

# Focus Fronting and Root Phenomena<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

In this paper we claim that the different behaviour we find in the distribution of Focus Fronting (both Contrastive Focus Fronting (CFF) and Negative Preposing (NP)) in English and Spanish is due to the fact that these languages belong to different discourse language types.

In a seminal work, Emonds (1969) observed that, in English, non-structure preserving transformations or root transformations (RT) only apply in particular syntactic contexts. More recently, Emonds (2004, 2012) defined these contexts as “*root-like indirect discourse embedding*” or RIDES, meaning that they can only occur in finite complement clauses of a governing verb or an adjective (1a). In non-RIDE contexts these operations are not possible (1b) (Emonds 2004: 77):

- (1) a. I made a promise right away that [<sub>RIDE</sub> *only until five* would we work].
- b. \*We will propose [<sub>Non-RIDE</sub> *only until five* working] to the manager.

In (1a) the operation occurs in a finite subordinate clause, while in (1b) the movement happens in a non-finite one.

In this paper we analyse a subset of these RTs. In particular, the different distribution we observe in CFF and NP in non-asserted embedded clauses in English and Spanish.<sup>2</sup> Both constructions have different semantic and pragmatic features but have quite similar distributional properties. In contrast to CFF, in NP structures, a negative adjunct or argument constituent, usually a PP quantifier, is fronted to the left periphery of the clause, typically triggering subject auxiliary inversion and a polarity sentence reading (cf. Culicover 1991a, 1991b, Haegeman 2000a, 2000b, 2012, Sobin 2003). But because they show the same syntactic distribution, we will assume that they target the same position in the syntactic tree in each language. Thus, from now on we will refer to both of them as Focus Fronting.

We are interested in the fact that the English constructions have a more restricted distribution than the Spanish ones, with respect to the kind of predicate allowed. Emonds’ proposal does not take into account that RTs in English are forbidden with non-asserted predicates (cf. Hopper and Thompson 1973). As we can see in (2a) and

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<sup>1</sup> This proposal had been presented at the *Olomouc Linguistics Colloquium* 2013.

<sup>2</sup> We will deal only with contrastive focus. For a classification of focus types see Frascarelli and Jiménez-Fernández (2012), (2013), Frascarelli and Ramaglia (2013) and Bianchi (2013).

(2b), we cannot move these constituents to the left periphery of the clause with these predicates whereas in Spanish this movement is certainly grammatical (3a) and (3b):

- (2) a. \*I resent that [<sub>RIDE</sub> NEVER IN MY LIFE did I do anything like that].  
(Meinunger 2004)  
b. \*Andrew was surprised that [<sub>RIDE</sub> THIS TABLET she bought and not the cheaper one].

In (2a) and (2b) the operation is not allowed though both structures are finite complement clauses. We believe, as Hopper and Thompson (1973) propose, that the reason is that the main verb does not take non-asserted complement clauses; a feature related to referentiality and factivity. In contrast, Spanish does not bar Focus Fronting in these referential contexts:

- (3) a. Me arrepiento de que [<sub>RIDE</sub> NUNCA ANTES hayas  
conducido  
regret–PRES.1SG of that never before have–SUBJ.2SG driven  
este coche].  
this car  
‘I regret that you have NEVER driven this car BEFORE’.  
b. A Juan le molesta que [<sub>RIDE</sub> ESTE LIBRO haya  
elegido  
to Juan CL bother–PRES.3SG that this book have–SUBJ.3SG  
chosen  
Mariano (y no aquel)].  
Mariano (and not that one)  
‘It bothers Juan that Mariano has picked up THIS BOOK (and not that one).’

Haegeman and Ürögdi (2010) propose that these constructions are not allowed in English because there is an event operator at CP related to the referential nature of the clause that blocks the movement of the fronted constituent. We basically agree with their proposal and argue that the reason why there is not such an effect in Spanish is due to the fact that the moved constituent targets TP and not CP, as proposed for English. Therefore, there is no blocking effect.

Thus, for us, this contrast is a consequence of language variation with respect to how a given language encodes information structure in syntax. Elaborating on Miyagawa 2010, Jiménez-Fernández 2010, 2011, we claim that in agreement-prominent languages like English, focus features are valued in CP whereas in discourse-prominent languages like Spanish they are valued in TP. We provide independent evidence suggesting that in Spanish focused fronted elements target a position below the left-periphery proper: (1) floating quantifiers, (2) binding effects, (3) fronted bare quantifiers, (4) Montalbetti’s effects and (5) anti-reconstruction and quantificational scope. Then, we provide Greek and Turkish data that give force to our proposal. Finally, we support the hypothesis that a great part of language variation is related to the distribution of topic and focus in syntax.

This paper is organized as follows: 1) we introduce Haegeman and Ürögdi's (2010) intervention effect hypothesis and show that it is not compatible with Spanish data; 2) we present our proposal and argue that Haegeman and Ürögdi's (2010) intervention-based analysis can perfectly be compatible with Spanish focalization if feature inheritance by T from C is assumed; 3) we provide empirical evidence to confirm that CFF and NF target TP in Spanish with A-movement; 4) we show that our proposal predicts Greek and Turkish behaviour, and, 5) we summarize our main findings and present pending issues which we will have to discuss in our future research.

## 2. The intervention effect hypothesis

Haegeman and Ürögdi (2010) and Haegeman (2010, 2012) explore a different strategy to address the fact that RTs only occur in specific contexts in English. Instead of focusing on those structures where these movements are allowed, as Emonds does, they analyse those where they are not. Thus, discourse motivated movements will always be allowed in Syntax except in certain configurational contexts where some structural constraint would disallow them. Therefore, grammar would not need to analyse them as special constructions. These phenomena would be explained by making use of the syntactic machinery we already have.

These authors suggest that constituent fronting is generally allowed in English except with referential CPs, basically corresponding to factive predicates or non-asserted predicates (H&T 1976). The point that factives clauses are not compatible with extraction has traditionally been related to special properties of the clausal periphery that blocks the movement (Munsat 1986, Mevold 1986, 1991; Hegarty 1992; Watanabe 1992; Bianchi 2000, Zubizarreta 2001, and Roussou 1994, among others). Recently, Haegeman and Ürögdi 2010 have explored this possibility proposing that there is an event operator at CP that blocks it causing intervention effects. As we can see in (4) (Haegeman and Ürögdi 2010:128):

$$(4) [_{CP} Op_i \dots [_{FP} t_i [_{TP} V \dots ]]]$$

This operator would have a quantificational feature 'Q' and would be licensed by the functional element of definiteness and bound to an event-position inside the clause. Whenever a quantifying constituent or a wh-word tries to move into CP, the operation is blocked due to the same richness of similar features shared by the moved constituent and the event operator:

$$(5) *[_{CP} XP_Q Op_Q \dots [_{FP} t [_{TP} V \dots ]]]^3$$

<sup>3</sup> Haegeman and Ürögdi (2010) claim that this operator would be similar to the ones found in relative clauses. In order to support that proposal, they argue that both structures share similar syntactic properties (except that they are not dominated by a nominal phrase). In fact, in languages like Gungbe (a Kwa language) both have a very similar syntactic configuration; although they have different interpretations: instead of relativizing the fronted element, they do it with the event itself (see Aboh 2005). The following data comes from Aboh (2005):

Haegeman and Ürögdi (2010) do not explicitly analyse the Spanish data, but they clearly assert that Romance Clitic Left Dislocations are not affected by the distinction between constructions with or without event operator because topics in Romance can be dealt with in terms of base generation, i.e. via merge in the left periphery (Cinque 1990; Barbosa 2001; Frascarelli 2007 *et seq.*).

- (6) El gobierno no se resiente de que *los recortes*<sub>i</sub> *los*<sub>i</sub>  
 The government not CL resent-PRES.3SG of that the cuts CL  
 haya impuesto Europa.  
 have-SUBJ.3PL imposed Europe  
 ‘The government does not resent that the cuts have been imposed by Europe.’

In (6) we can see that Focus Fronting is also grammatical with topicalization in Spanish. In this example, *los recortes* is fronted and correferential with the clitic *los*. However, although there is not a general consensus about the base-generation or movement approach to topicalization in Romance, it is generally assumed that Focus Fronting in Romance is constructed by a movement operation that targets spec FocP (Rizzi 1997). Thus, if the intervention analysis is correct, it predicts that in Romance in referential contexts CFF will be blocked by the presence of the discourse operator. However, as we have already stated, this is not the case:

- (7) a. Es probable que SOLO ALGUNA VEZ haya  
 be-PRES.3SG probable that only some time have-PRES.3SG  
 conducido Juan ese coche.  
 driven Juan that car  
 ‘It’s probable that Juan had driven that car ONLY ONCE.’  
 b. Negaron que a *Jimena* vieran en la fiesta.  
 deny-PAST.3PL that to Jimena see-PAST.SUBJ.3PL at the party.  
 ‘They denied that they saw Jimena at the party.’

Both operations are perfectly allowed in Spanish, showing that referentiality and CFF and NP are compatible in Spanish. So their proposal has to be revised to include these counterexamples.<sup>4</sup>

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- (i) a. Kòf í wê xò ágásá dǎxó [dǎ mí wlé] ló lé  
 Kofi Foc buy crab big that[Rel] 1pl catch Det Num  
 ‘KOFI bought the [aforementioned] big crabs that we caught.’  
 b. Ágásá dǎxó ló lé [dǎ mí wlé] vé ná Kòf í  
 crab big Det Num that[Rel] 1pl catch hurt for Kofi  
 ‘The fact that we caught the aforementioned big crabs hurt

<sup>4</sup> Haegeman & Ürögdi (2010) provide cross-linguistic evidence that the discourse operator found in referential clauses must occupy a position outside TP, thereby allowing embedded focus in those languages where focus raises TP-internally. This is the contrast the authors identify in English and Hungarian:

- (i) a. \*John resents that THIS BOOK Mary chose.  
 b. János sajnálja, hogy Mari EZT A KÖNYVET választotta.  
 John regrets Comp Mary this book-Acc chose  
 ‘John regrets that it is this book that Mary chose.’

Haegeman & Ürögdi (2010) They consider the possibility of focused movement in Hungarian in referential contexts and propose that this type of focus movement targets spec-TP. This is the contrast the authors identify in English and Hungarian:

- (8) a. \*John resents that THIS BOOK Mary chose. Hungarian  
 b. János sajnálja, hogy Mari EZT A KÖNYVET választotta.  
 John regrets Comp Mary this book-ACC chose  
 ‘John regrets that it is this book that Mary chose.’

The unrestricted compatibility of the event operator and focus fronting argues in favours of an analysis of the factive operator as occupying a position outside TP, hence explaining why there is no intervention in those languages where focus targets the TP-area.

### 3. Our proposal: Feature inheritance and spec-TP

In this article, we offer an alternative solution. For us, the different behaviour we observe in English and Spanish in these constructions is due to the fact that these languages belong to different language types as far as discourse structure is concerned. As a result, in each language, CFF and NF constituents target different positions in the syntactic derivation and, therefore, no real intervention arises with the event operator.<sup>5</sup>

Miyagawa (2010) makes a typological classification of languages depending on the kind of grammatical features inherited by the TP. Languages can be grouped into two types: agreement-based languages and discourse-configurational languages (cf. É. Kiss 1995).

#### (9) Feature Inheritance Parameter (Miyagawa 2010)<sup>6</sup>

LANGUAGE TYPE	FEATURE INHERITANCE	LANGUAGES
<i>Discourse-prominent</i>	$C_{\varnothing, \delta} \rightarrow T_{\delta} \dots$	Japanese, Korean
<i>Agreement-prominent</i>	$C_{\varnothing, \delta} \rightarrow T_{\varnothing} \dots$	English and most Indo-European languages

Agreement-based languages such as English are characterized because agreement features are inherited by T, whereas discourse features stay in C. Japanese-like languages, on the contrary, show the opposite behaviour: T inherits discourse features, not agreement ones.

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The unrestricted compatibility of the event operator and focus fronting argues in favours of an analysis of the factive operator as occupying a position outside TP, hence explaining why there is no intervention in those languages where focus targets the TP-area.

<sup>5</sup> Based on Chomsky’s (2008) notion of feature inheritance, Miyagawa (2005, 2010) has proposed that topics in the form of scrambling move to Spec-TP in languages such as Japanese because discourse features, which start out in C, may be inherited by T. T triggers movement of topics to spec-TP.

Similarly, Jiménez-Fernández & Miyagawa (2013) have claimed that Clitic Left Dislocation of familiar topics target spec-TP after feature inheritance from C to T in Spanish. This would be the reason why scrambling and CLLD are compatible with all types of predicate classes.

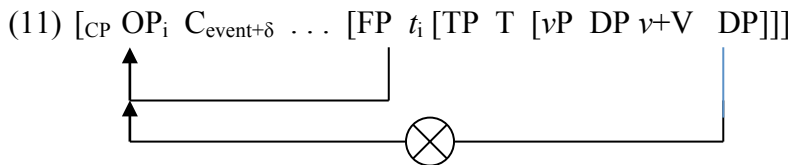
<sup>6</sup>  $\varnothing$ : agreement features,  $\delta$ : discourse features

Jiménez–Fernández (2010) claims that some languages like Spanish can display both behaviours. Thus, a third type can be added to the typology. In languages like Spanish, as well as in Turkish and Greek, both agreement and discourse features are inherited by T:

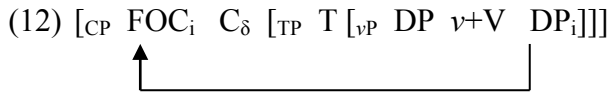
(10) Feature Inheritance Parameter (adopted from Jiménez–Fernández 2010, 2011)

LANGUAGE TYPE	FEATURE INHERITANCE	LANGUAGES
<i>Discourse-prominent &amp; Agreement-oriented</i>	$C_{\phi, \delta} \rightarrow T_{\phi, \delta} \dots$	Spanish, Turkish, Greek <sup>7</sup>

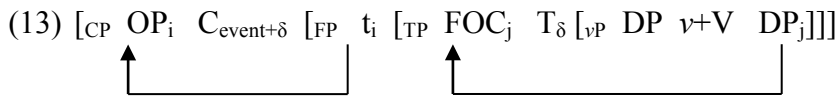
As a result of this typology, we can describe two situations: on the one hand, languages in which discourse features are valued in C and therefore intervention may arise. This means that focalization in English targets spec-CP. If in referential CPs the event operator moves to spec-CP, this intervenes for any further movements to the same syntactic position.



Movement of any material to Spec-CP from  $\nu P$  is blocked by the intervener OP. In the absence of operator movement, there is no intervention and hence focus can be fronted to Spec-CP:



On the other hand, languages in which discourse features are valued in T and, consequently, no intervention results.<sup>8,9</sup> If this is on the right track, it has an important consequence for the intervention effect shown by operator movement in referential complement clauses. If focused constituents are moved to Spec-TP, operator movement does not interfere with any subsequent movement in the same construction. This predicts that independently of the referential or non-referential character of embedded clauses, foci moving to Spec-TP are completely compatible with operator movement. The prediction is borne out by NF and CFF in Spanish.



<sup>7</sup> See also Jiménez–Fernández and İşsever (2011) for the parallelism between Spanish and Turkish, as far as inheritance of  $\delta$ -features is concerned, and Jiménez–Fernández and Spyropoulos (2013) for the inclusion of Greek in this third group.

<sup>8</sup> The EPP under T triggers movement of the probed category to Spec-TP (Jiménez–Fernández 2010).

<sup>9</sup> This is the case for scrambled topics in Japanese (and contrastive topic) and CLLD in Spanish (Jiménez–Fernández & Miyagawa 2013).

But which arguments show that in Spanish focused elements move to the Spec-TP? We need to bear in mind that a basic difference between movement to Spec-CP and movement to Spec-TP is that they are A-bar movements and A-movements, respectively. If we are on the right track CFF and NP should show all the typical behaviours of A-movements in Spanish but not in English. (Though see Quer 2002 for a different view, in which Spanish spec-TP is an A'-position)

#### 4. Arguments in support of Focus fronting to TP area in Spanish

In the relevant literature there is a hot debate as to which position is the target of discourse-related fronted constituents (see Jiménez-Fernández 2010, 2011, Jiménez-Fernández & Miyagawa 2013 for general discussion). In this section, we claim that in languages such as Spanish focus fronting (at least, CFF and NP) are moved to spec-TP (contrary to Demonte & Fernández-Soriano 2009, Hernanz 2007, among others). This idea is not new. Contreras (1991), Uribe-Etxebarria (1991), Zubizarreta (1998) and Vallduví (1993), among others, have held that focus moves to spec-TP. However, in contrast to our proposal, they consider that spec-TP is an A'-position.

##### 4.1 Floating quantifiers

Floating Quantifiers (FQ) constitute one piece of evidence which supports our analysis of focus movement to spec-TP, hence to an A-position, in Spanish. On the basis of Catalan data, López (2009) concludes that FQs are allowed only in A-movement, not in A'-movement (Lasnik 2003). In Spanish, the same constraint is found, thus cases of A-movement such as raising and passive constructions are compatible with FQs:

- (14)a. *Los niños* parecen haber terminado *todos* la tarea.  
 [Raising]  
 the children seem-PRES.3PL have-INF finished all the homework  
 'Children seem to have all finished their homework.'
- b. *Las aceitunas* han sido recolectadas *todas*.  
 [Passive]  
 the olives have-PERF.3PL been harvested all  
 'The olives have *all* been harvested.'

In (14a) *los niños* raise as subject of *parecer* whereas the quantifier *todos* is stranded in the original VP. In (14b) *las aceitunas* move to an A-position while the quantifier *todas* stays in its original site. In contrast, quantifiers cannot be stranded with relativization (15a) or wh-movement (15b) in Spanish. In these structures the quantifier phrase move to an A-bar position:

- (15)a. \**Las aceitunas* que fueron recolectadas *todas* han  
 the olives which be-PAST.3PL harvested all have-PRES.3PL  
 sido vendidas ya.  
 been sold already  
 'All the olives which were harvested have already been sold.' [Relativization]

- b. \*¿Qué aceitunas han sido vendidas *todas*? [Wh-movement]  
 which olives have-PRES.3PL been sold *all*  
 ‘Which olives have all been sold?’

If FQs occur with raising and passive constructions in Spanish but not with relative and questions, this strongly suggests that A-movement is at stake.<sup>10</sup> If we are on the right track, our proposal predicts that, in focus structures, FQ will be allowed in Spanish but not in English since they land in an A- and A-bar position, respectively. This is what we find in (16) and (17):

- (16) LAS PERAS se ha comido *todas* María, no las manzanas.  
 the pears CL have-PERF.3SG eaten *all* Maria, not the apples  
 ‘María has eaten ALL THE PEARS, not the apples.’
- (17) a. \*THAT PROBLEM this computer could *all* solve in a second, but not this one.  
 b. \*I’m surprised that THAT PROBLEM this computer could *all* solve in a second, but not this one.

The interplay of focus preposing and FQs can also be attested in referential CPs in Spanish. This again suggests that there is no possible intervention between the event operator and focus movement:

- (18) Me sorprende que LAS PERAS se haya comido *todas*  
 CL surprise-PRES.3SG that the pears CL have-PERF.3SG eaten *all*  
 María, y no las manzanas.  
 María and not the apples  
 ‘I’m surprised that María has eaten ALL THE PEARS, and not the apples.’

## 4.2. Binding effects

In relation with binding effects, it must be noted that, as the result of focus movement the c-command relation between binder and bindee may be modified. In

<sup>10</sup> McCloskey (2000) has observed that in West Ulster English FQs are compatible with certain types of A'-movement. In particular, he shows that a Q can float in *wh*-movement:

- (i) a. What did you get all for Christmas?  
 b. Who did you meet all when you were in Derry?  
 c. Where did they go all for their holidays? (McCloskey 2000: 58)

So far it seems that the behaviour of *wh*-movement with respect to the FQ is similar to the typical subject A-movement to Spec-TP. Consequently, either *wh*-operators target an A-position or else the argument based on FQs should be abandoned. However, despite their similarities the interaction between FQs and A'-movement should be analysed as a phenomenon independent from the interplay of FQs and A-movement. This receives support from the difference drawn in (ii):

- (ii) a. Who was throwing stones all around Butchers' Gate?  
 b. \*They were throwing stones all around Butchers' Gate.

As is clear, stranding in a post-object position is illegal under A-movement, while it is licensed under A'-movement. This distinction suggests that actually the Q *all* should not be analysed as a FQ in cases of A'-movement, since it clearly does not signal the syntactic slot from which the *wh*-operator has been extracted.



(19a) CFF forces a bound reading between *A JUAN* ‘to Juan’ and *su madre* ‘his mother’ while in (19b) without such a move, the bound reading is ungrammatical:

(19) *Bound reading*

- a. *A JUAN<sub>i</sub> vio su madre<sub>i</sub> en la fiesta, no a Pedro.*  
 to Juan see-PAST.3SG his mother at the party, not to Pedro  
 ‘His mother saw Juan at the party, not Pedro.’

*Unbound reading; \*Bound reading*

- b. *Su madre\*<sub>i/j</sub> vio A JUAN<sub>i</sub> en la fiesta, no a Pedro.*  
 His mother see-PAST.3SG to Juan at the party, not to Pedro  
 ‘John was seen by his mother at the party.’

The creation of a new binding configuration is clearly a symptom of A-movement (Lasnik 2003, Miyagawa 2010, Temürçü 2005). Anti-reconstruction of the focused operator entails that this has moved to an A-position.

Note that if it is right our claim that there is no intervention between the eventive operator moving to spec-CP and focus fronting to spec-TP, we expect both operations to be compatible in referential and non-referential contexts. This is borne out by examples such as (20a) and (20b):

(20) *Bound reading*

- a. *Me preocupa que A JUAN<sub>i</sub> viera su<sub>i</sub> madre en la fiesta,*  
 CL worry-PRES.1SG that to Juan see-SUBJ.3SG his mother at the party,  
*y no a Pedro.*  
 and not to Pedro

*Unbound reading; \*Bound reading*

- b. *Me preocupa que su madre\*<sub>i/j</sub> viera A JUAN<sub>i</sub> en la fiesta,*  
 CL worry-PRES.1SG that his mother see-SUBJ.3SG to Juan at the party,  
*no a Pedro.*  
 not to Pedro

‘It worries me that John was seen by his mother in the party.’

Again these results exhibit the same binding amelioration effects as the ones we showed for root clauses, pointing to the fact that the focused DP in (20a) sits in spec-TP.

In the same vein, Costa (2000) and Pires (2008) argue that subjects in European and Brazilian Portuguese are in spec-TP and hence they are A-binders.

- (21) a. *Todos os coelhos<sub>i</sub> comem a sua<sub>i</sub> cenoura* European Portuguese  
 all the rabbits eat-PRES.3PL their carrot  
 ‘All rabbits<sub>i</sub> eat their<sub>i</sub> carrot’  
 b. *Todos os coelhos<sub>i</sub> cuidam da propria<sub>i</sub> cria* Brazilian Portuguese  
 all the rabbits take.care-PRES.3PL of the own offspring  
 ‘All rabbits<sub>i</sub> take care of their<sub>i</sub> offspring’

In Spanish pre-verbal subjects can be focused and yet they can A-bind an anaphor:

- (22)a. TODOS LOS CONEJOS cuidan de sus crías,  
 All rabbits take.care-PRES.3PL of their offspring,  
 no todos los canguros.  
 not all the kangaroos  
 ‘ALL RABBITS take care of their offspring, but not kangaroos’.
- b. A LAS CRÍAS cuidan sus madres, no a las parejas.  
 of the offspring take.care-PRES.3PL their mothers, not of the partners  
 ‘Mothers take care of THEIR OFFSPRING, but not of their partners.’
- c. TODOS LOS CONEJOS cuidan de sus crías,  
 All rabbits take.care.of-PRES.3PL of their offspring,  
 no sólo algunos.  
 not only some  
 ‘ALL RABBITS take care of their offspring, not just some of them.’
- d. A TODAS LAS CRÍAS cuidan sus madres, no sólo a algunas.  
 of all offspring take.care-PRES.3PL their mothers, not only to some  
 ‘Mothers take care of all of THEIR OFFSPRING, not just of some of them.’

The focused subjects in (22), alongside focused objects, can bind the relevant possessive pronominal. If we follow Costa (2000) and Pires (2007) in claiming that these antecedents are A-binders, we can confirm that they sit in spec-TP.

Likewise, binding effects are obtained in embedded contexts:

- (23)a. Ángela dice que TODOS LOS CONEJOS<sub>i</sub> cuidan  
 Ángela says that all rabbits take.care-PRES.3PL  
 de sus<sub>i</sub> crías, no todos los canguros.  
 of their offspring, not all the kangaroos  
 ‘Ángela says that ALL RABBITS take care of their offspring, but not all kangaroos’.
- b. Es extraño que A LAS CRÍAS<sub>i</sub> cuidan sus<sub>i</sub> madres,  
 It is odd that of the offspring take.care-PRES.3PL their mothers,  
 no a las parejas.  
 not of the partners  
 ‘It is odd that mothers take care of THEIR OFFSPRING, but not of their partners.’
- c. Es interesante que TODOS LOS CONEJOS<sub>i</sub> cuidan de  
 It is interesting that all rabbits take.care.of-PRES.3PL  
 sus<sub>i</sub> crías, no sólo algunos.  
 their offspring, not only some  
 ‘It is interesting that ALL RABBITS take care of their offspring, not just some of them.’

As example (23a) shows, in non-referential contexts FF is possible and the focused QP binds the anaphoric possessive *sus*. This is predicted in our system, since no event operator is present in non-referential clauses and the focused QP sits in spec-TP, thereby being able to A-bind the possessive D.

Similarly, (23b-c) illustrate CFF in referential environments. Our proposal explains the compatibility of the event operator in referential clauses and the presence of a focused QP (subject in (23b) and object in (23c)), since the former occupies spec-

CP whereas the latter is in spec-TP. Being in spec-TP, the focused QP can A-bind the anaphoric D.

### 4.3. Fronted bare quantifiers

Goodall (2001) argues that preverbal subjects are not in a topic position even in Spanish (taking a topic position as meaning an A'-position in CP, see also Goodall 1999). He argues that while bare quantifiers cannot be topics in Spanish (24a), they can be preverbal if they are subjects (25a), in his terms. This position is taken by Pires (2008) to be spec-TP. According to Pires, the same contrast arises in Brazilian Portuguese, where a bare quantifier cannot be a topic, but it can be realized as a subject in an A-position, in spec-TP (25b):<sup>11</sup>

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(24)a. *A nadie Juan lo ha visto.<br/>to no.one Juan him-CL have-PRES.3SG seen</p> <p>b. *Ninguém, o João (não) viu<br/>to nobody, the João (not) see-PAST.3SG<br/>'No one saw Juan/ João.'</p> | <p>Spanish</p> <p>Brazilian Portuguese</p> |
| <p>(25) a. Nadie ha visto a Juan.<br/>no.one have-PRES.3SG seen to Juan</p> <p>b. Ninguém viu o João.<br/>nobody see-PAST.3SG the João<br/>'No one saw Juan/ João.'</p>                            | <p>Spanish</p> <p>Brazilian Portuguese</p> |

Assuming with Barbosa (2001) and Belletti (2001) that quantifier fronting is a sort of focus movement, we claim that the reason why sentences such as those in (25) are grammatical is that the bare quantifier occupies spec-TP, an A-position, and that this constituent is focused. To support this view, note that (24) considerably improves if the object quantifier is focused:

- (26)a. A NADIE ha visto Juan.  
to nobody have-PRES.3SG seen Juan  
'Juan has seen nobody'.
- b. A NINGUNO ha visto Juan.  
to no one have-PRES.3SG seen Juan  
'Juan has seen no one.'

If bare quantifiers can be focalized, similar to subjects, it is because they occupy spec-TP. This raises the question as to whether it is possible to find this kind of bare quantifier fronting in embedded contexts. Indeed, this is the case regardless of the referential or non-referential environment:

<sup>11</sup> Pires (2008) claims that "[p]reverbal subjects occupy a position with A'-properties, i.e. Spec, T. The T node has a dual nature. It hosts both agreement features, which are responsible for subject – verb agreement, and discourse-related (operator) features, which are responsible for triggering wh-movement and focus movement." This is similar to what Barbosa (1994), Cornilescu (1997, 2002 a, b), Hill (2002) and Alboiu (2002) a.o propose.

(27)a. Es verdad que A NADIE ha visto Juan. Non-referential  
 is true that to nobody have-PRES.3PL seen Juan  
 ‘It is true that Juan has seen nobody.’

b. Es extraño que A NADIE haya visto Juan. Referential  
 is odd that to nobody have-SUBJ.3PL seen Juan  
 ‘It is odd that Juan has seen nobody.’

We conclude that the focused bare quantifiers in both non-referential and referential contexts sit in spec-TP. If in referential environments there is an event operator undergoing movement to spec-CP, we expect no intervention to arise between the two types of movement. As illustrated by (28), our expectations are fully met.

#### 4.4. Montalbetti effects

Montalbetti (1984) effects (Pires 2007, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998): they only show up when a pronoun is preverbal, as seen in the Catalan examples in (28) and in Spanish in (29).

(28)a. \*Tots els estudiants<sub>i</sub> es pensen que ells<sub>i</sub> aprovaran. Catalan  
 all the students CL think-PRES.3PL that they pass-FUT.3SG

b. Tots els estudiants<sub>i</sub> es pensen que aprovaran ells<sub>i</sub>.  
 all the students CL think-PRES.3PL that pass-FUT.3SG they  
 ‘All students think they will pass.’

(29)a. \*Todos los estudiantes<sub>i</sub> piensan que ellos<sub>i</sub> aprobarán. Spanish  
 all the students think-PRES.3PL that they pass-FUT.3SG

b. Todos los estudiantes<sub>i</sub> piensan que aprobarán ellos<sub>i</sub>.  
 all the students think-PRES.3PL that pass-FUT.3SG they  
 ‘All students think they will pass.’

Assuming with Barbosa (1996) and Pires (2007) that only pronouns in A-positions can be construed as bound variables, the difference between (28a) and (29a), on the one hand, and (28b) and (29b), on the other, can be accounted for in terms of the position occupied by the pronoun. In (28a) and (29a) the preverbal subject pronoun is in an A'-position and hence it cannot be interpreted as bound by the QP. By contrast, postverbal pronominal subjects are in an A-position and thus allow for the bound reading (provided that postverbal subjects remain in its original position, spec-vP).

If a strong pronoun is focused, Montalbetti's effects vanish:

(30)a. Todos los estudiantes creen que ELLOS aprobarán.  
 All the students think-PRES.3PL that they pass-FUTURE.3PL  
 ‘All students think that THEY will pass’

b. Algunos estudiantes creen que ELLOS aprobarán,  
 Some students think-PRES.3PL that they pass-FUTURE.3PL,  
 pero los demás no.  
 but the rest no  
 ‘Some students think that THEY will pass, but not the others.’

c. Algunos estudiantes creen que SOLO A ELLOS /INCLUSO A ELLOS

Some students think-PRES.3SG that to them only/even to them  
 aprobará este profesor.  
 pass-FUTURE.3PL this professor  
 ‘Some students think that this professor will pass ONLY THEM/EVEN THEM’

This is indicative that, when focused, pronouns can be construed as variables bound by a preceding QP. But this presupposes that the pronoun must occupy an A-position. The only A-position in the preverbal field is spec-TP. Hence the focused constituent in the above examples must sit in spec-TP.

Now, what about a possible distinction between referential and non-referential contexts in relation to Montalbetti’s effects? The examples in (30) include the non-referential verb *creer* ‘think, believe’. The relevant bound interpretation for the focused pronoun can be explained by claiming that it undergoes movement to an A-position, spec-TP. If our proposal that focus fronting does not intervene with operator movement in referential clauses is correct, the prediction is that focused pronominals should not display Montalbetti’s effects, and this is exactly what the examples in (31) show:

- (31)a. Todos los estudiantes se sorprendieron de que ELLOS hubieran  
 All students CL surprise-PAST.3PL of that they had-SUBJ.3PL  
 suspendido.  
 failed  
 ‘All students were surprised that THEY had failed.’
- b. Algunos estudiantes se sorprendieron de que ELLOS hubieran  
 Some students CL surprise-PAST.3PL of that they had-SUBJ  
 aprobado, pero los demás no.  
 pass- PART.3PL, but the others no  
 ‘Some students were surprised that THEY had passed, but not the others’
- c. Algunos estudiantes se sorprendieron de que SOLO A ELLOS /INCLUSO A  
 Some students CL surprise-PAST.3PL of that only to them /even to  
 ELLOS hubiera aprobado este profesor.  
 them had-SUBJ.3SG pass-PART.3PL this professor  
 ‘Some students were surprised that this professor had pass ONLY THEM/EVEN THEM.’

In the above examples the preverbal focused pronominals exhibit a double interpretation: a) they refer to an independent antecedent in the context; and b) they are coreferential with the QPs *todos los estudiantes* / *algunos estudiantes*. It is this second reading we are interested in. In order to establish the coreference interpretation it is necessary that they sit in an A-position, namely spec-TP. Otherwise, the bound reading would be ruled out.

#### 4.5. Anti-Reconstruction and quantificational scope

Based on Turkish, Temürçü (2005) establishes the possible scopal relations between two quantifiers:

- (32) Herkes ÜÇ KİŞİYİ suçladı. (Temürçü 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 relation 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:

(33) 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 that Turkish object preposing is an instance of A-movement, hence movement to spec-TP (İşsever 2008, Jiménez-Fernández & İşsever 2012). 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.

(34)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 acusó todo el mundo.  
 to three people accuse-PAST.3SG everyone  
 ‘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 (34b), 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 CFF in Spanish instantiates A-movement to spec-TP.

In short, all these examples constitute further evidence that focus displacement consists of A-movement in Spanish. This supports our view that Focus feature [foc] is inherited by T from C in languages of the Spanish type.

With respect to a possible distinction between referentiality and non-referentiality in terms of FF, our prediction is that there shouldn’t be any. This prediction is borne out by the examples in (35-36):

(35)a. El juez cree que todo el mundo acusó

The judge think-PRES.3SG that everyone accuse-PAST.3SG

a tres personas.

to three people

‘The judge thinks that 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. El juez cree que A TRES PERSONAS acusó

The judge think-PRES.3SG that to three people accuse-PAST.3SG

todo el mundo.

everyone

‘The judge thinks that 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.’)

(36)a. El juez niega que todo el mundo acusara

The judge deny-PRES.3SG that everyone accuse-PAST.3SG

a tres personas.

to three people

‘The judge denies that 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. El juez niega que A TRES PERSONAS acusara

The judge deny-PRES.3SG that to three people accuse-PAST.3SG

todo el mundo.

everyone

‘The judge denies that 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.’)

These examples strongly support that FF behaves the same in Spanish referential and non-referential CPs.

## 5. Extending the proposal to other languages

In the feature-based typology of languages that we have assumed Greek and Turkish pattern together with Spanish in that both  $\varphi$ -features and  $\delta$ -features are inherited by T from C. Hence [foc] features in these languages are supposed to be hosted in T. If this is correct, our prediction is that CFF and NP should be compatible with both referential and non-referential CPs.

Let’s have a look at examples from Greek first:<sup>12</sup>

(37)a. O Janis ipe oti POTE ta pedja den voithisan ti mitera tu.

John said that never the children not helped the mother his

<sup>12</sup> Melita Stavrou, Vassilios Spyropoulos, George Tsoulas and Christina Sevdali, p.c.

‘John said that the children NEVER helped his mother.’

- b. O Andreas ekseplaji pu AFTO TO TABLET agorase ki  
 Andrew (was) surprised that this the tablet bought.3SG PAST and  
 oxi to pio ftino.  
 not the more cheap  
 ‘Andrew was surprised that she had bought THIS TABLET and not the cheaper one.’

In (37a) we find a non-referential CP which is compatible with NF (the negative adverbial *pote* has been fronted for focus). This is expected in our system (and in Haegeman’s) since there is no event operator. The interesting example is (37b), in which a referential CP is involved. Yet CFF is available (*afto to tablet* has been focus-fronted). This data suggest that there is no competition between the fronted focus and the event operator, hence supporting our view that the [foc] feature has been lowered onto T.

As far as Turkish is concerned, subordinate that-clauses are not very frequent. Instead they have nominalized clauses. In some cases, the nominalized clause is clearly referential and a CFF can perfectly occur (Selçuk İşsever and Asli Goksel, p.c.):

- (38) Ángela HEDİYE-LER-I Noel Baba’nın yılbaşı ağacı-nın alt-ın-a  
 Ángela present-PL-ACC Santa Claus-GEN Christmas tree-GEN under-POSS-DAT  
 bırak-ma-sı-na şaşır-dı, kömür (bırak-ma-sı-na) değil.  
 leave-NM-POSS-DAT surprise-PAST, coal (leave-NM-POSS-DAT) not.  
 ‘Ángela was surprised that Santa had left presents under the Christmas tree, and not coal.’

However, there are clear examples in which a that-clause can be used in Turkish, and it is again compatible with focus fronting:

- (39)a. Muhtemel-dir ki yalnızca BAZEN Juan o araba-yı  
 probable-copula that only sometimes Juan that car-ACC  
 kullan-makta-dır.  
 use-IMPERF-copula  
 ‘It is probable that Juan drives that car only SOMETIMES.’
- b. Angela gör-dü ki HEDİYE-LER-İ Noel Baba yılbaşı ağacı-nın  
 Angela see-past that present-PL-ACC Santa Claus Christmas tree-GEN  
 alt-ı-na bırak-mış, kömür değil.  
 under-POSS-DAT leave-PAST, coal not.  
 ‘Angela saw that Santa Claus had left PRESENTS under the Christmas tree, and not coal.’
- c. Biz [-sadece beşe kadar- menajer için çalış-ma-yı] öner-eceğ-iz.  
 We only five-DAT until manager for work-infinitival-ACC] propose-FUT.1PL  
 ‘We will propose only until five working to the manager.’
- d. Andrew [BU TABLET-i on-un al-dığ-ın-a ve ucuz-un-u  
 Andrew this tablet-ACC she-GEN buy-nom-POSS-DAT and cheap-PRON-ACC



al-ma-dıġ-ın-a]                      şaşır-dı.  
 buy-NEG-NOM-POSS-DAT surprise-PAST  
 ‘Andrew was surprised that she bought THIS TABLET and not the cheaper one.’

The Turkish examples in (39) point to the fact that also in this language CFF is compatible with referential complements, which supports our idea that in discourse-oriented languages the target position for CFF and NP is spec-TP. This does not interfere with other types of movement to spec-CP. If this is correct, Turkish shows further evidence for discourse-feature inheritance.

## 6. Conclusions

In this paper, we have claimed that the cross-linguistic variation shown in RTs with referential predicates in English and Spanish is due to the fact that they belong to different discourse type languages (Miyagawa 2010, Jiménez Fernández 2010, 2011). We follow Haegeman and Urgodi’s (2010) hypothesis which states that the restrictions we observe in these structures in English occur because they have an event operator that blocks the movement of focused constituents to CP. We argue that in Spanish the same event operator characterizes referential constructions, however, in this language focus constituents move to TP and therefore no blocking effect occurs.

Following Miyagawa’s Feature Inheritance Parameter, we have argued that, in English, discourse features are valued in CP, while in Spanish they are valued in TP. This means not only that they target different landing sites but also that they experience A-bar and A movement respectively. In order to support our hypothesis we have shown that, as binding a quantificational relations matters, moved constituents in Spanish show a A-movement type suggesting that they land in TP.

Our hypothesis predicts that RTs will be allowed in all languages characterized as discourse-prominent. Although we have already shown that this is the case in Greek and Turkish. We will explore this hypothesis in the future in more detail, by extending our proposal to other languages.

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