

Standard Arabic Left-dislocation without Movement: Evidence for the Presence of a Hanging Topic Left-dislocation Construction

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Abstract

This paper investigates left-dislocation constructions in Standard Arabic (SA), most notably those that have been considered so far as SA CLLD constructions (cf. Aoun & Benmamoun 1998). On the basis of an arsenal of movement diagnostic and cross-linguistic comparison with cross-linguistic findings, I demonstrate that the categorization that Aoun & Benmamoun (1998) advance with respect to SA left-dislocation is inadequate. Accordingly, I raise the issue of whether SA CLLD, are in fact hanging topic left dislocation (HTLD). I therefore compare SA CLLD with their HTLD counterparts. It turns out that SA and English pattern together with respect to HTLD; According to my findings, I provide a new classification of left-dislocation constructions which takes into account SA facts.

Keywords: Left-dislocation, Resumptive pronouns, Base-generation, Connectivity

1. Introduction

Since Cinque (1977), Clitic left dislocation (CLLD) constructions have been widely investigated in the literature. Such constructions involve a left-dislocated XP at the left-periphery which is linked to a resumptive pronoun (RP) within the sentence. The resumptive fulfills all the functions the dislocate would have done, had it not been dislocated:

(1). CLLD_i [S... clitic_i...]

Aoun & Benmamoun (1998:579) advance the following generalization to derive Arabic¹ CLLD constructions:

(2) a. CLLDed-DP_i ... pro_i -X + Clitic_i (base-generation)

b. CLLDed-DP_i ... t_i -X + Clitic_i (movement)

Aoun & Benmamoun (1998) propose that while some instances of CLLD involve movement, others involve base-generation. In the following section, I will present a description of the main syntactic properties of CLLD, as has been described by Cinque (1990), the aim being to see whether, his description fits with an apparently similar construction: SA CLLD.

2. CLLD: Some Cross-Linguistic Facts

Cross-linguistically, CLLD is characterized by the fronting of a XP to the beginning of the clause and the presence of a related resumptive pronoun. As in:

(3) a. Naadya ʔeef-a Kariim mbeerH

Nadia saw.3SG.M-her Karim yesterday

‘Nadia, Karim saw her yesterday.’ (Lebanese Arabic: Aoun & Benmamoun (1998:191)

b. **at-tilmiiDat-u** raʔaa-**ha** saami 1-baariha ²

the-student.fs-Nom saw.3ms-her Sami the-yesterday

‘The student, Sami saw her yesterday.’ (Standard Arabic: Aoun & Benmamoun (1998:191) :

(4) a. A Lucille, je lui écris constamment. (French: Postal 1991)

to Lucille I /her write constantly

‘Lucille, I write to constantly.’

b. Al mare, ci siamo gi à stati. (Italian: Cinque 1990)

to the seaside there were-2PL already been

‘In the seaside, we have already been.’

¹ Aoun & Benmamoun (1998) use the term Arabic to refer to both dialectal and Standard Arabic.

² I will argue in due time that (3.b) is not a CLLD construction.

Cinque (1990) notes a distinction between CLLD and HTLD. Firstly, Cinque (1990: 58) argues that, CLLD is iterative. That is to say, it allows an unlimited number of left-dislocated (LDed) elements as opposed to HTLD:

(5) Di vestiti, a me, Gianni, in quel negozio, non mi ce ne ha mai comprati (Cinque 1990: 58)
 about clothes to me John in that shop not me there of-them he-has ever bought

‘*(As for) Clothes, for me, John, in that shop, he never bought them there for me’

It is worth noting that in case of multiple CLLD, the ordering of the LDed elements is free. Consider the following example from Sanfilippo (1998:64):

(6) a. A Gianni, Carlo, gliel' ha presentato Maria.

to Gianni, Carlo, to.him-him has introduced Maria

b. Carlo, a Gianni, gliel'ha presentato Maria

The same case is observed in Greek, as has been noted by Iatridou (1990):

(7) a.0 Yanis, tin Maria, tin acrapa.

the-NOM Yanis the-ACC Maria her loves

(8). Tin Maria, o Yanis, tin agapa.

the-ACC Maria the-Nom Yanis her loves

‘Yanis loves Maria’

The same situation holds for Lebanese Arabic (LA), where there can be more than one LDed DP in a given clause, as stated in Aoun & Benmamoun (1998):

(9) Kariim zeina 3arrafnee-ha 3al-ee

Karim Zeina introduced.1p-her to-him

‘Karim, Zeina, we introduced her to him.’ (Aoun & Benmamoun, 1998:193)

Secondly, Cinque argues that CLLD allow any XP³ to be LDed. This is illustrated below:

(10) a. [pp Al mare], ci siamo gi ästati

to the-seaside there-CL we-have already been

‘To the seaside, we have already been there’ (Cinque 1990:57)

b. [AP Bella], nonlo è mai stata

beautiful not it-CL she-was ever been

‘*Beautiful, she never was it’ (Cinque 1990:58)

³ Note that constructions that Aoun & Benmamoun (1998) label as CLLD affect only DPs. Such a characterization, adding to islands insensitivity, and anti reconstruction/ connectedness effects makes such a configuration standardly fall under HTLD, as we will argue for below.

c. [PPMesso da parte], nonlo è mai stato

got from the-way not it-CL she-was ever been

‘*Got out of the way, she never has it’ (Cinque 1990:58)

d. [QP Tutti], non li ho visti ancora

all not them-CL I-have seen yet

*All, I haven't seen them yet (Cinque 1990:58)

e. [CPChe bevi], lo dicono tutti

that you-drink it-CL says everybody

‘*That you drink, everybody says it’ (Cinque 1990:58)

Furthermore, CLLD constructions exhibit connectivity effects, as opposed to HTLD. According to Cinque (1990), the LDed XP satisfy the binding relations they would have maintained if in situ:

(11). A *?lei/se stessa, Maria non ci pensa

of her/herself Mary not there-CL thinks

‘Of herself, Mary never thinks there (Cinque 1990:58)

A fifth property distinguishing CLLD from HTLD comes from embedded clauses. HTLD cannot occur in embedded clauses. In this respect, Cinque notes that LDed elements in HTLD constructions may only appear in embedded contexts of some propositional attitude verbs such as *think* and *believe* (Cinque 1990: 58) and in matrix clauses, whereas CLLDed elements may appear freely in either:

(11) L'unica persona che a Gianni, non gli ha mai fatto un favore

the-only person that to John not to-him he-has ever done a favour

‘*The only person that to John, he has never done him a favour’ (Cinque 1990:58)

Besides, the pronominal element referring to the LDed in CLLD is a clitic pronoun:

(12) a. In quella città non ci sono mai stato

in this city not there-CL I-have ever been

‘In this city, I have never been there (Cinque 1990:59)

(13). * In quella città non sono mai stato la

in this city not I-have ever been there

‘In this city, I have never been there’ (Cinque 1990:59)

(14). Quella città non sono mai stato là

This city not I-have ever been there

‘This city, I have never been there’ (Cinque 1990:59)

Finally, Cinque (1990: 58) argues that CLLD is subject to island constraints:

(15) a. * A casa, lo abbiamo incontrato prima che ci andasse

to home him we-have met before that there-CL he-went

‘*Home, we met him before that he went there’ (Cinque 1990:59)

b. * Se ricco, credi che esserlo stato non gli giovi, ti sbagli

if rich you-think that to-have-it-CL been not him help you are-wrong

‘*If rich, you think that to have been it did not help, you are wrong’ (Cinque 1990:59)

In this section, I have offered a description of the main syntactic properties of CLLD. According to Cinque’s typology, CLLD is category-neutral and iterative, it may appear in embedded contexts, it allows the free ordering of the dislocates, demands a resumptive clitic, and shows both connectedness, and island Sensitivity. The upshot of Cinque’s proposal is that while CLLD involves movement, HTLD is the yield of base-generation.

3. SA CLLD: Evidence against Cinque’s Classification

Ouhalla(1994b:4) argues that“Cinque (1990) has shown that sentences which involve a left-dislocated phrase and a resumptive pronoun, the phenomenon which came to be known as Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD), show signs of movement too, at least in some languages. The tests he uses for detecting movement in such sentences are not easy to apply to Standard Arabic”. However, although Ouhalla (1994b) assumes that CLLD sentences do not involve movement, he still labels structures like (13b) as CLLD. One aim of this paper is to refute such a claim. I argue that SA CLLD share most HTLD cross-linguistic properties, and should therefore be analyzed on a par with their cross-linguistic counterparts.

But first, I will expose Cinque’s position on CLLD, and see to what extent the tests he uses to approach such a construction can be replicated in SA.

3.1 Are SA CLLD really CLLD?

Let us then turn to Cinque’s characteristics of CLLD. First, multiple LD in CLLD constructions, clearly applies to SA CLLD, as in (16) below. Both DPs are in the nominative Case, necessarily bound to a pronoun denoted by the RP *-hu*, necessarily definite and specific, and in case of embedding, their coreference with the bound pronoun would not be subject to island constraints, as expected since I analyze them as base-generated. These properties are not attested in Topicalization, a structure derived by movement:

(16) [Fahd-un, [axu :-hu [kallam-tu-hu]

Fahd-nom brother-nom-RP

called-1 sg-RP

‘As for Fahd, his brother, I called him’

(17) *Mary, John, she likes him.

The second characteristic of CLLD as a structure allowing any XP is not an attribute of CLLD in SA. Aoun & Benmamoun (1998) argue that in SA, only DPs can be CLLDed, as there are no resumptives that correspond to another type of phrase. Similarly, Bakir(1979: 78) notes that, in CLLD constructions, while other constituents apart from LDED DPs (including prepositional phrases, adjectival complements, etc.) may be pre-verbally preposed, the LDED is required to occur before them:

(18) a. **Zayd-un** ja ?i 3-an ǧannat-**hu** Zaynab-un
 Zayd-NOM hungry-ACC thought-him Zaynab-NOM

‘Zayd, Zaynab thought him hungry.’

b.* ja ?i 3-an Zayd-un ǧannat-hu Zaynab-un
 hungry-ACC Zayd-NOM thought-him Zaynab-NOM

Thirdly, Connectivity is assumed to be obligatory for CLLD in contrast to LD. This does not seem to apply for SA:⁴

(19) **Zayd-un** yuhib-u nafsa- **hu**
 Zayd-NOM love-3s,m self-Acc-his

‘Zayd loves himself.’

(20) *nafs-u-hu yuhibu -**ha** Zayd-un ⁵
 self-NOM-his love-3,sm-RP Zayd-NOM

‘Himself loves Zayd.’

SA seems to allow the embedding of CLLD, as in the data in (21) below illustrate. In order to be interpreted, the LDED DP, being in a A’-position, must be coindexed with a pronoun which is assigned a θ -role. As can be seen from the data, embedded LD structures are introduced by the complementizer *?anna*, a phonological variant of the accusative Case assigning complementizer *?inna* of main clauses.

(21) a. danan-tu ?anna Zayd-an Radar-a Sadiqu-hu
 believed-I sg that Zayd-acc left-3sgm friend-nom-RP

‘I believed that Zayd, his friend left’

b. danan-tu ?anna Zayd-an kallama-hu Fahd-un

⁴ Below, I will provide more examples in which LD constructions in SA exhibit no connectivity effects.

believe-I sg that Zayd-acc called-3sgm-RP Fahd-nom

‘I believed that Zayd, Fahd called him’

c. danan-tu ?anna Zayd-an ?ahdat-hui hind-un hadiyat-an

believe-I sg ?anna Zayd -acc 3sgm- offered-RP hind-nom gift -acc

‘I believed that Zayd, Hind offered him a gift’

d. danan-tu ?anna Zayd-an ?itasalat bi-hi
hind-un

believe-I sg ?anna Zayd -acc 3sgm- called_3p,s,f to -RP hind-nom

‘I believed that Zayd, Hind called him’

(22) danan-tu ?anna Zayd-an Rahala-t
zawjat-hu

believe-I sg ?anna Zayd -acc 3sgm- left_3p,s,f wife-his

‘I believed that Zayd, his wife left’

A fourth distinguishing property regards the nature of the pronominal element. In CLLD, Cinque (1990: 59) notes, only a clitic pronoun may refer to the LDed element. The same holds for SA CLLD:

(23) ?albayt-u bana-hu Zayd-un

The house- Nom built-3p,s,m-RP Zayd -Nom

‘The house, Zayd built’

It is worth mentioning, however, that the pronominal system for LD varies cross-linguistically. For example, SA is actually a rather extreme case of a rich resumptive system with pervasive resumption strategy. On the other hand, some Northern Italian dialects, seems to allow LD without resumption more easily. The following examples illustrate such a phenomenon:

(24) a. Amb el Joan, no (hi) surto mai.

‘With John, I never go out’

b. De les seves feines, no (en) parla de grat.

‘About his jobs, (s) he doesn’t talk willingly.’

c. A casa, (ci) andro domani

‘I’ll go home tomorrow.’

(Benincà 1988: 128)

Finally, Cinque (1990) outlines the different behavior of CLLD and HTLD with respect to islands. We have seen that CLLD is sensitive to islands, In SA, however, CLLD is insensitive to syntactic island constraints (Ross 1967), such as the complex-DP constraint (25a) or the wh-island constraint (25 b):

- (25) a. **Fahd-un** aDunnu albint-a
 Fahd, 3, s,m, nom believe. imperf 1,s,g, indef the-girl, f,s,g-nom
 Ilati : ?ahabat-**hu** iXtafa-t].
 Who-fem loved-3,p, RP disappeared-3,s,f
 " Fahd, I believe that the girl who loved him disappeared."
- b. **al-walad-u** tasa?altu man ra?a-**hu**
 the-boy.Msg-nom wonder.perf 1,s,g who see.perf 3,M,s,g-RP
 ‘(As for) the boy, I wondered who saw him.’ (Mohammad 2000:67)

A derivation of the left-peripheral DP via movement would be expected to incur a subjacency violation and thus be ungrammatical. In this respect, Left-dislocation of the initial DP has been analyzed as "base generation" of the initial DP into the left-dislocated position (Bakir 1980; Ayoub 1981; Fassi-Fehri 1982, 1993, among many others). The binding relationship between the initial DP and the RP is then established by Copy.

Summing up this section, SA CLLD exhibits just two of Cinque's characteristics for CLLD: it allows the dislocate to appear in embedded contexts and it requires clitics. SA CLLD shares no other attribute with its Italian CLLD counterpart. In fact, although many XPs are allowed in the peripheral position a DP must obligatorily precede them. Besides, there is no connectivity. Finally, it is not sensitive to island constraints and thus differs from Italian CLLD.

4. Arabic CLLD: Aoun & Benmamoun (1998)

SA constructions seem to exhibit most of the syntactic properties of what is often called Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD). For a full discussion of the differences between these two types of structures, see Cinque (1977) Grohmann (2000), among many others.

- (26) Al-bayt-**u** ?ishtarat-**hu** Hind-un (SA CLLD)
 The House-Nom bought3s,f,-it Hindf,s,Nom
 "It was a house that Hind bought"

Notice that, contrary to (26), there is no resumptive in the English example in (27). This suggests that the DP *Mary* originates in the associated sentence and forms a chain with its trace in its base position. However, English also exhibits HTLD constructions with full pronouns, (28). In such a construction, the Topic is assumed to be base-generated in the left periphery (see Chomsky 1977, inter alia):

(27) *John*, Mary likes.

(28) a. *John*, Mary likes **him**.

b. John, Mary likes **that man**.

The Romance languages, Greek, and Lebanese Arabic have left-dislocation constructions in which the resumptive element is a "weak" pronoun, i.e., a clitic, and which therefore resemble the SA construction in (29):

(29) *Naadya* *Seef-a* *Kariim mbeerih*.

Nadia saw-her Karim yesterday

‘Nadia, Karim saw (her) yesterday’ (Lebanese Arabic; Aoun & Benmamoun 1998: 570)

(30) *Ton Janni* den *ton ksero*.

the John NEG him know-1stSG

‘John, I don't know (him)’ (Greek; Anagnostopoulou 1997: 152)

(31) *Al mare*, ci siamo gi à stati

To the sea side there were-pl already been

‘In the seaside, we have already been’ (Italian: Cinque (1990))

(32) *A Juan lo* conozco.

Juan-ACC him know-1stSG

‘Juan, I know (him).’ (Spanish; Escobar 1997: 233)

(33) *El llibre el* vam comprar a Barcelona.

the book him TNS-1stPL buy in Barcelona

‘The book, we bought (it) in Barcelona.’ (Catalan; Villalba 2000: 46)

Examples such as (29)-(33) are instances of CLLD. Crucially, most of the approaches that have been put forward show that the syntactic properties of CLLD resemble those of English Topicalization constructions in many respects. Although there are considerable differences, namely concerning the status and the functions of the clitic, it has been highlighted that the relation between the LDED element and the RP in CLLD are best analyzed in terms of movement.

4.1 The Issue

Aoun & Benmamoun (1998), inter alia, misleadingly suggest that (34) below, are instances of CLLD, on a par with their dialectal counterparts.

(34) *Al-bayt-u* ?ishtar-at-**hu** Hind-un (SA CLLD)

The House-Nom

bought3s,f,-it

Hindf,s,Nom

‘It was a house that Hind bought’

One aim of this paper is to expose Aoun & Benmamoun’s (1998) dichotomy of CLLD-constructions into a split construction which may be either base-generated or produced by movement, and to replace it with a typology of LD-structures that takes into account the SA facts.

Below I demonstrate that A & B’s (1998) argumentation cannot be replicated for SA. But first, let me lay out A & B’s (1998) basic assumptions regarding the status of CLLD in Arabic.

4.2 Aoun and Benmamoun: Two types of CLLD

Aoun & Benmamoun (1998) (A&B, henceforth), argue that CLLD are derived by movement whenever the dislocate is not separated from the RP it is related to by an island, as in:

(35) l-ʔasiide ʔallaf-a ʔomar
 the-poem wrote-3m,s-it Omar

‘The poem, Omar wrote it’

A&B (1998) point out that CLLDed constructions in Lebanese Arabic behave as English Topicalization in the absence of islands. As is well known, English Topicalisation is not possible if the Topic originates inside an island (Ross 1967; Chomsky 1977; Lasnik & Saito 1992):

(36) a. *This book, I accept the argument that John should read.

b. *This book, I wonder who read. (Chomsky 1977: 91)

The island sensitivity of CLLD in Romance has been noted by Cinque (1977, 1983/1997, 1990) and Villalba (2000), among many others.

However, they argue that movement across a left dislocate is banned if the dislocate is separated from the resumptive by an island. Consider (37), where Wh-movement is involved:

(37) *ʔu Naadya xabbaro Kariim ʔabl ma ʔeef-a ʔenno
 What Nadia told.3,p,pl Karim before C saw.3,sg,m-her that
 l-m3allme ʔaalit?
 the-teacher said.3,sg,f

‘What, Nadia, did they tell Karim before he saw her that the teacher said?’

A&B’s (ibid) central point is that CLLD may be the yield of either base-generation or movement. However, in island contexts, movement is banned. A&B argue that reconstruction effects with resumption take place only in non-island contexts, that is, whenever movement occurs, reconstruction takes place through leaving a copy of the moving element behind. Consider (38a) vs. (38b):

(38) a. Telmiizj-ai l-kesleen ma baddna nxabbir [wala
m3allme]j ?nno

 student-her the-bad Neg want.1,pl told.1,pl no
teacher that

ha- l-maZduubj za jbar b-l-faS.

3pl-the-idiot cheated.3,sg,m in-the-exam

‘Her bad student, we didn’t tell any teacher that this idiot cheated on the exam.’

b. *Telmiizj-ai l-kesleen ma kiina maz [wala m3allme]i
[?abl-ma

 student-her the-bad Neg talked.1,pl with no teacher
before

ha-l-malZduubj yuuSal].

the-idiot arrive

‘Her bad student, we didn’t talk to any teacher before the idiot arrived.’

4.3 Problems with A&B’s (1998) Proposal

The view I want to defend in this paper is that A& B’s proposal cannot account for SA data. In fact, SA CLLD are uniformly derived via base-generation, regardless of the existence of Islands. This is attributable to the lack of Connectedness, as I will demonstrate in due time. I would, therefore, like to pursue a different approach to SA CLLD, which provides a first step towards an analysis that renders their account cross-linguistically inappropriate.

A&B (1998) propose a movement analysis for certain CLLD-constructions in Lebanese Arabic. Those constructions differ from the base-generated ones in a number of aspects, predominantly with respect to connectedness. More precisely, since they occur in non-islands contexts, the movement version of CLLD allow for reconstruction effects, thereby motivating their movement-based approach. In what follows, I review their approach to CLLD and point out its empirical and theoretical weakness.

4.3.1 Connectivity and Binding

A moved XP is said to exhibit connectivity effects if it behaves as if it was in its base position with respect to principles of binding and scope. Connectivity has therefore been used as an important test to establish whether or not a particular construction is derived by movement. As expected, CLLD shows connectivity effects (cf. e.g. Guéron 1984 (for English); Cinque 1977; 1983/1997, 1990; Cecchetto 2001 (for Italian); Villalba 2000 (for Catalan); Anagnostopoulou 1997 (for Greek); Aoun & Benmaoun 1998; Aoun, Choueiri & Hornstein 2001 (for Lebanese Arabic).

In this respect, Cinque (1977) argues that in CLLD connectivity effects hold between the dislocated element and the gap site. Such effects are related to subcategorization and Case

Consider further:

(44)* (Huwa) daraba Zayd-an

he hit- 3,s,m Zayd-ACC

‘He hit Zayd.’

(45) Zayd-un qaala anna aliyy-an daraba-hu

Zayd-Nom said 3sm that Ali-Acc hit,3,p,s-him

‘Zayd said that Ali hit him.’

(46)* (huwa) qaala anna Alliy-an daraba Zayd-an

He said 3,s,m that Ali-Acc hit 3,s,f Zayd-Acc

‘*He said that Ali hit Zayd.’

(44) is a violation of Condition C since the subject pronoun binds an R-expression. In (45) the pronoun in the embedded clause is free in its governing category and can be bound by the matrix subject. (46) is ill-formed since the subject pronoun binds an R-expression, in line with Condition C.

Consider this further violation:

(47) *?inna-hu, xaraja Zayd-un

that-expl-cl went out Zayd-nom

(47) is excluded by Condition C given the fact that the DP *Zaydun*, which is compatible with *hu* in terms of the features of phi features, are assigned the same index. Hence, the only interpretation available for *pro* in (48) is that of being non referential, as in:

(48) ?inna-hu, xaraja Zayd-un

that-expl-cl went out Zayd-nom

‘(It is true that) Zayd went out.’

The only possible interpretation for *hu* is a pleonastic, i.e., a non-referential one, as in (48). It does not assume a theta role, a situation reminiscent of the use of the existential *there* and pleonastic *it* in English.

According to Cinque (1977, 1990), there is obligatory connectivity between the dislocated phrase and the IP internal position, with respect to Binding Theory, for instance, as illustrated for principles A and B:

(49) A * lei/se stessa Maria non ci pensa

Of her/herself Mary not there thinks

‘of her/herself, Maria does not think’

Now consider the following example from SA:

(50)?a waladu llaDi tuHibbu-hu Hindun ?ahdat-hu
hadiyat-an

the-boy-Nom that -love-3p,sg,f-RP Hind-Nom offered-3p,sg,f-RP gift-Acc

‘The boy that Hind loves him, she offered him a gift’

In (50), coreference between *Hind* and the subject of the main clause is possible. The possibility of having the coreference reading indicates that (50) does not violate principle C, which prohibits names to be bound. This is an indicator that there is no connectivity in CLLD SA.

One way of dealing with the facts illustrated in (49) is to claim that only movement is available in the generation of Italian CLLD. This option is supported by the fact that CLLD constructions in Italian seem to be sensitive to islands (Cinque 1990):

(51)*[A casa]j lo abbiamo incontrato [pp prima che ci andasse]

Home him have.1p met before that there went-he

‘At home, we met him before he went there.’

On the other hand, if base-generation were available for CLLD constructions in Italian, then the reported connectivity facts would have to be dealt with without appealing to movement.

Different analyses have been proposed for the derivation of LDs with regard to whether this construction involves movement or not. On the one hand, there are analyses that have considered CLLD in different Romance languages to involve A'-movement, mainly due to the fact that these constructions are sensitive to islands and to the fact they show connectivity effects (Cinque 1977 for Italian, Dobrovie-Sorin 1990 for Romanian, Sportiche 1993 and Kayne 1994 for French). On the other hand, there are analyses that consider the dislocated phrase to be base-generated in its surface position. Under this view, the CLLD phrase is often taken to be a clausal adjunct linked to a clause internal covert pronominal (if there is one) via an A-bar chain (Cinque 1990 for Italian, Iatridou 1995 and Anagnostopoulou 1997 for Greek). Even though these constructions show island and connectivity effects and they have an empty category at the foot of the chain, and that they lack Weak Crossover (WCO) effects (see section 5.1. below) is taken to be a reflection of their non-movement nature. In the following section, I will provide evidence in favor of a base generated account of CLLD.

5. Proposed Analysis: Against a Bipartite CLLD

The base-generation analysis of HTLD in various languages follows from the lack of reconstruction effects in the interpretation of dislocated elements (see e.g. Cecchetto, 1999). According to Aoun & Benmamoun (1998) reconstruction is only tied to islands: that is, reconstruction effects occur when no island intervenes between the CLLDed DP and the RP to which it is related. They consider the following example to illustrate this point:

(52) talmi:z-a_i Shita:n
bta3rfo ?enno kell student,m,sg –pn, f,sg
the-naughty-m,sg know-you that every
m3allme asaset-o
teacher,f,sg punish,3,f,sg –pn,3pn,m,sg

‘Her_i naughty student, you know that every teacher_i punished him.’

‘You know that every teacher punished her naughty student.’

(Aoun & Benmamoun 1998:580)

(53) * talmīz-[a]_i š-šitān
fallayto ?abl ma[kell
Student,3m,sg-p3,f,sg the-naughty-m,sg left-you before Comp every
m3allme asaset-o
Teacher-f,sg punish-3,f,sg-pn,3,m,sg

‘Her naughty student you left before every teacher punished him.’

‘You left before every teacher punished her naughty student.’

According to Aoun & Benmamoun (1998) the quantifier phrase (QP) in (52) *kel m3allem* ‘every teacher’ can bind the pronoun within the CLLDed DP *telmizaa Sitan* ‘her naughty student’. Aoun & Benmamoun (1998) argue that given the fact that bound pronouns can be c-commanded at LF by the operators that bind them, the relevant reading in (52) follows then from reconstruction of the CLLDed DP containing the bound pronoun below the subject QP. As expected, the pronoun in (53) cannot be interpreted as bound by the QP within the adjunct clause, since the CLLDed DP containing the pronoun to be bound is related to a clitic within an island. Since extraction from islands is impossible, the CLLDed DP in (53) does not reconstruct under the QP since reconstruction is a property of chains created via movement.

The core point of Aoun & Benmamoun’s proposal is that CLLD do not behave uniformly with respect to reconstruction effects. More concretely, the selective availability of reconstruction in CLLD in LA indicates that movement is available for the generation of those constructions only when the island constraints are not violated: a derivation involving movement is thus available for the representation in (52), but not for the one in (53). This prediction is borne out with respect to the SA data. Even in the absence of Islands, Reconstruction is not possible in CLLD constructions.

The sentence in (54a) exemplifies binding reconstruction; since the pronominal is not free in its governing category (the IP). The pronoun is bound in this domain, suggesting a kind of Condition B violation. According to principle B a pronominal must be free in its local domain. This accounts for the contrast between (54a) and (54b):

(54) a. *Yuhibuhu Zayd-an fahd-un

likes-him Zayd-acc fahd-nom

b. **Zayd-un** Yuhibuhu Fahd-un

Zayd-nom likes-him Fahd-nom

(55b) is grammatical, despite the fact that the pronoun is bound by the DP *Zaydun*. The grammaticality of (55b) might appear to weaken the suggestion that (55a) is excluded by the binding theory. Consider the structure of (55b):

(55) [_{IP}**Zayd-un**_i [_{IP}Yuhibuhu_i Fahd-un]]

The DP *Zaydun* with which the pronoun is coindexed does not occur in the local domain of the pronoun, but rather in a position adjoined to IP. This is an A bar-position to which no θ -role is ever assigned. As the DP *Zaydun* occurs in an A'-position outside the local domain in which the pronoun must be free, the pronoun is allowed to be bound by this DP. Thus, principle B predicts the grammaticality of the sentence.

In fact, the DP *Zaydun* in (55) must bind the embedded pronoun, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of the following sentences. In (56a) the RP is missing, and in (56b) the pronoun is replaced by the lexical DP *Zaydun*:

(56)

a. [_{IP}Zayd-un_i [_{IP}Yuhibu Fahd-un]]
 Zayd-nom like-3p,sg,m Fahd-nom

[_{IP}Zayd-un_i [_{IP}Yuhibu Fahd-un Hind-an]]
 Zayd-nom like-3p,sg,m Fahd-nom Hind-acc

These structures clearly represent CLLD in which the left-dislocated DP *Zaydun* is in an X position to which no θ -role can ever be assigned. The DP must be coindexed with a pronoun to derive its reference, as we will see below.

This fact suggests that CLLD exhibits no syntactic connection between the left dislocated element and the clause internal argument position. This lack of syntactic connection can be accounted for through a base-generation account of the CLLDed element in its left edge position.

At this stage of the discussion, it seems that there is no evidence that the left dislocate has a syntactic connection with the coreferent RP. The LDED DP in CLLD appears to be base generated at the left edge of the clause and associated with the resumptive through coreference.

Furthermore, there exists an array of facts motivating a base-generated account of CLLD (e.g. absence of Case Matching, absence of WCO effects and Parasitic Gaps, non-reconstruction of

idiom chunks). Let me first advance such arguments before I proceed to a conclusive analysis.

5.1 Weak Cross Over

Cinque considers CLLD immunity to WCO as an argument against movement. Cinque states that CLLD is an A'-movement. Consequently, since well-known instances of A'-movement, namely Wh-movement, yield WCO effects, and CLLD does not, he concludes that CLLD cannot be an instance of movement.

Cinque (1990) considers that the CLLD construction in (57) below is not movement construction:

(57) Gianni lo ho visto
Gianni him I-have visited

For Cinque, if (57) involved movement, then the object clitic that appears in (57) would either be the spell out of a wh-trace or an instance of clitic doubling. He rejects the first option by showing that the clitic does not have the properties of a variable: it does not license parasitic gaps, nor does it behave like a gap in Across-the board contexts. He rejects the second option because Italian does not allow clitic-doubling.

Cinque further claims that CLLD does not involve movement because the clitic that occurs in CLLD “cannot occur in ordinary Wh- constructions. Thus, a basic difference between CLLD and other Wh-constructions (wh-constructions and Topicalization) in Italian is that it requires a clitic pronoun in the object position that matches in features the dislocated phrase. In contrast, wh-questions and Topicalization require a gap in the object position. This is illustrated by the following paradigm:

(58)

a) Wh-question.

[CP Chi_i [IP (*lo_i) hai visto t_i]]
Whom him you have seen

‘Whom have you seen’

b. Topicalization.

[TOP GIANNI_i [CP Ø_i [IP (*lo_i) ho visto t_i]]
Gianni(Focus) him I-have seen

‘Gianni, I saw’

c. CLLD

[TOP Gianni_i [CP [IP * (lo_i) ho visto t_i]]
Gianni him I have seen

‘Gianni, I saw him’ (Cinque 1990)

The object clitic is disallowed in both (58a) and (58b), Cinque takes the property of leaving a gap in both examples as a diagnostic property of Wh-movement. In (58c), however, a gap is impossible, this leads Cinque to conclude that while CLLD is not derived via Wh-movement, Wh- and Topicalization constructions are.

Guéron (1984: 153ff) points out the following contrast:

- (59) a. *Who_i does his_i mother like *e_i*?
 b. John_i his_i mother likes *e_i*?

Guéron (1984) claims that the crucial difference is the referential status of the moved phrase: whereas a Topic is referential, an operator element is not. According to Guéron (1984), it is referentiality that makes coreference possible in (59b).

Consider also in this respect, Lasnik & Stowell (1991):

- (60) a. *Who_i did his_i sister call *t*, a moron?
 b. *the kid_i, who_i his_i sister called *t*, a moron.
 c. Frank his sister called a moron

Only in (60a-b) does the extracted phrase qualify as a true quantifier, and consequently yields WCO effects.

A similar fact obtains where the extraction involves a RP. Consider the Hebrew example from Shlonsky (1992:51):

- (61) a. Ze ha-baxur S e-yida3ti ?et ha-horim
 this the-guy that-(I).informed ACC t the-parents
 of-him
 Se-ha-more yaxSil ?oto₁. (Shlonsky 1992: ex. 30b)
 that-the-teacher will flunk him

‘This is the guy that I informed his parents that the teacher will flunk him’

Consider the SA CLLD data:

- (62) *Zayd-un, axu :h-u-hu darab-a__
 Zayd-nom brother-nom-his hit-3 m, sg-
 ‘Zayd, his brother hit’

Consider now the grammaticality of the construction with a RP:

- (63) a. Zayd-un, axu :h-u-hu darab-a **hu**
 Zayd-nom brother-nom-his hit-3m, sg-RP

‘Zayd, his brother hit him’

Absence of WCO effects in (63a) is exactly what is expected on a base-generation analysis. This gains support from CLD, an A'-movement construction, which gives rise to WCO:

(63) b. *Zayd-an_i tu_abb-u umm-u t_i
 Zayd-ACC love.3sgfem mother-NOM

‘Zayd, his mother loves.’

5.2 Idiom Chunks

Several proposals have advocated that idioms must be generated in a strictly local configuration (Bhatt 2002, among others). Traditionally, idiom chunks have been used to distinguish between raising and control predicates. Under standard assumptions, an idiom can retain its idiomatic reading even after raising. Witness the English examples:

- (64) a. An apple a day keeps the doctor away (both literal and idiomatic readings)
 b. An apple a day seems to keep the doctor away (both literal and idiomatic readings)
 c. An apple a day, it seems that it keeps the doctor away (only literal reading)

(64a, b) sentences corresponding to the non-left- dislocation form are acceptable under both literal and idiomatic readings. The unacceptability of an idiomatic reading in (64c) indicates that idiom chunks are not dislocatable. This clearly suggests that Idiom chunk interpretation is not available in HTLD constructions.

The behavior of sentential idioms in SA also provides additional evidence that HTLDED constructions are the result of base-generation rather than movement. To be more precise, since it is obligatorily generated in a strictly local configuration, an Idiom chunk interpretation is not maintained in HTLD constructions.

In (65b), the idiomatic reading is not maintained, and the literal reading is odd, due to the metaphoric sense of the idiom:

(65) a. rajay-tu bi-Xufay hunayn (Idiomatic reading)
 returned-1 sg with-slippers hunayn

‘I returned empty handed’

b. ***hunayn-u** raja?-tu bi-Xufay-**hi** (Literal reading)

Hunayn-nom returned-1 sg with-slippers-RP

‘Empty handed, I returned that way’

According to allazawi (1990) idiom chunks are ruled out in SA CLLD, due to their non-referential nature. If this claim was tenable, then how could we account for the following construction, where the idiomaticity of the LD is maintained, despite the non-referential nature of the Idiom:

(66) *alqua* *almutahaDit-u* *kalimat-an* (idiomatic reading)
 threw-3,p,sg,m the-speaker-Nom word-Acc
 ‘the speaker gave a word’

(67) *kalimat-an* *Alqua* *almutahaDit-u* (idiomatic reading)
 word-Acc threw-3,p,sg,m the-speaker-Nom
 ‘The speaker gave a word’

This fact lends further support to a movement based account missing of SA CLLD. In actual fact, while movement chains maintain the idiomaticity of an idiom, co-indexation chains do not (cf. Aoun & Benmamoun (1998)).

6. HTLD: A cross-linguistic Account

Languages with CLLD usually also have left dislocation constructions with epithets and full pronouns, as the following examples from Catalan illustrate:

(68) (*Tothom diu meravelles de la Carme, ...*)

‘Everybody says wonderful things about Carme, ...’

(69)a. *...la Maria, en canvi, tothom parla malament d'ella.*

the Maria in change everybody talks badly of her

‘Maria, instead, everybody talks badly of her.’

b. *... la Maria, en canvi, tothom parla malament d'aquella mala pe ça.*

the Maria in change everybody talks badly of-that bad piece

‘Maria, instead, everybody talks badly of that bad egg’ (Catalan; Villalba 2000: 90f.)

In languages such as Romance and Greek, sentences like (69a) and (69b) are usually analyzed on a par with the English HTLD constructions with base-generated Topics. In the following section, I argue below that the arguments in favor of base-generating the HT in English carry over to SA.

6.1 Topicalization, Wh-questions and Contrastive Left Dislocation vs. HTLD

In this section, I argue that SA CLLD can be analyzed on a par with their English HTLD counterparts. To demonstrate this claim, I note that as in English (70), the dislocate and fronted Wh-phrase cannot co-occur as such (cf. Shlonsky 1992):

(70) a. * This letter_i, to whom should we send *t*_i?

b. * Mary_i, who do you think loves *t*_i?

(71) a. **baytaan mata ?ishtarat Hind-un*

House-Acc when bought_{3s,f}, Hindf,s,Nom

‘A house, when did Hind buy’

b. * mata: baytaan ?ishtarat Hind-un

when House-Acc bought_{3s,f}, Hindf,s,Nom

‘When a house Hind bought’

Also as in English, Wh- and HTLD constructions are well-formed:

(72) a. *This letter*, to whom should we send it?

b. (As for) *Mary*, who do you think loves *her*?

(73) Al-bayt-**u** mata : ?ishtarat-**hu** Hind-un ?(SA CLLD)

The House-Nom when bought_{3s,f}, -it Hindf,s,Nom

‘The house, when did Hind buy it’

Like English, the SA CLDed XP and the LDed XP in CLLD can go together, provided that the CLDed XP follows the LDed XP in CLLD:

(74) a. This letter, to Mary_i, we should send it t_i.

b. * To Mary_i, this letter, we should send it to t_i.

c. * We_i, this letter, t_i should send it to Mary.

(75) a. **atiflu**, hadiyatan ?a3taytu**hu**

The child-nom gift-acc I give- him

‘the child, a gift, I give him.’

b. * hadiyatan, **atiflu** a3taytu**hu**

gift-acc the child-nom I give- him

‘A gift, the child I give him.’

English, Wh-questions involve the fronted XP in first, the finite verb in second position (which we will call COMP position CP for the time being), as in:

(76) Which skirt did Jane buy?

The same holds for SA:

(77) *maDaa Hind-un ?ishtarat

what Hindf,s,Nom bought_{3s,f},

(78) maDaa ?ishtarat Hind-un

what bought-3p,sg,f Hind-Nom

6.2 Are SA CLLD instances of HTLD?

6.2.1 Introduction

Various proposals have been advanced to distinguish between movement-generated LD and base-generated LD (Vat (1981), Cinque (1977), (1983), (1990), etc.

Most of the relevant proposals suggest that Connectedness supposedly holds between the LDed element and the pronoun only in CLLD; such a connectedness is uniformly absent in the case HTLD. (see, e.g., Vat 1981; Cinque 1983). A dislocated element is considered to be connected when it bears marks of dependency from the clause internal gap. Namely, in terms of matching and reconstruction effects between the dislocated element and the clause internal gap.

Moreover, other characteristics that traditionally distinguish HTLD from CLLD, have been outlined (Cinque 1983, et al). First, unlike CLLDed, which is category neutral, a HTLDed element must be uniformly a DP. Second, HTLD is not recursive but CLLD is. Third, HTLD is a root phenomenon while CLLD can occur in (certain) embedded clauses.

The question that arises at this point is: is SA CLLD actually CLLD, or HTLD? Below, I will expose HTLD cross-linguistic data and test their validity with respect to SA CLLD data. It is my contention to demonstrate they are similar to the HTLD cross-linguistic findings, and it will, therefore, be more appropriate to categorize them as HTLD.

6.2.2 HTLD: Cross-linguistic Syntactic Properties

Consider the following construction:

(79) Piero, credo che abbiano mai parlato di lui

Piero, I think that they have never talked of him

(80) Pierre, je pense toujours à lui

Pierre, I always think of him. (Cinque (1977: 11)

HTLD was introduced by Cinque (1983) in order to make a distinction between CLLD we have just examined in the previous section. Cinque (1977, 1983) shows that constructions like:

(81) Lucille, je lui écris constamment.

‘Lucille, I write to constantly’ (Postal 1991)

(82) Giorgio, ne hanno parlato bene/hanno parlato bene di lui/hanno parlato bene di quel furbacchione.

‘Giorgio, they have talked well of him/have talked well of him/have talked well of that slyboots.’ (Benincà et al. 1988)

Are clearly quite distinct from their CLLD analogues:

(83) À Lucille, je lui écris constamment.

‘Lucille, I write to constantly.’ (French: Postal 1991)

(84) Di Giorgio, (ne) hanno parlato bene/*hanno parlato bene di lui.

‘Giorgio, they have talked well of/have talked well of him.’ (Benincà et al. 1988)

1) The HTLDed element is exclusively a DP.

HTLD is extremely more restricted than CLLD across categories. In principle, it only admits DPs. Such a phenomenon is attested in HTLD across Romance languages.

(85) a. (*A) Giorgio, sono sicuro che non ho mai scritto a lui.

‘(*To) Giorgio, I am sure that I have never written to him.’

Italian : Cinque (1977: fn. 12)

b. (*Di) Piero, credo che non abbiano, mai parlato de lui.

(*Of) Piero, I think that they have never talk of him. Italian : Cinque (1977: fn. 1)

(86) a. (*A) Pierre, je pense toujours à lui.

(*To) Pierre, I always think of him.’

b. (*De) mes fils, je ne suis pas fier d’eux.

‘(*Of) my children, I am not proud of them.’ French: Cinque (1977: fn. 12)

This is the case in SA, where the LDed element in CLLD is uniformly a DP:

(87)a. **3alijj-un** madjnuun-an ðannat-**hu** faatimat-un

Ali-NOM crazy-ACC thought-him Fatima-NOM

‘Ali, Fatima thought him crazy.’

b. ***madjnuun-an** 3alijj-un ðannat-**hu** faatimat-u

crazy-ACC Ali-NOM thought-him Fatima-NOM (Bakir 1979: 78)

2) The HTLDed is not recursive:

Many authors have argued for different languages that HTLD cannot be iterated. Observe the example proposed by Cinque (1983):

(88) *Tuo fratello, Maria, lei ama lui

your brother, Maria, she loves him

The same is true for English Left Dislocation:

(89)*John, Mary, he likes her. (Lasnik & Saito 1992: ex. 471)

However, there are languages that allow for recursiveness, Consider the example below from French:

(90) *Claasi, du contre –plaqu* *é*, *tu verrais jamais ça j* *dans sa; maison*

Claas some plywood, you would see never that in his house

‘You’d never see plywood in Claas’s house.’ (De Cat 2003)

Similar facts are found in Spanish HTLD:

(91) *Juan con respect a este libro, é tendr* *à que leero*

‘Juan, with respect to this book, he will have to read it’ (Escobar (1995))

The same holds with respect to SA. Consider the following:

(92). *Zayd-un, fahd-un darab-a -hu*

Zayd-nom fahd-nom he hit-3, sg-RP

‘As for Zayd,Fahd, he hit him’

(93). *fahd-un Zayd-un darab-a -hu*

fahd-nom Zayd-nom he hit-1 sg-RP

‘As for Zayd,Fahd, he hit him’

3) The HTLDed Occurs in Root Contexts:

This property is across languages. Several authors show that HTLD is limited to root contexts in Italian:

(94) a. **Credo que Mario, lui, non vega.* (Cinque 1983)

‘I think that Mario he won't come’

We find a similar behavior in English Left Dislocation. Here we have some examples from several scholars:

(95) a. *That my father, he's lived here all his life is well known to those cops.

b. ?*I acknowledge that my father, he was tight as a hoot-owl. (Ross 1967)

c. *I believe that this book, you should read it. (Lasnik & Saito 1992)

In SA, however, CLLD may appear in embedded contexts, as in:

(96) *danan-tu (?anna) Hindan yuhibu- ha Zayd-Nom*

believe-1 sg that Hind-acc 3sgm-love-RP Zayd-Nom

‘I believed that the Hind, Zayd loves her’

This is not an isolated case. Consider in this respect the following English HTLD:

(97) I believe that [John Mary likes him a lot]

Consider further:

(98) I said that my father, he was tight as a hoot-owl. (Ross 1967)

Ross (1967) argues that (98) is an instance where English HTLD occurs in embedded contexts, namely with verbs introducing reported speech.

4) The Obligatory Presence of the RP

HTLD requires an element within the clause resuming the left dislocate. However, unlike CLLD, the resumptive element needs not be a clitic: it can also be a strong pronoun, or an anaphoric phrase. This has been reported for French, Italian, and Spanish:

(99) a. La chasse à l'étudiant, je pense que la police a toujours considéré cette activité comme un sport très agréable.

'Student hunting, I think the police have always considered that activity as a pleasant sport.'

(Hirschbühler 1975, cited in Cinque (1983 : 11))

(100). Paul, j'ai vu cet idiot au café hier.

'Paul, I saw this idiot at the café yesterday.'

(Larsson 1979: 46)

(101) a. Il professor Piva, nessuno può dimenficarlo/dimenticare quell'uomo generoso.
'Professor Piva, nobody can discredit him/that generous man.'

(Northern Italian dialect: Benincà et al. 1988: ex. 58b)

b. Giorgio, ne hanno parlato bene/hanno parlato bene di lui/hanno parlato bene di quel fui bacchione.

'Giorgio, they have talked well of him/have talked well of him/have talked well of that slyboots' (Northern Italian dialect: Beninca et al. 1988: ex. 60b)

In SA CLLD, the resumptive element is uniformly a clitic. Consider the following:

(102) **Al-bayt-u** ʔishtar-at-**hu** Hind-un (SA CLLD)

The House-Nom bought3s,f,-it Hindf,s,Nom

'It was a house that Hind bought'

(103) **Al-bayt-u** ra ʔay -tu al-fatat-a allati ʔishtar-at-**hu**

The House-Nom saw-1 sg the-girl-acc who bought3s,f,-it

'The house, I saw the girl who bought it'

The same holds for Czech:

(104) Tu kočku, dala jsem ji sousedovi.

that cat.ACC gave AUX.1SG.CL her.ACC.CL neighbor.DAT

‘That cat, I gave it to my neighbor.’ (Sturgeon, 2006:56)

Furthermore, Cinque (1983) argues the example (105) HTLD involves a strong pronoun:

(105) Giorgio, non conosco [la ragazza [che lui vuole sposare]]

.... Giorgio not I-know the girl that him wants to-marry

‘I don’t know the girl who wants to marry Giorgio.’ (Cinque 1983:97)

5) The insensitivity to Island constraints.

(106) a. Giorgio, ieri ho conosciuto la ragazza che gli ha scritto quelle insolenzel.

‘Giorgio, yesterday I met the girl who wrote those insolent words to him.’

b. Quel libro, mi sono seduto in poltrona (e ne ho letta una met à ieri).

‘That book, I sat in the armchair and read half of it yesterday.’ (Italian : Cinque (1977 : 13)

(107) a. Georges, j’ai connu la fille qui lui a écrit hier

‘Giorgio, I met the girl who wrote to him yesterday.’

b. Ce livre, hier j’avais le temps (et j’en ai lu la moitié).

‘That book, yesterday I had time and read half of it.’

c. Notre frère, [le fait que tu n’y penses jamais], est absurde.

‘Our brother, the fact that you never think of him is absurd.’ (French: Cinque (1977: 13)

(108) I Maria xtes gnorisa I ton andra pu fin pantreftike, ke aporo pos tin antexi

The maria yesterday met I the man that CL, married 3 and wonder I how CL stand

‘Maria, yesterday I met the man who married her and I wonder how he can stand her.’

(Modern Greek: Anagnostopoulou (1997 : 45))

The same has been noted for SA:

(109) **1-walad-u** tasaa?altu man ra?aa-**hu** WH-island

the-boy-ACC wondered who saw-him

‘The boy, I wondered who saw him.’

(110) **zaid-un** ?aDunnu ar-rajul-a llathii intaqada-**hu** intahara(CNPC)

Zaid-ACC believe the-man-ACC who criticized 3sm-him committed suicide 3sm

‘Zaid, I believe the man who criticized him committed suicide.’

I hope to have shown that the syntax of these two constructions is different and should hence be subject to reanalysis. Several observations have been noted so far: (i) SA CLLD is actually HTLD; (ii) SA HTLD is different from SA CLD; (iii) Cross-linguistically, CLD is different from HTLD; finally (iv) SA HTLD is similar to some cross-linguistic HTLD.

7. In Response to A&B (1998)

The conclusion that SA CLLD are actually HTLD, on a par with their linguistic counterparts, emanates from their following properties:

- (i) the HTLDED element is uniformly a DP;
- (ii) HTLD require an obligatory RP;
- (iii) they are insensitive to Island constraints;
- (iv) it is insensitive to WCO;
- (v) they exhibit no connectedness and matching effects.

This conclusion needs qualifying, though. If, cross-linguistically, the difference between LD (i.e. between CLLD and HTLD) translates categorically into recursiveness, an analysis of SA CLLD as involving CLLD in all cases might be more desirable so as to fit in with the general picture. If this was the case, a revision of the core characteristics of CLLD would be called for on the basis of the SA data: CLLD would after all be insensitive to islands, and exhibit matching and reconstruction effects, etc.

It is therefore obvious that the proposal that Aoun and Benmamoun (1998) advance with respect to the classification of CLLD is inappropriate, and it thus needs to be revisited. Note that the gist of Aoun & Benmamoun's classification of LD relies on their behavior with respect to reconstruction effects. More concretely, the selective availability of reconstruction in CLLD indicates that movement is available for the generation of those constructions only when the island constraints are not violated, otherwise, a base-generation approach is obligatory.

The SA CLLD (HTLD, henceforth) data I have presented thus far are uniformly derived via base-generation, regardless of their occurrence in Islands contexts. This is attributable to the lack of Connectedness, as I have demonstrated at length, a further argument in support of such a claim stems from (111b):

(111) a. alʔatfal-u qabbalna-hum

the children -nom kissed-RP

"The children, we kissed them"

b. *alʔatfal-u qabbalna_____

the children -nom kissed-1p,p

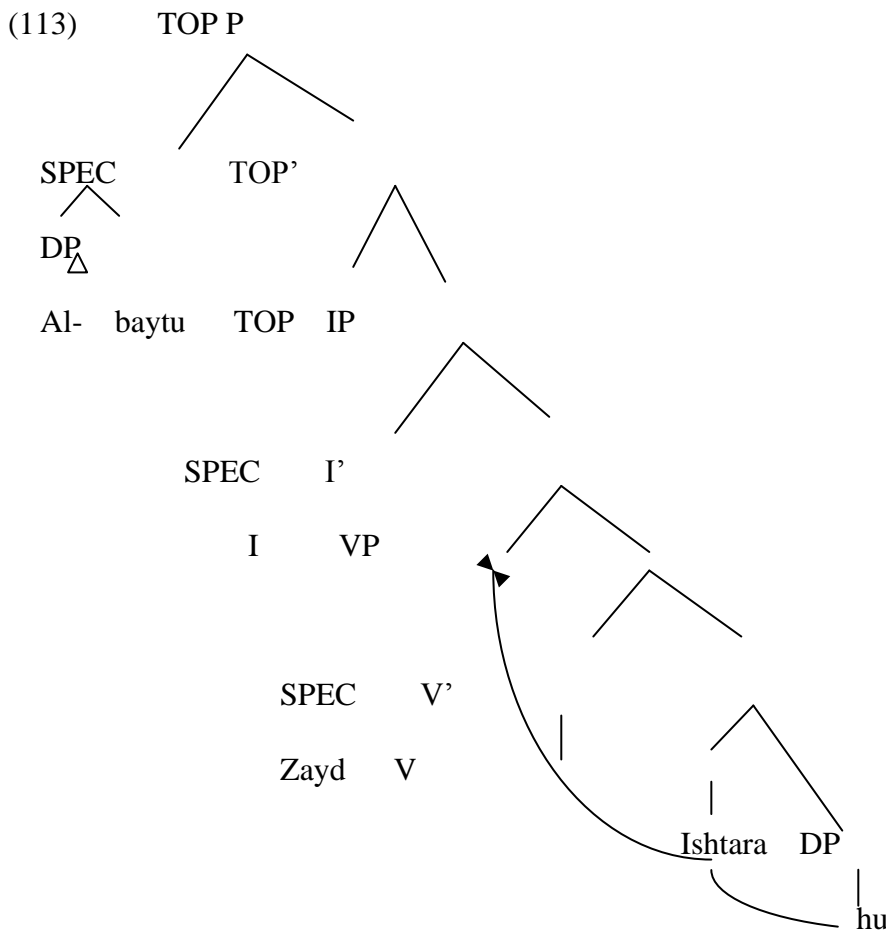
"The children, we kissed "

Given this state of affairs, I would like to offer a new LD typology, which satisfactorily accounts for the SA facts. But first, let me lay out my assumptions concerning the derivation of SA HTLD. HTLD constructions involve a base-generated dislocation at the sentence level. What does this look like structurally?

Consider the following:

- (112) Al-bayt-u ?ishtara-hu Zayd-un
 House-Nom bought3s,m,-RP Zayd,Nom
 "The house Zayd bought it"

I suggest that hanging topic in (112) is base-generated in a position in [SpecTop] projection and related to the resumptive pronoun through coreference, as in:



8. Conclusion

In this paper, I sketched out a survey of previous analyses and exposed the problem with each. The aim was to see whether SA Left –dislocation can also be characterized in terms of the movement vs. base generation-dichotomy, i.e. whether CLLD, alias HTLD, and in SA patterns with their cross-linguistic counterparts. I mainly discussed the syntactic properties of SA left-dislocation focusing on those which have been noted to be characteristic properties of cross-linguistic CLLD and HTLD. Based on Cinque’s (1990) LD classification, and Aoun&

Benmamoun's (1998) characterization of CLLD, I argued that that SA CLLD, alias HTLD, is not like Italian CLLD. An interesting comparison between SA and English left-dislocation have been presented so as to provide clues for an evaluation of the SA data. The main suggestion was that SA exhibits several striking similarities with its English counterpart.

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Glossary

1, 2, and 3 = first, second, and third person

P= person

mas = masculine

fem = feminine

sg = singular

pl = plural

Nom = nominative

Acc = accusative

Gen = genitive

Comp = complementizer

Subj = subject

Obj = object

RP= Resumptive

CLLD= Clitic left dislocation

CLD= Contrastive left dislocation

HTLD= hanging topic left dislocation

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