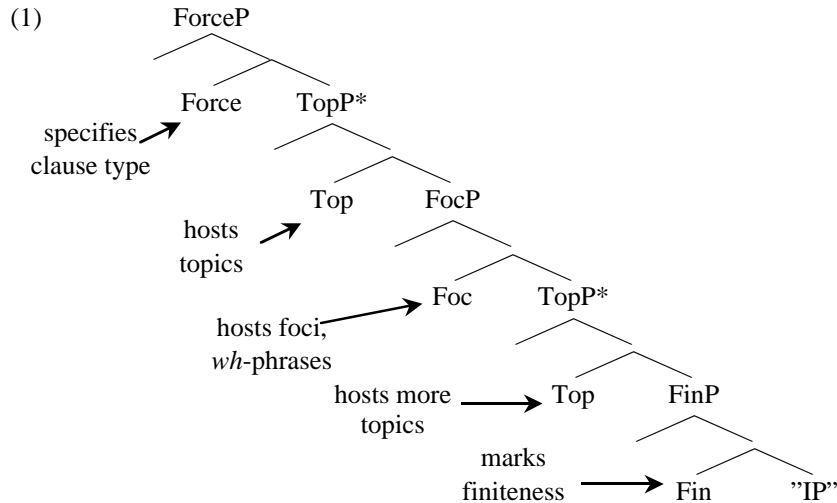


Rizzi, Luigi (1997). *The fine structure of the left periphery.* In L. Haegeman. (ed.), *Elements of Grammar.* Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Main point: Just as there was evidence to split IP up into several projections (TP, AgrSP, etc.), there is also evidence that CP likewise needs to be split. The structure of CP proposed is:



Part I. Conceptual arguments; introduction to the articulated CP

THE FORCE–FINITENESS SYSTEM

What does the complementizer do? It serves as the **interface** between two clauses:
 —The VP above, of which the embedded clause is a complement.
 —The IP below, which the CP contains.

Viewed from the *outside* (above), the complementizer indicates what *kind* of clause it is (kinds include declarative, interrogative, comparative, adverbial, ...).

Viewed from the *inside* (below), the complementizer shows a certain degree of sensitivity to the finiteness of the IP. For example, *that* occurs with finite clauses, *for* occurs with nonfinite clauses—but a pretty minimal specification, probably just ±finite.

Selection: The restrictions that a lexical item places on its arguments. (Usually considered a property of the complement)

Verbs can select for different *clause types*:

<i>believe:</i>	declarative clause
<i>wonder:</i>	interrogative clause
<i>know</i>	either declarative or interrogative

- (2) a. Pat believes that Tracy left.
 b. * Pat believes who left.
- (3) a. * Pat wonders that Tracy left.
 b. Pat believes who left.
- (4) a. Pat knows that Tracy left.
 b. Pat knows who left.

Selection must be *local*—if a head selects for a certain kind of complement, that complement must be *its* complement (not just somewhere inside its complement).

CP must have, *at the top*, some specification at least distinguishing between declarative and interrogative clauses (the “force” of the clause).

Similarly, at the bottom, for C to be sensitive to finiteness (such that certain kinds of C select for finite clauses, others select for nonfinite clauses), C must have some specification of (what kind of) finiteness (it embeds).

These appear to be two different functions, and could *conceivably* be expressed as properties of two different heads in the “CP system.” This gives Rizzi’s split an initial plausibility, evidence will follow that we can put things *in between* the Force position and the Finiteness position, forcing us to the position that we must at least split CP up into two.

THE TOPIC–FOCUS SYSTEM

Another well-known use of CP is as the area to which left-dislocated things (generally topics and foci) appear.

- (5) a. Your book, you should give *t* to Paul (not to Bill). Topicalization
 b. YOUR BOOK you should give *t* to Paul (not mine). Focus fronting

At first sight, English appears to use basically the same position for both, but languages differ in this respect, and very often treat the two types of sentences differently.

Brief side note on topic and focus:

What *topic* and *focus* are exactly is a complex issue, and the way to precisely formulate their meanings has generated a great deal of literature. Some approximations:

Topic: What the sentence is “about”. Sometimes paraphrasable with *As for...*

(6) *As for your book, you should give it to Paul (not to Bill).*

Topic is generally *old information*, known from preceding discourse.

Focus: What is *new* in the sentence. One place focus can be found is in the answer to a *wh*-question, where the *wh*-word was in the question:

(7) Q: *What did Pat buy?*

A: *Pat bought [F stamps].*

Focus is also very often used contrastively, as in:

(8) *Well [F I] passed the test.*

(suggests a contrast between *me* and *others*, who we deduce did *not* pass the test).

Very interesting issues arise, many right at the heart of questions of how syntax, semantics, and pragmatics interact. (If you are interested, check the “old courses” section of my web site [<http://www.bu.edu/linguistics/UG/hagstrom/>] and look at the seminar on focus from Spring 2000).

Italian:

(9) a. *Il tuo libro, lo ho letto* Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD)
‘Your book, I have read it’ (topicalization)

b. *IL TUO LIBRO ho letto (, non il suo)* Focus preposing
‘Your book I read (, not his)’ (focalization)

There are two dimensions here (two “articulations” of the sentence):

Topic–Comment	Topic (what the sentence is about) Comment (what the sentence says about the topic)
Focus–Presupposition	Focus (what is new in the sentence) Presupposition (what is old/presupposed in the sentence)

And Rizzi **assumes** that these splits are effected by an X-bar structure. His motivation for TopP and FocP are at this point completely conceptual. (except one brief mention that there may be a particle in Gungbe which should be analyzed as an overt Foc head).

Complaint: Rizzi observes that “focalization” (fronting of a focus) is only available for *contrastive* focus in Italian, and notes that there is another kind of focus which is not fronted (left *in situ*, and indicated by stress) and which may or may not be contrastive. Rizzi speculates that such focus may move into the focus position *covertly* (between SS and LF); however, one problem with this is that this means that at LF the two kinds of focus (overtly fronted, covertly fronted) are not distinguishable. If the interpretation is derived from the LF representation, we are left without any explanation for why overtly fronted focus phrases have to be contrastive. In the recent literature on focus, several people have argued that contrastive focus is a separate kind of thing from the *in situ* type focus, and thus should be distinguishable at LF. For two prominent examples see É. Kiss (1998), Vallduví & Vilkuna (1998).

Criteria: A phrase with feature [α] must be in a Spec-head configuration with a functional head carrying [α].

Wh-Criterion: In earlier work, Rizzi proposed that *wh*-movement is driven by the *Wh-Criterion*, which essentially requires that a *wh*-phrase (carrying the feature [*wh*]) must end up in a Spec-head relation with C (also carrying the feature [*wh*] in questions).*

*More or less. Actually Rizzi argues that T carries [*wh*] and that T moves to C (bringing [*wh*] along with it), where the *wh*-phrase can enter a Spec-head relation by moving to SpecCP.

Neg-Criterion: Next week, we will see another use of Criteria with respect to the Neg-Criterion, which will require that things with a [Neg] feature (like *nobody*) must wind up in a Spec-head configuration with the functional head Neg (also with a [Neg] feature).

Rizzi extends these notions to Topic and Focus as well, using a **Topic-Criterion** and a **Focus-Criterion** to compel topics and foci to move into the specifiers of TopP and FocP, respectively. His idea is that it is tied to *interpretation*—e.g., if you want to be interpreted as a topic, you’d better be in SpecTopP.

If TopP and FocP are part of the CP, yet FinP must be at the bottom and ForceP must be at the top (for selectional reasons), then it follows that TopP and FocP must be “sandwiched” between ForceP and FinP.

FIRST POSITIONAL ARGUMENTS FOR A SPLIT-CP:

Topics and foci give us our first bit of evidence that CP must be split up this way, as they seem to come *between* the positions of Force and Fin.

Italian: *di* introduces non-finite embedded clauses—and *follows* topics
che introduces finite embedded clauses—and *precedes* topics.

- (10) a. Credo **che** loro apprezzerebbero molto il tuo libro.
 ‘I believe that they would appreciate your book very much.’
 b. Credo **di** apprezzare molto il tuo libro.
 ‘I believe *of* to appreciate our book very much.’
- (11) a. Credo **che** il tuo libro, loro lo apprezzerebbero molto.
 ‘I believe **that your book**, they would appreciate it a lot.’
 b. * Credo, il tuo libro, **che** loro lo apprezzerebbero molto.
 (‘I believe, your book, **that** they would appreciate it a lot.’)
- (12) a. * Credo **di** il tuo libro, apprezzarlo molto.
 (‘I believe *of your book* to appreciate it a lot.’)
 b. Credo il tuo libro, **di** apprezzarlo molto.
 ‘I believe your book *of* to appreciate it a lot.’
- (13) ... (*di*) ... topic ... (*che*) ... IP

Relative wh-words must precede topics, interrogative wh-words must follow topics

- (14) a. Un uomo **a cui**, il premio Nobel, lo daranno senz’altro
 ‘A man **to whom**, the Nobel Prize, they will give it undoubtedly.’
 b. * Un uomo, il premio Nobel, **a cui** lo daranno senz’altro
 (‘A man, the Nobel Prize, **to whom** they will give it undoubtedly.’)
- (15) a. * **A chi**, il premio Nobel, lo daranno?
 (‘**To whom**, the Nobel Prize, will they give it?’)
 b. Il premio Nobel, **a chi** lo daranno?
 ‘The Nobel Prize, **to whom** will they give it?’
- (16) ... (Rel-*wh*) ... topic ... (*wh*-word) ... IP

Point: We can’t account for this if there is only one C, one SpecCP, to do everything.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TOPIC AND FOCUS

TopP and FocP so far seem to be pretty much the same; but there is an important difference: **Focus is quantificational, Topic is not.**

Quantification: A quantificational structure has an **operator** and a **variable**. The **variable** is generally in argument position. The operator takes a set of possible values and evaluates the (part of the) sentence (in its scope) for those values.

[Every student]_i ... [IP t_i passed the test]

Operator, variable, assigned a value by the operator ranges over students

The interpretation goes as follows: The operator checks the truth of the IP for each of the values in its range.

student A passed the test.	T/F?
student B passed the test.	T/F?
...	
student Z passed the test.	T/F?

For *every student*, the whole thing is true if every value it checks turns out True.
 For *some student*, the whole thing is true if at least one value it checks turns out True.
 For *most students*, the whole thing is true if most of the values it checks turn out True.
 and so forth.

When Rizzi says “focus is quantificational” he means that focus phrases make use of a range of values which get assigned to variable (trace), and that the meaning requires reference to evaluations at different values.

When Rizzi says “topic is not (quantificational)” he means that the value which the trace gets in the interpretation *does not vary*—it is still assigned a value by the topic phrase, but that value is *constant*. Rizzi refers to traces of this kind (which are otherwise like variables except that their values *don’t* vary) as **null constants**.

Some empirical differences between topic and focus (in Italian) and some description of how this follows from Rizzi’s “FIQTIN” proposal:

1. Focus exhibits Weak Crossover effects (Topic does not)

- (17) a. Gianni_i, sua_i madre lo ha sempre apprezzato.
'Gianni, his mother always appreciated him.'
- b. ?? GIANNI_i sua_i madre ha sempre apprezzato (non Piero).
'(GIANNI his mother always appreciate, not Piero).'

Weak Crossover has elsewhere been proposed to be sensitive to *true quantification*. That is, a relation involving a *null constant* (non-varying) trace will not trigger WCO.

- (18) a. ?* Who_i does his_i mother really like t_i ?
b. John, who_i his_i mother really likes t_i .

The proposed analysis of (18b) works like this: t_i gets its value from *who_i*, which gets its (single) value from *John*. *Who* would be considered to be an **anaphoric operator** in this case; it gets its *single value* from a nearby higher referent and passes it along to its trace. The trace is thus a null constant, the relation between the anaphoric operator *who* and this null constant is *not quantificational*, and therefore *not subject* to WCO.

(Rizzi in fact takes it a step further and *enforces* this for null constants—Null constants are *only* licensed by anaphoric operators of this type).

Sidetrack: Rizzi wonders why *Your book I bought* is ok in English, given that its literal translation is ungrammatical in Italian (see next section: Italian would require a clitic). Rizzi's explanation for why the Italian version is bad might appear to predict that the English one should be bad for the same reason. His way out is to say they have different structures, the English one being:

- (19) Your book [*Op* [*I bought t*]]

where *Op* is an anaphoric operator getting its reference from the nearby *your book*, and the *t* is a null constant. Hence we expect to find no WCO in English in these constructions, and this is true:

- (20) John, his_i mother really likes t_i .

Italian lacks this kind of structure (or can't make use of it because it has clitics and clitics are preferred over *Op*).

2. Topic has a resumptive clitic (Focus does not).

- (21) a. Il tuo libro, lo ho comprato.
'Your book, I bought **it**.'
- b. * Il tuo libro, ho comprato.
'(Your book, I bought.)'
- (22) a. * IL TUO LIBRO lo ho comprato (non il suo).
'(YOUR BOOK I bought **it** (not his).'
- b. IL TUO LIBRO ho comprato (non il suo).
'YOUR BOOK I bought (not his).'

Short version:	Quantifiers must bind variables, and clitics interfere (22) The trace of an A'-movement must be bound by either a quantifier or an anaphoric operator. (21)
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Long version:

Rizzi makes some non-transparent assumptions about the way clitics work. He appears to be assuming that in the cases where there are clitics, the *clitic starts out in object position and moves to where we see it*, and the focus/topic phrases are just inserted up in TopP or FocP. Further, *the clitic is a head* and so (at least its final move) leaves an X^o-trace and not an XP-trace. Only XP-traces can be variables.

Starting with Focus (22), a focus phrase is quantificational. An important requirement on quantifiers is that **quantifiers must bind a variable**. It is not possible to have "vacuous quantification" (i.e. *For every student x, x left* is ok, but *For every student x, John left* is not). Rizzi refers to this under the name **Full Interpretation** sometimes (which essentially is the idea that everything that appears in the LF representation must contribute to the interpretation).

In (22a), the focus phrase does not have a variable to bind. The clitic can't be a variable, nor can its trace, and that's all the options there are. In (22b), we can assume that the focus phrase *itself* moved into FocP and the focus phrase binds its own trace in object position.

In (21b), there is an empty category in object position—but there is no kind of empty category that it could legitimately be. It can't be a DP-trace (the trace of A-movement) because that would make it the trace of movement of the topic phrase to TopP (which is movement to an A'-specifier—it's A'-movement). It can't be a variable because there is no quantifier to bind it. It can't be PRO because it's an object. In (21a), the empty category there is the trace of the clitic.

A note on Rizzi’s apparently strange terminology concerning empty categories:

Early on (Rizzi 1986), Rizzi proposed thinking about traces (and the syntax as a whole) in a different way. Rather than saying that there are constraints on *movement* such that it can only do such-and-such a thing over so-and-so many nodes of a certain type, Rizzi proposed that there are constraints on *the representation you end up with*. One aspect of this was that *empty categories* of all kinds were not considered to be *inherently* a trace or a PRO or a *pro*—you look at where the empty category (*ec*) is in the final representation and look at what is around to “license” it. Based on that you can *determine* what kind of empty category it is. The problem with (21b) is that the *ec* can’t be any of the available types.

3. Bare quantificational elements (*noone, all, ...*) can be Foci (but not Topics)

- (23) a. * Nessuno, lo ho visto.
(‘Noone, I saw him.’)
- b. * Tutto, lo ho fatto.
(‘Everything, I did it.’)
- (24) a. NESSUNO ho visto.
(‘NOONE I saw.’)
- b. TUTTO ho fatto.
(‘EVERYTHING I did’)

The problem with (23) is that quantificational elements are *quantifiers* and as such they need to bind a variable—but there is no variable in the topic structure.

In (24), the trace of the focused quantifier can do double-duty; it is a legitimate variable both for the focus-related quantification and for the quantifier-related quantification.

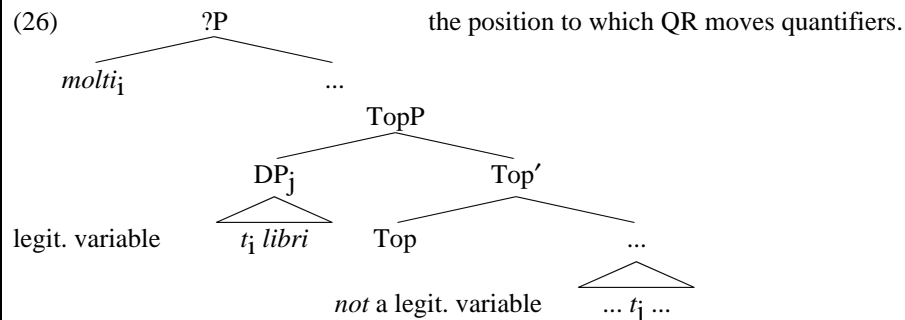
Side note: When we talk about contrastive focus, we are contrasting the focused element with “alternatives” to the focused element. In a case like *MARY passed the test*, we are contrasting Mary with, e.g., her classmates. When we focus a *quantifier*, though, it is reasonable to think that the alternatives are *quantifiers*: *EVERYTHING I did* contrasts *everything* with things like *nothing, most things, at most 7 things, ...*

Possibly related other side note: One might wonder how legitimate it *really* is to use the same trace to receive the alternative values from the focus phrase and to receive the alternative values from (each alternative) quantifier. How can we formally express what this means?

Sidetrack: Rizzi observes that his story only holds up with *bare* quantifiers—*everything, noone*, etc. As soon as you add a **restriction** (*many books, ...*) you **do** seem to be able to topicalize quantifiers.

- (25) Molti libri, li ho buttati via
(‘Many books, I threw them away.’)

In order to save the story, Rizzi proposes that in these cases, the DP *molti libri* moves into SpecTopP, but that the *quantifier* is really *molti* ‘many’, which undergoes QR out of the DP, leaving behind a trace which can serve as a proper variable to be bound by *molti*.



Comment. This looks like something for which it would be *very* hard to give a proper semantic analysis. I have no idea what this is supposed to *mean*. It looks like (as best I can tell): *For many x, x is a book and I threw x away*. This is not the right meaning, though. It’s even clearer for *most*—*Most books, I threw them away* would be *For most x, x is a book and I threw x away*, but when you consider the vast number of things which *aren’t* books it’s very clear that it is going to wind up false, since *Most things are books* isn’t even true.

4. No limit on number of Topics (but only one Focus)

- (27) a. Il libro, a Gianni, domani, glielo darò senz’altro
(‘The book, to John, tomorrow, I’ll give it to him for sure.’)
- b. * A GIANNI IL LIBRO darò (non a Piero, l’articolo)
(‘TO GIANNI THE BOOK I’ll give (not to Piero, the article).’)
- (28) A Gianni, QUESTO, domani, gli dovrete dire.
(‘To Gianni, THIS, tomorrow, you should tell him.’)

Descriptively, topics and either/both precede and follow the focus:

(29) ... C (Top*) (Foc) (Top*) ...

One way to think about this is: In X-bar theory, XP has only one Spec, but an unlimited number of things can adjoin to XP. So: Focus moves to SpecXP and Topic adjoins to XP.

Nevertheless, Rizzi goes for his view about TopP and FocP

Forcing us to assume TopP can recurse (A Top° can take another TopP as complement), while FocP *cannot* recurse.

Why FocP cannot recurse —Luigi Rizzi

Rizzi says that FocP is responsible for splitting up the *focus* and the *presupposition* (essentially, the *new* and the *old/given*). Suppose we have recursive FocP: Foc₁ takes FocP₂ as its complement. In the complement of Foc₂ is given information, in the Spec of Foc₂ is new information. *But*, FocP₂ is in the complement of Foc₁, and as such must as a whole be given information. Thus, we have an incompatibility: the Spec of Foc₂ cannot simultaneously be new and old information, and hence recursion of FocP is ruled out by interpretive concerns.

Comments. The purported inability to have two focus phrases is controversial. É. Kiss (1998) argues that you can have two focus phrases in Hungarian, and even the English example: *No, it is false that John gave the book to Mary—BILL gave THE RECORD to Mary* seems to have two contrastive foci (neither seems to be a contrastive topic).

In this connection, it might be relevant to consider this: Rizzi tells us that focus and *wh*-words cannot co-occur, and the two foci cannot co-occur. But it is *also* true of Italian that two *wh*-words cannot co-occur—you cannot ask *Who bought what?* in Italian (in that way). Of course, many languages *do* allow multiple *wh*-questions, including English. Perhaps this points to some Italian-specific restriction that is involved both in constraining *wh*-words and foci to one?

5. Topic is compatible with *wh*-words; Focus is not, either is ok with relative Op.

Recall from before...

Relative wh-words must precede topics, interrogative wh-words must follow topics

(30) a. Un uomo **a cui**, il premio Nobel, lo daranno senz'altro
'A man **to whom**, the Nobel Prize, they will give it undoubtedly.'

b. * Un uomo, il premio Nobel, **a cui** lo daranno senz'altro
'A man, the Nobel Prize, **to whom** they will give it undoubtedly.'

(31) a. * **A chi**, il premio Nobel, lo daranno?
'**To whom**, the Nobel Prize, will they give it?'

b. Il premio Nobel, **a chi** lo daranno?
'The Nobel Prize, **to whom** will they give it?'

(32) ... (Rel-*wh*) ... topic ... (*wh*-word) ... IP

Conclude:

Relative *wh*-operators occupy SpecForceP (only place which can't follow a topic). *Wh*-words in a *wh*-question occupy someplace lower, below topics.

Focus is incompatible with wh-words regardless of the order:

(33) a. * A GIANNI che cosa hai detto (, non a Piero)?
'TO GIANNI what did you tell (not to Piero)?'

b. * Che cosa A GIANNI hai detto (, non a Piero)?
'What TO GIANNI did you tell (not to Piero)?'

Suggests:

Wh-words and focus compete for the same spot, SpecFocP. There's only one SpecFocP, so you can only have one of {*wh*-word, focus},

Consistent with the above results, relative operators can co-occur with focus but the relative operator must *precede* the focus:

(34) a. Ecco un uomo **a cui** IL PREMIO NOBEL dovrebbero dare
(... non il premio X)
'Here is a man **to whom** THE NOBEL PRIZE they should give
(...not prize X)'

b. * Ecco un uomo IL PREMIO NOBEL **a cui** dovrebbero dare (...)
'Here is a man THE NOBEL PRIZE **to whom** they should give (...)'

And here, the comprehensible part of the paper is pretty much over. The rest of the paper deals with various other phenomena in terms of head-movement, criteria, and the ECP.

Ruling out a recalcitrant case: *wh*...Top...

Earlier we saw that *wh*-words cannot be followed by a topic. If *wh*-words move to FocP, should we expect that the TopP below it would be able to house topics? Should we conclude that *wh*-phrases don't move as high as FocP?

We don't want that; but perhaps it can be tied to a separate fact about Italian:

In a normal *wh*-question, even a normal preverbal subject cannot intervene between the *wh*-word and the verb. We account for this by assuming that [wh] is generated on T, and then T moves to C (taking the verb past the subject) so that the [wh] on T (moved to C) can be in a Spec-head relationship with the [wh] feature of the *wh*-phrase in SpecCP.

In the case we're trying to rule out, there is a lower TopP below the FocP where the *wh*-word is. The [wh] feature that appears on T in all *wh*-questions still needs to be in a Spec-head relationship with the *wh*-word (T has to move to Foc), but we know it hasn't because the verb does not precede the topic.

In a normal focus construction, a preverbal subject *can* intervene between the focus and the verb, so we must conclude that the [Foc] feature implicated in the Foc-Criterion (forcing movement of the focused phrase to SpecFocP) is generated right on Foc° (and need not be moved up there).

In support of a TopP for non-argument preposing (vs. IP-adjunction)...

- 1) If it were just adjunction, why is it only to IP? Why not to other places in the clause where we see adjunction in other cases?
- 2) We can explain certain adjacency effects if we assume TopP is involved in non-argument preposing and we assume that Top° can interfere with the licensing of certain elements.

Consider *for*, which bestows Case on the subject of an embedded nonfinite IP. A preposed adverb cannot intervene between *for* and the subject—assuming that there is a TopP when there is a preposed adverb, *for* no longer governs the subject—it is too far away.

- (35) a. ...for John to leave tomorrow.
- b. * ...for, tomorrow, John to leave.

- (36) a. With John unavailable on the weekend...
- b. * With, on the weekend, John unavailable...

The fact that *that* is compatible with TopP comes from the fact that it's Force and it's above the fray. It has no relation to the embedded subject (it does not bestow Case), so it has no need to be local to it.

- (37) a. ...that John will leave tomorrow.
- b. ...that, tomorrow, John will leave.

Side discussion: Crosslinguistic reasons to believe Case is relevant.

West Flemish:

With infinitives embedded by prepositional complementizers that *aren't* bestowing Case (where the subject shows up in nominative Case anyway), preposed adverbs can occur between the complementizer and the subject.

Brazilian Portuguese:

Formal: subject of complement of *pra* 'for' nominative (preposing ok)

Colloquial: subject of complement of *pra* 'for' oblique (preposing disallowed)

Side side discussion: How about English adjacency requirements attributed to I C?

If I moves to Fin, there's no structural TopP position to allow preposed adverbs between the moved auxiliary and the subject.

But if the pair below mean the same thing and indicate that in (38b) *had* has moved up to where *if* is in (38a), what could be wrong with the preposed adverbial in (38b)?

- (38) a. If (yesterday) John had done that...
- b. Had (*yesterday) John done that...

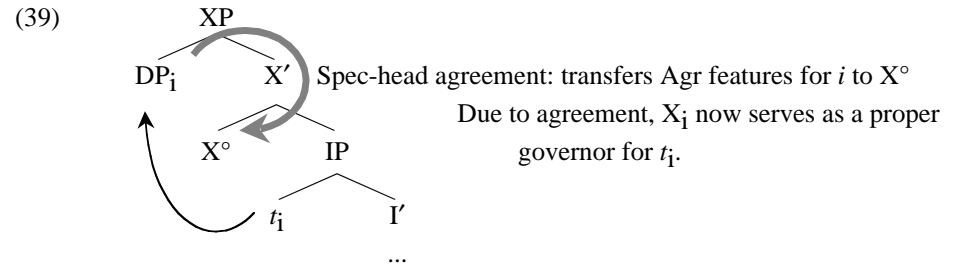
Solution: I is prohibited from moving to Top° in English, so if you put a Top° in there, either I will have to move to Top° (prohibited) or I will have to skip over Top° (violating the Head Movement Constraint).

The Split CP and the ECP

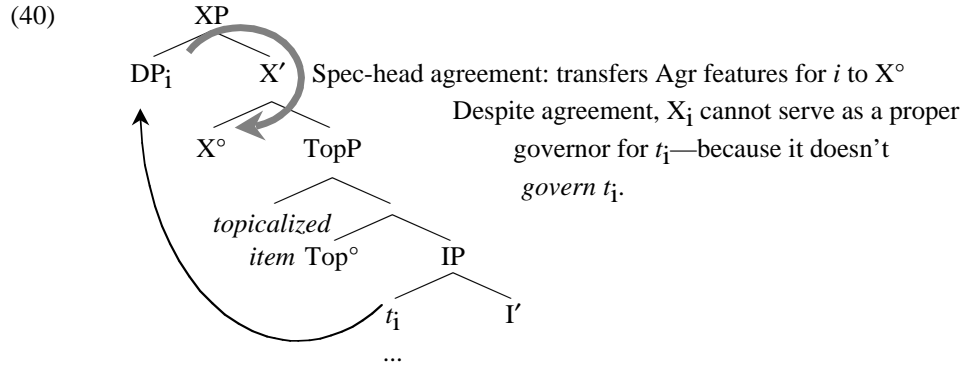
ADJACENCY EFFECTS ON TRACES—where preposed elements *block* subject extraction.

(Recall that a subject trace is not automatically lexically governed and is therefore very susceptible to ECP violations).

The mechanism which allows extraction out of a non-governed position:



But, if there were an intervening TopP, the mechanism wouldn't work.



This is supposed to be at the root of:

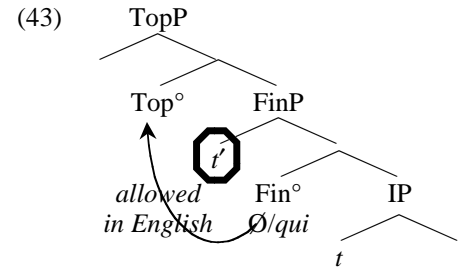
- (41) a. ? (This is) a man to whom [liberty [we should never grant t t]]
 b. * (This is) a man who [liberty [t should never grant t to us]]

(Fin° is the closest head to the subject trace—it would need to have agreement features for the subject, but it has Op in it already).

CONCERNING THE LACK OF ANTI-ADJACENCY EFFECTS IN FRENCH

French *that-trace* type effects are not alleviated by intervening topicalized adverbials.

French has an overt agreeing complementizer (Fin): *qui*.
 English has \emptyset , which Rizzi (following Pesetsky) suggests is an *affix* that moves up to the verb embedding it.



Never mind about the last couple of pages on “growing Agr”—it is not clear and isn't featured in papers you are likely to see...

ANTI-ADJACENCY EFFECTS—where preposed elements *salvage* subject extraction

- (42) a. * (This is) an amendment which they say that t will be law next year.
 b. (This is) an amendment which they say that, next year, t will be law.

It seems that topicalization licenses a head which can license the subject trace. A good candidate for the culprit is Fin° , since it governs the subject trace. Why is a preposed adverbial required?

Suggestion: Without something in the topic-focus field, *that* is actually spelling out a conglomerate head—in such structures there is *no split CP*, there is just C with all of the features of Force and Fin in one head (enforced by **Avoid Structure**). *That* cannot agree, and so the closest head to the subject trace cannot be made into a proper governor. But if the topic-focus field is “activated”, then *that* becomes unambiguously Force (*that* is not compatible with Fin alone), and \emptyset becomes unambiguously Fin (not compatible with Force alone). \emptyset can agree, allowing the subject trace to be licensed.