

Some (but not all) movement types systematically violate islands.*

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Abstract

Because some movement dependencies - e.g. question formation - obey islands constraints, it is customarily assumed that all movement dependencies obey islands. This article shows that this generalization is incorrect: using island independent movement diagnostic tools (namely reconstructability = displaced interpretation) to diagnose movement, it demonstrates that some movement dependencies at least, namely French DP-CL(itic) L(eft) D(islocation), systematically violate (strong) islands. This conclusion requires modifying Phase Theory to preserve successive cyclicity but let islands be in principle permeable to movement, and to distinguish non island violating movement such as question formation, relativization from island violating movement (DP-CLLD) in a principled way.

To allow movement, the proposals initiated by Rizzi (1997) that phasal peripheries be finely structured is exploited so that phase edges are taken to be large enough to encompass several phase peripheral positions, including, systematically, Topic positions allowing multiple hosts. Access to these positions, thus licensing island violations, is limited to phrases overtly marked as topical by a doubling (resumptive) clitic. Such a view may be extended to allow a different conceptualization of successive cyclic movement than is customary, in terms of a succession of topicalizations and focalizations.

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1 Introduction

The main point made in this article is the following: a reasonable independent characterization of movement dependencies leads to the conclusion some movement (e.g. CLLD) can violate (almost all)¹ islands. The challenge this raises is how to modify the ingredients of the theory of islandhood - Phase Theory - to selectively allow these movements through, while blocking others. I will reach the following conclusions:

1. The left periphery must be enriched along the lines initiated in Rizzi (1997) and developed in subsequent work in clauses, as well in nominals, taking this enrichment to be part of the CP and DP phase edges.
2. Successive cyclicity always is a phase bound succession of Topicalizations and/or Focalizations. There is no purely formal successive cyclic movement.
3. Island violating movement is due to the systematic and recursive) availability of Topic positions at the edge of clausal and nominal phases, access to which require, in a language like French, that the moving phrase be overtly marked as topical by the presence of a resumptive clitic.

2 Movement and Islands

2.1 A standard view

There are two kinds of XP/XP Long Distance Dependencies between a structurally ‘high’ α and a structurally ‘low’ β :

- Binding of β by α

(1) Nobody $_{\alpha}$ thinks that (I believe that) you saw him $_{\beta}$

- Movement from β to α (e.g. question or relative clause formation, topicalization)²

- (2)
- a. Who $_{\alpha}$ does nobody think that (I believe that) you saw $_{\beta}$
 - b. The woman who $_{\alpha}$ nobody thinks that (I believe that) you saw $_{\beta}$
 - c. This woman $_{\alpha}$, nobody thinks that (I believe that) you saw $_{\beta}$

Binding and Movement are standardly assumed to have properties in common such as c-command of β by α) and properties not in common such as Island sensitivity. Movement only is assumed to be island sensitive: there cannot be any island boundary between β and α (where the latter is the most local binder of the former):

- (3) Movement and Islandhood : * $\alpha \dots [_{islandboundary} \dots \beta$
if α locally binds β as its trace (i.e. one step movement).

¹Not all islands are discussed. In particular, violations of the Coordinate Structure Constraints are not discussed here, but they appear to be disallowed, see Angelopoulos and Sportiche, 2020, section 11.3.

²Here, the discussion is limited to A-bar movement but in principle, it could be extended to A-movement, as well as to AGREE relations (which involve at least one head).

2.2 Assessing this standard view

But how do we evaluate whether (3) is correct? To do so, we must have an independent characterization of movement dependencies and check whether such so characterized dependencies obey islands.

Movement is defined as Rmerge: an element first merged in some position Q is remerged in some position P c-commanding Q. To evaluate the truth of (3), we must find a reliable way to detect all and only Rmerge cases.

We will use the property of [Displaced interpretation aka Reconstruction/Connectivity](#), namely the possibility in an α/β dependency for α to semantically behave as if it was structurally located where β is. Why? First it is natural: given how first Merge functions, when first merged, α must enter into a function argument relation with some local element. It is not surprising therefore than when Remerged, it should continue behaving as such semantically, that is as if it were in the position β (e.g. for binding and scope).

Secondly, reconstruction is reliable: (apart from equative constructions which have special semantic properties (because of the verb *be*), cf. [Sharvit, 1999](#)) in all the standard/agreed upon cases of (A-bar) movement and non movement, if reconstruction is available, movement is taken to have occurred: this is the crucial property we will use.

Third, the precise properties of reconstruction and how it correlates with movement is predictable: it is possible to construct a theory of how movement functions that predicts this correlation: [Sportiche \(2016\)](#) shows it follows from:

- Movement being is the case of a single syntactic object having more than one structural address (=more than one occurrence).
- The Full Interpretation Principle applied to syntactic objects (not occurrences).
- Semantic compositional rules only composing sisters.

The appendix section 7.3 briefly discusses other movement diagnostic tools, the application of which would be compatible which what is concluded in the text.

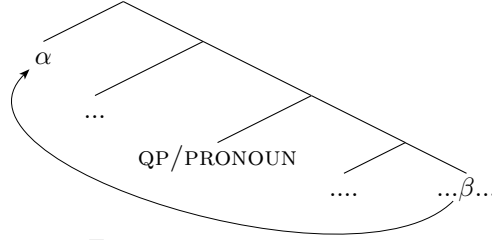
2.3 Outline

Recall the conclusion that will be reached: **Movement is not necessarily Island sensitive**; some movement can systematically violate islands, namely CLLD. The rest of this article will be organized as follows:

- A quick reminder about reconstruction
- A summary of the findings in [Angelopoulos and Sportiche \(2020\)](#) regarding the reconstruction properties of CL(itic) L(eft) D(islocation) (a Romance counterpart to German Contrastive Topicalization, it seems) showing it is a (long distance) movement dependency, even though there is a resumptive clitic.
- An illustration that CLLD can reach into (Strong) Islands
- From this conclusion: Explore how we can model that some but not all movement is island sensitive within a Principles and Parameters/ Minimalist system.
 1. The need to enrich the periphery, the edge of Phases (as in [Rizzi, 1997](#))
 2. Examine the role of resumption in Movement cases.
 3. How movement proceeds successive cyclically.

3 Brief Reminder on Reconstruction

In this section, we briefly summarize assumptions regarding the properties of reconstruction relevant to the present article. These assumptions are standard and justified elsewhere (see e.g. Fox 2000; Lebeaux 1991; Takahashi and Hulsey 2009, as well as Sportiche 2017b for a summary of justifications found in the literature). Consider the following structure S in which a α behaves from an interpretive standpoint as if it occupied the position β , an effect we will call a reconstruction effect:



We adopt the following assumptions. First, reconstruction is a property of movement dependencies only,³ and movement is modeled as copying (the copy theory of traces) or multidominance. Moreover, reconstruction arises when a trace is interpreted at LF: in other words, with β the trace of α , reconstruction of α = interpret β . This is compatible with both β and α being simultaneously interpreted or just β being interpreted. The latter case is called total reconstruction: total reconstruction = delete α & interpret β .

Reconstructability (=displaced, lower interpretation) thus provides an independent diagnostic for movement. Reconstructability = evidence for the presence of β as trace of α . With these assumptions in mind, let us consider the following representative examples (here and elsewhere, strikethrough is meant to indicate “not interpreted at LF”).

More specifically, to account for such representative examples (here Topicalization) as:

- (4) a. Reconstruction (for Condition C)⁴
 *[The picture of **John_j**] _{α} , **he_j** sold [*the picture of John_j*] _{β}
 b. Total reconstruction (for scope)
 [~~The picture of his_k mother~~] _{α} , **nobody_k** would sell [*the picture of his_k mother*] _{β}
 [~~The woman of his dreams~~] _{α} , John is **looking for** [*the woman of his dreams*] _{β}
de dicto possible

We accept the following analyses linking the possibility of reconstruction to movement (excluding, as mentioned earlier, equative constructions):

- (5) a. If a pied piped complement in α triggers a Condition C effect with the pronoun below it, movement must be involved from a position - β - below the position of the pronoun.⁵

³As mentioned, one possible exception are some pseudo-cleft constructions - see den Dikken (2017) for a survey - under some analyses e.g. Sharvit (1999), but not others, e.g. Schlenker (2003). Regardless, this does not affect the general thesis - see Sportiche (2017b) - nor its validity in the cases of CLLD as all analyses suggesting reconstruction without movement in pseudocleft specifically use properties of the verb *be*, which is absent in CLLD, and elsewhere.

⁴See Stockwell et al. (2020) for experimental evidence supporting the standard Condition C judgments below.

⁵On how to evaluate Condition C effects, see remarks in section 7.2.

- b. If α can reconstruct for scope below a quantifier/intensional operator, it means that a possible derivation involves movement from some β position in the scope of this quantifier/operator to the α position.⁶

4 CLLD and Islands

This section quickly summarizes the relevant conclusions concerning CLLD reached in [Angelopoulos and Sportiche \(2020\)](#), where these issues are discussed in detail, literally borrowing from it.

4.1 Background on CLLD

French CLLD: an XP which can be associated with a clitic is found at the left periphery of a clause, to the left of the associated clitic:

- (6)
- | | | |
|----|---|-------------|
| a. | Jean , il est parti | |
| | John 3.S.M.NOM. is left | |
| | ‘John, he left’ | Subject |
| b. | Jean , on le connaît | |
| | John we 3.S.M.ACC. know | |
| | ‘John, we know’ | Object |
| c. | A Paris , on y va souvent | |
| | To Paris we LOC. go often | |
| | ‘To Paris, we go often’ | Locative PP |
| d. | Triste de te voir partir , Albert pourrait le devenir | |
| | Sad to see you go Albert could 3.S.M.ACC. become | |
| | ‘Sad to see you go, Albert could become’ | AP |
| e. | Que Marie est coupable , on le sait | |
| | That Marie is guilty we 3.S.M.ACC. know | |
| | ‘That Maria is guilty, we know’ | CP |
| f. | Que Marie soit coupable , on en doute | |
| | That Marie be guilty we GEN. doubt | |
| | ‘That Maria is guilty, we doubt’ | CP |

CLLD can be long distance or short distance. In long distance CLLD, the clitic and its associate XP are in different clauses as shown below:

- (7) **La voisine de Jean**, on dit que tu **la** connaissais
the neighbor of John, we said that you 3.S.F.ACC. knew
‘John’s neighbor, we said that you knew’

Any element that can be pronominalized by a clitic can be short distance or long distance CLLD-ed. The corresponding 3rd person clitics are listed below:

Subject	DO	IO	Locative PPs	Possessors	APs	CPs	CPs or Gen. PPs
il, elle	le, la	lui	y, en	son, sa	le	le	en

⁶Note that reconstruction for scope (e.g. for pronominal binding) must be total (total reconstruction is required): only traces lower than the binder of the pronoun can be interpreted, as shown in (4-b), (where the crossed out material is not interpreted).

4.2 CLLD is movement

CLLD has been variously analyzed (in a variety of languages) as (i) A movement dependency as Angelopoulos and Sportiche (2020) concludes (cf. Agouraki 1992; Cecchetto 2000; Cinque 1977; Kayne 1975; López 2009, *inter alia*); (ii) A base generated binding dependency (cf. Alexopoulou and Kolliakou 2002; Anagnostopoulou 1994, Cinque 1990; De Cat 2007; Tsimpli 1995; Zagana 2002, *inter alia*); (iii) A combination of movement and base generation (cf. Iatridou 1995).

To reach this conclusion, Angelopoulos and Sportiche (2020) uses reconstructability. But CLLD must be first be distinguished from Hanging Topic Left Dislocation or HTLD. Indeed, left peripheral elements resumed by clitics need not exemplify CLLD. They may also be Hanging Topics (HTLD), the two differing in their information theoretic properties: HTLD introduces a new Topic, CLLD does not. A number of independent criteria control for the difference crosslinguistically. Krapova and Cinque, 2008 list: The presence (CLLD) vs. absence (HTLD) of connectivity/reconstruction effects (including Case in relevant languages), cf. in particular Rudin (2013, 33ff); The fact that HTLD is limited to DPs, while CLLD is available with any category for which there is a clitic, e.g. PPs, CPs or APs in French; the fact that CLLD resumption is by a clitic only while in HTLD the resumptive element can be any DP such as a clitic pronoun, a tonic pronoun, a definite description, a quantifier, an epithet, etc.. (all of these possibilities existing in colloquial speech); finally no more than one HTLD-ed DP is allowed but it is possible to have more than one CLLD-ed XP in a given clause as shown below:

- (8) On me dit que de Sarah_k, Richard_m, à Jessica_m, (tout le monde prétend
 They me tell that of Sarah, Richard, to Jessica, (everyone claims that) he
 qu') il_m lui_m en_k parle
 to-her of-her talks about
 They tell me that Richard talks about Sarah to Jessica

Since we are systematically detecting the presence of connectivity/reconstruction effects, the left peripheral elements we are dealing with are do indeed illustrate CLLD, which must therefore be movement. And connectivity effects do indeed correlate with Krapova and Cinque, 2008 's criteria (see Angelopoulos and Sportiche, 2020, for further discussion). Note finally that to the ear of the author of the present article, a rise to a H-L tone on the last syllable of the CLLD-ed constituent excludes a Hanging Topic interpretation. All examples that follow have been tested with native speakers of French using this intonational contour whenever possible: CLLD does not require contrast, but allows it, only on one CLLD-ed constituent however. This can be made particularly prominent with an explicit contrast as e.g. *De Leila, tout le monde en parle, pas de Lydia/ Of Leila everyone talks (about her), not of Lydia*.

4.3 CLLD and Reconstruction

Let us begin with CLLD in simple clauses.

CLLD Reconstruction: condition C. CLLD of any non subject XP shows a Condition C effect below the subject: in (9), the pied piped name *Pierre* coindexed with the subject pronoun *il*, *pro* yields ill-formedness.

- (9) a. [La cliente de Pierre_j]_k, il_{*j,✓m} la_k traiterait bien
 the client of Pierre, he 3.S.F.ACC. would treat well
 'The client of Pierre, he would treat well'
 b. [A la cliente de Pierre_j]_k, il_{*j,✓m} lui_k répondrait
 To the client of Pierre, he 3.S.F.DAT. would reply
 'To the client of Pierre, he would reply'
 c. [Dans la maison de Pierre_j]_k, il_{*j,✓m} y_k entre souvent
 Into the house of Pierre, he loc enter often

‘Into Pierre’s house, he often enters’

CLLD Reconstruction: Scope. Total reconstruction for scope is possible. The first two examples illustrate this possibility with pronominal binding: the pronoun *son*, can be bound by the QP, which, recall, requires total reconstruction in the binding QP’s scope (c-command domain). The last one illustrate it with a free choice indefinite. In French, preposed indefinites can only be interpreted as free choice indefinites. This excludes a Hanging Topic construal for an indefinite. Furthermore, such a reading must be licensed by an appropriate licenser (e.g. a modal) in the scope of which this indefinite must be interpreted. Note that this example is deviant in the absence of such a licenser (here ok with a conditional but out with an episodic reading):⁷

- (10) a. [La prof de son_j fils]_k, aucun/chaque parent_j la_k connaît bien
the teacher of his son, no/every parent 3.S.F.ACC. knows well
‘The teacher of his son, no/every parent knows well’
- b. [A la prof de son_j fils]_k, aucun/chaque parent_j lui_k a parlé
To the teacher of his son, no/every parent 3.S.F.DAT. has spoken
‘To the teacher of his son, no/every parent has spoken’
- c. [[À un enfant]_k, on lui_k parlerait/ *a parlé
To a child, we 3.S.M.DAT. would talk/ has talked
‘To a child we would talk/talked’

This shows that In simple clauses, CLLD-ed XPs move from their normal position to which they reconstruct (condition C effect), and they can (but need not) totally reconstruct, licensing pronominal binding or free choice indefinites.

Let us now turn to CLLD Reconstruction in long distance cases. We find the same pattern. Total Reconstruction is possible as shown by pronominal binding by a QP either in the main clause or in the embedded clause, the latter requiring total reconstruction into the embedded clause:

- (11) a. [Les critiques de son_j dernier livre]_k, aucun/chaque auteur_j pense qu’ elles_k
the criticisms of his last book, no/every author thinks that 3.P.F.NOM.
seront ignorées
will be ignored
‘The criticisms of his last book, no/every author thinks they will be ignored’
- b. [Les critiques de son_j dernier livre]_k, je pense qu’ aucun/chaque auteur_j
the criticisms of his last book, I think that no author
les_k ignorait
3.P.F.ACC. ignored
‘The criticisms of his last book, I think that no/every author has ignored’ Condition
C effects decay with distance (a processing effect?)

The following pair illustrate reconstructability with free choice indefinites:

- (12) a. [[À un enfant]_k, il est clair qu’ on lui_k dirait qu’ il pleut
a child, it is clear that we 3.S.M.DAT. would tell that it is raining
‘To a child it is clear that we would not tell that it is raining’
- b. *[À un enfant]_k, il est clair qu’ on lui_k a dit qu’ il pleuvrait
a child, it is clear that we 3.S.M.DAT. told that it would rain
‘To a child it is clear that he told that it would rain’

⁷Note also that [Angelopoulos and Sportiche, 2020](#) show that the merge position of the CLLD-ed constituent is the normal argument position, not the clitic position, and thus below the verb and below the conditional modal.

The contrast between (12-a) and (12-b) is telling: unlike what happens in the former, in the latter, the doubling clitic being in the main clause is higher than the licensing conditional in the embedded clause yielding illformedness.

Turning to Condition C, the data is somewhat harder to evaluate as Condition C decays with distance. Thus, the following sentences progressively improve:

- (13) a. [La voisine de Jean_j]_k, il_j dit qu' elle_k est partie
 the neighbor of John, he said that 3.S.F.NOM. is left
 'The female neighbor of John, he said that she left'
 b. [Quelle voisine de Jean_j]_k il_j dit t_k être partie
 Which neighbor of John 3.S.M.NOM. he said t to have left
 'Which neighbor of John's he said left?'
- (14) a. [La voisine de Jean_j]_k, je lui_j ai dit qu' elle_k est partie
 the neighbor of John, I 3.S.M.DAT. has told that she is left
 'The neighbor of John, I told him that she left'
 b. [Quelle voisine de Jean_j]_k tu lui_j as dit t_k être partie
 Which neighbor of John you 3.S.M.DAT. has told t to have left
 'Which neighbor of John's did you tell him that she left?'
- (15) a. [La voisine de Jean_j]_k, on a dit qu' il_j la_k rencontrait souvent
 The neighbor of John, we said that he 3.S.F.ACC. met often
 'The neighbor of John, we said that he met her often'
 b. [Quelle voisine de Jean_j]_k on a dit qu' il_j rencontrait souvent t_k
 Which neighbor of John we said that he met often t
 'Which neighbor of John did we say the he met often?'

This decay with distance, a plausible processing account of which can be given, is experimentally documented in Adger et al., 2017 and is independently duplicated in Stockwell et al. (2020), which also documents that reconstruction for Condition C subsists despite greater distance. Adger et al., 2017 also document progressive improvement with distance, even in constructions requiring total reconstruction, such as with predicate preposing (cf. Heycock, 1995), and where Condition C effects are otherwise perceived as strongest. Thus, we observe the following with wh-movement, where each sentence is judged better than those that precede it:

- (16) a. [How proud of [John_k]] did he_k say Mary was?
 b. [How proud of [John_k]] did Mary say that he_k thinks that everyone was?
 c. [How proud of [John_k]] did Mary say that you thought that he_k assumed that everyone was?

And the same pattern is found with CLLD of predicates, which must totally reconstruct.

- (17) a. [Fier de [Jean_k]]_m, il_k dit que Marie le_m sera.
 Proud of John, he says that Mary it will be
 b. [Fier de [Jean_k]]_m, Marie dit qu'il_k croit que tout le monde le_m sera.
 Proud of Jean, Marie says that he believes that everyone it will be
 c. [Fier de [Jean_k]]_m, Marie dit que tu penses qu'il_k croit que tout le monde
 Proud of Jean, Marie says that you think that he believes that everyone
 le_m sera.
 it will be

We take this to mean that an apparent lack of a Condition C effect in long distance cases is uninformative, and does not conflict with the possibility of total reconstruction for binding or

scope, which do support a movement analysis.

CLLD Reconstruction: Summary. We conclude that CLLD-ed XPs move from their normal position to which they reconstruct (condition C effect), and to which they can - but need not - totally reconstruct (allowing pronominal binding and other scopal licensing).

4.4 CLLD Movement and Islands

We now turn to cases of CLLD originating inside islands. As we will see, CLLD can systematically violate islands⁸ (here a relative clause complex NP, but this holds of some other islands) and **simultaneously** show the same reconstruction effects as in non island cases. We provide two kinds of examples: binding reconstruction and scope reconstruction.

1. Cases of pronominal binding (first noted in [Guilliot and Malkawi \(2006\)](#) and [Malkawi and Guilliot \(2007\)](#)): Reconstruction effects do take place inside islands in the presence of a resumptive pronoun (in French and Jordanian Arabic).
2. *de dicto* readings
3. Free choice indefinites

The following examples all illustrate cases of Clitic Left Dislocation in which the resuming clitic is inside an island, here a relative clause.

The first one is a case of reconstruction for Condition A. [Charnavel and Sportiche \(2016\)](#) shows that the expression *son propre/ its own* must be subject to Condition A of the binding theory when the pronoun *son/it* is inanimate and that Condition A must be satisfied at Logical Form (that is not in the course of a derivation). Now consider the following type of example:

- (18) a. Des physiciens du CERN ont montré l'existence de champs
 Some physicists from CERN have demonstrated the existence of fields
 électromagnétiques spéciaux dans lesquels une molécule fait fusionner les atomes
 electromagnetic special in which a molecule makes fuse the atoms
 de ses propres composants.
 of its own components
 'Some physicists from CERN have demonstrated the existence of special electromagnetic fields in which a molecule makes the atoms of its own components fuse'
- b. [Les atomes de ses_j propres composants]_k, des physiciens du CERN ont
 The atoms of its own components, some physicists from CERN have
 montré l'existence de certains champs électromagnétiques dans
 demonstrated the existence of fields electromagnetic special in
 lesquels une molécule_j les_k fait fusionner.
 which a molecule makes fuse the atoms of its own components
 'The atoms of its own components, some physicists from CERN have demonstrated the existence of special electromagnetic fields in which a molecule makes them fuse'
- c. [Les atomes de ses_j propres composants]_k, des physiciens du CERN ont dit
 The atoms of its own components, some physicists from CERN have said
 qu'ils ont découvert qu'une molécule_j peut les_k faire fusionner.
 that they have discovered that a molecule can them make fuse
 'The atoms of its own components, some physicists from CERN said that they have discovered that a molecule can them make fuse'

The second example is well-formed, with the possessive *ses* taking the DP *une molécule* which is consistent with total reconstruction of the proposed constituent being possible. The third example

⁸This is reported in [De Cat \(2007\)](#), which concludes that CLLD does not involve movement, unlike what is argued here.

is used as a benchmark: it is of comparable complexity as the second example, and also requires reconstruction into the most deeply embedded clause, but without any island boundary intervening. There does not appear to be any significant contrast between them.

The first example of the following set illustrates total reconstruction for pronominal binding of the CLLD-ed constituent below the subject of the relative clause, the second, below its indirect object: in both cases, the possessive pronoun can be bound by the QP inside the relative clause.

- (19) a. [Les devoirs de ses_j élèves]_k, on connaît plein de lycées où aucun
 the assignments of his pupils, we know lots of high schools where no
 prof_j ne les_k corrige
 teacher them-acc grades
 ‘We know lots of high schools where no teacher grades the assignments of his pupils’
 b. Les notes de ses_j enfants]_k, on connaît tous les lycées où on ne
 the assignments of his children, we know all the high schools where they show
 les_k montre à aucun parent_j
 them-acc to no parent
 ‘We know all the high schools where they show the assignments of his children to no
 parent’

Note in particular that pronominal binding is no less accessible in these examples than in sentences of comparable complexity that do not include islands:

- (20) a. [Les devoirs de ses_j élèves]_k, on sait que plein de lycées recommande
 the assignments of his pupils, we know that lots of high schools recommend
 qu’aucun prof_j ne les_k corrige
 that no teacher them-acc grade
 ‘We know that lots of high schools recommend that no teacher grade the assignments
 of his pupils’
 b. Les notes de ses_j enfants]_k, on sait que les lycées recommandent
 the assignments of his pupils, we know that the high schools recommend
 qu’on ne les_k montre à aucun parent_j
 that they show them-acc to no parent
 ‘We know that the high schools recommend that they show the assignments of his
 children to no parent’

We can corroborate these conclusions with categories that require reconstruction, such as APs. As shown below, a sentence containing a preposed AP - which, as a non DP cannot be a Hanging Topic - not only is well formed, but allows pronominal binding by a QP inside the island.

- (21) Heureux que ses_j élèves réussissent]_k, on connaît tous les lycées où aucun
 Happy that his pupils succeed, we know all the high schools where no
 prof_j l’_k est
 teacher it-acc wishes

Finally we can exhibit cases of scope reconstruction other than pronominal binding. First, in the following example, the preposed DP must be interpreted as a free choice indefinite, the only interpretation available for CCLD-ed indefinites in French, as noted earlier. We find minimal contrast such as the following:

- (22) [[Un enfant]_k, il était prudent hier de vérifier la formation des nounous à
 a child, it was prudent yesterday to check the training of the nannies to
 qui on le_k confierait / *l’a confié
 whom we him would entrust / him has entrusted

‘a child, it was prudent yesterday to check the training of the nannies to whom we would entrust him/ entrusted him’

The main clause past tense is interpreted as episodic given the presence of the temporal adverb. The only possible licenser for the free choice indefinite is thus the conditional modal inside the island. The sentence is fine with it, but deviant without it, showing, once again a scope reconstruction effect.

Finally consider such cases as:

- (23) a. On a retrouvé le nom du paysan à qui il semblait que la valeur de
We have found the name of the peasant to whom it seemed that the value of
son terrain excédait sa valeur de fait.
his land exceeded its value in fact
‘We found the name of the peasant to whom it seemed that the value of his land
exceeded its actual value’
- b. La valeur de son terrain, on a retrouvé le nom du paysan à qui il
The value of his land, we have found the name of the peasant to whom it
semblait qu’elle excédait sa valeur de fait.
seemed that it exceeded its value in fact
‘The value of his land, we found the name of the peasant to whom it seemed that it
exceeded its actual value’

The first example sentence has two readings. Under one reading, the peasant believes a contradiction, namely that the actual value of his land exceeds itself. This arises if the DP *la valeur de son terrain* / *the value of his land* is read *de re* and is a contradiction. There is a second non contradictory reading provided that we understand this DP *de dicto*, which requires it to be interpreted in the scope of the verb *semblait/seemed*, that is fully reconstructed. Under this reading the peasant perceived value of his land exceeds its actual value.

This second reading is available in the well formed second example, showing total reconstruction of the preposed constituent inside the island.

Conclusion: DP CLLD is a movement dependency that violates strong islands. This now raises very challenging questions about how bounding theory, the theory that is meant to derive why movement obeys island constraints, must be amended.

In the following section, some analytical options are discussed, some rather speculative.

5 Phase theory, modified

Current bounding theory is Phase theory. The behavior of CCLD requires that it be amended. In this section, a proposal is made to this effect and some consequences are explored.

5.1 Phase theory: some needed modifications

According to Phase Theory, to escape a phase (usually CP, vP, sometimes DP, perhaps other phrases), movement must first reach the edge of a phase. One step movement from a position inside a phase not at its edge to outside of this phase is excluded.

$$\text{LAND} \dots [\text{PhaseP} \text{ EDG } [\text{OpaqueP} \dots \text{TARG.}]]$$

Thus given a Phase PhaseP, a target of movement TARG cannot escape PhaseP directly to reach the Landing position LAND unless it moves first to the Phase Edge EDG. This immediately requires successive cyclic derivations of long distance movement. For example, if PhaseP=CP, wh-movement of TARG to reach LAND will have to move to the edge of CP first.

Something additional is required to derive Huang 1982's Condition on Extraction Domains (CED), which we ignore here, concentrating on extraction from complement structures.

In principle, an island effect could arise in different ways.

It could for example arise because the kind of movement envisioned is not allowed to reach the edge. This may well be the case for A-movement if positions at the edge of phases must be A-bar positions.

It could also arise because a particular Phase has no edge: this would create an absolute boundary for movement. I am not sure any such case have been entertained. I will assume not here but what follows would not be affected if there were such cases.

Or, and this is the major case, it arises because the position that TARG should reach to escape PhaseP exists, but is unavailable (where this unavailability could be due to different reasons).

If (A-bar) movement out of islands is allowed, as CLLD is, then it must be that there is a lawful way to transit via the edge of phases even if such edges are already occupied. How could this arise? Further, how to make such island violations possible without making all island violations possible. The logic of the general idea developed here is as follows: adopting the approach initiated in Rizzi (1997), e.g. what is presented in Rizzi and Bocci (2017), I will suppose that the clause (left) periphery comprises an array of positions, each dedicated to hosting a particular type of element, but varying as to whether each allows a single such element or several such elements. Thus, in a language like French, there is a unique dedicated position hosting wh-question words (other than the equivalent of *pourquoi/why*), which tolerates a single such wh-phrase. By contrast, there can be several simultaneous CLLD-ed constituents in the same clause as example (8) shows.

Furthermore, one or more CLLD-ed elements is compatible with the presence of an interrogative or relative pronoun in the same clause as shown below:

- (24) a. On se demandait quand à Charles, de Lydia, on lui en parlerait
 We were wondering when to Charles, of Lydia, we to-him of-her would speak
 b. Il m'a appris comment dans le Sud, on y préparait la soupe au pistou
 he told me how in the south, they there prepared pesto soup
 c. Le juge devant lequel les accusés, on les fait comparaître la nuit ...
 the judge in front of whom the accused, they them make appear at night ...

Minimally then, there are as Rizzi (1997) concluded, at least two distinct positions in the left periphery of (tensed⁹) clauses for hosting wh-pronouns - call it WH for now - and CCLD-ed constituents - call it TOP(ic) as shown below:

$$[_{CP-Phase-Boundary} \dots WH \dots TOP^* \dots [_{TP} \dots Target.]]$$

Given phase theory, to account for the possibility of violating islands with CLLD, it suffices to take TOP in addition to WH (since successive cyclic movement of wh-phrase must be possible as well) to be part of the Phase edge though which preposed constituents can transit to escape their phase. In other words, the phase edge contains several escape position types, not a single one.

That this is needed is independently shown by the following, non island types of cases, elaborating on examples (24-b):

- (25) a. On se demandait dans quel plat (Marie pensait qu'), aux épices, on doit
 we were wondering in which dish (Marie thought that), to the spices, one must
 leur ajouter du beurre
 to-them add some butter
 'We were wondering in which dish (Marie thought that) one must add butter.

⁹Finer distinctions of all sorts are needed, e.g. among topics or between varieties of finite clauses, or between finite and non finite clauses, that we do not go into here. See e.g. Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007), or Haegeman (2004) for relevant discussions.

- b. On se demandait dans quel plat (Marie pensait qu'), aux épices, on doit
 we were wondering in which dish (Marie thought that), to the spices, one must
 leur ajouter du beurre
 to-them add some butter
 'We were wondering in which dish (Marie thought that) one must add butter.
- c. Il m'a appris comment (Marie pensait que) dans le Sud, on y
 he to me has taught how (Marie thought that) in the south, they there
 préparait la soupe au pistou
 prepared the soup with pesto
 'He told me how (Marie thought that) they prepared pesto soup.

In (25-b) or (25-c), the wh-phrases *comment/dans quel plat* can/must be understood as modifying the embedded VP. It can move out of its clause across a CLLD-ed constituent in the embedded clause: this shows that TOP and WH are distinct and do not interfere with each other, neither in a single clause, nor when the wh-phrase moves on to a higher clause. Sentence (25-c) with a similar interpretation shows that both of these elements can move out of their clause, presumably successive cyclically, without interfering with each other.

Furthermore, given such examples as (8) in which two CLLD-ed constituents can be preposed, either in their original clause, or into a higher clause, we must:

- Take TOP to be recursive, as detailed in Rizzi and Bocci (2017) (or equivalently here to allow multiple specifiers), hence the * symbol on TOP in (24).
- Take TOP *not* to be a Criterial position in the sense of Rizzi (2006): moving to TOP of a given clause allows moving again to TOPIC of a higher clause. Long distance CLLD then consists in making the CLLD-ed constituent the Topic of every clause in the movement path. To illustrate the intuition, the embedded portion of the sentence (25-b) receives the following derivation, with the intuitive translation given:

- (26) Devant quel juge_m, aux accusés_k, Marie pensait [que t_m t_k [on leur liait les mains]]
 In front of which judge, to the accused_k, Marie thought that to them_k, they tied
 their hands

5.2 Some predictions about islands

Quite generally, since CLLD transits through TOP whereas wh-movement transits through WH, we expect filled CLLD position not to interfere with wh-movement: a filled CLLD position should not create an island for wh-movement. This is observed above for French, e.g. in (25-c) but it is also observed in other languages. Thus, Aoun et al. (2009) reports for the same facts in Lebanese Arabic.¹⁰

Wh-islands: Conversely, a filled wh-position should not create an island for CLLD: CLLD should be able to violate wh-islands. And indeed, the following type of examples are well formed:

- (27) a. Dans la soupe, Pierre se demandait comment il fallait y ajouter
 In the soup, Pierre was wondering how one should therein add
 des oeufs sans faire de grumeaux
 eggs with making lumps

¹⁰The facts discussed in Aoun et al., 2009, chapter 9, contrasting two kinds of CLLD in Lebanese Arabic, are intricate and quite revealing and would deserve a lengthy discussion unfortunately beyond the scope of the present article, but see below section 5.4 for relevant remarks.

- b. Au professeur de son_j enfant, on imagine bien pourquoi chaque parent_j lui
 To the teacher of his child, one imagines well why each parent to him
 a parlé
 spoke

The first example shows a CLLD-ed PP in the main clause, with its resumptive clitic inside the embedded interrogative. In the second example, a preposed Dative contains a pronoun which can be interpreted as bound by a QP inside the embedded interrogative, suggesting that total reconstruction is fine, as predicted.

Complex NP: We saw earlier that CLLD can violate the complex NP constraint, that is from within a CP contained in a DP. If DP is not a phase, nothing needs to be added. So suppose that DP is a phase.

- (28) LAND... [_{DP} [_{CP-Phase} WH TOP C [_{Opaque} ...TARG]]

For TARG to successfully reach LAND, there must be a way to escape DP: DP must have an edge containing a TOPIC position:

- (29) LAND... [_{DP} TOP [_{Opaque} [_{CP-Phase} WH TOP C [_{Opaque} ...TARG]]]

There is direct evidence for such an assumption. In the following examples:

- (30) a. Ils ont publié un résumé de [Modiano, son dernier livre] dans le
 They published a summary of [Modiano, his latest book] in the
 journal *Modiano* ≠ DO
 newspaper
 b. on devrait énumérer Marie, les ennuis qu'on lui a faits *Marie* ≠ DO
 we should list Marie, the troubles they to-her gave

Crucially here, the object is not understood to be the person (Modiano, or Marie). The first one is not about a summary of Modiano, but a summary his latest book. Similarly, in the second the question can't be about listing Marie, it is about listing the troubles she got. This illustrates that the proper names can appear at the periphery of DP (there is no other position) where they are interpreted as Topics. Note also that *Marie* binds a non wh-extractable position.

In fact, there is independent evidence that wh-movement from inside DP also transits through the periphery of DP. The basic facts and their analysis is well known: a phrase can be extracted by wh-movement from inside a DP only if it could otherwise appear as a possessor determiner of this DP. This receives a simple explanation if movement from inside DP must transit through the periphery of DP.¹¹ The natural conclusion is that apart from specifically clause peripheral positions postulated in Rizzi (1997) or more precisely in Rizzi and Cinque (2016), the periphery of DPs has a similar make up as that of clauses.

It is worth pointing out that even with an added WH position at the periphery of DP in (29), wh-movement cannot violate the complex NP constraint. Given the text, this is due to Phase theory indirectly: phase theory restrictions are violated due to independent limitations on what can reach the periphery of DPs (which may naturally be, but need not be, related to DP being a phase, sometimes at least) as noted, only phrases that can otherwise be possessed can be extracted. A detailed discussion showing that wh-extraction from DP is independently restricted to some complements of the head noun is found in Godard (1992) (but see Cinque, 2014, for some limited

¹¹See Ruwet (1972), Milner (1978) for the facts and Zubizarreta (1979) and Sportiche 1990, p.51-52 for an analysis. This extends to Italian, as discussed in Longobardi (1987) and Giorgi and Longobardi (1991). A recent, novel argument based on parasitic gaps that this generalizes to English is provided in Davis (2020).

disagreement). This does not hold of CLLD: note for example that *Marie* in the second example above binds a non wh-extractable position.

Extraction from DP: Given the text, it should be routinely possible to move out of a DP via CLLD. This correct prediction is illustrated by the following sentence:

- (31) [Le premier concert de sa_k carrière]_m, on a offert son_m enregistrement à chacun de
 [the first concert of his_k career]_m, we gave its_m recording to each of
 ces jeunes virtuoses
 these young virtuosos
 We gave the recording of the first concert of her career to each of these young virtuosos

Here, the resuming clitic is the possessive pronoun in the direct object down to which the CLLD constituent can totally reconstruct to allow binding by the indirect object QP (see appendix section 7.1 for why this is allowed).

PP CLLD: That CLLD can violate islands seems to contradict Cinque’s 1990 findings (for Italian). However we checked islandhood with DP CLLD while Cinque checked islandhood with PP CLLD. Checking reconstructability of CLLD-ed PPs as compared to DPs suggest that the former do not allow it. Thus we find:

- (32) a. [Même les devoirs de ses_j élèves]_k, on connaît plein de lycées où
 even the assignments of his pupils, we know lots of high schools where
 aucun prof_j ne les_k regarde
 no teacher them-acc look at
 b. *[Même aux parents de ses_j élèves]_k, on connaît plein de lycées
 Even to the parents of his pupils, we know lots of
 où aucun prof_j ne leur_k parle
 high schools where no teacher them-dat speak
 c. *[Même des expositions de ses_j peintres favoris]_k, on connaît plein de lycées
 Even of the exhibits of his painters favorite, we know lots of high schools
 o aucun élève_j n’en_k parle
 where no pupil of-them speak

That is, while total reconstruction for pronominal binding of a direct object is possible, here below the subject, when extracted from a relative clause, it fails for a PP. So no contradiction arises. However this raises the question of why DPs behave differently from PPs.

We do not find the same PP/DP contrast with wh-islands:

- (33) a. [Même les devoirs de ses_j élèves]_k, je n’ai pas réussi à savoir quand aucun
 even the assignments of his pupils, I did not succeed in finding when no
 prof_j ne les_k regarde
 teacher them-acc look at
 b. [Même des expositions]_k, je n’ai pas réussi à savoir quand aucun élève n’en_k
 Even of the exhibits, I did not succeed in finding when no pupil of-them
 parle
 speak

And PP CLLD is not incompatible with wh-movement as shown below:

- (34) Il m’a appris comment dans le sud, Marie pensait qu’ on y préparait la soupe au pistou
 he to me has told how in the south, Marie thought that they there prepared the soup with

pesto

‘He told me how Marie thought that they prepared pesto soup in the south.’

This suggests that CLLD of PPs does not compete for the WH position with wh-movement. Instead, we can surmise it has to do the blanket prohibition of extraction of (non genitives) PPs from DPs, a conjecture corroborated by the impossibility of having DP peripheral PP topics. Thus contrasting with example (30-b), we do not find:

- (35) *On devrait énumérer de Marie, tous les gens qui voulaient en parler
 We should list about Marie, all the people who wanted to about her speak
 Intended: ‘we should list all the people who wanted to talk about Marie’

This behavior would follow if the left peripheral positions of DPs was limited (unfortunately for unclear reasons) to DP positions: taking the WH position to be a DP position, (and even an A-position as e.g. in Cinque, 2014) would derive the observed restrictions on wh-movement out of DPs; while taking the TOP position to be limited to DPs would derive why PP CLLD looks like it selectively obeys these island restrictions.

Other islands: So far, we have only discussed CLLD in connection with wh-islands and relative clauses or extraction from DP. Although I will not go through the cases, it is possible to show that the same facts - island violation is fine with DP CLLD, but not with (wh-movement or) PP CLLD - hold at least of extraction from subject DPs (the subject condition does not hold of wh-movement in French anyway), adnominal clausal complements (the second half of the complex NP Constraint), adjunct clauses (I will return to these in connection with a brief discussion of Guillot and Malkawi, 2006, and Malkawi and Guillot, 2007).

Summing up, the main idea developed here is that islandhood is sensitive to the type of movement involved.

With wh-movement in all its guises, the islands discussed here are such because a required WH position at the phase periphery is unavailable because of its intrinsic restrictions (WH in DP) or already filled as in wh-islands, relative clauses. This would readily extend to some adjunct clauses which involve wh-movement (e.g. *when, before, after, if* clauses, see Larson, 1985). For reasons too long to discuss here, this would also extend to at least some other adjunct clauses, which I take to be relative constituents.¹²

With CLLD, the wide availability of a (recursive) TOP position at the phase edge of allows (multiple) extraction out of constituents that are islands for wh-movement. TOP may perhaps be limited to hosting DPs (e.g. at the periphery of DPs) precluding some island violations by PPs (although see below for an account not assuming such a categorial restriction on TOP).

Needless to say, this requires that WH or TOP positions be present at the periphery of any constituent assumed to be a phase, e.g. vP, a requirement consistent with the vP peripheral Focus and Topic positions documented in Belletti (2004).

5.3 Licensing island violations: movement cum (weak) resumption

French DP CLLD is an island violating movement dependency. Given the modification of phase theory we have so far introduced to allow it, any kind of Topicalization (that is movement transiting through TOP) should be able to freely violate islands. Yet this does not appear to be the case. Contrastive Topicalization, the Germanic counterpart to (one use of) Romance CLLD is reportedly

¹²Thus In *John left because he was tired*, the VP *John leave* is the subject of *because* and is relativized out of the constituent headed by *because*: the *because* adjunct is thus a relative structure. See Sportiche (2017a) for another class of examples of such an analysis.

island sensitive (cf. e.g. the recent [Den Dikken and Surányi \(2017\)](#)). Similarly English Topicalization, which can be used to contrast Topics, is island sensitive.¹³ Something else must be blocking island sensitive Topicalizations from violating islands.

The conspicuous difference between e.g. English Topicalization and French (or Romance) DP CLLD is the presence of the resumptive clitic pronoun.¹⁴ Of course this is not surprising as resumption has long been viewed as a way to circumvent island violations. But it is overwhelmingly assumed that in such cases, there is no movement involved: the relation between the preposed phrase and the resumptive element is assumed to be one of binding.¹⁵ What is needed instead here is a way for resumption to license a movement island violation which would be unlicensed otherwise.

Some dimensions to this problem are the following:

Does the language (or the speaker) under consideration use resumption at all?

In what type of cases is resumption used?

How does resumption overcome potential island violations?

These questions are hard to answer with any generality, simply for lack of sufficiently detailed and numerous cross linguistic studies. In the French varieties I use, the availability of resumption depends on the register: resumption in CLLD or CLR(ight)D seems to always be available; in more formal speech, resumption is not available with wh-movement cases (thus resumption would not be used in say scholarly writing); in my colloquial French, resumption is available with wh-movement (questions, relatives, clefts, ...), especially when a gap is for one reason or another unavailable; I am also aware of existing varieties in which resumption with wh-movement is routinely available in (perhaps) all cases, whether a gap is available or not. I am not sure whether these differences correlate with anything else in the different grammars. But such differences are found also when comparing not different varieties of the ‘same language’, but different languages.

Now there are clear cases in which movement is compatible with resumption (cf. [Rouveret, 2011](#)). This is clearly documented e.g. in Lebanese Arabic: [Aoun et al., 2001](#) shows cases of movement with resumption that can reconstruct (as long as the clitic is not inside an island); it is also documented in Jordanian Arabic where reconstruction is possible with (weak) resumption even into islands (cf. [Malkawi \(2009\)](#)).¹⁶ There are also some (rather incontrovertible) cases of non island violating wh-movement with mandatory resumption found at least in two Kru languages of West Africa (Vata and Gbadi), cf. [Koopman \(1982\)](#) and ([Koopman, 1984](#), sections 2.3.3.2 and 6.2.4), and in Swedish in [Engdahl \(1985\)](#). The structure of these examples in Vata, Gbadi or Swedish is rendered in Pseudo English below as:

(36) Who do you think that (*he) left

These authors make almost identical observations and draw similar conclusions about the behavior of these resumptive pronouns: they license parasitic gaps; they give rise to weak crossover effects; they satisfy the ATB requirement on extraction from coordinate structures (a mixture of a gap and a resumptive is fine); they are used systematically only in the subject position of tensed clauses in

¹³In general Topics can’t be quantificational. So this problem may extend to include perhaps all of [Lasnik and Stowell, 1991](#) Null Operator Constructions with Referential Antecedents as e.g. Tough-movement (*This problem is tough OP_m to solve t_m*) or Too/Enough-Movement constructions (*This bed is too heavy OP_m to lift t_m*) which would all be wrongly predicted to violate islands.

¹⁴[Grewendorf et al. \(2008\)](#) shows cases of Contrastive Topicalization in German, featuring a d-pronominal resumptive inside an island, namely a conditional clause. This could be a candidate example in German of what is observed in French if it could be shown that such cases involve movement.

¹⁵I have suggested elsewhere that this is not possible and that movement is always involved, albeit perhaps not from the argument position but from a base generated phase peripheral position (see [Sportiche, 2018](#)) that this should not be routinely allowed, cf. below section 5.4.

¹⁶[Malkawi \(2009\)](#), as well as [Malkawi and Guillot \(2007\)](#) [Guillot and Malkawi \(2006\)](#) take it that there is movement in such cases, a conclusion I discuss in section 5.4.2.

fact, to void what would otherwise be COMP-trace violations.

Of course this does mean that anytime some kind of resumption is used, island violating movement is allowed. Thus Hanging Topics can be resumed by clitics, as well as strong pronouns or epithets, yet they do not and cannot involve movement even when resumed by a clitic (an observation in need of an explanation, and one may hope that whether movement is involved is related in some principled way to the precise interpretive properties of the variety of Topicalization used in a given language). In my colloquial French, *wh*-movement allows clitic resumption, yet unlike CLLD, disallows island violations (cf. Sportiche, 2018). This illustrates that it must be independently established whether resumption involves movement or not. Similarly Aoun et al. (2001) or Malkawi (2009) for example shows that resumption in varieties of Arabic is compatible with movement only if the resumptive element is weak, clitic like, and Aoun et al. (2009) shows that the precise position of the Topic in the left periphery (pre or post focus) correlates with whether topicalization is a movement dependency or not. Clearly, more detailed investigations are required before reliable cross linguistic generalizations can be made.

This ties in with the third question: how does resumption overcome potential island violations? Here I will concentrate on a simple comparison of French and English. English Topicalization - which can (but need not) highlight a topic - obeys islands, French CLLD does not. The latter must use clitic resumption, the former cannot. If resumption was intrinsically related to island violation licensing, why should French CLLD require clitic resumption when no island is violated? To put it differently, why doesn't French CLLD behave like English Topicalization in not requiring a resumptive clitic when no island is violated?

I would like to suggest that the presence of the clitic is precisely what makes the TOP position at the periphery of phases reachable. Thinking in terms of movement to TOP as resulting from TOP probing a constituent with the right make up, the suggestion is that a constituent is eligible to this probing only if it is independently marked as 'topical', given, in the relevant sense. This is, I assume what doubling by clitics do in French: they independently license this topical feature on the constituent that they double, which in turn makes this constituent eligible for probing by TOP. Angelopoulos and Sportiche (2020) shows independently that French (and Greek) clitics are not referential, they are probes doubling a phrase and their presence is compatible with this doubled phrase moving by itself.

This mechanism is unavailable in English. Topicality can be independently encoded by doubling a phrase with a full pronoun, as in Left or Right Dislocation. But this then is incompatible with the doubled phrase occupying the same position, hence with movement. English topicalization then, has to be seen as not moving through TOP but rather as a species of '*wh*-movement' as has been widely assumed since Chomsky (1977). Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (in French) is at the other hand of the spectrum where the doubling element need not be a clitic but can be e.g. a full pronoun (although the question remain why it couldn't be movement when the doubling element is a clitic).

The logic of the approach then is that the (relevant) TOP position does not assign topicality to a phrase reaching it. This raises the question of why movement occurs at all. Tackling this question is a project of its own but simple remarks about French are informative. CLLD and CLRD (Clitic Right Dislocation) differ minimally in where the dislocated element is situated. Both involve movement to the periphery of a clitic doubled phrase interpreted as a topic but they clearly differ in the kind of topic interpretation they receive. This is consistent with movement to TOP not assigning topic status, as we have concluded, but rather as narrowing down the kind of topic interpretation that the moved phrase receives. In other words, a peripheral TOP node licenses a particular kind of interpretation (and there are several, cf. Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl, 2007). This is what I will assume.

5.4 Successive Cyclicity

The standard conception of successive cyclic movement takes it to be a succession of formal intermediate steps that are required so that phase theory is not violated. Looking at long distance CLLD movement, the proposal outlined above takes successive cyclic CLLD movement to be a succession of phase bounded Topicalizations where topicalization has an interpretive import. This suggests a conception of successive cyclic movement different from what is standardly assumed, namely that intermediate steps of successive cyclic movement are never interpretatively vacuous: to extract a phrase from a phase, one must first make it a phase peripheral phrase with a certain interpretation, e.g. a certain kind of Topic or Focus of this phase.

5.4.1 Refining the edge further?

To speculate as to how this proposal can be developed, consider the relevant portion of the articulated clausal left periphery outlined in [Rizzi and Bocci, 2017](#), p. 9, and to which I refer the reader for discussion of this proposal (based on Italian, but similar to French in the relevant respects):

(37) [Force [TOP* [FOC [TOP* [Q_{emb} [FIN ...]]]]]]

Let us accept that the Topic position TOP relevant for CLLD allow multiple topics (as indicated by the * symbol), and let us ignore the question, not immediately relevant for our current purpose, of which Topic position CLLD-ed constituents occur in¹⁷ and what if any interpretive difference correlates with which position (again, see [Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl, 2007](#), for relevant discussion). The Foc(us) position can hold only one element, which receives particular interpretation (corrective or mirative)¹⁸ and is in complementary distribution with wh-interrogative XPs in main clauses, but not in embedded interrogatives. In the latter, in addition to a contrastive focus, a wh-question phrase can occur in Q_{emb}, a position deemed to be selected by the embedding verb which is thus postulated to only occur in non complement clauses.

The view that successive cyclic movement is never interpretatively vacuous would require some (slight) modifications to this picture. Indeed, the most natural idea is that movement to the periphery either makes the moved phrase a (certain kind of) topic, or a (certain kind) of focus of this phase.

Long distance movement, say of an interrogative pronoun, does not require it to a mirative or corrective focus. This suggest that we should separate the phase peripheral FOC position from the mirative or corrective flavors (which do seem to be different positions, cf. [Cruschina, 2012](#), [Authier and Haegeman, 2019](#)) that a phase peripheral focus can have.

Now contrastive or mirative foci both have a focus property - they evoke alternatives - and both have a more specific contrastive property (the corrective contrasts what is asserted with a specific alternative, the mirative contrasts what is asserted with what would be expected). But foci need not be contrastive in this sense. The simplest case is that of wh-interrogatives in main clauses: they are focused and they may, but need not, be contrastive in any relevant sense. In addition, in principle, multiple foci in a given clause is allowed. This is what is observed in multiple wh-questions, and as is well known, in some languages, multiple wh-phrases can be fronted to non contrastive left peripheral focus positions. This suggest that the FOC position should *in principle* allow multiple phrases, although this is not (always) allowed in French (or in Italian). Contrast on the other hand seems limited to one phrase. And corrective contrast for example can also hold of Topics or of

¹⁷Relevant discussion is found for Arabic in [Aoun et al. \(2009\)](#) and in [Haegeman \(2004\)](#) for French.

¹⁸Corrective: *Alors tu vas en vacances en Espagne l'hiver? Non, en Italy, pas en Espagne, je vais en vacances l'hiver/ so you go on vacation to Spain every winter? no, to Italy not to Spain, I go on vacation every winter*; Mirative: *Ils ont pas d'argent. Attends! Aux Seychelles ils vont en vacances / they have no money. Wait! To the Seychelles, they go on vacation*. My French is more liberal than is reported in [Authier and Haegeman \(2019\)](#) in allowing both in my French, unlike the mirative-only option that they report.

subconstituents of Topics (as e.g. in CLLD - cf. Arregi, 2003).

All this suggests that the focal property and the specific left peripheral contrast properties should be (structurally) separated.

Assume then that FOC is in general recursive and not necessarily coding specific contrast although in French (and Italian) there are further restrictions that need to be understood e.g. in French or Italian, in which peripheral foci are limited in number and must be contrastive unless they are wh-phrases. In turn, that contrastive foci are in complementary distribution with wh-interrogatives in main clauses but not in embedded questions suggest that even in Italian, clauses can host two peripheral foci. Once FOC is conceived as above, it may be possible, and desirable, generally to maintain that successive cyclic movement is movement through phase peripheral FOC and TOP positions.¹⁹

5.4.2 Movement paths

Suppose then successive cyclic movement is movement through phase peripheral FOC and TOP positions.

Movement steps could be homogeneous from FOC to FOC (standard wh-movement) or from TOP to TOP (CLLD). The former would be informally structured as the first example below, the second as the second, with a succession of coindexed foci or topics:

- (38) a. Who_k do you think that it's him_k that Mary says that its him_k that Bill saw t_k
 b. John_k I think that him_k Mary says that him_k Bill saw him_k

But movement could be mixed too: an heterogeneous step from TOP to FOC is in principle possible and found. For example, in addition to documenting such cases in Irish based McCloskey's 2002 'mixed chains', or on Selayarese cases due to Finer (1997), Sportiche, 2018 documents such cases Lebanese Arabic, where CLLD can be resumed by a clitic inside an island, and can reconstruct to the edge of the island but not into the island. This is taken as an example of a topic base generated at the left periphery of the island, resumed by a clitic inside the island without movement (a non movement option of CLLD that is available according to Aoun et al., 2009, chapters 8 and 9)²⁰. This left peripheral topic is then wh-moved, becoming the focus of a higher clause. Normally, topics can't be quantificational which perhaps excludes wh-phrases from topichood, but the trace of a wh-phrase need not be interpreted quantificationally (due to trace conversion - see Fox, 2002) and thus should qualify as a topic.

Another case is that discussed in Guillot and Malkawi (2006), Malkawi and Guillot (2007) or Malkawi, 2009, according to which reconstruction effects do take place inside islands in the presence of a weak resumptive pronoun (in Jordanian Arabic) with **wh-movement**.

- (39) chuft SSuura₂ tabafat ?ibn-ha₁ illi zfiltu la?annu kul mwazzafah₁
 see.Past.1s the-picture of.son.his that be-angry=past2p because each employee-Fem
 bidha tfalli?-ha₂ bi-l-maktab
 want.imp.3sf hang.Past.3sf-it in.the.office
 I saw the picture of his son that you are angry because each employee wants to hang it
 in the office'

This can be analyzed exactly like Lebanese Arabic as a case of a Topic being wh-moved with one

¹⁹This could shed a different light on the stage at which children "spell out" intermediate wh-traces in COMP in successive cyclic cases, as reported in Crain and Lillo-Martin, 1999, p.238.

²⁰According to these authors, the non movement CLLD position precedes the FOC position in the phase periphery, while the movement CLLD position follows it. The relevant facts have not been tested in French, nor perhaps in other Romance languages

difference: Wh-movement moves a CLLD-ed Topic derived by movement (unlike what happens in Lebanese Arabic), so that, similarly to French, we observe reconstruction into islands.

Guilliot and Malkawi (2006) and Malkawi and Guilliot (2007) conclude differently because Condition C effects are not observed. Instead they propose that the reconstruction effect (for pronominal binding) arises because resumptive pronouns can be e-type as shown below:

- (40) Which book about his mother [*Island* [*RP* the ~~book about his mother~~]]
with suppletion: [*RP* the ~~book about his mother~~ [e]] = it (cf. Elbourne, 2001)

We could imagine if correct, that this would extend to French CLLD as well. This motivation on terms of Condition C is insufficient especially for Arabic which displays a non movement version of CLLD (cf. earlier caveat re Condition C as well as the discussion in section 7.2). In addition, such an analysis is insufficient to handle the *total* reconstruction needed to get pronominal binding, *de dicto* readings, or free choice indefinite licensing. The antecedent has to semantically delete in the high position. But how could it if this is not a movement dependency: phrase do not freely delete. This problem is made particularly acute by the Hanging Topic/ CLLD minimal pair: in both cases, a left peripheral DP can bind a resumptive clitic but one case can reconstruct totally (CLLD), while the other can't reconstruct at all (HTLD). The movement /non movement distinction gets the right result, without any additional assumption.

Finally, it is unclear whether heterogeneous movement steps from FOC to TOP are possible. This would be the movement counterpart of a structure such as:

- (41) (as for) John_k, Mary thinks it is him_k that you saw

Here *John* is a hanging topic, but binds a pronoun interpreted as focalized. Could *John* have been CLLD-ed instead? Such cases have not been reported, as far as I know, and whether they are allowed depends on what exactly the constraints are on movement copies. In French, traces, and in particular traces of CLLD must be silent. This precludes them from being focalized. The matter may be different in a language allowing non silent traces.

6 Conclusion

6.1 Summary

In sum, here are the conclusions reached, where TOP is what's relevant for CLLD:

- Not all movements obey islands
- The left periphery must be enriched along the lines of Rizzi (1997) and subsequent work.
- Phase peripheral TOP positions are available in all phases.
- The left peripheral TOP positions hosting CLLD-ed constituent is not criterial.
- The left peripheral TOP position does not assign Topichood, but it requires it.
- Clitic doubling plays a licensing role in phrases being able to reach phase peripheral TOP positions in a language like French, thus allowing successive cyclic, island violating movement.
- Successive cyclicity may be a clause bound succession of Topicalizations and/or Focalizations.

6.2 Some open questions

Some questions of intra- or cross- linguistic variability have been left open.

According to the conclusions reached here, Movement of a phrase XP from a phase peripheral TOP(ic) position is possible. But Jordanian Arabic, or French, allows this phrase to have been moved to TOP from inside an island, while Lebanese Arabic is reported not to allow it. Jordanian Arabic allows this XP in TOP to be wh-moved, while (the variety of) colloquial French discussed

here does not. What to attribute these differences to, and whether they correlate with other differences is left open. But it does suggest, as is reported in Aoun et al. (2009) that there are in principle two distinct CLLD positions, one movement based and another not movement based, even in embedded contexts with differences as to their availability (with consequences for Condition C...).

Another question left open is about resumption. In the presence of resumption, resumption with weak elements (e.g. clitics) is a necessary condition for movement to have in fact taken place as it does in Jordanian Arabic, colloquial French and elsewhere. But it is not sufficient. It is obviously not sufficient in Lebanese Arabic or in colloquial French wh-movement, as discussed above, but it is not sufficient in Hanging Topic Left dislocation. This would follow if the position of hanging topics was phase external, and if movement from a phase edge into this phase external position was precluded. Why exactly this should hold is not entirely clear, although it is conceivable that such movement would cause conflicting interpretive requirements, e.g. between two different flavors of topichood.

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7 Appendix

7.1 Reconstruction under objects

Without movement, French IOs and DOs behave as c-commanding each other. This is illustrated below where the pronoun *son* can be bound by the quantifier phrase *chaque danseuse*:

- (42) a. **IO c-commands DO**
 Les chorégraphes avaient présenté l'habilleur de **son** partenaire à **chaque**
 The choreographers had introduced the dresser of her partner to each
 danseuse
 dancer
 'The choreographers had introduced the dresser of her partner to each dancer'
 b. **DO c-commands IO**
 Les chorégraphes avaient présenté **chaque** danseuse à **son** partenaire
 The choreographers had introduced each dancer to her partner
 'The choreographers had introduced each dancer to her partner'

This pattern remains unaffected by movement e.g. wh-movement:

- (43) a. **IO c-commands DO**
 Quel habilleur de **son** partenaire les chorégraphes avaient(-ils) présenté à
 Which dresser of her partner the choreographers have(-they) introduced to
chaque danseuse?
 each dancer
 'Which dresser of her partner had the choreographers introduced to each dancer?'
 b. **DO c-commands IO**
 Auquel de **ses** partenaires les chorégraphes avaient présenté **chaque**
 To which of her partners the choreographers had introduced each
 danseuse?
 dancer
 'To which of her partners the choreographers had introduced each dancer'

This pattern remains unaffected by CLLD:

For Direct Objects:²¹

- (44) [La note de son_j dernier devoir]_k, le professeur (ne) l_k' a rendue à
 the grade on his last assignment, the professor (Neg) 3s has given to
 aucun/chaque élève_j
 no/every student
 'The grade on his last assignment, the professor hasn't given to any/every student'

Condition C is more difficult to check but:

- (45) a. *C'est hier que Marie a présenté ce crétin_m aux voisins de Jean_m
 It's yesterday that Marie has introduced this cretin to-the neighbors of John
 'It is yesterday that Marie introduced this cretin to John's neighbors'
 b. C'est hier qu'[aux voisins de Jean_j]_k, Marie leur_k a présenté
 it's yesterday that to-the neighbors of John, Marie 3.P.M.DAT. has introduced
 ce crétin_m /
 this cretin

²¹But not for Indirect Objects (!), see [Angelopoulos and Sportiche, 2020](#) and [Sportiche, 2021](#).

- c. 'It is yesterday that to the neighbors of John, Marie introduced this cretin'
 C'est hier qu'[aux voisins de Jean_j]_k, Marie le_{*j/√p} leur_k a
 it's yesterday that to-the neighbors of John, Marie 3.S.M.ACC. 3.P.M.DAT. has
 présenté
 presented
 'It is yesterday that to the neighbors of John, Marie introduced him'

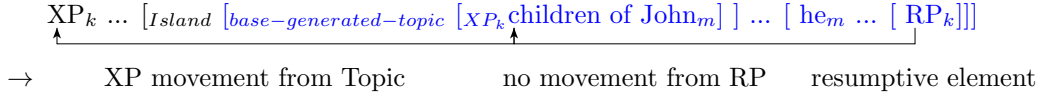
The CLLD-ed dative does reconstruct somewhere lower than the Accusative Clitic (which in turn suggests that the availability of non movement phase peripheral TOP positions is limited, somehow - see the remarks in section ??sop.)

7.2 Caveat on Condition C and islands

Does the fact that CLLD can violate island predicts condition C effects inside islands? Condition C effects do not seem to arise:

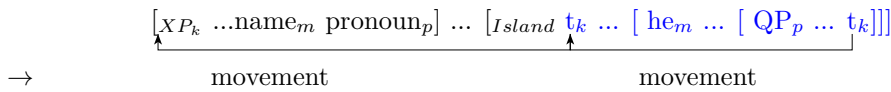
- a. [Les enfants de Jean_j]_k, on connaît plein de lycées où il_j
 the children of Jean, we know lots of high schools where he them-Acc
 les_k inscrirait pas
 would register not

Pronominal binding reconstruction arises if movement is possible from the reconstructed position. But Condition C effects arise if movement is required from the reconstructed position (and is not an A-position). So as discussed in section 5.4.2, movement could be from an island peripheral base generated Topic higher than the pronoun that would trigger a condition C effect coindexed with a resumptive clitic RP:



As noted earlier, such configurations are independently documented e.g. in Selayarese, Irish or Lebanese Arabic, cf. [Finer \(1997\)](#), [McCloskey \(2002\)](#), [Sportiche \(2018\)](#).

So to check condition C, we need to guarantee that movement has indeed taken place from below the pronoun. This can be done by having a pronoun (*ses/his*) in the preposed constituent containing a name or a description (here (*les nouveaux/the newbies*)) bound by a quantifier (*aucun prof/no teacher*) lower than the pronoun (*il/he*):



- a. [La présentation des nouveaux_m à ses_p élèves]_k, on connaît plein de
 The introduction of the newbies to his students, we know lots of
 lycées où ils_m ont dit qu'aucun prof_p l'_kécoutait
 high schools where they said that no teacher it-acc listened to

Such cases are complex and do not sound deviant (?). Assume that such examples are fine. How should this be to interpreted? It may also show that different derivations are available, one with movement only from an island peripheral TOP position. Or else, as Condition

C effects have independently been shown to decay with distance (cf. [Adger et al. \(2017\)](#), [Stockwell et al., 2020](#)), this could be a processing effect weakening or voiding condition C.

7.3 Movement Diagnostics

Here is a brief discussion of a number of possible diagnostic tools other than reconstruction one could consider to identify movement dependencies [independently](#) of island sensitivity:

- Presence of Gap
- Non Local Semantic Saturation
- Idiom chunk Distribution
- Parasitic Gap licensing
- Weak Crossover
- Displaced interpretation aka Reconstruction/Connectivity

Let us briefly discuss them in turn in the context of an XP/XP dependency between a structurally ‘high’ α and a structurally ‘low’ β :

Presence of Gap? The presence of a gap is neither necessary nor sufficient: it is not sufficient because we could be dealing with a binding relationship, or a movement with resumption relationship, in which the ‘low’ β is a silent pronoun (*pro*). So we would have to independently control away from this possibility. This said it would be doable for French, the language discussed here, in which silent pronouns have a restricted and fairly well understood distribution. However, the presence of a gap is not necessary. For example, some gapless (resumptive) structures exhibit island sensitivity (e.g. Lebanese questions and relatives, cf. [Aoun et al., 2001](#), among many other cases: see [Rouveret, 2011](#)). Furthermore, there are minimal pairs such as French CLLD and Hanging Topic constructions which look the same and superficially gapless:²²

- (46) Jean, on le connaît
 Jean, we him know
 ‘Jean, we know (him)’

But it can be independently shown that, if *Jean* is a Hanging Topic, no movement is involved, but if *Jean* is a contrastive Topic, movement is involved.

Non local semantic saturation? This is hard to tell: in (46) above, we do not know what syntactic constituent saturates the verb. With CLLD, it is presumably the topic, with a hanging topic analysis, it is (the *pro* associated with the clitic, see [Angelopoulos and Sportiche \(2020\)](#)).

WCO? Weak Crossover does not provide a necessary condition for movement as it not always found with movement (e.g. in Topicalization, Null operator constructions, cf. [Lasnik and Stowell, 1991](#)) and is thus not applicable to what we are investigating: CLLD.

²²In fact, [Angelopoulos and Sportiche \(2020\)](#) shows that there is a gap in both, a trace in the case of CLLD, a *pro* in the case of Hanging Topic, illustrating the difficulty to use the presence of a gap as a simple diagnostic.

PG licensing?

- (47) a. Who did you invite t [*island* without knowing PG]
 b. Who did [*island* your interest in PG] surprise t

The Parasitic Gap/Real Gap distinction (as opposed to ATB movement) is based on ... island sensitivity: the PG is the one in an island (so we can't decide which is the real gap independently of island sensitivity).

Idiom chunk distribution? Sufficient but not necessary. It only works as a diagnostic in a subset of cases but not with CLLD (as idiom chunks can't be topicalized).

As can be checked, our conclusions are consistent with each of these other diagnostic tools not.