Two Kinds of Dislocations in Biblical Hebrew

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Abstract. I argue for a bipartite taxonomy of dislocation constructions in Biblical Hebrew, differentiating Hanging Topics from Left Dislocates. This proposal follows distinctions made for similar constructions in other languages and sheds light on the makeup of the Biblical Hebrew left periphery. Biblical Hebrew Hanging Topics robustly lack connectivity with their correlates and are argued to be base-generated in TopicP. On the other hand, Left Dislocates exhibit mixed connectivity effects. It is argued that pure movement approaches to Left Dislocation fail to predict anti-connectivity effects such as φ-feature mismatches between dislocates and their correlates. Instead, I propose that Biblical Hebrew Left Dislocation involves asyndetic coordination of identical clauses followed by ellipsis of the first clause.
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1. Introduction. Dislocation constructions are characterized by the presence of a clause peripheral constituent—the dislocate—which is linked to its host clause via a coreferential constituent—the correlate—as shown in (1) (see Riemsdijk 1997; Alexiadou 2017).

(1) $\text{dislocate}_1\ [_{\text{Host Clause}}\ \ldots\ \text{correlate}_1\ \ldots\ ]$

The received wisdom in the literature on Biblical Hebrew has been to treat examples like (2a) and (2b) as non-distinct variants of (1) (e.g., Groß 1987; Holmstedt 2014; Joüon and Muraoka 2016; Westbury 2014, though see Khan 1988 and Cowper and De-

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Caen 2017 for attempts at distinguishing types of dislocates).[1]

(2) a. ham-miṭṭâ$_1$ ʔ^{a}šer ʕālîtā šššām lō tērēd mimmen-nâ$_1$
the-bed.F.SG that went.up.2.M.SG there NEG go.down.2.M.SG from-3.F.SG
'The bed$_1$ that you have gone up on–you won't come down from it$_1$.' (2 Kgs 1.16)

b. mē-ʕēṣ had-daʕat ṭôb wā-rāʕ lōʔ tōʔkal mimmen-nû$_1$
from-tree the-knowledge good and-evil NEG eat.2.M.SG from-3.M.SG
'[$_{PP}$ from the tree of knowledge of good and evil]$_1$, you shall not eat [$_{PP}$ from it]$_1$'

(Gen 2.17)

However, the broader literature on similar constructions in other languages has identified two distinct sub-categories of dislocation: (i) clitic or contrastive left dislocation, here referred to as *Left Dislocation*, and (ii) *Hanging Topics* (Cinque 1983; Anagnostopoulou 1997; López 2009). Left Dislocates and Hanging Topics are unified by the presence of a typically pronominal, overt correlate (often referred to as a resumptive pronoun), but they differ in the extent to which they exhibit connectivity with those correlates (see Ott 2015). For instance, whereas Left Dislocates obligatorily exhibit case-connectivity with their correlates, Hanging Topics permit case-mismatches.

While the basic empirical distinction between these two types of dislocations is often taken for granted in this literature, there has been considerable debate over how to analyze their corresponding structures. Hanging Topics have either been claimed to be adjoined to CP (Anagnostopoulou 1997; Sturgeon 2008) or, assuming an exploded CP following Rizzi (1997), to be externally merged in the specifier of a dedicated functional projection in the left periphery. Some have even proposed to relegate Hanging Topics to 'discourse grammar' (Cinque 1983; Ott 2015). By contrast, Left Dislocation has frequently been argued to involve movement of the dislocate to the left periphery

[1] All translations of Biblical Hebrew are the author's. Transliteration follows the standards of the *Society of Biblical Literature (SBL) Handbook of Style*, with the following exceptions: *schwa* is transcribed as ^{ə}, all *ḥāṭēp* (ultrashort) letters are superscripted, *'ālep* is written as the glottal stop *ʔ*, and *'ayin* is represented as the voiced pharyngeal fricative ʕ.

from a clause-internal position (Cinque 1977; Grohmann 2003; Boeckx and Grohmann 2005; Zeller 2009), though some proviso must be made to explain why this movement leaves a pronoun rather than a gap in the base position.

This paper addresses the aforementioned issues as follows. First, on the basis of five, cross-linguistically supported diagnostics, I argue that there is positive evidence for both Hanging Topics and Left Dislocation in Biblical Hebrew, contrary to the traditional monopartite classification made for that language. My conclusions are based on an exhaustive examination of dislocation constructions in Biblical Hebrew. Second, I argue that Biblical Hebrew Hanging Topics are externally merged in the specifier of a high Top(ic)P just below Force. This analysis accurately predicts attested ordering patterns between Hanging Topics and other left-peripheral operators. Third, following recent proposals by Ott (2014, 2015), Left Dislocates are argued to be remnants of clausal ellipsis appearing linearly juxtaposed to their host clauses. This analysis predicts that Left Dislocates may show a mixed set of connectivity effects; crucially, certain dislocate-correlate mismatches are shown to be attested which are left unaccounted for by movement theories of Left Dislocation.

2. Biblical Hebrew has both Hanging Topics and Left Dislocates. This section proposes a bipartite taxonomy of Biblical Hebrew dislocations by utilizing five diagnostics to probe the different empirical profiles of the two constructions. First, it has been recognized for many languages that Hanging Topics must be nominal. Two copies of the preposition ”to”—one with the dislocate, one with the correlate—are not allowed in English Hanging Topics.

(3) (*To) John$_1$, I have already spoken to him$_1$. (Alexiadou 2017: 2141)

Left Dislocates, on the other hand, can be any maximal phrase (e.g. PP, VP, etc.).

(4) [$_{PP}$ In Spanien$_1$] da$_1$ trinken sie Wein zum Früstück.
in Spain there drink they wine to.the breakfast
'In Spain$_1$, there$_1$ they have wine at breakfast.' (Ott 2015: 229)

Biblical Hebrew in turn attests both DP and PP dislocates, as shown in (5) and (6) respectively.

(5) [$_{DP}$ ʔereṣ]$_1$ mimmen-nâ$_1$ yēṣēʔ lāḥem
land.F.SG from-3.F.SG comes.3.M.SG bread
'The land$_1$, from it$_1$ comes bread.' (Job 28.5)

(6) [$_{PP}$ ʕal hā-ʔāreṣ mᵊrātayim]$_1$ ʕᵃlēh ʕālê-hā$_1$
against the-land.F.SG Merathaim go.up.IMP against-3.F.SG
'Against the land of Merathaim$_1$–go up against it$_1$.' (Jer 50.21)

I take the presence of two instances of the preposition 'against' in (6) as positive evidence for Left Dislocation in Biblical Hebrew, parallel to the German example in (4). If Hanging Topics were the only available dislocation strategy in Biblical Hebrew, we would erroneously predict PP dislocates to be impossible as in English.

Next, in languages with morphological case marking, Hanging Topics may bear default case rather than match the case of their correlates. In German, for instance, this default case is nominative, as shown in (7a).[2] Left Dislocates do not exhibit this optionality: they must case-match their correlates, illustrated by (7b).[3]

[2]The source of non-default case on Hanging Topics is puzzling under a theory of case-assignment in which nominals must be in some local relationship to a relevant head (e.g. v or T) to be assigned case. Under standard assumptions, case is not the kind of feature we expect to be passed via agreement between independently base-generated nominals, contra the proposals in Rodman (1997) and Vat (1997). See, however, Deal (2016: 457–462) for one possible way in which Hanging Topics in Nez Perce might bear non-default case by virtue of inverse case attraction in dislocated DPs with relative clauses. This question is a desideratum for any theory of left dislocation, but must be set aside for present purposes.

[3]The case-matching distinction discussed in the main text evidently also tracks differences in the availability of reconstruction effects: in German, only Left Dislocates with obligatory case-matching exhibit reconstruction for variable binding. Hanging Topics, regardless of the case they bear, do not permit such reconstruction. See den Dikken and Surányi (2017: 546) on this point. It is also worth pointing out that I have not found any cases reported in the literature of Hanging Topics matching in case with a correlate that is contained inside an island.

(7) a. Diese {-r / -m} Doktorand {-∅ / -en}, ihm wird jeder Linguist
this NOM DAT doctoral.student NOM DAT he.DAT will every linguist
helfen.
help

b. Diese {*-r / -m} Doktorand {*-∅ / -en}, dem wird jeder Linguist
this NOM DAT doctoral.student NOM DAT that.DAT will every linguist
helfen.
help
Both: 'This doctoral student$_1$, every linguist will help him$_1$.' (German; den Dikken and Surányi 2017: 545)

As with German, Biblical Hebrew dislocates are attested both with and without case mismatches. The example in (8) contains a nominative dislocate relating to an accusative correlate, while (9) shows a dislocate matching its correlate for accusative case.

(8) hîʔ$_1$ ʕānān yᵊkassen-nâ$_1$
3.F.SG.NOM cloud covers-3.F.SG.ACC
(referring to the nation of Egypt) 'It$_1$, a cloud covers it$_1$.' (Ezek 30.18)

(9) gam ʔōt-ô$_1$ hakkū-hû$_1$
even ACC-3.M.SG strike.IMP-3.M.SG.ACC
'Even him$_1$, strike him$_1$.' (2 Kgs 9.27)

While example (9), with case-matching between the dislocate and correlate, is technically ambiguous between a parse as a Hanging Topic with optional case-marking and a parse as a Left Dislocate, example (8) must be a Hanging Topic, parallel to the German example in (7a).

Third, dislocation constructions diverge with respect to their sensitivity to locality constraints. Following Ross (1967), it has been recognized that Hanging Topics can be separated from their correlates by (strong) island boundaries. Thus, the German Hanging Topic in (10) relates to a correlate embedded in an adjunct island.

(10) Peter$_1$, Hans geht immer in die Kneipe, [bevor er ihn$_1$ trifft].
Peter Hans goes always to the pub before he him meets
'Peter$_1$, Hans always goes to the pub before he meets him$_1$.' (German; Shaer and Frey 2004: 472)

By contrast, Left Dislocates are sensitive to islands. Compare (10) with the minimally distinct, yet ungrammatical example in (11) with a case-matching Left Dislocate.[4]

(11) *Den Peter$_1$, Hans geht in die Kneipe, [bevor er den$_1$ trifft].
the.ACC Peter Hans goes to the pub before he him meets
(int.) 'Peter$_1$, Hans goes to the pub before he meets him$_1$.' (*ibid.*)

As expected, then, only nominative DP dislocates are attested relating to correlates inside islands in Biblical Hebrew: examples (12a) and (12b) involve *wh*-islands, and (13), a relative clause island.

(12) a. [zeh mošeh hā-ʔîš ʔ^{a}šer heʕ^{e}lā-nû mē-ʔereṣ
this.M.SG Moses the-man that brought.up.3.M.SG-1.PL.ACC from-land
miṣrayim]$_1$ lōʔ yādaʕnû [meh hāyâ l-ô$_1$]
Egypt NEG know.1.PL what was.3.M.SG to-3.M.SG
'[This (guy), Moses, the man that brought us up from Egypt]$_1$, we don't know what happened to him$_1$.' (Exod 32.1)

b. hā-riʔšōnôt$_1$ [mâ hēnnâ$_1$] haggîdû
the-former.things.F.PL what 3.F.PL say.IMP
'The former things$_1$–say what they$_1$ are.' (Isa 41.22)

(13) kol k^{ə}lî$_1$ ḥereś … kōl [ʔ^{a}šer b^{ə}-tōk-ô$_1$]
every jar earthenware all that in-middle-3.M.SG.GEN
yiṭmāʔ
be.unclean.3.M.SG
'Every earthenware jar$_1$ …, all that is inside it$_1$ is unclean.' (Lev 11.33)

Interestingly, there are also several attested cases of generic indefinite dislocates

[4]These examples also differ in the realization of the correlate: the Hanging Topic in (10) contains a personal pronoun and the Left Dislocate in (11) uses a *d*-pronoun. This choice is subject to significant variation both across languages and within a single language. For instance, in German, *d*-pronoun correlates are only available for third person dislocates. First and second person dislocates must relate to personal pronouns, regardless of the dislocation type (Ott 2014: 273, fn. 7). I therefore assume with Ott (2015) that determining the form of the correlate is orthogonal to the type of dislocation involved, a welcome result in light of the fact that (accusative) Biblical Hebrew third person correlates may appear as prosodically light clitics attached to the verb, as in (9), or may be separated from the verb, marked by accusative marker *ʔet*∼*ʔôt*.

(i) ʔet hā-ʕām$_1$ heʕ^{e}bîr ʔôt-ô$_1$ le-ʕārîm
ACC the-people made.cross.3.M.SG ACC-3.M.SG to.the-cities
'The people$_1$–he (i.e. Pharaoh) made them$_1$ cross over to the cities.' (Gen 47.21)

apparently relating to null *pro* subjects inside adjunct islands.

(14) ʔādām [kî yāmût *pro* bᵊ-ʔōhel] kol hab-bāʔ ʔel hā-ʔōhel
man if dies.3.M.SG in-tent every the-entering.M.SG to the-tent
wᵊ-kol ʔᵃšer bā-ʔōhel yiṭmāʔ šibʔat yāmîm
and-every that in.the-tent is.unclean.3.M.SG seven days
'As for a man, if (he) dies in a tent, then everyone who comes into the tent and everyone who is in the tent will be unclean for seven days.' (Num 19.14)

Crucially, there are no attested examples of PP dislocates or of case-matching dislocates relating to correlates inside islands.

(15) a. Unattested: PP_1 [$_{\text{Host Clause}}$ ... [$_{\text{Island}}$ ... correlate$_1$ ...] ...]
b. Unattested: $DP_{[ACC]1}$ [$_{\text{Host Clause}}$ ... [$_{\text{Island}}$ ... correlate$_{[ACC]1}$ ...] ...]

Once again, the properties of dislocation constructions in Biblical Hebrew pattern with those identified for other languages.

Fourth, Hanging Topics, and not Left Dislocates, are known to optionally be modified by 'as for' phrases. Such phrases indicate the 'aboutness' of the following topic, in Reinhart's (1981) terms, and come in a variety of guises (Rodman 1997).

(16) [As for/Speaking of/On the subject of] sugar$_1$, I can't have a lot of it$_1$ on this new diet.

In Biblical Hebrew, the proclitic preposition *lᵊ-* 'to' serves this function (Kautzsch 1910: §143e; Meek 1945: 13; Khan 1988: 68).[5]

(17) lᵊ-[kol hab-bᵊhēmâ ʔᵃšer hîʔ mapreset parsâ wᵊ-šesaʔ
to- all the-beast.F.SG that 3.F.SG dividing.F.SG hoof and-cloven.hoof
ʔênen-nâ šōsaʔat wᵊ-gērâ ʔênen-nâ maʔᵃlâ]$_1$
NEG.EXIST-3.F.SG splitting.F.SG and-cud NEG.EXIST-3.F.SG chewing.F.SG

[5]The availability of 'as for' phrases in Biblical Hebrew makes the prediction that there should exist examples of Hanging Topics with apparent preposition mismatches, where the dislocate is marked by *lᵊ-* and the correlate is marked by another preposition.

(i) *Predicted but unattested:*
*lᵊ-*dislocate [$_{\text{Host Clause}}$ ... [$_{\text{PP}}$ P correlate] ...], where P ≠ *lᵊ-*

Although such examples have not surfaced in my search, they should be possible.

ṭ^{ə}mēʔîm hêm$_1$ lā-kem
unclean.M.PL 3.M.PL for-you.M.PL
'As for [every beast that (it) parts (its) hoof but isn't cloven-hoofed and chews cud]$_1$ they$_1$ are unclean for you.' (Lev 11.26)

Fifth, the two constructions occur with different types of correlates. Hanging Topics can relate to non-pronominal, anaphoric epithets—full nominals which often carry an affective meaning and which can express temporary qualification of the referent (Aoun and Choueiri 2000). In at least some languages, Left Dislocates only cooccur with pronominal correlates. This is shown in (18) for Spanish.

(18) (*A) María$_1$, hace tiempo que no veo a esa sinvergüenza$_1$
(ACC) Maria, does time that NEG see.1ST ACC that shameless
'Maria$_1$, I haven't seen that shameless woman$_1$ in a while.' (Spanish; López 2009: 4)

The presence of overt accusative case on the dislocate *Maria* renders this example ungrammatical, due to the fact that such case-matching would force a Left Dislocation parse; however, Left Dislocates are incompatible in Spanish with epithet correlates like *esa sinvergünza*. Thus, the only possibility is to have a dislocate with default nominative case—namely, a Hanging Topic. We find a similar situation in Biblical Hebrew: epithets are only attested as correlates related to nominative DP correlates, never to accusative DPs or to PPs. Two examples are given in (19).

(19) a. [kol makkê nepeš]$_1$ l^{ə}-pî ʕēdîm yirṣaḥ ʔet
every striking.M.SG soul to-mouth witnesses kill.3.M.SG ACC
hā-rōṣē^{a}ḥ$_1$
the-murderer
'[Everyone who kills someone]$_1$–before witnesses they shall kill the murderer$_1$.' (Num 35.30)

b. han-nepeš$_1$ ʔ^{a}šer tipneh ʔel hā-ʔōbōt w^{ə}-ʔel hay-yidd^{ə}ʕōnîm
the-soul.F.SG that turns.3.F.SG to the-mediums and-to the-necromancers
li-znôt ʔaḥ^{a}rê-hem w^{ə}-nātattî ʔet pāna-y
to-be.harlot after-3.M.PL and-set.1.SG ACC face-my

ban-nepeš ha-hi?$_1$
on.the-soul.F.SG the-that.F.SG
'The person$_1$ (lit. 'soul') that turns to mediums and to necromancers to be a harlot after them–I will set my face against that person$_1$.' (Lev 20.6)

There does appear to be a fair amount of cross-linguistic variability with respect to this diagnostic, however. Sturgeon (2008: 117, fn. 17) and den Dikken and Surányi (2017: 548) cite Left Dislocates with epithet correlates in Czech, German, and Hungarian, diagnosed by case-matching effects, and Aoun et al. (2001) report that Lebanese Arabic Left Dislocates which permit reconstruction for variable binding may relate to epithet correlates. The facts therefore appear to demand a paramaterization of the epithet diagnostic for dislocation constructions for different languages.

This section has argued that Hanging Topics and Left Dislocates can be teased apart empirically in Biblical Hebrew, relying on several diagnostics shown to distinguish the very same kinds of constructions in other languages.[6] Crucially, I have shown that there is positive evidence for both Hanging Topics and Left Dislocates. I summarize the diagnostics in Table 1.[7]

This finding also potentially sheds light on the diachrony of Hebrew dislocation strategies. By raw counts, Hanging Topics considerably outnumber Left Dislocates in the Biblical Hebrew corpus, occurring at a ratio of about 4.5:1 in only those cases

[6]See also Miller-Naudé and Naudé (2019) and Miller-Naudé and Naudé (2019) for a separate attempt at producing a systematic typology of dislocation constructions in Biblical Hebrew.

[7]There is also meager evidence that Hanging Topics do not give rise to Condition C effects via reconstruction, as shown in (i).

(i) w^{ə}-gam [maʕ^{a}kâ ʔēm ʔāsāʔ$_2$ ham-melek]$_1$ h^{e}sîr-āh$_1$ pro_2 mig-g^{ə}bîrâ
and-even Maacah mother Asa the-king turned.3.M.SG-3.F.SG.ACC$_1$ from-queenship
'And even [Maacah, mother of king Asa$_2$]$_1$, he$_2$ turned her$_1$ aside from queenship.' (2 Chr 15.16)

Grohmann (2003: 150–1) argues for German that Left Dislocates force reconstruction and therefore feed Condition C effects, while Hanging Topics circumvent such effects. Although I have no positive evidence that case-matching dislocates force reconstruction in Biblical Hebrew (conceivably for binding anaphors or variables, or for scope), (i) at least shows that reconstruction with Hanging Topics is not forced.

Diagnostics	Hanging Topic	Left Dislocation
Does the dislocate need to be nominal?	Yes	No
Are case-mismatches permitted?	Yes	No
Can the correlate be contained inside an island?	Yes	No
Can the dislocate be marked by an 'as for' phrase?	Yes	No
Are epithet correlates permitted?	Yes	No

Table 1: Diagnostics for distinguishing Hanging Topics from Left Dislocates in Biblical Hebrew

where the two can be adequately distinguished.[8] The data are provided in Table 2.

Dislocate Type		Correlate Type			Totals
		DP	PP	Loc Adv	
DP	Unmarked DP (Hanging Topic)	111	65	7	183
	Accusative DP (Left Dislocate)	24	1	0	25
PP (Left Dislocate)		0	11	4	15

Table 2: Biblical Hebrew Dislocation Statistics

The preference for Hanging Topics is amplified in subsequent stages of the language: Left Dislocates appear to be unattested, or attested only very rarely in both Qumranic and Mishnaic Hebrew, both of which are posterior to Biblical Hebrew (see Jones 2015; Fernández 1999), and Left Dislocation is ungrammatical in Modern Hebrew, as shown in (20).

(20) a. kol gever, rina xoševet al-av
every man Rina thinks about-him
'Rina thinks about every man'

b. *al kol gever rina xoševet al-av
about every man Rina thinks about-him
(int.) 'Rina thinks about every man.'

c. *et dani rina ohevet oto
ACC Dani Rina loves him
(int.) 'Rina loves Dani.' (Modern Hebrew; Doron 1982: 14–15)

[8]These counts exclude dislocates with pronominal subject correlates (where default nominative case would overlap with case-matching) and possessor correlates, of which there are several hundred (see Groß 1987). I take dislocations with possessor correlates to always instantiate Hanging Topics since Biblical Hebrew does not permit possessor extraction.

López (2016: 419, fn. 4) reports a similar trend in colloquial registers of French, and Traugott (2007) observes that Old English seems to have employed both Hanging Topics and Left Dislocates, in contrast to current idioms which only use Hanging Topics. Although the cross-linguistic parallels are interesting, I must leave this vein of inquiry into the diachrony of dislocation constructions for future research.

3. Hanging Topics are base-generated in TopicP. Due to their lack of connectivity, in particular their island insensitivity and lack of obligatory case-matching, I argue that Hanging Topics are base-generated outside of the clausal core. Three sets of hypotheses have been proposed to account for this behavior of Hanging Topics. The first takes Hanging Topics to not be syntactically integrated at all, but rather to belong to 'discourse grammar' (Cinque 1983; Ott 2015). The second and third assume that Hanging Topics are sentence-internal constituents, but differ in how they propose to introduce Hanging Topics to the clause, whether by adjunction to CP (Anagnostopoulou 1997; Sturgeon 2008) or via external Merge into the specifier of a functional head in a split-CP. In this section, I will argue that only the last proposal adequately squares with the Biblical Hebrew data.

If Hanging Topics are not syntactically integrated, then their distribution should not be sensitive to other left-peripheral material in the clause. However, clear ordering generalizations emerge from the corpus. First, in root contexts, Hanging Topics follow the polar interrogative operator[9] and precede *wh-* and focused XPs, as shown in (21a)–(21c).

(21) *Root Hanging Topics in Biblical Hebrew*
  a. *Q precedes Hanging Topic*

[9]The polar interrogative operator is proclitic and always occurs clause-initially. The first person pronoun in (21a) is a freestanding, strong pronoun and not an affix. Biblical Hebrew (like Modern Hebrew) does not exhibit φ-agreement on C.

he-ʔānōkî$_1$ l^{ə}-ʔādām śîḥ-î$_1$
Q-1.SG to-man complaint-1.SG.GEN

'As for me–is my complaint against man?' (Job 21.4)

b. *Hanging Topic precedes* wh-*XP*

[taʔ^{a}nāt-â]$_1$ mî y^{ə}šîben-nâ$_1$
lust-3.F.SG.GEN who turn.3.M.SG-3.F.SG.ACC

'Her lust$_1$—who can turn it$_1$ away?'

c. *Hanging Topic precedes focused XP*

hā-riʔšōnôt$_1$ [mâ hēnnâ$_1$] haggîdû
the-former.things.F.PL what 3.F.PL say.IMP

'The former things$_1$–say what they$_1$ are.' (Isa 41.22)

In embedded contexts, Hanging Topics consistently follow the relative complementizer *ʔ^{a}šer*.[10]

(22) ʔānōkî ʕōśeh dābār b^{ə}-yiśrāʔēl ʔ^{a}šer [kol šōm^{ə}ʕ-ô]$_1$
1.SG. doing.M.SG thing in-Israel that every hearing.M.SG-3.M.SG
t^{ə}ṣillênâ štê ʔoznāy-w$_1$
tingle.3.F.PL two ears.F.DL-3.M.SG.GEN
'I am doing a thing in Israel that [everyone who hears it]$_1$–his$_1$ two ears will tingle.' (1 Sam 3.11)

I identify the polar interrogative operator and relative complementizers as realizing

[10]The availability of Hanging Topics in embedded contexts seems to vary across languages. Benincà and Poletto (2004: 65) observe that Hanging Topics cannot be embedded in relative clauses in Italian, regardless of the relative ordering between dislocate and relative complementizer (see also Cinque 1983).

(i) 1. *Una persona che questo libro non ne parlerà mai
a person that this book not of.it will.talk never

2. *Una persona questo libro che non ne parlerà mai
a person this book that not of.it will.talk never

both: (int.) 'a person who will never talk about this book'

Note, however, that Ross (1967) recognized already that Hanging Topics (which he refers to as 'Left Dislocation'), although preferably a root phenomenon, may occasionally occur in embedded contexts, as in (ii).

(ii) I said that my father$_1$, he$_1$ was tight as a hoot owl. (Ross 1967: 424)

Rizzi's (1997) Force, the head marking illocutionary force and clause type. I will assume for the sake of simplicity that *wh*-XPs and focused XPs occupy a similar position in the clause (see, e.g., Lipták 2001 on Hungarian), though the crucial observation is that both phrasal constituents always follow Hanging Topics in Biblical Hebrew.[11] I summarize these findings below.

(23) *Ordering generalizations for the Biblical Hebrew left periphery*
   a. Force $\prec$ Hanging Topic; *unattested*: Hanging Topic $\prec$ Force
   b. Hanging Topic $\prec$ *wh*-/focused XP; *unattested*: *wh*-/focused XP $\prec$ Hanging Topic

On the basis of these generalizations, and in particular the fact that Hanging Topics exhibit ordering preferences in embedded contexts, I conclude that Hanging Topics are true sentential constituents.[12]

The question remains as to whether Hanging Topics are introduced via adjunction or via external Merge. If Hanging Topics are adjoined to some clausal projection and if adjunction is a freely iterable operation, we predict that several Hanging Topics should, in principle, be able to appear in the left periphery of a single clause. If, however, Hanging Topics are uniquely selected by a functional head F^0, then we predict that the number of Hanging Topics should match the number of selectional features to be satisfied on F^0. Crucially, apparent restrictions on the number of Hanging Topics can only be accommodated by the External Merge approach, and it is this hypothesis which seems to be borne out: of the several hundred attested Biblical Hebrew clauses with dislocates, all host at most a single Hanging Topic. Indeed, in Czech and English, multiple Hanging Topics in a single clause are ungrammatical.

[11] See Shlonsky (2014) on *wh*-XPs being lower than focused XPs in Modern Hebrew.

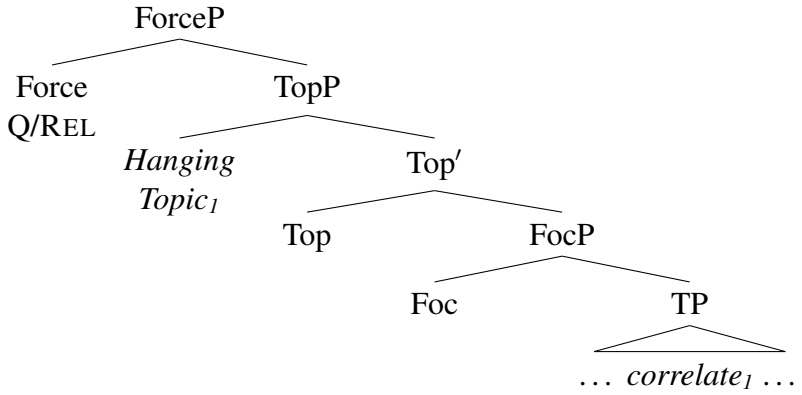
[12] The clausal structure espoused in Cowper and DeCaen (2017), where Hanging Topics occupy the specifier of the highest functional projection in the left periphery, which they refer to as "&P" (a kind of asymmetric coordinator) cannot be maintained, as Cowper & DeCaen place Force below &P and therefore do not predict the ordering generalizations in (23a).

(24) *Mary$_1$, John$_2$, she$_1$ likes him$_2$. (Alexiadou 2017: 2141)

(25) *Honza$_1$ kniha$_2$, tu$_2$ tomu$_1$ chci koupit
Honza.NOM book.NOM that.ACC that.DAT want buy.INF
(int.) 'Honza$_1$, a book$_2$, I want to buy him$_1$ one$_2$.' (Czech; Sturgeon 2008: 61)

I therefore conclude that Biblical Hebrew Hanging Topics are merged into the specifier of a functional projection in the left periphery which bears a single selectional feature [SEL:D] (in addition to the selectional feature which introduces the selecting head to the clause in the first place). Following Benincà and Poletto (2004), I identify this head as a high Top(ic)^0. Assuming a version of the split-CP hypothesis (Rizzi 1997), I propose the cartographic clause structure in (26) to account for the ordering facts in (21)–(22) in Biblical Hebrew.

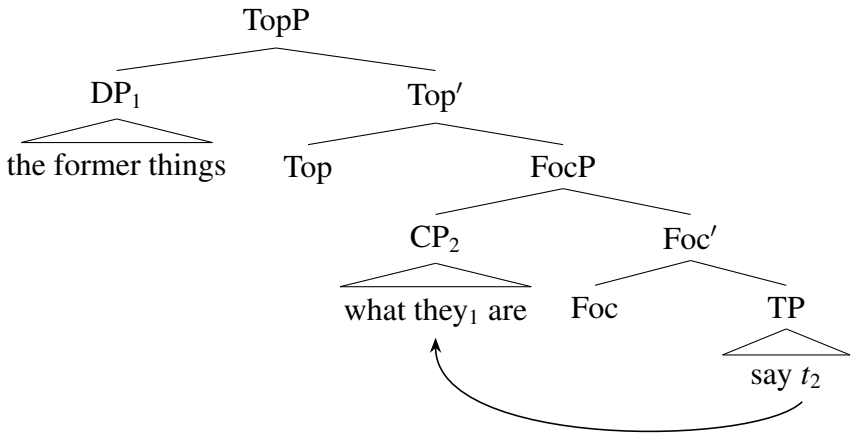
(26)



Example (27b) is representative, illustrating how (21c), repeated here as (27a), is derived under my proposal.

(27) a. hā-riʔšōnôt$_1$ [mâ hēnnâ$_1$] haggîdû
the-former.things.F.PL what 3.F.PL say.IMP
'The former things$_1$–say what they$_1$ are.' (Isa 41.22)

b.



I should note that I adopt the label "TopicP" for this projection only formally. In doing so, I do not intend to implicate anything about the discourse-pragmatic function of these dislocates in Biblical Hebrew, a subject which deserves an independent treatment in future studies (see López 2016 for a general discussion of the information structure of dislocations cross-linguistically).

In summary, by introducing Hanging Topics in a high left-peripheral position in the clause via External Merge, we can account for their lack of connectivity effects documented in Section §2, such as case-matching and island sensitivity. Since Hanging Topics never occupy a position internal to the host clause, they are never in a position to be assigned case or to induce subjacency violations through movement. Moreover, the External Merge approach predicts the absence of iterated Hanging Topics as well as the ordering generalizations in (23).

4. Left Dislocates are sentence fragments. Just as there have been several proposals put forward to account for the behavior of Hanging Topics in other languages, so too has there been some disagreement over the correct analysis of Left Dislocates. This debate has centered around determining whether or not Left Dislocates relate to their correlates via movement, or rather anaphorically. One hypothesis, going back to a suggestion by Ross (1973: 133–134, fn. 7), claims that Left Dislocates move from a clause-

internal position to their surface position in the left periphery (see, e.g., Cinque 1977; Grohmann 2003; Boeckx and Grohmann 2005; Zeller 2009; den Dikken and Surányi 2017, among many others). This approach can be schematized as in (28):[13]

(28) *Movement approach to Left Dislocation*
XP_1 [$_{\text{Host Clause}}$ ... ~~XP~~⇒correlate ...]

Connectivity effects present in Left Dislocation, such as case-matching, island sensitivity, and the availability of reconstruction, have been taken to support such a view under the assumption that connectivity can only be achieved if the Left Dislocate occupied a position internal to the host clause at some point in the derivation.

Ott (2014, 2015), however, has recently suggested a revision to this consensus on the basis of *anti*-connectivity effects extant in Left Dislocation. Crucial for the present paper is his observation that Left Dislocates can mismatch in φ-features with their correlates, as illustrated by the German example in (29): the dislocate bears neuter gender, and the correlate can either be neuter or feminine.

(29) Dem Mädchen da vorne, {dem /der} haben sie neulich die
the.DAT girl.NEUT over there that.NEUT.DAT /FEM.DAT have they recently the
Handtasche geklaut
purse stolen
(both:) 'That girl over there recently had her purse stolen.' (German; Ott 2015: 247)

Correlates thus behave more like discourse anaphors than spelled-out copies which are predicted to maintain φ-feature fidelity, *ceteris paribus*. Likewise for Biblical Hebrew, correlates may mismatch in gender features with their corresponding dislocates, as shown by (30).

[13] I abstract over the fine distinctions between these proposals, collapsing multiple copy spellout approaches as in Grohmann (2003) with the stranding approach of Boeckx (2003) and appositive approaches as in de Vries (2009).

(30) [ʕim hā-ʔ^{a}māhôt ʔ^{a}šer ʔāmart]$_1$ ʕimm-ām$_1$ ʔikkāb^{a}dâ
with the-handmaids.F.PL that speak.2.F.SG with-3.M.PL be.honored.1.SG
'[With the handmaids (f.pl) that you speak to]$_1$, with them$_1$ (m.pl) I shall be honored.' (2 Sam 6.22)

These mismatches are problematic for movement-based approaches to Left Dislocation, as dislocates and correlates are expected to share all of their relevant φ-features assuming the Copy Theory of Movement (Chomsky 1993).[14]

Ott addresses this apparently inconsistent behavior of Left Dislocates by hypothesizing that the dislocate and correlate belong to two separate, but (truth-conditionally) identical clauses. The clause containing the dislocate is then elided under parallelism with its postcedent, the host clause, where ellipsis is taken to be PF-deletion. This proposal can be distilled into the following three steps: (i) juxtapose identical clauses in

[14]One might object that the Biblical Hebrew mismatch is directional, proceeding from the more marked to the less-marked featural value, i.e. feminine ⇒ masculine. Neutralization of φ-features yielding a default form has been argued to underly certain types of A-bar movement in Dinka Bor in van Urk (2018), which are analyzed as reflecting partial deletion in the lower DP copy. Nevertheless, it remains unclear what would enforce multiple (partial) copy spell-out in the Biblical Hebrew Left Dislocation cases. Arguably the most fleshed-out proposal regarding multiple copy spell-out in Left Dislocation is Grohmann (2003). Grohmann argues that movement that is 'too short' (in his terms, within a single domain, such as movement from [Spec, TopP] to [Spec, CP] in Contrastive Left Dislocation) forces multiple copy spell-out, where the lower copy is spelled out as a minimal pronoun. This analysis requires that both dislocate and correlate be in a highly local structural configuration. Yet we find demonstrably non-local dislocate-correlate configurations in Biblical Hebrew, as in (i). In this example, the correlate is in a post-verbal position, which I take to be at least below C (i.e. not in [Spec, TopP] as per Grohmann's analysis).

(i) kî ʔōt-ô$_1$ k^{ə}-hayyôm timṣ^{ə}ʔûn ʔōt-ô$_1$
because ACC-3.M.SG as-today find.2.M.PL ACC-3.M.SG
'Because him$_1$–even today you shall find him$_1$.' (1 Sam 9.13)

Admittedly, Grohmann *does* allow for 'low' spelled-out copies in Clitic Left Dislocation, but this will not work either since the correlate in (i) bears differential object marking and is not cliticized to the verb. In addition we find examples like (ii) with dislocated PPs and, once again, seemingly non-local correlate PPs.

(ii) mē-ʕēṣ had-daʕat ṭôb wā-rāʕ lōʔ tōʔkal mimmen-nû$_1$
from-tree the-knowledge good and-evil NEG eat.2.M.SG from-3.M.SG
'[$_{PP}$ from the tree of knowledge of good and evil]$_1$, you shall not eat [$_{PP}$ from it]$_1$' (Gen 2.17)

Without a clear way to enforce multiple copy spell-out in light of apparently non-local dislocate-correlate configurations, I will set aside the 'move and partially delete' approach to Left Dislocation based on antilocality.

the discourse; (ii) link those clauses endophorically via the dislocate and correlate; (iii) elide the former clause (=TP-ellipsis) under identity with the latter. The mechanics are schematized in (31) (see Ott 2015: 239).

(31) $[_{CP_1}$ dislocate$_1$ ~~[... *t* ...]~~$]$ $[_{CP_2}$ ... correlate$_1$ ...], where CP_1, CP_2 are mutually entailing

Ott's proposal thus draws a close parallel between Left Dislocation and clausal ellipsis phenomena such as sluicing, fragment answers (Merchant 2004), and split questions (Arregi 2010).

I adopt a slightly revised version of Ott's elliptical analysis of Left Dislocation for Biblical Hebrew. An explanandum left unaddressed in Ott's original proposal is the fact that Left Dislocates must appear left-adjacent to their host clauses with no intervening material. This is not, however, a property traditionally associated with clausal ellipsis: an ellipsis site may be separated from its antecedent clause by some distance. This is shown for sluicing in example (32).

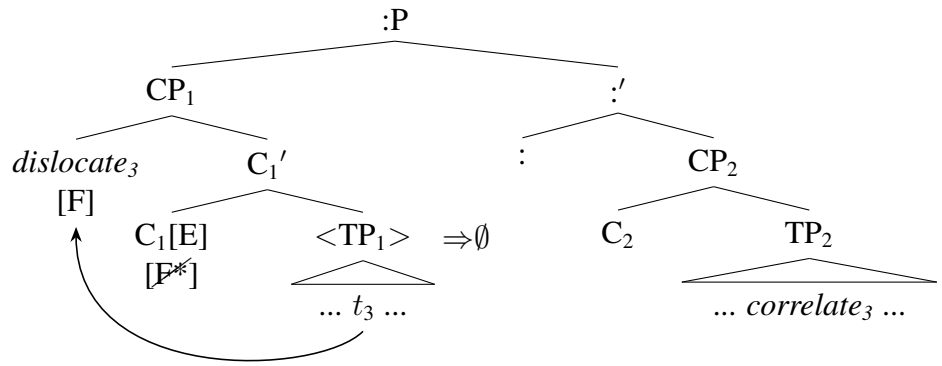
(32) A: Susan was here.
B: I remember that much, but I can't remember who else $<$ *t* was here $>$.

I propose instead that the two clauses in Left Dislocation—represented here as CPs—are linked by an obligatorily null asyndetic coordinator, for which I adopt Koster's (2000) Colon Phrase ":P".[15] In Koster's analysis, the colon operator combines a syntactic object in need of licensing with another syntactic object and yields a kind of 'specifying coordination' (a subcase of Koster's parallel construal) in which the two coordinands are semantically equivalent. Since the colon phrase combines the two CPs,

[15] As a reviewer points out, it is puzzling why Left Dislocates exhibit a strict linear order with respect to their host clauses if coordinate structures in general are not typically subject to such requirements. It is promising, then, that a recent proposal by Ott and De Vries (2016) suggests that certain species of 'backgrounding' Right Dislocation may also be derived with Koster's colon phrase. This would suggest that Left and Right Dislocation (of the relevant kinds) are, derivationally, linear variants of one another.

nothing is predicted to intervene between the dislocate and the host clause (= CP_2). The basics of the analysis are shown in (33).

(33)



My other assumptions underlying the derivation in (33) are as follows. I propose that the dislocate first undergoes A-bar movement in CP_1 to escape TP-deletion, motivated by a feature [F*] on C_1 driving movement to its specifier, where the "*" notation is the equivalent of an EPP feature, and where checked features are crossed out, as in [~~F~~].[16] I refrain from assigning [F] a single semantic function, given that no consistent information structural properties have yet been identified for Biblical Hebrew Left Dislocates (see Holmstedt 2014; Westbury 2014 for some attempts). Moreover, I adopt Merchant's (2001) "E" feature to enforce TP-ellipsis: [E] is added to the functional head C_1 in the course of the derivation, at which point it imposes certain syntactic and semantic identity conditions on C_1's complement and licenses PF-deletion (or alternatively, non-insertion) of the following phrase.[17]

The structure in (33) accounts for all of the properties of Left Dislocation summarized in Table 1. Any phrasal category which can undergo regular A-bar movement is

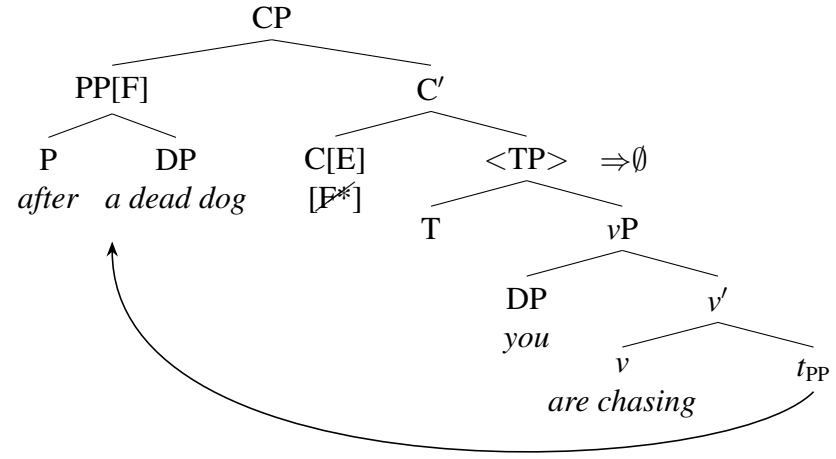
[16]The details could also be reformulated under a more articulated approach to the left periphery, in which case FocusP or Int(errogative)P as detailed in Rizzi and Cinque (2016) might constitute good candidates for the landing site of the dislocated XP.

[17]I follow recent hybrid theories of calculating identity in ellipsis and assume that some form of syntactic identity is necessary in addition to mutual entailment under focus closure (for which see Merchant 2001) to rule out derivations in which the antecedent clause and ellipsis site have mutually entailing predicates but differ in their argument structural properties (see Chung 2013).

predicted to be found in Left Dislocation, assuming that A-bar movement feeds clausal ellipsis in CP_1. In Biblical Hebrew, PPs can be overtly displaced in wh-questions and can function as ellipsis remnants in fragment questions, which have been argued to involve A-bar movement (Merchant 2004).

(34) a. [$_{CP_1}$ ʔaḥ^{a}rê mî ʔattâ rōdēp *t*][$_{CP_2}$ ʔaḥ^{a}rê keleb mēt < ʔattâ rōdēp *t*>]
after who you chasing.M.SG after dog dead you chasing.M.SG
'Who are you chasing after? After a dead dog!' (1 Sam 24.15)

b.



That Left Dislocates need not be nominal follows straightforwardly if Left Dislocation involves the kind of movement illustrated in (34). Second, case-matching in Left Dislocation is reminiscent of Merchant's (2001: 91) *Form-identity generalization I*:

(35) *Form-identity generalization I: Case-matching*
The sluiced wh-phrase must bear the case that its correlate bears.

Case connectivity is predicted in clausal ellipsis and, by hypothesis, in Left Dislocation if the remnant starts out local to the relevant case assigner prior to A-bar movement and ellipsis.

Next, the island sensitivity of Left Dislocation follows if the Left Dislocate originates inside an island, parallel to the correlate in the host clause. Attempted A-bar ex-

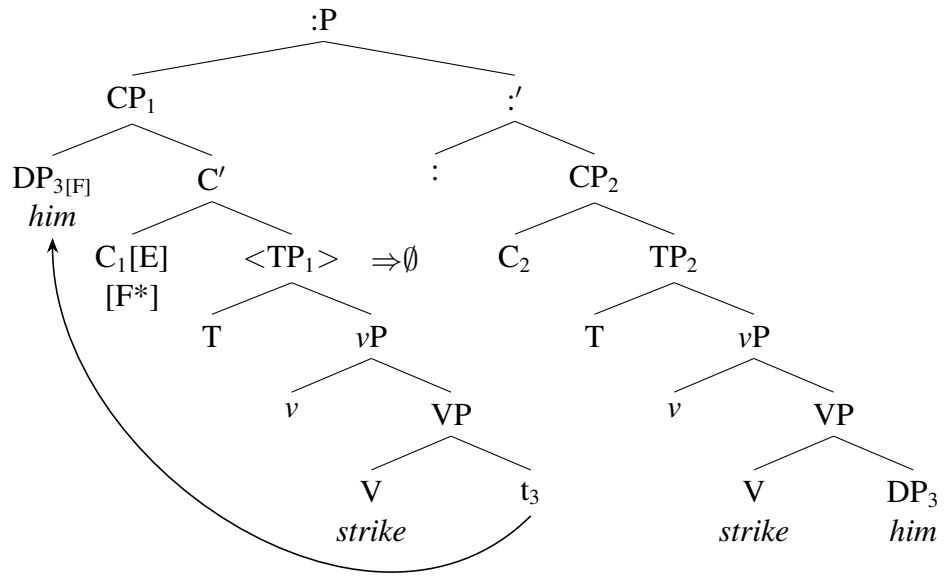
traction of the Left Dislocate will necessarily violate subjacency, accounting for the island sensitivity of Left Dislocates cross-linguistically and for the absence of island-insensitive Left Dislocates in Biblical Hebrew.[18]

The absence of 'as for' phrases with Left Dislocates appears to rely on the information structural properties associated with the dislocate–properties which I propose correlate with the head hosting the dislocate in the left periphery. Hanging Topics occupy [Spec, TopP] and routinely have an 'aboutness' interpretation, whereas Left Dislocates are assumed to occupy another specifier position (the exact nature of which has been left unspecified here) and therefore will not be assigned the same discourse function (see López 2016). Finally, I will tentatively assume that the semantic properties associated with epithets (e.g. temporary qualification and affective meaning, cf. Aoun and Choueiri 2000) preclude their inclusion in the postcedent clause of a Left Dislocation structure because this additional semantic content disrupts mutual entailment and bleeds clausal ellipsis, though the precise details are left for future investigation.

I sketch how the proposed structure in (33) can be used to derive the case-matching Left Dislocate from (9): C_1 is merged into the structure with an [E] feature and a strong [F*] feature, the latter driving A-bar movement of the dislocate *ʔōtô* 'him' in CP_1. Koster's ':' then coordinates CP_1 with CP_2, which differ only in the identity of the correlate or dislocate and in the feature matrix of C. The [E] feature on C_1 then licenses deletion of TP_1 under identity with TP_2, stranding the dislocate as a sentence fragment which appears linearly juxtaposed to CP_2. Crucially, and counter to most previous proposals of Left Dislocation in other languages, there is no movement relationship between CP_1 and CP_2 or the constituents therein.

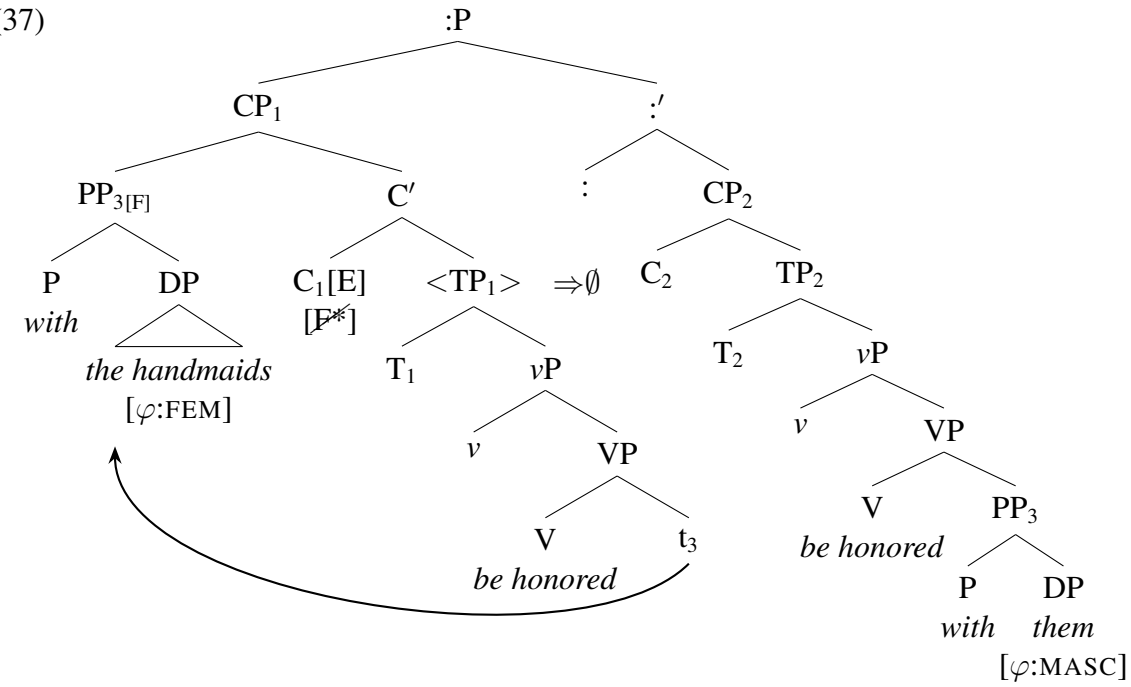
[18] Something more must be said, however, as the putative *wh*-extraction in sluicing in many cases seems to be insensitive to islands (Ross 1969). If Left Dislocation truly is to be likened to other cases of clausal ellipsis, this apparent disparity should be accounted for. I leave this question for future research.

(36)



Recall that Left Dislocates exhibit anti-connectivity effects in the form of φ-feature mismatches between the dislocate and correlate. The ellipsis analysis laid out here predicts such mismatches to be tolerated just in case they are semantically vacuous, since such variation will not disturb the relevant entailment relations. Example (37) illustrates the proposed derivation for (30), where I take the gender mismatch to be semantically vacuous: it is evidently handmaids who are being referred to in both clauses.

(37)



Interesting supporting evidence for my claim that the gender mismatch in (37) is semantically vacuous comes from the fact that the noun 'handmaids' can relate cross-sententially to masculine pro-dropped subjects whose gender is indicated by agreement on the finite verb, as shown in (38).

(38) way-yirpāʔ ʔ^{e}lōhîm ... ʔet ʔišt$_1$-ô
and-healed.3.M.SG god ACC wife-3.M.SG.GEN
w^{ə}-ʔamhōt-āyw$_2$ way-yēlēdû pro_{1+2}
and-handmaids.F.PL-3.M.SG.GEN and-gave.birth.3.M.PL
'God healed ... his wife$_1$ and his handmaids$_2$ (f.pl), and they$_{1+2}$ (m.pl) gave birth.' (Gen 20.17)

In summary, the ellipsis analysis of Left Dislocation correctly predicts the mixed set of connectivity effects we find in Biblical Hebrew. Independently supported assumptions about the nature of identity in clausal ellipsis carried over straightforwardly to explain gender mismatches in Left Dislocation. Movement analyses, on the other hand, fail to predict anti-connectivity effects and hence fall short of explaining the full breadth of data.

5. Conclusion. I have argued that two kinds of dislocations are attested in Biblical Hebrew: Hanging Topics and Left Dislocates. Each can be distinguished by a variety of tests shown to differentiate similar constructions in other languages. Whereas Hanging Topics robustly lack connectivity effects, Left Dislocates exhibit some connectivity with their correlates. The empirical contrasts were shown to follow from the distinct derivational character of each construction. Hanging Topics were argued to be base-generated in a left-peripheral position, identified here as [Spec, TopicP]. This proposal accounts for the fact that, though clause-peripheral, Hanging Topics still exhibit ordering tendencies with respect to other operators. Left Dislocates, by contrast, were argued to be elliptical sentence remnants appearing linearly juxtaposed to their host clauses as a result of asyndetic coordination, vindicating and refining the proposal laid out in Ott (2014, 2015). Crucially, anti-connectivity effects in Biblical Hebrew, which prove problematic for movement approaches to Left Dislocation predicting connectivity across the board, can be accommodated in an ellipsis account if such mismatches can be overlooked by the algorithm which calculates identity in licensing clausal ellipsis. My analysis opens the way to refine previous analyses of the Biblical Hebrew left periphery (see, e.g., Cowper and DeCaen 2017) and implicates that there is no defining property of 'correlates' as such in dislocations. Correlates are regular anaphoric devices, never derived by movement, echoing McCloskey's (2002) generalization that resumptive pronouns are always drawn from a language's normal stock of pronouns.

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