

Nanoparameters in Western Iberian Romance: Null copulas in Galician and Asturian

Brian Gravely
Emory University
brian.gravely@icloud.com

Timothy Gupton
University of Georgia
gupton1@uga.edu



Received: 27-05-2022
Accepted: 04-08-2022
Published: 19-10-2022

How to cite: Gravely, Brian & Timothy Gupton. 2022. Nanoparameters in Western Iberian Romance: Null copulas in Galician and Asturian. *Isogloss. Open Journal of Romance Linguistics* 8(1)/16, 1-31.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/isogloss.245>

Abstract

In this paper, we address two separate cases of null-copula constructions in Galician and Asturian that on the surface appear to be identical but exhibit subtle yet important differences. We show that these differences entail theoretical assumptions that distinguish their underlying syntactic operations. Furthermore, we propose that the unification of both instances of null-copula constructions lies in *nanoparametric* variation (Biberauer & Roberts 2015b), which differs from microparametric variation in the sense that the former is only acquired by the learner in a “bottom up” fashion via direct evidence. That is, nanoparametric phenomena do not constitute a parameter setting that may be indirectly acquired based on indirect evidence.

Keywords: null copula, Western Iberian, Romance, nanoparameter, microparameter, variation, cliticization, interrogatives

1. Introduction

The landscape of microparametric variation has been revealing for the identifying of cross-linguistic phenomena, particularly within the Romance family. The investigation into the seemingly inexhaustible number of Italian varieties and their individual morphosyntactic properties, for example, has shed new light on the syntax of functional projections (Poletto 2000), complementizer alternation (Colasanti 2018; Colasanti & Silvestri 2019), and many nominal and inflectional licensing restrictions such as non-canonical patterns of differential object marking (DOM) (Ledgeway et al. 2019). This line of investigation alone has simultaneously confuted previous theoretical assumptions about numerous phenomena and broadened the landscape under which different cross-linguistic variation may be explored.

In this paper, we address two separate cases of null-copula constructions in Galician and Asturian that on the surface appear to be identical, but as we show, entail theoretical assumptions that distinguish their underlying syntactic operations. Furthermore, we propose that the unification of both instances of null-copula constructions lies in what Biberauer & Roberts (2015b) refer to as *nanoparametric* variation. As we discuss in §4, nanoparametric variation differs from microparametric variation in the sense that only the former is acquired by the learner in a “bottom up” fashion via direct evidence. That is, nanoparametric phenomena do not constitute a parameter setting that may be indirectly acquired based on indirect evidence.

2. Null copulas in Romance: the data

Null-copula structures have been a heavily debated point of investigation in the generative literature, largely amongst Semitic varieties. However, they are an understudied phenomenon within the Romance family.¹ In Gravely & Gupton (2020), we identify an interrogative construction in Galician that lacks a copula, which we refer to as *verbless DP interrogative constructions* (henceforth VDICs).

¹ Although there may be underlying similarities, we abstain from any comparison with or reference to other types of ‘verbless clauses’ or ‘verbless predicative structures’ (also called ‘subsential utterances’ or ‘verbless exclamatives’) as in (i).

- (i) *Spanish* (Munaro 2016:612)
 Un listillo, tu primo!
 a smart.DIM your cousin
 ‘A little smart-ass, your cousin!’

We refer the interested reader to the cross-linguistic works of González-Rivera (2011), (2020); Gutiérrez-Rexach & González-Rivera (2013); Munaro (2016); Paul (2006); Paul & Stainton (2006); and references therein.

- (1) U-la nai?
 where-CL.F.SG mother
 ‘Where is mom?’

There, we showed that this construction boasts several non-canonical phenomena both within Romance and beyond: obligatory enclisis of determiner clitics, the lack of T^o, and the base-generation of the corresponding *wh*-word (i.e., *U*) in the left periphery. We elaborate on these data below both in order to review the account presented there, as well as to provide a basis upon which we may compare the corresponding data from Asturian, ultimately showing that these surface similarities derive from two different derivational patterns.

2.1. Galician VDICs

Galician VDICs are characterized by the locative interrogative *U* ‘where’ in combination with an obligatory determiner clitic, which heads an optional DP. As expected, the determiner clitic agrees with the noun phrase in [GENDER] and [NUMBER] when the latter surfaces overtly.²

- (2) a. U-las (chaves da casa)?
 where-CL.F.PL keys of-the house
 ‘Where are the house keys?’
 b. U-lo (meu neno)?
 where-CL.M.SG my boy
 ‘Where is my little boy?’

Due to the fact that the determiner clitic is required in this construction, these DPs are inherently specific. Therefore, it follows that they may not be headed by an indefinite determiner (3a), nor may they be headed by another D^o element, such as the quantifier *cada* ‘each’ (3b).

- (3) a. *U unha saída por aquí?
 where an exit by here
 Intended: ‘Where is an exit around here?’
 b. *U cada persoa da parroquia?
 where each person of.the parrish
 Intended: ‘Where is each person from the parish?’

Furthermore, this construction may not consist of a bare interrogative (4a), an interrogative bearing a special clitic (i.e., 1st- or 2nd-person) (4b), or an interrogative followed by a strong pronoun (4c).³

² Due to the fact that VDICs may be uttered in out-of-the-blue contexts, the omission of the noun is only possible when the referent DP in question is not discourse new.

³ A reviewer questions the ungrammaticality of *U* hosting a 1st- or 2nd-person clitic (4b) based on the fact that there is clearly a restriction on specificity regarding the DP it selects (cf. 2-3). We believe this to be a historical accident much like the gaps in the paradigms of Italian subject clitics, as there is no historical record of *U* ever hosting anything but 3rd-person determiner clitics in this construction.

- (4) a. *U?
 where
 Intended: ‘Where (is it/are they)?’
- b. *U-vos?
 where-CL.2.PL
 Intended: ‘Where are you (PL)?’
- c. *U iso?
 where that
 Intended: ‘Where is that?’

The DP selected by *U* may be internally modified, however, as in the case of quantification (5a) and when heading a relative clause (5b).

- (5) a. U-las demais (gaitas)?
 where-CL.F.PL other bagpipes
 ‘Where are the rest (of the bagpipes)?’
- b. U-la (bolboreta) que colliches onte?
 where-CL.F.SG butterfly COMP catch.PST.2SG yesterday
 ‘Where is the butterfly that you caught yesterday?’

Furthermore, this construction may only be uttered on a present tense interpretation of the locative interrogative. All adverbial or prepositional modification is prohibited even when referencing the present, which we shall later show to be a product of its deictic nature regarding tense.

- (6) a. U-las túas amigas (*onte / a semana pasada)?
 where-CL.F.PL your friends yesterday the week past
 Intended: ‘Where were your friends yesterday/last week?’
- b. U-lo teu avó (*agora mesmo)?
 where-CL.M.SG your grandfather now same
 Intended: ‘Where is your grandfather right now?’

There is another important observation to note before continuing to the Asturian data. Our reference to determiner clitics here is a crucial one that has direct implications for the theoretical steps proposed in Gravely & Gupton (2020), the same ones that we follow here. Determiner clitics were originally analyzed theoretically by Uriagereka (1996), who formalized several descriptive generalizations that led to the uncovering of a number of syntactic dependencies. The most important distinction lies in the morphological exponence of determiner clitics compared to that of regular determiners.⁴ These are often referred to as ‘first forms’ and ‘second forms’ in traditional Galician grammar (Freixeiro 2006), as shown below in Table 1.

⁴ The first and second forms in Table 1 also correspond to 3rd-person accusative clitics, a reference we shall use in §3.3 in determining the behavior of determiner clitic movement.

In (8), we can see that, in the medieval variety, the locative interrogative *U* could appear in a locative subordinate clause. In modern Galician, however, *U* is limited to the VDIC construction shown above. That is, unlike the primary locative interrogative *onde*, it may not be found in canonical *wh*-contexts paired with copular verbs (9a), intransitive verbs (9b), transitive verbs (9c), in embedded contexts (9d), or *in-situ* (9e).

- (9) a. Onde/*U estades?
 where be.PRS.2PL
 ‘Where are you (pl)?’
- b. Por onde/*u anda?
 for where walk.PRS.3SG
 ‘Where is she walking?’
- c. Onde o/*U-lo puxeches?
 where-CL.M.SG put.PST.2SG
 ‘Where did you put it?’
- d. Achamos onde/*u saiu da festa
 find.PST.1PL where leave.PST.3SG of-the party
 ‘We figured out where he left the party.’
- e. Dis que estiveches onde/*u?
 say.PRS.2SG COMP be.PST.2SG where
 ‘You say that you were where?’

As we show in the subsequent section, Asturian does not show this restriction; it displays the characteristics of the medieval Galician-Portuguese data shown above in (8), which we predict to have associated theoretical implications. We review these in §3 and compare them based on the account given for VDICs in Galician.

2.2. Asturian null copulas

Much like Galician, Asturian also has a construction headed by *U* that selects a DP minimally composed of a definite determiner and an optional nominal complement. Consider the asymmetries between *U* and *onde* in Asturian (10a-c) and Galician (11a-c):

- (10) *Asturian*
- a. Ú-la (llave)?
 where-CL.F.SG (key)
- b. Onde la *(llave)?
 where the key
- c. Onde tá la *(llave)?
 where be.PRS.3SG the key
 ‘Where is the key?’
- d. U-l coche (*ayeri)?
 where-CL.M.SG car yesterday
 Intended: ‘Where was the car (yesterday)?’

- (11) *Galician*
- a. U-la (chave)?
where-CL.F.SG key
- b. Onde *(está) a chave?
where be.PRS.3SG the key
- c. Onde está a *(chave)?
where be.PRS.3SG the key
'Where is the key?'

Examples (10a) and (11a) show identical distribution with *U*: in both languages, there seems to be obligatory cliticization regardless of whether the complement NP is elided. In examples (10b) and (11b), we see a contrast. Whereas in Asturian the copula may be elided, (11b) shows that Galician questions must bear an overt copula when headed by *onde*. These examples also exhibit another striking similarity with Asturian, however, in the sense that neither language permits NP elision with *onde* regardless of the presence of an overt copula (10c, 11c). Finally, example (10d) shows that, similar to Galician (6a,b), Asturian disallows adverbial modification with a null copula. This highlights several important properties that motivate our proposal in §3 regarding cliticization to *U* in both languages.

Although the data in (10) are similar to the data shown above for Galician (cf. 2-5), there are a number of important differences. In Asturian, *U* and *onde* share the same distribution as *onde* in Galician, i.e., in embedded interrogatives (12a; cf. 9d), transitive constructions (13a; cf. 9c), and *in-situ* (14a; cf. 9e). Analogous constructions with *U* in Galician (12b, 13b, 14b) are ungrammatical.

- (12) a. Vimos u taba al salir de la fiesta
see.PST.1PL where be.IMPV.3SG upon leave.INF of the party
- b. *Vimos u estaba ó sair da festa
see.PST.1PL where be.IMPV.3SG upon leave.INF of-the party
'We saw where he was upon leaving the party.'
- (13) a. Ú-lo dexasti?
where-CL.M.SG leave.PST.2SG
- b. *U-lo deixaches?
where-CL.M.SG leave.PST.2SG
'Where did you leave it?'
- (14) a. Dexasti la llave ú?
leave.PST.2SG the key where
- b. *Deixache-la chave u?
leave.PST.2SG-CL.F.SG key where
'You left the key where?'

These data point to the likelihood that *U* is a canonical *wh*-word in Asturian, unlike what we have shown for Galician, where it is only found in sentence-initial position.

As we saw for Galician VDICs in §2.1, null-copula interrogatives in Asturian are restricted to the present tense. Copula elision is prohibited when referencing the

past, however, and the verb must be specified for tense. It should be noted that this is what occurs cross-linguistically for languages that permit null copulas (e.g., Semitic languages like Lebanese Arabic, 15b).

(15) *Asturian*

- a. \acute{U} * \emptyset / taba'l coche?
 where \emptyset be.IMPFV.3SG-the car
 Intended: 'Where was the car?'

Lebanese Arabic (modified from Choueiri 2016:102)

- b. l-bornayta * \emptyset / keen-it meskle
 the-hat.F.SG \emptyset be.PST-F.SG problem
 Intended: 'The hat was the problem.'

Unlike what we saw above for Galician, *U* may be used with a copula in Asturian (15a). However, this construction takes on a different clausal syntax not permitted in the null-copula flavor of *U*. Namely, cliticization is banned and, concomitantly, indefinite and non-specific DPs are permitted (16a). Additionally, DPs like strong pronouns are grammatical, unlike in the null-copula construction (16b).

- (16) a. \acute{U} ta una peluquería per equí?
 where be.PRS.3SG a hair.salon by here
 'Where is a hair salon around here?'
- b. \acute{U} tabeis vós?
 where be.PRS.2PL you.PL
 'Where are y'all?'

Another difference is the lack of morphological distinction between determiners and clitics in Asturian. Whereas Galician shows a distinction based on the adjacency and structural relationship between the host and the determiner clitic, Asturian largely maintains the same morphological forms for both clitics and determiners when the latter follow a word ending in a vowel and these forms do not change based on adjacency.⁵

Table 2. Morphological forms of clitics and determiners in Asturian

	Singular	Plural
<i>Determiners</i>	<i>lo, el, la</i>	<i>los, les</i>
<i>Clitics</i>	<i>lu, lo, la</i>	<i>los, las</i>

Although there is morphological overlap between the singular neuter determiner and the singular masculine clitic (*lo*), we interpret cases such as those in (10a), in which the NP is elided, as instances of cliticization—a pattern we see in Galician, as well. As we shall show in §3, the morphosyntactic differences between

⁵ Asturian does, however, show a reduced form when preceding a vowel (*l'*), a topic we revisit in §3.3.

determiners and clitics in Asturian and the distinction between first- and second-form determiner clitics and their distribution in Galician mean that a unified derivational pattern of cliticization in both languages is impossible.

The final division worth noting is that Asturian also boasts a null-copula construction with *onde* (17a), an illicit structure in Galician (17b).

- (17) a. Onde la caparina que garrasti ayerí?
 where the butterfly COMP catch.PST.2SG yesterday
 b. *Onde a bolboreta que colliches onte?
 where the butterfly COMP catch.PST.2SG yesterday
 ‘Where is the butterfly that you caught yesterday?’

There is evidence that the DP [*la caparina que garrasti ayerí*] in (17a) is not a case of cliticization, but a full DP with the determiner remaining within the DP. This is seen by the fact that NP elision is prohibited in null copulas headed by *onde* (cf. 10b) in Asturian.

- (18) *Onde la?
 where CL.F.SG
 Intended: ‘Where is it?’

These data will have a direct impact on our proposal in §3.3 regarding the cliticization patterns found with *U*.

The unifying element between Galician VDICs and the two null-copula constructions in Asturian is their exclusive presence in root clauses.⁶ There seems to be considerable variability cross-linguistically, as copula deletion is seen in root and embedding contexts alike in Arabic varieties (19a), but is absent in Russian and Tagalog (19b), for example.

- (19) *Arabic* (Benmamoun 2008:1150)
 a. qal bəlli Omar Ø f-d-dar
 say.PST.2SG COMP Omar Ø in-the-house
 ‘You said that Omar is in the house.’
Tagalog (Richards 2009:182-195)
 b. Ayo-ko na-ng *(maging) nasa gitna
 NEG.want-1 now-LI INF.NOM.be PRED.LOC middle
 ‘I don’t want to be in the middle anymore.’

Although cross-linguistic work on null-copula constructions is not limited to root clauses, the data in Western Iberian are unequivocal: null-copula constructions like those headed by *U* are limited to root clauses. A deeper investigation of root v. non-root phenomena (as in e.g. Aelbrecht et al. 2012, Haegeman 2006, Jiménez-Fernández & Miyagawa 2014, among others) is beyond the parameters of the current

⁶ While we do not address the debate on main-clause vs. root-clause phenomena, we shall strictly refer to these phenomena as root-phenomena based on observations in Miyagawa (2012) regarding main-clause phenomena that may also appear in a handful of embedded contexts (cf. Hooper & Thompson 1973).

study.⁷ We believe that the variation amongst these two languages lies in the derivational processes of both constructions. More concretely, we propose that Galician VDICs lack functional structure related to tense altogether (Gravely & Gupton 2020), whereas both *U* and *onde* null copulas in Asturian bear T° with a [+PRESENT] tense feature, a proposal in line with what has been claimed for Semitic languages (cf. Alharbi 2017; Aoun et al. 2009; Benmamoun 2000, 2008; Choueiri 2016, *i.a.*).

2.3 Interim conclusions

In this section, we have provided data from Galician and Asturian regarding the interrogative null-copula constructions found in these languages. We have shown that, although there are distributional differences with respect to the lexical items used (*U* and *onde*), all three instances of null copulas shown are root-clause phenomena that may only receive a present-tense interpretation. Moreover, although *U* in Galician differs from *U* in Asturian in the sense that the latter, but not the former, behaves as a canonical *wh*-word (i.e., it may be embedded, found *in-situ*, etc.), both languages share a null-copula interrogative phrase that seemingly induces cliticization of a determiner clitic that heads the lone DP of the phrase. Moreover, said cliticization is restricted to cases of full, 3rd-person definite DPs, ruling out cases of 1st- or 2nd-person clitics as well as indefinite DP complements. In the case of null-copula *onde*, however, no cliticization is found. In what follows, we shall directly attribute this to the fact that *U* in Asturian, like Galician, is a head. Our main contribution, however, deals with the derivational differences between base-generation vs. movement of *wh*-words and the presence or lack of functional structure regarding tense.

3. Derivational differences in null copulas

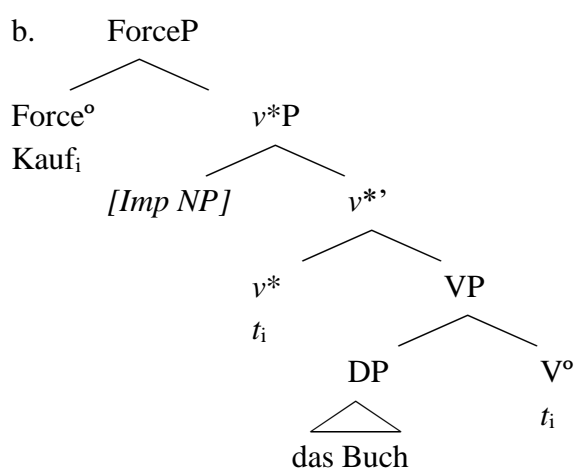
In this section, we briefly review the proposed derivation for Galician VDICs as presented in Gravely & Gupton (2020) and subsequently sketch a proposal for the corresponding structures in Asturian. We propose that, unlike for Galician, Asturian null copulas are structurally more similar to the structures proposed for Semitic languages (cf. Alharbi 2017; Aoun et al. 2009; Benmamoun 2000, 2008; Choueiri 2016, *i.a.*) in the sense that there is a phonologically null T° that hosts the tense feature [+PRS]. In contrast, there is no functional structure related to tense in Galician due to its truly tenseless, imperative-like behavior. We provide additional data support for these differences, as well, to motivate the analysis.

⁷ There are various deterring factors that are orthogonal to our interests here. First, it is unclear why null-copula constructions of this type are only found with locative phrases in Romance (see Gravely & Gupton 2020:99-102 for data that corroborate this fact in French and Brazilian Portuguese). There does not seem to be anything inherently syntactic or semantic that would provide a straightforward answer as to why this should be. Second, and possibly most important, the explanation regarding *how* these constructions came to be seems different for Galician than for Asturian. As we showed above, *U* in Galician holds a fixed position in the left periphery and does not behave as other *wh*-words, contrary to what is found in Asturian. This will ultimately come to bear on our theoretical account below, but we leave further discussion on any historically relevant points for future investigation.

3.1 Galician null copulas as lacking T°

The first theoretical point we address here regarding the account of Galician VDICs in Gravely & Gupton (2020) deals with the lack of functional structure (e.g., T°) and their similarity with imperative sentences. In contrast to what we shall claim for Asturian, and what is often proposed cross-linguistically for null copulas, we follow the derivational proposal in Platzack & Rosengren (1997) and den Dikken & Blasco (2007) in claiming that T° is not projected in VDICs. Consider the following example from German (20a) and its corresponding structure (20b).

- (20) a. Kauf das Buch!
 buy.IMP.2SG the book
 ‘Buy that book!’



Assuming an extended left periphery, these authors claim that imperative verbs undergo head movement to Force° without passing through any functional head related to tense, mood, or aspect. They claim that this is due to their morphologically meager forms. Moreover, Platzack & Rosengren also claim that true imperatives cannot be negated or embedded, two important properties applicable to VDICs, as well, that are inextricably linked to the verbal morphology that is inherently tied to functional heads like Tense° , Mood° , and Aspect° (such as those found in e.g., Kempchinsky 1998, 2009).

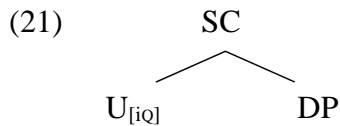
An important aspect that we wish to highlight regarding the link between Galician VDICs and true imperatives is that both are root-clause phenomena with marked discourse properties. As noted in Gravely & Gupton (2020), the question formulated by Galician VDICs is command-like in that it communicates a type of urgent message that is understood as “Tell me where ‘X’ is” rather than a simple question. This led us to claim that, as what we find with true imperatives, Galician VDICs lack T° altogether. In turn, we posited that tense in this construction is deictic, owing to the ‘here and now’ interpretation understood in this construction. Moreover, following the derivational approach given above for imperative verbs, we assumed that U is base generated at the highest head in the phrase marker (Force°).⁸

⁸ A reviewer questions whether Force° is able to encode both the interrogative character associated with the construction under investigation in addition to the imperative force we describe. First, we wish to clarify that Galician VDICs are *imperative-like* in their pragmatics,

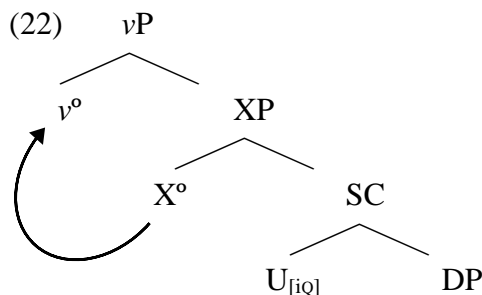
This now presents us with two ways to derive present tense in null copulas cross-linguistically: the absence of all functional projections (T° , Asp° , $Mood^\circ$) and the realization of these heads without syntactic terminals corresponding to any phonological output. While the former fits the bill for Galician, we claim that Asturian models closer to what is found cross-linguistically: a bare T° that obligatorily checks a [+PRESENT] feature.

3.2 Why Asturian is different

What evidence do we have from Asturian that would allow us to posit a derivational approach more suited to what is found cross-linguistically—namely, null copulas with a bare T° that checks present tense when no verbal predicate is found in the derivation? As we have shown, *U* behaves like the more common *onde* in that it may remain *in situ* and be paired with a verb. Thus, we propose that, unlike in Galician, *U* in Asturian is base generated as the sister of the corresponding DP within a small clause (SC).⁹



Following Gallego & Uriagereka (2016), we assume that the temporal interpretation accredited to the stative copula verbs in Galician (*estar*) and Asturian (*tar*) entails an abstract head X° , which incorporates into v .¹⁰



Much like the work on Semitic null copulas, we propose that the T° that selects the vP in (22) contains no syntactic element in its terminal but, instead, hosts a lone [+PRESENT] feature. In languages that license null copulas outside of specific

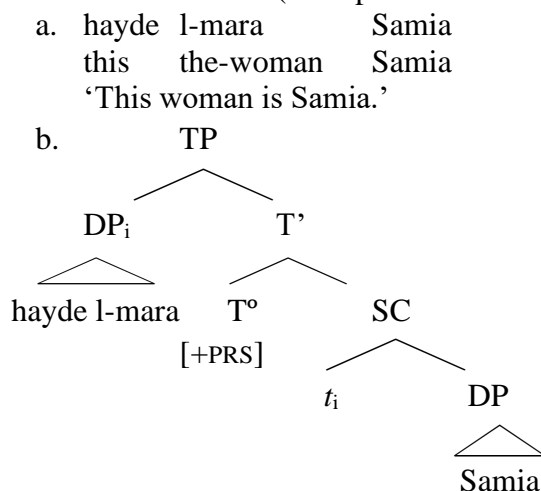
which we take to have underlying structural similarities in the syntax, and we claim there exists the same inextricable link between sentential form and illocutionary force here with *U* in $Force^\circ$ as other phenomena associated with clause typing and this functional head. As for the relationship of $Force^\circ$ and the interrogative nature, we refer the reader to footnote 21.

⁹ Despite the rather widespread adoption of PredP for the type of predication found in copular sentences (e.g. Bowers 1993), we adopt a small clause analysis without question. In addition to the reasoning that we show subsequently, we refer the interested reader to Matushansky (2019) for an in-depth argument against PredP.

¹⁰ We refer the reader to Gallego & Uriagereka (2016) and the references therein for further discussion regarding the differences between the copulas *ser* and *estar* in Iberian Romance.

constructions that we see here, there is movement of one of the small-clause elements to the structural subject position in [Spec,TP] as shown in (23).

(23) *Lebanese Arabic* (example taken from Choueiri 2016:114)



For Asturian null copulas, *wh*-movement is obligatory, as we do not find cases of null-copula *in-situ*.

(24) *La muyer onde?
 the woman where
 Intended: ‘Where is the woman?’

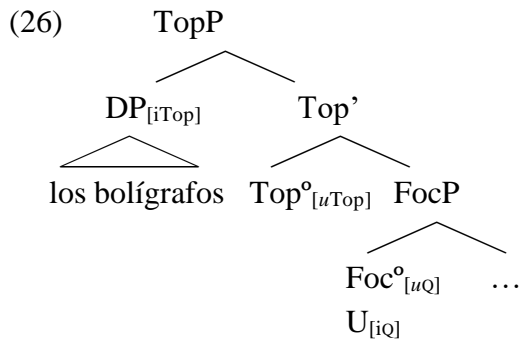
What we do find, however, is that Asturian permits topicalization in these structures (25), which lends credence to the idea that the null-copula derivation in Asturian must be different from that in Galician.

(25) Los bolígrafos que te pidí, ú-los?
 the pens COMP CL.2.SG ask.PST.1SG where-CL.M.PL
 ‘The pens I asked you for, where are they?’

Topicalization is strictly prohibited in Galician VDICs.¹¹ Following an extended left periphery (Rizzi 1997 *et seq.*), these facts follow from the topicalized constituent appearing higher than the *wh*-element in question.

¹¹ In a descriptive comparison, Arias Cabal (1996) claims that this is also found in Galician. We contend that, unlike what is found in Asturian, what may be perceived as topicalization is in fact a truncated question due to the fact that the prosody is identical to that of the VDICs. Moreover, emphasis is almost always given by including *e* ‘and’ before the DP in question:

- i) E os libros? U-los?
 and the books where-CL.M.PL
 ‘And (what about) the books? Where are they?’



The derivation in (26) is distinct from that which we advocated for above in Galician VDICs where *U* base generates in the head of Force°. What we evaluate in the subsequent subsection is the claim that *U* is found in a head position, in contrast to what we propose for *onde*.¹²

3.3. Cliticization and *U*

An important part of our proposal in order to explain why determiner cliticization may happen with *U* (10a, 11a) but is ruled out with *onde* (10b-c) relies on the analysis of *U* as an X° element. Although there are derivational differences between the construction containing *U* in both languages, we claim that they do not affect the respective cliticization processes.

As we briefly mentioned in §2.1, determiner cliticization has been shown to be a syntactic phenomenon, much like cliticization more generally.^{13,14} The developments succeeding the seminal work of Uriagereka (1996) propose that the restrictions of the host for determiner clitics require that it be a head with which it shares ϕ -features (Gravely & Gupton 2020).¹⁵ The case of *U*, however, poses a problem in the sense that this locative *wh*-element does not bear ϕ -features, thus raising the question as to how

¹² A reviewer asks us to clarify how we account for the differences between the Asturian left periphery, which permits topicalization, and the Galician one where only Force and *f* are merged. Going back to Rizzi (1997:288), he claimed that “... it is reasonable to assume that the topic-focus system is present in a structure only if ‘needed’ (author’s parenthesis) ...” This seems applicable to the differences shown in the data here. What gave rise to the availability of topicalization in Asturian as opposed to Galician must be tied to the fact that *U* in Galician was reanalyzed from a lexical element that underwent movement from low in the phrase marker to a functional item that base generated in the left periphery. Speculatively, we may say that this reanalysis “blocked off” the Topic and Focus positions sandwiched in between Force and *f*, giving rise to the present-day construction. We leave a more detailed diachronic perspective for further investigation.

¹³ We abstract away from an approach to cliticization in which clitics and agreement markers are not distinguished based on the syntactic mechanisms that drive them. Specifically, we take cliticization to be a byproduct of Agree that entails long head movement of D° (cf. Preminger 2019 and references therein), whereas true agreement arises via the valuation of a probe *sans* movement.

¹⁴ For expository purposes, we refer to determiner cliticization as the focus in this paper and syntactic cliticization as the cross-linguistic phenomenon.

¹⁵ An additional advancement, not immediately relevant to our proposal here, shows that determiner cliticization may also serve as a type of differential argument marking (Gravely 2021).

determiner cliticization occurs in these instances. We believe that there is independent evidence elsewhere in the grammar that may provide a viable answer.¹⁶

In Table 1, we saw that the ‘second forms’ that correspond to determiner cliticization are morphologically distinct. However, there are similar morphophonological changes that do not entail the change from [u] to [lu]. Lexical items that end in *-n* in Galician are realized as [ŋ]. However, Gravely (2021) showed that when they are heads, both determiner clitics and syntactic clitics change the syllable structure of the syntactic elements involved.¹⁷ Let us examine the contexts in which determiner cliticization must occur and when it is prohibited.

- (27) a. Foi a persoa quen o home viu
 be.PST.3SG the person who CL man see.PST.3SG
 ‘She was the person that the man saw.’
- b. Foi a persoa que no chan o home
 be.PST.3SG the persona COMP on-the floor the man
 atopou
 find.PST.3SG
 ‘She was the person that the man found on the floor.’

In (27a), *quen* ‘who’ heads a relative clause and selects *o home* ‘the man’ as its complement in [Spec,TP]. What we find is obligatory determiner cliticization that realizes [ke.nu.o.me] instead of *[keŋ.u.o.me], which we claim is only possible if *quen* is found on the head of C°. (27b) presents a different scenario, one in which *o home* is selected by the prepositional phrase *no chan* ‘on the floor’ (presumably high in the phrase marker). Based on the structural restrictions for determiner cliticization outlined above, we should not expect determiners to cliticize to phrases. This prediction is in fact borne out. Thus, (27b) is realized as [nu.tʃaŋ.u.o.me] instead of *[nu.tʃa.nu.o.me], as in (27a). What is important for the circumstances relating to *U* is that what we see here is a head that is seemingly able to attract a determiner clitic without the head itself bearing the ϕ -features necessary in order to provoke cliticization. That is, determiner clitics, like what we find with syntactic clitics more generally, are able to agree with a functional head bearing no syntactic element. The

¹⁶ Although agreeing with our analysis of *U* as an X°-element, a reviewer inquires about the clitic-like nature of *U* based on the way in which it adheres to many properties of clitichood. This is a valid concern and one that was addressed in Gravely & Gupton (2020:114). There we claimed that *U* is, in fact, a clitic-like element that “requires a specified/pre-selected functional morpheme” in the form of a clitic. We consider its status as a functional head (as opposed to a phrase) both the reason for and the answer to this concern: the fact that *U* is a head both permits determiner cliticization to be realized in this construction as well as its dependency on the merging of *f*° itself. Despite the clitic properties it displays, the issue in calling *U* a clitic in the pure sense is the fact that clitics in Western Iberian are always leftward-leaning elements, as originally detailed and elaborated on by Raposo & Uriagereka (2005). If *U* were a clitic, it would be the only one in Galician that does not require a leftward-leaning host, a prospect that we find to be unlikely. We refer the interested reader to the summary of rightward- vs. leftward-leaning elements in Raposo & Uriagereka (2005:666-667).

¹⁷ One of our informants suggests that this sort of phenomenon also occurs in Asturian. While this comparative similarity is potentially worthy of further investigation, we feel that is tangential to the current issues at hand.

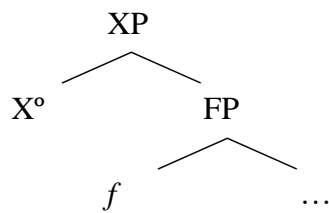
stipulation that distinguishes them, however, is that the head that determiners cliticize to must be selected by a structurally-adjacent head in the absence of syntactic material on the former. This was formalized in Gravely & Gupton (2020) following the specifications of structural adjacency by Marantz (1988, 1989) as in (28).

- (28) A head X° is structurally adjacent to a head Y° iff:
- i) X° c-commands Y°
 - ii) There is no head Z° that
 - a. is c-commanded by X° and
 - b. c-commands Y°

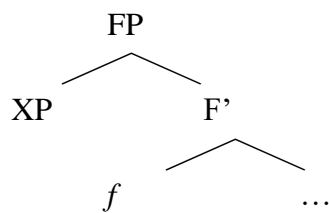
The head in question, as we have claimed and continue to claim here, is an ‘active’ left-peripheral head f above TP as originally proposed by Uriagereka (1995a, b). This head has been proposed to be the locus for cliticization more generally in Western Iberian (Gupton 2010, 2014; Fernández-Rubiera 2011, 2013; Raposo & Uriagereka 2005), but we find critical parallels with determiner cliticization, as well.

Syntactic cliticization in Western Iberian is centered around the idea that clitics are always second-position syntactic elements, also known as the Tobler-Mussafia Law. That is, they may never head a sentence. Thus, Raposo & Uriagereka (2005) identify them as ‘leftward-leaning’ elements, showing that clitics may be hosted by both heads and phrases, as depicted in (28).

- (29) a. *Head host relation*

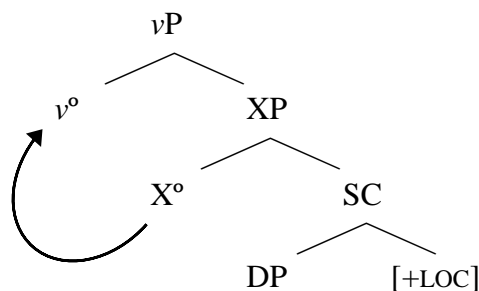


- b. *Phrase host relation*



As with determiner cliticization, we only find phonological alternations with syntactic clitics in the scenario depicted in (28a) (Gravely 2021, Gravely & Gupton 2020). This is the analogous relation that we claim for determiner cliticization to U .

First, we begin with our (2020) proposal for Galician VDICs. As mentioned above, we claim that U is base generated in Force $^\circ$. This has clear implications for the analysis of the vP in Galician, which must differ from the structure proposed for Asturian (cf. 22).

(30) Galician null-copula *v*P

U does not base generate within the small clause as the sister of the lone DP in the derivation, for which Juan Uriagereka (p.c.) has suggested that there must be a locative controller for thematic reasons, ultimately giving rise to the semantic interpretation “Where is...?”, a suggestion that we incorporate into our proposal.¹⁸

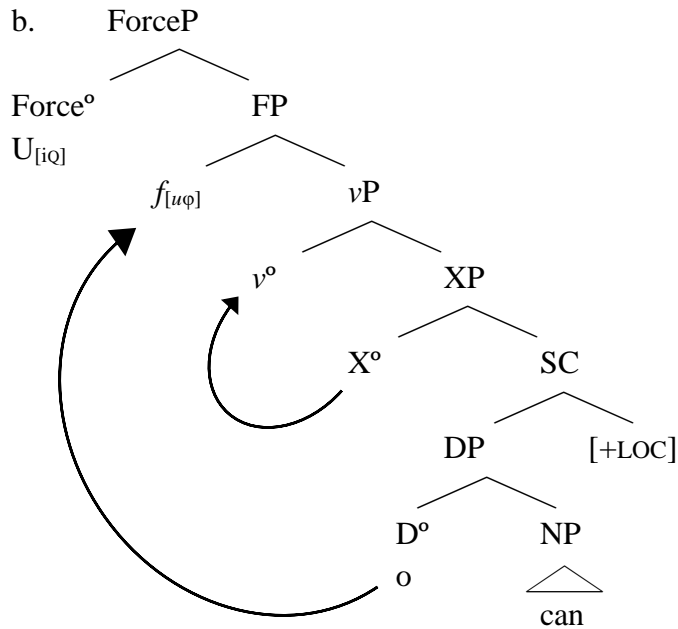
Without a functional projection accounting for tense, aspect, etc., we claim that it is *f* that selects the *v*P, which is in turn selected by *U* in Force°.^{19,20}

¹⁸ A reviewer questions whether the postulation of [+LOC] is truly necessary. We believe that this is a matter of one’s perspective regarding the relationship of sister constituents at the syntax-semantics interface. In a strict, one-to-one correlative viewpoint, the subject DP should only receive a locative interpretation if it is merged as the sister of a locative element. Due to the fact that *U* is base generated in the left periphery, there must be a silent element that associates the DP with a locative interpretation. However, from a position such as that of the reviewer in which the relationship between *U* and the lone DP is simply a matter of surface-level interpretability, removing the [+LOC] feature bears little weight on our overall proposal here.

¹⁹ This more minimal approach assumes that projections that are not required are not projected, thus explaining the lack of TP. Regarding the precise identity of FP, Uriagereka and colleagues (e.g., Raposo & Uriagereka, 2005) appear to remain neutral, although Gupton (2010, 2014) has suggested that it may be the same as FinP. See also Kempchinsky (2013) for discussion.

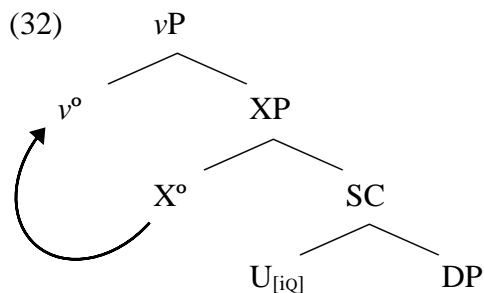
²⁰ A reviewer asks how the [*u*Q] is checked in the tree in (31b). For the Galician construction, we do not posit a probe that seeks to agree with the [*i*Q] that *U* bears for several reasons. First, the idea that the functional item with an interpretable feature would base generate in the same head that bears a probe searching for the corresponding feature seems unlikely. Second, it is the interpretable feature that gives rise to the semantic interpretation of a question, not the probe or even the relationship between the probe and the goal in more common situations in which an [*i*Q]-bearing *wh*-element is moved via Agree with an [*u*Q]. It should be noted, however, that the postulation of an [*u*Q] in Force° takes away nothing from our overall proposal regarding *U* in Galician or the VDIC construction more generally.

- (31) a. U-lo can?
 where-CL.M.SG dog
 ‘Where is the dog?’



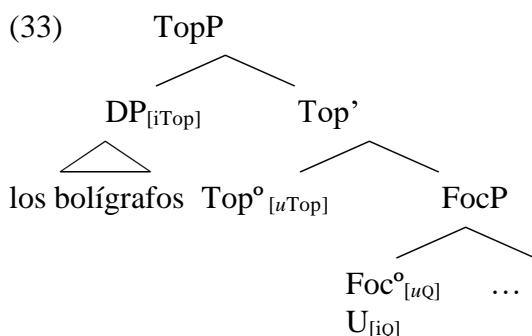
The key part of our proposal for *U* and that which we shall compare to the case of Asturian is the fact that *U* is a head that selects *f*, in contrast to what we find with *onde* (cf. 10-11). As there is no intermediate projection between *Force*[°] and *f*, nothing impedes cliticization of the determiner.

Let us now turn to the case of Asturian. Recall that *U* in Asturian is not limited to the *U-lo* construction; it may be combined with a verbal predicate (cf. 13a) in addition to the construction in which it appears without a copula. Moreover, it may also remain *in-situ* (cf. 14a) and head a relative clause (cf. 12a). Due to the fact that *U* in Asturian demonstrates canonical behavior of *wh*-elements (i.e. it may appear *in situ*, under embedding, and with overt predicates), we proposed in the previous subsection that it base generates as the sister of the lone DP under a small clause construction in the null-copula construction (cf. 22). We repeat the corresponding structure below.



Focusing on the null-copula construction in question, we claim that, due to its presence in multiple positions within the clause, *U* moves to the left periphery in order

to check the [μ Q] feature in Foc° .²¹ We showed that this provides explanatory adequacy for the cases in which U in Asturian null copulas is headed by a topicalized constituent (repeated below from (26)).



As argued for in Galician, we claim that U in Asturian selects the left peripheral head f . As in Galician, this creates the requisite head-to-head adjacency outlined above for syntactic cliticization.

What we have not explored thus far, however, is determiner cliticization in Asturian. The given paradigm in Asturian (cf. Table 2) is not as straightforward from a morphosyntactic perspective as that which we showed for Galician (§2.1). The descriptive generalization found in the *Gramática de la Llingua Asturiana* (2001) (henceforth, GLA) is based on present-day apostrophation in orthography, citing that “[the masculine singular article *el*] is apostrophized when it follows a word that ends in a vowel and precedes a word that begins in a consonant” (GLA 2001:97). As Gravely & Gupton (2020) and Gravely (2021) showed for Galician, determiner cliticization only occurs when D^os are selected by functional heads and is not an occurrence of the more widespread phonological cliticization, as originally pointed out by Uriagereka (1996). In many ways, Asturian seems to exhibit similarities with Galician in permitting determiner cliticization with verbs (cf. 34a-35a), quantifiers (cf. 34b-35b), and prepositions (cf. 34c-35c).^{22,23}

- (34) *Asturian*
- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|-----------------------|------|
| a. | Tu | bebi-l | vasu |
| | you | drink.PRS.2SG-CL.M.SG | cup |
| | ‘You drink (from) the cup.’ | | |
| b. | Quéxase | to-los | díes |
| | complain.PRS.3SG-SE | all-CL.M.PL | days |
| | ‘He complains every day.’ | | |

²¹ A reviewer correctly observes that the appearance of U in different syntactic positions is unexpected according to the Cartographic Program (e.g. Rizzi 1997, Cinque & Rizzi 2012); however, our point is that if one uniform projection is explanatorily inadequate for capturing the asymmetries in the current data, we must consider other options.

²² We abstract from the standard orthography in Asturian in order to maintain the uniform manner of representing the cliticization phenomena in question throughout the paper.

²³ As done for Galician, we gloss any cliticizing determiners in Asturian as CL with their respective ϕ -features.

- c. Po-lo que cuentes, ye verdá
 for-CL.M.SG COMP tell.PRS.2SG be.PRS.3SG truth
 ‘Based on what you say, it’s true.’

(35) *Galician*

- a. Bebe-lo vaso
 drink.PRS.2SG-CL.M.SG cup
 ‘You drink (from) the cup.’
- b. Quéixase todo-los días
 complain.PRS.3SG-SE all-CL.M.PL days
 ‘He complains every day.’
- c. Po-lo que contas, é verdade
 for-CL.M.SG COMP tell.PRS.2SG be.PRS.3SG truth
 ‘Based on what you say, it’s true.’

However, Asturian also shows the same type of cliticization to nouns, a phenomenon that is prohibited in Galician.^{24,25}

(36) a. *Asturian*

- ye primu-l cuñáu
 be.PRS.3SG cousin-CL.M.SG brother.in.law
 ‘He is the cousin of (my) brother-in-law.’

- b. *Galician* (Gravely & Gupton 2020:111)
 Saben todos a / *todo-la canción xa,
 know.PRS.3PL all the / all-CL.F.SG song already
 non é?
 NEG be.PRS.3SG
 ‘They all know the song by now, right?’

As shown in (36b), determiner cliticization is illicit between the quantified subject *todos* (‘all’) and the direct object *a canción* (‘the song’). Based on the examples above, we may assume one of two possible avenues by which to analyze these data: either determiner cliticization in Asturian is purely phonological (as was once the case

²⁴ We have modified the preceding DP in order to meet the morpho-phonological constraints that would permit determiner cliticization were this possible with DPs. See Gravely & Gupton (2020:111-113) for an elaborate explanation on infelicitous cases such as this.

²⁵ The example in (36b) should not be confused with the felicitous cases of determiner cliticization in which the quantifier *todos* ‘all’ selects a DP complement, forming one continuous constituent:

- i) Toda-las persoas foron á feira
 all.F.PL-CL.F.PL people go.PST.3PL to the fair
 ‘All of the people went to the fair.’

The example in (i) is clearly different from that in (36b), shown by the fact that in the former the quantifier agrees with its DP complement in [NUMBER] and [GENDER], contrary to (36b).

in Galician-Portuguese; cf. Galves & Sandalo 2012) or the morphosyntactic and morpho-phonological restrictions in Asturian are less stringent than in Galician. We follow the first hypothesis and claim that what appears to be determiner cliticization in Asturian is, in fact, phonological cliticization that takes place at PF.²⁶ The primary evidence for this comes from the fact that Asturian determiners do not cliticize onto a host outside of the DP (e.g., a verbal head) when the phonological constraints are the same within the DP they head. We believe *U* is a prime candidate to test this hypothesis based on the fact that both phonologically-variable determiners (the masculine singular *el* and the feminine singular *la*) show the irregular behavior we wish to investigate.

Above we saw a restriction regarding the phonological cliticization of definite determiners in Asturian based on their hosts (36a). However, when these same elements select a DP that does not begin with a consonant, as in (37b), cliticization is to the NP they select (GLA 2001:97-100).

- (37) a. paez **que-l** **tema** ...
 seem.PRS.3SG COMP-CL.M.SG subject
 ‘It seems that the subject...’
 b. diz que **l-home** nun lo creyó
 say.PRS.3SG COMP CL.M.SG-man NEG CL.M.SG believe.PST.3SG
 ‘S/He said that the man didn’t believe it.’

The same is true for the feminine singular determiner *la*, which never cliticizes outside of the DP (38a) but undergoes phonological reduction when selecting an NP complement that begins with a vowel (38b).

- (38) a. paez que **la** **muyer** ...
 seem.PRS.3SG COMP the woman
 ‘It seems that the woman...’
 b. paez que **l-asturiana** ...
 seem.PRS.3SG COMP CL.F.SG-asturian
 ‘It seems that the Asturian woman...’

For *U*, we have seen facts that correspond identically to examples as in (36a), in which the definite determiner seemingly cliticizes to it. However, *U* stands alone when the NP that the determiner selects begins with a vowel.

- (39) a. U l-home?
 where CL.M.SG-man
 ‘Where is the man?’
 b. U l-asturiana?
 where CL.F.SG-asturian
 ‘Where is the Asturian woman?’

²⁶ While Galician determiner cliticization entails certain processes at PF, as well, their realization is predicated on movement within the syntax proper. This is unlike what we claim for Asturian.

Recall that Galician VDICs always show the determiner clitic form of the DP argument within the small clause, which we have shown to be a form of cliticization that must be accounted for in the syntax proper. Asturian, however, does not seem to show the same constraints. That is, when full DPs are selected in the small clause, the determiner does not leave the constituent it heads in order to cliticize higher in the phrase marker.

Similarly to Galician, however, we see that D° does indeed undergo cliticization when the NP complement of the D° head is *pro* in Asturian.²⁷

- (40) El bolígrafo que te pidí, ú-lo?
 the pen COMP CL.2.SG ask.PST.1SG where-CL.M.SG
 ‘The pen I asked you for, where is it?’

In (40), we find the syntactic clitic *lo*, which is morphologically distinguishable from all variations of its masculine singular determiner counterpart *el*.²⁸ We take the morphological spell-out of this D° head to show that syntactic cliticization has indeed taken place here, unlike what we claimed above (39).

3.4 Final conclusions

Based on what we have shown in §3, there appear to be multiple null-copula variations between Galician and Asturian involving cliticization and *U*. For Galician VDICs, we have shown that both determiners and clitics cliticize to *U*.²⁹ Asturian, however, shows two separate derivational patterns. With full DPs, we have shown that there is no syntactic cliticization of the determiner although there may be phonological cliticization at PF based on the NP complement it selects. When D° selects a null *pro*, however, it undergoes cliticization to *f*. We may attribute this distinction to the principle in (41):

- (41) *Minimal Rmerge* (Preminger 2019:28)
 If X° is movable, move only X° .

The set of stipulations for (40) clearly differ in Galician and Asturian null copulas. In Galician, D° will always move regardless of the spell-out of its complement (i.e., an overt NP or a null *pro*). In Asturian, D° will only move when it selects a null *pro*. We believe this to be the crux of the parametric difference between these sister Iberian Romance varieties. In the following section, we discuss why we believe this to be a nanoparametric difference.

²⁷ We modify the example in (25) to highlight the morphological form of the masculine singular clitic *lo*, which is the only form that consistently differs from its determiner counterpart.

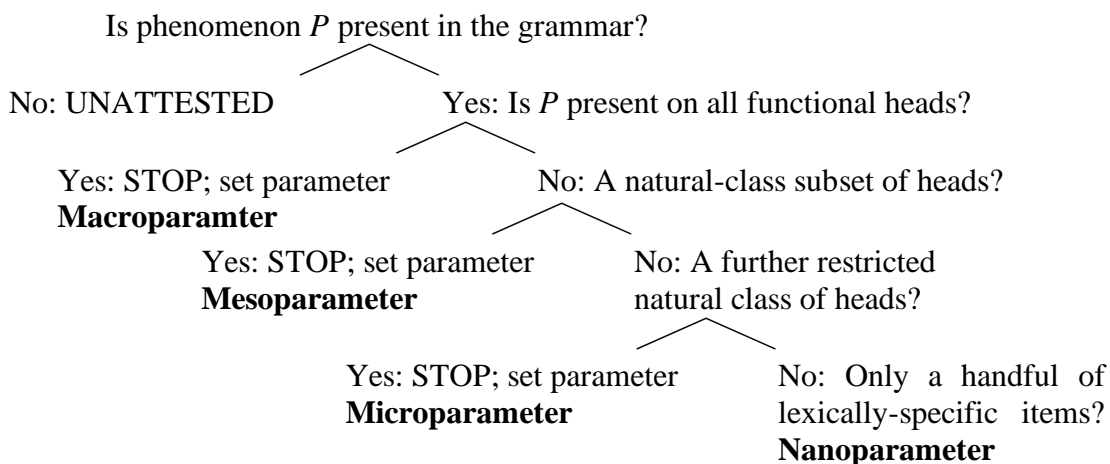
²⁸ Recall from Table 2 that *lo* is also the morphological spell-out of the neuter determiner yet should not be confused with the masculine syntactic clitic *lo* in (40). A reviewer inquires as to whether this neuter reflects a stripping of the masculine [GENDER] feature, noting that no such stripping would be expected for a feminine clitic (e.g. "*la botella, ¿ú-la/ *¿ú-lo?*", "The bottle, where is it?") Like our reviewer, we suspect that a Distributed Morphology (DM) approach would be a fruitful explanation but leave the exact details of this apparent Late Insertion process for future research.

²⁹ That is, both syntactic elements cliticize to the *f* head selected by *U* in Force°.

4. Parameters all the way down (and sometimes up)

Work on parameters and the differences in parametric variation in early Minimalism proved to be more complex than originally described in earlier generative work (e.g., Chomsky 1981), the latter positing an interwoven dependency between individual phenomena whose connection on the surface seemed nothing more than a group of language-specific properties. The finer-tuned theories that later addressed parameters relied on the *size* of the phenomena in question (e.g., Kayne 2005, Baker 2008, Uriagereka 2007), drawing a distinction between core elements of language or ‘macroparameters’ and smaller, more language-specific aspects or ‘microparameters’. Taking this division a step further, work from the *Rethinking Comparative Syntax (ReCos)* group headed by Theresa Biberauer, Ian Roberts, and Michelle Sheehan defined parameter hierarchies in a more precise manner, creating an even finer distinction between natural language phenomena. Although these hierarchies have often been used for descriptive purposes and cross-linguistic analyses, there is a considerable amount of literature that accredits emergent parameter hierarchies such as (42) to be useful learning tools for children as they track the distributional and statistical nature of the phenomena found in their language (Biberauer et al. 2014; Biberauer 2018, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c). We will make the necessary distinctions between the two in the remainder of the discussion.

(42) *Determining parameter settings* (Biberauer & Roberts 2016:260)



From an acquisition standpoint, the learner may acquire large chunks of information corresponding to stable parameters that pattern similarly with respect to derivational processes (e.g., head movement). There should also be, however, the chance for the learner to encounter information that is only found in a certain word order as in, for example, the case of subject clitic patterns in numerous Northern Italian dialects (Roberts 2014).

Biberauer & Roberts (2016, 2017) refer to an additional parameter that does not adhere to the traditional ‘top-down’ model of parameters: nanoparameters. This parameter setting is unique in the sense that the learning process does not stem from an elimination-based procedure (e.g., 42) in which the child rules out plausibly initial assumptions that any given phenomenon may appear in any situation upon experiencing data that proves otherwise. For nanoparameters, the constructions in

question are only used with a handful (more than likely only 2-3) of lexical or functional items, creating a subcategorization of a system marked heavily enough in order for the child to make assumptions about the use of the constructions in question without evidence from a larger data set or evidence that supports the explanation for other phenomena. It is worth noting that the lexical items used in the nanoparametric constructions are not always limited to those constructions in question but may exist outside of this phenomenon. This is true cross-linguistically, as shown by Biberauer & Roberts (2016, 2017) for *Conditional Inversion* (CI) in English, a construction that permits only a select few auxiliary verbs in English.³⁰

- (43) a. **Had** I taken the opportunity, I wouldn't be here today.
 b. **Should** he tell her off, we're going to have a talk.
 c. **Were** I Chet Baker, John would be interested in producing my music.

Just as in the case of *U* and *onde* in Asturian, these auxiliary verbs are found in other structures in English (e.g., progressives), but form an erstwhile subclassification of a (nano)parametric setting. In the case of VDICs in Galician, however, *U* is only found in said construction. As discussed at length in Gravely (2021:159-191), this makes acquisition more difficult from a computational perspective than a lexical item that appears in multiple syntactic environments. Specifically, the lack of syntactic variation for a functional item such as *U* should present a more difficult task for the learner regarding the identification of said item (e.g., its category) and, thus, its distribution. We propose that, in a diachronic sense, this severely limits the exposure of this syntactic element for the learner, which may cause further reanalysis or, eventually, loss of the paradigm as a whole.

In Galician, this parameter is tied directly to the functional item *U*. As *U* is only found in this construction, there should be a one-to-one correlation between acquiring the null-copula nanoparameter of VDICs and the distribution of *U* as a whole. For Asturian, the parameter is not so easily set due to the fact that both the lexical items *U* and *onde* participate in null-copula configurations.³¹ Moreover, these items, unlike *U* in Galician, are not limited to the null-copula construction (or the sentence-initial position found in Galician VDICs) but may also be used with tensed verbs of varying types. As noted in fn. 6, there is nothing inherent to the syntax or semantics of *wh*-elements related to location that would allow the learner to postulate the possibility of the copula being elided in present-tense contexts. Much like the case of conditional inversion in English, the structure must be learned based on the few lexical items that may participate in the construction at hand.

³⁰ It is worth noting that Biberauer and Roberts reject *did* as a potential CI trigger. However, in the American variety commonly known as 'Appalachian English', both *did* (i) and *could* (ii) commonly appear in this construction with the same conditional interpretation as in (43).

- i) **Did** he leave her, I'd ask for her hand in marriage.
 ii) **Could** I jump that fence, I'd be on the other side already.

³¹ The term 'easily' here should not be understood as a comment on how quickly the learner may set this parameter but, instead, a recognition of the fact that there is more than one lexical item that participates in this construction that is used elsewhere in the grammar.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, we have argued for two separate theoretical analyses for *U* in Galician and Asturian. We have shown that, although they share surface-level similarities, they must be accounted for by different derivational patterns. With respect to the two null-copula structures in question, while *U* in the Galician VDIC construction is a functional item that base generates in the left periphery, *U* in Asturian entails movement from within a small clause where it is externally merged as the sister of the DP subject of the clause. Moreover, whereas the definite determiner of the DP subject in Galician must undergo obligatory cliticization to the functional head *f* that *U* selects, we claim that there is no evidence of syntactic cliticization in Asturian determiners. Instead, we showed that Asturian definite determiners are phonological clitics that undergo fusion to the corresponding host at PF. Within the realm of parametric variation, we argue that both cases of null-copula constructions in each respective language, in spite of their derivational differences, constitute a case of nanoparametric variation. Due to the few lexical items that participate in these constructions, we claim that the learnability of these constructions must be ‘bottom-up’ rather than constitute a parameter setting that is reached ‘top-down’ as traditionally propounded. With the findings of this investigation, we offer further insight into parametric variation in Romance and highlight the previously unrecognized variability found in Western Iberian.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank Avelino Corral Esteban, our Galician and Asturian informants, audience members at the 1st International Conference on the Asturian Language, and two insightful reviewers for their comments and feedback. All errors are our own.

References

- Academia de la Llingua Asturiana. 2001. *Gramática de la Llingua Asturiana*. Uviéu: Academia de la Llingua Asturiana.
- Aelbrecht, Lobke, Haegeman, Liliane, & Rachel Nye. 2012. *Main Clause Phenomena: New Horizons*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.190>
- Alharbi, Bader Yousef. 2017. *The syntax of copular clauses in Arabic*. PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.
- Aoun, Joseph, Benmamoun, Elabbas, & Lina Choueiri. 2010. *The syntax of Arabic*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511691775>
- Arias Cabal, Álvaro. 1996. Enunciados frásticos y oracionales con el adverbio /ú/ en gallego y en asturiano. *Revista de Filología Románica* 13:345-369.

-
- Baker, Mark. 2008. The macroparameter in a microparametric world. In T. Biberauer (ed.), *The Limits of Syntactic Variation*, 351-373. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.132.16bak>
- Benmamoun, Elabbas. 2000. *The Feature Structure of Functional Categories: A Comparative Study of Arabic Dialects*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Benmamoun, Elabbas. 2008. Clause structure and the syntax of verbless sentences. In R. Freiden, C.P. Otero & M.L. Zubizarreta (eds.), *Foundational Issues in Linguistic Theory: Essays in Honor of Jean-Roger Vergnaud*, 105-132. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/9780262062787.003.0006>
- Biberauer, Theresa. 2018. Pro-drop and emergent parameter hierarchies. In Cognola F. & J. Casalicchio (eds.), *Null subjects in generative grammar: A synchronic and diachronic perspective*, 94-135. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198815853.003.0005>
- Biberauer, Theresa. 2019a. Children always go beyond the input: The Maximise Minimal Means perspective. *Theoretical Linguistics* 45(3-4): 211-224.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/tl-2019-0013>
- Biberauer, Theresa. 2019b. Some thoughts on the complexity of syntactic complexity. *Theoretical Linguistics* 45(3-4): 259-274.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/tl-2019-0017>
- Biberauer, Theresa. 2019c. Factors 2 and 3: Toward a principled approach. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics. Special Issue: Generative Syntax. Questions, Crossroads, and Challenges*: 45-88. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/catjl.219>
- Biberauer, Theresa & Ian Roberts. 2015a. Rethinking formal hierarchies: A proposed unification. *Cambridge Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 7(1): 1-31.
- Biberauer, Theresa & Ian Roberts. 2015b. The Clausal Hierarchy, Features, and Parameters. In U. Shlonsky (ed.), *The cartography of syntactic structures: Beyond functional sequence*, 295-313. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190210588.003.0016>
- Biberauer, Theresa & Ian Roberts. 2016. Parameter typology from a diachronic perspective: the case of Conditional Inversion. In Bidese, E., Cognola, F., & M. Moroni (eds.), *Theoretical approaches to linguistic variation*, 259-291. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.234.10bib>
- Biberauer, Theresa & Ian Roberts. 2017. Conditional Inversion and types of parametric change. In Los, B. & P. de Haan (eds.), *Word order change in acquisition and language contact: Essays in honour of Ans van Kemenade*, 57-77. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.243.04rob>

Biberauer, Theresa, Holmberg, Anders, Roberts, Ian, & Michelle Sheehan. 2014. Complexity in comparative syntax: the view from modern parametric theory. In Newmeyer, F. & L. B. Preston (eds.), *Measuring grammatical complexity*, 103-127, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199685301.003.0006>

Bowers, John. 1993. The syntax of predication. *Linguistic Inquiry* 24: 591–656.

Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures in Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In Martin, R., Michaels, D., & J. Uriagereka (eds.), *Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, 89-155. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In M. Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale: A life in language*, 1-50. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/4056.003.0004>

Choueiri, Lina. 2016. The Pronominal Copula in Arabic. *Brill's Journal of Afroasiatic Languages and Linguistics* 8(1), 101-135.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/18776930-00801005>

Cinque, Guglielmo & Luigi Rizzi. 2012. The cartography of syntactic structures. In Heine, B. & H. Narrog (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of linguistic analysis*, 51-66. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199677078.013.0003>

Colasanti, Valentina. 2018. Towards a microparameter C-Hierarchy in Italo-Romance. In Dindelegan, G.P., Dragomirescu, A., Nicula, I., & A. Nicolae (eds.), *Comparative and diachronic perspectives*, 191-226. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Colasanti, Valentina & Giuseppina Silvestri. 2019. Matrix complementizers in Italo-Romance. In Cruschina, S., Ledgeway, A., & E. Remberger (eds.), *Italian dialectology at the interfaces*, 155-183. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.251.08col>

den Dikken, Marcel & Mariví Blasco. 2007. Clitic climbing in Spanish imperatives. In F.H. Beukema (ed.), *Imperative clauses in generative grammar: Studies in honour of Frits Beukema*, 135-152. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.103.05dik>

Fernández-Rubiera, Francisco. 2009. *Clitics at the edge: clitic placement in Western Iberian Romance languages*. PhD thesis, Georgetown University.

-
- Fernández-Rubiera, Francisco. 2013. Clisis revisited: Root and embedded contexts in Western Iberian. In Salvesen, C.M. & H.P. Helland (eds.), *Challenging Clitics*, 55-86. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.206.03fer>
- Freixeiro Mato, Xosé Ramón. 2006. *Gramática da lingua galega. Vol. II: Morfoloxía*. Vigo: A Nosa Terra.
- Gallego, Ángel & Juan Uriagereka. 2016. Estar=Ser+X. *Borealis: An International Journal of Hispanic Linguistics* 5(1): 123-156.
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7557/1.5.1.3634>
- Galves, Charlotte & Filomena Sandalo. 2012. From intonational phrase to syntactic phase: The grammaticalization of enclisis in the history of Portuguese. *Lingua* 122: 952-974. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2012.03.005>
- González-Rivera, Melvin. 2011. *On the Internal Structure of Spanish Verbless Clauses*. PhD thesis, The Ohio State University.
- González-Rivera, Melvin. 2020. Verbless predicative clauses in the Romance languages: Syntax, semantics, variation. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199384655.013.644>
- Gravely, Brian. 2017. Unha mirada cara a *u e onde* n'As Cantigas de Santa María: un traballo cuantitativo. *Revista galega de filoloxía* 18: 69-78.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17979/rgf.2017.18.0.3180>
- Gravely, Brian. 2021. *Language acquisition and endogenous grammar change: The rise of Galician complementizer agreement*. PhD thesis, University of Georgia.
- Gravely, Brian & Timothy Gupton. 2020. Verbless DP interrogative construction and enclisis in Galician. In Colomina-Almiñana, J. & S. Sessarego (eds.), *Language Patterns in Spanish and Beyond: Structure, Context and Development*, 97-121. London: Routledge. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003091790>
- Gupton, Timothy. 2010. *The syntax-information structure interface: Subjects and clausal word order in Galician*. PhD thesis, University of Iowa.
- Gupton, Timothy. 2014. *The syntax-information structure interface. Clausal word order and the left periphery in Galician*. Berlin: DeGruyter.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781614512059>
- Gutiérrez-Rexach, Javier & Melvin González-Rivera. 2013. Spanish PredNPs and the left periphery. In Cabrelli Amaro, J., Lord, G., de Prada Pérez, A., & J.E. Aaron (eds.), *Selected Proceedings of the 16th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*, 1-14. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Haegeman, Liliane. 2006. Argument Fronting in English, Romance CLLD, and the Left Periphery. In Zanuttini, R., Campos, H., Herburger, E., & P.H. Portner (eds.),

Crosslinguistic research in syntax and semantics: Negation, tense, and clausal architecture, 27-52. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Hooper, Joan & Sandra Thompson. 1973. On the applicability of root transformations. *Linguistics Inquiry* 4:465-497.

Jiménez-Fernández, Ángel & Shigeru Miyagawa. 2014. A feature-inheritance approach to root phenomena and parametric variation. *Lingua* 145: 276-302.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2014.04.008>

Kayne, Richard. 2005. *Movement and silence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195179163.001.0001>

Kempchinsky, Paula. 1998. Mood phrase, case checking and obviation. In Schwegler, A., Tranel, B., & M. Uribe-Etxebarria (eds.), *Selected Papers from the 27th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL XXVII), Irvine, 20-22 February 1997*, 143-154. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kempchinsky, Paula. 2009. What can the subjunctive disjoint reference effect tell us about the subjunctive? *Lingua* 199: 1788-1810.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2008.11.009>

Kempchinsky, Paula. 2013. CLLD as a window on the left periphery. In Howe, C., Blackwell, S.E., & M. Lubbers Quesada (eds.), *Selected Proceedings of the 15th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*, 310-327. Somerville, MA: Cascadia Proceedings Project.

Ledgeway, Adam, Schifano, Norma, & Giuseppina Silvestri. 2019. Differential Object Marking and the properties of the D in the dialects of the extreme south of Italy. *Glossa* 4(1): 51. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.569>

Marantz, Alec. 1988. Clitics, morphological merger, and the mapping to phonological structure. In Hammond, M. & M. Noonan (eds.), *Theoretical Morphology*, 253-270. New York: Academic Press.

Marantz, Alec. 1989. Clitics and phrase structure. In Kroch, A. & M. Baltin (eds.), *Alternative Conceptions of Phrase Structure*, 99-116. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Matushansky, Ora. 2019. Against the PredP theory of small clauses. *Linguistic Inquiry* 50(1): 63-104. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1162/ling_a_00301

Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2012. Agreements that occur mainly in the main clause. In Aelbrecht, L. Haegeman, L., & R. Nye (eds.), *Main Clause Phenomena: New Horizons*, 79-112. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.190.04miy>

-
- Munaro, Nicola. 2016. Verbless predicative structures across Romance. *Journal of Linguistics* 52: 609-637. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022226715000201>
- Paul, Ileana. 2006. Great coffee, that Maxwell House!. Paper presented at the 37th Meeting of the North East Linguistic Society, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.
- Paul, Ileana & Robert Stainton. 2006. Really Intriguing, that Pred NP!. In Gurski, C. & M. Radisic (eds.), *The 2006 Canadian Linguistics Association Annual Conference*, 1-11. Ottawa: Canadian Linguistic Association.
- Platzack, Christer & Inger Rosengren. 1997. On the subject of imperatives: A minimalist account of the imperative clause. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 1(3): 177-224.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1009747522177>
- Poletto, C., 2000. *The higher functional field: Evidence from Northern Italian dialects*. Oxford University Press
- Preminger, Omer. 2019. What the PCC tells us about “abstract” agreement, head movement, and locality. *Glossa* 4(3): 13. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.315>
- Raposo, Eduardo & Juan Uriagereka. 2005. Clitic placement in Western Iberian: A minimalist view. In Cinque, G. & R. Kayne (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Syntax*, 639-697. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195136517.013.0015>
- Richards, Norvin. 2009. The Tagalog copula. In Chung, C., Finner, D., Paul, I., & E. Potsdam (eds.), *Proceedings of the 16th Annual Meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association (AFLA 16)*, 181-195. London, ON: Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. On the Fine Structure of the Left Periphery. In L. Haegeman (ed.), *Elements of Grammar*, 281-337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-011-5420-8_7
- Roberts, Ian. 2014. Subject clitics and macroparameters. In P. Benincá, A. Ledgeway & N. Vincent (eds.), *Diachrony and dialects: Grammatical change in the dialects of Italy*, 177-201. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198701781.003.0009>
- Uriagereka, Juan. 1995a. An F position in Western Romance. In K. Kiss (ed.), *Discourse Configurational Languages*, 153-175. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Uriagereka, Juan. 1995b. Aspects of the syntax of clitic placement in Western Romance. *Linguistic Inquiry* 26(1): 79-123.

Uriagereka, Juan. 1996. Determiner clitic placement. In R. Freiden (ed.), *Current issues in comparative grammar: Studies in natural language and linguistic theory*, 257-295. Dordrecht: Springer.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-009-0135-3_13

Uriagereka, Juan. 2007. Clarifying the notion “parameter”. *Biolinguistics* 1: 99-113.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5964/bioling.8591>