Peripheral fragments in discourse

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A recent approach to the syntax of dislocation constructions (Ott 2014, 2016) analyzes dislocated constituents as elliptical root clauses, juxtaposed in discourse with their non-elliptical 'host' clause:

- (1) a. [dem PETER vertraue ich] [dem vertraue ich]
 - b. [dem vertraue ich] [dem Peter vertraue ich]
 - c. [ich vertraue nur einem] [dem PETER vertraue ich]

I argue that the ellipsis approach to dislocation paves the way for a principled explanation of the interpretation of dislocated elements in discourse. Left-dislocated XPs are interpreted as contrastive topics, whereas rightdislocated constituents are either discourse-old or focal. This generalization can be explained, I argue, by explicating the relation dislocated elements, qua ellipsis fragments, bear to explicit or implicit Questions Under Discussion (QUDs), in line with some recent work on fragments (Reich 2007, Weir 2014).

In focal right-dislocation (1c), the right-peripheral fragment responds to an accommodated QUD raised by the indefinite correlate (*Who do you trust?* in (1c)). Right-dislocated discourse-old material (1b) similarly responds to an implicit clarification question, however in this case one that is considered resolved by the speaker, leading to the suppression of a focal pitch accent. Finally, left-dislocation is argued to be a means of triggering accommodation of a *subquestion* of the QUD. For instance, (1a) could be uttered in the context of the QUD *Who do you trust?*; the left-juxtaposed fragment then indicates that the host clause is going to address the subquestion *Do you trust Peter?*. The approach derives the fact that only left-peripheral fragments can be contrastive, whereas only right-peripheral fragments can be focal.

References: • Ott, D. 2014. LI 45. • Ott, D. 2016. Glossa 1. • Reich 2007. In Schwabe & Winkler, On information structure, meaning, and form. • Weir, A. 2014. Fragments and clausal ellipsis. UMass dissertation.