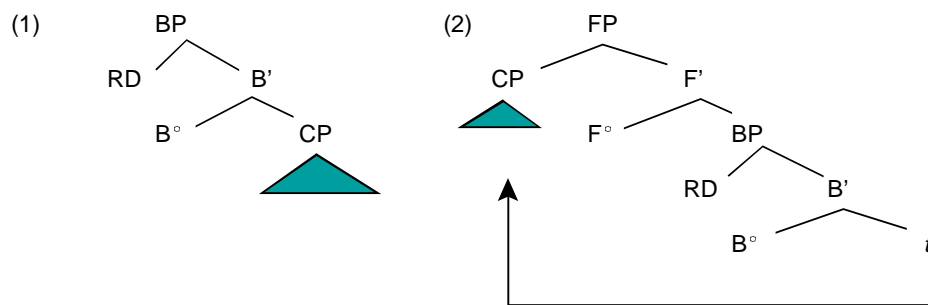


## Right-dislocation vs. extraposition in Dutch

In Dutch and other Continental West-Germanic languages, a CP appearing to the right of the verb final position can be interpreted either as a verbal complement (extraposition, EX) or as backgrounded material associated with a weak pronoun in the preceding part of the clause (right-dislocation, RD). This paper discusses structural differences between EX and RD, and argues for an analysis of RD as involving base-generation of the right-dislocated material in a high specifier position (1), followed by leftward movement of the remainder of the clause to an even higher specifier position (2). All other movement processes (including fronting and extraposition) take place within CP in (1)/(2), and RD-material is never involved in these processes.



[BP = background phrase; RD = right dislocated material; FP = foreground phrase]

RD differs from EX in the following respects: (i) EX material is intonationally integrated with the remainder of the clause, RD material is prosodically isolated, invariably having low and level pitch (3); (ii) RD obligatorily involves a resumptive pronoun in the remainder of the clause, EX does not (3); (iii) EX is upward bounded (right roof effect), RD is not (contra Ross 1967:236, but as in Gundel 1988:134)(4); (iv) RD-material is an island for extraction, EX-material is not (5); (v) EX is pied piped, while RD is stranded, under VP-preposing (6); (vi) EX is categorially restricted to CP/PP (not illustrated), RD is not (7); (vii) when used in combination, RD material must follow EX material (8); (viii) a resumptive pronoun is cataphoric (proximal) when used with EX, but anaphoric (distal) when used with RD (9).

Existing analyses (rightward movement, Ross 1967: 236; stranding, Kayne 1994: 78f; parallel construal, Koster 2000) all predict an upward boundedness effect on RD, which the paper shows to be generally absent. In the analysis proposed here, the RD material is associated with a resumptive pronoun inside CP in (1). The absence of upward boundedness effects is expected because resumptive pronouns can appear infinitely deeply embedded.

The other properties follow as well. (i) The RD material is not the most deeply embedded complement, hence is unable to carry the nuclear pitch accent (cf. Cinque 1993). (ii) The presence of a resumptive pronoun is determined by the lexical semantic properties of the verb selecting the EX complement ( $\sqrt{\text{ }}$  with factives, \*elsewhere); selection by the verb plays no role with RD assuming (1). (iv) Islandhood follows because A'-movement targets Spec,CP in (1), a position which is not accessible to RD-material due to the extension condition. (v) RD stranding follows because VP-preposing takes place within CP in (1), which is then raised past RD in (2). (vi) nothing in the analysis necessitates categorial restrictions on RD (which are absent). (vii) Extraposition takes place within CP, which, after the raising in (2), yields the order EX-RD. (viii) The anaphoric/distal status of the resumptive pronoun suggests that RD-material precedes the pronoun at the relevant stage of the derivation (i.e. (1)), unlike EX-material.

Further evidence for the inversion analysis resides in the fact that it predicts, correctly, that RD material invariably has wide scope over material inside the remainder of the clause (10). The paper finally discusses extension of the analysis to material with comparable positional and intonational properties, such as quotative inversion (11) and right-peripheral objects in imperatives (12).

## data sheet

- (3) EX **..dat hij (het) beTREURD heeft dat hij dat geZEGD heeft**  
 RD **..dat hij \*(het) beTREURD heeft dat hij dat gezegd heeft**  
 that he it regretted has that he that said has  
 [italics = low and level intonation, capitals = high pitch]
- (4) EX \* [ **Dat hij (het) beTREURD heeft** ] **verbaast me ZEER**  
 that he it regretted has surprises me enormously  
**[dat hij dat geZEGD heeft]**  
 that he that said has  
 RD [ **Dat hij het beTREURD heeft** ] **verbaast me ZEER**  
 that he it regretted has surprises me enormously  
**[dat hij dat gezegd heeft]**  
 that he that said has
- (5) EX **Wat<sub>i</sub> heb je (?het) beTREURD** [ **dat Jan t<sub>i</sub> geZEGD heeft** ] ?  
 RD \* **Wat<sub>i</sub> heb je het beTREURD** [ **dat Jan t<sub>i</sub> gezegd heeft** ] ?  
 what have you it regretted that John said has
- (6) a. EX **[BeTREURD [dat hij dat geZEGD heeft]] HEEFT hij (het) niet**  
 RD \* **[BeTREURD [dat hij dat gezegd heeft]] HEEFT hij het niet**  
 regretted that he that said has has he it not  
 b. EX \* **[BeTREURD ] HEEFT hij (het) niet [dat hij dat geZEGD heeft]**  
 RD **[BeTREURD ] HEEFT hij het niet [dat hij dat gezegd heeft]**  
 regretted has he it not that he that said has
- (7) *only OK with RD intonation:*  
 a. DP **..dat ik hem niet KEN, die jongen**  
 that I him not know that guy  
 b. VP **..dat ik dat niet KAN, een boek schrijven**  
 that I that not can a book write  
 c. AP **..dat hij dat wel NOOIT zal WORDen, rijk**  
 that he that PROBAB never will become rich  
 e. AdvP **..dat hij het NIET geDAAN heeft, gisteren/waarschijnlijk/\*snel**  
 that he it not done has yesterday/probably/quickly
- (8) EX-RD **Ik heb hem verteld [ dat ik het beTREURde ] die jongen**  
 I have him told that I it regretted that guy  
 RD-EX \* **Ik heb hem verteld die jongen [ dat ik het beTREURde ]**  
 I have him told that guy that I it regretted
- (9) EX **..dat ik #DAT/DIT beSEF, dat ALles verANDert**  
 RD **..dat ik dat/#dit beSEF, dat alles verandert**  
 that I DEM.DIST/PROX realize that everything changes
- (10) a. **..dat hij twee keer vermoedelijk overleden was**  
 that he two times probably deceased was  
 ‘..that it happened twice that he was believed dead.’ 2 > prob  
 # ‘..that he is believed to have died twice.’ #prob > 2  
 b. **..dat hij twee keer overLEDen was vermoedelijk**  
 that he two times deceased was probably  
 ‘..that he is believed to have died twice.’ prob > 2  
 \* ‘..that it happened twice that he was believed dead.’ \*2 > prob
- (11) **‘Ik kom,’ zei Jan**  
 I come said John ‘I’m coming,’ said John.’
- (12) **Leg neer die bal!**  
 put-IMP down that ball ‘Put that ball down!’

## References

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 Koster 2000, Extraposition as parallel construal. Ms., Groningen.  
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