



Right Dislocation as a Parenthetical Construction

LSRL53

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Roadmap

- Background notions and main claim
- On the distribution of right-dislocated elements
- Monoclausal vs biclausal analyses of Right Dislocation
- Against coordination structures in biclausal analyses
- Right Dislocation as a parenthetical Fragment Answer
- Right Dislocation and Questions Under Discussion
- The structure of the elided clause
- Conclusions

Background

- In Right Dislocation (RD), a constituent with a discourse-given referent appears to the right edge of a gapless clause (Fernández-Sánchez & Ott 2020)
- The clause contains an element (a clitic in (2)) that co-refers with the right-dislocated element (SMALL CAPS: main stress)

(1) Ho letto questo LIBRO.
 have.1SG read this book
 ‘I have read this book.’

(2) L_i' ho LETTO, [questo libro]_i.
 cl.ACC have.1SG read this book
 ‘I have read it, this book.’

Background

- Right-dislocated elements are generally rightmost, but need not be (see Giorgi 2015):

[CONTEXT Who did you give this book to?]

(3) L_i' ho dato a MARCO, [questo libro]_i.
 cl.ACC have.1SG given to Mark this book

(4) L_i' ho dato, [questo libro]_i, a MARCO.
 cl.ACC have.1SG given this book to Mark

- How to account for the distribution of RDed elements?
- What is the status of post-RD material?

Background – Monoclausal analyses

	Base-generation	A'-movement
Right attachment	Cardinaletti 2002, De Cat 2007	Vallduví 1992
Left attachment + individual movements	Kayne 1994	Cecchetto 1999, Belletti 2004, Bocci 2013
Left attachment + TP movement	Frascarelli 2004, Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007	Samek-Lodovici 2015

Background – Biclausal analyses

- RD element is the remnant of ellipsis in a separate clause
- The elided clause specifies the clause containing the pronominal antecedent
- The dislocated element is either fronted before ellipsis (Ott & de Vries 2012, 2016; Alzayid 2020; Sun 2021) or in situ in the elided clause (Truckenbrodt 2013; Fernández-Sánchez 2017; Ott 2017)
- Two alternative structures for (2)

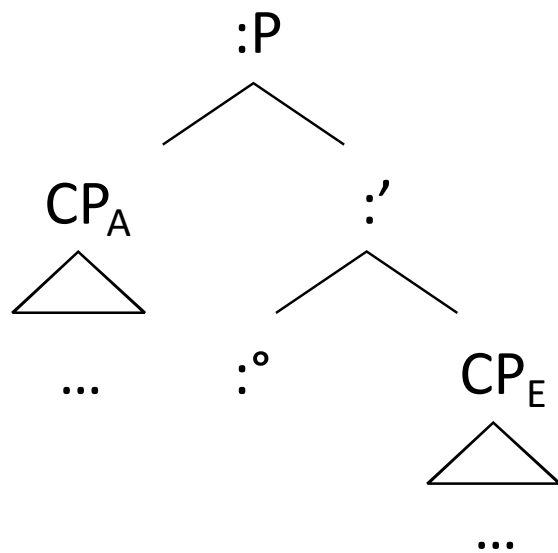
(5) [*pro* l_i' ho LETTO], [~~*pro* ho ——— letto~~ [questo libro] $_i$].
 cl.ACC have.1SG read have.1SG read this book

(6) [*pro* l_i' ho LETTO], [[questo libro] $_i$ ~~*pro* ho ——— letto t_i~~].
 cl.ACC have.1SG read this book have.1SG read

Biclausal analyses and coordination

- In many biclausal analyses, it is assumed that a silent coordinating head relates the two clauses
- Colon head “:” (Ott & de Vries 2016, adapted from Koster 2000)

(7)



- A structure for (2) in Ott & de Vries' (2016) analysis (cf. Sun 2021)

(8) [:P [CP *pro* L_i' ho LETTO], [:° [CP [questo libro]_i ~~*pro* ho letto t_i~~]]]
 cl.ACC have.1SG read this book have.1SG read

Biclausal analyses and coordination

- The coordination hypothesis predicts that no material belonging to the antecedent clause (CP_A) can appear to the right of a right-dislocated element
- This hypothesis **undergenerates**
- Italian allows antecedent clause constituents to appear after a right-dislocated element:

(4) L_i' ho dato, [questo libro]_i, a MARCO.
 cl.ACC have.1SG given this book to Mark

- We will call these post-RD elements
- Difficult for this hypothesis to derive sentences like (4) - short of further assumptions
- It may be a problem for (at least some) monoclausal analyses to correctly derive (4)

The proposal

- Following Ott (2017), I propose a biclausal analysis¹ with **no syntactic head** relating antecedent and elided clause
- Right-dislocated elements are remnants of ellipsis, and they are integrated **in processing**, as **parentheticals**
- They are fragment answers (FAs) to implicit questions
- Their distribution depends on two factors:
 1. Discourse: the current Question Under Discussion (QUD)
 2. Syntax: movement before ellipsis
- De-stressed, d-given constituents lacking a clitic antecedent need not be analysed as a different kind of RD (as in Samek-Lodovici 2015)
- Restrictions on what can appear after RD can be explained in non-syntactic terms

¹Or *multiclausal* in the case of multiple right-dislocated elements

Post-RD elements

- Can carry sentential stress or be unstressed
- When carrying stress, they must be analysed as part of the antecedent clause

(4) L_i' ho dato, [questo libro]_i, a MARCO.
 cl.ACC have.1SG given this book to Mark

- May be difficult to account for in some monoclausal analyses
- They can also be unstressed:

(9) L_i' ho DATO, [questo libro]_i, a Marco.
 cl.ACC have.1SG given this book to Mark

Unstressed post-RD elements

- No restriction on referential XPs after RD:

(9) L_i' ho DATO, [questo libro]_i, a Marco.
 cl.ACC have.1SG given this book to Mark

- However, unstressed NPIs/n-words cannot appear after RD (Samek-Lodovici 2015):

(10) *Non l_i' ho DATO, [questo libro]_i, a nessuno.
 NEG cl.ACC have.1SG given this book to nobody
 Intended: 'I didn't give this book to anyone.'

Unstressed post-RD elements in a monoclausal analysis

- Samek-Lodovici (2015): Two types of RD
- RD⁺ when there is a preceding clitic
- RD⁻ when there is no preceding clitic
- RD is above TP and movement-based (leftward movement plus TP remnant movement)
- (10) is ungrammatical because the NPI is not c-commanded by NEG at surface structure

(10) *Non l_i' ho DATO, [questo libro]_i, [a nessuno].
 NEG cl.ACC have.1SG given this book to nobody
 Intended: 'I didn't give this book to anyone.'

- *questo libro* is a case of RD⁺; *a nessuno* is a case of RD⁻

Unstressed post-RD elements in a biclausal analysis

- A biclausal (or multi-clausal) analysis cannot work for these elements
- They lack a clitic to fulfil the relevant theta-role in the antecedent clause
- Unlikely that there are null clitics (Cardinaletti 2002)
- Difficult to reconcile with a 'strict' biclausal analysis (syntactic head coordinating two CPs)

Unstressed post-RD NPIs

- A non-syntactic account
- Assume NPIs/n-words must be in the same intonational phrase ι as their licenser
- Assume that insertion of a right-dislocated element (parenthetical) creates two ι s (see Nespor & Vogel 1986, cited in Dehé 2009):

(11) *(Non ι_i' ho DATO) $_{\iota'}$, ([questo libro] $_{\iota_i}$) $_{\iota'}$, (a nessuno) $_{\iota}$.
 NEG cl.ACC have.1SG given this book to nobody

- The n-word *nessuno* is not in the same ι as its licenser *non* anymore
- A **prosodic** constraint is violated, resulting in ungrammaticality
- No such constraint applies in the case of post-RD referential XPs

A possible account

- Hirotani (2005), Scope Prosody Correspondence

(12) Scope Prosody Correspondence (SPC)

The scope of a term X should not extend beyond the Major (phonological) Phrase (MaP) containing X.

- In Japanese, NPI and licenser obey SPC (they need to be contained in the same MaP)
- See also Ishihara (2007)
- There may be variation as to what the relevant prosodic phrase is

A possible account

- Stressed post-RD NPIs/n-words, however, are allowed:

(13) Non l_i' ho dato, [questo libro]_i, a NESSUNO.
 NEG cl.ACC have.1SG given this book to nobody
 'I didn't give this book to anyone.'

- Assuming that the rule forcing the creation of *ts* to the left and right edge of a parenthetical (PARINS) makes (10) ungrammatical
- The rule can be applied only if Nuclear Stress Rule (NSR) does not apply (i.e., if stress is not rightmost)
- Otherwise, NSR overrides PARINS

RD as a Fragment Answer

- Ott (2017): Discourse is driven by questions under discussion (QUDs) explicit or implicit (accommodated)
- A pronominal element (e.g. a clitic) triggers a new QUD: its reference must be resolved

(14) [QUD₁ What happened?]
 L_i' ho LETTO,
 cl.ACC have.1SG read

[QUD₂ What did you read?]
 [[questo libro]_i ~~ho~~ ~~letto~~ ~~t_i~~]
 this book have.1SG read

- RD as a Fragment Answer (FA - cf. Sun 2021) to a new (implicit) QUD

When to answer the current QUD?

- If the clitic is a main clause, RD is always immediately adjacent to the clause's right edge
- Italian RD obeys Right Roof Constraint (RRC) when the (embedded) antecedent clause is finite (Cecchetto 1999, Samek-Lodovici 2015):

(15) a. *Ho detto [che posso terminar-lo_i] a MARIA, [questo lavoro]_i.
 have.1SG told that can.1SG finish.INF-cl.ACC to Mary this job

b. Ho detto [che posso terminar-lo_i], [questo lavoro]_i, a MARIA.
 have.1SG told that can.1SG finish.INF-cl.ACC this job to Mary

‘I told Mary that I can finish this job.’

- Initial assumption: QUD must be answered as soon as pronoun is introduced

Embedded non-finite clauses

- But RRC is violated when the antecedent clause is non-finite (Samek-Lodovici 2015):

(16) a. Ho detto [di terminar-lo_i] a MARIA, [questo lavoro]_i.
 have.1SG told to finish.INF-cl.ACC to Mary this job

b. Ho detto [di terminar-lo_i], [questo lavoro]_i, a MARIA.
 have.1SG told to finish.INF-cl.ACC this job to Mary
 'I told Mary to finish this job.'

When to answer the current QUD?

- Data show QUD does not always need to be answered as soon as pronominal is introduced
- Assume that finite *che*-embedded clauses require a separate truth evaluation than the main clause (because they express an independent **proposition**)
- The QUD must be answered to ensure proper truth evaluation, before evaluating the following proposition
- Non-finite *di*-clauses do not express a separate proposition; the antecedent's reference can be solved when evaluating the main clause's truth-conditions
- This explains the observed finite vs. non-finite asymmetry (see Samek-Lodovici 2015, Fernández-Sánchez 2017 for different analyses)
- But there are exceptions to the exception...

Non-finite clauses in islands

(17) a. Considero l' idea [_{CP} di aiutar-*li*]_i, [i ragazzi]_i, un' ottima IDEA.
 consider.1SG the idea of help.INF-cl.ACC the boys a great idea
 'I consider the idea of helping the boys a great idea.'

b. *Considero l' idea [_{CP} di aiutar-*li*] un' ottima IDEA, [i ragazzi]_i.
 consider.1SG the idea of help.INF-cl.ACC a great idea the boys

- Antecedent *li* is in a non-finite clause, yet RDed DP *i ragazzi* must be adjacent to non-finite embedded clause
- Explanation: islands and movement in the elided clause

Fronting plus deletion in the elided clause

- If RDED element moves out of an island, the whole configuration is ungrammatical
- No island violation in (18) – the underlying structure of (17a)

(17) a. Considero l' idea [_{CP} di aiutar-li_i], [i ragazzi]_i, un' ottima IDEA.
 consider.1SG the idea of help.INF-cl.ACC the boys a great idea
 'I consider the idea of helping the boys a great idea.'

(18) Considero l' idea [_{CP} di aiutar-li_i], [[i ragazzi]_i ~~di~~ ~~aiutare~~ ~~t_i~~],
 consider.1SG the idea of help.INF-cl.ACC the boys of help.INF
 un' ottima IDEA.
 a great idea

Fronting plus deletion in the elided clause

- Violation in (19) – the underlying structure of (17b)

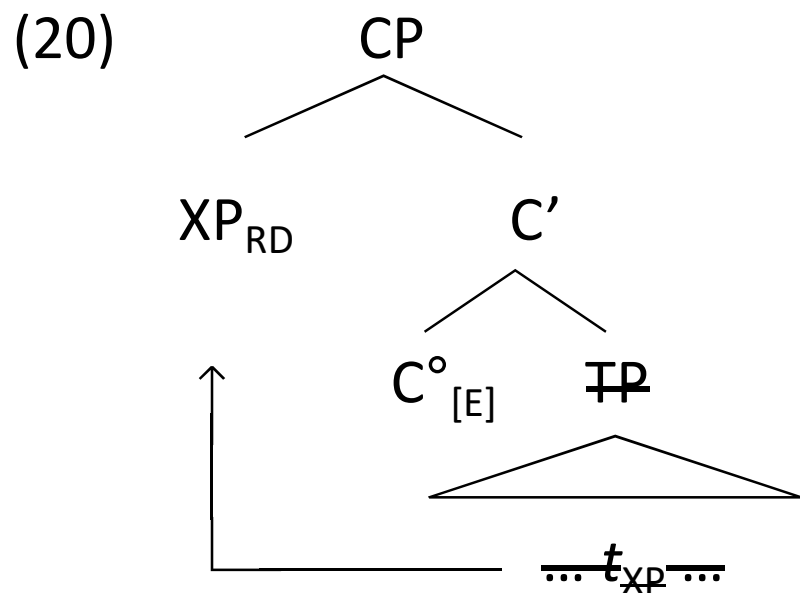
(17) b. *Considero l' idea [CP di aiutar-li_i] un' ottima IDEA, [i ragazzi]_i.
 consider.1SG the idea of help-cl a great idea the boys

(19) *Considero l' idea [CP di aiutar-li_i] un' ottima IDEA,
 consider.1SG the idea of help.INF-cl.ACC a great idea
~~[CP [i ragazzi]_i considero [DP l' idea [CP di aiutare t_i]] un' ottima idea].~~
 the boys consider.1SG the idea of help.INF a great idea

- In this sense, RD patterns with other types of A'-movement (Sun 2021 for wh-like properties of RD)

Fronting in Fragment Answers

- Merchant (2004): movement of the fragment to Left Periphery (cf. Brunetti 2003)
- Structure of the elided clause in RD:



- Ensures ellipsis targets a constituent
- Weir (2014), Griffiths (2019) a.o. for alternative analyses (*in situ*)

Conclusion

- RD is a complex phenomenon
- Best analysed as a parenthetical elliptical construction
- Discourse (QUDs) contributes to account for its distribution (Ott 2017)
- RD element as a fragment answer to an implicit question
- QUD must be answered with a RD element for truth-evaluation purposes
- This accounts for Right Roof Constraint behaviour (and apparent violations)
- Underlying structure: fronting before ellipsis (Merchant 2004, Brunetti 2003)
- (Leftward) movement explains island sensitivity (as in de Vries 2013, Ott & de Vries 2016)
- Syntactic and discourse factors must be jointly taken into account

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