

## TOPICS AT THE LEFT EDGE OF INFINITIVE CLAUSES IN SPANISH AND CATALAN\*

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**ABSTRACT.** This paper presents data from Spanish and Catalan that show that clitic left dislocated (CLLDed) constituents can target the left edge of an infinitival clause (IC). Although these data may appear surprising given that ICs are usually claimed to have an impoverished left periphery (Hernanz 2011, Ojea 2013), they actually expand on previous work that has noted that Romance CLLD can appear in other structurally deficient domains (Authier & Haegeman 2015, Jiménez-Fernández & Miyagawa 2014). I defend that the data reported in this paper can be made to follow from Ott's (2015) analysis of CLLD. For this author, CLLDed constituents are parenthetical elements, which are not syntactically integrated in their host clauses. Consequently, the distribution of CLLDed constituents should be immune to the syntactic deficiency of a particular domain, in this case ICs. This view does not imply that the distribution of CLLD is unrestricted. I will suggest that the appearance of CLLD is determined by prosodic factors.

**Keywords.** clitic left dislocation, ellipsis, parentheticals, infinitive clauses, left periphery, syntax-prosody

**RESUMEN.** En este artículo apporto datos nuevos del español y el catalán que demuestran que la dislocación a la izquierda con clítico (DIC) puede aparecer en el margen izquierdo de una oración de infinitivo (OI), lo cual puede ser sorprendente dado que generalmente se asume que las OI tienen una periferia izquierda empobrecida (Hernanz 2011, Ojea 2013). Sin embargo, estos datos se suman a otros trabajos donde se ha evidenciado que la DIC en lenguas romances puede aparecer en otros dominios estructuralmente deficientes (Authier & Haegeman 2015, Jiménez-Fernández & Miyagawa 2014). En este trabajo defiendo que los datos presentados en este artículo se pueden explicar si asumimos la teoría de DIC de Ott (2015). Para este autor, estos elementos dislocados son parentéticos que no están sintácticamente integrados en la oración que (aparentemente) los contiene. Se sigue de esto que la distribución de la DIC debería ser inmune a la deficiencia estructural de un determinado dominio, en nuestro caso las OI. Este enfoque no implica que la aparición de la DIC no esté restringida: en este artículo sugeriré que la aparición de los dislocados está determinada por factores prosódicos.

**Palabras clave.** dislocación a la izquierda con clítico, elipsis, parentéticos, oraciones de infinitivo, periferia izquierda, sintaxis-prosodia

### 1. Syntactic deficient environments

There is a fair consensus in the literature that non-finite clauses are deficient in some sense, not only morphologically - they lack overt realization of tense and agreement morphology - but also syntactically. Syntactic deficiency is observed in the allegedly incapability for non-finite clauses to host A-moved constituents. In this paper I restrict

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the discussion to infinitival clauses (IC hereafter) in complement position. Examples in (1) (from Ojea, 2013, p.142) illustrate that topicalization<sup>1</sup> (1a) and negative preposing (1b) cannot target the left edge of a to-infinitive clause in English.

- (1) a. \*He wanted [<sub>CP</sub> [during the holidays]<sub>i</sub> to write a book *t<sub>i</sub>*].  
 b. \*He told me [<sub>CP</sub> [on no account]<sub>i</sub> to write such book *t<sub>i</sub>*].

The syntactic deficiency of ICs is also observed in Spanish, as noted by Hernanz (2011), Gallego (2010), Ojea (2013), among others. The following examples show that the left edge of an IC cannot host any of the operations that usually target the left periphery in this language. Such operations are clitic left dislocation (CLLD), focus fronting (FF) and verum focus fronting<sup>2</sup> (VFF) (Leonetti & Escandell 2009):

- (2) a. ?? Luis quiere los libros leerlos.  
       Luis wants the books to.read.them  
       'Luis wants to read the books' CLLD  
 b. \*Luis quiere CERVEZA beber (y no sidra).  
       Luis wants BEER to.drink (and not cider)  
       'Luis wants to drink beer and not cider' FF  
 c. \*Lola cree algo haber hecho mal.  
       Lola thinks something to.have done wrong  
       'Lola thinks she's done something wrong' VFF

Work by Hooper & Thompson (1973) revealed, building on previous research by Emonds (1970), that certain syntactic transformations, like topicalization and negative preposing, are only possible in main clauses, which is why they refer to these operations as Main Clause Phenomena (MCP). Essentially, their proposal is that MCP occur in asserted clauses.<sup>3</sup> Main clauses are, by definition, assertions. Further, they show that a subset of embedded clauses - mainly clausal complements of non-factive predicates - can also host MCP. The asymmetry between MCP in factive and non-factive environments is illustrated below. Whereas clausal complements to some verb types like *verba dicenda* (3) allow topicalized and negative preposed constituents in their

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<sup>1</sup> By *topicalization* I refer to a particular topic-comment structure, exhibited by English but unavailable in Romance (Rizzi 1997: 285) where the topical constituent is fronted leaving a real gap in its generation position. Topicalization is frequently contrasted to left-dislocation, which is superficially more similar to clitic left dislocation in that no gap (i.e. no movement trace) is observed in the clause:

- i. This book, I still haven't read *t<sub>i</sub>*. (Topicalization)  
 ii. This book, I still haven't read it. (Left dislocation)

The analysis developed in this paper does not carry over to topicalization, for which I assume a standard analysis in terms of A'-movement from its generation position (Haegeman 2004b, among others) to the left periphery of the clause.

<sup>2</sup> VFF, aka mild or weak focalization (Batllori & Hernanz 2009, Gallego 2010, Leonetti & Escandell 2009) is syntactically identical to focus fronting (Samek-Lodovici 2005, Zubizarreta 1998) –for example in requiring strict adjacency between the verb and the focused constituent (but see Jiménez-Fernández 2015 for variation in Spanish)– although it differs from it along two dimensions. Semantically, it is not interpreted as contrastive but rather it expresses some kind of emphasis. Prosodically, weakly fronted elements never get emphatic stress and are never separated from the clause by a pause. VFF typically targets quantificational elements.

<sup>3</sup> More recent research has shown that the availability of MCP does not really correlate with assertivity (Bentzen 2009), although this traditional characterization is enough for the purposes of this paper.

periphery –(3a) and (3b) respectively– clausal complements to factive predicates disallow both constructions.

- (3) Hooper & Thompson (1973: 474, their 50 and 40)  
 a. The inspector explained that each part he had examined carefully.  
 b. I exclaimed that never in my life had I seen such a crowd.
- (4) Hooper & Thompson (1973: 479, their 109 & 103)  
 a. \*I resent the fact that each part he had to examine carefully.  
 b. \*He was surprised that never in my life had I seen a hippopotamus.

As for infinitive clauses, Hooper and Thompson explicitly argue that MCP are barred from "reduced clauses", which they define as "complement types which have uninflected verbs." (Hooper & Thompson 1973: 484). They conclude that "reduced clauses are never assertions, as can be easily seen by (...) their inability to occur in isolation and their lack of a person-number marker on the verb" (Hooper & Thompson 1973: 485). Given that they are not assertions, the ungrammaticality of the examples in (1) is naturally expected.

Extensive research by Liliane Haegeman has evidenced that, apart from clausal complements of factive predicates and ICs, some adverbial clauses also exhibit a similar syntactically deficient behaviour. Haegeman refers to these as central adverbial clauses, which include conditional, temporal, purpose and causal clauses. As expected, these contexts cannot host topicalized material (Haegeman 2003: 629):

- (5) a. \*While [this paper]<sub>i</sub> I was revising  $t_i$  last week, I thought of another analysis.  
 b. \*If [these exams]<sub>i</sub> you don't pass  $t_i$ , you won't get the degree.

To sum up: ICs, as well as clausal complements to factive verbs and central adverbial clauses reject left peripheral activity like topicalized or negative preposed constituents. In this paper I focus on CLLD in Spanish and Catalan in ICs. In particular, I provide evidence, contrary to usual claims, that CLLD can indeed occur at the left edge of ICs in these languages. This will be the goal of §2, where I will also argue that such data are problematic for various existing analyses of CLLD.

A novel account is offered in §3, where I defend that Ott's (2015) analysis of CLLD, which takes left dislocated constituents to be parentheticals, can account for the data reviewed in §2. Being parenthetical elements, they are not part of the spine of the clause where they are attached to and therefore, the allegedly syntactic deficiency of one particular environment is irrelevant to account for the distribution of CLLDed phrases. This is not to say that CLLDed phrases can appear *everywhere*. In §4 I will make a speculation on how to restrict the distribution of CLLD which is based on the idea that its appearance is conditioned by prosodic factors. Finally, §5 contains the main conclusions.

## 2. Clitic Left Dislocation

### 2.1. Introduction

This paper deals with Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD hereafter) in Spanish and Catalan in ICs. In CLLD a constituent is displaced to the left edge of a clause. The CLLDed phrase is doubled by a clitic in the domain of the IP. The construction thus looks like a subcase of clitic doubling, although there are many reasons to believe that

they are distinct phenomena (Anagnostopoulou 2006, among others). From an information structure point of view, CLLD is said to mark the topic of the sentence.<sup>4</sup>

The literature on CLLD in Romance languages is vast (see, among others, Cecchetto, 1999; Cinque, 1977, 1990; Frascarelli, 2004; Rubio, 2014; Samek-Lodovici, 2015; Villalba, 2000). There are two main hot issues regarding CLLD<sup>5</sup>: first, the structural position of the dislocated phrase. Many technical proposals are available which range from adjunction of the topic to T or C, to the postulation of a topic-dedicated projection whose specifier is occupied by the CLLDed phrase (see López, 2009 and Rubio Alcalá, 2014 for some overviews).

The second issue concerns the derivational nature of the CLLDed phrase, i.e. whether it reaches its surface position by means of internal or external merge. This is a more intricate question. Assuming Postal (1971) and Chomsky (1981)'s split characterization of movement chains in terms of A and A'-movement<sup>6</sup> and that A-movement is case-induced (Takahashi & Husley 2009), CLLD should be considered a case of A'-movement, like regular wh-movement.

This characterization is, however, not without its problems. On the one hand CLLD does not exhibit all the properties of prototypical A'-movement. For example, it is unable to license parasitic gaps, and it does not give rise to WCO effects, which has been taken as evidence for a non-movement account of the phenomenon (Cinque 1990, Iatridou 1995). On the other hand, CLLD is sensitive to islands and shows reconstruction effects, two facts which are hard to make follow from a non-movement approach. This paradoxical behaviour of CLLD has been termed Cinque's Paradox by Iatridou (1995).

A further asymmetry between run-of-the-mill A'-movement and CLLD concerns the presence of a clitic within the clause which the dislocated item attaches to. Note that this clause is, at all levels, independent without the dislocate. Contrary to, say, wh-movement, no real gap exists in CLLD: the clause is syntactically complete by the clitic, which, in CLLD, is mandatory (Cardinaletti 2002).<sup>7</sup>

## 2.2. *CLLD is not a MCP*

At least since Cinque (1990: 56), it has been noted that CLLD is not subject to root constraints. Haegeman (2006) in fact claims that CLLD is acceptable in non-root environments in a large variety of languages (see also Bianchi & Frascarelli 2010). We have seen two contexts which disallow operations like topicalization and negative

<sup>4</sup> For the claim that CLLD is a topic-marking construction see, among others, Zubizarreta (1998), Zagona (2002). On the notion of *topic* and its relevance in syntax see Fanselow (2006) and López (2009).

<sup>5</sup> These questions go beyond the characterization of the phenomenon in Romance languages, and they are in fact addressed by anyone working in CLLD in any language. See Ott (2015) for discussion.

<sup>6</sup> It has been suggested in the literature that a two-way system like Postal's (1971) is insufficient to characterize some phenomena, like *mittelfeld scrambling* in languages like German or Hindi (see Abels 2015 for an overview). CLLD is sometimes defined in terms of *non-quantificational A'-movement* (Rizzi 1997, Villalba 2000), see Fernández-Sánchez (2016) for related discussion.

<sup>7</sup> Whenever there exists a suitable clitic that matches the features of the dislocated phrase. For example, Spanish, as opposed to Catalan, lacks locative clitics. CLLD of a locative PP will force the presence of a special locative clitic in Catalan, but not in Spanish. For such cases, I assume without further discussion that there is an empty pronoun:

- i. A casa del Miquel encara no hi hem anat.  
to house of.the Miquel still not there have gone  
'We still have not been to Miquel's place'
- ii. A casa de Miguel ø aún no hemos ido.

Spanish

preposing. The first one is clausal complements of factive verbs (4). Predicates of class C (6) and D (7), the two verb types under Hooper & Thompson's terminology which are prototypically factive, allow the presence of a CLLDed constituent at the left edge of the subordinate clause they select. The examples<sup>8</sup> are taken from Jiménez-Fernández & Miyagawa (2014):

- (6) a. Es probable que ese coche lo haya conducido Juan sólo una vez.  
is likely that that car it has driven Juan only one time  
'Juan has probably driven this car only once'  
[J-F & M 2014: 282, their (21a)]
- b. Negaron que los vuelos a Madrid los hubieran cancelado.  
denied that the flights to Madrid them had cancelled  
'They denied having cancelled the flights to Madrid'  
[ibid: 286]
- (7) a. Ángela estaba sorprendida de que los regalos los hubieran dejado  
Ángela wastaba sorprendida of that the gifts them had left  
los Reyes Magos debajo del árbol.  
the kings magics under of.the tree  
'Ángela was surprised that the Three Wise Men had left the gifts under the tree'  
[ibid: 282, their (21b)]
- b. Siento que el artículo no lo hayan publicado en *Syntax*.  
feel that the paper not it have published in Syntax  
'I am sorry the paper has not been published in *Syntax*'  
[ibid: 296, their (77)]

The second environment where MCP are disallowed are Haegeman's central adverbial clauses, as exemplified in (5). Again, however, CLLD is possible in such contexts. This is illustrated for French in (8) (data from Authier & Haegeman, 2015): the CLLDed PP can appear at the left edge of a temporal clause (8a) or a conditional clause (8b). (9) shows that a CLLDed phrase can appear at the left edge of a causal clause in Spanish. See Bianchi & Frascarelli (2010) for similar data in Italian.

- (8) a. Quand à Fred, tu lui casses les pieds, il te tourne le dos.  
when to Fred, you him break the feet, he you turns the back  
'When you get on Fred's nerves, he just walks away'  
[Authier & Haegeman 2015: 41, their (10a)]
- b. Et si à Paul on lui envoyait une carte, tu crois qu'il serait content?  
and if to Paul we him send a letter, you think that he would.be happy?  
'Do you think Paul would be happy if we sent him a letter?'  
[ibid: 41, their (11b)]

<sup>8</sup>An anonymous reviewer points out that the data in (6) become ungrammatical if the CLLDed phrases are "demarcated by commas". I take this to mean that the reviewer dislikes having strong prosodic boundaries demarcating the dislocated phrase—for example complex boundary tones and pauses. This is, however, somewhat expected: Feldhausen (2010: chapter 5) has shown that embedded CLLDed phrases exhibit some degree of prosodic integration in their host structures. In turn, note that this is not problematic for the analysis defended in this paper, where CLLDed phrases will be taken as parenthetical elements. Short parentheticals have been shown to integrate prosodically into the preceding or following intonation domain (Dehé 2007).

CLLD is therefore not a MCP. If this is true, then it is somewhat surprising that CLLD is not allowed at the left periphery of an infinitive clause. While I agree with Gallego (2010), Ojea (2013) and Hernanz (2011) that FF and VFF cannot really target the left edge of an infinitival clause, I disagree with respect to their claims about CLLD. CLLDed phrases can be found in the left periphery of these clauses, as I show in the next subsection.

### 2.3 *The data*

The following examples illustrate that CLLD in Spanish can target the left edge of a control infinitive clause:<sup>9</sup>

- (10) a. Dudaba, el cordero, si hacerlo al horno.  
doubted (he) the lamb whether to make it in the oven  
"He wondered whether to cook the lamb in the oven."  
b. Creo, tu libro, haberlo visto encima de la mesa.  
think (I) your book to have it seen on the table  
"I believe I've seen your book on the table."  
c. La verdad es que temo, el solomillo, dejarlo como la suela de un zapato.  
the truth is that fear (I) the sirloin to leave it like the sole of a shoe  
"I fear to overcook the sirloin."  
d. Juan pretende, a María, regalarle las flores.  
John intends to Mary to give her the flowers  
"Juan intends to give the flowers to Mary."  
e. Espero, los resultados, tenerlos el lunes.  
(I) hope the results to have them the Monday  
"I expect to have the results on Monday."  
f. Lamentó, aquellas noticias, haberlas dado en esos momentos tan  
(he) regretted those news to have them given in those moments so  
duros.  
hard  
"He regretted the fact that he had to give those news in such moments."

The presence of CLLD in these contexts does not appear to hinge on the semantic properties of the matrix verb. (10f), for instance, features a factive verb selecting a non-finite clause whose left edge is occupied by a CLLDed phrase. Clausal complements of factive verbs are never asserted, and therefore this particular context should not allow for MCP.

Examples like the ones above are also found in Catalan:

- (11) a. En Joan es pregunta, el sopar, on fer-lo.  
the John to himself asks the dinner where to.make-it  
'John is wondering where to dine'

<sup>9</sup> The same reviewer from footnote 8 claims that contrary to the CLLD cases in (6), s/he needs an obligatory *comma intonation* in (10) which demarcates these topics from the rest of the clause. Personally I do not think this is true for most of the cases, a judgement shared by most of the speakers I consulted (although I concede that a comma intonation makes at least some of the examples in (10) more natural). I thus find no significant difference in terms of prosody between the examples in (6) and the data reported in (11). It would be certainly interesting to run a production test to check to what extent my own intuitions are true, a task I have to leave for further research.

- b. Crec, les ulleres, haver-les vist a la cuina.  
think the glasses to.have-them seen in the kitchen  
'I reckon I've seen your glasses in the kitchen'
- c. Prefereixo, als convidats, escriure'ls personalment.  
prefer to.the guests to.write-them personally  
'I prefer to address the guests myself.'
- d. Em fastigueja, amb la Maria, discutir- m' hi dia sí, dia també.  
to.me disgusts with the Mary to.argue-me LOC day yes day also  
'It bores me to argue with Mary day after day.'
- e. Pretenen, al Parlament, entrar-hi divendres.  
intend to.the Parliament to.go.in-LOC Friday  
'They intend to break into Parliament on Friday.'
- f. Lamento, La Traviata, haver de cantar-la afònica.  
regret, La Traviata to.have of to.sing-it hoarse  
'I regret having to sing La Traviata without voice.'
- g. Espero, amb la Maria, no haver- m' hi de parlar mai més.  
hope with the Mary not to.have-me LOC of to.talk never more  
'I hope I don't have to talk to Mary any more.'

Clearly, CLLD does not behave like VFF (12) or FF (13): the latter are not available at the left edge of ICs in Spanish:<sup>10</sup>

- (12) a. Lola desea un poco tomar el sol.  
Lola wishes a bit have the sun  
'Lola wishes to sunbathe a bit.'
- b. Lola cree algo haber hecho mal.  
Lola thinks something to have done wrong.  
'Lola thinks she's done something wrong.'
- (13) a. Lola lamenta MALAS NOTAS haber obtenido.  
Lola regrets bad marks to have obtained  
'Lola regrets having obtained bad results'
- b. Lola espera UN FERRARI comprarse.  
Lola hopes a Ferrari to buy herself  
'Lola hopes to buy a Ferrari for her.'

[Hernanz 2011: 265]

#### 2.4. Some possible analyses

The question that immediately arises is: what causes the asymmetry between foci (contrastive or emphatic) and CLLDed constituents? We somehow want to claim that infinitive clauses are deficient domains, which explains why they cannot host foci constituents. Simultaneously, we must allow deficiency to be sensitive to the kind of element that appears in the periphery, as CLLDed phrases must be allowed. In this section I discuss two possible analyses and conclude that they cannot successfully account for the data.

<sup>10</sup>It has been noted by some authors that VFF is not productive in Catalan (Gallego 2010), which is why I only illustrate this point with Spanish. FF at the left edge of a non-finite clause in Catalan is as ungrammatical as in Spanish.

#### 2.4.1. Truncation approaches

After Rizzi's (1997) influential work (see Benincà & Poletto 2004, Rizzi 2001, 2004 for a more detailed account based on Rizzi's original claim) it is frequently assumed that CP actually corresponds to a highly articulated template of functional projections. Rizzi's proposal is that the category CP should be split into, minimally, two categories: ForceP, which encodes clause-typing and force specification (whether the sentence is declarative or interrogative, for example) and Fin(iteness)P, which is responsible for encoding mood and tense features. Crucially, between ForceP and FinP other functional projections can appear, mainly TopicP, whose specifier is targetted by topical elements and FocusP, which hosts operators like foci. Topics obligatorily precede Foci, which is taken to indicate that the former are structurally above the latter. The split CP model of Rizzi therefore looks like (14), where '>' indicates asymmetric c-command and therefore precedence, under Kayne's (1994) antisymmetric system:

(14) ForceP > TopP > FocP > FinP

Recall that for Hooper & Thompson (1973), MCP are only allowed in clauses that are asserted. Assuming that assertivity is encoded in Force (Rizzi 1997), one could argue that contexts that disallow MCP do not project ForceP. Further assuming that TopP and FocP are dependent on Force (Haegeman 2006), it follows that these contexts only project up to FinP. The syntactic deficient behaviour observed is thus a corollary of the lack of structural space of these domains, which are said to be *truncated*. The truncation approach has been defended for various domains, including clausal complements of factive verbs, adverbial clauses and, crucially for our purposes, infinitival clauses (Benincà & Poletto 2004, Hernanz 2007, 2011; Ojeda 2013, Haegeman 2003, 2006).

Note that truncation approaches cannot deal with the data reported in this paper. Under the assumption that CLLD constituents target TopP, and FFed elements move to FocP, and given the independently motivated template in (14), one should argue that truncation works in a discontinuous way. This, however, would lead us to abandoning the original driving force behind truncation approaches, as stated in Haegeman's work, which is that Topic is Force-dependent, and we would be left with a merely descriptive observation of the facts:

(15) ~~ForceP~~ > TopP > ~~FocP~~ > FinP

Another solution is to postulate that there is a TopP below FocP (as in fact argued for in Rizzi 1997 *et subs.*, but see Benincà & Poletto 2004 for arguments against). The question still arises as to why truncation gets rid of the higher TopP but not the lower, given that the logic in truncation approaches, following Haegeman (2004a, 2006), is that topic is force-dependent.

An alternative explanation, still within a truncation view, is offered in Haegeman (2004a). She proposes that Romance CLLD in non-finite clauses can be licensed in FinP, as a function of the phi-features of Fin. For Haegeman, in CLLD the clitic is in T. Fin and T enter an agreement relation akin to subject agreement in these languages, yielding a predication relation between the topic and the rest of the clause. Technicalities aside, note that Haegeman's approach yields inevitably to abandoning a cartographic view altogether. If CLLD can be licensed in FinP, as also argued by López (2009), then there is absolutely no reason to postulate the existence of TopP to license topics in other clausal domains.

The most serious problem with her proposal stems from the licensing of CLLD issue, that is, the fact that it is the phi-feature agreement between the clitic in T and the Fin head that licenses topical constituents in the specifier of FinP. The existence of CLLD of adjuncts, as illustrated in (16) for Catalan, is certainly problematic, as it would be somewhat mysterious what agreement function could be established in these cases.

- (16) A la festa hi vam ballar molt.  
to the party LOC PAST to.dance a.lot  
'We danced a lot at the party'

#### 2.4.2. Intervention approaches

Contrary to truncation, intervention approaches derive the ungrammaticality of MCP in certain domains from the presence of an intervening element in the left periphery of the clause and not from the lack of structural space. Structural space is therefore available, but reaching it involves crossing an intervening node. See Haegeman (2012) and references therein for a very detailed proposal. As an illustration of the intervention approach, take the following example:

- (17) \*While [this paper]<sub>i</sub> I was revising  $t_i$  last week, I thought of another analysis.

Haegeman assumes, building on Geis (1970) (and many others), that the temporal operator undergoes movement from the edge of the VP, where it is generated, to the left periphery of the clause. Before any (relevant) movement takes place, the adverbial clause in (17) should be analyzed as follows:

- (18) [<sub>TP</sub> I [<sub>VP</sub> while [<sub>VP</sub> was revising this paper]]]

Suppose we topicalize *this paper*, as in (19a). Given that topicalization involves operator movement (Chomsky 1977; Lasnik & Stowell 1991, and footnote 1), the presence of the topic will block movement of the temporal operator to the left periphery of the clause, as indicated in (19b).

- (19) a. [<sub>TopP</sub> this paper [<sub>TP</sub> I [<sub>VP</sub> while [<sub>VP</sub> was revising  $t$  ] ] ] ]  
b. while [<sub>TopP</sub> **this paper**<sub>*i*</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> I [<sub>VP</sub>  $t$  [<sub>VP</sub> was revising  $t_i$  ] ] ] ]

The blocking effect results from a feature-based version of Rizzi's (1990) relativized minimality, where minimality is relativized to elements having the same featural makeup (Rizzi 2004, Starke 2001). Thus, *this paper* has the feature [+Op], and so does the temporal operator. Recall, however, that CLLD differs from topicalization in that it does not block movement of *quand* ("when") in French, as illustrated in (8a) and repeated in (20). In order to capture these facts, one could argue, in line with Rizzi (1997, 2004), that CLLDed phrases are endowed with a [+Top] feature, not an [+Op] one. Given that only features of the same type block each other, the grammaticality of (20) follows naturally.

- (20) Quand<sub>[+Op]</sub> à Fred<sub>[+Top]</sub>, tu lui casses les pieds, il te tourne le dos.  
'When you get on Fred's nerves, he just walks away'

Even though the postulation of a [+Top] feature<sup>11</sup> can account for (20) (see Rizzi 2004: 246 for discussion), this approach makes another prediction: [+Top] elements should be interveners for other [+Top] elements (a cornerstone of any feature-based relativized minimality theory). However, this prediction is not borne out. In the following examples two elements are left dislocated from the embedded clause. Their surface position is different: one reaches the embedded clause, the other one the matrix. Neither blocks the other in any order:

- (21) [El dinero]<sub>i</sub> Juan dice que [a mi madre]<sub>k</sub> aún no se lo ha dado *t<sub>k</sub> t<sub>i</sub>*.  
 the money Juan says that to my mother yet not her it has given  
 'Juan says that he still hasn't given the money to my mother'
- (22) [A mi madre]<sub>i</sub> Juan dice que [el dinero]<sub>k</sub> aún no se lo ha dado *t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>k</sub>*.  
 to my mother Juan says that the money yet not her it has given

In order to account for these data, Authier & Haegeman (2015: 36) defend that CLLDed phrases obviate intervention effects because they do not involve movement, but rather they are generated in their surface position. Given that relativized minimality is a locality constraint on movement, the CLLD facts would follow. However, there are many reasons to believe that, at least in Spanish and Catalan, a base-generation approach to CLLD is untenable (see, among others, Villalba 2000, López 2009, Rubio Alcalá 2014). As a brief illustration (but see Fábregas, this volume for an extensive review), note that CLLD is sensitive to islands (23) and exhibits reconstruction effects (24):

- (24) a. A mi hermana, Pedro se marchó antes de verla.  
 to my sister Pedro SE left before of to.see-her  
 'Pedro left before seeing my sister.'  
Adjunct Island (Spanish)
- b. A casa nostra, conec el noi que hi va fer reformes.  
 to house our know the guy that there past to.do works  
 'I know the guy who refurbished our house.'  
Relative Clause (Catalan)
- (24) a. [Orgullosos de sí mismo]<sub>k</sub><sub>i</sub>, Juan<sub>k</sub> siempre lo ha sido *t<sub>i</sub>*  
 proud of himself Juan always so has been  
 'John's always been proud of himself.'  
Principle A (Spanish)
- b. [El jersei de l'Anna]<sub>i</sub><sub>k</sub>, *pro<sub>i</sub>* l' ha comprat a les rebaixes *t<sub>k</sub>*.  
 the jumper of the Anna it has bought in the sales  
 'She has bought Anna's jumper in the sales.'  
Principle C (Catalan)

In light of what I have discussed in this section, it is fair to conclude that we still need to say something about the status of CLLDed phrases in ICs. The next section makes a particular proposal.

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<sup>11</sup>It is unclear what the semantic import of such a feature is, as extensively argued in López (2009), who further argues that the label *topic* does not produce a natural class of elements. See Fanselow (2006) for an argument against "contaminating" the syntax with notions like *topic*.

### 3. CLLD are parentheticals

#### 3.1. Invisibility

The data reviewed in the preceding section could be accounted for if we assume that CLLD is some sort of parenthetical. Assuming that parenthetical material is not part of the clausal spine,<sup>12</sup> it immediately follows that no matter how structurally deficient a particular clausal environment is, the CLLDed phrase should not be sensitive to it.<sup>13</sup>

Fernández-Sánchez & Román-Castells (2013) argue that, albeit tentative, the parenthetical view of CLLDed phrases in infinitival clauses is not tenable. Most of the arguments they provide are based on the idea that parenthetical material is syntactically invisible, in the following sense:

- (25) Invisibility (de Vries 2007: 208)  
A paratactic phrase / clause does not interact with the host in terms of c-command-based relations.

Syntactic invisibility is illustrated in (26). In (26a), the bound reading, which I indicate by coindexation, is allowed because the variable is in the c-command domain of the quantifier. (26b) shows that the bound-variable reading is not available, which we can take as evidence that no c-command exists between *nobody* and *he*.

- (26) a. Nobody<sub>i</sub> claimed that he<sub>i</sub> was thining about Hank.  
b. \*Nobody<sub>i</sub> was, he<sub>i</sub> claimed, the dumbest guy in the room.

If CLLD involved a paratactic structure, we would not expect it to enter c-command relations with other elements in the host clause. However, this prediction is not borne out. First, a variable inside the CLLDed phrase in the left periphery of an IC can be bound by a quantifier in the host clause, as the following Catalan example evidences:

- (27) Tot<sub>i</sub> pare odia, del seu<sub>i</sub> fill, explicar-ne els draps bruts.  
every dad hates of.the his son to.explain-PART the cloths dirty  
'Every dad hates to air his son's dirty laundry'

Not only is this true for variable binding, but also for regular binding effects. (28) illustrates that a referential expression inside the CLLDed phrase cannot be correferential with a pronoun in the host clause. This ungrammaticality strongly suggests that c-command is indeed at stake and that we are facing a Principle C violation. In turn, (29a) instantiates that an anaphor can be bound by an R-expression in the sentence. That we are dealing with c-command is confirmed by the ungrammaticality in (29b): in this example, the anaphor cannot be bound by *Joan* because the latter is too deeply embedded to c-command the former.

<sup>12</sup>There are many views on how parentheticals are integrated in the syntactic structure. Some authors argue that they are syntactically independent, non-integrated in their host structure, while others defend that parataxis is carried out by syntactic mechanisms. Crucially, these syntactic mechanisms are rather unique to parataxis. The reader is referred to Kluck, Ott & de Vries (2015) and references therein for a recent state of the art

<sup>13</sup>This does not mean that parentheticals can be inserted *everywhere* (see §4). What I mean is that there should not be a systematic correspondance between deficient domains and the impossibility to insert a parenthetical.

- (28) \*pro<sub>i</sub> proposa, els llibres d'en Joan<sub>i</sub>, guardar-los al calaix.  
 proposes the books of.the Joan to.keep-them in.the drawer  
 'He proposes to keep John's books in the drawer'
- (29) a. En Joan<sub>i</sub> creu, aquelles fotos de sí mateix<sub>i</sub>, haver-les vist a l'entrada.  
 the Joan thinks these pictures of himself to.have-them seen in the entrance.  
 'John believes to have seen those pictures of himself at the entrance'  
 b. \*La germana d'en Joan<sub>i</sub> creu, aquelles fotos de sí mateix<sub>i</sub>, haver-les vist a l'entrada.

Further, CLLD is sensitive to islands, as we already observed in (23). Note that, *prima facie*, island sensitivity should be taken as an obvious argument against a parenthetical analysis. I illustrate that with CLLD inside ICs for completeness:

- (30) \*Juan pretende, a María, ir a casa antes de regalarle las flores.  
 Juan intends to María to.go to home before of give-her the flowers  
 'Juan intends to go home before giving Mary the flowers'

C-command can be also observed through scope. The CLLDed phrase in the following example contains the focal operator *sólo* ('only'), and the host clause is headed by sentential negation particle *no* ('not'). Given the invisible behaviour of parentheticals, one would not expect the reading *no>solo*, which would indicate c-command between the two elements. However, (31) is actually ambiguous between the wide and narrow scope of negation.

- (31) No espero, los resultados de un solo alumno, tenerlos el lunes.  
 not expect the results of one only student to.have-them the Monday  
 'I don't expect to have only one student's result by Monday'

Finally, it is a well-known fact that non-specific QPs do not make good topics (32a). Fernández-Sánchez & Román-Castells (2013) observe that CLLDed phrases at the edge of infinitival clauses are subject to the exact same semantic restriction as run-of-the-mill cases of CLLD (32b):

- (32) a. \*Dos hombres, los he visto entrar en el bar.  
 two men them have seen to.enter in the bar  
 'I've seen two men enter the bar'  
 b. \*Juan espera, muchos libros, leerlos este verano.  
 Juan hopes many books to.read-them this summer  
 'Juan hopes to read many books this summer'

Note that, with respect to this last issue, Fernández-Sánchez and Roman-Castells criticize the parenthetical approach because CLLDed phrases at the left edge of ICs behave like other cases of CLLD. But the criticism can be overcome if we assume that CLLD is parenthetical in nature in all cases. What remains to be explained is how the properties of regular CLLD follow from a parenthetical approach. In the following section I briefly summarize Ott's (2015) proposal, and then I show how the properties I have sketched follow from his analysis.

3.2. *The biclausal approach*

I defend that CLLDed phrases are parenthetical elements that are prosodically demarcated from their host clause and they project their very own intonational phrase (Feldhausen 2000, Frascarelli 2000). I argue that in order to account for the data in the previous section, we must pay attention to their internal syntax. In particular, I contend, following Döring (2015) and Ott (2015), among others, that CLLDed phrases constitute an underlyingly bisentential structure where clausal ellipsis takes place in one of the two semantically identical clauses. The example in (33) would be analyzed as in (34):

- (33) El coche al final lo he vendido.  
 the car at.the end it have sold  
 'I've finally sold the car'
- (34) [<sub>CP1</sub> Al final he vendido el coche] [<sub>CP2</sub> Al final lo he vendido].

The two clauses are subject to a two-fold endophoric link, which is graphically illustrated in (35) (from Ott 2015: 239): the clitic, which is regarded as a free pro-form under the present approach, relates anaphorically to the dislocated phrase.<sup>14</sup> In turn, the elliptical content in CP1 ( $\Delta$ ) is cataphorically anchored by the proposition in CP2.

- (35) [<sub>CP1</sub> *dislocated phrase*  $\Delta$  ...] [<sub>CP2</sub> *clitic*]
- 

This approach subsumes CLLD as a general case of clausal ellipsis, like sluicing (Merchant 2001), fragment answers (Merchant 2004) or split questions (Arregi 2010). In the case of CLLD, the directionality of ellipsis is backward. Backward ellipsis is independently attested in sluicing or VP-ellipsis contexts:

- (36) a. We don't know when ~~Mary will be back~~, but Mary will be back some day.  
 b. I can't ~~pick you up~~, but John will pick you up.

CP1 and CP2 are semantically parallel, *modulo* the presence of the clitic in CP2 and its coreferential full XP in CP1. By semantically parallel I mean, following standard assumptions, that the proposition denoted by each of the two CPs are truth conditionally equivalent and that they are therefore in a relation of mutual entailment (among others, see Merchant 2001).<sup>15</sup>

- (37) a. [[CP1]] = Al final he vendido [el coche];  
 b. [[CP2]] = Al final lo<sub>i</sub> he vendido.  
 c. Al final he vendido el coche <---> Al final lo he vendido.

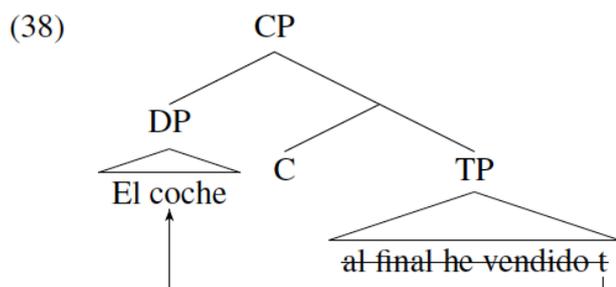
I will further assume, like Ott (2015), that the dislocated phrase moves to the left edge of the clause prior to ellipsis. This is common practice in the literature on clausal ellipsis phenomena. Accordingly, the remnants always move to the left periphery of the clause prior to ellipsis.<sup>16</sup> Assuming that only phasal heads license ellipsis (Bošković

<sup>14</sup>The term "dislocation" is therefore a misnomer under the biclausal approach, but I will continue to use it for expository reasons.

<sup>15</sup>The identity condition on ellipsis is subject to debate, but I believe the simplification presented here suffices for our purposes.

<sup>16</sup>Note that if the remnant did not move outside of the TP, ellipsis would target a non-constituent. On the uncontroversial assumption that syntax operates with constituents, a syntactic view of ellipsis (Bošković

2014, Gallego 2009), we can postulate that the dislocated constituent undergoes movement to the specifier of CP, whose head, C, triggers ellipsis of its complement. (38) illustrates this movement operation:



Finally, the biclausal approach provides a more natural characterization of the relation between the clitic and the dislocated phrase. Note that if we accept that CLLD involves movement as suggested by the data in (23) and (24) (see Rubio Alcalá 2014 for further support) we have to say something about why this movement operation does not leave a gap in the sentence. In other words, the presence of the clitic is somewhat unexpected. One could attempt to account for the clitic by arguing that they are in a doubling configuration. Such a proposal, however, raises a big number of issues (López 2009: 272 and folls.). Alternatively, one could consider that the clitic results from manifestation or spell-out of agreement morphemes between the dislocated phrase and some functional head in the clause. Although this could potentially account for cases of object CLLD, it cannot be extended to cases of adjunct CLLD, an example of which we saw in (16) and I reproduce in (39), as it would be unclear what kind of agreement they would trigger.

- (39) A la festa hi vam ballar molt.  
to the party LOC PAST to.dance a.lot  
'We danced a lot at the party' (Catalan)

Under the biclausal account of CLLD the clitic and the dislocated constituent are not derivationally linked: they belong in two independent, separate clauses. Therefore, both elements stand in a relation of cross-sentential anaphora. Given that this mechanism (as well as ellipsis) is independently available in language, the present analysis gets rid of theory-internal machinery. The reader is referred to Ott's original paper for a more elaborate and fully-fledged exploration of the analysis and how the biclausal treatment of CLLD is empirically and conceptually superior to monoclausal alternatives. This introduction suffices to discuss how such proposal fares with the data I have presented.

### 3.3. *Deriving the facts*

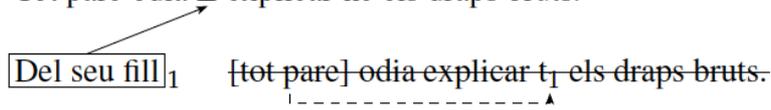
In §3.1 I have shown that the CLLDed phrase appears to be syntactically integrated in the host structure, which could be taken as evidence against a parenthetical approach. Under the biclausal approach, however, syntactic integration is illusory. The ellipsis approach forces the elided clause to be syntactically and semantically identical with respect to the host clause (otherwise ellipsis would not be licensed). C-command

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2014, Lobeck 1995, Merchant 2001, among others) requires movement of the remnant outside the complement of the head that licenses ellipsis. See Ott & Struckmeier (2016) for criticism of this view.

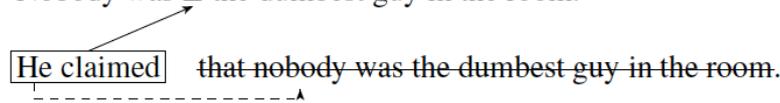
relations are established within the non-pronounced structure. Let me illustrate it with the variable binding data in (27). The variable in the CLLDed phrase is c-commanded by the quantifier in the (base generation position in the) elided clause.

- (40) Tot pare odia  $\Delta$  explicar-ne els draps bruts.



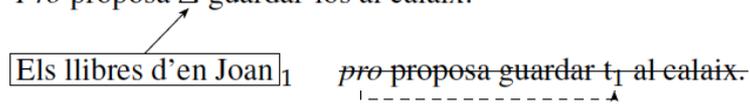
Incidentally note that the same approach explains the lack of Q-binding in (26b), given that in this particular case, the QP does not c-command the variable:

- (41) Nobody was  $\Delta$  the dumbest guy in the room.

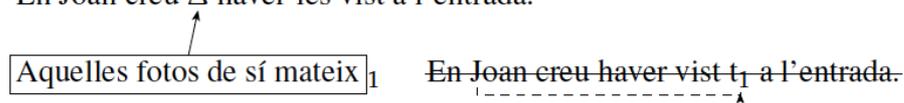


Illusory c-command effects also explain the regular binding cases. Principle C effects, observed in (28) and reproduced in (42a) are accounted for in (42b): the principle C violation takes place in the elided domain, where the R-expression is c-commanded by *pro*. The account on the principle A datum (29a) is illustrated, in turn, in (43a), where the anaphor is bound inside the elided clause (43b).

- (42) a. \* *Pro*<sub>i</sub> proposa, els llibres d' en Joan<sub>i</sub>, guardar- los al calaix.  
 b. *Pro* proposa  $\Delta$  guardar-los al calaix.

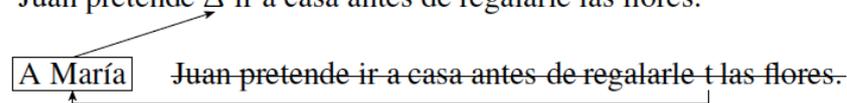


- (43) a. En Joan<sub>i</sub> creu, aquelles fotos de sí mateix<sub>i</sub>, haver-les vist a l'entrada.  
 b. En Joan creu  $\Delta$  haver-les vist a l'entrada.



The island sensitivity facts (23), repeated here (44a) are another illusion. The CLLDed phrase does not establish any movement dependency within the host structure, but inside the elided clause. Again, the fact that the two clauses are identical, as required by the ellipsis mechanism, causes the illusory effect.

- (44) a. \* Juan pretende, a María, ir a casa antes de regalarle las flores.  
 b. \* Juan pretende  $\Delta$  ir a casa antes de regalarle las flores.



Finally, recall the ban on non-specific QPs as CLLDed phrases (noted originally by Cinque 1990):

- (45) a. \*A nadie lo he visto.  
to nobody him have seen  
'I haven't seen anybody'  
b. \*Pocos libros los he leído durante el verano.  
few books them have read during the summer  
'I have read few books throughout the summer'

Under the biclausal approach, the clitic in CLLD and the dislocated phrase are not derivationally linked, as they are independently generated in two separate clauses. Rather, their relation is one of cross-sentential anaphora. The semantic requirement that the dislocate be specific follows as a constraint on discourse anaphora. Non-specific QPs cannot partake in discourse anaphora –they cannot be related to a particular referent in the discourse (see Ott 2015: 257-262; Fernández-Sánchez in preparation; Ott & de Vries 2016 for further elaboration). Observe that a QP like *a nadie* cannot be anaphorically linked to a weak pronominal (47a), but a definite DP (*el chico*) can (47b):

- (47) a. \*No vi a nadie<sub>i</sub>, a pesar de que lo<sub>i</sub> estuve esperando toda la tarde.  
not saw to nobody though that him was waiting all the afternoon  
\*'I didn't see anybody even though I was waiting for him all afternoon'  
b. No vi al chico<sub>i</sub>, a pesar de que lo<sub>i</sub> estuve esperando toda la tarde.  
not saw the boy though that him was waiting all the afternoon  
'I didn't see the boy even though I was waiting for him all afternoon'

### 3.4. Interim summary

One *prima facie* problem with the parenthetical approach to CLLD, as pointed out by Fernández-Sánchez & Román-Castells (2013) and Haegeman (2004a) is that it could not account for the connectivity effects that CLLDed phrases display with respect to the clause where they appear. If one property of parenthetical material is that it never interacts structurally speaking –i.e. in terms of c-command– with the host clause (de Vries 2007), it is mysterious why CLLDed constituents do actually appear to be syntactically integrated. In the previous section I have shown that this criticism can be overcome once we assume that CLLDed phrases are actually part of an elided clause, as defended by Ott (2015) and references therein. This clause is semantically parallel to the clause that we really see, the host clause, to the exception of the clitic, which is replaced by the dislocated phrase in the elided sentence. The relevant connectivity effects take place in the elided structure. Because this structure is semantically identical to the host clause, as otherwise ellipsis would not be legitimate, an illusory effect obtains that there is actual c-command between the clause we see and the CLLDed phrase. The biclausal approach is therefore compatible with Döring's (2015) claim that all parentheticals are CPs.

## 4. On the external syntax of CLLD

One question that arises is how is the CLLDed phrase attached in its host clause. This question is in fact subsumed in a more general (and interesting) one: what is the external syntax of parentheticals? That is: how are they integrated in the host structure? This is too complex a question to be addressed in this paper (but see footnote 8 for references). In line with Ott (2015), I contend that the CLLDed phrase is syntactically unconnected to the host clause. I want to put forth the idea that the exact places where CLLDed phrases can appear are determined after the mapping between syntax and prosody.

In this section I informally sketch a proposal. The details must be of course fleshed out more carefully, but I hope the intuition is clear. In particular, I tentatively argue for an orphan approach which capitalizes on the syntax-prosody interface to account for the distribution of CLLDed phrases.

I assume that syntax and prosody are mediated by a prosodic mapping process (Nespor & Vogel, 1986; Selkirk, 1984, 2011; Truckenbrodt, 1995, 1999, 2006) whose function is to transform syntactic structures into their corresponding prosodic structures. In the standard theory, this prosodic structure consists of several categories that are hierarchically organized in what is famously known as the Prosodic Hierarchy. It is a matter of debate which categories conform the hierarchy and whether all languages have the same set (see Selkirk 1984 for example), but I leave aside these issues. A typical representation of the prosodic hierarchy is given in (48).

- (48) Utterance > Intonational Phrase > Phonological Phrase > Prosodic Words > Foot > Syllable

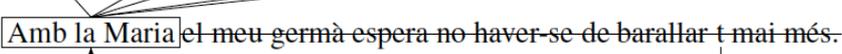
The prosodic hierarchy is subject to the strict layer hypothesis, which is a ban against level skipping domination relations (e.g. a phonological phrase directly dominating a foot under 48). For the purposes of the current paper I only consider the part of the hierarchy above the level of prosodic word. In essence, what I propose is the following:

- (49) *Timing and condition on parenthetical insertion*  
A parenthetical can only be inserted at the edge of a prosodic phrase. Given that parenthetical insertion is therefore sensitive to prosodic structure, it must take place after the syntax-prosody mapping.

In order to see the adequacy of this proposal, take the following example:

- (50) El meu germà espera no haver-s' hi de barallar mai més.  
the my brother hopes not have SE LOC of argue never more  
'My brother hopes he doesn't have to argue with him anymore'

Suppose we want to insert a CLLDed constituent which correferes with the prepositional clitic *hi*. The CLLDed phrase will be headed by *amb* ('with') as demanded by the selectional properties of the predicate *barallar-se* ('to argue'). According to what I suggest in (49), the only possibilities of parenthetical insertion are plotted in the following example:

- (51) ✓ El meu germà ✓ espera ✓ no haver-s'hi de barallar ✓ mai més ✓ .  


I am only concerned with the three first positions, given that only in these cases does the CLLDed constituent precede the clitic. Whenever the parenthetical constituent

follows the clitic I assume that we are dealing with clitic right dislocation.<sup>17</sup> Interestingly, note that these positions are the edges of prosodic phrases:

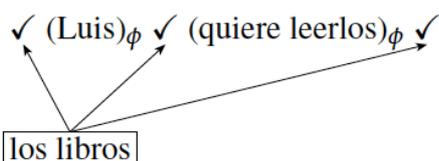
(52) (El meu germà)<sub>φ</sub> (espera)<sub>φ</sub> (no haver-s'hi de barallar)<sub>φ</sub>

Prieto (2005) shows that, generally, SVO structures in Catalan are prosodically parsed as (S)(VO), so the natural question arises as to why is it that a CLLD can be inserted between the verb (*espera*) and the (clausal) object. She notes that it may be possible for the object to project its own prosodic phrase provided it is prosodically heavy (i.e. if it contains more than 2 prosodic words). Further, Feldhausen (2011) argues that clausal objects tend to project their own prosodic phrase, independently of how heavy the clause is –which incidentally proves that prosodic phrasing is indeed sensitive to syntactic structure. Given that we are dealing with clausal objects, the appearance of the parenthetical between the verb and the non-finite clause is therefore expected.

In order to show that CLLD cannot occur at the left edge of an IC, Gallego (2010) provides the example in (2a), repeated here for convenience:

(53) ??Luis quiere los libros leerlos.  
 Luis wants the books read-them  
 'Luis wants to read the books'

The account I sketch in this section provides a natural explanation for the ungrammaticality of this particular example. Note that in (53), the CLLD has been placed between a restructuring verb and the infinitive verb it selects. Monachesi (1999: 282) has shown, on the basis of Nespor & Vogel's (1986) tests, that restructuring verbs and the infinitive they select combine in a single phonological phrase. Therefore, we predict that CLLD insertion between these two verbs will be unavailable, and available elsewhere:

(54) ✓ (Luis)<sub>φ</sub> ✓ (quiere leerlos)<sub>φ</sub> ✓  


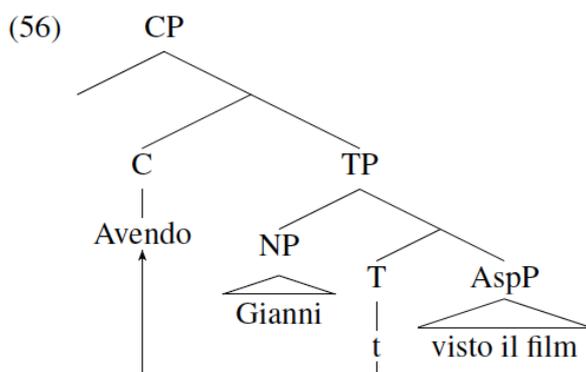
- a. Los libros, Luis quiere leerlos.
- b. Luis, los libros, quiere leerlos.
- c. Luis quiere leerlos, los libros.

The same logic can be applied to a mysterious example given in Cecchetto (1999: 53) featuring CLLD in an Aux-to-Comp configuration. Aux-to-Comp refers to a syntactic operation which fronts the gerund auxiliary to a position higher than the subject, which appears sandwiched between the auxiliary and the main verb (Rizzi 1982: 83 and folls.). The following example, taken from Cecchetto (1999: 53, his 34), illustrates the construction:

<sup>17</sup>The reason I decide to exclude clitic right dislocation from this discussion does not imply that I am thinking of a different analysis of the phenomenon, although it would require me to throw in other issues to the discussion that would simply obscure the main point. See Fernández-Sánchez (in preparation), Ott & de Vries (2016) and Truckenbrodt (2016) for a biclausal account of right dislocation.

- (55) Avendo Gianni visto il film, non ci furono problemi.  
 having John seen the movie, not there were problems  
 'John having seen the film, there were no problems'

Rizzi (1982) argues that in these constructions the auxiliary moves to C, from where it assigns nominative case to the subject:



Cecchetto observes that left dislocated phrases cannot intervene between the raised auxiliary and the subject, which he takes as an indication that the CLLDed constituent is blocking nominative case assignment:

- (57) \*Avendolo, il film, Gianni visto, non ci furono problemi.

Note that the auxiliary verb cannot be parsed into a prosodic phrase. This is so because as function words, auxiliaries do not have a status as prosodic word (Selkirk 1995, Truckenbrodt 1999). Therefore, by the Strict Layer Hypothesis, they cannot be parsed as prosodic phrases. The ungrammaticality of (57) is a corollary of the fact that there is not a prosodic phrase edge to the immediate right of the auxiliary.

### 5. CLLD is not a window on the Left Periphery

The purpose of this paper was twofold: first, I intended to show that, contrary to regular claims, CLLD can indeed appear at the left edge of an infinitive clause (IC) in Spanish and Catalan. IC are frequently assumed to be syntactically deficient domains that cannot host displaced constituents. However, I have provided evidence that as opposed to focus fronting, CLLD can appear in other contexts that have also been argued to be deficient, like clausal complements to factive predicates or central adverbial clauses, so the empirical findings reported in this paper, which are in fact taken from earlier work in Fernández-Sánchez & Román-Castells (2013), should not come as a surprise.

Second, I argued that current approaches to the syntactic deficiency of certain clausal environments cannot provide a successful account for why CLLDed phrases can appear there. I suggested that the theory of CLLD developed in Ott (2015) can instead shed some light on the data. According to such a proposal, reviewed in §3, CLLDed phrases are parentheticals. This means that they are not part of the spine of the clause that hosts them. Consequently, whether or not such a clause is syntactically deficient is irrelevant to account for the distribution of CLLDed constituents. Under the CLLD-*qua*-parenthesis view, CLLD cannot be a window on the Left Periphery of the clause, contrary to what is assumed in cartographic studies (Kempchinsky 2013).

CLLDed phrases appear to be syntactically integrated in their host clause (e.g. they can enter c-command relation with other elements), which could *a priori* be considered an argument against a parenthetical account, as in fact suggested by Fernández-Sánchez & Román-Castells (2013) and Haegeman (2004a). In this respect, I argued that such criticism could be overcome by endowing these parentheticals with (elided) clausal structure (§3.3).

Up to this point I said nothing about the external syntax of CLLD, i.e. about how CLLD is linked to the host clause. I follow Ott (2015) in that I contend that they are syntactically unconnected to their hosts. An obvious question arises: how do we restrict their distribution in the clause? In §4 I hypothesized that the places where CLLDed phrases can appear may be conditioned by prosodic considerations. In particular, I speculated that CLLDed constituents can only be inserted at the edges of prosodic phrases. This implies that parenthetical integration must take place after the syntax-prosody mapping has occurred. However, I would like to emphasize that the ultimate success of this particular implementation should be immaterial to the merits of the biclausal analysis. The reader is referred to Ott's work for a thorough examination of this proposal.

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