

Enç's and Vallduví's notions of linking are close enough in that they ask for a previously existing object/file the link must be connected to somehow.¹³ Enç

oriented. Even though, in general, the choice of one topic or another does not have any impact on truth-conditions, Strawson argues that things become different when the topic has no referent (see Reinhart 1981 and Erteschik-Shir 1997: ch. 1 for two reinterpretations of Strawson's ideas).

Even though Strawson (1964) provides much of the conceptual machinery found in pragmatic approaches to the topic-focus articulation (e.g. Prince 1991, Vallduví 1990, 1994, Birner & Ward 1998), the scholars within this tradition consider information an interpretative aspect that must be kept apart from truth-conditional evaluation. This is for example the position strongly defended in Vallduví (1990:197): "there is no evidence to suggest that the interpretation of information packaging and the interpretation of logical meaning must be carried out in the same interpretative component". According to this proposal, the Topic-Focus Articulation of sentences doesn't affect its semantic content, but rather the way its semantic content is presented (i.e. information packaging for Vallduví). Many of these preventions are certainly valid as far as truth-conditions are the keystone in the interpretation sentences. However, they don't even arise in those approaches that are more interested in dynamic aspects of semantics rather than in truth conditions: Situation Semantics, Discourse Representation Theory, File Change Semantics, Update Semantics, Dynamic Semantics (see Stalnaker 1998 for a reflection on the roots of these approaches; it is also worth surveying the papers in Lappin ed., which offer a good taste of many of those frameworks). In essence, these approaches consider meaning as context-change potential, or as Groenendijk et al. (1996:181) put it, "the meaning of a sentence is the change that an utterance of it brings about, and the meanings of non-sentential expressions consist in their contributions to this change". Obviously, this change in perspective undermines Vallduví's claim for keeping information packaging and semantics apart.

¹³ This seems to be at the roots of contrasts like the following:

- (i) A: La Maria va comprar un llibre.
'Maria bought a book.'
- B: Em penso que el llibre, el va trobar avorrit.
me think-I that the book PAST-3 find boring
'I think he found the book boring.'
- (ii) A: La Maria no va comprar cap/un llibre.
'Maria didn't buy any/a book.'
- B: #Em penso que el llibre, el va trobar avorrit.
me think-I that the book PAST-3 find boring
'I think he found the book boring.'

Even though the same indefinite DP is introduced, only in the affirmative version is CLLD possible. Obviously, the contrast has to do with the fact that an indefinite under negation does not usually introduce a new referent in the discourse, independently of CLLD:

- (iii) #La Maria no va comprar cap/un llibre perquè el va trobar avorrit.
'#Maria didn't buy any/a book because she found it boring.'

Since the negated indefinites do not denote an existing referent, it is impossible neither for the CLLDed element nor for the pronoun to resume it. However, if the indefinite under negation is interpreted as an existing referent, then the relation becomes possible:

- (iv) A: La Maria no va comprar un llibre que valia 10.000.
'Maria didn't buy a book that cost 10,000.'
- B: Em penso que el llibre, el va trobar interessant però car.
me think-I that the book PAST-3 find interesting but expensive
'I think he found the book interesting but expensive.'
- (v) La Maria no va comprar un llibre que valia 10.000, perquè el va trobar car.
'Maria didn't buy a book that cost 10,000 because she found it expensive.'

This contrast reminds us of the one posed by Barbara Partee (see Stalnaker 1998 for discussion):

- (vi) a. Exactly nine of the ten balls are in the bag.

mentions two possibilities: the identity relation and the subset relation. Vallduví goes a step further and follows Ward's (1985) (see also Ward & Prince 1991, Birner & Ward 1998) proposal for English topicalization:

Discourse Condition on Preposing in Topicalization

The entity represented by the preposed constituent must be related, via a salient partially ordered set relation, to one or more entities already evoked in the discourse model.¹⁴

It becomes apparent why partitivity and dislocability show so strong a connection: the set introduced by the modifying element counts as an evoked discourse object the dislocate can establish a poset relation with. So then, the range of relations covered by this condition subsumes Enç's identity and subset cases. Examine now some examples involving CLLD (I mark the dislocate and the clitic with italics; in addition, I underline the discourse licenser):

Identity

(57) CARME: Més que capità!

MERCÈ: I molt més! *De capitans*, diu que *en fan a mils de milers* [...].

(Santiago Rusiñol *L'hèroe*)

'Carme: More than captain!

Mercè: Much more! Captains, they say that are appointed by thousands of thousands [...]'

Subset

(58) Tot i que es van mencionar dos casos dignes de ser explicats.

Un d'ells el va apuntar el mateix Casas. [...]. L'altre cas el va treure un tertulià, [...] (El País, *Quadern*, 22/7/99, p. 7)

-
- b. #It is under the sofa.
(vii) a. Exactly one of the ten balls is not in the bag.
b. It is under the sofa.

Even though, (vi)a and (vii)a are truth-conditionally equivalent, they do not equally allow for a successful reference by means of *it*: only (vii)a introduces a salient referent to be resumed by the indefinite pronoun.

¹⁴ A partially ordered set is one defined by a relation that is either reflexive, antisymmetric and transitive or irreflexive, asymmetric, and transitive. See Wall (1972:141).

‘Even though two affairs were mentioned that are worth explaining.

One of them, Casas himself pointed out. [...] The other affair, a chatter brought up.’

(59) —Un dia ens hauríem de trobar tota la colla.

—*D’alguns n’he perdut el rastre, d’altres els veig sovint.* (Ramon Solsona
Figures de calidoscopi)

‘—One day we, the whole group, should meet.

—Of some of them I lost the scent, others I often meet.’

The description, however, is not exhaustive, nor so clear. Very often the relation is implicit. Consider some interesting cases:

(60) L’al·lusió al corrent elèctric es troba en el moviment constant de la creació [...].

D’electricitat també en necessita Josep Manuel Berenguer per moure les seves escultures [...]. (El País, Quadern, 22/7/99, p. 4)

‘The allusion to the electric current is found in the constant movement of creation [...]. Electricity, Josep Manuel Berenguer also needs to move his sculptures.’

In this example, the identity doesn’t entail a literal iteration of the referent: the noun *electricitat* ‘electricity’ is licensed by means of the adjective *elèctric* ‘electric’. Consider also:

(61) [...] l’art contemporani ha sabut obrir el seu discurs introspectiu cap a un altre que abraça una mirada molt més àmplia de la realitat. Ha convertit en més lleugera la seriositat del seu contingut. [...]

La mirada reflexiva ens la porta Francesc Abad, [...] (El País, Quadern, 22/7/99, p. 4)

‘[...] contemporary art known how to open its introspective discourse to another one that embraces a wider perspective over reality. It has made lighter the seriousness of its content.

The reflective look, Francesc Abad brings to us, [...].’

In this case, the CLLDed element is linked to the previous discourse by means of a more subtle relation: *la mirada reflexiva* 'the reflective look' resumes *el seu discurs introspectiu* 'its introspective discourse'.

Poset relations may offer us a possible explanation for the behavior of kind-referring terms in CLLD. It is a well-known fact that generic indefinites do not have the restrictions on CLLD other indefinites have. Indeed, CLLDed indefinites tend to be interpreted as referring to a kind, a well-known fact we find cross-linguistically:

- (62) a. Un home boig el poden acusar fàcilment d'un delict que no ha comès.
(Bartra 1985: appendix ex. 27a)
'A mad man can easily be charged of a crime he hasn't committed.'
- b. Un llibre te'l pots llegir en una tarda. (Bartra 1985: appendix ex. 27b)
'A book, you can read in an afternoon.'
- (63) a. Un bote, lo compra cualquiera hoy en día. (Franco 1991: ch. 3 ex. 65)
'A boat, anyone (can) buy one nowadays.'
- b. A un policia, nunca le digas la verdad. (Roca 1992: ex. 58)
'To a policeman, never tell him the truth.'
- (64) a. Un monsieur, on le reconnaît à sa façon de parler. (Larsson 1979 ch3 ex. 5)
'A sir, one can recognize by his way of speaking.'
- b. A un chat, elle y ressemble pas mal. (Postal 1991: fn. 19)
'She resembles a cat quite a bit.'

Examine now Bartra's examples within a context:

- (65) a. A: Les presons són plenes d'homes bojós.
'Prisons are plenty of mad men.'
- B: Un home boig el poden acusar fàcilment d'un delict que no ha comès.
'A mad man can easily be charged of a crime he hasn't committed.'
- b. A: Per llegir un llibre es necessita molt de temps.
'To read a book it is necessary a lot of time.'
- B: I ara! Un llibre te'l pots llegir en una tarda.
'Why! A book, you can read in an afternoon.'

In these examples, a clear linking relation holds —one of identity—, making CLLD possible. However, other examples easily come to mind where such relation is not so clear. Consider, for example, a minimal variation with respect to the first of the preceding dialogues:

(66) A: El pobre Joan va acabar a la presó tot i ser innocent.

‘Poor Joan ended in jail in spite of being innocent.’

B: Un home boig el poden acusar fàcilment d’un delictes que no ha comès.

‘A mad man can easily be charged of a crime he hasn’t committed.’

The relation in this case is not one of identity, but rather one of superset: the antecedent is an instance of the kind represented by the CLLDed element. What the felicity of the dialogues shows us is that B is taking for granted that A knows that Joan is mad. Nevertheless, even though neither Prince (1992) nor Birner & Ward (1998) count the superset relation among the ones licensing links, it is indeed a poset relation: it is irreflexive (X is not a superset of itself), asymmetric (if X is a superset of Y, Y is not a superset of X), and transitive (if X is a superset of Y, and Y is a superset of Z, then X is a superset of Z). Obviously, since a referent can always be ascribed to a kind, the prediction is that generic links should be possible in all situations, to the extent the hearer is assumed to make the ascription. This seems to be correct:

(67) a. A: M’encanta aquell Ferrari vermell.

‘I love that red Ferrari.’

B: No diguis bestieses. A Barcelona, un cotxe, no hi ha manera d’aparcar-lo.

‘Don’t talk nonsense. In Barcelona, there is no way to park a car.’

b. A: En Pere em va dir una mentida.

‘Pere told me a lie.’

B: En els homes/un home, no s’hi pot confiar.

‘Men/a man, you cannot trust.’

Indeed, the superset needs not be a well-defined kind, but it can be a subkind ('taxonomic NP' or type are current alternative terms for this notion).¹⁵

- (68) a. A: A mi també m'agradaria tenir un cotxe tan gran.
'I also would like to have so big a car.'
B: No et facis il·lusions: un cotxe com aquest, no te'l podràs comprar mai.
'Don't build castles in the air: a car like that, you will never be able to buy.'
- b. A: Busco un home prou intel·ligent per casar-m'hi.
'I am looking for a man intelligent enough to marry him.'
B: Un home així, no el trobaràs mai.
a man so not him find-FUT-2 never
'Such a man, you will never find.'
- c. A: Aquests veïns són una colla de bàrbars.
'These neighbors are a group of barbarians.'
B: Veïns així/com aquests te'ls pots trobar en qualsevol edifici.
'Neighbors like that, you can find in any building.'

So then, poset relations offer an accurate description of the conditions for discourse licensing of CLLD. However, successful as it may seem, Ward's account (and Vallduví's) has to face a problematic case: inferrable relations (this problem is set forth by Portner & Yabushita 1998 with the name of 'entailment problem').

¹⁵ It may seem on the basis of (i) that the dislocability of subkinds is more restricted than that of kinds:

- (i) A: He comprat un gos.
'I've bought a dog.'
a. B: #Un gos així/com aquest, ara no ens el podem permetre.
'A dog like that, we cannot afford now.'
b. B: Un gos, ara no ens el podem permetre.
'A dog, we cannot afford now.'

Unless the dog is physically visible to B, the response in a. is clearly infelicitous. The intuition is that no salient property is made available in a. to establish a subkind. However, this has nothing to do with dislocability:

- (i) A: He comprat un gos.
'I've bought a dog.'
B: #Ara no ens podem permetre un gos així/com aquest.
'Now, we cannot afford a dog like that.'

Observe the following dialogues, where a link relation is established by means of CLLD:

- (69) A: Els obrers començaran a treballar a l'edifici a les vuit.
'The workers will begin to work in the building at eight o'clock.'
B: Doncs *als veïns* no *els* farà gens de gràcia que els despertessin tant d'hora.
'Well, the neighbors won't be amused with being awakened so early.'
- (70) A: M'agrada molt la teva casa.
'I like your house very much.'
B: A l'*arquitecte*, en canvi, no *el* va deixar satisfet el resultat.
'The architect, however, wasn't satisfied with the result.'

Even though CLLD is perfect in these contexts, no clear poset relation can be established between *edifici* 'building' and *veïns* 'neighbors' or *casa* 'house' and *arquitecte* 'architect', even though the relation is evident to everyone (cf. with HTLD in 2.2.1). Strictly speaking, *als veïns* and *a l'arquitecte* are discourse-new and hearer-new (see Prince 1992 for a formal definition of these two terms). However, the fact they are allowed in CLLD suggests that speakers treat them otherwise, namely *as if* they were discourse-old —because there's a discourse-connection, even though indirect—, and hearer-old —because the speaker assumes the hearer has the pertinent knowledge to establish the relation, which is indeed the case. Notwithstanding, Ward's *Discourse Condition on Preposing in Topicalization* doesn't formalize this possibility (moreover, it should flesh out what is meant by the notion of 'already evoked in the discourse model', otherwise his condition would be reduced to an extremely wishy-washy statement).

Another possibility would be resort to Rochemont's (1986) use of *semantic antecedent*. Rochemont defines a semantic antecedent as follows:

A string P has a semantic antecedent in a discourse D, $D = \{D_1, \dots, D_n\}$, if, and only if, there is a prior and readily available string P' in D, such that the uttering of P' either formally or informally entails mention of P.

Our interest focuses on the notion of 'informal entailment', which can handle the problematic cases discussed above. The relation between *building* and *neighbors* in (69) or between *house* and *architect* in (70), which cannot be explained in terms of

posets, falls under the notion of ‘informal entailment’. Obviously, this notion demands a more formal definition in order to be considered a real alternative to poset relations, but it seems a fruitful one, especially when taken together with that of *accommodation*. This task is, of course, insurmountable within the limits of this work, so I will leave the issue as it stands. In any case, it is worth consulting Erteschik-Shir 1997, Lambrecht 1994: ch. 3 and 4 and Schwarzschild 1999 for three quite different —and inconclusive— approaches to the issue.

With the problem of inferrables in mind, discuss now two other interpretative aspects of CLLD that are worth comment: contrast and aboutness. Let us firstly consider contrast, regarding the sentences under (56), repeated here for the ease of reference:

- (71) a. El llibre, l’he comprat a Can Viader.
 the book him-have-1 bought to Can Viader
 ‘The book, I have bought at Can Viader.’
 b. A Can Viader, hi he comprat el llibre.
 to Can Viader LOC-have-1 bought the book
 ‘At Can Viader, I have bought the book.’

Even if no context is provided for these sentences, the hearer has the clear intuition that the answer predicates something of a referent —*el llibre* ‘the book’ or *a Can Viader* ‘at Can Viader’— in contrast to something else.¹⁶ This intuition is fleshed out when we resume the sentences with something like

- (72) a. ...i la llibreta a l’Hiper Valls.
 ‘...and the notebook at the Hiper Valls.’

¹⁶ Ashby (1988: 217) shows the following figures by pragmatic function based on his own corpus:

Pragmatic function	Pronouns		Nouns	
	No.	%	No.	%
Contrast	112	24%	79	21%
Topic shift	249	53%	279	73%
Turn taking	25	5%	0	—
Weak	84	18%	23	6%
Total	470		381	

It seems quite clear that contrast plays a crucial role in CLLD, whatever it is due to.

b. ...i a l'Hiper Valls la llibreta.

‘...and at the Hiper Valls the notebook.’

Vallduví (1990:89) takes this contrast as an epiphenomenon, deriving from his file-changing system. Consider his explanation: “In fact, link-contrast is also a derived notion from the perspective of aboutness. If a sentence is understood as being about a topic, then it may be understood that it is not about another topic, given the right opposition exists between both topics.” I agree with Vallduví’s description, but I think much profit can be taken if it is linked to some of the findings by a more semantic look at Topic-Focus Articulation, like the one pursued by Barbara Partee in several works, and recapitulated in Hajičová et al. 1998 and Partee 1999, in which the ongoing discussion is inspired (see also Chierchia 1992, Erteschik-Shir 1997, Geurts & van der Sandt 1999, Krifka 1995, Portner & Yabushita 1998, for several ‘semantic’ views on the issue).

Partee’s insights form part of the semantic stream, born in Stalnaker’s (1978) classical paper, which seeks to integrate semantic and pragmatic aspects of interpretation (of NPs) into a unified framework.¹⁷ In this context, her words are extremely relevant:

The continued study of the interaction of topic-focus structure and quantificational structures therefore appears to be an important and fruitful domain for the discovery of principles relating semantic and pragmatic interpretation to syntactic form and to properties of the linguistic and non-linguistic context in which those forms are interpreted.

Partee observes that the partition of sentence in terms of Operator-Restriction-Nuclear Scope is intimately related to the Topic-Focus Articulation, namely the topic seems to correspond to the restriction and the focus to the nuclear scope. A simple example will suffice to make Partee’s observation clear:

(73) Gairebé tots els ocells cacen de nit.

‘Almost all birds hunter at night.’

¹⁷ This stream includes frameworks such as Kamps’s Discourse Representation Theory, Heim’s File Change Semantics, Groenendijk and Stokhof’s Dynamic Montague Grammar, or Situation Semantics. The common ground they are built on is the shift from truth-values to information update. With small differences, all the frameworks consider that the meaning of a sentence is not its truth-value but rather

The most natural interpretation of this sentence is the one paraphrased as ‘almost all birds that hunter hunter at night’, which is the one corresponding to the assignment of focus to *de nit*. A representation of the sentence would be:

(74) [_{operator} For almost x], [_{restriction} x=birds that hunter], [_{nuclear scope} x hunters at night]

Partee’s finding is that the restriction is built on the topic/background part of the sentence. This becomes even clearer when (73) is compared with

(75) De nit gairebé tots els ocells cacen.

‘At night almost all the birds hunter.’

A normal paraphrase for this sentence would be something like ‘almost all birds, when at night, hunter’, which would have a representation like the following:¹⁸

(76) [_{operator} For almost x], [_{restriction} x=bird in situation S, S= at night], [_{nuclear scope} X hunters]

Having this analysis in mind, it is now clearer why CLLD is usually associated with a contrastive interpretation: the CLLDed element enters in the building of a set that restricts the quantifier, automatically licensing another non-mentioned but neatly delimited set or situation. This is akin to Vallduví’s approach, even though the point of departure is formally and conceptually quite different.¹⁹

its capacity to change the context, its information change potential. See Lappin (1996) for a representative collection of works within this line of research.

¹⁸ It is worth noting that a real semantic effect is at stake here, since different entailments arise in (73) and (75). For example, only in the latter it is entailed that hunting is the main nocturne occupation of birds. This is at the basis of the awkwardness of a sentence like

- (i) #La principal ocupació dels ocells és caçar de nit.
#The main occupation of birds is hunting at night.’

Cf. with the complete acceptability of

- (ii) De nit, la principal ocupació dels ocells és caçar.
‘At night, the main occupation of birds is hunting.’

¹⁹ Von Stechow (1997) pursues a different approach which dispenses with a process of semantic partition along the lines of Partee’s work (or Diesing’s 1992). He sets his case in a conspicuous way:

The second aspect pervasively accompanying CLLD is aboutness. Vallduví (1990) considers this aspect a necessary side effect of his analysis of links as pointers to a file. However, it is not completely clear whether CLLD always conveys such ‘aboutness’ feeling. If we follow Reinhart (1981) —who builds on work by Strawson (1964)— and take the topic of the sentence to be the element that the sentence is predicated about, the answer seems negative. The following sentences, which all make the ‘aboutness relation’ explicit, are quite unnatural as replies to the question *On has comprat el llibre?* ‘Where have you bought the book?’:

- (77) a. #*Pel que fa al llibre, l’he comprat a Can Viader.*
‘As for the book, I have bought it at Can Viader.’
b. #*Respecte al llibre, l’he comprat a Can Viader.*
‘Regarding the book, I have bought it at Can Viader.’

The contrast with the CLLD version is apparent enough:

- (78) *El llibre, l’he comprat a Can Viader.*
‘The book, I have bought at Can Viader.’

The sentences under (77) sound more natural in a dialogue where the topic under consideration changes:

- (79) A: *M’agrada molt aquest CD. I aquest llibre també. On els has comprat?*
‘I like this CD very much. And this book too. Where did you buy them?’
B: *El CD me’l va regalar la Maria. Pel que fa al llibre, l’he comprat a Can Viader.*
‘The CD, Maria gave to me. As for the book, I have bought it at Can Viader.’

Now, semantic partition proposals do use what seem to be essentially pragmatic notions directly in the semantic identification of a quantifier domain: most of them use the topic/focus articulation of the nuclear scope to determine the quantifier domain. From the perspective of the autonomy thesis, the pragmatic account is clearly preferable. The pragmatics is seen to supply the value of a free variable quantifier domain and various factors, among them topic/focus articulation (TFA), are simultaneously at play that function as partial clues as to what domain is intended. There are no rules of grammar that make reference to TFA.

Von Stechow’s proposal is closer to Vallduví (1990) than to Partee (1999). A comparison of these proposals goes far beyond the limits of this work.

This kind of topic-shift mechanism, the *as for* construction, will be studied in detail in 2.3.

However, there is indeed an intuitive perception that the core of the sentence is the vehicle for an assertion with respect to the CLLDed element. This is in essence what it is predicted by Partee's consideration of topics as part of the restriction of the domain of quantification. The information conveyed by the focus is to be evaluated with respect to the restricted set delimited by the topic, hence the 'aboutness' feeling follows. Again, the semantic approach is close to the pragmatic one even though their grounds are quite distinct.

2.1.3. Summary

In this section I have offered a description of the main syntactic and interpretive properties of CLLD. From the syntactic perspective —the best studied one, beyond doubt—, it has been highlighted that CLLD is category-neutral and iterative, that it may appear in embedded contexts, that it allows the free ordering of the dislocates, demands a resumptive clitic, and shows both connectedness and island-sensitivity. From the interpretive point of view, CLLD has been shown to fulfill the discourse function of *link* (in Vallduví's 1990 sense), namely that of connect the assertion of the sentence to the previous stretch of discourse. Moreover, a more semantic dimension has been added: CLLD functions as a restriction of the domain of quantification of the sentence, along the lines suggested by Barbara Partee among others scholars.

2.2. Hanging Topic Left Dislocation

2.2.1. Syntactic properties

The term *Hanging Topic Left Dislocation* (HTLD) was introduced by Cinque (1983) —who merits the coinage to Alexander Grosu— in order to make a distinction between the dislocation with a resumptive clitic (CLLD) we have just examined in 2.1.1, and another related construction, labeled Left Dislocation in English linguistic tradition or *nominativus pendens* in Romance tradition. Besides terminology, the merit is deserved to Cinque (1977, 1983) for showing that a construction like

- (80) a. La Maria, serà millor que parlis amb ella aviat.
 ‘Maria, the best will be that you talk to her soon.’
- b. Tu padre, me acuerdo de él muchas veces. (Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1997)
 ‘Your father, I remember of him many times.’
- c. Giorgio, ne hanno parlato bene/hanno parlato bene di lui/hanno parlato bene di quel furbacchione. (Benincà et al. 1988)
 ‘Giorgio, they have talked well of him/have talked well of him/have talked well of that slyboots.’
- d. Lucille, je lui écris constamment. (Postal 1991)
 ‘Lucille, I write to constantly.’

must be carefully distinguished from the cases of CLLD discussed in the previous section:²⁰

- (81) a. Amb la Maria, serà millor que hi parlis aviat.
 ‘Maria, the best will be that you talk with soon.’
- b. De tu padre, me acuerdo muchas veces. (Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1997)
 ‘Your father, I remember many times.’
- c. Di Giorgio, (ne) hanno parlato bene/*hanno parlato bene di lui. (Benincà et al. 1988)
 ‘Giorgio, they have talked well of/have talked well of him.’
- d. À Lucille, je lui écris constamment. (Postal 1991)
 ‘Lucille, I write to constantly.’

As will immediately become apparent, a close comparison of both constructions reveals their clearly different character:

	CLLD	HTLD
I. category neutral	<i>yes</i>	<i>NPs only</i>
II. iterative	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>
III. non-root contexts	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>
IV. free ordering of the dislocates	<i>yes</i>	—
V. obligatory resumptive clitic	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>
VI. ordering with respect to wh/C	<i>C-CLLD-wh</i>	<i>C-HTLD-wh</i>
VII. connectedness	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>
VIII. island sensitivity	<i>yes</i>	<i>no</i>

²⁰ HTLD should not be confused with the so-called ‘*as for* construction’, either. See 2.3.

Relevant examples of each property are given below:

1) *It only admits NPs*

HTLD is extremely more restricted than CLLD across categories. In principle, it is only possible with NPs (cf. the case of metalinguistic topics in 2.4):

- (82) a. El llibre, ja sé que el vam comprar a Barcelona. [NP]
the book already know-1 that him PAST-2PL buy in Barcelona
'The book, I do know that we bought it in Barcelona.'
- b. **De la Maria*, ahir parlàvem d'ella. [PP]
of the Maria yesterday talked-2PL of-her
'Maria, we talked about her yesterday.'
- c. **Intel·ligent*, no em sembla pas que sigui així. [AP]
intelligent not to.me seems NEG that be so
'Intelligent, she doesn't seem so to me.'
- d. **Obertament*, els polítics no parlen mai així. [AdvP]
overtly the politicians not talk-2PL never so
'Overtly, politicians never talk.'
- e. **Que té por de la Maria*, del cert jo no sé aquesta bestiesa. [CP_[+tense]]
that has fear of the Maria of-the sure I not it know-1 this nonsense
'That (s)he is afraid of Maria, I do not know it for sure.'
- f. **Comprar un cotxe*, hi ha la possibilitat que la Maria ho intenti. [CP_[-tense]]
buy a car there is the possibility that the Maria it try
'To buy a car, there is a chance that Maria try to do it.'

This behavior is representative of HTLD in all Romance languages. Consider the Italian and French data from Cinque (1977: fn. 12), the Occitan ones from Sauzet (1989: 237), the Portuguese ones from Mateus et al. (1983: 229ff), and the Spanish ones from Escobar (1995: 86-7):

- (83) a. (*A) Giorgio, sono sicuro che non ho mai scritto a lui.
'(*To) Giorgio, I am sure that I have never written to him.'
- b. (*Di) Piero, credo che non abbiano mai parlato de lui.
'(*Of) Piero, I think that they have never talk of him.'

- (84) a. (*A) Pierre, je pense toujours à lui.
 ‘(*To) Pierre, I always think of him.’
 b. (*De) mes fils, je ne suis pas fier d’eux..
 ‘(*Of) my children, I am not proud of them.’
- (85) a. Joan, li ai parlat.
 ‘Joan, I’ve talked with.’
 b. Lo libre del Joan, n’ai parlat.
 ‘Joan’s book, I’ve talked about.’
- (86) a. (*Com) a Ana, o João jantou com ela ontem.
 ‘(*With) Ana, João ate with her yesterday.’
 b. (*D)a Maria... encontrei ontem un amigo dessa tonta.
 ‘(*Of) Maria, I found a friend of this fool yesterday.’
- (87) a. (*Con) Juan, yo ya he hablado con él.
 ‘(*With) Juan, I have already spoken with him.’
 b. (*A) Carlos, yo no le daría nada a él.
 ‘(*To) Carlos, I would not give anything to him.’

As the translations of the examples show, English Left Dislocation is restricted to NPs only, as well.²¹

Incidentally, note that the existence of cases of HTLD with PPs like the following—which do not allow for an analysis in terms of ‘metalinguistic topics’ as the one developed in 2.4—, are problematic (Cinque 1983: note 5, italics added):

²¹ Comrie (1973) reports the same behavior for a kind of ‘strong topicalization’ in Russian:

- (i) Televizory (Nom.) // v ètom magazine ix (Gen.) mnogo.
 ‘(As for) televisions, in this shop (there are) lots of them.’

This construction, whose lack of case connectedness suggests it is an instance of HTLD, minimally contrasts with one where case connectedness holds:

- (ii) Televizorov (Gen.) // v ètom magazine ix (Gen.) mnogo.
 ‘(As for) televisions, in this shop (there are) lots of them.’

Moreover, Comrie notes that, whereas the former construction lacks a rightward counterpart, the latter does have one:

- (iii) V ètom magazine ix (Gen.) mnogo // Televizorov (Gen.).

Even though a deeper study is needed, especially because Russian shows scrambling quite freely, the (few) data available suggest that Russian does have HTLD.

(88) A Parigi, invece,... Conosco piu di una persona che dice che là piove pochissimo.

'In Paris, on the other hand, I know various people who say that there it rains very little.'

On this basis, he claims that HTLD is allowed with nonselected PPs (Escobar 1995 follows Cinque's reasoning for the equivalent Spanish sentence). However, his claim is far from being convincing. First of all, nothing is said about the possibility that the PP depend on the higher clause, i.e.:

(89) A Parigi₁, invece,... Conosco piu di una persona ___₁ che dice che là piove pochissimo.

'In Paris, on the other hand, I know various people who say that there it rains very little.'

If so, we would not be dealing with a case of HTLD, but rather with one of CLLD: the adverb *là* 'there' would make anaphoric reference to a null resumptive element in the higher clause. This interpretation is indeed strongly favored in Catalan, as the following examples make clear:

- (90) a. *A París, en canvi,... Tinc amics a Barcelona que em diuen que allà plou moltíssim.
b. *A París, en canvi,... La gent que viu a Barcelona es pensa que allà plou moltíssim.

The presence of the locative PP *a Barcelona* in the superordinate sentence prevents the detached PP *a París* from being linked to it as well. If *a París* were left dislocated from the embedded sentence, the sentence would be grammatical.

Moreover, note that in Cinque's problematic example the allegedly resumptive element, the adverb *là*, occupies a preverbal position. Compare it with the sentence in (91)b (Cinque 1983: ex. 9):

(91) a. A Parigi, invece,... Conosco piu di una persona che dice che là piove pochissimo.

- b. **Alla stazione non voglio andare là.*
 to.the station not want-1 go there
 'The station, I don't want to go there.'

The next question is what would happen if we interchange the position of the adverb *là* in both sentences? If I am correct in rejecting Cinque's analysis of sentence (91)a [= (88)], the expectation is that the grammaticality will be reversed as well. I haven't been able to consult the Italian facts, but in Catalan and Spanish the prediction is fulfilled altogether:

- (92) a. **A París, en canvi,... Conec a més d'una persona que diu que plou poquíssim allà.*
 a'. **En París, en cambio,... Conozco a más de una persona que dice que llueve poquíssimo allí.*
 b. *A l'estació, allà no hi vull anar.*
 b'. *A l'estación, allí no quiero ir.*

Note that the apparently problematic example in (88) involves rather both CLLD and an anaphoric discourse link between the locative PP and the clitic left dislocated element, and not the adverb itself. Schematically (I use both subscript and superscript as mere descriptive devices, without giving them any theoretical status):

- (93) $PP_1, \dots [\dots e_1^2 \dots là^2]$

So then, we may conclude that HTLD is only possible with NPs, which is indeed the description of the Italian facts we find in Benincà et al. (1988) —cf. the case of 'metalinguistic topics' in 2.4.

II) *It is not iterative:*

- (94) a. **En Pere₁, el llibre₂, la Maria li₁'n₂ va parlar ahir.*
 the Pere the book the Maria of.it-LOC PAST-3 talk yesterday

- b. *En Pere₁, el llibre₂, la Maria va parlar d'ell₂ amb ell₁ ahir.
 the Pere the book the Maria PAST-3 talk of-him with him yesterday
 'Maria talked with Pere about the book yesterday.'

Many authors have argued for different languages that HTLD cannot be iterated. With respect to Italian, Benincà et al. (1988: 133) say "[m]entre, come abbiamo detto, la dislocazione a sinistra può riguardare più di un costituente, non si può avere più di un tema sospeso." Observe the example offered by Cinque (1983):

- (95) *Tuo fratello₁, Maria₂, lei₂ ama lui₁.
 your brother, Maria, she loves him

This behavior extends to Portuguese:

- (96) *O corvo₁, o queijo₂, a raposa roubou-o₂ a ele₁. [Mateus et al. 1983]
 the raven the cheese the fox stole-it to her

The same is true for English Left Dislocation:

- (97) a. *Charley, Betty, Jack, he knows she likes him. [Postal 1971: 136 fn 17]
 b. *Bill, Sue, that damn snake, he told her to get it out of their sleeping bag.
 [Rodman 1977: ex. 31]
 c. *John, Mary, he likes her. [Lasnik & Saito 1992: ex. 47]

Nevertheless, Escobar (1995) departs from this view and claims that HTLD in Spanish is indeed iterative. She offers the following examples:

- (98) a. Juan, con respecto a este libro, él tendrá que leerlo.
 lit. 'Juan, with respect to this book, he will have to read it.'
 b. Trajes, Juan, en aquella tienda, (allí) ya no me ha comprado (él) (muchos) más.
 clothes, Juan, in that shop (there) already not me has bought (he) (many) more.'

In (98)a, Escobar is mixing two distinct constructions, HTLD —*Juan ... él*— and the *as for* construction —*con respecto a este libro...lo*. As will become apparent in 2.3, the latter construction shows properties that justify an independent analysis. The discussion of this example is thus postponed until then.

Pay heed instead to (98)b [*Trajes, Juan, en aquella tienda, (allí) ya no me ha comprado (él) (muchos) más*]. Escobar correctly observes that using NPs for establishing differences between CLLD and HTLD is problematic... in Spanish. We agree that only with (98)b, nothing conclusive can be said, but the comparison with Catalan, Italian, or French makes the point clear enough. It could be said that Spanish is exceptional among the Romance languages in this respect, but such a claim seems not only theoretically undesirable regarding crosslinguistic data, but empirically wrong, as well. Clear instances of HTLD don't admit iteration, so the following examples are judged as impossible by all speakers consulted:

- (99) a. **Juan, María, él habló con ella.*
lit. 'Juan, Maria, he talked with her.'
- b. **El libro, Juan, María, él habló de él con ella.*
lit. 'The book, Juan, Maria, he talked about it with her.'
- c. **Barcelona, Juan, María, él se divorció allí de ella.*
lit. 'Barcelona, Juan, Maria, he get divorced there of her.'

III) *It only occurs in root contexts:*

- (100) a. **Em penso que París, tots els nens vénen d'allà.*
'I think that all the children come from Paris.'
- b. **Diuen que París, tots els nens vénen d'allà.*
'They say that all the children come from Paris.'
- c. **Volen que el Joan, tothom parli d'ell.*
'They want that everybody talk about Joan.'
- d. **M'agradaria que la Maria, parlessis cinc minuts amb ella.*
'I'd like that you talk with Maria for five minutes.'
- e. **No sé la Maria, qui parlarà d'ella.*
'I don't know who will talk about Maria.'

- f. *Els únics familiars que *la Maria*, poden parlar amb ella són els seus fills.
 ‘The only relatives which can talk with Maria are her children.’

Also in this point Escobar’s (1995) description of Spanish HTLD is in disagreement. She claims that it is CLLD that is restricted to root contexts (or to clauses selected by epistemic verbs), whereas HTLD can appear in embedded contexts to the extent the left dislocate is introduced by a connective phrase. Her examples and judgments:

- (101) a. ^{??}/*Ella prefiere que *Luis*, el médico lo examine.
 ‘She prefers that the doctor check Luis.’
- b. Ella prefiere que... en cuanto a *Luis*... que el médico lo examine.
 ‘She prefers that the doctor check Luis.’
- c. Ella dice que... en cuanto a *Luis*... que el médico lo examina.
 ‘She says that the doctor checks Luis.’
- d. No sé este libro quién lo podría reseñar para mañana.
 ‘I don’t know who could review this book for tomorrow.’

Escobar’s argumentation is not convincing. First of all, (101)b-c are instances of the *as for* construction, which will be considered as an independent construction and analyzed at length in 2.3. With respect to the two other examples, Escobar’s judgments are accurate, but they do not prove what she pretends. She claims that the contrast between (101)a and (101)d have to do with a supposed governing requirement, which is only satisfied in the latter. However, such claims are based on the assumption that both examples are cases of HTLD, which is quite controversial. (101)a is clearly a case of HTLD: *Luis* shows no connectedness with the resumptive element within the clause, as the lack of the animateness marker *a* suggests —see below. However, the example in (101)d does not have *Luis* as a topic, but rather an inanimate NP. This weakens her argument. Consider what happens if we maintaining *Luis* as a topic in a context like the one in (101)d:

- (102) a. *No sé Juan quién lo podría examinar mañana.
 ‘I don’t know who could examine Juan tomorrow.’
- b. No sé a Juan quién lo podría examinar mañana.
 ‘I don’t know who could examine Juan tomorrow.’

The former sentence is an instance of HTLD, as the lack of connectedness shows, however it is ungrammatical. Moreover, the ill formedness of this sentence cannot be attributed to the lack of governing, since the topic is governed by the main verb. The well formedness of the latter sentence is expected, because it is an instance of CLLD, which we have seen in 2.1.1 to be possible in embedded contexts.

This conclusion is in close agreement with common descriptions of the phenomenon across languages. Several authors show that HTLD is limited to root contexts in Italian:

- (103) a. *Credo que Mario_i, lui_i non venga. [Cinque 1983]
 I think that Mario he won't come
- b. *Mi sembra che Giorgio nessuno abbia parlato bene di quell'imbroglione.
 [Benincà et al. 1988]
 lit. 'To me seems that Giorgio nobody had talked well about that trouble-maker'

The same is valid for Portuguese, according to Mateus et al. (1983):

- (104) *Imagina que a Ana, o João jantou com ela ontem.
 imagine-3 that the Ana the João ate-3 with her yesterday

Departing from Romance languages, we find a similar behavior in English Left Dislocation. Here we have some examples from several scholars:

- (105) a. *That *my father, he's* lived here all his life is well known to those cops.
 [Ross 1967]
- b. ?*I acknowledge that *my father, he* was tight as a hoot-owl. [Ross 1967]
- c. *The fact that *Charley, he's* insane, disturbed Lucille. [Postal 1971]
- d. *the man to whom *Liberty*, we could never grant *it*. [Baltin 1982]
- e. *I believe that *this book*, you should read *it*. [Lasnik & Saito 1992]

The only exception seems to be with verbs introducing reported speech:

(106) I said that *my father, he* was tight as a hoot-owl. [Ross 1967]

Moreover, Aissen (1992) reports that Tzotzil topics do not occur in embedded contexts either:

- (107) a. Liyalbe li Xun-e ti a li Petul(-e) taxtal(-e).
he.told.me DET Xun-ENC COMP TOP DET Petul(-ENC) comes(-ENC)
'Xun told me that Petul was coming.'
- b. Xvinaj ti a li Petul(-e) taxtal(-e).
appears COMP TOP DET Petul(-ENC) comes(-ENC)
'It appears that Petul is coming.'

What is really interesting about this is that this Tzotzil construction (according to Aissen, the same analysis extends to Jakalteq topics) share several properties with Left Dislocation and HTLD, like the violation of islands or the possibility of having no link in the clause. We'll turn to these properties below.

IV) *Word order of dislocates:*

Obviously, if HTLD is not iterative, the issue of the word order of dislocates doesn't arise. Note, however, that this issue is certainly relevant for Escobar (1995), which assumes the iterative of HTLD. Nonetheless, she pays no attention to it.

V) *There must be a resumptive element:*

HTLD requires an element within the clause resuming the left dislocate. However, unlike CLLD, the resumptive element needs not be a clitic: it can also be a strong pronoun, or an anaphoric phrase. Note:

- (108) Tothom diu meravelles de la Carme, ...
'Everybody says wonderful things about Carme, ...'
- a. *la Maria*, en canvi, tothom *en* parla malament.
the Maria in change everybody of.it talks badly
'Maria, instead, everybody talks badly of her.'

- b. *la Maria, en canvi, tothom parla malament d'ella.*
the Maria in change everybody talks badly of-she
'Maria, instead, everybody talks badly of her.'
- c. *la Maria, en canvi, tothom parla malament d'aquella mala peça.*
the Maria in change everybody talks badly of-that bad piece
'Maria, instead, everybody talks badly about that bad egg.'

Similar examples are reported for French, Italian, and Spanish:

- (109) a. *La chasse a l'étudiant, je pense que la police a toujours considéré cette activité comme un sport très agréable. (Hirschbühler 1975)*
'Student hunting, I think the police have always considered that activity as a pleasant sport.'
- b. *Paul, j'ai vu cet idiot au café hier. (Larsson 1979: 46)*
'Paul, I saw this idiot at the café yesterday.'
- (110) a. *Il professor Piva, nessuno può dimenticarlo/dimenticare quell'uomo generoso. (Benincà et al. 1988: ex. 58b)*
'Professor Piva, nobody can discredit him/that generous man.'
- b. *Giorgio, ne hanno parlato bene/hanno parlato bene di lui/hanno parlato bene di quel furbacchione. (Benincà et al. 1988: ex. 60b)*
'Giorgio, they have talked well of him/have talked well of him/have talked well of that slyboots.'
- (111) a. *El ABC ... leo de ello el artículo de primera plana que se suele llamar de fondo. (quoted in Morris 1997: ex. 10)*
'The ABC ... I read from it the front page article which is usually called the leader.'
- b. *María, todavía no le dado nada a ella. (Escobar 1995: 99).*
'María, I haven't yet given anything to her.'

Note, that even though HTLD shows more flexibility on the type of resumptive element than CLLD, it must be related to a syntactic position within the sentence:²²

²² These sentences should not be confused with instances of metalinguistic topics:

- (i) a. *Peix? Ahir vaig menjar llenguado.*
'Fish? Yesterday I ate sole.'

- (112) a. *Peix, ahir vaig menjar llenguado.
 ‘*Fish, yesterday I ate sole.’
 b. *Formatge, m’agrada molt el Cheddar.
 ‘*Cheese, I like Cheddar very much.’

Cf. with the *as for* construction in 2.3.1.

VI) *The dislocate appears to the left of wh-elements but to the right of the complementizer:*

With respect to *wh*-elements, it is clear that HTLD precedes them:

- (113) a. *La Maria, quan hi has parlat?*
 the Maria when LOC have-2 talk
 ‘Maria, when have you talk with her?’
 b. *Aquestes cadires, quant em demanes per elles?*
 these chairs how-much to.me ask-2 by them
 ‘These chairs, how much do you ask me for them?’

The same can be said with respect to left peripheral elements marking root nondeclarative modality, such as yes/no interrogatives or exhortatives:

- (114) a. *La Maria, que n’hem de parlar ara?*
 the Maria Q of.it-have of talk now
 ‘Do we have to talk about Maria?’
 b. *La Maria, que siguis feliç amb ella.*
 the Maria Q that be-SUBJ-2 happy with her
 ‘May you be happy with Maria.’

In this respect there is no difference with respect to CLLD. Note, however, that when HTLD cooccurs with CLLD, HTLD necessarily appears in a leftmost position:

-
- b. Formatge? M’agrada molt el Cheddar.
 ‘Cheese? I like Cheddar very much.’

- (115) a. La Maria₁, d'aquest tema₂ no en₂ parlis amb ella₁.
 the Maria of this subject not of.it talk-SUBJ-2 with her
 'Maria, do not talk with her about this subject.'
- b. *D'aquest tema₂, la Maria₁, no en₂ parlis amb ella₁.
 of this subject the Maria not of.it talk-SUBJ-2 with her

This is exactly what happens in Spanish (exs. from Escobar 1995) and Italian (exs. from Benincà et al. 1988):

- (116) a. Irene, a él se la presentaron el verano pasado.
 'Irene, they introduced her to him last summer.'
- b. Él, a Irene, se la presentaron el verano pasado.
 'Him, they introduced Irene to him last summer.'
- (117) a. Giorgio, quel libro, l'ho dato a lui.
 'Giorgio, I gave that book to him.'
- a'. *Quel libro, Giorgio, l'ho dato a lui.
 'That book, I gave to Giorgio.'
- b. Giorgio, ai nostri amici, non parlo mai di lui.
 'Giorgio, I never talk of him to our friends.'
- b'. *Ai nostri amici, Giorgio, non parlo mai di lui.
 'To our friends, I never talk of Giorgio.'

VII) *There is no connectedness between the dislocate and the resumptive element:*

As happens with Italian HTLD (see Cinque 1983), Catalan HTLD do not show obligatory connectedness with respect to case nor theta role:

- (118) a. La Maria, en canvi, ningú vol tenir-hi res a veure.
 the Maria, in change, nobody wants have-LOC anything to see
 'Maria, instead, nobody wants to get involved with her.'
- b. Aquest llibre, en canvi, vaig haver de fer-ne una ressenya.
 this book, in change, PAST-1 have of make-of.it a review
 'This book, instead, I had to make a review of it.'

The interrogative intonation associated with this kind of topics should suffice to make the difference clear for present purposes. See 2.4.

Cf. the CLLD examples in (34). The same behavior is found in other Romance languages, it has been shown in (83)-(87).²³

With respect to binding relations, I have concluded in 2.1.1 that they are not genuine cases of connectedness. In spite of this, I will discuss them in this paragraph for the sake of reference. Consider first the ill-formedness of HTLD involving an anaphoric phrase —cf. the CLLD examples under (35):²⁴

(119) A: La Maria confia molt en el seus amics.

‘Maria relies on her friends very much.’

B: *Sí, però *ella mateixa*, en canvi, la Maria no *hi* confia gens.

‘Yes, but she doesn’t rely in herself at all.’

(120) A: La Maria parla molt dels seus amics.

‘Maria talks about her friends very much.’

B: *Sí, però *ella mateixa*, en canvi, la Maria no parla *d’ella* mai.

‘Yes, but she never talks about herself.’

The same holds for Spanish (Escobar 1995: 94), and for Modern Greek (Anagnostopoulou 1997: ex. 8, who in the original separates the dislocate by means of ‘#’ instead of a comma):

(121) a. **Sí mismo*, María dice que Juan se engaña.

‘Himself, María says that Juan deceives.’

b. **O eafos tu*, o Janis den *ton* frontizi.

the self_{nom} his_{gen} the Janis not CL_{acc} take-care-3

‘John doesn’t takes care of himself.’

Pay attention now to Principle C violations:²⁵

²³ Fernández Ramírez (1987 [1951]: §112.2) noted this behavior: “El nombre o pronombre anticipado se presenta algunas veces en nominativo, desconectado del régimen: ‘Y tú, lechugo, como te encuentre otra vez aparejado con esa pánfila, *te* desorejo’ (ARNICHES, *El padre Pitillo*, I, I).”

²⁴ The judgments are valid for the relevant reading marked by means of italics. Both sentences become (marginally) possible if the detached phrase is understood as an emphatic modifier of the embedded subject *la Maria*.

²⁵ Balari (1998: ex. 90) considers the opposite situation, namely Strong Crossover and offers the following example:

(i) a. *A Juan₁, él₁ dijo que no lo₁ ayudarías.
To Juan, he said that you would not help

- (122) a. *Ell*_{1/*2}, en canvi, en Pere₂ creu que no *li*₁ diran res a *aquell ximple*.
 him in change the Pere thinks that not to.him/her say-FUT-3PL anything to
 that fool
 ‘Him, Pere thinks that they will say nothing to that fool.’
- b. *Ella*_{1/*2}, en canvi, la Maria₂ sospitava que no *hi* volien parlar.
 her the Maria suspected that not LOC wanted-3PL talk
 ‘Her, Maria suspected that they didn’t want to talk with her.’

The HTLDeD pronoun cannot be coreferent with the matrix subject. It seems that the crucial aspect is c-command: since no case connectedness is necessary, the bare pronoun binds the name in subject position, which results in a Principle C violation (cf. with the equivalent CLLD sentences under (39), where the obligatory presence of the preposition makes c-command impossible).²⁶ Obviously, that amounts to saying that reconstruction doesn’t apply, which is coherent with the fact that when a place to get reconstructed is available, reconstruction would force a violation of case and theta role selection.

VIII) *The relation between the dislocate and the clitic is not subject to (strong) island constraints*

The following examples show that HTLD is immune to strong island boundaries, marked by means of braces (cf. the CLLD examples in (41) before):

-
- b. *Juan*₁, *él*₁ dijo que no *lo*₁ ayudarías.
 Juan, he said that you would not help him

The contrast with respect to strong crossover effects is certainly clear, which leads Balari to pursue a highly specific analysis we cannot comment here. Anyway, what is really relevant here is that independently of the analysis chosen, the contrast just shown offers no strong evidence for the claim that HTLD violates SCO. In order to do so, we should presuppose an analysis in which the detached *Juan* is linked to the clitic *lo* ‘crossing’ over the strong pronoun *él*. Notwithstanding, as long as HTLD is involved a plausible unproblematic analysis comes to mind, that in which *Juan* is linked to *él*, plus the optional coreference of the clitic. In the latter analysis, no SCO effect is expected, in accordance with the facts.

²⁶ Note that the discourse status of the name makes no difference—in contrast with CLLD—, as the focusing of the subject makes clear:

- (i) a. *Ell*_{1/*2}, és en Pere₂ qui creu que no *li*₁ diran res a *aquell ximple*₁.
 ‘Him, it is Pere who thinks that they will say nothing to that fool.’
- b. *Ella*_{1/*2}, és la Maria₂ qui sospitava que no *hi*₁ volien parlar.
 ‘Her, it is Maria who suspected that they didn’t want to talk with her.’

- (123) a. *Aquest llibre, la Maria va preparar el sopar {i en Pere en va parlar}*.
 this book, the Maria PAST-3 prepare the dinner and the Pere of.it PAST talk
 ‘This book, Maria prepared the dinner and Pere talk about it.’
- b. *Aquest llibre, estic convençut que {llegir-lo} no és fàcil*.
 this book be-1 convinced that read-it not is easy
 ‘This book, I am convinced that read it is not easy.’
- c. *Kant, la Maria va veure {la noia que en parla a la tesi}*.
 Kant the Maria PAST-3 see the girl that of.it talks in the thesis
 ‘Kant, Maria saw the girl who talks about him in her thesis.’
- d. *Kant, haig de fer el sopar {si en Pere en parla}*.
 Kant have-1 of do the dinner if the Pere of.it talks
 ‘Kant, I have to prepare dinner if Pere talks about it.’
- e. *Kant, la Maria va obtenir el títol de filosofia {sense llegir-lo}*.
 Kant the Maria PAST-3 obtained the title of philosophy without read-it
 ‘Kant, Maria got a philosophy BA without reading it.’

(123)a = Coordinate Structure Constraint

(123)b = Sentential Subject Constraint

(123)c-d = Complex NP Constraint

(123)e-f = adjunct island

The same behavior is reported in other languages:

Italian, Cinque (1977):

- (124) a. *Giorgio, ieri ho conosciuto {la ragazza che gli ha scritto quelle insolenze}*.
 ‘Giorgio, yesterday I met the girl who wrote those insolent words to him.’
- b. *Quel libro, mi sono seduto in poltrona {e ne ho letta una metà, ieri}*.
 ‘That book, I sat in the armchair and read half of it yesterday.’
- c. *Giorgio, {che tu gli abbia scritto} vuol dire che sei ancora innamorata*.
 ‘Giorgio, that you wrote to him means that you’re still in love.’

French, Cinque (1977):

- (125) a. *Georges, j’ai connu {la fille qui lui a écrit hier}*.
 ‘Giorgio, I met the girl who wrote to him yesterday.’

- b. *Ce livre, hier j'avais le temps {et j'en ai lu la moitié}*.
 'That book, yesterday I had time and read half of it.'
- c. *Notre frère, {le fait que tu n'y penses jamais}, est absurde.*
 'Our brother, the fact that you never think of him is absurd.'

Modern Greek, Anagnostopoulou (1997):

- (126) *I Maria# xtes gnorisa {ton andra pu tin pantreftike}, ke aporo pos tin antexi*
 the Maria yesterday met-1 the man that CL_{acc} married-3 and wonder-1 how
 CL_{acc} stand-3
 'Maria, yesterday I met the man who married her and I wonder how he can
 stand her.'

Spanish, Rivero (1980):

- (127) a. *Juan, {lo que dicen que parece que él quiere estudiar} es la biología.*
 'John, what they say that it seems that he wants to study is biology.'
- b. *Libros, resulta que {alguien que tiene muchos} no quiere ni recibirnos.*
 'Books, it happens that someone who has many does not even want to see
 us.'
- c. *El dinero, acepto {la pretensión de que lo tienen ya}.*
 'The money, I accept the pretension that they have it already.'

2.2.2. Interpretive properties

In order to set the issue, let us begin with the succinct description offered in Cinque (1983:95): "In HTLD the lefthand phrase is used to bring up or shift attention to a new or unexpected topic."²⁷ He provides us with the following context:

- (128) [A friend of two brothers recalling childhood with one of them]

In those days I remember you would eat only occasionally and unwillingly...
Tuo fratello, invece, lui si che aveva sempre fame.
 your brother however him yes that (he.)was always hungry

²⁷ This is in essence the description that Rodman (1977: 33) makes of Left Dislocation, the Germanic counterpart of HTLD: "it is quite unnatural to left dislocate an established topic, since left dislocation is a *topic establishing* or *thematizing* operation." He offers the following contrast:

- (i) A: What can you tell me about John?
 B: a. John, Mary kissed.
 b. *John, Mary kissed him.

Bartra (1985: 821) holds a similar opinion: “A les frases *Dislocades a l'esquerra amb Tema penjat* [=HTLD], el sintagma penjat introdueix un tema nou en el discurs normalment contrastiu, ja que s'oposa o contrasta amb el tema que es portava.” Bartra's insight that HTLD introduces a discourse-topic and not a sentence-topic is crucial, since this characterization had already been suggested for English Left Dislocation. See for example, Reinhart (1981: 64): “left dislocation is used to change the current topic of the conversation, and to introduce a new one”.²⁸

Dolci (1986) argues with Cinque that HTLD in Spanish ‘representa una unidad comunicativa nueva que no está presente en la conciencia del oyente, aunque sí podría ser identificada por este último a través de otras informaciones’. He offers examples like the following (Dolci 1986: ch. 2 ex. 30 [translations added, X.V.]):

(129) A: Este año nuestro equipo es muy fuerte. Seguro que vamos a vencer el campeonato.

‘This year our team is very strong. It's for sure we're going to win the championship.’

B: Es verdad; no hay quien nos gane... El Barça... sólo con ése podríamos perder.

‘That's true; there's no one capable of win us. The Barça, only with it could we lose.’

His interpretation is that even though the hanging topic conveys new information, it is indeed identifiable for the hearer. In essence, the speaker makes the presupposition that the hearer knows that *el Barça* is a (football) team, so we are dealing with a poset relation set-member (team in the championship—Barça). The crucial point is that no matter how discourse-new the hanging topic is, it must be somewhat identifiable for the hearer. This is quite the same situation we found in CLLD, cf. 2.1.2. Indeed, the hanging topic needs not be a discourse-new referent (Dolci 1986: ch. 2 ex. 33 [translations added, X.V.]):

²⁸ Aissen (1992) makes the similar point regarding Mayan languages: “The topic construction in Tzotzil [equivalent to HTLD, X.V.] does not lend itself to a logical characterization. It is used to turn the attention of the hearer to some identifiable participant in the discourse, and then to assert something of that participant. This participant is the ‘topic’ of the current stretch of discourse, until some other participant is introduced as topic.” (Aissen 1990: 50). A similar point is made by Escobar (1995) with respect to Spanish.

(130) A: [¿]Sabes que a Juan le han dado cien mil pesetas de parte de Jordi?
'Do you know that Juan has been given one hundred thousand pesetas from Jordi?'

B: Jordi; yo estaba seguro que de él no se habría sacado ni un duro.
'Jordi, I was sure that we wouldn't have obtained anything from him.'

This seems to be a quite accurate description of Catalan facts as well. Consider:

(131) A: [...] De fet la literatura entra a l'editorial a partir del nou periodisme, de Bukowski i de Copi. I marcarà la segona etapa.

'Indeed the literature comes into the publishing house from the new journalism, by Bukowski, and by Copi. And it will mark its second period.'

B: *El Copi, la seva vinguda a Barcelona, ¿te'n recordes?* (El País, Quadern, 1/7/99, 2)

'Copi, his coming to Barcelona, do you remember it?'

Here the topic changes from *literatura* 'literature' to *Copi* and *la seva vinguda a Barcelona* 'his coming to Barcelona'. Observe also, the following example from Bartra (1985: 821)

(132) El teu germà, (en canvi,) ell sí que menjava molt.

'Your brother, (instead,) he certainly used to eat a lot.'

The bracketed hedge *en canvi* 'instead', makes explicit the contrast associated with HTLD: this sentence can only be adequate in a context where a previous nonnull set of persons has been introduced.²⁹ We can imagine a dialogue like

(133) A: Em recordo dels meus pares, que menjaven com ocellets.

'I remember of my parents, who ate like little birds.'

²⁹ Dolci (1986: 111 n 23) also notes this contrastive character: "Hemos visto que un hablante utiliza una DITS [dislocación a la izquierda con tema suspenso, i.e. HTLD; X. V.] para introducir o enfatizar un elemento. En muchos casos este elemento representa una alternativa o está en contraste con otro

B: El teu germà, (en canvi,) ell sí que menjava molt.

'Your brother, (instead,) he certainly used to eat a lot.'

So then, even though the referent introduced by HTLD is a new topic, it stands in a relation with a previous discourse element. The kind of relation is familiar to us: a partial ordered set (poset) relation. That something along these lines may be correct is confirmed by the awkwardness of the following dialogue (see Prince 1998):

(134) A: Es menja molt bé en aquest restaurant.

'You eat very well in this restaurant.'

B: #Els preus, però, me n'han parlat malament.

'Prices, however, they have talked badly of them.'

Prince argues that even though a functional relation holds between *restaurant* 'restaurant' and *preus* 'prices', it cannot be described as a poset, hence the strangeness. Consider other similar examples:

(135) a. En aquest restaurant serveixen la millor cuina francesa de la ciutat. #Els cambrers, però, no cal que hi parlis en francès.

'In this restaurant they serve the best French cuisine in the city. The waiters, however, you don't have to speak French with them.'

b. El llibre que em vas regalar em va agradar molt: una novel·la excel·lent. #Però l'edició, l'editorial no s'hi va gastar massa diners.

'I liked very much the book you gave me: an excellent novel. However, the edition, the publisher didn't waste too much money in it.'

c. La policia sospita que algú de dintre va calar foc a l'edifici. #Els veïns, però, és difícil parlar amb ells per culpa dels nervis.

'The police has the suspicion that someone from inside burned the building. The neighbors, however, it is difficult to talk with them because of the nerves.'

elemento introducido anteriormente. (...) además, este contraste está enfatizado por expresiones como *en cambio*, *por el contrario* y otras parecidas."

Once we have arrived at this point, a question seems unavoidable: does the description offered so far have any correlate in the more semantic side, along the lines suggested in 2.1.2 for CLLD? Namely, which is the contribution of HTLD to the semantic partition of the sentence? This is not an easy question to ask. Intuitively, since HTLD introduces a new discourse topic, we expect it should reduce the domain of referents available for quantifiers to quantify over. In this respect, no differences are expected with respect to CLLD. Consider:

(136) [La Maria parla de sexe amb en Lluís.]

‘Maria talks about sex with Lluís.’

a. El futbol, en canvi, la Maria generalment parla d’aquella merda [_F amb la Carme].

‘Football, instead, Maria usually talks about that shit WITH CARME.’

a’. [_{operator} usually], [_{restriction} Maria talks about football with someone], [_{nuclear scope} Maria talks about football with Carme]

b. La Carme, en canvi, la Maria generalment hi parla [_F de futbol].

‘Carme, instead, Maria usually talks about with her ABOUT FOOTBALL.’

b’. [_{operator} usually], [_{restriction} Maria talks with Carme about something], [_{nuclear scope} she talks with Carme about football]

These sentences are not truth-conditionally equivalent. Take a situation in which Maria talks with Carme six times, the subject being football in four occasions and baseball in two, but she talks with another person, say Rosa, ten times, always about football. In such a situation, (136)a, which is asserting that Maria’s main interlocutor for talking about football is Carme, is false, but (136)b, which is asserting that the main subject of Maria’s talks with Carme is football, is true. This effect is not different from the one found in CLLD (see 2.1.2). The issue is however complex enough to deserve a more detailed study than the one I can offer here.

With respect to the kind of NPs admitted in HTLD, no difference is found with definites with respect to CLLD. Definites and proper names are the best candidates, as the examples in this section and a brief survey to the literature show. However, as happened with CLLD, nonreferential definites cannot appear in HTLD, as is the case of quantificational superlatives:

(137) A: En Pere és molt modest.

'Pere is very modest.'

B: *Ah sí? Doncs, *la més petita crítica*, m'han dit que no *en* vol sentir a parlar.

'Oh really? Well, I've been told that she doesn't want to heard about any criticism.'

(138) A: Aquesta empresa contracta personal molt qualificat.

'This company hires very qualified personnel.'

B: *Ah sí? No obstant això, *el millor programador de tots*, tinc la sospita que no *li* oferirien feina.

'Oh really? However, the best programmer of all, I have the suspicion that they wouldn't offer him a job.'

Finally, we do have definites including referentially dependent elements, like *altre*, *diferent*, *mateix* (see Culicover & Jackendoff 1995):

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

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

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

well the books of-a other I not of.it talk-1 never at class

'Well, I never talk about someone else's books at class.'

(140) A: M'he comprat una màquina de fer fotos Leica.

'I've bought a Leica camera.'

B: **La mateixa màquina de fer fotos*, m'*hi* vaig fixar ahir.

the same machine of make fotos to.me-LOC PAST-1 pay.attention yesterday

'The same camera, I pay attention to it yesterday.'

As for indefinites, HTLD is extremely more restricted than CLLD. Generic NPs, for example, sound quite odd in the HTLD construction:

(141) a. *Un bon llibre, en canvi, la gent en pot parlar amb interès. [HTLD]

- a'. D'un bon llibre, en canvi, la gent en pot parlar amb interès. [CLLD]
 'A good book, instead, the people can talk about it with concern.'
- b. *Un bon metge, en canvi, la gent hi confia cegament. [HTLD]
- b'. En un bon metge, en canvi, la gent hi confia cegament. [CLLD]
 'A good doctor, instead, the people trusts him blindly.'

NPs denoting subkinds do not do any better:

- (142) a. *Un metge així, és millor parlar-hi abans.
 'A doctor like that, it is better talk with him before.'
- b. *Una cervesa tan bona, em sorprèn que ningú parli d'ella.
 'Such a good beer, I am surprised nobody talks about it.'

2.2.3. Summary

In this section I have offered a description of the main syntactic and interpretive properties of HTLD. Syntactically, HTLD is restricted to NPs, it appears once by sentence, and it is mainly restricted to root contexts; furthermore, it needs not be resumed by a clitic (a strong pronoun or an epithet can do the job), and shows neither connectedness nor island-sensitivity, a bulk of properties that place this construction closer to anaphoric discourse relations than to syntactic ones. From the interpretive point of view, HTLD has been shown to introduce a new discourse topic in contrast to the previous one.

2.3. The *as for* construction

Consider the following dialogue:

- (143) A: M'agrada molt aquest CD. I aquest llibre també. On els has comprat?
 'I like this CD very much. And this book too. Where did you buy them?'
- B: El CD me'l va regalar la Maria. *Pel que fa al llibre, l'he comprat a Can Viader.*
 'The CD, Maria gave to me. As for the book, I have bought it at Can Viader.'

This is the so-called *as for* construction. There is a long discussion concerning the proper treatment of this construction, specifically whether it has to be analyzed together with left dislocation or rather as an independent construction. This construction is not included in Ross' (1967) description of English left dislocation. The first attempt to assimilate both constructions I have notice of is that of Postal (1971: 136), who tentatively suggests that Left Dislocation may be a reduction of the *as for* construction —whose origins, he recognizes, are unclear. Later on, both Rodman (1977) and Chomsky (1977) went a step further and simply assimilated both constructions.³⁰ Even though not always inspired by these works, the Spanish linguistics literature, do not trace a distinction between topic constructions. This is the case of scholars like Contreras (1983) or Hernanz & Brucart (1987), which fail to make a proper distinction between CLLD, HTLD, and the *as for* construction. Rivero (1980), Dolci (1986) and Escobar (1995) distinguish between CLLD and HTLD, but they include the *as for* construction under the latter. Contreras (1986) makes an interesting distinction between external and internal topics. The former seems to correspond to the *as for* construction:

- (144) a. En cuanto a los estudiantes, Marta es mi mejor alumna.
 'As for the students, Martha is my best pupil.'
 b. En cuanto al desayuno, quiero café con leche.
 'As for breakfast, I want coffee with milk.'

However, when internal topics are closely examined, it becomes clear that he bases his distinction on the presence of a resumptive element within the sentence:

- (145) a. (En cuanto a) estudiantes, no creo que vengan.
 '(As for) students, I don't think they will come.'

³⁰ Within the descriptive approach we found in Quirk grammar (to use David Crystal's convenient term for referring to *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* by Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik and the bulk of work deriving from it), the *as for* construction is considered an instance of adverbial modification, specifically, a sentence adjunct of respect. In Greenbaum & Quirk (1990: § 8.29) these adverbials are "adjuncts that express the respect in which the truth value of a sentence is being claimed." This definition is very close in spirit to that of topics building up in Strawson (1964), and developed in Reinhart (1981) and more recently in Erteschik-Shir (1997).

Fernández Ramírez (1987 [1951]), a remarkable reference in the Spanish descriptive tradition, do not consider the *as for* when analyzing anaphoric anticipation (his equivalent for our CLLD and HTLD).

- b. (En cuanto a) café, no creo que haya.
 ‘(As for) coffee, I don’t think there is (any).’

I will depart from Contreras, and I will consider that in (145) we are not dealing with a unique phenomenon, but rather with two or even three constructions: CLLD, HTLD and the *as for* construction. Dolci (1986) is devoted to topic fronting structures in Spanish; however, little attention is paid to the *as for* construction, which the author includes within the HTLD label. Finally, Gutiérrez Ordóñez (1997: ch. IV) seems to be an exception, since he draws a distinction between *tópico* ‘topic’ and *soporte* ‘support’, the former being the element with respect to which the sentence is evaluated (i.e. Reinhart’s ‘sentence topic’ or ‘about topic’), the latter being just old information (akin to the notion ‘topic’ of the Prague School). However, his topic function subsumes CLLD, HTLD, and the *as for* construction. So then, no clear distinction is drawn between these constructions in the Spanish linguistics literature (I concentrate on Spanish, for this construction has received very little attention in Catalan: I only have notice of one reference, Solà (1990:103), where it is analyzed as a mere variant of CLLD).

In contrast with the approaches subsuming the *as for* construction under the heading of LD/HTLD, several authors have provided arguments for a non-unifying analysis. Larsson (1979:41-42) shows the difficulties for a unified analysis of both constructions in French. She concludes that they are two different constructions and shows a clear difference between them: the *as for* construction doesn’t need a resumptive element within the core of the sentence, whereas left dislocation does. Larsson compares the English sentence from Rodman (1977) with their French translations:

- (146) a. (As for) the flat tire, John explained that there had been nails on the ground.
 b. Quant au pneu crevé, Jean a expliqué qu’il y avait eu des clous par terre.
 c. *Le pneu crevé, Jean a expliqué qu’il y avait eu des clous par terre.

Along the same lines, Lasnik (1989 [1986]: 156) argues that “contrary to the proposal of Chomsky (1977), Left Dislocation and the ‘as for’ construction must be kept distinct”, a position emphatically argued for in Lasnik & Saito (1992:193 fn. 6).

With respect to Italian it is quite significant that Benincà et al. (1988) do not include the *as for* construction under their study of HTLD. These differences are found in Catalan as well, as will be shown in the following paragraphs.

2.3.1. Syntactic properties

I) *It affects NPs only:*

- (147) a. Pel que fa a [NP la Maria], és millor deixar-la sola.
'As for Maria, it is better let her alone.'
- b. *Pel que fa a [PP sense sucre], el cafè és millor ben dolç.
'*As for without sugar, coffee is better very sweet.'
- c. Pel que fa a [NP fredor]/[NP temperatura]/*[AP fred], el vi blanc s'ha de prendre a 6 o 8 graus.
'As for coldness/temperature/*cold, white wine must be drunk at 6 or 8 degrees.'

II) *It is not iterative:*

- (148) a. *Parlant de peix, pel que fa al vi, ahir vaig menjar llenguado amb un bon chardonnay.
'*Speaking about fish, as for the wine yesterday I ate sole with a good chardonnay.'
- b. *Pel que fa al formatge, parlant de vi, el Camembert demana un Merlot.
'*As for cheese, speaking about wine, Camembert demands a Merlot.'

As far as I can tell, this is exactly what happens in Spanish, even though no clear description of the facts has been carried on. Take for example Contreras (1983: 99). This scholar argues that the rule assigning the [topic] feature may apply to more than one element, but his example of this claim is not a sentence with two topics, but rather one with a coordinated topic (which is far from being a perfect sentence):

- (149) En cuanto al dictador y al pueblo, éste repudia a aquél.
lit. 'As for the tyrant and the people, this repudiates that.'

In the same vein, Gutiérrez Ordóñez (1997: 51), who takes both the *as for* construction and CLLD (and HTLD) to be topics, argues that more than one topic may appear by sentence. However, his examples may be analyzed as instances of multiple CLLD:

- (150) a. Juan, el dinero, a su mujer, se lo envía por giro postal.
 ‘Juan sends the money to his wife by money order.’
 b. Ese chisme, ayer, a tu madre, se lo contó la vecina.
 ‘Yesterday the neighbor told this gossip to your mother.’

It seems thus quite clear that the *as for* construction is not iterative.³¹

III) *It occurs in both root and embedded contexts:*

- (151) a. Tothom sap que, pel que fa al vi, m’agrada molt el chardonnay.
 ‘Everybody knows that, as for the wine, I like chardonnay very much.’
 b. Ja saps que, pel que fa al formatge, no faig escarafalls a un bon
 Camembert.
 ‘You know that, as for cheese, I do not make a fuss to a good Camembert.’
 c. Ella s’estima més que, pel que fa al Joan, sigui el doctor qui *hi* parli/parli
 amb ell.
 lit. ‘She prefers that with respect to Joan the doctor talk with him.’
 d. Ella pretenia que, pel que fa al Joan, fos el doctor qui *hi* hagués de parlar.
 lit. ‘She pretended that with respect to Joan it was the doctor who should
 talk with him.’

³¹ The only discordant note in this unanimous landscape that I have found is the following example from Chomsky (1977: ex. 68):

- (i) As for John, as far as this book is concerned, he will definitely have to read it.

Note, however, Chomsky’s own evaluation just following: “[i]f such structures are to be permitted, the rule of predication will have to be extended in an obvious way.” [emphasis added, X.V.] This example is adduced in Escobar (1995: 88f) —without mentioning Chomsky’s proviso— as evidence against Cinque’s claim that HTLD is not iterative. Obviously, Escobar is mixing HTLD with the *as for* construction, an unwarranted move given the evidence provided in this section. In any case, leaving this important fact aside, the Catalan and Spanish literal versions of (i) are bad altogether. This confirmed —unintentionally— by Escobar when she translates Chomsky’s example to Spanish:

- (ii) Juan, con respecto a este libro, el tendrá que leerlo.

Note that she doesn’t iterate an *as for* phrase, but resorts to HTLD plus the *as for* construction.

However, this doesn't extend to all the cases, and the degree of acceptability varies from one sentence to another, with minimal variations:

- (152) a. *Ella s'estima més que, pel que fa al Joan, el doctor *hi* parli/parli *amb ell*.
lit. 'She prefers that with respect to Joan the doctor talk with him.'
- b. *Ella diu que, pel que fa al Joan, el doctor *hi* parli/parli *amb ell*.
lit. 'She says that with respect to Joan the doctor talk with him.'
- c. ?Ella confia que, pel que fa al Joan, no hagi de parlar *amb ell*.
lit. 'She relies that with respect to Joan she mustn't talk with him.'
- d. ??No sabia, pel que fa a formatge, quin era el que li agradava.
lit. 'I didn't know, as for cheese, which was the one that he liked.'
- e. ??No m'imagino, pel que fa a formatge, on compra aquest Cheddar deliciós.
lit. 'I don't imagine, as for cheese, where (s)he buys such a delicious Cheddar.'
- f. Ella no sap, pel que fa al Joan, qui hi voldrà parlar/*hi*/voldrà parlar *amb ell*.
lit. 'She doesn't know, as for Joan, who that with respect to Joan the doctor talk with him.'
- g. Ella no recordava, pel que fa al llibre, on podia trobar-lo.
lit. 'She didn't remember as for the book, where she could find it.'

Note that the range of contexts is wider than that of HTLD, which may only (marginally) appear within sentences selected by verbs of reported speech. Indeed, this property seems to be at the basis of Escobar (1995) claim that HTLD may appear in embedded contexts. Consider her examples:

- (153) a. ??/*Ella prefiere que Luis, el médico lo examine.
'She prefers that the doctor check Luis.'
- b. Ella prefiere que... en cuanto a Luis... que el médico lo examine.
'She prefers that the doctor check Luis.'
- c. Ella dice que... en cuanto a Luis... que el médico lo examina.
'She says that the doctor checks Luis.'
- d. No sé este libro quién lo podría reseñar para mañana.
'I don't know who could review this book for tomorrow.'

IV) *There need not be a resumptive element:*

This is the main distinctive syntactic property of the *as for* construction, a fact observed by many authors (see Chomsky 1977, Kuno 1973: ch. 3, Larsson 1979: 41-42, Lasnik 1986: exs. 38-39):

(154) a. *Sports, I like baseball best.

b. As for sports, I like baseball best.

(155) a. (As for) the flat tire, John explained that there had been nails on the ground.

b. Quant au pneu crevé, Jean a expliqué qu'il y avait eu des clous par terre.

c. *Le pneu crevé, Jean a expliqué qu'il y avait eu des clous par terre.

The conclusion these scholars arrive at is that whereas left dislocation involves a relation of predication, requiring hence a link to an open sentence, the *as for* construction involves a different relation (one of 'relevance' for Lasnik 1986), which doesn't require an open sentence. This helps us to establish a difference between this construction and HTLD in Catalan. As a rule, HTLD requires a resumptive element, whereas the *as for* construction doesn't:³²

(156) a. *Peix, ahir vaig menjar llenguado.

'Fish, yesterday I ate sole.'

b. *Formatge, m'agrada molt el Cheddar.

'Cheese, I like Cheddar very much.'

(157) a. Parlant de peix, ahir vaig menjar llenguado.

'Speaking about fish, yesterday I ate sole.'

b. Pel que fa al formatge, m'agrada molt el Cheddar.

'As for cheese, I like Cheddar very much.'

This is valid for Spanish as well:

³² This construction is thus the equivalent of the kind of loose topics found in languages like Japanese:

(i) *Sakana-wa tai-ga oisii.* (Japanese; Kuno 1973)
fish-TOP red snapper-SUBJ delicious-is
'Speaking of fish, red snapper is the most delicious.'

(158) a. En cuanto a París, la Torre Eiffel es realmente espectacular. (Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1997: 52)

‘As for Paris, Tour Eiffel is really spectacular.’

b. En cuanto a la violencia callejera, hay que reformar el Código Penal. (Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1997: 52)

‘As for street violence, the Penal Code must be reformed.’

VI) *The dislocate appears to the left of wh-elements but to the right of the complementizer:*

We have already seen examples with the *as for* phrase to the left of a finite complementizer or to the right of a *wh*-element, e.g. (151). With respect to the latter case, we find the same pattern in root contexts:

(159) a. Parlant de peix, qui va menjar llenguado?

‘Speaking about fish, who ate sole?’

b. Pel que fa al formatge, a qui li agrada el Cheddar?

‘As for cheese, who likes Cheddar?’

In the case of interrogatives introduced by *que* ‘that’, the *as for* phrase surfaces to its left:

(160) a. Parlant de peix, que menjaràs llenguado?

‘Speaking about fish, will you eat sole?’

b. Pel que fa al formatge, que li agrada el Cheddar?

‘As for cheese, does he like Cheddar?’

VII) *There is no obligatory connectedness between the dislocate and the resumptive element:*

As happens with HTLD (see 2.2.1), the *as for* construction do not show obligatory connectedness with respect to case nor theta role (indeed, there are a lot of cases where the *as for* phrase doesn’t even occupy a position in the sentence it accompanies, as we have just shown in paragraph IV) above):

- (161) a. Pel que fa a la Maria, ningú vol tenir-hi res a veure.
 ‘As for Maria, nobody wants to get involved with her.’
 b. Pel que fa a la Maria, ningú la vol veure.
 ‘As for Maria, nobody wants to see her.’

Here binding effects are even more clearly inadequate tests for connectedness than were in the case of CLLD or HTLD. Indeed, the presence of the *as for* phrase doesn’t seem to have any paper in the binding relations within the sentence:

- (162) A: Ahir vaig veure el teu cunyat...
 ‘Yesterday I saw your brother-in-law
 B: a. Parlant d’ell₁, pro₁ troba que en Pere_{*1/2} és el millor.
 ‘Speaking of him₁, he₁ finds that Pere_{*1/2} is the best.’
 b. *Parlant d’ell₁, pro₂ troba que en Pere_{1/2} és el millor.
 ‘Speaking of him₁, Pere₁ finds that you don’t pay him_{1/*2} enough attention.’

The suppression of *parlant d’ell* ‘speaking of him’ do not change binding relations:

- (163) Ahir vaig veure el teu cunyat₁ ...
 ‘Yesterday I saw your brother-in-law₁ ...’
 a. i, per cert, pro₁ troba que en Pere_{*1/2} és el millor.
 ‘and, by the way, he₁ finds that Pere_{*1/2} is the best.’
 b. *i per cert, pro₂ troba que en Pere_{1/2} és el millor.
 ‘and, by the way, he₂ finds that Pere_{1/2} is the best.’

VIII) *The relation between the dislocate and the clitic is not subject to island constraints:*

Contemplate the following sentences, where the islands are conventionally marked by braces:

- (164) a. Pel que fa a la Maria, {dir que aquella idiota és capaç de fer-ho} és una bestiesa.
 ‘As for Maria, to say that fool is capable of doing is nonsense.’

- b. Pel que fa al llibre, {quan l'hagis acabat}, et convidaré a sopar.

'As for the book, when you'd finished it, I will invite you to dinner.'

Testing whether the relation between the *as for* phrase and the element to which it relates within a sentence respects islandhood is somewhat difficult. We have noted that one of the main properties of this construction is allowing a quite loose aboutness relation without any syntactic link. Given this, we can always question whether there is a genuine island violation or rather an aboutness relation with the main sentence. I think, however, that such a doubt is groundless in this case: a kind of relation between the *as for* phrase and a sentence within the island is necessary for the utterance to be felicitous:

- (165) a. #Pel que fa a la Maria, {portar vi} és una bestiesa.

'As for Maria, to bring wine is nonsense.'

- b. #Pel que fa al llibre, {quan tinguis temps}, et convidaré a sopar.

'As for the book, when you have time, I will invite you to dinner.'

As the change of the sentences make it clear, the *as for* phrase cannot be predicated of the main sentence. So then, it must be concluded that (164) are genuine violations of strong islands. Obviously, this is by no means surprising if the *as for* construction is a discourse phenomenon and hence it is not constrained by syntactic principles.

As a summary, a close examination of the syntactic properties of the *as for* construction shows us that it is inadequate to assimilate it to HTLD. We will arrive to same conclusion on semantic and pragmatic grounds in the following section.

2.3.2. Interpretive properties

The *as for* construction seems particularly suited for realizing the pragmatic notion of 'about topic', as stated in Reinhart (1981). The *as for* phrase introduces the topic that the sentence will be about, which is in contrast with the topic of the preceding sentence. Consider the following dialogue:

- (166) A: Ahir vaig veure el teu cunyat i la seva mare.

'Yesterday I saw your brother-in-law and his mother.'

- B: Mira, aquella pobra dona me l'estimo molt, però pel que fa al meu cunyat, hi ha coses que no les puc tolerar.
 'Look, that poor woman, I appreciate much, but as for my brother in law, there are things that I cannot stand.'

The *as for* phrase functions as an indication of the correct way to process the assertion denoted by the sentence. In other words, we are indicating the hearer that the information s/he is going to receive should be oriented toward, or relativized with respect to, the brother-in-law. Normally, this topic is a referent previously introduced in the discourse or at least easily inferrable:

(167) A: A veure, quin problema té aquesta novel·la?

'Let's see, what's the matter with this novel?'

B: Doncs miri, pel que fa a la trama, trobo que és avorrida, pel que fa als personatges, crec que són massa plans, i pel que fa a la llengua, no en té ni idea.

'Well, look, as for the plot, I find it boring, as for the characters, I think they are too much flat, and as for the language, s/he has no idea.'

Note that the three topics in B's utterance are linked to the previous utterance by means of a whole-part relation ('a novel includes a plot, characters, and language'). This is precisely one of the poset relations that licensed CLLD and HTLD, so it seems that the same account would extend to the *as for* construction as well.³³

³³ As happened with HTLD, the *as for* phrase doesn't easily admit a generic indefinite phrase like the one we have in *Un tigre sempre és un animal perillós* 'A tiger is always a dangerous animal' (see Reinhart 1981: fn 6 for a similar observation regarding English):

- (i) He estudiat els felins durant anys i pel que fa al tigre/#pel que fa a un tigre, penso que sempre és un animal perillós.
 'I have studied felines for years and as for the tiger/#as for a tiger, I think it is always a dangerous animal.'

Erteschik-Shir (1997:53-4) suggests that the factor underlying such a behavior is the focused character of the *as for* phrase itself. According to her, focused singular indefinites do not get a generic reading but only an existential one. Her claim seems sound in view of contrasts like

- (ii) a. Un peruà és intel·ligent
 'A Peruvian is intelligent.'
 b. *És intel·ligent un peruà.
 '?A PERUVIAN is intelligent.'

Furthermore, the last-mentioned dialogue illustrates another feature of the *as for* construction: its function as a topic-shift mechanism. This construction cannot be an out-of-the-blue utterance or an answer to a question:

(168) A: On has comprat el llibre?

‘Where have you bought the book?’

B: a. #*Pel que fa al llibre, l’he comprat a Can Viader.*

‘#As for the book, I have bought it at Can Viader.’

b. #*Respecte al llibre, l’he comprat a Can Viader.*

‘#Regarding the book, I have bought it at Can Viader.’

As for phrases must be members of a set under discussion. For example, in (167), they were members of the set {elements of a novel}. In this respect, a clear contrast exists with CLLD, as we have seen in 2.1.2.

To wind up this section, let us briefly consider the *as for* construction from a more semantic point of view. Given the previous description, it is expected to pattern with CLLD and HTLD with respect to the semantic partition of the sentence. The data, even though subtle, seem to confirm this:

(169) [La Maria parla de sexe amb en Lluís.]

‘Maria talks about sex with Lluís.’

a. *Pel que fa al futbol, la Maria generalment en parla* [_F amb la Carme].

‘As for football, Maria usually talks about it WITH CARME.’

a’. [_{operator} usually], [_{restriction} Maria talks about football with someone], [_{nuclear scope} Maria talks about football with Carme]

b. *Pel que fa a la Carme, la Maria generalment hi parla* [_F de futbol].

‘As for Carme, Maria usually talks about with her ABOUT FOOTBALL.’

(iib) is impossible with a generic reading, even as an answer to the question *Which people is intelligent?* So then, I think Erteschik-Shir is correct in claiming that a possible connection exists between focus and the generic reading of indefinites. Nonetheless, as it stands, her claim is untenable, for the same behavior is reproduced in CLRD (see 3.1.2):

(iii) A: *La Maria coneix molts peruans prefereixen el vi negre a la cervesa.*

‘Maria knows many Peruvians that prefer red wine to beer.’

B: *I és clar. #És intel·ligent, un peruà.*

‘Of course. A Peruvian is intelligent.’

Here we cannot say that the CLRDed element is in focus. It seems thus that much research is needed.

- b'. [_{operator} usually], [_{restriction} Maria talks with Carme about something], [_{nuclear scope} she talks with Carme about football]

As happened with CLLD and HTLD, these sentences are not truth-conditionally equivalent. Given a situation in which Maria talks with Carme six times —the subject being football in four occasions and baseball in two— but she talks with another person, say Rosa, ten times, always about football, (136)a is false, but (136)b true. This effect is even clearer with the *as for* construction that were with CLLD or HTLD, for one thing: it is an explicit mark for the speaker to evaluate the validity of the information conveyed by the sentence under the light of the referent of the *as for* phrase. The issue is however complex enough to deserve a more detailed study than the outline offered here.

2.3.3. Summary

The main purpose of this section has been defending the differentiated character of the *as for* construction, which in many works has been dispensed with under the label of HTLD (or Left Dislocation). I have tried to show that a much better understanding of both constructions follow keeping them apart. As to its syntactic properties, the *as for* construction has been characterized as follows. First of all, it is restricted to just one NP, which needs not be represented in the sentence. If such a resumptive element is present —a clitic or strong pronoun or an epithet—, the *as for* phrase doesn't respect connectedness nor islands constraints. Finally, this construction has been shown to appear both in root and embedded contexts, with several degrees of acceptability. With respect to its interpretive properties, the *as for* construction introduces the about-topic, namely the standpoint on which the content of sentence must be evaluated. Furthermore, this standpoint must be in contrast with a previously mentioned one. Finally, the contribution of this construction to the Topic-Focus Articulation of sentence has proved to be basically identical to that of CLLD or HTLD, namely it restricts the domain of quantification of the sentence.

2.4. Metalinguistic topics

Among the topic constructions investigated in the literature, there is one that has gone unnoticed, usually considered just an instance of HTLD or CLLD:

(170) *De la Maria* (dius)? Doncs bé, ahir vaig parlar *d'ella*.

'About Maria (you say)? Well, yesterday I talked about her.'

However, after a close examination, I think there is evidence enough to consider the sentence under question is not a case of HTLD, but a different construction.³⁴ Unlike I did with CLLD, HTLD, and the *as for* construction, I will not attempt here an exhaustive description of the properties of this construction. This would take us far afield from the Cartesian plan that has guided this chapter. Instead, I will offer a rather impressionistic description of its differences with respect to HTLD, which, for the time being, will suffice to make sure no confusion between both constructions arise.

Note that this construction is only possible with an interrogative intonation and a very special context like the following:

(171) a. A: *Demà aniré al cine amb la Maria.*

'Tomorrow I am going to the cinema with Maria.'

B: *Amb la Maria* (dius)? Ahir parlàvem d'ella.

with the Maria say-2 yesterday talked-2PL of-her

'With Maria (you say)? We talked about her yesterday.'

b. A: *Aquest noi és el fill de la Maria.*

'This boy is Maria's son.'

³⁴ Confusion between metalinguistic topics and HTLD might come from the sharing of certain properties. For example, like HTLD, metalinguistic topics cannot occur in embedded contexts:

(i) A: He vist la Maria.

'I have seen Maria'

B: **M'han dit que, a la Maria?, demà parlarem d'ella.*

*'I have been said that, Maria?, we will talk about her tomorrow.'

This sentence can only be rescued taking the metalinguistic topic as a parenthetical that breaks the normal development of the sentence:

(ii) A: He vist la Maria.

'I have seen Maria.'

B: *M'han dit que... a la Maria dius? Que estrany. Precisament, demà parlarem d'ella.*

'I have been told that... Maria, you say? How strange. Precisely, we will talk about her tomorrow.'

Here, speaker B begins the sentence without paying attention to A's utterance. Then (s)he breaks the continuity of the sentence inserting a confirmatory question. After this question the utterance must be rearranged in order to maintain coherence. Note however that this construction can hardly be considered together with that in (i), for no clear embedding exists, which leaves the description unaffected.

B: *De la Maria* (dius)? Doncs bé, ahir vaig parlar *amb ella*.
of the Maria say-2 so well yesterday talked-1 with-her
‘Maria’s (you say)? I talked with her yesterday.’

As the example makes clear, the preposition heading the PP is the same that has been literally uttered in the previous stretch of discourse, not the one selected by the verb. It seems that we are dealing here with a quite distinct topic construction, with a strong metalinguistic flavor, so I will label it ‘metalinguistic topic’.³⁵

The necessity of such an extremely marked context seems to be a correlate of the non-referential character of the elements involved. The purpose of such a marked configuration is to introduce a metalinguistic level where the topic can be taken as a discourse referent. It is thus clear that literality is a prerequisite for this construction to take place:

(172) A: Tinc molts amics japonesos.

‘I have many Japanese friends.’

B: #*Del Japó* (dius)? Doncs bé, ahir en parlàvem.

of-the Japan say-2 so well yesterday of.it talked-2PL

‘About Japan (you say)? Well then, we talked about it yesterday.’

³⁵ Ward (1988), and Birner & Ward (1998) describe a quite similar construction in English, which they label ‘echoing’:

- (i) A: I sure wish Newt Gringrich would decide to run for President.
B: Newt Gringich you’d vote for!?

Nevertheless, in spite of the resemblance, the Catalan equivalent of (i) would be something like (ii), rather than a metalinguistic topic like (iii):

- (ii) A: Com m’agradaria que Newt Gringich decidís presentar-se per a president.
B: A Newt Gringich votaries?
(iii) A: Com m’agradaria que Newt Gringich decidís presentar-se per a president.
‘I sure wish Newt Gringrich would decide to run for President.’
B: Newt Gringich (dius)? El votaries?
‘Newt Gringich (you say)? Would you vote for him?’

Moreover, the above mentioned authors consider echoing a kind of focus preposing, rather than a topic construction; even though Birner & Ward (1998: 88) point out that ‘unlike other types of focus preposing, the link of echoing typically represents a poset member that has been explicitly evoked in the prior discourse.’

That the infelicity of this example —unless a strong accommodation effort is made— must be attributed to non-literality becomes clearer if compared with its HTLD counterpart:

(173) A: Tinc molts amics japonesos.

‘I have many Japanese friends.’

B: *El Japó*, ahir en parlàvem.

the Japan yesterday of.it talked-2PL

‘About Japan, we talked about it yesterday.’

Examples of this construction are reported in several languages, usually under the label of CLLD or HTLD. Consider the following examples from French —Larsson (1979: 40 fn. 1)— and Spanish —Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1997: 52—:

(174) a. (Est-ce que tu as vu mon frère?) —Henry? Il y a longtemps que je ne l’ai pas vu.

‘(Have you seen my brother?) —Henry? It’s a long time I haven’t seen him.’

b. (C’est Jean qui fait la cuisine.) —Jean! Il ne cesse pas de m’étonner.

‘It is Jean who cooks. —Jean! He keeps on surprising me.’

(175) ¿Pedro? Precisamente lo vi ayer en el tren.

‘Pedro? Precisely I saw him yesterday in the train.’

Even though a more complete description of this construction would be desirable, I think this brief sketch will suffice to place it in the typology of left-detachments surveyed in this chapter.

2.5. Conclusions

In this chapter, I have shown that (at least) four main topic constructions must be distinguished in the left-periphery of the sentence: Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD), Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD), the *as for* construction, and metalinguistic topics. The first two have been the subject of much work, so it is possible that little effort was actually needed to obtain conviction from the reader about their independent status. Yet, the cross-examination of sections 2.1 and 2.2 has made

available the reader with a systematic presentation of well-known phenomena, but which have been described in a quite fragmentary fashion. The case of the *as for* construction and of metalinguistic topics has been quite distinct, since the literature—with very few exceptions—has failed to trace a proper division between them and HTLD. Each of them has proved to show a differentiated array of properties both from a syntactic and an interpretative standpoint.

APPENDIX. VERBAL LEFT-DETACHMENTS

Two main kinds of verbal left-detachments are found in Catalan and other Romance languages. Observe a typical pair:³⁶

- (176) a. *Menjar prou que ho fa.*
'(S)he sure eats.'
b. *(De) menjar prou que menja.*
'(S)he sure eats.'

Let us briefly set the properties of each construction.³⁷

³⁶ These verbal detachments must be kept apart from detachments of infinitival sentences, which are resumed by the pronominal neuter clitic *ho* 'it':

- (i) a. *Comprar un cotxe, encara no ho he decidit.*
'To buy a car, I haven't decide yet.'
b. *Tenir dues cases, no m'ho puc permetre.*
'To own two houses, I cannot afford.'

This construction is also very common in Spanish:

- (ii) a. *Doler, duele, pero no me quejo.*
'It does hurt, but I don't complain.'
b. *Cansar, sí que cansa, pero hay que hacerlo.*
'It is really tiring, but it must be done.'

³⁷ The best comparison of these constructions is Vallduví (1993), a communication presented at the Second Workshop on the Syntax of Central Romance Languages (Barcelona, 1993). This work will be the guideline of this appendix. Other references worth consulting are Benincà *et al.* (1988: 2.4), for Italian, and García Murga (1999), for Spanish.

A.1. Syntactic properties

A.1.1. The detached element

As Vallduví (1993) shows, the first difference is the nature of the detached element: whereas the former is a VP, the latter is a verbal head. This can easily be tested: only VP-detachments are expected to carry a complement with them. The following examples make this point clear:

VP-DETACHMENT

- (177) A: Quan rentaràs els plats?
'When will you wash the dishes?'
- B: a. Rentar els plats, ho faré després.
'I will wash the dishes later on.'
- b. *Rentar, ho faré els plats després.
'I will wash the dishes later on.'

V-DETACHMENT³⁸

- (178) A: Què vas rentar?
'What did you wash?'
- B: a. *De rentar els plats, només vaig rentar.
'I only washed the dishes.'
- b. De rentar, només vaig rentar els plats.
'I only washed the dishes.'

VP-detachments cannot strand their complement, unlike V-detachments.³⁹ Note furthermore that the latter may have a cliticized complement if it forms part of the background. Observe:

³⁸ Note that V-detachments are headed by *de* 'of', a particle formally identical to the preposition *de* 'of'. This element is found in the dislocation of other elements:

- (i) a. *De llibre*, ja me'n vaig comprar un. [NP]
of book already to.me-of.it PAST-1 buy one
'I already bought one book.'
- b. *D'intel·ligent*, no ho és pas. [AP]
of intelligent not it is NEG
'Intelligent, (s)he is not.'

(179) A: Vas rentar els plats?

'Did you wash the dishes?'

B: a. De rentar-los, els vaig rentar(, els plats).

'I did wash the dishes.'

b. #De rentar, vaig rentar els plats.

'I did wash the dishes.'

As we will see in A.2 below, The awkwardness of (179)b is a direct consequence of having the direct object *els plats* 'the dishes' in focus position, which is in contradiction with its status as old information.

Note, to wind up, that the presence of the clitic on the CLLDed verbal head raises interesting questions for the analysis of clitics. This didn't went unnoticed to Vallduví (1993), who took the presence of the clitic on the detached verb as evidence that clitics are an agreement spell-out without any syntactic status. However, his claim crucially hinges on the assumption that CLLD is base-generated, a clearly controversial one. Even worse, the evidence he provides to support the base-generation of CLLD is less compelling than he assumes (to do justice to Vallduví, it must be kept in mind that the discussion turns over a handout, which is usually a piece of work worded in a rather schematic fashion). Consider:

(180) a. De fe, m'agradaria posseir la capacitat de tenir-ne.

'Faith I would like the ability to have (some).'

This use is common to Italian in cases like (i)a, but exclusive of Catalan with adjectives. See Martí (1995) for a survey and analysis.

³⁹ As García Murga (1999) shows, there are some semantic restrictions on the possibility of having a lexical complement in V-detachment constructions, particularly the obligatory presence of some arbitrary element. He offers contrasts like the following (his exs. 8 and 15, respectively):

(i) a. *Comer, María come jamón de york en su habitación.

'María eats ham in her room.'

b. Comer, todo el mundo come jamón de york.

'Everybody eats ham.'

Another equivalent situation is that in which appear focalizers creating scalar implicatures, like *sólo* 'only' or *incluso* 'even' (García Murga 1999: ex. 17):

(ii) (Por) comer, María come sólo/incluso/*también jamón de york.

'María only/even/also eats ham.'

According to García Murga, *sólo* and *incluso*, unlike *también*, lead to the implicatures 'María eats nothing' and 'María eats everything', respectively. These semantic factors seem at stake in Catalan examples as well, as the reader may easily test. I will however disregard them in this work.

- b. Aquell paio que no l'hagis saludat no té cap importància.
'That guy that you haven't said hi to (him) doesn't matter at all.'
- c. El Carles conec una família d'Edimburg que el coneix.
'Carles I know a family in Edinburgh that knows (him).'
- d. La pel·lícula vam marxar abans que s'acabés, però ...
'The movie we left before (it) was over, but ...'

Take (180)b-d. Here the examples are ambiguous between a CLLD and HTLD analysis (as the use of the pronoun in Vallduví's own translation confirms), so they really prove nothing. As for (180)a, even though I agree that it is quite good, it must be noted that the use of a non-finite clause makes the test less conclusive, for infinitive clauses are known to allow extraction more freely than finite ones. When a finite clause is used instead, grammaticality judgments change radically.⁴⁰

- (181) a. ^{??}De fe, em sorprèn/trobo sorprenent l'afirmació que en tens.
'Faith, it surprises me/I find surprising the assertion that you have (some).'
- b. *De fe, recordo el comentari que en tenies.
'Faith, I remember the remark that you had (some).'

Furthermore, the sentences become ungrammatical when the NP contains an element making extraction difficult, like possessives or demonstratives:

- (182) a. ^{??}De fe, em sorprèn la teva capacitat de tenir-ne.
'Faith, it surprises me your ability to have (some).'
- b. *De fe, recordo aquell comentari que en tenies.
'Faith, I remember that remark that you had (some).'

⁴⁰ The form of the example itself might also lead to some misinterpretation, for one thing: the use of a PP headed by *de* 'of, about' might favor a forced interpretation of the example as an instance of the *as for* construction ('As for faith, ...'). Under such reading some amelioration would be certainly expected. Note that when the disturbing factor is eliminated, the judgments become ungrammatical altogether:

- (i) a. *A Eivissa, em sorprèn la idea que hi vagis.
'It surprises me the idea that you go to Eivissa.'
- b. *A Eivissa, recordo el comentari que hi volies anar.
'I remember the remark that you wanted to go to Eivissa.'

Be it as it may, nothing conclusive has been provided so far to justify the claim that V-detachment doesn't abide by island constraints. Consider thus the relevant examples (with the proviso of fn. 40 in mind):

- (183) a. *De tenir-ne, vaig comentar la teva capacitat de tenir-ne, de fe.
'I commented your ability to have (some) faith.'
- b. *De tenir-ne, tenir-ne, de fe, em resulta sorprenent.
'To have faith I find surprising.'
- c. *De tenir-ne, m'han dit que ets un anarquista malgrat que en tens, de fe.
'It surprises me that you are an anarchist even though you do have faith.'
- d. *De tenir-ne, anava a l'església quan en tenia, de fe.
'I went to the church when I had faith.'

(183)a is a violation of the Complex NP Constraint, (183)b of the Sentence Subject Constraint, (183)c of the Coordinate Structure Constraint, and finally (183)d violates the Condition on Extraction Domains. Pending on a more extensive study, it seems clear that V-detachment does abide by subjacency, against Vallduví's claims. Whether this supports a movement analysis or not is an open issue (see more on this in Chapter 5).

A.1.2. The resumptive element

Another contrast between these constructions has to do with the resumptive element. Since VP-detachments are resumed by the pro-verb *fer-ho* lit. 'do it', which is agentive, this construction is impossible with stative verbs:

- (184) a. *Tenir canes, en Joan ho fa des dels quinze anys.
'Joan has white hair since he was fifteen.'
- b. *Saber anglès, tothom ho fa.
'Everybody knows English.'
- c. *Ser-hi, la Maria ho farà.
'Maria will be there.'
- d. *Haver-hi cadires, a l'altra habitació ho fa.
'There are chairs on the other room.'

Obviously, the restriction has nothing to do with the detachment, but rather with the lexical incompatibility between the stative verb that heads the detached VP and the agentive pro-verb. This point becomes clearer when compared with similar examples of VP-ellipsis:

- (185) a. *En Joan té canes des dels quinze anys i el seu germà també ho fa.
 ‘*Joan has white hair since he was fifteen and his brother does so.’
- b. *Tothom sap anglès però la Maria no ho fa.
 ‘Everybody knows English, but Maria doesn’t.’
- c. *Jo hi vaig ser i la Maria també ho farà.
 ‘I was there and Maria will be as well.’
- d. *Aquí no hi ha cadires, però a l’altra habitació ho fa.
 ‘There aren’t chairs here, but there are on the other room.’

V-detachments doesn’t abide by this condition, since the resumptive element is a copy that necessarily matches the lexical properties of the detached verb:⁴¹

- (186) a. De tenir-ne, en Joan en té des dels quinze anys, de canes.
 ‘Joan has white hair since he was fifteen.’
- b. De saber, tothom en sap una mica, d’anglès.
 ‘Everybody knows English a little.’

⁴¹ The detachment of non-lexical verbal elements, like auxiliaries or modals, sounds a bit odd, for it is extremely difficult to produce a natural dialogue where the auxiliary/modal is given information but the main verb is not. However, some examples might be found, at least with modals. Consider the following examples (similar ones can be found in Benincà et al. 1988: 2.4 for Italian):

- (i) A: Creus que podem guanyar?
 ‘Do you think we can win?’
 B: a. ?Home, de poder, la veritat és que podem, de guanyar.
 ‘Well, it is true that we can win.’
 b. Home, de poder guanyar, la veritat és que podem guanyar.
 ‘Well, it is true that we can win.’
- (ii) A: Creus que vull fugir?
 ‘Do you think I want to run away?’
 B: a. ?Home, de voler, no crec que ningú ho vulgui, de fugir.
 ‘Well, I don’t think anybody wants to run away.’
 b. Home, de voler fugir, no crec que ningú vulgui fugir.
 ‘Well, I don’t think anybody wants to run away.’

To my ear, the versions are more natural where both the modal and the lexical verb are copied, which raises interesting questions for the analysis of verbal clusters in restructuring contexts. However, this would lead us too far beyond the limits of this work.

- c. De ser-hi, no pateixis que la Maria hi serà.
'Don't worry, because Maria will be there.'
- d. D'haver-n'hi, n'hi ha, de cadires.
'There ARE chairs.'

A.1.3. Combinatory aspects

Both constructions may cooccur with CLLD (note that the embedded context makes clear we are necessarily dealing with CLLD; see 2.1.1 and 2.2.1 above for discussion):

- (187) a. Crec que, en Joan, rentar els plats, no ho fa amb gaire entusiasme.
'I think that Joan doesn't wash the dishes with enthusiasm.'
- b. Estic convençut que, en aquesta casa, rentar els plats, no ho fa ningú.
'I am convinced that in this house nobody washes the dishes.'
- (188) a. Crec que, en Joan, de rentar-los, no els renta amb gaire entusiasme, els plats.
'I think that Joan doesn't wash the dishes with enthusiasm.'
- b. Estic convençut que, en aquesta casa, de rentar, ningú els renta, els plats.
'I am convinced that in this house nobody washes the dishes.'

The first conclusion we can draw from these examples is that both kinds of verbal detachments are instances of CLLD. Let us sharpen the argument. We positively know (see 2.1.1. and 2.2.1 above and Benincà et al. 1988: 1.3) that whenever HTLD and CLLD concur, the former necessarily follows the latter. With this in mind, we can conclude that the verbal detachments in (187)-(188) cannot be instances of HTLD. Moreover, a test can be provided for ascertain whether they are indeed cases of CLLD. We also positively know (see 2.1.1 above) that the arrangement between CLLDed elements is free. So then, a prediction can be made: if the verbal detachments under consideration are instances of CLLD, they should be able to precede a CLLDed element. This prediction is borne out (I don't take into consideration the examples where the CLLDed element is the subject because the argument would be somewhat weakened by the claim that the subject is not dislocated but rather in its A-position):

- (189) a. Estic convençut que, rentar els plats, en aquesta casa, no ho fa ningú.
 'I am convinced that in this house nobody washes the dishes.'
- b. Estic convençut que, de rentar, en aquesta casa, ningú els renta, els plats.
 'I am convinced that in this house nobody washes the dishes.'

It seems thus that both constructions pattern with CLLD, a conclusion that will be reinforced by the examination of their interpretative properties.⁴²

A.2. Interpretative aspects

A.2.1. The detached element is CLLD

The application of the standard question-answer test reveals that both constructions involve the fronting of background material. Observe the following dialogue:

- (190) A. Què farà la Maria a casa?
 'What will Maria do at home?'
- B: a. Llegirà.
 'She will read.'
- b. #De llegir, llegirà.
- c. #Llegir, ho farà.

⁴² Benincà et al. (1988: 2.4) discuss the possibility of having HTLD with V-detachments. They consider the following examples, where the copy of the detached V is within an island, suggesting it is an instance of HTLD rather than one of CLLD:

- (i) a. Rubare?, conosco un ragazzo che è finito in prigione per aver rubato un libro.
 'Steal? I know a boy who ended in jail for stealing a book.'
- b. Mangiare?, risulta che molte persone sono magre benché mangiano moltissimo.
 'Eat? It happens that many people are thin in spite of eating a lot.'

However, as their use of '?' suggests, in these examples the detached element shows a rising intonation, a feature we have also associated with instances of metalinguistic topics (see 2.4 above). Indeed, the Catalan equivalent examples are only natural as metalinguistic topics:

- (ii) A: La Maria va robar un llapis.
 'Maria stole a pencil.'
- B: Robar (dius)?, conec un noi que ha acabat a la presó per haver robat un libro.
 'Steal (you say)? I know a boy who ended in jail for stealing a book.'

This fact allows us to conclude, at least temporarily, that both the examples in (i) and those in (ii) are instances of metalinguistic topics, and hence they do not pose a counterexample to the general claim

Here, neither the V-detachment in (190)b nor the VP-detachment in (190)c function appropriately in a context where new information is required, which suggests that both detachments convey given information. In contrast, the standard examples of both constructions show that the detached element must have been introduced in the previous discourse:

(191) A. En Pol estudia molt, oi?

‘Pol studies a lot, didn’t he?’

B: a. T’equivocoques, de estudiar, ultimament no estudia gaire.

‘You are wrong, lately he doesn’t study quite much.’

b. T’equivocoques, estudiar, ultimament no ho fa gaire.

‘You are wrong, lately he doesn’t study quite much.’

Obviously, as it was the case in CLLD, beyond expressing a link function, the detachment allows the focusing of other elements. This becomes more apparent when particles associated with focus like *només* ‘only’ are taken into account. Observe:

(192) A: Se suposava que la Maria havia de portar el vi i les postres.

‘Maria was supposed to bring the wine and the dessert.’

B: a. De portar, només va portar el vi.

‘She only brought the wine.’

b. *Portar el vi, només ho va fer.

‘She only brought the wine.’

Només must associate with the element carrying focus, and it does so in (192)a: it associates with *el vi* ‘the wine’, which is focus. In (192)b, instead, the only element available is the pro-verb, which cannot be focused on independent grounds, hence the ill-formedness. Note that the contrast has nothing to do with an interpretative difference between both constructions, but rather with the kind of element detached. In cases where an adverbial is stranded, the contrast disappears:⁴³

made in 2.2.1 that HTLD only affects NPs —a welcome result on the grounds of theory-internal coherence.

⁴³ Obviously, something more should be said about the structure of the VP, for many questions remain unanswered. Why adverbials do not pied-pipe with the detached VP, as complements do? Which is

(193) A: Se suposava que la Maria havia d'estudiar més.

'Maria was supposed to study more.'

B: a. D'estudiar, només estudia els caps de setmana.

'She only studies on weekends.'

b. Estudiar, només ho fa els caps de setmana.

'She only studies on weekends.'

Here *només* associates with the adverbial *els caps de setmana* 'on weekends', without unwanted consequences. So then, from an information-based perspective, both V- and VP-detachments convey given information. Indeed, the material in the detached element must appear in the previous discourse, namely it must be a *link* in Vallduví's (1990, 1994, 1995) sense (see 2.1.2 above). Note that, exactly as what happened with CLLD, the relation needs not be a literal one as long as it is likely to be described by means of a poset relation:

(194) A: Em va dir una mentida descarada.

'(S)he told me a shameless lie.'

B: a. De mentir, tothom menteix quan convé.

'Everybody lies when it is convenient.'

b. Mentir, tothom ho fa quan convé.'

'Everybody lies when it is convenient.'

Furthermore, verbal detachments may be linked to non-mentioned but inferable discourse referents:

(195) A: La Maria és una jugadora molt temerària.

'Maria is a very audacious player.'

B: a. Sí, (però et puc assegurar que,) de perdre, no perd mai.

'Yes, (but I can assure you that) she never loses.'

b. Sí, (però et puc assegurar que,) perdre, no ho fa mai.

'Yes, (but I can assure you that) she never loses.'

the exact position of these elements in the VP? Does this behavior of VP-detachment have any consequence for a Larsonian approach to adverbs? Further research is certainly needed.

In this example, the sentence uttered by A together with the common knowledge of the world the speaker B has—which tends to associate audacious playing with losing—, allows the latter to infer a referent *perdre* ‘lose’, which is not explicitly mentioned. Then, taking this referent as a link, speaker B overturns this conversational implicature.

In the same vein, verbal detachments can express a contrast or topic-shift (the example is build on a similar one provided by Vallduví 1993):

(196) A: El teu gos és perillós: podria mossegar algú.

‘Your dog is dangerous: it could bite someone.’

B: a. Reconec que de bordar, borda sovint, ara de mossegar, segur que no mossega ningú.

‘I agree that it often barks, yet it surely doesn’t bite anybody.’

b. Reconec que bordar, ho fa sovint, ara mossegar ningú, segur que no ho farà mai.

‘I agree that it often barks, yet it surely doesn’t bite anybody.’

A.2.2. Explaining some differences

So far I have shown that both V- and VP-detachments are instances of the link function typically conveyed by CLLD. Moreover, the perspicacious reader might have note that in the previous examples, both constructions concurred in the very same contexts yielding equivalent results. Notwithstanding, since they involve the detachment of different elements, we expect some differences. This is certainly so. Consider in the first place example (179), which I repeat here for the ease of reference:

(197) A: Vas rentar els plats?

‘Did you wash the dishes?’

B: a. De rentar-los, els vaig rentar, els plats.

‘I did wash the dishes.’

b. #De rentar, vaig rentar els plats.

‘I did wash the dishes.’

All the material in the VP forms part of the background, so V-detachment is perfect and the complement must appear (right-)dislocated. The illformedness of (197)b is due to the contradictory status of the complement: it is given information but receives focus. However, if this is the correct explanation, why should (197)a be possible at all? In this sentence, the verb *rentar* ‘wash’ is part of the background, since it has been introduced in the previous discourse, but it also receives focus. The solution to this puzzle has to do with the kind of new information this sentence provides: speaker B is not focusing the verb itself and the lexical content it conveys, but rather the polarity of the sentence, which is indeed the information asked. This is confirmed by the fact that an alternative answer might be just ‘Yes’. Vallduví (1993) offers us an illuminating example:

(198) A: El teu gos borda sí o no?

‘Does or doesn’t your dog bark?’

B: De bordar, BORDA.

‘It (sort of) does bark.’

In contrast, VP-detachments do not easily fulfill this task of allowing the focusing of the polarity of the sentence: they need the concurrence of an emphatic element, at least in the affirmative mood (even in this case the result is less natural than the corresponding sentence with V-detachment). Consider:

(199) A: La Maria va portar el vi, sí o no?

‘Does or doesn’t Maria bring the wine?’

B: Portar el vi, *(sí que) ho va fer, la veritat.

‘She did bring the wine, in fact.’

Note that in the case of V-detachments the presence of such emphatic elements is optional altogether:

(200) A: La Maria va portar el vi, sí o no?

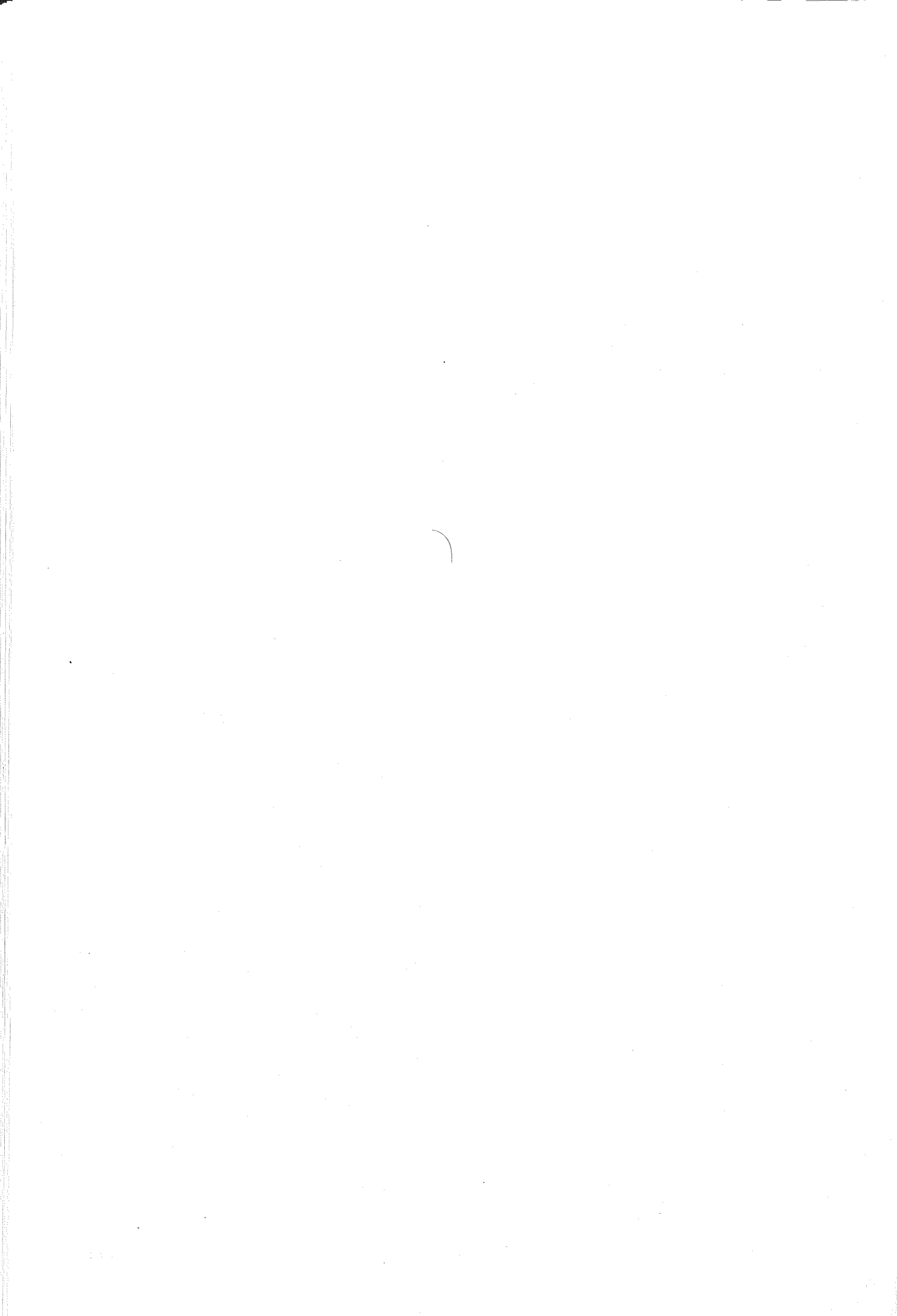
‘Does or doesn’t Maria bring the wine?’

B: De portar-lo, (sí que) el va portar, la veritat.

‘She did bring the wine, in fact.’

A.3. Summary

In this appendix, a brief description has been offered of leftward VP and V-detachment. I have defended that they must be considered two instances of CLLD, their differences being derived from the kind of element detached (either a full VP or a verbal head).



Chapter 3. A typology of detachment processes in Catalan (II): Right-detachments

In this chapter, I am pursuing the task that in the previous one I qualified — somewhat affectedly— as Cartesian. What was intended then, namely to build up a typology of left-detachment elements, will be extended now to the right periphery. We are entering now a less explored realm, full of delights but of difficulties as well. In what follows, I will try to guide the reader on this expedition through this new land, focusing on the clearer aspects but without hiding the dark ones. Let us hope that at the end of our travel the enjoyments compensate the effort required to accomplish it.

3.1. Clitic Right Dislocation

Whereas CLLD has raised a huge amount of works in the field of syntax, pragmatics or discourse analysis, CLRD has been a construction clearly neglected in modern linguistic theory. A reason for such obviation can be found in the basically oral character of this construction. Unsurprisingly, traditional grammarians approached it with prevention, highlighting its inappropriateness in a logical and well-structured writing discourse, since it introduced a sloppy and vulgar mood of expression. A summary of some of these prescriptive remarks applied to Catalan dislocations can be found in Bartra (1985: 5.2.3.1); see also Solà (1994). Such a perception survived in the first authors who gave this construction a formal characterization: they considered it a mere discourse-repair mechanism bound to unplanned oral discourse (see e.g. Givón 1976, Tomlin 1986 or Geluykens 1987). Such a conception blurred the differences between CLRD and *afterthoughts*, leading to analyze them as the same construction. This tendency was quite common in studies based on languages lacking pronominal clitics, like English or Chinese, even though this confusion seems now a quite old-fashioned and unpopular view: recent works have argued for keeping apart CLRD and *afterthoughts* (see Galambos 1980 for French, Lambrecht 1994, and Birner & Ward 1998, for English, Grosz & Ziv 1998 for English and Hebrew, and Guo 1999 for Mandarin Chinese). This will be the position defended in this thesis, so that in the remainder of this chapter the attention will be paid to flesh

out the basic features of CLRD in contrast with those of afterthoughts, which will be discussed in 3.2 below.

3.1.1. Syntactic properties

By CLRD, I mean the detachment of a phrase to the right periphery of sentence, where a resumptive clitic/agreement fulfills its syntactic and semantic functions. Schematically:¹

(1) [S ... clitic/AGR₁...] CLRD₁

This construction is attested in all Romance languages. Here follows a representative sample:

- (2) a. No en vam parlar, d'aquest assumpte.
not of.it PAST-2PL talk of-this subject
'We didn't TALK about this subject.'
- b. La vi muy cambiada, a María.
her saw-1 very changed to María
'I saw María very changed.'
- c. Lo porto io, il vino. (Italian: Benincà et al. 1988)
him bring I the wine
'I bring the wine.'
- d. L'appo vistu, su dottore. (Sardinian: Jones 1993)
him-have-1 seen the doctor
'I have seen him, the doctor.'
- e. Je lui parle constamment, à Marcel.
I to.him talk-1 constantly to Marcel
'I speak constantly to Marcel.'

CLRD is found in other non Romance languages as well, such as Greek (exs. from Valioui 1994):

¹ This description is put into question by Larsson's (1979: 148) and seconded by Postal (1991), who claim that right-dislocates may surface in intrasentential positions in French. In 3.2.1 it will be suggested that their examples may be analyzed as afterthoughts, leaving the schema in (1) unaffected.

- (3) a. Ta vrika, ta klidia.
 them found-1 the keys
 'I (have) found the keys.'
- b. Tin pira, ti fosta.
 it took-1 the skirt
 'I('ve) bought the skirt.'

It is crucial to make a sharp distinction between CLRD and other related constructions found in several other languages. On the one hand, it must be kept apart from Right Dislocation, where the resumptive element is (obviously) a strong pronoun, like in English (see Birner & Ward 1998, Grosz & Ziv 1998, Rodman 1977, Ross 1967):

- (4) a. It's very delicate, the lawn. (Birner & Ward 1998)
 b. He was a genius, that Van Gogh. (Birner & Ward 1998)
 c. The cops spoke to him about that robbery yesterday, the janitor. (Ross 1967)

or Mandarin Chinese (Guo 1999: ex. 17):

- (5) zhèitài dà le, zhèi yú.
 this too big PART this fish
 'This is too big, this fish.'

Since the resumptive element is a strong pronoun, this construction allows for a set of accentual patterns, including focusing on the pronoun, which are unavailable in Romance, which resorts to a clitic, instead.

Another related construction we must leave aside is Rightward Scrambling, a construction found in SOV languages and where no (overt) resumptive element appears at all:

Hindi (Mahajan 1997)

- (6) a. siitaa-ne dhyaan se dekhaa thaa raam-ko.
Sita-ERG care with see-PERF be-PAST Ram-OBJ
b. raam-ko dhyaan se dekhaa thaa siitaa-ne.
Ram-OBJ care with see-PERF be-PAST Sita-ERG
'Sita saw Ram with care (=Sita saw Ram carefully).'

Japanese (Endo 1996)

- (7) a. John-ga tabeta-yo, cake-o.
John-NOM ate-MOD cake-ACC
'John ate it, that cake.'
b. Hon-o ageta-yo, John-ga Mary-ni.
book-ACC gave-MOD John-NOM Mary-DAT
'He gave a book to her, John, to Mary.'

With these provisos in mind, let us examine in some detail the syntactic properties of CLRD:

I) *CLRD affects maximal projections of any category:*

- (8) a. El vam comprar a Barcelona, el llibre. [DP]
him PAST-2PL buy in Barcelona the book
'We bought it in Barcelona, the book.'
b. Ja me'n vaig comprar un, de llibre. [NP]
already to.me-of.it past-1 buy one of book
'I already bought ONE book.'
c. En vam parlar ahir, de la Maria. [PP]
of.it PAST-2PL talk yesterday of the Maria
'We talked about her yesterday, Maria.'
c. No *ho* és pas, d'intel·ligent. [AP]
not it is NEG of intelligent
'(S)he is NOT intelligent.'
d. La Maria no *hi* ha parlat mai, obertament. [AdvP]
the Maria not LOC has talked never overtly
'Maria has never TALKED overtly.'

- e. *Ho sap tothom, que té por de la Maria.* [CP_[+tense]]
 it knows everybody that has fear of the Maria
 ‘Everybody knows it, that (s)he is afraid of Maria.’
- f. *La Maria sempre ho ha intentat, de comprar un cotxe.* [CP_[-tense]]
 the Maria always it has tried of buy a car
 ‘Maria has always tried it, to buy a car.’

The restrictions affecting DPs and VPs merit a more extensive comment: the former will be discussed in 3.1.2., when reviewing the interpretive properties of CLRD; the latter will be described in Appendix B.

II) *CLRD is iterative:*

- (9) a. *Li₁'n₂ va parlar ahir, al Pere₁, del llibre₂.*
 of.it-LOC PAST-3 talk yesterday with the Pere of-the book
 ‘(S)he talked with Pere about the book.’
- b. *Les₁ hi₂ venen molt cares, les cerveses₁, a barcelona₂.*
 them LOC sell-3PL very expensive-FEM.PL the beers at Barcelona
 ‘They sell beers very expensive at Barcelona.’

This property of CLRD is well attested in other Romance languages:

[French: Lambrecht 1981, quoted in Postal 1991: exs. 20b,c]

- (10) a. *Il s'y intéresse pas, mon frère, aux livres.*
 ‘My brother is not interested in books.’
- b. *Je lui donne, a ton frère, moi, le livre.*
 ‘I give your brother the book.’

[Italian]

- (11) a. *(Glie)(I)'ha prestata CARLO, a Giorgio, la tua macchina.* [Benincà et al. 1988: ex. 129b]
 to.him her has lent Carlo to Giorgio the your car
 ‘CARLO has lent Giorgio your car.’

- b. Lo darà a Gianni, il libro, Mario. [Cecchetto 1999: ex. 42]
 it will give to Gianni the book Mario
 'It is to Gianni that Mario will give the book.'

[Sardinian: Jones 1993: exs. 23, 24a]

- (12) a. L'at mandata, cudda littera, Juanne.
 'John sent it, that letter.'
 b. Bi l'appo datu, su dinari, a s'avocatu.
 'I gave the money to the lawyer.'

[Spanish: Zubizarreta 1998: Ch. 3: exs. 158a, 162b]²

- (13) a. Le envió un regalo, María, a mamá.
 DAT.CL sent a present María to mother
 b. Lo tradujo Juan, el Quijote, al inglés.
 it translated Juan the Quixote to-the English

III) *CLRD* occurs in both root and embedded contexts:

- (14) a. No sé qui en va parlar ahir, del llibre.
 of.it PAST-3 talk yesterday of-the book
 'I don't know who talked about it yesterday, the book.'
 b. Sembla que *en* va parlar ahir la Maria, *del llibre*.
 seems that of.it PAST-3 talk yesterday the Maria of-the book
 'It seems that Maria talked about it yesterday, the book.'

Again, this behavior is attested crosslinguistically:

- (15) a. Celui qui me l'a donnée, cette photo, est un ancien camarade de classe.
 [French: Larsson 1979: ex. V.75]
 'The one who gave it to me, this photograph, is an old classmate.'
 b. No'isco kie l'at mandata, sa littera. [Sardinian: Jones 1993]
 'I do not know who sent it, the letter.'

² For the sake of homogeneity, I have replaced Zubizarreta's '#' to mark prosodic boundaries by commas. The same is valid for other examples from this author.

- c. Mi sembra strano che gliela presti, la macchina. [Italian: Cecchetto 1999]
 to.me sounds weird that to.her-it lend-3 the car
 ‘That he lends his car to her sounds weird to me.’
- d. A: Kale giati piasane tin pethera sou? [Greek: Valioui 1994: ex. 3]
 ‘Why did they arrest your mother-in-law?’
 B: Tin piasane giati itane VAPORAKI, i petheroula mou!
 her caught-3pl why little.boat the little.mother.in.law my
 ‘They arrested her because she was a drug trafficker, my mother-in-law.’

IV) *In cases of multiple CLRD, the ordering of the dislocates is free:*

- (16) a. Li’n va parlar ahir, la Maria, al Pere, del llibre,
 of.it+LOC PAST-3 talk yesterday the Maria with the Pere of-the book
 ‘Maria talked with Pere about the book YESTERDAY.’
- b. Li’n va parlar ahir, la Maria, del llibre, al Pere.
- c. Li’n va parlar ahir, al Pere, la Maria, del llibre.
- d. Li’n va parlar ahir, al Pere, del llibre, la Maria.
- e. Li’n va parlar ahir, del llibre, al Pere, la Maria.
- f. Li’n va parlar ahir, del llibre, la Maria, al Pere.

The free ordering of the dislocates is found cross-linguistically as well. Consider:

- (17) a. (Glie)(l)’ha prestata CARLO, a Giorgio, la tua macchina [Italian: Benincà 1988: ex. 129b]
 to.him her has lent Carlo to Giorgio the your car
- a’. (Glie)(l)’ha prestata CARLO, la tua macchina, a Giorgio.
 ‘CARLO has lent Giorgio your car.’
- b. Bi l’appo datu, su dinari, a s’avocatu. [Sardinian: Jones 1993: ex. 24]
- b’. Bi l’appo datu, a s’avocatu, su dinari.
 ‘I GAVE the money to the lawyer.’
- c. Lo tradujo Juan, el Quijote, al inglés. [Zubizarreta 1998: Ch. 3: ex. 162b/c]
 it translated Juan the Quixote to-the English

- c'. Lo tradujo Juan, al inglés, el Quijote.
it translated Juan to-the English the Quixote

V) *There must be a resumptive element and it must be a clitic pronoun:*

- (18) a. *Vam parlar ahir, de la Maria.
PAST-2PL talk yesterday of the Maria
'*We talked about yesterday, Maria.'
- b. *Vam parlar d'ella ahir, de la Maria.
PAST-2PL talk of-her yesterday of the Maria
'We talked about her yesterday, Maria.'
- c. En vam parlar ahir, de la Maria.
of.it PAST-2PL talk yesterday of the Maria
'We talked about her yesterday, Maria.'

It is worth noting that whereas (18)a is odd under any interpretation, (18)b is perfect if taken as an afterthought, which in this case acts as a mechanism for disambiguating the reference of the strong pronoun (see 3.2. below)

The issue of the obligatoriness of the resumptive clitic has been less studied in CLRD than in CLLD, mainly due to the more variety of preposing constructions with respect to postponing ones. As a rule, the use CLRD does of the resumptive clitic strategy is far more pervasive than that of CLLD. First of all, no genuine optionality of the clitic is found in CLRD:

- (19) a. Nosaltres *(hi) hem greixat el motor, amb un pot de greix.
have-2PL lubricated the engine with a can of grease
- b. La Judit *(hi) toca l'arpa, en aquesta sala.
the Judit LOC plays the-harp in this room.'

The obligatoriness of the clitic extends to those sentences that involved two different interpretations with respect to CLLD (see 2.1.1):

- (20) a. *Atenc els clients, al despatx.
'I attend to clients at the office.'

- b. Hi atenc els clients, al despatx.
 'I attend to clients at the office.'

However, PPs that can receive an interpretation close to that of free adjuncts seem to undergo CLRD without requiring a resumptive clitic:

- (21) a. Tothom treballa, amb aquest professor.
 'Everybody WORKS with this teacher.'
 b. Tothom hi treballa, amb aquest professor.
 'Everybody WORKS with this teacher.'

Nevertheless, whereas it is quite apparent that the version with a resumptive clitic is an instance of CLRD, it is not clear the same analysis extends to the version without clitic. Note, however, that as happened with CLLD, the version without the clitic is a free adjunct with a conditional flavor, which doesn't have a resumptive element within the sentence, as the following sentence proves:

- (22) Tothom treballa amb tothom, amb aquest professor.
 'Everybody works with everybody, with this teacher.'

This seems at odds with an analysis of these free adjuncts as right dislocates, at least with the same status than those cases showing connectedness.³ We leave a more detailed analysis of these facts for a future study.

³ These free adjuncts interact with CLRD:

- (i) A: I en Pere? Li agrada el seu nou professor?
 'What about Pere? Does he like his new teacher?'
 B: a. És tot un èxit: treballa molt, amb aquest professor, en Pere.
 'It's a real success: he works hard with this teacher, Pere.'
 b. És tot un èxit: treballa molt, en Pere, amb aquest professor.
 'It's a real success: he works hard, Pere, with this teacher.'

However, the reasons adduced in footnote 5 of Chapter 2 for not analyzing left peripheral free adjuncts as clitic left dislocates extend to these right peripheral ones as well. First of all, they can be inserted as parentheticals in several positions within the sentence, which CLRD cannot. Secondly, unlike CLRD, they license arbitrary second person subjects:

- (ii) a. Treballes molt, amb aquest professor.
 'You work hard with this teacher.'/'One works hard with this teacher.'
 b. Hi treballes molt, amb aquest professor.
 'You work hard with this teacher.'/'*One works hard with this teacher.'

Instances of CLRD are also found where no clitic is even possible, e.g. the case of VPs, which are replaced by the pro-verb *fer-ho* 'do it' (see Appendix B for a description of this subkind of CLRD):

- (23) a. No tothom ho fa, de menjar peix.
not everybody it does of eat fish
'Not everybody eats fish.'
- b. No ho farà mai, de beure vi rosat.
not it do-FUT never of drink rosé wine
'(S)he will never drink rosé wine.'

The tendency is, thus, to make use of the clitic if available, which is well-attested crosslinguistically, regardless of the richness of the pronominal system involved in each language. So then, Catalan, French (see Larsson 1979), Sardinian (see Jones 1993), or Spanish (see Zubizarreta 1994, 1998) demand the clitic pervasively, whenever available. However, Italian seems to be an exception within this uniform landscape. Benincà et al. (1988: 1.4.1) offers examples like the following, where CLRD has an optional resumptive clitic:

- (24) a. Porto domani, il dolce.
'I'll bring it tomorrow, the sweet.'
- b. Potrei prestare a Giorgio domani, la macchina.
'I'll be able to lend it to Giorgio tomorrow, the car.'
- c. Ha telefonato GIORGIO, alla polizia.
'GIORGIO called the police.'

A solution to this puzzle is suggested by Cecchetto (1999). He considers the following contrast:

- (25) a. (Lo) porto io, il vino.
it carry I the wine

- b. ??(Lo) porta un mio amico, il vino.
it carries a friend of mine the wine

Cecchetto argues that what seems optionality hides indeed two constructions, CLRD and *deaccenting* (see section 3.3 below). According to him, the version without clitic is a nondislocated structure where the *in situ* object has been deaccented. Furthermore, this deaccenting strategy is possible in (25)a because of the presence of the emphatic pronoun *io* 'I'. If Cecchetto were on the right track, Italian would not count as an exception to the requirement that CLRDED elements be resumed by a clitic whenever available. However, there is no consensus on the way to deal with these examples. For example, Antinucci & Cinque (1977) would consider (24)c/(25) instances of *emarginazione* forced by subject inversion. As I suggest in section 3.3, *emarginazione* seems to be half the way between deaccenting and CLRD: it shares with deaccenting the lack of resumptive clitic, but it shares with CLRD the possibility of a free reordering of the emarginated elements. I leave the issue until we reach that point, where the deaccenting construction is taken into account in more detail.

VI) *There is obligatory connectedness between the dislocate and the resumptive element:*

The CLRDED element shares Case and categorial features, and theta role with the resumptive element:

- (26) a. No em van dir res del tema, *jo/a mi.
not to.me PAST-3PL say anything of-the subject to me/I
'They said me nothing about the subject.'
- b. No li van dir res del tema, *(a) la Maria.
not to.her PAST-3PL say anything of-the subject to the Maria
'They said Maria nothing about the subject.'

VII) *The relation between the dislocate and the clitic is subject to (strong) island constraints* (I conventionally mark islands with braces):

- (27) a. *{La Maria va preparar-lo} i en Pere va parlar d'aquest llibre, el sopar.
 the Maria PAST-3 prepare-it and the Pere PAST talk of-this book the dinner
- b. *{Ser-ho} no és fàcil, de ric.
 be-it not is easy of rich
- c. *{La noia que en parla a la tesi} era alemanya, de Kant.
 the girl that of.it talks in the thesis was German of Kant
- d. *{Jo, que no en parlo mai}, sóc especialista en l'idealisme alemany, de Kant.
 I that not of.it talk-1 never am specialist in the-idealism German of Kant
- e. *{Si en Pere en parla}, has de fer el sopar, d'aquest llibre.
 if the Pere of.it talks have-2 of do the dinner of this book

(27)a violates the Coordinate Structure Constraint; (27)b, the Sentential Subject Constraint, (27)c-d, the Complex NP Constraint; (27)e, an adjunct island. Taken together, these properties led Ross (1967) to conclude that right-dislocation in English was upward bounded, and later on to the formulation of the Right Roof Constraint (a term due to Alexander Grosu):

Right Roof Constraint (informal version)

Movement to the right is clausal bounded.

We will turn to this fact in Chapter 4, when comparing the properties of CLLD and CLRD.

3.1.2. Interpretive properties

The discourse conditions under which CLRD is licensed are far more restricted than those of CLLD are. In 2.1.2, we showed that CLLD conveyed a link function licensed by means of a poset relation. In the case of CLRD, however, this licensing relation only works with identity relations, but with the other classes of poset relations, it proves useless:

Identity

- (28) A: T'he presentat els meus amics?
 'Have I introduced you to my friends?'

B: No cal, ja els conec, els teus amics.
'It is unnecessary, I know them, your friends.'

Subset

(29) A: T'he presentat els meus amics?
'Have I introduced you to my friends?'
B: #Ja me'l vas presentar, en Pere; però no la conec, aquesta dona.
'You already introduced me to Pere, but I don't know this woman.'

Part-of

(30) A: T'agrada el meu cotxe nou?
'Do you like my new car?'
B: #Les trobo interessants, *algunes de les coses que té*; ara, *les trobo més aviat supèrflues, d'altres*.
'Some of the things it has I find interesting, others I find rather superfluous.'

Superset (generics)⁴

(31) a. A: M'encanta aquell Ferrari vermell.
'I love that red Ferrari.'
B: No diguis bestieses. #A Barcelona, no hi ha manera d'aparcar-lo, un cotxe.
'Don't talk nonsense. In Barcelona, there is no way to park a car.'
b. A: En Pere em va dir una mentida.
'Pere told me a lie.'
B: #No s'hi pot confiar, en els homes/un home.
'You cannot TRUST men/a man.'

⁴ Regardless of the unnaturality of generics in CLRD, we do find type-denoting NPs:

- (i) a. A: A mi també m'agradaria tenir un cotxe tan gran.
'I also would like to have so big a car.'
B: No et facis il·lusions: no te'l podràs comprar mai, un cotxe com aquest.
'Don't build castles in the air: you will never be able to buy it, a car like that.'
b. A: Busco un home prou intel·ligent per casar-m'hi.
'I am looking for a man intelligent enough to marry him.'
B: No el trobaràs mai, un home així.
not him find-FUT-2 never a man so
'You will never find him, such a man.'

Clearly enough, the approach to CLLD based on poset relations doesn't extend to CLRD. Since poset relations are the keys for explaining the function of CLLD as a link to previous discourse, it can be concluded that CLRD doesn't fulfill such a role, a quite intuitive upshot altogether. Which is its function then? Several answers to this question have been suggested which merit attention.

As we have commented at the beginning of 3.1, the initial studies on CLRD described it as a repair mechanism: according to this approach, the right-dislocate was a means to disambiguate an otherwise ambiguous pronominal referent. Consider an English example:

(32) He loves Chinese food, John.

The repair analysis suggests that in this situation the speaker has the feeling that the reference of the subject pronoun *he* remains unspecified for the hearer, so that the sentence remains communicative inefficient. In order to repair this problem, the speaker inserts *John* at the end of the sentence, disambiguating the reference of *he*. Nonetheless, this doesn't seem to be an accurate description of facts. In Catalan, for example, CLRD is not a last-second modification of a referentially ambiguous sentence, but a very general mechanism for organizing the content of sentences. This fact didn't remain unnoticed for traditional grammarians, like Fabra (1956: §103):

Altres vegades, després d'haver construït una proposició com si vingués darrera d'una altra (sobrentenent-hi un membre, reemplaçant-lo per un pronom feble, etc.), li posposem el membre omès i que hi figura representat per un pronom, etc.

[Sometimes, once we have build up a proposition as if it followed another one (eliding an understood member, replacing it by a weak pronoun, etc.), we postpone the understood element, which it is represented by a pronoun, etc.]

Note that Fabra crucially links CLRD to discourse factors, namely the requirement that the postponed element have been mentioned in a previous stretch of discourse. Since this previous mention allows elision or replacement by a pronoun, it is obvious that no referential ambiguity can be assumed at all. Therefore, the presence of the right-dislocate cannot be due to a disambiguating strategy. This is quite clear in the following dialogue:

- (33) A: Coneixes el meu germà? Ahir va venir a la festa.
 'Do you know my brother? He came to the party yesterday.'
 B: I tant! El vaig trobar molt divertit, el teu germà.
 'Sure! I find him very funny, your brother.'

In this example, saying that the right-dislocate serves as an identifier of the reference of the cataphoric pronoun is simply incorrect, for the presence or the absence of the right-dislocate doesn't change the unambiguous reference of the cataphoric pronoun *el* 'him'.⁵

With this first concretion of what CLRD is *not*, let us examine their interpretative properties. There is consensus in the literature that CLRD conveys given information (see Larsson 1979, Bartra 1985, Laca 1986, Benincà et al. 1988, Vallduví 1990, Lambrecht 1994, Birner & Ward 1998). However, the authors recognize that, in spite of its given status, CLRD cannot be assigned the same informational status that CLLD. Bartra (1985: §5.2.2) points out that the clitic right-dislocate, unlike the clitic left-dislocate, neither introduces a new theme nor links the sentence to the previous discourse. Laca (1986: 82f) goes a step further and gives CLRD a role in the organization of the informative content of sentences. According to her, the function of CLRD is removing a presupposed phrase from the maximally rhematic position in the sentence (i.e. the final position), allowing another element to occupy it.⁶ Consider an example:

- (34) A: Ahir vaig veure la Maria.
 'Yesterday, I saw Maria.'
 B: Jo no la conec, la Maria.
 'I don't know her, Maria.'

In the first utterance, *la Maria* occupies the final position and consequently receives the maximum rhematic status (i.e. it is the focus). However, maintaining this element

⁵ It is worth noting that I am not claiming that a discourse repair mechanism doesn't exist. Rather, what I am saying is that CLRD it is *not* such a mechanism. As we will see in 3.2. this function is reserved to afterthoughts.

⁶ By rheme, Laca (1986:82) means 'allò que constitueix la informació central que es vol comunicar [that which constitutes the central information that one wants to communicate]'. In a nutshell, she considers the theme is a presupposed entity of which the rheme predicates (i.e. asserts, negates, interrogates, etc.) something.

in the final position would be inappropriate in the second utterance, since once it has been introduced in the discourse its communicative value lowers from a rhematic status to a thematic one. In order to prevent this element to receive a contradictory information status, it is right detached, allowing the predicate to be maximally rhematic. Such conception converts CLRD in an indirect focalization construction: it allows other elements to receive focus by position. However, here arises the first theoretical problem in our way to give a correct characterization of CLRD. If pronominalization of the constituent conveying old information accomplishes such task, why should the right dislocate be necessary at all? Laca's analysis of CLRD entails that right dislocates should always be optional or from a different perspective, that no interpretive difference is found between the preceding dialogue and the following:

- (35) A: Ahir vaig veure la Maria.
 'Yesterday, I saw Maria.'
 B: Jo no la conec.
 'I don't know her.'

However, against such expectation, there is the clear intuition that the right-dislocate does have a real semantic import here. In this point, Vallduví (1990) becomes particularly relevant. This author goes a step further than Laca (1986) and tries to integrate CLRD in the system of instructions governing the management of information. He claims that, in addition to being an indirect focalization process along the lines suggested by Laca (1986), CLRD typifies a concrete instruction, which he labels *tail*, a term borrowed from Simon Dik. In Vallduví's (1990: 78) own words:

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

Vallduví's merit consists in giving CLRD a particular function within the set of procedures the speaker has at hand to organize the sentence for conveying

information. However, it is not so clear that his definition covers the whole of functions that CLRD can perform. Note that his description explicitly assumes that the speaker presupposes a previous relation between the right-detached element and the link of the sentence. For example, regarding sentence (34), Vallduví's analysis assumes that speaker B is instructing speaker A to amend the relation between 'I', and 'Maria', with the content of the focus, namely 'don't know'. However, attractive as it might be, it is very unlikely that such an analysis applies to CLRD generally. Take a very simple case:

(36) [A situation in which a big sport bag is on a table covered with papers.]

No la deixis aquí, aquesta bossa. No veus que farà malbé els papers?

'Don't let it here, this bag. Don't you see it will damage the papers?'

There is no obvious link here, nor a discourse topic the right-dislocate might be related to. So then, which is the encoded information that must be substituted? This shortcoming becomes even more apparent when instances of 'attributive CLRD', are taken into account:

(37) A: Ahir em vaig trobar la Maria.

'Yesterday, I met Maria by accident.'

B: No vull que l'esmentis, aquella bandararra.

'I don't want you to mention her, that crook.'

A: Caram, no sabia que hi estiguessis enfadat.

'Why, I didn't know you were angry at her.'

Under Vallduví's approach, B's utterance should be analyzed as «I instruct you to go the address 'B' and then substitute 'doesn't want you to mention her' for the blank in the ground 'B __ that crook'». However, this amounts to saying that B presupposes that the qualification of Maria as a crook forms part of the knowledge-store of A, which is certainly unwarranted in the context under discussion, as A's reply shows. Note also that using 'that crook' instead of a mere repetition of 'Maria', conveys a supplementary (new) information: 'I consider that Maria is a crook.' Obviously, Vallduví's analysis of CLRD as a tail is incompatible with this fact, since tails convey information already present in the knowledge-store of the hearer.

A more complete statement of the discursive properties of CLRD is found in Grosz & Ziv's (1998), which builds on data from English and Hebrew. They consider two main classes:⁷ a) CLRD with referents taken from the extralinguistic context and b) CLRD with referents taken from the linguistic context. The first class comprises those cases in which the right-dislocated referent is directly available in the physical situation in which the sentence is uttered, as in the case at issue:

(38) [A situation in which a big sport bag is on a table covered with papers.]

No la deixis aquí, aquesta bossa. No veus que farà malbé els papers?

'Don't let it here, this bag. Don't you see it will damage the papers?'

The referent *aquesta bossa* 'this bag' forms part of the extralinguistic context, but it is available to the hearer because of its immediacy, as the use of the demonstrative makes clear. So then, according to the authors, the function of CLRD in this context is instruct the addressee(s) to search their surroundings for the entity evoked.

The second category included in this class is that of indirectly entities, which is indeed a kind of inferrable relation. Consider an example:

(39) [A situation in which I am reading the last book by P. D. James, but only the title —*A certain justice*— is at sight of Maria. She says:]

No sé com la pots llegir, la P. D. James.

'I don't know who you can read her, P. D. James.'

The referent is not physically present, but inferred from a physically present one, in this case the book. Note that the suppression of the right-dislocate would render a pragmatically odd sentence, which casts doubts on the purely optional nature of right-dislocates.

⁷ Grosz & Ziv (1998) is developed within the framework of Centering Theory (see Grosz, Joshi & Weinstein 1995), which develops a specific terminology, sometimes at odds with current terms. So then, in order to avoid confusion, I replace their terms with the more common ones used throughout this work. Moreover, I adapt their English examples to Catalan ones, since no relevant difference is found between these languages in the issue under discussion.

In the second class, that of discourse available referents, Grosz & Ziv also make a distinction between those directly mentioned in the previous discourse and those inferred. Consider a case of each:⁸

- (40) a. A: Ahir em vaig trobar la Maria.
'Yesterday, I met Maria by accident.'
B: Jo no me la trobo mai, la Maria.
'I NEVER meet her by accident, Maria.'
- b. A: He llegit *Guerra i pau*.
'I have read *War and Peace*.
B: Jo no el puc pair, Tolstoi.
'I cannot stand him, Tolstoi.'

Finally, a third category is taken into account by Grosz & Ziv (1998) under the class of discourse-available referents, that of attributive CLRD. Observe an example:

- (41) A: Ahir em vaig trobar la Maria.
'Yesterday, I met Maria by accident.'
B: Jo no me la trobo mai, aquella bandarria.
'I NEVER meet her by accident, that crook.'

In this case, the right-dislocate predicates a property of its referent, usually one associated with an emotive content (see Guo 1999 for an interesting analysis of the relation between CLRD and emotive content in Mandarin Chinese).⁹

⁸ Indeed, Grosz & Ziv (1998) argue that "CLRD cannot, in general, be used to refer to an entity mentioned in the immediately preceding utterance when NP₁ [= the right dislocate; X.V.] is used strictly referentially." However, this characterization seems at odds with so common an example as (40)a. Furthermore, Birner & Ward (1998) also disagree with them and offer several English counterexamples to their claim.

⁹ This category serves us to introduce a brief excursus on the relationship between CLRD and exclamatives or other configurations conveying an affective force. Consider:

- (i) A: La Maria s'ha comprat un pis nou.
'Mary has bought a new apartment.'
B: a. I ara, sí que en té, de diners!
'Why, she does have money!'
b. Caram, que bojament que se'ls crema, els estalvis!
'Why, she does burn up his savings crazily!'

The resultant picture reflects the organizational nature of CLRD: it helps the speaker to signal to the hearer that he must shift his attention to a referent that wasn't immediately available. Then the right-dislocate becomes the mostly available referent for subsequent mention as a topic:

- (42) A: Et va agradar *Taxi driver*?
 'Did you like *Taxi driver*?'

Interestingly enough, such sentences do not fit into the standard cases of CLRD. First of all, the information conveyed by the right-dislocate is not given. Indeed, sentences like the ones in (i) freely alternate with a sentence having the dislocated element in focus position:

- (ii) A: La Maria s'ha comprat un pis nou.
 'Mary has bought a new apartment.'
 B: a. I ara, sí que en té, de diners!
 'Why, she does have money!'
 a'. I ara, deu tenir molts diners!
 'Why, she must have lots of money!'
 b. Caram, que bojament que se'ls crema, els estalvis!
 'Why, she does burn up his savings crazily!'
 b'. Això és cremar bojament els estalvis!
 'That's burning up his savings crazily!'

Leaving aside stylistic choices, all three sentences are equally appropriate in this context, which suggests the right-dislocate conveys new information in these constructions. This seems confirmed by the fact that, unlike general cases of non-affective CLRD, this construction demands the right-dislocate:

- (iii) A: La Maria s'ha comprat un pis nou.
 'Mary has bought a new apartment.'
 B: a. *I ara, sí que en té!
 '*Why, she does have!'
 b. ??Caram, que bojament que se'ls crema!
 '*Why, she does burn up crazily!'

Note also that beyond pragmatic differences, the right-dislocates found in these affective constructions have distinctive syntactic properties. Significantly enough, they don't easily permute with right-dislocates:

- (iv) A: En Pere m'ha dit que tothom se l'estima per la seva intel·ligència.
 'Pere has told me that everybody loves him because of his intelligence.'
 B: a. Ai fill, que n'arriba a ser, d'ingenu, en Pere.
 b. ??Ai fill, que n'arriba a ser, en Pere, d'ingenu.
 'Oh dear, he is really ingenuous, Pere.'
 A: En Pere m'ha dit que el seu cosí és espantós.
 'Pere has told me that his cousin is horrible.'
 B: a. I tant que n'era, de lleig, el pobre.
 b. ??I tant que n'era, el pobre, de lleig.
 'Sure he was really ugly, the poor fellow.'

This special character is usually reflected in written utterances: this kind of affective dislocations are usually transcribed without the comma that typically marks the intonational break found in CLRD (see Solà 1972 for examples). Even though a more detailed study is needed, the previous description suggests we are dealing with a construction slightly different from CLRD, so I'll leave these examples aside in the ongoing discussion.

B: Em va encantar. Jo el trobo un geni, Scorsese.

'I enjoyed it. I consider him a genius, Scorsese.'

A: D'acord. Ara, també té algunes pel·lícules que són collonades.

'Ok. However, he has some movies that are bullshit.'

This dialogue shows the contribution of CLRD to the organization of discourse. The introduction of *Scorsese* as a right-dislocate converts it in the most available referent in the subsequent utterance, which allows it to be mentioned by means of a null pronominal.

Notwithstanding, all we have until now is a description of CLRD within a discourse framework, which is not the end of the story. The task we have in front of us is that of integrating the pragmatic description with a real semantics for CLRD, which should be capable of answering the question 'which is the real semantic import of CLRD?' Evidently, this task is a formidable one, so I can only attempt here a brief sketch of a possible integration of CLRD in the semantics of the sentence (for attempts of devising a theory integrating information aspects within the semantic playground see McNally 1998, Portner & Yabushita 1998, Roberts 1998). The best suited frameworks to offer a proper account of CLRD are those that incorporate a dynamic dimension, namely that conceive the meaning of a sentence as its update potential. This tradition stems from Stalnaker (1978) and has raised a vast offspring: Discourse Representation Theory, File Change Semantics, Dynamic Montague Semantics, or Update Semantics. My steps will follow quite close Barbara Partee's ones, as stated in Hajičová et al. (1998) and Partee (1999), in her attempt to integrate the Topic-Focus Articulation of sentence into the semantic partition of sentence. This proposal has been discussed in favorable terms with respect to CLLD in 2.1.1.2, but, as far as I know, no serious attempt has been conducted to apply these results to CLRD.

Remember that Partee equates the topic with the restriction of the operator and the focus with the nuclear scope. Since CLRD has a role in the distribution of focus in the sentence, we expect it to have also influence in the way quantification works. Observe the following example, where the most natural interpretations of each sentence are informally represented in the prime versions:

- (43) a. Generalment la Maria el porta [_F al cinema], en Carles.
 ‘Usually Maria takes Carles TO THE CINEMA.’
- a’. [_{operator} usually], [_{restriction} Maria takes Carles somewhere], [_{nuclear scope} Maria takes Carles to the cinema]
- b. Generalment la Maria hi porta [_F en Carles], al cinema.
 ‘Usually Maria takes CARLES to the cinema.’
- b’. [_{operator} usually], [_{restriction} Maria takes someone to the cinema], [_{nuclear scope} Maria takes Carles to the cinema]

These sentences are not truth-conditionally equivalent. Take for example a situation in which Maria takes Carles to the cinema four times but she takes another person, say Rosa, to the cinema ten times. In such a situation, (43)b would be false, but (43)a could still be true. This is exactly what we expect if the right-dislocate contributes to restrict the domain of quantification, either directly or as a consequence of not being part of the focus.

This semantic characterization puts together CLRD and CLLD: both constructions provide quantification with a restriction. This is both a welcome and an uneasy result. On the one hand, it captures the fact that dislocates are material that is somewhat removed from the nuclear scope of the sentence. On the other hand, the resultant picture still defines CLRD in a negative fashion, as a kind of ‘informational wastebasket’ —to use McNally’s 1998 fortunate expression— which is neither the focus nor a link. This is a quite upsetting outcome. In any case, even though at the present stage we can hardly envisage a thorough characterization of the whole of interpretative properties of CLRD, it seems that the seeds of such a future account have the best chances to germinate in the fertile ground of a dynamic semantic framework.

3.1.3. Summary

In this section, a survey of the main properties of CLRD has been carried out. From a syntactic standpoint, it has been shown that CLRD is category-neutral and iterative, that it may appear in embedded contexts, that it allows the free ordering of the dislocates, demands a resumptive clitic, and shows both connectedness and island-sensitivity. From an interpretive point of view, CLRD has been shown to be a major

discourse-organization operation. Besides this, I have suggested that CLRD also has a paper in restricting the domain of quantification of the sentence, in a similar vein to CLLD.

3.2. *Afterthoughts*

Afterthoughts have usually been misanalyzed on a par with CLRD. However, such assimilation cannot withstand close scrutiny. Grosz & Ziv (1998) offer several syntactic and interpretive tests to distinguish them. The former will be considered in the immediately next paragraph and the latter in the following one.

3.2.1. Syntactic properties

I) *Afterthoughts may be of any category*

- (44) a. El vam comprar a Barcelona, el llibre (em refereixo). [DP]
 him PAST-2PL buy in Barcelona the book to.me refer-1
 ‘We bought it in Barcelona, the book I mean.’
- b. Ja me’n vaig comprar un, de llibre (em refereixo). [NP]
 already to.me-of.it past-1 buy one of book
 ‘I already bought ONE book.’
- c. En vam parlar ahir, de la Maria (em refereixo). [PP]
 of.it PAST-2PL talk yesterday of the Maria
 ‘We talked about her yesterday, Maria.’
- c. No *ho* és pas, d’intel·ligent (em refereixo). [AP]
 not it is NEG of intelligent
 ‘(S)he is NOT intelligent.’
- d. La Maria no *hi* ha parlat mai, obertament (em refereixo). [AdvP]
 the Maria not LOC has talked never overtly
 ‘Maria has never TALKED overtly.’
- e. *Ho* sap tothom, que té por de la Maria (em refereixo). [CP_[+tense]]
 it knows everybody that has fear of the Maria
 ‘Everybody knows it, that (s)he is afraid of Maria.’

- f. La Maria sempre *ho* ha intentat, de comprar un cotxe (em refereixo). [CP_[-tense]]
 the Maria always it has tried of buy a car
 ‘Maria has always tried it, to buy a car.’

Virtually any phrase giving rise to an ambiguity may be resumed by an afterthought.

II) *More than one afterthought is possible:*

- (45) a. En Joan i en Miquel estaven barallats, però finalment li va demanar perdó,
 en Miquel a en Joan, vull dir.
 ‘Joan and Miquel were fallen out, but finally he apologized, Miquel to
 Joan, I mean.’
- b. Sabia que en Joan i en Miquel estaven barallats, però no sabia que l’havia
 agredit, en Joan a en Miquel, vull dir.
 ‘I knew that Joan and Miquel were fallen out, but I didn’t know that he hit
 him, Joan to Miquel, I mean.’

The availability of multiple afterthoughts is obviously contingent to the presence of more than one referent whose identity—or rather whose relation—is unclear.

III) *Afterthoughts are not restricted to final position:*

- (46) a. El vaig veure, el teu pare, em refereixo, per les Rambles.
 ‘I saw him, your father, I mean, by the Rambles.’
- b. Que l’has vista, la Maria vull dir, venir a classe amb regularitat?
 ‘Have you seen her, Maria I mean, attend classes regularly?’

The property of afterthoughts to be realized as parentheticals seems to be at the origins of Larsson’s (1979: 148) claim—endorsed by Postal (1991)—that right-dislocates may surface in intrasentential positions. She claims that in the following sentence the right-detached phrase may occupy any of the numbered positions:

(47) Elle, ₋₁ avait ₋₂ offert ₋₃ ce beau livre ₋₄ à mon cousin ₋₅ il y a une semaine ₋₆,
Marie.

‘She offered that nice book to my cousin a week ago, Marie.’

Postal (1991: 13) basically agrees with her claim (except for position 1) and offers the following examples:

(48) a. Rick l’a obtenu, la voiture, d’elle.

‘Rick obtained the car from her.’

b. Elle parlera, Lucille, à Jean demain.

‘Lucille will speak to Jean tomorrow.’

c. Je lui parlerai, à Jean, de ça demain.

‘I will speak to Jean about that tomorrow.’

At this point, we cannot ascertain whether these French sentences are genuine instances of CLRD, as Larsson and Postal claim, or rather instances of afterthoughts inserted as parentheticals, as I suspect, unless we carry out a study of the context in which these sentences occur and of their intonational properties. Yet, we can evaluate Larsson and Postal claim for equivalent Catalan data:

(49) a. La Maria el va veure, el coche, de passada.

‘Maria saw the car on the run.’

b. Hi parlaré, amb en Joan, d’això demà.

‘I will speak to Joan about that tomorrow.’

These sentences are only possible with the especial intonation pattern associated with afterthoughts, namely a strong pause, and a rising tone. Under a CLRD reading these sentences are impossible altogether. Note furthermore that these parentheticals may be accompanied by a clarification phrase (*em refereixo, vull dir* ‘I mean’), which reveals its function as a repair mechanism (see 3.2.2 below):

(50) a. La Maria el va veure, el coche, em refereixo, de passada.

‘Maria saw it, the car, I mean, on the run.’

b. Hi parlaré, amb en Joan, vull dir, d’això demà.

‘I will speak to him, to Joan, I mean, about that tomorrow.’

This is in essence, the description done by Grosz & Ziv (1998) for afterthoughts in English. They provide the following example (theirs (4)):

(51) I met him, your brother, I mean, two weeks ago.

With this evidence, it seems plausible to conclude that afterthoughts but not right-dislocates may appear as parentheticals (obviously, extending this conclusion to the French data considered above remains as a highly plausible hypothesis pending further study).

IV) *In cases of multiple afterthoughts, their ordering is fixed:*

(52) a. En Joan i en Miquel estaven barallats, però finalment li va demanar perdó, en Miquel a en Joan/*a en Joan en Miquel, vull dir.

‘Joan and Miquel were fallen out, but finally he apologized, Miquel to Joan, I mean.’

b. Sabia que en Joan i en Miquel estaven barallats, però no sabia que l’havia agredit, en Joan a en Miquel/*a en Miquel en Joan, vull dir.

‘I knew that Joan and Miquel were fallen out, but I didn’t know that he hit him, Joan to Miquel, I mean.’

The order of afterthoughts is a strict copy of the normal order of complements.

V) *Afterthoughts do not necessarily show connectedness:*

(53) a. Vaig veure en Pere l’altre dia, en Joan, vull dir.

‘I saw Pere the other day, Joan, I mean.’

b. Dóna’m aquell llibre, vull dir, revista.

‘Give me that book, magazine, I mean.’

Here the afterthought doesn’t maintain an obligatory coreference relation with an element within the sentence, but rather it fulfills a mere corrective task.

VI) *Afterthoughts are not constrained by subadjacency:*

(54) a. Et recordes d'aquell parell que explicaven històries? Doncs bé, l'última història que va explicar va ser molt divertida, en Joan, vull dir.

'Do you remember that pair that was telling stories? Well, the last story he told was very funny, Joan, I mean.'

b. En Pere i en Joan van arribar tard a la festa. L'excusa que va donar va ser molt bona, en Pere, em refereixo.

'Pere and Joan arrived late to the party. The excuse he offered was a very good one, Pere, I mean.'

This behavior of afterthoughts —observed by Grosz & Ziv 1998, from whom I adapt ex. (54)a— is in sharp contrast with the strict boundedness of CLRD (see 3.1.1 and 4.1.2.1).

3.2.2. Interpretive properties

Afterthoughts help the hearer to correctly process a message the speaker realizes is potentially ambiguous or inexact. The afterthought is thus added as a supplementary information that allows the hearer to solve this shortcoming. Observe several paradigmatic examples:

(55) a. Tant la Carme com la Maria són dues magnífiques estudiants. Però la Carme vol ser lampista i la Maria física nuclear. Jo no l'entenc, la Maria, em refereixo.

'Both Carme and Maria are two great students. However, Carme wants to be a plumber and Maria a nuclear physician. I don't understand her, Maria, I mean.'

b. En Joan i en Miquel estaven barallats, però finalment li va demanar perdó, en Miquel a en Joan, vull dir.

'Joan and Miquel were fallen out, but finally he apologized, Miquel to Joan, I mean.'

(56) a. Vam tenir dos, no tres, terratrèmols en una setmana.

'We had two, no three, earthquakes in a week.'

b. Va dir que vindria dilluns, vull dir dimarts.

‘(S)he said (s)he would come Monday, I mean Tuesday.’

In (55) the function of the afterthought is that of disambiguating the reference of the participants represented by pronouns. In (56), instead, afterthoughts are corrective in nature: they correct an error. This is confirmed by the fact that afterthoughts may always be supplemented by clarifying expressions like *vull dir* ‘I mean’, *em refereixo* ‘I mean’, as it many examples in this section show.

This conception of afterthoughts as repair mechanisms helps us explain why they are very common in unplanned oral discourses, but totally absent in planned written ones (see Grosz & Ziv 1998): they are not a discourse organization mechanism, like CLRD, but rather ‘last resort’ strategies to repair inaccurate utterances.

3.2.3. Summary

In this section, we have shown that afterthoughts are an independent construction, which must be carefully distinguished of CLRD. From a syntactic point of view, afterthoughts can affect phrases of any category; they may appear more than once by sentence, but with a fixed word order (identical to the one found in complements). Moreover, they are not restricted to final position, do not necessarily show connectedness, and are not constrained by subadjacency. From an interpretive standpoint, afterthoughts are discourse-repair mechanisms that rescue inaccurate utterances in unplanned oral discourses.

3.3. Conclusions

This chapter has set the basis for a better understanding of right-detachments. Particularly, two distinct constructions have been recognized: CLRD and afterthoughts. The former has clear syntactic characteristics that parallel in many respects those of CLLD; the latter, on the contrary, is a discourse-repair mechanism unaffected by syntactic restrictions.

Appendix A: Deaccenting and prosodic movement¹⁰

In his detailed comparison of the comparison of Catalan and English mechanisms for the encoding of information, Vallduví (1990:135) makes the following reflection:

It is true that, while right-detachment in Catalan is an option which is frequent and available in all registers, right-detachment in English is a more elusive construction (cf. Vallduví 1988a). English seems to share with Catalan the right-detachment encoding of tails, but restricted to nonverbal projections, and, furthermore, used mostly in cases where the exclusively prosodic alternative is not available.

Vallduví shows that English resorts to stress manipulation (see Cinque 1993, Vallduví 1990, 1994, 1995, Zubizarreta 1998) in cases where Catalan must resort to either CLRD or CLLD:

- (57) a. Maria brought THE WINE.
a'. La Maria va portar EL VI.
b. Maria BROUGHT the wine.
b'. *La Maria VA PORTAR el vi.
c. Maria BROUGHT it, the wine.
c'. La Maria el VA PORTAR, el vi.

This state of affairs is certainly striking. Why should Catalan lack deaccenting? Or conversely, why should English have right-detachment besides deaccenting? When confronted with these questions, two attitudes may be taken up. We can assume that there is no issue at all, that this is just a casual state of affairs without any explanation beyond chance, inasmuch as the fact that not all languages have applicatives or noun incorporation or tone features. This might be quite so, and at this point, the current research has nothing more conclusive to say that acknowledging the fact that different languages resort to different mechanism to obtain the same result. Nevertheless, although in many senses frustrating, another position might be pursued, no relying on chance but on structural factors both understandable and definable. I have the conviction that the wider the perspective we seek the more illuminating the conclusions we arrive at. This would be my goal in

¹⁰ I owe many thanks to María Luisa Zubizarreta for helping me to clarify many of the ideas expressed in this appendix.

this section, where I will consider briefly deaccenting in English, Spanish and Italian, which also show CLRD. At the end, even though no conclusive answer will emerge, I will at least have added some more pieces to the puzzle, with the confidence that a future research will solve it.

A.1. English

Since Chomsky and Halle's *The sound pattern of English*, the analysis of sentence stress has dwelt on the Nuclear Stress Rule (NSR), which can be defined as follows (I take the definition in Zubizarreta 1998: 46, for it complies with the framework assumed thorough this work; see also Cinque 1993):

Nuclear Stress Rule

Given two sister nodes C_i and C_j , the one lower in the asymmetric c-command ordering is more prominent.

As Cinque (1993) observes, this rule is a purely structurally-based procedure that applies blindly. Furthermore, he claims that another different mechanism is needed in order to ensure the correct assignment of stresses with respect to the Topic-Focus Articulation of the sentence. I cannot stand quoting Cinque's (1993: 258) words for they offer us a perfect settlement of the issue:

In this light, the sentence grammar procedure of phrase stress assignment can be conceived of as a formal means for locating the stress of a phrase (the most deeply embedded constituent under the null theory), and for marking the relative degree of prominence of the various stresses in the phrase (in terms of the respective number of asterisks in the metrical grid). The discourse grammar procedure instead may be taken to impose the requirement that the main stress of the phrase in focus be more prominent than the main stress of the presupposition (in absolute terms).

Let us assume that the latter procedure is formulated as in Zubizarreta (1998: 88):

Focus Prominence Rule (FPR)

Given two sister nodes C_i (marked [+F]) and C_j (marked [-F]), C_i is more prominent than C_j .¹¹

The requirements of these two procedures may produce the same result, as in the following paradigm from Greenbaum & Quirk (1990: 18.6ff):

- (58) a. A: What's on today?
B: [+F We're going to the RACES]
- b. A: What are we doing today?
B: [-F We're] [+F going to the RACES]
- c. A: Where are we going today?
B: [-F We're going] [+F to the RACES]

The NSR assigns the highest prominence to the structurally lower constituent in the tree, namely the noun *racers*. This assignment respects the FPR for the possible [+F] constituents are also more prominent than the [-F] ones (this phenomenon is described with the name of *broad focus* or *focus projection*). However, we do expect cases where the two procedures yield contradictory results. One such situation happens when the focus-marked element is a constituent higher than the most deeply embedded element, as in the following paradigm from Greenbaum & Quirk (1990: 18.6ff):

- (59) A: Have you decided whether you're going to the races?
B: Yes, [-F we] [+F ARE] [-F going to the races]

Here, the NSR should assign the main stress to *racers*, as in the preceding examples, but then the FPR would be violated for the focus-marked constituent would be less prominent than the [-F] constituent *going to the races*. Descriptively speaking, the VP *going to the races* is deaccented, and it behaves as if it were invisible for the NSR. The exact technical implementation of such a description varies among

¹¹ As Zubizarreta (1998) carefully remarks, [F] is simply a diacritic marking the constituents that are interpreted as (part of the) focus. It should not be confused with the 'focus' feature involved in focalization constructions. Zubizarreta (p.c.) points out to me that a more proper and less confusing phrasing of the latter would be as a semantic feature 'exclusive' akin to the interpretation of *only*.

scholars (see Cinque 1993 and Zubizarreta 1998 for two different views). Regardless of the technical solution adopted, there is some consensus that English resorts to deaccenting to resolve the conflict between the NSR and the FPR.

Given this, what is the role of English right-dislocation? Under Vallduví's (1990) comparison of information packaging in Catalan and English, this is quite unexpected. Vallduví's answer —quoted at the beginning of section 3.3— is that right-dislocation is a kind of last resort rule used when deaccenting, which is the preferred mechanism, is not available. This description, however, does not seem to be very accurate. Consider the following real examples of right-dislocation quoted in Birner & Ward (1998: 145-156):

- (60) a. They really were ENORMOUS, those pipes.
b. She's a smart cookie, that Diana.
c. It's a massive plus, this visit.
d. It's very delicate, the lawn.

In all the examples, maintaining the subject in its original position would have produced the same prosodic effect, namely main stress on the rightmost element in the sentence. So why on earth should right-dislocation apply in these examples? Note that the application of right-dislocation is completely gratuitous here, for not even deaccenting is needed to obtain the same prosodic effect. Obviously, the last-resort approach cannot help us here, unless it is assumed that, even though right-dislocation overlaps with deaccenting, it has an additional interpretive import. Let us push this line of argumentation a bit further. It has been shown that right-dislocation in English may be used to express emotive content (see Grosz & Ziv 1998: section 4, from whom I borrow the example; see Guo 1999 for Mandarin Chinese, and 3.1.2 above for Catalan):

- (61) I took my dog to the vet yesterday. He is getting unaffordable, the mangy old beast.

In this example, neither making available the reference of the subject pronoun nor ensuring that main stress gets placed on *unaffordable* justify the application of right-dislocation. It might be suggested that it adds a supplementary emotive content to the

sentence. However, it is really difficult to argue that (61) and (62) are any different from an interpretive point of view:

(62) I took my dog to the vet yesterday. The mangy old beast is getting unaffordable.

Note that I am not negating the possibility that speakers may have diverging opinions on this issue, for this is what usually happens in many informal descriptions of language facts. The crucial point is that our analysis must support this subjective intuition with formal tests relying on interpretation: e.g. are truth-conditions affected? Are the implicatures involved different? Unless this move is done, the use of notions such as ‘emotive content’ lacks any real explanatory content. At this point, I don’t see any strong argument supporting the last-resort character of English right-dislocation.

A.2. Spanish

In Spanish, as in English, the NSR governs the assignment of stress in focus neutral contexts, so it surfaces on the rightmost element (see Zubizarreta 1998):

- (63) a. A: ¿Qué ha pasado?
 ‘What happened?’
 B: [+F Juan se ha comprado un COCHE]
 ‘John bought a car.’
- b. A: ¿Qué pasa con Juan?
 ‘What about John?’
 B: [-F Juan] [+F se ha comprado un COCHE]
 ‘John bought a car.’
- c. A: ¿Qué se ha comprado Juan?
 ‘What did John bought?’
 B: [-F Juan se ha comprado] [+F un COCHE]
 ‘John bought a car.’

In these cases, no conflict arises between the NSR and the FPR. However, conflictive examples come easily to mind. As Zubizarreta (1998: ch. 3) shows, VSO is naturally

associated with either [+F VSO] (broad focus) or VS[-F O] (narrow/contrastive focus). However, what happens if the object is presupposed, with a VS[-F O] structure? The object is the lowest constituent, so it would receive main prominence by the NSR. However, it is [-F], so the assignment by the NSR would enter in contradiction with the FPR, which demands that [+F] constituents receive more prominence than [-F] ones. In this situation, Spanish can resort to deaccenting, like English:

(64) Se ha comprado JUAN el coche.

‘JUAN bought the car.’

Yet, Zubizarreta (1998: 2.4) observes that even though both English and Spanish make use of deaccenting, the consequences of the use of this mechanism are different in each language. In English deaccenting allows a [+F] constituent to receive stress by NSR, so this constituent may be either broad or narrow focus (under the assumption that broad focus correlates with stress assignment by the NSR; see Cinque 1993, Zubizarreta 1998). Consider:

(65) a. A: What happened to the car?

B: [+F John BROKE] [-F the car]

b. A: I heard John painted the car.

B: [-F John] [+F BROKE] [-F the car]

This leads Zubizarreta to conclude that English (she extends her analysis to German as well) deaccented phrases become metrically invisible for the NSR. In contrast, Zubizarreta observes that in Spanish deaccented material is always metrically visible. She supports her claim in contrasts like the following (Zubizarreta 1994: ex. 38, which I reproduce with minor formal changes for the sake of homogeneity):

(66) A: ¿Qué pasó con el libro?

‘What happened with the book?’

B: #Destruyó JUAN, el libro.

destroyed JUAN the book

In this sentence, the [+F] on the postverbal subject cannot project upward, hence it cannot be an appropriate answer to A's question. Indeed, such sentence is only possible in a contrastive context:

- (67) A: ¿Qué pasó con el libro? Lo destruyó el perro, ¿verdad?
'What happened with the book? The DOG destroyed it, didn't he?'
B: No. [-F Destruyó] [+F JUAN], [-F el libro]
'No. JUAN destroyed the book.'

The subject in the above examples can only have narrow focus, unlike the English examples above, which show either narrow or broad focus. This leads Zubizarreta to conclude that the responsible for the assignment of main stress to *Juan* in (66)-(67) is not the NSR, but a special rule that assigns emphatic/contrastive stress (see Zubizarreta 1998: 2.1.2).

Compare now the examples showing deaccenting with the ones involving CLRD:

- (68) a. A: ¿Qué pasó con el libro?
'What happened with the book?'
B: Lo destruyó JUAN, el libro.
it-destroyed JUAN the book
b. A: ¿Qué pasó con el libro? Lo destruyó el perro, ¿verdad?
'What happened with the book? The DOG destroyed it, didn't he?'
B: No. Lo destruyó JUAN, el libro.
'No. JUAN destroyed the book.'

Here, the subject may receive either broad or narrow focus, as expected from an NSR-driven assignment (see Zubizarreta 1998). This expectation correlates with Laca's (1986) suggestion that CLRD is an indirect mechanism to get main prominence on a focused element (see A.1).

The contrast between deaccenting and CLRD in Spanish has syntactic correlates. Zubizarreta (1998: 151ff) observes that, beyond the lack of a resumptive clitic, deaccented elements do not show free word order, in contrast to CLRD (Zubizarreta 1998: ch. 3, exs. 160, 164):

- (69) a. Escondió el NIÑO el libro debajo de la cama.
 'The BOY hid the book under the bed.'
 a'. Lo escondió el NIÑO, el libro, debajo de la cama.
 b. *Escondió el NIÑO debajo de la cama el libro.
 b'. Lo escondió el NIÑO, debajo de la cama, el libro.

These two contrasts lead Zubizarreta to conclude that deaccented elements are *in situ*, the stress assignment being guided not by the NSR but by a special rule of emphatic/contrastive stress, which would explain why they must be narrow foci. CLRD, instead, would entail movement driven by feature-checking (indeed she analyzes CLRD as an instance of CLLD beyond TenseP plus movement of TenseP upward —Zubizarreta 1998: ch. 3 fn. 57); I will turn to this analysis in 4.3). Therefore, even though CLRD and CLLD have effects on the prosodic structure of sentence, they are not instances of prosodically motivated movement (p-movement). Zubizarreta carefully restricts the range of p-movements to cases of local scrambling like the following:

- (70) a. Me regaló la botella de vino [_{F+} María]
 'MARÍA gave me the bottle of wine.'
 b. Ana escondió debajo de la cama [_{F+} la muñeca]
 'Ana hid THE DOLL under the bed.'

Zubizarreta analyzes these examples as derivations via p-movement from $V_{[+F]S}O$ and $SV_{[+F]O}PP$ respectively. The deaccented constituents move leftward to allow the NSR to assign main prominence to the [+F] constituent (see Zubizarreta 1998: 3.3 for details; cf. also Ordóñez 1997). Here, the movement is not motivated by feature checking, but rather by prosodic reasons, namely to solve the contradictory stress assignment yielded by the NSR and the FPR. Zubizarreta (1998: 3.5.1) formulates p-movement as follows (ph=phonological content):

Affect the nodes α and β iff these nodes have contradictory prosodic properties, where the notion of prosodic contradiction is to be understood as in (124)

[(124) = ... [δ [α ph*] ... [β ph*]], where α and β are metrical sisters].

She considers that the rule of p-movement applies in the following way. First, we have an assignment of [F] (=focus) and [prosodic prominence] (marked with an asterisk) on pure absolute terms. These assignments might yield a prosodic configuration like the following:

(71) ... [δ [α ph*]_[+F] ... [β ph*]_[-F]]

It is at this point where the FPR and the NSR apply. The former requires that α be prominent with respect to β , because it is [+F], but the latter requires that β be prominent with respect to α because it is lower in the structure. Leaving aside the possibility of treating β as metrically invisible —the English strategy—, Zubizarreta considers several ways of modifying this configuration to yield a non-contradictory one. She rejects copying without deletion, for it would yield a non-convergent derivation at PF, and deletion without copying, for it would make impossible to rescue the content of the deleted element. Therefore, it must be copying plus deletion, i.e. movement. She considers three movement possibilities:¹²

(72) a. ... [δ [δ t α ... [β ph*]_[-F]] [α ph*]_[+F]]
 b. ... [χ [β ph*]_[-F] [χ γ [δ [α ph*]_[+F] ... t β]]]
 c. ... [δ [β ph*]_[-F] [δ [α ph*]_[+F] ... t β]]

The former option is to be rejected on independent grounds, namely it violates the LCA. The second possibility, an instance of non-local p-movement, doesn't even

¹² There is a further logical possibility not considered by Zubizarreta, namely adjunction of α to δ :

(i) ... [δ [α ph*]_[+F] [δ t α ... [β ph*]_[-F]]]

Apparently, this derivation solves the contradiction and is strictly local, so it should be possible in principle. Obviously, this leads us to an unwanted final configuration like (underlining indicates main stress):

(ii) *Ana escondió [_{F+} la muñeca] [_F debajo de la cama]
 'Ana hid THE DOLL under the bed.'

However, such a possibility doesn't arise if the effect of the NSR and the FPR are based on *metrical* sisterhood (see Zubizarreta 1998: ch. 2 for a formal definition), a slightly different notion. In a nutshell, even though α and β are not sisters in (i), they are metrical sisters. For one thing: β and δ are not metrically distinct (i.e. they both dominate the same visible material). Therefore, the metrical sisters α and β in (i) *do* contradict the FPR, yielding (ii) unacceptable. The distinction between

arise, for it would affect the nodes β and γ , which, not being metrical sisters (for δ dominates metrically visible material other than β , namely α), cannot be defined as prosodically contradictory. Therefore, according to Zubizarreta, we can only have the latter option: leftward local movement.

This formulation of p-movement has an interesting empirical consequence: it predicts that multiple p-movement will be impossible. Let us see why. One possible source to multiple p-movement would be:

(73) [χ $\alpha_{[+F]}$ [δ ... $\beta_{[-F]}$... $\gamma_{[-F]}$...]]

Crucially, neither β or γ are metrical sisters of α , for δ is metrically distinct from β and γ , and this is what blocks the application of p-movement, which crucially affects metrical sisters. Therefore, the contradiction must be solved otherwise, namely by p-movement of the constituent δ (if δ is a maximal projection; see Zubizarreta 1998: 3.5 for discussion). The resultant configuration is unproblematic for the FPR:

(74) [χ [δ ... $\beta_{[-F]}$... $\gamma_{[-F]}$...]] [χ $\alpha_{[+F]}$ t_δ]]

This theoretical discussion has an empirical import: it predicts that a basic $[S]_{+F}$ VOPP structure will surface as VOPP $[S]_{+F}$ —with movement of the lower VP—but never as VPPO $[S]_{+F}$. The prediction is borne out:

(75) a. Puso la valija sobre la cama la camarera del hotel. (Zubizarreta 1998: ex. 88a)

put the suitcase on the bed the attendant of-the hotel

b. *Puso sobre la cama la valija la camarera del hotel.

Given the previous analysis, Zubizarreta shows that the derivation of (75)a must be as follows (for the double VP structure see Chomsky 1995: 4.6; Chomsky uses $v(P)$ instead of $V(P)_1$ and $V(P)$ instead of $V(P)_2$):

sisterhood and metrical sisterhood is crucial for Zubizarreta's system to work, so it must carefully be maintained.

(76) [TP pUSO [VP₁ [VP₂ la valija_k [V₂ [e_k [PP sobre la cama]]]]]_j [VP₁ la camarera del hotel [V₁ [e_j]]]]

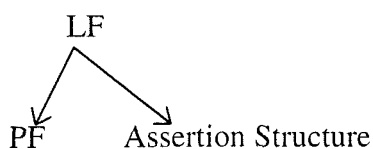
Now it becomes obvious why the ordering in (75)b cannot be derived: it would entail a further p-movement of the PP over the object, which would be unmotivated. In other words, it would violate the last resort nature of p-movement.

Consider now precisely this aspect. Although the gist of Zubizarreta proposal is clear and intuitively well grounded, some qualifications are necessary. First, if p-movement is last resort, its application must be blocked if another option exists to solve the conflict between the NSR and the FPR. One such option easily comes to mind: CLRD/CLLD. We have already seen that CLRD/CLLD has the consequence of allowing other element to receive focus by the NSR, namely the very same function that p-movement. Therefore, why don't we have CLRD/CLLD instead of p-movement in cases like (70)? Zubizarreta doesn't address this issue explicitly, but a natural solution follows within her system if we consider the grammar architecture she has in mind, particularly her schema in Zubizarreta (1998: ch. 1 ex. 85):

(77) ↓ (sets of phrase-markers, feature checking)

 Σ-Structure (unique phrase-marker)

 ↓ (F-marking, NSR, FPR, p-movement)



Given such architecture, and the fact that Zubizarreta (1998: 3.1.1) considers CLRD/CLLD instances of feature movement, it becomes clear that no competition is possible between them and p-movement: the latter would only affect those phrase-markers where a prosodic conflict remains after the checking of features have been done. Obviously, derivations having CLRD would solve this conflict before it even arises, namely before Σ-structure.

Zubizarreta's architecture of grammar departs in many respects from the standard assumptions of the Minimalist Program, and has many far-reaching theoretical and empirical consequences, so no attempt will be made here to explore

them all, for it would lead us too far afield. See, however, 4.3, where Zubizarreta's proposal for CLRD will be discussed.

A.3. Italian

Unlike the brief but conspicuous description Zubizarreta (1998) makes of deaccenting in Spanish, the works about this construction in Italian are quite confusing. Consider for example the discussion of the following Italian examples offered by Cecchetto (1999) we considered above in 3.1.1:

- (78) a. (Lo) porto io, il vino.
 it carry I the wine
 b. ^{??}(Lo) porta un mio amicco, il vino.
 it carries a friend of mine the wine

According to him, the version without clitic is a nondislocated structure where the *in situ* object has been deaccented. Nevertheless, this deaccenting strategy is only possible in (78)a because of the presence of the emphatic pronoun *io* 'I'. Such an analysis is certainly appealing for it would explain why Italian, which has a rich clitic system, may apparently have CLRD without resumptive clitics, an exceptional behavior in the Romance family. However, it raises many doubts to be considered a definitive solution to the problem. First, it only partially fits with the description in Benincà et al. (1988: 1.4.1), which I reproduce *in extenso*:

[f]ra el verbo e l'elemento dislocato a destra si può trovare un costituente contrastato, che forma un unico gruppo tonale con il verbo stesso; questo costituente può essere anche il soggetto:

- (127) a. Ha mangiato IL POLLO ARROSTO, il gatto.
 b. Ha telefonato GIORGIO, alla polizia.

[...] In particolare, se il soggetto di un verbo transitivo viene topicalizzato a destra del verbo, possiamo descrivere questo fatto sia come un spostamento del verbo a sinistra, sia come uno spostamento del soggetto a destra:

- (129) a. (L)'ho portato IO, il dolce.
 b. (Glìe)(l)'ha prestata CARLO, a Giorgio, la tua macchina/la tua macchina, a Gioio.

In questi casi la ripresa pronominale dell'oggetto è molto usata, ma la sua mancanza non produce una agrammaticalità pari a quella che si produce con la mancanza di ripresa dell'oggetto dislocato a sinistra.

From the consideration of these words, two questions arise:

- a) Does the presence/absence of the clitic correlate with an obligatory contrastive focus reading?
- b) Does the presence/absence of the clitic correlate with a free ordering of the dislocates?

Neither of these questions can be answered unless a detailed study is carried out of the contexts in which these sentences can be used, a point not considered by Benincà et al. (1988). Furthermore, question b) raises the doubt whether in the versions without clitic the focused element must be narrow/contrastive, like in Spanish.

Furthermore, there is no consensus on the way to deal with these examples. For example, Antinucci & Cinque (1977) would consider (78) instances of *emarginazione* forced by subject inversion. To make the things more complicated, *emarginazione* seems to be half the way between deaccenting and CLRD. On the one hand, it shares with deaccenting the lack of resumptive clitic; on the other hand, it shares with CLRD the possibility of a free reordering of the emarginated elements (Antinucci & Cinque 1977: exs. 98/99):

- (79) a. Ha dato Giorgio, un libro, a Piero.
'Giorgio gave a book to Piero.'
- b. Ha dato Giorgio, a Piero, un libro.
'Giorgio gave a book to Piero.'

It seems that *emarginazione* cross-cuts CLRD (free ordering of emarginated elements) and deaccenting (lack of resumptive clitic and forced by subject inversion). This apparently contradictory behavior is rather puzzling for current analyses of CLRD and deaccenting. More research is needed.

A.4. Conclusions

The resultant picture is by far more complex than the quite simple comparative situation described by Vallduví (1990, 1994, 1995) for Catalan and English. According to Zubizarreta, we would have a richer typology of information/prosodic relationships: CLRD, deaccenting, and p-movement. Again, the immediate question is why such variation should be allowed to obtain the very same result. Indeed, it is a real fact that in Spanish the quite free reordering of internal arguments that Zubizarreta analyzes in terms of p-movement is not allowed in Catalan nor in principle in English (see Zubizarreta 1998: 3.6.2 for a discussion on the possibility to explain English heavy NP shift in terms of p-movement). In turn, Spanish lacks the pervasive use of CLRD we find in Catalan. A possible answer to this state of affairs easily comes to mind: the availability of clitics. It seems that the following generalization holds:

- (80) The richer the clitic system of a language the greater the use it makes of CLRD.

Spanish has a more limited clitic system, for it lacks oblique clitics deriving from Latin IBI and INDE (Catalan *hi/en*, French *y/ne*, Italian *ci/ne*), so the less pervasive use of CLRD would be somewhat expected. However, even though this generalization would come to adequately describe the cross-linguistic distribution of CLRD (it should be studied the behavior of Galician and Portuguese, which have a clitic system comparable to that of Spanish, or the behavior of Occitan, which has a richer one), it has too weak a formulation to shed any empirical light on the issue. As it stands, it makes no clear predictions about hypothetical languages. For example, this generalization doesn't even say whether a language without clitics should allow CLRD or not; or conversely, whether the presence of clitics necessarily entails CLRD. Indeed, we find (equivalents to) CLRD in all the languages of the world. For instance, in SOV languages lacking verbal clitics, rightward scrambling is a common mechanism to mark background material (see Endo 1996 for Japanese, Butt & King 1997 for Turkish and Urdu, and Mahajan 1997 for Hindi). Mandarin Chinese is another case: it lacks either clitics or agreement, but it does license right-dislocation (see Guo 1999). One may claim that this state of affairs resembles very much that of the Null Subject Parameter as formulated in Jaeggli & Safir (1986: 29):