ISSN E: 2709-8273 ISSN P:2709-8265



TOPICALIZATION OF CASE-MARKED NOMINALS: TOPICALIZATION OR LEFT DISLOCATION

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Abstract:

This paper tries to draw a line between topicalized and left dislocated constructions in Pashto. In Pashto topicalized constructions, there is a resumptive clitic pronoun in the originating place of the topicalized nominal if the topicalized nominal carries either ergative case or accusative case. This gives the impression that these constructions in Pashto are not truly topicalized; rather, they are instances of left dislocated constructions. However, through data and analysis it is established that such constructions are not left dislocated elements per say; rather, Pashto has a tri partite system vis-à-vis topicalization and left dislocation: some are topicalized, some are left dislocated, and some are topicalized with a resumptive clitic pronoun. The third type owes its origin to a larger over riding aspect of the Pashto language, namely, Pashto has syntactic split-ergativity along the dimension of tense. Thus, nominals bearing ergative and accusative cases are unable to move to A-bar position unless they are enabled to do so through the compensatory strategy of insertion of a resumptive clitic pronoun.

Key words: topicalization, left dislocation, clitics, syntactic ergativity, Pashto

Introduction

This paper is about topicalized constructions in Pashto as exemplified in (1, 2):

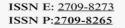
- 1. [pen, [_{CP} Peter mathawi]] ye Peter 3RP break.PRS pen 'The pen, Peter is breaking.' Lit: 'The pen, Peter is breaking (3P).' 2. [Rob, $\int_{CP} tha wail$
 - pencil ye [_{CP} che math k_o]]] Rob vou say.PST COMP pencil 3RP break do.PST 'Rob, you said, broke a pencil.'

Lit: 'Rob, you said, (he) broke a pencil.'

As per standard terminology, these constructions could be considered as instances of topicalization; however, their surface structure could give the impression that they are instances of left dislocation. The goal of this study is to establish that these left dislocated looking constructions are not left dislocations; rather, they are topicalization constructions essentially.

In the available literature on topicalization and left dislocation, it is a standard theory that a left dislocated element leaves a relevant pronoun behind in the place from where it originated while in topicalization the element topicalized does not leave a pronoun behind. In Pashto, however, there are some constructions where, if on the one hand, we have topicalized elements in the left periphery, on the other, the topicalized element often leaves a resumptive clitic pronoun behind. This, taken on the face value, would mean that these are no true topicalization constructions; rather, they are left dislocated constructions. The major goal of this paper is to disambiguate this impression.

To achieve the stated goal of the paper, different examples of topicalization and left dislocation in Pashto will be considered. Initially, an effort will be made to see whether forming both types of constructions in Pashto is possible or not. For this, this study will first consider cases of topicalization with reference to different syntactic structures and later on with reference to different tenses. This is important in the context of the fact that in Pashto in the past tense we have Erg-Abs case alignment while in the present and future tenses we have Nom-Acc case alignment. Afterwards, the same process will be repeated for left dislocation





in Pashto. This will give us a clear picture for our analysis, discussion and conclusion sections.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 1 introduces the topic. Section 2 gives a brief literature review of topicalization and left dislocation. Section 3 deals with topicalization in Pashto. Section 4 sheds light on left dislocation in Pashto. Section 5 presents the discussion and analysis. Section 6 is about the results. Section 7 concludes the paper.

Literature Review

Over the years, topicalization and left dislocation have been discussed both individually and in terms of the relation between the two. Some of the well-known accounts, which have discussed topicalization from various angles, are Bianchi & Frascarelli (2010), Cinque (1997), Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007), Georgiou (2023), Haegeman (2004), and Miyagawa (2017). Some of the well-known accounts which have discussed left dislocation are Anagnostopoulou (1997), Alexiadou (2006), Álvarez (2010), Andrason (2016), Andrason, Westbury & van der Merwe (2016), Baker (2003), Boeckx & Kleanthes (2005), De Cat (2007a, 2007b), Delais-Roussaire & Sleeman (2004), Feldhausen (2012), Lambrecht (2001), Manetta (2007), Ozerov (2024), Rodman (1997), Tizón-Couto (2012), Van Riemsdijk & Zwarts (1974/1997), Westbury (2014), Yamaizumi (2011). At the same time, Benincà & Poletto (2004), Bortolussi (2017), Bortolussi & Sznajder (2014), Greenberg (1984), Gundel (1975), Haegeman (2006a, 2006b, 2012), Hudson (2003), Moezzipour (2013), Rivero, (1980), Rizzi (1997), Yoshimoto (2023), to name a few, instead of discussing topicalization and left dislocation individually, have tried to explore the relation between the two from one angle or another.

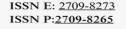
Topicalization in Pashto

Topicalization in Pashto is explored, first, in terms of different structural constructions and later on in terms of different tenses.

Topicalization in terms of different syntactic structures:

Topicalization in terms of different syntactic structures will show to us if the varied structures have any effect on topicalization or not.

3.	[[hagha _i [$_{CP}$ t _i he	<i>pen</i> pen	
	'He is breakin	1	
4.		• •	<i>t_i mathawi]]</i> (topicalization of object) break.PRS
	'Pen, he is br	eaking.'	
Unerga			
5.		•	(topicalization of subject)
	you	laugh.PRS	
	'You are laugh	ning.'	
6.	[Peter _i [$_{CP}$ t _i	khandi]	(topicalization of subject)
	Peter	laugh.PRS	
	'Peter is laugh	ing.'	
Unacci	usatives		
7.	$[z\partial_i [CP t_i p]$	revazzum]]	(topicalization of subject)
	Ι	fall.PRS	
	'I am falling.'		
8.	[Peter _i [$_{CP}$ t _i p	revazzi]]	(topicalization of subject)
	Peter	fall.PRS	
	'Peter is fallin	g.'	
Copula		-	





9.	[hagha he 'He is :		[_{CP} t _i bemar ill	<i>day]]</i> (top be.PRS	icalization of	subject)		
10	. [day	<i>Erika</i> _i	$[CP Peter t_i]$	roor	day]]	(topicalization	of	predicate
	nomina	al)						
	of	Erika	Peter	brother	be.PRS			
	'Peter	is Erika	's brother.'					
	Lit: 'Erika's, Peter is brother.'							
Topica	Topicalization in terms of different tenses							
Presen	t Tense							

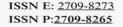
In the present tense, the subject can be topicalized from its originating position without leaving a pronoun behind. However, the topicalization of object is not possible unless a resumptive clitic pronoun is inserted in the place from where the object has been topicalized.

11. [[hagha _i]	[CP	t_i	class	safa	kawi]]		
he			class	clean	do.PRS		
'He is cleanin	ng the cl	lass.'					
12. *[[class _i	[<i>CP</i>	hagha	t_i	safa	kawi]]		
class		he		clean	do.PRS		
'Class, he is	s cleani	ng.'					
Lit: 'Class	is clean	ing him					
13. [[class	[<i>CP</i>	hagha	ye	safa	kawi]]		
class		he	3RP	clean	do.PRS		
'Class, he is cleaning.'							
Lit: 'Class, he is cleaning (him/her).'							

Future Tense

In the future tense, like the present tense, the subject can be topicalized but not the object. Topicalization of the object is only possible if a resumptive clitic pronoun is added in the place from where the object nominal is topicalized.

c object	nonnn	u is topi	cullZcu.					
$[_{CP} t_i$	ba	class	safa	kawi]]	1			
	will	class	clean	do.PR	S			
n the cla	uss.'							
[_{CP} ha	igha	ba	t_i	safa	[kawi]]	1		
he		will		clean	do.PR	S		
ll clean.	,							
[_{CP} ha	igha	ba	ye	safa	[kawi]]	1		
he	-	will	3RP	clean	do.PR	S		
'Class he will clean.'								
Lit: 'Class he will clean (3P).'								
the past	tense,	consider	the foll	lowing	example	es:		
$[_{CP} the$	a wail]		[_{CP} ch	е	t_i	class	safa	k40]]]
you	u say.P	ST		CO	M		class	clean
ST								
d, cleane	ed the c	lass.'						
	[_{CP} th	a wail]		[_{CP} ch	е	class	ye	safa
]								
you	u say.P	ST		CO	M		clean	3RP
do.PS	Т							
'He, you said, cleaned the class.'								
	$\begin{bmatrix} c_P & t_i \\ c_P & ha \\ f_{CP} & ha \\ he \\ 11 & clean. \\ f_{CP} & ha \\ he \\ 1 & clean. \\ e & will & clean \\ c_P & tha \\ good \\ che & good \\ ST \\ d, & clean \\ d, & clean \\ good \\ you \\ good \\ you \\ good $	$\begin{bmatrix} CP \ t_i & ba \\ & will \\ n \ the \ class.' \\ \begin{bmatrix} CP \ hagha \\ he \\ \end{bmatrix} \\ for a bill \ clean.' \\ \begin{bmatrix} CP \ hagha \\ he \\ \end{bmatrix} \\ for a bill \ clean.' \\ e \ will \ clean \ (3P) \\ the \ past \ tense, \\ \begin{bmatrix} CP \ tha \ wail \end{bmatrix} \\ you \ say.Pa \\ ST \\ d, \ cleaned \ the \ che \\ \end{bmatrix} \\ you \ say.Pa \\ you \ say.Pa \\ do.PST \\ \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} c_{P} t_{i} & ba & class \\ & will & class \\ n the class.' \\ \begin{bmatrix} c_{P} hagha & ba \\ he & will \\ ll clean.' \\ \begin{bmatrix} c_{P} hagha & ba \\ he & will \\ l clean.' \\ e will clean (3P).' \\ \end{bmatrix}$ the past tense, consider $\begin{bmatrix} c_{P} tha wail \\ you say.PST \\ ST \\ d, cleaned the class.' \\ \begin{bmatrix} c_{P} tha wail \\ you say.PST \\ ST \\ d, cleaned the class.' \\ \end{bmatrix}$	will class clean n the class.' $[_{CP} hagha ba t_i$ he will ll clean.' $[_{CP} hagha ba ye$ he will 3RP l clean.' e will clean (3P).' the past tense, consider the foll $[_{CP} tha wail] [_{CP} cha$ you say.PST ST d, cleaned the class.' $[_{CP} tha wail]$ you say.PST do.PST	$[c_P t_i \ ba$ $class \ safa \ kawi] j$ willclasscleann the class.' $[c_P hagha \ ba \ t_i \ safa$ hewillcleanll clean.' $[c_P hagha \ ba \ ye \ safa$ hewill3RPclean.' $[c_P hagha \ ba \ ye \ safa$ hewill3RPclean.' $[c_P thagha \ ba \ ye \ safa$ hewill3RPclean.' $[c_P thagha \ ba \ ye \ safa$ hewill $[c_P chagha \ ba \ ye \ safa$ hewill $[c_P chagha \ ba \ ye \ safa$ hewill $[c_P chagha \ ye \ safa \ ba \ ye \ safa$ hewill $[c_P chagha \ ba \ ye \ safa \ ba \ ye \ safa$ hewill $[c_P chagha \ ye \ safa \ ba \ ye \ safa \ ba \ ye \ safa \ ba \ ye \ safa \ safa \ ba \ you \ say.PST \ co \ say.PST$	$[_{CP} t_i \ ba \ class \ safa \ kawi]]$ willclass \ clean \ do.PRSn the class.' $[_{CP} hagha \ ba \ t_i \ safa \ kawi]]$ hewillclean \ do.PRll clean.' $[_{CP} hagha \ ba \ ye \ safa \ kawi]]$ hewillSRPclean \ do.PRl clean.'e will clean (3P).'the past tense, consider the following example $[_{CP} tha wail]$ $[_{CP} che \ t_i \ you \ say.PST$ COMSTd, cleaned the class.' $[_{CP} tha \ wail]$ $[_{CP} che \ lays).PST$ STd, cleaned the class.' $[_{CP} tha \ wail]$ $[_{CP} che \ lays).PST$ COMSTd, cleaned the class.' $[_{CP} tha \ wail]$ $[_{CP} che \ lays).PST$ COMSTdo.PST	$[c_P t_i \ ba \ class \ safa \ kawi]]$ will class clean do.PRSn the class.' $[c_P hagha \ ba \ t_i \ safa \ kawi]]$ hehewillcleando.PRSll clean.' $[c_P hagha \ ba \ ye \ safa \ kawi]]$ hewill 3RPclean do.PRSl clean.' e will clean (3P).'the past tense, consider the following examples: $[c_P tha wail]$ $[c_P che \ t_i \ class \ you \ say.PST$ T d, cleaned the class.' $[c_P tha wail]$ j you \ say.PSTyou \ say.PSTCOMST do.PST	$[_{CP} t_i \ ba \ class \ safa \ kawi]]$ will class clean do.PRSn the class.' $[_{CP} hagha \ ba \ t_i \ safa \ kawi]]$ hewill clean do.PRSll clean.' $[_{CP} hagha \ ba \ ye \ safa \ kawi]]$ hewill 3RP clean do.PRSl clean.' $[_{CP} hagha \ ba \ ye \ safa \ kawi]]$ hewill 3RP clean do.PRSl clean.'e will clean (3P).'the past tense, consider the following examples: $[_{CP} tha wail] \ [_{CP} che \ t_i \ class \ safa \ you \ say.PST \ COM \ cleans \ STd, cleaned the class.'[_{CP} tha wail] \ [_{CP} che \ class \ ye \] \ you \ say.PST \ COM \ clean \ do.PST \ COM \ clean \ do.PST \ clean \ do.PST \ clean \ class \ safa \ clean \ clean \ clean \ class \ ye \ gamma \$





Lit: 'He, you said, (he/she) cleaned the class.'

19. [class _i	[_{CP} haghə	t_i	safa	kJ0]]
class	he		clean	do.PST
'Class he c	cleaned '			

As can be seen from the examples above, the topicalization of subject is not possible. To make topicalization of the subject possible, a resumptive clitic pronoun is added. One thing to be noted is the fact that the object nominal moves ahead of the resumptive pronoun when resumption is resorted to. This has perhaps to do with the internal mechanism of Pashto, namely, to render a pronoun clitic, some element must be focus moved ahead of it. The topicalization of object in the past tense is possible as is shown by the last example.

Left Dislocation

For left dislocation, the same pattern is repeated as was the case with topicalization: namely, left dislocation is first considered with reference to different syntactic structures and then with reference to tenses.

Left dislocation in terms of different syntactic structures:

Left dislocation with reference to different syntactic structure will enable us to see whether the change of syntactic structure has any effect on it or not.

Transitives

20. [[Peter _i ,	[_{CP} haghə _i	pen	math k.jo.]]
Peter	he	pen	break do.PST
'Peter, he bro	oke a pen.'		
21. [[Erika _i ,	[_{CP} hagha _i	Peter tha	gori.]]
Erika	she	Peter to	see.PRS
'Erika, she is	looking at Peter.'		
22. *[[shisha _i ,	[_{CP} Erika	dagha _i	math k.įa.]]
Mirror	Erika	she(near)	break do.PST
'Mirror Erika	a she broke.'		
23. *[[shisha _i ,	[_{CP} Erika	dagha _i	mathawi.]]
Mirror	Erika	she(near)	break.PRS
	a she is breaking.'		
Unaccusatives			
24. [shisha _i ,	[_{CP} daghai	prevatha.]]	
Mirror	she(near)	fall.PST	
'Mirror, she f	fell.'		
Unergatives			
25. [Peter _i ,[_{CP} ha	0		
	(far) laugh.PRS		
'Peter he laug	ghs.'		
Copular			
	agha _i bemar day.]		
	e(far) ill be.PH	RS	
'Peter he is il			
As could be seen fi	rom the examples ab	ove. left dislo	cation is possible

As could be seen from the examples above, left dislocation is possible from the subject position but difficult from the object position.

Present Tense

In the present tense, left dislocation is possible from the subject position but not from the object position.

27. [Peter_i, [_{CP} hagha_i] wahi.]] (left dislocation of subject) ball Peter he ball hit.PRS



	'Peter	he is hitting	the ball.'		
28.	*[ball _i	[_{CP} Peter	t_i	wahi.]]	(left dislocation of object)
	Ball	Peter		hit.PRS	
	'Ball P	eter is hittin	g.'		
	Lit: 'B	all is hitting	Peter.'		
29.	[ball _i ,	[_{CP} Peter	ye_i	wahi.]]	(left dislocation of object)
	Ball	Peter	3RP	hit.PRS	
	'Ball P	eter is hittin	g (3P).'		

Interestingly, an effort to left dislocate the object results in topicalization construction. Future Tense

The same is case with the future tense. Here the left dislocation of the subject is possible but not that of the object.

30. [Peter _i ,	[_{CP} hagha _i	ba	ball	wahi.]]		
Peter	he	will	ball	hit.PRS		
'Peter he wi	ll be hitting the	ball.'				
31. *[ball _i ,	[_{CP} Peter	ba	t_i	wahi.]]		
ball	Peter	will		hit.PRS		
'Ball Peter will be hitting.'						
32. [ball _i ,	[_{CP} Peter	ba	ye_i	wahi.]]		
Ball	Peter	will	3RP	hit.PRS		
'Ball Peter v	will be hitting (3	SP).'				

As was the case with the present tense, an effort on left dislocation of the object in the future tense results in a topicalized construction.

Past Tense

33. [Peter _i ,	[_{CP} haghə _i	ball	wowahalo.]]
Peter	he	ball	hit.PRF.PST
'Peter he hit	t the ball.'		
34. [ball _i ,	[_{CP} Peter	hagha _i	wowahalo.]]
ball	Peter	he	hit.PRF.PST
'Ball Peter l	nit (3P).'		
35. *[ball _i ,	[_{CP} Peter	ye_i	wowahalo.]]
ball	Peter	3RP	hit.PRF.PST
Lit: 'Ball Pe	eter (3P) hit.'		

Interesting results emerge from the past tense left dislocation instances. Dislocation of the subject is possible in the past tense. Similarly, dislocation of the object is possible with full pronoun; however, it is not possible with a resumptive clitic pronoun.

Results and discussion

A look at the different constructions in terms of topicalization and left dislocation shows that the patterns are not uniform. When topicalizing an element, the behavior is not changed by the change in structure of a construction. As can be seen from the relevant examples, topicalization is possible in all types of grammatical structures. However, when it comes to tenses, topicalization patterns change. In the present tense, the subject can be topicalized but not the object. It is the case with the future tense as well, where the subject could be topicalized but not the object. The object can only be topicalized if a resumptive clitic pronoun is added in the place from where the topicalized element was moved. In the past tense, we have a different situation. The object can be topicalized without the addition of a resumptive clitic pronoun in the place from where the object was topicalized; however, at the same time, in the past tense, the subject cannot be topicalized. The only situation when the



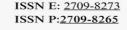
topicalization of the subject in the past tense is possible is if a resumptive clitic pronoun is inserted in the place from where the subject is topicalized.

For left dislocation, a look at the examples given above shows that in transitive constructions subjects could be left dislocated but not the objects. Any attempt at having constructions where objects are left dislocated results in ungrammaticality. Since, in the rest of the constructions, only subjects are there, hence no issue of ungrammaticality arises. For left dislocation, in terms of tenses, we have different patterns. In the present tense, the subject can be left dislocated but not the object. To make the left dislocation possible, a resumptive clitic pronoun needs to be added. Similarly, in the past tense, the subject can be left dislocated. However, the object cannot be left dislocated, even if a resumptive clitic pronoun is added. In the future tense, we have the same pattern, as was the case with the present tense. Here the subject can be left dislocated but not the object. The object can be left dislocated only if a resumptive clitic pronoun is added at the originating site of the left-dislocated element.

A look at the overall picture conveys the fact that in some cases, the subjects cannot be topicalized or left dislocated while in others the objects cannot be topicalized or left dislocated. However, in some cases, the originating place of the topicalized or left-dislocated elements have proper pronouns while in other cases the originating place of the topicalized or left-dislocated elements have clitic resumptive pronouns. This shows that, in Pashto, topicalization of the object in the present and future tenses is not left dislocation as could be assumed in the first reading of these constructions; similarly, topicalization of the subject in the past tense is not left dislocation as could be assumed in the first sight of the constructions. Rather, it is due to a larger scheme of the Pashto language.

In Pashto, there is a TAM based split-ergativity. Constructions in the present and future tenses have Nom-Acc case alignment while constructions in the past tense have Erg-Abs case alignment. Since, I have been advocating the idea that ergativity in Pashto is syntactic in nature and accusative case bearing objects in the present and future tenses and ergative case bearing subjects in the past tense cannot be moved to an A-bar position; therefore, topicalization of these nominals is ungrammatical. However, as many syntactically ergative languages across the globe resort to different compensatory strategies (antipassivization, agent focus, anti-agreement, nominalization of the vP, and resumption, to name a few) to make A-bar movement possible. It is also the case with Pashto, where to overcome the ban on A-bar movement, Pashto resorts to insertion of resumptive clitic pronouns. Thus, it could be concluded that in Pashto when A-bar movement of ergative and accusative case bearing nominals is involved we have insertion of resumptive clitic pronouns while when there is left dislocation we have insertion of proper pronouns. The following examples reproduced from the forgoing paper gives a picture of topicalization and left dislocation in Pashto:

36. [[hagha _i [_C	$c_P t_i pen$	matha	awi]] (topicalization of subject)
he	pen	break	.PRS
'He is brea	king a pen.'		
37. *[[pen _i	[_{CP} hagha	t_i	<i>mathawi]]</i> (topicalization of object)
pen	he		break.PRS
'Pen, he is	s breaking.'		
38. [[pen _i	[_{CP} hagha	ye_i	<i>mathawi]]</i> (topicalization of object)
pen	he	3RP	break.PRS
'Pen, he is	s breaking.'		
39. [Peter _i , [_{CP}	hagha _i ball	wahi.]] (left dislocation of subject)
Peter he	e ball	hit.PF	RS
'Peter he is	hitting the ball.'		
40. *[ball _i , [_{CP}	<i>Peter</i> t_i	wahi.	<pre>]] (left dislocation of object)</pre>





 D(Peter		hit.PRS	
	0			
t: 'Ball	l is hitting Pe	eter.'		
all _i , [o	_{CP} Peter	ye_i	wahi.]]	(An effort on left dislocation of object results
				topicalization of the object)
11	Peter	3RP	hit.PRS	- • • •
all Pet	er is hitting ((3P).'		
	all Pet :: 'Ball <i>all_i, [o</i>	all Peter is hitting.' : 'Ball is hitting Pe all _i , [_{CP} Peter Il Peter	all Peter is hitting.' ": 'Ball is hitting Peter.' all _i , [_{CP} Peter ye _i	all Peter is hitting.' :: 'Ball is hitting Peter.' all _i , [_{CP} Peter ye _i wahi.]] Il Peter 3RP hit.PRS

Conclusion

This paper started with an effort to disambiguate the impression that some cases of topicalization in Pashto could be possible instances of left dislocation. To achieve that end different topicalization and left dislocation constructions with reference to different syntactic structures and tenses were considered. It turned out that the topicalization instances, which could be considered as left dislocation constructions were proper topicalization structures. The confusion is attributable to the fact that Pashto being a TAM based split-ergative language resist the movement of accusative case bearing nominals and ergative case bearing nominals to A-bar positions. To compensate for the ban on A-bar movement in Pashto, it resorts to the compensatory strategy of resumptive clitic pronoun insertion. Hence, those topicalized constructions, where resumptive clitic pronouns as a compensatory strategy were inserted, looked like as if they were left-dislocated constructions.

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