

## (Embedded) left dislocation, reconstruction and operator movement in southern Dutch

**A. Outline** In this paper, I examine previously undiscussed data of ELD (Embedded Left Dislocation), *d*-HTLD (Hanging Topic Left Dislocation with a demonstrative) and CLD (Contrastive Left Dislocation) in southern Dutch. I present a unified account of these three constructions: I propose that the dislocated XP is base-generated in the left periphery, while an operator moves from the IP-internal position to the CP-domain. Intricate reconstruction facts provide the main support for the analysis.

**B. The properties of ELD** Although it is generally assumed that all left dislocation (LD) except Romance/Greek CLLD (Clitic Left Dislocation) is limited to root contexts (cf. e.g. Cinque 1990), the southern Dutch construction in (1) – first noted by van Craenenbroeck (2005) for Wambeek Dutch – provides evidence to the contrary:

- (1) Ik vruig ma af [den Bert]<sub>i</sub>; wa dat daune<sub>i</sub> gekocht eit.  
I ask myself off the Bert what that DEM bought has  
'I wonder what Bert has bought.'  
[Wambeek Dutch ELD]

[a] In (1), a left peripheral constituent, coindexed with an IP-internal demonstrative, precedes both the complementizer and the fronted WH-phrase. [b] ELD is not limited to WH-contexts: it also occurs in embedded declaratives, selected both by bridge verbs and non-bridge verbs, and in infinitival complements.

[c] The ELDed XP can be of any category (DP, PP, CP,...). [d] The ELDed XP is part of the complement clause: it follows all matrix material (any movement, e.g. scrambling, is ungrammatical) and the matrix subject cannot bind an anaphor or variable inside the ELDed XP, which is exemplified in (2).

- (2) \*Elke taalkundige<sub>i</sub> denkt [zijn<sub>i</sub> eerste artikel] dat ik dat<sub>i</sub> niet goed vind.  
every linguist thinks his first article that I DEM not good find  
'Every linguist thinks that I do not like his first article.'  
[southern Dutch ELD]

[e] ELD is not sensitive to islands: any island, weak or strong, can be violated, as illustrated in (3) with a complex NP.

- (3) Ik weet zeker [Eva] dat ik het gerucht gehoord heb dat die<sub>i</sub> in de gevangenis zit.  
I know sure Eva that I the rumour heard have that DEM in the prison sits  
'I know for sure that I heard the rumour that Eva is in prison.'  
[sth.D. ELD]

[f] ELD reconstructs for Condition A, Condition B and Variable Binding, also in intermediate positions. An example with a reciprocal is given in (4). For Condition C, ELD shows an intricate pattern of reconstruction: while Condition C effects arise in local contexts, they do not in non-local ones (in the latter case, an R-expression in the ELDed XP can be coreferential with the demonstrative in the embedded clause), cf. (5).

- (4) Ik vermoed [die verhalen over elkaar]<sub>i</sub> dat Eva en Kim<sub>i</sub> die<sub>i</sub> doorverteld hebben.  
I suspect those stories about each.other that Eva and Kim DEM passed.on have  
'I suspect that Eva and Kim<sub>i</sub> passed on those stories about each other.'  
[sth.D. ELD]

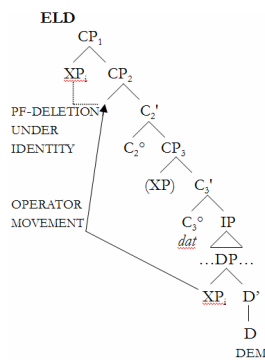
- (5) a. \* Ik denk [boeken van Jan]<sub>i</sub> dat hij<sub>i</sub> die<sub>i</sub> verkoopt.  
I think books of John that he DEM sells

\* 'I think that he<sub>i</sub> sells books of John<sub>i</sub>.'

- b. Ik denk [dat Jan<sub>i</sub> kan verliezen] dat hij<sub>i</sub> dat<sub>i</sub> beseft.  
I think that John can lose that he DEM realizes

'I think that John realizes that he might lose.'  
[sth.D. ELD]

**C. The analysis of ELD** I propose that an operator, a full copy of the ELDed XP, is merged as the specifier of a big DP. The demonstrative is merged as the D-head of this big DP. The operator then successive-cyclically moves to SpecCP of the complement clause, while stranding the demonstrative. The ELDed XP then is merged as a CP-adjunct. The highest copy of the operator movement chain is deleted at PF under identity with the ELDed XP, and reconstructs at LF to its base position (a similar analysis has been suggested for relative clauses, cf. Munn 1995; Citko 2001). Moreover, as has been proposed by, amongst others, Perlmutter (1972) and Salzmann (2006), resumptives (the IP-internal demonstrative in ELD) alleviate locality violations. Furthermore, there is a second, lower C-head (filled by the complementizer), whose specifier hosts WH. Only WH-phrases can fill this specifier position: Hoekstra & Zwart (1994) and Barbiers (2002) have pointed out independently that Dutch does not allow for embedded topicalisation.



- CP-adjunction of the ELDed XP handles the fact that the ELDed XP is part of the complement clause, cf. [d]
- as resumptives alleviate locality violations, ELD is not sensitive to islands, cf. [e]
- successive-cyclic (operator) movement explains reconstruction, also in intermediate positions, cf. [f]
- a full copy-operator is required, as its null counterpart would be problematic to deal with the reconstruction facts, cf. [f]

**D. Support for the analysis: the Condition C pattern** I claim that the intricate pattern of Condition C-reconstruction, as exemplified in (5), is due to Vehicle Change (Fiengo & May 1994), i.e. the lowest occurrence of an R-expression is replaced at LF by its ‘pronominal correlate’. As an R-expression is replaced by a

pronoun, Condition B effects are expected to emerge, which is indeed the case, cf. (6). As such, Vehicle Change derives the correct results. An analysis in which the ELDed XP simply moves from its base position to SpecCP cannot properly handle these observations, as it has been argued (cf. Citko 2001) that Vehicle Change does not occur in regular movement constructions (e.g. WH-questions, topicalization). However, in the context of operator movement followed by PF-deletion, Vehicle Change is possible.

(6) \* Ik denk dat hij<sub>i</sub> [boeken van (Jan<sub>i</sub>) hem<sub>j</sub>] verkoopt.

I think that he books of John him sells

\* ‘I think that he<sub>i</sub> sells books of him<sub>i</sub>.’

[sth.D. ELD]

**F. ELD is embedded *d*-HTLD** When comparing ELD to several types of LD in the literature (cf. Anagnostopoulou, van Riemsdijk & Zwarts 1997 for an extensive overview), it seems that ELD is simply a new, as yet unobserved type of LD. However, I present new data for southern Dutch *d*-HTLD which show that this construction strongly resembles ELD (in its reconstruction behaviour, island insensitivity etc.), cf. Table 1 and (7). I therefore conclude that ELD is embedded *d*-HTLD.

(7) [Dat Jan<sub>i</sub> kan verliezen]<sub>i</sub>, hij<sub>j</sub> weet dat<sub>i</sub>.  
that John can lose he knows DEM  
‘John knows that he might lose.’ [sth.D. *d*-HTLD]

	ELD	<i>d</i> -HTLD	CLD
LDed XP	any	any	any
resumptive	demonstrative	demonstrative	demonstrative
position resumptive	in situ	in situ	V2
compatible with WH	✓	✓	*
island sensitivity	*	*	✓
reconstruction			
▪ Condition A	✓	✓	✓
▪ Condition B	✓	✓	✓
▪ Variable Binding	✓	✓	✓
▪ Condition C	in local contexts	in local contexts	in local contexts

**G. The analysis of *d*-HTLD** I assume that the

analysis for *d*-HTLD is identical to the one for ELD, the only difference being that *d*-HTLD occurs in root clauses. As Dutch is a verb second language, it requires that the specifier of the C-position hosting the verb (here: the second, lower C) is filled. WH-phrases, topics and subjects can occupy this specifier position.

**H. Extending the proposal to CLD** New observations for CLD in southern Dutch show that it is identical to ELD and *d*-HTLD for the reconstruction facts. However, CLD differs from ELD and *d*-HTLD in that it is sensitive to islands and that the demonstrative occupies the V2-position, cf. (8) and Table 1.

(8) \* [Eva]<sub>i</sub>, die<sub>i</sub> heb ik het gerucht gehoord dat in de gevangenis zit.

Eva DEM have I the rumour heard that in the prison sits

‘I heard the rumour that Eva is in prison.’

[sth.D. CLD]

For CLD, I also propose an analysis similar to *d*-HTLD and ELD. However, in CLD, the operator first moves to the V2-position, pied-piping the demonstrative, and then moves on to the next specifier, stranding the demonstrative in the V2-position. This second movement step is motivated by extra interpretational properties of CLD (cf. Grohmann 2003): unlike *d*-HTLD and ELD, CLD can be used to express contrastiveness. As the demonstrative has moved to the CP-domain and only low, IP-internal coreferring pronouns are real resumptive elements, locality violations can no longer be alleviated in CLD.

**References** Anagnostopoulou, E., H. van Riemsdijk & F. Zwarts (1997), *Materials on left dislocation*. Benjamins. • Barbiers, S. (2002), ‘Remnant stranding and the theory of movement’. In Alexiadou e.a. (eds.), *Dimensions of movement*. Benjamins. 47-67. • Cinque, G. (1990), *Types of A'-dependencies*. MIT Press. • Citko, B. (2001), ‘Deletion under identity in relative clauses’. *NELS* 31:131-45. • Craenenbroeck, J. van (2005), ‘Subtypes of sluicing’. Handout EGG Wrocław. • Fiengo, R. & R. May (1994), *Indices and Identity*. MIT Press. • Grohmann, K.K. (2003), *Prolific Domains*. Benjamins. • Hoekstra, E. & C.J.-W. Zwart (1994), ‘De structuur van de CP’. *Spekator* 23:191-212. • Munn, A. (1994), ‘A Minimalist account of reconstruction asymmetries’. *NELS* 24:397-410. • Perlmutter, D. (1972), ‘Evidence for shadow pronouns in French relativization’. In P. Peranteau e.a. (eds.), *The Chicago which hunt*. CLS. • Salzmann, M. (2006). *Resumptive Prolepsis*. LOT.