

Edge Dislocation as an alternative to Local Dislocation

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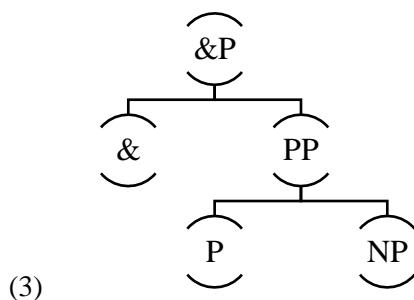
Local Dislocation is a postsyntactic operation in Distributed Morphology inverting the order of string-adjacent objects that is unusual in that it is either interspersed with Vocabulary Insertion (Embick, 2007) or follows it (Embick & Noyer, 2001). In either case, it appears to have knowledge of where the elements which are going to be edges of a phonological word are located. It is not always properly distinguished from postsyntactic head-movement (aka Raising in the sense of (Harizanov & Gribanova, 2018)) and Lowering (called together Amalgamation, see *ibidem*) but it is rather obvious that Amalgamation alone is insufficient to derive different positions of Latin *-que* ‘and’ in (1a) vs. (1b):

- (1) a. *in=re-bus=que*
 in=thing-ABL.PL=and
 ‘and in things’
- b. *contra=que leg-em*
 against=and law-ACC.SG
 ‘and against law’

The “original” position of *que* must have been before the preposition, as of its synonym *et* in (2):

- (2) a. *et=in=re-bus*
 and=in=thing-ABL.PL
 ‘and in things’
- b. *et=contra leg-em*
 and=against law-ACC.SG
 ‘and against law’

If we live in a world of ConjP (exemplified in (Kayne, 1994); but see (Lyskawa, 2021), chapter 3, for a prolonged discussion of alternatives – most of which, however, make Amalgamation an even worse fit because they involve adjunction, which is normally not a context for Amalgamation), all the four examples above are sent to spell-out with a structure akin to (3) – with internal structure of NP, obviously, simplified into non-existence.



Amalgamation could derive the sequence of heads that would get linearized as P & N (as in (1b)) or as N P & – or not apply at all, deriving the & P N order found in (2). Crucially, however, as both are strictly local and their effect of linearization is constant (thus deriving Mirror Principle of (Baker, 1985)), P N & cannot be derived in that way, thus making (1a) impossible, contrary to fact.

Thus, the operation responsible for that is distinct from the Amalgamation operation above. Similarly, there must be an operation that derives the nonstandard “number after case” order in some Indo-European declensions, exemplified by case forms of $\theta\eta\rho$ *t^he:r* ‘beast’ Ancient Greek in (4):

- (4) a. *t^he:r-a* b. *t^he:r-es* c. *t^he:r-a-s* d. **t^he:r-(e)s-a*
 beast-ACC beast-PL beast-ACC-PL beast-PL-ACC

(4c) must be derived from (4d), which is the expected form by Mirror Principle, and by the same principle it cannot be work of Raising and Lowering. It is economical to assume the same operation is at work.

A third case of the orderings traditionally ascribed to Local Dislocation is clitic clusters, whose internal order does not seem to follow from any syntactic principles and may differ between languages.

Crucially, however, this operation appears to mostly apply at the edges (cf. Consistency in (Embick, 2007, p. 317)) – or, to be more precise, apply in such a way that a morpheme is sent to an edge of the phonological word. Then the operation (or, rather, a specific language-particular rule that belongs to the type of this operation and is ordered with respect to other objects of the same type) can be redefined as follows:

<X,D>, where D is either L or R and X is a description of a morpheme; in this case each X fitting the description (picked left-to-right if there are several) must move leftwards (if D=L) or rightwards (if D=R) until there's a # or = (word boundary and clitic boundary segments, cf. (Chomsky & Halle, 1968); alternatively, some M-word-based definition from (Embick, 2007) may be used, although most of the original arguments against boundary segments are inapplicable, see, e. g., (Scheer, 2008)) to the right of it. = necessarily moves together with the clitic; it is less obvious for #.

To further restrict it, it might be necessary to require that X always contains an = or a # in itself – in other words, that it is either a clitic or a word-marginal element. Whether this is indeed a separate restriction or it follows from something (again, see Embick's Consistency, which seems to derive this) is a question left for further research, but if it is true, it may be an argument for locating it after Vocabulary Insertion, as Embick and Noyer (2001) originally suggested.

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