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ON PERIPHERAL DOUBLING IN SCANDINAVIAN

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ABSTRACT

This chapter investigates correlative elements in Scandinavian that appear in the peripheries of the clausal structure. The chapter introduces the notion of ‘right peripheral doubling’ which refers to a phenomenon characteristic of colloquial varieties of Mainland Scandinavian whereby a proform doubles a constituent within the core clause, either another pronoun or an XP. It is shown that such doubling by a proform can be distinguished from right dislocation. Yet it is argued that both right peripheral phenomena relate to the left periphery of clausal structure but that there is a trigger for movement of the core clause that shifts it around them, reversing the order and rendering the peripheral constituents to the right of the core clause. Much of the analysis is based on taking into consideration various combinations of left dislocation, right dislocation, right peripheral doubling, and clausal (peripheral) particles, pairing possible orders with prosodic characteristics.
1. INTRODUCTION

In colloquial Norwegian and Swedish, various constituents of the middle or pre-field (i.e., IP and CP) can appear with a correlate in the sentential right periphery. This rightward correlate can be either a proform or a fuller XP. In the latter case the fuller XP is always coreferential with a proform inside the clause proper, whereas proforms in the right periphery can be coreferential with both proforms and full XPs. Consider the Norwegian examples in (1).

(1) a. Jon har mye penger, han!
   Jon has a-lot-of money he

b. Han har mye penger, han!
   he has a-lot-of money he

c. Han har mye penger, han Jon!
   he has a-lot-of money that Jon

d. *Han Jon har mye penger, han Jon!
   he Jon has a-lot-of money that Jon

In the first two examples a pronoun in the right periphery doubles the subject, which is a full noun phrase in the first case and another pronoun in the second case. In the third example the situation is reversed in the sense that a full noun phrase appears in the right periphery whereas a pronoun occupies the sentence internal subject position. In the fourth example, which is ungrammatical, the (intended) coreferential phrase for the sentence final noun phrase is itself a full noun phrase.1

Askedal (1987) uses the term 'correlative right dislocation' to cover both the case where a proform appears in the right periphery and the one where an XP does. In this chapter I will argue that one should make a distinction between the two, and I will henceforth refer to the former as right peripheral doubling (RPD) and the latter as right dislocation (RD). In short, the main arguments for distinguishing RD from RPD are the following: (i) RPD can involve doubling of both a proform and a full phrase whereas RD can only double a proform (cf. above), (ii) RPD and RD can appear in one and the same sentence, but then in a fixed order (the right peripheral proform preceding the right dislocated phrase) and with clause typing particles intervening (if present), and (iii) RPD is also compatible with left dislocation (LD), but RD is not.

Whereas both RD and LD appear to be quite widespread across languages and language areas, the RPD construction appears to be a somewhat more exotic phenomenon. I will therefore next present some further details concerning

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1Notice that the instance of han right before the proper name in (1c) and (1d) is a proprial demonstrative, and thus part of the full noun phrase, rather than a pronominal copy. To my ear the presence of this proprial demonstrative on the right peripheral full noun phrase makes them sound more natural (but crucially does not save the example in (1d)).