Scrambling(s) + Clitics = CLLD[*]
(The case of French)

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Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) has received many conflicted analyses e.g. a base generation derivation (Cinque, 1990), a movement derivation (Cecchetto, 2000) or a mixture of the two (Iatridou, 1995). In this paper, we provide an analysis of CLLD in French comparing the behavior of DP dislocations (of Subjects, Direct Objects) and oblique dislocations (of Indirect objects, Locative and Genitive PPs and APs) with respect to reconstruction. Leveraging reconstruction properties, we show that (i) CLLD of DPs is a movement dependency, which involves one A-movement step in the middle-field, like A-scrambling of the Hindi or the Germanic type, followed by one A-bar movement step to the left periphery (ii) CLLD of PPs involves only A-bar movement.

Keywords: Clitics, Clitic Left Dislocation, Scrambling, Reconstruction, French

1. Introduction

In CLLD, a left dislocated XP is resumed by a weak pronoun, a clitic (henceforth CL). CLLD is thus limited to XPs that CLs can substitute. In French, to which we limit ourselves here, the XPs that can be CLLD-ed can be subject (S) or direct object (DO) DPs, indirect object (IO), locative and genitive PPs, ADJPs and CPs. A few examples are shown in (1-4).

(1) **Jean**, **il** est parti
      John   he is   left
(2) **Jean**, on **le** connait
      John   we him   know
(3) **A Paris**, on **y** vas   souvent
      to Paris   we   there go ofter
(4) **Triste**,   Albert   pourrait **le** devenir
      sad   Albert   could   it become

CLLD in French has most recently been explored in De Cat (2007). De Cat argues that in French CLLD, the dislocated XP is base generated in a left peripheral position – which we will call a TOPIC position throughout, and that the relation between the CL and the XP is discourse conditioned: the CL is analyzed as a full-fledged pronoun, which stands in a discourse coreference relation with the left dislocated XP. De Cat's assumption that the CLLD-ed constituent is base generated in its surface position has also been defended in several previous analyses in a variety of languages (cf. Cinque, 1990, Iatridou, 1995, Anagnostopoulou, 1997, Zagona, 2002, Suñer, 2006 i.a.). De Cat's innovation is that it invokes discourse factors to account for the relation between the dislocated XP and the CL while other non-movement analyses account for the connection between the dislocated element and the CL or the argument position related to the CL in terms of syntactic mechanisms such as Agree (cf. Suñer, 2006) or Binding Chains (cf. Cinque, 1990).

The literature on CLLD, also includes movement analyses whereby the left dislocated element moves to the left periphery from an argumental position (cf. Cinque, 1977, Dobrovie-Sorin, 1990, Agouraki, 1992, Kayne, 1994, Cecchetto, 2000, López, 2009 i.a.). For instance, in Cecchetto (2000), CLLD is argued to be a movement dependency in which the CLLD-ed DP is base generated in an (argumental) BIG DP configuration as in (5).[1] The dislocated DP directly moves to the left periphery from DP3 (inside the BIG DP) to DP1, and the BIG DP subsequently undergoes counter-cyclic A-movement to the middle field.

(5)   [$_{TOPICP}$ DP1 … [$_{AGR S}$ DP2 CL] … [$_{VP}$ …<[$_{BIG DP}$ <DP3>   CL]>]]]]

Using reconstruction diagnostics testing Principle A, C effects and control, Cecchetto argues that CLLD-ed DPs in Italian can be interpreted as low as DP2 in (5). The key point in his analysis that accounts for this reconstruction pattern is that A-moved elements, the BIG DP here, cannot totally reconstruct, thus preventing scope of CLLD-ed DPs in Italian lower than the DP2 position. De Cat (2007), based on a brief investigation using reconstruction tests similar to the ones in Cecchetto (2000), argues that unlike Italian, CLLD-ed XPs in French can only be interpreted in the left peripheral TOPIC position, a conclusion consistent with her base generation analysis.

In this work, we revisit reconstruction properties of CLLD specifically in French (although we believe that our conclusions extend beyond French to Greek, Italian and possibly elsewhere). However, unlike previous accounts, which only provide a fragmentary examination of reconstruction in the French CLLD paradigm- De Cat (2009) only examines the reconstruction properties of CLLD-ed object DPs for Principle C and Pronominal Binding with respect to subjects- we provide a thorough investigation of the reconstruction properties

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[1] See Torrego (1992) analysis of cliticization and later work by Uriagereka (1995) for more details about BIG DP.

of CLLD-ed DPs and PPs with respect to all the syntactic positions from which CLLD is possible. On that basis, we show:

(i)   All CLLD-ed XPs can totally reconstruct to a middle-field position, which we identify as the position in which CLs reside on the surface.

(ii)   CLLD-ed DPs (e.g. DOs and IOs) undergo A-movement to this middle field position – much like A-scrambling of the Hindi or the Germanic type. CLLD-ed PPs (must, by definition) undergo A- bar movement to this position.

(iii)   All CLLD-ed XPs except IOs can totally reconstruct for binding and scope to their argument position.

Finally, we argue that the limitation on CLLD-ed PP reconstruction is not tied to the kind of movement that they undergo since, as we show, (i) both A and A-bar movement can totally reconstruct and (ii) DOs and IOs both move to the middle field by A-movement but still differ in reconstruction possibilities. Rather, we attribute this limitation to the content of CLs.[2]

1.1   CLLD and Interpretation

Left dislocated XPs can be associated with at least two distinct interpretations, a Hanging Topic interpretation (cf. Cinque, 1977) or a Contrastive Topic one (cf. Arregi, 2003): there are distinct dislocations constructions with different properties (cf. e.g. Alexiadou, 2006). To avoid this confound, all the following data was checked with the Contrastive Topic intonation[3] characteristic of CLLD. Indeed as Zubizarreta (1999, p. 4220) notes, an HTLD constituent typically changes the topic in a given discourse (known as *shifting topic*), while the CLLD constituent continues established topic(s). For example, contexts used to bring about the Contrastive Topic interpretation can be as in (6).

(6) a. Et les photos de la fête?
       What about the photos from the party?
   b. Je ne sais pas. [Les photos de Georges] *au moins*, Jean les as brûlées
       I don't know. The photos of George   at least,   John them burnt

In (6), the CLLD-ed *les photos de Georges* is a Contrastive Topic. There is a salient context provided set, which in (6) is a salient set of photos e.g., the photos of Mary or the photos of Ian. The CLLD-ed DP denotes one of these sets, and the contrastive modifier *au moins* in (6) is used to show that the set

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[2] In other work (cf. Angelopoulos & Sportiche, 2017), we show that CLs are hierarchically organized heads in the middle field, which, depending on the semantic import they have, impose different LF requirements on the (CLLD-ed) XP they associate with.

[3] We refer the reader to Feldhausen (2016a,b) for discussion of the prosodic properties of non-contrastive CLLD-ed Topics in Spanish.

denoted by the CLLD-ed DP is associated with a property (possibly) not shared by the other sets.

1.2   Background on Reconstruction

We begin by precisely spelling out our assumptions about reconstruction, which we believe to be fairly solidly established (see e.g. Sportiche, 2017a).

i.   Reconstruction is a property of movement dependencies only (except possibly for some pseudo-cleft constructions cf. Sharvit, 1999). Movement is modeled as copying - the copy theory of traces (or multidominance). Reconstruction arises when a trace is interpreted at LF. Reconstructability (=displaced, lower interpretation) thus provides an independent diagnostic for movement.

ii.   Reconstruction for Condition C of a pied piped complement means that A-bar movement is the only derivational option from below the position of the triggering pronoun: indeed a non-movement relation was possible, or if A-movement was an option, we should not observe a Condition C (as A-movement can bleed Condition C).

(7) *Quelle photo   de Picasso$_k$ (de   son   enfance)
      which   photo   of Picasso   (from of-his   childhood)
      il$_k$ vend?
      does he   sell

(8)   Ta   photo de Jean$_k$ lui$_k$ semble être   floue
      your photo of John   to-him   seems   to-be   fuzzy

iii. Lack of reconstruction for Condition C of pied piped adjunct means (either no movement or) that the moved constituent is higher that the triggering pronoun and that reconstruction below the offending pronoun is not required.

(9)   Quelle   photo   que   Picasso$_k$ aime bien   il$_k$ vend?
      which   photo   that Picasso   likes a lot   does he sell

iv.   Reconstruction for scope shows that movement is a possible derivation. Reconstruction for pronominal binding requires total reconstruction: only traces lower than the binder of the pronoun can be interpreted.

(10) [Quelle ~~photo de lui~~$_k$]$_j$ personne$_k$ ne   vend **photo de lui**
      [which photo of his   nobody (neg)   sell   [photo of his$_k$]$_j$

Under a reading in which *lui* is bound by *personne* in (8) total reconstruction is required, in which case a low trace with the pronoun *lui* is interpreted in the

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c-command domain of the quantifier.

2. The Reconstruction Data

In this section, we justify the reconstruction patterns in French CLLD previewed in from Table 1, which provides the key facts for our analysis of short distance CLLD.

Table 1. Reconstruction in the French short distance CLLD paradigm

CLLD OF ↓ HAS THIS EFFECT→	bleeds C for complement	bleeds C for adjunct	can totally reconstruct	bleeds C for complement	bleeds C for adjunct	can totally recon-struct
IN THIS CONTEXT→	UNDER SUBJECT			UNDER OTHER OBJECT		
A — DO	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
B — IO	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
C — PP-LOC	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
D — PP-GEN	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
EXAMPLE #	1	2	3	4	5	6

2.1. Evidence for mandatory movement from below the subject

To start with, a proper name contained in any type of CLLD-ed XP always gives rise to a Condition C effect with a pronoun in the subject position (cells 1A-D), unless the proper name is in an adjunct, which can be late merged (cells 2A-D). Furthermore, a pronoun in any CLLD-ed XP can be bound by a quantifier[4] in the subject position (cells 3A-D). Below, we illustrate these reconstruction properties, which all CLLD-ed XPs uniformly exhibit, with DOs.

(11) [Les   voisins   de **Jean**$_j$]$_k$ du   premier au   moins$_k$,
      the   neighbors   of John on-the first floor at least
      il$_j$ les$_k$ connaissait
      he them   knows

(12) [Les voisins   que **Jean**$_j$ avait vus]$_k$
      theneighbors   that John   had   seen
      il$_j$ les$_k$ connaissait
      he them   knows

(13) [Les louanges   pour **son**$_j$ dernier livre]$_k$,
      thepraise   for   his   last   book
      aucun   auteur$_j$ ne les$_k$ ignore
      no author   not   them   ignores

Consequence 1: In CLLD (of non-subjects) there is an A-bar trace below the subject.
Consequence 2: CLLD-ed XPs can, but they do not have to - cf. (12) - totally reconstruct below the subject.

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[4] Using negative quantifiers makes sure that *they* are not outscoping the CLLD-ed Topic.

2.2. Evidence for movement from the argument position

2.2.1 Some background

Columns 4-6 show interactions with respect to Condition C and pronominal binding between DOs or IOs when one of them is CLLD-ed. Before we proceed with the CLLD data, we first provide some background on the reconstruction properties of the two objects: (i) without any movement, DOs and IOs, behave as c-commanding each other (14-15), and (ii) that under *wh-* movement (of any of the two objects as in (16-17)), pronominal binding dependencies possibilities do not change (cf. Sportiche, 2017b).

(14) **IO c-commands DO**
Le   chorégraphe   avait présenté   l' habilleur
The   choreographer had   introduced the dresser
de **son**   partenaire   à **chaque danseuse**
of his   partner   to each   dancer

(15) **DO c-commands IO**
Le   chorégraphe   avait présenté **chaque** danseuse
thechoreographer had   introduced each   dancer
à **son**   partenaire
to his   partner

(16) **IO c-commands DO**
Quel habilleur   de son   partenaire   le chorégraphe
whichdresser   of her partner   thechoreographer
avait   présenté   à **chaque danseuse**?
had   introduced to each dancer

(17) **DO c-commands IO**
Auquel de **ses**   partenaires le chorégraphe
To which of her   partners   thechoreographer
avait   présenté   **chaque danseuse**?
had   introduced each   dancer

2.2.2. Evidence for movement from the argument position: binding

Having examined the scope interactions between the two objects, we observe in CLLD that if a pronoun is in a CLLD-ed DO, it can be bound by a quantifier in the IO as in (18).

(18) [La   note de   **son**$_j$ dernier devoir]$_k$,   le   professeur
the   grade on   his   last   assignment the   professor
ne   l$_k$'   a   rendue   à   **aucun élève**$_j$
neg   it   has   given   to   no   student

> **Consequence 3:** CLLD of DOs allows total reconstruction below an IO: there is a trace of the CLLD-ed DO below IO to which a CLLD-ed DO can totally reconstruct.

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Note that although total reconstruction for pronominal binding is hard to test with CLLD-ed APs, (19) shows that if they contain an indefinite, it can be interpreted in the scope of a higher adverb i.e., *souvent > un étudiant*, which suggests that reconstruction of the CLLD-ed AP to a position below this adverb (hence below the clitic) is possible.

(19) [Fier d' un étudiant]$_j$, Pierre l$_j$' a souvent été t_j
　　　Proud of a student. Pierre it has often been

CLLD-ed obliques, e.g. a genitive PP as in (20) (or locative PPs not shown here) – but not IOs, cf. below, can be bound by a quantifier in an IO (or a DO, not shown here), cf. cells 6C-D of Table 1:

(20) a. On a parlé à aucune fille de sa meilleure amie
　　　　we have spoke to no girl about her best friend
　　 b. [De sa$_j$ meilleure amie]$_k$ on. en$_k$ a parlé à aucune fille$_j$
　　　　about her best friend we of-her spoke to no friend

Interestingly, unlike DOs, or other obliques, CLLD-ed IOs cannot totally reconstruct. This is illustrated by the following examples, which show that if a pronoun is in a CLLD-ed IO (21) cannot be bound by a quantifier in the DO cf. cell 6B of Table 1:

(21) a. On (n') a présenté aucun professeur$_j$
　　　　we Neg have introduced no professor
　　　　aux parents de son$_j$ meilleur étudiant
　　　　to-the parents of his best student
　　 b.*[Aux parents de son$_j$ meilleur étudiant]$_k$ on
　　　　to-the parents of his best student we
　　　　(ne) leur$_k$ a présenté aucun professeur$_j$
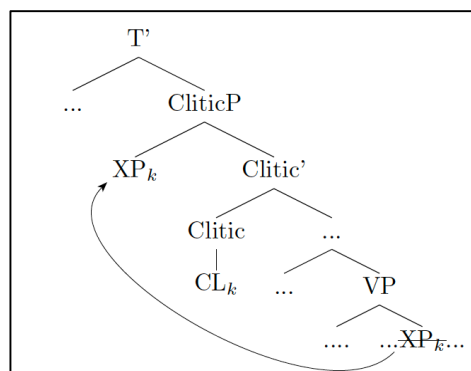　　　　neg them-Dat. have presented no professor

Note that this cannot be due to IOs never moving from their argument position to the middle field, as movement is in principle available, e.g. for DOs, or other obliques.

Consequence 4: Total reconstruction below DOs and IOs of all CLLD-ed oblique XPs is allowed, except for IOs.

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3. Analysis

3.1 Background on clitics

We have seen evidence that in CLLD, XP arguments can move from their argument position, up to the middle field, and on to the left periphery. What is the syntax and role of the clitics? We adopt Sportiche's 1996 proposal according to which clitics mark the location of a Scrambling position analogue of Germanic or Hindi Scrambling. More specifically, CLs are heads situated above vP/VP but (for non-subjects) below TP, which, in French, obligatorily attract an agreeing XP. In plain cliticization, this XP is a silent *pro,* interpreted in the CL-position, as shown here, where it is identified (cf. Rizzi, 1986) by the CL-head. The data in (21) supports this claim. (22a) shows that *lui* can c-command outside [*que lui*] triggering a Condition C effect with *Jean*; (22c) is ruled out because, *pro* being attracted in the projection that *lui* heads, c-commands the proper name in the DO position triggering a Condition C effect. Were *pro* able to totally reconstruct in the argument position, it should pattern with full pronouns in this position, which do not give rise to Condition C as shown in (22b): this means *pro* remains in the CL position at LF.[5]

(22) a.*On a entendu   [que lui$_k$] décrire   Jean$_k$ hier
        we heard   only him   describe   John yesterday
    b. On a décrit   la   voisine   de Jean$_k$ [qu' à lui$_k$] **hier**
        we described   the   neighbor   of John   only to him yesterday
    c.*On lui$_k$ a   présenté   la   voisine   de Jean$_k$
        we to-him have introduced the   neighbor   of John

Consequence 5: With bare CLs, the attracted *pro* must occur (for identification) in the CL-position.

In CLLD or other constructions involving doubling of an XP, the (overt) XP is attracted to, but transits through, the CL-position.

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[5] Note that, in (22b), to avoid accent on *lui* which could independently alleviate Condition C, we use an accented final element, *hier*.

3.2. The movement steps to the CL-position

### 3.2.1 CLLD-ed IOs first A-move

Example (23a) shows that a proper name or a pronoun in the DO position triggers a condition C effect with a proper name in the IO, as expected since a DO c-commands an IO. But (23b) shows that if a proper name is contained in a CLLD-ed IO, Condition C is obviated: this means that the trace left by the CLLD-ed IO below the DO has to be an A-trace.

(23) a.*Marie a   présenté J   ean$_k$ / [que lui]$_k$
     Marie has   introduced John   only   him
     aux   voisins   de   Jean$_k$ du   premier
     to-the neighbors of   John on-the   first
   b. [Aux   voisins de   Jean$_k$]$_j$ du   premier
     to-the   neighbors of   John   on-the   first
     Marie   leur$_j$ a   présentés Jean$_k$ / [que   lui]$_k$
     Marie   to-them has   introduced Jean   only   him

Consequence 6: CLLD-ed IOs undergo A-movement across the DO.

3.2.2 CLLD-ed DOs first A-move

As shown in (24) below, a CLLD-ed DO does not trigger a Condition C effect with an IO-CL: the indexing k=l is fine. (24) thus differ minimally from (22c). We concluded that a CLLD-ed DO moves first to the middle field (to the accusative CL), on to the left periphery. The second step must be A-bar movement, as per consequence #1 (cf. example (12)). Movement of the DO to the middle field must thus be:
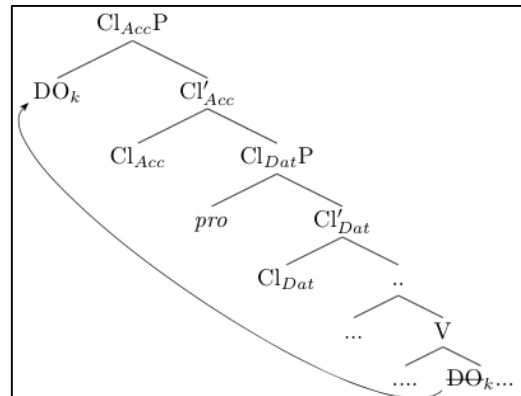
(i) to a position higher than the dative clitic (otherwise the name would remain below this dative clitic as in the ill formed (22c)): the CLLD-ed DO moves across *pro* in the DAT- CL position as shown in the above figure.
(ii) A-movement, in order to bleed condition C.

(24) [Les voisins   de Jean$_j$]$_k$, Marie les$_k$ lui$_j$ a   présenté
      the neighbors of John   Marie them to-him   has   introduced

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Consequence 7: CLLD-ed DOs undergo A-movement to the ACC-CL across the DAT- CL.

3.2.3 CLLD-ed PPs can only undergo A-bar movement

The PP in (25a) is an argument of the verb, and is c-commanded by the proper name in the DO position, triggering Condition C. If the PP is CLLD-ed, as in (25b), Condition C is not obviated as the intermediate judgment shows. We take this judgment to be significant given the clear difference between (25b) on the one hand, and (23) or (24b) on the other in which a Condition C effect is absent. Given (25b), the trace the CLLD-ed PP leaves below the DO, must be an A-bar trace.

(25) a. * On   a   éloigné   Jean$_j$/   [que lui]$_j$
          we   have   removed   John   only him
          [de   la   maison   de Jean$_j$ du   sud]
          from the   house   of Jean in-the south
   b.??[De   la   maison   de   Jean$_j$ du   sud]
          from the   house   of   Jean in-the south
          on   en   a   éloigné   Jean$_j$/ [que lui]$_j$
          we   from-it have   removed   John   only him

Consequence 8: CLLD-ed PPs undergo A-bar movement to the GEN-CL.

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4.   Short Distance CLLD: Overall Analysis

Putting Consequences 1-8 together, we conclude that French CLLD always involves two movement steps. The first one to the middle field, is an A-movement step for DPs and an A-bar movement step for PPs. The second one is to the left periphery and is uniformly A-bar. This is illustrated in the figure below, where the dashed lines represent A-movement steps and the solid ones A-bar movement steps.

   In addition, we concluded that total reconstruction of these movements is always available except for CLLD-ed IOs, a consequence we attribute to specific properties of the Dative Clitics. Although we will not elaborate on these properties here, we take them to be related to the proposal that all (non 1st or 2nd person) clitics except datives are (or at least can be treated as) **semantically expletives** (see fn 5):
1. Subject clitics can be expletive (e.g. subject of tensed *sembler/seem*); Accusatives clitics are definite articles and definite articles can be expletive (Vergnaud et al. 1992); Genitives and Locatives can also occur as expletives (e.g. *in s'en aller/leave, s'y prendre/do*). Dative clitics never do.
2. Morphological differences; The accusative clitic is the bare D *l-*, while Dative Clitic is *l+ui* with *ui* having semantic import cf. Rooryck, 2000.

The reconstruction difference would thus follow if: IO clitics require a LF specifier, freezing scope of the associate at least as high as the CL position, thereby blocking total reconstruction (but not preventing higher scope). Other clitics do not require a specifier at LF and thus do not block total reconstruction.[6]
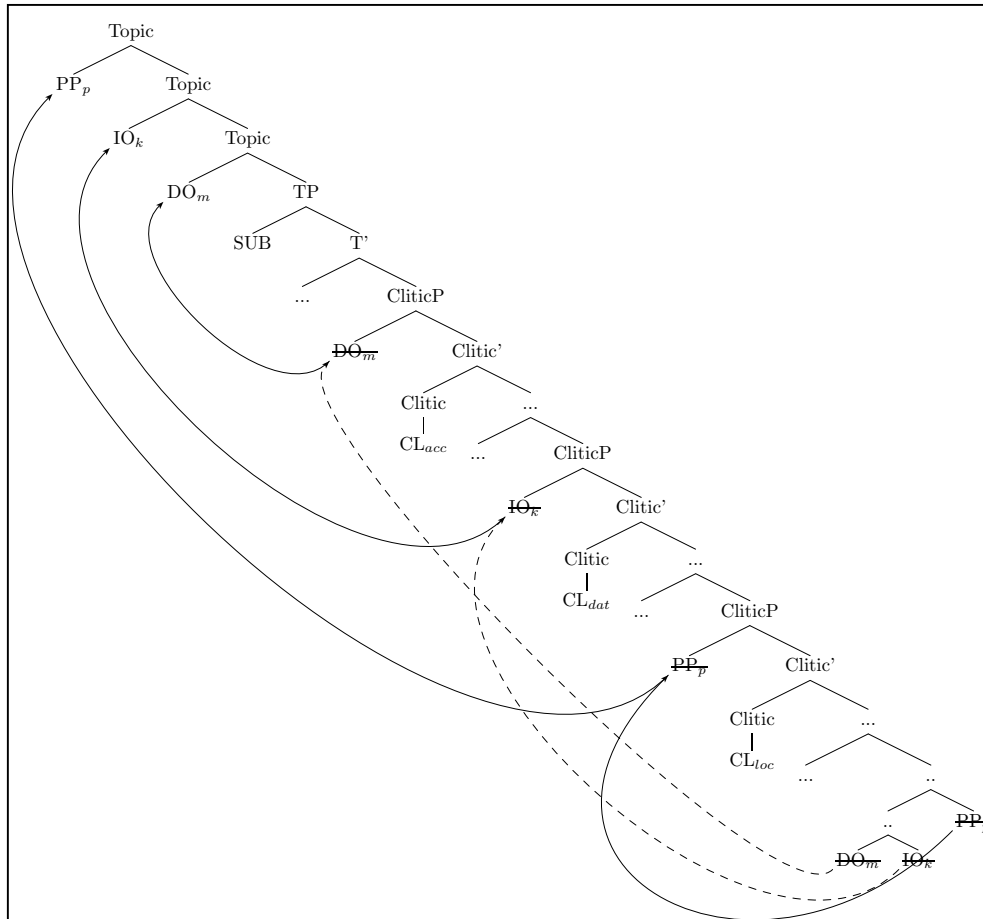
5. Long Distance CLLD

Accepting the conclusion from previous sections that CLLD in a clause involves movement to the left periphery of this clause, we now show that long distance CLLD uniformly involves an additional A-bar movement step from the left periphery of the embedded CP (cf. Iatridou, 1995 who argues for a

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[6] It seems reasonable to assume that CLs confer or check Topichood, or (the relevant notion of) Specificity on their associate XP. A fuller understanding of this property requires examining the properties of Clitic Right dislocation, as well as Clitic Doubling, as is done for French and Greek in Angelopoulos and Sportiche (2017b). This property would need to be understood as not requiring an LF spec/head relation.

similar derivation in long distance CLLD in Greek using parasitic gaps as evidence).

In (26), binding of the pronoun in a CLLD-ed subject (this is true of non-subjects too) is allowed from a quantifier in a clause higher than the source clause.

(26) [Les   louanges   pour son$_j$ dernier livre]$_k$, aucun   auteur$_j$
       the   praises   for   his   last   book   every   author
       ne   pense   qu' elles$_k$ seront   ignorées
       neg   think   that they   will be   ignored

In (27), binding of the pronoun in a CLLD-ed direct object (this is true of other non-subjects too) is allowed from e.g. a subject or indirect object quantifier in its source clause:

(27) a. [Les louanges pour son$_j$ dernier livre]$_k$, on   pense
          the praises   for   his last   book   we   think
          qu' aucun auteur$_j$ ne les$_k$ ignorera
          that no   author neg them will ignore
     b. [Les louanges   pour son$_j$ dernier livre]$_k$, on   pense
          the praises   for   his last   book   we   think
          que   tu   ne les$_k$ montrera à aucun   auteur$_j$
          that   you neg them will show to no   author

Furthermore, Condition C effects are triggered by a pronoun in the matrix clause, and long distance CLLD-ed XPs (shown with subjects and DOs respectively in (28-29)).[7]

(28) *[La   voisine   de Jean$_j$]$_k$, il$_j$ dit   qu'
        the   neighbor-Fem. of John   he said that
        elle$_k$ est partie
        she is left
(29) *[La   voisine   de   Jean$_j$]$_k$, je lui$_j$ ai
        the   neighbor-Fem. of   John   I to-him   has
        dit   que tu   la$_k$ cherchais
        said   that you her   were looking for

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[7] In simple clauses, subjects are higher than any other arguments. It is thus difficult to show directly that CLLD-ed subjects behave like CLLD-ed DOs, for example. The present examples however show, albeit indirectly, that subjects are similar to DOs (so that they are associated with two positions: the standard subject position (spec, TP) and a higher one (spec, CL$_{SUB}$), as suggested in Sportiche (1996, 1997).

> **Consequence 9:** Long distance CLLD is a movement dependency which can totally reconstruct.

6.   CLLD and Islands

Space limitations prevent us from addressing this important topic in any detail here. Let us note that the empirical findings are intriguing, and potentially theoretically very significant.

Superficially, dislocations violate islands, which has led some to conclude that they never involve movement (cf. e.g. de Cat 2007, see also Cinque, 1990, for more nuanced conclusions). Controlling for the potential confound due to the superficial similarities between CLLD and Hanging Topic left dislocation, it remains true that DP CLLD can violate islands, while PP CLLD cannot (as Cinque, 1990 had concluded). Surprisingly, and unlike what Cinque (1990) had concluded, it can also be shown that (total) reconstruction of CLLD-ed DPs into islands is possible, even strong islands, as noted in Guilliot and Malkawi (2006). We take this to mean, contrary to usual assumptions, that **some** movements (such as DP CLLD) can violate (even strong) islands. This is discussed in Sportiche (2016, 2017c) which shows that this outcome requires some rethinking of the theory of islanhood (PHASE THEORY and the ECP) but is in fact predicted by the theories of the left periphery as in Rizzi (1997).

7.   Conclusion

In sum, we have shown that:
(i) CLLD of DPs is a movement dependency, which involves one A-movement step to the middle-field, akin to A-scrambling of the Hindi or the Germanic type, followed by one (or more) A-bar movement step(s) to the left periphery of clauses.
(ii) CLLD of PPs involves the same steps, but only A-bar movement.
(iii) Dative CLLD is unique in not allowing total reconstruction of the moved XP, a property we attribute to unique properties of the dative clitic.

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