The Source of Connectivity in Right Dislocation

1 RD: Two analyses  In an analysis of Right dislocation (RD) that we will call the fronting & deletion (FD) analysis, the constituent that occurs at the right periphery of a clause (e.g. ramen-o in (1a)) is in fact located at the left periphery of a clause that follows the first (as in (1b)). The rest of the second clause undergoes PF deletion (Merchant 2004). The FD analysis has been proposed, among others, by Kuno (1978), Abe (1999), Tanaka (2001) and Takita (2014) for Japanese, Park & Kim (2009) for Korean, and Ott & de Vries (2013) for Germanic languages, in particular, Dutch and German. Perhaps the strongest argument for the FD analysis is that mechanisms independently motivated in the grammar (leftward movement; clausal ellipsis) take care of RD, leaving no need for construction specific rules.

The FD analysis contrasts with a family of analyses that can be referred to as a syntactic connection analysis with respect to the source of the so-called connectivity effect found in RD. A dislocated phrase appears to bear grammatical relations to constituents in the host clause, exemplified by phenomena such as case matching, scope taking, binding, and island effect. In the FD analysis, the connectivity between the dislocated XP and CP is only apparent: it arises from within CP. This is where the FD analysis contrasts with a syntactic connection analysis, in which the dislocated XP is syntactically connected to its correlate at some level of representation, for example by forming a constituent with it (Whitman 2000, Potts 2005, Cecchetto 1999, etc.).

2 Goals  In this paper, we defend the syntactic connection analysis by pointing out properties of RD that show that the construction cannot be completely reduced to independent phenomena such as leftward movement and clausal ellipsis. We focus on one environment where the material in the putative ellipsis site in CP does not correspond fully to the material in CP. It is precisely this type of environment that poses a challenge to the idea of reducing the connectivity effect to CP. Though we use below examples of what Ott/de Vries classify as specificational afterthought RD, some of our points carry over to so-called backgrounding RD. While we may use English examples for space reasons, similar observations apply to their Japanese and German counterparts.

3 Islands and ellipsis size  One environment where CP contains less than full material from CP, according to Ott/de Vries (following Merchant 2001 on sluicing), is when the correlate is in a syntactic island (sentential subject) as in (2a), modelled after one of their examples. One can avoid extraction from the island in CP by assuming a smaller ellipsis site as in (2b).

Though assuming a smaller ellipsis site for such an example seems harmless, there are environments where this solution would not work and we are thus led to incorrect predictions. First, in deriving example (3), a variation of an example in Ott/de Vries, in order to avoid extraction from the complex DP island in (4a), a smaller ellipsis must be assumed as in (4b). This however makes the contents of CP and CP diverge from each other (no more rumor in CP), and we incorrectly predict that the speaker asserts in (3) that Volkswagen was planning a new beetle.

Similarly, to derive (5), in order to avoid island violation as in (6a), a smaller ellipsis site must be assumed (6b). CP, however, lacks an appropriate binder of the bound variable pronoun, in addition to contributing an unsuitable interpretation at best. We note that the role of wide scope indefinites in these examples should be explored (Hintikka 1986, Kratzer 2001).

4 Conclusion  We have shown that certain connectivity effects in RD cannot be attributed to connectivity arising from CP, contrary to the claims made in the FD analysis. Identifying contexts where the materials in CP and CP do not fully correspond to each other allowed us to see this challenge to the FD analysis. Combined with the observation in (7) that adnominal modifiers/complements, which resist leftward movement, can be right-dislocated in Japanese and Korean (Yoon 2013 & refs there), these facts lead us to conclude that a direct syntactic relation between a dislocated phrase and its correlate needs to be recognized.
(1) a. Mika-wa moo pro/hirugohan-o tabeta-yo, ramen-o. (Japanese)
Mika-TOP already pro/lunch-ACC ate-PARTICLE ramen-ACC
‘(lit.) Mika already ate pro/lunch, ramen.’
b. Mika already ate pro/lunch; ramen [Mika already ate t].
c. [CP₁ ... correlate ...] [CP₂ XP [ ... t ... ] ] (Ott/de Vries 2013)

(2) a. [That Volkswagen wanted to bring something like this to the market] was a surprise to
everybody: A NEW BEETLE.
b. [CP₁ ... ] [CP₂ [a new beetle][VW wanted to bring t to the market]]

(3) Es kam [das Gerücht] auf [dass Volkswagen etwas ganz Neues plane]: (German)
it came the rumor up that Volkswagen something entirely new planned
EINEN NEUEN KÄFER.
a. ACC new beetle
‘The rumor arose that Volkswagen was planning something completely new: a new beetle.’

(4) a. [CP₁ [The rumor that VW was planning something completely new] arose] [CP₂ [a new
beetle] [the rumor that VW was planning t] arose]
b. [CP₁ [The rumor that VW was planning something completely new] arose] [CP₂ [a new
beetle][VW was planning t]]

(5) No professor₁ criticized [a book that cited an important paper of hers], her₁ generals paper.

(6) a. [CP₁ No professor₁ criticized [a book that cited an important paper of hers₁]] [CP₂ [her₁
generals paper] [no professor₁ criticized [a book that cited t]]]
b. [CP₁ No professor₁ criticized [a book that cited an important paper of hers₁]] [CP₂ [her₁
generals paper] [a book cited t]]

(7) a. Haruko-ga mata renshuu-o hajimeta-yo, uta-no. (Japanese)
Haruko-NOM again practice-ACC started PRT song-NO
‘Haruko started a practice again, of songs.’
b. Haruko-ga mata uta-o rokuonshita-yo, [Taro-ga totemo kiniitteta].
Haruko-NOM again song-ACC recorded PRT Taro-NOM very.much was.fond.of
‘Haruko recorded a song again, which Taro was very fond of.’

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