

(this presentation follows data on topics in imperatives on webpage)

On the structure of right dislocation

Three different types of rightdislocation (all backgrounded Topics)

Three different types of rightdislocation:

(comment on pause or not)

(1) *Right dislocation with a resumptive personal pronoun*: (Romance type of RDL)

- a. Ik leg 't_i even neer (,) dat boekje_i (No left dislocation equivalent)
I put it adv down, that book
'I'm just putting it down, that book'

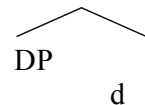
Right dislocation with a leftperipheral D pronoun:

- b. dat_i leg ik even neer (,) dat boekje
that put I adv down that book

Right dislocation with a clause internal D-pronoun:

- c. Ik leg dat_i even neer (,) dat boekje_i
I put that adv down that book
'I'm just putting that down, that book'

D-rightdislocation: a form of D-agreement between the D-pronoun and the rightdislocated DP.



Base generation? Or movement?

right /left dislocation movement?(i.e. low merger, followed by movement) or base generation (i.e. high merger) + movement of an associate
→ reconstruction (copy and delete)

(1) *Anaphor binding*:

- a. Geef de kinderen_i eens gauw terug, die fotos van elkaar_i
Give the children Adv quickly back, these pictures of each other
- b. Laat de kinderen_i maar vertellen, dat verhaal over hunzelf_i
Let the children Adv tell that story about themselves

Base generation? Or movement? Reconstruction...

(1) *Anaphor binding:*

- a. Geef de kinderen_i **die fotos van elkaar_i** eens gauw terug, die fotos van elkaar_i
Give the children Adv quickly back, these pictures of each other
- b. Laat de kinderen_i **dat verhaal over hunzelf_i** maar vertellen, dat verhaal over hunzelf_i
Let the children Adv tell that story about themselves

(1) *Condition C effects*

- a. *Geef hem_i **die fotos van Jan_i** maar terug, die fotos van Jan_i
Give him adv back these pictures of John
- b. *Laat hem_i **dat verhaal over Jan_i** maar vertellen, dat verhaal over Jan_i
Let him adv tell that story about John

Reconstruction...

Rightdislocated objects are c-commanded by the dative object at some point in the derivation

- a. rightdislocated objects are c-commanded by the dative at all points in the derivation
(Kayne, 1994: because they are in situ;
Checetto (1997): because they land in a Topic landing site below IO (the recursive leftperiphery story);
- b. rightdislocated objects are not c-commanded by the dative (IO) at some points in the derivation (rightperipheral objects move higher than IO, say to high leftperiphery)
(1) Top AgrS Top AgrIO ... TOP AgrOP

How to distinguish these?

→ Condition C effects with adjuncts. As is well-known, names in adjuncts may fail to reconstruct. (High merger) (Lebeaux/ Chomsky)

*Which claim that John was asleep was he willing to discuss
claim that J was asleep

Which claim that John made was he willing to discuss claim

Rightperipheral object is pronounced higher than IO...

- (1) a. *Lees hem_i [dat verhaal uit Jan_i's dagboek] maar voor
Read him_i that story in John's diary adv for
'Read him that story in John's diary'
- b. *Laat hem_i [dat verhaal uit Jan_i's dagboek] maar voorlezen
Let him_i that story out John's diary adv for read
'Let him read that story out of John's diary'
- (2) a. Lees hem_i (dat) maar voor, dat verhaal uit Jan_i's dagboek
Read him (that) adv for, that story out of John's diary
- b. Laat hem_i (dat) maar voorlezen, dat verhaal uit Jan_i's dagboek
Let him that adv for.read that story out of John's diary

the rightperipheral object is to be related to a leftperiphery higher than the IO, with high merger /late merger of the adjunct. The landing site: Low left periphery or high left periphery?

Rightperipheral object is related to high periphery. (higher than subject)....

- (1)a. Die aankondiging die Jan_i aan de krant gestuurd had,
That announcement that John to the paper sent had
die ontkende hij_i al na een paar uur.
that denied he already after a couple of hours
'The announcement that John had sent to the paper, he denied (it) already after a
couple of hours'
- b. die ontkende hij_i al na een paar uur,
that denied he already after a couple of hours
die aankondiging die Jan_i aan de krant gestuurd had
that announcement that John to the paper sent had
- c. heeft hij_i al na een paar uur ontkent,
has he already after a couple of hours
die aankondiging die Jan_i aan de krant gestuurd had
that announcement that John to the paper sent had

Rightperipheral DPs with fronted D-pronouns always related to high periphery (I.e high periphery).....

A very intriguing fact: With the D-pronoun inside TP, lower than the subject, judgments across speakers are less clear, but I accept :

- (i) Hij_i ontkende die al na een paar uur,
He denied that already after a couple of hours
die aankondiging die Jan_i aan de krant gestuurd had
that announcement that John to the paper sent had

Similar facts have been reported in the literature on leftdislocation and reconstruction

If we take this evidence seriously: it suggests that the adjunct is merged higher than the A-position of the subject! (see Nilsen (2000) for a proposal that Rizzi's periphery is merged lower than adverbs)

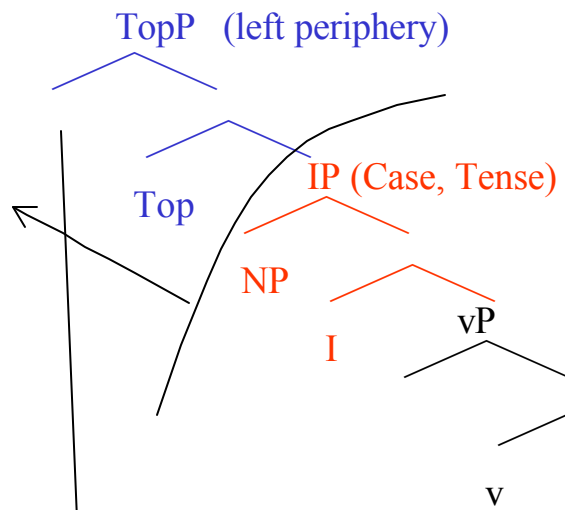
What about right dislocation with clitics ('t/'m , personal pronouns?)

- (iii) *pro_i lo smentì dopo poche ore, l'annuncio che John_i diede alla stampa
(He) denied it after a few hours the announcement that John gave to the press. (
(Chechetto, 1997)

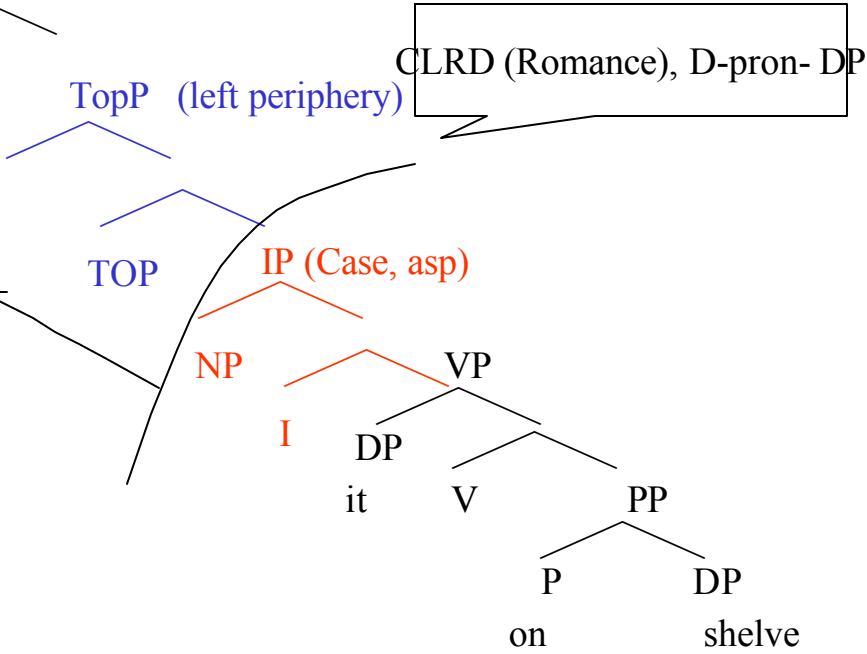
The parallel dislocation construction in Dutch, with a personal pronoun rather than a D-pronoun, seems to yield the Italian judgment:

- (iv) *Hij_i ontkende 'm al na een paar uur,
he denied him already after a couple of hours
de aankondiging die Jan_i aan de krant gestuurd had
that announcement that John to the paper sent had

→ D-rightdislocation and pronominal rightdislocation do not behave in the same way, suggesting they are related to different leftperipheries (I.e. leftperipheries recur in the structure



....CP reiteration (simplified CPs, there might be more levels..)



CLRD (Romance), D-pron- DP

D-rightdislocation/
left-dislocation

How do the derivations
proceede exactly?

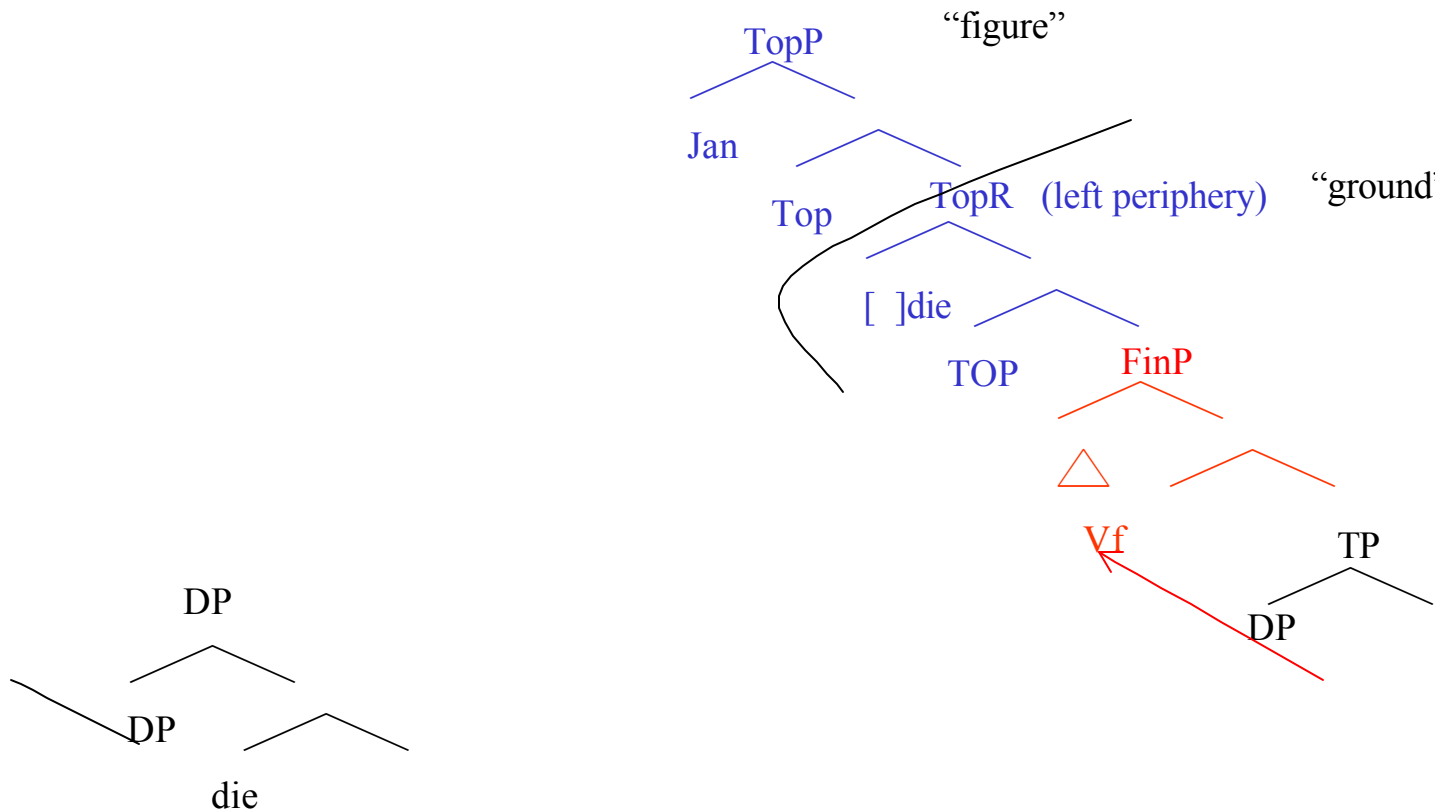
...*Rightdislocation and left dislocation more concretely..*) (Only high periphery considered)

a. *Jan die ken ik niet*

b. *[die ken ik niet] Jan*

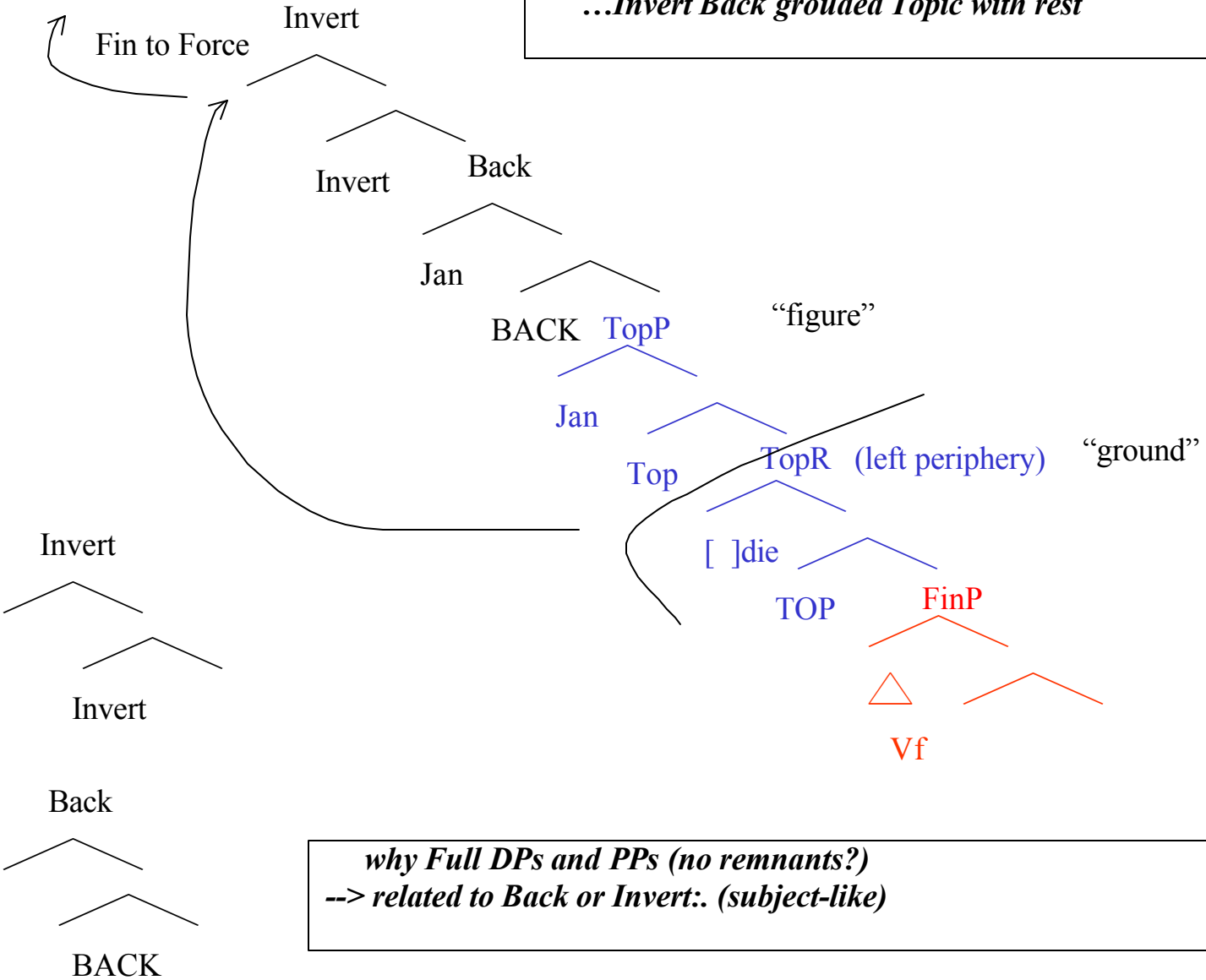
For convenience: raising analysis (Kayne (1994), V to C)

*similarities right and left dislocation: --> same substructure;
differences: difference in additional structure (-- inversion, backgrounding, intonation)*



...Rightdislocation: inversion, babgrounding, intonation

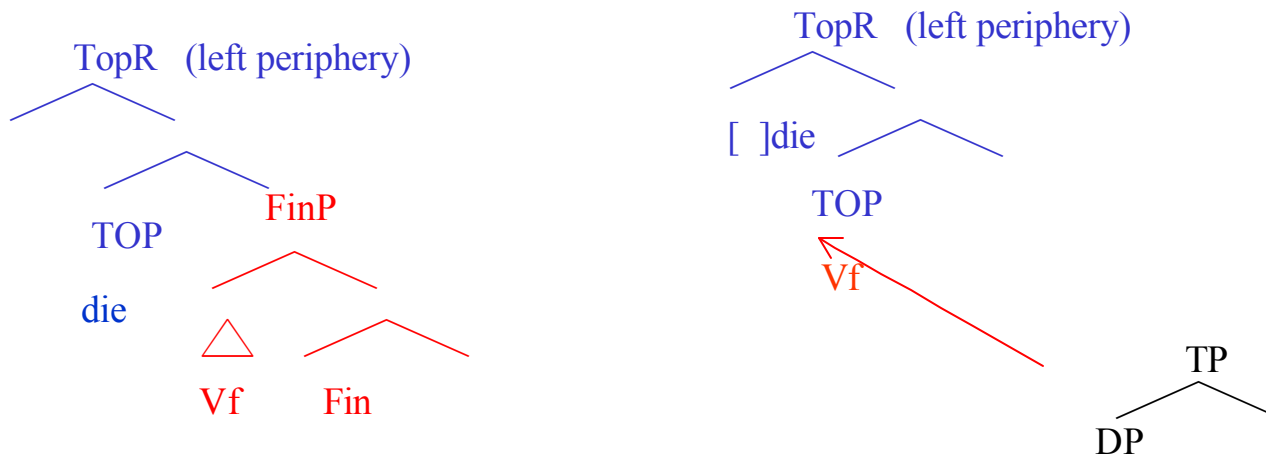
...Invert Back groudted Topic with rest



*why Full DPs and PPs (no remnants?)
 --> related to Back or Invert: (subject-like)*

...Topic drop

Generalized doubly filled C filter
2 scenarios: V to C or remnant finite VP to C



Predicate inversion

Moro, 1997.

The flag was [the cause of the riot]

[the cause of the riot] was [the flag [*the cause of the riot*]

Moro, 1997.

1. A picture of John was the cause of the riot
 2. Which riot was the picture of John the cause of--?
 3. *Who was a picture of the cause of the riot --?
 4. The cause of the riot was a picture of John
 5. *Who was the cause of the riot a picture of --
 6. *which riot was the cause of-- a picture of John
- what about: 7. The cause of which riot do you think was this