m’ axudou muito*

She already ED ACC.1P.SING help-PAST.3P.SING a lot

‘She has already helped (ED) me a lot’

4. Towards an explanation and some of its consequences

Ormazabal and Romero (2007) argue that an approach to the PCC as in (12), which is suggested as a principle that operates *after* Syntax, does not fully reflect the properties of this restriction. Most (if not all) of the content of (12) can be shown to derive from computational restrictions *at* Syntax. For concreteness, the exclusion of ED from the PCC may be suggested to follow from the following set of premises: (i.) verbs can only hold a single Case/Agreement relation of a given type with its putatively more than one internal argument; (ii.) violations of the PCC are registered in ditransitive structures, wherein the derivation is at risk due to (i.); (iii.) ED is not part of the (di)transitive component of the derivation; (iv.) ED does not interfere with arguments and does not induce PCC violations.

In their proposal about how clitic clustering works, Ormazabal and Romero (2007, 2013) distinguish between 3rd person DO clitics, on the one hand, which they deem D-type units, and all remaining clitics (i.e. 1st and 2nd person DO clitics and IO clitics), on the other hand, which they deem AGR-type markers. The former has not a person feature proper (they have a frozen version of the 3rd person), whilst the latter lack gender. They suggest that D-type clitics are inserted within the VP and then undergo movement, whilst AGR-type clitics are base generated in the inflectional component of the sentence (perhaps, as suggested here, at the v level). Thus framed, the observed clustering and ordering of clitics makes sense: (1) combinations of more than one D-type clitic are excluded, because the verb can only hold one Case relation with this kind of VP-internal units; (2) combinations of more than one AGR-type clitic are excluded, because the verb can only hold one Agreement relation with this kind of VP-external units; (3) before clustering, v first probes the D-type clitic's valued features in order to evaluate its own features and it is signaled as the locus of the clitic's materialization; (4) afterwards, the AGR-type clitic is inserted, so the AGR > D order ensues (Lorenzo, this volume).

If we turn our attention again to Table 2, banned clusters are right off explained, as captured in Table 3:

Table 3. Banned clitic combinations in Asturian Galician

IO →	1P <i>me</i>	2P <i>che</i>	3P <i>ye (se)</i>
DO ↓			
1P <i>me</i>	* <i>me me</i>	* <i>che me</i>	* <i>ye me</i>
2P <i>te</i>	* <i>me te</i>	* <i>che te</i>	* <i>ye te</i>

* Two AGR

* Two Datives

Besides, this general framework may also be applied to offer a principled explanation about how ED circumvents the PCC (see Anagnostopoulou, 2003; Béjar & Rezac, 2009, for a couple of congenial approaches). Notice that ED are like D-type clitics in that it has not a person feature proper, but rather a frozen form of the 2nd person; however, they are like AGR-type clitics in that it does not incorporate a gender feature. Considering these observations, ED may be thought of as belonging to a third type of clitics (OTHER-type) (see Longa *et al.*, 1996, for other putative members of this class). ED is also special in that a number feature proper is also lacking in its case, as it rather exhibits a frozen form of the singular. For all these reasons, it appears to be clear that ED does not compete with D-type and AGR-type in the conformation of clusters. Once the verb has fulfilled its highly constrained Case/Agreement licensing conditions relative to clitics, a further ED clitic, which escapes the strictures of verbal control, may be added to the cluster without putting the derivation at risk.

Notice that the theoretical framework outlined in Section 2 as regards pronominal clitics entails a version of the Distributed Morphology model (Halle & Marantz, 1993; Embick & Noyer, 2007), according to which Vocabulary Items (VI) are inserted after syntax. One of the distinctive traits of this model is that there usually exist mismatches between the feature specification of the terminal nodes of the syntactic tree subserved to Materialization and the featural content of the matching VIs. An expectation, and one commonly fulfilled, is that underspecified VIs may serve to materialize the full set of features in the tree, whilst the latter is exhaustively sent to and read off at LF. The use of *che* as the material realization of both AGR-type dative and OTHER-type ED may receive a principled explanation along these lines.

As previously stated, ED expresses a sort of shared or general concern on the content of what is being uttered. A relatively more formal way of spelling out such an elusive meaning is to say that the speaker is marking that what she says is of obvious concern to the hearer (2nd person) as a subset of a bigger set which *includes* a lot of more people also concerned about. Notice that the idea of ‘inclusion’ is one present in many pronominal systems, as a way of marking different kinds of inclusion/exclusion regarding 1st or 2nd person (e.g., whether 1st person includes or excludes the interlocutors). The feature in charge of coding these kinds of distinctions is sometimes referred to as ‘clusivity’ (Filimonova, 2005), a kind of feature that has been argued to be absent in the pronominal systems of European languages by Cysouw (2013) (but see Simon, 2005). Considering all this, the featural specification in the (valued) terminal node corresponding to the ED would be something like (15a), whilst the one corresponding to the dative AGR would correspond to (15b). In turn, *che*, as a VI, is an underspecified unit whose content is the one in (15c), which matches both featural matrices:

- (15) a. ED: [2P, INCL] Lexical Atom
 b. AGR dative: [2P, SING, DAT] Lexical Atom
 c. *che* [2P] Vocabulary Item

The model predicts that clusters of up to three clitics are legitimate in as much as they obey the following pattern:

- (16) ED [INCL] > AGR [1P ~ 2P ~ 3P] > D [3P, ACC] / $K_{AGR} \neq K_D, P_{AGR} \neq P_D$

The grammaticality judgments of the following examples are predicted by that principled statement, thus offering support to the overall theory:

- (17) a. **El* *padre mercábayech*
 the-MASC.SING father buy-PAST.3P.SING-DAT.3P.SING~DAT.2P.SING~ED
calzóis
 trousers
 ‘Her/his father used to buy her/him trousers’
 b. **El* *padre mercábayechos*
 the-MASC.SING father buy-PAST.3P.SING-3P.SING.DAT-ED-3P.PL.ACC
 ‘Her/his father used to buy them to her/him’
 c. **El* *padre mercábaloscheye*
 the-MASC.SING father buy-PAST.3P.SING-3P.PL.ACC-ED-3P.SING.DAT
calzóis
 trousers
 ‘Her/his father used to buy her/him trousers’

(17a) is ruled out because it entails either the encounter of two AGR-type clitics (3rd person and 2nd person) or an AGR-type clitic preceding an OTHER-type one (ED). (17b) is banned because there is an AGR-type one (3rd person) preceding a contracted form which contains an OTHER-type one (ED). (17c) is wrong because a D-type clitic (3rd person, plural) antecedes both an OTHER-type clitic (ED) and an AGR-type one (3rd person, singular). Contrarily, the sentences of (18) are in agreement with all the expectations, as in all cases an OTHER-type clitic (ED) precedes an AGR-type clitic (18a), or an AGR-type clitic anteceding a D-type one (18b):

- (18) a. *El* *padre mercábacheye* *calzóis*
 the-MASC.SING father buy-PAST.3P.SING-ED-3P.SING.DAT trousers
 ‘Her/his father used to buy her/him trousers’
 b. *El* *padre mercábacheyos* (\approx *mercábacheyelos*)
 the-MASC.SING father buy-PAST.3P.SING-ED-3P.SING.DAT-3P.PL.ACC
 ‘Her/his father used to buy them to her/him’

Figure 3 tries to capture the general outline of the suggested clitic-related derivational dynamics of Asturian Galician:

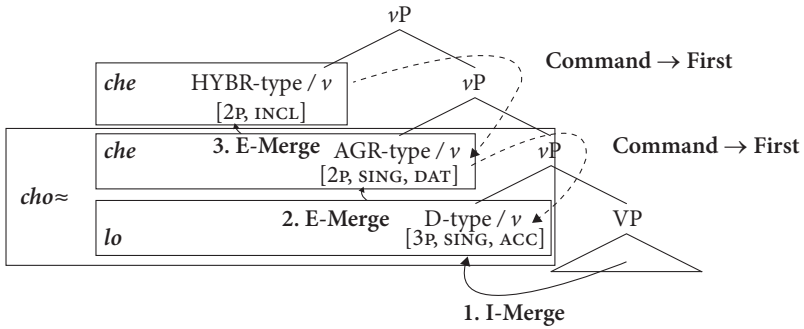


Figure 3. General outline of the morphosyntax of Asturian Galician clitics

Before closing, let us draw attention to two additional features of the Asturian Galician clitic system:

- As reflected in Table 1, the *te/che* contrast may serve to distinguish the use of the 2nd person as a reflexive or as a dative, respectively. Reflexive clitics are worth considering in the context of this section because they appear to conform to a clitic category on their own, to which we will refer here as REFL-type clitics. A REFL-type clitic (e.g., 3rd person *se*) may cooccur with a particular token of *che*. Interestingly, whether such a token belongs to the AGR-type (i.e., dative) or to the OTHER-type (i.e., ED) of clitics is reflected in the linear organization of the cluster: namely, the REFL-type clitic precedes the AGR-type, as in (19a), and it follows the OTHER-type, as in (19b). We interpret this observation as pointing to the existence of a further layer within *v*, outer to the AGR one, for the satisfaction of the specific requirements of this type of clitics (see Fernández & Rezac, 2016; Odria, 2017; for similar approaches). As usual, the OTHER-type can wait until all the VP-related clitic requirements are fulfilled:

- (19) a. *¿Fóiseche da casa a nena?*
 leave-PAST.3P.SING-REFL-3P.SING.DAT of home the-FEM-SG girl
 ‘Did your girl leave home?’
- b. *¡Fóichese da casa a nena!*
 leave-PAST.3P.SING-ED-REFL of home the-FEM-SING girl
 ‘The girl left home!’

- Despite pervasive in different clitic-combinations, the use of *che* is not without its own restrictions. For example, the semantics of the following sentence is straightforward, yet it is not an acceptable sentence in Asturian Galician:

- (20) **Un* *bombón mercachechelo* (\approx *mercachecho*) *todos*
 a-MASC.SING chocolate buy-PRES.3P.SG-ED-3P.SING.DAT-3P.SING.ACC all
os *días*
 the-MASC.PL days
 '(Taking about a piece of chocolate) He buys it to you every day'

The more likely explanation for these kinds of cases is that they reflect a particular manifestation of the phonetic variant of the Distinctness restriction (Richards, 2010), customarily referred to as Obligatory Contour Principle (OCP; McCarthy, 1986), which bans certain consecutive identical features from PF-representations (see Martins & Nunes, 2017, for a syntactic approach to clitic-related phenomena). If this suggestion is in the right track, then examples like (20) do not refute the ideas put forward in this section.

5. Conclusions

Every single language provides a privileged window to observe the pattern of organization common to all languages (UG), as well as the range of plasticity that UG tolerates. In any event, understudied languages should be of special concern as regards the comparative enterprise, for different obvious reasons. To start with, these languages are frequently minority and, in most cases, endangered ones. Besides, more often than not they exhibit rare, albeit not peripheric phenomena, which exemplarily serve to a better understanding of the degree of liberality with which UG constrains each particular language system.

In this chapter we have documented an instance of a phenomenon of which Romance languages are prodigal, namely, the use of pronominal clitics taken from the core paradigm thereof, albeit disconnected to the verb's argument grid. As in other similar examples previously studied in other Romance languages (Longa *et al.*, 1996; Longa & Lorenzo, 2001), the unit concerned is identical to a possible argument clitic (namely, the 2nd person singular dative *che*), yet devoted to the expression of a diffuse modal content (approximately, the speaker's gesturing of the general concern of what she is uttering). As for the semantics of this use, we have suggested that it is based on the insertion of an instance of the 'clusivity' featural class in the Numeration together with the 2nd person feature. Interestingly, an anonymous reviewer points out to us that, according to Simon (2005), the association of 'clusivity' and '2nd' person is very uncommon. However, our case exhibits some similarities with the only clear instance of said association offered by Simon (2005, pp. 132–135), namely, the case of a polite or respectful pronominal plural

form in Bavarian. The form concerned is homonymous to the corresponding singular (*Sie*) and it is used when respectfully addressing a single person, albeit referring as well to other absent addressees (if all present, the whole set is referred to as *eß*). The parallel with our case is twofold: on the one hand, we are also registering a case of homonymy between a 2nd person singular and a plurality *plus* clusivity; on the other hand, the association is also in our case parasitic to another feature, namely, ‘concern,’ which underpins the association as ‘respect’ does in the case of Bavarian. As for the spell-out of the resulting combination, we conclude that it is not an unexpected outcome given the common featural underspecification of vocabulary items, which makes them suitable candidates for insertion at different non-identically specified terminals.

Theoretically speaking, the combinatorics of ED *che* is perhaps its more revealing property, as it makes plausible the idea that not all clitics compete under the same conditions to gain a position for clustering with each other and with the verb. In our particular case study, we have raised the suggestion that the distinction between the determiner-type and the agreement-type of pronominal clitics is not an exhaustive one, based on the behavior of Asturian Galician *che*. To this general claim, we have also added that this particular unit appears to belong to a third, in-between, or hybrid kind thereof.

Above all, we believe that this chapter offers one more illustration of how minimal units, both in the sound and the meaning side, at the service of seemingly superfluous uses, contain lessons about the workings of UG worth being told.

Acknowledgements

The authors want to express their gratitude to two anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments. All remaining errors are our own.

Funding

This chapter has benefitted from a grant of the Spanish Government (FFI2017-87699-P; GL).

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	POS	possessive
DAT	dative	PRES	present
DET	determiner	REFL	reflexive
ED	ethical dative	REL	relative
IMP	imperative	S(IN)G/PL	singular, plural
INF	infinitive	1P, 2P, 3P	first, second, third persons
MASC/FEM	masculine, feminine		

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Pluractional perfects in Eonavian Spanish

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This chapter deals with two periphrastic constructions that consist of a perfect participle and an inflected form of the verb *tener* 'have' or *llevar* 'carry' in Eonavian Spanish (EoS), which are used to convey perfect meanings and they require a form of iteration or plurality on the event described. These constructions are monoclausal and behave like fully grammaticalized auxiliary constructions, but they are restricted in unexpected ways. The description is complemented by a cross-linguistic comparison of superficially similar constructions in neighbouring Romance varieties. The final part of the chapter considers the extent to which similar constructions in the Galician dialect might explain the properties observed in EoS, concluding that they are independent systems.

Keywords: perfect constructions, pluractionality, microvariation, language contact, Spanish, Galician

1. Introduction

Eonavian Spanish (henceforth EoS) is a northwestern variety of Peninsular Spanish spoken by nearly 25,000 people in the westernmost part of the region of Asturias, between the Eo and the Navia rivers.¹ The speaking area spans approximately 1000 km² of land and it is characterized by a long-standing situation of language contact between Spanish and a Galician-Portuguese variety commonly referred to by the locals as *fala*.²

1. Population numbers come from a 2015 online database that can be accessed through the Federación Asturiana de Concejos (www.facc.info).

2. The name *fala* comprises several different dialects that have received other names in the literature, such as *gallego-asturiano* (Alonso, 1945, 1972), *galego de Asturias* (Babarro González, 1984), and *eonaviego* (Frías Conde, 2001). The term *fala* should not be confused with the variety that carries the same name in the Extremadura region. References on the *fala* as a variety of Easter Galician can be found in: Menéndez Pidal (1906); Menéndez García (1951); Lindley Cintra (1971), Alonso (OC 1972, p. 391), Cano González (1980, pp. 43–44, *apud* Fernández Rei (Ed.) 1994, p. 68), a.o.



Figure 1. EoS speaking area in Spain



Figure 2. EoS speaking area in Asturias³

In this chapter, I will examine the properties of two (non-standard) periphrastic constructions in the EoS verbal system, consisting of an inflected form of the verb *tener* ‘have’ or *llevar* ‘carry’ and a perfect participle, as in (1) and (2):

- (1) *A Roma tenemos ido alguna vez*
 To Rome tener-PRS.1P.PL go-PRE.PTCP some time
 ‘(We) have gone to Rome a few times’

3. Note that the geographical distribution of the EoS speaking area does not correspond to that of the administrative division called *Comarca del Eo-Navia*, since the latter includes territories on the East banks of the Navia river, where the prevalence of the Galician language is blurred by the coming influence of the next Romance variety, mainly Asturian or Astur-leonese (see Menéndez Pidal, 1906, p. 131, for a historical explanation).

- (2) *Celia lleva visto diez películas en lo que*
 Celia llevar- PRS.3P.SING see-PRE.PTCP ten movies in ACC that
va de festival
 go- PRS.3P.SING of festival
 ‘Celia has seen ten movies since the start of the festival’

These two constructions share two fundamental properties: 1. They both convey perfect meanings, to the extent that they relate a past event to a present situation or current state (in the sense of McCoard, 1978); and 2. They both require a component of iteration or plurality at the level of the event described: hence the name “pluractional perfects”.

Sentences such as (1) have been reported in descriptive grammars as characteristic of northwestern Spanish varieties (recently in the *Nueva gramática*- RAE & ASALE, Vol 2, p. 2117), and have received some attention in areal studies of Spanish spoken in Galicia (Rojo, 2005) and Oviedo (Harre, 1991). However, the empirical coverage has for the most part been limited to a handful of examples in descriptive works. Gupton (2004) was the first to attempt a formal analysis of the *tener* construction in the Spanish of western Asturias (including EoS), based on the optionality of the participle’s agreement. Gupton’s contribution represents a qualitative change of perspective that goes beyond the usual descriptive patterns; however, a more careful and systematic investigation of those patterns reveals that the empirical generalizations Gupton takes for granted in his analysis are mostly wrong.⁴

This chapter is the result of several months of fieldwork, initially set up to fill in the gaps of previous studies in a scientific way: the gathering of data was informed by specific research questions about the structure and meaning of (1) and (2), to be addressed in separate sections of the chapter. The data was collected in different ways: mere observation (spontaneous speech data), grammaticality judgements in natural settings (not part of a controlled task), and finally, the judgements of 96 EoS speakers (ages 16 to 71) who participated in an online grammaticality judgement task.⁵

4. Gupton’s commendable attempt to formalize variation in the *tener* cases is sadly jeopardized by a deficient empirical base: firstly, most of the sentences that the informants have to judge are direct translations from Galician examples; secondly, there is no criterion regarding the choice of participles (verb class, argument structure), and issues concerning Tense/Aspect are also ignored; thirdly, the pluractionality factor is not addressed as such, rather, it is presented as merely anecdotal.

5. The task consisted of 44 target sentences introduced by a short text (the context) that participants had to evaluate in a 5-point likert scale according to how natural the sentence appeared to them. The task included 18 fillers, and all materials were randomized for every new participant. There were 4 practice examples that appeared beforehand, as well as a form with general questions including past and present places of residence and language use (more *fala*, more Spanish, or balanced use of both). All municipalities, age groups, language use profiles, etc. were represented,

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 2 states the basic facts about the EoS verbal system and its Pluractional perfects, and compares the syntactic behavior of these perfects with that of superficially similar constructions in Standard Spanish. Based on word order and agreement facts, among others, the EoS perfects are defined as monoclausal structures just as the Spanish perfect tense is (*haber* + participle). Section 3 introduces three types of restrictions on the eventuality described by the participle, corresponding to three different semantic domains: pluractionality (§ 3.1), event dynamicity (§ 3.2), and experientiality (§ 3.3); the conditions applying at the temporo-aspectual level are stated in Section 4. Once all the restrictions on the EoS perfects have been presented, Section 5 compares the properties observed in EoS with those that have been reported for similar constructions in other Romance varieties, including the Galician *fala*.

2. EoS Perfect constructions and Standard Spanish

2.1 The basic facts

A well-known fact about certain varieties of Spanish is the partial or total absence of compound tenses (mainly *haber* + participle) within the verbal paradigm. In the European context, that kind of system is characteristic of the Spanish spoken in the whole Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula, where the EoS variety is located.

Table 1 presents the inflectional paradigm for a regular verb like *cantar* ‘to sing’ in EoS. The crossed-out forms in grey correspond to the perfect *haber* + *participle* forms in Standard Spanish which are absent from EoS.

Table 1. The EoS verb paradigm

Tense	Indicative mood	Subjunctive mood
Present	canto	cante
	he cantado	haya cantado
Past	canté	cantara ~ cantase
	hube cantado cantara	hubiera cantado ~
	había cantado	hubiese cantado
	cantaba	
Future	cantaré	
	habré cantado	
Conditional	cantaría	
	habría cantado	

but there was no response pattern associated to a particular speaker profile. The practice examples and fillers included cases of perfectly normal sentences in EoS that were nevertheless ungrammatical in Standard Spanish, to ensure that the rejection of target sentences did not happen because of normative pressures.

The meanings which are normally expressed by the analytic perfect tense in Standard Spanish (e.g., *he cantado* ‘I have sung’) are often expressed in EoS with synthetic forms, mainly the preterit *canté* ‘I sang,’ or the synthetic (etymological) past perfect *cantara* ‘I had sang.’

Example (3) illustrates the resultative perfect, with the interpretation that the person is there at the time where the sentence is uttered:

- (3) *Llegué* *hace un momento*
 arrive-PST.1P.SING ago a moment
 Standard Spanish: ‘he llegado hace un momento’
 English: ‘I have arrived a minute ago’

The preterit is also used in experiential contexts to convey that the speaker has previously had the experience of being involved in some event: in (4), the watching of a movie.

- (4) *Ya vi* *esa película*
 already see- PST.1P.SING that movie
 Standard Spanish: ‘ya he visto esa película’
 English: ‘I have seen that movie already’

In cases of past tense embedding, the perfect meaning is expressed in EoS via the etymological past perfect:

- (5) *Al día siguiente supimos que salieran* *en*
 the following day know-PST.1P.PL that come.up- PST.PRF.3P.PL in
las noticias
 the news
 Standard Spanish: ‘al día siguiente supimos que habían salido en las noticias’
 English: ‘the next day we came to know that they had appeared in the news’

The preterit may be used in “hot-news” contexts as well:

- (6) – *Si aún estás en casa, ¿podrías mirar si tengo el móvil ahí?*
 (‘If you are still home, could you please check if my phone is there?’)
 – *Lo siento, es que ya salí* *para*
 ACC feel-PRS.1P.SING be-PRS.3P.SING that already leave-PST.1P.SING for
la oficina
 the office
 Standard Spanish: ‘lo siento, es que ya he salido para la oficina’
 English: ‘I am sorry, I have already left for work’

Finally, target state perfect meanings (those compatible with the adverb *aún* ‘still’ (Parsons, 1990)) are also expressed with a preterit:

- (7) *María rompió las gafas (y aún están rotas)*
 María break- PST.3P.SING the glasses (and still are broken)
 Standard Spanish: 'María (se) ha roto las gafas (y aún están rotas)'
 English: 'María has broken her glasses (and they are still broken)'

Nevertheless, EoS *does* have a couple of analytic forms for the expression of perfect meanings, which are those illustrated in (1) and (2) with a tensed form of the verb *tener* 'have' or *llevar* 'carry', respectively, followed by a perfect participle. The *tener* construction conveys an experiential reading. In (1), the experienced eventuality is 'been to Rome.' Likewise, the experienced eventuality in (4) with a simple past is 'watched a movie.' In fact, we can substitute the analytic form in (1) by a simple past, and still get the same meaning:

- (8) *A Roma fuimos alguna vez*
 to Rome go-PRS.1P.PL some time
 '(We) have gone to Rome a few times'

However, something quite peculiar happens when the simple past in (4) is substituted by the analytic form with *tener*. The peculiarity is captured in small capitals in the English translation, meaning that the action has necessarily happened more than one time, even if there is no explicit quantifying adverbial. This implicit requirement is absent from the original sentence in (4), so it must come from the new verb complex itself.

- (9) *Ya tengo visto esa película*
 already tener-PRS.1P.SING seen that movie
 'I have already seen that movie MORE THAN ONCE'

This requirement on the event embedded in the perfect construction will be developed in more detail in § 3. For the moment, we can say that the analytic form [*tener* + perfect participle] contributes not only a mere experiential, but also a 'greater than 1 time' understanding of a particular eventuality. Note that such interpretation is truth-conditionally required; it is not an implicature and therefore cannot be cancelled:

- (10) *Tengo estado en Roma (*pero sólo una vez)*
 tener-PRS.1P.SING be-PRE.PTCP in Rome (*but only one time)
 'I have been to Rome (but only once)'

The second analytic form under study, [*llevar* + perfect participle], targets the universal reading of the perfect in a continuative sense, insofar as it assumes that the event denoted by the participle extends to the now of the speaker and leaves open the possibility that the event continues towards the future. Thus, in (2), repeated

in (11), the festival is not over yet and Celia may continue watching more movies after the speaker utters the sentence:

- (11) *Celia lleva visto diez películas en lo que*
 Celia llevar-PRS.3P.SING see-PRE.PTCP ten movies in ACC that
va de festival
 go-PRS.3P.SING of festival
 ‘Celia has seen ten movies since the start of the festival’

As with *tener*, pluractionality is present in the *llevar* construction. Consider the following sentence:

- (12) *Esta semana llevo pedido seis libros*
 This week llevar-PRS.1P.SING see-PRE.PTCP six books
 ‘I have ordered six books this week’ (week is not over yet)

Crucially, a collective reading of (12) in which the six books were ordered at once is systematically rejected; to convey such reading, the speaker would resort to the preterit form. The interpretation of (12) is a pluractional one in which the number of books is distributed over several ordering events (see § 3.1. for details).

2.2 Monoclausality

For each of the two perfect constructions there is a corresponding biclausal transitive structure in which the participle agrees in gender and number with the object (13). These are grammatical in both EoS and Standard Spanish:⁶

- (13) *Tengo (/llevo) escritas diez cartas*
 Tener (/llevar)-PRS.1P.SING write-PTCP.FEM.PL ten letter FEM.PL
 ‘I have ten letters written’

6. A few examples with *tener* + non-agreeing participle in Standard Spanish are reported, corresponding to a very limited list of verbs, mostly verbs of communication like *decir* ‘to say.’ However, it is not entirely clear to me that the illustrative examples that have been argued to contain ‘true’ invariable participles are not just instances of masculine-singular agreement (-o) participles referring to something that is forbidden (a) or said (b). Moreover, I have found no examples from Standard Spanish with invariable participles of intransitive verbs.

- a. *Le tienen prohibido ir a casa*
 DAT tener-PRS.3P.PL forbid-PRE.PTCP go.INF to home
 ‘They have forbidden him to go home’
 Accurate translation: ‘To him it is forbidden to go home’
- b. *Julián, te tengo dicho que no fumes*
 J. DAT tener-PRS.1P.SING tell.PRE.PPPL that NEG smoke-SBJV.2P.SING
 ‘Julián, I told you not to smoke’
 Yllera (1999, p. 3434)

In a sentence like (13), each predicate (i.e., *tener/llevar*, and the participle) contribute their own argument structure, so the overall meaning consists of two clauses acting together: hence the name *biclausal*.

In what follows, I give evidence that the pluractional perfects in EoS are syntactically different from biclausal structures like (13), behaving instead like prototypically monoclausal constructions (e.g., Spa. *haber*/ Eng. *have* + *participle*). I will refer to the participle showing agreement in (13) as *passive*, as opposed to the invariable perfect one.

The sentences to be used as prototypes are given in (14). Sentence (14a) illustrates the adjectival/resultative biclausal structure, common to all Spanish; sentence (14b) illustrates the perfect case in EoS; sentence (14c) illustrates the perfect case in Standard.

- (14) a. *Tengo guardados los libros*
 tener-PRS.1P.SING save-PTCP.MASC.PL the.PL book.MASC.PL
 b. *Tengo guardado los libros*
 tener-PRS.1P.SING save-PRE.PTCP the.PL book.MASC.PL
 c. *He guardado los libros*
 haber-PRS.1P.SING save-PRE.PTCP the.PL book.MASC.PL

One way in which (14a) contrasts with (14b-c) is in its word order combinations. While it is possible to move the object to an intermediate position in biclausal structures (15a), this is not allowed in cases where the participle does not show agreement (15b):

- (15) a. *Tengo los libros guardados*
 tener-PRS.1P.SING the.PL book.MASC.PL save-PTCP.MASC.PL
 b. **[Tengo/he] los libros guardado*
 [tener/haber-PRS.1P.SING] the.PL book.MASC.PL save-PRE.PTCP

Substituting the participle by an adjective or and adverb is only allowed for structures like (14a), as expected by its adjectival/resultative properties.

- (16) *Tiene los libros [guardados/sucios/así]*
 tener-PRS.3P.SING the.PL book.MASC.PL [save-PTCP.MASC.PL/dirty/this way]

A third way in which the biclausal structure in (14a) differs from (14b-c) is the possibility of forming a *how* question about the sentence. Only (14a) can be asked in this fashion.

- (17) a. *Tengo guardados los libros → ¿Cómo*
 tener-PRS.1P.SING save-PTCP.MASC.PL the.PL book.MASC.PL How
tienes los libros?
 tener-PRS.2P.SING the.PL book.MASC.PL

Transitivity is also a crucial factor that helps us discriminate between adjectival/resultatives and perfects. Given the biclausal nature of cases involving passive participles, only transitive predicates can enter the adjectival/resultative construction in (14a):

- (18) **Tienen* *llegados* *seis invitados*
 tener-PRS.3P.PL arrive-PTCP.MASC.PL six guest.MASC.PL
 ‘Six guests have arrived’ (García Fernández *et al.*, 2006, p. 255)

The case of *llevar* is especially interesting in this respect, because even in cases where the participle does not show agreement, *llevar* appears to maintain the requirement of combining with transitive participles only:

- (19) **María lleva* *vivido* *en Londres desde 2012*
 María llevar-PRS.3P.SING live-PRF.PTCP in London since 2012

Unlike *tener*, which readily accepts intransitive participles to form a perfect, *llevar* seems to be semantically closer in this particular domain to the Standard Spanish cases with passive participles: in the Standard cases, the presence of a quantified object is absolutely necessary, because it identifies the obligatory, material (sometimes, abstract) result of the event denoted by the participle:

- (20) *Llevo* *hechas* *treinta croquetas*
 llevar-PRS.1P.SING make-PTCP.FEM.PL thirty croquette.FEM.PL
 ‘I have made thirty croquettes’ (García Fernández *et al.*, 2006, p. 196)

Sentence (20) can be uttered in a situation where someone has been making croquettes for a couple of hours, decides to have a small break, and it is in that moment that (20) sounds perfectly natural, with the idea of continuing the cooking afterwards.

The structure of the predicate in the EoS cases where *llevar* combines with an invariable participle also requires the presence of a quantified object (§ 3.1). However, unlike the resultative cases reported in Standard, the participle does not necessarily have to be a transitive predicate. The quantified object can appear inside a prepositional phrase when the prepositional phrase is structurally the complement of the non-finite predicate:

- (21) a. *Llevan* *participado* *en varias competiciones*
 llevar-PRS.3P.PL participate-PRF.PTCP in several competitions
 ‘They have participated in several competitions’
 b. *Llevan* *ido* *a bien misas*
 llevar-PRS.3P.PL go-PRF.PTCP to well masses
 ‘(They) have gone to many masses’

On top of all these differences we should bear in mind the lack of agreement as a further example of the set of properties share by the *haber* perfect in (14b) and the EoS perfects. Overall, *tener* and *llevar* perfects seem to pattern with the Standard perfect tense according to several syntactic tests. However, as it has already been mentioned in this section, the EoS cases are subject to a set of “extra” conditions on its use (§ 3 and § 4). Table 2 summarizes the results for the monoclausality tests.

Table 2. The monoclausal nature of pluractional perfects in EoS

Test	Biclausal-passive participle	Monoclausal- <i>haber</i> perfect	Pluractional perfect
Word order-object movement	OK	*	*
Substitution- participle>adjective, adverb.	OK	*	*
Question formation	OK	*	*
Participles other than transitive	*	OK	OK

3. Event level restrictions on EoS perfects

EoS perfect constructions are subject to a number of semantic conditions on the predicate describing the past eventuality. These are what I call “event level” conditions: one has to do with quantification and requires the event to be iterated in some way (§ 3.1); a second one cares about the dynamic or stative nature of the predicate, excluding the latter (§ 3.2); and a third condition is related to the semantic class of the argument that ends up in subject position, with that position being generally restricted to humans (§ 3.3).

3.1 Pluractionality

The events denoted by the perfect construction are necessarily iterated. Therefore, sentences like (22a–b) are ungrammatical in EoS:

- (22) a. **Nunca tengo estado en Roma*
 never tener-PRS.1P.SING be-PRE.PTCP in Rome
 ‘I have never been to Rome’
- b. **Tengo estado en Roma una vez*
 tener-PRS.1P.SING be-PRE.PTCP in Rome one time
 ‘I have been to Rome once’

Pluractionality in the event domain can happen at different levels, according to Cusic (1981): since events are hierarchically structured, it is only natural that plurality can operate in a number of different places. He proposes that events can be pluralized at three levels: phase level, event level, and occasion level. The plurality at the phase level is *internal* to a single event: it describes an event with multiple repeated phases; by contrast, plurality at either the event or occasion levels is considered *event-external*, since they both imply that the event repeats itself. According to Bertinetto and Lenci's (2012, p. 853), event-external pluractionality can be identified by the fact that the same event repeats itself in a number of different situations.⁷

The pluractionality requirement in the EoS perfects operates at the level of events, and therefore can only be event-external. This is illustrated in (23–24) with *tener* and in (25) with *llevar*. Sentence (23a) is accepted in a context where there has been more than one event of lowering down the price of a pair of winter boots, independently of whether the lowering is incremental or not. (23b) can be used if the speaker has been involved in the watching of the movie in several occasions, even if s/he did not finish watching it. The perfect construction only cares about presenting an iterated watching activity.

- (23) a. *Sí, las tienen rebajado alguna vez*
 yes, ACC.FEM.PL tener-PRS.3P.PL lower-PRE.PTCP some time
 'Yes, they have lowered (the price of) them some time'
 b. *Ya tengo visto esa película*
 tener-PRS.1P.SING watch-PRE.PTCP that movie
 'I have already seen that film'

That plurality cannot come from subjects is evident from the fact that (24) only works when the event is independently iterated: distributive readings of plural subjects are out; in other words, (24) cannot mean that Luis has watched the movie once, and Ana has watched the movie once:

- (24) *Luis y Ana tienen visto la última de Polanski*
 Luis and Ana tener-PRS.3P.PL watch-PRE.PTCP the last of Polanski
 'Luis and Ana have watched the last (film) by Polanski'

7. Both habituals and iterative events are considered event-external pluractional structures according to these authors. It is important to clarify that EoS perfects are NOT habitual, but denote iterated events. Evidence comes from the ungrammaticality of *tener* + participle in habitual contexts such as (a) and (b):

- a. *Cuando vivíamos en el campo, tengo cogido el tren de las 8 a menudo
 'When we were living in the countryside, I have often taken the 8 o'clock train'
 b. *Antes de casarme me tengo levantado todos los días a las 7
 'Before I got married, I used to get up at 7 everyday'

As for *llevar*, it has been already noticed that a sentence such as (25), presented earlier in (12), only works if there has been more than one ordering event, that is, if the three books have not been ordered all at once.

- (25) *Esta semana llevo pedido seis libros*
 this week llevar-PRS.1P.SING order-PREF.PTCP six books
 ‘(So far) this week I have ordered six books’

In principle, it could be tempting to derive the plurality of events in (25) from a distributive reading where each book has its associated ordering event: in that case, we would be talking about event-internal plurality in the form of “participant distributivity” (Henderson, 2019). However, a strict one-to-one relation is not enforced in (25): while the number of ordering events is required to be plural, the distributivity relation is vague, meaning that there could have been two ordering events, one of four books and a second one of only two books.

The story of *llevar* does not end there: it seems to require a quantified plural object somewhere in the structure of the participle with which it combines. Thus, a sentence like (26) with singular definite or bare plurals objects is out, even if the event can potentially be iterated (i.e., several instances of collecting a particular box).

- (26) **Esta semana llevo recogido [la caja/esa caja/cajas]*
 this week llevar-PRS.1P.SING collect-PREF.PTCP [the box/that box/boxes]
 ‘(So far) this week (I) have collected [the box/that box/boxes]’

Moreover, the contrast between (27a) and (27b) with predicates like *jugar* ‘to play’, which have been argued to have non-overt objects when used intransitively (Hale & Keyser, 1993, 2002), shows that the quantified object must not only be present in the structure, but it must also be overt, phonologically realized:

- (27) a. *Esta semana llevamos jugado muchas partidas*
 this week llevar-PRS.1P.PL play-PREF.PTCP many games
 ‘This week (we) have played many card games’
 b. **Esta semana llevamos jugado varias veces*
 this week llevar-PRS.1P.PL play-PREF.PTCP many times
 ‘This week (we) have played many times’

The quantification does not necessarily have to come from objects of transitive verbs: as pointed out earlier in § 2.2, nominals inside prepositional phrases are also possible as long as they are in a complement position:

- (28) a. *Llevan participado en varias competiciones*
 llevar-PRS.3P.PL participate-PREF.PTCP in several competitions
 ‘They have participated in several competitions’

- b. **Llevan jugado en muchos parques*
llevar-PRS.3P.PL participate-PRE.PTCP in many parks
'They have played in many parks'

In some cases, the quantified object appears to be singular, but those are cases where the object is taken to be part of a larger set, therefore plural. An example of this is given in (29), uttered by someone who has been to the doctor a couple of days ago and is now on a 2-week treatment with pills. She has to take 10, but she says that up to now...

Exceptionally, speakers may accept singular objects as long as they are part of a presupposed set: sentence (29) obtained very high scores in the online questionnaire (80 out of 96 participants considered it perfectly natural). This was unexpected, given the nature of the object. Nevertheless, a closer look at the context that preceded the sentence help us solve the puzzle: the context for (29) was one in which someone called Susana was given a prescription for a treatment with several pills the previous month. Upon being asked how that was going during a follow-up visit to her doctor, she utters (29).

- (29) *Hasta ahora sólo llevo tomado una*
Until now only llevar-PRS.1P.SING take-PRE.PTCP one
'Up to now I have only taken one'

What makes (29) good is the fact that the one pill is actually part of a plural set from a previous context. Having a presupposed set is a pre-condition for a sentence like (29) to work: if there is none, a singular object makes the *llevar* construction ungrammatical:

- (30) **Esta semana llevo tomado una copa*
This week llevar-PRS.1P.SING take-PRE.PTCP one drink
'So far this week I have had one drink'

3.2 Dynamicity

Only dynamic predicates (i.e., predicates involving change) can enter the EoS construction. Prototypical stative verbs such as Individual Level Predicates denoting permanent or semi-permanent properties of the type 'be tall,' 'be famous,' are out:

- (31) **Tu abuelo tiene sido alto de joven*
your grandfather tener-PRS.3P.SING be₁-PRE.PTCP tall of young
'Your grandfather has been tall when he was young'
- (32) **Sus hijos llevan sido famosos desde pequeños*
POSS.3P.SING kids llevar-PRS.3P.PL be₁-PRE.PTCP famous since small.PL
'His kids have been famous from a young age'

Predicates with *estar* denoting “less permanent” properties such as ‘be sick,’ ‘be worried,’ ‘be drunk’ (33) etc., as well as locatives *ser* ‘to be₁’ (34) and *estar* ‘to be₂’ (35) however, may be coerced into a repeated, discrete series of events by entering the *tener* construction. *Llevar* is out in all of these cases for independent reasons having to do with argument quantification, as explained above (§ 3.1).

- (33) *Mira que tienes estado tú bien jorobado*
 look.IMP that tener-PRS.2P.SING be₂-PRF.PTCP you well screwed
 ‘Just think how you have been so screwed’
- (34) *Otras veces tiene sido en el parque*
 other times tener-PRS.3P.SING be₁-PRF.PTCP in the park
 ‘Other years (the festival) has been in the park’
- (35) *Tenemos estado en varias ciudades*
 tener-PRS.1P.PL be₂-PRF.PTCP in several cities
 ‘We have been in several cities’

Participles from stative transitive verbs are also disallowed in these perfect constructions. This shows that stativity plays an independent role in the case of *llevar*, since it can no longer be argued that the lack of nominal quantification is what prevents the stative intransitive predicates to combine with it:

- (36) **Este bote [tiene/lleva] contenido diferentes tipos de*
 this jar [tener/llevar]-PRS.3P.SING contain-PRF.PTCP different types of
café (desde que lo compramos)
 coffee (since that ACC buy.PRS.1P.PL)
 ‘This tin has contained several types of coffee since we bought it’
- (37) **[Tengo/llevo] querido mucho a muchas personas*
 [tener/llevar]-PRS.1P.SING love.PRF.PTCP much to many people
 ‘I have loved many people very much’

3.3 Experientiality (subjects)

The third way in which these perfects are conditioned at the event level has to do with the semantic type of subject that these constructions allow or, to be more precise, the semantics of the argument that ends up in subject position.

First of all, the subject position appears to be limited to human referents only. This applies to the totality of the spontaneous speech data. In fact, I could only find one apparent counterexample, from the online questionnaire (incidentally, not a natural setting), where more than 80% of participants readily accepted *agua* ‘water’ as the subject of (38). And even then, we could argue that it shows agentive-like properties as a natural force:

- (38) *El agua lleva hecho muchísimos destrozos*
 the water llevar.PRS.3P.SING do-PRE.PTCP many.SUPER damage.PL
(este año)
 this year
 ‘The water has done a lot of damage (this year)’

Beside the exceptional (38), inanimate subjects were judged ungrammatical:

- (39) **Estas luces [tienen/llevan] evitado muchos*
 These lights [tener/llevar]-PRS.3P.SING prevent-PRE.PTCP many
accidentes este año
 accidents this year
 ‘These lights have prevented many accidents this year’

Speakers rejected animate non-human subjects too, as in the case of birds learning to fly in (40):

- (40) **Esos pájaros tienen caído varias veces*
 those birds tener-PRS.3P.PL fall-PRE.PTCP several times
 ‘Those birds have fallen several times’

Nevertheless, sentences with inanimate subjects can be “saved” in two ways: in the presence of a preverbal dative clitic pronoun, which ultimately refers to someone, to a human being (41b):

- (41) a. [?]/**Tienen llegado cartas de todas partes*
 tener-PRS.3P.PL arrive-PRE.PTCP letters of all parts
 ‘Letters from all over the world have arrived’
 b. *Nos tienen llegado cartas de todas partes*
 DAT.1P.PL tener-PRS.3P.PL arrive-PRE.PTCP letters of all parts
 ‘(To us) letters from all over the world have arrived’

And alternatively, in the presence of a framing locative or adverbial. This is also a repair strategy for human subjects of unaccusative predicates like *nacer* ‘be born’ in (42a–b):

- (42) a. **Llevan nacido varios niños*
 llevar-PRS.3P.PL be.born-PRE.PTCP several children
 ‘Several children have been born’
 b. *En ese hospital llevan nacido varios niños*
 llevar-PRS.3P.PL be.born-PRE.PTCP several children
 ‘In that hospital several children have been born’

What I would like to suggest, based on the empirical picture just presented, is that the grouping of human subjects, clitics associated to a human referent, and framing locatives is not casual, but rather, follows from a semantic condition that unifies them all: experientiality. A traditional understanding of experiencers as “containers of mental states” (Jackendoff, 1990) is later on taken by Landau (2011) to unify locatives and experiencers as “mental locations”. This semantic unification makes sense from a cross-linguistic point of view too, since experiencer arguments in many languages are expressed in locative phrases (e.g., Irish, Hebrew). Pluractional Perfects in EoS appear to be sensible to this particular semantic property.

As for the relation between this kind of experientiality and the so-called “experiential” reading of the Perfect previously introduced (§ 2.1), I believe the difference lies in the presence (or lack therefore) of temporo-aspectual parameters: while the former only denotes a kind of participant, the latter refers to an event type that is already ordered with respect to aspect and time.

4. Temporo-aspectual restrictions on the EoS perfects

The conditions we have examined so far refer to the internal properties of the event that is being described, independently of the way in which the event is anchored to particular times and worlds.⁸ This section summarizes how the constructions behave with respect to aspect and tense, and the conditions that apply in this domain of the clause.

With respect to tense, the cases where the *tener* and *llevar* forms are inflected for present are by far the most common in spontaneous speech. But these forms do show a different inflection from time to time, for example the past imperfect:

- (43) a. *De aquella tenían abierto ya varias tiendas*
 Of that.one tener-PST.IMP.3P.PL open-PREF.PTCP already several shops
 ‘At that time, they had already opened several stores’
- b. *Aquel día llevaban puesto qué sé*
 That day llevarr-PST.IMP.3P.PL put-PREF.PTCP what know-PRS.1P.SING
yo cuántas multas
 I how.many fines
 ‘That day they had given many fines (so far)’

8. I am assuming a compositional, hierarchical view of sentence building and semantic interpretation where aspect and tense are built on basic event structures, and where the anchoring to times and worlds comes after the event structure has been fully determined. These ideas are in line with recent proposals by Wiltschko (2014); Ramchand and Svenonius (2014) and Ramchand (2018). All the cited works are modern developments of the basic skeleton V-(Asp)-T-C that has been assumed in Generative Syntax ever since Chomsky (1965).

Speakers accept these forms in the future tense as well. The target (44a) was introduced in a context of ongoing negotiations between banks, while (44b) was introduced in the context of a hiking trip:

- (44) a. **Mañana a estas horas tendremos cerrado*
 tomorrow at these hours tener.FUT.1P.PL close-PRE.PTCP
varios acuerdos
 several deals
 ‘By this time tomorrow we will have closed several deals’
- b. *Si seguimos a este ritmo, mañana por la noche*
 if continue-PRS.1P.PL at this pace, tomorrow night
llevaremos andado treinta kilómetros
 llevar-FUT.1P.PL walk.PRE.PTCP thirty kms
 ‘At this rate by tomorrow night we will have walked 30 kms’

The preterit, on the other hand, is completely out, both in and out of context:

- (45) a. **Ángel y Diana [tuvieron/llevaron] visto*
 Ángel and Diana tener.PRS.1P.SG watch-PRE.PTCP
muchas películas
 many movies
 ‘Ángel and Diana had seen many movies’

Subjunctive inflection is allowed in the present tense (46a,b), but not in the past (47):

- (46) a. *Puede ser que alguna vez tengan*
 can-PRS.3P.SING be that some time tener-SBJV.PRS.3P.PL
bailado
 dance-PRE.PTCP
 ‘Could be that they have danced some time’
- b. *No estoy segura... puede que llevemos*
 NEG be-PRS.1P.SING sure... can-PRS.3P.SING that llevar-SBJV.PRS.1P.PL
visto unas ocho películas en lo que va de semana
 see-PRE.PTCP around 8 films in that which goes of week
 ‘I am not sure...could be that we have seen about 8 movies so far this week’
- (47) **Si [tuvieses/llevaras] leído más libros,*
 If [tener/llevar]-SBJV.PST.3P.PL read-PRE.PTCP more books
serías menos ignorante
 be-COND.2P.SING less ignorant
 ‘Had you read more books, you would be less ignorant’

Summing up the empirical constraints on tense-related inflection, it is possible to confirm that the inflectional paradigm of pluractional perfects is incomplete, and that they can only combine with aspectually imperfective tenses (present, future,

past imperfect). Another aspectual characteristic of these perfects is that they do not embed progressive structures, although for some speakers the *tener* case in (48a) does not sound completely wrong:

- (48) a. [?]/**Tengo estado hablando con ella hasta las tantas*
 tener.PRS.1P.SING be.PRE.PTCP talk-PROGR with her until late
alguna vez
 some time
 ‘I have been talking to her until very late sometimes’
- b. **Llevan estado diseñando los carteles desde el lunes*
 llevar-PRS.3P.PL be.PRE.PTCP design-PROGR the posters since Monday
 ‘The have been designing the posters since Monday’

The empirical findings presented thus far indicate that the EoS perfects are subject to restrictions that do not apply to prototypical auxiliary constructions, such as having a defective paradigm or being sensitive to the argument structure and aktionsart of the main predication; but at the same time, these perfects have been found to be syntactically monoclausal. This allows for an independent discussion on the nature of these perfects among complex predicates, broadly defined as any sequence of elements XY which together serve a predicative function (Svenonius, 2008, p. 48). Unfortunately, these matters exceed the scope of this chapter.

Having presented the main empirical properties of pluractional perfects in EoS, the next and final section compares them to superficially similar constructions in neighbouring Romance varieties.

5. (Micro)variation in pluractional perfects

Verb constructions whose form and meaning reminds us to the EoS ones just described have been reported in other Romance varieties under different names: “perfective participial periphrases” in Galician and Asturian, and “perfect tense” in Portuguese (only perfect participles are considered here).

The information available on Asturian is very limited, with only a handful of examples, but those are enough to observe that pluractionality is not always present (*camentaba que yá los tendríen semao* ‘s/he said that they would have already sown them’ - Cano González, 2002 [1995], p. 43), and that the presence of *llevar* does not depend on argument quantification (*lleven falau conmigo un cientu veces* ‘they have talked to me a thousand times’ - ALA, 1998, p. 225). Harre (1991) also reports non-pluractional examples in the Spanish of Central Asturias.

The Portuguese [*ter* + participle] construction, considered a perfect tense with a complete inflectional paradigm, has been extensively described and analyzed,

both in Europe (Giorgi & Pianesi, 1997; Schmitt, 2001) and Brazil (Molsing, 2006; Laca, 2010), with the caveat that the empirical base is obviously always limited to particular varieties. In Portuguese, pluractionality seems to be required only in the present perfect (see Schmitt, 2001, for details); in Brazilian Portuguese, however, Molsing (2006, p. 135) shows that pluractionality is not always enforced, not even in the present perfect. Also, the event-level conditions on dynamicity and subjects observed in EoS do not apply in Portuguese.

Finally, [ter + participle] in Galician has also been described as pluractional (Rojo, 1974; Ferreiro, 1996; Freixeiro Mato, 2002; Álvarez & Xove, 2002), although it has been suggested that pluractionality is not a requirement in the absence of present tense (Álvarez *et al.*, 1993; García Represas, 2004). The following example, gathered as a piece of spontaneous speech data from a *fala* speaker, shows how Galician patterns with Portuguese in not showing any of the conditions on aktionsart and/or argument structure observed in EoS:⁹

- (49) *As castañas tein sido el sustento y*
 the chestnuts ter-PRS.3P.PL be₁-PRF.PTCP the sustenance and
quitado ben fame nun tempo
 remove-PRE.PTCP well hunger in.a time
 ‘Chestnuts have been the sustenance and (have) eradicated hunger at that time’

The verb complex in (49) is pluractional: even though the speaker is talking about a stable property of the chestnut (‘be the sustenance’) in an extended period of time (‘back then’), the choice of a [ter + participle] is meant to convey event distributivity over time, as opposed to duration of a single event over time. Thus, an accurate description of the meaning of (49) is that the chestnuts are characterized by having been a basic food item in countless occasions across generations. Also manifested in (49) is the fact that the Galician *ter* may combine with stative predicates, and with inanimate subjects like chestnuts. The properties observed in (49) are present in many other sentences in the online corpus of the Galician language CORGA.¹⁰ With respect to inflection, [ter + participle] in Standard Galician seems to have a full inflectional paradigm, but the extent to which *ter* may show up in preterit form in *fala* is questionable, in the lack of further research.

9. According to Álvarez and Xove (2002), the [*levar* + participle] construction in Galician expresses a quantitative result that may be numerical (over occasions or number of object), or partial (part of an action or object, portional), being very close to what *llevar* does in EoS. Space constraints prevent me from discussing this issue further.

10. Centro Ramón Piñeiro para a investigación en humanidades: *Corpus de Referencia do Galego Actual* (CORGA) [3.2.]. <http://corpus.cirp.gal/corga/>

Table 3 summarizes the contrasts. Asturian is excluded, given that the only descriptive data available reduced to one property, pluractionality (see above).

Table 3. Pluractional perfects in Romance

Property		Portuguese	Galician	EoS
Pluractionality	Present tense	Required/? <i>Brazil</i>	Required/?	Required
	Other tenses	Not required	Required	
Aktionsart sensitivity		No	No	Yes- *states
Subjects		All	All	Experiencers
Inflectional paradigm		All	All/? <i>fala</i>	Defective

As a concluding remark to this chapter, I would like to point out two interesting observations on the data in Table 3: one is related to the specific contact situation between EoS and the Galician *fala*, and it is the realization that the pluractional perfects in each of these varieties, even if closely related, are subject to different conditions. This is an exciting finding that challenges the aprioristic intuition that, because Spanish generally lacks pluractional constructions, the EoS perfects must be the morphological expression in Spanish of an underlying Galician system. A second and more general observation is that variation between (and within) languages appears to be extremely complex even in small and well-defined areas of the grammar: it is like a battlefield. In those contexts, entering the battlefield with a set of clear-cut criteria provided by formal linguistics can make the journey much more productive (see Adger & Trousdale, 2007; Laca, 2010, on theoretically-informed approaches to the study of variation).

Acknowledgements

I am greatly indebted to all the EoS speakers who selflessly helped me moving this project forward. I would like to thank Gillian Ramchand and Antonio Fábregas for guiding me through this 'data jungle' and turn it into something structured. I would also like to thank María Arche and Bronwyn Bjorkman for their valuable feedback, and Javier Ormazabal, Myriam-Urbe Extebarria and all the members of HiTT Linguistics in Vitoria-Gasteiz for their feedback and help during the setting up and testing phases of the online task. I'm indebted to Xulio Sousa and Victoria Vázquez for giving me the opportunity to present my work in Santiago, and I am thankful to all those who participated in the discussion there. I am also very grateful to two anonymous reviewers for their constructive observations.

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative	PRS	presente
COND	conditional	PST	past
DAT	dative	PTCP	participle
FEM	feminine	SBJV	subjunctive
FUT	future	SG	singular
IMP	imperative	SUPER	superlative
MASC	masculine	1P/2P/3P	first/second/third persons
PL	plural	MASC/FEM	masculine, feminine
PRF	perfect	SING/PL	singular, plural
PROGR	progressive		

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Middle formation and inalienability in Asturian

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Asturian middle-passive contexts containing activity verbs, such as *lleer* (to read), as well as a relational or body-part noun as their grammatical subject allow for the insertion of a non-selected dative argument interpreted as the inalienable possessor of such noun. Two configurations can yield these structures: one where the dative phrase raises to preverbal subject position, and another where the dative DP is left-dislocated and the theme in subject position. Interestingly, an analysis relying on the notion of low applicative heads relating the possessor and the possessee cannot successfully account for these configurations. An approach whereby the inalienable possession construal arises inside the DP-theme and subsequently spreads to the applicative head that introduces the dative possessor successfully overcomes this shortcoming.

Keywords: Asturian middle-passives, possessor datives, inalienable possession, applicatives

1. Introduction

Middle-passive constructions are generic unaccusative predicates denoting intrinsic properties of a notional object, which is promoted to grammatical subject, and whose unmarked position in the sentence tends to be preverbal in most Iberian Romance languages. The transitive verbs entering these configurations appear conjugated in imperfective tenses – either present or imperfect – which favor a non-episodic reading. Additionally, in Asturian, as well as in other Romance languages, the presence of a third person reflexive clitic pronoun is mandatory, and the possibility of introducing an explicit agent by means of a prepositional phrase is ruled out. Note that this is not exclusive to Romance languages; in fact, German resorts to the reflexive *sich* to convey the middle-passive reading in certain constructions (Schäfer, 2008).

- (1) a. *Les noveles romántiques lléense fácil* (*por Xuan)
 the novels romantic read.3.REFL easy by John
 ‘Romantic novels read easily’
 b. #*Lléense fácil les noveles romántiques*

Interestingly, when the notional object in these structures is a relational or body-part noun co-occurring with certain stative verbs, such as *ver* (‘to see’) or *oyer* (‘to hear’), or activity verbs involving perception, like *lleer* (‘to read’) (2a), it is possible to insert a non-selected dative argument which must necessarily be interpreted as the inalienable possessor of such noun, i.e. the notional object (2c).

- (2) a. *La lletra de Guillermo lléese fácil*
 the handwriting of Guillermo reads.REFL easy
 ‘Guillermo’s handwriting reads easily’
 b. *La so lletra lléese fácil*
 the his handwriting reads.REFL easy
 ‘His handwriting reads easily’
 c. *A Guillermo_i, la (#so_i/*mio) lletra lléese-y_i fácil*
 to Guillermo.DAT the his my handwriting reads.REFL-3.DAT easy
 ‘Guillermo’s handwriting reads easily’

The noun *lletra* (‘handwriting’) in (2) is intimately related with its possessor and can be considered a defining personal trait or item, which appears to favor the emergence of the relationship of inalienable possession between it and the dative argument. Note that the type of noun plays a determining role in this relationship, more so than the verb, since a non-relational noun such as *poemes* (‘poems’) in the same context would prevent for this construal to obtain, as shown in (3).

- (3) a. *Los sos poemas lléense rápido*
 the his poems read.REFL fast
 ‘His poems read quickly’
 b. *A Enol_i, los (sos_{#i/j}/mios_k) poemas lléense-y_i rápido*
 to Enol.DAT the his my poems read.REFL-3.DAT fast
 ‘Enol’s poems read quickly’
 ‘The/his/my poems are easy to read to Enol’

While (2) conveys a relationship of static inalienable possession between the dative and the grammatical subject, in (3), the dative can also be interpreted as a goal, i.e. the recipient of the theme, in addition to its alienable possessor, although not necessarily.

Suárez-Palma (2019, 2020) examines the interaction between middle-passive constructions and dative arguments in Spanish; however, not enough descriptive work has assessed this understudied phenomenon in Asturian – including the *Gramática de la llingua asturiana* (ALLA, 2001) – or in other minority Iberian Romance languages. Thus, the goal of this chapter is to provide an analysis

for the structures in (2) and (3), henceforth *inalienable* and *transfer middles*, respectively.

The chapter is structured as follows. Section 2 summarizes the main structural properties of middle-passives, and Section 3 shows that two possible configurations can yield these structures: (1) one where both the dative DP and the theme occur preverbally, in which case I assume that the former is left-dislocated and the latter occupies the preverbal subject position; and (2) one where only the dative DP occurs preverbally in subject position, and the theme remains in the verbal domain. Section 4 explains the shortcomings of an analysis of inalienable possession based on the notion of applicatives (Pylkkänen, 2002, 2008; Cuervo, 2003), which are argument-introducing functional heads able to apply an entity – the possessor, source or goal – to an object. Such an account faces intervention effects when dealing with the left-dislocated configuration of inalienable middles; a possible solution to this challenge is provided. Finally, Section 5 concludes the chapter.

2. Structural properties of middle-passives

Despite being a crosslinguistic phenomenon, the way in which the different languages encode the middle voice in their grammars differs. As a consequence, this construal has received much attention, which has resulted in analyses of diverse nature, including syntactic (Keyser & Roeper, 1984; Hale & Keyser, 1986; Roberts, 1987; Stroik, 1992; Schäfer, 2008; Suárez-Palma, 2019, 2020, 2021a, 2021b), semantic (Dixon, 1982; Chierchia, 2003) and lexicalist (Fagan, 1992; Ackema & Schoorlemmer, 1994, 1995), to name a few. Nonetheless, despite such variation, a series of properties associated with middles remain constant, namely the notional object's promotion to grammatical subject, the suppression of the notional subject, its generic and modal interpretation, and the mandatory modification by a PP or AdvP. This section provides a summary of such characteristics in Asturian middle-passive constructions.

First of all, the grammatical subject in these structures, which corresponds semantically to the verb's notional object, must necessarily be a definite DP; in this regard, middle-passives (3a) pattern with inchoative sentences (3b) rather than reflexively marked passives (3c). To some scholars (Fernández Soriano, 1999; Mendikoetxea, 1999; Sánchez López, 2002), this restriction is indicative of the externalization of the verb's internal argument outside the VP, following the Naked Noun Phrase Constraint (Suñer, 1982).¹

1. Suñer (1982, p. 209) proposed the Naked Noun Phrase constraint to account for the fact that subjects cannot be bare NPs:

The Naked Noun Phrase Constraint: "An unmodified common noun in preverbal position cannot be the surface object of a sentence under conditions of normal stress and intonation.

- (4) a. **(L)hoxaldre esmigáyase fácil²*
 the-puff pastry crumbles.REFL easy
 ‘Puff pastry crumbles easily’
 b. *Esmigayó *(l)hoxaldre³*
 crumbled the-puff pastry
 ‘The puff pastry crumbled’
 c. *Esmigayóse (l)hoxaldre*
 crumbled.REFL the-puff pastry
 ‘(The) puff pastry was crumbled’

Along with the notional object’s promotion to grammatical subject, another salient property of middle-passives crosslinguistically is the demotion of the verb’s external argument (cf. Ackema & Schoorlemmer, 2006, and references therein). In spite of its apparent lack of syntactic projection,⁴ these sentences denote the participation of an implicit generic agent in the event, which can be rephrased as *anybody*: *anybody can read romantic novels easily*. Support for this claim is the impossibility of adjoining a PP denoting lack of agency, such as *por sí mesmu* (by itself) (5a); additionally, middle passives license the adjunction of a purpose clause (5b), which is generally taken as evidence for the presence of an implicit agent in other structures, such as passives (5c) (cf., Bhatt & Pancheva, 2006, *inter alia*).

- (5) a. **Les noveles romántiques lléense fácil por sí mesmas*
 the novels romantic read.REFL easy by REFL self
 ‘Romantic novels read easily by themselves’
 b. *La madera de carbayu quemase fácil pa faer carbón*
 the wood of oak burn.REFL easy for make coal
 ‘Oak wood burns easily (in order to make coal)’
 c. *La maera de carbayu foi quemado pa faer carbón*
 the wood of oak was burned for make coal
 ‘The oak wood was burned in order to make coal’

2. Note that the reflexive pronoun could disappear in this context; however, in such case, the agentive reading disappears, which indicates we are dealing with a generic inchoative construction, instead of a generic passive. This is supported by the fact that only the *se*-less variant (1a) would license *por sí mesmo* (‘by itself’), while the *se* counterpart (1b) would not. See Suárez-Palma (2021a, 2021b) for a diagnosis on how to discriminate and analyze these two structures.

- (1) a. *L’hoxaldre esmigaya por sí mesmo*
 b. *L’hoxaldre esmigáyase (*por sí mesmo)*

3. Excluding a causative interpretation with a null subject.

4. Numerous analyses of middle-passives (Zribi-Hertz, 1993; Hoekstra & Roberts, 1993; Ackema & Schoorlemmer, 1995; Stroik, 1995, 1999) agree on the semantic presence of the notional subject in these contexts, although there is no consensus as to whether it is syntactically represented in the derivation.

The generic interpretation of these constructions is enhanced by means of the aforementioned imperfective tenses, which can suspend the temporal properties of perfective predicates denoting achievements and render them stative (6a). On the contrary, perfective (6b) and progressive (6c) tenses make these configurations lose their middle reading and can only be interpreted as reflexively marked passives – see Sánchez López (2002) for data on Spanish.

- (6) a. *Esta llavadora iguase/iguábase fácil*
 this washing-machine mends/mended.IPFV easy
 ‘This washing-machine mends easily’
- b. *Esta llavadora iguóse fácil*
 this washing-machine mended easy
 ‘This washing-machine was mended easily’
- c. *Esta llavadora ta iguándose fácil*
 this washing-machine is mending easy
 ‘This washing-machine is being mended easily’

The non-episodic nature of middle-passive sentences contributes to the interpretation of the event as denoting a property rather than an actual punctual event. Thus, it is important that these structures lack a specific temporal reference instantiated by an adverbial or prepositional phrase, which would turn them into reflexively marked passives (7a). In fact, when the verb in these contexts is conjugated in imperfective tenses, and in the absence of any concrete timeframe, structural ambiguity arises (7b).

- (7) a. Reflexively marked passive/*Middle-passive
Les pataques asturianos tuéstense rápido güei
 the potatoes Asturian fry.REFL fast today
 ‘Asturian potatoes are fried quickly today’
- b. Reflexively marked passive/Middle-passive
Les pataques asturianos tuéstense rápido
 the potatoes Asturian fry.REFL fast
 ‘Asturian potatoes fry quickly’
 ‘Asturian potatoes are fried quickly’

Finally, another feature generally attributed to the middle voice is its modal interpretation, since it expresses possibility and potentiality by means of combining imperfective tenses, its property reading and the obligatory modification by an adverbial or prepositional phrase (8a). Sánchez López (2002) points out that, in Spanish, only when the middle passive refers to an element representing a particular class is it possible to omit the modifier; (8b), which could be rephrased as *esti tipu de siella ye plegable* (‘this kind of chair is foldable’), shows that the same applies to Asturian. Furthermore, in the presence of negation (8c), modification is

not required, for in such cases, a generic interpretation obtains by portraying the absence of a given trait as a property: *esta siella nun ye plegable* ('this chair is not foldable').

- (8) a. *Esta siella pliégase fácil*
 this chair folds.REFL easy
 'This chair folds easily'
- b. *Esta siella pliégase*
 this chair folds.REFL
 'This chair folds/is foldable'
- c. *Esta siella nun se pliega*
 this chair not REFL folds
 'This chair does not fold/is not foldable'

Next, I propose that preverbal dative DPs in middle-passive contexts can enter two possible configurations: one in which the dative is left-dislocated and the theme is in subject position, and another where it is the dative that is the sentential subject, and the theme remains inside VP.

3. Two positions for preverbal datives in middle-passive contexts

Numerous studies have discussed the subjecthood status of preverbal datives in Spanish (Masullo, 1992; Fernández Soriano, 1999; Tubino Blanco, 2007; Fernández Soriano & Mendikoetxea, 2013; Fábregas *et al.*, 2017, among others). In his study of Spanish dative experiencers, Masullo (1992) demonstrates that the preverbal dative quantifier DP *a nadie* ('to nobody') is ungrammatical when left-dislocated and must therefore sit in an A-position. Fernández Rubiera (2009) arrives at the same conclusion for Asturian.

Assuming such premise, Suárez-Palma (2019, 2020) shows that the same holds for preverbal dative DPs in Spanish middle-passives, and proposes these phrases can occupy two possible positions: on the one hand, when both the dative DP and the DP theme occur preverbally, the dative merges left-dislocated outside the sentence, while the theme sits in the canonical preverbal subject position, presumably SpecTP;⁵ on the other, when only the dative DP is realized preverbally and the theme remains inside VP, it is the former that merges in SpecTP. The data from

5. While the position of preverbal subjects has become a hot topic in Spanish syntax (cf. Olarrea, 2012, *inter alia*), this debate goes beyond the scope of this chapter; therefore, for the current purposes, preverbal subjects in Spanish are assumed to raise to SpecTP.

Asturian middle-passive contexts seem to uphold this proposal, as shown in (9), where the dative DP becomes ungrammatical in middle-passive contexts if the DP theme also occurs preverbally.

- (9) a. **A naide, la so lletra lléese-y fácil*
 to nobody.DAT the her handwriting reads.REFL.3DAT easy
 ‘*Naide*’s handwriting reads easily’
 b. *A naide se-y llea la so lletra fácil*⁶
 to nobody.DAT REFL.3DAT reads the her handwriting easy
 ‘Nobody’⁶s handwriting reads easily’

What (9a) illustrates is that the negative dative quantifier *a naide* is unable to acquire a quantificational interpretation since it is not sitting in an argumental position – i.e., the preverbal subject position, and it is therefore interpreted referentially. However, when only the dative DP precedes the verb, the desired reading obtains (9b).⁷ In other words, the dative DP and the theme compete for the preverbal subject position in these contexts. The two possible configurations for Asturian middle-passives with preverbal dative DPs are shown in (10).

- (10) a. Left-dislocated Dative DP
A Guillermo [TP la so lletra lléese-y con facilidá]
 b. Dative DP in preverbal subject position
 [TP *A Guillermo lléese-y la so lletra con facilidá]*

The following section presents the analysis for the structures under consideration – cf. (2).

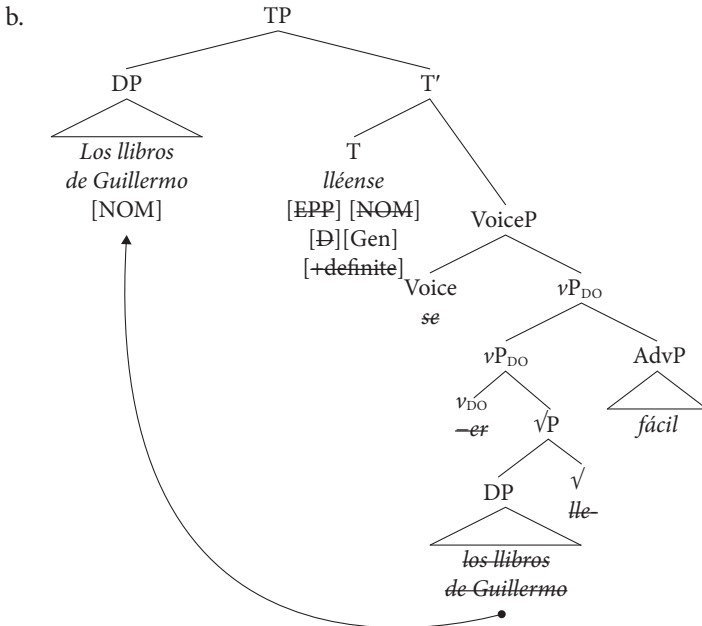
6. See Fernández Rubiera (2009) for an account of clitic pronoun excorporation in Asturian in the context of a preverbal negative quantifier.

7. Alternatively, the DP theme can appear postponed after the adverbial (*A naide se-y llea bien la lletra*), in what I assume to be an instance of a clitic right dislocation – cf. López (2009), Villalba (2000), Fernández Sánchez (2017).

4. The analysis

At this point, an analysis of inalienable and transfer middles is in order. Let us begin by discussing the derivation of a dative-less middle-passive such as the one in (11).

- (11) a. *Los libros de Guillermo lléense fácil*
 the books of Guillermo read.REFL easy
 ‘Guillermo’s books read easily’



What (11b) shows is the root *lle-* merging with its complement – following Harley’s (2014) proposal that roots head their own projection and do in fact take complements, the DP *los libros de Guillermo*, and projecting a \sqrt{P} which, at the same time, is complement to an activity verbalizing head v_{DO} , following Cuervo’s (2003) terminology. A Voice head sitting atop the event introducer would introduce the verb’s external argument in the structure (Marantz, 1984; Kratzer, 1996); however, in this case it is passivized and spelled-out by the reflexive clitic *se*, therefore denoting the participation of an implicit agent in the event, and preventing it from checking accusative case against the verb’s internal argument – see Schäfer (2008) for a proposal along these lines for Greek passives. The root undergoes head movement until reaching T°, and incorporates any clitics it finds on its way, following Roberts’ (2010) assumption that these are defective heads. Finally, the presence of a generic operator (Gen) in combination with the [D] and [+definite] features in

T° probes the only DP available in the derivation – i.e., the internal argument – to its specifier, thus satisfying the EPP and licensing nominative case.⁸

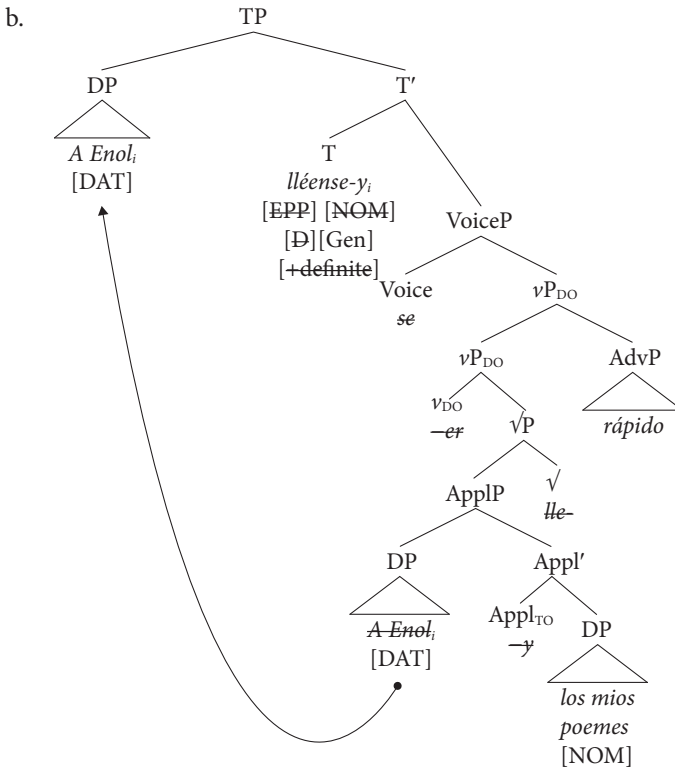
Having explained the derivation of a middle-passive construction, it is timely to address the insertion of non-subcategorized dative arguments in these contexts. Cuervo (2003) develops a theory of datives in Spanish based on the notion of applicatives (cf., Pylkkänen, 2002, 2008), argument-introducing functional heads that apply an entity to an event, an object, or a result. Specifically, this linguist accounts for double object constructions in Spanish by resorting to low applicatives, which merge as the complement to the verb and whose semantics – shown in (12) – denote an entity gaining possession or being deprived of a particular object.

- (12) Pylkkänen (2002, p. 22)
- a. Low-APPL-TO (Recipient applicative):
 $\lambda x.\lambda y.\lambda f_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle}.\lambda e. f(e, x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e, x) \ \& \ \text{to-the-possession}(x, y)$
 - b. Low-APPL-FROM (Source applicative):
 $\lambda x.\lambda y.\lambda f_{\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle}.\lambda e. f(e, x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e, x) \ \& \ \text{from-the-possession}(x, y)$

Note that a transfer middle containing a dative argument, like the one in (13a), qualifies as a passivized generic double object construction, in which *Enol* receives the reading of the poems. Thus, its derivation is shown in (13b).

- (13) a. *A Enol_i, lléense-y_i los (sos_{#i/j}/mios_k) poemas rápido*
 to ENOL.DAT read.REFL-3.DAT the his my poems fast
 ‘Enol’s poems read quickly’
 ‘The/his/my poems are easy to read to Enol’

8. According to Suárez-Palma (2020), the [D] feature in T° accounts for the requirement of middle-passive and inchoative constructions to have subject DP, and not a bare NP like in regular *se*-passives. However, T° in inchoative configurations –except for generic ones– lacks both a [+definite] feature and a generic operator, which explains why the grammatical subject’s unmarked order is postverbal in these contexts. Alternatively, Schäfer (2008) placed the [D] feature in Voice; however, by locating it in T°, it is also possible to account for the fact that the internal argument also raises to preverbal subject position in generic inchoative contexts, which presumably lack a VoiceP.



In (13b), a recipient applicative head spelled out as the third person dative clitic pronoun *-y* relates the dative argument *a Enol* in its specifier to *los míos poemas*; this whole projection merges as the complement to the root *lle-* to which the dative clitic incorporates, along with the reflexive one in Voice. T° probes the first DP it finds to its specifier, i.e. the dative DP; since this phrase is inherently case marked, T° checks its nominative case feature against the possessee via Agree.

Cuervo (2003) also proposed a third type of low applicative in order to account for a static relationship of possession, which at times can be inalienable;⁹ its semantics are shown in (14). As in the other two cases, this head relates a possessor in its specifier and a possessee in its complement position.

9. Within Generative Grammar, inalienable possession between an object and a dative argument has been analyzed under the scope of binding and control (Guéron, 1983, 1985; Demonte, 1988, 1995), predication (Vergnaud & Zubizarreta, 1992), and as instances of possessor raising (Landau, 1999; Sánchez López, 2007).

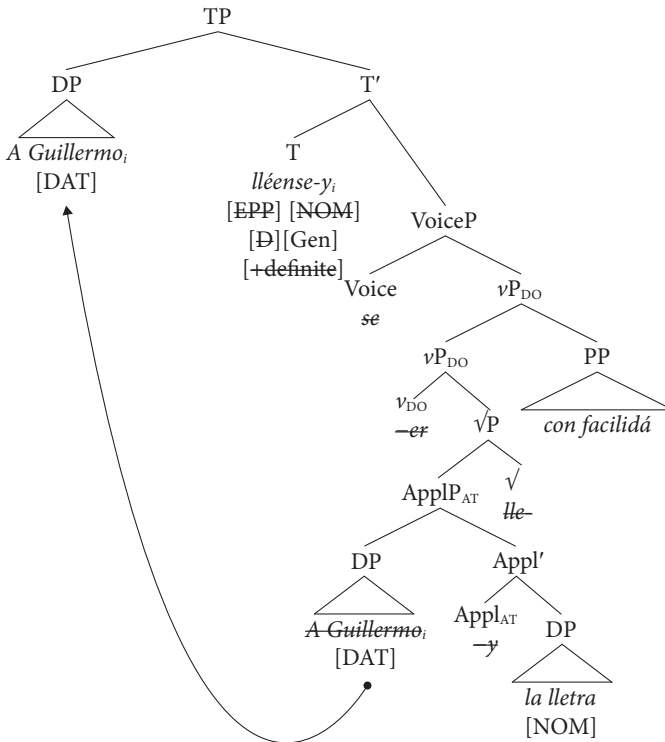
(14) Low-APPL-AT (Possessor Applicative):

$\lambda x.\lambda y.\lambda f\langle e,s,t\rangle.\lambda e. f(e,x) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e,x) \ \& \ \text{in-the-possession}(x,y)$

Following this proposal, the non-dislocated counterpart of an inalienable middle with a dative argument is shown in (15), which proceeds in the same way as the one in (13b).

(15) a. *A Guillermo lléese-y la lletra con facilidá*

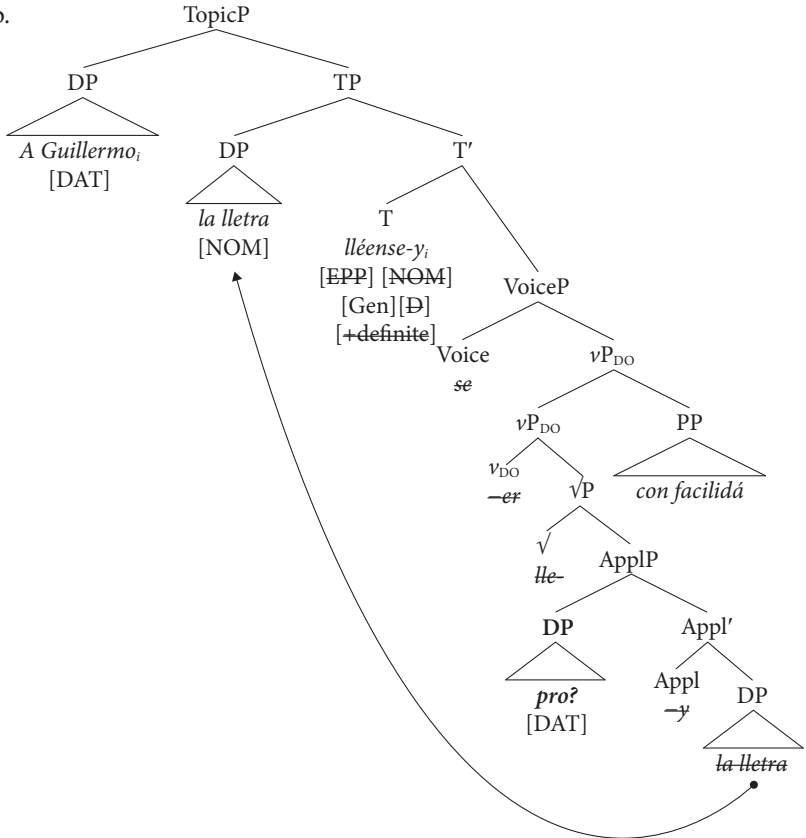
b.



While (15) successfully accounts for the configuration in which the dative DP occupies the preverbal subject position, this proposal runs into intervention effects when applied to the left-dislocated counterpart of an inalienable middle. Crucially, for the relationship of possession to obtain in a low applicative analysis it is necessary for both the possessor and the possesee to merge under the same maximal projection. Therefore, if the possessor dative DP merges *in situ* in the left periphery, some sort of empty category standing for the possessor – and therefore bearing an identity relation with the dislocated constituent – would be expected to merge in SpecApplP so that the possession construal arises. However, because it is structurally closer to T°, this empty pronominal would be probed to its specifier to satisfy the EPP, instead of the possesee, thus yielding an undesired word order, as shown in (16).

(16) a. *A Guillermo, la letra lléese-y con facilidad*

b.



It might appear that one way to avoid this technical challenge could be to assume that the applicative head does not project a specifier and that it alone suffices to convey the possession relationship; however, this strategy would force the semantic derivation in (14) to crash, for low applicatives require three semantic arguments: two entity arguments (the direct object and the dative one), as well as the event predicate argument – i.e., the \sqrt{P} . If nothing merges in SpecApplP, the applicative head will lack one of them, and the derivation may not proceed. Alternatively, if one assumes that the inalienable possession construal originates within the DP rather than inside the ApplP, this shortcoming can be overcome. Cardinaletti (1998) proposed the classification in (17), which comprises the different types of possessive pronouns that are encountered in Romance.

- (17) a. *Mi letra* Clitic (Spanish)
 my handwriting
 b. *La mio letra* Weak (Asturian)
 the my handwriting

- c. *La lletra mio* Strong (Asturian)
the handwriting mine

In light of these data, Alexiadou *et al.* (2007), based on Radford (2000), argue that those Romance languages where weak possessive pronouns are attested project a possessor projection (PossP or *nP*) which merges as complement to D°, and hosts the possessor of its complement – i.e., the NP. Assuming, Guéron’s (1985) proposal that inalienably possessed nouns take a possessor as an argument, which can presumably be a null pronominal of some sort inside NP, the internal structure of an inalienably possessed DP such as (17b) is shown in (18).

- (18) a. *La mio lletra*
b.
-
- ```

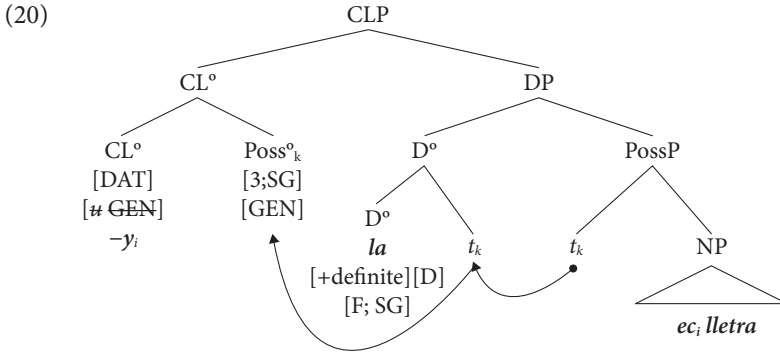
graph TD
 DP --> D
 DP --> PossP_nP[PossP/nP]
 D --- la[la]
 la --- D_feats["[+definite][D]
[F; SG]"]
 PossP_nP --> Poss_n[Poss/n]
 PossP_nP --> NP
 Poss_n --- mio["mio_i"]
 mio --- Poss_n_feats["[GEN]
[1; SG]"]
 NP --> Triangle
 Triangle --- ec["ec_i lletra"]

```

In (18), the head of PossP contains a genitive feature and the possessor’s phi-features which, when combined, are spelled out as the possessive weak pronoun *mio* in Asturian; this pronoun binds the empty category inside the relational NP, giving rise to the inalienable possession interpretation. In order to assess how this structure comes into play with a dative possessor, it is necessary to observe the contrasts in (19).

- (19) a. *La mio lletra lléese bien*  
the my handwriting reads.REFL well  
‘My handwriting reads well’  
b. *?La mio lletra lléese me bien*  
the my handwriting reads.REFL.1SG.DAT well  
c. *La lletra lléese me bien*  
the handwriting reads.REFL.1SG.DAT well  
d. *A mi, la lletra lléese me bien*  
to me.DAT the handwriting reads.REFL.1SG.DAT well  
e. *#?A mi, la mio lletra lléese me bien*  
to me.DAT the my handwriting reads.REFL.1SG.DAT well

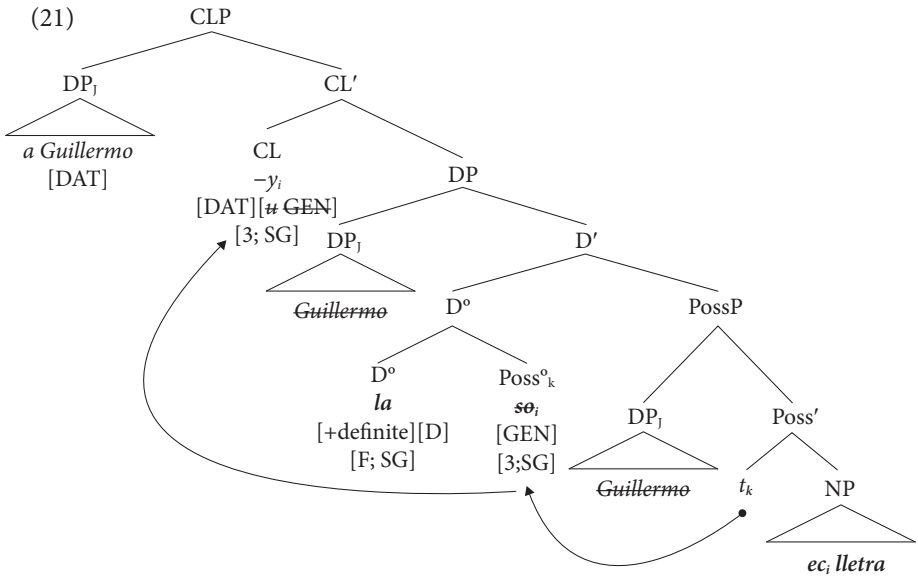
What can be inferred from (19) is that the grammar of Asturian encodes possession in inalienable middles by resorting to either a weak possessive pronoun or a possessive dative, but not through the combination of both (19b,e). In other words, the moment the dative argument is inserted, the possessive pronoun disappears. A possible way of accounting for these data, while acknowledging the derivation in (18), yet without resorting to the notion of low applicatives, is sketched in (20).



In (20), the relational NP *lletra* is merged as the complement of a PossP, whose head contains the genitive and phi-features of the possessor, spelled out as the possessive pronoun *so*, which binds the empty category in NP, thus giving rise to the inalienable possession construal. The Poss head undergoes head movement to D, bringing about a structure equivalent to the one proposed by Demonte (1988, 1991).<sup>10</sup> Poss subsequently is attracted by the head of a clitic phrase CLP to check its genitive feature – alternatively, Poss may undergo long head movement (Lema & Rivero, 1990) to CL; both heads conflate and are spelled out by the dative clitic *y-*, which shows the phi-features in Poss, and would bear an identity relationship with an optional left-dislocated dative DP standing for the possessor – i.e. in the left dislocated configuration of an inalienable middle. In other words, the purpose of CL is to serve as a resumptive pronoun for the left-dislocated dative DP in this configuration. Finally, the entire CLP merges as the complement of the root.

When non-dislocated, the possessor DP may merge in the specifier of PossP; this DP is caseless and must locally move to the specifier of CLP where it can license dative case. Later, this dative DP will be probed by T to preverbal subject position to check its EPP features, while the theme DP *lletra* is the one licensing nominative case via Agree. As it happened in (20), Poss head moves to CL and incorporates. This configuration is shown in (21).

10. Note that this instance of head movement is also attested in Romance languages with clitic possessive pronouns, like Spanish (*mi letra*, ‘my handwriting’), the difference being that both heads are conflated in these languages and spelled out as one single phonological form.



This proposal does not rely on the presence of the low applicative head for the relationship of inalienable possession to obtain, since it already originates inside the DP, along the lines of what was proposed by Guéron (1985); Demonte (1988) and Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992). Besides, this claim is supported by the fact that the inalienable interpretation already exists in the DP containing a possessive pronoun and a relational/body part noun alone – e.g., *los mios güeyos* ('my eyes'). Additionally, the theoretical shortcomings a low applicative analysis poses are avoided, and therefore it is not necessary to rely on empty pronominals standing for the possessor when the dative DP appears left-dislocated in inalienable middles, since PossP does not require an argument in its specifier. Finally, this account is applicable to other Iberian Romance languages that show the same pattern found in Asturian, such as Catalan:

- (22) a. *La meva lletra es llegeix fàcilment*  
 the my handwriting REFL reads easily  
 'My handwriting reads easily'
- b. *La meva lletra s'em llegeix fàcilment*  
 the my handwriting REFL-1SG.DAT reads easily
- c. *La lletra s'em llegeix fàcilment*  
 the handwriting REFL-1SG.DAT reads easily
- d. *A mi, la lletra s'em llegeix fàcilment*  
 to me.DAT the handwriting REFL-1SG.DAT reads easily
- e. *\*A mi, la meva lletra s'em llegeix fàcilment*  
 to me.DAT the my handwriting REFL-1SG.DAT reads easily

In sum, by assuming that the inalienable possession construal originates inside the DP containing the relational noun, it is possible to successfully account for both configurations yielding inalienable middles – cf. (10) above, thus avoiding the intervention effects the left-dislocated counterpart faced under a standard low applicative analysis.

## 5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided novel data from Asturian middle-passives and their interaction with dative arguments. When these constructions contain certain activity verbs, such as *lleer* ('to read') and a relational noun as their grammatical subject, they can host a non-subcategorized dative argument that is interpreted as the inalienable possessor of such noun. Moreover, I argued that a preverbal dative DP can occur in two possible configurations in these contexts, namely, either in subject position, in which case the theme remains in the VP, or left-dislocated, allowing the theme to raise to SpecTP.

I showed the theoretical shortcomings posed by a low applicative analysis of inalienable possession in middle contexts; such an approach relies on the fact that the applicative head relates a possessor in its specifier with the possessee in its complement position, therefore being responsible for the emergence of the possession relation, which can be inalienable at times. Nevertheless, it would be necessary to posit that an empty category of some sort occupies SpecApplP when the dative DP merges dislocated in the left-periphery; this null pronominal would subsequently be probed by  $T^{\circ}$  to its specifier in order to satisfy the EPP and therefore yielding an undesired word order.

In order to overcome such intervention effects, I provided an alternative account whereby the inalienable possession interpretation arises inside the DP, by means of a weak possessive pronoun heading PossP, which binds an empty category inside the relational NP. When a dative DP occurs in these contexts, it may originate in two different positions: (1) in the specifier of PossP and raises to a clitic phrase CLP containing uninterpretable genitive features, where it licenses dative case; or (2) left-dislocated and bearing an identity relation with the dative clitic that spells out the complex head comprising CL and Poss, where the latter has head moved to in order to check its uninterpretable genitive features. The fact that Poss, which otherwise would be spelled out as a weak possessive pronoun, incorporates into CL would explain the unacceptability of encountering a such pronoun in the presence of a possessor dative in inchoative middles. Therefore, this proposal does not require any a low applicative head for the inalienable possession to arise, which avoids the intervention effects found in previous works. Additionally, I proposed that the

analysis presented here can also be applied to other Iberian Romance languages showing the same behavior, such as Catalan.

Finally, the ultimate goal of this chapter was to emphasize the need to elaborate an exhaustive classification of middle-passive constructions in Asturian, paying careful attention to their structural properties, including their interaction with dative arguments. The implications of such undertaking are of major importance if its outcomes are regularly contrasted with data from the other Romance languages, in order to further the existing knowledge of the morphosyntactic phenomena of this linguistic family, as well as to contribute to the thriving field of syntactic microvariation.

## Abbreviations

|     |          |       |                            |
|-----|----------|-------|----------------------------|
| DAT | dative   | NOM   | nominative                 |
| F   | feminine | REFL  | reflexive                  |
| Gen | generic  | SG    | singular                   |
| GEN | genitive | 1/2/3 | first/second/third persons |

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## Negation in Asturian

### Pragmatic differences at the syntax-phonology interface

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The discourse markers in modern Asturian *non* and *nun* are not just two variants of the same unit of negation, as has been traditionally thought. Rather, they are lexical items that codify different types of polarity and express different types of negation. The present analysis will show that *non* is a peripheral independent C-unit that expresses relative polarity and is used to refute a previous utterance (metalinguistic negation). *Nun*, on the other hand, is an ambiguous negative marker: not only does it codifies negative polarity in  $\Sigma$ P and legitimises negative polarity items (sentential negation); it is also linked to ascending intonation, can activate the <*objection*> value of relative polarity in C, and refutes a previous statement.

**Keywords:** negation, metalinguistic negation, sentence polarity, pragmatics, Asturian syntax

#### 1. Introduction

The act of negation can affect the content of a proposition, cancelling out its truth-value. It can also be used as a response<sup>1</sup> to previous claim in a specific communicative situation. In the first case, we refer to internal, sentential, regular or descriptive negation (Ducrot, 1972, p. 147), whilst in the second, we refer to external or metalinguistic negation (Ducrot, 1984, p. 217; Horn, 1989, p. 377).

Strategies to express one type of negation or the other vary in every language and, as we shall see, Asturian makes use of two different negative markers in particular: *non* and *nun*. Although these two items have traditionally been considered variants of the same negative marker, a syntactic and pragmatic analysis of their

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1. As an anonymous reviewer points out, metalinguistic negation may be used as a mere self-correction device. However, no matter who claimed the previous assertion, the speaker herself or her interlocutor, both the syntactic structure and the pragmatic value of the rejection remain.

contexts of use reveal that they are, in fact, two different units. *Non* is tonic and a prosodically independent unit that can constitute an utterance on its own. It is used to refute a previous utterance as an unambiguous metalinguistic negative marker (MNM) that merges in the CP and activates the <objection> value of relative polarity. *Nun* is an atonic particle, capable of generating different readings depending on whether it only activates the <negation> value of absolute polarity in the  $\Sigma P$  (regular negation) or if it also checks the relative polarity in the CP and activates the <objection> value (metalinguistic negation).

In this article, I first will provide a short explanation of the pragmatic concept of metalinguistic negation (Section 2). Then (Section 3), I will present a general overview of negation in Asturian. I will then establish the main differences between *non* and *nun*, in order to move onto the syntax of regular negation and its impact on a sentence's internal structure (Section 4). I will also look at the syntax of metalinguistic negation and the role of relative and absolute polarity (Section 5).

## 2. The pragmatic notion of metalinguistic negation

The concept of metalinguistic negation (*négation métalinguistique*) was first formulated by Ducrot (1972, p. 147) as a discourse strategy that refutes the assumptions of a previous claim, as opposed to descriptive negation (*négation descriptive*) which adopts and preserves them: “Nous avons admis que la négation ‘descriptive’ conserve les présupposés (alors que la négation métalinguistique –ou réfutatrice– peut les contester).” In line with this statement, metalinguistic negation does not act at the propositional level, tackling the true or false nature of a statement, but rather at the utterance level, contradicting or refuting implicit claims. For this reason, it is referred to as “un énoncé sur un énoncé” (Ducrot, 1972, p. 147). For an opposite point of view, see Forest (1992).

Later, Horn (1989, p. 377) developed the concept of metalinguistic negation based on the notion of pragmatic ambiguity and by establishing two different levels within the scope of negation itself: the sentence, if it is a “descriptive truth-functional operator,” and the utterance, if the negative operator is metalinguistic, “which can be glossed ‘I object to U’, where U is crucially a linguistic utterance or utterance type rather than an abstract proposition.”

Based on the notion of “echoic use,” introduced by Sperber & Wilson (1986/1994), and which refers to the fact that in certain circumstances linguistic constituents are not made use of linguistically, but rather quoted, Carston (1996) sees metalinguistic negation as an “echoic utterance” and Recanati (2000, p. 196) formulates it as a “quoted utterance:” “It is clear that in metalinguistic negation the speaker does two things: he demonstrates an objectionable utterance, and rejects

it as objectionable. It has therefore the force of a metalinguistic statement about a quoted utterance.” Later studies on syntax (Farkas & Bruce, 2010; Martins, 2014), which I will refer to later, link this echoic use to a specific syntactical structure in which the scope of metalinguistic negation covers the whole utterance, but not its internal structure. This allows us to explain some of the characteristics of this class of negation, as previously highlighted by Horn (1989, Chapter 6).

### 3. Negation in Asturian: A general overview

Modern Asturian has two different negative markers, *non* and *nun*, which have traditionally been considered contextual variants of the same negative unit, both used in a mutually-complementary way (ALLA, 1999; Andrés, 1995; García Valdés, 1979).<sup>2</sup> However, in this study I suggest that the opposite is true (Floriccic, 2018; San-Segundo-Cachero, 2016) and I will provide a series of different reasons to support my hypothesis that *non* and *nun* are, in fact, two different negative particles, despite the fact that *nun* can partially be used instead of *non*.

In this way, when faced with a statement such as (1), the interlocutor’s negative response can be interpreted in two ways: either the content of the claim is false because *Xuan* has not three, but two, children, as is indicated in the reformulation in brackets (2). For this reason, he/she uses the negative marker *nun* to give the statement a negative polarity (regular negation). Alternatively, the speaker does not agree with the previous assertion, (3a) and (3b), independently of whether the claim is true or false (metalinguistic negation). In this case, the negation does not affect the truth-value held by the claim in (1), since, as the reformulation shows, if *Xuan* has four children then it is certainly true he has three. Then, in (3) the negation works on a previous statement and refutes it. For this kind of negation, Asturian has two different strategies: inserting the MNM *non* at the end of the quoted statement (3b) or in the use of *nun* as MNM (*nun*-MNM), with ascending intonation (3a).<sup>3</sup>

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2. Based on data from monographs on dialects, Andrés (1995, p. 49) notes that the duality of negative markers is not registered in all Asturian, but just in the center and western areas, where, due to the influence of Castilian, *non* can be produced as *no*.

3. In this paper “ascending intonation” is used in a broad sense to identify a prosodic pattern that displays a characteristic ascending intonation before the final descending tone. In Asturian this intonation is clearly different from the intonation of interrogative sentences, which display a prosodic pattern different from the Spanish one, especially in south-central varieties of Asturian (Alvarellos *et al.*, 2011). Since intonation is relevant to identify metalinguistic negation, a prosodic study would be necessary to confirm the ideas here exposed. However, it goes beyond from the aim of this paper.

- (1) *Xuan tien tres fíos*  
 Xuan has three children-M.PL  
 ‘Xuan has three children’
- (2) *Xuan nun tien tres fíos, (tien dos)*  
 Xuan not has three children-M.PL, (has two)  
 ‘Xuan doesn’t have three children, he has two’
- (3) a. *Xuan nun tien tres fíos↑ (tien cuatro)*  
 Xuan not has three children-M.PL, (has four)  
 ‘Xuan doesn’t have three children, he has four’  
 b. *Xuan tien tres fíos non, (tien cuatro)*  
 Xuan has three children-M.PL not, (has four)  
 ‘It’s not the case that Xuan have three children, he has four’

Items are crucial for two different reasons. On the one hand, these negative items facilitate the distinction between regular negation and metalinguistic negation. On the other hand, they reveal the existence of syntactic properties that make Asturian different from Spanish as well as the so-called Western Iberian Languages (WIL), Galician and Portuguese. These issues are only briefly introduced in this section for ease of exposition but will be explained in detail later on.

First of all, in line with Martins (1994), I assume that a functional category  $\Sigma$  projects above the verbal inflection or IP associated with the positive or negative polarity of the sentence (4). Negative polarity contexts in WIL and Asturian need a regular negation marker, such as *não* (5) or *nun* (6), to be merged in  $\Sigma$ , so that NEG-Cl-V order (proclisis) is derived, as happens in Spanish (7) and other Romance languages. In positive polarity contexts, on the other hand, while the same pattern remains in Spanish (10), Asturian (9) and WIL (8) do exhibit V-Cl order (enclisis). These two languages, nevertheless, differ in the computational operations that generate this pattern, as argued below.

- (4) [ $\Sigma$  <Aff> / <Neg> [IP]]
- (5) *O João não a comprou* (proclisis) (Portuguese)  
 The João not ACC.3SG.FEM= buy-PST.3SG  
 ‘João didn’t buy it’
- (6) *Xuan nun la comprou* (proclisis) (Asturian)  
 Xuan not ACC.3SG.FEM= buy-PST.3SG  
 ‘Xuan didn’t buy it’
- (7) *Juan no la comprou* (proclisis) (Spanish)  
 Juan not ACC.3SG.FEM= buy-PST.3SG  
 ‘Juan didn’t buy it’

- (8) *O João comprou-a* (enclisis) (Portuguese)  
 The João buy-PST.3SG=ACC.3SG.FEM  
 'João bought it'
- (9) *Xuan compróla* (enclisis) (Asturian)  
 Xuan buy-PST.3SG=ACC.3SG.FEM  
 'Xuan bought it'
- (10) *Juan la comprou* (proclisis) (Spanish)  
 Juan ACC.3SG.FEM= buy-PST.3SG  
 'Juan bought it'

Unlike Galician and Portuguese, Asturian does not allow the movement of the bare verb from I to  $\Sigma$  (VP-ellipsis) and later to C to constitute an answer to a *yes/no* question, as illustrated in examples below. I assume that there is a CP layer associated to polarity where agreement or disagreement with a previous utterance is checked (Martins, 2014), as in (11). This checking operation reflects variation amongst Romance languages and establishes a crucial difference between Asturian and WIL. Agreement in that CP-shell can be expressed by a bare verb in WIL (12), but by a positive item like *sí* in Asturian (13) and Spanish (14) – A = question, B = answer; while disagreement or rejection is expressed by a MNM such as *non* in Asturian, *no* in Spanish or *não* in Portuguese.

- (11) [CP C <polarity> [Σ <polarity> [IP]]]
- (12) A: *Comprou-a o João?* (Portuguese)  
 A: buy-PST.3SG=ACC.3SG.FEM the João?  
 A: 'Did João buy it?'  
 B: *Comprou.* / \**Sim.* // *Não* (VP-ellipsis, I-to- $\Sigma$  move)  
 B: buy-PST.3SG / \*Yes. // Not  
 B: 'Yes, (he did)' / \*'Yes' // 'No, (he didn't)'
- (13) A: *¿Compróla Xuan?* (Asturian)  
 A: buy-PST.3SG=ACC.3SG.FEM Xuan?  
 A: 'Did Xuan buy it?'  
 B: \**Compró.* / *Sí.* // *Non* (\*VP-ellipsis, \*I-to- $\Sigma$  move)  
 B: \*buy-PST.3SG / Yes // Not  
 B: \*'Yes, (he did.)' / 'Yes' // 'No, (he didn't)'
- (14) A: *¿La comprou Juan?* (Spanish)  
 A: ACC.3SG.FEM = buy-PST.3SG Juan?  
 A: 'Did Juan buy it?'  
 B: \**Compró.* / *Sí.* // *No.* (\*VP-ellipsis, \*I-to- $\Sigma$  move)  
 B: \*buy-PST.3SG / Yes // Not  
 B: \*'Yes, (he did)' / 'Yes' // 'No, (he didn't)'

I will come back to these issues later in order to explain the syntactic structures and the impact of negation on clitic position in detail. Now, with the aim of demonstrating that *non* and *nun* are two different negative markers, I will apply the morphosyntactic tests proposed by Horn (1989, pp. 392–413) in order to distinguish metalinguistic negation from sentential negation. These tests have also been applied successfully to identify MNMs in Portuguese (Martins, 2010, 2014; Pereira, 2010; Pinto, 2010).

### 3.1 Previous discourse legitimisation

If metalinguistic negation is a quoted utterance, its formulation requires a previous statement in order to refute it in full or partially (15); otherwise, regular negation can be used to start conversation, as we see in (16).

- (15) A: *Esti coche ye caru*  
 A: This-M.SG car is expensive-M.SG  
 A: ‘This car is expensive’  
 B: *Esti coche ye caru non, ye muy caru*  
 B: This-M.SG car is expensive-M.SG not, is very expensive-M.SG  
 B: ‘This car is not just expensive, it’s very expensive’
- (16) *Pues esti coche nun ye caru...*  
 So, this-M.SG car not is expensive-M.SG  
 ‘So, this car isn’t expensive...’

### 3.2 Intolerance to morphological manifestation

The negation that manifests itself morphologically as a prefix (17) is always interpreted as regular negation. For this reason, the reformulation in brackets in (18) is ungrammatical and pragmatically inadequate. This is why scholars refer to the “inability of metalinguistic negation to incorporate prefixally” (Horn, 1989, p. 392).

- (17) *El rey de Francia ye infeliz*  
 The king of France is unhappy  
 ‘The king of France is unhappy’
- (18) *El rey de Francia nun ye feliz, \*(nun hai ningún rey*  
 The king of France not is happy, \*(not there.is any king  
*de Francia)*  
 of France)  
 ‘The king of France isn’t happy, \*(there is no king of France)’

### 3.3 Inability to legitimise items with negative polarity

Only regular negative markers are able to legitimise negative polarity items (NPIs), since they are part of the internal structure of the sentence (19). The MNM *non* cannot legitimise them (20) because it is external to the sentence and operates on the utterance. However, they can both occur in the same statement, as long as the NPI is duly legitimised by *nun*.

- (19) *Xuan nun ve gota<sub>NPI</sub>*  
 Xuan not sees drop  
 ‘Xuan can’t see a drop’
- (20) [*Xuan \*(nun) ve gota<sub>NPI</sub>] non, tien una vista de lince*  
 Xuan \*(not) see drop not, has a sight of lynx  
 ‘It’s not the case that Xuan can’t see at all, he is eagle-eyed’

### 3.4 Compatibility with positive polarity items

Positive polarity items (PPIs) are only legitimised in positive contexts. For this reason, they are ungrammatical when used in the scope of regular negation with *nun* (21) (San-Segundo-Cachero, 2008). However, there is nothing to impede PPIs and the MNM *non* (22) from occurring alongside each other, because the latter is external to the sentence.

- (21) *Bien que<sub>PPI</sub> (\*nun) -y presta face-se la víctima*  
 Really (\*not) =3SG.DAT enjoys make-REFL.3SG the victim  
 ‘He really enjoys (\*doesn’t enjoy) playing the victim’
- (22) *Bien que<sub>PPI</sub> -y presta face-se la víctima non, ta malu*  
 Really =DAT.3SG enjoys make-REFL.3SG the victim not, is ill-M.SG  
*de verdá*  
 of truth  
 ‘It’s not the case that he really enjoys playing the victim, he’s seriously ill’

### 3.5 Impact on the position of clitics

In Asturian, just like Galician and Portuguese, weak pronouns appear after the verb in unmarked positive contexts and thus depend on the verb (23). However, when sentential negation comes into play (24), the clitic appears before the verb and depends on the prosodic support of the preceding element: the negative marker *nun* (ALLA, 1999; Andrés, 1993; Fernández-Lorences, 2009/2010; Fernández-Rubiera, 2009, 2014; González i Planas, 2007; Lorenzo, 1995; Villa-García & Sánchez Llana,



this volume). This alteration in the order V-Cl does not take place if metalinguistic negation with the MNM *non* is present (25). This is further evidence that it is external to the sentence.

- (23) *Los carambelos, compró-ylos la madre*  
 The sweets, buy-PST.3SG=DAT.3SG=ACC.3PL.M the mother  
 ‘The sweets, his/her mother bought him/her them’
- (24) *Nun-y los compró la madre*  
 Not=DAT.3SG =ACC.3PL.M buy-PST.3SG the mother  
 ‘His/her mother didn’t buy him/her them.’
- (25) *Compró-ylos la madre non, el güelu*  
 buy-PST.3SG=DAT.3SG=ACC.3PL.M not, the grandfather  
 ‘His/her mother didn’t buy him/her them, his/her grandfather did’

#### 4. *Nun*, $\Sigma$ P and the syntax of polarity in Asturian

In this section, I will aim to explain why *nun* is an internal element of the sentence. As previously advanced, I will base my argument on the presence of the functional category  $\Sigma$  above the verbal inflection or IP associated with the positive or negative polarity of the sentence (I repeat here the structure in (4), now (26)). Contrary to Laka (1990), I will consider (in line with Martins (1994)), whether  $\Sigma$  is present not only in negative sentences but also in all positive ones, independently of any emphatic purpose they may have. The inherent features of  $\Sigma$ , the way in which they are satisfied, and the visibility of syntactical operations in the *Phonological Form* (PF) are an important parameter of variation in the Romance languages, alongside the position of clitics and verb’s ability to independently create a response.

- (26) [ $\Sigma$ P $\Sigma$ <Aff> / <Neg>[IP]]

##### 4.1 $\Sigma$ P and sentence structure in Asturian

In the Western Iberian Languages (WIL), Galician and European Portuguese,  $\Sigma$  has *strong V-related features* (Martins, 1994, pp. 344–350) that demand phonic realisation before their *Spell-out* (Martins, 1994, 2005, 2006, 2013): a negative particle or negative sentential marker that the verb agrees with, if the assigned value is negative <Neg>; or the displacement of the verb to the IP, if in a sentence with positive polarity <Aff>, as in (27). In other Romance languages, like Spanish (28) (which will represent the rest of the Romance languages for the purposes of this study) and Asturian (29),  $\Sigma$  has *weak V-related features*, and so, although the negative value of  $\Sigma$  is always expressed in the PF using a lexical item (*no*, *nun*, respectively), when  $\Sigma$

has a positive value (non-emphatic), the syntactical confirmation is carried out by moving the verbal features in *Logical Form* (LF) from I without this being reflected in the PF.<sup>4</sup>

(27) [ $\Sigma$ P V-I<Aff> /  $n\grave{a}o$ <Neg> [IP V-I]]

(28) [ $\Sigma$ P  $\Sigma$ <Aff> /  $n\acute{o}$ <Neg> [IP V-I]]

(29) [ $\Sigma$ P  $\Sigma$ <Aff> /  $nun$ <Neg> [IP V-I]]

The movement of the verb in I to  $\Sigma$  in the WIL is apparent in minimal responses to full interrogative sentences, where the verb can function independently as an affirmative response (30). This implies that it moves to  $\Sigma$  and to C (Martins, 2006, 2013); whilst in the rest of the Romance languages an affirmative particle must be merged, such as *sí* in Spanish (31) – here I discuss some examples already mention in Section 2 and now renumbered.

(30) A: *Comprou-a o João?* (Portuguese)

A: buy-PST.3SG=ACC.3SG.FEM the João?

A: ‘Did João buy it?’

B: *Comprou.* / \**Sim.* (VP-ellipsis, I-to- $\Sigma$  move)

B: buy-PST.3SG / \*Yes

B: ‘Yes, (he did)’ / \*‘Yes’

(31) A: *¿La compró Juan?* (Spanish)

A: ACC.3SG.FEM= buy-PST.3SG Juan?

A: ‘Did Juan buy it?’

B: \**Compró.* / *Sí.* (\*VP-ellipsis, \*I-to- $\Sigma$  move)

B: \*buy-PST.3SG / Yes

B: \*‘Yes, (he did)’ / ‘Yes’

The displacement of the verb to  $\Sigma$  (which has strong features) in the WIL correlates, according to Martins (1994, 2005, 2006, 2013), with the enclitic position of weak pronouns (32) and with VP-ellipsis (19). These syntactical features were present in Latin and the Medieval Romance Languages and are preserved in the WIL (Martins, 2005). On the other hand, in those languages in which  $\Sigma$  does not have strong features, such as Spanish, the verb does not move to  $\Sigma$  nor produce the VP-ellipsis (31) and weak pronouns present proclisis (33).<sup>5</sup>

4. This difference between modern Spanish and Portuguese is a result of their divergent historical evolution. See Martins (1994, p. 343).

5. Due to their specific syntactic properties, I am not able to deal with either imperative forms or infinitive and gerundive forms any further in this paper. These forms show a special different pattern for clitic position and exhibit complex syntactic constraints in Romance languages. These special properties fall beyond the scope of this piece of work.

- (32) *O João comprou-a* (enclisis) (Portuguese)  
 The João buy-PST.3SG=ACC.3SG.FEM  
 'João bought it'
- (33) *Juan la compró* (proclisis) (Spanish)  
 Juan ACC.3SG.FEM= buy-PST.3SG  
 'Juan bought it'

However, this bipartite classification bypasses Asturian, since it shares characteristics with both kinds of language: on the one hand, just like WIL, it presents generalised enclisis in non-marked affirmative contexts (34); however, on the other hand, like Spanish and the other Romance languages, in Asturian  $\Sigma$  contains weak features that do not allow the verb to move to  $\Sigma$  in the PF nor allow VP-ellipsis. This means that the bare verb cannot constitute a full affirmative response (35).

- (34) *Xuan compróla* (enclisis) (Asturian)  
 Xuan buy-PST.3SG=ACC.3SG.FEM  
 'Xuan bought it'
- (35) A: *¿Compróla Xuan?* (Asturian)  
 A: buy-PST.3SG=ACC.3SG.FEM Xuan?  
 A: 'Did Xuan buy it?'  
 B: \**Compró / Sí* (\*VP-ellipsis, \*I-to- $\Sigma$  move)  
 B: \*buy-PST.3SG / Yes  
 B: \*'Yes, (he did.) / 'Yes'

Given that in Asturian the verb does not rise to  $\Sigma$ , the pronominal enclisis (V-CL) cannot respond to the same computational operations as in the WIL. Instead, we must seek out an explanation that is compatible with the presence of weak features in  $\Sigma$  and that, at the same time, justifies the different position of clitics depending on the negative or positive value of  $\Sigma$ .

In generative studies on clitics in Asturian, we find various proposals relating to syntax that consider the presence of a functional projection that hosts them and that is also present in Galician and Portuguese (Fernández-Rubiera, 2009, 2014; González i Planas, 2007; Longa & Lorenzo, 2001; Lorenzo, 1994, 1995). However, none of the cited works take into consideration the presence of the  $\Sigma$  category with strong verbal features in the WIL, correlated with the syntactic properties that Martins (1994, 2005) grants them (I-to- $\Sigma$  movement, responsive independence of the sole verb and VP-ellipsis). This means we cannot include Asturian in this group, despite the fact that it does demonstrate enclisis in unmarked contexts.

Although clitics are not a central theme in our study, it is certainly worth considering some aspects relating to their syntactic behaviour, since they are affected by polarity type (positive or negative codified in  $\Sigma$ ). They are also evidence that *nun* and *non* are different negative markers.

## 4.2 Polarity constraints on clitic position

In the Romance languages, the order of clitics in a negative sentence responds to one basic sequence: NEG-Cl-V, since the negative particle merges in  $\Sigma$ , V checks its features in I, and the clitic presents left-adjunction (Kayne, 1991). However, sentences of positive polarity can correspond to two clitic sequences: V-Cl in the WIL and Asturian, and Cl-V in the other languages. The Cl-V sequence corresponds with a parallel syntactical structure to that of negative sentences: V remains in I and the clitic presents left-adjunction, whilst the features of  $\Sigma$  are satisfied by moving the verbal features at LF.

As a result, we must also explain why in the WIL the clitic comes after the verb. If we are to assume that clitics attach themselves at the highest point occupied by the verb, then in these languages the verb should attach to  $\Sigma$ , producing proclisis and not enclisis. The solution for this is put forward by Martins (2005: 187), who suggests that enclisis is the result of a post-syntactic operation that occurs in the morphological component (“Local dislocation merger with inversion”; Embick & Noyer, 2001) and that inverts the Cl-V order in the I head (whose specifier does not necessarily project itself) in order to facilitate morphological fusion with the adjacent  $\Sigma$  head ( $\Sigma$ +I).

When it comes to Asturian, we also need to explain why enclisis occurs in unmarked positive contexts. However, the suggestion proposed by Martins (2005), based on the presence of strong verbal features in  $\Sigma$ , is not adequate here, since  $\Sigma$  presents weak verbal features in Asturian and the verb does not move above the IP.

We must firstly consider that weak pronouns in Asturian are always enclitic<sup>6</sup> (Villa-García & Sánchez Llana, this volume), that is, they depend on the element that precedes them, whatever that may be. They must, however, be adjacent to the verb always. For this reason, as Fontana (1997) explains, it is preferable to use the terms “anteposition” and “postposition” to refer to the linear order of clitics and the verb, leaving the terms “enclisis” / “proclisis” to refer to the direction of cliticisation, since the fact that the clitic appears before or after the verb lineally does not necessarily imply that it is prosodically dependent on it.<sup>7</sup>

Considering, then, the enclitic nature of weak pronouns in Asturian and assuming that  $\Sigma$  appears in all sentences, that IP is the highest position occupied by the verb in the Romance languages (except for the WIL, where it would be  $\Sigma$ P), and

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6. Although there are no prosodic studies on this (as far as I know), the rules of orthography (ALLA, 1981) and grammar (ALLA, 1999) seem to accept the enclitic nature of atonic pronouns. Cf. also Villa-García and Sánchez Llana (this volume).

7. Henceforth, I will use a dash (-) to indicate adjacency in the order of constituents, an underscore ( ) to represent the direction of cliticisation, and (~) to indicate the verbal enclisis produced by inverting the order of constituents.

that the I head is where the clitic attaches itself to the verb, we are faced with two possible scenarios. The first of these is that if the sentence is negative, *nun* merges in  $\Sigma$ , so the clitic has an element to its right to depend on and the sequence generated is *nun*\_Cl-V, which is lineally similar to that of the other Romance languages (36). Secondly, if the sentence is positive, however, as  $\Sigma$  has weak verbal features and there is no V-to- $\Sigma$  movement in PF, the clitic has no prosodic support to its right, and so the derivation \**\_Cl-V* (37) would fail.<sup>8,9</sup> In such cases, we find an inversion of order and the pronoun cliticises in postverbal position (38) (the IP/XP label reflects a context of enclisis with no theoretical backing, without referring to any specific functional category nor the effect of any specific prosodic rules).<sup>10</sup>

(36) [ $\Sigma$ P *nun*<Neg>[IP [Cl] [V-I<Aff>]]]: *Nun*\_Cl-V

(37) \* $[\Sigma$ P $\Sigma$ <Aff>[IP [Cl] [V-I<Aff>]]]: \**\_Cl-V*

(38) [ $\Sigma$ P $\Sigma$ <Aff>[IP/XP [V-I<Aff>] [Cl]]]: V~Cl

8. The Cl\_V order is also possible in partial interrogatives because the left-periphery of the syntactic structure provides a position where an interrogative item is merged and this item allows the clitic to lean on it. Therefore, contrary to what an anonymous reviewer suggests, sentences such as *¿Qué-yos dixo?* ('What did she tell them?') cannot be considered counterexamples to my proposal. Quite on the contrary, they add further support to the idea put forward in this paper: a position over IP must have phonic content in order to legitimise Cl\_V order and block the operation of inversion at the morphological component. This is exactly the same situation as in European Portuguese (*O que lhes disse?* 'What did she tell them?').

9. In syntactic representations I use the term IP for ease of exposition, but I work under the assumption that verbal flexion involves at least two functional projections: TP and AgrP. The positions for the subject in non-dependent sentences would be Spec $\Sigma$ P (preverbal subject) and SpecTP (postverbal subject). See Martins (1994, pp. 422–429).

10. The question about the way the necessary sequence V\_Cl is achieved in Asturian so that the derivation does not fail is a much-debated topic. Unfortunately, too complex to be addressed in this study. Most publications agree on the need to postulate a category that can host clitics and explain the V\_Cl order as a result of syntax (Fernández-Rubiera, 2009, 2011; González i Planas, 2007; Longa & Lorenzo, 2001; Lorenzo, 1994, 1995). However, it has also been suggested that the Copy Theory of Movement could be applied and that, ultimately, restrictions in the syntax-phonology interface may determine the position of the clitic (Villa-García, 2019, Villa-García & Sánchez Llana, this volume). As these authors argued, a sentence in Asturian contains two copies of a clitic: if the verb is at IP, one copy is below the verb and another above it. According to the Copy Theory of Movement, the highest copy is usually pronounced, unless it entails a violation of any requirement in the PF component and, thus, the lowest copy must be privileged. In the case of Asturian clitics, the highest copy is pronounced when the required prosodic support is provided by a preverbal constituent (C-items and polarity items, for instance); otherwise, the lowest copy is privileged. As a result of the first option, the order X-Cl-V is obtained, while the second one generates the pattern V-Cl as a last resort to avoid the derivation fail.

As a result, although generally speaking negative sentences seem to follow a similar structural pattern in all Romance languages (NEG-CL-V), there are prosodic differences when it comes to the direction of cliticisation of weak pronouns, since in the case of Asturian the clitic depends on the negative particle merged in  $\Sigma$ , *nun*, as in (39), and it does not cliticise on the verb it joins to in I, as occurs in Spanish (40).

(39)  $[\Sigma_P \text{ nun}_{\langle \text{Neg} \rangle} [\text{IP} [\text{Cl}] [\text{V-I}_{\langle \text{Aff} \rangle}]]]$ : Nun\_CL-V

(40)  $[\Sigma_P \text{ no}_{\langle \text{Neg} \rangle} [\text{IP} [\text{Cl}][\text{V-I}_{\langle \text{Aff} \rangle}]]]$ : No-CL\_V

The cliticisation on negation that occurs in Asturian is especially evident in the spoken language, where it is common (amongst the most conservative native speakers) for *nun* and the clitic to merge and be phonically produced as a single element (41) (Floricio, 2018; and references therein). See Table 1 for all possible fusions.

(41)  $[\Sigma_P \text{ nun}_{\langle \text{Neg} \rangle} [\text{IP} [\text{la}] [\text{compró}_{\langle \text{Aff} \rangle}]]]$   
*Nun\_la compró >N'a compró*  
 Not=ACC.3SG.FEM buy-PST.3SG  
 'He didn't buy it'

**Table 1.** Negation-clitic fusion

| Negation         | Clitic pronoun           | Fusion         |
|------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| <i>nun</i> (NEG) | <i>lu</i> (ACC.3SG.M)    | <i>n'u</i>     |
| <i>nun</i> (NEG) | <i>la</i> (ACC.3SG.FEM)  | <i>n'a</i>     |
| <i>nun</i> (NEG) | <i>los</i> (ACC.3PL.M)   | <i>n'os</i>    |
| <i>nun</i> (NEG) | <i>las</i> (ACC.3PL.FEM) | <i>n'as</i>    |
| <i>nun</i> (NEG) | <i>lo</i> (ACC.3.N)      | <i>n'ò</i>     |
| <i>nun</i> (NEG) | <i>-y</i> (DAT.3SG)      | <i>nu'-y</i>   |
| <i>nun</i> (NEG) | <i>-yos</i> (DAT.3PL)    | <i>nu'-yos</i> |

However, in an unmarked positive sentence the clitic has no support to its right (there is no lexical item to occupy  $\Sigma$ ). As a result, to avoid the derivation in PF failing, the order of elements is inverted (by whatever mechanism) and the sequence V\_CL is generated (42). However, if the positive sentence is emphatic (as an objection to a previous claim), the particle *sí* merges in the head  $\Sigma$  and would provide, just like *nun*, the prosodic support for the clitic, thus producing the order *sí*\_CL-V (43).

(42)  $[\Sigma_P \Sigma_{\langle \text{Aff} \rangle} [\text{IP/XP} [\text{compró}_{\langle \text{Aff} \rangle}] \sim [\text{la}]]]$   
*Compró~la*  
 buy-PST.3SG=ACC.3SG.FEM  
 'He/she bought it'

- (43) [<sub>Σ</sub>P Sí<sub><Aff></sub> [<sub>IP</sub> [la] [compró<sub><Aff></sub>]]]  
 Sí\_la compró  
 Yes =ACC.3SG.FEM buy-PST.3SG  
 ‘He/she did buy it’

As a result, the elements that merge in  $\Sigma$  allow the clitic to seek support from them and thus generate a legible structure in PF; when the head  $\Sigma$  has no phonic realisation, some kind of mechanism needs to intervene to repair and invert the order.

As previously argued, *nun* is a negative  $\Sigma$ -item that licenses negative polarity items. Furthermore, *nun* not only provides the prosodic support clitics need but also allows the morphophonological fusion with clitics. As will be shown in the following section, *non*, on the other hand, cannot either function as a potential host for the clitic or have scope over the inner structure of the sentence. This restriction is due to its peripheral position, in one of the outermost layers of the CP. This explains its inability to legitimise negative polarity items and its compatibility with the presence of *nun* inside the sentence.

## 5. The syntax of metalinguistic negation

One of the main differences between *non* and *nun* is the ability of the former to constitute an isolated response to a question or refute a previous utterance, which is what we call “metalinguistic negation.” As we have explained in Section 2, metalinguistic negation works at the discourse level, at the interface between syntax and pragmatics. For this reason, Martins (2010, 2014) locates the syntactic projection of MNMs in Portuguese to some of the layers of the CP: some merge directly in the CP (peripheral MNMs), whilst others move from an internal position in the domain of the IP (internal MNMs).

In this section, I will show that *non* is a peripheral MNM, applying the criteria proposed by Martins (2010, 2014). In the final section I will incorporate my analysis of *nun*-MNM.

### 5.1 *Non*: A metalinguistic negation marker

The particle *non* is characterised by its ability to independently constitute an utterance alone (44), either as a response to a full question (A1), or as an objection to a previous claim (A2). In both cases, we would have what Farkas and Bruce (2010) refer to as “responding assertion”, understood as the response or reaction to a previous intervention (“initiating assertion”), whether this was a question or an assertion.

- (44) A1: ¿Tienes fame?  
 A1: have.2SG hunger?  
 A1: 'Are you hungry?'  
 A2: Así que tienes fame...  
 A2: so that have.2SG hunger  
 A2: 'So you are hungry...'  
 B: Non  
 B: Not  
 B: 'No, (I'm not)'

Farkas & Bruce (2010) uphold that all responses have both “relative polarity” and “absolute polarity.” Relative polarity indicates agreement or disagreement with the interlocutor’s intervention and is expressed using <same> and <reverse> features, respectively. Absolute polarity, on the other hand, expresses the values <+> and <-> associated with the opposition affirmation/negation. However, when an objection or divergent response is issued and an MNM is used, Martins (2014) notes that there is no <reverse> feature that inverts the content of the proposition, but rather an <objection> feature. As opposed to the <reverse> feature, this does not interact with absolute polarity, but copies its value in order to refute it. In (45), therefore, the absolute polarity of the response in B will always be the same as that in A.

- (45) A: Xuan ta en casa  
 A: Xuan is at home  
 A: 'Xuan is at home'  
 B: Xuan ta en casa non, ta en chigre <objection, +>  
 B: Xuan is at home not, is at bar  
 B: 'It's not the case that Xuan is at home; he's at the bar'

Contrary to Farkas and Bruce (2010), who attribute the two kinds of polarity to the functional projection PolP and position it above the CP, Martins (2014) is of the opinion that absolute polarity is codified in  $\Sigma$ P and relative polarity in CP. This allows her to carry out numerous combinations of features and it can be used to explain the responding system in Portuguese in a satisfactory manner. I will apply this syntactic proposal to Asturian here.

In order to characterise *non* as an MNM, I will use the same criteria used to identify and describe different MNMs in Portuguese (Martins, 2010, 2014; Pereira, 2010; Pinto, 2010; San-Segundo-Cachero, 2016), which are those detailed as follows (a–e):<sup>11</sup>

11. All examples were elicited in spontaneous speech and double-checked by native speakers. The MNM *non* is prosodically integrated into the preceding clause. This clause is formed by the quoted assessment and becomes refuted. When the quoted utterance is negative, as in (47), there is no resumptive negation, as it might seem to be the case, because *non* does not reinforce the negative value of *nun*, but it expresses an objection to the negative utterance.



## a. Availability in isolation and in nominal fragments

- (46) A: *Voy comer un carambelu*  
 A: go.1SG eat a sweet  
 A: 'I'm going to eat a sweet'  
 B: *Non / Un carambelu non*  
 B: Not / A sweet not  
 B: 'No.' / 'Not a sweet'

## b. Ability to deny a negative proposition

- (47) A: *Nun tá borrachu. Nun bebe*  
 A: not is drunk. not drinks  
 A: 'He isn't drunk. He doesn't drink'  
 B: *Nun bebe non, nun suelta la botella*  
 B: Not drinks not, not drops the bottle  
 B: 'He doesn't drink, he never lets go of the bottle'

## c. Compatibility with emphatic adverbs and contrastive foci

- (48) A: *Páganos de xuru, tate tranquilu*  
 A: pays-us for sure, be.IMP calm-M.SG  
 A: 'He/she pays us for sure, (keep calm)'  
 B: *Páganos de xuru non, ya veremos*  
 B: pays-us for sure not, already see-FUT.1PL  
 B: 'He won't pay us for sure, we shall see'
- (49) A: *Xuan ye quien pagó*  
 A: Xuan is who.SG pay-PST.3SG  
 A: 'It's Xuan who paid'  
 B: *Xuan ye quien pagó non. Pagué yo*  
 B: Xuan is who.SG pay-PST.3SG not. pay-PST.1SG I  
 B: 'It's not Xuan who paid. I did'

## d. Compatibility with idiomatic sentences

- (50) A: *Cuando'l ríu suena, agua lleva*  
 A: When the river sounds, water carries  
 A: 'Where there's smoke, there's fire'  
 B: *Cuando'l ríu suena, agua lleva non. Nun fagas*  
 B: When the river sounds, water carries not not make-SBJV.2SG  
*casu*  
 attention  
 B: 'It's not the case that where there is smoke, there's fire. Ignore it'

## e. Compatibility with coordinate structures

- (51) A: *Casáronse* *y* *tuvieron* *un fíu*  
 A: marry-PST.3PL-REFL.3PL and have-PST.3PL a child-M.SG  
 A: 'They married and had a child'  
 B: *Casáronse* *y* *tuvieron* *un fíu* *non*,  
 B: marry-PST.3PL-REFL.3PL and have-PST.3PL a child-M.SG not,  
*casáronse* *porque* *tuvieron* *un fíu*  
 marry-PST.3PL-REFL.3PL because have-PST.3PL a child-M.SG)  
 B: 'It's not the case that they married and had a child; they married because they had a child'

The above examples show that *non* is a peripheral element with responsive independence (46), which does not have access to the sentence structure but can refute different kinds of construction that behave as a whole, without *non* altering its interpretation, as in (50) and (51). Neither does it act upon any of its internal components, as in (47)-(49). As a result, all of the evidence points to the fact that *non* appears in a peripheral position to the sentence, even above that of focalised constituents (49). So AssertiveP and EvaluativeP (Ambar, 2002, p. 16), associated with the factive interpretation of utterances and their assessment by the speaker, can be considered adequate categories.

It is not within the scope of the present article to identify in which specific layer MNMs are located, so I shall simply assume that relative polarity is projected in one of the external layers of the CP and that the statement being refuted,  $\Sigma P$ , will be topicalised in SpecTopP, above the MNM, since it is known information. This is how an utterance is generated in which *non* appears in the absolute final position.<sup>12</sup> This is commonplace in Asturian, as seen in (52), which corresponds to Example (37). The same structure can be used to explain the bare response *non*, in which the refuted utterance does not materialise in PF.

- (52) [<sub>TopP</sub> [ <sub>$\Sigma P$</sub>  Nun bebe] [<sub>Top'</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> non (...)[ <sub>$\Sigma P$</sub>  Nun bebe]]]  
*Nun bebe non*  
 Not drinks not  
 'It's not the case that he/she doesn't drink'

The cases in which *non* occupies a middle position in the statement, as in (53), would be due to the focalisation of the constituent to its left, as explained in San-Segundo-Cachero (2016). In this case, the structure would be more complex

12. In order to identify the exact syntactical position of *non* we would need to analyse in detail how it behaves in the responding system of Asturian. We would also need to study it alongside the positive marker *sí*. All of these aspects are yet to be studied in future research.

and demand for a detailed explanation that we cannot unfortunately offer in this work, but that would imply “remnant-movement” operations before and after the merge of *non* (Martins, 2010, 2014).

- (53) [<sub>TopP</sub> compraron [<sub>Top'</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> non [<sub>FocP</sub> una casa [<sub>Foc'</sub> [<sub>SP</sub> compraron una casa]]]]],  
 un coche  
*Compraron non una casa, un coche*  
 Buy-PST.3PL not a house, a car  
 ‘It was not a house that they bought, it was a car’

## 5.2 The interplay between $\Sigma$ and C

The interplay between absolute polarity and relative polarity codified as  $\Sigma$  and CP (Martins, 2014), respectively, is clear with the use of *nun* to express metalinguistic negation (*nun*-MNM).

As we have explained in Section 4, *nun* is a  $\Sigma$ -unit that confers negative polarity to the sentence and has an impact upon its internal structure. However, if given the adequate intonation, a negative sentence with *nun* can express metalinguistic negation (54). In this case, *nun*'s role is bipartite: it codifies absolute negative polarity in  $\Sigma$  and relative polarity <objection> in C. This is to say that it denies the propositional content of a previous utterance and presents it as a refutation, as a “responding assertion” (43), whose nature as a response is marked with ascending intonation (Horn, 1989, p. 374; Pinto, 2010, pp. 43–49). This is in contrast to the descending intonation of a negative utterance that would act as an “initiating assertion” (55).

- (54) Xuan nun tien tres fíos. ↑ (Tien cuatro)  
 Xuan not has three children-M.PL (has four)  
 ‘Xuan doesn’t have three children. (He has four)’  
 (55) Xuan nun tien tres fíos. ↓ (Tien dos)  
 Xuan not has three children-M.PL (has two)  
 ‘Xuan doesn’t have three children. (He has two)’

The syntax of this kind of sentence can be explained using the structure proposed for the expression of metalinguistic negation with *non*. In this case (56), *nun* merges in  $\Sigma$  and, after activating the negative value of absolute polarity, by means of covert movement it checks the relative polarity of C, activating the <objection> value, which, although it has no phonic realisation in a lexical unit, does materialise in the PF through the final ascending intonation.

- (56) [<sub>CP</sub> C<objection> ↑ [<sub>SP</sub> Xuan [<sub>Σ'</sub> nun<Neg> [<sub>IP</sub> tien tres fíos]]]]

As a result, the expression of metalinguistic negation is carried out syntactically in CP, in the projection of relative polarity, where the value <objection> is activated, which seems to demand inclusion in the PF in Asturian. This phonic requirement can be satisfied in two ways: (1) by inserting a lexical unit through external merge, *non*, which checks the relative polarity and is carried out in the PF; and (2) the final ascending intonation assigned to the sentence once *nun*, merged in  $\Sigma$ , activates in the LF the relative polarity value <objection> in C.

To conclude, we can state that *non* is a C-unit, a peripheral MNM that just contains features of relative polarity and that by default activates the <objection> value. *Nun*, on the other hand, is an ambiguous negative marker, but one that always appears inside the sentence. It is a  $\Sigma$ -unit of negative polarity that can also check the features of relative polarity in C; so, *nun*-MNM would be an internal MNM.

## 6. Concluding remarks

This article has established the syntactic and pragmatic differences between *non* and *nun*, based on the notion that absolute polarity is always projected in  $\Sigma P$  (<affirmation/negation>), and that the pragmatic concept of metalinguistic negation corresponds to the <objection> value of relative polarity syntactically projected in an outer layer of CP.

By applying a series of morphosyntactic tests (Horn, 1989; Farkas & Bruce, 2010; Martins, 2010, 2014), we have been able to prove that *non* is a peripheral MNM, a C-unit that has no access to the internal structure of the sentence; it only copies its value of absolute polarity in order to refute it. *Nun*, on the other hand, is an ambiguous negative marker, since it can express both regular negation and metalinguistic negation. Given that it merges in  $\Sigma$ , it codifies the absolute polarity of the sentence, legitimising NPIs and providing clitics with prosodic support (giving rise to the order *nun*\_Cl-V). Despite this, if there is movement in the LF to the CP layer, where relative polarity is projected, and the sentence is granted an ascending intonation, the <objection> value is activated and the utterance is interpreted as a responding assertion.

Although Asturian is usually included in the group of WIL due to the behaviour of its clitics, our analysis of *non* and *nun* and the way in which the heads associated with polarity are satisfied has revealed that it behaves in a more similar way to Spanish than to the WIL. In this way, it would be worth conducting an in-depth study on the interaction between both kinds of polarity and their syntactic expression in the Romance languages. The microvariation that exists between the members of this language group is not only restricted to syntax, but is also clearly reflected in their prosody and pragmatics.

## Abbreviations

|       |                     |         |                              |
|-------|---------------------|---------|------------------------------|
| ACC   | accusative          | PST     | past                         |
| DAT   | dative              | REFL    | reflexive                    |
| FUT   | future              | SG/PL   | singular, plural             |
| IMP   | imperative          | 1, 2, 3 | first, second, third persons |
| M/FEM | masculine, feminine |         |                              |

## Funding

This study has been funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation through research project CONESSO (FFI2017-82460-P) of the Psylex (H11\_17R) research group at the University of Zaragoza.

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# Intonational form and speaker belief in Mieres Asturian polar questions

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Speakers can use distinct intonation contours in polar questions to convey information about ‘degree of commitment.’ The present study analyzes the intonational variation in Mieres Asturian polar questions and explores whether speakers encode information about their belief states intonationally. A production experiment was designed to elicit polar questions, and the results uncovered three main intonational patterns, namely H+L\* L%, H\* L%, and L\* L%. The data show that, while H+L\* L% is used as a canonical or ‘default’ PQ-marking tune and does not encode any information about speaker belief states, H\* L% and L\* L% are epistemically specified, expressing a positive epistemic bias towards the proposition, and a state of disbelief on the part of the speaker, respectively.

**Keywords:** Asturian, intonation, intonational meaning, polar questions, epistemic meaning

## 1. Introduction

In the last decades, the development and standardization of the Autosegmental Metrical framework for intonational analysis (henceforth AM) (Pierrehumbert, 1980; Pierrehumbert & Beckman, 1988; Ladd, 2008) and the associated set of ToBI (Tones and Breaks Indices) annotation conventions have enabled considerable advances on the description of the intonation systems of many languages and language varieties. The basic analytical tools that the AM model provides have been adapted to the descriptive needs of typologically diverse languages, thus offering a valuable basis for cross-linguistic comparison of prosodic phenomena (e.g., Jun, 2005, 2014, for typologically different languages; Frota & Prieto, 2015, for Romance languages/varieties; Prieto & Roseano, 2010, for different varieties of Spanish). Within Romance, the intonational system of Asturian, a Western Ibero-Romance language spoken in Asturias (NW Spain) has remained relatively understudied

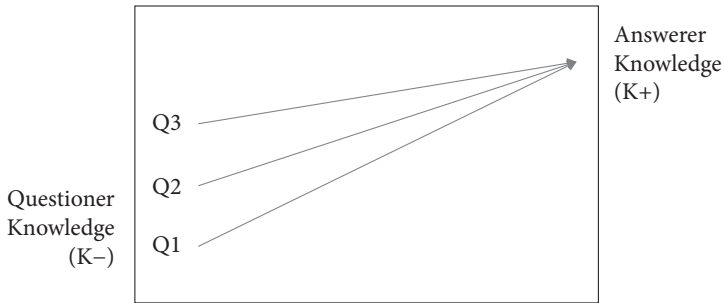


in comparison to other languages. This exploratory study is aimed at broadening our knowledge about intonational variation in Asturian and uncovering mappings between different intonation contours and specific pragmatic meanings.

Research on intonational meaning has shown that, among the broad range of communicative functions that can be expressed intonationally (e.g. speech-act marking, information status, politeness, speaker's emotional states), intonation can also be used to convey information about the speaker's degree of epistemic commitment towards the expressed propositional content (see Prieto, 2015, for a review). In their highly influential work, Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg (1990) claimed that speakers choose a particular tune to convey (1) relationships between the current utterance's propositional content ( $p$ ) and preceding/upcoming utterances; and (2) relationships between the current utterance's propositional content and the beliefs mutually held by speaker and hearer. The occurrence of various distinct intonation contours within speech act types (e.g., asserting, questioning, etc.) can be accounted for, at least partially, by the different epistemic stances that speakers can take with respect to  $p$  (Gravano *et al.*, 2008, for declaratives; Savino & Grice, 2011; Vanrell *et al.*, 2013; Armstrong & Prieto, 2015; Vanrell *et al.*, 2014, 2017, for interrogatives, among others).

Polar or yes/no question (henceforth PQ) marking in Romance can be done via a distinct intonational contour, but different Romance languages can use other grammatical resources for the same purpose, such as dedicated particles (Dryer, 2008, for French; Prieto & Rigau, 2007, for Catalan), word order (Vanrell & Fernández-Soriano, 2013, for different varieties of Catalan and Spanish; Remberger, 2010, for Sardinian Italian), or interrogative verbal morphology (Lusini, 2013, for the Northern Italian dialect of Cortemilia, Cuneo). Within the domain of PQs, the function of intonation in conveying belief states is particularly relevant, since PQs represent an area of the grammar that has to do with the relative difference between interlocutors in degree of epistemic commitment with respect to the propositional content of the question (Heritage & Raymond, 2012; Enfield, *et al.*, 2012). Consider the following PQs: (Q1) Did you talk to John?; (Q2) You talked to John, right?; (Q3) You talked to John? (Heritage & Raymond, 2012, p. 180). With an information-seeking PQ (Q1), the speaker claims that s/he lacks knowledge or certainty about the answer (K- in terms of Heritage & Raymond, 2012; see Figure 1), thus signaling low epistemic commitment to the truth of the proposition. At the same time, the addressee is assumed to have at least some knowledge about the possible answer, that is, the addressee is attributed a higher level of epistemic commitment to  $p$  (K+ in Figure 1). By using different interrogative constructions, speakers can encode fine-grained nuances about their epistemic commitment to  $p$ , conveying various degrees of certainty about  $p$ , thus varying the epistemic gradient (Escandell-Vidal, 1996; Heritage & Raymond, 2012).

In comparison with Q1, in Q2 the speaker's belief state about the proposition is no longer unbiased, as s/he has some idea about what the possible answer may be, and thus expresses a higher level of epistemic commitment to  $p$  than in Q1. The speaker's intention in Q2 is not information-seeking, but confirmation-seeking. In Q3, the speaker's degree of certainty about the truth of  $p$  is even higher than in Q2, as there is evidence in the discourse context indicating that  $p$  is the case. Figure 1 shows the tilting of the epistemic gradient to signal three distinct information gaps between questioner and answerer.



**Figure 1.** Tilting of the epistemic gradient in PQs: Three different degrees of epistemic asymmetry between interlocutors. Adapted from Heritage and Raymond (2012: 181)

In English (examples Q1–3), different PQ-types are marked via subject-verb inversion and do-support (Q1), declarative syntax (Q3), or the addition of a question-marking tag (Q2). Cross-linguistically, speakers may use various grammatical strategies to convey their epistemic attitude towards a proposition, including affixes and particles, word order, choice of verb or modal adverb, or choice of intonational contour (Palmer, 2001). Enfield et al. (2012) analyze the use of sentence-final particles (SFPs) in PQs in three unrelated languages, Dutch (Germanic), Lao (Tai), and Tzeltal (Mayan), and show how SFPs are used in each language to express specific distinctions in the epistemic gradient. Research on intonational meaning has shown that many Romance languages and varieties rely on intonational strategies (in combination with other grammatical resources) to convey similar meanings in PQs.

Grice and Savino (1997) found that Bari Italian speakers use pitch accent variation in PQs to indicate different degrees of confidence with which they believe the information to be shared with the interlocutor. The falling pitch accent  $H^*+L$  is used when speakers are fairly confident that the PQ contains information shared with the interlocutor, whereas PQs about new information (low confidence that material is shared) are realized with a rising pitch accent  $L+H^*$ . Savino and Grice (2011) showed that in Bari Italian PQs, manipulation of pitch range indicates a difference in speaker's commitment about the propositional content of the question.

Specifically, PQs with compressed pitch range on the rising nuclear accent (L+H\*) are systematically interpreted as information-seeking questions (where the speaker has no epistemic bias, and information is new), whereas PQs with expanded pitch range on the same pitch accent (L+;H\*) are interpreted as challenging echo PQs (where the speaker conveys a strong bias toward a negative answer and challenges the addressee's assumption that the information is shared).

In Majorcan Catalan (Vanrell, 2011; Vanrell *et al.*, 2013), a distinction about the speaker's commitment with respect to the propositional content can be encoded by means of a difference in tonal scaling. In particular, these studies found that native listeners strongly rely on the manipulation in the scaling of the H(igh) leading tone of the bitonal pitch accent H+L\* as a cue to discriminate between information- and confirmation-seeking polar questions. The speaker is perceived to have no bias towards a preferred answer (state of unknowingness) in PQs realized with an extra high tone (;H+L\*); whereas in those realized with H+L\* the speaker is perceived to be asking for confirmation about mutually shared information. Further research on the production and perception of Majorcan Catalan PQs (Vanrell *et al.*, 2014, 2017) showed that, in addition to these differences, speakers also employ the combination of the question particle *que* and the nuclear configuration L+H\* L% (e.g. *Que és un llibre?* 'QP-It's a book?') to signal that the speaker has drawn an inference about *p* based on direct sensory evidence (as opposed to reported evidence).

Escandell-Vidal (2017) analyzes the intonational variation in Castilian Spanish PQs in terms of evidential distinctions about the source of information. The low-rise (labeled L\* H% in the latest version of Sp\_ToBI labeling system; Hualde & Prieto, 2015) is the 'canonical' PQ-marking contour and does not add indications about information source. The high-rise (H\* H% in Hualde & Prieto, 2015) contour conveys that the speaker is the source of information; and the rise-fall (L+;H\* L% in Hualde & Prieto, 2015) signals that the information source is 'other' (normally the interlocutor, but not necessarily).

Recent research on the intonation of Puerto Rican Spanish (PRS) PQs (Armstrong, 2015) shows that speakers produce ;H\* L% when they want to convey that they have no particular belief about the propositional content of the question, and, therefore, have no epistemic bias about the answer. Conversely, the contour H+L\* L% is used in outer-negation PQs to encode positive epistemic bias about the truth of the proposition. This contrast in speaker commitment is marked intonationally by the different placement of the H (high) tone in each pitch accent: in ;H\*, the peak is placed in the nuclear syllable, whereas in H+L\* it is associated with the pre-nuclear syllable. In addition, speakers use L\* HL% to indicate disbelief or uncertainty about the propositional content of the question, which contradicts the speaker's belief state. Armstrong (2015) suggests that the contour ;H\* L% is a

neutral PQ marker that encodes no information about speaker commitment. As such, its occurrence is not restricted to unbiased questions. The contours H+L\* L% and L\* HL%, in addition to PQ-marking, provide information about the speaker's bias with respect to the expected answer.

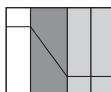
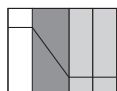
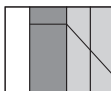
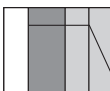
Armstrong and Prieto (2015) further investigated the effect of different pragmatic contexts on the perception of speaker's belief in PRS PQs produced with  $\text{H}^* \text{L}\%$  and  $\text{L}^* \text{HL}\%$ . Each context presented a different type of bias with respect to the speaker's commitment to  $p$  (unbiased, mild positive bias, strong positive bias, and mismatch bias). Their results show that the degree of perceived speaker's belief is built on a combination of the information conveyed by the intonation contours and the type of contextual bias.

### 1.1 The intonation of Asturian

The intonation of Asturian has been studied by the AMPER-Astur research group, as part of the broader AMPER project (Atlas Multimédia Prosodique de l'Espace Roman, 'Prosodic Multimedia Atlas of Romance Space') (see Martínez-Celdrán & Fernández-Planas, 2003–2018). In a set of production studies, the intonation of declarative and interrogative sentences is analyzed in five linguistic areas within the Asturian domain: Galician-Asturian (westernmost), Western, North-Central, South-Central, and Eastern (see Muñoz-Cachón *et al.*, 2010; Alvarellós-Pedrero *et al.*, 2011, and references therein). Intonationally, declaratives in Asturian present the same overall nuclear configuration irrespective of the language variety: a falling nuclear pitch accent H+L\* associated with the last stressed syllable of the utterance, and a low boundary tone L%. Conversely, PQs display considerable dialectal variation. PQs invariably end in a falling pitch movement from a high H tone, but there are dialectal differences in the temporal alignment of the F0 turning point: (i) in Galician-Asturian and South-Central varieties, the onset of the pitch fall is roughly aligned with the onset of the nuclear stressed syllable (H+L\* L%); (ii) in Western and North-Central varieties, the start of the falling movement temporally co-occurs with the offset of the stressed syllable (H\* L%); and (iii) in Eastern Asturian the turning point in pitch towards a low tone occurs in the post-tonic syllable (H\* HL%).

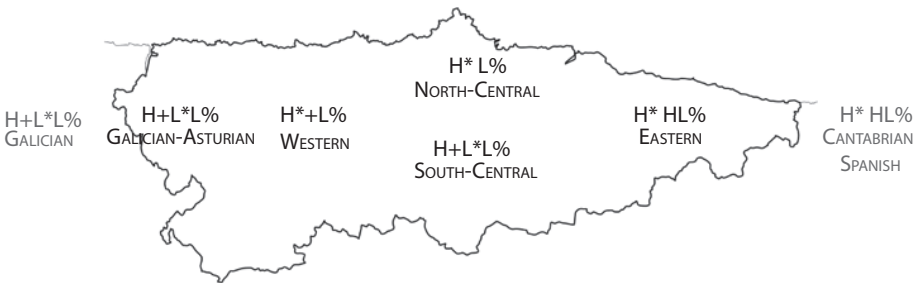
In Galician-Asturian, since both declaratives and PQs have the same nuclear configuration (H+L\* L%), the intonational distinction between these speech acts is determined in the pre-nuclear part of the contour: whereas in declaratives each pre-nuclear pitch accent represents a tonal target, in PQs, after the initial rise to a high tone that is reached in the first post-tonic syllable (L+<H\*), there is an unaccented stretch of high pitch that is maintained until the onset of the stressed syllable,

**Table 1.** Nuclear configurations found in polar questions in different varieties of Asturian

|                 |                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                            |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| DECLARATIVES    | $H+L^* L\%$<br><br>All varieties                       |                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                            |
| POLAR QUESTIONS | $H+L^* L\%$<br><br>Gal.-Asturian<br>&<br>South-Central | $H^* L\%$<br><br>Western<br>&<br>North-Central | $H^* HL\%$<br><br>Eastern |

where the falling nuclear pitch accent  $H+L^*$  occurs. In South-Central Asturian, declaratives and PQs present similar intonation contours that only differ in  $F_0$  range and duration of the final vowel (broader and longer in PQs) (Muñiz-Cachón, 2013, 2017).

The variable timing of the  $F_0$  falling nuclear turning point in Asturian PQs, which is progressively delayed from Western to Eastern varieties, is understood as an indication of a North-Western Peninsular prosodic continuum (see Figure 2). Asturian is geographically situated between Galicia, where  $H+L^* L\%$  is found in Galician PQs (e.g. Fernández-Rei, 2016), and Cantabria, where  $H^* HL\%$  is produced in Cantabrian Spanish PQs (Cuevas-Alonso & López-Bobo, 2011).



**Figure 2.** Nuclear configurations found in polar questions in different varieties of Asturian

## 2. Methods

### 2.1 Aims of this study

In this study, I analyze the pitch contours that speakers of the South-Central variety of Asturian produce in PQs. Specifically, I investigate their productions in different pragmatic contexts that differ in the degree of speaker commitment to the expressed proposition. The present study has two main objectives, related to intonational form and meaning, respectively:

1. Identify the nuclear configurations associated with PQs in this particular variety of Asturian and describing them using the AM framework.
2. Determine how pragmatic factors affect the speakers' choice of tune. Specifically, whether intonation is used in Mieres Asturian PQs to convey information about speaker belief states.

### 2.2 Participants

Seven native speakers of Asturian (four females and three males; mean age 35;2) participated in this study. All speakers were from Mieres, a municipality in the South-Central part of Asturias with around 40,000 inhabitants. All participants completed a one-on-one interview with the researcher to determine eligibility for participation in the study. In this interview, they were asked about their language identity, linguistic history, and use. All participants identified themselves as bilingual speakers of Spanish and Asturian. They use Asturian as their home language and with friends, but they were all educated in Spanish, which they use in all administrative tasks and public forums.

### 2.3 Materials

This study consisted of a production experiment based on a Discourse Completion Task (henceforth DCT) (e.g., Blum-Kulka *et al.*, 1989), a methodology that has been widely used in the past years in pragmatic and prosodic research for the controlled elicitation of semi-spontaneous speech (see Vanrell *et al.*, 2018, for a review of its application to the study of Romance prosody). The DCT consists of a single-sided role play where participants are presented with different constructed situational prompts designed to elicit specific speech acts and are asked to respond accordingly.

#### 2.3.1 Pragmatic contexts

Following Armstrong (2015), the DCT used in this study was aimed at eliciting PQs in five different types of contexts, which vary in the type of speaker's episodic attitude towards the propositional content: (1) unbiased contexts to elicit

unbiased PQs, (2) contexts where there is contextual evidence for  $p$ , to elicit positive PQs (henceforth PPQs) (3) contexts where there is contextual evidence for  $p$ , to elicit inner-negation PQs (henceforth INPQs); (4) contexts that do not support a speaker's previous belief about  $p$ , to elicit outer-negation (henceforth ONPQs), and (5) contexts where  $p$  is unexpected to the speaker, to elicit counter-expectation. For a better understanding of the contribution of intonation to overall utterance meaning, the segmental string of the target PQs was kept as identical as possible across PQ-types. Five main storylines were used across contexts, thus creating (near) minimal pairs within the target utterances. All the situational prompts presented everyday interactions with a high degree of familiarity between interlocutors, with the intention that participants did not have trouble assuming the assigned roles and did not struggle to produce natural utterances. The five types of contexts used in the DCT are described below, and presented together with a sample item from the experiment:

### 1. Unbiased PQ context

The speaker has no epistemic bias about the truth of  $p$ . S/he has no previous belief/expectation about the possible answer ( $p$  or  $\neg p$ ) and there is no contextual evidence in the discourse situation that indicates that either  $p$  or  $\neg p$  are the case.

CONTESTU: *Nun pudiste dir a trabayar ayeri nin güei. Nun sabes si hai reunión mañana; ye posible. Tas llamando a la to compañera Marina, pa entruga-ylo: ¿Hai reunión mañana?*

CONTEXT: 'You couldn't go to work yesterday and today. You don't know whether or not there is a meeting tomorrow; for all you know, it's possible. You're talking on the phone to your friend and colleague Marina and you want to ask her: **Is there a meeting tomorrow?**'

### 2. PPQ context

The speaker interprets that  $p$  is true based on contextual evidence available in the discourse situation. An affirmative answer on the part of the interlocutor is expected, but the speaker's information is not complete and the interlocutor is assumed to have more knowledge.

CONTESTU: *Compartes pisu con Marina y Xuan. Sabes que Marina y el so mozu, Manolo, lleguen güei d'un viaxe d'una selmana, pero nun sabes a qué hora. Tas falando por teléfonu con Xuan, que ta'n casa, y sientes una voz que te parez la de Marina, asina que-y entrugues a Xuan: ¿(Ya) llegaron Manolo y Marina?/ ¿Ya llegó Marina?*

CONTEXT: 'You share an apartment with Marina and Xuan. You know that Marina and her boyfriend, Manolo, are arriving today from a one-week trip, but you don't know what time. You're talking to Xuan, who is at home, on the phone, and you hear a voice that sounds like Marina's, so you ask Xuan: **Did Manolo and Marina arrive (yet)?/Did Marina arrive (yet)?**'

## 3. INPQ context

The speaker infers  $\neg p$  based on evidence available in the discourse situation. A negative answer from the interlocutor is expected. The speaker utters a negative PQ where the proposition is affected by the negative polarity particle (e.g., Ladd, 1981; Sudo, 2013).

CONTESTU: *Compartes pisu con Marina y Xuan. Sabes que Marina y el so mozu, Manolo, lleguen güei d'un viaxe d'una selmana. Cuando entres en casa, ves a Xuan solu nel sofá. Díces-y: ¿(Tovía) nun llegaron Marina y Manolo? ¿(Tovía) nun llegó/vino Marina?*

CONTEXT: 'You share an apartment with Marina and Xuan. You know that Marina and her boyfriend, Manolo, are arriving today from a one-week trip. When you get home, you see Xuan alone on the couch. You say to him: **Didn't Marina and Manolo arrive (yet)?/ Didn't Marina arrive (yet)?**'

## 4. ONPQ context

The speaker has a belief/expectation compatible with  $p$ , prior to the utterance situation. There is no contextual evidence in the discourse situation indicating that  $p$  is the case. The speaker produces a negative PQ where the proposition expressed is not affected by the negative polarity particle (e.g., Ladd, 1981; Sudo, 2013).

CONTESTU: *Tas visitando a una amiga de Mieres que vive'n Xixón. Ye la hora de comer y la to amiga entrúgate: "¿ónde quies comer?". Acuérdeste de la to última visita y crees que hai un restaurante vexetarianu per equí. Entrúgues-y: ¿Nun hai per aquí un restaurante vexetarianu?*

CONTEXT: 'You are visiting a friend from Mieres who lives in Xixón. It's lunch-time and your friend ask you: "Where do you want to eat?". You remember when you last visited her, and you think that there is a vegetarian restaurant close by. You ask her: **Isn't there a vegetarian restaurant around here?**'

## 5. Counter-expectation PQ context

The speaker has a belief/expectation, outside of the utterance situation, compatible with  $\neg p$ . The speaker infers that  $p$  is the case from contextual evidence available in the discourse situation, which is unexpected and not in keeping with the speaker's previous belief/expectation.

CONTESTU: *Ye xueves y tas colos tos compañeros de trabayu nuna cafetería. Una de les tos compañeres entama a quexase de la reunión qu'hai mañana. Quéxase porque nunca hai reunión los vienres. Tú nun sabíes qu'hai una reunión mañana. Díces-y a la to compañera: ¿Hai reunión mañana?!*

CONTEXT: 'It's Thursday and you're at a café with some of your co-workers. One of them starts complaining about that you all have tomorrow. She complains because, as a rule, you never have meetings on Fridays. You didn't know anything about the meeting, and you say to her: **Is there a meeting tomorrow?!**'



## 2.4 Procedure

Participants were instructed to read the 25 situational prompts (5 per context type), either silently or out loud, and respond to them in a way that felt natural in their everyday interactions with fellow Mieres inhabitants. Each situational prompt included a suggested target utterance at the end, which participants were allowed to modify if they would. They were encouraged to repeat their utterances as many times as they wished. Participant's productions were recorded using a Zoom H4 Handy audio recorder. Recordings took place in a silent room in the participant's homes/offices, successfully avoiding background noise in all occasions. A total of 175 target PQs were analyzed (5 context types  $\times$  5 situational prompts  $\times$  7 speakers).

## 2.5 Intonational analysis

The intonation contours were described following the AM framework for intonational analysis (Pierrehumbert, 1980; Ladd, 2008) and the associated ToBI labeling systems that have been developed for diverse Romance languages (Frota & Prieto, 2015). The AM model assumes that intonational contours are sequences of two types of phonological tonal events, pitch accents and edge tones, while intermediate pitch values are regarded as phonetic transitions between tonal events. Pitch accents are tonal events associated with metrically prominent elements of the utterance (e.g., stressed syllables), while edge tones (that include boundary tones and utterance-internal phrase accents) are associated with the ends of prosodic constituents. Tonal events are represented as either high (H) or low (L) tones, or a combination of both. Pitch accents can be monotonal ( $L^*$  or  $H^*$ ) or bitonal (e.g.,  $L^*+H$ ,  $H+L^*$ , etc.). In either case, the star notation (asterisk mark  $*$ ) signals the tone that is associated with a metrically prominent syllable. In bitonal pitch accents, the dependent unstarred tone is either a leading (e.g.,  $H+L^*$ ) or a trailing tone ( $L^*+H$ ), depending on its position with respect to the starred tone. For boundary tones, the percent mark % indicates the association of the tonal event with the edge of an utterance (e.g.,  $L\%$ ,  $H\%$ ,  $HL\%$ ), and a hyphen – signals the association between a tonal event and the edge of a prosodic constituent within the utterance (e.g.,  $L-$ ,  $H-$ ).

Since our knowledge about the phonological intonation system of Asturian is limited, the categories used for labeling the pitch contours are based on broad phonetic transcriptions of relevant tonal movements. This procedure allows for a consistent use of tonal labels before having a more complete understanding of the intonational grammar of Asturian and the inventory of contrastive tonal events (pitch accents and edge tones) that are at play in this language. I used temporary labels that are transparent at the phonetic level, which are useful for establishing

intonational contrasts between tonal events (e.g., in alignment patterns) that will provide a basis for a future phonological interpretation of Asturian intonation. Like in other Romance languages, intonation in Asturian is crucial for the distinction of assertions and PQs, since declarative and interrogative sentences may not differ syntactically (Muñiz-Cachón, 2018).

### 3. Results

The data obtained in the DCT task shows the intonational variation in the realization of PQs in Mieres Asturian. Speakers produced PQs with three main intonation contours, which are labeled  $H+L^*L\%$ ,  $H^*L\%$ , and  $L^*L\%$ , respectively. The schematic representations of the three intonation contours are shown in Figure 4, and their distribution across pragmatic contexts is presented in Figure 3. Before analyzing the occurrence of each contour in the different contexts, I will describe the phonetic realization of the relevant tonal events (pitch accents and boundary tones) in each contour.

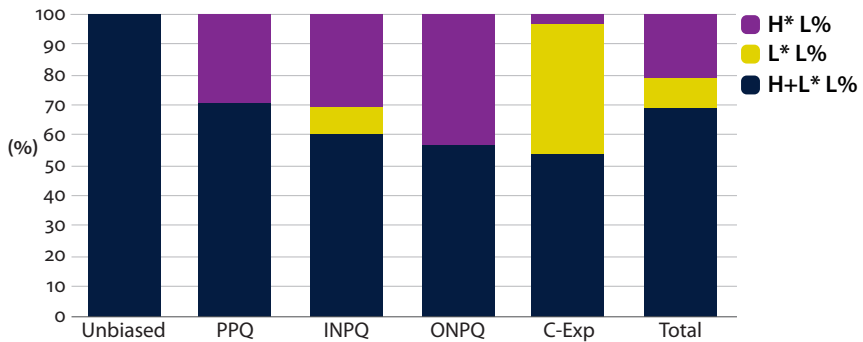


Figure 3. Distributions of the contours by context-type, and overall

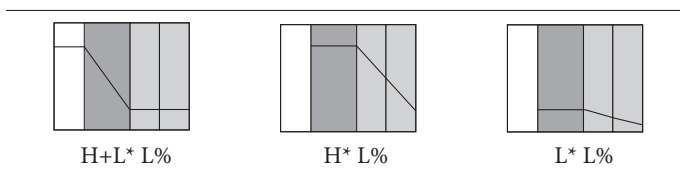
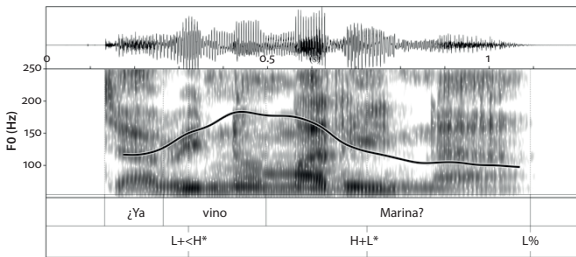


Figure 4. Schematic representation of the nuclear configurations found in Mieres Asturian PQs

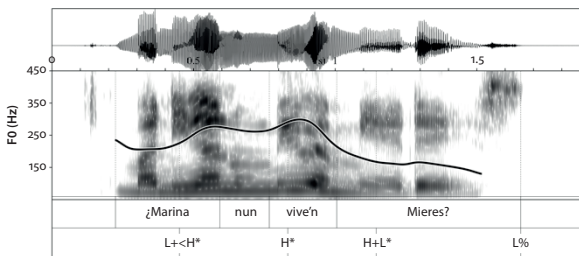
### 3.1 Description of the intonation contours

#### 3.1.1 $H+L^*L\%$

The most frequently used PQ contour was  $H+L^*L\%$ . It is also the tune that presents more phonetic variability, but the overarching characteristic that defines  $H+L^*L\%$  is the marking a high tone H before the onset of the last accented syllable; then, F0 falls throughout the tonic syllable to a low level that is maintained until the end of the utterance. In shorter utterances, like the one shown in Figure 5, produced by a male speaker, there is a rising pre-nuclear pitch accent associated with the first accented syllable *vino* ‘(she) came’ ( $L+\langle H^* \rangle$ ), located in the rising F0 slope towards a high pitch level that is reached in the post-tonic and continues until the onset of the accented syllable in *Marina*, where F0 descends throughout the accented syllable ( $H+L^*$ ), and continues at the baseline of the speaker until the end of the utterance, indicated in the labeling with a low boundary tone  $L\%$ . In PQs with more than one pre-nuclear pitch accent, the phonetic implementation of this contour is more variable, especially with respect to the location and scaling of the H leading tone of/in the falling nuclear pitch accent  $H+L^*$ . The PQ presented in Figure 6, produced by a female speaker, shows an initial rise to a high F0 level that is maintained until the penultimate stressed syllable *vive’n* ‘(she) lives in’, that is associated with a  $H^*$  pitch



**Figure 5.** Waveform, spectrogram, and F0 contour of the unbiased PQ *¿Ya vino Marina?* ‘Did Marina arrive yet?’, produced by a male speaker

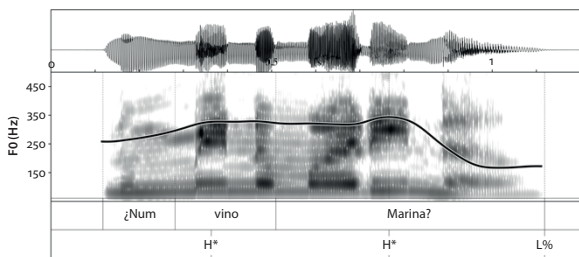


**Figure 6.** Waveform, spectrogram, and F0 contour of the INPQ *¿Marina nun vive'n Mieres?* ‘Doesn’t Marina live in Mieres?’, produced by a female speaker

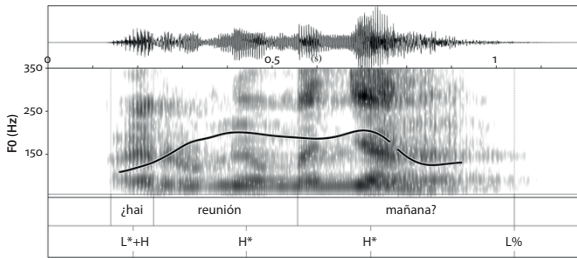
accent. F0 starts to fall in the post-tonic until the baseline of the speaker is reached in the last accented syllable (H+L\*) and maintained until the end of the utterance (L%). In other PQs produced with H+L\* L%, F0 begins to fall after the first peak, located in the first post-tonic syllable (L+<H\*), and continues to fall through the rest of the utterance. This is the same contour that Díaz-Gómez et al. (2006) described for Mieres Asturian neutral PQs (see also Alvarellós-Pedrero et al., 2011).

### 3.1.2 H\* L%

The second most common intonation contour in this study was labeled as H\* L%. Two instances of PQs produced with H\* L% are shown in Figures 7 and 8. The utterance exemplified in Figure 7 corresponds to an ONPQ produced by a female speaker; and the PQ illustrated in Figure 8 corresponds to a PPQ uttered by a male speaker. This contour is characterized by an initial rise to a high pitch level followed by a high plateau that stretches until the last accented syllable of the utterance, which is realized as H\*. Right after the offset of the nuclear syllable, there is a fall in F0 until the end of the utterance, where the speaker's baseline is reached (L%). There is phonetic variation in the scaling of the H\* nuclear pitch accent, which is sometimes produced with an extra high tone that can be labeled as ¡H\*. However, the fact that the upstepped F0 is not consistently found across speakers' productions suggests that it is a phonetic realization of H\*. In addition, this intonational pattern is similar to the one described in the literature for unbiased PQs in Western and North-Central Asturian varieties (Díaz-Gómez et al., 2006; López-Bobo et al., 2008), which was also labeled H\* L%. Finally, it is worth noting that there is a relevant difference in the alignment of the F0 fall between the contours H+L\* L% and H\* L%. While for the former the F0 fall starts in the pre-tonic syllable and descends throughout the stressed syllable towards a low tonal target (H+L\*), for the latter the F0 fall begins after the last stressed syllable, which is associated with a high pitch accent (H\*).



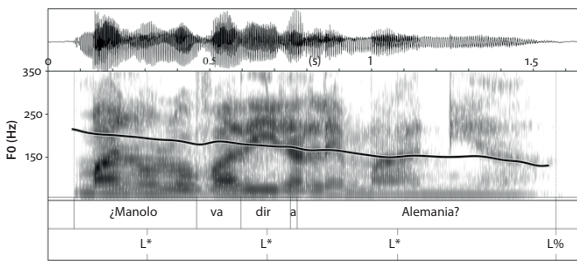
**Figure 7.** Waveform, spectrogram, and F0 contour of the ONPQ *¿Nun vino Marina?* ‘Didn’t Marina arrive yet?’, produced by a female speaker



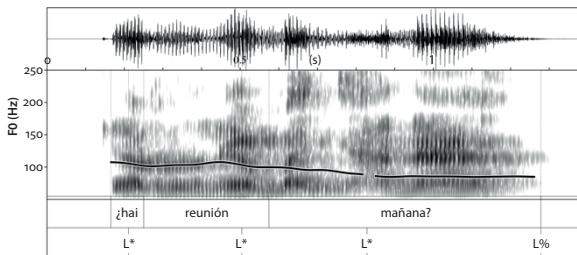
**Figure 8.** Waveform, spectrogram, and F0 contour of the PPQ *¿Hai reunion mañana?* ‘Is there a meeting tomorrow?’, produced by a male speaker

### 3.1.3 $L^*L\%$

The pitch contour  $L^*L\%$  is illustrated in Figures 9 and 10, which show two counter-expectation PQs, produced by a female speaker (Figure 9) and a male speaker (Figure 10), respectively. This contour is characterized by a flat low-pitch level that stretches throughout the whole utterance. As shown in Figures 9 and 10, both speakers start off at a low F0 level (lower for the male speaker), which is maintained close to the baseline until the end of the PQ. Every pitch accent associated with a stressed syllable is produced as a  $L^*$  target, and the right prosodic edge of the utterance is marked by a low boundary tone ( $L\%$ ).



**Figure 9.** Waveform, spectrogram, and F0 contour of the counter-expectation PQ *¿Manolo va dir a Alemania?* ‘Is Manolo going to Germany?’, produced by a female speaker



**Figure 10.** Waveform, spectrogram, and F0 contour of the counter-expectation PQ *¿Hai reunion mañana?* ‘Is there a meeting tomorrow?’, produced by a male speaker

### 3.2 DCT results

The results shown in Table 2 present the distribution of the main three intonation contours found in Mieres Asturian PQs across context types.

**Table 2.** Frequency of distribution (%) and raw data by context-type

|                        | H+L* L%    |                  | H* L%      |                 | L* L%      |                 |
|------------------------|------------|------------------|------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|
| Unbiased PQ            | 100%       | (35/35)          | 0%         | (0/35)          | 0%         | (0/35)          |
| PPQ                    | 71%        | (25/35)          | 29%        | (10/35)         | 0%         | (0/35)          |
| INPQ                   | 60%        | (21/35)          | 31%        | (11/35)         | 9%         | (3/35)          |
| ONPQ                   | 57%        | (20/35)          | 43%        | (15/35)         | 0%         | (0/35)          |
| Counter-expectation PQ | 54%        | (19/35)          | 3%         | (1/35)          | 43%        | (15/35)         |
| <b>Total</b>           | <b>69%</b> | <b>(120/175)</b> | <b>21%</b> | <b>(37/175)</b> | <b>10%</b> | <b>(18/175)</b> |

First, in the unbiased context, where the speaker has no epistemic bias about  $p$ , all the PQs produced by participants had a H+L\* L% nuclear configuration with no exception (100%). In the PPQ contexts, where the speaker has inferred that  $p$  is true from evidence available in the discourse situation, there was more intonational variation. The predominant nuclear configuration was H+L\* L% again (71%). In the rest of their PPQs, participants used the contour H\* L% (29%). In INPQ-type contexts, where the speaker infers that  $\neg p$  is the case from some contextual evidence available in the discourse situation, H+L\* L% was the most common contour, as in the previous contexts (60%). The second most frequent configuration was H\* L% (31%); while L\* L% was produced in 9% of the participants' INPQs. In the ONPQ-type contexts, where the speaker's beliefs outside the utterance context include  $p$ , H+L\* L% was the most frequently used contour (57%), whereas H\* L% was realized in 43% of the total ONPQs. Finally, in the counter-expectation contexts, the most commonly used contour was again H+L\* L% (54%), followed by L\* L%, that was produced in 43% of the participants' counter-expectational PQs. H\* L% also occurred in this PQ-type, although marginally (3%).

In light of this distribution, it is clear that the most frequently used contour in Mieres Asturian PQs was H+L\* L%. It occurred in 69% of the total PQs produced in the DCT task. Most relevantly, its use was predominant across all five bias-type contexts, although at different rates. The second most commonly used contour in the data is H\* L% (21% of the total number of PQs). It occurred in ONPQs, INPQs, and PPQs (and marginally in counter-expectation PQs). This contour was not found in unbiased PQs. The least frequent of the three contours attested in Mieres Asturian PQs was L\* L% (10% of the total). It is very commonly used in counter-expectational PQs, and it also appeared in the INPQs (9%). However, speakers did not produce L\* L% in any of the other three context types (unbiased, PPQ, and ONPQ). What do these data indicate about the meaning encoded by each intonation contour?

#### 4. Discussion

In this production study I investigated the role of intonation in encoding information about speaker belief in Mieres Asturian PQs. The results from the DCT task reveal that speakers produce three distinct intonation contours for PQ-marking: H+L\* L%, H\* L%, and L\* L%. The most widely used configuration is H+L\* L%. This contour had been previously described for neutral PQs in Mieres Asturian (Díaz-Gómez *et al.*, 2006; Alvarellos-Pedrero *et al.*, 2011). The data from the present study show that the occurrence of H+L\* L% is not restricted to unbiased-PQ contexts; in fact, it was the most frequently used contour across all five context-types (unbiased, evidence for  $p$ ; evidence for  $\neg p$ ; ONPQ; and counter-expectational). The role of H+L\* L% in Mieres Asturian PQs seems to reflect the behavior of the low-rise contour in Peninsular Spanish (Escandell-Vidal, 1998, 2017), and ¡H\* L% in Puerto Rican Spanish (Armstrong, 2015), which have been described as the canonical or 'default' PQ-marking contours in these varieties. Crucially, in Mieres Asturian H+L\* L% does not mark a PQ as neutral or unbiased, thus signaling that the speaker has no epistemic bias about the truth of  $p$  and presenting the two possible answers as equally open. If that were the case, H+L\* L% would only be found in unbiased contexts. Rather, it seems that this contour only conveys one level of meaning, PQ-marking, while it does not encode any information about the speaker's belief state. As an epistemically unspecified tune, the use of H+L\* L% is not pragmatically restricted across the investigated contexts. When this contour is produced in a biased context (PPQs, INPQs, ONPQs), the speaker's intended epistemic bias is not encoded intonationally; it is fed by contextual cues. Therefore, the results of this study suggest that H+L\* L% is used as the/a general PQ-marking tune in Mieres Asturian.

The other two intonation contours found in this study, H\* L% and L\* L%, present a narrower distribution than H+L\* L%. The second most frequent contour was H\* L%. It emerged in ONPQs, INPQs, and PPQs (and marginally in counter-expectation PQs), that is, in contexts where the presence of a positive epistemic bias about  $(\neg)p$  on the part of the speaker is the overarching characteristic. However, the source of the speaker's belief may be derived from diverse sources: the speaker's beliefs/expectations outside the context of utterance (ONPQs), or some information available in the discourse context (INPQs and PPQs). The fact that H\* L% commonly occurs in ONPQs, INPQs, and PPQs suggests that Mieres Asturian speakers use this contour to convey their epistemic commitment to the truth of  $(\neg)p$ , while the source of their belief is unspecified. This marks a difference with the situation in Puerto Rican Spanish PQs (Armstrong, 2015) and Majorcan Catalan PQs (Vanrell *et al.*, 2017), where the specific source of information can be marked intonationally. In PRS, the use of H+L\* L% to indicate the speaker's



positive epistemic bias towards  $p$  is restricted to ONPQs, and does not occur in neither PPQs nor INPQs, where the speaker's hypothesis about the truth of  $p$  is triggered in the context of utterance. In Majorcan Catalan, speakers can specify that they have inferred  $p$  based on contextual evidence by using a combination of the question particle *que* and the tune  $L+H^* L\%$ . In Mieres Asturian PQs,  $H^* L\%$  is epistemically specified; speakers use this contour to mark their state of belief, independently of the source of information. This form-meaning mapping accounts for the absence of  $H^* L\%$  in unbiased contexts.

The contour  $H^* L\%$  is similar to the intonation pattern described for neutral PQs in the North-Central and Western varieties of Asturian (e.g. Alvarellós-Pedrero et al., 2011). The implementation of  $H^* L\%$  and  $H+L^* L\%$  differ in the temporal alignment of the high tone  $H$  and the subsequent  $F_0$  fall with respect to the nuclear accented syllable.

The least frequent contour in the data was  $L^* L\%$ . Its use is restricted to counter-expectational PQs and INPQs, although its presence is stronger in the former. In counter-expectational contexts, there is some evidence available in the utterance situation that indicates that  $p$  (or  $\neg p$ ) is true, which contradicts the speaker's previous beliefs/expectations about the proposition. The fact that  $L^* L\%$  is widely produced in counter-expectation PQs reveals that speakers use this contour to convey disbelief about the proposition expressed in the question.  $L^* L\%$  was also used, to a lesser extent, for INPQs in contexts where the speaker infers that  $\neg p$  is the case by means of contextual evidence. Although the INPQ-type contexts in the DCT were not designed to indicate an epistemic conflict, in some cases, participants interpreted that the newly acquired information in the context of utterance was unexpected for the speaker on some grounds. The occurrence of  $L^* L\%$  in these contexts is in keeping with Sudo's (2013) characterization of INPQs as expressing "a conflict between the speaker's expectation that  $p$ , and contextual evidence suggesting that  $\neg p$ " (Sudo, 2013, p. 11). Conversely, the contour  $L^* L\%$  was not found in PPQ contexts, where the speaker infers  $p$  based on some evidence present in the discourse context, but no previous expectation about the truth of the proposition is assumed on the part of the speaker (Büring & Gunlogson, 2000; Sudo, 2013). Finally, the data show that  $L^* L\%$  is not produced for unbiased PQs and ONPQs. These findings are not controversial if this contour is used to encode speaker's disbelief about the proposition expressed in the question.

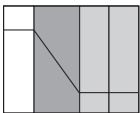
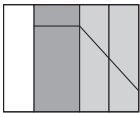
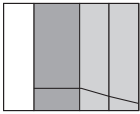
Considering the previous analysis, the intonational variation found in Mieres Asturian PQs can be accounted for in terms of different epistemic stances that speakers may take with respect to the utterance's propositional content (Pierrehumbert & Hirschberg, 1990). Similarly to previous analyses of PQ intonation (Escandell-Vidal, 1998, 2017; Armstrong, 2015), PQs in Mieres Asturian present a general or default tune,  $H+L^* L\%$ , that encodes one layer of meaning, that is, PQ-marking. This



contour does not convey any information about speaker belief. The overwhelming presence of H+L\* L% in the data across biased and unbiased context-types confirms this idea: since H+L\* L% is epistemically unspecified, (a) it is the only tune that can be used felicitously in unbiased contexts; and (b) it is widely used in biased contexts (PPQs, INPQs, and ONPQs) in cases where the speaker's epistemic bias towards *p* is not encoded intonationally, but rather recovered contextually.

In addition, Mieres Asturian PQs display two non-default PQ contours, H\* L% and L\* L%, that occur less frequently than H+L\* L% and present narrower distributions. These two contours encode two levels of meaning: in addition to PQ-marking, H\* L% and L\* L% also convey information about the speaker's beliefs/expectations with respect to *p*. H\* L% conveys speaker's positive epistemic bias towards *p*, irrespective of the source of information. L\* L% conveys speaker's disbelief/incredulity about *p*, a proposition that has been activated in the context of utterance and runs contrary to the speaker's expectations.

**Table 3.** Form-meaning mappings in Mieres Asturian PQs

| ToBI label | Schematic representation                                                            | Description                                           |
|------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| H+L* L%    |    | Unmarked PQ contour<br>Epistemically unspecified      |
| H* L%      |    | Marked PQ contour<br>Speaker's belief                 |
| L* L%      |  | Marked PQ contour<br>Speaker's incredulity, disbelief |

Two of the intonation contours analyzed in this study, namely H+L\* L% and H\* L%, had already been shown to occur in Asturian PQs (e.g. Alvarellós-Pedrero *et al.*, 2011). H+L\* L% was previously described as the pattern found in South-Central (Mieres) Asturian neutral PQs, which is confirmed by the data in this study. It was also found in Galician-Asturian. As for H\* L%, it was described for neutral PQs in both Western and North-Central varieties of Asturian. In the data presented here, H\* L% is used to indicate the speaker's state of belief about ( $\neg$ )*p*, which rules out its felicitous use in neutral PQ-contexts. This contrast suggests that the implementation of H\* L% in PQs is subject to different pragmatic restrictions in different varieties of Asturian (imposed by the speaker's degree of epistemic commitment to *p*). This is an indication of the variation in PQ form-meaning mappings across

Asturian dialects (i.e. one intonation contour is used to encode meaning X in one variety, but meaning Y in another variety); which is not uncommon in other languages (e.g. Prieto & Roseano, 2010, for Spanish). Future studies should analyze the PQ intonation in other varieties of Asturian to fully understand intonational variation, as well as the similarities and differences in form-meaning mappings in Asturian PQs. Additionally, a more detailed phonetic analysis should consider other prosodic parameters aside from tonal movements. Finally, further perceptual research needs to be conducted to test the validity of analysis presented in this section about the intonational variation found in Mieres Asturian PQs, as well as to investigate the influence of discourse context in modulating the meaning conveyed by each contour.

## 5. Conclusion

In this work, based on production data, I have presented an analysis of the three intonation contours found in Mieres Asturian PQs: H+L\* L%, H\* L%, and L\* L%, and described them following the AM framework. To the author's knowledge, this is the first attempt that analyzes some aspect of intonational meaning in Asturian beyond the distinction between broad-focus statements and neutral polar questions. The data presented here show that H+L\* L% is used a general or 'unmarked' PQ-marking contour that does not convey any specific information about the speaker's belief state. The other two marked contours, H\* L% and L\* L%, in addition to marking the utterance as a PQ, are epistemically specified. Specifically, H\* L% encodes belief on the part of the speaker, and L\* L% conveys speaker's disbelief about *p*. In sum, this study adds to the body of research that confirms the status of intonation as an integral part of the grammar of natural languages that can be used to encode information about speaker belief, and the degree of commitment towards the expressed proposition, especially in PQs.

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# Minority language bilingualism and its role in L3 lexical acquisition

## The case of Asturian

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This chapter focuses on the interplay between working memory, lexical capacity, and (self-rated) proficiency in three groups of speakers: monolingual (Spanish), bilingual (Spanish and English), and trilingual (Spanish, English, and Asturian). There is ample debate on the cognitive and lexical (dis)advantages that bilingualism can grant, and on its impact on third language learning. In this chapter, we argue for a cognitive advantage of any type of bilingualism in accuracy in a Luck and Vogel task, and an advantage of simultaneous bilingualism in reaction times. Additionally, we find no evidence for a disadvantage in lexical retrieval for simultaneous bilinguals.

**Keywords:** trilingualism, bilingualism, working memory, Verbal Fluency, diglossia

### 1. Introduction

Multilingualism research has advanced greatly in the past few decades. Authors have explored multiple aspects of the acquisition process of second, third, and subsequent languages, with a large part of the debate focused on the potential of bilingualism and multilingualism to grant cognitive advantages particularly with respect to executive function, as well as acquisitional advantages in the learning of subsequent languages. Research has explored bilingualism, third language (L3) acquisition, and L3 acquisition specifically in the context of minority language bilingualism. However, few studies have focused on local minority languages, and even less have focused on minority languages with limited institutional and educational support.

The current study contributes to the debate on advantages of bilingualism by studying two groups of sequential learners of English: a group of Spanish speakers

and a group of simultaneous Spanish/Asturian bilinguals. These groups are compared to a monolingual Spanish-speaking group with regards to their Working Memory capacity and their lexical fluency. Additionally, issues of identity and self-perception are considered in the performance of these participants, with an emphasis on the important role that social promotion of the minority language can have on speakers' self-perception and identity, and ultimately on their access to any cognitive advantages that bilingualism may provide.

### 1.1 Bilingual advantages

Executive function can be defined as “cognitive processes that regulate goal-directed human behavior as well as control human thoughts and responses in an automatic or established manner” (Yang, 2017). It consists of three main components: inhibition, updating (or working memory, WM henceforth), and shifting (Yang, 2017). The potential existence of a bilingual advantage in executive function processes has been a prevalent topic in the study of bilingualism in recent years, with conflicting results: there is ample evidence for the existence of advantages on inhibition tasks (Bialystok, 2010, Bialystok *et al.*, 2012, 2008; Colzato *et al.*, 2008, Duñabeitia *et al.*, 2014; Paap & Greenberg, 2013), on shifting tasks (Prior & MacWhinney, 2010; Qu *et al.*, 2016), and on conflict resolution (Donnelly *et al.*, 2015), yet there are also multiple studies that have found no positive effects of bilingualism on cognitive processes (Namazi & Thordardottir, 2010; Ratiu & Azuma, 2015; Gasquoine, 2016). Additionally, it seems as though not all cognitive processes are created equal with regards to bilingualism: certain processes appear to be more sensitive to it than others, such as monitoring and selection (Marian & Spivey, 2003; Kroll *et al.*, 2006), metalinguistic awareness (Ben-Zeev, 1977; Galambos & Goldin-Meadow, 1990), cognitive flexibility and divergent thinking (Adi-Japha *et al.*, 2010; Ricciardelli, 1992), and controlled attention and inhibition (Bialystok & Feng, 2009; Bialystok & Viswanathan, 2009; Emmorey *et al.*, 2008; Ratiu & Azuma, 2015).

While inhibition and shifting tasks have been explored more thoroughly, findings on WM are scarcer and more seemingly contradictory. Among the studies that claim that there is no effect of bilingualism on WM (Bialystok *et al.*, 2008; Feng, 2009; Bialystok *et al.*, 2010; Bonifacci *et al.*, 2011; Engel de Abreu, 2011), there are those that take an absolute stance saying that there are no bilingual advantages with regards to memory whatsoever (Engel de Abreu, 2011), and others who nuance this claim by stating that the bilingual experience only occasionally enhances WM (Bialystok, 2009, Bialystok *et al.*, 2012). However, Calvo *et al.* (2016) conclude that concrete aspects of WM are indeed enhanced by the bilingual experience, specifically those tested through non-verbal or low verbal tasks: most studies that find no effect on WM were based on highly verbal tasks, which are known to be

problematic for bilinguals (Bialystok, 2009). Tasks that require (non-verbal) visual or visuo-spatial stimuli are quite consistently linked to a WM advantage for bilinguals (Bialystok *et al.*, 2004; Morales *et al.*, 2013; Blom *et al.*, 2014; Feng, 2009). Calvo *et al.* suggest that “modality-specific bilingual advantages in WM may be related to increased attentional skills” (Calvo *et al.*, 2016, p. 2). Therefore, it appears that task-specific effects need to be considered when making claims about the interplay between WM and bilingualism, and the distinction between verbal and audiovisual cues must be carefully determined.

## 1.2 Lexical fluency

The same type of debate over the potential advantages of bilingualism exists for the area of vocabulary learning and lexical retention. While some areas of lexical acquisition and retention seem favored by bilingualism, such as lexical awareness (Klein, 1995), new L3 vocabulary learning (Kaushanskaya & Marian, 2007, 2009), or total vocabulary size (Keshavarz & Astaneh, 2004), there are other areas in which bilinguals display lower levels of receptive vocabulary when compared to their monolingual counterparts (Bialystok *et al.*, 2010).

Lexical Fluency tasks (also called Verbal Fluency; names used interchangeably in this article) have been argued to constitute a cross between measures of cognitive functioning such as WM (Henry & Crawford, 2004a; Rende *et al.*, 2002), inhibition (Hirshorn & Thompson-Schill, 2006), fluid intelligence (Roca *et al.*, 2012) and measures of lexical ability (Whiteside *et al.*, 2016; Blumenfeld *et al.*, 2016; Shao *et al.*, 2014). Much of the work that uses VF tasks are clinical studies on aphasia, brain injuries and neuro-degenerative disease (Herbert *et al.*, 2014; Herrera *et al.*, 2012; Henry *et al.*, 2005; Henry & Crawford, 2004b; Engstand *et al.*, 2003; Metternich *et al.*, 2014), but there is a growing body of research on bilingualism that resorts to measures of VF as an assessment of lexical capacity (Blumenfeld *et al.*, 2016; Whiteside *et al.*, 2016; Agustín-Llach, 2019).

Agustín-Llach (2019) uses a Verbal Fluency task to test the lexical availability of monolingual and bilingual speakers of Spanish/Spanish and Basque acquiring English as an L2 or L3, respectively. She finds that monolingual learners produce more tokens and types of lexical items than their bilingual counterparts, suggesting that bilingual learners may be slower in lexical fluency tasks as proposed by Bialystok *et al.* (2008). However, when analyzing type/token ratios, the results show higher figures for bilingual learners, which may indicate more vocabulary knowledge and richer lexical display in the L3 than for monolinguals in their L2, as proposed by Criado and Sánchez (2012) who point to higher type/token ratios implying more lexical richness and fewer repetitions of the types included.



### 1.3 Minority language L3 acquisition

In recent years, there has been an upsurge of scholarly work that explores the intersection of L3 acquisition studies and Minority Language studies. These studies look at the potential advantages that bilingualism can have in the acquisition of a third language in communities in which one of the languages can be considered a minority. Most studies have focused on the acquisition of an L3 in contexts in which the minority language is an immigrant language in the region in which the dominant language is spoken (Tsimprea Maluch & Kempert, 2017; Tsimprea Maluch *et al.*, 2016), but there are also studies that analyze situations of vernacular minority languages that are native to the territory in which they are spoken (Cenoz & Valencia, 1994; Sanz, 2000; Brohy, 2001; Cenoz, 2003, 2013). The current study analyzes the latter situation in the context of Asturias.

Hopp *et al.* (2019) find an advantage at the lexical and, less so, at the grammatical level for bilingual speakers of a minority language + German compared to German monolingual children learning English as their L2/L3 respectively. They find that, after controlling for cognitive and socioeconomic factors, “regular use of the minority L1 correlates positively with achievement in L3 English” (Hopp *et al.*, 2019, p. 106). Although this advantage diminished over time as monolingual minority language speakers became increasingly bilingual in German, the authors highlight the importance of the interconnectedness of the lexicon in multilingual learners as an advantage for subsequent language learning. Somewhat similarly, Edele *et al.* (2018) find a bilingual advantage for immigrant bilingual German/Russian learning L3 English over their monolingual counterparts, specifically when bilingual speakers had a high proficiency level in their L2 German. These advantages, however, are absent in minority language speakers whose German knowledge is below the monolingual average. Also working with immigrant bilingual populations in Germany, Tsimprea Maluch and Kempert (2017) conclude that formal training and frequent use of the minority home language are key factors in providing bilingual learners with listening and reading advantages in their L3 (English).

Mueller and Thomas (2009) make a distinction between immigrant minority language communities and “stable bilingual community” minority languages. While their distinction is an important one, they refer to the case of Welsh, which has received more institutional support than other local minority languages such as Asturian. A few studies have analyzed the role of local minority language bilingualism in L3 acquisition, particularly in cases where (unlike in Asturias) the minority language is recognized as (co-) official and there is a solid bilingual education system (Agustín-Llach, 2019; Garraffa *et al.*, 2017; Mueller & Thomas, 2009; Sanz, 2000), with general advantages found in most studies at least in some aspects of cognition and lexical retrieval.

#### 1.4 Bilingualism and diglossia in Asturias

Asturies is a highly diglossic region, with Spanish being the language of prestige and of public transactions and Asturian being reserved primarily for private uses (Andrés, 2002). Viejo (2017) highlights one of the biggest challenges faced by Asturian in recent history: the gradual but definite loss of native speakers and of use in the home (see Table 1). Inefficient language policies have made language preservation difficult, and while bilingualism has retained its relative strength across those born in different eras of the 20th century, Spanish-language monolingualism has grown astronomically, in detriment of Asturian monolingualism.

**Table 1.** Self-identified family language for speakers born in the 20th century (Viejo, 2017)

|                                                     | Spanish | Asturian | Both  |
|-----------------------------------------------------|---------|----------|-------|
| Born during (pre-)war era (1931–1942/45)            | 39.5%   | 36%      | 24.5% |
| Born during post-war era (1942/45–1955/57)          | 42.5%   | 32.5%    | 25%   |
| Born during <i>developist</i> era (1955/57–1975/77) | 46%     | 21%      | 30.6% |
| Born during <i>transition</i> era (after 1977)      | 70%     | 9%       | 21%   |

Because of this marked diglossia, speakers of Asturian nowadays are all considered bilingual to varying extents. All speakers of Asturian need to have at least rudimentary knowledge of Spanish in their transactions with the administration, the media, or public social situations. Schooling in Asturias is primarily in Spanish (a few schools offer bi-weekly classes in Asturian as a Second Language), so all speakers who have obtained a High School degree have had at least 12 years of formal education in the dominant language. Spanish-language schooling has long been cited as one of the main factors in the loss of Asturian and its progressive substitution for Spanish (Viejo, 2017).

To counteract the progressive loss of Asturian, it is crucial to understand how minority language bilingualism affects its speakers and whether it provides certain advantages regardless of the minority status of one of the languages. The current study sets out to research the connection between minority language bilingualism, foreign language acquisition, and cognitive advantages.

## 2. Methodology

### 2.1 Research questions and hypotheses

The motivations for this study are manifold, chief among them being the expansion of the scientific knowledge we currently have of Asturian. Furthering this knowledge can, in turn, provide empirical data that supports the importance of the re-consideration of the (non-)official status of Asturian among the languages of Spain.

More specifically, this work sets out to answer the following Research Questions:

1. Does being a bilingual speaker of Spanish and Asturian provide a working memory advantage over monolingual speakers of Spanish?

Hypothesis: There is ample evidence in previous studies that being bilingual provides a plethora of cognitive advantages over monolingual speakers; therefore, we expect that bilingual status will indeed imply an advantage in WM measures for participants in this study. This advantage will be seen in higher accuracy rates in the Luck & Vogel task, as well as in faster reaction times to the stimuli presented.

2. Do bilingual speakers of Spanish and Asturian show an advantage over monolingual Spanish speakers in their recollection of lexical items in their L1 (Spanish or Asturian), socially dominant L2 (Spanish in the case of Asturian/Spanish bilinguals) and in their L2/L3 (English) through a Lexical Fluency task?

Hypothesis: Bilingual speakers are expected to perform on an even ground with monolinguals with respect to number of items recalled based on evidence from previous studies that suggest that there is no bilingual advantage (or even a slight disadvantage) in vocabulary acquisition. Trilingual speakers are expected to do slightly worse than the other two groups, as they have competing cross-linguistic tokens in their lexicon and need to suppress more terms (those that belong to their other linguistic systems) in their retrieval of items from a single language.

These two hypotheses together help researchers better understand the nature of minority language bilingualism from the perspective of a well-studied advantage of bilingualism such as WM (see Section 1.1.) and a potential disadvantage such as Lexical Fluency (see Section 1.2.). Combining experiments that test both gives a clearer vision of how diglossia can impact bilingualism and subsequent language acquisition.

## 2.2 Participants

Three groups of 15 speakers each participated in this experiment. Speakers were recruited through social media and personal interviews with the researcher, based on their linguistic history and experiences.

### 2.2.1 *Monolingual speakers*

Fifteen monolingual speakers of Spanish (avg. age 41.4, 9 females and 6 males) with varying educational levels and socioeconomic status participated in the experiment. The only requirement asked of this group is that they speak Spanish exclusively in their everyday lives, having little to no knowledge of other languages.

### 2.2.2 *Bilingual speakers*

Fifteen sequential bilingual speakers of Spanish and English (avg. age 36.6, 8 females and 7 males) formed the second group. They are all self-reported native speakers of Spanish and adult L2 speakers of English. In order to be considered for participation, they were asked to complete a modified version of the Cambridge Michigan ECPE Cloze Test (equivalent of the C2 level on the Common European Framework of Reference). A minimum score of 60% was required for a speaker's data to be included in this study. Additionally, they completed a modified Bilingual Language Profile questionnaire (Birdsong et al., 2012) in which they were asked about their experiences with both Spanish and English, including their linguistic history, linguistic attitudes, and self-perception of linguistic proficiency.

### 2.2.3 *Trilingual speakers*

Fifteen trilingual speakers of Spanish, Asturian, and English (avg. age 31.4, 4 females and 11 males) constituted the third experimental group. They are all self-reported simultaneous bilingual speakers of Asturian and Spanish (2L1 speakers) who have acquired English as an L3 in adulthood. They completed the same English Cloze Test as the bilingual group, with a 60% score as a minimum requirement for inclusion in the data set. They completed a version of the same modified Bilingual Language Profile questionnaire that the bilingual group completed, edited to include all three of their languages.

## 2.3 Bilingual language profile (BLP)

The BLP (Birdsong et al. 2012) is a questionnaire consisting of a battery of questions aimed at evaluating a bilingual speaker's language history, use, proficiency, and attitudes. For this study, the questionnaire was modified to include three languages

(Asturian, Spanish, and English) for speakers in the trilingual group, and it was adapted to Spanish and English for the bilingual group.

Questions from the BLP can be split into 4 main categories: demographic data, language use, self-rating of linguistic skills, and linguistic identity. Demographic data has been reported as part of the description of participant groups. Results will be reported from the following questions per category:

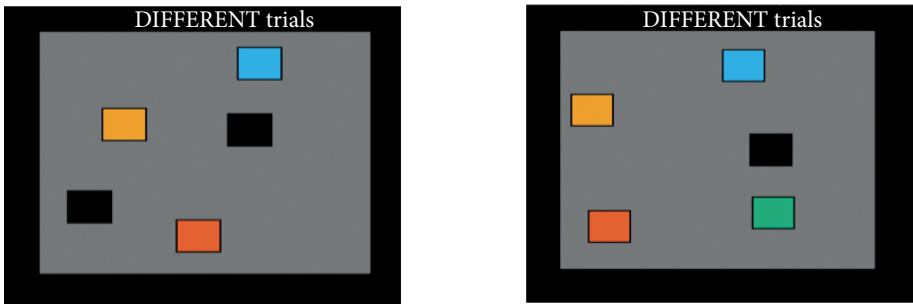
- a. Language use:
  1. How much do you use each of your languages per day?
  2. When did you start learning each of your languages?
  3. How many years of schooling did you have in each of your languages?
  4. How long have you lived in a country where each of your languages was spoken?
- b. Self-rating (scale 1–6):
  1. Rate your speaking ability in each of your languages
  2. Rate your listening ability in each of your languages
  3. Rate your reading ability in each of your languages
  4. Rate your writing ability in each of your languages
- c. Linguistic identity (scale 1–6):
  1. I feel like myself when speaking [each language]
  2. I identify with a [each language] culture

## 2.4 Experimental tasks: Procedures & analysis

### 2.4.1 *Luck and Vogel task*

The Luck and Vogel task (Luck & Vogel, 1997) is a visuo-spatial working memory task (Morey & Cowan, 2004). In it, participants see a spatial configuration of color squares (sample) followed by a second configuration (test) that can either match the first completely (SAME trial) or differ in the color and placement of one or more squares (DIFFERENT trial). On a standard keyboard, participants have to press a key for “same” or “different” depending on how they categorize the second square configuration as compared to the first. This test requires memory for the square-by-square correspondence of colors and location. Configuration size varies from 2 to 12 squares per screen, with the highest number of squares being the most difficult to retain in memory. Participants see an equal amount of screen pairs for each possible number of squares.

The task was completed in a quiet environment on the researcher’s personal computer using PEBL (Mueller, 2013), a program designed for psychological experimentation. The author explained the basic rules of the Luck and Vogel task and



**Figure 1.** Luck and Vogel 5-token mismatching trial sample image

ensured that participants could distinguish different colors. Participants did a trial run with 2 to 6 tokens in which they became familiar with the task and could stop to ask questions if needed. In this version of the task, participants pressed the left Shift key for DIFFERENT trials and the right Shift key for SAME trials. These keys were covered in colored tape so that the DIFFERENT response was red, and the SAME response was green. After task familiarization, participants completed the experimental run in two sets of 40 trials with short breaks between each set. Response accuracy and reaction times were collected and analyzed through an ANOVA test with Bonferroni-corrected post-hoc Mann-Whitney pairwise comparisons.

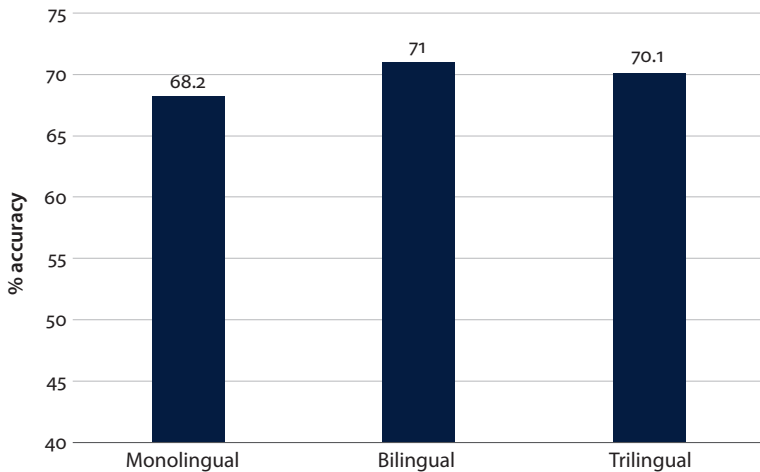
#### 2.4.2 *Lexical fluency task*

A letter verbal fluency task was administered in each of the languages spoken by participants, with an introduction to the task in whichever language was being tested at the moment (i.e., if a participant was asked to complete the task in English, the experimenter led a conversation in English for a minimum of two minutes before beginning the task). For each language, the participant received a different letter so as to avoid lexical priming from one language into another. The letters chosen were P for English, B for Spanish, and D for Asturian, as they have similar word-initial frequency rates. Participants were given one minute to provide as many words as they could think of that started with the given letter, and their performance was recorded for further analysis. The order of testing for non-monolingual speakers was as follows: bilingual speakers completed the task in Spanish, then took a small break in which they conversed with the experimenter in English and afterwards, they completed the task in English. For trilingual speakers, the first language tested was Asturian, followed by brief informal conversation in Spanish and the Spanish-language task, and lastly they conversed in English with the experimenter before completing the final lexical fluency task in English.

### 3. Results

#### 3.1 L&V task

As mentioned in the task description, the Luck and Vogel task yields two datasets for analysis: accuracy scores and reaction times. Accuracy scores between the three groups studied seem to vary only slightly (see Figure 2), but an ANOVA test reveals a statistical difference ( $p < 0.05$ ). Post-hoc Mann-Whitney pairwise comparisons with sequential Bonferroni significance point to a marked difference between the monolingual and bilingual groups ( $p = 0.002$ ), with a lesser albeit significant difference between the monolingual and trilingual groups ( $p = 0.041$ ). The difference between the bilingual and trilingual groups is not significant ( $p = 0.3$ ).



**Figure 2.** Average accuracy score per group

Therefore, accuracy in the Luck and Vogel task appears to be favored by knowledge of an L2+, independently of language status (majority vs. minority), acquisition order (Asturian and Spanish are acquired simultaneously for trilinguals vs. sequential acquisition of English for bilinguals), and number of subsequent languages spoken (that is, whether they are L1+L2 speakers -bilingual group- or 2L1+L3 -trilingual group-).

A clear advantage for trilingual speaker arises, however, when analyzing reaction times (RTs). The average reaction time of the trilingual group is more than 600 milliseconds faster than that of both monolinguals and bilinguals (Figure 3).

This difference is statistically significant (ANOVA  $p < 0.05$ ), with Bonferroni-corrected Mann-Whitney pairwise confirming high significance between the trilingual group and both monolinguals ( $p = 0.01$ ) and bilinguals ( $p = 0.001$ ), while

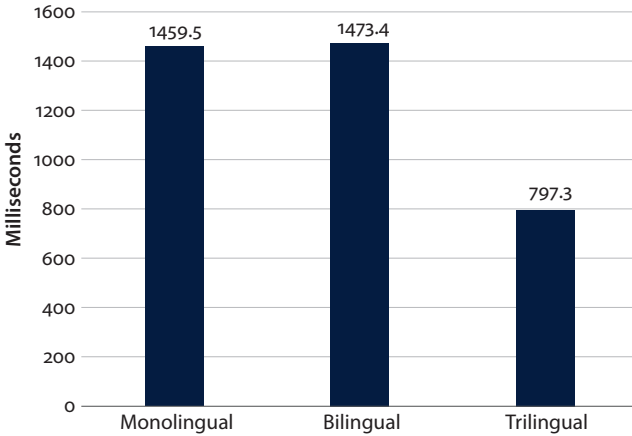


Figure 3. Average Reaction Times per group

there is no statistical difference between these two groups with regards to L & V reaction times. This seems to indicate an advantage in RTs for speakers who are constantly exposed to both their L1s, and therefore need to engage their inhibition skills frequently.

### 3.2 Lexical fluency

Figure 4 shows the scores of the Verbal Fluency task for each group and each language spoken. Starting with Spanish for each group, there is no evidence for a disadvantage for the trilingual group when compared to monolingual speakers of Spanish, as may be expected based on previous studies that have signaled a disadvantage in lexical retrieval for early bilinguals (Bialystok *et al.*, 2008; Bialystok

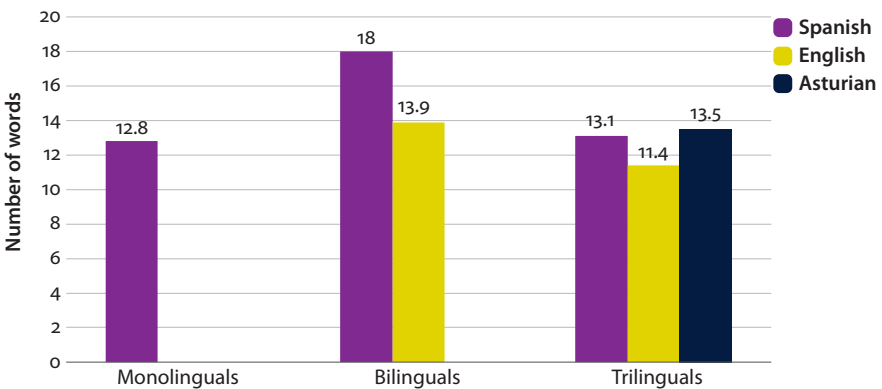


Figure 4. Verbal Fluency scores per language per group



*et al.*, 2010). The sequential bilingual group (adult L2 learners of English) shows an advantage in their L1 Spanish lexical retrieval. This difference is statistically significant (ANOVA  $p < 0.05$ ) indicating that this group of sequential bilinguals have an advantage over monolingual speakers of Spanish and over simultaneous bilinguals.

L2/L3 English scores show a slight advantage in lexical retrieval for the bilingual group (two-sample t-test  $p < 0.05$ ). Bilingual speakers retrieve words in their L2 at a higher rate than trilingual speakers in their L3, which seems to contradict Sullivan *et al.* (2018) who found no significant differences between their bilingual and trilingual speakers.

There is an important factor that must be considered when discussing the results from the LF task: trilingual speakers were tested in both their L1s, with their Asturian score being virtually the same as their Spanish score. In fact, although not statistically significant, simultaneous Spanish/Asturian bilinguals outperform monolingual speakers of Spanish on this LF task in both of their L1s. This seems to indicate that linguistic dominance (societal or personal) is not a decisive factor in the lexical retrieval capacity of these speakers. Trilingual speaker performance with regards to any of their tested languages, however, is best understood in perspective when considering answers to the BLP, presented in the next section.

### 3.3 Bilingual language profile

The adapted BLP (Birdsong *et al.*, 2012) used in this study gathered data on various areas of demographic and linguistic use and perception. In this study, three subsets of the data are analyzed: language use, linguistic identity, and self-rating of linguistic abilities.

Table 2 summarizes data on language use. There are clear differences between trilinguals and bilinguals with respect to this category: while bilingual speakers report Spanish as their most spoken language in their daily lives (60% of conversational time), trilinguals show a marked preference for Asturian in their everyday linguistic encounters (54%). Trilinguals' everyday use of Spanish is much more

Table 2. Language use

|                                                | Trilinguals |           |           | Bilinguals |           |
|------------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|
|                                                | Spanish     | Asturian  | English   | Spanish    | English   |
| Daily language use                             | 34%         | 51%       | 15%       | 60%        | 40%       |
| Onset of acquisition                           | Birth       | Birth     | 7 y/o     | Birth      | 8.4 y/o   |
| Years of schooling in language                 | 16.6        | 2.3       | 11.5      | 17.8       | 2.4       |
| Time living in region where language is spoken | 20+ years   | 20+ years | 2.5 years | 20+ years  | 1.8 years |

limited than that of bilinguals (34%), which can explain why their lexical retrieval capacity is more limited. This carries onto their English: while bilingual participants report high daily use of English (40%), for the trilingual group there is a much lower level of use (15%).

Linguistic identity may be another strong factor in determining the performance patterns shown by these participant groups (Table 3). Bilingual speakers report that they very strongly feel like themselves when speaking Spanish (5.7 average rating out of a 6 possible maximum score). Additionally, they express a 4.1 average level of ‘self-ness’ when speaking English, which is far higher than how trilinguals feel when using English (1.5). For trilingual speakers, Asturian is the language that best reflects their identity: they report a 5.8 perception of it being the language that makes them feel most like themselves. Their feeling of self when speaking Spanish is far lower, at a 4.1 rating. Chevasco (2019) argues for a correlation between L2 identity and L2 proficiency. These participants’ feeling of identity in Spanish, not as strong as in Asturian, can partially explain why these trilingual speakers produce less words in Spanish than their bilingual counterparts.

**Table 3.** Linguistic identity

| <i>I feel like myself when speaking...</i> | Spanish | English | Asturian |
|--------------------------------------------|---------|---------|----------|
| <i>Trilinguals</i>                         | 4.1     | 1.5     | 5.8      |
| <i>Bilinguals</i>                          | 5.7     | 4.1     | N/A      |

Linguistic proficiency is further explored in the third section of BLP data reported on this study. Although both English-speaking groups had the same average score on the English Cloze test (72% accuracy), their self-perception of linguistic abilities varies greatly (Table 4). On average, trilingual speakers rate their English language skills lower than bilinguals for all four categories (speaking, understanding, reading, and writing). Bilinguals’ and trilinguals’ self-rating in Spanish, however, is very similar. All speakers consider themselves highly proficient users of the language in all skills.

**Table 4.** Self-rating of linguistic abilities

|                      | Bilinguals |         | Trilinguals |          |         |
|----------------------|------------|---------|-------------|----------|---------|
|                      | Spanish    | English | Spanish     | Asturian | English |
| <i>Speaking</i>      | 5.7        | 4       | 5.8         | 4.4      | 3.3     |
| <i>Understanding</i> | 6          | 5       | 6           | 5.5      | 4.3     |
| <i>Reading</i>       | 6          | 5.6     | 6           | 5.1      | 4.2     |
| <i>Writing</i>       | 5.8        | 4.5     | 5.9         | 4.4      | 3.7     |

Trilinguals' self-perception of their own Asturian is somewhere in the middle between their Spanish and their English. They feel most confident in their receptive skills, whereas their productive skills (speaking and writing) receive lower self-ratings. However, this perceived imbalance between Spanish and Asturian does not correspond with their performance in the LF task, where their productive lexical retrieval was equal for both their L1s.

#### 4. Discussion

The present chapter analyzed the interplay between WM and lexical capacity in monolingual, bilingual and trilingual speakers of Spanish, English, and Asturian. The results obtained further our knowledge of the advantages and disadvantages of multilingualism at the cognitive and lexical level, and point to a potential role of linguistic identity and use as a defining factor in the discussion.

Bilinguals and monolinguals display enhanced visuo-spatial WM when compared to monolingual speakers, in line with previous research (Bialystok *et al.*, 2004; Morales *et al.*, 2013; Blom *et al.*, 2014; Feng, 2009) that finds an advantage in tasks that do not rely on verbal capacity. All multilingual speakers show an advantage in accuracy in the L & V task. However, we find a difference between bilinguals and trilinguals when looking at reaction times for the task. The trilingual group favors significantly faster reactions than their bilingual and monolingual counterparts. Order of acquisition and frequency of language use are possible explanations for this gain in speed of reaction: because trilingual speakers have spoken both L1s since birth, they are accustomed to constant switching from one language to the other and have therefore further developed their suppression of irrelevant stimuli in their everyday lives. Additionally, given that they use three languages on a habitual basis, they are quick in their ability to select the relevant information given by conversational context to adapt to the appropriate language for each exchange.

While (task-dependent) WM and cognitive advantages are more generally agreed upon in the literature, lexical access capacity has been more strongly debated, with some authors finding disadvantages for bilinguals in tasks that test Verbal Fluency (Bialystok *et al.*, 2008, 2010) whereas others find no effect of bilingualism or nuanced effects such as slower retrieval times but higher token/type ratios (Criado & Sánchez, 2012; Agustín-Llach, 2019). In the current study, however, no bilingual disadvantage was found. In fact, the bilingual group (L1 Spanish, L2 English with sequential acquisition) performed significantly better than the monolingual and trilingual groups in their L1 Spanish. Monolinguals and trilinguals, on the other hand, performed in a roughly equal manner (word average of 12.8 vs. 13.1, respectively). In these participants, there is no disadvantage to multilingualism with

regards to VF. The difference between the advantage of the bilingual group vs. the neutral behavior of trilinguals can be explained by age of acquisition and frequency of use, as the sequential bilingual group has less exposure to languages other than Spanish and therefore their lexical capacity is less divided: during the VF task, they do not need to be alert of competing items from their other L1, as trilinguals do. Additionally, trilinguals completed the VF task in both their L1s and showed no difference between them. This can be interpreted as a sign of balanced bilingualism despite living in a diglossic society.

The bilingual group showed an additional advantage over the trilingual group in their English performance despite equal Cloze test scores. However, looking into the BLP data provides insight into why it may be that trilingual speakers are scoring lower than bilinguals: the trilingual group uses English significantly less than the bilingual group, therefore affecting their level of access to their L3. Considering that they also speak two other languages on a regular basis, with Asturian and Spanish being used on average 85% of the time for this group, these participants have more lexical competition than the bilingual group does, thus further affecting their capacity to retrieve lexical items in their much less used L3. Self-rating of their linguistic abilities also indicates an imbalance in these groups' English proficiency, with trilingual speakers considering their English-speaking abilities as far lower than those of the bilingual group with regards to their oral capacity. Furthermore, data on L3 acquisition by speakers of a minority language points to advantages in the L3 in situations where the minority language is part of the education system and receives some sort of administrative support, which is not the case of Asturias.

Data from the BLP points to important differences between the bilingual and trilingual groups that go beyond frequency of language use. Crucially, the sense of self that trilingual speakers feel when speaking each of their languages is different from how bilinguals feel. While sequential bilinguals feel very at ease speaking Spanish and still retain their sense of self when speaking their L2, the trilingual group feels much more closely attached to the Asturian language. Their sense of self in Spanish is, in fact, equal to the bilingual group's sense of self in English (4.1/6). This creates a complicated dynamic, since both Spanish and Asturian are L1s for these speakers, yet they feel more personally attached to one than the other. In a diglossic society such as Asturias, this may be a reflection of the speakers' desire for Asturian to be recognized on an even ground with their other L1, Spanish. Alternatively, these speakers may consider Spanish to be a force of language displacement in Asturias, as it is not the historically native language of the region and its prevalence in all levels of society implies a loss of Asturian. Speakers of Asturian in younger generations are frequently active in the fight for linguistic rights, which may be a factor in determining their chosen linguistic identities. Involvement with

linguistic rights movements was not analyzed in this study, but future research should explore this relationship more in depth.

The trilinguals' self-identification as speakers of Asturian clashes with their self-rated proficiency in the language, which is a direct reflection of the socio-linguistic situation of Asturian. Because Asturian is systematically dismissed as a public language in Asturias, its speakers do not have a chance at education in the language, or at least not to the extent to which they are educated in Spanish. Receiving classes in Asturian implies, for the most part, going out of their way to find extra-curricular courses and investing time and, often, money outside of their regular education hours. Asturian speakers also do not have many opportunities to hear their language being spoken at public events or by figures of power, they get very few chances to listen to it in the media, and they have few choices of reading options in the language due to a minimal governmental support for local Asturian language publishing houses. All of these elements combined explain the lag in perceived proficiency for these trilingual speakers and creates a conflict between their strongly Asturian-speaking identity and their actual level of confidence in their linguistic skills.

Stronger governmental support for Asturian, starting with its recognition as a co-official language of Asturias, could potentially alleviate this conflict in identity, as it would grant speakers of Asturian more rights related to education, public use of the language, and exposure in the media. In this way, speakers' proficiency level would increase and, possibly, match their feeling of self. Taking steps towards balanced bilingualism in the region would benefit speakers of Asturian enormously, in aspects as varied as cognition, L3 acquisition, or identity issues.

There are certain limitations to the reach and generalizability of the current work. This study is exploratory, and more data is needed to make any further claims about the role of diglossic minority language bilingualism in WM and L3 lexical acquisition. Future work will focus on augmenting the number of speakers for each group, as well as adding new lexical tasks that can determine not only retrieval capacity, but also use of vocabulary in context, receptive vocabulary, and distinctions between type/token LF items.

It was beyond the scope of this chapter to delve into the interplay between language use, linguistic identity and language proficiency, but the data obtained through the BLP indicates that this connection is relevant to 2L1 and, potentially, to L3 performance for trilingual speakers. Future work will explore these interactions in more depth with a specific focus on understanding which factors are driving participants' decisions with regards to each of these variables.

Other variables that could potentially impact the data are social factors such as age or educational status. These variables were not included in the data analysis, as they were not part of the hypothesized outcomes. However, future research would

benefit from collecting further information on social variables and analyzing its potential influence on multilingual acquisition. Additionally, order of presentation of each language in the lexical fluency task could be impacting the results. A follow-up study that manipulates order of task completion could help shed light on the importance of task organization.

## 5. Conclusion

This work examined the role of minority language bilingualism in trilinguals' performance in a working memory task and a lexical retrieval task. The results obtained suggest a WM advantage for both simultaneous and sequential bilinguals with regards to accuracy, and for simultaneous bilinguals who speak an L3 with respect to reaction times. Lexical retrieval appears to be advantageous for sequential bilinguals only, but the trilingual group (simultaneous bilinguals who speak an L3) challenges the idea that there may be a disadvantage in lexical retrieval for this population, as they perform on a par with monolingual speakers. Their L3 English retrieval appears to lag behind that of sequential L2 speakers of English, although this is related to lower levels of self-rating of linguistic skills and infrequent use of the language. A crucial finding of this study is the existence of a mismatch between the self-rating of skills in the minority L1 and the linguistic identity of trilingual speakers. While further experimentation is necessary, this points to a need for societal revalorization of the Asturian language that will enable its speakers to acquire the linguistic skills necessary to match their strong feeling of self in the language.

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This is the first generative-oriented volume ever published about Asturian and Asturian Galician, two Romance languages which, along with their intrinsic interest, are crucial to understand the parametric distance between Spanish and Galician/Portuguese. Its chapters offer new insights about old puzzles, like pronominal enclisis or apparent violations of bans on clitic combinatorics, but they also deal with less explored grounds, like aspect, negation or prosody. Chapters make special emphasis on how the concerned issues result from complex interactions between syntax proper and its interfaces with sound and meaning. The book focuses on particular aspects of Asturian and Asturian Galician, as well as on some effects of their contact with Spanish in their corresponding locations.

ISBN 978 90 272 1093 7



9 789027 210937

**John Benjamins Publishing Company**