
**Syntactic constraints
on topicalization phenomena**

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Chapter 1

Topicalization and the cartographic project

1.1 Introduction

The aim of this dissertation is to offer an account of the interaction between topicalization phenomena and the syntactic constraints that operate on them; in particular locality constraints of the *strong island* kind and how they prevent or allow processes of Clitic Left Dislocation we find in Romance languages. Although excursions will be made into other aspects of the Topic phenomena spectrum, and other linguistic families will be considered when they can shed light on the issues under discussion, the focus will remain on the Romance family and the syntactic constraints on Clitic Left Dislocation.

The motivation behind this endeavour is to solve a number of empirical problems on the one hand and to provide a better theoretical understanding of the phenomena we find in the sentential left periphery on the other. We call left periphery of the sentence all those functional projections that appear above and to the left of the TP node, which mainstream syntactic theories

had collectively known as the CP and which started to be studied in a fine-grained fashion in the seminal work by Rizzi (1997). Such projections include the positions occupied by Topics, Foci, certain interrogative elements, certain types of adverbs, and complementizers as well as other functional nodes explored in many works following Rizzi (1997). It is, therefore, a complex syntactic field in which elements of very different kinds co-exist, the interactions among which are a central question of this work.

The empirical problems I refer to are of two different kinds. In the first place I shall deal with observed facts that are unexpected under the current approaches to topicalization, namely cases in which syntactic domains that are taken to be absolutely opaque, i.e. *strong islands*, allow Clitic Left Dislocation from within under certain circumstances, while remaining impenetrable under different conditions. I am referring to pieces of data such as the following from Spanish (which have been cross-linguistically attested):

- (1) a. *A Pedro, conocemos al espía que lo traicionó.
 Pedro, we know the spy who CL-*him* betrayed.
- b. A Pedro, el médico que lo atendió le dijo que
 Pedro, the doctor who CL-*him* tended to CL-*him* told to
 volviera mañana.
 come back tomorrow.

Complex-NP island violation

- (2) a. *Los libros de Chomsky, leerlos causa dificultades.
 The books by Chomsky, reading-CL-*them* causes difficulties.
- b. Los libros de Chomsky, colocarlos en la estantería
 The books by Chomsky, putting-CL-*them* on the shelf
 urge bastante.
 urges quite a lot.

Subject island violation

- (3) a. *A Pedro Juan se fue antes de hablarle.
 Pedro Juan left before speaking-CL-*him*.
 b. A Pedro, Juan le dio dos besos antes
 Pedro, Juan CL-*him* gave two kisses before
 de hablarle.
 speaking-CL-‘him’.

Adjunct island violation

As we can see, the same island domains can allow or ban Clitic Left Dislocation. This empirical observation asks for an explanation.

The second kind of empirical problem mentioned above has to do with understudied domains in which topicalization can take place. One such domain is that of conditional clauses. Pioneering work by Liliane Haegeman (Haegeman (2006, 2007, 2010, 2012), among other works) has studied the available positions for Topics within conditional sentences of different kinds, but the analysis does not apply to Romance languages for the most part, and it does not include the analysis of cases in which the Topic moves from inside the conditional clause to an external position.¹ Therefore we lack an account of the kinds of contrasts in (4) and (5).

- (4) a. *A María, Juan se enfadará si le cuentas esa historia.
 María, Juan will get angry if CL-*her* you tell that story.
 b. A María, si le cuentas esa historia, Juan se enfadará.
 María, if CL-*her* you tell that story, Juan will get angry.

¹Movement of a Topic to a position external to an if-clause is approached in Taylor (2007), building on an analysis by Etxepare (2002). We shall return to these analyses in Chapter 5.

- (5) a. *A María, Juan se enfadará si le cuentas esa historia.
María, Juan will get angry if CL-*her* you tell that story.
- b. Esa historia, Juan se enfadará si se la cuentas a
That story, Juan will get angry if CL-*her* CL-*it* you tell to
María.
María.

Spanish

(4) seems to show that, in the context of conditional clauses, topicalization to the left periphery is only possible if the conditional clause is also preposed, which is unexpected when considering that all accounts of topicalization predict available Topic positions in the left periphery of the sentence. (5) already shows a counterexample to that: a Topic can be separated from the conditional clause only if it is an Accusative object, but not if it is a Dative one. This is also unexpected, since no such differences have been described or analysed in the literature on the subject.

All of these empirical issues will be dealt with in this dissertation. The other focus of this work mentioned above was of a theoretical nature. The kinds of improvements on our theoretical understanding of topicalization phenomena that this work will attempt are also of two kinds.

The first kind is quite concrete: current theoretical analyses do not allow us to differentiate between instances in which strong islands are transparent for Clitic Left Dislocation and cases in which they are not. In this work some of those previous accounts will be reviewed, and a different theoretical proposal will be made in order to derive the observed differences.

The second way in which syntactic theory could benefit from the analyses that will be undertaken in this dissertation is of a more abstract nature. The main theoretical approaches to topicalization phenomena in syntactic theory are cradled in the so-called cartographic project. Whereas this project has

provided extremely rich descriptions of the functional layers of the sentence and has enriched in a deep way our knowledge of the phenomena associated to the sentential left periphery, it hasn't asked yet the questions behind the functional hierarchies we encounter in syntactic analysis. Why do we find the ordering among constituents we find? Why are those the functional projections that exist in human language and not other? It seems clear to me that the answer cannot be that Universal Grammar provides the precise inventory of projections crosslinguistically found and that their presence and ordering are part of our innate endowment. These questions are very ambitious and fall beyond the range of this work. However, some hints will be hopefully provided, stemming from the analysis of Clitic Left Dislocation proposed here.

The starting hypothesis about the behavior of Clitic Left Dislocation and the locality constraints it faces has two parts. In the first place it claims that constraints on objects in the left periphery of the sentence are the result of locality restrictions preventing them from crossing certain nodes during the derivation or organizing themselves in a different fashion once they land in the CP layer of the sentence.²

These locality constraints constitute the most primitive syntactic principles accounting for the hierarchy of syntactic projections described in the

²Naturally, this way of interpreting restrictions on movement and long-distance relationships has been the usual way of approaching syntax for a long time. Relativized Minimality (Rizzi, 1990), and the previous Barriers program rooted in the GB era (Chomsky, 1986) constitute frameworks of this kind. Nevertheless, such approaches have not always been applied to left-periphery phenomena, partly because a movement-based take on topicalization is not generally followed and partly because representational constraints are often taken to be responsible for the well-formedness of sentences involving Topics. The kind of constraints proposed in this work will be mostly derivational, though.

cartographic project, as well as the behavior of Topics in relation with the kind of domains from where they can establish relationships with their base positions. An example of an approach to the hierarchy or peripheral projection made from a non-cartographic perspective which attempted to find a more primitive explanation for locality constraints is Abels (2012).

The second part of the hypothesis is based on the interaction among constituents once they have been displaced to the left periphery. It amounts to proposing the assignment of different roles related to the information structure of the sentence (such as Topics, Foci, and so on) on configurational grounds. These have been called *Criterionial Roles* in work by Luigi Rizzi and Ángel Gallego. In a way, approaching peripheral elements from this point of view entails considering them relational, and not pre-established syntactic notions provided by features taken from the lexicon and specialized projections.

As I shall explain in further detail below, ‘Topic’ is actually an umbrella term that covers a wide range of different phenomena that more often than not display different syntactic behaviors. That is why the analyses in this dissertation will mostly limit themselves to Clitic Left Dislocation, since its properties are more easily definable and they seem to constitute a natural class of phenomena. The intention of restricting the analysis to a phenomenon with clearly definable properties, namely Clitic Left Dislocation, has the consequence of reducing the number of languages examined to Romance varieties, since they constitute a cluster of closely related languages, all of which present the kind of weak resumptive elements that characterize CLLD, although resumptive elements similar in function to the clitics found in Romance appear in different languages. As stated before, however, such other languages will be considered from time to time. This is due to the

belief that the kind of constraints investigated here should be universal.

1.2 The problematic definition of topicalization

Topics are a kind of syntactic elements which appear in the CP layer of the sentence, above and to the left of the TP. It has also been proposed that they can appear in the left periphery of other phrases like the VP or the DP (cf. work by Belletti on the VP periphery, Belletti (2004, 2005)), and that other positions in the sentence are inherently topical, like the subject, but this work will devote itself to CP Topics. They differ from other CP objects in different ways: they are unlike Wh-elements (in languages with obligatory Wh-movement) in that their appearing in the left periphery is not mandatory, and in several other respects reviewed in Cinque (1990) and commented on in Chapter 2; they are unlike Foci in that they do not have a quantificational nature (and in other ways that will be reviewed at length below), as seen in Rizzi (1997), Cinque (1990) and other works on the sentential left periphery. They are also very different among themselves, and they do not seem to form a natural class with unified properties: they rather constitute a cluster of elements that set the topic the sentence is about in a loose way, and hence the name. At the same time, not all kinds of Topic are found in every language.

See for instance the following examples in Spanish, all of which contain different kinds of elements that have been considered topical in the literature, while displaying different syntactic properties:

- (6) a. **A Luis**, no lo he visto.
To Luis, not CL-*him* I have seen.

Clitic Left Dislocation

- b. No lo he visto, **a Luis**.
Not CL-*him* I have seen, **to Luis**.

Clitic Right dislocation

- c. **(Hablando de) Luis**, no lo he visto.
(Speaking of) Luis, not CL-*him* I have seen.

Hanging Topic

- d. **Chicos listos**, conozco a Luis.
Boys smart, I know to Luis.

Split Topicalization

- e. **Aquella mañana**, me encontré con Luis.
That morning, I met with Luis.

Temporal Modifier Topic

As stated in the introduction, the aim of this work is to propose an analysis of topicalization phenomena which provides a principled explanation of the syntactic constraints operating on them. A special emphasis is put on locality constraints, since Topics seem to exhibit some unexpected behaviors such as the possibility of violating island constraints in some cases but not in others.

The point of departure is the detailed descriptions of the representations of Topics and the left periphery of the sentence that can be found in the so-called cartographic project. From there, a programmatic path would be to take them one step further to explore the primitive syntactic principles they could derive from.

In doing so, an account for locality and ordering constraints concerning Topics is expected to be found. The spirit behind such an endeavour stems from the discussion within cartography itself about the possibilities

of co-existence of the cartographic project and the minimalist enterprise in generative syntax. That is, to attempt to keep the descriptive power and insight we have gained from cartographies while acquiring the explanatory depth syntax should aim to have. Regarding topicalization and its relationship with locality constraints, a minimalist drive would try to reduce the number of stipulations like the number or order of peripheral elements and would try to depend more heavily on primitives of syntax.

The ways in which both kinds of approaches to syntactic theory can share goals can be seen in the works of proponents of cartography such as (Cinque & Rizzi, 2008): “Minimalism focuses on the generating devices, and cartography focuses on the fine detail of the generated structures, two research topics which can be pursued in parallel in a fully consistent manner.” The kind of generating devices mentioned here seem however underexplored, and as a result I intend to offer an approach into how they might work in contexts of topicalization.

This first two chapters include a review of approaches to two crucial aspects in the study of topicalization: the description of the position of Topics relative to other syntactic constituents on the one hand and whether they are the result of syntactic movement or base-generated on the other. In what follows in this chapter, an introduction to semantic and pragmatic restrictions on topicalization is presented, and a catalogue of different kinds of phrases that have been labelled ‘Topics’ in the literature follows. Then, a review of the cartographic project will be presented, with a special emphasis on the logic of its procedures, which is often implied but not explained. A first look at some of the syntactic constraints on Topics is provided, to be further developed in later chapters.

The relationship between topicalization, movement and locality phenom-

ena is a complex one because of the apparent inconsistency of the interaction between Topics and locality effects. The circumstances under which these locality restrictions can be lifted are based on different factors. For some cases (Subject Island Violations), the timing of syntactic operations and the relationship between a verbal predicate and its arguments are taken to be the most relevant factor. For others, an explanation in terms akin to Kayne's (1984) principle of *Connectedness* is offered. Conditional clauses constitute a particular subcase of Adjunct Island that receives a detailed treatment in Chapter 5. It is worth mentioning these are precisely the three domains where topicalization should not take place according to Zubizarreta (1999).

1.2.1 Some semantic and pragmatic constraints on topicalization

The terms *Topic* and *topicalization* cover a range of phenomena involving the appearance of a syntactic element in the left periphery of the sentence under the appropriate syntactic and semantic conditions.

What I shall introduce here is a rough semantic and pragmatic characterization of topicalization. Topics have been defined in different ways, which we have already pointed to, but in a first approach we can informally define them as a part of the sentence containing known information³, about which

³*Known information* is of course a term than can be defined only by appealing to context: it must be information known to some speaker(s) in a certain context. Sentences used for grammatical analysis are however often devoid of such context and this fact has presented some problems when trying to judge the grammaticality of sentences containing topicalization in the absence of context.

Zubizarreta (1999) reflects on the inadequacy of pragmatic terms like *old/new information* in the light of the unavoidable morpho-syntactic means that give them verbal content, like the distinction between definite or indefinite DPs.

something is said. The part of the sentence that contains what is said about the topic is often called the *comment*, thus rendering the typical organization of sentences into a topic-comment structure. In this sense it is useful to check the definitions given in Rizzi (1997) and Beninca' & Poletto (2004): “The topic is a preposed element characteristically set off from the rest of the clause by “comma intonation” and normally expressing old information, somehow available and salient in previous discourse; the comment is a kind of complex predicate, an open sentence predicated of the topic and introducing new information.”, (Rizzi, 1997, 285) or (Beninca' & Poletto, 2004, 63): “All the elements in the Topic field share at least two properties: (a) they are not related to a variable in the clause, differently from elements belonging to the Focus field; and (b) they are all “known information” in some sense.”, (Beninca' & Poletto, 2004, 63). I shall refer to this way of defining Topics as the semantic-pragmatic approach, when contrasting it in conceptual terms with the syntactic approach. The fact that the Topic is old information is the reason why certain topicalizations are impossible when seen in context:

- (7) a. When did you see Peter?
Peter, I saw yesterday.
- b. Who did you see?
#Peter, I saw yesterday.

There are, however, noteworthy problems with this first approach to the semantic and pragmatic characterization of Topics. First, their content consisting in old information is a part of their definition that can be proven to be wrong in many cases, as examples discussed in Kuroda (2005)⁴ or Valmala

⁴In this paper, Kuroda's aim is precisely to claim that phrases marked with the Japanese

(2011) show:

- (8) **A:** Dare-ga ooganemochi desu ka?
 Who-NOM very rich be
 “Who is very rich?”
- B:** Maikurosofuto no shachoo no Geitsu san wa
 Microsoft GEN president GEN Gates Mr TOP
 ooganemochi desu.
 very rich be.
 “Mr Gates, the president of Microsoft, is very rich.”

Japanese

As is well known, Japanese marks certain phrases, which have been identified in the literature as Topics, with the morphological marker *-wa*. It is often the case that these phrases happen to be the sentence’s subject, but this is by no means necessary. If a subject is present and is not marked as a sentential Topic, it is marked with the particle *-ga*, which has been analysed as either a nominative case marker or a focus marker. For the time being, let us consider it the nominative case marker.⁵

In the following example we can see another instance of a topicalized phrase, which exhibits all characteristics of Clitic Left Dislocation, but which in turn cannot contain information immediately available for the person asking the question, since the whole answer is new, focal information. Arguably

particle *-wa* are not Topics, but his characterization is in semantic terms, and nothing is said against the syntactic characterization of Topics that will be presented here.

⁵Typical examples in which subjects must be marked with the *-ga* norminative marker are embedded clauses like *Taroo-ga hana-o katta koto...* (The fact that Taroo-NOM bought flowers...).

There are other instances of *-wa*-marked phrases in Japanese, which appear in contexts of negation and which have been identified as contrastive Topic markers. These will not be discussed in this work.

the Topic must have been accessible for both speakers (for instance, the person who asks must know Luis in the example), but the means by which this information is available are not very clear. It is difficult to codify such accessibility as a syntactic constraint on the nature of the constituents that can appear in a sentence. Certainly, the type of linguistic restrictions allowing or banning topicalization from a discourse-related perspective must be studied within a pragmatic perspective.

- (9) **A:** ¿Qué ha pasado?
 What has happened
- B:** Que **a Luis** no le han dado la beca.
 That to Luis not CL-*him* they have given the scholarship.
 “Luis has not been granted the scholarship”

Spanish

In the first case the topic ‘Maikurosofuto-no shachoo-no Geitsu-san-wa’ is the answer to a Wh-question asking precisely for that piece of information, which is why it cannot have been known. In the second case the answer is a response to a wh-question as well, but in this case the kind of information inquired about is left totally open, the topic ‘a Luis’ being more unexpected. As a matter of fact, all the content in the answer can be considered focal and new information. Topics appearing in these cases may be necessarily D-linked elements (Pesetsky, 1987), and as a result it can be argued that ‘Luis’ in the second example must have been linked in discourse for both speakers, but in the context of immediate discourse they contain undoubtedly new information.

Another aspect of the content of Topics in terms of known information is the definiteness and specificity of the displaced constituent and the *aboutness* reading that can be attributed to it. In general, this is true:

- (10) a. *Unes cadires les he deixades a la cuina.
 Some chairs CL-*them* I have left in the kitchen.
 b. Les cadires les he deixades a la cuina.
 The chairs CL-*them* I have left in the kitchen.

Catalan - Definiteness/Indefiniteness contrast in CLLD

Nevertheless, López (2009) shows how these examples can also be constructed in a way in which their specificity or their *aboutness* readings are difficult to support:

- (11) a. El Joan, penso que és intel·ligent.
 The Joan I believe that he is intelligent.
 b. Intel·ligent, crec que el Joan ho és.
 Intelligent, I believe that the Joan CL is.
- (12) a. Les cadires que va portar el Joan les vaig deixar a
 The chairs that brought the Joan CL-*them* I left in
 la cuina.
 the kitchen.
 b. De cadires no en vaig comprar, però de taules
 Chairs NEG CL-*of-them* I bought, but tables
 sí.
 I did.

Catalan

We see that (11-a) contains a Topic with an *aboutness* reading: the sentence is about Joan. Nevertheless, (11-b) is not a sentence about *intelligence* or something similar.⁶ In the same way, (12-a) fulfills the specificity condition by referring to specific chairs, but (12-b) does not.

Although there must be restrictions based on discourse structure and the

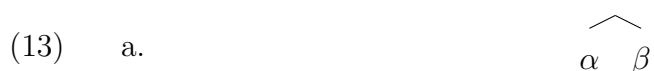
⁶This same semantic test was used in Rizzi (2004) in order to propose a special category of preposed adverbs in what he called a Modifier Phrase. This projection is reviewed later on.

organization of information regarding the availability of Topics (after all, the contrasts in (7) are true and call for an explanation), what this work is concerned about is the syntactic constraints operating over topicalization phenomena. In this, I follow López (2009) and other authors, who in the light of tests like the ones seen above claim that no semantic or phonological test can univocally distinguish Topics from other peripheral elements. Interesting lines of research have investigated the complex discursive and semantic properties of items in the sentential periphery, but since they fall outside the scope of this work, I refer the reader to works like Villalba (2000), Erteschik-Shir (1997) and many useful references therein (like Enç (1991), Vallduví (1990), Suñer (1988)).

In general, we can claim that topicalization does not constitute a natural class of phenomena. Moreover, after having seen that a characterization in the line of the semantic-pragmatic approach is problematic, a syntactic approach might turn out to be the only safe way to establish a precise account and definition of topicalization. In any case, this work will devote itself to the syntactic aspects of these issues. As a matter of fact, since the left periphery is known to harbour different kinds of elements, both displaced and generated *in situ*, contemporary studies in syntax have provided the means to distinguish topics from other phenomena such as focalization or Wh-movement. These tests are another part of this work and will be discussed in more length.

As mentioned above, many of the phenomena associated with the clausal left periphery are induced in actual speech by extra-syntactic factors, which may have to do with pragmatics, emphasis necessities, discourse restrictions or the several ways of verbalizing modality (Palmer, 2001). All of this has had the effect that some of the syntactic realizations of these phenomena were, if not disregarded, at least treated differently in mainstream generative linguis-

tics. An example of this would be Chomsky’s remark on the different nature of the semantics formed by external and by internal merge. In (Chomsky, 2001a), the two kinds of Merge operations, that is, external and internal, are explained to be the same operation, equally unconstrained in both cases, but yielding different syntactic configurations that could be expected to behave differently.



External Merger of α and β



Internal Merger of α to the cluster formed by β and α itself

The semantic differences derived from these different trees are explained later on Chomsky (2001, 11): “Argument structure is associated with External Merge (base structure); everything else with Internal Merge (derived structure).” The specific relation between internal merge and discourse properties is established in (Chomsky, 2001a, 11): “What about internal merge? We expect its application to be motivated by the non-theta-theoretic C-I conditions: scopal and discourse-related (informational) properties in particular.”

However, it is not at all clear that we can distinguish between both kinds of merger in any way that is not postulated *ad hoc*. These similarities suggest that the kind of objects formed for θ -role assignment and for left periphery formation are also similar, and indeed this will be the basis for proposing a sketch of a configurational approach to the left periphery in Chapter 6.

At the same time, linguists observing the behavior of left periphery elements related to discourse have often arrived at the conclusion that they were freer and more unconstrained than phrases belonging to lower parts of the sentence. This seemed to suit the intuitive notions that these positions were not ‘syntactic enough’, and that other non-syntactic factors had to be taken into account, because of their perceived tight relation with pragmatics and the discourse. As opposed to cases like, for instance, a failure to meet agreement criteria, or the fulfilment of the argumental needs of a predicate, left periphery elements look like they can violate several classical syntactic restrictions and they are optional in certain cases: if a phrase does not topicalize, it does not make the derivation crash.⁷ The most noted of these restrictions are inaccessible domains of extraction, that is, ‘islands’ in the sense of Ross (1967). The analysis of locality constraints on Topics is one of the most important issues dealt within this dissertation. Examples like (14), showing violation of island constraints abound in the literature on Topics:

- (14) I don’t know where I put my keys.
 *What don’t you know where you put?
 The keys, I don’t know where I put.

Nevertheless, a closer view over these phenomena quickly reveals that they

⁷This claim has been recently challenged. Recent work by Ott (2011), for instance, attempts to show cases of compulsory movement to the left periphery that produces topicalization of a constituent. The reasoning behind such obligatory movement can stem from the Labeling Algorithm (Chomsky (2008) in a precise formulation, but a concept going back to at least Chomsky (2004)) that prevents totally symmetrical syntactic configurations from receiving a label, rendering them uninterpretable at LF. Those symmetrical configurations must be broken via syntactic movement, therefore inducing instances of topicalization and other kinds of movement.

are subject to many constraints of exactly the same kind as the rest of the sentence. The existence of non-trivial restrictions of a structural nature on the well-formedness of syntactic objects that has been at the core of much linguistic inquiry can therefore shed light on how elements of the left periphery organize themselves. Thus, I deny that special mechanisms operate on this part of the sentence which need to take into account extra-syntactic processes, the only differences in behavior being then attributable to normal syntactic processes, such as the creation of different syntactic objects suggested by the application of External vs Internal Merge, or the order in which syntactic operations take place. Besides, it is precisely the fact that topics and possibly other CP-objects can shun certain constraints what demands an explanation and makes them an interesting object of study.

1.3 Different kinds of Topics

Topics described in the previous section all belong essentially to the Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) class, called like that because it triggers the presence of a resumptive clitic in Romance languages, but there are other kinds of displaced elements in the left periphery of the sentence which have also been studied under the label of ‘Topics’. Some of these include *Hanging Topics* or *Modifier Topics*. For all of them the word ‘Topic’ has been used as a kind of umbrella term under which syntactic objects of different kinds have been grouped together, mainly because of perceived semantic commonalities, that is, they all refer to ‘old information’ or D-linked elements. Let it be noted, nonetheless, that in this work the term Topic will mostly refer to CLLD or its equivalent structure in languages lacking clitics.

Equally, one can find in the literature several distinctions about the nature

of the displacement that takes place in topicalization contexts, like the one between argumental and non-argumental topics or the difference between the topicalization of a noun or of an adverb. This section will cover the description of these other phenomena, since the interaction among different kinds of Topics is a crucial part of this work. Properties dealt with here will only be considered from a syntactic point of view. For a review of kinds of Topics which also covers semantic and discursive aspects (as well as a finer grained classification of some kinds of Topics), I refer the reader to the excellent taxonomy and data presentation in Villalba (2000).

1.3.1 *Hanging Topics*

Hanging Topics have been proposed (Cinque (1983), Villalba (2000), Bartra Kaufmann (1985)) to introduce a new topic into discourse that may contrast with the information that was being discussed until that point. The precise nature of their relation with the previous discourse is not that clear, however, because they can be shown to introduce new topics or continue with the topic under discussion:

- (15) a. **Respecto a ese asunto**, no tengo nada más
Concerning that matter, not have-1st-PRES nothing more
que decir.
to say.
“Concerning that matter, I have nothing else to say.”

Previously mentioned

- b. Hace tiempo que no veo a Juan.
 It makes time that not see-1st-PRES to Juan.
En cuanto a María, la vi ayer.
About María, CL saw yesterday.
 “I haven’t seen Juan for some time. About Mary, I saw her
 yesterday.”

Not mentioned previously

Hanging Topics can appear with a resumptive element in the argumental position they are semantically related with. In the cases in which such resumptive element is a clitic, when Hanging Topics most resemble CLLD, a few syntactic tests can be used to determine if the left-periphery item is a Hanging Topic or a CLLD, on the basis of differences between these two phenomena that we shall immediately review. The status of such clitics will be discussed below. If the resumptive element is a full tonic pronoun, we can be sure we are not facing a case of CLLD (see for instance examples (17-a) and (18) below, both of which include a CLLDed Topic co-referential with a full phrase, and both of which are ungrammatical).

There are at least two other crucial properties for the characterization of Hanging Topics. In the first place we find their inability to receive Case, even in those cases in which they are co-referential with a verbal argument and/or have a resumptive element ‘filling’ their position in the lower clause.

- (16) a. Respecto a María, ayer le escribí a ella
 Regarding María, yesterday CL-her I wrote to her about
 sobre el asunto de la reunión.
 that matter in the meeting.

- b. *A María, ayer le escribí a ella sobre el asunto
 To María, yesterday CL-her I wrote to her about that matter
 de la reunión.
 in the meeting.

Spanish

In the second place they can only be either DPs or phrases introduced by specialized markers such as *concerning* or *about*. Specifically, Hanging Topics cannot be introduced by prepositions, and they cannot be CPs:

- (17) a. Los horarios del tren, nunca me he quejado de
 The schedules of the train, never I have complained about
 ellos.
 them.
- b. *De los horarios del tren, nunca me he quejado
 About the schedules of the train, never I have complained
 de ellos.
 about them.

- (18) *Que no logrará licenciarse, ya sabemos **eso**.
 That not he will manage to graduate, already we know that.

Spanish

Concerning the locality phenomena that have been discussed in some parts of this work, the behavior displayed by Hanging Topics is very different from the one we can find in CLLD. Hanging Topics seem to be totally insensitive to island constraints. Consider the following example, where the relative clause island which induced no problem with the canonical Hanging Topic-sentence renders an ungrammatical sentence when an overt preposition forces a CLLD interpretation.

- (19) a. Respecto a María, ayer vi al chico que le
 Concerning María, yesterday I saw the boy who CL-*her* gave
 regaló flores.
 flowers.
- b. *A María, ayer vi al chico que le regaló
 To María, yesterday I saw the boy who CL-*her* gave
 flores.
 flowers.

The properties we can observe in Hanging Topics are important not only because of their particularities or their interaction with other elements of the left periphery, including CLLD Topics, but especially because they constitute evidence for a proposal in favor of the syntactic movement of CLLD Topics. Their impossibility to receive Case and their total insensitivity to island effects, when put in contrast with CLLD, strongly suggest in-situ generation as opposed to the case of CLLD Topics.

Another crucial difference between CLLD Topics and Hanging Topics is the availability of embedded positions the former but not the latter have access to. Hanging Topics can only appear in root clauses and in sentence-initial positions. This will again prove important later when defending the movement of CLLD Topics and the base-generation of Hanging Topics, as mentioned in the paragraph above.

- (20) a. En cuanto a los horarios del tren, me han dicho
 Concerning the schedule of the train, to me they have said
 que la gente está contenta con ellos.
 that people are happy with them.
- b. *Me han dicho que, en cuanto a los horarios del
 To me they have said that, concerning the schedule of the
 tren, la gente está contenta con ellos.
 train, people are happy with them.

Spanish

Incidentally, this is the same behavior that Japanese *-wa* marked phrases exhibit. These phrases, identified with topics in the literature can only appear in root contexts.⁸

- (21) a. Taroo-wa furansu-no eiga-o mita.
 Taroo-TOP France-GEN film-ACC saw.
 Taroo watched a French film.
- b. Taroo-ga furansu-no eiga-o mita koto-o shitte
 Taroo-NOM France-GEN film-ACC saw fact-ACC knowing
 iru.
 AUX.
 I know that Taroo watched a French film.
- c. *Taroo-wa furansu-no eiga-o mita koto-o shitte
 Taroo-TOP France-GEN film-ACC saw fact-ACC knowing
 iru.
 AUX.
 I know that Taroo watched a French film.

Japanese

Also note that the nature of the main verb in the matrix clause does not affect the grammaticality of examples to a great degree. Changing a declarative verb like *decir* (*to say*) into a different one keeps the distinction, even if one is more degraded than the other for some speakers:

⁸I do not wish to enter into a comprehensive description of Japanese topicalization, but I would like to point out that it generally patterns like Hanging Topic displacement. Not only because *-wa* Topics cannot be embedded, but also because they can only be sentence-initial and they cannot be recursively repeated. Japanese *-wa* Topics, however, do receive Case.

- (22) a. ??Me han dicho que, en cuanto a la beca,
 To me they have said that, concerning the scholarship,
 nadie sabe nada.
 nobody knows anything.
- b. *Lamento que, en cuanto a la beca, nadie sepa
 I regret that, concerning the scholarship, nobody knows
 nada.
 anything.
- (23) a. Me han dicho que, la crisis,
 They have told me that, the financial crisis,
 ya nadie habla de ella.
 nobody talks about it anymore.
- b. *Lamento que, la crisis, ya nadie hable de
 I regret that, the financial crisis, nobody talks about it
 ella.
 anymore.

Spanish

Before moving on to the next section, it should be noted that the *as for / concerning* structure that has appeared in this last example and some of the others before that one is analyzed as a separate construction in Villalba (2000), where it is claimed to deserve a separate analysis. The main argument to do so (the fact that phrases introduced by *as for* can be embedded against the general behavior of Hanging Topics, as seen in (22-a)) seems convincing, but since Hanging Topics are not the main focus of this work, I shall not discuss that distinction here. Incidentally, the same is applicable to a further taxonomy in Villalba's work, namely that of Metalinguistic Topics.

1.3.2 *Clitic Right Dislocation*

Clitic Right Dislocation (CLRD) is a phenomenon that seems to parallel that of Clitic Left Dislocation: instead of having a Topic appear to the

left of the sentence, it appears on the right side, but most other properties associated with CLLD are present as well, as we shall see below: existence of a resumptive element inside the main clause, sensitivity to certain island constraints, etc. It seems to be more restricted and less productive than CLLD, at least for certain speakers and for certain Romance languages. For instance, it seems to be much less productive in Spanish than in Catalan.

I shall briefly list said syntactic properties, but since they have been adapted from Villalba (2000), I refer the reader to that work for a more in-depth description. In the first place, CLRD can target projections of any category, like CLLD:

- (24) a. El vam llogar, el cotxe.
 CL-*it* we rented, the car.
- b. En vam mirar una pel·lícula, de Spielberg.
 CL-part we watched a movie, by Spielberg.
- c. Ho sabem tots, que no es llicenciarà.
 CL-*it* we know everybody, that he won't graduate.

Catalan

CLLD is recursive, in the same way CLLD is, and the order of dislocated elements is free:⁹

- (25) a. Les hi venen molt cares, les cerveses, a
 CL-*them* CL-loc they sell very expensive, the beers, in
 Barcelona.
 Barcelona.

⁹For an alternative view, in which free order of dislocates is shown to be somewhat productive, see Fernández Sánchez (2013).

- b. Les hi venen molt cares, a Barcelona, les
CL-*them* CL-loc they sell very expensive, in Barcelona, the
cerveses.
beers.

Catalan

Like CLLD, CLRD can appear in both root and embedded clauses:

- (26) a. Sembla que en va parlar ahir la María,
It seems that CL-*of it* talked yesterday the María,
del llibre.
about the book.

Catalan

Several proposals for their analysis can be found in the literature. Some of them will be briefly mentioned here, but since CLRD is outside the scope of the dissertation, I shall refer the reader to previous works that have approached the issue in depth.

The two main proposals in the literature could be labelled ‘monoclausal’ and ‘biclausal’. The first type involves a first CLLD-type movement of the dislocated element, leaving the clitic stranded under a Big DP approach like the one assumed here. Later remnant movement moves the rest of the sentence above the dislocated phrase, leaving it on the right side after linearization. Approaches differ as to how high the dislocated element has moved. For Romance languages, Kayne (1994) assumes the dislocated phrase is left *in situ* whereas the rest of the clause moves via remnant movement; Cardinaletti (2002) analyses the right-dislocated element as sitting in a lower peripheral position; López (2009), Cecchetto (1999) and Villalba (2000) approach it in terms of an intermediate position; Samek-Lodovici (2006, 2009) and De Cat (2007) consider the dislocated phrase to be in a very high peripheral site.¹⁰

¹⁰For English, Kayne (1994) also analyses the structure with the right-dislocated phrase

The second type of approach, in terms of a biclausal analysis assumes that the constituent dislocated to the right is actually a fragment (of the Merchant (2004) type) which is pragmatically and prosodically attached to the rest of the sentence. Tanaka (2001) and Ott & de Vries (2012) are analyses in which the dislocated constituent is very high in the structure and the rest of the second clause is ellided.

1.3.3 *Modifier Topics*

Rizzi (2004) shows that Topic positions are not always available for adverbs, even if they may contain old information or move quite freely among positions in the left periphery, which have been shown to be two of the most characteristic features of Topics from a semantic and syntactic point of view. He does so by means of the interaction between modifier phrases of an adverbial type and dislocated DPs. Naturally, this would suggest that certain kinds of adverbial material that appears in the left periphery needs to be accommodated somewhere else. In order to show the different behavior of these phrases and propose a specific Modifier Phrase (ModP) to harbour them, Rizzi uses two kinds of arguments.

In the first place, there is a sense in which the semantic characterization of modifier phrases cannot follow the pattern of DP topicalization, that is, if in an example like (27):

(27) John, I saw yesterday.

we can paraphrase it like ‘*Speaking about John*, I saw him yesterday’, in an example like (28):

in a very high position.

(28) Quickly, he entered the room.

we cannot rephrase it as ‘*Speaking about quick things*, he entered the room’.

In the second place, Rizzi also offers syntactic evidence to support a specific position for modifier phrases on the basis of restrictions on constituent order in the left periphery. Thus, he shows the following contrasts to propose that the ModP is situated under both FocP and TopP, by means of demonstrating that modifiers of this kind can follow, but not precede, Wh-elements (29-b). His examples also show how positions which are unavailable for preposed adverbs are perfectly acceptable when occupied by a Topic (29-c):

- (29) a. Rapidamente hanno fatto i compiti.
Quickly they have done the homework.
- b. *Rapidamente che cosa hanno fatto?
Quickly what thing have they done?
- c. A Gianni, che cosa gli hanno fatto?
To Gianni, what thing CL-*him* they have done?

Italian

Besides, there are two other positions adverbs can target in the left periphery. One is the Focus position, provided they are endowed with Focus-like intonation and semantics, whereas the other behaves like a Topic of the ‘normal’ sort in regards to the position it occupies in relation with other constituents in the CP. In this second case, and supposing the Topic satisfies the normal D-linking requirements, the adverb can appear before a Wh-element, against the examples of the kind of (29-b). That is to say, whereas not all adverbs can be located at Topic positions, it seems some can under the appropriate circumstances.

- (30) a. RAPIDAMENTE i tecnici hanno probabilmente risolto
 QUICKLY the technicians have probably solved
 il problema (non lentamente).
 the problem (not slowly).
- b. Gianni mi ha detto che hanno fatto alcune cose
 Gianni me has said that they have done some things
 lentamente e altre rapidamente. Ora, io vorrei
 slowly and others quickly. Now, I would like
 sapere: rapidamente, che cosa hanno fatto?
 to know: quickly, what thing have they done?

Italian

The relationship between adverbs and other peripherals elements of the clause is further complicated by two factors. In the first place, adverbial material appears to pattern in a specific way regarding the relative order among adverbs that languages allow. This was proposed to great detail in Cinque (1999), where a whole cartography of functional projections could harbor adverbs in their specifiers. As expected, such cartography must integrate with the rest of elements of the periphery. Apart from the aforementioned Cinque (1990), Rizzi (2004) also prives a review of adverbial positions in the left periphery.

In the second place, the integration of different types of adverbs within CP-projections unavoidably means that competition for concrete syntactic positions or blocking effects related to locality can arise. As a matter of fact this sort of interactions constitute the core part of Rizzi (2004), where the ModP was first introduced. For instance, Italian allows the fronting of an adverb like *rapidamente*, but not across an epistemic adverb (Rizzi, 2004, 234):

- (31) a. I tecnici hanno probabilmente risolto rapidamente il problema.
The technicians have probably solved quickly the problem.
problem.
- b. Rapidamente_i, i tecnici hanno risolto t_i il problema.
Quickly_i, the technicians have solved t_i the problem.
- c. *Rapidamente_i, i tecnici hanno probabilmente risolto t_i il problema.
Quickly_i, the technicians have probably solved t_i the problem.
- d. Probabilmente_i, i tecnici hanno t_i risolto rapidamente il problema.
Probably_i, the technicians have t_i solved quickly the problem.

Italian

Now the question comes to which feature plays a crucial role when blocking movement across another phrase and triggering minimality effects. Relativized Minimality will be presented at some length in this work, but it generally is well known that it responds to a general notion by means of which elements with the same syntactic features block movement across each other. In the examples we just saw, the adverb *probabilmente* contains a feature that blocks another adverb, *rapidamente*, from moving over it. Or, in a similar view, prevents *rapidamente* in a peripheral position from ‘seeing’ its lower copy, since the ‘view’ is blocked by the other adverb in the structure.

Therefore, we can now go back to Topics that fit the normal CLLD definition and see how they behave in relation to these modifiers. As mentioned before, in some cases they show compatibility with them and in others it looks as though they were competing for the same positions.¹¹ Let us illus-

¹¹Although in fact, competition for a position should not be a problem in instances of topicalization, since Topics are recursive.

trate this point with some examples, topicalizing *il problema* from the Italian examples above (slightly adapted for naturalness in Spanish).

- (32)
- a. Ese problema, los técnicos seguramente lo
That problem, the technicians surely CL-*it*
resolvieron rápidamente.
they solved quickly.
 - b. Ese problema, seguramente los técnicos lo
That problem, surely the technicians CL-*it*
resolvieron rápidamente.
they solved quickly.
 - c. Seguramente, ese problema, los técnicos lo
Surely, that problem, the technicians CL-*it*
resolvieron rápidamente.
they solved quickly.
 - d. *Ese problema, rápidamente, los técnicos lo
That problem, quickly, the technicians CL-*it*
resolvieron.
they solved.
 - e. ?Rápidamente, ese problema, los técnicos lo
Quickly, that problem, the technicians CL-*it*
resolvieron.
they solved.

Topicalizing with adverbs present in the sentence supposes no problem (32-a), nor is it problematic with the epistemic adverbial *seguramente*. In this respect, it is interesting that the adverb can apparently be located both below (32-b) and above (32-c) the Topic with no effect on the acceptability of the resulting sentence. Finally, the adverb *rápidamente* does interact in a negative way with the Topic, degrading the acceptability of the sentences in which they appear together. According to the proposals as to the interaction between CLLDed Topics and other peripheral modifiers, it does look like epistemics can fulfill the role of the proposed ModP, whereas an adverb like

rápidamente induces locality effects that make it incompatible with CLLD.

There are two ways in which this result can be surprising. On the one hand, because the upper and lower location of the ModP with respect to the Topic somewhat contradicts the order proposed in Rizzi (2004):

(33) Force Top* Int Top* Focus Mod* Top* Fin IP

In strict terms, this shows available Topic positions both above and below ModP, but generally, the most canonical Topic position is the one above Focus¹². Therefore, only the lower ModP would be expected.

On the other hand, if we consider that cases in which the modifier is in fact no different from any other Topic, as (32-d) and (32-e) seem to suggest, it is unclear why these Topics should induce any locality effects on other Topics, since they are supposed to be recursive and besides, they are assumed in Rizzi (2004) and also in this dissertation to lack syntactic features of their own.

Therefore, since they constitute adverbial material that can be shown to belong to a different syntactic class, ModP will not be considered in the remainder of this thesis. For those cases in which the topicalized adverb does seem to behave like a regular Topic, thus falling more readily into the scope of this work, since they do not co-appear with a resumptive clitic and seem to provoke the locality effects just mentioned, they will not be taken into account in the general approach to CLLD.¹³

¹²Additionally, proposals like Beninca' & Poletto (2004) deny that Topic positions other than the 'canonical' one are Topic positions at all, an issue that we shall not discuss further here.

¹³Rizzi (2004) also arrives to the conclusion that in general, adverbs should not be considered as belonging to Topic positions: "Only referential nominal expressions are natural topics; adverbs are not, so they cannot naturally occupy topic positions. [...]"

1.3.4 *Arguments and non-arguments*

This work takes into consideration a kind of intervention effects on locality phenomena that is based on some form of Relativized Minimality. Although Relativized Minimality will be defined and discussed in some length in Chapter 3, and it is a well established concept in syntactic theory, I shall briefly sum up what it entails for the bans on movement presented here. The core idea is that syntactic relations can only be local, that is, a relationship between a Probe and a Goal cannot be established if there is an intervening element (also c-commanded by the Probe) of the same kind as the Goal.

- (34) a. How do you think he behaved t?
 b. *How do you wonder who behaved t?

Thus, if we move to the left periphery two different arguments, the second one we move should not be able to properly license its trace, since the other argument would stand in the way. The expectation is that topicalization of arguments should behave in a way different from the topicalization of adjuncts. This expectation, however, is not borne out. The following example shows how two topicalized arguments do not induce one another any locality effect. In the same way, example (36) shows how adjuncts do not seem to interact with either arguments or other adjuncts:

- (35) a. A María, el bolso se lo robaron en el metro.
 To María, the purse they CL-*it* stole in the subway.
 b. El bolso, a María se lo robaron en el metro.
 The purse, to María they CL-*it* stole in the subway.

But even elements that are not natural topics can become topics in special contextual conditions" (Rizzi, 2004, 240)

- (36) a. Ese bolso, ayer se lo robaron a María.
That purse, yesterday CL-*her* CL-*it* they stole from María.
- b. Ayer ese bolso se lo robaron a María.
Yesterday that purse CL-*her* CL-*it* they stole from María.
- c. Ayer en el metro le robaron un bolso a
Yesterday in the subway CL-*her* they stole a purse from
María.
María.
- d. En el metro ayer le robaron un bolso a
In the subway yesterday CL-*her* they stole a purse from
María.
María.

Spanish

Regarding this issue, that is, that there are no minimality/locality or superiority effects among different Topics, recall that there are two proposals made by Rizzi (2001). The first one involves considering that Topics have their own Topic-feature which has an independent status from that of other dislocated constituents and is therefore ‘invisible’ for them, thus not inducing any locality effect. The second proposal is that Topics lack features of any sort, being [-Argumental], [-Quantificational], [-Modifier], which would explain why they are not only transparent for other objects but also for each other. All the other elements that conform the sentential periphery necessarily contain at least one of those features, which explains why we do find intervention effects when they are involved. That would be, for instance, the reason behind the impossibility to have more than one Focus or a Focus and a Wh-element.

The problem with this approach is that the expectation is that Topics would not only not induce minimality effects, but also not suffer from them. Nonetheless, as we have seen before, CLLD Topics are in fact subject to island constraints, needing the special contexts explored in this thesis to overcome

them. A second problem is that the featural approach, while working properly for Foci and Wh-questions, fails to account for the lack of locality effects in the domain of Topics or preposed adverbials.

In sum, we have seen how topicalization phenomena lack the sort of locality constraints or superiority effects we expect to find in other domains, like multiple Wh-fronting. This must surely be informative as to the featural content of Topics. For the greater part of this dissertation I shall limit my examples to argument topicalization. In the first place, this should ensure that the range of phenomena we look at is more restricted and we are sure to be examining the same type of data every time. Besides, we saw in the previous section of this chapter how Modifier Topics might be base-generated in the sentential periphery, and can constitute an altogether different kind of Topic, which will make me disregard them when dealing with CLLD.

1.4 The cartographic project

1.4.1 An introduction to the cartographic project

The acknowledgement of the existence of ordering restrictions among projections of the CP layer of the sentence mentioned above has prompted the development of a syntactic framework collectively known as the *cartographic project*. This project has attempted to provide syntactic theory with a very finely grained description of how functional projections are organized, making two crucial assumptions that support the whole project: one, that every syntactic/semantic feature is head of its own projection, complete with a complete X-bar structure, in which Specifier-Head and Head-Complement

relations are realized¹⁴; the other, that this sequence of functional projections is universal, apparent differences among languages being due to not giving overt phonological realization to some of them.

This project is explicitly included by its main proponents within the Minimalist Program (Chomsky (1995) and subsequent work). Rizzi (2004) claims that the tension between the very articulated structures encountered in the literature on the cartography of the sentence and the very simple devices used by minimalist syntax to derive syntactic objects is only apparent and the result of “a fruitful division of labor” (Cinque & Rizzi, 2008, 49). The idea is that very simple procedures such as the ones proposed in minimalism can render very complex surface structures such as the ones described in the literature on cartography. Therefore, the complex structures we can observe in the functional sequence of natural languages is the result of more primitive processes that remain largely unexplained. In this sense, the impressive empirical coverage the cartographic project has been able to achieve would be just the first half of the work to do: if the relative restrictions ordering the hierarchy of functional projections are the consequence of more primitive principles, then it should be the syntacticians’ job to discover what those principles are. A substantial part of this work is devoted to the exploration of how the mechanisms behind such principles, effects and syntactic properties might work.

As is often claimed in the literature, the origins of the cartographic project can be traced back to influential works by Pollock (1989) and Larson (1988),

¹⁴In more contemporary versions of the theory, a bare phrase structure syntax (Chomsky, 1995) is adopted. Under such a view, the absence of one of the parts of the structure would not be problematic. I shall present the cartographic model with a full-fledged X-bar model because that is the framework it was developed in and because it works well with the templatic approach undertaken in the cartographic project

before the arrival of the Minimalist Program.¹⁵ Although their work does not reflect directly on the cartography of the structure of the left periphery, they are prime examples of the intellectual exercise behind the proposal of new functional categories in sentence structure and the relative order they display.

Pollock (1989) proposed a finer-grained account of the inflectional layer of the sentence on the grounds of the possibilities of verbal movement in tensed and non-finite sentences in French and English, as well as the position of adverbs, quantifiers and negative sentence markers. The logic behind this work is the same that underlies much of the later cartography project. There are two ideas sustaining the proposal of new functional projections and their relative order. The first one is the application of a notion of transitivity to the relative orders of constituents of a sentence. If we can show with a pair of contrasting sentences that only one constituent can be over another (that is, $A > B$, but $*B > A$), and then make use of another pair of examples to show how one of these interacts with a third constituent (that is, $C > A$, but $*A > C$), then we can hypothesize that $C > A > B$. If no clear examples against such an ordering can be shown in the language, and better still, if it can be generalized cross-linguistically, then we have a robust case for the proposal of a universal functional hierarchy.

The second property guiding the establishment of a hierarchy of syntactic elements relies on the change of features on one of the constituents entering the ordering relationship. That is, if by changing a feature on phrase B, it can no longer be placed under A, thus rendering the inverse order $B > A$,

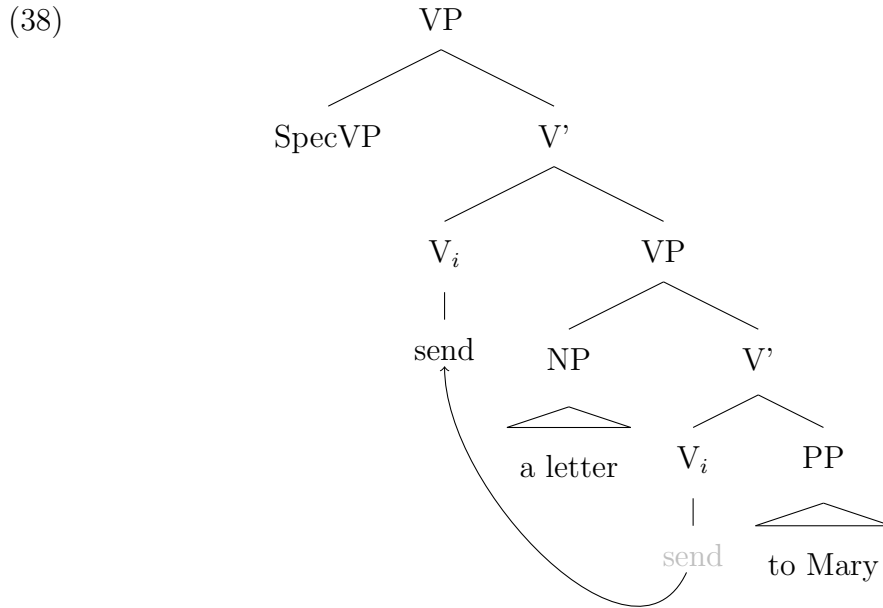
¹⁵Boeckx (2003) cites some older proposals as the beginning of the cartographic project, especially Chomsky (1986) where the X-bar schema was extended to give origin to IP and CP

*A>B, then we can relate the presence of that feature to the necessity of the phrase containing it to move to a determinate projection. Both of these ideas can be seen at work in (37): on the one hand it shows how the relative orders between negative elements and verbs is fixed in French and on the other, how the change in the specification of one feature on the verb, from [-fin] to [+fin] changes the ordering between elements.

- (37) a. **Ne pas être** hereux est une condition pour écrire des
Ne not be happy is a condition for writing DET
 romans.
 novels.
- b. *Il **ne pas était** hereux, alors il ne pas pouvait écrire
 He *ne* not was happy, therefore he *ne* not could write
 des romans.
 DET novels.

French

Larson (1988) follows a similar strategy in his proposal of a double shell VP. In his work, the necessity to accommodate two objects in ditransitive structures motivates the proposal of a more finely grained VP. The observation that in many cases the verb and its indirect object must form a closer constituent than the verb and its direct object, combined with asymmetries observed in double-object constructions in which it is demonstrated that the IO must be contained in the domain of the DO, prompts Larson to affirm that both objects generate in a pseudo-subject-and-object structure to which the ‘real’ subject is added in a later layer of verbal and theta-role assigning material.



Therefore, in this work the logic behind the proposal of new projections in sentence structure is the necessity to accommodate more syntactic constituents within previously existing phrases, in this case turning the former VP into a double-shelled VP, first with two VPs and in later versions of the theory, a VP and a vP.

These two syntactic studies are important by their own right, but in the particular case of the development of cartography in syntax, they almost provide us with the whole logical apparatus that would sustain the later cartographic project. The three heuristic pillars on which development in the fine description of syntactic structures lies are, then, the necessity to have more room for syntactic objects (Larson, 1988), the perception of ordering restrictions between projections and the discovery that alteration of the features in the lexical items entering into those projections induces changes in their ordering restrictions (Pollock, 1989).¹⁶

¹⁶There is a fourth justification for extending syntactic projections that is not found in the works of Larson and Pollock and which seems to complement some of the arguments behind cartographic studies. It is the addition of functional heads like the ones proposed

There is a fundamental mechanism guiding cartographic inquiries that depends on the minimalist framework assumed here and in the tradition following Rizzi (1997), and which therefore Larson and Pollock could not take into account: features and feature-checking, which is built into most syntactic derivations in order to account for movement and agreement relationships. In a way similar to the endowment of ϕ -features on NPs triggering Agreement or Wh-features on Wh-phrases triggering movement to the CP, other elements of the left periphery have features motivating their movement. Rizzi (1996)'s account of them is based on what he calls Criteria. Criteria induce movement in order to be satisfied, in a way that strongly resembles the one motivated by uninterpretable feature checking. For instance, the presence of a Wh-Criterion is invoked to justify the necessity of Wh-movement. In the same way a Wh-feature would need to be checked via movement of the head bearing the interpretable Wh-feature to its specifier position (in languages with mandatory Wh-movement), a Wh-Criterion must be satisfied via the freezing in a specifier position of a phrase with the characteristics that define the Criterion. Therefore we can acknowledge the presence of a form of uninterpretable features in A'-systems motivating the existence of many functional projections in the left periphery. I shall return to the logic of movement and feature-checking for left-periphery items in Chapter 5.

The most important work realized within the cartographic project and concerning the left periphery of the sentence is Rizzi (1997), in which the

by Marantz (2001) and related work, in which the existence of a functional projection like *a*, *n* or *v* allows for a large expansion of the phrases to which they attach. The motivation for these functional heads is that they either provide or change the grammatical category of a given lexical head. Insofar as they create an ordered hierarchy of additional functional projections, they establish maps of the sentence that fit well within a cartographic approach to syntax.

foundations of the whole functional structure of the left periphery were set. In that article, Rizzi describes the CP-field as divided into two distinct sections: the Force-Finiteness system and the Topic-Focus system. If the latter is activated, that is, if material is placed in Focus or Topic positions, then the Force-Finiteness field would split. The Force projection, or ForceP, is the uppermost projection of the left periphery and contains the information related to clause type (whether a sentence is a declarative, interrogative, exclamative and so on), as well as hosting a dedicated position for complementizers that contain information about clausal-type and the illocutionary force of the sentence. Therefore, it is more connected to discursive/pragmatic factors, as well as connecting the sentence to the matrix clause if there is one.

The lower part of the Force-Finiteness system, the Finiteness projection, or FinP, contains the functional information regarding the tense specification of the clause under FinP. Thus, a clause headed with a preposition *for* in the FinP would be specified as *non-finite* and have a verb in the infinitive whereas a clause preceded by *that* would be specified as *finite*.

We can see these properties in examples like the following, adapted from Rizzi (1997):

- (39) a. Les dijo [_{ForceP} que [_{TP} cocinaran pollo para
To them he said [_{ForceP} that [_{TP} they cook chicken for
comer.]]
lunch.]]
- b. Les dijo [_{FinP} de [_{TP} cocinar pollo para comer.]]
To them he said [_{FinP} of [_{TP} to cook chicken for lunch.]]
- (40) a. Les dijo [_{ForceP} que [_{TopP} **el pollo** [_{TP} lo
To them he said [_{ForceP} that [_{TopP} **the chicken** [_{TP} CL-*it*
cocinaran para comer.]]]
cook for lunch.]]]

- b. *Les dijo [_{FinP} de [_{TopP} **el pollo** [_{TP} cocinarlo
To them he said [_{FinP} of [_{TopP} **the chicken** [_{TP} cook-CL-it
para comer.]]]
for lunch.]]]

Spanish

The activation of the Topic Phrase in the sentence, as in (40), shows how no left-periphery material can appear after FinP, while it can after ForceP, proving Rizzi's description valid. Besides, we can see the effect that a different fin-feature specification in both complementizers has an effect on the verbal inflection of the lower clause.

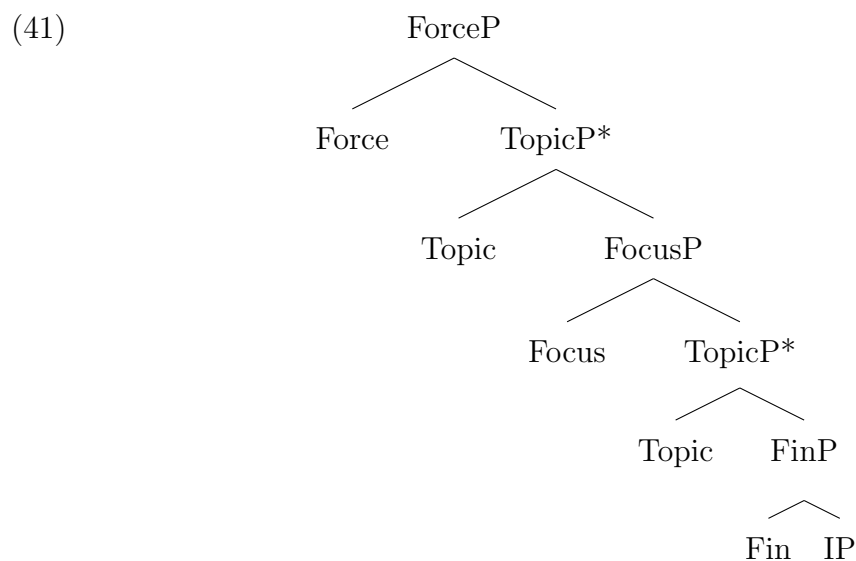
The intuitions behind the connection between the CP and the IP have been the matter of several studies, starting with Chomsky & Lasnik (1977), in which alternatives such as agreement relations between these two heads or inheritance dependencies, have been explored. An excellent reference which covers some previous approaches while providing a novel approach to this issue is Pesetsky & Torrego (2001). Alternatives have included Fortuny (2008), where parts of those phrases are defined as discontinuous elements, that is, a single syntactic object that surfaces at two different points in the structure. The mechanism by means of which the C and T heads share parts of their featural content is an important part of Chapter 3, in which the analysis of Topic extraction from subject domains is partially justified.

The Topic-Focus system, which this work is more concerned with, contains dedicated positions for elements that have been fronted¹⁷ to the left

¹⁷In these introductory sections I often use terms like 'displaced' or 'fronted' when speaking about elements that show up in the clausal left periphery. This does not necessarily mean that movement has applied in the way it is standardly understood in syntactic terms. The issues regarding whether Topics are generated in situ or are the result of movement operations will be thoroughly studied later.

periphery for whatever reasons (often taken to be related to emphasis issues), but which retain some kind of relation with lower positions of the sentence, either because they are arguments of a clausal predicate or because they originated as adjuncts. The distinction between Topics and Foci and how the cartographic enterprise has dealt with it are a matter of the next section in this chapter.

The picture of the left periphery drawn by Rizzi (1997) looks like this, where stars mark recursive projections, which can in principle be repeated as much as it is necessary, although that view will be challenged in this work (and, for different reasons cf. Beninca' & Poletto (2004), further commented on below):



Later revisions of Rizzi (1997)'s model like Rizzi (2001) or Rizzi (2004) have introduced more refined versions of the cartography of the left periphery.

Rizzi (2001) researches how *why* and *if* phrases interact with other left-periphery items, arriving at the conclusion that they do not match in behavior or featural content the syntactic projections already proposed at that

time, and concludes that a specific Interrogative Phrase must exist. Up to that point, all interrogative Wh-phrases were assumed to land in Spec of FocP because of their incompatibility with Foci, which led to the assumption that Wh-elements and Foci competed for the same structural position (see examples from Rizzi (1997)). Apparently, the reason behind the commonalities shared by Wh-elements and fronted Foci lies in their quantificational character and the operator-variable structures they establish.

- (42) a. *A GIANNI che cosa hai detto (, non a Piero)?
 TO GIANNI what have you said (, not to Piero)?
- b. *Che cosa A GIANNI hai detto (, non a Piero)?
 What TO GIANNI have you said (, not to Piero)?

Italian

Nevertheless, three observations led to the proposal of the dedicated IntP, independent from both the focal positions Wh-elements target and the ForceP positions related to clausal type (interrogative in these cases). In the first place, certain interrogative elements, like the Italian *se* ('if') or *perché* ('why') can appear under Topics as in (43)(unlike the objects in ForceP). In the second place, they can co-exist with elements of the ForceP in languages like Spanish (44). Finally, they appear above FocP (45), both showing the absence of a wh-feature and their relative position within the C system.

- (43) Non so, a Gianni, **se** avrebbero potuto dirgli la
 I don't know to Gianni **if** they-have could tell-CL-*him* the
 verità.
 truth.

Italian

- (44) Me preguntaron **que si** tus amigos ya te visitaron en
 To me they asked **that if** your friends already you visited in
 Granada.
 Granada.

Spanish

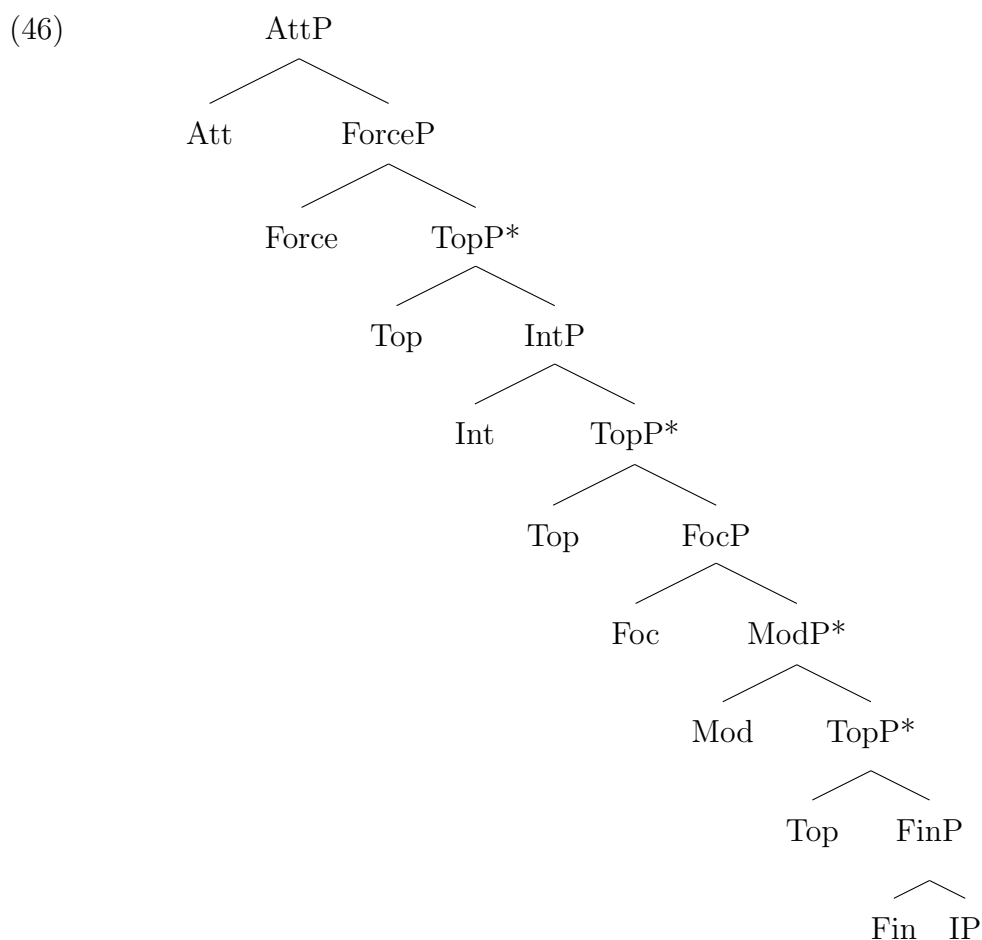
- (45) Mi domando **se QUESTO** gli volessero dire (non
 I wonder **if THIS** to-him they-wanted to-say (not
 qualcos'altro).
 something-else).

Italian

On similar grounds, in Rizzi (2004), the relative positions of displaced adverbs and other elements of the left periphery are explored, prompting Rizzi to conclude that there must be a specific Modifier Phrase (ModP) to provide the space for a certain category of adverbs that modify the whole sentence. What this effectively did was to find a way to accommodate Cinque (1999)'s hierarchy of adverbials into Rizzi's analysis of the CP. This position is explained in more depth above in section 1.3.3, 'Modifier Topics'.

Huang & Liu (2001), Speas (2004) and other authors have proposed further additions to the CP layer which include a phrase over ForceP in which certain morphological elements encoding the speaker's attitude towards the utterance would be included.

In sum, all of these additions to the left periphery leave a more complex CP layer than the one initially described in Rizzi (1997), which in an updated fashion would look like (46):



1.4.2 Topics and the Cartographic Project

A crucial part of the characterization of Topics within the cartographic project has been differentiating them from Foci, since, as explained above, both correspond to left periphery elements associated with notions of emphasis, and also both relate to positions in lower sections of the clause. Rizzi (1997) lists five differences between them which can be reduced to three because of the common cause claimed for some of them.

In the first place, there can be more than one Topic while there can only be one Focus, an observed fact that Rizzi explains by saying the TopicP is

recursive, whereas the FocP is not. Although a few examples of this behavior have already been shown when illustrating other kinds of phenomena, we shall see a few more for clarity of exposition:

- (47) a. *Onte o paquete a Xoan xa llo deches.*
 Yesterday the package to Xoan already CL-*him-it* you gave.
Galician
- b. *Ahir al Joan el paquet ja l'hi vas donar.*
 Yesterday to Joan the package already CL-*him-it* you gave.
Catalan

This observation would later be denied in (Beninca' & Poletto, 2004, 43) by saying that no projection can be recursive, each different position corresponding to a different interpretation. Their proposal goes further by claiming that no Topic projection can appear under a Focus projection. In those cases claimed by Rizzi to be examples of Topics appearing under Focus, Beninca' and Poletto claim that either these objects behave Focus-like, and would therefore belong to an extended Focus-field, or they are part of a fuzzy cluster of categories whose behavior is not reliable in classical tests for topichood or focushood, such as intonation and others. The reason why these so-called topics are treated as such is again their perceived semantic commonalities with other kinds of topics, but their syntactic properties are different.¹⁸

Secondly, Topics are compatible with Wh-elements, while Foci are not.

- (48) a. *A María, ¿qué le dijiste?*
 To María, what CL-*her* did you say?

¹⁸Nevertheless, Beninca' and Poletto's criticism of the Topic position under Foci is essentially based on the interpretation they receive. If we look at dislocated phrases under FocP, which they deny can be Topics, they actually display all of the characteristics of Clitic Left Dislocations, having a resumptive clitic in the lower clause, for instance.

- b. *A MARÍA ¿qué dijiste?
TO MARÍA what did you say?

Spanish

The observation is explained by saying that both kinds of constituents compete for the same position in the hierarchical structure, as shown above in (42). This observation would be later revisited with the introduction of an Interrogative Phrase into the structure to account for patterns involving the presence of Why-phrases and If-phrases (Rizzi (2001), Rizzi (2004)), as explained in the previous section. Nonetheless, the introduction of IntPs into the cartography of the periphery does not influence the data about the incompatibility between Wh-elements and Foci. Wh-elements are taken not to be located at IntP, and therefore they can still compete with Foci for a position in the sentential CP.

However, the difference between Topics and Foci which supposes the biggest change between the two types of left periphery elements and provides the majority of the tests to distinguish between them is their quantificational character or lack thereof. By examining phenomena such as the presence or absence of Weak Cross-Over Effects or resumptive pronouns in contexts of topicalization and focalization, we can design tests about their nature. A WCO effect arises when co-interpretation between a pronoun and a potential antecedent is impossible in contexts of movement, like for instance, a Wh-question:

- (49) *Who_i does his_i mother like t_i?

This effect has been narrowly related to quantifier rising and the availability of variables to be bound by the raised element, which explains the contrast between (50-a) and (50-b):

-
- (50) a. John_i, who his_i mother really likes t_i, ...
- b. *JOHN_i, his_i mother really likes t_i (and not his brother Michael),
...

In the first case, (50-a), the trace is not a variable but a null constant, since its value does not depend on the value of anything else, and no quantification takes place, which explains the absence of WCO, since it is claimed to arise only in quantificational contexts (Lasnik & Stowell, 1991). (50-b) is different because the trace left by the focus operator is in fact a variable. The failure to properly quantify over it, due to intervention effects from the co-referential anaphora *his* explains why the WCO appears in contexts of focalization and not in those of topicalization, or extending the notion more generally as Rizzi (1997) does, why it appears in quantification phenomena and not in other cases.

The other effects related to the quantificational character of focalization which do not show up in contexts of topicalization have to do with the existence of resumptive clitics and the possibility of bare quantificational elements to be Foci but not Topics, at least not in Clitic Left Dislocations. Because of the same quantificational character just discussed in contexts of WCO, Foci cannot have a resumptive pronoun like Topics do in Romance languages, precisely because their quantificational properties force them to have a variable and the clitic does not qualify to be that variable. An illustration of the impossibility for Foci to have resumptive co-referential pronouns can be seen in the following example:

- (51) LAS REVISTAS (*las) he comprado (no los
 THE MAGAZINES (*CL-*them*) I have bought (not the
 periódicos).
 newspapers).

In (52-a) we can observe the impossibility of topicalizing a bare quantificational element:

- (52) a. *A nadie lo he visto.
 To nobody CL-*him* I have seen.
 b. *A todo el mundo lo vio Juan.
 To everyone CL-*him* saw Juan.

It seems, however, that the impossibility to topicalize a quantificational element of this sort may be due to other factors, as the evidence shown by Valmala (2011) could demonstrate. Valmala shows how equivalent sentences are also ill-formed in the absence of topicalization (example (53-b)) and suggests that their ill-formedness is not due to any displacement to the left periphery, but to other reasons:

- (53) a. *A nadie, Pedro lo invitó a cenar.
 To nobody, Pedro clitic invited for dinner.

Topicalization

- b. *Pedro (lo) invitó a cenar a nadie.
 Pedro (CL) invited for dinner to nobody.

No displacement

Nevertheless, because of the existence of negative concord (see for instance Bosque (1980)) in Spanish, the actual corresponding examples would have sentential negation, in the scope of which the negative NP object should be contained. In these cases, the presence of the clitic is impossible, both with *in situ* objects and with displacements, both to the right and to the left:

- (54) a. *Pedro no lo invitó a cenar a nadie.
Pedro not CL invited for dinner to anyone.
- b. *A nadie, Pedro no lo invitó a cenar.
To nobody, Pedro not CL invited for dinner.
- c. *Pedro no lo invitó a cenar, a nadie.
Pedro not CL invited for dinner, to nobody.

But then again, it isn't negative concord what prevents these sentences for having a resumptive clitic, since similar structures with (i) no topicalization and (ii) no sentential negation, are equally bad:

- (55) a. *Pedro lo invitó a cenar a todo el mundo.
Pedro CL invited for dinner to everybody.
- b. *A todo el mundo, Pedro lo invitó a cenar.
To everybody, Pedro CL invited for dinner.
- c. *Pedro lo invitó a cenar, a todo el mundo.
Pedro CL invited for dinner, to everybody.

Therefore, Valmala's remarks on the viability of topicalization with quantificational NP elements are more complex than it seemed: although it is true that these sentences are ruled out with or without any topicalization taking place, the problem seems to be that no clitic can be added, which is a prerequisite for Clitic Left Dislocation. Perhaps they are in fact ruled out the way Rizzi had explained, because of a general ban against the co-reference between a bare quantificational element and a clitic. This doesn't seem to be true either, since other quantificational elements can in fact be topicalized with a co-referential clitic (cf. Cinque (1990)):

- (56) a. Los invité a todos a cenar.
CL I invited to everybody for dinner.
- b. A todos los invité a cenar.
To everybody CL I invited for dinner.

It remains unclear why (54) is totally ruled out whereas (56) is perfectly acceptable. The only difference between them seems to be the presence of sentential negation and negative polarity items, but the contrast between (54) and (55) showed that negation by itself isn't responsible for the ill-formedness of some of these structures. It can however be argued that a partitive reading of *everybody* is possible in (56): it refers to *everybody in a given set*. The fact that it needs to be a pre-considered set can provide the necessary degree of definiteness that rules that sentence in. In fact, when we look at cases in which the partitive character of the quantifier in a Topic position is made explicit, contrasts in grammaticality arise:

- (57) a. A todos los alumnos no los vamos a
To every student NEG CL-*them* we are going to
examinar.
examine.
- b. *A todo el mundo no lo examiné.
To everyone NEG CL-*him* I examined.

Spanish

As a final note on this issue, it has generally been observed that the topicalization of negative phrases is degraded when compared to that of non-negative constituents, even if those other pre-posed phrases are themselves quantificational:

- (58) a. With no money, John ran to the store.
b. *No money, John ran to the store with.

With these considerations about the availability of topicalization strategies for quantificational elements, which have been further explored in the cartographic project for the left periphery we have set up the complete description

of the respective positions of Topics and Foci and the syntactic behavior they exhibit.

Summing up this section, Topics within the cartographic project are elements of the left periphery of the sentence which are merged (either *in situ* or moved, as I will argue for CLLD) in order to satisfy a Topic Criterion, and which can appear in recursive positions both above and below Foci, being connected to lower parts of the sentence by means of a clitic in those languages that have them. As a matter of fact, I have used ‘Topic Criterion’ here in order to keep Rizzi’s terminology, but I deviate from his approach in a crucial way: since topicalization is never a mandatory operation, I do not believe that it is feature-driven or that it can be dealt with as if it were in terms of a Criterial analysis. Their lack of quantificational character allows distinguishing them from Foci in that they show no WCO effects and in the (partial) impossibility of topicalizing bare quantificational elements. They are different syntactic objects from *Hanging Topics* and *Modifier Topics*, reviewed in section 3.

1.5 Island constraints affecting CLLD

In the literature on island constraints going back to (Ross, 1967), a distinction is made between *weak* and *strong islands*, on the empirical grounds that certain elements can be extracted from so-called weak islands whereas strong islands prevent all kinds of movements from within. The kind of island constraints that operate on topicalization are the ones defined as ‘strong islands’. In fact, it is the unavailability of extraction from these islands what allows their characterization as strong islands. As a result, we find three kinds of restrictions that ban topicalization from within their domains: the

Subject Condition, the Complex NP condition and the Adjunct Condition Ross (1967), Huang (1982). They are all illustrated in (59), with very similar examples to the ones at the beginning of this chapter:

- (59) a. *De esos libros, hablar causa problemas.
About those books, talking causes problems.
Subject Condition
- b. *A Pedro, he encontrado a alguien que le hablaría.
To Pedro, I've found somebody who CL would talk.
Complex NP Condition
- c. *Pedro, he hablado con alguien antes de que llegara.
Pedro, I've talked with someone before he arrived.
Adjunct Condition

Explanations as to why these constraints exist and why they arise abound in the literature, and some of these proposals will be reviewed in the next chapter. In any event, they make a case for the derivation of CLLD Topics in terms of movement, since they are subject to islands conditions. The whole array of arguments in favor of a movement-based approach to CLLD will be presented in Chapter 2.

1.5.1 Interesting contrasts

Although the previous section showed how Topics are sensitive to at least three kinds of islands, namely the Subject Condition, the Complex NP Condition and the Adjunct Condition, the fact is that contexts exist in which such islands can be violated by Topics, and actually by some other syntactic objects as well. We shall see now examples of this:

- (60) a. *De política, hablar causa problemas.
About politics, talking causes problems.
- b. De política, hablar es fácil.
About politics, to speak is easy.
- (61) a. *A Pedro, conocemos al espía que lo traicionó.
To Pedro, we know the spy who him betrayed.
- b. A Pedro, el médico que lo vio, le dijo que volviera
To Pedro, the doctor who him saw, him told to come back
mañana.
tomorrow.

Example (60) shows how at least certain verbs like copulas and psychological verbs like *gustar* allow extraction from their subject position. In a similar fashion, example (61) show how a CLLD topic co-indexed with two clitics in argumental position renders a well-formed sentence, even when one of these clitics is in a banned position.

These islands being the ones that define strong islandhood, the possibility of extracting out of them is puzzling. Moreover, the fact that the possibilities of extraction from the same domain vary among cases makes them even more unexpected. The question is, then, what makes (60-a) and (61-a) different from their grammatical counterparts? Trying to answer that question will drive the content of Chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation.

1.6 Assumptions made about topicalization processes

Although the next Chapter will focus on one very important property of topicalization in the way it is conceived in this dissertation, namely CLLD via movement, I shall present now some of the assumptions about the way

Topics work that I shall take for granted in the remaining part of this work.

In the first place, I shall consider CLLD to be the result of syntactic movement from the argumental position in which the Topic originates to its final landing site in the sentential periphery. This will be justified in the following Chapter. Besides, I will take it to be an instance of adjunction, instead of movement to a specifier position of a dedicated functional head as the cartographic project has approached the issue. This is done on several grounds.

One is the non mandatory character of Topicalization, as opposed to Wh-movement. As seen before, a phrase that can be topicalized can also remain *in situ* in the lower parts of the sentence without that resulting in ungrammaticality. The only way contemporary linguistic theory can derive the difference between a phrase that moves and one which does not is to invoke syntactic features, present in the lexicon, which drive the computation and trigger movement. Those features should either be bundled with a particular word that would trigger Topic movement and pied-pipe the rest of its phrase along with it, or be bundled with the whole phrase.

As a whole, I will not consider that such specialized discursive features exist in the lexicon, which accommodates better with an approach such as this, which analyses topicalization as adjunction. This approach has consequences, naturally. The most salient one seems to be that topicalization has to be movement, but not a feature-driven movement. This does not fit well with a theory of syntax that puts a lot of weight on last-resort strategies, but I believe it provides a better explanation of the way topicalization works.

That does not mean I do not take into consideration many of the apertations by the cartographic project. The split CP hypothesis which divides the left periphery of the sentence into a higher ForceP and a lower FinP in

cases of topicalization and focalization has received enough empirical support to be considered a fundamental part of the way sentential peripheries are organized in this dissertation. However, I will not use a dedicated TopP in analyses in the remaining parts of this work. Taking into account that Topics are considered adjuncts and that the CP splits into a higher and a lower projection in instances of topicalization, I will therefore conclude that CLLDed Topics are adjoined to FinP.

Before concluding this section there is an important remark to be made: although these are the theoretical assumptions on which analyses in this dissertation are built, not much would change by treating Topics as the cartographic project does. The empirical observations would naturally remain the same, and the fact that Topics would be treated as moving phrases that escape certain island boundaries would not change either. The approach taken here would change only the final stage of said movement and would be reflected as such in the drawn syntactic trees that illustrate this work.

1.7 Organization of the thesis

The remainder of the thesis will be organized as follows. Chapter 2 will be devoted to offer a number of arguments in support of a movement-based approach to CLLD. Considering we are dealing with islands constraints that seem to prevent movement, I shall build the argumentation in subsequent Chapters on the basis that CLLD Topics move. Therefore, the next Chapter will try to show how that is indeed the case. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 constitute the central part of the dissertation. The main objective of this work is to offer analyses of cases in which CLLD Topics can violate strong island constraints. Each of those Chapters is roughly dedicated to the analysis of

each kind of strong island violation. Chapter 3 approaches Subject Island violations; Chapter 4 proposes an analysis for CLLD out of Complex NP and Adjunct Islands; Chapter 5 analyzes a particular case within Adjunct Island violations, namely that of Conditional Clauses and a few other kinds of adverbial embedded clauses. Chapter 6 closes the dissertation with a conclusion and suggestions for further research along the lines introduced in the other parts of this work.

Chapter 2

A Movement-based approach to Clitic Left Dislocation

2.1 Introduction

One of the central issues concerning topicalization phenomena has always been that of movement, that is, whether Topics are generated *in situ* in the upper part of the sentence in which they surface or on the contrary move from a base position in the lower part of the sentence to the CP-layer. The proposals regarding this question form a spectrum in which we can find both the extreme (i.e. they are always base-generated or always moved) and several intermediate postures as well, suggesting that they may move in certain topicalization processes while being base generated in others, or that the question is a matter of parametric variation among languages. This chapter will review the main proposals regarding the status of movement in topicalization phenomena, with a proposal at the end claiming that all instances of Clitic Left Dislocation are the result of movement, while other kinds of Topics may be generated *in situ* and not be Topics of the same kind

in the syntactic sense, but only in the looser semantic sense pointed at in the previous chapter (in that they conform to the notions of given information, a shared background or definiteness, for instance).

The core of the problem is that there are strong reasons to propose both alternatives and making a decision between them has as a consequence the difficulty of accounting for the other cases. Some cases of topicalization display traits that we associate with syntactic movement, whereas others fail to show any evidence of movement having taken place.

2.2 Proposals in favor of the base-generation of Topics

The main proposal setting the line to follow in subsequent work which deals with base generation¹ of Topics is Cinque (1990). In this work Cinque claims that all Clitic Left Dislocations are base-generated, essentially because of the relative insensitivity Topics show in front of many restricted extraction domains, i.e. *islands*.

Although Cinque goes into great detail in order to show the difference between topicalization (called *focalization* in his work) and other types of A' movements and operations, the central point of his argumentation for the treatment of Topics as base-generated syntactic object remains their insensitivity to island constraints.

Therefore, the reason why Topics can apparently cross over barriers in examples like (1) is that they do not cross any barriers at all, because they

¹When referring to base generation in this chapter, I mean *base generation in the sentential left periphery*, that is, in the position where the Topic appears in the spelled out form of the sentence.

are base generated in the left periphery of the sentence, whence the contrast between Wh-movement and topicalization:

- (1) a. *¿Qué no sé dónde t están?
 What not I-know where t are?
 b. Las llaves, no sé dónde t están.
 The keys, not I-know where t are.
- (2) a. *¿A quién te fuiste antes de saludar?
 Who did you leave before greeting?
 b. *A Juan, te fuiste antes de saludarlo.
 To Juan you left before greeting-CL-*him*.

Spanish

In turn, the examples in (2) illustrate the fact, already mentioned a few times in this work, that strong islands, represented here by an adjunct, are just as opaque for Wh-elements as for CLLD Topics.

There are other reasons in Cinque's work to propose base-generation of topics. In general the logic is to compare instances of topicalization with well-established instances of movement, namely Wh-movement, and conclude from the contrasts that the two phenomena are different. However, one wonders whether that proves that topics are generated *in situ* or just that topic movement does not pattern like Wh-movement. In the following section we will argue the latter is the case.

One of these differences with Wh-movement concerns the impossibility for Wh-elements to co-appear with clitics in languages that allow them.

- (3) ¿A quién (*lo) conociste?
To whom (*CL) you met?
Who did you meet?

Spanish

Another contrast shows how clitics in CLLD structures cannot license parasitic gaps in the way movement to some specifier in the CP system can²:

- (4) a. *El reloj del que me hablaste, que *lo*
The clock about which to me you-talked, which CL-*it*
han arreglado sin mover *e*, ha quedado muy bien.
they have fixed without moving *e*, has come out very well.
- b. El reloj del que me hablaste, el cual han
The clock about which to me you talked, the which they have
arreglado *t* sin mover *e*, ha quedado muy bien.
fixed *t* without moving *e*, has come out very well.

Spanish

In the second case, the trace left behind as the result of the movement of the relative complementizer *el cual* to the left periphery of the subordinate clause can license the parasitic gap that comes afterwards, thus providing an analysis for the different behavior of these sentences.³

The ability of topicalization to avoid locality violations is one of the main objections against the possible movement of Topics. We cannot derive a Wh-question that crosses more than one CP barrier, because of the subjacency violation that would suppose.⁴ However, Wh-islands being of the weak

²It should be noted that these judgments are not as clear as Cinque presents them.

³This assumes a different analysis for the complementizers *que* and *el cual*, where the first would not be generated via movement, akin to the analysis of relative clauses in Kayne (1994).

⁴For the sake of this argument, I assume here a framework in which locality is derived by means of the notion of subjacency (Chomsky, 1973) that attempted, together

kind, topicalization remains unaffected by a Wh-element in the way, as (6) illustrates.

(5) *How_{*i*} have they forgotten [which problem they should solve t_{*i*}]

(6) Aquel problema habían olvidado cómo resolverlo.
That problem they had forgotten how to solve-CL-*it*.

Spanish

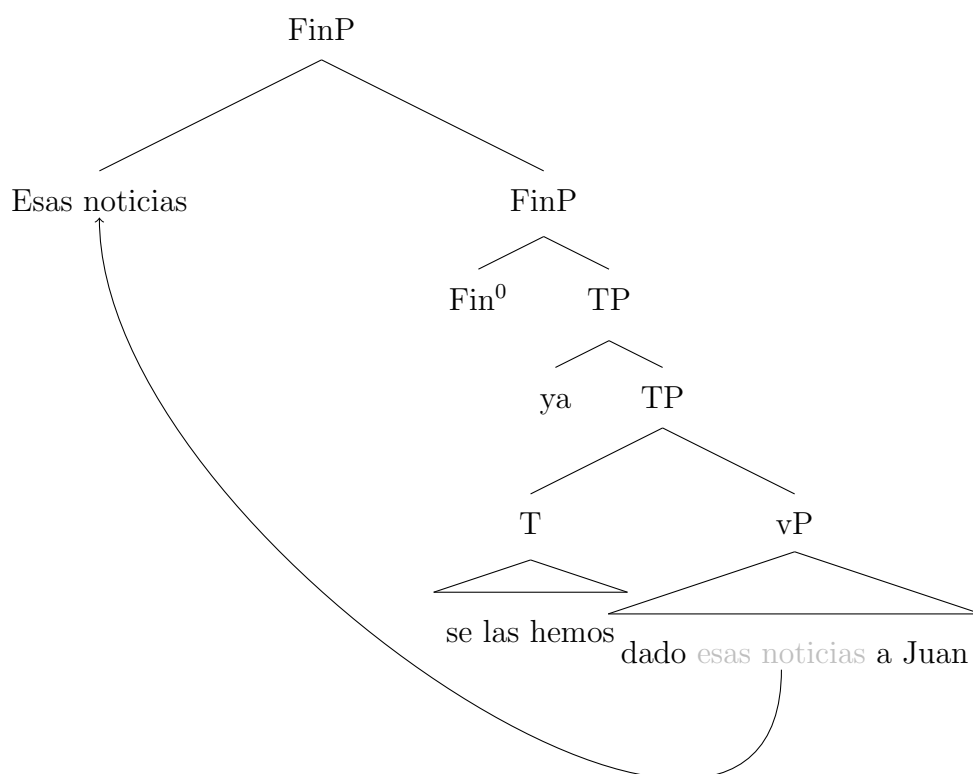
However, the possibility of several Topics co-occurring necessarily entails that once one of them has moved, the others will have to cross CP boundaries, in principle triggering locality effects. Since those effects are not observed, Cinque's conclusion is that an essential difference with Wh-movement must exist. The reason why multiple topicalization involves necessary crossing of more than one CP stems from the fact that the first Topic to move to the left periphery of the sentence must adjoin to a CP head. Subsequent Topic movement will have to go over the first Topic, therefore building the same kind of configurations that ruled out Wh-movement across a Wh-phrase. If we assume, as I shall be doing, that topicalization involves adjunction to FinP, then the CP layer would be activated by any instance of topicalization. In a few steps, it would go as follows:

- (7) Ya le hemos dado esas noticias a Juan.
Already CL-*him* we have given those news to Juan.

with the Empty Category Principle, to derive all island constraints from more primitive principles of syntax. Under different frameworks, the motivation behind island constraints would change, but the empirical data remain the same: Topics can escape out of syntactic domains which are impenetrable for Wh-movement.

- (8) Esas noticias ya se las hemos dado a Juan.
 Those news already CL-him CL-them we have given to Juan.
 Juan.

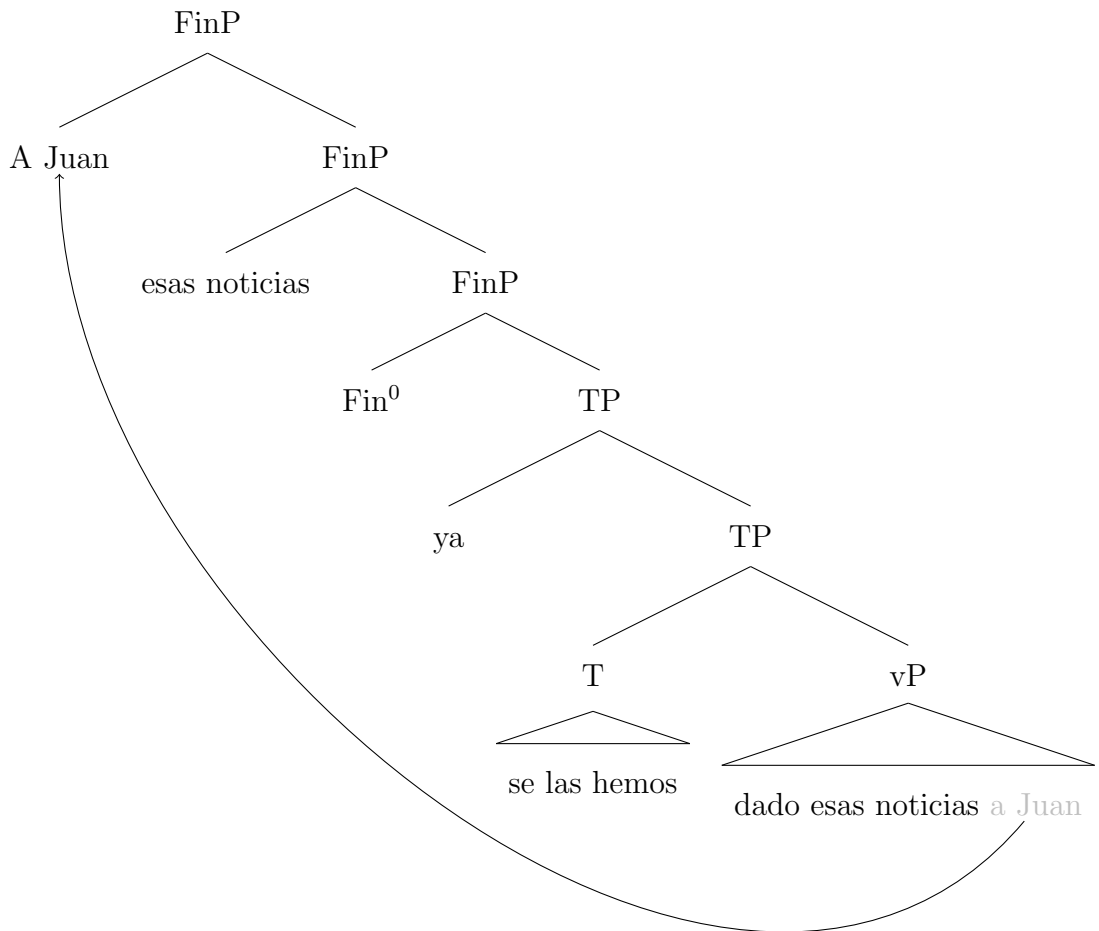
One Topic



- A Juan, esas noticias, ya se las hemos dado.

To Juan, those news, already CL-*him* CL-*them* we have given.

Two Topics



While all of Cinque’s arguments are solid and well established, it is not so clear that they demonstrate that Topics don’t move, as opposed to Wh-phrases which do. They are a strong case against the treatment of topicalization like Wh-movement, but not against its treatment as movement at all.

Hernanz & Bruccart (1987), partially following arguments from Cinque (1981) consider the possibility of treating topicalization both in terms of movement and in terms of base generation in the sentential periphery, providing a battery of arguments which essentially coincides with that later followed by Cinque and sketched above: topicalization is unlike Wh-movement in that it allows co-indexation with a resumptive clitic and in not being subject to the same kinds of islands constraints.⁵ Besides, since they do not distinguish between CLLD and Hanging Topics, some of the proofs they provide (such as the possibility of being introduced by expressions like *concerning* or *talking about*) actually refer to Hanging Topics which are indeed base-generated in the CP layer of the sentence, or so I claim. I am referring to examples as the following:

- (9) a. Respecto a Juan, hoy no lo ha visto nadie.
Concerning Juan, today NEG CL-*him* has seen nobody.
- b. Hablando de las joyas, la policía las
Speaking about the jewels, the police CL-*them* recovered
recuperó ayer.
yesterday.

Spanish

They do however provide an intriguing example under the form of a Complex NP violation:

- (10) A María, tengo la seguridad de que nadie la ha visto.
To María, I have the certainty of that nobody CL-*her* has seen.

Because of the explicit introduction by a preposition, we can be sure we are

⁵An argument is made that if Topics were the product of movement, they should behave like Wh-elements (Hernanz & Bruccart, 1987, 85), Cinque (1990) would later show the differences between the two operations.

not witnessing a Hanging Topic. Although Complex NP Violations will be dealt with in Chapter 4, something should be said here about this example. It looks like what we are seeing here may be due to a light-verb interpretation of the verb-noun conjunct *tener la seguridad* ('to be certain') that allows us to paraphrase this sentence as *A María, estoy seguro de que nadie la ha visto* ('María, I am certain nobody has seen her'). If we use this noun with its basic meaning, the expected island violations arise:

- (11) *De esa caja fuerte, la seguridad ha sido comprometida.
 Of that safe, the security has been compromised.

We can extend this light-verb interpretation to other verb-noun combinations to see how this behavior holds:

- (12) a. A María tengo la impresión/sensación de que nadie
 To María, I have the impression/feeling of that nobody
 la ha visto.
 CL-her has seen.
- b. *A María, han dado la noticia de que nadie la
 To María, they have given the news of that nobody CL-her
 ha visto.
 has seen.

In a related fashion Fernández Soriano (1995) argues that topicalization cannot be movement in instances in which it interacts with the presence of a relative complementizer, offering contrasts such as the following:

- (13) a. El hombre que no sabes cuándo lo viste.
 The man that you do not know when CL-him you saw.
- b. *El hombre al cual no sabes cuándo lo
 The man to whom you do now know when CL-him
 viste.
 you saw.

These examples show how a relative clause introduced by *el cual* is ill-formed when the antecedent of the relative clause has a resumptive pronoun inside the clause. This fact alone, however, does not seem to be very informative about the nature or constraints on topicalization, since the antecedent of the relative clause is not a Topic itself. We can turn it into a CLLD Topic and see what happens in that case, though.

The issue of topicalization from relative clauses is touched upon in Chapter 4, but in any case it is true that it accommodates an analysis in terms of base generation more readily than other instances of topicalization out of strong islands. With this I mean that cases in which a relative clause appears to have been breached by a moving CLLD Topic can receive an explanation from a representational perspective that takes the whole sentence structure into account.

The reason why examples like (13-b) are ungrammatical (and in turn, why (13-a) is grammatical), however, need not be the violation of the island Fernández-Soriano proposes, but rather, that the Topic comes from somewhere else. In fact, those sentences cannot be complete without the addition of extra material⁶ that seems to show how the Topic is co-indexed not only with a position in the domain of the relative clause, but also with a position in the main clause, which I will argue is essential for the grammaticality of these examples. In other words, by turning the antecedent of the relative clause into a true Topic, as I suggested doing before, we can make sure that the (un)grammaticality of the examples is due, or not, to topicalization vi-

⁶There is an exception, which is when those phrases are the answers to questions: *¿A quién han detenido?/Who did they arrest?.*

Al hombre que no sabes cuándo lo viste/The man that you don't know when you saw

**Al hombre al cual no sabes cuándo lo viste/The man to whom you don't know when you saw.*

olating a strong island. In order to achieve this goal, we shall complete the sentence with a main clause which includes a pronoun co-referential with the Topic, for instance as follows:

- (14) El hombre_i que no sabes cuándo lo viste *pro*_i
 The man that you do not know when CL-*him* you saw *pro*
 ha venido a verte esta mañana.
 has come this morning.

Nevertheless, the corresponding sentence with a relative clause introduced by *al cual/to whom* is equally ill-formed, therefore indicating that the acceptability of these sentences is not tied to topicalization in any sense, but to the relation between the complementizer which introduces the relative clause and the clitic within said clause.

- (15) *El hombre_i al cual no sabes cuándo lo viste
 The man to whom you do not know when CL-*him* you saw
*pro*_i ha venido a verte esta mañana.
pro has come this morning.

And in fact, if we turn the DP containing the relative clause into a complement with no co-referential element in the main clause, the sentence becomes considerably worse, independently of the fact that the relative clause is still introduced by *que*, like all previous well-formed examples:

- (16) *Han detenido al hombre que no sabes cuándo
 They have arrested the man that you do not know when
 lo viste.
 CL-*him* you saw.

It is the connection with a pronoun in the main clause what makes these sentences possible, a matter we shall return to in Chapter 4. The use of a different complementizer to introduce the relative clause definitely influences

the grammaticality of the outcome, but this observation has little to do with topicalization, and as a result, we cannot consider it an argument either in favor or against a movement-based approach to CLLD.

R.A.E (2009) also advocates for a base-generation approach to topicalization, although it also mentions the movement analysis as an alternative, without offering many arguments in either sense.

As a matter of fact, what I shall propose here is that Topics also move. The differences in syntactic behavior observed in comparison with Wh-movement do not necessarily have to do with different kinds of movement, but with different relations with the elements that constitute barriers for movement⁷. Therefore, in cases like the ones we have examined, the impossibility for Wh-elements to cross a CP barrier while a Topic can, would be better accounted for by considering that the same syntactic element can be a barrier for certain constituents but not for others. For example, in an example like (1), *dónde* would be a barrier for movement of a Wh-element across it, but not for the displaced Topic, since it would have a different feature configuration making the barriers transparent to it. This is a well-established notion in syntactic theory, that of Relativized Minimality (Rizzi, 1990), which we have mentioned briefly before in section 1.3.4 and we shall return to later. Besides, it seems natural to establish a relation between the ability to avoid locality effects and the one to jump over island constraints.

⁷Or, as I will argue in the next chapter, with a different timing of the syntactic operations

2.3 Arguments in favor of Topic movement

This section attempts the opposite path to the one above, by giving compelling evidence in favor of a movement-based account for topicalization phenomena.

2.3.1 Existence of island constraints

As we have seen so far, Topics can violate island constraints in ways that other syntactic objects like Wh-elements cannot, which has been one of the strongest arguments to claim they are base-generated in the left periphery of the sentence. However, if Topics do not suffer from island-violation effects because they never cross any islands and are generated in clause-peripheral positions, the prediction is that they should never be affected by island effects. This prediction is not borne out, though. Certain types of topicalizations are ill-formed by what seem to be island violations, as the following data from Spanish show.

- (17) a. *A Pedro, conocemos al espía que lo traicionó.
 To Pedro, we know the spy who CL-*him* betrayed.
Complex-NP island violation
- b. *El café, beberlo por la mañana ayuda a trabajar.
 The coffee, drinking-CL-*it* in the morning helps to work.
Subject island violation
- c. *A Juan te fuiste antes de saludarlo.
 To Juan you left before greeting-CL-*him*.
Adjunct island violation

This behavior is unexpected and very puzzling because it shows how an intervention effect between the topic and a TP-internal position like the ones we encounter in instances of extraction out of islands. There appear to exist at least two ways of approaching the problem.

In the first place we could still keep the idea that Topics do not move, but they establish long-distance relationships with positions internal to the clause, intervention effects arising from the impossibility to create such relations. Such long-distance relationships crucially include the one formed between the Topic and the clitic in the TP-internal position. Something of importance must be noticed in this case: the kind of intervention effects that we have seen are active in the presence of strong islands would impose conditions on representations and not necessarily on derivations. This does not mean that intervention effects are necessarily representational, since it could well be the case that the observed intervention effect is in fact the result of a derivational constraint preventing a moving element from reaching a destination. Nonetheless, an analysis in which Topics are base-generated in the CP layer of the sentence could only appeal to representational constraints in order to rule out ill-formed cases.

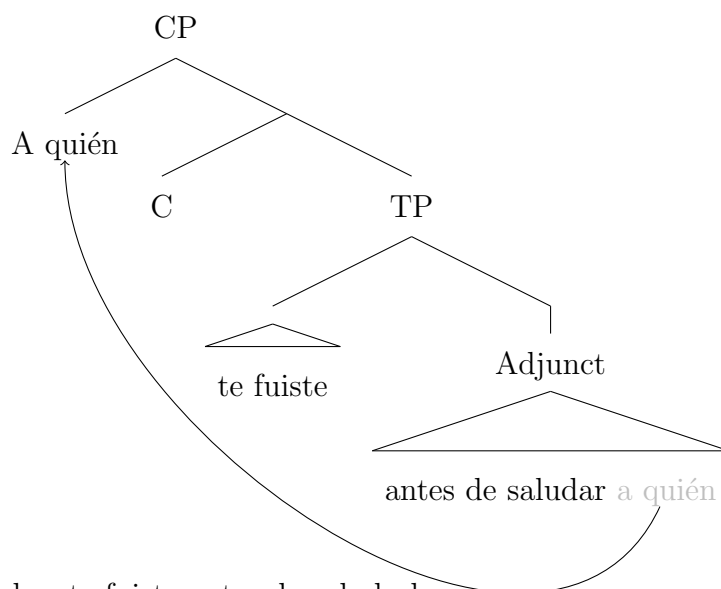
In any case, even if we adopted an account of topicalization without movement, we would still lack an explanation of why the relation between the Topic and its clause-internal resumptive element can sometimes be established (in the absence of islands or when only an island of the weak kind is present) while in other cases it cannot (as in the strong island cases we have seen above). An implication would be that two different kinds of constraints should be active in syntax: ones on derivations for certain operations and others on representations in different cases. All of this would happen, of course, under an approach to CLLD in which Topics would be base-generated

in the sentential periphery.

- (18) *¿A quién_i te fuiste antes de saludar t_i?
 To whom did you leave before greeting t?

Spanish

- The adjunct is assembled.
[antes de saludar [_{wh} a quién]]
- The sentence is built up to the upper TP
[_{TP}te fuiste [antes de saludar [_{wh} a quién]]]
- Wh-movement out of the adjunct is blocked. This is a derivational constraint.

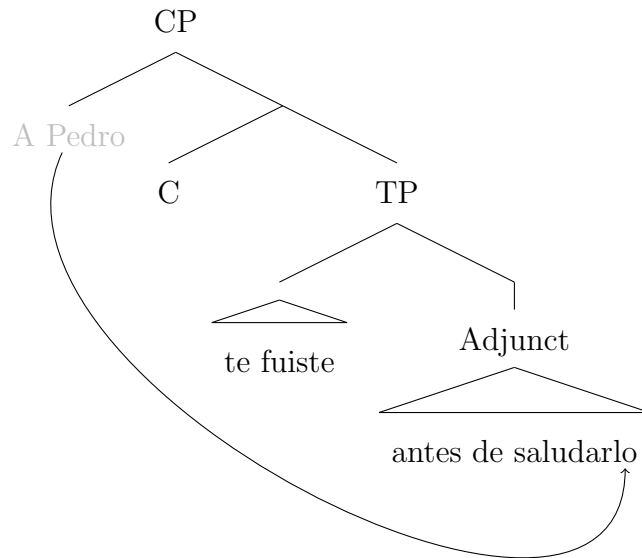


- (19) *A Pedro, te fuiste antes de saludarlo.
To Pedro you left before greeting-CL-him

Spanish

- We build the sentence up to the Topic, without encountering any problem in the derivation.
[A Pedro C [_{TP}te fuiste [antes de saludarlo]]]

- When the Topic attempts to establish a connection with the resumptive clitic *lo* inside the adjunct, it fails due to the Adjunct Condition. This is a representational constraint.



This solution, in which the same syntactic operation (adjunction) blocks two different processes (Wh-movement and topicalization) by means of constraints of two different natures (derivational and representational) is inelegant. By approaching CLLD topicalization in terms of movement, restrictions on both Wh-movement and topicalization can be captured by constraints of the same type.

In the second place, we could adopt a model of intervention that affects only derivations, thus rendering island intervention effects on topicalizations more naturally derived, since we would not need to invoke mechanisms to prevent ill-formation during derivations and then different devices to capture ill-formation in representations. Nonetheless, that puts us in a position in which we have to account for the cases in which no island effects arise. A twofold division can be established here. The reason is that no matter how we establish that Topics are insensitive to locality constraints that do

affect Wh-movement, we shall still have cases in which the same (strong) island constraint sometimes allows and sometimes disallows the same operation (topicalization). Such cases cannot be dealt with purely on the basis of the Relativized Minimality-based analysis suggested below and will be dealt with in their own fashion in the relevant parts of this dissertation. Nevertheless, for the cases of weak islands and for the interaction of different elements of the left periphery, the approach suggested below should be appropriate.

The objective is, then, to reach an analysis that allows for Topic movement on the one hand and at the same time permits the differentiation of Wh-movement and topicalization argued for in Cinque (1990) and applied here to the diverse behaviors displayed by Topics and Wh-elements in domains locally constrained. Therefore, a natural way to approach the issue from this perspective would be to assume some form of Relativized Minimality (Rizzi, 1990), which can quite naturally explain why there are cases in which intervention effects arise and cases in which they don't. The logic for an approach in terms of RM stems naturally from the fact that the spirit behind RM is precisely that syntactic nodes are not inherent barriers for movement but they acquire such behavior depending on the other syntactic objects they enter into a relationship with.

Relativized Minimality is dependent on the notion of Minimal Configuration (20), which in turn depends on the notion of sameness of structural type (21) and on the concept of intervention (22).

- (20) Y is in a Minimal Configuration (MC) with X iff there is no Z such that
- (i) Z is of the same structural type as X, and
 - (ii) Z intervenes between X and Y.

-
- (21) “Same structural type” = (i) Head or Spec, and in the latter case,
(ii) A or A’
- (22) Z intervenes between X and Y iff Z c-commands Y and Z does not
c-command X.

Therefore, it is expected from this definition that the same constituents are not always subject to island/intervention effects, or inherently bounding nodes/interventors. The advantage we obtain from adopting a RM account of locality effects is the loss of the inherent character of barrierhood certain nodes used to have.

The notion of sameness of structural type would later be redefined to make it more consistent with current assumptions on the role of syntactic features in derivations, and refined to adjust to the empirical facts that for instance, certain adverbs do not trigger RM effects on other adverbs, in spite of being of the same structural type in principle (both adverbs would be specifiers of the A’ kind). Rizzi (2004) proposed a division in four kinds of elements, RM arising only among elements belonging to the same group:

- (23) a. Argumental: person, number, gender, case
b. Quantificational: Wh, Neg, measure, focus...
c. Modifier: evaluative, epistemic, Neg, frequentative, celerative,
measure, manner...
d. Topic

Therefore, the different kinds of interactions which do not give rise to minimality effects are illustrated for Italian for interactions between adverbs and wh-islands, adverbs of a different type and contrastive Foci:

- (24) a. Rapidamente, non lo abbiamo risolto.
 Quickly, NEG CL-*it* we had solved.
- b. Rapidamente, probabilmente non lo possiamo risolvere.
 Quickly, probably NEG CL-*it* we cannot solve.
- c. Rapidamente, mi chiedo qui lo possa risolvere.
 Quickly, I wonder who CL-*it* can solve.
- d. Rapidamente, SOLO UN GENIO lo potrebbe risolvere.
 Quickly ONLY A GENIUS CL-*it* could solve.

Italian

In a similar fashion, Topics seem to be insensitive to interactions with the other elements in that list. The examples proposed by Rizzi in his paper are as follows, also adapted for Spanish:

- (25) a. Rapidamente, penso che, questo problema, non lo
 Quickly, I believe that, this problem, NEG
 posiate risolvere.
 CL-*it* you can solve.
- b. In questo modo, credo che, il problema, lo
 In this way, I think that, the problem, CL-*it*
 risolverete senz'altro.
 you will solve for sure.
- c. In questo modo, credo che, senza troppe difficoltà,
 In this way, I think that, without many difficulties,
 potreste risolvere il problema.
 you could solve the problem.
- d. L'anno prossimo, penso che, le elezioni, le vincerà
 Next year I think that, the election, CL-*them* will win
 un altro candidato.
 another candidate.

Italian

- (26) Rápidamente, creo que, este problema, no lo podéis resolver.
 Quickly, I believe that, this problem, NEG CL-*it* you can solve.
- (26) De esta forma, creo que, el problema lo resolveréis
 In this way, I think that, the problem, CL-*it* you will solve
 sin duda.
 for sure.
- (26) De esta forma, creo que, sin muchas dificultades,
 In this way, I think that, without many difficulties,
 podríais resolver el problema.
 you could solve the problem.
- (26) El año que viene, creo que, las elecciones, las ganará
 Next year I think that, the election, CL-*them* will win
 otro candidato.
 another candidate.

Spanish

Taking into consideration the particular feature configuration and the relations established in each case of extraction, the possibilities for RM effects to arise may vary, therefore providing an intuitive way of approaching the otherwise unexpected cases in which the same operation, namely topicalization, shows different behaviors.

Thus, in an example like (17-a) the CP position crossed by the Topic in its displacement to the left periphery would share some property with both the Topic and the position occupied by its trace that would block the possibility of maintaining the long-distance relationship between both elements. On the contrary, in an example like (1)-b that same property must be absent (or belong to a superset of features containing it, cf. Starke (2009)), therefore rendering the intervening element ‘invisible’ for the long-distance relationship between topic and trace. Finally, several Topics do not give rise

to intervention effects with each other (which we have seen as the recursive property of topicalization), thus explaining the lack of locality effects that Cinque had observed when contrasting topicalization and Wh-movement.

2.3.2 Case assignment

Contemporary theories on case (cf. Pesetsky & Torrego (2011)) typically assume that every instance of Case-assignment is local and established at the levels of vP and TP⁸. However, CLLD Topics, unlike Hanging Topics, receive Case ((27)) and can consist in PPs (which maybe are just two sides of the same phenomenon). Case looks like a promising argument to think CLLDs are generated below the TP and later move to the left periphery once they have received Case. Languages both within and without the Romance family show overt morphological Case in constituents dislocated to the left of the sentence.

- (27) a. Den Mann, ich habe ihn gesehen.
The man-(ACC) I have him-(ACC) seen.
- b. Dem Mann, ihm habe ich einen Brief
The man-(DAT), CL-him-(DAT) have I a letter-(ACC)
geschrieben.
written.

German

⁸It is not clear exactly what should count as *local* in the context of Case-assignment or Case-checking. Although most instances of Case seem to take place in Spec-Head configurations, Pesetsky and Torrego mention a few instances of Case assignment under c-command, like Nominative under T in Spanish or Exceptional Case Marking. They finally settle by assuming that the relevant local domain is the phase (Pesetsky & Torrego, 2011). For more references and overviews of Case see references therein.

- c. Ano otoko-no hito-ni-wa (watashi-ga) tegami-o
 That man-GEN person-DAT-TOP (I-NOM) letter-ACC
 kaita.
 wrote.
 To that man, I wrote a letter.

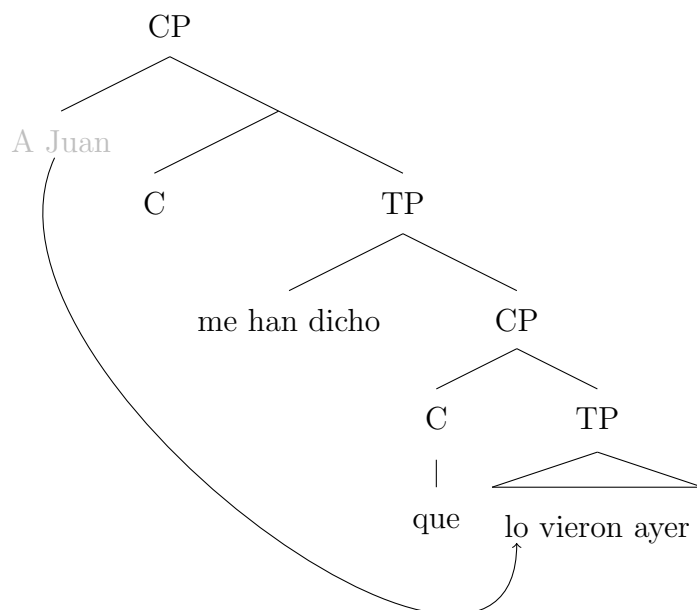
Japanese

- d. Pe b̄arbatul acesta, l-am v̄azut.
 ACC man-the this, CL-ACC have seen.
 This man, I have seen.
- e. B̄arbatului, i-am scris o scrisoare.
 Man-the-DAT, CL-DAT have written a letter.
 To that man, I have written a letter.

Romanian

Within the minimalist framework there are of course ways of assigning case at a distance by means of a Probe/Goal relation, in the same way as Agreement can be analysed. An analysis of this sort would proceed roughly as follows: the Topic would sit in the left periphery, where it would have been base-generated with (at least) an uninterpretable Case feature on it. This would make it behave as a Probe in search of a Goal with a matching set of features in its domain. For the sake of the argument, let us assume that such a Goal would be the co-indexed resumptive clitic, which makes for a good candidate, since we could derive the co-reference from mechanisms associated to the matching of features. Therefore, [uCase] on the Topic phrase would be checked against [Case] on the clitic:

(28)

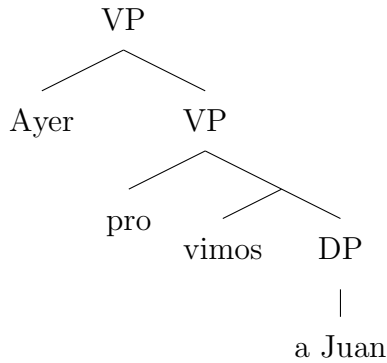


However, the solution of moving the Topic after having received its Case locally seems to have two theoretical advantages. On the one hand it allows for all instances of Case to be assigned locally, without having to stipulate that for certain constituents Case is assigned locally and for others, which have exactly the same form and properties but for the fact of being dislocated to the CP, it can be assigned at a distance. Therefore, in the following examples, the DP⁹ *a Juan* receives Case in two fully independent ways, despite being the same phrase from an interpretative (internal argument of the verb) and morpho-syntactic perspective (an accusative-marked DP). The second mechanism of assigning Case at a distance must be present in any account of topicalization that takes base generation for granted.

⁹I shall consider the preposition *a* an Accusative Case marker rather than a true preposition, but this is not an issue here

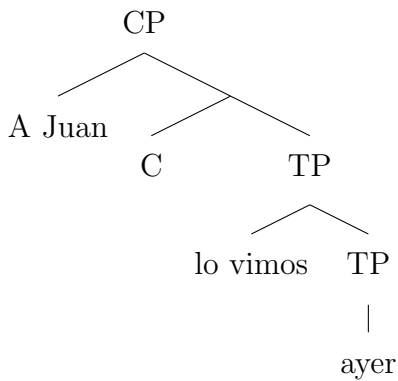
- (29) Ayer vimos a Juan
 Yesterday we saw ACC Juan.

- Local Case assignment



- A Juan lo vimos ayer.
 ACC Juan CL-*him* we saw yesterday.

- Long-distance Case assignment



On the other hand, the local assignment of Case in CLLD contexts permits a very natural way of deriving the difference between CLLD and Hanging Topics regarding the impossibility for the latter of receiving Case. If Case could be assigned by means of a long-distance relationship as in an account of CLLD that assumes base-generation in the left periphery, then we would have to explain why Hanging Topics are unable to receive Case by the same

Probe/Goal relationship.¹⁰

There is a possible counterargument to using the presence of Case as proof for syntactic movement: we know of at least one instance of Case assignment in which no movement is involved, only co-reference. This is the case of Concordial Case (see for instance Blake (1994)).

Concordial Case is typically found in certain languages in instances of Exceptional Case Marking, when one constituent receives Case from the verb in its matrix clause and another co-referential phrase in the embedded clause happens to agree with it. We can see it, for instance, in German:

- (31) Ich konsidere sie eine intelligente Frau.
I consider her-ACC an-ACC intelligent-ACC woman.

The fact that Concordial Case exists suggests its presence within Universal Grammar as a possible device human language can make use of. Nevertheless, it would be very strange if this were the case for the cases in Romance languages we have been looking at. Even if Romance languages could have overt morphological Concordial Case, since it is an option made available in UG, these instances of topicalization would be the only place in the whole grammar where it would take place. Moreover, the prototypical case in which we find this phenomenon, namely ECM, does not display any form of Concordial Case in Romance:

¹⁰As a matter of fact, Hanging Topics do have Case, but it is a default Case which by hypothesis is not assigned or checked by the same mechanisms as the rest of Case assignment. If Hanging Topics did not have Case they would not be able to be interpreted at the interfaces, since they are DPs and it is standardly assumed that Case must be present for DPs to be readable. Otherwise, the derivation would crash.

- (32) a. *Considero a María a una chica inteligente.
I consider ACC María ACC a girl intelligent.

Spanish

- b. *O consider pe Maria pe o fatā inteligentā.
CL-her I consider ACC Maria ACC a girl intelligent.

Romanian

2.3.3 Reconstruction effects

Reconstruction effects like the ones shown in (33) are at odds with a base-generation approach, in which semantic reconstruction for lower levels of the sentence would have to be explained in some other fashion (examples from Valmala 2011).

- (33) a. A su_i editor creo que cada autor_i le envió un
To his_i editor I believe that each author_i CL sent a
manuscrito.
manuscript.
- b. A sí misma_i, yo creo que no se_i aprecia mucho.
Herself_i, I believe that not CL_i appreciate much.
- c. *[Las mentiras de María_i]_j pro_i las dijo t_j convencida.
[Maria's_i lies]_j pro_i CL said t_j convinced.

Spanish

The first of these three examples should incur into a problem of Principle A violation: the anaphora *su*, which is co-indexed with its antecedent *cada autor* is however not within its c-command domain. The fact that the displaced Topic can be reconstructed in a position under its antecedent points to its original position before movement and against considering it base-generated in the CP.

The second example should be a violation of Principle B of Binding for similar reasons to the ones just mentioned: the pronoun *se* would appear to be bound in its domain by the co-indexed phrase *a sí misma* against Principle B. Nevertheless, by assuming that *a sí misma* was generated below and only later moved to the left periphery, the violation would not occur, at least in a theory that assumes some kind of ‘timing’ in its operations, some taking place before others.

Finally, the third case shows how *pro* cannot be co-indexed with *María*. With a different interpretation, that is, ‘somebody else told Maria’s lies’, the sentence is perfectly grammatical. This ill-formedness has been attributed to a violation of Principle C of Binding. However, if the referential expression *María* is in the uppermost level of the sentence it shouldn’t be bound and shouldn’t trigger any Binding violation effect. The observation that it actually does suggests that it was originally generated under the co-indexed pro_i and therefore cannot be interpreted in the relevant way.

It is important to note two assumptions made here. The first one is fairly standard in syntactic theory and consists in assuming a copy theory of syntactic movement (Chomsky (1995) and most subsequent minimalist work), in which the displaced element is represented in both the final landing site and in its original position (as well as any intermediate landing positions it may have target during movement). That explains why Binding relationships can be established with elements both before and after movement, and therefore, why a lower reading of the moved element is possible. The second assumption is not so standard, however. Note that in an example like *c.* above, the relevant phrase containing the referential expression *de María* is commonly analyzed as an adjunct. Now, for the Binding properties of this sentence to work as we can empirically observe they do, that adjunct must

have been generated together with the rest of its phrase and then moved to the left periphery. However such an approach goes against the analyses that assume that adjuncts are merged late in the derivation (Lebeaux (1988) and much subsequent work). Moreover, this is not the only instance in which the analysis of topicalization needs to assume that adjunction takes place (or at least *can* take place) earlier in the derivation. There are some other cases in which we should probably assume that the adjunct can be merged at different points in the derivation. We shall come back to this later in Chapter 5, but see for instance some examples in which topicalization is allowed from within a conditional clause while keeping its binding properties:

- (34) A su_i madre, si la despide el jefe, Pedro_i se enfadará.
His mother, if CL-her fires the boss, Pedro will get angry.

Spanish

The fact that the anaphor *su* is bound by the antecedent in the lower clause seems to show that the original position of the adjunct was below the antecedent, from where it moved. Following a theory of late adjunct insertion would render examples such as this more difficult to explain.

2.3.4 Contrasts between CLLD and Hanging Topics

Some of the differences between CLLD and Hanging Topics have already been explained in Chapter 1, all of which are suggestive of different analyses, one in terms of movement for CLLDed Topics and one in terms of *in situ* generation for Hanging Topics.

We have seen how CLLD Topics receive Case that agrees with that of the resumptive clitic. However, we mentioned how Hanging Topics receive only a default Case, that need not agree with that of the resumptive clitic,

should one be present. Schütze (2001) defines default Case as a process that happens when no uninterpretable Case features need to be checked. In his definition:

- (35) The default case forms of a language are those that are used to spell out nominal expressions (e.g. DPs) that are not associated with any case feature assigned or otherwise determined by syntactic mechanisms.

Therefore, we expect to get default Case like the one present on Hanging Topics whenever those DPs have been licensed via a different mechanism from the one used in normal Case assignment, which we are assuming takes place locally. If Case is assigned to Hanging Topics by different means, it can mean it is not assigned locally and thus, they could be generated in the sentential periphery, unlike CLLD. If that is the case, we would expect for Hanging Topics to display Case mismatches with their resumptive clitic, which in fact does happen:

- (36) a. María, nos dijeron que la habían visto
María, we were told that *CL-her-ACC* they had seen
ayer.
yesterday.
- b. María, nos dijeron que le darían una
María, we were told that *CL-her-DAT* they would give a
beca.
scholarship.

- c. María, nos dijeron que *pro* se casa
 María, we were told that *pro* is getting married
 el mes que viene.
 next month.

Spanish

Naturally, we could conceive of a long-distance mechanism that would allow for Case checking at a distance for CLLD, as mentioned above. Nevertheless, such a mechanism would not only incur in the problems we explained, but also introduce an undesired consequence for the analysis of Hanging Topics: should they be treated like CLLDed Topics, it would be unclear why they would not have access to a long-distance mechanism of Case assignment and its prohibition would have to be a stipulation.

If instead of assuming extra mechanisms for Case assignment we adopt a model in which all Case is assigned locally, then CLLDed Topics necessarily have to move after receiving it, whereas Hanging Topics, which provide different reasons to be analysed as base-generated in the left periphery, would resort to default case in order to be visible at the interfaces. The different behavior that CLLD and Hanging Topics show points in the direction of analyzing the former as movement, while the latter would be a true case of base generation.

Regarding the kind of islands constraints CLLD is subject to, Hanging Topics seem to be able to avoid all of them, which constitutes perhaps the strongest case against their treatment in terms of movement on the one hand and with an analysis similar to that of CLLD on the other.

- (37) a. (Hablando de) Juan, te marchaste antes de verlo.
 Speaking of Juan, you left before seeing-CL-*him*.

- b. (Hablando de) Juan, conocemos al espía que lo
 Speaking of Juan, we know the spy who CL-*him*
 traicionó.
 betrayed.

Spanish

With respect to the kind of reconstruction effects we observe in CLLD, if the difference between both types of topicalization stems from their different derivations from the point in which they are first merged into the structure, the expectation would be that Hanging Topics should not display the sort of reconstruction effects present in CLLD. This expectation is also borne out:

- (38) a. En cuanto a su_i editor, creo que cada autor_{*i} le
 Concerning his editor, I believe that each author CL-*him*
 envió un manuscrito.
 sent a manuscript.
- b. Hablando de las mentiras de María_i, *pro*_i las dijo
 Speaking of María's lies, *pro* them said
 convencida.
 convinced.

Spanish

In the light of the reconstruction effects examined in the previous section we can see how the (im)possibility of establishing co-reference dependencies between pronouns, referential expressions and their antecedents work in exactly the opposite way when comparing Hanging Topics and CLLDed Topics.

2.3.5 Some experimental work with aphasic patients

Salmons (2012) proposes experimental work with Catalan-speaking patients diagnosed with aphasia in order to test whether the CLLD Topic is base-generated or if it has been displaced to the sentential periphery by means

of movement. The obvious difference with all other arguments presented in this chapter is that the results of checking these hypotheses experimentally are not meant to be theory-internal but closer to actual mental processes. In that, they may not pattern with the rest of the chapter.

The core of the experiment consisted in a comprehension task. In it, subjects had to decide on the thematic role of phrases in a sentence by comparing such sentence with a picture and then deciding if the sentence is correct according to the image. The reasoning behind the experiment is that aphasic patients tend to associate the Agent role to whichever phrase comes first in the sentence, regardless of its syntactic role. Therefore, topicalized objects can be assigned the Agent role in this sort of experiment, since they also appear in the first place regardless of their θ -role. Sentences presented in the experiment looked like the following:

- (39) a. La nena pentina l'àvia.
The girl combs the grandmother.
- b. L'àvia, la pentina la nena.
The grandmother CL-*her* combs the girl.

Catalan

The b. example contains a topicalized object, which therefore could cause a conflict for aphasic patients trying to assign Agent role because of its sentence-initial position while recognizing another potential Agent in the subject.

Since aphasic patients have problems when dealing with syntactic movement (following Grodzinsky (1990)'s Trace Deletion Hypothesis), should these Topics have been base-generated, the expectation would be that patients assigning thematic roles to them should perform at worst at chance, that is, if they were just conflicted between assigning an Agent role to the sentential

subject or to the Topic, they could respond randomly, thus obtaining results averaging 50 percent of right answers. The fact that their performance is below chance suggests that the phenomenon they were dealing with is in fact more complicated than θ -role assignment, and that further complexity could well stem from syntactic movement.

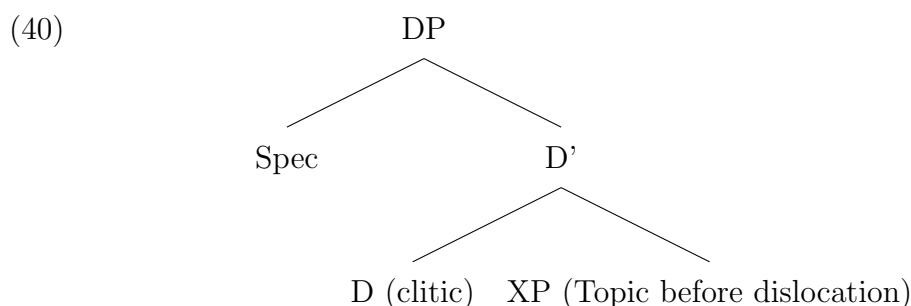
2.4 The approach taken in this work

In this thesis I shall partially follow the proposal in Boeckx (2003) to deal with CLLD Topic displacement. This approach considers that CLLD Topics generate under the form of a Big DP (Uriagereka, 1993, 2000) in its argumental position. The head of such DP is the clitic, and its complement is the Topic-to-be. In this analysis, there is a strong motivation to propose that the object which ends up being a Topic with a resumptive clitic is complex: in Boeckx's approach, syntactic chains can only have one *strong position*, that is, a position where Case is assigned or an EPP-feature is present. Therefore, all instances of topicalization involving resumption should incur into violations of this principle, because they would involve a Case-checking position (where Case would be assigned to the clitic and the Topic) and an EPP position (where the Topic would eventually land). The solution (Boeckx, 2003, 76) is to propose that 'complex elements' such as a Big DP can satisfy a part of their requirements by leaving a part of them (the resumptive pronoun) stranded. In this way, two different chains can be created: one containing the resumptive clitic and the original position of the Big DP and a second one containing the Topic and the Case-checking position where the clitic remained.¹¹ The exact specifications of this movement operation and why it

¹¹This does not mean that chains can have only a head and an original position: for this approach to work, intermediate steps must not be considered EPP-checking positions,

is partially rejected in this dissertation are something I shall go back to in Chapter 3.

The idea, which (Boeckx, 2003, 28) traces back to Postal (1966) and Raposo (1973) is that pronouns (in this case, of the clitic sort) and definite determiners are the same: they are spelled out as determiners if their complement is not null and as pronouns otherwise. One reason to propose that D and its complement start out as one constituent is that binding relations between pronouns and their antecedents are justified by the Spec-Head configuration in which they started the derivation.



This approach allows us to keep the advantages of both Cinque’s base-generation in the left periphery and a movement-driven approach. On the one hand it keeps the insights found in Cinque: clitics receive case and behave like the true argument in these structures; Wh-movement is kept apart from topicalization. On the other, it allows to keep all advantages of a movement-based account: a ready account of how clitics receive Case, since they are generated in the canonical position to receive it; and a very natural way to explain locality constraints on topicalization.

The analysis of CLLD topicalization would start from the DP in its argument-position, where it is base-generated, and then proceed through the necessary stages to acquire Case by moving to a Case-checking position. which Boeckx proposes following Takahashi (1994).

Later on, the complement will be dislocated to the left periphery, leaving the resumptive clitic stranded. As we shall see in the next chapter, this movement has two properties. In the first place it must happen at an early stage in the derivation, before locality constraints that would prevent topicalization can apply.¹² In the second place it cannot happen in one step only from the argumental position to the final CP-position. This is so in order to avoid tucking-in movements: if topicalization occurred before intermediate layers of sentence structure were built, then subsequent movement would have to introduce constituents into those intermediate layers. Take for instance subject movement to the specifier of TP: if the CLLDed Topic had already been adjoined to FinP before subject movement, therefore activating the CP layer of the sentence, the subject would necessarily need to be tucked in under FinP, which is generally taken to be a bad approach to syntactic movement. As a result I propose that Topics first move to an intermediate landing position, possibly in a left periphery of the VP or the vP. There is still a second reason to assume this first adjunction by Topics to a peripheral position of the verbal layer of the sentence that has to do with the C-to-T feature-inheritance mechanism (for which see for instance Richards (2007) and Chomsky (2008)) by means of which Wh-elements necessarily have to wait until C has been merged in the structure in order to move, whereas Topics can move beforehand and thus escape certain opaque domains. A more detailed discussion of how this works follows in the next chapter.

The idea behind Boeckx's analysis is that by checking uninterpretable ϕ -features, phrases become frozen in one position unless further driven by an EPP feature. Therefore, the clitic stays in one position, frozen after checking

¹²There is apparently an exception to this early movement that we shall see in Chapter 5 when discussing the properties of Clitic Left Dislocation out of conditional clauses.

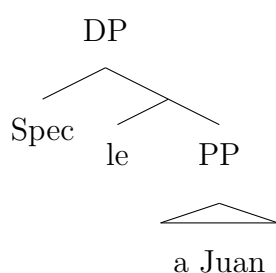
its ϕ -features but the dislocated element rises to meet the EPP of the C head. Although previous instantiations of the theory only assumed an EPP feature on T, which explained why the specifier of T must apparently be always filled by some constituent, more recent versions of the model assume that an EPP-like feature (under the form of an Edge Feature) can exist on different syntactic heads. As a consequence, movement purely motivated by this Edge Feature (and not by, say, the need to eliminate some uninterpretable feature from the derivation) is assumed to different heads, like C in this case. For a more comprehensive recent review of movement to C due to the presence of an Edge Feature, see Obata (2010), Obata & Epstein (2011) and references therein.

Furthermore, the original Boeckx (2003) model has a first movement in which the complement moves to the specifier of its own head. The reasons why this displacement occurs are not entirely clear, but they may have to do with the necessity to match ϕ -features between the clitic in the head position and the Topic, so that they agree in Case, number, etc. The problem with this movement is that it contravenes the principles of Anti-locality (cf. Grohmann (2003)) preventing a complement from moving to the specifier of the maximal projection containing it. However, this need not be a crucial problem: if the movement to the specifier takes place just to establish the agreement relation between the head and the specifier, we can just establish a head-complement relation that provides the same result by means of a Probe-Goal relation.

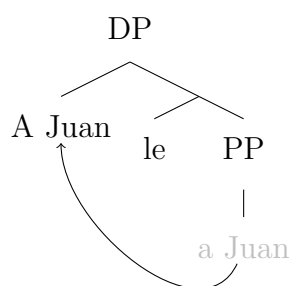
Let us illustrate the whole process of CLLD Topicalization with one sentence so that every step becomes clear:

- (41) A Juan, me han dicho que le regalaron
 To Juan, CL-*me* they have said that CL-*him* gave as a present
 un coche.
 a car.
 Juan, they told me they gave him a car as a present.

- The Big DP is assembled

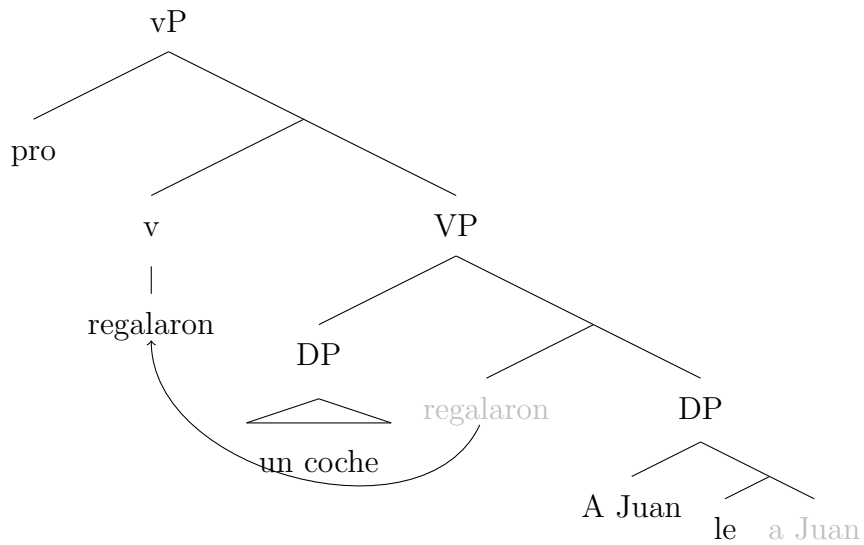


- The complement moves to the specifier. Alternatively, it was originally merged there¹³.

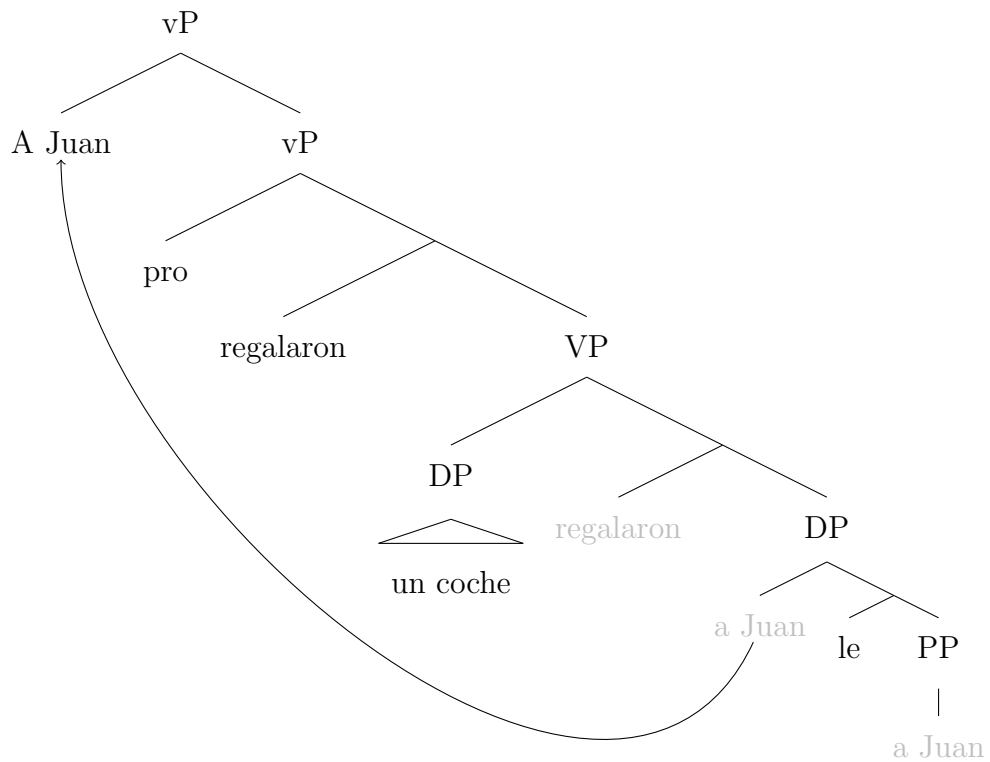


- The vP is assembled

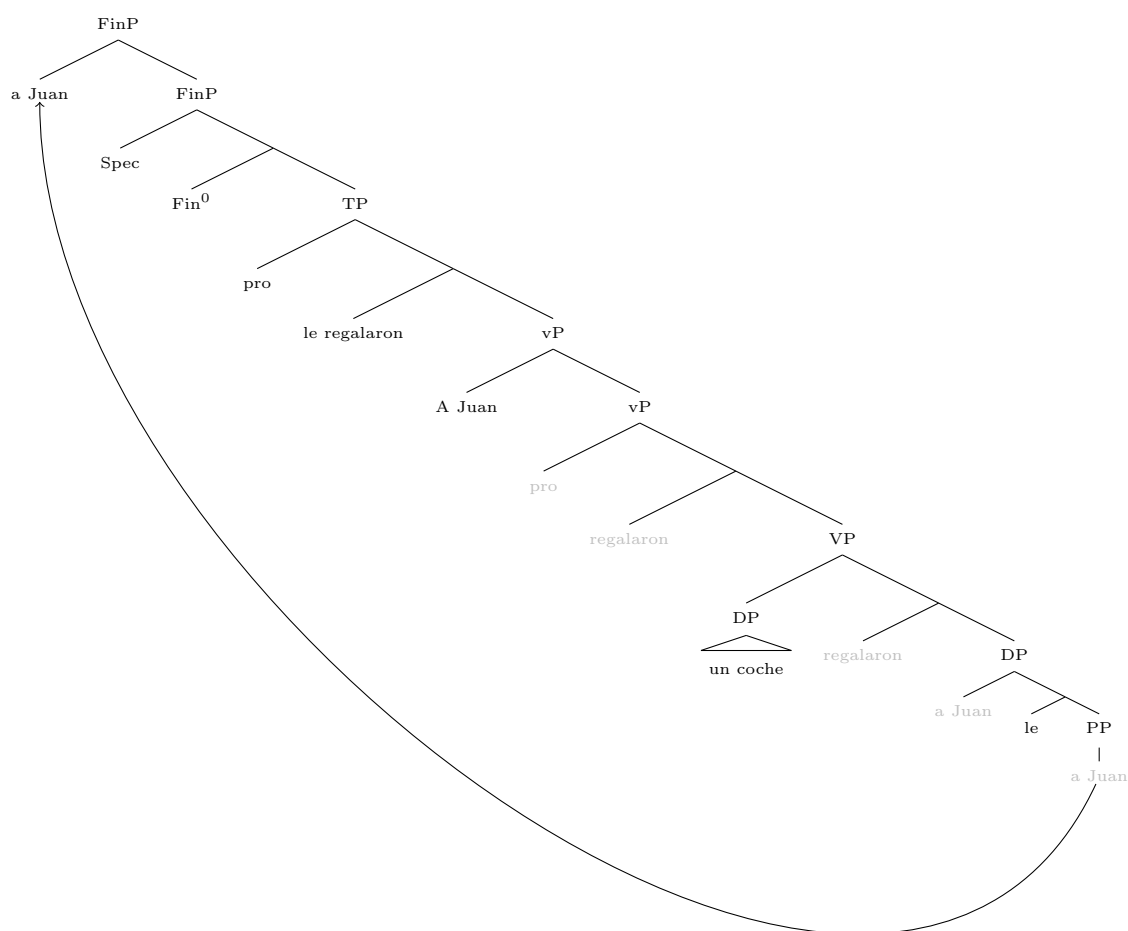
¹³This is the non-crucial step for the analyses presented in this work we referred to before. I include it here because it is the approach adopted in Boeckx (2003), but it has problems of its own. Most prominently, it violates anti-locality (Grohmann, 2000, 2003), as mentioned above.



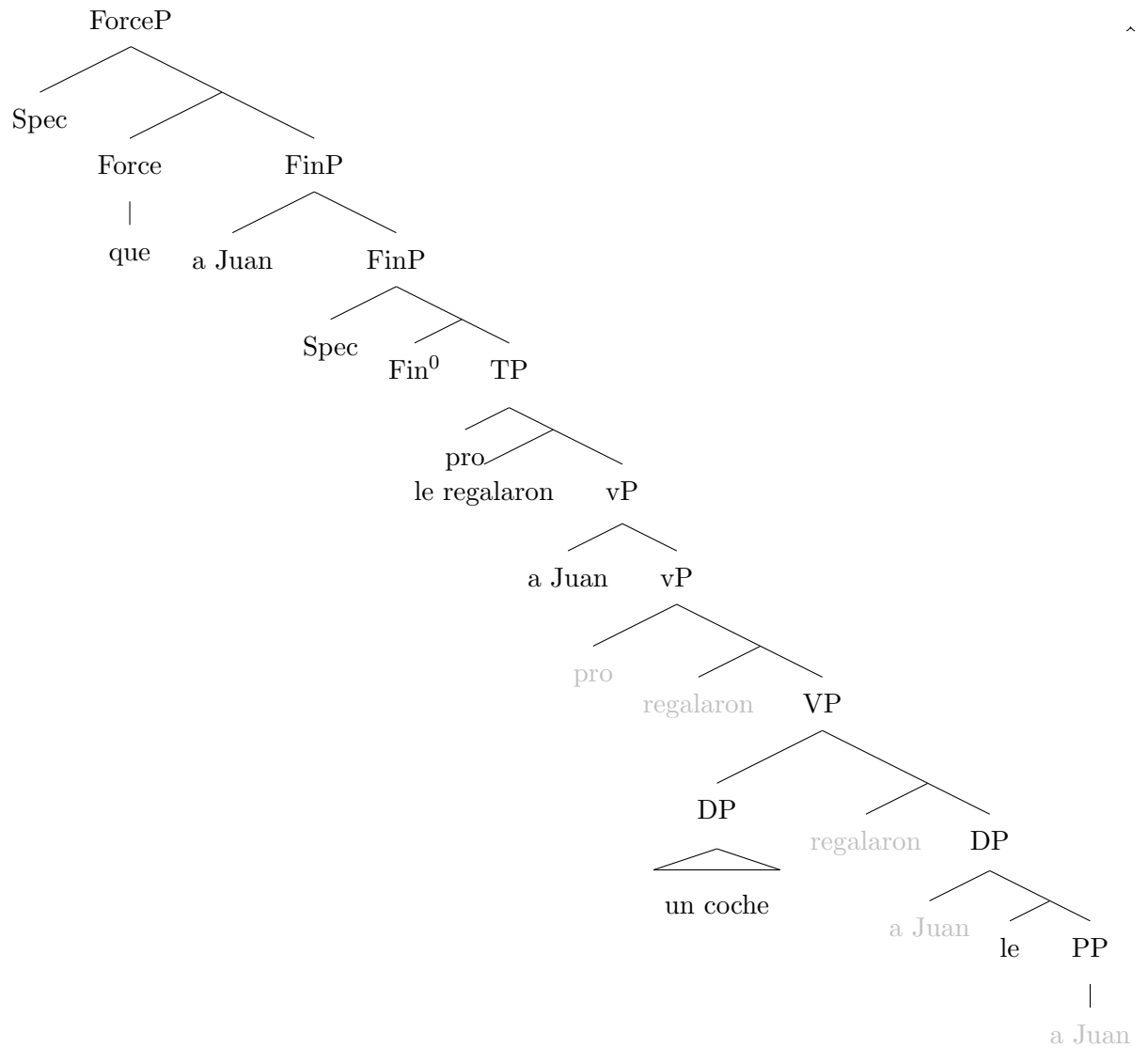
- The Big DP checks its (in this example, Dative) Case. Since this is a Case-checking position, the clitic *le* has checked its uninterpretable features and becomes frozen in that position. The Topic then adjoins the maximal projection of the vP.



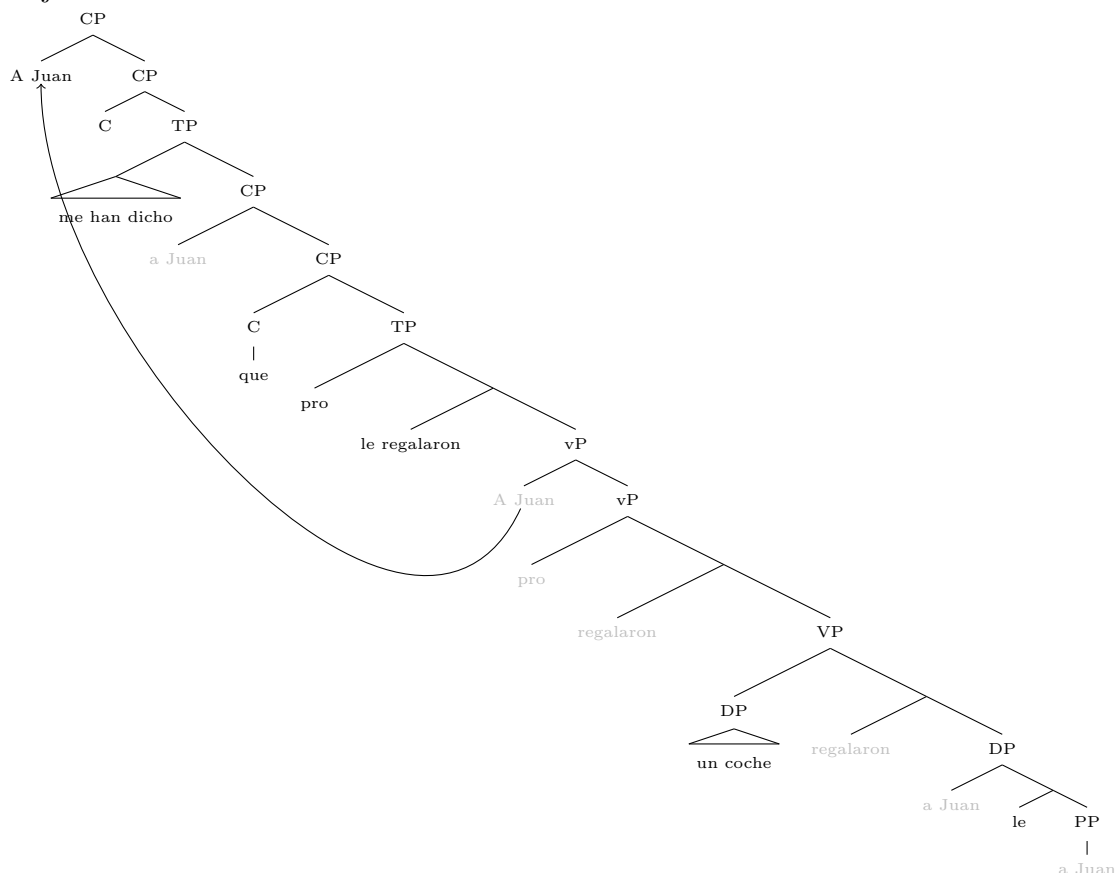
- The tree is built up to the first CP. Due to the presence of the Topic, we shall see a split CP in which the upper projection ForceP is occupied by the complementizer *que* which introduces the embedded clause and the lower FinP is phonologically null, while hosting the Topic as an adjoined phrase. The Topic could remain there, since that is a possible position for topicalization.



- The upper part of the CP is built with the introduction of the complementizer.



- When the rest of the sentence is built, another Edge Feature on the upper CP further attracts the Topic, getting it to its final landing position. Note here that for the sake of a simpler representation, I have used a monolithic version of both CPs instead of the extended one, even for the tree above. For the same reason, the specifiers of both CPs do not appear in this representation, but the Topic remains an instance of adjunction.

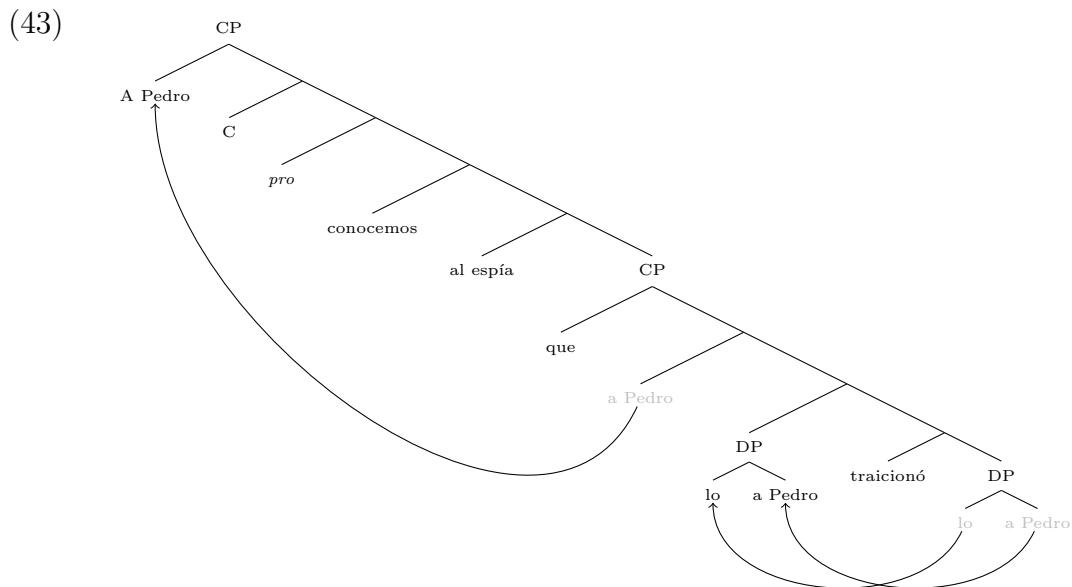


Boeckx's approach should also derive banned cases like for instance the ones we have seen above in (17-a). In order to do so, he proposed a condition on the ill-formedness of chains. A chain cannot be interpreted at LF after being spelled out by syntax if it contains more than one strong position. Strong positions in a syntactic tree are those endowed with either case assignment or an EPP-feature. Only one copy per chain should be pronounced and that is precisely the one in the strong position. Thus, a chain containing two or more of those would be ambiguous and would be filtered out at the interfaces.

Following this logic we can correctly predict the ill-formedness of CLLD extraction from certain island domains. We shall see how it works for the banned displacement from a complex-NP island, namely the example in (17-a), repeated here:

- (42) *A Pedro, conocemos al espía que lo traicionó.
 Pedro, we know the spy who CL-him betrayed.

Complex-NP island violation



The analysis following Boeckx’s proposal would be as follows: in the first place the big DP containing both the resumptive clitic and the Topic is merged in its internal argument position with the verb in the embedded clause, *traicionó*. The whole DP would then rise to receive/check its accusative Case with the verb. At this point, the clitic has checked all of its ϕ -features and becomes frozen there. However, there is an EPP-like feature in the CP-layer of the embedded clause prompting the topic to continue moving, rising to meet the criterion. This would explain why an equivalent sentence in which there is topicalization within the relative clause is perfectly

well-formed:

- (44) Conocemos al espía que, a Pedro, lo traicionó.
We know the spy who, to Pedro, CL-*him* betrayed.

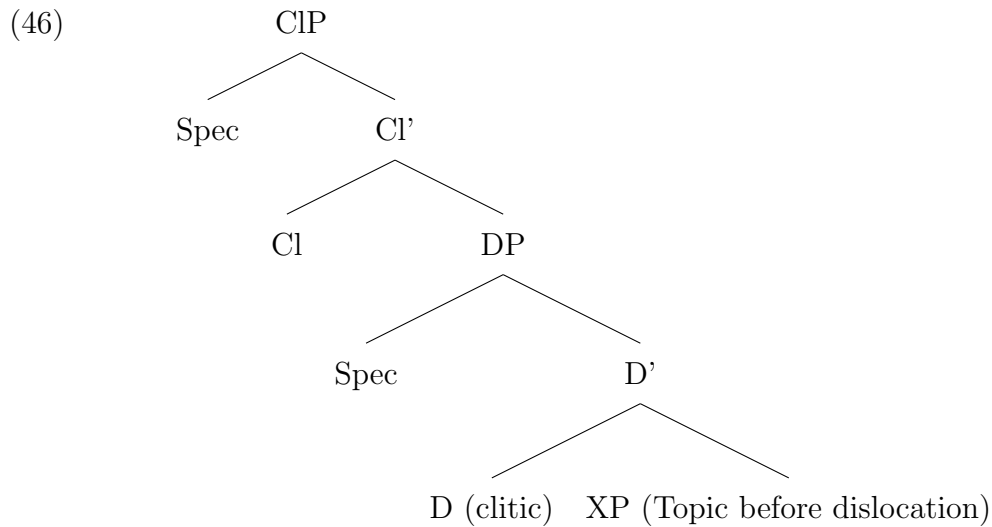
Since this position is an EPP-position, it should be pronounced after spell-out. However, in the ill-formed example, the Topic moves forward to a final landing position in the matrix clause. The problem is that now it has gone through two different strong positions: the Topic position in the relative clause and the Topic position in the matrix clause. This chain is therefore ambiguous and ruled out as a result.

There are two problems, however, that may arise by using Boeckx's account in its original instantiation. In the first place, we shall see that Boeckx's approach does not account for cases in which the same opaque syntactic domain can be breached sometimes not others, like Subject Islands. In the second place, the analysis hinges on the fact that extraction of the Topic from the specifier of a DP must take place at some point. Nevertheless there seems to exist a general ban against extraction from DPs, as examples like the following show:

- (45) *Whose_{*i*} did you read *t_i* books?

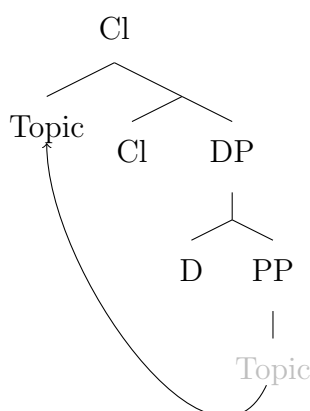
This issue can be approached in a technical fashion, though. One possibility is to assume that a different kind of phrase is at stake, that is, that Big DPs are not really DPs but a different kind of syntactic constituent. While this would allow avoiding the extraction problem, it does not offer any new insight. Besides, it takes away the nice observation that D heads are (for the most part) morphologically identical to pronouns in Romance languages. A second way of approaching this matter would be to assume that cases

involving topicalization and resumption can indeed be approached in terms of a Big DP (therefore keeping the D head for both determiners and resumptive pronouns), but with an additional functional layer, let us call it CIP (for Clitic Phrase). Doing this should save us two problems: we are no longer extracting from a DP, therefore avoiding the extraction issue and we would no longer be moving the Topic from the complement to the specifier of the same phrase, therefore avoiding the anti-locality issue. The resulting phrase would look as follows:



In this configuration we would still get the binding facts right, since the Topic is generated as a Complement to the D head, but the first movement of the Topic needs not be to the Spec of DP (like in the topicalization process detailed above), but to that of CIP. Finally the stranded portion would not just be the D head, but both D and Cl.

(47)



2.5 Some notes on islands

This dissertation attempts to provide data and analyses for the understanding of the interaction between Clitic Left Dislocation in Romance languages and the locality constraints that affect them, especially for cases in which strong islands can be violated by topicalization if the right circumstances are met. However, I do not attempt to provide a theory of locality, nor can I explain the existence of islands in syntax.

Nevertheless, some things will have to be assumed. I shall assume that islands of the strong kind are syntactic in nature. I shall consider that the three kinds of strong islands discussed in this dissertation (i.e. Subject Islands, Relative Clauses and Adjuncts) have something in common: in a way they have to be assembled as a full set before being merged into the larger syntactic structure. That previous assembling would account for the freezing effects we find in those domains. In the analysis by Boeckx explained in this chapter, islandhood and agreement are phenomena that appear together.

Constraints on extraction are mainly reflexes of constraints on agreement. In the absence of agreement [...] ‘islands’ [...] do not arise. (Boeckx, 2003, 62)

Under this approach, the Adjunct Condition and the Subject Condition are explained in this way:

Generalized Adjunct Condition

If Agree cannot penetrate adjuncts, probes will always be blocked.
(Boeckx, 2003, 100)

Subject Islands

If an element moves to a Case-checking position, it has checked all of its features and will become inert for Agreement and extraction.
(Boeckx, 2003, 103)

In the account of both constraints, the failure to establish Probe-Goal relationships into a syntactic domain where all syntactic features have been checked accounts for islandhood, since in this approach, agreement established via a Probe-Goal relation is a pre-requisite for movement. Whereas I agree with this approach for Subject Islands, since the analysis presented in Chapter 3 of this dissertation depends on allowing Topics to escape them before they move to Case-checking positions, I do not believe this approach to Adjunct Islands is relevant for the analysis of topicalization from one of them. The reason is that I do not believe that topicalization would need a Probe to look into the adjunct to find the Topic. Besides, if that were the case, all instances of topicalization from an adjunct should be impossible, contrary to what we find empirically.

Instead, we can assume a locality constraint of a conventional sort in which the embedded adjoined clause contains an operator in its periphery that prevents movement of the Topic (or any other extraction movement for that matter). This is the approach taken in Haegeman (2007, 2010, 2012) for intervention effects in the periphery of embedded adverbial clauses.

Naturally, this is valid only for clausal adjuncts, like the conditional clauses we shall see in Chapter 5. A phrasal adjunct or the complement of an NP that would constitute a Complex-NP island would not have an embedded-clause structure that would allow for such an operator. These islands, however, can never be breached in the sense clausal islands can. I shall propose in Chapter 4 that the apparent violation of Complex NP and Adjunct Islands is only the result of an interpretive principle that can ‘rescue’ clitic within islands by means of co-reference with clitics in permitted positions.

2.6 A note on the methodology

As said before, topicalization is an umbrella term that covers a range of different syntactic phenomena. Therefore, one should be careful not to introduce noise in the data. Besides, by the very nature of topicalization processes and the kind of discourse-related phenomena they are part of, judgments from speakers are sometimes not very clear.

In order to clarify the phenomena and have as clean data as possible, some methodological precautions have been taken. Although no experimental settings were carried out for this dissertation, native speakers of each exemplified language were consulted as to the grammaticality of the examples.

In cases when it was not absolutely clear that contrasting examples did not form absolute minimal pairs, that is, when the grammaticality of one of the examples or the ungrammaticality of the other was not definitive, differences in the degree of well-formedness of the examples were taken into account, provided these differences were clear.

It has been pointed out before that Hanging Topics do not display Case

morphology and that there is a difference in the extraction possibilities of DPs and PPs when islands are involved. Therefore, for every instance in which there could be confusion as to the nature of a dislocated element because of the absence of Case morphology, I shall try to make use of Dative-marked Topics, since Romance languages do not distinguish Accusative morphology in most cases. An exception is Differential Object Marking as seen in Spanish, Romanian and non-standard Catalan, at least. For instances in which DOM makes it clear that we are dealing with a CLLDed Topic, they will be used interchangeably with Dative dislocated arguments.

Finally, and following on the previous measure of precaution, I shall try to avoid Topics introduced by prepositions. Although they do have the advantage of not being able to be confused with Hanging Topics, in the most common appearance they would be introduced by the preposition *of/de* which in turn is known to induce *aboutness readings* on the Topic. These aboutness readings are freer than those of normal CLLD, getting closer to those of Hanging Topics (and they can also be paraphrased with *speaking about*-type phrases).¹⁴ The freer aspect of these aboutness readings I am referring to can be seen in examples as the following, which have been therefore avoided as non-prototypical of the type of behavior investigated in this work:

- (48) a. ?De ese tema_i, el profesor que habló *t_i* no dio
 About that issue, the teacher who talked NEG gave many
 muchos detalles.
 details.

¹⁴For definitions and approaches to aboutness in Topics from a semantic and syntactic point of view, see Reinhart (1981) and Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) among others. Their characterization of *aboutness* applies, however, to many types of Topics in which the general notion of topic-hood was ‘what a given sentence is about’ is present.

- b. De ese tema, el profesor que lo presentó no dio
About that issue, the teacher who CL-*it* presented NEG gave
muchos detalles.
many details.

Spanish

Note how the second example can even have a clitic which cannot be co-referential with the dislocated Topic (as evidenced by the Case mismatch). These instances I will deem to introduce noise in the data and will therefore not be considered as valid for the analyses carried out in this dissertation.

2.7 Interim summary

Up to this point, we have set the grounds for the following chapters by stating one fundamental observation and one way to approach it. The observation is that Topics behave in unexpected ways in certain syntactic contexts, namely they can violate strong islands. In Chapter 1, we saw examples of such island violations and explored different kinds of topicalization that have been proposed in the literature. We concluded, following previous studies, that CLLD is fundamentally different from other types of Topics both in its surfacing syntactic properties (position in the left periphery, presence of the resumptive clitic and so on), but also in its relation with the kind of locality constraints under scrutiny. In Chapter 1 we also reviewed the cartographic approach to CLLD and concluded that we would assume for this dissertation a simplified version of Rizzi (1997), in which only the topmost ForceP and the lower FinP would be assumed. Topics of the CLLD are going to be considered adjuncts to FinP.

In Chapter 2 we have proposed a movement-based account of CLLD in order to approach its interaction with different kinds of strong islands. In

the light of the evidence gathered here and in previous takes on this issue, we have concluded that CLLD is the result of movement to the sentential periphery. Besides, due to the differences in the behavior of Topics introduced by different prepositions, we have hold to dealing with argumental (Accusative and Dative) Topics. Concerning the particular structure we assume for the Topic and its resumptive element, we build on the Big DP structure assumed in Boeckx (2003) by adding some extra functional material which we shall formally label CIP in order to overcome some of the shortcomings of that proposal.

The point where we stand now, therefore, is the reduction of the field of study to CLLD of the argumental kind, proposed to be the result of syntactic movement and assumed to consist in adjunction to FinP in an expanded sentential periphery. With these principles in mind we shall tackle different strong island violations.

Chapter 3

Subject Island Violations

3.1 Introduction

As we saw in the previous chapters, topicalization, especially of the CLLD kind is sensitive to certain locality constraints that are not expected under a purely base-generation account of the phenomenon, since that would not predict the crossing of any syntactic boundaries. Moreover, it was shown how a movement-based approach offers solid advantages over the base-generation one in terms of both the theoretical elegance it allows (differentiating CLLD Topics from Hanging Topics or allowing for a straightforward explanation of Case assignment of Topics) and the empirical coverage it provides (explaining for instance the reconstruction effects associated with binding we observed).

This chapter constitutes the first half of the core of the thesis: it examines Subject Island Violations by CLLD Topicalization, it being the first kind of strong island Topics can escape from that we shall analyse. The proposal of analysis that will guide the research undertaken in this part of the dissertation is that CLLD Topics can escape opaque subject domains because they can move out of them before other syntactic procedures take place. A purely

derivational, movement-based analysis provides a better account of the data than the representational approaches commonly assumed.

The representational approaches referred to here, which will be reviewed in this chapter, are Rizzi's, based on Relativized Minimality, Boeckx's, based on the conditions on the interpretability of chains and Cinque's, based on covert movement of the Topic at LF. Besides, a proposal made in derivational terms by Richards will also be reviewed. These four proposals have been chosen for their particular relevance in analyzing cases of extraction that can be related to Topics and island restrictions operating on them. However, because their goal is to explain why strong islands are impenetrable¹, they necessarily fail to account for the kind of cases discussed in this chapter, all of which involve strong island violations.

The chapter is organized as follows: in the first place, the contrasts between the contexts in which such violation is possible and those in which it is not will be presented, along with the hypothesis driving the analysis of these cases. I shall then offer a review of proposals in the literature concerning the interaction between CLLD and locality constraints of the subject kind, in an attempt to show the points in which they fall short of a complete explanation of the facts. In the next place I shall offer a classification of verbal analyses in terms of their argument structure that allows us to cluster cases of allowed and disallowed topicalization together. In the next section I offer an account of Subject Island violations by CLLD that hinges on both the nature of the verb and the timing of syntactic operations. These factors together can explain why some cases of CLLD can take place even when proceeding from subject domains. A conclusion closes the chapter.

¹Richards's account actually includes a provision for breachable islands, but as we shall see, it can apply to topicalization only by assuming many additional conditions.

3.2 Subject Island violations

In many cases, subjects behave as we would expect them and any extraction out of them, either by a Wh-element or a Topic incurs into a CED violation (Huang, 1982). There is nevertheless a sharp contrast between cases in which the subject has moved to its ‘canonical’ position in the specifier of TP and those in which it remains in a post-verbal position (in languages that would allow this, like Spanish). However, this contrast is not always present.

- (1) a. *Esos zapatos, [que se los pusiera] causó un escándalo.
 Those shoes, that CL-*them* he wore caused a scandal.
- b. *El televisor, [que lo enciendas] me impide
 The TV, that CL-*it* you turn on prevents me from
 estudiar.
 studying.
- (2) a. ?Esos zapatos causó un escándalo [que se los pusiera].
 Those shoes caused a scandal that he CL-*them* wore.
- b. *El televisor me impide estudiar [que lo
 The TV, prevents me from studying that CL-*it*
 enciendas].
 you turn on.

Spanish

Naturally, cases in which topicalization is already expected to be grammatical or ungrammatical are not affected by the subject status of the phrase Topics are trying to move from. Examples such as the following are expected on independent grounds already described in Chapters 1 and 2:

- (3) a. Causó un escándalo que esos zapatos se los pusiera.
 It caused a scandal that those shoes he CL-*them* wore.
- b. Que esos zapatos se los pusiera causó un escándalo.
 That those shoes he CL-*them* wore it caused a scandal .

- c. *Causó un escándalo, esos zapatos, que se los pusiera.
 It caused a scandal, those shoes, that he CL-*them* wore.

Spanish

Accepted cases are due to the Topic moving within its own phrase to a left periphery area below ForceP (occupied by *que* in these examples). Ill-formed ones show the Topic in a banned position in which it appears above ForceP, a position generally acknowledged to ban topicalization.

Besides, the paradigm of cases in which CLLD can proceed from within a subject island is suggestive of the nature of the constraint we are looking at in this phenomenon. The observation is that unaccusative verbs allow extraction of a Topic from their subjects much more readily than transitive/causative verbs:

- (4) Unaccusative verbs: *urgir* (to be urgent), *tocar* (to be one's turn), in Spanish; *caldre* (to be necessary), in Catalan.

- a. Ese montón de libros, colocarlos en la estantería nos
 That lot of books, putting-CL-*them* on the shelf us
 urge bastante.
 is urgent quite a lot.

- b. El informe toca acabarlo para mañana.
 The report it is necessary to finish by tomorrow.

Spanish

- c. L'article cal lluirar-lo demà.
 The article it is necessary to send-CL-*it* tomorrow.

Catalan

- (5) Transitive (causative) verbs: *causar* (to cause), *provocar* (to provoke), *permetir* (to allow), *impedir* (to prevent).

- a. *De política, hablar con mi padre causa problemas.
About politics, talking to my father causes problems.
- b. *Esos zapatos, que se los pusiera provocó un escándalo.
Those shoes, that *se* CL-*them* he wore provoked a scandal.
- c. *La sintaxis románica, estudiarla, le permitió hacerse rico.
The syntax Romance, studying-CL-*it*, CL-*him* allowed to become rich.
- d. *El metro, cogerlo por la mañana, me impide dormir hasta tarde.
The subway, taking-CL-*it* in the morning me prevents from sleeping until late.

Spanish

Along this Chapter, most examples and analyses will deal with clausal subjects from which we shall try to extract Topics. This is done on methodological grounds.

If the subject is a DP, subextracting a part of it will most surely incur in a more severe violation than the one entailed by extracting from a subject, due to the fact that extraction from a DP is generally forbidden. We already exemplified this in the previous chapter with the classical example of ban on DP-extraction:

- (6) *Whose_{*i*} did you buy *t_i* books?

Although it was assumed that a richer structure than that of a DP could account for the possibility of having the Topic generated in the complement position of a D head, such analysis would not serve here, since the sentential

subject would not be a Big DP or ClP as we have assumed specifically for Topics of the CLLD kind.

The result would be the sum of at least a Complex-NP violation (due to the extraction from the DP) and the Subject island violation. Besides, in most cases the complement of a DP is a PP headed by *de/of*. As stated in ‘A note on the methodology’ section in the previous Chapter, such PPs can induce *aboutness* readings which behave more along the lines of Hanging Topics and are therefore more unrestricted. Even under these circumstances, one can build examples in which (i) the complement of a DP is not headed by *of* but by another preposition, as in (7-a) and (ii) we can avoid aboutness readings in certain cases, in which the topicalized PP would still be banned, as in (7-b). Constructing examples in this fashion we can see that the generalization about verbal behavior and the availability of CLLD still holds:

- (7) a. Con tomate_i el pan t_i me gusta.
With tomato the bread t CL-me it pleases.
- b. *Del millonario_i, el asesinato t_i será resuelto.
Of the millionaire the murder t will be resolved.

As said in the introduction, this work proposes that the reason why CLLDed Topics can escape subject islands is because they do so before subjects have become islands. Since subjects are generated post-verbally in unaccusative verbs, they start out as complements, which we know are much more transparent for extraction than specifiers. If Topics move at that time, before the subject has risen to meet the EPP or a similar criterion, the movement is allowed and the resulting sentence is well formed. In the case of transitive verbs, since subjects are already generated pre-verbally in a specifier position, they are islands from the start; therefore, CLLD is impossible in any case,

since there is no point in the derivation at which they wouldn't constitute banned extraction sites.

This approach, which is strictly derivational, is incompatible with purely representational approaches like the one found within the cartographic project. This latter approach, which can be found in works like Cinque (1990), while correctly deriving the difference between strong and weak islands, cannot differentiate between cases in which strong islands are violable and cases in which they can't, like the ones in (4) and (5).

3.3 On the nature of the Subject island constraint: a review of proposals

In this section of the chapter we shall review some of the relevant literature that has dealt with islands constraints and the (im)possibilities of extracting phrases from them. The first approach we shall see in this section will be Cinque's (1990), which has been of enormous influence since its publication. Cinque's approach to the issue dealt with topicalization by means of representational constraints once the whole sentence had been built. This was naturally done in the way of much syntactic analysis of the GB-era, but Cinque's characterization of topicalization as an operation that involved base-generation of the Topic in the sentential periphery and co-referentiality mechanisms connecting it to the resumptive clitic has remained largely influential.

Although it's been briefly explained in Chapter 2, Rizzi's approach to the question in terms of Relativized Minimality allows to capture the distinction between strong and weak islands and the reason why weak islands could be violated by Topics, but does not provide any means to predict why strong

islands should be less opaque under certain conditions. Such approach is also reviewed here.

Boeckx's account forms the base of much of the analyses adopted in this dissertation. In particular, his approach to CLLD as starting with a Big DP and the treatment of resumption as the stranding of the clitic are both at the basis of the analysis of topicalization I assume. However, his explanation of island constrains in terms of the interpretability of chains fails to recognize why strong islands could allow any extraction at all from within.

Richards's analysis in terms of phases is the only purely derivational approach reviewed in this chapter, and as such it constitutes a closer approach in spirit to mine. Nevertheless, it seems to me that it is too restrictive in deriving a version of strong islandhood that would effectively prevent all extraction from ever taking place. Moreover, since the activation of phase-edges that accounts for cases of movement out of phase domains requires active unvalued features on heads in said phase domain, it would imply the presence of uninterpretable Topic features for Topics to be able to move across phase boundaries. As stated in Chapter 1, I shall not consider Topics to be feature-driven, and therefore, the approach would be incompatible with the one adopted in this work.

3.3.1 Cinque's (1990) analysis

One of the most influential proposals in terms of deriving the contexts under which topicalization can take place and the locality constraints that may affect it is Cinque's (1990).

In his proposal, Topics are generated *in situ* in the left periphery of the sentence, the resumptive clitic being the element actually receiving its θ -role, grammatical Case and any other feature that the fronted constituent and its

resumptive pronoun may agree in. It may be worth noting here that Cinque's terminology differs from the one we are using in this dissertation and which has become standard in the field, making use of the term 'focalization' for the type of phenomena named 'topicalization' in this dissertation. The crucial part of the analysis with regard to the issues discussed here was how to establish the semantic and syntactic connection between the Topic and the resumptive clitic it is co-referential with. This connection is achieved via covert movement. Despite having been generated separately, the resumptive pronoun must raise to the CP-layer of the sentence to meet its antecedent at LF. That is, the semantic interpretation of the cluster formed by the Topic and its resumptive depended on the ability of the latter to move together with the former. The fact that this movement is realized at LF explains why the Topic and the clitic appear separated on the surface, while being interpreted together.

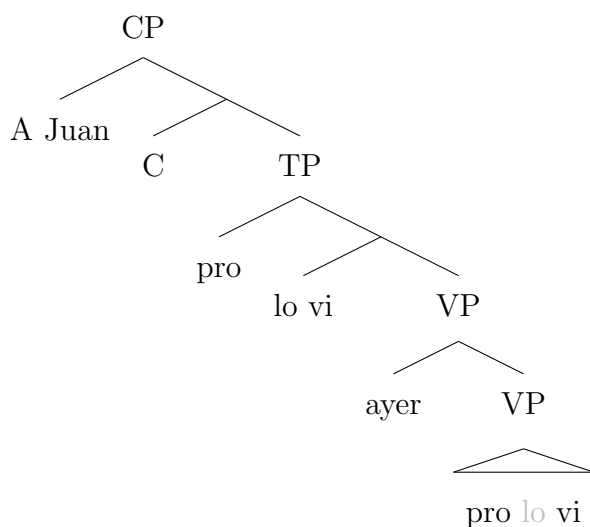
There being syntactic movement, locality constraints of the kinds seen all throughout this work are expected and indeed found. Apart from the part of the analysis involving LF movement, there are two other essential ideas in Cinque's proposal to bear in mind when examining his analysis of topicalization. One is that the constraints affecting the well-formedness of sentences containing a Topic are of a purely representational nature. This means that the sentence must be built entirely, and it cannot be deemed well- or ill-formed until the whole structure can be subjected to interpretation at LF. If intermediate derivational steps produce an intermediate ungrammatical outcome, they are not considered. The other is the fact that the cases in which Topics are affected by locality constraints (strong islands in this model) are due to the covert movement at LF that the resumptive clitic must undergo, since we have to remember that Topics are base-generated in the sentential

periphery under Cinque's analysis.

An analysis based on Cinque's for what we could call canonical cases, that is, CLD involving no island violation, would be as follows:

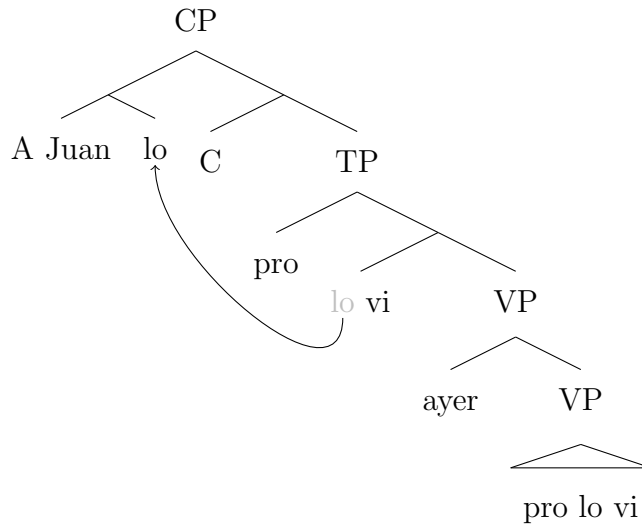
- (8) A Juan lo vi ayer.
 Juan, CL-*him* I saw yesterday.

- A Juan lo vi ayer



In this structure we can see the clitic after having moved to join the verb at the head position of TP. Naturally, in this analysis, no Big DP is involved, the clitic is by no means stranded by movement of the Topic, and said Topic is base-generated in the left periphery.

- Movement of the clitic at LF

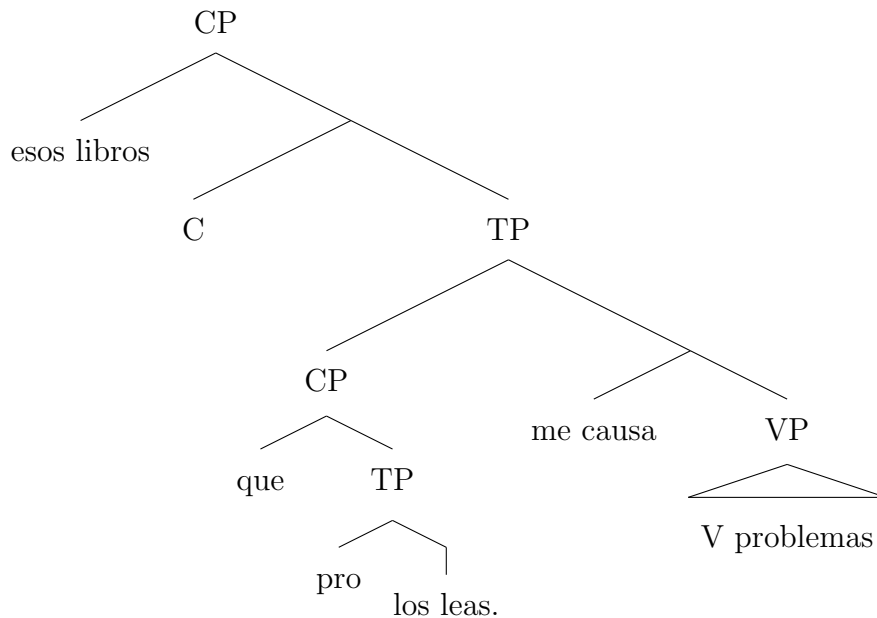


Now the problem arises when we have two apparently identical structures, one of which is grammatical and the other is not. With a contrast like the one in (4) and (5), we would expect both covert movements to encounter the same kind of constraint on movement²:

- (9) *Esos libros, que los leas me causa problemas.
 Those books, that CL-*them* you read me causes problems.

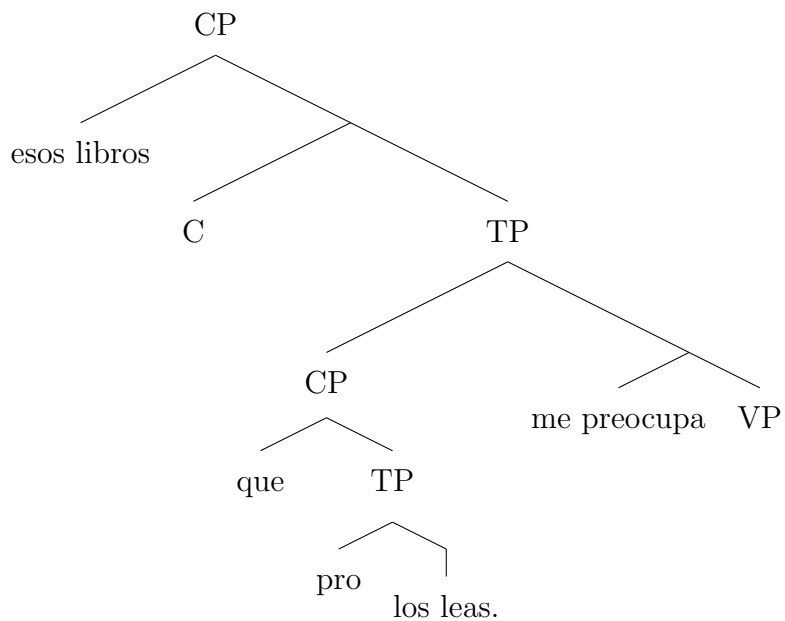
²In the next chapter, we shall see how certain islands violations can be saved if the clitic in the banned position is co-referential with a pronoun in a permitted location. Although we will come back to it again later, it is worth mentioning now that no co-referential pronoun can *rescue* cases of Subject Island Violations which are independently ill-formed: **Esos libros_i, que los haya leído alguien famoso, ha aumentado sus_i ventas* (Those books, that somebody famous read them, has raised their sells).

- The whole structure would look like:



- (10) Esos libros, que los lees me preocupa.
 Those books, that CL-*them* you read me worries.

- The whole structure would look like:

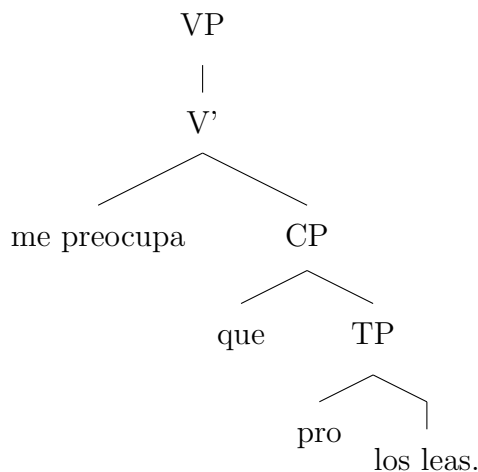


Since the structures are identical in both cases, it is unclear how a purely representational analysis can derive the difference between them. In any case, the resumptive pronoun would have to climb to the left periphery at LF, thus violating the island in both cases, and incorrectly predicting that examples like the ones in (4) should be ruled out. A way to circumvent this problem would be to assume further devices in syntax, like a memory that keeps track of every movement and remembers the original position of displaced elements, including all copies and their movements in the final representation dealt with at LF in order to know whether it is well formed or not. By doing so, we could see that in fact these structures differ fundamentally in the original position of the clause in the subject position. The derivation would then look like this³:

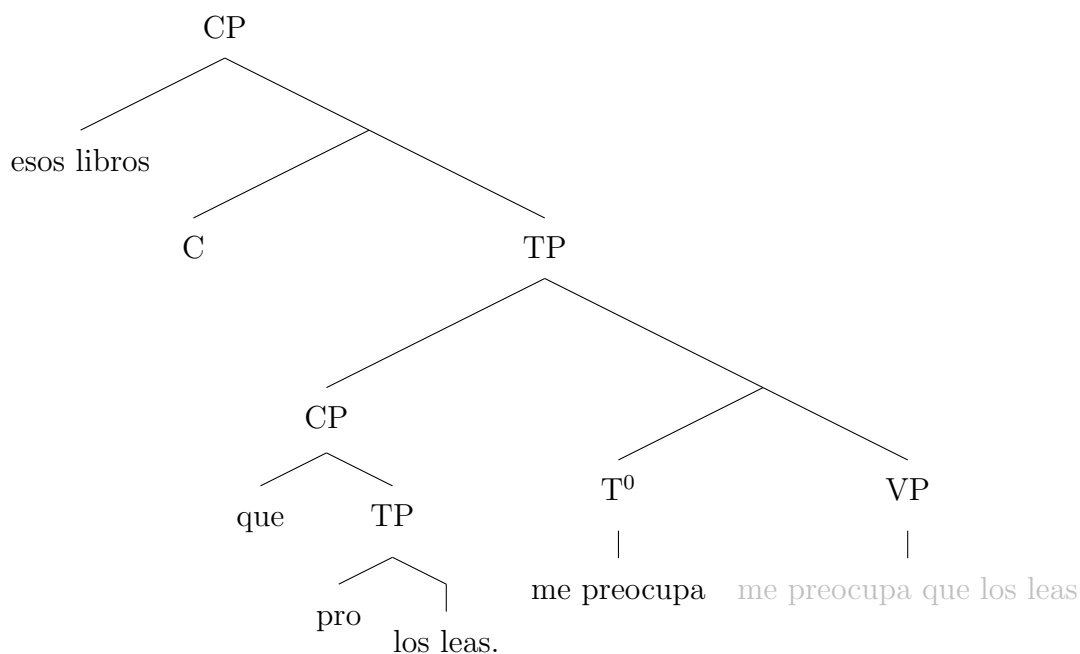
- (11) Esos libros, que los leas me preocupa.
 Those books, that *CL-them* you read me worries.

³This is not how a true analysis *à la* Cinque would look like. In his analysis, the whole structure is built before any constraints are observed. What I show here is an interpretation of an analysis with the characteristics of Cinque's in terms of the base generation of the Topic, while showing a step-by-step derivation more according to later developments in the theory.

- The structure is generated with the subject in post-verbal position due to the nature of the psych verb *preocupar* (*to worry*):

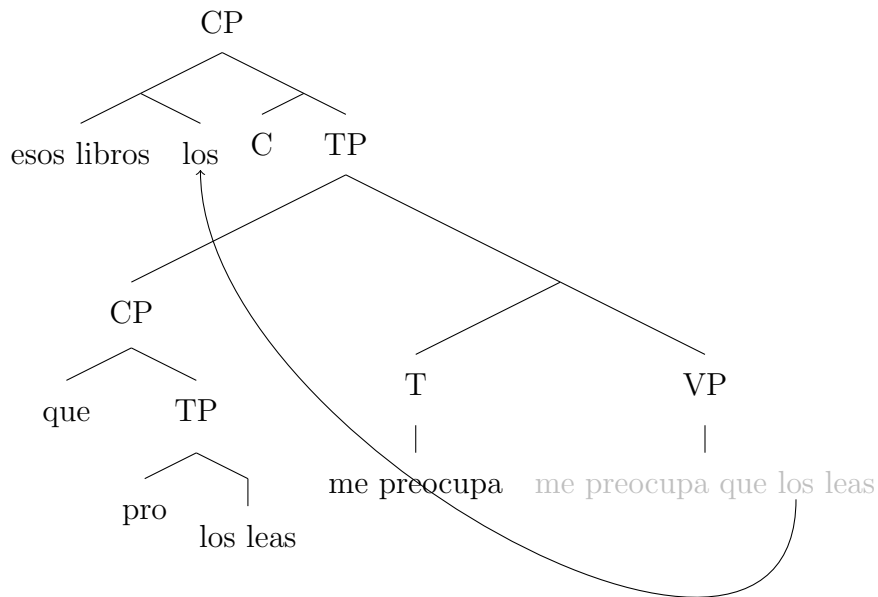


- The structure after moving the clausal subject to the specifier of TP, merging the Topic in the specifier of CP and getting it ready for spell-out would look like:



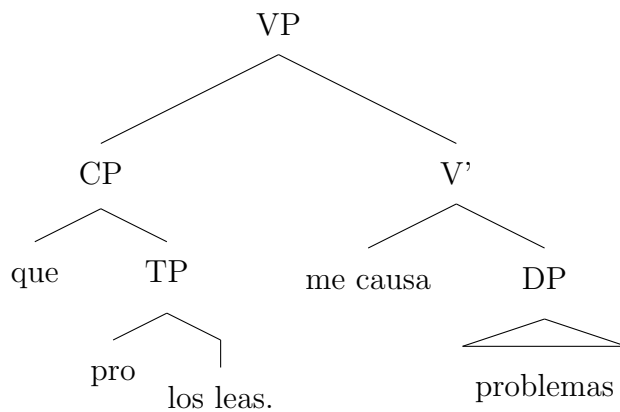
- After spell-out, the clitic must rise to the CP via covert movement.

However, the system must *remember* that the clitic sitting in a position that allows extraction is the original copy, not the one found within the subject in Spec,TP:

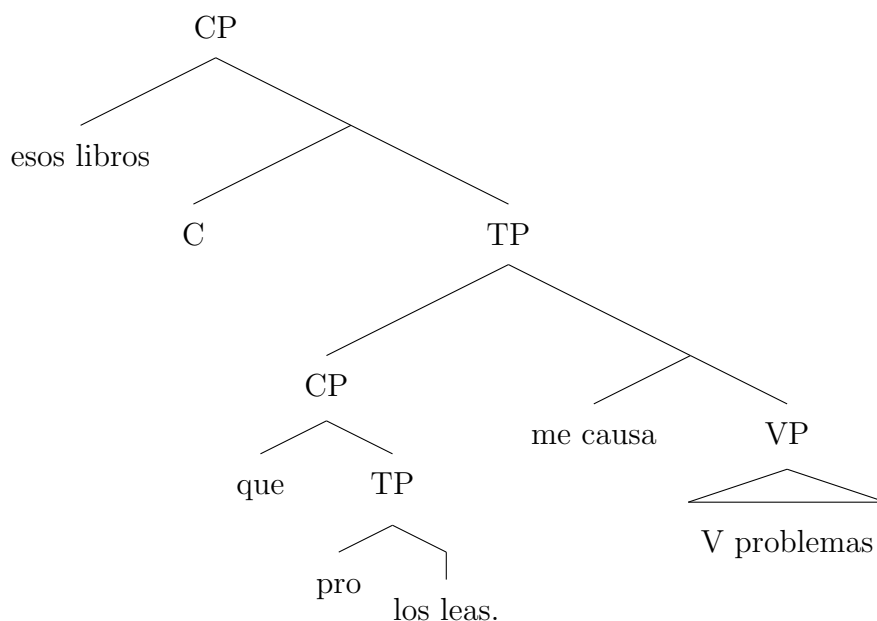


- (12) *Esos libros, que los lees me causa problemas.
 Those books, that CL-*them* you read me causes problems.

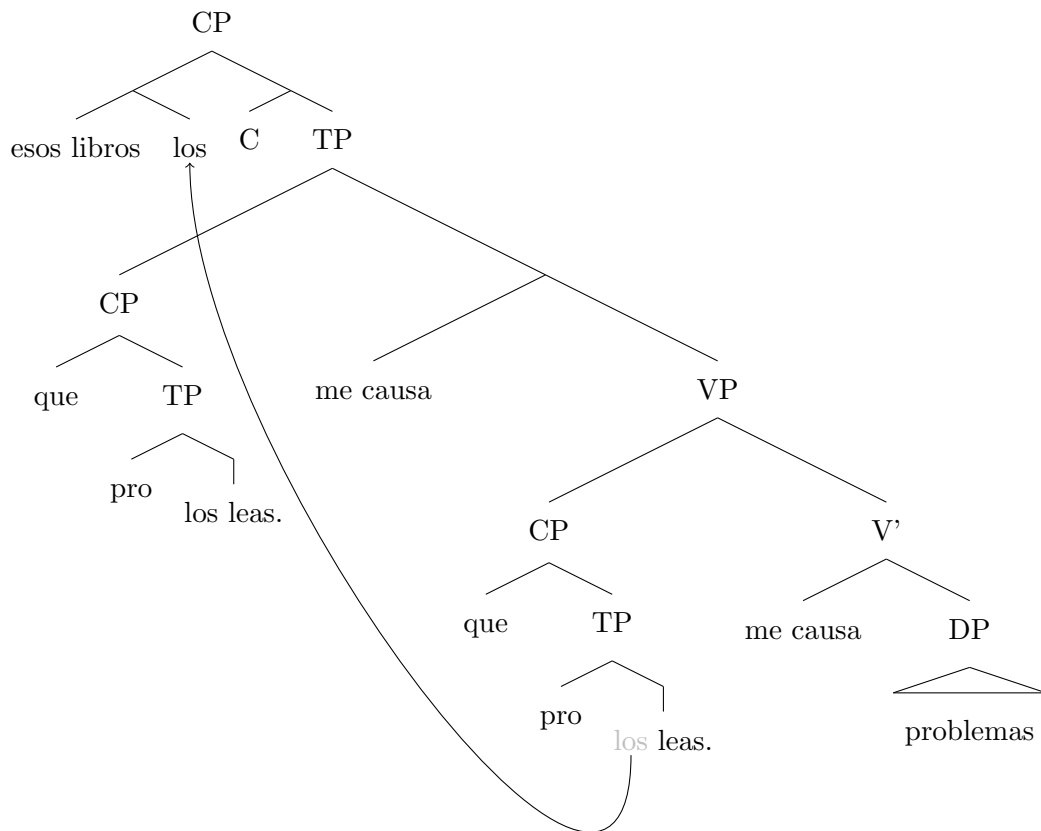
- The VP is built with its clausal subject in specifier position:



- The whole structure, built up to the Topic and after displacement of the subject would look like:



- Finally, as in the previous example, covert movement tries to displace the clitic to the position of its antecedent in the CP layer of the sentence. However, any of the two existing copies of the clitic is inserted within a specifier and is therefore frozen in that position. For the sake of coherence with the analysis just presented, we shall assume that the clitic in the original position is the one that tries to move. An island violations ensues and the sentence is considered ungrammatical:



Although such devices (i.e. an internal memory that knows which clitic to target for the purposes of covert movement⁴, they are difficult to integrate with a theory that takes phases into account, since parts of the sentence sent to the interfaces by the phase mechanic would be rendered inaccessible for further computations and to further inquiries into the original structures where phrases were merged in the sentence. In examples like the ones we just saw, the CP containing the clitic, which would become the sentential subject, would be transferred as phases and the position of the clitic would no longer be trackable. Besides, a theory in no need of such

⁴Again, these are speculations about how to integrate an analysis in terms of base-generation of the Topic in the sentential periphery and representational constraints over covert movement could be integrated with a minimalist, phase-based approach. They are not meant to represent Cinque’s original analysis.

devices would be more elegant and therefore, preferable.

A problem with such analysis is that, while it allows to capture the difference between contexts with and without islands, it would predict that the acceptable cases of strong island violation like the subject islands presented in this chapter and the Complex-NP and Adjunct islands introduced in the following chapters should be judged ungrammatical by speakers of the varieties studied. Since we find acceptable examples of strong island violations by CLLDed elements, Cinque's analysis cannot be used for the analysis of these cases.

As a matter of fact, all accounts based solely on representational constraints will in principle fall short of deriving the differences between cases of violable strong islands and cases in which they remain impenetrable. This need not be the case for every representational analysis. One could devise the means to capture these differences. For instance, since all that seems to matter in the end is whether the original extraction point of the Topic is in a complement or a specifier position, representational approaches to this matter could just keep track of the original positions of displaced elements in order to determine if the final syntactic structure is grammatical or not. Keeping track of that would involve either a memory of some sort or keeping every copy of moved elements visible to all subsequent computations. The first of these solutions is less elegant than one which does not resort to an additional mechanism like the aforementioned memory. The second solution, while not impossible, is difficult to make compatible with a theory of syntax that takes phases into account. If the content of a phase that includes the base copy of the moved phrases is handed to the interfaces, it should be rendered inaccessible for further syntactic processes.

3.3.2 A proposal in terms of Relativized Minimality

Since the task we are facing stems in part from the difficulty of facing cases in which movement can take place and cases in which it can't, Relativized Minimality seems like a good attempt to approach the issue. The spirit behind Relativized Minimality being that no extraction is inherently bad and no syntactic node is inherently a barrier, cases in which a syntactic domain is an island before certain constituents but not before others are to be expected.

Relativized Minimality, which was defined in Chapter 2 and is repeated here for convenience, is established in Rizzi (1990) in GB-era terms of government of traces. The definition provided here is from Rizzi (2004), put in more contemporary, minimalist terms. In general, movement is disallowed if the landing site is not in a Minimal Configuration with the original site. Minimal Configuration is defined:

- (13) Y is in a Minimal Configuration (MC) with X iff there is no Z such that
- (i) Z is of the same structural type as X, and
 - (ii) Z intervenes between X and Y.

'Same structural type' means here either (i) Head or Spec, and in the latter case, (ii), A or A'; and Z intervenes between X and Y iff Z c-commands Y and Z does not c-command X.

Since there are cases in which different A' objects do not intervene with one another, these sameness of structure type had to be further refined by Rizzi in the following terms:

- (14)
- a. Argumental: person, number, gender, case
 - b. Quantificational: Wh, Neg, measure, focus...
 - c. Modifier: evaluative, epistemic, Neg, frequentative, celerative, measure, manner...
 - d. Topic

The special status of Topics in this classification is due to the fact that they don't induce minimality effects neither on other constituents nor among each other:

- (15)
- a. A María, a historia conteilla onte.
To María the story I told CL-*her*CL-*it* yesterday.
 - b. A historia a María conteilla onte.
The story to María I told CL-*her*CL-*it* yesterday.
 - c. Onte a historia conteilla a María.
Yesterday the story I told CL-*her*CL-*it* to María.

Galician

However, even if they cannot give rise to RM effects, Topics are subject to them, or at least to certain island constraints. Within a framework of Relativized Minimality, this would entail the presence of a syntactic feature of a [Topic] kind that could explain the contrasts seen concerning transparent and opaque domains for topicalization.

The presence of such a feature is problematic for a number of reasons: in the first place it further blurs the borders between what counts as syntax and what counts as semantics, since we would encounter a purely semantic-pragmatic feature driving syntactic computations. The issue of dealing with features to motivate syntactic operations in A'-domains as opposed to A-domains requires some exploration too, but that follows beyond the objectives

of this thesis. A second problem with an approach that appeals to a [Topic] syntactic feature is how to define when such feature applies. The problem is as follows: topicalization has as one of its essential characteristics being optional. Unlike Wh-movement, which must take place necessarily for the resulting sentence to be grammatical, phrases that can be topicalized can also remain *in situ* with no syntactic consequence (albeit semantic or discourse-related consequences should follow). If a [Topic] feature is posited, then an explanation for the cases in which it is drawn from the lexicon and the cases in which it isn't is called for. As a result of the Inclusiveness Condition, which bans the insertion into the syntactic derivation of any element that was not present from the beginning in the pool of elements from which syntax draws the bases of its computations, a [Topic] feature must be bundled with the phrase that will eventually be topicalized.

A trivial explanation would be to assume that the [Topic] feature is present in the lexicon as any other syntactic feature would, and depending on whether the feature is bundled with others to form a lexical item or not, we shall find topicalization or not find it. This explanation looks to me, however, like an exploitation of the technical possibilities of the Minimalist Program, and does not help us develop our knowledge of the role of features in syntactic computation. In the instance of a Wh-element, or any ϕ -feature involved in operations of Agreement, we do not only see a morphological reflex of the syntactic operation responsible for A'-movement in the case of Wh-elements or Agreement in the case of ϕ -features: we also see how failure to move the Wh-element or failure in the Agree operation result in ill-formed sentences. That is not true of topicalization: neither is it morphologically marked (in Romance languages) nor leaving the phrase in its argumental position produce ungrammaticality.

In a nutshell, one reason why syntactic features exist is to derive obligatory movement, by making it a last-resort operation triggered by the need to satisfy uninterpretable features: if an instance of movement is optional, it should not be feature-driven. I believe there are further reasons to consider CLLD not to be motivated by syntactic features, and I shall present them in Chapter 5, where the status of CLLD from Conditional Clauses is discussed.

3.3.3 Boeckx's (2003) account

Boeckx (2003) has an approach for opacity cases that explains them by appealing to what he calls the Principle of Uniformity of Chains (PUC). The idea behind this principle is that chains must be defined unambiguously at the interfaces, that is, the PF should receive a clear instruction as to which of the copies of a chain it should pronounce.

(16) **Principle of Unambiguous Chain**

A chain is unambiguous if it contains at most one *strong position*.

(17) **Strong positions** are those where:

(i) Case is assigned, or

(ii) EPP is met.

Such an approach is used in order to analyse cases of superraising like **John seems is clever*. The chain formed by the movement of *John* from the position where it was generated would be an ambiguous chain from the viewpoint of Boeckx's proposal, since it would look like the following, where stars mark strong positions:

- (18) CH(*John*)= T_{seem}^* , T_{is}^* , Adj_{clever}

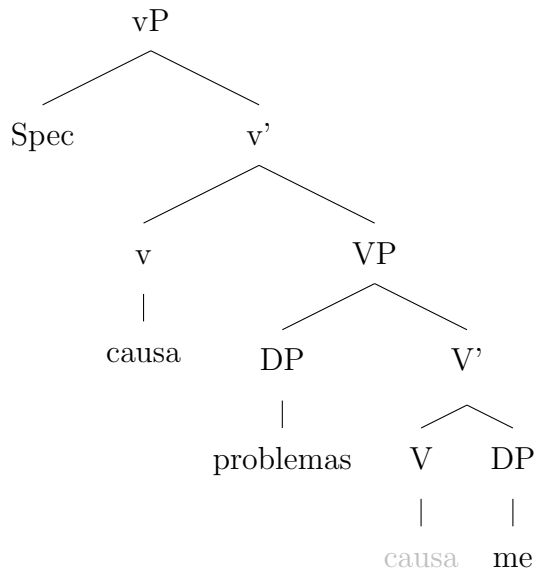
The noun *John* would have been generated with the adjective *clever*, then it would have moved to a Case-checking position with the inflected verb *is* in order to check its Nominative Case and finally the EPP requirement on the matrix verb *seem* would have further attracted the noun to its specifier. As a result of this derivation, the noun has gone through two different strong positions, each of which instructs the interface to pronounce a copy in its specifier. Since the interface cannot decide which of the copies to pronounce, the derivation crashes.

Cases such as (5) are ruled out because they contain more than one *strong position* for identical copies in a chain, which in his analysis renders such chain uninterpretable. One of the copies is in a Case-assigning position and the other is at the EPP-motivated position necessary in order to derive topicalization in his model.

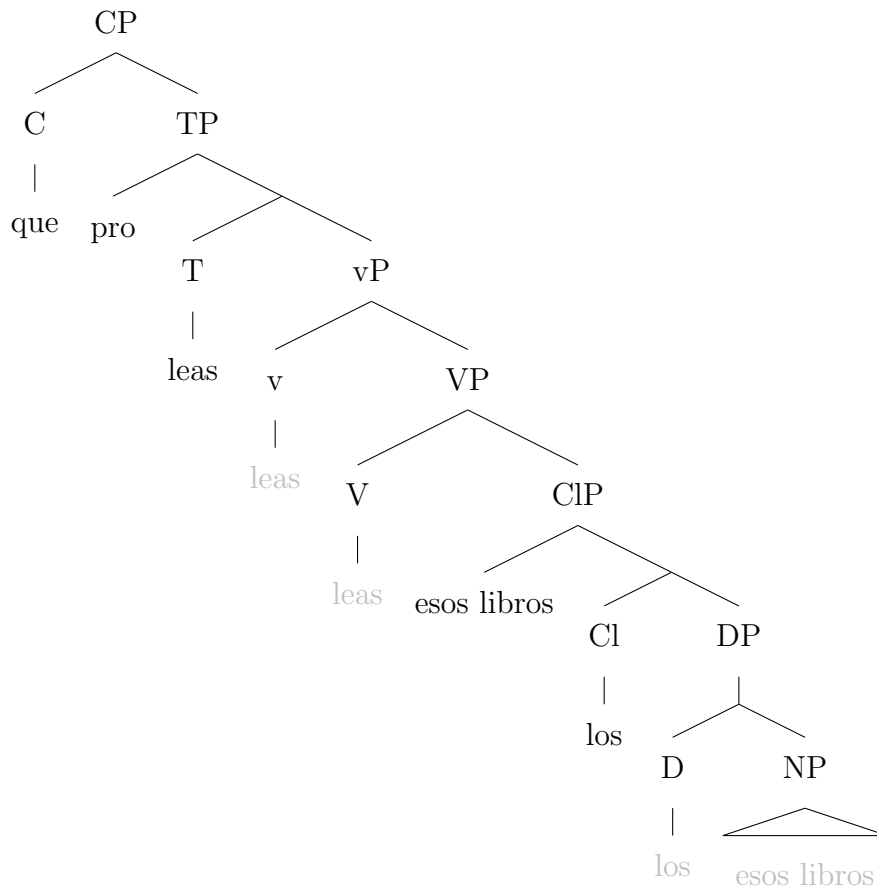
We can now see how to derive the ill-formedness of a Subject Island violation by a Topic by appealing to Boeckx's approach.

- (19) *Esos libros, que los lees, me causa problemas.
 Those books, that CL-*them* you read, to me causes problems.

- In the first place we would build the vP, with the clitic *me* being generated as the complement of the verb.

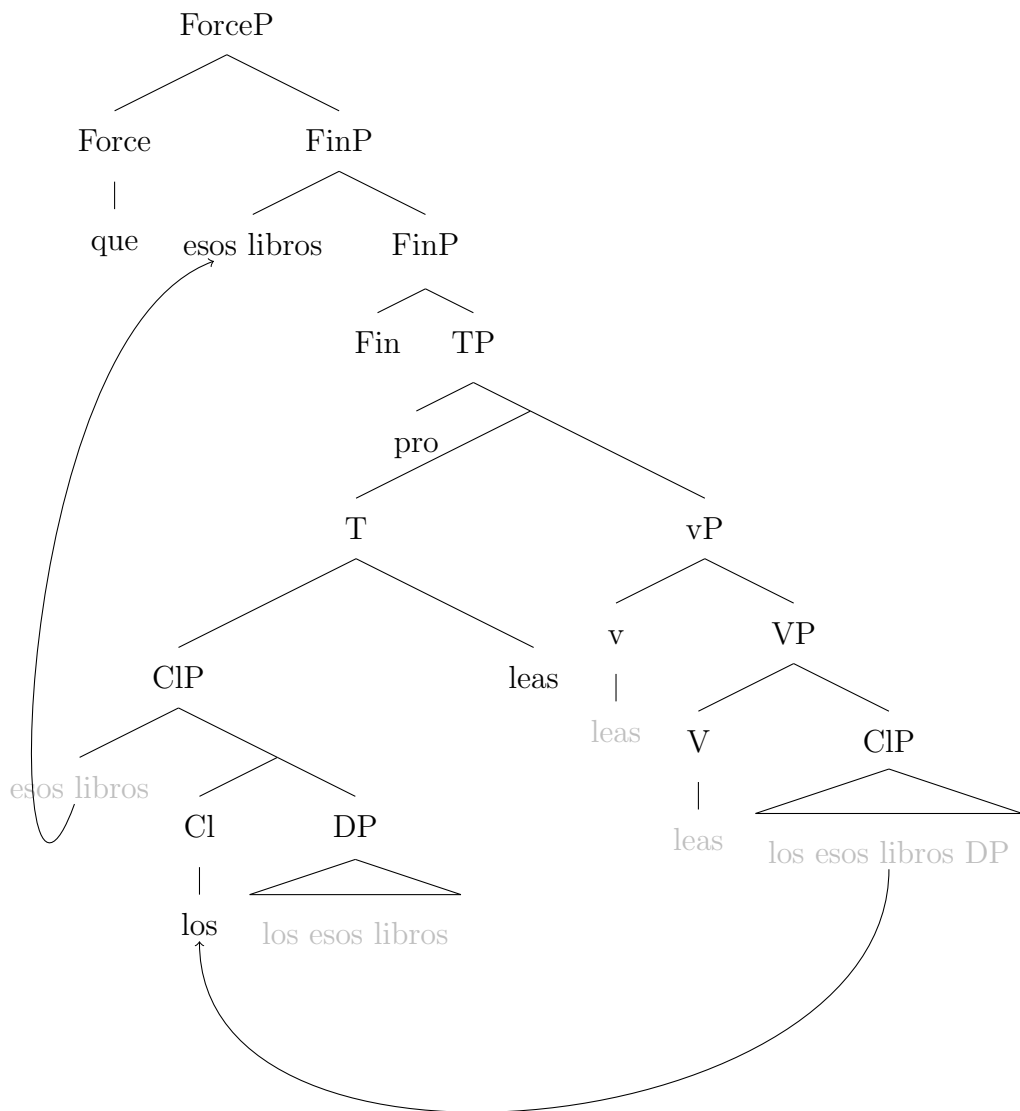


- Independently, the sentential subject is merged. The Topic and its resumptive clitic are merged as a CIP.⁵

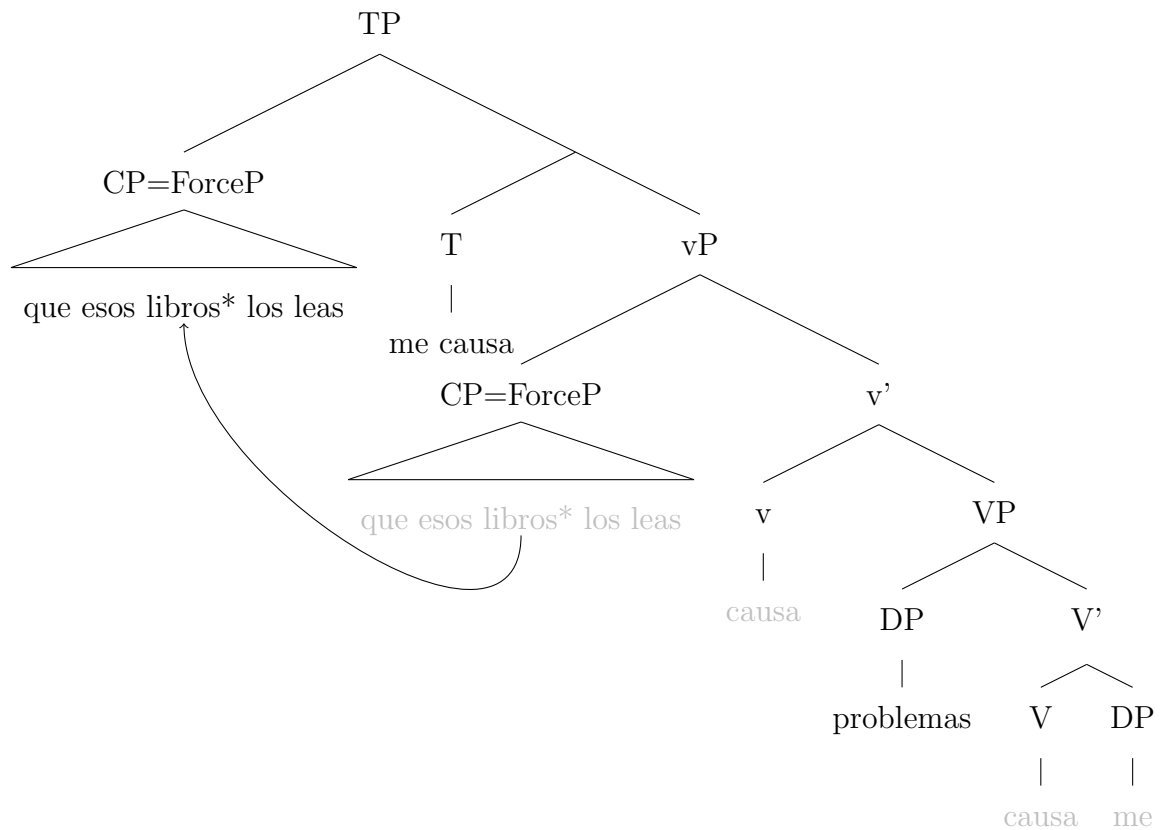


- The normal process of topicalization takes place. The whole CIP moves to its Case-checking position with the verb, where the clitic will be left stranded. The remaining Topic forms a second chain by moving to the left periphery in order to satisfy an EPP on the Fin head.

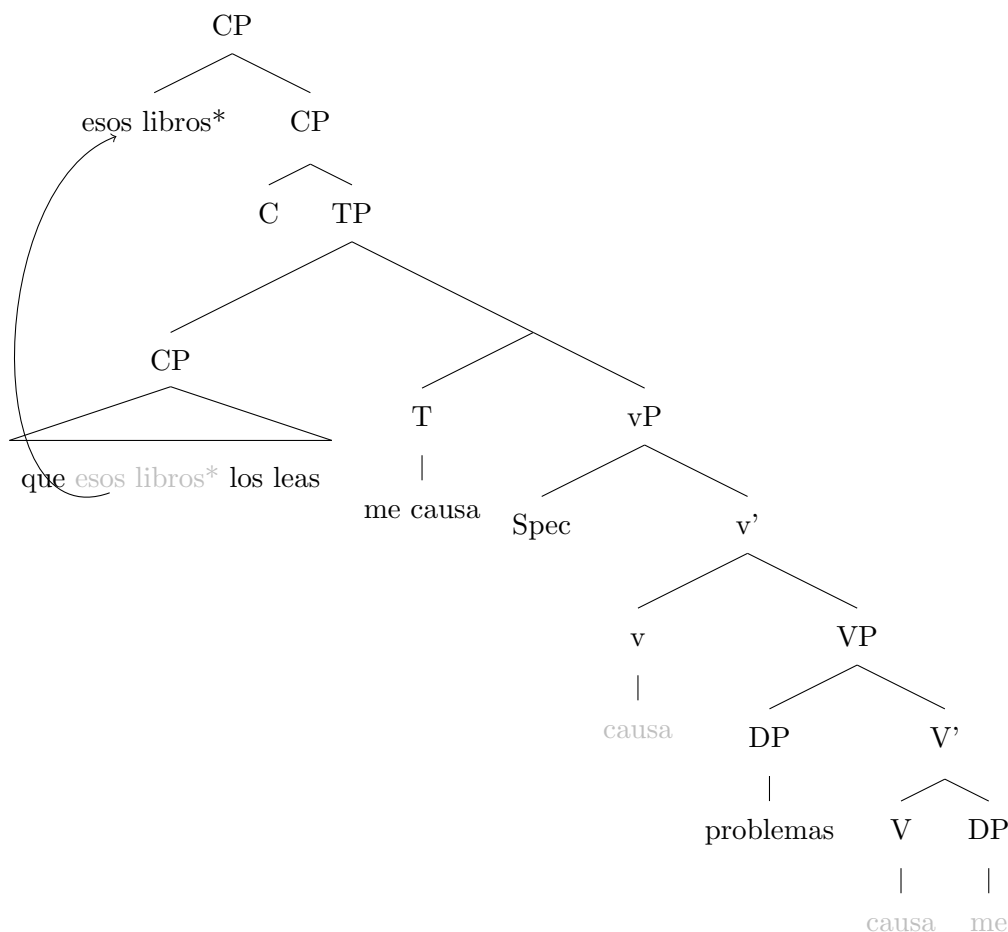
⁵Before Topic movement that will split the C field into a Force-Fin field, I shall represent it as a CP.



- The CP represented in the previous tree is merged as a whole into the general structure in the specifier of the matrix vP and moves to the specifier of TP due to the EPP requirement on it. The star on *esos libros* marks the strong position where it checked the EPP feature in the left periphery.



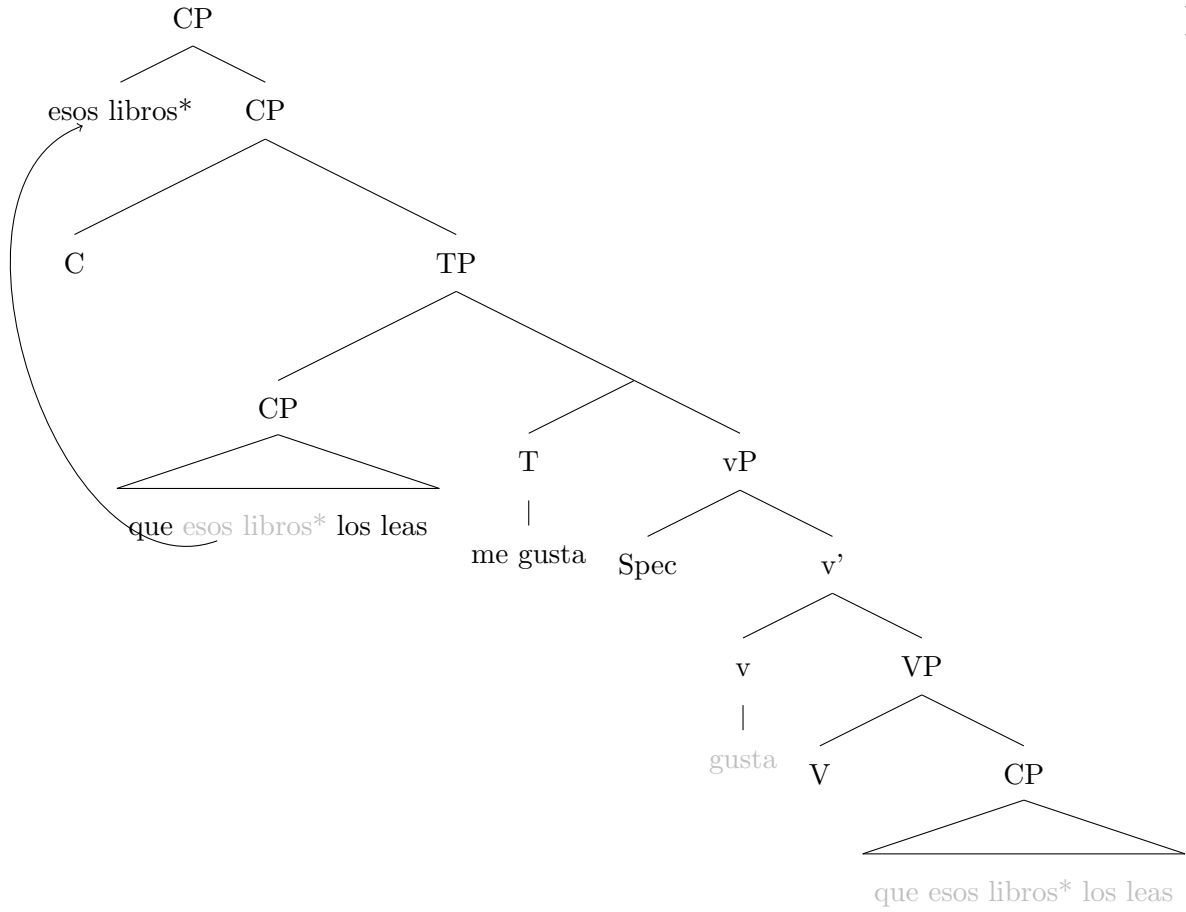
- The final topicalization movement takes place, to a final EPP-endowed position, but this marks the Topic as sitting on another strong position.



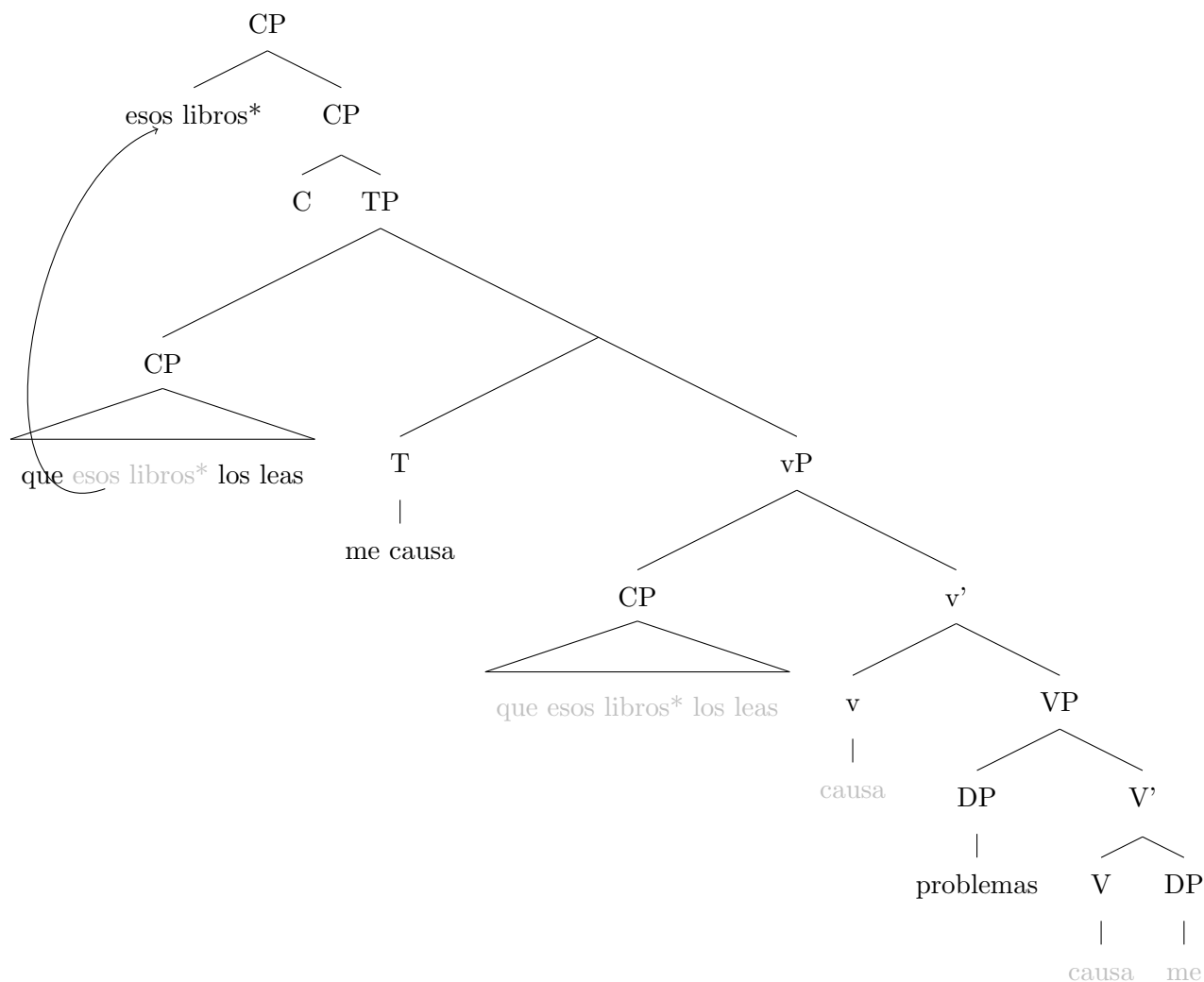
- Since two copies of the Topic *esos libros* are now marked with a star, the interface would be unable to interpret which of the copies to pronounce, therefore correctly deriving the island violation effect.

As it was the case in an analysis that followed Cinque (1990), the problem here is that we predict that two nearly identical structures should have a different outcome in terms of the acceptability of the formed sentence. Crucially, a sentence with a more positive outcome would also receive two stars in its derivation and as a consequence, it should have been ruled out. These two structures would look as follows:

- (20) ?Esos libros, que los leas me gusta.
 Those books, that CL-*them* you read me pleases.



- (21) *Esos libros, que los lees me causa problemas.
 Those books, that CL-*them* you read me causes problems.



A conclusion we can draw from this approach and the previous one is that representational analyses do not give complete accounts of the sort of island violations discussed in this chapter.

3.3.4 Richards's account

Some notable recent discussion on the status of locality constraints has focused on phase theory and whether islanthood can be explained in terms

of phases and the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), for instance in Richards (2011). Phase Theory captures the classical syntactic notion of the cycle, that is, that syntactic operations can only take place in short steps and makes it compatible with the Strong Minimalist Thesis (SMT) that posits that language is optimal for its interaction with the Articulatory-Perceptive and Conceptual-Intentional systems. In order to reach this optimization of its resources, language should aim for reduced computations that only target subparts of the array of lexical items involved in the syntactic derivation. Therefore, phases allow to keep both the SMT approach of reducing computations and the old observation that syntactic computations proceed cyclically.

The way in which phase theory enforces cyclicity of computations is by means of the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), which has received two formulations in the literature, in Chomsky (2000) and Chomsky (2001b):

(22) The Phase Impenetrability Condition:

In a phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α ; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.

According to Richards (2011), phases make for bad islands since they are specifically designed to be escapable through their phase-edges. Therefore, if an attempt is made to derive islandhood from the theory of phases, an explanation is needed as to why and under which circumstances these phase-edges are accessible or can become inactive.

Richards (2011) suggests that for a phase to have an active edge, and thus, be escapable for constituents within, the edge-feature of its phase-head must remain active. This edge-feature is based on Chomsky (2005, 2008)'s.

Nevertheless, this feature was for Chomsky and some subsequent work (see for instance Boeckx (2012)) just what enables a lexical item to merge with another one, not a feature in the more general term of that which drives syntactic computations by means of the need to be valued. Richards re-examines the notion of edge-feature to make it more contentful, endowing it with the ability to provide the space for specifiers to exist, allowing extraction through them.

Some aspects of this different notion of feature remain underexplained in Richards's work. For instance, it is unclear why a phase head could merge with another constituent in order to further the derivation in cases in which the edge feature is rendered inactive. Let us skip over the most inaccurate parts of this work in order to apply its core logic to the question of the extraction of Topics from island domains.

The central idea is that for a phase to have an edge, it must have an active edge-feature. In any other case the edge will be inactive and the phase will become an island. The edge-feature will remain active as long as the head possesses unchecked uninterpretable features which require validation. Once the head has satisfied every uninterpretable feature, it will have all of its needs covered and the edge-feature will de-activate.

Apart from the issue mentioned above, when the edge-feature is rendered inactive by the satisfaction of all featural needs on the phase-head, some other problems remain. One that comes to mind is the case in which uninterpretable features remain active within the constituents of a phase but not on the phase-head. In this cases, the expectation would be that the edge-feature should become inactive, eliminating the possibility of having a specifier of the phase and the extraction of anything through that position. However, there being unvalued features in the complement domain of the

head, the derivations should be expected to crash. We can see an example of this in long-distance Wh-questions, where a v head in a matrix sentence could have all of its features satisfied preventing a Wh-element in an embedded clause from climbing past it.

(23) What_{*i*} do you think_{*v*1} he discovered_{*v*2} t_{*i*}?

In this example, the verb in the embedded sentence would presumably have satisfied all of its feature-checking requirements, having assigned Accusative case to its object and so on. A consequence of that would be that the phase-edge of the little v would have become inactive, preventing *what* from moving through said edge.

Incidentally, it can be noted that this issue is neither central to this dissertation nor inescapable. If we assumed a version of the theory in which Greed plays a role, then a phrase with uninterpretable features would have a reason to keep moving independently of the featural content of the phase of the head where it is present. Under such an approach, *what* in the previous example would have to keep moving independently in order to check its own Q feature in the upper periphery.

Nonetheless, there are other cases of subextraction from island domains that can be explained in Richards's account. For instance, the following contrast can be nicely captured with the model of de-activation of edge-features on phase-heads.

- (24) a. What_{*i*} did you read books about t_{*i*}
- b. *What_{*i*} did you buy the book about t_{*i*}?

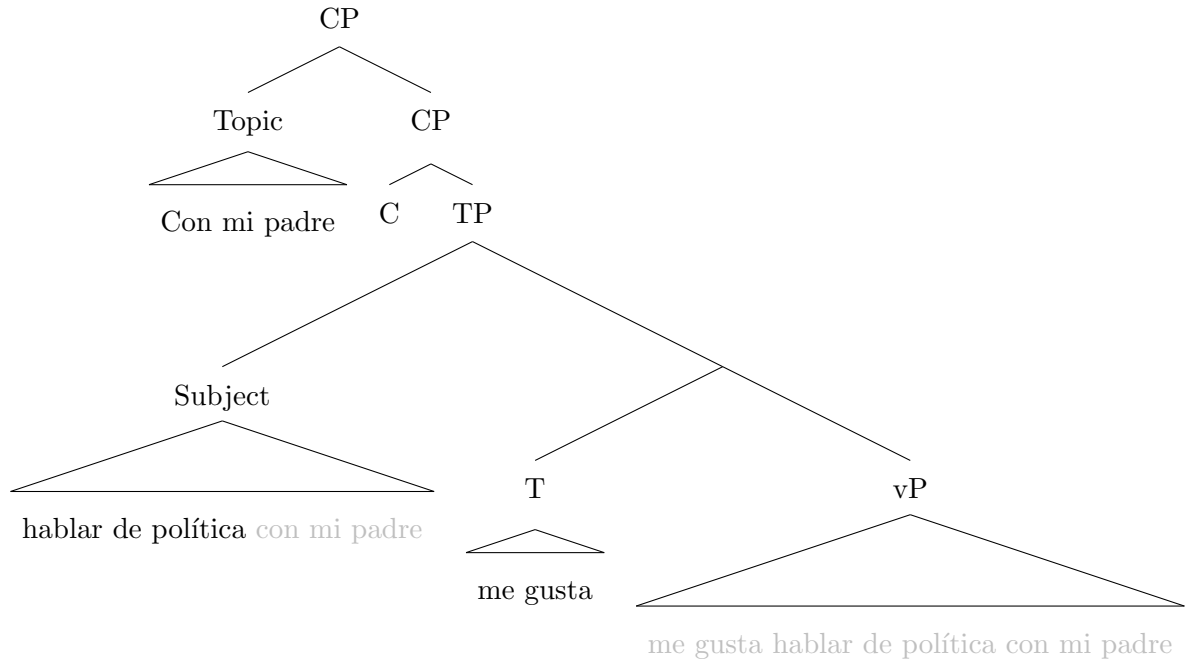
For this type of contrast, Richards establishes an analysis in which indeter-

minate DPs constitute defective phases whose edges cannot be de-activated and allow internal elements to escape, whereas a determinate DP like the one in the b. example would be spelled out after the checking of its internal features and would become inaccessible.

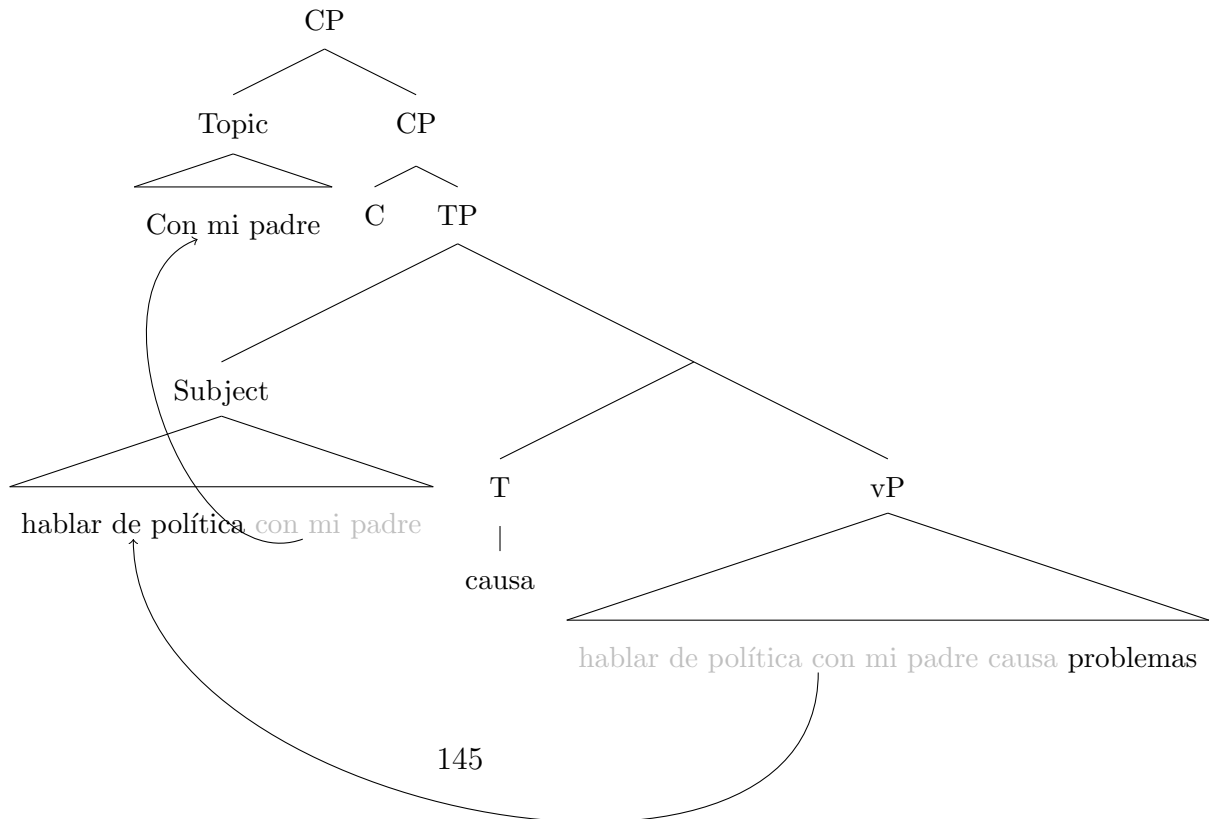
Let us now turn to the question of topicalization that structures this work. Can we explain the contrasts between the cases in which the same island domain can be trespassed by Topics under certain circumstances but not in others by appealing to an edge-feature that can switch on and off? I will suggest that the answer is no.

The reason, as with the rest of cases reviewed here, is based on the fact that identical structures can alternatively be breached by Topics depending on the verbal structure, an observation which seems to be absent of all these approaches. If we use here structures similar to the ones we have seen before, we can see how there do not seem to be reasons why one of the phase-edges would remain active for the grammatical case but inactive for the ungrammatical case:

- (25) Con mi padre, hablar de política me gusta.
 With my father, speak about politics CL-me pleases.



- (26) *Con mi padre, hablar de política causa problemas.
 With my father, speaking about politics causes problems.



3.3.5 A wrap-up of reviews

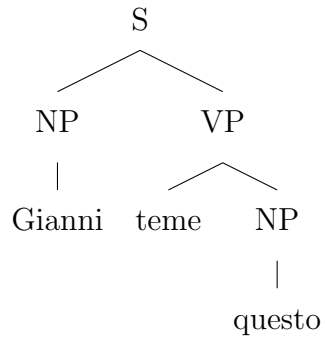
In these previous sections we have seen three analyses of island effects in the context of A'-movement. All of them are successful in determining contexts in which movement is blocked by islands. However, it seems like they cannot explain the differences in grammaticality attributed by speakers to different Subject Islands being violated by CLLD. In the case of Cinque's and Boeckx's approaches, the essential representational nature of those analyses makes them partially unable to distinguish between superficially identical structures. In the case of Richards's analysis, the derivational character of the approach does not prevent it from getting into a similar situation. I shall thus argue that the solution cannot take into account only the Subject Island itself and the constraints that operate on extraction, but also the argumental structure of the sentential verbs involved.

3.4 Some notes on argument structures

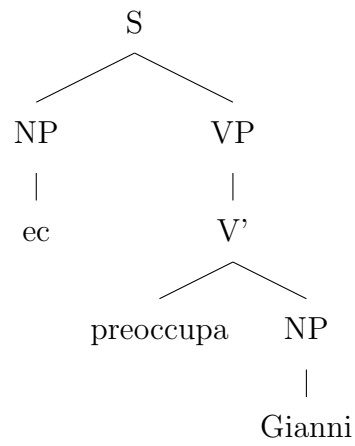
A quick survey of cases in which extraction from the subject island is allowed shows how instances of allowed topicalization include copulative sentences and sentences with unaccusative verbs, whereas causative verbs constitute a second cluster of phenomena regarding the extractability of subjects. All of this points to the conclusion that argument structure is a central concern when dealing with the extractability of subjects.

Belletti & Rizzi (1988) establish a threefold classification of Italian psychological verbs in respect to the order of their arguments and the thematic interpretation they receive:

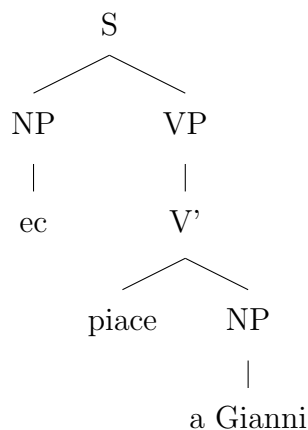
- (27) Gianni teme questo.
Gianni fears this.



- (28) Questo preoccupa Gianni.
This worries Gianni.



- (29) Questo piace a Gianni.
This pleases to Gianni.



For our purposes, the crucial part of their proposal is that for certain verbs, the phrase that will end up in subject position at the specifier of TP starts out the derivation in a complement position of the verb.

Nevertheless other authors (see for instance Gallego (2008)) have pointed out that even when extraction starts out from a permitted position, the final structure remains ungrammatical for speakers. Such an approach would go closer to the kind of representational perspectives on locality we have reviewed in this chapter. However, I do think that even for cases in which the subject has moved to the preverbal position judgments for most speakers remain better with unaccusative structures than with causative ones. Even if the final sentence is not judged as having full grammaticality, the presence of a clear contrast in well-formedness among speakers asks for an explanation. This analysis approached from the point of view of the timing of syntactic operations tries to offer such an explanation.

3.5 The timing of syntactic operations

The main claim this chapter makes is that constraints preventing topicalization from violating subject islands, as well as the analyses we propose for deriving those cases in which such islands can be escaped must be of a derivational character, acting while the derivation is taking place, and when attempting to move an element from one place to another, rather than representational, assessing the whole sentence when its structure has been built.

This amounts to claiming that the timing of the syntactic operations is at stake here. If opaque syntactic domains are created derivationally, the ability to move across them or out of them will crucially depend on doing it before the derivation has reached a point at which the island has been established. This part of the chapter will be devoted to discuss some aspects of the timing of syntactic operations.

The timing of operations has attracted some attention since the onset of the Minimalist Program. For some parts of phase theory to work, it was necessary to have a proposal for the spelling out of phase complements that would at the same time keep the necessary condition that elements within those complements must be able to get out of them before spell-out, as any long-distance movement would exemplify. Therefore, an operation of *movement* must take place before the operation of *spell out* in order for said elements to surface in higher positions, where we observe them. That is the exact same idea followed in this chapter.

If the timing of syntactic operations were totally universal we would expect grammaticality judgments to be uniform among speakers. This is not the case, since what we find is a considerable degree of variation. Could that be due to a different ordering of operations between two speakers, one of which must displace the subject to a pre-verbal position before performing

topicalization while the other must act in the opposite order? I do not believe that could be the case, and that kind of variation seems to be absent from language. The amount of variation therefore should be attributed in my opinion to the narrow relationship these peripheral elements have with discourse and the pragmatic interpretation of sentences. As a result, judgments on the grammaticality of certain cases of topicalization are particularly sensitive to context and the ability of people asked to judge on sentences to imagine a context in which a certain utterance could be pronounced.

3.6 An account of subject island violations by CLLD

As stated in previous sections, if different kinds of verbs show (or can show) an identical structure (with a pre-verbal subject) once sentences are fully built and yet behave differently in regards to the possibility of having topicalization or not, we can conclude that the difference between a group of sentences and the other is due to a different moment at which movements take place. In the case of unaccusative verbs, topicalization can take place before the subject has risen to its final pre-verbal position, thus becoming an island. When we have causative verbs, on the other hand, the subject is generated pre-verbally in any case, so it constitutes an island from the first moment.

An important part of this analysis is preventing it from overgenerating cases of island violation. If all subjects were escapable before moving to their pre-verbal positions, we would predict that they should not be islands at all for other kinds of phrases that are not Topics. This is contrary to fact, since both unaccusative and causative structures have subjects that behave like islands for other kinds of movement, like Wh-movement. We need to explain

why Wh-elements cannot escape islands in the same way Topics do. I shall tackle this issue at the end of the chapter.

In this section I shall argue that the approach that can capture in the easiest, most elegant way the contrasts in cases of extraction from subjects must be strictly derivational, unlike Cinque's, Boeckx's and Rizzi's approaches in strictly representational terms.

If we take a look again at the contrasts we saw at the beginning of the chapter, the crucial factor differentiating them is the fact that subjects from which we can extract Topics start the derivation in an object position. However, as seen in the previous sections a purely representational account cannot explain this contrast without adding some other element to the system, like for instance a memory that allows to keep track of cases in which the first trace/copy of the moved element is in complement position and not in a specifier.

Let us take a look at sentences contrasting in the availability of extraction from subject domains, similar to the ones we saw before:

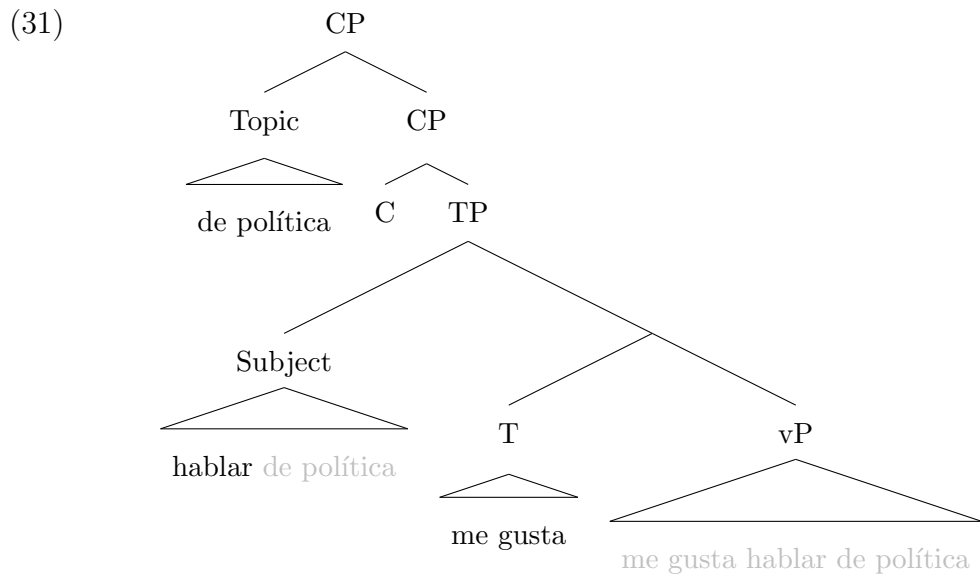
- (30) a. De política, hablar t me gusta.
About politics, to-speak t me it-pleases.
- b. *De política, hablar t causa problemas.
About politics, to-speak t causes problems.

Spanish

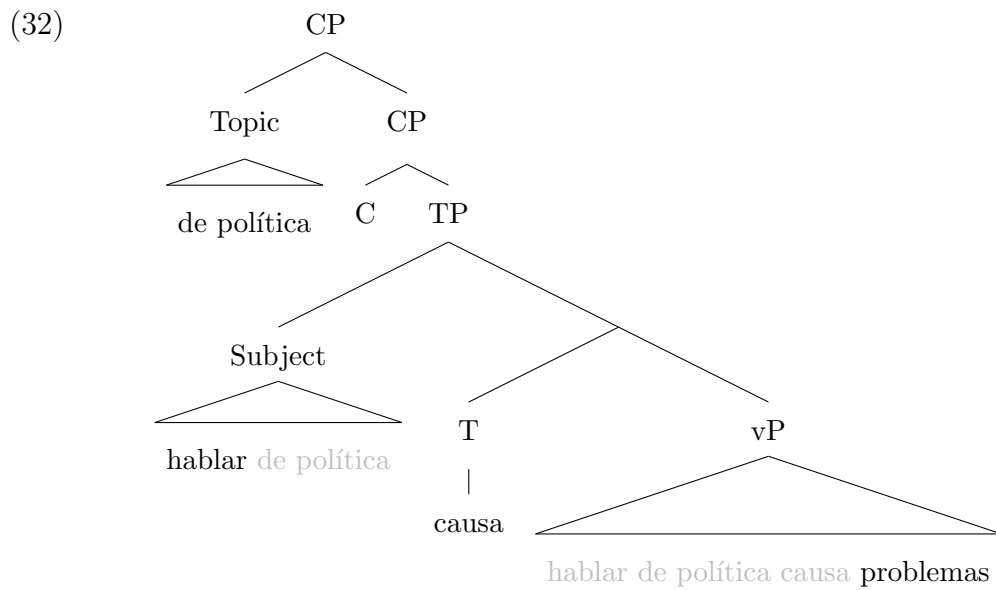
It may be important to notice that the first of these two examples is less natural in Spanish than its counterpart with post-verbal subject, examined in (60) in Chapter 1, 'De política, me gusta hablar'. Indeed, a crucial aspect in the analysis I shall develop here has to do with the fact that these subjects, unlike the ones in the banned examples, can be generated post-verbally. However, the example with the subject in pre-verbal position is also possible

and I prefer to use it here to clearly show how the structures from which the movement of the Topic proceeds are identical.

Example (30-a) would correspond, in simplified terms to a structure like the following:



In the same way, a structure for the b. example could be:



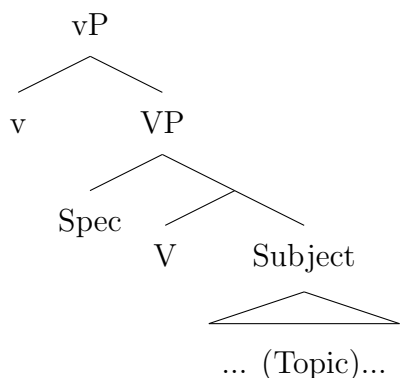
Even without examining the reasons behind banned extraction from subjects or specifiers in the general case, it seems clear that whatever syntactic constraints apply in one case should also apply on the other. That is the reason we offered to justify why a derivational approach offers a more advantageous analysis of the data than the representational ones.

Abstracting away, we do know that movement of both objects and specifiers is not only possible, but necessary for syntactic computations, the problematic case being *extraction* from specifiers. The conclusions for the analysis of Topic extraction from subjects should be that the allowed instances should start out by moving the Topic-to-be from the original object position before the rest of the subject moves to satisfy the EPP or a similar principle and becomes frozen in a specifier position. Once the Topic has escaped the object position, which is an allowed movement, analogous to Wh-extraction from a similar domain, it becomes a specifier or an adjunct⁶ in a position above the VP. It should not move directly to its final landing site within the CP in order to avoid movements that result in tucking-in if possible. Therefore I will suggest that Topics first move to an intermediate position, possibly along the lines of Belletti (2004, 2005)'s left periphery of the VP.

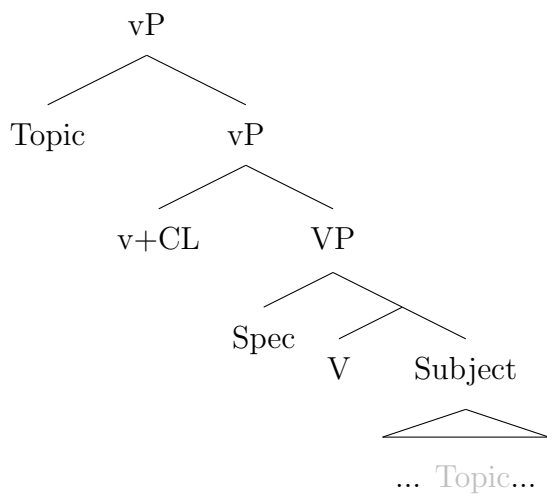
This process can be illustrated as follows:

⁶Recall the assumption we are making that Topics are adjuncts to a maximal projection in the sentential periphery.

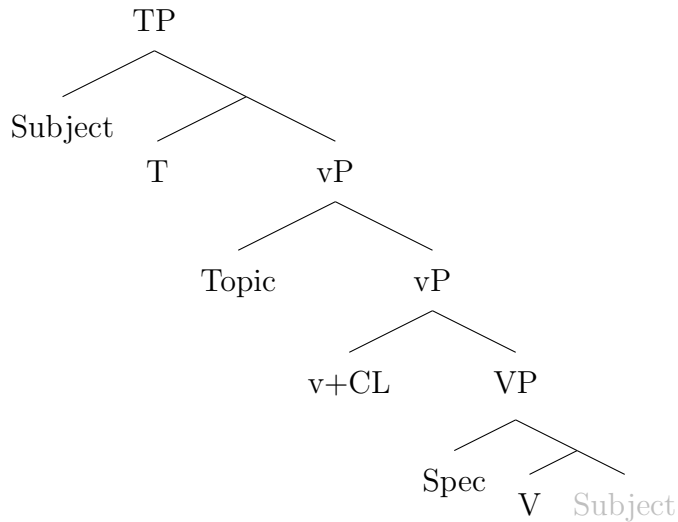
- The vP is built with the subject generated in post-verbal position due to the nature of the verb. As assumed at the end of Chapter 2, an analysis making use of a Big DP headed by the clitic is chosen:



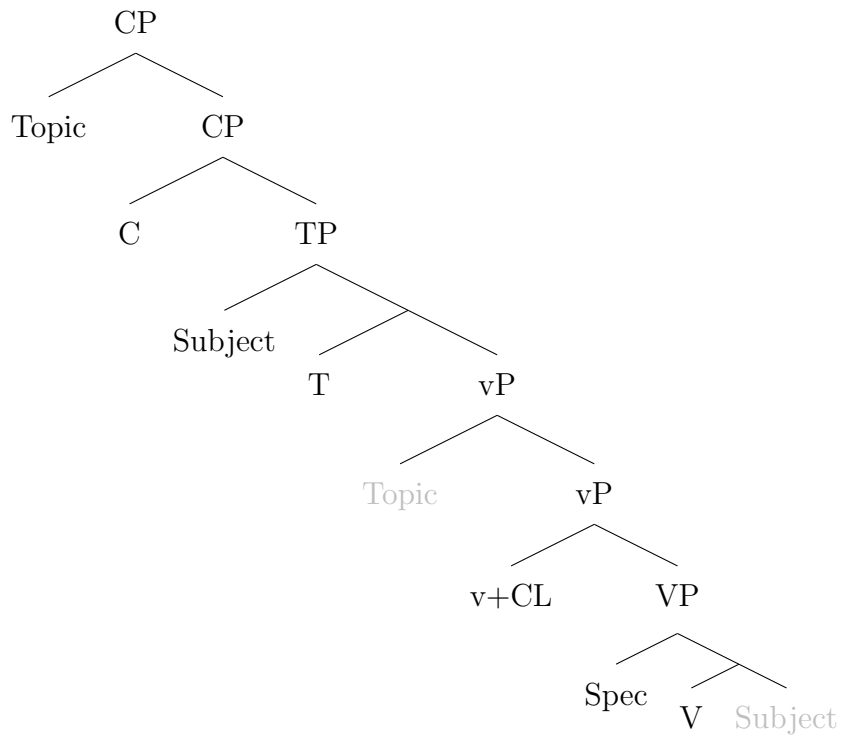
- The Topic escapes and adjoins at the maximal projection of vP, leaving the clitic together with the verb:



- When the derivation moves forward, the subject rises to the specifier of TP to satisfy the EPP:



- Eventually, once a C head has been merged into the tree, the Topic moves to its final peripheral position:



There are three other factors we should take into account regarding the

acceptability of sentences with Topic movement from a subject domain. In the first place, cases such as the one analyzed in (30-a) which are introduced by the preposition *de* or *about* can be easily confused with so-called *aboutness topics*. These Topics, as mentioned before, behave much more like Hanging Topics and do not belong to the class of CLLDed Topics under analysis here.⁷ I do not think they are the result of movement like CLLD Topics are and as a natural result, the acceptability of sentences containing them in cases of banned extractions is much higher.

Nevertheless, appealing to examples in which we cannot have the *aboutness* reading yields the same results as the ones analyzed above. The examples are presented in two groups in order to take into account the effects of both topicalizing from within the subject and word order for verbs that allow post-verbal subjects more easily:

- (33) a. Los libros de Chomsky me urge leerlos.
The books by Chomsky to me it urges to read-CL-*them*.
b. Los libros de Chomsky es difícil leerlos.
The books by Chomsky it is difficult to read-CL-*them*.
c. ?Los libros de Chomsky, me causa emoción
The books by Chomsky, to me it causes emotion
leerlos.
reading-CL-*them*.
- (34) a. ?Los libros de Chomsky, leerlos me urge
The books by Chomsky to read-CL-*them* to me it urges
bastante.
quite a lot.

⁷In some cases, this effect can be controlled for. As an example, the Catalan clitic *en* allows us to force a CLLD-reading on Topics that co-refer with it in sentences like *?De política, parlar-ne m'agrada* ('About politics, talking pleases me').

- b. ?Los libros de Chomsky, leerlos es difícil.
 The books by Chomsky to read-CL-*them* it is difficult.
- c. *Los libros de Chomsky, leerlos me causa
 The books by Chomsky, reading-CL-*them* to me it causes
 emoción.
 emotion.

Spanish

The second issue is that cases which are banned in principle improve to the point of full acceptability by speakers when, for instance, the distance between the Topic and its resumptive clitic is increased. In these cases it seems that the clitic somehow brings back the displaced argument that had been absent for a while. For example, Catalan speakers consulted said their judgment passed from ‘ungrammatical’ to well-formed in the following case of topicalization from the same subject domain of the same verb:

- (35) a. *De política, parlar-ne es va tornar difícil.
 About politics, speaking-CL became difficult.
- b. De política, cada vegada es va anar tornant més
 About politics, each time it started becoming more
 difícil parlar-ne.
 difficult to speak-CL.

Catalan

Finally, a third factor to take into account has to do with the acceptability or degradation that these Topics experience when the subject they are moved from is pre- or post-verbal. The fact remains that they are always more acceptable when the subject stays in post-verbal position after topicalization. Even when the resulting sentence is acceptable as in (30-a), the corresponding case with post-verbal subject tends to sound more natural. Topicalization should not be affected by this effect, since it seems an in-

dependent phenomenon and, if the analysis suggested here is correct, takes place before subject movement to satisfy the EPP, but it is still something to consider when comparing different instances of topicalization. The general rule followed in this chapter has been that of explaining contrasts of relative grammaticality, that is, since for many pairs of sentences judgments were not expressed in terms of ‘grammatical’ versus ‘ungrammatical’, but rather in terms of ‘more acceptable’ and ‘less acceptable’, it is this degree of acceptability what we try to explain.

To sum up, in this section we have seen how Topics can be extracted from Subject Islands, a subtype of strong island, under certain conditions, but not under others. The condition is that the subject from which the Topic moves is generated originally in post-verbal position. In order to capture the contrast between subjects generated post- and pre-verbally, topicalization must happen before subject movement. This has the consequence that constraints defining well- and ill-formed topicalizations must act derivationally and not on the final representation, which would be identical in both kinds of cases except for the original copy of the Topic.

3.7 Some consequences for the analysis of CLLD

A natural expectation derived from the previous characterization of topicalization out of subjects is that it should always be possible when it proceeds from subjects that are generated post-verbally and never from subjects that start out in pre-verbal position, not just in the contrast between unaccusative and causative verbs, but in any structure that involved subjects generated as complements of predicates. We can check this prediction by looking at structures in which subjects have to move to their landing sites as specifiers of a

higher projection, say TP, from an original complement position. We shall examine unaccusative verbs pertaining to groups beyond that of psych-verbs and passive sentences of two kinds: regular passives and reflexive-passives.

Judgments for unaccusative verbs degrade rapidly for verbs that strongly require post-verbal subjects, as the following examples show:

- (36) a. Los trabajos, falta sólo firmarlos.
 The papers it lacks only to sign-CL.
 Regarding the papers, the only remaining thing is to sign them.

- b. Los deberes ahora toca hacerlos.
 The homework now it is the moment to do-CL

Spanish

- c. Aquesta carta cal lliurar-la demà.
 This letter it is necessary to send-CL tomorrow.

Catalan

- (37) a. ??Los trabajos, firmarlos falta.
 The papers, sign-CL-*them* lacks.

- b. ??Los deberes, hacerlos toca ahora.
 The homework, doing-CL-*it* is is the moment now.

The question that remains, though, is whether we can detect subtle difference in the well-formedness of sentences between cases of unaccusative verbs of this kind whose subjects have been put in a pre-verbal position, and those of causative verbs whose subjects have been naturally generated there. In other words, is there a contrast between the following two sentences?

- (38) a. ??Los trabajos, corregirlos falta.
 The papers correcting-CL-*them* lacks.

- b. *Los trabajos, corregirlos deprisa causa problemas.
 The papers, correcting-CL-*them* quickly causes problems.

There seems to be a certain degree of contrast, but it is in no way as strong as the one we experience when using a psych-verb instead:

- (39) Los trabajos, corregirlos me molesta muchísimo.
The papers, correcting-CL-*them* me bothers very much.

In any case, this does not seem to be a very informative matter regarding topicalization problems: if sentences are bad because they do not accept pre-verbal subjects, the problem does not lie in the topicalization process; and if they allow topicalization for all cases in which the subject must remain in a post-verbal position, that would be welcome from the point of view of the analysis proposed in this chapter.

There is a subset of cases in which the Topic can be extracted more easily from pre-verbal subjects, namely copulative sentences.

- (40) A los niños, darles regalos es una gozada.
To the children, give-CL-*them* gifts is a pleasure.

Spanish

In fact, if we change the previous dubious sentences to contain a copulative verb from whose subject we displace the Topic, thus forming a cleft sentence, they all become well-formed again:

- (41) a. Los trabajos, firmarlos es lo que falta.
The papers, sign-CL-*them* is what lacks.

Spanish

Finally, another case in which we would expect to find extraction from subjects is that of passive sentences, since both passives and reflexive-passives should fall under the pattern of allowed subject extraction domains. This prediction

is borne out:

- (42) a. Los impuestos, subirlos se decidió en octubre.
 The taxes, raising-CL-*them* *se* approved in October.
- b. ?Los impuestos, subirlos fue decidido por el
 The taxes, raising-CL-*them*, was decided by the
 gobierno.
 government.

Spanish

There is a difference in judgments between the full passive and the reflexive passive, at least for Spanish, that is not easy to explain within the derivational analysis I have advocated for. However, I claim that this difference is not due to the topicalization happening under different circumstances, but to the general observation that reflexive-passives are more acceptable than full passives in Spanish, regardless of their having a Topic or not:

- (43) a. Subir los impuestos se decidió en octubre.
 Raising the taxes *se* decided in October.
- b. ?Subir los impuestos fue decidido por el gobierno.
 Raising the taxes was decided by the government.

Spanish

The conclusion is then that topicalization has nothing to do with the acceptability of these sentences and I shall therefore consider that it is well formed when proceeding from within a subject domain. Thus, passives conform to the mechanism presented here.

3.7.1 Differences among speakers

The domain of the sentential periphery is particularly prone to differences in judgment among speakers, not only across different varieties of a language but also within the same group of speakers, where we would expect to find little variation in what constitutes a grammatical sentence. The fact that the CP layer of a sentence contains to some extent the interaction between syntax and the wider field of discourse-related phenomena makes the judgment of processes in this area more dependent on context. Being able to imagine a question-answer pair or not often changes the way in which speakers judge these sentences.

As a result we can find for Spanish and Catalan speakers⁸ that accept sentences that I have marked with a star throughout this dissertation and also the other way round. In this section I will suggest some possible causes for these differences and the ways in which I have tried to minimize their potential impact on my research.

One of such causes is making the CLLDed phrase a PP. In this case, sentences like (44) are deemed acceptable by more speakers than similar examples in which the Topic is a DP (take for instance an example like (34-c)):

- (44) *De política, hablar con mi padre causa problemas.
About politics, talking to my father causes problems.

Spanish

A possible explanation is that PPs may not be extracted from within the DP apparently containing them, as proposed in Culicover & Rochemont (1990),

⁸For other Romance varieties I did not have access to enough speakers to have a clear assessment of the degree of variation present in them.

where PPs are generated outside the DP and would therefore not be true instances of subextraction from the subject island. If that is the case, then it is natural that no locality constraints should be perceived by speakers. Nevertheless, the fact that other speakers do find those sentences degraded may suggest that the analysis of PP-movement is in fact different for different speakers. This would however have wide-ranging implications for syntactic theory and I will just leave it as a suggestion, not developed in any further detail.

Another cause, which was mentioned in Chapter 2 under ‘A note on the methodology’ is the interpretation as Hanging Topics that some of these CLLDed Topics can receive when no explicit Case marking is present.

3.7.2 Differences between Wh-movement and CLLD

As mentioned before, an undesirable consequence of the analysis presented here could be that it predicts that no post-verbal subject should be an island, since it could in principle allow for elements other than Topics to move out of them before they rise to meet the EPP. If we propose that phrases can escape post-verbal subjects before the rise to satisfy the EPP becoming islands in the process, all phrases could potentially do that, and the subjects of all inaccusative or passive constructions would be transparent for all kinds of movement, not just topicalization.

This in fact untrue:

- (45) a. *¿Qué vender(lo) se decidió la semana pasada?
 What to sell-CL-*it* was decided last week?
- b. El coche, venderlo se decidió la semana pasada.
 The car, selling-CL-*it* was decided last week.

Spanish

How can we solve this problem and yet keep the proposal made so far? I will propose that the answer lies in the nature of syntactic features and the way in which they trigger movement, as well as on the feature-inheritance mechanism proposed in Chomsky (2008), Richards (2007), Den Dikken & Shim (2011).

The reason why Wh-elements cannot move at the time when the post-verbal subject containing them has not moved yet is because they need a C head containing a matching Wh-feature to trigger their movement attracting them, and such head is not present in the derivation yet. Once the C head has merged, a Probe-Goal relationship is established between it and the Wh-phrase in the lower part of the sentence, and once there is a Match between features, Wh-movement can proceed.

The Feature-inheritance mechanism proposed in Chomsky (2008) consists in considering the C and T heads as dependent on one another: all morphosyntactic features belong to the C head, but once it has been merged, the T head under it inherits part of its features and becomes active (for theoretical and empirical motivations of this fact, see Obata (2010), Obata & Epstein (2011), Richards (2007)). It is at this time that the EPP activates and the subject can be raised to satisfy it. The problem for the Wh-element is that it is now too late for it to move, since the Feature-inheritance mechanism ensures the EPP is active and the subject must have risen becoming an island.

This has a consequence for the analysis of CLLD, namely that topicalized phrases do not have to wait for any head to be merged into the tree before they can move. Otherwise, they wouldn't be able to escape the subject domain when they do. One way to account for this analysis is to propose that CLLD is not feature-driven. How can we account within the Minimalist

Program for syntactic movement that is not motivated by the need to value uninterpretable features on a functional head?

I shall argue that everything has to do with the optionality of the movement. Topicalization is always optional in the sense that the fronted element could have stayed *in situ* without inducing any morphosyntactic problem, unlike Wh-movement. As has been mentioned a few times, this does not mean that the different syntactic configurations arising from moving or not moving the Topic do not have semantic consequences: these semantic consequences (emphasis, contrast and whichever others that can be attributed to topicalization processes) will be present every time we find CLLD. The last chapter of the dissertation returns to this issue.

3.8 Conclusions

In this chapter we have shown that the right kind of derivational approach can account for the different judgments on the grammaticality of sentences in which a CLLDed Topic has moved from within a subject island, which should not be possible in principle under Cinque (1990) account. In order to do so, we saw that different kinds of verbs with different argument structures display different patterns of topicalization. The fact that they do that in spite of the strong island that pre-verbal subjects are supposed to be points to the suggestion that Topics escape subjects *before* they become islands. Therefore, the timing of syntactic operations becomes crucially important in the analysis, and the resulting constraints are strictly derivational. We have finally seen how Wh-elements must follow a different pattern because of their need to wait until C is merged into the structure. At that time, it is late for the Topic to escape the subject, since it must have become an island.

Chapter 4

Complex-NP and Adjunct Island Extraction

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter constituted the first part of the core of this dissertation. It dealt with the first kind of strong island violation that Topics can perform, thus constituting one central step towards the analysis of the interaction between CLLD and locality constraints in syntax. This chapter deals in turn with violations of the other two kinds of strong islands, that is, Complex-NP and Adjunct islands.

There is a motivation behind their grouping together in this chapter and their being separated in their analysis from the Subject island case in Chapter 3. We can recall that the fundamental part of the approach in that chapter was to assume a strictly derivational account of how Topics can escape islands of the Subject kind. However, the sort of locality constraints investigated in this chapter will not be dealt with in a derivational fashion, but rather in a representational manner, essentially via the notion of Connectedness (Kayne,

1983), although it will have to be extended to accommodate for cases which the strictly syntactic Kaynian Connectedness would rule out.

The idea of Connectedness, further developed below, is that some element of a sentence sitting in a banned position can be ‘rescued’, so to speak, by a co-referential element sitting in a well-formed structure. This notion will be applied to the analysis of topicalization in this chapter, but the approach can only be appealed to when the whole relevant syntactic structure has already been built, and therefore, it is a representational approach that differs fundamentally from the one in the previous chapter.

This chapter is organized as follows: in the first place, the kind of island violations that will be studied will be presented; the next section is devoted to the presentation and explanation of the concept of Connectedness and its relationship with the type of island violation by CLLD under scrutiny; in the following section the analysis is applied to cases of Complex-NP island firstly and to that of adjuncts afterwards. A conclusion closes the chapter.

4.2 Complex-NP and Adjunct island violations

After subjects, two other kinds of islands recognized in the literature as *strong*, namely Complex-NP and adjunct islands. As expected, in the general case they block both Wh-movement and topicalization:

- (1) a. *¿A quién conocemos al espía que traicionó?
Who do we know the spy who betrayed?
b. *A Pedro, conocemos al espía que lo traicionó.
To Pedro, we know the spy who CL-*him* betrayed.
- (2) a. *¿A quién te fuiste antes de saludar?
Who did you leave before greeting?

- b. *A Pedro, te fuiste antes de saludarlo.
 To Pedro, you left before greeting-CL-*him*.

Spanish

However, as we saw at the beginning of the dissertation, there are circumstances under which these strong islands can also be violated by CLLD.

- (3) a. A Pedro, el médico que lo atendió le dijo que
 Pedro, the doctor who CL-*him* tended to CL-*him* told to
 volviera mañana.
 come back tomorrow.

Complex-NP Island Violation

- b. A Pedro, Juan le dio dos besos antes
 Pedro, Juan CL-*him* gave two kisses before
 de hablarle.
 speaking-CL-*him*.

Adjunct Island Violation

These examples have something that strongly reminds of cases of parasitic gap licensing in which the well-formedness of a sentence containing a parasitic gap depends on the relationship between a gap in a banned position and a movement trace in a position that allows syntactic movement. Therefore, I shall suggest that the same conditions that apply to the well-formedness of sentences with parasitic gaps can apply to cases of extraction from relative clauses and adjuncts.

4.3 Connectedness

Kayne (1983) proposed an approach to parasitic gap phenomena in terms of the idea of *connectedness* that I suggest can be applied to certain cases in which CLLD can violate islands in Romance varieties. The kind of phenom-

ena studied by Kayne is of the familiar following type:

- (4) What_{*i*} did you file t_{*i*} without reading *gap_i*?

In examples such as this, a gap sits in a position in which we expect it not to be if we adopt a movement-base account of parasitic gaps, in which the gap corresponds to a displaced element. In spite of the fact that there seems to be an island violation, since the Wh-element *what* should have moved from the island domain *without reading t*, these sentences are grammatical. Kayne's analysis starts out from the observation that the gap in the bad position is co-indexed with another gap in a permitted site, and somehow this fact seems to *rescue* the ill-formedness of the bad gap. Nevertheless, co-indexing by itself is not enough to license structures which contain gaps of this kind, as seen in (5), and therefore, Kayne proceeds from his initial observation towards a precise characterization of the properties a structure must have in order for it to license parasitic gaps.

- (5) *The animals that they photographed t_{*i*} because giving peanuts to *gap* was illegal.

The way of capturing that rescuing process in Kayne's analysis is by means of the concept of *Connectedness*, that is, if the gap in the banned position is connected in the relevant way with the gap in the permitted position. This connection is realized by means of so-called *g-projections*, which are formally defined as follows:

(6) **Y is a *g-projection* of X iff:**

Y is a projection of X or of a g-projection of X;

or

X is a structural governor and Y immediately dominates W and Z, where Z is a maximal projection of X and W and Z are in canonical government configuration.

Graphically represented, the two conditions involved in determining g-projections look as follows:

(7) a.
$$\begin{array}{c} Y \text{ (} g\text{-projection)} \\ | \\ X \end{array}$$

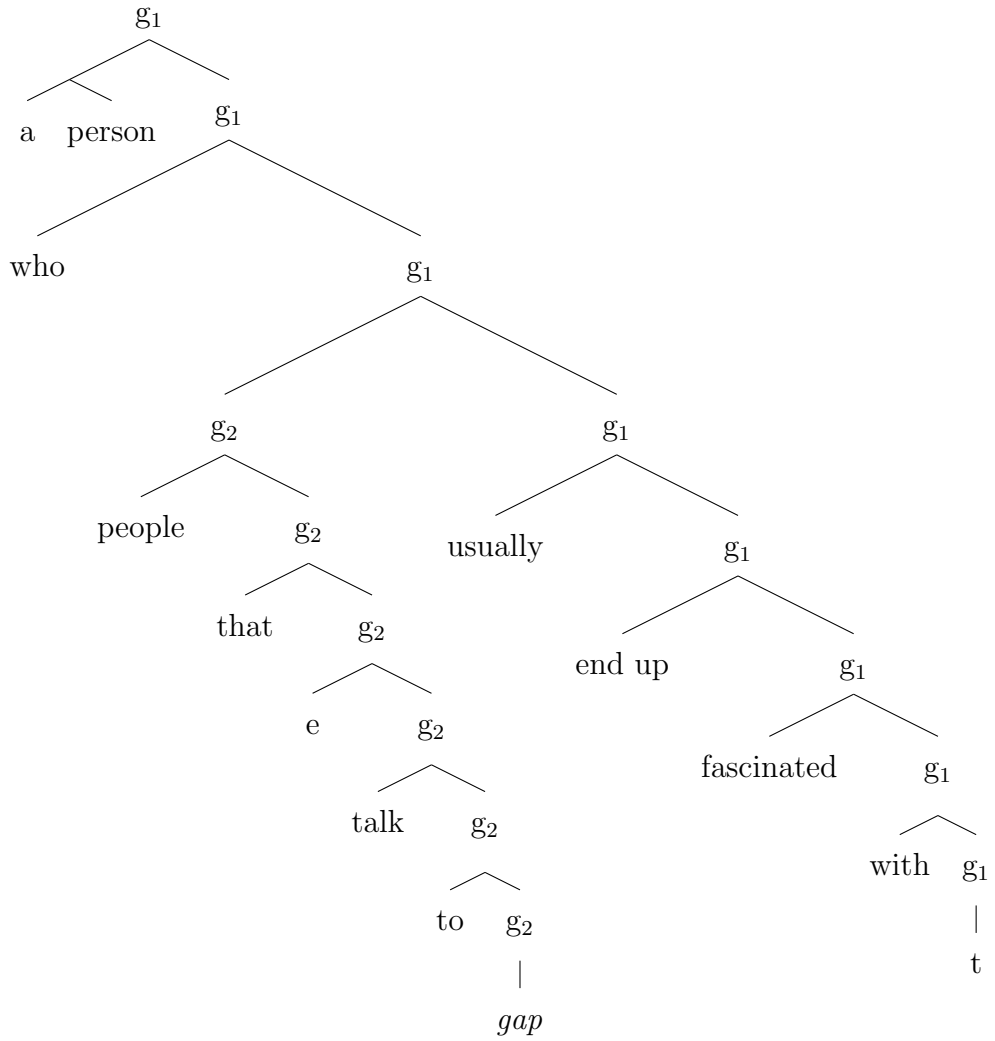
b.
$$\begin{array}{c} Y \text{ (} g\text{-projection)} \\ \wedge \\ W \quad Z \\ | \\ X \end{array}$$

A crucial part in this representation is that *W is not* a g-projection of X, because it does not appear in a canonical government configuration (in English and other languages) since it constitutes a left branch in the tree. That is, g-projections extend along right branches, and this is exactly what allows licensing grammatical cases, distinguishing them from ill-formed structures. If, at some point in the syntactic structure, a connection between the g-projection of the gap in the banned position and that of the trace in the permitted position can be established, the resulting sentence is well formed. Otherwise, it is ungrammatical. We can see how in the examples below (8)

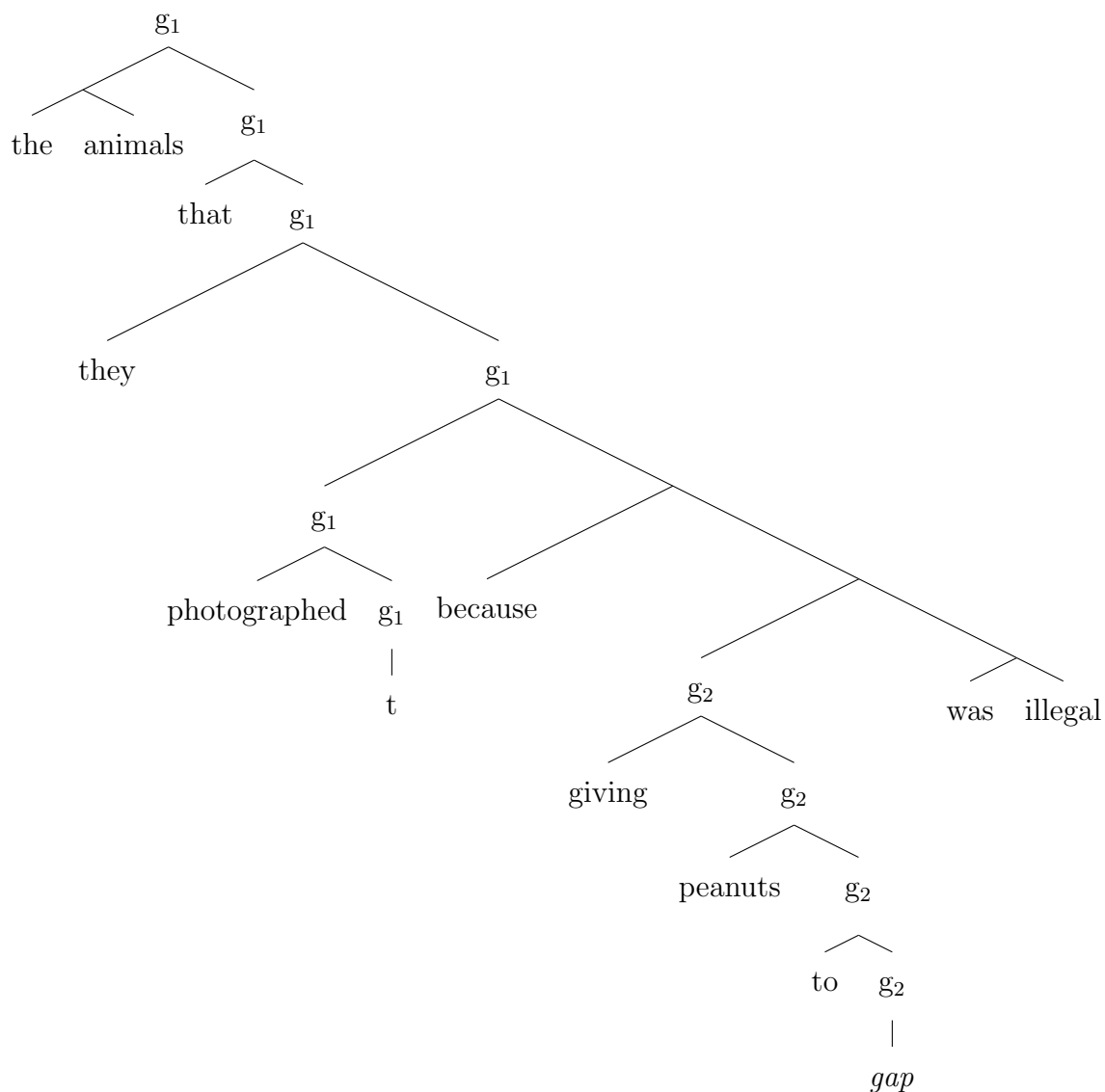
and (9).

The notion of Connectedness, therefore, is not necessarily an explanatory one: it describes the criteria that a structure must fulfill in order for it to be legitimate. The ultimate reason behind why some form of this structural principle should be a part of the natural linguistic endowment are beyond the scope of this work, but it is likely that an approach which offers an account of restrictions on movement could explain why a restriction on the well-formedness of some kinds of movement chains like Connectedness should apply.

- (8) A person_i who people that talk to *gap*_i usually end up fascinated with _{t_i}



- (9) *The animals_i that they photographed t_i because giving peanuts to gap_i was illegal.



In (8), there is a point in the syntactic tree in which the g-projection of the gap inside the island *people that talk to t*, (g_2), is a sister node of the projection of the trace (g_1) and as a consequence, the sentence meets the criteria of well formedness imposed by the Connectedness principle and is

grammatical. Meanwhile, (9) does not have a point in the structure where both g-projections stand in a configuration of sisterhood and therefore the resulting sentence is ungrammatical.

Although Kayne's analysis was carried out within the GB framework and the original definition of g-projection is done in terms of government, a Minimalist interpretation is not difficult to implement. After all, Kayne's approach is basically a description of the conditions that must be met for the final representation to be well formed. The approach does not provide a deep syntactic account of how these structures come to be or are licensed. It rather establishes a representational requisite for the correct interpretation of the sentence at the interfaces.

4.4 A Connectedness-based analysis of Complex-NP and Adjunct violations by CLLD

4.4.1 Preliminaries

The central notion behind the idea of Connectedness is that something in a banned position which would render a sentence ungrammatical can be *saved* by a co-referential *something else* sitting in a permitted position and linked to the former element in the appropriate fashion. As we saw at the beginning, the examples in which a Topic has violated an island constraint closely resemble those of parasitic gaps studied by Kayne. Therefore, we can see if the Connectedness-based analysis for parasitic gaps also works for them.

- (10) a. What_{*i*} did you file *t_{*i*}* without reading *t_{*i*}*?

- b. El libro_i lo_i archivaste antes de leerlo_i.
The book CL-*it* you filed before reading-CL-*it*.
- c. A Pedro_i el médico que lo_i atendió le_i dijo que
To Pedro, the doctor who CL-*him* tended CL-*him* told to
volviera mañana.
come again tomorrow.

There are of course differences between these structures and those analyzed by Kayne. For cases of CLLD, the co-indexed elements in the structure are not a trace and a gap, but two clitics which do not agree in Case (necessarily). It is rather the general shape of parasitic gaps what suggests using a similar approach. In fact, as we shall see, other phenomena in syntax seem to follow a related pattern.

A natural expectation if we apply this approach to the analysis of topicalization in the context of these islands would be that the very same cases in which the Connectedness principle rules out sentences with parasitic gaps should equally rule out the equivalent sentences built with topicalizations. This is in fact true, as we find a degradation in the well-formedness of a sentence like example b. below, corresponding to the degraded sentence with a parasitic gap in English. We can compare them side by side before providing their proposed structure in terms of g-projections:

- (11) a. A Juan, la gente que lo conoce, normalmente
Juan, the people who CL-*him* know, normally
lo acaba odiando.
CL-*him* end up hating.

Spanish

- b. A person_i who people that talk to *gap* usually end up fascinated
with t_i

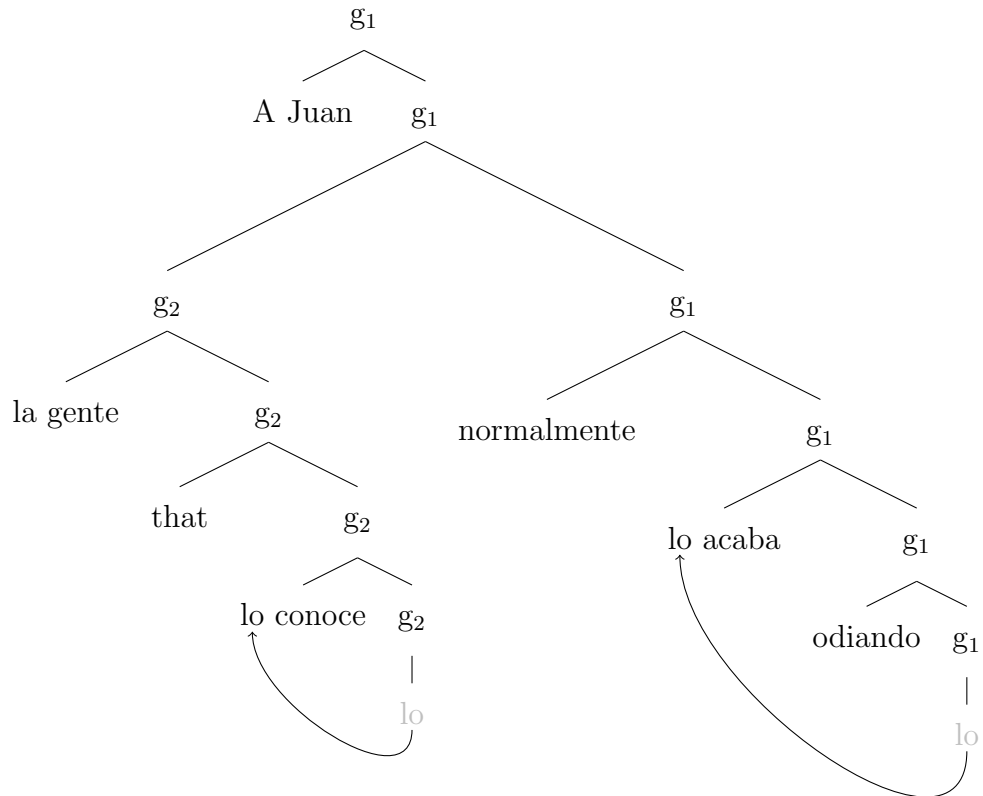
- (12) a. ?A los elefantes los fotografiaron porque
 The elephants, CL-*them* they photographed because
 darles cacahuetes causaba problemas.
 giving-CL-*them* peanuts caused problems.

Spanish

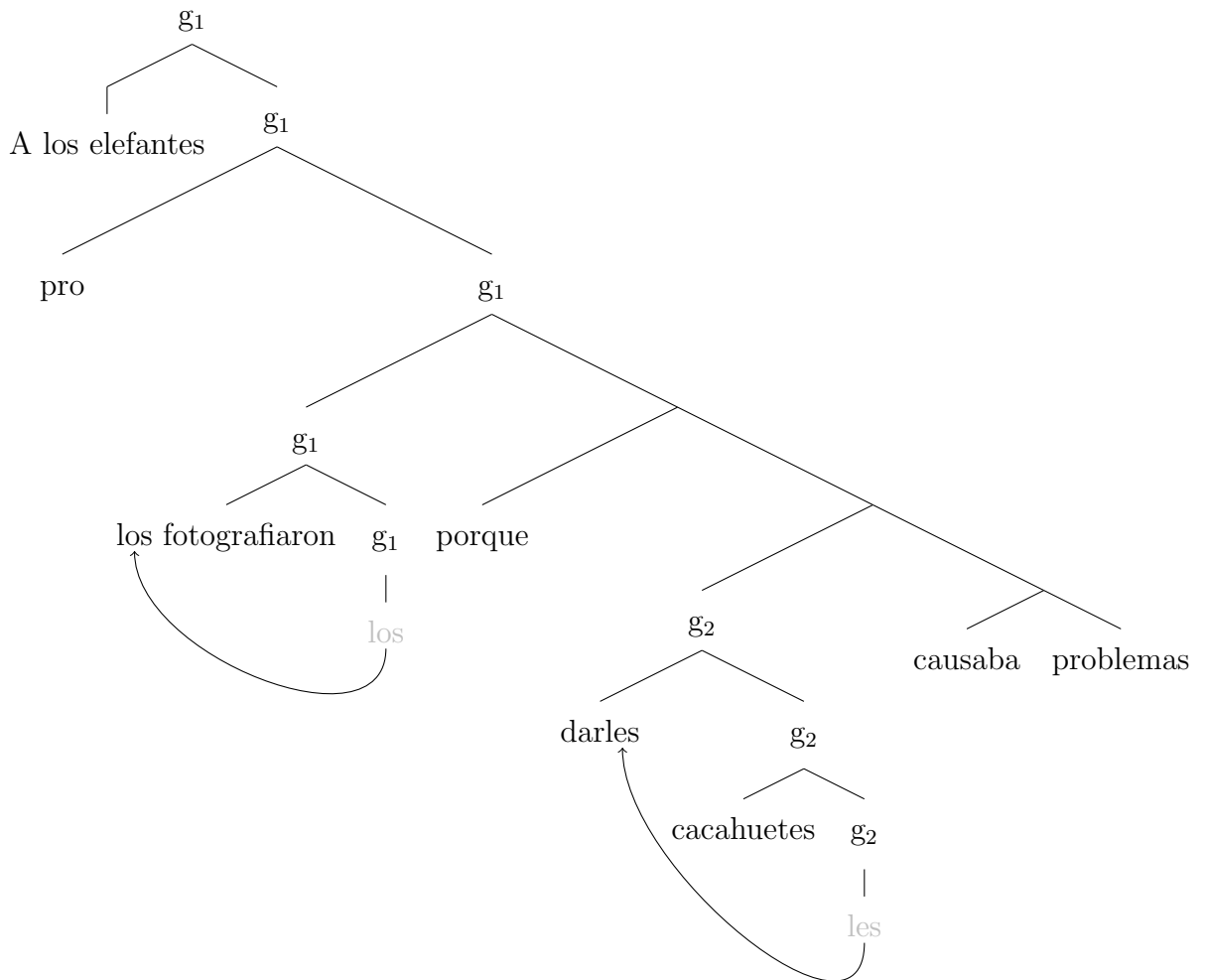
- b. *The animals_{*i*} that they photographed t_{*i*} because giving peanuts
 to *gap* was illegal.

In the second case, the verb inside the adjunct island had been changed into a causative verb so that we can be sure that the subject has generated in a pre-verbal position, which was the relevant issue as seen in Chapter 3. By comparing them to the structures shown before for cases of parasitic gaps, we can establish the parallelism:

- (13) A Juan, la gente que lo conoce, normalmente lo
 Juan, the people who CL-*him* know, normally CL-*him*
 acaba odiando.
 end up hating.



- (14) ?A los elefantes los fotografiaron porque
 The elephants, CL-*them* they photographed because
 darles cacahuetes causaba problemas.
 giving-CL-*them* peanuts caused problems.



In addition to the issue of Connectedness, there seem to be grammaticality effects derived from the co-referentiality of the gap in the bad position and the trace in the allowed site. This is what I shall return to under the name of ‘Semantic Connectedness’.

4.4.2 Some implications of a Connectedness-based analysis

We can note how the difference between the analysis of this kind of island violation by Topics and that of Topics in the previous chapter are fundamentally different. The whole approach for subject island violations was based on the suggestion that actually no violation does ever take place. The differences in the timing of syntactic operations explained the apparent violations we saw. In this case, the violation does in fact occur. It is only a later mechanism that allows it to be repaired, once the broader syntactic structure has been built. The nature of the reasoning behind both kinds of island violation is fully different.

There is still another final consideration to bear in mind: can we be sure that these instances are also cases of movement? We have been treating them as such on the basis of the presence of the co-referential clitic in both the banned and the allowed positions, but clitics need not appear necessarily when a Topic is present (whereas the other way round is necessary, that is, Topics can only appear in the presence of co-referential pronouns):

- (15) (A Juan) *(lo) vimos ayer.
Juan, CL-*him* we saw yesterday.

Therefore, if the clitic in the banned clause is just there because clitics can generally appear on their own, and the co-referentiality with the peripheral Topic is casually established, no movement to the CP would have proceeded from within the island, and thus, no island violation would have taken place. If that were the case, the clitic in the relative clause or the adjoined or relative clause would have been independently merged there during the formation of that part of the sentence, whereas normal topicalization would have happened

in the main clause without encountering any problem. I shall call this the ‘trivial analysis’.

Therefore, we would need a clear indicator that this cannot be the case for the sentences we have been studying in this chapter. An interesting test can be devised by making sure that the clitic in the main clause cannot be co-referential with that in the relative clause or adjunct from which we intend to know whether movement has happened. Doing that changes the grammaticality of the sentence:

- (16) a. A Pedro_i el médico que lo_i atendió le_i dijo que
To Pedro, the doctor who CL-*him* tended CL-*him* told to
volviera mañana.
come again tomorrow.
- b. *A Pedro_i el médico que lo_i atendió me dijo que
To Pedro, the doctor who CL-*him* tended CL-*me* told to
volviera mañana.
come again tomorrow.
- (17) a. A Pedro, Juan le dio dos besos antes
Pedro, Juan CL-*him* gave two kisses before
de hablarle.
speaking-CL-*him*.
- b. *A Pedro, Juan me dio dos besos antes
Pedro, Juan CL-*me* gave two kisses before
de hablarle.
speaking-CL-*him*.

In order to explain the difference in grammaticality between the a. and b. examples, two explanations are available. The first, which agrees with the ‘trivial analysis’ is to say that grammatical cases do not involve Topic movement from inside the island and the interpretation of the clitic in that domain is established via a co-indexing mechanism with the clitic in the main clause. Nevertheless, the ungrammaticality of the b. examples must be due

to the island violation they entail and therefore, must involve movement of the Topic from within the island. The second one involves claiming that both sentences can be derived in the same way, via movement, and that well formed sentences involve some representational mechanism of the Connectedness sort that repairs the ungrammaticality thanks to the presence of the co-referential clitic. Since this second explanation involves the same approach to both sentences, I shall consider it preferable.

4.4.3 Semantic Connectedness and the globality approach

The main observation so far has been that cases of island violation of the kind seen in this chapter involve the presence of a co-referential clitic in a permitted position, whose presence is mandatory for the whole sentence to be grammatical. Due to this required connection, an analysis in terms of Kayne's Connectedness has been attempted, but it runs into the problem of predicting the ungrammaticality of sentences which happen to be acceptable in cases of Topicalization. Such sentences would have the same structure as the ones ruled out by the syntactic connectedness approach to parasitic-gap phenomena.

Therefore, I suggest that these sentences are not interpreted as well formed by the syntactic component alone, since their internal make up is very similar, but by a later interpretive component of semantic nature. I shall call this Semantic Connectedness:

(18) **Semantic Connectedness**

In cases of island violation by Topics, interpret a sentence as grammatical iff

- (a.) It contains a pronoun in a position from which topicalization could have normally taken place; and
- (b.) that clitic is co-referential with the clitic involved in the violation.

Although such a definition is descriptive and not explanatory, it allows to nicely capture some additional empirical observations that had originally fallen outside the Complex NP and Adjunct island violations presented so far in this chapter.

In the first place, for instance, allows to rescue Subject island violations of the sorts seen in Chapter 3, an example of which is repeated here:

- (19) *A Juan, que le regalaran un coche, causó un escándalo.
 To Juan, that CL-*him* they gave a car, caused a scandal.

Spanish

If the semantic connectedness approach is descriptively correct, we could create sentences that alleviate the ill-formedness of certain subject island violations. By creating an allowed topicalization in the matrix sentence and making sure that the resumptive clitic left behind is co-referential with the clitic in the prohibited position, we would expect the sentence to become grammatical, as is in fact the case:

- (20) A Juan, que le regalaran un coche, le sorprendió
To Juan, that CL-*him* they gave a car, CL-*him* it surprised
muy gratamente.
very nicely.

Spanish

We can even try if the descriptive principle works when the permitted topicalization that allows the whole structure to exist also proceeds from an island. I am referring now to cases like the ones we shall see in detail in Chapter 5:

- (21) A María, si le cuentas esa historia, Juan se enfadará.
To María, if CL-*her* you tell that story, Juan will get angry.

Spanish

The, in principle surprising, adjunct island violation involved here for the process of extracting the Topic out of a conditional clause, could in turn *rescue* a different topicalization with the resumptive element inside a different island. Let us see whether that is possible:

- (22) A María, si le prestas ese libro, el vecino que
To María, if CL-*her* you lend that book, the neighbour who
se lo había prestado antes, lo recuperará.
CL-*her* CL-*it* had lent before, CL-*it* will recover.
'If you lend that book to María, the neighbour who had lent it to
her before will recover it.'

Spanish

This phenomenon of apparent semantic connectedness does not stand alone

in the grammar and appears to be related to some other linguistic phenomena. Uriagereka (p.c.) suggested me that these sentences may belong to a wider type of sentences that can be approached in what he calls ‘globality approach’, that is, the phenomena they display cannot be reduced to particular interactions, but is rather the result of the whole structure once built.

4.5 Conclusion

Among all the cases examined in this dissertation, the kind of apparent island violation we have seen in this chapter stands out as odd when compared to the rest.

In the first place, because all cases of CLLD in this chapter, which have a co-referential clitic inside an island, can only be processed in representational terms, once the whole structure has been built. This happens in stark contrast to the cases examined in the previous chapter, which were all shown to be strictly derivational, and those that will be studied in Chapter 5.

In the second place, because the analysis is more semantic than syntactic in nature. If that is truly the case, and it is only semantic co-reference the mechanism that can save otherwise ill-formed structures, the domain of these constraints would fall beyond the scope of this dissertation. At any rate, it is worth thinking what syntax-semantics interface would be at play in this case. Under standard assumptions, if syntax builds two identical structures, the semantic component should assign the same interpretation to both.

Finally, movement cannot be guaranteed to proceed from the banned position in these islands, as case mismatches seem to point. In this respect, the analysis does not pattern with the other cases of CLLD from islands.

Two alternative accounts were proposed to approach these issues. On the

one hand we have what I called the ‘trivial’ analysis. While able to derive these cases by proposing that Topic movement only takes place in the matrix clause and that the clitic in the banned position is co-referential with the Topic as a side-effect. On the other, I proposed the presence of a Semantic Connectedness Principle, inspired by Kayne’s syntactic connectedness, which allows for the correct interpretation of clitics in banned positions by means of their being co-referential with the resumptive pronoun with the normal syntactic and semantic relation with the Topic.

Chapter 5

CLLD and Conditional Clauses

5.1 Introduction

Conditional clauses, as stated at the beginning of this dissertation, exhibit unexpected behavior patterns in the context of Clitic Left Dislocation. These unexpected pieces of data come from two different sources: conditional clauses behave differently from other kinds of adverbial clauses in terms of the kinds of movements they allow (what we could call locality-related unexpectedness) and Topics seem to behave differently from the description of them we have seen so far (Rizzi (1997) and subsequent work) when topicalization takes place from within the domain of a conditional clause (what we could term cartography-related unexpectedness). I shall establish a division into four problems when dealing with CLLD from conditional clauses.

I shall take conditional clauses to be adjuncts. This should be rather uncontroversial. As a result, we expect them to be strong islands in the sense of Ross (1967). Moving out of them should be a CED violation (Huang, 1982). This is generally true:

- (1) a. *Which book_i will Michelle understand linguistics better if she reads t_i?
- b. *Què_i entendrà la Michelle millor la lingüística si
 What will understand the Michelle better linguistics if
 llegeix t_i?
 she reads t_i?

Catalan

As we saw in the previous sections of this chapter, the internal makeup of adverbial clauses, like that of subordinate clauses in a broader sense, allows for internal left-periphery positions that can accommodate different kinds of peripheral elements, such as Topics, and conditional clauses are not different in this respect:

- (2) a. Juan se enfadará si a María le cuentas esa historia.
 Juan will get angry if to María CL-her you tell that story.
- b. Juan se enfadará si esa historia se la cuentas a
 Juan will get angry if that story CL-her CL-it you tell to
 María
 María.

Spanish

As we also saw before, adverbial clauses are strong islands and constitute opaque syntactic domains for topicalization:

- (3) a. *A María, porque le contaste esa historia, Juan
 To María, because CL-her you told that story, Juan
 se enfadó.
 got angry.
- b. *A María, aunque le cuentes esa historia, Juan
 To María, although CL-her you tell that story, Juan
 se enfadará.
 will get angry.
- c. *A María, para que le cuentes esa historia, Juan
 To María, in order for CL-her you to tell that story, Juan
 se callará.
 will stay quiet.

Spanish

Although so far Topics seem to behave as expected when interacting with if-clauses, there seem to be at least four phenomena associated with Topic extraction from conditional clauses that do not conform to the expectations we have. The sources of unexpected behavior are twofold: on the one hand they relate to the characterization of Topic from a cartographic perspective, since they do not seem to be able to move to positions in principle available to them; on the other hand, a general theory of locality constraints in syntax makes us predict certain impossible movements that Topics can however perform from a conditional-clause domain. In the following sections we shall review the identified *four problems* for the analysis of CLLD in conditional clauses.

5.2 Four problems for the analysis of CLLD from Conditional Clauses

5.2.1 The first problem: Topics are extractable, but not always

The first unexpected issue we find when analyzing conditional clauses with topicalization is that the latter can only take place when the conditional clause is also topicalized. This had already been observed by Etxepare (2002) and Taylor (2007), who claimed that only preposed conditional clauses are transparent for certain kinds of extraction in Romance varieties. In their analysis, reviewed below, the preposed conditional clause is not in a Topic position but rather base-generated as an adjunct to the main clause. Nevertheless, I shall consider sentence-initial conditional clauses to have undergone topicalization for reasons developed later. In any case, the crucial empirical observation is that a sharp contrast exists between CLLD with a resumptive clitic inside the conditional clause when said clause is sentence-initial and when it is sentence-final.¹ Moreover, this contrast seems robust across Romance varieties, as exemplified here for Spanish, Italian and Romanian:

- (4) a. A María, si le cuentas esa historia, Juan se enfadará.
To María, if CL-her you tell that story, Juan will get angry.
- b. *A María, Juan se enfadará si le cuentas esa historia.
To María, Juan will get angry if CL-her you tell that story.

Spanish

¹As a matter of fact, although Etxepare's and Taylor's analyses only consider sentence-initial if-clauses, they need not be in the root clause, but rather at the beginning of the clause they are adjoined to, even if it is embedded.

- (5) a. ?*Mariei, dacă îi spui povestea asta, Ion*
Maria-DAT, if CL-her you tell story this, Ion
se va supăra.
will get angry.
- b. **Mariei, Ion se va supăra dacă îi spui povestea*
aria-DAT, Ion will get angry if CL-her you tell story
asta.
this.

Romanian

- (6) a. ?*A María, se le racconti quella storia, Juan si arrabbierà.*
To María, if CL-her you tell that story, Juan will get angry.
- b. **A María, Juan si arrabbierà se le racconti quella storia.*
To María, Juan will get angry if CL-her you tell that story.

Italian

The grammaticality of topicalization when the conditional clause appears at the beginning of the sentence does not seem to be as clear in Italian and Romanian² as it is in Spanish (and Catalan), but there is a contrast, nonetheless, in which all of the b. sentences are perceived as much more degraded.

The unexpectedness of the behavior exhibited by Topics in these examples comes from several considerations. On the one hand, we know from all of the cartographic work that declarative sentences, like the main clause in the cases just presented, have available Topic positions in their left periphery. It is strange that all of the b. examples should lack that position. On the other, if the ungrammaticality of the b. examples is due to the CED violation they constitute (which is the explanation offered in Etxepare's work) then it is

²It seems to be more an issue of variation among speakers than a degraded judgment in speakers who accept the examples.

unexpected that the a. examples should not incur into the very same kind of violation. At any rate, the asymmetry between the extraction possibilities of preposed and postposed clauses is unusual and asks for an explanation.

One could assume that well-formed sentences involving a Topic like the ones above have an analysis in terms of base-generation of the Topic in the left periphery.³ Nevertheless, it has been shown that there are reasons to assume that all CLLDed Topics are the result of movement (Chapter 2) and it would be a stipulation to suppose that the contrast in those examples is due to a difference between moving and *in situ* Topics.

5.2.2 The second problem: Topics lack certain landing positions

Besides the contrast between sentence-initial and sentence-final conditional clauses described in the previous section, another empirical observation we can extract from the examples therein is that Topics can move above the *if* complementizer to a more peripheral position. However, if that is the case, examples such as the following are surprising:

- (7) a. *El Joan s'emprenyarà, a la Maria, si li dius
The Joan will get angry to the Maria if CL-her you say
aquestes coses.
these things.
- b. *El Joan s'emprenyarà, aquestes coses, si les dius a
The Joan will get angry these things if CL-them you say to
la Maria.
the Maria.

Catalan

³It is clear for the Case they display, that they cannot be Hanging Topics.

- (8) a. *Ion se va supăra, Mariei, dacă îi spui lucrurile
 Ion will get angry, Maria-DAT if CL-her you tell things-the
 astea.
 these.
- b. *Ion se va supăra, lucrurile astea, dacă i le
 Ion will get angry, things-the these if CL-her CL-them
 spui Mariei.
 you tell Maria-DAT.

Romanian

Of course, such behavior is only unexpected when comparing these examples with the ones in the previous section. As a matter of fact, what we find here is exactly what we expect to find, both from the viewpoint of a cartographic approach to syntax and from all we know from the theory on locality constraints. The cartographic description of the sentential periphery teaches us that since no projection exists above ForceP (at least no Topic projection, since as we saw before, different authors have proposed the existence of speaker-oriented projections in the upper region of the sentence), no Topic can ever move to the left of the conditional *if*.⁴ Moreover, recalling the adjunct status of conditional clauses it is also expected that no Topic can be extracted from them.

However, that is not what we find in the data in (42), (5) and (6), and in fact an approach following that line is incompatible with what we described above. It is therefore difficult to find a syntactic analysis which can account at the same time for the data in this section and in the previous one.

⁴Interrogative *if* would be located in a lower position and therefore allows for topicalization to its left.

5.2.3 The third problem: a Dative-Accusative asymmetry

In general, CLLD makes no distinction between the morphological Case or θ -role of the topicalized phrase in terms of the well-formedness of the resulting sentence:

- (9) a. A María le dimos el regalo.
To María CL-her we gave the present.
b. El regalo se lo dimos a María.
The present CL-her CL-it we gave to María.

Spanish

However, there is a stark asymmetry between a topicalized accusative and a topicalized dative argument when such topicalization proceeds from a conditional clause domain:

- (10) a. *A María, Juan se enfadará si le cuentas esa historia.
To María, Juan will get angry if CL-her you tell that story.
b. Esa historia, Juan se enfadará si se la cuentas a María.
That story, Juan will get angry if CL-her CL-it you tell to María.
María.

Spanish

- (11) a. *A María, Juan si arrabbierà se le racconti questa storia.
To María, Juan will get angry if CL-her you tell that story.
b. ?Questa storia, Juan si arrabbierà se la racconti a Maria.
That story, Juan will get angry if CL-it you tell to María.

Italian

- (12) a. **Mariei, Ion se va supăra dacă îi spui povestea*
 Maria-DAT, Ion will get angry if CL-her you tell story
 asta.
 this.
- b. *Povestea asta, Ion se va supăra dacă i-o spui*
 Story this, Ion will get angry if CL-her-CL-it you tell
 Mariei.
 Maria-DAT.

Romanian

This is again unexpected on two accounts. First, because it contravenes the crucial empirical observation that only preposed if-clauses allow topicalization. Secondly, because of the aforementioned asymmetry between Dative and Accusative Cases, which we do not find in any other instance of CLLD.

5.2.4 The fourth problem: not as many Topics as one would like

It has been known since the onset of the cartographic project that Topics are recursive, that is, if topicalization is at all possible, it is allowed to take place as many times as one would like. See for instance this example from Cinque (1990), where four Topics in a row are apparently possible:

- (13) *Di vestiti, a me, Gianni, in quel negozio, non mi ce*
 Of dresses, to me, Gianni, in that store, not CL-me CL-locative
 ne ha mai comprati.
 CL-of them he has never bought.

Italian

It should be noted that a particular intonation may be necessary to render this kind of examples possible. Even if cases like this examples from Cinque

are not universally accepted (not every Italian speaker accepts it, and it's very deviant in Spanish, **Vestidos, a mí, Juan, en esa tienda, nunca me ha comprado*), it is clear that at least two Topics should produce a grammatical sentence in all Romance varieties.

- (14) a. A María, esa historia, se la contamos ayer.
 To María, that story, CL-her CL-it we told yesterday.
Spanish
- b. Aquesta història, a la Maria, ja l'hi vam contar ahir.
 This story, to the Maria, already CL-it'CL-her we told yesterday.
Catalan

However, we can see how it looks like conditional clauses only allow one Topic extracted from inside:

- (15) a. A María, si le cuentas esa historia, Juan se enfadará.
 To María, if CL-her you tell that story Juan will get angry.
- b. Esa historia, si se la cuentas a María, Juan se enfadará.
 That story, if CL-her CL-it you tell to María Juan will get angry.
- c. *A María, esa historia, si se la cuentas, Juan se enfadará.
 To María, that story, if CL-her CL-it you tell, Juan will get angry.
Spanish

The fact that one Topic is possible with conditional clauses but more than one is a blocked operation is thus unexpected and also asks for an explanation.

However, this contrast (the asymmetry among the examples a., b. and c. above) is attested accross Romance varieties as well, like in Italian:

- (16) *A María, questa storia, se gliela raccontì, Juan
 To María, that story, if CL-herCL-it you tell, Juan
 si arrabbierà.
 will get angry.

5.3 Haegeman's work on the periphery of adverbial clauses

Liliane Haegeman has done extensive work concerning the internal makeup of the periphery of embedded adverbial clauses. Many of her numerous aporations are not directly relevant to the issues under discussion in this dissertation because they do not involve island violations by Topic movement out of those clauses. However, some of her observations do in fact concern directly the problems observed in this chapter.

For instance, she observed a crucial distinction between Germanic and Romance languages concerning the possibility of having internal Topics in a conditional clause:

- (17) *If these exams you don't pass, you won't get the degree.

- (18) Si estos exámenes no los apruebas, no te
 If these exams you don't CL-*them* pass, you won't
 graduarás.
 graduate.

Her first analyses (Haegeman, 2003, 2006) of these contrasts point to a distinction in the number of internal available positions between English/Dutch

and Romance languages as the point of parametric variation determining which kinds of adverbial clauses would allow internal topicalization. That is, conditional clauses of the event-modifier type (which is explained below), have a defective internal structure that cannot hold Topic positions in Germanic languages, while that internal structure is richer in Romance languages. It is also important to note that this restriction applies to argument fronting, and adjuncts are not affected by it. The suggested explanation is that adjuncts do not target Topic positions, but rather lower peripheral landing sites (such as ModP, or even adjoined positions to TP) and therefore are not subject to the same kind of constraints.

(19) If with all these precautions you don't succeed, you will have to try again next week.

(20) Si con estas precauciones no lo consigues,
If with these precautions you don't succeed,
tendrás que volver a intentarlo la semana que viene.
you'll have to try again next week.

Spanish

This analysis, however, changes in Haegeman (2007) by proposing that all conditional clauses involve the internal movement of an operator to the left periphery. Due to the locality constraint such movement imposes, in terms of Relativized Minimality, English (and in general, Germanic) Topics cannot move to the periphery, whereas Romance CLLD, which is independently known to be rather insensitive to such kinds of interactions could proceed with no trouble. This would also explain the distinction between arguments and adjuncts noted below for central adverbial clauses: adjuncts are not

sensitive to the kind of minimality effects that affect arguments due to the presence of a null operator in the periphery of these sentences.

The derivation of an if-clause under this approach would be as follows:

(21) **If this song you heard, you would like this band.*

- The conditional clause is built with the operator *if* sitting in the periphery of the TP

$[_{TP} \text{ if } [_{TP} \text{ you heard this song }]]$

- The Topic moves to a peripheral position above TP

$[_{CP} \text{ this song}_i [_{TP} \text{ if } [_{TP} \text{ you heard } t_i]]]$

- When the operator *if* moves to the sentential periphery, it must cross the topicalized argument, thus triggering an intervention effect that crashes the derivation

$[_{CP} \text{ if}_j \text{ this song}_i [_{TP} t_j [_{TP} \text{ you heard } t_i]]]$

If the topicalized element is an adjunct, it is invisible for the relationship between the conditional operator and its trace and therefore does not give rise to minimality effects. In the same fashion, Romance CLLD, being generally insensitive to islands of the weak kind, is also insensitive to this kind of minimality effect and therefore can take place with no problem.

Another crucial distinction found in Haegeman's work is that between

central and peripheral adverbial clauses, which translates into *premise* and *event* conditionals in the field of if-clauses. Event conditionals are those in which the if-clause sets the condition that triggers the event in the main clause (22). Premise conditionals are those in which the if-clause is a prerequisite for the speech act contained in the main clause, and they are often echoic in nature (23).

(22) If it rains, we will get terribly wet.

(23) If (as you say) it is going to rain this afternoon, why don't we stay at home?

This distinction has a reflect in the behavior of Topics in conditional clauses, and besides, is not confined to conditional clauses, since other types of adverbial clauses seem to enter into the same pattern. In general, Haegeman assumes that peripheral adverbial clauses are not actually embedded within a matrix clause, and therefore their sentential peripheries are like those of root clauses, thus explaining why they display Root Clause Phenomena such as topicalization. However, central adverbial clauses are actually embedded under a matrix clause and have an impoverished periphery that cannot accommodate peripheral phenomena. We can illustrate this contrast with two uses of *while*, one as a temporal complementizer and one as a contrastive marker that structures the discourse:

- (24) a. *Mary listened to the radio while the dinner she was preparing.
- b. While your book they are using in two courses, mine they haven't even ordered for the library.

All cases of extraction from conditionals in this chapter belong to the first class, and it seems that by all accounts, peripheral conditionals pattern like any other type of embedded adverbial and do not allow topicalization of any sort from their domain.

- (25) a. A María, si le cuentas esa historia Juan
 To María, if CL-*her* you tell that story, Juan
 se enfadará.
 will get angry.
- b. *A María, si ya le has dado el dinero,
 A María, if already CL-*her* you have given the money,
 ¿por qué se queja su madre?
 why does her mother complain?

Spanish

This seems to go to a certain extent against the predictions made in Haege-
 man's work, since we would expect the richer structure of peripheral if-clauses
 to provide with more positions allowing topicalization. That prediction seems
 to work for other languages, though. For instance, she proposes that lan-
 guages that have a morpho-syntactic way of distinguishing central and pe-
 ripheral conditional sentences should show a distinction between the possi-
 bilities of extraction of a Topic from the conditional sentence and offers the
 following examples from Japanese:

- (26) a. *Sono youna zasshi wa anata ga yomeba, yasai ga suki
 That kind of magazine TOP you read if, vegetables like
 ni naru.
 become.
 If you read that kind of magazines, you'd come to like vegetables.

- b. Sono youna zasshi wa suki ja nai naraba, naze anata ga
That kind of magazine TOP like is not if, why you
kaitsuzukete iru no?
keep buying AUX Q?
If you don't like that kind of magazines, why do you keep buying
them?

Japanese

In her examples, the central conditional clause with *yomeba* (*if (you) read*) prohibits the presence of a Topic, whereas the peripheral clause with *naraba* allows it. The distinction is however not so clear for other speakers, who accept the b. example only marginally. As a matter of fact, the acceptance of the second example hinges upon its possibility of being interpreted as a Hanging Topic, and the sentence becomes much better with a more parenthetical intonation on the Topic. If only Hanging Topics can be accepted in that peripheral position, an expectation would be that Topics with an explicit Case marking should not be able to appear even with *naraba* marked sentences. That is indeed what we find:

- (27) *Keiko ni wa sore o iu naraba, Keiko no koibito
Keiko DAT TOP that ACC say if Keiko GEN boyfriend
ni mo itta hou ga ii desu yo.
DAT too said preferable be PRT.
If you say that to Keiko, it would be better to say it to her boyfriend
too.

Now, the comparison between Japanese and Romance can have interesting results of its own. For instance, if the analyses reviewed and proposed in this chapter for the study of topicalization out of a conditional clause all depend

on the observation that Romance languages allow Topics only out of clause-initial if-clauses, and Japanese on the other hand does not allow them even in that case, one should wonder why that is the case, and why the analyses that have approached the issue cannot be universal. This matter will be left for future research.

5.4 Previous approaches: Etxepare's and Taylor's analyses

The issue of Topic extraction from conditional clauses seems understudied in the relevant literature. This is natural when one considers that the CED violation CLLD from conditionals constitute predicts that no such movement should be possible. A first approach to this matter is Etxepare (2002) in which he made the observation that only preposed conditional clauses are transparent for certain extractions and proposed an analysis for Wh-movement out of conditional clauses when they are sentence-initial and appear under certain subcategorizing verbs (what he terms 'Stance Verbs' following terminology coined by Cattell (1978)). Later, Taylor (2007) extended the analysis specifically to topicalization and proposed that it can work for all languages, since the original approach by Etxepare was done for Spanish.

In this section I shall review their analysis, starting from the assumptions they make for it to work and following with the analysis proper. Finally I conclude with a number of criticisms than undermine the validity of the analysis and ask for a new one.

5.4.1 Assumptions

For the following analysis to work, four assumptions must be made. In the first place, Sideward Movement (Nunes, 2001) is invoked. This is done in order for the moving Topic to be able to escape the adjunct island. Sideward Movement amounts to movement of a syntactic constituent from one subtree into another before both trees have merged to form a larger syntactic structure. As a consequence, one element can move out of an adjunct before said adjunct has joined the main tree and become an island in the process.

In the second place, an extra head will be crucial at some points in the derivation in order to host the moving element in its specifier. Therefore, an extra functional head F (taken from work by Uriagereka (1995)) is assumed to exist under Stance Verbs (in Etxepare's analysis) and in cases of topicalization (in Taylor's). These two first assumptions are explicitly part of both analyses.

Additionally, it has to be assumed that sentence-initial conditional clauses behave in a fundamentally different way from sentence-final ones, and especially, that both kinds are base-generated. Therefore, preposed conditional clauses are not the result of movement to the periphery of the main clause. This assumption, and the one that follows are not necessarily overt in the papers that proposed the analysis, but they need to be taken into account in order to understand some steps in the derivations proposed.

Finally, it must be assumed that adjunction takes place at the point in the derivation when the maximal projection to which the adjunct moves is built into the structure, and not later. Therefore, theories of adjunction that assume a late-insertion approach to adjuncts (such as Lebeaux (1988)) are not compatible with the analysis presented here. This was mentioned before in connection with the late insertion of adjoined referential expressions in

Chapter 2.

5.4.2 Etxepare's analysis

Etxepare (2002) is to the best of my knowledge the first proposal to deal with topicalization out of a conditional clause, but the point of departure is a different issue. The author examines cases in which a subordinate clause may be introduced by a null complementizer in Spanish⁵, observing that the presence of a moved constituent is necessary for a null complementizer to be legitimate:

- (28) a. *Juan dice/afirma/considera Correos envió los
 Juan says/claims/considers the Postal Service sent the
 paquetes.
 parcels.
- b. Los paquetes_i que Juan dice/afirma/considera
 The parcels that Juan says/claims/considers
 Correos envió *e_i*
 the Postal Service sent *e*.

Spanish

In order to provide an analysis of that movement, Etxepare proposes the presence of a phonologically null functional head F under Stance Verbs⁶ such as *say*, *think*, *claim* or *believe* which would be absent (or unselected) under Non Stance Verbs, which would therefore prevent movement of the previously shown kind:

⁵In this aspect, Etxepare builds on previous observations and works, notably Torrego (1983)

⁶Etxepare follows Cattell (1978)'s definition of Stance Predicates as those "which imply the existence of a claim to truth (that is, an assertion) in their finite dependants" (Etxepare, 2002, 478).

- (29) a. *Juan contó/mencionó/interpretó/omitió Correos
Juan told/mentioned/interpreted/omitted the Postal Service
envió los paquetes.
sent the parcels.
- b. *Los paquetes_i que Juan contó/mencionó/interpretó/omitió
The parcels that Juan told/mentioned/interpreted/omitted
Correos envió *e_i*
the Postal Service sent *e*.

Spanish

That extra F head, as mentioned in the ‘assumptions’ subsection, provides an extra position for the moved phrase to go through on its way to the periphery. Although his analysis does not specifically deal with Topics, which is a task undertaken in Taylor’s, he uses it to derive the unexpectedness of Wh-movement out of an if-clause:

- (30) ¿Qué libro crees que si Ricardo lee, abandonará
What book do you think that if Ricardo reads, he will abandon
la Lingüística de inmediato?
Linguistics immediately?

Spanish

The analysis then proceeds in a number of steps (which will be replicated in Taylor’s analysis for the case of CLLD):

- Two different subnumerations are created for the independent sub-trees that will eventually form the whole sentence. Note that the F⁰ head available in the second numeration can appear only if the eventual matrix verb being a Stance Verb.

K=[$_{CP}$ si Ricardo lee qué libro]

L=[$_{FP}$ F⁰ [$_{IP}$ abandonará la lingüística de inmediato]]

M=[*pro* crees]

- The conditional clause is not an island at this point since it exists in a parallel tree and has not yet become an adjunct to the matrix clause. Therefore, the complement *qué libro* ('what book') of the verb *leer* ('read') can move, according to the rules of sideward movement, to the specifier of FP.

N=[$_{FP}$ [qué libro] F⁰ [$_{IP}$ abandonará la lingüística de inmediato]]

- The conditional clause is added on top of the structure.

N=[$_{FP}$ [si Ricardo lee] [$_{FP}$ [qué libro] F⁰ [$_{IP}$ abandonará la lingüística de inmediato]]

- Everything is embedded under the matrix clause. The presence of the null complementizer head F does not prevent an overt complementizer *que* to co-appear with it.

O=[*pro* crees [$_{C'}$ F⁰+*que* [$_{CP}$ si Ricardo lee] [$_{IP}$ abandonará la lingüística de inmediato]]]

- Finally, Wh-movement of the normal sort takes place, moving the Wh-phrase to the upper part of the tree.

O=[[Qué libro] *pro* crees [_{C'} F⁰+que [_{CP} si Ricardo lee] [_{IP} abandonará la lingüística de inmediato]]]

The analysis seems to work for the case of Wh-movement out of a conditional clause, but as we shall see, it runs into several problems. One of them is it cannot explain why the conditional clause needs to be topicalized for the resulting sentence to be grammatical.

5.4.3 Taylor's analysis

Following the lead in Etxepare's work, Taylor's extension into the domain of topicalization proposes that the extra F head required for the analysis is also present in instances of topicalization, being the responsible attractor for Topic movement to its specifier. Therefore, the analysis of a well-formed sentence would be as follows:

- (31) A María, si le cuentas esa historia, Juan se enfadará.
To María, if CL-her you tell that story, Juan will get angry.

Spanish

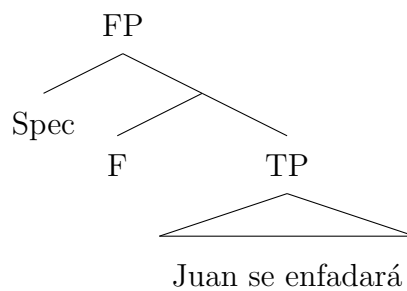
- In the first step of the derivation, different subnumerations are built from elements of the lexicon. I shall label them M (for 'Main Clause') and C (for 'Conditional Clause').

M=[F⁰, Juan, se enfadará]

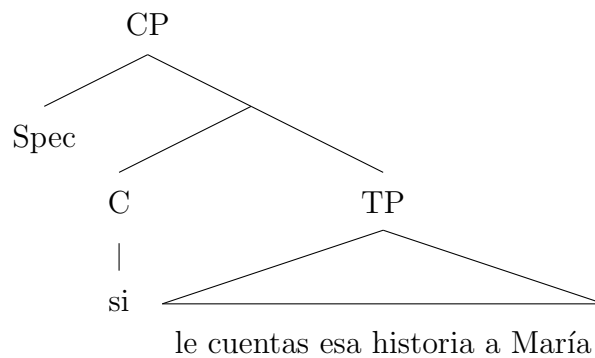
C=[si, le, cuentas, esa, historia]

- Two independent syntactic trees are constructed following both subnumerations.

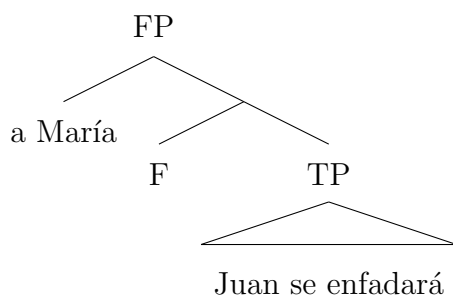
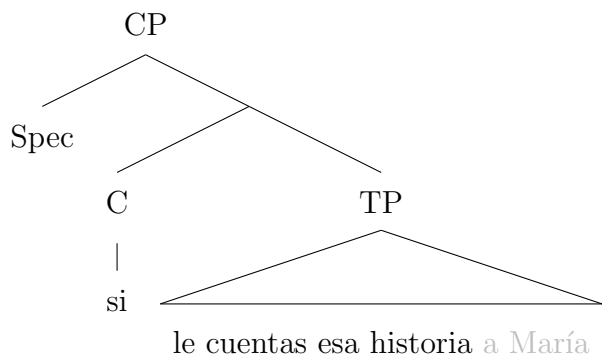
$M=[_{FP} F^0 [_{TP} \text{Juan se enfadará}]]$



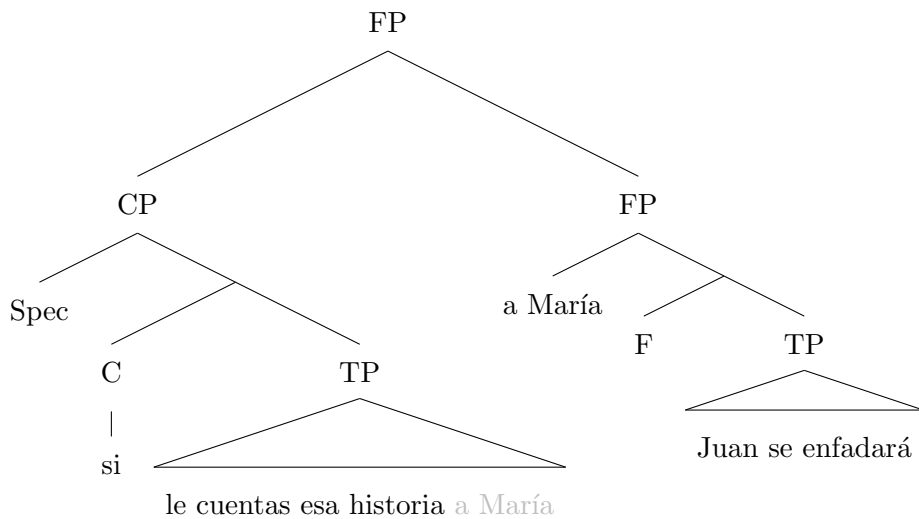
$C=[_{CP} \text{si le cuentas esa historia a María}]$



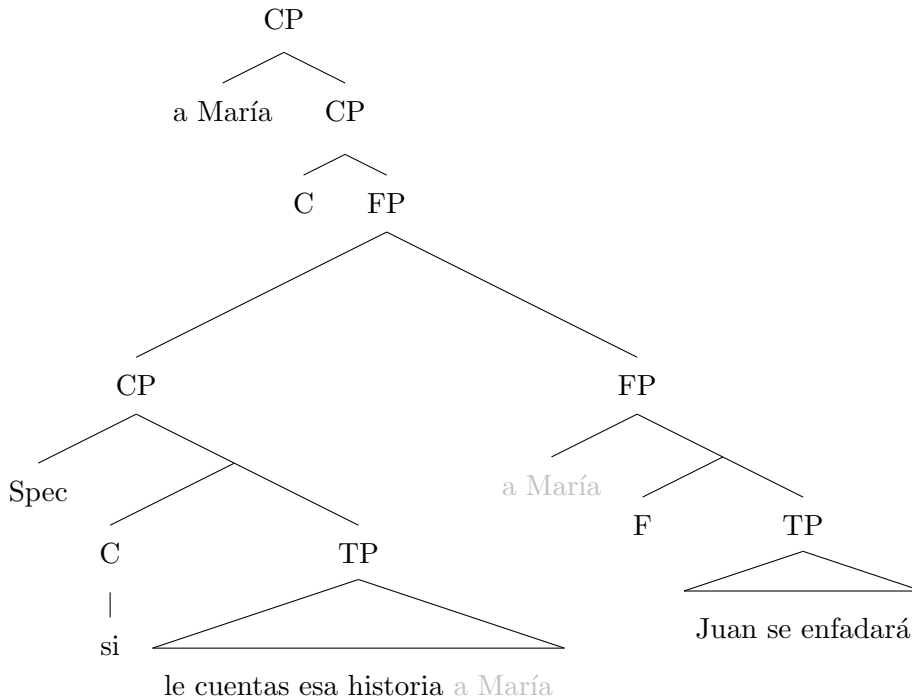
- Sideward movement takes place, moving the Topic from on subtree into the other. Two of the assumptions previously made are important now: that an F head exists in order for it to host the Topic and that since the conditional clause has not yet merged into the main-clause tree, it is not yet an adjunct and therefore, not an island.



- The conditional clause adjoins the other tree, thus becoming an island at this point in the derivation.



- The Topic can move to its final landing position. This movement is now perfectly legitimate since it does not violate the CED.



And now we can see how the analysis of an ill-formed sentence would proceed. We can recall now the fundamental difference assumed between sentence-initial and sentence-final conditional clauses, which forces us to merge the if-clause tree into the main clause one at the beginning of the derivation in order for it to surface in its intended sentence-final position.

- (32) *A María, Juan se enfadará si le cuentas esa historia.
 To María, Juan will get angry if CL-her you tell that story.

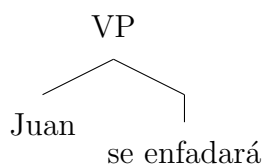
Spanish

- As in the previous case, two different subnumerations are built:

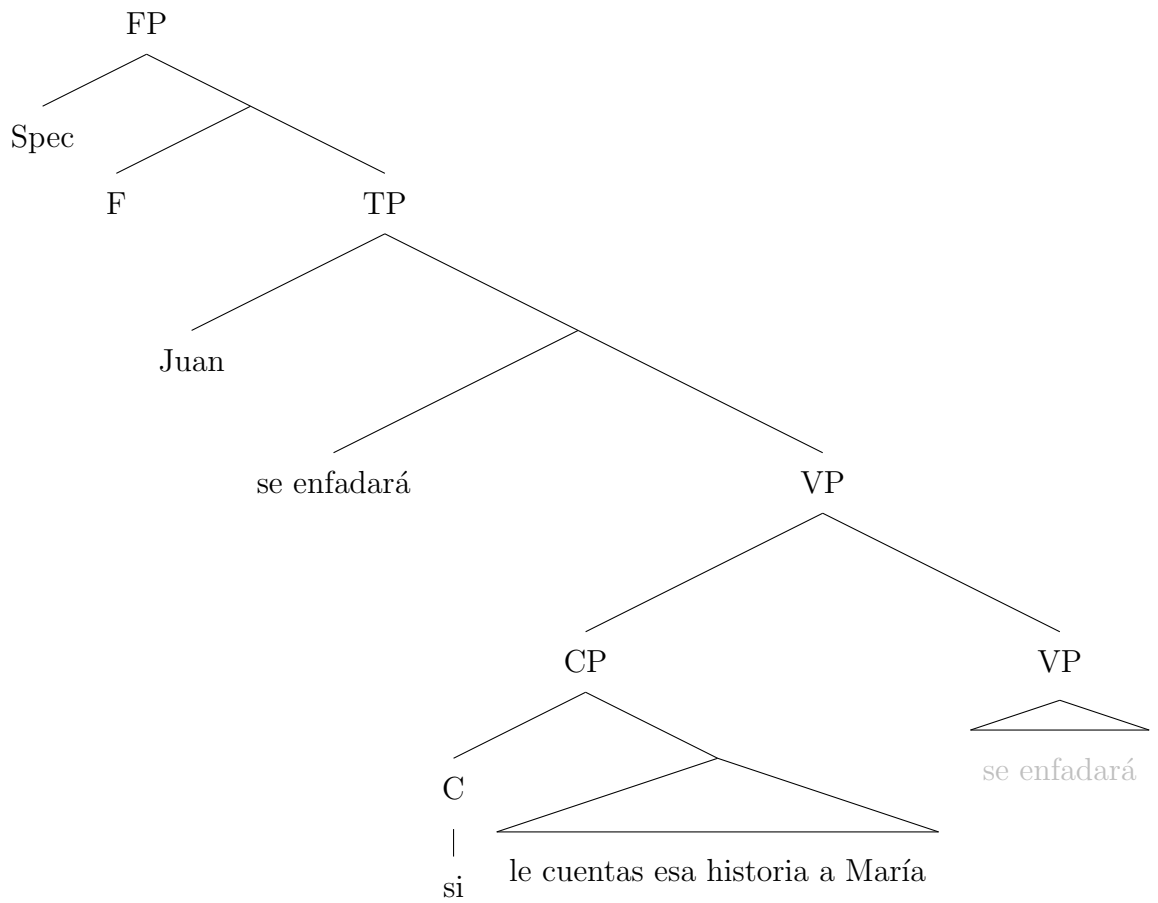
M=F⁰, Juan, se enfadará

C=si, le, cuentas, esa, historia, a María

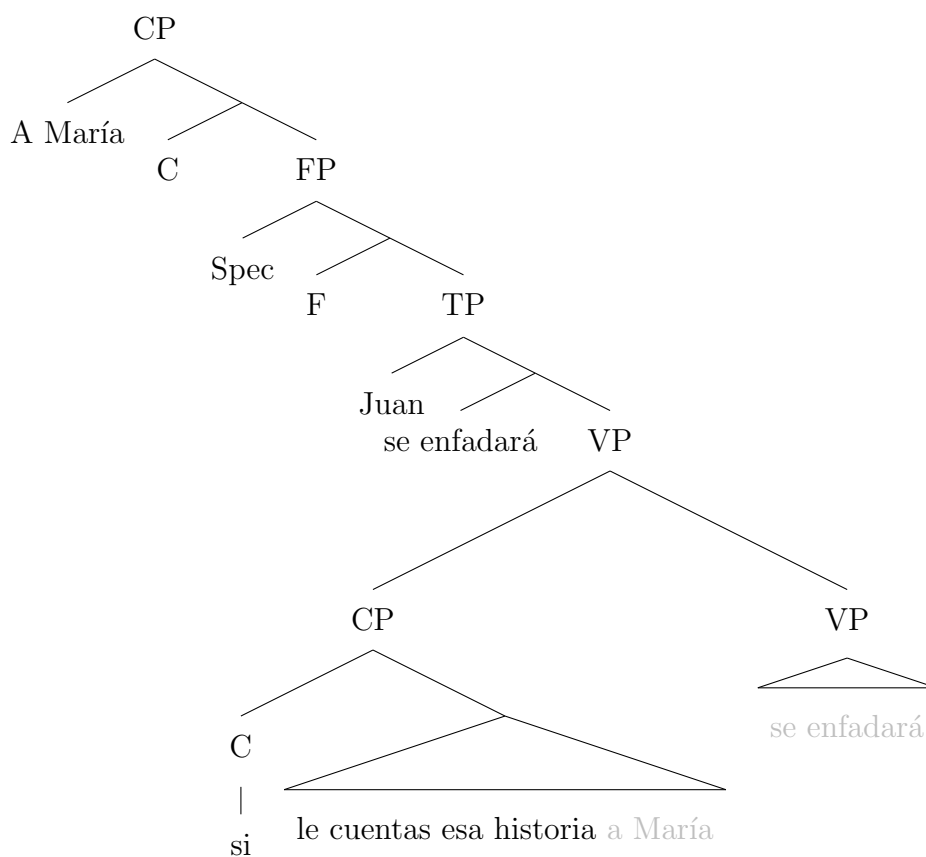
- The subnumeration corresponding to the if-clause is built, but the main clause can only be built up to the point of the VP layer, where the conditional clause will eventually adjoin it. This is the point at which the assumption that adjunction cannot wait must be applied. If adjuncts were the result of a later insertion in the syntactic tree, the main clause could be completely built, as in the case of the well-formed sentence, and that would not prevent the conditional clause from being adjoined to its lower VP layer later. If such an operation were possible, then the Topic could sideward-move as above and later on the conditional clause could merge below, which would incorrectly derive the ill-formed sentence.



- Now the if-clause must adjoin the main clause at the VP level, where it will remain.



- Since the if-clause is already an adjunct at this point, the movement of the Topic out of it in order to satisfy whichever criterion the F head imposes on it constitutes a CED-violation and renders the sentence ungrammatical.



5.4.4 A criticism of the analysis

Although the analysis outlined above matches the empirical observation that only sentence-initial conditional clauses are extractable from and cleverly avoids the problem of the island violation by invoking sideward movement, it also faces a series of shortcomings that I shall develop next.

1. Overgeneration of the sideward movement mechanism

If the sideward movement mechanism works as intended in the analyses by Etxepare and Taylor, there is no reason to suppose that it could not be invoked for other cases. There is nothing among the restrictions applied to sideward movement and adopted in the previous analysis preventing it from applying to different kinds of sentences. The problem is, then, that we could invoke it in order to ‘save’ any kind of adjunct-island violation, provided that the adjoined embedded clause is sentence-initial.

In other words, it would predict the grammaticality of sentences like the following:

- (33) *A María, aunque le cuentas esa historia, Juan
 To María, even if CL-her you tell that story, Juan
 se enfadará.
 will get angry.

Spanish

We would simply follow the same steps we saw for the derivation of *A María, si le cuentas esa historia, Juan se enfadará* above, and the expectation would necessarily be that the same level of well-formedness should be attained.

2. Superfluous character of the F head for cases of topicalization

Etxepare’s analysis makes use of the extra F head in order to gain a specifier that can work as an intermediate landing site for Wh-movement out of conditional clauses. This extra head is not just a stipulation, since it can be argued to exist under Stance Verbs. As a matter of fact, it is reasonably well known that clauses selected by certain verbs have a

richer structure than others.

Extepare's analysis correctly predicts the behavior for extraction out of conditional clauses under stance verbs, but if it were applied to topicalization, then the wrong predictions are made. This can be seen when contrasting examples of Wh-movement and CLLD under the same conditions, in this case, absence of a matrix stance verb:

- (34) a. *¿A quién, si le cuentas esa historia, Juan
To whom if CL-*them* you tell that story, Juan
se enfadará?
will get angry?
- b. *¿A quién Juan se enfadará si le cuentas esa
To whom Juan will get angry if CL-*them* you tell that
historia?
story?
- c. A María, si le cuentas esa historia, Juan
To María, if CL-*her* you tell that story, Juan
se enfadará.
will get angry.
- d. *A María, Juan se enfadará si le cuentas esa
To María, Juan will get angry if CL-*her* you tell that
historia.
story.

Spanish

Taylor's analysis further elaborates on this point by claiming that such an extra F head is necessary in order to contain the unvalued feature [Topic] that must act as an attractor for the Topic, making it move to its specifier. Nevertheless, if we consider Topics to be adjuncts (and there are reasons to believe so, some of which have already been mentioned), no extra head is necessary, since the Topic could adjoin anywhere in the

structure.

3. Stipulation of the initial position of if-clauses

The fact that all conditional clauses are base-generated in these analyses looks like an stipulation which can easily lead to a circular argument. The argumentation seems to be that for cases in which Topics are extracted, they must be base-generated at the beginning of the sentence, since Topics can be extracted from them. At the same time, the diagnostic to propose that those conditional clauses were sentence-initial all along the derivation is that topicalization was allowed. Such a hypothesis looks unfalsifiable and we should therefore try to arrive at a better one.

There is an additional downside to the proposal that all conditional clauses, both low and high, are originally merged in the position where they are spelled out. The problem is that such an approach goes against many of the things we know about conditionals. Iatridou (1991) provides tests to defend a low base-generation of many conditional clauses. They take the shape of binding tests in which reconstruction effects show how the conditional must have been generated in a low position for the correct binding interpretation to arise (while avoiding violations of binding principles):

- (35)
- a. *His_i mother gets upset if every boy_i is late.
 - b. *If every boy_i is late, his_i mother gets upset.
 - c. Every boy_i gets upset if his_i mother is late.
 - d. If his_i mother is late, every boy_i gets upset.
 - e. *John scolds his_i mother if every boy_i is late.
 - f. *If every boy_i is late, John scolds his_i mother.

- g. John scolds every woman_i if her_i son is late.
- h. If her_i son is late, John scolds every woman_i.
- i. Every boy_i gets upset if John scolds his_i mother.
- j. If John scolds his_i mother, every boy_i gets upset.
- k. *His_i mother gets upset if John scolds every boy_i.
- l. *If John scolds every boy_i, his_i mother gets upset.

However, it is also true that Iatridou presents examples in which the if-clause seems to have been generated in the preposed position.⁷ Therefore, it could still be maintained that there are cases for which the base-generation of sentence-initial if-clauses could explain the availability of Topic extraction. Nonetheless, such argument can be put aside if we can find an instance of Topicalization out of a sentence-initial conditional clause which in turn shows the kind of binding effects associated by Iatridou with displaced conditionals. It turns out we can in fact find such examples:

- (36) a. Si el jefe despide a su_i madre, Pedro_i se enfadará.
If the boss fires his mother, Pedro will get angry.
- b. A su_i madre, si la despide el jefe, Pedro_i
His mother, if CL-her fires the boss, Pedro
se enfadará.
will get angry.

Spanish

Therefore, we can conclude that topicalization can also take place from within conditional clauses that have not been generated in the sentential

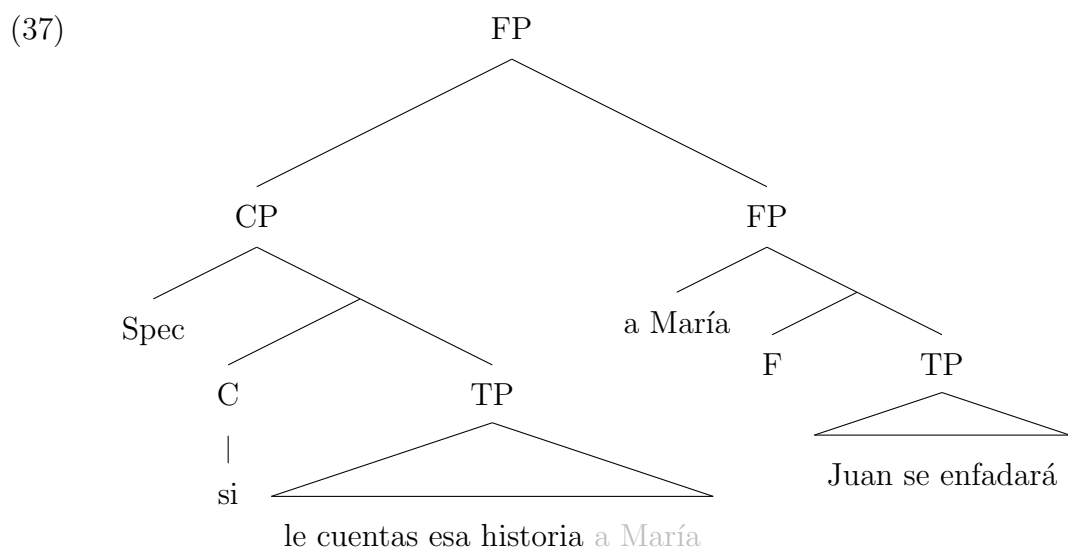
⁷She does so, for instance, with examples like the following: *If Bill_i eats spoiled oysters, he_i gets sick*, where a co-reference between *Bill* and *he* would be impossible under a lower reconstruction analysis of the if-clause.

periphery.

4. **Stipulation of the impossibility for Topics to remain in the specifier of FP**

Another reason to propose a different analysis from the one followed by Etxepare and Taylor is that there is no *a priori* reason to suppose that the Topic cannot remain in the specifier of FP when it moves there. As a matter of fact, if the whole idea behind the proposal of an extra F head for cases in which there is topicalization is that a probe is needed for the Topic to move into its specifier, then we would not expect the Topic to keep on moving, since it should have valued whichever unvalued features are involved in this relationship.

However, the Topic cannot remain there. It is important to note that the linear string produced here is grammatical as long as the “Topic” does not receive a Topic intonation and interpretation. If it just behaves as the complement of the verb above, it is a well formed sentence, but one that does not involve topicalization.



The fact that the Topic must move higher into the CP layer of the matrix clause must involve additional [Topic] features that motivate such movement. Nonetheless, these additional features prompt us to ask more questions: What is the exact featural content of the F head and why isn't it enough to freeze the Topic in its specifier position? If, as I propose, topicalization does not involve feature-checking and is a case of optional adjunction, then both movements (the first to the specifier of FP and the second to the CP of the matrix clause) are not motivated, and besides we run again into the superfluity of the extra F head for cases of topicalization.

5.5 A proposal for a simpler analysis

The previous criticism of Etxepare's and Taylor's analyses amounts to mainly two problems. The first one is the overgeneration of the sideward movement mechanism and the second one is the need to stipulate base-generation for sentence-initial conditional clauses. With those problems in mind, a new analysis should try to approach the problem without resorting to sideward movement and generating all if-clauses as adjuncts to the VP (following Iatridou (1991)).

In such an analysis, two steps must be accounted for in order for the final linear order to appear. One is topicalization out of the conditional clause and the other is movement of the conditional clause itself to the sentential periphery. Since we know that the first movement involves the type of CED violation that we expect and that leads to deviant outputs like the ones repeated below, I shall propose that topicalization of the if-clause is a pre-requisite for topicalization out of it. This is in fact consistent with the

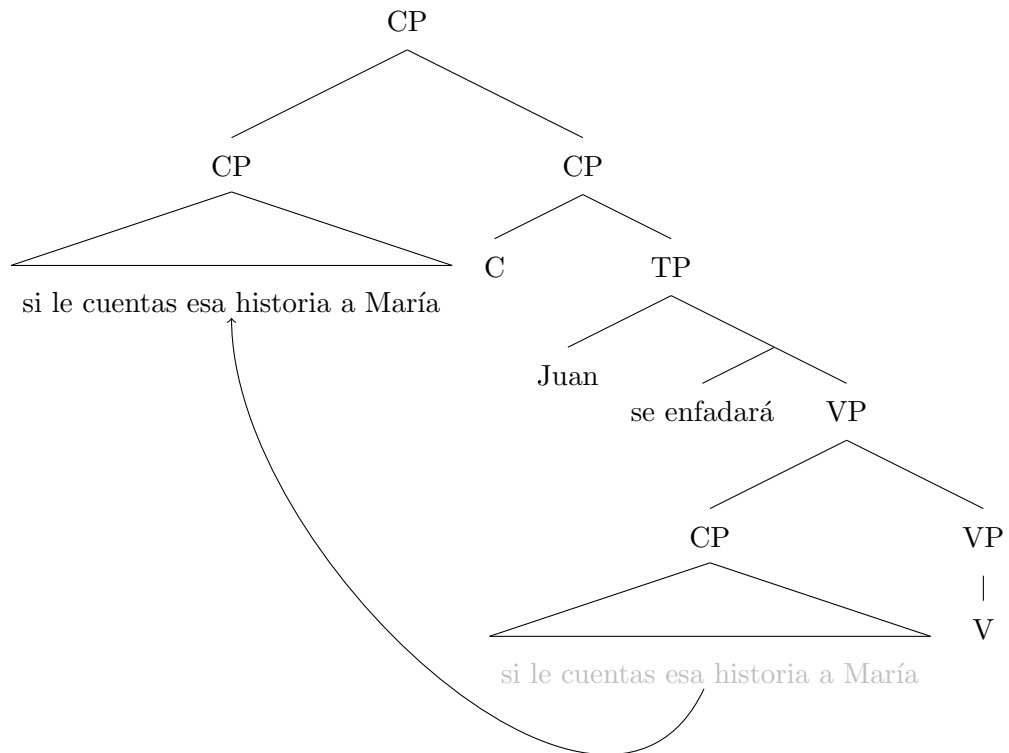
empirical observation that only preposed if-clauses allow CLLD from within (relevant examples repeated here).

- (38) a. A María, si le cuentas esa historia, Juan
 To María, if CL-her you tell that story, Juan
 se enfadará.
 will get angry.
- b. *A María, Juan se enfadará si le cuentas esa historia.
 To María, Juan will get angry if CL-her you tell that story.

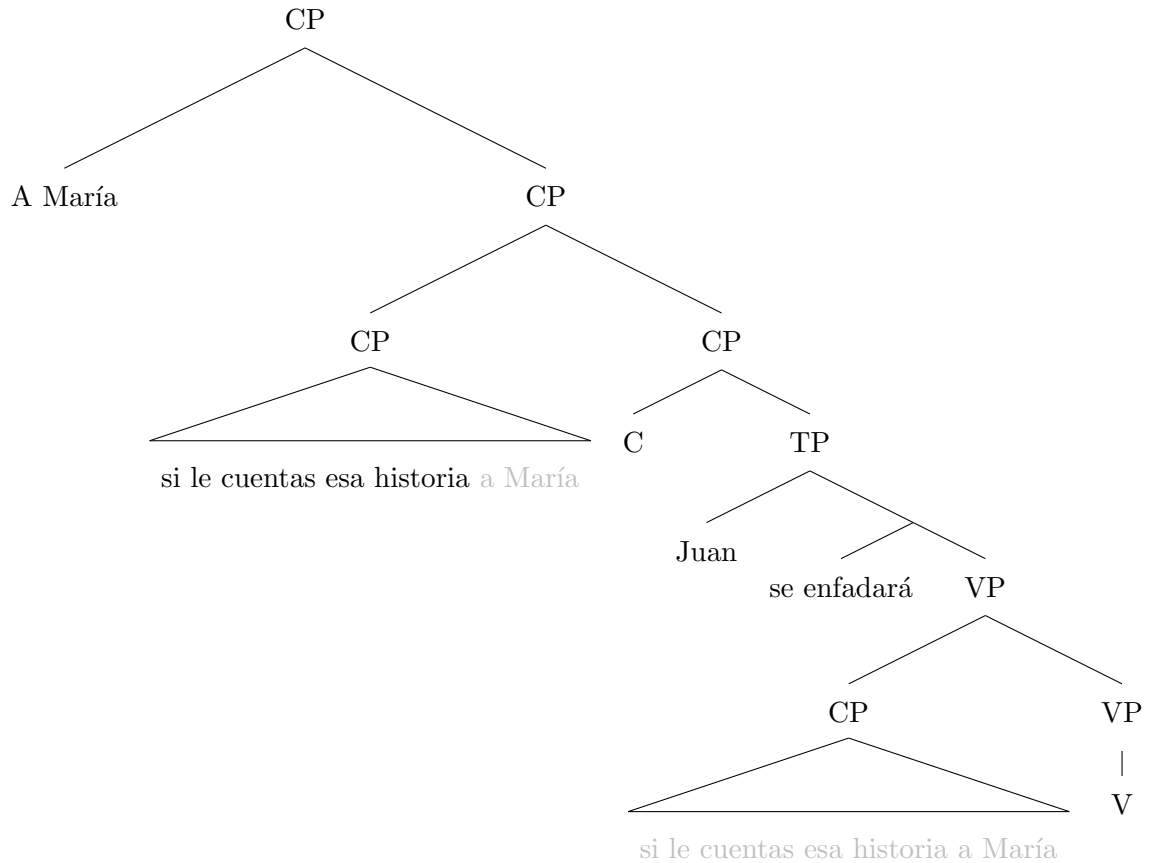
Spanish

I propose an analysis in which the conditional clause is merged as an adjunct at the corresponding moment in the derivation, then it is topicalized and this topicalization process enables subextraction from within. It could be illustrated as follows:

- Once the tree is assembled, the conditional clause is topicalized.



- The Topic moves from inside the conditional clause.



Of course, this analysis cannot escape a crucial question: why are conditional clauses islands when they appear at the end of sentences but become (more) transparent when they undergo topicalization? This is an unexpected result since we know that in general, the more a phrase moves, the more opaque it becomes.

The special behavior of conditional clauses, therefore, should have something to do with at least one of two things: either a particular feature found in conditional clauses but not in other kinds of adverbial embedded sentences or something related to the topicalization process they undergo. I shall propose it has to do with both.

Since the analysis hinges on the proposal that conditional clauses are

topicalized before any Topic can be moved from within, a first question we can ask is whether it is generally true that we can extract a Topic out of another Topic. As a matter of fact, this is generally true:

- (39) a. Que a María le comprarán un coche nos lo
That to María CL-her they will buy a car CL-us CL-it
dijeron ayer.
they said yesterday.
- b. A María, que le comprarán un coche nos lo
To María, that CL-her they will buy a car CL-us CL-it
dijeron ayer.
they said yesterday.

Spanish

An additional advantage of this analysis over the previous one has to do with topicalization out of conditional clauses taking place cross-sententially. If Extxepare's and Taylor's analyses were correct, then they would predict that any instance of topicalization out of an if-clause that does not sit in a sentence-initial position should be wrong. Now the question is, what happens when an if-clause appears topicalized and at the same time embedded within another matrix clause? We can see it in examples as the following:

- (40) a. A María dicen sus amigos que si le cuentas esa
To María say her friends that if CL-her you tell that
historia Pedro se enfadará.
story Pedro will get angry.
- b. *A María, dicen sus amigos que Pedro se enfadará si le
A María, say her friends that Pedro will get angry if CL-her
cuentas esa historia.
you tell that story.

Spanish

In these sentences we can see how the same characterization provided for

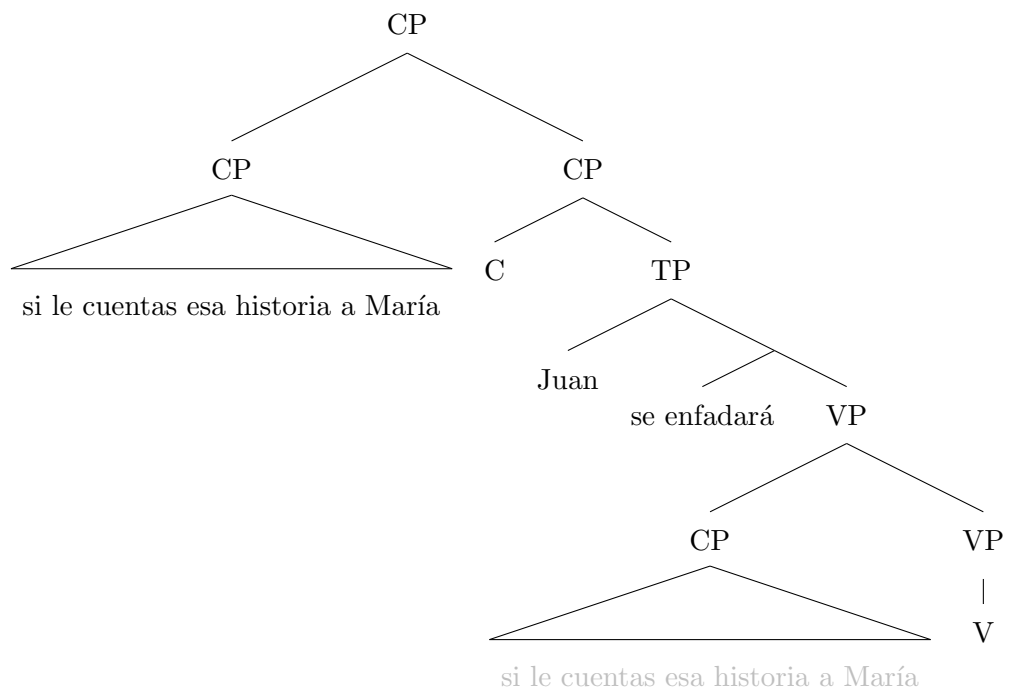
root clauses, that is, that conditional clauses which undergo topicalization become transparent for further subextractions. The CLLDed phrase that has been moved from within need not remain joined to it forming a large clitic cluster.

Although fitting with the present approach of considering that topicalization of the conditional clause is the only pre-requisite that must be met for a Topic to move to the sentential periphery from the conditional-clause domain, the examples in (40) are incompatible with any analysis along the lines of Etxepare's and Taylor's, in which any extraction out of the if-clause is dependent on its very late adjunction to the matrix clause. For cases in which the clause is topicalized but the derivation keeps merging structure on top of the topicalized if-clause, any approach in which if-clauses must be in the initial position of the root clause fail to account for data like (40).

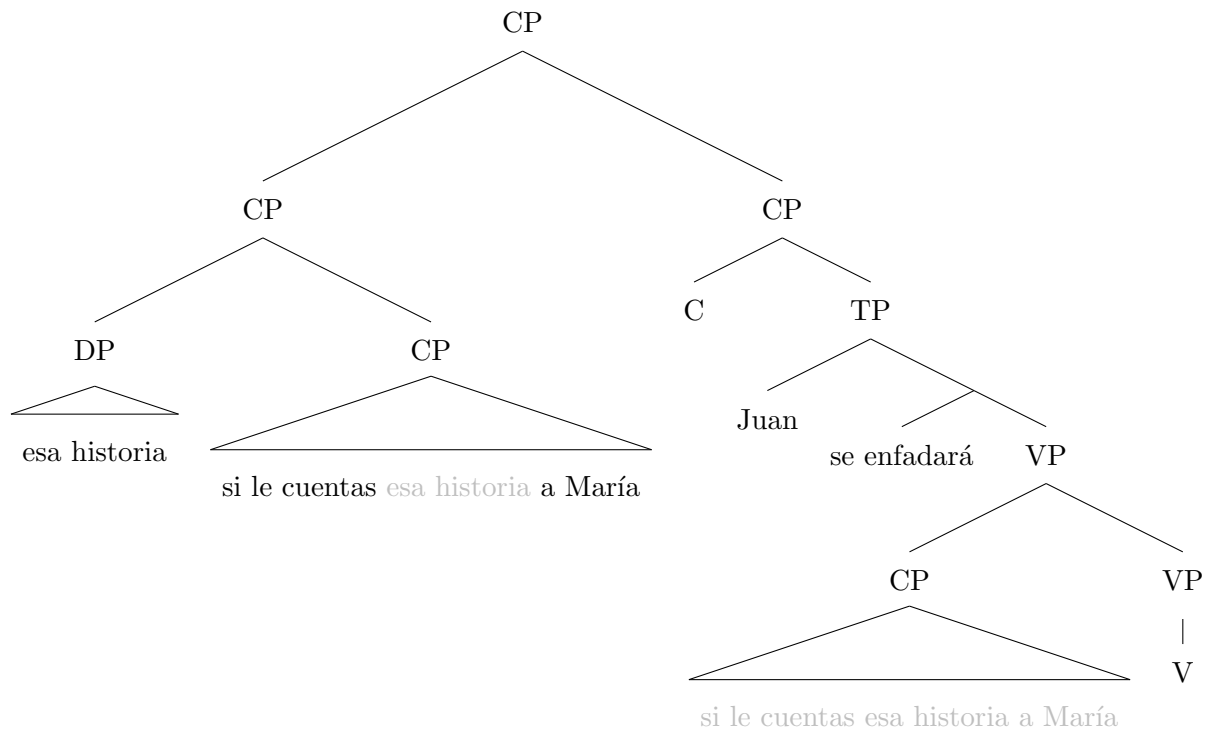
There is a second fundamental question faced by this analysis, which is, why is there a limit to the number of Topics a sentence may admit beyond the first ones? I believe that the answer can be found by following Kayne (1994)'s LCA in the way proposed in Villalba (2000). In his dissertation, Villalba proposed that, since the LCA forces us to have at most one adjunct or specifier per maximal projection, the number of Topics should be naturally limited. The degraded sentence **A María, esa historia, si se la cuentas, Juan se enfadará* ('To María, that story, if you tell, Juan will be angry') would have a derivation such as the following:

- (41) *A María, esa historia, si se la cuentas, Juan
 To María, that story, if CL-her CL-it you tell, Juan
 se enfadará.
 will be angry.

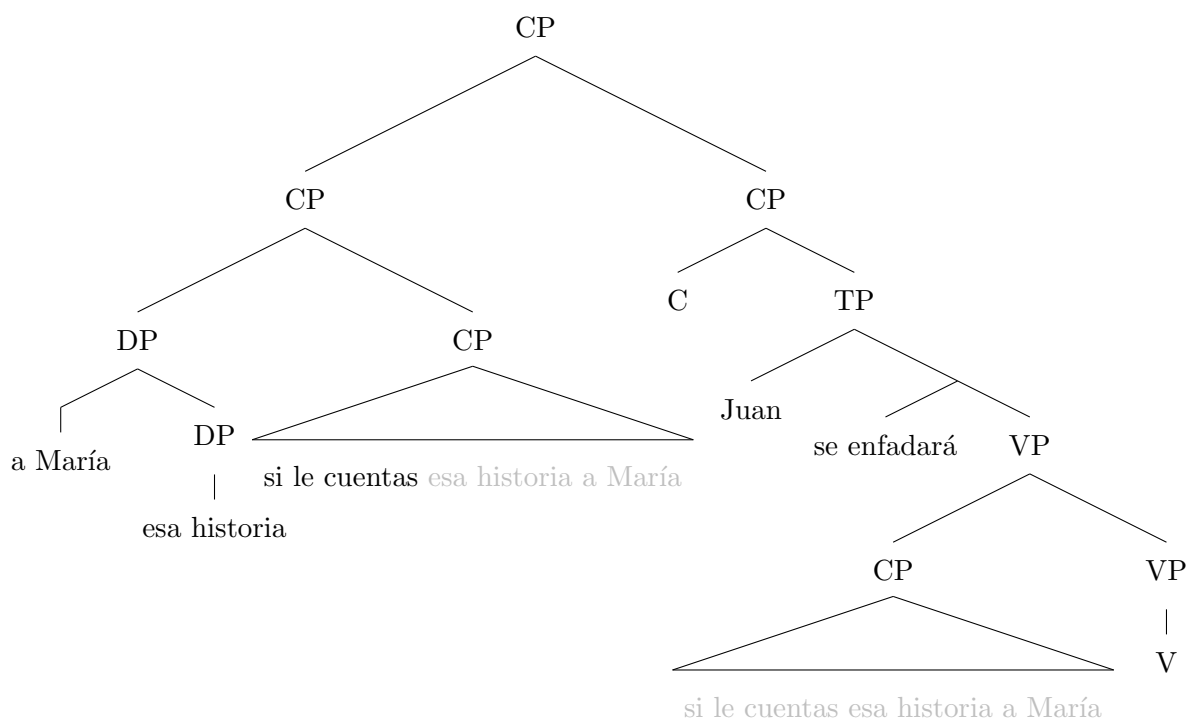
- The topicalization of the conditional clause would take place just like in the previous examples in this chapter:



- The first topicalized element from the conditional clause would be adjoined to its maximal projection, thus filling the only available position for adjuncts in that maximal projection.



- The second Topic cannot move to the same maximal projection, and following Villalba (2000), can only adjoin to the the previously adjoined Topic, therefore producing a banned movement.



At the beginning of this chapter we identified four problems as cases of unexpected behavior of CLLD when proceeding from the domain of a conditional clause. We shall now provide the answers to such problems obtained from applying an approach like the one explained above.

The first problem was that Topics can only be extracted from clause-initial conditional clauses:

- (42) a. A María, si le cuentas esa historia, Juan
 To María, if CL-her you tell that story, Juan
 se enfadará.
 will get angry.

- b. *A María, Juan se enfadará si le cuentas esa historia.
 To María, Juan will get angry if CL-her you tell that story.

Spanish

We can naturally explain it by the appeal to the special character of Topics that allow other Topics to move from within. If the process of topicalization produces as a result a weaker island, as the empirical observations seem to point to, it follows that topicalized conditional clauses would allow CLLD from within more easily.

The second problem was so in virtue of comparing sentences with allowed positions above ForceP like the one above with the ones below:

- (43) a. *El Joan s'emprenyarà, a la Maria, si li dius
 The Joan will get angry to the Maria if CL-her you say
 aquestes coses.
 these things.
- b. *El Joan s'emprenyarà, aquestes coses, si les dius
 The Joan will get angry these things if CL-them you say
 a la Maria.
 to the Maria.

Catalan

Now, under the approach that if-clauses need to be fronted for CLLD to be licit, in sentences where the conditional has remained in a low position, no extraction whatsoever could take place.

The third problem stemmed from the apparent asymmetry between the behavior of dative and accusative arguments when they were topicalized from a conditional clause:

- (44) a. *A María, Juan se enfadará si le cuentas esa historia.
To María, Juan will get angry if CL-her you tell that story.
- b. Esa historia, Juan se enfadará si se la cuentas a
That story, Juan will get angry if CL-her CL-it you tell to
María.
María.

Spanish

The third problem was derived from an unexpected observation on two grounds: not only because it shows an apparent asymmetry between the two kinds of DP, but also because it contravenes the data and the analysis proposed above in terms of a large Topic, formed by the conditional clause and the CLLD to its left, as the only well formed alternative when topicalizing from within a conditional clause.

What I propose is that in fact both kinds of Topics are ill-formed, and that the availability of extraction of the direct object DP is only apparent. I propose that it is in fact a Hanging Topic, not receiving but the default Case Hanging Topics receive. If this is the case, we would expect it to be base-generated directly in its position, and not to be constrained by the kind of locality restrictions that would affect CLLD generated via movement.

If they are indeed Hanging Topics, we have another three predictions: they should be able to be paraphrased by *Speaking of...*; they should be unable to be embedded, and they should not accept being introduced by a prepositions. These predictions are indeed borne out:

- (45) Hablando de María, Juan se enfadará si le cuentas esa historia.
 Speaking of María, Juan will get angry if CL-*her* you tell that story.

Spanish

What this example shows is how a sentence judged ungrammatical like **A María, Juan se enfadará si le cuentas esa historia* ('To María, Juan will be angry if you tell that story'), is instantly saved by forcing a Hanging Topic reading of the Topic. Therefore, if such a reading were available 'for free' for arguments without explicit Case markings like the accusative case under discussion, it is expectable that it can be interpreted as well formed under a Hanging Topic reading.

- (46) *En Dios, Juan se enfadará si María cree.
 In God, Juan will get angry if María believes.

Spanish

This examples is in a way opposite to the previous one: by making use of a complement necessarily preceded by a preposition, we can avoid a Hanging Topic interpretation of the CLLDed phrase altogether. The ungrammaticality of the resulting sentence is a strong indicator that the well-formedness of the example with the extraction of the accusative complement is only apparent.

- (47) *Pedro piensa que esa historia Juan se enfadará si se la cuentas a María.
 Pedro thinks that that story Juan will get angry if CL-*her* CL-*it* you tell to María.

Spanish

In a similar vein, by knowing that Hanging Topics cannot be embedded, if we embed the otherwise well formed sentence, we get an ungrammatical one, showing again that we are witnessing Hanging-Topic behavior.

The fourth problem was the impossibility to combine two Topics with a fronted *if*-clause. This has been attributed to the LCA and the impossibility to have more than one specifier/adjunct. This would have consequences not only for topicalization from embedded clauses, but also in limiting the number of Topics that can be combined with fronted adverbial of other kinds. This also seems to be true in the light of the degradation in judgments these sentences suffer:

- (48) a. *Al Pere, aquesta ordre, ràpidament el Joan l'hi va
To Pere, this order, quickly Joan CL-*him* CL-*it*
donar.
gave.

Catalan

- b. *A Pedro, quest'ordine, rapidamente, Giovanni glielo
To Pedro, this order, quickly Giovanni CL-*him* CL-*it*
ha dato.
gave.

Italian

5.6 Consequences for the broader analysis of topicalization processes

Naturally, if the characterization of topicalization from conditional clauses reflects a fundamental property of topicalization, that is, that it renders moved constituents more transparent for extraction, predictions could be made from here.

One of the first would be that other kinds of topicalized adverbial clauses could potentially allow topicalization. We already saw this is not the case:

- (49) a. *A María, porque le contaste esa historia, Juan
 To María, because CL-her you told that story, Juan
 se enfadó.
 got angry.
- b. *A María, aunque le cuentes esa historia, Juan
 To María, although CL-her you tell that story, Juan
 se enfadará.
 will get angry.
- c. *A María, para que le cuentes esa historia, Juan
 To María, in order for CL-her you to tell that story, Juan
 se callará.
 will stay quiet.

Spanish

Therefore, conditional clauses must have additional properties that are not shared by other types of adverbial clauses. An important consequence we can derive from this is that ‘adverbial clause’ may not be a very useful label in syntax insofar it does not denote a natural class of objects. Now, another issue we must face is whether conditional clauses do constitute a natural class of syntactic objects or on the contrary, only if-clauses have the property of allowing topicalization when they have been topicalized in turn. Although so far we have only taken a look at if-clauses, Romance languages allow for many other morpho-syntactic ways of building conditional clauses.

In the following sentences we can see how we can form a conditional clause (at least from a semantic viewpoint) by resorting to a number of strategies: an infinitive sentence introduced by *de*, by the complementizer *como* (which depending on context can be causal or conditional), by the complementizer *mientras* (which depending on context may be temporal or conditional) and

with a gerund clause.

- (50) a. Ese asunto, de haberlo conocido habríamos
That issue, of having-CL-*it* known we would have
actuado antes.
acted earlier.
- b. *Ese asunto, habríamos actuado antes de haberlo
That issue, we would have acted earlier of having-CL-*it*
conocido.
known.
- (51) a. A María, de haberla visto, habría avisado
To Maria, of having-CL-*her* seen I would have warned
a Juan.
Juan.
- b. *A María, habría avisado a Juan de haberla
To Maria, I would have warned Juan of having-CL-*her*
visto.
seen.
- (52) a. Esa historia, como la recuerde tendremos
That story, if CL-*it* he remembers we will have
problemas.
problems.
- b. *Esa historia, tendremos problemas como la
That story, we will have problems if CL-*it*
recuerde.
he remembers.
- (53) a. A María, como la veamos, avisaremos a Juan.
María, if CL-*her* we see, we will warn Juan.
- b. *A María, avisaremos a Juan como la veamos.
María, we will warn Juan if CL-*her* we see.

- (54) a. A María, mientras no la avises, no tendremos
 María, while you don't CL-*her* warn, we will not have
 problemas.
 problems.
- b. *A María, no tendremos problemas mientras no la
 María, we won't have problems while you don't CL-*her*
 avises.
 warn.
- (55) a. *Las llaves, podré abrir la puerta encontrándolas.
 The keys, I will be able to open the door finding-CL-*them*.
- b. *Las llaves, encontrándolas, podré abrir la
 The keys, finding-CL-*them*, I will be able to open the
 puerta.
 door.

Spanish

- (56) a. Maria, mentre no l'avisem, no tindrem problemes.
 Maria, while we don't warn her, we won't have problems.
- b. *Maria, no tindrem problemes mentre no l'avisem.
 Maria, we won't have problems while we don't warn her.

Catalan

What we find is a somewhat mixed pattern. In general, most conditional clauses behave like if-clauses, but a few of them do not. Although I shall not analyze what makes them different, we can hypothesize why .

There is a further source of evidence that can support the argument that topicalized phrases have something in common with conditional clauses. This comes from the work by Haiman (1978, 1986). Haiman's proposal has two different parts that we can explore and that can shed light on the nature of conditional clauses. On the one hand there is a semantic proposal, that is, conditional clauses are inherently topical insofar as they establish a com-

mon ground (the condition) between both speakers, which is a characteristic of Topics from a pragmatic point of view. On the other hand, Haiman's cross-linguistic study shows how several languages that use morphological markings for topic-hood (Vietnamese, Hua), use the very same marking in conditional clauses. The fact that the morphology of said languages detects the commonalities between Topics and conditional clauses (and, apparently, not between Topics and other kinds of clauses) is probably an indication of the nature of those clauses.

In any case, possessing a Topic-like feature would render sentence-initial (topicalised) adverbial clauses good candidates for extraction **iff** they are endowed with such Topic-like features from a syntactic and semantic point of view.

This means two different things. On the one hand, that fronting of an adverbial clause is not by itself sufficient for the clause to become extractable by Topics. On the other, that sentences with different specification regarding their Topic-hood from a semantic point of view should behave differently regarding topicalization.

The only types of adverbials allowing CLLD should be those in which the information contained in the adverbial clause must be either salient in the discourse or inherently shared by speakers. This is in fact true (as exemplified here for Galician, but equally true for Spanish and Catalan as well):

- (57) a. A María, como lle deches ese regalo, Xoán
To María, since CL-her you gave that present, Xoán
anoxouse.
got angry.

- b. *A María, porque lle deches ese regalo, Xoán
 To María, because CL-*her* you gave that present, Xoán
 anoxouse.
 got angry.

Galician

Even when both sentences have causal reading, only the complementizer *como* has an added implicature of shared information which makes it an optimal candidate for topicalization.

A second prediction would be that once a Topic has been adjoined out of the *if*-clause, it should remain free to keep on moving. Naturally, this should only be allowed if the conditional clause has been topicalised in the first place. This is also true:

- (58) a. A María, dixo Brais que se lle das este regalo,
 To María said Brais that if CL-*her* you give this present
 Xoán anoxarase.
 Xoán will get angry.
- b. *A María, dixo Brais que Xoán anoxarase se lle
 To María said Brais that Xoán will get angry if CL-*her*
 das este regalo.
 you give this present.

Galician

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that conditional clauses do not behave like other types of adverbial clauses with respect to Topic extraction. Whereas most adverbial embedded clauses are adjuncts and therefore pattern like other strong islands, preventing CLLD from within under all circumstances, conditional clauses are transparent to such movement provided they meet a particular

requisite: they must be sentence-initial. This effect had been observed and received an analysis in terms of sideward movement, but that analysis was shown here to present serious problems of overgeneration and stipulation.

Therefore I have proposed an analysis in which conditional sentences are allowed to be base-generated in the lower part of the clause in order to maintain the properties that had been observed about them, and at the same time attempts to avoid the problems associated with sideward movement. After identifying four problems associated to Topic movement from a conditional clause, two main questions had to be approached by the analysis. One is the issue of explaining why only topicalized conditionals are transparent for extraction. The reason suggested in the analysis was that topicalization involves the loss of certain features, resulting in an lighter barrier for movement. This was done in line with the observed facts that show hoy Topic are inert for many locality constraints. Besides, some evidence for the treatment of some conditionals as inherently topical, thus easing their characterization as Topics was presented. The second issue, albeit controversial, was the apparent limitation to the number of Topics we can have per sentence. The account suggested for this problem was to follow the LCA and the natural limitations that derive from it.

Chapter 6

Conclusions and further research

This dissertation has dealt with the interaction between a particular type of topicalization and the syntactic constraints that usually prevent movement operations. The core part of the thesis has been the proposal of analyses for those cases in which Topics can violate the kind of strong island constraints that they are not supposed to be able to violate. These analyses have been different depending on the particular kind of island encountered during the topicalization process.

On methodological and empirical grounds, the type of topicalization chosen as a case study in the dissertation has been Clitic Left Dislocation. The reason is that *topicalization* is a broad term that seems to cover a wide spectrum of phenomena and other kinds of Topics are not subject to the same kind of constraints, which has given rise to some confusions in the early characterization of Topics as a more monolithic phenomenon. Besides, in order to prevent readings of the Topics that may have been confused with Hanging Topics, we have tried to stick to argumental Topics (therefore avoiding

aboutness readings that may arise in cases of topicalization of a PP) and to Dative arguments for cases in which the absence of a morphological mark on the Accusative might have also induced Hanging Topic interpretations.

Chapter 1 was devoted to the presentation of different topicalization phenomena, as well as the logical foundations of the cartographic project in syntax which has been responsible for the richest characterizations of such phenomena. In doing so, we gained some insight regarding the kind of Topic that would fit best with the range of locality phenomena under study. Besides, the general nature of the problems encountered in the dissertation was presented, along with examples from different Romance languages showing the type of island violation by Topics analyzed in the rest of the dissertation.

Chapter 2 approached one of the central issues in the literature on topicalization: whether Topics move to their surface position or they are generated there from the start. I argued that topicalization is a movement operation on the basis of four main phenomena, namely, Case assignment, which is taken to be a local and not a long-distance operation; the multiple contrasts with Hanging Topics which can be elegantly explained by appealing to a division between movement and base generation; the very existence of locality constraints preventing topicalization in many cases; and the presence of reconstruction effects from the point of view of Binding Theory. By means of approaching topicalization in terms of movement, the existence of islands is natural, and the rest of chapters is dedicated to the analysis of the conditions under which such movement can take place even against rules of locality that apply elsewhere.

Chapter 3 tackled the first of these islands, namely Subject Islands, by proposing that instances of allowed Topics out of a subject all share the property of belonging to subjects that can be generated post-verbally. Therefore,

copula sentences and sentences with unaccusative verbs, whose basic argumental structure seems to only contain an internal argument which later rises to meet the EPP are the ones that most readily admit topicalization of the relevant sort. Again on methodological grounds, the main type of subject included in this chapter was clausal subjects, since subject DPs are more resilient to subextraction on the one hand and more prone to include PPs with aboutness readings once topicalized, on the other. Also in this part of the dissertation it was found that a considerable variation exists among speakers.

Chapter 4 dealt with the other two main types of strong islands that can be violated in CLLD processes. The cases under study are those of Complex NP island and Adjunct island violations. The main observation was that such violation was only possible if the resumptive pronoun in a banned position was co-referential with another referential pronoun in a permitted site. This has given rise to two alternative analyses. The first one, labelled ‘trivial’, consisted in proposing that no violation of any sort takes place in these cases, since the Topic only moves in the matrix sentence, ignoring the embedded clause. The second, in terms of what I called ‘Semantic Connectedness’, proposes that semantic co-referentiality by itself rescues cases in which one clitic sits in a forbidden position.

Chapter 5 has dealt with a particular sub-type of adjunct island violation: that of conditional clauses. In that chapter we saw how conditional clauses do not pattern like the rest of adverbial clauses with respect to extraction of a Topic from within. Whereas most adverbial clauses behave like adjuncts and are strong islands regarding topicalization, conditional clauses are transparent for it as long as one requisite is fulfilled: the conditional clause must be clause-initial. We saw how previous analyses dealing with this matter

had serious shortcomings and therefore tried to offer an alternative account that tries to solve two central questions: why are only fronted conditionals viable for Topic extraction and why is there a limit to the number of Topics available in such sentences. The first question was answered by proposing a loss of features related to Topic-hood that would render Topics inherently more transparent for further Topic movement. The second, by following the LCA in preventing the adjunction of multiple Topics to the same maximal projection.

An additional observation can be made before moving forward: no difference among the Romance varieties examined (Spanish, Catalan, Italian, Galician and Romanian) has been found with respect to the range of issues under discussion. Although Spanish has been most heavily drawn upon, all other languages patterned in the same or very similar way.

There are a few questions that were asked along the dissertation but not answered. These will be briefly discussed here as a basis for further research on related topics.

One of the central issues that have appeared a few times is the question of variability among speakers. Even when the data were treated in an “aseptic” way by controlling for issues such as *aboutness* or Hanging Topic readings, the islands were well established and a reduced set of possible data were used (reducing case studies to argumental CLLD in Romance), grammaticality judgments for the same sentence could vary from full acceptability to perceived ungrammaticality. The peripheral domain of sentences being the *locus* of discourse-related phenomena, a possibility may have to do with the ability of the listener to put themselves in a context where the utterance is possible. Therefore, a possible way to pursue research would be to clarify the status of the most problematic set of data. That could be achieved in at least

two ways. One could be corpus analysis, in order to see whether some of the problematic examples are actually attested and to which extent or frequency. A natural disadvantage of a corpus-based study is the impossibility to access ungrammatical sentences. A second way could be to carry out experimental work by means of a survey in which items are presented for speakers to assess their perceived grammaticality.

The chapter on conditional clauses and CLLD provides the ground for more research beyond the points reached. First, it opens the door for the analysis of other kinds of adverbial clauses that may behave like conditionals. Some types of causal clauses seemed to pattern that way, but other adverbial clauses may also belong to the same category. If that is the case, a precise analysis of the features that set them apart from other kinds of adverbials is needed.

A second way in which research could follow from the chapter on conditional clauses deals with the internal make-up that allows for different phenomena. Since the chapter was devoted to Topic extraction out of an if-clause, not much space was dedicated to Haegeman's different analyses of their internal structure. The change in her approach took place from a truncation analysis in which many adverbial clauses have a defective structure, therefore not allowing internal Topics to a locality-based analysis in which the presence of an operator in the left periphery of adverbial clauses prevents certain elements from crossing it, thus explaining why Topicalization and other Main Clause Phenomena cannot happen in such sentences. However, recent research like Batllori & Hernanz (2013) has shown how for certain phenomena (in the case of said paper, emphatic polarity items in Romance) can be better approached in terms of a truncation-based analysis. As a result, future research could delve deeper into this matter showing which analysis

provides a better account of the empirical facts observed.

A third way to build on the grounds provided by Chapter 5 and on some of the data scattered in the other chapters would be to analyse how other languages and language families fare with regard to the range of phenomena contained in this dissertation. Specifically, Japanese was shown to be intriguing in a number of ways. Its *wa*-marked Topics behave like Hanging Topics with respect to a number of properties (insensitivity to island constraints, non-recursivity and impossibility of appearing in embedded contexts) whereas look like Romance Topics of the CLLD kind with respect to others (they receive Case and can be accompanied by postpositions). Besides, the rich array of morpho-syntactic elements that can introduce a conditional clause invites a deeper investigation of the interaction between Topics and adverbial clauses in that language.

These are but a few of the possible lines of inquiry which this dissertation may offer. Regarding the work done in this dissertation, the array of data presented, the phenomena examined and the analyses proposed are hoped to be of interest for the linguistic community.

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