

Topicalization

Based on *Agreement Beyond Phi*, LI Monograph, 2017

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1. Starting Point: *Wh*-movement

Pre-1973: Movement was part of description of constructions – passive, wh-question, raising, ...

What changed? Islands (Ross 1967):

(i) independent of constructions

(ii) opaque domains:

Wh-island, Subject island, Left Branch, Coordinate Structure, Complex NP, Adjunct Island

(1) *Where do you know [a man who went _]?

(2) *What did you go home because you needed to do *t*?

Chomsky 1973: Conditions on Transformations:

(2) Specified Subject Condition/Propositional Island Constraint

No movement rule may involve X and Y in

...X... [α ... Y...]...X...

where α contains a [subject that c-commands Y] or is "propositional".

Specified Subject Condition

(3a) *What did you buy [Mary's picture of _]?

(3b) What did you buy [a picture of ___]?

PIC/Tensed S Movement:

(3c) They are believed [t to be talented]

(3d) *They are believed [t are talented]

Intriguing parallel: Binding

Specified Subject Condition:

- (4) a. *They_i laughed at [Mary's pictures of each other_i].
b. They_i laughed at [pictures of each other_i].

Propositional Island Condition

(5) Anaphor

- a. They want to recommend each other.
b. *They said that Mary will recommend each other.

(6) Pronoun

- a. *John_i believes him_i to like Mary b. John_i said that he_i likes Mary

Why is this interesting?

- (7) (i) Movement is a universal operation independent of any constructions specific to a language that is constrained by general conditions.
(ii) The general conditions pertain to *local domains*.

(8) the COMP escape hatch

... where Y is not in COMP [of α].

Who do you believe [_{COMP} **t** [t are talented]]

Looking ahead 30 years:

The notion of local domain became reformulated as Phases.

The COMP escape hatch is part of the Phase Impenetrability Condition.

2. *On Wh*-movement

(9) **The rule of *wh*-movement has the following general characteristics:**

- a. it leaves a gap
- b. where there is a bridge, there is an apparent violation of subjacency, PIC, and SSC
- c. it observes CNPC
- d. it observes *wh*-island constraints [(49)]

Bridge: (Erteschick-Shir 1973 On Islands)

(10) *what did Sarah **complain** that she had to do this evening? *quip,
?murmur, ?shout

(11) Subjacency

...X...[α ...[β ...Y...]...X, α , β boundingnodes

(12) What do you think [Mary said [John will buy t]]]? (PIC, SSC,
Subjac. Viola. BUT OK)

What are bounding nodes? DP/NP for one; the other, CP or TP?

(13) CNPC:

* [CP What do [TP you know [DP a man [CP who/that [TP t bought t where]]]]]

(14) WH-island

*[CP Where [TP do you wonder [CP (*t) what [TP Mary bought t t]]]]]

Italian (Rizzi 1978)

(15) *Your brother, to whom [TP I wonder [CP which stories [TP they told t]]], was very troubled.

(16) tuo fratello, [TP a cui mi domando [CP che storie [TP abbiamo raccontato t]]], era molto preoccupato.

No subjacency? (13 OK in Chinese, Japanese)

(17) **Goal of the “On Wh Movement” paper:**

"Where we find the configuration [9] in some system of data, can we explain it on the assumption that the configuration results from *wh*-movement?" In other words, language is full of *wh*-movement.

3. Comparatives

(18) Mary has more books than Dennis.

In the literature at the time: perhaps the gap arises from *deletion*.

But comparatives show evidence for Wh-movement.

(19) **Overt *wh*-word may show up**

a. John is taller than (what) Mary is.

b. John is taller than (what) Mary told us that Bill is. [(51)]

(20) **Shows bridge/non-bridge and other island contrasts**

a. Mary isn't the same as [she was five ___ years ago]

b. Mary isn't the same as [John believes [that Bill claimed [that she was ___ five years ago]]] 1

c. *Mary isn't the same as [John believes [Bill's claim [that she was ___ five years ago]]]

d. *Mary isn't the same as [I wonder [whether she was ___ five years ago]]

4. Topicalization

Many languages have a way to mark the topic of a sentence.

(21) This book, I really like.

- Is Topicalization just like left-dislocation?

(22) **Left-dislocation**

a. This book, I think you should read it.

b. As for this book, I think you should read it.

- No! Left-dislocation does not look like movement, but topicalization does.

(23) **Topicalization shows bridge/non-bridge and other island contrasts**

a. This book, I really like.

b. This book, I asked Bill to get his students to read.

c. *This book, I accept the argument that John should read.

d. *This book, I wonder who read.

(24) **...unlike Left dislocation**

a. As for this book, I accept the argument that John should read it.

b. This book, I wonder who read it.

Some key questions:

- (25) (i) What is the "meaning" of a topic?
- (ii) How does the topic phrase end up where it does -- at the head of the sentence in these cases?
- (iii) Can topicalization occur freely, in any environment?

(26) **Some Phrase Structure rules**

- a. $S'' \rightarrow TOP S' / TopP \rightarrow Top CP$
- b. $S' \rightarrow COMP S / CP \rightarrow C TP$
- c. $S' \rightarrow COMP S'' / CP \rightarrow TopP$

Consequences:

- Topic recursion allowed by rules (a) and (c).

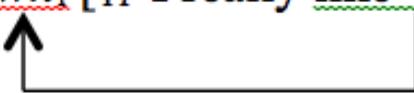
(27) It is believed [_{CP} that [_{CP''} [_{TOP} this book] [_{CP} you should read]]]

(28) *This book, *to whom* should we give?

(29) TopP → TOP CP

(30) $CP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C TP \\ C TopP \end{array} \right\}$

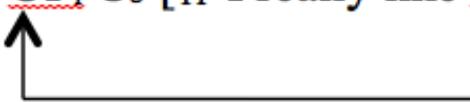
(31) [_{CP'} this book [_{CP} wh_i [_{TP} I really like t_i]]]

A diagram consisting of a horizontal line with a vertical line extending upwards from its center, ending in an arrowhead pointing to the underlined wh_i in the phrase structure above.

Is it really wh-movement?

Alternative based on Strong Uniformity:

(32) [_{CP'} this book [_{CP} OP_i C_δ [_{TP} I really like t_i]]]

A diagram consisting of a horizontal line with a vertical line extending upwards from its center, ending in an arrowhead pointing to the underlined OP_i in the phrase structure above.

TOPIC ISLANDS

Topics create islands

(33) a. *To whom did **this book** Mary give?

b. *When did **this book** everyone read?

c. *Where did **this book** Henry buy?

One exception: *why* (Bromberger, 1987, 1992, Rizzi 1990, Ko 2005, etc.)

(34) ?Why did **this book** everyone buy at a store (instead of online)?

Similar Topic Island effects (drawn from Haegeman 2012)

(35) a. *Who did you say that **to Sue** Bill introduced? (Boeckx and Jeong
(2004: 84))

b. *Which company did Bill warn you (that) **flights to Chicago** had canceled
(Emonds (2004: 77))

c. *Which books did Becky say that **to Aaron** she will give?
(Koizumi (1995: 140))

d. *On which table did Lee say that **these books** she will put?
(Koizumi (1995: 140))

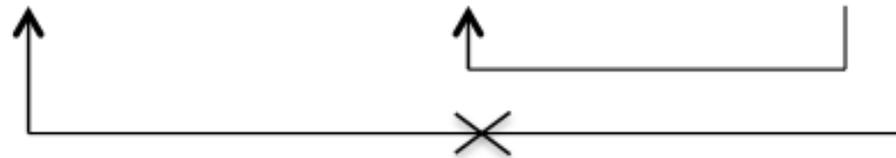
e. *How do you think that **this problem** John solved? (Lasnik and Saito 1992)

Independently these predicates (e.g., *said*) allow embedded topicalization.

- (36) a. Mary said that **this book** everyone must read by the next class.
b. John warned everyone that **this book** they must all read by the next class.
c. Joe thinks that **this book** everyone should read for their own good.

Topic Island is a form of Relativized Minimality.

(37) $[_{CP} wh\text{-phrase}_i \dots [_{TopP} TOPIC [_{CP} OP_i C [_{TP} I \text{ really like } t_i t_j]]]]$



Strong Uniformity: Focus and Topic are both δ -features, thus they may enter into competition and induce a Relativized Minimality violation.

(38) Central adverbial clauses (Haegeman (2012), etc.)

- a. When she began to write her regular column again, I thought she would be OK.
- a'. *When **her regular column** she began to write again, I thought she would be OK.
- a''. *I thought she would be OK when **her regular column** she began to write again.
- b. While I was revising this paper last week, I thought of another analysis.
- b'. *While **this paper** I was revising last week, I thought of another analysis.
- b''. *I thought of another analysis while **this paper** I was revising last week.
- c. I won't take time off until I have finished this handout.
- c'. *I won't take time off until **this handout** I have finished.
- c''. *Until **this handout** I have finished, I won't take time off.

Haegeman (2006, 2010): competition

(39) John left when Sheila said he should leave.

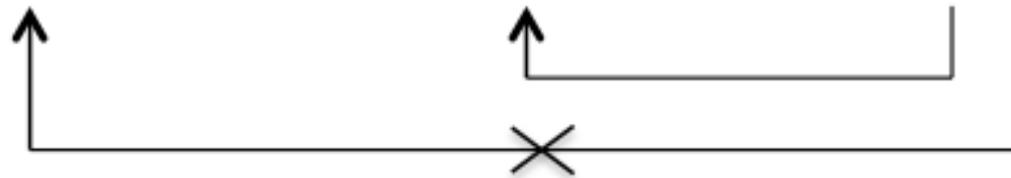
(40) a. John left [_{CP} when_i [_{IP} Sheila said [_{CP} [_{IP} he should leave]] *t_i*]]

b. John left [_{CP} when_i [_{IP} Sheila said [_{CP} [_{IP} he should leave *t_i*]]]] (Larson (1987))

The occurrence of the *wh*-operator *when* blocks a topic from occurring in the same position in the central adverbial clause.

Miyagawa (2017): reduce it to Topic Island (RR)

(41) [_{CP} *wh*-phrase_i ... [_{TopP} TOPIC [_{CP} OP_i C [_{TP} I really like *t_i* *t_j*]]]]]



(42) Peripheral adverbial clauses (Haegeman 2012, etc.)

- a. I think we have more or less solved the problem for donkeys here, because those we haven't got, we know about. (*Guardian*, G2, February 18, 2003)
- b. We don't look to his paintings for common place truths, though truths they contain none the less. (*Guardian*, G2, February 18, 2003: 8, col. 1)
- c. His face not many admired, while his character still fewer felt they could praise. (Quirk et al. 1985: 1378)
- d. While other brilliant things hardly anyone buys—I'd put my friend's first novel and sherry in this category. (*Observer*, December 6, 2009)
- e. Sophie would put Len between two women who would have to bear his halitosis, while Gillian she buried mid-table among the also-rans. (Sebastian Faulks 2010: 40)
- f. If some precautions they did indeed take, many other possible measures they neglected.

Peripheral adverbial clauses do not involved operator movement (Miyagawa 2017)

While/if below unambiguous in scope

(43) John was watching TV while Mary said that he should be studying.

(44) If Mary said that she will attend the meeting, I will also attend.

Truncation

Hooper and Thompson (1973: 485) pointed out that infinitival clauses do not allow topicalization.

- (45) a. My friends tend to support the more liberal candidates.
b. *My friends tend **the more liberal candidates** to support.

Haegeman (2006, 2010), suggest that the failure of the infinitival clause to host a topic is due to the fact that an infinitival clause is a reduced clause (e.g., Rizzi 1997, 2001).

(46) ~~ForceP~~ → ~~IntP~~ → ~~TopP~~ → . . . → Fin(ite)P

It is fine for a wh-clause to occur at the edge of an infinitival (e.g. Shlonksy and Soare 2011)

- (47) Mary asked Bill a. who/what to serve.
b. when/how/where to serve oysters.

Topicalization and the Root: Truncation or Topic Island?

Not all complements allow topicalization.

(48) *I don't regret that this book, Mary read. Cf. (Emonds 1969)

(49) Root

A root will mean either the highest S in a tree, an S immediately dominated by the highest S or the reported S in direct discourse.

(Emonds 1969: 6)

(50) a. This book, I read. (highest S)

b. I said that this book, Mary had already read (reported S)

c. Because these incidents, the journalists reported on a daily basis...

d. *I deny that this book, everyone will most probably read happily.

Hooper and Thompson (1973)

(51) I found out that this article, no one was willing to read ____.

(52) Hooper and Thompson (1973:473-474)

Non-factive: Class A: say, report, exclaim
Class B: suppose, believe, think
Class C: be (un)likely, be (im)possible, deny

Factive: Class D: resent, regret, be surprised
Class E: realize, learn, know

Class A: it is possible for the complement to comprise the main assertion.

Class B: the main verb does not always have the meaning of assertion, allowing the complement to express the main assertion of the sentence.

Class C verbs have the meaning of assertion, and they take a complement that is neither asserted nor presupposed.

Class D verbs likewise express assertion, and their complement is presupposed.

Class E verbs are called “semi-factive” and their complement is not always presupposed. H&T show that RTs are possible in the complement clause in those classes where the complement can express assertion, namely, A, B, and E.

said
 believed
 (53) John *denied (that) this gift, Mary paid with her own money.
 *resented
 realized

Spanish

In Spanish, A, B, E are always in the indicative, while C and D are always in the subjunctive (Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa 2014).

(54) Class A: say, report, exclaim (only indicative)

Él nos informó que rechazaron/*rechazaran el artículo.
 he us informed that rejected-3PL.IND/rejected.3PL.SUBJ the paper
 'He told us that they rejected the paper'

(55) Class B: suppose, believe, think (only indicative)

Él creyó que rechazaron/*rechazaran el artículo.
 he believed that rejected-3PL.IND/rejected.3PL.SUBJ the paper
 'He thought that they rejected the paper'

(56) Class E: realize, learn, know (only indicative)

Hemos sabido que los vuelos a Chicago han/*hayan sido cancelados
have-pres.1PL learned that the flights to Chicago have-pres.3PL been cancelled
'I have learned that the flights to Chicago have been cancelled.'

(57) Class C: be (un)likely, be (im)possible, deny (only subjunctive)

Es probable que*rechazaron/rechazaran el artículo.
is likely that rejected-3PL.IND/rejected.3PL.SUBJ the paper
'It is likely that they rejected the paper'

(58) Class D: resent, regret, be surprised (only subjunctive)

Él siente que *rechazaron/rechazaran el artículo.
he regrets that rejected-3PL.IND/rejected.3PL.SUBJ the paper
'He regrets that they rejected the paper'

(59) Three types of topics (Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007: 87-88).

(a) Aboutness topic: “what the sentence is about” (Reinhart, 1981; Lambrecht, 1994); in particular a constituent that is “newly introduced, newly changed or newly returned to” (Givón, 1983:8), a constituent which is proposed as “a matter of standing and current interest or concern” (Strawson, 1964);

(b) Contrastive topic: an element that induces alternatives which have no impact on the focus value and creates oppositional pairs with respect to other topics (Kuno, 1976; Büring, 1999);

(c) Familiar topic: a given or accessible (cf. Chafe, 1987) constituent, which is typically destressed and realized in a pronominal form (Pesetsky, 1987); when a familiar topic is textually given and d-linked with a pre-established aboutness topic, it is defined as a continuing topic (cf. Givón, 1983).

(60) Distribution of topics

- (i) Aboutness topics must occur in the C region (Bianchi and Frascarelli (2010:82);
- (ii) The position of Contrastive topics and Familiar topics depends on the type of language (Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa 2014).

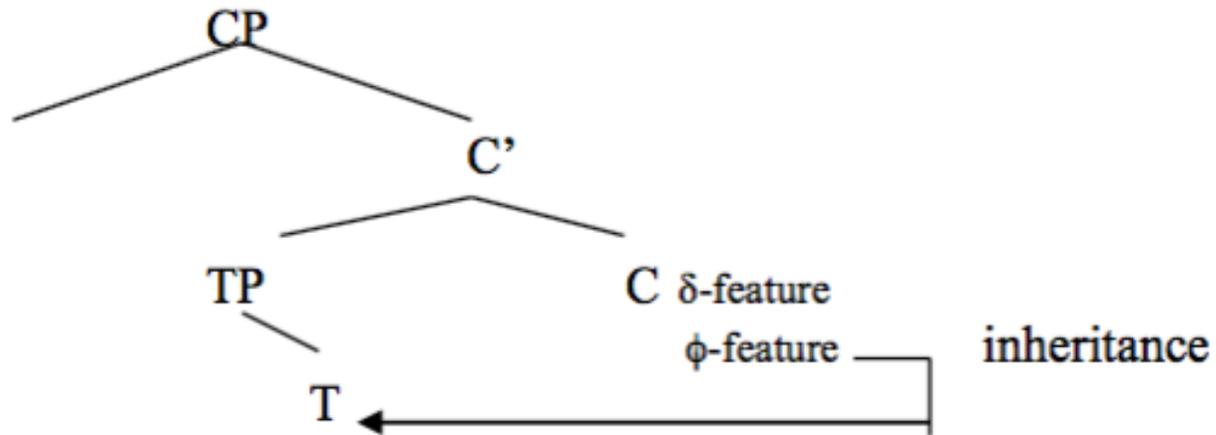
(61) Strong Uniformity (Miyagawa 2010, in press)

Every language shares the same set of grammatical features, and every language overtly manifests these features.

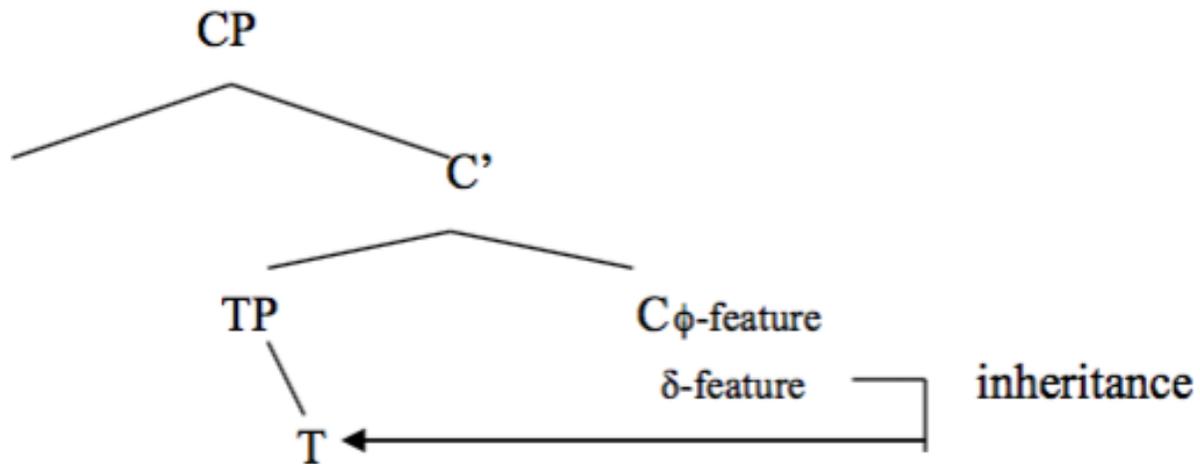
(62) ϕ -features

δ -features: topic, focus

(63) Agreement-based language



(64) Discourse-configurational language



(65) Some predicted languages

Category I:	C_{ϕ}, T_{δ}	Japanese
Category II:	C_{δ}, T_{ϕ}	English
Category III:	$C, T_{\phi/\delta}$	Spanish
Category IV:	$C_{\phi/\delta}, T$	Dinka

- (66) a. Es probable que sólo alguna vez haya
be-PRES.3SG probable that only some time have-PRES.3SG
conducido Juan ese coche.
driven Juan that car
'It's probable that Juan has only rarely driven that car.' (Class C)
- b. Ángela estaba sorprendida de que los regalos lo
Angela be-PAST.3SG surprised of that the presents CL
hubieran dejado los Reyes Magos debajo del árbol.
have-PAST.3PL left the Kings Magic under of.the tree
'Angela was surprised that the three Wise Men had left the present under
the Christmas tree.' (Class D)

Japanese

(67) Three types of topics

a. Aboutness topic: wa

Hanako-wa piza-o tabeta.

Hanako-TOP pizza-ACC ate

‘As for Hanako, she ate pizza.’

b. Contrastive topic: WA

Hanako-WA piza-o tabeta.

‘Hanako-_{TOPCONTR} pizza-ACC ate (but not Taro).’

c. Familiar: scrambling

Piza-o Hanako-ga tabeta.

pizza-ACC Hanako-NOM ate

(Kuno (1973), McCawley (1978)).

(68) Class A: *to, koto*

Class B: *to, koto*

Class C: *koto*

Class D: *koto*

Class E: *to, koto*

Class A:

- (69) a. Hanako-wa [sono hon-wa kodomo-ga yonda to] itta.
Hanako-TOP that book-TOP child-NOM read C said
'Hanako said that as for that book, her child read it.'
- b. Hanako-wa [sono hon-WA kodomo-ga yonda to] itta.
Hanako-TOP that book-CONTR.TOP child-NOM read C said
'Hanako said that that book, her child read (but not this book).'
- c. Hanako-wa [sono hon-o kodomo-ga yonda to] itta.
Hanako-TOP that book-ACC child-NOM read C said
'Hanako said that as for that book, her child read.'

Class B:

(70) a. Hanako-wa [sono hon-wa kodomo-ga yonda to] sinziteiru.

Hanako-TOP that book-TOP child-NOM read C believe

‘Hanako believes that as for that book, her child read it.’

b. Hanako-wa [sono hon-WA kodomo-ga yonda to] sinziteiru.

Hanako-TOP that book-CONTR.TOP child-NOM read C believe

‘Hanako believes that that book, her child read (but not this book).’

c. Hanako-wa [sono hon-o kodomo-ga yonda to] sinziteiru.

Hanako-TOP that book-ACC child-NOM read C believe

‘Hanako believes that as for that book, her child read.’

Class E:

- (71) a. Hanako-wa [Taroo-wa kanozyo-ga suki da to] kizuita.
Hanako-TOP Taro-TOP she-NOM like COP C realized
'Hanako realized that as for Taro, he likes her.'
- b. Hanako-wa [Taroo-WA kanozyo-ga suki da to] kizuita.
Hanako-TOP Taro-CONTR.TOP she-NOM like COP C realized
'Hanako realized that Taro likes her (but not Jiro).'
- c. Hanako-wa [Taroo-ga kanozyo-ga suki da to] kizuita.
Hanako-TOP Taro-NOM she-NOM like COP C realized
'Hanako realized that Taro likes her.'

Class C:

(72) a. *Hanako-wa [sono hon-wa kodomo-ga yonda koto]-o hiteisita.
Hanako-TOP that book-TOP child-NOM read C -ACC denied
'Hanako denied that as for that book, her child read it.'

b. Hanako-wa [sono hon-WA kodomo-ga yonda koto]-o hiteisita.
Hanako-TOP that book-CONTR.TOP child-NOM read C -ACC denied
'Hanako denied that that book, her child read, (but not this book).'

c. Hanako-wa [sono hon-o kodomo-ga yonda koto]-o hiteisita.
Hanako-TOP that book-ACC child-NOM read C -ACC denied
'Hanako denied that that book, her child read.'

Class D:

- (73) a. *Hanako-wa [sono hon-wa kodomo-ga yonda koto]-o kookaisita.
Hanako-TOP that book-TOP child-NOM read C -ACC regretted
'Hanako regretted that as for that book, her child read it.'
- b. Hanako-wa [sono hon-WA kodomo-ga yonda koto]-o kookaisita.
Hanako-TOP that book-CONTR.TOP child-NOM read C -ACC regretted
'Hanako regretted that that book, her child read, (but not this book).'
- c. Hanako-wa [sono hon-o kodomo-ga yonda koto]-o kookaisita.
Hanako-TOP that book-ACC child-NOM read C -ACC regretted
'Hanako regretted that that book, her child read.'

English

Class A:

- (74) a. Mary said that those books, she will read today.
b. Mary said that those books, she will read, but not these.

Class B:

- (75) a. Mary believes that those books, she could read today.
b. Mary believes that those books, she could read, but not these.

Class E:

- (76) a. Mary realized that those books, she could read today.
b. Mary realized that those books, she could read, but not these.

Class C:

(77) a. ?*Mary denied that those books, she will read today.

b. *Mary denied that those books, she will read, but not these.

(78) a. *It is impossible that those books, John will read by the end of the week.

b. *It is impossible that those books, John read, but not these.

Class D:

(79) a. *Mary resents that those books, John read while on vacation.

b. *Mary resents that those books, John read, but not these.

(80) a. ?*I regret that those books, John read without consulting me.

b. *I regret that those books, John read, but not these.

Truncation: C, D embedded clauses are not allowed to project TopP (S''). This excludes Aboutness topics across English, Japanese, and Spanish.

Spanish: same pattern as Japanese (Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014)).

(81) a. Es probable que sólo alguna vez haya
be-PRES.3SG probable that only some time have-PRES.3SG
conducido Juan ese coche.
driven Juan that car
'It's probable that Juan has only rarely driven that car.' (Class C)

b. Ángela estaba sorprendida de que los regalos lo
Angela be-PAST.3SG surprised of that the presents CL
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have-PAST.3PL left the Kings Magic under of.the tree
'Angela was surprised that the three Wise Men had left the present under the Christmas tree.' (Class D)

(82) ??Siento que **tu libro** no lo hayas terminado todavía.
regret-1Sg that your book not CI have-Subj.3Sg finished yet
'I regret that you haven't finished your book yet.'

WHAT CAUSES TRUNCATION IN C, D?

In Spanish, A, B, and E complements, which are those that allow topicalization in English, are always in the indicative mood, while C and D complements are always in the subjunctive mood (Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014)).

(83) Class A: ‘say’, ‘report’, ‘exclaim’ (only indicative)

Él nos informó que rechazaron/*rechazaran el artículo.

he us informed that rejected-Ind.3PI/rejected-Subj.3PI the paper

‘He told us that they rejected the paper.’

(84) Class B: ‘suppose’, ‘believe’, ‘think’ (only indicative)

Él creyó que rechazaron/*rechazaran el artículo.

he believed that rejected-Ind.3PI/rejected-Subj.3PI the paper

‘He thought that they rejected the paper.’

(85) Class E: 'realize', 'learn', 'know' (only indicative)

Hemos sabido que los vuelos a Chicago han/*hayan sido
have-1Pl learned that the flights to Chicago have-Ind.3Pl/have-Subj.3Pl been
cancelados.

cancelled

'We have learned that the flights to Chicago have been cancelled.'

(86) Class C: 'be (un)likely', 'be (im)possible', 'deny' (only subjunctive)

Es probable que*rechazaron/rechazaran el artículo.
is likely that rejected-Ind.3Pl/rejected-Subj.3Pl the paper

'It is likely that they rejected the paper.'

(87) Class D: 'resent', 'regret', 'be surprised' (only subjunctive)

Él siente que *rechazaron/rechazaran el artículo.
he regrets that rejected-Ind.3Pl/rejected-Subj.3Pl the paper

'He regrets that they rejected the paper.'

Complementizers in Japanese:

(88) Class A: *to, koto*

Class B: *to, koto*

Class E: *to, koto*

Class C: *koto*

Class D: *koto*

Koto turns any clause into a “subjunctive” mood:

Class B:

(89) *Hanako-wa [sono hon-wa kodomo-ga yonda **koto**]-o sinziteiru.

Hanako-Top that book-Top child-Nom read C-Acc believe

‘Hanako believes that as for that book, her child read it.’

(90) Subjunctive mood causes truncation of TopP

Villalta (2008): subjunctive mood in Spanish

(92) Indicative mood in Spanish

Epistemic predicates: e.g. *saber* 'know', *pensar* 'think', *creer* 'believe'

Predicates of communication: e.g. *decir* 'say', *anunciar* 'announce'

Predicates of certainty: e.g. *estar seguro* 'be sure', *estar convencido* 'be convinced'

commissives: e.g. *prometer* 'promise'

fiction verbs: e.g. *adivinar* 'guess', *comprender* 'understand'

predicates of perception: e.g. *notar* 'notice', *ver* 'see', *escuchar* 'hear'

The subjunctive mood is selected by the following types of predicates.

(93) Subjunctive mood in Spanish

desire predicates: e.g. *querer* 'want', *preferir* 'prefer', *temer* 'fear'

emotive factive predicates: e.g. *lamentarse* 'regret', *alegrarse* 'be glad'
sorprenderse 'be surprised'

modals: e.g. *es posible* 'it is possible', *es necesario* 'it is necessary'

predicates expressing doubt: e.g. *dudar* 'doubt'

directives: e.g. *ordenar* 'order', *aconsejar* 'advise', *sugerir* 'suggest'

causatives: e.g. *hacer* 'make', *conseguir* 'achieve'

Developing an idea starting with Heim's (1992) semantics for propositional-attitude predicates (see earlier work by Stalnaker (1984)), Villalta (2008) argues that the complement in the subjunctive mood involves a proposition with alternative semantic values. This meaning arises from the complement being associated with a focus operator (cf. Rooth (1985)).

The second part of Villalta's proposal is that the predicates that select the subjunctive mood are gradable predicates, and the gradable property is what the alternatives generated by the focus operator in the complement is compared with. 'Enormously' (Doetjes (1997: 122), cited in Villalta (2008)) distinguishes, for example, a predicate of desire, which selects the subjunctive mood, from the epistemic predicate 'know', which selects the indicative mood.

(95) a. Marcela desea enormemente que Rafael venga.

Marcela desires enormously that Rafael come-Subj.3Sg

'Marcela enormously wants Rafael to come.'

b. *Sofia sabe enormemente que no puede venir.

Sofia knows enormously that not can-Ind.3Sg come

'Sofia knows enormously that she cannot come.'

Miyagawa (2017): source of truncation

(96) predicate_{GRADABLE} [CP OP_{FOCUS} . . .]

(97) *predicate_{GRADABLE} [TopP . . . [CP OP_{FOCUS} . . .]]

Truncation and Strong Uniformity

(92) Distribution of topics

(i) Aboutness topics uniformly occur in the C region (Bianchi and Frascarelli (2010:82)).

(ii) The position of Contrastive topics and Familiar topics depends on the type of language (Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa (2014)).

Aboutness topic: cannot occur in “subjunctive” clauses (C, D) universally

Contrastive, Familiar: May occur in C, D if the topic δ feature occurs at T (Japanese, Spanish)