

Deriving A/A'-effects in topic fronting: intervention of focus and binding
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INTRODUCTION: In line with Chomsky (2008) and Miyagawa (2005, 2010), Jiménez-Fernández (2009, 2010) argues for a three-fold classification of languages based on feature inheritance. In this system, languages are parameterized as to which features of C^0 , agreement- (φ) and/or discourse-features (δ) , are inherited by T^0 . Languages such as Turkish and Spanish are included within the last group; both φ - and δ -features are lowered onto T^0 . Assuming a movement analysis of topic fronting (Rizzi 1997, Cecchetto 2000, Grohmann 2000, Haegeman 2003, López 2009), after δ -features are inherited by T^0 , topics are preposed to Spec,TP. This is predicted to give rise to A-effects, such as Binding improvement (small capitals show focus):

- (1) a. *Su_i vecino vio A SUSANA_i. b. [A Susana_i]_j la vio SU_i VECINO *t_j*.
self neighbour see-PST.3s to Susana 'Susana was seen by her neighbour.'
(2) a. *Kendi_i komşu-su IŞIK-_i gör-dü. b. [Işık'_i]_j KENDİ_i KOMŞUSU gördü *t_j*.
self neighbour-POSS Işık-ACC see-PST.3s 'Işık was seen by her neighbour.'

THE PUZZLE: Spec,TP is traditionally described as an A-position (Lasnik 1999, 2003). If topics undergo movement to Spec,TP in languages such as Turkish and Spanish, A'-effects such as reconstruction are expected not to be displayed, contrary to facts:

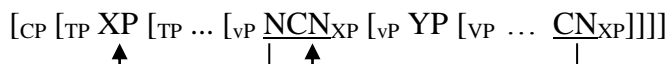
- (3) a. [A su_i vecino]_j lo vio Susana_i *t_j* AYER.
to self neighbour CL see-PST.3s Susana yesterday
b. [Kendi_i komşusunu]-nu_j Işık_i *t_j* DÜN gördü.
self neighbour-ACC Işık yesterday see-PST.3s
'Susana/Işık saw her neighbour yesterday.'

Although the classical approach to anaphor binding phenomena suggests that topic fronting/scrambling can target both Spec,TP and Spec,CP in a language (Mahajan 1990; Miyagawa 2003; among others), A- and A'-positions respectively, there are also studies proposing a unified approach to the A/A'-distinction (Saito 2003; Takahashi 2006; Miyagawa 2010; among others). Takahashi (2006) has claimed that the A/A'-distinction can be captured if A-movement optionally leaves a copy, whereas A'-movement obligatorily leaves a copy. However, Miyagawa (2010) holds that some types of A-movement undergo LF-reconstruction:

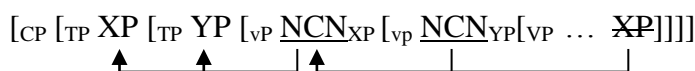
- (4) [Someone from his_i class] seems to [every professor]_i to be a genius. (Fox 1999)

The solution proposed by Miyagawa (2010:115) is the *Phase-Based Characterization of Chains* (PBCC), according to which a full copy of a moved item must be available for interpretation if the movement crosses a transfer domain (or complement of a phasal head, namely TP and VP [our clarification]). Nevertheless, contrary to what the PBCC predicts, two different pictures emerge from the data discussed (CN: copy needed; NCN: no copy needed):

- (5) Displaced Anaphoric object + Antecedent Subject >>> Reconstruction (ex. 3a-b)



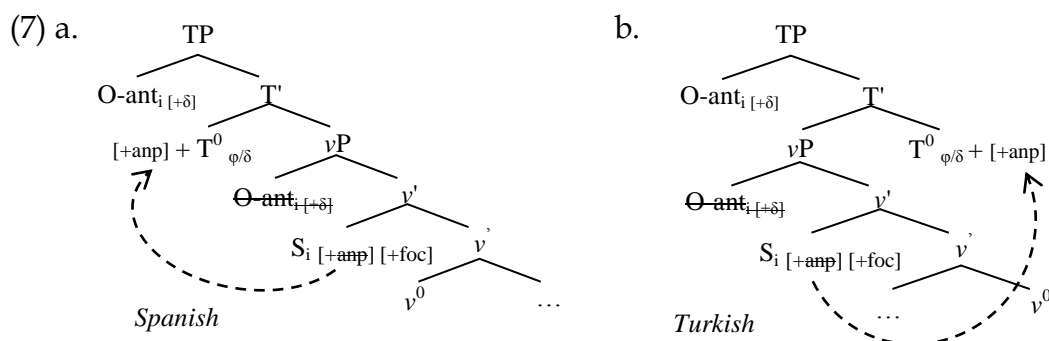
- (6) Displaced Antecedent object + Anaphoric subject >>> No reconstruction (ex. 1b & 2b)



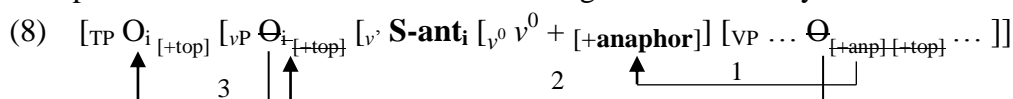
THE SOLUTION: Drawing on unifying approaches to the A/A'-distinction in topic fronting, we account for the A- and A'-effects in Turkish and Spanish in (1-3). Yet, differing from Takahashi/Miyagawa-style approaches that rely on copy identification, and limiting our discussion basically to anaphora binding environments, we propose that a simpler account is possible which is based on the (LF-)adjunction of anaphoric/pronominal features to functional heads, namely v^0 and T^0 (see Avrutin 1994; Chomsky 1995; Hestvik 1992; Lebeaux 1983; Pica

1987; Reinhart and Reuland 1991, among others). Revealing the inaccuracy of the PBCC, we also show that the interaction of information focus (IF) and binding (Zubizarreta 1998, Kural 1992, Lahousse 2009, Williams 1997) is crucial to predict the interpretive properties of displaced elements both in Turkish and Spanish, which are traditionally accounted for by making a distinction between A-position and A'-position. Binding interpretations will be established either in the CP phase or in the vP phase depending on which category the anaphoric feature is attached to.

To illustrate and concentrating on the C-T domain, if (some types of) topics move to Spec,TP in Spanish and Turkish, the A-properties are fully expected. Consider the derivations of (1b) and (2b), depicted in (7), where the topicalized antecedent object can bind the anaphoric feature in T⁰ associated with the in situ subject. Note that the first instance of object movement to the outer Spec of v⁰ is forced by p-movement (à la Zubizarreta 1998) so that focus is assigned to the subject.



By contrast, A'-properties are also exhibited when the antecedent is a defocused subject as shown in (3a-b). In the first step in (8), the anaphoric feature of the object anaphor adjoins to v⁰ since it is the next higher functional head to which this feature can adjoin. This is followed by p-movement of the object to the outer Spec of v⁰ in Step 2. Thus, the binding relation between the antecedent subject and the anaphoric feature in v⁰ is established in the vP domain. The subsequent movement of the object anaphor to Spec,TP in Step 3 is drawn by its need to check its topic feature and does not alter the binding relations already established in vP.



We also propose that the ungrammaticality of (9a-b) is due to the fact that the anaphoric feature of the object adjoined to v⁰ intervenes with the checking of [+foc] feature of the subject against the same head, namely v⁰.

- (9) a. *[A su_i vecino]_j lo vio SUSANA_i t_j .
to self neighbour CL see-PST.3s Susana
b. *[Kendi_i komşusunu]-nu_j İŞİK_i t_j gördü.
self neighbour-ACC Işık see-PST.3s
'Susana/Işık saw her neighbour yesterday.'

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