An Ellipsis Approach to Contrastive Left-dislocation[*]

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Abstract

This paper proposes a novel analysis of Contrastive Left-dislocation (CLD), according to which the left-dislocated XP is a remnant of clausal ellipsis. This analysis makes sense of the otherwise paradoxical fact that the dislocated XP shows connectivity into the clause it precedes, while other properties betray its clause-external status. The paradox is resolved by analyzing CLD as a juxtaposition of two parallel clauses, the first of which is reduced by deletion at PF. Akin to recent treatments of sluicing, fragment answers, split questions, and other phenomena, the analysis reduces CLD to an interplay of $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement and ellipsis, thereby removing constructional residue from the theory of UG.

Keywords: dislocation, ellipsis, movement, fragments, connectivity

1 Introduction

In this paper I propose a novel analysis of Contrastive Left-dislocation (CLD), a construction in which a left-peripheral XP precedes a complete clause containing a resuming element.

(1)   Den Peter, den habe ich gesehen.
       the Peter him have I   seen
       'I saw Peter.'   (German)

For convenience I will henceforth refer to the "dislocated" XP (*den Peter* in (1)) as the *dXP*, to the resuming element (*den* in (1)) as the *correlate*,[1] and to the clause containing the correlate as the *host clause*.

According to the analysis I will defend, the *d*XP is a remnant of clausal ellipsis. More specifically, my claim is that (1) derives from the following underlying biclausal structure:

(2) $[_{CP_1}$ [den Peter]$_i$ [habe ich t_i gesehen]] $[_{CP_2}$ den$_k$ habe ich t_k gesehen]

In the mapping to phonetic form, CP$_1$ is reduced by deletion of the sister of the fronted XP, yielding (3), corresponding to the surface form in (1).

(3) $[_{CP_1}$ [den Peter]$_i$ [~~habe ich t_i gesehen~~]] $[_{CP_2}$ den$_k$ habe ich t_k gesehen]

The juxtaposed CP$_1$ and CP$_2$ are parallel, *modulo* the difference between *d*XP and correlate; as explained in section 3 below, this parallelism licenses ellipsis in CP$_1$. As shown above, the *d*XP has $\overline{\text{A}}$-moved to the edge of CP$_1$, enabling constituent deletion of the remainder of the clause.

This type of clausal ellipsis, in the wake of Merchant 2001 commonly implemented as PF-deletion of IP/TP,[2] has been argued to figure in a range of elliptical constructions, such as sluicing, fragment answers, and split questions.

(4)   *Sluicing* (Lasnik 2001; Merchant 2001; van Craenenbroeck 2010b)

    a.   John bought something, but I don't know what.

    b.   ... but I don't know $[_{CP}$ what$_i$ [~~John bought t_i~~]]

(5)   *Fragment answers* (Merchant 2004a; Temmerman 2012)

    a.   A: Wie dacht   Carl dat de wedstrijd zou   winen? – B: Kim.
            who thought Carl that the contest   would win   Kim
            A: 'Who did Carl think would win the contest?' – B: 'Kim.'

    b. $[_{CP}$ Kim$_i$ [~~dacht Carl dat t_i de wedstrijd zou winen~~]]   (Dutch)

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[1] Here and below, informal characterization of the correlate as "resuming" the *d*XP should not be taken to imply an equation of CLD and genuine cases of resumption. Some of the languages under discussion here (German, Dutch) lack resumptive strategies of the English/Hebrew type, in which the resumptive-binding element invariably appears without case-marking (see Merchant 2004b). As we will see in section 4.1 below, this is a crucial difference between resumption and CLD.

[2] Deviating from this tradition, I argue in Ott in progress that "IP-ellipsis" is a misnomer, and that what undergoes deletion in all relevant cases is in fact the derived sister of the fronted operator (as also proposed in Thoms 2010). This captures Merchant's (2001) *Sluicing–COMP generalization*, according to which no non-operator material can surface in CP when (in Merchant's terms) IP is elided. Since space precludes a thorough justification of this alternative implementation here, I will use the non-commital term *clausal ellipsis* in this paper to designate the relevant ellipsis pattern.

(6)　　*Split questions* (Arregi 2010; Ott and de Vries 2012a)

    a.   Qué árbol plantó Juan, un roble?
        what three planted Juan an oak
        'What tree did Juan plant, an oak?'

    b. $[_{CP}$ [qué árbol]$_i$ plantó Juan t_i] $[_{CP}$ [un roble]$_k$ [~~plantó Juan t_k~~]]　　　　(Spanish)

If my proposal is on the right track, CLD joins this family of constructions.[3]

Existing approaches to CLD variously analyze the *d*XP as moved to or as base-generated in its surface position, but analyses of either ilk suffer from empirical and conceptual shortcomings. As I will show, the movement-and-ellipsis alternative avoids these problems and derives all core properties of CLD in a principled fashion, relying exclusively on the independently motivated operations of $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement and clausal ellipsis. In this way, the analysis eliminates a significant amount of constructional residue from the theory of UG.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I outline the central empirical properties of CLD and the theoretical challenge emanating from them. I will then go on to outline the ellipsis-based approach in section 3. Section 4 shows how this account correctly predicts connectivity of the *d*XP into the host clause, despite its otherwise extra-sentential character. Various further predictions of the approach are shown to be borne out in section 5. Section 6 concludes.

2　Core Properties of CLD

This section summarizes the central empirical properties of CLD. The presentation will lead to the seemingly paradoxical conclusion that the *d*XP is clause-external *and* clause-internal at the same time; this is the main problem to be solved by the analysis proposed in the following section.

The type of left-dislocation discussed in this paper is found in all non-English Germanic languages, generally as a root phenomenon.[4] Thráinsson (1979) introduced the term *Con-*

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[3] See also van Craenenbroeck and Lipták 2006, Kluck 2011, and Holmberg forthcoming, among others, for recent analyses employing clausal ellipsis in other domains.

[4] This includes CLD in embedded contexts with root-like properties, as in the following:

(i)   a.   Jón segir að Þessum hring, honum hafi Ólafur lofað Maríu.
        Jon says that this ring, it has Olaf promised Mari.
        'Jon says that Olaf promised this ring to Mari.'　　　　(Icelandic; Thráinsson 2007)
   b.   Ich glaube den Hans, den kennt er kaum.
        I believe the Hans him knows he barely
        'I think he barely knows Hans.'　　　　(German; Bayer 2001)

Icelandic has generalized embedded V2 while German permits embedded root domains for a subset of bridge verbs; embedded CLD obeys the same constraints. I will set aside embedded CLD here as it poses no problem for the present analysis (beyond general questions concerning embedded root phenomena, see Heycock 2006).

trastive Left-dislocation to distinguish the construction from those involving "hanging topics," which differ in crucial respects from *d*XPs in CLD.[5] In this paper, I will focus exclusively on CLD. Most examples will be drawn from German, however the syntactic properties of CLD surveyed in what follows appear to be by and large invariant across the (non-English) Germania (and see footnote 34).

Turning now to the distinctive properties of CLD, let us first consider the *d*XP, which typically has the pragmatic function of a (contrastive) topic or a focus.[6] The *d*XP can be prosodically integrated into the host clause, but may alternatively be separated from it by an intonational break (signified by # below), or even by interjections (cf. Greenberg 1984).

(7)   a.   Den Peter {# / ja / genau / verdammt} den habe ich gestern gesehen.
           the Peter   yes exactly damn   him have I   yesterday seen
           'Peter, {#/yeah/exactly/dammit}, I saw him yesterday.'   (German)

   b.   Daunen boek, toch wel, daunen ei Marie wel gelezen.
           that   book PRT PRT that   has Mary PRT read
           'Yes, Mary read that book.'   (Wambeek Dutch; van Craenenbroeck 2010b)

This suggests that the *d*XP bears a rather loose structural relation (if any) to the host clause. This impression is reinforced more generally by the fact that the *d*XP is always omissible, preceding a syntactically complete clause, in apparent violation of the otherwise robust V2 pattern. Semantically, too, it is essentially vacuous, having no truth-conditional effect on compositional interpretation.

As noted in Zaenen 1997 for Dutch and Icelandic, CLD is virtually unrestricted with respect to the category of the *d*XP.

(8)   a.   [DP Peysuna sína], hana finnur Ólafur hvergi.
           sweater self's it   finds Olaf   nowhere
           'Olaf can't find his sweater anywhere.'   (Icelandic; Zaenen 1985)

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[5]English left-dislocation as in *John, I like him* appears to pattern with what has been labeled *Hanging-topic Left-dislocation* (HTLD) in languages like Dutch and German, illustrated below.

(i)   Der   Peter, ich kenne ihn   nicht.
     the.NOM Peter I   know him.ACC not
     'As for Peter, I don't know him.'   (German)

Hanging topics are usually nominative DPs and do not show connectivity into the host clause (van Riemsdijk 1997; Frey 2004b; Grewendorf 2008). I will not be concerned with HTLD for purposes of this paper.

[6]On information-structural properties of CLD, see Altmann 1981; Frey 2004b; Shaer et al. 2008b. While CLD is sometimes taken to be a topic-marking construction, non-topical uses of *d*XPs, e.g. as narrow-focus answers to questions or in connection with *only/even*-type focus-sensitive operators, are clearly possible; see Hinterwimmer and Repp 2010; Repp and Drenhaus 2011. The information-structural realizations of *d*XPs in CLD are thus congruent with those of XPs fronted to the prefield, which can likewise be topical or focal. These facts are fully in line with the analysis proposed here.

b. [$_{\text{AdvP}}$ Gisteren], toen heeft Jan dat boek snel terug gebracht.
        yesterday then has John that book quickly back brought
        'John quickly returned the book yesterday.'   (Dutch; Zwart 1998)

c. [$_{\text{VP}}$ Gemt den særligt godt], det tror jeg nu ikke de har.
        hidden it very well that think I now not they have
        'I don't think they have hidden it very well.'   (Danish; Mikkelsen 2011)

d. [$_{\text{CP}}$ Dass Peter seine Freundin geküsst hat], das glaube ich nicht.
        that Peter his girlfriend kissed has that believe I not
        'I don't believe that Peter kissed his girlfriend.'   (German)

e. [$_{\text{AP}}$ Schön], das ist sie wirklich nicht.
        beautiful that is she really not
        'She really isn't beautiful.'   (German)

As shown by the above examples, CLD is not restricted to referential *d*XPs (*pace* Grewendorf 2008); in section 3 we will see that categories that cannot be anaphorically resumed by the correlate are excluded from CLD, at least in its standard form. My working assumption here will be that there are no inherent constraints on the category of the *d*XP.

Turning now to the correlate within the host clause, it is typically realized as a pronoun resuming the *d*XP.[7] Leftward movement of this correlate out of an island induces deviance.

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[7]A reviewer wonders why German (like Dutch, Swedish, etc.) employs weak *d*-pronouns as correlates in CLD. Note, first, that the use of *d*-pronouns is not a universal property of the construction, since Icelandic, a language that lacks *d*-pronouns, productively employs personal pronouns as correlates in CLD (Zaenen 1997; Thráinsson 2007); see the relevant examples in the text. Even in German, personal pronouns are fully acceptable correlates in CLD when no *d*-pronoun is available, as with first and second person plural.

(i)   a.   Dir und mir, uns sollten die mal lieber helfen!
            you.DAT and me.DAT us.DAT should they PRT rather help
            'They should rather help you and me!'
      b.   Dir und deiner Frau, euch sollten die mal lieber helfen!
            you.DAT and your.DAT wife you.DAT should they PRT rather help
            'They should rather help you and your wife!'   (German)

In light of such facts, it seems likely that the use of a particular type of pronoun in CLD is not a "deep" syntactic property of the construction, but rather an essentially stylistic choice based on information-structural factors. In spoken German, the preferred use of *d*-pronouns in CLD reflects a general preference for pronouns of this type when elements of the immediately preceding discourse (but outside of the domain of the matrix clause) are anaphorically resumed. Compare the following discourse:

(ii)   A: Kennst du den Peter? – B: Ja, {den / $^{??}$ihn} kenne ich gut.
          know you the Peter yes *d*-him him know I well
       A: 'Do you know Peter?' – B: 'Yes, I know him well.'

Quoting analogous observations based on spoken Dutch, Hoekstra (1999) identifies *d*-pronouns as prototypical topic pronouns in spoken language, virtually absent in written language or formal registers. Given that CLD is predominently found in spoken language, it is therefore not surprising to find *d*-pronouns employed here as well, to the extent allowed by the lexical resources of the language.

Finally, it should be pointed out that CLD permits epithetic correlates as well:

(9) *Den Peter, den$_i$ kenne ich die Frau   [die t_i zuletzt gesehen hat]
     the Peter that know I   the woman that   last   seen   has
     int.: 'I know the woman who was the last to Peter.'   (German)

Notwithstanding customary claims to the contrary (e.g. in Altmann 1981 and Alexiadou 2006), leftward movement of the correlate is in fact not obligatory, although typically the more natural option.[8] No decrease in acceptability can be detected specifically in case some other operator (such as a *wh*-phrase or a null polar-interrogative operator) occupies the edge of the host clause, precluding fronting of the correlate.

(10)   a.   Seinem$_i$ Doktorvater, jeder Linguist$_i$ wird dem Geld   ausleihen.
              his   advisor   every linguist   will him money lend
              'Every linguist will lend money to his advisor.'   (German; Frey 2004b)

        b.   Den Käse, (wann) hat die Maus den gegessen?
              the cheese when has the mouse that eaten
              '(When) Did the mouse eat the cheese?'   (German; Haider 2010)

(11)   Jan, waar heb je die gezien?
        Jan where have you him seen
        'Where did you see Jan?'   (Dutch; Vat 1981)

(12)   Sina$_i$ böcker, varje student$_i$ hatar dem.
        his   books   every student hates them
        'Every student hates his books.'   (Swedish)

In situ occurrence of the correlate is at odds with analyses of CLD that crucially rely on its displacement, such as those proposed in Wiltschko 1997 and Grohmann 2003 (which

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(iii)   a.   Den Peter, den Idioten habe ich gestern   noch gesehen.
              the Peter that idiot   have I yesterday still seen
              'I saw that idiot Peter yesterday.'   (German)
        b.   Maria, dat wijf   vermoord ik nog eens.
              Maria that bitch kill   I one day
              'I'm going to kill that bitch Mary some day.'   (Dutch; van Riemsdijk and Zwarts 1997)
        c.   Ólaf, þetta fífl   elskar hún ekki.
              Olaf that idiot loves she not
              'She doesn't love that idiot Olaf.'   (Icelandic; Zaenen 1997)

I will only use examples with pronominal correlates in the remainder of this paper, since CLD with an epithetic correlate does not seem to behave special in any relevant respect (as expected if epithets are concealed pronouns: see, e.g., Jackendoff 1972; Dubinsky and Hamilton 1998). Note, however, that epithetic correlates are lethal to Grohmann's (2003) "copy spell-out" approach to CLD, since in this case the lexical content of the correlate is not a mere subset of the formal features of the *d*XP; hence, such cases could be handled only by assuming massive violations of Inclusiveness (Chomsky 1995).

[8]This is also noted (for German) by Eisenberg (2006: 398), Frey (2004b), and Grewendorf (2008). The last two authors demonstrate that the *d*XP exhibits connectivity of the kind discussed in section 4.4 below regardless of the position of the correlate.

moreover suffer from most of the problems noted below).

The facts reviewed so far strongly suggest that the *d*XP is generated externally to the host clause: it precedes a syntactically complete (gapless) V2 clause, including its left periphery.

Independence of the *d*XP from the host clause is also brought out by *Infinitivus pro participio* (IPP) effects and the interpretation of modal verbs.[9] Consider the fact that the IPP is consistently judged to be more acceptable in (13a), a case of VP-fronting, than in (13b), a case of VP-dislocation; the acceptable participle version is given in (13c).

(13)   a. ?Griechisch lernen habe ich immer schon wollen.
            Greek   learn have I   always   wanted.INF

        b. *Griechisch lernen, das habe ich immer schon wollen.
            Greek   learn   that have I   always   wanted.INF

        c. Griechisch lernen, das habe ich immer schon gewollt.
            Greek   learn   that have I   always   wanted.PRT
            'I've always wanted to learn Greek.'   (German)

On the assumption that the dislocated VP originates in the host clause, (13b) ought to be as acceptable as (13a). By contrast, when analyzed as an extra-sentential constituent the deviance of (13b) follows straightforwardly from the unacceptability of the host clause, which in turn is due to the fact that VP-proforms generally obviate the IPP (Lange 1981).

Similarly, it has been noted (e.g. in Drubig 2001) that VP-proforms block epistemic readings of modal verbs, as illustrated by the following examples:

(14)   a. Maria muss die Aufgabe lösen können. [*epistemic/deontic*]
            Maria must the task   solve can
            'Maria should/must be able to solve the task.'

        b. Maria muss die Aufgabe lösen können, und Hans muss das auch. [*deontic*]
            Maria must the task   solve can   and Hans must that too
            'Maria must be able to solve the task, and Hans must be, too.'   (German)

If host clause and *d*XP are structurally independent, we expect VP-dislocation to pattern with (14b) rather than with (14a). This prediction is borne out.

(15)   a. Die Aufgabe lösen können muss auch Hans. [*epistemic/deontic*]
            the task   solve can   must also Hans
            'Hans should/must be able to solve the task, too.'

        b. Die Aufgabe lösen können, das muss auch Hans. [*deontic*]
            the task   solve can   that must also Hans
            'Hans must be able to solve the task, too.'   (German)

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[9]Thanks to Jason Merchant for drawing my attention to these empirical domains in the present context.

If (15b) were a transformational variant of (15a), as claimed by Grohmann's (2003) "copy spell-out" approach as well as analyses seeking to equate CLD and topicalization (e.g. Zwart 1998), we would not expect to see the discrepancy witnessed in (14) to be replicated in (15). As before, however, the facts fall into place once it is acknowledged that the dXP is not part of the host clause at any stage of the derivation.

The facts reviewed here thus strongly corroborate Zaenen's (1997) assumption that the dXP "is not in the same sentential domain as the rest of the sentence." However, despite these indications of the external, "add-on" nature of the dXP, connectivity effects ostensibly betray a clause-*internal* base position.

(16) Seinen$_i$ besten   Freund, den   sollte jeder$_i$ gut behandeln.
      his.ACC best.ACC friend   him.ACC should everyone well treat
      'Everyone should treat his best friend well.'   (German; Grohmann 2003)

(16) illustrates two kinds of connectivity found in CLD (to be reviewed systematically in section 4 below): the dXP agrees in case with its correlate, and the pronoun it contains is bound by an element in the host clause (here, the quantified subject *jeder* 'everyone'). If, as standardly assumed, such connectivity effects have a syntactic basis, then some sort of syntactic relation between dXP and host clause must obtain after all.

3   Movement and Ellipsis in CLD

The simultaneous occurrence of clause-external *and* clause-internal properties of the dXP has spawned a wealth of proposals variously locating CLD on either side of the *base-generation vs. movement* dichotomy (see Alexiadou 2006 for an overview of the existing analyses).

Proponents of a base-generation approach to CLD, such as Frey (2004b), assume that the dXP is base-generated as a left-peripheral adjunct to the host clause (see (17)). To account for connectivity, this analysis is then supplemented with a specially devised chain-formation mechanism (inspired by Cinque 1990), reproduced in (18).

(17) [$_{CP}$ dXP$_i$ [$_{CP}$ ... correlate$_i$ ...]]

(18) A CHAIN $\langle \alpha_1, \ldots, \alpha_n \rangle$ is a sequence of nodes sharing the same θ-role such that for any $i, 1 \leq i < n$, α_i c-commands and is coindexed with α_{i+1}.

The effect of (18) is a movement-like dependency (a CHAIN) between dXP and correlate, crucially in the absence of actual movement; similar mechanisms have been proposed by Anagnostopoulou (1997), Zaenen (1997), and Wiltschko (1997), among others.[10]

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[10]Analyses of CLD of this kind bear some resemblance to non-structural analyses of sluicing (e.g. Chung et al. 1995), which resort to similar stipulations to account for movement properties of the *wh*-remnant.

It is evident that this kind of approach, whatever its descriptive merits, has little insight to offer: identity in θ-role between dXP and correlate and the resulting exceptional CHAIN-formation are simply stipulated, in violation of the θ-Criterion (Chomsky 1981); and while (18) descriptively captures connectivity effects, it amounts to little more than a restatement of the facts. Even when these concerns are set aside, however, the approach is still forced to countenance exceptional V3 structures in CLD, and it is indeed hard to see how this could be achieved without construction-specific stipulations, given the otherwise robust nature of the V2 requirement.

The V3 problem is inherited by monoclausal movement analyses of CLD, first proposed in Vat 1981.[11] In Grewendorf's (2008) updated implementation, dXP and correlate are originally composed in a "big DP" (of which the dXP is the specifier and the correlate is the head), which is split up in the course of the derivation: the big DP raises to the left periphery, followed by subsequent very local $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement of the dXP to an even higher left-peripheral position. Grewendorf is thus forced to assume a movement-derived V3 structure, restricted to CLD. This is clearly an unwelcome consequence, and a major advantage of the ellipsis approach developed below is its compliance with the strict V2 pattern.[12]

Moreover, as pointed out by Frey (2004b), CLD of adjuncts is necessarily problematic for any analysis that derives CLD from a "big XP." Consider (8b), repeated below:

(19)   Gisteren, toen heeft Jan   dat boek snel   terug gebracht.
        yesterday then has   John that book quickly back brought
        'John quickly returned the book yesterday.'   (Dutch; Zwart 1998)

In cases of this kind, extraction of the dXP from a phrase comprising it and the correlate in the base would invariably violate the Adjunct Condition. The big-XP analysis thus falsely excludes a large class of perfectly acceptable cases of CLD.

The movement theory also runs afoul of categorial mismatches between the dXP and the clause-internal gap, as in the following example:[13]

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[11]For critical discussion of various versions of the movement approach to CLD, see Hoekstra 1999; Frey 2004b; Grewendorf 2008.

[12]As far as I am aware, the only previous analysis of CLD that evades the V3 problem is the one proposed in de Vries 2009, 2010. According to his analysis, the correlate is a parenthetical element whose structural relation to the dXP is mediated by a functional head; consequently, it does "not count" for purposes of V2. This assumption is problematic in light of the fact that the correlate does not have the characteristic intonational properties of parenthetical material; it is also falsely predicted by this approach that the putative constituent composed of dXP and correlate can surface *in situ*. Furthermore, recall that dXP and correlate can be linearly separated (when the latter remains *in situ*); such syntactic separation of appositive DPs by leftward movement of either one is usually impossible, however.

[13]I thank Marika Lekakou for reminding me of these examples.

(20) Naar zijn$_i$ promotie, daar$_k$ kijkt iedere taalkundige$_i$ naar t_k uit.
      to   his defense   there looks every linguist   to   out
      'Every linguist looks forward to his defense.'   (Dutch; van Craenenbroeck 2004)

Here, the dXP is a PP, whereas the trace in the host clause is of category DP, the preposition having been stranded by movement of the R-pronoun *daar*. As van Craenenbroeck concludes, the dXP cannot originate in the gap position, rendering the binding connectivity observed in (20) mysterious.

While space restrictions preclude a more comprehensive discussion of the literature on CLD, I think it is fair to say in light of the above observations that no hitherto proposed analysis manages to cut the Gordian Knot: both movement and base-generation approaches fail, as a matter of principle, to reconcile clause-internal and clause-external properties of the dXP in a non-stipulative way. Worse yet, given the highly idiosyncratic mechanisms stipulated by these analyses, CLD squarely falls within the domain of *constructional residue*, the class of unexplained phenomena stipulated in UG, and as such remains as an obstacle on the route to explanatory adequacy (Chomsky 1981, 1995).

Let us now turn to the ellipsis approach. Example (1) and its underlying structure is repeated in (21) below; (22) schematically represents the analysis of CLD proposed here.

(21) a. Den Peter, den habe ich gestern   gesehen.
          the Peter him have I   yesterday seen
          'I saw Peter yesterday.'   (German)
      b. [$_{CP_1}$ den Peter$_i$ ~~habe ich gestern t_i gesehen~~] [$_{CP_2}$ den$_i$ habe ich gestern gesehen]

(22) [$_{CP_1}$ dXP$_i$ ~~[… t_i …]~~] [$_{CP_2}$ … correlate …]

As shown above, I analyze CLD as derived from a juxtaposition of two clauses, the linearly first of which is reduced by clausal ellipsis at PF, leaving only the fronted dXP as a surface remnant.[14] Note that, as predicted by the analysis, non-elliptical versions of the reduced structure in (22) are generally acceptable, while naturally (*qua* repetition) exhibiting a high degree of redundancy.[15]

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[14]The sole (remote) antecedent of this approach I have been able to track down in the literature is a passage in Flämig et al. 1981: chapter 4, section 4.2.6.1 (written by Brigitta Haftka), where it is suggested in passing that dXPs are equivalent to reduced clauses.

[15]An anonymous reviewer feels that non-elliptical counterparts "sound unnatural/marginal," but—considering the unqualified acceptability of each clause in isolation—this marginality must be wholly and exclusively attributed to informational redundancy, hence pragmatic factors. It is therefore highly unlikely that non-elliptical versions of the repetition structures proposed here can be found in naturally-occurring speech or corpora, however this is equally true for many other cases of ellipsis. Consider the following:

(i)   A: Welches Mädchen hat Hans gestern nacht am   Bahnhof geküsst?
          which   girl   has Hans last night   at the station kissed
          'Which girl did Hans kiss at the station last night?'

(23) (#)Den Peter habe ich gestern gesehen. Den habe ich gestern gesehen.
    the Peter have I yesterday seen him have I yesterday seen
    'I saw Peter yesterday. I saw him yesterday.'   (German)

Ellipsis in CP_1 eliminates the perceived redundancy, cataphorically linking the clause to CP_2. Note that backward clausal ellipsis of this type is a general possibility, as shown e.g. by backward sluicing (example from Coppock 2001; see also Giannakidou and Merchant 1998 for an analysis employing backward sluicing).[16]

(24) a. I don't know what, but John will have something.
   b. [$_{CP}$ what$_i$ [~~John will have t_i~~]]

It is a well-known fact that clausal ellipsis (like VP-ellipsis) is less constrained in this regard than other types of deletion, such as gapping and stripping, which cannot apply backwards.[17] This freedom is expected, given that clausal ellipsis does not strictly require a linguistic antecedent at all (*pace* Hankamer and Sag 1976), as also pointed out by Roberts (2010). Consider the following illustrations:[18]

 B: Maria ($^{\#}$hat Hans gestern nacht am Bahnhof geküsst).
   Maria has Hans last night at the station kissed
   'It was Maria ($^{\#}$who Hans kissed at the station last night).' (German)

An unreduced version of B's response exhibits a high degree of redundancy and consequently borders on unacceptability under normal conditions, but clearly no *ungrammaticality* can be claimed here or in cases like (23).

[16]While literal "backward fragment answers" are pragmatically nonsensical for obvious reasons, backward ellipsis with non-*wh* remnants is often used in narrative contexts. Consider the following (invented) opening of a western novel:

(i) Nur einen Schuss. Nur einen Schuss hätte er benötigt.
  only one.ACC shot only one.ACC shot had he needed
  'Only one shot. He would've needed only one shot.' (German)

Note that like a *d*XP, the initial fragment agrees in case, indicating unpronounced clausal structure. In examples like the above, backward clausal ellipsis is used as a rhetorical device, relying on "delayed" ellipsis resolution; according to the analysis pursued here, CLD works analogously, except that the following CP_2, introduced by the anaphoric correlate, resolves the ellipsis immediately; compare:

(ii) Nur einen Schuss, den hätte er benötigt.
  only one.ACC shot it.ACC had he needed
  'He would've needed only one shot.' (German)

[17]Impossibility of backward ellipsis is sometimes attributed to the *Backward-anaphora Constraint* (Langacker 1969; Hankamer and Sag 1976), which prohibits c-command from anaphor to antecedent in case the former precedes the latter. Regardless of whether or not this principle is valid for clausal ellipsis, it is clear that it is not violated in the representations proposed here for CLD, since no c-command obtains between ellipsis site and antecedent.

[18]The same point can be made on the basis of cases of clausal ellipsis with non-*wh* remnants. Merchant (2004a) persuasively argues that out-of-the-blue expressions like *From Germany!* involve limited additional

(25) a. [John, presenting his girlfriend with a choice of DVDs to watch:]
Which one?

b. [A guy is standing in front of a make-shift monument on the sidewalk in front
of a house where two neighborhood kids carried out a suicide pact earlier that
week. Another neighbor comes up to stand beside him, also silently gazing at
the monument. After awhile, one of them says:]
I just cannot fathom why.   (Roberts 2010)

Given that clausal ellipsis can be resolved pragmatically without an explicit antecedent,
there is no reason to expect the linear-temporal order of antecedent (when present) and
ellipsis in discourse to be inherently unidirectionally constrained.

Returning to the analysis summarized in (22), the most conspicuous advantage of this
approach to CLD is that it avoids the V3 problem: each of the two CPs is a standard V2
clause, and V3 order arises only superficially, as a result of PF-deletion in CP_1. Therefore,
the analysis does not imply any weakening of the structural V2 requirement.[19]

Taking dXP and host clause to be separate clausal domains, each subject to regular
well-formedness conditions, the analysis directly derives the facts noted in section 2 for
IPP effects and modals. By the same token, it straightforwardly accomodates mismatches
between dXP and the gap position in the host clause. The underlying structure of (20) is
as follows:

(26) $[_{CP_1}$ $[_{PP}$ naar zijn promotie$]_i$ [~~kijkt iedere taalkundige t_i uit~~]]
$[_{CP_2}$ daar$_k$ kijkt iedere taalkundige$_i$ naar t_k uit] $(= (20))$

syntactic structure, allowing them to be used deictically (*From Germany* ~~this is~~). Examples like the following
suggest that more elaborate structures can likewise be elided on the basis of nonlinguistic context alone.

(i)   [John got word that some famous politician was arrested. When he gets home and checks the
news, he discovers the politician is Tony Blair. John exclaims:]
Den   Blair! Na endlich.
the.ACC Blair   well finally
'(They arrested) Blair! Finally.'   (German)

Note the case specification of the remnant DP, congruent with the case assigned by the elided predicate
verhaften 'to arrest,' hence indicating that the underlying structure is identical to the parallel fragment
answer to the question *Who did they arrest?*, licensed by nonlinguistic context.

[19]As Günther Grewendorf (pers. comm.) points out, verb-final subject clauses likewise permit dislocation,
i.e. CP_2 need not be a V2 clause.

(i)   Den Peter, dass sie den geheiratet hat verstehe   ich nicht.
the Peter that she him married   has understand I   not
'I don't understand how she could marry Peter.'   (German)

Given that embedded and matrix clauses are equivalent for purposes of ellipsis licensing (as evidenced by
sluicing and fragment answers, see Merchant 2001, 2004a), this possibility is expected and unproblematic
for the current analysis.

Thus, no real antecedent–trace mismatch arises, since the *d*XP antecedes its (PP-)trace in CP_1, whereas the R-pronoun has stranded its preposition in CP_2. We need not conclude—as van Craenenbroeck (2004) does—that the *d*XP is base-generated as an adjunct to the host clause; it has moved, but internally to the parallel elliptical clause.

I will here assume that backward clausal ellipsis is licensed in the same way as its forward counterpart. Specifically, I adopt Merchant's (2001) implementation of ellipsis licensing in terms of a Focus Condition (27), based on a notion of givenness as defined in (28).[20]

(27)   *Focus Condition on Clausal Ellipsis*
       The propositional sister α of a clause-initial XP can be deleted only if α is e-GIVEN.

(28)   *e*-GIVEN*ness* (Merchant forthcoming)
       An expression X counts as e-GIVEN iff X has a salient antecedent A and, modulo
       $\exists$-type shifting,

       a.   A entails E-clo(X), and
       b.   X entails E-clo(A).

(29)   The E-closure of α (E-clo(α)) is the result of replacing all E-marked subelements of
       α with variables of the appropriate type.

To adapt this approach to backward ellipsis it is necessary to construe the notion "antecedent" in (28) as including expressions that follow the ellipsis site in discourse. I take this move to be unproblematic, although space restrictions prevent a more detailed discussion of this matter here.[21]

In terms of the present analysis, and simplifying slightly, the Focus Condition requires the elided domain E in CP_1 and its overt counterpart A in CP_2 to denote mutually entailing propositions. To illustrate, (31) cannot be the source of deletion in (30), as entailment from the elided domain to its antecedent fails; as a result, the deleted constituent does not count as e-GIVEN according to the definition in (28), and ellipsis applies in violation of (27).

(30)   Den Peter, $[_{CP_2}$ den $[_A$ habe ich t einen Idioten genannt]]
       the Peter   him   have I   an   idiot   called
       'I called Peter an idiot.'   (German)

(31) $[_{CP_1}$ den Peter $[_E$ habe ich t beleidigt]]
       the Peter   have I   insulted

---

[20]Merchant's original formulations are in terms of IP-ellipsis; I'm adapting (27) here slightly in light of the caveat mentioned in footnote 2.

[21]Jason Merchant (pers. comm.) suggests that the notion of antecedent can be maintained on a quite literal interpretation when e-GIVENness is construed as a pragmatic (rather than narrowly semantic) notion, operating over discourse trees of the kind proposed in Büring 2003. I will leave an implementation of this idea to future work.

a. E-clo(E): $\exists x$. I insulted x

b. E-clo(A): $\exists x$. I called x an idiot

c. E-clo(E) $\nrightarrow$ E-clo(A)

The net effect of (27) is thus that CP_1 and CP_2 are always semantically—and hence, largely syntactically—parallel; otherwise, ellipsis could not apply felicitously.[22] The reader is referred to Merchant 2001, forthcoming for further details of this implementation of ellipsis parallelism (but see also footnote 36).

What are the predictions of the ellipsis analysis concerning the interpretive relation between the dXP and its correlate? Since each is part of a separate clause,[23] the dependency between dXP and correlate is a simple inter-sentential anaphoric relation (cf. Zaenen 1997), equivalent in (21) and (23).

Assuming this to be correct, we expect categories that fail to antecede free pronouns to be excluded from CLD. Cases in point are QPs, nonspecific indefinites, and NPIs.

(32) a. *Ich habe [keinen Studenten]$_i$ gesehen. Den$_i$ habe ich gesehen.
       I   have no   student   seen   him have I   seen
       'I saw no student. I saw him.'

b. *Ich habe [fast   alle Studenten]$_i$ gesehen. Die$_i$ habe ich gesehen.
   I   have almost all students   seen   them have I   seen
   'I saw almost all students. I saw them.'

c. *Ich habe [irgendeinen Studenten]$_i$ gesehen. Den$_i$ habe ich gesehen.
   I   have some   student   seen   him have I   seen
   'I saw some student. I saw him.'

d. *Ich habe hier noch nie   [auch nur irgendeinen Studenten]$_i$ gesehen. Den$_i$
   I   have here yet never any student   seen   him
   habe ich hier noch nie   gesehen.
   have I   here yet never seen
   'I've never seen any student here. I've never seen him here.'   (German)

As expected, the elliptical CLD variants of these examples are equally deviant.

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[22]In cases where the correlate remains *in situ*, the dXP is presumably interpreted in its base position, an option under the Copy Theory; existential closure applies vacuously, and (27) enforces co-construal/coreference of dXP and correlate. When CP_2 contains a *wh*-trace, as in (10b), (27) licenses a corresponding variable in CP_1, as in standard cases of sluicing/sprouting (but with reversed directionality).

[23]I will remain agnostic here about the option of a structural connection between the two clauses, for instance by means of adjunction of one to the other. CLD being a root phenomenon, there seems to be little evidence for dXP and host clause forming a single-rooted syntactic object; compare Arregi's (2010) analysis of split questions in similar terms. Nothing substantial hinges on this detail, however. Note also that ellipsis in CP_1 renders the relation between the two clauses in CLD "tighter" than that of two sequential non-elliptical clauses; cataphoric linkage by ellipsis explains why CLD, while underlyingly biclausal, is intuitively perceived by speakers as a single coherent utterance.

(33) a. *Keinen Studenten, den habe ich gesehen.
          no   student   him have I   seen
          intended: 'I saw no student.'

      b. *Fast   alle Studenten, die   habe ich gesehen.
          almost all students   them have I   seen
          intended: 'I saw almost all students.'

      c. *Irgendeinen Studenten, den habe ich gesehen.
          some   student   him have I   seen
          intended: 'I saw some student.'

      d. *Auch nur irgendeinen Studenten, den habe ich hier noch nie   gesehen.
          any student   him have I   here yet   never seen
          intended: 'I've never seen any student here.'   (German)

Given this correspondence, there is no need for a syntactic constraint; CLD of QPs, nonspe-
cific indefinites, and NPIs is deviant simply because no suitable antecedent is provided for
the anaphoric correlate. (In fact, we will see in section 5.3 below that such categories *can*
appear as *d*XPs in CLD, just in case they are *not* anaphorically related to the correlate.)
The same conclusion is reached in Hoekstra 1999 for Dutch CLD and Wagner forthcoming
for the related Clitic Left-dislocation construction (see footnote 34).

    By the same token, we rule out *wh*-phrases, reflexives, and subparts of idioms as *d*XPs, all
of which are inherently unable to antecede pronouns[24] and consequently make bad *d*XPs.[25]

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[24]Considerations of parallelism provide an additional reason for the unavailability of a idiomatic construal
in CLD of idiom parts: since non-elliptical CP_2 permits only a compositional interpretation (it never contains
the full idiom as a unit, the correlate taking the place of the *d*XP), semantic parallelism between CP_1 and
CP_2 in effect dictates compositional interpretation of *both* CPs.

[25]Note that all of these categories can undergo $\overline{A}$-movement to the CP edge in monoclausal contexts. By
contrast, NPIs generally resist such fronting (a fact which Merchant 2004a takes to explain their unaccept-
ability as fragment answers; see den Dikken et al. 2000: 49f. on the generalization that NPIs must be licensed
"at S-structure"). Witness:

(i)   *Auch nur irgendeinen Studenten habe ich hier noch nie   gesehen.
      any   student   have I   here yet   never seen
      intended: 'I've never seen any student here.'   (German)

Recall from the schema in (22) that on the present analysis, the *d*XP is assumed to be topicalized, enabling
constituent deletion of the remnant. CLD of NPIs, then, is thus doubly ruled out on this approach.
    Weak pronouns likewise resist topicalization and CLD:

(ii) *Ihn   (den) habe ich gestern   gesehen.
      him.WEAK him have I   yesterday seen
      'I saw him yesterday.'   (German)

Given their inability to undergo topicalization, then, the present approach correctly predicts that weak
pronouns cannot figure as *d*XPs, just like they cannot occur as clausal fragments in general. Note, however,
that in this case, too, there is a second reason for why weak pronouns are excluded from CLD: by definition,
they are incompatible with the contrastive/focal import usually assigned to *d*XPs.

(34)   a. *Wen, den hat Peter gesehen?
          who him has Peter seen
          'Who did Peter see?'   (German)

       b. *Zichzelf, die heeft hij nog nooit overgeslagen.
          himself   him has   he yet never passed over
          'He hasn't ever passed himself over.' (Dutch; van Riemsdijk and Zwarts 1997)

       c. *De spijker, die heeft Jan weer eens op de kop geslagen.
          the nail   that has   Jan again once on the head hit
          'Jan hit the nail on the head once again.'   (Dutch; Zaenen 1997)

The present analysis thus has a number of non-trivial empirical and conceptual merits: it circumvents the V3 problem (detrimental to both base-generation and monoclausal movement approaches); it solves the problem of apparent antecedent–trace mismatches in CLD; and it correctly accounts for the range of categories that can(not) be dislocated.

4 Connectivity

As noted above, the main theoretical challenge posed by CLD is to reconcile the extra-sentential status of the dXP with concurrent indications of its connectedness to a clause-internal position.[26] In this section, I will systematically discuss these indications and show how they are accounted for by the ellipsis approach.

4.1 Form Identity: Case and θ-Role

Obligatory case agreement between dXP and correlate in CLD was first noted by Ross (1973); the following examples from German and Icelandic illustrate:

(35)   a. Den Peter,   den   habe ich gesehen.
          the Peter.ACC him.ACC have I   seen
          'I saw Peter yesterday.'

       b. Dem   Peter, dem   habe ich gestern   geholfen.
          the.DAT Peter him.DAT have I   yesterday helped
          'I helped Peter yesterday.'   (German)

---

[26]As noted in footnote 5, CLD and HTLD differ with regard to connectivity, which obtains in the former but not in the latter (as amply documented by Zaenen 1997; Frey 2004b; Grewendorf 2008, a.o.).

(i)   *Sein$_i$ Vorgarten, jeder$_i$ will ihn   schönhalten.
        his.NOM front lawn everyone wants him.ACC pretty.keep
        *'As for his frontlawn, everyone wants to keep it pretty.'   (German; Grohmann 2003)

The analysis of HTLD seems to depend crucially on the question of whether nominative case is a true *nominativus pendens* (see Merchant 2004b; McFadden and Sundaresan forthcoming for discussion) or requires functional structure. If the latter, one might pursue an approach not unlike that adopted in this paper for CLD, but with a different structure of CP$_1$. For reasons of space, I will not pursue the matter here.

(36) a. Peysuna   sína, hana   finnur Ólafur hvergi.
          sweater.ACC REFL it.ACC finds Olaf   nowhere
          'Olaf can't find his sweater anywhere.'

      b. Þessum   hring, honum hefur Ólafur lofað   Maríu.
          this.DAT ring   it.DAT has   Olaf   promised Marí
          'Olaf promised this ring to Mari.'   (Icelandic; Zaenen 1997)

Thus, despite the fact that the *d*XP does not seem to have moved from the interior of the host clause (for the reasons given above), systematic covariance of correlate and *d*XP in case suggests that the latter, too, is case-marked in some way by the host-clause predicate (Merchant 2001 refers to such correlations as *form-identity effects*).

Form identity in case is a straightforward consequence of the parallel structure of CP_1 and CP_2, enforced by the Focus Condition (27): the *d*XP and the correlate are case-marked by the same predicate.[27] To illustrate, in (35b) *helfen* 'to help' assigns dative case to both *d*XP in CP_1 and correlate in CP_2.

(37) $[_{CP_1}$ dem Peter$_i$ [~~habe ich t_i geholfen~~]] $[_{CP_2}$ dem$_k$ [habe ich t_k geholfen]] (= (35b))

This explanation for case matching is directly analogous to that proposed in Merchant 2001 for sluicing, where the sluiced *wh*-phrase is case-marked in the parallel reduced clause (Merchant's *form-identity generalization I*).

(38) a. Peter hat jemandem   geholfen, aber ich weiß nicht wem.
          Peter has someone.DAT helped   but I   know not   who.DAT
          'Peter helped someone, but I don't know who.'   (German)

      b. $[_{CP}$ wem$_i$ [~~Peter t_i geholfen hat~~]]

See also Merchant 2004a on case covariance in fragment answers.

By the same token, it follows that *d*XP and correlate bear the same θ-role. Recall that identity in θ-role was simply presupposed in (18), in violation of the θ-Criterion and as a prerequisite for exceptional CHAIN-formation. No such θ-theoretic problem arises on the present approach, where *d*XP and correlate are in separate but parallel clauses.

4.2   Form Identity: P-stranding

In his discussion of sluicing, Merchant (2001) establishes the following crosslinguistic generalization (his *form-identity generalization II*):

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[27]The class of exceptional CLD constructions with an invariant singular neuter correlate discussed in Rullmann and Zwart 1996 poses no problem for the biclausal analysis: all and only those cases which permit this non-referential, set-denoting correlate are also permissible without ellipsis, i.e. with both CP_1 and CP_2 pronounced in full.

(39)   A language L will allow preposition stranding under sluicing iff L allows preposition stranding under regular *wh*-movement.

As Merchant points out, this correlation is expected on an analysis of sluicing according to which the sluiced XP undergoes $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement prior to deletion of the remnant clause.[28] The following facts illustrate the difference between a non-P-stranding language like German and a P-stranding language like Norwegian described by (39).

(40)   a.   Sie hat mit jemandem gesprochen, aber ich weiß nicht *(mit) wem.
                she has with someone   spoken   but I   know not   with who
                'She talked to somebody, but I don't know who.'   (German)

        b.   Per har snakket med noen,   men jeg vet   ikke ($^{??}$med) hvem.
                Per has talked   with someone but I   know not   with who
                'She talked to somebody, but I don't know who.'   (Norwegian)

On a movement-*cum*-deletion analysis of sluicing, the difference follows from the (non-) availability of P-stranding: Norwegian, but not German, allows for the preposition to be stranded in the ellipsis site.

(41)   a.   aber ich weiss nicht [$_{CP}$ [mit wem]$_i$ [~~sie t_i gesprochen hat~~]]   (= (40a))
        b.   man jeg vet ikke [$_{CP}$ hvem$_i$ [~~Per hat snakked med t_i~~]]   (= (40b))

Mutatis mutandis, the analysis of CLD advanced here predicts the (im-)possibility of P-stranding in a given language to be reflected in these constructions as well, since the dXP $\overline{\text{A}}$-moves prior to deletion. This prediction is borne out: pied-piping of P by the dXP is obligatory in German but degraded in Norwegian, Swedish, and Icelandic.[29]

(42)   a.   {*(Auf)} den Peter, auf den habe ich lange warten müssen.
                    for   the Peter for him have I   long wait   must
                'I had to wait for Peter for a long time.'

        b.   {*(Mit)} meiner Schwester, mit der habe ich mich oft   gestritten.
                    with my   sister   with her have I   REFL often quarreled
                'I often quarreled with my sister.'   (German)

---

[28]Several apparent counterexamples to (39) have been noted in the literature, but they do not seem to pose a credible threat to the validity of the generalization (see Rodrigues et al. 2009, van Craenenbroeck 2010a, and references cited there).

[29]The facts in Dutch are somewhat less clear-cut than they are in German, not surprisingly given the variability in judgments reported in Merchant 2001: 95 for P-stranding under sluicing in this language. I attribute this fact to interference from HTLD (see footnote 5): Dutch not providing any overt indication of case, surface strings are potentially ambiguous between CLD and HTLD. In the German examples used in the text, I control for this confounding factor by including elements bearing unambiguous case morphology in the dXP.

(43) a. ($^{??}$Med) søstera mi, ho krangla   jeg ofte med.
          with sister my her quarreled I   often with
          'I often quarreled with my sister.'   (Norwegian)

      b. ($^{??}$Med) min syster, henne blev   jag ofta osams med.
          with my sister her   became I   often upset with
          'I often got upset with my sister.'   (Swedish)

      c. ($^{??}$Um) mömmu sína$_i$,   hana   talar hver einasti unglingur$_i$ illa   um.
          about mother his.ACC her.ACC talks each single youngster badly about
          'Every youngster talks badly about his mother.'   (Icelandic)

Exactly as in the sluicing cases, the observed differences follow from the different respective stranding options in the languages.

(44) a. [$_{CP_1}$ [mömmu sína]$_i$ [~~talar hver einasti unglingur illa um t_i~~]]
                    [$_{CP_2}$ hana talar hver einasti unglingur illa um] (= (42b))

      b. [$_{CP_1}$ [mit meiner Schwester]$_i$ [~~habe ich mich oft t_i gestritten~~]]
                    [$_{CP_2}$ mit der habe ich mich oft gestritten] (= (43c))

4.3 Aux–V Relations

Mikkelsen (2011) observes that verbal morphology provides a further indication of connectivity in dislocation. Quite generally, auxiliaries control the form of the main verb they occur with; to illustrate with Mikkelsen's example, consider Danish *have*, which requires a participle.

(45) Jeg tror nu ikke de **har**   {**gem-t** / *gemm-e / *gemm-er /
      I   think now not they have.PRES hide-PPC   hide-INF   hide-PRES
      *gem-te}   den særligt godt.
       hide-PAST it   very   well
      'I don't think they have hidden it very well.'   (Danish)

Mikkelsen observes that this Aux–V relation is preserved under both topicalization (46a) and CLD (46b) of VP.

(46) a. [$_{VP}$ {**Gem-t** / *Gemm-e / *Gemm-er / *Gem-te}   den særligt godt]$_i$
                  hide-PPC   hide-INF   hide-PRES   hide-PAST it   very   well
          tror   jeg nu ikke de **har** t_i
          think I   now not they have.PRES

b. [$_{VP}$ {**Gem-t** / *Gemm-e / *Gemm-er / *Gem-te} den særligt godt] det$_i$
     hide-PPC   hide-INF   hide-PRES   hide-PAST   it   very   well   that
  tror jeg nu ikke de **har** t_i
  think I   now not   they have.PRES
  'I don't think they have hidden it very well.'   (Danish)

As indicated in the above representations, Mikkelsen assumes (in line with the base-generation approach to CLD) that VP itself has moved from its base position in the topicalization case, whereas this direct-movement option is not available in the CLD case (due to presence of the correlate). The conclusion she draws from (46b) is that verbal morphology is not computed in a strictly local fashion (as standardly assumed[30]), but can be determined at a distance—a conclusion that would require a wholesale re-evaluation of morphosyntactic relations of this kind. Luckily, however, the traditional picture can be maintained on the ellipsis analysis of CLD proposed here, according to which the dislocated VP undergoes simple topicalization in CP$_1$; as a result, verbal morphology can be computed equally locally in (46a) and (46b).

(47)   [$_{CP_1}$ [$_{VP}$ gem-t den særligt godt]$_i$ ~~tror jeg nu ikke de har t_i~~]

            [$_{CP_2}$ det$_k$ tror jeg nu ikke de har t_k] (= (46b))

4.4   Reconstruction: Binding and Scope

Reconstruction of the dXP into the host clause for purposes of binding has been amply documented in the literature on CLD (Vat 1981; van Riemsdijk and Zwarts 1997; Zaenen 1997; Grohmann 2003; Frey 2004b; Alexiadou 2006; Grewendorf 2008), so I will confine myself to providing a concise summary of the core facts.

The following examples show binding of a pronominal variable under reconstruction; a control relation is reconstructed in (49):

(48)   a.   Seinen$_i$ besten Freund, den sollte jeder$_i$ gut behandeln.
          his   best   friend   him should everyone well treat
          'Everyone should treat his best friend well.'   (German; Grohmann 2003)

     b.   Zijn$_i$ eerste artikel, dat berokkent een linguïst$_i$ vaak schade.
          his   first   paper   that causes   a   linguist often harm
          'A linguist's first article often harms him.'   (Dutch; Vat 1981)

     c.   Sina$_i$ böcker, dem hatar varje student$_i$.
          his   books   them hates every student
          'Every student hates his books.'   (Swedish)

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[30]See Chomsky 1957 for an early implementation, and Adger 2003 for an updated approach.

(49)   (PRO_i) sie$_k$ nicht zu vergessen, das hat Peter$_i$ jeder Frau$_k$ versprochen.
             her not   to forget   that has Peter every woman promised
         'Peter promised every woman not to forget her.'   (German; Grewendorf 2008)

The following examples illustrate satisfaction of Binding Conditions A and C under reconstruction:

(50)   a.   Mit sich$_i$ im   Reinen, das war Peter$_i$ schon   lange nicht mehr.
              with himself in the pure   that was Peter already long no   more
              'Peter hadn't been at peace with himself for a long time.'   (German)

         b.   Stoltan afhor öðrum$_i$, það tel   ég þa$_i$ ekki vera.
              proud   of each other that believe I   them not to be
              'I don't think they're proud of each other.'   (Icelandic; Zaenen 1997)

(51)   a.   *Der Tatsache dass Alex$_i$ arm ist, der misst   er$_i$ keine Bedeutung bei.
              the fact   that Alex poor is   that attaches he no   importance to
              *'He$_i$ doesn't attach any importance to the fact that Alex$_i$ is poor.' (German)

         b.   *Anneke$_i$ d'r broer,   die geloof ik dat ze$_i$ wel aardig vindt.
              Anneke's   brother him believe I   that she sort of nice finds
              *'I doubt that she$_i$'s fond of Anneke$_i$'s brother.'   (Dutch; Vat 1981)

The following example illustrates optional scope reconstruction in CLD:

(52)   Von drei Linguistikartikeln, da   kriegt jeder   Kopfschmerzen von. [$^{\checkmark}\forall > 3$]
         of   three linguistics articles there gets   everyone headache   of
         'Reading three linguistics articles gives anyone a headache.'   (German)

Note that material intervening between dXP and host clause does not block connectivity.

(53)   a.   Seine$_i$ Eltern, tja, die   mag wohl kein Teenager$_i$.
              his   parents well them likes PRT no   teenager
              'I guess no teenager likes his/her parents.'   (German)

         b.   Zijn$_i$ moeder, god, die haat iedere puber$_i$.
              his   mother God her hates every teenager
              'God, every teenager hates his mother.'   (Dutch)

Topicalized XPs do not permit this kind of separation from the remainder of the clause.

What we find, then, is that the dXP (seemingly) reconstructs into the host clause, despite the fact that the structural relation between dXP and host clause appears to be very indirect at most (as concluded in section 2). On the present approach, the paradox does not arise: reconstruction, just like form identity, is a direct consequence parallelism of the two clauses involved, as required by the Focus Condition (27). Hence, connectivity in CLD reduces to ordinary reconstruction of the topicalized dXP internally to the elliptical CP$_1$.

(54)   a. $[_{CP_1}$ [seinen$_i$ besten Freund]$_k$ [~~sollte jeder$_i$ t_k gut behandeln~~]]   (= (48a))

        b.   *$[_{CP_1}$ [Anneke$_i$ d'r broer]$_k$ [~~geloof ik dat ze$_i$ t_k wel aardig vindt~~]]   (= (51b))

This explanation of connectivity in CLD is directly analogous to that presented in Merchant 2004a for fragment answers;[31] on Merchant's analysis, the fragment answer in (55) is derived in the exact same way as the dXP in (48a) (*viz.*, as shown in (54a)).

(55)   A: Wen sollte jeder$_i$ gut behandeln? – B: Seinen$_i$ besten Freund.
        who should everyone well treat   his   best   friend
        A: 'Who should everyone treat well?' – B: 'Their best friend.'   (German)

4.5   Interim Summary: dXPs as Sentence Fragments

I have argued that a dXP in CLD, a fragment answer (Merchant 2004a; Temmerman 2012),[32] the question tag in a split question (Arregi 2010), and the wh-remnant of sluicing (Ross 1969; Lasnik 2001; Merchant 2001) share a common derivational pattern—*viz.*, movement to the clausal edge and subsequent ellipsis of the remainder of the clause. In all of these constructions, semantic parallelism of the underlying clauses enables ellipsis, as demanded by the Focus Condition (27). The two clauses juxtaposed in CLD wind up tightly linked, due to cataphoric ellipsis and anaphoric correlate.[33]

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[31]The same reasoning based on 'covert reconstruction' into ellipsis sites is used by den Dikken et al. (2000) and Kluck (2011) to account for connectivity effects in (certain types of) pseudoclefts and sentence amalgams, respectively.

[32]Merchant in fact assumes that fragment XPs move to the specifier of F(ocus)P, a minor detail I set aside here. Merchant's particular implementation is mainly based on certain assumptions about island sensitivity of fragment answers in English, an issue recently taken up—and shown to be more complicated than assumed by Merchant—by Griffiths and Lipták (forthcoming).

[33]According to Koster's (1978) *satellite hypothesis*, sentential subjects invariably occur clause-externally.

(i)   a.   Dat hij komt is duidelijk.
              the he comes is clear
              'That he will come is clear.'   (Dutch)
        b. $[_{CP}$ dat hij komt]$_i$ $[_{CP}$ (dat$_i$/e_i) is duidelijk]

Assuming that Koster is right (see also Alrenga 2005 for recent arguments), what this means in terms of the present analysis is that sentential subjects are always clausal fragments; in the host clause, the correlate undergoes optional topic drop.

(ii) $[_{CP_1}$ $[_{CP}$ dat hij komt]$_i$ [~~t_i is duidelijk~~]] $[_{CP_2}$ (dat) is duideljk]

Note, though, that the result is somewhat paradoxical: CP_1 in (ii) has exactly the structure that Koster argues does not exist, with a squarely clause-internal sentential subject. This suggests either that whatever grammatical constraint bans sentential subjects from occurring clause-internally is suspended under ellipsis, or that there is no such grammatical constraint at all, and sentential subjects are instead standardly "expelled" to a peripheral position for performative reasons. I will leave a clarification of the issue to future work.

The analysis obviates the postulation of V3 structures in CLD, deriving the surface form from an underlying juxtaposition of V2 clauses. The paradox noted at the outset of this paper disappears: the *d*XP is external to the host clause because it is the surface remnant of a separate clause; since this separate clause and the host clause are underlyingly parallel, however, the fronted *d*XP behaves as if it were an integral part of the latter.[34]

5 Predictions and Extensions

In this section, I investigate further predictions of the ellipsis analysis of CLD and adduce substantial additional evidence supporting the approach.

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[34]Although space restrictions preclude a thorough discussion of the matter here, it seems likely that the approach can be successfully extended to Clitic Left-dislocation (ClLD) of the Romance/Greek type, where the correlate is a clitic pronoun. As is well known, CLD and ClLD have many core properties in common (see Demirdache 1991; Anagnostopoulou 1997; Alexiadou 2006). *d*XPs in ClLD, just like their counterparts in CLD, match the case of the correlate and show connectivity for binding:

(i)   a.   Ton   Jani   den ton   ksero.
              the.ACC John.ACC NEG CL.ACC know.1SG
              'I don't know John.'   (Greek; Alexiadou 2006)
   b.   A {*?lei_i / se $stessa_i$}, $Maria_i$ non ci   pensa.
              of   her   herself   Mary   not there thinks
              'Mary doesn't think of herself.'   (Italian; Cinque 1990)

As surveyed in Alexiadou 2006, there are serious problems for an assimilation of ClLD to clitic-doubling constructions, such as the non-congruent typological distribution of clitic doubling and ClLD as well as specific constraints on doubling that do not hold for ClLD. Therefore, a unified ellipsis analysis of CLD and ClLD, as sketched in Ott 2012, appears to be the more principled option. The *d*XP in ClLD is then taken to be the surface remnant of a separate, parallel clause.

(ii)   [$_{CP_1}$ [a se $stessa$]$_i$ [~~Maria non t_i pensa~~]] [$_{CP_2}$ Maria non ci pensa]   (= (ib))

As shown in detail for CLD above, this analysis directly predicts the observed facts concerning form identity/connectivity. At the same time, by locating the *d*XP and its correlate in separate clauses, it avoids the problems arising for a clitic-doubling analysis. If correct, this analysis undermines a central premise of the "cartographic" program (Rizzi 1997 *et seq.*), according to which dislocation and operator movement can co-occur within a monoclausal structure. See Ott 2012 for some preliminary remarks on these matters, which I am planning to address in more detail in future work.

The ellipsis approach to dislocation raises the general question to what extent left-peripheral constituents can be reanalyzed as sentence fragments. It is noteworthy in this connection that the literature contains a wealth of discussion of doubling-under-movement effects, e.g. VP-dislocation of the Spanish and Hungarian type discussed in Lipták and Vicente 2009. It will be interesting to see if these constructions can be shown to be amenable to an ellipsis analysis analogous to that proposed here for CLD. Even more speculatively, one might contemplate an extension of the ellipsis approach to polysynthetic languages, where it appears to be the case that all overt arguments are obligatorily dislocated (Jelinek 1984; Baker 1996). The plausibility of this extension will hinge crucially on the question to what extent arguments in these languages show properties of *d*XPs, as opposed to "unconnected" hanging topics.

5.1 Islandhood of the *d*XP

The ellipsis analysis of CLD predicts that the *d*XP cannot contain a trace related to an element in the host clause. This is so because the *d*XP is the remnant of a separate clause; thus any movement into the host clause would imply interclausal rightward movement.

The relevant test cases involve CLD of VPs. First, however, consider the fact that VP-topicalization in German can strand arguments (Müller 1998).

(56)   Zugegeben hat er nicht dass er falsch lag.
       admitted   has he not   that he false laid
       'He didn't admit that he had been mistaken.'   (German)

The CLD counterparts of these topicalizations are unacceptable; by contrast, no problem arises when the complement clause is pied-piped instead.

(57)   a. *Zugegeben, das hat er nicht dass er falsch lag.
           admitted   that has he not   that he wrong laid

        b. Zugegeben dass er falsch lag, das hat er nicht.
           admitted   that he wrong laid that has he not
           'He didn't admit that he had been mistaken.'   (German)

There is no straightforward explanation for the deviance of (57a) on the assumption that CLD constructions are monoclausal structures, derived by movement of the *d*XP. Such an analysis would predict stranding of the complement clause to be equally acceptable in (57a) and (56), contrary to fact.

By contrast, the observed discrepancy is directly predicted by the ellipsis approach: to derive (57a), the stranded argument would have to be extracted from the *d*XP; but such cross-clausal movement dependencies are generally impossible.

(58) $[_{\text{CP}_1}$ $[_{\text{VP}}$ t_i zugegeben] ~~hat er nicht ....~~]] $[_{\text{CP}_2}$ ... $[_{\text{CP}}$ dass er falsch lag]$_i$]

Note that the host clause of (57a) by itself is unacceptable (**Das hat er nicht dass er falsch lag*) irrespective of context, the stranded complement clause being "host-less." Therefore, an alternative parse without movement from CP_1 into CP_2 is equally deviant.

5.2 Parallelism and Control Infinitivals

Infinitival control clauses provide additional evidence against a base-generation analysis of CLD, and for the ellipsis analysis; the argument is based on observations in Truckenbrodt

2012.[35] The relevant fact is that controlled PRO, unlike overt proforms, cannot serve as a correlate of a dXP in CLD.

(59)   a.   Peter hat angeordnet [PRO die Straße zu fegen]
             Peter has ordered   the street to sweep

       b.   *Die Arbeiter$_i$, Peter hat angeordnet [PRO_i die Straße zu fegen]
             the workers   Peter has ordered   the street to sweep
             'Peter ordered the street to be swept.'   (German)

The deviance of (59b) contrasts with (60), where the embedded clause is finite.

(60)   Die Arbeiter, Peter hat angeordnet dass die   die Straße fegen sollen.
       the workers   Peter has ordered   that they the street sweep should
       'Peter ordered the workers to sweep the street.'   (German)

Explaining the deviance of (59b) is no trivial task for proponents of a base-generation (adjunction) analysis relying on a CHAIN-formation mechanism like (18). By contrast, the present approach provides a principled explanation. For parallelism of CP_1 and CP_2 to be satisfied (and hence, for ellipsis in CP_1 to be licensed), the dXP in (59b) would be required to have the following underlying pre-deletion structure:

(61)   *[$_{CP_1}$ [die Arbeiter]$_i$ [hat Peter angeordnet [$_{CP}$ t_i die Straße zu fegen]]]

Subject dXPs resumed by PRO as in (59b) are ruled out because infinitival clauses fail to license an overt subject; consequently, parallelism cannot be satisfied in these cases.[36] By contrast, no conflict between parallelism and subject licensing arises in finite (60).[37] Note

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[35]Truckenbrodt argues that right-dislocated XPs are remnants of ellipsis; in a very similar vein, it is argued in Ott and de Vries 2012a,b that the movement-*cum*-deletion approach derives right-dislocation as in (ia) in the same way as argued here for CLD, except that ellipsis occurs in CP_2 (ib).

(i)   a.   Ich habe ihn gestern   noch gesehen, den Peter.
           I   have him yesterday still   seen   the Peter
           'I saw Peter just yesterday.'   (German)
      b.   [$_{CP_1}$ ich habe ihn gestern noch gesehen] [$_{CP_2}$ [den Peter]$_i$ [~~habe ich gestern noch t_i gesehen~~]]

The reader is referred to Ott and de Vries 2012a,b for details of this approach.

[36]Note that this conclusion presupposes a slightly stricter notion of parallelism than what is assumed in section 3 (Merchant's Focus Condition, based on e-GIVENness), requiring identical case assigners in antecedent and ellipsis site. Such a condition, independently shown to be necessary by the sluice in (62a), is proposed in Chung 2013; see also Tanaka 2011 and Merchant 2013 (and sources cited there) for arguments that ellipsis requires at least some morphosyntactic identity.

[37]It could be objected that the overt version of the dXP in (60) contains an illicit extraction inducing a *that*–trace effect, as shown below:

(i)   *[$_{CP_1}$ [die Arbeiter]$_i$ hat Peter angeordnet [$_{CP}$ dass t_i die Straße fegen sollen]]
           the workers   has Peter ordered   that   the street sweep should

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that analogous effects obtain in sluicing, (62a) corresponding to (59b):

(62) a. *Peter hat angeordnet die Straße zu fegen, aber ich weiß nicht wer.
Peter has ordered   the street to sweep but I   know not   who
'Peter ordered someone to sweep the street, but I don't know who.' (German)

b. *[$_{CP_2}$ wer$_i$ [~~Peter angeordnet hat [$_{CP}$ t_i die Straße zu fegen]~~]]

5.3 Forward Ellipsis in CLD

So far, the discussion has focused on cases of CLD in which the directionality of ellipsis is *backward*: the antecedent within CP_2 linearly follows the ellipsis site in CP_1. The analysis leads us to expect that a reversal of ellipsis directionality ought to be possible, i.e. that similar constructions can be derived by means of *forward* ellipsis (as in regular sluicing and fragment answers).

This prediction is borne out. To see how, consider the following examples:

(63) a. Maria fragte sich, welche seiner Freunde Hans heute getroffen hatte. **Den**
Maria wondered   which of his friends   Hans today met   had   the
Peter, das wusste sie ganz sicher. Aber auch den Otto?
Peter   that knew   she certainly   but   also the Otto
'Maria wondered which of his friends Hans had met today. Peter, that was

clear. But Otto as well?'   (German)

b. Maria vroeg zich   af   wie Hans allemaal had ontmoet. **Peter, dat was**
Maria asked herself PRT who Hans all   had met   Peter   that was
duidelijk. Maar ook Otto? (Dutch)
clear   but   also Otto
'Maria wondered who (all) Hans had met today. Peter, that was clear. But

Otto as well?'   (Dutch)

Let us focus on the German example in (63a) (the Dutch case is equivalent). Here, the em-

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This objection can be countered in at least two ways. First, there is abundant evidence suggesting that *that*–trace violations are surface (PF) effects (see Kandybowicz 2006 and references therein), and Merchant (2001) shows that they are alleviated in sluicing (see also Bošković 2011).

(ii)   It's probable that a certain senator will resign, but which$_i$ [~~it's probable that t_i will resign~~] is still a secret.

Repair by ellipsis is thus expected for (i) as well. A second possibility is to assume that the elliptical clause is in fact "smaller" than (i); on this approach, only the embedded clause would antecede the elliptical CP_1, obviating long-distance movement:

(iii)   [$_{CP_1}$ [die Arbeiter]$_i$ [sollen t_i die Straße fegen]]
the workers   should   the street sweep

I will not attempt to decide between these two alternatives here, as either option appears to be unproblematic.

bedded interrogative clause *modulo* the fronted *wh*-phrase (*Hans heute [t] getroffen hatte*) acts as the antecedent for ellipsis in the following clause: *den Peter* is the surface remnant of the clause *den Peter hatte Hans heute getroffen* 'Hans had met Peter today;' it is this proposition that is subsequently resumed by the propositional proform *das.* Thus, the underlying structure of the boldface part of (63a) is as follows:

(64) a. $[_{CP_1}$ den Peter$_k$ [hatte Hans t_k getroffen]]$_i$ $[_{CP_2}$ das$_i$ wusste sie ganz sicher] →

  b. $[_{CP_1}$ den Peter$_k$ [~~hatte Hans~~ t_k ~~getroffen~~]]$_i$ $[_{CP_2}$ das$_i$ wusste sie ganz sicher]

This analysis accurately captures the meaning of the relevant part of (63a), satisfying the Focus Condition. The only difference to the cases previously discussed is that the antecedent here is located in the *preceding* discourse, and that the correlate resumes (not the *d*XP itself but) the entire proposition of which the *d*XP is the surface remnant.[38]

Within the present framework, cases like (63a) thus fall within the purview of ellipsis-derived dislocation. Note that such "forward CLD" shows apparent "backward reconstruction" into the antecedent clause, as in the following:[39]

(65) Wen liebt jeder Mann$_i$? **Seine$_i$ Mutter, das ist klar.** Aber wen noch?
  who loves every man   his   mother   that is clear but who else
  'Who does every man love? His mother, that's clear. But who else?'   (German)

Binding of the pronoun inside the *d*XP is a standard reconstruction effect on the assumption that the underlying structure of the *d*XP in (65) is as shown in (66), corresponding directly to B's fragment response in (67).

(66) $[_{CP_1}$ [seine Mutter]$_i$ [~~mag jeder Mann t_i~~]]

(67) A: Wen liebt jeder Mann$_i$? – B: Seine$_i$ Mutter.
  who loves every man   his   mother
  'Who does every man love?' – 'His mother.'   (German)

Notice that in cases of "forward CLD" the correlate resumes the entire CP$_1$ (more precisely, the proposition it denotes), rather than just the ellipsis remnant that is the *d*XP.[40]

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[38] As expected, a non-elliptical counterpart to (64a) is acceptable (redundancy aside) and identical in meaning.

[39] The same is true for the English translation, suggesting that the analysis applies here as well despite the fact that English lacks regular "backward CLD."

[40] If Holmberg's (forthcoming) analysis of yes/no replies is on the right track, cases like B's response in (i) involve the same kind of forward ellipsis.

(i) A: Hat Peter die Maria geküsst? – B: Ja, (das) hat er.
  has Peter the Maria kissed   yes that has he
  'Did Peter kiss Mary?' – 'Yes, he did.'   (German)

Recall now from section 3 that dislocated QPs, *wh*-phrases and anaphors are unacceptable. Consider again the case of illicit anaphor dislocation:

(68)   *Zichzelf, die heeft hij nog nooit overgeslagen.
        himself him has   he yet never passed over
        'He hasn't ever passed himself over.'   (Dutch)

As expected, anaphors can figure as *d*XPs in cases of CLD in which the directionality of ellipsis is forward (the same is true for QPs and *wh*-phrases; see below on the latter case):

(69)   Van wie hield Peter eigenlijk? **Van zichzelf, dat hebben we gemerkt.** Maar
        of   who loved Peter actually of   himself   that have   we noticed   but
        van wie nog meer?
        of   who else
        'Who did Peter love, actually? Himself, that was clear enough. But who else?'
                                                                            (Dutch)

The source of the discrepancy between (68) and (69) is evident: since the correlate's antecedent in (69) is the entire CP_1 rather than the *d*XP itself, the fact that anaphors cannot antecede pronouns, fatal to (68), is irrelevant here.

"Forward CLD" of *wh-d*XPs brings out deeper parallels between dislocation constructions and sluicing. Consider the fact that Bavarian complementizer agreement is bled by sluicing (as first discussed in Lobeck 1995; data from Günther Grewendorf, pers. comm.):

(70)   a. I woass net wo-ts   ihr   a Madl gseng hoabts.
            I know not where-2PL you.2PL a girl   seen   have
            'I don't know where you saw a girl.'
       b. I woass dass-ts   ihr   a Madl gseng hoabts, owa I woass net wo(*-ts).
            I know that-2PL you.2PL a girl   seen   have   but I know not where
            'I know that you saw a girl, but I don't know where.'   (Bavarian)

Whatever the reason for this bleeding effect of ellipsis, its application in both (70b) and (71) suggests that the *wh*-fragment is derived by deletion in both cases.

(71)   Irgandwann werd-ts (es) des vasteh. **Aber wann(*-ts), des wiss-ma net.**
        sometime   will-2PL 2PL that grasp   but   when   that know-we not
        'At some point you will understand this. But when, that we don't know.' (Bavarian)

Holmberg argues that yes/no replies are elliptical clauses, in which the affirmative/negative particle precedes a propositional domain containing a polarity variable that is elided under parallelism. On this analysis, the affirmative particle in B's response in (i) would then have an underlying clausal structure (= CP_1) parallel to that of A's question, resumed by *das* in CP_2. Exploring these connections in more detail is evidently beyond the scope of the present paper.

Two further correlations point to the same conclusion. Dialectal Norwegian, like English, allows for inversion of the *wh*-remnant and a stranded preposition in sluicing, a phenomenon dubbed *swiping* in Merchant 2002.

(72) Per gikk på kino   men jeg veit ikke hvem med.
      Per went to cinema but I   know not who with
      'Per went to the cinema, but I don't know who with.'   (dial. Norwegian)

Dialects of Dutch allow for demonstrative pronouns to be stranded next to sluiced *wh*-phrases in certain contexts, a construction termed *spading* in van Craenenbroeck 2010b.

(73) A: Jef ei   gisteren   iemand   gezien. – B: Wou da?
         Jef has yesterday someone seen   who that
      A: 'Jef saw someone yesterday. – B: 'Who?'   (Wambeek Dutch)

I will not attempt to analyze swiping or spading; see the above references for discussion. What matters here is that both swiping and spading are strictly confined to ellipsis configurations. The fact that both phenomena can be found with dislocated *wh*-phrases in "forward CLD" therefore lends support to my claim that these, too, are derived by deletion.

(74) Marit visste at   Per var gått på kino. **Men hvem med, det visste hun**
      Marit knew that Per was gone on theater but   who   with   that knew   she
      ikke.
      not
      'Marit knew Per had been to the theater. But who with, that she didn't know.'
                                                                    (dial. Norwegian)

(75) Jef ei   me   Marie geklapt. **Mo wuiroem da, da   weet ik nie.**
      Jef has with Marie spoken   but why   that that know I   not.
      'Jef talked to Marie. But why, that I don't know.'   (Wambeek Dutch)

5.4 Locality in CLD

As noted in section 2, CLD does not strictly require fronting of the correlate; the *d*XP shows connectivity regardless of this movement (recall (10a) above). Frey (2004b) observes that a *d*XP can be related to an *in situ* correlate inside an embedded V2 clause with a filled edge, as in the following (note the reconstructed binding dependency):
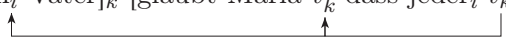
(76) Seinem$_i$ Vater, Maria glaubt [$_{CP}$ jeder$_i$ wird dem   Geld   leihen]
      his.ACC father Maria thinks   everyone will him.ACC money lend
      'Maria thinks that everyone will lend money to his father.'   (German)

Such cases pose a serious problem for monoclausal movement analyses of CLD. If the dXP had moved from a clause-internal position (as indicated by the reconstructed binding relation), it would have moved from the embedded V2 clause into the matrix. However, such extraction from a topic island is generally sharply deviant.

(77) *Wem$_i$ glaubt Maria [$_{CP}$ jeder   wird t_i Geld   leihen]?
      who   thinks Maria   everyone will   money lend
      int.: 'Who is such that Maria thinks everyone will lend money to him?' (German)

Advocates of a direct-movement analysis of CLD are hard put to explain the clear-cut discrepancy in acceptability between (76) and (77).

On the ellipsis analysis of CLD, the puzzle disappears. V2 and verb-final clauses are semantically parallel for purposes of e-GIVENness (28), as evidenced by standard cases of sluicing (Merchant 2001). Therefore, elliptical CP$_1$ can differ structurally from CP$_2$ such that the dXP undergoes long movement from a verb-final complement clause, not crossing any island boundary.
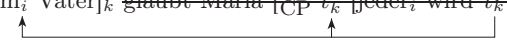
(78)   [$_{CP_1}$ [seinem$_i$ Vater]$_k$ [glaubt Maria t'_k dass jeder$_i$ t_k Geld leihen wird]]

         [$_{CP_2}$ Maria glaubt jeder wird dem Geld leihen] (= (76))

The extraction in CP$_1$ is licit; since the correlate remains *in situ* in CP$_2$, no movement violation arises.[41] By contrast, fronting of the correlate out of the V2 clause induces deviance on a par with that of (77), as expected.

(79) *Seinem Vater, dem$_k$ glaubt Maria, jeder   wird t_k Geld   leihen
      his.ACC father him.ACC thinks Maria everyone will   money lend
      'Maria thinks everyone would lend money to his father.'   (German)

Thus, non-locality in CLD is illusory, a consequence of Merchant's (2001) semantico-pragmatic approach to parallelism adopted here, which allows for truth-conditionally vacuous differences between antecedent and ellipsis site.[42]

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[41] Alternatively, the dXP could move via the embedded CP edge, the subject remaining low; this underlying structure, too, is licensed by e-GIVENness.

(i)   [$_{CP_1}$ [seinem$_i$ Vater]$_k$ glaubt Maria [$_{CP}$ t'_k [jeder$_i$ wird t_k Geld leihen]]]

         [$_{CP_2}$ Maria glaubt jeder wird dem Geld leihen] (= (76))

The two options do not seem to differ in their predictions.

[42] In the case just discussed, I argued that extraction of the dXP from an island is illusory: the elided structure permits extraction. Given that clausal ellipsis has been argued to ameliorate island violations in the wake of Ross's (1969) seminal work (see Lasnik 2001; Merchant 2001 on sluicing and Temmerman 2012; Griffiths and Lipták forthcoming on fragment answers), one might expect to find further effects of this

6 Conclusion: Dislocation Subdued

"Is CLD derived by movement or base-generation of the dXP?"—this question is the common thread running through the literature on this recalcitrant phenomenon. Neither option offered by the traditional dichotomy turns out to be adequate, however, owing to the fact that different properties of the construction seem to support either conclusion. The novel analysis proposed in this paper allows us to have our cake and eat it, too: *qua* sentence fragments, dXPs are *both* clause-external *and* clause-internal, the reduced clause being underlyingly parallel to the host clause. The biclausal source of CLD is masked by PF-deletion, yielding a V3 pattern at the surface. The following schema summarizes the proposal:

(80) $\overbrace{[_{\text{CP}_1} \; d\text{XP}_i \; \langle[\; \dots \; t_i \; \dots \;]\rangle]}^{\text{elliptical clause}} \underbrace{[_{\text{CP}_2} \; \dots \; \text{correlate} \; \dots \;]}_{\text{host clause}}$ ('$\langle \; \dots \; \rangle$' = PF-deletion)

Having undergone regular $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement within CP_1, the analysis correctly predicts the dXP to display the exact same grammatical properties it would have in the corresponding non-elliptical clause (θ-role, case, P-stranding, reconstruction), without having to resort to

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kind. Examples like the following, suggested by Jason Merchant (pers. comm.) on the basis of similar cases discussed in Grewendorf 2008, might be a case in point:

(i)   ?Ihre^k Kinder$_i$, wenn die$_i$ keine Mutter^k mehr   liebt geht die Gesellschaft unter.
        her   children when them no   mother anymore loves goes the society   under
        'When no mother loves her children anymore, society will go under.'   (German)

Here, the dXP appears to have moved out of an adjunct clause, as indicated by the reconstructed binding relation. Grewendorf (2008) speculates that such cases might be acceptable because of the presence of the correlate inside the island, acting as a resumptive pronoun. This explanation is implausible, however, in light of the fact that German generally lacks island-obviating resumption strategies of the English type; moreover, as pointed out in footnote 1, it contradicts the crosslinguistic generalization that binders of resumptive pronouns bear invariant default case. An alternative option suggested by the ellipsis approach is to treat such cases as involving repair by ellipsis in CP_1. Similar consideration would then apply to apparent violations of the Coordinate-structure Constraint, as in the following examples:

(ii)   a. ?Ihren$_i$ Doktorvater, jede Studentin$_i$ hat den und dessen Frau schon mal   zum Essen
            her   advisor   every student has him and his   wife at some point for   dinner
            eingeladen.
            invited
            'Every student invited her advisor and his wife for dinner at some point.'   (German)
        b. ?Sina$_i$ böcker, jag vet   inte var   varje författare$_i$ går och köper dem.
            his   books I   know not where every author   goes and buys them
            'I don't know where every author goes and buys his books.'   (Swedish)

Whatever the exact nature of "island amelioration" under ellipsis—literal repair, as assumed in Lasnik 2001; Merchant 2008; Fox and Lasnik 2003, or avoidance via non-island sources, as suggested by Merchant (2001) and Abels (2012)—the fact that the phenomenon exists might provide us with a handle on the relative acceptability of the above examples. I cannot settle this matter conclusively here and leave it to future research.

any special mechanisms. As I have shown, the analysis in (80) naturally extends to cases of CLD with forward deletion in CP$_1$, readily provides explanations for the apparent obviation of certain locality constraints and parallels with sluicing, and is likely to shed light on various related phenomena crosslinguistically (see footnotes 34 and 35).

Note that this ellipsis approach to CLD relies exclusively on the independently attested grammatical operations of $\overline{\text{A}}$-movement (topicalization[43]) and clausal ellipsis. A grammar equipped with these operations is thus automatically predicted to generate the CLD pattern, given that clauses can be freely juxtaposed in discourse. Consequently, the construction labeled *CLD* is eliminated from the theory of UG.

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[43]One could postulate information-structural features as triggers of this movement, or stipulate that the *d*XP moves to some kind of 'ContrastP,' similar to what is assumed in Frey 2004a for topicalization of non-subjects. Such moves amount to little more than restatements of the observed facts, however; they provide no more insight than the assumption that pragmatic effects are functions of clausal edges (pragmatics only exploiting whatever options the syntax it presents it with), while additionally stipulating a descriptive feature, assigned in violation of Inclusiveness (cf. Fanselow 2006).

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