A BICLAUSAL ANALYSIS OF ITALIAN RIGHT DISLOCATION

Stefano Freyr Castiglione

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Department of Linguistics
UCL

DECLARATION

I, Stefano Freyr Castiglione, confirm that the work presented in my thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

In this thesis, I examine the properties of Italian Right Dislocation, a construction in which a constituent that co-refers with a pronominal antecedent generally occurs at the right edge of a clause. Following recent literature, I propose that Right Dislocation should be analysed as a biclausal construction, in which the antecedent occurs in one clause and the dislocated element occurs in a second clause, semantically equivalent to the first but subject to ellipsis. I provide evidence from binding, showing that a biclausal analysis can account for a whole set of binding patterns, while existing monoclausal analyses fall short of predicting the observed patterns. Having established that Right Dislocation is a fragment, I argue, based on a number of properties such as island sensitivity and certain interpretive properties, that right-dislocated elements undergo movement to the left edge of the clause they belong to, before ellipsis takes place. I show that analyses in which the dislocated element remains in situ cannot adequately explain all properties of right-dislocated elements. Finally, while I adopt the increasingly accepted view that discourse factors are relevant in explaining where right-dislocated elements - as well as other fragments - can appear, I argue that the distribution of dislocated elements in a variety of contexts is determined by the interplay between a discourse-governing principle, A'-movement, and considerations about the size of the ellipsis site. Thus, I show that Right Dislocation is a complex phenomenon, but it can be reduced to a parenthetical insofar as it is syntactically independent from the clause containing the pronominal antecedent while still integrated in production based on phonosyntactic constraints. The overall implication is that Right Dislocation is not a primitive of the theory of linguistic competence; rather, it emerges out of independent factors.

Impact Statement

Research on the syntax-information structure interface has seen two competing trends in recent years. On the one hand, the Cartographic Approach has maintained the view that information structural notions such as topic, contrast, focus, and givenness correspond to features and syntactic heads in the clausal spine. This has led to a proliferation of functional projections in the syntactic structure. Insofar as they are interpreted as given topics, right-dislocated elements are taken to be placed in specific positions in the clause according to this approach. A different approach takes dislocated elements to be external to the clause and attempts to simplify clausal structure by assuming that these elements do not occupy positions that express information-structural notions. I follow the latter approach and show how it can adequately account for the properties of Right Dislocation in Italian. The results of the present work have implications at different levels.

At a theoretical level, this work shows that Italian Right Dislocation should be reduced to a parenthetical structure whose properties arise from the interaction of elementary and independently needed components of the grammar. Given that similar analyses have already been provided for a few languages, and that such analyses grant a simplification of the theory of grammar, the results of this research call for an investigation of the extent to which the same analysis can be applied to Right Dislocation and other similar constructions in other languages and language families.

Previous works on Right Dislocation are based on limited linguistic data. From a methodological point of view, my work has shown the importance of using a large set of data in order to uncover patterns that the literature up to this point has been unable to adequately account for. Moreover, while many past analyses have tried to reduce the properties of Right Dislocation to the effects of a single component of the language faculty (for example, the syntactic component), I have shown that non-syntactic factors may account for behaviours that are only apparently syntax-related.

Finally, since Right Dislocation is a very productive phenomenon in spoken and written Italian, the data I have gathered in the present work may be used by Italian language instructors to teach learners where right-dislocated elements may or may not appear in a sentence, and under what discourse conditions they may be used.

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Candidate
Stefano Freyr Castiglione
Date:
6/8/2024

Supervisor/ Senior Author (where appropriate)
Ad Neeleman
Date:
9/8/2024

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Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjunct
cl	clitic
DAT	dative
F	feminine
FUT	future
IMPF	imperfective
M	masculine
NEG	negation
PART	partitive
PL	plural
PRED	predicative
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Definition and properties of Italian Right Dislocation

In the last few decades, research in theoretical linguistics has devoted increasing attention to the relationship between syntax and information structure (IS), and to the question of how the latter can influence constituent order. Right Dislocation (RD) is one of those constructions in which a constituent with a specific information-structural status has well-defined syntactic properties and occupies specific positions in a sentence, but a question that remains open is to what extent the properties of right-dislocated elements derive from their syntax or can be traced back to non-syntactic factors.

I define Right Dislocation as a configuration in which a constituent δ appears to the right of a pronominal element α (the antecedent – in Italian, a clitic or *pro* in the case of right-dislocated subjects) that co-refers with δ, with δ being prosodically independent from the clause containing α (the antecedent clause), and with δ's referent being information-structurally given (i.e., conveying old information that is known to the discourse participants). The given status of δ derives precisely from its being co-referential with a clitic since clitics always refer to discourse-given entities. Unlike clitic-left-dislocated elements or hanging topics, which may be contrastive in Italian, right-dislocated ones do not generally receive a contrastive interpretation and are never associated with the prosody of contrastive topics appearing at the left edge of the sentence. Right Dislocation may change the canonical order of constituents in a language. Italian has a canonical S V DO IO order; thus, right-dislocating a subject S, or a direct object DO in ditransitive sentences, affects constituent order, while right-dislocating an indirect object IO in ditransitive sentences or a DO in monotransitive sentences does not. The (b) sentences in (1) and (2) show how constituent order is affected in the former set of cases (Right Dislocation of a subject and of an direct

object in ditransitives, respectively).[1] The (b) sentences in (3) and (4), instead, show that even when Right Dislocation does not affect constituent order, it differs from non-Right-Dislocation configurations insofar as it involves insertion of a pronominal element and potential changes to the prosody of the sentence, since right-dislocated elements never bear main stress (Samek-Lodovici 2015: 11). (Throughout this work, I will use small caps to indicate main stress, and a comma to indicate a short pause separating right-dislocated constituents from adjacent material. Indexes are used to indicate that a pronominal element and a right-dislocated one are co-referential.)

(1) a. Matteo è ARRIVATO.[2] (S V)
Matteo is arrived
'Matteo has arrived.'

b. *pro*$_i$ È ARRIVATO, Matteo$_i$. (V S)
is arrived Matteo
'He has arrrived, Matteo.'

(2) a. Ho dato il libro ad ALFONSO. (V DO IO)
have.1SG given the book to Alfonso
'I have given the book to Alfonso.'

b. L'$_i$ ho dato ad ALFONSO, [il libro]$_i$. (V IO DO)
cl.ACC have.1SG given to Alfonso the book
'I have given it to Alfonso, the book.'

(3) a. Ho venduto il LIBRO. (V DO)
have.1SG sold the book
'I have sold the book.'

[1] Notice, however, that I am not arguing that Right Dislocation is a transformation taking a sentence with the canonical order as an input and yielding a new sentence with a potentially different constituent order as an output. The two sentences should be considered as derivationally unrelated, and are paired in the examples (1)-(4) only to illustrate how constituent order may change in RD.

[2] An alternative analysis of (1a) is one in which the subject *Matteo* is left-dislocated and occupies a position in the C(omplementiser)-domain of the clause while co-referring with a *pro* in the canonical subject position (Frascarelli 2007), which I take to be Spec, TP. Under both analyses, the order is SV, so what is relevant is only that if the subject is right-dislocated, the order of constituents changes.

b. L'$_i$ ho VENDUTO, [il libro]$_i$. (V DO)
cl.ACC have.1SG sold the book
'I have sold it, the book.'

(4) a. Ho dato il libro ad ALFONSO. (V DO IO)
have.1SG given the book to Alfonso
'I have given the book to Alfonso.'

b. Gli$_i$ ho dato il LIBRO, [ad Alfonso]$_i$. (V DO IO)
cl.DAT have.1SG given the book to Alfonso
'I have given him the book, Alfonso.'

The above examples show that right-dislocated elements tend to appear after the element carrying main stress and at the right edge of the clause containing the co-referring antecedent. However, it has been shown (Bocci 2013) that right-dislocated elements are not always sentence-final: they may appear in a clause-medial position, as long as they follow the co-referring antecedent, which I take to be a necessary condition to classify a given configuration as Right Dislocation. Moreover, the antecedent may appear in a matrix or in an embedded clause. A theory of Right Dislocation must predict all the positions in which a right-dislocated element may appear relative to the antecedent. However, Right Dislocation must also be distinguished by clitic doubling (CD), another construction in which a clitic and a co-referring lexical XP co-occur, with the XP following the clitic. Colloquial varieties of Italian allow clitic doubling of indirect objects (see Kayne 1994), while direct objects cannot be clitic-doubled. Clitic doubling and Right Dislocation have different properties: clitic-doubled constituents may carry main stress and need not be discourse-given, as shown in (5). Hence, I will consider the two constructions as unrelated to one another.

(5) [Context: Who did you tell it to?]

Glie$_i$-l' ho detto [a MARCO]$_i$.
cl.DAT-cl.ACC have.1SG said to Marco
'I told it to Marco.'

Right-dislocated constituents have a set of properties that an adequate theory needs to account for. No existing analysis of Right Dislocation, however, has been able to provide an explanation of all such properties. The main obstacle to a comprehensive analysis of Right Dislocation cross-linguistically is that dislocated elements, as Fernández-Sánchez and Ott (2020) point out, display some properties that are compatible with a clause-internal analysis, while other properties point to a clause-external status. This has been dubbed Cinque's Paradox (Iatridou 1995, based on Cinque 1990).[3] The properties that make Right Dislocation amenable to a clause-internal analysis are theta-marking, case-marking, and binding. A right-dislocated element receives the same theta role and the same case as the co-referring antecedent, although any theory of Right Dislocation must be able to explain why two elements (the clitic and the dislocated XP) can receive the same theta role without violating the Theta Criterion (Chomsky 1981; cf. Fernández-Sánchez and Ott 2020). Similar considerations may be made for case assignment. As far as binding is concerned, anaphors and variables in right-dislocated constituents may generally be bound by elements in the antecedent clause (although the issue is more complex and will be discussed in depth in chapter 2). The latter property may be accounted for by an analysis in which right-dislocated elements are clause-internal or by one in which they undergo A'-movement to a clause-external position but are subject to reconstruction to their merge (clause-internal) position.

Other properties of Right Dislocation point to a clause-external nature: island sensitivity, Right Roof Constraint effects (Ross 1967), and prosodic independence. Right-dislocated constituents are mapped onto an independent prosodic unit – generally an intonational phrase in Italian (Frascarelli 2000, Bocci and Avesani 2008, Bocci 2013, Cruschina 2021; see Truckenbrodt 2013, 2016 for German). This feature points to a clause-external status. In this thesis, I will focus on the other properties that may be best explained by a clause-external analysis, and that are clearer indicators of the syntactic status of Right Dislocation. One property is island sensitivity: if the antecedent α that co-refers with a right-dislocated δ is contained in a clause that is part of a syntactic island (for example, a complex NP), then δ cannot appear further to

[3] The apparent double nature of dislocated element is characteristic of left-dislocated elements too, although their analysis remains beyond the scope of the present discussion.

the right than the right edge of the clause containing α. The following examples illustrate the pattern.

(6) a. Considero [$_{DP}$ l' idea [$_{CP}$ di aiutar-li$_i$]], [gli studenti]$_i$,
consider.1SG the idea of help-cl.ACC the students
un'ottima IDEA.
a great idea
'I consider the idea of helping the students a great idea.'

b. *Considero [$_{DP}$ l' idea [$_{CP}$ di aiutar-li$_i$]] un' ottima IDEA,
consider.1SG the idea of help-cl.ACC a great idea
[gli studenti]$_i$.
the students

Pre-theoretically, one could assume that δ (in this case, the DP *gli studenti* 'the students') moves out of the same clause containing α; thus, to the extent that movement is subject to island constraints, whatever may explain island sensitivity may also explain this limitation on the placement of right-dislocated elements. While I will pursue an analysis in which island sensitivity is indeed the result of syntactic constraints, it is worth noticing that this is not the only possible analysis of the pattern, as a review of the existing literature will reveal. Nonetheless, the phenomenon calls for a principled explanation.

Right Dislocation turns out to be even more constrained, as I will show in the following section: δ cannot appear any further to the right than the right edge of any finite clause containing α, even if that clause is not contained in an island. This clause-boundedness has been shown by Ross (1967) to be a property of rightward movement and has been dubbed the Right Roof Constraint (RRC). As Samek-Lodovici (2015) has shown, RRC effects arise in Right Dislocation only if the antecedent is contained in a finite clause, but not if it is contained in a non-finite one. While the analysis of Right Dislocation I will propose is not incompatible with a theory that permits rightward

movement in general, I aim to show that the properties of Right Dislocation may be explained without resorting to rightward movement.[4]

Finally, more than one dislocated element can appear in the same sentence, with some constraints on the relative order of these elements. If the antecedents are in the same clause (matrix or embedded), the co-referring dislocated XPs can appear in any order. However, if the antecedents are in different finite clauses (for example, one in a matrix clause and one in a finite complement clause), then the order of the dislocated XPs is the mirror image of the order of the antecedents. This property will be discussed in 1.2.1.1 and in 4.4.3.

With this background in mind, the main questions that this thesis will address is whether Right Dislocation is a primitive of a speaker's grammar and how its properties may be explained. I argue that Right Dislocation is not a primitive of a theory of grammar, and that its properties result form the interaction between independently motivated mechanisms, thus reducing the number of primitives that a speaker needs in order to acquire this construction. I propose an analysis that is based on recent literature on Right Dislocation, but that crucially differs from previous accounts insofar as it does not rely on a single principle in order to account for all the properties of right-dislocated elements. The next section presents how the construction has been analysed up to this point.

1.2 Literature review

The fact that dislocated constituents show both properties of base-generated (clause-internal) and of moved (clause-external) elements has led different scholars to propose theories of Right Dislocation that diverge considerably from one another, in terms of both the theoretical tools they adopt and the predictions that they make. A major problem in the existing literature is that each analysis is based on a necessarily limited set of data; the result is that one analysis may look more adequate than others depending on which data are being looked at. However, I argue that none of the

[4] Some constructions that may be analysed as rightward movement, such as extraposition, may be even more constrained than Right Dislocation insofar as they cannot cross any (finite or non-finite) clause boundary. An example adapted from Baltin (2017) illustrates this point:

(i) *John was believed to be certain by everybody that the Mets would lose.

existing analyses can exhaustively account for the properties of Right Dislocation in Italian. The aim of this thesis, then, is to provide an analysis that can reach this goal.

Before presenting my analysis, however, I will briefly review the most prominent analyses of Right Dislocation cross-linguistically. Special attention will be dedicated to works that have dealt with Italian and with Romance more broadly, although I will also consider analyses of other languages and language families where relevant. By the end of the section, it should be clear that each of the analyses presented may successfully explain a number of properties of Right Dislocation, but crucially not all of them. I will first present monoclausal analyses, i.e., analyses in which dislocated elements are not part of a separate clause, and then move on to biclausal analyses, in which the dislocated elements are in a clause that is semantically equivalent to the antecedent clause but subject to ellipsis.

1.2.1 Monoclausal analyses

Many of the analyses belonging to this class are set against the cartographic view (Rizzi 1997, 2004 as well as much related literature) that notions of Information Structure such as focus and topic are encoded as features and as functional heads in the syntactic component. Since right-dislocated elements are often taken to be topics,[5] some analyses within the cartographic approach (Cecchetto 1999) place them as specifiers of a Top° head. Moreover, many of these analyses (Vallduví 1992 being an exception) follow more or less explicitly Kayne's (1994) antisymmetric approach, which rules out rightward movement. This implies that different theoretical means must be adopted to derive the right-edge position of right-dislocated constituents. The analyses to be reviewed in this section also deploy different means to connect the dislocated element to the clause containing the antecedent, or to the antecedent itself; what remains constant is the idea that δ is never part of a separate clause. For the

[5] While they may be interpreted as topics, right-dislocated elements are not always interpreted as such. If we take the topic of a sentence S, informally speaking, to be what S is about, left-dislocated elements are more prone to being interpreted as topics. Thus, co-occurrence of a left-dislocated and a right-dislocated element in a sentence favours the left-dislocated element to be taken as the topic of that sentence. Moreover, as Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) have proposed, topics may be of different subclasses. To the extent to which right-dislocated elements count as topics, they are consistently interpreted as given topics. They are not interpreted as contrastive topics or as aboutness/shift topics, i.e., as marking a shift to a new topic in a conversation.

purposes of the present discussion, it will be useful to distinguish between analyses that take the dislocated element δ to be internal to the TP containing the antecedent, and analyses in which it is external to TP.[6] A further distinction may be made between base-generation and movement analyses. The following table classifies them accordingly:

(7) Monoclausal analyses of Right Dislocation

Operation / Position of δ	Base-generation	A'-movement
TP-internal	a. Kayne 1994	b. Cecchetto 1999, Villalba 2000, Belletti 2004, Bocci 2013
TP-external	c. Cardinaletti 2002, Frascarelli 2004, Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007, De Cat 2007, Giorgi 2015	d. Vallduví 1992, Kayne 1995, Samek-Lodovici 2015

1.2.1.1 TP-internal analyses. Within this subclass of monoclausal analyses, we can distinguish two approaches: one in which the dislocated element remains in its merge position in the overt syntax (Kayne 1994) and one in which while it never raises above TP, it moves to a Topic position in the *v*P periphery (Cecchetto 1999, Belletti 2004, Bocci 2013 for Italian; see also Villalba 2000 for Catalan and López 2009 for Catalan and Spanish).

Kayne's (1994) approach can be seen as an attempt to unify Clitic Doubling (CD), Right Dislocation, and Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD), and to eliminate right-adjunction from the theory. He proposes that although languages like Italian display RD and CLLD but not CD, the underlying structure is the same, with differences involving only

[6] Some authors have used the label IP while others have used TP; for consistency's sake, I will be using the label TP throughout.

intonation and information structure.[7] Moreover, he proposes that the key difference between RD and CLLD is that left-dislocated elements move above TP overtly, while right-dislocated ones only do so covertly.[8] It is difficult, however, to maintain that all three constructions are underlyingly the same. Italian only displays Clitic Doubling of indirect objects but not, crucially, of direct objects:

(8) a. L_i' ho VISTO, $Gianni_i$. (RD)
cl.ACC have.1SG seen Gianni
'I have seen him, Gianni.'

b. *L_i' ho visto $GIANNI_i$. (CD)
cl.ACC have.1SG seen Gianni
Intended: 'I have seen Gianni.'

Both direct and indirect objects, however, can be left- and right-dislocated. These asymmetries remain unexplained under Kayne's analysis. Moreover, as Cecchetto (1999) and Samek-Lodovici (2015) have shown, CLLD and RD differ in several respects (we have seen, for example, that RD displays Right Roof Constraint effects, while no corresponding effects are present in CLLD: a left-dislocated element with the antecedent in an embedded complement clause may appear at the left edge of the matrix clause), and such differences need to be accounted for. Kayne's approach does not have a clear way to do so, short of additional stipulations.

According to the second type of TP-internal approaches, dislocated elements move to the specifier of a low topic projection, with other constituents optionally crossing it and reaching a low focus projection in the *v*P edge. Consider, for example, the following sentence:

[7] Interestingly, Kayne suggests that English Right Dislocation is TP-external, with a structure that closely resembles biclausal analyses, i.e., with the dislocated element being part of a separate clause that has undergone ellipsis. See also Cardinaletti (2002).
[8] But see Cinque (1990), Frascarelli (2004), Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007), and Giorgi (2015) for base-generation analyses of CLLD.

(9) [Context: Who did you give the book to?]

L_i'	ho	dato	[a	GIANNI]$_j$,	[il	libro]$_i$	t_i t_j.
cl.ACC	have.1SG	given	to	Gianni	the	book	

'I gave the book to Gianni.'

Here I am crucially assuming, following Samek-Lodovici (2015), that the unmarked order of objects in Italian is <DO IO>. In an analysis such as Cecchetto's (1999), the base-generated order is reversed with a first step in which the right-dislocated DP *il libro* 'the book' moves, followed by a second step in which the focused PP *a Gianni* 'to Gianni' crosses the right-dislocated element and reaches a focus projection.

Some properties of Right Dislocation are hard to explain under these approaches (see Samek-Lodovici 2015 for a discussion). One aspect I would like to mention here is the relative order of multiple right-dislocated elements. If two or more right-dislocated constituents have their respective antecedents in the same clause, their order is free:

(10) a.

Glie$_i$-l$_j$'	ho	DATO,	[a	Marco]$_i$,	[il	libro]$_j$.	
cl.DAT-cl.ACC	have.1SG	given	to	Marco	the	book	

'I have given the book to Marco.'

b.

Glie$_i$-l$_j$'	ho	DATO,	[il	libro]$_j$,	[a	Marco]$_i$.	
cl.DAT-cl.ACC	have.1SG	given	the	book	to	Marco	

If a clitic appears in a matrix clause and another clitic appears in an embedded clause, instead, the order of the right-dislocated elements is the mirror image of the order of the clitics:

(11) a.

??Gli$_i$	ho	detto	che	lo$_j$	VEDRÒ,	Mario$_j$,	[a	Luigi]$_i$.
cl.DAT	have.1SG	said	that	cl.ACC	see.FUT.1PL	Mario	to	Luigi

'I told Luigi that I will see Mario.'

b. *Gli$_i$ ho detto che lo$_j$ VEDRÒ, [a Luigi]$_i$, Mario$_j$.
cl.DAT have.1SG said that cl.ACC see.FUT.1PL to Luigi Mario
Intended: 'I told Luigi that I will see Mario.'

(Adapted from Frascarelli 2004: 116)

Since these TP-internal analyses take Right Dislocation to be the result of leftward movement, nothing in principle prevents a right-dislocated element that generates in an embedded clause to move long-distance to the *v*P periphery of the matrix clause.[9] However, this generates the ungrammatical order shown in the (b) sentence. The embedded-clause-generated DP *Mario* may undergo long-distance movement, followed by movement of the PP *a Luigi*, followed by focus movement of the embedded clause. This derivation assumes that no intervention effects arise between dislocated elements, which must be assumed in order to explain the free ordering of dislocated elements with antecedents in the same clause, as discussed above.

Moreover, as discussed in Samek-Lodovici (2015), these analyses face a number of problems in accounting for apparent violations of the so-called Right Roof Constraint (RRC; Ross 1967), i.e., the claim that rightward movement is clause-bound. Dislocated elements with an antecedent contained in a finite clause cannot appear any further than that clause's right-boundary. However, if the antecedent clause is non-finite, the RRC can be violated:

(12) Ha promesso [$_{CP}$ di legger-la$_i$] CLELIA, [la tesi]$_i$.
has promised to read-cl.ACC Clelia the thesis
'Clelia has promised to read the thesis.'

Samek-Lodovici (2015) has shown that a movement-based TP-internal analysis of RD cannot generate the observed constituent order. To generate the observed word order, the dislocated element would need to undergo long-distance movement to the right-

[9] As a comparison, consider clitic-left-dislocated elements. If we assume that they move out of the clause containing the clitic, then we can conclude that they can undergo long-distance movement:

(i) [A Vincenzo]$_i$, Martina mi ha detto [che gli$_i$ regalerà una CHITARRA].
to Vincenzo Martina me.DAT has told that cl.DAT give.FUT.3SG a guitar
'As for Vincenzo, Martina told me that she will give him a guitar as a present.'

If both CLLD and RD are instances of topic movement, it becomes necessary to explain why movement of right-dislocated elements is more constrained, as the remainder of the above paragraph shows.

periphery of the matrix clause. There are, however, a few problematic implications. One is that the focused subject would have to move across the dislocated phrase, but as Samek-Lodovici (2015) has shown, focused postverbal subjects are in situ, i.e., they do not move out of VP. Secondly, even if we took the subject to move to a low focus position, it would still be unclear where the complement clause has landed, assuming that is it not part of the focus and it is not a topic constituent. Finally, even if these analyses were able to generate (12), nothing would prevent these analyses from generating an ungrammatical sentence such as (13), where the complement clause is finite (see Samek-Lodovici 2015 for an explanation in terms of extraction out of tensed vs. untensed complements based on Truswell 2007a, 2007b, 2009; see chapter 4 of this thesis for a biclausal approach to this contrast).[10]

(13) *Ha promesso [$_{CP}$ che la$_i$ leggerò] CLELIA, [la tesi]$_i$.
has promised that cl.ACC read.FUT.1SG Clelia the thesis
'Clelia has promised that I will read the thesis.'

In sum, TP-internal analyses of Right Dislocation have been shown to run into a number of problems. Subsequent research has shifted towards analyses in which the dislocated element is argued to be external to the TP containing the corresponding clitic.

1.2.1.2 TP-external analyses. I will start by considering analyses in which the dislocated element merged outside the clause containing the antecedent. Cardinaletti's (2002) proposal is to be understood in the context of a debate on the nature of post-focal, discourse-given constituents in Italian. She argues that Right Dislocation is structurally different from another phenomenon, Marginalisation (Benincà 1988). Right Dislocation necessarily involves a cataphoric pronominal element; in presence of such an element, the dislocated element is argued to be clause-external, in a structure adapted from Kayne's (1994) proposal for English Right

[10] I have chosen to report an example in which the embedded clause subject and the matrix clause subject are first and third person, respectively. This serves the purpose of disambiguating the structure of the sentence. If both subjects were third person, the postverbal DP *Clelia* would be ambiguous between an embedded clause subject and a matrix clause subject position.

Dislocation, which can be taken to be the precursor of the later biclausal analyses (see Fernández-Sánchez 2017, 2020):[11]

(14) L_i' ho già COMPRATO, [il giornale]$_i$.
cl.ACC have.1SG already bought the newspaper
'I have already bought it, the newspaper.'

(15) [$_{XP}$ [$_{TP}$ *pro* l_i' ho già COMPRATO] [X° [$_{DP}$ il giornale]$_i$]]
(adapted from Cardinaletti 2002: 32, her (5))

The post-focal DP *il giornale* ('the newspaper') is analysed as being clause-external, an actual instance of Right Dislocation. If no pronominal element is present, instead, post-focal elements are analysed as marginalised, i.e., subject to de-stressing in situ (within VP), with movement of the participial verb to Asp°:

(16) Ho già COMPRATO il giornale.
have.1SG already bought the newspaper
'I have already bought the newspaper.'

With this background in mind, let us consider some implications of the proposal. A crucial point has to do with what should be taken to be the antecedent clause. Consider, for instance, cases in which the antecedent is in an embedded clause. It is not clear whether the specifier of X° would be only the embedded clause or the entire (i.e., matrix plus embedded) clause. Short of an explanation, this approach incorrectly generates ungrammatical sentences that display RRC violations:

[11] Kayne proposes that right-dislocated elements in English may be taken to be the remnants of deletion, so that a sentence like (i) can be assigned the biclausal structure in (ii).

(i) He's real smart, John.

(ii) [[He's real smart] [X° [John is real smart]]]
(adapted from Kayne 1994: 78, his (42))

(17) *Ha promesso [$_{CP}$ che la$_i$ leggerò] CLELIA, [la tesi]$_i$.
has promised that cl.ACC read.FUT.1SG Clelia the thesis
'Clelia has promised that I will read the thesis.'

(18) [$_{XP}$ [$_{TP}$ ha promesso [$_{CP}$ che la$_i$ leggerò] CLELIA] X° [$_{DP}$ la tesi]$_i$]

Analyses like Cardinaletti's, moreover, need to properly account for island sensitivity, as they presuppose no movement of δ.

A different class of approaches takes the dislocated element to be either base-generated (Frascarelli 2004, Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007, Giorgi 2015) or moved (Kayne 1995, Samek-Lodovici 2015) leftward, with TP inversion as a subsequent step that yields the observed order. Under base-generation analyses, some properties of right-dislocated elements are, once again, hard to explain. For instance, there is no clear way to rule out island violations and violations of the Right Roof Constraint, as in (17). In Frascarelli's (2004) cartography-rooted approach, right-dislocated elements are merged above the minimal TP containing the antecedent, but they can also move from that position to the left edge of a higher clause, before inversion of the higher TP. This assumption, together with the assumption that RD and CLLD are both derived via an initial step of TP-external base-generation, is adopted in order to explain how a clitic-left-dislocated element can appear in the left edge of a higher clause even if the pronoun it co-refers with is in a lower clause (see fn. 4). With this premise in mind, it is possible to see how such an analysis can overgenerate. To obtain (17), the DP *la tesi* ('the thesis') can be merged above the embedded TP as the specifier of a Top° head.[12]

(19) [$_{TopP}$ [$_{DP}$ la tesi]$_i$ Top° [$_{TP}$ la$_i$ leggerò]
the thesis cl.ACC read.FUT.1SG

[12] Frascarelli (2004) assumes that clitics are not arguments of the verb, but determiners entering the computation as sisters of a silent *pro* that is bound by the dislocated element. In the derivation presented above, I will overlook this detail for simplicity's sake, as nothing substantial hinges on this for the purposes of the discussion.

Subsequently, the entire embedded clause is selected as an argument of the matrix clause verb, and it arguably undergoes a movement operation that yields the VOS order:

(20) [$_{TP}$ha promesso [$_{CP}$ che [$_{TopP}$ [$_{DP}$ la tesi]$_i$ Top°
has promised that the thesis
[$_{TP}$la$_i$ leggerò]] CLELIA]
cl.ACC read.FUT.1SG Clelia

At this point, nothing in the theory prevents the DP to move to a TopP in the left periphery of the matrix clause before TP-inversion which targets a position labelled GP in the author's framework:

(21) [$_{TopP}$ [$_{DP}$ la tesi]$_i$ Top° [$_{TP}$ *pro* ha promesso
the thesis has promised
[$_{CP}$ che [$_{TopP}$ t_i Top° [$_{TP}$ la$_i$ leggerò]] CLELIA]]
that cl.ACC read.FUT.1SG Clelia

(22) [$_{GP}$ [$_{TP}$ *pro* ha promesso che t_i la$_i$ leggerò CLELIA]
has promised that cl.ACC read.FUT.1SG Clelia
[$_{TopP}$ [$_{DP}$ la tesi]$_i$ Top° t_{TP}]]
the thesis

Allowing for a structure like (22), which is assigned to the ungrammatical sentence in (17), this theory overgenerates.

On the other hand, movement analyses such as Samek-Lodovici's (2015) can account for this and other movement-related properties of Right Dislocation by appealing to independently motivated constraints. A movement analysis can, in general, account for the island sensitivity of Right Dislocation. However, since leftward movement is less constrained than rightward movement, it is necessary to provide an explanation for Right Roof Constraint effects in finite embedded contexts and apparent violations in non-finite ones. Samek-Lodovici argues, following Truswell (2007a, 2007b, 2009), that leftward movement is subject to a semantic constraint, the Single Event Condition (SEC): the movement chain must be contained in a constituent asserting the existence of a single event. Non-tensed clauses do not express an

independent event, so they allow movement of material out of them; this can account for apparent violations of the RRC, as in (12). For tensed clauses, Truswell's analysis predicts a different behaviour depending on the matrix clause verb. Factive verbs presuppose the event expressed by their complement, so movement cannot cross the embedded clause boundary because the embedded clause event is taken to be an independent one. As Samek-Lodovici (2015) shows, this prediction is borne out for wh-movement as well as Right Dislocation in Italian:

(23) *Chi$_i$ si compiace [che hai aiutato t_i]?
who REFL pleases that have.2SG helped
'*Who is he/she pleased that you have helped?'
(adapted from Samek-Lodovici 2015: 119, his (105a))

(24) *Si compiace [che li$_i$ hai aiutati] MARCO, [i ragazzi]$_i$.
REFL pleases that cl.ACC have.2SG helped Marco the boys
'Marco is pleased that you have helped the boys.'

On the other hand, bridge verbs do not presuppose the entity expressed by their complement; hence, extraction out of the complement is possible in principle. Samek-Lodovici (2015) shows that while this holds for wh-movement, Right Dislocation is even more constrained, as under this analysis (17) should be grammatical, contrary to the judgment. The explanation provided by Samek-Lodovici for similar cases is that a discourse-given interpretation of the complement clause results in the associated event being presupposed. In this case, the movement chain cannot cross the complement clause edge as this would imply movement across two independent events. What is not predicted is whether there may be any cases of finite complement clause events not receiving a discourse-given interpretation, so that long-distance Right Dislocation out of these complement clauses is possible.

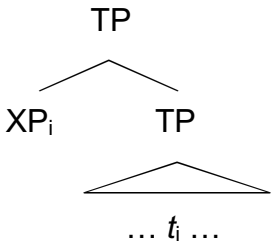
Samek-Lodovici (2015) provides other pieces of evidence for a movement analysis of Right Dislocation, such as antireconstruction effects, to which I will return in chapter 3. He also proposes that there are two subtypes of Right Dislocation in Italian. While both are TP-external and movement-derived, one (RD$^-$) does not feature an antecedent, while in the other (RD$^+$) a clitic (or *pro* in the case of dislocated subjects)

is present. In chapter 4, I propose that what looks like antecedent-less Right Dislocation can be analysed as a case of in situ, discourse-given constituents.

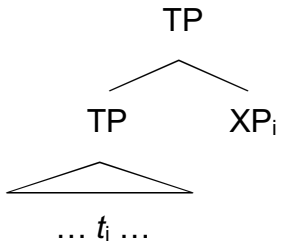
It is worth mentioning two more TP-external analyses of Right Dislocation. De Cat (2007) argues against a cartographic, movement-based approach to dislocations in French, and proposes that French Right Dislocation is obtained via rightward merge of the dislocated element above TP. This proposal is adequate to account for the relatively liberal distribution of right-dislocated elements in French, which are shown to be insensitive to islands and to the Right Roof Constraint. Since, however, Italian Right Dislocation is more constrained (it is island-sensitive and finite-clause-bound), the proposal cannot easily be applied to the Italian data.3d

Finally, Vallduví (1992) proposes, mainly on the basis of Catalan data, that Right Dislocation is the mirror image of Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD), both constructions involving a trace of the dislocated XP within TP:[13]

(25) Clitic Left Dislocation



(26) Right Dislocation



In the next chapter, I will show that this analysis encounters a number of problems in explaining binding data in Italian Right Dislocation. Moreover, as Cecchetto (1999) has noticed, Right Dislocation cannot be taken to be the mirror image of Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD), as it differs from the latter in a number of crucial aspects (though see Samek-Lodovici 2015 for a reappraisal of some of Cecchetto's claims). For example, we have seen Right Dislocation is finite-clause-bound, while CLLD is not. Unless a principled explanation of the constraints on rightward movement can be provided (see Overfelt 2015 for a recent proposal), Right Dislocation cannot simply be taken to be the result of a different linearisation of CLLD. A different question, which goes beyond the scope of this discussion, is whether CLLD is obtained via movement in the first place.

[13] Vallduví (1992) uses the terms Left Detachment and Right Detachment; I will refer to these constructions as Right Dislocation and Clitic Left Dislocation for consistency.

1.2.2 Biclausal analyses

In contrast with the monoclausal analyses reviewed so far, biclausal analyses of Right Dislocation can be seen as an attempt to reconcile the apparently contradictory properties of these constructions. They have recently received increasing attention insofar as they are claimed to be conceptually and empirically more adequate theories. The main tenet shared by all biclausal analyses is that the dislocated element has no structural relation with the clause containing the pronominal antecedent (i.e., the antecedent clause). Rather, Right Dislocation is taken to be an ellipsis phenomenon, and the dislocated constituent is the remnant of ellipsis in a separate, although adjacent clause. The elided clause must be semantically equivalent to the antecedent clause in order for ellipsis to be licensed. Glossing over the different additional claims, all biclausal analyses propose a structure in which, in the most basic cases, the antecedent clause is followed by the elided clause:

(27) $[CP_A \ldots \alpha_i \ldots] [CP_E \sout{\ldots} \delta_i \sout{\ldots}]$[14]

These analyses differ from one other in some of the additional properties that they attribute to Right Dislocation. For example, Ott & de Vries (2016) propose that the two clauses are in coordination with each other, and that coordination is introduced by a silent head. Work by Sun (2021) on Italian and Fernández-Sánchez (2017, 2020) on Catalan (and Romance more broadly) has maintained this claim. On the other hand, Fernández-Sánchez (2017, 2020) has claimed, contra previous analyses, that ellipsis in the elided clause is not licensed by A'-movement of the dislocated element. Similar assumptions are held in Ott (2017), Alzayid (2020, 2022), and Fernández-Sánchez & Ott (2020). The following table classifies existing biclausal analyses of Right Dislocation, including the present proposal, according to what they claim about these two properties:

[14] I am adopting Fernández-Sánchez's (2017, 2020) use of the labels CP_A to refer to the antecedent clause and CP_E to refer to the elided clause.

(28) Biclausal analyses of Right Dislocation

Clausal coordination / A'-movement of δ	Coordination	No coordination
A'-movement	a. Ott & de Vries (2012, 2016), de Vries (2013), Sun (2021)	b. Tanaka (2001),[15] this dissertation
No A'-movement	c. Fernández-Sánchez (2017, 2020)	d. Truckenbrodt (2013, 2016), Ott (2017), Alzayid (2020, 2022), Fernández-Sánchez & Ott (2020)

It is important to note that while 'biclausal' is the most commonly used term, the term 'bisentential' may occasionally be used (Fernández-Sánchez 2017, 2020). Notice, moreover, that since more than one right-dislocated element may appear in a single utterance in Italian, it would be correct to use the term 'multiclausal', on the assumption that there is one elided clause per dislocated element. Nevertheless, in compliance with the most commonly adopted terminology, I will keep on using the term 'biclausal' for this class of analyses, leaving it implicit that where multiple right-dislocated elements co-occur, each one is the remnant of ellipsis in a separate clause.

1.2.2.1 Coordination and A'-movement analyses. Here I will mainly refer to the influential analysis proposed by Ott & de Vries (2016) for Right Dislocation in Germanic.[16] They argue that this construction involves two clauses in a relationship of

[15] Tanaka (2001) does not exclude that the deletion process involved in Japanese Right Dislocation may be the same process involved in conjunction, although no explicit claim is made that Right Dislocation is coordination-based.

[16] In the authors' terminology, Right Dislocation refers to two similar phenomena: Backgrounding and Afterthoughts (ATs). Backgrounding is similar to what I refer to Right Dislocation in this dissertation, although this construction involves weak pronouns in Germanic and clitics (or *pro* in the case of subject

specifying coordination, introduced by a silent colon head :° (Koster 2000) that takes the elided clause as its complement and the antecedent clause as its specifier. This configuration is represented schematically below:

(29) $[_{:P}\ [CP_A \ldots \alpha_i \ldots]\ [_{:'}\ :°\ [CP_E\ \delta_i\ \sout{\ldots t_i \ldots}]]]$

In the elided clause, the dislocated element is subject to A'-movement, on a par with other elliptical constructions such as fragment answers (following Merchant 2004); the remnant is deleted at PF. Fronting of the dislocated element may explain certain movement-related properties of RD such as island sensitivity, which is attested both in Germanic and in Romance and will be discussed in chapter 3. As far as Italian is concerned, Sun (2021) has adopted Ott & de Vries' approach, which can explain a number of properties that Right Dislocation shares with wh-phrases, including *ne*-cliticisation (cf. Samek-Lodovici 2015).

Given the proposed similarity between wh-movement and the movement dependency that right-dislocated elements establish in the elided clause, these analyses need to account for the more restricted distribution of Right Dislocation, which seems to be subject to the Right Roof Constraint insofar as it is finite-clause-bound. Consider, for example, the following contrast:

(30) Ha promesso $[_{CP[-fin]}$ di aiutar-li$_i$] MARCO, [i ragazzi]$_i$.
has promised to help-cl.ACC Marco the boys
'Marco promised to help the boys.'

(31) *Ha promesso $[_{CP[+fin]}$ che li$_i$ aiuteremo] MARCO, [i ragazzi]$_i$.
has promised that cl.ACC help.FUT.1PL Marco the boys
Intended: 'Marco promised that we will help the boys.'
(adapted from Samek-Lodovici 2015: 121, fn. 18, his (iia))

Right Dislocation) in Romance. For the purposes of the present discussion, I will discuss what the authors refer to as Backgrounding but I will use the term Right Dislocation for consistency.

(32) *Si compiace [$_{CP\ [+fin]}$ che li_i aiuteremo] MARCO, [i ragazzi]$_i$.
REFL pleases that cl.ACC help.FUT.1PL Marco the boys
Intended: 'Marco is pleased that we will help the boys.'

We have seen how In Samek-Lodovici's (2015) monoclausal theory, this property of Right Dislocation is explained on the basis of work by Truswell (2007a, 2007b, 2009), who proposes that wh-chains are subject to the Single Event Condition (SEC). The ungrammaticality of long-distance Right Dislocation out of tensed complement clauses is argued to be due to the fact that the movement chain crosses two events (one expressed by the complement clause predicate, and one expressed by the matrix clause predicate). In Truswell's analysis, bridge verbs and factive verbs behave differently: the latter presuppose the event expressed in their complement clause, so two distinct events are asserted, while the former do not, and only the bridge verb's event is asserted. This cannot explain why Right Dislocation is ruled out in both (31), with a bridge verb, and (32), with a matrix factive verb. While I leave a more detailed discussion of these issues aside, it is important to stress that any analysis of Right Dislocation - whether monoclausal or biclausal - that attempts to reduce RD to the same mechanisms underlying wh-movement needs to account for the more restricted distribution of right-dislocated constituents.

1.2.2.2 Coordination without A'-movement analyses. As an alternative to Ott & de Vries' (2016) analysis and related work, Fernández-Sánchez (2017, 2020) proposes that while Right Dislocation in Romance is biclausal and involves specifying coordination, no movement out of the ellipsis site is involved. Fernández-Sánchez argues that movement in Right Dislocation is unmotivated conceptually and empirically. What he proposes, then, is an in-situ analysis, in which ellipsis takes place around the dislocated element:

(33) [$_{:P}$ [CP_A … α_i …] [$_{:'}$:° [CP_E ~~…~~ δ_i ~~…~~]]][17]

[17] The notation adopted by Fernández-Sánchez (2017, 2020) is slightly different, but nothing substantial hinges on this.

To account for movement properties of Right Dislocation such as island sensitivity, Fernández-Sánchez adopts a principle, the Minimal Coordination Hypothesis (MCH), which he argues to stem from an interplay between coordination and ellipsis evident in other elliptical constructions such as gapping: ellipsis cannot cross a finite clause boundary. This can account for apparent Right Roof Constraint violations as well as for some island data – but see 3.3.1.1 for a critique based on new data. Fernández-Sánchez's analysis, then, can be seen as an attempt to reduce Right Dislocation to independently motivated constraints on ellipsis in coordination constructions.

From the conceptual point of view, he argues that if the kind of movement involved in Right Dislocation is focus-related, this is at odds with the observation that focus fronting in Romance is generally associated with a contrastive or corrective interpretation, which right-dislocated elements crucially lack. This observation, however, is not without problems: it has been observed that fronted foci are often non-contrastive (cf. Skopeteas & Fanselow 2011, Feldhausen & del Mar Vanrell 2014, Jiménez-Fernández 2015, Samek-Lodovici & Dwyer 2024), so the type of movement involved in Right Dislocation is plausibly one that is already part of the speakers' grammars. Secondly, the author notices that some Romance varieties such as Mexican Spanish lack focus fronting (Gutiérrez-Bravo 2002) but allow Right Dislocation. This observation is admittedly harder to reconcile with the view, which I adopt in this dissertation, that right-dislocated elements are focal; nonetheless, I do not believe this to be an insurmountable obstacle, especially if a variety like Mexican Spanish allows wh-movement, to which the fronting of right-dislocated elements can ultimately be assimilated, and if it can be shown that the lack of focus fronting may be due to other factors. In chapter 3, I will discuss how in-situ analyses of Right Dislocation face a number of other empirical problems that movement-and-deletion analyses do not face.

1.2.2.3 No coordination, no A'-movement analyses. A third subclass of biclausal analyses attempts to explain the properties of Right Dislocation exclusively on the basis of discourse factors. Such an approach has been proposed by Ott (2017) and adopted by Alzayid (2020, 2022) for Arabic. The key idea is that right-dislocated elements are fragment answers to implicit questions (adopting Robert's 2012 concept of questions under discussion, or QUDs) independent from the question that the antecedent clause is addressing. Thus, whether the question addressed by a

dislocated element is salient or not at any given point in the utterance determines if the element that answers it can be integrated in that utterance. The QUD that a dislocated element answers is triggered by the pronominal element in the antecedent clause: answering the QUD ensures that the correct referent is assigned to the pronominal.

Ott (2017) argues that given these assumptions, island sensitivity in Right Dislocation can be explained as follows. Consider the following Catalan data:

(34) *La noia [que en$_i$ parla a la tesi] era alemanya, [de Kant]$_i$.
the girl who cl.PART talks in the thesis was German of Kant
Intended: 'The girl who talks about Kant in the thesis was German.'

(35) La noia [que en$_i$ parla a la tesi], [de Kant]$_i$, era alemanya.
the girl who cl talks in the thesis of Kant was German
'The girl who talks about Kant in the thesis was German.'

In (34), the clitic contained in the relative clause triggers a new QUD (inquiring about who the girl talks about in the thesis). The answer, however, is provided when that QUD is not salient anymore. The ungrammaticality of (34) is thus argued to be the result of pragmatic ill-formedness rather than due to a violation of a movement constraint. Instead, (35) is acceptable because the relevant QUD is answered while still being salient. Incidentally, the dislocated PP *de Kant* is taken to be the in-situ remnant of ellipsis. The main implication of Ott's proposal, which is extended to Left Dislocation as well, is that if dislocations are the result of ellipsis, cartographic templates (insofar as they postulate dedicated projections for dislocated elements) become unnecessary. The predictions of this subclass of theories will be discussed in chapter 3.

1.2.3 Interim conclusion

As this review has shown, previous analyses of Right Dislocation are extremely varied, but they may be seen as being united by a common goal, namely, that of explaining the properties of Right Dislocation by appealing to a single factor. In monoclausal

analyses, it is generally the syntactic component that provides an explanation. However, given that dislocated elements have properties that are hard to bring together under only one determining factor, many of these analyses will need additional stipulations. In chapter 2, I show that variable binding is one such case.

As for biclausal analyses, a similar trend may be seen. Here, too, movement can be introduced as a way to account for the locality properties of right-dislocated elements (Ott & de Vries 2012, 2016). Even in in-situ analyses (Fernández-Sánchez 2017, 2020; Ott 2017), what appear to be locality constraints are reduced to independent constraints on ellipsis in coordination constructions (Fernández-Sánchez 2017, 2020) or on the dynamics of discourse (Ott 2017).

What I propose in the present work is that it is not possible to appeal to a single factor in order to account for all properties of Right Dislocation in Italian. Rather, these properties must be taken to emerge out of the interaction of both syntactic and interface constraints.

1.3 Main Claims

Having considered the different approaches to Right Dislocation proposed in the literature, I will now locate this dissertation in the landscape of the existing analyses. While this research focuses on the syntax of Right Dislocation, it should be clear that non-syntactic factors (related to semantics, discourse, and prosody) need to be taken into account if we want to provide an empirically adequate theory of RD. I make three main claims: that Italian Right Dislocation is biclausal, that the dislocated element in the elided clause is subject to fronting before ellipsis, and that Right Dislocation should be treated as a parenthetical whose distribution is determined by both discourse and syntactic factors.

1.3.1 Right Dislocation is biclausal

In chapter 2, I look at data on variable binding and argue that a biclausal analysis can account for them better than existing monoclausal analyses can. An interesting

asymmetry is observed: on the one hand, both preverbal and postverbal subjects can bind a pronoun contained in a right-dislocated direct object (DO):

(36) [Context: The department has assigned a tutor to each student.]

a. Oggi, [ogni studente]$_i$ l' ha INCONTRATO, il suo$_i$ tutor.
today every student cl.ACC has met the his/her tutor
'Today, every student met their tutor.'

b. Oggi, l' ha incontrato [ogni STUDENTE]$_i$, il suo$_i$ tutor.
today cl.ACC has met every student the his/her tutor

On the other hand, a direct object cannot bind a variable contained in a right-dislocated indirect object (IO), an observation first reported, to the best of my knowledge, by Frascarelli (2004):

(37) *Gli darò [ogni LIBRO]$_i$, al suo$_i$ autore.
cl.DAT give.FUT.1SG every book to.the its author
Intended: 'I will give every book to its author.'
(Adapted from Frascarelli 2004: 108, fn. 13, her (ib))

This is unexpected on the assumption that subjects c-command objects and DO Themes c-command IO Goals. Nonetheless, I show that the data can be accounted for if we adopt a biclausal analysis of Right Dislocation. In this analysis, two binding relations must be established: one in the clause containing the antecedent, and one in the elided clause. Furthermore, a semantic equivalence condition must hold between the antecedent clause and the elided clause. This implies that if binding is possible in the antecedent clause, it must be possible in the elided clause, and vice versa. The analysis needs to rely on two independently motivated assumptions: that clitics can be interpreted as e-type pronouns (i.e., as definite descriptions containing a variable that can be bound – see Nouwen 2020) and that Goals can be in a Scope Freezing configuration with Themes, so that a Theme does not c-command, and therefore cannot bind into, a Goal. Essentially, the clitic is interpreted as a definite description containing a pronoun, which may be bound by a c-commanding element

in the antecedent clause. As for the Scope Freezing configuration, I argue that it appears in Italian when the Goal is realised as a clitic. While this observation holds regardless of the analysis of Right Dislocation that one adopts, I also show that monoclausal analyses cannot account for a entire range of binding data I present, ultimately reaching the conclusion that a biclausal analysis of Right Dislocation is the empirically most adequate one.

1.3.2 Movement and deletion

Once I have established that a biclausal analysis of Right Dislocation must be adopted on empirical grounds, I look at the structure of the elided clause in chapter 3. As we have seen, biclausal analyses can be divided into movement-based and in-situ ones. I adopt the view proposed in Ott & de Vries (2016), Ott (2017), and Sun (2021) that right-dislocated elements are fragments. I then argue that these elements are subject to A'-movement to a TP-external position, and that this operation feeds ellipsis (following claims by Merchant 2004 and much related literature; see Abe 2019 for a similar proposal for Right Dislocation in Japanese).

A movement-and-deletion analysis (MADA) of Right Dislocation has empirical advantages. It can straightforwardly account for the island sensitivity of right-dislocated elements, which cannot appear any further to the right than the right edge of the antecedent clause if that clause is contained in an island. Take the following pair as an example:

(38) a. Considero [$_{DP}$ l' idea [$_{CP}$ di aiutar-li$_i$]], [gli studenti]$_i$,
consider.1SG the idea of help-cl.ACC the students
un'ottima IDEA.
a great idea
'I consider the idea of helping the students a great idea.'

b. *Considero [$_{DP}$ l' idea [$_{CP}$ di aiutar-li$_i$]] un' ottima IDEA,
consider.1SG the idea of help-cl.ACC a great idea
[gli studenti]$_i$.
the students

The dislocated DP can be placed at the right edge of the clause containing the co-referring clitic (that clause itself being part of a Complex NP island), but it cannot be placed at the right edge of the matrix clause. Of course, I am not assuming movement out of the antecedent clause; rather, it must be the case that depending on where the dislocated element (and the clause of which it is a remnant) is placed, the elided clause will have a different structure. Crucially, if the elided clause contains an island and the dislocated element moves out of that island, the ungrammaticality is easily explained. The following structure shows the island violation caused by movement out of the elided clause in (38b).

(39) *[$_{TP}$ [gli studenti]$_i$ [$_{TP}$ ~~[considero [$_{DP}$ l' idea di aiutare t_i]~~
the students consider.1SG the idea of help
~~un' ottima idea]]~~
a great idea

In contrast, I argue that while some in-situ analyses (Fernández-Sánchez 2017, 2020; Ott 2017) have attempted to derive island effects without resorting to movement, but relying on other mechanisms, they fall short of accounting for the data I present. The analysis I propose, incidentally, raises the question of what determines the size of the ellipsis site, an issue to which I return in chapter 4.

Moreover, I show that a constraint on the interpretation of negative words contained in right-dislocated elements can be best explained if the dislocated element is fronted, while it would be left unexplained under an in-situ analysis. Another aspect that turns out to be problematic for in-situ analyses but is correctly predicted by movement-and-deletion analyses is the presence of anti-reconstruction effects in Right Dislocation (cf. Samek-Lodovici 2015). Finally, I also show the lack of P(reposition)-stranding effects can be accounted for by assuming that the dislocated element undergoes fronting,[18] but it is not explained by in-situ analyses.

The overall implication for the debate on the nature of ellipsis is that while fronting of the remnant is often seen as an exceptional movement that does not take place in

[18] Italian is not a P-stranding language, although it has been shown (Vicente 2008, Rodrigues et al. 2009) that P-stranding effects sometimes arise even in non-P-stranding languages.

non-elliptical contexts (Griffiths 2019), it must be acknowledged that at least some fragments are indeed derived via movement.

1.3.3 Right Dislocation as a parenthetical

In chapter 4, I look at the wider distribution of right-dislocated elements to provide an analysis that can correctly predict all and only the positions in which these elements can appear in Italian. I argue that Right Dislocation can be reduced to a clausal parenthetical that is inserted at the sensory-motor interface following McInnerney's (2022) proposal about parentheticals. These elements are not syntactically integrated into their host; I show that analyses like Fernández-Sánchez (2017, 2020), in which it is assumed that the antecedent clause and the elided clause are in a coordination relationship mediated by a syntactic head, overgenerate and undergenerate.

I propose that the distribution of right-dislocated elements obeys two principles, both grounded in sentence processing: one principle is related to the dynamics of discourse, and more specifically, to the question under discussion (QUD) that is currently being addressed. Following Ott (2017), I assume that sentences address a typically implicit QUD; however, in Right Dislocation the antecedent α triggers a new QUD, different from the one being addressed by the antecedent clause. Crucially, I propose that the new QUD must be answered before the smallest finite clause containing α has been uttered. The second principle is related to the size of ellipsis site. I claim that when processing a right-dislocated element δ, the parser reconstructs the elliptical clause of which δ is a remnant by looking leftward: the first clause containing α is copied onto the ellipsis site (*modulo* α itself, instead of which a gap is inserted; the dislocated element is part of an A'-chain whose tail is the gap). Effects deriving from the variable site of the ellipsis size are evident when α is contained in an embedded clause. If by looking leftwards the first clause encountered by the parser is the embedded clause, that clause will be copied. However, in Italian an embedded clause needs not be rightmost in a sentence, as a matrix clause material (for example, a postverbal subject) may appear after the right edge of the embedded clause. A right-dislocated element with an embedded clause antecedent may be inserted at the right-edge of the matrix clause:

(40) $[_{CP} \ldots [_{CP} \ldots \alpha_i \ldots] \ldots], \delta_i$

In this case, the parser will copy the entire clause onto the ellipsis site. Given that the dislocated element undergoes A'-movement, island effects are explained as extraction of δ out of an island (unlike proposals such as Ott 2017 and Fernández-Sánchez 2017, 2020, in which island sensitivity is only apparent and explained via other mechanisms). In sum, in the analysis I propose the constraints on the distribution of right-dislocated elements are constraints on sentence processing, coupled with A'-movement out of the ellipsis site. I show that Right Dislocation is a complex phenomenon whose properties cannot be ascribed to a single factor, but rather to a combination of syntactic and extra-syntactic factors. Nonetheless, the analysis does not need to introduce Right Dislocation as a primitive of a theory of grammar: the phenomenon emerges out of more elementary components (ellipsis, movement, and constraints on processing).

Chapter 2

Variable Binding as Evidence for a Biclausal Analysis of Right Dislocation

2.1 Introduction

We have seen how right-dislocated constituents display behaviours that are, *prima facie*, difficult to bring together under a single theoretical account (see Fernández-Sánchez & Ott, 2020 for an overview of the properties of dislocations cross-linguistically). On the one hand, they are prosodically separated from the antecedent clause by an optional pause (this is marked graphically with a comma separating the clause from the dislocated element) and form an independent prosodic unit. Furthermore, the antecedent clause is itself complete, since the pronominal antecedent that co-refers with the dislocated element receives the relevant case and theta-role. In fact, right-dislocated elements, having a discourse-given referent that can be retrieved from the context, are generally understood to be optional. Provided an appropriate context, they can be omitted without affecting the interpretation of the antecedent clause, as the pair of sentences in (1) shows.

(1) [Context: How much of the book have you read?]

a. L' ho letto TUTTO.
cl.ACC have.1SG read all
'I have read it all.'

b. L'$_i$ ho letto TUTTO, [il libro]$_i$.
cl.ACC have.1SG read all the book
'I have read it all, the book.'

Given these considerations, one might argue that right-dislocated elements are base-generated outside the antecedent clause. On the other hand, however, these elements

show connectivity effects: at least in some respects, they appear to be structurally related to elements that belong to the antecedent clause. For example, they can be case-marked (when case is morphologically realised),[1] and they appear – at least in some cases – to be interpreted in a clause-internal position for binding purposes. These effects would be unexpected under an external merge analysis, short of further stipulations, but any theory of Right Dislocation must be able to account for them. Binding is thus an area that can prove fruitful when studying the status of right-dislocated elements and their relation to the antecedent clause (or lack thereof).

Discussions of binding effects in Right Dislocation are not new. Several authors proposing competing accounts have considered, for example, Principle C effects (among monoclausal analyses, cf. Cecchetto 1999, Frascarelli 2004, Samek-Lodovici 2015; for biclausal analyses, cf. Ott & de Vries 2016, Fernández-Sánchez 2017), whereby a right-dislocated R-expression cannot be bound by a pronominal in the antecedent clause in a number of languages[2]. Principle B has been considered as well, but only based on a very limited amount of data. This gap in the literature calls for a broader exploration of variable binding and its implications for the theory of Right Dislocation. In this chapter, I argue that binding of variables contained in right-dislocated constituents provides evidence for a biclausal analysis of Right Dislocation, given some independently motivated assumptions about the interpretation of clitics (based on Ippolito 2017). I claim that certain arguments and adjuncts may behave differently depending on whether they are realised as clitics or as full XPs. In particular, dative clitics and the adjunct clitic *ci* in Italian are in a scope freezing configuration with respect to direct object quantifiers, which implies, as I will show, that a direct object quantifier in the antecedent clause cannot bind into a right-dislocated PP. The

[1] In Italian, this is visible only in first and second person pronouns, realised respectively as *io*/*tu* in the nominative, and as *me*/*te* in all other cases:

(i) Non ci$_i$ ho mai LAVORATO, [con te/*tu]$_i$.
NEG cl.ADJ have.1SG never worked with you
'I have never worked with you.'

[2] As an example, Ott & de Vries (2016) report Principle C effects in German:

(i) *Sie$_i$ hat ihn mit einer Anderen gesehen, *Marias$_i$ Freund*.
she has him with a different seen Maria's boyfriend
Intended: 'She$_i$ saw Maria$_i$'s boyfriend with a different girl.'
(adapted fom Ott & de Vries 2016: 661)

The picture, however, is more complex. As discussed by Samek-Lodovici (2015), an argument/adjunct asymmetry arises whereby R-expressions in Right Dislocation cannot co-refer with *pro* in an antecedent clause if they are part of an argument, but they can if they part of an adjunct, e.g. a relative clause. The distinction is based on observations by Lebeaux (1988, 1990) and Chomsky (1995).

biclausal analysis accounts for this behaviour in a straightforward manner, once some independently motivated assumptions are taken into consideration. Furthermore, it will be shown that the monoclausal analyses proposed in the literature up to this point cannot adequately capture the patterns observed. The data I will consider in this chapter generally display the following pattern: a quantifier phrase (QP) appears in the antecedent clause, i.e., the clause containing the antecedent α that co-refers with the right-dislocated constituent (co-reference in (2) is signalled by co-indexing). The right-dislocated element δ contains a variable *x*:

(2) [… <QP>… α_i … <QP> …], [$_\delta$ … *x* …]$_i$

What is to be determined is on what conditions the QP can bind the variable, and what can account for the behaviour observed. The chapter is organised as follows. Section 1.2 presents a restricted set of data on variable binding in RD, showing an apparently contradictory pattern. Section 1.3 introduces some assumptions about how binding must be computed in biclausal analyses, where two clauses must be considered simultaneously. Section 1.4 expands on the full data set, showing how the predictions of the biclausal analyses defended here are borne out. In section 1.5, I discuss how monoclausal structures, on the other hand, encounter problems in accounting for the whole set of data, leaving the biclausal theory as the best candidate for an analysis of RD. Section 1.6 concludes the chapter.

2.2 The data

In the literature on Italian Right Dislocation, Frascarelli (2004) is the first work to show an interesting piece of data about variable binding, whereby a direct object QP fails to bind a possessive pronoun contained in a right-dislocated indirect object:[3]

[3] I have added the relevant subscript to the original example to highlight the binding relation that is ruled out, in addition to indicating sentence stress with small caps, in line with the convention adopted throughout the text.

(3) *Gli$_j$ darò [ogni LIBRO]$_i$, [al suo$_i$ autore]$_j$.
cl.DAT give.FUT.1SG every book to.the its author
Intended: 'I will give every book to its author.'
(adapted from Frascarelli 2004: 108,her (ib))

The binding failure is made evident by the fact that in (3), the quantifier *ogni libro* ('every book') in direct object (DO) position is unable to bind the possessive pronoun *suo* contained in the right-dislocated IO; in other words, the choice of author cannot co-vary with the choice of book. Contrast this with (4), where the indirect object containing the pronoun is not right-dislocated but arguably in its merge position (given that no co-referring clitic appears and that it may receive main stress, as (4b) shows), and binding by the direct object is available.

(4) a. Darò [ogni LIBRO]$_i$ al suo$_i$ autore.
give.FUT.1SG every book to.the its author
'I will give every book to its author.'
(adapted from Frascarelli 2004: 108,her (ia))

b. Darò [ogni libro]$_i$ al suo$_i$ AUTORE.
give.FUT.1SG every book to.the its author

There is, therefore, an asymmetry between binding into an indirect object in its merge position as opposed to a right-dislocated one. Frascarelli argues that right-dislocated constituents are merged outside IP,[4] with subsequent IP-inversion to derive their rightmost position. This implies that quantifiers contained within IP cannot c-command out of it, and therefore cannot bind variables contained in right-dislocated phrases. The behaviour of direct object quantifiers is borne out in Frascarelli's analysis. Interestingly, the contrast between (3) and (4) is the exception rather than the rule. As Samek-Lodovici (2015: 141-143) has shown, both preverbal and postverbal subjects can bind pronouns contained in right-dislocated phrases. Preverbal subjects can bind

[4] Frascarelli adopts the label "IP", while other authors adopt the label "TP" (cf. Samek-Lodovici 2015). For the purposes of the current discussion, nothing hinges on adopting one label or the other. When expressing my own views, I will adopt the label "TP" for the sake of consistency and refer to "IP" only when mentioning the works of authors who use the latter.

a right-dislocated *pro* in both Italian and Catalan (cf. Villalba 2000: 191 for the Catalan data, omitted here):

(5) Nessuno$_i$ li$_j$ ricorda con PIACERE,
nobody cl.ACC remembers with pleasure
[i soprusi che *pro*$_i$ ha commesso]$_j$.
the abuses that has committed
'No one remembers with pleasure the abuses that they committed.'
(Samek-Lodovici 2015:142)

A postverbal negative subject may also bind a right-dislocated possessive pronoun:

(6) Non l'$_j$ ha ancora ricevuta [nessun OPERAIO]$_i$,
NEG cl.ACC has yet received no worker
[la sua$_i$ paga settimanale]$_j$.
the his/her pay weekly
'No worker has received their weekly pay yet.'
(Samek-Lodovici 2015:143)

The data introduced here show that binding of a variable contained in a right-dislocated constituent is not always possible. One may initially conclude that the inability to be bound into is a property of indirect objects (cf. (3)) as opposed to direct objects (cf. (5-6)). Samek-Lodovici (2015), however, shows that subjects may bind into indirect objects too:

(7) Gli$_j$ ha già scritto [ogni RAGAZZO]$_i$,
cl.DAT has already written every boy
[alla propria$_i$ famiglia]$_j$.
to.the his.own family
'Every boy has already written to his own family.'
(Samek-Lodovici 2015: 143, fn. 26)

The issue, then, may rather have to do with direct object quantifiers in the antecedent clause and the conditions under which they can bind a pronoun. We have seen that in

ditransitive sentences, a DO can bind into an IO that follows it, but this not possible if the IO is right-dislocated (even if it linearly follows the DO). Up to this point, however, the literature on Right Dislocation has only looked at a restricted set of data. This may be the reason why the patterns considered so far seem to provide evidence for analyses that are different from one another (Frascarelli's analysis assumes base-generation of right-dislocated elements, while Samek-Lodovici's argues for movement out of TP) and appear to make different predictions. Thus, the goal of the following two sections is to show what predictions are made in a biclausal analysis, and how these predictions are borne out when considering a larger set of data.

2.3 Binding in biclausal analyses: some assumptions

The main tenet of biclausal analyses of Right Dislocation is that the dislocated element is not part of the clause containing the antecedent *a*, but of a clause that is semantically equivalent to the antecedent clause and specifies it. By 'specification', I mean that the dislocated element indicates the referent of the clitic *a* contained in the antecedent clause.

There may be differences in some of the further assumptions that biclausal analyses make; for example, regarding the position of the right-dislocated element *d* within the elided clause (whether it is fronted prior to ellipsis or remains in situ), or about the existence of a syntactic relation between the two clauses that make up the biclausal structure. I maintain that for the purposes of the present discussion, nothing hinges on these aspects, which will be the focus of later chapters. In particular, I will argue in the next chapter that dislocated elements are fronted to the left edge of the clause they belong to before ellipsis applies to that clause. However, I assume this fronting operation, represented in (8), to be a kind of A'-movement subject to reconstruction at LF for binding purposes. In the data introduced in the next section of the chapter, it is the merge position of the dislocated element that matters when considering binding patterns.

(8) $[_{CP} \dots \alpha_i \dots] [_{CP} \delta_i [_{TP} \dots \sout{t_\delta} \dots]$

Since the dislocated element is structurally unrelated to material in the antecedent clause, we do not expect binding relations to be established across clauses. However, we do expect variables in right-dislocated constituents to be bound by elements belonging to the elided clause that c-command the dislocated elements at LF (after reconstruction). Thus, one key assumption is that in order to understand binding patterns in Right Dislocation, two separate binding relations must be presupposed: one in the antecedent clause and one in the elided clause[5].

Let us consider (7), repeated below in (9) with the underlying biclausal structure[6].

(9) [$_{CP}$ Gli$_j$ ha già scritto [ogni RAGAZZO]],
cl.DAT has already written every boy
[$_{CP}$ [alla propria$_i$ famiglia]$_j$ ~~ha già scritto [ogni ragazzo]$_i$ t_j~~].
to.the his.own family ~~has already written every boy~~
'Every boy has already written to his own family.'

In the clause that undergoes ellipsis at PF, the dislocated PP *alla propria famiglia* reconstructs to a position from which it is c-commanded by the QP *ogni ragazzo*, under the assumption that in Italian dative-PP constructions, the linear order observed is a function of c-command (to the effect that the direct object c-commands the indirect objects and binds into it). Binding in the elided clause is thus accounted for in a straightforward manner. What is less clear is which element enters the relevant binding relation in the first clause, where no bound pronoun appears. This apparent puzzle may be overcome if we look at the behaviour of clitics in contexts other than dislocation constructions.

As Ippolito (2017) has shown, clitics in Italian have, among other characteristics, the ability to behave as "paycheck pronouns" with an antecedent that contains a

[5] Here I distance myself from Fernández-Sánchez (2017), who claims that in biclausal analyses it is only c-command relations in the elided clause that matter for binding purposes. As will become evident, both clauses must be considered in order to account for the grammaticality of Right Dislocation configurations. Looking only at binding relations in the elided clause does not capture certain patterns. Furthermore, if a binding relation is established in the elided clause, and if the elided clause must be semantically equivalent to the antecedent clause, one can imply that a parallel binding relation must occur in the antecedent clause too.

[6] To avoid confusion, I have omitted the index under the first instance of the QP *ogni ragazzo*, highlighting the observation that the relevant binding relation is the one between the second instance of the QP and the dislocated variable *propria*. I am assuming that the postverbal subject is in Spec, *v*P, following Samek-Lodovici (2015).

pronominal. A classical example, after which the term was coined, was provided for English by Karttunen (1969; italics added):

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

In (10), the pronoun *it* does not refer to the first man's paycheck but to the second man's (cf. Nouwen, 2020), so it behaves as if it stood for a definite description containing a bound variable. The Italian equivalent of (10) can be construed with the clitic *lo* (written as *l'* – example adapted from Ippolito 2017; italics added).

(11) L' uomo che ha dato il suo assegno a sua moglie è più
the man who has given the his paycheck to his wife is more
saggio dell' uomo che *l'* ha dato alla sua amante.
wise of.the man who cl.ACC has given to.the his mistress

Assuming that the clitics that appear in Right Dislocation configurations can be treated like paycheck pronouns, it may seem odd that, unlike the examples mentioned above, in Right Dislocation the paycheck pronoun precedes the co-referring expression rather than following it. One must consider, however, that right-dislocated elements always refer to entities that are discourse-given (either because they have been introduced in previous utterances, or because their relevance can be implicitly understood from the context of the conversation – see Lambrecht, 2001: 1074). Thus, a clitic specified by a right-dislocated constituent is cataphoric with respect to that constituent, but it is also anaphoric with respect to the first instance in which the referent of that constituent was introduced[7]. This is why specifying the discourse context in which sentences

[7] One may wonder whether the antecedent of a paycheck pronoun must always be introduced via a linguistic utterance rather than in the extralinguistic context. Consider the following example:

(i) [Context: After the end of a football game, speaker A sees a player giving his jersey to an opponent.]

A: Another player gave *it* to a fan.

Similarly to the classical example of paycheck pronouns, in (i) the pronoun *it* does not refer to the first player's jersey, but to the second player's. Nonetheless, the sentence is construed in such a way as to not include the antecedent in any utterance. It is only retrievable from the context. If such a construal of paycheck pronouns is possible, and if clitics in RD can be interpreted, like paycheck pronouns, as definite descriptions, then the possibility of introducing the referent of a right-dislocated element

containing right-dislocated elements appear helps evaluating the felicitousness of the utterance:

(12) [Context: What did you do with the book I gave you?]

L_i'	ho	letto	in	un	GIORNO,	[quel libro]$_i$.
cl.ACC	have.1SG	read	in	a	day	that book

'I read that book in a day.'

It is crucial that the referent of *quel libro* ('that book') be introduced in the preceding context to ensure a proper interpretation of the whole sentence. In the data that will constitute the evidence for our analysis, the relevant context will likewise be introduced in order to make it clear that right-dislocated elements are discourse-given. Thus, if the clitic that co-refers with the dislocated constituent may be construed as a paycheck pronoun, the sentence may receive its interpretation even when the dislocated element is absent. Consider the following case, where the (a) sentence is interpretable, given a paycheck reading of the clitic, and the (b) sentence can receive the same interpretation, but with the addition of a right-dislocated DP that specifies the referent of the clitic. The (c) sentence shows how two binding relations are established in Right Dislocation, one per clause (in the elided clause, only the trace of the dislocated element that is relevant for binding by the subject is shown; when a dislocated element is present, I have omitted co-indexing with the clitic for the sake of readability).

(13) [Context: What did the students do with their essays? The deadline to turn them in was today.]

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extralinguistically (as shown in Lambrecht, 2001) is not at odds with the analysis of clitics proposed here.

Another issue is whether paycheck pronouns may have a postcedent rather than an antecedent. Jacobson (2000) shows that they can:

(ii) The woman who put *it* in the bank was wiser than the woman who deposited her paycheck in the BUECU.

(adapted from Jacobson, 2000: 92)

Combining these two observations, it is easy to see that the behaviour of clitics in RD configurations parallels that of paycheck pronouns in several respects.

a. $L_{[i]}$' ha consegnato [ogni STUDENTE]$_i$.
cl.ACC has turned-in every student
'Every student turned it in.'

b. $L_{[i]}$' ha consegnato [ogni STUDENTE]$_i$, il suo$_i$ saggio.
cl.ACC has turned-in every student the his/her essay

c. [$_{CP}$ $L_{[i]}$' ha consegnato [ogni STUDENTE]$_i$],
cl.ACC has turned-in every student
[$_{CP}$ [il suo$_i$ saggio]$_{RD}$ ~~ha consegnato [ogni studente]$_i$ t_{RD}~~].
the his/her essay

Notice that an index enclosed in square brackets is inserted next to the paycheck clitic to indicate that the clitic is interpreted as an expression containing a variable bound, in this case, by the quantifier *ogni studente*. A copy of the quantifier is contained in the ellipsis site, and it binds the pronoun contained in the dislocated DP. This notation will be used throughout the data presented to make it clear that right-dislocated elements are optional, and that they do not affect the paycheck interpretation of the clitics (or lack of such interpretation), supporting the claim that two separate binding relations are established in the biclausal structure.

In sum, if an element belonging to the antecedent clause appears capable of binding into a right-dislocated element, that effect may be interpreted as the result of two binding relations. The antecedent-clause QP binds into the paycheck clitic, and the corresponding QP in the elided clause binds into the right-dislocated element. Having established these premises, we add the assumption that the elided clause must be semantically equivalent to the antecedent clause in order for ellipsis to be licensed; in particular, we can assume that the antecedent and the elided clause must entail each other (following Fernández-Sánchez, 2017). Furthermore, we assume that grammaticality of the whole structure is a function of grammaticality of the two clauses that make up the structure. Thus, we predict that ungrammaticality of one or both clauses result in a degraded or outright ungrammatical structure.

2.4 Binding patterns in Right Dislocation and biclausal analyses

The set of data introduced in this section, and initially discussed in Castiglione et al. (2023), covers two types of quantifiers, the universal *ogni* and the negative *nessuno*. The QP can be a subject, a direct object or an indirect object. Furthermore, I will test binding on two types of pronouns, *suo* and the anaphoric *proprio* (when the right-dislocated element is pronounced). The biclausal structure predicts grammaticality of a sentence if and only if both clauses that constitute the structure are grammatical. Otherwise, we expect different degrees of ungrammaticality if at least one is ungrammatical, and complete ungrammaticality if both clauses are.

We have already seen some cases in which a grammatical sentence with a right-dislocated element results from two grammatical clauses. The examples in (14)-(17) constitute a wider set of data. The (a) sentences show that a subject quantifier phrase, whether preverbal or postverbal, universal or negative, can bind into an accusative paycheck clitic. When the clitic's referent is specified by a right-dislocated DP, as in the (b) sentences, the interpretation remains the same, implying that binding is possible in both clauses. This is illustrated by the (c) examples, which are meant to show the underlying structure of the elided clause, of which right-dislocated elements are remnants, prior to movement of the dislocated constituent out of the ellipsis site. For the sake of simplicity, I only show the right-dislocated element in its merge position, although I assume that it is fronted before ellipsis. The (c) sentences demonstrate that a subject quantifier phrase can bind a pronoun contained in a direct object.

Note how the grammaticality of the (b) sentences in (14)-(17) is possible under the biclausal analysis provided that the respective (c) sentences are grammatical as well. As I will show in a later section of the chapter, the data are problematic for some monoclausal analyses of Right Dislocation. All judgments in the sentences that follow are provided based on the context specified immediately above them.

(14) [Context: The department has assigned a tutor to each student.]

a. Oggi, [ogni studente]$_i$ l$_{[i]}$' ha INCONTRATO.
today every student cl.ACC has met
'Today, every student met him/her.'

b. Oggi, [ogni studente]$_i$ l$_{[i]}$' ha INCONTRATO, il suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ tutor.
today every student cl.ACC has met the his/his.own tutor
'Today, every student met their tutor.'

c. Oggi [ogni studente]$_i$ ha incontrato il suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ TUTOR.
today every student has met the his/his.own tutor
'Today, every student met their tutor.'

(15) [Context: The department has assigned a tutor to each student.]

a. [Nessuno studente]$_i$ l$_{[i]}$' ha ancora INCONTRATO.
no student cl.ACC has yet met
'No student has met him/her yet.'

b. [Nessuno studente]$_i$ l$_{[i]}$' ha ancora INCONTRATO,
no student cl.ACC has yet met
il suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ tutor.
the his/his.own tutor
'No student has met their tutor yet.'

c. [Nessuno studente]$_i$ ha ancora incontrato il suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ TUTOR.
no student has yet met the his/his.own tutor
'No student has met their tutor yet.'

(16) [Context: The department has assigned a tutor to each student.]

a. Oggi l$_{[i]}$' ha incontrato [ogni STUDENTE]$_i$.
today cl.ACC has met every student
'Today, every student met him/her.'

b. Oggi l$_{[i]}$' ha incontrato [ogni STUDENTE]$_i$, il suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ tutor.
today cl.ACC has met every student the his/his.own tutor
'Today, every student met their tutor.'

c. Oggi ha incontrato il suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ tutor [ogni STUDENTE]$_i$.
today has met the his/his.own tutor every student
'Today, every student met their tutor.'

(17) [Context: The department has assigned a tutor to each student.]

a. Non l$_{[i]}$' ha ancora incontrato [nessuno STUDENTE]$_i$.
NEG cl.ACC has yet met no student
'No student has met him/her yet.'

b. Non l$_{[i]}$' ha ancora incontrato [nessuno STUDENTE]$_i$,
NEG cl.ACC has yet met no student
il suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ tutor.
the his/his.own tutor
'No student has met their tutor yet.'

c. Non ha ancora incontrato il suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ tutor [nessuno STUDENTE]$_i$.
NEG has yet met the his/his.own tutor no student
'No student has met their tutor yet.'

The opposite case is provided by the examples in (18)-(21). These are the cases in which the right-dislocated category is a subject. We can assume that the pronoun in subject position in the (a) and (b) sentences is a silent pronoun (*pro*), given that standard Italian lacks overt subject clitics (Cardinaletti, 2001, 2002). The (a) sentences show that object quantified phrases cannot bind into *pro*. The (b) examples show that binding is not possible even when an overt right-dislocated subject is present. In the biclausal framework, this implies that binding is disallowed in both clauses of the structure, i.e., neither the right-dislocated element nor the corresponding pronominal may be bound into.

In the (b) sentences, the overt subjects follow a right-dislocated phrase. Broadly speaking, we cannot take for granted that elements following right-dislocated ones are themselves right-dislocated too if they are not doubled by a clitic (a point to be discussed more in detail in chapter 4). However, there are reasons to believe that the

overt subjects of the (b) sentences in (18)-(21) are indeed right-dislocated: they are de-stressed and discourse-given, like all right-dislocated constituents[8]. Moreover, if the overt subject DP were to be part of the clause containing the antecedent, and were c-commanded by the object quantifiers, the binding failure would remain unexplained, while it follows if we take the subjects in these sentences to be right-dislocated: neither a direct object nor an indirect object quantifier phrase can bind into *pro*[9], which I assume to be in Spec, TP. This explains ungrammaticality in the first clause. Moreover, the (c) examples show ungrammaticality in what I assume to be the pre-ellipsis spell-out of the second clause of the structure. This is due to direct and indirect object quantifiers occurring in a lower position than the subject containing the pronoun, which they cannot c-command or bind into.

(18) [Context: Each student's tutor was planning to introduce that student to a professor, Gianni.]

[8] See Sun (2021: 84-87) for evidence that sentence-final unstressed subjects are right-dislocated rather than marginalised (i.e., undergoing in situ de-stressing).

[9] One may wonder whether this is due to a more general inability of *pro* to be construed as a paycheck pronoun. Oku (1998) drew a distinction between null subjects in Japanese and null subjects in Spanish based on the observation that the former may license both a strict and a sloppy reading, while the latter only allow strict readings (see also Saab 2020). In this respect, Italian may pattern with Spanish insofar as null subjects (presumably *pro*) do not allow sloppy readings. Consider, for example, a situation in which two individuals, Gianni and Maria, talk about their respective basketball coaches (two different individuals):

(i) a. Gianni$_i$ dice che il suo$_i$ allenatore è bravo.
Gianni says that thehis coach is good
'Gianni says that his coach is good.'

b. *Maria$_k$ dice che *pro*$_{[k]}$ è pessimo.
Maria says that is very.bad
Intended: 'Maria says that hers is very bad.'

Crucially, it is hard to get a reading of (ib) whereby Maria talks about her own coach. In other cases, however, a paycheck reading of the null subjects is acceptable:

(ii) [Ogni matricola]$_i$ vedrà il proprio$_i$ tutor lunedì perché martedì *pro*$_{[i]}$
every freshman see.FUT.3SG the his/her.own tutor Monday because Tuesday *pro*
sarà impegnato.
be.FUT.3SG busy
'Every freshman will see his or her tutor on Monday, because he/she (the tutor) will be busy on Tuesday.'

Although more evidence may be needed to support the claim, the Right Dislocation data concerning *pro* and dislocated subjects are accounted for in either case. If *pro* cannot receive a paycheck pronoun interpretation, the intended readings are ruled out straightforwardly. If such an interpretation would be possible in principle, then the bound reading may be unavailable for the same reason why an overt pronoun in subject position may not be bound by an object quantifier, as in the (b) sentences in (18)-(21). I take these to be a result of Weak Crossover (WCO) effects.

a. *Oggi, *pro*$_{[i]}$ gli ha presentato [ogni STUDENTE]$_i$, a Gianni.
today cl.DAT has introduced every student to Gianni
Intended: 'Today, he/she introduced to Gianni every student.'

b. *Oggi, *pro*$_{[i]}$ gli ha presentato [ogni STUDENTE]$_i$, a Gianni,
today cl.DAT has introduced every student to Gianni
il suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ tutor.
the his/his.own tutor
Intended: 'Today, every student was introduced by his/her tutor to Gianni.'

c. *Oggi, il suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ tutor gli ha presentato
today the his/his.own tutor cl.DAT has introduced
[ogni STUDENTE]$_i$, a Gianni.
every student to Gianni
Intended: 'Today, every student's tutor introduced that student to Gianni.'

(19) [Context: Each student's tutor was planning to introduce that student to the professors.]

a. **pro*$_{[i]}$ non gli ha ancora presentato [nessuno STUDENTE]$_i$,
NEG cl.DAT has yet introduced no student,
ai professori.
to-the professors
Intended: 'For each student, no tutor of that student has yet introduced him/her to the professors.'

b. **pro*$_{[i]}$ non gli ha ancora presentato [nessuno STUDENTE]$_i$,
NEG cl.DAT has yet introduced no student,
ai professori, il suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ tutor.
to-the professors the his/his.own tutor
Intended: 'No student's tutor has introduced that student to the professors yet.'

c. *Il suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ tutor non gli ha ancora presentato
the his/his.own tutor NEG cl.DAT has yet introduced
[nessuno STUDENTE]$_i$, ai professori.
no student to-the professors
Intended: 'No student's tutor has introduced that student to the professors yet.'

(20) [Context: Every student was supposed to meet with their tutor to receive some advice.]

a. *Oggi, *pro*$_{[i]}$ l' ha dato ad [ogni STUDENTE]$_i$,
today cl.ACC has given to every student
un consiglio.
an advice
Intended: 'Today, he/she gave some advice to every student.'

b. *Oggi, *pro*$_{[i]}$ l' ha dato ad [ogni STUDENTE]$_i$,
today cl.ACC has given to every student
un consiglio, il suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ tutor.
an advice the his/his.own tutor
Intended: 'Today, every student's tutor gave some advice to that student.'

c. *Oggi, il suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ tutor l' ha dato
today the his/his.own tutor cl.ACC has given
ad [ogni STUDENTE]$_i$, un consiglio.
to every student an advice
Intended: 'Today, every student's tutor gave some advice to that student.'

(21) [Context: Every student was supposed to meet with their tutor to receive some advice.]

a. *$pro_{[i]}$ non l' ha ancora dato a [nessuno STUDENTE]$_i$,
NEG cl.ACC has yet given to no student,
un consiglio.
an advice
Intended: 'He/she has not given advice yet to any student.'

b. *$pro_{[i]}$ non l' ha ancora dato a [nessuno STUDENTE]$_i$,
NEG cl.ACC has yet given to no student,
un consiglio, il suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ tutor.
an advice the his/his.own tutor
Intended: 'No student's tutor has given advice yet to that student.'

c. *Il suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ tutor non ha ancora dato un consiglio a
the his/his.own tutor NEG has yet given an advice to
[nessuno STUDENTE]$_i$.
no student
Intended: 'No student's tutor has given advice yet to that student.'

As I have mentioned, a biclausal analysis will also predict a Right Dislocation structure to be degraded or entirely ungrammatical if only one of the clauses that constitute it is ungrammatical. We will consider two subsets of cases. In the first one, the first clause is ungrammatical (insofar as a distributive interpretation is unavailable) while the second clause is grammatical, since the direct object there can bind the pronoun contained in an indirect object, as it c-commands the direct object. This is what is obtained when the binding relation in the first clause should be established between a direct object quantifier and a dative clitic. (22b) – which follows the pattern first noticed by Frascarelli (2004) – and (23b) exemplify this case with two types of quantifiers. The intended distributive reading – which, incidentally, is allowed in the elided clause – is ruled out in these sentences, regardless of the presence of the dislocated indirect object that co-refers with the dative clitic *gli*, as shown in the (a) sentences. On the other hand, the (c) sentences show the underlying structure of the elided clause of which the dislocated element is a remnant; in these sentences, a distributive reading is available. The pattern in (22)-(23) is problematic, as we will see, for certain

monoclausal analyses - for example, for those that assume reconstruction of the dative PP to a position from which it is c-commanded by the direct object quantifier phrase. In the biclausal analysis proposed here, instead, the data are accounted for given the assumptions we have outlined in the previous section.

(22) [Context: The department has assigned a tutor to each student.]

a. *Oggi, gli$_{[i]}$ ho presentato [ogni STUDENTE]$_i$.
today cl.DAT have.1SG introduced every student
Intended: 'Today, I introduced every student to his/her tutor.'

b. *Oggi, gli$_{[i]}$ ho presentato [ogni STUDENTE]$_i$,
today cl.DAT have.1SG introduced every student
al suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ tutor.
to.the his/his.own tutor
Intended: 'Today, I introduced every student to his/her tutor.'

c. Oggi, ho presentato [ogni studente]$_i$
today have.1SG introduced every student
al suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ TUTOR.
to-the his/his.own tutor
'Today, I introduced every student to their tutor.'

(23) [Context: The department has assigned a tutor to each student.]

a. *Non gli$_{[i]}$ ho ancora presentato [nessuno STUDENTE]$_i$.
NEG cl.DAT have.1SG yet introduced no student
Intended: 'I haven't introduced any student to their tutor yet.'

b. *Non gli$_{[i]}$ ho ancora presentato [nessuno STUDENTE]$_i$,
NEG cl.DAT have.1SG yet introduced no student
al suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ tutor.
to.the his/his.own tutor
Intended: 'I haven't introduced any student to their tutor yet.'

c. Non ho ancora presentato [nessuno studente]$_i$
NEG have.1SG yet introduced no student
al suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ TUTOR.
to.the his/his.own tutor
'I haven't introduced any student to their tutor yet.'

Interestingly, the same results that are obtained when the quantifier is a direct object and the pronoun is contained in a right-dislocated indirect object are also obtained when the pronoun is within a right-dislocated adjunct, preceded by the clitic *ci*. This is another case of first clause ungrammaticality. The contrast between the (a)-(b) examples on the one hand and the (c) examples in (24)-(25) on the other hand show that a direct object cannot either bind into a right-dislocated *with*-PP or into the clitic *ci* (with the latter being in the first clause of a biclausal structure). Instead, the (c) examples show that binding is possible if no clitic is present and if the adjunct is in its base position. This can be interpreted as another case in which ungrammaticality of the first clause determines ungrammaticality of the whole Right Dislocation structure.

(24) [Context: Several authors have each sent me one of their articles.]

a. *Questa settimana ci$_{[i]}$ ho discusso [ogni ARTICOLO]$_i$.
this week cl.ADJ have.1SG discussed every article
Intended: 'This week, I discussed every article with its author.'

b. *Questa settimana ci$_{[i]}$ ho discusso [ogni ARTICOLO]$_i$,
this week cl.ADJ have.1SG discussed every article
col suo$_i$ autore.
with-the its author
Intended: ‘This week, I discussed every article with its author.’

c. Questa settimana ho discusso [ogni articolo]$_i$
this week have.1SG discussed every article
col suo$_i$ AUTORE.
with-the its author
‘This week, I discussed every article with its author.’

(25) [Context: Several authors have each sent me one of their articles.]

a. *Non ci$_{[i]}$ ho ancora discusso [nessun ARTICOLO]$_i$.
NEG cl.ADJ have.1SG yet discussed no article
Intended: ‘I haven’t discussed any article with its author yet.’

b. *Non ci$_{[i]}$ ho ancora discusso [nessun ARTICOLO]$_i$,
NEG cl.ADJ have.1SG yet discussed no article
col suo$_i$ autore.
with-the its author
Intended: ‘I haven’t discussed any article with its author yet.’

c. Non ho ancora discusso [nessun articolo]$_i$
NEG have.1SG yet discussed no article
col suo$_i$ AUTORE.
with-the its author
‘I haven’t discussed any article with its author yet.’

We now move to the second subset of cases in which ungrammaticality is expected, namely, those in which the first clause is grammatical but the second one is not. These are the cases in which, as we might expect, presence of the right-dislocated

constituent makes a difference in terms of grammaticality of the whole structure. There, is, however, variation among speakers: some of the informants that were consulted for judgments on these sentences have marked the sentence with the right-dislocated element as less acceptable than the counterpart without the right-dislocated element. Since the order of objects in Italian is variable (though <DO IO> is the unmarked one – see Samek-Lodovici 2015), speakers may construct an elided clause with a ditransitive structure in two ways: one with the DO structurally higher than the IO, and the other with the opposite order. On the assumption that in Right Dislocation, binding is possible only if the binder c-commands the bound element in both clauses, we may infer that speakers for whom presence of a right-dislocated element is compatible with the paycheck reading of the clitic possible are those who can access a structure in which the IO quantifier phrase c-commands the DO containing the pronoun in the elided clause. The elided clause would have the structure in (26c) and (27c). In the antecedent clause, the accusative clitic must be able to be interpreted in a position that is within the scope of the IO. As for speakers who find that presence of a right-dislocated element makes a bound reading harder, one may instead assume that the structure these speakers access in the elided clause is one in which the IO cannot bind into the DO, as in (26b) and (27b). That such variation may arise is not surprising. Folli & Harley (2006) claim, based on binding facts, that Goal *a*-phrases may be higher or lower than Themes in Italian. Thus, the data below can be accounted for if we assume that speakers need to assign a structure to the ellipsis site, and that variation in the structures available determines whether binding in the elided clause is possible. This, in turn, affects the acceptability of the whole sentence.

(26) [Context: The department has assigned a tutor to each student.]

a. Oggi l$_{[i]}$' ho presentato ad [ogni STUDENTE]$_i$,
today cl.ACC have.1SG introduced to every student
il %suo$_i$/%proprio$_i$ tutor.
the his/his.own tutor
'Today, I introduced to every student their tutor.'

b. Ho presentato il ?suo$_i$/??proprio$_i$ tutor
have.1SG introduced the his/his.own tutor
ad [ogni STUDENTE]$_i$.
to every student

c. Ho presentato ad [ogni studente]$_i$ il suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ TUTOR.
have.1SG introduced to every student the his/his.own tutor

(27) [Context: The department has assigned a tutor to each student.]

a. Non l$_{[i]}$' ho ancora presentato a [nessuno STUDENTE]$_i$,
NEG cl.ACC have.1SG yet introduced to no student
il %suo$_i$/%proprio$_i$ tutor.
the his/his.own tutor
'I haven't introduced them to any student yet (their tutor).'

b. Non ho ancora presentato il ?suo$_i$/??proprio$_i$ tutor
NEG have.1SG yet introduced the his/his.own tutor
a [nessuno STUDENTE]$_i$.
to no student

c. Non ho ancora presentato a [nessuno studente]$_i$
NEG have.1SG yet introduced to no student
il suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ TUTOR.
the his/his.own tutor

I am assuming, in these examples, that in the spelled-out counterparts of the elided clauses, linear precedence reflects c-command relations. Relevant evidence comes from Pescarini (2014: 55-59), who notices that linear precedence may favour c-command for binding purposes. He provides data from Principle A effects, whereby an anaphoric DO is more easily bound by an IO that precedes it (29a) rather than following it (29b).

(29) a. Ho mostrato [$_{IO}$ a Giulia$_i$] [$_{DO}$ se stessa$_i$].
have.1SG shown to Giulia herself
'I showed herself to Giulia.'

b. ?Ho mostrato [$_{DO}$ se stessa$_i$] [$_{IO}$a Giulia$_i$].
have.1SG shown herself to Giulia
Intended: 'I showed herself to Giulia.'

The variation observed among speakers' judgments, then, may depend on the order that each speaker can access in the second clause. If a speaker can only access the <DO IO> order, as in the (b) sentences in (26)-(27), a right-dislocated DO will be the remnant of a structure in which it is not c-commanded by the IO quantifier. As a consequence, these speakers will find that presence of the right-dislocated element in the (a) sentences makes them less acceptable. On the other hand, for speakers who can access the <IO DO> order, presence of the right-dislocated constituent may, in fact, improve the judgment, as it disambiguates the referent of the accusative clitic and has an underlying structure in which the IO quantifier binds into the DO.

To sum up, the data introduced in this section have been shown to be accounted by a biclausal analysis in which right-dislocated elements are part of a separate clause. Given a semantic equivalence condition that must hold between the two clauses, a marginal or ungrammatical configuration will result if at least one of the clauses that form the structure is marginal or ungrammatical.

2.4.1 Scope freezing as a possible account of first clause ungrammaticality

The examples in (22)-(25) are interesting insofar as they show that binding by a quantified DO into an IO is possible when the IO is in its base position, arguably a position from which it is c-commanded by the DO, but it is not possible when the IO is right-dislocated. The same has been shown for adjuncts accompanied by the clitic *ci*. While a biclausal analysis can account for these data, the question remains of why ungrammaticality obtains in the first clause of the biclausal structure.

A possible explanation comes from scope freezing (Barss & Lasnik 1986, Larson 1988, Bruening 2001), a phenomenon that has been attested in a variety of

constructions in English. Following Castiglione et al. (2024), I claim that in Italian, an indirect object realised as a clitic in a ditransitive structure is outside the scope of the direct object. If the dative clitic is interpreted as an expression containing a variable, the direct object is unable to bind that variable. Thus, the ungrammatical sentences in (22)-(23) might be analysed as instances of a Double Object Construction (DOC). Their behaviour is similar to that of the (b) sentences in (30)-(32), in which only surface scope is possible, while reverse scope is not permitted.

(30) a. Mary gave every toy to a child.

b. *Mary gave a child every toy. ∀ > ∃

c. Mary gave a toy to every child.

d. Mary gave every child a toy.

(31) a. I loaded every crate onto a truck.

b. *I loaded a truck with every crate. ∀ > ∃

c. I loaded a crate onto every truck.

d. I loaded every truck with a crate.

(32) a. Maud draped every sheet over an armchair.

b. *Maud draped an armchair with every sheet. ∀ > ∃

c. Maud draped a sheet over every armchair.

d. Maud draped every armchair with a sheet.

To further test the hypothesis that dative clitics in Italian are in a scope freezing configuration with the Theme, we may look at other domains. Preliminary data involving scope interactions between quantifiers seem to confirm the validity of the analysis proposed here. Consider cases involving a right-dislocated IO and a DO quantifier phrase as opposed to those in which the IO is not right-dislocated. In the first case, the DO quantifier is unable to take scope over the IO quantifier. This is illustrated by (33a), where the reverse scope reading is ruled out. On the other hand, as (33b) shows, both scope relations are possible when the dative is only realised as a PP. The data are consistent with the biclausal analysis of Right Dislocation defended here: while both scope relations may be possible in the elided clause, only one is possible in the antecedent clause.

(33) [Context: Students and professors would like to meet each other.]

a. *Oggi gli ho presentato ogni STUDENTE,
today cl.DAT have.1SG introduced every student
a un professore. *∀ > ∃; ∃ > ∀
to a professor
Intended: 'Today, I introduced every student to a (possibly different) professor.'

b. Ho presentato ogni studente a un PROFESSORE. ∀ > ∃; ∃ > ∀
have.1SG introduced every student to a professor
'I introduced every student to a professor.'

A similar effect arises with right-dislocated PPs preceded by the clitic *ci*:

(34) [Context: Several authors wanted to discuss their books with me.]

a. *Oggi ci ho discusso ogni LIBRO,
today cl.ADJ have.1SG discussed every book
con uno scrittore. *∀ > ∃; ∃ > ∀
with a writer
Intended: 'I discussed every book with a (possibly different) writer.'

b. Oggi ho discusso ogni libro con uno SCRITTORE. ∀ > ∃; ∃ > ∀
today have.1SG discussed every book with a writer
'Today, I discussed every book with a writer.'

The behaviour of right-dislocated quantifiers may be explained in terms of semantic equivalence. Remember that for a Right-Dislocation configuration to be grammatical, it is necessary for it to comply with a semantic equivalence condition. For the purposes of the present discussion, I will state the condition in a simple form, following Fernández-Sánchez (2017: 76):

(35) *Semantic equivalence condition on ellipsis*
$[\![CP_A]\!] \leftrightarrow [\![CP_E]\!]$

Where CP_A is the antecedent clause and CP_E is the elided clause. Thus, the two clauses must entail each other. In the cases introduced above, the elided clause has two readings, while the antecedent clause only has one. For example, (33a) can only be true in a situation S_1 in which the speaker introduced every student to a single professor, but not in a situation S_2 in which each student was introduced to a different professor. On the other hand, (33b) is compatible with both S_1 and S_2. Thus, CP_E does not entail CP_A, and the semantic equivalence condition is violated. Notice that (33a) and (34a) are nevertheless acceptable with a wide scope reading of the existential quantifier. This may be due to the fact that two scope readings may correspond to two different syntactic structures[10]. One structure, with the same quantifier scope relations as the antecedent clause, is in mutual entailment with it, while the other is not. If

[10] Thanks to Vieri Samek-Lodovici for this observation.

speakers could access only one structure, there would be variation in the acceptability of sentences like (33a) and (34a). Speakers who only access the structure in mutual entailment with the antecedent clause can accept the configuration provided that the right-dislocated existential quantifier takes wide scope. On the other hand, speakers who only access the structure that does not entail the antecedent clause will always find the whole configuration unacceptable. Experimental evidence might be needed to confirm this hypothesis, which goes beyond the scope of the discussion. Nonetheless, it is worth noticing that if all speakers accept sentences like (33a) and (34a), with wide scope of the existential, it may be a clue to the fact that they have access to both structures for the elided clause and assign to it the structure that is in mutual entailment with the antecedent clause.

Going back to the relation between dative and adjunct clitics and scope freezing, it is worth noticing that cliticisation of an IO or of a *with*-PP shows similarities with dative shift, insofar as both phenomena involve loss of the preposition (*a* or *con* in Italian) followed by reordering, with clitics moving to a higher position. This is even more evident when both the indirect object PP and the direct object DP are expressed as clitics, since the Italian *glie-lo* cluster shows a fixed <IO DO> order. If the movement operation that leads to cliticization can be compared with the operation leading to dative shift, then the effect noticed in (22)-(25) may be due to the same operations that lead to scope freezing in (30)-(32) (see Matushansky 2006, Roberts 2005, 2010 and Nevins 2011 for a discussion of cliticisation). The idea that Romance languages display Double Object Constructions is not new (see Holmberg et al. 2019, Pescarini 2014, Pineda 2020). Pineda (2020) discusses such constructions in a variety of Romance languages, arguing that dative clitic doubling is not a necessary condition for DOCs. This is not in contrast with what we have observed and is compatible with the fact that Standard Italian lacks dative clitic doubling altogether. The claim I make here is more generic insofar as it regards not only dative clitics but also the adjunct clitic *ci*: in a subset of cases, namely, when a dative (or an adjunct) is realised as a clitic, the resulting configuration shares scope freezing properties with Double Object Constructions and other types of configurations. While I leave open the question of what the exact structure of these configurations is, it is worth noticing that the scope freezing properties of clitics discussed here may be compatible with recent analyses of clitics as heads that are merged in the functional spine of the clause (Manzini 2022),

which may explain the asymmetries between the variable order of phrases as opposed to the fixed order of clitics.

2.4.2 Interim conclusion

Up to this point, I have shown that when a right-dislocated element contains a variable, two binding relations take place: one in the antecedent clause, and one in the elided clause. If at least one of the two binding relations fail, then the whole configuration will result marginal if not entirely ungrammatical. The following table summarises the patterns observed[11]:

(36) Variable binding patterns in Italian Right Dislocation

QP \ RD	Subject	DO	IO
Subject	-	✓	✓
DO	*	-	*
IO	*	%	-

We have seen how biclausal analyses of Right Dislocation can correctly capture binding patterns once some independently motivated assumptions are taken into account regarding semantic equivalence of the clauses, paycheck pronouns, and scope freezing effects. In this section, I will show that existing monoclausal analyses of Right Dislocation cannot adequately account for the data introduced in the previous section.

2.5 Variable binding in monoclausal analyses: some problems

The table in (35) divides monoclausal analyses into those that take the right-dislocated element to be base-generated in its surface position, and those according to which it undergoes A'-movement. For each of these two classes of monoclausal analyses, a

[11] To simplify, I have chosen to omit cases in which DOs fail to bind into PPs and adjunct clitics, a behaviour which can be assimilated to the inability of DOs to bind into IOs.

further division is made into three subclasses, depending on whether right-dislocated elements are right-attached, in a TP-internal position, or in a TP-external one.

(37) Monoclausal analyses of Right Dislocation

Operation involved / RD position	Base-generation	A'-movement
Right-attached	a. Cardinaletti 2002, De Cat 2007	b. Vallduví 1992
TP-internal	c. Kayne 1994	d. Cecchetto 1999, Villalba 2000 Belletti 2004, Bocci 2013
TP-external	e. Frascarelli 2004, Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007, Giorgi 2015	f. Kayne 1995, Samek-Lodovici 2015

These analyses, as we will see, make different predictions as far as binding is concerned. Unlike biclausal analyses, in these cases only one binding relation must be established. We can assume a general condition based on Castiglione et al. (2024): in order for a quantifier to bind a pronoun contained in a right-dislocated constituent, the quantifier must c-command the dislocated constituent, and the latter must, in turn, bind its pronominal antecedent, which can be interpreted as a variable. Let us consider (38) as an example.

(38) L' ha incontrato [ogni STUDENTE]$_i$, il suo$_i$ tutor.
cl.ACC has met every student the his/her tutor
'Every student has met their tutor.'

This sentence is true if and only if for every student x, there is an individual y, y being x's tutor, such that x met y. The variable y is introduced by the accusative clitic in (38) and must be bound by the existential quantifier introduced by the right-dislocated direct

object. The subject universal quantifier, in turn, must be able to take scope over the dislocated existential quantifier. Notice that in monoclausal analyses, there is no need to adopt the notation used for paycheck pronouns, since the relevant quantifier directly binds the pronoun contained in the dislocated element. The sentences in (16b)-(17b) follow the same pattern. Monoclausal analyses can account for the ungrammaticality of sentences like (22b) if the structure they produce is one in which either the variable cannot be bound by the existential quantifier, or the universal quantifier cannot take scope over the existential (or neither condition applies).

2.5.1 Right-attachment and TP-external base-generation theories

Broadly speaking, the analyses in which a post-verbal subject cannot c-command and take scope over the right-dislocated element fail to explain why binding is possible in (38) as well as in (16b)-(17b). These are the base-generation analyses in (37a), where right-attachment of the dislocated constituent is assumed, and those in (37e), which argue for left-attachment of the dislocated element above TP, plus TP-inversion to yield the surface position of the dislocated constituent. (39a) and (40a) are schematised representations of these two approaches; (39b) and (40b) show, as examples, the structure that would be assigned to (38) under each of the two analyses.

(39) a. $[_{CP}\ [_{TP}\ \ldots\ \alpha_i\ \ldots\ QP\ \ldots]]\ \delta_i\ ]$

b. $[_{CP}\ [_{TP}$ Lo$_i$ ha incontrato [ogni STUDENTE]$_j$]] [il suo$_j$ tutor]$_{RD,i}$]

(40) a. $[_{CP}\ [_{TP}\ \ldots\ \alpha_i\ \ldots\ QP\ \ldots\ ]\ [_{C'}\ \delta_i\ t_{TP}]]$

b. $[_{CP}\ [_{TP}$ Lo$_i$ ha incontrato [ogni STUDENTE]$_j$]] $[_{C'}$ [il suo$_j$ tutor]$_i$ t_{TP}]]

What these analyses have in common is that no trace of the right-dislocated element is present in the clause, so the subject quantifier cannot take scope over the existential quantifier introduced by the dislocated element (short of further stipulations). Incidentally, these analyses may explain, based on the same mechanisms, why in (22)-(25) binding of a direct object quantifier into a dislocated indirect object fails, since

the IO is structurally higher than the DO and does not have a trace clause-internally. However, they prove unable to account for the whole set of data.

2.5.2 TP-external movement theories

Interestingly, another subclass of analyses that makes the same predictions as (37a) and (37e) is (37f), that is, those analyses in which the right-dislocated element is generated within TP but undergoes leftward A'-movement outside TP; subsequently, TP is subject to remnant movement to a higher position. Although A'-dependencies generally show reconstruction effects, remnant movement configurations are subject to a principle first formulated by Barss' (1986) and labelled 'Barss' Generalisation' by Sauerland & Elbourne (2002), whereby an element cannot reconstruct to a trace that has undergone movement to a position higher than the element itself[12]. I adopt here a formulation by Heck & Assman (2014):

(41) *Barss' Generalisation*
Reconstruction of α is blocked when α does not c-command its trace at surface level.

The effects of Barss' Generalisation are evident, for example, when A'-movement applies to a constituent containing the trace of an element that had previously undergone A-movement (see Neeleman & Payne, 2020 for an overview). In these cases, reconstruction for scope is blocked:

(42) [How likely t_1 to dance with every senator]$_2$
does [some young lady]$_1$ [seem [t_1 to be t_2]]? ∃ > ∀; *∀ > ∃
(Neeleman & Payne 2020: 7)

In (42), the existential quantifier has undergone A-movement (raising), followed by A'-movement of the wh-phrase containing a trace of the A-moved quantifier. Crucially, the existential *some young lady* can only be interpreted outside the scope of the universal *every senator*. If Right Dislocation involves a remnant movement

[12] Many thanks to Ad Neeleman for pointing this out to me.

configuration, then Barss' Generalisation blocks a right-dislocated element from reconstructing into the TP containing its trace for scope and binding purposes. This makes the approaches proposed by Kayne (1995) and Samek-Lodovici (2015) essentially equivalent, in their predictions, to their base-generation counterparts in (37e): the dislocated element does not reconstruct to a position from which a QP can bind into it, hence the cases in which binding is possible are unaccounted for.

2.5.3 TP-internal base-generation theories

We now move on to analyses in which the right-dislocated element remains in a TP-internal position. Kayne (1994) takes Right Dislocation to be structurally equivalent to clitic-doubling configurations. In both cases, the clitic-doubled phrase is in its base-generation position. Differences arise in the prosodic and interpretive properties of the two constructions, but right-dislocated elements remain in the position in which they were base-generated, moving only at LF. The claim might be at odds with the fact that in a language like Italian, clitic doubling is much less frequent than dislocation constructions (only clitic doubling of datives is allowed, and only in colloquial varieties). More importantly, for the purposes of our discussion, Kayne's analysis predicts that there should be, for example, no interpretive differences between (22b) and (22c), repeated in (43) below without the paycheck pronoun notation.

(43) a. *Oggi gli ho presentato [ogni STUDENTE]$_i$,
today cl.DAT have.1SG introduced every student
al suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ tutor.
to.the his/his.own tutor

b. Oggi ho presentato [ogni studente]$_i$
today have.1SG introduced every student
al suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ TUTOR.
to-the his/his.own tutor
'Today, I introduced every student to their tutor.'

If, following Kayne's approach, the IO is in its merge position in both sentences, then the difference in acceptability remains unexplained. Furthermore, in colloquial varieties of Italian that allow dative clitic doubling, a pronoun contained in a doubled PP can be bound by a DO quantifier, showing that there must be structural differences between elements in their merge position and in Right Dislocation constructions:

(44) Oggi gli ho presentato [ogni studente]$_i$
today cl.DAT have.1SG introduced every student
al suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ TUTOR.
to.the his/his.own tutor
'Today, I introduced every student to their tutor.'

Notice that dative clitic doubling differs from Right Dislocation in terms of prosody, since no comma intonation is present, and stress may fall on the dative PP. Under Kayne's approach, no interpretive difference is predicted to arise between (43a) and (44). If, on the other hand, the right-dislocated element is interpreted in the position that it targets at LF, then the ungrammaticality of (43a) is accounted for, but not the acceptability of subjects binding into objects, since the same mechanism would cause objects to end up in a position higher than that of subjects.

2.5.4 TP-internal movement theories

Let us now consider the theories in (37d). Although they may differ in some of the details, these theories share the view that right-dislocated elements remain in a TP-internal position. For example, Cecchetto (1999) assumes, as far as Right Dislocation of DPs is concerned, that the clitic and the doubled DP are part of a "Big DP" configuration (cf. Torrego 1992, Uriagereka 1995), whose head is the clitic, which takes the double as its specifier. The Big DP is merged in its argument position within VP. After moving to a functional projection out of VP (AgrOP) for independent reasons, the doubled DP moves to the Specifier of a Topic projection located in the VP periphery, while the clitic undergoes head movement. Moreover, other constituents may move out of VP to target a low Focus projection, located in the VP periphery but crucially higher than the low Topic projection targeted by right-dislocated constituents.

Cecchetto leaves open the possibility of a fundamental difference between right-dislocated DPs and PPs: while DPs are argued to reach the low Topic projection via movement, PPs may be base-generated in that position.

Given these premises, does a "low-Topic" theory of Right Dislocation correctly capture the patterns observed? The inability of DO quantifiers to bind pronouns contained in IOs may be explained in terms of Weak Crossover (WCO) effects[13]. Whether the dative PP is base-generated in or moves to, the VP-peripheral Topic projection, if another constituent moves across it then WCO effects are expected to arise. However, we expect them to arise regardless of the constituents involved. This is not what we observe. As the data in the previous section have shown, there is a sharp contrast between cases in which the quantifier is a (preverbal or postverbal) subject, and cases in which the quantifier is a direct or indirect object. Omitting non-relevant details, (45) is a representation of (43a), with the DO leaving a trace within VP and crossing the right-dislocated IO (which I assume here to be base-generated).

(45) [$_{TP}$ … cl V … [$_{FocP}$ [$_{DO}$ ogni STUDENTE]$_i$ [$_{FOC'}$ Foc°
[$_{TopP}$ [$_{IO}$ al suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ tutor] [$_{Top'}$ Top° [$_{VP}$ … t_V t_{DO} …]]]

Even considering what we have assumed about the conditions for a bound reading in monoclausal analyses, this type of theory runs into a contradiction: if (43a) is ungrammatical because of WCO effects, it is predicted that even acceptable sentences such as (38) should be ruled out, as they would have a structure, represented in (46), similar to that of (43a), and WCO effects should arise in those sentences too.

(46) [$_{TP}$ … cl V … [$_{FocP}$ [$_{S}$ ogni STUDENTE]$_i$ [$_{FOC'}$ Foc°

[13] Bocci (2013: 44-46) adopts Belletti's (2004) syntactic account and mentions WCO as an explanation for the marginality of a distributive reading in sentences with an indirect object quantifier and a right-dislocated direct object containing a variable (data adapted from Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007):

(i) ?Maria lo ha presentato [ad ogni ospite]$_i$, il suo$_i$ vicino
Maria cl.ACC has introduced to every guest the his/her neighbour
di tavolo.
of table
'Maria introduced to every guest his/her tablemate.'

The IO undergoes focus movement across the variable-containing right-dislocated DO; it is this operation that gives rise to WCO effects.

$[_{TopP}\ [_{DO}$ il suo$_i$ tutor$]\ [_{Top'}$ Top° $[_{VP}$ … t_S t_V t_{DO} …$]]]$

In sum, low-Topic analyses, given the assumptions about movement to VP-peripheral positions and WCO effects, ultimately fail to account for the different behaviour of subjects and objects as far as binding is concerned.

2.5.5 Rightward movement theories

Finally, let us consider how rightward movement analyses such as Vallduví's (1992) would account for the Italian data presented (the author's analysis was proposed for Catalan). In this type of theory, Right Dislocation is the mirror image of Clitic Left Dislocation. On the assumption that left-dislocated elements are adjoined to TP (IP in the author's labels) via leftward movement (47a), right-dislocated elements reach the same position via rightward movement (47b)[14].

(47) a. $[_{TP}\ XP_i\ [_{TP}$ … cl$_i$ … $t_{XP}]]$

b. $[_{TP}\ [_{TP}$ … cl$_i$ … $t_{XP}]\ XP_i]$

(48) *$[_{TP}\ [_{TP}$ Oggi gli ho presentato [ogni STUDENTE]$_i$ $t_{RD}]$, [al suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ tutor$]_{RD}]$.

Forming an A'-dependency, dislocates should be subject to reconstruction. This may explain why, in our data, subjects can always bind into a right-dislocated object. The crucial data is represented, again, by sentences like (43a), in which the DO cannot bind into the IO. The structure that would be assigned to (43a) in the rightward movement analysis is provided in (48).

Vallduví's theory predicts that sentences with this pattern are ungrammatical if it assumes that presence of the clitic presupposes a scope freezing configuration, in which the Theme does not c-command the Goal. Lack of c-command implies that the

[14] It is, in fact, a matter of debate whether Clitic Left Dislocation is a movement dependency in the first place, since it does not display certain properties that moved constituents generally display, as shown by Samek-Lodovici (2015: 131). The issue is, however, beyond the scope of the present discussion, for which it is sufficient to assume that both Clitic Left Dislocation and Right Dislocation are movement-based.

universal quantifier expressed by the DO cannot take scope over the existential introduced by the dislocated element. This point, however, may be difficult to prove empirically, especially if we consider varieties of Italian that allow dative clitic doubling. As shown in (44), repeated as (49), binding by a DO quantifier into a clitic-doubled dative is possible, and should be taken as evidence that in this configuration the Goal is indeed c-commanded by the Theme[15].

(49) Oggi gli ho presentato [ogni studente]$_i$
today cl.DAT have.1SG introduced every student
al suo$_i$/proprio$_i$ TUTOR.
to.the his/his.own tutor
'Today, I introduced every student to their tutor.'

A solution would be to not consider clitic doubling and dislocation configurations as being structurally related, and to not assume that dislocated elements move out of a clitic doubling structure. As a first alternative, the dative clitic may be treated as a functional head co-indexed with a PP that is base-generated outside TP[16]. Base-generation analyses, however, run into problems when dealing with subjects' ability to bind into right-dislocated elements, as we have already seen. Incidentally, they also run the risk of overgenerating insofar as they allow right-dislocated elements to violate the so-called Right Roof Constraint (Ross 1967; cf. Cecchetto 1999, De Cat 2007, Samek-Lodovici 2015) if no other principle blocks the element from being attached to a CP higher than the one containing the clitic. As a second alternative, the right-dislocated element may move out of TP; the clitic, in turn, may be the spell-out of a TP-internal copy of the dislocated PP. The question arises, at this point, of whether the PP was merged in a position c-commanded by the Theme or not. Assuming that it

[15] Ledgeway et al. (2020: 332) report data from a dialect spoken in Africo (Calabria) where a dative, optionally appearing doubled by a clitic, can be bound into by a Theme (data adapted from their (16a)).

(i) A sarta (nci) mandau ogni vesta â so patruna.
thedressmaker (cl.DAT) sent every dress to.the its owner
'The dressmaker sent every dress to its owner.'

If Standard Italian behaves similarly, as the preliminary data presented show, then we can conclude that dative clitic doubling does not necessarily imply a structure with asymmetric c-command of the Goal into the Theme.

[16] Cecchetto & Chierchia (1999), for example, proposed a mixed analysis of Clitic Left Dislocation in which DPs are merged clause-internally before moving, while PPs are merged outside the clause.

was merged within the c-commanding domain of the Theme fails to explain the data, and the dative PP would reconstruct to its merge position. If, on the other hand, it was merged outside of that domain, then one would conclude that dative PPs can be c-commanded by Themes at LF if they do not undergo dislocation, but not if they are dislocated. Although this is not a logically impossible explanation, and although it has been shown that Goals in Italian can be generated either above or below the Theme (Folli & Harley 2006), claiming that only Goals generated above the Theme can be right-dislocated seems like an ad hoc solution, making the theory less elegant, from a conceptual point of view, than the biclausal analysis defended in this chapter[17].

2.6 Conclusion

In the existing literature on Right Dislocation, only a limited set of data on binding has been considered when attempting to produce evidence in favour of one or another theory. By presenting a larger set of data, I have shown that a biclausal analysis of Right Dislocation can correctly account for all the patterns observed. Crucially, this type of analysis requires that clitics be interpreted as expressions containing variables, so that two binding relations can be established. It also requires semantic equivalence of the two clauses that make up the structure, so that grammaticality of the whole sentence is a function of grammaticality of the two clauses. As a result, some of the ungrammatical cases can be explained in terms of scope freezing, which makes certain interpretations unavailable in the first clause even if they are available in second clause, causing a semantic mismatch. I have also shown that none of the existing monoclausal analyses of Right Dislocation can capture all the data presented. Such approaches should therefore be abandoned in favour of the biclausal alternative.

Adopting the idea that Right Dislocation is biclausal has some implications for how clause structure should be conceived. Many monoclausal analyses propose that right-dislocated elements, being interpreted as topics (see, for example, Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007 for a typology of topics), occupy dedicated positions that encode the

[17] There is a third option: a Goal that ends up being right-dislocated may be merged below the Theme. It may then undergo A-movement (an operation that is not subject to reconstruction) to a position above the Theme, and A'-movement to its final landing site. It would be necessary, however, to explain why this A-movement operation must take place in order for the Goal to be right-dislocated. In other words, this option suffers from the same ad hoc character as the one sketched previously.

information-structural notion of topic. Thus, in TP-external analyses such as Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007), right-dislocated elements occupy a left-peripheral position that hosts discourse-given topics. Other analyses (e.g. Cecchetto 1999) propose that they occupy a topic projection in the VP periphery. Crucially, biclausal analyses do not need to postulate the existence of a dedicated projection for right-dislocated elements. An immediate consequence of this approach is that it can eliminate such projection from the clausal spine. If it can be proven that Clitic Left Dislocation, too, can be analysed as a biclausal phenomenon, then topic projections can be dispensed with altogether[18]. This does not necessarily imply that no discourse-related notion is encoded syntactically. In Rizzi's (1997) template of the Left Periphery, and in Belletti's (2004) work on the low IP area (as well as much related work in Cartography), focused constituents occupy dedicated positions too. The theory defended here does not take any particular stance with respect to other information-structural notions and their syntactic realisation; it only shows that it is unnecessary to postulate a dedicated topic position for right-dislocated elements, since, as we have seen, the analyses that do this are unable to account for the binding data presented.

Up to this point, I have shown evidence for biclausal analyses understood in a very broad sense, upholding any discussion about the details of the analysis I propose. In the next chapter, I will make more specific claims on the structure of the elided clause, with some broader implications for our understanding of ellipsis phenomena.

[18] See Fernández-Sánchez (2017), Ott (2017), Fernández-Sánchez & Ott (2020) for a discussion of biclausal analyses of left-dislocated elements. The analysis may also be extended to Hanging Topics, which have different properties than clitic-left-dislocated topics.

Chapter 3

Movement and Deletion in Right Dislocation

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has provided evidence for a biclausal analysis of Right Dislocation in Italian on the basis of binding data. It has also shown that competing monoclausal analyses cannot adequately explain the patterns observed. In the biclausal framework, it is assumed that what ends up being a right-dislocated element is the remnant of ellipsis in a clause that is semantically equivalent to the clause containing the pronominal antecedent (the "antecedent clause"). An open question, however, remains about how the right-dislocated constituent avoids being contained in the ellipsis site.

In this chapter, I will discuss two competing approaches. One approach (de Vries 2013, Ott & de Vries 2012, 2016, Sun 2021), based largely on work by Merchant (2004) on fragments, claims that the dislocated element vacates the ellipsis site via A'-movement. I call this the movement-and-deletion analysis, or MADA for short[1]. Merchant proposed that a head in the left periphery of the clause is endowed with a [E] feature, which triggers movement of focus-marked material to its specifier and instructs the PF interface not to pronounce its complement. In movement-and-deletion analyses, it is predicted that the right-dislocated element reconstructs at LF for binding purposes. This is why, in the previous chapter, I have considered the base-generation position of right-dislocated elements as the relevant one when discussing binding in the elided clause. At the same time, the A'-movement approach predicts that right-dislocated constituents should be sensitive to strong islands since they undergo leftward movement. This prediction is broadly supported in the existing literature, as will be discussed in the following paragraph. The resulting (simplified) structure of

[1] In the existing literature on fragments, this sort of approach is sometimes referred to as "move-and-delete approach" (M&D; cf. Griffiths 2019). Despite the different labels, the underlying tenet is essentially the same. I will use the label MADA (borrowed from Fernández-Sánchez 2017) throughout.

Right Dislocation in main clauses is the following, with α indicating the pronominal antecedent and δ the dislocated element:

(1) $[_{CP} \ldots \alpha_i \ldots] [_{CP} \delta_i \ldots \sout{t_\delta} \ldots]$

According to a second approach (Fernández-Sánchez 2017, 2020, Ott 2017, Alzayid 2020, 2022), movement out of the ellipsis site is not necessary, because ellipsis takes place, as it were, around the remnant:

(2) $[_{CP} \ldots \alpha_i \ldots] [_{CP} \sout{\ldots} \delta_i \sout{\ldots}]$

I will refer to this as the in-situ approach, which assumes ellipsis of non-constituents or deletion of multiple smaller constituents to allow only right-dislocated constituents to be pronounced. Properties such as island sensitivity are accounted for, in this class of analyses, by means other than A'-movement. Choosing between one or the other view is, I believe, a non-trivial issue, as it bears some wider implications for our understanding of ellipsis phenomena. In this chapter, I argue that right-dislocated elements undergo A'-movement to a position in the Complementiser domain of the clause before ellipsis. One consequence is that if Right Dislocation is to be understood as a fragment (possibly a fragment answer to an implicit question, as in Ott 2017), then we must accept that at least some fragments are derived via movement, despite recent approaches having argued otherwise (Griffiths 2019). To support my argument, I bring in evidence from island sensitivity, negative concord, Principle C effects, and the lack of preposition stranding in Right Dislocation. I also show that the in-situ biclausal analyses, where the right-dislocated element does not move, cannot predict all and only the grammatical configurations that Italian Right Dislocation allows.

The chapter is organised as follows. In section 3.2, I present in more detail the approach to Right Dislocation defended here and evidence in favour of it as discussed in Ott & de Vries (2016). Section 3.3 provides further evidence for the MADA based on the four above-mentioned aspects, while showing why in-situ analyses cannot adequately explain the data. Section 3.4 wraps up, discussing how Right Dislocation can be understood as a fragment, and what the analysis defended here implies for current theories of fragments.

3.2 The movement-and-deletion analysis

In this section, I briefly show how a MADA can account for island sensitivity effects in Right Dislocation, with evidence from Germanic.

Due to the influence of their work in the field, I will mainly refer to Ott & de Vries (2016) as an example of how movement-and-deletion analyses account for the movement properties of right-dislocated elements (though the approach had already been proposed in Ott & de Vries 2012 and de Vries 2013). The authors adopt Koster's (2000) silent colon head as the element that introduces a specifying coordination relation between the antecedent clause and the elided clause, although for the purposes of the present discussion, nothing of substance hinges on the presence of this head and of coordination more generally.

Consider the following minimal pair (cf. (80a) and (82a) in Ott & de Vries 2016).

(3) a. [Dat Piet haar$_i$ geplaagd had], [die vrouw]$_i$, vond ik niet erg.
that Piet her teased had that woman found I not awful
'That Piet had teased her, that woman, I did not think regrettable.'

b. *[Dat Piet haar$_i$ geplaagd had], vond ik niet erg,
that Piet her teased had found I not awful
[die vrouw]$_i$.
that woman

The contrast can be explained by appealing to the size of the elided clause as a function of which clauses are in coordination. In (3a) the right-dislocated DP undergoes short-distance fronting out of a clause isomorphic to the complement clause. In (3b), instead, the antecedent clause is the entire matrix clause, and it is in coordination with an elided clause isomorphic to it. In the elided clause, then, the dislocated DP has undergone long-distance fronting out of a clausal object that is opaque for extraction. Notice that the contrast in (3) resembles what is known as the Right Roof Constraint, or RRC for short (Ross 1967), whereby rightward movement is clause-bound. In Ott & de Vries' analysis, independently motivated constraints on leftward movement such as island constraints are sufficient to account for the

distribution of right-dislocated elements, and the same line of analysis will be adopted here.

3.3 The Italian data

In this section, I present a mix of data from the existing literature as well as new data to show that Right Dislocation in Italian is best analysed as the result of movement-and-deletion in the elided clause. I concurrently show that analyses in which the right-dislocated element is in situ in the elided clause cannot capture the data presented.

3.3.1 Island sensitivity

One of the first discussions of locality effects in Italian Right Dislocation is found in Cecchetto (1999), who argued that right-dislocated elements obey the Right Roof Constraint (RRC):[2]

(4) *Che glie-la$_i$ presti, mi sembra STRANO,
that cl.DAT-cl.ACC lend.SBJV.2SG cl.1SG seems strange
[la macchina]$_i$.
the car
Intended: 'It seems strange to me that you lend him/her the car.'

If the right-dislocated DP is placed at the right edge of the subject clause, the whole configuration is grammatical:

[2] Subsequent work by Samek-Lodovici (2015) has shown that right-dislocated elements do not always obey the Right Roof Constraint. When the clitic is contained in a non-finite complement clause, the co-referring right-dislocated element does not need to be adjacent to the right edge of that clause, but it can be adjacent to the right edge of the (lowest) finite clause containing the non-finite clause:

(i) [Context: Who promised to help the boys?]

Ha promesso [di aiutar-li$_i$] MARCO, [i ragazzi]$_i$.
has promised to help-cl.ACC Marco the boys
'Marco promised to help the boys.'

Thus, the data call for a more detailed explanation, which will be presented in the next chapter.

(5) Che glie-la$_i$ presti, [la macchina]$_i$,
that cl.DAT-cl.ACC lend.SBJV.2SG the car
mi sembra strano.
cl.1SG seems strange
'It seems strange to me that you lend him/her the car.'

The data in Cecchetto's work were presented as evidence for a low-topic, monoclausal analysis of RD. However, as Ott & de Vries (2016) have shown for Germanic, similar data can be accounted for in a biclausal analysis. In (4), the dislocated DP *la macchina* can be analysed as having moved out of a left-dislocated subject, an operation that yields ungrammaticality even in other cases of movement, as discussed in Samek-Lodovici (2015: 138). If we analyse left-dislocated elements to be base-generated (following Cinque 1990), then ungrammaticality results from extraction out of an unselected specifier. (6) is the pre-ellipsis version of the clause corresponding to the right-dislocated DP in (4).

(6) *[La macchina]$_i$ che gli presti t_i, mi sembra strano.
the car that cl.DAT lend.2SG cl.1SG seems strange

The minimal pairs in (7)-(8) will form the basis of my analysis; they provide further evidence of the behaviour of Right Dislocation with finite or non-finite islands:

(7) a. Considero [$_{DP}$ l' idea [$_{CP}$ di aiutar-li$_i$]], [gli studenti]$_i$,
consider.1SG the idea of help-cl.ACC the students
un'ottima IDEA.
a great idea
'I consider the idea of helping the students a great idea.'

b. *Considero [$_{DP}$ l' idea [$_{CP}$ di aiutar-li$_i$]] un' ottima IDEA,
consider.1SG the idea of help-cl.ACC a great idea
[gli studenti]$_i$.
the students

(8) a. Incontrerò [$_{DP}$ l' uomo [$_{CP}$ che l'$_i$ ha scritto]],
meet.FUT.1SG the man who cl.ACC has written
[questo libro]$_i$, DOMANI.
this book tomorrow
'I will meet who has written this book tomorrow.'

b. *Incontrerò [$_{DP}$ l' uomo [$_{CP}$ che l'$_i$ ha scritto]] DOMANI,
meet.FUT.1SG the man who cl.ACC has written tomorrow
[questo libro]$_i$.
this book

The contrast between the (a) and (b) sentences can be explained as follows. Suppose that the dislocated element is fronted before ellipsis, but that the size of the ellipsis site varies depending on where the dislocated element is placed. In the (a) sentences, it is placed at the right edge of the clause embedded within the DP, so the ellipsis site will be equivalent to the TP of that embedded clause. The dislocated element is fronted to CP. (9) and (10) show this for (7a) and (8a), respectively.

(9) [$_{CP}$ aiutar-li$_i$], [$_{CP}$ [gli studenti]$_i$ [$_{CP}$ ~~aiutare t_i~~]]
help-cl.ACC the students help

(10) [$_{CP}$ l'$_i$ ha scritto], [$_{CP}$ [questo libro]$_i$ [$_{CP}$ ~~ha scritto t_i~~]]
cl.ACC has written this book has written

In the (b) sentences, instead, the ellipsis site is equivalent to the clause to whose right edge the dislocated element is placed. A'-movement out of islands causes ungrammaticality in both cases. (11) and (12) show the forbidden movement that takes place in the clauses out of which the dislocated elements are moved in (7b) and (8b).

(11) *[$_{CP}$ [gli studenti]$_i$ [$_{CP}$ ~~[considero [$_{DP}$ l' idea di aiutare t_i]~~
the students consider.1SG the idea of help
~~un' ottima idea]]~~
a great idea

(12) [$_{CP}$ [questo libro]$_i$[$_{CP}$ ~~incontrerò [$_{DP}$ chi ha scritto t_i]] domani]
this book meet.FUT.1SG who has written tomorrow

Notice that other types of A'-dependencies, such as wh-movement, yield similar results:

(13) *Chi$_i$ consideri l' idea di aiutare t_i un' ottima idea?
who consider.2SG the idea of help a great idea
'*Who do you consider the idea of helping a great idea?'

(14) *Cosa$_i$ incontrerai l' uomo che ha scritto t_i domani?
what meet.FUT.2SG the man who has written tomorrow
'*What will you meet the man who has written tomorrow?'

We have thus provided further evidence that Right Dislocation in Italian is island-sensitive, building on what has already been shown in the existing literature (cf. Samek-Lodovici 2015). This suggests a movement analysis within the biclausal framework. An in-situ analysis of right-dislocated elements would predict – short of additional stipulations – sentences like (7b)-(8b) to be grammatical.

3.3.1.1 Island sensitivity without movement. While island effects are straightforwardly explained in a movement analysis, they are not entirely at odds with an in-situ alternative, provided that such an alternative has other, independent means to account for them. I will consider here two such approaches, and discuss how they may account for part, but not all, of the data.

Fernández-Sánchez (2017, 2020) proposes a biclausal analysis of RD in Romance languages in which the elided clause (CP_E) of which the right-dislocated element is a remnant is in coordination with the antecedent clause (CP_A). He proposes a principle, the Minimal Coordination Hypothesis (MCH), to account for the position in which right-dislocated elements can appear. The principle is expressed as follows:

(15) *Minimal Coordination Hypothesis*

The highest level at which coordination can take place in right dislocations is the lowest finite CP containing κ in CP_A[3].

(Fernández-Sánchez 2017: 153, his (72))

Crucially, this principle makes it unnecessary to postulate movement of the dislocated element out of the ellipsis site in order to explain why island effects arise in RD. If the elided clause must be in coordination with the *lowest finite* clause that contains the antecedent, then contrasts such as the one in (8) follow straightforwardly. Following Fernández-Sánchez's approach, in (8a) the elided clause is coordinated to the embedded relative clause[4]. The underlying coordination structure is thus the following (CoP is the label used by the author to indicate the projection of the coordinating head – comparable to the colon head used in Ott & de Vries 2016):

(16) […] [$_{CoP}$ [$_{CP}$ che l'$_i$ ha scritto],
who cl.ACC has written
[Co° [$_{CP}$ ~~che ha scritto~~ [questo libro]$_i$]]], […]
who has written this book

On the other hand, (8b) is ungrammatical because the ellipsis site corresponds to the entire clause:

(17) *[$_{CoP}$ [$_{CP}$ Incontrerò l' uomo [$_{CP}$ che l'$_i$ ha scritto] DOMANI],
meet.FUT.1SG the man who cl.ACC has written tomorrow
[Co° [$_{CP}$ ~~incontrerò l' uomo~~ [$_{CP}$ ~~che ha scritto~~ [questo libro]$_i$]
meet.FUT.1SG the man who has written this book
~~domani~~]]].
tomorrow

[3] In the author's labelling, κ is the correlate (the pronominal antecedent).

[4] Fernández-Sánchez assumes that the coordinated clauses must be semantically equivalent as a prerequisite for ellipsis, so that the ellipsis site never contains more material than the antecedent clause does.

Fernández-Sánchez suggests that the MCH derives from a specific interplay between coordination and ellipsis, whereby the ellipsis site in coordinated structures cannot contain a finite clause boundary: precisely the violation that takes place in (17). Support for this hypothesis, he claims, comes from a property of gapping constructions that was first discussed by Ross (1970). Consider the following gapping configuration:

(18) Matteo dice che Mario tifa Juventus, e Luigi Milan.
Matteo says that Mario supports Juventus and Luigi Milan
'Matteo says that Mario supports Juventus, and Luigi Milan.'

If the gap in (18) could contain a finite clause boundary, the sentence would be ambiguous between these two underlying structures:

(19) a. Matteo dice che Mario tifa Juventus,
Matteo says that Mario supports Juventus
e Luigi ~~tifa~~ Milan.
and Luigi supports Milan

b. Matteo dice che Mario tifa Juventus,
Matteo says that Mario supports Juventus
e Luigi ~~dice che Mario tifa~~ Milan
and Luigi says that Mario supports Milan.

However, (18) is not ambiguous, and the only possible reading is the one that can be derived with the structure in (19a), where the ellipsis site corresponds to, and is in coordination with, the embedded clause. Thus, Fernández-Sánchez proposes that island sensitivity in Right Dislocation (and the Right Roof Constraint) can be explained not because of constraints on movement, but as a consequence of the finite-clause-bound nature of ellipsis.

A crucial consequence of this proposal is that ellipsis may cross *non-finite* clause boundaries. In gapping constructions, this prediction is borne out; the ellipsis site in (20) may contain multiple embedded non-finite clauses – the gap is illustrated in (21).

(20) Matteo dice di voler iniziare a suonare la chitarra,
Matteo says to want start to play the guitar
e Ruggero il basso.
and Ruggero the bass
'Matteo says that he wants to start playing guitar, and Ruggero bass.'

(21) […] e Ruggero ~~dice di voler iniziare a suonare~~ il basso.
and Ruggero says to want start to play the bass

The problem with this approach is that it overgenerates in Right Dislocation constructions. Consider again the ungrammatical (7b). The movement-and-deletion analysis can explain its ungrammaticality as the result of an island violation. In the MCH-based analysis, instead, the elided clause can be in coordination with the matrix clause, since ellipsis does not cross any finite clause boundary. This incorrectly predicts that (7b) should be acceptable, as it would be assigned the structure in (22).

(22) *[$_{CoP}$ [$_{CP}$ Considero l' idea [$_{CP}$ di aiutar-li$_i$] un' ottima IDEA],
consider.1SG the idea of help-cl.ACC a great idea
[Co° [$_{CP}$ ~~Considero l' idea [$_{CP}$ di aiutare~~ [gli studenti]$_i$]
consider.1SG the idea of help the students
~~un' ottima idea~~]]].
a great idea

Short of further stipulations, then, the analysis proposed by Fernández-Sánchez is not restrictive enough, while the movement-and-deletion analysis defended here can account for island constraints regardless of the finiteness of the embedded antecedent clause.

Another in-situ biclausal analysis is proposed by Ott (2017). Ott assumes that discourse is driven by Questions under Discussion (QUDs); a pronominal antecedent triggers a new QUD, to which the right-dislocated element is an answer. A right-dislocated element can be inserted if the QUD it answers is salient enough. Apparent locality effects such as island sensitivity arise when a right-dislocated element is inserted as an answer to a question that is not salient anymore. This approach can correctly explain the contrast between (8a-b). consider (8a) first. Suppose that (8a) is

an answer to a salient, implicit QUD, called Q_1. The clitic contained in the relative clause triggers a new QUD, Q_2, to which an answer is provided by the dislocated DP. Once Q_2 has been answered, Q_1 becomes salient again.

(23) [Q_1: When will you meet the man who wrote this book?]
Incontrerò [$_{DP}$ l' uomo [$_{CP}$ che l'$_i$ ha scritto]],
meet.FUT.1SG the man who cl.ACC has written

[Q_2: What has he written?]
[$_{CP}$ ~~*pro* ha scritto~~ [questo libro]$_i$],
has written this book

[Q_1: When will you meet the man who wrote this book?]
DOMANI.
tomorrow

A subquestion introduced by a pronominal element can be answered as long as that subquestion is salient, and it is broadly understood to be salient as long as the sentence in which the question-triggering pronominal appears is being uttered. Once it has been asserted, and other material is uttered, the subquestion is not salient anymore. In the case of (8), once matrix clause material is asserted, namely, the temporal adverb *domani*, Q_2 stops being salient, and providing an answer to it results in a question-answer incongruence. This explains the ungrammaticality of (8b), for which (24) shows what questions are salient at which point, and how the right-dislocated DP provides an answer to a question that is not salient anymore.

(24) [Q_1: When will you meet the man who wrote this book?]
Incontrerò [$_{DP}$ l' uomo [$_{CP}$ che l'$_i$ ha scritto]]
meet.FUT.1SG the man who cl.ACC has written

[Q_2: What has he written?]

[Q_1: When will you meet the man who wrote this book?]
DOMANI,
tomorrow

[Q_3: What will you say to him?]
#[$_{CP}$ ~~*pro* ha scritto~~ [questo libro]$_i$].
has written this book

Ott's analysis does not specify whether finiteness plays a role in determining the saliency of a QUD. At this point, two options are possible. Let us first assume that it does and that the QUD raised by a pronominal must be answered by the time the minimal finite clause containing that pronominal is uttered. If a new QUD is triggered by material in a finite embedded clause, the QUD must be answered by the time the finite clause is asserted and cannot be answered while matrix clause material is being uttered. This is what happens in (8). This hypothesis does not capture the contrast in (7), however, since it predicts that the QUD raised by the clitic contained in a non-finite embedded clause can be answered by the time the matrix clause is asserted. This wrongly predicts (7b) to be grammatical.

The second option is to assume that finiteness does not play a role, and that the relevant QUD must be answered by the end of the smallest clause (finite or non-finite) that contains the antecedent. This hypothesis can correctly capture the island sensitivity data in (7)-(8), but it predicts that right-dislocated elements must always be right-adjacent to the smallest clause containing their respective antecedent. This prediction, however, is not borne out by what Samek-Lodovici (2015) calls Right roof violations, i.e., violations of the Right Roof Constraint. Such configurations consist in right-dislocated elements appearing in a position farther from the right boundary of a non-finite embedded clause containing the antecedent (and the embedded clause is not itself contained in an island). The following example (adapted from Samek-Lodovici 2015, his (69)) shows one such case.

(25) [Context: Who promised to help the boys?]

[$_{CP}$	Ha	promesso	[$_{CP}$	di	aiutar-li$_i$]	MARCO],	[i	ragazzi]$_i$.
	has	promised		to	help-cl.ACC	Marco	the	boys

‘Marco has promised to help the boys.’

If the QUD raised by the clitic *li* were to be answered by the time the non-finite complement clause had been uttered, the sentence would be incorrectly ruled out as ungrammatical due to a violation of question-answer congruence. The second hypothesis, then makes incorrect predictions. It would be necessary to go back to the first hypothesis and assume that a new QUD is raised only if the clause containing the question-triggering pronominal is finite, but movement of the dislocated element out of the ellipsis site must crucially be assumed in order to account for island effects. The way in which discourse and syntactic factors interact in determining the position in which right-dislocated elements can appear will be further discussed in the following chapter of the thesis. What matters for the present discussion is that in-situ biclausal analyses of Right Dislocation cannot explain the island sensitivity behaviour of right-dislocated elements via means other than movement, whether the means used are the interplay between coordination and ellipsis, as in Fernández-Sánchez (2017, 2020), or QUD relevance, as in Ott (2017). In chapter 4, I will develop an analysis that incorporates Ott’s (2017) intuition about QUDs with A’-movement and considerations about the size of the ellipsis site, in order to correctly predict the distribution of right-dislocated elements in Italian. As far as (25) is concerned, I will limit myself, for the moment, to showing a potential sequence of QUDs:

(26) [Q_1: Who promised to help the boys?]

Ha	promesso	[$_{CP}$	di	aiutar-li$_i$]	MARCO
has	promised		to	help-cl.ACC	Marco

[Q_2: Who did Marco promise to help?]

[[i	ragazzi]$_i$	~~ha promesso di aiutare *t*$_i$~~]			
the	boys	has	promised	to	help

Since antecedents in non-finite clauses allow for apparent Right roof violations, we can model this behaviour by taking the QUD triggered by an element in a non-finite clause to be salient even when matrix-clause material is uttered. In the case of (30), this implies that Q_2 can be addressed after the matrix-clause postverbal subject has been uttered.

The following section illustrates a second case in which the movement-and-deletion analysis and the in-situ analysis make different predictions, with the former to be favoured on empirical grounds.

3.3.2 Negative Concord: a comparison with Catalan

In this section, I will argue that the behaviour of right-dislocated predicates containing n-words (Laka 1990) constitutes further evidence for the movement-and-deletion analysis and against in-situ analyses. I will argue this by comparing how Italian behaves in comparison with another Romance language, namely, Catalan.

3.3.2.1 Background. As a premise, we need to consider how negation is expressed in these two languages. Both Italian and Catalan are negative concord (NC) languages (Zeijlstra 2004), whereby two negative elements (a negative marker and a negative concord item) express a single negation. There is, however, a key difference between these languages. In Italian, NPIs and n-words must generally be licensed by another negative element (a negative marker or a preverbal negative quantifier) when they are postverbal, below T. Preverbal n-words, instead do not need a licenser and, in fact, may act as licensers themselves (I refer to Samek-Lodovici 2015, Appendix A for an overview; see also Zanuttini 1991). The examples in (27) show that postverbal n-words cannot appear without a licenser, while presence of a licenser in (28) makes the sentences grammatical.

(27) a. *Maria è responsabile di NESSUNO.
Maria is responsible of nobody
Intended: ‘Maria is responsible for no one.’

b. *Gianni è amico di NESSUNO.
Gianni is friend of nobody
Intended: ‘Gianni is friends with no one.’

c. *Dario è esperto in NIENTE.
Dario is expert in nothing
Intended: ‘Dario is not an expert in anything.’

(28) a. Maria non è responsabile di NESSUNO.
Maria NEG is responsible of nobody
‘Maria is responsible for no one.’

b. Gianni non è amico di NESSUNO.
Gianni NEG is friend of nobody
‘Gianni is friends with no one.’

c. Dario non è esperto in NIENTE.
Dario NEG is expert in nothing
‘Dario is not an expert in anything.’

d. Nessuno è responsabile di NESSUNO.
nobody is responsible of nobody
‘No one is responsible for anyone.’

Moreover, a preverbal n-word combined with a negative marker yields a double negation (DN) reading of the sentence[5]:

[5] My intuition is that the preferred prosody for (29) is one with sentence stress over the preverbal n-word. Similar data are reported for Italian by Corblin & Tovena (2003):

(i) NESSUNO non viene. (DN)
nobody NEG comes
‘Nobody is not coming.’ (adapted from Corblin & Tovena 2003, their (82))

See also Espinal & Prieto (2011: 2394-2395) for a comparison of Italian and French on the one hand, and Catalan on the other.

(29) NESSUNO non è venuto. (DN)
nobody NEG is come
'Nobody didn't come.'(Everyone came)

On the other hand, some variation is observed in Catalan. According to Zeijlstra (2004), two varieties exist. One is, like Italian, a non-strict NC language, where post-verbal n-words require a c-commanding licenser, but preverbal ones do not allow one (both varieties optionally permit the negative adverb *pas* to be part of the NC chain):

(30) a. No funciona (pas) res.
NEG works (NEG) nothing
'Nothing works.'

b. Res (*no) funciona (pas).
nothing (NEG) works (NEG)
'Nothing works.'

The other variety, instead, behaves almost like a strict NC language, insofar as the negative marker appears optionally even with preverbal n-words:

(31) a. No funciona (pas) res.
NEG works (NEG) nothing
'Nothing works.'

b. Res (no) funciona (pas).
nothing (NEG) works (NEG)
'Nothing works.'

(32) a. No ha vingut ningú.
NEG has come nobody
'Nobody came.'

b. Ningú (no) ha vingut.
nobody (NEG) has come
'Nobody came.'

Crucially, no DN reading arises in this variety in (31b) and (32b) when the negative marker is realised. The existence of two dialects of Catalan that differ in the realisation of the negative marker with preverbal n-words has recently been contested (see Déprez et al. 2015 and Tubau et al. 2023), but what matters for the purposes of the present discussion is that for Catalan speakers who allow preverbal n-words to be followed by a negative marker, a NC reading (equivalent to a single negation) is available[6], while this option is not possible in Italian. The following discussion inly consider those varieties of Catalan that allow a NC reading when a n-word precedes sentential negation.

We will now consider whether n-words can be part of right-dislocated elements, and what the observations can tell us about the structure of Right Dislocation. Right-dislocating a bare n-word is ungrammatical in both languages (cf. Samek-Lodovici 2015 for Italian):

(33) a. *Non l'_i ho VISTO, $nessuno_i$.
NEG cl.ACC have.1SG seen nobody
Intended: 'I haven't seen anyone.' (Italian)

b. *Non ci_i ho MANGIATO, $[con\ nessuno]_i$.
NEG cl.ADJ have.1SG eaten with nobody
Intended: 'I haven't eaten with anyone.'

c. *Non l'_i ha invitato GIANNI, $nessuno_i$.
NEG cl.ACC has invited Gianni nobody
Intended: 'Gianni didn't invite anyone.'

[6] The picture for Catalan is, in fact, more complex: DN readings are sometimes available along with NC readings, as experimental evidence by Déprez et al. (2015) has shown, but only in a minority of cases.

(34) *No l'$_i$ ha convidat el JOAN, [a ningú]$_i$.
NEG cl.ACC has invited the Joan to nobody
Intended: 'Joan didn't invite anyone.' (Catalan; Feldhausen 2008:145)

The fact that bare n-words or cannot be right-dislocated may be explained by pointing to the lack of referentiality of these elements. An n-word like *nessuno* 'nobody' does not refer to any entity in the discourse domain, and right-dislocated constituents are generally understood to be topics (see Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007, a.o.). On the assumption that the topic determines what a given sentence is about, if a topic does not refer then the sentence will be about nothing – an unwelcome result under any analysis. Moreover, if we take right-dislocated elements to be fragment answers to an implicit QUD, answering the QUD with a negative element may result in a presuppositional failure. Consider, for example, the ungrammatical (33a). Assuming that the accusative clitic triggers a question of the form 'who did you not see?', the QUD presupposes there is at least one person that the speaker did not see. The fragment answer *nessuno* ('nobody'), provided by the right-dislocated constituent, however, denies that there is some individual *x* such that the speaker did not see *x*: it asserts that the speaker saw everyone.

Bocci (2013) and Sun (2021) extend this analysis to non-specific existential quantifiers like *qualcosa* 'something', which they claim to be banned as right-dislocated elements. The referents of right-dislocated categories must be discourse-given, but this is impossible with elements that do not refer. There are, however, cases in which the existential *qualcosa* arguably receives a non-specific reading (it does not clearly denote a particular element in the discourse), but it can be right-dislocated, if an appropriate context is provided:

(35) [Context: A tourist is disappointed about not finding a souvenir to buy.]

Volevo comprar-la$_i$, [qualcosa]$_i$, ma non ho trovato
wanted.1SG buy-cl.ACC something but NEG have.1SG found
niente che mi PIACESSE.
nothing that cl.1SG like.SBJV.3SG
'I wanted to buy something, but I couldn't find anything that I liked.'

While the analysis of non-specific existentials needs further refinements, the cross-linguistic ban on bare n-words in Right Dislocation can be explained in terms of their non-referentiality. Notice, however, that n-words are not always banned. For example, when the right-dislocated phrase is made up by a whole CP that contains a licensing negation, n-words, despite not being referential, can appear in both languages:

(36) Ne$_i$ ho davvero VOGLIA, [di non vedere nessuno]$_i$.
cl.PART have.1SG really will of NEG see nobody
'I really don't want to see anyone.' (Italian – cf. Samek-Lodovici 2015: 99)

(37) Ja ho$_i$ SABÍEM, [que no havies trobat ningú]$_i$.
already cl.ACC knew.1PL that NEG had.2SG found nobody
'We already knew that you hadn't found anyone.'
(Catalan – cf. Feldhausen 2008: 145)

So far, the two languages show a parallel behaviour. In a smaller subset of cases, however, an interesting difference between Italian and Catalan arises. Both languages have a pro-predicate clitic (*lo* in Italian – see Lorusso & Moro 2020; *ho* in Catalan), which can be co-referential with a right-dislocated predicate. The following pair illustrates a predicate in its base position (38a) and in Right Dislocation (38b) in Italian.

(38) a. Non sono mai stato amico di Gianni.
NEG am ever been friend of Gianni
'I've never been friends with Gianni.'

b. Non lo$_i$ sono mai stato, [amico di Gianni]$_i$.
NEG cl.PRED am ever been friend of Gianni

In the existing literature, it has been shown that Catalan allows right-dislocated predicates containing a n-word but without a licenser in the dislocated phrase (Villalba 2000, Feldhausen 2008):

(39) a. La Maria no és responsable de NINGÚ. (NC)
the Maria NEG is responsible of anyone
'Maria is not responsible for anyone.' (Catalan)

b. La Maria no ho_i ÉS, [(de) responsable de ningú]$_i$. (NC)
the Maria NEG cl.PRED is (of) responsible of nobody

According to Samek-Lodovici (2015: 158, his (202)), Italian disallows structures similar to (39b), with a right-dislocated predicate containing a n-word but no licenser for the n-word contained within the predicate.[7]

(40) a. Maria non è responsabile di NESSUNO.
Maria NEG is responsible of anyone
'Maria is not responsible for anyone.' (Italian)

b. *Maria non lo_i È, [responsabile di nessuno]$_i$.
Maria NEG cl.PRED is responsible of anyone
Intended: 'Maria is not responsible for anyone.'

I argue that the Italian data introduced by Samek-Lodovici result unacceptable if the intended reading is an NC one, but by providing an adequate context, they are marginally acceptable with a DN reading:

(41) [Context: I know that Maria is responsible for some employees in the company she works for.]

[7] In Samek-Lodovici's (2015) monoclausal analysis, the different behaviour of Catalan and Italian is accounted for by taking Italian RD to be the result of movement above TP. The n-word would then be outside the licenser's c-commanding domain at surface structure, and the configuration would result in ungrammaticality. In Catalan, instead, the fact that n-words are allowed in right-dislocated predicates is taken as evidence that Right Dislocation is TP-internal (see Villalba 2000 and Feldhausen 2008 for an analysis along these lines).

È vero. In effetti …
is true in fact
?Maria non lo_i è mai STATA, [responsabile di nessuno]$_i$. (DN)
Maria NEG cl.PRED is never been responsible of nobody
'It is true. In fact, Maria has never been responsible of nobody.'

Crucially, (41) implies that Maria has always been responsible for at least someone. The goal of the following section is to explain why a contrast exists between Catalan and Italian.

3.3.2.2 Analysis. In the biclausal analysis that I am proposing here, I make two crucial assumptions. The first one, following in part Ott's (2017) proposal (with one important difference, namely, that right-dislocated phrases are fronted out of the ellipsis site), is that right-dislocated elements are fragment answers to implicit questions. The second assumption is that the fronting operation, which I take to be a key component of Right Dislocation, can be assimilated to fronting in fragments, as argued for by Merchant (2004), and to (non-elliptical) focus fronting structures (though the moved status of foci is a matter of debate – see Samek-Lodovici 2015). With these premises in mind, a crucial prediction is that any effect of fronting will arise in Right Dislocation, focus fronting, and fragment answers. In the case at hand, we are interested in investigating NC readings and DN readings in fronted structures and how they arise as an effect of movement.

We have already seen, based on (41), that a DN reading may be assigned to a sentence with a right-dislocated predicate that contains a n-word. Let us follow Ott (2017) in assuming that the pro-predicate clitic *lo* triggers a new QUD, to which the right-dislocated constituent provides an answer:

(42) […] Maria non lo_i è mai STATA,
Maria NEG cl.PRED is never been

[QUD: Che cosa non è mai stata?]
'What has Maria never been?'

[responsabile di nessuno]$_i$ ~~non è mai stata t_i~~.
responsible of nobody NEG is never been

The next question, then, is whether fragment answers containing n-words result in a DN reading when provided as answers to negative questions. This is a crucial distinction, insofar as negative answers to *positive* questions receive a single negation reading. Moreover, the movement-and-deletion account explains this contrast straightforwardly by assuming that elliptical structures behave like non-elliptical ones.

When n-words are used as fragment answers, they result in a negative concord (single negation) reading if the question is positive, and in a double negation reading if the question is negative.

(43) A: Cosa hai visto?
what have.2SG seen
'What did you see?'

B: Niente. (NC)
nothing
'Nothing.'

(44) A: Cosa non hai visto?
what NEG have.2SG seen
'What did you see?'

B: Niente. (DN)
nothing
'Nothing.' (adapted from Corblin & Tovena 2003, their (92b))

The difference follows if we adopt Merchant's (2004) fronting analysis of fragments. Consider the answer in (43). If the fragment has an underlying syntactic structure, it cannot be the one in (45a), as the in-situ n-word would be unlicensed. But if n-words are fronted, a negative marker acting as licenser is not required. Notice that I am crucially assuming, here and in the examples that follow, that if negation is absent in

the question, it will be absent in the underlying structure of the answer. Similarly, if it is present in the question, it will be present in the answer as well.

(45) a. *Ho visto NIENTE.
have.1SG seen nothing

b. NIENTE$_i$ ho visto t_i. (NC)
nothing have.1SG seen
'I didn't see anything.'

Let us now turn to (44). The fact that negative fragment answers to negative questions generally yield a DN reading in Italian has recently been confirmed experimentally by Moscati (2020) for adult speakers. If the fragment were in-situ, the interpretation obtained should be a NC one, contrary to fact. To obtain a DN reading, the n-word must be preverbal, therefore, the underlying structure of (44B) must be (46b).

(46) a. Non ho visto NIENTE. (NC)
NEG have.1SG seen nothing
'I didn't see anything.'

b. NIENTE$_i$ non ho visto t_i. (DN)
nothing NEG have.1SG seen
'I didn't see nothing.' (= I saw everything)

The data above have shown how n-words behave not just in fragment answers, but also in their non-elliptical counterparts. For further evidence, consider the following data:

(47) A: C'è qualcosa che Maria non è mai stata in quell'azienda?
'Is there something that Maria has never been at that company?'

B: Responsabile di NESSUNO non è mai stata: (DN)
responsible of nobody NEG is never been
ha sempre avuto ruoli dirigenziali.
has always had roles managerial
'She has never been responsible of nobody: she has always had managerial roles.'

B's answer in (47), with a fronted predicate, crucially receives a DN reading, with the implication that Maria has always been responsible for at least someone. To go back to the Right Dislocation data in (41), the fact that a DN reading is available follows from analysing right-dislocated phases as fragments that undergo fronting, equating them to fragment answers to explicit questions and focus fronting configurations[8]. Suppose now that the relevant substring in (41) had an underlying biclausal structure without fronting of the dislocated element. The only possible interpretation, contrary to fact, should be a NC one:

(48) [$_{CP}$ Maria non lo$_i$ è mai STATA],
Maria NEG cl.PRED is never been
[$_{CP}$ ~~Maria non è mai stata~~ [responsabile di nessuno]$_i$]. (NC)
Maria NEG is never been responsible of nobody

The data from Italian thus support a movement-and-deletion analysis of Right Dislocation. The analysis is further confirmed by the corresponding Catalan data. Consider two possible answers to a negative question, a fragment answer and a non-elliptical one that features focus fronting[9]:

(49) A: Què no és la Maria?
what NEG is the Maria
'What is Maria not?'

[8] More specifically, I take these to be cases of non-contrastive, informational focus, which selects an alternative out of a relevant set. There would be no reason to equate RD to contrastive focus: right-dislocated elements have been shown to exclude a contrastive interpretation (Samek-Lodovici 2015), but they can be seen as focal (cf. Ott 2017) insofar as they provide an answer to an implicit question.
[9] Many thanks to Xavier Villalba and Ignasi Planas for their precious help with the Catalan data and for providing judgments.

B: Responsable de ningú. (NC)
responsible of nobody
'Responsible of nobody.'

B': Responsable de ningú no és! (NC)
responsible of nobody NEG is
'She is responsible for nobody.'

Both answers in (49) have a NC interpretation. Consider again (39b), repeated in (50).

(50) La Maria no ho_i ÉS, [(de) responsable de ningú]$_i$. (NC)
the Maria NEG cl.PRED is (of) responsible of nobody

Similarly to what we have seen for the Italian data, the sentence can be analysed as follows, with the dislocated element being an answer to a (negative) question:

(51) La Maria no ho ÉS,
the Maria NEG cl.PRED is

[QUD: Què no és la Maria?]
'What is Maria not?

[responsable de ningú]$_i$ ~~no és t_i~~.
responsible of nobody NEG is

Once again, it is shown that the same interpretation arises in Right Dislocation, fragment answers, and focus fronting[10], suggesting that the three constructions can

[10] A parallelism between Right Dislocation and focus fronting in Catalan is confirmed by Josep Quer (p.c.), who observes that a fronted predicate containing an n-word can receive a NC interpretation when it has a focus intonation, as (ib) shows.

(i) a. No ho_i SOC, [(de) amic de ningú]$_i$. (NC)
NEG cl.PRED am (of) friend of nobody
'I am not friends with anybody.'

be reduced to the same underlying structure. In sum, a syntactic analysis that takes right-dislocated elements to be fronted in a clause where the remnant of fronting is elided can explain why right-dislocated predicates that contain a n-word are compatible with a DN reading in Italian and with a NC reading in Catalan. In-situ analyses, instead, do not predict this difference to arise. In particular, they predict that in Italian, n-words contained in predicates are c-commanded by a licenser, and the only possible reading in these cases is a NC reading.

3.3.3 Antireconstruction effects

A third piece of evidence for a movement-and-deletion analysis and against in-situ analyses comes from antireconstruction effects. It has been noticed that Italian RD displays an argument/adjunct asymmetry as far as reconstruction for Principle C is concerned. The contrast has been shown extensively by Samek-Lodovici (2006, 2015). Consider the following pair, adapted from Samek-Lodovici (2006; the original judgments are reported):

(52) **pro*$_i$ non le rivela certo ai GIORNALI,
NEG cl.ACC reveals certainly to.the newspapers
le prove che [il procuratore capo di Palermo]$_i$ viola la legge.
the proofs that the prosecutor chief of Palermo violates the law
Intended: 'Palermo's chief prosecutor does not certainly reveal to the newspapers the evidence that he/she violates the law.'

b. Amic de NINGÚ no soc. (NC)
friend of nobody NEG am
'I am friends with nobody.'

The data are compatible with the movement-and-deletion analysis, according to which (ib) is the underlying structure of the right-dislocated predicate *amic de ningú* in (ia).

(53) *pro*$_i$ non le rivela certo ai GIORNALI,
NEG cl.ACC reveals certainly to.the newspapers
le prove che [il procuratore capo di Palermo]$_i$
the proofs that the prosecutor chief of Palermo
trova durante un' inchiesta.
finds during an investigation
'Palermo's chief prosecutor does not certainly reveal to the newspapers the evidence that he/she finds during an investigation.'

In (52), the R-expression *il procuratore capo di Palermo* ('Palermo's chief prosecutor') is contained in a complement of the noun *prove* ('evidence'), and the expression cannot co-refer with *pro* in the antecedent clause. In (53), instead, the same R-expression is contained in an adjunct (a relative clause), and co-reference with *pro* is possible.

In Samek-Lodovici (2015), the data are evidence for a monoclausal, TP-external analysis of Right Dislocation. He builds on claims by Freidin (1986), Lebeaux (1988, 1990) and Chomsky (1995). According to these authors, adjuncts differ from arguments in that they can be inserted countercyclically, at a later stage in the derivation. Consider the following pair:

(54) a. *Which rumours that Jim$_i$ likes Pam did he$_i$ deny?

b. Which rumours that bother Jim$_i$ did he$_i$ deny?

In (54a), the clause *that Jim likes Pam* is a complement of *rumours*. No late merge is possible for complements, which means that the whole wh-phrase reconstructs to its base-generation position. This is a position in which *Jim* is c-commanded by *he*, which leads to a Principle C violation:

(55) <Which rumours that Jim$_i$ likes Pam> did he$_i$ deny ~~<which rumours that Jim$_i$ likes Pam>~~?

Adjuncts, on the other hand, can be merged late. In fact, Zyman (2022) argues that it is obligatory for adjuncts to merge late. He proposes a phase-based analysis: given a

phase head H and its complement XP, adjunction to the HP phase must occur immediately before XP undergoes spellout. Evidence for this proposal comes from the behaviour of *exactly* in English, which can be adjoined to a wh-element but cannot be stranded within VP. The impossibility of stranding *exactly* follows if the adverb is adjoined to a wh-element only when that element has reached the phase edge.

If adjuncts merge late, an R-expression contained in an adjunct can be interpreted as co-referential with a pronominal that c-commands the reconstruction site of the adjunct's modifiee, as is the case in (54b). No trace of the adjunct itself is taken to be present, which explains the antireconstruction effects.

(56) <Which rumours that bother Jim$_i$> did he$_i$ deny ~~<which rumours>~~?

Antireconstruction effects arise if the constituent modified by an adjunct has undergone movement. If that constituent does not move, or in any case remains in a position from which the R-expression that it contains can be c-commanded by a pronominal, then a Principle C violation will arise, whether the R-expression is contained in a complement or an adjunct. Focus fronting is a testing ground for these predictions. Italian foci may appear in situ or in a left-peripheral position[11]. We expect that when they appear in situ, a Principle C violation similar to the one observed for wh-movement will always arise, whereas if they are fronted, the violation will only arise if the R-expression is contained in a complement.

I will now show that these predictions are borne out. Principle C violations always arise with in situ foci. (57) shows this with R-expressions contained in complements, and (58) with R-expressions contained in adjuncts.

[11] Discussing the status of in situ vs. fronted foci as well as the nature of focus movement is well beyond the scope of this thesis, given the vast literature dealing with these issues. The reader is referred to Bianchi (2013) and Bianchi & Bocci (2012) for a discussion of pragmatic differences between left-peripheral and in situ foci in Italian, and to Szendroi (2001), Samek-Lodovici (2015) for discussion of whether foci move at all. For the purposes of this discussion, it will be relevant to notice that certain focused constituents may appear in a clause-internal or in a clause-external position, and that their position has effects on pronoun interpretation.

(57) [Context: I know that Jim has denied the rumours that he likes Angela.]

*No, *pro*$_i$ ha smentito [le voci che a Jim$_i$ piace PAM]$_F$.
No has denied the rumours that to Jim likes Pam
Intended: 'No, Jim has denied the rumours that he likes Pam.'

(58) [Context: I know that Jim has denied all the rumours he heard.]

*No, *pro*$_i$ ha smentito [le voci che a Jim$_i$ danno FASTIDIO]$_F$.
No has denied the rumours that to Jim give.3PL discomfort
Intended: 'No, Jim denied the rumours that bother him.'

With fronted foci, the violation is attested if the whole fronted element reconstructs, as in (59), but not if only part of it reconstructs, i.e., if the adjunct (and the R-expression it contains) does not reconstruct; this is exemplified by (60).

(59) [Context: I know that Jim has denied the rumours that he likes Angela.]

??No, [le voci che a Jim$_i$ piace PAM]$_{F,j}$ *pro*$_i$ ha smentito t_j.
No the rumours that to Jim likes Pam has denied
Intended: 'No, Jim has denied the rumours that he likes Pam.'

(60) [Context: I know that Jim has denied all the rumours he heard.]

No, [le voci che a Jim$_i$ danno FASTIDIO]$_{F,j}$
No the rumours that to Jim give.3PL discomfort
pro$_i$ ha smentito t_j.
has denied
'No, Jim denied the rumours that bother him.'

We are now in a position to test the different predictions that the movement-and-deletion and the in-situ analysis of Right Dislocation make. In particular, if both focus fronting and Right Dislocation are the same type of A'-dependency, we expect right-dislocated elements to pattern with fronted foci, and not with in situ foci, as far as

Principle C effects are concerned. If, instead, right-dislocated elements are in situ in the second clause of the biclausal structure, we expect their behaviour to parallel that of in situ foci. In (52)-(53), I have reported data from Samek-Lodovici (2006) confirming the hypothesis that RD is the result of A'-movement; the following pair is in line with the hypothesis:

(61) [Context: What happened with those rumours regarding Jim?]

*pro_i le ha SMENTITE, le voci che a Jim_i piace Pam.
cl.ACC has denied the rumours that to Jim likes Pam
Intended: 'Jim has denied the rumours that he likes Pam.'

(62) [Context: What happened with those rumours regarding Jim?]

pro_i le ha SMENTITE, le voci che a Jim_i
cl.ACC has denied the rumours that to Jim
danno fastidio
give.3PL discomfort.
'Jim has denied the rumours that bother him.'

In the movement-and-deletion analysis, the elided clauses corresponding to the two right-dislocated elements in (61) and (62) have different structures. (63) shows the underlying structure of the elided clause in (61), while (64) does the same for (62).

(63) <le voci che a Jim_i piace Pam> ~~pro_i ha smentito~~
the rumours that to Jim likes Pam has denied
~~<le voci che a Jim_i piace Pam>~~
the rumours that to Jim likes Pam

(64) <le voci che a Jim_i danno fastidio> ~~pro_i ha smentito~~
the rumours that to Jim give.3PL discomfort has denied
~~<le voci>~~
the rumours

If no movement of the dislocated category took place in the ellipsis site, we would not expect the abovementioned contrast to appear. In particular, the in-situ analysis would assign to the right-dislocated elements in (61) and (62) the following structures, respectively.

(65) *~~*pro*$_i$ ha smentito~~ <le voci che a Jim$_i$ piace Pam>
has denied the rumours that to Jim likes Pam

(66) *~~*pro*$_i$ ha smentito~~ <le voci che a Jim$_i$ danno fastidio>
has denied the rumours that to Jim give.3PL discomfort

As a consequence, this analysis would incorrectly predict Principle C violations to arise across the board, contrary to what has been shown. Crucially, the fact that antireconstruction effects are present in RD provides support for a movement-and-deletion analysis[12], while they cannot be explained in an in-situ alternative account.

3.3.4 Preposition stranding

In this section, I discuss what I consider the fourth piece of evidence for the MADA and against in-situ analyses. Even if Italian sometimes allows preposition omission in elliptical contexts, I argue that omitting the preposition in Right Dislocation is impossible because this construction does not satisfy the conditions that make preposition-less remnants possible in the language. What apparently looks like a counterexample to the movement-and-deletion analysis, then, is shown to be consistent with the approach I am proposing. I also argue that in-situ analyses cannot correctly rule out preposition-less right-dislocated elements.

Some languages, like English, display Preposition stranding (P-stranding) in movement contexts, wh-movement being a typical example:

[12] In Samek-Lodovici (2006, 2015), RD is analysed as a monoclausal configuration in which the right-dislocated element moves out of TP with subsequent TP remnant movement. The evidence for movement is nevertheless compatible with a biclausal framework, in which movement of the right-dislocated is out of the elided TP instead of being out of the antecedent TP.

(67) a. [With whom]$_i$ did you hang out t_i?

b. [Who]$_i$ did you hang out with t_i?

Merchant (2001, 2004) proposed a P-stranding generalisation (PSG), whereby a language allows P-stranding in sluicing (an elliptical context) only if it permits it in non-elliptical contexts. The prediction is borne out for English:

(68) a. Mario writes for a newspaper, but I don't remember which.

b. […] but I don't remember which$_i$ ~~he writes for t_i newspaper~~.

c. Which newspaper does Mario write for?

Whether the generalisation holds universally is a matter of debate and is beyond the scope of the present discussion. What is relevant here is that exceptions to the P-stranding generalisation have been attested in several languages (Rodrigues et al. 2009, Vicente 2008). Italian is a non-P-stranding language as far as wh-movement is concerned – see (69) – but it does allow optional P-omission in some cases of sluicing, as shown by Hotson (2019). He argues that these effects are due to the availability of a copular clause as the source of the ellipsis site. An example is shown in (70).

(69) a. [Per quale giornale]$_i$ scrive Mario t_i?
For which newspaper writes Mario
'For which newspaper does Mario write?'

b. *[Quale giornale]$_i$ scrive Mario per t_i?
which newspaper writes Mario for
Intended: 'Which newspaper does Mario write for?'

(70) Mario scrive per un giornale, ma non ricordo
Mario writes for a newspaper but NEG remember.1SG
(per) quale.
(for) which
'Mario writes for a newspaper, but I don't remember which.'

Incidentally, P-stranding effects optionally appear in other types of elliptical constructions such as fragment answers, as shown below:

(71) A: Per quale giornale scrive Mario?
for which newspaper writes Mario
'For which newspaper does Mario write?'

B: (Per) il *Guardian*.
(for) the Guardian
'(For) the Guardian.'

Since the analysis I am pursuing assimilates right-dislocated elements to elliptical answers to implicit questions under discussion (following Ott 2017, albeit with relevant modifications), P-stranding effects should arise in Right Dislocation to the same extent as they arise in fragment answers. This prediction, however, is not borne out, as shown by the following data:

(72) Gli_i ho regalato un LIBRO, [*(a) Mario]$_i$.
cl.DAT have.1SG donated a book (to) Mario
'I donated a book to Mario.'

(73) Ci_i ho parlato per un' ORA, [*(con) il professore]$_i$.
cl.ADJ have.1SG talked for an hour with the professor
'I talked with the professor for an hour.'

P-stranding effects in Right Dislocation are never possible, so when a dative clitic (*gli*) or an adjunct clitic (*ci*) co-refer with a right-dislocated phrase, that phrase must be a

PP and it cannot be a DP.[13] To understand why this is the case, it is necessary to consider the conditions that allow apparent P-stranding in languages that generally do not allow it, before testing whether these conditions apply to Right Dislocation structures. I follow Vicente's (2008) analysis, which treats apparent violations of the P-stranding generalisation, i.e., P-stranding effects in a non-P-stranding language, as the result of an underlying copular source for the ellipsis site (Hotson 2019 makes a similar proposal for Italian). Vicente proposes that given a non-copular antecedent clause, the elided clause may have a copular structure if it strengthens the antecedent clause. By strengthening, Vicente means that the antecedent clause must contain an expression that denotes a set and that the fragment, which constitutes focal material, selects one member of that set.

Vicente shows that Spanish, another non-P-stranding language, displays P-stranding effects in elliptical constructions such as fragment answers:

(74) A: Me pregunto para qué periódico escribe Mauricio.
cl.1SG wonder.1SG for which newspaper writes Mauricio

B: (Para) *El Correo*.
(For) El Correo

(Adapted from Vicente 2008: 5, his (17))

In this example, the set-denoting antecedent of the fragment answer is the wh-phrase *qué periódico* ('which newspaper'). This makes a copular source to the ellipsis site,

[13] Interestingly, P-stranding seems possible in other right-peripheral fragments (following the terminology in Fernández-Sánchez 2017, 2020) such as afterthoughts and split questions:

(i) Mario scriveva per un giornale BRITANNICO: (per) il *GUARDIAN*. (Afterthought)
Mario wrote for a newspaper British (for) the Guardian
'Mario used to write for a British newspaper: the Guardian.'

(ii) Per quale giornale scriveva Mario? (Per) il *Guardian*? (Split question)
For which newspaper wrote Mario (For) the Guardian
'For which newspaper did Mario use to write? The Guardian?'

Any analysis aiming to unify as much as possible the treatment of right-peripheral fragments must be able to explain why a clear difference exists between Right Dislocation on the one hand, and other types of elliptical constructions on the other hand. While Fernández-Sánchez (2017, 2020) offers an analysis, I will not delve into the details of it and leave a wider discussion of right-peripheral fragments in Italian to future research.

and P-stranding effects, possible. A source for the ellipsis site in (74) may be the following.

(75) *El Correo* ~~es el periódico para el que escribe Mauricio~~.
El Correo is the newspaper for the which writes Mauricio

Returning to optional P-stranding effects in Italian, as in (71B), the following copular source for the ellipsis site is available.

(76) il *Guardian* ~~è il giornale per il quale scrive Mario~~.
the Guardian is the newspaper for the which writes Mario

However, following Vicente's (2008) analysis, if the antecedent to the ellipsis remnant does not refer to a set, then a copular source to the ellipsis site is unavailable, and P-stranding effects are impossible. An antecedent denoting an individual, for example, does not license P-stranding effects. In (77)-(78), the ellipsis remnant's antecedent is a proper name.

(77) Mauricio ha hablado con Clara, pero no *(con) Elena. (Spanish)
Mauricio has talked with Clara but NEG (with) Elena
'Mauricio talked to Clara but not to Elena.'
(Adapted from Vicente 2008: 15, his (50a))

(78) Gianni non ha parlato con Maria, ma *(con) Elena. (Italian)
Gianni NEG has talked with Maria but (with) Elena
'Gianni did not talk to Maria but to Elena.'
(Adapted from Vicente 2008: 19, his (69))

This may explain the lack of P-stranding effects in Right Dislocation, ultimately showing that the behaviour of right-dislocated PPs is consistent with a movement-and-deletion analysis. If we take the antecedent of a right-dislocated PP to be the co-referring clitic, and if clitics are of type *e* (they denote individuals, and crucially not

sets)[14], then the elided clause of which the right-dislocated constituent is a remnant cannot be a copular clause. Since the pronominal antecedent does not denote a set, the right-dislocated element does not pick an element out of any relevant set.

Another option, however, is to assume that the antecedent of a right-dislocated element is not the co-referring clitic, but the wh-element in the implicit QUD to which the dislocated phrase is an answer, following Ott's (2017) proposal. Consider the following example:

(79) a. Gli$_i$ ho regalato un LIBRO, [a Mario]$_i$.
cl.DAT have.1SG donated a book to Mario
'I donated a book to Mario.'

b. Gli$_i$ ho regalato un LIBRO,
cl.DAT have.1SG donated a book

[QUD: [A chi]$_i$ hai regalato un libro?]
Towhom have.2SG donated a book
'Who did you donate a book to?'

[[a Mario]$_i$ ~~ho regalato un libro t_i~~].
to Mario have.1SG donated a book

In (79b), the dislocated PP *a Mario* is an answer to the bare wh-phrase *a chi*. If we take the wh-phrase to denote a set (Hamblin 1973), and the dislocated PP to select an element out of that set, then the impossibility of P-stranding effects is unaccounted for under the analysis adopted, as a copular source should be available. It is, however, important to notice a potentially crucial difference between cases like (79b), where P-

[14] Additionally, clitics cannot be focused (Samek-Lodovici, p.c.). If we follow Merchant (2001) in assuming a semantic parallelism condition for ellipsis, then we may state that ellipsis in an expression E is possible iff the F-closure of E (the result of replacing focused material in E with an existentially bound variable) entails an antecedent expression A, and the F-closure of A entails E (see also Ott 2016). Since clitics cannot be focused, the semantic parallelism condition for ellipsis cannot be met. As a result, while we take the clitic to co-refer cataphorically to a right-dislocated element, we cannot take it to be the relevant antecedent licensing ellipsis in the elided clause in Right Dislocation constructions. A better alternative is to follow Reich (2007) in assuming that semantic equivalence must hold between the focus value (in the alternative semantics sense of the term – see Rooth 1992) of the elliptical expression E (in RD, the clause of which the right-dislocated element is a remnant) and the implicit QUD it answers.

stranding effects are impossible, and cases like (71), where they are possible. In (79b) the antecedent is a non-D-linked wh-phrase, while the antecedent in (71A) is a D-linked one (Pesetsky 1987). While the exact definition of D-linking is currently a matter of debate (see Sudo 2023), I tentatively propose that a D-linked, set-denoting antecedent licenses P-stranding effects in the ellipsis remnant, while a non-D-linked or non-set-denoting antecedent does not. In Right Dislocation, there are two potential antecedents: a clitic (arguably of type *e*) and a non-D-linked wh-phrase. In both cases, P-stranding effects are ruled out. Clitics may be taken to be D-linked but they do not denote sets; bare wh-elements like *who* or *what* are set-denoting but non-D-linked. It is noteworthy that a non-D-linked antecedent cannot license a copular source for the ellipsis site even in fragment answers to explicit questions, while a D-linked one can. This is shown for Italian in (80)-(81) and (82)-(83), respectively.

(80) A: A chi hai regalato una bottiglia di whisky?
to whom have.2SG donated a bottle of whisky
'To whom did you give a bottle of whisky?'

B: ??FEDERICO.
Federico

(81) A: Con chi hai parlato ?
with whom have.2SG talked
'Who did you talk with?'

B: *MARIO.
Mario

(82) A: A quale dei tuoi amici hai regalato una bottiglia
to which of-the your friends have.2SG donated a bottle
di whisky?
of whisky
'To which of your friends did you give a bottle of whisky?'

B: FEDERICO.
Federico

(83) A: Con quale dei tuoi amici hai parlato ?
with which of-the your friends have.2SG talked
'Which of your friends did you talk with?'

B: MARIO.
Mario

Ultimately, Vicente's (2008) proposal may need to be revisited. Based on the evidence considered so far and given the role that D-linking plays, the antecedent to the ellipsis remnant must not simply denote a set: it must denote a set whose members must be identifiable. This definition will need to be refined once future research sheds further light on the properties of D-linking. What is relevant at this point is that the lack of P-stranding effects in Right Dislocation is compatible with a movement-and-deletion analysis. Following an analysis like Merchant (2004), the right-dislocated element is fronted to a position in the C-domain, the specifier of a head carrying an [E] feature, and ellipsis applies to the complement of that head.

Crucially, in-situ analyses like Fernández-Sánchez's (2017, 2020) in which ellipsis targets non-focal material and takes place around the dislocated element[15] do not have any means, short of further stipulations, to rule out ellipsis of the preposition and the impossibility of P-stranding effects. Even if a copular source to the ellipsis site is not available, as I have discussed, if ellipsis of the preposition is possible in a language, it must be adequately ruled out in Right Dislocation. A possible solution could be to adopt the reasonable assumption that only discourse-given material can be elided and prove that prepositions are not discourse-given in the relevant cases. But if its givenness depends on being present in the immediate linguistic context, then a preposition should be able to be elided in Right Dislocation if it had been introduced

[15] Fernández-Sánchez (2017: 233, fn. 1) notes, following Griffiths (2015), that what looks like non-constituent ellipsis may be taken to be ellipsis of a series smaller constituents, an assumption compatible with the view that ellipsis is licensed syntactically. Another option is to take ellipsis not to be licensed syntactically, and therefore not subject to constituency constraints.

previously. This is not what we observe in Italian, though, as the following dialogue shows:

(84) A: Voglio regalare a Federico una bottiglia di TALISKER.
want.1SG donate to Federico a bottle of Talisker
'I want to give Federico a bottle of Talisker as a gift.'

B: Io voglio regalar-glie$_i$-ne una di GLENMORANGIE,
I want.1SG donate-cl.DAT-cl.PART one of Glenmorangie
[*(a) Federico]$_i$.
to Federico
'I want to give Federico a bottle of Glenmorangie as a gift.'

Since the preposition *a* has been introduced in (84A), it is given, so nothing prevents it from being elided in (84B), where the dislocated element would have the following underlying structure:

(85) ~~Io voglio regalar-ne una di Glenmorangie a~~ Federico.
I want.1SG donate-cl.PART one of Glenmorangie to Federico

Deleting the preposition, however, results in ungrammaticality. In sum, in-situ analyses of Right Dislocation overgenerate by allowing ellipsis of non-constituents (or ellipsis of multiple smaller constituents, including prepositions) and have no straightforward way of explaining why P-stranding effects cannot surface in this construction. In contrast, under the movement-and-deletion analysis, the lack of P-stranding effects in Right Dislocation results from independently motivated constraints.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced an existing debate in the literature on biclausal analyses of Right Dislocation, which can be seen as a branch of the broader discussion on the nature of ellipsis. I have presented two competing analyses of the structure of the elided clause: the movement-and-deletion analysis (MADA), and the in-situ analysis.

I have provided several pieces of evidence in favour of the MADA, showing that this analysis can account for the data presented. I have also shown that while in-situ analyses such as those proposed by Ott (2017) and Fernández-Sánchez (2017, 2020) can partially explain the island-sensitivity behaviour of right-dislocated elements, they cannot account for the full range of data, and they also fall short of explaining other data related to n-words in right-dislocated predicates, antireconstruction effects, and the lack of P-stranding effects.

The analysis offered in this chapter is, in a sense, counterintuitive, since dislocated elements are generally interpreted as topics, while I have argued, following Ott (2017), that they should be treated as focal elements. Two considerations are in order. The first one has to do with information structure. It may seem contradictory that [+given] constituents (as right-dislocated ones always are) are treated as [+focal], since focus is often associated with new information. Here, however, I am assuming that focus does not necessarily indicate new information, but the selection of an alternative out of a set (following Rooth 1985, 1992). Nothing in this framework prevents focus to be assigned to a constituent whose referent is discourse-given by virtue, for instance, of having been introduced in the immediately preceding linguistic context (cf. Schwarzchild 1999). As an example of such cases, consider the following dialogue:

(86) A: I know you like reading both Foscolo and Leopardi, but which author do you like the most?

B: [FOSCOLO]$_{[+foc],\ [+given]}$.

B's answer is focal, as it represents a congruent answer to the question (its focus value corresponds to the question's ordinary value). It is also discourse given, having its referent been introduced by A's utterance. In line with Neeleman & Vermeulen 2012, however, I take contrast to be a primitive notion that is not always associated with focus, so that foci may or may not be contrastive. In particular, right-dislocated elements must always be analysed as non-contrastive foci since they are never associated with the intonation that is typical of contrastive foci, and they do not imply the negation of the other alternatives evoked by focus, as contrast does. Moreover, identifying the right-dislocated element as focal in the elided clause's information

structure does not, in principle, prevent it from being interpretable as the topic of the broader discourse.

Another point in this discussion has to do with stress. Focal constituents are generally associated with stress, while discourse-given elements are generally de-stressed. Since I am taking right-dislocated constituents to be both focal and discourse-given, it is necessary to reconcile the two contradictory prosodic properties of focus and givenness. To do so, I start from the assumption that stress is a relative notion; that is to say, a stressed constituent will be prosodically stronger than other elements in a certain prosodic structure. In this sense, right-dislocated elements certainly cannot be said to be stressed with respect to elements in the antecedent clause. But the antecedent clause is not the relevant domain. The relevant domain is the elided clause, and in the elided clause, the right-dislocated constituent is obviously the prosodically strongest element. The idea that right-dislocated constituents are part of a separate prosodic constituent (an intonational phrase) has been claimed for Italian (Frascarelli 2000, Bocci & Avesani 2008) and for some Bantu languages (Zerbian 2007 for Northern Sotho). As Fernández-Sánchez (2017:113) observes, these prosodic properties are compatible with a biclausal analysis, on the assumption that a correlation exists between syntactic clauses and intonational phrases (Selkirk 2011).

The analysis proposed has the additional advantage of reducing the range of primitives in the language acquisition toolkit: since right-dislocated elements are essentially assimilated to fragment answers, the language-acquiring child does not need to postulate two different structures but a single one for both constructions, with differences arising at the prosodic level but not at the syntactic and semantic ones. A broader implication of the movement-and-deletion analysis of Right Dislocation is that despite recent work (Griffiths 2019) has proposed that fragments should not be treated as the result of syntactic movement out of the ellipsis site, insofar as right-dislocated elements can be analysed as elliptical constituents, we must conclude that at least some types of fragments are obtained via narrow syntactic movement. All of the properties discussed in this chapter are accounted for straightforwardly if we adopt a movement-and-deletion analysis but are not as easily explained in in-situ analyses.

A final point has to do with the landing site of right-dislocated elements in the elided clause. I have proposed that these elements undergo A'-movement, and that they are inherently focal. This analysis is compatible with proposals whereby focal material targets the left periphery of the clause. While some proposals (Rizzi 1997, 2004) took

only contrastive focus to be subject to movement to a left-peripheral position, later studies (Cruschina 2006, 2011; Skopeteas, Stavros & Gisbert Fanselow 2011; Feldhausen & del Mar Vanrell 2014; Jiménez-Fernández 2015; Samek-Lodovici & Dwyer 2024) have increasingly shown that non-contrastive focus may be subject to fronting too. Moreover, an analysis whereby fragment answers move out of the ellipsis site has been proposed by Merchant (2004) as well as by Brunetti (2003) for Italian. Brunetti argues, *contra* Benincà & Poletto (2004), that both new information foci (as in fragment answers) and contrastive foci target the same left-peripheral position. I will leave it for future research to determine if distinct positions are targeted by foci of different types – including right-dislocated elements – in a cartographic fashion, or if there is no specific landing site but rather a generic A'-movement operation that targets the left periphery, with ordering constraints being derived by independent mechanisms (as in Abels 2012).

While this chapter has provided evidence against the two most prominent in-situ biclausal analyses of Right Dislocation, it must be acknowledged that these theories have marked substantial progress in our understanding of the nature of the phenomenon. The goal of the next chapter is to build upon what has been argued so far (that Right Dislocation is biclausal and that it is obtained via movement out of the ellipsis site), plus some intuitions found in Ott (2017) and Fernández-Sánchez (2017), to provide a complete account of the distribution of right-dislocated elements in Italian.

Chapter 4

Explaining the Distribution of Right-dislocated Elements

4.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I have shown that right-dislocated elements can be analysed as focal material, namely, as fragment answers to implicit questions, following in part a proposal by Ott (2017). Unlike Ott's proposal, however, I have argued that they must escape the ellipsis site via movement. At this point, one may ask whether Ott & de Vries' (2016) proposal, based on movement out of the ellipsis site and on coordination between the antecedent clause and the elided clause, might be an adequate analysis of Right Dislocation in Italian. In section 2, I argue that this view is untenable, because analyses based on coordination both undergenerate and overgenerate, in addition to running into other conceptual problems. In section 3, I argue that right-dislocated elements should be reduced to parentheticals, based on a number of shared similarities. Following McInnerney (2022), I propose that as parentheticals, right-dislocated elements are interpolated into the host clause at the sensory-motor interface, with phonological constraints on their distribution. Unlike previous biclausal analyses, which have attempted to account for the locality of Right Dislocation either only in terms of discourse considerations (Ott 2017; Alzayid 2020, 2022) or in terms of ellipsis plus coordination (Ott & de Vries 2012, 2016; Fernández-Sánchez 2017, 2020; Sun 2021), I show in section 4 that the insertion of right-dislocated elements is subject to two principles, a discourse-semantic one and one concerning the size of the ellipsis site. Both principles jointly contribute to accounting for the distribution of right-dislocated constituents in a variety of contexts, and they correctly predict the possible insertion sites of right-dislocated elements without overgenerating. Since RD can appear clause medially, an interesting question arises regarding the status of post-RD elements. In particular, Samek-Lodovici (2015) has argued that material following a right-dislocated phrase is itself right-dislocated; since right-dislocated elements are TP-external in his theory, n-words cannot appear after a right-dislocated element, because they end up in a position higher than their licenser (violating the requirement that licensers c-command n-words at surface structure). In section 5, I argue that post-

RD elements can be analysed as always belonging to the antecedent clause. De-stressed n-words cannot appear after a right-dislocated constituent that is inserted clause-medially because of prosodic considerations, that will be modelled in optimality-theoretic terms. Section 6 concludes the chapter.

All in all, the analysis I propose has the advantage of not needing to stipulate a coordination relation when it is not necessary to do so. Moreover, by tracing the two principles governing the distribution of right-dislocated elements to independently needed considerations, it has the overall benefit of reducing the number of primitives that the grammar needs to allow Right Dislocation. Given the almost ubiquitous character of this phenomenon crosslinguistically (see Fernández-Sánchez & Ott 2020), this is a welcome result.

4.2 Right Dislocation is not syntactic coordination

We have seen how Fernández-Sánchez (2017, 2020) proposes to analyse Right Dislocation as the result of applying ellipsis to a coordination structure, based on the Minimal Coordination Hypothesis, or MCH:

(1) *Minimal Coordination Hypothesis*
The highest level at which coordination can take place in right dislocations is the lowest finite CP containing κ in CP_A.[1] (Fernández-Sánchez 2017: 153, his (72))

We have seen strong evidence in favour of treating Right Dislocation as the result of movement out of the ellipsis site. The MCH, nevertheless, has some advantages insofar as it can deal successfully with some of the distributional properties of right-dislocated elements. For example, the fact that is makes reference to finiteness can capture the apparent Right Roof Constraint violations that right-dislocated elements display when their antecedent is in a non-finite embedded clause that is not part of an island. Would it be possible, then, to salvage the MCH and simply add A'-movement to Fernández-Sánchez's theory?

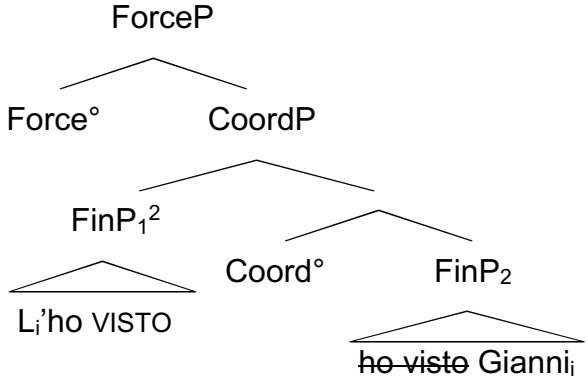
[1] In the author's labelling, κ is the correlate (the pronominal antecedent). CP_A is the clause containing the antecedent.

There are several main reasons to reject this option. The first one is conceptual: one of the reasons why the MCH was proposed in the first place is precisely that it allowed to dispense with a movement operation considered unmotivated. There are also empirical reasons to abandon coordination analyses: in what follows, I will show that adopting the MCH, with or without movement, overgenerates in other cases in addition to the ones discussed in the previous chapter.

To see why this is the case, let us first consider what should count as CP_A, i.e., the antecedent clause. There are cases in which this is straightforward, e.g. in main clauses:

(2) L_i' ho VISTO, $Gianni_i$.
cl.ACC have.1SG seen Gianni
'I saw him, Gianni.'

(3)



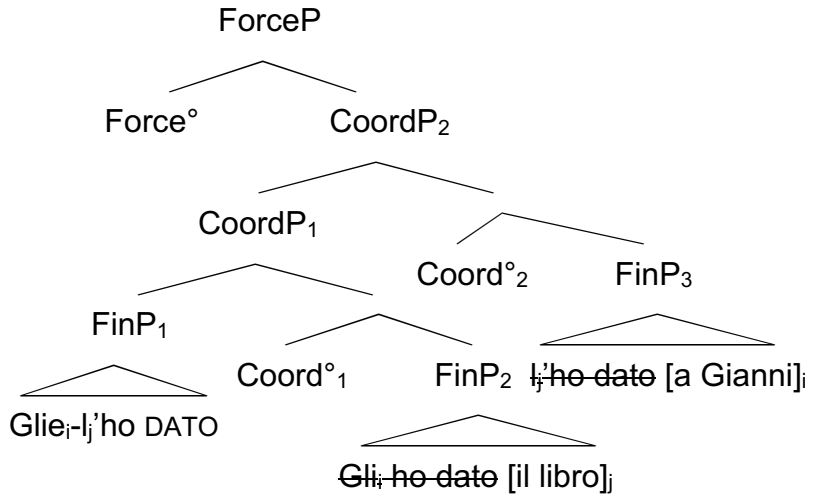
In (2), the entire clause *L'ho visto* 'I saw him' is CP_A, to which the elided clause is coordinated. There are situations in which identifying CP_A and the level at which coordination takes place is less clear. One such situation is exemplified by multiple dislocations, i.e., two or more dislocated elements with the antecedents in the same clause (e.g. all in the matrix or all in the embedded clause):

[2] I am reporting Fernández-Sánchez's use of the label FinP to indicate both the antecedent and the elided clauses. This is because the author argues that coordination in RD takes place below the level of Force, while it takes place at the Force level in the case of other right-peripheral fragments. Nothing of substance hinges on this for the purposes of the present discussion.

(4) Glie$_i$-l$_j$' ho DATO, [il libro]$_j$, [a Gianni]$_i$.
cl.DAT-cl.ACC have.1SG given the book to Gianni
'I gave the book to Gianni.'

Fernández-Sánchez assumes an antisymmetric X'-structure for coordination in Right Dislocation, where the antecedent clause is the specifier of the coordinating head, and the elided clause is the head's complement. Since (4) features two right-dislocated constituents, both of whose antecedents are in the main clause, there cannot plausibly be two complements. Fernández-Sánchez's solution is the following (the structure I am adopting follows closely Fernández-Sánchez 2017: 158, his (81), the original example being based on a Catalan sentence).

(5)



Right Dislocation is taken to be coordination plus ellipsis, and coordination can, at the highest level, be established between the elided clause and the *lowest* finite clause that contains the antecedent. In (5), two coordination relationships must be established. The issue is that given the underlying structure of the two elided clauses, each dislocated element has *two* potential antecedents, an overtly realised one and an elided one[3], and the corresponding elided clause two potential antecedent clauses

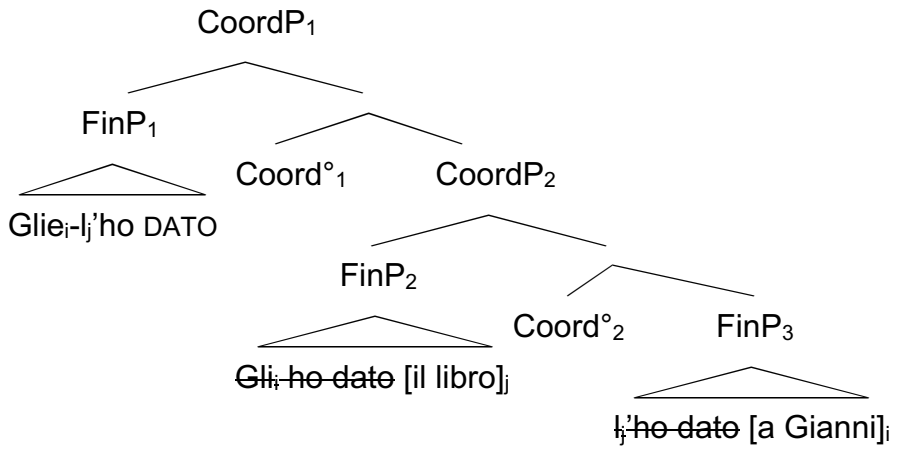
[3] That the antecedent of RD be overtly realised is not necessary, as (i) shows. Its underlying structure may be assumed to be represented in (ii) with ellipsis targeting the clitic, which may explain past participle agreement with the direct object (obligatory if the DO is realised as a clitic).

(i) Mangiata, la pizza?
eaten the pizza
'Did you eat it, the pizza?'

with which to enter a coordination relationship. Consider, for example, the PP *a Gianni*. It is in coordination with the entire $CoordP_1$, and we could take this to imply that it is in coordination with both clauses containing the co-indexed clitic. Given the formulation of the MCH, however, the only one that matters should be the lowest one, namely $FinP_2$, which is somewhat counterintuitive since we would expect the antecedent to be the overt one. The issue may be even more problematic if we consider the right-dislocated DP *il libro*. The elided clause of which it is a remnant is in coordination with $FinP_1$, but the lowest finite clause containing the antecedent is, strictly speaking, $FinP_3$. To solve this problem, one may simply take the relevant notion to be the specifier-complement relation that must hold between the antecedent clause (CP_A) and the elided clause (CP_E). In this case, $FinP_1$ would be the antecedent of $FinP_2$, and $CoordP_1$ would be the antecedent of $FinP_3$.

Crucially, the kind of structure proposed by Fernández-Sánchez for multiple dislocations is not the only one that may comply with the MCH. Sun (2021), for example, follows Ott & de Vries (2016) in taking the colon head :° (Koster 2000) to be the head that introduces specifying coordination between the antecedent and the elided clause. In her analysis, an antecedent clause that can license ellipsis in Right Dislocation is one that asymmetrically c-commands the elided clause(s). This condition is fulfilled in (6), which is also a MCH-compliant structure[4].

(6)



(ii) ~~L' hai~~ mangiata, la pizza?
cl.ACC have.2SG eaten.F thepizza

[4] Sun's analysis differs from Fernández-Sánchez's in that Sun proposes A'-movement of the dislocated element out of the ellipsis site, following Ott & de Vries (2016). The labels used are somewhat different, but they essentially denote the same relevant nodes: Sun's :P is equivalent, in terms of function, to Fernández-Sánchez's CoP/CoordP, and Sun's CP is equivalent to Fernández-Sánchez's FinP. I maintain Fernández-Sánchez's labels for the sake of consistency with the previous examples.

In (6), the elided clause whose remnant is the DP *il libro* is in coordination with the lowest finite clause containing the co-indexed accusative clitic, namely $FinP_3$. Moreover, the elided clause that has the PP *a Gianni* as its remnant is in coordination with $FinP_2$, which contains the dative clitic as part of the elided material.

Of course, the question may be raised of why the antecedent clause $FinP_1$ is there in the first place, since there is another (elided) clause, $FinP_2$, that satisfies the asymmetric c-command requirement necessary to license ellipsis in $FinP_3$. An answer could be that its presence is necessary to determine discourse-givenness of the material that is elided in $FinP_2$ and in $FinP_3$. Moreover, in Fernández-Sánchez's analysis, the antecedent clause (CP_A) and the elided clause (CP_E) are in a specifier-complement relation with respect to the coordinating head, to the effect that CP_A must asymmetrically c-command CP_E. Given this premise, we may observe how in (5), $CoordP_1$ counts as the antecedent of $FinP_3$, while $FinP_1$ is the antecedent of $FinP_2$. In (6), $FinP_1$ is unambiguously the antecedent of $FinP_2$, while it cannot be determined whether the antecedent of $FinP_3$ is $FinP_1$ or $FinP_2$.

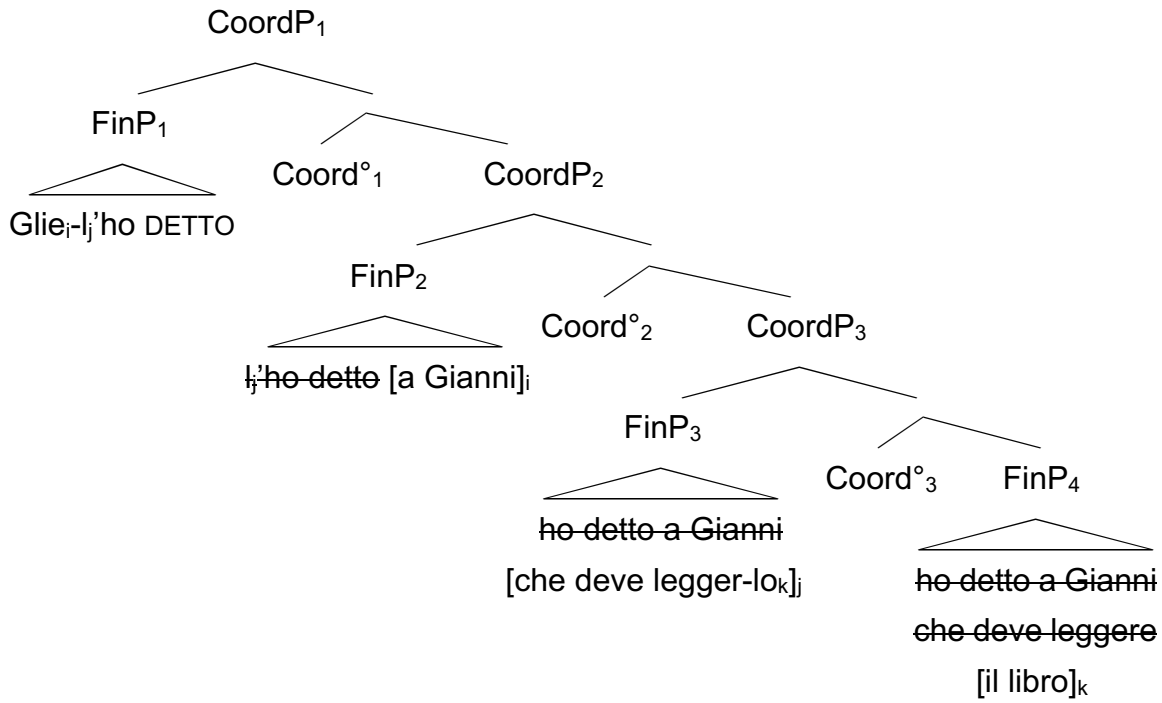
Moreover, there are cases that this analysis cannot deal with as easily. Accepting (6) as an MCH-compliant structure implies that similar structures may be available for cases of "intertwined" dislocations, as long as the requirements on coordination, and on the specifier-complement relation between CP_A and CP_E are met. Consider the contrast between (7) and (8).

(7) Glie$_i$-l$_j$' ho DETTO, [a Gianni]$_i$,
cl.DAT-cl.ACC have.1SG told to Gianni
[che deve legger-lo$_k$]$_j$, [il libro]$_k$.
that must.3SG read-cl.ACC the book
'I told Gianni that he must read the book.'

(8) *Glie$_i$-l$_j$' ho DETTO, [che deve legger-lo$_k$]$_j$,
cl.DAT-cl.ACC have.1SG told that must.3SG read-cl.ACC
[a Gianni]$_i$, [il libro]$_k$.
to Gianni the book

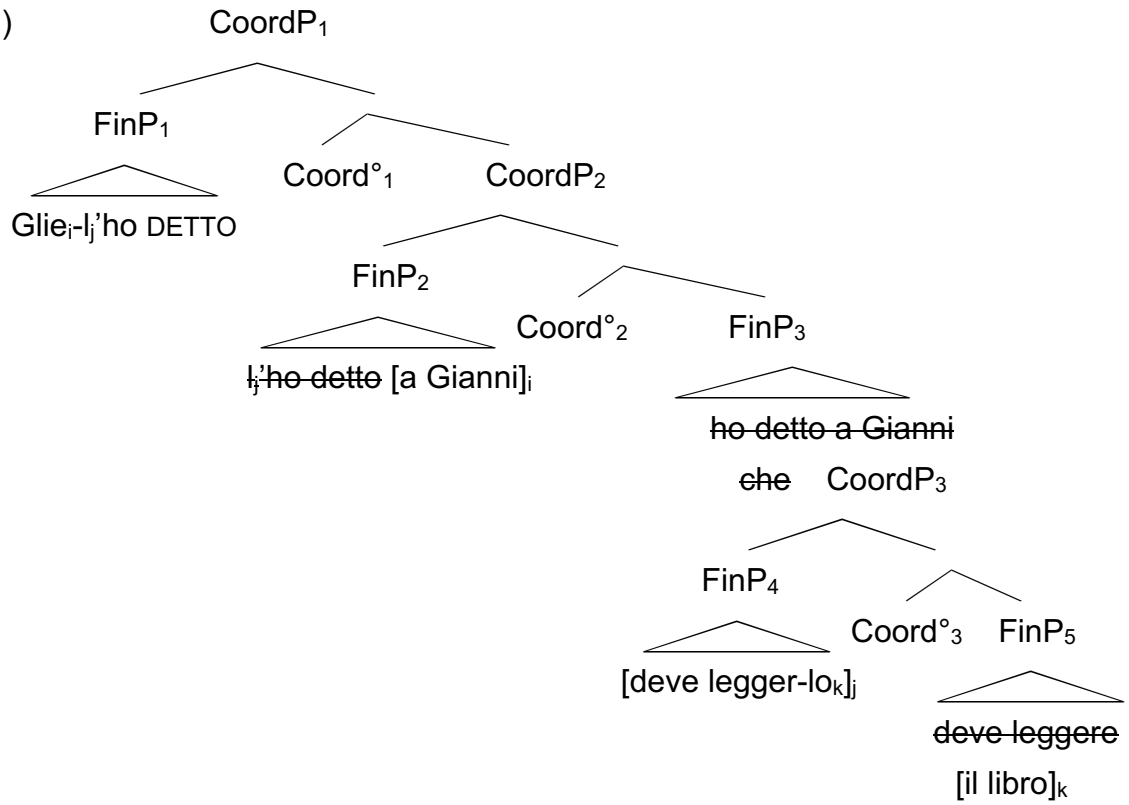
In (7), the matrix clause contains two clitics, co-indexed with the dislocated PP *a Gianni* and with the dislocated TP *che deve leggerlo* ('that he must read it'). This TP, in turn, contains an accusative clitic *lo* co-indexed with the dislocated DP *il libro* ('the book'). If each dislocated constituent is an elided clause that must be in coordination with the lowest finite clause containing the dislocate's pronominal correlate, the following structure should be available for (7).

(9)



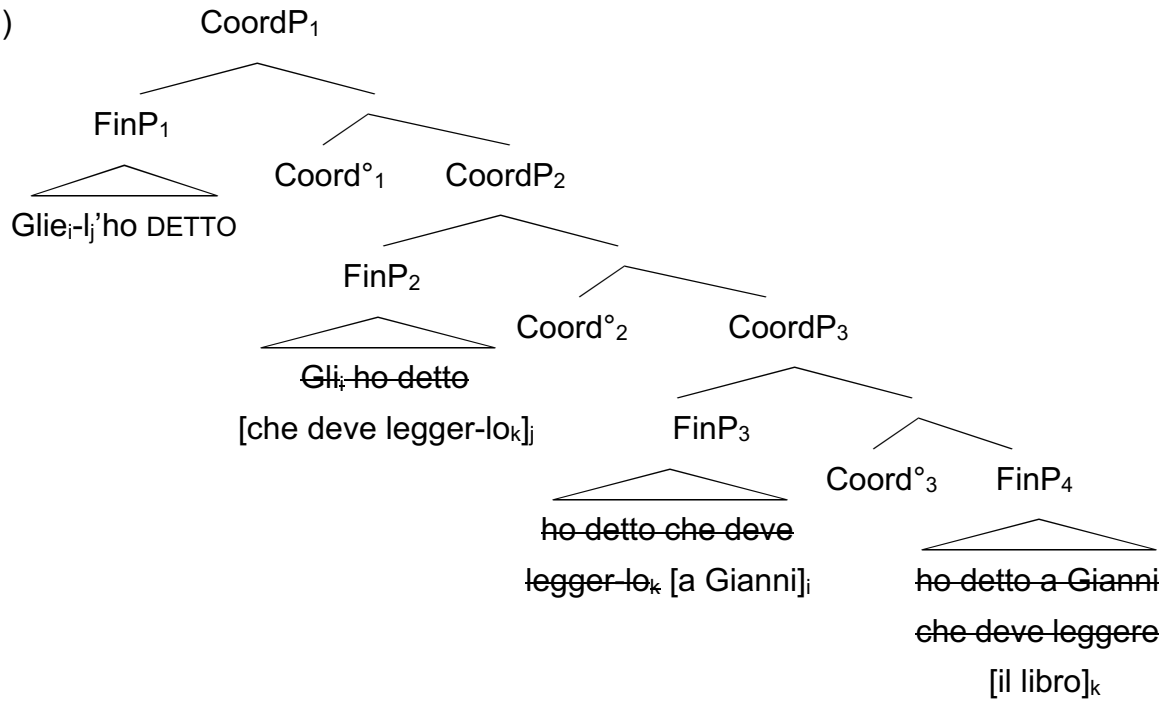
This, however, is not the only MCH-complying structure available for (7). Since the clitic *lo* that is co-indexed with the dislocated DP *il libro* is contained in a non-finite clause, the MCH predicts that coordination may happen at two levels: between finite clauses, as in (9), or between non-finite clauses, as in (10). Both types of structures are permitted.

(10)



The problem with allowing coordination between finite clauses, a necessary requirement to capture the distribution of right-dislocated elements with antecedents in non-finite clauses, is that it incorrectly generates sentences like (8), for which the structure in (11) is possible insofar as it complies with the MCH ($FinP_3$ can be the antecedent clause to $FinP_4$, creating an ungrammatical pattern of cataphoric dependencies that cross each other).

(11)



Crucially, sentences like (8) pose a problem for all those analyses of Right Dislocation that presuppose or argue for coordination between the antecedent clause and the elided clauses (Ott & de Vries 2012, 2016; Fernández-Sánchez 2017, 2020; Sun 2021).

In addition to overgenerating, coordination analyses of Right Dislocation undergenerate as well. In particular, it can be shown that they incorrectly predict extraction out of the antecedent clause to be ruled out. Consider, for example, the following pair:

(12) [A chi]$_i$ hai detto [$_{CP}$ che t_i hai regalato il libro t_i]?
to whom have.2SG said that have.2SG given the book
'Who did you say that you gave the book to?'

(13) [A chi]$_i$ hai detto [$_{CP}$ che t_i l' hai regalato t_i],
to whom have.2SG said that cl.ACC have.2SG given
[il libro]?
the book

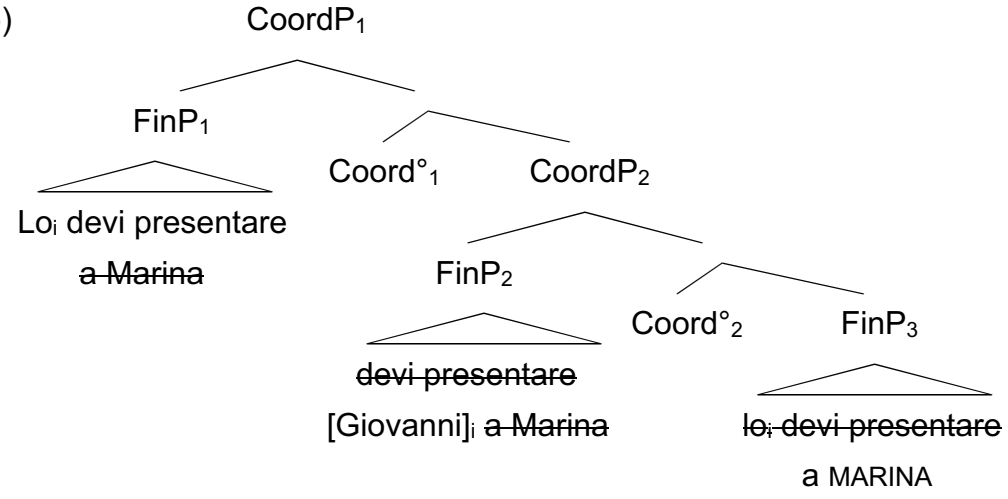
According to Ott & de Vries' (2016) and Fernández-Sánchez's (2017, 2020) analyses, the elided clause of which the DP *il libro* is a remnant in (13) is the complement of a coordinating head, its specifier being the embedded clause. If Right Dislocation were a coordinate structure, it should have been subject to the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC; Ross 1967), which prevents material from being extracted out of either coordinate. The acceptability of extraction out of the antecedent clause is thus left unexplained – in fact, it is predicted by these analyses to be ungrammatical.[5] It is, instead, easily accounted for if the embedded clause is not part of a coordination structure and wh-extraction out of it is regularly allowed.

Two more points deserve attention. Right Dislocation generally appears clause-finally, but it may also appear clause-medially, with material unambiguously belonging to the antecedent clause being inserted post-RD. This has been noticed, for example, by Bocci (2013):

(14) Lo$_i$ devi presentare, Giovanni$_i$, a MARINA!
cl.ACC must.2SG introduce Giovanni to Marina
'You must introduce him, Giovanni, to Marina!' (Adapted from Bocci 2013: 37)

How would a coordination theory of RD deal with such cases? One solution could be to assume that in these cases there are, in fact, two copies of the antecedent clause, with ellipsis applying to different constituents in each copy:

(15)



[5] It is possible to stipulate that wh-extraction takes place across-the-board (ATB), with two traces, one per coordinated clause. It would be necessary, in this case, to diagnose movement out of the elided clause.

One problem with this type of analysis is that it leads to an apparently unnecessary proliferation of structure. Whether this can be independently justified is a separate issue – see Giorgi (2015) for an implementation within the monoclausal class of analyses of RD.

Moreover, though it is not in principle implausible, it is at least unexpected that the coordinating head is never overtly realised. According to Sun (2021), its overt counterpart may be the particle *cioè* 'namely'; however, no examples are provided, and adding this particle to a right-dislocated element preceded by a clitic yields a degraded result, being more acceptable with strong pronouns:

(16) Ho parlato con LUI$_i$, cioè con MARIO$_i$.
have.1SG spoken with him namely with Mario
'I spoke to him, namely, to Mario.'

(17) *Ci$_i$ ho PARLATO, cioè [con Mario]$_i$.
cl.ADJ have.1SG spoken namely with Mario
Intended: 'I spoke to him, namely, to Mario.'

In conclusion, we have seen that there are reasons to believe that the elided clauses of which right-dislocated elements are remnants are not syntactically related to their respective antecedent clauses. The question, at this point, is how to properly constrain the distribution of right-dislocated elements in such a way as to not overgenerate. Before explaining how this can be achieved, the next section illustrates how right-dislocated elements share some properties with parentheticals, to which I argue that they should be assimilated.

4.3 Right Dislocation as a parenthetical

Parentheticals are known to be a heterogeneous class of elements, ranging from single words to entire clauses (Dehé & Kavalova 2007). While the idea that right-dislocated elements can be treated as parentheticals is not new (Giorgi 2015, Ott & de Vries 2016, Fernández-Sánchez 2017, 2020, Alzayid 2020, 2022), the question

that immediately arises is how to treat parentheticals themselves. Different solutions to the issue have been provided, ranging from “orphanage” accounts to accounts based on some kind of syntactic integration. In orphanage accounts (Haegeman 1988, Espinal 1991, Peterson 1999 a.o.), there is no integration between the parenthetical and the host clause, although, as McInnerney (2022) observes, it is not immediately clear how this class of theories can account for the distribution of parentheticals, which is not entirely free, as I will discuss soon. Another problem for orphanage accounts is that parentheticals do, in fact, show some level of integration at the interface levels. On the other hand, approaches based on a syntactic relation between the parenthetical and the host (de Vries 2007) may be better suited to explain how parentheticals are linearised into the host clause but run the risk of incorrectly predicting unexpected syntactic relations between host clause material and parenthetical material.[6] In this section, I hope to show that there are a number of reasons for reducing right-dislocated elements to parentheticals, based on their distribution and on their independence from the syntactic, prosodic, and information-structural point of view.

The starting point for the discussion is McInnerney (2022), who proposes that parentheticals are syntactically unintegrated in the host clause. They are formed in a secondary workspace, and integration takes place at the sensory-motor (SM) interface. Parentheticals are generally thought of as being in “free” distribution, meaning that their appearance is not limited to a single position within their host clause. However, they cannot simply appear anywhere in the host clause; rather, they tend to appear in certain niches. McInnerney proposes a phonosyntactic generalisation rooted in the prosodic hierarchy (Nespor & Vogel 1986; Selkirk 1986, 2011), based on the idea that syntactic constituents are mapped onto phonological constituents. Though exact correspondence cannot be established, it is sufficient to assume that the XP level of X’-theory in the syntax is mapped onto a phonological phrase (P), while a clause is mapped onto an intonational phrase (I). Given these background notions, to which I will return later in the chapter, McInnerney proposes

[6] Interestingly, Ackema & Neeleman (2004) show, based on data from Dutch, that while parentheticals cannot be reduced to adjuncts (as in accounts that rely on syntactic integration to the host clause), some level of integration can be seen insofar as host clause material can satisfy grammatical requirements imposed by parenthetical material. An example is the licensing of n-words contained in a parenthetical by a negative marker contained in the host (in the case of Right Dislocation, however, the restrictions on the appearance of NPIs and n-words are due to independent reasons, as discussed in the previous chapter).

that parentheticals can be inserted at phonological phrase boundaries in the host. Crucially, this corresponds with the positions where right-dislocated elements can be inserted. Trivially, the right-edge of a clause corresponds to the right-boundary of a phonological phrase (to which arguably VP is mapped), but as I will show in 4.4.1, phonological phrase boundaries internal to the intonational phrase onto which a clause is mapped are also suitable spaces for right-dislocated elements to be inserted. Overall, the phonosyntactic generalisation proposed by McInnerney can thus be applied to Right Dislocation, with the additional condition that the dislocated element must follow the co-referential antecedent, though this condition is due to discourse considerations, as I will explain in the following section.

Another property that Right Dislocation shares with parentheticals is the syntactic independence between right-dislocated elements and material in the antecedent clause (or host clause). That this is the case for Right Dislocation has been made evident in the discussion of binding data, where it has been shown that pronouns contained in right-dislocated elements cannot be bound by quantifiers contained in the antecedent clause, but rather two separate binding relations must hold, which can correctly explain the data presented based on a few additional assumptions.

Moreover, like (at least some) parentheticals, right-dislocated constituents show a degree of prosodic independence from the host clause. Italian Right Dislocation has been argued to project an intonational phrase independent from that of the antecedent clause (Frascarelli 2000). In varieties of Italian spoken in Tuscany, a phenomenon known as Gorgia Toscana (GT) is attested whereby a voiceless stop /p, t, k/ changes into the corresponding fricative [ɸ, θ, h] between two sonorants. GT applies at the level of the intonational phrase, so it can apply across two phonological phrases, but not across intonational phrases. The fact that at a relatively low speech rate, GT is not observed on a right-dislocated constituent (Frascarelli 2000: 48) can be taken as evidence that that constituent is mapped onto a separate intonational phrase – although, as Frascarelli notices, some form of prosodic restructuring may cause topic constituents, including right-dislocated ones, to be mapped onto the adjacent intonational phrase. The following example shows that GT does not apply to the /k/ in the dislocated proper name *Caterina*, so the stop is not transformed into a fricative:[7]

[7] Many thanks to Clelia Dini for her judgments, based on a variety of Tuscan Italian.

(18) Dopo quel giorno, non l' ho più INCONTRATA,
after that day NEG cl.ACC have.1SG anymore met
[k]aterina.
Caterina
'After that day, I never met Caterina anymore.'

Later in the chapter, I discuss how the prosodic independence of right-dislocated constituents has consequences for the distribution of post-RD material.

The issue of the information-structural status of right-dislocated elements has been discussed in existing biclausal analyses of RD. In Truckenbrodt (2013, 2016), right-dislocated elements are taken to be external to the focus-background structure of the host clause. This view is highly compatible with the idea that right-dislocated elements behave like parentheticals; they also resemble certain verb- and sentence-modifying adjuncts in that they answer a QUD independent from that addressed by the antecedent clause (Brunetti et al. 2021). As Ott & de Vries (2016) have shown, while right-dislocated elements (or backgrounded elements, in their terminology) are discourse-given, nothing prevents [+given] material from being part of the focus of a clause – as discussed, for example, in Schwarzchild (1999). In particular, right-dislocated elements are the focus of the elided clause to which they belong. This is consistent with the idea that they answer an independent QUD (Ott 2017). We may then assume that ellipsis in Right Dislocation is licensed not by semantic equivalence with the antecedent clause, as I have tentatively assumed up to this point, but by a principle like the one proposed by Reich (2007)[8] whereby ellipsis of non-focused material in a clause E is licensed iff QUD = $[\![E]\!]^F$. In the case of Right Dislocation, I take the relevant QUD to be the one triggered by the antecedent.[9]

Since focus attracts stress, one may wonder why right-dislocated elements are generally de-stressed. However, if we define stress in relative terms (e.g. as the property of being the prosodically strongest element in an intonational phrase), we can

[8] See Weir (2014) for a more recent development of this principle.
[9] Notice that Merchant's (2001, 2004) notion of e-GIVENNESS would not license ellipsis in Right Dislocation if we took the antecedent of ellipsis to be the antecedent clause. This is because e-GIVENNESS is defined in terms of F(ocus)-closure, namely, the substitution of focused constituents with existentially bound variables, but the focused element in the antecedent clause is, more often than not, different from the focused element in the elided clause.

conclude that RD elements comply with the requirement that focus attracts stress: that they tend to be mapped onto an independent intonational phrase and they are the prosodically strongest element in that intonational phrase, since the non-focal elements in the corresponding clause have been elided. Their flat prosodic contour may be the result of a clash between two conflicting requirements: the need to stress focus in the elided clause, and the fact that stressing the focus in the antecedent clause causes a post-focal pitch compression.

While I leave a more in-depth analysis of these aspects to future research, it is important to notice that reducing right-dislocated elements to parentheticals, given the similarities discussed up to this point, results in a conceptually more elegant theory, since no extra primitives need to be introduced. In the following paragraph, I outline an analysis that can correctly predict the distribution of right-dislocated elements that is consistent with what has been discussed so far regarding the "niches" in which parentheticals may appear, but that is also tied to principles that can be independently motivated.

4.4 Two principles

I propose that two principles, a discourse-semantic one and a syntactic one, jointly determine where right-dislocated elements can appear (with the additional assumption, motivated in the preceding chapter, that right-dislocated constituents undergo A'-movement out of the ellipsis site):

(19) *Question under Discussion Salience (QUDS)*
A right-dislocated element δ can be inserted as long as the QUD it answers is salient.

(20) *Ellipsis site size (ESS)*
Construct the ellipsis site as syntactically equivalent (modulo fronting of δ) to the first CP to the left of δ that contains the antecedent of δ.

The Question under Discussion Salience principle is adopted on the assumption, following Ott (2017), that a sentence addresses a (typically implicit) Question under

Discussion (QUD, following Roberts 1996/2012).[10] We may assume that an utterance answers a QUD, and that the QUD currently being addressed may be accommodated by the hearer. Crucially, a clitic or other pronominal antecedent may trigger a new QUD. The right-dislocated element that co-refers with the antecedent is inserted as a fragment answer to that QUD (see Merchant 2004, Brunetti 2003 for an analysis of fragments as focus movement out of the ellipsis site, and Sun 2021 for a recent suggestion that right-dislocated elements are fragments answers). In (21), I show how this analysis is applied to (2).

(21) [Q1: What did you do?]

L'$_i$ ho VISTO,
cl.ACC have.1SG seen

[Q2: Who did you see?]

[Gianni]$_i$ ~~ho visto t$_i$~~
Gianni have.1SG seen

Given how the principle has been formulated, the obvious question that arises is up to which point a QUD triggered by a pronominal is salient, and when it stops being salient. My proposal is to tie the salience of a QUD triggered by a clitic (or other pronominal element, including *pro*) to finiteness. In other words, a QUD answered via a right-dislocated element is salient as long as the smallest finite clause containing the trigger is being uttered or processed. The proposal is based on work by Bianchi (2003), who analyses finiteness as anchoring to an external logophoric centre or centre of deixis. This is defined as a speech event expressing spatial and temporal coordinates as well as an obligatory animate participant and an optional addressee. However, I argue that the centre of deixis also includes a function *f* that assigns values to variables. This claim is based on the similarity between Bianchi's model of the logophoric centre and

[10] My analysis, however, differs in crucial ways from Ott's. In particular, Ott does not assume that the dislocated element moves out of the ellipsis site. Moreover, his analysis is an attempt to derive locality properties of dislocations, such as island sensitivity, exclusively from discourse-related principles, while I show that such an analysis overgenerates – see 3.2.1.

models such as Quer (2001) and Giannakidou (1998), which are set against Stalnaker's (1978) ideas on the context-sensitivity of utterances. Stalnaker (1978) proposes that utterances are interpreted with respect to a certain context and result in an update of that context. Formally, a context *c* can be defined, following Giannakidou (1998), as a tuple of parameters; one of these parameters is a function *f* assigning values to variables. I propose that for each finite clause evaluated against a context *c* (which includes *f*), *f* is updated as the context is updated. Since right-dislocated elements have the function of disambiguating the referent of clitics, on the assumption that clitics are variables, introducing a right-dislocated element in an utterance results in an update of the function *f*. In Bianchi's model, finite clauses are anchored to an external centre of deixis, identifiable with the speech event, while some non-finite clauses are anchored to an internal centre of deixis, corresponding to another speech or mental event. As for non-finite clauses, I argue that the assignment of values to variables contained in these clauses is done via the function *f* expressed at the level of the (smallest) finite clause containing them. As the following sections in this chapter will show, tying QUD salience to finiteness has the welcome result of correctly predicting the distribution of right-dislocated elements in embedded contexts.

As for the Ellipsis Site Size principle, the literature on other elliptical constructions (Merchant 2001, Barros et al. 2014 a.o.) has shown that certain phenomena, such as apparent island violations in sluicing, may be explained by assuming that the ellipsis site sometimes has a 'short source' that crucially does not contain an island (see Abels 2019 for an overview). One may wonder, at this point, why this island evasion approach cannot be adopted in the analysis of Right Dislocation. In other words, if a short source for the ellipsis site is available in some cases of ellipsis to the point that apparent island repair effects arise, why is Right Dislocation always island-sensitive? I argue that the answer lies in the precise formulation of the Ellipsis Site Size principle, coupled with what I have proposed about A'-movement of the dislocated element. The principle makes crucial reference to linear order and to sentence processing: I propose that when hearing an utterance containing a dislocated element, hearers construct the ellipsis site differently depending on where the dislocated element appears. If the ellipsis site always corresponded to a 'long source', we would expect island effects to arise even where they do not, since the dislocated element would cross island boundaries. Conversely, if a short source were always available, no island effects would ever be encountered, contrary to fact – as I will discuss in 4.4.2. Instead,

anchoring the ellipsis site size to the position in which the dislocated element is placed, coupled with the Question under Discussion Salience principle and the movement-and-deletion analysis defended in the previous chapter, has the welcome effect of predicting all and only the correct positions in which right-dislocated elements can appear; at the same time, these principles can be traced back to independent considerations about discourse and ellipsis. In introducing the Ellipsis Site Size principle, it is important to clarify what I mean by *first CP to the left of δ*. The idea I am adopting is that in processing a sentence, when encountering a dislocated element, the parser searches leftwards for an antecedent clause to copy in order to reconstruct the ellipsis site. The first CP that is encountered is the one that will be copied. This implies that in the case of embedded-clause antecedents, if the dislocated element is inserted at the right edge of the embedded clause, the embedded clause will be copied; if it is inserted at the right edge of the main clause, the entire clause will be copied, with long-distance fronting of the dislocated element out of the ellipsis site. This has consequence for the range of possible structures. The following sections show the empirical adequacy of the analysis I am proposing.

4.4.1 Main-clause antecedents

As far as main clauses are concerned, the analysis I propose predicts that right-dislocated elements cannot appear any further than the right edge of the clause, but they may also appear clause-internally. This is a welcome result given the data, and a prediction that not all analyses of Right Dislocation can bear out:

(22) Lo$_i$ devi presentare, Giovanni$_i$, a MARINA!
cl.ACC must.2SG introduce Giovanni to Marina
'You must introduce him, Giovanni, to Marina!' (Adapted from Bocci 2013: 37)

This is because as long as the main clause is being uttered, the QUD raised by the antecedent contained in it can be answered via insertion of a right-dislocated constituent. Notice that insertion of the right-dislocated DP *Giovanni* is compatible with McInnerney's (2022) view that parentheticals must be inserted at a phonological phrase boundary in the host clause, on the assumption that the PP *a Marina* is mapped

onto an independent phonological phrase. The Question under Discussion Salience principle also accounts for apparent violations of the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC):

(23) a. L' ho spenta, la televisione, e sono uscito.
cl.ACC have.1SG turned-off the TV and am gone-out
'I turned off the TV and I went out.'

b. *L' ho spenta e sono uscito, la televisione.
cl.ACC have.1SG turned-off and am gone-out the TV

The ungrammaticality of (23b) is due to the dislocated element being inserted as an answer to a question that is not salient anymore, and not to an actual violation of the CSC:

(24) [Q1: What did you do?]

L_i' ho spenta
cl.ACC have.1SG turned-off

[Q2: What did you turn off?]

[Q3: What else did you do?]

e sono uscito,
and am gone-out

[Q4: Where did you go?]

#[la televisione]$_i$.
the TV

The underlying assumption here is that it is not just a clitic or other pronoun that can trigger a new QUD; a QUD may be accommodated by the hearer based on the flow of

the conversation. As the structure in (24) shows, Q2 is left unanswered. This is not a problem, as the referent of the clitic might be retrieved from the context. However, once a new question becomes relevant, Q2 cannot be answered anymore. If a right-dislocated element is inserted, it is interpreted as an answer to a new question, namely Q4, but it is not a congruent answer. The following section deals with more complex cases involving antecedents contained in embedded clauses.

4.4.2 Embedded-clause antecedents

Ott (2017) argues that QUD salience can account for island constraints as well. However, when the antecedent is in an embedded clause, the picture is more complex. Essentially, where the dislocated element can be inserted depends on whether the clause is contained in an island, and if it is not, whether it is finite or non-finite. In embedded clause context, the size of the ellipsis site becomes relevant as well, so these are the cases in which the effects of Ellipsis Site Size become visible. The patterns in (25)-(28) show where right-dislocated elements can or cannot appear depending on clause type (I am overlooking, for the moment, the fact that they can appear clause-medially, but nothing substantial hinges on this). The overall generalisation is the following: the rightmost position in which a right-dislocated element δ can be inserted is the right edge of the smallest finite clause containing the antecedent α, or the right edge of the smallest (finite or non-finite) clause contained in an island and that contains α.

(25) a. $[_{CP} \ldots [_{ISL\ [+fin]} \ldots \alpha_i \ldots] (\delta_i) \ldots]$
b. $[_{CP} \ldots [_{ISL\ [+fin]} \ldots \alpha_i \ldots] \ldots] (*\delta_i)$

(26) a. $[_{CP} \ldots [_{ISL\ [-fin]} \ldots \alpha_i \ldots] (\delta_i) \ldots]$
b. $[_{CP} \ldots [_{ISL\ [-fin]} \ldots \alpha_i \ldots] \ldots] (*\delta_i)$

(27) a. $[_{CP} \ldots [_{CP\ [+fin]} \ldots \alpha_i \ldots] (\delta_i) \ldots]$
b. $[_{CP} \ldots [_{CP\ [+fin]} \ldots \alpha_i \ldots] \ldots] (*\delta_i)$

(28) a. [$_{CP}$ … [$_{CP\ [-fin]}$ … α_i …] (δ_i) …]
b. [$_{CP}$ … [$_{CP\ [-fin]}$ … α_i …] …] (δ_i)

Cases in which the antecedent α to a right-dislocated element δ is contained in an island (25-26) pattern with cases in which the antecedent is in a finite embedded clause (27): the right-dislocated element cannot be inserted any further to the right than the right edge of the smallest clause containing the antecedent. This yields a pattern that resembles the Ross' Right Roof Constraint, although the constraint was formulated as pertaining to rightward movement, while here I am assuming that leftward movement in the elided clause is involved. If the antecedent is in a non-finite complement clause (28), instead, the dislocated element can appear further to the right, as far as the right edge of the main clause. In what follows, I show how the two principles Question under Discussion Salience and Ellipsis Site Size can account for these patterns.

4.4.2.1 Islands. This section is concerned with the patterns in (25)-(26). If the embedded clause containing the antecedent is an island, or is contained in an island, then the rightmost position in which the right-dislocated element can appear is the right edge of the embedded clause, whether finite or non-finite.

(29) a. Considero [$_{DP}$ l' idea [$_{CP}$ di aiutar-li$_i$]], [gli studenti]$_i$,
consider.1SG the idea of help-cl.ACC the students
un'ottima IDEA.
a great idea
'I consider the idea of helping the students a great idea.'

b. *Considero [$_{DP}$ l' idea [$_{CP}$ di aiutar-li$_i$]] un' ottima IDEA,
consider.1SG the idea of help-cl.ACC a great idea
[gli studenti]$_i$.
the students

(30) a. Incontrerò [$_{DP}$ l' uomo [$_{CP}$ che l'$_i$ ha scritto]],
meet.FUT.1SG the man who cl.ACC has written
[questo libro]$_i$, DOMANI.
this book tomorrow
'I will meet who has written this book tomorrow.'

b. *Incontrerò [$_{DP}$ l' uomo [$_{CP}$ che l'$_i$ ha scritto]] DOMANI,
meet.FUT.1SG the man who cl.ACC has written tomorrow
[questo libro]$_i$.
this book

The contrast in (30) can be explained as a violation of both Question under Discussion Salience and Ellipsis Site Size. If we consider Question under Discussion Salience, we can see that similarly to the main clause case discussed in (24), the right-dislocated element is inserted when the question it answers is not salient anymore.

(31) [Q1: What will you do?]

Incontrerò l' uomo che l'$_i$ ha scritto
meet.FUT.1SG the man who cl.ACC has written

[Q2: What did the man write?]

[Q3: When will you meet the man?]

DOMANI,

[Q4: What else will you do?/Where will you meet him?/What will you say to him?]

#[questo libro]$_i$.
this book

Notice that I am assuming Q4 to be any question that might be compatible with the continuation of the conversation. What is crucial is that Q4 is not equivalent to Q2, which is not salient anymore.

On the basis of the Ellipsis Site Size principle, (30b) is ungrammatical because if the right-dislocated element is inserted at the right edge of the matrix clause, the elided clause will be a copy of the entire clause. Leftward movement of the dislocated element out of the ellipsis site, at this point, results in an island violation:

(32) *Incontrerò [$_{DP}$ l' uomo [$_{CP}$ che l'$_i$ ha scritto]] DOMANI,
meet.FUT.1SG the man who cl.ACC has written tomorrow
[[questo libro]$_i$ ~~incontrerò l' uomo che ha scritto t$_i$ domani~~]
this book meet.FUT.1SG the man who has written tomorrow

One may wonder whether a principle like Question under Discussion Salience may be sufficient to account for this pattern. The need for both principles becomes evident if we look at (29). Here, the embedded clause is non-finite. Since I am assuming that QUD salience is tied to finiteness, the QUD triggered by the clitic should be salient until the right edge of the whole clause is reached. This would wrongly predict (29b) to be grammatical. Short of a rule about the size of the ellipsis site, we could take the elided clause to be a copy of the embedded clause, so that no island violation would arise, as in (33).

(33) *Considero [$_{DP}$ l' idea [$_{CP}$ di aiutar-li$_i$]] un' ottima IDEA,
consider.1SG the idea of help-cl.ACC a great idea
[[gli studenti]$_i$ ~~aiutare t$_i$~~]
the students help

In (34), instead, the Ellipsis Site Size principle predicts that the elided clause is syntactically equivalent to the main clause, so the ungrammaticality of (29b) is, again, the result of an island violation.

(34) *Considero [$_{DP}$ l' idea [$_{CP}$ di aiutar-li$_i$]] un' ottima IDEA,
consider.1SG the idea of help-cl.ACC a great idea
[[gli studenti]$_i$ ~~considero l' idea di aiutare t$_i$ un' ottima idea~~]
the students consider.1SG the idea of help a great idea

Without a principle like Ellipsis Site Size, it would be possible for an elided clause equivalent to the embedded clause to be inserted at the right edge of the main clause, without any island constraint being violated.

(35) *Considero [$_{DP}$ l' idea [$_{CP}$ di aiutar-li$_i$]] […], [[gli studenti]$_i$ ~~aiutare t$_i$~~]
consider.1SG the idea of help-cl.ACC the students help

The ungrammaticality of (29b), however, would be left unexplained short of further assumptions. The next section shows how the same pattern observed in island contexts appears in finite embedded clauses.

4.4.2.2 Finite complement clauses. Consider an example that follows the pattern in (27), which is reminiscent of the Right Roof Constraint (Ross 1967).

(36) a. Ha promesso [$_{CP[+fin]}$ che li$_i$ aiuteremo], [i ragazzi]$_i$, MARCO.
Has promised that cl.ACC help.FUT.1PL the boys Marco
'Marco has promised that we will help them, the boys.'

b. *Ha promesso [$_{CP[+fin]}$ che li$_i$ aiuteremo] MARCO, [i ragazzi]$_i$.
Has promised that cl.ACC help.FUT.1PL Marco the boys

I start from the assumption that a finite clause is anchored to an external centre of deixis – the speech event (Bianchi 2003) – which expresses, among other parameters a function *f* from variables to values. If we assume that every finite clause expresses a different function that assigns values to variables, then it is plausible that a variable contained in a clause C must be assigned a value by the function that is part of the context against which C is evaluated, and by no other function. Since a right-dislocated element provides a value to a variable expressed by a clitic, it must be inserted in a position in which the relevant function can provide the value. Thus, inserting the

dislocated DP *i ragazzi* (‘the boys’) at the right edge of the complement clause that is still being processed, as in (36a), yields an acceptable result.

As for the ungrammaticality of (36b), it does not result from a violation of the Ellipsis Site Size principle: it is not implausible for the ellipsis site to be a copy of the matrix and the embedded clause in the antecedent, with long-distance movement of the dislocated element prior to ellipsis. Rather, what is violated is Question under Discussion Salience. The QUD triggered by the clitic *li* can be answered as long as the embedded clause is being processed. If no QUD-answering right-dislocated element is inserted, the referent of the clitic may be provided deictically, via the extra-linguistic context, but the relevant QUD stops being salient as another QUD is addressed.

4.4.2.3 Non-finite complement clauses. In the case of right-dislocated elements with the antecedent in non-finite clauses, I propose that the relevant function from variables to values is part of the context against which the lowest *finite* clause is evaluated. This can explain apparent violations of the Right Roof Constraint without making reference to rightward movement (cf. Samek-Lodovici 2015, Fernández-Sánchez 2017, 2020): given an antecedent in a non-finite embedded clause, the right-dislocated element providing a referent to it may be inserted in at least two positions: at the right edge of the non-finite clause, or at the right edge of the first finite clause dominating the embedded one:

(37) a. [$_{CP}$ Si compiace [$_{CP[-fin]}$ di pescar-li$_i$], [pesci enormi]$_i$, MARCO].
REFL pleases to fish-cl.ACC fish huge Marco
‘Marco is pleased to catch huge fish.’

b. [$_{CP}$ Si compiace [$_{CP[-fin]}$ di pescar-li$_i$] MARCO], [pesci enormi]$_i$.
REFL pleases to fish-cl.ACC Marco fish huge
(adapted from Samek-Lodovici 2015: 128, his (127a))

The above data show the availability of two insertion sites for the dislocated DP. The Ellipsis Site Size principle predicts that the size of the elided clause in (37a) will be different from that of the elided clause in (37b). The following representations illustrate this point:

(38) a. Si compiace [$_{CP\ [-fin]}$ di pescar-li$_i$], [[pesci enormi]$_i$ ~~pescare t$_i$~~], MARCO].
REFL pleases to fish-cl.ACC fish huge fish Marco

b. [$_{CP}$ Si compiace [$_{CP\ [-fin]}$ di pescar-li$_i$] MARCO],
REFL pleases to fish-cl.ACC Marco
[[pesci enormi]$_i$ ~~si compiace [di pescare *t*$_i$] Marco~~].
fish huge REFL pleases to fish-cl.ACC Marco

In (38a), corresponding to (37a), the ellipsis site only copies material from the embedded clause; in (38b), which corresponds to (37b), material is copied from both the matrix and the embedded clause. The Question under Discussion Salience principle is not violated in either case, because the QUD triggered by the clitic is relevant as long as the smallest finite clause containing the antecedent is being processed. Moreover, it is predicted that if multiple right-dislocated elements are present in an utterance and the corresponding antecedents are part of the same finite clause (as discussed in the following section), they can appear in free order.

4.4.3 Antecedents in different clauses

Following Roberts (1996/2012) and Weir (2014), I have adopted the idea of a QUD-stack. The stack is an ordered set of questions that can be answered but have not been answered yet. Introducing a new QUD is tantamount to placing it on top of the stack, and answering one results in its removal from the stack. The last-in-first-out nature of the stack can easily capture the fact that in sentences with right-dislocated elements whose antecedents are contained in different clauses (e.g. one antecedent is in the matrix clause, and one is in an embedded clause), the order of right-dislocated elements necessarily mirrors that of the antecedents. The following data, adapted from Frascarelli (2004: 116), show this effect:

(39) a. ??Gli$_i$ ho detto che lo$_j$ VEDRÒ, Mario$_j$, [a Luigi]$_i$.
cl.DAT have.1SG said that cl.ACC see.FUT.1PL Mario to Luigi
'I told Luigi that I will see Mario.'

b. *Gli$_i$ ho detto che lo$_j$ VEDRÒ, [a Luigi]$_i$, Mario$_j$.
cl.DAT have.1SG said that cl.ACC see.FUT.1PL to Luigi Mario
Intended: 'I told Luigi that I will see Mario.'

While the marginality of the (a) sentence may be attributed to processing difficulties, the contrast with the ungrammatical (b) sentence is sharp. This can be explained as follows. The QUD stack has a last-in-first-out nature, so the last QUD to enter the stack is the first one that must be addressed. In (39), the QUD triggered by the dative clitic *gli* (a possible form of the question being "Who did you tell?") enters the stack, followed by the QUD triggered by the accusative clitic *lo* (in this case, a possible form of the question is "who will you see?"). Thus, the QUD raised by the accusative clitic is the one that needs to be answered first; in other words, the right-dislocated object DP, with its antecedent in the embedded clause must appear before the indirect object PP whose antecedent is in the matrix clause. This can explain the ordering restrictions on right-dislocated elements with antecedents in different clauses. One may wonder whether these assumptions about the QUD stack clash with the free order of right-dislocated elements whose antecedents are in the same (matrix or embedded) clause. I leave a more thorough investigation to further research, but I would like to suggest that the stack may be taken to be a partially ordered rather than a totally ordered set of questions. When, for example, two clitics that form a cluster, as *glie-lo* (dative plus accusative) in Italian, appear in a clause, the corresponding QUDs are added to the stack without one being ordered with respect to the other. This implies that speakers may choose the order in which the two QUDs are addressed. This characteristic of clitic clusters may be correlated to a specific syntactic configuration, namely, left-adjunction of the first clitic to the second, as opposed to their occupying different syntactic projections (see Pescarini 2017 and references therein). Conversely, a QUD triggered by an antecedent in an embedded clause will be ordered with respect to QUDs triggered by antecedents in the matrix clause.

4.4.4 RD with antecedents in right-dislocated elements

In this section, I return the contrast between (7) and (8), repeated below as (40) and (41), respectively.

(40) Glie$_i$-l$_j$' ho DETTO, [a Gianni]$_i$,
cl.DAT-cl.ACC have.1SG told to Gianni
[che deve legger-lo$_k$]$_j$, [il libro]$_k$.
that must.3SG read-cl.ACC the book
'I told Gianni that he must read the book.'

(41) *Glie$_i$-l$_j$' ho DETTO, [che deve legger-lo$_k$]$_j$,
cl.DAT-cl.ACC have.1SG told that must.3SG read-cl.ACC
[a Gianni]$_i$, [il libro]$_k$.
to Gianni the book

Under the analysis adopted, the contrast can be explained as follows. The two clitics in the antecedent clause trigger two new QUDs; no ordering is established among these two QUDs, so they could be answered, in principle, in either order. In (40), the QUD triggered by the dative clitic is the first one to be answered, and it is removed from the stack. Then, the QUD triggered by the accusative clitic is answered and removed. However, since the answer contains, in turn, a clitic that triggers a new question, the new question is added to the stack and immediately answered and removed.

In (41), the process is crucially different. The two QUDs raised by the antecedent clause clitics are both on top of the stack. Answering the QUD raised by the accusative clitic causes the question to be removed from the stack, but it places a new QUD (triggered by the clitic *lo* in the non-finite dislocated clause) on top of the stack; this QUD is the only one that can be answered at this point; instead, what is inserted is the PP *a Gianni*, which answers a QUD that is not on top of the stack anymore; in other words, it is not salient anymore. The ungrammaticality of (41) can thus be explained in terms of an incongruence between the QUD being addressed and the answer given. The Question under Discussion Salience principle, then, can conveniently account for the contrast without postulating syntactic coordination between the antecedent clause and the elided clause.

4.4.5 Interim summary

I have argued that the distribution of right-dislocated elements in Italian must be explained as the result of the interaction of a discourse and a syntactic principle. In this sense, Right Dislocation can be seen as a complex phenomenon. It is not possible to account for its distribution exclusively in terms of discourse factors, as in Ott (2017), or in terms of a coordination structure (as Ott and de Vries 2016 or Fernández-Sánchez 2017, 2020 have proposed). The analysis proposed here has the advantage of allowing a distribution of right-dislocated elements that reduces them to parentheticals (whose distribution can be independently accounted for, as in McInnerney's 2022 proposal) while also avoiding overgeneration.

4.5 Dealing with exceptions: post-RD elements

One of the consequences of Question under Discussion Salience is that an answer to a new QUD may be provided as long as the question is salient, so there may be more than one site where a right-dislocated element may be inserted to answer a QUD raised by an antecedent. From the phonological point of view, I am following McInnerney (2022: 399) in taking parentheticals to be inserted at a phonological phrase boundary in their host. This means right-dislocated constituents may appear not only at the right edge of their respective antecedent clauses, but also clause-medially (as already observed by Bocci 2013), as long as that clause-medial position corresponds to a phonological phrase boundary and the QUD they answer is salient at that point in the utterance. The analysis outlined in this chapter is consistent with this prediction, as it allows for a more liberal, albeit not unconstrained, distribution of right-dislocated elements. There are, however, cases in which clause-medial insertion of a right-dislocated element results in ungrammaticality. In particular, unstressed n-words cannot appear after right-dislocated elements. This section aims to provide an Optimality Theory-based explanation, analysing the prosody of the relevant sentences.

When appearing sentence-medially, right-dislocated elements may precede or follow the elements that bear main stress (we assume that the latter are part of the focus of the antecedent clause, since focus attracts stress – see Jackendoff 1972).

There is no restriction on the types of elements that can appear after Right Dislocation when they bear main stress. The following pair shows that both proper names and n-words, for example, are allowed:

(42) Lo$_i$ devi presentare, Giovanni$_i$, a MARINA!
cl.ACC must.2SG introduce Giovanni to Marina
'You must introduce him, Giovanni, to Marina!' (Adapted from Bocci 2013: 37)

(43) Non lo$_i$ devi presentare, Giovanni$_i$, a NESSUNO!
NEG cl.ACC must introduce Giovanni to anyone
'You must not introduce him, Giovanni, to anyone!'

The picture is slightly more complex when both a right-dislocated element and post-RD antecedent-clause material follow main stress, i.e., when destressed elements appear after a right-dislocated one. Destressed, discourse-given lexical XPs belonging to the antecedent clause can generally appear freely post-RD. These elements cannot be analysed as being right-dislocated *stricto sensu* insofar as no co-referential clitic precedes them:

(44) Lo$_i$ devi presentare DOMANI, Giovanni$_i$, a Marina!
cl.ACC must.2SG introduce tomorrow Giovanni to Marina
'You must introduce him tomorrow, Giovanni, to Marina!'

In (44), no dative clitic is present in the antecedent clause that co-refers with the post-RD PP *a Marina*. As Cardinaletti (2002) and Samek-Lodovici (2015) have shown, these cannot be instances of optional or null clitics, since – for example – it would be left unexplained why such clitics could not appear without a co-referential dislocated constituent (notice that the verb *presentare* 'introduce' requires both a direct and an indirect object):

(45) a. Glie-lo devi presentare.
cl.DAT-cl.ACC must.2SG introduce
'You must introduce him to him/her.'

b. *Lo devi presentare.
cl.ACC must.2SG introduce
Intended: ‘You must introduce him to him/her.’

c. *Gli/le devi presentare.
cl.DAT.M/cl.DAT.F must.2SG introduce
Intended: ‘You must introduce him to him/her.’

Two analyses have so far been provided for post-focal elements depending on the environment in which they appear. If they appear after a contrastive focus (CFoc), they can be marginalised (destressed in situ), or right-dislocated without a clitic (for example, by right-adjunction to the host clause – see Samek-Lodovici 2015 for the claim that both clitic and cliticless Right Dislocation exist). Cliticless Right Dislocation is predicted to be possible after both CFoc and informational – i.e., non-contrastive – focus (IFoc). However, n-words are more constrained. They cannot appear after a <CFoc RD> or a <IFoc RD> configuration, as Samek-Lodovici (2015) has shown. In what follows, I propose an analysis that can explain why destressed n-words cannot appear after a right-dislocated element, without resorting to the existence of a cliticless RD[11].

4.5.1 Prosodic Constraints

I start from the assumption that prosodic structure is organised hierarchically (Selkirk 1984, 1986, 1995; Hammond 1984; Halle & Vergnaud 1987; Hayes 1995). The levels that are relevant for the present discussion are, from lowest to highest, the phonological word (W), the phonological phrase (P), and the intonational phrase (I). At an even higher level, we find the utterance phrase (U). I also adopt a version of the Strict Layering Hypothesis (see Selkirk 2011), whereby each prosodic constituent of layer *j* is dominated by a constituent of layer *j+1*. This implies that recursion is ruled

[11] Samek-Lodovici (2015), proposes that RD is derived via movement out of TP with subsequent TP remnant movement. In his analysis, all post-RD elements are themselves right-dislocated. A destressed, post-RD n-word would thus be right-dislocated to a position in which it is not c-commanded by its licenser, resulting in ungrammaticality regardless of whether a co-referential clitic is present or not.

out in prosodic structure, although some kind of prosodic adjunction may be possible. The analysis is based on a set of optimality-theoretic constraints. The constraints in (46)-(47) are adopted from Samek-Lodovici (2015: 243). The StressFocus (SF) constraint imposes focused elements to be prosodically prominent in their intonational phrase.

(46) *StressFocus (SF)*
For any focused phrase XP_F and for any YP in the focus domain of XP_F, XP_F is prosodically more prominent than YP.

The Head-of-intonational-phrase constraint requires that the head of an intonational phrase, i.e., main stress, be aligned with the right boundary of that intonational phrase.

(47) *Head-of-intonational-phrase (Hd-ip)*
Align the right boundary of every intonational phrase with its head.

A third constraint is the Scope Prosody Correspondence (SPC):

(48) *Scope Prosody Correspondence (SPC)*
Place a NPI/n-word in the same intonational phrase as its licenser.

This constraint is adapted from Hirotani (2005) who proposed it as a processing constraint based on data from Japanese; the constraint predicts that if an n-word and negation are in the same prosodic unit (a major phonological phrase, or MaP, in the cases she discussed) they are easier to process than if they are in different prosodic units.

An obvious question is whether there may be independent evidence for the Scope Prosody Correspondence constraint. A positive answer comes from Błaszczak & Gärtner (2005). They propose a Condition on Extended Scope Taking (CEST), which stipulates that for a negative element to extend its scope over a region σ, σ must be both linearly and prosodically continuous. This implies that if an intonational phrase boundary is inserted in a given context, the scope of a negative element cannot be extended. In (i) (adapted from Błaszczak & Gärtner 2005: 8), the n-word *nessuno* in the embedded clause can take wide scope up to the matrix clause:

(49) Non voglio che venga nessuno.
NEG want.1SG that comes.SBJV nobody
'I don't want anyone to come.'

If a prosodic break is inserted that signals an intonational phrase boundary, the sentence is not acceptable (the break is indicated by the || symbol, following the authors' notation):

(50) ??Non voglio || che venga nessuno.
NEG want.1SG that comes.SBJV nobody

In this respect, the CEST and the Scope Prosody Correspondence constraint make a similar prediction: (49) is acceptable insofar as the negative marker and the n-word are in the same intonational phrase, but (50), where Scope Prosody Correspondence is violated, is not. Moreover, R-expressions do not generate the same contrast, as (51) shows.

(51) a. Non voglio che venga Gianni.
NEG want.1SG that comes.SBJV Gianni
'I don't want Gianni to come.'

b. Non voglio || che venga Gianni.
NEG want.1SG that comes.SBJV Gianni

Finally, I introduce a constraint on linear order in ditransitives:

(52) *Unmarked order in ditransitives (DO-IO)*
The unmarked order in ditransitives is <DO IO>.

This constraint is based on a study of canonical word order in Italian by Samek-Lodovici (2015). I assume that variation in the order of the two objects stems from a different linearisation (in the spirit of Abels & Neeleman 2009, 2012) given the same hierarchical relations. I take as competing candidates only those with the same syntactic structure. What can vary is 1) the prosodic mapping (at the phonological and

intonational phrase level), 2) the relative order of the two objects in ditransitive constructions, and 3) the position in which right-dislocated elements are placed post-syntactically. Since right-dislocated elements are syntactically unintegrated parentheticals, their position does not affect the syntax of the antecedent clause; they can be inserted following the right boundary of phonological phrases and necessarily to the right of the co-referring antecedent. In addition to the abovementioned constraints, the following ranking is adopted:

(53) {SF, SPC}

{Hd-ip, DO-IO}

I am crucially assuming that SF and SPC on the one hand, and Hd-ip and DO-IO on the other hand, are tied constraints. In Optimality Theory, this allows to account for optionality, although optionality is often assumed to be only apparent (see Legendre 2019: 270) and may result from different idiolects (i.e., different grammars for the same individual). In the case at hand, for example, the equal ranking of Hd-ip and DO-IO (which will be shown to be crucial in accounting for a set of data) may be taken to stem from two grammars with opposite rankings: one in which Hd-ip dominates DO-IO, and one in which DO-IO dominates Hd-ip. For the sake of simplicity, in the relevant tableaux, I will take the constraints to be equally ranked, with a dotted line indicating that all other things being equal, violating one constraint or the other yields the same result. Based on the constraints and their ranking, we can provide an analysis that accounts for the distribution of n-words before and after right-dislocated elements, further discussed below.

4.5.2 Contrastive focus

When focus is contrastive, a destressed n-word can appear after a contrastively focused element if no right-dislocated element is inserted between them. If a right-dislocated element is inserted between the focused element (marked with the $_F$ subscript) and the n-word, the sentence is ungrammatical. It is generally assumed that

marginalised (destressed in situ) elements in Italian can only follow a contrastive focus.

(54) [Context: Did you not write anything to Gianni?]

a. No, non gli ho [DETTO]$_F$ niente, a Gianni.
no NEG cl.DAT have.1SG said anything to Gianni
'No, I didn't say anything to Gianni.'

b. *No, non gli ho [DETTO]$_F$, a Gianni, niente.
no NEG cl.DAT have.1SG said to Gianni anything
Intended: 'No, I didn't say anything to Gianni.'

I propose that (54a) is the candidate that optimally satisfies the constraint ranking in (53). The candidate set is formed by taking into account three variables: phonological (P) phrasing, intonational (I) phrasing, and the position of the right-dislocated element. I do not include candidates that violate the high-ranking StressFocus constraint, which are necessarily ruled out. Moreover, the tableau does not include the DO-IO constraint, which is vacuously satisfied as it can only be violated in ditransitive structures. Empirical evidence suggests that right-dislocated elements are generally mapped onto independent intonational phrases (Frascarelli 2000, Bocci 2013, Cruschina 2021), albeit with some exceptions, as noted by Frascarelli (2000). For this reason, the candidate set includes candidates in which the dislocated element is mapped onto an independent I as well as candidates in which it is integrated into the intonational phrase headed by the focused verb. I exclude cases in which it is mapped onto the intonational phrase headed by the object, given the lack of evidence that the two objects in a ditransitive structure may be integrated into a single intonational phrase, to the exclusion of other elements. I also do not consider mapping of the right-dislocated IO onto the same phonological phrase as the antecedent clause verb (see Frascarelli 1999, 2000). The right-dislocated element can be thus placed at the right edge of the antecedent clause or between the verb and the object.

As for phonological phrasing, I consider two possibilities: either the verb V, the negative DO (DO_N) and the right-dislocated IO (IO_R) are mapped onto separate Ps, or

the verb and the DO are mapped onto one P (based on Ghini 1993) and the right-dislocated IO is mapped onto a different one.

Finally, the options for intonational phrasing are three: one intonational phrase including the entire antecedent clause and the dislocated element; an intonational phrase for the antecedent clause and a separate one for the dislocated element; or an intonational phrase whose right boundary is marked by the focused verb (following Frascarelli 2000), one including only the postfocal direct object, and one including the dislocated element. I am assuming that the elements preceding the verb (the negative marker, the dative clitic, and the auxiliary) are mapped onto the same phonological phrase (and therefore onto the same intonational phrase) as the verb. The following tableau shows the candidate set out of which the grammatical representation is chosen.

(55) Candidate set for (54)

	SPC	Hd-ip
(a) (x _ _) I (x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V_F DO_N IO_R		**
☞ (b) (x _)(x) I (x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V_F DO_N IO_R		*
(c) (x)(x)(x) I (x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V_F DO_N IO_R	*	
(d) (x _ _) I (x _)(x) P NEG cl Aux V_F DO_N IO_R		**
☞ (e) (x _)(x) I (x _)(x) P NEG cl Aux V_F DO_N IO_R		*
(f) (x _ _) I (x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V_F IO_R DO_N		**
(g) (x _)(x) I (x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V_F IO_R DO_N	*	*
(h) (x)(x)(x) P (x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V_F IO_R DO_N	*	

As the tableau shows, two candidates ((b) and (e)) are chosen as the optimal candidates as they only violate one constraint (Hd-ip) that ranks lower than SPC, and only do so once. Whether a choice may be made between these two candidates depends on other factors which I have not taken into account, although I would like to suggest that phonological phrasing may play a role.[12] What matters for the purposes

[12] We may adopt a constraint like Head-of-phonological-phrase (Hd-pp) as discussed in Samek-Lodovici (2015), whereby the right boundary of a phonological phrase must be aligned with the head of that phrase. It would be predicted that (55e) violates Hd-pp once, while (55b) does not, being chosen

of the present discussion is that the contrast in (54) can be predicted by this model. Candidates (c), (g) and (h) violate Scope Prosody Correspondence, a higher-ranked constraint, since they map the direct object n-word onto a separate intonational phrase than the one containing the licenser. In all three cases, the right-dislocated element is inserted sentence-finally and is thus unproblematic. In both (f) and (h), the right-dislocated PP *a Gianni* is inserted between the focused past-participial verb and the n-word, but different constraints are violated. In (f), the dislocated PP is mapped onto a phonological phrase which, in turn, forms part of the intonational phrase corresponding to the antecedent clause. Not mapping the dislocated element onto a separate intonational phrase causes two violations of Hd-ip. In (h), instead, mapping the dislocated PP onto a separate intonational phrase forces the material to the left and to the right of it to be mapped onto distinct intonational phrases. This leads to a violation of the Scope Prosody Correspondence principle. Since I am assuming non-recursivity of prosodic structure, I rule out the mapping of the dislocated constituent onto an intonational phrase that is in turn contained within another intonational phrase. It is interesting to notice that like right-dislocated elements, other parentheticals yield a more acceptable result if inserted after the marginalised n-word rather than between the n-word and the focused element:

(56) [Context: Did you not write anything to Gianni?]

a. Non gli ho [DETTO]$_F$ niente, se ricordo bene.
NEG cl.DAT have.1SG said anything if remember.1SG well
'I didn't say anything to him, if I remember well.'

b. ??No, non gli ho [DETTO]$_F$, se ricordo bene, niente.
no NEG cl.DAT have.1SG said if remember.1SG well anything
Intended: 'I didn't say anything to him, if I remember well.'

as the only optimal candidate. However, it is worth noticing that both models predict the grammaticality of (54a) and the ungrammaticality of (54b).

4.5.3 Non-contrastive focus

In this section, I will first look at cases without Right Dislocation, and then introduce RD into the picture. Let us start with the observation that post-focal n-words are possible after an information focus (in (57), the focused constituent is the DO *Gianni*).

(57) [Context: Who did you not introduce to anyone?]

a. Non ho presentato a nessuno [GIANNI]$_F$.
NEG have.1SG introduced to anyone Gianni
'I didn't introduce Gianni to anyone.'

b. Non ho presentato [GIANNI]$_F$ a nessuno.
NEG have.1SG introduced Gianni to anyone

We need to account for optionality in cases like (57). I argue that the two structures are syntactically equivalent, and only differ in linearisation of the two objects. The linear order of the direct and the indirect object in ditransitive constructions does not affect quantifier scope:

(58) a. Ho mostrato un ritratto ad ogni visitatore. ∀ > ∃ / ∃ > ∀
have.1SG shown a portrait to every visitor
'I showed a portrait to every visitor.'

b. Ho mostrato adogni visitatore un ritratto. ∀ > ∃ / ∃ > ∀
have.1SG shown to every visitor a portrait

(59) a. Ho mostrato ogni ritratto adun visitatore. ∀ > ∃ / ∃ > ∀
have.1SG shown every portrait to a visitor
'I showed every portrait to a visitor.'

b. Ho mostrato adun visitatore ogni ritratto. ∀ > ∃ / ∃ > ∀
have.1SG shown to a visitor every portrait

This can be explained as follows. The verb merges with the direct object, and the indirect object is merged at a subsequent step so that it c-commands the DO. The verb moves above both objects for independent reasons. At spell-out, the IO may be linearised to the left or the right of the DO, yielding two possible word orders even if the hierarchical relations are unchanged. However, Quantifier Raising of the DO at LF may invert scope relations, so that a DO may take scope over the IO. This explains why both scope relations are possible in ditransitives while allowing for two possible linearisations given the same syntactic structure. Here I am only considering cases with a dative PP and not dative clitics, which we have shown to have a different behaviour as they create a scope-freezing configuration.

In the tableau that follows, the candidate set is formed, once again, based on different possible prosodic mappings at the phonological phrase and at the intonational phrase level, in addition to the two different linearisations of the two objects, the focused direct object DO_F and the negative indirect object IO_N. Candidates that do not satisfy StressFocus have been excluded, since StressFocus ranks as high as SPC and violating it automatically makes a candidate suboptimal.

When the order is <V DO_F IO_N>, as in (f) and (g), the focused DO is always mapped onto the same phonological phrase as the verb, based on Frascarelli's (1999, 2000) observation on focus restructuring: focused constituents are incorporated into the phonological phrase on their non-recursive side (in Italian, the left side). This mapping is also consistent with Ghini's (1993) observation that phonological phrase boundaries are assumed to be found at the right edge of maximal projections (see also Selkirk 1986). Moreover, focused elements tend to align with a prosodic boundary (Frascarelli 1999, 2000 a.o.), which excludes their mapping onto the phonological phrase to which the constituent to their right (in this case, the IO) belongs.

When the order is <V IO_N DO_F>, there are two possible mappings at the phonological phrase level, arising from different possible analyses. One analysis is based on Ghini's (1993) algorithm of phonological phrase formation in Italian. In Ghini's (1993) proposal, the formation of a phonological phrase is delimited by right-edge syntactic phrase boundaries; this implies that the DO and the IO should always be mapped onto different phonological phrases. It also predicts that the verb and the IO will be part of the same phonological phrase. Frascarelli's focus restructuring generalisation, instead, predicts that the two objects will be part of the same phonological phrase if the order is <IO_N DO_F>. This is because the focused constituent

is integrated into the phonological phrase to its left; in this case, it is the phonological phrase onto which the IO is mapped. While the issue of which model makes the most accurate predictions is beyond the scope of the present discussion, I will consider both mappings; it is sufficient to notice that in either mapping, the winning candidates correspond to one of the two grammatical sentences in (57). I also consider a third option, whereby the verb and the IO are mapped onto different phonological phrases. The tableau in (60) shows why multiple candidates can be chosen out of the set, which explains the optionality observed in (57).

(60) Candidate set for (57)

	SPC	Hd-ip	DO-IO
☞ (a) (x) I (x) P NEG cl Aux V IO_N DO_F			*
☞ (b) (x) I (x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V IO_N DO_F			*
☞ (c) (x)(x) I (x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V IO_N DO_F			*
☞ (d) (x) I (x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V IO_N DO_F			*
(e) (x)(x) I (x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V IO_N DO_F	*		*
☞ (f) (x)(x) I (x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V IO_N DO_F			*
(g) (x)(x)(x) I (x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V IO_N DO_F	*		*
☞ (h) (x _) I (x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V DO_F IO_N		*	
(i) (x)(x) I (x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V DO_F IO_N	*		

The winning candidates are (a), (b), (c), (d), (f) and (h), with (a), (b), (c), (d) and (f) corresponding to (57a) and (h) corresponding to (57b), respectively. These candidates violate one of the equally ranked constraints DO-IO or Hd-ip, which rank lower than SPC, only once; crucially, they do not violate Scope Prosody Correspondence, which is violated by (e), (g), and (i).

Next, consider how the insertion of a right-dislocated PP doubled by the adjunct clitic *ci* affects n-words by making them unavailable after a right-dislocated element if they are, information-structurally, part of the background in the antecedent clause; this is because Scope Prosody Correspondence is violated. No such effect arises if the n-word appears before right-dislocated elements, as in (61b)-(61d).

(61) [Context: Who did you not introduce to anyone in that room?]

a. *Non ci$_i$ ho presentato GIANNI, [in quella stanza]$_i$,
NEG cl.ADJ have.1SG introduced Gianni in that room
a nessuno.
to anyone
Intended: 'I didn't introduce Gianni to anyone in that room.'

b. Non ci$_i$ ho presentato GIANNI a nessuno,
NEG cl.ADJ have.1SG introduced Gianni to anyone
[in quella stanza]$_i$.
in that room
'I didn't introduce Gianni to anyone in that room.'

c. Non ci$_i$ ho presentato a nessuno,
NEG cl.ADJ have.1SG introduced to anyone
[in quella stanza]$_i$, GIANNI.
in that room Gianni

d. Non ci$_i$ ho presentato a nessuno GIANNI,
NEG cl.ADJ have.1SG introduced to anyone Gianni
[in quella stanza]$_i$.
in that room
'I didn't introduce Gianni to anyone in that room.'

The contrast between (61a) and the other sentences in (61) can be derived by considering a candidate set in which the dimensions of variation are the position in

which the right-dislocated prepositional phrase PP_R is inserted (clause-finally or between the two objects), the order of the two objects (the focused direct object DO_F and the negative indirect object IO_N), and prosodic phrasing at the phonological and intonational phrase level. As was the case in (60), there are two possible orders for the objects. The focused DO is integrated into the same phonological phrase as the verb when the order is <V DO_F IO_N>, as in (62a)-(62e). The DO_F and the IO_N are always in separate phonological phrases. When the order is <V IO_N DO_F>, I assume that the DO_F never restructures into the preceding phonological phrase, while the IO_N can be mapped onto either a separate phonological phrase or the one to which the verb belongs. As for the prosodic mapping of the right-dislocated phrase, I assume it is always mapped onto an independent phonological phrase. Right-dislocated elements generally form independent intonational phrases, but they may be integrated into an adjacent intonational phrase at faster speech rates (Frascarelli 2000). For this reason, I also include candidates in which the dislocated element is part of the same intonational phrase as the phrase onto which the antecedent clause is mapped. I am not considering candidates with the orders <PP_R DO_F IO_N> and <PP_R DO_F IO_N>, as mapping PP_R onto a separate intonational phrase necessarily leads to a violation of Scope Prosody Correspondence, making the candidates suboptimal. The candidate set for (61) is illustrated in the following tableau.

(62) Candidate set for (61)

	SPC	Hd-ip	DO-IO
☞ (a) (x _)(x) I (x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V DO_F IO_N PP_R		*	
(b) (x _ _) I (x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V DO_F IO_N PP_R		**	
(c) (x)(x)(x) I (x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V DO_F IO_N PP_R	*		
(d) (x)(x)(x) I (x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V DO_F PP_R IO_N	*		
(e) (x _ _) I (x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V DO_F PP_R IO_N		**	
☞ (f) (x)(x) I (x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V IO_N DO_F PP_R			*
(g) (x _ _) I (x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V IO_N DO_F PP_R		**	
☞ (h) (x)(x) I (x)(x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V IO_N DO_F PP_R			*
(i) (x _) I (x)(x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V IO_N DO_F PP_R		*	*
☞ (j) (x) I (x)(x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V IO_N PP_R DO_F			*
☞ (k) (x)(x)(x) I (x)(x)(x)(x) P NEG cl Aux V IO_N PP_R DO_F			*

The winning candidates are those that do not violate Scope Prosody Correspondence and inevitably violate either Hd-ip or DO-IO, but not both. These are (a), (f), (h), (j), and (k). The remaining candidates are ruled out for different reasons: because they violate Scope Prosody Correspondence ((c) and (d)), they violate Hd-ip twice ((e) and (g)), or they violate once both Hd-ip and DO-IO, as in (i). The ungrammatical (61a) may be assigned one of two representations, namely (62d) or (62e). The only possible prosodic structure for (61b) is (62a). (62j) and (62k) are the possible structures for (61c). Finally, (62f) and (62h) are the possible structures for (61d).

In sum, I have shown that the ban on destressed post-RD n-words that are part of the background is consistent with the theory of RD I am proposing and makes it unnecessary to assume a cliticless RD; the overall result is a simpler theory that can account for the data with a limited set of independently justifiable primitives.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown that previous biclausal analyses based on coordination between the antecedent clause and the elided clause run into a number of problems. Similarly, tying the distribution of right-dislocated elements only to discourse factors is not sufficient (as we have also seen in chapter 3 when discussing Ott's 2017 analysis). As an alternative, I have proposed an analysis that relies on two principles. I have assumed that the antecedent of a right-dislocated element triggers a new QUD, different from that being addressed by the antecedent clause, and that the right-dislocated element is a fragment answer to that QUD, moving out of the ellipsis site. I have also proposed that the size of the ellipsis site is sensitive to where the dislocated element is inserted. These two principles jointly explain where dislocated elements can or cannot appear in Italian. This analysis is flexible enough to allow for clause-medial dislocations, while also explaining why certain elements cannot appear post-RD. Most importantly, it provides a further simplification of the theory of Right Dislocation, which is reduced, following recent literature, to a kind of parenthetical. This is in line with that has been proposed for other elements, such as nominal appositives (cf. Ott 2016), which can be inserted in clause-medial as well as in clause-final position, but whose distribution must be constrained by discourse factors, and

with the more general idea, proposed by Döring (2015) that all parentheticals are underlyingly clausal elements.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

In this thesis, I hope to have shown that Right Dislocation should be analysed as a phenomenon that emerges out of more elementary, independently needed mechanisms: ellipsis, movement, and constraints on sentence processing and discourse dynamics. It is thus not necessary to stipulate that Right Dislocation is a primitive of a theory of grammar. Crucially, I have also shown that its properties cannot be reduced to a single factor, but it must be analysed as a complex phenomenon. The following remarks have the goal of outlining some directions for future research.

Biclausal analyses of dislocations have marked a sharp departure from approaches in which right-dislocated elements occupy specific positions in the clausal spine – crucially, in the same clause containing the antecedent. I have argued that these monoclausal analyses face a number of problems. From the empirical point of view, they cannot capture the binding patterns I have introduced and discussed in chapter 2, where I have shown that in biclausal analyses, these patterns follow from constraints on ellipsis and on the interpretation of clitics. Research on other languages and language families in which Right Dislocation is attested may shed light on the crosslinguistic validity of the biclausal analysis proposed in this work.

Exploring further the biclausal approach, I have shown that if Right Dislocation is to be analysed as a fragment, then we must allow for at least some fragments to be derived via movement as a mechanism that licenses ellipsis. Whether this holds crosslinguistically and for different types of fragments is something that needs to be clarified by further research. If it turns out that Right Dislocation in other languages has different properties (and comparison within the Romance family or with the Germanic languages can confirm this – see De Cat 2007 and Ott & de Vries 2016, respectively), an elegant theory of Right Dislocation should be able to maintain the same principles (constraints on ellipsis and on processing) while deriving the observed differences from language-specific rules.

Research on the syntax-IS interface has sometimes compared the properties of Left and Right Dislocation. Cecchetto (1999) has shown, for example, that Clitic Left

Dislocation (CLLD) and Right Dislocation in Italian have different properties. Given the biclausal analysis that the present work has proposed for Right Dislocation, an obvious question is to what extent the same analysis can be extended to Left Dislocation. Work by Ott (2014, 2017), Fernández-Sánchez (2017, 2020), and Villa-García (2023) shows that research has started to move in this direction; however, a thorough account of the properties of Clitic Left Dislocation in Italian based on the biclausal approach is currently lacking.[1] Similarly, other right-peripheral fragments such as Afterthoughts (ATs) and Split Questions (SQs) in Italian have not been studied in sufficient detail. Given that previous work (Ott 2017, Fernández-Sánchez 2017, 2020) have attempted to reduce these fragments to the same biclausal analysis to which Right Dislocation can be reduced (see also Arregi 2010 for SQs), it is important to see to what extent the novel analysis proposed here may work for other right-peripheral fragments too.

Finally, since this work has shown that the properties of Right Dislocation derive from constraints on both syntax and sentence processing, it paves the way for experimental research that may seek to confirm whether the predictions of the theory are borne out by real-time processing of right-dislocated elements.

[1] Moreover, left-dislocated DPs are ambiguous between a CLLD and a Hanging Topic analysis (I am using 'Left Dislocation' as an umbrella term that covers both constructions). Hanging Topics have different properties: most notably, they are not island-sensitive. A biclausal analysis, therefore, must derive the differences between RD and both CLLD and Hanging Topics.

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