

**ENGLISH/SPANISH DISCOURSE PROPERTIES:  
THE IDENTIFICATION OF A/A'-POSITIONS**

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José Miguel Ruiz-Villaécija

*A mi director de tesis, Ángel Jiménez, por permanecer siempre a mi lado  
en este largo viaje.*

*A Ramón Jiménez Pérez y Alfonso Jiménez Fernández, cuya pérdida  
ha acompañado a mi director en la última etapa de esta tesis.*

*The Beatles*  
*The Long and Winding Road*

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## **0. INTRODUCTION**

The present study focuses on the comparison of the nature of discourse constituents and their positions in the sentence in English and Spanish, within a generative approach to language. Specifically, this dissertation argues for a reconsideration of the A/A'-distinction. Evidence for the reformulation includes binding facts, reconstruction effects, weak-cross-over phenomena, parasitic gap constructions and the syntax of floating quantifiers. In this way, we demonstrate that discourse elements behave in a different way and have a different location in English and Spanish.

The languages we concentrate on the dissertation are mainly English and Spanish but many results can be carried over to other languages.

The main body of the study is organized as follows. In Chapter 1, we deal with an old claim: languages differ with respect to word order. In this case, we introduce the notions of focus and topic which are two key concepts in discourse analysis and information structure. In addition, we analyse the different types of focus and topics that have been traditionally assumed to exist in natural language. Finally, we introduce the concept of phases. Discourse constituents undergo movement cyclically and through different phases.

Chapter 2 discusses the syntax of discourse functions. We state that topics and foci move to a high position in the sentence, i.e. they are not base-generated. More concretely, we give further evidence in favour of analysing clitic left dislocation (CLLD) and hanging topic (HT) as involving movement and base-generation respectively. We essentially entertain the same dual analysis for English, with topic fronting involving movement and left dislocation (LD) being a base-generation structure. We also assume a movement analysis for focus fronting in English and Spanish. As for the landing-site of these discourse elements that move in a clause, the cartography linguistics of Rizzi (1997, 2004) and others consider that topic and focus



are part of the articulated CP system. However, an unsplit CP analysis is adopted for English. At the same time, the Generalized TP analysis (Zubizarreta 1998), proposes that fronted topics and foci in Spanish have the specifier of Tense Phrase (TP) as their landing site. We will discuss these analyses in our next chapter.

Chapter 3 concentrates on the difference between A-movement and A'-movement, argumental and non-argumental movement. In this case, we see how the properties of a movement determine whether it is argumental or non-argumental. So, focus movement in Spanish is of an A-nature. Dealing with English, the specifier of TP is not an available landing site for discourse constituents, that is, foci and topics have to move to the Complementiser Phrase (CP).

In Chapter 4, we analyse the differences between English and Spanish with respect to the application of the operations of Topicalisation and Focalisation in main clauses and its possible extension to subordinate contexts. A movement analysis of factive clauses allows us to analyse this restriction in terms of an intervention effect. In this regard, factive clauses could be defined as finite object clauses. More concretely, as originally noted by Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1970), factive predicates are distinguished from non-factives in that the former presuppose the truth of their complement clause while the latter do not. Indeed, following Haegeman (2004, 2010, 2012), we outline an operator movement analysis of factive clauses, and show how this account derives the lack of discourse movement from an intervention effect between the moved operator and some left peripheral element. In other words, discourse movement in English is incompatible with factive clauses since topics and foci move to [Spec, C], which accounts for the incompatibility of English Focalisation/Topicalisation and factive clauses in terms of intervention effects. In contrast to English, Spanish discourse elements arguably stay within the TP domain. Therefore, focus and topic elements do

not give rise to intervention effects the same way as English Focalisation and Topicalisation do. In order to guarantee this descriptive analysis, we will select ten native speakers of English and some others of Spanish in such a way that we can determine the degree of acceptability of the different word orders in both languages.

Finally, Chapter 5 concludes the dissertation.

## **1. STATE OF THE ART**

## 1.1. Introduction

In this chapter we examine the nature and behaviour of topics and foci, two key concepts in discourse analysis and information structure. As we will see, in order to understand the role of topicalised and focused elements in a particular language we have to take into account the specific characteristics of that language. Furthermore, we introduce Chomsky's (2001) Phase Impenetrability Condition since discourse constituents move cyclically and through different phases.

## 1.2. Fixed word order and free word order languages

In some languages such as Russian or Spanish, sentence constituents can appear in many different positions. Hence, these types of languages are known as "free word order" languages. The example given below, from Russian, shows six distinct word order patterns with exactly the same lexical items (Bailyn 2003: 157):

- |                     |           |           |     |
|---------------------|-----------|-----------|-----|
| (1) a. Mal'čiki     | čitajut   | knigi     | SVO |
| boys-NOM            | read      | books-ACC |     |
| 'Boys read books.'  |           |           |     |
| b. Mal'čiki         | knigi     | čitajut   | SOV |
| boys-NOM            | books-ACC | read      |     |
| 'Boys read books.'  |           |           |     |
| c. Knigi            | mal'čiki  | čitajut   | OSV |
| books-ACC           | boys-NOM  | read      |     |
| 'Books, boys read.' |           |           |     |
| d. Knigi            | čitajut   | mal'čiki  | OVS |
| books-ACC           | read      | boys-NOM  |     |
| 'Books, boys read.' |           |           |     |
| e. Čitajut          | mal'čiki  | knigi     | VSO |
| read                | boys-NOM  | books-ACC |     |
| 'Boys read books.'  |           |           |     |
| f. Čitajut          | knigi     | mal'čiki  | VOS |
| read                | books-ACC | boys-NOM  |     |
| 'Boys read books.'  |           |           |     |

In this connection, we have to analyse the context in which the varying orders are felicitous. Depending on the context, only some orders are acceptable. Grammatical rules about discourse movement have been developed to explain this contextual dependency. This situation has given place to many discussions about the nature of the movement involved, in particular, whether it is A'-movement or A-movement<sup>1</sup>. The literature is somewhat undecided, but the general consensus is that both kinds of movement are implicated.

Notwithstanding, other languages such as English are generally regarded as having relatively "fixed word order". In this case, the sentence constituents appear in a specific order. So, generally we have no variation in the order of the elements in spite of the distinction between given and new information in a sentence. In this way, the highlighted element receives prosodic prominence but there is not any rearrangement of lexical items, as illustrated in (2):

- (2) a. What did the priest give to your girlfriend?  
b.1. \*The priest gave to my girlfriend A CAKE.  
b.2. The priest gave A CAKE to my girlfriend.

To answer the question (2a), English has no alternative but to use the canonical [S V DP<sub>1</sub> PP<sub>2</sub>] order as in (2b.2). Thus, phonological prominence is employed to indicate that *a cake* is the element that is informationally focused in this context.

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<sup>1</sup> A point which should be clear is the basic distinction between A-movement and A'-movement, argumental and non-argumental movement. If a sentence constituent moves to an argumental position (the specifier of TP), it is a case of A-movement. This is involved in Raising Constructions:

- (i) He<sub>i</sub> seems [~~he~~<sub>i</sub> to have won the match]

In (i) the subject of the infinitival clause has been raised to the subject position of the matrix clause. Since the target of this movement is an argumental position, it is considered as an example of A-movement. On the contrary, other syntactic operations involve the displacement of a sentence constituent to the periphery of the clause, to non-argumental positions and therefore, they will be defined as a case of A'-movement (targeting CP).

However, the canonical pattern in English may be manipulated in order to give special emphasis to a specific constituent, as we can see in (3):

- (3) a. I really detest chocolate.
- b. Chocolate I really detest.

The paradigm in (3) shows that English can give information prominence to the object of a sentence by placing it at the beginning of the clause. Such an option is available in any type of construction in English, as we can see from examples in (4):

- (4) a. To Peter I will give a prize.
- b. Tonight I will give a prize to Peter.
- c. Peter his name is.

In this respect, according to Krahmer & Swerts (2007), Dutch and Italian are markedly different regarding accent patterns inside DPs. In Dutch, it appears that accent patterns are indeed used to mark information status: accent distribution is the main discriminative factor with new and contrastive information generally accented, while given information is deaccented. Meanwhile, the auditory cues are less informative for Italian than for Dutch. Italian has other means besides prosody of marking information status. For instance, it has a freer word-order than languages such as Dutch, and it is known to exploit this freedom to mark information status.

### **1.3. Discourse functions**

#### **1.3.1. On the definition of topic and focus**

In the relevant literature many discussions can be found about the discourse function of different constituents in a sentence. Terms such as “old and new information”, “theme and rheme”, “topic and comment” have been used to describe the

contribution of various sentence elements to the flow of information within discourse. In this section, we are going to introduce the notions of focus and topic which are two key concepts in discourse analysis and information structure.

### 1.3.1.1. Focus

Firstly, we deal with what is known as information focus (Kiss 1998; Zubizarreta 1998; Casielles-Suárez 2004; Erteschik-Shir 2006 among others). In this respect, the discourse function of elements in a sentence depends on the discourse context within which that sentence is uttered. For instance, in (5), the (a) sentence provides a discourse context for the answers in (b)-(d):

- (5) a. ¿A quién elogió Marcos?  
To whom praise-PAST-3SG Marcos  
'Who did Marcos praise?'
- b. Marcos elogió a David.  
Marcos praise-PAST-3SG to David  
'Marcos praised David.'
- c. Elogió a David.  
praise-PAST-3SG to David  
'(He) praised David.'
- d. A David.  
To David  
'David.'

(5a) is a question which asks for information about the individual whom Marcos praised. This information is given by the answers in (b)-(d). In these answers, the direct object *David* is the only constituent which gives new information. Taking into account the context in (5a), the subject and the verb are “given” or “previously known”. According to Zubizarreta (1998), the relevant division derives from the discourse notion of presupposition. What the speaker and hearer assume to be true at the time that the sentence is uttered is considered as “presupposed”; by contrast, those elements of a

sentence which are not presupposed are the focus of a sentence. As we can see through the question and answer pairs in (6)-(7), any constituent, or even the entire sentence, may be the focus. The focus constituent in the (b) sentences occurs in square brackets.

- (6) a. ¿Qué comió Marcos?  
 What eat-PAST-3SG Marcos  
 ‘What did Marcos eat?’  
 b. Marcos comió [salchichas FOCUS].  
 Marcos eat-PAST-3SG sausages  
 ‘Marcos ate [sausages].’
- (7) a. ¿Qué hizo Marcos?  
 What do-PAST-3SG Marcos  
 ‘What did Marcos do?’  
 b. Marcos [comió salchichas FOCUS].  
 Marcos eat-PAST-3SG sausages  
 ‘Marcos [ate sausages].’
- (8) a. ¿Qué pasó?  
 What happen-PAST-3SG  
 ‘What happened?’  
 b. [Marcos comió salchichas FOCUS].  
 Marcos eat-PAST-3SG sausages  
 ‘[Marcos ate sausages].’

In (6) and (7), we can observe how the question in (a) gives us information about what is presupposed in the answer. In (8), the question provides no presupposition; likewise, in discourse-initial contexts, an entire sentence may be a focus.

So far, we have dealt with information focus. However, Rizzi (1997) claims that a focalised element can be marked by special prosodic features and it can be preposed to the beginning of the sentence. In this case, the focus is contrastive<sup>2</sup>. Such an operation is known as Focalisation. Let us consider the example below:

- (9) YOUR PEN you should give to John (not mine).

---

<sup>2</sup> It is also called identificational focus by some authors such as É. Kiss (1998).



In (9) the DP *your pen* provides new information and it has a kind of contrastive function in the context. The remaining part of the sentence transmits given information which is shared by the participants of the communicative situation. This second part is the presupposition of the sentence.

Additionally, Pan's (2007) study explored the influence of focus on syllable duration of lexical tones in Taiwanese. More concretely, his purpose was to examine the surface duration of Taiwanese lexical tones under different focus conditions. The four focus conditions included a broad focus condition with focus on the entire sentence, and three narrow focus conditions with narrow focus falling on the first, second, and third words. Results revealed that the duration of narrow focus syllables are longer than broad focus syllables, which in turn are longer than post-focus syllables.

### 1.3.1.2. Topic

As in the case of focus, the identification of topic in a sentence depends on discourse context. In line with Jiménez-Fernández (2005), Jayaseelan (2001), Belletti (2004), Zubizarreta (1999), Zagana (2002), Göbbel (2005), Lambrecht (1994), Erteschik-Shir (2006) and Crystal (1991), the topic of a sentence can be described as the starting point for the rest of the sentence, that element which expresses what the sentence is about. For instance, given the context (10),

- (10) ¿Qué ocurrió con David?  
What happen-PAST-3SG with David  
'What happened with David?'

we can deduce that the answer is a sentence whose topic is *David*:

- (11) [David<sub>TOPIC</sub>] se emborrachó.  
David CL drink-PAST-3SG  
'David got drunk.'

According to Biskup (2007), Frascarelli (2007) and Lahousse (2009), the concept of topic is generally taken to be determined by the notion of “aboutness”. This notion is based on the presuppositions of speaker and hearer. In the exchange starting in (10), it is presupposed that something happened to David; therefore the phrase [<sub>DP</sub> *David*] is presuppositional, and in the context of the question (10), is the natural discourse topic of answers in (11).

From a syntactic point of view, topic constituents can be dislocated. For instance, (13) is an alternative to (12):

(12) I don't really like this book.

(13) This book I don't really like.

In (13), the constituent *this book* is followed by a juncture and, optionally, by a pause. In this connection, topic constituents must receive a specific interpretation which is a consequence of their nature as presupposed material. Compare the (a) and (b) examples below:

(14) a. Algunos compañeros leyeron ese libro, pero no sé cuáles.

‘Some partners read that book, but I don't know which (ones).’

b. ?\*Algunos compañeros, leyeron ese libro, pero no sé cuáles.

‘Some partners, (they) read that book, but I don't know which ones.’

(15) a. Ningún compañero leyó ese libro.

‘No partner read that book.’

b. ?\*Ningún compañero, leyó ese libro.

‘No partner, (s/he) read that book.’

The (a) examples indicate that non-specific preverbal subjects are grammatical. In the (b) examples, however, where the subject is set off by comma intonation and is obligatorily interpreted as topic, the non-specific topic is ungrammatical. Indeed, in accordance with Goodall (2001), in Spanish it is the EPP which triggers movement of the subject to the specifier of TP. At the same time, he points out that Spanish has very

robust Topicalisation and Focalisation processes, so it could be that a DP to the left of V is there by virtue of that type of movement, rather than by being attracted by an EPP feature. These processes would involve A'-movement to the CP layer of the clause. Consequently, Goodall states that subjects are fronted by a mechanism different from that which fronts topics.

Although İşsever (2003: 1040) arrives at the same conclusion for Turkish, he states that non-specifics can also appear in topic position:<sup>3</sup>

(16) A-Yalın üniversiteyi kazanırsa ne yapacak?

‘What will Yalın do if he is accepted to the university?’

- a. Bir fakir-i yemeğ-e götürecekmış. Herhangi bir fakir olurmuş.  
 a poor-ACC dinner-DAT bring-FUT-PERF any one poor be-AOR-PERF  
 ‘He will take a poor person to the dinner. Any poor person will do, he said.’
- b. Bir çocuğ-u tepeden tırnağa giydirecekmiş.  
 a child-ACC from.top.to.toe clothe-FUT-PERF  
 ‘He will clothe a child from top to toe.’
- c. Bir kız-la hemen evlenecekmiş. Hangi kız olduğu hiç farketmezmiş.  
 a girl-comitative immediately marry-FUT-PERF which girl be-REL-ACC  
 never matter  
 ‘He will marry a girl immediately. (He said that) it didn’t matter which one.’
- d. Bir hayır kurumun-a 1000 dolar bağışlayacakmış.  
 a charity-DAT dollar donate-FUT-PERF  
 ‘He will donate 1000 dollars to a charity.’

In each sentence in (16), we can observe how non-specific DPs can appear in initial position of a sentence. According to Enç (1991) and Kornfilt (2003), Specificity and Case are closely related in Turkish. This fact suggests that the concept of topic is not determined by the notion of specificity. Therefore, we conclude that the relation between the linguistic terms of specificity and topicality seems to be language particular.

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<sup>3</sup> Such an account contradicts Breul’s (2004) intuition that referentiality entails specificity.

## 1.4. A typology of foci

Following linguists like É. Kiss (1998), Zubizarreta (1998), Donati & Nespor (2001), Benincà & Poletto (1999) or Belletti (2001), two different types of focus exist in natural languages in general. Consequently, as anticipated in Section 1.3.1.1, contrastive focus, which expresses exhaustive identification, must be distinguished from information focus, which merely expresses new information. To be more precise, information focus is characterized as purely new information (for the hearer), whereas contrastive focus involves new information which corrects or makes a contrast with a previous assertion:<sup>4</sup>

- (17) a. Where did you see my brother?  
b. We saw your brother in the restaurant.
- (18) a. I thought you met John.  
b. PETER we met (not John).

In (17), *in the restaurant* stands for the information focus. It is identified with the interrogative operator in the question. By contrast, in (18), there is a contrast between the DPs *Peter* and *John*, indicating that the unit that receiving prominence is the correct one in comparison with other possibilities. *Peter* is then a contrastive focus.

Even though the existence of these focus types has been recognized in the literature, the distinction between them has often been ignored. The former has occurred in Brunetti's analysis of Italian (2004), for example. In her approach, focus elements never express exhaustive identification. There is only one type of focus which expresses new information<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> To differentiate between contrastive focus and information focus, we use capital letters for the former and underlining for the latter.

By contrast, Bianchi (2013) discusses optional movement of focus constituents to the left periphery of the clause in Italian. She shows that the fronted position and the ‘low’ position are not completely equivalent. In particular, she sketches out a characterization of two distinct interpretations for the focus structure: a truly corrective interpretation (where focus occurs in a reply that denies the preceding assertion), and a merely contrastive one:

- (19) a. Gianni ha invitato Lucia.  
 John have-PERF-3SG invite Lucy  
 ‘John invited Lucy.’
- b. MARINA has invitato (non Lucia).  
 Marina have-PERF-3SG invite (not Lucy)  
 ‘Marina he invited (not Lucy).’ (Bianchi 2013: 1)
- (20) a. Vi saluto, devo tornare a casa.  
 CL greet-PRES-1SG. have-to-PRES-1SG go-back-INF. to home  
 ‘Good bye, I have to go back home.’
- b. A quest’ora, ti conviene prendere IL TAXI, non la metro.  
 At this hour, CL suit-PRES-2SG take-INF. the taxi, not the underground  
 ‘At this time of day, you’d better take a taxi, not the underground.’ (Bianchi 2013: 12)

The reply in (19b) conveys a correction of speaker A’s assertion. Meanwhile, (20b) is an instance of purely contrastive focus without any corrective import. According to Bianchi, focus fronting in (20b) would be infelicitous. In this way, the necessary condition for focus fronting relates not to the contrastive import *per se* but rather, to the corrective import which establishes a contrast across utterances. Bianchi holds that although fronted focus implements a corrective move, it can occur in certain embedded clauses. As we will see in Chapter 4, Hooper & Thompson (1973) points out that those

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<sup>5</sup> According to Brunetti (2004), the distinction between contrastive and information focus does not exist at any level of the grammar. From an interpretative point of view, there is only one focus expressing non-presupposed information. From a prosodic point of view, the rules of accent placement and the relation between accent and focus domain are always the same. From a syntactic point of view, a focus can always move to the left and it always possesses operator-like properties.

embedded clauses that allow ‘root transformations’ are endowed with assertive force. Assertion is a property of declarative root clauses; in order to be compatible with Main Clause Phenomena (MCP), embedded clauses must be asserted, i.e., non-presupposed. Nevertheless, as we will see in Chapter 4, Section 4.2, such an account is problematic.

On the contrary, the Spanish equivalent of (20) allows focus fronting:

- (21) a. *Adiós, he de regresar a casa.*  
good bye have to-PRES-1SG go-back-INF to home  
‘Good bye, I have to go back home.’
- b. *A esta hora, UN TAXI deberías coger (no el metro).*  
at this hour a taxi had better-PRES-2SG take-INF not the underground  
‘At this time of day, a taxi you’d better take, not the underground.’

In (21), the constituent *a taxi* is an instance of purely contrastive focus without any corrective import. Such a constituent has undergone movement to the front of the clause. Therefore, it is obvious that in Spanish focus fronting does not imply a corrective interpretation.

According to Gussenhoven (2007), languages that make a formal distinction between information focus and corrective focus include Efik, where a focused answer to a *wh*-question is not expressed in the same way as a focused correction, which requires a corrective focus particle (de Jong 1980; Gussenhoven 1983). Lekeitio Basque, too expresses corrective focus and information focus differently (Elorditea 2007).

In this respect, contrastive focus has syntactic and semantic properties that a mere information focus does not share. These properties are illustrated below:

I) In languages like Hungarian the position of contrastive focus is inaccessible for some elements such as universal quantifiers and *is* ‘also’-phrases since they do not involve any exclusion (É. Kiss 1998: 251):

- (22) a. Mari EGY KALAPOT nézett ki magának.  
 Mary a hat.ACC pick-PAST-3SG out herself.DAT  
 ‘It was a hat that Mary picked for herself.’
- b. \*Mari MINDED KALAPOT nézett ki magának.  
 Mary every hat.ACC pick-PAST-3SG out herself.DAT  
 ‘It was every hat that Mary picked for herself.’
- c. \*Mari EGY KALAPOT IS nézett ki magának.  
 Mari a hat.ACC also pick-PAST-3SG out herself.DAT  
 ‘It was also a hat that Mary picked for herself.’

The Hungarian examples (22b) and (22c), containing a universal quantifier and an *is* ‘also’-phrase in their immediately preverbal focus position respectively, are ungrammatical. In the grammatical versions of these sentences, the universal quantifier or ‘also’-phrase would occupy a quantifier position between the topic and the contrastive focus.

The English equivalents of these sentences display a similar restriction, that is, universal quantifiers and *also*-phrases cannot occur as cleft constituents, the English realizations of contrastive focus (É. Kiss 1998: 251):

- (23) a. It was A HAT that Mary picked for herself.  
 b. \*It was EVERY HAT that Mary picked for herself.  
 c. \*It was also A HAT that Mary picked for herself.

As for Spanish, these types of constituents can appear in the position of contrastive focus, as illustrated in (24):

- (24) a. UNA MANZANA compró María en el mercado.  
 an apple bring-PAST-3SG Maria at the market  
 ‘It was an apple that Maria bought at the market.’
- b. TODAS LAS MANZANAS compró María en el mercado.  
 every apple bring-PAST-3SG Maria at the market  
 ‘It was every apple that Maria bought at the market.’
- c. También UNA MANZANA compró María en el mercado.  
 also an apple bring-PAST-3SG Maria at the market  
 ‘It was also that Maria bought at the market.’

The universal quantifier and the *is* ‘also’-phrase in (24b) and (24c) respectively are located in the preverbal section of such sentences. This fact suggests that the syntactic properties of contrastive focus in Hungarian, English and Spanish are not the same. Indeed, according to É. Kiss (1998), the contrastive focus itself is not uniform across languages<sup>6</sup>.

Meanwhile, in Hungarian (25) and English (26) information focus does not share these distributional restrictions (É. Kiss 1998: 253):

(25) a. Kiket hívtál meg a születésnapodra?  
 who.PL.ACC invite-PAST-2SG.you PERF your birthday.to  
 ‘Who did you invite to your birthday?’

b. Minden kollégámat meg hívtam.  
 every colleague.my.ACC PERF invite-PAST-1SG.I  
 ‘I invited every colleague of mine.’

c. Egy szomszédomat is át hívtam.  
 a neighbour.my.ACC also over invite-PAST-1SG.I  
 ‘I called over also a neighbour of mine.’

(26) a. Who did you invite to your birthday?

b. I invited every colleague of mine.

c. I called over also a neighbour of mine.

In (25) and (26), we observe that universal quantifiers and ‘also’-phrases can have the properties of information focus: they can convey nonpresupposed information, and can bear a pitch accent. In other words, in Hungarian and English certain types of constituents cannot function as contrastive foci; but the type of constituents that can function as information focus is not restricted.

In particular, it seems safe to conclude that contrastive focus, realised as an immediately preverbal constituent in Hungarian, and as a cleft constituent in English, is subject to distributional restrictions; it cannot be constituted by a universal quantifier or

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<sup>6</sup> In Chapter 3, Section 3.4, we will explain the reasons why contrastive focus behaves in a different way in English and Spanish.



an *also*-phrase (except for some languages like Spanish). Information focus, on the other hand, is exempt from most of these distributional restrictions.

II) The contrastive focus occupies a scope position both in English and in Hungarian; it marks the sentence part following it and c-commanded by it as the scope of exhaustive identification. More specifically, exhaustive identification has narrow scope with respect to an operator c-commanding the contrastive focus, and has wide scope with respect to an operator c-commanded by the contrastive focus. In the example below, the contrastive focus *Mary* is in the scope of the universal quantifier *always*, and takes scope over the universal quantifier *every boy*. Hence, the sentence means that on every relevant occasion, of all the relevant girls it is Mary and no one else that all the boys want to dance with (É. Kiss 1998: 254):

(27) It is always MARY that every boy wants to dance with.

Regarding Spanish, the situation is the same, that is, the focalised constituent *con María* is in the scope of the universal quantifier *siempre*, and takes scope over the universal quantifier *todos los chicos*:

(28) Siempre CON MARIA quieren bailar todos los chicos.

According to Authier & Haegeman (2012), sentence-initial adjuncts do not block argument fronting in English. In particular, they state that a fronted argument is compatible with an adjunct to its right. Similarly, we claim that the left peripheral adjunct *siempre* does not block the fronting of the focused element *con María*. However, the adjunct is to the left of the focus.

Information focus as such, however, cannot enter into a scope relation with a clause-mate operator. More concretely, the only possible interpretation of the Hungarian

sentence and its English and Spanish equivalents in (29c) and (29d) respectively, is the one in which the universal quantifier takes scope over the whole sentence. (É. Kiss 1998: 254):

- (29) a. A: Kikkel akartak táncolni a fiúk?  
who.PL.with wanted to.dance the boys  
'Who did the boys want to dance with?'
- b. B: Minden fiú táncolni akart a szépségkirálynővel.  
every boy to.dance wanted the beauty queen.with  
'Every boy wanted to dance with the beautiful queen.'
- c. Every boy wanted to dance with the beautiful queen.
- d. Todos los chicos querían bailar con la dama guapa.  
every the boys want-PAST-3PL to.dance-INF with the queen beautiful  
'Every boy wanted to dance with the beautiful queen.'

Additionally, whether different types of focus are associated with distinct phonological properties is a controversial issue in the literature. In this connection, Bocci (2013) suggests that contrastive and information focus associate with different types of pitch accents, a rising accent (L+H\*) and a falling accent (H+L\*), respectively. Therefore, contrastive and information focus are phonologically distinct.

So far, we can conclude that contrastive focus diverges from information focus in certain aspects. As we have seen, such differences only appear in some languages under special circumstances.

## 1.5. A typology of topics

According to Cinque (1990) and Zubizarreta (1999), we must distinguish between two types of topic: Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) and Hanging Topic (HT). The main difference between them is that the hanging topic only occurs at the periphery of the whole message, whereas the dislocated topic appears at the periphery of the clause. Now, we are going to analyse the main properties of both constructions in detail.

Hanging topic (HT) and Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD)<sup>7</sup> differ in a number of syntactic properties. Let us begin with Italian data. The first distinction between the two constructions is related to Case: CLLD constituents maintain the preposition of the internal elements they correspond to, but HTs can only be DPs (Rizzi 2004: 64):

- (30) a. Mario, non ne parla più nessuno.  
 Mario not of-him talk-PRES-3SG anymore nobody  
 ‘Mario, nobody talks of him anymore.’  
 b. \*Di Mario non (ne) parla più nessuno.  
 of Mario not (of-him) talk-PRES-3SG anymore nobody  
 ‘Of Mario, nobody talks of him anymore.’
- (31) a. Mario, gli amici gli hanno fatto un brutto scherzo.  
 Mario the friends to-him have-PERF-3PL done a bad joke  
 ‘Mario, his friends played a bad joke on him.’  
 b. A Mario gli amici (gli) hanno fatto un brutto scherzo.  
 to Mario the friends to-him have-PERF-3PL done a bad joke.

(30b) and (31b) are cases of CLLD since the preposition is in front of the CLLD constituent; (30a) and (31a) are cases of HT because no preposition is used. This distinction leads us to a second property: there can be more than one CLLD constituent, while a single HT position per clause is available<sup>8</sup> (Rizzi 2004: 64):

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<sup>7</sup> In line with Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007: 88), apart from the difference between Hanging Topic and CLLD, topics can be classified into three different subtypes: (a) *aboutness topic*: ‘what the sentence is about’ (Reinhart 1981, Lambrecht 1994); (b) *contrastive topic*: a constituent that induces alternatives which have no impact on the focus value and creates oppositional pairs with respect to other topics (Kuno 1976, Büring 1999); (c) *familiar topic*: a given element, which is typically destressed and realized in a pronominal form (Pesetsky 1987). Nevertheless, along the thesis, we will centre exclusively on the difference between Hanging Topic and CLLD.

<sup>8</sup> Jiménez-Fernández (2011) analyses the strict vs. free arrangement of fronted topics in the left periphery. In English, there seems to be specific restrictions as regards the linear sequence in which preposed topics are stacked at the left periphery. Regarding Spanish, topic fronting shows no particular preference for any specific order. Such a situation suggests that the landing site for topic displacement in the two languages is different. English poses further problems as regards the availability of multiple fronted topics in some adverbial clauses. In fact, Haegeman (2010) holds that multiple argument fronting leads to a degradation in English (ia and b) while multiple clitic left dislocation (CLLD) is possible in Romance (ic):

(i) a. \*This book<sub>i</sub>, to Robin<sub>j</sub>, I gave ~~this book<sub>i</sub> to Robin<sub>j</sub>~~. (Culicover 1991: 36)

- (32) a. \*Gianni, questo libro, non ne hanno parlato a lui.  
 Gianni this book they of-it haven't-PERF-3PL talked to him
- b. A Gianni di questo libro non gliene hanno mai parlato.  
 to Gianni of this book they of it haven't-PERF-3PL talked to him  
 'They did not talk to Gianni about this book.'

In (32a), we have two HT constituents, and the result is ungrammatical. In contrast, in (32b), we see that CLLD does allow multiple constituents.

The CLLD and HT constructions diverge when we talk about the necessity of a resumptive element. CLLD constituents need a resumptive pronoun only when they correspond to direct or partitive objects; the clitic is optional in the other cases; HTs always require a resumptive pronoun expressing the type of argument (Rizzi 2004: 64):

- (33) a. \*Mario, non parla più nessuno.  
 Mario not talk-PRES-3SG anymore nobody
- b. Di Mario non parla più nessuno.  
 of Mario not talk-PRES-3SG anymore nobody  
 'Mario, nobody talks of him anymore.'
- c. Mario non ne parla più nessuno.  
 Mario not of-him talk-PRES-3SG anymore nobody  
 'Mario, nobody talks of him anymore.'

In (33b), the left-dislocated PP can occur without any resumptive pronoun, whereas the HT DP in (33a) is ungrammatical if no resumptive pronoun is present in the clause (cf. 33c).

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b. \*Bill<sub>i</sub> that house<sub>j</sub>, she took Bill<sub>i</sub> to that house<sub>j</sub> for the weekend. (Emonds 2004: 95)

c. Il libro, a Gianni, glielo darò senz' altro.  
 the book to Gianni him-it give-FUT-1SG without other  
 'I will give this book definitely to Gianni.' (Rizzi 1997: 290)

(i) casts doubts on the assumption that topicalised elements as well as CLLD constituents invariably target [Spec, Top]. Cinque (1990) has indeed signaled that CLLD has a wider distribution than English topics, as we will discuss in Chapter 4.

Furthermore, HT is restricted in some types of embedded clauses. In relative clauses, for example, HTs are not possible, neither before nor after the relative pronoun (Rizzi 2004: 65):

- (34) a. Una persona che questo libro non ne parlerà mai.  
 a person that this book not of-it will-FUT-3SG talk never  
 ‘a person who will never talk about this book.’
- b. \*Una persona questo libro che non ne parlerà mai.  
 a person this book that not of-it will-FUT-3SG talk never

The corresponding sentences with CLLD are perfect if the order relative pronoun-CLLD is chosen (Rizzi 2004: 65):

- (35) a. Una persona che di questo libro non ne parlerà mai.  
 a person that of this book not of-it will-FUT-3SG talk never  
 ‘a person who will never talk about this book.’
- b. \*Una persona di questo libro che non ne parlerà mai.  
 person of this book that not of-it will-FUT-3SG talk never

Now, we are going to illustrate the properties with Spanish data in order to see whether there is any difference between Italian and Spanish. Firstly, only the CLLD construction must display grammatical and selectional ‘connectivity’ with the coreferential element (Zubizarreta 1999: 4222):

- (36) a. Estoy segura de que de María Pedro siempre habla bien.  
 (I) be-PRES-1SG sure that of María Pedro always talk-PRES-3SG well  
 ‘I am sure that of María Pedro always talks well.’
- b. Genaro, no obstante, estoy seguro de que nadie quería  
 Genaro however (I) be-PRES-1SG sure that nobody love-PAST-3SG  
 a ese hombre.  
 that man  
 ‘Genaro, however, I am sure that nobody loved that man.’

In (36a), the CLLD constituent differs from its coreferential phrase. In (36b), the HT constituent, unlike CLLD in (36a), disallows disagreement between the topic constituent and the position to which it is related.

Secondly, the HT can be related to any syntactic position. This is confirmed by the examples below (Zubizarreta 1999: 4222):

- (37) a. (En cuanto a) González, conocemos a la mujer que lo  
 (As regards) González (we) meet-PRES-1PL the woman that CL(DO)  
 traicionó.  
 betray-PAST-3SG  
 ‘(As regards) González, we meet the woman that betrayed him.’
- b. (En cuanto a) González, terminaremos la tarea antes de llamarlo.  
 (As regards) González (we) will-FUT-1PL finish the task before calling-CL(IO)  
 ‘(As regards) González, we will finish the task before calling him.’
- c. (En cuanto a) González, que María lo invitara  
 (As regards) González that M. CL(IO) invite-PAST-3SG  
 sorprendió a todo el mundo.  
 surprise-PAST-3SG everybody  
 ‘(As regards) González, that María invited him surprised everybody.’

In contrast, the CLLD cannot be related to a position within a relative, an adverbial or a subject clause (Zubizarreta 1999: 4223):

- (38) a. \*Estoy segura de que a Pedro conocemos a la mujer  
 (I) be-PRES-1SG sure that to Pedro (we) know-PRES-1PL the woman  
 que lo traicionó.  
 that CL(DO) betray-PAST-3SG  
 ‘I am sure that to Pedro we know the woman that betrayed him.’
- b. \*Me parece mejor que a Pedro terminemos la tarea  
 CL(IO) (it) seem-PRES-3SG better that to Pedro (we) finish-PRES-1PL the task  
 antes de llamarlo.  
 before calling-CL(IO)  
 ‘It seems to me better that to Pedro we finish the task before calling him.’
- c. \*Estoy segura de que a Pedro que María lo invitara  
 (I) be-PRES-1SG sure that to Pedro that María CL(IO) invite-PAST-3SG  
 sorprendió a todo el mundo.  
 surprise-PAST-3SG everybody  
 ‘I am sure that to Pedro that María invited him surprised everybody.’

Moreover, the HT appears in root clauses only, whereas the CLLD may occur in root and embedded clauses (Zubizarreta 1999: 4221):<sup>9</sup>

- (39) a. Bernardo, sin embargo, estoy segura de que nadie  
 Bernardo however (I) be-PRES-1SG sure that nobody  
 confía en ese idiota.  
 have-PAST-3SG confidence in that idiot  
 ‘Bernardo, however, I am sure that nobody had confidence in that idiot.’
- b. \*Estoy segura de que, Bernardo, nadie confía  
 (I) be-PRES-1SG sure that Bernardo nobody have-PRES-3SG confidence  
 en ese idiota.  
 in that idiot  
 ‘I am sure that, Bernardo, nobody had confidence in that idiot.’
- c. A sus amigos María los invitó a cenar.  
 to her friends María CL(IO) invite-PAST-3SG to have-INF dinner  
 ‘To her friends María invited to have dinner.’
- d. Estoy segura de que a sus amigos María los invitó  
 (I) be-PRES-1SG sure that to her friends María CL(IO) invite-PAST-3SG  
 a cenar.  
 to have-INF dinner  
 ‘I am sure that to her friends María invited to have dinner.’

The dislocated topic *a sus amigos* may occupy the left periphery of either a subordinate clause, as in (39d) or the matrix clause, as in (39c). However, the hanging topic *Bernardo* can only occur at the beginning of the first clause of a message. This explains the contrast between (39a) and (39b). Meanwhile, Jiménez-Fernández (p.c.) claims that (39a) can also be correct with *en Bernardo* as a CLLD constituent (*En Bernardo, sin embargo, estoy segura de que nadie confía*). In this sense, Suñer (2006) claims that plain CLLDs and those with epithets behave completely alike concerning the known properties of CLLDs. So, for example, Suñer highlights that more than one CLLD constituent in any order is possible (Suñer 2006: 134):

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<sup>9</sup> In Chapter 4, we analyse the differences between English and Spanish with respect to the application of the operations of Topicalisation and Focalisation to main clauses or its possible extension to subordinate ones.

- (40) a. Mi hermana<sub>k</sub>, las empanadas<sub>j</sub>, los domingos, *pro*<sub>k</sub> las<sub>j</sub> hace de pollo.  
 my sister the turnovers the Sundays CL make-PRES-3SG of chicken  
 ‘My sister, the turnovers, on Sundays, she fills them with chicken.’
- b. Las empanadas, mi hermana, los domingos, *pro* las hace de pollo.  
 the turnovers my sister the Sundays CL make-PRES-3SG of chicken
- c. Los domingos, mi hermana, las empanadas, *pro* las hace de pollo.  
 the Sundays my sister the turnovers CL make-PRES-3SG of chicken
- (41) a. Mi hermana<sub>k</sub>, las empanadas<sub>j</sub>, los domingos, *pro*<sub>k</sub> las<sub>j</sub> hace esa  
 my sister the turnovers the Sundays CL make-PRES-3SG that  
 tontita<sub>k</sub> de pollo.  
 silly-geese of chicken  
 ‘My sister, the turnovers, on Sundays, that silly-geese fills them with chicken.’
- b. Las empanadas, mi hermana, los domingos, *pro* las hace esa  
 the turnovers my sister the Sundays CL make-PRES-3SG that  
 tontita de pollo.  
 silly-geese of chicken
- c. Los domingos, mi hermana, las empanadas, *pro* las hace esa  
 on Sundays my sister the turnovers CL make-PRES-3SG that  
 tontita de pollo.  
 silly-geese of chicken

Besides, CLLDs do not license parasitic gaps (PGs) (42), or cause weak-cross-over (WCO) effects (43) (Suñer 2006: 137):

- (42) a. A una candidate el jefe la descartó sin  
 to a candidate.ACC the boss CL.ACC scrap-PAST-3SG without  
 entrevistar\*(la).  
 interviewing\*(her)  
 ‘One candidate the boss scrapped her without interviewing her.’
- b. A una candidata el jefe la descartó sin entrevistar\*(la) a la pobrecita.  
 ‘One candidate the boss scrapped her without interviewing\*CL the poor woman’
- (43) a. A Teresa<sub>k</sub> su<sub>k</sub> madre la<sub>k</sub> quiere mucho.  
 to Teresa.ACC her mother CL.ACC love-PRES-3SG a.lot  
 ‘Teresa her mother loves her a lot.’
- b. A Teresa<sub>k</sub> su<sub>k</sub> madre la<sub>k</sub> quiere mucho a la muy loquita.  
 ‘Teresa her mother CL loves the little dear a lot.’

Finally, Suñer points out that a CLLD phrase reconstructs to a site c-commanded by a preverbal subject but not by a postverbal one (Zubizarreta 1998, Cecchetto 2000).



Consider (44a), where the bound reading is impossible because of a Principle C violation, while (44b) with a postverbal subject in its VP internal merged position allows for the bound reading (Suñer 2006: 137):

- (44) a. Al primer hijo de un progenitor<sub>k</sub> *pro*\*<sub>k</sub> lo recibe siempre  
to.the first offspring of a father he CL receive-PRES-3SG always  
con los brazos abiertos.  
with the arms open  
‘The first offspring of a progenitor he always receives him with open arms.’
- b. Al primer hijo de un progenitor<sub>k</sub> lo recibe siempre él<sub>k</sub>  
to.the first offspring of a father CL receive-PRES-3SG always he  
con los brazos abiertos.  
with the arms open

And the same happens when the CLLD structure includes an epithet (Suñer 2006: 138):

- (45) a. Al primer hijo de un progenitor<sub>k</sub> *pro*\*<sub>k</sub> lo recibe al pequeñín con los brazos  
abiertos.  
‘The first offspring of a progenitor he CL receives the tiny being with open  
arms.’
- b. Al primer hijo de un progenitor<sub>k</sub> lo recibe él<sub>k</sub> al pequeñín  
to.the first offspring of a father CL receive-PRES-3SG he the tiny being  
con los brazos abiertos.’  
with the arms open

So far, we have seen that Hanging Topic diverges from Clitic Left Dislocation since they have different properties<sup>10</sup> in Italian and Spanish.

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<sup>10</sup> These two types of topic can co-occur in a fixed order: HT-CLLD. This order is sketched in the following example (Rizzi 2004: 65):

- (i) a. Giorgio, ai nostri amici, non parlo mai di lui.  
Giorgio to the our friends not talk-PRES-1SG never of him  
‘Giorgio, to our friends, I never talk of him.’
- b. \*Ai nostri amici, Giorgio, non parlo mai di lui.  
to our friends Giorgio not talk-PRES-1SG never of him

(ia) is grammatical since it displays the order HT-CLLD. (ib), which represents the reverse order, is ungrammatical.

In addition, we have to make reference to Object shift which has been extensively studied in the German languages (Holmberg 1986; Diesing 1992; Vikner 1990, 1995; Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998). In this respect, Suñer (2000) states that Spanish has two types of Object shift, each with its own properties. The first manifestation is semantically motivated and only occurs with presupposed/specific DPs. In this case, Spanish uses clitic-doubling (CL-D), an operation that is obligatory with strong pronouns but dialectally circumscribed with direct object non-pronominals. Consider sentences in (46) from Suñer (2000: 262):

- (46) a. ¿Cuando \*(te) nombraron            a ti?  
           when    you appoint-PAST-3PL to you  
           ‘When did they appoint you?’  
       b. Y luego lo miré                    a él.  
           and then him look-PAST-1SG to him  
           ‘And then I looked at him.’

In (46), the CLs form a chain with the strong pronouns. As clitics are by nature affixal, which means that they require a host, they must attach to V which always raises to Tense in Spanish (Suñer 1994). In this sense, the obligatory CL-doubling of Spanish strong pronouns is due to Diesing’s (1992) Mapping Hypothesis. More specifically, Spanish strong pronouns are definite and referential. At the same time, strong pronouns cannot be interpreted existentially, because they would violate Heim’s (1982) Novelty Condition which requires that entities inside the VP to be new to the discourse; therefore, they must move out of the VP. In such a situation, CL-D achieves object shift without really moving the object itself, but by using the CL as a scope marker to signal where the object is to be interpreted.

The second type of Object shift is p-movement (Zubizarreta 1998), a prosodically motivated rule which has the effect of changing the asymmetric c-command hierarchy of metrical sisters with contradictory prosodic properties, so that



different; while topicalisations have a gap, where the topicalised phrase would have appeared in the nonpreposed version, left-dislocations include a resumptive pronoun.

At the same time, Casielles-Suárez (2004: 73) holds that, at first sight, the English construction in (48b), repeated below as (49), and the Spanish structure in (50) appear to be the same:

(49) John, I saw him yesterday.

(50) A Juan lo vi ayer.

Syntactically, they both involve the preposing of the direct object and the co-occurrence of a resumptive pronoun. From a pragmatic point of view, both structures are considered to be topicalising mechanisms in the sense that they are used to introduce a discourse topic, *John* in (49) and *Juan* in (50).

Nevertheless, syntactic evidence supports the heterogeneous nature of Spanish CLLD and English LD. First, Spanish CLLD allows not only for the dislocation of noun phrases (NPs), but also for an adjective, a quantifier or even a clause (Casielles-Suárez 2004: 73):

(51) a. Listo no lo parece.  
clever not CL seem-PRES-3SG  
'Clever he doesn't seem.'

b. A todos no los he visto todavía.  
to all not CL have-PERF-1SG seen yet  
'Everybody I've yet to see.'

c. Que fumas lo sabemos todos.  
that smoke-PRES-2SG CL know-PRES-1PL all  
'That you smoke we all know.'

On the contrary, English LD only allows for the dislocation of referential NPs. Hence, the English counterparts of (51a-c) would be ungrammatical (Casielles-Suárez 2004: 74):

- (52) a. \*Clever, he doesn't seem it.  
 b. \*Everybody, I haven't seen them yet.  
 c. \*That you smoke, we all know it.

Second, there is no limit to the number of phrases that a Spanish CLLD can prepose (Casielles-Suárez 2004: 74):

- (53) a. A Pedro, los libros, ya se los compré.  
 to Pedro the books already CL CL buy-PAST-1SG  
 'The books for Pedro I already bought.'  
 b. Estos libros, yo, a Juan, nunca se los dejaría.  
 these books I to Juan never CL CL lend-COND-1SG  
 ?'To Juan these books I would never lend.'  
 c. Un libro, a mí, Juan, en Navidad, nunca me lo ha regalado.  
 a book to me Juan in Christmas never CL CL have-PERF-3SG given (as a gift)  
 'A book for Christmas John has never given me.'

Meanwhile, English LD does not allow for multiple left-dislocations. Thus, the following multiple left-dislocations are ungrammatical (Casielles-Suárez 2004: 74):

- (54) a. \*These books, to John, I would never lend them to him.  
 b. \*John, a gift, he has never bought it.

Third, the Spanish construction can accomplish two tasks simultaneously: it can place a direct object in sentence-initial position and at the same time place a focal subject in sentence-final position (Casielles-Suárez 2004: 75):

- (55) La casa la limpié yo.  
 the house CL clean-PAST-1SG I  
 'The house I cleaned.'

The English counterpart of (55) would be ungrammatical since English LD does not allow for the order object-verb-subject.

With this background in mind, we can conclude that in order to understand the role of topical elements in a particular language we have to take into account the specific characteristics of the language, and examine the ways in which that language encodes topical phrases. This will be done with particular attention to Spanish and English in the following chapters.

## **1.6. On main differences between Topic and Focus**

Topic and focus structures are similar since they involve the left periphery of the clause. In fact, they seem to move phrases to the same position. So, how can we distinguish between topic and focus? These two constructions differ in a series of aspects, which emphasize a different nature. What we intend to do now is to make a clear distinction between them.

Firstly, *wh*-phrases in main questions are compatible with topicalised expressions, while they are incompatible with a focus (Jiménez-Fernández 2005):

(56) And the milk where did you put it?

(57) \*THE MILK where did you put (not the wine)?

A second difference between focus and topic is that a focalised negative element triggers inversion of auxiliaries, whereas Topicalisation does not (Haegeman & Guéron 1999):

(58) UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES will I write a paper during the holidays.

(59) \*During the holidays will I write a paper under no circumstances.

The third distinguishing property is the fact that a topic never displays any Weak-cross-over effect. These effects are detectable with focus (Rizzi 1997):

(60) Mark his mother always appreciated him.

(61) ?? MARK his mother appreciated, not Robert.

The last difference makes reference to the idea that the number of topics is subject to processing factors but unlimited. By contrast, there is a unique structural focus position:

(62) The book, to John, tomorrow, I'll give it to him for sure.

(63) \*TO JOHN THE BOOK I'll give, not to Piero, the article.

The next section is devoted to analysing the syntactic derivation of these two discourse notions in a detailed way.

## 1.7. On the A/A'-distinction

Recent debates about clause structure and discourse movement raise significant problems regarding the traditional A/A'-distinction. Within the LGB framework (cf. Chomsky, 1981), an A-position was a position to which theta role could be assigned, i.e., VP internal argument positions and the specifier of TP position.

Traditional theories within generative grammar that support the view that the subject of a clause is generated VP internally (Sportiche 1988; Larson 1988; Fukui & Speas 1986; Kitagawa 1986 among others) assume that all the theta roles of V are assigned inside the VP<sup>11</sup>. This implies that [Spec, T] is not even a 'potential' theta position. This raises an important question: What is the status of the specifier of TP position? Is it an A-position or an A'-position? The answer to this question is not straightforward. Note that if all arguments get their theta roles VP internally, then the

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<sup>11</sup> We take into consideration the VP-INTERNAL SUBJECT HYPOTHESIS (ISH) which implies that the lexical shell of the clause, that is, the V and its arguments, are generated inside V so that theta-assignment takes place uniformly under sisterhood.

combined assumptions of the classical LGB view and the VP internal subject hypothesis force us to classify the specifier of TP as an A'-position – since no theta role is assigned to an argument in that position. VP internal subjects will have to be Case marked in their base generated (VP internal) position. This would force us to conclude that VP internal subjects (as well as other arguments) can only move to A'-positions. Indeed, Uribe-Etxebarria (1992) considers that the preverbal slot occupied by preverbal subjects in Spanish will behave as a non-argument position. Similarly, Barbosa (2009) holds that argumental subjects (overt or null) are not subject to A-movement to preverbal position and remain *in situ*; apparent pre-verbal subjects would actually be left-dislocated or A-bar moved to preverbal position. Hence, under this view, in a language like English which has pre-T subjects in declarative sentences, this pre-T position would be an A'-position. Let us analyse the example below (Mahajan 1990: 19):

(64) [TP John<sub>i</sub> [VP seems [PP to himself<sub>i</sub>/him<sub>j</sub>] [TP ~~John~~<sub>i</sub> to have [VP ~~John~~<sub>i</sub> shot Bill]]]]

Since *himself* must be bound by *John* while *him* must be free from it, *John* must occupy a position that is in the domain of binding conditions A and B. that is, *John* must be in an A-position<sup>12</sup>. This argument in itself shows that there must be VP-external A-positions.

We will put forward a theory of movement that treats this phenomenon as a systematic syntactic operation. In that respect, this study supports views such as Saito (1985), Hoji (1987) and Saito and Hoji (1983). However, we will depart from these studies by showing that movement is not a unitary phenomenon, i.e., it is not simply an instance of A'-movement. As a matter of fact, the discussion in this thesis will raise a number of significant issues especially concerning the typology of positions within a

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<sup>12</sup> Linguists like Lasnik (1999, 2003), Gutiérrez-Bravo (2006, 2007), Zubizarreta (1998, 1999) or Grewendorf & Sabel (1999) describe [Spec, T] as an A-position.



clause, the A/A' distinction. In Chapter 3, we will argue that such a distinction needs to be revised. But first, we will analyse the syntactic behaviour of topic and focus in Chapter 2.

## **1.8. Phases**

As we have already seen, discourse factors trigger the movement of certain elements in a sentence. This movement takes place in a specific and determined way. Thus, lexical items undergo movement cyclically through different phases. But, what are phases? Phases are roughly cycles of syntactic computation that are sent to the semantic and phonological interfaces, where they receive a Logical Form (LF) and a Phonological Form (PF) interpretation, respectively. Due to their propositional nature, Chomsky (1999) suggests that phases are only CP and transitive vP. Keeping to these two phrases, Chomsky (2006, 2008) states that the objects derived have an underlying structure where C and v are the labels triggering internal operations, and are also the points of feature valuation and transfer. As explained below, phasal heads are responsible for the activation of the operation of agree, since they contain unvalued agreement features. In this sense, a pure cyclic computation is fundamental for the simplest account of uninterpretable features. They are unvalued in the lexicon, and when assigned a value, must be eliminated at the phase level to avoid crash. At the same time, the phase head can assign its uninterpretable features to the head it selects by a process of feature inheritance. So, grammatical features are transmitted from C to T and from v to V. In this connection, following Miyagawa (2010), Jiménez-Fernández (2008) and Jiménez-Fernández & Spyropoulos (2013) hold that discourse features can also be inherited by T and V. Moreover, phase heads may also have an edge feature called 'EPP-feature'. This edge feature allows raising to the phase edge without feature

matching. In accordance with Chomsky (2006, 2008), these phases should be as small as possible, to minimize the effects of strict cyclicity, hence computational efficiency.

The concept of phases leads us to a relation between a probe and a goal. This relation has to be local in order to minimise informational burden. This is so because the Language Faculty can only admit a limited quantity of structure. In this operation of agreement, we have to take into account that when a phase is formed, the complement of the phase head is impenetrable to further syntactic processes. It is sent to the phonological and semantic components through a process of transfer to be assigned an appropriate phonetic and semantic interpretation respectively. At the end of the overall derivation, the remaining constituents which have not carried out this operation of transfer are also sent to the phonological and semantic components. Such a situation can be summarized by making reference to the Phase Impenetrability Condition/PIC (Chomsky 2001):

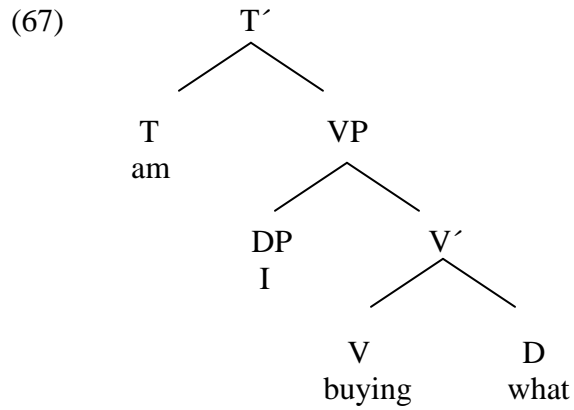
(65) Phase Impenetrability Condition

The c-command domain of a phase head is impenetrable to an external probe (i.e. A goal which is c-commanded by the head of a phase is impenetrable to any probe c-commanding the phase).

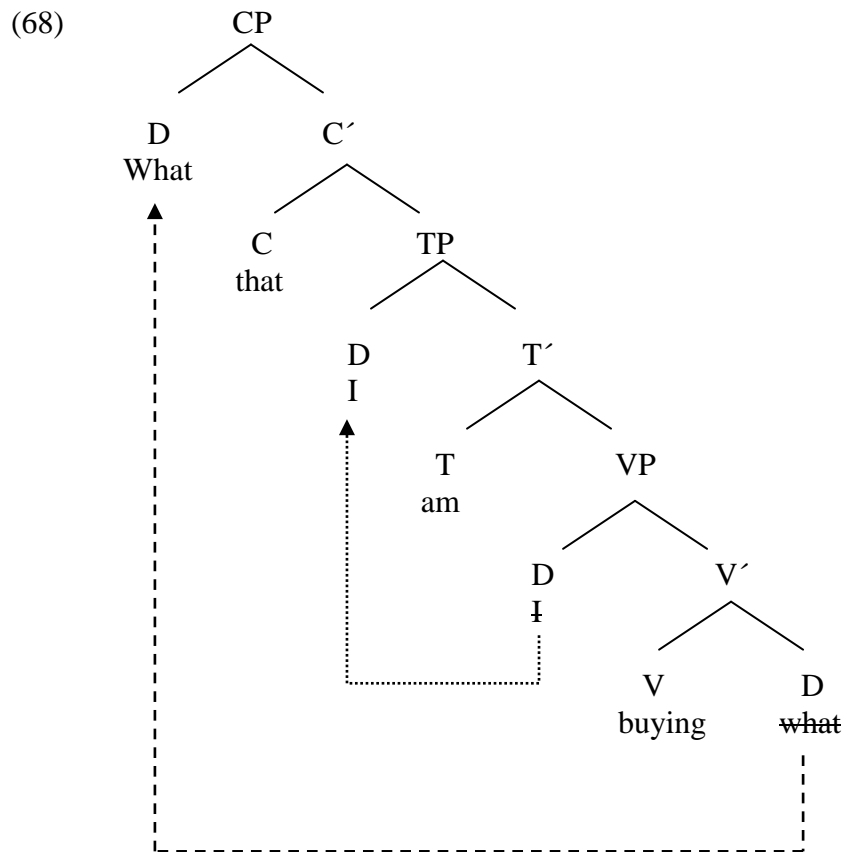
This principle ensures the small steps in long movement operations which successively target the edge of every phase. In this way, the moved element does not have access to a phase below its head. To see what this means in practice, observe the derivation of the sentence below:

(66) What should she think that I am buying?

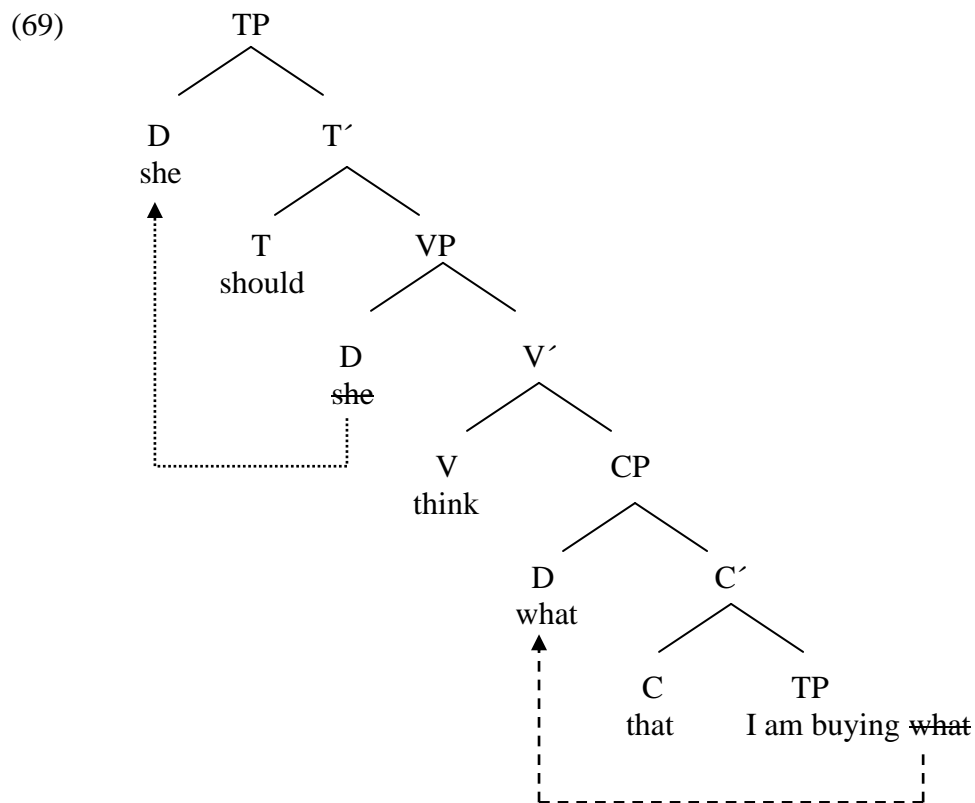
In (66), the verb *buying* merges with its complement *what* and its specifier *I* to form the VP *I buying what*. The resulting structure is merged with the auxiliary *am* to form the T' in (67):



[<sub>T</sub>am] has an EPP feature which requires movement of the closest matching goal to the specifier of TP. Hence, the D *I* is raised to such a position. This TP is later merged with the interrogative C *that* whose EPP feature causes the movement of *what* to the specifier of CP:

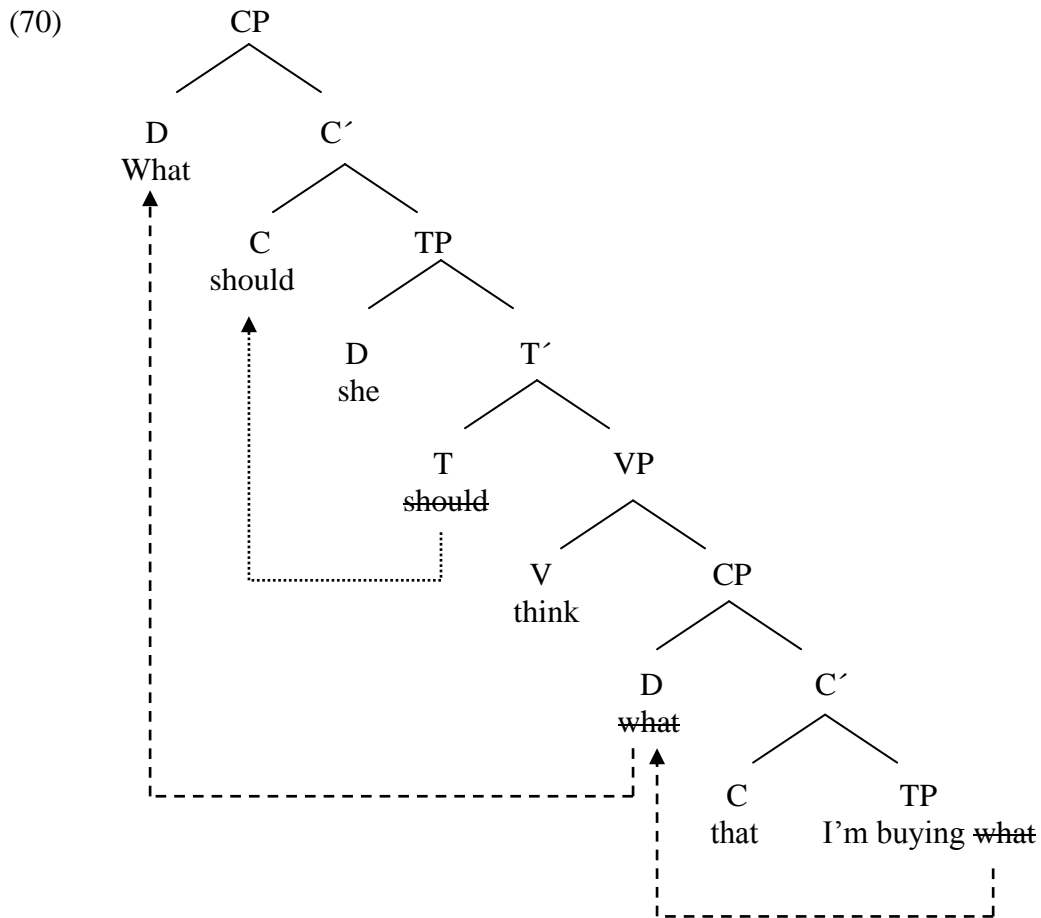


Since this CP is a phase, the c-command domain of its head C undergoes transfer to the phonological and semantic components. As a result, this domain is no longer accessible to further syntactic processes. Subsequently, the resulting CP is merged with the verb *think* to form the V' *think what that I am I-buying what*. The syntactic computation then proceeds one more, with V' being merged with the D *she* to form the VP *she think what that I am I buying what*. This VP is later merged with the modal *should* in T. In this case, *she* raises to the specifier of TP due to the EPP feature of this head T as shown below:



As (66) is an interrogative sentence, the modal *should* raises to a higher head C. This head has a [+wh] feature which gives place to the movement of *what* to the specifier of a CP which is projected by this higher head C. As we said before, CP is a phase and the domain of the head of a phase is spelled out at the end of a phase. Thus, the TP in the

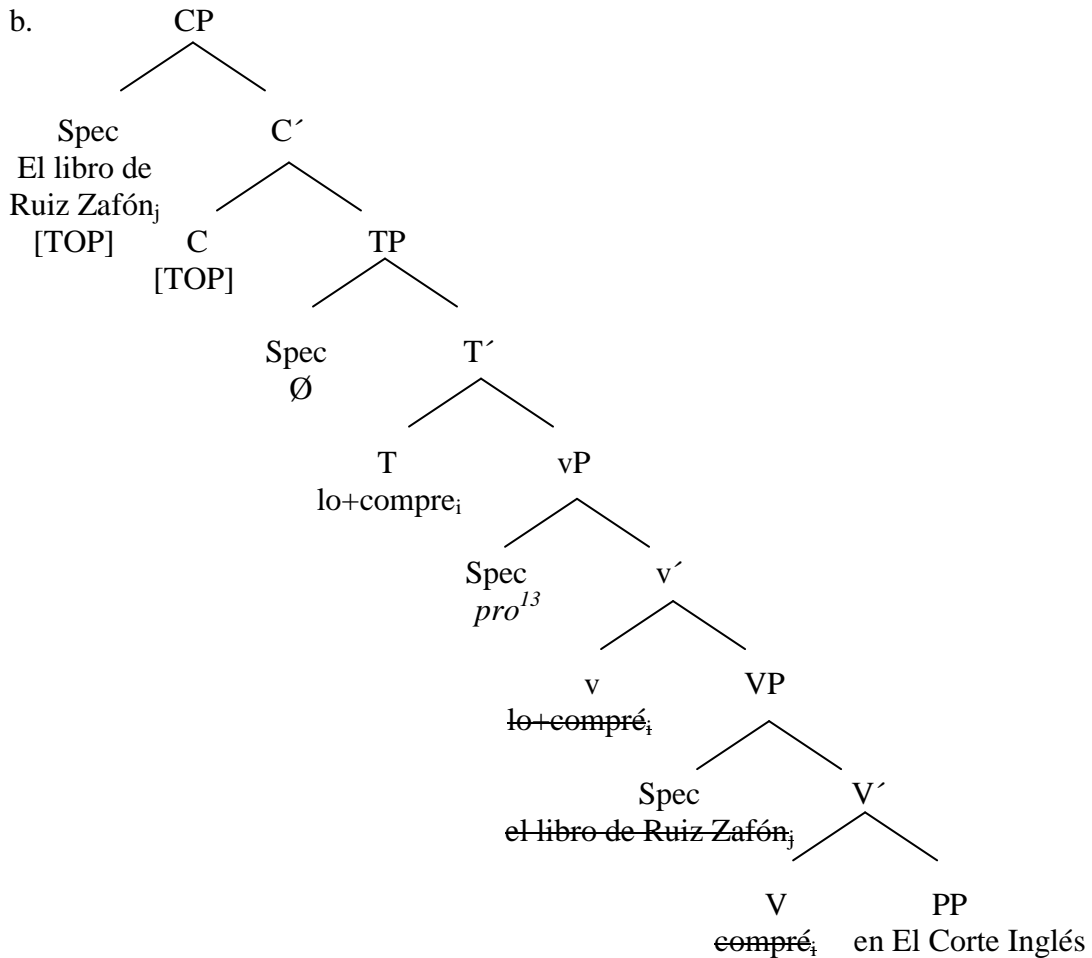
matrix clause, which is the complement of the matrix CP, is sent to the phonological and semantic components at that point:



We can see how the wh-element *what* has raised at small steps, from the edge of a phase to the edge of another one. In other words, the wh-pronoun first moves into the [Spec, C] in the complement clause, and then into the [Spec, C] at the front of the main clause. In this way, PIC is not violated. In fact, such an analysis avoids the unacceptability of long movement operations.

In the same way, since CP is a phase and it can serve as a landing site for discourse elements we conclude that topics and foci can move to the specifier of CP and obey the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC). The syntactic configuration is as follows:

- (71) a. El libro de Ruiz Zafón lo compré en El Corte Inglés.  
 the book of Ruiz Zafón CL(DO) buy-PAST-1SG at El Corte Inglés  
 ‘I bought the book of Ruiz Zafón at El Corte Inglés.’



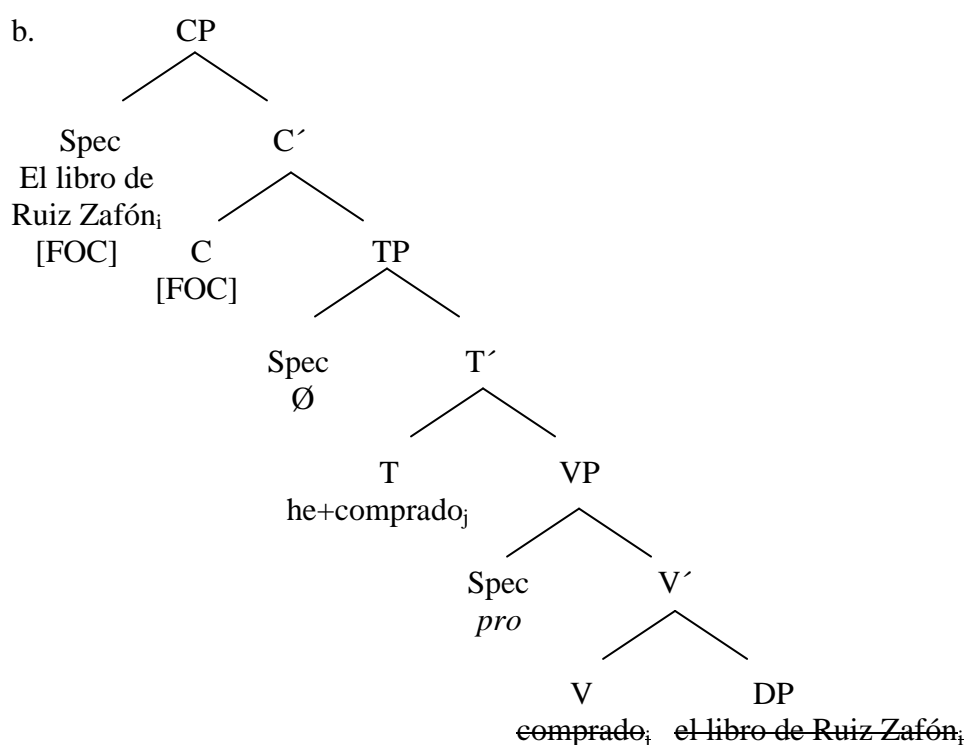
Through a process of Topicalisation the sequence *el libro de Ruiz Zafón* is moved from its original subject position to the specifier of CP. To be more precise, the feature [TOP] in C is uninterpretable and therefore, after the valuation of this feature the head C attracts the sentence structure *el libro de Ruiz Zafón* to its specifier. According to PIC, the domain of this head C (i.e. its TP complement) undergoes transfer to the

<sup>13</sup> Barbosa (2009) holds that there are two kinds of subject *pro*. In Null Subject Languages (NSL) such as Spanish, there is no EPP feature driven subject movement to pre-verbal position. The absence of this requirement is due to properties of ‘rich’ agreement morphology. Consequently, T is an inherently valued set of  $\phi$ -features; and *pro* is a minimally specified nominal whose feature values are provided by the set of  $\phi$ -features in T through the operation Agree. On the contrary, non-NSLs and partial pro-drop languages have poor verbal agreement morphology. So, in these types of languages subjects have to move to [Spec, T] in order to value and delete T’s  $\phi$ -features.

phonological and semantic components to be assigned an appropriate phonetic and semantic interpretation respectively. As a result, that complement is no longer accessible to further syntactic processes from that point on.

Dealing with Focalisation, we find an identical situation to the previous one. Let us observe the example below:

- (72) a. EL LIBRO DE RUIZ ZAFÓN he comprado, no el de Cela.  
 the book of Ruiz Zafón have-PERF-1SG bought not that of Cela  
 'I have bought the book of Ruiz Zafón, not that of Cela.'



In (72), the sentence structure *el libro de Ruiz Zafón* moves from its initial object position to the specifier of CP. In this case, the feature [FOC] in C is uninterpretable and for this reason, after the valuation of such a feature the head C attracts the DP *el libro de Ruiz Zafón* to its specifier. As in (68), the domain of the head C (i.e. its TP complement) is sent to the phonological and semantic components through a process of transfer. Hence, this complement is not accessible to further syntactic processes.

From the analysis of these sentences, the conclusion is that there is a close connection between the concept of phases and discourse movement. This relation implies that the processes of Topicalisation and Focalisation obey the Phase Impenetrability Condition in a strict way.



## 1.9. Concluding remarks

From the preceding considerations we can draw the following specific conclusions:

- Languages differ with respect to word order. In some of them, sentence constituents can appear in many different positions depending on discourse requirements. They are known as “free word order” languages. In other cases, the distinction between given and new information in a sentence does not cause any variation in the order of the elements. So, we are talking about “fixed word order” languages.

- In the relevant literature many discussions can be found about the discourse function of different constituents in a sentence. For this reason, sentences are divided into given and new information which are represented by topic and focus constituents respectively.

- Two different types of focus exist in natural languages in general. Hence, contrastive focus, which expresses exhaustive identification, must be distinguished from information focus, which merely expresses new information. As a matter of fact, contrastive focus has syntactic, semantic and phonological properties that a mere information focus does not share.

- Regarding Romance languages, we must distinguish between two types of topic: clitic left dislocation and hanging topic. The main difference between them is that the hanging topic only occurs at the periphery of the whole message, whereas the clitic left dislocated topic appears at the periphery of the clause. In the same way, in English we must distinguish between Topicalisation and Left-dislocation. They are syntactically

different; while topicalisations have a gap, where the topicalised phrase would have appeared in the nonpreposed version, left-dislocations include a resumptive pronoun. In this sense, we can conclude that in order to understand the role of topical elements in a particular language we have to take into account the specific characteristics of the language, and examine the ways in which that language encodes topical phrases.

- Topic and focus structures are similar since they involve the left periphery of the clause. In fact, they seem to move phrases to the same position. However, these two constructions differ in a series of aspects, which emphasize a different nature.

- Recent debates about clause structure and discourse movement raise significant problems regarding the traditional A vs. A'-distinction. Traditional theories that support the view that the subject of a clause is generated VP internally assume that all the theta roles of V are assigned inside the VP. This implies that [Spec, T] is not even a 'potential' theta position. However, we will depart from these studies by showing that movement is not a unitary phenomenon, i.e., it is not simply an instance of A'-movement.

- Due to the limitations of the Language Faculty, lexical items move cyclically through different phases (CP and vP). These phases imply an agree relation between a probe and a goal. Once a phase is formed, the complement of the phase head undergoes transfer to the phonological and semantic components so that neither the complement nor any element it contains can take part in further syntactic operations from that point on. In this sense, we must emphasize the relation between the concept of phases and discourse roles. Since CP is a phase and it can serve as a landing site for discourse elements we

conclude that topics and foci could move to the specifier of CP and obey the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC).

## **2. THE SYNTAX OF DISCOURSE FUNCTIONS**

## 2.1. Introduction

Some linguists like Chomsky (1977), Lasnik & Saito (1992) or Rooth (1992) state that discourse elements are generated in the left-periphery of the clause from the very beginning. Other authors such as Rizzi (1997) or Belletti (2004) claim that topic and focus elements move to that position during the derivation. In this chapter, we show evidence that topics and foci move to a higher position in the sentence, i.e. they are not base-generated. In fact, it is conventionally accepted that English Topicalisation and Focalisation involve movement rather than base-generation. However, the analysis of discourse phenomena in Spanish has been much more controversial. We try to clarify such a controversy in this second chapter.

## 2.2. The base-generation analysis

The hypothesis that topics may be either base-generated or derived by movement seems to be an interesting starting point. Following Chomsky (1977), there are similarities in the syntax of *Wh*-movement and the operation of Topicalisation. He also notes the relation between Topicalisation and LD. Let us observe the following example:

- (1) a. \*This book to whom should we give?  
    b. \*John who do you think saw?  
(2) a. This book, to whom should we give it?  
    b. (As for) John, who do you think saw him?                      (Chomsky 1977: 94)

According to Chomsky, one is derived by movement, whereas the other is base-generated. In (1), we find an instance of Topicalisation. More specifically, (1a) is ungrammatical since movement of the topicalised expression results in a doubly-filled

COMP. In the same way, (1b) is ruled out because the topic is extracted from a *Wh*-island<sup>14</sup>. Meanwhile, the analogous cases with LD (2a-b) are fine.

In this connection, Chomsky claims that LD does not involve movement as a number of principles assumed to be diagnostics for movement are violated (Complex Noun Phrase Constraint, Specified Subject Condition, *Wh*-Islands, Subjacency etc.).<sup>15</sup>

Lasnik & Saito (1992), henceforth L&S, approach the situation differently. They point out correctly that the framework following Chomsky & Lasnik (1977) and Chomsky (1981), in which the *that*-trace effect is explained by a constraint on traces, rules out the examples shown in (3a-b) by the Empty Category Principle (ECP), in contrast to (3c).

(3) a. \*John<sub>i</sub> I think that t<sub>i</sub> won the race.

b. \*Who do you think that t<sub>i</sub> won the race.

c. John, I think that he won the race.

(L&S 1992: 76)

However, they reconsider Chomsky's (1977) analysis on the basis of a wrong prediction. One of Chomsky's predictions is that under certain circumstances where LD is possible, Topicalisation should not be possible. On the other hand, wherever Topicalisation is available, LD should always be unavailable. This is so because the structures are identical except that Topicalisation involves movement. The former prediction is strongly confirmed, as Chomsky demonstrates. The latter prediction is not borne out, however, as shown in (4) and (5):

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<sup>14</sup> Chomsky (1977) argues that in a framework that rejects structure-building transformations, the variety of structures that precede NPs in TOP position eliminates a transformational solution in principle.

<sup>15</sup> The insight that LD freely violates island constraints goes back to Ross (1967), as so many observations.

- (4) a. I believe that this book you should read.  
       b. ... that this solution I proposed last year is widely known.
- (5) a. \*I believe that this book, you should read it.  
       b. \*... that this solution, I proposed it last year is widely known. (L&S 1992: 77)

On the basis of such data, L&S propose that Topicalisation is adjunction to IP or TP (as similarly proposed by Baltin 1982).<sup>16</sup> By assuming that the position for topics (TP in L&S which I will call TopP, following Rizzi 1997)<sup>17</sup> in English is restricted to one base-generated TopP per sentence, L&S can account for the contrast in (6):

- (6) a. John, Mary, he likes. (L&S 1992: 78)  
       b. \*John, Mary, he likes her. (L&S 1992: 79)

The upshot of L&S's discussion with respect to the present issue is that LD may involve only one LD-ed element as there is only one TopP available, and LD involves base-generation, rather than movement.

As commented in Section 2.1, some linguists also consider that foci are generated in the left-periphery of the clause from the very beginning. In this respect, the alternative semantics theory for focus proposed by Rooth (1992) has proven fruitful in

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<sup>16</sup> Baltin (1982) has pointed out that there are cases where embedded Topicalisation is possible but embedded LD is not. He cites contrasts such as the following:

- (i) (= Baltin's (69))  
       the man to whom liberty we could never grant.
- (ii) (= Baltin's (86))  
       \*the man to whom liberty, we could never grant it.

In order to account for this contrast, Baltin proposes that LD involves a base-generated topic, whereas Topicalisation involves adjunction to IP. According to him, it is the relativization in (ii) that is illicit. Such an analysis of the contrast between (i) and (ii) is impossible if it is assumed that embedded LD and embedded Topicalisation have identical structures, as proposed by Chomsky (1977). We will discuss the differences between root and embedded Topicalisation in Chapter 4.

<sup>17</sup> Under the cartographic approach to the left periphery inaugurated by Rizzi (1997), the functional projection CP is broken down into a number of distinct functional projections. One of these projections is TopP. In Section 2.6, we will analyse such an approach in detail.

the analysis of focus in Germanic languages, from both a theoretical and empirical view. Indeed, it is at the base of many recent works which address issues related to the syntax-prosody interface in English (see, for instance, Truckenbrodt 1995; Selkirk 2000, 2007, and related work). Such a theory excludes the possibility that focus associates with movement, be it overt or covert movement.

In this connection, Barbosa (1996) is one of the most outstanding linguists who insist on the idea that there is no movement in topic dislocation. Following Cinque (1990), she suggests that there is a series of differences between Focus and CLLD which lead us to think that Focus is similar to *wh*-movement whereas CLLD implies some different form of construal. In other words, Barbosa assumes that CLLD involves base-generation of the dislocated topic in a position of adjunction to the XP that is predicated of it; by contrast, it is suggested that non-referential quantified phrases, when fronted, must be associated with a gap, i.e. they move to an A-bar position. More specifically, they imply A-bar extraction to the specifier position of a functional projection to the left of T, as we can see in (7) from Barbosa (2009: 7):

- (7) Algo<sub>i</sub> lhe disseram algo<sub>i</sub> mas não sei o quê.  
 something to.him say-PAST-3PL but not know-PRESENT-1SG DET what  
 ‘They must have told him something, but I don’t know what.’

Meanwhile, unlike CLLD, Barbosa suggests that there are several pieces of evidence that English Topicalisation involves movement: it licenses parasitic gaps (PGs) and shows weak-cross-over (WCO) effects (see Duarte (1987) and Raposo (1997) for an analysis that is compatible with the one proposed here and captures these basic facts).

However, Cecchetto (2000: 3) claims that CLLD shows island sensitivity, a fact that can be taken as an argument for a movement-based analysis:



- (8) ??Gianni temo la possibilità che lo arrestito.  
 Gianni, (I) fear-PRES-1SG the possibility that (they) CL arrest-SUBJ-3PL
- (9) \*A Juan temo la posibilidad de que lo arresten.  
 to Juan fear-PRESENT-1SG the possibility of that CL arrest-SUBJ-3PL  
 ‘John, I fear the possibility that they punish him.’ (adapted from Cecchetto 2000: 3)

The degradation of (8) is a clear example of illicit extraction from a complex NP. Nevertheless, (8) is not as ungrammatical as standard examples of strong island violations in Italian. In this connection, Cinque (1977) proposes that in Italian two constructions must be distinguished: CLLD and the hanging topic one. In a hanging topic sentence, island effects are not found. Since sentence (8) is ambiguous between a CLLD and a hanging topic reading, its marginal acceptability is due to the possibility of interpreting it as a hanging topic sentence. Interestingly, (9) suggests that in Spanish it is possible to distinguish hanging topic from CLLD sentences, since a personal direct object in a CLLD sentence is preceded by the preposition ‘a’ whereas a hanging topic DP is not. Therefore, strong island violations are only observed in the former case (cf. Escobar Alvarez 1995). This is not discussed in Barbosa’s article. So, we consider her argumentation insufficient to abandon the movement-analysis of CLLD.

### **2.3. Arguments supporting movement-analysis**

The question of movement vs. base-generation has been relevant throughout the history of generative discussions of CLLD. In this sense, we will argue for a movement-based analysis, suggesting that CLLD is derived by movement. Basically, it involves a left-dislocated phrase and a pronominal element resuming its reference somewhere lower in the structure. Such a pronoun is standardly taken to be a resumptive pronoun (RP). This is a property of Romance CLLD.

With this picture in mind, we essentially entertain the same dual analysis for English as Aoun & Benmamoun (1998), with topic fronting involving movement and LD being a base-generation structure. Now, we are going to give some arguments that justify why we adopt this analysis. To be more specific, we substantiate our claim with the core facts illustrated below:

I) *Weak-cross-over*

Topic fronting allows bound variable readings of pronouns (Higginbotham 1980), in particular in a potential weak-cross-over (WCO) configuration arising from a quantificational element in the matrix clause and a pronominal element inside the fronted topic XP, illustrated here with a strong quantifier in subject position. In other words, topic fronting does not display a WCO effect, which suggests that the fronted topic XP can reconstruct at LF to a position where it is c-commanded by the quantifier. On the contrary, LD does not have the bound variable reading (Grohmann 2003: 147):

- |  |                |
|--|----------------|
| (10) a. His <sub>i</sub> lawn every Herfordian <sub>i</sub> mows on Saturdays. | Topic fronting |
| b. *His <sub>i</sub> lawn, every Herfordian <sub>i</sub> mows it on Saturdays. | LD             |

This observation also holds across clauses. The element under study is extracted and has to be interpreted inside the embedded clause. Meanwhile, in LD it does not matter if the RP is also extracted or remains in the embedded topic position (Grohmann 2003: 147):

- |   |                |
|---|----------------|
| (11) a. His <sub>i</sub> lawn every Herfordian <sub>i</sub> believes he <sub>i</sub> can keep pretty. | Topic fronting |
| b. *His <sub>i</sub> lawn, every Herfordian <sub>i</sub> believes he <sub>i</sub> can keep it pretty. | LD             |

The lack of WCO effects leads us to think that the fronted topic has undergone movement from the lower part of the clause, whereas the LD constituent is base-generated in its left-peripheral surface position.<sup>18</sup>

## II) *Condition A*

Similarly, only when an anaphor is inside a fronted topic XP, it can be coreferential with a lower R-expression (a DP). Therefore, the lack of Condition A effects supports the idea that the fronted topic XP has moved, as opposed to LD (Grohmann 2003: 148):

- (12) a. Friends of each other<sub>i</sub> Herfordians<sub>i</sub> rarely tell lies (to).                      Topic fronting  
      b. \*Friends of each other<sub>i</sub>, Herfordians<sub>i</sub> rarely tell them lies.                      LD

Here, we can also find the contrast with a bound pronominal inside the fronted topic (Grohmann 2003: 148):

- (13) a. A grill in his<sub>i</sub> own garden Alex<sub>i</sub> surely has.  
      b. \*A grill in his<sub>i</sub> own garden, Alex<sub>i</sub> surely has it.

## III) *Condition C*

If WCO and Condition A effects can be obviated by movement of the fronted topic XP, we would now expect that an R-expression inside the fronted topic XP coreferential with a lower pronoun leads to ungrammaticality in topic fronting, but not in LD. Indeed, we can observe a Condition C effect only in topic fronting (Grohmann 2003: 148):

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<sup>18</sup> For an alternative proposal, see Boeckx & Grohmann (2005), who argue for a unified movement-based approach which distinguishes left dislocation from hanging topic in that only the former involves Agree on top of Match between the left dislocate and the resuming pronominal. Under such an analysis, the variety in shapes and properties observed breaks down to a tight similarity from which the diverging patterns fall out in a straightforward fashion.

(14) \*The fact that Alex<sub>i</sub> is poor he<sub>i</sub> doesn't attach importance to.

In LD, on the other hand, we find well-formedness on all levels; the absence of Condition C effects suggests base-generation of the LD-ed XP in its surface position and any relevant movement of the RP only (Grohmann 2003: 149):

(15) The fact that Alex<sub>i</sub> is poor, he<sub>i</sub> doesn't attach (any) importance to it.

#### IV) *Intonational break*

In LD, XP and a resumptive pronoun (RP) are separated by a pause (marked '—' in (16)), while in topic fronting this does not happen (Grohmann 2003: 142):

- (16) a. That man I've never seen before.  
b. That man — I've never seen him before.

In (16b), there is an intonational break between the LD and the subsequent part of the sentence. Topic fronting does not have such a break. As a matter of fact, Emonds (2004, 2012) points out that base-generated, 'dislocated' constituents are set off by phonological pauses, while moved constituents, which bind a trace, are not.

Now, we are going to illustrate the properties with Spanish data in order to see whether there is any difference between English and Spanish.

#### I) *Weak-cross-over*

The lack of WCO effects can be captured if it is the CLLD-ed element itself that undergoes movement from lower down in the clause, whereas the HT constituent is base-generated in its left-peripheral surface position.

- (17) a. Su<sub>i</sub> césped lo cortan todos los vecinos<sub>i</sub> los sábados. CLLD  
 b. \*(En cuanto a) su<sub>i</sub> césped, lo cortan todos los vecinos<sub>i</sub> los sábados. HT

In (17a), CLLD does not display a WCO effect, which suggests that the CLLD-ed element itself *su césped* has undergone movement to the front of the clause. By contrast, in (17b), HT does not have the bound variable reading. It implies that HT is base-generated in its left-peripheral surface position. In this sense, (17b) would be grammatical with any other interpretation where the anaphor *su* is not bound to the DP *todos los vecinos*.

## II) Condition A

The absence of Condition A effects corroborates the idea that CLLD-ed elements move, as opposed to hanging topics.

- (18) a. A sus<sub>i</sub> amigos raramente les cuentan los vecinos<sub>i</sub> mentiras. CLLD  
 b. \*Sus<sub>i</sub> amigos, raramente les cuentan los vecinos<sub>i</sub> mentiras. HT

In (18a), the anaphor *sus* is correferential with the DP *los vecinos*. So, it is obvious that CLLD implies movement. On the contrary, in (18b), the anaphor is not correferential with the DP and therefore, we must assume that HT is generated in its surface position.

## III) Condition C

We can observe a Condition C effect only in CLLD. In HT, on the contrary, the lack of Condition C effects suggests base-generation of the HTed XP in its surface position.

- (19) a. \*Al hecho de que Alejandro<sub>i</sub> es pobre no le da él<sub>i</sub> importancia. CLLD  
 b. El hecho de que Alejandro<sub>i</sub> es pobre, no le da él<sub>i</sub> importancia. HT

As in English, we would expect that an R-expression inside the fronted topic XP coreferential with a lower pronoun leads to ungrammaticality in CLLD, but not in HT. As a matter of fact, we can observe a Condition C effect only in CLLD. In this respect, the absence of Condition C effects involves base-generation of the HT-ed XP in the left-periphery.

#### IV) *Intonational break*

In CLLD, there is no intonational break between XP and RP, whereas HT does have such a break.

- |   |      |
|---|------|
| (20) a. A ese hombre nunca antes lo he visto. | CLLD |
| b. Ese hombre — nunca antes lo he visto.      | HT   |

In (20b), there is an intonational break between the HT and the subsequent part of the sentence. CLLD does not have such a break. As in English, base-generated dislocated constituents are set off by phonological pauses, while moved constituents, which bind a trace, are not.

From these data we can conclude that CLLD is a movement process, whereas HT seems to be base-generated in their surface position.

With respect to focus, in the same way we have assumed for topic, we entertain a movement analysis for it in English and Spanish:

#### I) *Weak-cross-over*

Weak-cross-over facts present evidence to the raising of focus constituents:

- (21) a. HIS<sub>i</sub> TEACHERS John<sub>i</sub> admires (not his partners).  
       b. A SUS<sub>i</sub> PROFESORES admira Juan<sub>i</sub> (no a sus compañeros).

The absence of WCO effects in (21) makes us think that the focused elements *his teachers* and *a sus profesores* have undergone movement from the lower part of the clauses.

## II) Condition A

The lack of Condition A effects confirms the idea that focus elements move:

- (22) a. HIS<sub>i</sub> MOTORBIKE Peter<sub>i</sub> repaired last week (not mine).  
b. SU<sub>i</sub> MOTOCICLETA reparó Pedro<sub>i</sub> la semana pasada (no la mía).

In (22), the anaphors *his* and *su* are correferential with *Peter* and *Pedro* respectively. Such a situation leads us to think that the focused elements *his motorbike* and *su motocicleta* are generated lower down in the clauses.

## III) Condition C

The occurrence of Condition C effects suggests movement of focus elements to the front of the clause:

- (23) a. \*THE FRIEND WHO HELPED MARTIN<sub>i</sub>, he<sub>i</sub> gave a kiss (not the man who attacked Martin). (adapted from Boeckx & Grohmann 2005: 9)  
b. \*AL AMIGO QUE AYUDÓ A MARTIN<sub>i</sub>, dio él<sub>i</sub> un beso (no al hombre que atacó a Martin).

Condition C effects in (23) suggest that the focused constituents *the friend who helped Martin* and *al amigo que ayudó a Martin* move to the left periphery of the clauses.

## IV) Intonational break

In Focalisation, there is no intonational break between the focus element and the subsequent part of the sentence:

- (24) a. THIS PROBLEM we resolved yesterday (not that one).  
b. ESTE PROBLEMA resolvimos ayer (no ese).

In this way, we can conclude that English Topicalisation and Spanish CLLD involve movement, whereas English LD and Spanish HT do not. In the next section, we will study the nature of such a movement and the landing-site of these topic and focus elements that move in a clause.

## 2.4. Syntactic approaches to discourse functions

So far, we have seen that some types of topics<sup>19</sup> and foci move, that is, they are not base-generated. Now, we provide a syntactic account of Focalisation and Topicalisation in minimalist terms. We have given special emphasis to the conditions which cause the movement of discourse elements. As we said at the beginning of this chapter, both operations involve movement to the initial part of the clause, but what is the specific landing-site of these constituents?

Following ideas proposed by Grimshaw (1997), Topicalisation implies movement of a constituent to the left-most position within TP. Thus, the topicalised structure in (25) has the representation in (26):

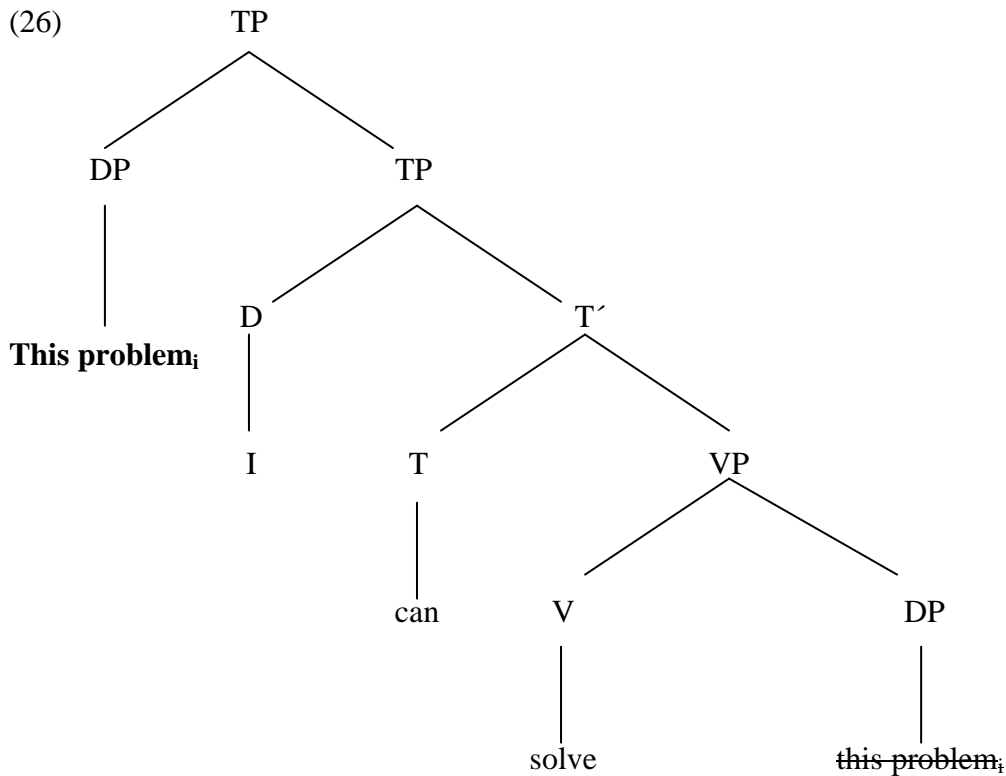
(25) This problem I can solve.

(Jiménez-Fernández 2005: 277)

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<sup>19</sup> Since movement does not take place when dealing with hanging topics, we will restrict our syntactic analysis to dislocated topics.





In (26), the DP *this problem* is moved from its initial object position to the left side of TP, leaving a copy behind. However, according to Jiménez-Fernández (2005), such an analysis presents some contradictions. *Wh*-movement involves moving the *wh*-phrase to the specifier of CP. Since topics adjoin to the left side of TP, *wh*-phrases should precede topicalised elements. Recall that CP dominates TP due to selectional constraints. This is true for relative clauses but not for *wh*-questions (Jiménez-Fernández 2005: 277):

(27) a. John is the man to whom the prize they have given this year.

b. \*John is the man the prize to whom they have given this year.

(28) a. The milk, where did you put it?

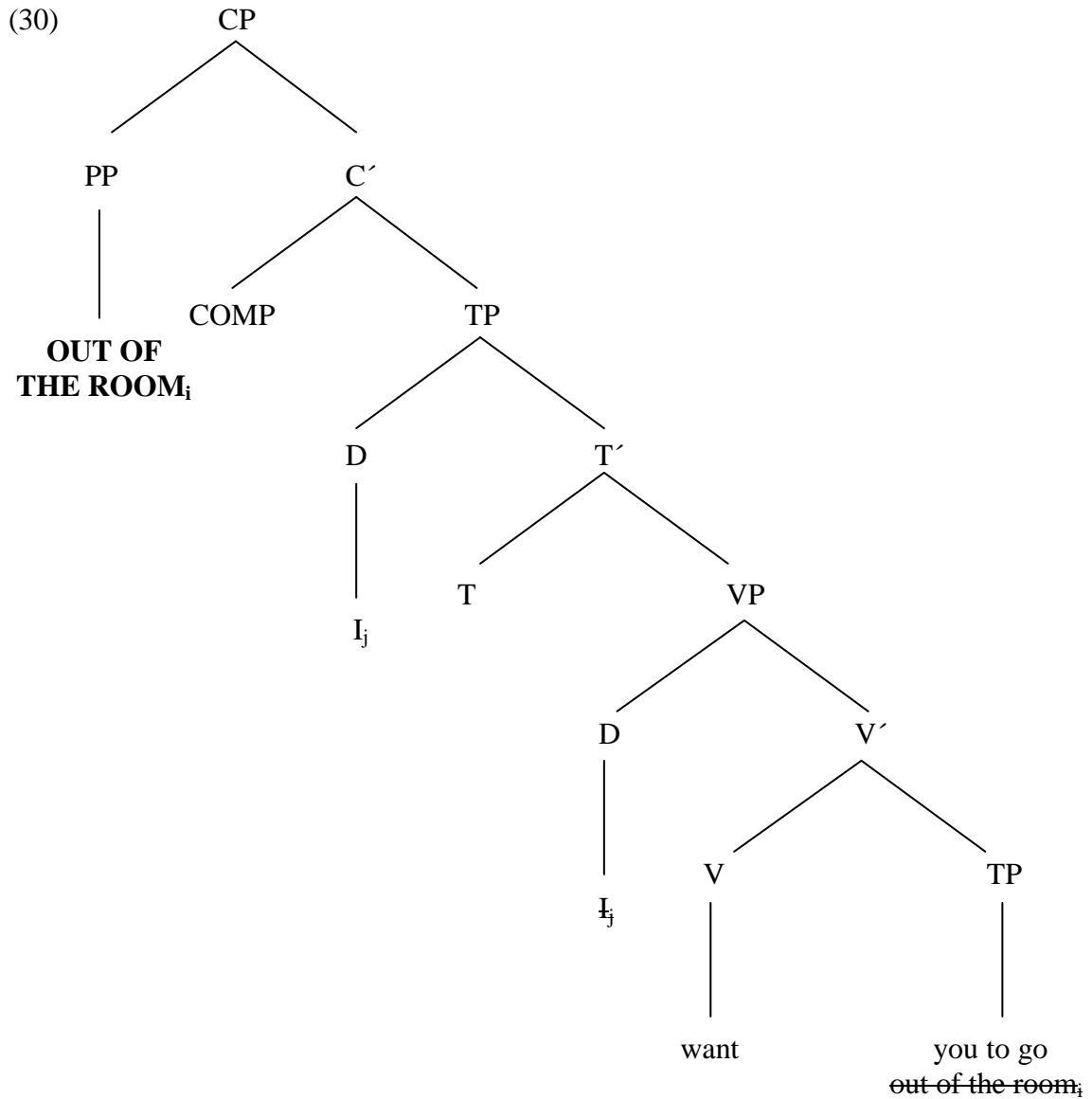
b. \*Where the milk did you put it?

c. \*Where did the milk you put it?

The TP-adjunction analysis of Topicalisation establishes that TP should dominate CP, so that it does not account for the order ‘Topic+*wh*-phrase’. For this reason, Topicalisation cannot be viewed as adjunction to TP.

As for Focalisation, Chomsky (1977) holds that it implies movement of the focalised element to the specifier of CP. Hence, (29) should have the derivation in (30):

(29) OUT OF THE ROOM I want you to go (not into the room).



Nevertheless, we have to face some problems that arise from this analysis. The main shortcoming is that in embedded *that*-clauses the focalised element should precede the complementiser *that*. This is not possible as shown by the example in (31):

(31) a. I said that OUT OF THE ROOM I want you to go (not into the room).

b. \*I said OUT OF THE ROOM that I want you to go (not into the room).

In (31), the focus has to move to a position following the complementiser *that*. But, we have a problem since the only possible position is [Spec, T], which is already occupied by the subject *I*. Therefore, where does the focus constituent land?

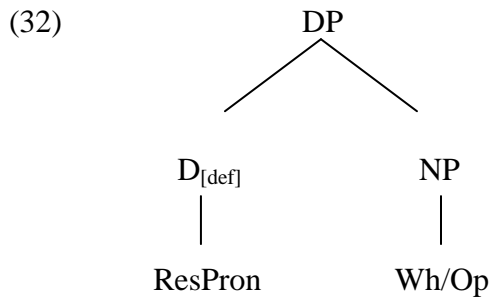
### **2.4.1. A unified movement-analysis**

As far as CLLD is concerned, we have to talk about Boeckx's (2003) theory of A'-dependencies. In this case, all chains involving a resumptive pronoun are taken to be the result of movement. Since in some languages resumptive chains can violate even strong islands, an immediate consequence of his approach is that movement can generally overcome islands, including strong ones, given the right conditions. More specifically, Boeckx suggests that there is no coherent notion of 'island', and movement is always unbounded. Apparent islands turn out to be constraints on Agree. However, if movement can be made dependent on Match but independent from Agree, then movement can escape an adjunct. Resumption is the tool that enables us to separate Move from Agree. Arguably, the seeming lack of coherence of the island notion has been replaced by an equally incoherent notion of 'boundary for Agree' plus an arbitrary distinction between Match and Agree.

Boeckx's proposal does not seem to be an option since HT is base-generated while CLLD implies movement – see the arguments presented in Chapter 2, Section 2.3. In this sense, Boeckx's approach involves a theory of resumption and a theory of A'-movement. Let us discuss both of them:

#### *I) Resumption*

Following Boeckx, all forms of resumption imply a structure in which the resumptive takes the displaced element as a complement:



Notice that this goes against a long tradition that takes *wh*-words to be determiners, not NPs. In fact, what the syntactic category of [wh] is left unanalyzed. The problem is that if [wh] is not D, a lot of interesting generalizations are lost, for example: determiners, pronouns, and *wh*-words in German show the same nominative, accusative, dative, and genitive case morphology while nouns only show genitive morphology. We can establish a generalization for German according to which D reflects case morphology in all four cases, but this generalization can be formulated only if [wh] is D.

Assuming that the structure in (32) is the initial one, the *wh/Op* phrase raises, stranding the definite determiner as a resumptive pronoun. Movement must go through [Spec, D] as an escape hatch:

(33) *wh* ... [<sub>DP</sub> t(*wh*) [<sub>D'</sub> D t(*wh*)]]

Such an analysis raises two questions: why does not it violate the Left Branch Condition<sup>20</sup>? Why is there no definiteness barrier<sup>21</sup>? Boeckx's answer for these two questions is as follows: whether one can or cannot extract from the specifier of a category depends on the feature composition of that category. More specifically, if D agrees with the extracted constituent, extraction is not possible.

<sup>20</sup> Ross (1967) proposed the Left Branch Condition, which blocks movement of the leftmost constituent of an NP. So, in (33), if the *wh/Op* stops in [Spec, D], there should be a violation of such a condition.

<sup>21</sup> Jiménez-Fernández (2009, 2012) analyses definiteness effects on the extractability of DPs. He claims that definite/specific DPs are phases and therefore show island effects.

Boeckx's extension of his idea to clitic doubling is problematic. He cites two examples of clitic doubling with non-agreement between clitic and double: Sicilian (from Ledgeway 2000) and Spanish datives. Consider the Spanish dative, which he takes from Gutiérrez-Rexach (2000):

- (34) No le tiene miedo a las balas.  
 NE CL.DAT.SG has fear DAT the bullets  
 'He's not afraid of bullets.'

In (34), it seems as if number agreement between clitic (*le*) and double (*a las balas*) were momentarily cancelled. In spite of this, there are no grounds for claiming there is no agreement between the dative clitic and the double. First, if the clitic is plural, the double must be plural:

- (35) \*No les tiene miedo a la bala.<sup>22</sup>  
 CL.DAT.PL DAT the bullet

In (35), it seems that the form *le* has become unspecified for number. Second, there is [person] agreement: if we have a strong first or second person pronoun, the clitic must have the same [person] feature. Finally, in the first and second persons, number agreement is also obligatory:

- (36) a. No te tengo miedo a ti.  
 neg CL-2SG have-1SG fear DAT you  
 'I am not afraid of you.'  
 b. \*No le tengo miedo a ti.  
 CL-3SG DAT you  
 c. \*No te tengo miedo a vosotros.  
 CL-2SG DAT you-PL

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<sup>22</sup> Villa-García (2009) claims that certain grammatical sentences in Spanish exhibit lack of agreement between the verb and the subject in terms of one of the three  $\phi$ -features, namely person, number, and gender. So, he postulates a condition on the output of Agree which states that if optimal agreement fails to obtain, at most one feature can be left syntactically unvalued, and this remaining feature is handled by alternative mechanisms.

Besides, when we have an accusative clitic, we also have obligatory agreement between clitic and double. Therefore, Spanish is an argument against Boeckx's proposals.

## II) *Islands and the Principle of Unambiguous Chains*

Let us now move onto Boeckx's theory of movement, islandhood, and the role of resumptives in overcoming islands. He takes the following Principle of Unambiguous Chains as a point of departure:

(37) Principle of Unambiguous Chains (PUC): Chains cannot include more than one strong OCC<sup>23</sup>/EPP position.

The PUC successfully rules out cases of Superraising:

(38) \*John seems t is intelligent.

(38) is ungrammatical because the chain (John, t) includes two strong OCC/EPP positions, corresponding to the two instances of [Spec, T].

However, a subject *wh*-phrase should in principle create a problem, since there are two strong OCC positions: [Spec, T] and [Spec, C]. Boeckx suggests that there are two ways that a language can go to overcome this difficulty. The first way is to have T and C agree, so that they become a single unit. In this way, we do not have two strong OCC for one chain, but only one OCC for each chain.

The other way is by means of resumption. In this case, the constituent is split in two blocks, one of which is involved in the A-dependency (the resumptive pronoun) so the other one is free to enter the A'-dependency (the *wh*-phrase or the dislocate). Hence,

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<sup>23</sup> OCC is short for occurrence, see Chomsky 2000. Its function is exactly the one that the EPP takes.

there are now two chains, not one, and the PUC is obeyed. Resumption is a consequence of PUC.

Nevertheless, in languages such as Spanish chains can include more than one strong EPP position, as exemplified in (39):

(39) Juan parece que es inteligentísimo.

The second leg of his argument implies the trigger of movement. In this sense, Chomsky (2000) distinguishes between Match and Agree. If a probe finds features in a goal of the same type as those in the probe, then we can say that they Match. If, additionally, there is a transfer of features from goal to probe, then we have Agree (Chomsky 2000: 122, Boeckx 2003: 2). Chomsky proposes that Agree may trigger movement if the probe has an additional EPP feature. Instead, Boeckx claims that Match suffices to cause movement.

Match occurs without limits. In particular, Match can target an adjunct, which has inert  $\phi$ -features, and even probe inside it. Agree, however, is stricter, since it can only involve a goal with active  $\phi$ -features (Boeckx 2003: 99-100).

Now, we are ready to deal with the problem of islandhood and resumption. We first discuss Hebrew, a language in which resumptive chains are sensitive to no islands whatsoever (Boeckx 2003: 20):

(40) Raʔiti                    ʔet ha-yeled ʔaser/se-ha-cayad harag                    ʔet ha-arie  
saw-PAST-1SG ACC the child C-the-hunter                    kill-PAST-3SG ACC the lion  
  
ʔaser/se-radaf ʔexarav.  
C-that                    after him  
'I saw the child that the hunter killed the lion that chased him.'

In accordance with Boeckx, a probe can enter an adjunct and Match its features against a goal. If the goal includes a resumptive pronoun, the Wh/Op does not need to satisfy

any Case/Agreement requirements, Agree between Wh/Op and probe is not necessary. Since Match is all that is required for movement, it can take place.

What about Greek, a language in which resumptive chains are sensitive to strong islands only? (Boeckx 2003: 111):

(41) Gnorisa                    mja gineka pu den    ksero                    pjos tin pndreftike.  
 meet-PAST-1SG a    woman C NEG know-PRES-1SG who CL marry-PAST-3SG  
 ‘I met a woman that I don’t know who married.’

(42) \*Pira                    mia efimerida pu o Petros apokimithike                    eno tin  
 got-PAST-1SG a    paper.ACC C the Petros fall-asleep-PAST-3SG while CL  
 diavaze.  
 read-GEN-3SG  
 ‘I got a paper that Petros fell asleep while reading (it).’

Boeckx’s solution is that Agree must be involved. His analysis of this type of example is detailed as following (2003: 112):

- (43) 1. Agr (in T or v) enters an A-dependency with the resumptive element.
2. The resumptive moves (cliticizes, or some such).
3. The probe establishes an Agree relationship with Wh/Op.
4. Wh/Op is extracted.

Since extraction in this type of example involves Agree, it is subject to the type of restrictions that Agree is subject to: for concreteness, Agree cannot penetrate adjuncts, with the direct consequence that extraction out of adjuncts is not possible<sup>24</sup>. As evidence, Boeckx claims that the presence of a relative pronoun indicates the (abstract) presence of an agreeing complementizer.

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<sup>24</sup> In accordance with Stepanov (2007) and Chomsky (2008), adjuncts are strong islands for extraction. In this connection, Fábregas & Jiménez-Fernández (2012) analyse the conditions which determine extraction possibilities from fake adjuncts. More concretely, they state that the gerunds and depictive adjectives that permit extraction of one of their constituents are projected as PathP inside the first phase syntax that includes the main verb, with which they share the same syntactic space.



However, this solution seems to undermine Boeckx’s enterprise. His main idea is that resumption is a last resort operation, with the result that one chain that would have two strong OCC positions would become two chains with one strong OCC each. But in the Greek example we have a clitic that does not prevent the A’-dependency to require Agree – what is the role of the clitic then?

Let us further analyze Boeckx’s discussion of Greek resumption. As we mentioned before, the PUC for subject extraction can be satisfied either by having T agree with C or by means of resumption. The probe in (42) must be the complementizer *pu*. According to Boeckx, *pu* has unvalued  $\phi$ -features and can agree with Wh/Op in Greek even in the presence of a resumptive. The question is why can’t C agree with the T that it selects? If the  $\phi$ -features of C are thus satisfied, it should be able to simply Match with the goal and overcome the island.

There is a final group of languages (Vata, Serbo-Croatian) that are sensitive to all islands. Boeckx deals with this group by suggesting that complement clauses in these languages are actually relative clauses in disguise.

This is Boeckx’s theory of islands and resumptives. Nevertheless, there is some evidence against it. Recall that Romance languages include HT as well as CLLD:

- (44) a. Pedro, hace tiempo que no lo invito a cenar. HT  
 Pedro does time that NEG CL.ACC invite-PRES-1SG to dinner
- b. A Pedro hace tiempo que no lo invito CLLD  
 to Pedro do-PRES-3SG time that NEG CL.ACC invite-PRES-1SG  
 a cenar.  
 to dinner  
 ‘I have not invited Peter to dinner in a long time.’

Among the properties that tease them apart are, as listed previously, (i) connectivity effects, (ii) reconstruction effects, and (iii) islandhood.

Boeckx would be forced to hold that both HT and CLLD are the result of the application of movement rules<sup>25</sup>. This would leave unaccounted why, as discussed above, HT is followed by an intonational break, while a CLLD-ed XP and its RP can be pronounced in fast succession.

In this connection, a classic argument for movement is island sensitivity (Ross 1967). Under traditional conception, it is unlikely that a dependency is the result of movement if it may span across an island; in turn, if it shows island sensitivity, it may have arisen from movement. Indeed, CLLD shows island sensitivity, a fact that is standardly assumed to indicate the occurrence of a movement. Here are some examples of CLLD (adapted from Villalba 2000: 255):

- (45) \*A Pedro conozco sólo dos personas que le saludan.  
 DAT.the Pedro know-PRES-1SG only two people that CL.dat say hello
- (46) \*Rico pienso que serlo ayuda a ser feliz.  
 Rich think-PRES-1SG that be-INF-CL help-PRES-3SG to be-INF happy
- (47) \*Rico iré al dentista cuando lo sea.  
 Rich go-FUT-1SG to.the dentist when CL be-PRES-1SG

Example (45) exemplifies a relative clause island, (46) exemplifies a subject island and (47) an adjunct island. HT, on the contrary, is not sensitive to any of them:

- (48) Pedro, conozco sólo dos personas que le saludan.  
 ‘Pedro, I know only two people who say hello to him.’
- (49) El famoso profesor, me imagino que invitarlo será difícil.  
 ‘The famous professor, I imagine that inviting him will be difficult.’
- (50) María, iré al dentista cuando ella haya vuelto.  
 ‘María, I will go to the dentist when she is back.’

If we take islandhood to be a property of movement, then the examples in (45), (46), and (47) would be evidence that CLLD is derived by movement. Furthermore, when we

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<sup>25</sup> Dealing with German, Grohmann (2000, 2003) proposes a movement approach for CLLD (or Germanic-style CLD) and a non-movement account for HT. However, Boeckx & Grohmann (2005) argue in favour of a unified movement-based analysis of CLLD and HT.

consider the HT examples, an account in terms of movement/non-movement becomes irresistible.

In conclusion, we consider Boeckx's proposal quite problematic. In fact, island effects corroborate the idea that HT is base-generated while CLLD involves movement.

## 2.6. What motivates displacement?

### 2.6.1. Prosodic motivations

As we mentioned in Chapter 1, Section, 1.5, Spanish employs p-movement: a prosodically motivated rule which has the effect of changing the asymmetric command hierarchy of metrical sisters with contradictory prosodic properties, so that the most prominent element ends up being the lowest in the structure.

Regarding what we said earlier, Zubizarreta's analysis only works with the simple examples that she presents. A more complex example makes its limitations clear:

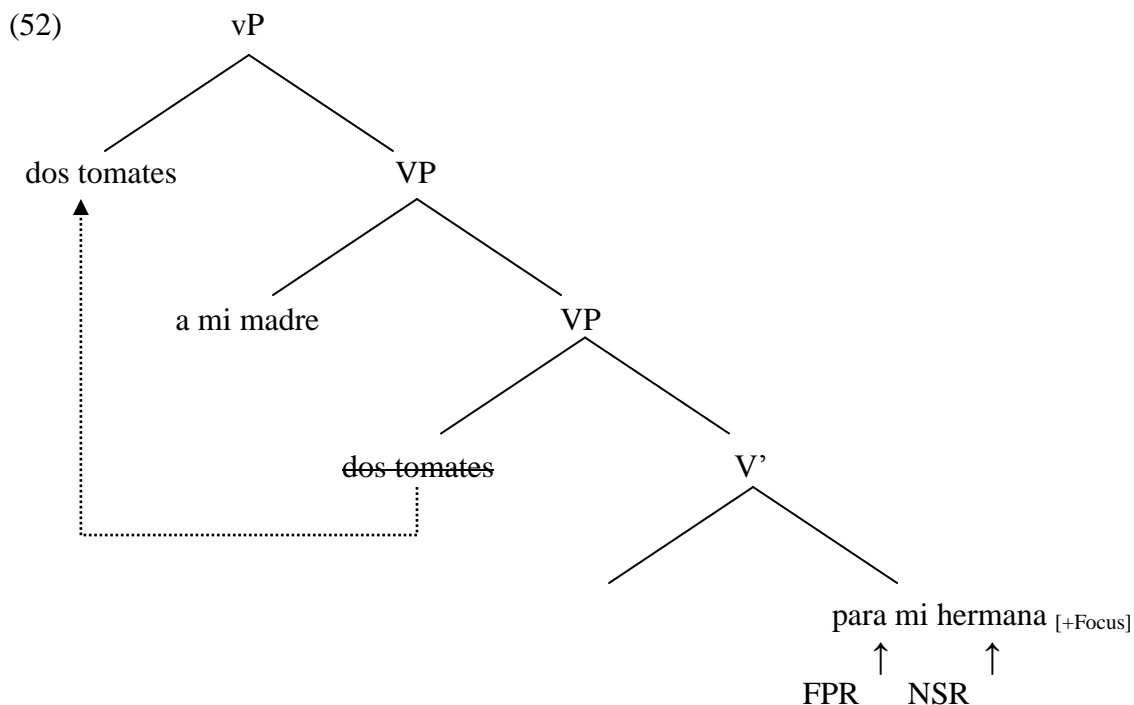
- (51) a. Le di                                    a mi madre dos tomates para mi hermana.  
CL-give-PAST-1SG to my mother two tomatoes for my sister  
'I gave my mother two tomatoes for my sister.'  
b. Le di dos tomates<sub>i</sub> a mi madre ~~dos tomates<sub>i</sub>~~ para mi hermana.

We can place this example in a context in which *para mi hermana* is the focus, for instance as the answer to the question 'for whom did you give your mother two tomatoes?' the Nuclear Stress Rule (NSR) and the Contrastive Stress Rule (CSR)<sup>26</sup> both select the PP *para mi hermana* to have prosodic prominence, so there is no conflict between prosody and focus structure. Hence, Zubizarreta predicts there should not be any p-movement. But p-movement is possible, involving the other two VP elements, as reflected in the contrast between (51a) and (51b). In fact, example (51b) can be a

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<sup>26</sup> See Chapter 1, Section 1.5.

suitable answer to the question ‘What did you do with two tomatoes?’ Therefore, in each example the complement closest to the verb is the strongly anaphoric one, the other one is part of the same focus as the benefactive PP. We suggest that this sort of example indicates that the motivation of p-movement is not prosody and that prosodic structures are only a consequence of syntactic operations and not the other way around:



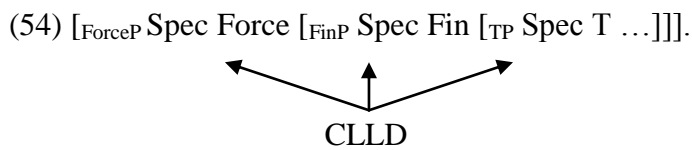
## 2.6.2. A formal feature system

López (2009) claims that movement is triggered by feature valuation/checking exclusively. More concretely, he assumes that all movement to the left periphery is triggered by the same formal feature [*f*], lodged in the feature structure of the moving item. In his analysis, the unvalued feature is valued in [Spec, Fin]. The head Fin is located in CP and serves the function of marking a clause as finite or non-finite. For instance, Fin is the position occupied by prepositional particles like *di* ‘of’ which

introduces infinitival control clauses in languages like Italian in structures such as (53) below:<sup>27</sup>

- (53) Gianni pensa il tuo libro di PRO conoscerlo bene.  
 Gianni think-PRES-3SG the your book of PRO know-PRES-3SG CL well  
 ‘Gianni thinks that your book he knows well.’ (Radford 2004: 259)

But, why should [Spec, Fin] be the landing site of CLLD? Following López, there seem to be at least three specs available for the task:

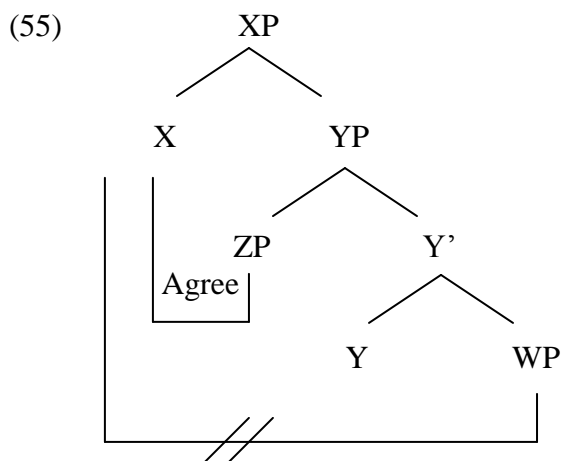


López assumes that [Spec, T] is busy with other matters, so there are only two specifiers left, [Spec, Force] and [Spec, Fin]. In this sense, he argues that [Spec, Fin] is the landing site for movement to the left periphery as a consequence of how syntactic dependencies are set up, following the model in López (2009).

Under such a view, movement is triggered by an unvalued feature – [f<sup>̄</sup>], as López calls it – of the moving item and it takes place spec-to-spec. Satisfaction of the unvalued feature is carried out by the operation Agree, which is defined as strictly local, reaching only to the spec of the complement of the probe:

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<sup>27</sup> In the next section, we will deal with the cartography and its intricancies.



Now,  $[f^*]$  needs to be valued by a probe. Example (54) shows that the only probe available in the higher structure is Force.  $[\text{Spec}, \text{Force}]$  is the highest spec of the clause and, if the clause is matrix, there is no higher head that can act as a probe. Therefore, the probe of  $[f^*]$  can be in Force at the highest. In the same vein,  $[\text{Spec}, \text{Fin}]$  must be the target of A'-movement<sup>28</sup>.

According to López, if we conceived of movement as Attract/Pied-pipe, both  $[\text{Spec}, \text{Force}]$  and  $[\text{Spec}, \text{Fin}]$  would be possible landing sites, and we would not have any particular reason to choose one or the other. The empirical data that shows that A'-movement can go no higher than  $[\text{Spec}, \text{Fin}]$  would be left unexplained.

However, we must call into question the validity of López's proposal. As we will see in Chapter 3, Section 3.4, in Spanish discourse features lower from C to T and T is specified as a multiple-specifier category. This means that topic fronting in languages such as Spanish is an instance of A-movement. On the contrary, in Chapter 3, Section 3.4, we will observe that in languages like English, discourse features are not

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<sup>28</sup> In accordance with Chomsky (1999, and subsequent work), the only locality conditions on probing are the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) and the Minimal Link Condition (MLC). The PIC prevents probing into the complement of a phase head, under the assumption that material that has been transferred is not part of the derivation anymore. The MLC prevents Agree taking place between a probe and a goal if there is another potential goal closer to the probe. Nevertheless, López (2007) argues that probing is more strictly local than what Chomsky suggests: it can only reach the edge of the complement of the probe. Hence, in (55), X can probe YP and ZP, but not further.

lowered from C to T, which explains why topics move to the CP-domain, to an A'-position.

With this picture in mind, we can conclude that López's proposal is problematic since the idea that topics move to [Spec, Fin] is controversial.

## **2.7. The cartography of syntactic structures**

As commented in Chapter 1, Section 1.7, recent debates about clause structure and discourse movement raise significant problems regarding the traditional A/A'-distinction. One point that should be clear by now is that discourse operations are carried out by application of movement to the left side of the clause. We have rejected some possibilities such as a left-adjoined position within TP. A different alternative can be that the landing site for topics and foci is the COMP-system. Let us analyse such an idea.

A traditional articulation of the clause that involves the left periphery is the articulation in topic and comment, as expressed by the English structure called Topicalisation:

(56) Your book you should give to Paul (not to Bill). (Rizzi 1997: 285)

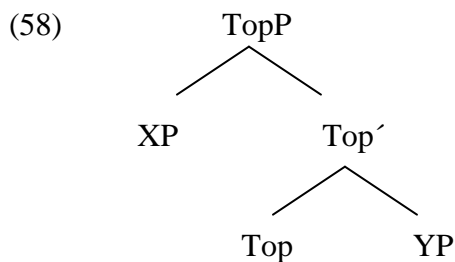
The topic is a preposed element set off from the rest of the clause by comma intonation and normally expressing old information; the comment is a kind of complex predicate and introducing new information.

Formally similar but interpretively very different is the focus-presupposition articulation:

(57) YOUR BOOK you should give to Paul (not mine). (Rizzi 1997: 285)

The preposed element, bearing focal stress, introduces new information, while the rest of the sentence expresses given information which is shared by the speakers involved in the situation.

Going back to Brody (1990, 1995), these articulations are realized through the usual process of syntactic representations: the X-bar schema. Let us observe the following structure:

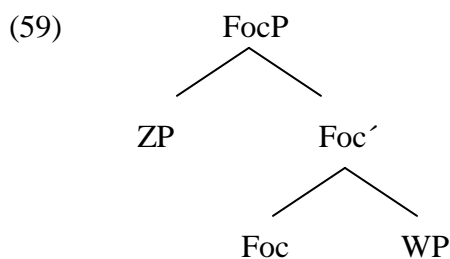


XP = topic

YP = comment

In (58) the Top head, which belongs to the COMP-system, projects its own X-bar schema. This Top head takes the topic as its specifier and the comment as its complement.

In the same way, a Foc head projects a similar structure with a specific functional interpretation: its specifier is the focus, its complement is the presupposition:



ZP = Focus

WP = Presupposition



Taking into account the Economy Principle, Focus and Topic movement should be considered as “last resort”. This type of movement must be triggered by the satisfaction of a specific criterion. In this sense, a constituent with a topic or focus feature must be in a Spec/Head configuration with Top or Foc, respectively. If there is no constituent with a topic or focus feature, the topic-focus system will not be present<sup>29</sup>.

Consequently, if an element is topicalized it is moved to CP into the specifier of a functional projection known with the name of Topic Phrase. In this way, the moved element enters into a Spec-Head relation with the head of the Topic Phrase. The syntactic configuration is as follows:

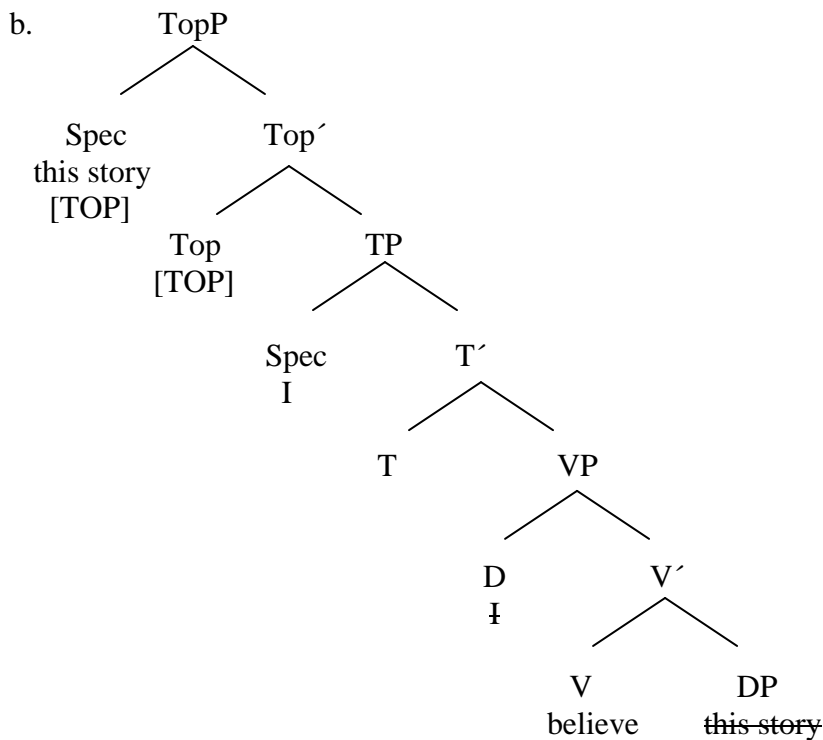
(60) a. This story I believe<sup>30</sup>. (Jiménez-Fernández 2005: 281)

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<sup>29</sup> In addition to Focus and Topic Phrases, CP is composed of two more projections, Force and Finiteness Phrase. A difference between the discursive categories of Topic and Focus and the functional categories of Force and Finiteness is that the former, but not the latter, expresses selectional restrictions between the COMP-system and the immediately higher and lower structural systems. For this reason, the order of these functional projections in the COMP-system is something similar to (i), as proposed in Rizzi (1997: 288):

(i) ... Force ... (Topic) ... (Focus) ... Fin TP

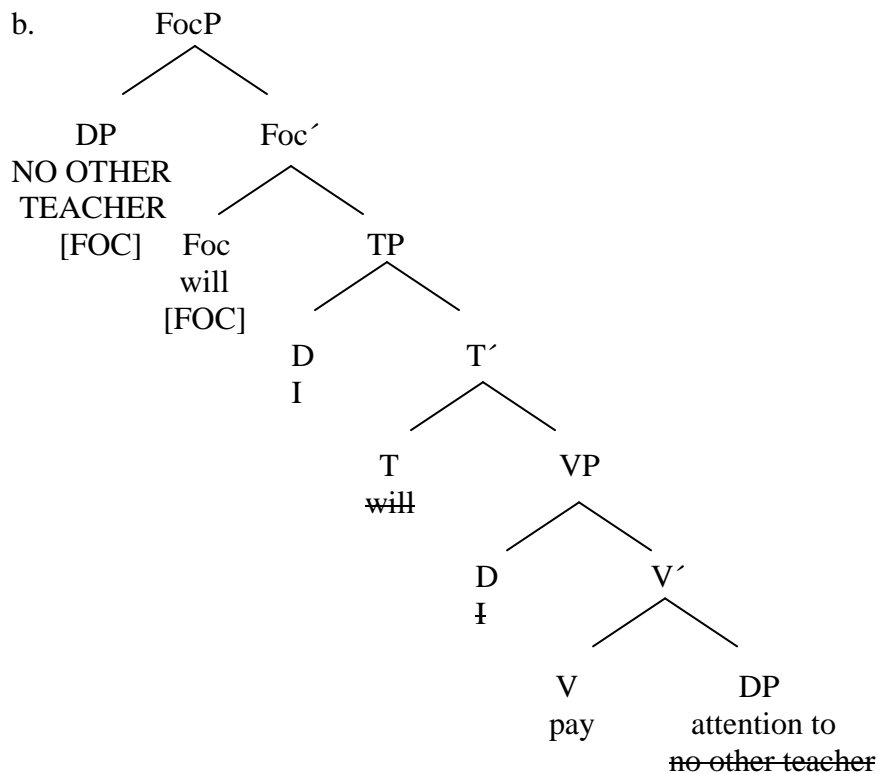
<sup>30</sup> This is a partial derivation since we only consider the features [TOP] and [FOC]. The rest of morphosyntactic features are ignored.



Through a process of Topicalisation the DP *this story* is moved from its original object position to the specifier of a TopP, leaving a trace behind in VP. This movement is triggered by the Top head which attracts an element with the [TOP] feature. Since this CP is a phase, the c-command domain of its head C undergoes transfer to the phonological and semantic components. As a result, this domain is no longer accessible to further syntactic processes.

Regarding Focalisation, we have a similar situation. The focalised element is moved into the left periphery of the clause, into the specifier of a functional projection which is called Focus Phrase. As in the former case, the moved element is in a local relation with the head of the Focus Phrase through the [FOC] feature.

(61) a. NO OTHER TEACHER will I pay attention to. (Jiménez-Fernández, p.c.)



By a process of Focalisation, the focus head carries out the movement of that element in the sentence containing a [FOC] feature. Consequently, the DP object *no other teacher* is moved into the specifier of the Focus Phrase. Since the head Foc is strong, it attracts the auxiliary *will*<sup>31</sup>. Again, according to the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), the domain of this head C (i.e. its TP complement) undergoes transfer to the phonological and semantic components to be assigned an appropriate phonetic and semantic interpretation respectively. As a result, that complement is no longer accessible to further syntactic processes from that point on.

In this connection, Breul (2004: 32) holds that we may have movement of an XP into [Spec, Foc] not only in those cases where fronting is noticeable on the surface as in usual cases like

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<sup>31</sup> A strong head is defined as that head which attracts not only the grammatical information of a sentence constituent, but also the lexical material which shapes it (Radford 2004: 254). Instead, Breul (2004) illustrates the mechanism of deriving various constituent orders on the basis of  $\alpha/\gamma$ -optionality of features. Nevertheless, such an optionality violates the Economy Principle.

- (62) a. Beans he doesn't like.  
b. BEANS<sub>i</sub> he doesn't like ~~beans~~<sub>i</sub>.

but also in cases where fronting is not noticeable on the surface, as in

- (63) a. Peter doesn't like beans.  
b. PETER<sub>i</sub> ~~Peter~~<sub>i</sub> doesn't like.

Breul points out that (62) and (63) are associated with different types of focus structure.

Breul argues that, in languages like English and German, every root clause is either categorial, identificational orthetic. The categorial/identificational/thetic distinction is conceived of as one in terms of focus structure. Each of the three types of focus structure is characterized by a specific property of its syntactic structure. The syntactic aspects of focus structure are summarised in the FocP-hypothesis. More exactly, he considers that for English the assumption that there are two distinct functional phrases TopP and FocP potentially dominating TP is problematic and not well motivated. He proposes alternatively that there is only one FocP dominating TP in categorial and identificational root clauses and that there is no CP. In this way, a categorial sentence has a clause structure in which Foc contains [-foc]. In order for the derivation of the clause to converge, a correspondingly [-foc]-featured XP in the structure of TP has to move to [Spec, FocP] to check its [-foc] against its corresponding [-foc] in the Foc-head. This [-foc]-featured XP is the topic expression in terms of Rizzi (1997). In an identificational sentence a [+foc]-featured XP from the TP, the identificational focus expression, moves to [Spec, FocP] to check its [+foc] against the corresponding [+foc] in the Foc-head. In athetic sentence there is no FocP above TP. At the same time, Breul analyses the relation between the syntactic manifestation of focus structure and the presence of an intonational focus constituent (i-focus). More precisely,

he highlights that at the point of the derivation where a phrase XP is assigned the [+/- foc]-feature, XP has to be licensed as i-focus by F-marking some item contained in it which is capable of F-projecting and thus F-marking XP.

Breul suggests that topic and focus expressions do not target the same structural position universally. More precisely, TopP and FocP being potentially distinct in a language entails that there is a fourth type of focus structure in that language, a type in which there is both a topic expression and an identificational focus expression.

However, we argued in Chapter 1, Section 1.6 that topic and focus differ in a series of aspects, which emphasize a different nature. Hence, Breul's FocP-hypothesis is not valid. Additionally, we have to indicate that Emonds (2004, 2012) proposes the existence of a Discourse Shell, that is, a categorically unspecified projection that may immediately dominate only TPs specified as Discourse Projections. The specifier of this projection is proposed as the landing site for root movements like Focalisation and Topicalisation. More concretely, he claims that a construct of unlabeled Discourse Shells is the best way to analyse the left periphery of root clauses. He uses these Shells in place of certain clausal categories of other authors, i.e., the TopP and FocP phrases of Rizzi (1997) and papers using his framework. In this regard, Emonds' Tense S Constraint holds that any trace of a fronted constituent in a Discourse Projection TP has its closer binder in the first Discourse Shell XP just above TP. As commented in Chapter 1, Section 1.8, discourse constituents undergo movement cyclically through different phases and the head C is a phase. Consequently, we will depart from Rizzi's cartographic approach and adopt an unsplit CP analysis. In this way, in English discourse constituents would move to the specifier of CP.

## 2.8. CP/TP

Crosslinguistic investigations have revealed that languages vary with respect to the systematic properties of syntactic reordering. In some cases, the word order of clauses is not determined by syntactic conditions such as Case or agreement, but rather by structural conditions that are closely related to the thematic role of the arguments of the verb. In fact, languages differ in a number of respects, which highlight a fundamentally different nature.

So, taking into account the Generalized TP analysis of Zubizarreta (1998), we can say that fronted topics in Spanish have [Spec, T] as their landing site. More specifically, Gross & Bok-Bennema (1986), Gutiérrez-Bravo (2007) and Jiménez-Fernández (2010), among others, state that [Spec, T] is a multifunctional position in Spanish, which can be occupied by preverbal subjects, but also by foci, interrogative operators and topics. In this sense, EPP is a purely structural condition that requires some specifier position to be filled, independently of the category or grammatical relation of the constituent that fills it (Branigan 1992, Jonas & Bobaljik 1993, Babyonyshev 1996, Grimshaw 1997, Fernández-Soriano 1999, Chomsky 2000, Holmberg 2005).

Yiddish (as analysed in Diesing 1990 and Santorini 1992) is like Spanish in that subjects, topics, and *wh*-operators all have the specifier of TP as their landing site. Outside the Indo-European family, Finnish, as analysed in Holmberg & Nikanne (2002), is similarly a language where there is an active EPP requirement that is satisfied in the specifier position of TP, and which can be satisfied by both preverbal subjects and fronted topics. Similarly, Jiménez-Fernández & İşsever (2012) claim that subjects, topics and foci undergo movement to the specifier of TP in languages such as Turkish. Following Miyagawa (2005, 2010), in Japanese topic and focus constituents are also

preposed to the specifier of TP. In this connection, addressing the cross-linguistic applicability of the multiple-specifier analysis requires a detailed and careful investigation of each relevant case that will be undertaken in the next chapter.

## 2.9. Concluding remarks

From the preceding considerations we can draw the following specific conclusions:

- We argue for a movement-based analysis, suggesting that topic fronting and CLLD are derived by movement. In the same way, we assume a movement-based analysis for focus fronting in English and Spanish. Evidence for such an analysis comes from factors such as weak-cross-over or intonational break.

- Following the cartographic approach, Topicalisation involves the articulation in topic and comment. Analogously, Focalisation leads us to a division between focus and presupposition. These articulations are realized through the usual process of syntactic representations: the X-bar schema. Taking into account the Economy Principle, Focus and Topic movement should be considered as “last resort”. This type of movement must be triggered by the satisfaction of a specific criterion. This topicalised/focalised element moves to CP in the left periphery of the clause. More specifically, it lands in the specifier of a functional projection called TopP/FocP. So, the moved element is in a Spec-Head relation with the head Top/Foc through the feature [TOP]/[FOC]. Nevertheless, we will depart from Rizzi’s cartographic approach and adopt an unsplit CP analysis. In this way, in English discourse constituents would move to the specifier of CP.

- Languages vary with respect to the systematic properties of syntactic reordering. In some cases, the word order of clauses is not determined by syntactic conditions, but rather by structural conditions related to the thematic role of the arguments of the verb.



In this connection, [Spec, T] is a multifunctional position in Spanish, which can be occupied by preverbal subjects, but also by foci, interrogative operators and topics. Additionally, some languages such as Yiddish or Finnish are like Spanish in that subjects, topics, and *wh*-operators all have the specifier of TP as their landing site.

**3. DISCOURSE MOVEMENT IN SPANISH IS  
ARGUMENTAL AS OPPOSED TO ENGLISH**

### **3.1. Introduction**

A point at issue when dealing with discourse movement is the difference between A-movement and A'-movement, argumental and non-argumental movement. Some linguists like Costa & Figueredo (2006) or Neeleman & van de Koot (2008) try to dissociate the terms syntax and discourse. However, as we will see in this chapter, the properties of a movement determine whether it is argumental or non-argumental. In fact, the difference between the A/A'-positions is traditionally defined by syntactic phenomena such as Case, weak-cross-over (WCO), binding and reconstruction. Movement to an A-position is traditionally considered to be triggered by Case reasons. This is the type of movement in which WCO can be overridden, a binding relation between an antecedent and a variable can be established, and no reconstruction is allowed. Taking into account these features, movement to A'-positions reflects the opposite properties: A'-movement is not triggered by the need for Case. Again, WCO cannot be overridden from an A'-position, binding is impossible from such a position, and all elements moved into an A'-position must undergo radical reconstruction (Saito, 1989).

### **3.2. On the independence relation between syntax and discourse**

Diesing (1992) investigates the relationship between the semantic and syntactic representations of sentences. Specially, following Heim (1982), Diesing proposes that syntactic structure can be split into two parts, VP and TP, which correspond to the nuclear scope and the restrictive clause of the quantificational representation, respectively. This semantic partition of a sentence is achieved by the Mapping Hypothesis. Nevertheless, Costa & Figueredo (2006) assume that there are not categorial mappings between information-structure related categories and syntactic

units. At best, we can find tendencies for placing certain elements with a specific discourse function in certain positions. According to them, if one follows the Mapping Hypothesis, indefinites are supposed to stay VP-internally, whereas definite DPs must appear in the TP-domain. However, this prediction is not right, because we find instances of proper names and definite DPs VP-internally. So, due to the complexity of the data involving information-status, Costa & Figueredo propose that at least three scales must be involved: givenness, definiteness and quantification.

Taking into account this scale, they make two predictions. Firstly, there are some mismatches. For example, a definite DP expressing new information can appear post-verbally, in compliance with the givenness scale. Secondly, this type of non-categorical mapping frees syntactic theory from having to worry about specific information-structure related categories, which are best explained within pragmatics. All that is expected is that there are some tendencies for a correlation between word order and discourse-functions, but, it is not necessary to resort to covert syntactic operations just to ensure that categorial mappings make the right predictions.

In the same line, Neeleman & van de Koot (2008) contradict the idea that discourse elements occur in the specifier of specific functional projections. Instead, they rely on mapping principles that associate syntactic representations with representations in information structure. This proposal is more flexible since we may expect a double dissociation between structure and interpretation. For this reason, they treat movement as an adjunction operation that can in principle target any node in the extended verbal projection. In fact, they state that movement can imply a variety of positions, based on data from Dutch. Regardless of whether the moving phrase is a topic or a focus, it can land in a position between the subject and the indirect object, as in (1), a position between the complementizer and the subject, as in (2), or the first position in main

clauses, as in (3). Additional landing sites are available in sequences containing adverbs, as these are freely ordered in relation to moved topics and foci (Neeleman & van de Koot 2008: 18).

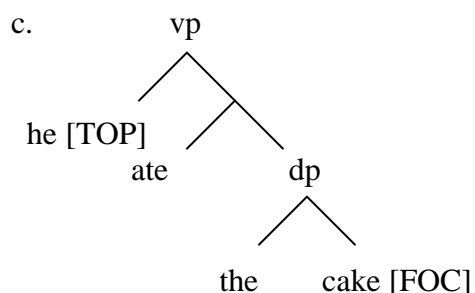
- (1) a. dat Jan [<sub>DP</sub> alleen <sub>DIT</sub> boek] Marie <sub>t<sub>DP</sub></sub> zou geven.  
 that John only this book Mary would give  
 ‘that John would give Mary only this book.’
- b. dat Jan [<sub>DP</sub> zo’n boek], alleen MARIE <sub>t<sub>DP</sub></sub> zou geven.  
 that John such-a book only Mary would give  
 ‘that John would give only Mary such a book.’
- (2) a. dat [<sub>DP</sub> alleen <sub>DIT</sub> boek] Jan Marie <sub>t<sub>DP</sub></sub> zou geven.  
 that only this book John Mary would give  
 ‘that John would give Mary only this book.’
- b. dat [<sub>DP</sub> zo’n boek], alleen JAN Marie <sub>t<sub>DP</sub></sub> zou geven.  
 that such-a book only John Mary would give  
 ‘that only John would give Mary such a book.’
- (3) a. [<sub>DP</sub> Alleen <sub>DIT</sub> boek] zou Jan Marie <sub>t<sub>DP</sub></sub> <sub>t<sub>V</sub></sub> geven.  
 only this book would John Mary give  
 ‘John would give Mary only this book.’
- b. [<sub>DP</sub> Zo’n boek], zou alleen JAN Marie <sub>t<sub>DP</sub></sub> <sub>t<sub>V</sub></sub> geven.  
 such-a book would only John Mary give  
 ‘Only John would give Mary such a book.’

In the examples above, we can see how all positions that allow a topic interpretation also allow an interpretation as focus. Such a situation involves a double dissociation between position and interpretation.

Finally, Erteschik-Shir (2006) argues that the projection of functional phrases is a very problematic alternative. Instead, she suggests that by analogy with  $\phi$ -features, [TOP] and [FOC] features are selected from the lexicon. Unlike  $\phi$ -features, nevertheless, they are not associated with specific categories and are optional. If [TOP]/[FOC] is associated with a head, the feature can optionally percolate upwards on a par with phi-features. In this way, each selection of a lexical item allows an optional assignment of a [TOP]/[FOC] feature. (4b) represents the set of assignments suitable to the discourse in (4a): the subject is assigned [TOP] and the object is assigned [FOC].

Such features percolate to the determiner phrase (dp) with no further percolation possible. (4c) is the merged tree structure, which is called the focus-structure (f-structure) of the sentence (Erteschik-Shir 2006: 34):

- (4) a. Q: What did John eat?  
 A: He ate the cake.
- b. select 'cake' – assign [FOC]  
 select 'the' – no assignment  
 select 'ate' – no assignment  
 select 'he' – assign [TOP]



The question identifies *John* as the topic and forces focus assignment on *cake*. For this reason, the f-structure in (4c) is the only suitable one in the context of this question. In this way, we do not need to stipulate the existence of TopP or FocP. In fact, although in a different way, our proposal is based on discourse features rather than discourse-related dedicated categories.

### 3.3. The A-/A'-properties of topic movement

#### 3.3.1. Evidence for A-movement analysis

Following ideas put forward by Belletti (2004) and Rizzi (1997), topics move to the specifier of specific functional projections in the COMP-system. Other linguists like Grewendorf & Sabel (1999) state that topic constituents move to the specifier of TP. As noted already, taking into account the properties of discourse movement, we can know whether the moved element has undergone A/A'-movement. Let us first consider

binding facts. In this case, an item can move from its original position in the sentence to another one from where it is able to bind a specific anaphor. It implies that the lexical item under study would have carried out an argumental movement to [Spec, T]. Let us consider the following sentence from Ordóñez (1998: 318):

- (5) a. \*¿Qué le regaló su<sub>i</sub> amigo [a cada niño]<sub>i</sub> para su cumpleaños?  
 what CL buy-PAST-3SG [his friend] (S) [for each boy] (IO) for his birthday  
 b. ¿Qué le regaló [a cada niño]<sub>i</sub> su<sub>i</sub> amigo para su cumpleaños?  
 what CL buy-PAST-3SG [for each boy] (IO) [his friend] (S) for his birthday  
 ‘What did his friend buy for each boy for his birthday?’

Initially, the anaphor *su* is not properly c-commanded so that the sentence is ungrammatical. Once the PP *a cada niño* has been moved, we have a proper relation between the anaphor and its antecedent. This situation leads us to talk about an argumental movement where the quantifier *a cada niño* has landed in [Spec, T].

Reconstruction effects pattern with anaphor binding. As Chomsky (1993) suggests, in order not to violate conditions (A) and (C) of Binding Theory A'-movement permits reconstruction of the moved element to its original position. Conversely, A-movement does not allow such an operation. It means that in the latter case, binding relations between anaphors and antecedents have changed. Let us analyze the following sentence:

- (6) a. \*Su<sub>i</sub> madre presentó (a) [cada niño]<sub>i</sub> (Ordóñez 1998: 319)  
 his mother (S) introduce-PAST-3SG [each boy] (DO)  
 ‘His mother introduced each boy.’

Although the anaphor *su* should be c-commanded by the PP *a cada niño*, it cannot return to its original position in the sentence. Since the preposed anaphor cannot be bound by its antecedent in its local domain, condition (A) of the Binding Theory is violated. In the same way, condition (C) of Binding Theory is not respected because the

referential expression *a cada niño* is bound. This situation leads us to think that the anaphor has undergone A-movement. Observe that the binding relation between the anaphor and its antecedent has changed after the movement of *su* to the beginning of the sentence. This movement has made the sentence ungrammatical.

Nevertheless, reconstruction effects are obtained in some cases, which is indicative of A'-movement. If the relationship between binder and bindee is reversed no asymmetry is established; i.e., binding is possible with both orderings, as can be seen in (7) from Jiménez-Fernández (p.c.)<sup>32</sup>:

- (7) a. Ángela<sub>i</sub> puso su<sub>i</sub> chaqueta en el armario.  
 Ángela put-PAST-3SG her jacket in the closet
- b. [Su<sub>i</sub> chaqueta]<sub>j</sub> la puso Ángela<sub>i</sub> en el armario [~~su<sub>i</sub> chaqueta~~]<sub>j</sub>.  
 her jacket CL put-PAST-3SG Ángela in the closet  
 'Ángela put her jacket in the closet.'

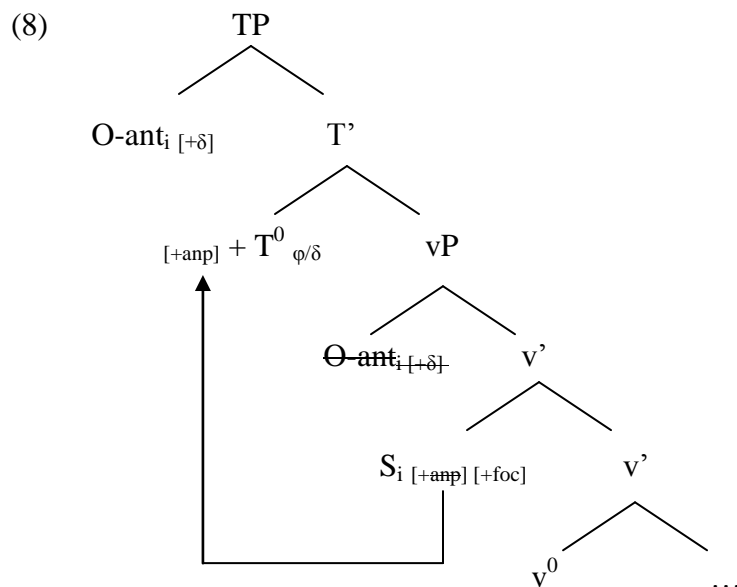
The solution proposed by Jiménez-Fernández & İşsever (2012) is based on the (LF-)adjunction of anaphoric/pronominal features to functional heads, namely  $v^0$  and  $T^0$ . In line with Kural (1992), Zubizarreta (1998), Lahousse (2009) and Williams (2009), they state that the interaction of focus and binding is fundamental to predict the interpretive properties of displaced constituents.

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<sup>32</sup> Although the classical approach to this phenomenon suggests that topic movement can target both [Spec, T] and [Spec, C] in a language (Mahajan 1990; Miyagawa 2003; among others), A- and A'-positions respectively, there are also studies proposing a unified approach to A/A' distinction. According to Chomsky's (1993, and subsequent work) 'copy theory of movement', Saito (2003) suggests that movement can be accounted for as a uniform operation, which is based on the selectional interpretation of lexical features. Following such an approach, all cases of movement are to a position where A-binding is possible. He also claims that movement is subject to reconstruction. Reconstruction from an A-position, however, contradicts much of the proposals previously made. Saito nevertheless claims that this problem can be solved under the copy theory of movement. In this way, each copy in a copy chain is interpreted derivationally. More concretely, all features of an item undergoing movement are copied into the next target position in the derivation and later deletion applies on the relevant copy. Nevertheless, the fact that some types of A-movement undergo LF-reconstruction cannot be taken as evidence for a uniform movement-analysis.

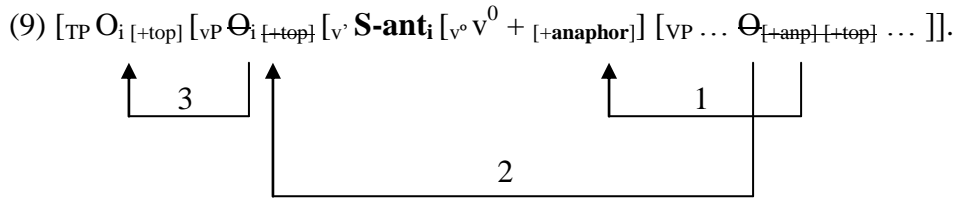


As we will see in Section 3.4, in line with Chomsky (1998) and Miyagawa (2005, 2010), Jiménez-Fernández (2009, 2010) argues for a three-fold classification of languages based on feature inheritance. In this system, languages are parameterized as to which features of C, agreement-( $\varphi$ ) and/or discourse-features ( $\delta$ ), are inherited by T. In particular, if topics move to [Spec, T], the A-properties are fully expected. Observe the derivation of (5b), depicted in (8), where the topicalised antecedent object can bind the anaphoric feature in  $T^0$  associated with the in situ subject. Note that the first instance of object movement to the outer specifier of  $v^0$  is forced by p-movement (Zubizarreta 1998) so that focus is assigned to the subject (Jiménez-Fernández & İşsever's (2012: 2)):



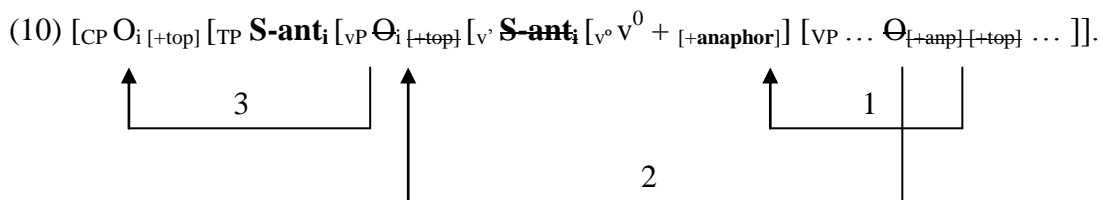
At the same time, Jiménez-Fernández & İşsever (2012: 2) state that A'-properties are also possible when the antecedent is a defocused subject as shown in (7a-b). In the first step in (9), the anaphoric feature of the object anaphor adjoins to  $v^0$  since it is the next higher functional head to which this feature can adjoin. This is followed by p-movement of the object to the outer specifier of  $v^0$  in Step 2. Hence, the binding relation between the antecedent subject and the anaphoric feature in  $v^0$  is established in

the vP domain. The subsequent movement of the object anaphor to [Spec, T] in Step 3 is drawn by its need to check its topic feature and does not alter the binding relations already established in vP.



Summarizing, this type of movement allows an anaphor to be c-commanded by its antecedent in its local domain. Besides, the variation between examples without reconstruction and examples with reconstruction reduces to a single difference: the stage in the derivation at which binding conditions are satisfied. In other words, binding interpretations can be established either in the CP phase or in the vP phase depending on which category the anaphoric feature is attached to.

Interestingly, Jiménez-Fernández & İşsever's analysis is also applicable to English as well. However, discourse movement in English is best explained in terms of A'-movement. According to Gutiérrez-Bravo (2007), in English the priority is that the subject receives nominative case in [Spec, T]. Hence, the EPP is always satisfied by the subject. In other words, the specifier of TP is not an available landing site for discourse constituents, and therefore, topic constituents must move to CP.



### 3.3.2. Evidence for A'-movement analysis

As we saw in section one, discourse movement can also be non-argumental. According to Zagona (2002), discourse elements can move to the left periphery of the clause through A'-movement. As stated in the former subsection, there are clear-cut characteristics which define this type of movement. First, when an element moves to CP, it can reconstruct for the purposes of binding. As a result, the moved element does not violate either the (A) or (C) conditions of Binding Theory. This is confirmed by (11):

(11) Him<sub>i</sub> friends of John<sub>i</sub> introduced ~~him~~<sub>i</sub> to Mary. (Bailyn 2003: 162)

In (11), binding is fully acceptable since the preposed item can reconstruct to its base position. In this way, *him* can be bound by its antecedent and at the same time the referential noun *John* is not bound. This situation provides evidence to suggest that the preposed element has carried out A'-movement.

Besides, parasitic gaps is normally taken to be a diagnostic of A'-movement. Parasitic gaps involve an invisible formative which did nothing but license otherwise illicit movement steps or selection relations. In this sense, parasitic gaps are licensed only by A'-movement, if the trace (*t*) does not c-command the parasitic gap (*e*) and the A'-moved element c-commands the parasitic gap as well as its trace. Let us consider the following example (adapted from Alexopoulou & Kolliakou 2002: 205):

(12) The paper we filed *t* before we could sign *e*.

In (12), the gap is parasitic on the trace of the DP *the paper* and the sentence is grammatical because the DP-trace does not c-command the parasitic gap. In other

words, if the fronted element *the paper* can license a parasitic gap then it must have undergone A'-movement (movement to a “non-argumental” position).

Basically, discourse movement can allow reconstruction in order not to violate the conditions (A) and (C) of Binding Theory. Moreover, parasitic gap licensing is possible in English. Hence, these arguments highlight the idea that discourse movement can also be non-argumental.

As mentioned in the previous section, A'-properties in Spanish can be derived by assuming Jiménez-Fernández & İşsever's (2012) analysis. In other words, if binding interpretations are established in the CP phase, A'-properties are fully expected. Nevertheless, in the following section we will see that discourse movement in Spanish is of an argumental nature.

### **3.4. Is Focus A- or A'-movement? A feature-based analysis**

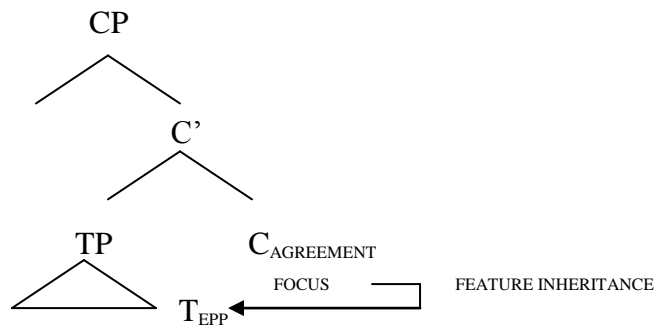
As commented in Chapter 2, Section 2.7, crosslinguistic investigations have revealed that languages vary with respect to the systematic properties of syntactic reordering. This section analyses how focus-related/agreement features interact with the EPP feature in the process of Agree in the Minimalist Program. Chomsky (2001, 2006, 2008) holds that uninterpretable features enter the derivation in phasal heads and by a process of feature inheritance, they are lowered onto the next head. This lowering process only affects  $\phi$ -features. However, Miyagawa (2005) assumes that the phasal head C has both agreement and focus-related features. In this connection, he states that Focus and agreement are commonly thought to be located on different heads: the focus element is on the FocP in the region of C and agreement on T. Nevertheless, in accordance with Chomsky (2001), agreement is associated with a higher head than T, that is, C. Let us observe the following example (from Miyagawa 2005: 5):

- (13) a.  $[[e_i \text{ ge}\check{c}een \text{ yaz} \quad \text{ada-da} \quad \text{ben-i} \text{ g}\ddot{o}r\text{-en}] \text{ ki}\check{s} \text{ i-ler}_i]$   
 last summer island-Loc I-ACC see-(y)An person-PL  
 ‘the people who saw me on the island last summer.’
- b.  $[[pro \text{ ge}\check{c}en \text{ yaz} \quad \text{ada-da} \quad e_i \text{ g}\ddot{o}r\text{-d}\ddot{u}\check{g}\text{-}\ddot{u}m] \text{ ki}\check{s} \text{ i-ler}_i]$   
 last summer island-Loc see-DIK-1SG person-PL  
 ‘the people who(m) I saw on the island last summer.’

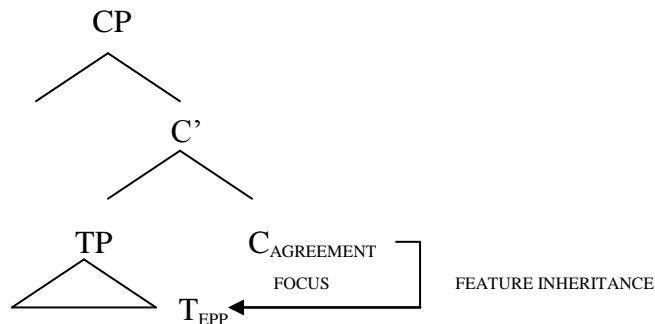
In (13), the agreement initially appears on C and gets copied onto T, as seen in (13b) above. If the subject appears in [Spec, C], however, the agreement on C takes this subject, and the agreement is not inherited by T. This is what we see in (13a).

Taking into account that the EPP is on T, we have the syntactic representations below:

(14) Focus



(15) Agreement



As it turns out, the focus/agreement feature works in conjunction with EPP in order to value the relevant uninterpretable features and to move the category agreed with.

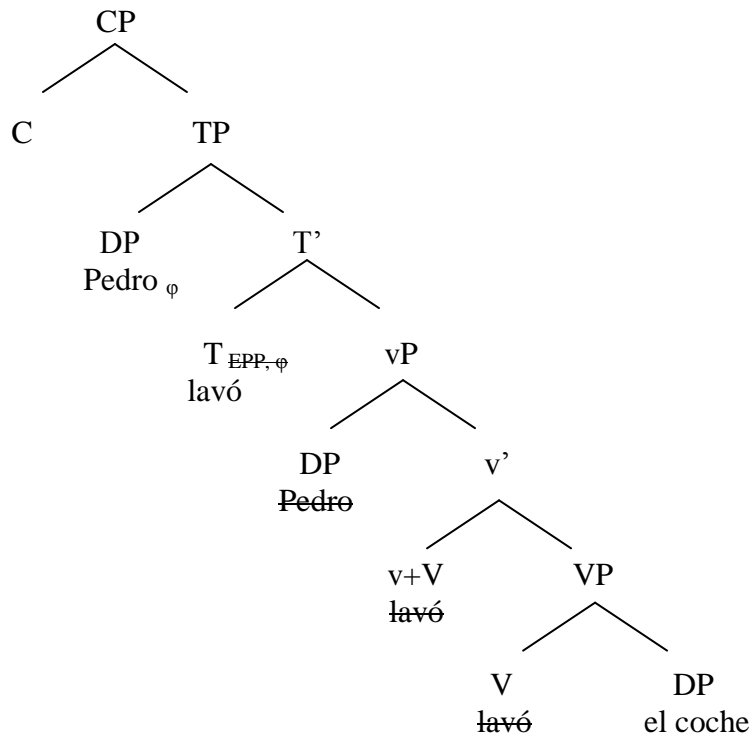
In this connection, Miyagawa (2005, 2010) sees focus and agreement as constituting the two polarities of a parametric variation<sup>33</sup>. Consequently, a language can be classified according to whether it is focus or agreement prominent. For instance, he states that Japanese is a focus prominent language since it does not have any over agreement. However, drawing on Chomsky's (2001) Uniformity Principle, all languages instantiate both features in some way, although they differ in the specific type of feature that they highlight. In fact, Jiménez-Fernández (2008, 2010) holds that Spanish can be considered as agreement and focus prominent. Firstly, Spanish overtly marks subject/verb concord. As a result, the subject moves to the specifier of TP and the verb into T; these movements result in an SVO word order, as illustrated in (16):

- (16) Pedro lavó el coche.  
Pedro wash-PAST-3SG the car  
'Pedro washed the car.'

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<sup>33</sup> Miyagawa's analysis is an extension to Kuroda's (1988) work. He holds that some languages such as Japanese differ from English due to the lack of 'forced agreement'.

(17)

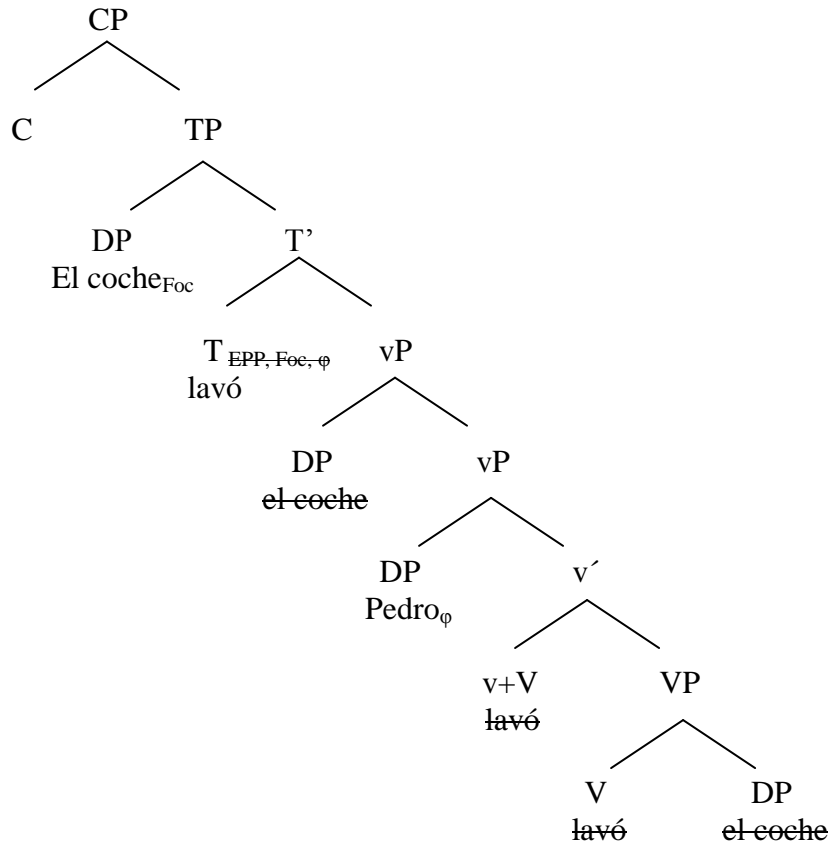


As we have already seen, T has an EPP, which in combination with the  $\varphi$ -features inherited from C, attracts the subject. Thus, we can conclude that Spanish is an agreement prominent language. Secondly, as discussed in length by Jiménez-Fernández (2008, 2010), Spanish is a free word order language since sentence constituents can appear in many different positions. Such a situation implies that phrases other than the subject DP can satisfy the EPP. In this sense, Gutiérrez- Bravo (2007), Holmberg (2005) and Grimshaw (1997) suggest that the EPP is a purely syntactic restriction that requires some specifier position to be filled, regardless of the grammatical relation of the element that fills it. Accordingly, if the subject agrees with the verb and does not undergo movement, something else moves into the specifier of TP. In fact, as commented in Section 3.2, all positions that allow a topic interpretation also allow an interpretation as focus. Such a situation involves a double dissociation between position and interpretation. Notwithstanding, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, Section 1.2, we have to analyze the context in which the varying orders are felicitous. Depending on the

context, only some orders are acceptable. Indeed, grammatical rules about discourse movement have been developed to explain this contextual dependency. To put it explicitly, the derivation of (18) is provided in (19):

(18) EL COCHE lavó Pedro (no la bicicleta).

(19)



In (19), we have an identificationaly focused sentence where the DP *el coche* has entered the Numeration with an interpretable [FOC] feature. The EPP of T in conjunction with the unspecified unvalued discourse feature inherited from C probes the suitable goal *el coche*. In this case, the [FOC] feature of T is valued through the operation of Agree. Such a feature is deleted in the process of Transfer since this is uninterpretable.

Some properties corroborate this analysis. Let us begin with the binding theory. In this sense, note that if focus elements can be preposed to an A-position then we



expect them to be able to serve as antecedents to a reflexive in subject position. This prediction is borne out by (20) and (21) below:

(20) \*Su<sub>i</sub> hijo echó a Juan<sub>i</sub> de la casa  
 his son throw out-PAST-3SG to Juan of the house  
 ‘His son threw Juan out of the house.’

(21) A JUAN<sub>i</sub> echó su<sub>i</sub> hijo de la casa (no a Pedro).  
 to Juan throw out-PAST-3SG his son of the house not to Pedro (=25)

Reflexive binding in (21) can only be possible if the focus element *a Juan* is in an A-position. Therefore, we can say that focus movement is argumental.

A further diagnostic commonly used to determine whether movement is argumental or non-argumental relates to the phenomenon of weak-cross-over. According to Mahajan (1990), ‘to be construed as a bound variable, a pronoun must be c-commanded by a binder and its variable’. More concretely, a pronoun that is not c-commanded by a binder at s-structure cannot be construed as a bound variable. Consider the following example:

(22) A PEDRO<sub>i</sub> vio su<sub>i</sub> madre (no a Juan)<sup>34</sup>.  
 to Pedro see-PAST-3SG his mother not to Juan  
 ‘To Pedro, his mother saw (not to Juan).’

In (22), we do not get WCO effects since the focus element *a Pedro* c-commands the pronoun *his* at s-structure. Hence, it is obvious that focus movement is an A-movement.

In addition, certain properties of parasitic gap constructions corroborate our claim that focus movement in Spanish is of an A-nature. As discussed in Section 3.3.2, parasitic gaps are licensed only by A'-movement, if the trace does not c-command the

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<sup>34</sup> This example was accepted by eight out of our ten informants with the intended focus interpretation.

parasitic gap and the A'-moved element c-commands the parasitic gap as well as its trace. Let us analyze the example below:

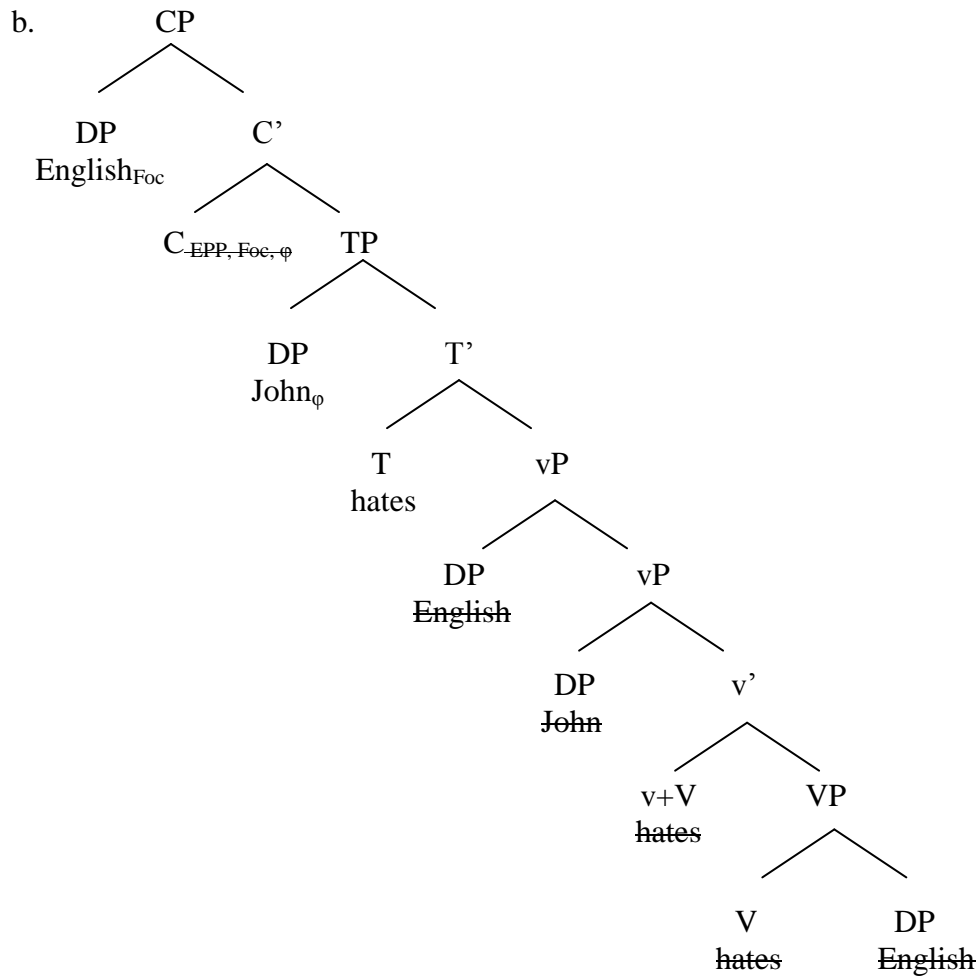
(23) \*MANZANAS han traído (no peras) sin tan siquiera probar.  
apples have-PERF-3PL brought not pears without tasting  
'Apples, they have brought (not pears) without tasting.'

If the focused element cannot license a parasitic gap then it must be in an argumental position. Thus, (23) is compatible with our claim that focus movement in Spanish is always A-movement.

So far, it seems that Spanish is a focus-prominent language. Therefore, we may implement Miyagawa's (2005, 2010) classification. Because of the subject-verb concord, Spanish is an agreement-prominent language. In addition, due to informational movement, Spanish is also a focus-prominent language, as Jiménez-Fernández (2010, 2011) has independently argued.

Dealing with English, the situation is quite different. As we said in Chapter 1, Section 1.4, contrastive focus does not behave in the same way in English and Spanish. Indeed, Miyagawa (2005, 2010) holds that English only gives prominence to agreement features, which spread into T. Consequently, this language has a relatively strict word order. As already mentioned, in English the priority is that the subject receives nominative case in [Spec, T]. Hence, the EPP is always satisfied by the subject. Thus, the specifier of TP is not an available landing site for discourse constituents, that is, foci have to move to CP since focus features are not lowered from C to T:

(24) a. ENGLISH John hates (not biology).



In (24), we can see how the specifier of TP is occupied by the subject *John* and therefore, discourse features remain in the head C, that is, they are not inherited by T. As a consequence, the DP *English* has to move to the specifier of CP. This circumstance explains the fixed word order of the English clause. At the same time, according to the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), the domain of the head C (i.e. its TP complement) is sent to the phonological and semantic components through a process of transfer. Hence, this complement is not accessible to further syntactic processes.

In fact, there are some facts that corroborate our hypothesis for English. Let us begin concentrating on some remarks on weak-cross-over (Mahajan 1990: 22):

(25) \*PETER<sub>i</sub> his<sub>i</sub> mother saw Peter<sub>i</sub> (not John).

In (25), neither *Peter<sub>i</sub>* nor ~~*Peter<sub>i</sub>*~~ can bind *his<sub>i</sub>*. More specifically, the focused element *Peter* does c-command the pronoun but its variable does not. As a result, the sentence is ungrammatical. This situation makes us think that focus movement in English is of an A'-nature.

Some very strong evidence for the proposal that focus movement in English is to an A'-position comes from reflexive binding facts. In this sense, we expect that this type of movement does not affect the reflexive binding possibilities in a sentence as (26). That this possibility is actually realized is shown by (26b) below in which a focalised element is moved to the left of a reflexive (Mahajan 1990: 44):

- (26) a. \*His sister thought that Ram saw Mohan.  
b. \*MOHAN<sub>i</sub> his<sub>i</sub> sister thought that Ram saw (not Peter).

In (26b), we can see how the displaced element fails to serve as an antecedent of the reflexive in the matrix clause. Again, such a situation makes us think that focus movement is of an A'-nature.

The following sentence illustrates a parasitic gap construction in English (Alexopoulou & Kolliakou 2002: 205):

- (27) YANI they fired (not John) without warning.

If the fronted DO can license a parasitic gap then it must be in a non-argumental position. Consequently, we demonstrate our hypothesis which is based on the idea that focus movement is A'.

So far, we have seen that focus elements behave in a different way and have a different location in English and Spanish.

### 3.5. Concluding remarks

From the preceding considerations we can draw the following specific conclusions:

- Some authors contradict the idea that discourse elements occur in the specifier of specific functional projections. At best, we can find tendencies for placing certain elements with a specific discourse function in certain positions. This proposal is more flexible since we may expect a double dissociation between structure and interpretation. In fact, they state that all positions that allow a topic interpretation also allow an interpretation as focus.

- This study has shown that the A/A'-contrast observed in discourse movement can be accounted for in a precise way by taking into account certain facts. On the one hand, discourse movement can be argumental. In this case, an anaphor can be c-commanded by its antecedent in its local domain. Besides, the variation between examples without reconstruction and examples with reconstruction reduces to the stage in the derivation at which binding conditions are satisfied. However, such an analysis is not plausible in English since the priority is that the subject receives nominative case in [Spec, T]. On the other hand, discourse movement can also be non-argumental. Here, the moved element can reconstruct in order not to violate the conditions (A) and (C) of Binding Theory. Moreover, parasitic gap licensing is possible in English.

- Discourse/agreement features interact with the EPP feature in the process of Agree in the Minimalist Program. In this sense, some linguists such as Miyagawa (2005, 2010) see discourse and agreement as constituting the two polarities of a parametric variation.

Consequently, a language can be classified according to whether it is discourse or agreement-prominent. However, as discussed in length by Jiménez-Fernández (2008, 2010), such a prediction is not right. Because of the subject-verb concord, Spanish is an agreement-prominent language. In addition, due to informational movement, Spanish is also a discourse-prominent language. In this sense, the EPP is a purely syntactic restriction that requires some specifier position to be filled, regardless of the grammatical relation of the element that fills it. Accordingly, focus elements can satisfy the EPP in the specifier of TP in the same way that the subject does it. Meanwhile, English only gives prominence to agreement features, which spread into T. Consequently, it has a relatively strict word order. In this case, the priority is that the subject receives nominative case in [Spec, T]. Thus, the specifier of TP is not an available landing site for discourse constituents, that is, topics and foci have to move to CP since focus features are not lowered from C to T.

## **4. MAIN CLAUSE PHENOMENA**

## 4.1. Introduction

Once we have defined the argumental/non-argumental nature of discourse movement, we are going to analyse the differences between English and Spanish with respect to the application of the operations of Topicalisation and Focalisation in main clauses and its possible extension to subordinate contexts. With this in mind, we will analyse pioneering works on factivity (Hooper & Thompson 1973), which claim that English Topicalisation and Focalisation are possible in the complement clauses of non-factive predicates and of the semantic class of the main predicate:<sup>35</sup>

- (1) I exclaimed that NEVER IN MY LIFE had I seen such a crowd. (A) (H&T (43))
- (2) I think that this book he read thoroughly. (B)
- (3) I found out that NEVER BEFORE had he had to borrow money. (E) (H&T (119))
- (4) \*It's likely that SELDOM did he drive that car. (C) (H&T (96))
- (5) \*He was surprised that NEVER IN MY LIFE had I seen a hippopotamus. (D) (H&T (103))

These differences are studied by Haegeman & Ürögdi (2010). They propose that factive complements are derived via leftward movement of a TP-internal clause-typing operator to the left periphery of the clause. Under this analysis their incompatibility with Topicalisation and Focalisation will be due to intervention. At the same time, Jiménez-Fernández & Miyagawa (forthcoming) suggest that such complement clauses are compatible with CLLD in Spanish –illustrated in (6b)– and Jiménez-Fernández & Camacho-Taboada (2014) argue that Spanish focus fronting is also compatible with all

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<sup>35</sup> In some cases, discourse movement is unacceptable in the complement clauses of non-factive predicates. As we will observe in Section 4.4.5, this is predicted if we assume Miyagawa's idea that English is an agreement-prominent language, since in that case discourse is not so frequently reflected in the syntax of the language. On the contrary, Spanish is a discourse-prominent language, and therefore, it is less restrictive than English. Additionally, in Section 4.4.5, we will suggest that the complement of non-factive predicates may be asserted or non-asserted. In this way, the absence of assertion would explain why non-factive verbs may not be compatible with focus/topic fronting.



types of subordinate clauses, regardless of the class of matrix predicate, as shown in

(6a):

- (6) a. Es probable que SOLO ALGUNA VEZ haya conducido  
be-PRES-3SG probable that only sometimes have-PERF-3SG driven  
Juan ese coche. (Class C)  
Juan that car  
'It is probable that Juan has driven that car only sometimes.'
- b. Ángela estaba sorprendida de que los regalos los hubieran  
Angela be-PAST-3SG surprised that the prizes CL have-PAST-PERF-3PL  
dejado los Reyes Magos debajo del árbol. (Class D)  
left the Reyes Magos under the tree  
'Angela was surprised that the Reyes Magos had left the prizes under the tree.'

The purpose of our study is to find out the reasons that explain this parametric variation in light of the different syntactic positions that the languages use for the topic and focus elements.

## 4.2. Factive clauses and discourse movement

The notion of factivity is normally defined in terms of the truth value of the propositions expressed by sentential complements. Factive verbs are thus identified on the basis of the behaviour of their declarative *that*-clause complements. More concretely, as originally noted by Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1970), factive predicates are distinguished from non-factives in that the former presuppose the truth of their complement clause while the latter do not.

Since Emond's (1970) dissertation, it has been acknowledged that the so called Main Clause Phenomena (MCP) are restricted to occurring in root clauses and a limited subset of subordinate clauses. In this sense, following Hooper & Thompson (1973), we might think that factive clauses lack a left periphery 'space' entirely, but this option is problematic since factive clauses are compatible with adjuncts appearing to the left of

the subject. In (7a), *last week* precedes the canonical subject position. If, as proposed by, among others, Rizzi (1997), Aboh (2004), and Endo (2007), fronted adjuncts are topicalised, then (7a) implies that factive clauses are compatible with a Topicalisation, yielding the question why (7b) is not grammatical (Maki *et al.* 1999: 3):

- (7) a. John regrets that last week Mary did not turn up for the lecture.  
 b. \*John regrets that this book Mary read.

Further support for the hypothesis that factive clauses do have a left peripheral space comes from the Romance languages, in which CLLD, which is also commonly considered to be associated with a left peripheral topic projection (Rizzi 1997), is available in factive clauses. This is traced back to Cinque (1990):

- (8) Es                    extraño que este problema    no hayan                    sido capaces de  
 be-PRES-3SG strange that this problem    haven't-PERF-3PL been able to  
 resolverlo            los estudiantes.  
 resolve-INF-CL the students  
 'It's strange that the students haven't been able to resolve this problem.'

In the same direction and within cartography, Haegeman (2003, 2006) suggests that subordinate clauses have a truncated structure since Force does not project and for this reason Topic and Focus do not project either. However, this account is not uncontroversial. In fact, imperatives, which are said to be associated with illocutionary force, do not allow Topicalisation in English (Haegeman 2010: 6):

- (9) Your essay leave \*(it) in my pigeon hole this afternoon.

As an alternative, in Chapter 1, Section 1.4, we anticipated that for Hooper & Thompson (1973) MCP depend on assertion. Assertion is a property of declarative root clauses; in order to be compatible with MCP, embedded clauses must be asserted, i.e.,

non-presupposed. Nevertheless, it is assumed that complements of factive predicates resist MCP in English so we would have to assume that they are not assertive in the relevant sense. But Zubizarreta (2001: 201) comments ‘it is likely that factive predicates, which presuppose the truth of their propositional complement, contain an Ass(ertion) operator in its CP.’ Therefore, this account is not valid.

Meanwhile, Breul (2004) emphasizes that the generation of MCP in subordinate contexts is syntactically free, but constrained by purely pragmatic principles acting as filters on the syntactic output. Thus, while it is syntactically possible to generate a FocP in any embedded clause, a FocP should be generated only if the embedded clause actually does manifest focus structure. Though pragmatic factors may influence on the availability of discourse categories, we are going to stick to a syntax-based explanation. As we will see in next section, intervention effects play a crucial role.

### 4.3. Intervention effects

A movement analysis of factive clauses allows us to analyse the incompatibility of MCP with factivity in terms of an intervention effect. More specifically, Munsat (1986) argues that factive clauses contain an event operator that moves to C (see also Melvold 1986, 1991; Hegarty 1992; Watanabe 1993, 1996; Roussou 1994; Bianchi 2000; Zubizarreta 2001; Hiraiwa 2010; among many others). Using a previous proposal in Haegeman (2007), Haegeman & Ürögdi (2010) argue that this operator movement is what causes an intervention effect in factive clauses, leading to blocking of MCP. As we can see in (10) (Haegeman & Ürögdi 2010: 128):

(10) [CP OP<sub>i</sub> ... [FP t<sub>i</sub> [TP V... ]]]

This operator movement to [Spec, C] blocks anything else from moving to this position. As a matter of fact, we will support this general approach of using syntactic intervention to account for the absence of MCP in factive clauses.

The question arises as to whether there is any independent evidence for the movement derivation of factive complements. Suggestive empirical support comes from languages in which factive complement clauses look superficially similar to relative clauses. So, for example, Collins (1994) and Aboh (2005) discuss the derivation of factive complements in Gungbe. As shown in (11) the internal syntax of complements of factive predicates is similar –though not identical– to that of relative clauses. (11a), from (Aboh 2005: 266, (4)), illustrates relative clause formation; (11b) from (Aboh 2005: 266, (2c)), illustrates a clausal complement of a factive predicate. Observe crucially that the same relative determiner *dě* is instantiated. (11c) (Aboh 2005: 279, (29a)) is a variant of (11b): rather than instantiating relativization through the movement of a DP, relativization is achieved through V-fronting, coupled with doubling of the verb:

- (11) a. [Àgásá dàxó lè lɛ [dě mí wlé] ] vɛ ná Kòfi  
 crab big Det Num that[REL] 1PL catch-PAST-1PL hurt-PAST-3SG for Kofi  
 ‘The fact that we caught the aforementioned big crabs hurt Kofi.’  
 \*‘The aforementioned big crabs that we caught hurt Kofi.’
- b. Kòfi vɛ xò [àgásá dàxó [dě mí wlé] lè lɛ ]  
 Kofi FOC buy-PAST-3SG crab big that[REL] 1PL catch-PAST-1PL Det Num  
 ‘Kofi bought the (aforementioned) big crabs that we caught.’
- c. [Wlé [dě mí wlé àgásá dàxó lè lɛ]]  
 catch-PAST-1PL that[REL] 1PL catch-PAST-1PL crab big Det Num  
 vɛ ná Kòfi  
 hurt-PAST-3SG for Kofi  
 ‘The fact that we CAUGHT the (aforementioned) big crabs for Kofi.’

In this respect, Edmonds (1976: 40) writes: ‘there is evidence that all the root transformations that front phrasal constituents without inducing comma intonation are

substitutions for the sentence-initial COMP node'. In this way, if factive clauses are derived by operator movement to COMP, then they are predicted to be incompatible with MCP that also imply movement to COMP since the fronted operator in COMP will preclude any additional movement.

At the same time, in an articulated CP along the lines of Rizzi (1997) the impossibility of various fronting operations to the left periphery can no longer be derived by the fact that there is only one landing site available. Instead, it must be related to intervention effects related to multiple movements.

#### **4.3.1. Embedded Topicalisation and Focalisation in English**

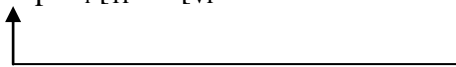
In the literature it has often been observed that English Topicalisation is not compatible with factivity. In other words, factive complements are expected to resist Topicalisation, while non-factive complements admit it. Let us observe the following examples:

- (12) a. The researcher explained that each part he had examined very carefully.  
(adapted from Hooper & Thompson 1973:474)
- b. \*Peter resents that this book John read. (adapted from Maki *et al* 1999: 3)

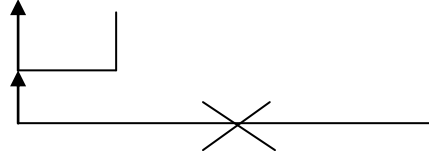
A movement analysis of factive clauses allows us to analyse this restriction in terms of an intervention effect. As already mentioned, in English the priority is that the subject receives nominative case in [Spec, T]. Thus, the specifier of TP is not an available landing site for discourse constituents. Instead, we suggest that topics and foci have to move to CP since focus features are not lowered from C to T. Recall that English is an agreement-prominent language. Furthermore, as we said in Chapter 1, CP is a phase and the domain of the head of a phase is spelled out at the end of a phase. Thus, the TP in the embedded clause, which is the complement of the embedded CP, is sent to the

phonological and semantic components at that point. Consequently, this language has a relatively strict word order. To be more precise, in (12a), there is no operator, and consequently, the topic element *each part* can move freely to [Spec, C]. On the contrary, in (12b), since the factive operator targets CP, it will block topic fronting, which also lands in CP. In this case, the topic constituent *this book* would have to move across the factive operator. The result would be ill formed:

(13) a. [<sub>CP</sub> each part<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> he [<sub>VP</sub> had examined ~~each part<sub>i</sub>~~ very carefully]]]].



b. [<sub>CP</sub> OP<sub>i</sub> [<sub>FP</sub> OP<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> John [<sub>VP</sub> read this book]]]]].



However, Bianchi & Frascarelli (2010) observe that not all factive clauses are incompatible with argument fronting, casting doubt on the validity of the canonical judgements shown in (12b). In this connection, Haegeman & Ürögdi (2010) argue that the received judgements in (12b) do arise in a neutral context, non-contrastive context, while potential counterexamples require specific contexts and the very presence of such contexts creates the necessary licensing conditions. As a matter of fact, examples like (14) pose a potential problem for the canonized pattern:

(14) a. His parents resented that the maths exam he had not passed, and the biology exam he had not even taken. (Haegeman & Ürögdi 2010: 130)

b. The entire office resented that Bill she had fired, and John she had decided to promote. (Haegeman & Ürögdi 2010: 130)

Observe that both examples involve a contrast between two events. In (14a) the entire event of ‘not passing the maths exam’ must be contrasted with another event (in this case, ‘not even taking the biology exam’) and in (14b) ‘firing Tom’ is contrasted with

‘promoting John’. We think that this is not a coincidence, as the contrast on the events is required for the examples to be felicitous. By virtue of being contrasted with another event, such an event is now part of a reference set and is thus D-linked in a way that it is not in the unmarked case. In other words, the contrast is actually not encoded on the fronted argument itself but rather on the event and – by virtue of the movement of the factive operator to CP – on the entire clause.

While the relation between Topicalisation and factive clauses has received considerable attention in the generative literature, the compatibility of Focalisation with factivity has not been examined in such a great detail. Interestingly, we must note that in English focus movement is permitted with non-factive verbs (15a) but not with factives (15b).

(15) a. We are sure that MEDICINE Peter will study next year (not psychology).

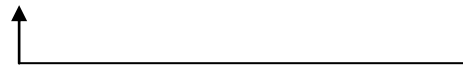
b. \*I am surprised that MATHS John has passed (not chemistry).

In (15), the DPs *Peter* and *John* undergo movement to [Spec, T]. In this way, these DPs receive nominative case. Therefore, we claim that foci move to CP since focus features are not lowered from C to T in English. Later, following the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), since this CP is a phase, the c-command domain of its head C undergoes transfer to the phonological and semantic components. As a result, this domain is no longer accessible to further syntactic processes. More explicitly, in (15a), there is no operator, and therefore, the focus element *medicine* can move to CP. In (15b), however, we can see how the focus element *Maths* gives rise to intervention effects. More concretely, this clause is derived via operator movement into [Spec, C], which accounts for the incompatibility of Focalisation and factive clauses in terms of intervention effects. In particular, since the factive operator is hosted by CP, it will block focus fronting, which also involves CP. In this case, the focused constituent

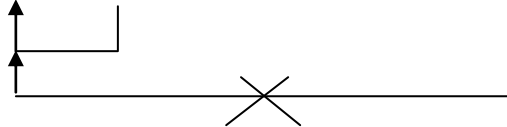
*Maths* would have to move across the factive operator. Such a result would be deviant.

Therefore, English factive clauses are incompatible with Focalisation:

(16) a. [<sub>CP</sub> MEDICINE<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> Peter [<sub>VP</sub> will study ~~medicine<sub>i</sub>~~ next year]]]].



b. [<sub>CP</sub> OP<sub>i</sub> [<sub>FP</sub> OP<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> John [<sub>VP</sub> has passed MATHS]]]]].



### 4.3.2. Embedded CLLD and Focalisation in Spanish

There are crucial contrasts between Spanish and English, and therefore the mechanism we assume for English Topicalisation cannot simply be transposed to Spanish. Indeed, Spanish CLLD does not give rise to the same intervention effects as English Topicalisation and it is allowed in factive clauses.

(17) Me alegra                      que esta canción la cantarás                      en la fiesta.  
 CL glad-PRES-3SG that this song    CL sing-PAST-2SG in the party  
 ‘I am glad that you have sung this song in the party.’

According to Haegeman & Ürögdi (2010), the reasons for why Romance CLLD is allowed and English Topicalisation is disallowed in factive clauses are unclear. They suggest two possibilities: CLLD does not imply contrastivity or the DPs in the left periphery are actually base-generated there. However, they don’t elaborate any further and leave this issue aside. In this connection, we argued in Chapter 2 that CLLD is the result of movement. More precisely, we can use some of those arguments to justify that CLLD also undergo movement in factive clauses:



## I) *Island sensitivity*

As we have already said, a classic argument for movement is island sensitivity. Under traditional conception, it is unlikely that a dependency is the result of movement if it may span across an island; in turn, if it shows island sensitivity, it may have arisen from movement. Indeed, in factives CLLD shows island sensitivity, a fact that is standardly assumed to indicate the occurrence of a movement (adapted from Aboh 2010: 21):

- (18) \*Lamento                    que a Pedro haya                    sólo un niño que  
regret-PRES-1SG that to Pedro there be-PRES-3SG only a child that  
lo invite                    a la fiesta<sup>36</sup>.  
CL invite-PRES-3SG to the party  
'I regret that there is only one child that invites Pedro to the party.'

If we take islandhood to be a property of movement, then the example in (18) would be evidence that CLLD is derived by movement in factive clauses.

## II) *Condition A*

In this case, only when an anaphor is inside CLLD, it can be coreferential with a lower R-expression. Thus, the lack of Condition A effects supports the idea that CLLD involves movement in factives:

- (19) Me sorprende                    que a las amigas de su<sub>i</sub> madre no las  
CL surprise-PRES-3SG that to the friends of his mother, not CL  
salude                    Juan<sub>i</sub>.  
say hello-PRES-3S Juan  
'I am surprised that Juan do not say hello to his mother's friends.'

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<sup>36</sup> This example was considered unacceptable by seven out of our ten informants.

In (19), the anaphor *su* inside the CLLD *a las amigas de su madre* is conreferential with the lower R-expression *Juan*. Hence, this CLLD-ed element must have moved to the front of the factive clause.

### III) *Weak-cross-over*

The lack of WCO effects can be captured if it is the CLLD-ed element itself that undergoes movement from a lower position in factive constructions:

(20) Lamento                    que a María<sub>i</sub> la regañara                    su<sub>i</sub> madre.  
regret-PRES-1SG that to Maria CL scold-PAST-3SG her mother  
'I regret that Mary's mother scolded her.'

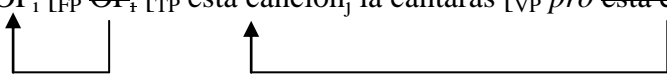
In (20), the CLLD does not display a WCO effect, which suggests that the CLLD-ed element itself *a María* has undergone movement to the front of the factive clause.

With this picture in mind, it is clear that CLLD in factive constructions, contra Haegeman's proposal, involves movement. Instead, we propose that English Topicalisation and Spanish CLLD imply different landing-sites. Consequently, both languages interact with factivity in a different way. To be more precise, topic movement is more constrained in English factive clauses than in Spanish ones. This restriction is due to intervention effects and the distinct syntactic positions used in each language. In this connection, as claimed in Chapter 3, because of the subject-verb concord, Spanish is an agreement-prominent language. In addition, due to informational movement, Spanish is also a discourse-prominent language. Hence, taking into account the Generalized TP analysis, we can say that fronted topics in Spanish factive clauses have [Spec, T] as their landing site. In particular, [Spec, T] is a multifunctional position in Spanish, which can be occupied by preverbal subjects, but also by foci, interrogative operators and topics. In this sense, EPP is a purely structural condition that requires

some specifier position to be filled, independently of the category or grammatical relation of the constituent that fills it. Accordingly, topic elements can satisfy the EPP in the specifier of TP in the same way that the subject does it. More precisely, in Spanish since the subject agrees with the verb and does not undergo movement to TP, topic elements can move freely into the specifier of such a projection. In this way, the factive operator is higher up and topic constituents do not have to move across it. For this reason, we claim that CLLD is possible in Spanish factive clauses since these discourse constituents do not create intervention effects and the resulting sentence would be grammatical. So, in the sentence in (17), repeated here for convenience, the topicalised element *esta canción* is moved into the specifier of TP. Given that the operator is in CP, there would be no intervention effect. Specifically, the factive operator is higher up and the discourse constituent *esta canción* does not have to move across the factive operator. For this reason, the sentence is grammatical:

(21) a. Me alegra que esta canción la cantarás en la fiesta.

b. [<sub>CP</sub> OP<sub>i</sub> [<sub>FP</sub> OP<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> esta canción<sub>j</sub> la cantarás [<sub>VP</sub> ~~pro esta canción<sub>j</sub>~~ en la fiesta]]]]].



So far, we have seen that in Spanish factive clauses topics move to [Spec, T]. In fact, as commented previously, the properties of a movement determine whether it is argumental or non-argumental. Therefore, we can analyse the properties of CLLD to verify that it is of an argumental nature. Let us first consider binding facts. In this sense, we have already stated that new binding configuration implies A-movement. Therefore, if this new binding configuration is possible in factives, the conclusion is that topics move to [Spec, T] in factives:

(23) \*Me sorprende que su tutor haya expulsado a Juan.  
 CL surprise-PRES-3SG that his tutor have-PERF-3SG expelled to Juan

(22) Me sorprende                    que a Juan<sub>i</sub> lo haya                    expulsado su<sub>i</sub> tutor.  
 CL surprise-PRES-3SG that to Juan CL-have-PERF-3SG expelled his tutor  
 ‘I am surprised that John’s tutor has expelled him.’

Initially, in (23), the anaphor *su* is not properly c-commanded so that the sentence is ungrammatical. Once the PP *a Juan* has been moved, we have a proper relation between the anaphor and its antecedent. This situation leads us to talk about an argumental movement where the topic element *a Juan* has landed in [Spec, T].

A further diagnostic commonly used to determine whether movement is argumental or non-argumental relates to the phenomenon of Floating Quantifiers (FQ). According to López (2009), FQ are allowed only in A-movement, not in A'-movement. In Spanish factives, the same constraint is found, thus cases of A-movement such as CLLD are compatible with FQs:

(24) Me sorprende                    que los melocotones los haya                    comprado todos  
 CL surprise-PRES-3SG that the peaches CL have-PERF-3SG bought all  
 Mara.  
 Mara  
 ‘I am surprised that Mara has bought all the peaches.’

In (24), the DP *los melocotones* moves to an A-position whereas the quantifier *todos* stays in the original VP. Hence, it is obvious that topic movement in Spanish factive clauses is of an A-nature.

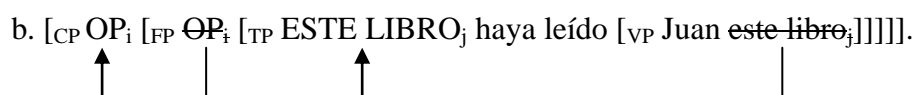
Finally, the lack of parasitic gap licensing also implies A-movement. As discussed in Section 3.3.2, parasitic gaps are licensed only by A'-movement, if the trace does not c-command the parasitic gap and the A'-moved element c-commands the parasitic gap as well as its trace. Since factive structures do not license a parasitic gap, it is clear that topics move to [Spec, T] in factives:

- (25) \*Me preocupa que al delincuente lo hayan arrestado  
 CL worry-PRES-3SG that to the delinquent CL-have-PERF-3PL arrested  
 sin interrogar.  
 without interrogate-GEN  
 ‘I am worried that they have arrested the delinquent without interrogating.’

If the topicalised element *al delincuente* cannot license a parasitic gap then it must be in an argumental position. Thus, (25) is compatible with our claim that topic movement in Spanish factive clauses is always an A-movement.

Similar to CLLD, embedded focus is readily available in Spanish factive clauses without restriction. More precisely, in Spanish since the subject agrees with the verb and does not undergo movement to TP, focus elements can move into the specifier of such a projection and satisfy the EPP. In this way, due to the fact that Spanish focus arguably stays within the TP domain (rather than raising to the CP domain), we have a straightforward explanation for the fact that this low focus does not result in an intervention effect the same way as English focusing does:

- (26) a. Pedro lamenta que ESTE LIBRO haya leído Juan (no ese).  
 Peter regret-PRES-3SG that this book have-PERF-3SG read John not that  
 ‘Peter regrets that John has read this book.’



In (26), the focalised element *este libro* is moved into the specifier of TP. Given that the operator is in CP, there would be no intervention effect. To be more precise, the factive operator is higher up and the discourse constituent *este libro* does not have to move across the factive operator. For this reason, (26) is grammatical.

Again, some properties corroborate this analysis. Firstly, if focus constituents can be proposed to an argumental position then we expect them to be able to serve as

antecedents to a reflexive in subject position. This prediction is borne out by (27) and (28) below:

(27) \*Lamento que su<sub>i</sub> cuñada echara a Susana<sub>i</sub> de la  
 regret-PRES-1SG that her sister-in-law throw out-PAST-3SG to Susana of the  
 casa.  
 house  
 ‘I regret that Susana’s sister-in-law threw her out of the house.’

(28) Lamento que A SUSANA<sub>i</sub> echara su<sub>i</sub> cuñada de la  
 regret-PRES-1SG that to Susana throw out-PAST-3SG her sister-in-law of the  
 casa (no a María).  
 house not to Maria

Reflexive binding in (28) can only be possible if the focus constituent *a Susana* is in an A-position. Accordingly, we can say that focus movement in Spanish factive clauses is argumental.

Further support for the claim that focus elements land in [Spec, T] in factives comes from FQs. As commented previously, FQs are allowed only in A-movement, not in A'-movement. For instance, let us analyse the following example:

(29) Me sorprende que LOS PLATANOS se haya comido  
 CL surprise-PRES-3SG that the bananas CL have-PERF-3SG eaten  
 todos Enrique (no las naranjas).  
 all Enrique not the oranges  
 ‘I am surprised that Enrique has eaten all the bananas.’

In (29), the focused element *los platanos* raises to the front of the factive clause whereas the quantifier *todos* is stranded in its original site. Consequently, it is clear that focus movement in Spanish factive clauses is an A-movement.

Finally, some very strong evidence supporting the hypothesis that focus movement in Spanish factive clauses is to an A-position comes from parasitic gap constructions. This is demonstrated by (30):

(30) \*Sé                                que A LUIS rechazarán                                sin tan siquiera  
know-PRES-1SG that to Luis will reject-FUT-3PL without  
haber                                conocido (no a Lorenzo).  
having-PERF met                                not to Lorenzo  
'I know that they will reject the candidate without having met.'

In (30), the focalised constituent *a Luis* must be in an argumental position since it cannot license a parasitic gap. In fact, (30) is compatible with our claim that focus movement in Spanish factive clauses is always of an A-nature.

So far, we can say that CLLD and Focalisation display a similar behaviour in factive clauses. Both of them are more restricted in English than in Spanish.

## **4.4. Empirical evidence<sup>37</sup>**

### **4.4.1. Objective**

My goal in this section is to analyze the differences between English and Spanish with respect to the application of the operations of Topicalisation and Focalisation to main clauses and its possible extension to subordinate clauses, bearing in mind the distinction assumed here between factive and non-factive clauses (Hooper & Thompson 1973). This task will help us find out the reasons that explain the parametric variation detected in the two languages in light of the different syntactic positions that the languages use for the topic and focus elements.

### **4.4.2. Hypothesis**

We suggest that discourse movement implies different landing-sites in English and Spanish. Consequently, both languages interact with factivity in a different way. To be more precise, discourse movement is more constrained in English factive clauses than in Spanish ones. This restriction is due to intervention effects and the distinct syntactic positions used in each language.

### **4.4.3. Methodology**

To test the relation between Topicalisation/Focalisation and factivity in English, a series of written dialogues were administered to ten English native speakers. All of them were students at the University of Seville during the first semester of the academic year 2013/2014. Similarly, to test the relation between Topicalisation/Focalisation and factivity in Spanish, a series of written dialogues were presented to ten Spanish native

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<sup>37</sup> We wish to thank our informants for judgements and suggestions.



speakers. All these informants have studied English Philology at the University of Seville and hence a relatively good knowledge of language is presupposed. Additionally, to make discourse movement more natural, we included a context sentence before the critical sentence. The aim of this context sentence was to introduce a referent for the fronted constituent at the beginning of the embedded sentence. Informants were asked to rate the syntactic processes in the sentences, depending on how natural the sentences sounded to them in the relevant context.

#### **4.4.4. Tests**

In this section, we present the two tests that we have used in order to study factivity in English and Spanish. In this sense, sentences are randomized so that informants are not influenced with regard to their judgements. Specifically, the first test is concerned with English Topicalisation/Focalisation in factive clauses. In this case, sentences 1, 3, 8, 9, 13, 18, 25, 27, 28, 31, 32, 34, 41, 44 and 46 combine a non-factive predicate with a topicalised constituent. Meanwhile, in sentences 5, 7, 14, 15, 19, 21, 24, 37, 38 and 48, it is a factive predicate that interacts with a topic. By contrast, in sentences 2, 6, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 20, 22, 23, 33, 35, 36, 42 and 43, we put together a non-factive predicate and a focused constituent. Finally, in sentences 4, 26, 29, 30, 39, 40, 45, 47, 49 and 50, we can find a factive-predicate with a focus.

The second test deals with Spanish CLLD/Focalisation in factive clauses. More explicitly, in sentences 4, 6, 13, 17, 19, 24, 26, 29, 30, 32, 35, 36, 40, 45 and 48, we put together a non-factive predicate and a topicalised constituent. In the same way, sentences 10, 12, 14, 18, 21, 23, 25, 42, 43 and 50 combine a factive predicate with a topic. On the contrary, in sentences 2, 5, 7, 9, 11, 15, 16, 22, 27, 37, 39, 41, 44, 46 and

47, a non-factive predicate interacts with a focused constituent. Similarly, in sentences 1, 3, 8, 20, 28, 31, 33, 34, 38 and 49, we can observe a factive-predicate with a focus.

## TEST on English Topicalisation/Focalisation in factive clauses

### Instructions for informants:

Please, give your opinion on the following sentences. Sentence A gives the context and sentence B is the part to be considered. Your opinion can be expressed as follows:

→Acceptable (√)

→Marginal (??)

→Unacceptable (X)

**THANKS!!!**

- (B) 1. A: He may have read this book.  
B: In fact, it appears that this book he read thoroughly.  
(adapted from Hooper & Thompson 1973: 478)
- (A) 2. A: You are supposed to have seen our sister this morning.  
B: Oh no. We said that YOUR MOTHER we saw this morning (not your sister).
- (C) 3. A: Supposedly he examined each part carefully.  
B: It was impossible that each part he had examined carefully.  
(adapted from Hooper & Thompson 1973:474)
- (E) 4. A: The suspect is accused of killing a boy.  
B: Police discovered that A GIRL the suspect had killed (not a boy).
- (D) 5. A: He went to see that film.  
B: Peter regretted that that film he went to see.  
(adapted from Haegeman 2010: 119)
- (C) 6. A: My father will buy me a car.  
B: It is probable that A MOTORBIKE your father will buy you (not a car).
- (D) 7. A: He didn't pass the English exam.  
B: His parents resented that the English exam he had not passed.
- (C) 8. A: Regrettably Adam might lose the job.  
B: It is probable that the job Adam will lose.
- (A) 9. A: They won't give the book to Peter.  
B: It is certain that the book they won't ever give to Peter.  
(adapted from Cinque 1990: 63)

- (C) 10. A: Maybe Mark knows the woman.  
B: It is possible that THE MAN Mark knows (not the woman).
- (B) 11. A: Government policies should help the poor.  
B: We think that THE RICH government policies will help (not the poor).
- (A) 12. A: She went to the supermarket and bought chocolate.  
B: However, she vowed that BREAD she would buy (not chocolate).
- (A) 13. A: Carol must have seen a huge crowd.  
B: Oh yes. Carol exclaimed that such a crowd she has never seen in her life.  
(adapted from Hooper & Thompson 1973: 474)
- (E) 14. A: Perhaps she didn't tell the truth.  
B: I realized that the truth she hadn't told. (adapted from Rizzi 2001: 288)
- (E) 15. A: She should examine each part carefully.  
B: I saw that each part she had examined carefully.  
(adapted from Hooper & Thompson 1973: 479)
- (B) 16. A: My sister is upset. Mary should call her as soon as possible.  
B: I'm sorry. I imagine that YOUR BROTHER Mary will call (not your sister).
- (B) 17. A: They decided to fix the motorbike last week.  
B: We suppose that THE CAR they fixed (not the motorbike).  
(adapted from Hegarty 1992: 1)
- (C) 18. A: John should visit Peter.  
B: It is likely that Peter John will visit.
- (E) 19. A: Mary had to read the novel.  
B: We found out that the novel Mary read from beginning to end.
- (B) 20. A: Did they run with Rubalcaba?  
B: It happened that WITH RAJOY they ran (not with Rubalcaba).  
(adapted from Rivero 1980: 372)
- (D) 21. A: She saw a monkey for the first time.  
B: I was surprised that a monkey she hadn't seen before.
- (B) 22. A: Boys, the cup is broken!  
B: I believe that THE VASE the boys have broken (not the cup).
- (A) 23. A: Your neighbours are looking for a dog.  
B: It is impossible. We reported that A CAT we lost (not a dog).
- (D) 24. A: Unfortunately, Peter has forgotten the meeting.  
B: It bothers me that the meeting Peter has forgotten.

- (A) 25. A: John has never seen this movie.  
B: It isn't true that this movie John has never seen.  
(adapted from Haegeman 2012: 10)
- (D) 26. A: I adore flowers. I love their smell.  
B: Thus, it is odd that A CAKE he has sent you for your birthday (not flowers).
- (A) 27. A: He hasn't read the report.  
B: However, he claims that the report he has read.
- (B) 28. A: Mark always makes the beds.  
B: As a matter of fact, Bill supposed that the beds Mark had made.
- (E) 29. A: He had to borrow a pencil.  
B: That's not right. I found out that A PEN he had to borrow (not a pencil).
- (D) 30. A: Paul was obliged to submit a proposal.  
B: So, I'm surprised that AN ABSTRACT Paul submitted (not a proposal).  
(adapted from Haegeman 2010: 123)
- (B) 31. A: Anthony is unable to steal the cookies.  
B: Nevertheless, we think that the cookies Anthony stole.
- (A) 32. A: My father doesn't like pizza.  
B: I don't think so. My sister said that pizza your father ate.
- (C) 33. A: Nowadays, the republic is widely criticized by the voters.  
B: We doubt that THE MONARCHY the voters would prefer (not the republic).
- (B) 34. A: Henry expects to win the election.  
B: I believe that the election Henry will lose.
- (A) 35. A: We are happy because Robert's uncle won the championship.  
B: Robert claimed that THE MATCH his uncle won (not the championship).
- (C) 36. A: Supposedly Wendy didn't open the door.  
B: It is unlikely that THE WINDOW Wendy had opened (not the door).  
(adapted from Hooper & Thompson 1973: 479)
- (D) 37. A: The student is able to solve very difficult problems.  
B: Hence, it is strange that this problem the student hasn't been able to solve.  
(adapted from Haegeman 2004: 16)
- (E) 38. A: During the Second World War, I led a rifle platoon.  
B: We know that a rifle platoon you led during the Second World War.
- (D) 39. A: You had to finish the thesis in time.  
B: My tutor resented that THE REVIEW I didn't finish in time (not the thesis).

- (E) 40. A: According to Philip, your father stole a tricycle.  
B: Philip knows that A BICYCLE my father stole (not a tricycle).
- (C) 41. A: The accident could have been avoided.  
B: We doubt that the accident she could have avoided.
- (A) 42. A: In my opinion, Peter was insulted by our partner.  
B: It is certain that JOHN our partner insulted (not Peter).
- (C) 43. A: They must have eaten the jam because I can't find it.  
B: Indeed, they denied that THE CHEESE they had eaten (not the jam).
- (B) 44. A: He was the main candidate for the prize.  
B: In spite of this, he never imagined that the prize he would win.
- (E) 45. A: Your friends accused you of hiding the keys.  
B: That's not true. My friends realized that THE TICKETS I hid (not the keys).
- (C) 46. A: He said those things.  
B: Actually, he never denied that those things he had said.  
(adapted from Rizzi 2004: 232)
- (D) 47. A: They didn't attend the opera.  
B: Well, I regret that THE CONCERT they didn't attend (not the opera).  
(adapted from Hooper & Thompson 1973: 479)
- (E) 48. A: He shouldn't tell the secret.  
B: I'm sorry. I discovered that the secret he had told.  
(adapted from Rizzi 2001: 288)
- (E) 49. A: You should have given your sister the book.  
B: I recognize that THE PENDRIVE I didn't give to my sister (not the book).
- (D) 50. A: Did you want to photograph the boy?  
B: I'm sorry that THE WOMAN I couldn't photograph (not the boy).

## TEST on Spanish CLLD/Focalisation in factive clauses

### Instrucciones para informantes:

Por favor, da tu juicio sobre las siguientes oraciones. La oración A facilita el contexto y la oración B es la sección que debes valorar. Tu respuesta puede expresarse de la siguiente manera:

→Aceptable (✓)

→Marginal (??)

→Inaceptable (X)

;;;GRACIAS!!!

- (D) 1. A: Miguel es mi mejor amigo y cuando estoy mal lo suelo llamar.  
B: Por ese motivo, me sorprende que A ALBERTO hayas llamado (no a Miguel).
- (C) 2. A: Javier debe tomar zumo para desayunar.  
B: Javier negó que LECHE haya tomado para desayunar esta mañana (no zumo).
- (D) 3. A: Según Juan, Susana debería estudiar medicina. (Carlos, Campos)  
B: De hecho, Juan lamenta que HISTORIA quiera estudiar Susana (no medicina).
- (C) 4. A: Para el examen de lingüística debo leer el manual de Radford en un mes.  
B: Dudo que el manual de Radford lo puedas leer en un mes.
- (A) 5. A: El fontanero fue despedido hace poco tiempo.  
B: Hugo dijo que AL ALBAÑIL despidió hace poco tiempo (no al fontanero).
- (B) 6. A: Hace más de una hora que llamé a la pizzería y pedí algo de comida.  
B: Me imagino que el pedido no lo traerán hasta después de las doce.
- (C) 7. A: La selección española está obligada a ganar la Eurocopa.  
B: Dudo que EL MUNDIAL pueda ganar la selección española (no la Eurocopa).
- (D) 8. A: ¡Se comió la pera en menos de un minuto!  
B: Es interesante que EL PASTEL se comiera en tan solo un minuto (no la pera).  
(adapted from Hooper & Thompson 1973: 479)
- (C) 9. A: Me gustaría acabar la tesis antes de Mayo.  
B: Es probable que EL QUINTO CAPÍTULO acabes antes de Mayo (pero no la tesis entera).

- (D) 10. A: Pedro lleva varios años sin trabajar.  
B: De hecho, es raro que este espléndido trabajo lo haya rechazado.
- (C) 11. A: Quizás seleccionen a Raquel para el puesto vacante.  
B: Es posible que A MARTA seleccionen para el puesto vacante (no a Raquel).
- (D) 12. A: Ángel y José no se ponen de acuerdo sobre qué referencias han de consultar.  
B: Precisamente, Ángel lamenta que este libro lo haya estado leyendo José durante todas las Navidades.
- (B) 13. A: Las elecciones generales se celebrarán en Noviembre de este año.  
B: Creo que las elecciones las ganará el Partido Socialista.
- (D) 14. A: Mi hijo tiene la costumbre de llevar siempre las llaves en el bolsillo.  
B: Por ello, es extraño que las llaves las dejara tu hijo encima del mostrador.
- (C) 15. A: Sueña con ganar al menos un diploma en las Olimpiadas.  
B: Es improbable que UNA MEDALLA gane en las Olimpiadas (no un diploma).
- (A) 16. A: Podría haber tenido una luxación.  
B: Por suerte, me informaron de que UN ESGUINCE tenía (no una luxación).
- (A) 17. A: En comisaría nos dijeron que el artefacto encontrado era bastante obsoleto.  
B: Sin embargo, el inspector dijo que el artefacto lo tuvo que examinar minuciosamente. (adapted from Hooper & Thompson 1973: 474)
- (D) 18. A: Pedro no puede asistir a su cita puesto que está enfermo.  
B: A pesar de ello, me fastidia que la cita la haya aplazado Pedro para después de vacaciones.
- (B) 19. A: ¡A ver cuando echan el tiempo!  
B: Pues supongo que el tiempo lo echarán al final del telediario.
- (D) 20. A: La asignatura preferida de Eva es biología.  
B: Por lo tanto, es raro que MATEMÁTICAS haya aprobado Eva (no biología).
- (E) 21. A: En una relación siempre se debe de decir la verdad.  
B: No obstante, me di cuenta de que la verdad la había ocultado mi marido durante todo nuestro matrimonio.
- (A) 22. A: Tienes una cita con Mario para el próximo miércoles.  
B: Juraría que A MANUEL cité para el próximo miércoles (no a Mario).
- (E) 23. A: En el supermercado procuran que las bebidas estén siempre frías.  
B: Es más, vimos que las bebidas las guardan en unas cámaras frigoríficas.
- (C) 24. A: los vuelos a Manchester van a ser cancelados.  
B: No, la compañía ha negado que los vuelos a Manchester los vaya a cancelar.  
(adapted from Emonds 2004: 277)



- (E) 25. A: Hace tiempo que cedí la parcela en propiedad.  
B: No sabía que la parcela la habías cedido en propiedad.
- (A) 26. A: A Alicia le encanta la blusa que le han regalado.  
B: Todo lo contrario. Alicia exclamó que la blusa la va a devolver hoy mismo.
- (B) 27. A: Habíais pedido lasaña, ¿no?  
B: Resulta que MACARRONES habíamos pedido (no lasaña).
- (E) 28. A: Según el profesor, mi hijo amenazó a Pablo.  
B: Pues me he enterado de que A MARCOS amenazó tu hijo (no a Pablo).
- (A) 29. A: Necesitamos encontrar un merendero donde poder comer.  
B: El guarda forestal nos ha informado de que el merendero lo podemos encontrar tras ese valle.
- (A) 30. A: Nuestros políticos han de cumplir con sus obligaciones.  
B: Concretamente, nuestro presidente reivindicó que sus obligaciones las cumplirá durante todo su mandato.
- (E) 31. A: ¿Toca Claudia la guitarra?  
B: Sabemos que EL PIANO toca Claudia con gran soltura (no la guitarra).
- (B) 32. A: El hermano de Carolina teme por su despido.  
B: Carolina piensa que a su hermano lo despedirán a final de mes.
- (E) 33. A: ¡Un hombre ha intentado forzar la cerradura de mi casa!  
B: Vi que UNA MUJER intentó forzar la cerradura de tu casa (no un hombre).
- (E) 34. A: Los jóvenes escondieron mi monedero.  
B: Los jóvenes reconocieron que TUS LLAVES escondieron (no tu monedero).
- (B) 35. A: Luisa ha leído la novela por encima.  
B: Efectivamente, parece que la novela la ha leído Luisa por encima.
- (A) 36. A: Europa ha de solventar una gran crisis institucional.  
B: Es obvio que la crisis institucional la intentará solventar Europa en breve.
- (A) 37. A: ¡Has perdido mi camisa!  
B: Es verdad que TU ABRIGO he perdido (no tu camisa).
- (D) 38. A: Soy un desastre. Nunca llamo a Ramón.  
B: Me fastidia que A TUS PADRES no llames nunca (no a Ramón).
- (B) 39. A: Desgraciadamente la nueva multinacional no hace más que generar pérdidas.  
B: Esperaba que BENEFICIOS generara la nueva multinacional (no pérdidas).
- (C) 40. A: Estoy deseando recibir el paquete.  
B: Es imposible que el paquete lo recibas antes del lunes.

- (B) 41. A: Estoy interesado en alquilar un chalé.  
B: Pienso que UN PISO deberías alquilar (no un chalé).
- (E) 42. A: El delincuente juró haber contado la verdad.  
B: Afortunadamente, los comisarios descubrieron que la verdad no la había contado el delincuente. (adapted from Rizzi 2001: 288)
- (E) 43. A: Andrés negó haber robado el dinero.  
B: Al final, Andrés reconoció que el dinero lo había robado.
- (A) 44. A: Cada año menos estudiantes cursan francés.  
B: Es obvio que INGLÉS deban cursar los estudiantes (no francés).
- (C) 45. A: Mi amiga espera ser admitida en Harvard.  
B: Pues es probable que a tu amiga no la admitan en Harvard.
- (B) 46. A: Tu familia no piensa votar al PP.  
B: Estás en lo cierto. Parece que AL PSOE votará mi familia (no al PP). (adapted from Rivero 1980: 372)
- (B) 47. A: Por lo visto, un onubense fue secuestrado ayer.  
B: Creemos que A UN SEVILLANO secuestraron ayer (no a un onubense).
- (C) 48. A: El cliente pide ser recibido esta semana.  
B: Es improbable que al cliente lo pueda recibir esta semana.
- (E) 49. A: Tu hijo no amaba a Ana.  
B: Sinceramente, me di cuenta de que A JULIA amaba mi hijo (no a Ana).
- (D) 50. A: Juan dedicó gran parte de su tiempo a preparar el examen.  
B: Por ese motivo, me sorprende que el examen lo suspendiera.

#### 4.4.5. Discussion

The result of central interest of this study is the different nature of English and Spanish factive clauses. As a matter of fact, in line with Breul (2004), we can see how there is considerable variation in judgements of visible fronting in embedded clauses both in factive and non-factive contexts. As far as English Focalisation is concerned, the test seems to show that factive and non-factive verbs behave in a similar way. More specifically, factive verbs (C and D) show a high degree of incompatibility with the operation of focus fronting in English. At the same time, English Focalisation is compatible with only some non-factive verbs (A, B and C). In this sense, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, Section 1.2, English is considered a fixed word order language. Therefore, focus displacement should be very restricted even with non-factive verbs. Nevertheless, at the beginning of this chapter we highlighted that it is generally assumed that it is factive complement clauses that resist discourse movement, and that this is related to the fact that non-factive clauses have different syntactic structures. As commented in Section 4.2, Hooper & Thompson's (1973) account for the restricted distribution of MCP drew essentially on pragmatic/semantic factors, that is, they associated the licensing of MCP with the concept of assertion. In this connection, in accordance with Jiménez-Fernández & Camacho-Taboada (2014), we could state that the complement of these non-factive predicates may be asserted or non-asserted. More concretely, the absence of assertion would explain why non-factive verbs are incompatible with focus fronting. Following Hooper & Thompson, it would be inappropriate to emphasize backgrounded or information-seeking material. Results are shown in the table below:

<b>Focalisation</b>			
<b>Type of verb<sup>38</sup></b>	<b>Acceptable</b>	<b>Marginal</b>	<b>Unacceptable</b>
<b>A</b> (non-factive)	0 (0%)	14 (28%)	36 (72%)
<b>B</b> (non-factive)	4 (8%)	12 (24%)	34 (68%)
<b>C</b> (non-factive)	2 (4%)	14 (28%)	34 (68%)
<b>D</b> (factive)	1 (2%)	12 (24%)	37 (74%)
<b>E</b> (factive)	1 (2%)	13 (26%)	36 (72%)

However, factive clauses require special attention. More precisely, the experimental results provide evidence that English Focalisation is not possible in factive clauses. In other words, it is clear that English Focalisation is illicit in the complement of factive predicates. In this connection, the ungrammaticality of focus fronting in factive clauses arises from intervention. More particularly, English Focalisation does give rise to the typical intervention effects of other types of movement to the CP domain. In this respect, tensed factive complements contain a null factive operator in their left periphery. According to Haegeman (2006, 2010, 2012), the null factive

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<sup>38</sup> Hooper & Thompson test for MCP in five environments, A-E below.

(i) Hooper & Thompson (1973: 473-474)

Non-factive

<p><b>A</b> say report exclaim assert claim vow be true be certain be sure be obvious</p>	<p><b>B</b> suppose believe think expect guess imagine it seems it happens it appears</p>	<p><b>C</b> be (un)likely be (im)possible be (im)probable doubt deny</p>
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Factive

<p><b>D</b> resent regret be sorry be surprised bother be odd be strange be interesting</p>	<p><b>E</b> realize learn find out discover know see recognize</p>
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operator in the left periphery is merged in a TP-related position and moved to the left periphery. The ungrammaticality of focus fronting thus arises from intervention. Specifically, if the factive operator is hosted by CP, it will block focus fronting, which also involves CP. In this case, the focused constituent would have to move across the factive operator. Such a result would be deviant. Hence, a movement analysis of factive clauses allows us to analyse this restriction in terms of an intervention effect. This situation corroborates our previous claim that focus movement in English is non-argumental. More precisely, as stated in footnote 1, certain syntactic operations involve the raising of a sentence constituent to the periphery of the clause, to non-argumental positions and therefore, they will be defined as a case of A'-movement.

As regards English Topicalisation, the judgements are quite similar. Specifically, the degree of acceptability of topic fronting in factive and non-factive clauses is very low. Let us observe the following table:

<b>Topicalisation</b>			
<b>Type of verb</b>	<b>Acceptable</b>	<b>Marginal</b>	<b>Unacceptable</b>
<b>A</b> (non-factive)	0 (0%)	13 (26%)	37 (74%)
<b>B</b> (non-factive)	2 (4%)	14 (28%)	34 (68%)
<b>C</b> (non-factive)	1 (2%)	11 (22%)	38 (76%)
<b>D</b> (factive)	3 (6%)	14 (28%)	33 (66%)
<b>E</b> (factive)	3 (6%)	17 (34%)	30 (60%)

The results lead us to think that Topicalisation is very restricted in both factive and non-factive clauses. Indeed, we have already pointed out that English is generally

regarded as having a relatively fixed word order. Also this is predicted if we assume Miyagawa's idea that English is an agreement-prominent language, since in that case discourse is not so frequently reflected in the syntax of the language. However, factive clauses need further scrutiny. To be more precise, the ungrammaticality of topic fronting in factive clauses arises from intervention. In this sense, the lack of topic fronting derives from an intervention effect between a moved operator and the topicalised constituent, that is, the fronted topic does give rise to intervention with the displaced factive operator. More concretely, since the factive operator lands in CP, it will block topic fronting, which also targets CP. In this situation, the topic constituent would have to move across the factive operator. The result would be ill formed. In fact, the literature has repeatedly pointed out that English Topicalisation induces an island for extraction (cf. Cinque 1990, Culicover 1991, Lasnik & Saito 1992, Koizumi 1995, Boeckx & Jeong 2004, Haegeman 2012). This situation corroborates our previous claim that topic movement in English is of a non-argumental nature. Notice also that Topicalisation is less degraded in factive clauses than in non-factive ones. As already commented, the complement of non-factive predicates may be asserted or non-asserted. In this way, the absence of assertion would explain why non-factive verbs may not be compatible with topic fronting.

Regarding Spanish, the situation is quite different. In this case, factivity correlates with Focalisation and CLLD in a better way. This circumstance leads us to think that discourse movement is language particular. Let us begin with the CLLD construction. The results are provided in the following table:

<b>CLLD</b>			
<b>Type of verb</b>	<b>Acceptable</b>	<b>Marginal</b>	<b>Unacceptable</b>
<b>A</b> (non-factive)	44 (88%)	1 (2%)	5 (10%)
<b>B</b> (non-factive)	46 (92%)	0 (0%)	4 (8%)
<b>C</b> (non-factive)	45 (90%)	1 (2%)	4 (8%)
<b>D</b> (factive)	41 (82%)	2 (4%)	7 (14%)
<b>E</b> (factive)	37 (74%)	6 (12%)	7 (14%)

In connection with the compatibility of CLLD and factivity, we have to say that Spanish is less restrictive than English, as a consequence of its being a discourse-prominent language (Jiménez-Fernández 2010, 2011; Jiménez-Fernández & Spyropoulos 2013). As a matter of fact, the vast majority of unacceptable answers are provided by the same informant. Besides, recall that Spanish is considered a free word order language – see Chapter 1, Section 1.2. Consequently, CLLD in Romance has a wider distribution than Topicalisation in English. More precisely, topicalised structures can be embedded quite freely in Spanish in such a way that the range of factive verbs that admit embedded phrases with a topicalised constituent is very wide. For this reason, it is obvious that Spanish CLLD does not give rise to intervention and are grammatical. If both types of fronting involve the same projection CP, then it is not clear how one can be ruled out while the other is grammatical. In the test, CLLD is apparently licensed in factive clauses. It would appear that these clauses also refer to events/states of affairs and cannot be plausibly argued to differ interpretively from their English counterparts. Though the test shows differences among factive verbs, we will assume, based on the

data above, that CLLD is at least more easily available in factive clauses in Spanish than Topicalisation would be in English, showing it is not subject to the same licensing requirements. Indeed, some authors have indeed signalled that CLLD has a wider distribution than English topics (Cinque 1990, Hirschbuhler 1997, Zubizarreta 1998). These findings confirm our previous claim that Spanish CLLD is of an argumental nature. To be more precise, in Chapter 1, Section 1.2, we pointed out that if a sentence constituent moves to an argumental position, it is a case of A-movement. In this way, since topics move [Spec, T] they do not have to move across the factive operator. Consequently, the fronted argument in the CLLD construction does not lead to intervention. As a matter of fact, in Chapter 2, Section 2.7, we highlighted that fronted topics in Spanish have [Spec, T] as their landing site. More specifically, [Spec, T] is a multifunctional position in Spanish, which can be occupied by preverbal subjects, but also by foci, interrogative operators and topics. In this case, EPP is a purely structural condition that requires some specifier position to be filled, independently of the category or grammatical relation of the constituent that fills it. Furthermore, as stated in Chapter 1, Section 1.7, the VP-internal subject hypothesis implies that the lexical shell of the clause, that is, the V and its arguments, are generated inside V so that, topic constituents would precede the subject.

Regarding Spanish Focalisation, it must be noted that for most informants it is at least marginally compatible with factive clauses. The availability of such a phenomenon in Spanish factive clauses confirms our idea that focus movement in Spanish is also argumental. In this way, the displaced constituent does not interact with the null operator of factive clauses:



<b>Focalisation</b>			
<b>Type of verb</b>	<b>Acceptable</b>	<b>Marginal</b>	<b>Unacceptable</b>
<b>A</b> (non-factive)	13 (26%)	22 (44%)	15 (30%)
<b>B</b> (non-factive)	14 (28%)	23 (46%)	13 (26%)
<b>C</b> (non-factive)	8 (16%)	19 (38%)	23 (46%)
<b>D</b> (factive)	8 (16%)	26 (52%)	16 (32%)
<b>E</b> (factive)	15 (30%)	25 (50%)	10 (20%)

The experimental results provide evidence that Spanish Focalisation is possible in factive clauses. More concretely, Spanish Focalisation is compatible with most non-factive verbs (A, B and C). In the same way, factive verbs (D and E) show a high compatibility with the operation of focus fronting in Spanish. Thus, we demonstrate that Focalisation does not give rise to the typical intervention effects of other types of movement to the CP domain. Nevertheless, unlike it has been noted by Jiménez-Fernández & Camacho-Taboada (2014), Focalisation is more restricted than CLLD in factive clauses. In this regard, factive and non-factive predicates may be asserted or non-asserted. The absence of assertion would explain why in some cases these verbs may not be compatible with Spanish Focalisation.

#### **4.4.6. Conclusion**

To conclude, we have seen that factive clauses resist topic or focus fronting in English while remaining compatible with discourse movement in Spanish. This asymmetry follows from intervention. As stated in Chapter 3, Section 3.4, it implies that

discourse elements behave in a different way and have a different location in English and Spanish. In particular, in English the priority is that the subject receives nominative case in [Spec, T]. Thus, the specifier of TP is not an available landing site for discourse constituents, that is, topics and foci have to move to CP since focus features are not lowered from C to T. However, as we have just seen, on their way to CP, focused and topicalised constituents would have to move across a factive operator. Such a movement would cause intervention. Hence, discourse movement in English factive clauses is illicit. On the contrary, in Spanish since the subject agrees with the verb and does not undergo movement to TP, discourse elements can move freely into the specifier of such a projection. In this way, the factive operator is higher up and discourse constituents do not have to move across it. Therefore, we claim that CLLD and Focalisation are possible in Spanish factive clauses since these discourse constituents do not create intervention effects and the resulting sentence would be grammatical.

## 4.5. Concluding remarks

From the preceding considerations we can draw the following specific conclusions:

- It has been acknowledged that the so called Main Clause Phenomena (MCP) are restricted to occurring in root clauses and a limited subset of subordinate clauses. In this sense, we might think, for example, that factive clauses lack a left periphery 'space' entirely. Nevertheless, such an account is controversial.

- In English factive complements resist Topicalisation, while non-factive complements admit it. A movement analysis of factive clauses allows us to analyse this restriction in terms of an intervention effect. Specifically, English factive clauses are derived by movement of an operator to their left periphery. The operator would move from within the TP domain to the CP area. Since the factive operator targets CP, it will block topic fronting, which also lands in CP. Hence, English Topicalisation is not compatible with factivity.

- English focus movement is permitted with non-factive verbs but not with factives. As the factive operator is hosted by CP, it will block focus fronting, which also involves CP. In such a situation, the focused constituent would have to move across the factive operator. Such a result would be deviant. Therefore, English factive clauses are incompatible with Focalisation.

- There are crucial contrasts between Spanish and English, and therefore the mechanism we propose for English Topicalisation cannot simply be transposed to Spanish. Indeed,

Spanish CLLD does not give rise to the same intervention effects as English Topicalisation and it is allowed in factive clauses. It suggests that English Topicalisation and Spanish CLLD implies different landing-sites. In contrast to English, Spanish focus arguably stays within the TP domain (rather than raising to the CP domain). Therefore, the factive operator is higher up and topic constituents do not have to move across it. For this reason, we claim that CLLD is possible in Spanish factive clauses since these discourse constituents do not create intervention effects and the resulting sentence would be grammatical.

- As with CLLD, embedded focus is readily available in Spanish factive clauses without restriction. More precisely, in Spanish since the subject agrees with the verb and does not undergo movement, focus elements can move freely into the specifier of such a projection and satisfy the EPP. In this way, we have a straightforward explanation for the fact that this low focus does not result in an intervention effect the same way as English focusing does.

- Ten native speakers of English and some others of Spanish determine the degree of acceptability of different word orders in both languages. They corroborate the idea that unlike English Focalisation/Topicalisation, Spanish focus and topic elements do not give rise to intervention effects. Consequently, discourse movement implies different landing-sites in English and Spanish factive clauses.

## **5. CONCLUSIONS**

The general tendency in generative grammar is to bring languages together and to discover common ground existing among them, without denying their individual special features in the process. In this study, we have tried to show that recent developments in linguistic theory within generative grammar provide an excellent framework for the comparison of both very subtle and more general differences and similarities between English and Spanish.

In Chapter 1, we showed that languages such as Spanish are known as “free word order” languages since sentence constituents can appear in many different positions. On the contrary, other languages such as English are generally regarded as having relatively “fixed word order”. In this case, the sentence constituents normally appear in a specific order. However, the canonical pattern in English may be manipulated in order to give special emphasis to a specific constituent.

Furthermore, we stated that contrastive focus, which expresses exhaustive identification, must be distinguished from information focus, which merely expresses new information. In the same way, we must differentiate between two types of topic in Spanish: clitic left dislocation and hanging topic. More concretely, the hanging topic only occurs at the periphery of the whole message, whereas the clitic left dislocated topic appears at the periphery of the clause. Similarly, in English we must distinguish between Topicalisation and Left-dislocation. They are syntactically different; while topicalisations have a gap, where the topicalised phrase would have appeared in the nonpreposed version, left-dislocations include a resumptive pronoun.

Then, we claimed that due to the limitations of the Language Faculty, lexical items move cyclically through different phases (CP and vP). Once a phase is formed, the complement of the phase head undergoes transfer to the phonological and semantic

components so that neither the complement nor any element it contains can take part in further syntactic operations from that point on.

In Chapter 2, we argued for a movement-based analysis, suggesting that the processes of Topicalisation and Focalisation imply displacement. In this sense, languages vary with respect to the systematic properties of syntactic reordering. So, in languages like English, we depart from Rizzi's cartographic approach and adopt an unsplit CP analysis. Hence, in English discourse constituents would move to the specifier of CP in the left periphery of the clause. By contrast, [Spec, T] is a multifunctional position in Spanish. Therefore, discourse elements have the specifier of TP as their landing site.

In Chapter 3, we demonstrated that the A/A'-contrast observed in discourse movement can be accounted for in a precise way by taking into account certain facts. In this connection, we confirmed that discourse/agreement features interact with the EPP feature in the process of Agree in the Minimalist Program. Thus, because of the subject-verb concord, Spanish is an agreement-prominent language. In addition, due to informational movement, Spanish is also a discourse-prominent language. In this case, focus elements can satisfy the EPP in the specifier of TP in the same way that the subject does it. The reason is that the EPP is a purely syntactic restriction that requires some specifier position to be filled, regardless of the grammatical relation of the element that fills it. Meanwhile, English only gives prominence to agreement features, which spread into T. Consequently, it has a relatively strict word order. To be more precise, the priority is that the subject receives nominative case in [Spec, T]. So, the specifier of TP is not an available landing site for discourse constituents, that is, topics and foci have to move to CP since focus features are not lowered from C to T.

In Chapter 4, we claimed that there are crucial contrasts between Spanish and English, and therefore the mechanism we propose for English Topicalisation and Focalisation cannot simply be transposed to Spanish. To put it explicitly, factive clauses are derived by movement of an operator to their left periphery. The operator would move from within the TP domain to the CP area. In this way, we can provide an explanation for the incompatibility of English factive clauses with discourse movement. Nevertheless, unlike English Topicalisation and Focalisation, CLLD and Focalisation in Spanish are available in factive clauses since they do not give rise to the typical intervention effects of other types of movement to the CP domain. More specifically, in English factive constructions, topics and foci move to [Spec, C]. This supports the idea that MCP such as Topicalisation and Focalisation are incompatible with factive clauses. In Spanish, however, each topic and focus lands in a specifier of the head T so that there is no intervention effect between the operator and the topic and focus constituents.

We are conscious of the fact that many of the topics included in this study need further analysis and elaboration. Nevertheless, we hope that we have been able to open the door for a comparative analysis that may limit the relationships between languages, while at the same time enriching our view of their specific differences and enhancing our knowledge of language.



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## **7. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS**

A	_____	Argumental
A'	_____	Non-argumental
ACC	_____	Accusative
C	_____	Complementiser
CL	_____	Clitic
CL-D	_____	Clitic-doubling
CLLD	_____	Clitic Left Dislocation
COMP	_____	Complementiser
COND	_____	Conditional
CONT	_____	Continuous
CP	_____	Complementiser Phrase
CSR	_____	Contrastive Stress Rule
D	_____	Determiner
DAT	_____	Dative
DO	_____	Direct Object
DP	_____	Determiner Phrase
ECP	_____	Empty Category Principle
EPP	_____	Extended Projection Principle
Fin	_____	Finiteness
FinP	_____	Finiteness Phrase
Foc	_____	Focus
FocP	_____	Focus Phrase
FP	_____	Functional Phrase
FQ	_____	Floating Quantifiers
FUT	_____	Future

GEN	_____	Genitive
H	_____	High
HT	_____	Hanging Topic
INF	_____	Infinitive
IO	_____	Indirect Object
IP	_____	Inflectional Phrase
ISH	_____	Internal Subject Hypothesis
L	_____	Low
LD	_____	Left Dislocation
LF	_____	Logical Form
LGB	_____	Lectures on Government and Binding
Loc	_____	Locative
MCP	_____	Main Clause Phenomena
MLC	_____	Minimal Link Condition
NEG	_____	Negation
NOM	_____	Nominative
NP	_____	Noun Phrase
NSL	_____	Null Subject Language
NSR	_____	Nuclear Stress Rule
OCC	_____	Occurrence
OP	_____	Operator
PERF	_____	Perfective
PF	_____	Phonological Form
PG	_____	Parasitic Gap
PIC	_____	Phase Impenetrability Condition

PL	_____	Plural
PP	_____	Prepositional Phrase
PRES	_____	Present
PUC	_____	Principle of Unambiguous Chains
REL	_____	Relative
R-expression	_____	Referential Expression
RP	_____	Resumptive Pronoun
S	_____	Subject
SG	_____	Singular
Spec	_____	Specifier
S-structure	_____	Superficial-structure
SUBJ	_____	Subjunctive
t	_____	Trace
T	_____	Tense
Top	_____	Topic
TopP	_____	Topic Phrase
TP	_____	Tense Phrase
v	_____	Causative Verb
V	_____	Verb
vP	_____	Causative verb Phrase
VP	_____	Verb Phrase
WCO	_____	Weak-cross-over
1	_____	1 <sup>st</sup> person
2	_____	2 <sup>nd</sup> person
3	_____	3 <sup>rd</sup> person

∅	_____	Null
Φ-features	_____	Agreement-features
δ-features	_____	Discourse-features
√	_____	Acceptable
??	_____	Marginal
X	_____	Unacceptable