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Discourse-Related Features and the Status of Right-Dislocation

A Cross-Linguistic Perspective

Candidato:

Emiliano Zaccarella

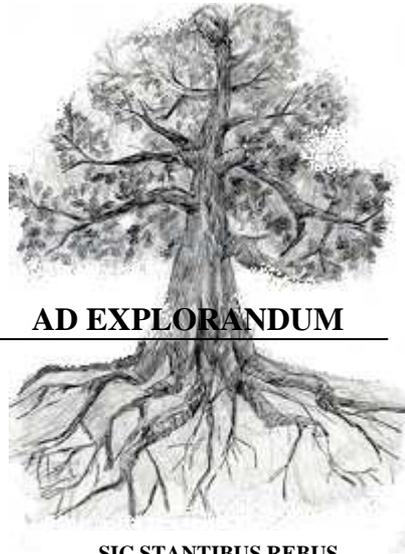
Relatore:

Chiar.mo Prof. Luigi Rizzi

Controrelatore:

Chiar.ma Prof.ssa Adriana Belletti

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AD EXPLORANDUM

- SIC STANTIBUS REBUS -

This thesis is dedicated

to my family, the roots
to the village of Duntulm, Isle of Skye, the ground
to Katharina, the leaves

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St. Kilda.

Chapter 1

1.0 Goals and Contents

Human language is assumed to be a public communicative choice among individuals. Since it can be characterized as a *system of information encoding* – given the general reason above – a major goal in linguistics is the attempt to explain the way informational meaning is organized in the linguistic structure and what kind of mechanisms real speakers use for conveying it. More specifically, linguistic research should analyze the way syntactic adaptability and word-order alternation reflect communicative intentions and contextual effects, so as to prove whether various primitive discourse-related features – such as the *topic* and the *focus* articulations – can be overtly identified in the grammar of different languages. As a matter of fact, two languages can convey the same propositional content by using similar superficial structures, whose internal order of the syntactic elements – for some particular informational reason – ends out to be more or less marked with respect to the canonical word-order of that specific language. The fact that similar syntactic constructions can express the same informational content is taken here as crucial point, and it will be adequately discussed in the following chapters of the present work. Consider, for instance, the two pairs of sentences below, where the direct object in (1a) and in (2a) are put in a rightmost position in (2a) and (2b):

- (1) a. Il liutaio regala il contrabbasso al musicista [S v DO IO]
the luthier give 3sg the double bass to-the musician
- b. Il liutaio lo regala al musicista, il contrabbasso [S cl V IO], [DO]
the luthier it.CL give 3sg to-the musician the double bass
- (2) a. The luthier gives the double bass to the musician [S v DO IO]
b. The luthier gives it to the musician, the double bass [S V pr IO], [DO]

Strictly following from these preliminary observations, the present analysis aims to focus on the multiple effects that the interaction between different interfaces –

syntax from one side, discourse semantics form the other – produce inside a specific phenomenon of a great relevancy for the linguistic theory, and namely the post-position of a particular constituent into the right periphery of the sentence. Following a cross-linguistic perspective, two linguistic families will be here specifically investigated and continuously correlated: the Romance one, in its Italian variety, and the Germanic one, in its English variety.

This particular construction, whose non-canonical word-order reflects the informational status of its internal constituents, *discourse-active marked* (cf. Prince, 1981; Ward & Birner, 2004; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002), is known among linguistic scholars under the term CLITIC RIGHT DISLOCATION (CIRD) in Romance – given the fact that the dislocated element is linked with a resumptive element of the clitic type inside the sentence, which fulfils its syntactic and interpretive properties (Cecchetto, 1999; Belletti, 2001, 2004a) – or simply RIGHT DISLOCATION (RD) in the English counterpart, as attributed by Ross (1967/1986) to Maurice Gross (1934-2001), or even RIGHT-DETACHMENT, as attributed by Lambrecht (1994) to Charles Bally (1932).

In order to test the cross-linguistic correlation between the two constructions, the present work argues in favour of a syntactic account based on the cartographic approach (Rizzi, 1997, 2001, 2004a; Belletti, 2004b), since it assumes that specific scope-discourse properties are directly encoded in the initial syntactic computation, and force particular elements with the same feature composition to move into their specifiers so as to share the same interpretive import. After a general overview of the basic notions of Information Structure (IS) (Chafe, 1967; Lambrecht, 1994), Chapter 2 will introduce the main empirical results within the cartographic approach to the syntactic structure, especially focussing on the insights put forward the analysis of the fine structure of the left periphery of the sentence – since the seminal work of Rizzi (1997) – and the main properties affecting the internal composition of the CP area, where a Topic-Focus system is enclosed between a Force-Finiteness system. A brief introduction to the possibility that the same splitting hypothesis could be equally proposed for the low peripheral system – given the recent suggestions within Phase Theory (Chomsky, 2001) – is consequently discussed.

The major purpose beyond Chapter 3 lies in the evaluation of potential cross-linguistic correlations within specific pairs of fronting phenomena, which are fairly productive across Romance languages and Germanic languages. In this sense two parallel correlations will be made: the first one will compare the Romance Clitic Left Dislocation construction (CILD) with the English Topicalization (ETOP) construction. A second evaluation will correlate the Hanging Topic Left Dislocation construction (HTLD) with the English Left Dislocation construction (ELD). The typological setting adopted will aim at accounting for both the syntactic (Cinque, 1977, 1983, 1990, Bocci, 2009) and the interpretive properties (Vallduví, 1992; Prince, 1992), which are thought to be discriminating factors in the parametric variation, anyhow assuming the left periphery of the sentence as being the interface site between grammar and context. The analysis to the left will have crucial consequences in the moment the typological setting will be mirrored to the right, and the attention specifically focused on the right-dislocated phenomena, which can be defined negatively as being in a quantitative subset relation with those found to the left.

Chapter 4 will focus in a rigorous way on the analysis of CIRD, following the same typological schema outlined in Chapter 3 for the left-dislocated constructions. In this sense, both the syntactic and the interpretive properties of the Romance right-dislocation are discussed and continuously evaluated in the course of the analysis. In the subsequent section, CIRD will be contrasted with a similar construction which however will result to behave in a very different way with respect to syntactic and discourse properties: the Afterthought mechanism (Grosz & Ziv, 1998). In §4.4 the different syntactic derivations for CIRD found in literature are assessed: the Symmetric Analysis (Vallduví, 1992), the Clause-External Topicalization analysis (Samek-Lodivici, 2006); the Clause-Internal Topicalization analysis (Cecchetto, 1999; Belletti, 2004a). In §4.4.4 the case of Marginalization is discussed. Finally, the last sections are devoted to the analysis of the few elusive facts detected in the literature about the English right-dislocation, underlying the fact that no particular analysis has been adequately suggested for its syntactic derivation.

In Chapter 5, it will be proposed that one way of deriving the English right-dislocation construction would be that of putting together the asymmetries found for the English Topic-fronting in Chapter 3 and the derivational account proposed for

CIRD in Chapter 4. The arguments found in literature arguing in favour of a Root(-like) status of the English Topic fronting are discussed in §5.1 and contrasted with the non-Root(-like) status of CILD. Subsequently, in §5.2 an experiment based on grammaticality judgement will be proposed, so as to evaluate whether the same asymmetries found for the English language to the left in specific embedded contexts, are equally found for RD to the right. Given the positive findings – the same asymmetries arise – the unified derivational account proposed for CIRD and English RD in §5.3, where both the dislocated elements move in a low topic position inside the vP periphery, is made dependent to the fact that RD in general can be realized only when adequately legitimated by another topic position in the high CP periphery. A Principle of Dependency is indeed proposed.

Chapter 2

Informational packaging and the syntactic encoding

2.1 Information Structure (IS) and non-canonical syntax

Human language is here assumed to be an interactive system of information encoding used among individuals in a generalized universe of discourse. In this respect, Stalnaker (1992: 2) states:

[one] should see speech as an action to be explained, like any other kind of action, in terms of beliefs and purposes of the agent. Language is a device for achieving certain purposes, and we should separate, as best as we can, questions about what language is used to do from questions about the means it provides for doing it.'

Leaving aside the ontological problem beyond the necessity of language as such – that is, the effort of conveying information so as to reduce the gap of knowledge on the reality of the world – the notion of INFORMATION here at issue is fundamental for the implications to follow. The general definition of information adopted here is taken from Dahl (1976) as quoted in Lambrecht (1994: 44):

'Let us consider on important use of declarative sentences, namely as means to influence the addressee's picture of the world. In such cases, the speaker assumes that the addressee has a certain picture – or model – of the world and he wants to change this model in some way. We might then identify THE OLD or THE GIVEN with the model that is taken as a point of departure for the speech act and THE NEW with the change or addition that is made in this model. OLD will here be equivalent to PRESUPPOSED in one sense of the term. We can say that the addressee receives 'new information' in the sense that he comes to know or believe more about the world than he did before. What he believes may be true or false – the information he gets about the world may be correct or incorrect. If we accept the last statement, it follows that the object of his belief or the new information must be something which is capable of being true or false – that is what is usually called a proposition. Let us call this kind of information PROPOSITIONAL INFORMATION.'

In this respect, the notion of GIVENNESS versus NEWNESS becomes central for that part of the theory of language which aims to investigate the way how information conveyed within the utterance becomes marked with respect to the prominence that it has in a well-established discourse-context. As Prince (1981: 225) adequately notes, the general notion of given versus new information figures prominently in much linguistic literature, under that name or under one of its *aliases*: old-new, known-new, presupposition-focus, and so on, and it has been invoked both in the explication of many sentence-level phenomena (Gapping, Dative, Pronominalization, Left and Right Dislocation, sentential subjects, *it*-clefts, *wh*-clefts, Topicalization) and in the explication of how discourses are structured and understood. Adopting a double perspective, speech must be seen, at the same time, as a propositional content mapped onto the discourse *context* and the mental state/knowledge of speakers and hearers, and as a device which enables speakers to mark an element with a specific information status - with respect to that context - in a particular and well-defined syntactic position. Given these two assumptions, the general notion of *markedness* will be first discussed. This cover term should be seen as the result of different particular prominence-mechanisms operating on the sentence processing at various linguistic levels. These prominence-mechanisms make a certain syntactic piece within a particular sentence as marked with respect to its information status and at the same time the whole sentence is somehow opposed with respect to its canonical counterpart. An informal definition of markedness is offered below:

(1) MARKEDNESS

given a pair of allosentences (intended as variants of a common propositional content), one member is considered marked if it is positively specified for some discourse function, i.e. *discourse-active denotatum*, at all events assuming the basic constituent order of that language, to be the unmarked variant of that sentence in that language.

This definition states that given two constructions, the first one being equal to the second one for truth conditions and illocutionary meaning, the only difference lies in the way the informational content is presented. Some standard examples from Huddleston et al. (2002: 1366) are offered below:

(2) PREPOSING

- (a) She accepted [*this one*]
- (b) [*This one*] she accepted

(3) POSTPOSING

- (a) I made [*all the changes you wanted*] without delay
- (b) I made without delay [*all the changes you wanted*]

(4) INVERSION

- (a) [*Two nurses*] were [*on board*]
- (b) [*On board*] were [*two nurses*]

(5) EXISTENTIAL

- (a) [*A frog*] is in the pool
- (b) [*There*] is [*a frog*] in the pool

(6) EXTRAPOSITION

- (a) [*That he's guilty*] is clear
- (b) [*It*] is clear [*that he's guilty*]

(7) LEFT DISLOCATION

- (a) [*That money I gave her*] must have disappeared
- (b) [*That money I gave her*],[*it*] must have disappeared

(8) RIGHT DISLOCATION

- (a) [*The people from next door*] are still here
- (b) [*They*]'re still here, [*the people from next door*]

(9) CLEFT

- (a) [*You*] broke it
- (b) [*It*] was [*you who*] broke it

(10) PASSIVE

- (a) [*Kim*] took [*the car*]
- (b) [*The car was*] tak[*en by Kim*]

As a manifest condition, it seems worth assuming that the (b) cases in all the allo-sentences above imply syntactic operations which are not triggered by the need to

satisfy any known ‘purely’ structural requirement – like the Case filter, agreement, or thematic structure (Vallduví, 1992: 12). For this reason, the main motivation beyond these non-structurally motivated syntactic operations should be direct to the ‘sentential functional load’ that they are supposed to carry, or to put in a slightly different way, the existence of certain formal properties of sentences must be understood by making reference to the linguistic and extra-linguistic context in which the structures having these properties are embedded. In this sense, then, the aim of linguistic theory should be that of investigating the way this functional load is identifiable in the sentential structure, so as to clarify how the structuring/packaging of the information is organized in the linguistic message, anyhow assuming the informational packaging to reflect speaker’s purposes and beliefs about the referential status of the linguistic expressions in the mind of some specific interlocutors.

The coinage of the expression INFORMATION PACKAGING is attributed to the influential work of Chafe (1967: 27), who discusses the notion of status in the following way:

The statuses to be discussed here have more to do with how the content is transmitted than with the content itself. Specifically, they all have to do with speaker’s assessment of how the addressee is able to process what he is saying against the background of a particular context. Not only people’s minds contain a large store of knowledge, they are also at an moment in certain temporary states with relation to that knowledge ... Language functions effectively only if the speaker takes account of such states in the mind of the person he is talking to.

Prince (1981: 227) would develop this definition by introducing the idea of tailoring of the sentence in relation with the assumed mental states of speakers and hearers:

Given-new distinctions can be found on different levels-the sentence, the discourse, the participants' discourse-models - as will be seen in what follows . On all levels, however, - and perhaps this is not only universal, but also distinctive of human language - the crucial factor appears to be the *tailoring* of an utterance by a sender to meet the particular assumed needs of the intended receiver. That is, information-packaging in natural language reflects the sender's hypotheses about the receiver's assumptions and beliefs and strategies.

At this point, one crucial observation must be discussed here, on the bases of the insightful arguments proposed in Lambrecht (1994), and dealing with the unexceptionable need to relate psychological states with their formal reflex on the structural form. Indeed, even though information structure is unquestionably concerned with those psychological phenomena mirroring speaker's hypotheses about the hearer's mental states, such phenomena can be relevant for linguistic theory only inasmuch *as they are reflected in the grammatical structure*. In this case, one can treat the information packaging of the utterance as a component of grammar only when it has a specific correlate in the grammatical form, so as to automatically exclude all those psychological phenomena which do not have any overt formal reflex in the structure of a specific language – as for example empathy and subjecthood.

Moving from these considerations, the following definition of Information Structure is here adopted:

INFORMATION STRUCTURE (Lambrecht, 1994: 5):

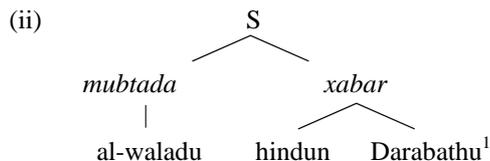
That component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are PAIRED with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts.

In this sense, the information structure of a sentence is the formal expression of the interpretive structuring of a specific proposition inside a context of discourse between a speaker and one or more hearers. The idea that a mirroring process between discourse and syntax is involved in the production and in the understanding of a particular non-canonical utterance proves to be a welcome result for the syntactic analysis developed in the following chapters, when the interpretive roles at work in the case of left- and right-dislocations will be continuously compared with their syntactic internal characteristics. In particular, the TOPIC-COMMENT articulation is in this work especially discussed, since this notion is assumed to be the underlying interpretive mechanism at work in the non-canonical classes analyzed here: an element normally expressing old information is somehow set off the rest of the

clause – either to the left or to the right – with a resumptive element or an empty category linked with it inside the sentential predicate.^{1,2}

¹ The organization of the sentence into a topic and a comment is a well-established concept within language scholars over several time.¹ The first putative description of this articulation can be identified in the linear distinction made by the Arab grammarians between ‘*mubtada*’ – beginning – and ‘*xabar*’ – news – as differing from the grammatical subject and the grammatical predicate (cf. Hussein Abdul-Raof, 1998):

- (i) al-waladu, hindun Darabathu
 def-boy-nom Hind-nom hit-3f-sg-him-(acc)
 (As for) the boy, Hind hit him



The initial (left-most) nominal constituent is also referred to by Arab grammarians as *al-muHaddaθ* – ‘the person/thing being talked about’. This suggests that they had some idea of informational structure in mind. Similar proposals can be found in Weil (1884), Gabelentz (1869), Paul (1880), Mathesius (1915), Hockett (1958), Reinhart (1982). See Vallduví (1992) for a critical survey on the phenomenon and the misleading interpretations on the Topic-Comment system: Givón’s (1983) Topicality, Bayer’s (1980) discourse topic.

² In very recent years, the analysis of the topic-comment articulation has been expanded to other sub-fields of the cognitive sciences. Krifka (2007b), for example, points out striking similarities between the bimanual coordination and the structuring of utterances in topics and comments, where the dominant hand physically predicates something on the object held by the non-dominant one. The same correlations can be found for gesture and Sign Languages. Even more interesting from an evolutionary point of view could be the correlation between visual processing and the topic-comment system, where the ventral stream – the *what* pathway – is involved with object identification and the dorsal stream – the *where* pathway – process spatial locations (cf. Mishkin et al., 1982). In this case the where stream would predicate the spatial articulation of the object identified by the what pathway.

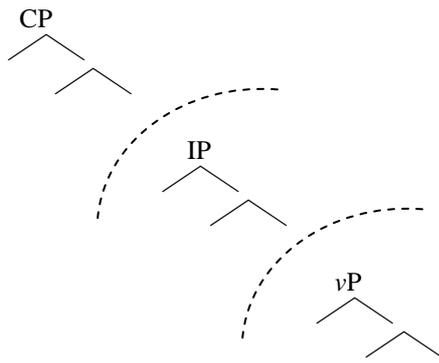
2.2 The Cartographic Approach:

The fine structure of the left periphery

A syntactic framework of the cartographic type is here adopted (Rizzi, 1997, 2001, 2004 a; Belletti, 1999, 2001, 2004b and much related work). The main reason for this choice lies in the fact that the Cartographic Project offers, at the same time, both theoretical implications and descriptive tools for a profitable investigation of the highly-articulated structure of the sentential architecture, and for a meticulous analysis of the functional projections overtly visible in the syntactic computation. In this sense, one basic principle is here met: the relation between the syntactic encoding and the interpretative interface is expressible in an optimally simple way: the interpretation is read off the syntactic computation. As it will be shown in the following chapters, a motivation of this sort is justified on both intra-linguistic and cross-linguistic grounds.

The formal characterization of the sentence distinguish among three kinds of structural layers: a predicative layer $\nu(V)P$ – where the thematic role assignment takes place – an inflectional layer IP – with the grammatical categories corresponding to concrete or abstract morphological specifications on the verb – and a complementizer layer CP – which connects the proposition with the actual discourse or the superordinate clause, and which hosts topics and various operator-like elements (interrogatives and relative pronouns, focalized elements). While the predicative layer presupposes a lexical category as the head of the syntactic projection, in the other two cases, the head need not be lexical, only adding some grammatical information and getting modified in much more restricted terms. These assumptions can be hierarchically formalized below:

(t11)



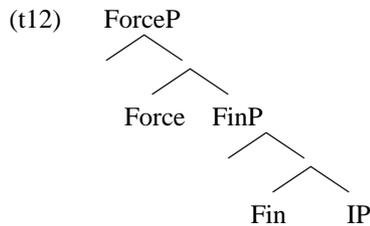
The CP field is generally referred as the functional category representing the illocutionary layer, serving as the interface site between the propositional content inside the sentence, which it dominates, and different kinds of higher structures above it. The IP field projects the grammatical features for tense, lack of tense, morphological agreement between the verb and the subject, aspect and modality. Finally, the ν (V)P field represents the hierarchical relations between the verb and its arguments. The main goal within the Cartographic framework is the attempt of defining in the most precise way how the hierarchical syntactic distribution of heads is located inside the sentence sub-fields, in a way appealing for a cross-linguistic perspective. In this respect, Rizzi (2004a:3) remarks:

Syntactic structures are complex objects. Much theory-guided descriptive work on syntactic constituents over then 1980s and 1990s has shown that phrases and clauses have a richly articulated internal structure. As the empirical evidence of such complexity had been steadily accumulating, some researchers came to the conclusion that it was a worthwhile endeavour to study this rich domain on its own, and they set the goal of arriving at structural maps that could do justice to the complexity of syntactic structure. [...] If the impulse that promoted these efforts has to do with the complexity and richness of the domain, an equally influential driving factor is the intuition of the fundamental uniformity and underlying simplicity of the basic constituents – the syntactic atoms. The tension between these two driving forces offers a useful vantage point to understand certain directions taken by the cartographic analyses and to place these studies within the broader context of current syntactic theory.

On the bases of these assumptions, one of the main insights within the cartographic approach is that some specific scope-discourse properties are encoded in syntax in dedicated and ordered functional projections, thus playing a role in the

syntactic computation, which hands over the interpretative component representations, transparently indicating dedicated positions for certain discourse functions. This essentially means that movement operations need to be related to discourse and informational properties; therefore, there exists functional heads where discourse related features are encoded and which act as attractors for syntactic objects to be merged into their specifier positions. Following Belletti (2004b), Bocci (2009: 13), it can be observed that the enrichment of the inventory of functional heads can felicitously guarantee both local simplicity of the syntactic computation, and global simplicity of the architecture of language. As for the first aspect, local simplicity can be represented by the proliferation of simple structural units and repeating the same basic operations of merge and agree. As for the second aspect, the assumption that scope-discourse features are inserted in the numeration and drive the syntactic computation, guaranteeing the simplicity of the interfaces of syntax both with the conceptual-intentional system and with phonology. In essence, the driving factor of the cartographic framework is ‘a fundamental intuition of local simplicity’: complex structures arise from the proliferation of extremely simple structural units, where the simple structural unit is defined by a single syntactically primitive feature. In this view, every functional head is assumed to project a substructure signalling to the external systems its specific relevant property. The first putative proposal for a system of specific functional heads overtly encoded in syntax, can be traced back to the influential split-CP hypothesis of Rizzi (1997), where it has been argued, for the first time in a systematic way, that the high propositional field must be split into distinct functional heads, each of which projecting its own functional layer. This proposal is crucially convergent with the same insights beyond the atomization of the inflectional IP field, and put forward in the early 90s in prominent works such as those of Pollock (1989) and Belletti (1990), where, the distribution of specific morpho-syntactic particles responsible for tense and agreement on the verbs are legitimated by distinct affixal heads within IP. According to Rizzi (1997, 2001, and related works) the CP area is dominated upward by the Force projection and downward by the Finiteness projection. The first head encodes for the type-clause specification by looking at the higher selecting structure – i.e. a sentence can be a question, a declarative, an exclamative, a relative, a comparative, an adverbial of a certain kind – and it can be expressed by overt morphological encoding on the head, or by becoming hospitability space for operators of various kind, as for example in

declaratives, questions, relatives. The second head relates the higher structure with the lower structure, by providing finiteness specification to the inflectional properties of IP. Following the standard X-bar schema, the primitive structure is represented below:



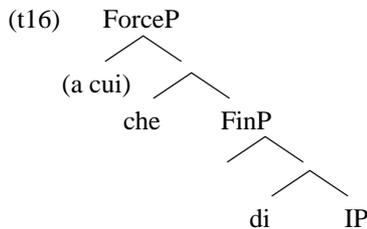
The need for distinguishing between two different heads inside the CP system is felicitously legitimated from the different distributional occurrence coming from the interaction between the position of the Romance Topicalization type – CILD – and different types of prepositional complementizers introducing finite and non-finite embedded sentences:

- (13) a. Credo **che** loro apprezzerebbero molto il tuo libro
[I] believe that they would appreciate very much your book
- b. Credo **che** [il tuo libro], loro lo apprezzerebbero molto
[I] believe that your book, they it.CL would appreciate a lot
- c. *Credo [il tuo libro], **che** loro lo apprezzerebbero molto
[I] believe your book, that they it.CL would appreciate a lot
- (14) a. Credo **di** apprezzare molto il tuo libro
[I] believe 'of' to appreciate your book very much
- b. *Credo **di** [il tuo libro], apprezzarlo molto
[I] believe 'of' your book, to appreciate-it.CL a lot
- c. Credo [il tuo libro], **di** apprezzarlo molto
[I] believe 'of' your book, to appreciate-it.CL a lot
- Rizzi, 1997: (9-11)

The same distributional facts can be equally detected from the interaction between CILD and relative operators in Italian:

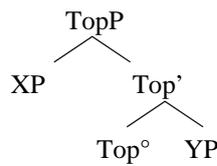
- (15) a. Un uomo **a cui**, [il premio nobel] lo daranno senza'altro
a man to whom, the Nobel Prize [they] it.CL will give it undoubtedly
- b. * Un uomo, [il premio Nobel], **a cui** lo daranno senz'altro
a man, the Nobel Prize, to whom [they] it.CL will give undoubtedly

Generalizing the findings above, it is worth concluding that *che* and *a cui* occupy respectively the head of Force and its specifier, while *di* manifest the finiteness position:



Besides the selectional properties expressed by the Force-Finiteness system, the CP area can involve other types of processes which are fairly independent from the constraints on selection. In this sense, the Left Periphery is landing site for different processes of displacement, motivated by specific scope-discourse properties and endowed with unambiguous syntactic properties. Indeed Rizzi proposes to place an *optional* system of heads encoding these specific scope-discourse related features – preliminary discussed above – between the Force and Fin system. In these sense, the notion of syntactic Topic head and syntactic Focus head are introduced and overtly encoded in the structural derivation. Both these heads projected their own X-bar schema and attract elements in their specifier, with which they instantiate a Spec-Head agreement motivated by a sharing-feature mechanism. Reminiscent of the standard definition of Topic-Comment in §2.1, the Topic is a preposed element set off the associated clause by a comma intonation. The associated clause – the Comment – predicates something about the Topic. The Topic-Comment articulation is represented below, where the Top head – null as in Italian, or overtly realized as in Gungbe (see Aboh, 2004:51) – takes the moved element in its Spec and the Comment-predicate in its Complement position:

(t17)



XP = topic
YP = comment

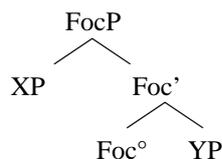
In Romance, the topic-comment articulation is typically expressed by the Clitic Left Dislocation Construction – henceforth CILD (Cinque, 1983, 1990) – which generally involves a resumptive clitic coreferential with the dislocated topic. In languages lacking the clitic system – as for example the English language – the same displaced construction is realized by presence of an empty category within the associated sentence, in a fashion similar to that obtained from the movement of *wh*- phrases. The syntactic and interpretive properties of these two constructions will be extensively discussed in Chapter 3, where the analysis of left-dislocated phenomena will be put in a cross-linguistic perspective. For the present moment, two classical examples are offered below:

(18) Il tuo contrabbasso, lo dovresti dare al liutaio (,non al meccanico)
your double bass, [you] it.Cl should give to the luthier (not to the mechanic)

(19) Your double bass, you should give t to the luthier (,not to the mechanic)

In the same way, the Focus system implies preposed element, bearing focal stress and introducing new information, whose associated clause expresses contextually given information supposed by the speaker to be known by the hearer. The Focus-Presupposition (or even ‘background’) articulation is represented below, where the Foc head takes the moved element in its Spec and the presupposed predicate as its complement:

(t20)

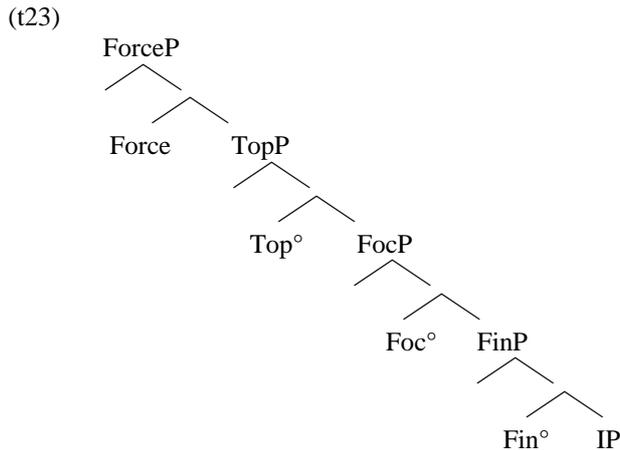


XP = focus
YP = presupposition

The classical Focalization construction for Italian and English is provided below:

- (21) IL CONTRABBASSO dovresti dare al liutaio (, non la macchina)
the double bass [you] should give to the luthier (not the car)
- (22) THE DOUBLE BASS you should give to the luthier, not the car

From these considerations the bare propositional field will have the following structural hierarchy:



However, the minimal structure in (t23) cannot account for some major properties differentiating the Topic-Comment system and the Focus-Presupposition one, at least in Italian. Some opposing properties will be discussed below; an implemented structure of the one proposed in (t23) will be offered later on.

(i) RESUMPTIVE CLITIC PRONOUN

CILD involves a resumptive clitic within the associated clause. As it will be shown in §3.2.1 it is mandatory in case of dislocated objects. Following Bocci (2009), if the object clitic and the past participle co-occur, the latter must agree with the object in gender and number:

- (24) A: Quando hai incontrato le sorelle di Gianni?
When did you meet Gianni's sisters?
- B': Veronica, la ho incontrat-a_[+fm; +sg] Domenica
Veronica [I] her.CL have met on Sunday
- B'': * Veronica, ho incontrato Domenica

Veronica [I] *her.CL have met on Sunday*

Bocci, 2009: (10a-c)

Conversely, focalized constituents cannot undergo the same syntactic resumption:

- (25) a. IL CONTRABBASSO dovresti dare al liutaio (, non la macchina)
the double bass [you] should give to the luthier (not the car)
- b. * IL CONTRABBASSO lo dovresti dare al liutaio (, non la macchina)
the double bass [you] should give to the luthier (not the car)

(ii) WEAK CROSS-OVER EFFECTS

CILD involves non-quantificational A' dependencies, while Focus involves a genuine quantificational A' dependency of the same kind assumed for *wh*-movement. Following Lasnik & Stowell (1991), the fact that the latter construction, but not the former, is sensitive to Weak Cross-over effects is taken as a fact that the latter involves same Operator-Variable dependency:

- (26) Gianni_i, sua_i madre lo_i ha sempre apprezzato (OSV)
Gianni, his mother him.CL always appreciated

- (27) ?? GIANNI_i sua_i madre ha sempre apprezzato (non Piero) (OSV)
Gianni, his mother always appreciated (not Piero)

(iii) UNIQUENESS

While multiple left-dislocated topics are possible, the same freedom is far more restricted for focalized constituents, where conversely, only one topic is possible for each sentence:

- (28) Di vestiti, a me, Gianni, in quel negozio, non mi ce ne ha mai
of clothes to me Gianni in that shop [he] NEG to-me.CL there.CL of-them.CL have ever
comprati
bought
Cinque, 1990: 58

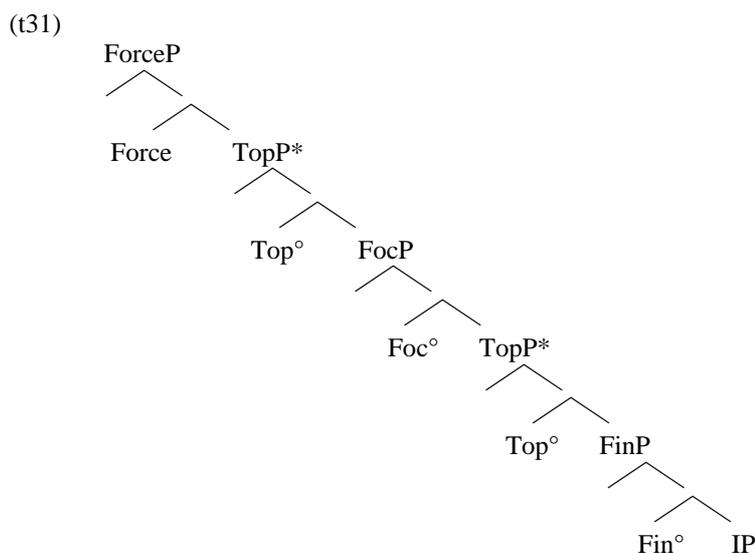
- (29) * A GIANNI IL LIBRO darò (non a Piero, l'articolo)

to John the book [I] will give (not to Piero, the book)

Moreover, manipulating the interaction between topic and focus, several permutations are possible:

- (30) a. Credo che a Gianni, QUESTO, domani, gli dovremmo dire
 C Top Foc Top IP
 [I] believe that to Gianni, THIS, tomorrow we should say
- b. Credo che domani, QUESTO, a Gianni gli dovremmo dire
 C Top Foc Top IP
- c. Credo che domani, a Gianni, QUESTO gli dovremmo dire
 C Top Top Foc IP
- d. Credo che a Gianni, domani, QUESTO gli dovremmo dire
 C Top Top Foc IP
- e. Credo che QUESTO, a Gianni, domani, gli dovremmo dire
 C Foc Top Top IP
- f. Credo che QUESTO, domani, a Gianni, gli dovremmo dire
 C Foc Top Top IP

This distributional pattern necessarily indicates that topic projections are recursive and can both precede and follow the focus phrase. A further implementation to the structure in (t23) is indeed required:



where * stands for recursive.

(vi) ADVERBS (Rizzi, 2004b)

In Rizzi (1997) adverbs are assumed to fill regular topic positions, like classical topic elements. However, they differ from the latter ones, since they do not require a connection with the previous discourse context, they cannot precede Wh-operators, they do not give rise to adjacency effects in subject extraction, they do not give rise to island effects. For this reason a specific recursive Mod head is introduced:

(36) A: Che cosa è successo?

what happened?

B: Improvvisamente, la polizia stradale ha fermato l'autobus per Roma

suddenly, the road police stopped the bus to Rome

B': # L'autobus per Roma, lo ha fermato la polizia stradale

the bus to Rome, it.CL stopped the police road

(37) a. ?? Improvvisamente, chi è tornato a casa?

Suddenly, who went home

b. Il mio contrabbasso, chi lo ha preso?

my double bass, who took it

(38) a. This is the luthier who I think that, tomorrow, t will repair your double bass

b. * This is the luthier who I think that, your double bass, t will repair tomorrow

(39) a. Questo è il contrabbasso che, ieri, ho portato al liutaio

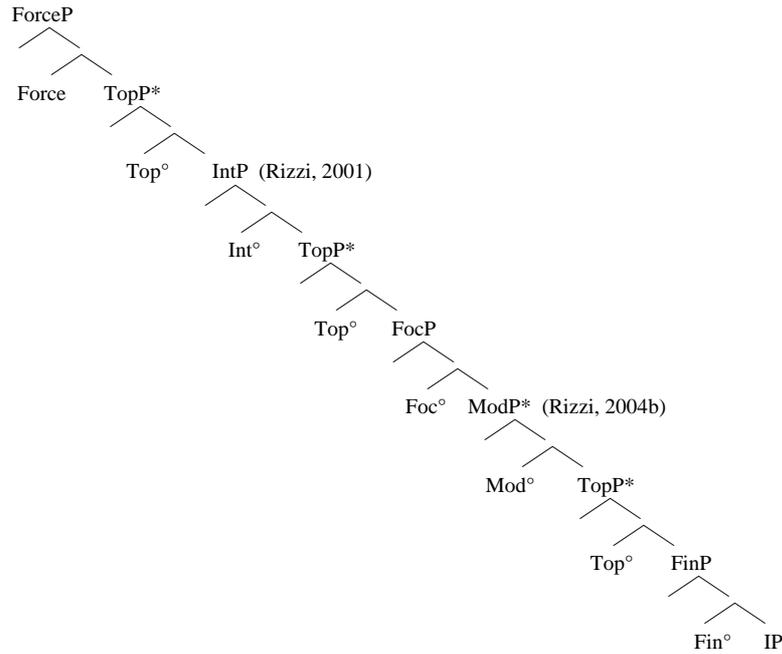
this is the double bass that yesterday [I] brought to the luthier

b. ? Questo è il contrabbasso che, al liutaio, gli ho portato ieri

this is the double bass that to the luthier [I] to-him.CL brought yesterday

Concluding from the observations above, further integrations of the structure proposed in (t31) can be proposed, in a way that closely resemble their superficial order of the occurring elements in the high sentence periphery. While the Force-Finiteness system still sandwiches the CP field, much more extensions are required in the middle of it:

(t40)



While extensive work has been spent on the detection of the exact cartographic distribution of specific elements in the high periphery, since the pioneering work of Rizzi (1997), and on the investigation of dedicated discourse-related features overtly identified in the computational linguistic mechanism in the high CP field, it is only in very recent times (Cecchetto, 1999; Belletti, 2001 and much related works), and especially on the bases of the new insightful suggestions beyond the Phase Theory (Chomsky, 2001) that the same attention has been in parallel turned to the so-called low peripheral system involved in the internal area of IP.

The idea that some interpretive properties detected in the local space of the high periphery actually mirror the existence of the same properties in the low ν P periphery is here taken as central point throughout the current work, since the main aim beyond the present analysis is the attempt of showing that a positive answer to that mirroring-existence is indeed cross-linguistically legitimated.

Chapter 3

On the high Topic field

3.0 Introduction

The major purpose beyond the present chapter lies in the evaluation of potential cross-linguistic correlations within specific pairs of fronting phenomena, which are overtly identifiable in the grammar and fairly productive across Romance languages and Germanic languages. A first parallel in this sense is here drawn between two well-established topic constructions commonly assumed to be pragmatically similar even though syntactically different, and namely, the Romance Clitic Left Dislocation construction (henceforth, CLD), in (1), and the English Topicalization construction (ETOP) in (2). A second evaluation will correlate the Hanging Topic Left Dislocation construction (HTLD) in (3) with the English Left Dislocation construction (ELD) in (4), both assumed to share an equivalent interpretive import:

- (1) [A tuo fratello], non *gli* hanno ancora dato il visto
to your brother, (they) NEG to-him.CL have yet given the visa
Cinque, 1983: (2)
- (2) [This one] she accepted
Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: (4i)
- (3) [Tuo fratello], invece, *lui* *si* che aveva sempre fame
your brother, however, him yes that was always hungry
Cinque, 1983: (1)
- (4) [That money I gave her], *it* must have disappeared
Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: (4vi)

NOTE: the dislocated phrases are conventionally marked with square brackets, the ‘resumptive’ elements are in *italics*

Inspired by various works on related issues (such as, Cinque, 1977, 1983, 1990; Rizzi, 1997, 2001, 2002; Belletti, 2004, 2005, 2008; van Riemsdijk & Zwarts, 1974; Rodman, 1974; Hirschbühler, 1974; Benincà & Poletto, 2004; Cruschina, 2008; Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl, 2008; Bocci, 2009; Vallduvì, 1992; Lambrecht, 1994; Villalba, 2000; *inter alia*), the typological setting adopted here aims at accounting for both the syntactic and the interpretive properties thought to be discriminating factors in the parametric variation, anyhow assuming the left periphery of the sentence as being the interface site between grammar and context (Rizzi, 1997, 2001, 2004; Belletti, 2001, 2004). Cinque (1983: 94) is enlightening in this respect :

‘in introducing each construction, [...] it [*should*, mine] be seen that one and the same import or function can be realized in two languages, by two quite different syntactic means and that, on the other hand, one and the same syntactic construction can have two quite different pragmatic functions (either in the same language or in two different languages). In other words, *there appears to be no one-to-one relation between the notion of pragmatic construction and the notion of syntactic construction*. [...] Under this view, they are simply a clustering of formal syntactic components which interact together and provide the formal realization of a functional or pragmatic unit.’

Moving from these basic considerations, a rigorous analysis will turn out to have crucial consequences from a cross-linguistic perspective, in the moment the typological setting below will be mirrored to the right, and specifically when the attention will be focused on those non-canonical phenomena involving post-posed constructions and defined negatively as being in a quantitative subset relation with those found to the left.

Before entering into the core of the analysis, a preliminary paragraph (§3.1) is dedicated to some introductory notes concerning previous attempts and first broad classifications found in the literature – at least, up to Cinque (1977). In this way, it will be briefly shown the way three major aspects at issue turn out to hold a fundamental role for the following analysis, namely:

- (a) The nature of the dislocated element

- (b) The nature of the resumptive element (either over or null)
- (c) The nature of the relation between them

The chapter then follows with the description of the syntactic and interpretive properties found for Romance CILD, which will be continuously compared with those available for ETOP, in §.3.2. The analysis of the independent status of HT(LD) will be investigated in §.3.3, as a Romance counterpart of ELD. A summary of the previous findings will be finally provided in §.3.4.

3.1.1 Defining oppositions: early observations on fronting variation

At least since Ross (1967/1986) – still assumed to be one of the first and most influential works dealing with constraints on transformations – the mechanisms involved in the (English) Topicalization construction³ have never been considered of such a great complexity: ETOP is simply described as a rule of the *chopping* type – shortly defined – relating the sentence in (5) with the one in (6) (and leaving a *trace* co-indexed with the moved element; *emphasis mine*, assuming traces not been introduced yet):

(5) [Sarah Bernstein]_(i) many boys would like to kiss (t_i)
Rodman , 1974: (2)

(6) Many people would like to kiss Sarah Bernstein
Rodman , 1974: (1)

As for Left-Dislocation constructions, things are a bit more difficult to tackle.⁴

Cross-linguistically, the common property defining them, lies in the fact that a phrase – generally NPs, with a large amount of variability across languages – linearly

³ The English version is the only one taken into account in Ross (1967/1986).

⁴ As seen in Chapter 1, the term “(Left/Right) Dislocation” is attributed to Maurice Gross (1934-2001) as credited by Ross (1967/1986: 253; fn.18). A slightly different expression for the same *denotata*, Left/Right Detachment, has been attributed by Lambrecht (1996: 353; fn. 39) to Bally (1932) who analyzes detachment constructions in functional terms as structures which precede the emergence of canonical structures in the evolution of language.

occupies the first position in the sentence and that some sort of anaphoric element *possibly* relates it – i.e., connects it – with the sentence it shares formal and interpretive properties. To some extent, this so-called ‘resumptive’ element acts in the same way the dislocated element would as if it was in its original position (Cinque, 1983; van Riemsdijk, 1997; Villalba, 2000). Conversely, the problematic issue is that the resumptive element may be a clitic pronoun in languages like Spanish or Italian (cf. example (1) above), a regular personal pronoun as in English (cf. example (4)), or a demonstrative pronoun as in Dutch (7), shown below:

- (7) [Haar paper], *dat* heeft mijn zusje gisteren pas ingeleverd
her paper, it has my sister yesterday only handed-in

In Ross (1967/1986: 422), the English LD is seen as a distinctive example of the *copying* rule type, considered to be a pronoun-copying counterpart (or *pronoun-leaving version*; in Rodman, 1974) of the rule assumed to be at work in the topicalization construction above (cf. Ross, 1967/1986: 209; Lakoff, 1969; Postal, 1971). The distinction between copying transformations and chopping transformations, is offered below:

(def: 1 = 6.138)

If the structural index of a transformation has n terms, a_1, a_2, \dots, a_n , it is a reordering transformation if its structural change has any a_i as its k^{th} term, or if a_i is adjoined to its k^{th} term, where $i \neq k$.

If a transformation reorders a_i , and its structural change substitutes the identity (null) element or some a_k , $i \neq k$, for the i^{th} term of the structural index, the transformation is a chopping transformation. Other reordering transformations are called copying transformations.

Adopting this distinction, the two formal representations of the two fronting constructions, are shown below:

CHOPPING RULE: Topicalization

(Ross's 4.185)

$$\begin{array}{r}
 X - NP - Y \\
 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad \text{OPTIONAL} \quad = = = \Rightarrow \\
 2\#[1 \quad 0 \quad 3]
 \end{array}$$

Note: ‘#[...]’ denotes Chomsky Adjunction to the lowest node dominating the elements contained in the brackets

This rule is supposed to be at work converting the sentence in (8) in the one in (9):

(8) I’m going out to ask Bill to make the old geezer take up *these points* later
 Ross, 1967/1986: (4.86a)

(9) [These points] I’m going to ask Bill to make the old geezer take up later
 Ross, 1967/1986: (4.86b)

COPYING RULE: Left Dislocation

(Ross’s 6.126)

$$\begin{array}{r}
 X - NP - Y \\
 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad \text{OPTIONAL} \quad = = = \Rightarrow \\
 2\#[1 \quad 2 \quad 3] \\
 \quad \quad + \text{PRO}
 \end{array}$$

Again, the rule above should convert the structure in (10) in any of the structures in (11-18):

(10) The man my father works with in Boston is going to tell the police that that traffic expert has set that traffic light on the corner of Murk Street far too slow
 Ross, 1967/1986: (6.127)

(11) [The man my father works with in Boston], *he* is going to tell the police that that traffic expert has set that traffic light on the corner of Murk Street far too slow
 Ross, 1967/1986: (6.128a)

(12) [My father], the man *he* works with in Boston is going to tell the police that that traffic expert has set that traffic light on the corner of Murk Street far too slow
 Ross, 1967/1986: (6.128b)

- (13) [(In) Boston], the man my father works with *there*, is going to tell the police that that traffic expert has set that traffic light on the corner of Murk Street far too slow
Ross, 1967/1986: (6.128c)
- (14) [The police], the man my father works with in Boston is going to tell *them* that that traffic expert has set that traffic light on the corner of Murk Street far too slow
Ross, 1967/1986: (6.128d)
- (15) [The traffic expert], the man my father works with in Boston is going to tell the police that *he* has set the traffic light on the corner of Murk Street far too slow
Ross, 1967/1986: (6.128e)
- (16) [The traffic light on the corner of Murk Street], the man my father works with in Boston is going to tell the police that the traffic expert has set *it* far too slow
Ross, 1967/1986: (6.128f)
- (17) [The corner of Murk Street], the man my father works with in Boston is going to tell the police that that traffic expert has set that traffic light *there* far too slow
Ross, 1967/1986: (6.128g)
- (18) [Murk Street], the man my father works with in Boston is going to tell the police that that traffic expert has set the traffic light *on the corner there/on that corner* far too slow
Ross, 1967/1986: (6.128h)

From this analysis, both ELD and ETOP are, then, assumed to be movement rules, the only difference being that the former shows some sort of pronominal copy of the moved element – leaving behind a pronoun to mark the position in the sentence that the fronted NP used to occupy (as in Ross, 1973b: 553, or just *place-marker* in Ross, 1967/1986: 421) – while the latter does not.

A second finding put forward in Ross (1967/1986) is the observation that topicalization, and chopping rules in general, are subject to some specific constraints operating on movement – namely, the Complex Noun Phrase Constraint (CNPC), the Sentential Subject Constraint (SSC), the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC). The same observation does not hold for the ELD, given the fact that CNPC, SSC and CSC are completely absent in the copying constructions. Specifically:

SENTENTIAL SUBJECT CONSTRAINT (SSC)

(def: 2 = 4.254)

No element dominated by an S may be moved out of that S if that node S is dominated by an NP which itself is immediately dominated by S.

- (19) * [My father], I hardly ever see [e] and my mother when they are not glaring at each other
(20) [My father], I hardly ever see *him* and my mother when they are not glaring at each other

COMPLEX NOUN PHRASE CONSTRAINT (CNPC)

(def: 3 = 4.20)

No element contained in a sentence dominated by a noun phrase with a lexical head noun may be moved out of that noun phrase by a transformation.

- (21) * [My father], the man [e] works with in Boston is going to tell the police that that traffic expert has set the traffic light on the corner of Murk Street far too slow
(22) [My father], the man *he* works with in Boston is going to tell the police that that traffic expert has set the traffic light on the corner of Murk Street far too slow

COORDINATE STRUCTURE CONSTRAINT (CSC)

(def: 4 = 4.84)

In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct.

- (23) * [My father], that [e] has lived here all his life is well-known to the cops
(24) [My father], that *he's* lived here all his life is well-known to the cops

Finally, a further improvement of Ross's theory is the discovery that both ELD and ETOP occur in main clauses only. This observation is initially worked out in Emonds (1970) who detects some general principles restricting the format of both transformational and phrase-structure rules. The crucial point in this sense is that transformations necessarily belong to one of the two following types: (1) Root Transformations (RT, also Main Clause Phenomena, MCP; cf. Heycock, 2002;

Haegeman, 2004) and (2) Structure-Preserving Transformations (SPT)⁵. As for the first point, a RT is one in which any constituents moved, inserted, or copied is immediately dominated by a root in the derived structure (*ibid*: 10), the root being either the highest S in the tree – the root of the phrase structure –, an S immediately dominated by the highest S, or the reported S in direct discourse. Conversely, a SPT is one in which any constituent is moved, inserted, or copied in a position that a phrase structure rule – motivated independently of the transformation in question – can generate. From this analysis, both ETOP and ELD are considered to be part of the RT class – subsuming the rather traditional observation that main clauses exhibit a wider variety of non-canonical structures than most embedded clause types generally do (cf. Emonds, 2004: 75):

- (25) Our daughter we re proud of
- (26) * We are going to the school play because our daughters we are proud of
- (27) Jane, she visits this park every weekend
- (28) * He doesn't like the park that Jane, she visits every weekend

However, since the seminal work of Hooper & Thompson (1973) this last claim has been partially discarded, by instead proposing that in quite a large set of embedded contexts – those associated with a semantic notion of ‘assertion’ – the fronting occurrence is indeed possible:

- (29) The inspector explained that each part he had examined very carefully
- (30) Carl told me that this book, it has the recipes in it

The existence of a range of syntactic phenomena whose application is restricted to root clauses and embedded clauses with root restrictions will be explicitly made prominent in Chapter 5, once the positional cross-linguistic asymmetries between Romance dislocations and English dislocations will be taken into account.

Turning back to the similar structural change proposed for ETOP and ELD, once GB Theory (Reinhart 1976; Chomsky 1981; 1986; a.o.) introduces the idea that some

⁵ Emonds also proposes a third category of transformations that he calls Minor Movement Transformation (MMT, also Local Transformations), dealing with adjacent constituents, i.e. Affix Hopping.

formal properties of language – such as the Case Assignment requirement – are specified through the application of abstract syntactic relations, and that particular conditions on co-indexing between referents and classes of anaphoric elements – reflexives, pronouns and referential expressions – are at work in the course of the derivation, the movement analysis becomes too weak for LDs, thus challenging the idea of an optional distribution of the resumptive element. In this way, the structural relations between fronted phrase and referential phrase is reassessed: their relation becomes, at the same time, diagnostically appealing for the proposal of a *somehow different* derivation for LDs, and formally operative in considering the prismatic aspect of the resumptive element as a superficial manifestation of different phenomena within the same range of LDs (at least, since Cinque, 1977). Thus, following van Riemsdijk (1997), two non-trivial issues are raised at this point:

(1) the attempt of collapsing the two rules – LD and Topicalization – into a single rule with an option in the Structural Change (Rodman, 1974) to leave behind a pronoun, becomes inadmissible, and

(2) both resumptive elements and dislocated constituents, playing a crucial role in the Binding Theory, should be re-thought on both their structural and interpretive properties, so as to explain parametric variation within the same range of LDs.

As for the first point, a plain distinction between LDs and Topicalization has already been suggested in some pre-eighties works, where a base-generation hypothesis (often referred as the *null hypothesis*, i.e. the generation of fronted elements in the base) is generally favoured over a movement analysis for the former case. According to van Riemsdijk and Zwarts (1974) and Hirschbühler (1974), for example, a copying hypothesis turns out to be problematic in many respects. For the sake of concreteness, it will be mentioned here just the case of epithets and V2 in Dutch. As for the first phenomenon, the problem arises when new classes of expressions are taken into account and the role of the *place-marker* pronoun is replaced with other kinds of admissible expressions. Consider, for instance, the case of the sentences below, where the standard LD in (31) is compared with specific epithetic expressions – crucially assumed to be directly inserted from the lexicon into the syntactic computation – listed in (32) - (33):

- (31) [Dat portret], ik geloof niet *dat* hij het nog heeft
That portrait I don't think that he still has it
 van Riemsdijk & Zwarts, 1974: (1a)
- (32) [Paul], ik geloof dat Piet net een partijtje heft gevochten met *die idiot*
Paul, I think that Pete just a fight has fought with that idiot
 van Riemsdijk & Zwarts, 1974: (4a)
- (33) [Marie], *dat wijf* vermoord ik nog eens
Mary, that shrew will kill I someday
 van Riemsdijk & Zwarts, 1974: (4c)

In these cases, it is actually anomalous to assume that open-class items, like *die idiot* in (32) and *dat wijf* in (33) can be transformationally introduced in the grammatical configuration of the sentence as copies of relevant XPs moved to the left periphery, rather than being generated from the base. As for the second case, LD in Dutch clearly violates the V2 principle. Consider, for instance, the opposition between (34) and (35), on the basis of (36):

- (34) Haar paper heeft mijn zusje gisteren ingeleverd om met vakantie te kunnen
Her paper has my sister yesterday given in to be able to go on holidays
- (35) Haar paper, ik geloof niet dat mijn zusje het al heeft ingeleverd
Her paper, I don't think that my sister has already given in
- (36) Mijn zusje heeft gisteren haar paper ingeleverd om met vakantie te kunnen
My sister has her paper yesterday given in to be able to go on holidays

Assuming that any fronting of any constituent causes the verb to appear to the left of the subject – unless the constituent fronted is the subject itself (van Riemsdijk and Zwarts, 1974: 19) – the sentence in (35) clearly disobeys the strict V2 principle since the verb is linearly in the third position and the subject precedes it. A related observation against a movement analysis – even though not conclusive here, but crucial in Cinque (1977) – is found for case-marking in German, for which it is asserted that in cases like (38):

it seems safe to assume that case-marking is neutral with respect to the choice between the transformational and PSR treatment of LD (R&Z: 28):

- (37) [Der Anna], *der* möchte ich nicht mehr begegnen
Ann, her want I no longer meet
- (38) [Die Anne/*Der Anna], ich habe lange nicht mit ihr gesprochen
Ann (Nom)/(Dat), I have a long time not with her spoken*

Deeper insights in the same spirit come from Rodman (1974), who crucially – and arguably for the first time – implements the previous suggestions, by considering the interpretive nature of fronted elements as a convincing argument against the existence of a movement rule for LDs. His fundamental intuition lies in the fact that when a topic is well-established in the discourse, it can be topicalized – as in (40) – but it cannot be left-dislocated – as in (41). The reverse also holds: a topic not previously established can be left-dislocated – as in (42), but not so naturally, topicalized – as in (43):

- (39) Speaker A: What can you tell me about *John*?
- (40) Speaker B: [John] Mary kissed
- (41) * [John], Mary kissed *him*
- (42) Speaker B: Nothing. But [Bill], Mary kissed *him*
- (43) Nothing. * But [Bill] Mary kissed

Adopting this intuition from Chafe (1972), Rodman defines LD simply as a thematizing operation (a *discourse grammar phenomenon* in Chomsky, 1975) used by speakers who want to make central to the discourse an element not yet subject to pronominalization, and that a transformational analysis for the phenomenon is not just inconclusive, but completely inadequate. Consider the list of sentences (44)-(50) below:

- (44) [Sarah Bernstein], many boys would like to kiss *her*
 Rodman, 1974: (3)
- (45) [Those petunias], when did Joanne plant *them*?⁶

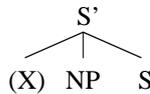
⁶ This sentence would be ungrammatical under a transformational hypothesis, given Emonds (1970): “No two preposing Root Transformations may apply in the same S” (i.e. Wh-Question Preposing plus LD)

- Rodman, 1974: (10)
- (46) [Speaking of Sarah Bernstein], many boys would like to kiss *her*
Rodman, 1974: (29)
- (47) [Bill, Sue and that damn snake], *he* told *her* to get *it* out of their sleeping bag⁷
Rodman, 1974: (30)
- (48) [As for the flat tire], John explained that there had been nails on the ground
Rodman, 1974: (37)
- (49) [Restaurants], the situation's hopeless in Chapel Hill
Rodman, 1974: (39)
- (50) [Fisch], ich esse Hering am liebsten
Rodman, 1974: (61)

On the bases of the sentences above, it seems tempting to suggest that the only possible way for collapsing together the underlying mechanisms at work, would be to hypothesize a phrase structure rule like the following, where the dislocated element is simply generated in its superficial position⁸:

(def: 5 = 46):

$S' \Rightarrow (X) NP S$



where:

S' is the 'start symbol'

NP is the thematized topic of S

X is any kind of assorted expression such as *speaking of, as for, it's funny about*

.

⁷ Compare with:

(1) * Bill, Sue, that damn snake, he told her to get it out of their sleeping bag

(2) * Mary, John, she likes him (Postal 1971, 136, fn.17)

⁸ The same solution is proposed in Hirschbühler (1974) for the French sentences below:

(1) [Paul], Pierre s'est battu avec lui
Paul, Pierre had a fight with him

(2) [Paul], Pierre vient se battre avec cet idiot
Paul, Peter has just fought with that idiot

(3) [La chasse à l'étudiant], je pense que la police a toujours considéré cette activité comme un sport très agréable
Student-hunting, I think the police have always considered that activity as a pleasant sport

As a preliminary conclusion, Chomsky (1977) comes to the following proposal: there is a TOPIC position outside of S and there is an associated proposition – an open sentence – which says something about the topic. In Topicalization, the element in TOP is matched by the movement to the adjacent COMP of a corresponding *wh*-phrase (the *wh*-phrase being later deleted, as in the cases of comparatives⁹); in LD, no movement role is involved, the pronoun being base-generated and freely referring with the lefthand phrase. Assuming then, that *wh*-movement has the following characteristics (87: def. 49),

- it leaves a gap
- where there is a bridge, there is an apparent violation of Subjacency¹⁰, PIC (Propositional-Island Condition) and SSC (Specified Subject Condition)
- it observes CNPC (Complex Noun Phrase Constraint)
- it observes *wh*-island constraints

topicalization is the result of *wh*-movement, LD is not, as clearly evident from the finding below, where only the sentence in (51) violates the condition of double *wh*-movement to the left:

- (51) * John, who do you think saw
 (52) (As for) John, who do you think saw him
 Chomsky, 1977: (83c-84c)

Turning now briefly to the second point here at issue – namely, the range of variability within LDs (cf. again, the alternate distribution of the resumptive elements in (1), (4) and (7) above) – a first fundamental recapitulation is offered in Cinque (1977), whose seminal contribution has represented a fruitful input in the understanding of the cross-linguistic variation. Adapting the data discussed so far to French, Italian and German, he indeed comes to the desired conclusion that lefthand NPs inside LDs necessarily enter into two quite distinct constructions, therefore

⁹ Rule (47): *wh*-phrase becomes null. The idea is taken from some non-standard American English, allowing such kind of construction (taken from Bresnan, 1972): *John is taller than [what] Mary is.*

¹⁰ A phrase cannot move from position Y to position X (or conversely):
 ...X...[α ...[β ...Y...]]...X... where α and β are cyclic nodes; IP and NP in English.

partially rejecting the previous generalized assumptions of a based-generation uniformity across different languages.

In the specific case, only the sentence in (53) – called Hanging Topic Left Dislocation from now on¹¹ – and the one in (55) – a classical LD – overtly violate sub-categorization and Case selection, being for this reason fully consistent with a base-generation hypothesis of the topic to the left, followed by the pronominalization of the coreferential NP to the right – if there is any – (*ibid*: 411). Conversely, the one in (54) – lately called CILD for the mandatory requirement of the resumptive clitic inside the sentence – will be the result of a copying operation of some sort¹²:

- (53) a. [Mes fils], j'*en* suis fier
b. [I miei figli], *ne* sono fiero
My children, I am proud of them
- (54) a. [De/*A mes fils], l'*en* suis fier
b. [Dei/*Ai miei figli], *ne* vado fiero
*Of/*To m y children, I am proud of them*
- (55) a. [Der Professor], sie lobten *ihn*
The professor, they praised him
b. [Der Professor], sie schmeichelten *ihn*
The professor, they flattered him

From this preliminary asymmetry, clear evidence in the same spirit comes from impossibility of subject dropping in Italian when the subject pronouns are used in contrastive environments (56)-(57):

- (56) A: Sai che tuo cugino mi ha telefonato ieri per dirmi che ha trovato un bell'appartamento a Roma?
Do you know that your cousin called me up yesterday to tell me that he found a nice apartment in Rome?
B: Ma guarda. Giorgio_i, sapevo che *pro*_i voleva andare a stare in campagna.
Oh really!/? Giorgio, I used to know that he wanted to go and live in the country.

¹¹ Cinque (1977) attributes the term Hanging Topic to Alexander Grosu, (*ibid*:. 406).

¹² Not movement component at all, in Cinque, 1983: 110

- (57) A: Sai che Maria è andata a stare da Giorgio a Roma?
You know that Maria has gone to live with Giorgio in Rome?
 B: Ah Giorgio, sapevo che *lui* voleva andare a stare in campagna da lei
Ah, Giorgio, I used to know that he wanted to go and live in the country.

Contemporaneously, the same asymmetric outcome can be easily detectable in the different behaviour the two constructions show with respect to Island Constraints, which the HTLD in (59) seem to be exempt of, and the opposite ban with respect to the Embedded Clauses as the ones in (60)-(61), which conversely do not prove to be problematic for CILDs:

- (58) [* A Giorgio], ieri ho conosciuto la ragazza che *gli* ha scritto quelle insolenze
To Giorgio, yesterday I met the girl who wrote those insolent words to him
- (59) [Giorgio], ieri ho conosciuto la ragazza che gli ha scritto quelle insolenze
Giorgio, yesterday I met the girl who wrote those insolent words to him
- (60) Ho l'impressione che a Paolo_i, sappiate benissimo chi gli_i ha scritto
I've got the impression that to Paolo_i, you don't know very well who wrote to him_i
- (61) * Ho l'impressione che Paolo_i, sappiate benissimo chi gli_i ha scritto
I've got the impression that Paolo_i, you don't know very well who wrote to him_i

Correlating then all the findings above with the two non-trivial issues raised at the beginning of this section – again, the necessity of a derivational distinction between Topicalization and LDs form one side, and the possibility of a further difference detectable within the same range of LDs, from one other – highly crucial consequences can be subsumed for a cross-linguistic examination. In this sense, at least three different constructions can be isolated and further compared: the Topicalization construction, peculiar to the English language; the CILD construction which overlaps to some extent with the former and establishes with it a first oppositional pair; the HTLD construction with totally overlaps with the classical LD analyzed for English since Ross (1967), thus forming with the latter a second oppositional pair. In the remaining of this chapter, both the pairs listed above will be

contrasted in turn and consequently evaluated, in this sense trying to focus on both their syntactic and their interpretive properties.

3.2.1 Clitic Left Dislocation and the status of ETOP.

Syntactic properties

A prototypical example of CILD is given in (62):

- (62) Gianni, *lo* hanno già chiamato
John, him.CL [they] have already called

Note: ‘,’ does not mean that some sort of intonational break is involved

CILD involves a non-vocative detached XP (*Gianni*) in the left periphery of the sentence and a resumptive clitic (*lo*) (= *agreement marker*) linked with it, within the sentence itself. The clitic complies with all the functions the dislocate element would have done if it had not been displaced. The underlying syntactic structure is given below:

- (63) XP_i [_S ... cl/AGR_i...]

According to Villalba (2000) many languages among the Romance family show the same syntactic phenomenon: French (Postal, 1991); Occitan (Sauzet, 1989); Spanish; Catalan; Galician (Alvarez et al., 1986); Portuguese (Mateus et al., 1983); Romanian (Motapanyane, 1994)¹³. Among the Italian varieties, one may find CILDs in:

- (64) La littera, Maria l'at dza mandata (Sardinian)
the letter, Mary it.CL has already sent

- (65) A Giovanni, ci haju a dari un libbru (Sicilian)
to John [I] to-him.CL have to give a book

¹³ The list proposed in Villalba (2000) also includes: Lebanese Arabic (Aoun & Benmamoun, 1998); Modern Greek (Anagnostopoulou, 1997); Tzutujil (Aissen, 1992); Chichewa (Bresnan & Mchombo, 1987); Mohawk, Nahuatl, Gunwinjguan, Wichita, Chukehee, Ainu, Tanoan languages (Baker, 1996).

- (66) A bullèta, l'addʒ dʒià pavata (Napoletan)
The bill, [I] it.CL have already paid

A clear examination of the specific syntactic properties characterizing CILD will be determining in a twofold way, both when compared with those properties available for ETOP and when compared with those ones available for HT(LD). As for the first case, it will be shown that CILD and ETOP differ at least in two main respects: the non availability for the latter of iterative TOP projections, and the different distribution of the resumptive element – a clitic pronoun for CILD and an empty category for ETOP. As for the second case, the difference are even more sharp, the latter showing no connectedness effects, neither island sensitivity. The analysis will mainly follow those proposed in Cinque (1977, 1983, 1990), Benincà (1988), Benincà & Poletto (2004), Rizzi (1997, 2001), Villalba (2000), Belletti (2004, 2008). The main syntactic properties are here analyzed in turn:

(i) Any maximal projection can be left dislocated – NPs, PPs, APs, VPs, CPs:

- (67) [_{NP} Il libro], dovresti darlo a Paolo
the book, [you]should give-it.CL to Paul
- (68) [_{PP} Di quel problema], ne abbiamo discusso accanitamente tutto il pomeriggio
about that problem, of-it.CL [we] have discussed fiercely the whole afternoon
- (69) [_{AP} Intelligente], sicuramente non lo è mai stata
clever, definitely [she] Neg it.CL has ever been
- (70) [_{VP} Rinchiuso in gabbia], non lo è mai stato
Locked in a cage, [he]Neg it.CL has ever been
- (71) [_{CP} Che il problema non sia facile], lo dicono tutti
That the problem is not easy, it.CL says everybody

The same holds for English:

- (72) [_{NP} Hardbacks], I wouldn't lend to Mark (not to John)
 DCPSE (DI-B09 0087)

- (73) [_{PP} Of that problem], we discussed the whole afternoon (not just yesterday)
- (74) [_{AP} Canon], he is (not that he would be)
DCPSE (DI-B23 0207)
- (75) [_{VP} Locked in a cage], he has never been (not that he would like to be)
- (76) [_{CP} That no one was there], he said to Mark (not to John)

(ii) There is no (theoretical) limit to the number of dislocated phrases in Italian; the same does not hold for English:

- (77) [A Gianni]₁, [di questo libro]₂, non gliene hanno mai parlato
to Gianni of this book [they] Neg to-him of it have ever talked
Benincà & Poletto, 2004: (35b)
- (78) [A Giorgio]₁, [io]₂, [un lavoro]₃, non posso offrirglielo
to Giorgio I a job [I] Neg can offer to-him.CL-it.CL
adapted from Benincà et al., (1988)
- (79) [Di vestiti]₁, [a me]₂, [Gianni]₃, [in quel negozio]₄, non mi ce ne ha mai comprati
clothes to me Gianni in that shop [he] Neg to-me.CL there.CL of them.CL ever has bought
Cinque, 1990: 58
- (80) * [Your book]₁, [to John]₂, you should give

(iii) In case of multiple dislocated phrases, their ordering is free¹⁴:

- (81) [A Roberto]₁, [il cappello]₂ glielo ha nascosto Maria
to Roberto the hat to-him.CL it.CL has Maria hidden
- (82) [Il cappello]₂, [a Roberto]₁ glielo ha nascosto Maria

¹⁴ This proposal - found in Villalba, (2000) - is highly controversial: assuming a one-to-one relation between position and function, Benincà & Poletto (2004), propose a strict hierarchy between classes of topic constituents, where HT(LD)s always precede CILDs. In the same spirit, Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) introduce a topic-splitting hypothesis, where a different hierarchy is indeed proposed: *aboutness/shifting topic > contrastive topic > familiar topics*. This last proposal is taken up again in §3.2.2.3

- (83) [Di vestiti]₁, [a me]₂, [Gianni]₃, [in quel negozio]₄, non mi ce ne ha mai comprati (= 79)
 (84) [Gianni]₃, [di vestiti]₁, [a me]₂, [in quel negozio]₄, non mi ce ne ha mai comprati
 (85) [A me]₂, [di vestiti]₁, [Gianni]₃, [in quel negozio]₄, non mi ce ne ha mai comprati
 (86) [In quel negozio]₄, [di vestiti]₁, [a me]₂, [Gianni]₃, non mi ce ne ha mai comprati

(iv) The dislocated phrase can occur at the front of virtually any subordinate clause type, in Italian. As for English, this point will be explicitly stressed in Chapter 5, when the cross-linguistic evidence to the left will show clear asymmetries between classes of embedded sentences, some of which are truly grammatical, some of which are not (cf. Hooper & Thompson, 1973):

- (87) Non so chi, [questo libro], potrebbe recensirlo per domani
[I] don't know who this book could review-it.CL for tomorrow
 Cinque, 1990: 58
- (88) Mi sembra che, [a Giorgio], nessuno gli abbia mai parlato male
to-me it seems that to Giorgio anybody to-him has ever spoken ill (of)
 adapted from Benincà et al., (1988)
- (89) Le bambine giocavano in giardino, quando [Marco], l'hanno riportato a casa
the little girls were playing in the garden, when Mark, [they] him.CL brought home
- (90) The inspector explained that each part he has examined very carefully
 Hooper & Thompson, 1973: 50
- (91) It appears that this book he read thoroughly
 Hooper & Thompson, 1973: 92
- (92) * I resent the fact that each part he had to examine carefully
 Hooper & Thompson, 1973: 109

(v) The resumptive element is necessarily of the clitic type; its presence is obligatory for lefthand direct or partitive NPs, while it is optional for the other phrases in Italian. The English counterpart selects an empty category. Following Rizzi (1997: 293; Cinque, 1990: 73) the parametrical option lies in the different device the two languages use in the seeking of the antecedent in fronted constructions: a null anaphoric operator in English, a clitic pronoun in Italian (cf. also Calabrese, 1992 for the ban against the dislocation of quantified expressions):

- (93) [In quel cinema], non (ci) sono mai andato
in that cinema, [I] Neg there.CL have ever gone
- (94) * [In quel cinema], non sono mai andato là
in that cinema, [I] Neg have ever been there
- (95) A: Quando hai visto Maria?
When have you seen Mary?
 B: [NPobj Maria], la ho vista ieri
Mary, [I] her have seen yesterday
 B: * [NPobj Maria], ho vista ieri
- (96) [PP A Roberto] (gli) porterò un regalo
to Bob [I] (to-him.CL) will bring a present
- (97) [PP Con Roberto] non (ci) ho mai comprato niente
with Bob [I] Neg (with-him.CL) have ever bought anything
- (98) [NP Your book], OP I bought t
 Rizzi, 1997: (29)

(vi) When the clitic pronoun is present, it must agree with the lefthand element in Case and categorial status:

- (99) Se [PP a Giorgio] loro non gli hanno scritto, una ragione c'è
if to John they Neg to-him.CL have written, a reason there is
- (100) * Se [PP a Giorgio] loro non lo hanno scritto, una ragione c'è
if to John they Neg him.CL have written, a reason there is
 Cinque, 1983: (22a)
- (101) [A lei], Maria dice che non (ci) pensiamo mai
of her, Maria says that Neg (of-her) think ever
- (102) * [A se stessa], Maria dice che non ci pensiamo mai
of herself Maria says that [we] of-her think ever
 Cinque, 1990: 59

(vii) The relation between the lefthand phrase and the resumptive element is sensitive to island constraints:

- (103) * [A Livia], ieri ho conosciuto l'uomo che le ha fatto quell'enorme regalo
to Livia, [I] yesterday have known the man who to-her.CL has made that big present
- (104) * [A Livia], chi può credere alla bugia che le abbiano fatto un regalo enorme?
to Livia, who can believe to the lie that [they] to-her.CL made a big present
- (105) * [This book], I accept the argument that John should read
 Chomsky, 1977: (63c)
- (106) * [This book], I wonder who read
 Chomsky, 1977: (63d)
- (107) * My copy of Attila, I don't know who has
 Gregory & Michaelis (2001: (8)

The syntactic properties so far discussed are summarized below:

(tab.1)

	Romance CILD	English TOP
(i) Category	any	any
(ii) Iterability	√	*
(iii) Ordering	√	–
(iv) Context	root/non-root	root ⁽¹⁾ /non-root
(v) Resumptive element	clitic	ec
(vi) Connectedness	√	–
(vii) Island sensitivity	√	√

3.2.2 Clitic Left Dislocation and the status of ETOP.

Interpretive properties

The major aim beyond the present section consists in the evaluation of the possible impact that the interpretive factors may have in the phenomena detected above. Therefore, the achievement of the following analysis lies upon the possibility of delimiting the conditions of use under which CILD (and ETOP) are pragmatically constraint and thus, the context of discourse relations in which they can be felicitously realized and optimally decoded.

Commonly, CILD/ETOP cover several interpretive properties – and, at least since Halliday (1967: 211) a large amount of works within the functionalist framework (Chafe, 1987; Givón, 1983; Lambrecht, 1994, 1996; Prince, 1981, 1992, 1997; Ward & Birner, 1996; *inter alia*) has been devoted to the understanding of the exact mechanisms at work for them. Being an exhaustive overview of this sort fairly impractical, the discussion below will only keep track of some of the most influential contributions assumed to be essential for this investigation, and highly productive for the implications to follow. In this way, partially mirroring the claim made in Gregory & Michaelis (2001: 1666), it will be considered as mandatory the assumption that any well-refined functional description must be able to account for both the *use conditions* associated with a particular pragmatically motivated construction – as it will be the case of Vallduvì (1992) in §3.2.2.1 – and as well as the *pragmatic constraints* attributable to the class of sentence type from where it belongs – as it will be extensively illustrated in §3.2.2.2., in line with Ward & Birner (2004).

As for the first case, it will be shown how the notion of LINK in Vallduvì's model of information and communication is strictly connected to the storing import of the dislocated element in the left periphery, for this reason, assuming Informatics as being a triadic set of pragmatic instructions at work in the process of information encoding. In parallel, in the next section, mainly adopting patterns offered for ETOP (Ward & Birner, 2004; Prince, 1992, 1997), it will be proposed that the dislocated element pertaining to the class of pre-posing constructions acts as an inference-trigger in the hearer's mind, being for this reason, in a salient (POSET) relation to some entity previously evoked in the context of discourse. Concluding remarks are finally dedicated to some new insightful suggestions arguing against the possibility of a genuine syntactic recursion for the Topic system in the Romance CP periphery

(the TOP* surrounding the Focus projection in Rizzi, 1997), where conversely a hierarchical one-to-one relation between syntactic position and pragmatic function is discussed. Thus partially rejecting the proposal, as an indirect consequence, CILD is split into three internal micro-functions, linearly arranged, ETOP being in a subset relation with it (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl, 2007; Gundel & Fretheim, 2004).

3.2.2.1 The Informational Component and the notion of LINK

In his theory of Informatics, Vallduvì (1992) formalizes a pragmatic model of information encoding which he characterizes as a functional-load model for non-structurally-motivated syntactic operations.¹⁵ This model is specifically devoted to the retrieval of the information in the discourse and the analysis of the conditions by which the entry can be located into the hearer's knowledge-store. Information packaging is, in this sense, defined as a small set of instructions with which the hearer is instructed by the speaker to retrieve the information carried by the sentence and enter it into her/his knowledge-store. At the same time, the informational component is, consequently seen both as an integrated model of interpretation and generation of information packaging constructions (Chafe, 1976; Prince, 1981) and as a competent set of instructions for storing information.

Essentially adapting hearer's attitude to the influential *file-storing* model put forward in Reinhart (1981), formalized under the File Change Semantics (Heim, 1983), Vallduvì's dynamic account appears straightforward:

“hearers’ knowledge and attentional state, due to the mere effect of the discourse input, change continually in a given linguistic encounter and, therefore, so changes the way in which speakers package information. With this packaging speakers seem to instruct hearers to retrieve the information carried by a sentence and enter it into their knowledge-store in a particular way. Each one of this particular ways to package information will be referred to as an INSTRUCTION. [...] In this sense, then,

¹⁵ Vallduvì (1990:12): “It has long been noted that there are syntactic operations which are not triggered by the need to satisfy any known ‘purely structural requirement’ – like the Case filter, agreement, or thematic structure – and which are logico-semantically vacuous as well. The operations include Topicalization, VP-preposing, left-dislocation, right-dislocation, adverb-preposing, gapping, it-clefting, pseudo-clefting, heavy NP-shift, and probably many others. A large number of studies, within the ‘functions of syntax’ approach, have pursued the task of establishing a *raison d’être* for all these *non-structurally-motivated syntactic operations*. This *raison d’être* is generally called the ‘functional load’ of a sentence.”

information packaging is a very context-sensitive component of language understanding, springing from each particular speaker-hearer interaction and, furthermore, reflecting the changes in (the speaker's beliefs about) the knowledge and attentional state of the hearer that take place during this interaction" (Vallduvì: 3).

Put it formally, Vallduvì's proposal characterizes the sentence as being *informationally articulated* into a trinomial hierarchical structure consisting of a small set of primitive elements, FOCUS and a GROUND, the latter further subdivided into a LINK and a TAIL:

(def. 5 = 44)

S = {FOCUS, GROUND}
GROUND = {LINK, TAIL}

The FOCUS is assumed to be the only informative part of the sentence, where the knowledge deemed to be relevant is encoded. It turns to be the essential part of the utterance since its contribution is central to the hearer's knowledge-store at the time of utterance. The GROUND (the '*go-to-address*' instruction) is the complement of the focus: it essentially acts as a vehicular frame for the information to be stored, thus guarantying an appropriate entry for it into the hearer's knowledge-store. In this sense, it does not make any contribution to the hearer's knowledge-store, since it represents knowledge already assumed by the speaker to be possessed by the hearer. Its only informational force is to permit the appropriate entry of the information proposed. It may well be the case that a sentence has no ground, specifically when speakers assume that the hearers are perfectly able to figure out how the information in the sentence contributes to their pre-established knowledge. Again, the focus cannot be elidable, while the ground exists only if it is considered necessary to guarantee a successful retrieval of the information encoded in the sentence. The further sub-segmentation of the ground consists of a LINK and a TAIL. The notion of LINK, as Vallduvì assures, is inspired by Trávníček (1962: 166): "[there is] a sentence element that *links up* directly with the object of thought, proceeds from it and opens the sentence thereby". In this sense, a link is defined as an *address pointer*, rather than being just a *sentence-initial* topic – that directs the hearer to a given address/file card in the hearer's knowledge-store, under which the information

carried by the sentence is entered. Thus, the speaker indicates to the hearers that the focus must be entered under the address denoted by the link, the hearer must go to that address, and enter the information under its label. This seems a truly linguistic primitive ‘aboutness’ topic in the sense of Maltesius (1915) – what the speaker wants to talk about –, Hockett (1958) –speaker’s announcement – Reinhart’s sentence-topic (1981: 24)¹⁶, defined as a mean available in the language to organize or classify the information exchanged in linguistic communication; they are signals of how to construct the context-set (set of possible worlds considered to be true at a given point in time by both the interlocutors; Stalnaker, 1978), or under which entries one should classify the new proposition. The address-pointer terminology turns out to be significant since it can encompass cases of multiple elements acting as links, where only the first is obviously assumed to be the sentence-initial topic: in this case is the link string (link*) that is sentence-initial. Finally, the TAIL is classified as the last informational primitive, complement of the link within the ground. It is defined negatively as the nonfocal nonlink part of the sentence. It is synonymous to the ‘antitopic’ element in Lambrecht (1994) and can be seen as an element that acts as a signalling flag which indicates exactly how the information carried by the sentence must be entered under a given address. More specifically, the TAIL is used to indicate that the focus material completes or alters in some way the entry pointed by the LINK, by assuming that the conveyed information must be construed with some of the knowledge already available in the address. This last notion will be taken up again in the next chapter, when the interpretive properties of right-dislocated elements will be at issue.

The primitive elements will have the following notations:

(a) FOCUS

Φ [information]

It is the (variable amount of) information that all the sentences must provide. It is called the ‘*focus operator*’ and it is a one-place operator, everything in its scope being informative.

¹⁶ However, Vallduvì treats Reinhart’s aboutness as an epiphenomenon being a consequence of the relation of links as address pointers with the informative part of the sentence: ‘if the information is retrieved and entered under a given address, the information will be felt as being about the denotation of that address’ (*ibid.* 60).

(b) LINK

$$\Lambda x, x = \alpha [x \Phi]$$

with Λx ('go to x ') & α ('address')

It instructs hearers to go to the address in the knowledge-store and enter the information provided by the sentence under that address. Since it escapes the scope of FOCUS [Φ], the capital lambda notation (Λ) fulfils the abstraction process binding a variable inside of [Φ]

(c) TAIL

$$\lambda x [\Phi x](\beta)$$

It further specifies how the information must be entered under a given address. Since it escapes the scope of FOCUS [Φ], the lowercase lambda notation (λ) fulfils the abstraction process binding a variable inside of [Φ]

From the considerations above, the application of the trinomial articulation will give rise to four different informational structures within a sentence:

(i) All-Focus structure:

$$\Phi [\text{focus}]$$

Descriptively, the ground (in all its sub-parts) is null. There is no need for any anchoring frame/address pointer for a least two reasons:

(a) The speaker assumes the hearer can infer from the context the address where she has to enter the information:

(108) a. A: Cosa ha rotto il liutaio?

B: IL CONTRABBASSO

Φ [il contrabbasso]

b. A: *What has the luthier broken?*

B: THE DOUBLE-BASS

Φ [the double-bass]

(b) No particular address is relevant for the entry of information; i.e. ‘situation address’ in classical *out-of-the-blue* phenomena:

- (109) a. A: Che cosa è successo?
 B: [_F Il liutaio ha rotto il contrabbasso]
Φ [il liutaio ha rotto il contrabbasso]
- b. A: What happened?
 B: [_F The luthier broke the double-bass]
Φ [the luthier broke the double-bass]

(ii) Link-Focus:

$$\Lambda x, x = \alpha[\Phi [x \text{ focus}]]$$

Descriptively, the only ground is the LINK. This is the classical *unmarked* type of topic-comment articulation (cf. Lambrecht, 1994: 181-182), where the hearer simply enter the information by adding it under the relevant address. It will be shortly shown that both CILD and ETOP are involved in this kind of construction. A standard pair is as follow:

- (110) a. Il topo [_F **ha morso un gatto**]
 $\Lambda x_1, x_1 = \text{il topo} [\Phi [x_1 \text{ ha morso un gatto}]]$
- b. The mouse [_F **bit a cat**]
 $\Lambda x_1, x_1 = \text{the mouse} [\Phi [x_1 \text{ bit a cat}]]$

(c) Tailful Constructions

(c1) Link-Focus-Tail:

$$\Lambda x_1, x_1 = \alpha [\lambda x_2 [\Phi [x_1 \text{ focus } x_2]]] (\beta)$$

(c2) Focus-Tail :

$$[\lambda x_2 [\Phi [\text{focus } x_2]]] (\beta)$$

Descriptively, both the notations above share the tail-element. As previously assumed, the tail is supposed to be a further instruction for guarantying the felicity

entry of the information under a given address. A pair of classical examples are given in (111-112):

(111) Il topo lo_1 [_F **ha morso**], il gatto₁
 $\Lambda x_1, x_1 = \text{il topo } [\lambda x_2 [\Phi [x_1 \text{ ha morso } x_2]] (\text{il gatto})$

(112) Il topo ha morso il cane?
 No. [_F **Il gatto**], ha morso
 $[\lambda x_2 [\Phi [\text{il gatto } x_2]] (\text{ha morso})$

Turning now to the crucial point, following Vallduvì's model, it is possible to assume that both CILD and ETOP should be seen as constructions involving a discourse-composition of the LINK-FOCUS type – as already suggested above in (110). In this particular case, the dislocated element acts as an instruction that the speaker makes prominent within the statement, in order to guide the hearer in updating the information under the file that it denotes. In order to make these considerations clearer, two examples will be offered, the first one from Catalan, the second one from Italian. In both the cases, the set of instructions implied in the construction is added at the bottom of each sentence:

(113) a. *Amb-aquest-tros-de-paperet₁ ja no hi₁ COMPTAVA t₁*
with-this-little-piece-of-paper anymore no obl Is-impf-count-on
 b. 'This little piece of paper I wasn't COUNTING on anymore'

$\Lambda x_2, x_2 = \text{amb-aquest-tros-de-paperet } [\Phi [x_1 \text{ no comptava } x_2]]$ ¹⁷

The set of instructions for the formal representation above should be split into three temporarily distinct steps:

- (1) retrieve the information in the focus <**no comptava**>
- (2) go to the address denoted by the LINK <**amb-aquest-tros-de-paperet**>
- (3) add the retrieved information <**no comptava**> under the address <**amb-aquest-tros-de-paperet**>

Vallduvì: (136)

¹⁷ The free variable x_1 stands for the null subject in the example above

- (114) a. Il libro₁, lo₁ ha già comprato
the book,_[I] itCL. have already bought
b. The book, I already bought

$\Delta x_2, x_2 = \text{il libro } [\Phi [x_1 \text{ già comprato } x_2]]$

As above, the hearer should suppose three distinct moments of information encoding: he should be able to retrieve the main information from the sentence above, namely the fact that a previously mentioned book has been already bought; he should then go to that particular file which the above-mentioned book denotes; and finally he should update the content of the file, by adding the already-bought information:

- (1) retrieve the information in the focus <già comprato>
- (2) go to the address denoted by the link <il libro>
- (3) add the retrieved information <già comprato> under the address <il libro>

3.2.2.2 Discourse coherence and POSET relations

Ward and Birner (2004) discuss the notion of *coherence* of discourse as the result of informational processes linking current utterances and prior context. In this sense, the hearer is able to encode speaker's assessments by tracking relationships between discourse entities – whose mention is retrieved in some sort of temporal past –, and at the same time, speaker's help is actualized in the positional manipulation of the syntactic structure, by making the informational status of a particular element, marked with respect to its canonical position. Thus, they assert:

“a variety of non-canonical-word-order constructions serve to mark the information status of their constituents, and at the same time facilitate processing through the positioning of various units of information. The speaker's choice of construction, then, serves to structure the informational flow of the discourse. [...] In such cases, the purpose of the non-canonical construction is precisely to enable the speaker to place information with a particular information status in a particular syntactic position, and the use of the construction therefore marks that information as having that status.” (W&B: 3-4)

From these considerations, the notion of *status* is considered with respect of the way the content is transmitted, having to do with the speaker's assessment of how the addressee is able to process what the former is saying against the background of a particular context (Chafe, 1976: 27) and, for this reason, the mapping of the “*background looking*” discourse status of the fronted NP-denotata (Gregory & Michaelis, 2001:1681) becomes (1) strongly settled by general pragmatic hierarchies such that of *givenness-newness* proposed in Gundel et al. (1993) and (2) relationally linked to their referents in the addressees' mind by POSET (Partially Ordered SET) relations (Hirschberg, 1991).

As for the first point, Gundel (1988, 1999), Gundel & Fretheim (2004) clearly differentiate between two types of givenness-newness categories, by suggesting a RELATIONAL GIVENNESS-NEWNESS (defining the pragmatic-informative status of the fronted element) and a REFERENTIAL GIVENNESS-NEWNESS (defining the relation the fronted element has with its referent). The first distinction – as already seen in §2.1 – goes back at least to the medieval Arab grammarians in their difference between *mubtada* ‘beginning’ and *xabar* ‘news’ – as opposed to the grammatical subject/predicate distinction (Goldenberg, 1988: 57) – and will come to play a central role within the tradition of the Prague School, through the use of the terms *theme* and *rheme* identifying ‘old’ and ‘new’ information respectively. Essentially, this category involves:

“a partition of the semantic/conceptual representation of a sentence into two complementary parts, X and Y, where X is what the sentence is about (the logical/psychological subject; see Gabelentz (1869) and Paul (1880)) and Y is what is predicated about X (the logical/psychological predicate). X is given in relation to Y in the sense that it is independent of, and outside the scope of, what predicted in Y. Y is new in relation to X in the sense that it is new information that is asserted, questioned, etc. about X” (G&F, 2004: 177)

In this sense, the relation between the two elements applies on the same level of representation, in a way independent of speaker's assumptions about the hearer's knowledge or attention state.

By contrast, the second distinction describes the relations between linguistic expressions and corresponding non-linguistic entities in the speaker/hearer's mind,

the discourse (model) or any possible world where referents and meanings are supposed to reside. This distinction includes many other previous proposals made in the past, such as the system of Activation and Identifiability States of Discourse Referents¹⁸ in Lambrecht (1994: 109) or the taxonomy of Assumed Familiarity in Prince (1992: 12-13), where a distinction between givenness and newness is evaluated with respect to both discourse and hearers, and four different informational types are proposed:

‘First, discourse entities may be considered old or new with respect to the hearer, or Hearer-old/Hearer-new. Second, they may be considered old or new with respect to the discourse, or Discourse-old/Discourse-new. [...] Thus we have a fairly complex interaction of the speaker’s beliefs about what the hearer knows, and does not yet know, and this interaction is crucially involved in the production and comprehension of each referring expression in discourse.’

The interaction between the different types is formalized in (tab. 2) and an example of this interaction is provided in (115):

(tab. 2)

¹⁸ “Identifiability and activation are independent cognitive categories, one having to do with knowledge (the set of representations which a speaker judges to have in common with an addressee at a given point in a discourse), the other with consciousness (the psychological factors determining the activation states of the discourse referents, responsible for discourse processing and understanding; cf. Chafe, 1974, 1987), the two correlates with each other in certain predictable ways. It is clear that a referent which is assumed to be unidentifiable to an addressee is necessarily outside the domain of the activation parameter, since an activation state requires the existence of a mental representation in the addressee’s mind.” The various terms in the system are summarized below:

IDENTIFIABILITY:

- (1) Unidentifiable > (1a) unanchored
 - > (1b) anchored
- (2) Identifiable => ACTIVATION > (2a) inactive
 - > (2b) accessible
 - > textually
 - > situationally
 - > inferentially
 - > (3b) active

In this sense, the detachment construction in Lambrecht can be defined pragmatically as a grammatical device used to promote a referent in the Scale from accessible to active status, from which point on it can be coded as a preferred topic expression, i.e. as an unaccented pronominal.

	DISCOURSE-NEW	DISCOURSE-OLD
HEARER-NEW	brand-new (Prince, 1981b)	[D.N.A.] ¹⁹
HEARER-OLD	unused	evoked

Prince, 1992: (26)

- (115) Il liutaio¹ ha scritto un nuovo spartito² e (lui)³ lo⁴ ha proposto al festival
that luthier has written a new score and he has performed it at the festival

In (115) the NP *il liutaio* is discourse-new but hearer-old (not evoked in the previous discourse, but assumed by the speaker to be previously known by the hearer; imagine the sentence to be immediately preceded by the simply ‘Hi, what are you doing?’); the AP *un nuovo spartito* is both discourse-new and hearer-new (neither previously mentioned, nor assumed to be known by the hearer); the two pronouns *lui* and *lo* are both discourse-old and hearer-old (coreferential, being both previously mentioned and known to the hearer). These data reflect the *partial* independence existing between discourse-status and hearer-status. Specifically, discourse-new entities could say nothing about the hearer-status (for example, a speaker can say “John Brown has written another book” and the possible answers can be either “really!” or “who is he?”), at the same time hearer-old entities can say nothing about discourse-status (since a referent could have been already known before the instantiation of the discourse, or not). Conversely, discourse-old entities are necessarily hearer-old entities and analogously hearer-new entities are necessarily discourse-new entities. In this sense, the acronym in (tab. 1) is legitimated by the fact that both the possible matching alternatives (discourse-old & hearer-new; hearer-new & discourse-old) would give rise to contradictory results.

Turning back to Gundel et al. (1993), the GIVENNESS HIERARCHY – which is thought as a set of processing instructions in Gundel (2003) and Gundel et al (2004) – can be defined as an ordered set of the different cognitive statuses (memory and attention states) that the intended referent is assumed to have in the mind of the

¹⁹ The acronym stands for ‘Do Not Attested’.

addressee. It should account for the fact that some determiners and pronouns constrain the possible interpretations:²⁰

(def. 6) GIVENNESS HIERARCHY

(each status entail all the statuses to the right on the hierarchy)

[it]: *in focus* associate a representation that attention is currently focused on > [this/that/this N]: *activated*
associate a representation from the working memory > [that N]: *familiar* associate a representation already present in
memory > [the N]: *uniquely identifiable* associate a unique representation by the time the nominal is processed
> [indefinite this N]: *referential* associate a unique representation by the time the sentence is processed > [a
N]: *type identifiable* identify what kind of thing it is

The independence of the two categories is easily testable in the dialogue below, taken from Gundel et al. (2004).

(116) Speaker A: Who called?
Speaker B: Pat said that SHE called

When *SHE* is coreferential to *Pat*, it is referentially given in any case, being able to occupy any possible rank in the given hierarchy, but it is, at the same time, relationally new since it provides new complement information, within the given part of the embedded sentence, *x called*.

As Ward (1988) and Ward and Birner (1996, 2004) suggest, the discussion above is highly predictive once applied to the analysis of discourse functions for CILD and ETOP constructions, since they mark the fronted element as familiar within

²⁰ With respect to the linguistic form responsible for the activation state of a particular referent within the sentence, several other hierarchies rating degrees of Accessibility have been proposed in the literature. Ziv (1994), for example, in his analysis of Discourse Anaphora adopts the Accessibility Marking Theory proposed by Ariel (1990). In this model, *unstressed pronouns* are claimed to occupy a position higher on the accessibility scale than their *stressed* counterparts and these, in turn, are rated higher than *proper names* and *definite descriptions*:

“Accordingly, unstressed pronouns designate discourse referents that are highly accessible (characteristically by virtue of having been activated recently), stressed pronouns are used to refer to entities that are less highly accessible (and are dependent on the physical or contextual salience of the referent or its discourse representation), and proper names and definite descriptions designate discourse referents that are least accessible (and could theoretically refer to entities that are not part of the discourse up to the point where reference is established, but rather constitute part of the interlocutors’ knowledge of the world).” (Ziv, 1994: 633)

the discourse, and thus they implement the previous hierarchy with the proposal that the element carrying given information in CILD and ETOP should be related to the preceding discourse through various kinds of POSET relations:²¹

‘preposing in English is associated with a more general function of marking the preposed constituent as representing information standing in a contextually licensed partially ordered set relationship with information invoked in or inferable from prior context’ (W&B, 1998: 95)²²

These partially ordered sets include: *identity* (117), *type/subtype* (118), *set/member* (119), *part/whole* (120), thus implying either coreferential relation between fronted element and relevant poset – as in the first case – or a more complex relation between them – as in the latter three.

(117) IDENTITY (is-equal-to)

A: Can I have an electric double-bass?

B: No, sorry. Electric double-basses we’re out of.

(118) TYPE/SUBTYPE (is-a-subtype-of)

A: Do you still have any double-bass left?

B: Well, we’re almost out of double-basses. But an electric one I can still give you.

(119) SET/MEMBERS (is-a-member-of)

A: Do you still have any instrument left?

B: Well, only theremins I can give you.

(120) PART/WHOLE (is-a-part-of)

A: Do you think I can restart using my double-bass?

B: I don’t know. The fingerboard I repaired just yesterday evening.

In a similar fashion, the same considerations are equally valid for the corresponding CILD constructions (121-124):

²¹ Posets are defined by a partial ordering R on some set of entities, $\{e\}$, such that, for all e_1 , e_2 , and e_3 that are elements of $\{e\}$, R is either reflexive, transitive, and antisymmetric or, alternatively, irreflexive, transitive, and asymmetric (Hirschberg, 1985).

²² Prince (1997: 128) comes to the same conclusion: “Topicalization triggers an inference on the part of the hearer that the entity represented by the initial NP stands in a salient partially-ordered set relation to some entity or entities already evoked in the discourse-model.”

- (121) IDENTITY (is-equal-to)
 A: Posso avere un contrabbasso elettrico?
 B: No, mi dispiace. I contrabbassi elettrici, li abbiamo finiti tutti
- (122) TYPE/SUBTYPE (is-a-subtype-of)
 A: Avete ancora qualche contrabbasso?
 B: Beh, i contrabbassi sono quasi finiti. Uno elettrico, però, posso ancora dartelo.
- (123) SET/MEMBERS (is-a-member-of)
 A: Avete ancora qualche strumento?
 B: Beh, insomma. Un theremin, ad esempio, potrei sempre dartelo.
- (124) PART/WHOLE (is-a-part-of)
 A: Credi che possa ricominciare ad usare il mio contrabbasso?
 B: Non saprei. Il manico, l'ho riparato solo ieri sera.

Finally, as a concluding remark, the notion of ‘*open proposition*’ is discussed in Prince (1997: 127), as a construction involving a preposed constituents other than focus (Ward & Birner, 2004: 160; *focus-presupposition* in Prince, 1985).

Prince essentially suggests that ETOP needs further specifications. Inside the POSET inferences analyzed above and clearly detectable in both CILDs and HT(LD)s which will be shortly discussed, the ETOP fulfils a second specific function which does not share – for obvious reasons – with its similar constructions: namely, that of marking an open proposition as the result of the replacement of the tonically stressed constituent (in the clause) with a variable meant to represent salient and appropriate information in the hearer’s mind at that point in the discourse. A notable example is given below:

- (125) She had an idea for the project. She’s going to use three groups of mice. One_i, she’ll feed them_i mouse chow, just the regular stuff they make for mice. Another_j, she’ll feed them_j veggies. And the third_z she’ll feed [e_z] junk food.
 (Prince, 1997: (9e))

Leaving aside the first two LDs, which will be later discussed, the topicalized element in the last sentence above accomplishes this double function. The NP *the third*

triggers the classical POSET inference, implying its referent to be a member of a salient already-evoked set – the set of the three groups of mice – and subsequently a variable yields the open proposition and its instantiation:

OP: She will feed the third {the third \in the three groups of mice} X

INST: X = junk food

This means that the hearer is assumed to be attending to the fact that the agent is planning a feeding experiment, feeding each group of mice something different. As Prince observes, the same expectation would not be possible if topicalization is used in the other cases. Consider for instance, the example below and two admissible information-structures:

(126) She had an idea for the project. She's going to use three groups of mice. One_i, she'll feed [e_i] mouse chow...

OP: She will feed one {one \in the three groups of mice} X

INST: X = mouse chow

OP: She will X one {one \in the three groups of mice}

INST: X = feed mouse chow

In the first case, it seems that the only experiments possible with mice are the feeding ones, which is indeed not the case; as for the second case, things are exactly the opposite, three different experiments have been planned for the three different groups of mice, which is still not case.

3.2.2.3 Split-CILD and functional sub-layers

This final section should be seen – at a certain extent – as a preliminary recapitulation of some of the considerations made above in the previous paragraphs, and at the same time a possible starting point for some new insightful suggestions which aim to sketch a comprehensive map of the interpretive factors implied in the fronting constructions here at issue. In this sense, the peculiar iterability of the fronted elements in the Romance-type Topicalization is here re-evaluated in the light

knowledge about, request information about, or otherwise get the addressee to act with respect to E'.²³ The possibility of shifting the referent is crucial in the sense that it can be interpreted as the constituent that is 'newly introduced, newly changed or newly returned to' as in Givón (1983: 8). An example from the LIP corpus is offered in (127):

(127) Il materiale era tantissimo quindi all'inizio l'ho fatto tutto di corsa cercando di impiegarci il tempo che dicevate voi magari facendolo un po' superficialmente pur di prendere tutto- [l'ultima unit] la sto facendo l'ho lasciata un po' da parte perché ho ricominciato il ripasso...

The material was quite a lot, so at the beginning I did it in a rush, trying to do it all in the time that you had fixed, maybe a little superficially, so as to do everything- I'm doing the last unit now, I put it aside before because I had started to go through the program again...

The second type of topic – signalled by the peak of the pitch accent all over the tonic vowel – is identified as carrying the *contrastive* reading in the hierarchy above. Following Frascarelli & Hiterhölzl, it is characterized by the fact that it introduces alternatives, thus creating oppositional pairs with respect to other topics; consider for instance the example below:

(128) Cioè, *il senso generale* lo capisco (riguardo al particolare...)
I mean, the sense general it.CL [I] understand (moving to specific issues...)

Crucially, the interpretive property deemed to be at work for this type of topic becomes highly relevant if reconsidered in the light of the observations made before, especially when discussing the nature of the Poset relations instantiated by the topicalized constructions. For instance, the isolation of a distinctive feature of the contrastive type seems to be perfectly in line with some new insightful observations towards ETOP made within recent functionalist literature. As a matter of fact, Gundel

²³ The *uniqueness* condition of the aboutness topic is here left pending. Indeed, the definition in F&H (2007): 'our corpus clearly shows that shifting topics are not recursive – a sentence can only contain one shifting topic' is problematic when mutually related referents are introduced (also note the number optionality of the clitic element):

(i) Marco o Roberto, qualcuno avrà pur dovuto chiamarli/lo
either Marco or Roberto, somebody should have called him.CL/them.CL

& Fretheim (2004) suggest that a more refined characterization of ETOP is indeed admissible. Assuming the multi-functional nature of CILD, they specifically propose that the *distinctive* condition for licensing topics in ETOP, is precisely that of introducing implicit oppositions between possible alternatives, rather than being just a bare device for re-introducing old aboutness topics, as commonly thought since Rodman (1974). The specific example is provided in (129) below: depending on the stress adopted, (129) can be at the same time either the answer to the question in (130), introducing for this reason an Informational Focus, or the answer of (131), where it seems more luckily to introduce a topic with a contrastive reading, called by them Contrastive Topic:

(129) The beans, Fred ate (while the peas...)

(130) What did Fred ate?

(131) What about the beans? Who ate them?

It seems, then attempting to assume that the POSET relations described in Ward & Birner (1996), and extensively discussed in the preceding section, are still a sufficient mechanism regulating the referential givenness between the information conveyed in the left-dislocated constituent and that evocable/inferable from the prior context, but at the same time, these partially ordered set relationships (the case of *identity* trivially excluded) could further be seen as automatic opposition triggers, on the basis of the constructions above. In this sense, further implementations for the pragmatic conditions constraining ETOPs are thus admissible. The same, of course, does also hold for CILD, since one is assuming that the same contrastive function, in a fashion identical to ETOP, is openly involved, but at the same time, only CILD, but not ETOP, seems to license a truly shifting topic not necessarily introduced in the previous context. The analysis in on LDs exposed in the next section will make things clearer. For the moment, just consider the sentence below, where no previous reference has been devoted to the ‘T-shirt’:

(132) A: What can you tell me about *the party*?

B: Nothing. ?* But [this T-shirt on the sofa], I love

B’: Niente. Ma [questa maglietta sulla poltrona], la adoro

It seems clear, that in (132B) a real topic-shift is not perfectly acceptable in a context where no mention had been detected for the T-shirt standing on the sofa, while the same is perfect allowable in a language, like Italian, who has an informational device which is eventually less constraint than that found for English, but for sure more extendible to further types of topic constructions.

Finally, the last type of topic, the *familiar* ones, are realized with a low tone on the tonic vowel, thus being identified with a L* pitch accent. They occupy the lowest-topic projection; they don't need to be definite (132), nor even specific (133) (Bianchi, 2008); they are part of the already established familiar information, assumed to be always highly accessible (134):

(133) [Qualche difficoltà], l'abbiamo incontrata
some difficulties, [we] it.CL run into
 Bianchi, 2008: (15)

(134) [Una baby-sitter], l'hai poi trovata,?
a baby-sitter [you] it.CL. have then found

(135) A: io dovevo studiare le regole qui e lì fare solo esercizio, invece mi aspettavo di trovare dei punti a cui far riferimento ogni volta per vedere la regola, questo mi è mancato praticamente per avere *la conferma* di ricordare tutto insomma;
 A: comunque quelle domande ti davano *la conferma* che avevi capito;
 B: ma...magari non me la- non riesco a darmela da sola *la conferma*.

B: I was supposed to study rules here and do the exercises there, while I expected to find some outlines I could refer to, at any point, to check the relevant rule, this is what I missed, to check that I could remember everything;

A: however those questions gave you the possibility to check your understanding;

B: well, maybe I cannot make this check on my own

Moreover, they are the only iterable ones, and crucially, the only admissible for right-dislocated constructions, as it will be extensively shown in Ch. 4:

(136) Dovremmo darglieli, i libri, a Gianni
[we] should give-him.CL-them.CL, the books to John

As a concluding remark, it should be worth nothing that an atomic splitting of the topic system as the one proposed in this last section seems to be certainly highly appealing from a theoretical point of view, given the generalized aim within the cartographic framework of trying to strike a balance between the structural complexity of syntactic objects and the underlying simplicity of their basic constituents. At the same time, however it seems to be far from being a strict representation of a well-defined one-to-one correspondence between discourse functions and syntactic positions. In this respect, the range of variation in the positioning of multiple dislocated topic in the case of the Italian language remains, in the light of this work, still too unconstrained and very little predictable given the hierarchy below, which is certainly functionally adequate, but still syntactically deficient (cf. Cruschina, 2008: 17 for a similar observation).

Moreover, turning briefly to the prosodic side of the proposal, convincing arguments against an isomorphic relation between the intonational structure and the informational structure of the sentence have been recently put forward by Bocci (2009) who analyzes the role of the L* marking accent in Italian and its mirroring-relation with the given material. Since the Italian language allows right-familiar topics to not be restricted to postfocal contexts, it turns out that when a given topic precedes a focus phrase, the former receives a full PA accent (H+L*), rather than a L*, thus weakening any direct connection between discourse roles and phonological realizations in the topic system. This argument will be taken up again in §4.2.1.

3.2.3 Summary

From a syntactic perspective, CILD and ETOP share the fact that they can affect any major category and that they are sensitive to island constraints. CILD opts for a resumptive element of the clitic type – mandatory in case of direct objects – while ETOP selects an empty category through a null anaphoric operator. CILD allows multiple dislocations, ETOP does not. From a functional perspective, it has been proposed that both the dislocated topics fulfil the function of LINK, addressing the hearer to the specific entry where she has to add the relevant information. At the same time, both the constructions serve to trigger inferences with the prior discourse, by creating relations with some entities already introduced in the context of discourse. Recent proposals suggest that CILD cover several functional properties,

diverging from ETOP for the inability of this latter for shifting on a not-previously established topic.

3.4.1 Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD): syntactic properties

Prototypical examples of HTLD are given in (137-139):

(137) Mario, gli amici gli hanno fatto un brutto scherzo
Mario, the friends to-him.CL have done a bad joke
Benincà & Poletto, 2004: (33a)

(138) Giorgio, hanno parlato bene di lui
Giorgio, [they] talked well of him
Benincà et al., 1988

(139) Giorgio, hanno parlato bene di quel furbacchione
Giorgio, [they] talked well of that slyboots
Benincà et al., 1988

HTLD involves a non-vocative detached XP (*Giorgio*) in the left periphery of the sentence with a *possible* referential element (*gli/di lui/di quel furbacchione*) available inside the sentence.²⁴

Like CILD, HTLD is a syntactic phenomenon attested in several Romance languages, such as French (140), Occitan (141), Portuguese (142) and Spanish (143):

(140) a. (*A) Pierre, je pense toujours à lui
*(*to) Pierre, I always think of him*
Cinque, 1977: (fn. 12iii)

²⁴ Villalba (2000: 116) makes a distinction with HTLD and a similar construction that he calls Metalinguistic topic such as:

(1) Con Maria (dici)? Devo parlare con lei assolutamente
To Mary (you say)? I should absolutely talk to her

This construction is not relevant for the present analysis.

- b. (*De) mes fils, je ne suis pas fier d'eux
 (*of) my children, I am not proud of them
 Cinque, 1977: (fn. 12iv)

- (141) Joan, li ai parlat
Joan, [I] with-him talked
 Sauzet, 1989: 237, from Villalba, 2000: (85a)
- (142) (*Com) a Ana, o João jantou com ela ontem
 (*with) Ana, João ate with her yesterday
 Mateus et al.; 1983: 229ff, from Villalba, 2000: (86a)
- (143) (*A) Carlos, yo no le daría nada a él
 (*to) Carlos, I NEG to-him.CL give anything to him
 Escobar, 1995: 87, from Villalba, 2000: (87b)

As already said in the introduction of some preliminary differences within the range of fronting construction, HTLD and CILD differ for a number of syntactic and interpretive properties clearly detectable in Italian language. At the same time, ELD will be shown to obey the same structural restrictions constraining its Italian counterpart, sharing with it functional similarities. For the moment, the syntactic properties are taken into account:

- (i) The lefthand phrase can be of category NP only:²⁵

- (144)a. [_{NP} Tuo fratello], ho incontrato proprio lui ieri al cinema
your brother, [I] have met exactly him yesterday at the cinema

²⁵ This restriction is somehow controversial. Cinque (1983: fn 5) puts forward the idea that subcategorization could be diagnostically relevant in this respect: *all those phrases which are not dependent on the predication contained in the associated sentence for assignment of a thematic role can appear in the lefthand position of the HTLD construction. Thus, typically, bare NPs and PPs not subcategorized by the predicate in the associate sentence:*

- (1) A Parigi, invece, ... conosco più di una persona che dice che là piove pochissimo
in Paris, on the other hand, ... I know various people who say that there it rains very little

Villalba (2000: 84) contrasts this hypothesis by claiming that this is indeed a case of CILD, being perfectly possible that the PP depend on the higher clause. The following example from Catalan, where another PP in the higher clause makes the sentence ungrammatical, can be taken as evidence of the fact that *the adverb là* in (1) would make anaphoric reference to the null resumptive element in the matrix clause, thus rejecting the status of HTLD:

- (2) *A París, en canvi, ... tinc amics a Barcelona que em diuen que allà plou moltíssim

b. [NP David], I'm not going to give him any of the personal stuff
DCPSE (DI-C02 0323)

[NP Incidental music], you can't time it
DCPSE (DI-D03 0070)

(145)a. * [PP Di quel problema], abbiamo discusso accanitamente di ciò tutto il pomeriggio
about that problem, of-it.CL [we] have discussed fiercely the whole afternoon

b. * [PP Of that problem], we discussed the whole afternoon of it

(146)a. * [AP Intelligente], sicuramente non è così
clever, definitely [it] Neg it.CL is

b. * [AP Clever], she is not for sure so

(147)a. * [VP Rinchiuso in gabbia], non è mai stato così
locked in a cage, [he]Neg it.CL has ever been

b. * [VP Locked in a cage], he has never been it

(148)a. * [CP Che il problema non sia facile], dicono tutti ciò
that the problem is not easy, it.CL says everybody

b. [CP That no one was there], he said it to Mark

(ii) There is no possibility of multiple dislocated phrases in Italian; the same holds for English:

(149) * [A Gianni]₁, [di questo libro]₂, non ne hanno mai parlato a lui
to Gianni of this book [they] Neg to-him of it have ever talked
cf. (67) above

(150) * [A Giorgio]₁, [io]₂, [un lavoro]₃, non posso offrirlo a lui
to Giorgio I a job [I] Neg can offer to-him.CL-it.CL
cf. (68) above

(151) * [Tuo fratello]₁, [Maria]₂, lei ama lui
your brother, Mary, she loves him
Cinque, 1983: (10)

(152) * [Bill]₁, [Sue]₂, [that damn snake]₃, he told her to get it out of their sleeping bag (cf:fn 7)

(153) * [Your book]₁, [to John]₂, you should give it to him

(iii) Since HT(LD)s are not recursive, no ordering issue arises.

(iv) The dislocated phrase can occur only in the front of root clauses:

(154) * Credo che [Mario], lui non venga
[I] think that Mario, he NEG. come
Cinque, 1983: (11)

(155) * Mi sembra che, [Giorgio], nessuno abbia mai parlato male a lui
to-me it seems that to Giorgio anybody has ever spoken ill (of) to-him

(156) * Le bambine giocavano in giardino, quando [Marco], hanno riportato a casa lui
the little girls were playing in the garden, when Mark, [they] brought home him

(157) % Sono certa, questo libro, che non ne abbia mai parlato nessuno
[I] am sure this book that nobody of-it.CL has spoken
Benincà & Poletto, 2004: 39b

(158) % I professori hanno detto, quello studente che ne parleranno domani in consiglio
Professors said that student that they of-him.CL will speak tomorrow at the meeting
Belletti, 2008: 29a

The same seems equally valid for ELD, but again this point will be explicitly taken into consideration in Ch. 5, when the cross-linguistic evidence to the left will show clear asymmetries between classes of embedded sentences, some of which are truly grammatical, some of which are not :

(159) a. * If [my father], he comes home late, my mother always grill him
b. * It started to rain after [Jackie and me], we had finally gotten to our seats
Ross, 1967/1986: (b-c)

(160) a. Carl told me that this book, it has the recipes in it
Hooper & Thompson, 1973: 51

b. It's strange that this book, it has all the recipes in it

(v) The resumptive element is always required in Italian, agreeing with the dislocated NP in number and gender:

- (161) [Mario], non *(ne) parla più nessuno
Mario, NEG. of-him.CL. talk anymore nobody
Benincà & Poletto, 2004: (36c)

The same holds for English, where a disambiguating context is necessary:

- (162) A: What do you think about this guitar?
B: Not so much! But [this double-bass], I really love *(it)

(vi) The resumptive element can either be a clitic or a strong pronoun. Epithets (anaphoric phrases) are grammatical as well, both in Italian and English:

- (163) [Il liutaio], non *gli* darò mai il mio contrabbasso
the luthier, [I] NEG to-him.CL will give ever my double-bass

- (164) [Il liutaio], non darò mai il mio contrabbasso *a lui*
the luthier, [I] NEG will give ever my double-bass to him

- (165) [Il liutaio], non darò mai il mio contrabbasso a quel maldestro
the luthier, [I] NEG will give ever my double-bass to that clumsy

- (166) [The luthier], I will never give my double-bass *to that clumsy*

(vii) There is no connectedness between the lefthand phrase and the resumptive element:

- (167) [Il liutaio], non voglio aver(*ci*) proprio niente a che fare (*con lui*)
the luthier, [I] NEG want to get involved-LOC with-him.CL

- (168) [The luthier], I spilt some paint *on him*

(vii) The relation between the lefthand phrase and the resumptive element is not sensitive to island constraints (as already noted in Cinque, 1977 for Italian (cf. 52-54); and Ross, 1967, for English):

(169) [Il liutaio], ho incontrato il ragazzo che *gli* ha prestato quel manuale di riparazione
the luthier, [I] met the boy who to-him.CL has lent that repairing manual

(170) [This luthier], I accept the argument that John should kill him

As for CILD and ETOP the syntactic properties so far discussed are summarized below:

(tab.3)

	Romance HTLD	English LD
(i) Category	NPs	NPs
(ii) Iterability	*	*
(iii) Ordering	–	–
(iv) Context	root ⁽¹⁾ non-root	root ⁽¹⁾ non-root
(v) Resumptive element	clitic/tonic/epithet	tonic/epithet
(vi) Connectedness	*	*
(vii) Island sensitivity	*	*

3.3.2 Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD): interpretive properties

The definitions of *hanging topic* given in Cinque (1977: 406; 1983: 95) are still very intuitive in their simplicity:

‘hanging topic reading exemplifies a construction that mainly serves to promote an NP to topic status at the point in the discourse when it was not a topic. In HTLD the lefthand phrase is used to bring up or shift attention to a new or unsuspected topic’

This is essentially in line with what Rodman (1974: 33) suggests for ELD, as already seen in (39-43) and repeated below, in this sense assuming the construction to be quite unnatural with an already established (and thematized) topic.

(171) A: What can you tell me about *John*?

(172) B: [John] Mary kissed

(173) * [John], Mary kissed *him*

(174) B: Nothing. But [Bill], Mary kissed *him*

(175) Nothing. * But [Bill] Mary kissed

The same proposals are also found in Reinhart (1981: 64): ‘LD is used to change the current topic of the conversation, and to introduce a new one’, and in Ziv (1994: 633): ‘LD has basically introductory functions; it either introduce or reintroduce a referent into the discourse that is judged not to be in the foreground of the listener’s consciousness’. Quite different ideas, however are found elsewhere in the literature. This is indeed the case of Chafe (1976: 49), who defines LD as a ‘*marking contrast*’ construction, thus offering the example below:

(176) (As for) the play, John saw it yesterday

Chafe simply assumes that the speaker is making explicit a specific item from a *list* of things that are being paired: as for why ‘*the play*’ should be placed at the beginning of such contrastive sentence, it is evidently a given item from a list which is being run through (explicitly or implicitly), whereas ‘*yesterday*’ is being brought in as new information to be paired with it. The opposite arrangement, *Yesterday, John saw the play*, evidently belongs in a context where the speaker (again either explicitly or implicitly) is running through a list of given times, and pairing with them various items that John saw at those times. Similarly, Benincà & Poletto (2004: 62) claim that HTLD needs to be *known information* in some sense and their List Interpretation (LI) proposal could be in some sense extended to the conclusions reached above in Chafe (1976). In the example below, for instance, two elements belonging to the same list of already known items are contrasted and discussed:

Context: [parents talking about the eventuality of revealing their son their problem]

(177) ? Gianni, non gli ho ancora parlato di quel problema, Maria invece, le ho già detto tutto
*John, [I] NEG to-him.CL already told about that problem, Maria conversely [I] to-her
already told everything*

The complexity of the phenomenon and the vagueness of all the suggestions above are sharply recapitulated in several works of Prince (1984, 1985, 1997), which are still considered the most detailed investigations on LDs, and highly supported by strong empirical evidence. Prince (1997: 119) thus asserts:

‘no single function can in fact account for all Left-Dislocations, since what we are subsuming under the single syntactic rubric of ‘Left-Dislocation’ in fact comprises at least three different form-function correlations: (1) *simplifying discourse processing*, (2) *triggering a (po)set inference*, and (3) *amnestying an island violation*.’

As for the first function, a clear example for English – no difference would arise in the Italian counterpart – is adapted from DCPSE:

(178) And now we are sitting in a house on a piece of ground where you kept ponies, isn't it? In that corner?

That's true Mark, that's true! And there was Miss Mahan ('s house), and now that's where the vicarage is going to be, in the back of that. The last vicar's left now, he's just finished his last service, Baptists! He's gone to Glastonbury, and there's no one been appointed here yet but it will be about two months I think. There's a canon officiating here now, I know it's Canon somebody. Well, I know somebody's coming here in the meantime.

And how are we going to shoot the canon?

Uhm.. *Young Cochran*, he knows quite a bit about the church, he bought the place over her and her has sold what he bought to the local combine called diocese.

(DI-B23 0184 – DI-B23 0215)

Here, what seems sufficiently crucial is the fact that the NP *young Cochran*, involve a Discourse-new entity, regardless of whether the hearer is assumed to already know about it or not. In this sense, speakers are forced to use specific dedicated positions *outside* the sentence when promoting new-discourse entities, since some others targets, such as the subject ones, are strongly disfavoured for the same purpose. Consider for instance the odd variant in (179b) adapted from Enç (1986). Only after the fronting process is complete, the element can be freely related to some sort of resumptive element within the sentence.

(179) Once there was a wizard. He was very wise, rich, and was married to a beautiful witch. He lived in a magnificent mansion by the lake, had forty-nine servants, and owned an impressive collection of rare books.

a. Now the king, he was always very nice with that witch

b. # Now the king was always very nice with that witch

This type of function is thus defined in Prince (1997: 124) as a simplifying device:

‘a Simplifying Left-Dislocation serves to simplify the discourse processing of Discourse-new entities by removing them from a syntactic position disfavoured for Discourse-new entities and creating a separate processing unit for them. Once that unit is processed and they have become Discourse-old, they may comfortably occur in their position within the clause as pronouns’

The second function – which HT(LD)s shares with ETOP and CILD – relies in its possibility of triggering poset relations. Consider the two examples below, the first from DCPSE, the second is adapted from Prince (1997: (9f)) :

(180) So I thought I’d combine the whole thing and I had it all planned and did some cooking yesterday, and then it turned out mummy and daddy couldn’t make it.

Oh that’s a bore!

So I’m hoping they’ll come next week but uh, they are so busy at the moment. I think *mummy*, *she* worries me actually, still every time I go in now, she looks so tired and worn.

(DL-B33 0214 – DL-B33 0219)

(181) “My father loves crispy rise,” says Samboon, “so we must have it on the menu”. And *rice nuddle, too*, he loves *it* just as much.

In both the cases, the entity represented by the initial NP is not necessarily discourse-new; moreover in the second example, the coreferential pronoun is in object position, which is prototypically a slot for discourse-new entities: the simplifying condition then, is not at issue. Rather, both the dislocated elements trigger an inferential relation with some entity previously evoked in the discourse. In this case, too, LD barely serves to trigger an inference for the hearer: again, the entity represented by the initial NP stands in a salient partially-ordered set relation to some entity or entities already evoked in the discourse-model, a set/member relations in both cases.

Finally, LDs’ insensitivity to islands constraints – as already detected in the previous paragraph – can be seen as a syntactic device preventing structural violations on long-distance dependencies, namely when ETOP is interpretive valid, but structurally illicit. Consider, for instance the dialogue below:

(182) A: You bought shoes?

B: No, this is Tom’s pair

- (183) A: My shoes_i, Mark has [e_i]
(184) A: * My shoes_i, I don't know who has [e_i]
(185) A: My shoes_i, I don't know who has them_i

Arguably both (183) and (184) yield the same open proposition, the variable being *Mark* in the former case and *I don't know who* in the latter case, but topic extraction can only be overcome using an instance of LD (185).

3.3.3 Summary

From a syntactic perspective, HT(LD) are clearly distinct from CILD and ETOP. They are generally restricted to NPs, they can occur mainly in root contexts only. The resumptive element can either be a clitic pronoun, a tonic pronoun or even an epithet. There is no recursion, no connectedness between resumptive element and dislocated element, nor island sensitivity. From an interpretive point of view, it simplifies discourse processing when an element is being promoted on the topic scale, and can trigger poset relations as previously seen for CILD and ETOP.

3.4 Conclusions

In this chapter the main syntactic and interpretive properties at work for the phenomena involving the left periphery of the sentence in Italian and English have been isolated. Following a cross-linguistic perspective, the CILD has been continuously compared with the ETOP, with which it shares the same syntactic behaviour with respect to island sensitivity and the possibility of pre-posing any possible category. CILD opts for a resumptive element of the clitic type – mandatory in case of direct objects – while ETOP selects an empty category through a null anaphoric operator. The first can involve multiple topics, while the latter does not. From a functional perspective, both the dislocated topics act as a LINK, addressing the hearer to the specific entry where she has to add the relevant information, and both the constructions trigger inferences with the prior discourse, by creating relations with some entities already introduced in the discourse. The possibility that CILD covers several functional properties, diverging from ETOP for the inability of the latter for shifting on a not-previously established topic, has been also discussed. In

parallel, the HTLD construction has been investigated. It has been shown that this construction is not sensitive to the island constraints and it generally involves only bare NPs. As for the resumptive element involved, it can either opt for a clitic pronoun, a strong pronoun or even an epithet. From an interpretive point of view, it mainly simplifies discourse processing when an element is being promoting on the topic scale.

The main aim beyond a specific analysis of this sort is essentially based on the fact that a well-made investigation of the phenomena detected to the right cannot be completely exhaustive without making strong comparisons with the range of phenomena detected to the left, since two peripheral areas are involved, and presumably similar discourse-related features would be entailed. In this sense, the chapter just discussed should be seen as a referring point for the following investigation of the syntactic and the interpretive properties at work in the right periphery of the sentence, so as to check whether the same mechanisms involved into the left can equally arise to the right.

At the same time, one crucial aspect of the analysis has been left pending throughout the chapter. Indeed, the root(-like) nature of the English constructions, has opposed to the non-root(-like) status of CILD has only been here briefly introduced. As it will be extensively discussed in Chapter 5, this syntactic/interpretive dependency will turn out to have important consequences – both intra-linguistically ad cross-linguistically – once the derivational account proposed for CIRD in the next chapter will be extended to the analysis of the English RD in Chapter 5. In this respect, it will be discussed whether the possibility for a discourse-related sentence to allow dislocated elements in its right periphery, must be made dependent to a possible root/non-root(-like) distinction.

Chapter 4

The Romance Right-Dislocation and elusive facts about English

4.0 Introduction

While linguistic theory has constantly devoted great attention to the investigation of the syntactic configurations and the discourse functions involved in the dislocation of topics in Romance fronting constructions – as extensively seen in the previous chapter – detailed examinations of the mechanisms at work for right-dislocated constituents have generally gone underrated until the last decade when new insights have been offered to the understanding of the phenomenon (Kayne 1994, 1995; Belletti 1999, 2004a, 2008; Cecchetto 1999; Cardinaletti 2001; Samek-Lodovici 2006; De Cat 2007; Bocci 2009; *inter alia*). The general oversight essentially lies in both formal elusiveness and internal theoretical complications. As for the first case, traditional grammar has always considered the phenomenon – fairly common in spoken language – to be tightly connected to that wide class of linguistic expressions generally banned in high-standard speech and crucially controversial in writing discourse. For instance, it is an emblematic fact that only in recent times, special emphasis on the apparent *illicitness* of some spoken constructions has been adequately stressed by sociolinguistic scholars, such as Berruto (1986a; 1987) and Sabatini (1985), who strongly support the idea that linguistic sub-standards, widespread at several levels, should be considered as integrated part of the standard domain (hence, the coinage of words such as *neo-standard* Italian, or *Italiano tendenziale* as in Mioni, 1983a). In this sense, the folkloristic use and the marked unsuitability of RD construction are strongly reanalyzed in the light of new communicative and social processes which confirm the tendency toward a more liberal use of special constructions and non-canonical expressions generally excluded in formal standards.²⁶ In this spirit, the new tendency is seen as convincing argument

²⁶ Berruto (1987: 62): ‘nello sviluppo recente dell’italiano, è indubbio che si sono affermati, o si vanno affermando, o ci sono sintomi che cominciano ad affermarsi, come standard costrutti, forme e realizzazioni che non erano presentate nel canone ammesso dalle grammatiche e dai manuali, o che, quando vi erano menzionate, lo venivano quali costrutti, forme e realizzazioni del linguaggio popolare o familiare o volgare, oppure regionali, e quindi da evitare nel ben parlare e scrivere. [...] Un primo settore della grammatica in cui è evidente la larga accettazione e l’incipiente standardizzazione di

in favor of the possibility for linguistic research to enlarge its domain of application, so as to include progressively larger classes of natural expressions into the range of relevant phenomena.

As for the second case, at least two complications are here at issue. First of all, the conflicting relation with the *afterthought* mechanism (a possible Italian translation found in the literature is ‘ripensamento’, Berruto, 1986: 67) has often yielded research to misleading interpretations with regard to the exact functional nature of RD (Givón, 1976; Geluykens, 1987, especially for English language) and critically altered its independent status. This fundamental distinction will be adequately stressed in §4.3. Second, post-position has always proved to be a tremendous challenge for standard syntactic analysis, being for its structural nature, a massive violation on the directionality of movement. Kayne’s *Antisymmetry of Syntax* (1994) is an unavoidable constraint in this respect:

“the picture of the human language is rigidly inflexible when it comes to the relation between hierarchical structure and linear order” – *hence*, the formulation of the LCA axiom: $d(A)$ is a linear ordering of T – “where heads necessarily precede their associated complement position and adjuncts must always be to the left, never to the right. The implications of this new picture of the human language faculty are widespread. Right adjunction has standardly been assumed in the characterization of various constructions. *Every one of these constructions must be rethought in a way compatible with the unavailability of right adjunction.* The range is substantial: *right dislocation*, right node raising, relative clause extraposition, comparative and result clause extra-position, heavy NP shift, coordination, multiple complements and multiple adjuncts, possessives like a *friend of John’s*, partitives, and also relative clauses, which must now be reanalyzed in the spirit of a raising/promotion analysis.”

(*ibid.* xiii-xiv)

In this sense, the generalized ban for rightward adjunction – lowerings are excluded by familiar requirements on asymmetrical c-command between antecedents and traces of movement (Kayne, 1994: 46; Chomsky, 1993) – has necessarily – and crucially – forced the syntactic investigation to reconsider certain nonconforming dependencies, as the result of different derivational processes theoretically admissible.

costrutti originariamente marcati e specifici del parlato è costituito dalle frasi con diversi principi di strutturazione rispetto a quello normale per l’italiano SVO. Tali sono la dislocazione a sinistra, la dislocazione a destra, il *c’è* presentativo, la frase scissa.’

Considering the specific case of CIRDs, the range of possible configurations is quite vast, since several competing syntactic accounts have been independently proposed in the recent literature, thus, often giving rise to opposite outcomes. Assuming that a symmetric analysis – the so-called ‘Mirror Hypothesis’ proposed in Vallduvì (1992: 100-104) – is untenable on empirical grounds (§4.4.1), the different proposals can be roughly grouped together under two main derivational accounts: under the Clause-External Topicalization Hypothesis (first proposed in Kayne, 1995, as a Double-Topicalization movement), the right-dislocated element is merged – either externally (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl, 2007) or internally (Cardinaletti 2001; Samek-Lodovici 2006) – into the specifier of a topic head in the high left periphery – this first being step equal to CILD – plus a remnant-movement of the IP field to the specifier of a higher projection (say, GroundP) which can ensure the surface linear order. This will be shown in §4.4.2.

On the other side, under the Clause-Internal Topicalization Hypothesis, (Cecchetto 1999; Belletti 2001, 2004a, 2008; Villalba 2000; Bocci 2009), the right-dislocated element is situated in the left periphery of an extended projection of V, and appears to be right-peripheral as an effect of the movement of all lexical items base-generated under it – post-verbal subjects included – contrarily to the former approach, assumes the right-dislocated element to be internally merged into some dedicated topic position equally available in the $v(V)P$ periphery, which, assuming recent developments on phase Theory (Chomsky, 2001) partially mirrors the high IP periphery. In this sense, there is no need to postulate any further movement to the CP field, since the expected surface linear order is directly reachable inside IP. This latter analysis, also defined the ‘Big-DP Hypothesis’ will be taken into account in §4.4.3. A correlated remark is dedicated to the case of Marginalization, in §4.4.4. Finally, in §4.5 the elusive status of English Right-Dislocation is taken into account. It will be essentially shown how its syntactic and interpretive status has always been especially neglected in linguistic theory.

4.1 Clitic Right Dislocation (CIRD): syntactic properties

A prototypical example of CIRD is given in (1):

- (1) Lo hanno già chiamato, Gianni
[they] him.CL have already called, John

Note: ‘,’ does not mean that some sort of intonational break is involved

CIRD involves a non-vocative detached XP (*Gianni*) in the right periphery of the sentence and a resumptive clitic (*lo*) (= *agreement marker*) linked with it, within the sentence itself. The clitic complies with all the functions the dislocate element would have done if it had not been displaced. The underlying syntactic structure is given below:

- (2) [s ... cl/AGR_i...] XP_i

As previously seen for CILDs many other languages among the Romance family show the same syntactic phenomenon:

- (3) Je dois encore lui répondre, à Jim (French)
I must still to-him.CL reply, to him
De Cat, 2007: (48a)
- (4) El vam comprar a Barcelona, el llibre (Catalan)
[we] it.CL buy in Barcelona, the book
Villalba, 2000: (8a)
- (5) No la había visto nunca, esa película (Spanish)
[I] NEG it.CL had seen ever, that film
Francom, 2006: (2)
- (6) Peire li a donat de pan, al can (Occitan)
peter to-him.CL has given DET bread, to-the dog
- (7) L’appo vistu, su dottore (Sardinian)
[I] him-CL have seen, the doctor
Jones: 1993

- (8) Ci haju a dari un libbru, a Giovanni (Sicilian)
[I] to-him.CL have to give a book, to John
- (9) L'addʒ dʒià pavata, a bullèta (Napoletan)
[I] it.CL have already paid, the bill
- (10) e questo die gli demo a Bonizi livere cinquecento (old Tuscan)
and this day [we] to-him.CL give to Bonizi lire
 (Testi Fiorentini, 1272-1277)
- (11) i'ho veduto cosa che molto mi dispiace a l'animo mio (old Tuscan)
I have seen thing that a lot to-me.CL worry to my soul
 (Novellino [LXVIII] end of XIII Century)
- (12) onde io sono tenuto di renderla loro, la carta (old Tuscan)
so that I have to give-it.CL them back, the paper
 (Nuovi Testi Fiorentini, 1290-1324)
- (13) s'che neuno cavaliere non gli potea durare innanzi a lui (old Tuscan)
so that no knight NEG to-him.CL could stand in front of him
 (Tristano Riccardiano, XIII Century)

Among the non Romance languages, CIRD is equally found:

- (14) Ta vrika, ta klidia (Greek)
them found-I, the keys
 Villalba, 2000: (3a)
- (15) Ja ne ljublju ix, polizejskix (Russian)
I not like them, the cops
 Pereltsvaig (Linguist List: 8.749)
- (16) Ani lo ohev otam, et ha-shotrim (Hebrew)
I not like them, the cops
 Pereltsvaig (Linguist List: 8.749)
- (17) Darrangku-warndi warlaku maya-nu, wawa (Jingulu)
[he] Stick-with.INST dog hit-did, the child
 Pensalfini (Linguist List: 8.749)

As already done in the previous chapter, in the present section a detailed investigation of the specific syntactic properties characterizing CIRD will be similarly offered. This analysis will mainly show how CIRD essentially mirrors CILD, the former differing from the latter for the independent availability of the Marginalization construction (it. tr. *Emarginazione*; Antinucci & Cinque, 1977), where the absence of the resumptive clitic in object position does not affect the grammaticality of the sentence. The assumption that the distribution of the anticipatory clitic is neither free, nor optional – at least in Italian – will be adequately motivated in §4.4.4 by several convincing arguments reflecting the idea that two distinct syntactic derivations are indeed at work for right-dislocated elements and marginalized constructions.

(i) Any maximal projection can be right dislocated – NPs, PPs, APs, VPs, CPs:

- (18) Dovresti darlo a Paolo, [_{NP} il libro]
[you] should give-it.CL to Paul, the book
- (19) Ne abbiamo discusso accanitamente tutto il pomeriggio, [_{PP} di quel problema]
of-it.CL [we] have discussed fiercely the whole afternoon, about that problem
- (20) Sicuramente non lo è mai stata, [_{AP} intelligente]
definitely [she] Neg it.CL ever been, clever
- (21) Non lo è mai stato, [_{VP} rinchiuso in gabbia]
[he]Neg it.CL has ever been, locked in a cage
- (22) Lo dicono tutti, [_{CP} che il problema non è facile]
it.CL says everybody, that the problem is not easy

(ii) There is no (theoretical) limit to the number of dislocated phrases:

- (23) Non gliene hanno mai parlato, [a Gianni]₁, [di quel libro]₂
[they] Neg to-him of it have ever talked, to Gianni, of that book
- (24) Non posso offrirglielo, [io]₁, [a Giorgio]₂, [un lavoro]₃
[I] Neg can offer to-him.CL-it.CL I, to Giorgio, a job

- (25) Non mi ce ne ha mai comprati, [di vestiti]₁, [a me]₂, [Gianni]₃, [in quel negozio]₄,
[he] Neg to-me.CL there.CL of them.CL ever has bought, clothes, to me, Gianni, in that shop

(iii) In case of multiple dislocated phrases, their ordering is free²⁷:

- (26) Glielo ha nascosto Maria, [a Roberto]₁, [il cappello]₂
to-him.CL it.CL has Maria hidden, to Roberto, the hat
- (27) Glielo ha nascosto Maria, [il cappello]₂, [a Roberto]₁
- (28) Non mi ce ne ha mai comprati, [di vestiti]₁, [a me]₂, [Gianni]₃, [in quel negozio]₄ (= 25)
- (29) Non mi ce ne ha mai comprati, [a me]₂, [di vestiti]₁, [Gianni]₃, [in quel negozio]₄
- (30) Non mi ce ne ha mai comprati, [Gianni]₃, [di vestiti]₁, [a me]₂, [in quel negozio]₄
- (31) Non mi ce ne ha mai comprati, [in quel negozio]₄, [di vestiti]₁, [a me]₂, [Gianni]₃,

(iv) The dislocated phrase can occur at the front of virtually any subordinate clause type:

- (32) Se loro non gli hanno scritto, [_{PP} a Giorgio], una ragione c'è
if they Neg to-him.CL have written, to John, a reason there is

- (33) Mi dispiace che nessuno gli abbia mai parlato molto, [a Giorgio]
I regret that anybody to-him has ever spoken a lot, to Giorgio

- (34) Quando l'hanno riportato a casa, [Marco], le bambine giocavano in giardino
when [they] him.CL brought home Mark the little girls were playing in the garden

(v) The resumptive element is necessarily of the clitic type; its presence is obligatory for lefthand direct or partitive NPs, while it is optional for the other phrases:

- (35) Non (*ci*) sono mai andato [in quel cinema]
[I] Neg (there.CL) have ever gone, in that cinema

- (36) (gli) porterò un regalo, [_{PP} a Roberto]

²⁷ As it will be shown in the next sections, right-dislocated topics are a pure case of free-ordering constraint, at least for two reasons: they are all *equally given* in some sense (as especially stressed in Frascarelli & Hinterözl, 2007), and they do not reflect the basic word order for argument positions licensed inside the referring sentence, contrarily to the case of the *Afterthought* mechanism, where the order of the elements is fixed in the case of multiple dislocations (Grosz & Ziv, 1998; Bocci, 2009), and that of Marginalization taken into account in §4.4.4.

[I](to-him.CL) will bring a present, to Bob

(37) Non (ci) ho mai comprato niente, [PP con Roberto]
[I]Neg (with-him.CL) have ever bought anything, with Bob

(38) * Abbiamo visto ieri lui, [Marco]
[we] have seen yesterday he, Mark

(39) L'abbiamo visto ieri, [Marco]
[we] him.CL have seen yesterday, Mark

(vi) As previously mentioned, the absence of the object clitic does not yield agrammaticality, rather it is a case of Marginalization. The difference between the two constructions is sharp in the case of postverbal subjects carrying informational focus:

(40) A: Chi ha spento la luce?
B: L'ha spenta Marco, la luce (CIRD)
B: * Ha spento MARCO, la luce (Marginalization)

(vii) When the clitic pronoun is present, it must agree with the righthand element in Case and categorical status:

(41) Se loro non gli hanno scritto, [PP a Giorgio], una ragione c'è
if they Neg to-him.CL have written, to John, a reason there is

(42) * Se loro non lo hanno scritto, [PP a Giorgio], una ragione c'è
if they Neg him.CL have written, to John, a reason there is

(43) Maria dice che non (ci) pensiamo maib[a lei]
Maria says that Neg (of-her) think ever, of her

(44) * Maria dice che non ci pensiamo mai, [a se stessa]
Maria says that [we] of-her think ever, of herself

(vii) The relation between the righthand phrase and the resumptive element obey the right-roof constraint (RRC, Ross, 1967; Soames & Perlmutter, 1979):

- (45) Che gliela presti, [la macchina], mi sembra stano
that [you] to-her.CL-it.CL lend, the car, to me sounds weird
- (46) * Che gliela presti, mi sembra strano, [la macchina]
 Cecchetto, 1999: (18)
- (47) Quando abbiamo deciso di consegnarla a Leo, [la medaglia], era d'accordo solo Mara
when [we] have decided to give-it.CL to Leo, the medal, agreed only Mara
- (48) * Quando abbiamo deciso di consegnarla a Leo, era d'accordo solo Mara, [la medaglia]
 adapted from Bocci, 2009: (44)

Once again, the syntactic properties so far discussed are summarized below:

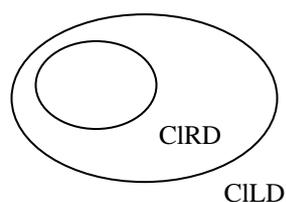
(tab.1)

	Romance CIRD
Category	Any
Iterability	√
Ordering	Free
Context	root/non-root
Resumptive element	Clitic
Connectedness	√
Island sensitivity	√

4.2 Clitic Right Dislocation (CIRD): interpretive properties

The range of discourse conditions licensing right-dislocated topics is severely restricted. In this sense, the Clitic Right Dislocation construction is defined negatively as being in a subset relation with the discourse functions which can be expressed by Clitic Left Dislocation:

(Tab. 1)



The analysis being made by subtracting, it is worthwhile to reconsider the main conclusions reached for CILD in previous chapter and compare them with those available for CIRD. As extensively seen, the left-dislocated element fulfills the LINK instruction in the informational model proposed in Vallduvì (1992), being for this reason an *address pointer* that directs the hearer to a given address/file card in the hearer's knowledge/store, under which the information carried by the sentence focus is entered. This idea is fully consistent with the notions of *aboutness topic* in the sense of Reinhart (1981), Lambrecht (1994: 127), Gundel (1988: 210) and that of *shifting topic* of Givón (1983: 8), incorporating the assumption that the referent promoted by the dislocated element can be newly introduced, newly changed or newly returned to. The prototypical case from Frascarelli & Hiterhölzl (2007) is given here again for concreteness:

- (49) Il materiale era tantissimo quindi all'inizio l'ho fatto tutto di corsa cercando di impiegarci il tempo che dicevate voi magari facendolo un po' superficialmente pur di prendere tutto – [l'*ultima unit*] la sto facendo l'ho lasciata un po' da parte perché ho ricominciato il ripasso...

The material was quite a lot, so at the beginning I did it in a rush, trying to do it all in the time that you had fixed, maybe a little superficially, so as to do everything- I'm doing the last unit now, I put it aside before because I had started to go through the program again...

As easily detectable below, CIRD can never be an instance of aboutness/shifting topic, it can neither introduce new discourse referents, nor being able to shift hearer's attention on a different topic:

- (50) Il materiale era tantissimo quindi all'inizio l'ho fatto tutto di corsa cercando di impiegarci il tempo che dicevate voi magari facendolo un po' superficialmente pur di prendere tutto – # la sto facendo, [l'*ultima unit*] l'ho lasciata un po' da parte perché ho ricominciato il ripasso...

- (51) ... # la sto facendo, l'ultima unit, l'ho lasciata un po' da parte perché ho ricominciato il ripasso
 ... # [I] it.CL am doing the last unit, [I] it.CL have left aside because [I] have started the revising again

A second type of discourse function that CILD can cover is contrastivity. The same does not hold for CIRD as already pointed out in Benincà (1988: 146), Lambrecht (1994: 203) and Benincà e Poletto (2004: 67), where two elements belonging to the same LI (List Interpretation) set of already known items are contrasted.

- (52) Il dolce, lo porto io; il vino, lo porti tu
 the cake, it.CL take I; the wine, it.CL take you
- (53) * Il dolce, lo porto io; lo porti tu, il vino
- (54) * Lo porto io, il dolce; lo porti tu, il vino
 Benincà, 1988: (130)
- (55) La frutta, la regaliamo; la verdura, la vendiamo
 the fruit, [we] it.CL give for free; the vegetables, [we] it.CL sell
- (56) * La frutta, la regaliamo; la vendiamo la verdura
- (57) * La regaliamo, la frutta; la vendiamo, la verdura
 Benincà & Poletto, 2004: 51

The only function truly relevant for the exact interpretation of the right dislocated element lies in its sole possibility of conveying *given* information. This general consideration is far from being new: Benincà (1988: 145), for instance, distinguishes between CILD and CIRD in terms of possibility vs. impossibility of creating a universe of discourse, implying the fact that the element dislocated to the right can recover an element from the context only if the referent is *already highly presupposed as given in the immediate background*. For Lambrecht (1994) the *high accessibility* of the referent is the general condition for the appropriate use of the right-detached construction, labelled '*antitopic*' in his notation. Ward & Birner (1996: 472) are essentially on the same track observing that the sentence-final constituent in RD must have been *explicitly evoked* in the immediately prior discourse. Since the information is both hearer-old and discourse-old – recalling Prince (1992) – RD cannot be viewed as marking new material, by disallowing brand-new topics as occurrences in their

dislocated positions. Therefore, as a preliminary conclusion, the *given* status detected above seems to be crucial in a twofold way: first, since it has been shown that the dislocated element can never be a LINK in the sense of Vallduvì (1992), the instruction in it does not function as an address pointer, for the simple reason that the hearer is fully aware about the file-card he has to add the information in. From this consideration, the notion of TAIL is introduced, as already briefly seen in §3.2.2.1. Secondly, the impossibility for the dislocated element to introduce contrasting strategies, clearly makes the trigger-inference scheme in the POSET relations completely inadequate. Thus the analysis made in Ward & Birner (1998) cannot be maintained for the right periphery. After having discussed both the arguments in turn, the examination will offer an analysis based on evocatibility conditions (Grosz & Ziv, 1994).

4.2.1 The Informational Component and the notion of TAIL

Vallduvì (1992) defines the notion of *tail* – the complement of the link within the ground – as negatively identified for its nonfocal nonlink status within the sentence and prosodically identified with a L* accent. It has previously said that it acts as a signalling flag which is used by the speaker to indicate how *exactly* the information in the FOCUS must be entered in the link-address, or put it in slightly different way, it is used to indicate that the focus completes or alters in some way that entry pointed by the LINK. Specifically the distinction between ‘retrieve-add’ and ‘retrieve-substitute’ must be kept in mind and further developed:

the tail’s task is to further specify how the information must be entered under a given address. If the ground contains a tail it means that the information of the sentence cannot be simply added under the address denoted by the link. Instead, it indicates that part of the proposition communicated, is knowledge already contained under that address and that the information of the sentence must be construed in some way with that knowledge instead of merely added.

(ibid. 78-79)

In this way the comparison between LINK-FOCUS structures (58) and TAILFUL structures, i.e. LINK-FOCUS-TAIL (59) becomes crucially relevant as in the case of the two sentences below:

(58) Il topo [_F **ha morso il gatto**]
the mouse bit the cat

(59) Il topo lo [_F **ha morso**], il gatto
the mouse it.CL has the cat

Recalling that:

- (1) the GROUND is made by a LINK and a TAIL
- (2) the GROUND escapes the scope of FOCUS [Φ] being the non-informative part within the sentence

therefore:

- (3a) the LINK escapes the scope of FOCUS [Φ]
- (4a) the capital lambda notation (Λ) fulfils the abstraction process
- (5a) a variable is left within the scope of FOCUS [Φ]

and

- (3b) the TAIL escapes the scope of FOCUS [Φ]
- (4b) the lowercase lambda notation (λ) fulfils the abstraction process
- (5b) a variable is left within the scope of FOCUS [Φ]

The two standard notations will be respectively (60) and (61):

(60) Il topo [_F **ha morso il gatto**]
 $\Lambda_{x_1, x_1} = \text{LINK} [\Phi [x_1 \text{ FOCUS}]]$
 $\Lambda_{x_1, x_1} = \text{il topo} [\Phi [x_1 \text{ ha morso il gatto}]]$

(61) Il topo lo [_F **ha morso**], il gatto
 $\Lambda_{x_1, x_1} = \text{LINK} [\lambda_{x_2} [\Phi [x_1 \text{ FOCUS } x_2]]] \text{ (TAIL)}$
 $\Lambda_{x_1, x_1} = \text{il topo} [\lambda_{x_2} [\Phi [x_1 \text{ ha morso } x_2]]] \text{ (il gatto)}$

The operator Φ instructs the hearer to retrieve the information under its scope and the same LINK covers the function of the address-pointer for the storing of this information in the hearer's knowledge-store in both the sentences. The only difference is the TAIL constituent in the latter construction. This different disposition

reflects two different instructions the speaker involves. In the case of (58) and (60) the instruction is build in the classical way:²⁸

$\Lambda_{x_1, x_1} = \text{il topo} [\Phi [x_1 \text{ ha morso il gatto}]]$

- (1) *retrieve* the information in the focus <ha morso il gatto>
- (2) *go* to the address denoted by the LINK <il topo>
- (3) *add* the retrieved information <ha morso il gatto> under the address <il topo>

In the case of the LINK-FOCUS-TAIL construction in (59) and (61), things change, since the bare presence of the TAIL yields alteration of the nature of the focus, thus turning the instruction from /retrieve-add/ to /retrieve-substitute/:

$\Lambda_{x_1, x_1} = \text{il topo} [\lambda x_2 [\Phi [x_1 \text{ ha morso } x_2]] (\text{il gatto})]$

- (1) *retrieve* the information in the focus <ha morso>
- (2) *go* to the address denoted by the LINK <il topo>
- (3) *substitute* the blank in the already-established relation <lui il topo> --- <il gatto> with the retrieved information <la morso>²⁹

Specifically, the main argument supported by Vallduví's model is that in tailful constructions the information retrieved from the focus fragment should be substituted in the (empty) slot found inside an *already-established* relation between the LINK element and the TAIL element. This pre-established relation is in turn crucially *already-established* under the address denoted by the LINK element. A basic prototypical example could be the one below, where the supposed relation between the LINK and the TAIL is ensured by a generic 'did something to'.

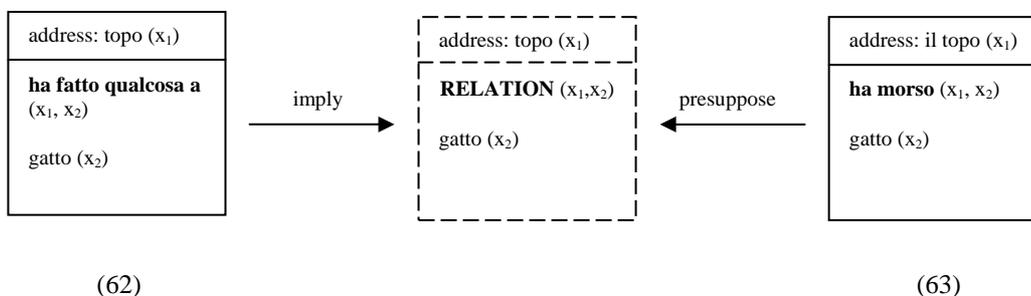
- (62) A: Il topo [F ha fatto qualcosa al gatto]
the mouse did something to the cat

²⁸ The same process is at work for CILD (cf. § 3.2.2.1)

²⁹ In the case of Focus-Tail sentences, the speaker assumes that the hearer is already at the address under which the information retrieved in the focus should be entered. Given this presupposition, no LINK is needed. (cf. Vallduví, 1990: 83)

- (63) B: Esattamente, il topo lo _{[F} **ha morso**], il gatto
exactly, the mouse it.CL bit the cat

This can be seen graphically in the scheme below:



In this case speaker (B) establishes a relation between the LINK and the TAIL after speaker (A) utters the sentence. This is represented by the implicational relation between the first two files-cards. Subsequently, once speaker (B) utters her sentence, she presupposes that the relation between the LINK and the TAIL is already established and thus, the RD construction is admissible and the focus information can be felicitously inserted. This is represented in the last two file-cards. In all cases, the previous relation between the TAIL and the LINK is *mandatory* in Vallduvì's model, and therefore, the *givennes* status of the dislocated element is legitimated by the fact that the relation between it and the address-pointer is already necessarily established in the speaker's mind through the prior discourse context. The information conveyed in the focus is the corrective/substitutive instruction, as consequence of the previous statement; the goal of the previous statement is to promote a relation within the two element of the ground, again the LINK and the TAIL. This conclusion seems to be highly predictive, but not sufficiently enough. Consider, for instance the case below:

- (64) [a screaming man is trying to go out from his garage, but a locked car blocks the way.
 People around]

A: Chi la ha messa qui, questa maledetta macchina? Non riesco ad uscire!
who it.CL has put here this damned car [I] NEG can go out

Under Vallduvì's model, this sentence should be ruled out, since it contradicts some of the assumptions: it is in fact quite hard to identify in (64) any sort of *already-established discourse relation* between the LINK (if there is any) and the dislocated

element ‘questa maledetta macchina’. It is indeed, fairly unpractical on empirical grounds the attempt of building up complex chains of presuppositions which could let one to propose the existence of very remote address-pointers for the sentence above, such as the owner of car, or the neighbours, or even the emergency operator of the local firemen station, and then relate them to the car affair. Secondly, if no relation is available, then there is no way of defending the *given* status of the dislocated element, since the givenness feature can only be legitimated by the existence of such a relation, recalling Vallduvì’s definition of TAIL (*‘it indicates that part of proposition communicated, is knowledge already contained under that address-pointer/knowledge-store’*; pag. 79). Third, the relation between LINK and the TAIL ensures the existence of encoded information on which the focus acts on; since no relation is available, there is no encoded information that can be substituted. These considerations are in line with the observations that Villalba (2000: 149) makes in quite a similar fashion. He considers the case of the so-called ‘attributive CIRD’, where the same referent is identified through two different linguistic expressions in two different utterances. Consider (65) from Catalan:

- (65) A: Ahir em vaig trobar la Maria
Yesterday, I met Maria by accident
 B: No vull que l’esmentis, aquella bandarra
 I don’t want you to mention her, that crook
 A: Caram, no sabia que hi estiguessis enfadat
 Why, I didn’t know you were angry at her
 Villalba, 2000: (37)

As he notes, following Vallduvì’s approach the utterance made by speaker (B) should be analyzed as the information that instructs speaker (A) to go to the address denote by ‘Speaker (B)’ and then substitute ‘doesn’t want you to mention her’ for the blank in the ground ‘Speaker (B) --- --- that crook’. In this way, the relation expressed in the ground means that Speaker (B) presupposes that the attributive expression referred to Maria is part of the knowledge-store of A, which is indeed not the case.

As a matter of fact, then, the mandatory requirement that the relation between the LINK and the TAIL inside the ground must be active, renders the analysis the reflex of a spurious stipulation which yields to undetermined conclusions.

A related inconsistency in Vallduvì's model can be detected in the light of some recent observations regarding the phonological structure of right-dislocated material in Italian, as put forward in Bocci (2009), who strictly rejects the possibility of a direct isomorphism between informational and intonational properties (cf. 3.2.2.3). Assuming that a right-dislocated topics in Italian can both follow and *precede* a focus phrase, he offers the following contrast:

- (66) a. $L+H^*$ L^*
 Quando arriva PIERANGELO_{CFoc} la dobbiamo avvisare, Marianna_{Red TOP}
when arrives Pierangelo [we] her.CL must inform Marianna
- b. $H+L^*$ $L+H^*$
 La dobbiamo avvisare, Marianna_{Red TOP}, quando arriva PIERANGELO_{CFoc}
[we] her.CL must inform Marianna when arrives Pierangelo

From the discrepancy in (66), Bocci thus concludes:

Finally, examples such as (66a) and (66b) also lead us to conclude that intonation cannot be isomorphic to informational properties, even if we assume the division of the (back)ground into the categories of link and tail as proposed by Vallduvì (1992). According to Vallduvì, right dislocation (right detachment, in his terminology) is to be conceived of as a device to mark the tail and to remove non-focal information from the core clause. Moreover, Vallduvì notices that right dislocated topics are characterized by a flat contour, that is, according to my analysis, associated with L^* . However, as previously discussed, right dislocated topics in Italian are not in principle restricted to occur in postfocal contexts, so that they can either precede or follow focus. As consequence, right dislocation is not a mechanism to assign focus. While “*Marianna*” counts as a tail in both cases, it associates with L^* only if it follows focus. As a consequence, L^* cannot be the prosodic correlate of the notion of tail, leading to conclude that there is not a direct isomorphism between informational and intonational properties.

(ibid. 193)

4.2.2 Discourse coherence and PSET relations

In §3.2.2.2, the notion of *coherence* of discourse has been defined as the result of informational processes linking current utterances and prior context. It has been

assumed that speakers are able to track relationships between discourse entities and that the statuses of these entities must be considered with respect of the way content is transmitted, being faced off the background of that context (Chafe, 1976). In the case of fronted NPs, it has been assumed that they are constrained by pragmatic hierarchies based on the degree to which the information is supposed to be available to the speakers prior to its evocation – as in the case of the *givenness-newness hierarchy* (Gundel et al, 1993; Gundel, 2003; Gundel & Frethaim, 2004) – and that they are linked to their referents in the speaker’s mind by POSET (Partially Ordered SET) relations (Hirschberg, 1991). As for right-dislocated elements the analysis is far more restricted. The crucial points here are still the same: the incapability of CIRD of licensing aboutness/shifting topics and contrastive topics severely constraints the range of the possible realizations.

In their analysis of RD, Ward & Birner (2004) come to the general conclusion that the discourse-old status is not only permitted, but indeed required. Consider, for instance, the passage below:

- (66) Quando mi ripresi, realizzai il miracolo: il contrabbasso che tanto mi aveva accompagnato in quei primi quindici anni era ancora steso lì in uno stato assai decente, sebbene fossimo cascati tutti e due dal terzo piano della casa vecchia di mia nonna. E per questa ragione, dopo essermi tolto la paglia tra i capelli, iniziai a saltare dalla gioia. Lo adoravo troppo, quel contrabbasso.

When I recovered, suddenly I realized that was a miracle: the double-bass that had been with me for fifteen years was still there, and in such a decent state, even though we had fallen down from the third floor of my grandma’s old house. And for this reason, after having taken some straw from the hair, I started jumping from joy. I loved it too much, that double-bass.

Again, as already seen in §4.2, the use of brand-new information renders the utterance fairly infelicitous:

- (67) Quando mi ripresi, realizzai il miracolo: il contrabbasso che tanto mi aveva accompagnato in quei primi quindici anni era ancora steso lì in uno stato assai decente, sebbene fossimo cascati tutti e due dal terzo piano della casa vecchia di mia

nonna. E per questa ragione, dopo essermi tolto la paglia tra i capelli, iniziai a saltare dalla gioia. # Lo adoravo troppo, quel balcone.

When I recovered, suddenly I realized that was a miracle: the double-bass that had been with me for fifteen years was still there, and in such a decent state, even though we had fallen down from the third floor of my grandma's old house. And for this reason, after having taken the straw off of my hair, I started jumping from joy. # I loved it too much, that balcony.

This last observation, then, seems to be highly predictive once the status of the dislocated element is applied to the inferential analysis of the POSET relations. Recalling that fronted elements *trigger* inferences in the sense that the initial NP stands in a salient partially-ordered set relation to some entity or entities already evoked in the discourse-model, it will be shown that the same is not possible for right-dislocated elements, where, indeed only an IDENTITY relation can be truly admissible.

(68) IDENTITY (is-equal-to)

A: Posso avere un contrabbasso elettrico?

Can[I] have an electric double-bass?

B: No, mi dispiace. Li ho terminati tutti, i contrabbassi elettrici

No, I'm sorry. [I] them.CL am out of, electric double-basses

(69) SET/MEMBERS (is-a-member-of)

A: Avete ancora qualche strumento?

Do you still have any instrument left?

B: # Beh, li ho già finiti tutti, i contrabbassi

Well, [I] them.CL am out of, double-basses

(70) PART/WHOLE (is-a-part-of)

A: Credi che possa ricominciare ad usare il mio contrabbasso?

Do you think that I can restart using my double-bass?

B: # Beh, devo ancora ripararlo, il manico (mentre il ponte ora è a posto)

Well, [I] still have to repair-it.CL, the fingerboard (while the bridge now is OK)

These results turn out to be perfectly consistent within the hierarchical givenness-newness distinction suggested in Gundel et al. (1993) and introduced in §3.2.2.2. Since the basic premise of the hierarchy is that some determiners and pronouns

constrain possible interpretations – by conventionally signalling different cognitive statuses that the intended referent is assumed to have in the mind of the addressee – the grammatical choice within the right-dislocation construction, the pronoun, represents the most restrictive step of the status range. In this sense, the functional property of the anaphoric pronoun represents familiar information with respect to the previous context, and, at the same time, the dislocated constituent represents familiar information as well, being the pronoun coreferential with it.

4.2.3 Evocability

Starting from the conclusions above, it is safe to propose that the dislocated element in the right-dislocated construction never triggers possible inferences with entities with which it could share POSET relations – unless this relation is established by an INDENTITY CONDITION. In turn, this necessarily means that no ‘brand-new’ information is indeed admissible in the right-dislocated position, where ‘brand-new’ refers to some information which has not been *evoked* either textually or situationally, which is not inferable from prior discourse, and which is not believed to be otherwise within the hearer’s knowledge-store (cf. Prince, 1981). In this sense, the *evocability* condition becomes diagnostically significant in many respects. It being crucially based on the degree of recoverability that the referent has either situationally or textually with respect to the speaker’s mind, the analysis can freely discharge the notion of TAIL, since the obligation for it to be necessarily in an already-established relation with the LINK, cannot be maintained when no actual LINK is indeed available. A solution for the problematic sentence in (64), here repeated as (71), is then that the dislocated element in the right-dislocated sentence is in a felicitous cognitive status in the hearer’s knowledge-store just because it is situationally evoked from the extra-linguistic context, and not because it is in a possible relation with a presupposed LINK.

(71) [a screaming man is trying to go out from his garage, but a locked car blocks the way.
People around]

A: Chi la ha messa qui, questa maledetta macchina? Non riesco ad uscire!
who it.CL has put here this damned car [I] NEG can go out

As a convincing argument, the fact that the only admissible POSET relation is that of being IDENTICAL with the referent already mentioned in the previous context – thus excluding all the other possibilities – is conforming to the idea that the dislocated element status strictly depends on its own recoverability conditions from the extra-linguistic/linguistic context, and that the pronoun linked with it is associated with the most restrictive status of the givenness hierarchy in Gundel et al (1993)³⁰. This conclusion seems in line with the claim which Villalba (2000) attributes to Laca (1986: 82f)³¹ and especially with Grosz & Ziv (1994), who still represent the best treatment on discourse conditions involving evocability in right-dislocated material. Ziv (1994) and Grosz & Ziv (1994) consider RD an *highly presuppositional* construction (Lambrecht, 1981), whose essential function is that of recovering entities which can be either SITUATIONALLY EVOKED or TEXTUALLY EVOKED.³² As

³⁰ Ziv (1994: 639) comes to the same conclusions: “Pronouns rate higher on the accessibility scale than proper names or definite descriptions. The discourse referents accessed by unstressed pronouns must be salient, recent, topical or otherwise potentially easily retrievable, since the pronominal reference is minimally informative.” (cf. also Ch. 3; fn. 17)

³¹ In her studies on Catalan, Laca gives CIRD a specific role in the organization of the informative content of the sentence, namely that of removing a presupposed phrase from the maximally rhematic position, the final position (i.e., the position for the new-information content, recalling Ward & Birner, 1998), thus allowing another element to occupy it. Consider the example in (1):

- (1) A: Io adoro Maria
 I love Mary
 B: Beh, io la odio, Maria
 Well, I hate her, Mary

In (B)’s answer, the NP ‘Maria’ is right-dislocated since it would receive a contradictory informational status. In this way, the predicate becomes the maximally rhematic part of the sentence. From this analysis she proposes that the right-dislocated element should always be optional, since it can only carry given information. In this sense, (1) is equal to (2):

- (2) A: Io adoro Maria
 I love Mary
 B: Beh, io la odio
 Well, I hate her, Mary

This conclusion is unsurprisingly too powerful, since in many cases, as the attributive CIRDs considered before, new information is added under the same given referent, and therefore, no elision is possible. However, this idea becomes insightful if a class of RD is indeed proposed. Based on the degree of *salience* (Prince, 1981; Lambrecht, 1994; Gundel, 2003) that the entity denoted by the element has, it could be possible to make a sharp distinction between *Weak Right-Dislocations* (WRD) which allow elision, and *Strong Right-Dislocation* (SRD) which do not. Further research is of course required.

³² This distinction is clearly reminiscent of the Old-New Taxonomy of “Assumed Familiarity” in Prince (1981b, 1992). Cf. Ch 3: xx

for the first class of inferability, the referent denoted by the dislocated element is explicitly focused in the extra-linguistic context and thus highly activated in the speaker's knowledge-store. A prototypical case is offered below:

- (72) [two friends in front of the old car of one of them]
A: Secondo me, dovresti proprio buttarla via, questa macchina
In my opinion, [you] should really throw-it.CL away, this car

In this case, the referent ||THE CAR|| is immediately available in the physical situation in which the sentence is uttered. The use of the demonstrative 'this' is significant in this respect, since it is a clear instance of definite-NP pointing at a specific entity in the context. A second case of situationally-evoked entities is that of a particular referent which is not present but easily inferable from a physically present one.

- (73) [two friends in a music shop, standing in front of "POP" cover]

A: Non riesco proprio ad ascoltarli, gli U2
[I] cannot really listen-to-them.CL U2

As for the second class of evocability – the case of reference to textually evoked entities – at least three different categories can be isolated: (1) distant mention; (2) implicit mention; (3) attributive mention. In the first case, 'the entity is in the global focus' but its referent has been mentioned in a relatively distant utterance and not subsequently mentioned. Distance is here intended in terms of the number of intervening utterances:

- (74) A: Ti avevo detto di leggere quel libro per oggi!
I told you to read this book for today?

B: Lo so. Ma sono stato molto impegnato. Ho avuto ospiti a casa e ho dovuto spendere tutto il tempo con loro. E comunque, è parecchio difficile leggerlo, questo libro!
[I] know that. But I have been very busy. [I] had guests at home and [I] had to spend all my time with them. Besides, it is very hard, this book!

The second category is the case of implicit mention which partially reflex the second type of situationally-evoked entities. For instance, the referent of the right-dislocated element is only inferable from another one explicit evoked and connected with it:

- (75) A: Ho visto Tempi Moderni ieri
 [I] have seen Modern Times yesterday
 B: È sempre un genio, Charlie Chaplin
 [He] is still a genius, Charlie Chaplin

Finally, the third category concerns with the class of attributive or predictive elements, which are not merely referential, rather it has an emotive content. This property has already been implicitly called upon in the previous section. Here is another example:

- (76) A: Ho portato i cane da mio fratello
 [I] took my dog to my brother's
 B: Non riesci più a domarla, quella bestia!
 [you] NEG can anymore tame-it.CL, that beast

4.2.4 Summary

From a syntactic perspective, CIRD can affect any major category. It allows multiple dislocations and their order is highly free. The resumptive element can only be of the clitic type and it can be optional in all cases, direct object excluded, where conversely it is necessarily required. When the clitic is present, connectedness effects arise. The dislocated element can be equally licensed in both root and non-root contexts and it obeys the Right-Roof Constraint. From a functional perspective, the right-dislocated topic can never be an instance of aboutness/shifting topic nor one of the contrastive type. The only function truly relevant for the exact interpretation of the right dislocated element lies in its solely possibility of conveying *given* information. An interpretive account in terms of evocability conditions – either linguistic or extra-linguistic – seems highly predictive in the definition of the exact nature of the givenness condition.

4.3 Afterthoughts

The need to distinguish between the right-dislocation phenomenon and the *afterthought* mechanism has been already briefly stressed in the introductory paragraph, when some aspects of complexity for the analysis have been taken into account. In this section both the syntactic and the interpretive differences between the two constructions will be detected, so as to conclude that the *afterthought* mechanism is a different syntactic construction, being a repairing parenthetical strategy avoiding potentially unclear/ambiguous references within the sentence.

4.3.1 Syntactic properties

(i) Afterthoughts can affect any category – NPs, PPs, APs, VPs, CPs:

- (77) Dovresti darlo a Paolo, [NP il libro] (intendo)
[you] should give-it.CL to Paul, the book (I mean)
- (78) Ne abbiamo discusso accanitamente tutto il pomeriggio, [PP di quel problema]
of-it.CL [we] have discussed fiercely the whole afternoon, about that problem (I mean)
- (79) Sicuramente non lo è mai stata, [AP intelligente] (intendo)
definitely [she] Neg it.CL ever been, clever (I mean)
- (80) Non lo è mai stato, [VP rinchiuso in gabbia] (intendo)
[he] Neg it.CL has ever been, locked in a cage (I mean)
- (81) Lo dicono tutti, [CP che il problema non sia facile] (intendo)
it.CL says everybody, that the problem is not easy (I mean)

(ii) There is no (theoretical) limit to the number of dislocated phrases:

- (82) Non gliene hanno mai parlato, [a Gianni]₁, [di quel libro]₂ (intendo)
[they] Neg to-him.CL of-it.CL have ever talked, to Gianni, of that book (I mean)
- (83) Non posso offrirglielo, [io]₁, [a Giorgio]₂, [un lavoro]₃ (intendo)
[I] Neg can offer to-him.CL-it.CL I, to Giorgio, a job (I mean)

- (84) Non mi ce ne ha mai comprati, [di vestiti]₁, [a me]₂,
[he] NEG to-me.CL there.CL of them.CL has ever bought, clothes, to me,
 [Gianni]₃, [in quel negozio]₄ (intendo)
Gianni, in that shop (I mean)

(iii) The rather classical observation that multiple afterthoughts respect the basic argument order (Grosz & Ziv, 1998; Bocci, 2009: 42) is here partially rejected, given the fact that the afterthought “I mean” can only occur at the end of the last dislocated topic³³. Let one assume that at least two kinds of ambiguities can arise in discourse context: a total ambiguity and a partial ambiguity. Let one then consider the case of di-transitive constructions, where two references are involved, one for the direct object and one for the indirect object. When both the references are ambiguous in the hearer’s mind – i.e. four different references are indeed possible – one can have a case of total ambiguity. As a consequence, the basic word order is strictly respected (cf. 85-86). Conversely, when only one of the two references is ambiguous, thus implying the fact that the other one is a real right-dislocation, the word order is epiphenomenal with respect to the superficial order. In this case the afterthought element must always follow the right-dislocated one, the latter not violating RRC (cf. 87-88):

- (85) Glielo ha nascosto Maria, [il cappello a Roberto]₁ (intendo)
to-him.CL it.CL has hidden Maria, the hat to Roberto (I mean)
 [non la sciarpa a Maria]₂
not the scarf to Mary

- (86) ?? Glielo ha nascosto Maria, [a Roberto il cappello]₁ (intendo)
 [non la sciarpa a Maria]₂

- (87) Glielo ha nascosto Maria, il cappello [a Roberto]₂ (intendo)
to-him.CL it.CL has hidden Maria, the hat to Roberto (I mean)
 [non a Maria]₂
not to Mary

- (88) Glielo ha nascosto Maria, a Roberto [il cappello]₂ (intendo)
to-him.CL it.CL has hidden Maria, the hat to Roberto (I mean)

³³ This observation has been suggested to me by Valentina Bianchi (p.c).

[non la sciarpa]₂
not the scarf

(vii) There is no connectedness requirement:

(89) Dammelo, quel libro, quella rivista (intendo)
give-to-me.CL-it.CL that book, that magazine (I mean)

(vii) The relation between the afterthought and the resumptive element does not obey the right-roof constraint (RRC, Ross, 1967):

(90) Che gliela presti, [la macchina], mi sembra stano (intendo)
that [you] to-her.CL-it.CL lend, the car, to me sounds weird (I mean)

(91) Che gliela presti, mi sembra strano, [la macchina] (intendo)

(92) Quando abbiamo deciso di consegnarla a Leo, [la medaglia] (intendo), era d'accordo solo Mara
when [we] have decided to give-it.CL to Leo, the medal, agreed only Mara (I mean)

(93) Quando abbiamo deciso di consegnarla a Leo, era d'accordo solo Mara, [la medaglia] (intendo)

4.3.2 Interpretive properties

Functionally, afterthoughts can be defined as last-resort strategies that speakers employ when realizing that the message conveyed to the hearer is potentially inexact. The adding of supplementary information in the dislocated position, helps him to solve his shortcoming. In the specific case, the inaccuracy of the message lies in the possible ambiguity that pronouns yield with respect of the referents they are supposed to denote. Consider, for instance, the sentence below:

(94) A: Ho portato sia il contrabbasso che il clarinetto
[I] took both the double-bass and the clarinet
B: Io non riesco proprio a suonarlo, il clarinetto (intendo)
I NEG can really play-it.CL, the clarinet (I mean)

In this case, the speaker realizes that the message would be highly ambiguous if no further information were added. This is strictly connected to the fact that both the referents, here ‘the double-bass’ and ‘the clarinet’ are masculine in Italian, and so the pronoun alone would not been able to cope with this ambiguity. As easily testable, this is not the case for right-dislocation constructions, where no ambiguity arises with respect to gender, number and salience. Consider again the sentence above, modified in (95) where a feminine referent is used, so as to avoid any possible inaccuracy:

- (95) A: Ho portato sia il contrabbasso che la viola
 [I] took both the double-bass and the viola
 B: Io non riesco proprio a suonarla, la viola (# la viola, intendo)
 I NEG can really play-it.CL, the viola (# la viola, I mean)

Similarly, in the sentence (96) the object ‘the double-bass’ is the most salient entity in the discourse with respect to the verb ‘suonare’:

- (96) Per trovare la concentrazione, ce ne andammo in montagna per cinque giorni. Portammo con noi solo il contrabbasso, due coperte e dieci fiammiferi. Provammo e riprovammo per ore, ma Marco no riusciva proprio a suonarlo, *quel contrabbasso*.

We were looking for concentration, so we decided to go to the mountain for five days. We just took with us the double-bass, a pair of blankets and then matches. We tried and tried for hours, but Mark was really unable to play it, the double-bass

Moreover, an afterthought can be a device for introducing new referents not previously evoked, the same is never possible with right-dislocations, as extensively seen before:

- (97) Siamo entrati in posta per spedire le lettere ma non voleva farlo nessuno, il cambio di posto nella fila (intendo)
 [We] entered the post office because we wanted to sent the letters, but nobody wanted to do it, changing the place in the line (I mean)

It is clear, then, that right-dislocated constructions and afterthoughts are two very different phenomena, the former being a discourse-organization strategy which

convey given information immediately retrievable from the context and directs the hearer along the discourse, the latter being a discourse-repair mechanism which helps the hearer in case of unclear reference.

4.4 CIRD: syntactic derivations

As previously mentioned at the beginning of the present chapter, several compelling syntactic derivations have been independently offered in the recent literature, all sharing the manifest intention of giving a unified account of the exact nature of the CIRD construction. In this sense, the analysis of the syntactic role played by the dislocated element and its stranded superficial position with respect to the clitic pronoun inside the referring clause, have raised at least three important questions, crucially relevant for the following investigation and highly demanding from a cross-linguistic perspective: (i) does CIRD show symmetrical sensitivities with respect to CILD?; (ii) giving either option in (i), is the dislocated element base-generated in its superficial position or it is the result of a movement operation?; (iii) giving either option in (ii), which periphery is involved?

As for the attempt of identifying possible correlations between the syntactic environments involved for left-dislocated categories and the ones supposed to be at work for right-dislocated ones, it will be adequately shown in §4.4.1 below that a negative answer to the question in (i) is undeniably more plausible on both empirical and derivational grounds, thus weakening the old proposal of a mirroring process – even though directionally opposite – between CILD and CIRD (as proposed, for instance, in Vallduví, 1992).

Turning briefly to the last two issues, the questions raised in (ii) and (iii) are far more complex to tackle, as incidentally shown by the divergent conclusions reached in the past years.³⁴ In this respect – simplifying to a certain extent – two leading approaches can be isolated: the Clause-External Topicalization Hypothesis and the Clause-Internal Topicalization Hypothesis. Following the first approach, the surface linear order in CIRD is obtained in the same way a CILDed topic is (either by

³⁴ At least since Kayne (1994) – where the CIRD is understood as an instance of CILD at LF, thus implying a dislocation intonation expressed by an optional feature in the ‘overt syntax’.

movement – Cardinaletti, 2001; Samek-Lodovici, 2006 – or base-generated in its superficial position – Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl, 2007) plus a remnant-movement of the referring clause into a higher position speculatively called ‘GroundP’. In this sense, the CILD construction is the first step to the CIRD one.

Conversely, under the Clause-Internal Topicalization Hypothesis, the RDed topic is hosted in the low periphery of the extended projection of the VP field, thus appearing to be right-dislocated, given the movement to the left of all the lexical items base-generated in their argumental positions.

4.4.1 The Symmetric Analysis for CILD and CLRD

The most explicit formulation of the so-called ‘mirror hypothesis’³⁵ has been put forward by Vallduví (1992: 100f), when discussing the underlying syntactic configuration for Catalan left- and right-dislocated constructions³⁶. The main reason beyond a symmetric derivation, which is deemed to be mutually relevant for both the phenomena, essentially lies in the attempt of giving a uniform account for some superficial similarities that the two constructions seem to share. In this sense, Vallduví openly asserts:

[given] that right-detached phrases are found outside the core clause, it will be assumed, therefore, that left-detachment and right-detachment are the mirror image of each other, both being clause-external but different in their directionality. Their clause-externality will present the detached phrases as adjoined to the phrasal node at S-structure.

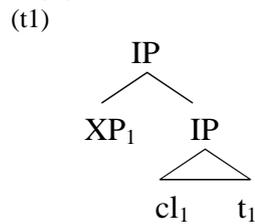
(*ibid.* 103)

³⁵ The expression ‘mirror hypothesis’ is taken from Cecchetto (1999: 40). Another related expression is ‘null hypothesis’: everything being equal to CILD, CIRD would involve adjunction of the dislocated XP to the right of the same node that hosts a left dislocated XP (*pace* Kayne, 1994).

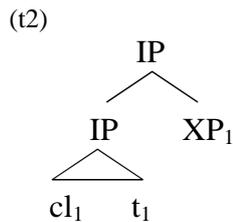
³⁶ *Left- and right-detachments* in his terminology (*ibid.* 100: fn. 61), for which he says: ‘the reason for staying away from the term dislocation is the following: in American linguistics there is a syntactic distinction between topicalization (gap-binding) and left-dislocation (pronoun-binding). Catalan detachment is both ([XP₁ ... cl₁ ... t₁ ...]) (or, assuming there is no gap in A’ position, is a left-dislocation). Catalan left-detachment, however, is informationally equivalent to (most) English topicalizations. The uncompromising term ‘detachment’ is already used by Barnes (1985) for French. Left-detachment is also known as *exbraciation* in the English literature and *Ausklammerung* in the German tradition.’

This distinction is of no crucial importance for the aims of the present analysis.

Based on this assumption, then, the left-detached construction will be represented as in (t1):



In the same way, the right-dislocated construction will be represented in (t2):



In order to explain the mirroring nature of the structures above, Vallduví offers evidence of the fact that both the constructions opt for a resumptive pronoun strategy and that both can allow for more than one detached element outside the core clause. As for the first aspect, consider the Catalan examples offered in his work, and the Italian version adapted from them (also cf. §3.2):

(98) a. El ganivet_{t1} el₁ fiquem t₁ al calaix
the knife [we] it.CL put in-the drawer
 (101: 113a)

b. * El ganivet_{t1} fiquem t₁ al calaix
 (101 : 115a)

(99) a. Il coltello₁, lo₁ mettiamo t₁ nel cassetto
the knife, [we] it.CL put in-the drawer

b. * Il coltello₁, mettiamo t₁ nel cassetto

(100) a. El₁ fiquem t₁ al calaix, el ganivet
It.CL [we] put in-the drawer the knife
 (101: 113b)

b. * Fiquem t₁ al calaix, el ganivet
 (101 : 115b)

- (101) a. Lo_1 mettiamo t_1 nel cassetto, il coltello₁
it.CL [we] put in-the drawer the knife
- b. ^(*) Mettiamo t_1 nel cassetto, il coltello₁³⁷

In this sense, then, the mandatory requirement of a pronoun of the clitic type is taken as evidence of the fact that copresence of the clitic and the argument in A-position is illicit. This prohibition can be overcome in the moment the argument is either left- or right-detached, as in the case of the (b) sentences:

- (102) a. ^(*) La_1 vaig veure la baralla₁
[I] it.CL saw the fight
 (102: 117a)

- b. La baralla₁, ^(*) la_1 vaig veure t_1
 (102 : 117b)

- (103) a. ^(*) La_1 vaig veure la baralla₁
[I] it.CL saw the fight
 (102: 118a)

- b. ^(*) La_1 vaig veure t_1 , la baralla₁
 (102 : 118b)

Turning to the second aspect at issue, both CILD and CIRD show the same possibilities in allowing multiple dislocations (contrasting with strict linear order of the phrases *in situ*) – a fact already noted for Italian in §3.2 and §4.1 above:

- (104) a. El ganivet₁ al calaix₂ l_1 ' hi_2 fiquem t_1 t_2
 b. Al calaix₂ el ganivet₁ l_1 ' hi_2 fiquem t_1 t_2
 c. el ganivet₁ l_1 ' hi_2 fiquem t_1 t_2 , al calaix₂
 d. al calaix₂ l_1 ' hi_2 fiquem t_1 t_2 , el ganivet₁
 e. l_1 ' hi_2 fiquem t_1 t_2 , el ganivet₁, al calaix₂
 f. l_1 ' hi_2 fiquem t_1 t_2 , al calaix₂, el ganivet₁

³⁷ The sentence in (101b) is independently acceptable in Italian, thus giving rise to a particular construction syntactically and interpretably different from CIRD, and called 'Marginalization' ('Emarginazione') since Antinucci & Cinque (1977). This construction will be at issue in §xxx. As for the Catalan example, Vallduví considers the sentence in (100b) totally ungrammatical, moreover adopting the expression 'marginalization' as a synonym for detachment.

Finally, it is worth underscoring a further argument put forward in Villalba (2000: 185), namely that both left- and right-dislocated constituents are opaque domains for the extraction of a *wh*-element. Consider, for instance the contrasting pair below:

- (105) a. * De què_i creus que, [(de) responsable t₁], no ho és pas ?
of what think [you] that responsible not it.Cl is NEG
- b. * De què_i creus que, no ho és pas, [(de) responsable t₁] ?
of what think [you] that not it.Cl is NEG responsible

However, a symmetric analysis of this sort, where the only difference between the realization of left-dislocated elements and that of right-dislocated ones solely lies in the opposite linear order that they have with respect to IP, proves to be completely inadequate and far too simplistic when binding conditions and minimality relations are called upon. In this respect, Cecchetto (1999, 2000) shows through several pieces of evidence that an adjunction analysis of the kind just detected above cannot account for sharp dissimilarities between the two detached constructions, as in the specific case of anti-reconstruction effects, ECP effects and AUX-TO-COMP constructions.

The reconstruction rule is meant here as syntactic device used for testing co-referential relations, which are not directly observable in the superficial linear order of the arguments inside the clause. In this sense, the bound element is reconstructed into its original position, at the level at which the relevant principles operate. As for the case of CILD and CLRD, things go exactly in the same way: the topic phrase is ‘transferred’ into its associated sentence (internal) position in order to test whether binding principles reflects structural positions or not. For the ease of clarification, consider the examples below, where the grammaticality judgements of the sentences in (a) are preserved in their CILD counterparts in (b):

- (106) a. * Il liutaio_i pensa che io abbia tenuto il contrabbasso per se stesso_i
the luthier thinks that I kept the double-bass for himself
- b. * Per se stesso_i, il liutaio_i pensa che io abbia tenuto il contrabbasso
for himself, the luthier thinks that I kept the double-bass

- (107) a. Io penso che il liutaio_i abbia tenuto il contrabbasso per se stesso_i
I think that the luthier_i kept the double-bass for himself_i
- b. Per se stesso_i, io penso che il liutaio_i si sia tenuto il contrabbasso
for himself I think that the luthier for-him.CL kept the double-bass
- (108) a. Il liutaio_i non sa che io ho dato il contrabbasso a lui_i
the luthier NEG knows that I gave the double-bass to him
- b. A lui_i, il liutaio_i non sa che io gli ho dato il contrabbasso
to him the luthier NEG knows that I to-him.CL gave the double-bass
- (109) a. *Io non so che il liutaio_i ha dato il contrabbasso a lui_i
I NEG know that the luthier gave the double-bass to him
- b. *A lui_i, io non so che il liutaio_i gli ha dato il contrabbasso
to him I NEG know that the luthier to-him.CL gave the double-bass
- (110) a. **pro_i* non sa che io ho dato il contrabbasso al liutaio_i
he NEG know that I gave the double-bass to the luthier
- b. *Al liutaio_i, *pro_i* non sa che io gli ho dato il contrabbasso
to the luthier, he NEG know that I to-him.CL gave the double-bass
- (111) a. Sebbene *pro_i* si consideri furbo, il liutaio_i non sa che io ho dato il
Although he himself think smart, the luthier NEG know that I gave the
 contrabbasso a Luca
double-bass to Luca
- b. Il liutaio_i, sebbene *pro_i* si consideri furbo, non sa che io ho dato il
the luthier although he himself think smart, NEG know that I gave the
 contrabbasso a Luca
double-bass to Luca

It should be clear then, that the application of the Binding principles in the sentences above can be explained only if the relevant syntactic structure is taken into account. The ungrammaticality of the two sentences in (106) for instance can be explained in terms of violation of Principle A, where the anaphor ‘se stesso’ cannot be bound by the NP ‘il liutaio’ in its governing category. The opposite situation can

be seen in (107), where conversely the anaphor can be felicitously coindexed with its coreferential NP, hence giving a grammatical sentence. The same holds for the other contrasting pairs: a violation of Principle B in (109) and a violation of Principle C in (110). Therefore, the first divergence between CILD and CIRD can be tested on the bases of these contrasts. In this respect, consider the examples below:

- (112) a. * La storia che il liutaio_i avesse rotto il contrabbasso, pro_i la aveva letta sul
 the story that the luthier broke the double-bass pro it.CL had read on the
 giornale del sabato
 Saturday newspaper
- b. La storia che il liutaio_i poi raccontò, pro_i la aveva letta sul giornale del sabato
 the story that the luthier then told pro it.CL had read on the Saturday newspaper
- (113) a. * pro_i la aveva letta sul giornale del sabato, la storia che il liutaio_i avesse
 pro it.CL had read on the Saturday newspaper the story that the luthier
 rotto il contrabbasso
 broke the double-bass
- b. * pro_i la aveva letta sul giornale del sabato, la storia che il liutaio_i poi raccontò
 pro it.CL had read on the Saturday newspaper the story that the luthier then told

While in (112) there is an opposite outcome concerning the grammaticality of the two sentences – where the R-expression is inside of an argument in (a), and it is inside of an adjunct, the relative clause, in (b) – no distinction arise in the contrasting pair concerning CIRD, both of which show a Principle C violation.³⁸ This difference can hardly be explained under a symmetric analysis.

A second incongruity between CILD and CIRD can be related to Minimality principles affecting the former but not the latter. Consider for instance the adjacency

³⁸ This distinction between argument and adjunct has been originally put forward by Lebeaux (1988) and taken up again in Chomsky (1995) when referring to some exceptional cases of wh-movement. Consider (i) and (ii) below:

- (i) * Which story that the luthier_i broke the double-bass was he_i incapable of remembering?
 (ii) Which story that the luthier_i told was he_i then incapable of remembering?

In this case, the felicitous co-indexing between the two NPs in (ii) lies in the assumption that adjuncts are inserted later in the derivation: the relative clause is added to the derivation only once the wh-movement has applied. This essentially means that at LF the pronoun ‘he’ does not bind the R-expression ‘the luthier’ and so no principle C violation arises.

effects on traces detected for French in Rizzi (1997: 305f). Recalling that the ECP principle requires that traces must be properly governed by a head within its immediate projection, and that C° (specifically, the Agr features in FIN) can turn to be a proper head-governor for the trace in subject position (Rizzi, 1990) it appears that the intervention of a topic phrase – hosted in the specifier position of a maximal projection within the CP system – between C° and the trace yields a relativized minimality effect:

- (114) * Je ne sais pas qui_i, ton contrebasse, t_i pourrait le sonner
I not know NEG who, your double-bass, t can it.CL play
 IP [qui_i C° [ton contrebasse Top° [_{IP} t_i pourrait ...]]]
 ...X ...Z ...Y

The contrast is easily detectable in the case of CIRD, where no intervention arises between governor and trace, and thus a Minimal Configuration (MC, Rizzi, 2002) is involved:

- (115) Je ne sais pas qui_i t_i pourrait le sonner, ton contrebasse
I not know NEG who t can it.CL play your double-bass
 IP [qui_i C° [t_i pourrait ...]]] ton contrebasse
 ...X ...Y (...Z)

Going further, the same effects arise for classical AUX-TO-COMP constructions in Italian, where the nominative case for the subject in [Spec, IP] is assigned under government by the auxiliary in COMP. As before, when a potential intervener is inserted between the two elements trying to enter into a local relation, the same ungrammatical result is detected:

- (116) * Avendolo_i, il contrabbasso, il liutaio t_i rotto (suonai il violoncello)
having-it.CL the double-bass the luthier t broken ([I] played the cello)
 [_{CP} Avendolo [il contrabbasso T° [_{IP} il liutaio t rotto]]]
 ...X ...Z ...Y

Again, the same result is not found for CIRD, thus weakening the predictions made under the symmetric analysis:

- (117) Avendolo_i, il liutaio t_i rotto, il contrabbasso (suonai il violoncello)
having-it.CL the luthier t broken the double-bass ([I] played the cello)
 [_{CP} Avendolo [[_{IP} il liutaio t rotto]]] il contrabbasso
 ...X ...Y (...Z)

Finally, a well-known fact since Ross (1967: 258), is the observation that Right-Dislocation is upward-bounded; namely, it obeys the Right-Roof Constraint. As it will be shown, the same is not detected for left-dislocated topics, since it is not bounded to its own sentence. Compare the CILDs in (118) with the CIRDs in (119):

- (118) a. Non sapevo che, il contrabbasso, il liutaio lo avesse
[I] NEG knew that the double-bass the luthier it.CL had
 b. Il contrabbasso, non sapevo che il liutaio lo avesse
the double-bass [I] NEG knew that the luthier it.CL had

- (119) a. Che il liutaio lo avesse, il contrabbasso, non lo sapevo
that the luthier it.CL had the double-bass [I]NEG it.CL knew
 b. * Che il liutaio lo avesse, non lo sapevo, il contrabbasso
that the luthier it.CL had [I]NEG it.CL knew the double-bass

As (119b) shows, the NP ‘il contrabbasso’ can never escape the boundary of the clause in which it originates. Conversely, the same NP can be found outside the main clause in (118b).

Concluding from all the evidences above – anti-reconstructions effects, minimality effects and boundedness – the asymmetries found cannot be accounted for by an analysis which assumes a symmetric derivation between CILD and CIRD.³⁹

³⁹ A further asymmetry is found in Villalba (2000: 192) when discussing on some interactions between CILD and CIRD. Essentially, he shows that it is always possible to left-dislocate a constituent from within a right-dislocate, while the converse is never possible:

- (i) Li ho suonati tutti, i pezzi di Charles Mingus
[I] them.CL played all, the pieces of Charles Mingus
 (ii) ? Di Charles Mingus, li ho suonati tutti, i pezzi
of Charles Mingus, [I] them.CL played all the pieces
 (iii) * I pezzi, li ho suonati tutti, di Charles Mingus
the pieces, [I]them.CL played all of Charles Mingus

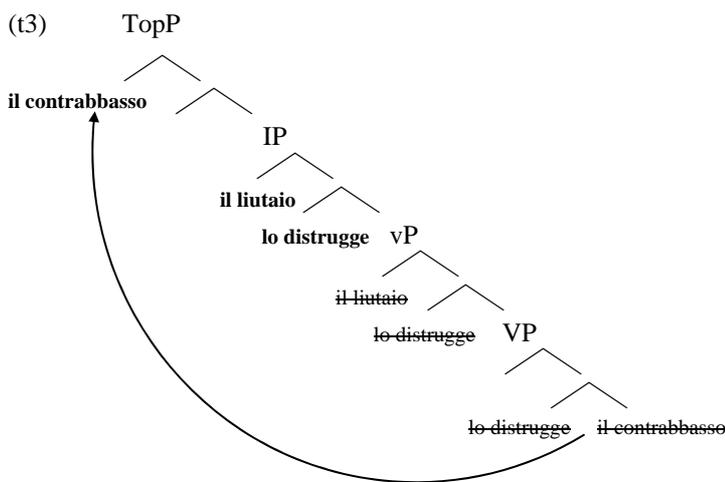
Again, such a discrepancy cannot be explained within a mirror approach of the one proposed in Vallduví (1990).

4.4.2 The Clause-External Topicalization Analysis for CIRD

Given the generalized ban against right-adjunction, the putative formulation for a derivation involving a movement to the left for right-dislocated topics can be drawn back at least to Kayne (1995)⁴⁰, who proposes a Double-Topicalization analysis for CIRD. In essence, the CIRD construction can be seen as the result of a double leftward movement to the high periphery for both the dislocated material and the IP sentence, in which the former ends topicalized in the C system, and appears stranded in the rightmost position given the following raising to a higher topic projection, of the remnant clause to which it belongs. Adopting this proposal, CILD results to be the first necessary step towards CIRD, the latter involving a subsequent re-ordering step. Consider, for instance, the prototypical dislocations below:

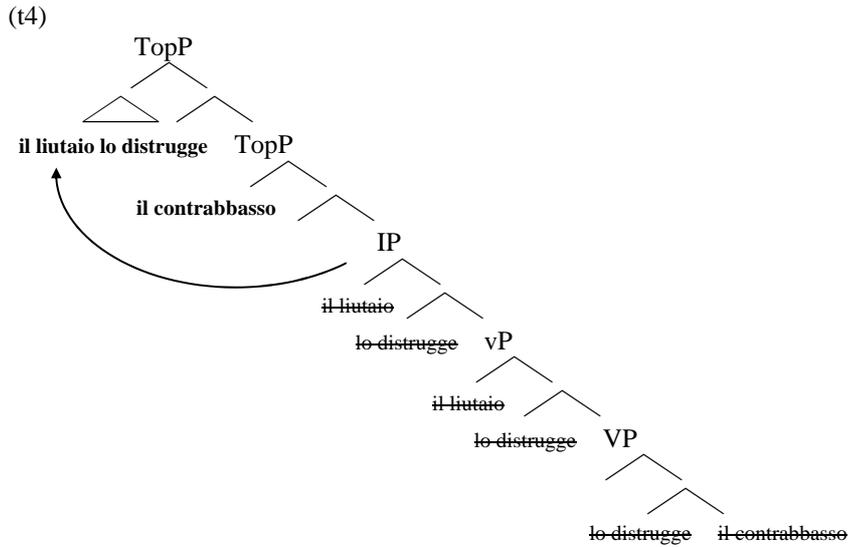
- (120) a. Il contrabbasso, il liutaio lo distrugge
the double-bass the luthier it.CL destroy
 b. Il liutaio lo distrugge, il contrabbasso
the luthier it.CL destroy the double-bass

Adopting Kayne's analysis the derivation in (t3) can be seen both as an instance of CILD (as the one in 120a) and as an instance of CIRD prior the IP-remnant movement, which will be involved in the subsequent step (t4) as a representation of the underlying structure in (120b):⁴¹



⁴⁰ According to Cecchetto (1999), Kayne's formulation has been proposed for the first time in his class lectures at Harvard University in the fall of 1995, as well as in other conference presentations.

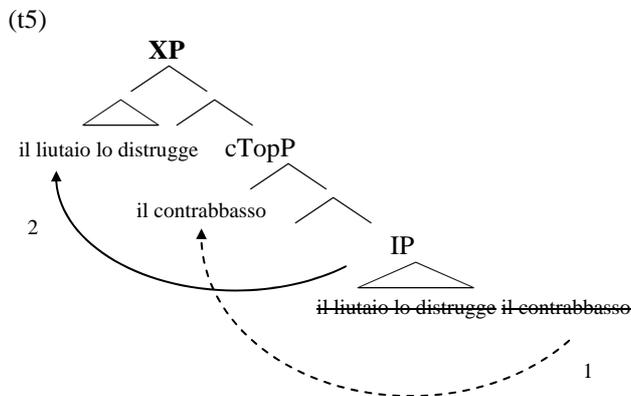
⁴¹ A copy+deletion analysis is adopted here (Chomsky, 1993), indicating the relevant interpretation. The arrow is just used as a visual help.



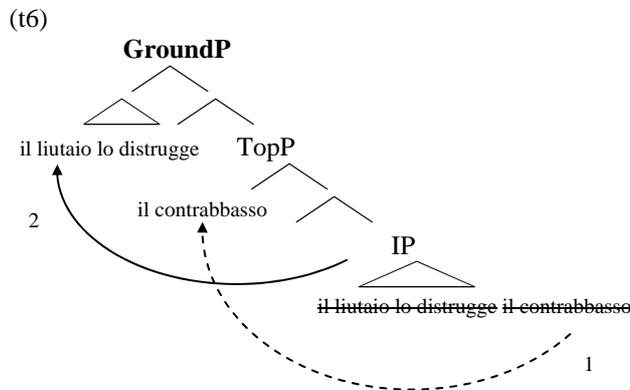
The structure above deserves some preliminary modifications, which however won't change the essential insights of the core analysis. As adequately stressed out by Samek-Lodovici (2006) – who however credits the merit of this observation to Valentina Bianchi – the IP-remnant movement cannot be inserted under a further projection of the topic type, given the fact that the remnant material necessarily contains the focus of the sentence (cf. Vallduví, 1992) – as clearly detectable in the example below:

- (121) A: Il liutaio lo ripara, il contrabbasso
the luthier it.CL repair the double-bass
 B: No. Il liutaio lo DISTRUGGE, il contrabbasso
no. The luthier it.Cl destroy the double-bass

For this reason, a generic XP is thus proposed as the landing site for IP-inversion:



Finally, this generic XP ends out to be speculatively re-analyzed as a GroundP in Fracarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007), who associate to it the triggering activity which yields IP inversion.



As a first consideration, the instantiation of a mechanism of this sort – where the right-dislocated topics are necessarily merged into the specifier of some dedicated projection in the CP periphery⁴² – must be considered in the light of recent structural implementations specifically affecting the complex nature of the topic system. As extensively seen in §3.2.2.3, current proposals such the one put forward by Fracarelli et al. (2007) attempt to give systematic correlations between discourse roles and grammatical properties of topic phrases, therefore trying to encode them in strict hierarchies of functional heads projected in the C-domain. Consider, again, the topic categories proposed earlier in Chapter 3:

(121) shifting topic > contrastive topic > familiar topic

Once the mechanism in (t5-t6) is involved for right-dislocated topics, the output structure of the CP periphery for the sentence in (120b) will look as the following (adapted from Fracarelli & Hinterhölzl, 2007: 12, 14):

[_{ForceP} [_{ShiftP} [_{GP} [_{IP} [_{VP} [_{DP} (c_k) [_{NP} e_k]]]]] [_{ContrP} [_{FocusP} [_{FamP} il contrabbasso_K t_{IP}] [_{FinP}]]]]]

However, an outcome of this sort, where the Focus phrase is merged between the GroundP and the FamP turns out to give rise to unexpected results, as also suggested

⁴² Specifically, the right-dislocated topics undergo internal merge in the case of Cardinaletti (2001) and Samek-Lodovici (2006), while they are directly base-generated into the left peripheral area in the case of Fracarelli et al. (2007).

in (Bocci, 2009: 48). In this sense, taking this account for granted, Italian shouldn't allow for sentences having a focus fronting (or a wh-question) and right-dislocated elements within the sentence. However, a conclusion of this sort is not borne out, since sentences like the ones below are commonly detectable:

(122) DAL LIUTAIO, lo ho portato, il contrabbasso
 to-the luthier [I] it.CL took the double-bass

(123) Da chi lo hai portato, il contrabbasso?
 to whom [you] it.CL took the double-bass

Following the strict hierarchy above, where GP is higher than Focus, cannot be maintained since the superficial order of (122-123) cannot be derived. However, leaving aside necessary improvements for the structure above – like the insertion of further GroundP projections somewhere between the Focus and the Topic system,⁴³ it will be sufficient, for the main aims of the present analysis, just to take account of the way the Clause-External Topicalization analysis can handle with the asymmetries detected earlier, in the previous section, where a right adjunction of the kind proposed in Vallduví (1992) has already shown to be theoretically illicit and empirically spurious.

As for the Minimality effects detected above in the sentences (114-115), and repeated here as (124-125), an Clause-External hypothesis seems to felicitously predict the grammaticality for CIRDs. In fact, the adjacency effects on traces detected earlier for French are once again found only in (124), where the offending topic projection sits between the C° and its trace. At the same time, no intervention can arise between governor and trace in (125), since in no point of the derivation the NP in TOP can affect the minimal configuration licensing the bidding condition:

(124) * Je ne sais pas qui_i, ton contrebasse, t_i pourrait le sonner
I not know NEG who, your double-bass, t can it.CL play
 IP [qui_i C° [ton contrebasse Top° [_{IP} t_i pourrait ...]]]
 ...X ...Z ...Y

(125) Je ne sais pas qui_i t_i pourrait le sonner, ton contrebasse

⁴³ For which, Bocci (2009) offers an extensive analysis in his investigation of right-dislocated topics in pre-focussed positions in Italian (cf. also §3.2.2.3).

I not know NEG who t can it.CL play your double-bass
 IP [qui_i C° [GP [IP t_i pourrait ...]]] [TopP ton contrebasse] Top°
 ...X ...Y (...Z)

The same derivation can explain the effects arising for classical AUX-TO-COMP constructions in Italian: once again, the left-dislocated topic proves to be an offending projection in the instantiation of the Nominative Case for the subject. The same does not hold for (127), as straightforwardly predicted by the Clause-External topicalization hypothesis:

(126) * *Avendolo_i, il contrabbasso, il liutaio t_i rotto (suonai il violoncello)*
having-it.CL the double-bass the luthier t broken ([I] played the cello)
 [CP *Avendolo_i [il contrabbasso T° [IP il liutaio t_i rotto]]]*
 ...X ...Z ...Y

(127) *Avendolo_i, il liutaio t_i rotto, il contrabbasso (suonai il violoncello)*
having-it.CL the luthier t broken the double-bass ([I] played the cello)
 [CP *Avendolo_i [GP [IP il liutaio t_i rotto]]] [TopP il contrabbasso] Top°*
 ...X ...Y (...Z)

Turning now to the case of the reconstruction effects, it has been noted earlier that the felicitous co-indexing between two NPs in adjunct phrases, lies in the assumption that adjuncts are inserted later in the derivation, and that consequently the relative clause in (113b), here repeated as (128), is added to the derivation only once the *wh*-movement has applied. In this sense, the relevant configuration for the instantiation of c-command relations should be available only after the external movement has taken place. Therefore, the Principle C violation can be felicitously explained under the present hypothesis, being the *pro* in [Spec, IP] an offending binder for “*the luthier*”.

(128) * [GP [IP *pro_i la aveva tenuta segreta t_j]*], [TopP *la storia che il liutaio_i invece raccontò*]
pro it.CL had kept secret the story that the luthier on the contrary told

Going further with the same analysis, the derivation above should imply the fact that as far as c-command is concerned, once the offending element in [Spec, GP] is more

embedded than the position in [Spec, IP] – as *pro* above is – then no violation should arise. However, this is not borne out:

- (129) * Credo che *pro*_i/lui_i lo voglia assolutamente riparare, il contrabbasso che il bambino_i
[I] think that pro/he it.Cl will absolutely repair the double-bass that the child
 ha rotto
broke
 [GP [IP credo[CP che [IP *pro*_i/lui_i lo voglia assolutamente riparare t_j]]] [TOPP il contrabbasso che il
 bambino_i ha rotto]_j

It is safe to admit, then, that under an Clause-External Topicalization Analysis, the ungrammaticality of the sentence above cannot be prevented.

A major hint in the same spirit comes from the availability of post-verbal subjects in Italian and their interaction with right-dislocated elements.

Through several pieces of evidence, Belletti (1999, 2001, 2004a, 2005) convincingly shows that the low IP area hosts for a dedicated position concerning the subject inversion in the Italian language. This position turns out to be very low in the clause structure – contrary to French Stylistic Inversion – given its syntactic surrounding and its interpretive import (cf. Cardinaletti, 2001 for a different proposal). As for the syntactic implications it is sufficient to consider the way post-verbal subjects can interact with low adverbs, following Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy, and the way negative markers behave with respect to c-command relations. In the first case, inverted subjects always follow very low adverbs, given the contrast below:

- (130) a. Chiarirà (*il liutaio) completamente il liutaio
will clarify the luthier completely the luthier
 b. Chiarirà (*il liutaio) bene il liutaio
will clarify the luthier well the luthier
 c. Chiarirà (*il liutaio) tutto il liutaio
will clarify the luthier everything the luthier

In the second case, post-verbal subjects show not to be high in the structure, thus disavouring further remnant movements to the left, given the subsequent impossibility for negative markers to license negation for inverted subjects:

- (131) a. Non ha suonato che contrabbassisti
NEG have played that double-bass players
- b. * Che contrabbassisti non hanno suonato
that double-bass players NEG played
- (132) a. Non ha chiamato alcun liutaio
NEG called any luthier
- b. * Alcun liutaio non ha chiamato
any luthier NEG called

Turning now to the second point at issue – the interpretive import of the post-verbal subject – it is simply safe to adopt the fairly traditional hypothesis that movement is motivated by interface effects (cf. Rizzi, 2004a, 2005), in a way that ‘remnant movements are limited to those cases where interpretive/intonational factors seem to call for them’ (Belletti, 2004a: 19). From this assumption, then, only the peripheral focus position is systematically associated with a contrastive/corrective interpretation, as observable in (133), while no equivalent interpretation is necessarily associated with the inverted subject, for which a new-information property can be detected. Consider for instance, the out-of-the-blue context in (134):

- (133) AL LIUTAIO ho portato il contrabbasso, (non al pompiere)
to the luthier [I] took the double-bass (not to-the fireman)
- (134) A: Chi è venuto?
 who has come?
 B: È venuto il liutaio
 has come the luthier
 B’: * IL LIUTAIO è venuto
 The luthier has come

No remnant movement is thus associated with (134B) since no interpretive trigger has been detected in the functional analysis. This latter observation, then is convergent with the syntactic investigation above and thus lead one to conclude that there exist at least two distinct Focus projections in the clause structure, for which one carrying contrastive/corrective interpretation is hosted in the high periphery of the sentence,

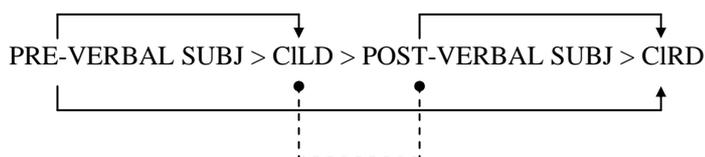
while the other one, carrying new-information interpretation, is realized in the low area of the IP system. Assuming then, that post-verbal subjects, hosted in the latter focus position, are very low in the clause, it is worth analyzing the interaction that this latter can instantiate with left-dislocated and right-dislocated topics. If the Clause-External Topicalization Hypothesis were on the right track, and the CILD were derived from CILD merged in left periphery and a subsequent remnant movement, the same binding relations should be detected for both the constructions, given the fact that in no case should a c-command relation be implied at LF between the dislocated element and the binder inside IP. This prediction is apparently supported in the case of left-dislocation (mere co-reference should be worked out):

- (135) * *la sua_i richiesta d'esonazione per malattia, non l'aveva consegnata nessuno_i*
his request of illness exemption NEG it.CL had handed in anybody

The same should hold for CIRD since the sentence above is its source derivation. However, the prediction is not borne out, giving the degree of grammaticality of the sentence below:

- (136) ? *non l'aveva consegnata nessuno_i, la sua_i richiesta d'esonazione per malattia*
NEG it.CL had handed in anybody his request of illness exemption

As it will be seen in the next section, when an Internal-Clause Topicalization Hypothesis will be introduced, the outcomes above lead one to support the idea that actually subjects can bind into the dislocated clause, the only difference being that the reconstruction site for CILD is higher than the one detected for the CIRD, this latter being the only one bound by both pre-verbal and post-verbal subjects:

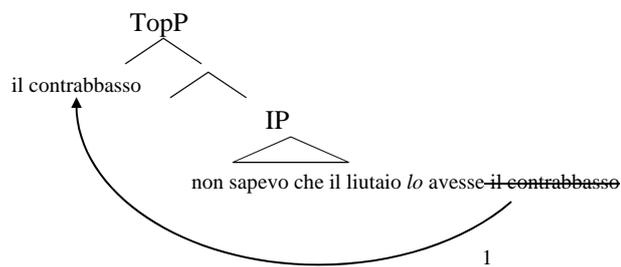


A final remark is dedicated to the upward-boundedness property of CIRD. As said earlier in §4.4.1, the Right-Roof-Constraint proved to be a tremendous challenge for an analysis of the symmetric kind, given that CILD does not show the same

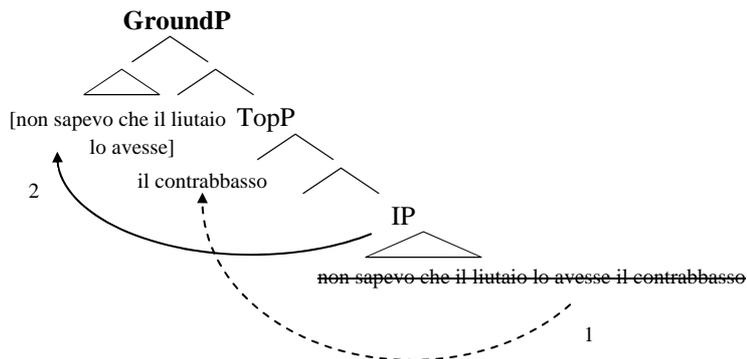
sensitivity. In what follows, the counter-evidences found in Cecchetto (1999, 2000) are taken into consideration, even if slightly modified. If one assumes an Clause-External analysis, the derivation of the CIRD from the sentence below should be blocked at certain point, thus preventing some of the material inside the dislocated clause to be no more than *one--clause-away* from some other:

- (137) Non sapevo che il liutaio avesse il contrabbasso
 [I]NEG knew that the luthier had the double-bass

(t7)

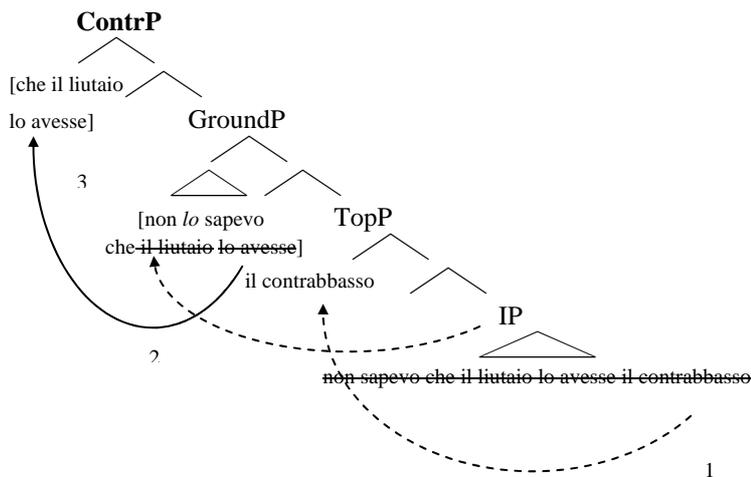


(t8)



At this point of the derivation, the possibility of further movements to the left becomes problematic; in this respect, nothing prevents the objective sentence inside the [Spec, GP] to be further moved to the left, thus being itself dislocated, say in ContrP:

(t9)



This structure is certainly ruled out, incorrectly deriving the ungrammatical sentence below:

(138) * Che il liutaio lo avesse, non lo sapevo, il contrabbasso
that the luthier it.CL had [I]NEG it.CL knew the double-bass

In the light of all the evidences above, it is worth concluding that an analysis of the Clause-External Topicalization type should be rejected, for the reason that it can only partially cope with the asymmetries already found under the symmetric approach, specifically, the reconstructions effects, the binding affecting the dislocated elements and the Right-Roof Constraint.

4.4.3 The Clause-Internal Topicalization Analysis for CIRD

The broad idea that right-dislocated XPs should stand in a position very low in the clause structure seems to lead to profitable consequences. Essentially, a proposal of this sort seems to be the only way possible for accounting for the the problematic data detected above, thus recapitulating both the wrong predictions made under the symmetric approach and those made under the external-movement analysis. As for the first case, it has been shown that sharp asymmetries between CILD and CIRD can be easily detectable. Leaving aside the ban for right-adjunctions as expected under Kayne's (1994) proposal, an analysis of this sort also predicts that right-

dislocated topics can c-command IP-internal material in the rest of the clause, contrary to the facts since no Principle C violation is found in the sentence below (cf. Frascarelli et al. 2007: (15)):

- (139) Sicuramente Maria_i partirà presto, lei_i
Certainly Maria will-leave soon she

As for the second case, it has been shown that an analysis which supports the idea that right-dislocated topics are the result of a clitic-left dislocation construction – which in turn presupposes an external/internal merge into the CP periphery – plus an remnant movement of the IP material left stranded behind, proves to be partially inadequate when Binding effects between dislocated objects and some other external objects become crucially relevant.

The Clause-Internal Topicalization Analysis makes at least three major assumptions, which will be briefly discussed in turn:

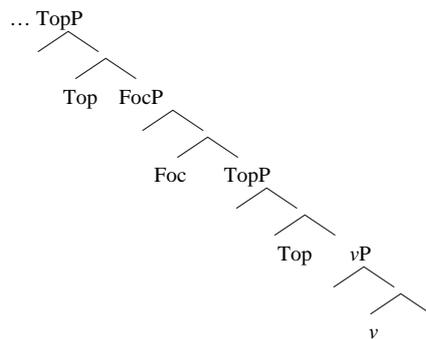
- (1) In very recent years (cf. Chomsky, 2001) it has been proposed that the CP system and the vP system can be considered ‘strong phases’, both being syntactic units which share a certain amount of independence and being the domain of syntactic operations:

the derivation of Exp (a set of interface representation) proceeds by *phase*, where each phase is determined by a subarray LA_i of LA (Lexical Array) placed in ‘active memory’. When the computation L (the mapping derivational procedure) exhausts LA_i , forming the syntactic object K, L returns to LA, either extending K to K’ or forming an independent structure M to be assimilated later to K or to some extension of K. Derivation is assumed to be cyclic. A subarray LA_i should be easily identifiable, it should contain exactly one lexical item that will label the resulting phase. Phases are ‘propositional’: verbal phrases with full argument structure and CP with force indicators. Phases are CP and v^*P , and a subarray contains exactly one C or $*v$. [...] They are *strong* phases since they are potentially targets for movement and the cyclic Spell-Out can only take place at the strong phase level.

(Chomsky, 2001: 12)

In this sense, a strong parallelism between CP and *v*P can be postulated by assuming that the *v*P periphery should resemble – at some extent – the clause external CP periphery. This last conclusion essentially means that the low periphery could be seen as a structural domain for dedicated position involving scope-discourse properties which reflect those detected for the high periphery (since Rizzi, 1997) and which, for this reason, are directly observable all over the syntactic derivation (Belletti, 2001, 2004a, 2005). The parallelism can be represented as below:

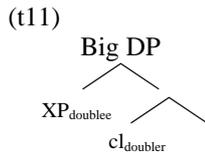
(t10)



Once a phase is complete, movement and other operations may target either its head or constituents in their edges – [Spec*v*P; SpecCP] – but they cannot affect the remaining part of the structure.

(2) The CIRD construction is structurally different from the CILD construction, even though they share a common input. By common input, it is here meant the proposal that both the dislocated clauses are derived from a single unit, labeled ‘Big DP’ (Cecchetto, 1999, 2000), inside of which both the clitic pronoun (the ‘doubler’) and the lexical argument co-indexed with it (the ‘doublee’ in Belletti, 2005) are generated. The proposal of a Big DP – which is inspired by related phenomena of the ‘doubling type’ as the Floated Quantifier phenomena detected in (Sportiche, 1988) – is appealing for it can subsume the fact that two arguments which are filling the same Theta-role can be grouped together under the same syntactic object. For this reason is the Big DP itself which is assigned the Theta-Role in the argumental position of the verb in which it is merged. Structurally, the Big DP takes the clitic doubling as its head while the XP lexical item is hosted on its specifier:

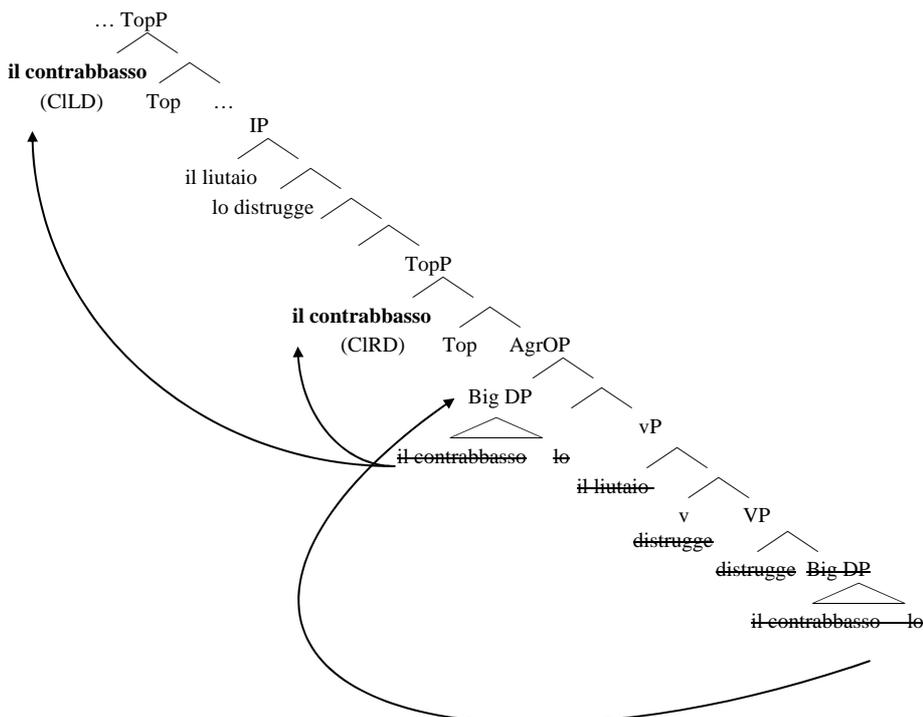
[XP [_{Big D} clitic]]_{Big DP}



(3) Given the structure in (t11) and the speculations in (1) the XP in [Spec, Big DP] ends in a low topic projection in the ν P periphery when dealing with right-dislocated constructions, while it ends in a high topic projection in the CP periphery when dealing with left-dislocation constructions. In both the cases, the Big DP is merged in its argumental position and moves as an entire category to a functional position external to ν P (as AgrOP in Cecchetto, 1999). From this point, the clitic can reach its final landing site, ending incorporated into the verb, while the doublee moves in order to check its interpretive features, again, to the high periphery in CILD, to the low periphery in CIRD. The alternate analysis is sketched immediately below the sentences in (120), here represented as (140):

- (140) a. Il contrabbasso, il liutaio lo distrugge
the double-bass the luthier it.Cl destroy
 b. Il liutaio lo distrugge, il contrabbasso
the luthier it.CL destroy the double-bass

(t12)



As said at the beginning of the section, the fact that the right-dislocated topic invariably stands in a position very low in the clause structure proves to be highly suitable in accounting for the crucial asymmetries found above. Going briefly to the analysis of the Minimality effects regarding the ECP effects and the topic interventions in AUX-TO-COMP constructions, the analysis applies straightforwardly, being for the reason equally valid as the Clause-External Topicalization Analysis:

- (141) Je ne sais pas qui_i t_i pourrait le sonner, ton contrebasse
I not know NEG who t can it.CL play your double-bass
 IP [qui_i C° [IP t_i pourrait ...]] [TopP ton contrebasse_j] Top° [Big DP t_j [Big D cl]]
 ...X ...Y (...Z)

- (142) Avendolo_i, il liutaio t_i rotto, il contrabbasso (suonai il violoncello)
having-it.CL the luthier t broken the double-bass ([I] played the cello)
 [CP Avendolo_i [IP il liutaio t_i rotto]] [TopP il contrabbasso_j] Top° [Big DP t_j [Big D cl]]
 ...X ...Y (...Z)

Predictably, a derivation of the type just sketched can easily incorporate Binding violations of the kind detected in (128-129) and represented here as (143-144):

- (143) * pro_i la aveva tenuta segreta, la storia che il liutaio_i invece raccontò
pro it.CL had kept secret the story that the luthier on the contrary told

- (144) * Credo che pro_i/lui_i lo voglia assolutamente riparare, il contrabbasso che il bambino_i
[I] think that pro/he it.CL will absolutely repair the double-bass that the child
 ha rotto
broke

As the examples show, in no point of the derivation, the NPs ‘il liutaio’ in (143) and ‘il bambino’ in (144) can escape from the illicit c-commanding domain imposed by null subject ‘pro’ or by the ‘lui’ subject pronoun. Conversely, under the Clause-External Topicalization Analysis, it has been seen that the result in (144) are surprisingly unexpected, since the more embedding of the offending projection should avoid the Principle C violation detected in (143). However, this is not the case. Going further with the evidence, it is worth recalling in a more specific fashion, the way both pre- and post-verbal subjects can interact with the dislocated elements in the high and low

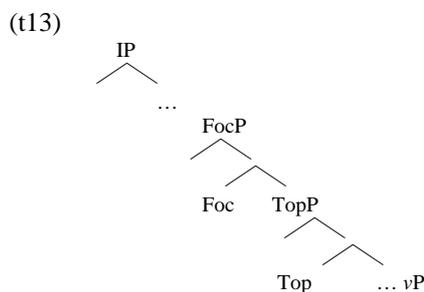
periphery. Following this line, it has been proposed in the section above that there exist at least two distinct Focus projections in the clause structure, the first of which is hosted in the high periphery of the sentence and carries a contrastive/corrective interpretation, the other one, carrying new-information interpretation, is instead realized in the low area of the IP system. Moreover, it has been proposed, following Belletti (2001, 2004a) that the availability of post-verbal subjects in CIRD is exactly due to the presence of the low focus position in which they are therefore hosted, for this reason sharing with it the same interpretive import. Consider for instance the contrast again:

(145) [_{FocP} AL LIUTAIO] [_{IP} ho portato il contrabbasso], (non al pompiere)
to the luthier [I] took the double-bass (not to-the fireman)

(146) A: Chi è venuto?
 who has come?
 B: [_{IP} È venuto [_{FocP} il liutaio]]
 has come the luthier

B': * IL LIUTAIO è venuto
 The luthier has come

Following Cecchetto (1999: 58, 2000), Belletti (2001) and Bocci (2009) the low Focus projection immediately dominates the topic position in which the right dislocated phrase is hosted. In this sense, the structure proposed in (t10) can be offered here again, with small modifications:



Putting together the syntactic configuration above and the assumption that the right-dislocated topic remains very low in the clause, it follows that a right-dislocated

topic can be felicitously bound by both pre- and post-verbal subjects. This prevision is actually borne out:

(147) Nessun contrabbassista_i lo ha voluto suonare, il suo_i pezzo
No double-bass player it.CL has wanted to play, his piece

(148) Non lo ha voluto suonare nessun contrabbassista_i, il suo pezzo_i
NEG it.CL has wanted to play any double-bass player his piece

The grammaticality of (147-148) should follow from the presumed grammaticality of the CILD counterparts, following the Clause-External Analysis, since the latter is an intermediate step for the former. Unfortunately, this prevision is not confirmed by the sentences below, which are identical to (147-148) except for the fact that they show the dislocated element to the left:

(149) Il suo_i pezzo, nessun contrabbassista_i lo ha voluto suonare
his piece no double-bass player it.CL has wanted to play

(150) * Il suo pezzo_i, non lo ha voluto suonare nessun contrabbassista_i,
his piece NEG it.CL has wanted to play any double-bass player

Following Bocci (2009: 50) this asymmetry can be explained by assuming that the position which count for Binding tests in CILD is inevitably higher than the one assumed to host focussed subjects: for example, it could be perfectly the clitic itself. For this reason, then, the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (150) yields a violation of Binding.

Finally, the Clause-Internal Topicalization Analysis can straightforwardly cope with the constraint imposed by the upward-boundedness detected for CIRD. Consider the examples below:

(151) Non sapevo che il liutaio avesse il contrabbasso
[I]NEG knew that the luthier had the double-bass

(152) * Che il liutaio lo avesse, non lo sapevo, il contrabbasso

Contrary to the unexpected results identified under the Clause-External Analysis, where the sentence in (152) is indeed possible, there is no way under the Clause-Internal Analysis to be faced to the same outcomes, since it is not possible that the argument clause moves left without carrying with it the right-dislocated element hosted in its *v*P periphery.

Concluding, it has been shown that neither a symmetric approach of the kind proposed in Valludiví (1992: 103) – where the right-dislocated element is right-adjunct to IP – nor a Clause-External Topicalization Analysis of the kind proposed in Cardinaletti (2001), Frascarelli, et al. (2007) among the others – where the right-dislocated element moves overtly to the high left periphery – can tackle with the whole set of distinct phenomena detected at the beginning of the section. Furthermore, it has been shown that only an analysis which conceives the right-dislocated element as being hosted in a low topic projection inside the *v*P periphery can recapitulate all the incongruities above. Both the clitic pronoun and the doubled element sit in a Big DP – the former being its head, the latter its specifier – which is base-generated in its argumental position and splits in the course of the derivation, thus allowing the clitic to reach its final landing site incorporate to the verb, and the doubled element to move overtly either to the low or to the high periphery.

4.4.4 The case of Marginalization

Before concluding, it is worth considering in some detail a structure which partially resembles the CIRD construction and that differs from it in the sole omission of the clitic pronoun in the object resumption. As noted earlier, when the syntactic properties affecting the right-dislocated constructions in Italian have been taken at issue (§4.1: (vi)), the absence of the clitic pronoun in this particular context is not deemed to be ungrammatical. On the basis of this judgment it is thus interesting to verify the conditions under which the possible omission of the clitic pronoun in object position can be licensed in Italian, and consequently whether its presence/absence is due to a mere optionality, or more probably, it is due to the superficial reflex of two distinct underlying syntactic structures. The detection of this double derivation – which is not mirrored to the left, probably due to the fact that topics in Italian cannot be involved in the instantiation of anaphoric operators for null constants, recalling, for instance, Rizzi, 1997: 293, Cinque, 1990: 73 and much

related work – has been first noted by Antinucci & Cinque (1977: 135f) who merit the coinage of the expression ‘Emarginazione’, whose informal label has been used for the description of particular marked constructions affecting the canonical word-order in Italian.

For the seek of concreteness, the incriminating pair is offered below, the first of which is a CIRD of the classical type, while the latter is a simple marginalized construction:

- (153) a. L’ha rotto il liutaio, il contrabbasso
It.CL broke the luthier, the double-bass
- b. Ha rotto il liutaio, il contrabbasso
broke the luthier, the double-bass

A first plain distinction between the two constructions above has been drawn in recent years in Cardinaletti (2001)⁴⁴ who convincingly shows that the presence/absence of the clitic pronoun in Italian is not due to a spurious optionality, but it is rather due to the fact that two different underlying structures are responsible for the derivation of the two marked constructions. In this sense, she offers several pieces of evidence arguing in favor of a bare distinction between the two. Some of them will be briefly reviewed below:

- (i) Both CIRD and Marginalization take multiple complements, however, while their order is free in the former (cf. §4.1: (iii)), their order is more constrained in the latter, to the effect, converging to the basic word-order of the arguments in V⁴⁵:

- (154) a. Glielo ha rotto il liutaio, il contrabbasso al pompiere
to-him.CL-it.CL broke the luthier, the double-bass, to-the fireman
- b. Glielo ha rotto il liutaio, al pompiere, il contrabbasso
to-him.CL-it.CL broke the luthier, to-the fireman, the double-bass

⁴⁴ But see also Calabrese (1982).

⁴⁵ A behaviour similar to that of Marginalization has been found for Romance Afterthoughts (cf. §4.3.1: (iii)). See also, Bocci, 2009: 42, fn32; Villalba, 2000: 158: (iv).

(155) a. Ha rotto il liutaio, il contrabbasso, al pompiere
broke the luthier, the double-bass, to-the fireman

b. ?* Ha rotto il liutaio, al pompiere, il contrabbasso
broke the luthier, to-the fireman, the double-bass

(ii) Following Calabrese (1982), the interaction between complement clauses and objects, give rise to two opposite outcomes. The marginalized object must be in its base position. Under the Clause-Internal Analysis, the complement clause moves to the internal Focus, while the dislocated elements sits in its topic position:

(155) a. Che cosa lo hai convinto [a fare], il liutaio?
what [you] him.CL have convinced to do the luthier

b. * Che cosa hai convinto [a fare], il liutaio?
What [you] have convinced to do the luthier

(iii) Verbal agreement in left-peripheral positions. It is a well known fact that past participle in Italian agrees with the direct object only if the clitic pronoun is available:

(156) a. Rotta non la ha, la viola
broken [he] NEG it.CL has, the viola

b. * Rotta non ha, la viola
broken [he] NEG has, the viola

(iv) Quantified expressions: another well-known fact is that quantified expressions cannot be left/right dislocated, since neither the clitic nor the trace left behind qualify as variables. The same apparently does not hold for marginalized constructions. However, the grammatical judgement for this kind of sentences remains highly elusive, and for the present analysis very little predictive:⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Belletti (2004a: 43fn) is explicit in this respect: ‘we believe that the data are too subtle to be really usable to draw such a clear-cut distinction. Although the tendency probably goes in Cardinaletti’s direction due to reasons yet to be understood, it seems that in both emarginazione and right-dislocation a quantified direct object is not admitted’. Following Belletti’s analysis, in any case does this distinction clarify the real possibility for marginalized objects to get a topic position.

(157) a. * Non lo ha invitato Gianni, nessuno
NEG him.CL has invited Gianni anybody

b. ?? Non ha invitato Gianni, nessuno
NEG him.CL has invited Gianni anybody

Finally, and contrary to the predictions made under Cardinaletti's account, both the marginalized object and right-dislocated object behave in the same way with respect to the Binding phenomena. Indeed, under the present analysis, both the sentences below are judged equally grammatical (cf. (147-148)):

(158) a. Non lo ha voluto suonare nessuno_i (nessun contrabbassista_i), il suo_i pezzo
NEG it.CL has wanted to play anybody (any double-bass player) his piece

b. Non ha voluto suonare nessuno_i (nessun contrabbassista_i), il suo_i pezzo
NEG has wanted to play anybody (any double-bass player) his piece

Given the subtle syntactic evidences above, it is now worth trying to compare the way the two constructions in (153) behave with respect to the discourse implications. Briefly recalling Belletti's (2001, 2004a) insightful examination of pre-verbal and post-verbal subjects, it has been proposed in the section above that there exist at least two distinct Focus projections in the clause structure, the first of which is hosted in the high periphery of the sentence and carries a contrastive/corrective interpretation, the other one, carrying new-information interpretation, is instead realized in the low area of the IP system. Consequently, it has been proposed that when post-verbal subjects in CIRD are focussed, they necessarily occupy the low peripheral position, since they can only convey a new-information interpretation (IFoc). As a matter of fact, subjects conveying non-contrastive information fail to be felicitously accepted in the front of the clause. From this consideration, it will be possible to test whether the marginalized constructions show a different behaviour:

(159) a. A: Chi ha rotto il contrabbasso?
who broke the double-bass

b. B: Lo ha rotto [IFoc IL LIUTAIO], il contrabbasso

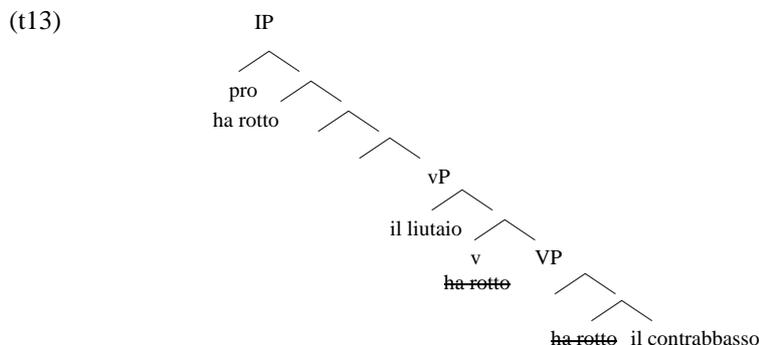
c. B: ?? Ha rotto [IFoc IL LIUTAIO] il contrabbasso

The pattern above detects the distinction in quite a simple way. Following Bocci (2009: 37) the only licit answer for the question in (159a) is the one in (b) where the focussed post-verbal subject is adequately hosted in its low peripheral position. As for the marginalized answer in (c) it can be worth assuming that it can only be adequately realized only when the subject occurring in a post-verbal position carries a contrastive information, rather than a new information focus:⁴⁷

(160) A: Ho sentito che il pompiere ha rotto il contrabbasso e la viola
 [I] heard that the fireman broke the double-bass and the viola

B: No. Ha rotto IL LIUTAIO, il contrabbasso
 No broke the luthier the double-bass

At this point, two different derivations have been proposed in literature: the first one has been brought out in Cardinaletti (2001: 10) and Bocci (2009: 38) who assume the both the object and its relative contrastively focussed subject occur *in situ* in marginalized constructions:

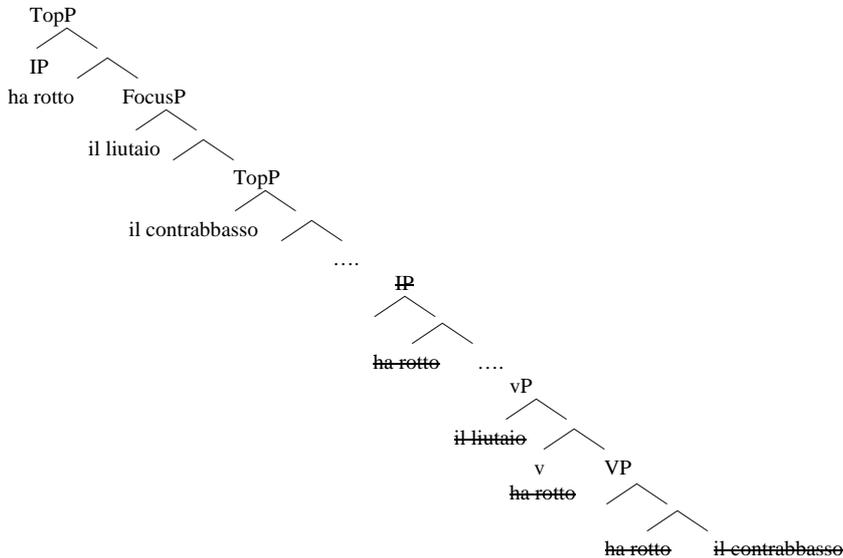


Conversely, the second one, which has been proposed in Belletti (2004a: 29), hypothesizes that the marginalized object is moved to the high left periphery of the clause structure. Given the superficial disposition of the elements inside the clause, further external movements are indeed implied, like the rise of the direct object to the

⁴⁷ The ban against the order *(cl)VS_{IFoc}O can be ultimately due to an intervening effect for Case assignment: since the clitic is absent, nothing prevents the arising of minimality effect of S between the lexical direct object and its Case projection. This is in line with the ungrammaticality of VSO sentence proposed in Belletti, 2004a: (20b, d, f, h) and explicitly described in f.n. 39.

specifier of a topic projection below the focus position, and the remnant movement of the IP passing them, into some speculative higher topic projection:

(t14)



Whatever derivation is here chosen, the bare sufficient insight for the purposes of the present work is that the lack of the clitic pronoun into the marginalized construction is not due to an apparent optionality in its use (as for example, in Kayne, 1994: 79); rather presence/absence of the clitic pronoun is due to the availability of two different underlying structures licensing different functional material.

4.5 Elusive facts on the English Right-Dislocation

The previous part of the present chapter has shown that the syntactic and the interpretive analysis of the Romance right-dislocation has got more and more attention in the last decade, especially given the very recent insights regarding the possible existence of a low peripheral space where the right-dislocated topic can be legitimately moved. Turning to the cross-linguistic evidence, the syntactic and interpretive status of the English Right-Dislocation is still fairly neglected in modern linguistic theory, probably due to its degree of marginality in English language, and to the erroneous misconception relating it to the pragmatic corrective function of the

‘Afterthought’ mechanism (cf. Geluykens, 1987, where RD is seen as a special performance error phenomenon). The few attested examples found in the generative framework are firstly offered in Ross (1967/1986: 428), who inserts ERD within the copying rules class, using a syntactic formalism similar, although directionally opposite, to that proposed for the Left Dislocation:

COPYING RULE: Left Dislocation

(Ross’s 6.126)

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 X & - & NP & - & Y \\
 1 & & 2 & & 3 & \text{OPTIONAL} & = = = & => \\
 2\#[1 & & 2 & & 3] \\
 & & + \text{PRO} & & & & &
 \end{array}$$

COPYING RULE: Right Dislocation

(Ross’s 6.143)

$$\begin{array}{rcl}
 X & - & NP & - & Y \\
 1 & & 2 & & 3 & \text{OPTIONAL} & = = = & => \\
 [1 & & 2 & & 3] \# 2 \\
 & & + \text{PRO} & & & & &
 \end{array}$$

This rule should convert the sentence in (161) in one of the sentences in (162):

(161) The cops spoke to the janitor about that robbery yesterday

- (162) a. *They* spoke to the janitor about that robbery yesterday, [the cops]
 b. The cops spoke *to him* about that robbery yesterday, [the janitor]
 c. The cops spoke to the janitor about *it* yesterday, [that robbery]

From a discursive point of view, the proposals found in the functionalistic literature are a bit more definite and well-structured: incidentally, the evocability conditions proposed in §4.2.3 and put forward by Grosz & Ziv (1994) have been applied for the first time to the specific case of English RD, with the precise aim of showing its total independence from the corrective strategies, in this way crucially detecting its distinct referential conditions.

4.5.1 English RD: some syntactic properties

A prototypical example of ERD is given below:

(163) They would kill him, John

ERD involves a non-vocative detached NP (*John*) in the right periphery of the sentence and a resumptive element (*him*) (= *agreement marker*) linked with it, within the sentence itself. The resumptive element complies with all the functions the dislocate element would have done if it had not been displaced. The underlying syntactic structure is given below:

(164) [_S ... pron/AGR_i...] XP_i

Contrary to the well-established syntactic properties offered for the CIRD in §4.1, those involved in the English counterpart have never been explicitly taken into consideration. Since one of the major aim behind the present work is the detection of a possible derivational account for ERD, some of the syntactic characteristics can be already easily analyzed in the present section – such as, the type of dislocated category, the type of resumptive element involved, the sensitivity to island constraints – while some others, like its root(-like) status will be just mentioned here, but only explicitly investigated in Chapter 5, when it will be adequately supported by experimental evidence, and subsequently correlated with the equivalent phenomena detected in the left periphery.

(i) As for the type of category involved, only NPs and CPs are possible:

(167) You should give it to Paul, [_{NP} that book]

(168) * We discussed the whole afternoon of it, [_{PP} of that problem]

(169) * Probably she is not it, [_{AP} clever]

(170) * He has never been it, [_{VP} locked in a cage]

(171) Everybody says it, [_{CP} that the problem is easy]

(ii) It is not recursive, and :

(172) * I gave it to him, the book , John

(iii) Given the morphological option available in English the resumptive element is always a tonic pronoun, sharing number and gender with the dislocated element:

(173) I already saw her, Mary

As for the range of applicability, Emonds (1970: 26) partially contradicts the examples provided by Ross above (cf. 163), including ERD into the class of Root-phenomena. Classical examples offered in his work are listed below:

- (174) a. It really bothers me, John's big cigar
b. I buy them right at the store, these clams
c. John visits it every weekend, this park

At the same time, he completely rejects the possibility for ERD to be licensed in embedded contexts:

- (175) a. * John has sold the garage that you store it in, the old car, to Mary
b. * John gave the boy she used to go out with , his girl friend, a dollar

However, as for the cases of ETOP and LD analyzed above (cf. §3.2.1 (iv) and §3.3.1 (iv)) the restrictive theory found in Emonds (1970) is partially rejected in Hooper & Thompson (1973):

- (176) I think [_{CP} that you should read it, this book
(177) * I regret [_{CP} that you read it, this book

Finally, the relation between the righthand phrase and the resumptive element obey the Right-Roof Constraint (RRC) discovered by Ross (1967(1986),⁴⁸ in a fashion identical to CIRD in (45-46) here in (179):

⁴⁸ The same conclusions are found in Kayne (1994: 78) when discussing the ban against generalized right-adjunction, under his LCA-based theory.

- (178) a. That *they* spoke to the janitor about the robbery yesterday, [the cops], it is obvious
 b. * That *they* spoke to the janitor about the robbery yesterday, it is obvious, [the cops]
- (179) a. Che *gliela* presti, [la macchina], mi sembra stano
that [you] to-her.CL-it.CL lend, the car, to me sounds weird
 b. * Che *gliela* presti, mi sembra strano, [la macchina]

4.5.2 English RD: interpretive properties

As already seen for CIRD, the discourse conditions under which right-dislocated topics can be licensed in English are equally limited. In this way, a close correlation between CIRD and ERD can be easily detectable.

Considering the example below, ERD can never be an instance of aboutness/shifting topic: it cannot introduce new discourse referents, nor it is able to shift the attention on a different referent:

- (180) A: And now we are sitting in a house on a piece of ground where you kept ponies, isn't it? In that corner?
 B: That's true Mark, that's true! And there was Miss Mahan ('s house), and now that's where the vicarage is going to be, in the back of that. The last vicar's left now, he's just finished his last service, Baptists! He's gone to Glastonbury, and there's no one been appointed here yet but it will be about two months I think. There's a canon officiating here now, I know it's Canon somebody. Well, I know somebody's coming here in the meantime.
 A: And how are we going to shoot the canon?
 Uhm..., # *he knows quite a bit about the church, [Young Cochran], he bought the place over her and her has sold what he bought to the local combine called diocese.*
 (adapted from DI-B23 0184 – DI-B23 0215)

At the same time, it can never be the case that ERD introduces contrastivity:

- (181) * I will take it, the wine, you will take them, the vegetables

Given these data, the observations found in Lambrecht (1994: 203) when discussing cases of *antitopic* constructions in Romance languages can be equally extendible to the English case:

‘The presuppositional structure of the antitopic construction involves a signal that the not-yet-active topic referent is going to be named at the end of the sentence. The request for temporary “holding” of the proposition is of course easiest to comply with if the referent is already quasi-active or at least highly accessible. This explain why high accessibility of the referent is a general condition for appropriate use of antitopic construction across languages. In contrast with LD, the lexical (or independent-pronominal) topic expression in RD cannot indicate a new topic or a topic shift. Given that antitopic constituents are always unaccented, any contrasting function is excluded. The cross-linguistic tendency for RD constructions to be used in discourse contexts in which the topic referent is already highly salient, and for LD constructions to be reserved for topic-announcing or topic-shifting contexts.’

Given that the dislocation to the right always implies already active or highly-accessible referents, it is indeed interesting to analyze the way the right-dislocated topic conveys *given* information.

Two clear examples for its *given* status are offered in Ward & Birner (2004: 168) and in the DCPSE:

(182) Below the waterfall (and this was the most astonishing sight of all) a whole mass of enormous glass pipes were dangling down into the river from somewhere high up in the ceiling! *They really were enormous, [those pipes]!* There must have been dozen of them at least, and they were sucking up the brownish muddy water from the river and carrying it away to goodness knows where

(183) Dave was saying at the bottom of his road that there was this man that was planting roses in his garden. He had panted them all and went in his house and about half an hour later he saw somebody, *some young lout was digging them up, [the roses]*
[DCPSE: DL-B32 0282]

In both the constructions, it is clear that the dislocated element needs to be explicitly evoked in the immediately prior discourse, for this reason becoming both discourse-old and hearer-old. Again, RD can never allow new/contrastive material in dislocated position:

(184) Dave was saying at the bottom of his road that there was this man that was planting roses in his garden. He had panted them all and went in his house and about half an hour later he saw somebody, # *some young lout was digging them up, [the tulips]*

Predictably, an analysis in terms of POSET relations is weakened by the fact the pragmatic links between the referents of the dislocated materials and the hearer's mind is only adequately activated when an identity relation is enhanced: this means that the inferences triggered by the dislocated elements with salient partially-ordered sets raised in the discourse-model are highly constrained:

(185) IDENTITY (is-equal-to)

A: Can I have an electric double-bass?

B: No, I'm sorry, but I think you can't. It's about two weeks that we have finished them all, the electric double-basses

(186) SET/MEMBERS (is-a-member-of)

A: Do you still have any instrument left?

B: # Well, I have finished them all, the double-basses

(187) PART/WHOLE (is-a-part-of)

A: Do you think that I can restart playing my double-bass?

B: # Well, I still have to repair it, the fingerboard (while the bridge is OK now)

Concluding from these results, once again the notion of *evocability* (Grosz & Ziv, 1994) is considered to be the best account: RD is appropriate in two distinct settings: TEXTUALLY EVOKED entities and SITUATIONALLY EVOKED entities. As for the first case, three further sub-types are detectable:

(188) DISTANT MENTION

(the referent is mentioned in a relatively distant utterance and not subsequently mentioned)

A: I asked you to read this book for today!

B: I know. I tried to very hard, but I was quite busy. I had guests from abroad who I had to entertain and I had nobody to help me. Besides, it is much too difficult for me, this article.

Grosz & Ziv, 1994: 8

(189) IMPLICIT MENTION

(the referent is not overtly mentioned, but it is inferable from another one, linked with it)

A: I saw Modern Times again yesterday

B: He is amazing, (this) Charlie Chaplin

(190) ATTRIBUTIVE MENTION

(the dislocated element is used in a predicatively way, and not simply referentially)

A: I took my dog to the vet yesterday

B: he is getting unaffordable, the mangy old beast

Turning briefly to the second class, a classical example is a situation in which the referent of the dislocated element is situationally inferable from the context:

[people talking about a man yelling at his daughter in the commercial centre]

(191) He's really horrible, that man!

Before concluding, it is worth stressing the fact that ERD – like CLRD – must be always kept distinct from the Afterthought construction. Recalling the conclusions reached in §4.3, afterthoughts are last-resort strategies used when the speaker realizes that the message conveyed to the hearer is potentially inexact, given multiple referents to which the pronoun inside the clause can refer. An Afterthought example for English is offered below:

(192) A: I think that sort of nicest thing about books is that you can come back to over and over

B: Can you give us an example?

A: Well, yes. I mean Treasure Island, the Wind in the Willows

B: Oh! I'm reading it now, Treasure Island!

DCPSE: DI-B09 0065

Here the ambiguity arose with respect to the two possible books – ‘Treasure Island’ and ‘The Wind in the Willows’ – cannot be overcome by simply using the referential pronoun inside the clause. In this case, the speaker realizes that the message would be highly ambiguous if no further information were added. Other possible ambiguities can arise for other reasons, as for example number and gender with respect to the pronoun inside the clause:

(193) Yesterday I met the Smith and the Brown. I really hate them, the Brown (I mean)

(number ambiguity)

- (194) Yesterday I met Susie and Mary. She's really stupid, Mary (I mean)
(gender ambiguity)

Conversely, RD is never used as self-correcting potentially defective text (cf. Tomlin, 1986). Being not corrective, RD can at most be seen as a grammatical device used by the speaker as a function to organize the discourse: the referent is not ambiguous, rather just momentarily put back on the scale of Identifiability (see §3.2.2.2) from active to quasi-active, or rather from central to peripheral focus (cf. Grosz & Ziv, 1994). The reference path in RD is never ambiguous. For the ease of concreteness, consider salience, number and gender in turn:

- (195) We were looking for concentration, so we decided to go to the mountain for five days. We just took with us the double-bass, a pair of blankets and then matches. We tried and tried for hours, but Mark was really unable to play it, the double-bass

- (196) Yesterday I met Mary and the Brown. I really hate her, that Mary

- (197) Yesterday I met Susie and John. She's really stupid, Mary

In (195) the 'double-bass' is the only thing which can be played, therefore no other reference can be interposed in the hearer's attention. In (196) 'she' can only be referred to Mary – unless someone else in the Brown family is called Mary. In (197) 'she' can only refer to Susie. Concluding, ERD functions in the same identical way CIRD does, both being discourse organizational devices which cannot be involved in case of referential ambiguity. This kind of discourse impairment is generally overcome when an Afterthought repairing strategy is invoked.

4.6 Conclusions

After the analysis of the syntactic and interpretive properties at work for the CIRD construction, its syntactic derivation has been extensively discussed: the Symmetric Analysis (Vallduví, 1992) has been rejected given the generalized ban for right-adjunction. The same conclusion has been reached for the Clause-External Topicalization analysis (Kayne, 1995; Samek-Lodivici, 2006; Frascarelli &

Hinterhölzl, 2007), since the opposite predictions with respect to the Binding principles are unexpectedly made. Conversely, using a Clause-Internal Topicalization analysis (Cecchetto, 1999; Belletti, 2001; Villalba, 2000; Bocci, 2009), the CIRD has proven to be perfectly derivable, given the fact that it can adequately predict the relational constraints imposed by the Binding Theory. For this reason, a Big DP hypothesis has been proposed. In the remaining part of the Chapter 4, the few elusive facts regarding ERD found in the literature have been briefly discussed and it has been shown that no clear evidence has been detected for its Root(-like) status. At the same time, ERD can at most be seen as a grammatical device used by the speaker as a function to organize the discourse. In this sense, ERD functions in the same identical way CIRD does, both being discourse organizational devices which cannot be involved in case of referential ambiguities – for which cases the afterthought mechanism is involved.

Given the derivational account obtained so far for CIRD, the similar interpretive properties found between it and ERD, and the final suggestions arisen at the end of §3.3, the analysis which will be proposed in the next chapter will try to investigate the root/non-root status of the phenomena here at issue, so as to correlate this dependency with the possibility of extending the Clause-Internal Topicalization analysis for CIRD to the syntactic derivation of the English right-dislocation.

Chapter 5

Asymmetric correlations: deriving the English Right-Dislocation

5.0 Introduction

As concluded at the end of the last chapter, the major aim beyond the following sections lies in the attempt of investigating whether the possibility for a particular sentence to license dislocated material - either to the left or to the right – must be made dependent to its sensitivity to the root/non-root(-like) distinction. In this sense, it will be evaluated whether the same results obtained to the left are equally found to the right – both intra-linguistically and cross-linguistically – and how an Internal-Clause Topicalization analysis can eventually cope with the root/non-root dependency both in Italian and in English.

5.1 English topic fronting as a Root(-like) Phenomenon

5.1.1 Restricting structural transformations: the case of factivity

It has briefly discussed at the beginning of §3.1.1, that Emonds (1970) attempts to restrict the notion of ‘grammatical transformation’ in generative grammar by postulating the existence of classes of grammatical rules which severely constrain the domain of application of certain transformations. In this way, he tries to make explicit the underlying mechanisms that prevent some constituents to be moved into certain structural configurations. In his study of the English language, Emonds thus makes a crucial distinction between two restrictive domains of syntactic transformations: Structure-Preserving Transformations (SPTs) and Root Transformations (RTs). In the former case, a transformation can only move or copy a constituent into a position in which a node of that category could be base-generated. In the latter one, the possible transformation is restricted to cases which can only apply in the sentence dominated by the highest S node – considered to be the ‘root’ of the phrase structure. Here it is Emonds’s exact definition (*ibid.* ii):

a phrase node X in a tree T can be moved, copied, or inserted into a new position in T, according to the structural change of a transformation whose structural description T satisfies, only if at least one of two conditions is satisfied:

(1) the new position of X is a position in which a phrase structure rule, motivated independently of the transformation in question, can generate the category X.

A transformation having such an effect is a ‘structure-preserving transformation’.

(2) in its new position in T, X is immediately dominated by the highest S or by any S in turn immediately dominated by the highest S.

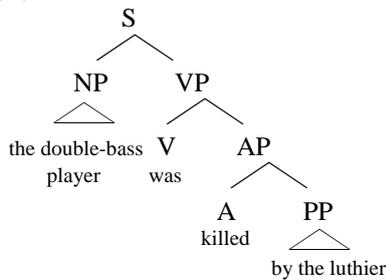
A transformation having such an effect is a ‘root transformation’.

As for the SPTs, a classic example is the case of passive structures. In the sentence (1b) below, the object NP moves into the subject NP position, conversely, the subject NP moves into a PP position, where the AP node is filled by the past participle ‘killed’ (cf. Graffi, 2000):

- (1) a. The luthier killed the double-bass player
 b. [_{NP} The double-bass player [_{VP} was [_{AP} killed [_{PP} by the luthier]]]]

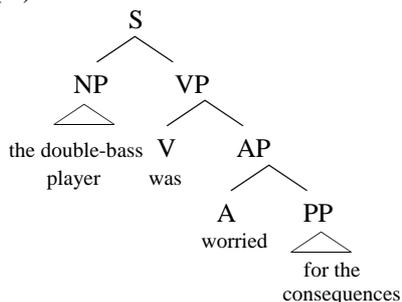
Adapting Emonds’s diagram, the derivation in (t2) is equally generable by phrase structure rules, as directly observable from the construction in (t4):

(t2)



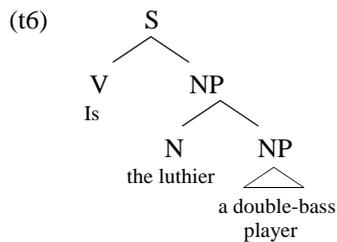
- (3) The double-bass player was worried for the consequences

(t4)



Conversely, a case of RT is the rule at work in the subject inversion. Consider, for instance, the sentence in (5b) and the underlying syntactic structure in (t6), which is not generable under the English phrase structure rules:

- (5) a. The luthier is a double-bass player
 b. Is the luthier a double-bass player?



As a crucial consequence, Emonds comes to the following challenging conclusion that the kind of rule at work in the case of ‘root’ transformations is necessarily excluded in embedded clauses. For the seek of concreteness, consider the ungrammaticality of the sentence below, which represents the embedded counterpart of (6) above:

- (7) * The mayor asked the fireman if is the luthier a double-bass player

He then offers several pieces of evidence, corroborating his restrictive hypothesis, by adding a list of root phenomena which arguably show the same results: namely, that the transformations to which they are subject create a word order that would not ordinarily be considered the word order generated in the base component of the grammar. As a matter of fact, the transformational rules generating Topicalization, English Left-Dislocation and English Right-Dislocation all undergo the same restriction: they can only be admissible in root contexts, while they can never be possible in embedded contexts. Compare for instance, the pairs of sentences below:

- (8) a. These steps I used to sweep with a broom
 b. * Have I shown you the broom that these steps I used to sweep with
 Emonds, 1970: 42a-43a

- (9) a. Jane, she visits this park every week-end
 b. * He doesn’t like the park that Jane, she visits it very weekend

Emonds, 1970: 47f-48f

- (10) a. I buy them right at the shore, these clams
b. * John has sold the garage that you store it in, that old car, to Mary
Emonds, 1970: 49d-51a

Additional RTs include:

VP Preposing

- (11) a. John hoped that Mary would find his hat, but find it she could not
b. * John hoped that Mary would fins his hat, but I wonder how find it she ever could

Negative Constituent Preposing

- (12) a. Under no conditions they may leave the area
b. * If under no conditions may they leave the area, how can they pay their debt?

Directional Adverb Preposing

- (13) a. In came John!
b. * I noticed that in came John

Preposing around *be*

- (14) a. More important has been the establishment of legal services
b. * Bill wonders why more important has been the establishment of legal services

Participle Preposing

- (15) a. Sleeping next to the door was the luthier
b. * The fireman noticed that sleeping next to the door was the luthier

Tag Question Formation

- (16) a. Mary had come, hadn't she?
b. * Bill wanted to know whether Mary had come, hadn't she?

The highly exclusive characterization of RTs given in Emonds is however partially rejected in Hooper & Thompson (1973), who indeed argue for a convincing extension of the range of availability, given the fact that a large set of embedded contexts can undergo the same kind of restriction. This further development turns out to be crucial in the definition of the question of the 'embedded root phenomena' as a current issue in syntactic theory. In this sense, Haycock (2006: 174) adequately

observes that this convincing development becomes therefore appealing in a twofold way: from one side trying to define in the more accurate way the nature distinguishing this particular subset of embedded contexts, and from the other trying to explain the principle underlying the ‘embedded-root’ definition in either syntactic, semantic or pragmatic terms.

In their influential work, Hooper & Thompson associate the restriction on the applicability of RTs with a semantic notion of ‘assertion’. Adopting this perspective, they assume that the assertion of a sentence is its core meaning or main proposition. In most cases the assertion of a declarative sentence is found in the main clause, and the assertive part of the sentence is that part which can be negated or questioned by the usual application of the processes of negation and interrogation. However in many cases, it seems possible that also a large set of embedded statements have the characteristics of assertions, as can be seen when the tests of negation and questioning are strictly applied. In order to evaluate the predictions above, Hooper & Thompson thus provide a 5-way division of the predicates taking sentential complements (i.e., that may have *that* complements), considering two dimensions for classifying English predicates. The first concerns the assertive/non-assertive divide, and the second the factive/non-factive one (cf. Hooper, 1974). Following Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1971) assertive predicates introduce sentences which can be assigned a truth value (i.e. whose state of affairs conforms to reality), and factive predicates are those which presuppose the truth of their complements (cf. Ojeda, 2005: fn9). In this respect, the definitions given in Hegarty (1990: 102) are taken here as central:

PRESUPPOSITION:

Whether the complement expresses part of the undisputed background beliefs of the matrix subject and any interlocutors of the matrix subject

ASSERTION:

Whether the complement expresses a belief that is being offered or entertained by the matrix subject for acceptance as part of the body of undisputed background beliefs (of himself and any interlocutors), and the subject volunteers (to himself or others) a positive stance endorsing that belief.

Turning to the division above, the five classes listed below, will be briefly analyzed in turn:

- (a) CLASS A PREDICATES [strong assertive: +assertive, –factive]
- (b) CLASS B PREDICATES [weak assertive: +assertive, –factive]
- (c) CLASS C PREDICATES [–assertive, –factive]
- (d) CLASS D PREDICATES [–assertive, +factive]
- (e) CLASS E PREDICATES [semi-factive: +assertive, +factive]

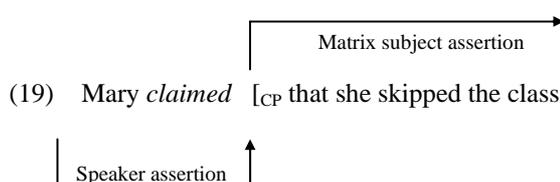
(a) CLASS A PREDICATES
[strong assertive: +assertive, –factive]:

- (1a) Say
- (2a) Report
- (3a) Claim
- (4a) Argue

The verbs listed in this group are all verbs of saying. They can be used parenthetically, in which case the main assertion is carried by the subordinate clause. Being the truth of the entire sentence independent from that required for the embedded clause, in the case of contradictions, the sentence is felicitous (Basse, 2007):

(18) Mary *claims* [_{CP} that she skipped the class, but she didn't

At the same time, it is possible to assume that once a proposition is asserted by a sentence, the questioning (and the negating) of the sentence, also question (and negate) the assertion it is making. In the specific case of strong factives, two possible readings are indeed possible: in the non-parenthetical reading of (20) – on the basis of (19) – the question is merely directed to the speaker's assertion. Conversely, in (21) the question is directed to the assertion made in the embedded clause, in which case the main verb has a parenthetical status:



(20) Did Mary claim X (= something)?

(21) Did she skip the class?

(the questioner's main concern on this reading is whether or not she skipped the class)

Given the double behavior, the embedded complements of Class A verbs allow Topicalization and Left Dislocation:

(22) a. The inspector *explained* [_{CP} that each part he had examined very carefully

b. Carl *told* me [_{CP} that this book, it has the recipes in it

The same is equally valid for the Right- Dislocation construction, as observable in the example provided below:

(23) Alice *complained* [_{CP} that it almost asphyxiated her, that disgusting cigar

(b) CLASS B PREDICATES

[weak assertive: +assertive, -factive]:

(1b) Suppose

(2b) Believe

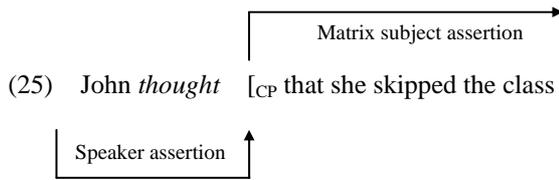
(3b) Think

(4b) Guess

Also the verbs listed in this group can be used parenthetically, in which case the main assertion is again carried by the subordinate clause. This reading seems to be the most natural one, in the sense that they are practically meaningless by themselves, neither denoting a mental process, nor making an independent assertion, but merely qualifying the main assertion contained in the complement clauses (H&T: 477). The contradiction test is indeed felicitous:

(24) John *thinks* [_{CP} that she skipped the class, but she didn't

At the same time, given the virtual meaningless nature of Class B verbs when they take *that* clauses, questioning the main verb is the same as questioning its complement:



(26) Did John think that she skipped the class?

In this case, again, both Topicalization and Left Dislocation are grammatically acceptable:

- (22) a. It *appears* [CP that this book he read thoroughly]
 b. He *believes* [CP that in this house, I lived for thirty years in it]

Right- Dislocation is also admissible:

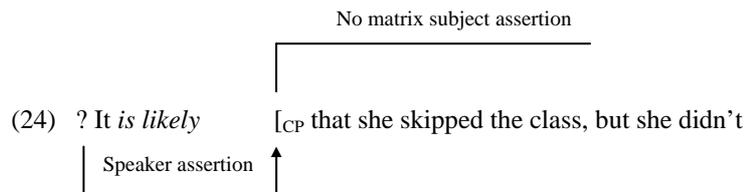
(23) I *think* [CP that you should read it, this book]

(c) CLASS C PREDICATES

[–assertive, –factive]

- (1c) Be (un)likely
- (2c) Be (im)possible
- (3c) Doubt
- (4c) Deny

Contrary to the first two classes, Hooper & Thompson argue that the verbs belonging to this class do not have asserted complements. Their parenthetically status is indeed only marginally acceptable:



Applying the question test, things are even clearer, since an affirmative answer to the question in (25) does not affirm the truth of the complement; rather it affirms only the likelihood of the main proposition:

(25) A: Is it likely that she skipped the class?

In this case, Topicalization and Left Dislocation are felt ungrammatical:

- (26) a. * It *was impossible* [_{CP} that each part he had examined carefully
 b. * It *is probable* [_{CP} that that book, he had stolen it at the shopping centre

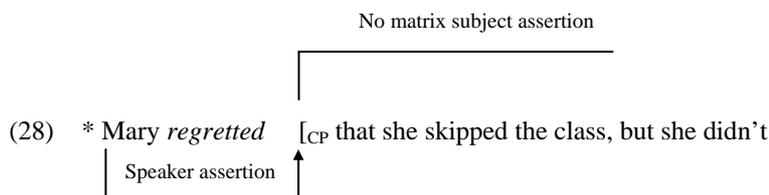
The same conclusions can be extendible to the case of Right- Dislocation:

(27) * I *doubt* [_{CP} that he didn't attended it, that concert

(d) CLASS D PREDICATES [-assertive, +factive]

- (1d) Regret
- (2d) Resent
- (3d) Forget
- (4d) Be odd

Expressing some emotion or subjective attitude about a presupposed complement, Class D verbs cannot be asserted by definition. In all the sentences below, the embedded clause is required to be true in order for the entire sentence to be felicitous. This property is visible in the case of (28) below, where the factive constructions give rise to a contradictory result:



Similarly, both the question and the negation test only affect the assertion made in the main proposition, since the proposition articulated in the embedded clause

expresses part of the undisputed background belief of the matrix subject ('Mary') and any interlocutors of the matrix subject (Hegarty, 1990: 102), hence it is presupposed and not asserted.

- (29) Did Mary regret that she skipped the class?
(30) Mary didn't regret that she skipped the class

Moving to the specific case of Topicalization and Left Dislocation, the same ungrammatical result are shown:

- (29) a. * I *resent* [_{CP} that each part he had to examine carefully
b. * It's *strange* [_{CP} that this book, it has all the recipes in it

The same also holds for Right- Dislocation as well:

- (30) * Marvin *regretted* [_{CP} that he went to see it, that movie

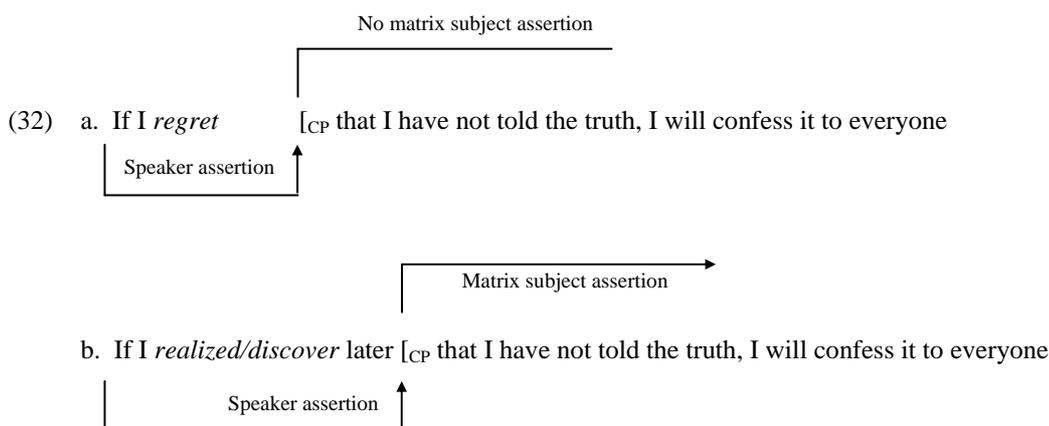
(e) CLASS E PREDICATES

[semi-factive: +assertive, +factive]

- (1e) Realize
(2e) Know
(3e) Found out
(4e) Discover

The verbs belonging to class E do not express a subjective attitude about the presupposed complement, rather they assert the manner in which the subject came to know that the complement proposition is true. Even though they are factive – as (31) shows – it is possible for them to have a reading on which the subordinate clause is asserted, for example in questions and conditionals – as in pair in (32) where a strong factive is opposed to a semi-factive, only the first inferring the truth of the complement – (cf. Karttunen, 1971):

(31) * Mary *realized* [_{CP} that she skipped the class, but she didn't



As for the verbs in class A and class B, also the verbs belonging to class E are claimed to felicitously license pre-posed and post-posed elements:

(33) We *saw* [_{CP} that each part he had examined carefully

(34) I *discovered* [_{CP} that this book, it has the recipes in it

(35) The Mayor didn't *know* [_{CP} that it was bothering everyone, his big cigar

On the bases of the facts isolated above, one preliminary observation would then be the discovery that some classes of transformations – namely those involving root(-like) constructions – cannot be merely investigated in terms of syntactic configurations. In this way, given an analysis based on pragmatic truth, it is indeed possible to extend Emonds's restriction on the availability of Root Transformations to those non-factive embedded contexts, which are asserted, and indeed not presupposed:

'as a positive environment we can say that these transformations operate only on Ss that are asserted. RTs are not applicable in presupposed sentences because it is not appropriate to emphasize elements of a sentence whose proposition is already known, whose truth is presupposed, and whose content is relegated to the background. [...] 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. [...] What we have done here is to provide an explanation for the restricted applicability of RTs, in terms of communicative function of this class of rules.'

Hooper & Thompson (1973: 495)

5.1.2 A second restriction in English:

Peripheral Adverbial Clauses vs. Central Adverbial Clauses

A close resemblance with the conclusions reached in the previous section can be found in Haegeman (2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2006) who discusses the relevance of syntactic non-homogeneity in apparently similar sub-classes of adverbial clauses. Specifically, in her analysis of the internal decomposition of the CP layer in English, she adequately shows that at least two types of adverbial clauses must be distinguished on the bases of the different compatibility with Root(-like) phenomena – or Main Clause Phenomena (MCP) following her labeling – that they exhibit. Consequently, she shows that the distribution and the interpretation of the conditional clauses is necessarily reflected in their internal syntactic structure. Consider for instance, the conditional clauses below:

- (36) a. *If you ever got married, I'd be absolutely devastated*
[DCPSE: DI-A09 0156]
- b. *If you cut the curtain to far, you risk to tend the support*
[DCPSE: DI-B18 0261]
- c. *If I don't get enough water in, then the blasted stuff won't roll out*
[DCPSE: DI-B47 0174]
- (37) a. *If she's aged ten and your mother is speaking about your father, what sort of things might she have said?*
[DCPSE: DI-A15 0100]
- b. *And if you doubt the commitment of the two teams here well just witness that challenge made by Argentina's Vasquez*
[DCPSE: DI-F12 0098]
- c. *If it is going to rain this afternoon, why don't we stay at home and watch a video?*
Haegeman, 2003a: (1b)

It seems to be quite reasonable that the three sentences in (36) receive a distinct interpretation to the other three listed in (37). In accounting for these facts, Haegeman proposes a sharp distinction between them, in terms of 'event-conditionals' and

‘premise-conditional’.⁴⁹ In this sense, she assumes that the sentences in (36) structure the event, expressing a cause leading to the effect expressed in the matrix clause, a classical conditional clause:

$P_1 \ \kappa_{\text{CAUSE}} \ P_2$

- (36a) being married κ_{CAUSE} makes one devastated
- (36b) cutting the curtain κ_{CAUSE} tends the support to be lost
- (36c) putting less water κ_{CAUSE} does not let the blasted stuff rolling out

while conversely, the sentences expressed in (37) structure the discourse, by providing a proposition that mainly serves as a background assumption which, combined with the assertion of the associated clause⁵⁰, yields additional inferences:

$\gamma_{\text{GIVEN}} \ P_1 \ \eta_{\text{HENCE}} \ P_2$

- (37a) γ_{GIVEN} someone is ten and the mother is speaking about the father
- (37b) γ_{GIVEN} someone doubts the commitment of two teams
- (37c) $\gamma_{\text{GIVEN T}}$ it is going to rain in the afternoon

Going further, the same kind of behavior seems to be equally attestable in other sub-types of adverbial classes, as in the case of the double role introduced by the conjunction *while*. For instance, consider the sentences below:

- (38) a. *While* you were looking at that, I’ll also checked down the list for the Extra-Mural Department of the University
[DCPSE: DI-A06 0140]
- b. *While* you’re packing upstairs, try them and see how one feels

⁴⁹ Following Haegeman (2000, 2003a: 319) other possible definitions are found elsewhere in the literature: ‘Event Structure’ vs. ‘Discourse Structure’ (Dancygier & Mioduscewska, 1984); ‘Speech Act about Conditional’ vs. ‘Speech Act Conditional’ (Van der Auwera, 1986); ‘Situation Conditional’ vs. ‘Truth Conditional’ (Declerck, 1991). However, whatever label is adopted, the insight of the core analysis remains unchanged.

⁵⁰ As for the use of the label, Hageman (2003a: 318) says that ‘given this analysis, the label ‘matrix clause’ is actually a misnomer when referring to the clause associated with a premise (discourse)-conditional, and I will replace it by ‘associated clause’.

[DCPSE: DI-B18 0284]

- c. *While* I was down there, I looked in a few estate agents' windows

[DCPSE: DL-B19 0701]

- (39) a. I'm saying that *while* there may be an element of luck I think that is often overstated and in fact there was a much more mundane economic result

[DCPSE: DI-A16 0066]

- b. *While* they'd be quite happy to send their daughter to a boys' school, very few of them would send their son to a girls' school

[DCPSE: DI-B08 0223]

- c. *While* [Dr Williams'] support for women priests and gay partnerships might label him as liberal, this would be a misleading way of depicting his uncompromisingly orthodox espousal of Christian belief

Haegeman, 2002: (1b)

As already seen for the *if*-clauses above, the sentences in (38) provide a temporal specification of the event with which they are contemporary, being in this sense classical temporal construction, and they are thus well integrated in the associated matrix clause:

$P_1 \omega_{\text{AT THE SAME TIME}} P_2$

- (38a) someone looking at something $v_{\text{AT THE SAME TIME}}$ someone else checking a list

- (38b) someone packing $v_{\text{AT THE SAME TIME}}$ someone trying a shoe

- (38c) someone is on the street $v_{\text{AT THE SAME TIME}}$ someone is looking at the windows

Conversely, the sentences in (39) all express propositions which provide a background for the associated clause, and with which they yield contextual implications, often understood under a contrastive/coordinate interpretation. This behavior can be seen as an instance of what Hornstein (1990:206 n.19, as quoted in Haegeman, 2003b: 643) defines as a 'secondary conjunctive interpretation that all these connective (*as*, *while*, *when*) shade into':

$\gamma_{\text{GIVEN}} P_1 \text{WHEREAS } P_2$

- (39a) γ_{GIVEN} a possible element of luck
- (39b) γ_{GIVEN} the happiness of sanding the daughter to a boys' school
- (39c) γ_{GIVEN} Dr Williams' liberality in supporting women priests and gay partnerships

The suggestion that a dual relation between embedded and associated/matrix clause is identifiable can be confirmed from the examination of time/tense realization and quantifier-pronoun bounding, affecting the relation between the two clauses at issue. As for the first point, the tense verb ('tire') in the conditional sub-clause below is strictly determined by the future time reference of the matrix clause:

- (40) *If* your back-supporting muscle *tire* (future=will deletion), you *will be* at increased risk of lower-back pain
Haegeman, 2003a: (5)

Conversely, the tense verb ('is') in the premise-conditional (41) is not temporally subordinated to that of the associated clause, this choice taken in the same independent way a root clause does:

- (41) *If* John *is* unable to open the door, *will* be able to enter from the window?

As for the second point, a pronoun in the event-conditional can be in the scope of a quantifier in the matrix clause – as in the case of (42) below – while the pronoun in the premise-conditional necessarily have an independent reference – as in (43) – thus confirming its total independence in both interpretation and structure:

- (42) *No one* will answer the phone *if he* thinks it's the supervisor
- (43) Why does *no one* answer the phone, *if he* probably thinks it's his supervisor?
Haegeman, 2003a: (15)

The same conclusions reached above for *if* and *while* can be extendible to further conjunctions introducing adverbial clauses in English. As a general clustering, the distinction between CENTRAL and PERIPHERAL adverbials is here adopted. The first set will include the event-conditionals in (36) and the temporal adverbials in (38), plus

all those adverbial clauses where the proposition expressed in the embedded sentence is strictly dependent on that expressed in the matrix one – either causally or temporally. Conversely, the second set will include both the premise-conditional clauses in (37) and the coordinate adverbials in (39) plus all those adverbial clauses which do not show any causative or temporal relation with the proposition expressed in the associated clauses, having for this reason an independent status which is similarly attestable in classical root(-like) sentences. In this way, the table below is divided with respect to the adverbial clause in which the conjunction is possibly involved, leaving aside the question whether some of them has a dual behavior, while some other do not (cf. Haegeman, 2002: f.n.3):

(Tab. 1)

CONJUNCTION	CENTRAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSE	PERIPHERAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSE
If	√	√
While	√	√
When	√	√
As	√	√
Since	√	√
Because	√	√
So that	√	√
Before	√	–
After	√	–
Until	√	–
Whereas	–	√
Although	–	√
Given that	–	√

Some crucial examples are listed below:

- (44) *Before* the centralization of the Temple, you had local temples where anybody could do whatever they linked in them more or less (event structure)
[DCPSE: DI-B71 0030]
- (45) *After* that time I bumped into her and we didn't speak, she rang me up (event structure)
[DCPSE: DI-B28 0068]
- (46) *When* you start working in a new class like that, everybody id ignorant (event structure)
[DCPSE: DI-A02 0086]

- (47) Mary was studying Medicine, *when* her father wanted an easier future for her
(background assumption: contrast)
- (48) *Although* there are many other things that could have been shown, we didn't show that and we didn't show them (background assumption: contrast)
[DCPSE: DI-D11 0053]
- (49) *Given that* Linguistics is not democratic, we can't necessarily accept that
(background assumption: premise)
[DCPSE: DI-B72 0215]

Once the distinction above is made explicit, what turns out to be crucial for the following analysis is the fact that English Topicalization and English Left-Dislocation are severely banned in the case of CENTRAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSES. Conversely, they prove to be peacefully available in the opposite contexts, namely in those ones where the adverbial clause shows partial/total independence with respect to the associated clause. In order to evaluate this observation, consider the sentences below, where the ungrammatical central interpretation is contrasted with the grammatical peripheral one:

- (50) a. * *If* [the exams] you don't pass, you won't get the degree
Haegeman, 2004: (1a)
b. *If* [his syntactic analysis] we can't criticize, there is a lot to be said against the semantics of the paper
Haegeman, 2003a: (35)
- (51) a. * *While* [her book] Mary was writing this time last year, her children were staying with her mother
Haegeman, 2004: (2a)
b. *While* [his face] not many admired, his character still fewer felt they could praise
- (52) a. * *Before* [that book] you read, try to sort your room out
b. * *After* [the kitchen] they destroyed, those strange robbers stole everything from the bathroom
- (53) a. We don't look to his paintings for common place truth, *though* [truths] they contain none the less
Haegeman, 2004: (4c)

- b. *Given that* [this special cake] nobody likes, you should try to give up with this passion for cooking vegan

The data above are fully consistent with the same contrasting patterns found elsewhere in literature, as in the case of Japanese in (54), Korean in (55), Gungbe as in (56):

- (54) a. * *Mosi sono yoona zassi-wa, (anata-ga) yome-ba,*
if that like magazine-TOP (you-NOM) read-if(CONDITIONAL)
(anata-wa) yasai-ga sukini narimasu
(you-TOP) vegetable-NOM like become
'If the magazines, you read, you will come to like vegetables'
- b. *Mosi sono yoona zassi-wa (anata-ga) sukide-nai (CONCLUSIVE)-naraba,*
if that like magazine-TOP (you-NOM) like-not-if
naze (anata-wa) (sorera-o) kai-tuzukerunodesu ka?
why (you-TOP) (them-ACC) buy-continue, Q
'If such magazines, you don't like, why do you keep buying them?'
 Maki et al., 1999
- (55) a. * *i chayk-un (ku-ka) ilk-umyen/ilk-ess-umyen*
this book-TOP (he-NOM) read-if/ read-PAST-if
Ku-nun ama ku yenghwa-lul poko siphe hal kes-i-ta
heTOP probably that movie-ACC see want will-DEC
'IF this book, he reads/read, he will probably want to see that movie'
- b. *ku chayk-un (ney-ka) cohaha-n-t-myen way kukes-ul ca-ci anh-ni ?*
that book-TOP (you-NOM) like-PRES-DEC-if why that-ACC buy-NMZ not do-Q
'If that book, you like, why don't you buy it?'
 Whitman, 1989
- (56) *Ni *(echoic reading) wema ehe lo ya, a mom e to Procure, xo e na mi*
If book this Det TOP 2sg see 3sg at Procure buy 3sg for me
 Haegeman, 2006: 1659

On the bases of these facts, it would then be tempting to propose a strong parallelism between the finding presented in previous section and the ones just reached above. In these sense, the restricted distribution of MCP – topic fronting – already noted when discussing the case of factivity in English, can be equally

extended to the case of central adverbial clauses, which contrarily to the peripheral ones, are severely constrained in allowing root(-like) transformations.

5.1.3 CILD availability and structural reduction: the Truncation Hypothesis

The idea of a close parallelism between factual sentences and central adverbial clauses in English seems to be confirmed by additional series of differences – other than the possibility of licensing argument fronting – which can be arguably reduced to one essential contrast differentiating them from non-factual sentences and peripheral adverbials: the impossibility for the former pairs to encode for illocutionary force and anchoring to the speaker. For the seek of concreteness, the case of speaker-oriented epistemic modality and the case of Tag Question Formation (TQF) are here taken into consideration.

As for the first case, it a well-known fact that epistemic modality deals with speaker’s evaluation, or judgment of the knowledge upon which a particular proposition is based. Given that the speaker’s point of view can be overtly reflected in the clause she is judging, it is worth testing its structural availability in the constructions under discussion. As it is easily predictable, only non-factives and peripheral adverbials allow modality markers and speech act adverbials⁵¹:

(57) ?? The boy bought the new album with happiness, after his brother *may* have bought it

(58) The new Broderick’s album is amazing, while the Mùm’s one *may* be to cheesy

(59) ??* When/if *frankly* he is unable to cope, we’ll have to replace him (speech act)

(60) * If they *luckily* arrived on time, we will be saved (evaluative)

Haegeman, 2008: (4) and (5)

(61) ?? The boy regretted that his brother *probably/apparently* bought the album

(epistemic/evidential)

⁵¹ In terms of the hierarchy of adverbials reproduced in Cinque (2004: 133), the top four adverb classes are incompatible with temporal and conditional adverbial clauses:

MoodP_{speech act}>MoodP_{evaluative}>MoodP_{evidential}>ModP_{epistemic}>TP(Past)>TP(Future)>MoodP_{irrealis}>ModP_{alethic}>AspP_{habitual}>AspP_{repetitive}>AspP_{frequentative}>ModP_{volitional}>AspP_{celerative}>TP(Anterior)>AspP_{terminative}>AspP_{continuative}>AspP_{retrospective}>AspP_{proximative}>AspP_{durative}>AspP_{generic/progressive}>AspP_{prospective}>ModP_{obligation}>ModP_{permission/ability}>AspP_{completive}>VoiceP>AspP_{celerative}>AspP_{repetitive}>AspP_{frequentative}

(62) The boy thought that his brother has (*probably*) bought the album

The Tag Question Formation functions as a device asking for a confirmation about the truth of an assertion, or to express doubt or uncertainty about its the truth. Given this definition, central adverbials cannot have their own question tag associated with them, since they are strictly dependent to the main clause; factive sentences cannot have their question tag, since tags can only be formed out of assertive verbs, which presumably have their own illocutionary force:

(63) a. The boy bought the album, *after* his sister had bought it, didn't he?
b. * The boy bought the album, *after* his sister had bought it, hadn't she?

(64) a. The boy bought an album, *while* (contrastive) his sister is buying a book, didn't he?
b. The boy bought an album, *while* his sister is buying a book, isn't she?

(65) a. I suppose that falling off the stage was quite embarrassing, wasn't it?
Hooper & Thompson, 1973: (85)
b. * I am sorry that Suzanne isn't here, isn't she?
c. * It bothers me that Bernard has forgotten the meeting, hasn't he?
Hooper & Thompson, 1973: (131-132)

Following from these data, one strong correlation seems to be highly appealing. Given (i) the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (57) here (66), (59), (61), (63b), (65b) and (65c):

The boy bought the new album with happiness, after his brother (**may*) have bought it

and (ii) the impossibility of licensing topic fronting in central adverbial clauses and factive complements:

* *If* [the exams] you don't pass, you won't get the degree

* I *resent* [_{CP} that each part he had to examine carefully

then the general option of licensing MCP seems to be arguably dependent on the non-availability of illocutionary force guarantying anchoring to the speaker. Put it in a more refined way, what is crucial for the analysis is the observation that classes of

root-phenomena are systematically excluded in all those constructions which are deemed to be ‘deficient’ (reduced) for some particular reason.⁵²

As a direct theoretical consequences, then, the nature of the deficiency of these specific constructions can be reduced to a mere syntactic motivation: the asymmetries are explained in terms of presence vs. absence of some specific syntactic head responsible for the licensing of the independent illocution within the embedded clause.

Haegeman (2004), for instance, takes the restriction on the availability of MCP as a reduction structurally motivated, by assuming that the CP-domain of central adverbial clauses – and factive complements – fail to derive chunks in the syntactic computation. This failure is due to the lack of the higher head of Force, considered to be the precondition implicated in the licensing of the independent illocutionary act. As a direct repercussion, the Force projection results to be always available in root clauses and in clauses embedded under speech act verbs or propositional attitude verbs, and it is therefore considered to be available in peripheral adverbial clauses and non-factive complements. Moreover, a conclusion of this sort can adequately specify the semantic motivation already proposed in §5.1.2, since central adverbial clauses are always part of and modify the proposition with which they are associated, while peripheral adverbial clauses express independent propositions, associated with illocutionary force, that mainly serves as the immediate discourse background to the associate clause (Haegeman, 2004: 167).

⁵² The expression ‘structurally reduced’ is overtly inspired by Hooper & Thompson (1973: 484) which incidentally use it when briefly discussing the case of complements having uninflected verbs: ‘Though RTs may apply in some complements that are full sentences introduced by the complementizer *that*, they may never apply in any complements that are reduced clauses. By reduced clauses we mean infinitives (i) and (ii), gerunds (iii), and subjunctive clauses (iv) and (v), i.e. those complement types which have uninflected verbs. Just consider:

- (i) * My friends tend [the more liberal candidate] to support
- (ii) * I really want [that solution] Robin to explore thoroughly

- (iii) * I disapprove [of such books] your reading

- (iv) * The senator proposed that [the troops], they be withdrawn immediately
- (v) * It’s important that [the book], he study carefully

Moreover, also Sentential Subjects seem to show the same patterns. Consider for instance the opposition between (vi) and (vii):

- (vi) * That [this book], Mary read thoroughly is true
- (vii) It is true that this book, Mary read thoroughly (recalling the class A distribution in §5.1.2)

The core idea of the analysis proposed by Haegeman is fundamentally based on the influential Spit-CP hypothesis proposed in (Rizzi, 1997; 2001) and extensively considered in Chapter 2. As already seen, Rizzi’s influential proposal lies in the well-grounded hypothesis that the interface site between the clause and its context be seen not as mere projection of a single head C, but rather as a layered structure articulated around a sequence of hierarchically organized functional heads, where Force encodes the features responsible for the type of clause (question, declarative, etc.) and constitutes the interface link between the propositional content expressed in the IP and the super-ordinate structure – a higher clause or the discourse itself as in case of root clauses – while Fin expresses a specification of finiteness summing up the inflectional properties expressed in IP. The topic system and the focus system are target of different processes of displacement, each of them related to specific discourse scope properties and characterized by specific syntactic properties:

(66) Force ... Top*... Focus ... Top*... Fin ... [IP_{inflectional system}]

Haegeman (2002, 2004) partially modifies the cartographic model above, by adding a Sub projection as a mark of subordination, mainly based on data from Modern Greek (Roussou, 2000; cf. also Rizzi, 1997: n. 6):

(67) [_C *pu* [Topic/Focus [_{CoP} *oti/na/as* [_{Neg} [_{CM} *θa/t_{na}/as* [_I *cl+V*...]]]]]]]

In the structure in (67) there are three basic C positions. The higher C introduces subordination – which is [_{SubP}] in Haegeman’s sense; the middle C introduces clause-typing – [_{ForceP}]; the lower one Modality – [_{FinP}]. Implementing the structure in (66) with the specification of subordination, the refined general structure of the left periphery would be as in (68):

(68) ([Sub] ... [Force ... [Top* ... [Focus ... [Top*... [Fin ... [IP ...]]]]](I)

In order to express the total dependence of the topic system from the projection of Force, Haegeman proposes to locate the latter in a position lower than that of the former. Recalling the conclusions reached in §3.2.3, only one Topic projection is

available in English, given its non-recursive behaviour. In this way, the structural CP-reduction is formalized below:

- (69) TRUNCATION HYPOTHESIS
(Haegeman, 2002; 2003ab; 2004; 2006)

- a. Root clause: $[_{\text{Top}} \dots [_{\text{Focus}} \dots [_{\text{Force}} \dots [_{\text{Fin}} \dots [_{\text{IP}} \dots]]]]]]$
 b. ‘Full’ embedded clauses: $[_{\text{Sub}} \dots [_{\text{Top}} \dots [_{\text{Focus}} \dots [_{\text{Force}} \dots [_{\text{Fin}} \dots [_{\text{IP}} \dots]]]]]]$
 c. ‘Reduced’ embedded clauses: $[_{\text{Sub}} \dots [_{\text{Fin}} \dots [_{\text{IP}} \dots]]]]$

A further Mod projection can be assumed above Fin as a dedicated position for adverb pre-posing and adjunct fronting. In this respect, Rizzi (2001: 18) says: ‘As the left-peripheral position targeted by the adverb in pre-posing is neither topic nor focus, we need a third type of licensing head in the space sandwiched in between Force and Fin. We will call this head “Mod(ifier)”, assuming modification to be the substantive relation between an adverb and the structure it relates to’. In this way, the possibility of a low adjunct fronting detected in Haegeman (2003a: 642) is straightforward predicted, since it is allowed in both central and factive constructions (70-71), being therefore out of the model of truncation domain revised in (72):

- (70) a. If [next week] you cannot get hold of me, try again later
 b. While [around this time last year] Mary was writing her book, her children were staying with her mother
 c. When [last month] she began to write her regular column for the Times, I thought she would be OK

- (71) a. I regret that [last year] Mary didn’t go home for Christmas
 b. She resented that [yesterday morning] her boyfriend went running with Lucy

- (72) $([_{\text{Sub}}] \dots [_{\text{Top}} \dots [_{\text{Focus}} \dots [_{\text{Force}} \dots [_{\text{Mod}} \dots [_{\text{Fin}} \dots [_{\text{IP}} \dots]]]]]]]]$
 TRUNCATION DOMAIN

Given the structure above, Haegeman (2008: 287, 2004: 171) concludes her analysis with the following assumption:

‘Pursuing this proposal I formulated the hypothesis that presence of Force is a precondition for the availability of the projections TopP and FocP in the left periphery. This means that Topicalization will only occur in clauses with Force in the left periphery. [...] As we will see below, other languages do have alternative mechanisms for licensing fronted arguments in the left periphery’.

This hypothesis rises at least to major issues:

- (i) The correlation of the configuration in (72) with behaviour of focalized elements within reduced clauses;
- (ii) The correlation of the configuration in (72) with the Romance-type Topicalization.

As for the first point, the predictions in (72) seem marginally borne out:

(73) ?? If [THE FINAL EXAMS] you don’t pass, you won’t get the degree

Consider also the Italian counterparts:

- (74) a. ?? Se [LA PROVA ORALE] non supera, non otterrà il diploma
if the oral exam [he] NEG pass [he] NEG get the degree
- b. ?? Che LUCA vogliono premiare, sembra incredibile
that Luca [they] want to award, seems unbelievable
- c. ?? Gli sembra LE SEDIE di aver venduto (, non il tappeto)!
[it] to-him.CL seem the chairs to have sold (, non the carpet)
 Bocci, 2007: (32-34)

Once the second argument is taken at issue, the configuration in (72) becomes highly problematic. Indeed, while the non-occurrence of Topicalization in English is seen as a mere consequence of the impoverished structure of its CP field, the predictions of a similar behaviour for Romance Topicalization are not borne out. Consider in fact the patterns below, where no asymmetry is found between central and peripheral adverbials, factive and non-factive complements, infinitival clauses, sentential subjects:

- (75) a. Se [gli esami finali] non li superi, non otterrai il diploma
if the final exams [you]NEG them.CL pass [you] NEG will get the degree
- b. Se [la torta] non la porti, porta almeno il vino
if the cake [you] NEG it.CL bring bring at least the wine
 adapted from: Cecchetto, 2000
- (76) a. Mi dispiace che [questo problema] gli studenti non l'abbiano potuto risolvere
I regret that this problem the students NEG it.CL have can solve
- b. Penso che [questo problema] gli studenti non l'abbiano saputo risolvere
[I] regret that this problem the students NEG it.CL have can solve
- (77) a. Gianni pensa [il tuo libro] di conoscerlo bene
Gianni thinks your book of know-it.Cl well
- b. Mi sembra, [il tuo libro] di conoscerlo bene
it seems to me your book of know-it.Cl well
 Rizzi, 1997: (78a-b)
- (78) Che [questa finestra], i ragazzi non l'abbiano potuto aggiustare mi sembra impossibile
that this window the boys NEG it.CL have can repair it seems impossible to me

Given the data above, the configuration in (72) is hardly extendible to CILD: Romance Topicalization does not depend on the presence vs. absence of the Force projection, rather it seems to be independently available. This dual behaviour can be interpreted in terms of different positional distribution: while the English Topic projection needs to be higher than Force, in order to explain its configurational dependency and the Truncation Hypothesis, the recursive Topic projection responsible for CILD can be located in a lower position in the CP periphery, immediately above Fin. In this way, the final configurations will look as the following:

- (79) ([Sub] ... [Top ... [Focus ... [Force ... [Mod* ... [Top* ... [Fin ... [IP ...]]]]])
 TRUNCATION DOMAIN

The findings so far discussed have displayed some crucial facts regarding the asymmetrical distribution of fronted arguments in English. Specifically, it has been shown that the old proposal put forward by Emonds (1970) and concerning the idea that particular types of phenomena – like Topicalization and Left Dislocation – are main clause-bound (or using his labeling, are transformations operating in Root clauses only), has been explicitly rejected when specific classes of embedded contexts are taken into consideration. In §5.1.1 it has been shown that a sharp distinction can be found between embedded *that*-clauses of non-factive verbs – which allow argument fronting – and embedded *that*-clauses of factive verbs – which do not. The double behavior is clearly displayed in the following patterns taken from Hooper & Thompson (1973):

- (80) a. The inspector *explained* [_{CP} that each part he had examined very carefully (=22a)
 b. Carl *told* me [_{CP} that this book, it has the recipes in it (= 22b)
- (81) a. * I *resent* [_{CP} that each part he had to examine carefully (=29a)
 b. * It's *strange* [_{CP} that this book, it has all the recipes in it (=29b)

In §5.1.2 a second discrepancy in English language has been detected between Peripheral adverbial clauses – which allow argument fronting – and Central adverbial clauses – which instead do not allow it. In this respect, Haegeman (2002, 2003ab, 2004) has offered several pieces of evidence arguing in favor of a sharp distinction of this sort:

- (82) a. *While* [his face] not many admired, his character still fewer felt they could praise (=51b)
 b. * *While* [her book] Mary was writing this time last year, her children were staying with her mother (=51a)

One preliminary intuition lies in the fact that peripheral adverbial clauses – like the one in (82a) above – display a root-like nature given the partial independence with respect to the proposition expressed in the *associate* clause. Conversely, the Central adverbial ones, result to be strictly dependent to the proposition expressed in the main clause, with which they instantiate a causal or temporal relation.

Given the generalized dual behavior detected above, the divergence has been explained in terms of syntactic truncation of the Force-Finiteness system (on the bases of the fine structure of the left periphery proposed in Rizzi, 1997) for the case of factivity and centrality. Adopting Haegeman's Truncation Hypothesis, three assumptions have been made:

- (1) the head licensing Topic is located in a position lower than Sub (the Subordinator head introducing the embedded clause) and higher than Force;
- (2) Force encodes for illocutionary force responsible for the root-like behavior of the embedded clauses;
- (3) the absence of Force in non-root like contexts like factive constructions and central adverbial constructions prevents the Topic phrase to be licensed, since it is truncated with the former.

Finally, the observations made for English do not extend to the Romance-type Topicalization, given the fact that CILD remains available even in those contexts which resist argument fronting in English. A lower Topic position for CILD has indeed been proposed.

5.2 Is English Right-Dislocation as a Root(-like) Phenomenon?

Strictly following from the findings above, the present sections intend to focus the attention on the right periphery of the English sentence, so as to evaluate whether the same distributional patterns found before for argument fronting can be equally found in the distribution of right-dislocated material with respect to embedded contexts. Once this assessment is made, it will be consequently evaluated whether a syntactic derivation of the same type proposed for CIRD in §4.4.3 can be equally extended to the English Right-Dislocation construction. As for the first point, an experimental task is proposed and analyzed in §5.2.1. As for the second point an internal Topicalization analysis of the same kind adopted for the Italian counterpart (Belletti, 1999, 2001, 2004a) is in parallel proposed for ERD in §5.3. The derivation so far discussed will be integrated with recent additional observations concerning the nature of doubling constructions (Beletti, 2005, 2008), a smuggling approach for verbal chunks within the functional field (Belletti & Rizzi, 2008, Collins, 2005) and an extended notion of AGREE relation between phase peripheries.

5.2.1 Experimental evidence

As preliminary noted in §4.5.1 the few facts regarding the ERD are certainly not sufficient here for getting any interesting evidence for the syntactic analysis, and consequently no further improvement in a cross-linguistic perspective. Specifically taking the case of the embedded contexts, apart from the small amount of data found in Hooper & Thompson (1973) and proposed again below, no other example of embedded Right-dislocation has been found in recent literature, and no possible investigation is therefore admissible, on the bases of these few examples:

(83) I think [_{CP} that you should read it, this book (= 167)

(84) * I regret [_{CP} that you read it, this book (=168)

Henceforth, a grammaticality-judgement task has been set up and proposed to several mother-tongue English speakers, in order to evaluate whether the possible correlation between the syntactic status of the embedded sentence and the likelihood for the

right-dislocated material to be licensed within, could have shown any contrasting evidence. The idea of proposing a judgment task based on video clips vision – where the dialogue between two characters is judged with respect to the Right-dislocation construction produced within – has been forced by the need of re-creating unambiguous contexts for the felicitous understanding of the referential element linguistically represented inside RD. The reasons for this choice are due to both theoretical and empirical facts: as for the first point, it has been discussed in §4.2.3 that a well-defined interpretive analysis for Right-dislocation cannot be conclusive if the situationally-evocable conditions are not taken at issue, hence the need of an extra-linguistic context as a domain of inferability will prove to be essential; as for the second point, preliminary grammaticality tests have shown to be completely inadequate, when the right-dislocated sentence has been tested in isolation from the contextual environment. Given these premises, the core experiment has been preceded by a small pre-experimental test – henceforth, PRE-TEST – whose positive results have shown that the availability of an extra-linguistic context from which speakers can find unambiguous references, can be extremely useful in both the acceptability of a particular dislocated construction, and in the avoidance of possible confusion with the afterthought strategy. After the description of the PRE-TEST in §5.2.1.1, the ROOT-LIKE TEST will be consequently discussed.

5.2.1.1 The Pre-test

PRE-TEST has been used to test whether the extra-linguistic context granted from the video-clip helps the person in the evaluation of the sentence, so as to provide unambiguous referents for the element dislocated to the right. Specifically, the possibility of contextualizing a sentence is both helpful since it completely discards ambiguity, and it is functional since it prevents elements to be too linguistically salient. Recalling the observations made in §4.3 and §4.5.2 it has been said that the interpretive distinction between the Afterthought strategy and the *clear* case of Right-dislocation consisted in the fact that the former is at work only in case of referential ambiguity, while the latter one could have been detected in case of unambiguous reference. As a reflex on the syntactic structure, it has consequently been said that the Afterthought construction could have been distinguished with respect to CIRDS by the fact that in case of the former construction, the basic order of

the arguments would have been strictly respected – as in (85-86) – conversely, a free-order distribution would have been admissible for the second case – as in (87-88):

(85) Glielo ha nascosto Maria, il cappello a Roberto (intendo)
to-him.CL it.CL has hidden Maria, the hat to Roberto (I mean)
[non la sciarpa a Maria]
not the scarf to Mary

(86) ?? Glielo ha nascosto Maria, a Roberto il cappello (intendo)
[non la sciarpa a Maria]

(87) Glielo ha nascosto Maria, il cappello a Roberto
to-him.CL it.CL has hidden Maria, the hat to Roberto

(88) Glielo ha nascosto Maria, a Roberto il cappello

As for the specific case of this experiment, the possible referential ambiguity has never been under discussion: indeed, every video-clip has been made in a way that only one potential referent could have been salient for the right-dislocated element, even though the same referent had never been explicitly uttered within the scene. This observation is particularly important when particular constructions, such as questions and imperatives are taken as diagnostic. Crucially, the problematic issue dealing with these types of constructions has been raised by Grosz & Ziv (1998) and Pullum (p.c.) who have particularly stressed the fact that the linguistic context alone – namely the grammatical judgement solely based on the written text – severely constraints the relationship between reference and right-dislocated material: if the topic is too active in the linguistic context, its dislocation is hardly accepted. For instance, the example below is strongly banned:

(91) A: Where should I put this box?
B: # Put it on the table, this box

One way to overcome the oddity of the sentence is that of introducing some other kinds of contextual implications, namely those belonging to the non-linguistic inferability, and previously discussed in §4.2.3, where the entity under discussion is recoverable from the situation and succeeds in avoiding potential redundancy.

Following from these premises, PRE-TEST has evaluated both the possibility for ERD to be licensed within questions and imperatives. At the same time, given the non-recursive property of ERD, afterthoughts in di-transitive constructions with both DO and IO as dislocated elements, have been equally tested. The results are then compared with previous findings obtained from the grammatical judgements that English speakers expressed on the bases of the same ERDs without the video-contexts.

The first part of the experiment is described below.

PRE-TEST

(a) AIM

Influence of extra-linguistic context in the English Right-Dislocation acceptability

(b) HYPOTHESIS:

H0 = extra-linguistic context DOES NOT influence grammatical judgement

H1 = extra-linguistic context DOES influence grammatical judgement

(c) TYPE OF TASK:

Grammatical judgement on video-clip vision

(d) PARTECIPANTS

14 English mother-tongue speakers from United Kingdom

(e) PROCEDURE

12 video-clips representing small episodes of no more than 1:30 minutes each, have been randomly shown to each participant taken one-by-one. Every video-clip represented a scene taken from classical cartoons, where two or more characters were performing some particular action. The dialogues for each video-clip have been dubbed by two English speakers and subtitled at the bottom of the screen. Each participant has been asked to give either a positive or a negative judgement when a Right-dislocation construction has been uttered within the dialogue. When the Right-dislocation appeared, the video was automatically paused for 10 seconds in order to give the participant the chance of thinking about the sentence. In each scene a non-

ambiguous reference for the possible Right-dislocation has been uniquely represented. For example, in the sentence below, ‘the telltale’ could have only be referred to one person within the episode, namely that one who wanted to tell the police all the lies ‘A’ had said in a previous scene:

(92) A: I want to kill him with a bomb, that telltale

(f) MATERIAL

Sony Vaio Intel Centrino Core: SCREEN: 15.4 WXGA (1280 × 800) X-black LCD

Philips Earphones TV: SHP2500

The sentences can be divided as follows:

Tab. 1

RD declarative	RD question	RD imperative	Afterthought
3	3	3	3

Prototypical examples are:

(93) I want to kill him with a bomb, that telltale (declarative >RD)

(94) Why should you see it, that stupid movie about friendship? (interrogative > RD)

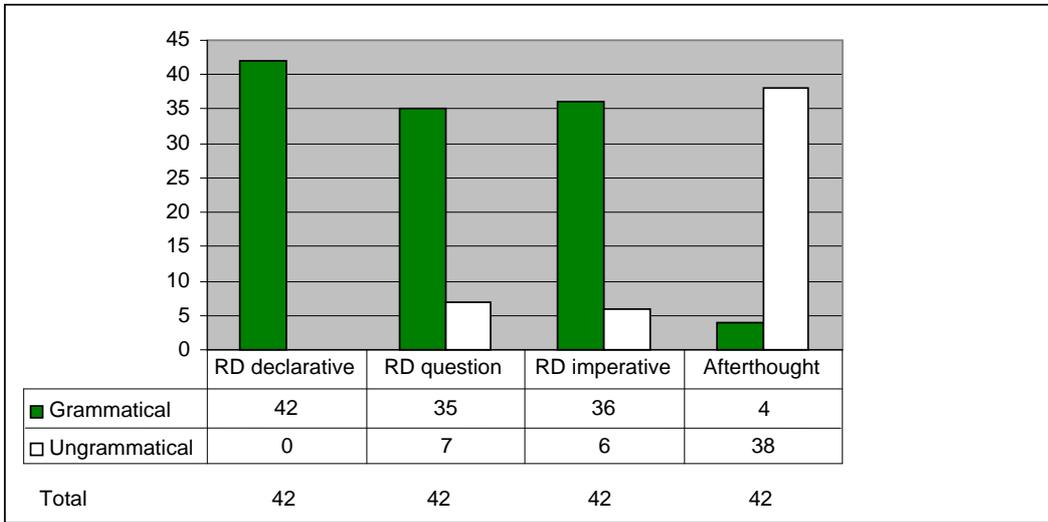
(95) Leave him there, that little rascal (imperative >RD)

(96) We should give it to him, the waffle to grandpa! (afterthought)

(g) RESULTS

Tab. 2

CONTEXT-DEPENDENCY



From the results above, the distributional percentages are shown below:

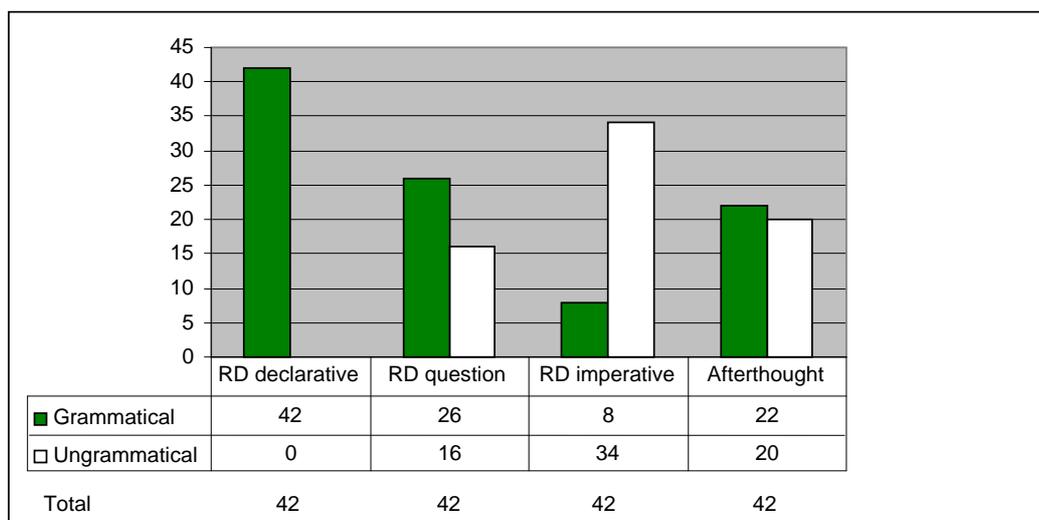
Tab. 3

	RD declarative	RD question	RD imperative	Afterthought
Grammatical	100	83.3	85.7	9.5
Ungrammatical	0	16.6	14.3	90.5
Total	100	100	100	100

Fisher’s exact test shows that the difference between ERD in declarative constructions, and those in interrogatives and imperatives is not significant ($p > 0.01$). Conversely, the difference between ERD in declaratives and afterthoughts is extremely significant ($p < 0.0001$). Below, there are the previous findings obtained on the bases of grammatical judgements without the video-context.

Tab. 4

CONTEXT-PRIVATION



From the results above, the distributional percentages are shown below:

Tab. 5

	RD declarative	RD question	RD imperative	Afterthought
Grammatical	100	61.9	19.0	45.3
Ungrammatical	0	38.1	81.0	54.7
Total (%)	100	100	100	100

(h) DISCUSSION

Once the results between Tab. 2 and Tab. 3 are compared through Fischer's exact test, the contrast seems to be relevant for H1: while the difference between question RDs is only marginally significant, the difference found in imperative RDs and afterthoughts is highly significant ($p < 0.0001$). This essentially means that the possibility of giving a contextual situation acting as a non-linguistic referential environment can be a further option that the speaker can use as a referential background. RD imperatives can be felicitously accepted when the entity is situationally salient, the afterthought is avoided since the contextual effects can solve possible ambiguities still operating without them.

5.2.1.2 The Root-like Test

The ROOT-LIKE TEST has been used to evaluate whether a similar asymmetry to that found to the left can be equally found to the right. In this sense, two types of embedded contexts have been investigated here. For the sake of concreteness the two classes will be formally called: CLASS 1 and CLASS 2. In the first class factive complements and central adverbial clauses are inserted. In the second case, the class will include non-factive complements and peripheral adverbial clauses. As noted before, the only evidence found in literature about factivity vs. non-factivity is referred to Hooper & Thompson (1973). Here the examples that they report:

- (97) Alice complained that it almost asphyxiated her, that disgusting cigar
Ibid., 474 (42)
- (98) * Marvin regretted that he went to see it, that movie
Ibid., 479 (111)
- (99) The Mayor didn't know that it was bothering everyone, his big cigar
Ibid., 481 (127)

As for adverbial clauses, no evidence is available.

ROOT-LIKE TEST

(a) AIM

ERD distribution in embedded contexts: Class 1 and Class 2

(b) HYPOTHESIS:

H0 = NO significant difference will be found between Class 1 and Class 2

H1 = significant difference will be found between Class 1 and Class 2

(c) TYPE OF TASK:

Grammatical judgement on video-clip vision

(d) PARTICIPANTS

14 English mother-tongue speakers from United Kingdom

(e) PROCEDURE

12 video-clips representing small episodes of no more than 1:30 minutes each, have been randomly shown to each participant taken one-by-one. Every video-clip represented a scene taken from classical cartoons, where two or more characters were performing some particular action. The dialogues for each video-clip have been dubbed by two English speakers and subtitled at the bottom of the screen. Each participant has been asked to give either a positive or a negative judgement when a Right-dislocation construction has been uttered within the dialogue. When the Right-dislocation appeared, the video was automatically paused for 15 seconds in order to give the participant the chance of thinking about the sentence. In each scene a non-ambiguous reference for the possible Right-dislocation has been uniquely represented. For example, in the sentence below, ‘the dome’ is the only entity which must be broken so as to get the people free.

(92) A: He claims that he can break it, that dome

(f) MATERIAL

Sony Vaio Intel Centrino Core: SCREEN: 15.4 WXGA (1280 × 800) X-black LCD
Philips Earphones TV: SHP2500

The experimental targets have been organized in the following way:

Tab. 6

Factive	Central	Non-factive	Peripheral
3	3	3	3

(1) FACTIVITY vs. NON-FACTIVITY

Three assertive verbs are used:

- (a) Claim
- (b) Admit
- (c) Think

(93) He *claims* that he can break it, that dome!

Three factive verbs are used:

- (a) Regret
- (b) Resent
- (c) Be interesting

(94) *I regret* that I have never worn them before, those very comfortable pants

(2) CENTRALITY vs. PERIPHERY

Three central conjunctions are used:

- (a) If
- (b) While
- (c) After

(95) *If* you shake it too much, that gutter, your son will fall down

Three peripheral conjunctions are used:

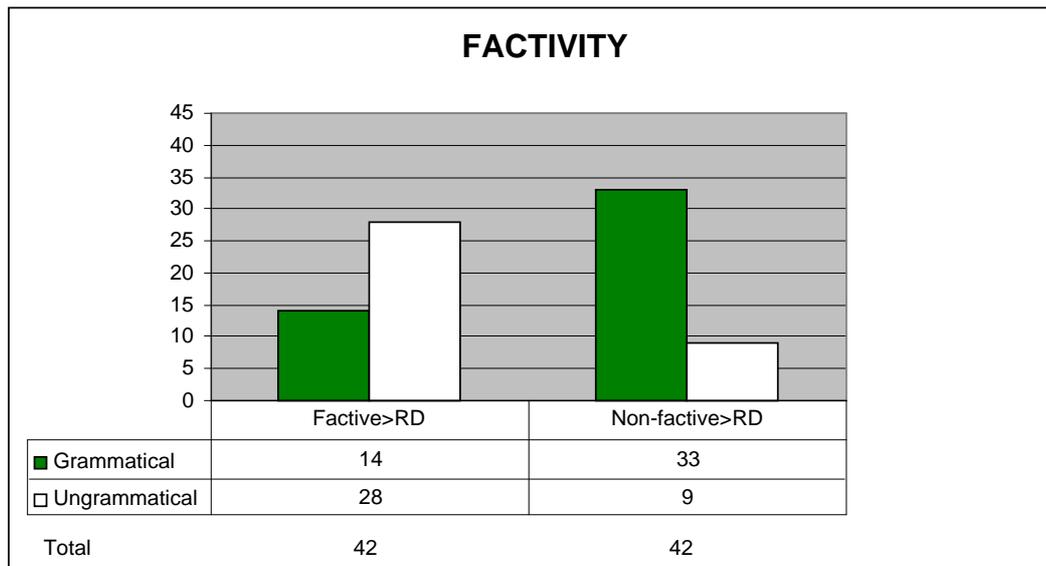
- (a) If
- (b) While
- (c) Before

(96) *If* I'm unable to fix it, this sinkhole, there are things that I can do first

(g) RESULTS

FACTIVITY vs. NON-FACTIVITY

Tab. 7



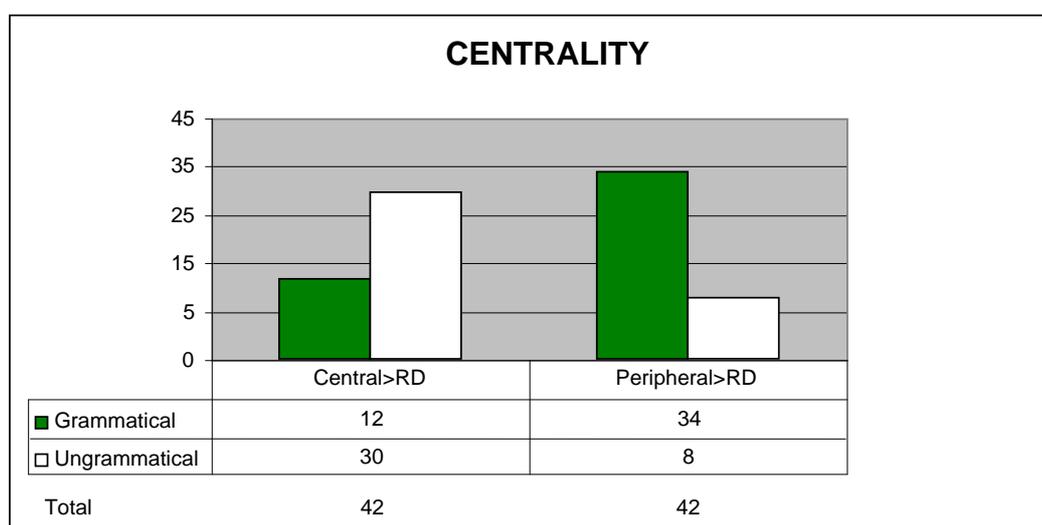
From the results above, the distributional percentages are shown below:

Tab. 8

	Factive >RD	Non-factive >RD
Grammatical	33.3	78.5
Ungrammatical	66.6	21.5
Total (%)	100	100

CENTRAL vs. PERIPHERAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Tab. 9



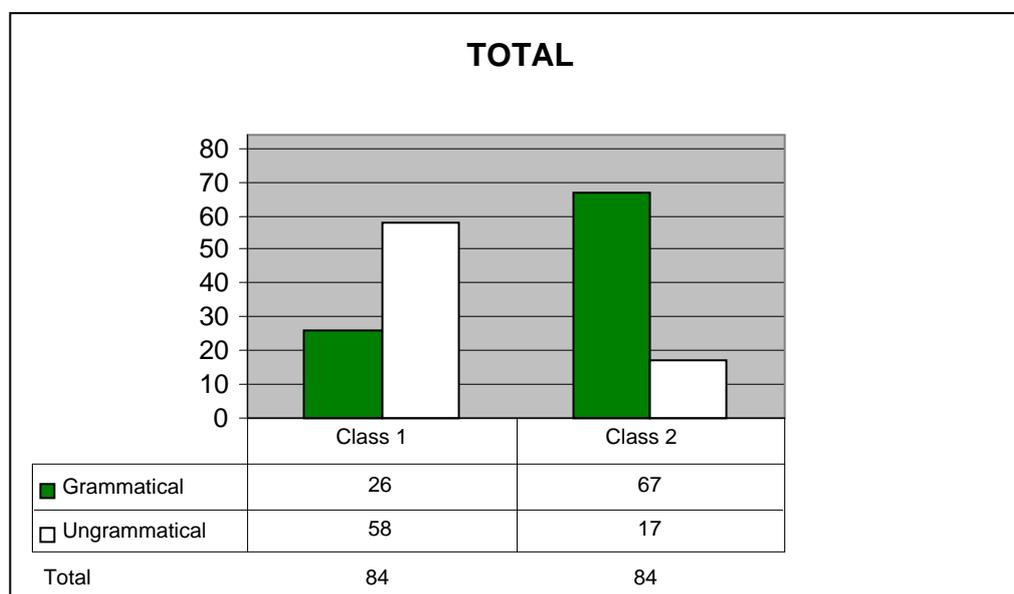
From the results above, the distributional percentages are shown below:

Tab. 10

	Central >RD	Peripheral >RD
Grammatical	28.5	80.9
Ungrammatical	71.5	19.1
Total (%)	100	100

CLASS 1 vs. CLASS 2

Tab. 11



The distributional percentages are shown below:

Tab. 12

	Class1	Class 2
Grammatical	31	79.8
Ungrammatical	69	20.2
Total (%)	100	100

(h) DISCUSSION

The data obtained from the experimental task have shown particular interesting discrepancies. In the analysis of Tab. 7, the difference between factive vs. non-factive embedded clauses turns out to be particularly significant once the Fisher's exact test is applied ($p < 0.0001$): in this case, only 14 times out of 42 the RD within the factive complement has been judged as well-formed. For instance, the sentence (97) is considered to be more acceptable than the one in (98):

- (97) He *claims* that he can break it, that dome! (=93)
 (98) ?? I *regret* that I have never worn them before, those very comfortable pants (=94)

These results are perfectly in line with the predictions made in Hooper & Thompson (1973) and extensively discussed in §5.1.1: RTs (MCP) can be felicitously licensed in all those embedded *that*-clauses which are introduced by a specific verb belonging to one of assertive classes (Class A, B, E). Conversely, embedded *that*-clauses introduced by verbs which introduce presupposed propositions cannot be felicitous domains for RTs.

The same difference is crucially found in the contrast between central vs. peripheral clauses, where only 12 times out of 42 RD, the central adverbial clause is judged as grammatical as the peripheral counterpart (Fisher's exact test: $p < 0.0001$). This finding is perfectly in line with the distributional asymmetries found in the left periphery. In this case, too, the sentence (99) is felt more natural than the one in (100):

- (99) *If* I'm unable to fix it, this sinkhole, there are other things that I can do first
 (100) ?? *If* you shake it too much, that gutter, your son will fall down

In the light of these data, the Null Hypothesis can be therefore rejected, since a significant difference is found between the results obtained from CLASS 1 and those obtained from CLASS 2. Moving from this empirical evidence, it will be then assumed that the same asymmetric behaviour found for argument fronting to the left can be equally extendible to the narrow possibility of licensing dislocation to the right. Specifically, factive complements and central adverbial clauses have proved to be especially bad in undergoing RD, while non-factive complements and peripheral adverbial clauses have shown to have the opposite behaviour: the former ones do not license RD, the latter ones do license it.

5.3 Unifying Romance and English Right-Dislocation

This final part should be considered as an embryonic attempt for a possible unified syntactic analysis of the two Right-dislocation phenomena here at issue, in the light of both the theoretical conclusions reached for CIRD in Chapter 4, and the experimental results obtained so far in the last sections of Chapter 5. This essentially means that two purposes must be reached here: (1) try to offer empirical plausibility for an Internal Topicalization analysis for ERD, and (2) try to offer a reasonable account for the intra-linguistic symmetric relations and the cross-linguistic oppositions.

As for the first point, besides economical reasons, it seems quite appealing to assume that the same peripheral space should be responsible for the licensing of the same discourse-related features across different languages. It has been extensively discussed in §4.3 and §4.5 the way the dislocated element is felt as *given* in both the languages and how incidentally the same interpretive models straightforward apply for both of them. Therefore, if discourse-related features are overtly realized in the syntactic structure of a specific language and consequently, they are landing site for A'-movements, then there is in principle no reason for avoiding such a strong functional parallelism, given the fact that one and the same functional feature is responsible for the same discourse interpretation. At the same time, the choice for a converging syntactic derivation turns out to be necessarily appealing since the same structural relations between specific constituents inside the sentence result to be equally operative in the English language, as detected before for Italian. For instance, as already seen in Chapter 4 when discussing the case of the External Topicalization analysis for CIRD, Binding effects cannot be avoided in any case, but adopting an opposite route. As predictable, the same structural effects are necessarily detected in English, too. In the light of these preliminary considerations, the syntactic derivation here proposed will be updated with recent insightful suggestions which can be perfectly integrated in the present proposal: the possibility for strong pronouns to be uniformly generated inside a Big DP – as in parallel proposed in Belletti (2005, 2008) for doubling structures, and the adoption of a movement of the *smuggling* type which has been firstly proposed for Minimality violations in passive and raising constructions in English (Collins, 2005), and which has been recently implemented by Rizzi & Belletti (2008) for Italian adverbial phrases and psych-verbs.

As for the second point, a principle of low Topic-Comment system dependency will be proposed in the final section.

5.3.1 Binding violations

Assuming right-adjunction to be universally excluded under the LCA axiom, it is worth testing whether ERD can be derived under the Clause-External Topicalization analysis. As already observed for CIRD, the analysis can be seen as the result of a double leftward movement to the high periphery for both the dislocated material and the IP sentence, in which the former ends topicalized in the C system, and appears stranded in the rightmost position, since the remnant IP raises into the specifier of a higher GroundP projection.

Leaving aside the other arguments treated in §4.4.2 – aux-to-comp phenomena and Minimality violations, what seems to be crucial for the present discussion is merely the fact that the same Binding effects identified for CIRD cannot be avoided for ERD:

(101) * I think that he_i really wants to repair it, the double bass that the the child_i has broken

As it is easily predictable, the ungrammaticality of the sentence below cannot be accounted for in terms of double-movement to the right periphery, since Binding violations subsists besides the subject is more embedded in the IP moved to [Spec, GroundP], an unexpected fact.

5.3.2 *Smugglings*

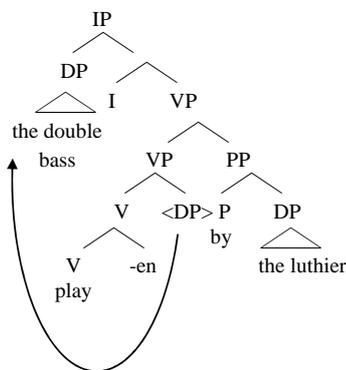
Before focusing the attention on the way the Internal Topicalization analysis can adequately derive ERD, a preliminary consideration is here devoted to the smuggling approach which has been proposed in very recent years within the generative framework. This strategy will be integrated in the derivation of ERD proposed in §5.3.2.

The technical device known as *smuggling* has been introduced for the first time in Collins (2005) when discussing the standard derivation beyond passives in English. A classical example is given in the (b) sentence below:

- (101) a. The luthier plays the double-bass
 b. The double-bass is played by the luthier

As it is well-known since the birth of the P&P, the passive suffix *-en* absorbs the accusative Case and the external theta-role of the verb (cf. Burzio, 1986). The direct object, lacking Case, raises to [Spec, IP] in order to satisfy $T_{[phi]}$. As Collins adequately notes, one major problem with the standard analysis is that the external argument ‘*the luthier*’ is generated into two different positions in (a) and (b): as a Spec in the IP projection in the active case, and as a DP projection inside the PP headed by the preposition *by* in the passive case. This asymmetry is a clear violation of UTAH (Uniformity of Theta-Assignment Hypothesis) since the prediction that identical thematic relationships between items (Agent \triangleleft Theme \triangleleft Experiencer) be represented by identical structural relationships is not made.⁵³ A standard row derivation for (b) is sketched below:

(t102)



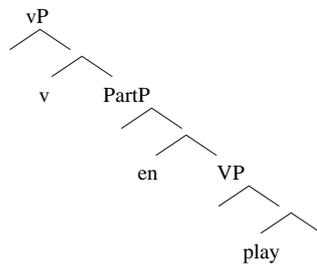
In (t102) the passive suffix *-en* absorbs the Accusative Case of the verb *play* and the theta-role of the agent. The DP ‘*the double-bass*’ raises to [Spec, IP] in order to receive Nominative Case. At the same time, the passive suffix assigns the external theta-role to the PP constituent to its right. The same theta-role then percolates to the dummy proposition ‘*by*’ and consequently to the DP constituent ‘*the luthier*’. (cf. Chomsky, 1982: 124; Jaeggli, 1986). Nevertheless, given the strong limitations imposed under MP, the theta-role of the external argument in the passive must be assigned in the

⁵³ As Collins adequately notes, UTAH is not independent in MP; rather it follows from the restrictive theory of theta-role assignment, being it configurational in the sense that each syntactic position is associated with a particular theta-role.

same way as the external argument is in the active. For this reason, Collins proposed that the external argument ‘*the luthier*’ is merged in the same way in both the active and passive structures, namely in [Spec, vP]. In order to get this result and obtain the surface linear order, it will be assumed that:

- (1) The passive suffix *-en* is the head of a specific projection called PartP to which V raises and adjoins, in order to get the surface phonetic form. PartP is the complement of v and its head takes VP as a its complement:

(t103)



- (2) The preposition *by* do not form a constituent with the DP ‘*the luthier*’. Rather, the former is the head of the particular projection responsible for the realization of the passive voice, and speculatively called VoiceP. A confirmation for this proposal comes from the suffix particle ‘*-w*’ in Kiswahili:

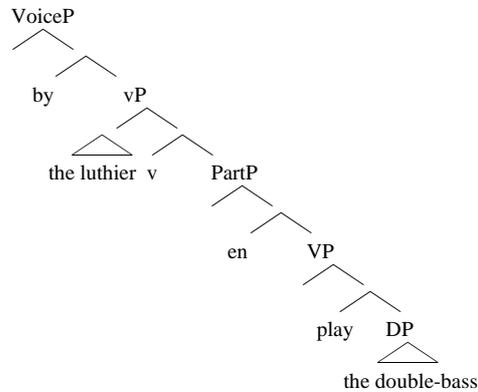
- (104) a. Mama yangu a-li-tengenez-a shati langu
 mother my SM-past-made-fv shirt my
 My mother made my shirt
- b. Shati langu li-li-tengenz-w-a na mama yangu
 shirt my SM-past-made-pass-fv by mother my
 My shirt was made by my mother

Given the existence of it in Kiswahili, it will be assumed that the VoiceP projection is part of UG. It follows then, that the DP ‘*the luthier*’ is crucially merged in [Spec, vP] from where it receives external theta-role from v and Accusative Case from the *by* phrase, in a way similar to the complementizer *for* which checks the case of the DP in [Spec, IP] in the sentence below:

- (105) For John to win is would be nice

The syntactic tree will therefore look as in (106) below:

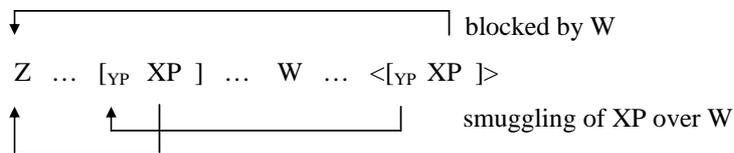
(t106)



At this point of the derivation, once the auxiliary is merged in the higher VP, the DP ‘*the double-bass*’ must rise overtly to [Spec, IP] in order to receive Nominative Case. However, A-movement is blocked by the intervening head in [Spec, vP], as an effect of Relativized Minimality (Rizzi, 1990; 2001). The *smuggling* device operates at this point, so as to overcome the illicit movement. Here it is the definition offered by Collins:

SMUGGLING:

Suppose a constituent YP contains XP. Furthermore suppose that XP is inaccessible to Z because of the presence of W – a barrier, broadly speaking – which blocks a syntactic relation between Z and XP. If YP moves to a position c-commanding W, we say that YP *smuggles* XP past W.

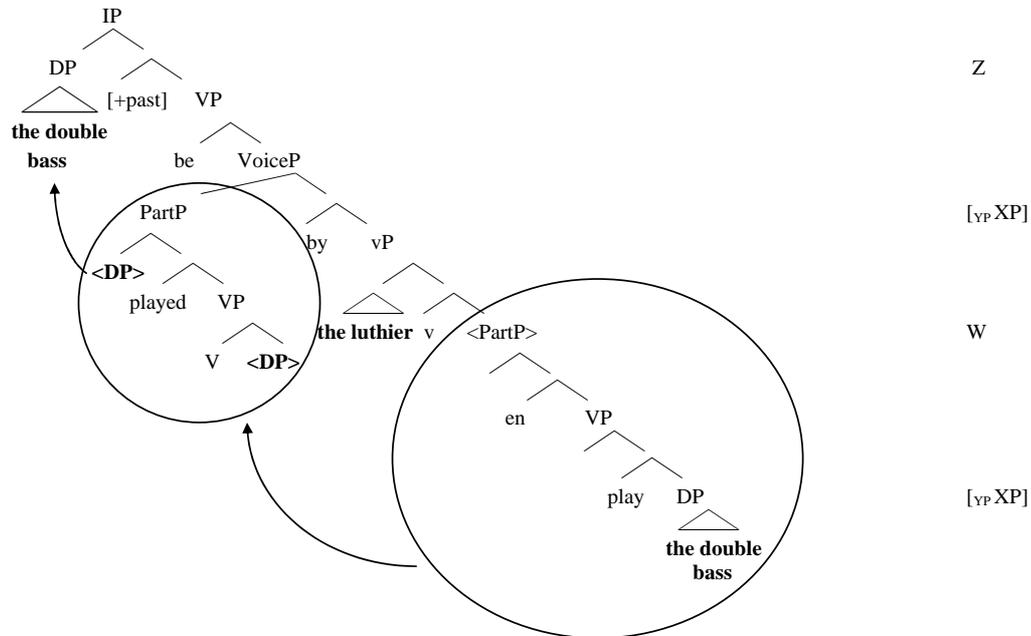


- with YP = smuggler
- XP = smugglee
- W = blocker

The derivation in (t106) then continues as in (t107): PartP (the YP smuggler) moves as a whole to [Spec, VoiceP] since in passive constructions it can be licensed in that

position only. In this way the intervening barrier in [Spec, vP] (the W blocker) is bypassed without any Relativized Minimality effect. From the derived position, the DP ‘the luthier’ can freely move to [Spec, IP] through A-movement:

(t107)



The surface linear order is felicitously derived:

(108) The double-bass is played by the luthier (=101b)

The same *smuggling* approach has been successfully applied by Belletti & Rizzi (2008) to the analysis of some asymmetrical distributional effects between certain adverbs and adverbials PP, and to some special classes of Psych verbs in Italian. For the sake of brevity, only the case of the ‘piacere’ class will be briefly treated here. Consider for instance, the distributional pattern below:

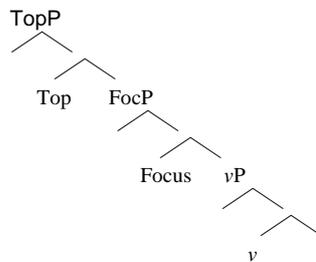
(109) a. *? Ai suoi_i genitori piace ogni_i bambino [Experiencer (DAT) > Theme (NOM)]
To his parents likes every child
 Belletti & Rizzi, 2008: (13a)

b. I suoi_i genitori piacciono ad ogni_i bambino [Theme (NOM) > Experiencer (DAT)]
His parents like (pl) every child
 Belletti & Rizzi, 2008: (13b)

5.3.2 ERD in the main clause: a tentative derivation

The derivation proposed here is an updated analysis of the same type offered for CIRD in §4.4.3. As a basic assumption it will be proposed that the low vP periphery can adequately be a landing site for the English right-dislocated element, in a way strictly similar to that discussed for the topicalized element in the Italian counterpart: This essentially means that the recent idea that the area immediately surrounding the VP zone contains a number of positions which have a discourse-related nature, can be extended to the analysis of the English sentence as well: as a direct result, the vP area shares a periphery which closely resembles that one assumed for the CP left periphery:

(t112)



As for the case of Focus, a low position for it is in English a widespread known phenomenon. Consider for instance the sentences below taken from Krifka (2007a), when discussing the case of sentence accent in packaging constructions:

- (113)
- a. John showed Mary the pictures
 - b. John showed Mary [the PICTures]_F
 - c. John showed [MARy]_F the pictures
 - d. John only showed [MARY]_F the pictures

As for the specific case of the English low Topic projection, an analysis similar to that proposed in Belletti (2005) for Strong Pronoun Doubling (SPD) in Romance is here adopted and partially modified. The name attributed to this particular construction lies in the fact that the doubler is in this case not a clitic but a strong, stressed pronoun (see Cardinaletti & Starke, 1994/98 for further refinements). As for

Italian, a typical doubling construction involving the doublee in pre-verbal subject position, and the doubler in a low topic position in the clause is offered below:

- (114) Gianni verrà, lui; lo conosco, so che è affidabile
Gianni will come he [I]him.CL know [I] know he is trustable
(Maria invece non so cosa farà)
(Mary on the contrary I don't know what she will do)
Belletti, 2005: (13a)

Partially available is also the opposite case, where indeed SPD is extended to the direct object. Therefore, the sentence below will have the doubler in the object position and the doublee in the low topic position:

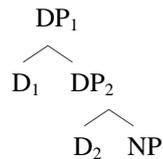
- (115) Ho salutato lei, Maria
[I] have greeted her Maria
Belletti, 2005: (46b)

Whatever the ultimate reason for duplication is – as tentatively proposed, the possibility for the doubler strong pronoun to contribute to the informational content of the clause, by adding new information (focus) to a given topic, or by iterating a given topic (Belletti: 2005: 31) – what is crucial for the present purposes, is the fact that the original configuration for the doubler and the doublee is analyzed in SPD structures in a similar fashion to that assumed for CIRD, where conversely, a clitic pronoun is involved. In this sense, a tentative proposal is made here: ERD can be analyzed as a derivational process involving a Big DP projection with both the pronoun and the lexical element merged within. This essentially means that in this case too, no extra mechanism is needed to be introduced, in order to explain the same necessary reference-interpretation between doubler and doublee: the assumption of a unique constituent can subsume the fact that they share the same interpretive property. As said in Chapter 4, this idea is perfectly in line with the Floated Quantifier (FQ) examination proposed in Sportiche (1988). Besides their referential status, pronouns can be analyzed in the same way quantifiers are, as signalled by the fact that an original Big QP has already been suggested for the latter case, where the quantifier is stranded in some position within the sentence, while the lexical element is moved further up:

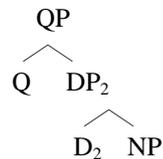
(116) *My friends will all go to see the movie*

Following Belletti, the configuration for the original constituent will be as the one below, where DP_1 corresponds to the pronoun and DP_2 to the doublee, in a fashion identical to the quantified structure in (118):

(t117)



(t118)



Assuming a Big DP hypothesis, a final implementation is here assumed, on the bases of recent minimalist proposals regulating the core mechanisms of feature interpretability. In this sense, the notion of AGREE is here discussed. The idea beyond this operation of the computational system essentially lies in the fact that the checking of formal features – strong features excluded – between two particular elements can be realized without movement of the first one to the second one. The appropriate conditions of movement are replaced by specific matching relations between a *probe* and a *goal*. A probe is a head with [-interpretable] features and a goal is an element with matching [+interpretable] features. Under this view, Case checking/specification is analyzed as the reflex of the agreement relation involving the [+interpretable] ϕ -features of the relevant Case checker: a given Case-feature will be specified as accusative under the ϕ -feature agreement with a light verb, but as nominative under the ϕ -feature agreement with a finite I (or T). A small example from Hornstein et al. (2005: 302) is offered for the sentence below:

(119) *She loves him*

After successive applications of Merge, the structure in (120) is evaluated:

(120) $[_{VP} v \{P:?, N:?, G:?\} [_{VP} \text{love pro} \{P:3, N:SG, G: MASC; \mathbf{CASE:?}\}]]$

Here, the light verb, having [-interpretable] features, probes its complement in search of a suitable goal and finds it in the object pronoun, which has [+interpretable] features. Upon matching through AGREE and the deletion of ϕ -features on the verb as LF requirement, the Case-feature of the object is specified as accusative for morphological reasons:

(121) $[_{VP} v \{P:3, N:SG, G: MASC\} [_{VP} \text{love pro} \{P:3, N:SG, G: MASC; \mathbf{CASE:ACC}\}]]$


Once the second pronoun and the inflectional head is merged, the ‘unchecked’ structure will look as below:

(122) $[_{IP} I \{P:?, N:?, G:FEM; \mathbf{STRONG}\} [_{VP} \text{pro} \{P:3, N: SG, G: FEM; \mathbf{CASE:?}\} [_{v'} v \{P:3, N:SG\} [_{VP} \text{love pro} \{P:3, N:SG, G: MASC; \mathbf{CASE:ACC}\}]]]]]$

In this case, T probes into its complement searching for a suitable goal for its [-interpretable] ϕ -features. T finds its goal in the subject pronoun in [Spec, vP] and makes its features invisible at LF:

(123) $[_{IP} I \{P:3, N:SG, G: FEM; \mathbf{STRONG}\} [_{VP} \text{pro} \{P:3, N: SG, G: FEM; \mathbf{CASE:?}\} [_{v'} v \{P:3, N:SG\} [_{VP} \text{love pro} \{P:3, N:SG, G: MASC; \mathbf{CASE:ACC}\}]]]]]$

After this operation, Move α cannot be avoided since the Head has an active EPP feature, a strong feature of T which imposes the nominal element to move therein, in order to receive the structural NOM case:

(123) $[_{IP} \text{pro} \{P:3, N:SG, G: FEM; \mathbf{CASE: NOM}\} [_{I'} I \{P:3, N:SG, G: FEM; \mathbf{STRONG}\} [_{VP} \text{pro} \{P:3, N:SG, G: FEM; \mathbf{CASE:?}\}]]]$


Once the traces are deleted and the associated phonological features are inserted on the morphological specification, (123) becomes (124), and finally (125):

(124) $[_{IP} \text{she} [_{I'} -s [_{VP} [_{VP} \text{love him}]]]]]$

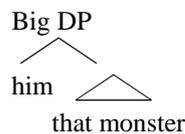
(125) She loves him

On the bases of this analysis so far discussed, the computational paradigm for feature availability can be extended in a natural way to the specific case of the ERD. The sentence below will be the target structure:

(126) She loves him, that monster

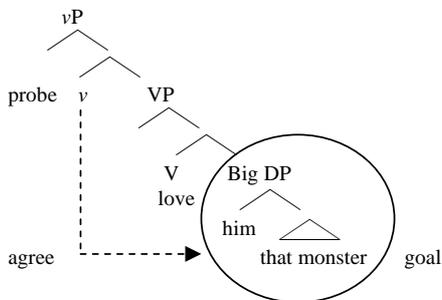
First, it has been assumed a Big DP constituent for both the pronoun and the referential expression to which the pronoun is related:

(t127) <him> <that monster>



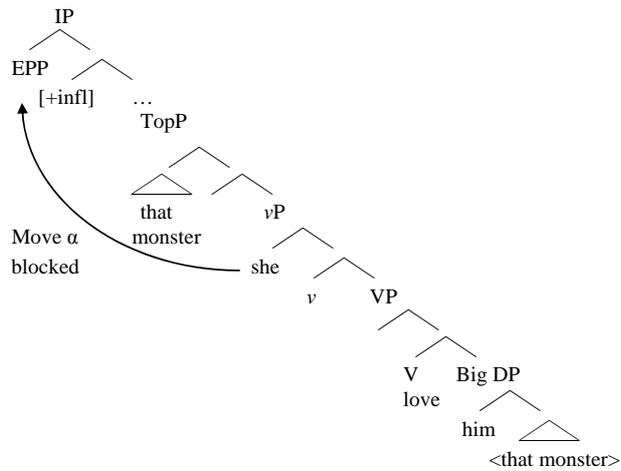
After successive applications of Merge, the structure in (126) will look as below:

(t128)



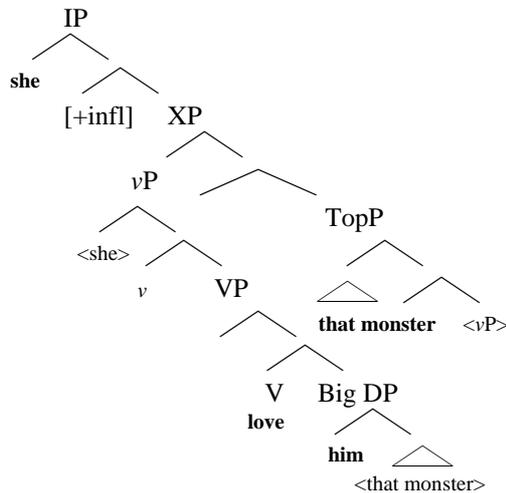
The head v in vP directly assigns the ACC Case to the whole Big DP through AGREE between its probe and the goal within the complement of VP. At this point, the second pronoun is merged in [Spec, vP] forced to move to [Spec, IP] in order to receive NOM Case, given the strong EPP feature. However, a complication arises at this point of the derivation: assuming the NP ‘*that monster*’ to move to a dedicated low internal topic position, the subject cannot past over it, since the offending NP blocks the movement to the EPP projection:

(t129)



In this case, a *smuggling* device can be adopted here: in a fashion similar to that discussed before for passive, adverbial elements and special verbal classes, the whole vP moves into a specifier position in the low functional space. From this position, the subject can freely move into the specifier position of the IP projection, so as to have the NOM case assigned, and the superficial word-order realized:

(t130)



In this case then it is possible to assume that the same *smuggling* mechanism can overcome the impossibility for Z (the external argument of v) to reach IP because of the presence of W (the low Topic position). If YP (the whole vP projection) moves to a position c-commanding W, YP *smuggles* Z past W.

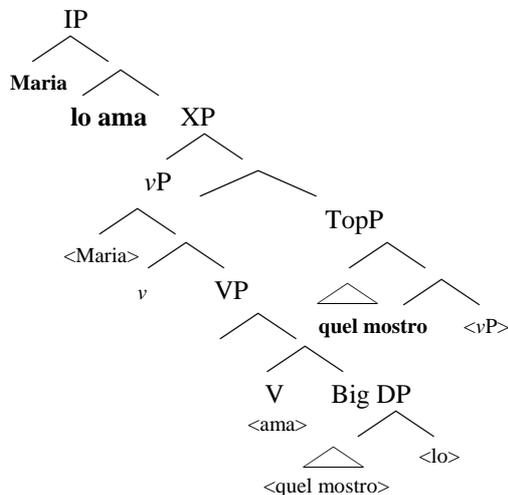
a. ... IP ...<sub>[XP ..._{[TopP W ... Top ..._[YP Z ...] ...] ...]}] ...]
 ↑ _____ | W blocks the movement of Z to EPP</sub>

a. ... IP ...<sub>[XP_{[YP Z ...] ... X ..._[TopP W ... Top ...] ...]}] ...]
 ↑ ↑ _____ |</sub>

This analysis turns out to be perfectly in line with the observations made earlier in § 5.3.1, when rejecting the possibility for ERD to be source for an External-Topicalization analysis. The major problem with this approach has been accounted for in terms of wrong predictability in Binding relations, such as the unexpected fact for embedded subjects within [Spec, GroundP] still c-command inside the fronted Topic constituent. In this case, the problem does not arise, since under the Internal Topicalization analysis the subject escapes from that embedded position by reaching the obligatory [Spec, IP] position, and is therefore still accessible for c-commanding relations, all the material being below in its own domain.

Once the MP introduces the idea that possibly syntax may specify no independent Agr-type heads within the phrasal structure – as seen before at the beginning of this section – then a natural consequence would be that of extending the *smuggling* approach to the Italian CIRD, in a way strictly similar to that assumed for ERD, plus the overt movement of the finite verb to I and the successive movement of the clitic to its dedicated pre-verbal position:

(t131) Maria lo ama, quel mostro

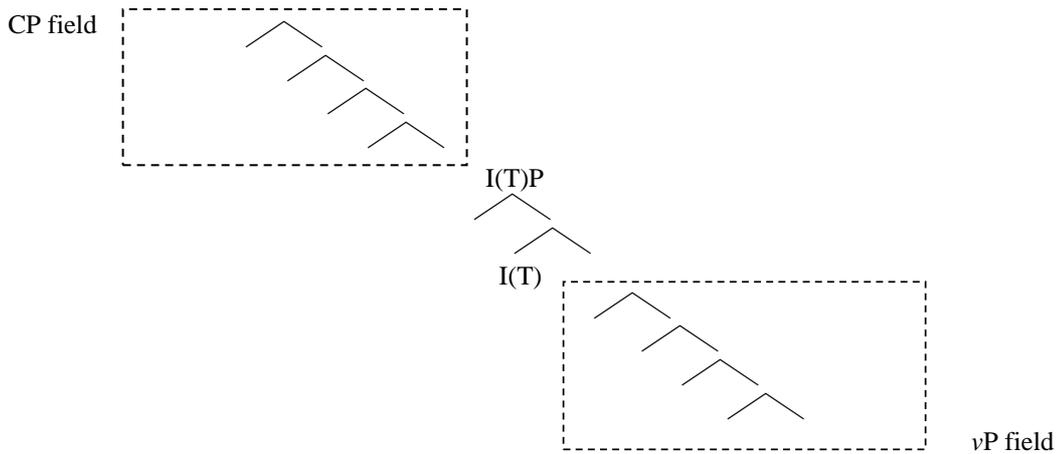


The reinterpretation of (131) in terms of a *smuggling* movement into a specifier position in the low functional space – here speculatively called XP – is a welcome result, since it proves to be a fruitful attempt in unifying the syntactic analysis of two different phenomena. Barely following the same underlying structural principles – and the same economical achievement – it is possible to justify the trivial assumption that the low peripheral space of the vP field can be universally represented in the similar fashion, being the landing site for the same discourse-related projections across different languages. This being just a putative proposal, the future challenge to this uniformitarian hypothesis lies in the possibility that expanded cross-linguistic evidence in non-canonical syntactic structures could be source for the same underlying interactions within the low sentence periphery.

5.3.3 ERD in embedded context: symmetric asymmetries

In the previous section it has been claimed that a low topic projection above the vP layer is available in the English language in the same way it is assumed to be available in Italian and in other related Romance languages – such as Spanish and Catalan (Cecchetto, 1999; Belletti, 2001, 2004a, Villalba, 2000; Bocci, 2009, and much related works). These last facts have been extensively discussed in Chapter 4, where the movement to an internal topic position has been preferred over a remnant-movement analysis, given the right predictions made by the first derivational account with respect to the Binding principles. Strictly following from this observation, it has been proposed that ERD behaves in exactly the same way CIRDO does, since the structural processes involved in its derivation are again completely intractable with the relational constraints imposed between binders and bindees in English. This convergence can naturally be seen as a strong cross-linguistic confirmation of the effective postulated *parallelism* between the CP system and vP system, given the very recent assumptions concerning the idea that both of them should be considered ‘strong phases’ (cf. §4.4.3; Chomsky, 2001), both being syntactic units sharing a certain amount of independence, and being the domain of syntactic operations (cf. Belletti: 2004a: 17; 2005: 9). A graphical resemblance in this sense is sketched in the bare tree below:

(t132) CROSS-LINGUISTIC PARALLELISM:



At this point, given the structure above and the parallel derivational strategy proposed so far for both the constructions, a pervasive consequence should be traced in the fact that at no point the high CP periphery is involved in the derivation. In essence, the syntactic computation beyond CIRD and ERD undergoes A'-movement operations which are connected to discourse and informational properties available in the very narrow structural space of the low periphery, without imposing any further system of higher-up mechanism to the higher periphery. This can be considered *prima facie* a welcome result given the partial independence the two phases are thought showing, and the parallel autonomous accessibility of specific scope-discourse properties which they both encode.

A substantial challenge to this last conclusion is however raised in this final section: in the light of the experimental findings discussed previously in §5.2, some crucial discrepancies concerning the possibility for embedded contexts of undergoing RD have been detected in English. Specifically, two important observations are made:

(a) ERD is less accepted in FACTIVE COMPLEMENTS and CENTRAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSES:

(133) ?? I regret [_{CP} that I have never worn them before, [_{TOPP} those very comfortable pants]]!

(134) ?? [_{CP} If you shake it too much, [_{TOPP} that gutter]], your son will fall down

(b) ERD is more accepted in NON-FACTIVE COMPLEMENTS and PERIPHERAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSES:

(135) He *claims* [_{CP} that he can break it, [_{TOPP} that dome]!

(136) [_{CP} *If* I'm unable to fix it, [_{TOPP} this sinkhole]], there are other things that I can do first

Crucially, and most importantly, these findings *mirror* the same results found for English topic fronting in the high CP periphery, as detected in Hooper & Thompson (1973) and Haegeman (2002, 2003ab, 2004), and extensively discussed in §5.1.1-5.1.3:

(c) English Argument Fronting (AF) is less accepted in FACTIVE COMPLEMENTS and CENTRAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSES:

(137) * I *resent* [_{CP} that [_{TOPP} each part] he had to examine carefully

(138) * [_{CP} *If* [_{TOPP} the exams] you don't pass, you won't get the degree

(c) English Argument Fronting is more accepted in NON-FACTIVE COMPLEMENTS and PERIPHERAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSES:

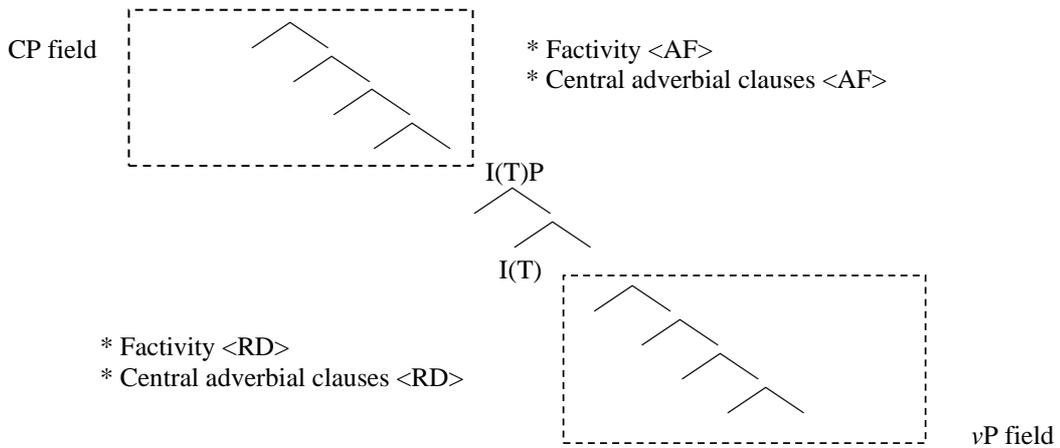
(139) a. The inspector *explained* [_{CP} that [_{TOPP} each part] he had examined very carefully

b. Carl *told* me [_{CP} that [_{TOPP} this book], it has the recipes in it

(140) [_{CP} *If* [_{TOPP} his syntactic analysis] we can't criticize, there is a lot to be said against the semantics of the paper

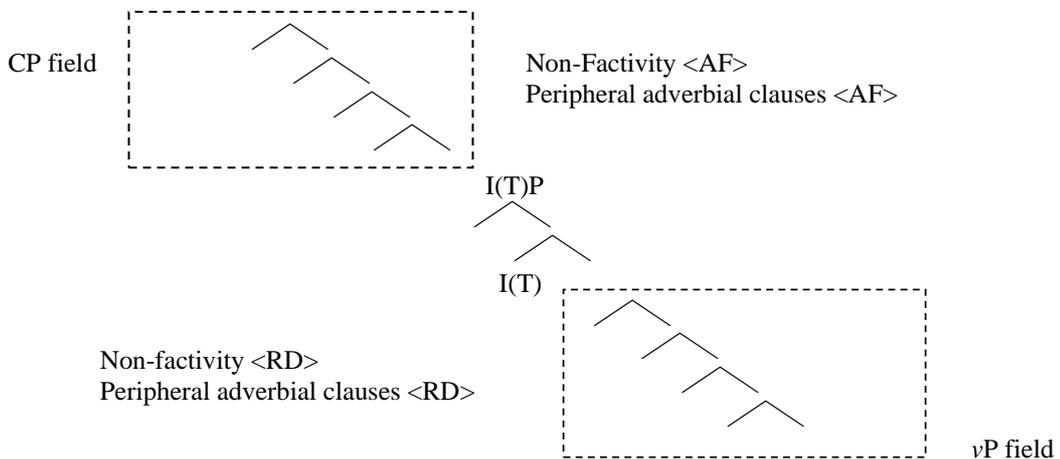
In the light of these results, the strong correspondence can be graphically represented below. In the first case (141) the impossibility of licensing AF in factive complements and central adverbial clauses in the high CP system corresponds to the impossibility of licensing RD in factive complements and central adverbial clauses in the low *vP* peripheral system:

(t141) FACTIVITY-CENTRALITY:



Conversely, the possibility of licensing Argument Fronting in non-factive complements and peripheral adverbial clauses in the high CP system corresponds to the possibility of licensing RD in non-factive complements and peripheral adverbial clauses in the low vP peripheral system – as shown in (142):

(t142) NON-FACTIVITY-PERIPHERICITY:



Simplifying somehow, the correspondences above can be summarized using two pairs of logical implications IF X THEN Y below:

- (143) a. CONDITION 1: $CP_{\text{factive/central}} \rightarrow \neg AF$
 b. CONDITION 2: $\neg AF \rightarrow \neg RD$

- (144) a. CONDITION 1: $CP_{\text{non-factive/peripheral}} \rightarrow AF$
 b. CONDITION 2: $AF \rightarrow RD$

These conditions alone, however, say nothing about the contrasting cross-linguistic evidence found for Italian language, where conversely the same asymmetric behavior does not arise. Indeed, it has been shown in §5.1.3 that while Factive complements and Central adverbials resist argument fronting in English, they allow CILD in Italian, in the same way non-factive complements and Peripheral adverbials do:

- (145) a. Se gli esami finali, non li superi, non otterrai il diploma
if the final exams [you]NEG them.CL pass [you] NEG will get the degree
 b. Se la torta, non la porti, porta almeno il vino
if the cake [you] NEG it.CL bring bring at least the wine
- (146) a. Mi dispiace che, questo problema, gli studenti non l'abbiano potuto risolvere
I regret that this problem the students NEG it.CL have can solve
 b. Penso che, questo problema, gli studenti non l'abbiano saputo risolvere
[I] regret that this problem the students NEG it.CL have can solve

Moreover, the same unrestricted behaviour is equally found for CIRD (cf. also §4.1):

- (147) a. Se non li superi, quegli esami finali, non otterrai il diploma
if [you]NEG them.CL pass those final exams [you] NEG will get the degree
 b. Se non la porti, a torta, porta almeno il vino
if [you] NEG it.CL bring the cake bring at least the wine
- (146) a. Mi dispiace che gli studenti non l'abbiano potuto risolvere, questo problema
I regret that the students NEG it.CL have can solve this problem
 b. Penso che gli studenti non l'abbiano saputo risolvere, questo problema
[I] regret that the students NEG it.CL have can solve this problem

For this reason, it is necessary to integrate the conditions in (142-143) with the following 'neutral' implications for the Italian counterpart:

- (147) a. CONDITION 1a: $CP_{\text{factive/central}} \rightarrow \neg AF$
 b. CONDITION 2a: $\neg AF \rightarrow \neg ERD$
 c. CONDITION 1b: $CP_{\text{factive/central}} \rightarrow CILD$

d. CONDITION 2b: CILD \rightarrow CIRD

(148) a. CONDITION 1a: CP_{non-factive/peripheral} \rightarrow AF

b. CONDITION 2a: AF \rightarrow ERD

c. CONDITION 1b: CP_{non-factive/peripheral} \rightarrow CILD

d. CONDITION 2b: CILD \rightarrow CIRD

From these descriptive implications, it seems possible to propose that at least three major issues should be here adequately discussed and correlated, so as to try to completely cover all the possible interactions between the conditions above, both intra-linguistically and cross-linguistically. In the light of these premises, the first issue deals with the intra-linguistic asymmetry to the Left found in the English language – the conditions (147a) and (148a) above, where the factive contexts and central adverbials do not license argument fronting:

CP_{factive/central} \rightarrow \neg AF

CP_{non-factive/peripheral} \rightarrow AF

This dual outcome will be discussed in §5.3.3.1.

The second issue will deal with the cross-linguistic asymmetry to the Left found between English and Italian – the conditions (147a) and (148a) versus those in (147c) and (148c), where the different systematic possibility of fronting in English, discussed in the first issue, is contrasted with the free realization of CILD in Italian, a phenomenon shown to be insensitive to the nature of the embedded context:

CP_{factive/central} \rightarrow \neg AF

CP_{factive/central} \rightarrow CILD

CP_{non-factive/peripheral} \rightarrow AF

CP_{non-factive/peripheral} \rightarrow CILD

This second dual outcome will be discussed in §5.3.3.2.

Finally, the third issue necessarily deals with the mirror-effects found in the low periphery of English and Italian, where the occurrence of the right-dislocated topic behave in the same way the correspondent fronted topic does – the conditions (147b) and (148b) versus those in (147d) and (148d):

$\neg\text{AF} \rightarrow \neg\text{ERD}$ $\text{AF} \rightarrow \text{ERD}$	$\text{CILD} \rightarrow \text{CIRD}$ $\text{CILD} \rightarrow \text{CIRD}$
--	--

This final issue will be discussed in §5.3.3.3.

Although each of the topics above will be investigated and adequately discussed in distinct sections, one should always keep in mind the close interdependence that there exists between, so as to prove that the first two issues are the necessary cause of the third one.

5.3.3.1 Intra-linguistic asymmetries in English

Descriptively, a rather traditional approach would assume the CP field to be characterized as a syncretic area in all those contexts in which no further space is admissible within, everything being condensed in it. Given these unavoidable conditions, there would be no possibility for any further head to be projected in the middle space, since the Force-Finiteness system is synthetically enclosed into a single head. One possible case in point can come from the observation of anti-adjacency effects in English. Following Rizzi (1997: 310; 2001: 18) and the conclusions reached so far in §5.1.3, it can be seen that anti-adjacency effects are detected in all those cases when an adjunct phrase is put between *that* and the subject trace. In this case, the sentence is clearly more acceptable than those cases when an argument phrase is added:

(149) An amendment which they say that, next year, t will be law

Rizzi, 1997: (83b)

(150) * A man who I think that, this book, t knows t very well

Rizzi, 1997: (82b)

From the examples above, Rizzi assumes that the grammar of English has the option of expressing Force and Finiteness in a single head – in some specific contexts, such as embedded finite declaratives – where the head *that* subsumes both the properties [+Decl] and [+Fin] (and [+Agr]). Conversely, when the Topic-Focus system is activated in the C system, the Force-Finiteness system cannot be realized on a single head, since an adjacency problem with the selected domain would arise. In this case, the full CP structure is projected, the Topic-Focus system being surrounded by the Force

and the Finiteness specifications. The first specification will encode declarative force [+Decl], the second one, the finiteness requirement [+Fin]. The different grammatical judgments between the two sentences above can be explained by the fact that once the Topic-Focus system is activated, in the case of the adjunct phrase the lower zero head of the FinP projection can properly govern the trace left by the subject moved to the left; in the case of the argument phrase, the same is not possible since the Op TOP operator in FinP prevents the subject-trace to be properly governed.⁵⁵ Besides the issue raised with respect to the possibility of properly governing subject traces in topicalized constructions, the crucial aspect of the analysis above is that there is a fairly natural structural possibility that the C system enclose both the Force specification and Finiteness requirement, unless the Topic-Focus field is activated.

⁵⁵ More recently, Rizzi (2009) has proposed a novel analysis for the specific case of anti-adjacency effects: that-traces effects are treated as particular cases of freezing. According to the Criterial Freezing Approach (Rizzi, 2006), a criterial position, a position expressing a scope-discourse property, delimits the chain in that the phrase meeting a criterion is frozen in place:

Criterial Freezing: a phrase meeting a criterion is frozen in place

As for the specific case of preposed adverbials, Rizzi proposes that the adjunct licenses additional structure in the immediate vicinities of D_{Subj}. D_{Subj} is the Criterial position whose functional head expresses the subject-predicate articulation, signalling to the interpretive systems that the argument in its Spec is the argument ‘about which’ the event is presented. It must be distinguished from regular D introducing nominal arguments and from Agr, since it also attracts elements which do not enter into the Case-Agreement system, such as quirky subjects. When adverbial is introduced in the derivation, the that-trace effect is alleviated since it yields a reduplication of the Fin heads, where the Mod head attracts the adverbial in its Spec, may select an expletive-like Fin_[+N] and be selected by Fin_[that]: in this way, the wh-subject extraction is possible. Given the sentence below:

- (i) This is the man who I think that, next year __ will sell the house

the underlying structure will look as the following:

... Fin_[that] [Next year Mod [Fin_[+N] D_{Subj} [... who ...]]] ...

[Fin_[+N]] can fill the Subject Criterion, as in the zero complementizer structures. In parallel, the insertion of the Mod head prevents the banned structure in which the first Fin selects the second Fin, contrarily to the principle (30) expressed in the article:

a head cannot select a categorially non-distinct head.

This principle can be avoided in particular double *that* sentences when an adverbial clause can license the second that:

- (ii) She maintained *that* when they arrived *that* they would be welcomed

As for the opposite case of that discussed in (i), and namely when a Topic head is inserted in the sentence, the subject extraction is not allowed, since Top, contrarily to Mod, can never be selected by a Fin head – given its higher position – but only by higher heads of the CP space. In this specific case the same ‘recursive’ distribution of Fin cannot be maintained:

- (iii) * This is the man who I think that, his house __ will sell next year

Turning now to the critical embedded contexts here under discussion, it seems that the possibility for the CP field to be totally syncretic cannot be maintained since it wouldn't predict the grammaticality of the adjunct fronting below:

(151) I regret that [yesterday] we met John

(152) If [by Monday] we haven't found him, we'll call the RSPCA

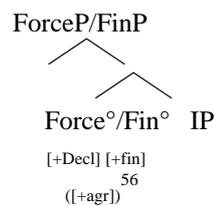
At the same time, and crucially, it wouldn't predict the possibility for factive complements and central adverbials to license CILDS in the Romance variety, as already seen above, and reproduced here for concreteness:

(152) Se gli esami finali, non li superi, non otterrai il diploma (=145a)

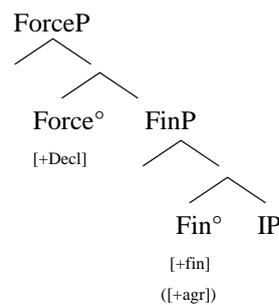
(153) Mi dispiace che, questo problema, gli studenti non l'abbiano potuto risolvere (=146a)

Following (Rizzi, 1997: fn. 28) a rather traditional approach is here adopted, in a way that can implicitly subsume Haegeman's Truncation Hypothesis discussed before, in §5.1.3, without however assuming a further SubP projection above ForceP. In essence, it will be assumed that the Force-Finiteness system is 'agglutinative' in the sense that it always involves two distinct heads, rather than being totally syncretic:

(t154) a.



b.



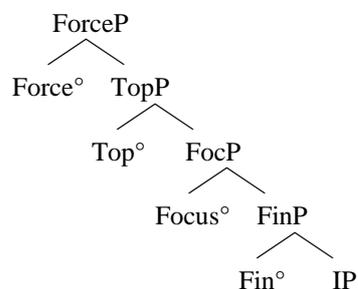
Under this hypothesis, one single lexical item (or the zero head) from the functional lexicon is generated under Fin and moves to Force in order to check the force features. When conversely, the Topic-Focus system is activated, both the items

⁵⁶ The round brackets on Agr stand for the opposite possibility for the lexical complementizer and the zero head, of properly governing traces of extracted subjects. In the cases below, only the zero head turns out to be a proper governor of t, given its Agr specification. The felicitous government is confirmed by the subsequent passage of the subject through its specifier, whose second trace is properly governed by the higher verb:

- (i) * Who do you think [t' that [t will win the prize]]?
- (ii) Who do you think [t' 0 [t will win the prize]]?

from the functional lexicon must be inserted, the conjunction in Force, the zero head in Finiteness:

(t155)



At this point, on the bases of the structure in (t155) the following claim is made: in the case of FACTIVITY and CENTRALITY the Topic-Comment system in English cannot be adequately projected, since the *featural constitution* is necessarily weakened. This means that the CP structure implied in factivity and centrality is almost as analytic as the one supposed to be implied in the cases of NON-FACTIVITY and PERIPHERICITY, but the feature availability is developed in a different way in the two former cases. Indeed, it can be assumed that the Force-Fin system in these defective contexts can actually allow intermediate projections in between, but that the deficiency should to be intended in terms of features dearth rather than in terms of structural deficit: that is, a defective phase with a cluster of features only partially available. In what follows, then, it will be assumed that a feature analysis can adequately cope with the asymmetric distribution in English. As a matter of fact, the featural difference must necessarily be correlated with the structural position the Topic heads occupies across the two different languages, so as to legitimate the cartographic property within the CP system.

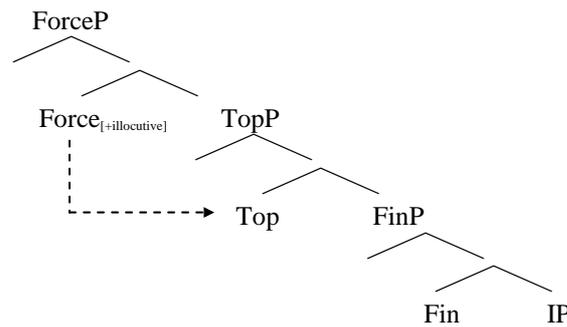
The idea that different features have different impacts on the possible licensing of intermediate heads follows from the observations already made in §5.1.1-§5.1.3: the licensing of the Topic-Comment system is strictly dependent to the availability of illocutionary force inside the sentence. As already seen in the classification made by Hooper and Thompson (1973), the availability of Root-Transformations can be naturally extended to all those non-factive embedded contexts, which are not presupposed, and hence asserted. Crucially, in their 5-way division of the predicates taking sentential complements, the positive availability of Topic Fronting is equally found in the CLASS A PREDICATES [strong assertive: + assertive; -factive] such as the saying

verbs; in the CLASS B PREDICATES [weak assertive: +assertive; -factive] such as the parenthetical verbs like ‘suppose’; in the CLASS E PREDICATES [semi-factive: +assertive; +factive] such as ‘know’. All of them share the [+assertive] feature, implementing a root-like behavior. Since these embedded contexts express assertive propositions, Hooper & Thompson (1973) come to the meaningful conclusion that these embedded contexts contain the main illocutionary force within the sentence, and that the notion of assertion as such should be considered in a broader sense than commonly thought (ibid. 494): namely that it stands for the main force expressible in the clause.

At the same time, it has been argued in §5.1.3 that the syntactic non-homogeneity in the different adverbial constructions can be related to the fact that while peripheral adverbial clauses display a root-like nature, given the partial independence with respect to the proposition expressed in the associated clause, the same observation is not equally valid for the central ones, which do not have an independent illocutionary encoding, given the strict dependence to the main sentence. As a matter of fact, conditional clauses and temporal clauses do not have independent illocutionary potential, since they are integrated in the speech act conveyed by the associated clause (Haegeman, 2004: 164). In both cases – the case of factives and the case of central adverbials – there is no possibility for them to license argument fronting. For this reason, it will be assumed then, that the Force projection is normally endowed with a specific feature which renders itself as a *complete* head and which is responsible for the local topic selection. In this sense, it is suggested here that a Force head with a feature_[+illocutive] can be a felicitous topic selector in the high left periphery, since the topic head necessarily needs a Force_[+illocutive] in order to be felicitously selected. It then follows straightforwardly that when the Force projection has *less* featural content – that is, it does not contain the main illocutionary force within the sentence – as already seen for the factive complements and the central adverbials – the structure will look necessarily compressed, or *agglutinative* in some sense, since the topic head, sensitive to the illocutive feature inside the Force projection, cannot be legitimately licensed under it⁵⁷:

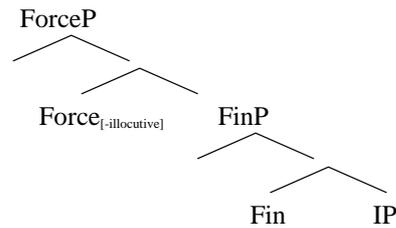
⁵⁷ One possible objection to the proposal above could refer to the terminological choice adopted here for the featural content inside the embedded Force projection. By using the label [+illocutive] it is here essentially meant that the Force feature inside those embedded contexts which felicitously license Topicalization in English, show a high degree of independence with the clause with which they are associated, or put it differently, they behave like a root-like clause which express their own illocutionary act, regardless of what it has been said in the associated sentence. This last conclusion is highly convergent with the suggestion made by Hooper & Thompson (1973: 477) who claim that

(t156)



English TOPIC-COMMENT
SYSTEM IN NON-FACTIVE
CONTEXTS AND PERIPHERAL
ADVERBIALS

(t157)



English TOPIC-COMMENT
SYSTEM IN FACTIVE CONTEXTS
AND CENTRAL ADVERBIALS

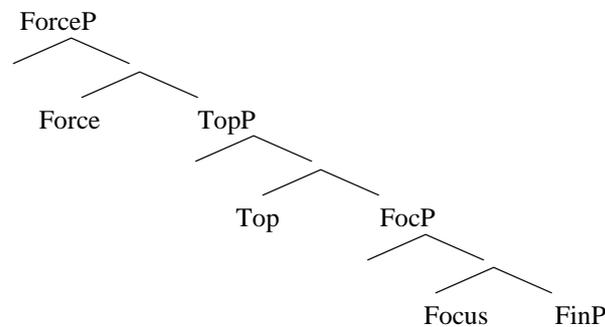
The unavoidably compression of the structure in (t157) can adequately explain the different distribution within the English left periphery, merely in terms of topic unavailability: when Force has a *weak* feature composition, it cannot locally select a structurally adjacent topic projection. Conversely, when Force has a legitimate status and it is therefore endowed with a $[+illocutive]$ feature it can adequately select the topic head below it. The analysis as such cannot however explain the cross-linguistic accessibility related to the possibility of having adjunct fronting and CILD in the *deficient* structures. As it will be shown below, the idea that also defective contexts imply analytic structures can adequately explain the asymmetric behavior, by assuming that different positional availabilities of the Topic-Comment system across languages reflect the different superficial topic realization inside of them.

saying verbs are *ghost* verbs, since they are practically meaningless in themselves, when they introduce embedded contexts, and so the main illocution must be found inside the clause embedded under it. The same conclusions can be found in Hageman (2008: 8), who admittedly asserts that rather than postulating an absence of Force – as her truncation hypothesis implied – one might make Topicalization dependent on the feature composition of Force. One similar contribution comes from Zagana (2007: 231) – as reported in Haegeman (2008) – when discussing the case of high epistemic modals, who says that epistemic modals are restricted to contexts in which the Force head is a speech event of reporting knowledge of belief, and in which Force has a feature that sets the deictic center. As a concluding remark, Heycock (2006:190) still observes: ‘it is a general problem for work in this area that the definitions given [*for force specifications*]are vague, and independent evidence for the validity of the concepts used are often weak’.

5.3.3.2 Cross-linguistic asymmetries to the left between English and Italian

In §3.2.1 (ii) it has been shown that one major property differentiating English with respect to Italian is the fact that the former language, contrarily to the latter one, tolerates only one argument fronting for each sentence. This means that there exists one and only one specific dedicated position for licensing Topicalization in English. In cartographic terms, this position is necessarily higher than the Focus head, recalling the wh-compatibility in Rizzi (1997: 291):

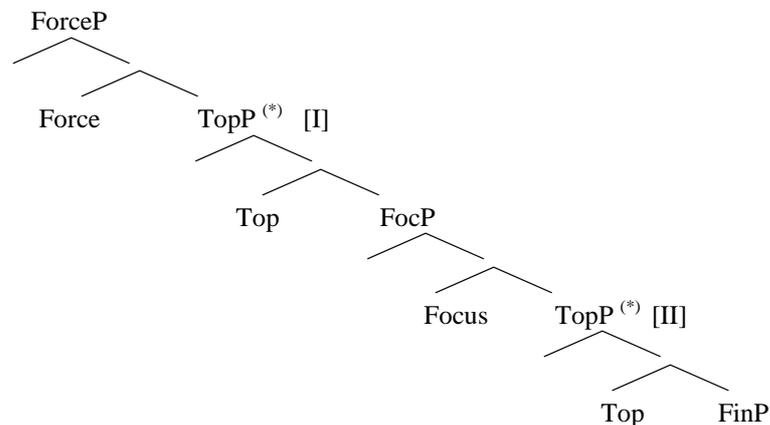
(t158) ENGLISH TYPE



- (159) a. This book, TO WHOM will you give?
 b. * TO WHOM, this book, will you give?

Conversely, in Italian it has been seen that more than one dedicated topic projection is available within the CP field, either before or after the Focus projection, recalling the ordering constraints in Rizzi (1997: 295) and much subsequent work:

(t160) ITALIAN (Romance) TYPE



- (161) a. Credo che domani, a Gianni, QUESTO gli dovremmo dire

Top Top Focus

I believe that tomorrow, to John, THIS we should say

- b. Credo che domani, QUESTO, a Gianni, gli dovremmo dire

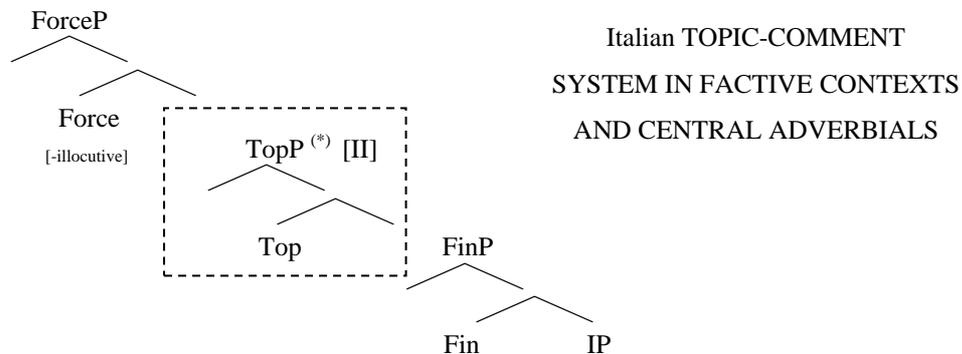
Top Focus Top

- c. Credo che QUESTO, domani, a Gianni, gli dovremmo dire

Focus Top Top

From these rather common observations, the fact that Italian *appears* to be insensitive to the structural reduction detected for English, is due to the fact that CILD can always opt for a second Topic projection below the Focus when the high Topic projection cannot be adequately selected by the Force head. This essentially means that Italian can undergo an independent strategy for the realization of CILD, since it has a second topic head legitimately projected in the CP system, which can freely attract dislocated elements in its specifier position:

(t162)



- (163) a. Mi dispiace che, [questo problema], gli studenti non l'abbiano potuto risolvere

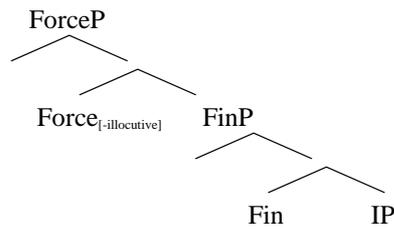
I regret that this problem the students NEG it.CL have can solve

- b. Se, [gli esami finali], non li superi, non otterrai il diploma

if the final exams [you]NEG them.CL pass [you] NEG will get the degree

Compare the structure above, with the one for English below:

(t164 = t157)



English TOPIC-COMMENT
SYSTEM IN FACTIVE CONTEXTS
AND CENTRAL ADVERBIALS

- (165) a. * I regret that, [this book], Mary read
b. * If, [these exams] you don't pass, you won't get the degree

Given these observations, Italian has one more topic position, lower than the contrastive focus position, which permits the Romance-type Topicalization to be licensed in the two defective contexts here under analysis. Conversely, the English language allows only one topic position, higher than focus, which is necessarily dependent on the featural composition of Force. In factive contexts and central adverbial sentences, argument fronting is not available since the feature composition of Force cannot adequately license the high topic head which would attract elements in its specifier position. This means that the high topic head depends on the Force head specified with the _[+illocutive] feature, in order for it to be selected, otherwise it cannot be projected.

In this sense, if the crucial property is selection, and selection is arguably based on structural adjacency, then it is not surprising that the lower topic would be available independently on the featural composition of the highest CP head. One should expect then that the different parametric choice between Italian and English would exactly be based on the presence *versus* absence of this lower topic system, which by definition cannot be dependent on the structural selection imposed by the head in ForceP. The independence of the low topic head with respect to the Force head can simply be explained in terms of structural distance between them, even though both the projections are located in the same propositional field.

The ultimate nature for this parametric option could be due to different reasons, which however are still relatively mysterious: the further occurrence of a lower topic head in Italian could be seen either as an indirect consequence of the recursive property available in this language, or probably, and more convincingly, there would be in the low peripheral space of the high field some other functional head, as for

example *Fin*, but not necessarily it – which would legitimate the low topic position in the equal way the Force projection legitimates the high topic head (cf. Haegeman, 2004: 186, for a similar proposal). If this conjectural hypothesis were on the right track, then there would be a further possibility that different topic heads would be defined by different internal feature compositions, so as to propose that some of those features would yield the lower topic to be neutral with respect to the selectional constraints imposed by Force.

A partial confirmation of the suggestion that the Force projection would be responsible for the legitimate licensing of *some but not all* the topics, could come from recent insight within the tradition of updating semantics, where the syntactic restrictions seem to be motivated by interface requirements. Following standard Information Structure analyses (IS), such as those of Chafe (1967), Stalnaker (1978) and much related works therein, Krifka (2007a) proposed to distinguish between two complementary dimensions of the Common Ground space (CG) in which the interlocutors act⁵⁸: a CG content and CG management. The first category can be defined as the set of those properties having to do with the truth-conditional information of the CG – such as the factual information and the discourse referents. The second category is constituted by a set of instructions concerned with the way how the CG content should develop; that is, CG management contains information about the manifest communicative interests and goals of participants. From these premises, topics are analyzed as belonging to the CG management, since they relate to the sequence of conversational moves that determine the development of the CG content – as suggested in Bianchi & Frascarelli, forthcoming. In this sense, as extensively discussed in Chapter 3, it has been proposed that ELD mainly serves as a conveyer of aboutness/shifting topic of the previous sentence – recalling Rodman (1974) and much related works – and it is therefore part of the instructions conveyed to the hearer on where the propositional content expressed should fit in the CG content⁵⁹. Conversely, ETOP implements contrastive topics and provide an instruction on how to relate the asserted proposition to a strategy of inquiry, which would

⁵⁸ CG can be defined as a way to model the information that is mutually known to be shared and continuously modified in communication (cf. Stalnaker, 1974, for the original proposal).

⁵⁹ This hypothesis is not incompatible with the notion of LINK proposed in Valludví (1992) and extensively analyzed in §3.2.2.1.

exclude the others possible alternatives. In any case both of them are assumed to pertain to the domain of the CG management, being both instructions on how to update the CG. At this point, the crucial fact is that the English Left Periphery, contrary to the Italian one, can never license *pure* given topics in the sense discussed in Chapter 4 (or Fam-topics in Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl, 2007; cf. §3.2.2.3) Following Bianchi (2008), *given* topics do not pertain to the CG management since they simply involve the retrieval of a piece of information which is already present in the CG content, they do not introduce new referents, but barely render active old ones. The generalization is then that the cross-linguistic asymmetry between Italian and English should be reduced to the possible licensing of *given* topics in the former, but not in the latter. From these considerations, it could be assumed that the Force projection in the high CP field is responsible for the CG updating realized by the topic types (Manfred Krifka, p.c.). However, the Force head plays no role in *given* topics since given topics do not update the CG content. As a direct consequence it could be proposed that the English topic always update the CG content since they are always locally selected by the head in Force, which is semantically assumed to be responsible for the context-updating. At the same time, English topics can never be *given* since they cannot escape the adjacency with Force.⁶⁰

5.3.3.3 Fundamental dependence of the low periphery

The experimental findings obtained in §5.2 have shown that a significant difference has been found between the results obtained from CLASS 1 and those

⁶⁰ This discourse-semantic analysis raises however a very crucial question, and namely the fact that [aboutness] and [contrastive] topics, still following the distinction proposed by Frascarelli et al. (2007), seem to be still available in Italian, even in those contexts which should exclude the high topic head:

- (i) Mi dispiace che il senso particolare, non lo capisca molto bene.
I regret that the particular sense, I don't understand it,

il generale invece mi risulta più accessibile
the general one is conversely more accessible

This observation is necessarily left as an open question here, but it seems highly appealing for future research to keep going to focus on the possible internal characterization of the different topic projections inside the propositional field. This essentially means that a possible line of inquiry would exactly be that one trying to identify a one-to-one correspondence between cartographic position and internal feature composition, so as to come to the possible conclusion that while some macro-features – such as TOPIC – are inherently encoded in each topic projection, some other mainly specify/label their own structural position.

obtained from CLASS 2 in English. From these observations, it has been proposed that the same asymmetric behaviour found for argument fronting to the left – in the case of factive complements and central adverbial clauses – can be equally extendible to the narrow possibility of licensing Right-dislocation to the right. At the same time, it has been seen for Italian that CIRD behaves in the same way CILD does, because it is insensitive to the different embedded context in which it could be realized. The different behaviour is for concreteness offered below:

- (166) a. ?? *If you shake it too much, that gutter, your son will fall down*
 b. *If I'm unable to fix it, this sinkhole, there are other things that I can do first*
- (167) a. ?? *I regret that I have never worn them before, those very comfortable pants!*
 b. *He claims that he can break it, that dome!*
- (168) a. . *Se non li superi, quegli esami finali, non otterrai il diploma*
if [you]NEG them.CL pass those final exams [you] NEG will get the degree
 b. *Se non la porti, la torta, porta almeno il vino*
if [you] NEG it.CL bring the cake bring at least the wine
- (169) a. *Mi dispiace che gli studenti non l'abbiano potuto risolvere, questo problema*
I regret that the students NEG it.CL have can solve this problem
 b. *Penso che gli studenti non l'abbiano saputo risolvere, questo problema*
[I] regret that the students NEG it.CL have can solve this problem

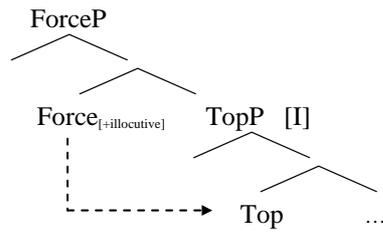
At first sight, this symmetric behaviour to the right would strictly follow from the hypothesis that there exists a movement to the left of the dislocated element, with a consequential movement of the remaining structural portion into some higher functional projection in the CP periphery. In this case, the symmetric behaviour of the low peripheral discourse-related projections would be seen as a direct consequence of the fact that every time the topic projection is not adequately selected, hence projected, no movement to the left would be legitimated, since no topic position could attract a topical element in its specifier position. In the same way, since Italian language has a second parametric option related to the possibility of licensing a second lower topic, the same remnant movement would have been equally legitimated. However, this suggestive proposal has been unavoidably rejected in the discussion made in §4.4.2 and in §5.3.1, where Binding principles have forced the

analysis to adopt a different derivational account: that is an Internal-Clause Topicalization analysis, where, conversely, the same effects can be straightforwardly predicted and adequately explained: Principle C effects can be derived by the fact that at no point in the derivation the bindee is moved to a position which is higher than that of the binder, and that at the same time, there is no necessity of postulating a further GroundP projection from which crucially the binder shouldn't c-command its bindee in the right-dislocated constituent, contrary to the observed facts.

Given the facts, the right-dislocated element is moved into an internal topic position of the low peripheral field, without imposing any further movement into the high CP periphery. Since the advantageous External-Topicalization analysis has been rejected above for independent reasons, the strong *symmetric asymmetries* found cross-linguistically must be necessarily explained, following some other directions, so as to try to relate the peripheral systems with respect to the Topic-Comment alternation. Turning briefly to the conclusions reached so far, it has been proposed that ForceP is responsible for the legitimate licensing of the high topic head, since it locally selects it. Every time the Force projection has an incomplete feature composition, the high topic head is not selected, and consequently, the structure results structurally reduced. However this conclusion cannot be extended to the low peripheral system. The reasons are due to simple structure compositionality: the internal peripheral ν P field does not have its own local Force head which would be able to select the low Topic-Comment system, responsible for the internal movement of right-dislocated material. Essentially, the low periphery is defective in this sense, since it is never completed by a Force projection; indeed, while it is assumed that there are low discourse-related positions, there is clearly no Force-Fin system – or at least there is absolutely no Force system – since ν P phase can never be a complete propositional phase *tout court*, lacking time and further functional specifications. Then, the possible analysis could be as the following below:

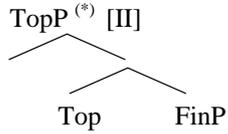
(a) the high topic depends on Force:

(t170)



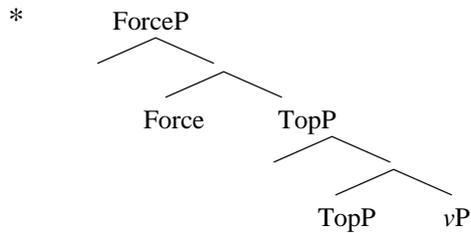
(b) Force can only locally legitimate the high topic system – that is a selection based on structural adjacency – since this locality principle would explain the existence of a possible second topic in Italian, independent on Force:

(t171)



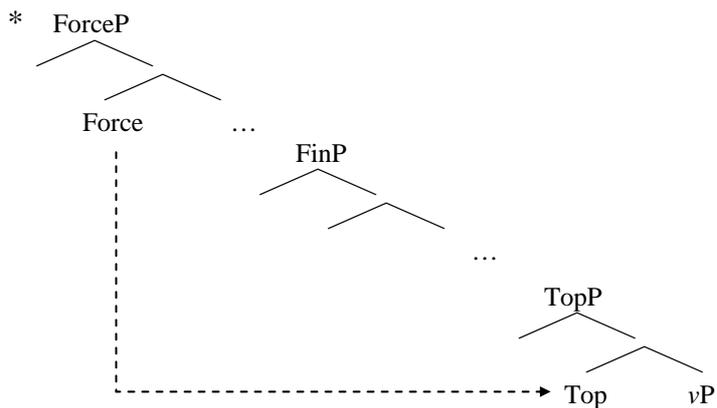
(c) Force is not projected into the low periphery due to structural reasons of the ν P phase:

(t172)



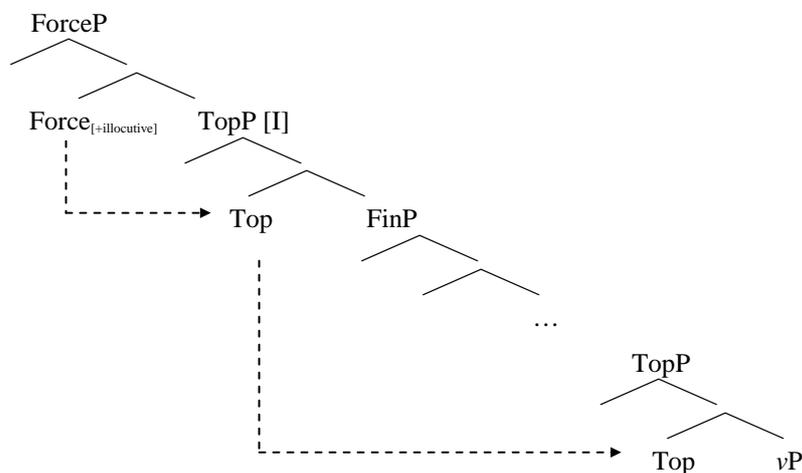
(d) a direct relation between the low topic system and Force cannot be possible due to its only-local selections:

(t173)



Then, in order to account for the symmetric behaviour between the high CP periphery and the low *vP* periphery, the following proposal is here offered: the existence of the low topic projection in the argumental field must be legitimated by the existence of the topic projection in the propositional field. The high topic projection is in turn legitimated by the structural adjacency with Force. This relational mechanism can be accomplished by a non-local AGREE relation between the two Topic-Comment systems:

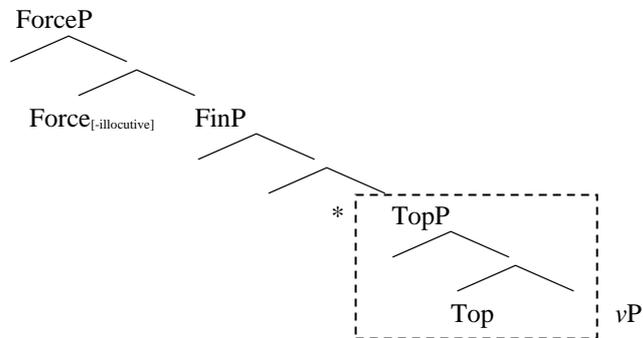
(174)



This result turns out to be a fairly natural consequence of the idea that the peripheral system must be related in any case to the high CP periphery, given the propositional insufficiency of the *vP* phase discussed above. In parallel then, every time the Force head cannot adequately license the high topic projection, given its weak feature composition, then the same symmetric result is expected in the low periphery, since there would be no high topic projection which could legitimate the low topic

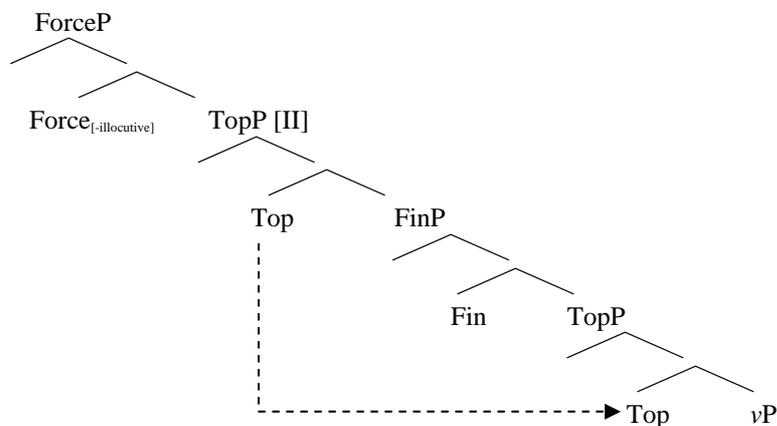
projection in the ν P periphery, hence the mirror effect detected in the experimental findings in §5.2:

(t175)



At the same time, the parametric strategy identified in Italian – where a low topic projection is adequately projected in the CP system, in a way independent of the Force projection – can felicitously legitimate the low topic head in the low peripheral space, when the higher one cannot be selected by the Force system:

(t176)



Given the observations, it is worth stating the conclusion in terms of a PRINCIPLE OF DEPENDENCY for the Topic-Comment system, cross-linguistically available:

(176) PRINCIPLE OF DEPENDENCY (firs version)

The Topic-Comment system in the low periphery must be legitimated by the Topic-Comment system in the high periphery, in terms of an AGREE relation between them.

The statement in (176) is anyway a bit too pervasive, since it would imply that everything which is licensable into the high periphery, would be equally licensable into the low periphery. This would be an unwelcome result given the analyses made in Chapter 4: Right-Dislocation constructions have been described negatively as being in a subset relation with the range of phenomena investigated to the left. Essentially, it has been proved that RDs can never introduce aboutness/shifting topics, nor being source of contrast with implicit alternatives, they can only be *given* in some sense:

(177) Il materiale era tantissimo quindi all'inizio l'ho fatto tutto di corsa cercando di impiegarci il tempo che dicevate voi magari facendolo un po' superficialmente pur di prendere tutto – # la sto facendo, [*l'ultima unit*] l'ho lasciata un po' da parte perché ho ricominciato il ripasso...

... # la sto facendo, l'ultima unit, l'ho lasciata un po' da parte perché ho ricominciato il ripasso

... # [*I*] *it.CL am doing the last unit*, [*I*] *it.CL have left aside because [*I*] have started the revising again*

(178) Il dolce, lo porto io; il vino, lo porti tu
the cake, *it.CL take I*; the wine, *it.CL take you*

(179) * Il dolce, lo porto io; lo porti tu, il vino

(180) * Lo porto io, il dolce; lo porti tu, il vino

This problem could be somehow prevented in Italian, if one assumes that the parametric availability of the [GIVENNESS] feature is equally realized both in a low topic position in the high CP periphery, and at the same time in a dedicated topic position in the low *vP* periphery⁶¹. As a consequence, in the peculiar case of the Italian language the agree condition would be legitimated between two TOP[GIVENNESS] heads, and no particular problem would effectively arise. However the same problem cannot be avoided in English since it has been assumed that in any case the high CP periphery could encode the [GIVENNESS] feature (cf. §3.2.2). In this case the asymmetric feature distribution between high and low periphery wouldn't be predicted. One way of overcoming the problem would be the assumption that effectively this agree condition must be seen as a formal legitimacy that the low topic

⁶¹ At least, following Frascarelli et al. (2007) for the first case.

head as such needs in order to be projected, without taking into account the specific interpretive properties inside of it. This is perfectly in line with the idea that effectively a subordination between features would be indeed an appealing hypothesis for further refinements, clearly too rough at the present moment. This idea is highly reminiscent of the feature subordination that one can easily find in the phonological theory, where the main ‘articulators’ are further specified through refined inner features. In this case too, it seems possible to hypothesize that a ‘syntactic articulator’ feature, as for example the TOP feature would set the frame, and that a range of internal features – compatible with it – would refine it, and at the same time would label a specific topic position inside the peripheral systems. For the reason above, it seems worth reformulating the principle in (176) as the one below:

(181) PRINCIPLE OF DEPENDENCY (final version)

The TOPIC head in the low periphery must be formally legitimated by one TOPIC head in the high periphery, in terms of an AGREE relation.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

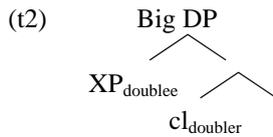
The present thesis has discussed the status of the right-dislocation construction in a cross-linguistic perspective. In this sense, a comparison has been proposed between the Romance Clitic Right Dislocation construction (CIRD) and the English Right Dislocation construction (ERD). Both the syntactic and the interpretive properties have been contrasted and a unified derivational account has been indeed proposed: both the dislocated elements move into an internal topic position of the low peripheral area of the ν P system. Given the adoption of an account based on the cartographic approach to the syntactic structure (Rizzi, 1997, 2001, 2004b, Belletti, 2004b) and a derivation by phases (Chomsky, 2001), this result turns out to be perfectly in line with recent proposals assuming a strong parallelism between the external CP periphery and the low internal ν P periphery (Cecchetto, 1999; Belletti, 2001, 2004a, 2005; Bocci, 2009), where both the fields are supposed to have specific scope-discourse projections – directly encoded in the syntactic computation – which trigger movement due to the satisfaction of specific interpretive effects.

After the analysis of the syntactic and interpretive properties at work for the phenomena involving the Topic-Comment system of the high CP periphery – the Romance Clitic Left Dislocation construction (CILD), the English Topicalization construction (ETOP) and the (Hanging Topic) Left Dislocations constructions (HT/ELD) – specific attention has been devoted to examination of the syntactic and the interpretive status of the Romance CIRD. From a syntactic point of view, it has been shown that CIRD can affect any major category. It allows multiple dislocations whose order is highly free. The only admissible resumptive element is the clitic pronoun and it can be optional in all cases, direct object excluded, where conversely it is necessarily required. When the clitic is present, connectedness effects arise. Finally, the dislocated element can be equally licensed in both root and non-root contexts and it obeys the Right-Roof Constraint. From an interpretive point of view, the right-dislocated topic can never license contrastive or aboutness/shifting topics, being for this reason in a subset relation with the properties available to the left. The

only function truly relevant for the exact interpretation of the right dislocated element lies in its solely possibility of conveying *given* information. An interpretive account in terms of evocability conditions – either linguistic or extra-linguistic – seems to be highly predictive in the definition of the exact nature of its *givenness* condition. At the same time, other two similar constructions have been discussed: the afterthought construction and marginalized construction, where the object clitic is not available. As for the first case, it has been assumed that right-dislocated constructions and afterthoughts are two very different phenomena, since the former is a discourse-organization strategy which conveys given information immediately retrievable from the context and directs the hearer along the discourse, while the latter is a discourse-repair mechanism which helps the hearer in case of unclear reference, such as ambiguity between two (or more) possible candidates. As for the second case, it has been shown that the lack of the clitic pronoun into the marginalized construction is not due to an apparent optionality in its use but rather to the availability of two different underlying structures licensing different functional material.

In §4.4 the syntactic derivation for CIRD has been extensively discussed, and three possible alternatives have indeed been proposed, two of which have been discharged. The Symmetric Analysis (Vallduví, 1992) has been rejected given the generalized ban for right-adjunction, since Kayne (1994). At the same time, the Clause-External Topicalization analysis (Kayne, 1995; Samek-Lodivici, 2006; Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl, 2007) – where the dislocated element moves to a dedicated topic position in the high CP periphery, and the superficial word-order is given by the subsequent IP remnant-movement into the specifier of a higher GroundP projection – has been rejected given the opposite predictions made with respect to the Binding principles. Conversely, the Clause-Internal Topicalization analysis (Cecchetto, 1999; Belletti, 2001; Villalba, 2000; Bocci, 2009), has proven to perfectly derive CIRD, given the fact that it can adequately predict the relational constraints imposed by the Binding Theory. For this reason, a Big DP hypothesis has been proposed, where both the clitic pronoun and the dislocated element are merged in one argumental position:

- (1) [XP [_{Big D} clitic]]_{Big DP}

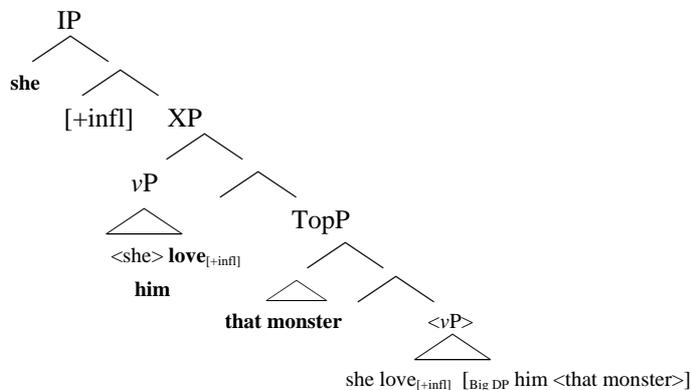


In the remaining part of the Chapter 4, the few elusive facts regarding ERD found in the literature have been briefly discussed. It has been shown that no clear evidence has been detected for its root(-like) status. ERD is never used as self-correcting potentially defective text. Since it is not corrective, ERD can be seen as a grammatical device used by the speaker as a function to organize the discourse: its referent is never ambiguous. In this sense, ERD functions in the same identical way CIRD does, both being discourse organizational devices which cannot be involved in case of referential ambiguity. This kind of discourse impairment is generally overcome when an Afterthought repairing strategy is invoked.

In Chapter 5, two major correlations have been proposed and subsequently unified: the first one, internal to the English language, has been devoted to the evaluation of the possible root(-like) sensitivity of ERD, by testing whether the same asymmetrical distribution found for topic fronting in specific embedded contexts could have been equally found for the possibility of licensing elements to the right. The second one, in a cross-linguistic perspective, has been devoted to the proposal of extending the Clause-Internal Topicalization analysis for CIRD to that of ERD. As for the first point, it has been shown that while topic fronting is always possible in non-factive contexts (Hooper & Thompson, 1973) and in peripheral adverbials (Haegeman, 2004, 2006a), it can never be possible in case of factive contexts and central adverbials. For this reason, an experimental task based on a grammatical judgement has been used in order to test the same possible asymmetrical distribution for ERD in the low periphery. The results have shown that it is indeed the case, since a mirroring behaviour between high periphery and low periphery is always detected in the tested sentences: every time topic fronting is not possible, the same result is found for ERD. These findings would be *prima facie* an appealing evidence toward the movement of the right-dislocated topic to the high CP periphery, since the same topic projection would be responsible for the same (anti)symmetric behaviour of the two topic

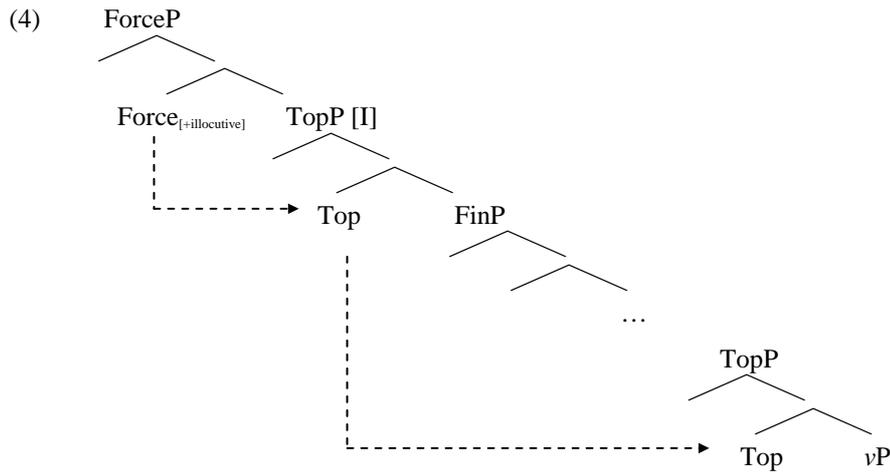
constructions. However, it has been shown that the same Binding principles constraining CIRD, cannot be avoided in ERD either. Given this observation, the same Clause-Internal Topicalization analysis has been extended to the English language as well, so as to justify the second point. The derivational account has been integrated with recent improvements related to the introduction of the agree condition, where the Big DP does not need to move to the specifier of a dedicated AgrP position, and the subsequent *smuggling* of vP (Collins, 2005; Belletti & Rizzi, 2008) used to overcome the Minimality effects produced by the element moved in the low topic projection, on the movement of the external argument to its final EPP position:

(t3)



The final section has been devoted to the attempt of unifying the two correlations so far obtained: the systematic mirroring between the low and the high periphery, and internal movement to a low topic position in the vP periphery. In this sense, it has been proposed that the high topic projection in the left periphery need to be directly selected – given its structural adjacency – by a Force head endowed with a $[+illocutive]$ feature. Every time the Force head is weaker in its feature composition, that is it does not carry the main illocutive force within the sentence, it cannot adequately license the high topic head. The same asymmetric behaviour is not attested in Italian, since this language has parametric option of projecting a second topic head which does not need to be selected by Force. The ultimate reason may be due to the Romance topic recursion, or the possibility for the lower topic in the high peripheral field to be licensed by some other functional head within the same CP field. Since the low periphery is necessarily defective, given the fact that no Force system is available inside IP, the proposal is that the only way possible for accounting of the mirroring

effects detected in the low IP area, sits in the fact that the existence of the low topic projection in the argumental field needs to be legitimated by the existence of the topic projection in the propositional field. This relational mechanism can be accomplished by a non-local AGREE relation between the low TOP head and one of the other two TOP heads in the high periphery – depending to the parametric availability:



For this reason, a principle based on the dependency of the low system to the higher one is proposed

(5) PRINCIPLE OF DEPENDENCY

The TOPIC head in the low periphery must be formally legitimated by one TOPIC head in the high periphery, in terms of an AGREE relation.

The legitimacy between topic heads, rather than between Topic-Comment systems turns out to be more plausible for a featural analysis, since it has been said that RDs are in a subset relation with the possible interpretive properties available in the high periphery, as for example contrast, or shifting reference.

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APPENDIX A

I would kill him with a bomb, that telltale
She doesn't like it, that present
I really like him, that boy

Why should you see it, that stupid movie about friendship?
Do you like it, that pig?
Can I have it, that remote?

Leave him there, that little rascal!
Put it down, that pig!
Eat it all, this stupid food!

We should give it to him, the waffle to grandpa
You should give it to him, the pig to the owner
You will never pass it to her, your music to Lisa

He claims that he can break it, that dome
I admit that nobody likes it, that vital issue
I think that I already have it, the answer

I regret that I have never worn them before, those very comfortable pants
I resent that it wasn't mine, the idea!
It is interesting that you just threw it in the lake, our pig-crap silo!

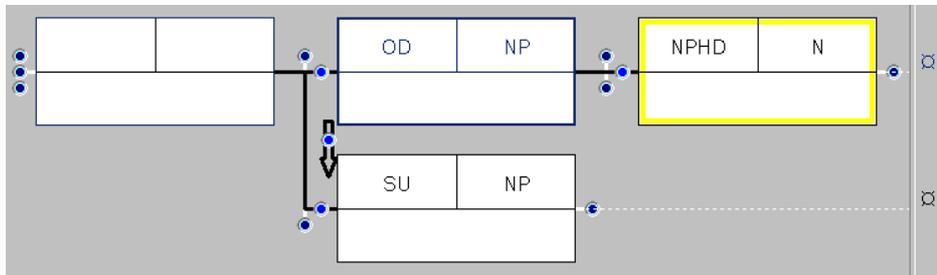
If I'm unable to fix it, this sinkhole, I can always do other things first
Now just one thing is sure: while many people want to kill him, that scoundrel,
hardly anyone has a solution for the dome
Although you have destroyed it, our beautiful lake, you are very nice people

If you shake it too much, that gutter, your son will fall down
Well, then. While the second squad will try to find them, these fugitives, we can have
a rest in the car
Before getting rid of it, this pig, I would like to show it our bedroom!

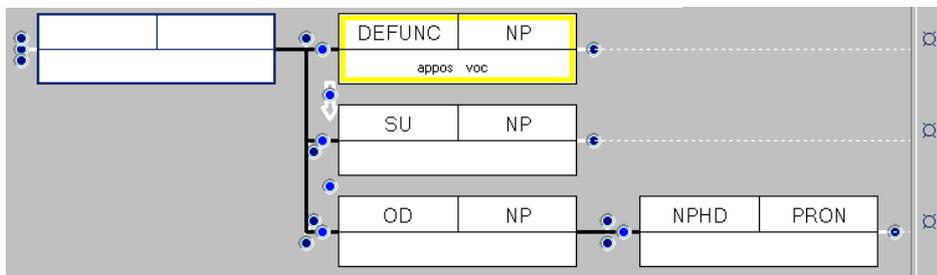
APPENDIX B

DCPSE – Diachronic Corpus of Spoken English

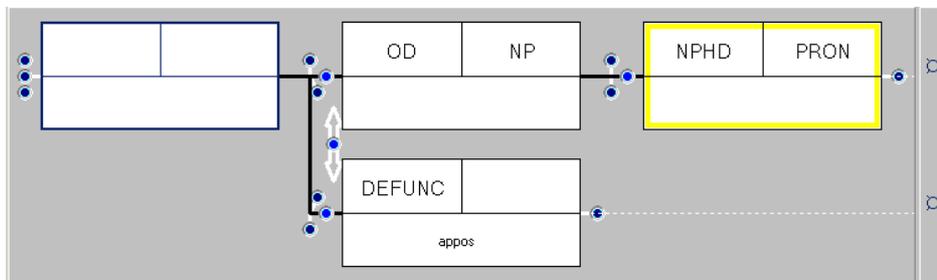
Fuzzy Tree Fragment – TOPICALIZATION



Fuzzy Tree Fragment – LEFT DISLOCATION



Fuzzy Tree Fragment – RIGHT DISLOCATION (DO)



Fuzzy Tree Fragment – RIGHT DISLOCATION (IO)

