

Clitics: a Window into the Null Subject Property

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1. Introduction

The Null Subject Languages (henceforth NSLs) have been shown to display the following cluster of properties (Rizzi 1982, Jaeggli 1984, Burzio 1986, Kenstowicz 1987):

- (1) a. phonologically null subjects;
- b. SV, VS order alternations (so-called “free-inversion”);
- c. lack of *that*-trace effects: extraction is from post-verbal position (see also Campos 1997).

Property (1b) is illustrated by the following two Italian sentences:

- (2) a. Gianni telefona.
 Gianni calls
- b. Telefona Gianni.
 calls Gianni

The following contrasts between English and Spanish illustrate property (1c):

- (3) a. *Who did you say that bought a computer?
- b. Quién dices que compró un ordenador?
 who say-2sg that bought a computer
 ‘Who did you say bought a computer?’

The lack of *that*-trace effects exhibited in (3b) generalizes to all of the Romance NSLs. Rizzi 1982 and Jaeggli 1984 pursue an account of this contrast based on the claim that the subject in the NSLs is extracted not from the pre-verbal position but rather from the post-verbal position. Burzio (1986: 165) notes that subjects in Italian are *never* extracted from pre-verbal position. Consider the following Italian sentences:

- (4) a. *(Ne₁)sono cadute [tre —₁]
 NE are fallen three
 b. Tre (*ne) sono cadute.
 ‘Three of them have fallen’
- (5) a. Quante —₁ *(ne₁) sono cadute?
 how many NE are fallen
 ‘How many of them have fallen?’

(4b) shows that *ne*-cliticization is not compatible with a pre-verbal subject in Italian. The fact that only the inverted form (4a) has a Wh-moved counterpart shows that the subject *can't be* extracted from pre-verbal position. This conclusion reinforces Jaeggli's (1984) and Rizzi's (1982) hypothesis and raises the question why this peculiar property should cluster together with the Null Subject property.

According to most analyses, (Rizzi 1982, 1990, Burzio 1986, Belletti 1990, among many others) the preverbal subject in (2a) has been A-moved to Spec-IP. The apparent optionality of such a movement raises a problem for the principle of economy of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995). According to this principle, movement is a “last resort” operation and derivations containing superfluous steps are blocked by more economical derivations even if they converge. Thus, (2b) should block (2a), all other things being equal.

It has been often noted (Brito e Duarte 1983, Brito 1984, Âmbar 1988, Calabrese 1991, Saccon 1993, Pinto 1994, Samek-Lodovici 1994, Belletti and Shlonsky 1995) that the pre-verbal subject in (2a) has different discourse properties from the post-verbal subject in (2b): pre-verbal subjects are topics whereas post-verbal subjects are foci. Based on this observation, Saccon 1993, Pinto 1994, Adger 1995, Grimshaw & Samek-Lodovici 1995, Costa 1996, proposed that overt movement to Spec-IP in the NSLs is triggered by some ‘topic’ feature, so in reality (2a) and (2b) would have different “numerations”. Under this approach, the NSLs differ from the non-NSLs in the possibility of leaving foci subjects in situ, but, from a strictly configurational point of view, subject initial constructions in the NSLs do not differ substantially from subject initial constructions in the non-NSLs: in both cases the subject is raised to Spec-IP, an A-position.

In this paper, I will challenge the claim that subjects in the NSLs are ever raised to a pre-verbal A-position. I will argue that, in spite of appearances, there are significant structural differences between constructions with pre-verbal subjects in Italian/Catalan/Portuguese and French or English. I will claim that these contrasts can only be accounted for if we assume that the real A-position for lexical subjects in the

NSLs is the post-verbal position. Overt subject initial constructions in these languages are either instances of Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) (see Cinque 1991 for a thorough discussion of this construction) or instances of A'-movement of the subject. Thus, in (2b) the DP *Gianni* is the argumental subject, whereas in (2a) it is not. (2b) is derived via verb raising past the VP to a higher functional head. The subject remains inside the VP at spell-out (see Ordóñez 1995 and Costa 1996 among many others for arguments that the subject stays inside the VP in post-verbal subject constructions):

(6) [IP [I' telefona [VP Gianni t]]]

(2a) should be analysed as illustrated in (7). In (7) the DP *Gianni* is Clitic Left Dislocated, i.e., *base-generated* in an adjoined position and doubled by *pro*, the real subject argument:

(7) [IP Gianni_i [IP telefona *pro*_i ...]]

In (7) the DP *Gianni* is licensed by 'rules of predication', in the sense of Chomsky (1977). IP contains an 'open' position (*pro*, a pronominal category without independent reference) satisfied by the entity referred to by the dislocated DP (see Iatridou 1991 for the suggestion that Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) constructions are licensed by predication, and Raposo 1996 for a somewhat similar analysis of topicalization in Portuguese and English). In (7) the CLLDed DP is adjoined to IP, but it can also be adjoined to the projection that is the landing site for Wh-movement, subject to language particular restrictions (see Rizzi 1995 for an overview of the relative positioning of CLLDed phrases and Wh/Focus-movement in Italian; Sola 1992, Vallduvi (1992) for Catalan, Zubizarreta 1996 and Duarte 1987 for Portuguese).

In addition to (7), SVO order can also be derived by extracting the subject directly from the post-verbal position via A'-movement, as illustrated in (8):

(8) [Focused/QP Subject ... [I' [I V] [VP t]]]

I will argue that the subset of QPs that cannot be discourse topics, such as bare QPs, non-specific indefinite QPs, and affective operators in the sense of Klima 1964, are extracted by A'-movement whenever they precede the verb. In most of the Romance NSLs (with the exclusion of Portuguese), definite DPs can also be directly extracted by

A'-movement, in which case they must be stressed and bear contrastive focus, yielding the construction known as Focus Movement, illustrated below for Italian (see Torrego 1984 for Spanish, Bonet 1990, Vallduví 1992 and Sola 1992 for Catalan, Dobrovie-Sorin 1994 for Romanian and Cinque 1991, Rizzi 1995 for Italian) :

(9) GIANNI telefona (non Carlo)

Gianni (focus) calls (not C.)

Rizzi (1995) proposes that Focus movement and Wh-movement have the same landing site in Italian: the specifier position of a Focus Phrase, lower than embedded complementizers but higher than IP. Linguists working on Spanish (Contreras 1991, Uribe-Etxebarria 1991, Zubizarreta 1997), Catalan (Bonet 1990, Vallduví 1990, 1992, Sola 1992) and Romanian (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994) have argued that Focus movement and Wh-movement target Spec-IP in these languages. In line with Vallduví 1990, 1992 and Sola 1992, I will suggest that, since Spec-IP is free, given that it is not the landing site for A-movement in the NSLs, it is available as a landing site for A'-movement. In addition, I will propose that the Romance NSLs vary as to the structure of the left-periphery. An intermediate projection between embedded complementizers and IP is available in Italian and Portuguese (see also Culicover 1992, Martins 1994, Uriagereka 1995, Raposo 1994, 1996, Âmbar 1998), but apparently unavailable in Catalan and Spanish, as argued in the sources cited. In the case of Portuguese, both Spec-IP and the specifier of this intermediate position (FP) are available as possible landing sites for quantificational operator movement. Topics may be adjoined to IP or FP.

Even though (7) and (8) may look superficially similar, particularly in the case of bare QPs or negative QPs, which do not need to bear contrastive focus when they are moved to the front of the clause, they are radically different structures, with different properties. Whereas in (7) the subject has A'-properties, in (8) it doesn't, since, as will be discussed below, CLLD doesn't display any of the familiar A'-properties that can be detectable when the topic is anaphorically related with a subject: it doesn't display Weak-Cross-Over effects (Duarte 1987, Rizzi 1995, Raposo 1996), it doesn't license parasitic gaps (Duarte 1987, Raposo 1996), it doesn't obey subjacency and it doesn't reconstruct for the purposes of proper binding of the trace of cliticized *ne* (Cinque 1991). Another property of (7) that distinguishes it from (8) and from pre-verbal subject constructions in the non-NSLs is that the dislocated DP must be a discourse topic. Topichood follows straightforwardly from general properties of left-dislocation.

Under this approach, properties (1b) and (1c) of the cluster of features associated with

the Null Subject property are side effects of the same phenomenon. Since the real A-position for subjects is the post-verbal position, Wh-movement is expected to take place from this position and no other; as for the SV/VS alternation, it results from the CLLD option, which is independently available. This enables us to pose new questions regarding the Null Subject property, namely why the NSLs should be verb initial. I will not attempt to answer this question here (but see Barbosa 1995).

This overall analysis has a lot in common with previous proposals by Rigau 1987, Contreras 1991, Bonet 1990, Vallduví 1990, 1992, Solà 1992, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1996, and more recently, Pollock 1996.

My line of argumentation will be the following. I will examine the patterns of clitic placement in European Portuguese (henceforth EP) and I will argue that the alternations between cl-V and V-cl order in subject initial constructions can only be accounted for once the analysis just sketched is assumed. In so doing, I will be introducing data from Catalan and Romanian that reinforce this analysis. Then I will discuss certain restrictions on the distribution of pre-verbal subjects in inflected infinitival complements of epistemic and declarative verbs in EP. I will argue that these facts constitute independent evidence for the claim that pre-verbal subjects do not raise to an A-position in EP. Finally, I will discuss certain asymmetries regarding adnominal *en/ne*-cliticization from subjects in French and in Italian/Catalan. I will claim that these can only be explained once the analysis developed for EP is extended to all of the Romance NSLs.

2. Clitic Placement in European Portuguese

2.1. Introduction

In most Romance languages, pronominal clitics immediately precede the verb in finite clauses. In European Portuguese, however, a structure equivalent to the Spanish example in (10) (with clitic-verb order) is ruled out:

- (10) **Lo** vio Juan.
‘Juan saw him’ [Spanish]
- (11) a. ***O** viu o João. [Portuguese]
HIM saw the J.
‘John saw him’
b. **Viu-o** o João.

In EP the position of the clitic with respect to the verb varies according to context. Thus, enclisis is obligatory with most pre-verbal subjects (cf. 12). When the subject belongs to a subset of quantified expressions, such as bare or negative quantifiers, proclisis is required:

- (12) A Maria viu-o / *o viu.
 the Maria saw-HIM / HIM saw
 ‘Maria saw him’
- (13) Nenhum aluno /alguém o viu
 no student someone saw HIM
 ‘No student/ someone saw him’

The following is an overview of the different patterns found.

2.2. Overview of Clitic Placement in European Portuguese

2.2.1. Contexts of Enclisis

- (14) *Verb initial utterances*
 *O viu / viu-o o João.
 HIM saw the J.
 ‘John saw him’
- (15) *Preverbal subjects with the exclusion of certain QPs to be mentioned below:*
- a. O Pedro viu-o/ *o viu
 the Pedro saw-him/ him saw
- b. Um aluno viu-a/ *a viu
 a student saw-HER/ her saw
- (16) *Topics:*
 Esses livros, dei-os/ *os dei à Maria.
 those books, I-gave-them/*them I-gave to Maria
 ‘Those books, I gave them to Maria’
- (17) *Sentential adverbs*
 Geralmente vejo-a/ *a vejo de manhã
 Generally see-1-SGher/ *her see-1-SG the morning
 ‘Usually, I see her in the morning.’

2.2.2. Contexts of Proclisis

I. *Embedded clauses:*

- (18) Eu duvido que ele a visse.
I doubt that he her see-Past-Subj

II. *Whenever the following elements precede the verb:*

(19) *Bare QPs*

Ninguém / alguém o viu.
noone /someone him saw
'Noone/someone saw him'

(20) *Non-specific indefinite QPs*

Algum aluno se esqueceu do livro
Some student SE forgot of-the book.
'Some student forgot the book'

(21) *Affective operators in the sense of Klima 1964*

a. *Negative QPs:*

Nenhum aluno se esqueceu do livro
No student SE forgot of-the book.
'No student forgot the book'

b. *DPs modified by a Focus particle:*

Só o Pedro o viu
only the Peter him saw
'Only Peter saw him'

(22) *Wh-phrases*

Quem o viu?
who him saw
'Who saw him?'

(23) *Sentential negation and aspectual adverbs in pre-verbal position*

- a. O João não a viu.
the John not her see/*see her
'John didn't see her'
- b. O Pedro já / nunca o viu.
the Peter already/ never him saw
'Peter already/never saw him'

This pattern of clitic placement has many properties in common with that observed in

different varieties of medieval Romance (see Martins 1994 and Barbosa 1996 for extensive discussion). The restrictions on clitic placement in medieval Romance have been argued to fall under the larger phenomenon of ‘directional clitics’, which also includes ‘Second position’ (2P) clitics, widely attested cross-linguistically (Halpern 1992, Halpern & Fontana 1994, Benincà 1991, Fontana 1996, Barbosa 1996, Hock 1996). In the next section I will give a brief overview of some recent studies of this class of clitics.

2.3. The Ban against First Position Clitics

As noted by Adolf Tobler (1889), atonic pronouns never stood in initial position in Old French: if the group of verb and pronoun object began a sentence, the pronoun always followed the verb and was enclitic. The following are examples taken from Old French, but the same is true of other early Romance dialects, such as Provençal, Italian, Romanian, Spanish, and Portuguese.

- (24) a. Li reis **me** veit. [Old French: Ramsden, 1963]
 the kings me see
 b. Veit **me** li reis.
 c. ***me** veit li reis

There are no instances of clitic-first in OR, a phenomenon that has been known in the literature as the Tobler-Mussafia Law (see Ramsden 1963, Lema and Rivero 1990, Rivero 1991, Benincà 1991, Cardinaletti & Roberts 1991, Halpern 1992, Halpern & Fontana 1994, Wanner 1996, Fontana 1996). In modern EP the same generalization applies, although the situation is slightly different: only quantified subjects trigger cl-V order.

Halpern 1992, Halpern & Fontana 1994, Fontana 1996, Barbosa 1996, Hock 1996 suggested that the alternations in clitic placement in Old Romance are related to a larger phenomenon that also includes Second Position (2P) clitics - elements that tend to appear in second position in the clause. This is illustrated in the Serbo-Croatian examples in (25). Serbo-Croatian allows essentially free ordering of the major constituents of a clause, but the sentential clitics always come second.

- (25) a. čovek=je voleo Mariju
 man AUX loved Mary
 b. Voleo=je Mariju čovek
 c. čovek=je Mariju voleo

‘The man loved Mary’

[Halpern, 1992: 1]

Second Position clitics are observed in a number of languages across the world (see Halpern & Zwicky 1996 and the references cited there for extensive discussion). An increasing body of literature shows that the placement of 2P clitics cannot be entirely explained in syntactic terms, but that prosodic facts need to be considered as well (see Tegey 1977, Zec and Inkelas 1990, Halpern 1992, Hock 1992, 1996, Percus 1993, Schutze 1994). Halpern 1992 (see also Halpern & Fontana 1994) argues that what Old Romance has in common with languages with 2P clitics is a constraint operating in Prosodic structure (P-structure) that bars a clitic from being the first element within a defined prosodic domain. Schematically:

(26) * [Y cl W] where Y ranges over a particular prosodic domain

Inspired in work by Inkelas 1989, Halpern 1992 took the descriptive generalization in (26) to be due to the fact that 2P clitics are directional clitics in the sense that they must adjoin to a Prosodic Word to their left:

(27) [[]_w cl]_w

When the syntax places some constituent in front of the clitic (within this domain), nothing happens. When no element with a phonetic matrix precedes the clitic, then the derivation is barred in P-structure and the clitic is forced to surface in a position other than that assigned to it by the syntax, namely to the right of the adjacent word. The process that positions the clitic after the first prosodic word in the string takes place at an intermediate level between syntax and PF and is labelled by Halpern as Prosodic Inversion (but see Sadock 1991 and Marantz 1989 for different ways of implementing this):

(28) clitic*X*Y X*clitic*Y

To illustrate how his analysis works for the Old French examples given above, the assumption is that, in the syntax, verbal clitics are left adjacent to finite V:

(29) a. Li reis **me** veit
 the kings me see
 ‘The kings see me’
 b. ***Me** veit li reis

When P-structure is built, (29b) is ruled out in violation of (26). Prosodic inversion then applies as a ‘last resort’ operation, yielding (30):

(30) Veit **me** lei reis

Lema and Rivero 1990, Rivero 1991, Benincà 1991 and Cardinaletti & Roberts 1991 propose instead that enclisis is derived via verb movement in the syntax.

In Barbosa (1991, 1993, 1996) I defended the view that a prosodic constraint along the lines of (26) (a slightly modified version of Halpern’s (27)) is also operative in modern Portuguese. In Barbosa 1996, however, I argued against the idea that enclisis is derived from an underlyingly proclitic structure via last-resort movement (in P-structure or in the syntax), but is rather an alternative derivation altogether, that is chosen when proclisis crashes at the PF-interface. In the next section, I will briefly review some arguments in support to the claim that prosody is the key to the understanding of the distribution of EP clitics.

2.4. Arguments for a Prosodic Account of the Alternations between Enclisis and Proclisis

Most researchers working on modern EP have proposed a purely syntactic account of clitic placement (Madeira 1992, Rouveret 1992, Martins 1994, Uriagereka 1995, Duarte & Matos 1995). In fact, the relation between enclisis and prosody in EP is not quite transparent: examples such as (24) above are bad in EP and require enclisis. However, the complexity of the facts is such that it is very hard to pin point a single syntactic generalisation that might be driving these alternations. One might attempt to define the contexts of proclisis in terms of the notion “operator”, given that negation, aspectual adverbs and certain QPs trigger proclisis. However, prepositional complementizers also trigger proclisis and they are not operators. On the other hand, null operators are not proclisis triggers. A case in point are yes/no questions. In yes/no questions in Germanic a null operator counts as a first position for V-second, i.e., empty operators matter as much as phrases with a phonological matrix. This is not so in the case of clitic placement in EP, where yes/no questions trigger V-cl order, thus behaving as if null operators were irrelevant:

(31) a. Viste-a / * a viste?
saw-her
'Did you see her?'

Thus, what appears to be relevant here is whether there is *material with a phonological matrix* preceding the cl/V complex, which suggests that the constraint is phonological.

The relevance of a prosodic condition on clitic placement is also defended in Frota and Vigário 1996. Working within the framework of Prosodic Phonology, these authors note that it is sometimes possible to have enclisis in embedded contexts as long as there is an Intonational Phrase (IntP) boundary between what they take to be the “trigger” of proclisis and the clitic.

Barbosa 1996 brings cross-linguistic evidence that indirectly supports the adequacy of Halpern’s prosodic hypothesis when applied to EP. As mentioned there, Halpern’s constraint predicts the possibility of the existence of a language where violations of (26) might be ‘fixed’ in some way other than by switching to enclisis. For instance, in the case of a language that has two clitic forms with the same syntax but a different phonetic shape, one reduced and prosodically constrained and the other not so constrained, one would predict the reduced form to be barred in just those environments where V-cl order occurs in EP. Barbosa 1996 claims that Megleno-Romance, a Balkan language spoken in some villages north-west of Thessaloniki in Greece, studied by Campos 1994, is such a language. In what follows I will briefly review Campos’s data, since it will prove to be essential to a proper understanding of clitic placement in EP.

As reported in Campos 1994, some pronominal clitics in Megleno-Romance have full and reduced forms:

(32) Direct Objects

	FULL	REDUCED
1sg	mi	
2sg	ti	
3sg M	la	
F	au	-u
1pl	na	
2pl	va	
3pl M	va	
F	li	

(33) Indirect Objects

	FULL	REDUCED
1sg	ã	-ñ
2sg	ats	-ts
3sg M	ai	-i
F	ai	-i
1pl	na	
2pl	va	
3pl M	la	
F	fla	

The reduced forms **-u** 'her, it-fem' and **-i** 'to him/her' are never found in sentence initial position. Instead, the full clitics **au** and **ai** appear:

- (34) **Ai**/***i** zízila bábâ ...
her told to grandmother
'He told his grandmother.' [Campos 1994, p.3]

The full forms **au** 'her, it-fem' and **ai** 'him/her-indirect-object' are used:

a. *at the beginning of an utterance or after a pause:*

- (35) **Au** lo mullárea, **au** anvii an ruguzinâ
her took woman-the, her wrapped in rug
'He took the woman (and) wrapped her with a rug.' [Campos 1994, p.8]

b. *after the subject:*

- (36) Túntsea ampirátu **au** scuIasi ctíia di tâtun
Then king-the it-fem took box-the of tobacco
'Then the king took the tobacco box.' [Campos 1994, p.8]

c. *after a dislocated element*

- (37) a. Iuâ Lámña **au** flai ...
I Monster-the her found
'I found the monster'
b. ...si la niviâstâ **ai** fuzí búlu din cap.
and to bride her took-out veil-the from head
'...He removed the bride's veil' [Campos 1994, p.8]

The reduced clitics appear in environments that are very reminiscent of those in which we find proclisis in European Portuguese:

a. *after the complementizer ca 'that', and the relative complementizer tsi'*

- (38) a. Fiâsi ca u grisó.
Made that her forgot
'He faked that he did not remember her.' [Campos 1994, p.5]
- b. Ma fichúru tsi u talchó ...
But boy-the that her killed ...
'But the boy who killed her ...'
[Campos 1994, p.5]

b. *after the subjunctive marker si:*

- (39) Ram kinisíts s-u lom niviâsta Si
had left SUBJ her take bride-the and ...
'We had left to take the bride and ...' [Campos 1994, p.4]

c. *after the conditional ácu 'if'*

- (40) Acu u liâu fiâta ...
if her take girl-the
'If I take the girl ...' [Campos 1994, p.5]

d. *after the adverb con 'when',*

- (41) Con u dâzvii, flo un niniâl.
when it-fem unfolded, found a ring
'When she unfolded it, she found a ring.' [Campos 1994, p. 6]

e. *after the conjunction câ 'because':*

- (42) ... câ u prisâri cúla mai depârti ...
... because it-fem jumped castle-the more far
'... because he jumped further than the castle ...' [Campos 1994, p. 6]

f. *after the negative nu 'not'*

- (43) Tsîsta uom âri una fiâtâ tsi an lúmi nu u lasâ s-iasâ
This man has a daughter who to world not her lets SUBJ-go out

g. after an *emphatic subject*:

- (44) Rápu zísi ca: “Iuâ u talchoi Lámña!”
Arab-the said that: I her killed ogre-the
‘The Arab said: ‘I killed the ogre.’ [Campos 1994, p. 6]

A purely syntactic account of the alternations between the weak and strong forms of the pronoun in Megleno-Romance is very hard to maintain: in the direct object paradigm, for instance, there is one weak form for the feminine singular and no weak form for the masculine. Thus, the restrictions on the distribution of these otherwise undistinguishable elements can only be accounted for in the prosody and Halpern’s constraint in (26) yields the right results when applied to the reduced forms.

Now what is relevant for our present purposes is to note that the environments that condition the distribution of the different clitic forms in Megleno-Romance are *remarkably* similar to the environments that condition the proclisis/enclisis alternations in EP. Since, in order to account for Megleno-Romance, we need some PF interface constraint akin to Halpern’s (26), and the facts discussed above also suggest that prosody appears to be relevant in EP, it is very tempting to assume that in EP too a similar constraint is at work. By hypothesis, enclisis would be EP’s ‘answer’ to violations of (26); Megleno Romance, by contrast, would have the option of realizing the strong form in that context.

In earlier work, I have proposed that the following prosodic constraint is operative in EP:

- (45) *_[IntP cl V ...] IntP = Intonational Phrase

According to the theory of prosodic domains developed in work by Selkirk 1980, 1981, 1986, Nespor and Vogel 1986 among others, the output of the syntactic component is submitted to a set of phonological phrasing rules, which rebracket and relabel the structure to form a purely phonological bracketing. Prosodic structure is hierarchically organized in categories of different types: syllable, prosodic word, phonological phrase, intonational phrase, utterance. In this vein, (45) says that the clitic is barred from appearing at the left edge of the prosodic constituent that immediately dominates the Prosodic Phrase (↖), the Intonational Phrase domain.

As mentioned, Inkelas 1989 and Halpern 1992 proposed that 2P clitics are directional clitics in the sense that they must adjoin to a Prosodic Word to their left. In Barbosa 1996 I discussed some arguments against the enclitic nature of EP clitics and argued for the

weaker version stated in (45), which simply says that EP clitics cannot be initial in the IntP. This claim presupposes that the IntP initial position in EP is a “strong” position in that it imposes particular requirements on prosodic words that sit at its left edge. In effect there is independent evidence internal to EP that suggest that the left-edge of the IntP is strong in the sense just described.

Frota (p.c.) observes that certain function words in EP have two different realizations depending on whether they are right-adjacent to an IntP boundary or not. Consider the example in (46) and the two different Prosodic-structures that may be assigned to it:

- (46) As angolanas ofereceram especiarias ao jornalista.
 the girls from Angola offered spices to-the journalist
- (47) a. [[As angolanas]_↗ [ofereceram especiarias] ↘ [ao jornalista]_↗]_I
 b. [[As angolanas] ↘ [ofereceram especiarias] ↗]_I [[ao jornalista]_↗]_I

In (47b), where the function word ao is immediately to the right of an IntP boundary, it is pronounced as [aw], the form that corresponds to the pronunciation of the word in isolation. In (47a) it is pronounced as [o]. This observation has led Frota to suggest that there is a correlation between the strong form and right-adjacency to an IntP boundary. Thus, it appears that the IntP-initial position is some sort of ‘strong’ position in EP.

Interestingly, the [aw]/[o] alternation noted by Frota is rather similar to the alternations between the reduced and strong forms of Megleno-Romance clitics. Since, as noted, the environments that block the weak form are roughly the same as the environments that block the proclitic form in EP, and we have independent evidence that the IntP boundary is a “strong” position, we conclude that (45) is rather plausible. Clitics are non-stressed items so it is not surprising that they should be banned from occurring at the right-edge of an IntP boundary if this position is “strong”.

The Megleno-Romance facts also bear on a long standing issue in the literature on clitic placement in EP, namely the question whether proclisis is “triggered” by context, enclisis being the “basic” option. Thus, both Frota & Vigário (1996) and Duarte & Matos (1995) propose that enclisis is “undone” in the context of a trigger that consists of a class of items that includes “operator-like” elements, according to the latter, or “function words which have the phonological status of prosodic words”, according to the former. If the distribution of the Megleno-Romance reduced form is to be put in parallel with the distribution of proclisis in EP, as we think it should in view of the similarity of the environments in which both occur, then the environments in question have no “undoing” effect on a basic enclitic form. In Megleno-Romance both clitic forms are proclitics.

When the right environment is not met, the non-reduced form is chosen. Likewise, in standard EP enclisis emerges when the derivation with proclisis crashes in the PF-interface. This approach has the added advantage of being in line with the extensive body of literature on 2P clitics. Assuming that proclisis in EP is derived from enclisis would set EP clitics apart from the bulk of languages that display similar alternations. In the next section I will show how these leading ideas can be implemented in a more precise way.

2.5. The analysis

In the syntax, proclitics are placed in the checking domain of the inflectional head to which the verb raises.

(48) cl ... [_{Infl} V] ...]

Barbosa (1996) argues that proclitics do not adjoin to the head containing the verb, but are rather adjoined to IP. Since the arguments that led to that proposal are quite complex and are not directly relevant to the main purposes of this paper, I will simply assume here that the clitic is adjoined to the Infl head that contains the clitic.

(45), repeated here as (49), stars every P-structure in which no phonetic material precedes the clitic within the IntP domain containing it:

(49) *_[IntP cl V ...] IntP = Intonational Phrase

This accounts for the impossibility of (50a) in opposition to (50b):

- (50) a. ***O** viu o João.
 HIM saw the J.
 ‘John saw him’
 b. Quem o viu?
 who HIM saw
 ‘Who saw him?’

(50b) has the following (partial) P-structure, where the constraint in (49) is not violated:

(51) [IntP quem o viu]

The representation in (51) converges at the PF-interface. (50a), by contrast, is assigned a P-structure in which (49) is violated:

(52) * [IntP o viu]

By (49), (52) is not a well-formed P-structure, so the derivation ‘crashes’ at the PF interface. An alternative derivation is then chosen in which the clitic, rather than being positioned in the checking domain of Infl, directly moves from its base position inside the VP shell to an intermediate functional head through which the verb raises on its way to Infl (AgrO or Asp) (see Barbosa 1996a for discussion, and Barbosa 1996b for the idea that right adjunction for head movement is allowed in the grammar, contrary to Kayne 1995; see also Duarte and Matos 1995 for the idea that enclisis is derived low in the structure). This yields (53b):

(53) a. [IP ... [_{ASP} [_{Asp} viu] o] [VP o João ...t ...]]
 b. Viu-o.

When mapped into prosodic structure (53) will not violate the filter in (49). Now consider P-structures of derivations containing sentential negation:

(54) a. Não a vi
 not her see-1SG
 ‘I didn’t see her’
 b. P-structure: [IntP não a vi]

In constructions with sentential negation the proclitic doesn’t find itself in initial position within the IntP, so the derivation converges, barring the ‘last resort’ option that would yield enclisis.

Now we turn to the question why CLLD should require enclisis:

(55) *Esse livro o dei ao Pedro.
 that book it gave to-the P.

A number of researchers working in Prosodic Phonology have argued that topics are mapped into Intonational Phrases of their own (Nespor and Vogel 1986, Kanerva 1990, Halpern 1992, Frota 1995). Thus, (55) has the P-structure in (56):

(56) [IntP Esses livros] [IntP os dei à Maria.]

(56) crashes, since it violates the constraint in (49). An alternative derivation is then chosen, with enclisis.

2.6. Subject initial constructions

In subject initial constructions the position of the clitic varies according to the nature of the subject. If the subject is a bare quantifier, the universal quantifier, a negative QP or a DP modified by a focus operator, proclisis emerges; enclisis is obligatorily found in all other cases. I will be adopting the term “quantificational operator” to refer to this rather heterogeneous set of QPs. This term is borrowed from Vallduví (1992) for reasons that will become clear below.

The similarities between the distribution of the strong form in Megleno-Romance and enclisis in EP are particularly striking in the case of subjects. Although Campos doesn't discuss quantified subjects, he observes that there is a contrast between emphatic and non-emphatic subjects. The reduced form is possible only when the subject is emphatic. Continuing to establish a correlation between proclisis in EP and choice of the reduced form in Megleno-Romance, we note that emphatic subjects in Megleno-Romance pattern with the restricted group of quantified expressions that trigger proclisis in EP. In addition, the following generalization emerges: the pattern of cliticization found with CLLDed objects is the pattern observed with neutral (non-quantificational) subjects in pre-verbal subject position.

Yet another significant observation is that in EP CLLD is barred with the set of expressions that require proclisis: bare quantifiers, negative quantifiers, non-specific indefinite QPs and DPs modified by focus operators cannot be doubled by a resumptive clitic, as shown below.

- (57) a. *Nada posso dar-to/ to dar
nothing I can give-it-to-you
b. *Alguém posso vê-lo/ o ver amanhã
someone I-can see him tomorrow
c. *Nenhuns alunos, vi-os/ os viontem
no students I-saw-them/ them saw yesterday

- d. *Até o Pedro, vi-o/ o vi ontem
even Peter I-saw-him yesterday
- e. *Algum aluno, devo-o/ o devo ter prejudicado, mas não sei qual.
some student I-must have damaged, but I don't know which one

Note that although the QPs in (57) cannot be doubled by a clitic, they can be fronted leaving a gap in their base position. In this case proclisis is the only option.

- (58) a. Nada_i te posso dar e_i
nothing_i you I-can give e_i

'I can give you nothing'
- b. Alguém_i / algum aluno ela viu e_i, mas não sei quem.
someone_i some student she saw e_i but not I-know who

'She saw someone/some student, but I don't know who'
- c. Nenhuma resposta_i me deram e_i até hoje.
no answer e_i to me they-gave e_i until today
- d. Até com o Pedro ela se zangou e_i.
even with the Peter e_i she SE argued e_i

'She argued even with Peter'

We thus arrive at the following generalizations:

- (59) a. CLLD requires enclisis in opposition to quantificational operator-fronting, which requires proclisis.
- b. The set of expressions that “trigger” proclisis (independently of their status of subjects or objects) coincides with the set of expressions that cannot be Clitic-Left-Dislocated.

Before I elaborate on the consequences that (59b) has for a theory of subject positions, I will first concentrate on (59a). I will start by briefly reviewing the properties that distinguish CLLD from Focus-movement and quantificational operator movement in most of Romance. These are well documented for Italian (Cinque 1991, Rizzi 1995), Spanish (Torrego 1984, Laka 1990, Contreras 1991, Zubizarreta 1996) and Catalan (Vallduví 1992, Sola 1992, Bonet 1990). Then I will discuss the implications that these analyses have for Portuguese, a language that displays yet another kind of constituent

fronting, more akin to English topicalization (Duarte 1987, Martins 1994, Raposo 1994, 1996). Finally, I will show how the results of this investigation combine with our theory of clitic placement in EP to yield the different patterns of clitic placement observed with constituent fronting.

2.6.1. CLLD, Focus-movement and Quantificational operator movement

The topic comment articulation in Romance is commonly expressed by the construction that Cinque 1991 has labelled Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD). In this construction, the topic constituent is placed in the front of the clause and is resumed by a clitic coreferential with it. Cinque 1990 argued that CLLD involves *base-generation* of the dislocated topic in an adjoined position wherefrom it is linked to the clitic pronoun inside the clause. The basis of his argumentation is a systematic comparison with another Italian construction that I will label Focus-movement (after Uriagereka 1995, Rizzi 1995, Raposo 1996). In Italian, Focus-movement expresses the focus-presupposition articulation and consists in preposing the focal element and assigning it special stress:

- (60) IL TUO LIBRO ho letto (, non il suo)
 ‘Your book (focus) I have read (not his)’ [Rizzi 1995]

According to Rizzi 1995 this option is restricted to contrastive focus. Other Romance languages that have been described to have equivalents to (60) are Romanian (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994), Spanish (Torrego 1984, Laka 1990, Contreras 1991, Uribe-Etxebarria 1991, Zubizarreta 1996) and Catalan (Vallduví 1992, Sola 1992, Bonet 1990).

A number of properties distinguish CLLD from Focus. As discussed in Cinque 1991, all of them point to the conclusion that Focus involves Wh-movement whereas CLLD doesn't. The main superficial difference is that a 'resumptive' clitic is impossible with a focalized object but is obligatory with a CLLD object. Secondly, CLLD doesn't give rise to Weak-Cross-over effects, even though such effects are detectable with Focus (Rizzi's 1995 judgements):

- (61) a. Gianni₁, sua₁ madre lo₁ ha sempre apprezzato.
 ‘Gianni, his mother always appreciated him’
 b. ??GIANNI₁ sua₁ madre ha sempre apprezzato t₁ (non Piero)
 ‘Gianni his mother always appreciated (not Peter)’

Another piece of evidence that led Cinque to the conclusion that CLLD should not be analysed as involving Wh-movement is provided by another diagnostic for Wh-movement in Italian, *ne*-cliticization. As discussed in Belletti and Rizzi 1981 and Rizzi 1982, partitive *ne* is obligatory when the QP it is associated with is in object position:

- (62) *(Ne_i) ho smarrite [quattro e_i] (di quelle lettere) [Cinque 1991:69]
of-them (I) lost four (of those letters)

Whenever the QP is in preverbal subject position or CLLDed, *ne* is obligatorily absent:

- (63) a. [Quattro t_i] (*ne_i) sono andate smarrite.
four NE are gone lost
b. [Quattro]_i credo che [le_i abbiano smarrite]. [Cinque 1991:70]
four I-think that them they-have lost

By contrast, the obligatoriness of *ne* is preserved under *Wh*-movement and Focus-movement:

- (64) a. Quante pietre hai preso?
how many stones have-you taken
b. *Quante hai preso?
how many have-you taken
(Compare **Ho preso tre* 'I have taken three.')
- c. Quante *ne* hai prese?
how many of-them have-you taken
(Compare *Ne ho prese tre* 'I have taken three of them') [Cinque 1991: 69]
- (65) a. *Ne* ha invitati molti.
of-them has invited many
b. MOLTI, *ne* ha invitati.
many of them has invited
c. *MOLTI, ha invitato/ invitati.
many has invited

The fact that Focus movement patterns with Wh-movement with respect to the obligatoriness of *ne* suggests that it involves A'-movement. Assuming that the trace of *ne*

needs to be properly bound, it is bound under reconstruction. (63b) shows that CLLD is incompatible with *ne*. This can be explained if CLLD doesn't involve movement, but rather base-generation of the topic in front of the clause and some rule of construal between it and the resumptive clitic. In this configuration there is no source for *ne*:

- (66) [Quattro]_i [credo che [le_i abbiamo smarrite]]
 four I-think that them they-have lost

Duarte 1987 and Raposo 1996 discuss other properties that conspire against a movement analysis of CLLD: CLLD doesn't obey subadjacency and doesn't license parasitic gaps. I will not review those facts here, but I refer the reader to the sources cited for illustration.

Regarding Focus movement, I will follow Rizzi 1995 in assuming that Focus involves A'-movement to Spec, FP, where FP is a head located between C and IP:

- (67) a. [FP GIANNI [F' ho visto t]]
 Gianni (focus) I have seen

In Italian CLLDed constituents may appear to the right or to the left of Focus. Iatridou 1991, Raposo 1996 propose that the topic comment articulation is licensed by "rules of predication" (Chomsky 1977) that require that the topic be 'base-generated' in a position of adjunction to the XP that is predicated of it. Rizzi 1995, by contrast, assumes that topics in general are introduced by a Topic Phrase headed by a Top head which 'defines a kind of "higher predication"'. I will return to this issue below, but before I do that, a few words are in order regarding Focus fronting and certain quantificational operators.

2.6.2. Quantificational Operators

Cinque notes that when the fronted object is a bare quantifier (*qualcosa* 'something', *qualcuno* 'someone', etc.) though not if it is a quantified NP (*qualche N'*/*alcuni N'* 'some N', *molti N'* 'many N', etc.), the resumptive pronoun may be missing:

- (68) a. Qualcuno, (lo) troveremo.
 someone (him) we-will-find

- b. Qualcosa, di sicuro, io (la) farò
 something for sure I it will-I-do
- (69) a. Qualche errore, Carlo *(lo) ha fatto.
 some error Carlo (it) has made
- b. Alcuni libri, *(li) ho comperati.
 some books (them) I-have bought.

According to Cinque, the presence or absence of the clitic in (68-69) is not optional and correlates with a difference in the interpretation of the quantifier. If the speaker has something or someone specific in mind the clitic is required. If the interpretation is ‘something or other’ or ‘someone unspecified’, the clitic is *obligatorily absent*. Cinque proceeds to observe that constructions such as those in (68) — without a resumptive clitic— are subject to weak islands, contrary to CLLD constructions. This suggests that these constructions involve (successive cyclic) movement of the bare quantifier rather than base-generation, i.e., they are instances of A’-movement. This analysis is illustrated in (70b) below for the example (70a) where the bare QP is nonspecific:

- (70) a. Qualcuno, troveremo
 someone we will find
- b. [_{FP} Qualcuno [_{F'} troveremo t]]

(70) is just like (67) *without focal stress* on the moved constituent. According to Rizzi 1995, the QPs that are incompatible with a resumptive clitic can be focused. However, Cinque’s description suggests that the QPs that are incompatible with a resumptive clitic behave differently from the other DPs in that they do not necessarily need to bear contrastive focus when extracted by A’-movement. We thus arrive at the following picture for Italian: there are in principle two ways of putting an object at the front of the clause — CLLD and Focus movement. Focus movement is an instance of A’-movement, but CLLD doesn’t pass any of the diagnostics for movement: it doesn’t display Weak-Cross-Over effects, it doesn’t license parasitic-gaps, it doesn’t obey subadjacency, it doesn’t reconstruct for the purposes of the Proper Binding Condition. CLLD expresses the topic comment articulation. For this reason, CLLDed constituents must be capable of referring to some contextually salient object or set of objects. Thus it is not surprising that QPs that lack a lexical restriction, nonspecific indefinites, or negative QPs cannot be CLLDed. They can be fronted by

A'-movement, though, but in this case they do not need to bear contrastive focus, unlike other nominal expressions.

Vallduví's 1992 work on Catalan reinforces the picture just described. In Catalan, negative quantifiers and certain other quantifiers which are roughly the same class that triggers proclisis in EP must be string adjacent to the verb when fronted. In this, they behave like fronted Wh-phrases and differently from CLLDed phrases, which do not need to be string adjacent to V. Consider a typical CLLD construction in Catalan (Vallduví 1992: 127):

- (71) [El sou]₁ [a la gent]₂ no l₁'hi₂ regalen.
the pay to the people not it to-them give-3Pl
'They don't give the pay to people for free.'

The two fronted constituents can be freely switched around:

- (72) [a la gent]₂ [el sou]₁ no l₁'hi₂ regalen.

Vallduví shows that if one of the two lefthand phrases is a negative quantifier, the linear order among the phrases is not free anymore (note that in Catalan a negative bare quantifier can be doubled by a clitic while still displaying this restriction):

- (73) a. El sou a ningú (no) l'hi regalen.
'They don't give the pay to anyone for free.'
b. *A ningú el sou (no) l'hi regalen.

Subject negative quantifiers behave alike, as shown by the comparison of examples (74) and (75). In (74) subject and object may be switched around freely:

- (74) a. Els dolents l'empresa no els vol
the bad-ones the company no them want
'The company doesn't want the bad ones'
b. L' empresa els dolents no els vol

When the subject is a negative quantifier, as in the sentences below, left-adjacency to the verbal string is required again:

- (75) a. Els dolents ningú (no) els vol
 Noone wants the bad ones.'
 b. *Ningú els dolens (no) els vol

Vallduví concludes the following: 'It is clear, then, that these negative quantifiers do not appear in the typical IP-adjunction slot left-detached phrases appear in, but rather in a position within IP which is left-adjacent to the verbal string. The left-adjacency requirement for *ningú* in (15) [our (75)] has nothing to do with the grammatical status as a subject, as shown by the fact that it also applies in (14) [our (74)], where *ningú* is an indirect object. It is rather its status as a quantificational operator that appears to determine its inability to allow other lefthand phrases between itself and the verbal string. (Vallduví 1992: 328)'. According to Vallduví this adjacency requirement doesn't affect all QPs, but a subset of them that includes *poques N*' ('few N'), *alguna cosa* 'something', *tothom* 'everyone', among others. These latter QPs do not bind a clitic within IP, unlike *ningú* above.

Vallduví further observes that fronted Wh-phrases are subject to the same adjacency restriction, which applies in matrix as well as embedded questions. In addition, the QPs in question are in complementary distribution with a pre-verbal wh-phrase:

- (76) a. Què_i no regalen t_i a ningú?
 what not give 3PL to no-one
 'What don't they give to anyone for free?'
 b. *Què a ningú (no) li regalen?
 c. *A ningú què (no) li regalen?
 (77) a. Qui farà poques coses?
 who do-FUT-3SG few things
 'Who'll do few things?'
 b. *Qui poques coses farà ?
 c. *Poques coses qui farà ?

It is clear that these QPs and Wh-phrases occupy the same position. In view of the fact that this position must be string adjacent to the verb, but lower than complementizers, Vallduví suggests that it is Spec-IP. Schematically:

- (78) [_{CP} C [_{IP} XP [_{IP}wh\ +Op QP [_{I'} [_I V] ...t]]]]

XP stands for left-adjoined topics and Spec-IP is filled by either a fronted Wh-phrase or a fronted quantificational operator, regardless of its status as subject or object. Vallduví follows previous proposals according to which Catalan's basic order is VOS (Adams 1987, Bonet 1990, Contreras 1991), so Spec-IP is empty and available for this role as a quantifier-related position.

Thus, there is a subset of quantificational expressions that are fronted by A'-movement without requiring contrastive Focus. Vallduví refers to these QPs as "quantificational operators" and describes them as being incapable of functioning as "links". A "link phrase" 'points to the file card that it denotes in the file-structured knowledge-store of the hearer and selects it among the sentence participants as the sole point of information entry. (Vallduví 1992b:335)' The expressions that cannot serve as link phrases range over QPs without a lexical restriction, nonspecific indefinites and +affective operators.

To sum up, I conclude that both Focus fronting and fronting of quantificational operators involve A'-movement. For Italian, I follow Rizzi 1995 in assuming that Focus movement targets Spec-FP, since topics may appear to the right of Focus:

- (79) A Gianni, QUESTO, domani, gli dovrete dire
'To Gianni, THIS, tomorrow, you should tell him'

Regarding Spanish and Catalan, the strict adjacency that is required between a focused constituent and the inflected verb (see Laka 1991, Bonet 1990, Uribe-Etxebarria 1991, Contreras 1991 and Zubizarreta 1996) suggests that Focus targets Spec-IP, like Wh-movement and movement of quantificational operators. Vallduví 1992a argues that focus-preposed focus constituents are syntactically distinct from preposed quantificational operators (including wh-operators) despite the apparent similarity between the two. I will not go into that issue here. As will be noted below, Portuguese lacks the former kind constituent fronting even though it has the latter (Duarte 1987, Raposo 1996), a fact that indirectly confirms Vallduví's suggestion that the two kinds of movement should be distinguished. Before I turn to Portuguese, however, I will address the issue of whether CLLD involves adjunction to XP or rather recursive Topic Phrases

2.6.3. Base-generated adjunction or recursive Topic Phrases?

As mentioned above, Iatridou 1991, Raposo 1996 propose that the topic comment articulation is licensed by “rules of predication” (Chomsky 1977) that require that the topic be “base-generated” in a position of adjunction to the XP that is predicated of it. In the spirit of Kayne 1994, Rizzi 1995, assumes that topics in general (CLLDed topics included) are introduced by the usual X-bar schema: a Topic Phrase headed by a Top head which ‘defines a kind of “higher predication”’. Raposo 1996 makes the more radical proposal that the topic and its associated clause are not merged together by the core syntactic principles but by rules of predication that belong to the domain of discourse. In this way, Raposo can still maintain Kayne’s restrictive X-bar schema while allowing for base-generated adjunction of topics.

In what follows, I will introduce data from Romanian discussed in Dobrovie-Sorin 1994 that might be taken as evidence that the configuration of adjunction is indeed required in the case of dislocated topics. The same data suggest that Romanian fits rather well into the clause structure suggested by Vallduví for Catalan in (78) above.

2.6.3.1. Romanian subjunctive complements

Romanian subjunctives are introduced by a particle, *să*, as illustrated in (80):

- (80) a. Vreau să vină Ion mâine.
[I] want să come John tomorrow
b. Vreau să-l examineze Popescu pe Ion.
[I] want să-him examine Popescu to John
‘I want that Popescu examine him, John’

This particle has been the topic of much debate in the literature (see Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, Terzi 1993, Rivero 1987) since it appears to have some of the properties of a complementizer as well as some of the properties of an Infl head. Thus, it can cooccur with the complementizer *ca*, as shown below:

- (81) a. Vreau *ca* mâine să vină Ion .
[I] want that tomorrow să come John.
‘I want John to come tomorrow’

- b. Doresc *ca* pe Ion să-l examineze Popescu
 [I] wish that *pe* Ion **sa*** -him examine Popescu

Moreover, a subject cannot appear to its immediate right:

- (82) *Vreau *ca* mâine să **Ion** vină

What is of interest to us here is the distribution of the complementizer *ca*. In the absence of any material in the front of **sa***, *ca* is preferably absent:

- (83) ?? aș vrea *ca* să-l examineze Popescu pe Ion.

Ca becomes obligatory in case there is a topic in the front of **sa***: a sentential adverb (compare (81a) with (84a)) or a dislocated object (compare (81b) with (84b)).

- (84) a. *Vreau mâine să vină Ion .
 [I] want tomorrow să come John.
 ‘I want John to come tomorrow’
 b. *Doresc pe Ion să-l examineze Popescu
 [I] wish pe Ion să-him examine Popescu

Interestingly, *ca* is also obligatory with a pre-verbal subject:

- (85) a. Vreau *ca* Ion să vină
 [I] want that John săcome
 b. *Vreau Ion să **vina***

Thus, we observe that pre-verbal subjects pattern with dislocated elements and sentential adverbs. Interestingly, when the fronted constituent is focused, *ca* is not required. Consider the following examples (due to Manuela Ungureanu, p.c.):

- (86) a. să vrea (*ca*) numai Ion să vină la petrecere
 [I] want that only Ion să come to the party
 ‘I want only John to come to the party’

- (87) a. Vreau (*ca*) MÎNE să vină Ion .
 [I] want that tomorrow (focus) *sa** come Ion.
 ‘It is tomorrow that I want John to come’
 b. Vreau (*ca*) ION să vină.
 ‘It is John that I want to come.’

Moreover, with *Wh*-extraction, *ca* is also absent (in fact, its presence results in unacceptability):

- (88) a. Nu stia (**ca*) unde să plece.
 Not know-3SG that where să go
 ‘He doesn’t know where to go’

Assuming that Focus fronting involves movement (as argued above for Focus-movement in Italian) then it is not surprising that it patterns with *Wh*-movement in dispensing with the presence of *ca*.

Here I will pursue an account of the contrast between Topic and Focus with respect to the distribution of the complementizer *ca* that relies on the distinction between adjuncts and specifiers and hence runs counter Kayne’s 1995 antisymmetry hypothesis as well as Rizzi’s 1995 extension of it to the analysis of dislocated topics in Italian. I will take the difference between Topic and Focus to correlate with exactly this distinction. CLLDed topics as well as sentential adverbs are base-generated in an adjoined position whereas fronted Focus involves A’-movement to the specifier of the XP projected by the subjunctive particle (recall that *Wh*-movement in Romanian can target the specifier position of the head containing *să*, so it is plausible to assume that this position is an A’-position).

It has often been proposed that adjunction to an argument is not allowed (Chomsky 1986, McCloskey 1992, Boskovič 1993). Boskovič 1993 argued that the restrictions on the occurrence of *ca* in Romanian subjunctives can be explained along those lines. Here I will simply adopt his approach. I start by noting that, when CP is embedded, topics cannot intervene between the verb and the indicative complementizer:

- (89) *Stiu ieri că a plecat mama.
 know-1SG yesterday that came mother
 ‘I know that mother came yesterday.’

By hypothesis, (89) is ruled out by the ban on adjunction to an argument.

Now reconsider the following examples:

- (90) a. *Vreau ca mâine să vină Ion.*
[I] want that tomorrow să come John.
'I want John to come tomorrow'
- b. **Vreau mâine să vină Ion.*
[I] want tomorrow să come John.
'I want John to come tomorrow'
- (91) *Vreau MÎINE să vină Ion.*
[I] want tomorrow să come John.
'I want John to come tomorrow'

Take (90a). There the complementizer *ca* is followed by the particle *să*. Let us follow Terzi 1993 in assuming that *să* is a Mood head. In addition, let us assume, with Boskovič 1993 and Dobrovie-Sorin 1994, that the adverb as well as dislocated DPs are in a position of adjunction. (90a) would be analysed as follows:

- (92) *Vreau* [CP*ca* [MP *mâine* [MP *să vină Ion*]]]

Since MP is not an argument in (92), adjunction is possible. Boskovič proposes that the absence of *ca* reflects the absence of a CP projection. Adopting this suggestion, (90b) will be analysed as in (93):

- (93) **Vreau* [MP *mâine* [MP *să vină Ion*]]

In (93) the adverb *mâine* is adjoined to the argument of the verb *vreau*, in violation of the ban against adjunction to arguments. Now take (91). This example contains a focused adverbial. As suggested above, fronted Focused elements occupy the specifier position of the MP, the projection headed by *să*. Assuming that when *ca* is absent no CP is projected, we get (94) as the structure assigned to (91):

- (94) *Vreau* [MP *MÎINE* [M' *să vină Ion*]]

(94) doesn't involve adjunction to MP, the argument of the verb *vrea*, so it doesn't violate the ban on adjunction to an argument. The difference in status between (93) and

(94) thus crucially depends on a distinction between adjunct and specifier which is formulated in X-bar theoretic terms.

Now we turn to subjects. As noted above, pre-verbal non-focused subjects require the presence of *ca* (cf. the contrast between (85a,b)). Focused subjects can dispense with *ca* (cf. 87b). I repeat the relevant paradigm below:

- (95) a. *Vreau Ion să vină
 [I] want John să come
 ‘I want Ion to come.’
 c. Vreau ION să vină.
 ‘It is Ion that I want to come.’

The paradigm above shows that pre-verbal (neutral) subjects pattern with object CLLD and with sentential adverbs. The analysis developed by Vallduví for Catalan extends rather naturally to this paradigm. Recall that Vallduví adopted the VOS hypothesis for Catalan and argued that pre-verbal neutral subjects in Catalan were ‘left-detached’, just like other ‘left-detached’ objects. The Spec-IP position was the landing site for Wh-movement and quantificational operators. Extending Vallduví’s proposal to Romanian we have the following structure for (95a), where Ion is a left dislocated topic doubled by resumptive *pro*:

- (96) *Vreau [MP Ion_i [MoodP să vină *pro*_i]]

(95b), by contrast, is analysed as an instance of Focus movement, where the subject is moved to Spec-MP.

- (97) Vreau [MP ION_i [M’ să vină t_i]]

(96) violates the ban against adjunction to an argument, but (97) doesn’t. This extension of Vallduví’s analysis of Catalan to Romanian entails that the A-position for subjects in Romanian is to the right of the verb. Unlike Catalan, however, Romanian allows for VSO order, as shown below:

- (98) Vreau ca pîna mîine să termine **Ion** cartea asta.
 [I] want that until tomorrow să finish John this book

It is a well known fact that the Romance languages vary with respect to the position of post-verbal subjects relative to other arguments. This variation is not directly relevant though. What matters for now is to show that in Romanian as well as in Catalan there is a subject position to the right of the verb. In the case of Romanian, VSO order is possible. Catalan only has VOS order. In both cases, the pre-verbal field can be further divided in two cases: the position that is adjacent to the verbal string, which is an A'-position, and the recursive position for topics. Since the dichotomy adjunct versus specifier appears to be able to handle the distribution of the complementizer in Romanian, I will conclude that dislocated topics are adjoined to the XP that is predicated of them as long as it is not to an argument. Frame adverbs belong to the class of elements that are so adjoined.

Now that I have clearly distinguished CLLD from Focus-movement and quantificational operator movement, I can turn to the complex matter of constituent fronting in EP.

2.6.4. Constituent Fronting in EP: CLLD, Topicalization, and Quantificational Operator Movement

Unlike most Romance languages, Portuguese has a construction where a definite object DP topic corresponds to a clause internal direct object gap (the following example is adapted from Raposo 1996):

- (99) A garrafa de whisky vou comprar ec de certeza.
 the bottle of whisky will-1stSG buy ec for sure

Equivalents to (99), without focal stress on the fronted constituent, are out in the Romance languages discussed. Duarte 1987 and Raposo 1996 observe that topicalization in EP has different properties from Focus and is closer to English topicalization. In the first place, (99) expresses the topic-comment articulation: the *DP essa garrafa de whisky* stands for a discourse referent and the clause is understood as asserting something about it. Moreover, (99) can be felicitously uttered in answer to the question 'What will you buy?' without an exclusive focus reading. Even though the topic is introduced as 'new' information in this case, the answer still has the "as for" reading characteristic of the topic-comment articulation. It asserts that "as far as the bottle of whisky is concerned, I will buy it for sure" and is entirely compatible with my buying things other than the bottle of whisky.

Raposo 1996 notes that (99) and its CLLD counterpart below are equivalent, semantically and discourse-wise:

(100) A garrafa de whisky vou comprá-la de certeza.

In both, the initial DP sets a 'point of reference' for the predication conveyed by "the associated clause". However, both Raposo 1996 and Duarte 1987 note that topicalization in EP has properties that set it apart from CLLD. Unlike CLLD, topicalization displays island effects, it licenses parasitic gaps and shows Weak Cross-Over effects. For all these reasons, these authors concluded that topicalization involves movement. Duarte proposed that topics directly move to a position of adjunction to CP or IP. Barbosa 1996, and Raposo 1996 suggest that topicalization does not involve movement of the topic from a position within the clause. Raposo 1996, in particular, proposes that what moves is an empty operator, which serves as an open position whose reference is fixed by the topic. The following facts support Raposo's proposal.

In the first place, Portuguese has definite null objects, as illustrated below (see Raposo 1986 and Duarte 1987):

(101) Viste o Carlos?
Saw the Carlos
'Did you see Carlos?'
Vi ec na televisão
Saw ec on TV
'I saw him on TV'

Null object constructions are fine in EP as long as there is a salient object or set of objects made available either from previous discourse or by the pragmatic context of the utterance which may recover the content of the gap. Raposo (1986) has argued that these constructions have all the diagnostic properties of Wh-movement thus being best analysed as involving movement of a null operator to Spec-CP:

(102) [CP OP [vi t na televisão]]

Raposo 1996 observes that the various sub-cases of topicalization all have a corresponding null object sentence, which suggests the representation of the topicalized counterpart to (101)

(103) O Carlos vi na televisão
'Carlos, I saw on TV'

includes (102) plus a base-generated topic:

(104) [_{CP} O Carlos [_{CP} OP [vi t na televisão]]]

The other argument for analysing (103) as in (104) with the topic base-generated in the front of the clause rather than directly moved from a position from within the clause comes from a comparison with superficially similar constructions which involve fronted quantificational operators. We have seen above that affective operators, non-specific indefinites and QPs without a lexical restrictions can't serve as discourse links. Thus, the analysis of topicalization in (104) predicts that the following sentences

- (105) a. Nada₁ posso fazer ec₁ por ti.
nothing can-1SG do ec for you
'There is nothing I can do for you.'
- b. [A ninguém]₁ daria esse livro ec₁.
to noone would-give-1SG that book ec

should have different properties from (103), since the only possible derivation for them is one in which the QP directly moves to an A'-position from within the sentence.

This prediction is in effect fulfilled. Raposo (1995, 1996) notes that (103) has a different intonational contour from the sentences in (105): in (103) the topic can be set out from the rest of the sentence by a pause, whereas this is not possible in (105a,b). Besides this prosodic difference, there is also evidence that topics and fronted quantificational operators occupy different syntactic positions. In the first place, while topicalized constituents can precede a fronted Wh-word, quantificational operators strongly resist occupying that position:

- (106) Esse livro, quem vai comprar ec?
'That book, who is going to buy?'
- (107) a. *Nada quem (não) vai comprar ec?
nothing who is-going to buy ec
- b. *Só a um advogado que amigo teu entregou o caso?
only to one lawyer what friend of-yours delivered the case
'Which friend of yours handed in the case to only one lawyer?'
- [Raposo 1994]

(107) may be fine as echo-questions, but they sound terrible as real questions. The contrast between (106) and (107) reinforces the view that topics are adjoined to CP whereas fronted quantificational operators must occupy a position within CP.

A further argument that topics and quantificational operators fill a different position comes from the phenomenon of “recomplementation”, discussed in Uriagereka (1992) and in Raposo 1994, 1996. In EP it is possible to have a topic sandwiched between two complementizers:

- (108) a. Acho que esse livro, que já (o) li.
 think-1SG that that book that already (it) read-1SG
 [From Raposo 1994, parentheses mine]
- b. Acho que amanhã que vai haver reunião.
 I think that tomorrow that there will be a meeting.’

When the fronted constituent in a quantificational operator, however, “recomplementation” is impossible:

- (109) a. Disseram-me que a poucas pessoas (*que) foi entregue um convite.
 they-told-me that to few people that was delivered an invitation
- b. Disseram-me que nada (*que) vão poder fazer.
 they-told-me that nothing that they-will be able to do

These facts suggest that fronted quantificational operators occupy a position that is different from topics. Topics can be outside CP, but quantificational operators cannot. This contrast can be explained as soon as we adopt Raposo’s 1996 proposal according to which topics are not moved from a position within CP, but are rather base-generated in a position of adjunction to the XP that is predicated of them, which contains an open position made available by a null operator. The expressions that cannot act as discourse links, by contrast, must be moved when fronted. Raposo 1996 proposes that wh-words and quantificational operators move to the specifier of an intermediate position between IP and CP, namely FocusP. Topics can adjoin to this projection. Thus, (109b) would be analysed as in (110):

- (110) Disseram-me [_{CP} que [_{FP} nada₁ [_{IP} vão poder fazer t₁]]]
 they-told-me that nothing they-will be-able to-do t

To sum up the results of this section, we noted that the topic, comment articulation in Portuguese can be expressed by means of CLLD or topicalization. CLLD doesn't pass any of the diagnostics for movement; topicalization has movement properties. CLLDed and topicalized constituents must be capable of referring to an object or set of objects in the domain of discourse. In both cases, the topic is in a position of adjunction to the XP that is predicated of it. In CLLD, XP contains a resumptive clitic whose reference is fixed by the topic. In topicalization, a null operator provides the open position required for predication. The QPs that cannot refer to an object or set of objects in the domain, such as affective operators, nonspecific indefinites or QPs lacking a lexical restriction, must move when fronted. By hypothesis, they move to Spec-FP (but I will return to this below).

In the next section I will focus on the implications that these conclusions have for our analysis of clitic placement in EP.

2. 6.5. Consequences for Cliticization

Recall that we proposed that clitics in EP are subject to the prosodic constraint in (49), repeated here as (111):

(111) *_[IntP cl V ...] IntP = Intonational Phrase

Now consider the different patterns of clitic placement in sentences with a fronted constituent. Topicalization requires enclisis, regardless of whether the topic is contrastive focus or not:

- (112) a. Esse livro, dou-lhe /*lhe dou
 'That book I will give him.'
 b. Esse livro dou-lhe, mas este não.
 'That book I will give him, but not this one.'

Quantificational operator movement requires proclisis:

- (113) [Nenhuma resposta]_i me deram e_i até hoje.
 no answer to me they-gave e_i until today

(113) contains a fronted object that is a negative QP. In the preceding section, we

proposed to analyse this kind of construction as an instance of A'-movement. Thus, (113) is analysed as in (114). As before, we assume that the clitic is placed in the checking domain of Infl

(114) [_{FP} [nenhuma resposta]_i [_{F'} [_{IP} me deram t_i até hoje]]

With regard to cliticization, (114) falls under the Wh-movement cases discussed above. In the mapping to PF, (114) is assigned the following P-structure:

(115) [_{IntP} nenhuma resposta me deram até hoje]

In (115) the clitic is not the first element in the IntP, so the derivation proceeds to PF.

Now we turn to topicalization. Consider the syntactic representation of (112a) above with proclisis:

(116) *Esse livro [_{OP}₁ [Ihe dou t₁]]
 that book to-him I-give

Even though (116) differs from its CLLD equivalent with respect to operator movement inside the clause, it is entirely equivalent to CLLD for the purposes of P-structure building. As noted above, topics (regardless of whether they are doubled by a clitic) are mapped into Intonational Phrases of their own (Nespor and Vogel 1986, Kanerva 1990, Halpern 1992, Frota 1995). Thus, the syntactic representation in (116) will be mapped as in (117):

(117) [Esse livro]_{IntP} [te dou]_{IntP}

(117) crashes, since it violates the constraint in (111).

The claim that topics form their own IntPs in EP is in conformity with Frota's (1994, 1995, 1996) work on Portuguese prosody. However, she notes that contrastive topics such as (112b) tend to be phrased together with the rest of the clause. I will return to this problem in a later section. For the moment, I ask the reader to keep this problem in the back of his mind, while we turn to adverbs.

The analysis of clitic placement proposed for topicalization and CLLD can be straightforwardly extended to sentential adverbs. Sentential adverbs contrast with

aspectual adverbs with respect to clitic placement:

- (118) b. Amanhã vejo-a/ * a vejo
‘Tomorrow I see her.’
a. Nunca\já a vi / *vi-a
never /already her saw
‘I never/already saw her.’

Above we observed that sentential adverbs can appear in recomplementation constructions:

- (119) Acho que amanhã que vai haver reunião.
‘I think that tomorrow that there will be a meeting.’

Aspectual adverbs, by contrast, cannot precede complementizers:

- (120) *Acho que nunca\já que a vi.
think-1SG that never/already that her saw-1SG

Following much of the literature on the topic comment articulation (Raposo 1996, Rizzi 1995), I assume that frame adverbs are topics in the sense that they introduce a point of reference with respect to which the whole clause is predicated. Aspectual adverbs, by contrast, are somewhere within IP\FP (as in effect is argued by Belletti 1990). Thus, (121a,b) are assigned the following syntactic representations in (122a,b), respectively:

- (121) a. *Amanhã a vejo
tomorrow her see
b. Nunca a vi.
(122) a. [Amanhã] [_{IP} a vejo]
b. [_{FP} Nunca a vi]

Once again, assuming that clausal adjuncts are mapped into an IntP distinct from the IntP into which the clause is mapped, the syntactic representations in (122a) and (122b) will correspond to distinct P-structures. (122b) will be mapped into a single IntP:

- (123) [Nunca a vi]_{IntP}

(123) doesn't violate (111), so the derivation proceeds, with proclisis. (122a) however, will be mapped into (124), where an IntP boundary is placed to the right of the topic adverb:

(124) Amanhã]_{IntP} a vejo]_{IntP}

Since (124) violates (111) the derivation crashes.

2.6.6. Subjects

Finally we are in a position to consider the consequences that the analysis just sketched has for constructions with pre-verbal subjects. Recall that proclisis is required when the pre-verbal subject is a quantificational operator. Enclisis is obligatory in all other cases. In Megleno Romance, emphatic subjects require the reduced form of the clitic, whereas regular subjects require the non-reduced one. Recall in addition that we observed that the set of quantificational operators that triggers proclisis (independently of their status as subjects or objects) is best characterized as the set of expressions that cannot function as "links" (in the sense of Vallduví 1992a,b). These two observations suggest that, *with respect to clitic placement*, pre-verbal subjects behave just like pre-verbal objects in both languages. In other words, the pattern of clitic placement varies according to whether the DP in question belongs to the class of QPs that can or cannot be discourse topics, and this behavior doesn't distinguish objects from subjects. This casts doubt on the idea that there is an extra position for subjects which is unavailable to objects, namely A-movement to Spec-IP. If there were such an option, we would not expect that a particular class of quantified expressions should behave differently from other DPs. Moreover, the fact that this set of quantified expressions coincides with the set of QPs that cannot be discourse topics would remain unaccounted for.

For this reason, Barbosa (1991, 1993, 1996) proposed to analyse (125a) below as an instance of subject CLLD. The DP *a Maria* is base-generated in the front of the clause, *not moved from argument position*, and is licensed by predication via an open position inside the clause, supplied by *pro*, which bears the theta-role assigned by V:

- (125) a. A Maria telefonou.
 the M. called
 b. [[A Maria_i] [_{IP} telefonou pro_i]]

In (125a), *pro* is, by hypothesis, occupying the position occupied by post-verbal subjects. Note that, alongside (125a), we can have (126):

(126) Telefonou a Maria.
called the Maria

Since the post-verbal subject in (126) is checked for Case, economy considerations prevent it from raising to Spec-IP (this would be an instance of superfluous movement). Thus, we propose that the real L-related position for subjects is to the right of the raised verb:

(127) [_{IP} [_I V_I] [S ...t_i ...]]

SV constructions can be derived by CLLD, with *pro* serving as the resumptive element (as illustrated in (125b)). When the subject belongs to the set of expressions that cannot serve as discourse topics it can only be fronted by A'-movement, as happens with object quantificational operators. Once again, we observe that quantificational operator subjects may occupy the pre or post-verbal position:

(128) a. Ninguém telefonou.
Noone called
b. Não telefonou ninguém.
not called noone
'Noone called'

(128a) is analysed as involving A' movement of the post-verbal subject to preverbal position:

(129) [_{IP} Ninguém [_{F'} telefonou t]]

It is worth noting that, according the analysis proposed in Barbosa 1996, pre-verbal non-quantificational operator subject constructions in EP are unambiguously analysed as CLLD constructions, with the DP topic construed with a null pronoun in subject position; they are not analysed as instances of subject topicalization of the subject (with the DP topic construed with a null operator inside the clause). Indeed, there is evidence that subjects resist topicalization in EP.

Recall that in EP topics can appear between two complementizers (with or without a doubling clitic). Here I repeat the relevant examples for convenience:

- (129) Dizem que esses panfletos que o partido (os) distribuiu a todos os militantes.
they-say that those panflets that the party them distributed to all the militants
[Raposo 1996]

Subjects can also appear in recomplementation constructions:

- (130) Dizem que o partido que distribuiu esses panfletos a todos os militantes.
they-say that the party that distributed those panflets to all the militants

Since it is not possible to claim that the DP *o partido* in (130) is sitting in Spec-IP, it must be either topicalized or Clitic Left Dislocated (with *pro* serving as the resumptive pronoun). In effect, quantificational operator subjects cannot appear in recomplementation constructions:

- (131) *Disseram-me que ninguém que apareceu ontem à noite.
they-told-me that nobody that showed up yesterday at night

Interestingly, it can be shown that (130) is unambiguously analysed as an instance of CLLD. Duarte 1987 and Raposo 1996 observe that bare NPs can be topicalized in EP. The following illustrative example is taken from Raposo 1996:

- (132) Livros do Tintim, li *ec* ontem antes de adormecer.
books of-the Tintin I-read *ec* yesterday before falling asleep
'Tintin comics, I read yesterday night before falling asleep.'

Sola 1992, Raposo 1996, among others, have observed that bare DPs cannot be CLLDed. Thus, (132) minimally contrasts with (133):

- (133) *Livros do Tintim, li-os ontem antes de adormecer.
books of-the Tintin I-read-them yesterday before falling asleep

These minimal pairs provide us with a test for topicalization versus CLLD. Applying this test to "subjects" in recomplementation constructions, we observe that bare DP topics

construed with subjects are excluded:

- (134) a. *Disseram-me que livros do Tintim que andam baratos.
 they-told-me that books of-the T. that are cheap
 b. Disseram-me que os livros do Tintim que andam muito baratos.

Thus, we conclude that topics construed with subjects are unambiguously analysed as instances of CLLD (not topicalization), with the topic base-generated in the front of the clause and doubled by *pro* in subject position:

- (135) [DP]₁ [IP V ...*pro*₁ ...]

Summing up the results of this section so far, we have argued that the patterns of clitic placement in EP suggest that subjects do not raise to an A-position to the left of the Infl head containing the verb. The real A-position for subjects is to the right of the raised verb. Contrary to appearances, “pre-verbal” subjects are topics construed with a *pro* subject. The expressions that cannot act as discourse links raise to an A'-position in the pre-verbal field.

Our conclusions are thus very similar to Vallduví's conclusions for Catalan. Recall that Vallduví argues that Spec-IP is an A'-position in Catalan. This position hosts Wh-words and quantificational operators. Nominal pre-verbal expressions are “left-detached”, i.e., dislocated topics. Vallduví adopts previous proposals according to which Catalan is VOS. The subject is licensed for Case in post-verbal position and thus Spec-IP is not an L-related position, being free to be the landing site for Wh-words and quantificational operators. Here we are claiming that the facts regarding clitic placement in EP also suggest that the pre-verbal field doesn't contain an A-position for subjects. Since post-verbal subjects are licensed for Case, economy considerations bar movement of the subject to pre-verbal position. The pre-verbal field is thus the locus for A'-movement and topics (which do not involve movement, as argued).

Portuguese, however, is slightly different from Catalan, Spanish and Romanian in that there is no strict adjacency requirement between Wh-words and the verbal cluster in indirect questions. Recall from Vallduví's discussion that, in Catalan, nothing can intervene between a Wh-word and the verb. This adjacency requirement holds in matrix as well as embedded clauses:

(136) *Catalan*

- a. ¿Què (* en Joan) farà (en Joan)?
what (the Joan) will-do (the Joan)
'What will J. do?'
- b. ¿No sé què (*en Joan) farà (en Joan)
not know what (the Joan) will-do (the Joan)
'I don't know what J. will do.'

In EP, however, adjacency between a Wh-word and the verb is only required in matrix questions (see Âmbar 1988):

(137) *Portuguese*

- a. *Quando (* a Maria) veio (a Maria)?
When (the Maria) came (the Maria)
- b. Não sei quando (a Maria) vem (a Maria).
Not know (I) when the Maria comes

As noted by Solà 1992 and Uribe-Etxebarria 1991, it is not just subjects that cannot intervene between a Wh-word and the verb in embedded questions in Catalan and Spanish. Nothing, including adverbs, can intervene:

(138) *Spanish*

- *¿ No se **con quien** mañana **hablare.**
not know-1SG with whom tomorrow to-speak

In Portuguese, by contrast, an adverb may intervene between the verb and a Wh-word in embedded clauses:

- (139) Não sei com quem amanhã deverei falar.
Not know-1SG with whom tomorrow should-1SG talk

I contend that the difference between Catalan/Spanish and Portuguese is the following. Catalan and Spanish only have one landing site for A'-movement, namely Spec-IP. As Vallduví notes, this would explain why, when complementizers co-occur with Wh-words in indirect Wh-questions, the complementizer always appears to the left of the Wh-word:

- (140) a. Pregunten **que** el gavinet **on** el ficaràs.
 ask-3PL that the knife where it put-FUT-2SG
 ‘They are asking where you’ll put the knife.’
 b. *Pregunten el gavinet **que on** el ficaràs .

Vallduví takes (140a) as showing that in Wh-questions Wh-phrases do not occupy the specifier position of CP but rather a slot below C. “Left-detached” phrases are adjoined to IP. Schematically:

- (141) Pregunten [_C que [_{IP} el gavinet [_{IP} on [_{I'} el ficaràs]]]]

Portuguese, by contrast has Spec-IP plus Spec-CP. In embedded questions, Wh-phrases are in Spec-CP and topics may appear to the left of the Wh-phrase:

- (142) a. Sabes **quando**, ao Pedro, mais lhe convém que marquemos
 know-2SG when, to-the P. more to-him is convenient that schedule-1PL
 a reunião?
 the meeting
 ‘Do you know when, to P., it is more convenient that we schedule the meeting?’
 b. És capaz de me dizer **quem**, ao novo presidente, devemos apresentar
 Can you tell me who, to the new president, we should introduce
 primeiro?
 first?

In (142a) the Wh-word is in Spec-CP and the topic is adjoined to IP:

- (143) Sabes [_{CP} **quando** [_{C'} [_{IP} ao Pedro [_{IP} mais lhe convém que ...]]]]?

A similar analysis applies in those cases where an adverb or pre-verbal “subject” intervenes between a Wh-word and the verb:

- (144) a. Não sei ainda com quem amanhã de manhã deverei falar primeiro.
 ‘I don’t know yet to whom tomorrow morning I should talk first.’
 b. Não sei ainda [_{CP} [**com quem**]₁ [_{C'} [_C +wh] [_{IP} amanhã [_{IP} deverei falar t₁]]]]]]
 (145) a. Não sei o que o João fará.
 ‘I don’t know what J. will do.’
 b. Não sei [_{CP} [**o que**]₁ [_{C'} [_C +wh] [_{IP} [o João]₂ [_{IP} fará *pro*₂ t₁]]]]]]

In (145b) the DP *o João* is a dislocated topic, adjoined to IP. Now note that if indeed Spec-IP can host quantificational operators in EP, one would predict a quantificational operator to be able to appear to the right of the subject in a structure like (145) (pending on minimality considerations). That this is indeed the case is confirmed by the following sentence:

- (146) Não sabíamos ainda por que razão o João [pouca bagagem]₁ levava com ele t₁.
 Not know-1PL yet for what reason the J. little baggage took with him t

The embedded clause in (146) is analysed as in (147):

- (147) [_{CP} por que razão [_C [_C +Wh] [_{IP} o João [_{IP} [pouca bagagem]₁ [_I levava *pro* t₁ com ele]]]]]

A further difference between EP and Spanish that can be explained along these lines regards adjacency requirements between fronted quantificational operators and the verb. In Spanish, a fronted quantificational operator must be adjacent to the verb. In Portuguese, it need not be adjacent to the verb (examples from Raposo 1996):

- (148) a. Pocos coches (*Alain Prost) ha conducido (Alain Prost)
 few cars (A.P.) has driven (A. P.)
 este ano.
 this year.
- (149) Poucos carros o Alain Proust conduziu este ano!
 Few cars the A. P. drove this year

As before, we assume that quantificational operators are fronted to Spec-IP in Spanish. This is why nothing can intervene between the phrase *pocos coches* and the verb. In EP, Spec-CP is a potential landing site for quantificational operators. Thus (90) is analysed as follows:

- (150) [_{CP} Poucos carros [_C [_{IP} o Alain Prost [_{IP} conduziu *pro* este ano]]]]]

Note that other topics besides subjects can in effect intervene between a fronted affective phrase and the verb in EP. Consider the following sentence:

- (151) Pouco afecto, aos meus filhos, nunca darei!
 little affection, to my children never will-give
 ‘Little affection, to my children, I will never give.’

In (151) the quantificational operator is in Spec-CP and the topic is adjoined to IP. The analysis in (151) predicts that a fronted quantificational operator may move to Spec-IP. The following sentence appears to confirm this prediction:

- (152) a. [Nem ao seu melhor amigo]₁ a Maria [alguma ajuda]₂ ofereceu t₂ t₁
 not even to her best friend the Maria some help offered
 b. [_{CP} [Nem ao seu melhor amigo]₁] [_{C'} [_{IP} a M.₁ [_{IP} [alguma ajuda]₂ [_{I'} ofereceu pro t₁ t₂]]]]]

In (152b) I have taken CP to be the projection immediately above IP. However, (152a) can be embedded under a complementizer, as shown below:

- (153) O Carlos disse que nem ao seu melhor amigo a Maria alguma ajuda ofereceu.
 the Carlos said that not even to her best friend the M. some help offered

As already mentioned, a number of authors have proposed that some languages have an intermediate projection between subordinator Cs and IP (Laka 1990 Culicover 1992, Uriagereka’s 1995, Rizzi 1995, Raposo 1996). Above I have labelled this phrase FP in order to distinguish it from the projection headed by subordinator Cs. In Portuguese, root clauses can project up to FP and embedded Cs selects FP. Romanian, Catalan and Spanish lack FP. In what follows, I will assume that CLLDed subjects or objects can adjoin to IP. In Portuguese, they can also adjoin to FP as evidenced by the possibility of (154) and (155) below:

- (154) a. A Maria [até ao Pedro]₁ [pouca ajuda]₂ ofereceu t₂ t₁
 the M. even to P. little help offered
 b. [_{FP} [A Maria]₃ [_{FP} [até ao Pedro]₁ [_{IP} [pouca ajuda]₂ [_{I'} ofereceu pro₃ t₂ t₁]]]]]
 (155) a. Ao Pedro até a Maria pouca ajuda ofereceu.
 b. [_{FP} [ao Pedro]₃ [_{FP} [até a Maria]₁ [_{IP} [pouca ajuda]₂ [_{I'} ofereceu t₁ t₂ ec₃]]]]]

Quantificational operators move to A’-positions. In Portuguese these are: the specifier position of the head the verb raises to (namely Spec-IP), and Spec-FP.

2.6.6.1. Back to Clitic Placement

Now consider how the analysis of clitic placement developed so far would work for the following examples:

(156) * A Maria o viu
the Maria him saw

(157) Ninguém o viu.
Nobody him saw

(156) has the simplified structure in (158) (here I am ignoring FP, for ease of exposition):

(158) [A Maria]_i [IP o viu *pro* _i]

In the mapping between syntax and P-structure, an IntP boundary is placed to the right of the CLLDed subject:

(159) a Maria]_{IntP} o viu]_{IntP}

By the constraint in (111) above, (159) is an ill-formed P-structure, so the derivation doesn't proceed to PF. The alternative derivation with enclisis is then chosen as a last resort option.

Now consider (157). This is an instance of A'-movement of the subject:

(160) [FP Ninguém [o viu t]]

In P-structure *ninguém* is mapped into the same IntP that contains the clitic:

(161) [IntP Ninguém o viu]]

(161) doesn't violate the prosodic constraint (111), and so the derivation proceeds to PF, with proclisis.

The structure in (159) will immediately look suspicious in view of the fact that one

doesn't perceive a significant intonational break between the pre-verbal subject and the rest of the sentence. Object CLLD, by contrast, is generally marked and a pause is more clearly perceived. Before I proceed to a more technical discussion of prosodic phrasing in EP, I would like to point out a few contrasts that weaken the intonational break argument as a reliable test for dislocation. Let us start by comparing constructions that unambiguously involve CLLDed subjects as well as topics adverbs, and compare them with constructions with CLLDed objects. Consider the following recomplementation examples:

- (162) a. Disseram-me que a Maria que *pro* falou com a professora ontem.
 they-told-me that the M. that talked with the teacher yesterday
- b. Disseram-me que amanhã que vai estar muito calor.
 they-told-me that tomorrow that it-will be very hot
- c. Disseram-me que, esse livro, que não o podem dar ao Pedro.
 they-told-me that that book that not it they-can give to the P.

All of the examples above contain a topic sandwiched between two complementizers, and the embedded clauses are interpreted as assertions about that topic. In (162a) the topic is connected with the (null) subject of the embedded clause, in (162b) the topic is an adverb and in (162c) the topic is construed with the object clitic. To my ear, (162c) requires a much heavier intonational break than (162b) or (162a). Now if we were to take the presence of an intonational break as evidence for dislocation, we would have to abandon a dislocation analysis for (162a) given that no clear intonational break is required in (162a) when compared with (162c). However, this would have the unwanted result of letting in A-movement out of a finite clause (but see Poletto 1997 for a proposal precisely along those lines). What this means, then, is that, even in clear cases of dislocation, there is an intonational difference between topics construed with subjects and topics construed with lower arguments. This observation is very important, since it neutralizes any argument against the subject dislocation hypothesis which is solely based on intuitions of “markedness”. Moreover, it shows that, in order to detect subject dislocation in a null subject language one has to look for subtler evidence.

Here I will not attempt to give a principled explanation for why object CLLD requires a heavier intonational break (but see Duarte 1987 for a discussion of the notion “marked topic”). For my present purposes, it suffices to make a statement of fact: the intonational break clue does not distinguish between dislocation vs A-movement in the case of subjects. Interestingly, topic adverbs pattern with subject topics rather than with object

topics: no parenthetical intonation is required. These facts open a series of interesting questions that go well beyond the scope of the present study. For the moment I am simply interested in showing that the intonational pattern of CLLDed objects is different from the intonational pattern of CLLDed subjects, or even adverbs.

At this point, it would seem that we have reached a contradiction. We have shown that object topics require a heavier intonational break than dislocated subjects or topic adverbs. However, our analysis of clitic placement is based on the presence of an IntP boundary between any topic and the rest of the clause. Does this lead to a contradiction? I will address this issue in the next section, where I will consider recent findings in Prosodic Phrasing in EP.

2.7. An excursus into prosodic Phrasing in EP

Recent experimental research on prosodic phrasing in EP (Frota 1994, 1995, 1996) has uncovered segmental, intonational and durational evidence for the IntP domain in EP: (i) the IntP is minimally characterised by a nuclear pitch accent and a final boundary tone; (ii) it is the domain of preboundary lengthening; (iii) it defines the location of pauses; (iv) it bounds segmental rules. Frota's work also shows that there is a distinction between two types of boundaries which are both IntP-boundaries: under certain conditions, two IntP-phrases may be phrased into one IntP (I-max), and thus be dominated by a phrase of the same category. The IntP nature of the dominees is supported by (i) and (ii): they always define the domain of an intonational contour, and of preboundary lengthening. The dominant IntP (Imax) defines the domain of preboundary lengthening, the location of pauses and the domain for certain sandhi rules. In what follows, I will briefly review Frota's arguments for the need to distinguish these two kinds of IntP. As we will see, sandhi rules in EP are only blocked by an Imax boundary, so they cannot be used as a test for the IntP boundary.

In EP, the word final /s/ becomes voiced when it is followed by a word initial vowel (underline indicates that Fricative Voicing has applied):

- (163) As alunas africanas ofereceram canetas aos amigos.
the students african gave pens to-the friends
'The african students offered pens to their friends.'

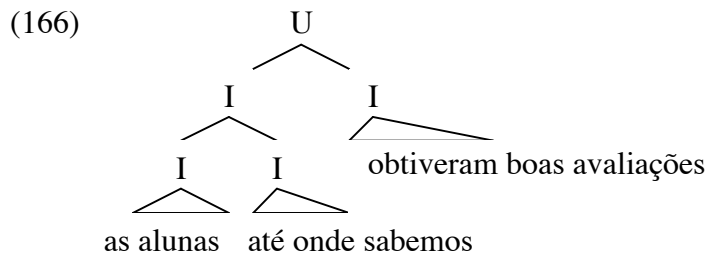
Fricative Voicing is blocked when a parenthetical "slices" the utterance into more than one IntP (capitalization indicates that the rule has not applied):

(164) [As alunaS] [até onde sabemoS] [obtiveram boas avaliações]
 ‘The students, as far as we know, had good evaluations’

Fricative Voicing may apply in (164), as illustrated below:

- (165) a. As alunas, até onde sabemoS, obtiveram boas avaliações.
 b. As alunaS, até onde sabemos, obtiveram boas avaliações.

Frota observes that Fricative Voicing can only apply at one of the sides of the parenthetical, not at both sides. However, in spite of the fact that Fricative Voicing applies in (165a,b), Frota shows that the subject and the parenthetical still form two different Intonational Contours. For this reason, she proposes that two IntPs may be grouped into a larger domain, the I_{max}. Fricative voicing applies within the domain of I_{max}, which is defined as the IP domain that is dominated by the prosodic category of the immediately higher level. (165a) would thus be parsed as in (166):



Factors such as length of the constituents and rate of speech may determine one of the three prosodic phrasings given in (167):

- (167) a.
- b.
- c.

(164) is phrased as in (167a), (165b) is phrased as in (167b) and (165a) is phrased as in (167c).

According to the criteria mentioned, an SVO sentence such as (163) above is phrased as in (168) when it has a neutral or “broad focus” reading (that is, when none of its constituents is particularly highlighted (see Frota 1994)):

(168) [[as alunas africanas] _↘ [ofereceram canetas] _↘ [aos amigos] _↘] IntP

In (168), the subject does not define the domain of an intonational contour or of preboundary lengthening. These findings contradict the idea that preverbal (non-quantificational operator) subjects form a separate IntP, as our hypothesis would predict. However, IntP formation is subject to restructuring, and IntP restructuring is sensitive not only to the context of the utterance but also to purely prosodic considerations, such as weight of the constituent, rate of speech and style. For instance, Frota 1994 observes that, when the subject is long, it is separated from the rest of the sentence by an I_{max} boundary. Here the example she quotes:

(169) As alunas dos AçoreS ofereceram canetas aos amigos.

‘The students from the Azores offered pens to their friends.’

Fricative voicing is blocked in (169), which suggests that there is an I_{max} boundary after the subject.

According to Frota, the original IntP is broken into two IntPs because “the material dominated by the root sentence is long, and a break between subject and verb yields a sequence of two more or less equalized constituents. On the contrary, if the subject NP is a shorter constituent and a higher boundary between subject and verb will not have an equalizing effect, IP restructuring will be very unlikely and less acceptable.” Thus, we observe that considerations of tree geometry play a role in determining IntP phrasing, in the case of subjects.

Even though Frota’s experimental evidence shows that, in neutral utterances, short subjects tend to form an IntP with the verb, there are, here and there, references to the fact that the subject\verb boundary is special in the sense that it is prone to IP restructuring. In her discussion of another shandi rule that is blocked by an I_{max} boundary she mentions an example where a short subject forms a separate I_{max}. In a sequence of two words, if w₁ has a word final [ã] and w₂ has an identical word initial vowel, the two vowels are changed into the low vowel [a]. I_{max} is the appropriate

domain for this rule. Frota quotes the following examples:

- (170) a. [[A aluna] _↘ [aceitou o emprego] _↘ [no restaurante] _↘]_{IntP}
b. [[A alunA]_{IntP} [Aceitou o emprego no restaurante]_{IntP}]_U
'The student accepted the job at the restaurant.'

In (170a) Vowel Merger applies, but in (170b) it is blocked. According to Frota, this is due to IP restructuring, so here we have an example of IP restructuring with a short subject.

In effect, elsewhere, Frota notes that the NP\VP boundary is particularly prone to restructuring. In her study on clash resolution in EP, for instance, Frota found that when a phi-boundary intervenes between the two clashing syllables there is shortening of the first vowel\syllable involved in the clash. Then she added: "The shortening result was found to be a consequence of the insertion of acoustic pauses. All the pauses found in the data were inserted after a phi-boundary, which is a predictable position for pause insertion as phi-boundaries may restructure and become I-boundaries (particularly if the I-boundary coincides with the NP\VP boundary (Frota 1994: 6, my underline)." It is worth noting that the examples in the sample that contained a phi-boundary between the two clashing syllables were examples in which the phi-boundary coincided with the NP/VP boundary.

Thus, we conclude that the NP/VP boundary may restructure and become an I-boundary. At this point, the following question arises: does this observation hold of any subject-verb boundary, or is there a difference between quantificational operator subjects and other subjects?

Consider the following minimal pair:

- (171) a. Só o meu tio **me** ofereceu dez mil escudos.
only the my oncle me offered ten thousand escudos
"Only my oncle offered me ten thousand escudos"
b. Só o meu tio ofereceu-**me** dez mil escudos.
only the my oncle offered-me ten thousand escudos
"My oncle alone offered me ten thousand escudos"

(171a,b) vary minimally. In (171a) the clitic precedes the verb; in (171b) it follows the verb. The position of the clitic correlates with different interpretations. (171a) has an exclusive focus reading: out of the possible alternatives of who could have given me ten thousand escudos, only one is true, namely the one in which my oncle gave me that

amount of money. (171b) asserts that, as far as my uncle is concerned, he alone gave me that amount of money, but it is compatible with a situation in which other people also gave me that amount. Thus, only in (171a) is the particle *só* a true Focus operator, triggering proclisis. Now consider what happens without a clitic:

- (172) *Só o meu tio que veio dos Açores ofereceu dez mil escudos.*
 only the my uncle that came from-the Azores offered ten thousand escudos
 ‘Only my uncle that come from the Azores offered ten thousand escudos’
 ‘My uncle that came from the Azores alone offered ten thousand escudos.’

(172) may have the exclusive focus reading or the non-exclusive focus reading. The two meanings can only be teased apart by intonation. The non-exclusive reading requires that the subject correspond to the domain of an intonational contour; Fricative Voicing is blocked:

- (173) $[[Só\ o\ meu\ tio\ que\ veio\ dos\ Açores]_{IntP}\ [ofereceu\ dez\ mil\ escudos]_{IntP}]_U$

In the exclusive reading, the intonational pattern is different: the subject doesn't constitute the domain of an intonational contour; moreover, Fricative Voicing is not blocked. Even though this claim is not based on an experimental study, there is a clear contrast in the intonational contour of the utterances that correspond to each reading and the intuitions are sharp.

This suggests that quantificational operator subjects, no matter how long, do not restructure and become IntP boundaries. In other words, there is no equalizing effect. Recall that Frota attributed IntP restructuring in (169) above as the result of an equalizing effect: when the subject is long, the IntP is partitioned in two. The question that now arises, then, is why there is no such partitioning with quantificational operators in subject position, at least not in those situations in which intonation is the only way of disambiguating a true quantificational operator subject from a non-quantificational operator subject.

To sum up the results of this section so far, we have concluded that neutral SVO utterances are most often parsed as a single IntP, according to the criteria for the IntP domain isolated in Frota 1994, 1995, 1996; under certain conditions, the phi-boundary that separates the subject from the verb may restructure and become an IntP boundary; quantificational operator subjects resist IntP restructuring (in the sense just described).

These results suggest that the boundary that separates the verb from a nonquantificational subject is rather unstable: whether it is a phi-boundary or an IntP boundary depends on considerations of length, rate of speech and style. The boundary that separates a quantificational subject from the verb doesn't have this unstable quality: no matter how long, an I_{max} boundary doesn't separate a quantificational operator subject from the verb. Assuming that there is indeed a prosodic restriction on clitics in EP to the effect that they cannot be the first element in the IntP domain, these descriptive observations suffice to make it rather plausible that the clitic should not be allowed to be placed immediately to the right of a non-quantificational subject in the syntax. This is so, because, depending on considerations of length, rate of speech and style, the subject could be phrased as a separate IntP and the clitic would find itself as the first element of an IntP. With quantificational operators, by contrast, there is no such danger, since they do not ever constitute a separate IntP. But then again, we would like to know why there is this split in the phrasing of quantificational operators as opposed to other subjects.

My answer to this question will be to claim that this difference in P-phrasing is decided in the mapping between syntax and prosodic structure, an abstract level that constitutes the initial parse, and can only "see" structure. This abstract level constitutes the input to rules of prosodic readjustment which are sensitive to geometry effects, length of the constituents, rate of speech or style. Moreover, it precedes melody association.

Much of the current work in Prosodic Phonology assumes that prosodic structures are derived from syntax by a mapping procedure, being then subject to rules of prosodic readjustment. Different mapping algorithms have been proposed in the literature. Nespor and Vogel 1986 propose the following:

(174) 1. Phonological Phrase (ϕ) formation:

- a) ϕ domain: a lexical head X and all elements on its non-recursive side which are still within the maximal projection of X.
- b) ϕ -restructuring: optional, obligatory or prohibited inclusion of a branching or non-branching ϕ which is the first complement of X into the ϕ that contains X.

2. Intonational Phrase (IntP) Formation:

- a) I domain: (i) all the ϕ s in a string that is not structurally attached to the sentence tree (i.e. "parenthetical expressions, nonrestrictive relative clauses, tag questions, vocatives, expletives and certain other moved elements" (p.188)), (ii) any remaining sequence of adjacent ϕ s in a root sentence.

- b) IP restructuring: an IP may be variably broken down into smaller IPs as a function of length, rate of speech, style, and contrastive prominence.

Even though (174.2) is somewhat vague, it is meant to convey the idea that the I-domain corresponds to the X_{max} that corresponds to the clausal projection. Note that the expression “certain other moved elements” denotes topics. I propose that the I-domain is defined as the domain that is delimited by CP (or FP, if root clauses are FP projections). Constituents adjoined to root FP are outside this domain:

- (175) a. Syntax: [XP] [_{FP} (YP) V]
 b. Initial Parse: [XP] _{IntP} [([YP]) V] _{IntP}
 YP= QPs, aspectual adverbs, negation.
 XP= topics, including sentential adverbs

This constitutes the initial parse which serves as input to rules of prosodic readjustment, which depend on the context of utterance, tree geometry, rate of speech, etc.

Now consider Nespor and Vogel’s restructuring rules. There is an asymmetry between IP restructuring and ϕ restructuring. Whereas a ϕ may be included in another ϕ , to form a larger ϕ , an IntP can only be broken into smaller IntPs. The possibility that two initially parsed IntPs may be merged into a single IntP is not considered, and it is not very clear why not. In a similar vein, Frota proposes that, in EP, a single IntP can be partitioned into smaller IntPs when certain conditions are met, such as length of the subject constituent.

Dresher 1993, in a study of the Tiberian Hebrew system of accents, proposes that prosodic readjustments are of two types: DIVISION of phrases, whereby a two word phrase is further divided; and its opposite, SIMPLIFICATION, in which a phrase boundary is removed to create a longer phrase.

Here I would like to propose that simplification may apply to IntPs derived in the initial parse if certain prosodic and discourse conditions are met; length of the constituent, rate of speech, rhythm, discourse prominence are some of the factors that play a role in IntP restructuring. This approach is the inverse of Frota’s. Whereas Frota claims that an IntP may be broken into shorter IntPs when the subject is long, I claim that two initially parsed IntPs can be simplified when the topic is short and certain other conditions are met. Short topics that are construed with *pro* subjects in “neutral” (broad

focus) utterances as well as short adverbials and contrastive topics are most often incorporated in the IntP that contains the verb, “marked” topics and long topics construed with *pro* subjects are phrased separately, etc. This approach has the advantage of explaining why there is a difference between quantificational operator subjects and other subjects: in the initial parse, quantificational operators fall within the IntP that contains the verb; other “subjects”, by contrast, fall outside this domain and are more likely to be affected by readjustments that depend on the length of the constituent.

Now let us turn to the consequences that this proposal has for cliticization. I assume that the prosodic restriction stated in (111) above is formulated in terms of a filter:

(176) * [CL X]_{IntP}

Assuming that the syntactic and phonological components are derivationally related, the syntax is no longer accessible at the level at which the rules of prosodic readjustment take place, and conversely, considerations such as length of a constituent or rate of speech are irrelevant to syntax. Now consider what would happen if the filter in (176) didn't apply at a level at which the syntax is still accessible, that is, in the mapping between syntax and PF. Suppose that the structure contains a topic pronoun construed with a null subject. Simplification would apply, the pronoun would be phrased in the same IntP as the clitic and (176) would not be violated. Now suppose that the “subject” is long, and ends up forming a separate IntP. (176) would be violated. However, by the time P-structure is constructed, the syntax is no longer accessible, so the result would be an ill-formed utterance. This is why *no* derivation containing a clitic at the left edge of the clause (FP or CP) is allowed to proceed to PF. (176) applies in the mapping between syntax and PF, and at that level, a topic pronoun is not distinguished from a longer topic. This is why there is no contradiction between (176) and the observation that pre-verbal subject pronouns require enclisis even though they belong to the same IntP that contains the verb.

2.8. Enclisis

As mentioned in the previous section, we take enclisis in EP to be the “elsewhere” option, that is, the option chosen when proclisis fails due to the prosodic filter (176). Enclisis is derived pretty low in the structure. Barbosa (1996) proposes that the clitic right adjoins to an Infl head the verb moves through as it raises up. Matos and Duarte 1995 propose that enclitics skip the V head and left-adjoin to the first functional projection

aboveVP, AgrOP. As mentioned, I depart from these authors in taking enclisis to be the option chosen when the derivation with proclisis doesn't converge at the PF-interface. Matos and Duarte, by contrast, argue that enclisis is less costly or more "basic" than proclisis on the basis of data from language acquisition and from younger generations, where enclisis often occurs in contexts of proclisis, as shown below:

(177) não chama-se nada (M. 20 months)
not calls-SE nothing
[Duarte and Matos 1995:14]

On the surface, these data appear to constitute a problem to the "last resort" approach to enclisis implied by the analysis that I have sketched. However, this problem is only apparent. According to the analysis proposed here, there are two alternative derivations: proclisis, whereby the clitic is placed in the checking domain of Infl; and enclisis, which, by hypothesis, involves incorporation with V in a lower Infl head (AspP or AgrOP).

These two options are in principle both available: that is why enclisis kicks in when proclisis doesn't converge at the PF-interface. This is not problematic. What is problematic is why, when both options lead to convergence, proclisis should win over enclisis, in the standard dialect. I have no explanation for why this should be so, given that enclisis apparently involves a "shorter" move. Interestingly, the subset of contexts in which both options converge (according to the theory proposed here) coincides with the contexts in which there is variation. Regarding the child acquisition data, it is not surprising that enclisis should correspond to the initial stage. As noted in Duarte and Matos, assuming that all functional heads become "active" bottom-up, we predict that the derivation that involves higher functional layers should be acquired at a later stage. The interesting case is the speech of young adults, which is clearly undergoing a process of change towards generalized enclisis. I interpret the young adult data as confirming the hypothesis that there are indeed two possible derivations at stake, and two grammars. In the standard grammar, proclisis wins over enclisis when both converge. The grammar of the new generations is undergoing a change: enclisis is becoming the favored option.

This change could be viewed as a consequence of a process of reanalysis of clitics as affix-like elements, as suggested in Duarte and Matos 1995. Barbosa 1996 argues that the proclitic does not incorporate with the verb and that it is best analysed as an X-bar theoretical minimal/maximal category, which actually undergoes XP-movement. Since a careful discussion of the arguments presented there would take me too far afield, I have glossed over that issue. However, if this idea is on the right track, then proclisis involves

XP movement of a hybrid category, whereas enclisis involves lexical incorporation. The young adult data could then be taken as indicating that the option in which the clitic does not form a morphological unit with the verb is becoming less favoured. I have no clear answer to the question why there is an inversion in the optimality metric of these two dialects. However, I take the fact that there is fluctuation in exactly the subset of cases where some indeterminacy is predicted by the theory to be an indirect argument for its adequacy.

This concludes our discussion of clitic placement in EP. One of the major consequences of this investigation is the claim that pre-verbal subjects in EP do not raise to an A-position in the syntax. However, for our proposal to be complete, we need to give independent evidence that this is indeed the case. This is the topic of the next section.

3. Independent evidence for the CLLD analysis of pre-verbal subjects in eP

That certain constructions in the Null Subject Languages can only be analysed in terms of subject CLLD is acknowledged by everyone (see Belletti 1990 for Italian and Duarte 1987 for EP, among many others). However, it has always been assumed that this option is a somewhat “marked option” that coexists with the “unmarked option” of subject raising to an A-position (whichever position that might be). The analysis of clitic placement proposed in the last section makes the much stronger claim that pre-verbal subjects in EP do not raise to an A-position in the syntax. The question that now arises is whether there is any evidence, apart from clitic placement, that may confirm this hypothesis. In what follows I will introduce two different sets of arguments in favour of this hypothesis.

3.1. Inflected Infinitives embedded under epistemic verbs

Raposo (1987) observes that in inflected infinitival clauses embedded under epistemic and declarative predicates the order between the subject and the verb carrying the inflection is necessarily verb-subject. The following example, taken from Raposo 1987, illustrates this restriction:

- (178) a. *Penso [os deputados terem votado essa proposta]
I-think the deputies to-have-3PL voted that proposal
b. Penso [terem os deputados votado essa proposta]
I-think to-have-3PL the deputies voted that proposal

Raposo (1987) interpreted this restriction as the result of obligatory Infl raising to Comp. As noted in Ambar (1988), Raposo's judgements differ from those of Mateus & al. 1983, who consider equivalents of (178a) to be milder violations (cf. ?? vs *). According to Ambar herself (1978a) is somewhat marginal though not completely out. In addition, she notes that when the subject is modified by a focus particle (178a) becomes completely well-formed.

(179) Disseram-me [só eles terem visto esse filme]
 they-told-me only they to-have-3PL seen that movie

Raposo (1995: 40) observes that “the possibility of material occurring before the inflected infinitive is much more general”, and adds that “the whole gamut of affective operators may occur there, and the phenomenon is not restricted to subjects”. By “affective operators” he means the whole set of QPs that trigger proclisis. Here are some of the examples he mentions:

(180) a. Disseram-me [muita gente ter visto esse filme]
 they-told-me many people to-have seen that movie

(181) a. Disseram-me [nada terem esses turistas visitado]
 they-told-me nothing to-have-3PL those tourists visited

b. Disseram-me [só essa cidade terem os turistas visitado]
 they-told-me only that city to-have-3PL the tourists visited

This contrast between the by now familiar set of QPs that trigger proclisis and other DPs is exactly the kind of effect that is expected under the analysis proposed here. Assuming that, for some reason, CLLD is impossible with inflected infinitives embedded under epistemic or declarative verbs, the only option left to front an argument is A'-movement to Spec-IP. Since this kind of movement is rather restricted in EP, we only find certain QPs in these contexts, namely those that are incompatible with CLLD. Moreover, this kind of fronting is not restricted to subjects, as expected. That CLLD yields a marginal result with inflected infinitives embedded under epistemic and declarative verbs is illustrated below:

(182) ??Confesso, essa proposta, não a termos conseguido aprovar ainda.
 I-confess that proposal not it to-have-1PL managed to-approve yet

These contrasts in the distribution of topics and quantificational operators are very reminiscent of the Romanian facts discussed in section 2.6.3.1. Recall that, in Romanian subjunctives, the complementizer *Ca* can be omitted when the constituent that precedes the verb bears contrastive focus or is modified by a focus particle. *Ca* is obligatory in case there is a pre-verbal subject in the front of *să*, a sentential adverb or a dislocated object. This contrast between Focus and CLLDed elements is rather similar to the contrast noted above for Portuguese inflected infinitives. There are two caveats, however. Portuguese inflected infinitives are incompatible with Wh-movement, unlike Romanian *să* subjunctives. In addition, Portuguese doesn't have Focus movement of definite DPs (or of sentential adverbs) unlike the other Romance languages, including Romanian. However, abstracting away from these circumstantial differences the facts are amenable to a common explanation.

Above we have adopted the suggestion put forward in Boskovič 1993, according to which the absence of the complementizer *ca* in Romanian reflects the absence of a CP projection. In addition, we assumed a general ban on adjunction to an argument. Extending Boskovič's analysis of Romanian to the selected inflected infinitives, we propose that inflected infinitives embedded under epistemics are bare IPs.

(183) Pensava [_{IP} terem os deputados aprovado essa proposta]

Now consider the contrast between (184a) and (184b) below:

- (184) a. Pensava só os deputados terem aprovado a proposta.
 I-thought only the deputies to-have-3PL approved the proposal
- b. ??Pensava os deputados terem aprovado a proposta.
 I-thought the deputies to-have-3PL approved the proposal

This contrast can be explained as long as it is assumed that the quantificational operator subject and the non-quantificational operator subject occupy different positions. (184a) is analysed as in (185a) and (184b) as in (185b):

- (185) a. Pensava [_{IP} [só os deputados]_k [_{I'} terem t_k aprovado essa proposta]]
- b. ??Pensava [_{IP} [_{IP} os deputados [_{IP} terem *pro* aprovado esse filme]]]

(185b) violates the ban against adjunction to an argument, so it has a dubious status. (185a) doesn't involve adjunction, so it is fine. Thus, we conclude that the dislocation

hypothesis yields the desired results. If subjects could raise to an A-position in the syntax, it is not at all clear why it is only the expressions that can not be dislocated that are allowed in this construction. Note in addition that the pre-verbal position is available to any QP argument, not just subjects (cf. 181). This argues against the idea that the pre-verbal position raises to an A-position.

It has been often claimed (see Duarte 1987, Raposo and Uriagereka 1996) in the literature that dislocation is impossible with inflected infinitives in general. However, inflected infinitives can take overt subjects when they occur in subject position or when they are embedded under factive verbs, as discussed in Raposo 1986, so this appears to be a problem for our proposal:

- (186) a. É melhor eles não falarem com a Maria agora.
 It-is better they not to-talk-3PL with the Maria now
 b. Lamento eles não terem falado com a Maria.
 I regret they not to-have-3PL talked with the Maria.

My own intuition is that object CLLD is rare with inflected infinitives, but I wouldn't judge the following sentences as bad:

- (187) a. É melhor, à Maria, não dizerem a verdade toda.
 It-is better, to-the Maria, not to-tell-3PL the truth all
 'It is better that they don't tell the whole truth to Maria.'
 b. É pena, a Maria, não a podermos levar agora.
 It-is a pity the Maria not her can-3PL take now
 'It is a pity that we can't take Maria now.'
 d. É pena, à Maria, ninguém poder dizer a verdade.
 It-is a pity, to-the Maria, noone can tell her the truth
 'It is a pity that, to Maria, noone can tell the truth.'
- (188) Lamentamos, à Maria, ninguém poder dizer a verdade.
 we-regret. to-the Maria, noone can tell the truth
 'We regret it that to Maria noone can tell the truth.'

The examples in (187, 188) require a heavier intonational break than the examples in (186), which sound perfectly natural without a pause. However, as we have seen, this difference between subjects and objects is observed even in constructions which unambiguously involve dislocation, so the intonational difference is not really a counter-

argument. Note also that when we consider what happens when a sentential adverb precedes the verb, the intuitions replicate those observed in the case of subjects. Thus, in inflected infinitives embedded under epistemic or declarative verbs a pre-sentential adverb yields a somewhat marginal result; in the other cases, a pre-verbal sentential adverb is fine:

- (189) a. ??O ministro declarou amanhã poderem aprovar a proposta.
 the minister declared tomorrow to-be-able-3PL to- approve the proposal
- b. É pena amanhã não poderes vir.
 it-is a pity tomorrow not to-be-able-2SG to-come
 ‘It is a pity that you can’t come tomorrow.’
- c. Lamento amanhã não poderes vir.
 I-regret tomorrow not to-be-able-2SG to-come

To my ear, (189b,c) differ from (189a) in the same subtle way that (184b) differs from (186a,b). This parallel with sentential adverbs is surprising under the standard view that takes pre-verbal subjects to sit in an L-related position, although it is in accordance with the predictions of the adjunction hypothesis.

3.2. Nonspecific indefinites in pre-verbal subject position

CLLDed constituents always take wide scope with respect to operators inside the clause, as illustrated below for Portuguese (see also Cinque 1991):

- (190) Algumas cartas, ainda não as pude ler.
 ‘Some letters, I haven’t yet been able to read them.’

(190) can only be appropriately uttered in a context in which there is a contextually salient set of letters, and the indefinite is interpreted as a partitive. Thus, our hypothesis makes the very strong prediction that indefinite pre-verbal “subjects” should always take wide scope.

In effect, this prediction is fulfilled. Consider the following English sentence:

- (191) Look! A flower is growing in every pot!

(191) only has one plausible reading, namely the one in which the indefinite is interpreted with narrow scope with respect to the universal QP. The wide scope reading of the indefinite is absurd: the same flower cannot grow in several pots at the same time. Now consider the following two possible renderings of (191) in Portuguese:

- (191) a. Olha! Uma flor está a crescer em todos os vasos.
Look! A flower is growing in all the pots.
b. Olha! Está a crescer uma flor em todos os vasos.
Look! is growing a flower in all the pots

For me, (191a) only has the absurd reading. (191b) is fine. Thus, pre-verbal subject “indefinites” (that are not quantificational operators in the sense described above) have obligatory wide scope with respect to quantifiers inside the clause, and our prediction is confirmed. Under the assumption that pre-verbal subjects raise to Spec-IP these facts are harder to accommodate: why should English differ from Portuguese, given that in both languages the subject would be sitting in the same position?

It has often been noted in the literature that non-specific indefinite subjects in the Null Subject Languages are not very felicitous when they appear in pre-verbal position (Brito and Duarte 1982, Brito 1984, Martins 1994). This restriction against pre-verbal non-specific indefinite subjects distinguishes the Null Subject Languages from English. It has been claimed that, since subjects can stay in situ in the NSLs, raising to Spec-IP is triggered by topichood (Calabrese 1991, Saccon 1993, Pinto 1994, Adger 1995, Grimshaw & Samek-Lodovici 1995, Costa 1996). By hypothesis, Infl in the NSLs would have a topic feature that needs to be checked. Under this approach, the difference between English and Portuguese would be accounted for. However, it is not the case that all pre-verbal indefinite subjects are topics. Consider the following contrasts:

- (192) a. ???Um desastre aconteceu na festa.
A disaster happened at-the party
b. Aconteceu um desastre na festa.
happened a disaster at-the party
- (193) Algo aconteceu na festa, mas não me disseram o que foi.
'Something happened at-the party, but noone told me what it was.'

(193) contains a bare indefinite subject (a quantificational operator in the sense discussed above) in pre-verbal position. As discussed, bare indefinites are not topics; yet they can appear in pre-verbal position, unlike other indefinites such as *um desastre*.

Note in addition that quantificational operators can have narrow scope with respect to a scope taking element inside the clause:

- (194) a. Ontem algo de estranho aconteceu em todas as festas da cidade.
'Yesterday something strange happened in all the parties of the city'
b. Apenas uma bactéria cresceu em todos os recipientes.
'Only one bacteria grew in every recipient.'

In (194a,b) the quantificational operator subject can be interpreted with narrow scope with respect to the universal QP. According to the analysis proposed here, quantificational operators raise to an A'-position, so narrow scope follows from the possibility of reconstruction.

Even though there is general consensus among linguists that non-specific indefinites resist the pre-verbal position in the NSLs, we also find arguments against the idea that pre-verbal subjects are topics precisely on the basis of the distribution of indefinites. Consider the following example, mentioned in Duarte 1987:

- (195) Um médico descobriu uma vacina contra a sida.
'A doctor discovered a vaccine against aids.'

(195) is fine, even though the pre-verbal "subject" is indefinite. However, as Duarte herself notes, (195) is only a problem to the assumption that the indefinite is a topic in theories that assume that the defining property of topic is familiarity (being "old information" or shared knowledge). Reinhart 1981, 1995, however, argues that the familiarity approach to topics is mistaken. In particular, she claims: "It is true that the common way to introduce new entities into the discourse is in focus position, or by use of presentational sentences, but an existing alternative is introducing them as (indefinite) topics." (Reinhart 1995: 86)

Here I will not apply Reinhart's 1981 tests for topichood, since they were not designed to detect dislocated topics, which is the construction we are concerned with. However, we can use our familiar test for dislocation, recomplementation. To my ear, (196) is fine as a recomplementation sentence:

- (196) Disse-me que um médico que descobriu a vacina contra a sida.
they-told-me that a doctor that discovered a vaccine against aids

Thus, certain indefinites can be topics doubled by resumptive *pro* and (195) doesn't constitute a problem for our hypothesis.

3.3. Summary

In this section I have given independent evidence internal to EP in favor of the idea that pre-verbal subjects do not raise to an A-position. In previous sections, I have shown that this observation extends to Catalan, Spanish, and Romanian, which suggests that this generalization should be regarded as an intrinsic property of the NSLs, as has been independently argued by Solà 1992, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1996, and more recently, Pollock 1996. In the next section I will discuss yet another set of facts that reinforce this view of the null subject property.

4. Adnominal *en/ne*-cliticization

In this section I will show that there are contrasts between French and the NSLs with respect to adnominal *ne/en*-cliticization from subjects that defy explanation under any theory that assumes that pre-verbal subjects are A-moved to pre-verbal position. These facts follow quite naturally once we assume that pre-verbal non-quantificational operator subjects are left-dislocated.

French *en* and Italian *ne* can pronominalize an adnominal complement of a direct object, as in (197), (198) (the same holds of Catalan too) (see Couquaux 1981, Rizzi 1990, Pollock 1986, 1997):

(197) Adnominal ne (Italian):

- a. Maria conosce tre libri **del questo autore**.
Mary knows three books by this author
- b. Maria **ne** conosce tre libri.
Maria cl-of-him knows three books
'Maria knows three books by him.'

(198) Adnominal en (French):

- a. Luc a cassé le pied **de cette table**.
Luc has broken the foot of this table.
- b. Luc **en** a cassé le pied.
Luc cl-of-it has broken the foot
'Luc has broken the foot of it.'

When it comes to subjects, there is a split between French, on the one hand, and Catalan and Italian, on the other. Adnominal *ne/en* can be associated with a pre-verbal (derived) subject in French, though not in Catalan or Italian. This is illustrated below:

(199) *French:*

La préface **en** est trop flatteuse
the preface cl-of-it is too flattering
'The preface of it is too flattering'

(200) *Italian:*

- a. Ne appariranno molti capitoli.
cl-of-it appeared three books
- b. *Molti capitoli ne appariranno
'Many chapters cl-of-it appeared'

(201) *Catalan:*

- a. En seran editats tres volums.
cl-of-it will-be edited three volumes.
- b. *Tres volums en seran editats.
three volumes cl-of-it will-be edited

This contrast is a mystery for any theory that claims that pre-verbal subjects in the NSLs are A-moved to pre-verbal position, since no relevant *structural* differences are predicted between pre-verbal subject constructions in French and Italian/Catalan. The adjunction hypothesis, however, states that there are important structural differences between the non-NSLs and the NSLs in subject initial constructions. In French, pre-verbal subjects are A-moved to Spec-IP. In the NSLs, this configuration never arises. There are only two options: left-dislocation or A'-movement. In particular, this theory predicts that the pattern of adnominal *en/ne* cliticization from pre-verbal subjects in the NSLs should replicate the pattern observed with left-dislocated objects and focused objects. This prediction is in fact borne out.

When we look at objects, we observe that adnominal *ne* cliticization is compatible with A' movement (cf. (202a,b), but incompatible with Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) (cf. 204a,b):

- (202) a. *Italian*:
 L' AUTORE ne conosco (non l' editore)!
 the author cl-of it know-1sg. (not the editor)
- b. *Catalan*:
 TRES CAPITOLS en vaig llegir (i no pas quatre)!
 Three chapters cl-of-it have-read (and not NEG four)
- (204) a. *Catalan*:
 *Aquests capitols els n' he llegit.
 those chapters them cl-of-it have read
- b. *Italian*
 *Quei capitoli, non li-ne /ne-li ho letto/letti.
 those chapters them cl-of-it have read

The following Catalan example shows that the impossibility of (204a) is not due to a morphological restriction on the combination of an object clitic with *en*:

- (205) *Catalan*:
 (Els llibres) (del Calaix)
 (the books) (from the drawer)
 ja els n' he tret.
 already **them cl-from-there** have taken
 (the books) (from the drawer) I have already taken them from there

Under the hypothesis that (non-focused) pre-verbal subjects are dislocated in the NSLs, the impossibility of adnominal *ne/en*-cliticization with a pre-verbal non-focused subject follows from the incompatibility of adnominal *ne/en* cliticization with Clitic Left Dislocation. Intuitively, CLLD is incompatible with *ne/en* cliticization because the empty category the clitic is associated with must be maximal, that is, it can't be modified. In order for (204a,b) to be well-formed, *en* would have to be linked to a modifier of the *ec* associated with the object clitic. However, clitics can't be 'modified'. Thus, there is no source for *ne/en* in (204a,b). Likewise, there is no source for *ne* in (206a) below if its representation is as in (206b), where *pro* is the real subject, and the lexical DP is a base-generated topic:

- (206) a. *molti capitoline appariranno
 b. $[_{IP} [molti capitolini]_1 [_{IP} ne_2 appariranno pro_1]$

Now let us turn to focused subjects. Focus-movement of the object is judged to be compatible with adnominal *ne/en* cliticization in Italian and Catalan. The Catalan example (207a) illustrates subject focalization, and contrasts with the ungrammatical example (207b), where the subject is not focused:

- (207) *Catalan:*
- a. TRES volums n' apareixeran
 three volumes cl-of-it will-appear!
 (i no pas quatre)
 (and not NEG four)
 THREE volums appeared (not four)!
 - b. *Tres volums en seran editats.
 three volumes cl-of-it will-be edited
 Three volumes of it will be edited.

The difference between (207a) and (207b) is that the former involves movement (in this case, A'-movement) of *tres volums* 'three volumes' whereas the latter involves a base-generated topic doubled by an empty category in an A-position. Note that (207a) is parallel to the French example (199). In both cases there is movement to pre-verbal position, the only difference being in the kind of movement involved: A' movement versus A movement.

The contrast in (207), in conjunction with French (199), highlights the relevance of *movement* versus *base-generation* in characterizing the difference between neutral pre-verbal subject constructions in the NSLs and in the non-NSLs. The standard theory or any variation thereof which assumes A-movement of the subject to a pre-verbal position has in principle nothing to say about the unacceptability of (206, 207b) when compared to French (199).

5. Conclusion

To conclude, I have argued that the different patterns of clitic placement in SV constructions in EP follow once we assume that the pre-verbal field in EP doesn't constitute a target for A-movement of subjects. I claimed that the **real A-position** for subjects in EP is to the right of the raised verb:

- (208) [IP [I' V [VP subject t]]]

SV constructions can be derived in one of two ways. They are either instances of subject CLLD (cf. 209) or instances of A'-movement of the subject (cf. 210):

(209) [_{IP} DP_i [_{IP} V ... *pro subject* _i ...]]

(210) [FP subject [F' V ... t]]

In (209) the adjoined DP is licensed by 'rules of predication', in the sense of Chomsky (1977). IP contains an 'open' position (*pro*, a pronominal category without independent reference) satisfied by the entity referred to by the topic. (209) is barred to expressions that cannot act as discourse "links" (in the sense of Vallduví 1992). These can only be fronted by A'-movement. A'-movement can target Spec-IP, an A'-position, or it can target the specifier of a higher projection (FP).

In line with Rigau 1987, Contreras 1991, Vallduví 1991, 1992, Solà 1992, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1996 and Pollock 1996, I suggested that this theory of subject positions is a characteristic feature of the NSLs. I argued that it accounts for a wide range of phenomena in the Romance NSLs, including the distribution of pre-verbal subjects in inflected infinitives in EP, the restrictions on the distribution of the subjunctive complementizer in Romanian (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994), the relative positions of topics and fronted quantificational operators in Catalan (Vallduví 1992, Sola 1992), the restrictions on the interpretation of pre-verbal indefinites, and certain asymmetries in *ne/en* cliticization from subjects between French and Italian. It faces the somewhat puzzling conclusion that the real A-position for subjects, the post-verbal position, is not the unmarked position as far as its discourse properties go. Post-verbal subjects tend to be focused in the NSLs (Brito and Duarte 1983, Brito 1984, Âmbar 1988, Calabrese 1991, Saccon 1993, Pinto 1994, Samek-Lodovici 1994, Belletti and Shlonsky 1995). However, this might be due to the interference of other factors, such as the rule assigning focus in the language. Reinhart (1995) and Zubizarreta (1996) have proposed that there is a relation between stress prominence and focus interpretation, where stress prominence is a function of depth of embedding, as proposed in Cinque (1993). Thus, if the subject remains inside the VP at spell-out it may be assigned focus by this independent rule. In addition, there is cross-linguistic variation among the Romance NSLs regarding the possible orders of the subject with respect to the object in the post-verbal field (see Sola 1992, Costa 1997, Zubizarreta 1997) and discourse factors determine the different possibilities allowed. Once again, that may depend on the structure of the post-verbal field in each language and the resources available for the subject to "escape" the focus assigning rule (see Zubizarreta 1996). In any case, the post-verbal field tends to be part of

the theme/comment (Calabrese 1991), so the only way of establishing the topic-comment or rheme/theme articulation with subjects is by CLLD.

The lack of A'-properties of pre-verbal (non-quantificational) subjects follows from the properties of CLLD: CLLD doesn't display Weak-Cross-Over effects, doesn't license parasitic gaps and doesn't reconstruct (at least not for the purposes of certain syntactic phenomena, like proper binding of the trace of partitive *ne*-cliticization).

This theory of subject positions in the NSLs has the added advantage of accounting for two other well-known properties of these languages: "free-inversion" and the fact that subject extraction is from post-verbal position. Since the real subject position is to the right of the raised verb, extraction is predicted to take place from this position and no other; the alternations between SV and VS order follow from the processes of constituent fronting independently available in these languages, namely CLLD and A'-fronting. This allows us to pose new questions about the Null Subject Property, namely why the NSLs should be languages where subjects do not raise to an L-related position in the syntax.

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