

# **Syntax-Information Structure Interactions in the Sentential, Verbal and Nominal Peripheries**

**Ángel L. Jiménez-Fernández**

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## FOREWORD

In this book I am concerned with the interaction of different types of grammatical and discourse features to explain why languages may vary in their surface word order. It is my goal to address syntactic phenomena which are clearly motivated by issues pertaining to information structure. The framework adopted is the Minimalist Program as proposed by Chomsky (2008) and later work.

In Chapter 1 basic notions related with information structure (such as topic and focus) are discussed alongside a review of Miyagawa's (2005, 2010) typology of languages in order to show that languages differ from each other only minimally. This is the spirit of the Strong Uniformity Principle. Miyagawa's system is based on Chomsky's notion of feature inheritance. Chomsky claims that languages instantiate an array of grammatical features such as formal features ( $\phi$ -features) which start in the Complementizer (C) and are inherited by Tense (T) via a lowering process. However, Miyagawa suggests that together with  $\phi$ -features the derivation of a sentence involves the presence of discourse features ( $\delta$ -features) which play a crucial role in syntax to obtain the adequate interpretation at the interfaces.

Languages are classified into two types depending on which kind of features lower onto T. English requires inheritance of  $\phi$ -features but retains  $\delta$ -features in C, whereas Japanese exhibits lowering of  $\delta$ -features onto C but its  $\phi$ -features remain in C. In this first chapter I show that Spanish patterns with English in that it requires  $\phi$ -features to be inherited by T from C, but it also shares the Japanese property of lowering  $\delta$ -features onto T. This is a novel approach which holds that the interaction between the two types of features in the left periphery is much stronger than what other formal approaches within generative grammar have previously argued for. I test its explanatory power by analyzing word order in the three types of language that this typology predicts.

The notion of phase is crucial to understand how the derivation of a sentence proceeds. Chapter 1 discusses the intricacies of C as a phase. In Chapter 2 I extend my approach to phases to the low periphery, namely the area which is around little *v*. I argue that, in strict parallelism with the C-T system, the *v*-V field also involves both  $\phi$ -features and  $\delta$ -features and that

the mechanism of feature inheritance also applies in this periphery. English is held to allow just  $\phi$ -features to be lowered onto V from *v*, whereas Japanese requires the inheritance of  $\delta$ -features by V from *v*. In connection with the feature lowering possibilities, I show that Spanish is an intriguing language in that it entails both  $\phi$ -features and  $\delta$ -features to be inherited by V from *v*. This is supported by the distinct word orders that small clauses exhibit in Spanish, which is claimed to be the result of different information structure partitions.

My analysis explains in a principled way why English shows a strict word order in small clauses whereas Spanish allows a flexible word order in these constructions, much in line with what happens in the CP. The role of feature inheritance in the two phases is extended to cover data from Turkish, Korean and other languages.

In Chapter 3 I turn to a kind of movement which involves a third type of phase, namely the Determiner Phrase (DP). To be more precise, I discuss cases of subextraction in the form of *wh*-movement from DPs in Spanish which are marked as dative. These DPs are introduced by the preposition-like element *a*. I call these objects *a*-DPs. They occur in ditransitive constructions and may be optionally doubled by a dative clitic. The puzzle arises when subextraction in the form of *wh*-movement is observed to be allowed only if the *a*-DP is doubled by the dative clitic; otherwise, subextraction is banned. To account for this contrast, I propose that *a* is just a functional preposition in doubled datives (an instantiation of Kase projecting a Kase Phrase (KP)), while it is a true preposition in non-doubled datives. KP is endowed with an Edge Feature which facilitates the extraction.

In addition, an analysis based on the cumulative approach suggested by Hageman et al. (2014) is put forth in which the degree of acceptability depends on the number of conditions that subextraction violates. In this view, the higher number of violations implies a higher degree of unacceptability. I discuss cases of *wh*-movement but extend the analysis to cases of focus fronting.

In Chapter 4 I deal with discourse-induced movement making a systematic contrast between English and Spanish. I introduce a typology of topics and foci, based on previous work by Frascarelli (2007), Frascarelli and Jiménez-Fernández (2019), Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014), Camacho-Taboada *et al.* (2016), *etc.* More specifically, I discuss Aboutness-shift topics, Contrastive topics and given or Familiar Topics, on the one hand, and Information Focus, Contrastive Focus and Mirative Focus, on the other hand. I claim that these types of topics and foci are not always restricted to root or root-like contexts in all languages.

Whereas in English most of these discourse categories are Main Clause Phenomena (MCP), in other languages such as Spanish and Japanese some discourse categories are not MCP. Even within a single language we must observe a distinction between true MCP and fake MCP. This is the case of Spanish where I show that specific  $\delta$ -features can either be inherited by T from C while other  $\delta$ -features are retained in C. This explains why some topics and foci may occur in all syntactic contexts while others are banned in subordinate clauses.

To account for this cross-linguistic and language internal distinction, I propose that  $\delta$ -features remain in C in languages such as English and hence all discourse-induced movements target the CP area. If some subordinate sentences contain an event operator which competes for the same position, unacceptability is produced due to intervention effects. However, in Spanish (and Japanese) the availability of some discourse categories in subordinate environments is explained by the inheritance of the  $\delta$ -feature by T. If a given discourse category undergoes movement to the TP area there is no intervention with the event operator in embedded sentences, thereby yielding a grammatical output.

Finally, in Chapter 5 I offer the main conclusions from the previous chapters.



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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION: WORD ORDER, INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND THE CP PHASE

### 1.1. Introduction

In this chapter I am concerned with the interaction of different types of grammatical features in order to explain why languages may vary in their surface word order. In current generative grammar it is assumed that all languages are uniform and their differences may be reduced to specific traits of utterances. This is what Chomsky (2001, 2) states in his Uniformity Principle. This principle has led many linguists to explore the possibility of explaining parametric differences in terms of grammatical features (Miyagawa 2005, 2009, 2017; Sigurðsson 2004).

These linguists have claimed that all languages contain the same kind of featural system. However, variation in the nature of grammatical features has received different explanations. Sigurðsson (2004) holds that although all languages share the same type of features, some of these features are not pronounced<sup>1</sup>, while Miyagawa (2005) presents evidence that all features are present in all languages, but some of them are given a special prominence at the expense of other features. Miyagawa concentrates on agreement and focus features and establishes a classification of languages according to whether they put a special emphasis on agreement features or on focus features.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sigurðsson (2004, 242) actually holds that the fact that a language does not overtly instantiate a feature does not mean that this grammatical feature is absent from its narrow syntax. For example, Finnish does not contain articles, but this does not imply that this language does not express definiteness. This is exactly how ‘pronunciation’ should be understood in this work. However, one pending issue, which is not addressed by Sigurðsson, is when a feature can be left unpronounced.

<sup>2</sup> As Rouveret (p.c.) suggests, another possibility is that Universal Grammar (UG) provides a universal set of features and languages differ in the number and type of

This chapter is divided in three parts. The second section discusses basic notions about information structure and the role of syntax in word order and its interface with discourse.

The third section introduces Miyagawa's initial classification, whose main shortcoming is that it does not account for a third type of language which is based on both types of features: agreement and discourse features.<sup>3</sup> Miyagawa's analysis lies on the mechanism of feature inheritance, which I basically adopt here, and which holds that grammatical features work in conjunction with an EPP (Extended Projection Principle) feature to attract the constituent that a phasal head agrees with.<sup>4</sup>

In the fourth section I extend the strategy of feature inheritance to languages in which both agreement features and discourse features. An example of this type of languages is Spanish, where I will show that all

---

features that they select (Marantz and Halle 2008). Chomsky (2001, 10) observes that languages vary in their featural inventories, making different choices upon a common set of features. This is clearly in contrast with the Uniformity Principle, which states that languages are uniform, suggesting that UG features will be attested in all languages, albeit some grammatical features are rather blurred in some languages (See Sigurðsson 2004 for a similar position).

<sup>3</sup> That agreement features and discourse features are closely related should not come as a surprise. Simpson and Wu (2001) argue that in their evolution some languages show that agreement is a consequence of a focus structure. Branigan (2005) also posits that in Algonquian languages the verb inflects for object agreement when the object is a topic or a focus. The same pattern is found in Tsez by Polinsky and Potsdam (2001). This interconnection justifies the position I am taking that agreement and discourse features are two values of a single parameter.

In some languages (Italian or Spanish) Topic structures require an agreement marker (clitic) on the verb (Alexopoulou and Kolliakou 2002). This suggests that movement to the periphery goes along with the realization of agreement features. However, focus constructions exclude the presence of a clitic, which might be taken as evidence that the relation between agreement and discourse is not so straightforward. Turkish, on the other hand, illustrates the possibility that focus can also be associated with agreement, since it contains clitics which are consistently related to the focus of a clause. Such is the case of the marker *d4*, as Göksel and Özsoy (2003) show.

<sup>4</sup> The EF has received different names and treatments. More standardly, it is known as the EPP feature. In my work, I adopt Chomsky's (2004, 2005) proposal that the EPP feature or Edge Feature triggers movement of the probed category. Alternatively, Rouveret (2010, 237) claims that "EPP is not the feature which causes post-Agree Move." He considers the possibility that a principle such as the EPP should be kept independent from the idea that some probes attract their goal. See also Biskup (2007) for different approaches to EPP.



grammatical features of phasal C are inherited to T. This explains certain differences as regards word order and information structure.

## 1.2. Information Structure: Some preliminaries

From the beginning of the 20th century, interest has been increasing in the communicative function of language. In order to distinguish between the grammatical structure of a sentence and the way we use a string of words to express a specific message, Ammann (1928) proposed the classical distinction between theme and rheme, which was inherited by the Prague School. In the USA it was Halliday (1967) who introduced this distinction, being the first linguist to use the term ‘information structure’. For this author, the sentence is divided into phonological units which are more or less heavy depending on their informational content. In later years, Chafe (1976) introduced the notion of ‘information packaging’, developed by Vallduví (1992). In this line, the organization of discourse is ruled by the Information Flow Principle (Chafe 1987; Prince 1981), which states that information is arranged from given to new.

Within Generative Grammar, Chomsky (1971) makes the distinction between focus and presupposition. In Chomsky’s theory natural languages are distinguished in terms of parameters, which are the grammatical choices allowed by Universal Grammar. As regards the information structure, there are languages which most frequently use phonological strategies such as intonation whereas other languages employ syntactic and/or morphological devices (Kiss 1995; Miyagawa 2010). For example, English is a language which uses intonation, while other languages such as Hungarian, Turkish or Japanese are discourse-configurational where factors such as word order and specific discourse-content morphology rule the distribution of pieces of information in the message. This distinction does not mean that the first group does not have morphosyntactic strategies nor that the second group lacks phonological resources to organize discourse. It is rather a question of preference. The first class of languages emphasizes syntactic rearrangement (alongside intonation), whereas the second class prefers purely intonational devices.

The information structure of a sentence is connected with the way a message is presented in discourse. Traditionally, within a formal approach, two levels of articulation have been distinguished, namely 1) Topic + Comment and 2) Presupposition + Focus (Lambrecht 1994; Rizzi 1997; Zubizarreta 1998). The Topic is typically associated with information shared by the participants in the discourse and it is described as the entity that the sentence is about (Reinhart 1982). On the other hand, the

Comment is the part of the sentence which is predicated about the topic. To illustrate, in a sentence such as (1) the topic is italicized whereas the comment is the rest of the sentence:

- (1) *This computer* may solve all your problems.

This sentence may be uttered in a context where the entity *this computer* has already been introduced and hence it refers to information known by the participants (given information).

The second level of articulation involves the partition in terms of focus and presupposition. The focus of the sentence is the most prominent element from a discourse point of view, and it displays new information, whereas the presupposition part includes information that is known, and it is also referred to as Background. In the previous example the focus position can be the bold-typed DP *all your problems* and the preceding sentence part can be the presupposition:

- (2) This computer may solve **all your problems**.

The DP *all your problems* expresses new information and the sentence can be used as the answer to a question such as *What may this computer solve?* Note that the focus correlates with the comment in that it is part of it, and the topic correlates with the presupposition since the former must be included in the latter.

In the canonical pattern associated with the sentence, the topic most often coincides with the subject. This is the case in (1). In addition, the focus is developed either by the whole VP or by a smaller VP-internal unit. In (2) the new information may be provided by the VP *solve all your problems* or by the DP object *all your problems*, depending on what information is requested as new (*What may this computer do?* or *What may this computer solve?* respectively). The SVO order is the canonical pattern in languages such as English, Spanish, French, German, etc., whereas in other languages such as Turkish and Japanese the canonical word order is SOV.<sup>5</sup>

However, this basic order can be altered in the syntax of natural languages when discourse functions are assigned to constituents other than those which usually develop them. Discourse-based strategies which involve some syntactic rearrangement are Topicalization in English (3),

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<sup>5</sup> For a typological approach to different canonical word orders, see Greenberg (1963) and Givón (1982).



Left Dislocation in German (4), Left and Right Dislocation in Romance languages and Greek (5-6), or Scrambling in languages such as Turkish, Hiaki, Russian and Japanese (7):

- (3) Most of my stuff my mom gets at Alexander's. (Huddleston and Pullum 2001, 1373)
- (4) Diesen Mann, den kenne ich nicht. [German]  
 this.ACC man that-one.ACC know I not  
 'This man, I don't know [him].' (Grohmann 2000, 160)
- (5) El cordero, yo lo hago al  
 horno con menta. [Spanish]  
 the lamb I CL-ACC.3SG.MSC cook-PRES.1SG  
 to.the oven with mint  
 'Lamb, I usually cook it with mint and in the oven.' (adapted from Fernández-Sánchez 2017, 3)
- (6) Les he posat a la nevera, les  
 CL-ACC.3PL.FM have-PRES.1SG put in the fridge, the  
 pomes. [Catalan]  
 apples  
 'I've put the apples in the fridge.' (Fernández-Sánchez 2017, 4)
- (7) a. Kto poceloval Katju? [Russian]  
 who kiss-PAST.3SG Catherine  
 'Who kissed Catherine?'  
 b. Katju pocelovala Anja  
 Catherine.ACC kiss-PAST.3SG Anna  
 'Anna kissed Catherine.' (Titov 2012, 19-20)

All these sentences involve some sort of rearrangement in the syntax, which leads to a special emphasis on a specific constituent whose unmarked syntactic position does not in principle show any prominence. More precisely, these constructions are the result of the interface between syntax and discourse, which is ultimately what information structure is about.

In a formal view of information structure, it is the CP-area and the TP-area that have been identified as the domains where discourse-based syntactic operations have been claimed to apply (Rizzi 1997, Haegeman 2012, Miyagawa 2017 for the two positions). The clausal domain (TP) is assumed to project into a left periphery via CP. Chomsky (2008) defines CP as a phase, whose head is endowed with features. In the following section I discuss the two types of features that drive the computation of a sentence, namely agreement and discourse features, in connection with the



type of head (i.e. phasal or non-phasal) which may shelter them. I will pay special attention to Miyagawa's system.

### 1.3. The C-T system as the locus for agreement/discourse

#### 1.3.1. Grammatical features and phases

The framework that Miyagawa (2005, 2010, 2017) adopts is the Minimalist Program as it is presented in Chomsky (2001, 2007, 2008). In this model of grammar lexical items (LIs) enter the derivation with a series of inflectional features, which are probed by the agreement features under the categories of T(ense) and V. These two elements contain the relevant agreement features responsible for the valuation of the Case features of the subject and object, respectively. Conversely, these two nominals will have interpretable  $\phi$ -features which will value the  $\phi$ -features under T and V.

The uninterpretable features of T and V are held to be inherited from C(omplementizer) and  $v$  respectively. By a lowering process the agreement features in C and  $v$  percolate down to T and V to assure that Feature Valuation takes place in the domain of a phase.<sup>6</sup> Chomsky (2001) even insists that the only categories containing uninterpretable inflectional features are phasal heads. These features are lowered onto T and V, which contain an EF responsible for attracting the relevant phrase to a specifier position. The Feature Valuation process is implemented through the structural operation of AGREE, by which a Probe (P) searches for a suitable Goal (G). As a consequence, there is a kind of exchange of features. Chomsky assumes that Probes can only be phasal heads (C and  $v$ ) and the operation of AGREE will be restricted to phases (CP and  $v$ P)<sup>7</sup>. Once all those features are valued, the uninterpretable features will be deleted before Transfer to the semantic and phonological components.<sup>8</sup>

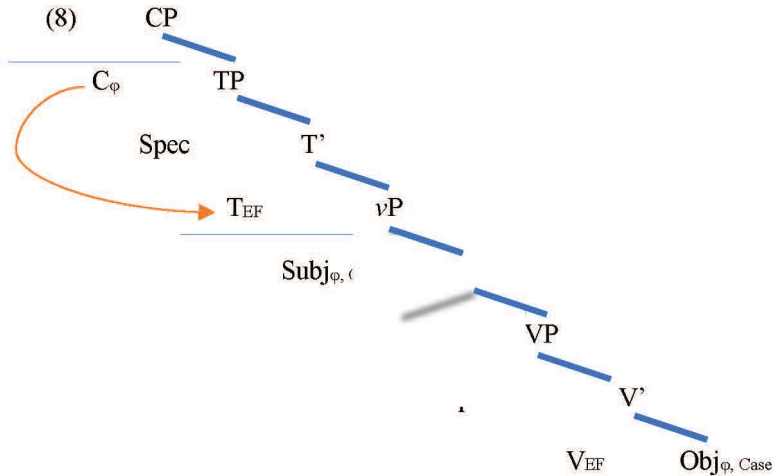
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<sup>6</sup> There are other proposals concerning the existence of unvalued  $\phi$ -features under C. Branigan (2005, 8) claims that "instead of feature inheritance, C will contain unvalued  $\phi$  which will be replaced with a valued  $\phi$  set, so C will agree with the features in T and the subject DP". Also, the process of feature inheritance has been argued to be from T to C. On this possibility, see Rouveret (2010).

<sup>7</sup> The standard idea is that  $v$ P is a phase only in transitive constructions. However, Marantz (2008) extends the concept of phasehood to include other types of  $v$ P. I will leave the question open as it does not alter the line of reasoning in this work. See also Boeckx and Grohmann (2007) for a general definition of phases which relates them to the notion of island and bounding node.

<sup>8</sup> See Richards (2007) for the interconnection between unvalued features, feature inheritance and Transfer.

The syntactic skeleton of a sentence and the features involved may be represented as follows:



In a typical transitive sentence, the different LIs selected from the Lexicon are merged with one another via the relevant grammatical features. This is what Chomsky (2008) calls External Merge, to be distinguished from Internal Merge or Move. T and V only contain the EF but inherit their unvalued uninterpretable features from their respective phasal heads, C and  $v$  (Chomsky 2008, 147). This is illustrated for T-to-C lowering in (8) using block arrows.

Following recent ideas by Chomsky (2008), there seems to be a strict parallelism between C and  $v$ . Both of them are the heads of a phase and their  $\phi$ -features are lowered onto the category they select, T and V. These  $\phi$ -features in conjunction with the EF will probe the subject and the object as their goals, establishing the AGREE relation by which the uninterpretable features are valued and deleted, and the goals will move to the edge of T and V. This is what Chomsky refers to as Internal Merge (IM). This mechanism will be crucial to my analysis of word order, as it “yields discourse-related properties such as old information” (Chomsky 2008, 139).

Another possible  $\langle P, G \rangle$  relation is the one which is set by Long-Distance Agreement. In this case, P and G agree but there is no movement of G to the specifier of P. Expletive constructions in English can be used to illustrate Long-Distance Agreement:

- (9) There seem to have been several problems.

In this existential construction T agrees with the following Quantifier Phrase (QP), but the expletive *there* is inserted in its edge in order to satisfy the EF under T.

### 1.3.2. Grammatical features and discourse features

All types of Agreement relations are based on unvalued uninterpretable features.<sup>9</sup> Chomsky (2007) calls them agreement features. However, there are languages in which AGREE seems to operate in conjunction with discourse features. As mentioned above, Miyagawa (2005) and Chomsky (2008) have claimed that agreement features are associated in the Lexicon with phasal heads (C and *v*). This way, they are on a par with focus and topic features under the assumption that Focus and Topic depend on the region of C.

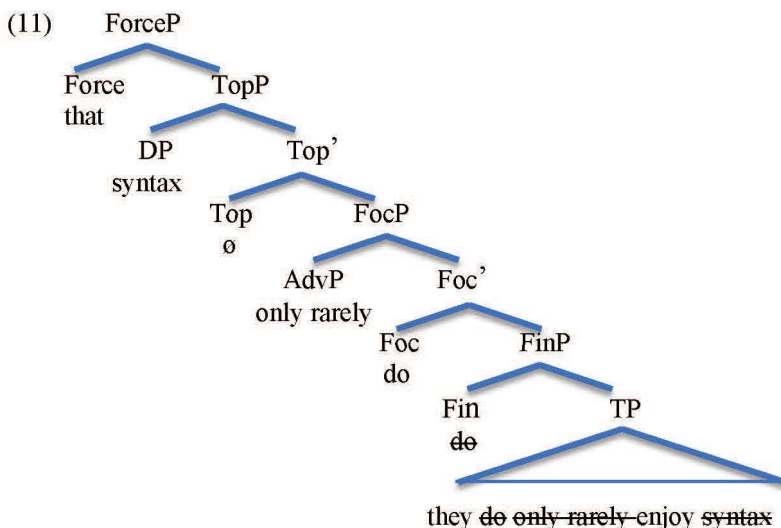
The idea that the C-system is responsible for focalization and topicalization is not new. This has been extensively explored by Rizzi (1997, 2004) in his cartographic approach and É Kiss (1998), among many others. These linguists have proposed that the C-system is split into different functional categories in order to account for word order and discourse interpretation. To give a concrete example, the structure of a sentence such as (10), involving a topic and a focus in the left periphery, will be something like (11):

- (10) Students say that syntax only rarely do they enjoy. (Adapted from Radford 2009)

---

<sup>9</sup> For different relations between the notions of valuation and interpretability, see Pesetsky and Torrego (2007). Contrary to the standard view that all uninterpretable features are unvalued and *vice versa*, these linguists hold that some features may be interpretable but unvalued, or uninterpretable but valued.





The exploration of these discourse-related movements and their role in the rearrangement of word order has led to the proliferation of many functional categories, which, in a way, might be regarded as uneconomical. In fact, Chomsky (2008: 139) states that discourse-related properties make up a subcomponent within the Conceptual-Intentional (C-I) interface, not strictly marked in the narrow syntax by specific discourse-like categories. What is clear is that at least in some languages there are discourse-induced movements in the narrow syntax, and the interpretation of these displaced constituents is to be assigned at the C-I interface.

Within Chomsky's (1995) framework, in my previous research I proposed that certain rearrangements in the canonical word order of English or Spanish are due to the movement of a constituent to the specifier of the relevant Topic/Focus phrase to check a Topic or Focus feature (Rizzi 1997 and subsequent; Jiménez-Fernández 2005). Under the assumption that a Spec(ifier)-Head relationship is no longer available in UG to establish structural agreement, I will re-elaborate my previous proposal to the effect that certain LIs are extracted from the Lexicon with a [Top]- or [Foc]-feature. These features are interpretable because the discourse information that they convey is necessary in the semantic component. Following Miyagawa (2005), I assume that phasal heads

contain agreement features and discourse features.<sup>10</sup> This seems to be universal in the light of Miyagawa's proposal, which is based on Chomsky's (2001, 2) Uniformity Principle:

(12) *Uniformity Principle:*

In the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, assume languages to be uniform, with variety restricted to easily detectable properties of utterances.

In conformity with the Uniformity Principle, Miyagawa (2005) argues that all languages contain the same set of features, which will be universally manifested in some way. He concentrates on the inflectional features of agreement and focus and uses this set of features to establish parametric variation between two types of languages: those that exploit agreement features to trigger movement, Indo-European languages, and those that highlight focus features, Japanese. In other words, Miyagawa (2005) classifies languages according to whether they are agreement-prominent or focus prominent.

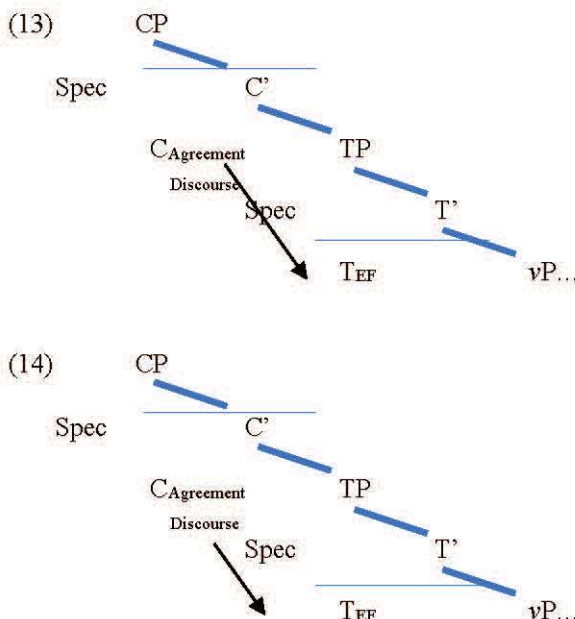
Miyagawa assumes that T has an EPP or edge feature universally that has to be satisfied in conjunction with agreement or focus features, which will be inherited from the phasal head C (See note 3 for a general approach to the relation between agreement and focus features).

I adopt this parametric variation in essence, but, as I have already suggested, in my system there is a third class of languages, which emphasize both focus and agreement features. Spanish is an example of this type of language. I understand the focus feature as a discourse feature in that the constituent satisfying the relevant feature by movement might be interpreted as either new or old information. So it may be a case of focalization or topicalization. I view the inflectional system of languages as consisting of strictly morphological features and syntactic features. More specifically, a difference should be made between morphosyntactic and discourse-syntactic features. Both of them are responsible for the activation of AGREE in the narrow syntax and work in conjunction with the EF under T.

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<sup>10</sup> Actually Miyagawa (2005) claims that C contains agreement features and focus features. I will add a [Top]-feature to both phasal heads, C and *v*. Tense features may also be seen as originating in C. However, if Chomsky (2008) and Miyagawa (2005) are right when positing that non-phasal heads enter the derivation only with interpretable features, it follows that tense features will be sheltered under T from the very beginning of a derivation. I will not pursue this issue any further as I will not consider tense features in my analysis.

We can see in (13-14) how the interaction of agreement/discourse features with the EF may explain the basic differences between languages:



From these two representations it can be inferred that all languages are held to contain both Agreement features and Discourse features. However, in Miyagawa's (2005, 206) words, "a language is either focus prominent or agreement prominent. But it isn't the case that, for example, an agreement prominent language does not also have focus" (Bear in mind that 'focus' stands for discourse functions in general in my approach).

If a language is agreement prominent, the agreement features spread down from C to T and, along with the EF under T, attract the category agreed with to Spec-TP. On the other hand, if a language is discourse prominent, the discourse feature under C is inherited by T and, in conjunction with its EF, triggers the Internal Merge of a constituent with the same discourse feature to Spec-TP.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> On previous approaches to a possible classification of languages depending on their discourse configurational character, see Li and Thompson (1976) and É Kiss (1995). They suggest that languages can be classified as subject-prominent or topic-prominent. One of the determining factors that É Kiss (1995) points out is how often a language uses Topicalization.



The movement operations analyzed in Miyagawa (2005) involve both the notions of focus and topic and, as I mentioned before, sometimes there is no clear distinction drawn between the two types of discourse functions.<sup>12</sup> This is a further complication since I concentrate on the concept of topic and assume that at least informational focus is a derivative function, not to be linked to a specific syntactic category. In this respect, I follow Neeleman and Reinhart's (1998) proposal that the assignment of focus domains is determined by a Focus Rule, to the effect that any constituent containing the main stress in TP will be the focus of TP.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, I will leave aside the notion of identificational or contrastive focus.<sup>14</sup>

Chomsky (2001, 2005, 2007) has claimed that there exists a strict parallelism between phasal heads, specifically C and little *v*, in that they come from the Lexicon with some unvalued feature which activates AGREE by means of a <P, G> relation. Taking this view as a base, I will explore both the C-system and the *v*-system in terms of the kind of inflectional features that the two heads contain.

The grammatical features taken into consideration in Miyagawa's are held to belong to the C-area. Nevertheless, in my view these features are also related to little *v* (see Chapter 2). V inherits agreement features and/or discourse features from the light *v*. In some languages, an unvalued

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<sup>12</sup> This is not surprising at all. The unclear borderline between focus and topic seems to be crosslinguistic. In Celtic languages the same syntactic forms can support the two readings (Rouveret, p.c.).

<sup>13</sup> One problem posed by this phonological approach is that some languages show designated positions for focus (informational focus). Such is the case for Italian, whose strategy is phonological and syntactic. Furthermore, there are languages which do not use phonological devices to single out the informational focus, as it is the case of Chinese, whose strategy is basically syntactic. And finally, there are languages like Portuguese which mostly use stress to mark focus without resorting to movement. On these possibilities, see Costa (2004), Xu (2004), Belletti (2004), *inter alia*. It might be the case that the assignment of new information focus varies among languages, so that at least for some languages specific syntactic positions must be posited to explain word order variation. As this simply does not influence my hypothesis about topics, I will just suppose that in some languages the Focus Rule will be in charge of determining the informational focus of the clause. See Ortega-Santos (2006) for a proposal in which Copy Theory and Sentence Stress Assignment conditions interact to mark the new information focus of a sentence.

<sup>14</sup> For differences between identificational and informational focus, see Drubig (2003), É. Kiss (1998), Belletti (2004), Xu (2004), and Zubizarreta (1999), among many others. Note that the kind of focus that Miyagawa (2005) deals with is the contrastive or identificational focus that can be detected in the CP system.

uninterpretable [Top]-feature is spread down from little *v* to *V*. In conjunction with an EF, the [Top]-feature gets valued and attracts the relevant topic category to Spec-VP.

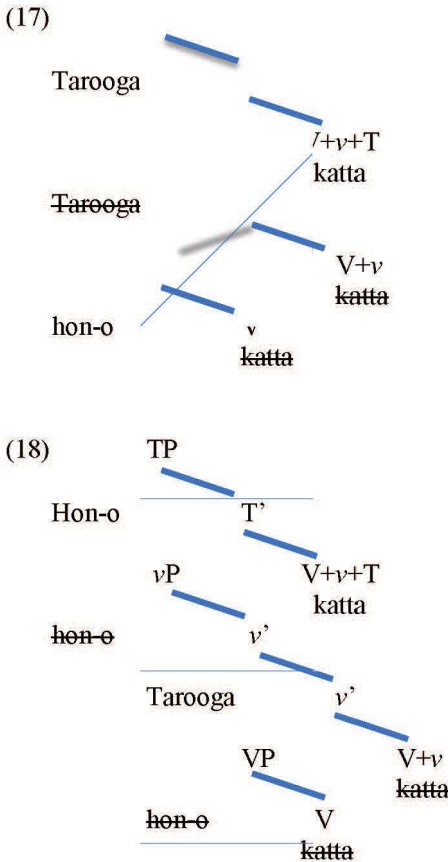
### 1.3.3 The CP phase and agreement/discourse prominence: English vs. Japanese

In this section I go through the different agreement relations and the discourse functions that describe how languages develop their system of grammatical features within the CP-area. The left periphery of a clause has been claimed to be the place where discourse functions are detected (Rizzi 1997 and subsequent work), but also it is the zone where agreement features have been identified (Carstens 2003; Chomsky 2005). Given these two ideas, it can be proposed that there are languages which require spreading of agreement features to T, languages which need percolation of discourse features to T, and languages that utilize both types of lowering.

Concentrating on the C phase, Miyagawa (2005, 2010) concludes that Japanese is a focus-prominent language or a discourse-prominent language, to use my neutral terminology. I will illustrate this conclusion by analyzing the sentences in (15) and (16) from Ishihara (2000):

- (15) a. Taroo-ga      hon-o      katta.  
          Taro-NOM      book-ACC bought  
          ‘Taro bought a book’.
- b. Hon-o      Taroo-ga      katta.  
          book-ACC      Taro-NOM bought  
          ‘A book, Taro bought’.
- (16) a. Taroo-ga      kyoo      hon-o      katta.  
          Taro-NOM      yesterday book-ACC bought  
          ‘Yesterday Taro bought a book’.
- b. Hon-o      Taroo-ga      kyoo      katta.  
          book-ACC      Taro-NOM yesterday bought  
          ‘A book, Taro bought yesterday’.

Miyagawa (2005) uses these sentences to detect differences in terms of the informational focus available in each of those constructions. The interpretations of (15a-b) and (16a-b) are thoroughly distinct. The analysis proposed by Ishihara (2000) for (15a) and (15b) is as follows:



Following Ishihara (2000), Koizumi (2000) and Miyagawa (2005), the verb in Japanese raises first to the light  $v$ , and then it ends up in T. In both (17) and (18) *katta* moves to T via  $v$ . Descriptively, in (15a) the order of constituents is the canonical SOV, while in (15b) this order has been altered and it corresponds to an OSV construction. Many linguists have interpreted this rearrangement as a case of Scrambling (e.g., Bailyn 2001; Ko 2007). For instance, in (18) the object *hon-o* has been scrambled to Spec-TP.<sup>15</sup> As a previous step and following the Phase Impenetrability

<sup>15</sup> As Miyagawa (p.c.) points out, in the Japanese scrambling literature, the scrambled element is typically assumed to adjoin to TP, not move directly into Spec-TP. This analysis is traced back to Saito's (1985) MIT dissertation.



Principle, this nominal expression has moved to Spec-vP in order to satisfy an optional EF under v. In (17) there is no object shift at all and the subject *Taroo-ga* has been attracted to Spec-TP.

Adopting ideas by Chomsky (2001), Fox (2000) and Miyagawa (2005, 2006), it can be argued that optional movement is available only if it has some kind of effect on the output. What this means is that if a new position for a constituent leads to a rather different interpretation of the whole string where this occurs, that movement is licensed.<sup>16</sup>

In the light of this claim, the two patterns SOV and OSV display different interpretations in terms of the topic/focus structure that they represent. The constructions in (15a-b) differ in that in (15a) the subject *Taroo-ga* is the topic of the sentence, while the object *hon-o* is the informational focus, providing new information about Taro. On the other hand, in (15b) *hon-o* is regarded as the topic of the sentence and *Taroo-ga* may perform the function of informational focus. Syntactically, in (15a) the subject *Taroo-ga* seems to have been moved to Spec-TP while the object *hon-o* remains *in situ*. A different explanation for movement can be given for (15b): the object moves to Spec-TP, while the subject stays in its original position.

What examples (15a-b) illustrate is simply that in Japanese subject and object movement may be viewed as optional. However, in accordance with the Minimalist Program, where movement is feature-driven, if the subject or object is attracted to Spec-TP it is because they should contain some feature which triggers their displacement. In my system this feature is a discourse-like feature, specifically a [Top]-feature under T, which attracts the constituent that it agrees with, getting a value and then being deleted due to its non-interpretability. This [Top]-feature is inherited from C and works in conjunction with the EF under T.<sup>17, 18</sup>

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However, the view that the scrambled constituent moves to Spec-TP is consistent with Kuroda (1988) and Miyagawa (2001).

<sup>16</sup> On the (non-)optionality of movement, see the compilation of articles in Karimi (2003) and Sabel and Saito (2005). See also Miyagawa (2006), who claims that an element can freely move, but if it receives interpretation in the new position it will stay there; otherwise reconstruction will apply.

<sup>17</sup> This view is consistent with the subject-in-situ generalization proposed by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2001). When the topic is the object, as in (15b), the subject seems to stay in its original position within the *v*-system.

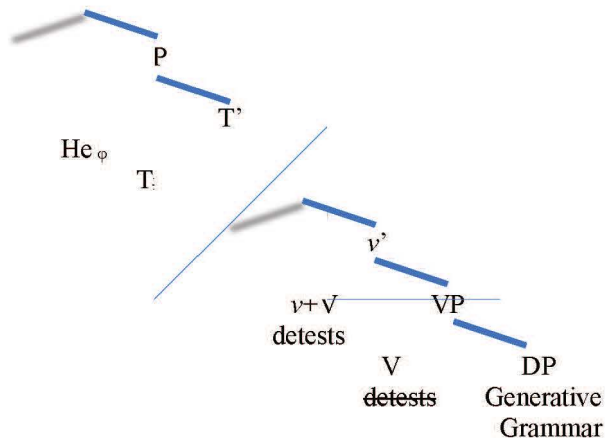
<sup>18</sup> Maki et al. (1999) also propose the existence of a topic feature to explain topicalization in embedded clauses in Japanese and English. However, they claim that topics adjoin to INFL and then INFL moves at LF to C. This is untenable in my system in that there is no movement of T to C, rather the features under C are lowered onto T.

As I said above, this featural mechanism is allowed in languages because it has an effect on the output, this being the distinction between two discourse readings of a string of constituents. If this is on the right track, the optionality that I am dealing with here is simply illusory. Movement of a topicalized element is well-motivated and demonstrates that Japanese is a discourse-prominent language. From this it follows that in discourse-prominent languages the periphery should be identified with the TP domain.

Now I turn to English. In this language word order seems to be less free and special prominence is given to the agreement relation between the verb and the subject. This means that English is what Miyagawa (2005; 2010) calls an agreement-prominent language. To illustrate this type of language, let's pay attention to an English sentence such as (19) and its partial analysis in (20):

(19) He detests Generative Grammar.

(20)



Following Chomsky's (2005, 2007) idea that only phasal heads contain unvalued features, C is extracted from the Lexicon with unvalued  $\phi$ -features that percolate down to T, which probes a suitable constituent. The  $\phi$ -features under T will be valued as [3<sup>rd</sup> SG] via AGREE with the pronoun *he*, and these features along with the EF make it possible for the category agreed with to internally merge in the specifier position of TP. In the process of Transfer to the semantic and phonological components, the already valued uninterpretable features under T are deleted.



The operation of AGREE in English is based on agreement features and in Miyagawa's (2005) system, this means that English is an agreement-prominent language. In line with Chomsky's (2001) Uniformity Principle, Sigurðsson (2004) claims that, although all languages will share the same set of features, in a specific language a subset of these features is not pronounced. This would imply that for English, as an agreement-prominent language, discourse features are silent. They should not be pertinent in such a language, as a consequence of Sigurðsson's (2004) Silent Principle.<sup>19</sup> However, if a stronger version of the Uniformity Principle is adopted, we could predict that although languages can be either agreement or discourse prominent, they should presumably show observable examples of the silent features. This is the view adopted by Miyagawa (2005). In my next section I discuss some marginal cases that are to be found in Japanese and English. These cases will be straightforwardly accounted for if the universal overt manifestation of the silent features is on the right track.

### 1.3.4. Discourse in agreement and agreement in discourse

It is clear that a typology of languages can be established on the basis of their agreement or discourse prominence character. This parametric variation is a reflex of the kind of inflectional feature that percolates down from C to T. However, this does not eliminate the possibility of facing obvious cases of discourse movement in agreement languages and agreement-related movement in discourse configurational languages. If this is true, it will support the universality of the set of inflectional features

Japanese has been claimed to highlight its discourse features and blur its agreement features.<sup>20</sup> Miyagawa (2005: 29) suggests that one possible example involving agreement in Japanese is the topic construction in (21):

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<sup>19</sup> As it will become clear, my interpretation of the fact that features may be silent in a given language is that a distinction should be drawn between languages in which discourse features do not percolate onto T and those where they do. However, when the spreading of discourse features is not given primacy in a language, other devices are used to mark discourse functions.

<sup>20</sup> It would be tempting to say that in languages like Japanese agreement features are absent. It will be shown, however, in the text that Japanese instantiates some examples of agreement features. Additionally, if Chomsky is right when claiming that agreement features are necessary in the valuation of Case features, it should be clear that agreement features, though blurred, are present in Japanese.

- (21) *Taroo-wa hon-o katta.*  
 Taro-TOP book-ACC bought  
 ‘As for Taro, he bought a book.’

This sentence has an informational interpretation different from (15a), in the sense that *Taroo-wa* inflects overtly for topichood. In (15a) *Taroo-ga*, inflected for nominative, is a topic, but there exists a clear distinction between the two types of marking. Only *Taroo-wa* performs the function of Contrastive Topic (cf. Lee 2003, 2006).<sup>21</sup> Actually both particles can co-occur in the same sentence:

- (22) a. *Pan-wa Toni-san-ga tabemasu.*  
 bread-TOP Tony-Mr.-NOM eat  
 ‘Mr. Tony eats bread (in contrast with something else)’.  
 b. *Toni-san-wa pan-o tabemasu.*  
 Tony-Mr.-TOP bread-ACC eat  
 ‘Mr. Tony eats bread (in contrast with other people present in the conversation)’

The constituents that are left in situ in (22a-b), *Toni-san-ga* and *pan-o* respectively, may be interpreted as new information, as informational focus. However, the explanation that might be given for the occurrence of the Contrastive Topic at the left end of both clauses is that the overtly inflected Topic moves to the C-zone in order to satisfy an agreement relation (Whitman 1991), and subsequently be overtly marked for topichood.<sup>22</sup>

If Japanese is a discourse-prominent language, its discourse features will percolate down from C to T, but its agreement features will remain under C. This will account for the fact that a Contrastive Topic must raise

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<sup>21</sup> Miyagawa (p.c.) points out that the *-wa* marked phrases in Japanese are typically discourse topic, not contrastive topic, although *-wa* can also function as such. However, as Kuroda (2005) puts it, to account for the functions *-wa* and *-ga* markers is a perennial issue among Japanese linguists. For example, Kuno (1973) notes that topic *-wa* occurs most often in root clauses, while the contrastive use of *-wa* is common in embedded as well as root clauses. Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014) have claimed that *-wa* topics are sentence topics which are licensed only in root or root-like clauses, wh. On different discourse usages of *-wa*, see Kuroda (2005). I come back to the root vs. embedded dichotomy in Chapter 4.

<sup>22</sup> For further description of Japanese informational structure and its intricacies, see Tamioka (2007) and Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014).



to Spec-CP. The syntax of Contrastive Topics and Topics<sup>23</sup> in Japanese will be different in that Topics move to Spec-TP due to the interaction of T's EF and its unvalued [Top]-feature, while Contrastive Topics will internally merge to Spec-CP, where the agreement features have been left.<sup>24</sup>

In Section 1.3.3 I have assumed the agreement-prominent character of English, which is reflected on the agreement relation between subject and verb. This means that the  $\phi$ -features have percolated down to T and, along with the EF, attract the subject to Spec-TP. The immediate consequence of the Uniformity Principle is that the discourse features are blurred in English and remain in the region of C. The prediction is that a topic or focus in English will never move to Spec-TP, instead they will use the C-system where the discourse features have been left. Due to the fact that English is not a discourse-prominent language, it will show at least some cases of discourse movement. Let us illustrate this assertion with examples (23), taken from Radford (2009):

- (23) a. *No other colleague* would he turn to.  
       b. *That kind of behavior*, we cannot tolerate in a civilized society.  
       c. He prayed [*that atrocities like those, never again would he witness*].

In (23a), some rearrangement of the canonical English pattern has been made, so that the constituent *no other colleague* has been focused/focalized. Accordingly, it has been moved from its original position as object of the preposition *to* after the verb *take* to the front of the sentence in order to receive special emphasis. The phenomenon at issue is called Focalization or Negative Preposing.<sup>25</sup> In languages like English, the focus position in the left periphery seems to be associated with some kind of contrast or correction in relation to what has been said before.

In (23b) the topic *that kind of behavior* is the object of the verb *tolerate*. As such, it should occupy the canonical complement position

<sup>23</sup> For a semantic approach to the distinction between Contrastive and Non-Contrastive Topic, see Lee (2006).

<sup>24</sup> This proposal needs further refinement and development, which I will leave for future research. For the time being, what is crucial is that in discourse-prominent languages some instantiations of agreement features can be found, though marginally.

<sup>25</sup> See Chapter 4 for full details about Negative Preposing in English and Spanish, based on the syntactic operation of feature inheritance.



after *tolerate*. Instead, it is placed at the front of the whole sentence, which suggests that it has undergone a movement operation of some kind. This movement operation is used to mark the displaced constituent as the topic of the sentence, and it is widely known as Topicalization.

Finally, in (23c) the DP *atrocities like those* is the complement of the verb *witness* though it has been dislocated to be highlighted as the topic of the sentence. Also, the fronted negative adverbial phrase *never again* is a focused constituent, which requires subject/auxiliary inversion.

If a cartographic approach to Topicalization and Focalization is adopted (Belletti 2004; Beninca' and Poletto 2004; Cinque 1999; Rizzi 1997, 2004), the analysis proposed for the set of sentences in (23) involves splitting the CP into different functional categories, such as TopP and FocP, to whose specifier positions the relevant constituent moves. An alternative view is that both topics and foci raise to Spec-CP and by adopting the idea of Multiple Specifiers (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2005), the discourse features left under C in conjunction with its EF will attract the different informational pieces to Spec-CP (cf. Svenonius 2004; Jiménez-Fernández 2011). There are predictive differences between the two approaches. For example, if the multiple-specifier outlook is right, it predicts that no verb is allowed to occur between topic and focus. Compare (23c) and *Atrocities like those, would never again he witness*, where the auxiliary intervenes between the topic *atrocities like those* and the displaced focus *never again*.

However, this second possibility also poses a problem for the subordinate clause in (23c). If the complementizer *that* is the head of CP and the discourse-related constituents *atrocities like those* and *never again* move to multiple specifiers in the region of C, it is predicted that topic and focus should precede the complementizer *that*. The prediction is wrong in that the order is just the opposite: complementizer, topic and focus. Another complication arising from the multiple-specifier analysis is that in languages like English focalization requires subject/auxiliary inversion (at least when negative or interrogative expressions are focused). This operation is subsumed under the general movement from T to C. If this analysis is right, subject/auxiliary inversion and the occurrence of the complementizer *that* should be mutually exclusive, which is not the case in the light of examples such as (23c).

It seems that a cartographic analysis is more suitable for the left periphery of the clause in that all the problems posed by the multiple-specifier analysis are solved. However, the postulation of additional functional categories does not follow from Economy. Following the non-universal nature of functional categories proposed by Thráinsson (1996), I

will tentatively assume that in agreement-prominent languages CP may optionally split into different categories so as to allow the internal merge of discourse pieces to the left periphery. On the contrary, in discourse-prominent languages, such as Japanese, there is no need for splitting CP, so that this category will remain syncretized.<sup>26</sup> One corollary of the (non-)splitting difference lies in the possibility that some languages allow for multiple specifiers while other languages resort to other devices. In this respect, on the basis of scrambling data from Japanese and German, Grewendorff and Sabel (1999) have argued that there is a parametric variation across these languages such that Japanese licenses multiple specifiers but German does not.

What seems to be clear is that English, as an agreement-prominent language, also shows some cases where discourse features are relevant for the syntactic operation of AGREE, which confirms the idea that all languages share the same set of inflectional features, though some are given special prominence depending on the language (and even the specific construction) at issue.

### 1.3.5 The counterexample: Spanish (and beyond)

Miyagawa (2005, 2006) holds that Indo-European languages are always agreement-prominent. However, Spanish (along with other languages like Turkish, Greek and Polish, among others)<sup>27</sup> poses a problem for the validity of this classification, since it will be shown to be both agreement- and discourse-prominent.

That Spanish overtly marks subject/verb concord is nothing new. This concord relation has been claimed to manifest itself by movement of the

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<sup>26</sup> Rizzi (1997) develops the notion of syncretism as opposed to splitting. Radford (2009) takes this view and concludes that in clauses with no topicalization and/or focalisation C is syncretised or conflated, to use his term. This conclusion is language-internal. My point is that conflation should also be parametrised so that a syntactic category in a specific language is or is not allowed to split. This idea needs further elaboration. In the present work the (non-)conflation issue is just a tentative solution to the problems posed by the multiple-specifier approach to discourse features. See also Radford (2007) for an analysis of questions in English which is based on the optional syncretism of the category Foc with T.

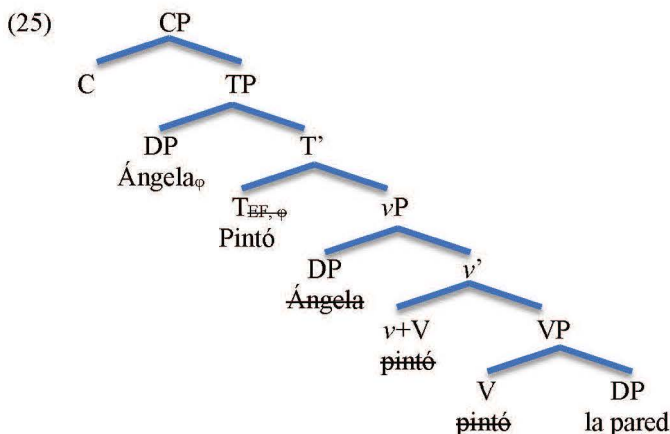
<sup>27</sup> Jiménez-Fernández and Rozwadowska (2015, 2016) show that Polish and Spanish should pattern together with respect to the prominence they give to both agreement and discourse features, based on the syntax of psych constructions. In addition, Jiménez-Fernández and Işsever (2012) suggest that Turkish should be analyzed on a par with Spanish, something I take up in my next chapter.



subject into Spec-TP (Zagona 2002). Example (24) may illustrate this assertion:

- (24) *Ángela pintó la pared.*  
 Angela paint-PAST.3SG the wall  
 ‘Angela scribbled on the wall.’

This sentence follows the canonical pattern for Spanish in terms of word order: SVO. One plausible way to explain how to derive this order is to move the DP subject *Ángela* to Spec-TP and the verb *pintó* into T.<sup>28</sup>



According to the word order obtained in (25), Spanish should be on a par with English in that it overtly shows subject-verb agreement and this is captured if T contains an EF which, in conjunction with the  $\phi$ -features inherited from C, attracts the subject.<sup>29</sup> This is compatible with the view

<sup>28</sup> On overt movement of V to T in Spanish, see Gutiérrez Bravo (2007), Suñer (1992), Zagona (2002), among many others.

<sup>29</sup> Uriagereka (1995) and Ordóñez and Treviño (1999) claim that preverbal subjects in Spanish are also left-dislocated, so that they behave as typical cases of dislocated objects. In my view, this is explained if, as I claim, Spanish lowers both agreement and discourse features from C to T. Dealing with other Romance languages such as Portuguese, Barbosa (2006, 2009) also entertains that in the pattern SVO the subject is dislocated in the left periphery, though see Costa (2001) for a different view. A mixed position is held by Pires (2007), who claims that in Brazilian Portuguese subjects may move to Spec-TP or to a higher position in the CP-system.

that Spanish is an agreement-prominent language. However, Spanish also allows other linear possibilities which seem to involve some kind of rearrangement of the canonical pattern SVO. Alongside (24), we find the following additional word orders (among others):

- |                                 |            |
|---------------------------------|------------|
| (26)a. Pintó Ángela la pared.   | (V-S-O)    |
| b. Pintó la pared Ángela.       | (V-O-S)    |
| c. La pared pintó Ángela.       | (O-V-S)    |
| d. La pared(,) la pintó Ángela. | (O-cl-V-S) |
| e. La pared Ángela pintó.       | (O-S-V)    |
| f. La pared Ángela la pintó.    | (O-S-cl-S) |

From a first look at these sentences, the descriptive conclusion is that elements can be freely reordered in Spanish. Nevertheless, in my view this rearrangement is not completely free. It is subject to discourse rules. Chomsky (2008) holds that optional movement is not truly optional in that it reflects some type of discourse-like properties. This is exactly what we may find in (26): all these sentences have a different informational reading. To be more precise, in (26b) a special discourse emphasis is placed on the subject, which is seen as the informational focus (new information); in (26d) the object has been displaced to the left periphery and it is the topic of the whole sentence.

From the data in (26) the following generalization can be extracted: in Spanish movement of constituents is not optional, it has a discourse-determined motivation. It makes extensive use of discourse movement: (26d) exemplifies a case of Topicalization (in the form of Clitic Left Dislocation), but also in (26c) a contrastive focus is detected when preposing the object. In this sense it is very similar to Japanese and other languages where a robust informational structure is found. In other words, it seems that Spanish is a discourse-prominent language. This leads me to a paradoxical conclusion: on the one hand, due to subject-verb concord, Spanish is an agreement-prominent language, but on the other hand, due to informational movement, Spanish is a discourse-prominent language. Obviously, this conclusion appears to argue against the two-extreme-poles parameter that Miyagawa (2005) proposes.

However, if the same set of inflectional features is present in all languages, except that some languages highlight agreement features, while others emphasize discourse features, it is also predicted that in between there will be some languages which give prominence to both agreement and discourse features. This is justified in the light of word order



rearrangement in languages like Spanish. These no-mans-land languages pose a series of problems:

1. If a language is both agreement and discourse prominent, it should be the case that T will attract any category to satisfy its EF.
2. If T inherits both agreement and discourse features from C, T will attract as many constituents as possible to value its features.
3. If categories other than subjects may raise to Spec-TP and if concord is standardly established between subject and V via T, why does Spanish show examples of clause-final subjects?

The solution to these three closely linked puzzles is related to the inflectional features lowered onto T and the operation of AGREE. Following Gutiérrez Bravo (2007) and Zagona (2002), in Spanish any topic category may move to Spec-TP. This explains the different word orders that sentences in (17) and (19) illustrate. The canonical SVO pattern is obtained by raising the subject into Spec-TP, but this is possible only if the EF under T works in conjunction with both  $\phi$ -features and a [Top]-feature.<sup>30</sup> In order for this process to take place, T inherits the unvalued  $\phi$ -features and the unvalued [Top]-feature from C. The whole process for (17) is represented in (20):<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Dealing with null-subject Romance languages, Barbosa (1994) suggests that the EPP feature under T is satisfied by the rich inflection of the verb. If there is an overt subject, it is placed in a higher specifier position on the periphery. This implies that there is no need to project Spec-TP. Rouveret (2010) rejects this possibility by showing that subjects, in the pattern /SVO/, in Romance languages are not exactly topics as they can be expressed by negative quantifiers such as *ninguém* ‘nobody’ in Portuguese (*Ninguém provavelmente errou* ‘Nobody probably failed’). This is a sign that subjects in Portuguese are not left-dislocated topics.

In my view, the presence of a negative quantifier in these constructions is due to the fact that the subject is the focus of the relevant sentence and focused constituents allow for negative quantifiers. Spanish also instantiates focused subjects which are realised by quantified expressions (*Nadie ha venido todavía* ‘Nobody has come yet’), which illustrates the possibility that subjects in Romance languages may move to Spec-TP due to a (contrastive) focus feature.

<sup>31</sup> This derivation is partial in that I do not pay attention to Case features or to the role of the object in the process of feature valuation. I will come back to the derivation of the rest of the sentences in (26) in Chapter 2.

- (27) [CP [C  $\emptyset$ ] [TP Ángela [T pintó+ $\emptyset$ ] [<sub>VP</sub> ~~Ángela~~ [<sub>V</sub> ~~pintó+ $\emptyset$~~ ] [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V</sub> pintó]  
la pared]]]]]  
           [3rd, SG] [past-tns]  
           [Top] [3rd, SG]  
                   [Top]  
                   [EF]

Following Chomsky (2005, 2007), when the derivation is transferred to the semantic and phonological components, the already valued uninterpretable features are deleted. The rest of the grammatical features involved are necessary for the interpretation of the sentence at LF.<sup>32</sup> The derivation in (27) accounts for the canonical pattern SVO in Spanish. Note that this derivation is based on my claim that T inherits both  $\phi$ -features and  $\delta$ -features from C in languages like Spanish.

Interrogative clauses may pose a problem for the analysis of topics as undergoing movement to Spec-TP. Ordóñez and Olarrea (2006) propose that in interrogatives subjects can remain in situ --(28a)-- or be topicalized to the CP system --(28b)-- in standard varieties of Spanish, in clear contrast with Caribbean Spanish:

- (28) a. ¿Qué comes tú? (Standard Spanish)  
           what eat-PRES.2SG you  
           ‘What do you eat?’  
       b. ¿Tú qué comes? (Standard Spanish)  
           you what eat-PRES.2SG  
           ‘What do you eat?’  
       c. ¿Qué tú comes? (Caribbean Spanish)  
           what you eat-PRES.2SG  
           ‘What do you eat?’

If my proposal that in Spanish agreement and discourse features are lowered onto T is correct, topics are predicted to move to Spec-TP, contrary to fact. However, several solutions may be provided in this respect.

First, the problem might be sorted out if it is assumed that in this type of language discourse features may stay in their original location when C

<sup>32</sup> For an alternative proposal, see Bailyn (2003), who argues for the existence of a Functional Form, responsible for the informational interpretation of sentences. It might be the case that apart from PF and LF there is a Functional Form, but I will not pursue the issue any further here.



is active. An active C may be one containing other necessary features which will be involved in the process of valuation. In (28) C clearly houses an EF feature, which will enable a [Top]-feature to remain in situ. In conjunction with the EF, this [Top]-feature will attract the subject *tú* 'you' to Spec-CP.<sup>33</sup>

Secondly, it might be the case that in Spanish all features under C are spread down onto T. This implies that in interrogatives T inherits agreement, discourse and [*wh*] features. The prediction is that *Wh*-movement in Spanish should use Spec-TP as its landing site. Gutiérrez Bravo (2006) suggests this analysis of Spanish questions. He claims that T may inherit the [*wh*]-feature from the *wh*-phrase via a Spec-Head agreement relation, and then there is no need to project a CP. I adopt Gutiérrez-Bravo's analysis, but I depart from his proposal in that in my system the [*wh*]-feature is inherited from C. T will be the category responsible for activating the process of valuation of agreement, discourse and *wh* features.<sup>34</sup> This follows from Zubizarreta's (1998) description of T as a multifunctional category in Spanish. The EF feature is responsible for multiple specifiers of TP.<sup>35</sup> Rouveret (p.c.) suggests that independent evidence for the multifunctionality of T can be found in subject-initial clauses in Germanic languages. In this respect, Travis (2005) and Zwart (2005) claim that the initial subject is in Spec-TP, rather than Spec-CP.

As mentioned earlier, Spanish seems to be a free word order language. As such, it shows other possible rearrangements which have been illustrated in (26). To start with, (26c) exemplifies the use of the OVS construction in Spanish, where the object has a [Foc]-feature.<sup>36</sup> In the light

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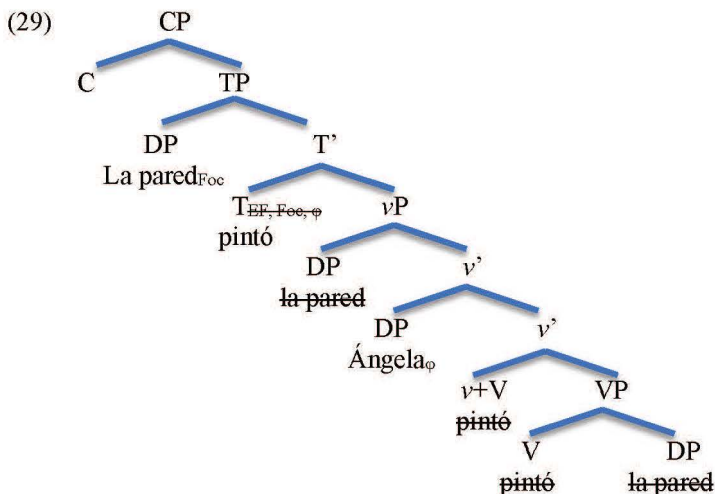
<sup>33</sup> See Ordóñez and Olarrea (2006) for further refinements about the interaction of topics and interrogatives along the lines sketched here.

<sup>34</sup> Miyagawa (2001) and Rizzi (1990) also suggest that in certain cases the *wh*-feature can occur on T. One question that this suggestion raises (posited by Miyagawa, p.c.), is how then is the *wh*-phrase related to the Q(uestion) feature on C to give the appropriate question meaning? If my proposal about feature spreading is correct, the Q-feature would also be inherited by T so that the interrogative interpretation is obtained by associating Q and *wh* in T.

<sup>35</sup> Gutiérrez-Bravo (2006) follows Rivero (1980) in proposing that when the subject has a [Top]-feature and a *wh*-phrase is fronted to Spec-TP, the topicalized subject adjoins to TP, accounting for the linear order in (28b). The same prediction is made under my analysis based on multiple specifiers.

<sup>36</sup> Contrastive focus seems to be overtly manifested in syntax through the instantiation of a contrastive [Foc]-feature which will motivate the internal merge of the corrective/contrastive constituent to the left periphery. On the contrary, informational focus instantiates in languages just as a derivative function, not to be related to a specific [Foc]-feature. In the main text I will elaborate a, rather

of my claim that in Spanish both agreement and discourse features are lowered from C to T, I analyze this sentence as in (29):



Sentence (26c) is the typical construction exemplifying contrastive focus in Spanish. The DP *la pared* ‘the wall’ has entered the Numeration with an interpretable [Foc]-feature. The EF of T in combination with the unvalued [Foc] inherited from C will probe and locate the suitable goal *la pared*. AGREE ensures the valuing of T’s [Foc]-feature. Due to its uninterpretability, this feature gets deleted in the Transfer process.<sup>37</sup>

Evidence that the focalized constituent moves to a position lower than CP comes from the fact that when Focalization takes place in finite subordinate clauses the complementizer *que* ‘that’ precedes the focalized element, as the example in (30) shows:

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sketchy, proposal to distinguish contrastive and informational focus on the basis of absence/presence of a [Foc]-feature. (See Ishihara (2000) and Neeleman and Reinhart (1998) for a similar claim).

<sup>37</sup> This is a partial derivation. I am not taking into account the valuation of Case features. However, following ideas proposed by Chomsky (2005, 2007) and Hiraiwa (2005), I assume that the DP object *la pared* ‘the wall’ gets its unvalued Case feature valued as ACC. Additionally, this DP moves to the periphery to value the [Foc]-feature under T. In conformity with the Phase Impenetrability Principle, this DP will also leave a copy in the outer specifier of vP on its way to its final position in Spec-TP.



- (30) Te digo                      que LA PARED ha                      pintado  
       CL say-PRES.1SG that the wall        have-PRES.3SG    scribbled  
       Ángela, no la colcha.  
       Angela, not the bedspread  
       ‘I’m telling you that Ángela has scribbled on the wall, not on the  
       bedspread.’

Apart from the [Foc]-feature, T also inherits  $\phi$ -features from the phasal C. Spanish illustrates a double choice in languages: 1) probing a goal with the relevant agreement features and applying AGREE; or 2) combining the  $\phi$ -features under T with its EF and attracting the relevant category agreed with. In both cases, the process of feature valuation ensures that the  $\phi$ -features in T get valued. If we choose the first option, Long-Distance agreement is at issue. If we opt for the second possibility, movement of the relevant category applies. Evidence that Spanish instantiates both options is that the focalized constituent can co-occur with the subject in the region of T, as (31) illustrates for Southern Peninsular Spanish, where subject-verb inversion is not obligatory in focus constructions (Jiménez-Fernández 2015). In such a case both the subject *Ángela* and the object *la pared* have been attracted to the T-zone as multiple specifiers. The resulting sentence basically corresponds with the word order OSV in (19e):

- (31) LA PARED Ángela ha                      pintado, no la colcha.  
       the wall    Angela have-PRES.3SG scribbled, not the bedspread  
       ‘Angela has scribbled on the wall, not on the bedspread.’

Another construction where the  $\phi$ -features and discourse features are mingled with the EF is (26d), repeated here for convenience:

- (26) d. La pared, la                      pintó                      Ángela.  
       the wall    CL-ACC.3SG.FM        scribble-PAST.3SG Angela  
       ‘The wall, Angela scribbled on it.’

In this sentence the DP object *la pared* ‘the wall’ has been dislocated to the left periphery due to its [Top]-feature, but also this construction shows overt subject-verb concord. In my view, the interweaving of both types of features is captured in terms of percolation of the  $\phi$ -features and the [Top]-feature from C to T. AGREE will apply at this level and in conjunction

with the EF under T, the topic *la pared* is attracted to Spec-TP.<sup>38</sup> Again a Long-Distance version of AGREE will be responsible for the valuation of the T's  $\phi$ -features via a  $\langle P, G \rangle$  relation with the subject *Ángela*.<sup>39</sup>

Spanish also exhibits the patterns VSO and VOS illustrated in (26a-b):

- (26) a. Pintó Ángela la pared. (V-S-O)  
       b. Pintó la pared Ángela. (V-O-S)

In (26b) the EF under T appears to be satisfied by attracting the whole VP to its specifier position due to a [Top]-feature, and the DP subject *Ángela* remains in situ in accordance with Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's (2001) Subject-in-Situ Generalization.<sup>40</sup> By contrast, T enters the derivation with no EF in (26a), which is possible in the light of the optional character of the EF proposed by Chomsky (2008). This explains why the verb *pintó* 'scribbled' raises to T and no specifier position is projected and occupied by any of the arguments involved. What is interesting about this construction is that the EF is rather optional and then, agreement and discourse features may work in isolation, i.e., they will not always combine with an EF.<sup>41</sup>

It seems safe to conclude that Spanish will be placed between the two extreme poles of the scale which will classify languages as giving prominence to agreement features or to discourse features. In this section Spanish has been shown to highlight both types of inflectional features. This intermediate position of some languages implies that both their

<sup>38</sup> As I have previously mentioned, I assume that an EF can be satisfied by a phrase of any category (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 2001; Lasnik, 1995, 1999).

<sup>39</sup> I am not taking into account the insertion of the third-person feminine clitic pronoun *la* in (26d). As a Romance language, Spanish shows resumptive clitics which are attached to the verbal stem. If the topicalised constituent is the object, this is doubled by means of a resumptive clitic. The phenomenon is known as clitic-doubling, and it is extensively discussed in Belletti (2005), Camacho-Taboada (2006), Demonte (1995), Rouveret (2002, 2008), among others.

<sup>40</sup> An alternative analysis of VOS constructions is proposed by Ordóñez (1998), which is based on three steps: first, the subject moves to a focus position; second, the object moves to a position higher than the one occupied by the subject; and finally, the remnant TP is raised to even a higher position. I agree with Ordóñez in that the in-situ subject involves focus, specifically informational focus, but this particular type of focused constituent needn't move in order to be marked as such.

<sup>41</sup> Alternatively, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998) suggest that in VSO/subject-drop languages, V-to-I movement satisfies the EF (their EPP). However, following Chomsky (2008), I will assume that EF/EPP can be satisfied only by (internal/external) phrasal Merge.



agreement features and their discourse features are lowered from C to T. I will return to this third class in Chapter 2, where I extend the double status of Spanish to languages such as Turkish.

Miyagawa's system has no doubt evolved, and due to a deeper inspection of other languages, he has drawn the conclusion that languages such as Turkish may give priority to both agreement and discourse features. This is precisely what he claims in his (2008) paper, citing examples from Kornfilt (2003), which is exactly the position that we should take regarding other languages such as Spanish. I resume this topic in my next chapter.

## 1.4. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter I have overviewed Miyagawa's (2005, 2010) seminal work on feature inheritance. In doing so, I have implemented his hypothesis that languages show parametric variation as regards the type of grammatical features that percolate from C to T.

The two types of features that are suggested to be carried by C are agreement and discourse features. More specifically, I have claimed that this phasal head houses  $\delta$ -features along with  $\phi$ -features universally. However, each language can give prominence to either type, or even to both types of features. This has led me to propose that languages can be classified into three groups: 1) languages which emphasize  $\phi$ -features; 2) languages which highlight  $\delta$ -features; and 3) languages which stress both  $\phi$ -features and  $\delta$ -features. Giving priority to a set of features means that the relevant features are lowered from the phasal head onto its complement's head. The features that are somehow blurred remain in the original phasal head. Certain surface differences that define languages may reduce to the interaction of an Edge Feature of T with either  $\phi$ -features or  $\delta$ -features, or both. When T does not contain an EF, their agreement/discourse features activate a Long-Distance AGREE operation with the relevant categories, accounting for the fact that these constituents stay in situ.

The intuition behind this feature-inheritance system is that a similar behavior of phasal heads will show up with respect to agreement and discourse features. However, further refinement of the original proposal seems necessary to include other languages and see whether the strict parallelism among phasal heads is attested in a wider context. This will be the topic of Chapter 2.

# CHAPTER 2

## PHASES AND PERIPHERIES

### 2.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the interaction between discourse/agreement features and the edge feature (EF)/EPP in the application of AGREE in the Minimalist Program. As observed in Chapter 1, Miyagawa (2005, 2010) claims that languages can be classified according to whether they are focus- or agreement-prominent. We saw that on the basis of Miyagawa's classification, there are languages which overtly instantiate the notion of topic (Korean or Japanese), there are also languages which put a special emphasis on agreement marking (English), but additionally there are languages which show both. Following Chomsky's (2001) Uniformity Principle, all languages will contain discourse features and agreement features (Sigurðsson 2004), but they differ in the specific type of feature that they highlight, as I observed in the previous chapter.

Chomsky (2001, 2007, 2008) claims that uninterpretable features enter the derivation in phasal heads and by a process of feature inheritance, they are lowered onto the immediately next head. This lowering process is restricted to agreement features ( $\phi$ -features). However, Miyagawa (2005) holds that the phasal head C contains both agreement and focus-related features. In his view, languages opt for one particular type of feature to be given special emphasis. Thus, Japanese is claimed to give priority to the discourse feature under C, which is inherited by T.<sup>1</sup> This explains the different word-order patterns in (1), from Miyagawa (2005, 220).

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<sup>1</sup> Miyagawa (2005) claims that C contains agreement features and focus features. I add a [Top] feature to both phasal heads, C and  $v$ , which will account for differences in word order. Actually, Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014) highlight the role of the [Top] feature in the behavior of phasal C across languages. See É Kiss (2008) for a different approach to the interplay between word order and phases.



- (1) a. Taroo-ga hon-o katta.  
Taro-NOM book-ACC bought  
'Taro bought a book'.  
b. Hon-o Taroo-ga katta.  
book-ACC Taro-NOM bought  
'A book, Taro bought'.

In strong contrast, English is considered to be giving prominence to agreement features, which spread onto T, accounting for the strict word order of the English clause, as in (2).

- (2) a. Mary likes syntax.  
b. \*Syntax Mary likes.

In both cases, the features under T work in conjunction with an EF to activate the valuation of the relevant uninterpretable features and to trigger movement of the category agreed with.

My proposal is two-fold:

1) Assuming that focus feature stands for discourse features ( $\delta$ -features, including both [Foc]- and [Top]-features), I claim that there are languages which emphasize both  $\phi$ -features and  $\delta$ -features. Such is the case of Spanish. Actually, in later work, Miyagawa (2008, 2009) holds that this is the situation in Turkish. In these languages the discourse and  $\phi$ -features under C percolate down to T, in such a way that T may attract any constituent to its specifier. In the Spanish canonical SVO pattern the subject values both agreement and discourse features (example (3)). But in other situations, for instance, it is the object that values discourse features, and T's  $\phi$ -features will get valued via Long-Distance AGREE with the in-situ subject (example (4)).

- (3) Susana cortó los tulipanes. (S-V-O)  
Susana cut-PAST.3SG the tulips  
'Susana cut the tulips.'

- (4) Los tulipanes(,) los cortó Susana. (O-cl-V-S)  
the tulips, CL-3PL.MASC cut Susana  
'The tulips, Susana cut'.

Something similar may be seen to occur in Turkish (Kornfilt 2003a; Miyagawa 2008, 2009). I elaborate on a proposal concerning these multifaceted languages in Section 2.2.



2) In the light of Chomsky's (2007, 2008) idea that phasal properties should be extended to all phases, I argue for a strict parallelism between C-T and *v*-V, claiming that *v* enters the derivation with both agreement and discourse features. Again, languages will choose the type of feature to be highlighted and lowered on V and a parallel behavior is detected in the *v*-V system. My discussion of phasal *v* is concerned with argument small clauses (SCs). In this connection, English only emphasizes  $\phi$ -features, hence requiring a fixed word-order in SCs (see (5) below). Nevertheless, languages such as Spanish give prominence to agreement and discourse features by passing them over onto V. This double nature of the VP-area explains the information-based rearrangements identified in SCs (see examples (6-7); italics = focus, underlining = topic).

(5) a. Q: Who do you find so attractive?

A: I find *Susan* very attractive.

b. Q: How do you find Susan?

A: I find Susan *very attractive*.

(6) Q: ¿A quién encuentras tan atractiva?  
to whom find-PRES.2SG so attractive  
'Whom do you find so attractive?'

A': Encuentro muy atractiva a Susana.  
find-PRES.1SG very attractive to Susana  
'\*I find very attractive Susana'.

A'': \*Encuentro a Susana *muy atractiva*.  
find-PRES.1SG to Susana very attractive  
'I find Susana very attractive'.

(7) Q: ¿Cómo encuentras a Susana?  
how find-PRES.2SG to Susana  
'How do you find Susana?'

A': \*Encuentro muy atractiva a Susana.  
find-PRES.1SG very attractive to Susana  
'\*I find very attractive Susana'.

A'': Encuentro a Susana *muy atractiva*.  
find-PRES.1SG to Susana very attractive  
'I find Susana looks very attractive'.

In Section 2.3, I propose that these word order differences can be accounted for in a principled way if the behavior of phasal *v* in a specific language is parallel to that of C. Accordingly, English is predicted not to allow for

rearrangement in SCs, while Spanish is expected to permit the opposite option.

Section 2.4 presents some arguments in favor of my analysis of SCs, based on the kind of features highlighted in the relevant language. Also, some remaining questions are offered tentative answers in Section 2.4, and finally, Section 5 summarizes my findings in the chapter.

## 2.2. The interaction of agreement and discourse features: True counterexamples?

Miyagawa (2005, 2006) holds that Indo-European languages are always agreement-prominent. I depart from his view and show that Spanish (along with other languages such as Greek, Polish, etc.; cf. Jiménez-Fernández and Spyropoulos 2013; Jiménez-Fernández and Rozwadowska 2017) is both agreement- and discourse-prominent. As mentioned above, this double character of some languages has already been shown for Turkish by Miyagawa (2008, 2010). In Miyagawa (2005) Turkish was classified as a discourse-oriented language, but currently Miyagawa (2008, 2009) suggests that Turkish is also agreement-prominent. My contribution to this 3-fold classification is to discuss the agreement-prominence and discourse orientation of other languages such as Spanish and extend it to other languages.

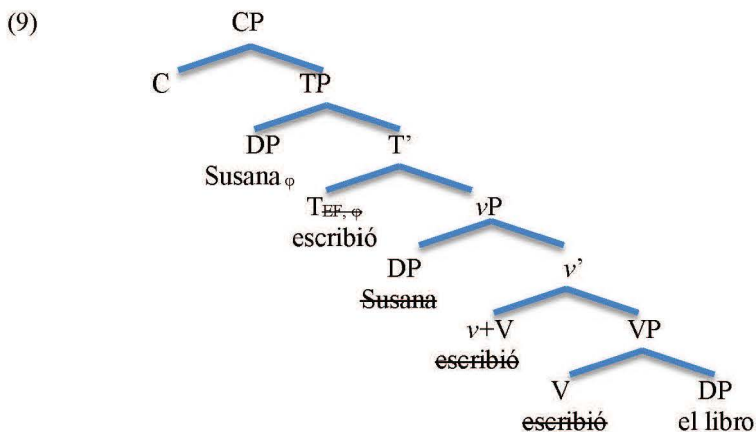
That Spanish overtly marks subject/verb agreement is no news. This agreement relation has been claimed to manifest itself by movement of the subject into Spec-TP (Zagona 2002; Gallego and Uriagereka 2007; Ortega-Santos 2008):<sup>2</sup>

- (8) *Susana escribió el libro.*  
       *Susana write-PAST.3SG the book*  
       ‘Susana wrote the book.’

Sentence (8) follows the canonical pattern for Spanish in terms of word order: SVO. One plausible way to explain how to derive this order is to move the subject *Susana* to Spec-TP and the verb *escribió* ‘wrote’ into T (Suñer 1992; Zagona 2002; Gutiérrez Bravo 2007):

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<sup>2</sup> There is another trend in Romance languages whose supporters claim that in null subject Romance languages there is no EPP-driven movement (Barbosa 2009; Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998; Kato 1999). Rather, subjects move to the left periphery. See Jiménez-Fernández 2011 for arguments in favor of analyzing subject movement (alongside object preposing) as an instance of A-movement to Spec-TP.



(10) a. Escribió Susana el libro. (V-S-O)  
       write-PAST.3SG Susana the book  
       b. Escribió el libro Susana. (V-O-S)  
       write-PAST.3SG the book Susana  
       c. El libro escribió Susana. (O-V-S)  
       the book write-PAST.3SG Susana  
       d. El libro(.) lo escribió Susana. (O-cl-V-S)  
       the book CL-3SG.MASC write-PAST.3SG Susana  
       e. El libro Susana escribió. (O-S-V)  
       the book Susana write-PAST.3SG  
       f. El libro Susana lo escribió. (O-S-cl-V)  
       the book Susana CL-3SG.MASC write-PAST.3SG  
       ‘Susana wrote the book.’

From the data in (10) the following generalization can be extracted: In Spanish movement of constituents is not optional, it has a discourse-driven motivation. This language makes an extensive use of discourse movement:



(10d) exemplifies a case of Clitic Left Dislocation<sup>3</sup>, but also in (10c) a contrastive focus is detected when preposing the object. In this sense, it is very similar to Japanese, Korean and other languages where a robust informational structure is found. In other words, it seems that Spanish is a discourse-prominent language.

As I have observed in Chapter 1, a third type of language can be identified in which both discourse and agreement can be prominent. If the same set of inflectional features is present in all languages, even though some languages highlight agreement features while some others emphasize discourse features, it is also predicted that in between there are some languages which give prominence to both agreement and discourse features. This is justified in the light of word order rearrangement in languages like Spanish.

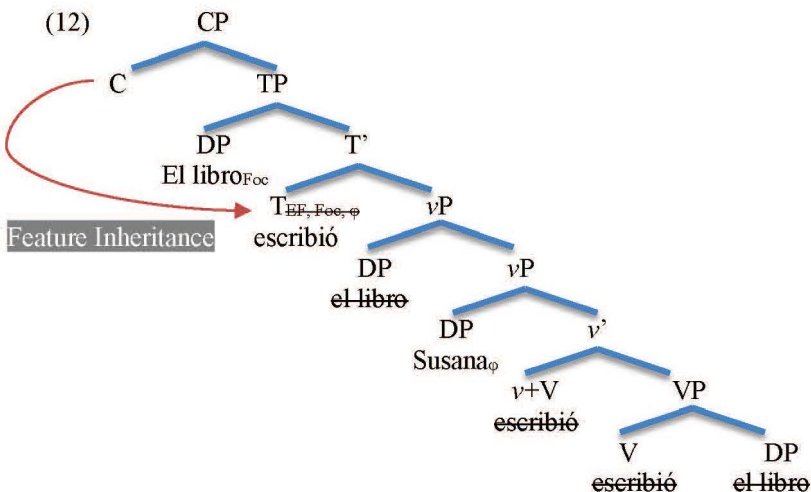
The solution presented in Chapter 1 to these mysteries is crucially connected to the inflectional features lowered onto T and the operation of AGREE. Following Zagona (2002) and Gutiérrez Bravo (2007), in Spanish any topic category may move to Spec-TP (Lasnik 1999). This explains the different word orders that sentences in (8) and (10) illustrate. The canonical SVO pattern is obtained by moving the subject into Spec of TP, but this is possible only if the EF under T works in conjunction with both  $\phi$ -features and a [Top]-feature. The whole derivational process for (8) is represented in (11):

- (11) [CP [C  $\emptyset$ ] [TP Susana [T escribió+ $\emptyset$ ] [<sub>VP</sub> ~~Susana~~ [<sub>V</sub> ~~escribió+ $\emptyset$~~ ] [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V</sub> ~~escribió~~] el libro]]]]
- |           |            |
|-----------|------------|
| [3rd, sg] | [past-tns] |
| [Top]     | [3rd, sg]  |
|           | [Top]      |
|           | [EF]       |

<sup>3</sup> See Zagona (2002) and Camacho-Taboada (2006) for an extensive exploration of the different proposals to clitics. See also Ordoñez and Treviño (1999) and Rouveret (2002) for the ways clitics are connected to the periphery of clauses. For the present purposes, I concur with Boeckx and Grohmann's (2005) claim that resumptive clitics are spell-out copies of the moving topic. At this point I should note that, though they present different syntactic properties, I take Clitic Dislocation and Topicalization to represent one single syntactic phenomenon since, in my approach, both involve some kind of movement to the clausal periphery (Rizzi 1997; Haegeman 2006, 2007; Grohmann 2003). See also Kornfilt (2003b) for differences between Topicalization and Clitic Left Dislocation in Turkish.

This derivation is based on my claim that T inherits both agreement features and discourse features from C in languages like Spanish. Building on Miyagawa (2009), T is the category in charge of activating the process of valuation of agreement and discourse features, in conformity with Zubizarreta's (1998) description of T as a multifunctional category in Spanish. The EF feature will be responsible for multiple specifiers in TP, which implies that more than one constituent may move to Spec-TP (Chomsky 1995, Richards 1999, Grewendorf and Sabel 1999, Matera and Medina 2007).

As mentioned earlier, Spanish is a free word order language. As such, it shows other possible permutations which have been illustrated in (10). Concentrating on (10c), an OVS construction, I consider that the object has a [Foc]-feature. Following the idea that in Spanish both agreement and discourse features spread from C to T, my analysis of (10c) proceeds as in (12) (cf. Jiménez-Fernández 2018 and Camacho-Taboada and Jiménez-Fernández 2014 for an analysis of Contrastive Focus as moving to Spec-TP and empirical evidence for this analysis):



Apart from discourse features, T also inherits  $\phi$ -features from the phasal C. Spanish illustrates a double choice in languages: 1) probing a goal with the relevant agreement features and applying AGREE; or 2) combining the  $\phi$ -features under T with its EF and attracting the relevant category agreed with. In both cases, the process of feature valuation will ensure that the  $\phi$ -features in T get valued. If the first option is chosen, Long-Distance AGREE



is activated. If the second possibility is selected, movement of the relevant category applies. Evidence that Spanish instantiates both options is that a focalized constituent can co-occur with the subject in the region of T, as (13) illustrates, which basically follows the word order OSV in (10e) (see Ortega-Santos 2016 for different positions of Spanish foci):

- (13) UN LIBRO Susana ha escrito, no un artículo.  
 A book Susana have-PRES.3SG written, not an article  
 ‘Susana has written A BOOK, not an article’.

Movement of both DPs to the TP-domain can only be explained if a multiple-specifier analysis is assumed, as argued in Jiménez-Fernández (2011).

From the preceding remarks, it seems safe to conclude that Spanish is placed between the two extreme poles of the parameter classifying languages as giving prominence to agreement features or to discourse features, a conclusion that Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014) arrive at on independent evidence.<sup>4</sup>

Contrary to Indo-European languages, Miyagawa (2005) includes Turkish in the class of focus-prominent languages. As mentioned earlier, Turkish shows an alternation of the patterns SOV and OSV, along with other possible permutations, as posited by Göksel and Özsoy (2003, 1145):

- (14) a. Hasan öykü-yü beğen-me-di. (SOV)  
       Hasan story-ACC like-NEG-PAST-3SG  
       b. Öykü-yü Hasan beğen-me-di. (OSV)  
       c. Hasan beğen-me-di öykü-yü. (SVO)  
       d. Öykü-yü beğen-me-di Hasan. (OVS)  
       e. Beğen-me-di Hasan öykü-yü. (VSO)  
       f. Beğen-me-di öykü-yü Hasan. (VOS)  
       ‘Hasan did not like the story.’

<sup>4</sup> In a later work Miyagawa (2017), based on Jiménez-Fernández (2010) and Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014), acknowledges this double status of languages such as Spanish as well as a fourth language type where neither the agreement features nor the discourse features are inherited by T from C. See also Ojea (2017) for the relevance of discourse-feature inheritance in Spanish. Specifically, Ojea (2019) suggests that phasal C is endowed with a discourse intentional (DI) feature which is inherited by T in Spanish. She describes this DI as an EPP feature triggering movement of some element to Spec-TP. The moving element stands for the starting point of the predication inthetic sentences.

In my view, the fact that Turkish allows for an alternation in the position of object and subject, associated to the type of discourse information conveyed, is crucially related to a [Top]-feature in T. This [Top]-feature, inherited from C, attracts the topic constituent by working in conjunction with the EF. The alternation of S and O in (14a-c) receives a principled account in terms of whether the subject or the object is the category that T attracts.

As regards the examples in (14d-f), they contain postverbal constituents which are usually interpreted as tails.<sup>5</sup> Genuine topics are placed at the left periphery of the clause, and not to the right (Erguvanlı 1984; Kural 1997; Kornfilt 2005; see also Kılıçaslan 2004 for a different view). Irrespective of the precise informational interpretation, it is clear that in Turkish discourse features have an impact on the syntactic structures. This leads me to conclude that Turkish is a discourse-prominent language.

Additionally, Turkish has a robust inflectional system for subject-verb agreement. This has been held to play a crucial role in the classification of languages as agreement-prominent. The following examples illustrate that V overtly inflects for person and number (from Göksel and Özsoy 2003, 1146):

- (15) a. Ben Ali-ye yemeğ-I pişir-di-m.  
           I Ali-DAT food-ACC cook-PAST-1SG  
           ‘I cooked the food for Ali’.  
       b. Ben onlar-a bu ev-I sat-tı-m.  
           I they-DAT this house sell-PAST-1SG  
           ‘I sold them this house’.  
       c. Biz yarın Ali-yle buluş-uyor-uz.  
           We tomorrow Ali-COM meet-PROG-1PL  
           ‘We are meeting Ali tomorrow’.

As is clear from these examples, Turkish is a language which systematically marks the agreement between subject and verb explicitly, in that it has a rich morphological system that confirms its agreement-prominent character.

Miyagawa (2008) has also studied clear cases of overt agreement in Turkish. He concentrates on genitive subjects as illustrated in (16):

- (16) [Ali-nin Oya-ya tavsiye et – tiğ – I ]  
           Ali-GEN Oya-DAT recommendation do-REL.PARTICIPLE-3.SG  
           şirket

<sup>5</sup> See İşsever (2003) and Kornfilt (2005) for the different discourse and syntactic properties of preverbal and postverbal elements in Turkish.



company

‘the company to which Ali recommended Oya’

In the light of examples such as this, Miyagawa (2008) concludes that nominal agreement in genitive subjects is indicative of the agreement-oriented character of Turkish. Kornfilt (2003a, 2006, 2007 and 2008) also shows that Turkish is agreement-prominent and demonstrates that agreement has important consequences for the syntax of this language.

Turkish is thus both discourse- and agreement-prominent. In such a case, Turkish and Spanish should be grouped together, somewhere in between the two extreme poles of the original taxonomy proposed by Miyagawa (2005), as suggested in Jiménez-Fernández and İşsever (2012).

In the framework adopted here, being discourse-prominent is just a reflex of the kind of features that T inherits from C. Therefore, in Turkish, as a language which consistently highlights discourse features, an unspecified information feature is lowered from C to T. This means that topics may value this discourse feature as [Top] and raise to Spec-TP to satisfy the EF under T, which accounts for the word-order differences detected in (14) and supports Lasnik’s (1999) idea that the EF in T can be satisfied by any category, not just by the subject. On the other hand, Turkish also manifests S-V agreement explicitly and this can be taken as evidence that some mechanism has to be proposed to explain this overt instantiation of agreement (Kornfilt 2003a). From these observations, it follows that in Turkish both discourse features and  $\phi$ -features percolate from C to T, which suggests treating Turkish as belonging to the intermediate type of languages represented by Spanish.<sup>6</sup>

### 2.3. The strict parallelism of C-T and v-V.

In the previous section I have explored how the interaction of agreement features and discourse features, inherited from C to T, can account for different word order permutations attested in several languages. This claim is crucially founded on Chomsky’s (2007, 2008) idea that phasal heads are responsible for the activation of the mechanism of AGREE, due to the fact that phasal heads contain unvalued features.

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<sup>6</sup> As Miyagawa (p.c.) suggests, when both types of features are prominent in a language, it seems that discourse features take precedence despite the presence of agreement features. What is crucial for Turkish and Spanish is that they are at an intermediate point on the discourse/agreement scale, regardless of whether one type of feature is more prominent than the other one.

This proposal brings about the question of whether other phasal heads (for instance, *v*) show the same featural specification. Given Chomsky's (2001) Uniformity Principle, the answer should be that the same parametric variation identified in the CP-system as for the agreement/discourse prominence is detected in the region of *v*P. As a consequence, the strict parallelism argued for by Chomsky (2008) between *C* and *v* is assigned a stronger character by positing that discourse/agreement features may also be contained under *v*. By feature inheritance, these values spread down to *V*, and in conjunction with an optional EF the relevant category is attracted to Spec-VP.

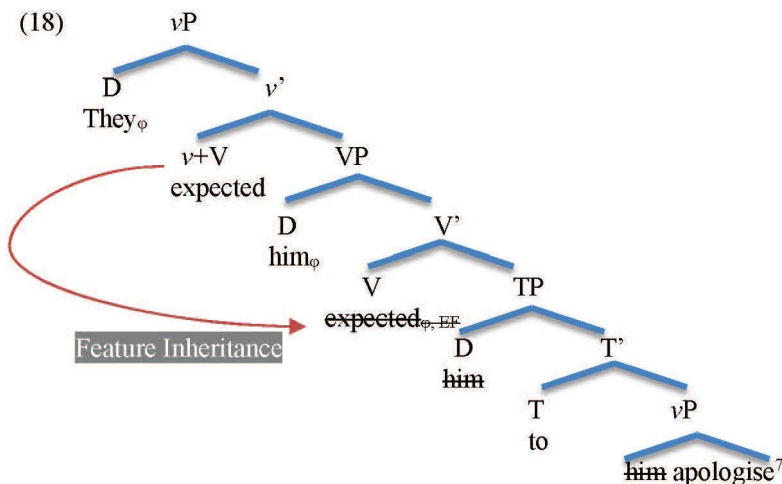
### 2.3.1. Phasal *v* and agreement-discourse features

Chomsky (2008: 147) states that optimality can be captured in terms of uniformity among phases. If grammatical features are transmitted from *C* to *T*, the same kind of percolation should be proposed for the relation between *v* and *V*. Given this strict parallelism of phasal heads, in my system it is predicted that *v* comprises both agreement and discourse features and that, depending on the specific language, the lowering process will affect one type of features (agreement or discourse) or both. This is the claim that I want to justify in this section.

That agreement features are lowered from *v* to *V* has been extensively explored in Chomsky (2007, 2008). The basic idea is that in languages such as English the object raises to Spec-VP due to the transmission of  $\phi$ -features from *v* to *V*. These  $\phi$ -features, in conjunction with the EF under *V*, will attract the object to Spec-VP. Sentence (17), an ECM construction, may illustrate this phenomenon:

(17) They expected him to apologize.





On the other extreme of the classification there are languages like Japanese, which consistently puts a stronger emphasis on discourse features. Given the strict parallelism among phasal heads that Chomsky (2007, 2008) argues for, it is predicted that discourse features should also be connected with the  $v$ -V system. I take this view and propose that an unvalued discourse feature lowers from  $v$  to V in some constructions in languages like Japanese. Evidence for the existence of a topic-related feature under  $v$  may be found in ECM constructions as well, which I illustrate in (19) (extracted from Kawai 2006, 329):

- (19) a. Kanojo-wa [sono otoko-ga sagishi da to] shinjiteiru.  
 She-TOP the man-NOM swindler is QUOT believes  
 'She believes that the man is a swindler.'  
 b. Kanojo-wa [sono otoko-o sagishi da to] shinjiteiru.  
 She-TOP the man-ACC swindler is QUOT believes  
 'She believes the man to be a swindler.'  
 c. Kanojo-wa sono otoko-o [~~otoko-o~~ sagishi da to] shinjiteiru.

<sup>7</sup> I am not taking into consideration Case valuation. Adopting Chomsky's (2007, 2008) standard account of Case theory, Case features are valued as a consequence of  $\phi$ -features valuation. Case valuation is motivated as a way to avoid the violation of the Principle of Full Interpretation. On other possible motivations for the activation of Case valuation, see Branigan (2005).

I concur with Kawai's (2006) proposal that accusative subjects move out of the embedded clause, but as Kawai himself admits, these accusative subjects require a contrastive interpretation, at least for some speakers. This is suggestive that in some constructions some kind of leftward movement is involved.<sup>8</sup> From this it follows that the two phasal heads, C and *v*, are identical in their behavior as to the activation of the kind of features that are highlighted in a specific language.

The counterexample is again provided by languages such as Spanish. According to Miyagawa (2005), as an Indo-European language, it should give prominence to agreement features. However, it also emphasizes discourse features in the *v*-system, an option that Miyagawa's (2010, 2017) system allows. In the following section I show this double character of Spanish, giving evidence that the *v*P-area parallels the CP-system.

### 2.3.2. Argument Small Clauses: A case study

In this section I examine the relevance of the discourse structure of argument Small Clauses (SCs, hereafter) in the selection of a specific word order, which is based upon the choice of which SC constituent is the topic of the embedded construction. As is well-known, some languages are more flexible than others, allowing for an alternation of /DP XP/ and /XP DP/ in SCs, while others show a very rigid /DP XP/ order. In my proposal, this is just the consequence of giving prominence either to discourse features or to agreement features. Both grammatical features are contained under the phasal head *v*, and percolate down to V to account for the feature valuation process activated in SCs.

#### 2.3.2.1. Topic and focus in argument SCs: The data

Following common practice, the informational focus of a sentence may be identified by means of question/answer pairs. The new information in the answer corresponding to the *wh*-expression in the question will constitute

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<sup>8</sup> Takahashi (2003) shows an alternative view, under which ECM subjects move to the edge of CP in Japanese, where it is case-marked by the matrix V. Also, Hiraiwa (2005) demonstrates that ECM subjects undergo movement to the matrix VP for case reasons. I leave this question aside, since I concentrate on the informational load of ECM subjects.

A similar proposal is found in Lee (1992) for ECM subjects in Korean, which is another discourse-prominent language. This can be taken as cross-linguistic evidence for positing an unspecified discourse feature under *v* in both Japanese and Korean.



the focus, while the rest of the construction will be part of the old information expressed in the topic part. If this test is applied to SCs the data in (20-21) is obtained in Spanish (\* means non-felicitous, italics are used for informational focus, underlining indicates the topic):

- (20) Q:       ¿Qué ordenadores encuentras tan útiles?  
               which computers       find-PRES.2SG   so useful  
               ‘Which computers do you find so useful?’  
   A’:       Encuentro superútiles *los ordenadores* de Mac.  
               find-PRES.1SG very.useful the computers   of Mac  
               \*‘I find very useful Mac computers.’  
   A’’:       \*Encuentro los ordenadores de Mac *superútiles*.  
               ‘I find Mac computers very useful.’
- (21) Q:       ¿Cómo ves los ordenadores de Mac?  
               how see-PRES.2SG   the computers   of Mac  
               ‘How do you find Mac computers?’  
   A’:       \*Encuentro superútiles *los ordenadores* de Mac.  
               find-PRES.1SG very.useful the computers   of Mac  
               \*‘I find very useful Mac computers.’  
   A’’:       Encuentro los ordenadores de Mac *superútiles*.  
               ‘I find Mac computers very useful’.

In languages like Spanish the order of constituents in SCs alternates between /DP XP/ and /XP DP/ but it seems that the reason to prefer one order or the other crucially depends on discourse. As Zubizarreta (1998) and Ordóñez (1998) state, the element containing nuclear stress and, consequently, functioning as informational focus should appear last in the sentence. This explains why in (20) the preferred order is /XP DP/, where the DP is the focus constituent and the predicate AP constitutes an embedded topic, while in (21) the reverse order is more adequate to indicate that in this case the focus is the predicative AP and the topic is the embedded DP subject.<sup>9</sup>

Conversely, languages such as English do not exhibit this alternation. For the questions in (20) and (21) there is only one possible answer (*I find Mac computers very useful* vs. \**I find very useful Mac computers*). This is accounted for by the English preference for topic and focus *in situ* in SCs,

<sup>9</sup> I leave aside the issue of contrastive focus as opposed to informational focus. For differences between the two types of focus, see É. Kiss (1998). For a proposal dispensing with this distinction, see Kenesei (2006), who claims that both contrastive and informational foci involve some sort of identification, which justifies the unitary approach to focus types.



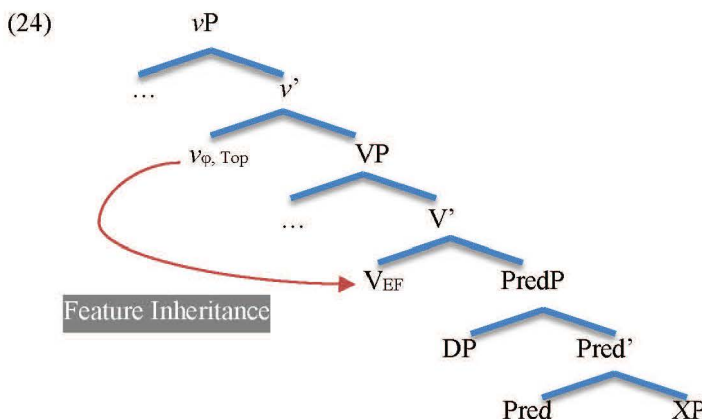
The alternation in SCs is extended to other languages like Italian (examples in (22)) or Serbo-Croatian (illustrated in (23)):

- #### 2.3.2.2. A discourse/agreement-related configuration of SCs

<sup>10</sup> See Erteschik-Shir (2006) and Neeleman and van de Koot (2008) for arguments against Brody's (1990, 1995) and Rizzi's (1997, 2004) idea that focus and topic are heads that project their own phrases. As an anonymous reviewer points out, Horvath (1995) may be the earliest work against dedicated categories. Also, Gill and Tsoulas (2004) provide an extensive study of discourse effects in the clause without specific discourse-related categories at the edge of phases.

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far beyond Economy Principles. However, given the discourse interpretation of the members of SCs in some languages, I propose that the matrix  $v$ P-area in those languages is responsible for the interpretation of embedded constituents as topic or focus.<sup>11</sup> The syntactic configuration for argument SCs and their projection into the matrix  $v$ P phase is as follows:

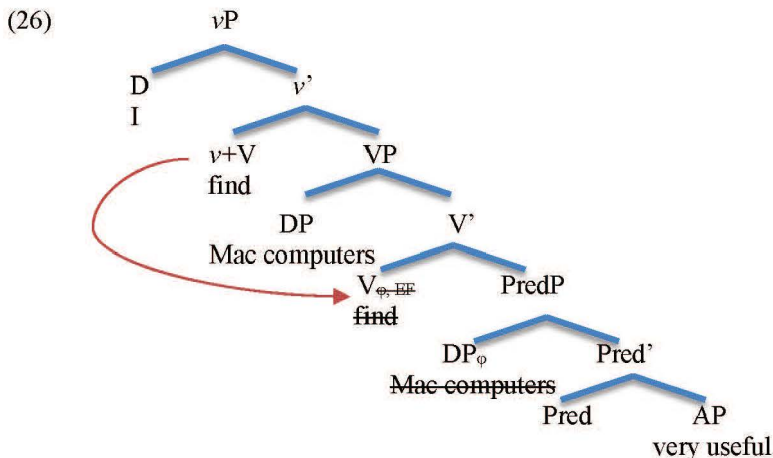


From the strict parallelism between the C-T and  $v$ -V systems it follows that feature inheritance also takes place in the lower phasal  $v$ . Consequently, those languages highlighting agreement features in C-T also give prominence to agreement features in  $v$ -V. On the other hand, if the language puts a special emphasis on discourse features in C-T, it will also give priority to discourse features in  $v$ -V. This proposal explains the different behavior of English and Spanish.

Starting with English, the SC in (25) will show the partial derivation in (26), where I concentrate just on the SC region:

(25) I find Mac computers very useful.

<sup>11</sup> Belletti (2004) specifically claims that the VP-zone projects a focus position delimited by topic positions. Basilico (2003) has a proposal which is based on a topic slot in SCs, but his arguments and predictions have nothing in common with mine. For a full discussion on the information structure of small clauses based on the notion of feature inheritance, see Jiménez-Fernández and Spyropoulos (2013), where Greek and Spanish are claimed to pattern together in requiring inheritance of discourse features from  $v$  to V.



The first issue in this derivation is that little  $v$  comes from the Lexicon with agreement features,  $[\mu\text{-pers}]$  and  $[\mu\text{-num}]$  to be more precise. These  $\phi$ -features percolate down to  $V$  in English and they work in conjunction with the EF under  $V$ , so that  $V$  will probe a suitable Goal. In its search,  $V$  finds the SC DP subject. Via AGREE the unvalued features of  $V$  are assigned the values  $[3\text{-pers}]$  and  $[\text{pl-num}]$  and the EF will attract the agreed-with category to Spec-VP. Provided that  $V$  is subsequently raised to  $v$  in English, the whole derivational process proposed accounts for the order /DP XP/ in the SC.<sup>12</sup> At the point of the  $vP$  phase's transfer into the semantic and phonological components the non-interpretable features under  $V$  are deleted.

If discourse features ( $\delta$ -features) are not given prominence in English, the same pattern /DP XP/ is predicted to fulfil the discourse needs in the SC. In terms of the topic-focus partition, sentence (25) may be used as an answer for either (27) or (28):

(27) Q: What computers do you find so useful?

A: I find *Mac computers* very useful.

(28) Q: How do you find Mac computers?

A: I find Mac computers *very useful*.

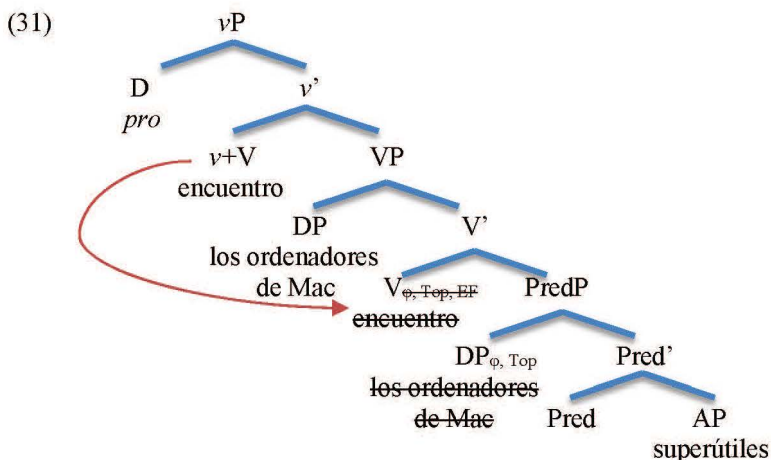
<sup>12</sup> Note that raising the SC subject to Spec-VP is reminiscent of Postal's (1974) subject-to-object raising in ECM constructions, a view which has been taken up again by Chomsky (2008).



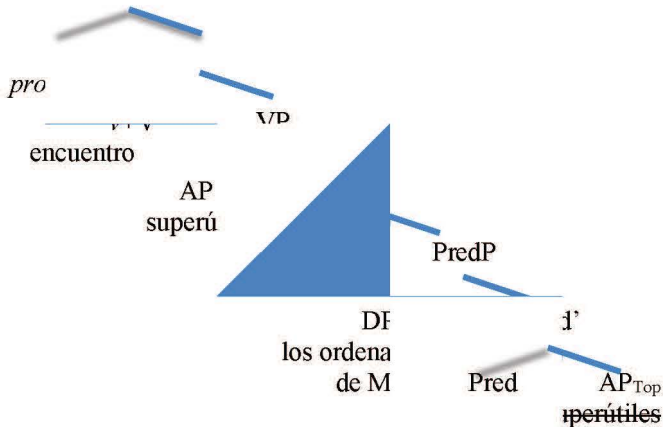
In the absence of any syntactic device to establish a difference between topics and foci, it is the phonological component that offers the necessary tools to do so.

The other type of language that my proposal predicts is illustrated by Spanish, in which the rearrangement of the SC members depends on their discourse functions. To exemplify this discourse-related reordering, the derivations of (29-30) are provided in (31-32):

- (29) Encuentro            los ordenadores    de Mac superútiles.  
       find-PRES.1SG    the computers    of Mac very.useful
- (30) Encuentro            superútiles los    ordenadores de Mac.  
       find-PRES.1SG    very.useful the computers    of Mac



(32)



If Spanish is both agreement-prominent and discourse-prominent, it is because the two types of grammatical features at issue are given special priority. In my view, this implies that both  $\phi$ -features and  $\delta$ -features are inherited by V, which parallels the behavior of the C-T system in Spanish, a welcome result. In (31) the EF works in tandem with all the inflectional features under V. If this is right, just by probing one single constituent the unvalued features are assigned the values of the Goal, which in this case is the SC subject, thereby being attracted to Spec-VP.

In clear contrast, in (32) there is a dissociation of features, in such a way that the EF must work in conjunction with just the unvalued discourse feature, which explains why when the SC predicate is the topic it is this constituent that is moved to the edge of VP, accounting for the preferred order /XP DP/ in the relevant contextual situation (see (20)). Additionally, the  $\phi$ -features of the SC subject value the agreement features under V by Long-Distance AGREE.

Against Groos and Bok-Bennema (1985), the fact that /XP DP/ is a derived order in Spanish is supported by Binding Effects. Elaborating on Ordóñez (1998) and Demonte (1995) works, Binding Effects obtain in SCs only if it is accepted that XP is moved to the left of DP, so that /XP DP/ is not a basic order:

- (33) a. Considero [a cada alumno]<sub>i</sub> muy entusiasmado  
 consider-PRES.1SG to each child very enthusiastic  
 con sus<sub>i</sub> estudios.  
 with his/her studies

- b. Considero                      muy entusiasmado con sus estudios  
 consider-PRES.1SG            very enthusiastic with his/her studies  
 [a cada alumno];  
 to each student  
 ‘I consider each student very enthusiastic about his/her studies.’

The bound reading of (33b) in which the pronoun *su* ‘his/her’ is interpreted as referring to each of the children is possible if the SC subject c-commands the pronoun, which implies that originally the SC predicate *muy entusiasmado con sus estudios* ‘very enthusiastic about his/her studies’ is generated after the SC subject and then moves up to the matrix VP-area leaving a null copy behind.

There remains a technical problem in relation to the valuation of the uninterpretable agreement features under V. If these  $\phi$ -features are not deleted at the point of transferring the relevant cycle into the other linguistic components, the derivation is destined to crash, since these features would not be semantically (nor phonologically) interpreted. The solution comes from the feature dissociation that I postulated to explain the SC predicate displacement to the edge of VP. If agreement and discourse features work separately, this makes available the possibility of having Long-Distance AGREE. This is precisely what I want to propose for these dissociation contexts. Accordingly, V probes the SC subject as its suitable Goal. The unvalued  $\phi$ -features of V are valued as [3-pers] [pl-num] via Long-Distance AGREE with the SC subject *estos libros* and this part of the derivation is now ready to converge.

## 2.4. Arguments and predictions supporting the discourse-agreement configuration of SCs

My proposal seems to account for the well-known fact that in some languages the word order of argument SCs alternate between /DP XP/ and /XP DP/, while in some others the rigid order /DP XP/ is always found. Several questions remain, though:

- 1) What evidence can be offered to justify the movement of the SC subject or predicate to Spec-VP?
- 2) What evidence is there to support that the movement involved is topic displacement in languages such as Spanish?
- 3) In the 3-fold linguistic typology that I have adopted with respect to the agreement-discourse distinction, there was an extreme pole represented by Japanese and Korean that are pure discourse-



prominent. What is the behavior of SCs in such languages? What about Turkish, a discourse/agreement language?

### 2.4.1. Adverb interpolation

As regards the first question concerning the fact that languages allow for the movement of the SC subject to the matrix Spec-VP, evidence comes from VP-adverbs.

Starting with English, consider the possibility of inserting a manner adverb within a constituent like the argument SCs in (34-35), extracted from Stowell (1991, 189):

- (34) a. John found [Bill repeatedly annoying].  
       b. = John found [that Bill is repeatedly annoying].  
       c. # John repeatedly found [that Bill is annoying].
- (35) a. John considers Bill sincerely foolish. = Bill's foolishness is sincere.  
       b. John sincerely considers Bill foolish. # John's opinion is sincere.

The interpretation that Stowell provides is as follows: in sentence (34a) the adverb *repeatedly* only modifies the SC predicate, which is confirmed by the paraphrase in (34b). However, in (34c) the adverb takes the matrix verb under its scope, but its meaning varies with respect to the interpretation of (34a).

As for (35), it can be noted that if the position of the adverb is changed, it will modify different elements of the clause. See the contrast between *Bill's foolishness is sincere*, as in (35a) and *John's opinion is sincere*, as in (35b).

The conclusion up to this point is that if manner adverbs take scope over the whole SC, a clausal node separates the matrix verb and the SC. This is crystal-clear. However, this conclusion is only relative. For many native speakers of English, the adverb *repeatedly* in (34a) may take scope over the matrix verb, which supports the view that at some point of the derivation the subject has moved to the matrix VP. As Radford (p.c.) suggests, the underlying subject status of SC subjects is proved under the interpretation that the VP-adverb in (34a) takes scope over the SC predication, but the superficial objecthood of the SC subject is also confirmed when perceiving that the VP-adverb may modify the matrix V.<sup>13</sup> If this last interpretation is

<sup>13</sup> On the possibility that raising in ECM constructions is optional, see Lasnik (2006). For an obligatory character of this type of raising, see Hiraiwa (2005), Takahashi

correct, it presumes that the SC subject *Bill* has raised to object position in the main clause. In other words, this intervening DP has moved to matrix Spec-VP.

The double interpretation of manner adverbs in these environments suggests that the claim that SC subjects originate within the SC and then raise into Spec-VP is tenable. Yet, the interpretation of the adverb as taking scope over the SC predicate obtains if the manner adverb is generated within the SC, regardless of the displacement of the SC subject.

In Spanish there are also cases of intervening adverbs which justify the fact that the SC subject leaves the SC node for a position in Spec-VP in the matrix clause:

- (36) a. Encontré            a Juan francamente demasiado amable.  
       find-PAST.1SG to Juan frankly            too            kind  
       ‘I found Juan frankly too kind.’  
       b. Consideré            a Juan absurdamente involucrado en el  
       consider-PAST.1SG to Juan absurdly            involved            in the  
       crimen.  
       crime  
       ‘I considered Juan absurdly involved in the crime.’  
       c. Encontré            estos libros lógicamente con mucho estilo.  
       find-PAST.1SG these books logically            with much style  
       ‘I found these books logically very stylish.’  
       d. Consideré            a Juan asombrosamente muy inteligente.  
       consider-PAST.1SG to Juan astonishingly            very intelligent  
       ‘I considered Juan astonishingly very intelligent.’  
       f. Encuentro            a Juan sinceramente rudo con su madre.  
       find-PRES.1SG to Juan sincerely            rude with his mother  
       ‘I find Juan sincerely rude with his mother.’

In all these sentences, the intervening adverbs show a double interpretation depending on the material that they take scope over. This data illustrates that the SC subject leaves its original position as subject of the subordinate clause for some reason. In this case, the canonical pattern /DP AP/ has been chosen, so that the reason for subject movement might be its agreement or discourse features.

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(2003) and Kawai (2006). By adverb interpolation, Takahashi (2003) demonstrates that in Japanese ECM constructions movement of the subordinate DP subject to Spec-VP is obligatory.

Nevertheless, it is very intriguing that when the reverse order /XP DP/ is favored, similar effects arise with respect to intervening adverbs:

- (37) a. Encontré demasiado amable francamente a Juan.  
 find-PAST.1SG too kind frankly to Juan  
 'I found Juan frankly too kind.'  
 b. Consideré involucrado en el crimen absurdamente a Juan.  
 consider-PAST.1SG involved in the crime absurdly to Juan.  
 Juan  
 'I considered Juan absurdly involved in the crime.'  
 c. Encontré con mucho estilo lógicamente estos libros.  
 find-PAST.1SG with much style logically these books  
 'I found these books logically very stylish.'  
 d. Consideré muy inteligente asombrosamente a Juan.  
 consider-PAST.1SG very intelligent astonishingly to Juan  
 'I considered Juan astonishingly very intelligent.'  
 f. Encuentro rudo con su madre sinceramente a Juan.  
 find-PRES.1SG rude with his mother sincerely to Juan  
 'I find Juan sincerely rude with his mother.'

All these sentences show one possible reading. This interpretation relies on the fact that the intervening adverb is generated as attached to the matrix VP, taking scope over the matrix V. It seems that though the interpolated adverb is positioned in between the SC predicate and its subject, the reading in which the adverb modifies the matrix clause is possible and this corroborates my claim that in Spanish the predicate in SCs can move to a position in the matrix VP. It must also be clear that all sentences in (37) are correct in a context where the SC predicate is seen as given information, as the topic of the SC, as it is illustrated in (38):

- (38) Q: ¿A quién encuentras rudo con su madre?  
 to whom find-PRES.2SG rude with his mother  
 'Who do you find rude with his mother?'  
 A': Encuentro rudo con su madre sinceramente a Juan.  
 find-PRES.1SG rude with his mother sincerely to Juan.  
 Juan  
 'I find rude with his mother sincerely Juan'.



- A'':    ??Encuentro    a Juan sinceramente rudo con su  
          find-PRES.1SG to Juan sincerely    rude with his  
          madre,  
          mother  
          'I find Juan sincerely rude with his mother'.

This discourse interpretation of the SC predicate along with its movement to matrix VP confirms that in languages like Spanish V inherits both agreement and discourse features from *v*, accounting for the pattern alternation in SCs.

### 2.4.2. Some other empirical evidence

Two additional empirical pieces of evidence are given in this section which also support the claim that in SCs, the subject, though originally generated within the SC, leaves for a position in the matrix clause.

The first manifestation of the SC subject movement is based on the syntax of floating emphatic reflexives (FER). According to Napoli (1989, 1993), Radford (1988, 2009), Beck (1997) and König (1997), these pronouns refer back to a subject DP:

- (39) a. The president ended up doing it **himself**.  
       b. The Prime Minister said that he would lower taxes **himself**.  
       c. I don't really believe that story **myself**.  
       (40) a. \*I told the president my story **himself**.  
       b. \*We put the president in our car **himself**.  
       c. \*I looked behind the president for guards **himself**.

Following Radford (1988), if a floating emphatic reflexive refers only to a subject DP, its occurrence inside the SC in brackets in (41a) will prove that the DP *the president* is the subject of the subordinate predicate *entirely responsible*. This is exactly the situation obtained in (41b):<sup>14</sup>

- (41) a. I consider [the president entirely responsible]  
       b. I consider [the president entirely responsible **himself**]

<sup>14</sup> Sevdali (2008) arrives at a similar conclusion with respect to datives in Ancient Greek. She demonstrates that datives are quirky subjects because they can bind a reflexive.

However, it seems that the distribution of FERs whose antecedent is the matrix subject points to the fact that the SC subject has been raised out of the subordinate clause:

(42) I find Minimalism **myself** quite incomprehensible.

As an anaphor, the FER *myself* has to be bound by a clause-mate antecedent. If Lasnik (2006) is right when he asserts that binding requires a strict clause-mate condition, the DP *Minimalism* in (42) has been raised to the matrix clause. In other words, the possibility of an intervening FER in SCs provides evidence for the objecthood of SC subjects. Only if this double character of SC subjects is assumed, will the binding effects in (42) receive a principled account.

Another piece of evidence to show that in English the SC subject is raised out of its clause is offered by pseudo-clefting. The standard view is that SCs do not allow for pseudo-clefts:

- (43) a. \*What I consider is [you misguided].  
           *Intended meaning:* What I consider is that you are misguided.
- b. \*What I have always found is [Chomsky open to new ideas].  
           *Intended meaning:* What I have always found is that Chomsky is open to new ideas.

Pollard and Sag (1994) and, more recently, Culicover and Jackendoff (2005) reject the possibility of getting SCs focused in pseudo-clefts. In my view, the explanation lies in that the sequence /DP XP/ is not a constituent at all stages of the derivation. If a string does not form a constituent, it cannot be focused in a pseudo-cleft. Again the ungrammaticality of (43) points to the fact that the SC subject has moved out of the original clause in order to satisfy the  $\phi$ -features under V.

### 2.4.3. Definiteness/Specificity effects: Moving topics

In this section I provide an answer for question 2 above, namely, what evidence can be adduced to support the topic nature of the moved constituent in argument SCs. In this connection, it is a well-known fact that topics show Definiteness/Specificity effects, as opposed to foci (Diesing 1992, 1997; Enç 1991; Erteschik-Shir 1997, 2006; Jayaseelan 2001; Molnár 2006; Leonetti 2004, 2008; Rodrigues 2008).



The generalization is that candidates to be topics must be specific/definite, either by nature or as a consequence of some strategy turning indefinite DPs into definite. In other words, topics should contain a [+ specific] feature whereas foci can either be specific or nonspecific.<sup>15</sup> If this is on the right track, we should expect a possible indefinite focus in the SC subject position, but never an indefinite topic. This prediction is borne out in examples such as (44).

- (44) a. \*Encuentro cualquier película fascinante.  
           find-PRES.1SG any film fascinating  
       b. Encuentro fascinante cualquier película.  
           find-PRES.1SG fascinating any film  
           ‘I find any film fascinating.’

The data in (44) can be accounted for in terms of the topic/focus partition of the SC. The DP *cualquier película* ‘any film’ can be the subject of an SC only when it is interpreted as focus, as in (44b), but its occurrence is circumscribed to the /AP DP/ pattern. Note that the SC subject contains a [-specific] feature which does not favor a topic reading, explaining the ungrammaticality of (44a). If the SC indefinite subject is replaced by a definite DP the anomaly vanishes:

- (45) a. Encuentro esta película fascinante.  
           find-PRES.1SG this film fascinating  
       b. Encuentro fascinante esta película.  
           find-PRES.1SG fascinating this film  
           ‘I find this film fascinating’.

As is clear, with a definite subject both the patterns /DP AP/ and /AP DP/ are fully acceptable. The contrast between (44a) and (45a) indicates that the postverbal slot is a topic position which can only be filled by a definite/specific DP. This supports my claim that any of the SC constituents can move to the postverbal position for topic-related reasons.

In Spanish a connection is found between specificity and what has been called differential object marking. In this language the direct object is introduced by the preposition *a* if the relevant DP is interpreted as specific

<sup>15</sup> See Costa and Figueiredo (2006) for the interaction of definiteness, givenness and quantification as being the actual precondition for topichood. A similar conclusion is also drawn by İşsever (2003) for Turkish, at least partially, since for him Turkish offers examples in which topics can also be realized by nonspecifics.



(Leonetti 2004).<sup>16</sup> Building on Leonetti's (2004) claim that personal *a* is only compatible with specific DPs, it is interesting to test the possible occurrence of (non)specific animate DPs in the topic position detected for the SC subject in the pattern /DP XP/. If topics are specific, and prepositional animate objects (and subjects) are specific, it is expected to find examples of SCs containing a prepositional animate subject, whereas non-prepositional animate subjects are predicted not to be licensed in the relevant sequence. The prediction is borne out by sentences in (46):

- (46) a. Encuentro      a la/ esta enfermera muy atractiva.  
           find-PRES.1SG to/the/this nurse      very attractive  
       b. \*Encuentro      la/ esta enfermera muy atractiva.  
           find-PRES.1SG the/this nurse      very attractive  
           'I find the/this nurse very attractive.'

The contrast in (46) may receive a principled explanation only if the postverbal position is defined as a topic.

#### 2.4.4. Residual issues

In this section I present a tentative answer to question 3, concerning the behaviour of SCs in languages such as Korean or Turkish and the parallelism between CP and vP. Facts from these two languages are discussed that are different from Spanish but very similar to each other. Yet, both Korean and Turkish data will support the strict parallelism of phasal heads. In Korean the attested pattern in SCs is always /DP XP/; no permutation is allowed. Consider sentences in (47)-(50) from Lee (2007, 113):

- (47) Salamtul-i      ku-lul-i    pwuca-loj    syangkakhyassta  
       people-NOM      he-ACC    rich.man-as thought  
       'People thought of him as a rich man.'  
       (48) \*Salamtul-i    pwuca-loj    ku-lul-i    t<sub>j</sub>      syangkakhyassta  
           people-NOM rich.man-as    he-ACC      thought

<sup>16</sup> Spyropoulos and Tiliopoulou (2006) and Spyropoulos (2008) also establish a close relation between definiteness and differential object marking in languages such as Greek (Cappadocian Greek) and Turkish, which overtly instantiate morphological case. It seems to be a common property of languages to make use of some particular device to highlight the definite/specific character of the relevant DP. On this issue, see also Kornfilt (2008), von Heusinger and Kornfilt (2005) and Kornfilt and von Heusinger (2009).

- ‘People thought of him as a rich man’.
- (49) \*Pwuca-lo<sub>j</sub>        salam-tul-i        ku-lul<sub>i</sub>    *t<sub>j</sub>*  
 syangkakhyassta  
 rich.man-as        people-NOM        he-ACC        thought  
 ‘People thought of him as a rich man’.
- (50) \*Pwuca-lo<sub>j</sub>        ku-lul<sub>i</sub>    *t<sub>j</sub>*’        salamtul-i    *t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub>*  
 syangkakhyassta  
 rich.man-as        he-ACC        people-NOM        thought  
 ‘People thought of him as a rich man’.

The inversion of the SC subject and predicate in Korean is barred. Lee (2007) deals with this data in terms of scrambling and proposes a semantic constraint to explain why rearrangement of the SC members is not permitted. Actually, no scrambling of the SC predicate is allowed in the light of the examples in (48-50). However, movement of the SC subject is licit, as sentence (51) illustrates:

- (51) Ku-lul<sub>i</sub>    salamtul-i        *t<sub>i</sub>*        pwuca-lo<sub>j</sub>    syangkakhyassta  
 he-ACC people-NOM        rich.man-as thought  
 ‘People thought of him as a rich man’.

Lee (2007) makes a difference between arguments and predicates and concludes that a  $\theta$ -assigning category, a predicate, is not allowed to move, while an argument is free to undergo movement. This semantic constraint seems to be language-particular in that in languages such as Spanish, Italian or Serbo-Croatian movement of the SC predicate is permitted in the alternate structure /XP DP/. Furthermore, at least in Spanish there is no bar on the displacement of the SC subject or predicate to the left periphery of the whole sentence:

- (52) Muy útiles        encuentro        los ordenadores Mac.  
 very useful        find-PRES.1SG    the computers    Mac  
 ‘I find Mac computers very useful.’
- (53) Los ordenadores Mac encuentro        muy útiles.  
 the computers    Mac find-PRES.1SG very useful  
 ‘I find Mac computers very useful.’

This type of preposing has a remarkably contrastive or corrective flavor, which is compatible with the view that the focus position at the left periphery (in the CP-domain) is reserved for contrastive focus, and may be motivated by the existence of an unspecified discourse feature triggering



movement of the relevant category to get valued as [Foc]. An alternative analysis for this type of Contrastive Focus involves movement of the focused element to Spec-TP after lowering the [Foc] feature from C to T (Camacho-Taboada and Jiménez-Fernández 2014), pursuing once more uniformity across phases.

Although similar to Spanish in its agreement and discourse prominence, Turkish is also a language which does not allow for the permutation of the SC predicate. In this connection, Turkish instantiates a language-specific constraint to the effect that rearrangement of the SC members is prohibited:

- (54) a. (Ben) [sen-i     yorgun] san-ıyor-du-m. (Özsoy 2002, 218)  
           I     [you-ACC tired] consider-PROG-PAST-1SG  
           ‘I consider you tired.’  
       b. \*(Ben) [yorgun sen-i ] san-ıyor-du-m.  
           I     [tired you-ACC] consider-PROG-PAST-1SG  
           ‘I consider you tired.’

As pointed out to me by Özsoy (p.c.), the ungrammaticality in (54b) is due to an independent constraint in Turkish which disallows postposing of an element of an embedded clause to the right of the embedded predicate (Kornfilt 1997). The sentence improves if the embedded subject is moved to the postverbal position at the matrix clause level, however:

- (55) ?(Ben) [yorgun] san-ıyor-du-m                    sen-i.  
           I     [tired] consider-PROG-PAST-1SG     you-ACC  
           ‘I consider you tired.’

The difference between the SC-subject-in-situ and the postposed SC-subject constructions is related to the fact that there exists a very close relation between the SC predicate and the matrix V in languages such as Turkish, in such a way that some kind of reanalysis can be proposed to hold in Turkish SCs. The basic idea is that the embedded predicate must be adjacent to the matrix V (maybe due to the [+ V] nature of the embedded predicate, as Özsoy (2002: 224) suggests). Following Contreras (1987), Zidani-Eroğlu (1997), Özsoy (2002), and Öztürk (2005), it might be the case that in Turkish SCs are subject to a reanalysis process by which the SC predicate forms a complex entity with the matrix V. Once the lower predicate is incorporated, the impossibility to move it to the left of the SC subject is accounted for, as the main V and the incorporated SC predicate make up an atomic unit.



If Turkish is both an agreement-prominent and discourse-prominent language, postposing the SC subject to clause-final position is explained by the informational load of this element. More specifically, *seni* in (55) will be interpreted as a topic. Importantly, these types of rearrangement are detected in the VP-area, which supports the parallelism between vP and CP.

The parallel behavior of CP and vP in Turkish has been extensively discussed by Kahnemuyipour and Kornfilt (2007). They propose that there are two basic positions for focus constituents: a high location, above TP, and a low location, above VP. In questions the focalising question marker can be attached either to a high or low position. To illustrate, consider examples in (56):

- (56) a. kitab-ı oku-yacak-**m**i-siniz?  
           book-ACC read-FUT-Q-2.PL  
           ‘Will you read the book?’  
       b. kitab-ı oku-du-nuz-**mu**?  
           book-ACC read -PAST-2.PL-Q  
           ‘Did you read the book?’

The example in (56a) shows what is called a “pre-stressing” agreement suffix. “Pre-stressing” markers are those which involve stressing on the preceding syllable. These markers are used with tenses such as future, present progressive, or the reported past. What is crucial about this “pre-stressing” marker is that it is attached in the vP projection (Kornfilt 1996; Kahnemuyipour and Kornfilt 2007). On the other hand, example (56b) exhibits a different type of agreement marker which does not display the “pre-stressing” property and is found with the simple past and with the conditional. This type of marker is attached in the TP-domain. From an informational point of view, it is clear that both the TP-system and the VP area convey focus-related properties, which support the parallelism between the two domains.

The conclusion so far seems to be that in languages such as Korean or Turkish there is an independently motivated rule which bars any permutation of the SC predicate. The restriction in Korean has been held to be semantic and syntactic, but purely syntactic in Turkish. One way to relate both types of constraint would be to explore the informational interpretation of the SC predicate in both languages. Interestingly, a focalizing question particle can occur as attached in an SC predicate. Actually, it may be placed between the SC predicate and the matrix predicate:

- (57) Ali [sen-i                    yorgun]-**mu** san-iyor-du?  
       Ali you-ACC        tired -**Q**        believe-PROG-PAST  
       'Did Ali consider you **tired**?'

This is indicative that the VP area contains information-related features such as [Foc]. If this is on the right track, we are in a good position to hold that in languages such as Spanish and Turkish the *vP* phase parallels the CP phase in as much as both phasal heads handed over agreement and discourse features to their corresponding complements.

## 2.5. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have explored the relation between syntax and discourse structure in the description of phases as involving a set of information-based features along with  $\phi$ -features. Both the CP phase and the *vP* phase have been claimed to be the locus of these features. Some languages put a special emphasis upon  $\phi$ -features, others give prominence to  $\delta$ -features. However, some other languages such as Spanish or Turkish highlight both formal and discourse features.

A parallelism has been established on the basis of the behavior of both CP and *vP* phases, which is a welcome result in the light of Chomsky's claim that there is a strict parallelism among phases. If a language is agreement-prominent as regards the CP phase, it also emphasizes agreement features in the *vP* phase. Alternatively, if a language is discourse-prominent concerning the CP phase, it also gives priority to discourse features in the *vP* phase. Finally, if a language is both discourse- and agreement-prominent in the description of the CP phase, it will also be double-faced in its featural system in the *vP* phase. Feature inheritance is shown to be the consequence of giving prominence to a specific type of features.

My analysis of SCs supports this 3-class linguistic typology in so far as word order effects may be seen as resulting from the prominence of discourse features in the *vP* phase that define certain languages.





# CHAPTER 3

## SUBEXTRACTION THROUGH DOUBLED DATIVES

### 3.1. Introduction

In this chapter I address a particular interaction between syntax and information structure and the role of the CP periphery. In particular, I discuss the conditions under which subextraction is licensed from indirect objects in double object constructions (DOCs). In Spanish the indirect object can be optionally doubled and is always introduced by the dative-marking preposition ‘a’. Subextraction is available in doubled indirect objects whereas it is banned in non-doubled constructions. To explain this asymmetry, I claim that the preposition introducing the indirect object is not a true preposition in doubled structures (and hence it is transparent for extraction).

On the other hand, the preposition in non-doubled dative configurations is a true preposition, which qualifies its phrase as an opaque domain for extraction. A crucial ingredient of my proposal is that this opacity does not depend only on the nature of the preposition, but it also relies on the cumulative violation of several constraints such as specificity, freezing and discourse-linking (Haegeman, Jiménez-Fernández and Radford 2014), which will explain the variety in the degree of acceptability detected in the outcome of subextraction from datives in DOCs.

On the basis of new empirical evidence, Jiménez-Fernández (2017) has challenged the accepted consensus that subextraction from Differential Object Marking (DOM) and argument dative objects in Spanish yields ungrammatical results (Torrego 1998, Gallego and Uriagereka 2007, Ordóñez and Roca 2019, among others). The puzzle is even more intriguing when the role of the dative clitic is taken into account. Specifically, if the clitic is absent, the output of subextraction is much worse, as illustrated in (1a) in contrast with (1b) where the clitic is present, which is acceptable –

the extraction site is indicated by square brackets--.<sup>1</sup>

- (1) a. \*¿De qué curso<sub>i</sub> dijiste que entregaron  
           of what year say-PAST.2SG that give-PAST.3PL  
           los exámenes [a varios estudiantes *t<sub>i</sub>*]?  
           the exams to several students
- b. ¿De qué curso<sub>i</sub> dijiste que les  
           of what year say-PAST.2SG that CL-DAT.3PL  
           entregaron los exámenes [a varios estudiantes *t<sub>i</sub>*?  
           give-PAST.3PL the exams to several students  
           ‘Of what year did you say they gave the exams to several  
           students?’

The contrast in (1a-b) runs against assimilating doubled dative (alongside DOM) objects with PPs, which are always islands for extraction. For this reason, Jiménez-Fernández (2017) assumes a Kase Phrase (KP) analysis for DOM and doubled dative Experiencer objects in line with Zdrojewski (2008), López (2012) and Ormazabal and Romero (2013), among others. Implementing this analysis, I propose that in ditransitive constructions, doubled datives project this KP, whereas nondoubled datives project a PP, resurrecting a classical proposal by Demonte (1995) and Bleaming (2003) –though see Demonte (1987) for a view where all indirect objects are PPs. Given that KPs have an edge feature (EF) but PPs do not, we can explain the possible subextraction in doubled dative constructions. In addition, a multifactorial approach to islands is assumed (Haegeman *et al.* (2014)), according to which the more violations a construction violates the higher the degree of ill-formedness it produces. In a nut shell, the degradation of a DOC involving subextraction is subject to the relative sum of different constraints violated during the derivation of the sentence.<sup>2</sup>

As said in the previous paragraphs, according to the current consensus in the relevant literature on Spanish, DOM-marked and dative objects in Spanish are opaque for subextraction. Among others, this empirical claim

<sup>1</sup> As in previous chapters, I assume here the Copy Theory of Movement (Chomsky 2008). However, for the sake of space, I use the convention of the trace (*t*) in the syntactic derivations of the examples in this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> It is a hot topic in current linguistic theory to explore the possibilities of extraction out of constituents other than subjects and objects. Fábregas and Jiménez-Fernández (2016a, b) have claimed that, given the right circumstances subextraction from gerunds and adjectival secondary predicates is possible in Spanish and English. In much the same line, Tanaka (2019) shows that movement out of adjuncts is licensed once a number of factors are controlled for.

is made by Demonte (1987), Torrego (1998), Gallego and Uriagereka (2007), Pineda (2014), and Ordóñez and Roca (2019). This opacity is illustrated in (2) for DOM and (3) for datives:

- (2) \*<sub>i</sub>[<sub>CP</sub> De quién<sub>i</sub> has visitado [a muchos amigos <sub>t<sub>i</sub>]]]?  
 of whom have-PRES.2SG visited to many friends  
 ‘Who have you visited many friends of?’</sub>
- (3) \*<sub>i</sub>[<sub>CP</sub> De quién<sub>i</sub> le diste los libros  
 of whom CL-DAT.3SG gave-PAST.2SG the books  
 [a los padres <sub>t<sub>i</sub>]]?  
 to the parents  
 ‘Who did you give the books to the parents of?’  
 (Ordóñez and Roca 2019, ex. 77b; Gallego and Uriagereka 2007)</sub>

Demonte (1987) offers the following cases of subextraction from doubled datives in DOCs, maintaining that they are unacceptable:

- (4) a. \*<sub>i</sub>[De qué amigo<sub>i</sub> le regalaste un libro  
 of which friend CL-DAT.3SG give-PAST.2SG a book  
 [a la hija <sub>t<sub>i</sub>]]?  
 to the daughter  
 ‘Of what friend did you give a book to her daughter?’</sub>
- b. \*<sub>i</sub>[De qué tienda<sub>i</sub> le compraste un piano  
 of what store CL-DAT.3SG buy-PAST.2SG a piano  
 [al dueño <sub>t<sub>i</sub>]]?  
 to the owner  
 ‘Of what store did you buy a piano from the owner?’</sub>

Actually, Demonte classifies the dative P on a par with other prepositions in light of the degradation of subextraction from what she calls true PPs:

- (5) \*<sub>i</sub>[De qué primo<sub>i</sub> metió Juan el coche [en el  
 of what cousin put-PAST.3SG Juan the car in the  
 garaje <sub>t<sub>i</sub>]]?  
 garage  
 ‘Of what cousin did Juan keep the car in the garage?’</sub>

In a recent work, Jiménez-Fernández (2017) has called out this empirical observation by providing new data involving legitimate subextractions from



DOM- and dative-marked DPs, specifically in psych constructions:

- (6) ¿De qué edificio<sub>i</sub> han                      aterrorizado                      [a algunos  
of what building have-PRES.3PL scared                      to some  
vecinos <sub>t<sub>i</sub>]</sub> con amenazas?  
neighbors with threats  
'Of what building do you say they have scared some neighbors  
with threats?
- (7) ¿De qué edificio<sub>i</sub>                      dices                      que no le  
of what building                      say-PRES.2SG                      that not CL-DAT.3SG  
han                      gustado                      tus                      sugerencias                      [a ningún  
have-PRES.3PL liked                      your suggestions                      to no  
vecino <sub>t<sub>i</sub>]</sub>?  
neighbor  
'Of what building do you say that no neighbor has liked your  
suggestions?'

(Jiménez-Fernández 2017, 156)

Note that the DOM-marked DP in (6) and the Experiencer dative in (7) are introduced by the preposition 'a' and yet subextraction is allowed, contrary to what is predicted if *a*-DPs are PPs and hence islands.

The mystery around data in (1a-b) increases when the role of the dative clitic is taken into account in DOCs, since in some varieties of Spanish the clitic is optional (Pineda 2014).

The generalization to be explained here is that, for datives in DOCs, subextraction improves when the clitic is present in all varieties but exhibits degradation when the clitic is absent in those varieties which permit optionality with respect to the clitic. My major claims, which are ultimately the ingredients of my proposal, are: 1) Legitimate subextractions from dative objects in DOCs provide new evidence for the view of *a*-DP objects as K(ase)Ps (Zdrojewski 2008, Jiménez-Fernández 2017) and against the PP analysis (Ordóñez and Roca 2019); 2) Datives with clitic doubling are KPs, whereas datives without clitic are PPs (Demonte 1995, Ordóñez 1998, Cuervo 2003, Bleam 2003) and only the latter exhibit island effects;<sup>3</sup> 3) Only a system based on a cumulative approach to constraint violations can

<sup>3</sup> An alternative analysis for datives with and without clitics is proposed by Kato and Ordóñez (2019). According to their approach, some dative(-like) constructions involve the projection of a Dative Phrase in Dominican Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese. This DatP is different depending on whether its head is realized by a clitic or not, with consequence for the case assigned to the argument ultimately moved to Spec-TP.

explain the islandhood status of datives in DOCs.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. In Section 3.2 I provide some preliminary empirical remarks on the acceptability or non-acceptability of cases of subextraction in Spanish DOCs that have been adduced in the relevant previous literature. I also introduce the distinction between two types of prepositions. Section 3.3 describes the cumulative constraint violation system that my proposal is based on. In Section 3.4 I present and discuss the data concerning doubled and non-doubled dative constructions, putting forth my theoretical analysis, based on the different status of the P ‘a’ in doubled and non-doubled datives in DOCs. The analysis is backed by some experimental work. Finally, Section 3.5 summarizes the chapter.

### 3.2. Numerous conditions for subextraction from dative *a*-DPs

The conditions that license subextraction from object positions in Spanish are still poorly understood. In general, it is assumed that specificity/definiteness and the position from which extraction takes place are the most relevant parameters when it comes to evaluate legitimate instances of subextraction both from subject and object positions.

However, these and other conditions are not always clear. A relevant minimal pair involving DOM and non-DOM objects is discussed by Uriagereka and Gallego (2007), according to whom only non-DOM objects are transparent for extraction even in derived positions (unlike, e.g., English). Contrast (8) and (9):

- (8) a. ¿<sub>CP</sub> De qué escritor<sub>i</sub> C ha comprado  
           of what writer have-PRES.3SG bought  
           [<sub>v\*P</sub> [ dos libros *t<sub>i</sub>* ] María *v\* t<sub>j</sub>* ] ]?  
           two books María  
           ‘Which writer has María bought two books by?’
- b. ¿<sub>CP</sub> De qué escritor<sub>i</sub> C ha comprado  
           of what writer have-PRES.3SG bought  
           [<sub>v\*P</sub> María *v\** [ dos libros *t<sub>i</sub>* ] ] ]?  
           María two books  
           ‘Which writer has María bought two books by?’

- (9) a.  $?*_{\bar{c}}[_{CP} \text{De quién}_i \quad C \text{ [has} \quad \text{visitado } [_{vP} \text{pro } v^* \text{ [a}$   
           of whom           have-PRES.2SG   visited           to  
           muchos amigos  $t_i$ ] ] ]?
- many friends  
           ‘Who have you visited many friends of?’
- b.  $*_{\bar{c}}[_{CP} \text{De quién}_i \quad C \text{ [le} \quad \text{diste } [_{vP} \text{pro } v^* \text{ [a}$   
           of whom           CL-DAT.3SG           give-PAST.2SG  
           los libros [a           los           padres  $t_i$ ] ] ]?
- the books to           the           parents  
           ‘Whose parents did you give the books?’
- (Gallego and Uriagereka 2007, 64-65)

According to Uriagereka and Gallego, the contrast between (8) and (9) shows two basic things. On the one hand, it makes clear that being in a derived position is not enough to become opaque for subextraction, as illustrated by (8a) as opposed to (8b). On the other hand, what accounts for DOM/dative opacity is the Case-agreement connection. Presence/absence of Agree (the marker ‘a’) correlates with transparency/opacity for subextraction.

I will come back to these examples with a different explanation for the unacceptable sentences. In any case, other conditions seem to be at issue in order to establish the opacity of *a*-DPs. For example, in (9a) the problem appears to be connected with the non D-linked nature of the *wh*-operator. Note that if the *wh*-operator is D-linked the outcome improves:

- (10)  $?*_{\bar{c}}[_{CP} \text{De qué} \quad \text{ciudad}_i \quad C \text{ [has} \quad \text{visitado } [_{vP}$   
           of what           city           have-PRES.2SG   visited  
            $\text{pro } v^* \text{ [a muchos amigos } t_i \text{] ] ]?}$   
           to many friends  
           ‘What city have you visited many friends from?’

As for (9b), it is a case of DOC, and apparently the opacity of the dative *a*-DP patterns with the island status of DOM-objects (under Gallego and Uriagereka’s premises). Interestingly, if the definite/specific feature of the dative changes (in addition to a modification of the D-linking nature of the *wh*-operator), again the result ameliorates:



- (11) ?<sub>i</sub>[<sub>CP</sub> De qué clase<sub>i</sub> C [les dio [<sub>v\*P</sub> la  
of what class CL-DAT.3PL give-PAST.3SG the  
maestra v\* las notas [a varios alumnos *t<sub>i</sub>* ] ] ]?  
teacher the grades to several students  
‘Of what class did the teacher give their grades to several  
students?’

From the increase in acceptability of the previous examples the conclusion can be drawn that many factors are at issue when it comes to qualifying a dative object as an island.

Another condition which influences the islandhood of dative *a*-DPs is the prepositional status of ‘a’. Linguists such as Ordóñez and Roca (2019) and Kayne (2005) consider ‘a’ as a full preposition. As such, the preposition probes in search of its complement for Agree reasons.<sup>4</sup> On this account, the prediction is that, as a PP, *a*-DP should be an opaque domain for extraction, given the traditional view that PPs are islands (Boeckx 2003), as illustrated in (12).

- (12) \*<sub>i</sub>De qué partido no confías en ningún  
of which party not trust-PRES.2SG in no  
candidato?  
candidate  
‘Of what party don’t you trust any candidate?’

However, as said earlier, Jiménez-Fernández (2017) has shown that island effects with DOM-objects and dative Experiencers may be mitigated, casting doubts on the approaches of both Gallego and Uriagereka and Ordóñez and Roca. DOM DPs and datives are transparent for movement since the preposition ‘a’ is just a case-assigning element, resurrecting the suggestion that this kind of DP projects into a Kase Phrase, a functional projection independently proposed by Loebel (1994), as a category separate from D.

Prepositional phrases have been claimed to exhibit functional properties (cf. Abels (2003), Radford (1997), Rooryck (1996), among many others). More precisely, van Riemsdijk (1978, 2015) has claimed that we can distinguish two types of preposition, namely lexical and functional

<sup>4</sup> Alexiadou *et al.* (2014) have claimed that, depending on the specific language, datives are PPs and as such they are opaque domains for an outer probe. Among the languages that exhibit this property are Ancient Greek, Japanese and some dialects of German. As I show in this chapter, Spanish datives are not fully opaque and sometimes they can be crossed by an outer probe.

prepositions, offering a list of defining properties which single out each group. I contend here that at least a subset of functional prepositions is just KPs, endowed with an edge feature which facilitates extraction.

Among the properties of functional prepositions in general that van Riemsdijk identifies are the fact that it signals the oblique case in languages that do not have specific morphology for case, and the possibility that the DP selected by P can be a controller of PRO in a complement clause. Extending the two properties to datives in DOCs, firstly, ‘a’ primarily serves the purpose of case assignment, no thematic or other semantic dependency is established between ‘a’ and its complement (Demonte 1995; Cuervo 2003). And secondly, this *a*-DP can act as controller of PRO in a complement clause. Concentrating now on low datives such as the one occurring in DOCs, (13) illustrates the controlling properties of datives in ditransitive constructions:

- (13) Le                                  enseñé                          a Juan [a PRO    escribir en  
       CL-DAT.3SG                  teach-PAST.1SG    to Juan to                  write    in  
       el ordenador].  
       the computer  
       ‘I taught John to write in the computer’.

Both are properties which point to the fact that ‘a’ is in the set of functional prepositions. As already observed, I claim that at least some of these prepositions, and ‘a’ in particular, is the superficial realization of a K head, as independently shown by Zdrojevski (2008) and Mondofiedo (2008), and as such it is not a barrier for subextraction. However, this does not solve the problem of unacceptability of cases of subextraction from indirect objects. In other words, it is not just because we have a transparent KP that subextraction takes place. In my view, this is only one among other conditions which interact to allow subextraction. I will show that a multifactorial approach to the notion of island (in line with Haegeman *et al.* 2014) can account for the differences in grammaticality in overtly-marked dative objects in DOCs in Section 3.4.

### 3.3. A cumulative approach to island violations

The question that this paper explores is how to explain the sharp contrast between the degraded and the well-formed sentences involving subextraction from datives in DOCs. As an answer, I will argue that these contrasts are not the result of the violation of a single condition. Instead, the degradation in some cases of subextraction will be subject to a multifactorial



number of violations.

Haegeman *et al.* (2014) make a cumulative approach to subject islands, in an attempt to explain the grey areas detected in the outcome of sub-extraction (cf. Bianchi and Chesi 2014). Chomsky's (1973) *Subject Condition* is decomposed into several constraints to the effect that the more conditions a construction violates, the more ill-formed it is.

Assuming this multifactorial approach, Jiménez-Fernández (2017) evaluates the impact of three conditions:

1. the *Freezing Principle* (A moved constituent is frozen for extraction)
2. the *Specificity Condition* (Specific nominals are opaque domains for extraction)
3. the *D-linking Condition* (Extraction is ameliorated when the extractee is D-linked).

Adding to the list of weak islands DOM and dative objects, Jiménez-Fernández extends Haegeman *et al.*'s (2014) analysis by suggesting that one of the factors mitigating islandhood is the functional character of some prepositions (Riemsdijk 1978), and that the *P a* in dative Experiencers and accusative DPs is the morphological realization of the head of a Kase Phrase. His proposal is that this KP is a phase, whose specifier can be used as an escape hatch for extraction because K has an Edge Feature. Lexical PPs, by contrast, are also phases but no Edge Feature is carried by P.

This EF predicts that under minimalist premises sub-extraction will be available from KP (subject to (micro-)parametric and inter-speaker variation) but not from PPs. This prediction is borne out, as observed when comparing (14) and (15):

- (14) ¿De qué edificio dices que no conoces  
       of what building say-PRES.2SG that not know-PRES.2SG  
       a ningún vecino?  
       to no neighbor  
       ‘Of what building do you say you don’t know any neighbour?’
- (15) \*¿De qué partido político te encontraste con algunos  
       of what party political CL-2SG meet-PAST.2SG with some  
       miembros?  
       members  
       ‘\*Of what political party did you meet up with some members?’

Given that PP is a strong phase and it is not endowed with an EF, movement is blocked from PPs. Note that this is in line with the view of PPs as islands



(Boekx 2003).

Dragging on Haegeman *et al.*'s (2014) cumulative approach, sentences such as (16) with subextraction from a DOM-marked object exhibit different degrees of acceptability (here and hereafter X means violation and  $\checkmark$  satisfaction of a condition):

- (16) a. ¿De qué congreso<sub>i</sub> crees que ha  
 of what conference think-PRES.2SG that have-PRES.2SG  
 conmocionado [a varios organizadores  $t_i$ ] tu propuesta?  
 shocked to several organizers your proposal  
 'Of what conference do you think your proposal has shocked  
 several organizers?'

**Freezing  $\checkmark$  / Specificity  $\checkmark$  / D-Linking  $\checkmark$**

- b. ??¿De qué congreso<sub>i</sub> crees que tu propuesta  
 of what conference think-PRES.2SG that your proposal  
 ha conmocionado [a los organizadores  $t_i$ ]?  
 have-PRES.3SG shocked to the organizers?  
 'Of what do you think your proposal has shocked the  
 organizers?'

**Freezing  $\checkmark$  / Specificity X / D-Linking  $\checkmark$**

- c. \*¿De qué<sub>i</sub> crees que [a los organizadores  $t_i$ ]  
 of what think-PRES.2SG that to the organizers  
 los ha conmocionado tu propuesta?  
 CL-ACC.3PL have-PRES.3SG shocked your proposal?  
 'Of what do you think the organizers have been shocked by your  
 proposal?'

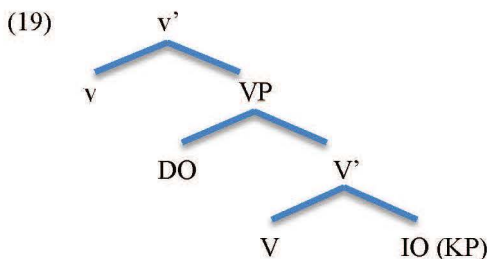
**Freezing X / Specificity X / D-Linking X**

In (16c) the violation of the three conditions under exam amounts to full degradedness, whereas the satisfaction of the three constraints entails the full acceptability of (16a).<sup>5</sup> In between the two extremes cases are found in which only one of the conditions is violated, which is predicted to yield marginality, as in (16b). This raises the question as to whether subextraction from datives in DOCs is also subject to this multifactorial violation of conditions. In Section 4 I discuss data concerning DOCs which clearly point

<sup>5</sup> A processing constraint is also at issue here, since the longer the distance between the extraction site and the extractee, the lower the degree of acceptability, as independently demonstrated by Chaves (2013) and Kush *et al.* (2017). This explains why some speakers feel sentences such as (16a) a bit awkward.



The structure of DOCs with clitic doubling I propose has been adapted from Pujalte (2008), albeit the different word order of IO and DO, which I take to be originally DO+IO, following Cuervo (2003), Ordóñez (1998) and Pineda (2014), among others:



The prediction from this configuration is that subextraction is allowed from doubled datives, but if the IO undergoes movement Freezing would be violated and the outcome is degraded. This happens in cases of scrambling (Ordóñez 1998), accounting for the minimal pair in (20), with the pattern DO+IO, and (21), with the pattern IO+DO:<sup>6</sup>

- (20) ¿De qué libro<sub>i</sub> parece que no les  
 of what book seem-PRES.3SG that not CL-DAT.3PL  
 han enviado la invitación [a varios autores *t<sub>i</sub>*]?  
 have-PRES.3PL sent the invitation to several authors  
**Freezing:** √ **EF:** √ **D-Linking:** √ **Specificity:** √

- (21) ??¿De qué libro<sub>i</sub> parece que no les han enviado [a varios autores *t<sub>i</sub>*]  
 la invitación?  
**Freezing:** X **EF:** √ **D-Linking:** √ **Specificity:** √  
 'Of what book does it seem that they didn't sent the invitation to  
 several authors?'

A plausible explanation for the ban on subextraction out of datives from the literature, as in example (3), repeated as (22), from Ordóñez and Roca

<sup>6</sup> Ordóñez (1998) suggests that the type of scrambling which takes place to obtain the word order IO+DO is A-scrambling. An alternative is that the IO undergoes A'-movement to a designated topic position in the low periphery (Belletti 2004). Further research is needed to decide whether A- or A'-movement is involved in this case. What is clear is that in both cases movement of the IO renders it frozen, and subsequent movement from inside this KP violates Freezing.



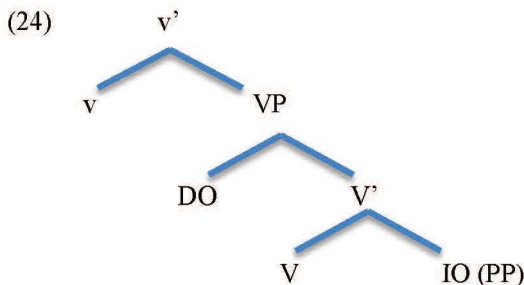
(2019, ex. 77b), could very well be that the operation violates some conditions which induce island effects:

- (22) \*¿[<sub>CP</sub> De quién<sub>i</sub> le CL-DAT.3SG diste los libros [a of whom CL-DAT.3SG gave-PAST.2SG the books to los padres *t<sub>i</sub>* ]]?  
the parents  
'Who did you give the books to the parents of?'
- Freezing:** √    **EF:** √    **D-Linking:** X    **Specificity:** X

Violation of Freezing makes the order OI+OD worse:

- (23) \*¿[<sub>CP</sub> De quién<sub>i</sub> le CL-DAT.3SG diste [a los of whom CL-DAT.3SG gave-PAST.2SG to the padres *t<sub>i</sub>* ] los libros]?  
parents the books  
'Who did you give the books to the parents of?'
- Freezing:** X    **EF:** √    **D-Linking:** X    **Specificity:** X

Now let us turn to my analysis of non-doubled datives. The main difference with respect to doubled datives is that non-doubled datives are PPs. The P 'a' in these instances is a lexical P, and hence induces islandhood. The configuration I propose has been adapted from Demonte (1995), Pujalte (2008) and Cuervo (2003):



Again, the prediction is that even though D-Linking and Specificity are controlled for, the violation of crossing a PP will amount to degradation and if a violation of Freezing is added the degree of ill-formedness increases. The prediction is borne out, as illustrated in the minimal pair (25), with DO+IO, and (26), with the order IO+DO:

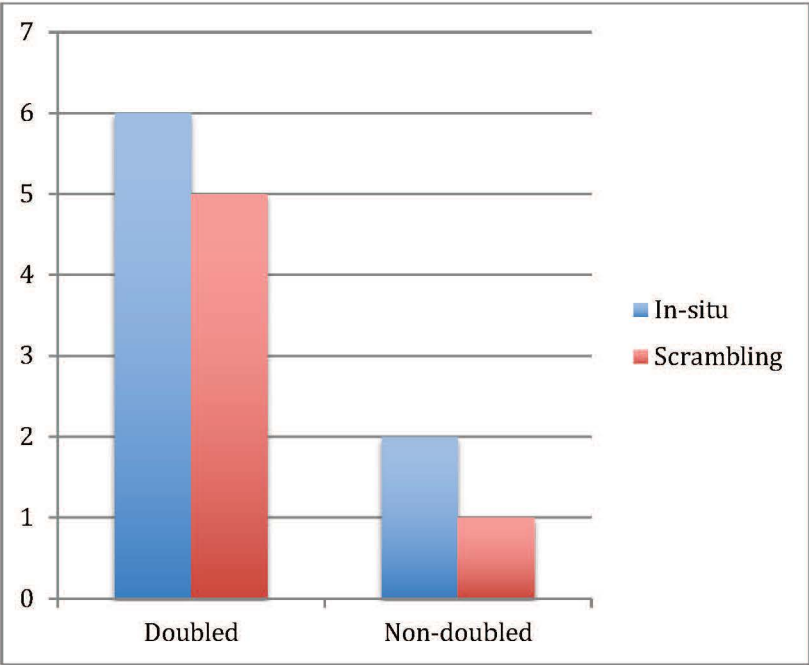
- (25) ??¿De qué libro<sub>i</sub> parece                      que no    han  
           of what book seem-PRES.3SG that not have-PRES.3PL  
           enviado la            invitación [a varios            autores <sub>t</sub> ]?  
           sent the            invitation to several            authors  
           **Freezing:** √      **EF:** X    **D-Linking:** √      **Specificity:** √

- (26) \*¿De qué libro parece que no han enviado a varios autores la  
           invitación?  
           **Freezing:** X      **EF:** X    **D-Linking:** √      **Specificity:** √  
           ‘Of what book does it seem that they didn’t sent the invitation to  
           several authors?’

If my claim that non-doubled datives are PPs and if PPs are not endowed with and EF, the two sentences are predicted to be degraded. There is some minor distinction in the grammaticality judgment. This difference seems to be connected with Freezing, which is added to the list of violations in (26), hence the worsening of the outcome. The conclusion is that subextraction from dative PPs yields a more degraded construction.

The grammaticality judgements are based on experimental work carried out by means of a survey distributed among informants in Seville. The informants were 27 students of the 4th year of the Degree on English Studies at the University of Seville. The survey contained sentences with doubled and non-doubled datives in DOCs, four for each group where two patterns were tested, namely DO+IO and IO+DO. Three fillers were introduced, and the sentences were randomized. The survey was run face-to-face on a written form. Each sentence was preceded by a context in Spanish (though I give the English translation to make the presentation easier). Informants had to use a 1-7 Likert scale, where 1 means fully ungrammatical and 7 fully grammatical. A sample of the data I have tested occurs in (20-21) for subextraction from doubled datives, and (25-26) for subextraction from non-doubled datives.

In Table 1 there is a summary of the two patterns tested.



**Table 1: Subextraction from doubled and non-doubled datives**

As is clear from Table 1, non-doubled datives are incompatible with subextraction, given the low scores obtained in the survey. On the other hand, though not fully acceptable, when the dative is doubled the acceptability rate is quite high. Differences also arise between the two orders. Note that Specificity and D-Linking are obeyed in the two types of construction. The impression is that the more complex in terms of number of operations the association of the *wh*-phrase and the extraction site is, the higher the degree of unacceptability (Kush et al. 2017). This confirms that processing factors are at issue (Chaves 2013; Haegeman *et al.* 2014), which might be caused by the extra operation involved in scrambling of the IO over the DO (Ordóñez 1998). This type of operation is an instance of movement, and if subextraction takes place after the IO has moved, it incurs in a violation of the Freezing Condition. The type of processing factor attested is not linear distance, but configurational complexity, which is measured by the number of operations which have been applied.

From a purely syntactic perspective, the distinction between KP and PP is behind the low figures provided by speakers to subextraction from non-doubled datives, which is explained by the island nature of the PP. This PP



is not endowed with an EF, thereby making it impossible for the *wh*-phrase to escape the island.

### 5. A note on the A-A' distinction and subextraction

Derived A'-positions in the left periphery have been claimed not to be islands (Haegeman *et al.* 2014 and references therein). Consider the following example modeled after Rizzi (2007):

- (27) ¿De qué autor<sub>k</sub> no sabes [cuántas novelas t<sub>k</sub>]<sub>j</sub>  
 of what author not know-PRES.2SG how.many novels  
 van a publicar t<sub>j</sub> este mes?  
 go-PRES.3PL to.to.publish this month  
 'Of what author don't you know how many novels they are publishing this month?'

Interestingly, interrogative DOM objects behave the same way even if doubled by an accusative clitic:

- (28) ¿De qué edificio no sabes [a cuántos  
 of what building not know-PRES.2SG DOM how.many  
 vecinos] ya (?los) desalojaron?  
 neighbors already CL-3PL.ACC evict-PAST.3PL  
 'Of what building don't you know how many neighbors have been already evicted?'

Notice that not only DOM *wh*-phrases allows for subextraction. Another instance of traditionally acknowledged A'-movement such as CLLD seems to be transparent for subextraction:

- (29) ¿De qué edificio dijiste que [a varios vecinos t]  
 of what building say-PAST.2SG that DOM several neighbors  
 ya los desalojaron?  
 already CL-3PL.ACC evict-PAST.3PL  
 'Of what building did you say that several neighbors have been already evicted?'

- (30) ¿De qué edificio, [a varios vecinos t], ya  
 of what building DOM several neighbors already  
 los desalojaron?  
 CL-3PL.ACC evict-PAST.3PL

‘Of what building have they already evicted several neighbors?’

These examples raise the question as to whether this A/A’ distinction affects subextraction from datives. To answer the question, recall the data in (31-32), where I have identified different judgements but the same violations:

- (31) ??¿De qué libro parece que no les han enviado a varios autores la invitación? (V OI OD)

**Freezing:** X    **EF:** ✓    **D-Linking:** ✓    **Specificity:** ✓

- (32) ¿De qué libro parece que a varios autores no les han enviado la invitación? (OI V OD)

**Freezing:** X    **EF:** ✓    **D-Linking:** ✓    **Specificity:** ✓

If the claim that the A-A’ distinction influences the availability of subextraction, hence we have one more factor to tease apart the two examples in (31-32): in (32) islandhood is mitigated because the *wh*-phrase is extracted from an A’-position, whereas in (31) island effects are stressed because subextraction involves movement from a derived A-position (Ordóñez 1998 claims that when the dative precedes the direct object, the dative has been moved to scrambling via A-movement).

The role of Information Structure in licensing subextraction is just ongoing research (See Jiménez-Fernández 2009 and Cyrino and Cepeda 2017 for the low periphery in Ditransitive Constructions). Here I have tested whether the information-structure status of the dative extraction site helps in mitigating the island effects which are supposedly exhibited by datives. In this connection, when all other conditions have been controlled for, subextraction is fully licensed from a CLLD-ed topic when this is placed in an A’-position. This was illustrated in (32). In particular, Freezing is violated given that the dative has undergone movement and hence subextraction is applied from a derived position. In other words, the mildly marginal status of (32) is due to the fact that prior subextraction, the topic has moved up. This has consequences for the theory of syntax and the movement vs. base-generation of topics in the Left Periphery.

Recall that when subextraction takes place from an in-situ constituent, Freezing is satisfied because the position of the extraction site is not a derived position. If subextraction from a topic in the LP yields a marginal construction, this is indicative that topics are not base-generated in the LP, contrary to what linguists such as Haegeman (2012), Frascarelli (2007) and Barbosa (2001) have claimed for Romance languages. Further examples support this movement view of topics; (33) follows the pattern /V OI OD/,



whereas (34) shows the pattern /OI V OD/:

- (33) ??¿De qué edificio dices que no les  
           of what building say-PRES.2SG that not CL-3PL.DAT  
           han remitido a algunos vecinos  
           have-PRES.3PL mailed to some neighbors  
           propaganda electoral?  
           propaganda electoral  
           ‘Of what building do you say that some neighbors were not mailed  
           any electoral propaganda?’  
**Freezing: X**    **EF: √**    **D-Linking: √**    **Specificity: √**

- (34) ¿De qué edificio dices que a algunos vecinos no les han remitido  
           propaganda electoral?  
**Freezing: X**    **EF: √**    **D-Linking: √**    **Specificity: √**

In this minimal pair we obtain again a distinction in term of the degree of unacceptability. Note that the clitic is obligatory since the dative is CLLD-ed and this produces doubling of the object. (33) involves subextraction from a derived A-position, and hence its acceptability decreases. Conversely, in (34) subextraction has applied to a topic in the LP and, as movement from an A'-position, this is permitted.<sup>7</sup>

To conclude this section, the data that I have analyzed involves the mitigation of island effects when subextraction takes place from an A'-position, supporting the movement view of topics in the LP (López 2009).

## 6. Extending the analysis to focus movement

In this section I discuss the cumulative approach to subextraction by analyzing data where focus movement has taken place. In particular, focus

<sup>7</sup> In previous chapters I have claimed that topics in Spanish move to Spec-TP after feature inheritance, which is not what I am assuming here. However, this contradiction vanishes if different types of topics are taken into account. Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) and Bianchi and Frascarelli (2010) distinguish three types, namely Given Topics, Contrastive Topics and Aboutness-shift Topics. As Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014) and Frascarelli and Jiménez-Fernández (2019) have claimed, Aboutness-shift topics occupy an A'-position in the CP area, whereas Given Topics and Contrastive Topics sit in Spec-TP. The argument I raise in the text is valid if the topic in (38) is an Aboutness-shift Topic, which is exactly what I assume it to be.



fronting has been identified as the subtype of discourse category known as Contrastive Focus (Rizzi 1997; Zubizarreta 1998), as illustrated in (35):

- (35) A Pedro vi en el supermercado, no a Juan.  
 to Pedro see-PAST.1SG in the supermarket, not to Juan  
 'I saw Pedro in the supermarket, not Juan.'

As shown earlier with respect to *wh*-movement, when the dative is doubled the result of subextraction improves with respect to the non-doubled version. In the relevant example (35) it can be observed that one of the properties of focused objects is that they are not doubled by a clitic. However, datives are different in that they optionally require this clitic doubling even when they are focused, as illustrated in (36):

- (36) a. A PEDRO dieron el premio, no a Juan.  
 to Pedro give-PAST.3PL the prize, not to Juan.  
 b. A PEDRO le dieron el premio, no  
 to Pedro CL-3SG.DAT give-PAST.3PL the prize, not  
 a Juan.  
 to Juan.  
 'Pedro was awarded the prize, not Juan.'

Again we obtain a paradigm where the clitic is optional. Let's see what happens when subextraction takes place; the extractee is a dative in a ditransitive construction and the extractee is a focused PP. I start with the original sentences before any subextraction has occurred. Example (38) contains the dative clitic, whereas (37) does not:

- (37) Dieron el premio Cervantes a varios miembros de  
 give-PAST.3PL the prize Cervantes to several members of  
 la Universidad de Sevilla.  
 the University of Sevilla  
 (38) Les dieron el premio Cervantes a varios  
 CL-3SG.DAT give-PAST.3PL the prize Cervantes to several  
 miembros de la Universidad de Sevilla.  
 members of the University of Sevilla  
 'They gave the Cervantes prize to several members of the  
 University of Sevilla.'

Contrastive Focus (CF) is one of the strategies that natural languages have in order to give coherence to a text in that it connects the relevant sentence

with the previous context (Molnár and Winkler 2010). Thus, all examples involving CF satisfy the condition of D-Linking, and hence I will not consider D-Linking as a factor distinguishing different cases of subextraction. However, Freezing, Specificity and the presence of an EF are factors to be taken into account in allowing or banning subextraction. In (39) all the conditions have been complied with and the result is fully acceptable, as predicted in my multifactorial analysis of subextraction:

- (39) DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE SEVILLA les  
 of the University of Sevilla CL-3SG.DAT  
 dieron el premio Cervantes a varios miembros,  
 give-PAST.3PL the prize Cervantes to several members,  
 no de la de Murcia.  
 not of the of Murcia  
 ‘They gave the Cervantes prize to several members of the University of Sevilla, not to members of the University of Murcia.’  
**Freezing:** √ **EF:** √ **Specificity:** √

Given that the canonical pattern in Spanish is SVOO, where the dative precedes the accusative object, the former has not undergone any kind of movement and hence Freezing is satisfied because the extraction takes place out of an in-situ constituent. On the other hand, the presence of the clitic indicates that the dative projects into a KP which is endowed with an EF, thereby facilitating subextraction. Finally, the dative object is non-specific and as such it also mitigates any possible islandhood. The combination of all these factors renders the sentence as fully acceptable.

In what follows I examine what happens when one of the relevant conditions is not taken into account. First, in (40) the clitic has been left out. Therefore, the syntactic projection of that dative is PP, not KP. Recall that in those cases my proposal is that there is no EF, so any extraction from the dative is blocked.

- (40) ?? DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE SEVILLA dieron el premio  
 Cervantes a varios miembros, no de la de Murcia.  
**Freezing:** √ **EF:** X **Specificity:** √

In (41) a specific dative has been used. As a consequence, the degree of acceptability decreases:

- (41) ¿? DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE SEVILLA les dieron el premio Cervantes a varios miembros, no de la de Murcia.

**Freezing:** √    **EF:** √    **Specificity:** X

Here specificity has not been satisfied, yielding a quite marginal result. Finally, if the dative precedes the direct object, it has been scrambled (Ordóñez 1998) and hence it is frozen in place as far as extraction is concerned. Example (42) shows this freezing effect on subextraction:

- (42) ¿ DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE SEVILLA les dieron a varios miembros el premio Cervantes, no de la de Murcia.

**Freezing:** X    **EF:** √    **Specificity:** √

Next step will be to examine the increase of unacceptability when two conditions are violated. In (43) Freezing and the EF constraint have been violated, whereas in (44) Freezing combines Specificity:

- (43) ¿?/\* DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE SEVILLA dieron a varios miembros el premio Cervantes, no de la de Murcia.

**Freezing:** X    **EF:** X    **Specificity:** √

- (44) ¿?/\* DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE SEVILLA les dieron a varios miembros el premio Cervantes, no de la de Murcia.

**Freezing:** X    **EF:** √    **Specificity:** X

Finally, when the three conditions are violated the degree of unacceptability increases even higher:

- (45) \* DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE SEVILLA dieron a los miembros el premio Cervantes, no de la de Murcia.

**Freezing:** X    **EF:** X    **Specificity:** √

To conclude this section, subextraction in the form of CF is ruled by exactly the same conditions that affect wh-movement, and the more conditions the construction violates the lower the degree of acceptability is, supporting the analysis of subextraction in terms of the cumulative violation approach.

## 7. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have discussed the subextraction possibilities in Double Object Constructions in Spanish. The descriptive generalization has been



that subextraction from a doubled IO is possible in DOCs provided that different conditions are met. Degrees of degradation are explained by assuming that the higher the number of violations a derivation incurs in, the higher the degree of unacceptability is. On the other hand, when the dative is not doubled by a clitic, the absence of an EF in the PP makes degradation show up even though the other conditions are met. The extraction site of the subtypes of *wh*-movement and focus movement under examination has been shown to be either PP or KP, another phasal context. I leave for future research how the notion of feature inheritance applies in the nominal and prepositional environments.

As presented in the chapter, the CP periphery is the position targeted by *wh*-phrases, sentence topics and focused constituents which convey some sort of contrast. This shows an additional case of interaction between peripheries and syntactic movement with an impact on information structure.

# CHAPTER 4

## DISCOURSE-INDUCED MOVEMENT IN ROOT AND NON-ROOT CLAUSES

### 4.1. Introduction

In this chapter I discuss different types of information structure phenomena which may occur or not in distinct syntactic contexts depending on the relevant language. More specifically, I address the properties of diverse types of movement which are triggered by discourse features and make a systematic comparison between English and Spanish. If the Strong Uniformity Principle is correct, the two languages would be expected to show a similar array of discourse features, but they differ in the fact that some discourse features are allowed to be inherited by T from C in Spanish, while they all remain in C in English. The different syntactic location of  $\delta$ -features across languages has crucial consequences for the licensing of certain IS phenomena in diverse types of clauses.

A number of recent works have analyzed the composition and extent of phrasal hierarchies of different clause types, distinguishing between root, root-like and (diverse types of) embedded clauses, and the relevant discourse phenomena which are allowed in each of these contexts (cf. Hooper and Thompson 1973; Emonds 1970, 1976, 2004; Haegeman 2002; Meinunger 2004; Heycock 2006; Jiménez-Fernández & Miyagawa 2014; Miyagawa 2017; Jiménez-Fernández 2018; Frascarelli and Jiménez-Fernández 2016).

These linguists have claimed that some discourse-based phenomena are licensed in root or root-like clauses. In this chapter I give an overview of the different IS phenomena and suggest that they are allowed in subordinate contexts if the relevant language exhibits feature inheritance or not.

This chapter is organized in three parts. The second section is about the different types of discourse categories that I will take into account, based on their being assigned a specific combination of  $\delta$ -features. In particular, I discuss the properties of Aboutness-shift Topics, Contrastive Topics and

Given Topics, on the one hand; on the other hand, I deal with the properties of Information Focus, Contrastive Focus and Mirative Focus.

Section 3 shows the different types of clauses where each discourse may be licensed. I will pay special attention to embedded clauses which are selected by different types of verb.

## 4.2. Types of discourse categories

Recent works on the interface and structural properties of discourse categories have led to a clause-related distinction for different types of Topics (cf. Buring 1999; Haegeman 2004; Frascarelli 2007; Krifka 2007; Bianchi and Frascarelli 2010; Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007; Frascarelli and Jiménez-Fernández 2017), Foci (cf. Kiss 1998, Âmbar 1999, Krifka 2007, Leonetti and Escandell 2009, Cruschina 2011, Bianchi & Bocci 2012; Jiménez-Fernández 2015a,b, 2018; among others) and Contrast, often associated with either Focus or Topic, but also as an independent feature (Vallduví and Vílkuna 1998; Molnár 2006; Molnár and Winkler 2010; Bianchi and Bocci 2012, Frascarelli and Ramaglia 2013).

Discourse categories perform different roles in conversational dynamics (Bianchi and Frascarelli 2010). Following Krifka (2007), I assume two descriptive layers of the Common Ground (CG), namely the CG Content and the CG Management. On the one hand, the CG Content corresponds to the truth-conditional information accumulated up to a given point in the conversation. On the other hand, the CG Management involves two pieces of information. First, it comprises the sequence of conversational moves (i.e., assertions, questions, rejections...) performed by the speech act participants, which require illocutionary force. Secondly, it also implies a series of instructions that help the interlocutor determine the way in which the CG content develops and is organized, but do not constitute, in themselves, independent conversational moves.

In this section I address the different types of topics and foci, based on conversational dynamics, so as to get a clear picture of discourse categories before diving into the syntactic contexts where they can be licensed. In the first part I describe the three types of topics mentioned earlier, whereas in the second part I concentrate on the three kinds of foci.

### 4.2.1. Types of topics

**1) The Aboutness-Shift (AS) Topic:** This Topic connects Reinhart's (1982) *aboutness* with the property of being *newly introduced* or *reintroduced and changed to* (hence the term 'shift'). It is what the author



calls the Sentence Topic since it is the entity that the sentence is about (Frascarelli 2007; Frascairelli and Hinterhölzl 2007; Camacho-Taboada *et al.* 2016). To illustrate, let us consider the following dialogue between two speakers:

- (1) A: Has estado hablando de Pedro durante horas... pero  
 have-PRES.2SG been talking of Pedro during hours but  
 no me dices nada sobre los resultados  
 not CL-DAT.1SG tell-PRES-2SG nothing about the results  
 de tu examen.  
 of your exam  
 ‘You have been talking about Pedro for hours.... But you’re  
 not telling me about your exam results.’  
 B: Bueno, **a Pedro** al final lo  
 well to Pedro at.the end CL-ACC.MASC.3SG  
 han suspendido...  
 have-PRES.3PL failed  
 ‘Well, Pedro got failed at the end.’

The bold-typed DP *a Pedro* in B’s reply is an AS-Topic according to the definition provided above. It is what the sentence is about and in this particular case it also includes the shifting status of this type of topic. Note that Speaker A is trying to change the topic to Speaker B’s exam results, but Speaker B shifts it again and resumes a previously introduced topic.

AS-Topics belong to the dimension of CG management in that they implement a *conversational move* (cf. Bianchi and Frascairelli 2010). As Krifka says (2001, 25), “Topic selection is a *speech act itself*, an initiating speech act that requires a subsequent speech act, like an assertion, question, command, or curse about the entity that was selected”. In example (1) the AS-Topic is followed by an assertion. As a Romance language, Spanish may perfectly instantiate a topic via Clitic Left Dislocation, as we saw in earlier chapters. This is precisely the case of the DP object *a Pedro*, which is moved to the Left Periphery but is resumed later in the sentence by the clitic *lo*.

**2) Contrastive (C) Topic:** The [Contrast] feature may combine with the typical interpretive properties of a topic such as already known by everybody in the communicative act, in which case it qualifies as a C-Topic. Marking a topic as contrastive is used to divide a complex proposition into a conjunction of simpler ones in which a predicate applies separately to each

member of a salient set. In (2) an example is included illustrating the use of C-Topics:

- (2) A: ¿Cómo nos organizamos para preparar la  
 how CL-REFL.1PL organize-PRES.1PL to prepare the  
 fiesta?  
 party  
 ‘What shall we do to organise the party?’  
 B: Yo me encargo de la compra,  
 I me-REFL.1SG be.in.charge-PRES.1SG of the shopping  
 tú puedes enviar las invitaciones.  
 you can-PRES.2SG send the invitations  
 ‘I will do the shopping, you can send the invitations’.  
 (Camacho-Taboada *et al.* 2016, 314, example 2)

As indicated in the example, the two subjects of the sentences in B’s reply are members of a set previously introduced by A’s question, and as such they qualify as C-Topics. In conversational dynamics terms, they belong to the dimension of CG management since they provide an instruction and the meaning of clauses containing C-Topics is at the *propositional level*.

**3) Given (G) Topics:** Following Frascarelli and Jiménez-Fernández (2019), G-Topics are used: (i) for continuity with respect to the current sentence Topic (*Aboutness G-Topic*), or (ii) to resume background information (*Familiar G-Topic*). In (3) I illustrate a case of G-Topic which simply takes back background information:

- (3) A: ¿Tomamos gazpacho para cenar?  
 take-PRES.1PL gazpacho to dine  
 ‘Shall we have gazpacho for dinner?’  
 B: ¡No, por Dios! **El gazpacho**, lo  
 No by God the gazpacho CL-ACC.MASC.3SG  
 tomo todas las noches!  
 take-PRES.1SG all the nights  
 ‘No, for God’s sake, I have gazpacho every evening!’  
 (Camacho-Taboada *et al.* 2016, 314, example 3)

Givenness or familiarity are calculated on the basis of the CG content. Therefore, G-Topics never involve a conversational move; as such, they do not revolve on the presence of illocutionary force. If so, they can be found in any type of embedded clause.

In this connection, Haegeman (2003, 2004, 2006b, 2007, 2010) makes a distinction between central and peripheral adverbial clauses depending on the degree of dependence upon the main clause. Peripheral adverbial clauses are very close to root clauses in that they are endowed with illocutionary force. On the other hand, central adverbial clauses do not convey illocutionary force. Examples in (4) illustrate the two types, extracted from Haegeman (2012, 161, examples (27a-b)); (4a) includes a central *if*-clause, whereas (4b) comprises a peripheral *if*-clause:

- (4) a. If your back-supporting muscles tire, you will be at increased risk of lower-back pain.  
(Independent on Sunday Sports, October 14, 2001: 29, col. 3)  
b. We are seeing a fall in the incidence of crime, particularly serious crime, and I think we're right to say "What's going on? If crime is falling, why are we seeing a continuing rise in the prison population?" (Guardian, November 1, 2001: 2, col. 6)

Haegeman (2012) holds that only peripheral adverbial clauses license topics in English, given their root status. This explains the contrast in (5), where an argument has been preposed:

- (5) a. \*If these exams you don't pass, you won't get the degree.  
(Haegeman 2012, 156, ex. 17d")  
b. If some precautions they did indeed take, many other possible measures they neglected.  
(Haegeman 2012, 159, ex. 23i)

In (5b) the *if*-clause is a peripheral adverbial clause which allows topic preposing, but in (5a) the *if*-clause is a central adverbial clause and as such it bans any type of fronting. The reason for this contrast is adduced to be the absence of illocutionary force in central adverbial clauses.

From this discussion it can be inferred that only those types of topics which require illocutionary force will be banned in adverbial clauses. Since G-Topics do not depend on the presence of illocutionary force, they are predicted to occur in both types of adverbial clause. In their study of Japanese and Spanish (as opposed to English), Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014) show that in Spanish G-Topics are perfectly compatible with the event denoted by a reason-clause, a central adverbial clause, as suggested by (6):



- (6) Julia no ha entregado la tesis en el  
 Julia not have.PRES.3SG submitted the thesis in the  
 departamento porque el capítulo final no  
 department because the chapter final not  
 lo ha terminado todavía.  
 CL.ACC.MSC.SG have.PRES.3SG finished yet  
 ‘Julia hasn’t submitted her thesis to the Department because she  
 hasn’t finished her final chapter yet.’  
 (Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa 2014, 298, ex. 86a).

I will come back to the discussion of types of topics and Main Clause Phenomena in Section 4.3.

### 4.2.2. Types of focus

As far as the semantics of focus is concerned, two approaches can be identified, namely the *Alternative Semantics* approach and the *Structured Meaning* approach. In the *Alternative Semantics* approach (Rooth 1992; Beaver and Clark 2008), focus generates a set of alternatives. Given a *wh*-question, the answer involves a set of propositions which must be congruent to the question. To illustrate, the question in (7) generates the set of propositions in (8), varying in the position of the focused direct object. All the alternatives are congruent answers with respect to the question.

- (7) What does Joe want?”  
 (8) {Joe wants COKE, Joe wants BEER, ...}

On the other hand, the *Structured Meaning* approach (Krifka 2007) splits the proposition into a Focus (e.g., *coke* in the example above) and a background (the denotation of the rest of the clause, i.e. the property of being something that Joe wants).

When it comes to the different types of focus that can be identified, we are faced with different semantic operations, which are reflected in the syntactic derivation.

**A) Information Focus:** IF denotes purely new information (Zubizarreta 1998). It is standard in information structure to identify the IF by means of a correlation between a question and an answer. In this line, Gupton (2014) claims that IF implies the resolution of *wh*-variable in a preceding context. According to the *Structured Meaning* approach in Krifka (2007), question-answer congruence requires the Focus in the answer to satisfy the interrogative phrase of the question, so the backgrounds should be identical

in the question and in the answer. The identification of the question's variable in the answer constitutes IF, conveying new information, as illustrated in (9):

- (9) A: ¿Quién ha comprado el pavo para la cena?  
           who have-PRES.3SG bought the turkey for the dinner  
           ‘Who has bought the turkey for dinner?’  
       B: Lo ha comprado María.  
           CL.ACC.MSC.SG have-PRES.3SG bought Maria  
           ‘Maria has bought it.’

In English the syntactic position occupied by any constituent playing the role of IF is *in situ*. However, Zubizarreta (1998) states that the most natural syntactic position for IF in Spanish is final position. This is why in the answer in (9) the subject *María* occurs in postverbal position.<sup>1</sup>

**B) Contrastive Focus:** Following Zubizarreta (1998), I take CF to denote a constituent which is asserted in clear opposition with another entity which has been previously mentioned in the context. Contrast in this case involves a Focus-Background partition and the set of alternatives is restricted either to members of the same set explicitly presented before by means of an

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<sup>1</sup> Jiménez-Fernández (2015b) has shown that focus fronting is also available when the focus is informational in some Spanish dialects (Andalusian Spanish). Hence, in this variety a possible reply in (9) may simply be *María lo ha comprado*, where there is no clear evidence that the IF *María* has moved to the LP or stays *in situ* (as in English). However, the IF is the direct object, Andalusian Spanish also instantiates preposing to the LP, as shown in (i):

- (i) A: ¿Qué está comiendo Ángela?  
           what be-PRES.3SG eating Angela  
           ‘What is Angela eating?’  
       B: Pasta está comiendo Ángela.  
           pasta be-PRES.3SG eating Angela  
           ‘Ángela is eating pasta.’

Here *pasta* in (iB) is the object of the verb *comiendo* ‘eating’ and satisfies the wh-variable in the question (A). Note that it has undergone movement to the left, thereby supporting the idea that IF can also be fronted in some language. See also Vanrell and Fernández Soriano (2013) for a similar instantiation of IF in the LP of other Spanish varieties and in Catalan varieties. A similar case of IF fronting has been detected in Armenian (Giorgi and Haroutunyan 2020).

assertion or simply tacitly presupposed. The following example –adapted from Camacho-Taboada *et al.* (2016)-- illustrates the use of a preposed CF:

- (10) A: El premio se lo han dado  
 the prize SE CL-ACC.3SG.MSC have-PRES.3PL given  
 a María.  
 to Maria  
 ‘Maria has been awarded the prize.’  
 B: No, no. A PEPA le han dado el  
 No no to Pepa CL.DAT.3SG have-PRES.3PL given the  
 premio (no a María).  
 prize not to Maria  
 ‘No way. Pepa has been awarded the prize (not Maria)’

CF in (10) represents information shared in the context. However, it can also involve new information, as in (11), taken from Jiménez-Fernández (2015a, 52, his example 14):

- (11)[Jimena and Susana talk about Vanessa, Igor and their recent wedding.]

- A: *Si he entendido bien, se han ido*  
 if have-PRES.1SG understood well SE have-PRES.3PL gone  
*a México.*  
 to Mexico  
 B: *No, ¡te equivocas!* *¡A CUBA se han*  
 no, SE be-wrong-PRES.2SG to Cuba SE have-PRES.3PL  
*ido de viaje de novios! ¡No a México!*  
 gone of honeymoon not to Mexico  
 ‘A: If I’ve understood correctly, they went to Mexico.  
 B: No, you are wrong! They went TO CUBA for their honeymoon!  
 Not to Mexico!’

In conversational terms, CF implies a conversational move so as for the addressee to accept a new entity in the CG, i.e. to reject an entity and correct it with another entity in the CG management (Bianchi and Bocci 2012).

**C) Mirative Focus:** Brunetti (2009), Paoli (2009) and Cruschina (2012) describe Mirative as a type of focus conveying new information but, based on the speaker’s knowledge of the hearer’s expectations, implies that such information will be unexpected. This unexpectedness leads authors such as



Camacho-Taboada *et al.* (2016) and Jiménez-Fernández (2015a) to include the feature [+ surprise] as part of the featural array of Mirative Focus. I illustrate MF in Spanish in (12), where small caps are used to signal the preposed MF:

- (12) ¡No me lo puedo creer! ¡TRES  
 not CL.ACC1SG CL.ACC3SG.MSC can-PRES.1SG believe three  
 TROZOS DE TARTA se ha comido Ángela!  
 pieces of cake CL have-PRES.3SG eaten Angela  
 'I can't believe it! THREE PIECES OF CAKE Angela ate!'  
 (Jiménez-Fernández 2015a, 52, ex. 8)

Mirativity does not depend on a question-answer context. Contrast is set up with an element that is part of the shared knowledge of the participants in the communicative act and can be semantically described as a proposal to negotiate a shared evaluation (Camacho-Taboada *et al.* 2016). The set of alternatives is therefore very large, as Jiménez-Fernández (2015a) asserts. In example (12) the alternatives are by far too many as long as they are members of edible entities.

As we will observe below, mirativity is connected with the roles of Speaker and Addressee in the speech act, and thus is restricted to contexts where the two roles have an extremely active function.

### 4.3. The Root/Non-Root Dichotomy

In this section I will discuss the licensing of the different types of topics and foci that I have presented in Section 4.2. In particular I will address the difference between two types of subordinate clauses, based on their true root or non-root properties. The idea is that if a given embedded clause has a non-root status, it is predicted not to allow IS phenomena which are licensed only in root clauses.

#### 4.3.1. What is a Root Clause?

To provide a clear-cut, uncontroversial definition of a root clause is far from trivial. Since the seminal work in Emonds (1970, 1976), this root quality has been attributed to sentential domains which can only host some types of phenomena (such as English Topicalization) and the relevant root restriction has been associated with the availability of assertive force in these clauses. The following example, adapted from Emonds 2004, shows the availability of topicalization in a root clause:

(13) Flights to Chicago we should try to avoid.

Hooper and Thompson (1973) claim that this restriction only relies on semantic/pragmatic requirements and cannot be accounted for syntactically. In this sense, assertion is connected with illocutionary force, as observed in the following quotation:

As a positive environment we can say that [root] transformations operate only on Ss that are asserted. [...] some transformations are sensitive to more than just syntactic configurations. It does not seem possible to define the domain of an RT in terms of syntactic structures in any general way. However, [...], even if it were possible to define in syntactic terms the conditions under which RTs can apply, [...] the question of why these transformations can apply in certain syntactic environments and not others would still be unanswered. (Hooper and Thompson 1973, 495)

This claim is supported by the observation that root transformations are actually also allowed in syntactically embedded clauses whose content constitutes the main assertion:

(14) It appears [that **this book** he read thoroughly].

(Hooper and Thompson 1973, 478)

Emonds (2004) identifies two types of embedded clauses, one which is compatible with root transformations such as Topicalization whereas the other is not:

(15) Bill warned us that **flights to Chicago** we should try to avoid.

(16) \*A warning that **flights to Chicago** travelers should avoid will soon be posted.

(Emonds 2004, 77, his examples 1 and 2c)

This challenging identification of root and non-root contexts was then taken up by different authors, who tried to elaborate a syntactic account for the relevant restriction. Emonds (1970, 1976) observed that for many speakers embedded clause contexts imitate the freedom of root structures in indirect discourse. However, root-like indirect discourse embedding is incompatible with most dependent clause positions (cf. Emonds 2004). In this respect, Emonds notes the ungrammaticality produced in temporal adverbial clauses:

- (17) \*Mary used another company since/until **flights to Chicago** they could avoid.

(Emonds 2004, 77, his example 2b)

However, it should be clear that later research made a difference between distinct types of adverbial clauses to the effect that some of them are compatible with Main Clause Phenomena (MCP). Recall Haegeman's (2012) distinction between central and peripheral adverbial clauses. Central adverbial clauses do not license MCP, as shown by (17), whereas peripheral adverbial clauses do, as illustrated in (18):

- (18) We don't look to his paintings for common place truths, though **truths** they contain none the less. (as cited by Haegeman 2012 from the Guardian, G2, February 18, 2003: 8, col. 1)

The reason for this asymmetry resides on the full integrity of central adverbial clauses with their main clauses in contrast with peripheral adverbial clauses, which means that the former does not have an independent illocutionary force and hence they are more integrated in the sentence (Jiménez-Fernández and İşsever 2019).

Based on an integrated, multi-layered approach, Bianchi and Frascarelli (2010, 19) suggest that the restriction imposed on some phenomena to be realized in clausal domains (potentially) endowed with assertive force satisfies *interface requirements* and can be easily accounted for within the tradition of update semantics. This view endorses a dynamic view of semantic interpretation, according to which the meaning of a sentence is its *update potential*, namely a function from an input context to an output context. The input context is the set of possible worlds that are compatible with the conversational Common Ground (CG), i.e. the set of propositions that are taken to be presupposed, up to that point, by all the participants in the conversation. The updating effect of an assertion is that the asserted proposition, when accepted by all the participants, is admitted into the CG, and thus discards from the input context all the possible worlds that are incompatible with it, producing a reduced output context. (cf. Bianchi and Frascarelli 2010 for discussion).

In Bianchi & Frascarelli's (2010) approach a root clause is a clausal domain endowed with update potential and root phenomena can be considered as 'instructions' to the hearers on where the propositional content expressed by the assertion act should fit in the CG. In my analysis of IS phenomena and their availability in different syntactic contexts, the presence or absence of assertion will be crucial.



In a similar vein, Haegeman and Ürögdi (2010), Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014), Jiménez-Fernández (2018) and Miyagawa (2017) propose that non-root clauses contain an operator which prevents some discourse categories from moving to the C-domain. For Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014), some types of topics can move in non-root clauses because movement targets a position within the TP-domain, after inheritance of the discourse feature by T from C.

I will take a syntax-semantic interface approach to MCP to account for the differences detected across languages. A purely semantic approach to MCP is not very accurate since it predicts that it is not the case that languages pattern together in exhibiting IS phenomena which are compatible only with those contexts which convey a potential update of the CG. If this were the case, we would not find parametric differences cross-linguistically. As I will show, languages such as English and Spanish differ in the type of discourse category that can be hosted in diverse syntactic contexts.

In the following section I show that a syntactic approach which is based on the semantic notion of assertion or factivity is accurate to explain the parametric differences between Spanish and English.

### **4.3.2. The Typology of Languages, MCP and the Syntax of Assertion**

In Chapters 1 and 2 I have addressed the non-trivial observation that languages differ in terms of the precise syntactic location of grammatical and discourse features. In table 2 I show the four possibilities that the Strong Uniformity Principle permits and exemplify with types of languages. This table is based on earlier classifications in Miyagawa (2010, 2017), Jiménez-Fernández (2010, 2011, 2018), Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014), Jiménez-Fernández and İşsever (2012), Jiménez-Fernández and Spyropoulos (2013), Frascarelli and Jiménez-Fernández (2019), Kato and Ordóñez (2019) and Jiménez-Fernández and Rozwadowska (2017). All these analyses take up the notion of feature inheritance as the cornerstone to classify languages, which can ultimately be divided into four types:

Type 1	$C_{\delta\phi} >> T_{\phi}$	English
Type 2	$C_{\delta\phi} >> T_{\delta}$	Japanese, Korean
Type 3	$C_{\delta\phi} >> T_{\phi\delta}$	Spanish, Greek, Turkish, Polish, Brazilian Portuguese
Type 4	$C_{\delta\phi} >> T$	Dinka <sup>2</sup>

**Table 2: Feature inheritance and the typology of languages**

The important issue for my discussion of MCP and IS phenomena in general is that in some languages  $\delta$ -features are lowered from C onto T (Types 2 and 3), whereas in other languages these features remain in C (Types 1 and 4). This predicts that in those languages where  $\delta$ -features are retained in C, discourse-based movement will target spec-CP, while in those languages where these features are inherited by T this movement will target spec-TP. This is the hypothesis that I will discuss, namely different languages exhibit different positions for discourse-induced movement.

In root clauses, differences in the license of types of topics and foci do not show up very clearly. However, in embedded clauses a distinction is detected between presupposition and assertion (Hooper and Thompson 1973; Bianchi and Frascarelli 2010; Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa 2014; Jiménez-Fernández 2018; among many others). Only assertion is provided with illocutionary force, and hence MCP are legitimate only in asserted clauses. The prediction then is that those IS phenomena which require assertion will be banned in presupposed clauses but allowed in

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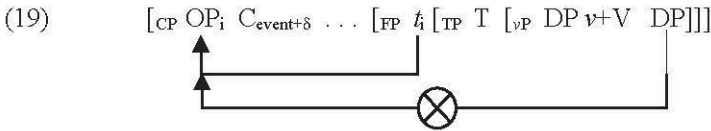
<sup>2</sup> For discussion of Dinka, a Nilo-Saharan language, as retaining the two types of features in C, see Miyagawa (2017). To illustrate this situation, Miyagawa claims that topics undergo movement to the CP-area but they show agreement with the verb, as shown in (i):

- (i) a. Áyén à-càm      cuññ né      pàl.  
       Ayen 3-eat.sv      food P      knife.  
       ‘Ayen is eating food with a knife.’  
       b. Cuññ à-céem      Áyén      né pàl.  
       food 3s-eat.ov      Ayen.NOM P      knife  
       ‘Food, Ayen is eating with a knife.’

In the two sentences the preposed constituent (subject in (ia) and object in (ib)) is a topic which undergoes movement to spec-CP. On the other hand, the verb (under V-second condition) moves to C and agrees in person and number with the fronted topic. If this analysis is correct, it supports the idea that Dinka represents Type 4.

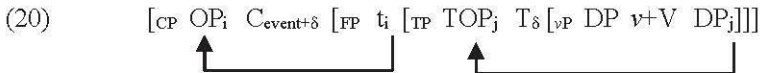
asserted clauses. I will address the extent to which this prediction is borne out with respect to the types of topics and foci that I introduced earlier.

In syntactic terms, I adopt the analysis provided in Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014) –a re-elaboration of Haegeman & Ūrāgdi’s (2010) proposal–, according to which, presupposed (non-asserted) clauses host an event operator generated in the specifier of a functional projection between TP and CP. This operator must move to the CP-area, thereby barring other movements to the LP. This is illustrated in (19), from Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014, 280, their example 11):



This is the analysis put forth for non-asserted clauses, in which the event operator competes with any other movement for a position in the LP. This competition (*sensu* den Besten 1983) is some sort of intervention which causes the derivation to crash, accounting for the banning of MCP in non-asserted clauses, when IS phenomena target spec-CP.

Conversely, if IS phenomena target spec-TP there is no competition with the event operator and the resulting construction is fully grammatical. This is illustrated in (20), from Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014, 280, their example 13):



This analysis explains why some IS phenomena can occur in non-asserted clauses.

The third scenario emerging in this system is the one for asserted clauses, in which there is no event operator. Therefore, no competition will ever show up and MCP will all be allowed regardless of the target of discourse-induced movement. In principle language-internal variation is allowed by universal grammar, which brings about situations where a given  $\delta$ -feature is lowered onto T in a language, but a different  $\delta$ -feature is retained in C (Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa 2014; Kato and Ordóñez 2019; Ojea 2017, 2019). This makes a crucial distinction between those IS phenomena which are root phenomena and hence are allowed only in asserted clauses (true MCP) and IS phenomena which are also permitted in non-asserted clauses (fake MCP).



Another ingredient of my analysis is the classification of verbs selecting an embedded clause depending on whether they select for an assertion or not. Hooper and Thompson (1973, 473-474) offers the following classification of verbs with the specification that the selected subordinate clause qualifies as an assertion:

Class A: verbs of saying. Say, report, exclaim, be true, be sure, etc.	The complement propositions are not presupposed, but rather are cited or reported assertions.
Class B: suppose, believe, think, etc.	The complements express an assertion.
Class C: doubt, deny, (un)likely, (im)possible.	The complement clause is neither asserted nor presupposed. The assertion is the matrix clause.
Class D: resent, regret, sorry, interesting, surprised.	Non-asserted, but presupposed.
Class E: realize, know, see, learn.	Asserted proposition.

**Table 3. Hooper and Thompson’s classification of verbs**

From this verb typology it is inferred that only complement clauses selected by Classes A, B and E convey some sort of assertion and hence can be typed as asserted clauses. The prediction is that MCP will be compatible with the complement of Classes A, B and E.

Furthermore, adverbial clauses have been divided in two classes depending on whether they express assertion or not. In Section 4.2.1, I addressed the distinction between central and peripheral adverbial clauses (Haegeman 2012), based on the presence of assertion in the latter but not in the former. In light of this assertion/non-assertion property, I showed that G-Topics are not constrained in Spanish to their occurrence in only peripheral adverbial clauses (Jiménez-Fernández & Miyagawa 2014). The question which this brings is whether the different discourse categories are banned in non-asserted adverbial clauses.

In what follows I evaluate the different predictions with respect to the discourse categories presented earlier. To start with I examine the distribution of types of topics as described in section 4.2., to continue with the distribution of types of foci. The main purpose is to show variation across and within languages with respect to discourse categories, based on the research question of whether all discourse categories are MCP in all languages.

### 4.3.2.1 Types of Topics: Are they MCP?

To answer part of my research question, namely whether AS-Topics, C-Topics and G-Topics are root phenomena, I will examine their distribution in different embedded sentences. I will analyse their licensing in complement clauses selected by a verb and adverbial clauses.

#### A) AS-Topics.

In the description of AS-Topics provided above, I stated that they are instructions to make a conversational move and update the CG. From this it follows that they require the presence of force and assertion. It thus may be surmised that they will be compatible with clauses endowed with assertion. Let us observe the following sentences in Spanish and Japanese, respectively:

- (21) Sé                                      que tu    libro no lo  
       know-PRES.1SG    that your book not CL-ACC.3SG.MSC  
       has                                      terminado todavía.  
       have-PRES.IND.3SG finished    yet  
       ‘I know that you haven’t finished the book yet.’  
       (Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa 2014, 286, example 38)

- (22) ??Siento                                      que tu    libro no lo  
       regret-PRES.1SG                      that your book not CL-ACC.3SG.MSC  
       hayas                                      terminado todavía.  
       have-PRES.SUBJ.3SG                  finished    yet  
       ‘I regret that you haven’t finished the book yet.’  
       (Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa 2014, 286, example 37)

- (23) Taro-o-ga [Hanako-wa kuru              to]                      sinzitei-ru.  
       Taro-NOM [Hanako-TOP come-PRES C<sub>NONFACT</sub>]              believe-PRES  
       ‘Taro believes that Hanako will come.’  
       (Miyagawa 2012, 94, example (44))

- (24) \*John-ga [kono hon-wa zibun-no-kodomo-ga yonda koto]-o  
       John-NOM this    book-TOP self’s child-NOM    read    C<sub>FACT</sub>-ACC  
       kookaisita.  
       regret  
       ‘John regrets that this book, his child read.’  
       (Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa 2014, 283, example 23)

Starting with the Japanese examples, Miyagawa (2012) argues for the distinction between two complementizers, factive *koto* and non-factive *to*. Only the latter is compatible with verbs belonging to Classes A, B and E, and thus allows for topics which are marked with the topic suffix *-wa*. This means that A-Topics are permitted in embedded clauses which express assertion and are introduced by the C *to*, thus having root properties. This is illustrated in (23), with a Class B verb. Conversely, embedded clauses introduced by the C *koto* do not convey assertion and hence are predicted not to be compatible with A-Topics, as illustrated in (24), with a Class D verb.<sup>3</sup>

In the same vein, in Spanish we find a parallel situation, namely only verbs belonging to Classes A, B and E do select for an asserted clause where A-Topics are definitely permitted. This is shown in (21), where a Class B verb *saber* ‘know’ selects a subordinate clause where an A-Topic has been used. Given that this embedded clause conveys assertion, it is a root context and thus A-Topics are licensed. On the contrary, non-asserted clauses do not allow A-Topics simply because they do not qualify as a root context, which is illustrated in (22) with a Class D verb.<sup>4</sup>

English has been claimed to have A-Topics in the form of Left Dislocation (Bianchi and Frascarelli 2010). As such, they are supposed to be banned in non-asserted contexts, yielding a contrast with asserted contexts, as shown in (25) and (26), involving non-assertion, as opposed to (27) and (28), conveying assertion:

(25) \*I hope that the past he will forget it soon, so as to bravely face the future.

(Bianchi and Frascarelli 2010, 73, example 45d)

(26) \*I am sorry that Chomsky’s new book I have forgotten it in the library.

(27) I know that the past he will forget it soon, so as to bravely face the future.

(28) I think that Chomsky’s new book I have forgotten it in the library.

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<sup>3</sup> The Japanese suffix *-wa* can also mark a C-Topic (Maki et al. 1999), and as such, it is compatible with factive contexts introduced by the C *koto* (Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa 2014). I will return to this issue later.

<sup>4</sup> Spanish CLLD-ed topics do not exhibit any explicit morphology for topicality. This is why the three types of topics are formally indistinguishable. In (22) the topic can be interpreted as either type. However, when interpreted as an A-Topic, the sentence is decisively ill-formed, as predicted by the root/non-root condition on discourse categories.



These data confirm the incompatibility of English A-Topics (in the form of LD) with non-root contexts.

The other context of embedding where discourse categories are tested is adverbial clauses. As stated earlier, only peripheral adverbial clauses are endowed with assertion and hence are candidates to allow for MCP. This is observed for English LD in the following examples:

- (29) Since Latin you know it, you should be able to translate the inscription. (adapted from Quirk et al. 1985, 1072)  
 (30) \*Since school Mary started it, she promised to be an excellent student.

The adverbial clause in (29) is introduced by causal *since*, and hence it is peripheral, whereas in (30) we find temporal *since*, making the adverbial clause central. This is reflected in the ungrammaticality of the A-Topic in the latter, but not in the former. This is expected given the presence of the eventive operator in (30), which competes with the A-Topic for a CP position.

Likewise, in Spanish the same picture emerges. In (31) the A-Topic is allowed in a peripheral adverbial clause, which is asserted. Conversely, in (32) the A-Topic is not permitted since it is inside a central adverbial clause:

- (31) Ya        que el    latín    lo                    conoces,  
       already that the Latin   CL-3SG.ACC know-PRES.2SG  
       serás            capaz   de traducir    la inscripción.  
       be-FUT.2SG    able    of to.translate the inscription  
       ‘Since Latin you know it, you should be able to translate the inscription.’  
 (32) \*Desde que el    colegio lo                    empezó        María,  
       since that the school CL-3SG.ACC start-PAST.3SG Maria  
       prometía        ser    una excelente estudiante.  
       promise-PAST.3SG to.be an excellent student  
       ‘\*Since school Mary started it, she promised to be an excellent student.’

From this discussion it can be concluded that, according to conversational dynamics, A-Topics are precluded from occurring in non-root contexts, so a semantic analysis makes the right prediction as expected from the view that A-Topics imply CG management. Syntactically, since in non-root contexts an event operator competes with the A-Topic for a position in the CP-area, they are expected to be mutually exclusive and the

A-Topic is predicted to be out. In the feature-inheritance based typology for languages, this is expected for English. For Japanese and Spanish, where  $\delta$ -features are lowered onto T, I assume that the specific aboutness  $\delta$ -feature is retained in C, as discussed in Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014) (see also Kato and Ordóñez 2019 for an implementation of this idea for Brazilian Portuguese). In other words, A-Topics in Spanish and Japanese involve A'-movement to the CP-area, thus competing with the event operator and making the derivation crash.

#### B) C-Topics

In the conversational dynamics approach, C-Topics belong to the dimension of CG management given that they imply an instruction. As such, C-Topics are expected to be licensed only in clauses provided with assertion. If Bianchi and Frascarelli (2010) are correct when they assert that English Topicalization is an instance of C-Topic, this constitutes an eloquent phenomenon to be tested in the embedded contexts under examination. Let's start with subordinate clauses selected by verbs. From Hooper and Thompson's (1973) typology, it can be inferred that C-Topics are accepted cross-linguistically in embedded clauses complement of Classes A, B and E verbs, but not of Classes C and D verbs. This prediction is borne out in light of the following examples:

- (33) The inspector explained that each part he had examined very carefully. (A) (Hooper and Thompson's example (50))
- (34) It appears that this book he read thoroughly. (B) (Hooper and Thompson's example (92))
- (35) We saw that each part he had examined carefully. (E) (Hooper and Thompson's example (125))
- (36) \*It was impossible that each part he had examined carefully. (C) (Hooper and Thompson's example (99))
- (37) \*I resent the fact that each part he had to examine carefully. (D) (Hooper and Thompson's example (109))

It can be concluded that C-Topics can be allowed only in root clauses and root-like clauses, which are endowed with force, and hence express assertion.

However, this picture is blurred by languages such as Spanish and Japanese, as Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014) have argued. In these two languages C-Topics are clearly compatible with non-asserted contexts selected by Class C and D verbs:





(Kuno 1973). This is exactly the interpretation in (40), where the C-Topic is licensed in an embedded clause introduced by the factive *C koto* and is selected by a Class D verb. The syntactic account that Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014) provide is based on the inheritance of the specific [contrast]  $\delta$ -feature from C to T. Once in T, [contrast] in conjunction with the EPP triggers movement of the C-Topic to spec-TP. In other words, *-wa* A-Topics move to spec-CP, while *-wa* C-Topics move to spec-TP.

If the syntactic analysis of C-Topics as moving to spec-CP in English but targeting spec-TP in Spanish and Japanese is correct, it may be first predicted that C-Topics in English will occur in peripheral adverbial clauses only since its possible license in central adverbial clauses is banned by the intervention effect with the event operator that non-asserted clauses project. On the other hand, since C-Topics undergo movement to spec-TP in languages such as Japanese and Spanish, the second prediction is that they will be permitted in both peripheral and central adverbial clauses. The prediction about English is valid in light of the examples in (41) and (42), containing a peripheral and a central adverbial clause respectively:

(41) If some precautions they did indeed take, many other possible measures they neglected.

(Haegeman 2012, 159, example 23i)

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

(Haegeman 2012, 156, example 17d)

In (41) the DP *some precautions* have been preposed and qualifies as a C-Topic (in clear contrast with *many other possible measures* in the main clause) in the peripheral *if*-clause. However, this possibility is banned in the central *if*-clause in (42), yielding an ungrammatical sentence, supporting the view that C-Topics target CP in English.

The prediction for Spanish is also confirmed as valid since the Spanish sentences corresponding to the English (41-42) are fully acceptable, as illustrated in (43) and (44):

(43) Si algunas precauciones las han  
 if some precautions CL-3PL.MSC.ACC have-PRES.3PL  
 tomado ya, muchas otras posibles medidas  
 taken already many other possible measures  
 las han desatendido.  
 CL-3PL.MSC.ACC have-PRES.3PL neglected  
 'If some precautions they did indeed take, many other possible measures they neglected.'



- (46) *Ángela estaba sorprendida de que los regalos*  
*Angela be-PAST.3SG surprised of that the presents*  
*los hubieran dejado los Reyes Magos*  
*CL-3SG.MSC.ACC have-PAST.3PL left the Kings*  
*Magic*  
*debajo del árbol.*  
*under of.the tree*  
 ‘Angela was surprised that the three Wise Men had left the present  
 under the Christmas tree.’ (Class D)  
 (Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa 2014, 282, example 21b)

As the examples show, G-Topics are also freely allowed in non-asserted contexts, which supports my view that in Spanish the [Given]  $\delta$ -feature lowers onto T from C, thereby triggering movement of the G-Topics to spec-TP. In conversational dynamic terms, G-Topics belong to the CG content and as such they are allowed in any sentence regardless of its asserted or non-asserted character. In this case both semantics and syntax make the right prediction.

Japanese seems to patter with Spanish in allowing G-Topics in both central and peripheral adverbial clauses:

- (47) *Omiyage-o Hanako-ga mottekuru kara, uti-ni ite-kudasai.*  
*present-ACC Hanako-NOM bring because home-at be-please*  
 ‘Because Hanako will bring a present, please be at home.’

According to Miyagawa (2012), the reason clause in this sentence can be interpreted as non-asserted, and yet the G-Topic is fully acceptable, which is evidence in favor of moving the G-Topic to spec-TP, thereby not interfering with the event operator.

To conclude this section about types of topics, it should be clear that AS-Topics show their status as MCP cross-linguistically, but C-Topics and G-Topics are not root phenomena per se and, depending on the language, they will be constrained or not to root contexts.

#### 4.3.2.2. Types of Foci: Are they MCP?

In this section I will discuss the root or non-root nature of the three types of foci I introduced earlier, namely Information Focus (IF), Contrastive Focus (CF) and Mirative Focus (MF). As I did with topics, I will proceed by examining the distribution of foci in two different types of embedding. On the one hand, I will look at the license of foci in complement clauses selected by a verb; on the other hand, I will confirm this distribution by



having a look at central and peripheral adverbial clauses and their (in)compatibility with foci.

#### A) Information Focus

Leonetti and Escandell (2017) argue that IF is licensed in asserted contexts but never in presupposed ones. They extend this claim to other types of foci such as CF.<sup>5</sup> As I reported earlier, in Spanish the most natural position for IF is postverbal. I will test the claim that the distribution of IF is limited asserted clauses by analyzing sentences with postverbal subjects which satisfy the information request in a previous question.

I start by providing examples of subordinate clauses selected by verbs belonging to the classification proposed by Hooper and Thompson (1973), where the context question is given in English and the focused subject is in italics:

(48)Q: Who solved the problem with the computer?

A: No estoy seguro, pero es probable que  
     not be-PRES.1SG sure but be probable que  
     lo haya solucionado Susana.  
     CL-3SG.MSC.ACC have-PRES.SUBJ.3SG solved Susana  
     ‘I’m not sure but it’s probable that it was solved by Susana.’  
     (Class C)

---

<sup>5</sup> Since English does not exhibit movement as far as IF is concerned, I will concentrate on Spanish in this section. However, it should be noted that clefting can be a syntactic device to express either IF or CF (Haegeman 2015). Hence, for the question *Who solved the problem?*, a sentence such as (i) can be used as a reply:

- (i) It’s Susan that solved the problem.

The clefted constituent can be interpreted as IF or CF, depending on whether there is an implication that somebody else might be a member of the set that may be opened with the focused constituent. If a contrast is implied with other possible members of the set, this is interpreted as CF; otherwise, it is interpreted as IF. The root status of clefting in English is by far too controversial to discuss in this chapter, so I leave it for future research.

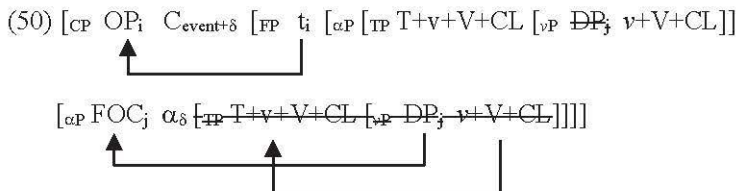
(49) Q: Who solved the problem with the computer?

A: Pues, mira, me ha sorprendido  
 well look CL-1SG.DAT have-PRES.3SG surprised  
 mucho que lo haya  
 much that CL-3SG.MSC.ACC have-PRES.SUBJ.3SG  
 solucionado Susana, pero así es.  
 solved Susana but so be-PRES.3SG  
 ‘Well, look, it’s surprised me very much that it was solved by  
 Susana.’ (Class D)

The predicates belonging to Classes C and D select for a non-asserted clause and are thus supposed not to permit focus fronting to the LP. A semantic analysis predicts that in presupposed contexts this discourse-induced movement is not allowed, contrary to facts. I endorse that Spanish has a syntactic position lower than CP, which is targeted by IF. The feature inheritance system does precisely predict this, if it is simply assumed that the [IF] feature starts in C but is inherited by T.<sup>6</sup>

Ortega-Santos (2016) claims that both IF and CF in Spanish can occur at the right edge of the sentence, accounting for the postverbal position of subjects. In particular, in a cartographic perspective, the author suggests that IF and CF move to a FocP in the LP and the TP undergoes topic fronting to a TopP above FocP. In my view, this is re-elaborated as follows.

I assume the projection of  $\alpha$ P between FP and TP in line with Miyagawa (2010). The head  $\alpha$  inherits the  $\delta$ -feature [IF]. The focused constituent moves to spec- $\alpha$ P and TP moves to a position higher than focus (a specifier position in  $\alpha$ P under a multiple-specifier approach; cf. Jiménez-Fernández 2011). If this is correct, the analysis of the embedded sentences in (48-49) will be as in (50):



<sup>6</sup> As I claimed in Chapter 2, IF can also occur in the  $\nu$ P, which is on a par with what Belletti (2001, 2004) has proposed. This is an alternative for the analysis that I am presenting here.





is concerned, as the following examples show (cited in Jiménez-Fernández 2018); caps are used for the focused element:<sup>7</sup>

- (53) a. I exclaimed that NEVER IN MY LIFE had I seen such a crowd.  
(Class A)  
(Hooper and Thompson 1973, 474, example 43)
- b. It seems that NEVER BEFORE have prices been so high.  
(Class B)  
(Green 1976, 389, example 47a)
- c. I found out that NEVER BEFORE had he had to borrow money. (Class E)  
(Hooper and Thompson 1973, 480, example 119)
- d. \*It's likely that SELDOM did he drive that car. (Class C)  
(Hooper and Thompson 1973, 479, example 96)
- e. \*He was surprised that NEVER IN MY LIFE had I seen a hippopotamus. (Class D)  
(Hooper and Thompson 1973, 479, example 103)

As was stated earlier, verbs belonging to Classes A, B and E select an embedded clause which express assertion, and as such they are compatible with a fronted negative constituent, as shown in (53a-c). Conversely, the embedded clauses selected by Classes C and D verbs do not convey assertion and hence are incompatible with NPr, as illustrated in (53d-e).

In Spanish we find instances of NPr in all types of embedded clauses, independent of the class of verb that selects them. In the following examples from Jiménez-Fernández (2018) it can be observed that embedded clauses which are complements of Classes C and D verbs do allow NPr:<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Negative Preposing is a subtype of contrastive focus in English (Rizzi 1997; Haegeman 2012), according to which the negative polarity of the sentence is emphasized in contrast with a possible positive interpretation. Other types of CF are not easily attested in English (though see Rizzi 1997). In this section I will use English examples containing Negative Preposing, except when other types of CF are attested in the relevant literature.

<sup>8</sup> Leonetti and Escandell (2009, 2010) and Escandell and Leonetti (2014) consider NPr a case of Verum Focus, not a case of CF. I am following Bosque's (1980) original statement that NPr involves what he termed Thematization, i.e. fronting of an emphatic constituent.

- (54) a. Es probable que NUNCA haya  
 be-PRES.3SG probable that never have-PRES.3SG  
 conducido Juan ese coche.  
 driven Juan that car  
 ‘It’s probable that Juan has never driven that car.’ (Class C)
- b. Pedro estaba sorprendido de que NUNCA EN MI VIDA  
 Pedro be-PAST.3SG surprised of that never in my life  
 hubiera visto yo un hipopótamo.  
 have-SUBJ.PAST.3PL seen I a hippopotamus  
 ‘Pedro was surprised that I had never in my life seen a  
 hippopotamus.’ (Class D)

The negative adverbial *nunca (en mi vida)* ‘never (in my life)’ can perfectly be fronted in the subordinate clauses in (54), which support my view that the distribution of discourse categories in root and non-root contexts must be given a syntactic account. In Camacho-Taboada and Jiménez-Fernández (2014) it is claimed that the focus feature in Spanish is inherited by T from C, and this will enable focus fronting to spec-TP. If this is correct, the parametric variation detected in English and Spanish is the consequence of the syntactic position targeted by the CF.

In my analysis there is an event operator in non-asserted clauses which must be crossed when another element targets spec-CP. This explains why in English NPr is not available in non-asserted clauses. On the contrary, in Spanish NPr involves movement of the emphatic constituent to spec-TP, after feature inheritance. This means that no intervention with the operator will show up, thereby yielding a fully acceptable sentence, as shown in (54).

Camacho-Taboada and Jiménez-Fernández (2014) observe that CF in general is permitted in non-asserted contexts in Spanish:

- (55) Negaron que A JIMENA vieran en la fiesta  
 deny-PAST.3SG that to Jimena see-PAST.3SG in the party  
 (no a Ángela).  
 not to Angela  
 ‘They denied that they saw JIMENA at the party, not  
 Angela.’  
 (Camacho-Taboada and Jiménez-Fernández 2014, 50, example 7b)

Next question is whether this situation is replicated in adverbial clauses. Recall that central adverbial clauses are not endowed with assertion, predicting that CF will not be licensed in these contexts. As exemplified for

English in (56-57), it is clear that English does stick to the non-licensing of CF fronting in non-asserted clauses:

- (56) Whenever we needed MONEY, George could not be reached.  
 (57) \*Whenever MONEY we needed, George could not be reached.  
 (Haegeman 2015, 86, examples 24a-b)

These examples show that, from a syntactic point of view, there is no reason whatsoever to allow in-situ CF in English non-asserted clauses. However, when it comes to fronting, CF is banned in this context, demonstrating that just a semantic analysis cannot explain its distribution. On the other hand, my syntactic analysis can account for the ungrammaticality of (57) since the event operator will stop the CF from targeting the CP-area.

In conclusion, English permits CF fronting only in asserted contexts, whereas Spanish does so in both asserted and non-asserted contexts, supporting the syntactic analysis of the parametric variation which affects the two languages.

### C) Mirative Focus

Emonds (1969, 6) argued that the distribution of root transformations was restricted to “the highest S in a tree, an S immediately dominated by the highest S, or the reported S in direct discourse”. This statement has been later proved to be too strong since many root transformations have been demonstrated to occur in contexts other than those originally identified by the author.

I will show in this section that mirativity is a discourse function which is essentially licensed in the contexts recognized as root by Emonds, on a par with politeness suffixes such as *-mas* in Japanese, as Miyagawa (2017) has shown (see also Jiménez-Fernández and İşsever 2019). However, to this I will add other syntactic contexts as far as they express assertion.

In English MF can only show up in situ, so no fronting is expected, as illustrated in (58-59) (MF in caps):

- (58) Oh my God! They have drunk THE WHOLE BOTTLE!  
 (59) Oh my God! \*THE WHOLE BOTTLE they have drunk!



This in situ MF occurs in Emonds' root contexts. (58) is an example of the highest Sentence. As regards the sentential complements of verbs in their different clauses with in situ MF, the following paradigm is obtained.<sup>9</sup>

- (60) Oh my God! Mary said that they had drunk THE WHOLE BOTTLE! (Class A)
- (61) Oh my God! Mary thinks that they have drunk THE WHOLE BOTTLE! (Class B)
- (62) Oh my God! \*Mary denied that they had drunk THE WHOLE BOTTLE! (Class C)
- (63) Oh my God! \*Mary regretted that they had drunk THE WHOLE BOTTLE! (Class D)
- (64) Oh my God! Mary realized that they had drunk THE WHOLE BOTTLE! (Class E)

As is clear from the above examples, MF is compatible only with complements of Classes A, B and E verbs. In other words, the distribution of MF in English seems to be strictly conditioned by root contexts and root-like environments. Note incidentally that if the feature [+surprise] vanishes from the interpretation, sentences (62-63) are acceptable. However, in that case the type of focus is that of in situ CF.

Spanish this time patterns with English in allowing MF (both in situ and fronted) in asserted contexts only:

- (65) a. ¡Dios mío! ¡María dijo que se habían bebido TODA LA BOTELLA!
- b. ¡Dios mío! ¡María dijo que TODA LA BOTELLA se habían bebido!
- ‘Oh my God! Mary said that they had drunk THE WHOLE BOTTLE!’ (Class A)
- (66) a. ¡Dios mío! ¡María cree que se han bebido TODA LA BOTELLA!
- b. ¡Dios mío! ¡María cree que TODA LA BOTELLA se han bebido!
- ‘Oh my God! Mary thinks that they have drunk THE WHOLE BOTTLE!’ (Class B)

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<sup>9</sup> The grammaticality judgments for the English data with MF have been provided by Alice Corr, Laura Bailey, Lachlan Mackenzie, Jane Arnold, Tim Erskine and Michael Newman. I thank them all for their help.

- (67) a. ¡Dios mío! \*¡María negó que se hubieran bebido TODA LA BOTELLA!  
 b. ¡Dios mío! ¡María negó que TODA LA BOTELLA se hubieran bebido!  
 ‘Oh my God! \*Mary denied that they had drunk THE WHOLE BOTTLE!’ (Class C)
- (68) a. ¡Dios mío! ¡María se arrepintió de que se hubieran bebido TODA LA BOTELLA!  
 b. ¡Dios mío! ¡María se arrepintió de que TODA LA BOTELLA se hubieran bebido!  
 ‘Oh my God! \*Mary regretted that they had drunk THE WHOLE BOTTLE!’ (Class D)
- (69) a. ¡Dios mío! ¡María descubrió que se habían bebido TODA LA BOTELLA!  
 b. ¡Dios mío! ¡María descubrió que TODA LA BOTELLA se habían bebido!  
 ‘Oh my God! Mary realized that they had drunk THE WHOLE BOTTLE!’ (Class E)

Classes C and D verbs select an embedded sentence which expresses presupposition (Note the subjunctive mood in the subordinate verb). This context has been claimed to project an eventive operator above TP, which undergoes movement to spec-CP. Syntactically, it is correctly predicted that in these contexts no discourse category targeting spec-CP will be allowed since it would cause an intervention effect, as illustrated in (67-68). In a nutshell, Spanish MF undergoes A'-movement to the LP, thus competing with the event operator. In this sense, MF can be described as a true MCP in Spanish.

Finally, in adverbial clauses when the preposed focus is interpreted as mirative, central adverbial clauses resist MF fronting in Spanish:

- (70) ¡Dios mío! \*¡Cuando LA BOTELLA ENTERA se  
 God mine when the bottle entire CL-REFL  
 terminaron, se fueron a la cama!  
 finish-PAST.3SG CL-REFL go-PAST.3SG to the bed  
 ‘Oh, my God! When they finished the whole bottle, they went to bed!’

- (71) ¡Dios mío! \*¡Después de que LA BOTELLA ENTERA  
 God mine after of that the bottle entire  
 se terminaran, se fueron a la cama!  
 CL-REFL finish-PAST.3SG CL-REFL go-PAST.3SG to the bed  
 ‘Oh, my God! After they finished the whole bottle, they went to bed!’

In peripheral adverbial clauses assertion is expressed and hence no event operator is projected in the derivation. Given that Spanish MF targets spec-CP, it is predicted to be licensed in these peripheral adverbial clauses. The prediction is borne out in light of the following examples:

- (72) ¡Madre mía! ¡Aunque LA BOTELLA ENTERA se  
 mother mine though the bottle entire CL-REFL  
 habían terminado, María y Pedro no  
 have-PAST.3PL finished Maria and Pedro not  
 querían irse a casa!  
 want-PAST.3PL to.go.CL-REFL to home  
 ‘My goodness! Though they had finished the whole bottle, Maria and Pedro didn’t want to go home!’
- (73) ¡Madre mía! ¡Ya que LA BOTELLA ENTERA os  
 mother mine since the bottle entire CL-REFL  
 habéis terminado, podríais reciclarla en el  
 have-PAST.2PL finished can-COND.3SG to.recycle in the  
 contenedor verde!  
 container green  
 ‘My goodness! Since you have finished the whole bottle, you could recycle it in the green container!’

#### 4.4. Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have addressed one type of movement which is triggered by discourse-based features rather than agreement features. As was seen in earlier chapters, languages can be classified depending on whether a specific  $\delta$ -feature is inherited by T from C or is retained in C. This possibility brings about distinctions with respect to the syntactic position targeted by different discourse categories cross-linguistically. In turn, the diverse syntactic positions make some IS phenomena true MCP in all languages, whereas other discourse-induced movements are subject to parametric variation.



AS-Topics have been shown to be a true MCP in English, Spanish and Japanese. On the other hand, G-Topics and C-Topics are not MCP in Spanish and Japanese. In English, C-Topics are true MCP though. As regards types of foci, MF shows root properties in both English and Spanish, while IF and CF do not. In this connection, English CF in the form of NPr is an MCP, but Spanish NPr is not.



# CHAPTER 5

## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In this book I have addressed different phenomena whose grammatical distribution involves a particular interaction between syntax and information structure and the role of both the CP periphery and the VP periphery. In particular, I have discussed a possible classification of languages based on the type of features which are given special prominence. This has been the topic of the first chapter. There I have shown that apart from Miyagawa's original language types which highlight either discourse features or agreement features, we may also have a third type which gives priority to both kinds of features. In addition, a fourth type of language has been identified as illustrating a group of languages which do not highlight any of these features.

In connection with prominence of the relevant features, I have discussed the notion of feature inheritance, which has been defined as a syntactic mechanism by means of which a specific type of features ( $\delta$ - or/and  $\phi$ -features) is lowered from C onto T or retained in C. This correlates with feature prominence in that the lowering process implies the prominence of the feature inherited by T. Conversely, if there is no inheritance, the relevant type of feature is retained in C.

The following table summarizes the typology of languages according to the type of features which are emphasized:

Discourse-prominent	$C_{\phi,\delta} >>>> T_{\delta}$	Japanese
Agreement-prominent	$C_{\phi,\delta} >>>> T_{\phi}$	English
Both	$C_{\phi,\delta} >>>> T_{\phi,\delta}$	Spanish
Neither	$C_{\phi,\delta} >>>> T$	Dinka

This classification has a strong explanatory and descriptive power in that it may account for why CLLD in Spanish targets the TP area instead of the CP one. Furthermore, for Japanese it predicts that scrambled topics undergo movement to spec-TP. More precisely, we have seen that in these two types of languages Given-Topics and Contrastive Topics move to spec-TP. On



the other hand, since  $\delta$ -features are retained in C in English, all types of discourse-induced movements in this language target the CP zone. This has been one of my findings in Chapter 4.

In Chapter 2, I have extended the notion of feature inheritance to the VP-periphery, claiming that again there is a clear contrast between English and Spanish as far as [topic] features are concerned in this low position. Whereas in English this  $\delta$ -feature remains in  $v$ , in Spanish it lowers onto V. This has crucial consequences for the syntax of topics in the two languages. I have discussed the information structure of small clauses in the two languages, and the aforementioned parametric difference explains why in Spanish the ordering of the two members of an SC can be reversed, based on the topic-focus partition of the constructions. However, this possibility is not available in English given that the  $\delta$ -feature is retained in  $v$ .

As for  $\phi$ -features, both in English and Spanish they are inherited by V from  $v$ , predicting that some sort of agreement will be detected in the subject of a small clause.

One of the main conclusions that I have drawn is that though a language is discourse-prominent, it is not mandatory for all types of  $\delta$ -features to be inherited. In this respect, in Chapter 3 I have shown cases of subextraction from a DP introduced by the functional preposition  $\alpha$ , where the *wh*-phrase undergoes movement to CP. This opens the possibility that other  $\delta$ -features can also stay in C. This was the case of Aboutness-shift Topics in Spanish (thereby patterning this time with English Left Dislocation), for which I suggested that A'-movement to spec-CP was at stake in Chapter 4. In other words, languages show more ramifications with respect to the feature-inheritance process, a line of research that I will pursue in the near future.

Also in Chapter 4, I explored the consequences of moving a discourse category either to spec-CP or to spec-TP. More specifically, I have analyzed types of topics and foci with respect to their root status. I have observed that while some discourse categories are Main Clause Phenomena in all languages under examination (Aboutness-shift Topic and Mirative Focus), others are subject to parametric variation and then they are not true MCP. A semantic analysis cannot account for this variation across languages; instead I have suggested a syntactic explanation, based on the notions of feature inheritance and the syntactic position targeted by the relevant discourse category in the specific language.

I have proposed a distinction between asserted and non-asserted clauses. In non-asserted clauses there is an event operator above TP, which moves to CP. In those contexts, no discourse category will target spec-CP since otherwise this would yield intervention effects. In those languages such as English where Contrastive Topics move to Spec-CP, a crash is predicted to

be produced in non-asserted embedded sentences because the C-Topic will compete with the event operator on their way to CP. Conversely, in languages such as Spanish and Japanese, C-Topics (alongside G-Topics) move to spec-TP, not interfering with the higher movement of the operator to spec-CP. This accounts in a principled way for the availability of these topics in both asserted and non-asserted contexts in Spanish and Japanese.

Finally, I have also explored the licensing of different types of foci in embedded contexts. As I have mentioned, Mirative Focus is a true MCP in that, due to the fact that the relevant  $\delta$ -feature remains in C, it undergoes movement to spec-CP in Spanish. This is available in root contexts (asserted clauses), but not in non-root sentences, thus qualifying as a true MCP. However, both Information and Contrastive Foci differ in their distribution in English and Spanish. For example, Contrastive Focus (in the form of Negative Preposing) involves movement to spec-CP in English, but to spec-TP in Spanish, thereby predicting its well-formedness in asserted and non-asserted contexts in the latter, but only in asserted environments in the former.

The main conclusions in this work open up future lines of research as far as the distribution of discourse categories is concerned across languages. Are other Germanic languages similar to English in the rigidity of word order and in the conditions allowing for MCP? On the other hand, do other Romance languages pattern with Spanish in freely allowing different types of discourse categories to be preposed? I think that there is a connection between these information structure-based characteristics and other grammatical properties such as the availability of null subjects and postverbal subjects in those languages that permit discourse-induced free word order and a relatively freer use of MCP.





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