

Solving an Apparent Paradox in Italian Right Dislocation

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Overview

- Main claims
- Background on analyses of RD
 - Base-generation vs movement analyses
- Critique of previous analyses and new proposal
- Biclausal analyses of RD
- Conclusion

Right Dislocation - Main Facts

- A constituent appears to the right edge of a clause
- RD elements are discourse-given, and cannot receive contrastive interpretation
- RD elements are resumed by a clitic and do not leave a gap (Fernández-Sánchez & Ott 2020 for an overview)
- In Italian, cliticless RD is possible (Samek-Lodovici 2015)
 - Not to be confused with Marginalisation, i.e. de-stressing *in situ* of D-given elements

Main Claims

- Previous theories about RD have looked at the position of the dislocate to determine whether it reconstructs, and, on this basis, its status (merged vs moved)
- I will argue that what matters for binding, instead, is the clitic (and its position within TP)
- Structures with a dative clitic (and, optionally, a RDed IO) behave like Double Object Constructions (DOCs)
- More importantly, this analysis may favour a biclausal approach to RD

Different analyses of RD

- Two main criteria:
- TP-internal (Cecchetto 1999) vs TP-external
- TP-external analyses: Movement (Samek-Lodovici 2015) vs Base-generation (Frascarelli 2004)
- Biclausal analyses try to reconcile clause-internal and clause-external properties

Remnant movement analyses and reconstruction

- In remnant movement analyses of RD, the RD item merges or moves above TP, and TP in turn moves to a higher position
- Base-generation approaches predict that RD elements do not reconstruct
- Movement approaches predict that they reconstruct

(1) L'ho visto, Gianni.
him have.1SG seen John
“I saw him, John.”

(2) a. [CP [TP L'ho visto] [TopP [DP Gianni] t_{TP}]]
b. [CP [TP L'ho t_i visto] [TopP [DP Gianni]_i t_{TP}]]

Base-generation approaches

- Frascarelli (2004), Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007)
- No trace in of RD item in TP, so no reconstruction:
 - (3) *Gli darò OGNI LIBRO_i, al suo_i autore.
to-him will.give.1SG EVERY BOOK, to-the its author
“I will give every book to its author.”
- Items in TP cannot bind RD possessive pronouns (except for preverbal subjects)
- But postverbal subjects do bind RD poss. pronouns; this would be unexpected:
 - (4) L’ha conosciuto OGNI STUDENTE_i, il suo_i tutor.
him has met EVERY STUDENT, the his/her tutor
“Every student has met his/her tutor.”

Movement approaches

- Samek-Lodovici (2015): clitic-resumed RD elements move from a “Big DP” (Cecchetto 1999 a.o.) whose head is the clitic, and can reconstruct
- This explains why postverbal subjects can bind RD pronouns, as in (4):

(4) L’ha conosciuto OGNI STUDENTE_i, il suo_i tutor.
him has met EVERY STUDENT, the his/her tutor
“Every student has met his/her tutor.”

- But given a <DO IO> unmarked order, (3) is still unaccounted for:

(3) *Gli darò OGNI LIBRO_i, al suo_i autore.
to-him will.give.1SG EVERY BOOK, to-the its author
“I will give every book to its author.”

RD, reconstruction and pronominal binding

- Empirical issues in remnant movement analyses of RD:
- Neither remnant movement analysis can fully capture the data
- Subjects (both pre- and post-verbal) are always able to bind pronouns contained in RD-elements; however, a base generation analysis cannot explain why postverbal subjects (and, marginally, IOs) can bind into RD items
- Direct objects fail to bind into RD-IOs, as shown by lack of distributive reading in (3); this observation is problematic for a movement analysis, taking the unmarked order to be <DO IO>

(3) *Gli darò OGNI LIBRO_i, al suo_i autore.
to-him will.give.1SG EVERY BOOK, to-the its author
“I will give every book to its author.”

RD, reconstruction and pronominal binding

- Conceptual issues in remnant movement analyses of RD:
- Barss' (1986) Generalisation: reconstruction of a constituent α is blocked when α does not c-command its trace at surface level (formulation from Heck & Assmann 2014);
- This would entail that in remnant movement analyses of RD, reconstruction should never take place.
- On the one hand, lack of reconstruction cannot be taken as evidence for base-generation of RD-items; on the other hand, apparent reconstruction effects need a different explanation.

Proposal

- A remnant movement approach to RD cannot fully explain the observations, regardless of whether we take RD to be obtained via movement or base-generation
- It might be more fruitful to turn to the behaviour of the clitics. Interestingly, they show the same pattern as the one observed for RD items:
- Subjects may bind into both dative and accusative clitic
- IOs may bind into accusative clitics
- DOs fail to bind into dative clitics

Binding into a clitic

- Sometimes, a pronoun may stand for an expression containing a bound variable: a “paycheck pronoun” (Elbourne 2008 a.o.)

(5) The man who gave his paycheck to his wife is wiser than the man who gave **it** to his mistress.

- In some cases, the expression is not uttered, but it is context-retrievable; only the corresponding clitic is present
- The clitics’ behaviour is the same irrespective of whether RD is present or not

New data set

(6) [Context: Each student in the department is assigned a tutor.]

a. Oggi, finalmente, **lo** ha conosciuto ogni studente_i (il suo_i tutor).

today finally him has met every student the his tutor

“Today, finally, every student met him/her (his/her tutor).”

b. Oggi **gli** ha fatto una domanda ogni studente_i (al suo_i tutor).

today to-him has made one question every student to.the his tutor

“Today, every student asked him/her a question (to his/her tutor).”

New data set

- (7) [Context: Each student in the department is assigned a tutor.]
- a. *Oggi gli ho presentato ogni studente_i (al suo_i tutor).
today to-him have.1SG introduced every student to.the his/her tutor
“I introduced to him/her every student (to his/her tutor).”
- b. ?Oggi l’ho presentato ad ogni studente_i (il suo_i tutor).
today him have.1SG introduced to every student the his/her tutor
“Today, I introduced him to every student (his/her tutor).”

Proposal

- The reason why object QPs fail to bind into dative clitics may be due to “scope freezing” (Bruening 2001)
- In this sense, the dative clitic behaves as if it formed a Double Object Construction (DOC) with the DO, occupying a higher position than the standard order <S V DO IO>
- In DOCs, the second object fails to bind a pronoun in the first (Barss & Lasnik 1989, Bruening 2001), due to the scope freezing effect
- If binding involves the clitic (and is excluded in the case of frozen scope) and not the RD element, this may be an argument in favour of either a base-generation approach to RD, or a biclausal analysis, in which the dislocate is in a separate CP altogether
- Base-generation approaches, however, may still run into the problem of how RD elements are assigned Theta Role and Case

Biclausal Analyses of RD

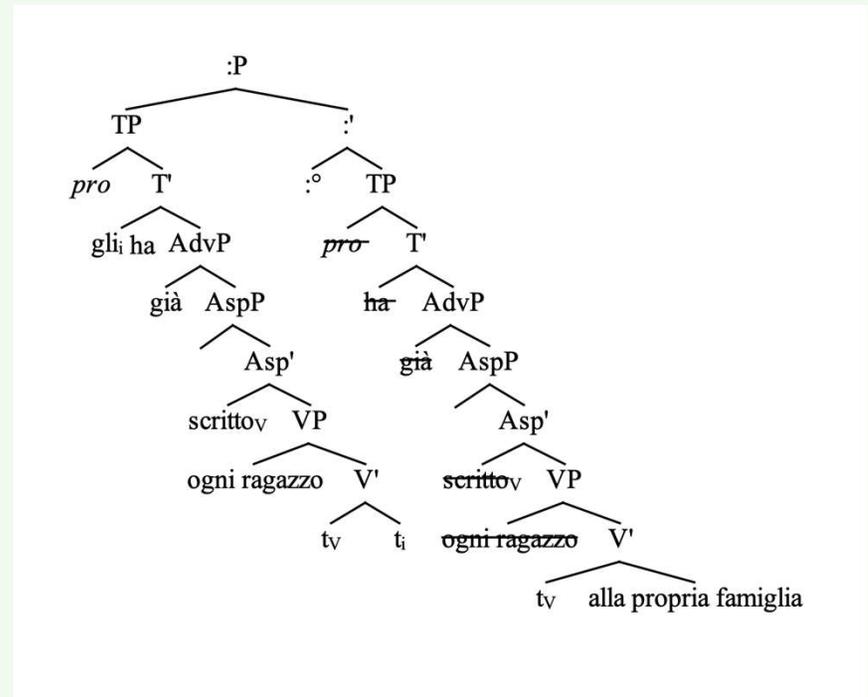
- Ott & de Vries (2016) for Germanic, Fernández-Sánchez (2017) for Romance
- Two clauses:
 - One (*host clause*) containing the *correlate* (clitic)
 - The other containing the dislocate; the rest of the clause undergoes ellipsis
- The two structures are in a coordination relation, established (in Ott & de Vries 2016) by an abstract colon head (Koster 2000)

Biclausal Analyses of RD

(8) Gli ha già scritto ogni ragazzo_i, alla propria_i famiglia.

to-it has already written every boy
to.the his-own family

“Every boy has already written to his
own family.”



Conclusions

- Previous remnant movement analyses of RD have looked at reconstruction of RD items, but not at the behaviour of the clitics
- In these analyses, however, RD items should not be able to reconstruct
- The paradox may be solved by looking at the clitics' behaviour
- Binding effects on the clitic may explained in terms of scope freezing and DOCs
- This, in turn, may favour a biclausal analysis of RD
- In a biclausal structure, binding conditions may be computed in the host clause

Future research plan

- What is the internal structure of the elided sentence?
 - Does the RD element remain *in situ* or does it undergo movement?
 - Ott & de Vries (2016): fronting; Fernández-Sánchez (2017): *in situ*
- How does clitic-resumed RD interact with cliticless RD (Samek-Lodovici 2015)?

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Thank you!