character of CLLD. How is this paradox to be solved? I think the answer must be somewhat Wittgensteinian: there is no paradox at all, but just a bad formulation of the issue. On theoretical grounds, we want CLLD to be just as clause-bound as CLRD, so let us assume it is. Consequently, the element marked with the feature [link] must move to the closest [Spec, ExtTopP]. This accounts for clause-bound CLLD. Now let us turn to long-distance CLLD, which apparently poses us a problem, for it entails a less economical derivation than clause-bound CLLD in any event. However, under current assumptions on economy evaluation, two derivations do not compete if each has a different impact at the LF-interface (see Reinhart 1995, Chomsky 1998, 1999). Interestingly, even though it is difficult to establish clear-cut differences from a semantic perspective between long-distance and clause-bound CLLD, there is some evidence to conclude that they do behave differently in this respect (see 5.2.3.2 below). It has been shown in 5.2.1.3 that long-distance CLLD does yield WCO effects:

(84) a. Amb la Maria$_i$, el seu$_i$ pare hi$_i$ va ballar un tango.

  'With Maria, his father danced a tango.'

  b. $^{??}$Amb la Maria$_i$, el seu$_i$ pare m'ha confessat que el director hi$_i$ va ballar un tango.

  'With Maria, his father confessed me that the director danced a tango.'

It seems thus that the long-distance CLLDed constituent counts as an operator. If so, some support would follow for an approach in terms of interface economy, for this construction would have an import of the LF-interface.

The issue is suggestive enough and raises interesting empirical and theoretical questions (one of them —the placement of CLRD and CLLD in a typology of movement operations— will be discussed in 5.2.3.2). Unfortunately, whether this scarce evidence supports an analysis of long-distance CLLD in terms of Reinhart's (1995) interface economy is yet to be ascertained. I will thus set aside the issue, but keeping in mind that long-distance CLLD has distinguishing properties with respect to CLRD and clause-bound CLLD.

5.2.3. The landing-site of dislocation

So far, the discussion regarding the movement nature of dislocation has dealt with the mechanics of the operation but little attention has been devoted to the nature of the

position hosting CLRD and CLLD. Two points must be addressed. On the one hand, some decision is in order regarding whether dislocates occur in adjoined positions, as influential analyses of English topicalization have argued for, or rather involve substitution into the specifier of a functional projection, in accordance with the proposal of the split-topic analysis. On the other hand, something must be said regarding the argumental status of the position, and consequently of the movement involved, a question with a clear impact on the proper analysis of the island effects induced by CLLD. Let us consider each question separately.

5.2.3.1. Adjunction vs. substitution

As for the adjunction/substitution issue, an immediate solution follows. Since we have assumed that dislocation involves the checking of a feature, we are forced to conclude that this operation must involve the specifier of a relevant projection —namely IntTopP/ExtTopP (among the defendants of a non-adjunction solution for CLLD, we find Cecchetto 1995, 1999, Cinque 1990, Grohmann to appear, Kayne 1994, Villalba 1997, 1998, 1999, and Zubizarreta 1998). This excludes works like Anagnastopoulou (1997), Iatridou (1990), Montapanyane (1994), Rochemont (1989), or Vallduví (1990), which assume that CLLD involves adjunction to either IP or CP, indeed an adaptation of Baltin's (1982) and Lasnik & Saito's (1992: ch. 3) influential analysis of English topicalization. Moreover, beyond the insurmountable difficulties for making compatible an adjunction analysis of CLRD/CLLD with our minimalist guidelines, it is noteworthy that once we assume the framework developed in Kayne (1994) and assumed in this work, much of the debate underlying this question vanishes. In 1.2.3, it has been shown that one of the consequences of Kayne's proposal is the blurring of the distinctions between specifiers and adjuncts. Moreover, the severe restrictions the system imposes on adjunction (see 1.2.4-1.2.5) put more difficulties to the proponents of the adjunction analysis. Specifically, the standard analyses of multiple CLLD in terms of successive adjunctions to IP/CP turn untenable altogether. Consider:

(85) a. Al Lluís, d'aquest llibre, no li'n parlis.

   to.the Lluís of.this book not to.him/her-of.it talk

   'To Lluís, don't TALK about this book.'

   b. [IP Al Lluís [IP d'aquest llibre [IP no li'n parlis]]]

As we have seen in 1.2.4, the structure in (85)b is incompatible with the Linear Correspondence Axiom. Since neither of the dislocates asymmetrically c-commands the other, no linear order can be derived for them. Note also that the same problem would arise in a single CLLD structure, for the system would not be able to establish a linear order between the dislocate and the specifier of IP, which in this system are treated likewise.

Therefore, no adjunction analysis seems compatible with the framework developed so far, which leads us to pursue a different solution, namely substitution into a specifier. This is exactly what the split-topic analysis defends: dislocates substitute into the specifier of a topic phrase. However, the issue remains of multiple dislocation: can the split-topic analysis offer a principled analysis under the strict conditions imposed on phrase-structure by the LCA? The answer is definitely positive. Consider the derivation of a case of multiple CLRD. First of all, we have one dislocate XP in [Spec, IntTopP], which counts as adjunction in this framework. Another dislocate YP cannot target IntTopP, for this would yield a configuration where neither of the dislocates would asymmetrically c-command the other. As a consequence, the only option allowed to YP is adjunction to the dislocate in [Spec, IntTopP]:

(86) [$_{IntTopP}$ [$_{XP}$ YP [$_{XP}$ XP]] [$_{IntTop'}$ IntTop [$_{vP}$ ...]]]

This configuration permits a total linearization without any problem, for YP asymmetrically c-commands both XP and IntTop', and XP asymmetrically c-commands IntTop'. Further instances of CLRD will receive a similar analysis.

Observe that the analysis under discussion entails that dislocates form a cluster, rather than a succession of independent elements. This seems a desirable result, for no interpretative difference can be established in terms of 'topic scope' between the different orders (with the understanding that the same construction is involved: see 5.1.2 above). Indeed, any of the possible permutations in multiple CLLD/CLRD equally contributes to the restriction of the quantificational domain of the sentence (see 2.1.2/3.1.2). Given this, the expression of multiple CLLD/CLRD by means of 'clustering' seems more plausible on theoretical grounds than one pursuing the recursivity of the topic projection à la Rizzi (1997). The issue, however, deserves a more detailed study besides this rough-and-ready explanation, so I leave it to the side pending further research.

5.2.3.2. A- vs. A'-movement

Once we have concluded that CLRD and CLLD involve the specifier of IntTopP and ExtTopP respectively, it is time now to clarify the argumental status of these positions.

A priori, the answer seems conclusive: they are instances of A'-movement. Given that A-movement involves substitution into a case-assigning position, we must conclude that dislocates land in an A'-specifier. This conclusion, however, demands some discussion, for as discussed in 5.2.1, CLLD does not display the set of features defining the paradigmatic instance of A'-movement, namely *wh*-movement, which lead Cinque (1990) to reject a movement approach to CLLD, an option I have shown to be untenable on both theoretical and empirical grounds. Taking thus for granted that Cinque's evidence didn't erode the plausibility of a movement analysis, we must face the problem of integrating CLRD/CLLD into a typology of movement operations. One option is to claim, as Cecchetto (1994) does for Italian, that CLLD displays a mixed A/A' behavior, a solution already proposed for (clause-internal) scrambling by Mahajan (1990) and by Saito (1992) for Hindi and Japanese respectively. Yet, this claim is highly questionable on theoretical grounds: what does it really mean that an operation shows a mixed behavior? My impression is that a different approach is called for capable of integrating CLRD/CLLD. Here become relevant the arguments adduced in Borer (1995) that the A/A' typology should be abandoned in favor of a richer typology of movement chains (see also Webelhuth 1989 for a similar claim concerning German scrambling). Borer argues that alongside with A(rgument) and O(perator)-chains — corresponding to typical A- and A'-chains—, there exist S(crambling)-chains, which share properties of both A- and O-chains. The constructions involving S-chains include XP-topics in Hebrew, short scrambled elements in Japanese, Hindi, and German, and topicalization in English. Crucially, she assumes that "the nature of a particular chain is established *ad hoc* on the basis of the original position, the target position and the inherent nature of the moved element for a given derivation" (p. 600). The classification is structured along five parameters (I include dislocation constructions for the sake of comparison):

	A-chain	O-chain	S-chain	CLRD	clause-internal CLLD	long-distance CLLD
case-marked tail	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
new binding relations	yes	no	(yes)	no	no	no
licensing of parasitic gaps	no	yes	yes	no	no	no
WCO effects	no	yes	no	no	no	yes
creation of islands	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes

The outcome is quite illustrative. Leaving aside long-distance CLLD, which is arguably closer to O-chains than to S-chains (see 5.2.1.3, 5.2.2 for some differences with respect to clause-internal CLLD; see also Mahajan 1990 and Saito 1992 for differences between clause-internal and long-distance scrambling in Hindi and Japanese respectively), CLRD and clause-internal CLLD don't fit S-chains in two points: the creation of new binding relations and the licensing of parasitic gaps. However, before concluding that Borer's typology doesn't work, some comments are in order. First of all, it is a clear fact that an object dislocate cannot bind a subject anaphor:

(87) a.   *Vaig trobar que si mateix l'odia, a en Pere.
           '*I found that himself hates him, Pere.'
      b.   *Vaig trobar que a en Pere, si mateix l'odia.
           '*I found that Pere, himself hates.'

Notwithstanding, note that I have included the *yes* in the S-chain under parentheses. For one thing, Borer recognizes that this property either is difficult to test in some languages, like Hebrew, or is not found at all, as in English (see Borer 1995: fns. 36 and 37). Moreover, his claim that German short scrambling creates new binding relations contrasts with the resolute affirmation in Grewendorf & Sabel (1999: 9) that "[i]n contrast to the situation with Japanese, a scrambled category cannot bind an anaphor in German." They provide the following contrast (her exs. 18a/b):

(88) a. *weil [die Lehrer von sich$_i$] zweifellos den Studenten$_i$ in guter Erinnerung behalten haben.

since [the teachers of himself]$_{nom}$ undoubtedly the student in good memory kept have

'*The teachers of himself have undoubtedly kept the student in good memory.'

   b. *weil den Studenten$_i$ [die Lehrer von sich$_i$] zweifellos *t* in guter Erinnerung behalten haben.

since the student [the teachers of himself]$_{nom}$ undoubtedly in good memory kept have

Given this evidence, much research is needed before assuming that the creation of binding relations is a basic property of S-chains.

As for parasitic gap licensing, similar doubts arise. Notably, parasitic gaps are not a necessary condition for qualifying as an S-chain. For one thing, short scrambling in Japanese, which Borer takes as an example of S-chain, doesn't license parasitic gaps, because, as Saito (1992) argues, parasitic gaps in Japanese simply doesn't exist. This is essentially the sort of argument that Grewendorf & Sabel (1999: 19) use for rejecting parasitic gap as a test for determining the kind of movement involved (indeed, these authors consider that only the capability of creating new binding relations counts as a defining property of A-movement, which leads them to analyze Japanese scrambling as A-movement but German scrambling as A'-movement).[32] Moreover, as we have seen in 5.2.1.4, even in languages allowing parasitic gaps, there are certain incontrovertible cases of A'-movement, such as focus preposing or exclamative *wh*-movement, that doesn't license them. Obviously, under Borer's typology, this disqualifies focus-preposing or exclamative *wh*-movement as forming either O-chains or S-chains. However, this seems rather undesirable in any event. Does it mean that we must dispense with Borer typology altogether? I think the answer is negative. Even though several refinements are in order, much profit can be obtained from Borer's insights.

Take for instance the contrast between CLRD and CLLD regarding island effects, mentioned in 4.1.2.2, 4.2.1.2, 4.3.1.2, that CLRD and CLLD contrast with respect to the

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[32] Note also that Borer's description of S-chains is based on Hebrew and English topicalization and scrambling. Crucially, none of these constructions involves a resumptive element. This point might have important consequences for establishing the character of CLRD/CLLD with respect to Borer's typology of movement chains. See also 5.2.1.4.

creation of island effects. Whereas CLLD is known to block *wh*-movement (see Cecchetto 1999, Rochemont 1989 for Italian; regarding topicalization, see Borer 1995 for Hebrew, Lasnik and Saito 1992 for English, and Müller and Sternefeld 1993 for German), it went unnoticed until Villalba (1996) that CLRD freely allows *wh*-extraction. Observe:

(89) a.   *[Amb qui]$_1$ creus que, de Cuba, en parla t$_1$ Chomsky?

           with whom believe-2 that of Cuba, of.it talk-3 Chomsky

           'With whom do you believe that Chomsky talks about Cuba?'

    a'. Amb qui$_1$ creus que en parla t$_1$ Chomsky, de Cuba?

    b.   *Com$_1$/$^{??}$On$_1$/$^{??}$En quin llibre$_1$ creus que, de Cuba, en parla t$_1$ Chomsky?

           how/where/in which book believe-2 that of Cuba of.it talk-3 Chomsky

           'How/Where/In which book do you believe that Chomsky talks about Cuba?'

    b'. Com$_1$/on$_1$/en quin llibre$_1$ creus que en parla t$_1$ Chomsky, de Cuba?

Consider how the split-topic analysis together with fairly standard assumptions concerning islandhood helps us to explain this contrast. Under a traditional typology dividing into A and A' movement, the answer comes easily. Let us take for granted that both [Spec, IntTopP] and [Spec, ExtTopP] count as A'-positions. Therefore, CLRD creates a minimality A'-barrier for A'-movement, just as CLLD. In other words, the two cases are identical for relativized minimality. The crucial point is that the minimality barrier created by a filled [Spec, IntTopP] can be bypassed by A-movement.[33] Note that the material under the *v*P must move higher up for checking ϕ-features (a typical instance of A-movement), hence it can cross the barrier created by the right-dislocate. Then, an operator-variable configuration can be created without any problem.[34] Schematically (where the straight arrow counts as A-movement and the dotted one as operator movement):

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[33] Observe that the possibility of escaping the barrier using [Spec, IntTopP] as a escape hatch is barred on independent grounds: the [Q] feature of the *wh*-element is semantically incompatible with the [background] feature of IntTopP. Such incompatibility would also be at the grounds of the impossibility of dislocating *wh*-elements. See Grewendorf & Sabel (1999) for discussion of similar facts with respect to scrambling.

[34] The derivation just suggested for *wh*-movement extends to focus-checking with the assumption that some A-projection is available between IntTopP and FocP. Whether this turns to be correct will depend on a fully-fledged analysis of focus, a task I cannot attempt here.

(90) $[_{CP}$ *wh*...[...t$_{wh}$... [$_{IntTopP}$ XP ... [$_{vP}$...t...]]]]

Interestingly, this bypassing strategy is no longer available to CLLD, which explains the strong island effects it creates.

This explanation crucially relies on the A/A' typology, but how would it work under the more complex approach in Borer (1995)? I think some minor adjustments suffice. Consider first of all, as it will be discussed in 5.4 below, that derivation proceeds by phase, a sort of cyclic domain to which interpretative components may access. If, as it is argued, IntTopP and ExtTopP close off the vP and the CP phase level respectively, this fact may have consequences for extraction (see Uriagereka 1999 for a similar insight grounded on a similar framework of assumptions). Once the phase is accessed by the semantic component, the structure gets frozen, blocking any movement that would alter the semantic configuration. It is reasonable to think that O-chains are one such case, for they create an operator-variable configuration, whereas A-chains don't. If this assumption is correct, the filled specifier of IntTopP will only count as a barrier for operator movement, allowing raising of the material within vP for the checking of φ-features and rendering the barrierhood of CLRD 'innocuous'. As for CLLD, this strategy turns impossible altogether by the reasons suggested above.

A final point is in order. Observe that given the preceding analysis, the prediction seems to follow that CLRD must count as a barrier for CLLD, against fact. However, I think that the preceding analysis provides us with the tools to handle this case correctly. In principle, nothing prevents a dislocate to use the specifier of IntTopP as a escape hatch (indeed, it will be argued in 5.3.1 below that CLLD *must* proceed through this position, i.e. that CLLD derives from CLRD). If so, no minimality effect is predicted in this case: CLRD doesn't block CLLD.

Even though several points demand a closer scrutiny, the overall picture is certainly suggestive. On the one hand, it is quite clear that a traditional typology of movement operations in terms of A vs. A'-movement cannot handle with dislocation data. Instead, a finer-grained typology like the one developed in Borer (1995) offers us a better understanding of the issue, for it classifies CLRD and clause-internal CLLD with topicalization and clause-internal scrambling, two closely related constructions. On the other hand, beyond its theoretical virtues, this line of research is extremely appealing on empirical grounds, for it provides both CLRD and CLLD with an elegant analysis regarding islandhood: while it permits treating them as barriers for operator

movement uniformly, it reveals itself as capable of deriving the contrast illustrated in (89) from an independently motivated set of assumptions

5.3. The derivational issue
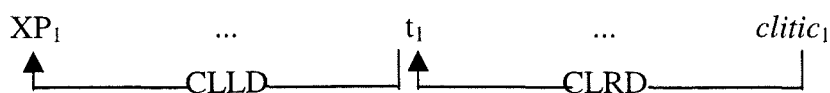
5.3.1. CLLD derives from CLRD

We have argued that one of the features an optimal analysis of CLRD/CLLD should have is to offer a basis for explaining the bulk of common properties of both constructions. We have seen in Chapter 4 that both the covert movement analysis and the double topicalization analysis pursue this desideratum assuming a common placement for both constructions at some point in the derivation: the former claims that they occupy two very distinct positions in overt syntax, but they share the very same position at LF, the latter claims that they involve the same position but in the latter case a further operation takes place altering c-commanding relations radically. I think that the intuition underlying both proposals is valid, but we have seen at length in 4.2.2 and 4.3.2 that, beyond theoretical drawbacks, they cannot deal with the consistent bulk of data distinguishing CLRD from CLLD. The problem is that in both instances it is assumed that CLRD derives from CLLD. Let us pursue the opposite direction, namely that it is CLRD that is at the basis of CLLD.

Postal (1991: 15) formulates this hypothesis perspicuously:

a B-dislocation [=CLLD; X.V.] is not a unitary phenomenon. Rather, each such structure decomposes into an R-D [=right-dislocation; X.V.] structure and a chopping extraction of a right dislocated constituent. In addition to manifest standard properties of true unitary extractions like island-sensitivity and those illustrated in (12) [=unbounded dependencies, across-the-board extraction, and SCO effects; X.V.], B-dislocations should then *also* manifest characteristic properties of R-D structures.

Schematically:[35]

(91)

$$XP_i \quad \ldots \quad t_i \quad \ldots \quad clitic_i$$
$$\underset{\text{CLLD}}{\underline{}} \quad \underset{\text{CLRD}}{\underline{}}$$

---

[35] This schema is a rephrasing in movement terms of the proposal in Postal (1991), but it doesn't represent Postal's formulation of the issue. Observe in this respect that Postal doesn't enter into the question of how CLRD is derived. Indeed, his use of CLRD is simply an instrument to demonstrate that CLLD fits Ross' typology of transformations. Consequently, this schema should be taken as represent the spirit of Postal's analysis rather than its letter.

On the one hand, the features that qualify CLLD as a chopping transformation are those of the first stage of the derivation, namely CLRD. On the other hand, island-sensitivity only arises when the constituent previously CLRDed moves up to yield the resultant CLLD construction. Consequently, Postal's hypothesis can offer us a proper account of the relationship between CLRD and CLLD without abandoning Ross' typology of transformations, arguably a highly desirable theoretical conclusion.

Nevertheless, since this hypothesis is a major departure from common analyses of CLRD, which have invariably assigned it an ancillary role with respect to CLLD (see e.g. Contreras 1983, Frascarelli 1999, Hernanz & Brucart 1987, Kayne 1994, Zubizarreta 1998, and the discussion in 4.2 and 4.3; cf. Bartra 1985), a more developed formulation is in order to judge its theoretical virtues properly. Therefore, let us see how Postal's hypothesis fits the split-topic analysis in some detail.

Take a simple case, a sentence with CLRD, like *El tinc, el llibre* 'I have it, the book.' The derivation would proceed as follows. First of all, in one of the derivations under competition, the DP *el llibre* bears the [background] feature (abbreviated as [B]):

(92) [$_{vP}$ *pro* [$_{v'}$ *v* [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ *tinc* [$_{DP}$ *el llibre*]$_{[B]}$]]]]

The feature [B] must be checked against that of IntTop, so IntTop is merged into the structure and the constituent marked with [B] moves to [Spec, IntTopP]. This movement strands —or leaves a copy of- the ϕ-features of the DP (i.e. a resumptive clitic), along the lines discussed in 5.2.1.1 above:

(93) [$_{IntTopP}$ [$_{DP}$ *el llibre*]$_{[B]}$ [$_{IntTop'}$ IntTop$_{[B]}$ [$_{vP}$ *pro* [$_{v'}$ *v* [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ *tinc* [*el*]]]]]]]]

As I will argue in more detail in 5.4 below, this stage of the derivation is transparent to the interpretative components (i.e. it counts as a *phase* in Chomsky's 1998, 1999 terms; see also Legate 1998, López & Villalba in progress, Uriagereka 1999), which helps us explain several puzzling semantic and prosodic properties of CLRD and CLLD. The next stage involves the movement of the material within *v*P for feature-checking purposes, which yields the correct final word order, with the right-dislocate in the right edge:

(94) [TP *pro* [T' [v *el tinc*]+T [... [IntTopP [DP *el llibre*][B] [IntTop' IntTop[B] [vP ...]]]]]]

Up to here, only two basic standard assumptions have been made, namely that CLRD is an instance of feature-driven movement (a major trend of the Minimalist Program) and that there exists a semantic specialization of syntactic positions (following Rizzi 1997).

Now, let us consider the analysis of the version containing CLLD, namely *El llibre, el tinc* 'The book, I have'. Here the point of departure is slightly different, for beyond the [background] feature, the DP *el llibre* also bears the feature [link] (here abbreviated as [L]):

(95) [vP *pro* [v' v [VP [v' *tinc* [DP *el llibre*][B]/[L]]]]]

The derivation proceeds exactly as before: the constituent marked with [B] moves to [Spec, IntTopP] for checking purposes, yielding:

(96) [IntTopP [DP *el llibre*][B]/[L] [IntTop' IntTop[B] [vP *pro* [v' v [VP [v' *tinc* [*el*]]]]]]]]

At this stage, no difference exists between CLRD and CLLD, a fact that the split-topic analysis can take much advantage of if we allow the interpretative components to have access to it, which will be argued for in 5.4. The next stage will be concerned with the checking of the material under vP, and also of the unchecked feature [L] of *el llibre*. Such feature is to be checked against the one in ExtTop, entailing the raising of the DP to [Spec, ExtTopP] (I omit many details for the sake of simplicity):

(97) [ExtTopP [DP *el llibre*][B]/[L] [ExtTop' ExtTop[L] [TP *pro* [T' [v *el tinc*]+T [... [IntTopP *t*DP [IntTop' IntTop [vP ...]]]]]]]]]

This final stage of the derivation will also be accessed by the interfaces and since the DP lands in a left-peripheral position, it will fulfill its role as a link, connecting the sentence with the previous discourse.

Finally, take a sentence involving both CLRD and CLLD, like *Del llibre, no li'n vaig parlar pas, a la Maria* 'About the book, I did not talk to Maria.' From our assumptions, the derivation will proceed as follows (irrelevant details omitted):

(98) a. [$_{vP}$ *pro* [$_{v'}$ *v* [$_{VP}$ V [$_{PP}$ *del llibre*]$_{[B]/[L]}$ ... [$_{PP}$ *a la Maria*]$_{[B]}$]]]

   b. [$_{IntTopP}$ [$_{PP}$ [$_{PP}$ *del llibre*]$_{[B]/[L]}$ [$_{PP}$ *a la Maria*]$_{[B]}$] [$_{IntTop'}$ IntTop$_{[B]}$ [$_{vP}$ *pro* [$_{v'}$ *v* [$_{VP}$ V [$_{PP}$ *en*] ... [$_{PP}$ *li*]]]]]]]

   c. [$_{ExtTopP}$ [$_{PP}$ *del llibre*]$_{[B]/[L]}$ [$_{ExtTop'}$ ExtTop$_{[L]}$ [...*no li'n vaig parlar pas* [$_{IntTopP}$ [$_{PP}$ *t*$_{PP}$ [$_{PP}$ *a la Maria*]$_{[B]}$] [$_{IntTop'}$ IntTop$_{[B]}$ [$_{vP}$ ...]]]]]]]

This is quite a rough-and-ready presentation and raises several technical questions that will be addressed in the following paragraphs. Yet Postal's hypothesis and its translation to the split-topic analysis sheds a new light on the relationship between CLRD and CLLD. Its most visible success resides in giving a clear understanding of their common properties. First of all, the presence of a resumptive clitic in both CLLD and CLRD —which we have argued in 5.2.1.1 to be a copy of the ϕ-features of the DP— reduces now to just a condition on the latter, which, even though doesn't unravel the question, it contributes to its solution restating it in simpler terms. Secondly, it provide us with the tools to explain their similar behavior with respect to semantic interpretation and prosody, two aspects that will be considered in 5.4.1 and 5.4.2 respectively. Furthermore, this analysis has another benefit, already mentioned: it preserves Ross' generalization that only chopping transformations are affected by islands (the main goal of Postal 1991), for only the movement to ExtTopP counts as such.

Nevertheless, leaving aside its theoretical virtues, the analysis makes many empirical predictions, which only partially have been previously tested in the literature. Essentially, the strongest piece of evidence in favor of this hypothesis comes from those sentences in which the availability of CLRD is a necessary condition for CLLD. One relevant set concerns dislocability. For the sake of the argument, take the following pairs, which have previously been discussed in 2.1.2 and 3.1.2 (see Postal 1991 for similar French sentences):

(99) No feu cap crítica perquè m'han dit que...

   'Don't make any criticism because they have told me that...'

   a. *la més petita crítica, no és capaç de suportar-la.

      the most small criticism not is capable of stand-her

      'she can't stand any criticism.'

   b. *no és capaç de suportar-la, la més petita crítica.

(100) A: Tot i haver escrit molts llibres sobre el tema, en Pere va recomanar els llibres d'un altre.

'Even though he has written many books on the subject, Pere recommended someone else's books.'

B: a. *Doncs els llibres d'un altre, jo no els recomano mai.

well the books of-a other I not them recomend-1 never

'Well, I never recommend someone else's books.'

b. *Doncs jo no els recomano mai, els llibres d'un altre.

(101) a. *A cap alumne no l'he vist avui.

'Any student, I haven't seen today.'

b. *No l'he vist avui, a cap alumne.

'I haven't seen him today, any student.'

Here, the ungrammaticality of CLRD and CLLD seems to reduce to the same factor, but then one innocent question we should face is: Why should it be so, if they are two distinct constructions? The analysis pursued so far is an attempt to give an answer to this question reducing the ungrammaticality of the a. sentences to that of the b. ones. Doing so we obtain an immediate reward: a more uniform system, for it gives us an explanation of the common behavior of CLRD and CLLD, with respect to dislocability, which would be extremely difficult to explain if they were two completely distinct operations. Moreover, such a move is opens the possibility to reduce certain aspects of dislocability to independent principles regulating the relationship between the right-dislocate and its resumptive clític, namely the more general issue of feature stranding/copying discussed in 5.2.1.1. This seems a promising line of research.

Nonetheless, this set of welcome results must be confronted with the bulk of data where CLLD is available, but CLRD isn't. Restricted quantifiers form one representative sample:

(102) a. Res del que et va ensenyar (no) ho havia fet la Maria.

nothing of-the that to.you PAST-3 show (not) it had-3 made the Maria

'Nothing of the things that showed you, Maria did.'

a'. *No ho havia fet la Maria, res del que et va ensenyar.

b. Cadascuna d'aquelles decisions les havia pres el Joan.

   each of.those decisions them had-3 take the Joan

   'Each of those decisions, Joan took.'

b'. ??Les havia pres el Joan, cadascuna d'aquelles decisions.

It seems that in these cases CLRD is not a necessary condition for CLLD, against the predictions of the split-topic analysis. However, without diminishing the potential danger these data entail for my analysis, I think that some qualifications should be made before assuming such a conclusion. For instance, even though we lack a complete 'map' of the left-periphery of Catalan sentence comparable to the one developed by Benincà & Poletto (1999) for Italian, some empirical evidence exists that the examples under discussion might involve a different construction. First of all, the preposing of the quantifier is hardly compatible with a preverbal subject:

(103) a. ??Res del que et va ensenyar, la Maria (no) ho havia fet.

b. ??Cadascuna d'aquelles decisions el Joan les havia pres.

Leaving aside whether preverbal subjects are always CLLDed or not (see Rosselló 1986a, Solà i Pujols 1992 and Vallduví 1990 for discussion), this fact doesn't fit the standard behavior of CLLD, which are known to allow preverbal subjects freely. Secondly, the preposing of the quantifier sounds very unnatural when the sentence has a *wh*-element:

(104) a. *Res del que et va ensenyar qui ho havia fet?

   nothing of-the that to.you PAST-3 show who it had-3 made

b'. ??Cadascuna d'aquelles decisions qui les havia pres?

   each of.those decisions who them had-3 taken

Again, this is unexpected if the construction in question is simply CLLD.

To wind up, pending a detailed study clearly defining the syntactic, semantic, and prosodic status of left-detached restricted quantifiers (see Cinque 1990, Fernández Soriano 1989, Quer 1993, Vallduví 1991), a possible strategy has been provided to avoid the potential danger that it may have for the hypothesis that CLLD derives from CLRD.

5.3.2. Multiple dislocation

One of the most conspicuous properties of CLRD/CLLD consists in the possibility of allowing more than one dislocate in a free arrangement (see 2.1.1, 3.1.1, 4.1.1.1):

(105) a. La Maria, el llibre, el va llegir.

       'Maria read the book.'

  a'. El llibre, la Maria, el va llegir.

  b. El va llegir, la Maria, el llibre.

  b'. El va llegir, el llibre, la Maria.

So far, we have taken this pattern for granted without assigning it an explicit derivation. This technical point is extremely important, because the prime versions in (105) apparently violate the Superiority Condition. Let us consider the case with multiple CLRD, which would have the following departing structure (with the merely descriptive labels SU and OB for 'subject' and 'object', respectively):

(106) [$_{vP}$ SU$_{[B]}$ [$_{v'}$ v [$_{VP}$ V OB$_{[B]}$]]]

Now IntTop is merged into the structure with a feature [B]

(107) [$_{IntTop'}$ IntTop$_{[B]}$ [$_{vP}$ SU$_{[B]}$ [$_{v'}$ v [$_{VP}$ V OB$_{[B]}$]]]]

At this point Chomsky's (1995) Shortest Attract enters into play forcing the element closest to the attractor to move first. Hence, IntTop attracts SU in the first place, and only later will attract OB, which must adjoin to SU along the lines suggested in 5.1.3.2:

(108) a. [$_{IntTopP}$ SU$_{[B]}$ [$_{IntTop'}$ IntTop$_{[B]}$ [$_{vP}$ pro_{SU} [$_{v'}$ v [$_{VP}$ V OB$_{[B]}$]]]]]

  b. [$_{IntTopP}$ [$_{SU}$ OB$_{[B]}$ [$_{SU}$ SU$_{[B]}$]] [$_{IntTop'}$ IntTop$_{[B]}$ [$_{vP}$ pro_{SU} [$_{v'}$ v [$_{VP}$ V cl_{OB}]]]]]]

Paradoxically, in this case Shortest Attract gives rise to exactly the kind of ordering that it was designed to avoid.[36]

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[36] Under the slightly different framework of assumptions with respect to phrase-structure developed in Chomsky (1995), a different possibility arises: multiple specifiers of a single head. Bošković (1999), Pesetsky (1999) and Richards (1999) are three works that have benefited from this possibility to analyze

Consider now the SU-OB order, which under the restrictive theory of phrase-structure we are assuming in this work, entails that OB must have raised to [Spec, IntTopP] first, violating Shortest Attract:

(109) a. $[_{\text{IntTopP}} \text{OB}_{[B]} [_{\text{IntTop'}} \text{IntTop}_{[B]} [_{vP} \text{SU}_{[B]} [_{v'} v [_{VP} V \, cl_{OB}]]]]]$

   b. $[_{\text{IntTopP}} [_{OB} \text{SU}_{[B]} [_{OB} \text{OB}_{[B]}]] [_{\text{IntTop'}} \text{IntTop}_{[B]} [_{vP} pro_{SU} [_{v'} v [_{VP} V \, cl_{OB}]]]]]$

Given that the result is correct even though the derivation isn't, we are faced with a dilemma: either we conclude that Catalan CLRD/CLLD violates Shortest Attract or we conclude that a different derivation exists for obtaining the SU-OB order without violating Shortest Attract. In any event, the second conclusion is preferable on theoretical grounds, so I will sketch an alternative derivation for the cases at issue.

Let us turn to the basic configuration in (106), repeated here for the ease of exposition:

(110) $[_{vP} pro [_{v'} v [_{VP} \text{SU}_{[B]} [_{v'} V \text{OB}_{[B]}]]]]$

Here, before the merge of IntTop, two [B] features are already present. Let us assume, following an idea proposed by Ackema & Neeleman (1999) for multiple *wh*-movement, that OB adjoins to SU for feature-checking purposes, yielding:

(111) $[_{vP} [_{SU} \text{OB}_{[B]} [\text{SU}_{[B]}]] [_{v'} v [_{VP} V \, cl_{OB}]]]]$

Since it is feature-driven and respects Shortest Attract, this movement cannot be considered suspect on minimalist grounds. After the formation of the cluster of dislocates, which retain the [+interpretable] feature [B], IntTop is merged into the structure:

(112) $[_{\text{IntTop'}} \text{IntTop}_{[B]} [_{vP} [_{SU} \text{OB}_{[B]} [\text{SU}_{[B]}]] [_{v'} v [_{VP} V \, cl_{OB}]]]]]$

At this crucial stage, it is unclear which constituent Shortest Attract should force to move, OB or the OB-SU cluster. Different definitions of the notion 'shortestness' may

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superiority effects in cases of multiple-*wh*. A comparison of this line of analysis with the one defended in the text would take too far afield, so I leave it for future research.

be found in the literature, with different theoretical and empirical consequences. For our present purposes, the most convenient approach would be one making both OB and SU in (112) equally close to the attracting IntTop. Take for instance the approach in Epstein et al. (1998: 4.4) in terms of a general economy condition that minimizes the number of 'derivational sisters,' which they crucially employ to explain superiority effects.[37] From the basic structure

(113) $[_{CP}\ C^{\circ}_{+wh}\ [_{IP}$ who $I^{\circ}\ [_{VP}$ fixed$_V$ what$]]]$

they derive the correct *Who bought what* as follows:

The movement of either category has the property of creating Derivational Sisterhood between the moved category and C° (and between the moved category and C'). But movement of *what* would additionally entail Derivational Sisterhood between *what* and I°, *what* and *who*, and *what* and V. Thus, movement of *who* is cheaper, by (4) [= Local Economy: Minimize the number of derivational sisters created by Merge/Move; X.V.]. Epstein et al. (1998: 119).

If we extend this idea to the configuration in (112), it turns out that moving either OB or the SU-OB cluster creates the same number of derivational sisters, and hence either possibility is allowed, which yields the desired free ordering:[38]

(114) a.　$[_{IntTopP}\ OB_{[B]}\ [_{IntTop'}\ IntTop_{[B]}\ [_{vP}\ [_{SU}\ t_{OB}\ [SU_{[B]}]]\ [_{v'}\ v\ [_{VP}\ V\ cl_{OB}]]]]]$

　　　b.　$[_{IntTopP}\ [_{OB}\ [_{SU}\ t_{OB}\ [SU_{[B]}]]\ [OB_{[B]}]]\ [_{IntTop'}\ IntTop_{[B]}\ [_{vP}\ pro_{SU}\ [_{v'}\ v\ [_{VP}\ V\ cl_{OB}]]]]]$

(115) $[_{IntTopP}\ [_{SU}\ OB_{[B]}\ [SU_{[B]}]]\ [_{IntTop'}\ IntTop_{[B]}\ [_{vP}\ pro_{SU}\ [_{v'}\ v\ [_{VP}\ V\ cl_{OB}]]]]]$

Observe that none of the derivations at issue respect the definition of cyclicity in terms of "tree expansion" (see Chomsky 1995: 190f). I assume hence that a different approach to the strict cycle condition is needed. See Chomsky (1995: 233f), and Richards (1999)

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[37] If we take as a guiding property c-command, as in Chomsky's (1995: 299), or Kitahara (1997), the choice must be OB, for it asymmetrically c-commands SU. This will finally yield a SU-OB order after adjunction of SU to OB. However, this raises the question of the OB-SU order. In order to derive it, we should assume the standard derivation described in (108), together with the unwanted theoretical consequence that the cluster formation at the basis of the successful analysis of the SU-OB order is optional. As far as I can see, the analysis in the text offers us a more uniform and elegant solution.

[38] It goes without saying that this analysis presupposes that traces need not be properly bound by theire antecedents. See Kayne (1994, 1998) for discussion.

for proposals based in the checking of strong features; cf. the new possibilities offered by phases in Chomsky (1998, 1999).

Evidently, this brief discussion doesn't exhaust the issue, and many technical points of disparate theoretical importance remain to be scrutinized. One aspect that merits further study concerns the kind of economy metric involved in the evaluation of derivations. Intuitively, any global economy condition would prefer a derivation like (115) to that in (114). However, if a more derivational point of view is adopted, economy should act within a strictly local domain, with radically different empirical and theoretical consequences (see Epstein et al. 1998, Johnson & Lappin 1997, 1998). In the case under discussion, the possibility of deriving both the SU-OB and the OB-SU order seems contingent to a purely derivational approach to economy conditions.

If this line of analysis is on the correct track, the resultant upshot is certainly appealing, for it would demonstrate that the framework of assumptions we are working with, although extremely restrictive, is capable of handling with data that have proven recalcitrant for more permissible approaches. Particularly, I hope to have shown that the split-topic analysis may offer us a proper understanding of the (apparent) lack of superiority effects found in CLRD/CLLD without renouncing to the otherwise quite successful approach to the issue in terms of Shortest Attract.

5.4. The interface issue

Since its birth, the overall design of generative grammars has undergone several changes. One of the most remarkable concerns the accessibility of the interpretative components to the derivation of a sentence. The major shift that takes us from the model of *Aspects* to the EST model is the recognition that the semantic component should access derivation in two different points, namely D- and S-Structure. This 'double-access' possibility was rejected in the REST model and in the Principles and Parameters framework in favor of a unique access point, S-Structure, who served as the input for the interface levels PF and LF. The emergence of the Minimalist Program in the nineties preserved single access, but allowed it to occur anywhere during the derivation, which is the major feature of Chomsky's (1995) Spell-Out operation. Interestingly, Chomsky (1998, 1999) gives a new twist to the story, reintroducing multiple access of the

interpretation components to the derivation.[39] Chomsky works out his proposal through the notion of *phase*, that he defines as a subpart of the lexical array that forms the numeration of the sentence, essentially CP or *v*P (see also Legate 1998; cf. Grohmman to appear, Platzack 1999, who claim that TP also counts as a phase). Even though, the motivation underlying phases is to reduce the complexity burden of syntactic computation making it more local, they also have consequences at the interface levels, for they constitute domains for semantic and phonological interpretation (see also Uriagereka 1999). Even though, many technicalities obviously underlie this sketchy presentation —the reader is encouraged to consult Chomsky (1998, 1999), Legate (1998), and López & Villalba in progress for details—, for our present purposes, it suffices to retain that phases are domains accessible to the interpretative components. In the following paragraphs, I will briefly explore the consequences that the Chomskian notion of phase may have with respect to the split-topic analysis developed so far.

5.4.1. Semantic interpretation

The crux of Chomsky's (1998, 1999) tour de force leading to a model allowing multiple access to the derivation by the interpretative components is to reduce the complexity of system, forcing the relations needed for fulfilling interpretative tasks to be maximally local. This move has a substantial set of empirical and theoretical consequences, which only partially have been appraised. I this section I would like to explore one possible benefit an optimal analysis of CLRD/CLLD may obtain adopting the Chomskian notion of phase.

To begin with, consider again the semantic look at Topic-Focus Articulation pursued by Barbara Partee (see Hajičová et al. 1998 and Partee 1999; cf. Diesing 1992, Heim 1982, von Fintel 1997), which has been summarized in 2.1.2 and in 3.1.2. Partee observes that the partition of the sentence in terms of Operator-Restriction-Nuclear Scope is based in part in the Topic-Focus Articulation, namely the topic corresponds to the restriction and the focus to the nuclear scope. In our present terms, that amounts to

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[39] A similar proposal is defended in Grohmann (to appear), Legate (1998), Platzack (1999), and Uriagereka (1999), to name a few works. From a radically derivational approach, Epstein et al. (1998) pursue this idea to its last consequences, allowing the interpretative components to access every stage of the derivation. Obviously, this raises the very general question of whatamount of interaction should our system allow between syntax and the intepretative components, or for that matter semantics. As far as I can see, the totally interactive system developed in Epstein et al. (1998) is extremely close to the strict syntax-semantics mapping that is the roots of Montague Grammar, which raises far-reaching issues concerning semantic compositionality or parallel processing that I cannot address here.

saying that CLRD and CLLD help to define the set that restricts the quantifier. For this fact to fit our restrictive framework, some direct syntax-semantics mapping is required, along the ideas expressed by Rizzi (1997). In other terms, we must ensure the system doesn't rely on notions like 'topic' and 'focus', but rather on clearly defined positions in the tree. Diesing's (1992: 10, 15) Mapping Hypothesis qualifies as one of the most ambitious attempts to perform this task:

Mapping Hypothesis

Material from VP is mapped into the nuclear scope.

   Material from IP is mapped into a restrictive clause.

Even though extremely appealing, Diesing's hypothesis has been criticized on empirical and theoretical grounds by several scholars (see e.g. de Hoop 1992, Pinto 1997, Reinhart 1995 or Ruys 1996). This is not obviously the place for a detailed exposition of the arguments in favor and against, but just observe that one of the empirical drawbacks of Diesing proposal have to do with the evidence that much material leaves the vP than the strictly presuppositional. However, this evident problem dissolves under a model allowing the interpretative components to have multiple access to the derivation. This becomes of central importance in the case of CLRD/CLLD. On the one hand, I have shown in 2.1.2/3.1.2 that the dislocates are always presuppositional and contribute to building up the restriction of the quantification domain of the sentence. On the other hand, the split-topic analysis crucially argues for the existence of a stage in the derivation of both CLRD and CLLD, like the one represented in (116)b:

(116) a. $[_{vP}$ XP ... YP$_{[B]}$ ... ZP]

   b. $[_{IntTopP}$ YP$_{[B]}$ $[_{IntTop'}$ IntTop$_{[B]}$ $[_{vP}$ XP ... *clitic$_{YP}$* ... ZP]]]

Under a standard GB-analysis or one along the lines in Chomsky (1995), this stage is just a step in the derivation without any privileged status with respect to the interpretative components. Consequently, further movement of the material within the vP to a higher position for feature-checking purposes will render the Mapping Hypothesis completely worthless. Here the notion of phase plays a crucial role: the stage of the derivation represented in (116)b counts as a phase and is accessible to the

semantic component. Consequently, this allows us to fresh up Diesing's Mapping Hypothesis under a slightly different formulation:

Mapping Hypothesis (modified version)
At the *v*P phase level, material from *v*P is mapped into the nuclear scope.

At the *v*P phase level, material in the Spec, IntTopP is mapped into a restrictive clause.

Schematically:

(117) $[_{\text{IntTopP}}\ \text{YP}_{[B]}\ [_{\text{IntTop'}}\ \text{IntTop}_{[B]}\ [_{vP}\ \text{XP} \ldots t_{YP} \ldots \text{ZP}]]]$

          restrictive clause   nuclear scope

Since, as Diesing herself claims, the nuclear scope coincides with the domain of application of existential closure, the material remaining within *v*P is interpreted as existential, which as will be seen in the next paragraph, has parallel consequences on the PF side. This updating of Diesing's Mapping Hypothesis leads us to a better understanding of the common behavior of CLRD and CLLD with respect to the semantic partition of sentence without complicating the system as to take into account the final position the CLLDed element(s) as well. The resultant picture strikes as maximally simple and uniform, while respecting the spirit of Partee's and Diesing's insights.

Certainly, this presentation doesn't exhaust the discussion of the issue, nor stands as the only possibility to integrate (part of the) Mapping Hypothesis in a model allowing multiple access to the derivation. Indeed, it doesn't even count as a fully-articulated analysis of the issue, for it leaves without explicit treatment relevant factors regarding the modality of the sentence or the semantic content of the dislocates. However, it may fairly be taken as a tentative suggestion as to the path that a future study might take, and as a proof of the potentialities of the split-topic analysis when combined with the independently justified notion of phase. It represents, hence, just a step further toward *an* optimal analysis of CLRD/CLLD.

5.4.2. Prosody

Also in a quite tentative way, I will concentrate now on the effects that the introduction of phases has in the prosodic pattern of sentences involving CLRD/CLLD. Let us take as a point of departure a maximally simple framework like the one proposed in Cinque (1993), where the placement of the main stress of the sentence by means of the Nuclear Stress Rule (NSR) is sensitive to structural factors only, namely (asymmetric) c-command. In a nutshell, under Cinque's (1993) null theory, the lowest (i.e. rightmost) element in the sentence receives the main. stress (see Zubizarreta 1998 for crucial refinements and new ideas that take into account the achievements of Kayne's 1994 Linear Correspondence Axiom). Evidently, this theory enters into contradiction with the analysis I have defended so far for CLRD. Consider the simplest case, namely a structure with just one right-dislocate, which enters into the derivation with the corresponding [background] feature:

(118) a. $[_{vP}$ XP... ZP ... YP$_{[B]}]$

 b. $[_{IntTopP}$ YP$_{[B]}$ $[_{IntTop'}$ IntTop$_{[B]}$ $[_{vP}$ XP... ZP ... $clitic_{YP}]]]$

 c. $[...$ XP ... ZP ... $[_{IntTopP}$ YP$_{[B]}$ $[_{IntTop'}$ IntTop$_{[B]}$ $[_{vP}$ t$_{XP}$... t$_{ZP}$ ... $clitic_{YP}]]]]$

Under a standard analysis of the syntax-phonetics interface like the one assumed in Cinque (1993) or Zubizarreta (1998), which allows the interpretative components to access the syntactic derivation only once at its final stage, the NSR will apply blindly to (118)c, incorrectly assigning main stress to the right-dislocate. Cinque (1993) is aware of this problem and suggests that right-dislocates are indeed right-adjoined to a higher position, allowing another constituent to receive main stress by means of the NSR. However, such a solution is untenable on theoretical and empirical grounds. On the one hand, it doesn't comply with the LCA, a theoretical drawback in any event. On the other hand, it cannot offer a principled explanation of the bulk of empirical data supplied in Chapters 4 and 5, which beyond any reasonable doubt support one of the major statements of the split-topic analysis, namely that CLRD occupies a quite low position in the sentence tree.

Another solution might be simply stating that right-dislocates are invisible for the NSR. However, Zubizarreta (1998: 76f) explicitly rejects this possibility for Spanish, who argues that all phonological material is visible for the NSR. Let us pursue thus a different solution crucially relying on a model allowing the interpretative components to

have multiple access to the derivation.[40] In other words, the derivational stage represented in (118)b counts as a phase, which amounts to saying that it serves as an input to the interpretative components, and in the present case, to the phonological component. Given this, we may assume that it is at this stage where the process of stress assignment operates, assigning main stress to the lowest accented element in the structure (I represent main stress by means of underlining):

(119) $[_{IntTopP}$ YP$_{[B]}$ $[_{IntTop'}$ IntTop$_{[B]}$ $[_{\nu P}$ XP ... $\underline{ZP}$ ... $clitic_{YP}]]]$

This correctly derives the fact that CLRD (and CLLD) do not receive main stress, an information that is sent to the phonological component. Observe that this captures quite naturally the countenance of languages like Catalan, Spanish, or Italian, who tend to assign the main stress to the most deeply embedded constituent in the νP. Yet, some technicalities must be taken into account to offer a proper understanding of the whole issue. Note that the derivation will proceed, yielding either of the following configurations:

(120) a. $[_{\alpha}...XP ... \underline{ZP} ... [_{IntTopP}$ YP$_{[B]}$ $[_{IntTop'}$ IntTop$_{[B]}$ $[_{\nu P}$ t$_{XP}$... t$_{ZP}$ ... $clitic_{YP}]]]]$

  b. $[_{\alpha}...\underline{ZP}... XP ... [_{IntTopP}$ YP$_{[B]}$ $[_{IntTop'}$ IntTop$_{[B]}$ $[_{\nu P}$ t$_{XP}$... t$_{ZP}$ ... $clitic_{YP}]]]]$

Here, α counts as a phase, so the procedure assigning main stress is expected to apply again. What would be the output of such application? Evidently, we do not want the main stress to be assigned to YP, but this is exactly what the NSR will do, given that YP is the lowest accented constituent in the structure. Moreover, under Chomsky's (1998, 1999) original conception of phases, YP precisely qualifies as an element that may be affected by operations taking place in a higher phase level, for it occupies the edge of the phase. Several possible solutions to this puzzle come to mind. A conservative position might argue that the material in [Spec, IntTopP] has become opaque at this higher phase level. Observe that no syntactic operation has affected YP beyond its own phase level, which give some plausibility to the idea that the phonological content of this material has been stripped away in the previous phase. The most obvious

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[40] Legate (1998) and Uriagereka (1999) independently argue for a phase-based analysis of stress assignment in English, an idea that was already suggested under a very different framework of assumptions by Bresnan (1972); but see Selkirk (1984) for a critique of Bresnan's proposal.

consequence is that YP will not be affected by the application of the NSR, for it would not simply be there. Instead, had YP raised to ExtTopP to form a CLLD structure, it would have been affected by the NSR, even though without any superficial reflex. Finally, note that this system would allow the NSR to relocate the position of the main stress, as in (120)b.

A most radical solution would simply assume that no application of the NSR takes place beyond the vP phase level. This move is appealing for languages like Catalan or Spanish, where the assignment of main stress is very transparent. Under this approach, the basic c-commanding relations determine the main stress, which provides with a clearer content the notion of 'neutral' focus assignment, for any modification of the stress pattern determined at the vP level would count as marked, be it an instance of emphatic focus or of prosodic-movement (see Zubizarreta 1998).

Finally, a technically more complex solution closer to the system developed in Zubizarreta (1998) is also tenable. It could be considered that the mechanism of stress assignment decomposes into two processes, one purely pragmatic —F-marking— and the other purely phonological —the NSR. Under such an approach, at the vP phase level a rule applies assigning a mark [F] for '(informative) focus' to the material within the vP (see Zubizarreta 1998: Ch. 1 for an illuminating discussion):

(121) $[_{IntTopP}$ YP$_{[B]}$ $[_{IntTop'}$ IntTop$_{[B]}$ $[_{vP}$ XP$_{[F]}$ ... ZP$_{[F]}$ ... $clitic_{YP}]]]$

The derivation will proceed, and in the next phase the NSR will apply, but making use of the information provided by F-marking (i.e. "assign main stress to the lowest F-marked constituent in the structure"), yielding:[41]

(122) a. $[...XP_{[F]}$ ... $\underline{ZP_{[F]}}$ ... $[_{IntTopP}$ YP$_{[B]}$ $[_{IntTop'}$ IntTop$_{[B]}$ $[_{vP}$ t$_{XP}$... t$_{ZP}$ ... $clitic_{YP}]]]]$

   b. $[...ZP_{[F]}$ ... $\underline{XP_{[F]}}$ ... $[_{IntTopP}$ YP$_{[B]}$ $[_{IntTop'}$ IntTop$_{[B]}$ $[_{vP}$ t$_{XP}$... t$_{ZP}$ ... $clitic_{YP}]]]]$

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[41] At this point, several definitions of the NSR are possible, each yielding interesting empirical consequences that I cannot review here. Note for instance that a purely structural definition, i.e. one not making reference to [F], will need a supplementary condition sensitive to it in order to yield the correct result. This is essentially the situation in Zubizarreta's (1998) system where much advantage is taken from the interplay between the NSR and the Focus Prominence Rule (FPR), a rule that given two sister nodes one marked [+F] and the other [-F], it assigns greater prominence to the former. Precisely, the configuration under discussion seems to be one such contradictory situation: the NSR assigns main stress to a [-F] constituent, i.e. the right-dislocate, whereas the FPR would produce the reverse effect, namely greater prominence on the [+F] marked element. In Zubizarreta's system, this contradictory situation should entail p-movement of the dislocate for a language like Spanish,, against fact. Nevertheless,

In this case, each stress configuration should be regarded as equally neutral, for they follow from the blind application of the NSR (leaving aside the possibility of applying more marked options; see Zubizarreta 1998).

Each proposal yields quite precise and testable empirical predictions regarding markedness and focus projection, which are worth pursuing. This task, I will leave for future research.

As in the previous section, I have been more interested in suggesting lines for future research than in pursuing a detailed solution to current problems, which would lead us too far afield, particularly regarding phases, which is a poorly understood notion in current research. Consequently, many technical difficulties must be solved that may affect essential points of the analysis, before we can state that the split-topic analysis offers an optimal solution to these problems. Notwithstanding, as far as I can see, it reveals itself as plenty of stimulating possibilities that are worth pursuing.

5.5. Conclusions

In this chapter, the main features of what an optimal analysis of CLRD and CLLD should display have been expounded. I have taken as the main premises four issues:

A) *The structural issue*: Which positions do CLRD and CLLD occupy in the sentence?

B) *The movement issue*: Do dislocates move or are they base-generated? If they move, why should they?

C) *The derivational issue*: How do we get the correct derivation of CLRD and CLLD?

D) *The interface issue*: How do we get the semantic and prosodic interpretation of CLRD and CLLD?

I have shown that the split-topic analysis offers a proper answer to each of these questions. As for the structural issue, it states that CLRD involves a functional projection —Internal Topic Phrase— in the periphery of the *v*P, whereas CLLD involves a higher functional projection —External Topic Phrase—, in the periphery of the CP. Regarding the movement issue, evidence has been provided that dislocates move to their positions, arguably for feature-checking purposes, stranding their φ-

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Zubizarreta is not explicit regarding the interaction between stress assignment and CLRD, so I just mention the problem.

features, which are spelled-out as resumptive clitics. As for the derivational issue, the split-topic analysis derives CLLD from CLRD, a point that can be advantageously profited for explaining the body of common properties of both constructions. Finally, as regards the interface issue, several lines of research have been suggested that directly follow from the incarnation of the split-topic analysis under a derivational model of the computational system. Particularly, it has been argued that the basic semantic and prosodic features of CLRD and CLLD could receive a proper account under a model allowing the interpretative components to access the syntactic derivation in several stages (Chomsky's 1998, 1999 phases).

The overall picture that emerges, though incomplete, is extremely suggestive, for new light is shed on a traditionally poorly understood field. Even though designed under the most restrictive standards —Kayne's hypothesis of the antisymmetry of syntax, Chomsky's minimalist guidelines, and Rizzi's demands of a strict syntax-semantics mapping—, the split-topic analysis has proven to offer new answers to stubborn questions, providing also new directions as for the points of contact between syntax and the interpretative components, whose empirical and theoretical consequences are vast and only partially grasped.

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