CLLD as a Window on the Left Periphery

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1. Introduction

Cartographic-based research on the left periphery since Rizzi's (1997) seminal paper has yielded many intriguing empirical results. Nevertheless, the theoretical tension between cartography and minimalism is not easily resolved, and this recognition in turn has spawned a number of counter-proposals (see, among many others, the various papers in van Craenenbroeck (2009)). One specific "anti-cartographic" approach to the left periphery is the detailed study of López (2009), which proposes that the left periphery is composed of only two heads, the Force head and the Fin(ite) head, with Spec,Fin as the landing site for all left-peripheral movements such as focus fronting and clitic left-dislocation [CLLD]/topicalization.

In this paper I will argue that such a "simplified" view of the left periphery is to be preferred on conceptual grounds; nonetheless, the left peripheral field must be modified somewhat to include an intermediate layer between the Force and Fin heads. The empirical data underlying this proposal come from Asturian, a Western Iberian language, and are drawn principally from Fernández-Rubiera (2009). Asturian, like other Western Iberian languages such as Galician and European Portuguese, displays patterns of both enclisis and proclisis. Crucially, CLLD structures in these languages yield enclisis, while Focus Fronting yields proclisis.[1] Assuming a syntactic-based account of enclisis, specifically, that of Raposo and Uriagereka (2005), this difference in direction of cliticization suggests that the position of a Focus Fronted constituent must be distinct from the position of the CLLD dislocate.

The paper is structured as follows. In Section 2 I will present some conceptual arguments against a cartographic analysis of the left periphery, turning in Section 3 to the data from Asturian showing the interaction of direction of cliticization and fronting operations. The conclusion to be reached in this section is that the CLLD dislocate is higher in the left periphery than a Focus Fronted dislocate. Section 4 presents the main proposal, arguing that the CLLD dislocate is in a Discourse Shell projection, following Emonds (2004). I propose that movement of a topicalized constituent to a Discourse Shell is possible in those Romance languages with a syntactically active abstract clitic *f* in the head of FinP, based on Uriagereka's (1995) *f* parameter. In Section 5 I turn to some contrasts between English topicalization and Romance CLLD which appear to show that Romance CLLD targets a lower position in the left periphery, and will appeal to the typology of topic types proposed by Bianchi & Frascarelli (2010) to account for the different possible landing sites of CLLD dislocates in Romance. In Section 6 I examine the long-standing question of how to characterize root vs. non-root environments, noting some issues still to be resolved.

[1] There is some debate about the exact nature of certain fronting operations in European Portuguese; in particular, there is no agreement on whether to group examples which have been characterized as "affective fronting" (cf. Raposo 2000) with constructions which in other Romance languages have been termed (contrastive) Focus Fronting (cf. Costa & Martins 2011). At the very least, there is a set of fronting operations in European Portuguese which triggers proclisis, in contrast to CLLD.

2. Challenges to cartography

My point of departure is a brief overview of clausal fronting operations in English and in Spanish. Both languages have a variety of constructions in which some element moves to the left periphery, but a striking difference between the two is that for English only one such operation per clause is allowed, while in Spanish (and other Romance languages, but not French) there may be more than one such operation. Examples (1) through (6) illustrate fronting operations in English, while examples (7) through (11) are from Spanish.

(1) topicalization
    a.   [[Our liberties] we prize ___] and [[our rights] we will maintain ___] (Iowa state motto)
    b.   [Those beautiful skirts] she wouldn't dare wear ___   (Emonds 2004:(20b))

(2) exclamative wh-fronting
    a.   [What beautiful skirts] that girl wears ___ !
    b.   [How long] the professor droned on ___ !   (Emonds 2004:(20a))

(3) focal preposing
FIDO they named their dog ___   (Prince 1981: 259)

(4) Topicalization + exclamative wh-fronting
    a. * [What a stupid campaign] [that whole weekend] Mary spent ___ on ___
    b. * [That whole weekend] [what a stupid campaign] Mary spent ___ on ___
        (Emonds 2004:(27a))

(5) Topicalization + focal preposing
    a. * The dog FIDO they named (not Rex)
    b. * FIDO the dog they named (not Rex)

(6) Multiple topicalization/Multiple focal preposing
    a. * [The whole weekend] [that stupid campaign] Mary spent ___ on ___
    b. * [FIDO], [THE DOG] they named ___ ____ (not Fluffy, the cat)

(7) CLLD
    a.   [La periferia izquierda] todavía no **la** entendemos ____
        'The left periphery (we) still don't understand'
    b.   [A Juan y María] mis padres **los** conocieron ___ el año pasado
        'Juan and María my parents met last year'
    c.   [A Juan] [el dinero] se lo prestaron sus padres.
        'To Juan the money his parents lent'   (* in English)
    d.   [El dinero] [a Juan] se lo prestaron sus padres.

(8) Focus Fronting (FF)
    a.   LOS CLÍTICOS (*los) hemos analizado bien, no la periferia izquierda
        'CLITICS (we) have analyzed well, not the left periphery'
    b.   A JUAN (*lo) conocieron mis padres, no a María.
        'JOHN my parents met, not María'
    c. * EL AÑO PASADO, A JUAN conocieron mis padres (no este año, no a María)
        'LAST YEAR JOHN my parents met (not this year María)

(9) Verum focus fronting (VFF) (Leonetti 2009)
    a.   Nada tengo que añadir.
        'Nothing I have to add'
    b.   Mucho dinero debe tener.
        'A lot of money (s/he) must have'

(10) <u>CLLD + FF</u>
    a.   A los estudiantes UNA TAREA les di, no un examen.
        'To the students a homework assignment I gave, not an exam'
    b. *UNA TAREA a los estudiantes les di, no un examen.

(11) <u>CLLD + VFF</u>
    a.   A Pedro nada le tengo que decir sobre el asunto.
        'To Pedro nothing I have to say about the matter' (* in English)
    b. *Nada a Pedro le tengo que decir sobre el asunto.

Examples (4) through (6) illustrate the restriction in English to one fronting operation per clause; if there are multiple fronted elements, the others must be base-generated at the edge of the clause (see below, Section 4). Spanish in contrast shows the possibility of multiple instances of CLLD, along with the co-occurrence of CLLD with Focus Fronting and CLLD with Verum Focus Fronting.[2] However, multiple instances of Focus Fronting or of Verum Focus Fronting, or a combination of Focus Fronting and Verum Focus Fronting, are all disallowed (Leonetti 2009). Further, as we can observe in (10) and (11), when they co-occur, the CLLD dislocate must precede the focused constituent.

Consider a cartographic analysis of these kinds of data, for example, Rizzi (2001):[3]

(12) [$_{ForceP}$ [$_{TopP}$ (CLLD dislocate) Top° [$_{IntP}$ [$_{FocP}$ (FF constituent) Foc° [$_{FinP}$ Fin° [$_{TP}$ . . .

The CLLD dislocate is assumed to have the discourse properties of a topic and hence appears in Spec,TopicP, which in the cartography proposed dominates FocusP (and InterrogativeP); hence the linear order of dislocates can only be CLLD dislocate > FF constituent and CLLD dislocate > wh-constituent. The basic idea is that constituents with the appropriate feature, e.g. [Top] or [Foc], move to the criterial head with that feature, for the purpose of criterial checking. Thus, in a sentence such as (7c), for example, the constituents [el dinero] and [a Juan] already bear a [Top] feature within the clause, motivating their movement to the relevant left peripheral heads.

This brief presentation already illustrates some of the conceptual problems with cartography. Consider the ordering facts. The data shows that a CLLD dislocate must precede a FF constituent when both are present; hence TopP precedes FocP. In this sense, cartographic analyses are what we might call "brute force" syntax. Emonds (2004), for example, notes that the category labels of Topic and Focus are at most ad-hoc distributional statements, and López (2009) has an illuminating discussion of the different uses of these terms in different analyses. As the labels multiply, the ad-hoc nature becomes even clearer—consider, for example, categories such as "scene-setting adverbials", "list distribution topic", etc., from Benincà and Poletto (2004), and similar analyses.

A particular conceptual problem arises with the notion of "topic" and "focus" as features to be checked against some criterial head. Concretely, the idea that movement of, e.g. a topicalized XP to the specifier position of TopP is necessary for this constituent to check its feature of [Top] against this feature in the head of TopP is incompatible with the minimalist assumption that features which drive syntactic movements are features on lexical items, not whole constituents.[4]

The main conceptual problem with cartography, in my view, is that it puts into the syntactic component notions that are in fact discourse notions. For example, when the syntactic structure of a sentence such as (7c) is "handed off" to the discourse component by the syntax at the relevant interface, the discourse component has part of its work already done—its work is reduced to linking
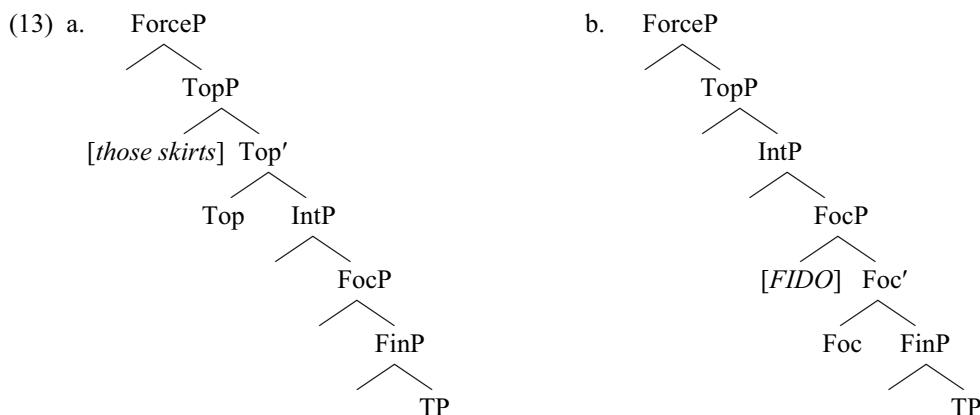
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[2] I recognize that there is not universal agreement on whether the CLLD dislocate moves to the left periphery by internal Merge, or appears there directly by external Merge. This question will be addressed below.

[3] This is a simplified version of Rizzi (2001), which allows for various Top positions.

[4] Neeleman & Szendröi (2004), in rejecting criterial features such as [Foc], do present a sketch of how such a feature might enter into the derivation as a feature on one lexical item in the numeration, to then project up to a larger constituent. But projection itself is not a minimalist operation; and further, the particular constituent may be smaller or larger, in any given context. Essentially, the operation of projection within the syntactic derivation must already have information about the discourse context.

those constituents to the relevant referents in the discourse context.

In this light, let us turn to the examples from English. We can note first of all that English presents a basic empirical challenge to cartography: there is no explanation for why English and languages like it never seem to activate more than one head in the so-called Topic-Focus field. Thus, examples (1c) and (3) differ only in the left peripheral projection to which the moved element has been displaced, identifying those moved elements as a topic or a focus as a result, with no apparent account of why other positions which are potentially available are not occupied, as we can see in (13):

```
(13) a.      ForceP                          b.        ForceP
            /     \                                   /      \
                  TopP                                       TopP
                 /    \                                     /    \
      [those skirts]  Top′                                       IntP
                     /   \                                      /    \
                   Top    IntP                                        FocP
                         /    \                                      /    \
                              FocP                             [FIDO]   Foc′
                             /    \                                    /    \
                           FinP                                      Foc    FinP
                          /   \                                            /   \
                               TP                                              TP
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The essential idea here is that preposed constituents are interpreted by the discourse component as bearing certain discourse roles because the syntactic representations has already verified them as such, via checking against the appropriate head. In contrast, linguists who have worked extensively on the discourse analyses of English have a different view. Ward (1988), for example, argues that preposing in English can be defined as either focus preposing or topicalization based on the discourse context and the intonational patterns of the sentence. One could argue that such a view ignores the role of the syntax, but overall the cartographic approach seems to overdetermine the discourse roles of constituents at the left edge of the clause, without really explaining them.

How, then, can a more reduced approach to the left periphery account for the pattern of data? López (2009) assumes a left periphery consisting of two heads: Force and Finite, with all movement being movement to multiple specifiers of Finite Phrase, as we see in (14):

(14) a.   [ForceP [FinP [la periferia izquierda] Fin° [TP todavía no la entendemos ___]]] (= (7a))

b.   [ForceP [FinP [LOS CLÍTICOS] Fin° [TP hemos analizado ___ bien]]] (= (8a))

c.   [ForceP [FinP [a Juan] [Fin′ [el dinero] Fin° [TP se lo prestaron sus padres ___]]] (= (7c))

d.   [ForceP [FinP [a los estudiantes] [Fin′ [UNA TAREA] Fin° [TP les di ___ ___]]] (= (10a))

For López, there is empirical evidence that there have to be at least two heads in the left periphery, given subordinate clauses in which fronted constituents are preceded and followed by the complementizer *que* (i.e. recomplementation structures; see Section 4.3). On the assumption that movement to multiple Specs of FinP is possible, then two heads are descriptively adequate.

But that leaves the problem of how to derive ordering restrictions and co-occurrence restrictions, achieved in the cartographic approach by those ad-hoc distributional statements. López treats CLLD dislocates as anaphoric, in the sense that the dislocate must have an antecedent in the discourse, where that antecedent may be in an identity relationship with the CLLD dislocate or in a set-subset, super-set, or part-whole relationship. The CLLD dislocate, as a discourse anaphor, must seek its antecedent in the discourse, and thus must be linearized between a Focus Fronted constituent, which is not anaphoric

and therefore does not seek a discourse antecedent.[5] Accordingly, in a structure with multiple movement of dislocates to Finite Phrase, only the derivation in which the CLLD dislocate moves to the outermost Spec, and hence is linearized first, will yield a felicitous discourse representation:

(15)   #[$_{ForceP}$ [$_{FinP}$ [UNA TAREA]$_{[-a,+c]}$ [$_{Fin'}$ [a los estudiantes] $_{[+a,+c]}$ Fin° [$_{TP}$ les di ___ ___]]]]

A derivation such as (15) is not ruled out by the syntax, but rather by discourse considerations. Now, an important conceptual advantage of this approach is that it puts the burden of interpreting some constituent as "topic" or "focus" in the discourse component, as the syntax delivers chunks of structure—essentially, phases—to the discourse component with the pragmatic features [±anaphor] and [±contrast] added according to the simple calculus which López proposes.

Nonetheless, this streamlined left periphery potentially brings up a new conceptual problem: exactly where the task of delimiting the domain of the topic from the domain of the focus should fall. A long tradition of work recognizes a basic dichotomy between topic-comment structures vs. focus-background structures.[6] Topic-comment is an information structure partition; the simplest definition of "topic" is "what the sentence is about" (Reinhart 1981). A contrastive topic, in particular, picks out the referent of what the sentence is about from some *contextually* salient set of alternatives. Focus-background, however, is a propositional partition, whereby the focused constituent fills in a missing variable in a presupposition.

To adopt the terminology of Neeleman et al. (2009), the domain of contrast of a topic is a proposition linked to a discourse context, while the domain of contrast of a focus constituent is simply the proposition. Their analysis explicitly proposes that movement of some constituent to the left periphery is not to achieve the identification of some constituent as a topic or focus but rather, to achieve the unique syntactic identification of the domain of contrast for a topic or a focus. If there is no movement, then this domain of contrast is simply identified by the discourse context:

(16) <u>Domains of Contrast</u> (DoC) (Neeleman et al. 2009)
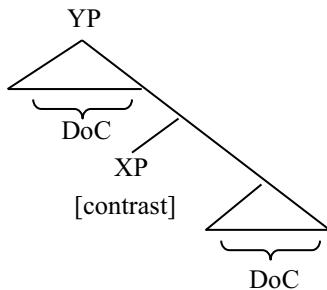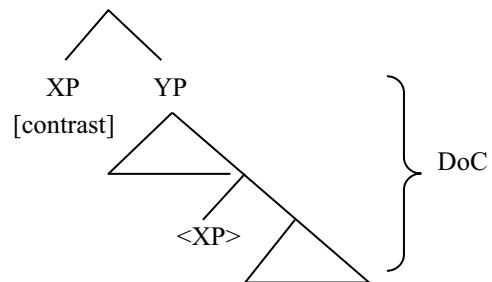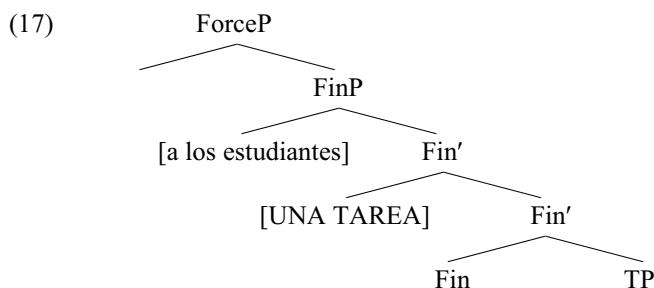

With this in mind, consider the left periphery of a sentence with CLLD and FF such as (10a) in López's account, illustrated in (17) on the next page. In (17), the Domain of Contrast of the topic *a los estudiantes* is a projection of Fin, and the Domain of Contrast for the focus *una tarea* is also a projection of Fin—projections which are syntactically indistinguishable, in terms of bare phrase structure. In sum, whereas in a cartographic-type approach all of the work of differentiating topics and foci has been done by the syntax by the time the derivation reaches the syntax-discourse interface, in a López-style streamlined approach the entire burden is on the discourse component.

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[5] López assumes that at the end of each phase of the syntactic derivation, a pragmatics component assigns discourse features to constituents at the phase edges. Specifically, an XP at the edge of *v*P in an Agree relationship with a clitic is assigned [+anaphor], while constituents at the edge of FinP are assigned [+contrast].

[6] This is obviously a highly simplified generalization which skirts the whole issue of the varying ways in which the terms "topic" and "focus" are used in the literature; for discussion of the problems with this terminology see Casielles-Suárez (1999) and López (2009).

(17)

```
                    ForceP
                   /      \
                         FinP
                        /     \
          [a los estudiantes]   Fin′
                              /      \
                   [UNA TAREA]        Fin′
                                     /     \
                                   Fin      TP
```

Now, since ultimately "topic" and "focus" are discourse notions, placing the entire burden on the discourse component would appear to be a preferable division of labor. However, the topic/focus distinction is relevant not only to the discourse but also to the syntax. Recall that focus identifies a variable in a presupposition; therefore, syntactically, the focused element must be close enough to bind the variable within the clause. That is, focus is quantificational while topic dislocation is not. Emonds (2004) links this to the basic empirical observation that in English, where only one element may be dislocated by movement (as observed at the outset of section 2), a left-peripheral topic may be either a base dislocate or a moved dislocate, but focus preposing necessarily involves movement. Thus in English as in Spanish, the order Topic > Focus is possible, but never the order Focus > Topic. Recall that López achieves this ordering for languages like Spanish from the need for the CLLD dislocate, as a discourse anaphor, to be accessible to its discourse antecedent; for Emonds, the order results from the necessity of establishing a variable binding relationship between the focused constituent and the clause-internal variable, a binding relationship which by his account will be interrupted by an intervening base dislocate.[7]

Given that there is both syntactic and discourse motivation for this ordering, it would seem theoretically desirable to put the responsibility of achieving this order on the syntax. I will argue in the next section that there is empirical evidence to support the idea that CLLD dislocates are in a higher projection than focused fronted constituents, while still retaining a streamlined left periphery.
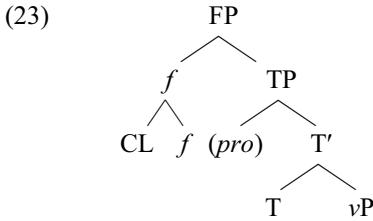
3. Cliticization in Asturian and the left periphery

I will turn here to the empirical data mentioned in the introduction, patterns of cliticization in Asturian as they correlate with left peripheral operations. The basic patterns of cliticization in this language, as in Galician and European Portuguese (pace the debate on Focus Fronting mentioned in footnote 1) are summarized in (18) and illustrated in (19) and (20) (data from Fernández-Rubiera (2009)):
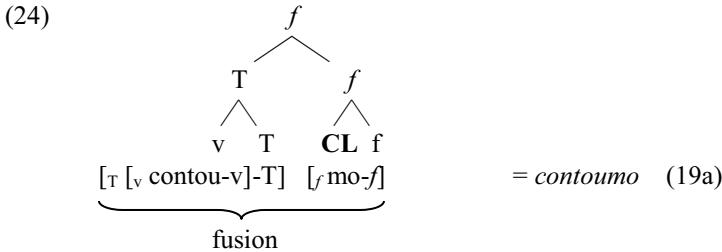
(18)   <u>cliticization patterns in Asturian main clauses</u>
         enclisis (V-Clitic)   *proclisis* (Clitic-V)
         V-initial sentences   fronted affective elements
         preverbal subjects   Focus Fronting
         CLLD   fronted wh-constituents

(19) a. Contoumo todo [*Mo contou]   V-initial: enclisis
         told.3SG-me.DAT.it.ACC everything
         'He told me everything'

     b. El xenru matóse nun accidente na mina [*se mató]   preverbal subject: enclisis
         the son-in-law killed.REFL3SG in-an accident in-the mine
         'The son-in-law was killed in a mine accident'

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[7] Specifically, Emonds (2004:96) accounts for the order (base-dislocate) Topic>Focus via his updating of the Tensed-S Constraint, which he relabels the Unique Traces Constraint: A trace inside a finite complement of X must be bound within XP.

   c.   Eso sábeslo per ller les cartes   [*lo sabes]   CLLD: enclisis
        that know.2SG.it.ACC for read.INF the (tarot) cards
        'That you know it from reading the cards'

(20) a.   Cómo t'atreves?   [*atréveste]   wh: proclisis
        how REFL.dare.2SG
        'How dare you?'
    b.   Naide lo sabía   [*sabíalo]   verum focus: proclisis
        'No one knew it'
    c.   YO MESMA me la repito un cientu vegaes   [*repítomela]   focus: proclisis
        I self.FOCUS me.DAT it.AC repeat.1SG one hundred times
        'I myself repeat it to myself one hundred times'

If we adopt a basic approach to enclisis according to which enclisis occurs because a clitic cannot be the initial element in some XP identified by the phonology as an Intonational Phrase, [8] the pattern of data above initially suggest the following schema for main clauses:[9]

(21) a.   enclisis, V-initial: [$_{XP}$ V – CL [$_{TP}$ ….]]
    b.   enclisis, preverbal subject or CLLD dislocate: [$_{YP}$ {Subject / CLLD} [$_{XP}$ V – CL [$_{TP}$ ….]]]
    c.   proclisis, FF or wh-movement: [$_{XP}$ {FF / wh} CL [$_{TP}$ V …]]

That is, if there is no constituent preceding the clitic within XP, then the V must precede it, yielding enclisis. This view of enclitic/proclitic alternations necessarily leads to the conclusion that the CLLD dislocate and the FF dislocate cannot be in the same projection, and, furthermore, that the CLLD dislocate must be in a higher projection than the FF dislocate—exactly the order which is observed even in languages which never show enclisis with finite verbal forms, such as Spanish, Catalan and Italian.

    The particular analysis I will assume for the cliticization facts is Raposo and Uriagereka (2005), according to which a functional projection FP above TP is headed by an abstract clitic *f*. Languages may differ parametrically according to whether *f* is [–syntactic] or [+syntactic], with the latter option yielding a further parametric option of [±morphological]. [+morphological] f attracts a clitic with ϕ-features, yielding a structure such as in (23).

(22)   the *f* parameter (Uriagereka 1995)

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[8] A plausible hypothesis might be that the intonational boundary at play corresponds to a phasal boundary, but given that the syntactic object which is shipped to Spell-Out at the end of a phase is the complement of the phasal head, this is not an issue to be tackled here.

[9] A reviewer notes that Fernández-Rubiera (2009) examines two distinct varieties of Asturian ("modern" and "conservative"), which show different patterns of enclisis-proclisis alternations. This is true, but these differences show up in subordinate clauses, not in main clauses. The schema in (21) holds for both modern and conservative Asturian main clauses, as well as for main clauses in Galician and European Portuguese—again, *pace* the debate about focus fronting in European Portuguese mentioned in footnote 1.

(23)

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            FP
          /    \
         f      TP
       /  \    /   \
     CL    f (pro)   T′
                    /  \
                   T    vP
```

Taking FP to be the relevant Intonational Phrase, movement of some constituent to Spec,FP will yield proclisis; in the absence of such movement, verb fusion will result:

(24)

```
                 f
              /     \
            T         f
          /   \      /  \
         v     T    CL   f
    [T [v contou-v]-T]  [f mo-f]        = contoumo   (19a)
         _____/
                  fusion
```

Suppose now that Raposo and Uriagereka's proposed FP is in fact FinP.[10] Movement of a focused constituent to Spec,Fin, as proposed by López (2009), will yield proclisis. Since CLLD in Asturian results in enclisis, not proclisis, then the CLLD dislocate must be located higher than FinP, and the empirical evidence nicely dovetails with the conceptual arguments presented in section 2 for a higher structural position for a topicalized constituent. The question then is how to capture this schema in a non-cartographic approach—i.e., in an approach according to which syntactic projections are not co-terminous with discourse notions.

Note that Raposo and Uriagereka's analysis of enclisis, adopted with some modifications by Fernández-Rubiera (2009), assumes that the clitic is external to TP. Alternative analyses, such as Barbosa's (1996, 2000) analyses of European Portuguese, assume that the clitic is within the TP domain, adjoined to the relevant inflectional head (also see Fontana (1996) for medieval Spanish). A prosodic requirement barring clitics as the initial phonological material within their intonational phrase causes such structures to crash in the phonological component. In such cases, an alternative derivation in the syntax must be chosen, whereby the clitic adjoins to a lower functional head within TP such as AspP. Alternatively, it could be assumed that there is always a copy of the clitic in this lower functional head, and when the syntax delivers a clitic-initial structure to the phonological component, PF requirements force the pronunciation of the lower rather than the higher copy (see Bošković (2004) for certain clitics in Serbo-Croatian). However, what is important for our purposes here is that, independently of the particular analysis of enclisis-proclisis alternations, it must be assumed that CLLD topics are in a distinct syntactic position from other fronted elements. Barbosa (2000) explicitly proposes that wh-phrases are contained within the relevant intonational phrase, while CLLD topics are in a separate intonational phrase; Bošković (2004) identifies the relevant intonational phrase as CP. Thus, either CLLD topics are outside of CP,[11] or the intonational phrase is some projection with the left periphery below the projection housing CLLD topics, as I will argue in the next section.

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[10] Among researchers who have worked on Western Iberian languages, there is a divergence of opinions here. Fernández-Rubiera (2009) proposes that clitics originate in a Clitic Phrase sandwiched between TP and FinP, and argues that what distinguishes Western Iberian languages is the requirement that the phase head Fin always requires something to move to its edge. In the absence of some constituent moving to the left periphery, this edge requirement is satisfied by the V+T complex first adjoining to the clitic in the head of ClP, and then the entire complex head [[[V] T] Cl] moving to Fin, akin to Raposo's (2000) operation of verb swallowing. In contrast, Gupton (2010) in his analysis of Galician argues that FP and FinP are one and the same projection.

[11] In fact, Raposo & Uriagereka 2005, who do not assume an articulated left periphery beyond the presence of the FP housing the abstract clitic *f*, assume that CLLD topics are external to CP.

4. Moving toward a solution: Discourse Shells
4.1. Discourse Projections and Discourse Shells

The proposal to be put forth here is presented in (25):

(25)   [$_{DS}$ CLLD dislocate [$_{FinP}$ Fin [$_{TP}$ … <CLLD dislocate> …]

DS in (25) stands for Discourse Shell, a category-neutral projection proposed by Emonds (2004) to account for iterative base-dislocations in languages such as English and French. For Emonds, Discourse Shells are categorially unspecified projections which may immediately dominate IPs specified as Discourse Projections. Root clauses are the quintessential Discourse Projections: clauses for which the speaker claims that the proposition expressed by the clause is a "real event"—i.e., in an idea going back to Hooper & Thompson (1974), clauses which the speaker asserts to be true. Certain subordinate clauses—for example, complements to epistemic verbs or verbs of saying—may also be Discourse Projections (the so-called RIDE clauses—root-like indirect embedding), and which subordinate clauses fall into the class of Discourse Projections may vary from language to language.
    Differing from Emonds, I propose that a Discourse Projection is not TP, but in fact FinP, taking Fin to be the locus of deictic linking to the speech context. Thus, an abstract structure of a Discourse Shell is that of (26):

(26)

CLLD dislocates, in Spec,X, are outside of FinP, assumed to be the relevant domain for direction of cliticization in Western Iberian. Hence, in the absence of any fronted material in Spec,Fin, CLLD will in the usual case yield enclisis. Assuming that the only difference between Western Iberian and, languages such as Spanish or Catalan, is the lack of [+morphological] f, then by hypothesis CLLD dislocates in Spanish are also located in Spec,X. The so-called "domain of contrast" of a CLLD dislocate—generally, but not always, interpreted discursively as a contrastive topic—is FinP, while the domain of contrast of a FF dislocate in Spec,Fin is TP. I would argue, in fact, that this is just as much information as the discourse component needs to interpret the CLLD dislocate as a "Topic" and the FF dislocate as "Focus".
    By Emonds's original proposal, Spec,X is a position occupied only by base dislocates, but my claim is that in at least some languages both Spec,X and Spec,Fin can be reached by movement. We return, then, to the differences between English and Spanish.

4.2. English-like languages vs. Spanish-like languages

As we have seen, English allows only one syntactic fronting operation per clause: movement of some constituent to Spec,Fin, interpreting this empirical generalization in terms of the structure proposed in (26). Hence (27d), with fronting of two constituents, is ungrammatical. There may be various iterations of the Discourse Shell XP, with base-generated left dislocates (i.e. dislocates which externally merge there) in each of the Spec,X positions, as in (27a). That is, each Discourse Shell houses one dislocated element.

(27) a.   [Jim] [because his parents phoned] [the first part of the play [he missed out on ___]]]
     b.   [My supervisor] [a man like that] [she would never hire ___]]

    c.   [My supervisor] [a man like that] [I would never recommend ___ to her]

    d. *[My supervisor] [a man like that] [I would never recommend ___ to ___]

<div align="right">(all examples from Emonds (2004))</div>

De Cat (2007) essentially adopts this idea for French, arguing that in this language CLLD dislocates do not move to the left periphery.[12] As we will see, this is consistent with the proposal presented here, given that the abstract head *f* in French, as per Uriagereka's (1995) parameter in (22), is [–syntactic].

Emonds (2004) argues that the a-categorial Discourse Shells, by virtue of being a-categorial, cannot have an overt head, but he also assumes a general principle of grammar by which all categories must be phonologically realized,[13] For him, the way that this is achieved for the XP Discourse Shells is for the head X to be realized in PF as a pause potential—in other words, comma intonation.

Suppose that Spanish is really like English, and the multiple CLLD dislocations observed in sentences like (7c) are really clitic versions of base left-dislocations. The essence of the question is whether CLLD involves movement of the dislocate to the left periphery, or external merge there, with some kind of relationship being established with the clitic via Agree. This has been an ongoing debate since Cinque (1990), but I believe that the evidence falls on the side of movement.

One piece of evidence is island effects. Cinque (1990) claims to show that CLLD obeys strong islands, but not weak islands; however, López (2009) shows that CLLD is sensitive even to weak islands. The crucial example is CLLD of an indefinite DP from a weak island, which can only be shown in a language with a partitive clitic, such as Catalan:

(28)   ?? D'històries, m'   avergonyeixo d'haver-ne   explicat diumenge.
           of stories   CL.DAT shame.1.SG of'have.INF-CL.PART told   Sunday
           'I'm ashamed to have told stories on Sunday'   (López 2009: (1.7))

The other piece of evidence is reconstruction, as evidenced by Zubizarreta's (1998) data in (29):

(29) a.   A su hijo cada madre lo lleva a la escuela el primer día de clases   (bound vbl✓)
         A her child each mother CL.ACC takes to the school the first day of classes

     b.   A su hijo lo lleva cada madre a la escuela el primer día de clases   (bound vbl *)
         A her child CL.ACC takes each mother to the school the first day of classes

The contrast between (29a) and (29b) indicates that reconstruction of the CLLD dislocate is possible, not to the original base-merge position but rather to some intermediate position between the position of the preverbal subject and that of the postverbal subject. Zubizarreta takes the intermediate position to be Clitic Phrase, following Sportiche (1996), while López (2009) takes the intermediate position to be the outer Spec of *v*P. For both, the lack of reconstruction to the original base merge position is explained by attributing the first leg of movement to ϕ-feature checking requirements, i.e. it is A-movement rather than A′ movement.

So, let us suppose that in Romance—except for French—the CLLD dislocate moves—internally merges—to Spec of the Discourse Shell, as in the schema in (30):[14]

(30)   [ForceP Force [DS CLLD dislocate [FinP (FFdislocate) Fin [TP … <CLLD dislocate> …

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[12] In particular, de Cat provides evidence that CLLD structures in French are not sensitive to strong islands and that there are no reconstruction effects.

[13] He excepts from this principle those phonologically null categories which are explicitly permitted by other conditions in the grammar, such as [pro] being permitted by binding theory.

[14] As already noted (footnote 2), there is no agreement on movement (internal merge) vs. base-generation (external merge) of the CLLD dislocate. In his analysis of Asturian, Fernández-Rubiera (2009) assumes base-generation. The reconstruction paradigm in (29) cannot be reproduced in this language, which I believe is due to the lack of A-movement to Spec,T (an assumption shared with Fernández-Rubiera (2009)). If there is no movement to Spec,T, then there is no *pro* in this position, an analysis which differs from Raposo & Uriagereka's as represented in (23).

Movement, i.e. internal merge, is not possible to Spec of the Discourse Shell in English, nor is it possible in French. I propose that the essential difference between Romance (Spanish, Western Iberian, Catalan, Italian) on the one hand, and English and French on the other, is the clitics—but not just clitics, given the case of French. Rather it is the status of the abstract functional head *f* in Fin.

4.3. Clitics, f and "long-distance" movement of the dislocate

Why can dislocates in English in Spec of the Discourse Shell not move there? Emonds (2004), in his updating of the Tensed-S Constraint (see footnote 6) suggests that essentially, it is movement that goes too far. Concretely, Spec,Fin cannot be skipped. If we assume that Fin is a phase head, as for example is assumed by López (2009) and Fernández-Rubiera (2009),[15] then it is simply a matter of not being able to move out of a phase without moving to the edge of the phase head. But then we are left to explain Romance.

Recall again Uriagereka's proposed *f* parameter in (22). By Uriagereka's (1995) analysis of clitics, *f* plays no role at all in the syntax of French clitics. What then does it mean for *f* to be [+syntactic], but [–morphological], as in Spanish? Suppose that what this means is that *f* has unvalued phi-features, and therefore must enter into an Agree relationship with a clitic:

(31) $[_{FinP}$ $[_{Fin}$ $f_{u\varphi}$ $]$ $[_{TP}$ … CL+$[_{T}$ V + T$]$ ... $[_{vP}$ $[_{DP}$ CL-double <CL> $]$ $[_{VP}$ <$[_{DP}$ CL-double CL $]$ >…

$$\text{Agree} \qquad \text{Agree}$$

(31) assumes that the clitic, a Determiner, starts as the head of its own DP, with the double XP phrase in Spec, following Uriagereka (1995). This whole DP moves to the outer Spec of *v*P, to make it accessible to operations at the next phase, and the Clitic itself cliticizes to T.

I suggest that it is this chain of Agree relations that makes it possible for the CLLD dislocate—the CL-double in the structure in (31) to skip Spec,Fin—because this dislocate is in an Agree relationship with *f* in the head of Fin, via the clitic. Thus a CLLD structure in Spanish would be as in (32):

(32) $[_{DS}$ CL-double $[_{FinP}$ $[_{Fin}$ f $]$ $[_{TP}$ … CL+$[_{T}$ V + T$]$ ... $[_{vP}$ $[_{DP}$ <CL-double> <CL> $]$

$[_{VP}$ <$[_{DP}$ CL-double CL $]$ >…

In Western Iberian, the structure would be essentially the same, except that the clitic itself would have moved to adjoin to [+morphological] *f*:

(33) $[_{DS}$ CL-double $[_{FinP}$ $[_{Fin}$ V+T-CL-*f* $]$ $[_{TP}$ … <CL>+<$[_{T}$ V T$]$> ... $[_{vP}$ $[_{DP}$ <CL-double> <CL> $]$

$[_{VP}$ <$[_{DP}$ CL-double CL $]$ >…

I would argue that the "Discourse Shell" in a Spanish structure such as (32) or a Western Iberian structure such as (33) is more truly a shell than its counterpart in English, where, as we have seen, Emonds argues that a pause prosody identifies the head of the discourse shell. There is no marking of the supposed a-categorial head of the shell—comma intonation is not necessary in Spanish CLLD:

(34) a.   A Juan el coche nunca se lo presto.
A Juan the car never CL.DAT CL.ACC lend.1SG
'To Juan the car I never lend'

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[15] A reviewer notes that assuming that Fin is a phasal head is problematic, if Force is the highest "CP-related" head. For reasons of space limitation I cannot fully address this issue here. Fernández-Rubiera (2009) argues extensively that Fin is the head which correlates to C in discussions of phases as CP and *v*P. López (2009) does suggest that Force might also be a phasal head, but that seems more conceptually problematic, since one would expect there to be a non-phasal head between the two phase heads (see, for example, Richards (2011)).

    b.   A Juan EL COCHE nunca le presto (pero sí la camioneta)
          A Juan the car never CL.DAT lend.1SG
          'To Juan THE CAR I never lend (but the pickup yes)'

That said, that does not mean that a comma intonation is not possible; I agree with de Cat (2007) that the line of demarcation between "true" CLLD and (base-generated) left dislocated with the resumptive being a clitic is not as clear as Cinque (1990) draws it. That is, a dislocate in a Discourse Shell in a language such as Spanish or Asturian with an agreeing clitic may be, in the absence of other syntactic evidence, either a moved dislocate or a base-generated dislocate.

    In fact, when the head of the Discourse Shell is phonologically realized, then movement of a dislocate to the Spec position of the Discourse Shell, skipping Spec,Fin, becomes impossible. Here I draw on evidence from Villa-García (2012), which analyzes so-called recomplementation structures with reduplicative *que* in Spanish.

    There are two pieces of evidence that I want to draw upon in this account. First of all, Villa-García shows that just as there are multiple dislocates in Spanish clauses, there are multiple instances of "reduplicative" *que*, as long as the dislocate is discursively a topic:

(35)   Dijo **que**, el dinero, **que** a Juan, **que** se lo mandaban por correo
        said.3SG that the money that to John that CL.DAT CL.ACC send.3PL for mail
        'S/he said they will send John the money through the mail.'   (Villa-García 2012:(16))

Secondly, although reconstruction is possible in Spanish CLLD, as shown by the data cited above from Zubizarreta (1998), it becomes impossible if reduplicative *que* surfaces:

(36) a.   Dicen que [$_{DS}$ a su perro [$_{FinP=DP}$ todo el mundo lo tiene que dejar fuera]]   (bound vbl✓)
        say.3PL that to their dog all the world CL.ACC has.3SG that leave outside
        'It is said that everybody should leave his dog outside.'
    b.   Dicen que [$_{DP}$ a su perro **que** [$_{FinP}$ todo el mundo lo tiene que dejar fuera]]   (bound vbl*)
        say. 3PL that to their dog that all the world CL.ACC has.3SG that leave outside
        'It is said that everybody should leave his (= somebody else's) dog outside.'
                                         (Villa-García 2012: (21))

I propose that the presence of the overt head *que* in effect converts the Discourse Shell into a full-fledged projection—in fact, another Discourse Projection (not Shell), as indicated in the partially bracketed structures above. Hence, movement to Spec of that projection cannot skip Spec,Fin, and so reconstruction effects are not observed. The dislocate is a base-generated dislocate.[16]

    To summarize the proposed analysis to this point, I have argued that for discourse-motivated reasons and syntactic requirements of variable binding, topicalized constituents must occupy a higher position in the left periphery than focus constituents, and that this higher position, following Emonds (2004), is the specifier position of an a-categorial Discourse Shell. CLLD topicalized constituents, in languages with syntactically active *f* in the head of Fin, may move to this position, while in languages without syntactically active *f*, only base generation (external merge) is possible in that position. In Section 5, I turn to data that seem to point in the opposite direction: CLLD appears to target a lower position in Romance than fronted topics do in English.

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[16] Rathmann (2012) argues that in recomplementation structures the complement clause is semantically referential (following work by Haegemann & Ürögdi 2010) and low in discourse prominence, while the topic dislocate receives high discourse prominence. The topic is obligatory to delimit the reference set of propositions in the discourse context which the speaker intends to link to the matrix subject's act of speaking or believing, while the complement clause itself, unlike the usual case of complements to verbs of saying or believing, loses its illocutionary force of assertion. This may at least partially explain why syntactic movement is not possible.

5. "High" and "low" CLLD and the discourse context
5.1. Topicalization in root and non-root clauses

By the account thus far, Spec,Fin is the target for focused constituents, a broad category in which I include focus fronting as in López (2009), affective focus fronting or verum focus fronting (Leonetti 2009; Costa & Martins 2011), and wh-fronting. An implicit assumption which has underlain the account thus far is that only one dislocated element can target this position; there are no multiple Specs of Fin, contra López (2009). Hence, the well-known empirical generalization that focus fronting (FF), wh-movement and verum focus fronting (VFF) are all mutually exclusive falls out naturally. These constructions all also have in common that their domain of contrast, in terms of Neeleman *et al.* (2009), is the propositional domain, the TP.

In contrast, CLLD dislocates target a higher position, the specifier of a Discourse Shell. Discourse Shells may iterate; hence, there is no constraint against multiple CLLD dislocates. Now, what this necessarily entails is that CLLD should only occur in root and RIDE environments—i.e., in clauses which are in some sense Discourse Projections, which represent an assertion made either by the speaker or, in the case of RIDEs, by the matrix subject. But whereas FF and VFF, for example, are limited to such environments, CLLD is not, as is easily verified by examining what happens in, say, subjunctive complements to volitional predicates:

(37) a.   Prefiero que el informe final lo prepare la secretaria.
          Prefer.1SG that the report final CL.ACC prepare.SUBJ.3SG the secretary
          'I prefer that the final report the secretary prepare'
    b.   #Prefiero que EL INFORME FINAL prepare la secretaria, no la versión preliminar.
          'I prefer that THE FINAL REPORT the secretary prepare, not the first draft'
    c.   # Prefiero que poca cosa haga esa secretaria, porque no hace nada bien.
          Prefer.1SG that little thing do.SUBJ.3SG that secretary, because NEG do.3SG nothing well
          'I prefer that the secretary do little, because she does nothing well'

Haegeman, in a series of papers, has examined differences between the distribution of CLLD in Romance and topicalization in English, where the latter is not possible except in root and rootlike contexts, whereas the former has a wider distribution. She takes into consideration, for example, not only subordinate argument clauses which in English disallow topicalization but in Romance allow CLLD—complements to factives, sentential subjects, complements to nominals—but also what she terms central adverbial clauses:

(38) a.   *If these exams you don't pass you won't get the degree.
    b.   *While this book Mary was writing this time last year, her children were staying with their
          mother.   (Haegeman 2006:(12-13))

These contrast with their Romance counterparts:

(39) a.   Se gli esame finali non li superi, non otterrai il diploma.   [Italian]
          'If the final exams (you) don't pass, (you) won't get your degree'
    b.   Si aquest examen no l'aproves amb un cinc, perdràs el curs sencer.   [Catalan]
          'If this exam (you) don't pass with a five, (you) will flunk the entire year'
    c.   Si ese examen no lo apruebas con un cinco, perderás el curso entero.   [Spanish]
                                                              (Haegeman 2006: (22-24))

Haegeman proposes, in a nutshell, that non-root clauses (excluding RIDEs), in all languages, have an impoverished left periphery, lacking Force, Topic and Focus projections, as shown in (40):

(40) a.   full left periphery: (Sub) Top Focus Force Mod* Fin
    b.   impoverished left periphery: Sub   Mod* Fin

For Haegeman, the Force head might either be considered the node of speaker deixis, or the head which encodes speech time, while the Fin head might either be the node of temporal deixis, or be considered the node that encodes reference time; at another point she views Force as the head which "syntactically encode[s] the fact that the proposition is directly related to a speaker and a speech time" (op.cit.:36). Mod is the position for fronted modifiers, an iterative position, while Sub is the position for subordinating complementizers—distinct, for her, from Force. She proposes that the facilitating mechanism for CLLD in Romance non-root clauses with an impoverished left periphery is the availability of Spec,Fin as a landing site, which she speculates is not a possibility in English.

Suppose, leaving aside Haegeman's proposed full left periphery structure in (40a), that CLLD in these non-root environments does indeed target Spec,Fin. By the account developed above, there is then a clear prediction: In such instances, CLLD should yield proclisis in Western Iberian. This prediction is in fact borne out, as shown by the Asturian data in (41) (Fernández-Rubiera, p.c.):

(41) a. Prefiero que les nómines **me les** paséis pel bancu   (*paséis**meles**)
          prefer.1SG that   the paychecks **CL**.1SG **CL**.ACC send.2PL via.the bank
          'I prefer that the paychecks you send them to me via the bank'
     b.   Si les peres **les** vendes bien nel Fontán, vas facete ricu.   (*vendes**les**)
          if the pears **CL**.ACC sell.2SG well in.the Fontán, go.2SG make.INF-**CL**.2SG rich
          'If the pears you sell well in the Fontán, you will become rich'

The proclisis in the examples in (41) is in stark contrast to what we see when there is CLLD in Asturian in a root-like (RIDE) subordinate clause, which as in root clauses yields enclisis:[17]

(42)   Pedro diz que a los guajes topó**los** nel chigre   (***los** topó)
          Pedro says that the boys found.3SG- **CL**.ACC in.the bar
          'Pedro says that the boys he found in the bar'

On the one hand, then, we have data that seem to confirm Haegeman's proposal. On the other, however, the lack of topicalization in English in these non-root contexts is unexpected, given the argument to this point that fronting operations in English are also movement to Spec,Fin. Furthermore, if in non-root environments movement can only target Spec,Fin, we would not expect multiple CLLD dislocates in a language such as Spanish, contrary to what obtains:[18]

(43)   Prefiero que a mí las nóminas me las paséis por el banco.
          prefer.1SG that to me the paychecks **CL**.1SG **CL**.DAT **CL**.3PL **CL**.ACC send.2PL via.the bank
          'I prefer that to me the paychecks you send via the bank'   (* in English)

I will argue that the explanation here lies not in the syntax per se, but in the consideration of the discourse functions that topics play.

5.2. Discourse functions of CLLD topics

A widespread but often implicit assumption in analyses of the left periphery is that Romance CLLD dislocates are akin to English topics. This becomes explicit in cartographic analyses of the left periphery, where both CLLD dislocates and (English) topics occupy Spec,TopP.

However, in a corpus-based study of CLLD dislocates and topic types in Italian, Bianchi &

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[17] According to Fernández-Rubiera (2009) the pattern of enclisis vs. proclisis in Galician in matrix clauses is similar to the pattern for Asturian (specifically, the variety which he labels Modern Asturian), but differs from Asturian in embedded finite contexts, allowing only proclisis, even in the presence of CLLD (examples such as (42)). However, Gupton (2010) found that his informants preferred enclisis with embedded CLLD in Galician, where the contexts of embedding were rootlike clauses. Gupton (to appear) suggests that interspeaker variation in such proclisis may also be affected by the level of Spanish dominance and possible interdialectal variation.
[18] Thanks to a reviewer for pointing out such examples, with some useful comments.

Frascarelli (2010), drawing on earlier work by Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007), identify three types of topics:[19]

(44)   Topic types (Bianchi & Frascarelli 2010)
            A-Topic: aboutness-shift topic
            C-Topic : contrastive topic
            G-Topic: givenness-topic

Aboutness-shift topics often—though not necessarily—correspond to (base) left dislocations, while contrastive topics correspond most directly to López's (2009) analysis of CLLD dislocates as constituents bearing the pragmatic features [+anaphoric, +contrastive] (and see also Arregi (2003), which argues, starting with the title, that CLLD is contrastive topicalization).

Following Givón (1983), Bianchi & Frascarelli propose that the discourse function of the third topic type, givenness-topics, is to ensure topic continuity. What is crucial about this kind of topic is that it does not in any way update or correct information in the discourse to this point (the Common Ground); i.e., it need not be in the scope of any kind of "Assertion" operator or be able to link directly in some way with the speech context. In that sense, there is no Domain of Contrast to be syntactically identified, and hence no requirement on uniqueness of this domain. Thus in this case, it is in fact possible to have multiple displacement to Spec,Fin, as in (45) with the two givenness topics *l'autoapprendimiento* and *questo*:

(45)   il problema secondo me di questo autoapprendimento è stato affrontare la grammatica no
            quindi lì ti trovi davanti ad argomenti nuovi nei quali avresti bisogno appunto di qualcuno
            […] invece **l'autoapprendimento questo** non- non me **l'**ha dato ecco.
            'In my opinion the problem of this self-learning course was the grammar part – you deal
            with new topics for which you would exactly need someone … on the contrary, self-
            learning could not give it to me, that's it.'
(45′)   **l'autoapprendimento questo** non me **l'** ha dato
            self-learning this not to-me it.CL have.3SG give.PRT
            'Self-learning did not give this to me.'   (Bianchi & Frascarelli 2010:(17), (17′))

Why are givenness topics not found in English? Bianchi & Frascarelli's suggestion here is that English does not use any kind of syntactic operation to mark givenness topic, because in this language the retrieval of given information is achieved through simple destressing.[20] So, the way to explain the difference in the distribution of English topicalization and Romance CLLD is not, to my mind, by attributing to Spec,Fin the potential for hosting "lower Topics" in Romance only, and otherwise continuing to assume that movement of so-called Topics and so-called Foci are to designated criterial positions in the left periphery. Rather, Spec,Fin is the landing site for all fronting operations in English, and in root and root-like (RIDE) contexts, for focus-fronting type operations in Romance. In non-root-like contexts, discourse operations like focus fronting or any kind of topicalization other than the fronting of "givenness" topics is not possible because all of these operations have the effect of updating or correcting the common ground of the discourse, and non-rootlike contexts, in a way that will be made more precise in the last section, cannot access the discourse context. In this case alone, multiple fronting to Spec,Fin is possible, as in examples (43) and (45).

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[19] Space limitations preclude providing full examples here of all three topic types. It is important to note that Bianchi and Frascarelli base their classification on the careful analysis of the discourse context of the examples studied and on the different intonational patterns evidenced by the three types.

[20] Attributing the lack of givenness left peripheral topics in English to the stress mechanisms of the language seems to be supported by the fact that here French and English diverge, at least with respect to some speakers:

(i) %Si ce livre-là tu le trouves à la FNAC, achète-le.
        if this book there you CL find at FNAC, buy it
        'If this book here you find it at the FNAC, buy it'   (Haegemann 2006: (25))

6. What makes a clause "root-like"?

The question of what makes a clause root-like has been a persistent one since at least Emonds's (1970) dissertation. One recurring proposal, inspired by Hooper & Thompson (1973), has been the presence of some kind of Assertion operator in root and rootlike (RIDE) clauses. I think that the way to address this question is rather to ask, why should fronting operations typically target Finite Phrase? Bianchi (2001) proposes that Fin, at least in matrix clauses, links to the speech context, and thus is the true source of, for example, person agreement. My assumption here has been that the FP proposed by Uriagereka (1995) and assumed by Raposo and Uriagereka (2005) to be the locus of the abstract clitic *f* in Western Iberian is one and the same as Finite Phrase. In this respect, consider these observations from Uriagereka (2002) (quoted in Gallego (2009:122)):

> Whatever F is doing, it can't be trivially semantic, as it is hosting both focus and topic material. … we should ask: do focus and topic share anything in common? …Topic and focus share the expression of an attitude. A topic or a focus are that *for someone* [Uriagereka's emphasis]*,* the speaker or an embedded subject (with verbs that allow a perspective). In this respect, topics and foci are both evidential, and different from phrases with existential import.

My idea, already proposed in earlier work (Kempchinsky 2008), is that fronting operations to Spec,Fin are felicitous when the Force head in the clause encodes some epistemic model of evaluation, anchored either to the speaker—in the case of root clauses—or to the matrix subject, in the case of root-like indirect embeddings. It is only in someone's epistemic model that a topic or a focus can act to update the common ground of the discourse. It is not that non root-like contexts lack a Force head; rather, in these contexts the Force head does not encode an epistemic model. This is clearly the case with subjunctive clauses such as (37), and also the conditional clauses of the examples in (39). For that reason, at most what will be possible in these contexts is CLLD with givenness topics. The ultimate definition of a Discourse Projection is a Finite Phrase which links to the speech context or to an embedded epistemic model of evaluation, and only in these cases are Discourse Shells possible.

This is merely a particular formulation of a common idea that runs across many of the analyses cited here, from Emonds's (2004) proposal that Discourse Projections are clauses that encode the speaker's implicit claim that the proposition is a "real" event, to appeals to an Assertion operator, to Bianchi & Frascarelli's Interface Root Restriction, given in (46):

(46)   <u>Interface Root Restriction</u> (Bianchi & Frascarelli 2010:(8))
Information structure phenomena that affect the conversational dynamics (Krifka's (2007) Common Ground management) must occur in clauses that express nonreported speech acts. Nonreported speech acts are syntactically unembedded.

Along the lines of Emonds's suggestion that the class of clauses which fall under the umbrella of Discourse Projections may vary from language to language, Bianchi & Frascarelli suggest that the Interface root Restriction may, in some languages, be interpreted more broadly to include reported speech acts.

There is some empirical evidence for the more limited discourse role of CLLD in non-root contexts. As López (2009) shows, a typical relationship between a CLLD dislocate and its discourse antecedent is a set-subset relation, as in (47):

(47)   context: What should we do with the furniture?
Las mesas las debemos dejar en el salón. **Las sillas**, no sé dónde poner**las**.
'The tables we should leave them in the living room. The chairs, I don't know where to
put them'   (adapted from López (2009))

Consider now the example in (48):

(48)   context: What do you want me to do with the furniture?
   a. **Las mesas** quiero que **las** dejes en el salón. **Las sillas**, **las** puedes poner en la cocina.
       'The tables I want that you leave them in the living room. The chairs, you can put them in
       the kitchen.'
   b. #Quiero que **las mesas las** dejes en el salón. Prefiero que **las sillas las** pongas en la cocina.
       'I want that the tables you leave them in the living room. I prefer that the chairs you put
       them in the kitchen'

In (48a) the CLLD dislocates (*las mesas* and *las sillas*), in the left periphery of the matrix clauses, can
access the discourse context to find their discourse antecedent. (48b), in contrast, is pragmatically
marked, because the CLLD dislocates in the left periphery of the subjunctive clauses—by my account,
in Spec,Fin—cannot reach their discourse antecedent. CLLD dislocates in non-root contexts, as
givenness topics, generally require a relationship of strict identity with their discourse antecedent.

There remain some loose ends in this story. I have not addressed the issue of what forces
movement to the left periphery in the absence of some need for criterial checking as in cartographic
analyses. I can hardly do full justice to this question here, but essentially I assume Chomsky's (2008)
proposal that phase heads may bear an "indiscriminate" edge-feature, with the interpretation of the
moved element ultimately determined by its final position at the syntax-discourse interface. This is
essentially identical to López (2009), who proposes a non-specified feature in Fin which attracts some
constituent to its domain.

A second issue is related to preverbal subjects; in particular, preverbal subjects which are clearly
in the left periphery because they precede other fronted material ((49) is a Spanish translation of the
Catalan example (3.121) of López (2009)):

(49)   Su madre a cada niño lo quiere castigar.
          POSS mother to each child CL.ACC wants punish.INF
          'His mother wants to punish each child'

(49) is of interest because, as discussed by López, a bound variable reading of *su* is impossible.
Although a CLLD dislocate can reconstruct to at least some position below the canonical preverbal
subject position, as we saw with example (29) in section 4.2, a subject which is itself in the left
periphery shows no reconstruction effects. That is, the following derivation is not available:

(50)   [su madre [a cada niño [$_{FinP}$ Fin [$_{TP}$ <su madre> [V + T] … <a cada niño> …]]]]

I have no specific account of why left peripheral subjects can only be base dislocates, but one
possibility lies in considering, once again, the discourse functions of topics, coupled with the long-
standing observation that preverbal subjects have a default interpretation of topic (what Casielles-
Suárez (1999) termed "Topical Element #1", a unique topical element in sentence-initial position
which is not necessarily discourse-old). My speculation is that movement of a preverbal subject to a
Discourse Shell is in some sense vacuous, resulting in no difference in interpretation—as opposed, for
example, to movement of a focused subject to Spec,Fin.

The final loose end that I want to address briefly is the implication of Bianchi & Frascarelli's
(2010) topic "hierarchy" for root clauses. I have proposed that in non-rootlike contexts, CLLD is
movement of the dislocate to Spec,Fin, rather than to specifier of a Discourse Shell, given that in these
contexts there are no Discourse Shells. The question then is whether we can say that CLLD, when the
dislocate is a givenness topic rather than an aboutness-shift topic or a contrastive topic, always targets
this position. Bianchi & Frascarelli explicitly propose a syntactic differentiation of the three types of
CLLD dislocates:

(51)   [$_{ShiftP}$ A-Topic [$_{ContrP}$ C-Topic [$_{FocP}$ [$_{FamP*}$ G-Topic [$_{FinP}$ [$_{IP}$ …

A more reductionist model of (51) might not differentiate the position of A-Topics and C-Topics—
both being in a Discourse Shell above the Discourse Projection FinP—while maintaining that G-

Topics always move to Spec,Fin, even if a Discourse Shell is otherwise potentially available.

However, to quote from Bianchi & Frascarelli (*op.cit.*:51): "The empirical data seldom are as neat as our theories". In particular, if CLLD of givenness topics always targets Spec,Fin, then in Western Iberian, CLLD in root clauses should possibly yield proclisis, just in case the dislocate is a givenness-topic rather than an aboutness-shift topic or a contrastive topic. Although I don't think there has been a systematic examination or search for such cases, given that there is uniform agreement on the presence of enclisis whenever CLLD occurs in a root clause, I suspect that such examples are not to be found. What seems to be the case is that if the potential for a Discourse Shell is there, then CLLD will target the Discourse Shell, thus establishing clearly at the syntax-discourse interface that the domain of the dislocate is not just a proposition (TP), but a proposition linked to a discourse (FinP). The correspondence between syntax and discourse is apparently never a perfect one, but this lack of perfect correspondence may be yet one more reason for questioning cartography.

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