

Nihil est in LF quod prius non fuerit in SS*

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Abstract

In this paper it is argued that dislocates are interpreted in their surface position. Evidence from binding and scope phenomena is provided to support such strong hypothesis. Moreover, it is shown that its interaction with the Split-Topic Hypothesis, which argues for a partition of the focus-topic structure of the sentence, can explain some otherwise surprising asymmetries. Finally, it is argued for an integration of discourse and modality aspects in the computation of binding and scope facts.

Key words: dislocation, topic, binding, scope, reconstruction.

Resum

En aquest article s'argumenta que els dislocats s'interpreten en la seva posició superficial. S'aporten evidències del lligam i dels fenòmens d'abast que donen suport a una hipòtesi tan forta. A més, es mostra que la seva interacció amb la Hipòtesi del Tòpic Dividit, que proposa una partició de l'estructura de tòpic-focus de l'oració, pot explicar altres asimetries, d'altra banda sorprenents. Finalment, es defensa la integració d'aspectes del discurs i de la modalitat en la computació del lligam i dels fenòmens d'abast.

Paraules clau: dislocació, tòpic, lligam, abast, reconstrucció.

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It is a well-known fact that dislocates behave as if they were *in situ* for binding purposes:¹

- (1) a. *La Maria* ja no confia en *ella mateixa*
 the Maria already not relies in herself
- b. En *ella mateixa*, *la Maria* ja no hi confia
 in herself the Maria already not LOC relies
- c. *La Maria* ja no hi confia, en *ella mateixa*
 the Maria already not LOC relies in herself

This behavior led several authors to the conclusion that dislocated elements are literally reconstructed at LF (Cinque 1983, 1990; see also Saito 1989 for scrambling).

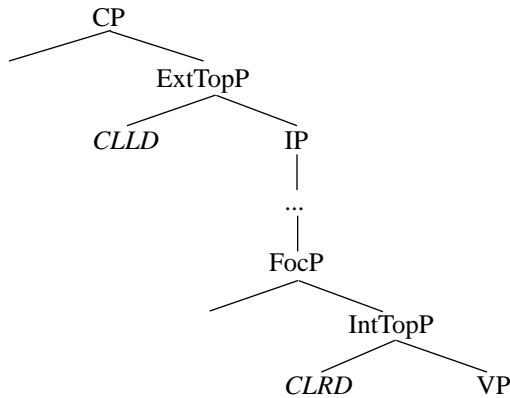
In this paper I will provide empirical evidence running against such a proposal. I will show that dislocates are interpreted in their S-Structure position, dispensing with syntactic reconstruction. Such strong hypothesis nicely correlates with an independent analysis of the partition of the informational content of sentence: the Split-Topic Hypothesis (see Villalba 1998, in press). The next section will be devoted to offering a snapshot of it. In section 2, some evidence will be offered supporting an S-Structure based interpretation of dislocation and scrambling. Finally, in section 3, I will address some counterexamples to this analysis, giving them a principled explanation in terms of independent semantic and discourse factors.

1. The Split-Topic Hypothesis

Throughout this paper I will assume the Split-Topic Hypothesis (see Villalba 1998, in press), namely that the basic difference between Clitic Right Dislocation (CLRD) and Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) lies in the different position they occupy in the clause, not in the level at which they move (cf. Kayne 1994).² Whereas CLRD overtly moves to the specifier of the Internal Topic Phrase (IntTopP) just over the VP, CLLD overtly moves to a higher one, that of the External Topic Phrase (ExtTopP) in the CP area (see Villalba 1998, in press; cf. Rizzi 1997). Schematically:³

1. Throughout this paper the bound reading is marked by means of italics. Unless otherwise noted, all judgments are referred to the marked reading.
2. I assume without discussion that dislocation is derived by movement. See Kayne (1994), Rizzi (1997), and Villalba (1998, in press) for arguments favoring a movement analysis. It is also controversial whether the clitic is just a visible trace of the dislocate or rather the head of a projection including the dislocate (before it moves). I remain neutral on this issue here, since it does not affect the core of the analysis.
3. I remain neutral on the respective position of ExtTopP and CP because it is quite controversial and it doesn't affect the discussion. The reader is referred to Rizzi (1997) for a comprehensive analysis of the set of elements occupying the left periphery of the sentence.

(2)



I cannot argue at length for this structure, so the reader is referred to Villalba (1998, in press) for details and arguments. In any case, in section 2 empirical evidence will be provided that right dislocates occupy a lower position than left dislocates in the sentence tree. We can formalize this process in terms of feature attraction. Let us assume, following ideas by Choi (1996), that sentence elements are specified for informational features [new], [prominent].⁴ If we combine these features, we obtain:

	+new	-new
+prominent	<i>contrastive focus</i>	<i>CLLD</i>
-prominent	<i>non-contrastive focus</i>	<i>CLRD</i>

all [-new] elements —clitic left and right dislocates— move to IntTopP for checking such a feature; later on, those [-new] elements also marked as [+prominent] —clitic left dislocates— will move to ExtTopP for checking purposes (see Postal 1991 for a previous proposal that CLLD is derived via CLRD; cf. Zubizarreta 1998). A similar derivation extends to focus (i.e. [+new]) elements, under the assumption that two Focus Phrases exist: all [+new] elements —contrastive and non-contrastive focus— move to FocP for checking such a feature; later on, those [+new] elements also marked as [+prominent] —contrastive focus— will move to CP for checking purposes (for the existence of a FocP see Belletti and Shlonsky 1995, and references cited therein). See Villalba (in press) for details.

4. Things are more complicated, however. For the purposes of this paper, the feature [new] must be interpreted in its habitual sense, and [prominent] as an abbreviation of «informationally prominent in the discourse».

2. Rigid binding/scope relations

Languages like Catalan have been considered to show ambiguous scope relations, without taking into account the facts concerning dislocation. In general, it has been assumed that CLLD and CLRD involved reconstruction at LF (see Cinque 1983, 1990), but no exhaustive examination of binding and scope facts have been carried out. In this section I will provide some data arguing for a scope rigid analysis of Catalan, at least with respect to dislocation. In short, it will be shown that the binding/scope possibilities of left and right dislocates are limited to their surface position (see the tree in (2)). Those cases that do not show such rigidity will be dealt with in section 3, where they will be considered a by-product of independent discourse factors.

2.1. Pronouns bound by quantifiers

In Catalan, a pronoun within a dislocate may be bound by a quantifier regardless of its original position:

- (3) a. No la penso discutir amb *tots els professors*, la *seva* manera
 not her think discuss with all the teachers the his way
 d'ensenyar.
 of-teach
 'I won't discuss their teaching method with all the teachers.'
- b. No ho penso discutir amb *cada professor*, com *pro* ensenya
 not it think-I discuss with every teacher how (s)he teaches
 'I won't discuss how (s)he teaches with every teacher.'
- c. Enlluerna a *qualsevol pare*, el *seu* fill
 dazzles to any father the his son
 'His son dazzles any father.'

It is a mystery for the LF-reconstruction approach why none of these sentences has a well-formed reconstructed counterpart:

- (4) a. *No penso discutir la *seva* manera d'ensenyar amb *tots els professors*.
 not think discuss the his way of-teach with all the teachers
- b. *No penso discutir com *pro* ensenya amb *cada professor*.
 not think discuss how (s)he teaches with every teacher
- c. *El *seu* fill enlluerna a *qualsevol pare*.
 the his son dazzles to any father

These sentences are, descriptively speaking, instances of weak crossover (WCO).

Let us consider now the converse situation, namely one having a right-dislocated QP and a pronoun in the core of the sentence:

- (5) a. **La seva mare va aconseguir acompanyar tothom*
 the his mother PAST manage accompany everybody
- b. **La seva mare el va aconseguir d'acompanyar, a tothom*
 the his mother him PAST manage accompany to everybody
- c. *A tothom el va aconseguir acompanyar la seva mare*
 to everybody him PAST manage accompany the his mother
 'His mother managed to accompany everybody.'
- (6) a. **La seva mare va decidir acompanyar a cada nen*
 the his mother PAST decide accompany to every child
- b. **La seva mare va decidir acompanyar-lo, a cada nen*
 the his mother PAST decide accompany-him to every child
- c. *A cada nen va decidir acompanyar-lo la seva mare*
 to every child PAST decide accompany-him the his mother
 'His mother decided to accompany every child.'

The bound reading is not available if the quantifier surfaces to the right of the pronoun (a WCO violation). If the quantifier precedes the pronoun the bound reading is possible. Two points are worth commenting on here. On the one hand, it seems clear that the radical reconstruction approach cannot give a proper answer to these asymmetries. On the other hand, note that the different behavior of left and right dislocates suggests they occupy different position in the tree structure.

Similar data are reported in Hindi —exs. (7)-(8)— and Basque —exs. (9)-(10)—, two SOV languages. In these languages, postverbal elements are topics, in many respects equivalent to Romance CLRD (all Hindi data in this paper come from Mahajan 1998, and all Basque data from Albizu n.d.):

- (7) a. **uske bhaai-ne har ek aadmii-ko maaraa.*
 his brother-ERG every man-OBJ hit-PERF
 'His brother hit everyone.'
- b. *har ek aadmii-ko uske bhaai-ne maaraa.*
 every man-OBJ his brother-ERG hit-PERF
 '???Everyone, his brother hit.'
- c. **uske bhaai-ne maaraa har ek aadmii-ko.*
 his brother-ERG hit-PERF every man-OBJ
 'His brother hit everyone.'
- (8) a. *raam-ne har ek aadmii-ko lɔtaai uskii kitaab.*
 Ram-ERG every man-DAT return-PERF his book
 'Ram returned every man his book.'

- b. *raam-ne uske maalik-ko dii har ek kitaab.
 Ram-ERG its owner-DAT give-PERF every book
 'Ram gave every book to its owner.'
- (9) a. Munizipalak ume bakoitzari bueltatu dio bere bizikleta.
 policeman-ERG child each return AUX his bike
 b. *Munizipalak bere bizikleta bueltatu dio ume bakoitzari.
 'The policeman returned each child his bike.'
- (10) a. Pellok txeke bakoitza bueltatu dio bere jabeari.
 Pello-ERG check each return AUX its owner
 b. *Pellok bere jabeari bueltatu dio txeke bakoitza.
 Pello-ERG its owner return AUX check each
 'Pello returned each check to its owner.'

Two generalizations follow from these data:

Generalization 1:

Dislocates are not interpreted as if they were in situ, but rather in their SS position

Generalization 2:

Left dislocates occupy a higher position in the structure than right dislocated ones.

2.2. Principle C

The hypothesis that dislocates are reconstructed at LF for interpretation purposes runs into problems when the following paradigm is taken into account:

- (11) a. *pro va dir convençuda les mentides que la Maria va
 PAST say convinced the lies that the Maria PAST
 inventar.
 invent
- b. *pro no va confirmar després les aptituds que la Maria
 not PAST confirm later the aptitudes that the Maria
 apuntava de jove.
 suggested of young
- (12) a. [Les mentides que la Maria] va inventar, pro les va
 the lies that the Maria PAST invent them PAST
 dir convençuda.
 say convinced
- b. [Les aptituds que la Maria apuntava de jove], pro no les
 the aptitudes that the Maria suggested of young not them
 va confirmar després.
 PAST confirm later

- (13) a. **pro* les va dir convençuda, [les mentides que *la Maria*
 them PAST say convinced the lies that the Maria
 va inventar]
 PAST invent
- b. **pro* no les va confirmar després, [les aptituds que *la*
 not them PAST confirm later the aptitudes that the
Maria apuntava de jove]
 Maria suggested of young

The sentences in (11) are standard examples of principle C violations. Under the hypothesis that dislocates are interpreted as if they were reconstructed in their original position at LF, we expect both (12) and (13) to be equally out. However, even though this prediction is borne out by the right-dislocated version, it is not by the left-dislocated one. Note that the contrast is the expected one under the analysis proposed here: both non dislocated constituents and right-dislocated ones surface in a position under the c-command domain of the pronoun, which makes coreference impossible. In the case of CLLD, the dislocate occupies a position higher than the pronoun, allowing coreference.

Again, this behavior extends to Hindi and Basque (see also Villalba in press, and Cecchetto 1999 for similar facts in Spanish and Italian, respectively):

- (14) a. **us-ne* siitaa-ko [tumhaaraa *raam-ko* likhaa hua pətr]
 he-ERG Sita-DAT your Ram-DAT written be-PERF letter
 dikhaayaa
 show-PERF
- b. [tumhaaraa *raam-ko* likhaa hua pətr] *us-ne* siitaa-ko
 your Ram-DAT written be-PERF letter he-ERG Sita-DAT
 dikhaayaa
 show-PERF
- c. **us-ne* siitaa-ko dikhaayaa [tumhaaraa *raam-ko* likhaa
 he-ERG Sita-DAT show-PERF your Ram-DAT written
 hua pətr]
 be-PERF letter
 ‘**He* showed a letter written by you to *Ram* to *Sita*.’
- (15) a. **Bera* ez du gonbidatu [*Jon* estimatzen duen] neskak
 he-ABS not AUX invited Jon-ABS like AUX girl-ERG
- b. [*Jon* estimatzen duen] neskak ez du *bera* gonbidatu
 Jon-ABS like AUX girl-ERG not AUX he-ABS invited
 ‘The girl that liked *Jon* didn’t invite *him*.’

From these data, it seems we can maintain the generalizations raised in the previous section:

Generalization 1:

Dislocates are not interpreted as if they were in situ, but rather in their SS position

Generalization 2:

Left dislocates occupy a higher position in the structure than right dislocated ones.

2.3. *Scope interactions*

Consider the following interchanges:

[Diuen que quan greixem fem servir un pot de greix per màquina]
‘They say that when we grease, we use one can of grease per machine’

- (16) a. Mentida! Aquest matí amb *un pot de greix*, hi he greixat *totes les màquines*.
‘That’s a lie! This morning with a can of grease I’ve greased all the machines.’
- b. #És veritat! Aquest matí amb *un pot de greix*, hi he greixat *totes les màquines*
‘That’s true! This morning with a can of grease I’ve greased all the machines.’

The sentence in square brackets provides a context in which more than one can of grease is available, hence favoring the distributivity reading, i.e. $\forall > \exists$. In (16), the answerer breaks this presupposition, implying that only one can is available, i.e. $\exists > \forall$; since the sentence is felicitous, we can conclude that this reading, which corresponds to the linear order of the quantifiers is available. This sentence tells us nothing about the inverse scope reading, but compare with (16). Here the distributivity reading favored by context —i.e. $\forall > \exists$ — is confirmed by the answerer, but as the infelicity of the sentence shows, the structural configuration of quantifiers does not provide such a reading.

Consider now:

[Diuen que quan greixem fem servir un pot de greix per màquina]
‘They say that when we grease, we use one can of grease per machine’

- (17) a. #Mentida. Aquest matí hi he greixat *totes les màquines*, amb *un pot de greix*.
‘That’s a lie! This morning I’ve greased all the machines with a can of grease.’
- b’.És veritat. Aquest matí hi he greixat *totes les màquines*, amb *un pot de greix*
‘That’s lie! This morning I’ve greased all the machines with a can of grease.’

Again, the sentence between brackets provides a context where more than one can of grease is available. In (17) the context introduced by the answerer favors $\exists > \forall$, and the position of quantifiers implies the pragmatically odd $\forall > \exists$. Since the sentence is not felicitous, it seems clear that only the latter reading is available. This is confirmed by (17), where $\forall > \exists$ is both contextually and structurally favored.

Again, such scope rigidity facts are found in scrambling languages, like Hindi or Hungarian:

- (18) a. raam *sab-ko* dikhaayegaa *tiin kitaabe*. [everyone>three]
 Ram everyone-DAT show(FUT) three books
 ‘Ram will show three books to everyone.’
- b. *sab* khariide ge *tiin ciize*. [three>everyone]
 everyone-DAT buy(FUT) three things
 ‘Everyone will buy three things.’
- (19) a. *Hatnál több ember* hívott fel *mindenkit*. [more than six>everyone]
 six-than more man called up everyone-ACC
 ‘More than six men phoned everyone.’
- b. *Mindenkit hatnál több ember* hívott fel. [everyone>more
 everyone-ACC six-than more man called up than six]
 ‘More than six men phoned everyone.’

None of these facts are expected if dislocation/scrambling is reconstructed at LF, but straightforwardly follow from a surface-based approach.

3. Apparent reconstruction

3.1. Principles A and B

The most celebrated examples for a reconstruction analysis of dislocated have to do with binding of anaphors and pronominals:

- (20) a. En *ella mateixa, la Maria* ja no hi confia.
 in her same the Maria already not LOC rely
 ‘On *herself*, Maria doesn’t rely anymore.’
- (21) a. *A *ella, la Maria* la va veure de seguida.
 to her the Maria her PAST see of followed
 ‘*To *her*, Maria saw immediately.’

We will not discuss them, since there is a huge amount of work offering an independently motivated account for such facts without resort to LF reconstruc-

tion. See, among others, Barss (1986), Cresti (1995), Gawron & Peters (1990), Sternefeld (1997), Williams (1994).

3.2. *More on bound pronouns*

We have seen in 2.1. that with respect to dislocates, quantifiers must precede the pronouns they bound. However, Zubizarreta (1998) points out the existence of the following examples in which informational factors play a crucial role (small caps indicate focus stress; I respect Zubizarreta's glosses):

- (22) a. El primer día de escuela, *su* MADRE deberá acompañar a
 the first day of school his mother must accompany ACC
cada niño
 every child
- b. A *su* hijo, *cada madre* lo acompañará
 ACC her son each mother ACC.CL will-accompany
- c. A *su* hijo, *ningún padre* lo quiere castigar
 ACC his child no father ACC.CL wants to-punish
- (23) a. *El primer día de escuela, *su* madre deberá acompañar a
 the first day of school his mother must accompany ACC
cada niño
 every child
- b. *A *su* hijo, lo acompañará *cada madre*
 ACC her son ACC.CL will-accompany each mother
- c. *[?]A *su* hijo, no lo quiere castigar *ningún padre*
 ACC his child not ACC.CL wants to-punish no father

Whereas (23) follows from the surface-based approach sketched in these pages, (22) represents a clear challenge to it. Let us consider the sentences in detail.

In order to properly analyze these sentences, two factors must be considered: information structure and modality. As the attentive reader will have noticed, for the QP to bind the pronoun, it must be presupposed, i.e. it must be non-focused. In (22), for example, the subject receives contrastive focus and the other material in the sentence is destressed. These examples are reminiscent of Williams's (1994):

- (24) a. *His* boss saw *John*
 b. **His* boss saw JOHN

As Williams points out, the topic nature of the binder legitimates it as a discourse binder. In other words, the pronoun is not bound by the apparent binder in its own sentence, but by a previously introduced discourse binder (see Erteschik-

Shir 1997 for a similar proposal in a file-based framework). This analysis seems confirmed by the following:

- (25) a. *El *seu* cap va veure el *Pere*
 the his boss PAST see the Pere
 ‘**His* boss saw *Pere*.’
- b. El *Pere* no va veure ningú però el *seu* cap sí que el
 the *Pere* not PAST see nobody but the his boss yes that him
 va veure, *al Pere*.
 PAST see to-the *Pere*
 ‘*Pere* didn’t see anybody, but *his* boss did see him, *Pere*.’

As the contrast makes clear, the apparent backward binding is indeed an instance of discourse binding, which forces a reading of the pronoun as an E-type pronoun. Obviously, if the binder is focused, as in (23), discourse binding becomes impossible, as no previous discourse referent is available.

Moreover, another factor might be at stake in these examples. Notably, this kind of backward quantifier binding is contingent on the modality of the sentence. Note that (22) have a modal verb, and (22) contains a verb in the future tense which is interpreted as a moral obligation (similar to modal *should*). Also note that (22) has a generic reading. Interestingly enough, such a behavior is similar to the facts of scope and binding illusions reported by Fox & Sauerland (1996):

- (26) a. *Her* thesis year is the hardest for *every student*.
 b. Some people think that *his* wife stands behind *every great man*.

As these authors show, when an episodic context is provided, binding becomes difficult:

- (27) a. ??Last year, *her* thesis year is the hardest for *every student*.
 b. ??At the beginning of the dance last night *his* wife stood behind *every great man*.

The same behavior extends to Spanish examples:

- (28) a. *Ayer, a *su* hijo, *cada madre* lo esperaba ante el
 yesterday to his son, each mother him waited in-front-of the
 colegio.
 school
 ‘Yesterday, his son, every mother was awaiting in front of the school.’
- b. *Ayer, a *su* hijo, *todas las madres* lo esperaban ante
 yesterday to his son, all the mother him waited in-front-of
 el colegio.
 the school
 ‘Yesterday, his son, all the mothers were awaiting in front of the school.’

- c. *A *su* hijo, *ningún padre* lo castiga en este momento.
 to his son none father him punishes in this moment
 ‘His son, no father is punishing just now.’

It is quite clear that when the context becomes episodic, the bound reading turns extremely difficult, if not impossible.

It is interesting to note that this combination of discourse and modality factors is at the grounds of Zubizarreta’s (1999) treatment of some instances of clitic doubling of *wh*-elements. She shows contrasts like the following:

- (29) a. (?)A *quién* no *lo* aguanta nadie?
 whom(O) not acc.cl stand nobody(S)
 b. *A *quién* no *lo* aguanta María?
 whom(O) not acc.cl stand María(S)
- (30) a. A *quién* (piensas que) *lo* debería castigar
 whom(O) (do you think that) acc.cl should punish
 María/su madre?
 María/his mother(S)
 b. *A *quién* (piensas que) *lo* castigó María/su madre?
 whom(O) (do you think that) acc.cl punished María/his mother(S)

The gist of Zubizarreta’s proposal is that the clitic doesn’t corefer with the *wh*-element, but rather with an argument of the independent assertion licensed by the negative/modal context. In order to account for such facts she develops a level of representation labeled Assertion Structure (very similar in spirit to the Focus Structure of Erteschik-Shir 1997). Pending further research, it seems quite likely that the bulk of data presented in this paper supports Zubizarreta’s insights in favor of Assertion Structure as the relevant level for treating (some) binding facts.

3.3. More on scope interactions

We have seen that independent factors may affect purely structural relations, raising instances of apparent backward bound pronoun. If this analysis is on the right track, a similar distorting behavior is expected to affect scope, as well. Again, the data seem to confirm this claim. Consider:

- (31) [Qui va fer cada treball?]
 ‘Who did every job?’
 Crec que cada treball el va fer un estudiant.
 think-I that every job him PAST do a student
- (32) [A qui va encarregar cada treball?]
 ‘To whom did (s)he order every job?’
 Crec que cada treball el va encarregar a un estudiant.
 think-I that every job him PAST order to a student

In general, *cada N* must have scope over the indefinite in order to obtain its distributive reading. Hence, in (31), precedence over the indefinite allows the distributive reading in which there are several students. However, it is not clear that the inverse scope reading is available, namely, that there is a unique student that did all the jobs. In order to obtain such a reading, it is necessary the resort to the universal collective quantifier *tots els treballs*. In any case, when the sentence receives generic context, the inverse scope reading does appear:

(33) [Qui acostuma a fer cada treball?]

‘Who is used to doing every job?’

Generalment cada treball el fa un estudiant.
generally every job him does a student

(34) [A qui acostuma a encarregar cada treball?]

‘To whom did (s)he use to assign every job?’

Generalment cada treball l’ encarrega a un estudiant.
generally every job him assigns to a student

Interestingly enough, as Gemma Rigau (p.c.) notes, the wide scope interpretation of the indefinite doesn’t seem to be a specific one, but rather a type one. Here *un estudiant* is focused and contrast with *una becària* ‘a fellow’, *un ajudant* ‘an assistant’, etc. For these two sentences to be true, it is unnecessary that the very same student be the one that does/gets ordered all the jobs. Truth conditions will only be affected if on some occasions it is a student, on some occasions a fellow, in some occasions an assistant, etc. Thus, the scope ambiguity in (33)-(34) seems to be spurious, or to use Fox & Saulerand’s (1996) terms, illusive.

4. Conclusion

Some evidence has been provided that a surface-based approach to binding and scope phenomena adequately accounts for the special behavior of dislocates. More specifically, it has been argued that LF reconstruction is neither necessary nor adequate, once an independent approach to the focus-topic articulation of sentence (the Split-Topic Hypothesis) is assumed. The resultant picture is a grammar without resort to covert movement in which binding/scope is read off S-structure. Finally, it has been suggested that apparent counterexamples derive from independent factors, namely discourse context and modality. It has been suggested that these binding/scope facts might receive a proper treatment in terms of an independently motivated level, like Zubizarreta’s (1998) Assertion Structure.

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