

THE BRAZILIAN STYLE OF THE MULTIPLE SUBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS

Ana C.P. Bastos
University of Connecticut

1. Introduction

Multiple fronted nominal elements bearing exhaustive, contrastive or “aboutness” interpretation are found in many languages, and have been called *multiple subject constructions*, *double subject constructions* or *multiple nominative constructions*. Let us, for instance, see the example (1) in Japanese.

- (1) Bunmeikoku-ga dansei-ga heikin-zyumyoo-ga mizikai
civilized countries-nom men-nom average life-span-nom is-short

‘It is civilized countries that men – their average life-span is short in.’ (Kuno 1973)

In this paper, I investigate multiple fronted DP-constructions in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) as shown in (2). This type of construction resembles multiple subject constructions.

- (2) A caneca, a florzinha, (foi) minha mãe (que) pintou ela.
The mug, the little-flower, (it-was) my mother (that) painted her.

‘As for the mug, as for the flower on it, (it was) my mother (who) painted it.’

Given that in BP, these DPs trigger an “aboutness” reading, a more appropriate label for them would be *multiple topic constructions*. However, a striking property of BP is that it does not usually accept sequences of DP-topics with “aboutness” interpretation, except for cases similar to (2) above. An example of this is given in (3).

- (3) a. *O livro, a Maria, (foi) o João (que) comprou ele pra ela.
The book, the Mary, (it-was) the John (that) bought it to her

‘As for the book, as for Mary, (it was) John (who) bought it to her.’

- b. *A Maria, o livro, (foi) o João (que) comprou ele pra ela.
the Mary, the book, (it-was) the John (that) bought it to her

‘As for Mary, as for the book, (it was) John (who) bought it to her.’

As you can see by comparing (3a) and (3b), the unacceptability of these double topics has nothing to do with superiority effects, since both sentences are unacceptable independently of the linear order, in which the topics appear.

What is the difference between the acceptable multiple topic construction in (2) and the non-acceptable multiple topic construction in (3)? The main difference is that there is a dominance relation between the two fronted DPs in (2), but not in (3), i.e., in (2) “the little flower” is in a part-whole relation with “the mug” and in the linear order “the little flower of the mug”, it dominates “the mug,” but in (3) “the book” is not dominated by “Mary” or vice-versa.

Going back to multiple subject constructions in Japanese, many linguists have argued that this phenomenon is derived through multiple specifier configurations or adjoined positions to the same projection (Fukui 1986, Heycock & Lee 1989, Heycock 1993, Koizumi 1994, Saito 1982, Takahashi 1994, 1996, Takezawa 1987, Tateishi 1991, Ura 1994, 1996, 1999, 2000, among others).

Comparing BP and Japanese, it has been brought to my attention that the translation of (3a,b) into Japanese gives acceptable sentences different from what we have seen for BP (Mamoru Saito, p.c.). Given that there is a real distinction between Japanese and BP data as for how constrained the phenomenon is, I take a different path and argue that multiple topic constructions in BP are derived through internal movements in the nominal domain, i.e., the sequence “the mug, the little flower” is actually derived from “the little flower of the mug”. This analysis successfully explains the possible sequence of topics without overgeneration and it allows me to explain some additional properties: comma intonation patterns, “optional” prepositions and “optional” resumptive pronouns.

This paper is organized as follows. In the first section, I make some remarks on the syntactic periphery of BP and present in general terms my analysis for multiple topic constructions. In the second section, I discuss possible and impossible sequences of topics, correlating them with comma intonation patterns. In the third section, I address the issue of presence or absence of prepositions. Finally, in the fourth section, I investigate the possibility of resumptive pronouns.

2. Main Proposal

Before presenting my analysis of multiple topic constructions, I would like to make some remarks on the structure of the left periphery in BP.

As presented above in (3), the sequence topic-topic is not allowed in BP, if it involves DP-topics that are not in a dominance relation. However, it has been noted in many papers that two DPs can actually co-exist in the left periphery of BP as long as the first one is a topic and the second one is focused, but not the other way around (Pontes 1987, Ilari 1986, Kato 1993, 1998, Galves 1993, 1998, Kato and Raposo 1994, Figueiredo Silva 1996, Raposo 1997, Grolla 2000, Bastos 2001, Mito 2001, among others).

- (4) A flor, (foi) PRA MARIA (que) eu comprei ela. Topic > focus
 the flower, (was) TO MARY (that) I bought it

‘As for the flower, it was to Mary that I bought it.’

- (5) *(Foi) PRA MARIA (que) a flor, eu comprei ela. *Focus > topic
 (was) TO MARY (that) the flower, I bought her

‘As for the flower, it was to Mary that I bought it.’

A prevalent view on the literature interprets these facts on the light of Rizzi’s (1997) split CP hypothesis (Figueiredo Silva 1996, Grolla 2000, Bastos 2001, Mioto 2001). The structure proposed by Rizzi (1997) for the syntactic left periphery is given in (6) below.

- (6) [_{ForceP} ... Force^o [_{TopP} ... Top^o * [_{FocP} ... Foc^o [_{TopP} ... Top^o * [_{FinP} ... Fin^o [_{IP} ...]]]]],
 where TopP is recursive.

Following Rizzi’s system, the order topic-focus is straightforwardly accounted if we assume that “the flower” in the specifier of the higher TopP and “to Mary” is in the specifier of FocP. Notice that no dominance relation between “the flower” and “to Mary” is required for (4) to be acceptable, what makes this case very different from the sequence topic-topic.

That obviously raises the question of why the sentence in (5) is unacceptable, since in Rizzi’s system, there is a TopP right under FocP. In Bastos (2001, 2003), I argued that BP lacks the TopP projection lower than FocP.¹

In this paper, I make the stronger claim that, in addition to lacking the lower TopP, BP does not allow TopP recursion at all. As a consequence, all the possible occurrences of multiple topics are derived by internal movements inside the nominal domain.

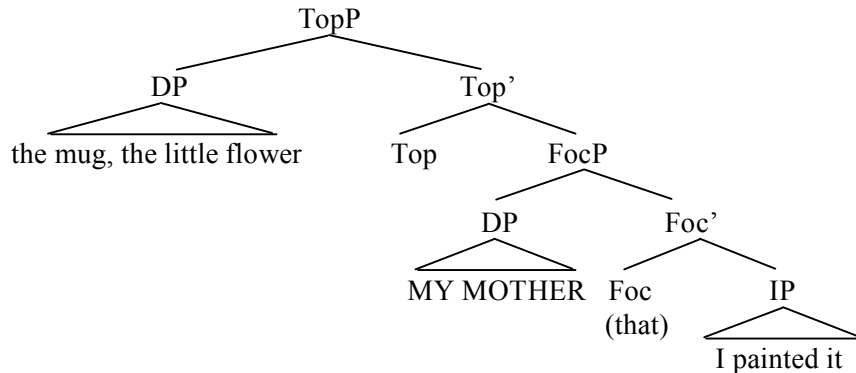
If this is correct we make the prediction that BP allows sequences of DP-topics (satisfied the dominance requirement) above a focused DP, which is also different from the subject of the sentence. This prediction is borne out, as we can see in (7) and its simplified structure in (8).

¹ Part of the evidence for a lower TopP projection in Rizzi’s 1997 comes from the position of adverbs. Lower adverbs can be accommodated as adjuncts of projections lower than FocP; they do not have to be necessarily placed as specifiers of TopP in BP. In addition to that, notice that high adverbs, commonly assumed to be base-generated in the CP-system, do not trigger the same comma intonation that follows full DP topics. See section 3 for details on the comma intonation.

- (7) A caneca, a florzinha, (foi) MINHA MÃE (que) eu acho que
 The mug, the little-flower, (it-was) MY MOTHER (that) I think that
 pintou ela.
 painted her

‘As for the mug, as for the flower on it, (it was) my mother (that) I think that painted it.’

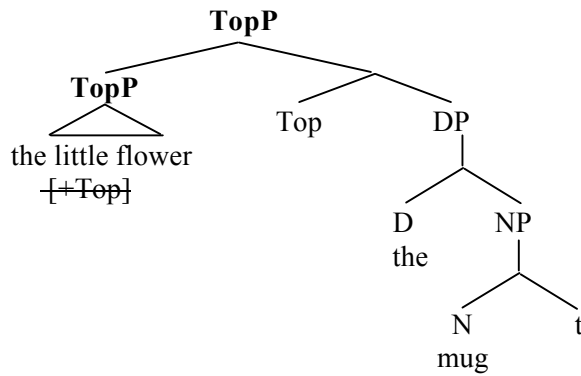
- (8) Internal movement in the DP



The structure in (8) contains only one TopP projection in the left periphery of the sentence in BP and all the DPs with topic interpretation are in there. This projection is right above FocP, which is the host for any focused DP. In addition to that, these two projections are independent of the subject of the sentence. This structure makes the prediction that multiple topic constructions should be very restricted in BP, i.e. the only possible combinations of multiple topics are the ones compatible with an internal rearrangement of the constituents within the nominal domain in the specifier of TopP.

Now, let us take a closer look at the nominal domain in the specifier of TopP to see how the internal movements can be implemented. The main key to implement my analysis is the claim that the structure of nominal domains contains a Topic Phrase above DP. This has been proposed by Grohmann and Haegeman (2003), Ticio (2003), among others, and Ormazabal (1991) also proposed that there is a projection called K(omp)P above DP. My proposal is different from those in the fact that TopP is not simply an escape-hatch, but a real topic projection that triggers comma intonation and “aboutness” reading, while requiring old-background informational status.

The following diagram shows it in more details.



The motivation for movement to the nominal TopP projection is implemented here in terms of the checking theory, i.e. modifiers of an N may have a [+Top] feature, which is a strong feature; if that is the case, they will move to nominal TopP projection.

At this point, one could ask whether we are dealing with dominance or with a semantic constraint, such as a requirement that multiple topics should be in a part-whole relationship. This question is important because if one wants to pursue an analysis of multiple topic constructions in BP in terms of TopP recursion or multiple specifiers, one could try to argue that the constraints presented in (3) have a semantic-pragmatic basis.

The semantic view is quite attractive and it actually covers a great majority of data. In (9)-(11), we can see sequences of topics that can be in a way considered as part-whole relation, such as some cases of unalienable possession, locative and others. One exception, however, is presented in (12).²

- (9) A unha do dedinho da minha mão (unalienable possession)
 ‘The nail of the little finger of my hand’

A minha mão, o dedinho, a unha, (fui) EU (que) pinteí ela.
 The my hand, the little-finger, the nail, (it-as) I (who) painted it

‘As for my hand, as for the little finger, as for the nail, it was me who painted it.’

- (10) A mancha da toalha da mesa (locative)
 ‘The spot of the tablecloth of the table’

A mesa, a toalha, a mancha, (fui) EU (que) consegui limpar ela
 The table, the tablecloth, the spot, (it-as) I (who) manage to clean her.

‘As for the table, as for table cloth, as for the spot on it, it was me who manage to clean it.’

² It is possible to come up with examples with four or more DP topics, but they become progressively degraded the more topics are added, since it is harder to process them. By adding determiners like *esse* “this” and *aquela* “that” or resumptive pronouns, they improve considerably. All sequences with three DP topics are slightly degraded in comparison with the ones with two DP topics, but I am still going to use them, since they provide the most interesting patterns.

- (11) O parafuso do pneu do carro (part-whole)
 ‘the screw of the tire of the car’
 O carro, o pneu, o parafuso, o meu mecânico não conseguiu desenroscar ele.
 the car, the tire, the screw, the my mechanic not manage-to unscrew it
 ‘As for the car, as for its tire, as for the screw, my mechanic didn’t manage to unscrew it.’
- (12) A reprodução da pintura da cidadezinha (sequences of themes)
 ‘The reproduction of the picture of the little city’
 A cidadezinha, a pintura, a reprodução, (foi) minha mãe (que)
 the little-city, the picture, the reproduction, (it-was) my mother (that)
 encomendou ela.
 ordered it
 ‘As for the little city, as for the picture of it, as for the reproduction of the picture, (it was) my mother (who) ordered it.’

Different from the relations expressed by the examples in (9)-(11), there is no way in which the sequence of themes in (12) can be understood as part-whole relation. “The reproduction” is a separate object from “the picture” and “the picture” is a separate object from “the little city”. Do these relations have some syntactic property in common? Following Ticio (2003) in her analysis of Spanish DPs, the “theme” modifiers of a noun and the modifiers in Group B are base-generated in the complement position of the noun. Her group B of modifiers includes part-whole relations. If Spanish and BP are identical in the structure of their nominal domains, then we can actually group up all of those relations under a syntactic criterion. This makes important predictions for other semantic relations like agent and alienable possession, but I will leave this issue open to further research.

In the next section, I examine possible and impossible sequences of multiple topics involving larger nominal domains that can give us sequences of three topics. I will show that the possible combinations in multiple topic constructions are very restricted and that an analysis in terms of TopP recursion overgenerates.

3. Accounting for the Basic Patterns

In this section I will be concerned with nominal domains that follow the schema in (13a) or can be derived from it.

- (13) a. A of-B of-C
 b. a flor do fundo da caneca.
 the flower of-the bottom of-the mug

As discussed above, the generalization is that multiple DP-topic constructions are possible only if there is a dominance relation among the DPs inside a larger nominal domain.

For instance, *a caneca* ‘the mug’ is an argument of *o fundo* ‘the bottom’ and *o fundo da caneca* ‘the bottom of the mug’ is an argument of *a flor* ‘the flower’.

Given the nominal domain in (13b), BP allows it to be topicalized as a whole, as we can see in (14) below, where there is only one comma intonation separating the topic and the rest of sentence.

- (14) a. A of-B of-C
 b. **a flor do fundo da caneca,** (foi) ONTEM_F (que) eu pinteí ela.
 the flower of-the bottom of-the mug, (was) YESTERDAY_F (that) I painted her
 ‘As for the flower of the bottom of the mug, it was yesterday that I painted it.’

Notice that it is not possible to have a sequence of topics, while preserving the direct order of the DPs inside the larger nominal domain, as we can see in (15)-(16). The facts remain the same whether the preposition are present or not.

- (15) a. *A, B, C and *A, of-B, of-C
 b. **a flor, (d)o fundo, (d)a caneca,** (foi) ONTEM_F (que) eu pinteí ela.
 the flower, (of) the bottom, (of)the mug, (was) YESTERDAY_F (that) I painted her
 ‘As for the flower of the bottom of the mug, it was yesterday that I painted it.’

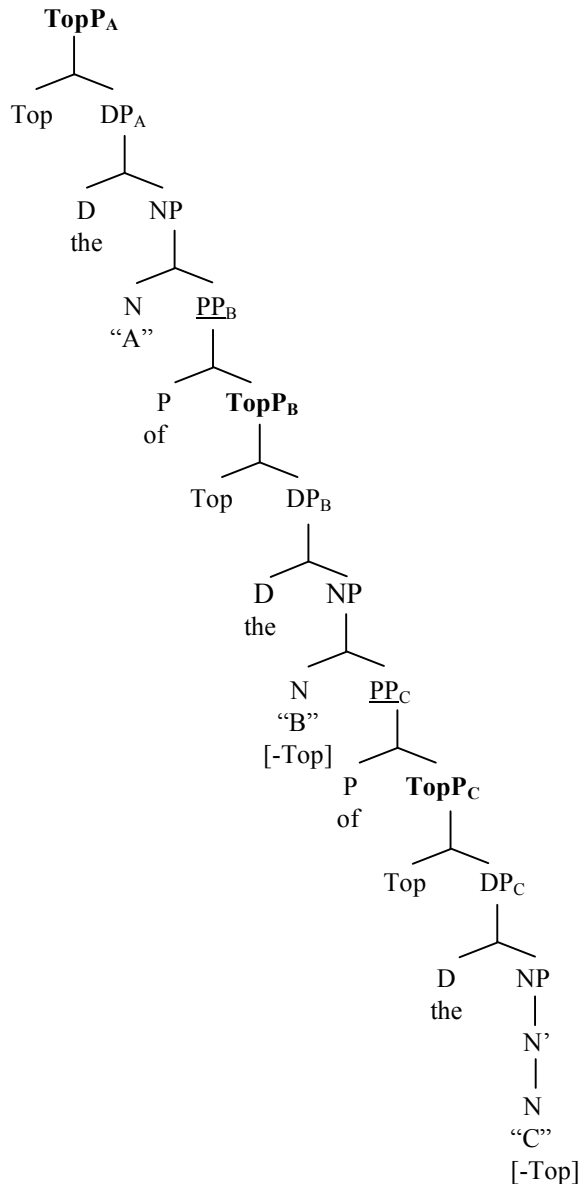
Given my proposal in the previous sections, only nominal domains that have a [+Top] feature move up to the specifier of TopP. The sequence A of-B of-C can be generated if neither the nominal domain B nor the nominal domain C has a [+Top] feature, as we can see in the diagram in (17) below. As a consequence, they do not have to move up. The sequences A,B,C and A,of-B,of-C are ruled out, because the comma intonation is triggered by TopP. Since those nominal domains have not moved, they do not show the typical topic intonation.

Notice that the unacceptable sequence A,B,C can also be ruled out for case reasons, i.e., the lack of preposition implies the lack of a case checker and the derivation crashes. I am assuming that the preposition *de* “of” in BP is the head of a “real” PP, which is needed for case purposes. In addition to the option of having its case checked against the prepositional head, I assume that nominal domains may have inherent case if they are [+Top]. In this case, after moved to the specifier of TopP, they will show up as nominative, which is the default case in BP. Notice that this assumption is independently necessary, since BP allows constructions, such as (17) below.

- (16) Flor, eu gosto de rosa.
 Flower, I like of rose
 ‘As for flowers, I like roses.’

In (16) the nominal domain *flor* “flower” is arguably base-generated as topic, since it has no relation with the internal argumental structure of the sentence. Kato (1998) argues that in this case, elements like *flor* “flower” have inherent case in BP.

(17) Single topic B [-Top] and C [-Top]



Going back to the description of possible and impossible constructions, there are two cases of double topic constructions that are possible.

- (18) a. C, A of-B,
 b. **a caneca, a flor do fundo,** (foi) ONTEM_F (que) eu pintei ela.
 the mug, the flower of-the bottom, (was) YESTERDAY_F (that) I painted her
 ‘As for the mug, as for the flower of the bottom, it was yesterday that I painted it.’

- (19) a. B of-C, A,
 b. **o fundo da caneca, a flor,** (foi) ONTEM_F (que) eu pintei ela.
 the bottom of-the mug, the flower, (was) YESTERDAY_F (that) I painted her

‘As for the bottom of the mug, as for the flower, it was yesterday that I painted it.’

The case in (18) can be easily generated if the nominal domain C has the feature [+Top] and the nominal domain B does not. The nominal domain C will move successive cyclically to the highest TopP, producing the order in which C is the first topic.

The case in (19) can be easily generated if the nominal domain B has the feature [+Top] and the nominal domain C does not. The nominal domain B will move to the highest TopP carrying the nominal domain C along. This generates the order in which B of-C is the first topic.

Some unacceptable sequences are the following.

- (20) a. *C, A, B and *C, A, of-B,
 b. ***a caneca, a flor, (d)o fundo,** (foi) ONTEM_F (que) eu pintei ela.
 the mug, the flower, (of)the bottom, (was) YESTERDAY_F (that) I painted her

‘As for the mug, as for the flower of the bottom, it was yesterday that I painted it.’

- (21) a. *B, C, A and *B of-C, A,
 b. ***o fundo, (d)a caneca, a flor,** (foi) ONTEM_F (que) eu pintei ela.
 the bottom, (of)the mug, the flower, (was) YESTERDAY_F (that) I painted her

‘As for the bottom of the mug, as for the flower, it was yesterday that I painted it.’

Following the lines of my discussion for the sequences A,B,C and A,of-B,of-C, the sequences in (20) and (21) are ruled out, because the comma intonation is associated with constituents that are moved to TopP. Since some nominal domains in those sequences have not moved, they should not exhibit comma intonation.

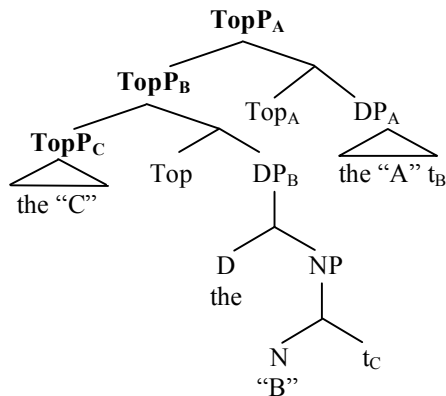
The most interesting cases of multiple topics are the ones that involve three or more DP-topics, such as in (22) below and its derivation in (23).

- (22) a. C, B, A,
 b. **a caneca, o fundo, a flor,** (foi) ONTEM_F (que) eu pintei ela.
 the mug, the bottom, the flower, (was) YESTERDAY_F (that) I painted her

‘As for the mug, as for the bottom, as for the flower, it was yesterday that I painted it.’

(23)

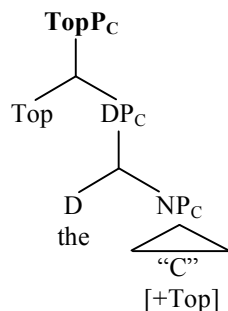
Multiple topics B [+Top] and C [+Top]



In (23) both the nominal domain B and the nominal domain C have [+Top] features. As for case, they have inherent case and there are no prepositional phrases in the structure at all. Notice that nominal domains with inherent case are somehow related to the presence of [+Top] feature, since as mentioned above, nominal domains *in situ* that are not dominated by a PP cause the derivation to crash.

One question that can be raised at this point is why the nominal domain C moves as a whole. One could think that the [+Top] feature is a noun feature or a DP feature. Why can the noun or DP not to move to the specifier of its own TopP_C? Taking a closer look at (9) below, we can see the structure of the nominal domain C before the nominal domain B merges with it. In that structure, we can see that if the noun moves by itself to TopP, the head of the DP will stand alone. In BP, determiners are phonological clitics and cannot be stranded; actually the same holds for the preposition *de* "of", but I will leave the preposition issue for the next section. If instead of the nominal head, the NP moves to the specifier of TopP, the problem of stranding the determiner will remain.

(24) Nominal domain C before nominal domain B merges with it



Given that the NP_C cannot move up, why can't the DP_C move to the specifier of TopP_C? The answer to this question comes from anti-locality, i.e. the ban on movement that is too short, originally proposed in Bošković (1994) and later developed by a number of authors,

including Grohmann (2000) and Abels (2003).³ I am assuming here Abels's (2003) version of the anti-locality condition, which blocks the movement of the complement of a phase head to its specifier. With the additional assumption that TopP_C is a phase head, since it is the highest projection in the nominal domain, we can successfully exclude the possibility of movement of DP_C to the TopP_C. The only way of checking the [+Top] feature within the nominal domain C is to move the whole nominal domain C to the next available specifier of TopP, which is the specifier of TopP_B.⁴

4. Accounting for “Optional” Prepositions

In multiple topic constructions, the very first topic may have what descriptively could be called an “optional” preposition. The relevant data is given below.

- (25) a. C, A of-B, and of-C, A of-B,
 b. (d)**a caneca, a flor do fundo**, (foi) ONTEM_F (que) eu pintei ela.
 (of)the mug, the flower of-the bottom, (was) YESTERDAY_F (that) I painted her
 ‘As for the mug, as for the flower of the bottom, it was yesterday that I painted it.’
- (26) a. B of-C, A, and of-B of-C, A,
 b. (d)**o fundo da caneca, a flor**, (foi) ONTEM_F (que) eu pintei ela.
 (of) the bottom of-the mug, the flower, (was) YESTERDAY_F (that) I painted her
 ‘As for the bottom of the mug, as for the flower, it was yesterday that I painted it.’
- (27) a. of-C, B, A, and *of-C, of-B, A,
 b. (d)**a caneca, (*d)o fundo, a flor**, (foi) ONTEM_F (que) eu pintei ela.
 (of) the mug, the bottom, (of)the flower, (was) YESTERDAY_F (that) I painted her
 ‘As for the mug, as for the bottom, as for the flower, it was yesterday that I painted it.’

I have claimed in the previous section that [+Top] nominal domains can have inherent case. Let us suppose now that they actually have a choice: if they have inherent case, they are not dominated by a PP and if they have structural case they are dominated by a PP.⁵ This optionally is responsible for the presence or absence of a preposition and accounts

³ See also Bošković (1997, 2005) for further reformulations of the condition. Bošković's (1994) formulation of the anti-locality condition is a revised version of Saito and Murasugi (1993), previously discussed by Saito (University of Connecticut lectures 1993) but not included in the final version of the paper.

⁴ I am assuming a process of percolation of features among the heads within the nominal domain C what will ultimately allow TopP_C to check the [+Top] feature.

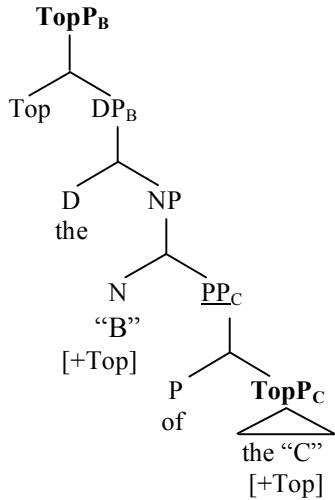
⁵ Notice that [-Top] nominal domains can only have structural case.

straightforwardly to (25)-(26). The case in (27) is more complex and I would like to show its derivation step-by-step. Let us start with the derivation for the acceptable case, which follows the schema [of-C, B, A].

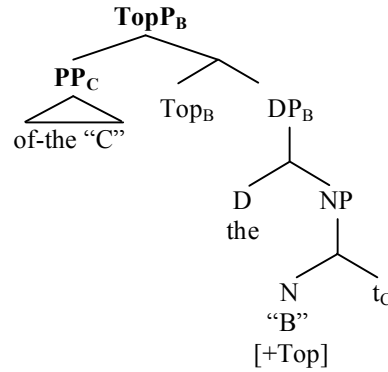
The diagram in (28) shows that the nominal domain C has a [+Top] feature, is dominated by a PP and has structural case, while the nominal domain B has a [+Top] feature, is not dominated by a PP and has inherent case.

(28)

Step 1:



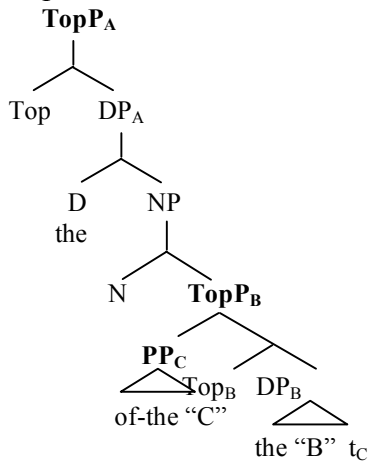
Step 2:



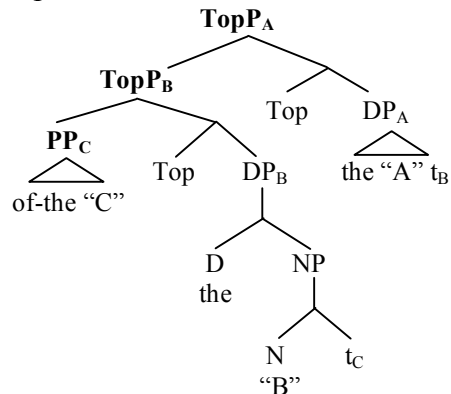
The diagram in (28) shows a derivation in which the whole PP_C moves up to specifier of TopP_B. The derivation proceeds with TopP_B moving to the specifier of TopP_A as in (29) below and the resulting sequence will be in accordance with the schema [of-C, B, A].

(29)

Step 3:



Step 4:

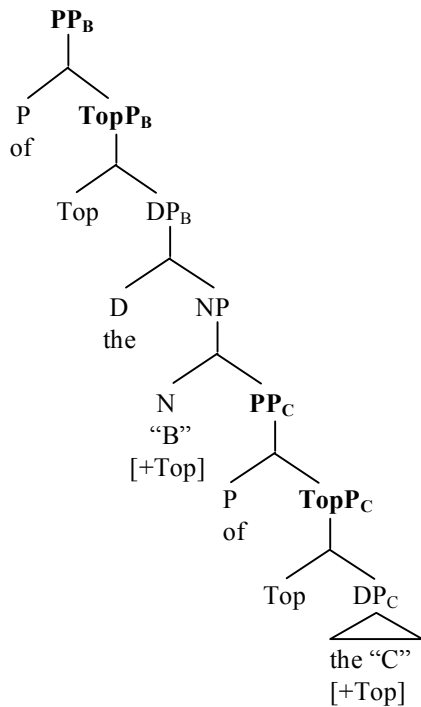


As for the derivation of the unacceptable case *[of-C, of-B, A], this sequence will arise if both C and B have structural case and they are both [+Top]. The relevant structures are in (30) and (31).

In (30) we can see some steps of the derivation in which the PP_C is already merged with the PP_B . Assuming that PPs are phases, the movement of $TopP_C$ to the specifier of PP_C is blocked. By the same line of reasoning presented above, the only way of checking the [+Top] feature within the nominal domain is to move the whole PP up to the specifier of $TopP_B$. However, as one can see in (31), as a result of this movement, the preposition that heads PP_B gets stranded, i.e. it ends up right before an intonational boundary, the one that characterizes the topic projection.

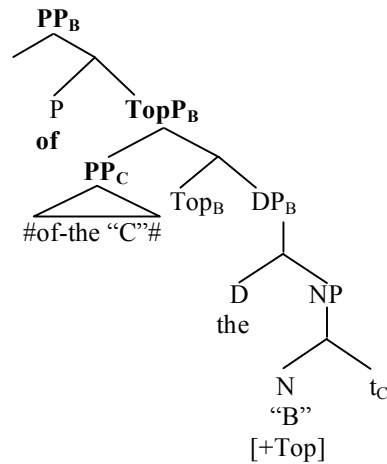
(30)

Step 1:



(31)

Step 2:



It is independently attested that BP does not allow preposition stranding, such as shown in (18) below.

- (32) * Quem você gosta de?
 Who you like of
 ‘Who do you like?’

Given the discussion above, the sequence *[of-C, of-B, A] is ruled out by preposition stranding in BP.

5. Accounting for “Optional” Resumptive Pronouns

Another property of constructions with sequences of topics in BP is that they optionally allow resumptive pronouns, as exemplified below.

- (33) a. C, A of-B (of it),
 b. **a caneca, a flor do fundo (dela)**, (foi) ONTEM_F (que) eu pintei ela.
 the mug, the flower of-the bottom (of it), (was) YESTERDAY_F (that) I painted her
 ‘As for the mug, as for the lower of the bottom, it was yesterday that I painted it.’
- (34) a. B of-C, A (of it),
 b. **o fundo da caneca, a flor (dele)**, (foi) ONTEM_F (que) eu pintei ela.
 the bottom of-the mug, the flower (of it), (was) YESTERDAY_F (that) I painted her
 ‘As for the bottom of the mug, as for the flower, it was yesterday that I painted it.’
- (35) a. C, B (of it), A (of it),
 b. **a caneca, o fundo (dela), a flor (dele)**, (foi) ONTEM_F
 the mug, the bottom (of it), the flower (of it), (was) YESTERDAY_F
 (que) eu pintei ela.
 (that) I painted her
 ‘As for the mug, as for the bottom, as for the flower, it was yesterday that I painted it.’

To account for the presence of resumptive pronouns, I follow Grohmann (2000) and I argue that (anti-) locality violations may be rescued by the operation Copy Spell Out. In this view the pronunciation of the resumptive pronouns rescues anti-locality violations, for instance, those that were disallowed in the previous section.

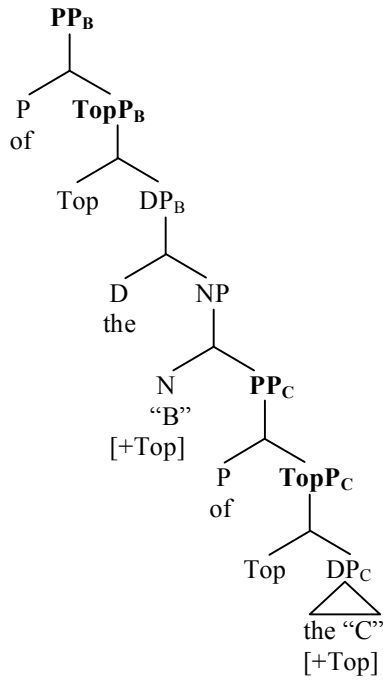
It is important to highlight that Abels (2003) does not agree that anti-locality violations in his system can be rescued, as he says in the footnote 53. However, rescuing by the operation Copy Spell Out is not intrinsically incompatible with his system.

Combining Grohmann’s Copy Spell Out operation and Abel’s (2003) system, it is possible to explain the pattern of resumptive pronouns.

I will concentrate my discussion on the sentence in (35), which is the most complex case. As discussed before, moving TopP_C to the specifier of PP_C is a violation of the anti-locality condition in (36) given the assumption that PP is a phase. However, let us suppose that we do make this movement and by the application of Copy Spell Out, a resumptive pronoun is left behind rescuing the anti-locality violation. In the course of the derivation, TopP_C reaches the specifier of TopP_B. The result is shown in (37).

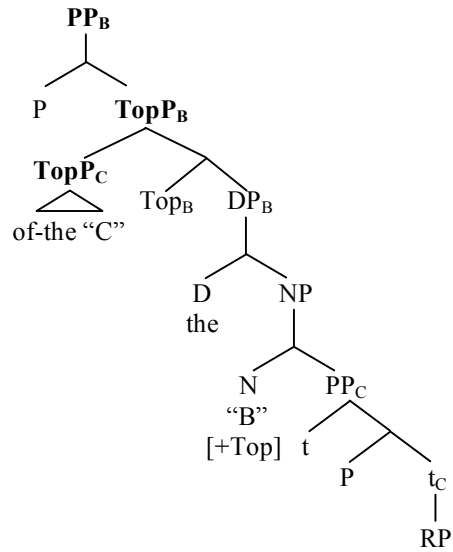
(36)

Step 1:



(37)

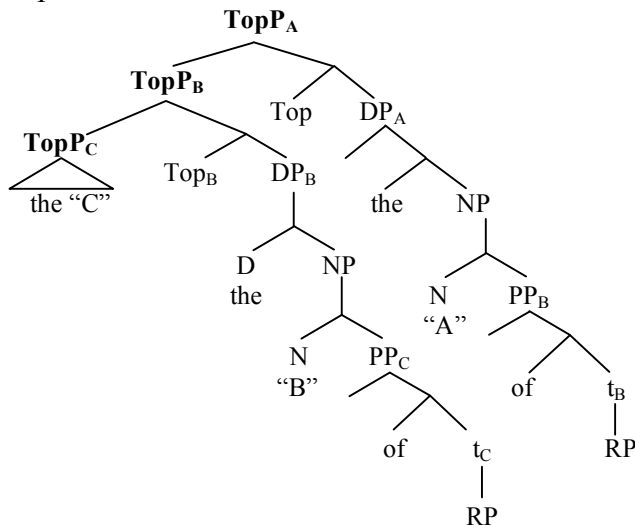
Step 2:



In the previous section, I discussed that the movement of TopP_C to the specifier of TopP_B in (37) causes the preposition to be stranded. One alternative to solve this problem is to have TopP_B moved as a whole to the specifier of PP_B. This movement is a violation of the anti-locality condition, but it can be rescued by Copy Spell Out, as shown in (38) below. The resumptive pronoun will also have the function of preventing the preposition of being stranded.

(38)

Step 3:



The derivation above provides the desired result, i.e. the sequence [C, B (of-it), A (of-it)]. The position in which the resumptive pronouns appears is successfully accounted as well.

6. Final Remarks

In this paper I proposed that multiple topic constructions in BP are generated by internal rearrangements in the nominal domain. I assumed Ticio 2003 and Grohmann and Haegeman 2002 that a TopP projection is available in the nominal domain and I suggested that the properties of this projection fully correlate to the properties found in the clausal domain. With this TopP projection, it was possible to successfully explain several possible and impossible sequences of multiple topics.

The analysis proposed in this paper makes several predictions that should be investigated further. For instance, the analysis makes the prediction that these internal arrangements should correlate to the possibilities of extraction out of the nominal domain. In other words, the question is whether TopP (in the sense used in this paper) is the escape-hatch of the nominal domain.

This investigation can be made by considering patterns of extraction of only one argument of the noun, and also considering the possibilities of extraction of one argument in the presence of other arguments of the same noun.

In the first case, it will be relevant whether the argument is a theme, an agent or a possessive and their correlation with extraction out of definite-indefinite DPs. In addition to that, issues related to locality and anti-locality may be addressed.

As for the second case, the extraction of one argument in the presence of other arguments is very restricted. If TopP is the escape-hatch of the nominal domain, then these restricted patterns of extraction should correlate with the restrictions on topicalization.

References

- Abels, K. (2003) *Successive Cyclicity, Anti-locality, and Adposition Stranding*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut.
- Bastos, A. C.P. (2001) *Fazer, eu Faço! Topicalização de Constituintes Verbais em Português Brasileiro*. Master's thesis, Universidade de Campinas.
- Bastos, A. C.P. (2003) "Constituintes Verbais como Tópicos em Português Brasileiro." *Letras de Hoje*. Porto Alegre: v.38, n.1, 237-249.
- Bošković, Ž. (1994) "D-Structure, Theta-Criterion, and Movement into Theta-Positions," *Linguistic Analysis* 24: 247-286.
- Bošković, Ž. (1997) *The Syntax of Nonfinite Complementation: An Economy Approach*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. (Linguistic Inquiry Monograph 32)
- Bošković, Ž. (2005) "On the Locality of Left Branch Extraction and the Structure of NP," *Studia Linguistica* 59, 1-45.
- Figueiredo Silva, M. C. (1996) *A Posição Sujeito no Português Brasileiro*. Campinas: Ed. da UNICAMP, 37-86.

- Fukui, N. (1986) *A Theory of Category Projection and its Applications*. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.
- Galves, C. (1993) "O en Fraquecimento da Concordância no Português Brasileiro." In I. Roberts and M. Kato (orgs.), *O Português Brasileiro: Uma Viagem Diacrônica*. Campinas, Ed. Unicamp.
- Galves, C. (1998) "Tópicos e Sujeitos, Pronomes e Concordância no Português Brasileiro." *Cadernos de Estudos Lingüísticos*, Campinas, 34: 19-31.
- Grohmann, K. (2000) *Prolific Peripheries: A Radical View from the Left*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park.
- Grohmann, K. and L. Haegeman (2003) "Resuming Reflexives." *Nordlyd* 31, 46-62.
- Grolla, E. B. (2000) *A Aquisição da Periferia Esquerda da Sentença em Português Brasileiro*. Dissertação de Mestrado, IEL/Unicamp, Campinas, SP.
- Heycock, C. (1993) "Syntactic Predication in Japanese." *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 2, 167-211.
- Heycock, C. and Lee, Y.-S. (1989) "Subject and Predication in Korean and Japanese." *Ohak Yon'gu / Language Research* 25. 775-791.
- Ilari, R. (1986) *Perspectiva Funcional da Frase Portuguesa*. Campinas, Ed. Unicamp.
- Kato, M. (1993) "Recontando a História das Relativas em uma Perspectiva Paramétrica." In I. Roberts and M. Kato (orgs.), *Português Brasileiro – Uma Viagem Diacrônica*. Campinas: Editora da Unicamp.
- Kato, M. (1998) "Tópicos como Alçamento de Predicados Secundários." *Cadernos de Estudos Lingüísticos* 34, 67-76.
- Kato, M. and Raposo, E. (1994) "European and Brazilian Portuguese Word Order: Questions, Focus and Topic Constructions." Ms., UNICAMP/UCSB.
- Koizumi, M. (1994) "Nominative Objects: The Role of TP in Japanese." In M. Koizumi and H. Ura (eds.), *Formal Approaches to Japanese Linguistics 1: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 24, 211-230.
- Mioto, C. (2001) Sobre o sistema CP no português Brasileiro. *Curitiba, Revista Letras*, 56, 97-140.
- Ormazabal, J. (1991) "Asymmetries on Wh-movement and Some Theoretical Consequences." Ms., University of Connecticut, Storrs.
- Pontes, E. (1987) *O Tópico no Português do Brasil*. Campinas, Pontes.
- Raposo, E. (1997) "Toward a Unification of Topic Constructions." Ms., University of California, Santa Barbara.
- Rizzi, L. (1997) "The Fine Structure of Left Periphery". In L. Haegeman (ed.), *Elements of Grammar*, Dordrecht: Kluwer, 281-337.
- Saito, M. (1982) "Case Marking in Japanese: A Preliminary Study." Ms., MIT.
- Saito, M. and K. Murasugi. (1993) "Subject Predication within IP and DP." Ms., University of Connecticut and Kinjo Gakuin University. [Revised version published in K. Johnson and I. Roberts (eds.), *Beyond Principles and Parameters*, Kluwer, Dordrecht, pp.167-188.]
- Takahashi, C. (1994) "Case, Agreement, and Multiple Subjects: Subjectivization in Syntax and LF." In Akatsuka, N. (ed.), *Japanese/Korean Linguistics* 4, Stanford: CSLI, 394-411.
- Takahashi, C. (1996) *Multiplicity, Optionality and Constraints on the Distribution of Nominative Case in Japanese*. Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University.
- Takezawa, K. (1987) *A Configurational Approach to Case-Marking in Japanese*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington.
- Tateishi, K. (1991) *The Syntax of 'Subjects'*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts.

- Ticio, E. (2003) *On the Structure of DPs*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Connecticut, Storrs.
- Ura, H. (1994) "Varieties of Raising and the Feature-Based Bare Phrase Structure Theory," *MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 7.
- Ura, H. (1996) *Multiple Feature-Checking: A Theory of Grammatical Function Splitting*. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.
- Ura, H. (1999) "Checking Theory and Dative Subject Constructions in Japanese and Korean." *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 8, 223-254.
- Ura, H. (2000) *Checking Theory and Grammatical Functions in Universal Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.