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Right dislocation as a biclausal phenomenon

Evidence from Romance languages

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Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor in Cognitive Science and Language

BELLATERRA, MAY 2017

A mis padres,
por vuestro constante apoyo y amor incondicional

A la memoria de *la yaya* Aurora,
por la devoción que nos teníamos.

Acknowledgements

There is something quite comforting in writing the acknowledgements of a dissertation: realizing this is the end. The end not only of a piece of research, but of a period of life too. As I write these lines I become aware that despite the hectic and turbulent last months of the writing process, my years as a PhD student have been an amazing experience. And of course, this is due to the fact that the sometimes turtuous road to the end is fortunately not a lonely ride.

Maria Lluïsa Hernanz deserves to appear first in the acknowledgements without any sort of doubt. I want to thank her for constantly challenging me, for sharing with me her vast knowledge, for always reminding me of "the bigger picture", for her endless generosity and, above all, for supporting me and believing in me.

If I could travel back in time I would choose the *Centre de Lingüística Teòrica* again for my PhD. It is an honour for me to have been part of this intellectually stimulating and very friendly environment. I want to thank all its members, in particular Gemma Rigau, Carme Picallo, Anna Bartra, Jaume Mateu, Cristina Real, Eulàlia Bonet, M. Teresa Espinal, Anna Gavarró, Joan Mascaró, Ángel Gallego, Josep M. Brucart and Xavier Villalba.

I thank Anna Gavarró, Montse Capdevila, Carme Picallo, Mireia Llinàs and Anna Bartra for having instilled in me their passion for linguistics and syntax as an undergraduate student and Josep Maria Brucart and Xavier Villalba for keeping an eye on my progress as a PhD student and having guided me, supported me and contributed to make this thesis way better. Finally, Ángel Gallego deserves special thanks among the CLT people. He is an endless source of knowledge, and I feel deeply honoured by all the support, trust,

help and generosity he has granted me throughout these years.

I found true friendship among my fellow students at the CLT. For many years of laughs, tears, drinks, trips, love, weddings and children, I thank Yurena Gutiérrez, Elías Gallardo, Isabel Castro (¡alter higo!), Carlos Rubio, Adriana Fasanella, Ekaterina Chernova, Eduard Artés, Lucía Medea, Teresa Blasco and Marina Roman. Further, I would like to thank the younger generations of PhD students at the CLT for creating such a great and fun atmosphere: Pablo Rico, Alba Cerrudo, Ares Llop, Anna Paradís, Isabel Crespí, M. Pilar Colomina, Qiuyue Zhong, Eloi Puig, Sílvia Serret, Marta Khouja.

Mireia Llinàs deserves special thanks. She was the person who introduced me into linguistics back when I was in highschool and for that I will eternally be grateful to her. She has been caring, supportive and helpful since the very first day we met. Along the years in the academia I have met (many) people who have made me a better linguist, some who have helped me become a better person and some other who have contributed to both. Mireia clearly belongs in the latter group.

My master year at University College London had an undenying impact on me. I was very fortunate to have thought-provoking and inspiring professors and lecturers there, especially Ad Neeleman, Klaus Abels and Matthew Reeve. UCL is a thrilling place to do linguistics, and I am happy to have shared my master experience with Zoë Belk, Garret Giffin, Georg Höhn, Kristina Starikova and Ezekiel Panitz.

Special thanks from my experience at UCL are of course due to Vieri Samek-Lodovici for having accepted to supervise my MRes thesis, and for having generously shared all his immense knowledge about syntax, information structure and right dislocations with me. Every single correction and comment he made me in my master thesis drafts helped me become a better linguist.

I would like to thank Mark de Vries, for having accepted me as a visiting student at the University of Groningen and for always being available to meet and discuss parts of this dissertation. The Department of Linguistics there is such a cool place, and I am happy to have discussed about linguistics, as well as shared laughs and drinks, with Jan-Wouter Zwart, Craig Sailor, Marlies Kluck, Pavel Rudnev, Charlotte Lindenbergh, Bernat Bardagil, and

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1   Word order and Information-Structure

Among the various syntactic criteria used in linguistic typology to classify languages, probably the most fundamental one concerns the distribution of the basic elements in a sentence, a criterion which is typically referred to as *canonincal word order*. In particular, the canonical word order of a given language reflects the relative order in which subject, verb and object appear in an unmarked (i.e. pragmatically neutral) transitive and declarative sentence. In this respect, the canonical word order is said to be the order that originates in a sequence which constitutes the answer to an all-focus question (*what's going on?*, for example). Whereas English, Spanish or Greek generally display svo, Japanese, Turkish or Latin are typical instances of sov languages. Other combinations are logically possible (namely osv, ovs, vso, vos), yet rarely attested (see Givón, 1979; Greenberg, 1963; Song, 2001; Tomlin, 1986, a.o. for discussion on this issue).

Sentences, however, are seldom uttered in pragmatically neutral contexts. Communication is a constant flow of information that keeps updating the speakers' common ground, i.e. the set of propositions that all the interlocutors in a conversation are supposed to share (Stalnaker, 1974). Information has to be presented - or *packaged* (Chafe, 1976; Lambrecht, 1994; Vallduví, 1992) - taking into consideration this common ground at the par-

ticular moment when it is uttered. The set of linguistic mechanisms that optimize the output so that it matches the conversational and contextual demands goes by the name of *information structure* (IS).

The formal study of IS is tightly linked to two crucial concepts: TOPIC and FOCUS (Erteschik-Shir, 1997, 2007; Lambrecht, 1994; Rizzi, 1997, a.o.)[1]. Typically, the concept of TOPIC is related to the notion of ABOUTNESS, i.e. what the sentence is about (Reinhart, 1981), and is consequently equated with old or known information (Erteschik-Shir, 1997, 2007; Vallduví, 1992). FOCUS, on the other hand, is typically associated with new, non-presupposed information. An influential view of focus is proposed in Rooth, (1992)'s theory of Alternative Semantics, which takes focus to signal the existence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of utterances.

The notions of TOPIC and FOCUS have been long argued to have an impact on word order. In other words, the canonical word order of a particular language is often altered, and the cause for such permutations is information structure[2]. The following sentences illustrate how FOCUS (1B) and TOPIC (2B) can trigger object-initial sequences in a language like Spanish, which is not an otherwise object-initial language. The data are presented in the form of minidialogues to provide a context.

(1)   A. Juan se   ha comprado un Aston Martin.
           Juan himself has bought   an Aston Martin
           "Juan has bought an Aston Martin."   (svo)

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[1]Despite the popularity of these two terms, some authors have expressed their concerns regarding their validity as theoretical notions. As López, (2009a, p.22–37) claims, they lack a systematic and precise definition and therefore fail to encompass a natural set of phenomena (see also Fábregas, (2016) and Fanselow, (2006) for general criticism, and Rubio, (2014) for particular criticism of the notion of TOPIC and its role in syntax). Further, other theoretically significant notions like GIVENNESS (Krifka and Féry, 2008; Samek-Lodovici, 2015; Schwarzschild, 1999; Truckenbrodt, 2016) or CONTRAST (López, 2009a; Neeleman and Vermeulen, 2012) have been argued to play a role in IS.

[2]Information structure models utterances in ways beyond word order. For example, it has an undeniable role in defining the suprasegmental phonological properties of a sentence (Bolinger, 1958; Büring, 2003; Jackendoff, 1972; Liberman and Pierrehumbert, 1984), and it is further associated with morphological marking in some languages like Japanese, Korean or Quechua (see, for example, Aboh, 2004).

B. Qué va! UN MASERATI se   ha comprado Juan.
    what goes a   Maseratti himself has bought   Juan
    "No way, he has bought A MASERATTI!"   (ovs)

(2) A. He   comprado cordero pero no sé   cómo hacerlo.
         have bought   beef   but not know how   cook-it
         "I've bought lamb but I don't know how to cook it.   (svo)

B. El cordero, yo lo suelo hacer al   horno con menta.
    the lamb   I it often cook to the oven   with mint
    "Lamb, I usually cook it with mint and in the oven."   (osv)

In particular, (1B) illustrates the phenomenon of focus fronting (FF) in Spanish. In FF in this language, the fronted constituent (in this case the object) receives emphatic stress (which I have signalled with small caps), it yields an operator-variable chain (it gives rise to weak crossover effects, for example), there is a restriction of only one focused constituent per sentence and it requires strict adjacency between the fronted element and the verb[3].

(2B), on the other hand, exemplifies the phenomenon of clitic left dislocation (CLLD), which is quite different from FF in many respects. To start with, CLLDed phrases do not leave a gap in their base position, which is occupied by a pronominal element with which they corefer. They are generally deaccented, they do not require the verb to be adjacent to them and there can be more than one CLLDed constituent per clause. For further discussion of these two phenomena see Cinque, (1990), Leonetti and Escandell, (2009), López, (2009a), and Rizzi, (1997).

However, not all IS-induced alterations of word order target the left edge of the clause. Observe first the following data in Catalan: the minimal pair in (3) shows that in this language the direct object must obligatorily precede the locative PP. Now witness the dialogue in (4). Speaker's B answer in (4B) features the object DP at the right edge of the clause, crucially to the right of the locative PP. Under pragmatically neutral contexts, this word order is impossible (3b), but a particular environment in (4) is created to license this word order permutation.

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[3]Jiménez-Fernández, (2015) notes that certain varieties of Spanish do not require adjacency between the fronted focus and the verb.

(3)   a.   He   posat les pomes a la   nevera.
               have put   the apples in the fridge
               "I've put the apples in the fridge.

       b.   * He posat a la nevera les pomes.

(4)   A.   On   són les pomes que hem comprat? No les   trobo
               where are the apples that have bought   not them find
               enlloc…
               anywhere
               "Where are the apples we bought? I can't find them anywhere."

       B.   Les   he   posat a la   nevera, *les pomes*.
               them have put   in the fridge   the apples
               "I've put the apples in the fridge."

The string in (4B) illustrates the phenomenon of clitic right dislocation, or simply right dislocation (RD), and it constitutes the object study of this dissertation. RD is a topic-marking construction in which a constituent, the dislocated phrase (or δ for short) is located at the right edge of a syntactically, semantically and prosodically complete clause, which I refer to as antecedent clause (CP_A) for reasons that will become obvious later in the dissertation. δ can be of any syntactic category and it can fulfil any syntactic function. CP_A contains a weak pronoun – a clitic, generally – which corefers with δ. This pronoun will be referred to as κ hereafter. The abstract structure of RD is represented in (5):

(5) $[_{CP_A} \dots \kappa_i \dots]$, δ_i

Prosodically, δ is deaccentuated (which I have decided to mark by means of italics throughout the dissertation) and preceded by an intonational break and an optional short pause. This is ortographically marked by a comma at the right edge of CP_A, which is prosodically complete without δ (Astruc, 2004; Crocco, 2013; Feldhausen, 2010; Rossi, 1999, a.o.). Particular examples of RD in various Romance languages are provided below. As these examples show, right dislocation is not restricted to one syntactic category or function:

(6) L$_i$' appo vistu, [*su duttore*]$_i$.
     him have seen the doctor
     "I have seen him, the doctor."   (Sardinian, Jones, 1993, p.318, his (18))

(7) Îl$_i$ cunosc de mult, [*pe fratele tău*]$_i$
     him know of much to brother your
     "I've known him for a long time, your brother."   (Romanian, Zagiu, 2013, p.573, her (137a))

(8) Tu vas parfois   leur$_i$ donner à manger, [*aux canards*]$_i$?
     you go sometimes them give   to eat   to the ducks
     "Do you sometimes go and feed them, the ducks?"   (French, De Cat, 2007, p.36, her (57b))

(9) Peire li$_i$ a donat de pan, [*al can*]$_i$.
     Peire him has given of bread to the dog
     "Peire has given him the bread, the dog."   (Occitan[4])

(10) Hi$_i$ anem sovint, [*a Girona*]$_i$.
     there go   often to Girona
     "We go there often, to Girona"   (Catalan)

(11) Ne$_i$ abbiamo parlato a lungo, [*di Maria*]$_i$.
     of her have   spoken at length of Maria
     "We spoke for a long time, about Maria."   (Italian, Samek-Lodovici, 2015, p.78, his (3c))

(12) Juan ya   nos lo$_i$ había contado, [*que Susana estaba embarazada*]$_i$.
     Juan already us it had told   that Susana was   pregnant
     "Juan had already told us, that Susana was pregnant."   (Spanish)

(13) *pro*$_i$ comem muito chocolate, [*essas crianças*]$_i$.
          eat   much chocolate these children.
     "They eat lots of chocolate, these kids."   (Portuguese, Duarte and Figuereido-Silva, 2016, p.243, their (32a))

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[4]Data from Patrick Sauzet on a forum on right dislocation at Linguist List: https://linguistlist.org/issues/8/8-749.html

The data displayed so far in this introduction manifests, as has been already claimed, that being a TOPIC or a FOCUS may have syntactic consequences, namely it may trigger particular word order rearrangement operations. The compelling question that arises at this point is, of course, how. In other words: how do syntax and IS interact with each other?

At least since Chomsky (1970) and Jackendoff (1972) there has been a constant attempt at encoding discourse notions in the syntax so they are read off at the interfaces (the phonological and semantic-interpretative component, or PF and LF respectively), on the well-established assumption that these do not independently interact with each other[5].

One very influential view is the so-called cartographic approach, attributed to Rizzi, (1997), but see also, among many others, Benincà, (2001), Benincà and Poletto, (2004), Cinque and Rizzi, (2008), Rizzi, (2001, 2004), and Rizzi and Bocci, (2016). Rizzi proposes to split the node C into two basic categories: ForceP, which encodes clause-typing and force specification, and Fin(iteness)P, which is responsible for encoding mood and tense features. Sandwiched between ForceP and FinP are located a number of funcional, discourse oriented, strictly ordered projections: Top(ic)P and Foc(us)P[6,7]. Affected constituents are lexically endowed with [+TOPIC] and [+FOCUS] features, which trigger movement to the specifier of their corresponding projections[8].

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[5]The idea, which has been around at least since Chomsky and Lasnik, (1977), is that syntax is the central computational system that takes lexical items as input and generates, by means of simple operations (possibly *merge* and *agree*), structures which will be read off at both interfaces. This model of grammar is known as the Y model, and it constitutes a fundamental premise in the Minimalist Program Chomsky, (1993, 1995). See Jackendoff, (1997, 2002) for criticism of this syntacticocentric model and for a novel approach; and Irurtzun, (2007, 2009) for critical assessment of Jackendoff's alternative model.

[6]Rizzi's original template has been extended into a more fine-grained set of projections, see Benincà and Poletto, 2004; Bianchi and Frascarelli, 2010; Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl, 2007, a.o.

[7]Topic- and Focus- dedicated positions have proliferated in other areas of the clausal spine, mainly above *v*P (Belletti, 1998, 2004; Camacho, 2003; Cecchetto, 1999; Villalba, 2000) and above DP (Giusti, 1996; Villalba and Bartra-Kauffman, 2009).

[8]As Neeleman and Szendröi, (2004, p.154) and others have pointed out, lexical items are not inherently foci or topics, and thus focus and topic features must be inserted at some

(14)

```
                    ForceP
                   /      \
             Force⁰        TopP
                          /    \
                  XP[+TOP]      
                        /    \
                   Top⁰        FocP
                             /     \
                      WP[+FOC]       
                            /    \
                       Foc⁰        FinP
                                  /    \
                             Fin⁰        TP
                                        /‾\
                                  ...t ...t...
```
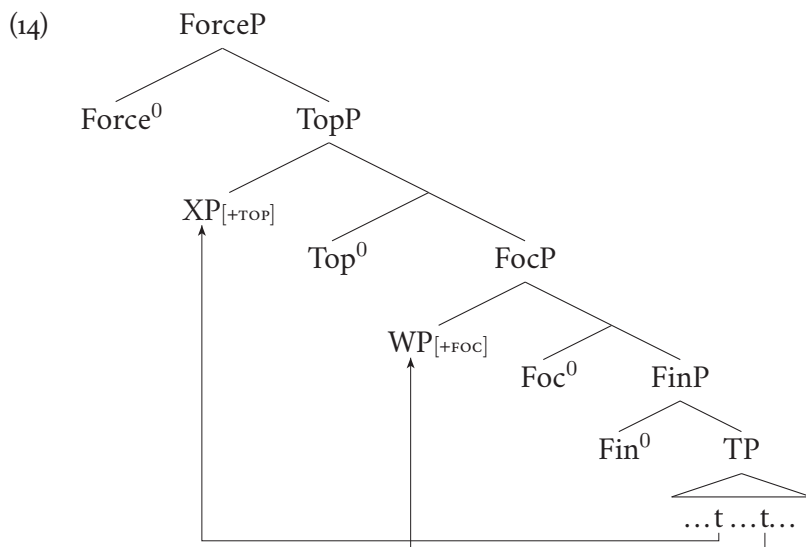
The cartographic enterprise therefore proposes a very transparent mapping between syntax and the interfaces: for example, WP in (14) will be pronounced and interpreted as a focus because it sits in the specifier of a Focus Phrase. The same logic carries over to topics.

Despite its merits, cartography has been subject to criticism on various fronts. Discussing them would take us too far afield. The reader is referred to the collection of papers in van Craenenbroeck, (2009), as well as Abels, (2012b), Fanselow, (2006), López, (2009a), Neeleman and Szendröi, (2004), and Neeleman and Vermeulen, (2012) for extensive criticism and, crucially, for alternative ways to derive the same set of data which cartography is supposed to fare well with. However, given the inevitable connection between this issue and this dissertation I feel it is important to state how the discussion that will follow connects with the general picture regarding the relation between discourse, word order and syntax.

Because δ in right dislocation is interpreted as a TOPIC, many authors have argued that right dislocated phrases in Romance sit in the specifier of

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point during the computation. This obviously leads to a violation of Inclusiveness (Chomsky, 1995, p.225), a condition which ensures that the output of a syntactic derivation does not contain anything else than its input.

a Topic Phrase (Belletti, 2004; Bocci, 2013; Cecchetto, 1999; Feldhausen, 2010; Fernández-Sánchez, 2013; Samek-Lodovici, 2006; Villalba, 2000). In this respect, the analysis defended in this dissertation does not align with cartographic approaches. Right dislocation will be explained without the need to resort to Topic Phrases or topic features. In particular, I will claim that right dislocated phrases are extrasentential, paratactic elements that do not belong in the spine of their host clause[9].

Even though this dissertation should not be regarded as a case study against cartography (for example, I will have nothing to say about the role of FOCUS), I believe the discussion that is about to follow has important and compelling ramifications that could make a general argument against TOPIC *qua* syntactic notion which drives the computation of dislocation structures in general. This is a welcome result, given that dislocations have always been a pebble in the shoe: Right dislocations, like CLLD, do not seem to have much in common with foci, as Rizzi, (1997) himself discussed at length (he even concedes that "topics [in reference to dislocations] are special" (Rizzi, 2004). It is not clear how such differences should be explained given (14), see Fernández-Sánchez, (2016), Giorgi, (2015), and Ott, (2015) for related discussion. I will come back to this issue at the end of this thesis.

1.2   Outline of the dissertation

This dissertation is divided in five chapters. Chapter 2 presents and reviews existing proposals of right dislocation in Romance languages, signalling their merits and pointing out their shortcomings. These various approaches can be classified according to different research questions, which I plot here:

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[9]A natural question that arises is whether clitic left dislocation, the other topic-marking construction *par excellence* (Cinque, 1977, 1990; Iatridou, 1995; Rizzi, 1997; Rubio, 2014; Zagona, 2002, a.o.) can be subsumed under the same analysis. Even though clitic left dislocation will remain largely unaddressed in this dissertation, I believe the account of RD provided in this thesis can interestingly carry over to CLLD. A paratactic account of CLLD has been argued for by Fernández-Sánchez, (2016), Giorgi, (2015), and Ott, (2012, 2015); see chapter 6 and the Appendix for more on this issue.

- **The structural question**: where in the clause structure is the right dislocated phrase? Two main views stand out. On the one hand, the dislocated constituent can be argued to be outside the domain of the TP - either in the left periphery of the clause (De Cat, 2007; Fernández-Sánchez, 2013; Frascarelli, 2004; Samek-Lodovici, 2006, 2015) or completely external to the clause, as defended by Cardinaletti, (2002). On the other hand, some authors have defended instead that the right dislocated phrase is within the domain of the IP, either in a middle-field position between IP and vP (Bocci, 2013; Cecchetto, 1999; Feldhausen, 2010; López, 2009a; Villalba, 2000) or in its argumental position (Kayne, 1994).

- **The derivational question**: does the right dislocated phrase reach its position by means of syntactic movement or it is base-generated in that position? The former has been defended by Cecchetto, (1999), Samek-Lodovici, (2006, 2015), and Villalba, (2000) and López, (2009a), who argues for an A-movement analysis of right dislocation. The base-generation approach has been put forth by De Cat, (2007) and Frascarelli, (2004).

- **The word order question**: how does the right dislocated constituent end up rightmost? The question is relevant if, as argued by Kayne, (1994), rightward movement or rightward adjunction are not valid theoretical tools. A frequent solution to this question is to assume some sort of remnant movement of all the remaining material higher than the ultimate position of the dislocated phrase. One exception is López, (2009a,b), who proposes an optimality theoretic model where Kayne's LCA can be violated as a resolution to prosodic demands that arise at the syntax-prosody interface.

Notwithstanding the differences, the analyses reviewed in chapter 2 all share the assumption that δ is, in one way or another, part of CP$_A$. Chapter 3 constitutes a radical departure from such view, and it explores the idea that right dislocation is underlyingly a biclausal phenomenon. Under this novel approach, δ belongs in a separate clause, which we do not see because

it is elided. Consequently this rightmost sentence will be referred to as CP_E, where E stands for Elided. Thus, an example like (6), repeated under (15a) for convenience, would be informally analyzed as in (15b):

(15)   a.   L'   appo vistu, *su duttore.*
             him have seen   his doctor
             "I've seen him, his doctor."

        b. $[_{CP_A}$ L'appo vistu $]$ $[_{CP_E}$ ~~appo vistu~~ su duttore$]$.

CP_E is semantically parallel to CP_A (which permits ellipsis), modulo κ, which is replaced by δ in CP_E. The intuition behind the analysis in (15b) comes from Janus-faced nature of right dislocated phrases. On the one hand, they are clearly external to CP_A, as the latter is completely independent from a syntactic, semantic and phonological point of view. On the other hand, δ exhibits some properties, having to do with case-marking, binding and scope, that can only be accounted for if δ is internal to CP_A. The biclausal approach is perfectly fitted to resolve this tension: the clause external properties of RD follow from the obvious reason that δ is in a separate clause from CP_A. The clause internal properties are a corollary of the fact that CP_E, i.e. the clause which hosts δ, is identical to CP_A. Consequently, we can state that the connectivity effects between CP_A and δ are illusory or, at best, only indirect.

The biclausal approach was, to my knowledge, first proposed by Kuno, (1978) to account for right dislocation in Japanese, and it has been later defended for Japanese, Korean and Germanic languages (Ott and De Vries, 2012, 2016; Park and Kim, 2009; Takita, 2012; Tanaka, 2001; Truckenbrodt, 2013, 2016; De Vries, 2009, 2013a; Whitman, 2000). However, the consequences of this approach have not been examined for Romance languages. This dissertation intends to fill this gap. In doing so, I will provide novel data that are clearly mysterious under monoclausal approaches. In sum, chapter 3 shows that the biclausal analysis is not only an elegant and parsimonious way of accounting for the phenomenon of right dislocation in Romance, but it is also empirically adequate.

Under the analysis outlined in chapter 3, δ can be best viewed as a fragment, in the sense of Merchant, (2004a), i.e. as a remnant of a clausal ellipsis

operation. Remnants are generally claimed to escape the domain of ellipsis. The idea comes from the analysis develped by Lobeck, (1995) whereby ellipsis is licensed syntactically by certain heads (Aelbrecht, 2011, 2016; Bošković, 2014; Gallego, 2009; Merchant, 2001, a.o.). Leaving the remnant *in situ* would yield an output in which ellipsis would have to target a non-constituent, which is not expected under the view that ellipsis is licensed in the syntax, as syntax operates with constituents. This can in fact be observed in the informal derivation I sketched in (15b).

To solve this, remnants are frequently assumed to undergo movement to the left edge of the ellipsis site. Given that we are dealing with clausal ellipsis – ellipsis of minimally a TP – it would then seem reasonable to postulate that δ moves to a position in the CP area. This is in fact the derivation that Merchant, (2004a) defends for fragments, which are argued to sit in the specifier of a functional projection (FP) above TP. Thus, the analysis in (15b) would be modified as follows:

(16)

FP
├── DP
│   └── su duttore
└── F   TP
        └── appo vistu t
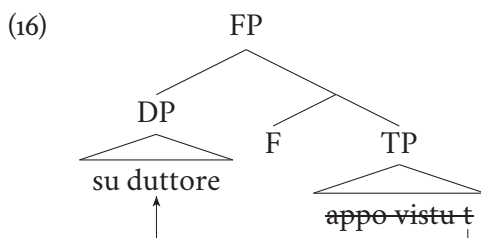
If δ moves in the elided domain, the regular effects created by movement should be observed. The purpose of chapter 4 is to assess whether (16) is empirically superior to (15b). I focus on locality, and in island sensitivity in particular. I will conclude that the islandhood effects observed in RD cannot be a corollary of movement of δ. Instead I argue that these effects follow from independent constraints which have to do with how CP_A and CP_E are linked. I further defend that these constraints can capture locality properties of RD strings involving multiple dislocates. I further present data from scope and variable binding that are certainly unexpected if δ undergoes movement to the periphery of the ellipsis site, which supports the derivation in (15b) over (16).

The biclausal approach of RD is highly reminiscent of the analysis of

split questions (SQ) put forth by Arregi, (2010), Irurtzun, (2016), and Kluck, (2014) and of afterthoughts (AT) defended by Ott and De Vries, (2016), Park and Kim, (2009), and De Vries, (2009). The two phenomena are illustrated below in (17) and (18) respectively. For each case, I reproduce the analyses that the above-mentioned authors provide:

(17)   a. Where did you travel, TO AUSTRALIA?

        b. Where did you travel, [TO AUSTRALIA]$_i$ ~~you travelled t$_i$~~?

(18)   a. I travelled to a wonderful country last year – TO AUSTRALIA.

        b. I travelled to a wonderful country last year – [TO AUSTRALIA]$_i$ ~~I travelled t$_i$ last year~~.

I show that providing a unified account of RD, SQ and AT is a welcome result because these three phenomena are strikingly similar in many respects. In particular, I claim that they form a natural class of phenomena that I refer to as Right Peripheral Fragments. Postulating a unified account does not go in tandem with ceasing to acknowledge the existence of important differences between RD on the one hand and SQ and AT on the other one. I will address these asymmetries, and crucially show how they can be worked out within the biclausal view.

Contrary to the analyses in (17) and (18) and in line with the conclusions developed in chapter 4, I provide evidence against the claim that the remnant undergoes movement in the elided clause, and instead propose an *in situ* alternative:

(19)   Where did you travel, ~~did you travel~~ TO AUSTRALIA?

(20)   I travelled to a wonderful country last year – ~~I travelled~~ TO AUSTRALIA ~~last year~~.

Finally, I will address the syntax of another type of RPF which Ott and De Vries, (2016) refer to as *predicative afterthoughts* (PredAT):

(21)   We met John last year at a conference – A GREAT GUY.

Despite also displaying an underlyingly biclausal structure, they exhibit important asymmetries with respect to other afterthought constructions.

Building on novel data, I propose that the remnant in PredAT is the predicate in an (elided) predicative copular clause and that it undergoes movement to the left edge of the clause for interpretation purposes:

(22)   We met John last year at a conference – [a great guy]$_i$ ~~he is t$_i$~~.

In sum, each of the chapters that make this thesis respond to the following very general questions:

- **Chapter 2:** What are the previous analyses of Romance RD?

- **Chapter 3:** What is the proposal for the syntax of RD and how does this novel analysis account for the data?

- **Chapter 4:** How do the locality effects of RD follow from the approach defended in chapter 3?

- **Chapter 5:** How does RD fit in a more general (and crucially) natural class of phenomena, which I refer to as *Right Peripheral Fragments*?

A closing chapter briefly discusses some of the theoretical implications of this dissertation that go beyond the syntax of right dislocation, and lays out the issues that need to be taken for further research.

Finally, I have included an appendix at the end of the thesis, where I discuss the advantages of extending the approach defended here to clitic left dislocation.

Chapter 2

Monoclausal analyses

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 The loci of analytical disagreement

The main goal of this chapter is to review previous approaches to the syntax of right dislocation in Romance languages. Even though the literature on this topic is not vast, the existing proposals are analytically very diverse. This is so, I believe, because the empirical data provided to support the various theses are, frequently, admittedly delicate. In a nutshell, existing proposals disagree along three main points: (i) the structural position of right dislocated phrases, (ii) their (non-)movement nature and (iii) how the final word order arises (see Samek-Lodovici, 2015 for a thorough overview). I start this chapter by discussing these three issues separately.

The first one concerns the position of the right dislocated constituent within the skeleton of the clause. Two main views stand out: on the one hand, some authors have proposed that right dislocated phrases surface in a position above TP[1]. The most standard way of formalizing this idea consists in placing the dislocated constituent in the left periphery of the clause (Rizzi, 1997), also referred to as the C-domain in Platzack, (2001) or Ω-domain in Grohmann, (2003). Some of these include De Cat, (2007), Fernández-Sánchez,

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[1]I ignore, for now, the issue of how the relevant word order obtains.

(2013), Frascarelli, (2004), Samek-Lodovici, (2006, 2015), and Vallduví, (1992). Approaches of this sort will be labelled *peripheral*[2].

In opposition to peripheral approaches, some authors have defended that right dislocated constituents target a position between the TP and the VP, a clausal area which is usually referred to as the middle field. The middle field, also known as *mittelfeld*, is one of the topological fields in which grammarians have traditionally divided the sentence in Germanic languages (see Haider, 2006 for a review). Consider the following example in Dutch, from Zwart, (2011, p.51, his (57)):

(1)   Tasman heeft **in Nieuw Zeeland met de Maoris** gesproken.
       Tasman has   in New   Zealand with the Maoris spoken
       "Tasman spoke with the Maoris in New Zealand."

The middle field - in bold - in this example corresponds to the area comprised between the auxiliary verb and the past participle at the right edge of the clause. As pointed out by Zwart (ibid., p.50–68), this clausal field is the domain of objects, adverbs and nonpredicative PPs.

The view that right dislocated constituents are located in the middle field of the sentence is defended, among others, by Bocci, (2013), Cecchetto, (1999), Feldhausen, (2008), López, (2009a), and Villalba, (2000). Such an approach will be referred to as the *middle field* analysis of right dislocation, which is equivalent to what Samek-Lodovici labels *clause internal*.

The debate as to how high right dislocated phrases are (whether they are higher than TP as defended by peripheral approaches or between TP and VP as argued by middle field proponents) is found in analyses of right dislocation outside the Romance family. See Zwart, (2001) and Fernández-Sánchez, (2012) for a peripheral analysis of Dutch and English respectively and Zeller, (2005) for a middle field approach to right dislocation in Zulu.

The trees below represent these two opposite views. Recall that analyses of right dislocation diverge with respect to three important (and, crucially independent) points, the interplay of which gives rise to the wide arrange

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[2]Samek-Lodovici uses the term *clause-external* to refer to analyses which posit that δ is above TP. I find this term confusing in the context of this dissertation, where I will argue for a *truly* clause external analysis.

of existing proposals. The reason I mention this is that of course, the trees below are *idealized* representations of peripheral and middle field analyses respectively, as the only variable that they take into account is the structural position of the dislocated constituent which, for expository and simplicity reasons, I place in a right-branching specifier of a functional projection called XP. As I mentioned in the chapter 1, δ is the symbol I will use for right dislocated constituents throughout this thesis:

(2)

```
              XP
            /    \
          /        \
        / \          δ
       X⁰  TP
          /  \
         T⁰   VP
             /  \
            V⁰
```

(3)

```
          TP
         /   \
        T⁰     XP
              /   \
            /  \    δ
           X⁰  VP
              /  \
             V⁰
```
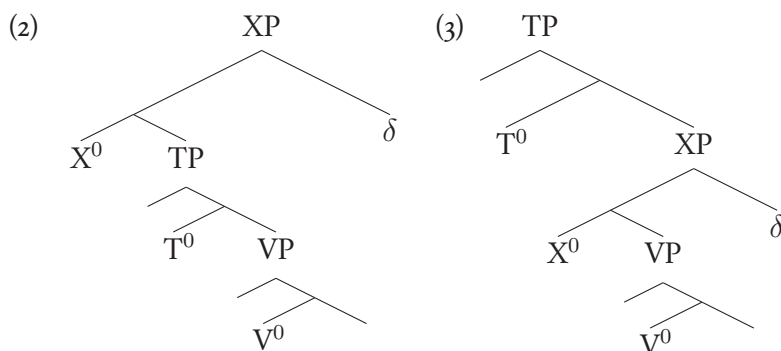
There is, of course, a third logical possibility, actually entertained by Kayne, (1994). For this author, δ does not undergo movement in the syntax, so for him a right dislocated object is in the complement of V position.

The second important locus of disagreement with respect to the analysis of right dislocation has to do with whether the dislocated constituent reaches its surface position by means of syntactic movement or whether it is base generated (i.e. externally merged) there. The movement view has been defended by Cecchetto, (1999), López, (2009a), Samek-Lodovici, (2006, 2015), and Villalba, (2000), whereas the base generation approach has been put forth by De Cat, (2007) and Frascarelli, (2004) among others.

These two views make crucially distinct predictions: under base generation approaches, the dislocated constituent should not exhibit connectivity effects with respect to the clause where it right-attaches to. For example, we should not expect δ to interact with the rest of the clause in terms of binding. The presence of these effects, nonetheless, follow from a movement

account[3]. As I will show, base-generation approaches are clearly incompatible with the empirical findings reported in this thesis given that right dislocation does exhibit connectivity effects. In fact, as I will argue, δ is actually interpreted in a very low position in the clause, in line with Samek-Lodovici, (2015) and Kayne, (1994).

Finally, for the right dislocated phrase to end up rightmost, several technical options are available. This is the third point of disagreement, although it is generally defended that δ ends up rightmost because the remaining material moves leftward past it (Cecchetto, 1999; Frascarelli, 2004; Samek-Lodovici, 2006, 2015; Villalba, 2000, a.o.). Under this view, remnant movement is a device used to simulate rightward movement in the absence thereof (Kayne, 1994). Alternatively, López, (2009a,b) has defended that the linear position of the right dislocated phrase is the result of prosodic demands that interact in very interesting ways with syntactic structures (see also Samek-Lodovici, 2015). Under his account, which is framed in Optimality Theory, Kayne, (1994)'s Linear Correspondance Axiom is a constraint which can be overriden by particular prosodic demands. The analysis proposed in this thesis provides a very simple solution to the problem of word order, as we will see in the next chapter.

2.1.2   Organization of this chapter

The three topics raised in the preceding lines are, by no means, the exhaustive list of controversial issues regarding the syntax of right dislocation. There are at least two, albeit related, aspects that will become crucial in this thesis. The first one concerns the relationship between the clitic (κ) and δ. The second one has to do with the general question of whether we assume the clitic to be an agreement marker or whether we take it to be a weak pronominal form. These two questions will be deferred until the next chapter.

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[3]Lack of binding could be argued to follow from a movement account too under the assumption that this movement does not reconstruct at LF (see, for example, López, 2009a for a proposal along these lines. I will address this issue in this chapter.). Other tests like sensitivity to islands could tease apart these competing analyses.

Despite the differences, all the previous analyses of right dislocation in Romance are *monoclausal*: they share the idea that δ and κ coappear in the same clause. The approach defended here constitutes a radical departure from this idea. In particular, I argue that right dislocation involves two clauses which are identical *modulo* the clitic and the right dislocated constituent. I will show that a lot of empirical puzzles and theoretical problems disappear once this view is adopted. Pointing out some of the shortcomings of monoclausal approaches is the purpose of this chapter while properly explaining how the biclausal approach can solve these will be delayed until chapter 3 and eventually chapter 4.

This chapter is organized as follows: in §2.2, I deal with Kayne, (ibid.)'s proposal for analyzing right dislocation. Essentially, this author argues that right dislocation is a subcase of clitic doubling, where the apparently dislocated constituent is only dislocated at LF, and it stays in its thematic position in the syntactic component. I will show how this analysis is empirically inadequate and I will introduce a hitherto unnoticed problem that stems from his view which I will refer to as Kayne's Paradox. In §2.3, I deal with peripheral analyses and in §2.4 I address middle field ones. Finally, §2.5 is a review of Cardinaletti, (2002)'s proposal for right dislocation, which stands as the most unorthodox analysis within the Romance literature. My proposal bears some important similarities with her proposal, which is why I leave it for the end of the chapter before moving on to my own analysis.

2.2   RD *in situ*: Kayne's LCA

This section deals with Kayne's proposal for the syntax of right dislocation in Romance languages[4]. First, I briefly introduce his analysis in the frame of the Linear Correspondance Axiom (LCA). Second, I point out some empirical problems with his account.

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[4]Kayne explicitly states that English Right Dislocation may receive a different analysis, one in which Right Dislocation "clearly involves two clauses, the second of which is reduce" (Kayne, 1994, p.79). Although Kayne abandons this line of reasoning, arguing that "for Romance languages (…) a rather different approach to right dislocation comes to mind" (ibid., p.79), in this thesis, I essentially extend the biclausal approach to Romance.

2.2.1   Right dislocation as LF movement

I believe it is fair to say that theoretical interest in right dislocation can be traced back to Kayne, (1994)'s seminal monograph on the linearization of syntactic structures, where he directly relates syntactic (i.e. hierarchical) structure to linear order by proposing that the latter is read off the former. He defends the following algorithm, which he refers to as the LCA:

(4)   **The Linear Correspondance Axiom (LCA)**[5]
      α precedes β if α asymmetrically c-commands β, where:

   a. α and β are terminal nodes.

   b. α asymmetrically c-commands β if α c-commands β but β does not c-command α.

The claim that asymmetric c-command maps onto precedence is well established within the generative literature and it has in fact shaped approaches to linguistics like cartography (Cinque and Rizzi, 2008; Rizzi, 1997, a.o.). That cartography hinges on the LCA is obvious from early cartographic works (Cinque, 1999; Rizzi, 1997), where syntactic templates of functional projections are modelled by looking at word order restrictions.

The LCA has very strong implications for our theory of syntax, although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to deal with this issue (Kayne, 1994; Roca, 1999, a.o.). What matters to us is that certain analyses of right dislocation cannot exist if the LCA is assumed. As an illustration, take the tree in (2), repeated here, which represents a peripheral view of right dislocation.

(5)

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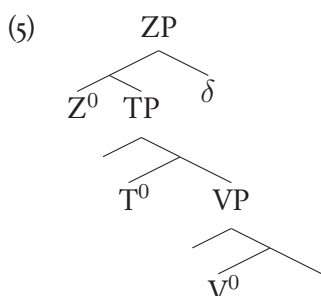
[5]This is a huge simplification of Kayne's proposal, but it is enough for the purposes of the discussion in this chapter.

In this example, δ asymmetrically c-commands T^0. Therefore, in compliance with the LCA, δ will have to precede T^0, yielding $\delta > T$, which is an incorrect string given that δ should end up rightmost. The rightward specifier in (2) becomes thus a simple representational device, but the ultimate word order ought to result from something else.

Kayne, (1994, p.78)'s starting point in the analysis of right dislocation begins precisely with the necessity to find a theoretical tool that enables us to explain the word order displayed by this phenomenon: "the prohibition against right-adjunction […] does not seem to allow for right dislocations". To see the analysis that Kayne entertains, take the following example involving right dislocation in French (ibid., p.79, his (45)):

(6)   Jean la   voit souvent, *Marie*.
        Jean her sees often   Mary
        "Jean sees her often, Mary."

Kayne proposes to consider (6) a subcase of clitic doubling. Analytically this means that the dislocated object is actually in its complement of V position. The immediate challenge to Kayne's proposal comes from the fact that clitic doubling is generally unavailable in French. One of the differences between clitic doubling and right dislocation[6] concerns the prosodic integration of the doubled XP in the preceding clause. In clitic doubling constructions, the lexically doubled phrase belongs prosodically in the clause where it appears, i.e. the whole sentence including the doubled XP must constitute one intonational phrase. In right dislocation, δ must be outside the intonational phrase projected by the clause that contains the clitic (Astruc, 2004; Feldhausen, 2010; Rossi, 1999). If the typical prosody of dislocation is absent, and if *Marie* in (6) gets prosodically integrated in its clause, the sentence becomes ungrammatical:

(7)   * Jean la voit souvent Marie.   (Kayne, 1994, p.83, his (66))

In order to account for the asymmetry exhibitted by the minimal pair in (6) and (7), Kayne argues that the lexical DP *Marie* in (6) undergoes LF-movement to the left edge of the clause, and he suggests that this movement

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[6] I discuss more differences between these two phenomena in chapter 3.

is driven by a feature present in the syntax which also feeds PF, providing the doubled DP with its particular prosodic contour. (6) thus has the LF representation in (8). Further, he claims that French is subject to the rule in (9) (Kayne, 1994, p.83):

(8)   LF: $[_{TP}$ Marie$_i$ $[_{TP}$ Jean la voit souvent t$_i$]]

(9)   No clitic can asymmetrically c-command its corresponding doubled lexical phrase at LF.

The asymmetry between (6) and (7) follows from this constraint: the reason why the latter is ungrammatical is because at LF, the doubled DP is asymmetrically c-commanded by the clitic. The LF movement of δ in (8) ensures that δ is not c-commanded by κ.

2.2.2   Problems

Kayne's analysis has to face some empirical issues, given that there exists solid evidence that (crosslinguistically) right dislocated constituents are not *in situ* in the syntax but rather in a derived position. I focus on four argments in this section.

The first argument comes from word order restrictions on Catalan dislocates. In all-focus, neutral contexts, Catalan is known to be more strict than Spanish with respect to the order in which complements may appear in the sentence (Bonet, 1990; Ordóñez, 1998, a.o.). The first set of examples I would like to show concerns the word order of locative complements in Catalan relative to the position of the direct object (Villalba, 2000, p.199). In this language, the direct object obligatorily precedes the locative complement, as illustrated by the following minimal pair:

(10)   a.   He   posat el   ganivet al   calaix.
              have put   the knife   in the drawer
              "I've put the knife in the drawer."
        b.   * He posat al calaix el ganivet.

If right dislocation only involves LF movement, we predict that the relative order of locatives and direct objects above should be maintained under

right dislocation. The prediction is, however, not borne out: if the direct object is right dislocated, the locative can precede it. Compare (11) to (10b):

(11) L' he   posat al   calaix, *el ganivet*.
      it have put   in the drawer the knife
      "I've put it in the drawer, the knife."

Similarly, the second set of examples shows that in Catalan the direct object always precedes the indirect object in ditransitive predicates:

(12) a.   Vam donar els llibres al   Pere.
           PAST give   the book to the Pere
           "We gave the books to Peter."

      b.   * Vam donar al Pere els llibres.

Again, if the right dislocated constituent only undergoes LF movement, we expect the same word order restrictions apply. In particular, we expect right dislocated direct objects to be impossible after indirect objects. However, word order restrictions are neutralized in right dislocation:

(13) Vam donar- los   al   Pere, *els llibres*.
      PAST give   them to the Pere the books
      "We gave the books to Peter."

The second piece of evidence comes from extraction. Unmoved, clausal objects of non-factive predicates in many languages including English and Romance languages are typically considered domains out of which one can easily extract:

(14) a.   What$_i$ did you tell me that John cooked t$_i$ for dinner?

      b.   Where$_i$ did Luke say that the pirates had hidden the treasure t$_i$?

If a dislocated clausal object is *in situ*, we predict that it should freely allow sccessive cyclic extraction, just like non-dislocated clausal objects do (15a). However, this prediction is not borne out. As (15b) illustrates, dislocated clausal objects in Catalan become opaque domains for extraction:

(15) a.   Què$_i$ em   vas comentar que acabaries   t$_i$ diumenge?
           what to me PAST comment that would finish   Sunday
           "What did you tell me you would finish on Sunday?"

b.   * Què$_i$ m'   ho vas   comentar, *que acabaries*   t$_i$ *diumenge?*
      what to me it PAST comment that would finish   Sunday
      "What did you say that you would finish on Sunday?"

Third, crosslinguistic evidence also poses a problem for Kayne's *in situ*
analysis. In Zulu, a language of the Niger-Congo family spoken in South
Africa, verbs in the present and in the past exhibit a morphological alterna-
tion between so-called disjoint and conjoint forms. As standardly assumed
in the literature on Zulu (see Halpert 2012 and references therein), the con-
joint form (for which there is no special morpheme) appears only when the
verb precedes vP-internal material (i.e. arguments in their base generation
position or "low adverbs" which are adjoined to VP). Conversely, the disjoint
form of the verb, which is signalled by the presence of the morpheme *-ya-*
appears when the verb is the most embedded constituent, which indicates
that all the arguments have vacated the vP, or that we are dealing with an in-
transitive verb. This paradigm is shown in the following data, from Halpert
and Zeller, 2013, p.6, their (17)[7]:

(16)   a.   U- Sipho [$_{vP}$ u-   pheka i-   qanda].
             AUG Sipho   1.SM cook   AUG egg
             "Sipho is cooking an egg."

       b.   * U- Sipho [$_{vP}$ u-   ya- pheka i-   quanda].
             AUG Sipho   1.SM DISJ cook   AUG egg
             "Sipho is cooking an egg."

       c.   U-   Sipho [$_{vP}$ u-   ya- pheka].
             AUG Sipho   1.SM DISJ cook
             "Sipho is cooking."

       d.   * U-   Sipho [$_{vP}$ u-   pheka].
             AUG Sipho   1.SM cook
             "Sipho is cooking."

---

[7]The gloss AUG stands for augmented. As explained by Halpert and Zeller, (ibid.), DPs
in Zulu appear preceded by a initial vowel that can be understood as a determiner-like
element. Augmented DPs are those DPs that have this initial vowel. The morpheme SM
indicates subject marking. Other morphemes are ignored for simplicity reasons.

The ungrammaticality of (16b) indicates that the disjuntive form of the verb (*-ya*) cannot be used be here because the object *iquanda* "the egg" follows the verb, which it is taken to mean that it is within the *v*P. Under these conditions only the conjoint form (with the zero morpheme) can be used (16a). Conversely, in (16c) the disjoint form is grammatical because there is no material in the domain of the lexical layer - in this example the verb is used intransitively. (16d) corroborates the ungrammaticality of using the conjoint form in intransitive contexts.

With this in mind, Kayne's analysis makes a prediction for Zulu: given that for this author a right dislocated object is syntactically in its base generation position and movement thereof solely occurs at LF, it is expected that a right dislocated object in Zulu[8] triggers the conjoint form of the verb. This prediction is, however, not borne out as evidenced in the following set of examples: in (17a), the object DP is inside the *v*P and therefore the conjoint form of the verb is used (this example is thus analogous to (16a). When this object is right dislocated the disjoint form of the verb must be used, as shown by (17b) and confirmed by the ungrammaticality of (17c). That the object is right dislocated is indicated by the presence of an object marking (OM morpheme on the verb), which is incompatible with an in-situ object (17d)[9]:

(17)   a.   U- Mbali [$_{vP}$ u- thanda u- Sipho].
            AUG Mbali   1.SM love   AUG Sipho
            "Mbali loves Sipho."

       b.   U- Mbali u- [$_{vP}$ ya- m- thanda], *u-   Sipho*.
            AUG Mbali 1.SM   DISJ 1.OM love   AUG Sipho
            "Mbali loves him, *Sipho*."

       c.   * U- Mbali [$_{vP}$ u- m- thanda], *u-   Sipho*.
            AUG Mbali 1.SM   1.OM love   AUG Sipho
            "Mbali loves him, *Sipho*."

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[8]Right dislocation is a productive phenomenon across Bantu languages. See, among others, Buell, (2008).

[9]See Zeller, (2012) for arguments and data supporting this claim. Zeller's findings go in line with Morimoto, (2002)'s observation that object marking on the verb appears only when the object is topic-anaphoric, thus drawing a parallelism between object marking and English pronouns or Romance clitics.

d.   * U- Mbali [$_{vP}$ u- m- thanda u- Sipho].
     AUG Mbali   1.SM 1.OM love   AUG Sipho
     "Mbali loves Sipho."

Finally, a further considerable empirical challenge that Kayne's analysis must face concerns the unified treatment of clitic doubling and clitic right dislocation, given that the two phenomena show a number of systematic differences (Anagnostopoulou, 2006, a.o.). To start with, French generally disallows clitic doubling (7), whereas it exhibits right dislocation. The same carries over to languages like Italian. But let us entertain the idea, for a moment, that the reason why clitic doubling is disallowed in French while right dislocation is not boils down to the constraint proposed in (9). That is, in French, a clitic cannot c-command its doubled XP. Unfortunately, this is untrue. In French, as in other Romance languages like Spanish or Catalan, strong pronouns must be doubled by a clitic, as illustrated in (18). In this example, from Kayne himself (Kayne, 1994, p.80, his (52)), the clitic asymmetrically c-commands *elle*, which, according to (9), should render (18) ungrammatical, contrary to fact:

(18)   Jean *(lui) a   parlé   à elle.
       Jean   her has spoken to her
       "Jean has spoken to her."

A similar situation arises in Italian. In this language, clitic doubling is generally disallowed, but right dislocation is not. It could be argued therefore that some constraint like (9) is in operation. However, as reported by Cinque, (1990, p.178), dative clitic doubling is allowed in colloquial Italian in cases where another clitic is present (19). Again, (9) clearly undergenerates in (falsely) predicting the ungrammaticality of virtually any case of clitic doubling in French and Italian.

(19)   Glie- lo dico a suo fratello.
       him   it say to his brother
       "I'm saying it to his brother."

In sum, Kayne's analysis cannot be maintained. He defends that δ is *in situ* in the syntactic component, undergoing movement only at LF. I have

provided evidence which strongly suggests that δ must be in a derived position in the syntax. The crucial question is, therefore, where δ is. Two main views have been defended in the literature: either δ is taken to be in a high position in the clause, above TP (the peripheral view) or it is argued to sit in a clause-medial position, below TP but above VP (the middle field approach). The former is addressed in §2.3, whereas the latter is dealt with in §2.4.

2.3   Peripheral approaches

2.3.1   Two analyses

An important line of research defends that right dislocated phrases are located in the C-domain of the clause[10]. These are *peripheral* approaches, and they come in two flavours: for some authors like Fernández-Sánchez, (2012, 2013) and Samek-Lodovici, (2006, 2015) δ reaches the C-domain by means of movement (20), whereas others contend that δ is directly generated in the C domain (De Cat, 2007; Frascarelli, 2004; Zwart, 2001), as illustrated in (21):

(20)   XP   (21)   XP

       TP δ TP δ

   …κ…t…   …κ…
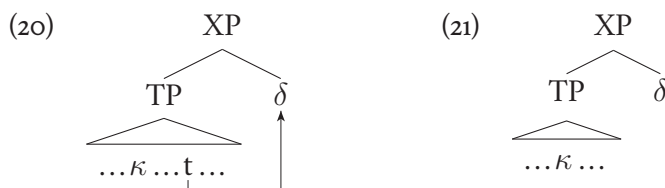
   The two make very different predictions. If δ moves from a position within TP (say, from its thematic position), we should find evidence that δ was in that position at some point in the derivation, for example reconstruction effects. Further, we should expect the usual constraints on locality to be in operation. Reconstruction effects are clearly not predicted under a base-generation approach (21), and neither are locality effects.

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[10]The C-domain is also referred to as the *left periphery* (Rizzi, 1997). I will refrain from using this otherwise very extended term, for expository reasons: given that I will be concerned with the structural properties of right dislocation, I find it confusing to state that *right* dislocated constituents lie at the *left* periphery of the clause.

Somewhat unexpectedly right dislocation exhibits mixed properties. On the one hand, there are some reasons which highly favour a movement account. First, δ is interpreted as having the same theta role it would have were it inside the clause where it right-attaches[11].

(22)   a.   Encara no l' he   llegit, *el diari*.
            still   not it have read   the newspaper.
            "I still haven't read it, the newspaper."   (Catalan)

       b.   Encara no l'$_{\theta:theme}$ ha llegit, [*el diari*]$_{\theta:theme}$.

Second, δ must display the case morphology it otherwise would were it not dislocated. In fact, the case of δ must be identical to the case displayed by κ. This can be observed in Germanic languages, where case morphology is more visible than in Romance.

(23)   a.   Ég Þekki hana   ekkert, *dóttur   hans*.
            I   know her.ACC nothing daughter.ACC his
            "I don't know her at all, his daughter."   (Icelandic, Thráinsson, 2007, p.363)

       b.   Ich habe ihm   geholfen, *dem   Peter*.
            I   have him.DAT helped   the.DAT Peter
            "I have helped him, Peter."   (German, Ott and De Vries, 2016)

Third, right dislocation is sensitive to islands. (24a) and (24b) show that δ cannot be extracted out of a sentential subject in Italian and French respectively, whereas (24c) illustrates the ban on adjunct extraction in Catalan:

(24)   a.   * Che glie- la presti mi   sembra strano, *la macchina*.
             that to her it lends to me seems   weird   the car
             "It seems weird to me that he lends her the car."   (Cecchetto, 1999, p.46)

       b.   * Que Jean lui   ait parlé m' attriste, *à Marie*.
             that Jean to him has spoken to me makes-sad to Marie
             "It saddens me that Jean has spoken to Marie."(Kayne, 1994, p.81)

---

[11]Of course, given the presence of the coreferent clitic in this clause, the question arises as to why such a configuration does not constitute a violation of the θ-criterion (Chomsky, 1981). I will take on this issue later.

    c. * Abans que hi   arribéssim   la Mar ja   es queixava,
        before that there would arrive the Mar already complained
        a la platja.
        to the beach
        "Mar was complaining before we arrived at the beach."

Fourth, δ exhibits reconstruction effects. This is illustrated in the two following examples in Spanish: (25a) shows that the matrix subject *pro* cannot corefer with the R-expression inside the dislocated object, an ungrammaticality which can be easily accounted for as a violation of Principle C which obtains if *pro* c-commands δ. To control that it is really c-command and not a linear quirk of Spanish, I include (25b), in which *pro* is too embedded to c-command the R-expression, thus turning this example grammatical under the relevant reading.

(25)   a. * *pro$_i$ lo* metió en la secadora, *el suéter   de Ana$_i$*.
              it put   in the dryer   the sweater of Ana
              "He/She$_i$ put it in the dryer, Ana$_i$'s sweater."

      b. ? La última compañera de piso que *pro$_i$* encontró lo metió en
          the last   mate   of flat that   found   it put   in
          la secadora, *el suéter   de Ana$_i$*.
          the dryer   the sweater of Ana
          "The last flatmate she$_i$ found put it in the dryer, Ana$_i$'s sweater."

assuming (standardly) that variable binding is the result of c-command (e.g. Reinhart, 1983, but see Barker, 2012) one can conclude that the subject QP in (26) is c-commanding δ, which contains the bound pronoun.

(26)   Ningún$_i$ trabajador la ha recibido aún, *su$_i$ paga*.
        no   worker   it has received yet   his salary
        "No worker has received his salary yet.   (Spanish)

Configurations involving principle A also support the claim that the δ must involve reconstruction in its base position. As illustrated in the Catalan example in (27a), the anaphor inside the dislocated object can be properly governed by the c-commanding subject if the former is in its base position.

That we are dealing indeed with c-command and not any other mechanism that could potentially yield coreference is evidenced by (27b), in which the licensor is too embedded in the subject DP to c-command and thus license the anaphor in object position:

(27)   a.   La Maria$_i$ encara no les   ha vist, *aquestes fotos   de*
              the Maria still   not them has seen these   pictures of
              sí mateixa$_i$.
              herself
              "Mary hasn't seen them, these pictures of herself."

        b.   * La mare   de la Maria$_i$ encara no les   ha vist, *aquestes*
              the mother of the Maria   still   not them has seen these
              fotos   de sí mateixa$_i$.
              pictures of herself
              "Mary's mother hasn't seen them, these pictures of herself."

All the reconstruction examples reported so far show that δ is in the c-command domain of the preverbal subject. Assuming that preverbal subjects are in spec,TP, then these data do not explicitly evidence that δ is reconstructed in its base position, but somewhere below TP (López, 2009a).

That δ is interpreted very low can be shown by the fact that δ can be c-commanded by postverbal subjects, which following rather standard practice in the Romance literature, I assume are located in the specifier of vP. Example (28a) in Catalan shows that a variable within a dislocated object can be bound by a quantifier in postverbal subject position; example (28b) in Italian illustrates that an anaphor inside a dislocated object can be bound by the referential expression in postverbal subject position[12]:

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[12]López, (ibid., p.92) provides the following datum in Spanish, which is structurally identical to (28a) but is judged ungrammatical by this author:

i.   * No la trajo   ningún$_i$ niño, *su$_i$ libreta.*
       not it brought any   child his notebook
       "No child brought his notebook."

López argues that δ undergoes A-movement to a position above the postverbal subject. Because A-movement does not reconstruct (Fox, 1999b; Sportiche, 2006; Takahashi

(28)   a. No l' ha renovat ningú$_i$, *el   seu$_i$ passaport*.
           not it has renewed nobody the his passport
           "Nobody has renewed his passport."

       b. Li   ha persi da piccolo Gianni$_i$, *i   propri$_i$ genitori*.
           them has lost as little   John   the own   parents
           "John lost them as a child, his parents." (Samek-Lodovici, 2015,
           p.143, his (162))

On the other hand, however, right dislocation displays a number of prop-
erties which do not follow straightforwardly from a movement account.
First, it is unclear why, if δ has moved from within the TP, no real gap is
found in the clause. A coreferent clitic appears in the position where the
trace should be. In other words, the clause where δ right-attaches is syntac-
tically, semantically and prosodically complete[13].

Second, a structural paradox arises if we assume that δ undergoes move-
ment. Take the example in (25a): the principle C violation in this example is
easily accounted for if we assume that δ is in the c-command domain of *pro*.
But if δ is in the c-command domain of *pro*, that means that it is also in the
c-command domain of the clitic. Recall that it was precisely to avoid such
a configuration that Kayne argued that δ underwent movement at LF and
stipulated that at LF no doubled XP could be bound by its coindexed clitic.

(29) $pro_{\{*i/k\}}$ lo metió en la secadora, el suéter de Ana$_i$

The situation we get is a paradox, as δ must be in its thematic position

and Husley, 2009), the ungrammaticality of (i) follows. However, the lack of c-command is
certainly puzzling given (28a) and (28b). To my ear, (i) is grammatical, perhaps only slightly
deviant, which I believe can be attributed to the fact that a variable inside a topicalized con-
stituent is being bound by a focused binder, which is a very odd configuration pragmatically
speaking. Information structure is known to override variable binding under certain con-
dition, see Zubizarreta, (1998, p.141ff.) and Villalba, (1999, p.248-250).

[13] Of course this has not gone unnoticed in the literature. A frequently assumed claim
is that δ and the coreferent clitic are derivationally related. There are many ways of im-
plementing this idea. A popular way is to assume that they are both generated as part of
a larger maximal projection, an approach known as the BigDP analysis (Cecchetto, 2000;
Grewendorf, 2002; Uriagereka, 1995, a.o.). In chapter 3 I will argue against establishing any
sort of derivational link between δ and the clitic.

for interpretation purposes, but it cannot be there because otherwise it is in the c-command domain κ. This is a very general problem that most analyses of right dislocation have to face, although the issue is largely unaddressed[14].

Third, Frascarelli, (2004, p.102) contends that right dislocation cannot involve $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement because it does not give rise to weak crossover (WCO)[15] effects (30a) and because it does not license parasitic gaps (*pg*), as in (30b):

(30)   a.   Sua$_i$ madre l$_i$'   ha sempre apprezzato, *Gianni$_i$*.
              his   mother him has always appreciated Gianni
              "His mother has always appreciated him, Gianni."   (Italian)

        b.   * L' ho   cercato   senza   trovare *pg*, *quel libro*.
              it have searched without finding   this book
              "(*)I've searched it without finding, this book."   (Italian)

Note that regular cases of fronting to the left edge like focus fronting are standardly assumed to trigger WCO effects and to license parasitic gaps:

(31)   a.   * JOHN$_i$, his$_i$ mother loves t.

        b.   THESE PAPERS we filed t without reading *pg*.

2.3.2   Problems for base-generation approaches

Base-generation, peripheral approaches, illustrated in (21), posit that δ is externally merged in a clause peripheral position. These analyses emphasize on the absence of movement effects in right dislocation structures. As we have seen, Frascarelli, (ibid.), for example, claims that right dislocation does not exhibit WCO effects and does not license parasitic gaps. However, some have pointed out that WCO and parasitic gaps are not hallmarks of

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[14]To the best of my knowledge, the problem is briefly acknowledged in Cecchetto, (1999, p.42, fn.4) as a response to a reviewer who raises this issue, but no solution is provided.

[15]A WCO effect arises when an $\overline{\text{A}}$-moved constituent (here referred to as *Op*) binds its variable (x) and a pronoun. Crucially, neither the pronoun nor the variable c-command each other:

  i. Op$_i$ […pron$_i$ …] x$_i$

movement, and therefore these facts do not militate against a movement approach.

First, López, (2009a, p.225) notes that focus fronting, a movement operation that is uncontroversially assumed to involve a quantificational $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement chain (Rizzi, 1997), does not license parasitic gaps in Spanish:

(32)   * A JUAN he   buscado durante meses   sin   encontrar *pg*.
          to Juan have searched for   months without to find
          "I've searched Juan for months without finding him."

Conversely, Samek-Lodovici, (2015, p.124) has reported some cases of clitic left dislocation which seem to license parasitic gaps in Italian. According to this author, licensing is possible when the adjunct that contains the gap has narrow focus, as in (33a). Crucially, the same situation holds for right dislocation (33b):

(33)   a. Il   tuo   cane, l' ha cercato per mesi   senza   mai trovare
            the your dog   it has sought for months without ever to find
            pg MARIA, (non la   polizia)!
                Maria   not   the police
            "Your dog, MARIA sought it for months without ever finding it, not the police!"
        b. L'ha cercato per mesi senza mai trovare *pg* MARIA, *il tuo cane* (non la polizia)!

These data point to the conclusion that parasitic gap licensing is an inconclusive test for determining the (non-)movement status of right dislocated constituents. The same extends to WCO effects: the presence of these effects should not be taken as evidence for $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement, as discussed at length by Lasnik and Stowell, (1991), who show that certain $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement cases are immune to WCO effects. This is the case for topicalization[16] (34a),

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[16]Topicalization is a particular topic-comment structure, exhibitted by English but unavailable in Romance Rizzi, (1997, p.285) where the topical constituent is fronted leaving a real gap in its generation position. Topicalization (i) is frequently contrasted to left dislocation (ii) which is superficially more similar to clitic left dislocation in that no gap (i.e. no movement trace) is observed in the clause:

tough movement (34b), parasitic gap extractions (34c) and non-restrictive relatives (34d):

(34)   a.   Johnny$_i$, his$_i$ mother bought t$_i$ a new car.

       b.   Frank$_i$ was easy for his$_i$ sister to outshine t$_i$. (Postal, 1993, p.540, his (3b))

       c.   Who$_i$ did you stay with t$_i$ before his$_i$ wife had spoken to *pg*$_i$. (Lasnik and Stowell, 1991, p.691, their (20b))

       d.   Johnny$_i$, who$_i$ his $_i$ mother bought t$_i$ a new car,…

Lasnik and Stowell, (ibid.) propose that these examples do not exhibit WCO effects because these are only attested for cases in which the extracted element is a true quantifier phrase, in which case its trace is a regular variable and thus subject to WCO. If, on the contrary, the extracted element is not a true QP, its trace will be computed as a null referring expression. Crucially, then, not every instance of $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement chain will respond equally to WCO effects (see Fernández-Sánchez, 2015 for related discussion).

Finally, the base generation approach makes the prediction that dislocated constituents should display default case, which in most languages is nominative (on the notion of default case see Progovac, 2006; Schütze, 2001). This is so because being generated above the lexical layer of the clause, dislocated constituents are not in a relevant configuration to be assigned structural case. This is for example observed in Hanging Topic constructions. As shown by this example (from Boeckx and Grohmann, 2005, p.139), the left dislocated constituent shows up in nominative case (the default case in German) despite the fact that it is interpreted as the object of the verb *kennen* ("know"), which selects for an accusative DP in this language.

(35)   Der   Hans, ich kenne diesen   Kerl seit   langem.
       the.NOM Hans I   know this.ACC guy since long.
       "I've known Hans for a long time."

---

i.   [This book]$_i$, I still haven't read t$_i$.

ii. This book, I still haven't read it.

However, δ must always display the relevant case morphology it would show were they not dislocated, as was shown in (23). This is highly indicative that they must have been generated in the thematic domain, and constitutes a strong piece of evidence against base-generation approaches.

2.3.3   Problems for movement approaches

Movement approaches (20) have to say something about the reason why no real gap is found in the clause. A possible solution for this may be to assume that right dislocation is some kind of doubling structure, as in fact proposed by many (Cecchetto, 1999; Samek-Lodovici, 2006; Villalba, 2000). Such a doubling configuration would probably explain why the clitic does not c-command δ thereby causing a Principle C violation (see fn.13). In chapter 3 I will explicitly argue against such proposals, and I will defend the claim that right dislocation cannot be viewed as any sort of doubling structure.

Let us leave this issue aside for now and concentrate on movement. If right dislocation indeed involves movement, a natural question to ask would be what the nature of this operation is. For right dislocation this is of particular interest, as this is one case in which the moved constituent appears to the right of its generation position. Since Kayne, (1994), the existence of rightward movement has been highly questioned. Movement is generally assumed to establish new dominance and c-command relations. In other words, movement is concerned with structural hierarchy, not with linear order. Note that the ban on rightward movement is sometimes assumed even by linguists who challenge Kayne's LCA by allowing rightward base-generation (Abels and Neeleman, 2009; Manzini, 1994).

A more standard way of deriving the relevant word order for right dislocation is to assume that it involves a two-step derivation: (i) movement of δ from its thematic position to the C-domain (for example, to the specifier of XP) and (ii) remnant movement of the TP to an even higher position (the specifier of YP):

(36)

XP → YP tree diagram with δ, X, TP, ...t..., and YP with TP, Y, XP, δ, X, t_{TP}
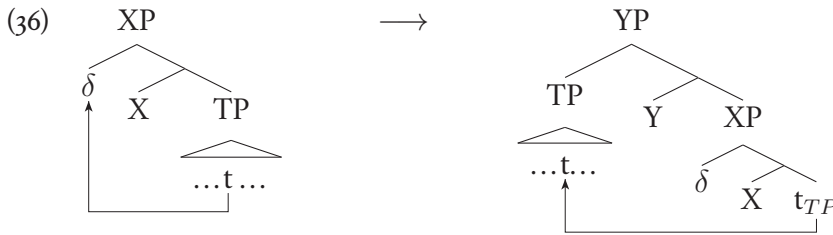
Such an approach is problematic on two grounds: first, movement to the left edge of a clause is typically unbounded; however, unboundedness would overgenerate the kinds of right dislocation configurations that can be derived. This will be addressed in section 2.3.3.1. Second, remnant movement of the TP past the dislocated phrase, which stands as a mechanism to yield illusory rightward movement, is problematic as it appears to lack a trigger. This will be discussed in section 2.3.3.2.

2.3.3.1   The right roof constraint (RRC)

The RRC was first proposed by Ross, (1967) to capture the fact that rightward movement, as opposed to leftward movement, is upward bound. I illustrate this locality constraint in the minimal pair in (37), which features PP-extraposition. In (37a), the PP is stranded from the DP it is embedded in and extraposed to the right edge of the embedded clause, which is marked by the temporal adverb. Conversely, in (37b), the same PP is extraposed across one finite clause boundary which, as indicated above, results in an ungrammatical sentence.

(37)   a. $[_{CP} [_{CP}$ That a review t_i came out yesterday $[_{PP}$ of this paper$]_i]$ is catastrophic$]$.

   b.   * $[_{CP} [_{CP}$ That a review t_i came out yesterday$]$ is catastrophic $[_{PP}$ of this paper$]_i]$.

The following example shows that the RRC is operative in right dislocation in Spanish. In (38a) the (contrastively focused) matrix subject is postponed after the embedded clause. Right dislocating the locative complement from the embedded domain to the right of the matrix subject yields an ungrammatical string (38b):

(38)   a.   [Nos prometió [que iríamos   a la   playa] PEDRO]
            to us promised   that would go to the beach   Pedro
            "Pedro promised us that we would go to the beach."

       b.   * [Nos prometió [que iríamos t] PEDRO, *a la playa*]

If right dislocation involves leftward movement followed by remnant movement of the remaining material, the ungrammaticality of (38b) is certainly unexpected, as nothing should ban the following derivation: first, the locative PP undergoes long distance $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement to the left edge of the clause (39b). Then the matrix subject undergoes focus fronting (39c)[17]. Finally, remnant movement of the remaining clause moves leftwards to strand δ rightmost:

(39)   a.   Pedro nos prometió que iríamos a la playa.
       b.   [A la playa]$_i$, Pedro nos prometió que iríamos t$_i$.
       c.   [PEDRO]$_k$, [a la playa]$_i$, t$_k$ nos prometió que iríamos t$_i$.
       d.   [t$_k$ nos prometió que iríamos t$_i$]$_m$ PEDRO$_k$, [*a la playa*]$_i$ t$_m$

We know that movement to the C-domain in Romance languages is typically unbounded, as illustrated with left dislocation (40a), wh-movement (40b) or focus fronting (40c) for Spanish:

(40)   a.   Las espinacas, Juan dice que su hijo no se las   come.
            the spinach   Juan says that his son not SE them eat
            "Juan says his son does not each spinach."

       b.   Qué dice Juan que su hijo no se come?
            what says Juan that his son not SE eat
            "What does Juan say his son doesn't eat?"

       c.   ESPINACAS dice Juan que su hijo no come.
            spinach   says Juan that his son not eat
            "It is spinach that Juan says his son doesn't eat."

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[17]An alternative derivation would be one where the subject moved (string vacuously) first, before movement of the locative PP. But this derivation is implausible, given that after an application of remnant IP movement, δ would not end up rightmost (the focused subject would).

Before concluding, I would like to exclude another possibility: one could argue that the dislocated constituent undergoes A-movement before remnant movement applies. Because A-movement is standardly assumed to be clause-bound, the RRC and therefore the ungrammaticality of (38b), would follow.

The derivation would be as follows: first, we would build the embedded clause (41a). The locative PP would undergo A-movement to the left edge of the embedded clause (or a lower position in that clause, this does not matter much for the purposes of the discussion here), as illustrated in (41b). Remnant movement of the remaining clause would follow to ensure the relevant word order obtains (41c). We would proceed to merge the matrix clause with the matrix subject (41d), which would undergo focus movement (41e). Finally, we would need to apply another remnant movement of everything except the matrix subject for it to end up rightmost (41f):

(41)   a. Iríamos a la playa

        b. [a la playa]$_i$ iríamos t$_i$

        c. [iríamos t$_i$]$_k$ [a la playa]$_i$ t$_k$

        d. Pedro nos prometió que [iríamos t$_i$]$_k$ [a la playa]$_i$ t$_k$.

        e. [PEDRO]$_m$ t$_m$ nos prometió que [iríamos t$_i$]$_k$ [a la playa]$_i$ t$_k$.

        f. [Nos prometió que [iríamos t$_i$]$_k$ [a la playa]$_i$ t$_k$]$_p$ [PEDRO]$_m$ t$_p$.

Crucially this derivation explains the correct word order (38). However, and leaving aside the massive amount of remnant movement that it involves, a derivation of right dislocation in terms of A-movement (López, 2009a) is problematic. This is because A-movement is generally taken not to reconstruct, e.g. López, (2009a) and Takahashi and Husley, (2009), yet right dislocation exhibits reconstruction effects (see (25a) through (28b)), and the discussion in fn.12.

2.3.3.2   Remnant movement

The remnant movement operation that many authors make use of to derive the relevant word order in right dislocation (Fernández-Sánchez, 2012, 2013; Frascarelli, 2004; Samek-Lodovici, 2006; Zwart, 2001, a.o.) is suspicious,

given that its only *raison d'être* is to derive the word order observed in right dislocation. I illustrated it abstractly in (36), here is one particular example:

(42) L'   ho   visto, *Gianni.*
      him have (I) seen   Gianni
      "I've seen him, Gianni."   (Samek-Lodovici, 2006, p.840, his (3))

    a. $[_{TopP}$ Gianni$_i$ $[_{TP}$ l'ho visto t$_i$]]. $\longrightarrow$ Leftward movement of
        Gianni

    b. $[_{XP}$ $[_{TP}$ l'ho visto t$_i$]$_k$ $[_{TopP}$ *Gianni*$_i$ t$_k$]] $\longrightarrow$ Remnant
        movement of the IP

Consider various possibilities for its trigger. One option is to defend that the remnant IP undergoes movement to a topic projection above δ. One such possibility is entertained, albeit in passing, by Frascarelli and Ramaglia, (2013, p.116). They follow Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl, (2007) in assuming that topics can surface in various projections in the left periphery of the clause, each of them being associated to a particular semantics. For example, contrastive topics are assumed to target the specifier of ContrastiveP, which is located higher than FamiliarP, the projection where given topics surface:

(43) $[_{ForceP}$ $[_{ShiftP}$ $[_{GroundP}$ $[_{ContrastP}$ $[_{FocusP}$ $[_{FamiliarP}$ $[_{FinP}$]]]]]]]

Frascarelli and Ramaglia propose that right dislocated phrases target the specifier of FamiliarP, and the remnant IP moves subsequently to GroundP, a projection proposed originally by Poletto and Pollock, (2004) and which, according to these authors, is the landing site for backgrounded, i.e. unfocused, material. However, such a possibility must be excluded, for the obvious reason that the moved IP contains the focus (wide or narrow) of the utterance. This fact precisely argues against moving the IP to any topic-related phrase, given that topics are presupposed and cannot contain the main assertion of the clause.

The hypothesis that the remnant IP moves to GroundP on the particular assumption that (43) is an adequate template that captures the data wrongly predicts that right dislocation cannot coappear with contrastive topics in the same clause. This is so because under (43), once the right-dislocated topic and the contrastive topic move to their positions (FamiliarP and ContrastP

respectively), remnant movement of the IP to GroundP would strand contrastive topics to the right. But these topics can (and most importantly, must) appear at the left, as illustrated in the following example in Spanish, where *a Juan* ("to John") is the contrastive topic and *las sillas* ("the chairs"), the right dislocated constituent:

(44)   A Juan se   las   hemos dado, *las sillas*   (y   a Pedro se   las
        to Juan DAT them have   given the chairs and to Pedro DAT them
        hemos vendido).
        have   sold
        "We have given the chairs to John (and we've sold them to Pedro)."

A more plausible candidate to host the remnant IP would be a focus phrase. This is problematic, however. First, focus fronting is traditionally assumed to involve contrastivity or exhaustivity (or a combination of both), which is clearly not always the case in right dislocation. In fact, we can create contexts in which the remnant IP contains new information focus:

(45)   A. Què has fet   amb les cadires?
            what have done with the chairs
            "What have you done with the chairs?"   (Catalan)

       B. Les   hem donat a l'   Albert, *les cadires*.
            them have given to the Albert the chairs
            "We have given them to Albert."

Second, cases in which the IP contains contrastive narrow focused elements are not immediately captured. Observe the following example:

(46)   Las   he   comprado EN FRANCIA, *las manzanas*.
        them have bought   in France   the apples
        "I have bought them in France, the apples (and not in Spain)."

To account for the properties of (46), we would have to assume the existence of two focus projections, one hosting the PP *en Francia* and the other one hosting the remnant IP containing the traces of the dislocated phrase and the focused PP. If all the IP including the focused PP moved to a FocusP, the narrow focus would be left unexplained.

Yet another possibility is to argue that remnant movement does not need a trigger. Assessing this claim is precisely the goal of Cecchetto and Donati, (2015). These authors follow Chomsky, (2008)'s idea that *merge* is the outcome of a probing operation, where the role of the probe is to provide the label for the resulting object. Cecchetto and Donati, (2015) entertain the possibility that merge can apply without a probe, with the inevitable result of producing an object without a label, and explore the idea that root clauses need not be labelled. Further, they contend that unprobed movement can only target labelless objects - with, according to these authors, can only be root clauses. The consequence is that if remnant movement is unprobed, they predict that it should only target root clauses, which is incompatible with the data given that at least in Romance and Germanic languages, right dislocation can occur in embedded clauses[18]. I illustrate this with Sardinian (Jones, 1993, p.323):

(47) Cando las   appo vistas, *sas nues*,   so ghiratu a domu.
      when   them have seen   the clouds returned   to home
      "When I saw them, the clouds, I returned home."

Of course, the biggest challenge of remnant movement theories is not the lack of trigger: it could be argued that we still do not know what the trigger is, and yet it is a valid operation. In fact, some very interesting proposals have been put forth, especially Samek-Lodovici, (2015), who relates remnant movement to conflicting demands arising at the syntax-prosody interface. However, the most serious problem with postulating remnant movement is that its effects are undetectable, *modulo* the rightward movement effect it creates, and therefore stands as an unfalsifiable proposal.

2.3.4 Summary

In this section I have dealt with peripheral approaches to right dislocation. According to this view, δ is located in the C-domain of the clause. There are

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[18]Right dislocated phrases frequently appear at the (absolute) right edge of the utterance, but their distribution is in fact more complex. Examples like (47) will become particularly relevant in chapter 4.

two ways in which it can do so: either via external merge (De Cat, 2007; Frascarelli, 2004) or via movement from a clause internal position (Fernández-Sánchez, 2013; Samek-Lodovici, 2006, 2015). Base generation approaches are clearly incompatible with the empirical data reported in this thesis, as δ shows symptoms of having been internal to the clause at some point in the derivation as evidenced by binding and case morphology of δ.

However, movement, peripheral approaches to right dislocation also run into some trouble. First, the leftward movement of the topic to the C-domain is expected to be a clause-unbouded operation, which cannot account for the fact why right dislocation is subject to the right roof constraint. Second, it is not clear what should trigger the remnant movement operation needed to account for the relevant word order.

2.4   Middle field approaches

The purpose of this section is to review middle field proposals. In these approaches, δ is assumed to surface in a position below TP but above VP. The discussion is organized as follows: first, I provide some background on the so-called low periphery of the clause. Second, I review the arguments adduced to argue for a clause-internal account of right dislocation and third, I discuss some of the potential problems these analyses have to face.

2.4.1   The low periphery of the clause

Traditionally, the clause has been divided in three layers (Grohmann, 2003; Platzack, 2001; van Gelderen, 2013): the vP layer is generally associated with argument and event structure, as well as lexical aspectual information (so-called *inner* aspect, see MacDonald, 2006.). The IP/TP area typically contains information regarding tense, mood, grammatical (or external) aspect, as well as grammatical case and verbal agreement. Finally, the C layer encodes notions like force, clause type or utterance modality. Crucially, it is also assumed to be responsible for the interplay between syntax and discourse. Especially after Rizzi, (1997) and Benincà and Poletto, (2004), the

C domain is argued to contain a number of functional, discourse-oriented projections.

Somewhat concurrently to Rizzi's seminal work, a number of papers were published that pointed to the conclusion that discourse-oriented projections should be available not only in the C-domain of the clause, but also in the area comprised between the IP and the VP (Belletti, 1998, 2001, 2004; Cecchetto, 1999, 2000; Villalba, 2000, among others). In particular, these authors propose a fine-grained set of functional projections immediately dominating the lexical layer of the clause which include a number of topic-related phrases and one focus phrase[19]. This template is referred to as the low periphery[20] of the clause, in analogy to Rizzi's left periphery:

(48)   IP
        ╱╲
      I^0 TopP
            ╱╲
         Top^0 FocP
                ╱╲
             Foc^0 TopP
                    ╱╲
                 Top^0 VP
                        ╱╲
                         …
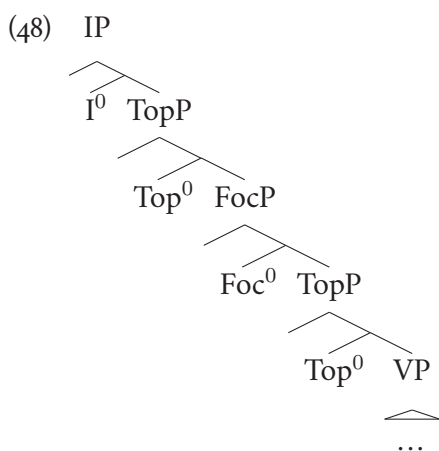
Although the projections in each of the two peripheries are essentially the same, a certain division of labour is generally assumed. This is more clearly argued for focus. Belletti, (2004) assumes that whereas left peripheral focus à la Rizzi, (1997) is responsible for triggering contrastive focus, elements moved to the low focus projection receive a new information interpretation (but see Brunetti, 2003; Herburger, 2000; Samek-Lodovici, 2015 among others for opposite views on the subject.).

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[19]Discourse-oriented projections have also been claimed to dominate nominal domains; see, among others, Giusti, (1996) and Villalba and Bartra-Kauffman, (2009).

[20]The term is referred to as *center periphery* in Camacho, (2003).

Most middle field approaches to right dislocation in Romance make use of the low periphery to argue that it is there where right dislocated constituents surface, as opposed to left dislocated phrases which move all the way up to the left periphery (Cecchetto, 1999; Villalba, 1998, 2000)[21]. Villalba refers to this as the split-topic hypothesis (left dislocated topics target the left periphery; right dislocated topics the low periphery). This hypothesis is built on a number of systematic asymmetries between left and right dislocation that, according to these authors, cannot follow from clause-external approaches. I refer to these asymmetries as *left-right asymmetries* (LRA), which I review in the remaining of this section.

I will make two general claims with respect to these LRA. First, in some cases, the reported asymmetry does not unequivocally support a middle field analysis of right dislocation. In other words, the asymmetry in question does not crucially exclude an alternative, peripheral analysis, for example. Second, in some other cases, a closer examination of the data reveal that there is no asymmetric behaviour between left and right dislocation, which undermines a differenciated analysis between the two phenomena, at least with respect to its structural position.

The discussion of these LRA in the literature has given rise to some debate concerning alleged important differences between Catalan and Italian with respect to the syntax of right dislocation, see in particular the debates in López, (ibid.) and Samek-Lodovici, (2015). One important contribution of this section is to deny such differences, and to conclude that Catalan and Italian behave essentially alike.

2.4.1.1   Asymmetry 1: Extraction

Villalba, (2000, p.192); López, (2009a, p.148ff.) and Feldhausen, (2008, chapter 5) show that one can left dislocate out of a right dislocated phrase, but one can't right dislocate out of a left dislocated constituent. This is illustrated in (49) (from Villalba, 2000, p.192) for Catalan:

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[21]López, (2009a) does not assume the existence of a templatic structure dominating the verbal domain, but he defends that δ targets the middle field by proposing movement to a specifier of vP.

(49) a.   [Del meu avi]$_i$,   me   les   han explicat   totes, [*les*
           of the my   grandad to me them have explained all   the
           històries t$_i$].
           stories
           "I have been told all of my grandad's stories."

     b.   * [Les històries t$_i$], me les han explicat totes, [*del meu avi*]$_i$.

Under a middle field analysis (and Villalba's split-topic hypothesis) where
left dislocated constituents are structurally higher than δ, this follows natu-
rally, given that for an element to be right dislocated from a left dislocated
phrase it would have to undergo downward movement.

There are some reasons to be skeptical about this LRA. First, it is un-
clear that (49a) shows extraction at all. This is because if movement had
indeed taken place, we would be facing a case of subextraction out of a def-
inite DP, which should be ungrammatical (Fiengo and Higginbotham, 1981,
a.o.). Further, when testing movement we should eschew fronting of ele-
ments headed by *de*, which very frequently give rise to aboutness readings
which obscure the idea that movement has indeed taken place (see Bosque
and Gallego, 2014 for related issues). As a matter of fact, wh-movement out
of a right dislocated constituent is blatantly ungrammatical as the following
example shows, which casts some doubt on the data above:

(50)   * Què$_i$ m'   ho vas   comentar, *que acabaries*   t$_i$ *diumenge*?
         what to me it PAST comment that would finish   Sunday
         "What did you say that you would finish on Sunday?"

Second, even if the asymmetry in (49) constituted a real LRA, it does
not say anything about the position of right dislocated constituents in abso-
lute terms. Rather, it shows that left dislocation is located higher than right
dislocation, and this is perfectly compatible with an analysis in which right
dislocated phrases move to the C-domain of the clause, provided that left
dislocated constituents are located even higher (Fernández-Sánchez, 2013).

I will deal with extraction data in more depth in chapter 3. The reason
is that the proposal I want to defend in this thesis makes the very strong
prediction that right dislocated constituents should be opaque domains for

extraction. For now it suffices to see the ungrammatical status (50) as an il-
lustration that extraction out of right dislocated phrases is ungrammatical.
Crucially, left dislocated phrases are also opaque domains out of which wh-
elements cannot be extracted, as shown by the following example in Span-
ish[22]. This indicates that, with respect to extraction, left and right disloca-
tion do not exhibit any asymmetric behaviour.

(51)   * A quién [que le   tocó la   lotería t_i]$_k$ me   lo dijo Ricardo t_k?
          to who   that him wim the lottery   to me it said Ricardo
          "(Intended) Who did Ricardo tell me won the lottery?"   (Spanish)

2.4.1.2   Asymmetry 2: ECP effects in French

Rizzi, (1990) observed that the presence of a clitic left dislocated constituent
blocks relative operator movement only when the latter is a subject. He ar-
gues that this subject/object asymmetry can be accounted for in terms of in-
tervention coupled with a biconditional notion of government, which states
that traces must be either antecedent-governed or head-governed. The cru-
cial datum is the minimal pair in (52). In both cases the topic constitutes
an intervener, so antecedent-government is unavailable in neither sentence.
However, object traces - but not subject traces - can be head governed by a
lexical head (V), which explains why (52a) is grammatical but (52b) isn't:

(52)   a.   ? Un homme à qui,   ton livre, je pourrais le donner t_i.
                a   man   to whom your book I   could   it give
                "A man to whom I could give your book."
        b.   * Un homme qui, ton   livre, t_i pourrait l' acheter.
                a   man   who your book   could   it buy
                "A man who could buy your book."

   Cecchetto, (1999, p.44) notes that right dislocation does not constitute
an intervener for relative operator movement, as evidenced by the gram-
maticality of (53). The contrast between (52b) and (53) constitutes the second
LRA. Cecchetto's argument is that if right dislocated phrases were in the

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[22]I would like to thank Carlos Rubio for discussion on this particular issue.

C-domain, such a contrast should not be expected and (53) ought to be un-grammatical. Instead, if it is located in the low IP area, the relative operator trace in (53) can be properly governed (via antecedent-government):

(53)   ? Un homme qui   pourrait l' acheter, *ton   livre*.
         a   man   who could   it buy   your book
         "A man who could buy it, your book."

However, De Cat, (2007, p.200ff.) argues that, according to a survey she carried out, the alleged asymmetry in (52) does not exist, and that both cases are acceptable, albeit slightly degraded. In fact, De Cat's findings are actually expected, given the more or less standard assumption that clitic left dislo-cated constituents do not count as interveners for movement. For example, observe this contrast (from Rizzi, 2004, p.254):

(54)   a.   ? Non so   a chi   pensi che, tuo fratello, lo
             not know to whom think that your brother him
             potremmo   affidare.
             will be able to entrust
             "I don't know to whom you think that, your brother, we could
             entrust."

       b.   L' anno prossimo, penso che, le elezioni, le vincerà un
            the year next   think that the election it will win one
            altro candidato.
            other candidate
            "Next year, I think that, the elections, another candidate will
            win them."

In (54a), the object is wh-moved across a topic in the periphery of the matrix clause, and the final is only slightly deviant. Likewise, the time ad-junct in (54b) moves to the matrix C-domain across a topic in the periphery of the embedded clause without causing relativized minimality effects.

Similar data are reported for French in (Authier and Haegeman, 2015; Haegeman, 2012): left dislocated constituents do not appear to block move-ment of temporal operators in central adverbial clauses[23]:

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[23]For related data in other Romance languages and possible theoretical implications, see

(55) Quand à Fred, tu lui casses les pieds, il te tourne le dos.
      when to Fren you him cut   the feet   he you turns the back
      "When you get on Fred's nerves, he just walks away."   (Authier and
      Haegeman, 2015, p.41)

Given what we know about left dislocation and given De Cat's conclu-
sion about Rizzi, (1990)'s data in (52), the ECP effects observed by Cecchetto
should be rendered inconclusive. In fact, the conclusion seems to be that in
the context of the ECP, left and right dislocations do not display any asym-
metry (for a more in-depth discussion of the relevant data see Cat, 2002.).

2.4.1.3   Asymmetry 3: Aux-to-Comp in Italian

Aux-to-Comp refers to a syntactic operation which fronts the gerund aux-
iliary to a position higher than the subject, which appears sandwiched be-
tween the auxiliary and the main verb (Rizzi, 1982, p.83ff.). The following
example, from Cecchetto, (1999, p.53, his (34)), illustrates the construction:

(56) Avendo Gianni visto il film, non ci   furono problemi.
      having John   seen the film not there were   problems
      "John having seen the film, there were no problems."

Rizzi, (1982) argues that in these constructions the auxiliary moves to C,
from where it assigns nominative case to the subject:

(57)
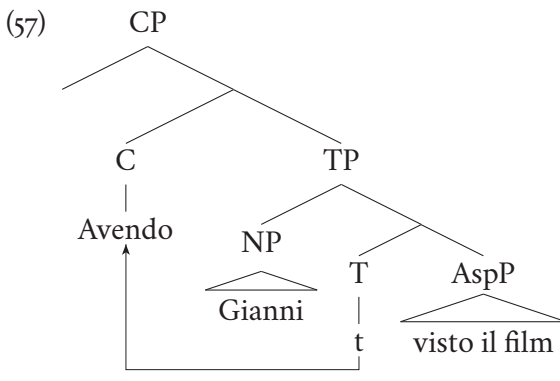
Authier and Haegeman, (2015), Bianchi and Frascarelli, (2010), Fernández-Sánchez, (2016),
and Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa, (2014)

Cecchetto, (1999, p.47) observes a LRA with respect to Aux-to-Comp: a clitic left dislocated phrase cannot intervene between the auxiliary and the subject, as shown by the ungrammaticality ot (58a). Cecchetto takes this as evidence that the CLLDed constituent is blocking nominative case assignment. Here is where we make a prediction: if δ were in the C-domain, we would expect them to block the relevant government configuration that triggers case assignment, and we predict Aux-to-Comp structures with right dislocated phrases ungrammatical. Cecchetto shows, however, that this is not the case, as evidenced by (58b). According to this author, this minimal pair is supported by middle field approaches to right dislocation.

(58)   a.   * Avendolo, il film, Gianni visto, non ci furono problemi.

       b.   Avendolo Gianni visto, *il film*, non ci furono problemi.

Although the judgements are clear, Cecchetto's argument is only valid if we adopt Rizzi's analysis of Aux-to-Comp. This is the conclusion in López, (2009a, p.257), who argues that the minimal pair in (58) is not necessarily a consequence of the split-topic hypothesis proposed by Cecchetto, (1999) and Villalba, (2000), where left dislocated constituents are in the left periphery of the clause and right dislocated ones are in the low periphery.

López suggests an alternative analysis of the facts[24], where the auxiliary moves to T and the subject remains in its spec,vP base generation position. Under this configuration, illustrated in (59), (58a) is ungrammatical because for this string to be derived one would have to assume that the left dislocated constituent moves to a position lower than T.

(59)   TP

       avendo vP

              Gianni v VP

                       visto   …

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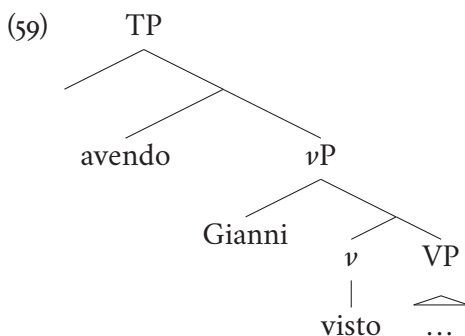
[24]See Fernández-Sánchez, (2016, p.126) for another alternative analysis.

Importantly, as noted by López himself, if the CLLDed phrase precedes the auxiliary (60a) the grammaticality of the sentence improves. Then, following López's analysis of Aux-to-Comp, the real minimal pair should be between (60a) and (58b), because (58a) is independently ungrammatical. As observed here, both sentences are grammatical.

(60)   a.   Il film avendelo Gianni visto…

        b.   Avendolo Gianni visto, *il film*…

The conclusion to be drawn is that Aux-to-Comp data constitutes a problem for peripheral analyses of right dislocation only if Rizzi, (1982)'s account of the phenomenon is assumed. Under an alternative account like López's, left and right dislocation pose no problem for Aux-to-Comp.

2.4.1.4   Asymmetry 4: Obviation effects

In many languages, including Romance, the subject of a subjunctive embedded clause is disjoint in reference from the subject of the matrix. This phenomenon is typically referred to as *disjoint reference effect* or *obviation* (Constantini, 2005; Kempchinsky, 2009; Picallo, 1985, a.o.). This is illustrated for Spanish, where the null *pro* cannot corefer with *Juan* in the matrix clause:

(61)   Juan$_i$ quería   que *pro*$_{\{*i/m\}}$ llegara   tarde.
       Juan wanted that   would arrive late
       "Juan wanted someone to arrive late."

Feldhausen, (2010, p.140) shows, building on Constantini, (2005), that a left dislocated phrase in the periphery of the embedded subjunctive clause improves the coreference between the matrix and the embedded subject. This is shown in (62) for Italian, and (63) for Catalan. The data are from Constantini, (ibid., p.130), and so are the judgements. The (a) examples show the obviation effect, whereas the (b) parts evidence the amelioration.

(62)   a.   Gianni$_i$ spera che *pro*$_{\{?i/m\}}$ abbia fatto pochi errori   all'
            Gianni hopes that   had   done few   mistakes in the
            essame di linguistica.
            exam   of linguistics
            "Gianni hopes he has made few mistakes on the linguistics exam."

    b. Gianni$_i$ spera che, all'essame di linguistica, $pro_{\{i/m\}}$ abbia fatto pochi errori.

(63)   a. En Joan no es pensa que $pro_{\{*i/m\}}$ hagi fet molts errors a
             the Joan not thinks that   has done many mistakes in
             l' examen de lingüística.
             the exam of linguistics
             "Joan doesn't think he's made many mistakes on the linguistics exam."

    b. En Joan no es pensa que, a l'examen de lingüística, hi hagi fet molts errors.

One important comment about these authors' judgements are in order: obviation is not a strong effect in Italian, given that coreference between matrix and embedded subject is only given a question mark in (62a). Catalan differs, in that coreference yields, according to Constantini's judgement, a strong ungrammatical result (63a). As a native speaker of Catalan, I disagree with the Catalan data: even though I am certainly biased towards having an obviation effect in (63a), I do not think coreference is bad at all, which means that for me Catalan displays the same pattern as Italian.

Leaving aside the question of how subtle or strong obviation is, the crucial aspect here is the (slight) improvement of coreference in the presence of an embedded left dislocated constituent. Importantly Feldhausen notes that right dislocated phrases do not behave like left dislocated ones in that they do not ameliorate obviation. Compare (62b) to (64a), and (63b) to (64b):

(64)   a. Gianni$_i$ spera che $pro_{\{?i/m\}}$ abbia fatto pochi errori, *all'essame di linguistica*.

    b. En Joan$_i$ no es pensa que $pro_{\{*i/m\}}$ hi hagi fet molts errors, *a l'examen de lingüística*.

The LRA is therefore that right dislocation doesn't, and left dislocation does, alleviate obviation effects. However, as Feldhausen himself acknowledges in a footnote, the "binding relations are rather subtle and that it is sometimes hard to make a decision". In order to assess this LRA, we should come up with a context where obviation effects are observed more radically.

Feldhausen in fact shows one (p.144). In this Catalan example, and contrary to what we observed previously in (63), obviation here is strong:

(65)   En Joan$_i$ esperava que $pro_{\{*i/m\}}$ no digués   res   mal dit
       the Joan hoped   that   not would say anything bad said
       al   congrés   de la   societat sociològica.
       at the conference of the society sociologic
       "Joan hoped that someone wouldn't say anything wrong at the soci-
       ologic society conference."

Left dislocating the locative PP inside the complement clase to the pe-riphery of this embedded clause ameliorates the obviation effect, whereas right dislocating it has no effect on binding. I agree with Feldhausen that there is indeed a neutralization of the obviation effect in (66a), although I still find a bias towards the disjoint reference reading. Crucially, I agree with him also in that right dislocation does not pattern with left dislocation.

(66)   a.   En Joan$_i$ esperava que, al congrés de la societat sociològica, $pro_{\{i/m\}}$ no hi digués res mal dit.

       b.   En Joan$_i$ esperava que $pro_{\{*i/m\}}$ no hi digués res mal dit, *al congrés de la societat sociològica*.

Feldhausen claims that these data constitute an argument against pe-ripheral analyses of right dislocation. His argument runs as follows: he as-sumes that obviation effects are a standard case of Principle B violation. A principle B effect arises when a pronoun is c-commanded by a local refer-ring entity, where *local* typically means within the same sentence. In these configurations, coreference between the two elements is impossible:

(67)   a.   * Mary$_i$ saw her$_i$.

       b.   Mary$_i$ believes that Peter saw her$_i$.

Abstracting away from the technicalities, Feldhausen argues, building on work by Luján, (1999), that the syntax and semantics of subjunctive clauses allow them to extend their binding domain (see Kempchinsky, 1986, 2009; Pi-callo, 1985), making c-command between the matrix subject and the embed-ded *pro* local enough for Principle B to apply and ban coreference. The idea

is that the presence of a CLLDed phrase blocks the extension of the binding domain because it makes the left periphery of the subjunctive clause richer, by adding a Topic phrase. If right dislocations targetted the C-domain of the clause, we would also expect its presence to ameliorate the obviation effect, contrary to fact, which suggests, according to Feldhausen, that right dislocations cannot target this alleged topic phrase in the left periphery.

Importantly, Feldhausen's implications only hold if we assume Luján, (1999)'s particular account of obviation effects. However, there is some evidence which casts doubts about this particular analysis. In particular, not all instances of clitic left dislocation suspend obviation effects.

Example (68a) illustrates that the verb *volia* (from *voler*, "want") selects for a subjunctive clause whose subject cannot be coreferent with the matrix subject. Suppose this is indeed true because of the structural deficiency of the subjunctive clause which allows its binding domain to be extended to the matrix clause. Then the impossibility of coreference follows from Principle B. Suppose, further, following Feldhausen, that the presence of a clitic left dislocated constituent at the left edge of the embedded clause creates a more complex left periphery and therefore the extension of the binding domain is blocked. We expect that all cases of embedded clitic left dislocation should ameliorate obviation, but this is untrue, as the binding possibilities of (68b) show. Crucially, right dislocation (68c) patterns exactly like left dislocation.

(68) a. En Joan$_i$ volia   que $pro_{\{*i/m\}}$ presentés   la   recerca
          the joan   wanted that   would present the research
          al   seminari.
          in the seminar
          "John wanted someone to present the research at the seminar."

      b. En Joan$_i$ volia que, al seminari, $pro_{\{*i/m\}}$ hi presentés la recerca.

      c. En Joan$_i$ volia que $pro_{\{*i/m\}}$ hi presentés la recerca, *al seminari*.

One could still argue that the extension of the binding domain is also contingent on the lexical properties of the selecting predicate, and that clausal complements to verbs like *voler* ("want") never extend their domain, contrary to verbs like *esperar* ("hope") (66a). However, things are more complex (and more mysterious too): left dislocating a direct or an indirect object (in-

stead of an adjunct as in (66a)) with a verb like *esperar* (hope) results in different judgements from (66a): in these cases amelioration is impossible:

(69) a. En Joan$_i$ esperava que la   tesi $pro_{\{??i/m\}}$ la defensés
          the Joan hoped   that the thesis   it would defend
          al   novembre.
          in the november
          "Joan hoped someone would defend the thesis in november."

      b. En Joan$_i$ esperava que a la   Maria $pro_{\{*i/m\}}$ li   regalés
          the Joan hoped   that to the Maria   to her would give
          flors.
          flowers
          "Joan hoped that someone would give flowers to Maria."

Further, a focused phrase in the C-domain of the embedded clause does not neutralize obviation. This is unexpected because the presence of a FocP should make the C-domain of the embedded clause rich enough to block the binding extension domain, like TopicP does, according to Feldhausen:

(70) En Joan$_i$ esperava que AL   CONGRÉS $pro_{\{*i/m\}}$ no digués
       the Joan hoped   that in the conference   not would say
       cap bajanada, (no al   seminari).
       any silly thing not in the seminar
       "Joan hoped that someone wouldn't say a stupid thing in the CONFER-
       ENCE, not in the seminar."

If the presence of a fronted element in C is not a sufficient condition for obviation effects to be ameliorated, then Feldhausen's data do not militate against peripheral analyses of right dislocation. Until we get a clearer picture of obviation effects, the lack thereof, and the contexts that contribute to their alleviation I take this LRA as analytically inconclusive.

2.4.1.5 Asymmetry 5: Reconstruction and Principle C

Cecchetto, (2000) and Villalba, (1999, 2000) claim that right dislocated constituents interact differently from left dislocated constituents in terms of

c-command with the rest of the clause. In particular, they show that right dislocated phrases end up in the c-command domain of the preverbal subject position. For concreteness, I assume that preverbal subjects are located in spec,TP. This particular c-command configuration explains the ungrammaticality of (71a) as a standard case of Condition C violation where the preverbal subject *pro* c-commands the R-expression inside the right-dislocated object. Conversely, left dislocated constituents are outside the c-command domain of *pro*, as evidenced by the grammaticality of (71b). These data appear to support the split-topic hypothesis defended by these two authors, i.e. the idea that left dislocated phrases target the C-domain of the clause whereas right dislocated constituents sit in the low periphery of the clause.

(71)   a.   * *pro$_i$* les   va   dir convençuda, *les mentides que la Maria$_i$*
                    them PAST say convinced   the lies   that the Maria

             va   inventar.
             PAST invent
             "She wasn't convinced about the lies that Maria invented."

        b.   Les mentides que la Maria$_i$ va inventar, *pro$_i$* no les va con-
              vençuda.

The example in (71b) further suggests that left dislocated constituents do not reconstruct. If they did, the complex dislocated object - and the R-expression contained in it - would be c-commanded by *pro* in its base generation position, and we should not expect any distinction between the two sentences in (71). Cecchetto and Villalba argue that left dislocated phrases do reconstruct, but what is special about (71b) is that the R-expression is inside an adjunct clause which modifies *mentides*. Cecchetto and Villalba assume Lebeaux, (1988)'s observation that adjuncts can be inserted countercyclically in their surface position. If clitic left dislocation moves from its thematic position to the C-domain of the clause, and if *pro* is in spec,IP, then the adjunct containing the R-expression in (71b) can be inserted at the point in which the CLLDed phrase is outside the scope of *pro*. This late-insertion option is not available for nominal complements, which must be merged with their DP from the beginning for case and theta role reasons. This explains the difference in grammaticality between (71b) and (72b):

(72)   a.   * *pro$_i$* no la complirà pas, *la   promesa que en Miquel$_i$*
                  not it will fulfil PAS the promise that the Miquel
            actuarà   a l' Auditori.
            will perform at the Auditori
            "He won't fulfil the promise that Miquel will perform at the
            Auditori."

       b.   * La promesa que en Miquel$_i$ actuarà a l'Auditori, *pro$_i$* no la com-
            plirà pas.

As for right dislocation, no distinction obtains between (71a) and (72a),
because irrespective of whether late insertion applies, the final position of δ
is, according to these authors, below TP. However, Samek-Lodovici, (2006)
notes a difference between (71a) and (72a) in Italian. He reports the following
minimal pair: in (73a) the R-expression is inside an adjunct, and the sentence
is judged better than (73b), where the R-expression is inside a complement.
(73) is expected under a peripheral analysis of right dislocation, as no asym-
metry is expected between left and right dislocation:

(73)   a.   *pro$_i$* non le   mantiene quasi mai, le promesse che
            (he) not them keep   almost ever the promises that
            Berlusconi$_i$ fa   in campagna elettorale.
            Berlusconi makes in campaign electoral
            "Berlusconi almost never keeps the promises that he makes dur-
            ing the electoral campaign."

       b.   * *pro$_i$* non le   mantiene quasi mai, le promesse che
            (he) not them keep   almost ever the promises that
            Berlusconi$_i$ sarà   onesto.
            Berlusconi will be honest
            "Berlusconi almost never keeps the promises that he will be
            honest."

Given the disparity of judgements, López, (2009a) makes a small survey
where he asks native speakers of Catalan grammaticality judgements con-
cerning Lebeaux-effects in left dislocations, right dislocations and he also
includes regular wh-movement to see if any interesting result obtains. His

results are surprising: for right dislocation the speakers consulted do not find any distinction with respect to whether the R-expression is contained within a nominal complement or adjunct (against Samek-Lodovici's data). However, López concludes that the argument/adjunct asymmetry test has to remain inconclusive, as he finds no evidence of late-insertion effects in left dislocations (cf. (71b)) or in wh-movement.

López acknowledges that this test is methodologically very difficult for various reasons: first, right dislocated constituents tend to be anaphoric, and anaphoric elements do not tend to be long. Second, he observes that Principle C effects sometimes get blurred by issues like distance between the R-expression and its c-commanding element. I have tried to come up with my own data to check whether I find any real asymmetry between arguments and adjuncts and I have to admit that I have found that many issues seem to favour/disfavour coreference: word order of elements inside the adjunct/complement clause, or even tense and aspect of the matrix verb. In general, I align with Samek-Lodovici in finding a difference between the two conditions. Here is the data I provide: left dislocation is illustrated in (74). As indicated there, there is a distinction with respect to whether or not the R-expression is in a complement (74a) or an adjunct (74b) (*contra* López's findings). As for right dislocation (75), coreference between *pro* and the R-expression inside the dislocated phrase is completely banned when the R-expression is inside a complement, but it is quite fine when the R-expression is inside an adjunct.

(74) a. ?? La promesa que Mas$_i$ iniciaria   el procés, *pro$_i$* no la
            the promise that Mas would initiate the process   not it
            va   complir.
            PAST fulfill
            "He didn't fulfill the promise that Artur Mas would initiate the process."

      b. La promesa que Mas$_i$ va fer, *pro$_i$* no la va complir.

(75) a. * *pro$_i$* no la va complir, *la promesa que Mas iniciaria el procés*.

      b. ? *pro* no la va complir, *la promesa que va fer Mas*.

Given the data above, I find that there is an asymmetry between adjuncts

and arguments which is present in both left and right dislocations. More thorough and experimental work should be done to check whether these judgements are significant to draw firm conclusions but if Samek-Lodovici and I are correct, then left and right dislocations do not display any real asymmetry, and Catalan and Italian behave alike.

2.4.1.6 Asymmetry 6: variable binding

López, (2009a) presents an argument against peripheral analyses of right dislocation which involves quantificational binding: a right-dislocated QP can only bind a variable inside a postverbal (76b) and not inside a preverbal (76a) subject. This asymmetry isn't found with left-dislocated phrases, which can bind a variable within preverbal (77a) or postverbal (77b) subjects equally:

(76)   a.   * La seva$_i$ mare   pot acompanyar- lo,   a cada$_i$ nen
               the his   mother can accompany   him to each boy
               "His mother can accompany each boy."

       b.   Pot acompanyar-lo la seva$_i$ mare, a cada$_i$ nen.

(77)   a.   A cada$_i$ nen, la seva$_i$ mare pot acompanyar-lo.

       b.   A cada$_i$ nen, pot acompanyar-lo la seva$_i$ mare.

These facts support Villalba's split topic hypothesis, and provide evidence for the middle field analysis of right dislocation: if a right dislocated QP (δ_{QP}) was above IP (78a), it should c-command and thus bind a variable (x) in a preverbal subject (spec,IP) or in a postverbal subject (spec,VP). If δ_{QP} is below IP (78b), then it is not expected to bind x inside a preverbal subject.

(78)   a.   b.
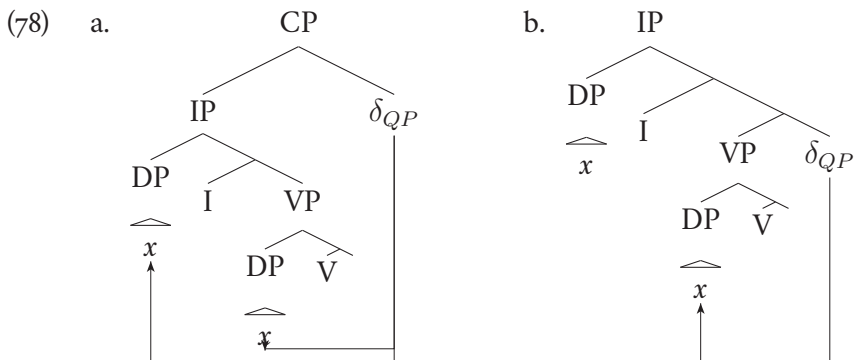
Variable binding, however, is not a good tool to test the structural posi-
tion of δ. This is because right dislocations are marked structures from the
point of view of information structure, and it has been noted that informa-
tion structure can affect the scopal properties of quantified phrases. Note
that one difference between (76a) and (76b) is precisely one dealing with in-
formation structure: in particular, the subject in (76a) is topical, whereas it
is focal in (76b). How should that matter?

At one point in her MIT monograph, Zubizarreta, (1998) claims that a
"QP object *each/ every N* may bind [a] pronoun contained within [a] subject
if and only if the subject is focused" (p.11). Later in the book she concludes
that "focus may, in certain cases, have an impact on binding irrespective of
syntactic structure" (p.141). Zubizarreta's insight allows her to capture the
following contrast in English and French (subscript F marks focus):

(79)   (Context:) what will happen?

     a.   * [$_F$*His* mother will accompany *each/every* boy the first day of
          school].

     b.   * [$_F$*Sa* mère accompagnera *chaque* enfant le premier jour d'école].

(80)   (Context:) I would like to know who will accompany each/every boy
      the first day of school.

     a.   [$_F$*His* mother] will accompany *each/every* boy the first day of
          school.

     b.   [$_F$*Sa* mère] accompagnera *chaque* enfant le premier jour d'école.

Descriptively, the above sentences show that when the subject is focused
(80), the bound reading is available even though the QP does not c-command
it (which, in turn, explains why the examples in (79) are ungrammatical). So
focus can alter variable binding relations (see also Villalba, 1999)[25].

Importantly, when the preverbal subject is focused, then the dislocated
QP can scope over it, yielding the variable bound reading:

---

[25]Alternatively, as suggested by Mark de Vries (p.c.) it could be that givenness facilitates
quantifier raising. Note that the QP in (79) is part of the assertion of the clause, whereas it is
not in (80). An approach along these lines is developed in Sæbø, (1997), whose analysis can
easily extend to Zubizarreta's data reported here.

(81)   ? La seva$_i$ mare, pot acompanyar-lo, *a cada$_i$ nen*.

The variable binding possibilities of right dislocated constituents do not appear to be determined by a particular structural configuration, but rather by information structural properties. Further, one has to acknowledge that judgements are obscured by the fact that dislocated QPs are independently marginal. Thus, López's data should be rendered inconclusive as a test for locating the position of δ[26].

2.4.1.7   Asymmetry 7: NPI licensing

Negative polarity items (NPIs) have been used as a testing ground for the position of δ in the clause structure. Under the assumptions (i) that NPIs are licensed within the c-command domain of sentence negation at surface structure and (ii) that sentential negation is located very high in the functional domain in Romance (Laka, 1990; Zanuttini, 1991) (mainly, above IP), Villalba's split-topic hypothesis makes a very precise prediction: if right dislocated constituents are within the domain of the IP, any NPI inside it is expected to be licensed (82a). Conversely, an NPI inside a left dislocated phrase won't be able to be c-commanded by sentential negation (82b):

(82)   a. $[_{NegP} \text{Neg} [_{IP} [_{TopP} [\dots \text{NPI}] [_{vP} \dots]]]]$
        b. $[_{TopP} [\dots \text{NPI}] [_{NegP} \text{Neg} [_{IP} [_{vP} \dots]]]]$

The following Catalan data, from Villalba, (2000, p.189), appear to confirm this prediction. (83a) shows that in no dislocation contexts, the NPI *ningú* ("nobody") inside the postcopular adjectival phrase is licensed by the negative operator *no* ("not"). When this AP is left dislocated, *ningú* is no longer c-commanded by *no*, and the sentence is ungrammatical (83b). However, if the AP is right dislocated, the sentence is grammatical (83c), which means that the the NPI - and the right dislocated phrase by extension - must be in the domain of the IP[27]:

---

[26]However, I agree that with respect to variable binding, right dislocation does not behave like left dislocation and as such variable binding constitutes a real LRA. I will discuss this in the last section of chapter 4.

[27]Note that the relevant test cannot involve a simple dislocated NPI. Example (i) is not

(83) a. La Maria no és responsable de ningú.
          the Maria not is responsible of nobody
          "Maria isn't responsible for anyone."

      b. * Responsable de ningú, la Maria no ho és.

      c. La Maria no ho és, *responsable de ningú*.

Whether NPIs are indeed licensed inside right dislocated constituents has been subject of intense debate (see López, 2009a, p.254 and Feldhausen, 2010, p.132-136 for data supporting Villalba's claims and Samek-Lodovici, 2006, p.845 and Samek-Lodovici, 2015, P. for arguments against them). The conclusions we can draw from the discussion in these works is that NPIs are indeed licensed inside right dislocates in Catalan but not in Italian. For example, the exact same sentence is judged ungrammatical in Italian by Samek-Lodovici (Samek-Lodovici, 2006, p.846, his (21)) and grammatical by Feldhausen in Catalan (Feldhausen, 2010, p.135, his (15)):

(84) a. No ho VULL, de menjar res   durant uns   dies; ho
          not it   wish   of to eat anything for   some days   it
          PRETENC.
          demand
          "I do not WISH to eat anything for a few days, (I DEMAND it)

      b. * Non lo DESIDERO, di mangiare nulla per qualche giorno; lo PRE-
          TENDO.

I do not wish to add any further data regarding NPI licensing in these contexts. To my ear, (84a) is very marginal, if not simply ungrammatical. However, I agree that Villalba's example (83c) is not as bad, although I would give it at least one question mark. Given my own judgements, I appear to

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ungrammatical because of lack of c-command between *no* and *ningú*, but rather because dislocated phrases are interpreted as topics, and NPIs are not referential (see Giannakidou, 1998, p.232ff.):

i. * No l'   he   vist, *ningú*.
      not him have seen nobody
      "(Intended) I haven't seen anybody."   (Catalan)

have contradictory or inconsistent opinions on NPI licensing inside right dislocated phrases. Therefore, I agree with López, (2009a, p.255), who concludes that NPI licensing constitutes "admittedly delicate" evidence given that NPIs are "not perfect" in RD constructions[28].

2.4.2   Problems for clause-internal approaches

Leaving aside that the alleged LRAs do not provide real evidence for middle field analyses, such accounts have to face more problems. I focus on two.

2.4.2.1   All-focus contexts

Middle field approaches to right dislocation must face an undergeneration problem, in that they cannot account for cases in which the host clause has wide focus. To see why, observe the analysis of (85a) in (85b):

(85)   a. Piero lo dà   a Gianni, *il   libro*.
            Peter it gives to John   the book
            "Peter gives John the book"   (Italian,Cecchetto, 1999, p.58, his (41))

        b.

---
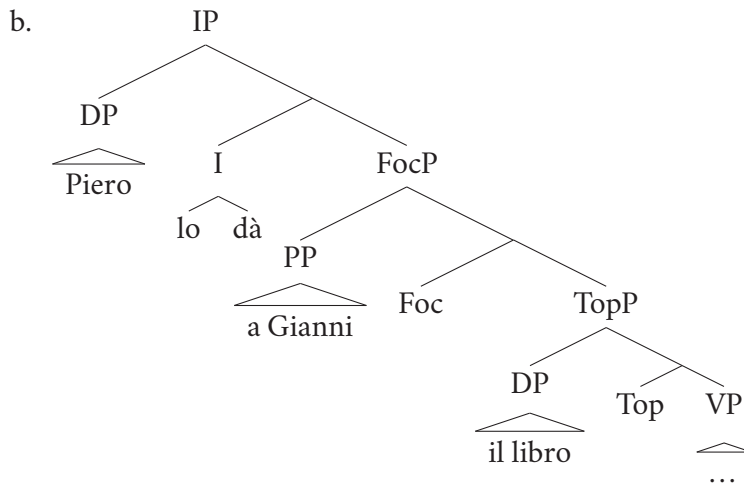
[28]Note that even if Villalba's asymmetry between left and right dislocation with respect to NPI licensing, this does not necessarily exclude a peripheral analysis of right dislocation. In Fernández-Sánchez, 2013 I claimed that I argued that δ moves above IP, but below the position hosting sentential negation. Left dislocation, in turn, move even higher.

In Cecchetto's analysis, the dislocated object undergoes movement to the specifier of a topic-designated position in the low periphery of the clause. All the remaining arguments vacate the lexical layer of the clause: the indirect object undergoes focus movement to a FocusP immediately above the position that δ targets, and the preverbal subject moves higher up. But crucially, (85b) shows a case in which only the PP is focused. In other words, the analysis in (85b) can serve as a representation of an answer to a question like *who did you give the book to?*, which demands narrow focus on the indirect object.

However, (85a) is also compatible with an interpretation in which all the IP - except δ - is focused, as a possible answer to a question like *what happened to the book?*. Such cases are very difficult to derive under a middle field analysis, since the focused constituent in this context (the IP) is higher than the position hosting foci in the low periphery of the clause. These cases can only be accommodated under a peripheral analysis of right dislocation.

2.4.2.2 The (lack of) Right Roof Constraint

As we saw earlier in §2.3.3.1 one of the arguments against peripheral analyses of right dislocation comes from the fact that this phenomenon is subject to the right roof constraint. The unbounded nature of the leftward movement operation typically adduced in such proposals is incompatible with these facts, given that there is no way to prevent the derivation from creating outputs that violate the RRC.

However, right dislocated phrases can cross a non-finite clause boundary. In the following example[29], the dislocated phrase follows the postposed subject of the matrix clause (*Juan*). Note that *Juan* cannot be part of the embedded clause because there is a PRO in the embedded clause which is licensed by the object *nos* (us) in the matrix.

(86) $[_{CP}$ Nos ha obligado $[_{CP}$ a coserlas t_i] JUAN], [*las camisas*]$_i$.
           us   has obliged   to sew them   Juan   the shirts.
        "Juan has made us sew the shirts."

---

[29]These cases, as well as a more thorough discussion on RRC effects, will be examined in chapter 4.

Therefore, for δ to follow the matrix subject, it must move to the left periphery of the matrix clause (as proposed by peripheral analyses); followed by focus movement of *Juan* and movement of the remnant IP to simulate rightward movement:

(87) a. Movement of *las camisas* above the matrix IP.

  b. Movement of *Juan* to a focus projection in the matrix C-domain, above the position of δ

  c. Remnant movement of the IP

(88)
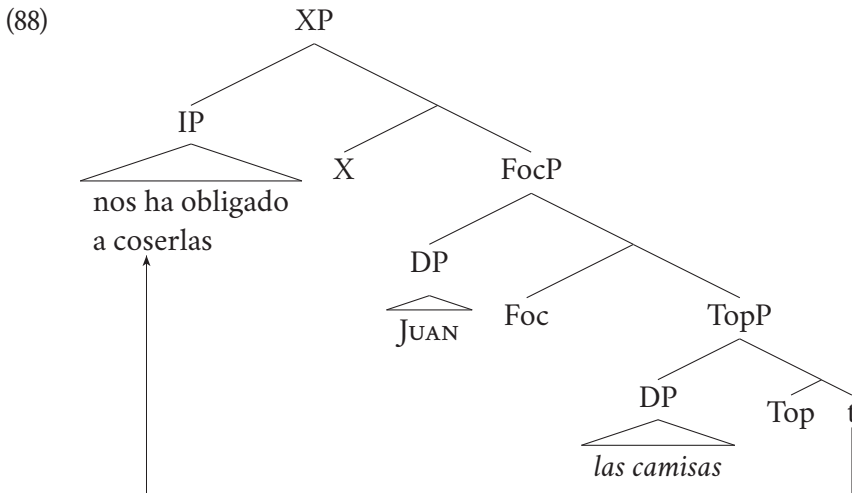
2.4.3 Summary

In this section I reviewed middle field approaches to right dislocation. Under this view, right dislocates surface in the the area of the clause comprised between the IP and the VP. I have argued that these analyses face two problems: (i) they cannot account for why δ can cross a non-finite clause boundary and (ii) they are very difficult to derive cases in which the IP preceding δ is all-focused.

  Middle field analyses are usually claimed to be supported by a series of asymmetries between left and right dislocation, which I referred to as LRAs. The logic is that if left dislocation is undoubtedly in the C-domain of the

clause, then we do not expect many asymmetries between the two phenomena under a peripheral view of right dislocation. These LRA have therefore two implications: negating a peripheral analysis and supporting a middle field one.

I have shown that upon closer scrutiny of the data, we see that (i) left dislocation is not that different from right dislocation, and that (ii) some LRAs should be rendered inconclusive as they do not say anything about the structural position of δ.

2.5   RD outside the clause

Before concluding this chapter, I would like to briefly review Cardinaletti, (2002)'s analysis of right dislocation. The discussion is organized as follows: I introduce her proposal, as well as the concept of *emarginazione* (marginalization), a key notion for her account, in §2.5.1. I point out some of the problems that Cardinaletti's analysis must face in §2.5.2. Finally, in §2.5.3 I will show that the analysis I want to develop for right dislocation has some very interesting similarities with Cardinaletti's, although with some important caveats.

2.5.1   Marginalization vs Right dislocation

The starting point of Cardinaletti's paper is the apparent asymmetry exhibited by left and right dislocation with respect to the obligatoriness of the clitic in Italian. The asymmetry is presented in the following minimal pairs, which suggests that whereas the clitic is compulsory in left dislocation constructions (89), it appears to be optional in right dislocations (90):

(89) a.   Il   giornale,   l' ho   già   comprato.
           the newspaper it have already bought
           "I have already bought the newspaper."
      b. * Il giornale, ho già comprato.

(90) a.   L'ho già comprato, *il giornale*.
      b.   Ho già comprato, *il giornale*.

Cardinaletti's main claim is that the optionality depicted in (90) is only apparent and that the two sentences have fundamentally distinct syntactic representations which respond to two different phenomena: the cliticless version is referred to as marginalization, which is analysed as distressing of a constituent *in situ*. In other words: in this construction, the unstressed constituent is structurally in its generation position:

(91)

```
                    TP
                   /  \
                pro    T′
                      /  \
                    T⁰    AspP
                    |    /    \
                   ho  già    Asp′
                              /   \
                           Asp⁰    VP
                            |     /  \
                       comprato  V⁰   DP
                                     /__\
                                 il giornale
```
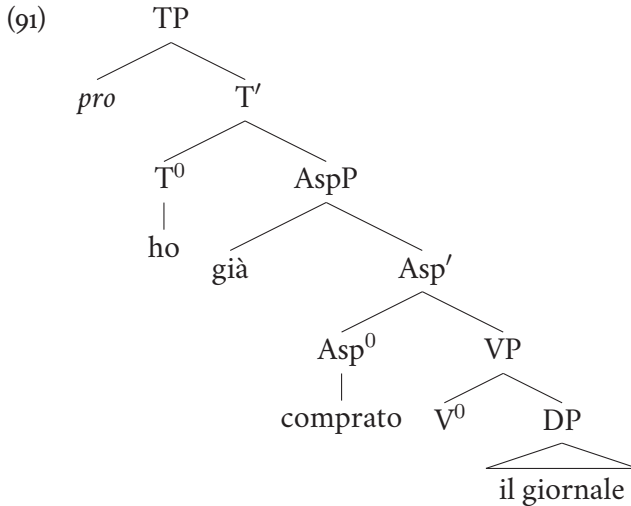
For right dislocation, she proposes an analysis in which the right dislocated constituent is outside the clause to which it right-attaches.

(92)

```
                        XP
                      /    \
                    IP      X′
                  /____\   /  \
            L'ho già comprato X⁰  DP
                                 /__\
                             il giornale
```
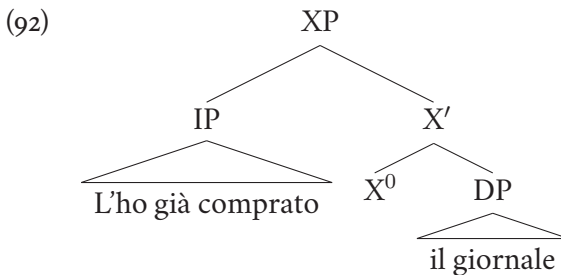
In her representation, the clause containing the clitic is in the specifier of a functional projection which she dubs XP, whereas the dislocate is in its complement. Her paper has two central set of arguments. On the one hand, she makes a list of 8 arguments that point to conclusion that marginalization and right dislocation are two fundamentally distinct phenomena. In

this thesis, I crucially follow Cardinaletti in maintaining the distinction be-
tween marginalization and right dislocation. Thus, I take the presence of
the clitic to be compulsory in right dislocation, as standardly assumed (but
see Samek-Lodovici, 2015). On the other hand, Cardinaletti lists a set of ar-
guments which are intended to defend her particular analysis of right dis-
location. Here I will only deal with a subset of this latter set, mainly those
that bear a direct impact on the structural analysis of right dislocation.

Cardinaletti's approach makes very strong structural predictions: no
syntactic dependency can be established between the IP and the dislocated
constituent as there is no c-command relation between the two. This im-
plies, among other things, that it should be impossible for any constituent
in the IP to bind the right dislocated phrase and that nothing should be able
to extract from the dislocated constituent. With respect to the latter predic-
tion, I already suggested (although I did not fully develop the argument) that
right dislocated phrases are opaque domains for extraction. Cardinaletti
provides the following example, which is analogous to (15b):

(93)   * Che cosa$_i$ l' ha detto, Gianni, *che avrebbe   fatto* t$_i$?
          What   it has said   Gianni that would have done
          "What did Gianni say that he'd have done?"

The ungrammaticality of this example is easily accounted for if the po-
tential landing site of the wh-moved constituent is the specifier of the XP
projection she puts forth, as a clear violation of the Extension Condition
(Chomsky, 1995, p.190). In the next chapter I will strenghten this conclusion.

2.5.2   A problem: C-command relations

One of the main problems with Cardinaletti's analysis is that, because δ is
completely external to the clause, no c-command relations can be estab-
lished between it and the IP that contains the clitic. But this is empirically
wrong, as we saw already (*cf.* (25a) through (28b)): for example, the impossi-
ble coreference between the *pro* in subject position and *Leo* within the dis-
located phrase is a result of a Principle C violation which, in turn, occurs
because the former c-commands the latter (from Frascarelli, 2004):

(94)   * pro_i l' ha scritto da giovane, *il libro che mi   ha dato Leo_i.*
                  it has written of young   the book that to me has given Leo
             "Leo wrote it when he was young, the book he gave me."   (Italian)

Cardinaletti, (2002) is aware of this problem: to fix it, she proposes to use Kayne, (1994)'s definition of c-command, which allows a specifier to c-command out of the phrase that it is a specifier of. Kayne's motivation comes from examples of the sort:

(95)   a. Every girl's father thinks she's a genious.

        b. Nobody's articles ever get published fast enough.

In (95a), the quantifier is able to c-command out of its DP in order to bind the pronoun. Similarly, in (95b), *nobody* can c-command out of its DP so as to license the NPI *ever*. Even if Kayne's analysis is right (see López, 2009a, p.259 for criticism) and that the example in (94) could be accounted for, there exists evidence that there is binding between elements lower than spec,IP and δ. Observe the following examples in Italian:

(96)   a. Non l' ha ancora consegnata $nessuno_i$, *la sua_i relazione.*
            not it has yet   delivered   nobody,   the his   report
            "Nobody has handed it over yet, his report." (Bocci, 2013, p.44, his (68))

        b. Li   ha persi da piccolo Gianni, *i   propri genitori.*
            them has lost as little   Gianni the own   parents
            "Gianni lost them as a kid, his parents."   (Samek-Lodovici, 2015, p.143, his (162))

In (96a), the quantifier in postverbal subject position is able to bind the variable in the right dislocated object. (96b) evidences that the right dislocated anaphor is licensed by the postverbal subject in the clause. These examples show, therefore, that the right dislocated constituent can be interpreted very low in the structure, which is clearly at odds with Cardinaletti's proposal (see (28a), (28b) and fn.(i) for the same point).

2.5.3 My proposal

Cardinaletti leaves the derivational history of this tree unexplained, even though she suggests that XP could stand for Topic Phrase in Rizzi's system (Cardinaletti, 2002, p.45). The particular analysis she suggests is a double topicalization approach featuring two TopicPs, one for δ and one for the IP containing κ:

(97)

```
                        TopP
               _____/    _____
              /                      \
            IP                       Top′
        ___/ \___              ____/    \____
       /         \            /              \
  L'ho già comprato        Top⁰             TopP
                                       ____/    \____
                                      /              \
                                    DP              Top′
                                ___/ \___         __/  \__
                               /         \       /        \
                          il giornale   Top⁰     IP
                                                 /\
                                                ‾‾
                                                …
```
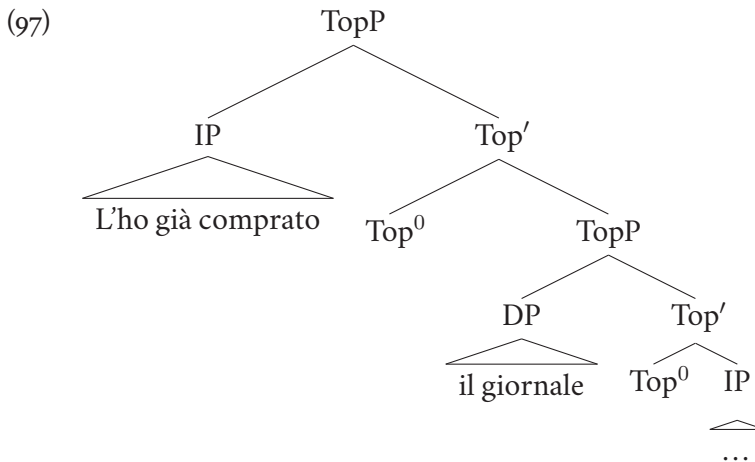
Despite the similarities, this approach is different from Samek-Lodovici, (2006)'s, in that he explicitly argues against the IP being in the specifier of a Topic phrase because this IP contains the focus of the whole clause. Cardinaletti admits, however, that such a clause external analysis indeed entails a violation of the Proper Binding Condition (see Cecchetto, 1999 for extensive discussion), and she concludes:

> I conclude by saying that we either recognize X in (5) as a Topic head, […] with the issue raised by Cecchetto remaining as an open question, or we maintain, as Kayne, (1994, p.78) does, that an antisymmetric account of Right Dislocation requires "as novel an analysis" as in [(92)], where the nature of the X head has still to be established.

I will propose that Cardinaletti's XP is an asyndetic coordination phrase. I also assume that the right dislocated phrase is in the complement position

of this coordination phrase, and the clause containing the clitic in its spec-
ifier. My proposal is, however, fundamentally different with respect to the
right dislocate's internal syntax: I assume that δ is the remnant of a clause
ellipsis operation. The elided clause is semantically and syntactically equiva-
lent to the clause with which it is coordinated (98). As we will see, the clause
internal properties follow from the fact that δ is inside a clause which is
identical to the clause that we actually see. Connectivity effects are thus il-
lusory, in the sense that they arise within a domain which we do not see.

(98)

                                  CoP
                         ╱   ╲
                IP   ╱   ╲
          ╱   ╲   SCo   IP
    ───────────────   ╱   ╲
    L'ho già comprato   ─────────────────────
                                     ~~ho già comprato~~ il giornale
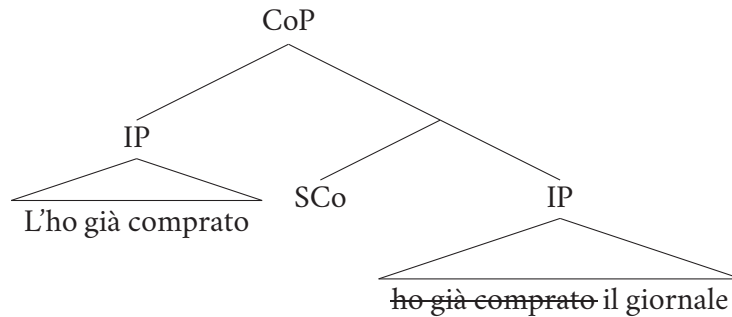
This is the biclausal analysis of right dislocation. In the next chapter I
explain the technicalities, I lay out the empirical support and I show how it
is superior to monoclausal approaches.

Chapter 3

A tale of two clauses

3.1 Introduction

Even though right dislocation in Romance has not received as much atten-
tion as left dislocation, there are some very important contributions to the
syntax of the phenomenon since Kayne, (1994)'s seminal work on the lin-
earization of syntactic structures. The previous chapter was an attempt to
thoroughly examine these existing proposals and to point out their merits
as well as their empirical and conceptual shortcomings.

   Despite their differences, all the proposals reviewed in the previous chap-
ter share a common assumption: they are all monoclausal. This means that
both δ and κ belong in the same clause. The main goal of this chapter is to
argue that right dislocation in Romance can be best understood as involv-
ing an underlyingly biclausal structure. Under such an approach, the right
dislocated constituent is part of an elided clause, which is semantically and
syntactically identical to the clause where it right attaches - modulo the δ,
which is replaced by κ. Thus, a sentence like (1a) will be analysed as in (1b):

(1)   a. Encara no hi   he parlat, *amb la Maria*.
          still   not PREP.CL. have spoken with the Mary.
          "I still haven't talked to Mary."   (Catalan)

      b. [Encara no hi he parlat]   [~~Encara no he parlat~~ amb la Maria].

This approach is not unprecedented. Tanaka, (2001), claims it was originally proposed by Kuno, (1978), to account for right dislocation in Japanese, and it was later developed by Abe, (1999), Takita, (2012), Tanaka, (2001), and Whitman, (2000). The analysis has been extended to Korean Park and Kim, 2009; Yim, 2013, and Germanic languages Ott and De Vries, (2012, 2016), Truckenbrodt, (2013), and De Vries, (2009, 2013a). This thesis constitutes, to my knowledge, the first thorough attempt to propose a biclausal approach to Romance right dislocation and to examine its consequences.

The primary goal of this chapter is to justify that we need two clauses in order to account for the properties of right dislocation in Romance. The discussion is organized as follows: in §3.2 I introduce the main assumptions and the motivations for this approach, which subsumes right dislocation under a more general set of constructions which are frequently referred to as clausal ellipsis phenomena.

In chapter 2 we saw δ paradoxically appears to exhibit both movement and non-movement properties. The general conclusion there was that while movement approaches fared better, they still need to assume that the operation that displaces δ is of a special type. The unorthodox behaviour of right dislocation is nonetheless expected in the present approach. This will be discussed in §3.3 and §3.4. In the latter I will particularly deal with the relationship between κ and δ. Under the biclausal approach, they are only cataphorically related, i.e. no derivational connection is posited between them. I will show that this is actually a welcome result, as it can account for many properties of right dislocation which are otherwise mysterious.

The biclausal approach makes a very strong prediction with respect to locality: under this view, right dislocated phrases are expected to be opaque domains for extraction. I already showed this in the previous chapter (see also Cardinaletti, 2002), although some data have been provided for in the literature that appear to challenge this claim. In §3.5 I deal with these data and I claim they do not constitute a problem for my approach.

Finally, in §3.6 I briefly discuss the implications of the biclausal approach for prosody. I will argue that many facts which were somewhat surprising about the prosody of right dislocation receive a principled explanation under the view defended here.

3.2 A type of clausal ellipsis

3.2.1 δ as a fragment

The proposal defended in this thesis rests on two premises: first, on the idea that right dislocation is biclausal in nature. This means that δ is in a separate clause from the one containing κ; one independent clause which we do not see (except δ, of course) because clausal ellipsis has applied. This ellipsis operation is the second ingredient of the approach. The main goal of chapter 3 is to explore the consequences of the biclausal component of the analysis. In doing so, I will present data that will pose serious problems for alternative, monoclausal approaches which can be easily solved by adopting the analysis defended here. The consequences of the ellipsis approach, especially those having to do with locality, will be examined in more detail in chapter 4, but I will introduce some of the key issues in this section.

Under the biclausal approach, right dislocated phrases are *fragments* in the sense of Merchant, (2004a), or *remnants* in a general sense (i.e. elements who survive ellipses). I therefore intend to bring right dislocation in line with a group of phenomena which are subsumed under the label of *clausal ellipsis*, a concept which is defined by van Craenenbroeck and Merchant, (2013, p.718) as a "subspicies of ellipsis whereby an entire clause is missing, including the canonical subject position and the agreement domain, but often to the exclusion of one or more clause-internal constituents". Clausal ellipsis phenomena include sluicing (Merchant, 2001; Ross, 1967) (2a); stripping (Depiante, 2000; Wurmbrand, to appear) (2b)[1]; fragment answers (Merchant, 2004a; Temmerman, 2013) (2c); or split questions (Arregi, 2010) (2d):

(2)   a. John said something, but I couldn't hear what ~~John said~~.

b. Hillary collects stamps and Bill ~~collects stamps~~ too.

c. A. Which exotic fruit did John buy?

B. ~~John bought~~ a kiwano.

---

[1]The status of stripping as a clausal ellipsis phenomena is, however, controversial. See Brucart, (1999) for the claim that some stripping strings in Spanish do not involve clausal ellipsis.

  d.   Which exotic fruit did John buy, ~~did John buy~~ a kiwano?

Structurally speaking, these phenomena share similar properties. Take the split question example in (2d). As convincingly argued by Arregi, (2010), it involves two clauses: CP_E, the elided clause which hosts the remnant; and the antecedent clause, or CP_A for short, which is semantically very similar[2] to CP_E, except that the object in CP_E is a DP, and in CP_E it is a wh-word. This latter element is the so-called *correlate*. The abstract structure of split questions – and in fact of all the phenomena in (2) – is represented in (3):

  (3) $[_{CP_A}$ correlate …$]$ $[_{CP_A}$ …remnant $]$

Descriptively speaking, we can classify clausal ellipsis phenomena in two groups depending on the particular relation that holds between correlate and remnant. In this respect, fragment answers are clearly distinct from stripping: the correlate of *kiwano* in (2c-B) is an indefinite object whose identity is in question. In stripping, however, the correlate of *Bill* is a definite expression, *Hillary* in this case. The correlate and remnant are contrasting alternatives to a particular proposition[3]. In this respect, right dislocation patterns with fragment answers or split questions in that the remnant provides a semantic specification of the correlate.

This thesis therefore defends the view that right dislocation has the underlying structure in (3). The remnant is the dislocated phrase, δ, and the correlate corresponds to the clitic. Throughout the dissertation, I will use the terms dislocated phrase, dislocate, or δ indistinctively. Similarly, I will refer to the clitic both as clitic or correlate, but some comments are in order. Under the view advocated here, the term *dislocation* becomes obviously

---

  [2] For ellipses in general to be licensed, it is necessary, although sometimes not sufficient, that the content of the elided phrase be identical to some antecedent phrase in the immediate discourse. Defining what constitutes *identical* is, and has been, a central question in ellipsis studies. See below for discussion. For now, it is sufficient to state that the two CPs in (2d) "have a very similar meaning", similar enough for ellipsis to be licensed.

  [3]The picture is more complex. In fact, sluicing, for example, can instanciate these two types of relations, see Chung, Ladusaw, and McCloskey, (2011) and Griffiths and Lipták, (2014) and references therein. This is, however, not important for the discussion in this chapter.

a misnomer, as there is no actual dislocation of δ (it is simply generated in a separate clause). I continue to use it albeit only in a descriptive sense. Second, replacing *clitic* with *correlate* has actually positive consequences which will be explored later. In fact, it will be shown that non-clitic elements like adverbs, strong pronouns or even referential expressions can function as correlates. Many monoclausal approaches hinge on the presence of a clitic, as we will see, and those non-canonical cases will therefore constitute a serious challenge to them. Similarly, right dislocation is attested in languages with no clitics like English (Fernández-Sánchez, 2012).

As a consequence of this terminological discussion, even the name of the phenomenon, clitic right dislocation, should be questioned. In fact, it is common in the Germanic literature to refer to it as *backgrounding* instead of right dislocation[4] (Ott and De Vries, 2016; Truckenbrodt, 2013; Zwart, 2001). Again, I will keep using clitic right dislocation, right dislocation or backgrounding indistinctively, although these terms should be read descriptively and not analytically.

For elided material to be recoverable and therefore for the ellipsis operation to apply successfully the content of the elided phrase must be parallel/identical to some antecedent phrase (fn.2). The key issue here is how we define parallelism or identity. The literature is divided with respect to whether identity should be stated syntactically, i.e. whether the elided phrase should be syntactically identical to a particular antecedent phrase; whether identity should only be semantic, or whether a combination of the two is required (see discussion in Matthew Barros, 2014; Chung, 2013; Merchant, 2005; van Craenenbroeck and Merchant, 2013).

For the purposes of this thesis it does not really matter what particular theory of identity we choose. For exposition purposes I will assume that the relevant identity condition is semantic. That is, in order for ellipsis to be licensed, CP_E has to be semantically parallel to CP_A. By semantic parallelism I mean that the propositions denoted by each of the two CPs are truth conditionally equivalent and that they are thus in a relation of mutual

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[4]The term *right dislocation* is used by some of these authors as a general term which encompasses a number of structurally similar phenomena, backgrounding being among them. Some of these phenomena will be discussed in chapter 5 in this dissertation.

entailment (e.g. Merchant, 2001). To illustrate it, take (1a), reproduced in (4a):

(4)   a. Encara no hi   he   parlat, *amb la Maria*.
          still   not PREP.CL. have spoken with the Mary.
          "I still haven't talked to Mary."   (Catalan)

      b. $[_{CP_A}$Encara no hi he parlat] $[_{CP_E}$~~Encara no he parlat~~ *amb la Maria*].

The denotation of CP_A and CP_E is given in (5). (6) shows that the two CPs are mutually entailing:

(5)   a. $[[_{CP_A}]]$ = Encara no hi$_i$ he parlat.

      b. $[[_{CP_E}]]$ = Encara no he parlat amb la Maria$_i$.

(6) $[[_{CP_A}]] \longleftrightarrow [[_{CP_E}]]$

Ellipsis is standardly assumed to remove pressuposed material and to leave focal (i.e. non pressuposed) content. This means that δ must be focal. At first blush, this appears to be a strong argument against the analysis put forth in this thesis, given that right dislocated phrases are always characterized as given, and not focal in any obvious sense.

This is, however, not true. In right dislocations, CP_E expresses a semantic specification of CP_A, by providing a specific referent to δ's coindexed correlate. By virtue of this, δ in CP_E introduces new information and in this particular sense it can be regarded as focused with respect to CP_A.

What ensures that right dislocation as a whole construction is used in given contexts is the use of a weak pronominal (the clitic) in the antecedent clause. Clitics must be anaphoric: they cannot be used in the absence of a salient antecedent. This is illustrated in the following example in Catalan, where the use of a plural accusative clitic to refer to, say, *les figues* ("the figues"), is not felicitous if *les figues* are not in the preceding context. Crucially, the sentence is infelicitous even if a right dislocated phrase is not present:

(7)   A.   What did you do to the fruit?

      B.   # Les he posades a la nevera, (*les figues*).
            them have put in the fridge the figues
            "I've put them in the fridge."

Further, examples can be constructed where the right dislocated constituent is a wh-remnant of sluicing. Such examples inequivocally show that ellipsis remnants can be right dislocated. To construct one such example, observe first the following sentence:

(8)   No t'   ho sabria dir,   *amb quines alumnes ha parlat   en Joan.*
      not you it   know to say with which students has spoken the Joan
      "I can't really tell you which students John spoke to."

In this example, the right dislocated phrase is a clausal object, and its coreferent clitic is accordingly *ho*. Now observe this example:

(9)   En Joan ja   ha parlat amb algunes alumnes, però la veritat
      the Joan already has spoken with some   students but the truth
      és que no t'   ho sabria   dir,   *amb quines.*
      is that not you it   would know to say with which
      "Joan has already talked to some students, but the truth is I can't say it, with who."

The right dislocated phrase in (9) is a wh-word headed by a preposition. Note, however, that the corresponding clitic in CP$_A$ is *ho*, and not *hi*, which would be the suitable prepositional clitic. Given that *ho* is a clitic used for dislocation of clauses, one must assume that *amb quines* is underlyingly a clause. Effectively, this example illustrates that the remnant of a sluicing construction can be right dislocated. The grammaticality of these examples clearly show that it is possible for *locally focused* constituents to be backgrounded in discourse.

Ott and De Vries, (2016, their (21)) provide an analogous case in German, which I report below. In this case, B's response contains a clausal pro-form (*das*), which correlates with a sluiced (i.e. clausal ellipsis remnant) PP. (10) shows that δ can independently be the remnant of a clausal ellisis operation.

(10)   A. Peter hat mit   vielen Mädels getanzt, aber ich weiß nicht mit
            Peter has with many girls   danced but I   know not   with
            welchen.
            which.DAT
            "Peter has danced with many girls but I don't know with which."

B. Das weiß ich auch nicht, *mit   welchen.*
    that know I   also not   with which.DAT
    "With which I don't know, either."

Another issue that deserves some clarification concerns the general assumption that, leaving redundancy aside, ellipsis is generally an optional phenomena The following example illustrates this point with sluicing:

(11) a. John bought something but I can't remember what.

      b. John bought something but I can't remember what John bought.

Non-elided versions are always somewhat marginal, because a lot of redundant material is present. However, at first blush it appears that ellipsis in right dislocation should be obligatory, as evidenced by the fact that the non-elided version of, for example, (12a) is certainly ungrammatical (12b):

(12) a. Encara no l' hem vista, *aquesta pel·li.*
          still   not it have seen this   film
          "We still haven't seen this film."

      b. * Encara no l'hem vista, *encara no hem vist aquesta pel·li.*

There are two possible ways to address this criticism. One way is to reject that *all* ellipses are optional. Here the question would be to determine what is the factor that forces ellipsis in some cases but not in others. Leaving aside this rather crucial question, obligatory ellipsis has been argued to exist in comparative deletion (CD) data, illustrated below:

(13) a. Mary knows younger authors than Peter knows.

      b. * Mary knows younger authors than Peter knows younger authors.

There are many reasons to believe CD should be analyzed in terms of ellipsis (Lechner, 2004), but yet this ellipsis must be obligatory. The analysis of extraposition put forth by Koster, (2000) and De Vries, (2009) also makes use of obligatory ellipsis to derive the data.

But independently of whether some ellipses are actually obligatory or not, I submit that (12b) is not syntactically wrong at all. Then why is (12b) odd, if not impossible? The reason has to do with prosody. If ellipsis does

not take place, the sentence containing the dislocate must be read with its full intonational contour, albeit with a lower pitch (here represented with a smaller font size) typically associated with backgrounded elements. A pause must be placed between the two elements:

(14) Encara no l'hem vista, encara no hem vist AQUESTA PEL·LI.

The question that arises now is why there should be any difference in grammaticality between (14) and (12a). As Dennis Ott suggests (p.c.), there are two main reasons for this. First, in (12b) requires us to maintain a low-flat intonation for a very long period of time, which is certainly odd. Second, and more important, (12b) violates simple constraints having to do with how syntax interacts with prosody. Because we are now pronouncing an independent clause (and thus an intonation domain of its own), we need to assign it sentence stress, as we see in (14). Failing to do so eradicates the distinction between δ and the redundant remaining of the sentence.

3.2.2 Specifying coordination

The analysis proposed in this thesis treats right dislocation as a complex phenomenon involving two clauses. One question that needs to be addressed is whether or not these two clauses are structurally connected. The relation between CP_A and CP_E is paratactic: δ is a parenthetical to CP_A (the host structure) which is contained in an elided clause[5].

The most debated aspect about parentheticals concerns their external syntax: that is, how parenthetical material is integrated in the structures that host them. Broadly speaking, there are two main views: some authors have argued that parentheticals are syntactically independent and not integrated in their host structures (Burton-Roberts, 1999; Espinal, 1991; Haegeman, 1991; Shaer, 2009, a.o.). Others, instead, defend that parataxis is carried out by means of syntactic mechanisms (Ackema and Neeleman, 2004; De

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[5]This goes in line with Döring, (2015)'s claim that all parentheticals are underlyingly CPs. Although her work does not deal with dislocation structures, the claims made in this thesis fit nicely with her conclusions.

Vries, 2007, 2012a,b). For a recent survey and state of the art see the introductin chapter in Kluck, Ott, and de Vries, (2015).

In this thesis I will assume that right dislocated phrases are syntactically integrated in their host structures, i.e. CP_A[6]. In particular, I would like to follow Ott and De Vries, (2016) and De Vries, (2009, 2013a)'s claim that the two clauses involved in right dislocation constructions are syntactically linked by means of a special type of coordination structure, which they refer to *specifying coordination*.

Coordination is typically related to the notions addition or disjunction. The particular semantics associated to it is determined by the particle that heads the coordination phrase:

(15)   a. John will bring drinks and snacks.   addition

        b. John will bring drinks or snacks.   disjunction

Therefore, coordination cannot be associated with a particular semantics. This is the departure point in De Vries, (2009), who defends that aside from addition and disjunction, coordination can capture relations of semantic specification via a particular type of coordination which he dubs specifying. Building on earlier work on extraposition by Koster, (2000), De Vries argues that specifying coordination is a type of asymmetric coordination structure whereby the second conjunct specifies or explicates the first conjunct. I will assume, like De Vries, that this coordination structure is the one that mediates between the two clauses in right dislocation structures[7]. I contend therefore that CP_A and CP_E are in a specifier-complement configuration mediated by an abstract coordinator (SpCoord^0). This structure is illustrated in (16)[8]:

---

[6]I should clarify that my assumption is not intended to be a general claim about the external syntax of parenthesis. One could defend an ecclectic view where the existence of various types of parentheticals correlates with different levels of syntactic integration.

[7]Other authors have proposed semantically asymmetrical coordination structures for various but related phenomena (Dikken, 2005; Griffiths, 2015; Herringa, 2012; Koster, 2000).

[8]This structure will be slightly modified in chapter 5, but (16) is enough for the present purposes.

(16)   SpCoordP

         CP$_A$

    ...correlate...   SpCoord^0 CP$_E$

                                       ...remnant...
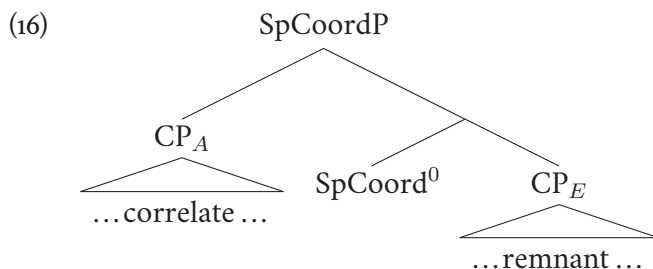
It is important to emphasize, however, that the merits of the biclausal approach should be independent of the particular link that one assumes exists between the CP$_A$ and CP$_E$. In fact, specifying coordination will not play a role in this chapter. However, I believe that positing a coordination structure allows us to capture some empirical observations and to draw interesting parallelisms with other phenomena that appear to involve ellipsis and coordination. Those will be discussed in chapters 4 and 5.

3.3   Deriving the properties

In this section I show how the core properties of right dislocation follow from the biclausal approach. As was pointed out at the earlier, δ appears to display conficting evidence: whereas δ exhibits clause-internal properties as if it was part of the host clause, it simultaneously shows typically external properties. This tension is compatible, and to a great extent predicted, under the biclausal approach: the clause external properties follow from the fact that δ is in a separate clause from the host clause that contains κ. In turn, that δ seems to be part of the host clause is illusory: δ is contained in an elided clause which is semantically identical to the clause containing κ. I address the two types of properties separately.

3.3.1   Clause internal properties

There are many reasons to believe that δ is inside its host clause. First, δ appears to be given a theta-role by that clause. In the following Catalan example, the dislocated DP *el diari* is interpreted as the theme of the predicate

llegir ("to read"), a theta-role which is shared by the accusative clitic *l'* ("it"). Under the biclausal approach, the correlate and the dislocated phrase are given a theta-role in two different clauses. The fact that the theta-role is the same one follows from the fact that the two clauses must be semantically identical, as otherwise ellipsis would not be licensed.

(17)   a. Encara no l' he   llegit, *el   diari.*
            still   not it have read   the newspaper.
            "I still haven't read it, the newspaper."   (Catalan)

        b. Encara no l'$_{\theta:theme}$ ha llegit, [*el diari*]$_{\theta:theme}$.

(18)   Encara no l'$_\theta$ he llegit   ~~Encara no he llegit~~ [*el diari*]$_\theta$

Second, δ must be cased-marked. This can be observed in languages which morphologically reflect case. Further, κ must display the same case as δ. This is shown in (19a), where the dislocated object must bear accusative case, and so must the correlate, and in (19b), where δ and its correlate must be marked with dative morphology. The logic is identical to the previous case regarding theta-roles: κ and δ are assigned case in two separate clauses. The semantic identity prerequisite for ellipsis forces the two clauses to be identical, which accounts for the case matching between the two elements. This is graphically illustrated for (19b) in (20):

(19)   a. Ég Þekki hana   ekkert, *dóttur   hans.*
            I   know her.ACC nothing daughter.ACC his
            "I don't know her at all, *his daughter*."   (Icelandic, Thráinsson, 2007, p.363)

        b. Ich habe ihm   geholfen, *dem   Peter.*
           I   have him.DAT helped   the.DAT Peter
           "I have helped him, *Peter*." (German, Ott and De Vries, 2016, their (44))

(20)   Ich habe ihm$_{dat}$ geholfen,   ~~Ich habe~~ *dem Peter*$_{dat}$ ~~geholfen~~

Third, we saw that right dislocation is subject to island constraints. In each of the three examples below δ is separated from the clause that contains the correlate by an island node. The existence of locality effects is therefore

another clause-internal property of right dislocation: only by virtue of being part of the host clause can δ display locality constraints.

(21) a. * Che glie- la presti mi   sembra strano, *la macchina.*
          that to her it lends to me seems weird   the car
          "It seems weird to me that he lends her the car."   (Italian,
          Cecchetto, 1999, p.46)

    b. * Que Jean lui   ait parlé m'   attriste, *à Marie.*
          that Jean to him has spoken to me makes-sad to Marie
          "It saddens me that Jean has spoken to Marie." (French, Kayne,
          1994, p.81)

    c. * Abans que hi   arribéssim   la Mar ja   es queixava,
          before that there would arrive the Mar already complained
          a la platja.
          to the beach
          "Mar was complaining before we arrived at the beach." (Cata-
          lan)

Under the biclausal approach there are various ways of capturing the island sensitivity data reported above. De Vries, (2013a) defends that δ undergoes movement to the left edge of CP_E prior to ellipsis. Such a movement operation is therefore expected to account for the relevant island constraints. Under this particular view, then, island effects arise in the elided clause, because only there does δ undergo movement.

(22) Abans que hi arribéssim la Mar ja es queixava, δ.

      a la platja   la Mar ja es queixava [abans que t arribéssim]

Exploring island sensitivity in particular and locality constraints more generally to which right dislocation is subject will be the goal of the next chapter, where I will provide an alternative analysis of the data in (21) which does not hinge on movement of δ in CP_E.

Finally, recall that right dislocation exhibits reconstruction effects, i.e. δ is interpreted in its generation position. Under the biclausal approach the reconstruction effects arise in the elided clause, the one which contains δ,

and which is identical to the clause containing the clitic, as required by the parallellism demands of ellipsis. Connectivity in this sense is therefore illusory, in that no real c-command relations are established between the clause that we see, i.e. the one containing the clitic, and δ. For example, the reading in (23a) in which *pro* corefers with *Ana* is impossible, which can be regarded as a standard case of Principle C violation under the assumption that *pro* c-commands δ (and the R-expression contained therein). Under the biclausal approach the relevant Principle C violation (represented by a dotted arrow) obtains in the elided clause, giving the impression that δ is inside the clause that we see.

(23) a.   * *pro$_i$ lo* metió en la   secadora, *el   suéter   de Ana$_i$.*
                 it put   in the dryer   the sweater of Ana
             "He/She put it in the dryer, *Ana's sweater*."   (Spanish)

      b.   *pro* lo metió en la lavadora, δ.

           ~~[*pro*] metió en la secadora~~ t$_1$ *el suéter de Ana*

The same argument extends for variable binding (24) and for principle A effects (25): in the former case, it is the quantifier in the elided clause that c-commands into the variable in δ; in the latter, the anaphor contained in δ is c-commanded and therefore licensed in the elided clause:

(24) a.   Ningún$_i$ trabajador *la* ha   recibido aún, *su$_i$ paga.*
           no   worker   it has received yet   his salary
           "No worker has received his salary yet."   (Spanish)

      b.   Ningún trabajador la ha cobrado aún, δ.

           ~~[Ningún trabajador] ha cobrado aún~~ t$_1$ *su paga*

(25) a.   La Maria$_i$ encara no les   ha vist, *aquestes fotos   de*
           the Maria   still   not them has seen these   pictures of
           sí mateixa$_i$.
           herself
           "Mary hasn't seen them, these pictures of herself."   (Catalan)

    b. María aún no las ha visto, δ.

    ~~[La María]~~ ~~encara no ha vist~~ t_1 *aquestes fotos de sí mateixa*

3.3.2   Clause external properties

In order to capture the clause internal properties that I just reviewed, monoclausal approaches typically argue that δ is generated in a clause internal position (its thematic position, for example) from where it undergoes movement somewhere else. Movement is needed because there exists evidence that δ is in a derived position, as we saw in §2.2. The problem is that assuming that δ was inside CP_A at some point in the derivation leads to unexpected situations.

    The first one has to do with the fact that it leads us to a structural paradox. This was already shown in the previous chapter. To illustrate why, take the example in (26). The principle C violation in this particular example is accounted for under the assumption that δ is within the c-command domain of *pro*. However, note that if δ is in the c-command domain of *pro*, it means that it is also in the c-command domain of its correlate and, as such, a principle C violation should be attested, contrary to fact.

(26)   * *pro$_i$ lo* metió en la secadora, *el suéter de Ana$_i$*.
               it put   in the dryer   the sweater of Ana
        "(*)She$_i$ put it in the dryer, A*na$_i$'s sweater*."

(27)   *pro$_{\{*i/k\}}$* lo metió en la secadora, *el suéter de Ana$_i$*

    All in all, we are faced with the following scenario: δ exhibits a paradoxical behaviour: on the one hand, there exists some evidence that it belongs in a clause-internal position in the host clause, which would be incompatible with base-generation approaches (De Cat, 2007; Frascarelli, 2000). Simultaneously, δ behaves as if it was completely external and unconnected to its host clause, which poses a problem for movement analyses. Crucially, the biclausal approach to right dislocation can account for this paradoxical behaviour in an elegant manner.

Under the biclausal approach this structural paradox is easily solved. κ does not c-command δ for the obvious reason that they belong in two different clauses. In turn, the reconstruction effects arise, as we have seen, in the (semantically identical) elided clause, which contains δ, as I showed in the previous section.

The second unexpected situation comes from the simple observation that if no real gap can be found in the clause that hosts δ in monoclausal approaches. Instead of a trace (or an unpronounced lower copy of the moved element under the copy theory of movement, Chomsky, 1993) we find a weak pronoun or clitic (κ)[9]. This problem has been solved by proposing that δ and κ are derivationally related. Although there are technically various ways in which this idea can be implemented, they all fail to provide an accurate explanation of the data. Developing this idea is the purpose of the following section. Instead, I will show that the only connection beween δ and κ is cataphoric.

3.4   Against derivational theories to the κ-δ link

As stated before, all monoclausal aproaches to right dislocation that assume movement of δ have to posit some sort of doubling structure between κ and δ. I address this issue in this section, where I claim that this view is incorrect.

Under the biclausal approach, no derivational link is therefore posited between κ and δ. Instead, κ is regarded as a free (weak) pronoun, which establishes an endophoric relation with δ. In particular, their relation is one of cross-sentential cataphora. The following example illustrates a cataphoric relation between a weak clitic *hi* and another lexical phrase in Catalan:

---

[9]There is yet another problem regarding movement that the biclausal approach can nicely deal with: if δ indeed undergoes movement in a monoclausal configuration, one has to account for why the moved constituent appears to the right of where it is generated. This is particularly problematic especially after Kayne, (1994). As we saw in the previous chapter many authors make use of remnant movement to simulate rightward movement, although as I pointed out, this remnant movement operation is highly problematic. Under the present approach, that δ appears to the right is trivially accounted for.

(28) Encara no hi$_i$ hem anat, però diuen que [el nou museu   de
     still   not there have gone but   say   that the new museum of
     disseny]$_i$ de Barcelona és molt maco.
     design   of Barcelona is very beautiful
     "We still haven't visited it, but they say the new museum of Design in
     Barcelona is beautiful."

As will be demonstrated throughout this section, this has a great number
of advantages. Importantly, the availability of these is perfectly expected
under the biclausal analysis pursued here.

The discussion is organized as follows: first I discuss doubling struc-
tures in general and how they (may) relate to right dislocation in §3.4.1. It is
generally assumed in the literature that there are two types of doubling phe-
nomena: agreement and clitic doubling (Preminger, 2009). In §3.4.2 I argue
against treating right dislocation in terms of agreement, and in §3.4.3 I re-
ject treating right dislocation as a subcase of clitic doubling. Finally, I argue
against claiming that κ is a resumpting pronoun in §3.4.4.

3.4.1   RD as a doubling phenomenon

An underlying assumption in most monoclausal analyses of right disloca-
tion is a kind of doubling structure. As stated in Preminger, (ibid., p.619),
across many languages and constructions, it is common to find sentences in
which a verbal argument is represented twice: once by a full noun phrase,
and once by a phonologically small morpheme". As discussed in a number
of recent studies (Harizanov, 2014; Kramer, 2014; Preminger, 2009, and ref-
erences therein), such *doubling* configurations may come in two flavours:
agreement and clitic doubling. Although the two phenomena are generally
equated in typological studies, as noted in Kramer, (2014), there are reasons
to tease apart the two, a conclusion that I assume here[10].

One of the differences concerns the distribution of the two phenomena:
whereas agreement is typically obligatory, clitic doubling is generally op-

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[10]Addressing this question in any detail is not the purpose of this thesis. Some authors
have instead defended that clitic climbing is the result of (an unusual form of) agreement
(Borer, 1984; M. Suñer, 1988, a.o.).

tional. Object agreement is illustrated in (29a), from Nahuatl, as reported in Kramer, (2014, p.595), and clitic doubling is given in the Rioplatense Spanish example in (29b), also reported by Kramer, (ibid., p.595):

(29)   a. ni- *(k)- te:moa šo:čitl.
           1.SG   3.SG seek   flower
           "I seek a flower."
       b. (Lo) vimos a Guille.
            him saw   A Guille
           "We saw Guille."

Agreement is conventionally treated, after Chomsky, (2000, 2001), as the result of a probe-goal configuration triggered by the necessity of a given functional head to value its (unvalued) ϕ-features. The object agreement data in (29a) could therefore be accounted for under these lines: the verb needs to value its uϕ-features, and it probes into its c-command domain for a goal with ϕ, in this case the object. By *agree*, the ϕ-features of the object are copied to *v*:

(30)
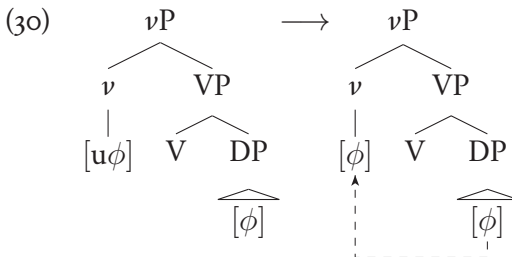
Clitic doubling has also been analysed as a case of agreement (Borer, 1984; M. Suñer, 1988), see Anagnostopoulou, (2006) for a thorough overview of clitic doubling and a review of the main proposals. However, I believe a more common strand of analyses view clitic doubling as a case of movement of the clitic (Anagnostopoulou, 2003; Harizanov, 2014; Nevins, 2011; Rezac, 2008; Torrego, 1998; Uriagereka, 1995)[11]. The main idea of these proposals is that the clitic reaches its surface position by means of syntactic movement from within the DP where its doubled nominal phrase is generated:

_____

[11]Some hybrid proposals have been also put forth, see Bleam, (1999) and Ormazábal and Romero, (2011).

(31)

```
              FP
            /    \
          F       TP
          |      /  \
          lo   pro
          ▲       T      VP
          |       |     /  \
          |     vimos  V    DP
          |              \  /\
          |_____ t a Guille
```
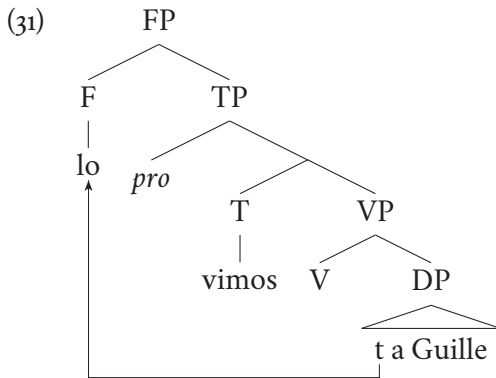
For expository reasons, I illustrate the clitic doubling example using Uriagereka, (1995)'s claim that the clitic undergoes movement to a functional projection in the left periphery of the clause which he dubs FP. A crucial question that stems from proposals of this type concerns the structure of the DP. A very popular device is the BigDP analysis (Boeckx, 2003; Cecchetto, 2000; Cecchetto and Chierchia, 1999; Grewendorf, 2002; Uriagereka, 1995), whereby the clitic and the doubled XP are generated within one larger XP which is the one receiving the theta role and assigned case. The exact internal makeup of this BigDP structure is a matter of debate within those proposals, so let me adopt a very simple version of it just for the current purposes:

(32)

```
              DP
            /    \
      dislocate   D
                  |
                clitic
```
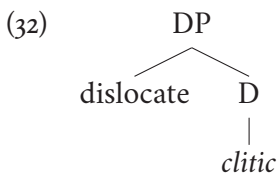
The analysis was fully developed by Uriagereka, (1995), whose concern was clitic doubling cases in Romance. The intuition behind Uriagereka's proposal is that clitics are determiners. The reason is that contemporary third person clitics and definite determiners historically come from the same set of Latin demonstratives.

Notice that under the assumption that right dislocation is some sort of doubling structure, some problematic aspects of right dislocation disappear: for example, the fact that there is no real gap in the host clause is essentially

expected under such an assumption. Further, the fact that two elements receive θ-role is not a problem for the θ-criterion: under agreement, it is only δ that gets a theta role, as κ is simply a spell-out morpheme inserted post-syntactically; under a clitic doubling scenario, it is the nominal projection that hosts both δ and κ that receives a theta role.

In what follows, I argue against these two options. The main claim I defend is that right dislocation is a fundamentally distinct phenomenon from clitic doubling or agreement of some sort. For completion, I will also reject an analysis of right dislocation in terms of resumption.

3.4.2   Right dislocation isn't agreement

Borer, (1984) proposes that clitics are a bundle of features which are spelt out as a morphological unit as a result of an agreement process. In particular, a functional head with some unvalued ϕ features, for example v, probes its c-command domain for a DP with valued features of the relevant type. v will phonologically materialise these ϕ-features[12]. If the clitic is the result of agreement in right dislocations, then there is no problem for the θ-criterion. However, there are two reasons to believe that this cannot be on the right track. The general criticism is that the empirical coverage is rather limited.

First, if κ is the result of agreement, right dislocation of adjuncts is certainly unexpected, as it would be unclear how such an agreement would work. In (33) I illustrate right dislocation of a locative adjunct in Catalan:

(33)   Vam ballar- hi   molt, *a la   festa*.
         PAST dance there a lot at the party
         "We danced a lot at the party."

Note that right dislocation of adjuncts is unproblematic for the analysis advocated in this thesis, as prepositional clitics like *hi* can easily participate in cataphoric relations. One such example was provided in (28), reproduced here for convenience:

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[12]López, (2003, 2009a) proposes instead that the clitic is the spell-out of a pragmatic feature at vP, a derivational point at which the pragmatic module can access syntax and provide it with features.

(34) Encara no hi$_i$ hem anat, però diuen que [el nou museu   de
      still   not there have gone but say   that the new museum of
      disseny]$_i$ de Barcelona és molt maco.
      design   of Barcelona is very beautiful
      "We still haven't visited it, but they say the new museum of Design in
      Barcelona is beautiful."

Second, this analysis cannot account for cases in which the correlate is
clearly not the result of agreement. One such case concerns right dislocation
of subjects in non pro-drop languages like English or French:

(35)   a. He's very nice, *John*.

        b. Il est gentil, *Jean*.

Under an agreement view, one would have to assume that *he* in (35a) re-
sults from an agreement configuration between *John* and a functional head.
Examples like (35a) are, however, completely expected under the biclausal
approach, as pronouns can cataphorically relate to an R-expression:

(36) When he$_i$ got home, John$_i$ found out that Max was missing.

Note that in pro-drop languages, contrary to what happens in English
or French, right dislocation of subjects force a null subject in the host clause:

(37) { *pro*/ *ell} és molt maco, *en   Joan*.
            he   is very nice   the Joan

This minimal pair immediately follows from the cataphoric link between
δ and κ: the equivalent to (36) in Catalan requires the pronoun to be null. In-
stead, a strong pronoun in that position cannot corefer with the R-expression:

(38)   a. Quan *pro*$_i$ va   arribar, en Joan$_i$ va   adonar-se que en Max
            when   PAST arrive   the Joan PAST realize   that the Max
            no era a casa.
            not was in house
            "When he arrived home, Joan found out that Max wasn't at
            home."

        b. * Quan ell$_i$ va arribar, en Joan$_i$ va adonar-se que en Max no era
            a casa.

Another case of right dislocation which is incompatible with an agreement approach to the phenomenon involves dislocation of epithets. Benincà, (2001) and Samek-Lodovici, (2009) show that epithets cannot replace the clitic in RD constructions in Romance. The following example in Italian by Samek-Lodovici, (2009, p.344 his (21)) shows this is indeed the case:

(39)   * Mi   tocca   presentare   [quel criminale]$_i$ a mia moglie,
           to me is necessary to introduce   that criminal   to my wife
           Gianni$_i$.
           Gianni
           "Unfortunately I have to introduce that rascal to my wife, *John*."

Note, however, that the reverse is indeed possible: that is, it is possible for an epithet to be right dislocated, and for this epithet to have a full DP as a correlate (instead of a clitic), as illustrated in the following example:

(40)   Juan ha llegado tarde otra   vez, *el   cabrón*.
          Juan has arrived late   other time the dumbass
          "John was late yet again, *the dumbass*."   (Spanish)

To the best of my knowledge, the difference between (40) and (39) has gone unnoticed in the literature. (40) is challenging for any monoclausal approach to right dislocation. The problem actually stems from the relation between κ and δ, which cannot be derivational in any obvious sense. However, this minimal pair follows if κ and δ stand in a cross-clausal cataphoric relation. As the following minimal pair shows, epithets can cataphorically relate to full DPs, but not the other way around:

(41)   a.   Juan$_i$ ha llegado tarde otra   vez. ¡El cabrón$_i$ siempre
                  Juan has arrived late   other time the dumbass always
                  dando la   nota!
                  giving the note

          b.   * El   cabrón$_i$ ha llegado tarde otra   vez. ¡Juan$_i$ siempre
                  the dumbass has arrived late   other time Juan   always
                  dando la   nota!
                  giving the note
                  "He's late yet again. Juan's such an attention hogger!"

3.4.3   Right dislocation isn't clitic doubling

If clitic doubling structures are attested in some languages and they do not yield θ violations, right dislocations could therefore be regarded as instances of clitic doubling. A very standard approach to clitic doubling in general involves the double XP and its clitic being generated in the same DP (as in the BigDP analysis). During the derivation, the clitic moves somewhere in the clause thereby stranding the doubled phrase. However, there are many reasons to reject such a proposal.

First, in clitic doubling the doubled XP must be parsed in the same intonational phrase as the clitic, but in right dislocation δ must be parsed independently. Under standard assumptions about the syntax-prosody interface, this is taken as an indication that the doubled XP in clitic doubling is really inside the IP that contains the clitic. The independent prosodic parsing of δ strongly suggests that δ is external to the clause it attaches, a fact which is perfectly captured by the analysis defended in this thesis (I will deal with prosody more explicitly in §3.6):

(42)   a.   (Lo   hemos visto a   Guille)$_\iota$
             him have   seen to Guille
         "We've seen Guille."

       b.   (Lo hemos visto)$_\iota$ (*a Guille*)

Second, there are languages which disallow clitic doubling and yet display fully productive right dislocation, like Italian or French[13]. One could argue, instead, that this can be indicative of a parameter which sets languages aside: on the one hand, in Italian the doubled XP must be dislocated, whereas in languages like Rioplatense Spanish it can stay *in situ* or undergo dislocation. However, the same logic should take us to predict the existence of languages with clitic doubling but without right dislocation. To my knowledge, no such language exists. Under the biclausal approach this is expected, as right dislocation is radically distinct from cases of clitic doubling, despite the apparent superficial similarities.

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[13]To be accurate, French and Italian allow some cases of clitic doubling, see Kayne, (1994, p.80) and Cinque, (1990, p.178), but at least for Italian, these are very marginal cases.

Third, and related to the previous point, clitic doubling, in the languages that allow it, displays a different distribution from right dislocation. For example, in Catalan or European Spanish CD is only allowed with dative clitics (43), acusative clitics disallow CD (44). However, such restriction does not apply to RD, which can freely apply to dative (45) and, crucially, to accusative clitics (46):

(43)   a.   Le di   el libro a María.
              her gave the book to María

       b.   Li vaig donar el llibre a la Maria
              her PAST give   the book to the Maria
              "I gave the book to Maria."

(44)   a.   * La vi   a María
              her saw to María

       b.   * La vaig veure la Maria
              her PAST see   the Maria
              "I saw Maria."

(45)   a.   Le di el libro, *a María*.

       b.   Li vaig donar el llibre, *a la Maria*

(46)   a.   La vi, *a María*.

       b.   La vaig veure, *la Maria*.

Further, clitic doubling is restricted to certain semantic classes which right dislocation, crucially, is not. The doubled object must be [+animate] and [+specific] in Rioplatense Spanish, and [+specific] and [+human] in Romanian. For extensive discussion see Anagnostopoulou, (2006) and M. Suñer, (1988). Right dislocation, on the contrary, is not subject to such constraints. As an illustration, observe the minimal pair in Romanian in (47): (47a) is an ungrammatical case of clitic doubling because the doubled XP is inanimate. The same inanimate object can nonetheless be easily dislocated (47b). This asymmetry is unexpected under the assumption that right dislocation derives from clitic doubling, but follows if the relation between the clitic and the dislocate in right dislocation is one of cross-sentential cataphora:

(47) a. * L- am   văzut cînele   lui Popescu
              him I have seen   the dog of Popescu
              "I have seen Popescu's dog."

      b.   L-am văzut, *cînele lui Popescu*.

Fourth, typical clitic doubling is optional[14] (Kramer, 2014; Preminger, 2009), see (29b) above. However, the clitic in right dislocation structures is mandatory (Cardinaletti, 2002; Cecchetto, 1999; Cruschina, 2010, a.o.) (but see Samek-Lodovici, 2015).The obligatory presence of the clitic in right dislocation follows from the biclausal approach too: if no κ is present in the structure, CP_A would be syntactically and semantically incomplete. δ cannot saturate CP_A because it belongs in another separate clause.

The asymmetry between clitic doubling and right dislocation with respect to the obligatory presence of the clitic can be illustrated within one same language. This is the case of Yaqui, another Uto-Aztecan language like Nahuatl, as evidenced by the following minimal pair (from Haugen, 2008, p.222-223). (48a) shows that the accusative marker is optional in doubling contexts, but it becomes compulsory in right dislocation contexts (48b):

(48) a. Inepo Hose- ta (aa)-   vicha- k.
              1.SG   Hose ACC 3.SG.ACC see   PERF
              "I saw Hose."

      b. Aurelia *(a)-   jikka- k,   *enchi   laaben- ta   para- ka-*
          Aurelia   3.SG.ACC hear   PERF 2.SG.ACC violin ACC play PERF
          u
          CLM
          "Aurelia heard it, that you played the violin."

---

[14]Although this is a crosslinguistic empirical observation, I am aware that there are cases of obligatory clitic doubling. In all the varieties of Spanish, even in non-doubling varieties like European Spanish, accusative objects must be doubled by an accusative clitic:

i. *(Le) vi   a él.
       him saw to he
     "I saw him."

Fifth, clitic doubling typically involves DPs, whereas virtually any category, albeit typically PPs and CPs, can be right dislocated (Samek-Lodovici, 2006). Note that, under the BigDP analysis, such data are not accounted for, unless we stipulate the existence of BigPPs, BigCPs, BigAPs…and treat the corresponding clitics as special sort of determiners, as in fact pointed out by López, (2009a, p.272). The following data illustrate this point: in (49a) δ is a PP, in (49b) an AP and in (49c) a CP:

(49)   Data from Samek-Lodovici, (2006, p.688):

   a. Ne   ho   parlato a Luisa, *di quella faccenda*.
     of it have spoken to Luisa of that   matter
     "(Int.) I have spoken to Luisa about that matter."

   b. Gianni decisamente non lo è, *molto intelligente*.
     Gianni definitely   not it is very intelligent
     "(Int.) Gianni definitely isn't very intelligent."

   c. Lo abbiamo già   detto diverse volte, *che Gianni è bravo*.
     it had   already said some   times that Gianni is good
     "We had already said it many times, that Gianni's a good man."

As we saw in (28), this follows from the biclausal approach naturally. The link between the correlate and the dislocate is not derivational, and hence we do not expect any sort of lexical restriction as we do in phenomena like agreement or clitic climbing. Given that correlates cataphorically relate to their dislocates, we expect any category which can be anaphorically related to partake in right dislocations. Note, for example, that CPs can anaphorically relate to a neuter clitic, as shown by the following example in Spanish:

(50)   Me   dijo [que esta vez llegaría   puntual]$_i$ pero sinceramente
    to me said that this time would arrive on time   but   honestly
    no me   lo$_i$ creo.
    not to me it   believe
    "He told me he'd be on time this time but I don't believe it."

Similarly, we expect elements that cannot be referred to anaphorically not to be able to participate in right dislocation structures. It has long been noted that certain QPs, namely those with a nonspecific reading, do not

qualify as good topics (Arregi, 2003; Cinque, 1990; Rizzi, 1986, 1997). This is illustrated in the following examples:

(51)   a.   * … dat ik ze   begroette, *iedereen*.
                   that I them greeted   everyone
               "…(*) that I greeted them, everyone."   (Dutch, Ott and
               De Vries, 2016, p.28)

       b.   * Peter liebt sie, *drei   blonden Frauen*.
               Peter loved her three blonde women
               "(*)Peter loves them, three blonde women."   (German, ibid.,
               p.28)

       c.   * Els   he   vist entrar a la   botiga, *dos homes*
               them have seen enter to the shop   two men
               "(*)I've seen them enter the shop, two men."   (Catalan)

       d.   * Las   he   comprado en las rebajas, *mantas*.
               them have bought   in the sales   blankets
               "(*) I bought them in the sales, blankets."   (Spanish)

       e.   * Non l' a   mangiato, *niente*.
               not it has eaten   nothing
               "(*)He hasn't eaten it, nothing."   (Italian)

The ban on non-specific QPs in RD contexts is a natural consequence of the biclausal approach because these elements cannot cataphorically relate to a free pronoun independently, as observed by the following example:

(52)   * Sie$_i$ kamen herein. Dann gingen [zwei Männer]$_i$ zur   Theke.
          they came in   then went   two   men   to the bar
          They$_i$ came in. Then two men$_i$ went to the bar.   (German)

The same holds for the examples in Romance. Take (51c): *dos homes* cannot refer cataphorically to *els* across sentences:

(53)   * Els$_i$ he   vist entrar a la   botiga. [Dos homes]$_i$ anaven ben
          them have seen to enter to the shop   two men   went   well
          mudats.
          dressed
          "(*)I saw them$_i$ enter the shop. [Two men]$_i$ were well dressed."

Note that if the dislocated constituent in an example like (51c) is definite, the example is grammatical (54a). Cataphora is independently available in these contexts, too (54b):

(54)   a. Els he vist entrar a la botiga, *els dos homes*.

        b. Els$_i$ he vist entrar a la botiga. [Els dos homes]$_i$ anaven ben mu-
            dats.

Sixth, as argued for by Ott and De Vries, (2016) some dislocated temporal adjuncts in German can have a weak pronominal correlate (*da*, "then"), an example which is analogous to the example in (33):

(55)   Da   habe ich Maria geküsst, am Dienstag.
        then have I   Maria kissed   on Tuesday
        "I kissed Mary on Tuesday."

Under a monoclausal approach that takes the correlate and the dislo-cate to be generated within the same complex structure, one would have to assume extraction from adjuncts in cases of adjunct dislocation:

(56)   Ich habe [$_{Adjunct}$ da t$_i$] Maria geküsst, [am Dienstag]$_i$.

Given that adjuncts are typically opaque domains for extraction the gram-maticality of (55) is completely unexpected. If no derivational link is posited between the correlate and the dislocate, as the biclausal approach claims, there is no reason to question the grammaticality of (55).

3.4.4   Right dislocation isn't resumption

For completion I would like to argue to yet another possible derivational account of the relation between κ and δ: resumption. Resumptive pronouns are pronouns that "appear in positions where one would have expected to find a gap." (McCloskey, 2006, p.95). *Prima facie* one could try to elaborate an account of right dislocation in these terms. Again, however, such an account will fail to capture many of the properties of right dislocation.

First, Merchant, (2004b) shows, on the basis of a great variety of lan-guages, that the binder of the resumptive pronoun, which would be the

dislocated constituent in our case, is never case-marked[15]. This is already an important difference with respect to right dislocation: δ must always be case-marked and match the case marking of κ (see §3.3).

Second, resumption is well-known to be immune to islands (Boeckx, 2003; McCloskey, 1990, 2006), a fact which follows from Merchant, (2004b)'s approach (fn.15). However, as we saw in chapter 2, right dislocation displays island effects.

Finally, resumption crosslinguistically is subject to an anti-locality requirement which bans strings in which the resumptive pronoun coappears with its coreferent lexical phrase in the same CP (McCloskey, 1990's *Highest Subject Restriction*). Right dislocation is in effect sensitive to islands and the presence of κ does not hinge on there being a minimal distance between it and δ, as we have seen so far.

3.4.5 Summary

To sum up, the biclausal approach to right dislocation rejects any kind of derivational link between κ and δ. Such a link underlies most monoclausal approaches to the phenomenon. In the lines above I have argued against establishing any sort of derivational link between δ and κ. I have claimed that such a move is empirically misguided. Instead, I have shown that all the problematic data can be accommodated under the view that δ and κ are syntactically independent elements, which stand in a relation of cross-sentential cataphora.

3.5 Extraction data

The biclausal approach strongly predicts that dislocated constituents should be opaque domains for extraction. This is so independently of the particu-

---

[15] Merchant takes this fact to indicate that the resumptive pronoun and its binder are not related by movement. Instead, he argues that the binder is externally merged in the left periphery of the clause. These facts are incompatible with the present approach, given the existing evidence that δ must be internal to the clause where it right attaches, see §3.3.

lar link one establishes between the two clauses: if no syntax mediates be-
tween the two clauses, movement will be banned as a natural restriction on
movement across independent root clauses. If, as I claimed in the previous
section, the two clauses are in a coordination structure, movement out of a
dislocated phrase will be prohibited as a regular violation of the Coordinate
Structure Constraint (Ross, 1967).

The prediction turns out to be true. In (57), the test is applied to CPs
in Catalan: in (57a) the verb *comentar* "say" selects for an object clause. Ex-
traction out of a selected object clause is possible via successive cyclic A-bar
movement as observed in (57b). (57c) shows that the object clause in (57a) can
undergo RD. According to Kayne, the selected CP stays in the same position
(complement of V) in the two sentences. However, as indicated in (57d), ex-
traction is not possible here. This is very strong evidence against Kayne's
proposal (see Cardinaletti 2002, p.38 for a similar point in Italian):

(57)   a.   Em   vas   comentar que acabaries   l'   article el
            to me PAST say   that would finish the paper the
            diumenge.
            Sunday
            "You told me you'd finish the paper on Sunday."

       b.   Què$_i$ em   vas   comentar que acabaries   t$_i$ el   diumenge?
            what to me PAST say   that would finish   the Sunday
            "What did you tell me you'd finish on Sunday?"

       c.   M'   ho vas   comentar, *que acabaries   l'   article el*
            to me it PAST say   that would finish the paper the
            diumenge.
            Sunday
            "You said it to me, that you'd finish the paper on Sunday."

       d. * Què$_i$ m'   ho vas   comentar, *que   acabaries   t$_i$ el*
            what to me it PAST say   that would finish   the
            diumenge?
            Sunday
            "*What did you say it to me, that you'd finish on Sunday."

(57) to be a natural corollary of the bisentential structure defended in this thesis. Nonetheless, the extraction data have been disputed in the literature. I address apparent counterevidence in the remaining of this section.

3.5.1   López, (2009a) and Villalba, (2000)

Villalba, (2000) provides a datum in Catalan that could pose a challenge to the idea that right dislocated phrases are opaque domains for extraction.

(58) [Del meu avi]$_1$,   me les   van explicar totes, [$_{DP}$ *les històries* t].
      of the my   grandad me them PAST tell   all   the stories
      "About my grandad, they had explained them all to me, *the stories*."

As the example shows, the PP contained within the right-dislocated DP is fronted to the left periphery of the clause (via left dislocation). Initially, this datum is used by Villalba, (ibid.) and López, (2009a, p.91) to argue for the claim that the position for left-dislocated constituents is structurally higher than the position for right-dislocated ones. In fact, they show that it is impossible to right-dislocate from within a left-dislocated phrase, as that movement operation would involve syntactic lowering:

(59) $_{DP}$ Les històries t , me les han explicat totes, [*del meu avi].

I submit that (58) is not a counterexample to the claim that right-dislocated phrases are islands, as shown in (57d). I claim that (58) does not involve subextraction. To start our discussion, observe the following sentence:

(60)   He   cogido el   libro de la   estantería.
       Have taken   the book of the shelf
       "I have taken the book on the shelf."   (Spanish)

This sentence exhibits a two-way ambiguity that is syntactically related to two possible attachment places for the PP *de la estantería*. One possible reading is that it is the book which was on the shelf the one I have taken (and not the one on the table), a reading I dub *noun-modifier reading* and which is

shown in (61a). Another reading (61b) implies that it is from the shelf (and not from the table) that I haven't taken the book[16].

(61) a.

```
            IP
         /     \
      pro        \
       he        AspP
              /      \
          cogido      VP
                   /     \
                  V       DP
                      /       \
                     D         NP
                     |       /    \
                     el     N      PP
                            |     /  \
                         libro  de la biblioteca
```

b.

```
            IP
         /     \
      pro        \
       he        AspP
              /       \
          cogido       VP
                    /      \
                  VP        PP
                 /  \      /  \
                V    DP   de la biblioteca
                    /  \
                  el libro
```

---
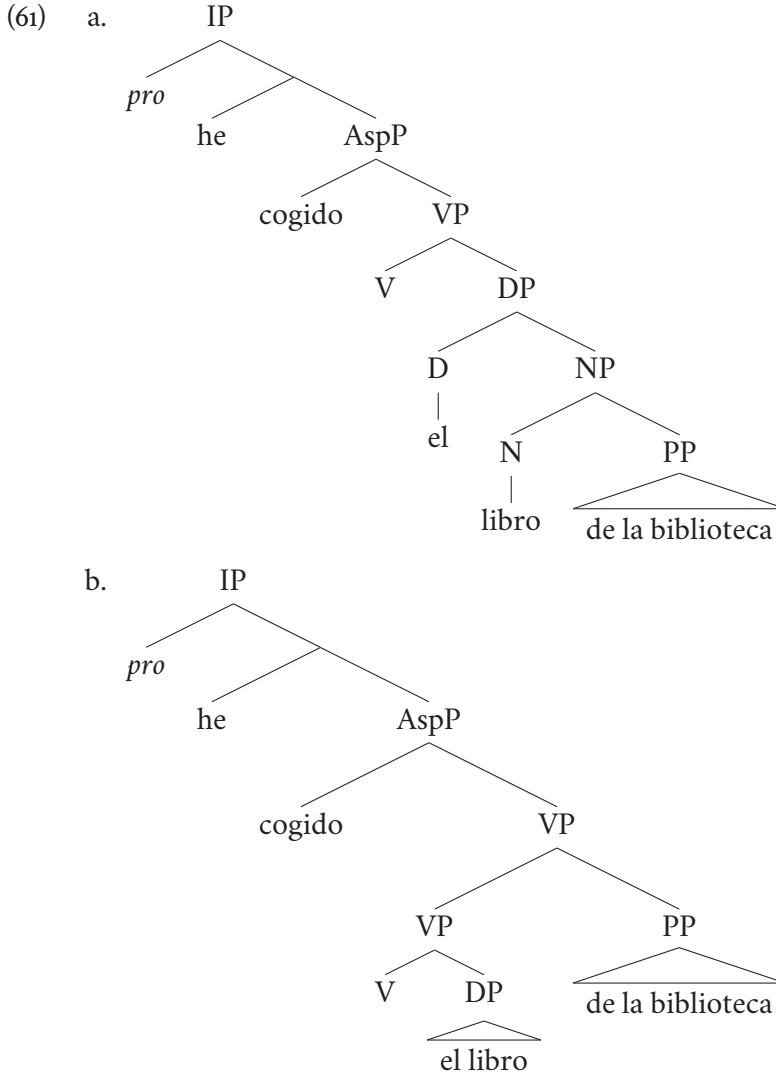
[16]The ambiguity does not obtain in English due to the choice of preposition, which triggers a N-modifier reading (i.e. the book is on the shelf). In order to get the V-modifier reading, English resorts to preposition *from* (as in *I haven't taken the book from the shelf*).

If we right-dislocate the DP along with the PP, the sentence is unambiguously interpreted with the noun-modifier reading. This makes sense because right dislocation targets one constituent, and for the verb-modifier reading to arise we should have two different processes of right dislocation (one moving *el libro* and an independent one moving *de la estantería*).

(62)   Lo he cogido, *el libro de la estantería.*

Now suppose we that we could actually subextract the PP from within the right dislocated DP as proposed by Villalba and López. In effect, the resulting string is grammatical, as illustrated in (63). However, albeit grammatical, the only possible interpretation in the resulting string is the one obtained if the PP is a verb modifier. This is obviously explained if the PP is not extracted from within the dislocated phrase but rather it moves from the its verb-modifier position:

(63)   De la estantería no lo he cogido, *el libro.*

    a.   * [$_{PP}$ De la estantería]$_1$ no lo he cogido, [$_{DP}$ *el libro* t$_1$].

    b.   [$_{PP}$ De la estantería]$_1$ no lo he cogido t$_1$, [$_{DP}$ *el libro*].

This contrast clearly militates against the subextraction facts. If the PP could have been extracted from within the dislocated DP we would have expected the noun-modifier reading to be available, contrary to fact. The data receive a very straightforward account under the biclausal approach: the PP cannot have been subextracted from the dislocated DP because such DP is not present in the clause where the movement chain is established.

The facts can be strengthened by looking at cases in which the PP must unambiguously modify the noun, as the cases in (64), with the respective dislocation cases in (65):

(64)   a. Aún no he   leído el libro de sintaxis.
            yet   not have read the book of syntax
            "I still haven't read the syntax book."

      b. Aún no he   probado la tarta de manzana.
            yet   not have tried   the pie   of apple
            "I still haven't tried the apple pie."

(65)   a. Aún no lo he leído, *el libro de sintaxis*.

     b. Aún no la he probado, *la tarta de manzana*.

If it was really possible to subextract from within the dislocated DP, we would expect the string to be grammatical in the noun-modifier reading. However, the prediction is not borne out. For such cases, subextraction is ungrammatical, as observed in (66). This is because in my analysis, extraction from the dislocated phrase is simply impossible. Further, given that a verb-modifier reading of the PP is not available independently, the sentence is correctly expected to be ill-formed:

(66)   a. * De sintaxis aún no lo he leído, *el libro*.

     b. * De manzana aún no la he probado, *la tarta*.

So what is going on with the datum that with which we opened the section (58), repeated here for convenience?

(67)   [Del   meu avi]$_1$,   me les   van explicar totes, [$_{DP}$ *les històries* t].
     of the my   grandad me them PAST tell   all   the stories
     "About my grandad, they had explained them all to me, *the stories*."

Essentially, I propose to extend the analysis put forth by Bosque and Gallego, (2014), who argue against a movement-based account of subextraction phenomena and propose, alternatively, a reanalysis approach that they adapt from Bach and Horn, (1976) and Chomsky, (1977). The gist of the proposal is that DPs are not cyclic domains out of which elements can be extracted, like *v*Ps or CPs (as also argued for by Bruening, 2009; Ott, 2008). Bosque and Gallego defend that apparent cases of subextraction result from a syntactic process of reanalysis, whereby the complement of a NP becomes a verbal dependent. Extraction in this cases therefore are no longer out of nominal complements. As an illustration, take the following sentence, which appears to involve movement from inside a DP (via the specifier of this DP, which would have to function as an escape hatch so as to comply with cyclicity):

(68)   What did Mary read [$_{DP}$ books about t]?

Bach and Horn, (1976) argue that the PP is reanalyzed as a verbal dependent:

(69)

```
        VP                    ⟶              VP
      /    \                               /    \
    V       NP                           V       PP
    |      /   \                        /  \      /\
   read   N     PP                     V    NP   about what
          |     /\                     |     |
        books  about what            read  books
```
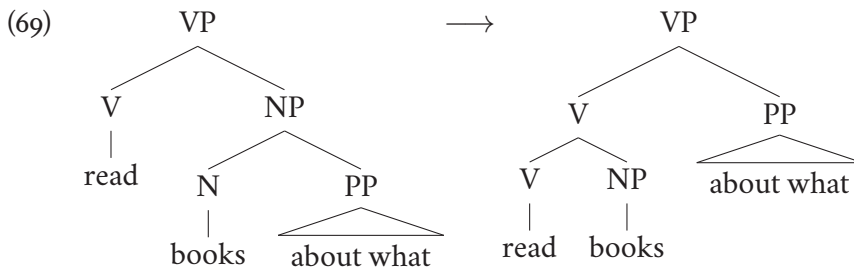
I submit that Villalba's sentence is amenable to a reanalysis process: the fronted PP is actually not a complement of the (dislocated) NP, but rather a verbal dependent. The reader is referred to the cited works for a detailed account of the reanalysis proposal. What is important is that the data reported in this section show that extraction out of dislocated DPs is impossible.

3.5.2 Samek-Lodovici, (2015)

Samek-Lodovici, (ibid.) also provides some data which appear to illustrate that it is possible to extract from a right dislocated phrase. Building on previous work (Samek-Lodovici, 2006, 2009), he proposes a movement based, peripheral approach to right dislocation in which δ moves to the C-domain of the clause followed by remnant movement of the remaining material, an operation which he justifies on prosodic grounds. His analysis however differs from previous analyses in that he claims that the presence of the clitic is not a necessary condition for right dislocation, contrary to standard assumptions (Bocci, 2013; Cardinaletti, 2002; Cruschina, 2010; López, 2009a).

Since Cardinaletti, (2002), it is frequently assumed that apparent cases of right dislocation in which there is no clitic when the language independently has one available are not dislocations. The following minimal pair, from Cardinaletti herself, illustrates this. The object in the two examples in (70) has the same properties in terms of prosody (it is deaccentuated and preceded by an intonational break) and information structure (it is interpreted as old, given information). The difference between (70a) and (70b) is that the former, and not the latter, has an object clitic that corefers with the *il giornale*:

(70)   a.   L' ho già   comprato, *il   giornale*.
              it has already bought   the newspaper
              "He's already bought it, the newspaper."

        b.   Ho già comprato, *il giornale*.

According to Cardinaletti, only (70a) is a case of right dislocation, which for this author means syntactically external to the clause. In (70b), the object remains in its complement position instead. The prosodic properties in this case are explained due to an operation of focus shift, which alters the default stress assignment rules that establish that (in this case) Italian assigns main stress to the rightmost constituent in the clause (Cinque, 1993; Zubizarreta, 1998). The phenomenon in (70b) is referred to as marginalization.

Samek-Lodovici, (2015)'s claim that there are genuine cases of right dislocation that do not involve the presence of a clitic is based on examples which feature two dislocated phrases like the following, which features two dislocated phrases[17]:

(71)   Gianni non gli   ha più   portato, *a   Marco, i   fiori*.
        Gianni not him has any longer brought to Marc   the flowers
        "Gianni hasn't brought flowers to Mark any more."

A Marco corefers with the dative clitic *gli*. Given the lack of clitic doubling structures in Italian, the presence of a dative clitic *gli* forces a right dislocation analysis of the indirect object. The object DP *i fiori* has no corefering clitic in the clause. Assuming Cardinaletti's claims, then, one should conclude that *i fiori* is not dislocated but rather marginalized, i.e. unstressed *in situ*. But under Samek-Lodovici's analysis, because right dislocated phrases are clause external, marginalized phrases cannot follow right dislocation. This is because if a marginalized object is in the complement of V position, then it should undergo movement along with the remnant IP that strands right-dislocated phrases to the right. Therefore, given the linear position of *i fiori* with respect to *a Marco*, the former must be right dislocated too. Although one could tentatively argue for a null accusative clitic, Samek-Lodovici, (ibid., p.84–87) convincingly argues against such a view.

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[17]Multiple dislocation constructions will be examined in some detail in chapter 4.

He thus argues for the existence of two types of right dislocations, which he refers to as RD$^+$ and RD$^-$, + symbolizing the presence of a clitic, and -, the lack thereof. In RD$^-$, δ is generated in an argument position and then undergoes movement to the C-domain. Conversely, in RD$^+$ δ is generated in the specifier of a BigDP projection, whose head is the clitic. Crucially, he claims that "wh-extraction from right-dislocated clauses is possible provided clitic doubling is absent" (ibid., p.116), that is, in RD$^-$. The following minimal pair confirms this:

(72) a. ? Chi$_i$ gli   avete promesso, *a Marco, che avreste*
           who to him have promised to Mark   that would have
           aiutato t$_i$?
           helped
           "Who did you promise to Mark that you were going to help?"

      b. * Chi$_i$ glielo avete promesso, a Marco, che avreste aiutato t$_i$?

For (72a) he proposes a derivation where wh-extraction proceeds before dislocation of the CP takes place (ibid., p.117, his (102)). First, the wh-word is extracted out of the finite CP prior to the dislocation of the latter. Then the CP containing the trace of the wh-operator is dislocated. According to Samek-Lodovici, right dislocation involves movement of a given constituent to the specifier of a functional projection (RP) in the C-domain of the clause. The subsequent steps include the dislocation of the PP and the remnant movement of all the remaining material past the two dislocates:

(73) a. Base   *pro* V [$_{CP}$ C *PRO* V$_{-Fin}$ wh] PP

      b. Wh-extraction   Wh$_i$ *pro* V [$_{CP}$ C *PRO* V$_{-Fin}$ t$_i$] PP

      c. CP dislocation   [$_{CP}$ C *PRO* V$_{-Fin}$ t$_i$]$_k$ Wh$_i$ *pro* V t$_k$ PP

      d. PP dislocation   PP$_m$ [$_{CP}$ C *PRO* V$_{-Fin}$ t$_i$]$_k$ Wh$_i$ *pro* V t$_k$ t$_m$

      e. Remnant movement   [Wh$_i$ *pro* V t$_k$ t$_m$]$_p$ PP$_m$ [$_{CP}$ C *PRO* V$_{-Fin}$
          t$_i$]$_k$ t$_p$

The derivation of the ungrammatical example proceeds as follows. Because this is a case of RD$^+$, the CP is merged in a BigCP structure along with the clitic. The wh-word inside the CP will not be able to escape its clausal

domain because the CP is in an unselected specifier position, which consti-
tutes an island (Cinque, 1990, a.o.).

The data posed by Samek-Lodovici are, admittedly, very intriguing and
problematic for many analyses of right dislocation, including the present
one. The key issue here is whether the non-doubled constituent is clearly a
dislocated phrase or whether it is a marginalized constituent. The argument
in Samek-Lodovici is that if an unstressed constituent follows a necessarily
right dislocated phrase, the former must involve right dislocation too. This,
however, leads to some empirical puzzles. Observe the following data:

(74)   (Context:) Has regalat el llibre als   estudiants.
                        have given   the book to the students
       "You've given the book to the students."   (Catalan)

       a. ?? No, només l' he   DEIXAT, *el llibre*, *als   estudiants*.
               no   only   it have lent   the book to the students
               "No, I only LENT them the book."

       b.   No, només els l'he DEIXAT, *el llibre, als estudiants*.

In (74a), both the object DP and the indirect object PP are unstressed.
The object is resumed by the clitic *l'*. Given that Catalan does not allow clitic
doubling with accusative clitics, the DP must be right dislocated. Following
Samek-Lodovici's logic, then, the indirect object PP following the dislocated
DP must be dislocated too, even though there is no resumptive dative clitic
in the clause. The existence of RD$^-$ predicts that (74a) should be grammat-
ical, contrary to fact. Note that if the dative clitic is present, as in (74b), the
sentence becomes grammatical.

A similar situation arises in the following context:

(75)   (Context:) Has suggerit a la Maria que aniríem   a la   platja.
                        have suggested to the Maria that would go to the beach
       "You've suggested Maria that we'd go to the beach."

       a. * No, ho he   PROMÈS, *que aniríem   a la   platja*, *a la*
               no   it   have promised that would go to the beach to the
               Maria.
               Maria
               "No, I've PROMISED Mary that we'd go to the beach."

b. No, li ho he PROMÈS, *que aniríem a la platja, a la*
no her it have promised that would go to the beach to the
Maria.
Maria
"No, I've PROMISED Mary that we'd go to the beach."

In (75a), two constituents are unstressed: the clausal object and a dative object. The clausal object is resumed with clausal clitic *ho*. Given the unavailability of clitic doubling structures with clausal objects in Catalan, the CP must be right dislocated. By Samek-Lodovici's argument, the PP that follows the dislocated CP must be dislocated too. The absence of a dative clitic is not a problem for the right-dislocated status of the PP given the availability of cliticless right dislocation in this author's system. But then the question arises as to why (75a) is ungrammatical. More crucially, when a dative clitic is inserted, the judgement substantially improves (75b).

The asymmetries illustrated in this subsection are unexpected if cliticless right dislocation is allowed. I have shown that in Catalan, these strings substantially improve once the clitic is present strongly indicates that it was the absence of the clitic that was causing the problem. Of course, these problems do not shed light on the Italian data reported by Samek-Lodovici, which continue to be intriguing[18]. However, more thorough research must

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[18]Dennis Ott (p.c.) suggests that Samek Lodovici's data are not problematic for the biclausal theory. Because dislocated phrases are parentheticals, the presence of a right dislocated phrase preceding a marginalized constituent is no longer a problem: one can think of δ as an interpolated parenthetical inserted between a marginalized constituent and the rest of the clause. Incidentally, (72a) follows naturally: *a Marco* is an interpolated parenthetical, so extraction from the clausal object is exactly the same as if δ was not there. I had certainly considered this option, but I do not think it solves much: if Dennis' suggestion is correct, then the question arises as to why the equivalent data in Catalan are ungrammatical. Of course one possibility in this respect would be to claim that the two languages display parametric variation with respect to where parenthetical material in general, and right dislocated phrases in particular, are inserted in the clause. But even this would only work if one assumes that there exists no connection whatsoever between δ and κ. Recall that I am proposing, in line with Ott and De Vries, (2016) and De Vries, (2009, 2013a) that CP_A and CP_E are coordinated clauses. Such a link restricts the distribution of δ. In particular, we don't expect anything that belongs in the host clause to surface to the right of the dislocate.

be undertaken in order to fully understand the data.

But leaving these cases aside, I think there is solid evidence which hints at the conclusion that dislocated phrases are opaque domains for extraction. This is a welcome result, because opacity of δ is a key consequence of the biclausal analysis defended here.

3.6   Implications for prosody

Before concluding this chapter, I would like to discuss some consequences of the biclausal analysis of right dislocations for the syntax-phonology interface. A word of warning is in order, however. Although I believe that there are reasons to feel positive about the potential of the biclausal approach in accounting for some prosodic patterns exhibited by right dislocations, certainly many questions remain open for further research.

It has been long observed that the clause preceding the right dislocated constituent is prosodically complete (for example, Rossi, 1999), and that its intonation is not affected by the presence of a dislocated constituent (Prieto, 2002, p.140). Consequently, the right dislocated constituent is typically considered prosodically separated from the preceding clause by an intonational phrase boundary and an optional short pause (Astruc, 2004; Feldhausen, 2010). This is obvious in the proposal defended here given that δ is external to the clause that precedes it.

The analysis defended in this thesis provides a nice explanation for an old observation regarding the prosody of right dislocated phrases. Ladd, (1996, p.121) shows that French right dislocated constituents copy the last tone of the matrix sentence. In particular, he observes that in declarative clauses, right dislocated constituents have a low tone, whereas this tone is high in questions. This was also previously noted for Catalan by Bonet, (1984), who claims that when right dislocated constituents occur in interrogative clauses, they duplicate the contour of the nulear accent of the main clause, albeit with a lower pitch. Ladd, (1996, p.121) concludes that "the intonation of right dislocation depends entirely on the intonation of the matrix clause" (see also Feldhausen, 2010, p.150). This otherwise curious fact has a

principled explanation in the analysis defended in this thesis. The right dis-
located phrase "imitates" the final tone of the preceding clause because it is,
essentially, the very same clause[19].

A second (and admittedly more intricate) issue concerns the prosodic
structure of the dislocated phrase itself. Frascarelli, (2000) has argued that
right dislocated phrases in Italian, as well as topics in general, constitute
intonational phrases: "a topic is minimally and exhaustively contained in
an intonational phrase" (see Downing, (2011) for very similar conclusions in
Bantu languages). This is somewhat mysterious from the perspective of the
syntax-phonology interface unless we assume the biclausal analysis.

The reason is the following. Many authors have argued that syntax and
prosody are mediated by a process of prosodic mapping (Nespor and Vo-
gel, 1986; Selkirk, 1984, 2011; Truckenbrodt, 1995, 1999, 2006) whose function
is to transform syntactic trees into their corresponding prosodic structures.
Rather standardly, this prosodic structure consists of several categories that
are hierarchically organized in what is famously known as the Prosodic Hi-
erarchy. It is a matter of debate which categories conform the hierarchy and
whether all languages have the same set (see Selkirk, 1984 for example), but
I leave aside these issues. A typical representation of the prosodic hierarchy
is given in (76).

(76)   Utterance $>$ Intonational Phrase (ι) $>$ Phonological Phrase (φ) $>$
       Prosodic words $>$ Foot $>$ Syllable

For the purposes of this thesis I only consider the part of the hierarchy
above the level of prosodic word. Although there is no one-to-one correla-
tions between syntactic phrases and prosodic phrases, it is well-agreed that
intonational phrases correspond to clauses, and prosodic phrases to (lexi-
cal) syntactic XPs (this is more explicitly argued in Selkirk's Match Theory
Selkirk, 2011). Roughly then, there is some consensus that a simple, transi-
tive sentence like (77a) should be prosodically mapped as in (77b), where the

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[19]In chapter 5 I will show that the elided CP cannot differ in terms of illocutionary force
from the antecedent clause. I will propose a modification of the structure in (16) so that co-
ordination occurs below the head responsible for encoding illocutionary force, which I take
to be Force^0. This reinforces the observation that if the antecedent clause is interrogative,
the clause containing δ will also be, and the prosodic facts follow naturally.

subject projects its own prosodic phrase and so do the verb with the object. They are both contained in one intonational phrase (and, in this case, inside one utterance):

(77)   a.

        b. ((My sister)$_\varphi$ (studies linguistics)$_\varphi$)$_\iota$

It has been noted in the literature on Bantu languages (Downing, 2011; Selkirk, 2011; Zerbian, 2007) that right dislocated constituents project an intonational phrase on their own, independent of the intonational phrase of the preceding clause (in line with Frascarelli's findings for Italian). For Bantu languages, this is typically observed with a phonological rule whose application domain is the intonational phrase referred to as Penultimate Lengthening (PL). PL states that "all and only vowels that are penultimate in the clause are long (V:)" (Selkirk, 2011, p.441). The following data in Northern Sotho[20] illustrate PL for simple transitive sentences (78a) and for ditransitive structures (78b); vowel lengthening is in bold:

(78)   a. Ke thúšá mo- s**á:**di
            1st help   cl1   woman
            "I am helping the woman."   (Zerbian, 2007, p.245, her (10a))

        b. Ke fá   mó- góló   di- ap**a:**ro
            1st give cl1   brother cl8 clothes
            "I give the brother clothes."   (ibid., p.248, her (12a))

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[20]The data in this section are taken from Zerbian, (2007). I have maintained her original glosses and translations. Similar data can be found across Bantu, see especially Downing, (2011) and references therein.

Zerbian, (ibid.) shows that in right dislocation constructions, the clause preceding the right dislocated phrase is subject to PL, which is expected given their status as clauses, but PL also applies to the right dislocated phrase. (79a) shows right dislocation of an object, whereas (79b) illustrates right dislocation of a subject.

(79)　　a.　Ke a mo r**á:**ta, *ma- l**ó:**me*.
　　　　　　1st A oc1 like　cl1　uncle
　　　　　　"I like him, the uncle."　　　　　　　　　　(ibid., p.250, her (15b))

　　　　b.　Bá　túšá ma- l**ó:**me, *ba- kgal**a:**bje*.
　　　　　　sc2 help cl1　uncle　cl2 old men
　　　　　　"They help the uncle, the old men."　　　　(ibid., p.251, her (16b))

If the domain application of PL is the intonational phrase, then it follows that right dislocated phrases are themselves intonational phrases, as argued in fact by these authors. The correlation between intonational phrases and clauses (Selkirk, 2011, for example) follows from the analysis defended in this thesis, given that right dislocated constituents are underlyingly clausal.

As I indicated when I began to talk about the prosodic status of the dislocated phrase, I pointed out that the issue is actually more complex. For example, Truckenbrodt, 2015 defends a biclausal analysis of right dislocation where δ is effectively the remnant of a clausal ellipsis operation and yet he argues that δ does not constitue an intonational phrase. Truckenbrodt contends that intonational phrase boundaries are domains where sentence stress is assigned (Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Selkirk, 1984, 1995). Given that no stress is found in right dislocated phrases, it follows that they cannot project ι. The reason why they cannot is because they cannot stand as independent speech acts. Truckenbrodt assumes, in line with Selkirk, (2011), that intonational phrase boundaries are triggered by speech acts.

More research needs to be undertaken to clarify this latter point. Feldhausen, (2010) is, to my knowledge, the most thorough and detailed work on the prosody of right (and left) dislocation in Catalan. Abstracting away from the details, this author notes that in some cases[21] no evidence for intona-

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[21]As far as I understand it, the length of the dislocated phrase, and more particularly whether δ is non-branching or not, is an important factor in this respect. The reader is

tional phrase boundaries was found in right dislocated constituents. Rather, he reports (Feldhausen, 2010, p.167) that their projection should be categorized as an intermediate phrase - which is a rough equivalent to what I have been referring here as prosodic φ phrase.

To conclude, I believe the biclausal approach offers a new insight on how the syntax-prosody mapping operates in the domain of right dislocations. In general I think this approach makes the right predictions, even though there are still questions to be resolved. Crucially, however, these questions are challenging for virtually all syntactic analyses of right dislocation.

3.7   Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have explored and examined the consequences of analysing right dislocation as an underlying biclausal phenomenon. Leaving aside the empirical and conceptual merits of this approach for the syntax of right dislocation, some of which have been discussed in this chapter, one virtue that must be highlighted is the reductionist nature of the proposal, as the technical machinery that it relies on is cataphora, ellipsis and possibly coordination, three mechanisms that are independently motivated and crosslinguistically attested.

This latter point is important: the biclausal analysis makes it possible to provide a uniform analysis of right dislocation across languages. Note that under certain monoclausal approaches, this is certainly difficult to attain. This is because they hinge on language-specific mechanisms like clitic doubling (Cecchetto, 1999; Samek-Lodovici, 2015; Villalba, 2000) to derive right dislocation strings. Not only is this problematic because clitic doubling structures are subject to constraints that are not observed in right dislocation, but also, and more crucially, because it forces to assume that the phenomenon of right dislocation must be analysed differently in languages without clitic doubling constructions.

A related issue regarding the crosslinguistic availability of the mechanisms underlying the biclausal approach is that analysing right dislocation

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referred to Feldhausen's work for details.

in these terms predicts that right dislocation should be possible in all languages. To the very best of my knowledge, I have not found any claim to the contrary anywhere in the literature, except for a comment by Kayne, (2010, p.5), who contends that "some SVO languages lack [right dislocation] entirely", and he mentions the case of some Bantu and Niger-Congo languages. In particular, he cites Baker, (2003) on Kinande and Torrence, (2005) on Wolof.

Kayne's claims are surprising, however: Torrence, (2013, p.76) reports that right dislocation is indeed possible in Wolof. Torrence shows that the correlate in these cases is compulsory, and specifies that the dislocated constituent is unstressed, so we know we are dealing with genuine right dislocation:

(80) Gis- na- a- *(léén) démb,   *ñoom*.
      see   FIN 1SG   3PL   yesterday 3PL$_{strong}$
      "I saw them yesterday, they."

Kinande is a Bantu language. In their work on right dislocation in Zulu, another Bantu language, Halpert and Zeller, (2013) start the paper claiming that "across the Bantu languages, right dislocation is a common strategy for encoding information structure" (see further references in their paper). At the end of the day, the question of whether or not all languages display right dislocation is an empirical matter. What I think is important is that the biclausal approach clearly predicts that it should be available in all languages.

Of course this claim is not at odds with the empirical observation that right dislocation appears to be more productive in some languages than in others. It is a well-known fact that Catalan, Italian and French make an extensive use of this phenomenon, whereas it is less productive in Spanish. For the differences between Spanish and Catalan with respect this question the reader is referred to Mayol, (2007), Planas-Morales and Villalba, (2013), and Villalba, (2007), and references therein. The analysis developed in this thesis does not say anything about these differences in use, and this is an issue that I will leave unexplored in this thesis. But it should be emphasized that the only empirical problem for the biclausal approach, the way I see it, would be to find a language which disallows any sort of right dislocation.

Chapter 4

Locality without movement

4.1 Introduction

In the literature on elliptical phenomena, remnants are frequently assumed to escape the domain of ellipsis via movement. If clausal ellipsis is at stake, remnants undergo leftward movement to a clause peripheral position, as proposed in Merchant, (2001) for wh-operators in sluicing. The connection between movement and ellipsis bears important implications on the nature of ellipsis and its place in grammar, a topic that will be discussed in §4.2. An obvious question that arises in this context is, therefore, whether δ can be empirically shown to undergo movement to the C-domain of the elided clause. This is the general question that will be addressed in this chapter.

Given the close link between movement and locality (Huang, 1982; Ross, 1967), it seems natural to check whether δ violates island constraints: if it does, we appear to have found evidence for movement of δ. This issue is explicitly tackled in De Vries, (2013a) in the context of right dislocation in Dutch. In particular, he argues that the island sensitivity behaviour of right dislocation in this language is a corollary of movement of δ in the elided clause. The Dutch data and the equivalent in Romance will be presented in §4.3. De Vries' analysis will also be discussed.

The main claim in this chapter is that the island constraints which right dislocation is subject to do not follow from a movement account. Instead, I

propose that they follow from an independent constraint which forces specifying coordination to be minimal, in a sense to be defined in §4.4. This novel analysis is empirically superior because it captures the island data as well as other locality constraints which cannot follow from a movement analysis. Such further locality constraints will be examined in §4.5.

The conclusion is that island effects cannot be a consequence of movement of δ, but crucially my alternative analysis does not exclude movement of δ. That is, it could be argued that δ moves to the left edge of the elided clause even if such movement is not responsible for islandhood effects. In §4.6 I discuss some possible evidence that can be used to test whether δ undergoes movement or not. I will present data that receive a better account under the assumption that δ stays in situ in its clause. §4.7 concludes.

4.2   On movement and ellipsis

4.2.1   The (syntactic) licensing of ellipsis

A central issue in the formal study of ellipsis concerns the so-called *licensing question* or, in other words, the question of what is it that licenses ellipsis. In the previous chapter we saw that for (clausal) ellipsis to be licensed, the elided CP had to be parallel or identical to an antecedent CP. I defined parallelism in semantic terms, meaning that both CP_A and CP_E had to be mutually entailing (Merchant, 2001, a.o.). But note that (semantic) parallelism is not enough, as the following minimal pair evidences: sluicing is only available in interrogative clauses (1a), and it is excluded from relatives (1b), see Lobeck, (1995) and Merchant, (2001). Given that the content of the ellipsis sites is indentical in both cases - both being parallel to the same antecedent clause, something else needs to be said:

(1)   a.   Someone invited us for dinner, but I don't recall who ~~invited us for dinner~~.

      b.   * Someone invited us for dinner, but I don't recall the person who ~~invited us for dinner~~.

We must find a way to ensure that sluicing is only allowed in interrogative clauses, and not in relatives. The most important account of these facts is the proposal in Merchant, (2001, p.54ff.) who building on Lobeck, (1995, p.54ff.), claims that ellipsis is triggered by a feature, which he dubs the [E]-feature. For clausal ellipses, [E] is present on C (Bošković, 2014; Gallego, 2009). At PF, [E] instructs phonology not to pronounce the complement of the head that bears it (in this case, the TP):

(2) CP
     ╱╲
   C   T̶P̶
   │
   [E]
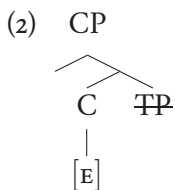
The key to solve the problem posed by the minimal pair in (1) is to state that [E] is further specified with strong, uninterpretable [WH] [Q] features (Chomsky, 1995). Because they are strong, these features will trigger overt phrasal movement to the specifier of CP. This is precisely the derivation of sluicing in (1a):

(3)   CP
                      ╱   ╲
              DP   ╱ ╲
             ╱╲   C[E,u̶W̶H̶*,u̶Q̶*]   TP
        who[WH,Q]   ╱╲
           ↑   …t…
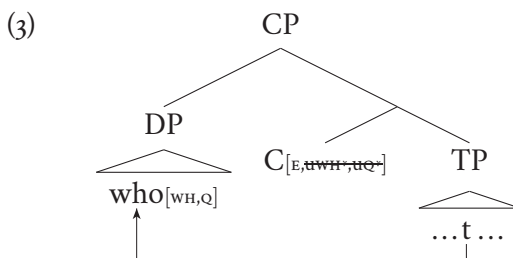
Relative operators are specified with a [WH] feature, but not with [Q]. Therefore, movement of the relative operator to spec,CP will leave the uQ* feature of [E] unvalued, which will cause the derivation to crash at LF. This explains the ungrammaticality of (1b):

(4)   *   CP
                      /   \
              DP   /   \
           /   \   C[E,~~uwh~~,uQ*]   TP
        who[WH,REL]   /   \
                                        …t…
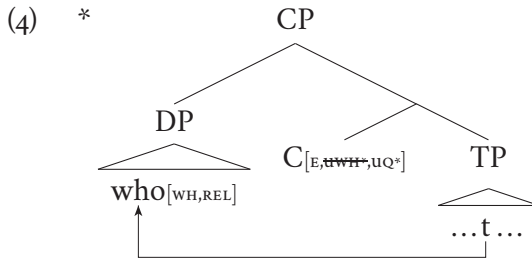
Since Merchant's proposal, the licensing question has been taken to boil down to specifying which heads can carry the [E]-feature, and what other features must [E] be subspecified with (for related discussion, see Aelbrecht, 2016; Bošković, 2014; van Craenenbroeck and Merchant, 2013).

The [E]-feature approach has received some criticism recently (see Murphy, 2016; Ott and Struckmeier, 2016; Thoms, 2010, a.o.). First, the ontology of Merchant's system is unclear, insofar as the [E]-feature needs to be further subspecified for other features, as defended in Aelbrecht, (2011) and Merchant, (2001). This creates the need to discuss what "the feature of a feature" is. Second, the [E]-feature approach has no predictive power. Take the interrogatives vs relatives asymmetry with respect to sluicing: the fact that [E] is only specified with a [Q] is a stipulation and, crucially, the theory does not *explain* why it cannot be subspecified with [REL]. The [E]-feature-approach becomes therefore a way of reestating the descriptive facts in a more technical fashion, but it lacks explanatory power.

A hallmark of the [E]-feature approach is that it locates the licensing of ellipsis in the syntactic component of the grammar. This has a number of interesting consequences. For example, it implies that the elided domains must be constituents themselves. This follows from the uncontroversial assumption that syntax operates solely with constituents. Consider in this respect the derivation of (5a) in (5b):

(5)   a.   Ana brought us something from Mauritius, but I don't remember what.

       b.   …but I don't remember

```
                        CP
                       /  \
                      /    \
                    /       \
                  DP         \
                   |       /   \
                 what    C      TP
                         |     /  \
                        [E]   /    \
                             /      \
                        Ana brought us t from Mauritius
```
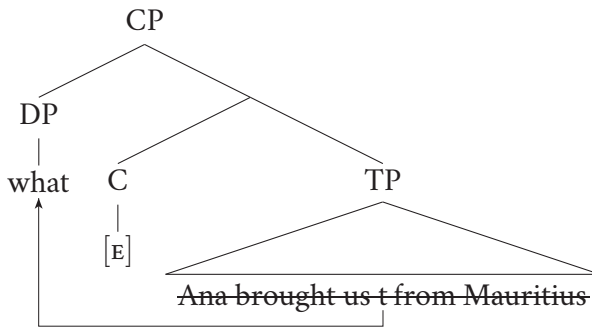
Note that if *what* stayed in its TP-internal, object position, the elided material would not conform a constituent:

(6)   …but I don't remember

```
                              CP
                            /    \
                          /       \
                         C         TP
                         |        /  \
                        [E]      /    \
                                /      \
                         Ana brought us what from Mauritius
```
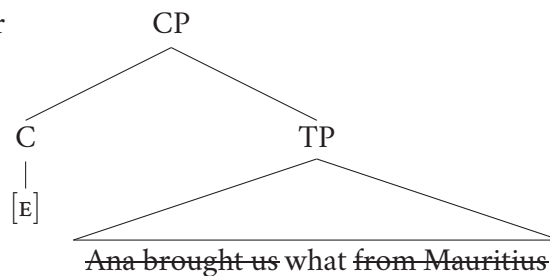
Approaches that make use of the [E]-feature are therefore referred to as move-and-delete approaches (MADA hereafer), (see Bruening, 2015; Ott and Struckmeier, 2016; Sailor and Schütze, 2014; Sailor and Thoms, 2014 for discussion), as movement becomes an integral part of the ellipsis operation. Therefore, for any phenomenon where ellipsis is posited, one has to assume that remnants must have moved first. A MADA has been extended, for example, to fragment answers (illustrated in (7)) by Merchant, (2004a) and Temmerman, (2013)[1]. In these analyses, fragments undergo leftward movement to the specifier of a functional projection (FP) in the left periphery of the clause, whose head F is endowed with the [E]-feature which triggers ellipsis of its complement (the TP), as shown in (8):

(7)   A.   Which car did Sebastian buy?
      B.   A Mercedes.

---

[1]See Boone, (2015) and Weir, (2014) for related proposals.

(8)

```
                        FP
                  ╱          ╲
              DP                ╲
          ╱   │  ╲         ╱         ╲
     A Mercedes        F              TP
          ↑            │          ╱        ╲
          │           [E]     Sebastian bought t̶
          └──────────────────────┘
```
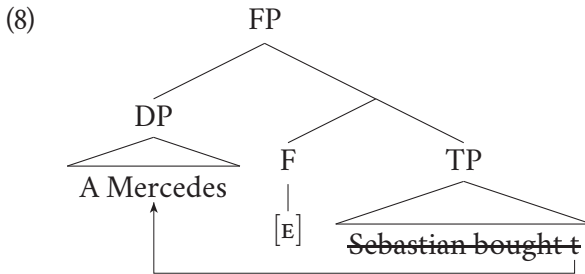
Under MADA movement is a *sine qua non* condition for ellipsis as otherwise ellipsis would target non-constituents[2]. One important consequence of MADA is that they strongly predict that the regular effects created by movement of the remnant should be observed in elliptical constructions. Unfortunately, this prediction is not always borne out. Some of the challenges that the MADA has to face are addressed in the following section.

4.2.2   Challenges for the MADA

Many authors have noted that the movement operation that feeds ellipsis under MADA creates systematic discrepancies between elided and non-elided forms which are certainly unexpected. For example, in English focal constituents do not generally front when they constitute answers to questions (Abe, 2014; Santos, 2009; Valmala, 2007). This is evidenced by the fact that only (9a) and crucially not (9b) is a good non-elliptical answer to (7A). If the actual derivation for fragments involves a movement step as in (8), the asymmetry between (8) and (9b) is surprising:

(9)   a.   Sebastian bought a Mercedes.
      b.   * A Mercedes Sebastian bought.

Note that this is not a quirk of English. Brunetti, (2003) notes that the same data can be observed in Italian. In other words, the non-elliptical ver-

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[2]A frequent criticism to *in situ* approaches to ellipsis is, in effect, that is applies on non-constituents (e.g. Sailor and Thoms, 2014). This is, however, not necessarily true. Cases of alleged non-constituent ellipsis could in fact be derived by means of multiple applications of constituent ellipsis (see Griffiths, 2015, p.47 for discussion. In this respect, as Dennis Ott has suggested to me in p.c., the term "non-constituent ellipsis" ellipsis is misleading.

sion of (10a-B) cannot correspond to (10c)[3], because this is an infelicitous string as an answer to the question in (10a-A). So the only grammatical source for (10a-B) is the string in which the focused constituent does not move (10b):

(10)   a.   A.   Che cosa ha   vinto Gianni?
                  what   has won   Gianni
                  "What has Gianni won?"

             B.   La maglietta
                  the T-shirt
                  "The T-shirt."

        b.   Gianni ha vinto la maglietta.

        c.   ?? La maglietta, Gianni ha vinto.

Brunetti defends that despite being somewhat degraded, (10c) is the actual source of (10a-B). Her claim is that (10c) is strongly redundant, but not ungrammatical. Redundancy causes the sentence to be judged as dubious. If ellipsis applies, redundancy is eliminated and the resulting string (namely only the fragment) is grammatical.

However, the same level of redundancy should be present in (10b) and consequently no difference in grammaticality should be observed between (10b) and (10c), contrary to fact. Brunetti argues that in (10b) "the material preceding Focus is tolerated [...] because of the ban on ellipsis when the focused item remains in situ" (ibid., p.96). Essentially, Brunetti claims that what renders (10b) grammatical is the fact that ellipsis cannot apply here, as that operation would involve non-constituent deletion.

But note that the argument is circular and mainly conceptual; that is, it hinges on the fact that non-constituent ellipsis is not possible. The English and Italian data are further aggravated by languages like Mexican Spanish, which readily disallow focus fronting as argued by Gutiérrez-Bravo, (2002, p.171). A similar argument has been given by Stainton, (2006, p.106) for Malagasy. According to this author, non-subjects cannot undergo fronting in this

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[3]I maintain her judgements. For this particular example, she assigns two question marks.

language. The question arises as to how fragments are derived in these languages if fronting is generally unavailable in their grammars.

A second kind of problem with MADA concerns the fact that some elements that cannot be fronted can nonetheless be fragments (Abe, 2014; Santos, 2009; Stainton, 2006; Valmala, 2007, a.o.). Observe the following dialogue. Speaker's B response cannot derive from the source in (12), because that is an ungrammatical string:

(11)   A.   Is she wearing a black suit?
        B.   No, white.

(12)   * White$_i$ ~~she's wearing a t$_i$ suit~~.

One could argue that (11B) is the complex result of three operations: movement of the object NP to the specifier of FP (13a), clausal ellipsis of the complement of F^0 (13b), and NP ellipsis of the fronted object (13c):

(13)   a.   [A white suit]$_i$ she's wearing t$_i$.
        b.   [A white suit]$_i$ ~~she's wearing t$_i$~~.
        c.   [~~A~~ white ~~suit~~]$_i$ ~~she's wearing t$_i$~~.

However, such a derivation is problematic because it involves an ellipsis process which is independently not attested in English. Nominal ellipses in this language require the presence of the pronominal form *one* (*I like the green one* vs. **I like the green*) or a plural demonstrative (*I like these* vs. **I like this*), see (Lobeck, 1995).

Another illustration of the same general problem is provided by Valmala, (2007, p.7). As illustrated in the following minimal pair, negative preposing, a type of fronting operation in English which triggers subject-auxiliary inversion, is only possible when the negative element is in specifier position and not in complement position. Nonetheless, the fragment in (15B) shows that it is possible for the negative element to be in complement position. The grammaticality contrast between (14b) and (15B) is mysterious under a MADA to fragment answers:

(14)   a.   No young girl's participation in the game can they permit.
        b.   * The participation of no young girl's in the game can they permit.

(15) A.   Whose participation in the game won't they permit?

      B.   The participation of no young girl.

Despite the asymmetries between elided and non-elided forms created by MADA, some authors argue that movement of the remnants is still a necessary condition for ellipsis to be licensed in order to avoid non-constituent ellipsis, so they resort to characterizing this movement operation as somehow different from run-of-the-mill cases of movement. For example, Weir, (2014) submits that displacement of the remnant is a case of prosodic movement, whereas Boone, (2015) contends that in some cases ellipsis demands what he refers to as "exceptional movement". This conclusion is shared, albeit in different terms, by Lasnik, (2013) and Ortega-Santos, Yoshida, and Nakao, (2014). Crucially, these non-standard cases of movement have the ability to neutralize the regular effects of movement. There are at last two important reasons why resorting to such repair or exceptional mechanisms is, a priori, undesirable. First, as Valmala, (2007, 2014) argues, the theory becomes difficult to falsify empirically. Second, as pointed out by Ott and Struckmeier, (2016, p.225), it raises a learnability problem, as children have to learn that movement in elided contexts (which is precisely the contexts where movement is not observed) has different properties from regular cases of movement.

4.2.3   Ellipsis as radical deaccentuation

An alternative view to the thesis that ellipsis is a syntactic phenomenon is to assume that the locus of ellipsis is the PF side of the grammar. This claim was explicitly defended by Chomsky and Lasnik, (1993) and Tancredi, (1992), who argued that ellipsis is a radical case of deaccentuation. Given that deaccentuation is not sensitive to syntactic constituency, there is no reason to assume that ellipsis should. The phonological view of ellipsis was also defended in Abe, (2014), Abe and Tancredi, (2013), Bruening, (2015), Fox, (1999a), Hartmann, (2000), and Ott and Struckmeier, (2016). Intuitively, this alternative view receives support from the empirical observation that most elliptical phenomena have a corresponding deaccentuation correlate, as the

following examples illustrate for sluicing and fragment answers. Deaccentuation is signalled by smaller font:

(16)   a. Ana brought us something from Mauritius, but I don't remember what.

        b. …but I don't remember what <small>Ana brought us.</small>

(17)   a. A. Which car did Sebastian buy?

             B. A Mercedes.

        b. <small>Sebastian bought</small> a Mercedes.

It is important to note that this analysis captures the idea that the correct underlying source for the fragment is the complete clause containing the unmoved remnant, without having to stipulate further exceptional strategies. It also predicts that fragments can be elements which cannot independently front, given that remnant movement and ellipsis are not contingent on each other. Cases like these were provided in the previous section. For example, under an *in situ* approach to ellipsis (11B) is naturally grammatical because no illicit movement has been produced:

(18)   No, <small>she's wearing a</small> white <small>suit.</small>

Finally, precisely because ellipsis does not hinge on movement of the remnant, the problematic data provided by Valmala, (2007) in (14) and (15) regarding negative preposing can also receive a natural explanation.

We have seen the evidence against MADA to fragments, but what evidence has been provided in its favour? And more importantly: does this evidence invalidate an *in situ* alternative? There are two big arguments that have been claimed to follow from MADA which would, at first blush, be problematic under an *in situ* approach. However, as I will briefly discuss, such arguments have been contested.

One of the arguments provided in favour of the movement analysis of fragments comes from the so-called P(reposition)-stranding generalization (Merchant, 2001, 2004a). P-stranding refers to the possibility of moving the nominal complement in a PP independently of the preposition, which ends up stranded. Preposition stranding is frequent in English, where the preposition must always pied-pipe. The availability of P-stranding is illustrated

for wh-movement in English in (19a). Conversely, P-stranding is disallowed in German (19b):

(19)   a.   Who$_i$ did John talk with t$_i$?

       b. * Wem$_i$ hat John gesprochen mit t$_i$?

The idea is that if a language allows preposition stranding under regular Ā-movement, it should allow PP remnants to surface without their preposition. This generalization predicts that wh-remnants in sluicing will be able to surface without its preposition in English, but not in German. This is illustrated in (20). Crucially, note that this minimal pair is a natural corollary of the MADA to sluicing, given the data in (19), and do not obviously follow from a phonological view of ellipsis.

(20)   a.   John was talking with someone, but I don't remember (with) who.

       b. * John hat mit jemandem gesprochen, aber ich weiß nicht *(mit) wem.

The P-stranding generalization can also be observed for fragments:

(21)   a.   A. Who is John talking with?

            B. (With) Mary.

       b.   A. Mit wem hat John gesprochen?

            B. *(Mit) Mary.

Despite its appeal, the P-stranding generalization has been challenged by languages which appear to violate it[4] I will come back to this issue in §4.6.4.

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[4]In some cases, violations of the P-stranding generalization have been argued to be only apparent. This is the case for Spanish, a non-P-stranding language, which allows prepositionless remnants. However, as argued extensively by Rodrigues, Nevins, and Vicente, (2009) and Vicente, (2008), prepositionless remnants in this language must be explained by means of alternative copular sources. But while the Spanish data may indeed receive an alternative explanation of the facts, some languages have been argued to constitute genuine counterexamples to the P-stranding generalization, like Indonesian (Fortin, 2007) or Emirati Arabic (Leung, 2014), among others.

A second important consequence which is expected under a MADA to ellipsis is sensitivity to islands. If a remnant undergoes movement to the left edge of the elided clause, the usual constraints on locality should be expected. Merchant, (2004a, p.687ff.) defends this is the case for fragment answers. The ungrammaticality of the fragment in (22b) follows if we assume it moves, given that such movement operation violates the adjunct condition, as shown in (23) (example from ibid., p.688, his (88)). Note, in turn, that this pattern is not immediately captured if we assume that ellipsis is a radical case of deaccentuation, as the (grammatical) deaccenting string shows in (24):

(22)   a.   Did Ben leave because Abby wouldn't dance with him?

        b.   * No, Beth.

(23)   * No, Beth$_i$ he left because t$_i$ would't dance with him.

(24)   No, He left because Beth wouldn't dance with him .

Two comments are in order with respect to islands. The first one is empirical: it is not clear that all fragments are sensitive. In the following example, adapted from Stainton, (2006, p.105), the fragment is generated inside of an island domain (a coordinate structure), and therefore fronting it would lead to an island-violating string, thus making the grammaticality of (25B) unexpected:

(25)   A.   The pope likes beer and what?

        B.   Tomato juice

(26)   * [Tomato juice]$_i$ ~~the Pope likes beer and t~~$_i$.

Griffiths and Lipták, (2014) have argued that only when remnants have a contrastive relation with their correlates, as in (22b), are fragments island sensitive. When contrastivity is not at issue, as appears to be the case in (25B), then fragments do not exhibit sensitivity to islands. But if movement is indeed needed for both contrastive and non-contrastive remnants, as demanded by a MADA, then island sensitivity must be orthogonal to movement[5].

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[5]See Weir, (2014, p.199ff.) for the suggestion that some of the data regarding islands may be accounted by the semantic and pragmatic factors that are at play in fragments.

The second comment is more general, and revolves around the relation between islands and ellipses. Sluicing appears to be an intricate case in this respect. If the wh-element is generated inside an island, the resulting string should be ungrammatical. Observe the data in (27). In this example, the wh-word is moved from inside an adjunct. Remarkably, the resulting sluice is grammatical (27a). Less surprising is the fact that had ellipsis not applied, the sentence would be ruled out (Ross, 1969):

(27) a. They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't know which ~~they want to hire someone who speaks.~~

b. * They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language but I don't know which they want to hire someone who speaks.

Merchant, (2001) shows that suspension of locality violations in sluicing is systematic across island types. Many attempts have been made to account for this surprising asymmetry between elided and non-elided forms. First, some authors have argued that (at least some) syntactic islands are a PF phenomenon, and that by not pronouncing the island-violating string the island effect is nullified. This view is generally referred to as repair by ellipsis[6] (Fox and Lasnik, 2003; Lasnik, 2001; Merchant, 2004a). See in particular Merchant, (2004a) for why ellipsis does not repair islands in fragment answers.

Alternatively, some authors have defended that in some cases where ellipsis appears to circumvent locality the ellipsis site does not contain a full island structure, but rather what Matt Barros, Elliott, and Thoms, (2014) refer to as a "short sluice", a mechanism that was originally proposed in Merchant, (2001), and later pursued by Abels, (2012a), Matt Barros, Elliott, and Thoms, (2014), and Fukaya, (2007). The sluice source for (27a) would not be (27b). Rather, the antecedent of the ellipsis site would correspond only to the clausal island, and not the larger structure that contains the island. For more details on how the short sluice satisfies the identity condition os ellipsis see

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[6]See Boeckx, (2008) and Wang, (2007) for yet another kind of repair explanation having to do with the fact that the wh-remnant does not leave a gap in its base position but rather a resumptive pronoun, which are known to be a repair strategy for locality violations independently.

particularly Merchant, (2001, p.201-207).

(28)   They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't
        know which$_i$ ~~s/he speaks t$_i$~~

Finally, Abe, (2015) proposes, following Kimura, (2010), that the island insensitivity behaviour of sluicing follows from an approach in which the wh-remnant does not undergo movement in the elided clause, but rather stays *in situ*, thereby not crossing any island node.

In conclusion, the island sensitivity data should be handled with care. This is particularly important in the context of this chapter. The crucial question I want to address instead is whether right dislocated constituents, *qua* fragments, undergo movement to the left edge of their clause prior to ellipsis. I will focus on island sensitivity, and show that right dislocations are island sensitive *only sometimes*. I argue that the full paradigm cannot be explained by movement of the remnant inside the elided clause. Besides island sensitivity, I will further show that movement of δ is empirically unmotivated. If I am on the right track, the data that I will present in this chapter clearly contravene the MADA, and point out the necessity of entertaining an *in situ* alternative to ellipsis.

4.3   Islands

In order to check whether movement has applied or not in the elided clause, it seems natural to test islands. Islands are essentially opaque domains for extraction. If a certain XP moves from inside them, such a movement operation is expected to create an ungrammatical output.

In the previous chapters we have seen that right dislocation is sensitive to islands. Under monoclausal approaches, this locality constraint is typically argued to be the result of the fact that δ undergoes movement. Similarly, under a biclausal approach the island sensitivity of right dislocation can be captured on the assuption that δ moves to the left edge of the elided clause. Therefore, the existence of island effects could *a priori* be an argument for a MADA to right dislocation.

Before going into the data, let me flesh out the general logic of the argument first. Right dislocation involves two clauses: the non-elided clause which contains κ; and the elided clause, which hosts δ. Both are semantically and syntactically equivalent (*modulo* the clitic and the dislocate) because otherwise ellipsis would not be possible (Merchant, 2001). If we want to test the island sensitivity of right dislocation in the biclausal approach we must place the clitic inside an island domain within the non-elided clause. δ will be generated inside the same island in the elided clause. If the dislocated phrase moves to the periphery of elided clause to escape the domain of ellipsis, we predict that such a movement operation will yield an ungrammatical output. If, conversely, δ stays inside the island, no ungrammaticality is expected. This is graphically illustrated in (29). Throughout this chapter, islands will be marked as ψPs for purposes of exposition:

(29) a. $[_{CP} \ldots \cancel{XY} [_{\psi P} \cancel{Z} \, \delta \,]]$ *in situ* ellipsis, output: OK

     b. $[_{CP} \, \delta \ldots \cancel{XY} [_{\psi P} \cancel{Z} \, \cancel{t} \,]]$ move-and-elide ellipsis, output: *

4.3.1 The Dutch data (De Vries, 2013a)

De Vries, (ibid., p.165) shows that right dislocation in Dutch is island sensitive. I plot his data in (30). In the three examples the dislocated element is the DP *die vrouw* ("that woman"). In (30a) the corresponding correlate the object pronoun *haar* "her" is inside a fronted clause and inside a relative clause in (30b). The correlate in (30c), the subject pronoun *ze* "she" is inside a temporal adjunct.

(30) a. * $[_{\psi P}$ Dat Piet haar geplaagd had] vond ik niet erg,   *die*
                that Piet her   teased   had found I   not awful that

       vrouw.
       woman
       "*That Pied had teased her I did not find regrettable, *that woman*."

     b. * Ik heb iemand $[_{\psi P}$ die haar geplaagd had] een
         I have someone   who her   teased   had a

       reprimande gegeven, *die   vrouw.*
       rebuke   given   that woman.

"*I gave someone who teased her a rating, *that woman*."

   c.   * [$_{\psi P}$ Toen ze aan kwam fietsen], sprong Piet op, *die   vrouw*.
                   when she on came   cycling jumped Piet up that woman
              "*When she arrived cycling, Piet jumped up, *that woman*."

The ungrammatical status of the above sentences can be accounted for if the dislocated constituent undergoes $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement to the left edge of the elided clause, given that this operation creates an ill-formed chain in the three cases: extraction out of a fronted clausal object in (30a), movement out of a relative clause in (30b) and extraction out of a temporal adjunct in (30c). Crucially, an *in situ* analysis of right dislocation, i.e. where δ stays in its base generation position within the elided clause, cannot, as it stands, capture the ungrammaticality of the examples in (30).

(31)   a.   * [Die vrouw]$_i$ [$_{\psi P}$ ~~dat Piet t$_i$ geplaagd had~~] ~~vond ik niet erg~~.
       b.   * [Die vrouw]$_i$ ~~ik heb iemand~~ [$_{\psi P}$ ~~die t$_i$ geplaagd had~~] ~~een reprimande~~
          ~~gegeven~~.
       c.   * [Die vrouw]$_i$ [$_{\psi P}$ ~~toen t$_i$ aan kwam fietsen~~] ~~sprong Piet op~~.

Now consider the following set of grammatical data, from De Vries, (2013a, p.163, his (6b,c)). In (32a), the object dislocated phrase is extracted out of a relative clause and in (32b), the dislocated subject constituent moves out of an adjunct:

(32)   a.   Ik sprak met iemand   [$_{\psi P}$ die   haar geplaagd had], *die vrouw*.
           I spoke with someone   who her teased   had the woman
           "I talked to someone who had teased her, *that woman*."
       b.   Piet sprong op [$_{\psi P}$ toen ze aan kwam fietsen], *die   vrouw*.
           Piet jumped up   when she on arrived cycling, that woman
           "Piet jumped up when she arrived cycling, *that woman*."

The sentences in (32) should be ruled out by the same mechanism that predicts the ungrammaticality of (30), as graphically schematized in (33). However, the sentences in (32) are completely grammatical.

(33)   a.   * [Die vrouw]$_i$ ~~ik sprak met iemand~~ [$_{\psi P}$ ~~die t$_i$ geplaagd had~~].
       b.   * [Die vrouw]$_i$ ~~Piet sprong op~~ [$_{\psi P}$ ~~toen t$_i$ aan kwam fietsen~~].

We are thus faced with the need to come up with an analysis that accounts for why right dislocation appears to obey locality constraints only sometimes. In order to resolve this puzzling situation, De Vries, (ibid.) proposes that the examples in (32) are grammatical because there exists an alternative derivation in which, crucially, the dislocated constituent does not cross an island node. He states that because the biclausal approach to right dislocation involves clausal coordination, there exists the possibility of coordinating embedded CPs instead of main clauses. The examples in (32) thus involve coordination at the level of the island clause. This is roughly illustrated in the following two tree representations, which correspond to (32a) and (32b) respectively:

(34)   a. Ik sprak met iemand die   CoP

              ψP   Co′

                  haar geplaagd had   Co⁰ ψP

                                                die vrouw ~~had t geplaagd~~

        b. Piet sprong op toen   CoP

              ψP   Co′

                  ze aan kwam fietsen   Co⁰ ψP

                                                die vrouw ~~kwam t aanfietsen~~
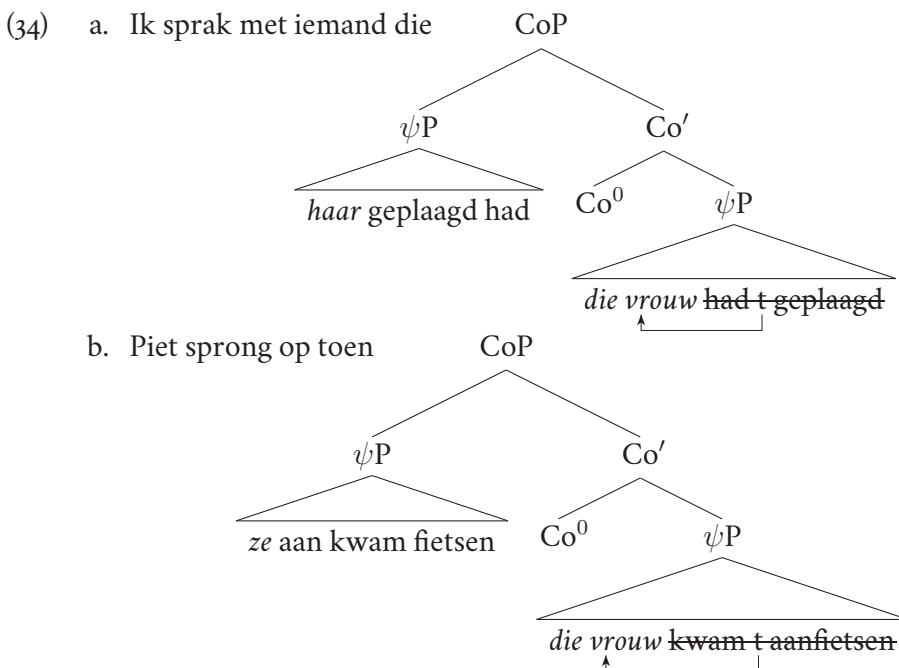
Under this analysis, δ moves only locally and crucially no island node is crossed. But now we have to make sure that this account does not overgenerate: that is, we have to ensure that this analysis in terms of coordination at the level of the embedded clause cannot be extended to the set of ungrammatical examples. As a matter of fact, the alternative derivation in (34) cannot carry over to (30). In these examples, the embedded island clause

that contains κ is non-final in the string: in (30a) it is a fronted object clause. In (30b) the correlate is inside a relative clause that modifies the object but which is non-final because Dutch is a V-final language. Finally, the adjunct clause in (30c) is fronted in the C-domain. If the CP that hosts the dislocate is to be coordinated with a non-final embedded clause, δ cannot obviously be linearized rightmost in the string. Therefore if (34) is responsible for the grammaticality of the otherwise expectedly ungrammatical examples, the prediction is made that right dislocation will be island insensitive as long as δ appears linearly adjacent to the embedded ψP that contains the clitic in the non-elided clause because only for these cases will the embedded coordination analysis be available. De Vries, (2013a, p.165, his (11)) notes that this prediction is borne out for the following cases where δ does not occur in absolute final position:

(35)   a.   [$_{\psi P}$ Dat Piet haar geplaagd had], *die   vrouw*,   vond ik niet
                      that Piet her   teased   had   that woman found I   not
              erg.
              awful
              "That Pied had teased her, *that woman*, I did not find regrettable."

        b.   Ik heb iemand   [$_{\psi P}$ die   haar geplaagd had], *die   vrouw*,   een
              I   have someone   who her   teased   had   that woman a
              reprimande gegeven.
              rebuke   given
              "I gave someone who teased her, *that woman*, a rating."

        c.   [$_{\psi P}$ Toen ze   aan kwam fietsen], *die   vrouw*,   sprong Piet op.
                      when she on came   cycling that woman jumped Piet up
              "When she arrived cycling, *that woman*, Piet jumped up."

The availability of medial right dislocation cases like those in (35) constitute further support for the idea that an analysis like (34) is available. (35c) would be analysed as follows (I assume that the fronted adjunct is in the specifier of CP and that the verb is in C, yielding the V2 order):

(36)
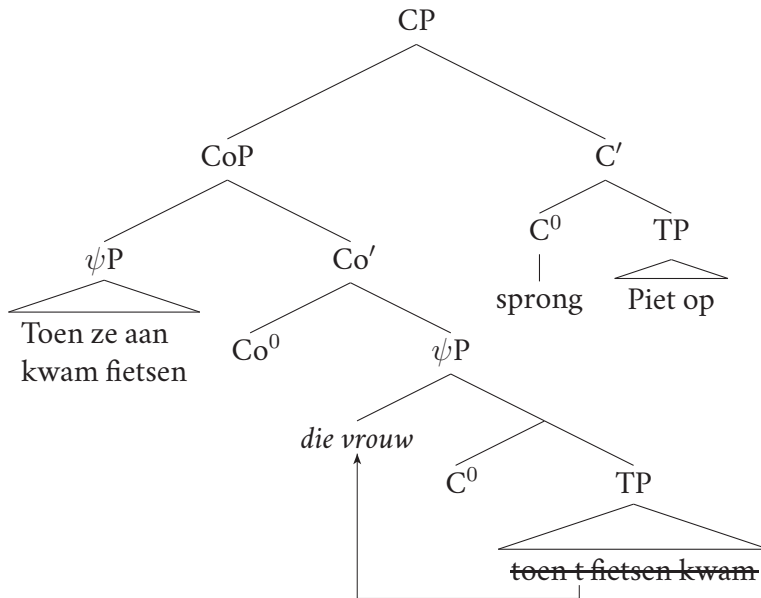
De Vries, (ibid., p.167) concludes that all these data suggest that "the usual constraints on $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement are operative in dislocation constructions, but sometimes these can be avoided by means of an alternative way of construing the sentence." The logic is clear: because movement of δ is an intrinsic part of his analysis, right dislocation must be island sensitive by definition. Cases in which island effects appear to be absent like those in (32) or (35) are, for De Vries, illusory in that they follow from an alternative derivation which involves coordination at the level of the island node which, importantly, is unavailable for the ungrammatical cases. This unavailability follows from the fact that such an alternative derivation predicts adjacency between the embedded island containing κ, and δ.

4.3.2   The Romance data

The main point of this subsection is to evidence that right dislocation in Romance patterns like Dutch with respect to island sensitivity. Observe the set of data in (37): in all these cases, δ is not adjacent to the island that contains the correlate (a relative clause in (37a) and (37d), a temporal adjunct in

(37b) and (37c) and a fronted CP in (37e)). According to analysis developed by De Vries, (2013a), the ungrammaticality of these cases can be accounted for by assuming that δ crosses an island node in the elided clause when it undergoes movement to the left edge of the clause prior to ellipsis.

(37)   a. * El chico [$_{\psi P}$ que me   las   regaló] parecía majo, *las*
                the guy   that to me them gave   seemed nice   the
                entradas.
                tickets
                "*The guy who gave them to me seemed nice, *the tickets*." (Span-
                ish)

        b. * [$_{\psi P}$ Abans que *pro* arribés] ja   havíem acabat   la
                before that   arrived already had   finished the
                reunió, *la   Cristina*.
                meeting the Cristina
                "*Before she arrived the meeting was over, *Cristina*." (Catalan)

        c. * [$_{\psi P}$ Cando las   appo vistas] so ghiratu a domo, *sas nues*.
                when   them have seen   returned to home the clouds
                "*When I saw them I returned home, *the clouds*."   (Sardinian,
                Jones, 1993, p.323, his (34b))

        d. * Ho   presentato una persona [$_{\psi P}$ che può terminarlo] a
                have introduced one person   that can finish it   to
                Maria, *questo lavoro*.
                Mary   this   work
                "*I introduced a person who can complete it to Mary, *this work*."
                (Italian, Samek-Lodovici, 2008, p.3, his (18c))

        e. * [$_{\psi P}$ Qu' elle   sera fachée contre son   frère] c' est
                that she will be mad against her   brother it   is clear
                clair, *Marie*.
                Marie
                "*That she'll be mad with her brother is clear, *Marie*." (French,
                Delais-Roussaire, Doetjes, and Sleeman, 2004, p.521, their (31a))

When δ appears adjacent to the island that contains κ, the examples in (37) become completely grammatical. This is examplified in (38), where δ is

adjacent to the (fronted) island, yielding a string in which δ appears in a medial position; and in (39), where the island appears in absolute final position in the string, to the immediate left of δ.

(38) a. El chico [$_{\psi P}$ que me las regaló], *las entradas*, parecía majo.

   b. [$_{\psi P}$ Abans que *pro* arribés], *la Cristina*, ja havíem acabat la reunió.

   c. [$_{\psi P}$ Cando las appo vistas], *sas nues*, so ghiratu a domo. (Jones, 1993, p.323, his (34a))

   d. Ho presentato una persona [$_{\psi P}$ che può terminarlo], *questo lavoro*, a Maria. (Samek-Lodovici, 2008, p.3, his (18b))

   e. [$_{\psi P}$ Qu' elle sera fachée contre son frère], *Marie*, c'est clair. (Delais-Roussaire, Doetjes, and Sleeman, 2004, p.521, their (31b))

(39) a. Parecía majo el chico [$_{\psi P}$ que me las regaló], *las entradas*.

   b. Ja havíem acabat la reunió [$_{\psi P}$ abans que *pro* arribés], *la Cristina*.

   c. So ghiratu a domo [$_{\psi P}$ cando las appo vistas], *sas nues*. (Jones, 1993, p.323, his (33))

   d. Ho presentato a Maria una persona [$_{\psi P}$ che può terminarlo], *questo lavoro*. (Samek-Lodovici, 2008, p.3, his (18a))

   e. C'est clair [$_{\psi P}$ qu' elle sera fachée contre son frère], *Marie*.[7]

The distribution of grammatical and ungrammatical cases of right dislocation with respect to islands can thus be explained if we adopt De Vries, (2013a)'s analysis: right dislocation is island sensitive by default, which follows from the MADA. The cases where right dislocation appears to be insensitive to islands has an independent explanation, which follows from a crucial ingredient in De Vries, (ibid.)'s analysis: given that the two clauses are coordinated, nothing prohibits coordination at the level of the island node, in which case the dislocate will only $\overline{\text{A}}$-move locally. For these cases, a strict adjacency is predicted between the dislocate and the right edge of the island node in the non-elided clause. I graphically represent the two grammatical examples in (38a) and (39a) respectively.

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[7]This example is not of particular interest, inasmuch as the embedded CP, being in complement position, does not constitute an island for extraction.

(40) a.
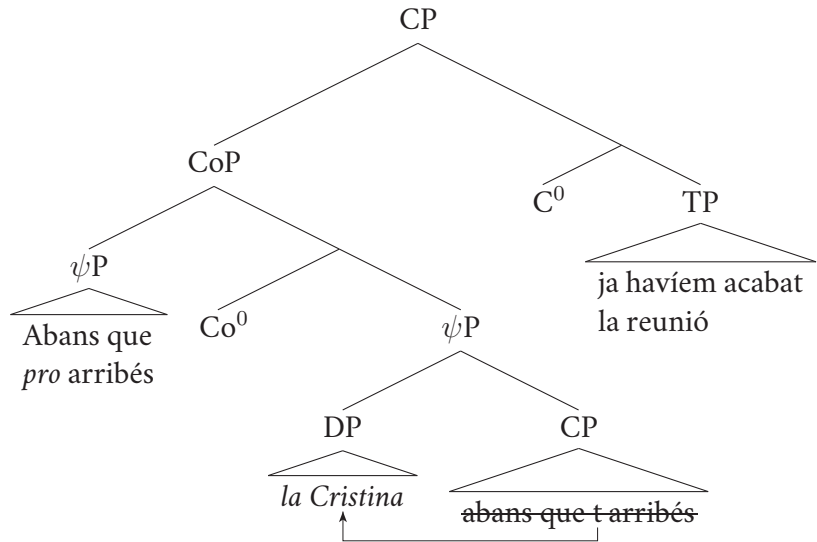
  b.
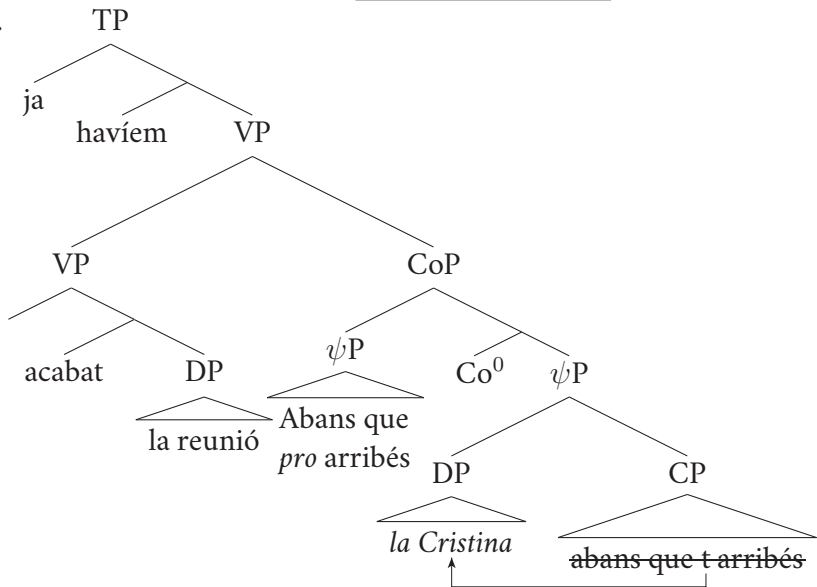
Crucially, the possibility to coordinate at the level of the embedded clause cannot be extended to the ungrammatical cases in (37). Given that δ is not adjacent to the island that contains κ, coordination must have applied at the level of the matrix clause. Therefore, δ will have to undergo long distance movement in the elided clause, thus violating the locality constraints

on movement.

4.4 The Minimal coordination hypothesis

The island facts reviewed in the previous section appear to constitute evidence for a MADA to right dislocation (De Vries, 2013a), as the ungrammatical cases follow from the fact that δ must cross an island node. In this section I want to defend that the locality facts displayed by right dislocation can be accounted for under an analysis in which δ does not move. In particular, the idea I would like to pursue is quite simple: suppose that the derivation that De Vries proposes for the island insensitive cases is actually the only possible derivation. That is, suppose that there exists a construction-specific constraint that forces coordination in right dislocations to be *minimal*. Let us state that constraint as follows:

(41) The Minimal Coordination Hypothesis (MCH):
      The elided clause hosting δ must be coordinated with the lowest finite CP that contains κ in the non-elided clause.

The MCH predicts adjacency between δ and the lowest finite CP that contains κ in the antecedent clause. Under the MCH, the grammatical examples i.e. the island insensitive cases, are actually the expected ones. In those cases, δ is adjacent to the island that contains κ in the antecedent clause. In the ungrammatical cases what we see is that the island node containing κ in the non-elided clause and the right dislocate are not adjacent. These cases are ruled out by the MCH, as they require coordination at the highest level, that is, at the level of the matrix clause. Thus, once we adopt the MCH, then islandhood becomes completely irrelevant to account for the ungrammatical cases.

Both De Vries' and my proposal can cover the same set of data. In the next subsection I provide empirical arguments that the MCH is empirically superior. I will show that De Vries, (ibid.)'s proposal cannot cover a set of data that follow instead straightforwardly from the MCH.

4.4.1 Dutch (multiple) extraposition

The crucial case that teases apart De Vries' proposal and the MCH involves examples in which δ is not adjacent to the embedded CP that contains κ in the antecedent clause and that this CP is not an opaque domain for extraction, like for example a selected, not fronted CP like a clausal object:

(42) $[_{CP} \ldots \mathbf{v} \, [_{CP(selected)} \ldots \kappa \ldots] \ldots] \, [\delta \, \text{elided clause}]$

The analysis put forth by De Vries predicts that such a string should be grammatical. (42) can only be analysed as involving coordination at the matrix level (embedded coordination cannot play a role here because δ is not adjacent to the embedded sentence which contains κ). The elided clause must therefore contain the matrix and the selected CP. In order for the dislocate to survive ellipsis, it has to move from inside the selected CP to the left periphery of the matrix clause. But this successive cyclic $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement operation does not yield any locality violation and thus the output is predicted to be grammatical.

Conversely, under the proposal I am making (42) is predicted to be ungrammatical simply because right dislocation cannot involve matrix coordination according to the MCH. In this section I provide novel data in Dutch that show that (42) yields an ungrammatical string, thus supporting the MCH.

When constructing the relevant examples, it is crucial that the selected CP does not end up rightmost in the antecedent clause (hence adjacent to the dislocated constituent) in order to avoid the embedded coordination analysis. Although Dutch is regarded as SOV language (and therefore the verb could separate δ from the clausal object), selected CPs in this language must be extraposed to the so-called final field - i.e. a position following the clause-final verb (Zwart, 2011, p.73) thus yielding an svo word order, as shown in (43). Throughout this section, Δ will be used to indicate the position of the extraposed material prior to extraposition.

(43) a. * Ik heb dat ze leuk is gezegd.
         I   have that she nice is said
         "I have said that she is nice."

      b.   Ik heb Δ_1 gezegd [dat ze leuk is]$_1$.

Therefore, in order to break the adjacency between δ and a selected CP, we need to extrapose more material to the right of the clausal object. Multiple extraposition is independently available in the grammar of Dutch. One important condition on multiple extraposition in this language is that it is subject to a mirror effect: multiple extraposed material forms nested paths. The following example in (from De Vries, 2002, p.249, his (30))[8] illustrates this requirement. In (44) a comparative clause is extraposed from the subject, and a relative clause is extraposed from the object position[9]:

(44) a. Meer jongens Δ_2 hebben de man Δ_1 gezien [die een hoed
          more boys   have   the man   seen   that a   hat
          draagt]$_1$ [dan   meisjes]$_2$.
          wears   than girls
          "More boys than girls have seen the man who is wearing the
          hat."

      b. * Meer jongens Δ_2 hebben de man Δ_1 gezien [dan meisjes]$_2$ [die
          een hoed draagt]$_1$.

I move on to the relevant examples. Consider the sentence in (45)[10]. Here the subject (*allen die boef*) contains a relative clause (*die onder toezich van justitie staat*) and the matrix verb selects a CP (that has been extraposed) which contains, in turn, a verb that requires an object, *de kroonjuwelen* (the crown jewels).

(45) Allen die boef [$_{RelCl}$ die onder toezicht van justitie staat] heeft
      only that crook   that under auspicion of   justice stands has
      Δ_1 beloofd [$_{CP}$ dat hij de kroonjuwelen niet zal stelen]$_1$.
         promised   that he the crown jewels not will steal

---

[8]For more cases of multiple extraposition in Dutch and the ordering restrictions extraposed constituents are subject to see De Vries, (ibid., p.287, §5.2.3)).

[9]Contrary to the clausal object extraposition illustrated in (43), in (44) both extraposed constituents are linked to some remaining material before the clause-final verb. This is not important for our matters.

[10]I would like to thank Mark de Vries and Jan-Wouter Zwart for providing me with the data in this subsection, for sharing their judgements and discussion. Thanks to Heidi Klockmann and Franca Wesseling for corrections and judgements too.

"Only that crook who is under the auspices of justice has promised that he will not steal the crown jewels."

(46) illustrates that this direct object can be right dislocated, leaving a weak pronominal (*ze*, "them") - the correlate, κ - inside the clausal object.

(46)   Allen die boef   [die onder toezicht   van justitie staat]   heeft Δ_1
       only that crook   that under auspicion of   justice stands has
       beloofd   [dat hij [$_\kappa$ ze]   niet zal stelen]$_1$, [$_\delta$ *de   kroonjuwelen*].
       promised   that he   them not will steal   the crownjewels
       "Only that crook who is under the auspices of justice has promised that he will not steal them, *the crown jewels*."

Both De Vries' and my proposal predict the grammaticality of (46) albeit for different reasons. Under my analysis, (46) is grammatical because it respects the MCH. This is observed by the fact that δ and the lowest finite CP that contanins κ are adjacent. My analysis is given in (47a). Under De Vries, (2013a)'s view, represented in (47b), nothing prohibits coordination to hold at the level of the matrix clause, with δ undergoing long-distance movement to the left edge of this clause. This analysis is exemplified in (47b). Crucially, this movement does not violate any locality constraints, as extraction out of extraposed clausal objects is independently possible in Dutch, as illustrated in (48) (Zwart, 2011, p.256-7, his (26b) and (29)):

(47)   a.   Allen die boef die onder toezicht van justitie staat heeft beloofd
            [$_{CoP}$ [dat hij ze$_\kappa$ niet zal stelen] Co^0 [~~dat hij~~ de kroonjuwelen$_\delta$ ~~niet
            zal stelen~~]].

       b.   [$_{CoP}$ [Allen die boef die onder toezicht van justitie staat heeft be-
            loofd dat hij ze$_\kappa$ niet zal stelen] Co^0 [de kroonjuwelen$_\delta$ ~~Allen die
            boef die onder toezicht van justitie staat heeft beloofd dat hij t$_\delta$
            niet zal stelen~~]].

(48)   a.   Tasman heeft altijd Δ_1 betreurd [dat hij het Zuidland   niet
            Tasman has   always   regretted   that he the South Land not
            kon   vinden]$_1$.
            could find

"Tasman always regretted not having been able to find the South land."

b. Wat heeft Tasman altijd Δ_1 betreurd [dat hij t niet kon vinden]$_1$?

(49) is intended to tease apart the two analyses. In this example the relative clause that modifies the subject is also extraposed[11]. Because multiple extraposition creates nested and not intertwined paths (44), the relative clause will linearly follow the extraposed clausal object.

(49) Allen die boef Δ_2 heeft Δ_1 beloofd   [dat hij de kroonjuwelen
    only that crook   has   promised that he the crown jewels
    niet zal stelen]$_1$ [die onder toezicht van justitie staat]$_2$.
    not will steal   that under auspicion of justice stands

The following example shows that right dislocation of the object *de kroonjuwelen* within the selected CP over an extraposed relative clause is ungrammatical:

(50)   * Allen die boef Δ_2 heeft Δ_1 beloofd   [dat hij *ze*   niet zal
    only the crook   has   promised that he them not will
    stelen]$_1$ [die onder toezicht   van justitie staat]$_2$, [$_\delta$ de
    steal   that under auspicion of justice stands   the
    kroonjuwelen].
    crown jewels

The ungrammaticality of (50) is certainly unexpected under De Vries, (2013a)'s analysis. Embedded coordination cannot be at stake here, because δ is not adjacent to the lowest CP containing κ, so the derivation must involve coordination at the matrix level. But this should not be a problem given that movement of δ out of the selected CP does not violate any locality restriction, as we observed in (48). Essentially, for De Vries (50) should be as grammatical as (46), contrary to fact[12].

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[11]Relative clause extraposition is, contrary to clausal objects, an optional operation, as argued by Zwart, (ibid., p.77).

[12]Dennis Ott (p.c.) claims that an example like (50) becomes grammatical if both ex-

However, the MCH correctly predicts the ungrammaticality of (50): the lowest finite CP that contains the correlate in the non-elided clause is the selected CP, so the elided CP hosting δ must be coordinated with this selected CP. But this cannot be the analysis in (50) because δ does not appear adjacent to the selected object. Crucially, adjacency between these two elements makes the sentence grammatical, which of course is a welcome result:

(51)   Allen die boef Δ_2 heeft Δ_1 beloofd   [dat hij [$_\kappa$ ze]   niet zal
       only the crook   has   promised that he   them not will
       stelen]$_1$, [$_\delta$ de   kroonjuwelen], [die onder toezicht   van justitie
       steal   the crown jewels   that under auspicion of   justice
       staat]$_2$.
       stands

The following example proves the same point. In (52) the subject con-

---

trapposed clauses contain a correlate of δ. He reports the following example in German (I marked κ in bold for ease of exposition):

i. Der Gauner hat Δ_2 Δ_1 gestanden [dass er **sie**   verkauft hat]$_1$ [nachdem die Polizei
    the crook   has   confessed that he them sold   has   after   the police
    sie   gefunden hatte]$_2$, *die Kronjuwelen*.
    them found   had   the crown jewels
    "The crook has confessed that he sold them after the police had found them, the crown jewels."

He points out that for dislocation to hold between the leftmost extraposed clause (the object CP) and δ coordination cannot be minimal in the relevant sense. I submit that (i) must be analyzed as involving dislocation only between the rightmost extraposed clause (the temporal adjunct clause) and δ. *Sie* in the object clause is an instance of a free pronoun. In fact it is possible for *sie* in the object clause to refer to another entity in the discourse, but *sie* in the rightmost clause must necessarily corefer with δ (ia). Conversely, if δ appears adjacent to the leftmost extraposed clause (in clause medial position) then **sie** in that clause must obligatorily refer to δ, whereas **sie** in the temporal adjunct can instead be free (ib):

i. a. Der Gauner hat gestanden dass er **sie**$_{\{i/k\}}$ verkauft hat nachdem die Polizei
        sie$_{\{i/^*k\}}$ gefunden hatte, *die Kronjuwelen*$_i$.
    b. Der Gauner hat gestanden dass er **sie**$_{\{i/^*k\}}$ verkauft hat, *die Kronjuwelen*$_i$, nachdem
        die Polizei **sie**$_{\{i/k\}}$ gefunden hatte.

tains a comparative coda, and the clausal object has been extraposed to a
position following the clause-final verb. (53) shows that the direct object *de
taaltoets* ("the language tests") can be right dislocated from this clausal object,
leaving a weak pronominal in its place. Like (46), this example is predicted
to be grammatical by both the MCH and De Vries, (2013a)'s analysis. Again,
under the MCH δ is coordinated with the object clause hosting κ (54a); un-
der De Vries' analysis, matrix coordination is allowed, with δ undergoing
long distance movement out of a selected clause (54b).

(52) Meer studenten geschiedenis [$_{CompC}$ dan studenten Nederlands]
      more students   of history   than students   of Dutch
      hebben Δ_1 beloofd   [$_{CP}$ dat ze   de taaltoets   zouden
      have   promised   that they the language tests would
      maken]$_1$.
      make
      "More students of history than students of Dutch have promised that
      they'd take the language tests."

(53) Meer studenten geschiedenis [dan studenten Nederlands] hebben
      more students   of history   than students   of Dutch   have
      Δ_1 beloofd   [dat ze'   [$_\kappa$ m]   zouden maken]$_1$, [$_\delta$ *de*
          promised   that they   them would   make   the
      taaltoets]
      language tests
      "More students of history than students of Dutch have promised that
      they'd take them, *the language tests*."

(54) a. Meer studenten geschiedenis dan studenten Nederlands hebben
          beloofd [$_{CoP}$ dat ze'm zouden maken] Co^0 [~~dat ze~~ de taaltoets$_\delta$
          ~~zouden maken~~]].
      b. [$_{CoP}$ Meer studenten geschiedenis dan studenten Nederlands hebben
          beloofd dat ze'm zouden maken] Co^0 [de taaltoets$_\delta$ ~~meer studenten~~
          ~~geschiedenis dan studenten Nederlands hebben beloofd dat ze t_δ~~
          ~~zouden maken~~]].

To pit the two analyses against each other we need to break the adja-
cency between the clausal object and δ. To do so, one can extrapose the

comparative coda from the subject to a position following the extraposed
clausal object (55). Now we can test whether *de taaltoets* ("the language tests")
can be right dislocated from the clausal object to the right of the extraposed
comparative coda. The result is ungrammatical, as evidenced in (56).

(55)   Meer studenten geschiedenis Δ_2 hebben Δ_1 beloofd   [dat ze
        more students   of history   have   promised   that they
        de taaltoets   zouden maken]$_1$ [dan studenten
        the language tests would   make   than students
        Nederlands]$_2$.
        of Dutch

(56)   * Meer studenten geschiedenis Δ_2 hebben Δ_1 beloofd   [dat ze'
        more students   of history   have   promised   that they
        [$_\kappa$ m]   zouden maken]$_1$ [dan studenten Nederlands]$_2$, [$_\delta$ *de*
            them would   make   than students   of Dutch   the
        taaltoets].
        language tests

The ungrammaticality of (56) is expected under the MCH, given that for
this word order to obtain coordination must have taken place at a higher
level than the clausal object. Under De Vries' account, however, this un-
grammaticality cannot be accounted for, given that in the elided clause the
dislocated constituent is extracted out of a selected clause and such an op-
eration should yield a licit chain.

Importantly, if δ appears adjacent to the clausal object, that is preceding
the extraposed comparative coda, the sentence becomes grammatical again,
as expected under the MCH:

(57)   Meer studenten geschiedenis Δ_2 hebben Δ_1 beloofd   [dat ze' [$_\kappa$
        more students   of history   have   promised   that they
        m]   zouden maken]$_1$, [$_\delta$ *de   taaltoets*],   [dan studenten
        them would   make   the language tests   than students
        Nederlands]$_2$.
        of Dutch

4.4.2 Interim summary

Let us summarize thus far. De Vries, (2013a) argues that a MADA to right dislocation can account for the island sensitivity facts. Under his account, right dislocation is island sensitive by default: because δ undergoes movement in the elided clause, run-of-the-mill locality constraints on movement should apply. In some cases, however, RD appears to be island insensitive. These cases all involve δ being adjacent to the island containing κ. These possibilities are graphically illustrated in (58):

(58) a. * $[_{CP} [_{\psi P} \dots \kappa \dots] \dots], \delta$.

   b. $[_{CP} [_{\psi P} \dots \kappa \dots], \delta, \dots]$.

   c. $[_{CP} \dots [_{\psi P} \dots \kappa \dots], \delta]$.

De Vries works on the assumption, like I do, that the elided clause hosting δ is coordinated with the antecedent clause that contains κ. For the grammatical cases, de Vries claims that δ is coordinated at the level of ψP. Therefore δ does not violate any constraint on movement as it only undergoes local $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement. Such an analysis cannot carry over to (58a): if δ was coordinated with ψP we would expect them to be linearly adjacent. In this example, thus, coordination must hold at the level of the matrix clause. The elided clause therefore consists of a complex clause containing δ, which in order to escape the domain of ellipsis, must undergo long-distance movement, crucially crossing an island node.

In this section I have proposed an alternative account of the facts in (58). I have worked on the assumption that in right dislocation, coordination must be as low as possible. In particular, I have hypothesized that the (elided) clause containing δ must coordinate with the lowest finite CP that hosts κ in the antecedent clause, a condition that I have referred to as Minimal Coordination Hypothesis (MCH). Under this new approach, it is completely irrelevant that κ is contained within an island node in 58a. This particular configuration is ungrammatical not because δ undergoes long distance movement in CP-E from an island, but rather because it violates the MCH.

To tease apart the two analyses, I considered cases in which κ was contained in a clausal object, but δ was not adjacent to that clause. Given that

clausal objects are transparent domains for extraction, De Vries, (2013a)'s analysis predicts that the resulting string should be grammatical. Under the alternative I am defending, such a configuration will be ruled out. I have provided examples in Dutch, using multiple extraposition data, that the MCH makes the correct predictions for these cases.

Finally, note that the data reported above look like right roof constraint effects. In fact, it has been long claimed that right dislocation is subject to such condition, which was first proposed by Ross, (1967). However, it is important to note that under the biclausal approach there is no actual movement dependency between κ (or the clause that contains it) and δ. Therefore, the RRC effects observed should be coincidental or illusory.

In fact, configurations can be found in which right dislocation would be predicted to be ungrammatical were it subject to a locality constraint like the RRC. For example, as kindly reported to me by Dennis Ott (p.c.), in German extraposition of a PP across a finite embedded clause is ungrammatical:

(59) a.   Ein Bruder von Peter hat gesagt, dass Maria hübsch ist.
            a   brother of   Peter has said   that Maria pretty   is
            "A brother of Peter has said that Maria is pretty."
      b.   * Ein Bruder Δ_1 hat gesagt, dass Maria hübsch ist [von Peter]$_1$.

However, right dislocation is possible precisely in this very same context. Note, in turn, that the grammaticality of (60) is surprising under monoclausal theories of right dislocation that assume a movement dependency between κ and δ, as one would in principle expect the same locality constraints on movement to be in operation both in (59b) and in (60).

(60)   [$_\kappa$ Er] hat gesagt, dass Maria hübsch ist, [$_\delta$ *der Bruder   von Peter*].
            he   has said   that Maria pretty   is   the brother of   Peter
            "He said Maria's pretty, Peter's brother."

But the grammaticality of (60) is correctly captured by the MCH. The correlate in the antecedent clause is in the matrix clause in the CP$_A$, so the elided clause hosting δ must coordinate at that level:

(61)   [$_{CoP}$ [$_{CP}$ Er hat gesagt, dass Maria hübsch ist] Co^0 [$_{CP}$ der Bruder von Peter ~~hat gesagt, dass Maria hübsch ist~~]].

4.4.3 The MCH in Romance

In this section I show that the MCH is an operative constraint in right dislocation in Romance languages. The evidence provided will be similar to the Dutch data in §4.4.1: I will focus on dislocation from clausal objects in complement position, which are transparent domains for extraction. Further, and crucially, we need to disrupt any possible adjacency between this embedded CP and δ. The MCH predicts these strings will be ungrammatical. An alternative derivation which does not impose restrictions on coordination and under which locality is a corollary of movement will predict these examples to be grammatical.

Observe the Catalan sentence in (62), where the verb of the matrix clause selects for a clausal object which, in turn, contains a verb which selects for a direct object *les flors* ("the flowers"). As illustrated in (63) this direct object can be right dislocated.

(62) La Maria m' ha comentat $[_{CP}$ que prefereixen comprar les
      the Maria to me has said   that prefer   to buy   the
      flors   al   mercat].
      flowers in the market
      "Mary told me that they prefer to buy the flowers at the market."

(63) La Maria m' ha comentat $[$ que $[_{\kappa}$ les$]$ prefereixen comprar
      the Maria to me has said   that   them prefer   to buy
      al   mercat], $[_{\delta}$ *les flors*$]$.
      in the market   the flowers
      "Mary told me that they prefer to buy them at the market, *the flowers*."

(63) is our departing point. Under De Vries' proposal it has two possible derivations. One is for the elided clause hosting δ to coordinate with the matrix clause. CP_E then contains the matrix and the subordinate clause. δ then undergoes successive cyclic $\overline{A}$-movement to the periphery of the matrix clause, an operation which does not violate any locality condition:

(64)

```
                                    CoP
                          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                         CP                     Co′
                   ┌──────┴──────┐        ┌──────┴──────┐
              La Maria m'ha comentat     Co⁰           CP
              que les prefereixen              ┌────────┴────────┐
              comprar al mercat              DP                 CP
                                         ┌───┴───┐        ┌──────┴──────┐
                                       les flors        la Maria m'ha comentat
                                                        que prefereixen
                                                        comprar t al mercat
```
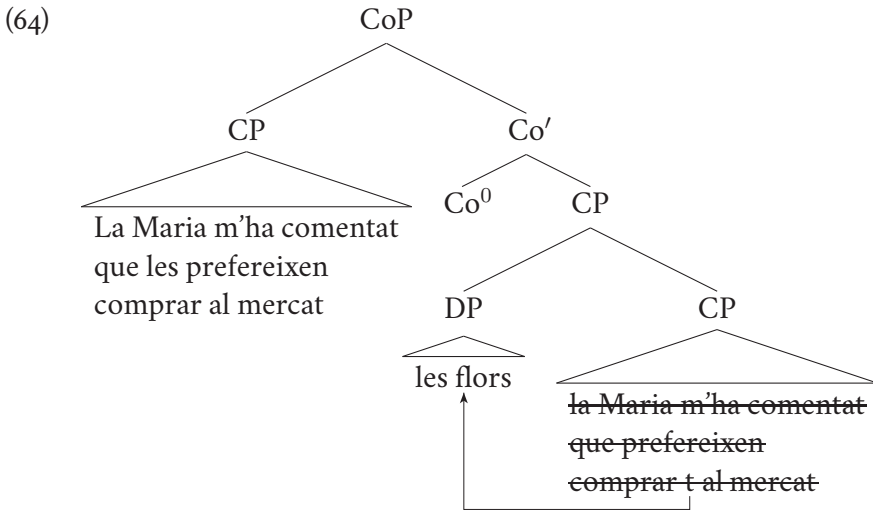
However, another possibility is for coordination to take place at the level of the embedded clause. In this case, the elided structure only contains the embedded clause where δ is base generated. Under this analysis, δ only undergoes local $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement to the left periphery of this embedded clause:

(65)

```
                    TP
           ┌────────┴────────┐
          DP                 T′
       ┌───┴───┐       ┌──────┴──────┐
      La Maria T⁰              VP
               │        ┌──────┴──────┐
              m'ha      V            CoP
                        │      ┌──────┴──────┐
                     comentat CP            Co′
                          ┌────┴────┐  ┌─────┴─────┐
                     que les prefereix Co⁰        CP
                     comprar al mercat      ┌──────┴──────┐
                                           DP            CP
                                        ┌───┴───┐   ┌─────┴─────┐
                                      les flors    que prefereix
                                                   comprar t
                                                   al mercat
```
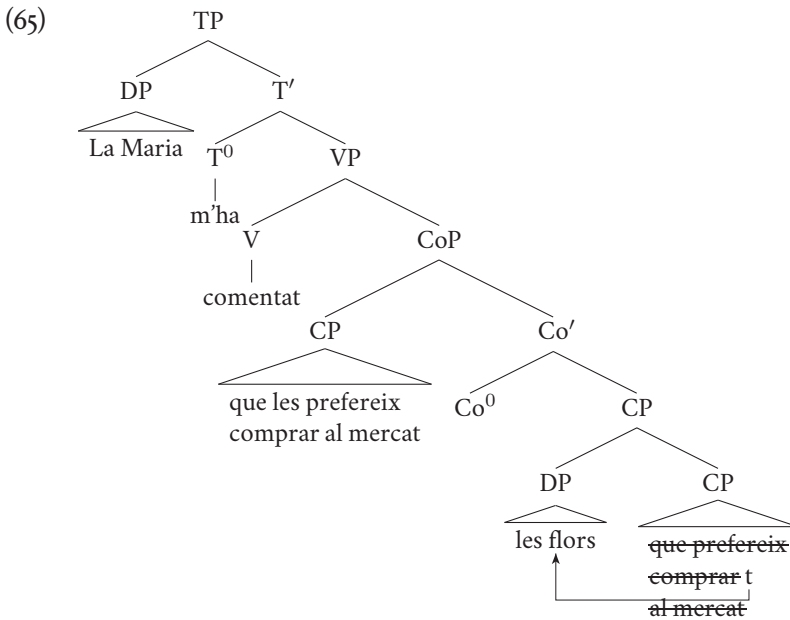
Under the MCH, the only possible derivation is (65), as the lowest finite CP that contains κ is the embedded clause. In order to tease apart the two competing analysis, we need to create contexts in which δ is not adjacent to the embedded CP that contains κ. To do so, I propose to place the matrix subject to the right of the embedded clause. This word order rearrangement is possible under the reading in which this subject is contrastively focused. Thus, a possible context for (66) would be as a reply to someone who has asserted that Peter made the claim that some people prefer to buy the flowers in the market:

(66) $[_{TP}$ M'   ha comentat $[_{CP}$ que prefereixen comprar les flors
            to me has said   that prefer   to buy   the flowers

       al   mercat] LA MARIA].
       in the market the Mary
       "It is Mary that told me that they prefer to buy the flowers at the mar-
       ket."

(67a) shows that dislocation of the direct object inside the clausal object past the postponed, focal subject results in ungrammaticality[13]. Under a MADA to right dislocation it is unclear how to account for this, as the $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement of the remnant to the left periphery of the matrix should be fine as shown in (64). Under the MCH, however, we correctly predict the ungrammaticality of (67a). Further, if adjacency is restored in the rearranged order in (66), that is by placing the right dislocated constituent in a me-

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[13]Examples of this sort have been provided in the literature on Romance Right Dislocation to support the claim that right dislocation is subject to the right roof constraint (Cecchetto, 1999; Villalba, 2000). The existence of right roof constraint effects has been taken as evidence in favour of monoclausal, clause-internal analyses of right dislocation. Under these approaches, δ undergoes movement to a middle field position (somewhere between TP and VP). δ must appear adjacent to the lowest finite CP that contains κ because it moves to an internal position in that clause. Note, conversely, that movement-based, peripheral monoclausal approaches to right dislocation (Fernández-Sánchez, 2013; Samek-Lodovici, 2006, 2015) these locality constraints cannot be immediately derived: under these analyses, δ undergoes leftward movement and then remnant movement of the remaining material follows so as to ensure that the relevant word order obtains. But because movement to the C-domain is unbounded, right roof constraints would be expected to be violated. This was discussed in Chapter 2.

dial position in the clause, the sentence becomes grammatical again, as evidenced by the grammaticality of (67b):

(67)   a.   * M'   ha comentat que les   prefereixen comprar al
              to me has said   that them prefer   to buy   in the
              mercat LA MARIA, *les flors*.
              market the Maria   the flowers

       b.   ? M'ha comentat que les prefereixen comprar al mercat, *les flors*,
            LA MARIA[14].

4.4.4   An finite/non-finite asymmetry

The following two sentences, from Samek-Lodovici, (2015, p.106, his (69) and (70)), are problematic for the way the MCH is defined. In the two examples in (68), δ is separated from the lowest CP that contains κ in the antecedent clause by the matrix subject. These examples are structurally similar to (67a), but they are surprisingly grammatical:

(68)   a.   Ci ha obbligato a portar- le   MARCO, *le pistole*.
            us has forced   to bring   them Marco the guns
            "Marco has forced us to bring the guns."

       b.   Ha promesso di aiutar- li   MARCO, *i   ragazzi*.
            has promised of help   them Marco the boys
            "Marco has promised to help the boys.

    For the MCH to be respected, δ would have to appear adjacent to the embedded clause in CP_A, thus preceding, and not following, the focal subject. In fact this configuration is expectedly grammatical[15]:

---

[14] The resulting string is not perfect, as indicated by the ? sign. I believe, however, that the mild marginality of this example is due to prosodic issues. Right dislocated phrases trigger a strong pitch lowering. δ is immediately followed by a short focused constituent, which requires strong prosodic prominence. It is this strong clash of prosodic properties that, in my opinion, is causing (67b) to be slightly odd.

[15] These examples are judged as slightly degraded by Samek-Lodovici. The reason for this, I suggest, is analogous to the explanation I offered in fn.14 regarding the grammatical status of (67b).

(69)   a.   ? Ci ha obbligato a portar-le, *le pistole*, MARCO.

     b.   ? Ha promesso di aiutar-li, *i ragazzi*, MARCO.

Why are the examples in (68) grammatical even though they violate the MCH? It is important to note that in spite of the similarities, the sentences in (68) differ with the previous cases in at least one respect: the finiteness of the embedded clause which contains κ. In these Italian examples, this embedded clause is non-finite, and all of the examples presented so far to test the MCH involved finite clauses.

Similar contrasts can be observed in Spanish. As shown in (70), δ need not be adjacent to the non-finite CP containing κ. Crucially, it must be adjacent to the CP contaning κ if this CP is finite, as exemplified in (71).

(70)   a.   ? Aprobarlo va   a ser todo un reto,   *este examen*.
          pass it   goes to be all   a   challenge this exam
          "Passing this test is going to be a real challenge."

     b.   ? Aprobarlo, *este examen*, va a ser todo un reto.

(71)   a.   * Que lo aprobemos va a ser todo un reto,   *este examen*.
          that it pass   go to be all   a   challenge this exam
          "Passing this test is going to be a real challenge."

     b.   Que lo aprobemos, *este examen*, va a ser todo un reto.

In order to capture these data, I submit the following modification to the MCH:

(72)   *The Minimal Coordination Hypothesis* (final version)
     The highest level at which coordination can take place in right dislocations is the lowest finite CP containing κ in CP_A.

The formulation in (72) is, I believe, an accurate description of the facts. δ (and the elided clause containing it) cannot coordinate higher than the lowest finite CP that contains κ. But it can coordinate at a lower clausal node, provided this is non-finite.

4.4.5   Where does the MCH derive from?

The MCH is a descriptive tool that correctly predicts where right dislocated constituents can and cannot appear in a clause. I admit, however, its stipulative nature. Further, it is clear that the MCH cannot be a primitive of the grammar, so the crucial question that arises is, of course, where it derives from. It certainly cannot be an independent property of coordination, as we know that run-of-the-mill coordinated structures are not subject to restrictions involving the height at which coordination applies. This can be observed in examples like the following:

(73)   [John warned me not to go to the beach on Sunday because he had seen in the news' weather forecast that it would downpour] but [after checking various forecast reports myself I decided not to take his advice].

The MCH could alternatively be regarded as a property of specifying coordination, although that is *a priori* undesirable, unless independent evidence for this claim can be found. A more promising alternative is to hypothesize that the MCH follows from ellipsis, or from a particular interplay between ellipsis and coordination. I cannot determine at this point the driving force behind the MCH, but I would like to suggest that there is some initial evidence for the latter option.

Consider first gapping, which involves the non-pronunciation[16] of a finite verb in the second conjunct of a coordinate structure:

(74)   Charles Dickens wrote *Hard Times* and George Eliot ~~wrote~~ *Middlemarch*.

Among some of the constraints that gapping is subject to (Hankamer, 1979; Jackendoff, 1971), it has been noted that the gap cannot contain a finite clause boundary (Brucart, 1987; Hankamer, 1973; Jayaseelan, 1990; Neijt, 1979).

---

[16]For the purposes of illustration, I assume that the *gap* in gapping is the result of ellipsis, in line with Ross, (1970)'s original analysis, also pursued - albeit with important technical differences, by many other authors (Boone, 2015; Coppock, 2001; Hartmann, 2000; Lin, 2002; Neijt, 1979; Reich, 2006; Toosarvandani, to appear), see Abeillé, Bílbie, and Mouret, (2014) and Johnson, (2006, 2009) for different approaches.

This is evidenced, for example, by the fact that the gap $[e]$ in a sentence like (75) can only be interpreted as in (75a) and not as in (75b):

(75)   Julia said that Rose speaks Russian and Matthew $[e]$ Polish.
     a. $[e]$ = speaks
     b.   * $[e]$ = said that Rose speaks

In other words, the subject remnant *Matthew* correlates with the subject in the embedded domain in the antecedent clause *Rose*, and not with the matrix subject *Julia*. This restriction is generally referred to as the clausemate condition, and it states that the two remnants of gapping must belong in the same clause.

An interesting way of looking at this locality condition is to stipulate that in gapping, coordination must be as low as possible (see Fernández-Sánchez, (2017) for related ideas). In other words, the contrast between (75a) and (75b) follows if one assumes that the height at which coordination applies is the embedded clause, as shown in (76), a condition which certainly looks very much like the MCH[17]:

(76)   a.   Julia said that $[_{CoP}$ [Rose speaks Russian] and [Matthew ~~speaks~~ Polish]].
      b.   * $[_{CoP}$ [Julia said that Rose speaks Russian] and [Matthew ~~said that Rose speaks~~ Polish]].

---

[17] Interestingly, as further noted by Ross, (1970), the clausemate condition can be violated as long as the two remnants are separated by a non-finite clause boundary. Thus, the gap in (i) can have different sizes, which depend on where coordination holds. For example, the reading in (ia) obtains from coordination applying at the level of the matrix clause. This is the highest node at which coordination can take place according to the MCH. The availability of the other readings follows from the possibility to coordinate at lower clausal nodes, provided they are non-finite, which follows from the MCH as stated in (72):

 i. I want to try to begin to write a novel, and you $[e]$ a play.
     a. $[e]$ = want to try to begin to write
     b. $[e]$ = to try to begin to write
     c. $[e]$ = to begin to write
     d. $[e]$ = to write

Similar data have been reported for VP ellipsis in coordination structures in Frazier and Clifton Jr, (2005). These authors conducted a written experiment and found that their reader participants were more proned to interpret the gap left by VP ellipsis as corresponding to the embedded VP in the antecedent clause *went to Europe*. Again, this contrast is expected if the MCH is a constraint in operation in elliptical strings.

(77)   John said Fred went to Europe and Mary did too.

    a.   John said Fred went to Europe and Mary ~~went to Europe~~ too.

    b. ?? John said Fred went to Europe and Mary ~~said Fred went to Europe~~ too.

Interestingly, when the VP-ellipsis string was not coordinated, but rather uttered in a separate clause (78), then the interpretation in which the antecedent corresponds to the matrix verb was significantly preferred:

(78)   John said Fred went to Europe. Mary did too.

    a. ?? John said Fred went to Europe and Mary ~~went to Europe~~ too.

    b.   John said Fred went to Europe and Mary ~~said Fred went to Europe~~ too.

Spanish disallows VP-ellipsis of the English type (but see López, 1999), and so the strings in (77) are carried out by means of stripping. In Spanish, too, the interpretation in which the gap contains a finite clause boundary is clearly disfavoured:

(79)   Juan dijo que Fred viajaría   a Europa y   María también.
      Juan said that Fred would travel to Europe and Mary too
      "Juan said that Fred would travel to Europe and Mary did too."

    a.   Juan dijo que Fred viajaría a Europa y María ~~viajaría a Europa~~ también.

    b. ?? Juan dijo que Fred viajaría a Europa y María ~~dijo que Fred viajaría a Europa~~ también.

The parallelism between right dislocations and phenomena that exhibit ellipsis and coordination is interesting, although I acknowledge that more research needs to be undertaken in this area. Until a better explanation of

the facts is done, the MCH constitutes an accurate description of the facts. In the remaining of this chapter I explore other data that follow nicely if the MCH is adopted.

4.5   Multiple dislocations

So far in this thesis I have provided instances of right dislocations which featured only one δ. But it is indeed possible to find examples where more than one constituent is right dislocated. I will refer to these cases as multiple dislocations, an example of which is given in (80):

(80)   Li   ho vam prometre, *a la   Joana, que aniríem   a patinar.*
        to her it PAST promise   to the Joana that would go to skate
        "We promised Joana that we'd go to skate."   (Catalan)

In this example two constituents are dislocated: the indirect object PP and the clausal object. Both have a corresponding clitic correlate in the host clause: the dative singular clitic *li* and the neuter acusative *ho* respectively. The purpose of this section is to discuss the implications of multiple dislocations for the biclausal analysis. As we will see, the MCH will play a crucial role again in accounting for some word order properties.

4.5.1   Clause-mate dislocations

In (80), the two right dislocated constituents are clause-mates. I discuss these first because they are the simple cases, and they allow me to introduce some important assumptions for more complex configurations. One of those assumptions is that in cases of multiple dislocations, each δ belongs in a separate, elided clause, all linked among them by means of multiple specifying coordination. A possible analysis for (80) would be analyzed as follows:

(81)   ForceP
              /   \
          Force   CoP
                            /   \
                          CoP   FinP
                     /   \   / |
                  FinP   Co   ~~li vam prometre~~
                 /   \   /   \   que aniríem a patinar
          Li ho vam   Co   FinP
          prometre   /   \
                    ~~ho vam prometre~~
                    a la Joana
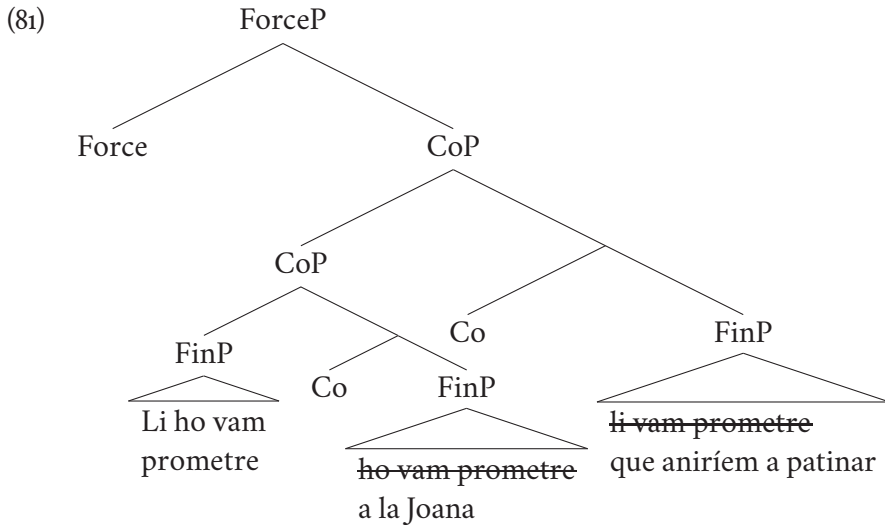
An alternative derivation would be to assume that the two dislocated
constituents are multiple remnants of a single (elided) clause:

(82)   ForceP
              /   \
          Force   CoP
                            /   \
                         FinP   FinP
                        /   \   Co   /   \
                  Li ho vam prometre   ~~li vam prometre~~ a la Joana
                                       que aniríem a patinar
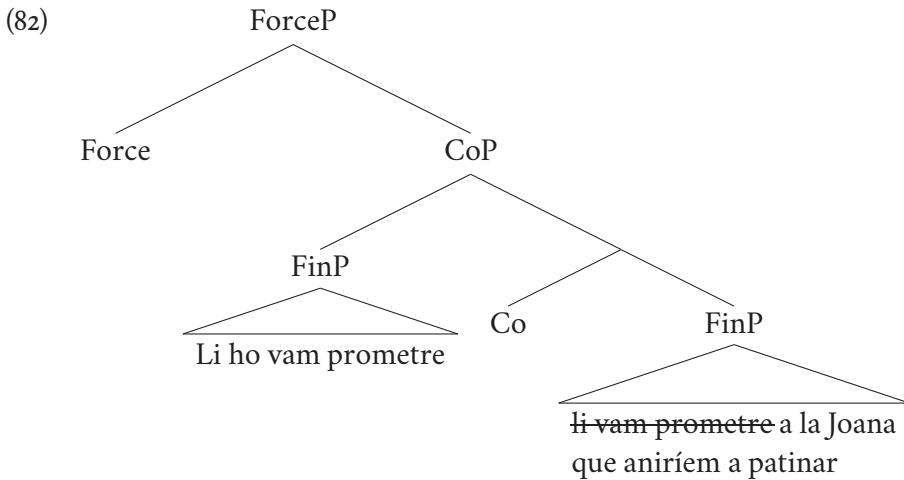
There are two main reasons why I do not consider (82) and defend, in-
stead, the analysis in (81). First, each right dislocated constituent is prosod-
ically independent of each other (Feldhausen, 2010, p.170), which naturally
follows if they are contained in separate clauses. Second, clausemate mul-
tiple dislocations do not display any relative order among them, i.e. their

word order is free. Observe the following pair (from Villalba, 1996, p.216, his (11)), where the dislocated constituents are the direct object DP and the locative PP:

(83)   a. Els   hi   vam guardar, *els llibres*, *a l'   armari*.
            them there PAST keep   the books in the bookcase
            "We put the books in the bookcase."

       b. Els hi vam guardar, *a l'armari*, *els llibres*.

Of particular interest to us is (83b), where the locative precedes the object. The grammaticality of this example is completely unexpected if the analysis in (82) is the correct one. This is so because in Catalan, the object always precedes the locative in non-dislocation contexts, so the only word order that can be derived in the elided clause is the one that corresponds to (83a)First, recall that δ stands in a (local) focal configuration with the antecedent clause. Under the analysis in (82), one would have to allow for the existence of two foci in one sentence, a claim which would be problematic under the assumption that "there is only one focus per sentence" (Jackendoff, 1972, p.250)[18]

The free word order of dislocates follows from the fact that coordination does not impose any particular order on conjuncts[19]:

(84)   a. Fred, Bill and Jake came to the party.
       b. Bill, Jake and Fred came to the party.
       c. Jake, Fred and Bill came to the party.
       d. Fred, Jake and Bill came to the party.

---

[18]There may be another reason to reject (82): recall that δ stands in a (local) focal configuration with the antecedent clause. Under the analysis in (82), one would have to allow for the existence of two foci in one sentence. This appears to be problematic under the assumption that "there is only one focus per sentence" (ibid., p.250). Ángel Gallego and Dennis Ott (p.c.) have objected that the such a restriction cannot be universally true. But to the extend that Jackendoff's claim holds for languages like Italian (e.g. Stoyanova, 2008), the multiple foci analysis of multiple dislocations in (82) can be rejected for this particular language.

[19]To be more precise, specifying coordination does impose an order, mainly the less specific clause - the one that serves as an antecedent for the ellipsis and which contains the correlate - must be leftmost. It is the subsequent conjoints that are not subject to liner restrictions.

e. Bill, Fred and Jake came to the party.

f. Jake, Bill and Fred came to the party.

Similar data have been provided for in other Romance languages:

(85) a. Bi   l' appo dattu, *su dinari, a s' avocatu*.
          him it have given his money to the lawyer
          "I've given the lawyer his money."

      b. Bi l'appo dattu, *a s'avocatu*, *su dinari*.   (Sardinian, Jones, 1993,
          p.320, his (24))

(86) a. Je le lui donne, *le livre*, *a ton frère*.
          I it him give   the book to your brother
          "I gave the book to your brother."

      b. Je le lui donne, *a ton frère*, *le livre*.   (French, Delais-Roussaire,
          Doetjes, and Sleeman, 2004, p.521, their (32))

(87) a. L' i   metrem, *dins lo tirador*, *lo cot*.
          it there will put in the drawer the knife
          "We'll put the knife in the drawer."

      b. L'i metrem, *lo cot*, *dans lo tirador*.   (Occitan, Sauzet[20])

4.5.2 Dislocation from different clauses

Now let us turn to cases of multiple dislocations where the dislocates are not clausemates. The following example in Catalan contains two δ: the locative PP, whose correlate is the prepositional clitic *hi* in the subordinate domain in the antecedent clause, and the dative PP, whose correlate is the dative clitic *li* in the matrix clause.

(88) Li va   prometre que hi   aniríem, [*a la platja*], [*a la*
      her PAST to promise that there would go to the beach   to the
      Maria].
      Maria
      "He promised Mary that we'd go to the beach."

---

[20]These data were reported by Patrick Sauzet in a discussion thread in Linguist List which can be found at www.linguistlist.org/issues/8/8-749.html.

One important aspect about (88) is that the word order of the dislocates is rigid, as opposed to the cases which featured clausemate multiple dislocations. In particular, δ and their corresponding κ must form nested paths. Reversing the order of dislocates in (88) thus yields an ungrammatical sentence:
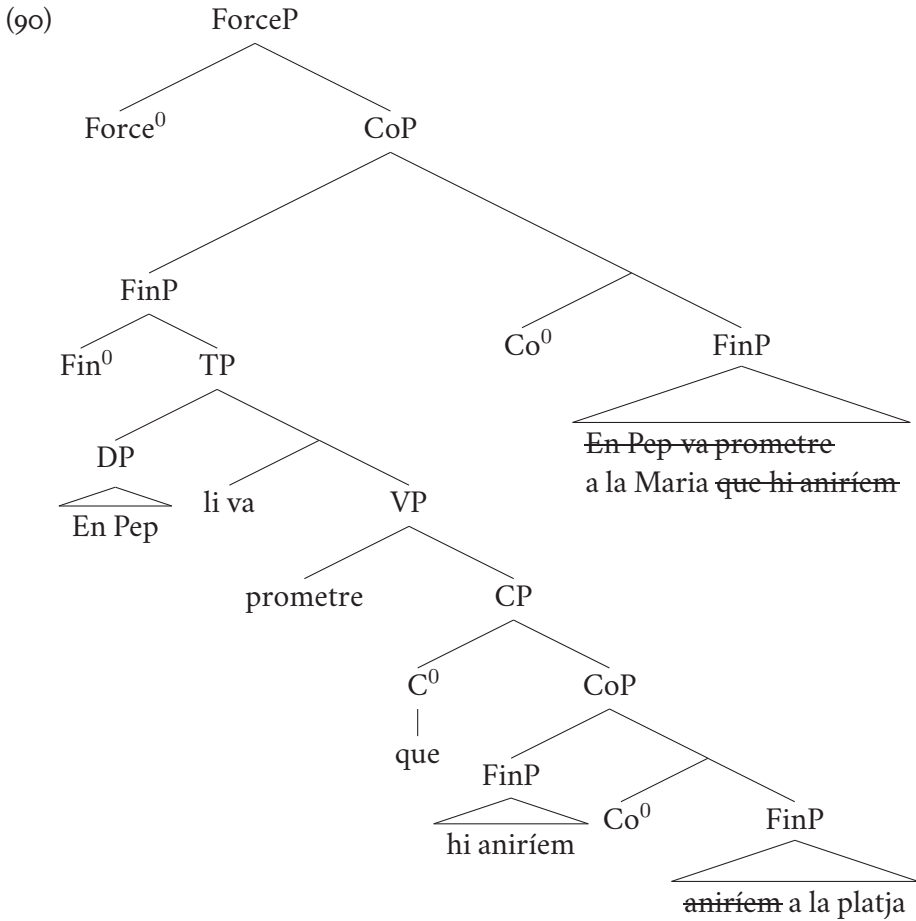
(89)   * Li va prometre que hi aniríem, [*a la Maria*], [*a la*
          her PAST to promise that there would go   to the Maria   to the
          platja].
          beach
          "He promised Mary that we'd go to the beach."

The contrast between (88) and (89) has important implications for the analysis I defend. First, this restriction is completely expected under the MCH: only in (88) do the two dislocates appear adjacent to the lowest finite CP that contains their respective κ. Note that in (89), the locative dislocate is not adjacent to the lowest CP containing its correlate because the two are separated by the dislocate whose correlate is in the matrix clause. The analysis of (88) is given in (90)[21]:

---

[21]Frascarelli, (2004, p.116) notes a similar contrast in Italian (I include her judgements):

i.   a. ?? Gli   ho detto che lo vedrò,   [*Mario*], [*a Luigi*]
            to him have said that him will meet Mario   to Luigi
            "I've told Luigi that I'll meet Mario."

     b. * Gli   ho detto che lo vedrò,   [*a Luigi*], [*Mario*],
            to him have said that him will meet to Luigi   Mario
            "I've told Luigi that I'll meet Mario."

As shown by her judgements, when κ and δ form intertwined paths (ib), the resulting string is completely ungrammatical. This example is analogous to (89). Note, however, that in (ia) κ and δ form nested paths, as predicted by the MCH, but contrary to (88), Frascarelli claims the sentence is "marginal", which she attributes to the complexity of the clause. I agree with her that the sentence is somewhat difficult to parse, even though we disagree on how marginal the resulting string is. What is crucial, however, is that a contrast exists between the two conditions (nested and intertwined paths), which is expected under the MCH.

(90)

```
                              ForceP
                            /        \
                       Force⁰         CoP
                                     /    \
                               FinP          \
                              /    \           \
                          Fin⁰      TP          \
                                   /   \          \
                                 DP      \        Co⁰        FinP
                                / \  li va  \                /    \
                            En Pep           VP          En Pep va prometre
                                            /   \        a la Maria que hi aniríem
                                      prometre    CP
                                               /     \
                                            C⁰        CoP
                                            |        /    \
                                           que   FinP        \
                                                /   \         \
                                           hi aniríem  Co⁰      FinP
                                                              /    \
                                                         aniríem a la platja
```

The MCH makes another prediction. Recall from §4.4.4 that δ can be coordinated with a non-finite CP which is embedded in the lowest finite CP containing κ in CP_A. The result was that the adjacency between δ and the lowest finite CP that contains κ can be disrupted by a non-finite clause node. Bearing this in mind, and with respect to multiple dislocations, the MCH makes the further prediction that intertwined paths will be possible if the two κs are separated by a non-finite clause node.

The prediction is borne out, as shown by the data in (91). The crucial case is (91a): in this example, *a la platja* ("to the beach") is not adjacent to the lowest CP that contains its correlate *hi* ("there"), which indicates that

coordination must have applied at the level of the matrix. This is possible because the embedded clause is non-finite, and therefore the MCH is still respected. Although (91a) is slightly deviant compared to (91b), there is, to my ear, a significant difference between (91a) and (89).

(91)   a.   ? Li   vam prometre anar- hi,   *a la Maria, a la platja.*
            to her PAST promise   to   there to the Maria to the beach
            "We promised Maria to go to the beach."
       b.   Li vam prometre anar-hi, *a la platja, a la Maria.*

Second, the word order restrictions in right dislocations from different clauses militates directly against an analysis in which multiple right dislocated phrases are multiple remnants of a single ellipsis operation. If such an analysis was possible, no word order restrictions between dislocates would be expected. This is due to the fact that we can independently generate two structures that are possible sources for the ellipsis site in which the remnants of ellipsis are in different positions relative to each other:

(92)   a.   ~~En Pep va prometre~~ a la Maria ~~que aniríem~~ a la platja.
       b.   ~~En Pep va prometre que aniríem~~ a la platja a la Maria.

Further note that any of the derivations in (92) would violate the clause-mate condition on multiple remnants (see §4.4.5 and fn.17). This would be highly undesirable inasmuch as this constraint appears to be solid across the board in elliptical phenomena.

4.5.3   Recursive dislocations

Yet another case of multiple dislocations involve what I will refer to as recursive dislocations. In these cases, a dislocated constituent contains another dislocated constituent inside of it. An example is provided in (93).

(93)   Li   ho vam prometre a la Maria, *que hi   aniríem,   a la*
       to her it PAST promise   to the Maria that there would go to the
       platja.
       beach
       "We promised MARIA that we'd go to the beach."

In (93), there are two dislocated phrases: the locative PP *a la platja*, whose correlate, the prepositional clitic *hi*, is inside a clause which is in turn dislocated. These cases can be trivially accounted for by the approach defended here. (94) would be the analysis of (93):

(94)

```
                    ForceP
                   /      \
               Force       CoP
                          /   \
                        CP      Co    CP
                       /  \          /  \
                Li ho vam        TP
                prometre        /  \
                a la Maria    vam    VP
                                    /  \
                              prometre   VP
                                        /  \
                                      PP     V   CP
                                     /  \        / \
                                 a la Maria   C⁰     CoP
                                              |      /  \
                                             que   CP    Co   CP
                                                  /  \        /  \
                                              hi aniríem   aniríem a la platja
```
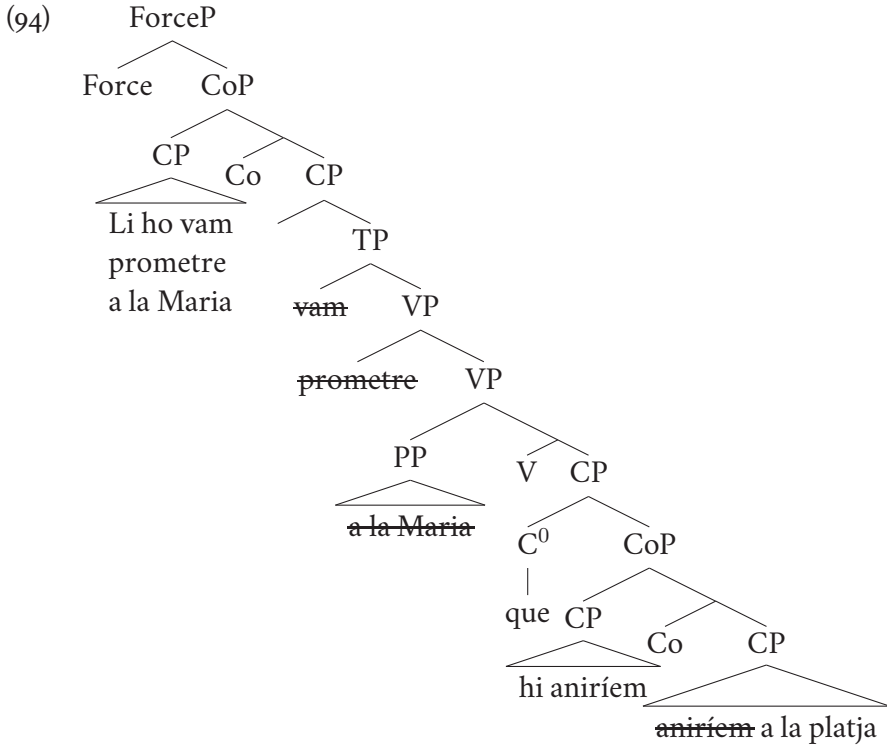
4.5.4 Wrapping up

I began this chapter by reviewing two main strands in the generative literature with respect to the locus of ellipsis in the grammar. A popular view contends that ellipsis is a syntactic phenomenon. Under this approach, remnants contained in elided sites must undergo movement outside the domain of ellipsis, so that the target of ellipsis is a full constituent and not a chunk thereof. An alternative line defends instead that ellipsis is purely a PF-phenomenon and that it should be regarded as a case of radical deac-

centuation. Under this approach, remnants can survive in their generation position, yielding non-constituent ellipsis, also referred to as *in situ* or scattered ellipsis.

The syntactic view of ellipsis predicts that the effects of regular movement should be observed in elliptical constructions. Locality constraints are usually regarded as a corollary of movement, and as such, the presence of such constraints in right dislocation could be taken as strong evidence for a move-and-delete approach (MADA). In this chapter I have argued that movement does not play a role in explaining the locality conditions which δ is subject to. Instead, it is an economy condition (the MCH) that constraints the height at which coordination between antecedent and elided clause holds that is sufficient to account not only for the island facts, but also for the right roof effects and absence thereof. In this section I have shown that the MCH further predicts the distribution of dislocated phrases in contexts of multiple dislocations.

Note, however, that the fact that movement is *irrelevant* does not mean that movement is precluded. That is, I have argued that locality effects, which are generally viewed as a corollary of movement, follow from independent constraints governing right dislocations. But the question remains as to whether movement of δ can still be posited, a question that I will address in the following section. In particular, I would like to defend the idea that right dislocation involves in situ ellipsis. In other words, I would like to claim that δ does not undergo movement to the left edge of the elided site prior to ellipsis, in line with Truckenbrodt, (2013) and against Ott and De Vries, (2016).

4.6 δ **does not move**

In this section I provide three arguments that militate against an analysis in terms of movement of δ inside CP_E. Finally I discuss one strong argument that has been provided by Ott and De Vries, (ibid.) in favour of movement which could be taken as problematic for my claim.

4.6.1   Lack of motivation

The first argument against an analysis in which δ undergoes movement inside CP_E is actually a problem for MADA to fragments in general, and it has to do with the lack of motivation for such a displacement operation. I discussed this issue precisely in the context of fragment answers in §4.2.2. The idea is the following: ellipsis removes presupposed material, and remnants are thus focal. A standard assumption in the literature is the claim that remnants undergo focus-induced movement outside the ellipsis site. This is, however, problematic, because in many Romance languages like Spanish, Catalan or Italian left peripheral focus is exclusively associated with corrective and contrastive semantics, which is incompatible with the semantics of δ in right dislocations.

The focus-movement analysis of δ is further aggravated by the fact that some varieties of Spanish like Mexican Spanish appear to disallow focus fronting altogether (Gutiérrez-Bravo, 2002), but nonetheless displays right dislocations (see Belloro, 2015 on right dislocation in Latin American varieties of Spanish, including Mexican).

4.6.2   Scope

The examples in (95), from Zwart, (2011, p.79), show how right dislocation interacts with scope. (95a) indicates that when the subject containing a numeral is hierarchically higher than the adverb *vermoedelijk* ("presumably"), only the narrow scope of the adverb obtains. Conversely, if the adverb appears in a higher position, it gets wide scope over the proposition (95b). (95c) evidences that if the adverb is right dislocated, the wide scope of the adverb also obtains, which suggests that the right dislocated constituent must be in a structurally higher than the preverbal subject.

(95)   a.   Twee mensen hebben vermoedelijk Nauru gezien.
            two   people   have   presumably   Nauru seen
            "Two people have presumably seen Nauru."   2 > presumably
       b.   Vermoedelijk hebben twee mensen Nauru gezien.   pres. > 2
       c.   Twee mensen hebben Nauru gezien, *vermoedelijk*.   pres. > 2

Ott and De Vries, (2016) argue that these facts follow if the adverb undergoes movement to the C-domain of the (elided) clause prior to ellipsis:

(96)   vermoedelijk ~~hebben twee mensen t Nauru gezien~~.

(97) shows that Spanish behaves analogously. The right dislocated adverb gets a wide scope interpretation (97c), which patterns with (97b), where the adverb is precedes, and it thus higher, than the preverbal subject.

(97)   a. Dos personas probablemente han sido detenidas.
            two people   probably   have been arrested
            "Two people have probably been arrested."   2 > probably
        b. Probablemente dos personas han sido detenidas.   probably > 2
        c. Dos personas han sido detenidas, *probablemente*   probably > 2

However, Truckenbrodt, (2016, p.126) reports similar data yet yielding a different result. He examines the scope interaction between *oft* ("often") and the indefinite *wem* ("to someone") with respect to right dislocation. Both elements can surface in different positions in the middle field, as observed in (98a) and (98b). In these cases, the scope is determined by precedence. When *oft* is fronted (98c), it takes wide scope with respect to the indefinite.

Under the assumption that right dislocated phrases always front in the elided clause, right dislocating *oft* should give us a wide scope of the adverb. However, as shown in (98d), the adverb can have wide or narrow scope if it is right dislocated, which is unexpected under a MADA to right dislocation, as we would predict (98d) to pattern with (98c).

(98)   a. Sie hat oft   wem   etwas   mitgebracht.
            she has often to someone something brought
            "She often brought something to someone."   (oft>wem)
        b. Sie hat wem oft etwas mitgebracht.   (wem>oft)
        c. Oft hat sie wem etwas mitgebracht.   (oft>wem)
        d. Sie hat wem etwas mitgebracht, *oft*.   (oft>wem; wem>oft)

Truckenbrodt, (ibid., p.126) concludes that "the judgment in [(98d)] reflects unmarked order [*cf.* (98a) and (98b)], rather than an initial step of fronting". I think Truckenbrodt's claim can be extended to the data in (95) and (97): in

these cases, the dislocated constituent is an epistemic modality adverb. According to various authors (Cinque, 1999, a.o.) these adverbs are generated very high in the structure. If this is true, then the wide scope of the adverb in (95c) and (97c) merely reflects unmarked word order and does not tell us much about whether the adverb has undergone fronting to the left periphery prior to ellipsis[22].

Villalba, (ibid., p.246, his (17)) provides a very interesting case regarding scope that actually militates against a MADA and is crucially expected under the *in situ* alternative. Observe the sentence in (99), which provides the context for the relevant data. This example favours the reading where the universal quantifier scopes over the existential ($\forall > \exists$) or, in other words, the sentence implies that there are as many cans of grease as there are machines:

(99) Diuen que quan greixem fem   servir un pot de greix   per
      say   that when grease   make use   one can of grease per
      màquina.
      machine
      "They claim we use one can of grease per machine when we grease."

Suppose we want to cancel the pressuposed reading (i.e. the distributive reading) in (99) by implying that only one can of grease that used for all the machines. Fronting the constituent containing the $\exists$ quantifier via focus fronting or left dislocation to a position c-commanding $\forall$ gives us this correct reading.

(100)   Mentida, AMB UN POT DE GREIX, hem greixat totes les màquines.
        $\exists > \forall$

(101)   Mentida, amb un pot de greix hi hem greixat totes les màquines.
        $\exists > \forall$

---

[22]In this respect it is the examples in (95a) and (97a) that call for an explanation. For the Spanish example a possible solution that occurs to me is to consider the preverbal subject as left dislocated (e.g. Ordóñez and Treviño, 1999). Left dislocated phrases are known to take very wide scope (among others, Villalba, 1999).

Under the MADA, right dislocating the ∃ constituent should give us the same effect of breaking the presupposition. However, this prediction is not borne out, as evidenced by the infelicitous (102a). This string is in fact only compatible with a confirmation of the context (102b):

(102)   a.   # Mentida! Aquest matí   hi   he   greixat totes les
                lie   this   morning there have greased all   the
                màquines, *amb un pot de greix*.
                machines with a   can of grease
                "That's a lie! This morning I've greased all the machines with a
                can of grease."
        b.   És veritat. Aquest matí   hi   he   greixat totes les
                is true   this   morning there have greased all   the
                màquines, *amb un pot de greix*.
                machines with a   can of grease
                "It's true. This morning I've greased all the machines with a can
                of grease."

Thus, in order to derive the relevant scope readings one must allow for non-constituent ellipsis.

4.6.3   Variable binding

The following example (slightly adapted from López, (2009a, p.92)) shows that a quantifier in object position cannot bind a variable contained in a pre-verbal subject in Catalan:

(103)   * El seu$_i$ millor amic   va   regalar un llibre a cada$_i$ noi.
            the his   best   friend PAST give   a   book to every boy
            "*His$_i$ best friend gave a book to each$_i$ boy."

Fronting the QP via focus fronting or clitic left dislocation allows variable binding to be possible:

(104)   a.   A CADA$_i$ NOI li va regalar el seu$_i$ millor amic un llibre.
         b.   A cada$_1$ noi el seu$_i$ millor amic l'hi va regalar un llibre.

If δ underwent movement to the C-domain prior to ellipsis, we would expect it to yield a similar configuration to (104) in the elided clause, thus giving rise to the bound reading of the variable. However, this prediction is not borne out:

(105)   * El seu$_i$ millor amic l'hi va regalar un llibre, *a cada$_i$ noi*.

Following a discussion on a related issue in Ott, (2015, p.252), it could be argued that the reason why (105) is ungrammatical under the relevant reading is not a consequence of the lack of c-command between the quantifier and the variable but rather, the explanation lies instead in the fact that the elided clause does not contain a variable, but rather an empty *pro* which is coreferent with *el seu llibre*, as illustrated in (106a). This analysis is plausible given Fiengo and May, (1994)'s famous vehicle change effects observed in ellipsis[23]. Crucially, both an *in situ* approach (106a) and a MADA (106b) would equally account for the data:

(106)   a.   [El seu millor amic]$_i$ l'hi va regalar un llibre   ~~pro$_i$ va regalar un llibre~~ *a cada noi*.

         b.   [El seu millor amic]$_i$ l'hi va regalar un llibre   [*a cada noi*] ~~pro$_i$ va regalar un llibre t~~.

A possible reason to reject a vehicle change analysis[24] comes from clitic left dislocation (CLLD). CLLD displays the same superficial configuration as right dislocation, although the order of correlate and dislocate is reversed:

---

[23]Fiengo and May, (ibid., p.218) made the observation that, in VP ellipsis contexts, referential expressions contained in the elided VP should be treated as pronouns, precisely to avoid Principle C violations. This effect was referred to as "vehicle change":

  i. They arrested Alex$_i$ though he$_i$ thought they wouldn't

 ii. a.   * …he$_i$ thought they wouldn't arrest Alex$_i$.

      b.   …he$_i$ thought they wouldn't arrest him$_i$.

If the gap in (i) is interpreted as in (iia), we would expect coreference between *he* and *Alex* to be impossible, contrary to fact. Fiengo and May conclude that the entity denoted by the R-expression is referred by another "vehicle", in this case a pronoun (iib).

[24]As Dennis Ott (p.c.) rightly points out, vehicle change effects in Fiengo and May, (ibid.) arise to eschew a violation, but it is not clear that such effects should obligatorily apply everywhere.

(107)   a. Les$_\kappa$ vam comprar a Londres, [*aquestes sabates*]$_\delta$.
            them PAST buy   to London these   shoes
            "We bought them in London, these shoes."   Right dislocation

        b. [Aquestes sabates]$_\delta$ les$_\kappa$ vam comprar a Londres.   CLLD

There are many reasons to consider that CLLD involves an underlying biclausal structure with backward clausal ellipsis[25], see Fernández-Sánchez, (2016) and Ott, (2012, 2015) and the appendix in this dissertation:

(108)   ~~Vam comprar~~ aquestes sabates ~~a Londres~~   Les vam comprar a
        Londres.

Extensive work by Xavier Villalba (Villalba, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000) has convincingly shown that the two phenomena display a number of important asymmetries other than the relative position of δ with respect to its antecedent clause. One of the differences between the two phenomena concerns precisely variable binding, as evidenced by the minimal pair between (104b) and (105), repeated here for convenience:

(109)   a.   A cada$_i$ noi el seu$_i$ millor amic l'hi va regalar un llibre.

        b.   * El seu$_i$ millor amic l'hi va regalar un llibre, *a cada$_i$ noi*.

In the biclausal analysis the relevant c-commanding relations are established within the elided clause. That means that if variable binding is the byproduct of c-command, as standardly assumed, then one must concede that a variable has to be present in the elided clause in (104b). A fundamental difference between CLLD and right dislocation would follow from the fact that in the former δ does indeed undergo movement to the left edge prior to ellipsis[26]. Exploring this interesting idea is, naturally, beyond the scope of this thesis.

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[25]Backward clausal ellipsis is attested in sluicing:

  i. I don't know what ~~Mary bought~~, but Mary bought something fancy.

[26]Note, incidentally, that such an analysis would also explain the scopal differences between left and right dislocated constituents, as shown in (101) and (102) respectively.

4.6.4   A note on P-stranding

One important argument for movement of δ concerns the preposition strand-
ing generalization (PSG), as extensively discussed in Merchant, (2001, 2004a).
The PSG was mentioned in §2.2, and it refers to the link established between
languages that allow P-stranding under regular movement and the possibil-
ity for a remnant PP to appear without its preposition. If δ undergoes move-
ment the prediction is that right dislocated PPs can surface without their
corresponding preposition in languages which allow P-stranding. Ott and
De Vries, (2016) show this prediction is borne out. Ross, (1967, p.236) noted
that right dislocated phrases in English must always be DPs, irrespective of
whether their correlate is a PP (see Rodman, 1974 and Fernández-Sánchez,
2012 for discussion). Ott and De Vries, (2016) provide data from Icelandic
(110b) and Norwegian (110c), two languages that pattern like English (110a) in
this respect. Crucially, they allow for P-stranding too:

(110)   a. The cops spoke to the janitor about it yesterday, (*?? about) that
            robbery.

        b. Jón talaδi viδ hana, (?? viδ) gömul konuna.
            Jon talked to her   to   old   lady
            "John talked to her, the old lady."

        c. Jeg krangler ofte   med ho, (?? med) sostera mi.
            I   quarrel often with her   sister my
            "I often quarrel with her, my sister."

Romance languages do not allow P-stranding. Right dislocated phrases must
surface with their prepositions. I illustrate this point with Italian (datum
from Samek-Lodovici, 2006, p.839, his (2)) and Catalan. Ott and De Vries,
(2016) show that German and Dutch behave like Italian and Catalan. Cru-
cially, these two Germanic languages disallow P-stranding under regular
movement.

(111)   a. Ne ho   parlato a Luisa, *(di) quella faccenda.
            of it have talked to Luisa   of that   matter
            "I have talked to Luisa about that matter."   (Italian)

    b. En Joan va guardar- hi   les claus, *(a) la capsa.
       The Joan PAST keep   there the keys   in the box
       "Joan kept the keys in the box."   (Catalan)

    c. Ich habe mich oft   mit ihr gestritten, *(mit) meiner
      I   have me   often with her quarreled   with my
      Schwester.
      sister
      "I often quarreled with my sister."   (German)

    d. Tasman wou   er   niet over praten, ?*(over) Lutjegast.
      Tasman wanted there not about talk   about Lutjegast
      "Tasman didn't want to talk about Lutjegast."   (Dutch)

Although the data reported so far appear to provide strong empirical support for a MADA to right dislocation, there are some reasons to remain cautious about the significance of preposition stranding as a test for movement of δ. Most criticism comes from sluicing. First, the possibility of having prepositionless remnants with PP correlates is attested in languages which disallow P-stranding under regular movement. Such languages include Emirati Arabic (Leung, 2014), Indonesian Fortin, 2007; Sato, 2011, or Polish (Nykiel, 2013; Szczegielniak, 2008). Crucially, these authors carefully show that alternative sources for the elided clause are unavailable (Rodrigues, Nevins, and Vicente, 2009; Vicente, 2008) in these languages, ensuring that these constitute real counterexamples to Merchant's P-stranding generalization.

Second, even in English the P-stranding generalization is not completely transparent. On the one hand there are P-stranding effects which are allowed in elliptical contexts yet whose full sentential counterparts do not tolerate (Chung, Ladusaw, and McCloskey, 2011). On the other hand, some elided contexts like sprouting disallow P-stranding effects but their full sentential counterparts do tolerate it, a paradox that is usually referred to as Chung's Generalization (Chung, 2005). These data suggest that the omission of the preposition may be due to factors other than stranding the preposition under movement. Indeed, prosodic and performance-based explanations have been argued to play an important role in accounting for the facts

(Nykiel, 2017; Philippova, 2014).

Given that empirical problems that the P-stranding generalization has to face, I think it is wise to take it with caution. After all, the reasons why languages allow P-stranding under regular movement are still being debated, and it could well be that the factor responsible for allowing P-stranding is in operation too in the elliptical cases. I thus conclude that, albeit compelling, the P-stranding generalization cannot be taken as a definite proof for a MADA to ellipsis.

4.7   Conclusion

Island sensitivity in elliptical phenomena is considered a corollary of the fact that remnants move to the left edge of the elided domain prior to ellipsis. In this section I have shown that whereas right dislocation is island sensitive, movement of δ is not sufficient to account for the data. In particular, I proposed an economy constraint which restricts the level at which coordination applies between CP_A and CP_E in right dislocation, which I referred to as Minimal Coordination Hypothesis (MCH). The MCH correctly predicts the position that δ can occupy in a string, and it also accounts for the locality conditions that govern multiple dislocations.

An important aspect that needs to be emphasized is that the MCH does not argue *against* movement of δ, it merely highlights that locality cannot be an argument for it. In the last section of this chapter I defended, on the basis of variable binding and scope, that δ is better understood if it does not undergo movement.

Chapter 5

Right peripheral fragments

5.1 Introduction

5.1.1 The right periphery of the clause

It is clear by now that although this thesis has been dealing with right dislocation, the analysis defended here does not involve any actual *right dislocation*. Instead, right dislocated phrases are regarded as fragments in the sense of Merchant, (2004a), i.e., as phrasal remnants of a clausal ellipsis operation. Because of their position at the right periphery of the clause, I refer to right dislocated constituents as *right peripheral fragments*, RPF hereafter.

The term *right periphery* deserves some clarification. By right periphery I refer to the linguistic material that follows a syntactically, semantically and prosodically complete clause (see Averintseva-Klisch, 2008b for a similar view). Under this view, right peripheral material, signalled with a curvy underline in the following example, is external to the clause where it right attaches, i.e. the host or antecedent clause.

(1) $[_{Clause} \dots X \dots Y \dots Z]\underset{\sim\sim\sim\sim}{}$

My definition of right periphery differs from other authors, who take the right periphery of the clause to be the rightmost material *inside* a clause:

(2) $[_{Clause} \dots X \dots Y \dots Z\underset{\sim\sim\sim\sim}{}]$

Under this alternative view right peripheral phenomena would include, for example, postponed focal constituents (typically, but not necessarily subjects) in Spanish (Gutiérrez-Bravo, 2002; Ordóñez, 1997; Ortega-Santos, 2016, a.o.), marginalization in Italian (Cardinaletti, 2002; Samek-Lodovici, 2015, see also §2.5 in this thesis) or heavy NP shift in English. Crucially, in all of these cases the rightmost element is clearly internal to the sentence, as the preceding material does not conform an independent clause of its own.

(3)   i. Este año ha defendido su tesis JUAN (y   no PEDRO).
           this year has defended his thesis Juan and not Pedro
           "It is John and not Pedro that defended his thesis this year."

      ii. Ho già   LETTO il   giornale.
           have already read   the newspaper
           I"'ve already READ the newspaper."

     iii. Julia read yesterday the paper I had suggested her for so long.

My definition is not intended to have any theoretical implication. Rather, I take it to be a theory-neutral notion which makes reference to the linear position of a particular constituent which in turn allows me to bring together a set of phenomena which I believe can be analyzed in similar terms, as we will see. Thus, further references to the right periphery in this chapter will assume the scheme in (1).

There are other phenomena that can be subsumed under the rubric of RPF. At least two more can be obviously considered: split questions (SQs) and afterthoughts (ATs). SQs, illustrated in (4a), feature a fragment at the right periphery of a partial interrogative clause which is interpreted as a possible answer to the question that the wh-operator heads. An AT construction is illustrated in (4b)[1]. In this particular case, the RPF semantically specifies the denotation of the PP indefinite expression used in the host clause[2]:

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[1]Ott and De Vries, (2016) make a distinction between *specificational* and *predicative* afterthoughts. I leave the latter aside until §5.4, so subsequent references to ATs correspond the specificational type. The differences between the two will soon become apparent.

[2]One significant difference between right dislocation on the one hand and ATs and SQs on the other one concerns prosody: RDed phrases are unstressed, a feature that I signalled by using italics. Conversely, dislocated ATs and SQs are prosodically prominent. I follow

(4)   a. Where did they stay, AT THE RITZ?

       b. He stayed at a nice hotel when he was in London – AT THE RITZ.

5.1.2   A structural paradox

Right dislocation poses a structural paradox with respect to (1): because the clause where δ attaches to is complete, we know that δ must be external to it, unless we assume that δ and κ are somehow derivationally linked, an option which I argued against at length in chapter 3 (§3.3.1). But there exists some evidence which shows that δ *is* internal to the host clause. This evidence came from connectivity effects, and they involved binding, scope and case morphology among others (§3.3.3, chapter 3). Crucially, the biclausal approach is well-equipped to deal with this tension by positing the existence of an elided, yet identical clause to the host clause where δ actually belongs. It is in that (elided) clause where connectivity effects arise.

SQs and ATs are strikingly similar to right dislocation with respect to this structural paradox. To start with, the same surface string can be posited for the three phenomena: the right peripheral fragment, or δ, appears at the right edge of a complete clause, the host clause (HC), which contains an element which is coreferential with δ. This element, which we have been referring to as κ, was generally a clitic in right dislocation, and is a wh-operator in SQs and typically an indefinite expression in ATs:

(5) $\left[_{HC} \ldots \kappa_1 \ldots \right] \delta_1$

In all of these cases the same structural paradox emerges regarding the status of the right peripheral fragment with respect to the host clause. Both fragments in (4) are clearly independent from the clause where they attach, which is semantically, syntactically and prosodically complete. But simultaneusly the fragments are interpreted as being part of that host clause – in both cases *at the Ritz* is interpreted as the PP complement of the verb *stay*.

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the notation in Ott and De Vries, (ibid.), who mark right peripheral afterthoughts in small caps, to show they receive full (sentential) stress (Truckenbrodt, 2015, 2016). The different prosodic status between these RPF will become relevant in the next section, as it systematically correlates with syntactic differences.

The presence of connectivity effects constitute a further piece of evidence in favour of the claim that right peripheral fragments are somehow internal to the host clause. First, these fragments must be case-marked as if they belonged in the host clause, as was the case in right dislocation. In particular, they must match the case of their correlates, a fact which can be easily observed in languages where case is morphologically realized. (6) illustrates this point with respect to SQs in Polish and German: (6a) shows that δ must display instrumental case, as demanded by the predicate *jeździć* ("to go"). Similarly, (6b) evidences that δ must be marked with dative, which is the case assigned by the verb *helfen* ("to help").

(6)   a.   Czym   jeździsz do pracy, { SAMOCHODEM/ * SAMOCHÓD}?
           what.INSTR go   to work   car.INSTR   car.NOM/ACC
           "How do you go to work, by car?"   (Polish)

      b.   Wem   hat er geholfen, { DEM/   * DEN/   * DER}   PETER?
           who.DAT has he helped   the.DAT the.ACC the.NOM Peter
           "Who did he help, Peter?"   (German)

The same point can be made with respect to ATs (7): in both cases δ must exhibit accusative case, as required by the verb *poznać* in Polish (7a) and *treffen* in German (7b), both meaning "to meet":

(7)   a.   Dziś poznałem znaną   osobę   w Berlinie – {
           today met   famous.ACC person.ACC in Berlin
           MAGDĘ/   * MAGDA}   GESSLER.
           Magda.ACC   Magda.NOM Gessler
           "I came across a celebrity in Berlin – MAGDA GESSLER."   (Polish)

      b.   Ich habe heute einen Star getroffen – { DEN/   * DEM/   *
           I   have today a.ACC star met   the.ACC   the.GEN
           DER}   JOHN TRAVOLTA.
           the.NOM John Travolta
           "I met a star today – JOHN TRAVOLTA."   (German)

Second, evidence from binding also indicates that right peripheral fragments behave as if they were inside of the host clause. In the SQ examples in (8), the peripheral fragment is an anaphor. As indicated in (8a) for Spanish,

this anaphor is properly bound by the subject DP, which indicates that the subject c-commands the anaphor. (8b) shows that it is really c-command and not any other binding mechanism that is at stake - *Pedro* cannot bind the anaphor because it is too embedded in the subject DP. The same minimal featuring principle A is provided for ATs in (9):

(8) a. A   quién vio Pedro$_i$ en el espejo, A SÍ MISMO$_i$?
         DOM who   saw Pedro in the mirror to himself
         "Who did Peter$_i$ see in the mirror, himself$_i$?"

     b. A   quién vio el   hermano$_k$ de Pedro$_i$ en el espejo, A
         DOM who   saw the brother   of Pedro in the mirror to
         SÍ MISMO$_{*i/k}$?
         himself?
         "Who did Peter$_i$'s brother$_k$ see in the mirror, himself$_{\{*i/k\}}$?"

(9) a. Pedro$_i$ vio a   alguien triste en el espejo – A SÍ MISMO.
         Pedro saw DOM someone sad   in the mirror   to himself
         "Pedro saw someone$_i$ sad in the mirror – himself$_i$."

     b. El hermano$_k$ de Pedro$_i$ vio a   alguien triste en el espejo
         the brother   of Pedro saw DOM someone sad   in the mirror
         – A SÍ MISMO$_{*i/k}$.
           to himself
         "Pedro$_i$'s brother$_k$ saw someone sad in the mirror – HIMSELF$_{\{*i/k\}}$.

Condition C effects also point at the same conclusion. As the following examples in Catalan show, the R-expression contained in the right peripheral fragment in SQs (10a) and in AT (10b) cannot corefer with the null subject in the host clause. Again, the coreferential properties of the nominal expressions in (10) naturally follow if the fragment is in the c-command domain of the subject in the host clause.

(10) a. Què *pro*$_i$ ha guardat a l'   armari,   L' ANELL DE LA
          what   has kept   in the wardrobe the ring   of the
          CARME$_{*i}$?
          Carme
          "What did she$_i$ save in the wardrobe, Carme$_{*i}$'s ring?"

b. *pro$_i$* ha guardat un objecte molt valuós   a l'   armari   – L'
         has kept   an object very valuable in the wardrobe   the
   ANELL DE LA CARME$_{*i}$.
   ring   of the Carme
   "She$_i$'s saved a very valuable object in the wardrobe – Carme$_{*i}$'s
   ring."

Further data regarding variable binding evidence the same point, namely
that δ is interpreted as if it were internal to the host clause. (11) shows that
an object δ containing a variable can be bound by a quantifier in the subject
position of the host clause. The point is illustrated for SQs (11a) and ATs (11b)
in Spanish:

(11)   a. Qué no ha cobrado ningún$_i$ funcionario aún, SU$_i$ PAGA
          what not has earned   no   civil servant yet   his paycheck
          DOBLE?
          double
          "What has no civil servant received yet, HIS EXTRA PAYCHECK?"

       b. Ningún$_i$ funcionario ha cobrado aún lo que más le   gusta
          no   civil servant has earned   yet the that more him likes
          del   sueldo – SU$_i$ PAGA   DOBLE.
          of the salary   his paycheck double
          "No civil servant has received yet the part he likes the most about
          his salary – HIS EXTRA PAYCHECK."

5.1.3   The biclausal solution

Unsurprisingly, both SQs and ATs, like right dislocation, have been also ana-
lyzed in biclausal terms. For the derivation of SQ see Arregi, (2010), Irurtzun,
(2016), and Kluck, (2014), and for afterthoughts see Ott and De Vries, (2012,
2016), Park and Kim, (2009), Truckenbrodt, (2013, 2015), and De Vries, (2009).
This analysis explains the above-mentioned properties in a parallel fashion
to right dislocation (chapter 3). On the one hand, the clause external prop-
erties obviously follow from the fact that δ is in a separate yet elided clause.

Connectivity effects (binding, case-marking…), on the other hand, are accounted for by assuming that the elided clause which hosts δ is identical to the antecedent clause, a fact which comes for free under the uncontroversial assumption that ellipsis is subject to some sort of strict parallelism with respect to an antecedent source.

The view defended in this thesis is that right dislocation, ATs and SQs are underlyingly very similar phenomena: right peripheral fragments. This is, in turn, another advantage of the biclausal analysis of right dislocation. Under alternative, monoclausal approaches (chapter 2), the striking similarities between these two phenomena would have to be deemed accidental, which I take to be an unfortunate conclusion.

This unified approach, however, needs to be refined. This is so because, upon closer examination of the data, right dislocation appears to differ from ATs/SQs with respect to many properties. This chapter is organized as follows. In §5.2 I propose that RPF come in two flavours: those that constitute a speech act of their own (ATs/SQs) and those whose speech act is determined and crucially dependent on the antecedent clause (RD). I argue that these differences can be captured by assuming that in RD, the two clauses involved are coordinated below the level of Force^0, the head I assume encodes, among other things, speech act information (Rizzi, 1997, a.o.).

§5.3 addresses the question of whether δ undergoes movement to the left edge of CP_E prior to ellipsis (Arregi, 2010; Irurtzun, 2016; Ott and De Vries, 2016). Building on evidence regarding (i) island effects, (ii) the presence of the complementizer in sentential fragments and (iii) scopal properties of the remnants, I will argue that such a movement operation is empirically unwarranted. Thus, I extend the *in situ* approach to ellipsis that I defended for RD in chapter 4 to other right peripheral fragments.

In §5.4 I discuss another type of AT constructions, which Ott and De Vries, (2016) refer to as *predicative afterthoughts*. I will defend that these are derived from an underlying copular source and that remnants do undergo movement to the left edge of the elided, copular clause to value an emphatic feature.

I show in §5.5 that the analysis developed here in terms of clausal ellipsis can naturally be extended to yet further cases which have been argued

to pose important problems in the literature. Finally, in §5.6 I present the conclusions.

5.2   RD as a (Force-)dependent RPF

5.2.1   Two types of RPF

This thesis is not the first work to establish a connection between right dislocation and other right peripheral fragments, particularly ATs (I leave SQs aside for now). So far I have illustrated AT constructions whose correlate was an indefinite expression, but it is common to find examples in the literature where correlates are weak pronouns (see fn.8), just as in right dislocation. Crucially, in these cases the resulting strings are identical *modulo* the prosody of δ, which is stressed in ATs but not in RD[3]:

(12)   I still haven't read it, the book.

(13)   a.   I still haven't read it – (I mean) THE BOOK.

      b.   I still haven't read it, *the book*.

    Despite the surface similarities, it is common in the literature to keep the two phenomena aside[4] (Averintseva-Klisch, 2008a,b; Averintseva-Klisch and

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[3]But Halliday and Matthiessen, (2004, p.124), when (briefly) discussing the right periphery of the clause, they discuss "afterthoughts" and provide the following example. Crucially, the NP *these instructions* is said to be "realized prosodically by a second, minor tone".

  i.   They don't make sense, *these instructions*.

These authors' use of *afterthought*, also replicated in Aijmer, (1989, p.148) clearly does not correspond to what is frequently argued to be an afterthought.

[4]In a number of papers, Sedano, (2012, 2013, and references therein) discusses the uses of what she refers to as *right dislocation* in several varieties of Spanish. From her examples it is clear that she fails to distinguish right dislocation from afterthoughts. In fact, various of the examples she provides cannot be produced with the typical prosody of right dislocation proper, but they must be clearly afterthoughts:

  i.   Eso es lo que sentí, que una puerta grande se   cerraba tras   de mí.
       that is the what felt   that a   door big   REFL closed behind of me
       "That's what I felt, that a big door closed behind me."   (Sedano, 2012, her (12))

Buecking, 2008; Berruto, 1985; Fuentes Rodríguez, 2012; Lambrecht, 1981; Ott and De Vries, 2016; Truckenbrodt, 2015, 2016; Vallduví, 1992; De Vries, 2009). I align myself with this view as I will argue below.

Some of these authors (Averintseva-Klisch, 2008b; Ott and De Vries, 2016; Truckenbrodt, 2013, 2015) have suggested that a key difference between right dislocations and ATs (aside from the distinct prosody associated with each) is that the former are contained within the same speech act as their antecedent clause. Conversely, afterthoughts constitute an independent speech act on their own. The picture that emerges is that there are essentially two types of RPF: those that project an independent speech act (AT), and those that do not (RD). In this section I reproduce and expand on some of the evidence that has been adduced in favour of such a claim. Further, I show that SQs pattern like ATs.

5.2.2   RDs vs AT/SQs

5.2.2.1   Independent illocutionary force

One property of ATs is that δ can display an independent illocutionary force from the antecedent clause (Averintseva-Klisch, 2008a,b; Ott and De Vries, 2016; Truckenbrodt, 2015, 2016, a.o.). This is illustrated for Catalan in (14), where an interrogative δ follows an assertive antecedent clause:

(14)   Diuen que la Júlia està sortint   amb un company de classe –
       say   that the Júlia is   going out with a   classmate
       AMB EL JOSEP, potser?
       with the Josep maybe
       "They say Julia's going out with a classmate – WITH JOSEP, perhaps?"

A similar point can be made for SQs, although some caveats are needed. As we saw in the introduction to this chapter, SQs are typically defined as

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ii.   Entonces por eso era mecánico, por la   habilidad manual.
       then   for this was mechanic, for the ability   manual
       "That's why he was a mechanic, because of his manual skills."   (Sedano, 2013, p.163,
       her (56))

involving two underlying questions: a partial wh-question and a total (or polar) interrogative. Yet one can construct an example in which the partial interrogative is followed by an assertive RPF. Essentially this is a case in which one single speaker produces a question and offers an inmediate answer to it, as a rhetorical device. This is illustrated for Catalan too in (15)[5]:

(15)   I   amb qui vaig veure el   Toni? Efectivament, AMB LA
       and with who PAST see   the Toni Indeed   with the
       CARLOTA.
       Carlota
       "Who did I see Toni with? Exactly, WITH CARLOTA."

Right dislocated phrases, however, cannot display a different illocutionary force from the antecedent clause. Thus, if the antecedent clause is an assertion, δ must be interpreted as such too, as evidenced by the minimal pair in (16) in Spanish. Similarly, if the antecedent clause is a question, then δ must be interpreted as belonging in a question (17). This nicely correlates with the observation from phonological studies of right dislocation in various languages that δ copies the last tone of the host clause (Bonet, 1984; Feldhausen, 2010; Ladd, 1996). δ's prosodic contour thus imitates the melodic contour of its antecedent clause (see §5 in chapter 3 for more on the prosody of right dislocation).

(16)   a.   Ya   los   he   lavado, *los platos*.
            already them have washed the dishes
            "I've already washed them, the dishes."

       b.   * Ya los he lavado, ¿*los platos* quizá?

(17)   a.   Los   has lavado ya,   *los platos*?
            them have washed already the dishes
            "Have you already washed them, the dishes?"

       b.   * Los has lavado ya? *los platos*.

---

[5]The line between ATs and SQs is sheer, as manifested by the existence of hybrid examples like (15). This is actually expected in the present approach, which assumes that both phenomena are structurally identical.

5.2.2.2 Independent propositionality

The propositional meaning conveyed by δ in ATs can be negated independently of the meaning expressed by the proposition expressed in the antecedent clause (Ott and De Vries, 2016). This is illustrated in the following dialog in Catalan (18), where speaker B accepts that Júlia is indeed going out with someone but rejects that it is Josep, as stated by speaker A, that is going out with her. The exact same point can be illustrated with SQs (19):

(18) A. Diuen que la Júlia està sortint   amb un
          say   that the Júlia is   going out with a
          company de classe – AMB EL JOSEP.
          classmate   with the Josep
          "They say Júlia is going out with a classmate – WITH JOSEP."

      B. Sí que està sortint   amb algú,   però no amb el
          yes that is   going out with someone but   not with the
          Carles.
          Carles
          "She's indeed going out with someone, but it is not Carles she
          is going out with."

(19) A. Amb qui està sortint   la Júlia, AMB EL JOSEP?
          with who is   going out the Júlia with the Josep
          "Who's Julia going out with, JOSEP?"

      B. Sí que està sortint   amb algú,   però no amb el
          yes that is   going out with someone but   not with the
          Carles.
          Carles
          "She's indeed going out with someone, but it is not Carles she
          is going out with."

However, RD behaves differently in this respect: δ cannot be negated independently of the antecedent clause, as illustrated with the impossible answer in the following dialog:

(20) A.   Diuen que la Júlia hi està sortint, *amb el Josep*.
            say   that the Júlia LOC is   going out with the Josep
            "They say Julia is going out with Josep."

      B.   * Sí que hi està sortint,   però no amb el Josep.
            yes that LOC is   going out but   not with the Josep
            "She's indeed going out with him but it is not Josep."

5.2.2.3 RPF across speakers

Another asymmetry between RD on the one hand and ATs and SQs on the other one concerns the possibility for the latter, and the impossibility for the former, to be uttered across speakers. This asymmetry supports the claim that ATs and SQs, but not RDs, constitute speech acts on their own, under the widely accepted assumption that root clauses must, by definition, constitute speech acts (Hooper and Thompson, 1973, e.g.).

(21) is an instance of an AT construction across speakers. The context would be one in which, for example, a mother (speaker A) and a father (speaker B) are teasing their kid about tonight's dinner. Similarly, SQs pattern with ATs, as illustrated in (22). A context for this interaction would be two people wondering what to cook for dinner:

(21) A. Per sopar prepararem un plat que t'   encanta…
          for dinner will prepare a   dish that to you love
          We'll make a dish that you love for dinner…

      B. Lᴀsᴀɴʏᴀ!
          Lasagne
          "Lᴀsᴀɢɴᴇ!"

(22) A. Què podem fer per sopar?
          what can   do for dinner
          "What can we prepare for dinner?"

      B. No sé… Lᴀsᴀɴʏᴀ?
          not know lasagne
          "I don't know…lasagne?"

However, right dislocation sharply differs with respect to this particular property, as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (23):

(23)   A.   Encara l' hem de fer.
             still   it have of do
             "We still have to prepare it"

       B.   *La lasanya*.

5.2.2.4   Presence of comment clauses

Comment clauses (Quirk et al., 1972, 1985), also referred to as reduced paren-thetical verbs (see Griffiths, 2013; Schneider, 2007) are a type of semigram-maticalized paratactic clause with an adverbial meaning that provides a par-ticular proposition with some epistemic or evidential qualification:

(24)   En Joan no vindrà   pas, { crec/ suposo/ imagino }.
       the Joan not will come NEG   think suppose imagine
       "John's won't come, I think/guess/imagine."

Griffiths, (2013, p.195) shows that such parenthetical clauses cannot mod-ify propositions that do not express an independent illocutionary force. This is evidenced by the ungrammaticality of the following examples, which fea-ture such parenthetical clauses in factive complements (25a), clausal subjects (25b) or complements of N (25c), all contexts that do not project an indepen-dent illocutionary force.

(25)   a.   * Pete denies that Graham, I reckon, will be late.
       b.   * That Jack, I hope, is absent, is unforgivable.
       c.   * Bob heard the rumour that Kathy will, I fear, be late.

Because ATs and SQs do project an independent speech act, they are compatible with the presence of a comment clause, as illustrated in (26a) and (26b) respectively. Right dislocated phrases, however, cannot coappear with these clauses (26c)[6] because they do not constitute a speech act:

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[6]This sentence is grammatical under the (irrelevant) reading where the comment clause modifies the matrix verb in the second conjunct. The paraphrase would be "…but I think they still haven't been to Laos". Thanks to M. Lluïsa Hernanz for pointing this out.

(26)   a.   La Lola ha visitat un país   exòtic aquestes vacances -
               the Lola has visited a   country exotic these   holidays
               Laos, crec.
               Laos think
               "Lola has visited an exotic country during her holidays - Laos,
               I think."

        b.   On   anirà   la Lola enguany de vacances, a Laos, creus?
               where will go the Lola this year of holidays to Laos think
               "Where will Lola go on holidays this year, to Laos, do you
               reckon?"

        c.   * Els   encanta el sudest   asiàtic però encara no hi
               them love   the southeast Asian but   still   not there
               han anat, *a Laos*, crec.
               have gone to Laos think
               "*They love Southeast Asia, but they still haven't been there, *to
               Laos*, I think."

5.2.2.5   Compatibility with sentential adverbs and modal particles

Truckenbrodt, (2015, 2016) argues that sentential adverbs like *probably* can
appear in contexts which constitute independent speech acts. As illustrated
in the following examples in Catalan, ATs (27a) and SQs (27b) can be intro-
duced by sentential adverbs like *probably*, but right dislocated constituents
cannot (27c)[7]:

---

[7]Modal particles in German align with sentential adverbs, according to Truckenbrodt,
(2015), in only appearing in contexts that constitute a speech act. As shown here, a modal
particle like *wohl* is compatible with an AT, but not with a right dislocated phrase (Ott and
De Vries, 2016, their (15), see also Averintseva-Klisch, 2008b, p.221):

i.   a.   Maria hat einen Star getroffen – wohl DEN   JOHN TRAVOLTA.
           Maria has a.ACC star met   PART the.ACC John Travolta
           "Maria has met a star – presumably John Travolta."

     b.   * Maria hat ihn   getroffen, wohl *den   John Travolta*.
           Maria has him.ACC met   PART the.THE John Travolta
           "Maria has met him, (*presumably) John Travolta."

(27)   a.   Diuen que la Júlia està sortint   amb un company de classe
            say   that the Julia is   going out with a   classmate
            – { seguarment/ probablement/ potser/…} AMB EL JOSEP.
               surely   probably   maybe   with the Josep
            "They say Julia is going out with a classmate – probably JOSEP."

       b.   Amb qui està sortint   la Júlia, AMB EL JOSEP, potser?
            with who is   going out the Júlia with the Josep maybe
            "Who's Julia going out with, with Josep, perhaps?"

       c. * Diuen que la Júlia hi   està sortint,   probablement
            say   that the Júlia PREP.CL. is   going out probably
            amb el   Piqué.
            with the Piqué
            "They say Júlia's going out with him, (*probably) Piqué."
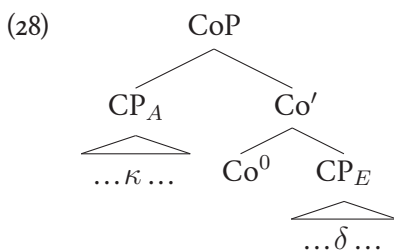
5.2.3 A proposal

In order to capture the systematic asymmetries between RD and ATs/SQs,
Ott and De Vries, (2016) have argued that whereas the two clauses in ATs are
independent root clauses (hence the ability to independently project speech
acts) and syntactically unconnected to each other, the two clauses that con-
form right dislocation must be somehow linked.

    In chapter 3, I followed Ott and De Vries, (2016) and De Vries, (2009) in
assuming that the two clauses involved in RD were mediated by means of
specifying coordination, a type of asyndetic, semantically asymmetric co-
ordination structure where the second conjunct semantically specifies the
content of the first one. Note that ATs and SQs can also be captured under
this structure, insofar as in these phenomena too δ constitutes a semantic
specification of the κ[8]. In fact, specifying coordination has been argued to

---

[8] ATs are frequently associated with a corrective/repair function. In fact, some authors
have argued that this is their unique function (Averintseva-Klisch, 2008b; Berruto, 1985;
Francesconi, 2005; Padilla, 2001; Pérez Bello, 1998): the speaker produces an utterance using
an anaphoric pronoun, possibly a weak one, but pauses because s/he feels that the referent
of this pronoun is unclear and decides to use the AT to make sure the message is com-
pletely understood (Fuentes Rodríguez, 2012, p.69). Occasionally these ATs are preceded by

be involved in AT in De Vries, (2009), and in SQs (Kluck, 2014)[9]:

(28)   CoP
                    ╱   ╲
              CP_A Co′
              ╱ ╲   ╱   ╲
          …$κ$… Co^0 CP_E
                                    ╱ ╲
                                …$δ$…

    I propose that the differences between RD on the hand and AT/SQs on the other one can be captured by the size of the conjuncts involved in the

---

a comment clause (see §2.2.4) which contributes to convey the rectification or clarification meaning expressed by the AT.

i. Aún no las   he   econtrado – LAS LLAVES, quiero decir.
    yet not them have found   the keys   want to say
    "I still haven't found them – THE KEYS, I mean."   (Spanish)

    A corrective function of ATs is clear when $κ$ is a weak pronoun, as in the case of (i). But this cannot be the only function that ATs carry out. Clearly in the examples I have been using so far in this chapter, which featured an indefinite expression as a $κ$, the AT cannot be said to repair the discourse. Rather, the AT is a rhetoric mechanism that allows the speaker to create some suspense and delay the identification of a particular expression. The resource is similar to what Quirk et al., (1985, p.1310) refer to as "postponed identification". Independently of the speaker's intention - creating suspense or clarifying an ambiguous or unspecific previous discourse - the function of the AT is to specify the semantic content of the correlate. It is for this reason that Ott and De Vries, (2016) label them *specificational* afterthoughts, which stand in opposition to *predicative* ATs. I will leave the latter aside for most part of this chapter, but see §5.4.

    [9]Kluck, (ibid.) works on a particular variant of split questions in which the two clauses are phonologically reduced, illustrated in (iB), for which she proposes a biclausal structure (ii), where the two fragments (the wh-operator and the NP in this case) are remnants of the same elided clause, whose antedecent is (iA):

i. A. John has talked to some important linguist.

    B. Who, Chomsky?

ii. Who ~~John has talked to~~, Chomsky ~~John has talked to~~?

specifying coordination. For RD, I contend that coordination holds below the level of Force^0, i.e. the head responsible for encoding illocutionary force:

(29)

$$\text{ForceP}$$

Op$_{\{QUEST/ASSERT\}}$ CoordP

            CP$_A$

        …κ…   Coord^0 CP$_E$

                        …δ…
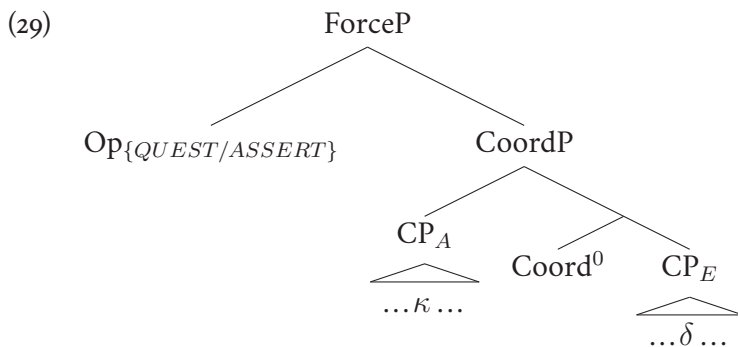
In AT/SQs, specifying coordination coordinates two ForcePs[10]:

(30)   CoordP

ForceP   Coord^0 ForceP

…κ…   …δ…
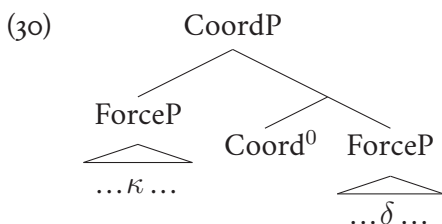
Finally, the structural dependence of the elided clause illustrated in (29) makes yet another prediction. If a right dislocated phrase and an AT or a SQ are used simultaneously in the same string, then it is expected that δ precedes the afterthought, a prediction which is indeed borne out, as the following minimal pairs in Spanish illustrate:

(31)   a.   Se la he   comprado de su marca favorita, *la camiseta* –
              him it have bought   of his brand favourite the T-shirt
              Armani.
              Armani
              "I bought him a T-shirt of his favourite brand – Armani"

---

[10] Ott and De Vries, (2016), however, do not follow this path, and assume that the two clauses in ATs are not syntactically connected. Instead, they argue that their relation is discursive. The claim is also made for SQs in Arregi, (2010). Leaving conceptual considerations aside, I believe their view is not incompatible with mine.

b.   * Se la he comprado de su marca favorita – Armani, *la camiseta*.

(32) a.   A quién se las   has dejado, *las llaves*, a María?
          to whom DAT them have left   the keys to María
          "Who did you give the keys to, María?"

b.   * A quién se las has dejado, a María, *las llaves*.

5.3   *In situ* fragments

Most biclausal approaches to ATs (Ott and De Vries, 2016; Park and Kim, 2009) and SQs (Arregi, 2010; Irurtzun, 2016; Kluck, 2014) share the assumption that δ undergoes movement to a focus-dedicated projection in the left edge of its clause prior to ellipsis. This derivational step can be regarded as a consequence of the general view that remnants must escape the domain of ellipsis so what gets elided conforms a syntactic constituent and not a chunk thereof[11]. This is relevant if one assumes that ellipsis is licensed syntactically, given that syntax solely operates on constituents. In chapter 4, I called this view the Move And Delete Approach (MADA) to ellipsis.

Under the MADA, the following examples, an AT (33a) and a SQ (33b), should be analyzed as in (34a) and (34b) respectively.

(33) a.   They stayed at a nice hotel – At the Ritz.

b.   Where did they stay, At the Ritz?

(34) a.   They stayed at a nice hotel – At the Ritz ~~they stayed t~~.

b.   Where did they stay, At the Ritz ~~they stayed t~~?

Leaving conceptual considerations aside, in this section I am interested in what the empirical evidence is in favour of the MADA to ATs and SQs. At least for SQs, proposing a focus fronting (FF) step is problematic, because the elided clause is a total (or polar) interrogative, and these are generally incompatible with FF both in English and Spanish[12]:

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[11]That the target of this movement is the specifier of a focus projection is consistent with the observation that what survives ellipses is non-presupposed, and thus focal, material.

[12]Focus fronting is possible with yes-no questions in Spanish, although in these cases,

(35)   a.   * AT THE RITZ did they stay?

        b.   * EN EL RITZ se quedaron?

Thus, under a MADA, one has to concede that SQs are derived from an otherwise unavailable source. Note, however, that a natural source for the elided clause involves the remnant *in situ*, even if that would force us to assume the existence of non-constituent ellipsis.

(36)   a.   Where did they stay, ~~did they stay~~ AT THE RITZ?

        b.   Dónde se quedaron, ~~se quedaron~~ EN EL RITZ?

The purpose of this section is to argue against a MADA to SQs and ATs, and to show that these two phenomena can receive a more satisfactory explanation if the remnants are allowed to stay *in situ* in the elided domain. In order to do so, I concentrate on three arguments that have been argued to play a role in determining whether or not movement of δ inside the elided clause is a justified derivational step: islands §5.3.1, the obligatory presence of the complementizer in sentential RPF in English §5.3.2 and scope §5.3.3.

5.3.1   Islands

Testing locality violations is a frequent way to check whether or not a certain constituent has undergone phrasal movement. However, as discussed at various points in this thesis, these predictions regarding movement are somewhat obscured by the observation that some island violations appear to be nullified in the context of certain types of ellipsis. In this section I show that island effects do not constitute evidence for a movement analysis of δ. I address SQs first in §5.3.1.1 and then ATs in §5.3.1.2.

---

this operation is associated with a particular pragmatic effect, namely some sort of surprise or disbelief. Suppose I learnt that some friends of mine who always travel on a very low budget and actually hate posh places had decided to stay at the Ritz during his holidays. I could then utter (35b) in a sort of rhetorical manner. If this sentence was the source of the SQ, it would be natural to observe the same pragmatic effect. However, SQs are generally confirmational. This observational asymmetry constitutes a small problem for the MADA.

5.3.1.1 SQs

In order to test for islandhood, SQs present a methodological problem[13]: this is because the correlate of the wh-remnant in this construction, i.e. the wh-word in the antecedent clause, undergoes regular $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement. Placing the correlate inside of an island implies that the wh-word in CP_A must also be inside an island and the result is unsurprisingly expected to be ungrammatical due to an illicit movement chain in the antecedent clause. In other words: whether δ moves or not from an island is irrelevant to test the grammaticality of the resulting string, as an island violation has been incurred in the antecedent clause. This is illustrated in (37):

(37) * [De dónde]$_i$ bailó Juan [$_{\psi P}$ antes de que llegaras   t$_i$],
      of   where   danced Juan   before of that would arrive
      DEL   SÚPER?
      of the supermarket
      "(*)Where did Juan dance before you came from, FROM THE SUPER-
      MARKET?"

We therefore have to come up with a way to allow the remnant to violate an island domain in CP_E, while keeping CP_A from containing an island violating chain. Arregi proposes an original argument to test whether the tag undergoes movement from an island while still making the antecedent clause grammatical, which involves pied-piping of the island in CP_A. The test is based on Drubig, (1994)'s claim that association with focus is island-insensitive because the island containing the focused constituent undergoes covert pied-piping. However, as noted by Arregi, this test cannot be applied to Spanish, as island pied-piping does not ameliorate the island. This is illustrated in (38). Crucially, the sentence is ungrammatical without the RPF.

(38)   * [$_{\psi P}$ Antes de que llegaras   de dónde]$_i$ bailó   Juan t$_i$.
        before of that would arrive of where   danced Juan
      "(*)Before you arrived from where did Juan dance?"

---

[13]The problem was in fact pointed out by Merchant, (2004a) and Morgan, (1973) in the context of fragment answers.

There is, however, one way to circumvent the methodological problem posed by SQs. In particular, I would like to explore the possibility of leaving the wh-word *in situ* inside the island in the antecedent clause. This option does not cause any ungrammatical result, as illustrated in (39):

(39) Juan vino [$_{\psi P}$ antes de que llegaras   de dónde]?
      Juan came   before of that would arrive of where
      "Juan came before you arrived from where?"

With this configuration in mind, the MADA to SQs predicts that adding a RPF in (39) will yield an ungrammatical output, as δ will be forced to move inside CP$_E$, thereby crossing an island node. Under the *in situ* alternative, remnants are allowed not to undergo movement, and therefore the resulting string is expected to be grammatical. As shown in (40), the relevant output is grammatical, which is unexpected under a MADA (cf. (40a))[14]:

(40) Juan vino antes   de que llegaras   de dónde, DEL
      Juan came before of that would arrive of where of the
      SÚPER?
      supermarket
      "Juan came before you arrived from where, FROM THE SUPERMAR-
      KET?"

      a. * [Del súper]$_i$ ~~Juan vino~~ [$_{\psi P}$ ~~antes de que llegaras t$_i$~~].   MADA
      b. ~~Juan vino~~ [$_{\psi P}$ ~~antes de que llegaras~~ del súper].   *in situ*

Before moving to ATs, I would like to review one more test that Arregi provides to claim that δ moves, which involves multiple split questions (MSQ). Crucially, I want to claim that such test is completely uninformative with respect to islandhood.

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[14]One could hypothesize that the elided site does not contain the whole antecedent clause containing the island, but only the island. Thus, the alleged movement of δ would not *cross* any island node. Still, under such an alternative, it remains unclear where δ should move to, given that the left edge of a clausal temporal adjunct does not allow for any element in its periphery.

1. * [del parque]$_i$ ~~antes de que llegaras t$_i$~~?

MSQ are a type of multiple-remnant ellipsis construction which features two wh-remnants in the antecedent clause. In Spanish multiple-wh questions only one of the two wh-operators undergoes movement, the other one stays in situ, as opposed to languages like Bulgarian or Russian, which allows multiple wh-fronting:

(41)   Quién ha hablado con quién, PEDRO CON JULIÁN?
       who   has spoken with who   Pedro with Julian?
       "Who talked to who, Pedro to Julian?"

That the PP-wh phrase stays in situ in CP_A does not immediately mean that the remnant PP must also stay in situ: under a MADA approach, the remnants must escape the domain of ellipsis and therefore the two tags in MSQ must front prior to ellipsis[15]:

(42)   Quién ha hablado con quién, [PEDRO]$_i$ [CON JULIÁN]$_k$ ~~t$_i$ ha hablado t$_k$~~?

Now consider the following minimal pair in (43): in (43a) the *in situ* wh-operator is not inside an island, and the string is grammatical. However, in (43b), the *in situ* wh-word is inside a relative clause, and the example is ungrammatical.

(43)   a.   Quién cree   haber matado a quién, JUAN A PEDRO?
            who   thinks to have killed   to who   Juan to Pedro
            "Who think he killed who, JUAN PEDRO?"
       b. * Quién quiere contratar a un lingüista que hable   qué
            who   wants to hire   to a   linguist who speaks what
            idioma, JUAN INGLÉS?
            language Juan English
            "*Who wants to hire a linguist who speaks which language,
            JUAN ENGLISH?"

The minimal pair in (43), according to Arregi's view, is expected under a MADA to MSQ, given that only in (43b) does the rightmost remnant undergo

---

[15]Arregi argues that this is not a case of multiple focus fronting, which is independently unavailable in Spanish. Instead, he argues that one of the remnants undergoes left dislocation, whereas it is only the rightmost one that moves because of focalization. See Ortega-Santos, Yoshida, and Nakao, 2014 for similar remarks on multiple-remnant phenomena.

illicit $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement to the left edge of the elided clause. Unfortunately, however, there are reasons to be skeptical about the role of the island in (43b) in determining its ungrammaticality. To see why, observe the following example, in which the *in situ* wh-phrase is inside a transparent domain for extraction (an unmoved, selected clausal object). However, the resulting string is ungrammatical:

(44)   * A quién le   has dicho que estaríamos de vacaciones dónde, A
        to who   him has said   that would be   of   holiday   where   to
        JUAN EN IBIZA?
        Juan in   Ibiza
        "(*)Who did you tell we'd be where on holiday, JUAN IN IBIZA?"

In fact, the minimal pair in (43), along with (44) merely show that multiple remnant elliptical phenomena are subject to the clause-mate condition, which demands that multiple remnants be clause mates - or in other words, that they be given theta role by the same predicate[16]. Yet another way of stating this is to ensure that multiple remnants are never separated by a finite clause boundary. As a multiple-remnant elliptical phenomenon, MSQ are expected to obey the clause mate condition. While this condition is met in (41) and (43a), it is violated in (43b) and (44).

In conclusion, even though islandhood is difficult to test for SQs, I argued that an *in situ* approach to the phenomenon is empirically superior, in that it can capture the grammaticality of (40) in a straightforward manner.

5.3.1.2   ATs

Let us draw our attention now to islands in ATs. In the following two examples, the correlate *una peli muy interesante* ("a very interesting film") is inside an island domain: in (45a) it is inside a temporal adjunct, and in (45b), within a coordinate structure. The resulting strings containing an afterthought are ungrammatical:

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[16]The clause-mate condition has been discussed for gapping (Fernández-Sánchez, 2017; Jayaseelan, 1990; Neijt, 1979); pseudogapping (Jayaseelan, 1990), multiple sluicing (Abels, 2016; Lasnik, 2013; Nishigauchi, 1998), or wh-stripping (Ortega-Santos, Yoshida, and Nakao, 2014).

(45)   a.   * [$_{\psi P}$ Mientras veía una peli muy interesante] me   llamaron
                     while   saw a   film very interesting   to me called
             – Mystic River.
               Mystic River
             "*While I was watching a very interesting film someone called
             me – Mystic River."

       b.   * [$_{\psi P}$ Vi   una peli muy interesante y   salí   a cenar] –
                     saw a   film very interesting and went out to dinner
             Mystic River.
             Mystic River
             "*I watched a very interesting film and went out for dinner –
             Mystic River."

The ungrammaticality of (45) can be explained if one posits that δ undergoes movement to the left edge of the elided clause, as such a displacement operation would violate the adjunct condition (45a) and the coordinate structure condition (45b), as illustrated in (46a) and (46b) respectively:

(46)   a.   * [Mystic River]$_i$ ~~mientras veía t$_i$ me llamaron~~.
       b.   * [Mystic River]$_i$ ~~vi t$_i$ y salí a cenar~~.

Consider now the following two examples, which are apparently identical to (45) except that the island is now clause-final in CP$_A$:

(47)   a.   Me   llamaron [$_{\psi P}$ mientras veía una peli muy interesante]
             to me called   while   saw a   film very interesting
             – Mystic River.
               Mystic River
             "Someone called me while I was watching a very interesting
             film – Mystic River."

       b.   [$_{\psi P}$ Salí   a cenar y   vi   una peli muy interesante] –
                     went out to dinner and saw a   film very interesting
             Mystic River.
             Mystic River
             "I went out for dinner and watched a very interesting film –
             Mystic River."

The grammaticality of (47) is somewhat unexpected: the same mechanism that explained the ungrammaticality of (45), i.e. movement of δ in CP_E, should be extended to (47), thus rendering these examples ungrammatical:

(48)   a.   * [Mystic River]$_i$ ~~me llamaron mientras veía t$_i$~~.

        b.   * [Mystic River]$_i$ ~~salí a cenar y vi t$_i$~~.

These data are reminiscent of the locality pattern exhibitted by right dislocated phrases that was observed by De Vries, (2013a) and in chapter 4 in this thesis: right dislocation is only island sensitive when δ is not adjacent to the island that contains the correlate in CP_A, as exemplified in (49):

(49)   a.   * [$_{\psi P}$ Cando las   appo vistas] so ghiratu a   domo, *sas nues*.
                       when   them have seen   returned   to home the clouds
                  "*When I saw them I returned home, the clouds."   (Sardinian)

        b.   [$_{\psi P}$ Cando las appo vistas], *sas nues*, so ghiratu a domo.

        c.   So ghiratu a domo [$_{\psi P}$ cando las appo vistas], *sas nues*.

In chapter 4 I proposed that the pattern in (49) can be captured if we assume that the specifying coordination structure that connects CP_A and CP_E is constrained by an economy condition that forces coordination to be as minimal as possible, the Minimal Coordination Hypothesis (MCH). In particular, I claimed that coordination cannot hold higher than the lowest finite clausal node containing the correlate in CP_A (see §4 in chapter 4 for the specifics). In these cases, the MCH forces coordination between δ and the ψP, a configuration which is clearly violated in (49a). I tentatively suggest that the MCH can be extended to ATs.

Under the MCH, movement of δ becomes rather unexpected. Take, for example, (47a), which would be analyzed as follows:

(50)   Me llamaron

Under the assumption that remnants must always move out of the ellipsis site, then movement of δ is only local inside ψP. But fronted elements cannot independently appear at the left edge of an adjunct clause (51), so it is unclear where δ should move to, or why that position should only be available whenever ellipsis applies.

(51)   * Me llamaron [[Mystic River]$_i$ mientras veía t$_i$].

Finally, the *in situ* approach to ATs can provide a simple solution to what Shimoyama et al., (2015) refer to as the "no source puzzle". To understand the problem, observe the following AT construction in German:

(52)   Es ist möglich, dass Volkswagen etwas   ganz   neues plant:
         it is possible that Volkswagen something pretty new   plans
         einen neuen Käfer.
         a   new   Beetle
         "It's possible that Volkswagen are planning something new – a new
         Beetle.

As argued by these authors, the grammaticality of this example is unexpected under a mada to ATs, given that if *a new Käfer* undergoes movement to the left edge of CP_E, the string ought to violate an island and therefore be ungrammatical, as indicated in (53a). Positing that the elided structure is a kind of copular structure meaning "a new Beetle it is" is independently not possible, given that copular structures require nominative case in German (53b), and this AT displays accusative morphology:

(53)   a.   * [Einen neuen Käfer]$_i$ ~~ist möglich, dass Volkswagen t$_i$ plant~~.

         b.   [Ein neuer Käfer]$_i$ ~~es ist t$_i$~~.

One could further hypothesize, in line with Merchant, (2001, p.201ff.) and others (Abels, 2012a; Matt Barros, Elliott, and Thoms, 2014; Fukaya, 2007, a.o.) that the content of the ellipsis site does not correspond the whole antecedent clause containing the island, but rather a "short source" (54):

(54)   [$_{CP_A}$ Es ist möglich, dass Volkswagen etwas ganz neues plant]
         [$_{CP_E}$ Einen neuen Käfer ~~VW plant t~~]

Under the short sluice analysis, δ undergoes local $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement and therefore no island-violating output is expected. However, as argued by Shimoyama et al., (2015), the short sluice yields a wrong interpretation: whereas CP_A means that it is probable that p, p being that VW may plan on something new, CP_E is asserting p. This semantic mismatch ought to render ellipsis illicit to start with.

The puzzle receives a very simple solution if movement is dissociated from ellipsis, i.e. if we allow for *einen neuen Käfer* to stay in its base position inside CP_E, and apply non-constituent ellipsis. Accusative case morphology and island insensitivity are both expected:

(55) $[_{CP_A}$ Es ist möglich, dass Volkswagen etwas ganz neues plant$]$
        $[_{CP_E}$ ~~Es ist möglich, dass Volkswagen~~ einen neuen Käfer ~~plant~~$]$

The datum in (52) thus constitutes further evidence for the in situ analysis of ATs.

5.3.2   Complementizers and sentential RPF

A sound argument in favour of the claim that fragments undergo movement prior to ellipsis comes from the distribution of complementizers in sentential fragments in English (Merchant, 2004a; Morgan, 1973). As is well known, selected finite CPs in complement position can appear without the complementizer in a large number of cases:

(56)   Peter truly believes {that / Ø} the situation will improve.

When the clausal object in (56) constitutes the fragment answer to a question like *what does John believe?*, the complementizer must be obligatorily retained.

(57)   *(That) the situation will improve.

Merchant, (2004a) defends that the obligatory presence of the complementizer in (57) cannot be accounted for if the CP remains in its object position, as that would predict *that* to be optional (as in 56). Instead, he claims that the facts follow under the assumption that the remnant CP moves to a

left peripheral position before clausal ellipsis takes place. This is so because fronted CPs pattern with (57) in disallowing C-drop too.

(58)   [*(That) the situation will improve]$_i$ Peter truly believes t$_i$.

Sentential fragments in SQs (59a) and ATs (59b) pattern like fragment answers in that *that* must be retained. Descriptively speaking, the similarity between these phenomena with respect to the presence of *that* is welcome inasmuch as it constitutes further support for a unified account. In analytical terms, the distribution of C is predicted under the MADA:

(59)   a.   What did you say, *(THAT) YOU STAYED AT THE RITZ?

       b.   Charles said something important at the conference – *(THAT) HE WOULD RESIGN.

One could argue that the distribution of the complementizer in sentential fragments can only be taken as empirical support that fragments in English undergo movement to the left edge. For example, the complementizer in Spanish must always be present in the relevant contexts (compare (56) to (60)), so that sentential fragments are headed by *que*, the Spanish equivalent of *that*, does not say anything about whether the CP has moved or not:

(60)   Peter realmente cree   { que / *Ø} la situación va   a mejorar.
       Peter really   believes that   the situation goes to improve
       "Peter truly believes that the situation will improve."

(61)   a.   A.   Qué cree   Juan?
                 what thinks Juan
                 "What does Juan think?"

            B.   *(Que) la   situación va   a mejorar.
                    that the situation goes to improve
                 "That the situation will improve."

       b.   Qué has   dicho, *(QUE) SE QUEDAN EN EL   RITZ?
            what have said   that SE stay   in the Ritz
            "What did did you say, THAT THEY ARE STAYING AT THE RITZ?"

    c. Carlos dijo algo   importante en la   conferencia – *(QUE)
        Carlos said something important at the conference   that
        DIMITE.
        resigns
        "Carlos said something important at the conference – that he re-
        signs."

But even for English, I would like to argue that the argument cannot be
rendered conclusive. Merchant's premise is an existing correlation between
the obligatory presence of *that* in sentential fragments and in contexts where
CPs move. However, there are various contexts in English which force the
presence of a complementizer where no CP movement is involved.

In particular, I would like to suggest that the obligatory presence of the
complementizer in split questions, as well as in CP fragment answers, is de-
termined by factors pertaining to the syntax-prosody interface, a thesis that
has been proposed and thoroughly examined in An, (2007). This author elab-
orates a list of phenomena which, like the cases pointed out above, require
the overt presence of a complementizer (all the examples are from ibid., p.27,
his (23)): extraposed clauses (62a), topicalized clauses (62b), clausal subjects[17]
(62c), clausal complements of nouns (62d), clausal remnants of gapping (62e)
and right node raised CPs (62f):

(62)   a. I believe very strongly [*(that) John liked linguistics].

       b. [*(That) the teacher was lying] Ben already knew.

       c. [*(That) the teacher was lying] was hardly obvious.

       d. I distrust the claim [*(that) Bill had left the party].

       e. May believed that Peter finished school and Bill [*(that) Peter got
         a job].

       f. They suspected and we believed [*(that) Peter'd visit the hospital].

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[17]The status of clausal subjects have been a matter of debate since the early days of gen-
erative grammar. Many have defended that they do not occupy the canonical subject posi-
tion, i.e. the specifier of TP, but rather they behave like topicalized elements (Emonds, 1976;
Koster, 1978; Stowell, 1981). If true, then topicalized clauses and clausal subjects illustrate the
same phenomenon.

The obligatory presence of *that* in all of the cases in (62) cannot be a corollary of CP-fronting, especially in (62d)[18,19]. An, (2007, pp.31-50) argues, on the basis of ample crosslinguistic evidence, that in all of these cases the CP must be obligatorily parsed into an Intonational Phrase, the prosodic status that is often associated to root clauses, parentheticals, and some displaced constituents (Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Selkirk, 1978; Truckenbrodt, 1995, a.o.). An's proposal is that "if a clause is obligatorily parsed as a separate I-phrase, its left boundary (i.e., specifier and hear) cannot be phonologically null" (p.31). The presence of *that* is a way to void this violation[20].

Note that δ in SQs and ATs, *qua* remnant of a clausal ellipsis operation, is expected to display Intonational Phrase properties, a prediction which is confirmed by Arregi, (2010), Camacho, (2002), and Truckenbrodt, (2015, 2016), and the same conclusion obviously extends to fragments. For completion, further note that An's proposal can be extended to right dislocation. English right dislocated clauses must be headed by an overt complementizer:

(63)   I don't believe it, *(*that*) he's married.

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[18]The mandatory *that* in this particular case is reminiscent of complement clauses to *manner-of-speech* verbs, which must also be introduced by *that* even in their position as complements of the VP. Stepanov, (2001, a.o.) has argued that these predicates can be analyzed as light verb that select complex NPs. Thus, for example, *whisper* would be equivalent to *make a whisper*. Again, the obligatory presence of *that* in these cases cannot obviously follow from an analysis in which the CP undergoes movement.

 i. a. Jason whispered *(that) the phoenix had escaped.   (Adger, 2003, p.239)

   b. Billy quipped *(that) he saw a ghost.   (Franks, 2005, p.8)

   c. John grunted *(that) Mary left.   (Boeckx, 2003, p.101, his (94))

[19]Even though Right Node Raising, illustrated in (62f), has been analyzed in terms of movement, many have defended instead that this phenomenon requires a multidominance representation where crucially the RNRed CP is in its complement position Gracanin-Yuksek, 2007; Kluck and Vries, 2013; McCloskey, 1982; De Vries, 2013b. If these analyses are correct, then the obligatory presence of *that* in these contexts cannot be due to movement neither.

[20]This is a simplification of An's proposal, which is more complex and has more interesting consequences. For example, the ban against a null left edge of an intonational phrase can be satisfied not only by materializing the C head, but also by material at the specifier of CP (*I saw the child yesterday who Mary was waiting for*).

For MADA proponents, the mandatory presence of *that* in (63) follows from the fact that the CP undergoes A̅-movement to the edge of elided clause, inasmuch as fronted CPs cannot be headed by null C. However, the alternative view advocated here posits that the complementizer is obligatory because δ is obligatorily parsed as intonational phrases (see chapter 3).

Therefore, the obligatory presence of a complementizer is dissociated from movement, although the two are indirectly related, insofar as certain movement operations trigger intonational phrase boundaries. An, (2007)'s proposal can crucially account for the presence of a complementizer in remnants of clausal ellipsis assuming an *in situ* approach to ellipsis.

5.3.3   Scope

As I have frequently claimed, RPF are subject to a structural paradox: they are certainly independent from their host clause, but they simultaneously display clause internal properties. One such property concerns scope. Ott and De Vries, (2016) argue that in the following AT example in German (64), δ is interpreted in the scope of the intensional verb *(sich) wünschen* ('to wish for'), insofar as the sentence does not entail that unicorns exist:

(64)   Auch Peter wünscht sich eins – EIN EINHORN
       also Peter wishes   REFL one   a   unicorn
       Peter also wishes for one – A UNICORN."   wish for > ∃

Arregi, (2010) provides an analogous example regarding Spanish SQs, reproduced in (65) where he claims that the intensional verb *buscar* ('look for') has wide scope over δ:

(65)   Qué busca   Juan, UN UNICORNIO?
       what look for Juan a   unicorn
       "What's Juan looking for, a unicorn?"   look for > ∃

These authors argue that these data naturally follow under the assumption that the RPF in both ATs and SQs is contained inside an elided, yet identical clause to the antecedent clause, as it is in these elided domains where the relevant scopal readings are determined. In fact, Ott and De Vries, (2016)

and Arregi, (2010) defend the non-elided counterparts of (64) and (65) also
yield this narrow scope reading of δ:

(66)   a.   EIN EINHORN wünscht sich auch Peter.
            a   unicorn   wishes   REFL also Peter
            "Peter also wishes for a unicorn."   wish for $> \exists$

       b.   UN UNICORNIO busca   Juan?
            a   unicorn   look for Juan
            "Juan's looking for a unicorn?"   look for $> \exists$

   Both Ott and De Vries, (2016) and Arregi, (2010) defend a MADA to ATs
and SQs respectively. Note that in the elliptical sources in (66) δ is actually
fronted to the left edge of the clause. For these authors, scope is determined
under reconstruction. As such, scope data do not constitute an argument
for movement, but rather an argument *compatible* with movement, under
the assumption that the fronting operation reconstructs. Consequently, an
in situ approach to ellipsis where δ is in its base generation position inside
CP_E would equally account for the data above:

(67)   a.   ~~Auch Peter wünscht sich~~ EIN EINHORN.   wish for $> \exists$

       b.   ~~Juan busca~~ UN UNICORNIO?   look for $> \exists$

   In order to turn the scope facts into an argument for or against move-
ment of δ, it would be interesting to see what happens in cases where δ can-
not undergo reconstruction. The situation is schematized in (68): in its gen-
eration position, XP is under the scope of x, which can be an intentional
verb or any other scope-taking element like a quantifier. If XP is fronted to
the specifier of FP, a projection above the position of x, and XP does not re-
construct, then we predict that XP will take wide scope. Instead, if XP stays
in situ, then wide scope of x is expected. The frame indicates the chunk of
the structure that is marked for ellipsis:

(68)
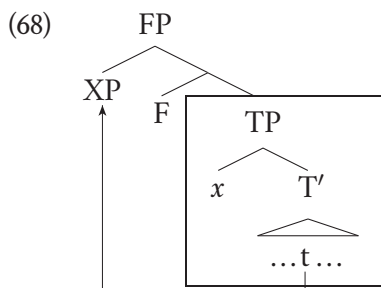
This relevant configuration is provided by Shimoyama et al., (2015), who observe, on the basis of afterthought constructions in Japanese, that in cases where XP cannot independently undergo reconstruction, *x* no longer takes wide scope over XP. These results are clearly unexpected under a MADA, but nonetheless follow from an *in situ* alternative[21]. In what follows I report their data.

Japanese is an SOV language. Objects can be scrambled to sentence-initial position, yielding OSV. Importantly, object scrambling in this language alters scope relations. In SOV strings, the subject takes wide scope over the object (69a). However, when the object is scrambled then the sentence is ambiguous between a narrow and wide scope of the object, although, according to these authors, there is a preference for surface scope (i.e. that is, wide scope of the object), as shown in (69b):

(69)   a. San-nin-no gakusei-ga   dono hon-mo   yonda.
           three-CL-no student-NOM which book-every read
           "Three students read every book."   3>every; *every>3

       b. [Dono hon-mo]$_i$ san-nin-no gakusei-ga   t$_i$ yonda.
            which book-every three-CL-NO student-NOM   read
           "Every book, three students read."   ?3>every; every>3

The crucial datum for Shimoyama et al., (ibid.) is (70), which features an AT whose correlate is the subject in the antecedent clause. Leaving δ aside,

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[21]It is important to note that Shimoyama et al., (ibid.) do not intend to pit the MADA and the *in situ* approach against each other. They take their evidence against MADA as a general case against a biclausal approach to afterthoughts. But strictly speaking their data merely constitute a problem for MADA.

this sentence is identical to (69b) (except the final particle YO[22]). As plotted in the example, the interpretation of (70) is the same as (69b), namely both the wide and narrow scope of the object are allowed, with a slight preference for the wide scope reading of the object:

(70)   Dono hon-mo   san-nin-no gakusei-ga   t yonda yo –
       which book-every three-CL-NO student-NOM   read   PRT
       san-nin-no   gakubusei-ga.
       three-CL-NO undergraduate student-NOM
       "Every book, three students read – 3 UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS."
       ?3>every; every>3

Under the MADA, however, the grammaticality of (70) is unexpected, because for the subject to survive as an AT it should be higher than the object, therefore exhibitting sov (or the string vacuous $s_i(t_i)$ov if we assume that the subject undergoes movement to a left peripheral position), as in (69a). But such an sov string should ban the wide scope of the object. Therefore, (70) should be ungrammatical or, at least, contradictory, contrary to fact.

Shimoyama et al., (2015) provide yet another example that illustrates the exact same point. (71a) is an sov string, and the subject asymmetrically scopes over the object. After object scrambling, the object can take wide scope, although the narrow scope of the object is still possible, as (71b) indicates.

(71)   a.   Sota-dake-ga   go-satsu-ijoo-no   hon-o
            Sota-only-NOM five-CL-greater than or equal to-NO book-ACC
            yonda
            read
            "Only Sota read 5 or more books."
            only >5 or more; *5 or more >only

       b.   Go-satsu-ijoo-no   hon-o   sota-dake-ga   t
            five-CL-greater than or equal to-NO book-ACC Sota-only-NOM
            yonda
            read

---

[22]Takita, (2012, p.147) argues that *-yo* is a clause final particle used in colloquial speech.

"There are 5 or more books that only Sota read."
$^?$only $>$5 or more; 5 or more $>$only

Now let us concentrate on the scope readings of (72). Leaving aside δ, this sentence is identical to (71b) (except for the final particle again): the object has scrambled to a clause initial position and now it can take wide scope over the subject. Let us focus now on the RPF. Under the MADA approach, for it to survive it must be in a position higher than the object; i.e. the source of the elided clause in (72) must display an SOV order. But this order bans the wide scope reading of the object and thus the whole string in (72) should trigger an inconsistent reading, contrary to fact:

(72) Go-satsu-ijoo-no hon-o sota-dake-ga t
five-CL-greater than or equal to-NO book-ACC Sota-only-NOM
yonda yo – ROKU-SAI-NO SOTA-DAKE-GA.
read PRT six-years-NO Sota-only-GA
"There are 5 or more books that only Sota read."
$^?$only $>$5 or more; 5 or more $>$only

Shimoyama et al., (ibid.) conclude that the clausal ellipsis analysis of ATs should be abandoned *in toto*. Note, however, that the Japanese data reported in their paper and reproduced here do not really support their conclusion. Rather, they constitute a challenge for the MADA to ATs, which posits that movement is a *sine-qua-non* condition for ellipsis. If an *in situ* alternative is entertained, the data above can be accounted for. In both (71) and (72) one simply has to assume that the elliptical clause is an OSV string, which allows the wide scope of the object, where only the subject survives.

5.3.4   Interim summary

In this section I have challenged the view that ATs and SQs involve movement of δ in the elided clause by examining islands, the distribution of the complementizer in sentential fragments in English and scope. The evidence gathered in this section clearly indicate that RPF appear to behave as if they had not moved. In this respect, then, ATs and SQs pattern like RD. In order to accommodate these data, one has to allow for non-constituent ellipsis.

In other words: the lack of evidence for movement of δ should be taken as evidence that ellipsis not always targets constituents. In the next section, I discuss another type of RPF which, contrary to SQs, ATs and RDs, does exhibit movement effects. Its syntax is thus amenable to a well-known two step derivation in terms of movement and ellipsis.

5.4   Predicative afterthoughts

5.4.1   A copular source

So far I have referred to ATs as having a specificational function. There exists, however, another type of AT construction that I have been purposely leaving aside, namely what Ott and De Vries, 2016 refer to as *predicative afterthoughts* (PredATs), which are illustrated below for Spanish:

(73)   a.   He   leído Rayuela durante las vacaciones de verano   – UNA
            have read Rayuela during   the holiday   of summer   a
            NOVELA MARAVILLOSA
            novel   wonderful
            "I've read Rayuela during the summer holiday – A WONDERFUL
            NOVEL."

       b.   Pedro nos ha ayudado en todo lo   que   hemos necesitado –
            Pedro us   has helped   in all   the what have   needded
            UN TIPO ENCANTADOR, la   verdad.
            a   dude charming   the truth
            "Pedro has helped us with everything we needed – A CHARMING
            GUY, indeed."

       c.   Nos hemos encontrado con Juan en el   súper   – UN
            us   have   met   with Juan in the supermarket   a
            COÑAZO   DE TÍO, por cierto.
            annoying of dude by the way
            "We came across Juan at the supermarket – WHAT A PAIN IN THE
            ASS he is, by the way."

The examples in (73) clearly involve RPF, as evidenced by the fact that the clause preceding δ is syntactically, prosodically and semantically complete. Intuitively, the RPFs in (73) do not specify their correlates, they rather predicate about them. In (73a), for example, the AT cannot be paraphrased as "I have read a wonderful novel during the summer holidays". Instead, a correct paraphrase would feature a copular structure: "it is a wonderful novel", where *it* corefers with *Rayuela*. To capture this intuition, I follow Ott and De Vries, (ibid.) in arguing that PredATs are remnants of predicational copular clauses. (73a) would thus be analyzed as in (74):

(74)   He leído Rayuela$_i$ durante las vacaciones de verano.   ~~pro$_i$ es~~ UNA NOVELA MARAVILLOSA.

The analysis in (74) captures correctly the case morphology of PredATs. As observed in the following example in German, the δ in PredATs must appear in nominative case. If the remnant was contained in a clause identical to the antecedent clause, δ would be expected to exhibit accusative case, the structural case that the predicate *treffen* ("meet") would assign to it (76a). Instead, the nominative case follows from the fact predicates in predicative copular clauses are assigned nominative clause (76b):

(75)   Ich habe den   John Travolta getroffen – EIN BERÜHMTER STAR!
       I   have the.ACC John Travolta met   a   famous   star
       "I met John Travolta – A FAMOUS STAR!"

(76)   a. ~~Ich habe~~ EINEN$_{acc}$ BERÜHMTER STAR ~~getroffen~~.
       b. ~~Er ist~~ EIN$_{nom}$ BERÜHMTER STAR.

While all the PredATs in (73) are nominal phrases, under the copular clause analysis adjectival phrases are also expected to be possible remnants, as illustrated in (77):

(77)   a. Conocimos a Carla hace años en un congreso   de lingüística
          met   to Carla does years in a conference of linguistics
          – MUY MAJA, por cierto.
            very nice   by the way
          "We met Carla some years ago in a linguistics conference – VERY NICE, by the way.

b. He   hablado con   Carlos esta mañana   – ENCANTADOR, la
    have spoken with Carlos this morning   charming   the
    verdad.
    truth
    "I've spoken to Carlos this morning – charming, to be honest."

c. El café   lo hemos traído   de   Ecuador – BUENÍSIMO,
    the coffee it have   brought from Ecuador – very good
    verdad?
    right
    "We brought the coffee from Equador – SUPER TASTY, right?"

These cases provide further support for an underlying copular source. Note that if the remnant belonged in a clause identical to CP$_A$, the underlying source would be completely ungrammatical (78), as the adjective would not be saturated. Conversely, the grammaticality of the examples in (77) follows because the APs are possible as predicates of a copular clause, as illustrated in (79)[23]:

(78)   a.   * Conocimos a Carla muy maja hace años en un congreso de
            lingüística.

       b.   * He hablado con Carlos encantador esta mañana.

       c.   * El café lo hemos traído buenísimo de Ecuador.

---

[23]Not all cases of PredATs featuring an adjectival remnant point to the same conclusion. For example, the remnant in (i) could be interpreted as a (object-oriented) secondary predicate in the antecedent clause (iia) or as the post-copula predicate in a predicative copular clause (iib):

i.   Vimos a Carmen por la   calle   – MUY BORRACHA, por cierto.
     saw   to Carmen by the street   very drunk   by the way
     "We saw Carmen on the street – very drunk"

ii. a. Vimos a Carmen muy borracha por la calle. ("We saw her drunk.")

     b. *pro* estaba muy borracha. ("She was very drunk.")

For these cases I contend that the two sources may be possible. To avoid confusion, though, all the examples featuring adjectival PredATs will only be compatible with copular clauses.

(79)   a.   *pro* es muy maja.

        b.   *pro* es encantador.

        c.   *pro* es buenísimo.

The following example (80a) is yet another case in which the PredAT is only compatible with a copular string. Here *alucinante* ("unbelievable") refers to the embedded proposition in the antecedent clause. The underlying source must be as indicated in (80b), as there is no other possible alternative source involving (redundant) repetition of CP$_A$.

(80)   a.   Y   dicen [que esta tipa   puede ganar las elecciones]$_i$ –
           and say   that this moron can   win   the elections
           ALUCINANTE!
           unbelievable
           "And they say this moron can win the election – UNBELIEVABLE!"

        b.   Eso$_i$ es alucinante!
           That is unbelievable
           "That$_i$'s unbelievable!"

Finally, the following example in German (Ott and De Vries, 2016, their (129)) provides yet further evidence that copular sources underlie PredATs:

(81)   Hans hat eine junge Frau   geheiratet – WUNDERSCHÖN.
     Hans has a   young woman married   gorgeous
     "Hans has married a young woman – GORGEOUS (she is)!"

If the remnant AP was part of a clause identical to the antecedent clause, as a prenominal modifier of the object NP, it would have to display morphological inflection reflecting gender, as observed in (82a). The lack of such inflection in (81) follows from the fact that when the AP is used as a predicate in a predicative copular structure it bears no overt gender morphology (82b):

(82)   a.   Hans hat eine wunderschön*(-e) junge Frau   geheirated.
           Hans has a   gorgeous   young woman married
           "Hans married a gorgeous, young woman."

b. Sie ist wunderschön.
   She is gorgeous
   "She is gorgeous."

5.4.2 Properties of δ

In this subsection I turn to more detailed properties regarding δ. First, in §5.4.2.1 I argue that PredATs pattern with specificational ATs and SQs in that they also constitute a speech act of their own. In §5.4.2.2 I discuss some semantic and pragmatic considerations that are crucial to understand the phenomenon. In fact, these issues will lead us to slightly modify the earlier proposal made in (74).

5.4.2.1 PredATs as a Force-independent RPF

First, δ is able to exhibit a different illocutionary force from its antecedent clause (see §5.2.2.1 for the same claim in SQs and specificational ATs). In (83a), the antecedent clause is a question and δ an exclamation; and in (83b) CP$_A$ is an assertion, and δ a question[24].

(83)   a. Has visto lo   que   ha hecho Juan? Menudo imbécil!
           have seen the what has done Juan what a   idiot
           "Have you seen what Juan has done? What an idiot!"

       b. Este fin de semana hemos estado en el   Celler Can Roca. El
           this end of week   have   been   in the Celler Can Roca. The
           mejor restaurante del   mundo? Sin   duda!
           best restaurant   of the world   without doubt
           "This weekend we've been to El Celler Can Roca. The best restau-
           rant in the world? Undoubtedly!"

---

[24]Note, incidentally, that (83b) constitutes yet further support for a copular clause source. If we assumed that *el mejor restaurante del mundo* belonged in a clause identical to CP$_A$ the resulting string would be incongruent, as we would be first asserting that we have been in a particular place, and then questioning the truth value of that proposition.

Second, the AT can be negated independently of the proposition expressed in the antecedent clause (see also §5.2.2.2). This is illustrated in the following dialog, where speaker B (84B) manifests his/her disagreement with speaker A (84A). But as indicated below, speaker B's disagreement can be ambiguous between negation of the proposition expressed in the CP$_A$ by speaker A (84B-a) and the PredAT (84B-b):

(84)   A. Ana ha pasado una semana en Burgos de vacaciones – UNA
          Ana has spent a week in Burgos of holidays a
          CIUDAD MUY FEA, la verdad.
          city very ugly the truth
          "Ana has spent a one-week holiday in Burgos – honestly, A VERY
          UGLY CITY."

       B. Pero qué dices!
          but what say
          "What are you talking about?"

         a. Ana ha estado en Valencia, no en Burgos.
            Ana has been in Valencia not in Burgos
            "It's Valencia that she's been to, not Burgos."

         b. Burgos es preciosa!
            Burgos is beautiful
            "Burgos is beautiful!"

Third, PredAT, like SQs and specificational ATs (§5.2.2.3), can be uttered across speakers:

(85)   A. Hemos estado viendo la última de Woody Allen.
          have been watching the latest of Woody Allen
          "We've been watching the latest movie by Woody Allen

       B. UN TRUÑO, sin lugar a dudas.
          a turd without place to doubts
          "Undoubtedly a pretty bad movie."

(86)   A. ¿Te gusta mi nuevo color de pelo?
          you like my new colour of hair
          "Do you like my new hair colour?"

B. Sí, muy bonito.
yes very pretty
"beautiful, indeed!"

Finally, PredATs are compatible with sentential adverbs (§5.2.2.5 for similar claims about SQs and specificational ATs):

(87) Hemos pedido una Carlsberg para tomar – probablemente la
have   ordered a   Carlsberg to   drink   probably   the
mejor cerveza del   mundo.
best   beer   of the world
"We ordered a Carlsberg – probably the best beer in the world."

The evidence gathered in this subsection points towards the conclusion that δ patterns with SQs and specificational ATs in that it constitutes a speech act of its own, independent of the antecedent clause.

5.4.2.2   Properties of δ

PredATs are subject to interesting restrictions. These will be explored in this subsection. To start with, observe that not all predicates of predicative copular clauses make good PredATs. This is illustrated in the following two minimal pairs:

(88) a. * Construyeron las columnas$_i$ en el   siglo   vi ac – dóricas,
built   the columns   in the century 6 BC   doric
por cierto.
by the way
"The columns were built in the 6th century BC – doric, by the way."

b.   *pro$_i$* son dóricas.

(89) a. * Conocemos a Pedro de hace   mucho – un médico.
know   to Pedro of makes much   a   doctor
"We've known Pedro for many years – a doctor."

b.   *pro$_i$* es un médico.

Conversely, the following two examples, whose antecedent clauses are identical to (88a) and (89a) respectively, are grammatical:

(90) a. Construyeron las columnas$_i$ en el siglo   VI AC –
          built   the columns   in the century 6 BC
          PRECIOSAS, la   verdad.
          gorgeous   the truth
          "The columns were built in the 6th century BC – gorgeous, in
          my opinion."

      b. *pro$_i$* son preciosas.

(91) a. Conocemos a Pedro de hace   mucho – UN MÉDICO {
          know   to Pedro of makes much   a   doctor
          EXCEPCIONAL / BRILLANTE }.
          exceptional   brilliant
          "We've known Pedro for many years – A {BRILLIANT/GREAT} DOC-
          TOR."

      b. *pro$_i$* es un médico excepcional/brillante.

Intuitively, the generalization that one can make is that only evaluative predicates make good PredATs. Evaluative predicates are those predicates that convey the viewpoint of the speaker. They form a natural class, as suggested by many (see Umbach, 2016), and can be recognized by means of various diagnostics. For example, they can be under the scope of verbs like *find* or *consider* (Sæbø, 2009):

(92) a. * I find these columns Doric.

      b. * I consider John a doctor.

(93) a. I find these columns gorgeous.

      b. I consider John an excellent doctor.

Further, evaluative predicates give rise to *faultless disagreement* (Kölbel, 2003). To understand the concept, observe the following dialogue:

(94) A. These columns are gorgeous!

      B. No, they are not. They're awful.

Both speakers may be correct, as there is no way to objectively assess who is right and who is not. This clearly contrasts with the following dialog, where at least one of the speakers is necessarily wrong[25]:

(95)   A.   These columns are Doric.

        B.   No, they are not. They are Corinthian.

Being an evaluative predicate is nonetheless not enough. When δ is an adjective, it must further express an extreme degree. This condition captures why (96a) is ungrammatical. Extreme degree can be attained by means of adverbial degree modifiers (96b) or elative morphology (96c). Of course there may be other language-specific mechanisms. In Spanish, for example, lexical reduplication of the adjective triggers the same extreme degree effect:

(96)   a.   * He hablado con María esta mañana – GUAPA, por cierto.
            have spoken with María this morning   pretty by the way
            "I've spoke to María this morning – PRETTY, by the way."

       b.   He   hablado con María esta mañana – { MUY /
            have spoken with María this morning   very
            INCREÍBLEMENTE } guapa, por cierto.
            incredibly   pretty by the way
            "I've spoke to María this morning – VERY PRETTY, by the way."

       c.   He   hablado con María esta mañana – GUAPÍSIMA,
            have spoken with María this morning   guapa.SUPERLATIVE
            por cierto.
            by the way
            "I've spoke to María this morning – GORGEOUS, by the way."

---

[25]This is indeed related to another property that distinguishes evaluative predicates from other types, as noted by Hernanz, (2001), which has to do with the fact that they are incompatible with negation because of their semantic vagueness. This is illustrated by the following contrast, adapted from Hernanz, (ibid., p.98, her (15)-(16)):

i.   a.   The dean's discourse wasn't long, but short.

     b.   ?? The dean's discourse wasn't amazing, but wonderful.

    d.   He   hablado con María esta mañana – GUAPA, GUAPA,
           have spoken with María this morning   pretty pretty
           por cierto.
           by the way
           "I've spoke to María this morning – SUPERPRETTY, by the way."

The extreme degree restrictions can be observed in the following contrast featuring PredATs in Korean (Park and Kim, 2009, p.32, their (15))[26]:

(97)   a.   John- i   sinpwul- lul mannassta, ACWU YEPPUN.
           John NOM bride   ACC met.DECL very pretty
           "John met the bride, VERY PRETTY, indeed."
     b.   * John-i sinpwul-lul mannassta, YEPPUN.

Other adjectives are inherently elative. These can expectedly appear freely in PredAT constructions, as shown in the example in (90a).

When δ is a NP, as we have seen, the N typically appears modified by an evaluative expression[27], as shown by the contrast between (89a) and (91a). Another very frequent type of PredAT featuring a nominal phrase involves an inherently elative adjective, typically an insult, preceded by an indefinite article (Fernández-Lagunilla, 1983):

(98) Susana ha entrevistado a Ricardo esta mañana – UN {
      Susana has interviewed to Ricardo this morning   a
      GILIPOLLAS/ HOLGAZÁN/ LISTILLO/   (…)}
      asshole   lazy   know-it-all
      "Susana has interviewed Ricardo this morning – AN IDIOT (…)."

---

[26]The observation, according to these authors is due to Lee, 2009, who contends that ATs require to be "heavy", where heavy is defined phonologically. In fact, Park and Kim, (2009, p.33) note that (97b) is grammatical when *yeppun* ("pretty") receives an emphatic prosody. If my observations are on the right track, the relevant condition is not prosodic, but rather semantic/pragmatic (which, undoubtedly, may have an impact on prosody).

[27]Noun modification is not enough if it involves a non-evaluative expression:

i. * Conocemos a Pedro de hace   mucho – UN MÉDICO DEL CLÍNIC.
    know   to Pedro of makes much   a   doctor of the Clínic
    "*We've known Pedro for many years – a doctor at the Clínic Hospital."

To capture these data, I propose that δ undergoes movement to the left periphery of its predicative copular clause to validate a formal feature related to emphasis or focus (see Hernanz, 2001, 2007a,b, Batllori and Hernanz, 2009, Leonetti and Escandell, 2009 for related proposals). The gist of the proposal is that δ behaves like exclamative phrases, as we will see in the following section.

5.4.3   Movement of δ

Ott and De Vries argue that the remnant in PredATs undergoes movement to the left periphery of the clause. These authors do not justify it empirically, although this derivational step is conceptually consistent with their underlying assumption that remnants must always escape the domain of ellipsis. In this thesis I have claimed that there are reasons to feel skeptical about such an assumption, and instead I have contended that some properties of RD, (specificational) ATs and SQs can actually be better understood under an *in situ* approach to ellipsis.

In this subsection, however, I would like to provide claim that the properties of δ reported in the previous subsection can be accounted for in an analysis where δ undergoes movement to the left periphery of the elided copular clause. The particular type of movement operation I have in mind is simiar to the displacement that exclamative phrases introduced by a wh-element undergo:

(99)   a.   What a nice car you have!
       b.   * You have what a nice car!

In particular, I would like to build on previous work by Hernanz, (2001, 2007a), who extends the analysis in terms of movement to phrases which, despite not displaying wh-morphology, exhibit what she refers to as an "affective value" (Fernández-Lagunilla, 1983; Hernanz and Brucart, 1987; Leonetti and Escandell, 2009; Vinet, 1991, a.o.):

(100)   a. $[$En bonito   lío$]_i$ me he   metido t$_i$!
            in   beautiful mess me have put
            "What a mess I've got myself into!"

    b. [Menudo atracón]$_i$ nos hemos dado t$_i$!
        small   binge   us have given
        "What a huge amount of food we've eaten!"

    c. [Vaya mierda de coche]$_i$ hemos comprado t$_i$!
        go   shit   of car   have bought
        "What a shitty car we've bought!"

Although some of these expressions can (marginally) appear in situ (101), their natural position is the left periphery of the clause:

(101)   a.   ? Me he metido en bonito lío!

        b.   * Nos hemos dado menudo atracón!

        c.   * Hemos comprado vaya mierda de coche!

Note that, in turn, these can function as PredATs. Thus, the only possible source for these cases is one where δ has undergone movement (102b), otherwise one would have to assume that the underlying source is ungrammatical (102a). Further, the exact same argument carries over to cases in which δ contains a wh-exclamative word (103):

(102)   Nos dieron un Dacia Sandero para recorrer Fuerteventura – vaya
       us gave a Dacia Sandero to   go around Fuerteventura – go
       mierda de coche!
       shit   of car
       "They gave us a Dacia Sandero to drive around Fuerteventura – what
       a shitty car!

    a.   * ~~pro es~~ vaya mierda de coche!

    b.   vaya mierda de coche ~~pro es~~ t

(103)   Hemos visto a tu   hija   hoy en el parque – qué guapa,
       have   seen to your daughter today in the park   what pretty
       por dios!
       by God
       "We've seen your daughter in the park today – how beautiful she is!"

    a.   * ~~pro es~~ qué guapa!

    b.   qué guapa ~~pro es~~ t

Therefore, I would like to tentatively suggest that the predicative remnant in PredATs undergoes phrasal movement to the specifier of a functional projection above TP, which I will simply label FP, related to emphatic or verum focus (Batllori and Hernanz, 2009; Leonetti and Escandell, 2009, a.o.), which captures the intuition that δ is interpreted as an emphatic or "affective" (in the sense of Hernanz 2001) evaluative predicate. Thus, the example in (73a), repeated in (104a) for convenience, would be analyzed as in (104b).

(104)   a.   He leído Rayuela durante las vacaciones de verano – UNA NOVELA
                  MARAVILLOSA

          b.
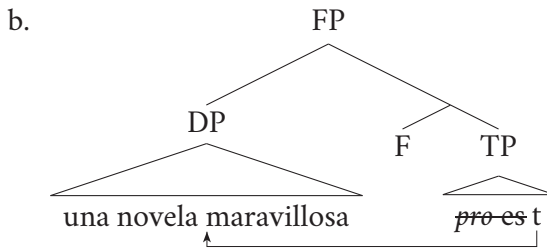
The approach I sketch here is, of course, analogous to Ott and De Vries'. The difference is that under my analysis, movement of δ is not required for conceptual reasons having to do with the licensing of ellipsis, but is rather empirically motivated.

5.4.4   A brief note on PredNPs

Before concluding this section, I would like to draw the attention to the following data, which illustrate a phenomenon known as Predicational NPs (PredNPs hereafter). The typographical emphasis represented in (105) are not arbitrary, but rather constitute a more precise prosodic characterization of the phenomenon at stake: small caps are used for focal stress, and italics for the deaccented, lower pitch prosody typically associated with right dislocation:

(105)   a.   A GREAT WOMAN, *your mum*!

          b.   A WISE MAN, *your dad*!

          c.   TERRIBLE, *this film*!

The term was coined by Shopen, (1972), and it has been used recently in the literature (e.g. Culicover and Jackendoff, 2005, p.Fernández-Sánchez, 2012; Paul, 2006; Paul and Stainton, 2006). I continue to use it in a pretheoretic sense, as I believe the term does not capture accurately the grammar of this phenomenon. PredNPs can clearly receive a paraphrase involving a copulative clause[28]. Thus PredNPs are predication structures in which the predicate precedes the subject and where the copula is missing.

(106)   a. Your mum is a great woman.

         b. Your dad is a wise man.

         c. This film is terrible.

(107) $[\text{GREAT WOMAN}]_{Predicate}\ [\textit{your mum}]_{Subject}$

In Fernández-Sánchez, (2012) I defended that the examples in (105) were underlyingly clausal (contrary to Culicover and Jackendoff, 2005; Shopen, 1972). In particular, I argued that they are derived from the structures in (106) by means of a two-step derivation: right dislocation[29] of the subject (108a) and a phonological erosion operation called left edge deletion (Weir, 2012) which optionally deletes functional words (Selkirk, 1995), as shown in (108b):

(108)   Your mum is a great woman.

         a. She is a great woman, *your mum*.

         b. ~~She is~~ a great woman, *your mum*!

I would like to entertain a slightly different analysis for PredNPs, one which is compatible with the assumptions and the various analyses put forth in this thesis. Essentially, I entertain that PredNPs are underlyingly biclausal constructions where ellipsis takes place in the two clauses. The leftmost

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[28]This is surprisingly at odds with Culicover and Jackendoff, (2005, p.236)'s claim that PredNPs "cannot be derived in any useful sense from sentences."

[29]In that work I assumed a monoclausal analysis of right dislocation, where κ and δ, or *she* and *your mum* in (108a) were generated in a BigDP structure (Cecchetto, 1999; Samek-Lodovici, 2006; Villalba, 2000, a.o.). Needless to say, I no longer stand by this assumption, although I maintain that PredNPs do involve right dislocation.

remnant, the predicate, is a PredAT, whose derivation involves the fronting of a postcopular predicate:

(109)

```
                    FP
          ┌─────────┴─────────┐
         DP              ┌────┴────┐
      ┌───┴───┐          F⁰       TP
  A GREAT WOMAN                  ┌──┴──┐
        ▲                      she is t
        └──────────────────────────┘
```
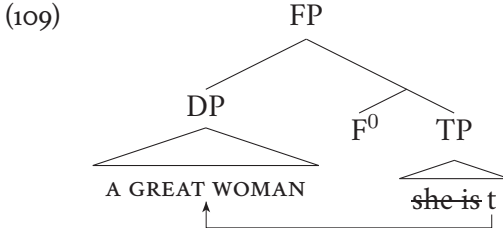
The rightmost remnant, the subject, is a right dislocated phrase, which in line with what I have been defending in this thesis, is the remnant of a clausal ellipsis operation. Because the clause containing the right dislocated phrase is coordinated below the level of Force^0 with its antecedent clause, PredATs would have the following general structure:

(110)

```
                              ForceP
                  ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
                Force⁰                        CoP
                                   ┌───────────┴───────────┐
                                  FP                    ┌───┴───┐
                         ┌─────────┴─────────┐          Co      T
                        DP            ┌──────┴──────┐
                     ┌───┴───┐        F⁰           TP     your mum is a great woman
                 A GREAT WOMAN                   ┌──┴──┐
                       ▲                       she is t
                       └────────────────────────┘
```
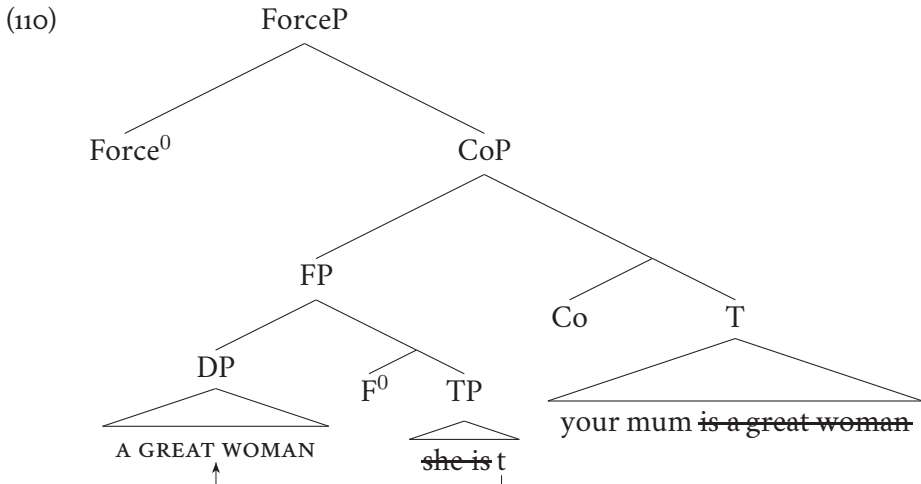
In PredNPs, the correlate of the right dislocated phrase is the pronoun inside the elided copular clause that hosts the PredAT.

We know that for ellipses to be recoverable and thus interpreted at all the content of the elided phrase must be parallel or identical to some antecedent phrase. However, PredNPs can be uttered out of the blue without any antecedent clause. To reconcile this tension, I follow Merchant, (2010) in assuming that ellipsis in copular clauses is recoverable without a linguistic antecedent, but the elided material can rather be recovered discoursively.

The analysis of the predicate in terms of PredAT developed throughout this section explains why it must be evaluative (*cf.* (111a) vs (111b)), a property that had been previously noted by Hernanz and A. Suñer, (1999) for Spanish and Vinet, (1991) for French, see Gutiérrez-Rexach and González-Rivera, (2013) for a review. Similarly, (111c), from Hernanz and A. Suñer, (1999), is out because relational adjectives do not admit a paraphrase with *be* (Bosque and Picallo, 1996):

(111) a.   A great woman, your mother.

    b.   * An Andalusian, your mother.

    c.   * Solar, este sistema.
          solar this system
          "*Solar, this system."

Further, we account for the fact that when the predicate is an adjective, it must be gradable and refer to an extreme point in the denotation scale of the adjective:

(112) a. ?? Guapa, tu   madre.
            pretty your mother
            "?? Pretty, your mother."

    b.   Muy guapa, tu madre.
          very pretty your mother
          "Very pretty, your mother."

Exclamative expressions headed by wh-words can expectedly participate in PredNPs:

(113) Qué grande, tu   madre!
       what big   your mother
       What a great woman, your mother!"

(114) Qué truño, esta peli!
       what turd   this film
       "How terrible, this film!"

Similarly, the analysis of the subject in terms of right dislocation explains its prosodic properties, as well as the fact that quantified DPs cannot appear

in these constructions. We saw in chpater 3 that these DPs do not make good right dislocated phrases independently:

(115)   a.   * Un genio,   ningún estudiante.
                a   genious no   student
                "*A genious, no student."   (Gutiérrez-Rexach and
                González-Rivera, 2013, p.4)

         b.   * Really bright, every math student. (Paul and Stainton, 2006)

Gutiérrez-Rexach and González-Rivera, (2013, p.9) argue against a bi-clausal analysis of PredNPs because, according to them, if the right dislo-cated constituent was underlyingly a clause, then it should be able to host sentential adverbs, but this is clearly impossible:

(116)   Un buen hablador, *probablemente tu   amigo Bill*.
         a   good talker   probably   your friend Bill
         "*A good talker, *probably your friend Bill*."

However, I proposed that right dislocated phrases are underlyingly de-ficient clauses. Namely, I claimed that they lack a ForceP, which explains, among other things (see §5.2 in this chapter), why right dislocation is incom-patible with sentential adverbs. As such, (116) constitutes yet further support for the RD-analysis of the subject in PredNPs.

In conclusion, if my analysis is correct, then PredNPs do not merit any special status in the theory. Instead, I have argued that they can be ana-lyzed as a complex composite involving two elliptical operations yielding two types of fragments that we have discussed at length in this thesis: Pre-dATs and right dislocation.

5.5   Other right peripheral fragments

There are other phenomena that must fall under the rubric of RPF that I have not paid attention to, not because they are uncommon (the native speaker will see they are definitely very widespread, as I will show), but because they raise independent issues that I cannot properly address here. As an illustra-tion, observe the following sentence in Spanish:

(117)   Me   pones una hamburguesa, por favor? Pero SIN   CEBOLLA.
        to me put   a   burger   please   but without onion
        "Can I have a burger, please? But without onion, please."

In this example, the RPF is the PP *sin cebolla* ("without onion"). This PP is clearly outside the antecedent clause for various reasons. First, CP$_A$ is an interrogative clause, and δ is clearly external to that question. Second, note that δ is introduced by an adversative coordinator. If we wanted to integrate the RPF inside CP$_A$, we would have to assume coordination of a DP (*hamburguesa*) and a PP, which goes against the fairly standard assumption that coordination structures are subject to Chomsky, (1957)'s coordination of likes constraint (see also Schachter, 1977; Williams, 1978). Thus, the only possible derivation is to assume a biclausal structure, where ellipsis applies in one of the sentences:

(118)   Me pones una hamburguesa, por favor?
        Pero ~~me pones una hamburguesa~~ sin cebolla.

The following are similar examples where a biclausal analysis must be posited for the same reasons as above:

(119)   a. Arréglame   esta habitación, anda, que ya   da   mucho
            tidy up to me this room   walk that already gives much
            asco   – y   DEPRISITA.
            disgust   and fast
            "Come on, tidy up this room because it's quite disgusting already
            – and FAST."
        b. Arréglame esta habitación, anda, que ya da mucho asco –
            y ~~arréglame esta habitación~~ DEPRISITA.

(120)   a. Me   he   comprado un teléfono finalmente – pero DE
            to me have bought   a phone   finally   but of
            SEGUNDA MANO, por eso.
            second   hand though
            "I finally bought a phone – but second hand, though."
        b. Me he comprado un teléfono nuevo finalmente – pero ~~me he~~
            ~~comprado un teléfono~~ DE SEGUNDA MANO, por eso.

The idea that some coordination structures require ellipsis is certainly not new, see Barrenechea, (1973), Brucart, (1999), and Wilder, (1995, a.o.), and I do not wish to add anything new to this debate[30]. What is important to note is that these data are yet further instantiations of the same general mechanisms that I used to account for RPF, namely clausal ellipsis and coordination.

5.6   Conclusion

Right dislocation, afterthoughts and split questions form a natural class of phenomena that I have been referring to as right peripheral phenomena. They all involve a phrasal constituent (δ) placed at the right edge of a syntactically, semantically and prosodically complete clause, the antecedent clause (CP_A). CP_A contains an expression (κ), that can be an indefinite expression, a wh-word or a (weak) pronoun, which corefers with δ:

(121) $\left[_{CP_A} \text{X Y } \kappa_i \text{ Z}\right]$ δ_i

Despite being external to the clause, we saw that δ appears to show clause-internal properties. In other words, even though δ is outside of the clause, as naturally suggested by the fact that CP_A is complete at all levels, it simultaneously behaves as if it were inside of CP_A. The biclausal approach defended in this thesis is intended to resolve this tension, among other issues (see chapter 3). The gist of the proposal is that δ is itself contained in an elided clause (CP_E), which is identical to CP_A (modulo κ, which is replaced by δ in CP_E):

(122) $\left[_{CP_A} \text{X Y } \kappa_i \text{ Z}\right]$ $\left[_{CP_E} \text{X̶ Y̶ } \delta_i \text{ Z̶}\right]$

Under this approach, the relation between κ and δ is not derivational. Instead, they are cataphorically related. In RD, (specificational) ATs and SQs,

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[30]As I said a few lines above, these phenomena raise other compelling questions. For example, what is the putative source of the elided strings? Is it a repetition from the antecedent clause or is it a copular clause? Does the remnant undergo movement to the left edge of the clause? Whatever the answers to these questions are, it is clear that some kind of ellipsis must have taken place in these examples.

δ provides a semantic specification of κ. I followed De Vries, (2009, 2013a) in assuming that this semantic relation was a corollary of the fact that CP_A and CP_E are structurally linked by means of specifying coordination, an asyndetic, semantically asymmetrical coordination structure.

At least since Lobeck, (1995), elliptical phenomena are said to mandatorily involve a movement step of the remnant outside the domain of ellipsis, to ensure that what gets elided is a constituent, and not a chunk thereof (see chapter 4 for discussion). Thus, instead of (122), the CP_E of RPF is typically assumed to have the following structure (Arregi, 2010; Irurtzun, 2016; Kluck, 2014; Ott and De Vries, 2016; Park and Kim, 2009; De Vries, 2013a, a.o.):

(123) $\left[_{CP_E} \; \delta \; \text{X Y t Z} \right]$

In this chapter I have argued that there appears to be strong empirical evidence against this movement operation. RPF can thus be better understood as remnants which stay *in situ* in their elided domain, at least in Romance languages, although I have provided data from other languages which point at the same conclusion.

Finally I have discussed another type of RPF, namely *predicative ATs* (PredATs for short). I have argued that even though they must display a biclausal structure too, they are not contained in a syntactically identical clause to CP_A. Instead, I have claimed that they are the predicative complement of a predicational copular clause. A second difference involves the relation between δ and κ, which is not specificational in any sense, but rather predicative (whence the name). Finally, I have defended that PredATs further differ from RD/AT/SQs in that δ does involve movement to the left edge of the elided domain. This movement operation, which I adopt from Hernanz, (2001)'s analysis of related phenomena, is related to semantic and pragmatic interpretative effects, and is not merely a consequence of conceptual demands on ellipsis.

Chapter 6

Concluding remarks

This thesis has been concerned with the syntax of Right Dislocation (RD) with an empirical focus on Romance languages in general, and Spanish, Catalan and Italian more in particular. I have defended that Romance RD involves a complex structure featuring two clauses, one of which – the rightmost one, which contains the "dislocated phrase" (δ) – is elided under parallelism/identity with respect to the leftmost clause – the antecedent clause – which contains a weak pronoun (κ). The biclausal analysis has some important consequences, which have been examined throughout this dissertation. I would like to enumerate some of them in this concluding chapter.

With respect to the syntax of RD, the biclausal approach solves a number of problems for which monoclausal alternatives, reviewed in chapter 2, cannot provide a successful account. These issues were dealt with in chapter 3 mostly.

First, it provides an explanation for the so-called Janus-faced nature of right dislocation: as we have seen, δ is clearly external to the clause where it right attaches, as evidenced by the fact that this clause is syntactically, semantically and prosodically complete without δ. On the other hand, and simultaneously, it behaves as if it were within that clause, as suggested by evidence regarding binding, scope and case-marking. This tension is aggravated by (another) structural paradox posed by monoclausal approaches to RD, one which is nonetheless rarely addressed in the literature: in order to

account for the clause-internal properties, δ must be within the domain of the TP at some point in the derivation. However, in this domain it would be c-commanded by κ, yielding a Condition C violation, as noted originally by Kayne, (1994).

Evidently, this latter paradox does not arise in the biclausal analysis because δ and κ are in two separate clauses and cannot hence c-command each other, which also explains the clause-external properties of δ. As for the clause-internal properties, they are technically illusory, in the sense that there is no c-command relations between δ and the clause that contains κ (CP_A), but rather between δ and the elements within the elided clause that contains it, which happens to be identical to CP_A because otherwise ellipsis would not be permitted (§3.3).

Second, and strongly related to the previous point, the view defended here presents an empirically accurate relation between δ and κ. Under the bisentential view, these two elements are cataphorically related. I argued against any sort of derivational link between these two elements in chapter 3 (§3.4), claiming that such an approach was empirically and conceptually wrong. I further showed that the present analysis is supported by the observation that elements which cannot participate in anaphoric relations cannot independently be right dislocated.

Finally, and although more research is needed in this area, the biclausal approach proves promising with respect to the phonological properties of RD, a topic that was discussed in §3.6. RDed constituents are claimed to project intonational phrases of their own (Downing, 2011; Frascarelli, 2000; Selkirk, 2011; Zerbian, 2007). Given the connection between intonational phrases and clauses (Selkirk, 1984, 2011; Truckenbrodt, 1995, a.o.), these results are not surprising under the present approach, as RDed phrases are underlyingly clausal.

Importantly, the biclausal analysis raises a number of interesting issues that go beyond the syntactic characterization of RD.

First, it brings together a natural set of phenomena that I have referred to as right peripheral fragments which include split questions (Arregi, 2010, a.o.) and afterthoughts (Ott and De Vries, 2016). These were extensively discussed in chapter 5. Under a monoclausal treatment of RD the striking sim-

ilarities between these phenomena cannot be captured in any simple way, and must instead be relegated into mere coincidence or anecdote.

Second, it does not make use of language-specific mechanisms (i.e. it does not hinge on mechanisms like clitic doubling, for example) but rather on well studied, universally available operations like ellipsis, coordination and anaphora. A strong conclusion that derives from the analysis defended here is that RD is actually expected to be possible crosslinguistically. Leaving aside the question of whether speakers of a particular languages use it more or less, I take this prediction to be true, until evidence is found to the contrary (see §3.7).

One issue that has been important throughout this thesis, especially in the last two chapters, concerns the derivation of δ within its clause, i.e. the elided CP (CP_E). In particular, I have argued that δ does not undergo movement inside CP_E in RD, contrary to what Ott and De Vries, (2016) and De Vries, (2013a) defend and in line with Truckenbrodt, (2013, 2015). This non-movement analysis of δ was extended to ATs and SQs, again in contradiction with previous claims in the literature on these two phenomena (Arregi, 2010; Irurtzun, 2016; Ott and De Vries, 2016; Park and Kim, 2009).

The matter is far from trivial, however. Movement of the remnant to the periphery of the elided clause is often regarded as a *sine qua non* condition for the correct derivation of ellipsis. The reasoning is the following: there is a widespread view that ellipsis is licensed syntactically (Aelbrecht, 2011, 2016; Bošković, 2014; Gallego, 2009; Lasnik, 2013; Lobeck, 1995; Merchant, 2001, a.o.). Not moving a remnant yields an output in which what is marked for deletion is a non-constituent[1]. Non-constituent deletion should not be allowed if ellipsis is a syntactic phenomenon, for syntax does not deal with non-constituents. (see §4.2 for discussion).

But leaving aside conceptual motivations for the movement of δ, displacement should be observed empirically. In this respect, the data provided in this thesis evidence the need to entertain the possibility of *in situ* ellipsis seriously. I am certainly not the first to claim this: ellipsis without move-

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[1]Non-constituent ellipsis can be circumvented by positing deletion of multiple, smaller constituents, as suggested by Griffiths, 2015, p.42. I continue to refer to *in situ* ellipsis as non-constituent ellipsis, even if the term should be purely descriptive.

ment of δ has been defended by other authors for a wide array of elliptical phenomena (Abe, 2014, 2015; Abe and Tancredi, 2013; Bruening, 2015; Hartmann, 2000; Kimura, 2010; Ott and Struckmeier, 2016; Santos, 2009; Truckenbrodt, 2013, a.o.). Some of these authors contend that non-constituent deletion is not a problem for the theory if ellipsis is taken to be a phonological phenomenon[2], a view that has been defended by Chomsky and Lasnik, (1993), Fox, (1999a), and Tancredi, (1992, a.o.), where ellipsis is regarded as a radical case of deaccentuation. Crucially, deaccentuation is not constraint by constituency.

Finally, if non-constituent ellipsis must be allowed in the theory, then some of the arguments provided in the literature allegedly in favour of a syntactic account of ellipsis should be reconsidered. In this dissertation I actually discussed one such argument in chapter 5 (§5.3.2): the obligatory presence of a complementizer heading a sentential remnant, which Merchant, (2004a) uses to argue in favour of movement of δ in fragment answers. I showed that the mandatory presence of the complementizer is also attested in cases which do not involve movement, and proposed that the data could be made to follow from An, (2007)'s claim that an overt C is always required when the CP must be obligatorily parsed into an independent intonational phrase. If this analysis is on the right track, the presence of *that* in sentential fragments does not necessarily follow from a movement account.

Before concluding this chapter, however, I would like to consider what is I think is a natural extension of this dissertation: clitic left dislocation (CLLD). Even though the phenomenon has appeared at various points, I have remained silent about how it should be related to the right dislocation.

CLLD involves a configuration in which a dislocated phrase, δ, precedes a syntactically, semantically and prosodically complete clause, CP_A. CP_A contains a weak pronoun, generally a clitic (κ), which corefers with δ. The abstract representation of CLLD is in (1). Needless to say, CLLD looks strik-

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[2]This does not mean that ellipsis is syntactically unconstraint. Some phenomena clearly are, like VP-ellipsis. The challenge, however, is how to reconcile the syntactic restrictions on ellipsis with the view that it is a PF-phenomenon. Perhaps *ellipsis* is too broad a term, which encompasses various phenomena subject to distinct constraints. This is entertained in Hankamer, (1979) and Depiante, (2004), see also Winkler, (2005).

ingly similar to RD *modulo* the linear position of δ with respect to CP_A. There are two ways we can go about with this similarity: one option is to ignore it, and to deem it accidental. Another possibility is to extend the biclausal approach of RD to CLLD. Such an option has been defended by Ott, (2012, 2015) and Fernández-Sánchez, (2016):

(1) δ_i $[_{CP_A}...\kappa_i\,...]$

A unified account of the two phenomena needs to be cautious, however. Extensive work by Xavier Villalba (Villalba, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000) and others afterwards (Cecchetto, 1999; Feldhausen, 2010; López, 2009a) have convincingly demonstrated that CLLD is not simply the mirror image of RD. Monoclausal analyses of dislocations have sought to account for this fact in various ways. For example, Samek-Lodovici, (2015) claims that CLLDed phrases are externally merged in the C-domain of the clause, whereas RDed constituents undergo movement to the same domain. Other authors have argued that the two phenomena target distinct positions in the clausal spine, right dislocation being lower than CLLD (Bocci, 2013; Cecchetto, 1999; López, 2009a; Villalba, 2000) or higher (Frascarelli, 2004).

I am under the impression, however, that the differences between the two phenomena have been exaggerated and that CLLD and RD are not that distinct. I already argued that in chapter 2, (§2.4), where I reviewed some asymmetries that had been reported as support to tease apart the two constructions, and concluded that in many cases, a closer examination of the data revealed no actual differences.

However, I do not deny the general claim that RD and CLLD are subject to important asymmetries (see chapter 4, §4.6). The challenge is how to account for them under the biclausal approach. If we assume a unified account of the two phenomena along the lines discussed here, then perhaps it is not enough to state that the two phenomena are identical except the linear position of δ. For example, in chapter 4 (§4.6.1) I showed that left dislocations differ from right dislocation with respect to scope and binding: δ takes wide scope over CP_A in left dislocations but not in right dislocations. Similarly, δ can bind elements inside CP_A in left dislocations, but not in right dislocations. I suggested that these differences could follow from postulating a dis-

tinct derivation of δ inside CP_E for the two phenomena: in left dislocations, δ would undergo movement to the left edge. From this derived position it would be able to scope and bind clause-internal material in CP_E, which is identical to CP_A (giving rise to the illusory effect that it scopes and binds the material in CP_A). Right dislocated phrases, on the contrary, do not undergo such movement, as I have defended in this thesis. Of course at this point this is only a suggestion, but the claim is that the biclausal analysis offers some room for accommodating differences between the two phenomena.

Finally, acknowledging that CLLD can be analyzed on a par with RD in biclausal terms has important consequences for the interface between syntax and discourse, an issue that I began to discuss in the introductory chapter of this thesis and that has remained unaddressed.

One of the most immediate consequences is that it places dislocations in the terrain of extrasentential, paratactic phenomena. Dislocated phrases are parentheticals with internal (elided) structure, and they are not part of the clause where they appear left/right-adjacent to. This is in stark opposition to most current views on the matter, including cartographic approaches, for example, where dislocations are part of the syntax of the (periphery of the) clause. In this view, dislocations are treated as elements that reach topic-dedicated projections, just like foci reach focus-dedicated phrases.

However, there are severe asymmetries between topics and foci that such an approach cannot clearly account for[3]. The presence of foci in the left periphery of the clause has some visible effects in the syntax of the clause, often very similar to wh-phrases. To mention a few, for example, fronted foci leave a gap in their base generation position, they trigger WCO effects (Cinque, 1990; Iatridou, 1995), they cause adjacency effects between them and the verb in many Romance languages and their distribution is restricted by relativized minimality effects (Abels, 2012b; Authier and Haegeman, 2015; Rizzi, 2004, a.o.).

Dislocated phrases, however, do not trigger any effects in the syntax of the clause they appear in. In other words, dislocated phrases are invisible

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[3]In fact, these asymmetries are not only a problem for cartography in particular, but rather for any theory that seeks to integrate dislocated phrases in the spine of the clause, no matter how.

constituents: they behave as if they were not in their host clause. For discussion, see Fernández-Sánchez, (2016), Giorgi, (2015), and Ott, (2012, 2015) and the appendix in this thesis. This invisibility is precisely what we expect by treating CLLDed phrases as paratactic, extrasentential elements. Further, by providing them with internal, elided structure we importantly explain why they display connectivity effects with their host structures.

Finally, this account gets rid of the notion of topic as a theoretically relevant category to account for the syntax of dislocations. This is a welcome result, given that, as is well known, *topichood* is a semantically obscure notion which lacks a clear, unique prosodic correlate (see Fanselow, 2006; López, 2009a; Rubio, 2014 for discussion). As such, its existence as a syntactic feature is certainly unclear.

This is of course not the place to elaborate on these issues, but the picture that emerges when treating dislocations as extrasentential elements is, I believe, promising.3Nevertheless, given that dislocations have been a highly prolific area of research, it remains to be seen how all the discoveries that have been made until now, not only in the domain of Romance languages, can improve the analysis defended in this thesis.

Appendix

In the concluding chapter I made the claim that the analysis defended for right dislocation in this dissertation could be naturally extended for clitic left dislocation (CLLD). In this appendix I would like to develop this idea a little bit more[4].

   CLLD has been a prolific area of research in Romance languages and beyond. I believe the reason for such interest comes from the "peculiar" and certainly contradicting properties of the phenomenon (see Cinque, 1990 and Rizzi, 1997), as I will show in short. Traditionally, CLLD has been analyzed in monoclausal terms, just like RD (chapter 2). Perhaps the question that has received more attention concerns the derivation of the dislocated phrase: how does it reach the left edge of the clause[5]? Does it undergo movement from a thematic position or is it externally merged in the C-domain? See Fábregas, (2016), López, (2009a), and Rubio, (2014) for excellent reviews. The question should be fairly easy to address: does δ display movement properties or not?

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[4]As the reader will notice, the problems raised by CLLDed are strikingly similar to some issues that have been discussed with respect to right dislocation throughout this thesis. These similarities are of course expected if both phenomena are treated in a unified way.

[5]There are a great number of technical ways in which this can be implemented. One option is to consider that topics sit at the specifier of CP - or at the specifier of a topic-designated position if we interpret C as a set of discourse oriented projections as defended in cartographic studies (Cinque and Rizzi, 2008; Rizzi, 1997, 2001, 2004). Another option is to assume that topics target the specifier of TP, or are adjoined to TP, see Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa, (2014) for a specific proposal, and work by Jiménez-Fernández cited therein.

(1)   XP   (2)   XP

     δ   TP   δ   TP

          …κ…t…   …κ…

Prima facie, evidence for movement and against a base-generation analysis comes from various sets of data involving connectivity of δ with the clause it left attaches. First, δ and κ must match in morphological case. That the dislocated phrases are assigned structural case strongly suggests that they must have been in an argument position at some point of the derivation. This is illustrated for Icelandic and Czech (from Ott, 2015, p.262-3) in (3a) and (3b) respectively.

(3)   a.   Peysuna   sína, hana   finnur Ólafur hvergi.
           sweater.ACC REFL it.ACC finds   Olaf   nowhere
           "Olaf can't find his sweater anywhere."

      b.   Toho   draka, toho   by   si   mohl   tak jedině
           that.ACC dragon that.ACC would REFL be able to so   only
           namalovat.
           draw
           "He would only be able to draw that dragon."

Second, δ is interpreted within the c-command domain of CP_A. This is shown by the fact that an anaphoric dislocated phrase is properly bound by the preverbal subject in the Spanish example in (4a) and by the fact that R-expression within δ in the Catalan example in (4b) cannot corefer with the subject in CP_A as a result of a Principle C violation (see Cinque, 1990, p.54 for related data in Italian). These effects cannot be easily explained if δ is base generated above TP:

(4)   a.   A sí misma$_i$ María$_i$ no se   criticaría   nunca.
           to herself   María   not her would criticize never
           "María would never criticize herself." (Fábregas, 2016, p.50, his (196))

b.   * El jersei   de l'   Anna$_i$ *pro$_i$* l' ha comprat a les rebaixes.
     the jumper of the Anna   it has bought   in the sales
     "She has bought Anna's jumper in the sales."   (Fernández-
     Sánchez, 2016, p.120, his (24b))

Third, clitic left dislocation appears to be subject to island constraints[6]. This is illustrated with a relative clause island in Italian (5a) and with an adjunct island in Spanish (5b):

(5)   a.   A Giorgio, ieri   ho   conosciuto la   ragazza che gli   ha
           to Giorgio yesterday have met   the girl   who him has
           scritto   quelle insolenze.
           written those insolent words
           "I met the girl yesterday who wrote Giorgio those insolent words."
           (Cinque, 1977, p.408, his (29))
      b.   A Juan te   fuiste antes de saludarlo.
           to Juan you left   before of greet him
           "You left before greeting Juan."   (Rubio, 2014, p.71, his (17c))

These facts are highly indicative of a derivation in terms of movement. However, many authors have pointed out that if CLLD involves movement, it must be of a special type (Cinque, 1977, 1990; Hernanz and Brucart, 1987; Iatridou, 1995; Rizzi, 1997). A very frequent asymmetry that is posited between CLLD on the one hand and wh-movement or focus fronting on the other hand concerns WCO, which are unattested in dislocation structures:

(6)   Rizzi, (1997, p.290, his (17) and (18))
      a.   Gianni, sua madre lo   ha sempre apprezzato.
           Gianni his mother him has always appreciated
           "Gianni's mother has always appreciated him."
      b.   ?? GIANNI sua madre   ha sempre apprezzato, (non Piero).
           Gianni his mother has always appreciated, not Piero
           "It is Gianni and not Piero that his mother has always appreciated."

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[6]On the relation between islands, movement and CLLD see Rubio, (2014), who presents puzzling cases regarding island insensitive CLLD.

Some authors (Rizzi, 1997; Villalba, 2000, a.o.) have suggested that the WCO data do not invalidate a movement approach to CLLD because WCO effects are not hallmarks of movement. While one may sympathize with such a claim, lack of WCO is not the only non-movement property displayed by CLLD. First and foremost, no movement chain is detectable, because a clitic stands in the position where the trace would allegedly appear. Again, some authors have not considered this an unsurmountable obstacle for a movement approach: several proposals have been made that attempt at positing a derivational connection between δ and κ in terms of resumption (Demirdache, 1991; Sturgeon, 2008), clitic doubling structures (Cecchetto, 1999; Grohmann, 2000; Rubio, 2014; Villalba, 2000) or agreement (López, 2009a). All of these attempts are, however, problematic on various grounds, as I extensively discussed in §3.4[7].

Furthermore, there are a set of data regarding CLLD which militate very strongly against movement accounts. I will label *ghost* or *invisibility effects*, and they all have to do with the fact that left dislocated phrases behave simply as if they were not present in the structure that hosts them. I will focus on three main *invisibility effects*.

First, CLLDed constituents are immune to relativized minimality (RM) effects (Abels, 2012b; Rizzi, 1990; Starke, 2001). A RM-effect arises when an element X is moved across an element Y, both X and Y are elements of the same type and X c-commands Y. Rizzi, (2004, p.245), building on earlier work (Rizzi, 1997, 2001) observes that CLLDed phrases in Italian do not intervene with $\overline{\text{A}}$-dependencies (in the following examples wh-operators):

(7)   a.   ? Non so   a chi   pensi che, tuo fratello, lo   potremmo
            not know to whom think that your brother him could
            affidare.
            entrust
            "I don't know to whom you think that, your brother, we could
            entrust."

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[7]My criticism was framed in the context of right dislocation structures. However, my criticism to derivational accounts of the relation between δ and κ in any of the terms stated here extends to clitic left dislocation structures. See Giorgi, (2015) and Ott, (2015) for similar arguments with respect to CLLD.

b.   ? Non so come pensi che, tuo fratello, lo potremmo convincere.
not know how think that your brother him could convince
"I don't know how you think that, your brother, we could con-
vince him."

Rizzi concludes that CLLDed constituents are endowed with a [+TOPIC] feature, different from wh-operators or foci, which are endowed with [+OP]. He further entertains the thesis, defended in Starke, (2001), that minimality is relativized to feature type. Because [+TOPIC] and [+OP] are different, the absence of RM effects follow.

But according to the logic of RM, [+TOPIC] elements should be interveners for other [+TOPIC] constituents. However, this prediction is not borne out. In the following examples in Spanish[8] (from Fernández-Sánchez, 2016, p.120) two elements are left dislocated from the embedded clause. Their surface position is different: one reaches the embedded clause, the other one the matrix. Neither blocks the other in any order:

(8)   a.   [El dinero]$_i$ Juan dice que [a mi madre]$_k$ aún no se lo ha
the money Juan says that to my mother yet not her it has
dado t$_i$ t$_k$.
given
"Juan says that he still hasn't given the money to my mother."

    b.   [A mi madre]$_i$ Juan dice que [el dinero]$_k$ aún no se lo ha
to my mother Juan says that the money yet not her it has
dado t$_i$ t$_k$.
given
"Juan says that he still hasn't given the money to my mother."

On the basis of these data, Rizzi, (2004) concludes that "topics are special". The way I see it, stating that certain elements that move are special in

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[8]Authier and Haegeman, (2015, p.36) claim that CLLDed phrases obviate intervention effects because they do not involve movement, but rather are generated in their surface position (see also Samek-Lodovici, 2015). Given that relativized minimality is a locality constraint on movement, the CLLD facts follow. However, such an analysis is incompatible with the data regarding case morphology (3), reconstruction (4) and island sensitivity (5).

that they seem to obviate locality constraints on movement (like RM in this case) clearly weakens the theory of RM.

A second *invisibility effect* relates to the fact that CLLDed constituents can appear in environments where other left peripheral elements like focus fronted constituents cannot, an observation that has been noted at least since Cinque, (1990, p.56), see also Bianchi and Frascarelli, (2010), Haegeman, (2006), and Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa, (2014). CLLDed phrases can target the left edge of a clausal complement of factive verbs as the Spanish data in (9) show (from Jiménez-Fernández and Miyagawa, 2014, p.286 and 296); the left periphery of Haegeman, (2003)'s central adverbial clauses, as shown in the French data in (10) (from Authier and Haegeman, 2015, p.41) and the left edge of infinitive clauses, as illustrated in (11) for Catalan (Fernández-Sánchez, 2016, p.117)[9]. These are all contexts where other movement operations are disallowed.

(9)   a.   Negaron que los vuelos a Madrid los   hubieran cancelado.
             denied   that the flights to Madrid them had   cancelled
             "They denied having cancelled the flights to Madrid."

       b.   Siento que el   articulo no lo hayan publicado en *Syntax*.
             feel   that the paper   not it have   published in Syntax
             "I am sorry the paper has not been published in *Syntax*."

(10)   a.   Quand à Fred, tu   lui casses les pieds, il te   tourne le   dos.
             when   to Fred you hi break the feet   he you turns   the back
             "When you get on Fred's nerves, he just walks away."

       b.   Et si à Paul on lui   envoyait une carte, tu   crois qu' il
             and if to Paul we him send   a   letter you think that he
             serait   content?
             would be happy
             "Do you think Paul would be happy if we sent him a letter?"

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[9]In Fernández-Sánchez, (ibid.) I review some monoclausal attempts to derive these facts and conclude that they all lead to severe empirical and conceptual drawbacks.

(11)   a.   Crec les ulleres haver- les   vist a la cuina.
            think the glasses have   them seen in the kitchen
            "I think I've seen your glasses in the kitchen.

       b.   De debò que espero amb la   Maria no haver- m' hi   de
            of truth that hope   with the Maria not have   me LOC of
            parlar mai   més.
            speak never more
            "I really hope I don't have to talk to Mary any more."

Finally, the last *invisibility effect* I would like to mention concerns the in-
nocuous effect that the presence of CLLDed phrases have in the syntax of the
clause. This can be observed crosslinguistically for a number of related phe-
nomena. For example, the analogous construction of CLLD in Germanic
languages, frequently referred to as Contrastive Left Dislocation (CLD)[10],
also exhibits some anomalous effects that are not expected under a move-
ment approach. One such effect concerns V2 violations (Ott, 2015). V2 is a
restriction concerning the distribution of the finite V which is very com-
mon across Germanic languages. Essentially, it demands that the finite V
strictly follow a phrasal constituent, thereby ending up in second position.
It is illustrated in Dutch (modified data from Zwart, 2011, p.281). The finite
verb is in bold for ease of exposition. The ungrammaticality in (12d) is due
to the fact that two constituents precede the finite V (see Holmberg, 2015 for
an overview of V2):

(12)   a.   Tasman **heeft** Niew-Zeeland in 1642 ontdekt.
            Tasman has   New Zealand   in 1642 discovered
            "Tasman discovered New Zealand in 1642."

       b.   In 1642 **heeft** Tasman Niew-Zeeland ontdekt.

       c.   Niew-Zeeland **heeft** Tasman in 1642 ontdekt.

       d.   * In 1642 Tasman **heeft** Niew-Zeeland ontdekt.

But CLLDed phrases appear to circumvent the V2 restriction. This is
illustrated for Dutch (13a) and Swedish (13b) (the data are from ibid., p.354),

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[10]Despite the name, CLD does not necessarily need to convey contrastive information.
See, among others, Frey, (2004), Grohmann, (2000), and Vat, (1981).

where it is shown that that the presence of CLLDed constituents yield V3 effects. V3 is certainly unexpected under any monoclausal approaches to CLLD:

(13)   a.   Die man, die **ken**   ik niet.
            that man that know I   not
            "I don't know that man."

       b.   För twå veckor sen, då   **köpte**   Johan sin första bil.
            for two weeks ago then bought Johan his first   car
            "Johan bought his first car two weeks ago."

As noted by Ott, (2015, p.242) the V3 effects are actually a subset of a more general set of phenomena whose common denominator is CLLD. He mentions two. First, in languages with second-position clitics (a similar restriction to V2 but which affects clitics) like Czech, CLLDed phrases (and only CLLDed phrases) yield clitics in third position. Second, in languages like European Spanish, $\bar{\text{A}}$-moved constituents generally trigger verb raising, yielding V2 structures, as evidenced by the minimal pairs featuring focus fronting (14) and wh-movement (15). Such a constraint is, however, absent with CLLD (16a).

(14)   a.   EL PASTEL se ha comido Juan.
            the cake   SE has eaten   Juan
            "It is the cake that Juan has eaten."

       b.   ?? EL PASTEL Juan se ha comido.

(15)   a.   Qué se ha comido Juan?
            what SE has eaten   Juan
            "What has Juan eaten?"

       b.   * Qué Juan se ha comido?

(16)   a.   La manzana Juan se la ha comido.
            the apple   Juan SE it has eaten
            "Juan has eaten the apple."

       b.   La manzana se la ha comido Juan.

I think we can add up another related phenomenon to that list: cliticization patterns in Western Iberian languages like European Portuguese, Gallician or Asturian. I will use the latter as an illustration; the data are from (Fernández-Rubiera, 2014, p.87). As argued by this author, an unmarked, subject initial sentence in this language yields enclisis (V-cl) and not proclisis (cl-V). Proclisis is triggered by fronted constituents like foci (17b) or wh-operators (17c). However, CLLDed phrases are incompatible with proclisis, and they require instead enclisis (17d). The pattern is in line with the systematic violations of V2 and second-position clitics.

(17) a. El xenru   mató-se   nun accidente na mina. [*se mató]
          the son-in-law killed-REFL in an accident in a mine
          "The son-in-law got killed in an accident in a mine."

     b. YO MESMA me la repito un ciento vegaes   [*repítomela]
          I myself to it repeat a hundred times
          "I repeat it to myself a hundred times."

     c. Cómo t'   atreves?   [*atréveste]
          how   you dare
          "How dare you?"

     d. Eso sabés-lo per ller   les cartes   [*lo sabes]
          this know-it for read the cards
          "You know that from reading the (tarot) cards."

After having reviewed these data, if one wants to maintain a movement analysis of CLLD (as suggested by data regarding reconstruction, case marking and island sensitivity), one certainly has to concede that topic movement is a very different beast from other movement dependencies. And what is probably more ironic is that at least some of these differences actually indicate lack of movement altogether.

Importantly, all these funny properties of CLLD are actually expected if dislocated phrases are regarded as parenthetical elements. The lack of minimality effects follows because CLLDed phrases are not within the clause that we see, and as such they do not participate in c-command relations with the host clause and do not act as interveners. The same reason explains why they can appear in contexts which block other operations. As extrasenten-

tial, parenthetical elements they are insensitive to whatever structural deficiency the host clause displays[11]. Finally V3 effects are perfectly predicted: CLLDed phrases are not part of CP_A, they are independent elements linearly preceding a V2 sentence, yielding an illusory V3. As for the Asturian data, the same explanation carries over: CLLDed constituents are external to CP_A and as such they are correctly expected not to alter the enclitic patterns. In sum, we predict that CLLD are *invisible*, as this is one crucial property of parentheticals (Ackema and Neeleman, 2004; De Vries, 2007).

One issue that remains is the following: if CLLDed phrases are parentheticals, how come they exhibit integration effects like case, reconstruction or island sensitivity? This is where the biclausal approach comes into play. Dislocated phrases are parentheticals with internal, elided structure. They are *fragments*, in the sense of Merchant, (2004a), or *remnants* in a more general sense. The antecedent clause for the ellipsis site is the clause that hosts the dislocated phrase, which contains κ. Because ellipsis is only licensed under strict parallelism with respect to an antecedent clause, connectivity or integration effects between δ and CP_A are only indirect, in the sense that they occur in the elided clause, and not in the clause we see even though both are identical. The explanation is obviously identical to how right dislocation was handled with. Finally, we provide an explanation for why CP_A has no trace: δ belongs in a separate clause, so if no κ is present in the antecedent clause, the latter would be syntactically and semantically incomplete.

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[11]This does not mean that they can appear anywhere. See Fernández-Sánchez, (2016) for an attempt to restrict the distribution of CLLDed constituents within the biclausal approach.

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