On the Order of Multiple Topics and Discourse-feature Inheritance[1]

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Summary: This paper explores two possible syntactic configurations of multiple topics attested across languages, namely the strict *vs*. free arrangement of fronted topics in the left periphery. I suggest that these rigid/flexible devices can be explained by implementing Chomsky's (2008) C-to-T feature inheritance mechanism so as to include both agreement features and discourse features (Miyagawa, 2005; 2010), in combination with Richards' (1999) multiple-specifier approach to multiple movement, though subject to modifications. In my system, the possibility of free ordering of multiple topics is ultimately the consequence of lowering discourse features from C to T and specifying T as a multiple-attractor in the relevant language. This is the case of languages such as Spanish, as opposed to English. The specific type of topic feature which percolates to T in languages such as Spanish may attract familiar topics (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl, 2007) to spec-TP.

Key words: topic fronting, feature inheritance, multiple topics, CP-domain, TP-system, multiple specifiers

1. Introduction

This paper explores two possible syntactic configurations of multiple topics attested across languages, namely the strict *vs*. free arrangement of topicalised constituents in the left periphery. These two strategies may be used as a parametric basis to distinguish between languages which consistently require a strict order for multiple topics (Bulgarian and English, see examples in (1)–(2)) and languages which instantiate a systematically free order of multiple topics (Spanish, Romanian and Turkish, see examples in (3)–(5)). Underlining is used to indicate topichood.

Bulgarian (Lambova 2001):

(1) a. Mama decata šte vodi na cirk.
mom kids–the will take to circus
b. *Decata mama šte vodi na cirk. (on the relevant interpretation)
'As for mom and the kids, she will take them to the circus.'

English:

(2) a. Most of those problems this computer could solve in a second.
b. *This computer, most of those problems could solve in a second.

Spanish:

(3) a. Ángela, la tesis, en el Departamento la entregó el jueves.
Angela the thesis in the department CL submit-PAST.3SG the Thursday
b. La tesis, en el Departamento, la entregó Ángela el jueves.
c. La tesis, Ángela, la entregó en el Departamento el jueves.
'Angela submitted her thesis in the Department on Thursday.'

Romanian (Motapanyane, 1998):

(4) a. Ieri, la Bucureşti, Paul maşină voia să–şi
yesterday in Bucharest Paul car want–PAST.3SG to himself
cumpere (nu televizor).
buy (not television set)
b. (Paul), ieri, la Bucureşti, (Paul), maşină voia să–şi cumpere (nu televizor).
'Yesterday, in Bucharest, Paul wanted to buy a car, not a tv set.'

Turkish (İşsever, 2003):

(5) a. Ali kitab–ı buraya sabah bırak–tı.
Ali book–ACC here morning put–PAST
b. Ali buraya kitabı sabah bıraktı.
'Ali left the book here in the morning.'

I suggest that these rigid/flexible devices can be explained by implementing Chomsky's (2008) C-to-T feature inheritance mechanism so as to include both φ-features and discourse features (Miyagawa, 2005; 2010, Jiménez, 2008, 2010), in combination with Richards' (1999) multiple-specifier approach to multiple movement, albeit some changes are incorporated in my multiple-specifier analysis of multiple topic constructions. The system proposed in the present paper shows that the possibility of the free ordering of multiple topics is ultimately the consequence of lowering discourse features from C to T and specifying T as a multiple-specifier category in the relevant language. This implies that topic fronting (Clitic Left Dislocation) in languages such as Spanish is at times an instance of A-movement. This possibility is allowed in

Miyagawa's (2010) system for languages such as Japanese, in which topics may target Spec-CP or Spec-TP. From this, it follows that in Spanish-type languages, preposed topics may occur in the TP-area or in the CP-system depending on whether discourse features are inherited by T or retained in C respectively. I elaborate a proposal which combines all these strategies.

In strong contrast with languages such as Spanish, in the other type of language represented by English, discourse features are not lowered from C to T, which explains why topics are dislocated to the CP system, to an A'-position. The strict order of multiple topics in this kind of language follows from the fact that they move to the specifier of different Top heads in the CP domain, adopting Rizzi's (1997 and subsequent work) cartographic system. I will analyse different rearrangements of fronted elements in English and investigate some of the syntactic properties which restrict the left periphery in this type of language. Within Rizzi's split CP-system that I employ to account for English topic fronting, Force is the phasal head which enters the derivation with uninterpretable discourse features, which remain in C (though some sort of inheritance is also attested inside the CP-domain, see below).

This article is organised as follows: (i) section 2 summarises some assumptions concerning topic fronting and feature inheritance which my analysis is based on; (ii) in section 3 I review the data concerning multiple topics in different languages; (iii) section 4 discusses the proposal that multiple topics are the result of feature inheritance and its technicalities and establishes a difference between languages in which topics move to the CP-domain and languages in which they move to the TP-area; (iv) in section 5 evidence is provided in favour of an analysis of topics targeting an A-position in some languages, based on quantificational scope; and (vi) section 6 summarises my findings.

2. Preliminary Assumptions

In this section I present some theoretical assumptions which I take into account in my approach to multiple fronted topics. Throughout this work, I assume that topics move to the left periphery of the clause (for an alternative view see Cinque, 1990), and in line with Rizzi (1997), Haegeman (2006; 2007) and Grohmann (2003), among others, I do not make a difference between Topicalization and Clitic Left Dislocation in principle (though see Frey 2005 for a different approach). In both types of phenomena the crucial property is that topics are displaced to the front of the sentence. However, as seen below,

the landing site of both operations need not be identical across languages and the distinguishing properties are ultimately related to the targeted position.

For convenience sake, English-like Topicalisation is analysed as involving movement (internal merge) of a constituent to the left periphery of the clause, and the subsequent deletion of the original copy. This is illustrated in (6), from Rizzi (1997: 285):

(6) Your book, you should give ~~your book~~ to Paul (not to Bill).

In Rizzi (1997) this kind of displacement is accounted for by proposing that the DP *your book* moves to the specifier of a specialised category Top. The relation between the landing site in the CP-system and the original argument position is established via an operator in the specifier of Finiteness, another designated category in the CP-domain. This is a further complication that I will avoid by assuming, in line with Grohmann (2003), a movement analysis with no intermediate steps. The split-CP approach can be summarised as in (7), which is basically adapted from Rizzi (1997: 288):

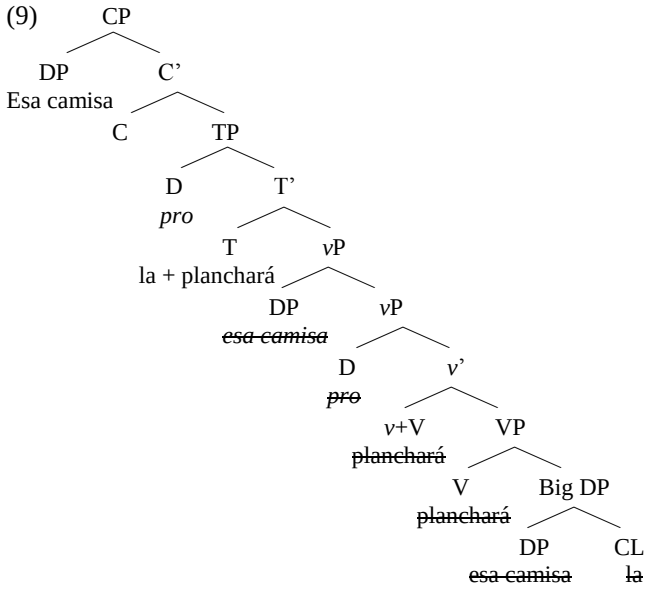
(7) … Force … (Topic) … (Focus) … (Topic) Finiteness TP

As regards Spanish-like Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD), I assume that the dislocated constituent moves out of a 'Big DP' (in the sense of Cechetto 2000) and it is resumed by a clitic in the TP-area. To illustrate, consider (8):

(8) Esa camisa la plancharé mañana.
That shirt CL iron–FUT.1SG tomorrow
'That shirt I will iron tomorrow.'

The analysis which is commonly proposed for CLLD involves merging the big DP object *la esa camisa* 'CL that shirt' in VP (Torrego, 1992, Sportiche, 1995, Uriagereka, 1995, among others). At a later stage, in line with Belletti (2005), the lexical part of this big DP moves to the left periphery and the clitic attaches to T. The whole process can be clearly seen in (9), which is based on the analysis proposed by Cechetto (2000: 115):

(9)



The DP object *esa camisa* 'that shirt' is raised out of the Big DP and presumably targets Spec-CP via Spec-*v*P so that the Phase Impenetrability Principle (PIC) is satisfied. Following Chomsky (2001), the PIC states that the complement of a phase cannot be accessed by an external probe; only the head and the edge of a phase can be reached from outside the phase. What this means is that in order for the DP object to be extracted out of *v*P, it has to move first to the edge of *v*P, to the outer specifier. From here it can move into its final position in the left periphery.

Relevant to my analysis is the notion of AGREE as proposed by Chomsky (2007; 2008). This mechanism is in charge of establishing a relation between a probe and a goal in such a way that grammatical features are valued. As a result, unvalued features are assigned a specific value. In Chomsky's system the mechanism of AGREE affects formal features (φ-features) such as person and number in T. Nevertheless, expanding Miyagawa's (2005; 2010) development, I deal with preposed constituents as a result of setting an AGREE relation in terms of discourse features (δ-features) such as topic and focus in C/T (Jiménez, 2008; 2010). This process is informally represented in (10):

(10) $C_{\varphi, \delta}$ T_{φ} V $DP_{\varphi, \delta}$

The representation in (10) sketches the feature-inheritance mechanism. C enters the derivation with uninterpretable and unvalued agreement and discourse features, which render C an active probe. In languages such as English the φ-features are lowered onto T, but δ-features are kept in C. These δ-features are valued with those in the DP goal thereby undergoing movement to spec-CP. The φ-features which have been inherited by T will be valued with those of the subject. This is illustrated in (11), which is the partial derivation that can be proposed for (6):

(11) [$_{CP}$ Your book C [$_{TP}$ you [$_{T}$ should] give ~~your book~~ to Paul]]
[δ] [~~δ~~] [φ] [~~φ~~]

Note that in English, discourse and agreement features are dissociated since the former are retained in C, whereas the latter percolate down to T. Once the process of feature valuation is complete, all the uninterpretable features are deleted and the derivation is ready to be transferred to the other grammatical components. As is described in detail below, the process of feature inheritance varies across languages. Crucial to my proposal is the fact that in some languages both φ-features and δ-features are inherited by T, which explains the different properties of topic fronting in different languages.

Finally, it should be clear that the type of topic that I am investigating corresponds basically to what Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) term familiar topics. Three types of topics can be identified according to Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007: 87): aboutness topics, contrastive topics and familiar topics. The familiar topic is a given or accessible element and it is usually deaccented. To illustrate, in the possible answers to the question in (12) the preposed constituents are given information which can be easily accessed in the question:

(12) Q: ¿Cuándo rompió Juan el jarrón?
when break–PAST.3SG Juan the vase
'When did Juan break the vase?'
A: Juan, el jarrón lo rompió esta mañana.
Juan the vase CL break–PAST.3SG this morning
'Juan broke the vase this morning.'
A': El jarrón, Juan lo rompió esta mañana.
the vase Juan CL break–PAST.3SG this morning
'Juan broke the vase this morning.'

Note that in the answers, the order of multiple topics can be manipulated so that we obtain two alternative arrangements, namely /S + O/ and /O + S/. As Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) claim, it is precisely familiar topics that allow for the free ordering of multiple preposed topics in languages such as Italian. My analysis adopts the optional rearrangement in multiple topic constructions proposed by these authors, but deviates from their approach with respect to the position targeted by familiar topics and the motivation for this different slot in the syntax. I take the view that aboutness and contrastive topics move to Spec-CP, as illustrated in (9), which involves a contrastive topic. Nevertheless, contra Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007), I propose that familiar topics target a position in the TP-area in languages such as Spanish. As dealing with the full typology of topics is far beyond the scope of this paper, I henceforth concentrate on familiar topics.

3. Describing the Data

The first part of this section focuses on three languages, namely, Spanish, Greek and Turkish. In these languages a relatively free arrangement of multiple familiar topics is attested. In the second part, I discuss the case of English, which systematically requires a strict order for preposed (multiple) topics.

Regarding Spanish, topic fronting shows no particular preference for any specific order, as exemplified in (13). Example (13a) illustrates the canonical order and, accordingly, it has a neutral reading from an informational point of view. The derived counterparts with the corresponding free rearrangements are felicitous provided that the context allows for the relevant interpretation. From this, it is inferred that any ordering of multiple topics in the left periphery yields a correct outcome, as supported by examples (13b–d).

Spanish:

(13) a. Ángela entregó la tesis en el Departamento el jueves.
Angela submit–PAST.3SG the thesis in the Department the Thursday
b. Ángela, la tesis, en el Departamento la entregó el jueves.
Angela the thesis in the Department CL submit–PAST.3SG the Thursday
c. La tesis, en el Departamento, la entregó Ángela el jueves.
d. La tesis, Ángela, la entregó en el Departamento el jueves.
'Angela submitted her thesis in the Department on Thursday.'

The examples in (13b–d) illustrate the use of different rearrangements of familiar topics. These are not constrained by any rule, so any of the sentences above can be the answer to the question 'When did Angela submit her thesis in

the Department?'. From the information provided in the context question, it can be inferred that the underlined constituents in the answers are preposed familiar topics. No specific order is preferred.

Topics in Greek seem to behave in the same way as in Spanish. That is, the order is free with respect to multiple topic fronting.[2] Examples in (14) give credit to the flexible order of multiple topics in Greek. (14a) represents the canonical pattern in Greek, but (14b–d) confirm the free arrangement of subjects, objects and adjuncts.

Greek (Vassilios Spyropoulos, p.c.):

(14) a. i angeliki kateθese ti ðiplomatiki sto tmima
the Angela–NOM submit-PAST.3SG the thesis–ACC to.the department–ACC
tin pempti.
the Thursday–ACC

b. i angeliki, ti ðiplomatiki, sto tmima
the Angela–NOM the thesis–ACC to.the department–ACC
tin kateθese tin pempti.
CL submit–PAST.3SG the Thursday–ACC

c. ti ðiplomatiki, sto tmima tin kateθese i angeliki tin pempti.

d. i ðiplomatiki, i angeliki tin kateθese sto tmima tin pempti.
'Angela submitted her thesis in the Department on Thursday.'

Once again, all the sentences in (14b–d) can be used as answers to the context question 'When did Angela submit her thesis in the Department?', which confirms that the type of topic at issue is the familiar topic.

As regards Turkish, the arrangement of preposed multiple topics also appears to be free. The basic order in Turkish is SOV as exemplified in (15a). However, different alternations of subject, object and adverbial are possible in Turkish with a topic reading of the subject, as long as the material before the subject constitutes topics as well. This is shown in examples (15b–d).

Turkish (Selçuk İşsever, p.c.):

(15) a. Ali o kitab–ı dün oku–du.
Ali.NOM that book–ACC yesterday read–PAST.3SG

b. O kitab–ı Ali dün oku–du. /OSAV/

c. O kitab–ı dün Ali oku–du. /OASV/

d. Dün o kitab–ı Ali oku–du. /AOSV/
'Ali read that book yesterday.'

In the context of the questions in (16), the pattern OSAV in (15b) is suitable. Both the object and the subject are topics (Kural 1997, Temürcü 2005, Kornfilt 2005):

(16) a. Ali o kitab–ı ne zaman oku–du?
Ali.NOM that book–ACC when read–PAST.3SG
b. O kitab-ı Ali ne zaman oku-du?
'When did Ali read that book?'

In (15c), the subject can have a topic reading, if both the object and the adverb are topics as well. The same is also true for the patterns OASV and AOSV, with the same context questions for (15c) and (15d):

(17) a. Ali o kitab–ı dün oku–du mu?
Ali.NOM that book–ACC yesterday read–PAST.3SG Q
b. O kitab–ı dün Ali oku–du mu?
c. Dün o kitab–ı Ali oku–du mu?
'Did Ali read that book yesterday?'

Interestingly, it should be noted that the type of topic that occurs in all the examples (15) involves givenness, which is exactly what defines familiar topics.

The conclusion drawn so far is that in the three languages under analysis the order of multiple familiar topics in the left periphery is free. Regardless of the argument/adjunct status of the preposed topics, Spanish, Greek and Turkish are similar in that they allow a flexible rearrangement of fronted topics.

The other type of language that I am interested in is the one represented by Bulgarian and English. In this type of language, there seem to be specific restrictions as regards the linear sequence in which preposed topics are stacked at the left periphery. Consider the English examples in (18), roughly equivalent to the Spanish ones in (13):

(18) a. Angela submitted her thesis in the Department on Thursday.
b. Her thesis Angela submitted in the Department on Thursday.
c. *Angela her thesis submitted in the Department on Thursday.
d. In the department Angela submitted her thesis on Thursday.
e. *Angela her thesis in the Department submitted on Thursday.
f. *Angela in the Department her thesis submitted on Thursday.
g. *Her thesis Angela in the Department submitted on Thursday.

h. *In the Department her thesis Angela submitted on Thursday.

In English, multiple fronted topics are possible, proviso they are ordered in a specific way. According to the data above, the only possible patterns attested are OSVAA in (18b) and ASVOA in (18d). In clear contrast to languages such as Spanish, Greek and Turkish, English shows a very rigid ordering, suggesting that the landing site for topic displacement in the two types of languages is different, or/and that the very nature of the movement involved is different.[3]

English poses further problems as regards the availability of multiple fronted topics. As Haegeman (2000; 2006; 2007; 2010a; 2010b) has shown, there are important differences between adjunct preposing and argument fronting. Whereas circumstantial adjuncts may be displaced in certain constructions, arguments are less easily dislocated in English. This constraint is instantiated in adverbial clauses; more specifically, conditional and temporal clauses. Focusing on conditional clauses, the following contrast emerges:

(19) a. If on Monday we haven't found him, we'll call the RSPCA.
(Haegeman, 2010a: 632)
b. *If these exams you don't pass, you won't get the degree.
(Haegeman, 2010a: 629)

This distinction is used by Haegeman to claim that some adverbial clauses disallow Main Clause Phenomena such as Topicalisation in languages such as English (Emonds, 2004; Heycock, 2006).[4] On the other hand, Romance CLLD is not subject to this restriction so both adjunct fronting and argument preposing are available, which is illustrated by the Spanish and Italian examples respectively in (20), taken from Haegeman (2006: 38):

(20) a. Si este examen no lo apruebas con un cinco, perderás
if this exam NEG CL pass–PRES.2SG with a five, lose–FUT.2SG
el curso entero.
the course entire
'If this exam you don't pass with a five, you'll lose the whole year.'
b. Se gli esami finali non li superi, non otterrai
if the exams final NEG CL pass–PRES.2SG NEG obtain–FUT.2SG
il diploma.
the diploma
'If you don't pass the final exams, you won't obtain the diploma.'

The different properties that the argument/adjunct asymmetry displays in relation to fronting possibilities has been widely discussed by Haegeman (2000; 2006; 2007; 2010a; 2010b), so here I will limit my discussion to one point that is of particular relevance as far as multiple topics are concerned, namely that in languages such as English intervention effects arise when arguments are fronted, whereas no intervention is observed when adjuncts are preposed (Haegeman, 2007: 292). This distinction is exemplified in (21), where the relative pronoun moves across a previously fronted element:

(21) a. *This is a man who *liberty* would never grant to us. (Rizzi, 1997: 307)
b. John Prescott is the person who *in future* will be in charge of major negotiations with the fire-fighters. (Haegeman, 2007: 292)

Fronting the subject relative operator across the object *liberty* gives rise to the intervention effect, whereas preposing an adverbial such as *in future* does not amount to intervening and yields a grammatical outcome.

Going back to examples (18b) and (18d), English allows the displacement of both arguments and circumstantial adjuncts respectively in root clauses. This raises a crucial question for my work: what about combining circumstantial adjuncts and arguments in main clauses?

Expanding the argument/adjunct asymmetry explored by Haegeman (2007; 2010a; 2010b), English would be expected to allow the preposing of two adjuncts and one argument plus one adjunct, but two arguments are never fronted. The three possibilities are represented in (22); (22a) and (22b) have been kindly provided by Marcelle Cole (p.c.), whereas (22c) is taken from Haegeman (2006: 314):

(22) a. Yesterday in a pub I met our teacher. /A+A/
b. Our teacher in future will have to revise the syllabus of that course. /S+A/
c. *This book, John I won't show. /O+O/

As claimed by Rizzi (1997) and Haegeman (2006; 2010a; 2010b), in Romance fronting does not give rise to intervention effects. More precisely, CLLD does not display any preference for a specific order when multiple fronting takes place. Spanish has been shown to be a language with no restriction on the particular arrangement of preposed topics. I take this to be another property which distinguishes the two types of topic preposing that I am dealing with, namely CLLD and Topicalisation. I concur with Haegeman that English topic fronting shows intervention effects when the preposed elements

are argumental, while Spanish CLLD does not give rise to any intervention so any ordering will yield a correct result. Nevertheless, as explored in length below, in my proposal a multiple-specifier approach (as opposed to multiple heads) is invoked to explain the parametric differences detected in Topicalisation and CLLD.

4. The Proposal: Feature Inheritance and Single vs. Multiple Attractors

It is generally assumed that all types of Agreement relations are based on unvalued uninterpretable features. Chomsky (2007; 2008) calls them agreement features. However, there exist languages in which AGREE seems to operate in conjunction with discourse features. In this line, Miyagawa (2005; 2010) and Chomsky (2008) have claimed that agreement features are associated in the Lexicon with phasal heads (C and *v*). Accordingly, they are on a par with focus and topic features under the assumption that focus and topic depend on the region of C.

The idea that the C-system is responsible for focus and topic fronting is not new. This has been extensively explored by Rizzi (1997; 2004) in his cartographic approach, Cinque & Rizzi (2008), Haegeman (2006 and subsequent) for Italian, Kiss (2008) for Hungarian, Demonte & Fernández-Soriano (2009) and Hernanz (2007) for Spanish; among many others. In their view, the C-system is split into different functional categories in order to account for word order and discourse interpretation. The general architecture for the sentence would look like (23):

(23) Force Top Foc Top Fin TP *v*P

The exploration of discourse-related movements and their role in the rearrangement of word order has led to the proliferation of many functional categories, which in a way, might be regarded as uneconomical.[5]

Following Miyagawa (2005; 2010), phasal heads contain agreement features and discourse features.[6] This seems to be universal in the light of his proposal, which is based on Chomsky's (2001: 2) Uniformity Principle. In addition, Miyagawa assumes that T has an EPP or edge feature (EF) universally that has to be satisfied in conjunction with agreement or focus features, which are inherited from the phasal head C. Both types of feature are responsible for the activation of AGREE in the narrow syntax and work in conjunction with the EF under T/C.

Let's see how the interaction of agreement/discourse features with the EF in T/C may explain the basic differences between languages. As before, for simplicity I use the Greek letters φ for agreement features and δ for discourse features; the arrow stands for the process of feature inheritance:

(24) a. $C_{\varphi, \delta}$ T_{δ} … *Japanese*[7]

b. $C_{\varphi, \delta}$ T_{φ} … *English*

c. $C_{\varphi, \delta}$ $T_{\varphi, \delta}$ … *Spanish*

From these combinatory possibilities it can be inferred that all languages are held to contain both φ-features and δ-features. However, in Miyagawa's (2005: 206) system, languages are either focus (discourse, in my terms) prominent or agreement prominent, depending on the type of features highlighted. In compliance with Sigurðsson's (2005; 2009) silent principle, discourse-prominent languages contain unpronounced agreement features, whereas agreement-prominent languages have unpronounced discourse features. These parametric differences are reduced to feature inheritance in that agreement/discourse prominence is a direct effect of the percolation of the relevant kind of features from C to T.

If a language is agreement prominent, the agreement features spread down from C to T and, along with the EF under T, attract the category agreed with to Spec-TP. This is represented by possibility (24b). On the other hand, if a language is discourse prominent, the discourse feature under C will be inherited by T and in conjunction with its EF triggers the Internal Merge of a constituent with the same discourse feature in Spec-TP.[8] In particular, this is illustrated by possibility schematized in (24a). Finally, when a language is both discourse-prominent and agreement-prominent, both types of feature are lowered onto T. The process is schematized in (24c).

In line with Miyagawa (2005), Japanese illustrates possibility (24a). Movement is feature-driven. Accordingly, if the subject or object is attracted to Spec-TP it is because T should contain some feature which motivates their displacement. In my system this feature is a [Top]-feature under T, which attracts the constituent that it agrees with, acquires a value and is then deleted due to its non-interpretability. This [Top]-feature is inherited from C and works in conjunction with the EF under T.[9]

English is an agreement-prominent language, exemplifying possibility (24b). As such, agreement features percolate down to T, but discourse features are retained in C. What this means is that any displaced discourse-related constituent in English undergoes movement to the CP-area. By contrast, Spanish is both agreement- and discourse-prominent. Accordingly, both φ-features and δ-features are transferred to T. In other words, the clausal periphery in English is identified with the CP-domain, whereas in Spanish it is detected in the TP-area for familiar topics (though the latter also makes use of the CP region for aboutness and contrastive topics).[10]

As regards topic fronting, my proposal is that familiar topics undergo movement to Spec-CP in English, but to Spec-TP in Spanish.[11] However, the analysis is more intricate when it comes to dealing with multiple topics. In the case of English, several options would be available:

1) Multiple topics move to multiple specifiers in CP.
2) Multiple topics are hosted in the specifier of different Top heads in CP.
3) Multiple topics are recursively adjoined to CP.

Possibility 3 is not relevant in my system since topic fronting is triggered by an EF in a head. Lambova (2001) favours the adjunction analysis for multiple topics in Bulgarian. Nevertheless, in line with Kayne (1994) adjunction is not allowed as a consequence of movement. Adjunction might be the right analysis under the assumption that topics are base-generated in the left periphery. This possibility is of no concern here. Options 1 and 2 involve different predictions. If situation 1 is chosen, multiple topics should precede complementisers in subordinate clauses. This prediction is not borne out in the light of examples such as (25):

(25) a. I think that her thesis Angela submitted in the Department on Thursday.
b. *I think her thesis Angela that submitted in the Department on Thursday.

Complementisers always seem to precede preposed topics. The data cannot be accommodated if multiple topics move to multiple specifiers of CP. Additionally, proposing a different type of target for main and subordinate clauses is uneconomic given Chomsky's (2001) Uniformity Principle. Finally, option 1 is unavailable in English from a theoretical perspective. In view of this, I shall briefly set out Richards' (1999) theory on syntactic movement, which I basically adopt (albeit with some important modifications).

Richards (1999) claims that in multiple movement constructions two pictures emerge: i) in cases of movement to multiple specifiers, movement to a higher specifier should precede movement to a lower specifier, thus crossing paths obtain; and ii) in cases of movement to the specifier of multiple heads, movement to a higher specifier should follow movement to a lower specifier, so that one path will nest the other one (Pesetsky, 1982).[12]

These two displacement strategies could constitute the basis for a typological classification of languages into two groups: those which allow a given category to project multiple specifiers and those which permit a recursive projection of heads whose specifiers will be targeted by different moving phrases. In my system, if a language has a category with multiple specifiers, it is predicted that the order of preposed elements should be free; but if the relevant category is not specified as projecting multiple specifiers, a strict order of fronted constituents is expected due to the recursive projection of multiple heads.[13] English does not exhibit the first property; rather it employs the second strategy. To illustrate, consider the examples in (26):

(26) a. *We that kind of behaviour in future will not tolerate in this school.
b. In future, that kind of behaviour we will not tolerate in this school.[14]

In (26b) the D subject *we* moves first to a low position, then the DP object undergoes movement to a higher position, and finally the adverbial PP *in future* is displaced to the highest position. This order suggests that the paths described by the moving constituents and their respective copies are nesting paths, which indicates that the three displaced elements move to the specifier of different heads. Note that moving the adverbial to a low position yields an ungrammatical outcome, as (26a) shows. The reason is once again related to the fact that moving the adverbial to the low position involves crossing the subject and object paths. Simply crossing paths is not an option in English just because it does not contain multiple-specifier categories. Crossing paths in languages such as English give rise to intervention effects, which I will get back to below.

As an anonymous reviewer has pointed out to me, moving the adverbial in (26a) to the low position violates locality or Shortest Move regardless of whether there are multiple attractors or a single one. I refer the reader to Richards' (1999) definition of Shortest, which heavily draws on the notion of equidistance. In his framework, specifiers are not equidistant. For Richards (1999: 155), "The lower specifier will have to be closer to a moving element than a higher specifier would be." As stated below in the text, this statement is

not valid in languages such as Spanish, in which free ordering of multiple specifiers is attested, which supports the idea that specifiers are equidistant.

Although equidistance (or locality) is not strictly within the scope of this paper, I will clarify the definition of this structural relation that I am assuming through this paper. Equidistance can be described in terms of the relative position of the goals (Chomsky 1995: 184-185; 2000:122), but it can also be defined according to the position of the targets of moving categories. This final option is the one that Richards (1999) has chosen. As mentioned earlier, I do follow Richards' approach to equidistance in that what is relevant for my approach is the relative equidistance of target slots. However, some of the theoretical side-effects with respect to the order of constituents obtained after movement are differentiated in my analysis. In this connection, Richards holds that the strict order of Bulgarian *wh*-expressions is symptomatic that the targeted positions are multiple specifiers of a single head.[15] The rigid order is explained by assuming that multiple specifiers are **not** equidistant. This is just a pure stipulation which is forced to justify the Bulgarian strict order. Richards' system cannot explain the Spanish data presented in this paper, unless the condition of Equidistance is taken to hold in a multiple-specifier target. I do assume that Equidistance plays an important role in movement, but in contrast to Richards's view, I take it that targeted multiple specifiers **are** equidistant.

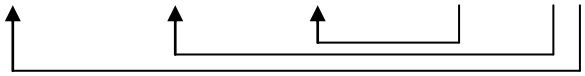
Chomsky (2000: 122) describes Equidistance as follows: "Terms of the edge of HP are equidistant from probe P." If probes are also taken to be subject to Equidistance, it can be claimed that term of the edge of HP are equidistant from Goal G. Accordingly, any specifier position of the target can be used by a moving category.[16] This opens the possibility of both crossing and nesting paths in multiple specifiers, thus motivating free order of moving categories. As clearly set below, Spanish instantiates this strategy. In my system, the co-occurrence of crossing and nesting paths in a single language is taken as an indication that it employs multiple specifiers.

After this brief incursion into the relevance of locality and equidistance in multiple specifiers, let's go back to the type of multiple movements detected in English. If English were the kind of language which could use the multiple-specifier device, (26a) would have been predicted to be correct under the assumption that in a multiple-specifier language crossing paths is the default result of movement, in line with Richards (1999). An alternative analysis is that multiple preposed topics undergo movement to the specifier of multiple heads.

The recursive projection of topic-related heads in English can be captured if some kind of cartographic approach to topic fronting is adopted (Belletti, 2004, Benincà and Poletto, 2004, Haegeman, 2006; 2010a; 2010b, Rizzi, 1997;

2004). The analysis proposed for the set of sentences in (25) involves splitting the CP into different functional categories, such as TopP and FocP, whose specifier is the landing site of a given discourse-related constituent. Movement to the specifier of different heads is predicted to lead to nesting paths, which is exactly what is obtained in the derivation of (26b):

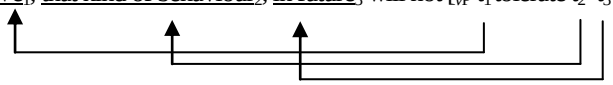
(27) In future$_3$, this kind of behaviour$_2$, we$_1$, will not [$_{vP}$ t$_1$ tolerate t$_2$ t$_3$ in this school].



Topics move to the relevant TopP in a specific order: First, the subject moves to Spec-TP and subsequently sits in Spec-TopP.[17] Then, the object undergoes movement to the specifier of an immediately higher TopP in the CP-domain and finally, the adverbial is attracted to a higher Spec-TopP. From this it follows that Topic displacement involves movement to the specifier of different TopPs in the CP-area. In other words, topic fronting implies some type of Ā-movement. The target position is a direct consequence of transferring φ-features from C to T and retaining δ-features in C. In conclusion possibility 2 is the best option for English-type languages.

In strong contrast with (26b), the derivation of (26a) leads to crossing paths. More precisely, the subject moves across the object and the adjunct:

(28) We$_1$, that kind of behaviour$_2$, in future$_3$ will not [$_{vP}$ t$_1$ tolerate t$_2$ t$_3$ in this school].



The chains of the three fronted elements in (28) give rise to intervention effects (Haegeman, 2007; 2010 a; 2010b). Note that the strategy used is that of crossing paths. The connection between intervention effects seems to be logical in that in languages such as English where intervention effects are observed there is a ban on crossing paths. Consequently, English shows intervention effects just because crossing paths is not an option in the language.

One of the side effects of my proposal that δ-features are retained in C in languages such as English alongside the splitting of the CP-system into recursive Top heads is that it has to be decided what head(s) within CP is the phasal category that enters the derivation with uninterpretable features. Following economy, if the CP is not divided the syncretised category C is the phasal head which enters the derivation with the bundle of uninterpretable features. On the other hand, in cases of multiple topic constructions the CP-

system is divided into designated categories, in which case Force constitutes the phasal head. This statement poses one crucial question for my proposal: if Force shelters the uninterpretable δ-features which trigger movement of topics to the specifier of multiple Top heads, what is the mechanism which ensures that multiple topics target Spec-TopP rather than Spec-ForceP. As an anonymous reviewer suggests, the answer to this question is quite simple: feature inheritance. What I propose is that in multiple topic constructions Force is endowed with δ-features and these are spread onto Top, but not lower. The distinction between Spanish and English boils down to the relative length of the inheritance path. In Spanish features percolate all the way down to T, whereas in English features are lowered onto Top and stop there. Further refinements are needed, but I leave the issue at this point. In light of this distinction, in example (26b) Force is endowed with uninterpretable δ-features, which are inherited by the recursive Top heads. These [top]-features in conjunction with an EF attract the relevant topic elements to each Spec-TopP in the way described in (27).

Turning now to Spanish, I have claimed that both φ-features and δ-features are inherited by T. What this predicts is that both the subject and any discourse-related constituent undergo movement to spec-TP. Once again several possibilities are available:

1) Adjunction to TP
2) Movement to the specifier of different Top heads in the TP-domain.
3) Movement to multiple specifiers of TP.

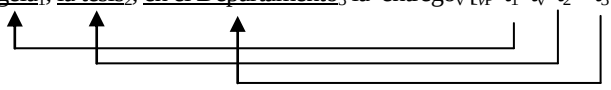
Adjunction is not an option since it implies base-generating topics as adjoined to TP, which is the proposal that Barbosa (2001; 2009a; 2009b) puts forward.[18] In order to choose either 2 or 3, it must be noted that the arrangement of multiple topics in Spanish is free, in clear contrast with English. Assuming Richards's (1999: 144) idea that operations with crossing paths are the result of multiple displacement triggered by a single head, option 3 should be preferred (cf. Gutiérrez Bravo, 2007, Zagona, 2002), though nesting paths can also be an alternative, as shown below. To illustrate the crossing nature of multiple-topic fronting in Spanish, consider the examples in (13), repeated here for convenience:

(13) a. Ángela entregó la tesis en el Departamento el jueves.
Angela submit–PAST.3SG the thesis in the Department the Thursday

b. Ángela, la tesis, en el Departamento la entregó el jueves.
Angela the thesis in the Department CL submit–PAST.3SG the Thursday
c. La tesis, en el Departamento, la entregó Ángela el jueves.
d. La tesis, Ángela, la entregó en el Departamento el jueves.
'Angela submitted her thesis in the Department on Thursday.'

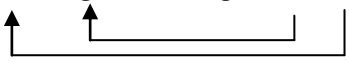
Given that it is not until the T cycle that the operation of AGREE is activated, the closest candidate to move is the DP subject *Ángela* (Attract Closest). Centring on (13b), the subject moves first and targets the highest specifier in TP; subsequently, the DP object *la tesis* raises into the immediately lower specifier; and finally, the adverbial *en el Departamento* is displaced to the lowest specifier. The intersection of the newly created dependencies can be observed in (29); numbers are used to represent the consecutive chronological order of movement:

(29) Ángela$_1$, la tesis$_2$, en el Departamento$_3$ la entregó$_v$ [$_{vP}$ t$_1$ t$_v$ t$_2$ t$_3$ el jueves].



The outcome that this derivation yields suggests that the paths of the moving categories cross one another, which indicates that movement to multiple specifiers has taken place. However, this does not eliminate the possibility of obtaining nesting paths in Spanish multiple-topic constructions. Hence, moving the object first to the outer specifier should be an option in Spanish. This is illustrated by (13d), which is derived as follows:

(30) La tesis$_2$, Ángela$_1$, la entregó$_v$ [$_{vP}$ t$_1$ t$_v$ t$_2$ en el Departamento el jueves].



In Richards' (1999) system, this nesting property of movement is suggestive of movement to the specifier of multiple heads. Nevertheless, I depart from this view and claim that in languages with a rigid order of displaced elements, nesting paths are the result of movement to the specifier of multiple heads, but in languages where the arrangement of fronted constituents is free, the sequence of multiple topics may yield crossing paths, nesting paths and even the co-occurrence of both crossing and nesting paths. This last property is instantiated in languages such as Spanish as well, as (31) shows:

(31) La tesis, Ángela, en el Departamento, la entregó el jueves.
the thesis Angela in the Department CL submit–PAST.3SG the Thursday
'Angela submitted her thesis in the Department on Thursday.'

The relative order of object and subject hints at the nesting character of both dependencies; by contrast, moving the third topicalised constituent, namely the PP, implies that its path crosses those of the subject and object. In conclusion, nesting paths are not always indicative of multiple attractors. In fact, nesting paths are not incompatible with Chomsky's (1995) idea that all operations should expand the tree. The point is that depending on the definition of expanding the tree, crossing paths can be seen as a tree-extension phenomenon or not. I take it that any kind of projection expands the tree. As a result, both nesting and crossing paths are allowed in the syntax of multiple specifiers (but see Richards, 1999 for a different view).

English always employs nesting paths in multiple topic constructions. The rigid order /O + S/ is due to the fact that topics move to the specified of recursive Top heads. However, as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, the order of multiple topics in Bulgarian is also fixed, but their arrangement seems to be /S + O/, in clear contrast with English:

(1) a. Mama decata šte vodi na cirk.
mom kids–the will take to circus
b. *Decata mama šte vodi na cirk. (on the relevant interpretation)
'As for mom and the kids, she will take them to the circus.'

Building on Richards (1999), I suggest that Bulgarian multiple topics should involve multiple specifiers since the paths of moving topics are crossing, thereby preserving the original c-command order. Thus, Bulgarian seems to pattern with Spanish in that it allows for multiple specifiers; yet the multiple attractor in Bulgarian is C. In other words, δ-features remain on C both in English and Bulgarian, but in the former C splits into different heads, whereas in the latter C is a multiple attractor.

To recap, I have proposed that languages differ with respect to the syntactic device employed in the movement of discourse-related categories; more specifically, topics may undergo movement to the specifier of TopP in the CP-system or to the specifer of TP. In multiple-topic constructions, topics are fronted to the specifier of recursive TopPs or to multiple specifers in TP. This parametric difference is simply a direct consequence of the kind of feature-

inheritance available in the relevant language alongside the specification of the attracting category as single/multiple attractor.

Differences in terms of strict *vs*. flexible ordering of multiple familiar topics are captured elegantly in a system in which movement to the specifier of multiple heads involves nesting paths, whereas movement to multiple specifiers may produce either nesting or crossing paths. This is precisely what makes the difference between languages such as Spanish and English. What is crucial in my analysis is that familiar topics move to Spec-TopP in languages such as English, while they move to Spec-TP in languages of the Spanish kind. In stricter terms, topics undergo A'-movement in English but A-movement in Spanish.[19] Section 5 focuses on one argument in favour of this distinction.

In order to have a clear picture of what is going on, I summarise the different strategies used across languages in the following table, which are the basic tenets of my proposal:

(32) A. English-like topicalisation is in CP and Spanish-like CLLD may be in T.
B. English topicalisation is A'-movement and Spanish CLLD may be A-movement.
C. English retains topic features in C, whereas Spanish lowers them onto T.
D. Multiple heads (intervention effects) *vs* multiple specifiers (no intervention).
E. Nesting paths for English topic fronting, but both nesting and crossing paths for Spanish CLLD.

My feature-inheritance account of the syntax of topic fronting poses one further question: why is it that in some languages δ-features are lowered onto T? This is exactly what Chomsky (2008) and Miyagawa (2010) have tried to find out. Recall that the feature-inheritance mechanism is proposed to activate the process of AGREE. To use Miyagawa's (2010: 19) words, the reason for feature-inheritance is '[…] to make it possible for languages to have A-chains.' As stated above, in Spanish, φ-features are always handed over onto T and δ-features may sometimes be transferred onto T (for familiar topics). From this it follows that in Spanish A-chains are created either by φ- features or by δ-features. Accordingly, the answer to the question above is just to activate an A-chain.

5. Reconstruction and Quantificational Scope

Many arguments can support my view that familiar topics undergo A-movement to spec-TP in languages such as Spanish. For reasons of space, in this section I concentrate on the connection between familiar topics and quantificational scope. A more detailed list of arguments in favour of my analysis is provided in Jiménez (2009, 2010) and Jiménez & İşsever (2010).

Building on Cinque (1990), Barbosa (2009a) claims that CLLDed constituents take wide scope with respect to a scope bearing element inside the sentence. She illustrates with Portuguese data:

(33) Alguns livros, não os entreguei a todos os professores.
some books not CL give-PAST.1SG to all the professors
'I didn't give some books to all the professors.'

The interpretation for this sentence is that some books are such that I did not give them to all professors. In other words, the Q *alguns* 'some' takes scope over (hence, c-commands) the universal Q *todos* 'all'. Based on Turkish, Temürcü (2005) establishes the possible scopal relations between two quantifiers:

(34) Herkes ÜÇ KİŞİYİ suçladı. (Temürcü, 2005: 136)
everyone.NOM three people-ACC accuse-PAST.3SG
'Everyone accused three people.'
all > 3 (Distributed reading: 'Everyone accused any three people.')
3 > all (Collective reading: 'There are three people such that everyone accused them.')

Temürcü concludes that when the object is fronted in Turkish, the OSV pattern displays an asymmetric scope pattern compared to SOV, which means that object preposing reverses the c-command relations between the subject and the object. This implies that object fronting is contentful (Saito & Fukui, 1998), since it modifies the relative scope interactions between the subject and the object. Accordingly, no reconstruction is available and the only reading is the collective interpretation:

(35) Üç kişiyi HERKES suçladı.
three people-ACC everyone.NOM accuse-PAST.3SG
'Everyone accused three people.'
3 > all (Collective reading: 'There are three people such that everyone accused them.')

The conclusion drawn from the examples above is Turkish object preposing is an instance of A-movement, hence movement to Spec-TP.[20] A similar argument may be built on Spanish. In the SVO pattern both the distributed and the collective readings are plausible. However, if the object is fronted the only interpretation is the collective reading.

(36) a. Todo el mundo acusó a tres personas.
everyone accuse-PAST.3SG to three people
'Everyone accused three people.'
all > 3 (Distributed reading: 'Each one accused three different people.')
3 > all (Collective reading: 'There are three people such that everyone accused them.')
b. A tres personas todo el mundo las acusó.
to three people everyone CL accuse-PAST.3SG
'Everyone accused three people.'
*all > 3 (Distributed reading: 'Each one accused three different people.')
3 > all (Collective reading: 'There are three people such that everyone accused them.')

As indicated by the non-availability of the distributed reading in (37b), reconstruction is not an option, which suggests that movement modifies the scope relations. On the assumption that scope modification is an A-property, it is safe to conclude that topic fronting in Spanish instantiates A-movement to Spec-TP.

6. Concluding Remarks

In this work I have investigated the syntax of multiple topic constructions in different languages. Specifically, multiple topic preposing involves familiar topics (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007). I have shown that multiple topic constructions are a reflex of different strategies in a variety of languages. The device to be employed varies according to the type of grammatical features (φ or δ) inherited from C to T.

In languages such as English, δ-features remain under C. This explains why topics always undergo A'-movement to the CP-domain. In cases of multiple topic displacement, CP splits into different TopPs and δ-features are lowered from Force onto recursive Top heads. Conversely, in languages of the Spanish-like group, δ-features may be lowered onto T, which accounts for the use of A-movement to the TP-area. In multiple topic constructions topics target multiple specifiers in TP. Quantificational scope gives credit to the analysis of multiple topics as moving into the TP region.

The syntax of multiple topic structures sheds some light upon the strategy that a specific language selects. Free arrangement of fronted topics is just the consequence of lowering δ-features onto T in conjunction with a specification of this category as a multiple attractor. By contrast, a strict linear sequence of preposed topics results from retaining δ-features in C, which qualifies as a single attractor.

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Notes

[1] A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the LAGB meeting in Edinburgh in September 2009 and the Ankara Linguistic Circle in May 2010. I am grateful to the audience there for their comments and feedback, especially Caroline Heycock, Michelle Sheeham and Liliane Haegeman. I thank Pilar Barbosa, Selçuk İşsever, Vassilios Spyropoulos, Luis López and Julio Villa-García for insighful and helpful comments on certain parts of this work. My discussions with Liliane Haegeman, Halldór Sigurðsson and Shigeru Miyagawa have contributed in making my proposal stronger. Thanks to Marcelle Cole for revising the English. Finally, I am thankful to one anonymous reviewer of Dilbilim Araştırmaları for his/her encouraging review. Obviously, all remaining errors and misconceptions are mine.

[2] Regarding the basic order in Greek, the holding view is that it is VSO and that S in SVO orders is a left dislocated element. As Spyropoulos (p.c.) points out to me, this is only true for subjunctive clauses (which in Greek are rendered with the particle *na*) and there is evidence that in indicative clauses the S in SVO orders may be in a pure EPP position (contra Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, 1998, see Horrocks, 1994, Roussou & Tsimpli, 2006 and Spyropoulos & Revithiadou, 2009 about this issue). For my present purposes, what is crucial is that, similar to Spanish, subjects in Greek may be preposed and their position can be altered in relation with other sentence constituents in the let periphery.

[3] Bianchi & Frascarelli (2010) claim that English lacks preposed familiar topics, as opposed to Romance languages. However, the fact that sentences such as (18b) can be used as an answer to 'When did Angela submit her thesis in the department?' clearly shows that familiar topics can be fronted in English as well. I am thankful to Marcelle Cole for her judgements.

[4] Haegeman (2006) makes a distinction between peripheral adverbial clauses and central adverbial clauses on the basis of the availability of fronting, in addition to other main clause phenomena. Peripheral adverbial clauses do, but central adverbial do not, allow for argument preposing. Conditional clauses may be central or peripheral, depending on whether they modify the event in the main clause or they contribute to discourse. Only peripheral conditional clauses permit argument fronting:

(i) If <u>anemones</u> you don't like, why not plant roses instead? (Haegeman 2006: 33)

The distinction is employed to elaborate the proposal that the split-CP is more or less rich so that it may project different syntactic categories. I refer to Haegeman (2006; 20010a; 2010b) for further details.

[5] Actually, Chomsky (2008) states that discourse-related properties make up a subcomponent within the Conceptual-Intentional (C-I) interface, not strictly marked in the narrow syntax by specific discourse-like categories. What is clear is that at least in some languages there are discourse movements in the narrow syntax and the interpretation of these displaced constituents is to be assigned at the C-I interface.

[6] Miyagawa (2005) claims that C contains agreement features and focus features. I add a [Top]-feature to phasal head C.

[7] Miyagawa (2005) holds that Japanese is a discourse-prominent language in which the φ-features are blurred. Thus, φ-features remain on C. On the other hand, Miyagawa (2010), in his evolution, claims that Japanese apparently lacks φ-features. However, he also states that φ-features are always inherited by T. In view of this paradoxical situation, I assume that in languages such as Spanish and Turkish both φ- and δ-features are lowered onto T and in Japanese it is just δ-features that are spread down to T. I leave open the issue about φ-features with regard to Japanese.

[8] On previous approaches to a possible classification of languages depending on their discourse configurational character, see Li and Thompson (1976) and Kiss (1995). They suggest that languages can be classified as subject-prominent or topic-prominent. One of the determining factors that Kiss (1995) points out is how often a language uses Topicalisation. Extending Kiss's (1995) original proposal, Miyagawa (2010) redefines focus-prominent languages as discourse-configuration languages.

[9] Maki *et al.* (1999) also propose the existence of a topic feature to explain topicalisation in embedded clauses in Japanese and English. However, they claim that topics adjoin to INFL and then INFL moves at LF to C. This is untenable in my system in that there is no movement of T to C, rather the features under C are lowered onto T. In addition, after Kayne (1994), adjunction is not an option as a result of movement.

[10] For a full discussion of this 3-fold typology of languages based on feature inheritance, see Jiménez (2010; in press).

[11] Movement of topics to Spec-TP has been independently motivated for Yiddish by Diesing (1990).

[12] Different constructions have received an explanation based on multiple specifiers: Japanese/Korean-style multiple nominative constructions (Ura, 1996, Grewendorff & Sabel, 1999), Hebrew/Arabic nominative constructions (Alexopolou *et al*., 2004), Slavic multiple *wh*-movement (Rudin, 1988, Richards, 1999, Bošković, 1999, Lambova, 2001), and object shift (Chomsky, 1995).

[13] In this respect I depart from Richards' (1999) proposal. For him, multiple *wh*-movement in Bulgarian is analysed as movement to multiple specifiers of a single attractor, and this imposes a strict order of *wh*-operators, preserving the original order. Note that my proposal complies with Richards' distinction between multiple attractors and single attractors, but the technicalities are rather different.

Richards states that crossing paths in multiple specifiers account for the strict order of *wh*-expressions in Bulgarian, which are tucked in within the CP-domain. This may explain examples such as (1), where multiple topics are stacked up following their original c-command order. In my system, multiple specifiers in CP are allowed for languages where multiple topics are moved to the left periphery preserving the original c-command ordering. As outlined in the main text, Spanish does not comply with Richards' proposal that multiple specifiers of a head involve a rigid (c-command) order of moving categories.

[14] Examples such as (26b) are genuine cases of multiple topics in English in that the adverbial *in future* is preposed to the left periphery. Other similar examples such as *Of course, that kind of behaviour we cannot tolerate in this school* are not representative of the multiple-topic constructions that I am concerned here since the high adverbial *of course* is base-generated initially.

[15] The strict ordering of displaced *wh*-phrases in Bulgarian multiple questions has been motivated independently of the notion of equidistance or Minimal Link Condition and independently of the multiple-specifier configuration that Richards's proposal relies on. Lahne (2008: 3) has proposed a Specificity Condition to the effect that the original order of moving multiple *wh*-phrases is preserved due to the fact that the most specific (in terms of cardinality) *wh*-operator moves first:

With more than one potential Goal with the same number of matching features available, the Probe agrees with the goal that is most specific in terms of morphosyntactic features (=specificity of the goal).

For Lahne (2008), the Specificity Condition holds in both multiple-specifier configurations and specifiers of multiple dedicated heads. The author holds that equidistance may be abandoned in favour of this more general condition. From this it follows that equidistance may have nothing to do with multiple specifiers, and the strict arrangement of moved categories can be explained by independent general principles such as the Specificity Condition. See Lahne (2008) for the full proposal.

[16] See Bobaljik and Jonas (1996: 200) for a similar idea. Their approach is more derivational: "Whichever specifier position the subject moves to, the movement will not violate Shortest Movement if the specifier positions of the intervening phrases are not present at that stage of the derivation."

[17] Belletti (1990) claims that subjects can move to the left periphery, which she justifies with sequences in which subjects precede sentential adverbs such as *probably* or *unfortunately*:

(i) Peter probably has baked the potatoes.
(ii) Probably Peter has baked the potatoes.

In (ii) the subject seems to remain in Spec-TP, hence it follows the high adverb *probably*; but in (i) the subject precedes the adverb. This is taken to as evidence for the topic position occupied by subject.

[18] Specifically, Barbosa (2009b) holds that topics may optionally adjoin to CP or TP depending on the root or subordinate nature of the clause.

[19] An alternative claim is that Spec-TP in languages such as Spanish is an A'-position (Vallduví, 1992, Uribe-Etxebarria, 1991, Zubizarreta, 1998, Barbosa, 2001). The argument I put forward below lead to the conclusion that Spec-TP conveys A-properties. See Jiménez (2009; 2010) for further arguments.

[20] İşsever (2008) also uses these examples to establish a relation between scope change and focus. He holds that if focusing effects are taken into account the scope interactions remain the same and reconstruction is available with object preposing, thereby being interpreted at LF. Crucially, the availability of both readings suggests that objects may undergo A'-movement in Turkish, at least when they are focused. As I am concentrating on topics, I will not pursue this issue here and refer the reader to İşsever's work. See also Kornfilt (2005).