

CHAPTER 3

THE SYNTAX OF LEFT DISLOCATION

1 Overview of Left Dislocation in Czech

Through a study of left dislocation constructions in Czech I hope to deepen our understanding of the left periphery. These constructions have not been discussed in the Czech literature or in any other Slavic language, to my knowledge. Given the diversity and complexity of these constructions in Czech, left dislocation in Slavic merits further research.

There are three types of left dislocation constructions in Czech: Contrastive Left Dislocation (CLD) and two varieties of Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD I, II) (see also Grohmann 2003 for German). In all three constructions, a constituent on the left periphery is separated from the main clause by an intonational break, and a coreferent resumptive pronoun is found within the main clause.

CLD and HTLD I share certain characteristics. The coreferent resumptive element (usually a demonstrative) appears obligatorily at the left edge of the clause and binds a clause internal gap. Example (1) is ambiguous between the two constructions. The left dislocated DP, *Petr*, appears on the left periphery and is

resumed by a demonstrative pronoun at the left edge of the main clause. Both the left dislocated element and the resumptive pronoun are underlined.¹

- (1) Petr, ten si koupil chleba v krámě.
Petr.NOM that.NOM REFL.CL bought bread in store
'Petr, he bought bread at the store.'

Note that the left dislocated element does not participate in the calculation for second-position clitics; the clitic in (1), *si* (REFL-CL), follows the demonstrative and not the left dislocated element. In some sense, left dislocated elements are extra-clausal.

HTLD II differs from the other left dislocation constructions in that the coreferent resumptive element is not a strong demonstrative pronoun, but a clitic pronoun in the second position, (2). This construction is less common than the other two left dislocations, CLD and HTLD I. Generally, people accept constructions like (2), but judgments tend to be less clear.

- (2) Tu kočku, dala jsem jí sousedovi. *HTLD II*
that cat.ACC gave AUX.ISG.CL her.ACC.CL neighbor.DAT
'That cat, I gave it to my neighbor.'

In other respects, HTLD II behaves like CLD and HTLD I. There is an extra-clausal XP separated by an intonational break from the main clause, and the left dislocate antecedes a clause-internal pronominal element.

CLD and HTLD I, II constructions also differ in several important ways. We first consider CLD constructions. A distinguishing characteristic of CLD is that it exhibits obligatory case matching between the left dislocate and the left edge

¹ Both personal and demonstrative pronouns are accepted as resumptives in HTLD I, but in CLD, demonstratives are strongly preferred by all speakers consulted.

resumptive demonstrative. In (3), both the resumptive pronoun and the left dislocated element are in the accusative, the expected case of the clause-internal gap.

- (3) Ostatně toho draka, toho by si mohl tak *CLD*
besides that dragon.ACC that.ACC COND.3SG.CL REFL.CL can so
 jedině namalovat...
only draw.INF
 ‘Besides, that dragon, he would only be able to draw him...’
 (Czech National Corpus)

In HTLD I constructions, however, case matching is absent. Left dislocated elements appear in the default case/citation form, nominative, (4).

- (4) Anička? Té se nic nestalo.² *HTLD I*
Anička.NOM that.DAT REFL.CL nothing NEG-happened
 ‘Anička? Nothing happened to her.’ (Czech National Corpus)

The left dislocated constituent in (4), *Anička*, does not appear in the case of the resumptive demonstrative, which is in the case associated with the clause-internal gap, the dative.

In HTLD II case matching between the left dislocate and the resumptive clitic is optional. In (5a) the left dislocate is in the nominative case, the resumptive in the accusative.

- (5) a. Ta dívka, znám ji ze školy. *HTLD II*
that girl.NOM know her.ACC.CL from school
 ‘That girl, I know her from school.’

In (5b) both the hanging topic and the resumptive clitic are in the accusative case.³

² In this example, the left dislocated element is followed by a question mark in the punctuation and is associated with a question intonation pattern when spoken. This intonation pattern is possible with both CLD’ed and HTLD’ed elements.

- b. Tu dívku, znám ji ze školy. *HTLD II*
that girl.ACC know her.ACC.CL from school
'That girl, I know her from school.'

Additional differences between these three constructions are found in the intonational break which separates the left dislocate from the main clause; speakers report that the intonational break between the left dislocated element and the main clause is longer in HTLD I, II than in CLD.

Since case matching alone does not distinguish these three constructions, additional syntactic diagnostics must be explored. In sections, §4 and §5, evidence from reconstruction is presented. CLD constructions exhibit reconstruction effects (such as reconstruction for Conditions A and C), but HTLD I, II do not. Drawing on these facts, I suggest that CLD constructions are generated through movement, while HTLD I, II are not.

2 Grohmann 2003 and left dislocation in German

Grohmann 2003 follows a long tradition of research on left dislocation in Germanic languages (for Dutch, see van Riemsdijk and Zwarts 1974/1997, Vat 1981/1997; for German, see Altmann 1981, Scherpenisse 1986, among many others). Grohmann builds on this previous work and succeeds in describing the full range of left

³ In Grohmann's 2003 description of left dislocation in German, he suggests that HTLD I and II both exhibit optional case matching. Since HTLD I with case matching and CLD are indistinguishable in the surface syntax, he uses intonation to tease apart these two constructions. German CLD does not have an obligatory intonational break between the left dislocate and the main clause, but HTLD I, II do. Since both CLD and HTLD I exhibit intonational breaks in Czech, I feel that this is an unreliable means of distinguishing these two constructions. I assume, for the purposes of this dissertation, that HTLD I lacks case matching.

dislocation constructions found in German and characterizing them according to criteria which include: connectivity effects, size of the intonational break and the type/position of resumptive element. I follow his typology of left dislocation constructions in my description of Czech and conclude that the system of Czech left dislocation is very similar to that of German

Grohmann reports that German, like Czech, exhibits three types of left dislocation constructions: CLD and HTLD I, II. In all three types there is a left-edge constituent which is coreferential with a clause-internal resumptive element. German CLD and HTLD I are similar in that the resumptive element is found at the left edge of the clause; they differ in that CLD, but not HTLD I, requires case matching between the resumptive and the left dislocate. Also, in CLD, the resumptive is obligatorily a demonstrative pronoun, while the resumptive in HTLD I can be either a demonstrative or a personal pronoun.

- (6) a. Diesen Mann, den habe ich noch nie gesehen. CLD
this.ACC man that.ACC have I yet never seen
 ‘This man, I’ve never seen him before.’
- b. Diese-r/-n Mann, den/ihn habe ich noch nie gesehen. HTLD I
this.NOM/ACC man that.ACC/him.ACC have I yet never seen
 ‘This man, I’ve never seen him before.’

HTLD II is similar to HTLD I in that case matching is not required. It differs, though, in that the resumptive element appears not at the left edge of the clause, but in the middlefield.

- c. Diese-r/-n Mann, ich habe den/ihn noch nie gesehen. *HTLD II*
this.NOM/ACC mann I have that.ACC/him.ACC yet never seen
'This man, I've never seen him before.'
(Grohmann 2003: (25a-c))

German HTLD II differs from the parallel construction in Czech in that the resumptive element is a full pronoun, rather than a clitic.

These constructions have been considered recently in Frey 2004a, b; Shaer and Frey 2004; and Frey 2005. Frey 2005 adds to Grohmann's discussion by suggesting that there is a common interpretation associated with the two positions in which the resumptive can appear, that of topic. The clause-initial position (in which the left-edge resumptive is found) is a structurally prominent position in German which can be filled by topical elements. According to Frey 2004a, the middlefield position (where the resumptive is found in HTLD II) is also a structural position associated with topical elements.

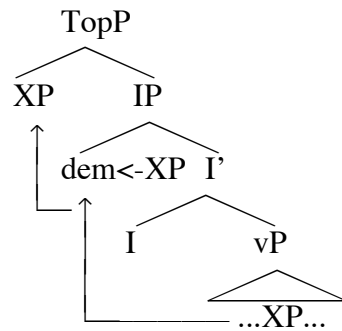
Building on previous work in Cinque 1977 and Vat 1981/1997, Grohmann 2003 revitalizes a movement analysis of left dislocation to account for the connectivity effects which hold between the left dislocate and the clause-internal gap in CLD. Grohmann 2003 suggests that CLD constructions are generated by movement of the left dislocate from a clause-internal position to a position at the left edge of the clause. Under Grohmann's analysis, the demonstrative resumptive is a spelled out trace of movement (see chapter 5 for a thorough discussion of resumption).

Like Grohmann 2003, I argue that Czech CLD constructions, but not HTLD I, II, are formed through movement of the left dislocate from its base position to a position at the left edge. In support of a movement analysis of CLD, Grohmann presents evidence suggesting that the left dislocate and the clause-internal gap are syntactically connected. However, if this construction is, indeed, derived through movement of the left dislocate from a clause-internal position, through a functional specifier, to a position on the left periphery, there should also be evidence of a syntactic connection between the resumptive and the left dislocate. Grammatical gender matching effects in Czech provide new evidence of such a connection, §6.

3 Syntactic Approach to Left Dislocation in Czech

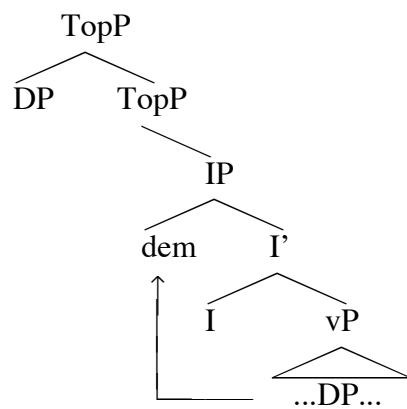
Evidence from reconstruction, to be presented in sections 4 and 5, suggests that CLD, but not HTLD I, II, is derived by movement. To account for this, I propose first that CLD involves movement of the left dislocated element from its base position within the clause through [Spec, IP] and to the specifier position of a functional projection in the C-domain, TopP. The resumptive pronoun is a Spelled Out copy of the left dislocated element, (7).

(7) **CLD**

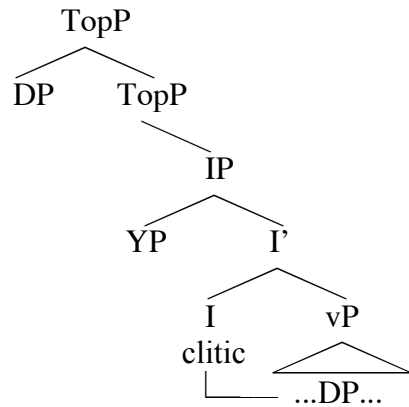


HTLD I, II constructions have a different derivation. Since reconstruction effects are absent in both constructions, I suggest that hanging topics are not generated by movement but are base generated in a position adjoined to the Top projection and related to the resumptive pronoun through coreference. This resumptive is either a demonstrative which has topicalized to [Spec, IP], (8a), or a second position clitic, (8b).

(8) a. **HTLD I**



b. **HTLD II**



In (8a-b) the hanging topics appear in a higher position than do CLD'ed elements.

The fact that HTLD'ed elements can precede CLD'ed suggests that this is the correct analysis; co-occurrence data are presented in §9.

A syntactic analysis of CLD constructions is presented in chapter 5, and that of HTLD is discussed in §9. Here I provide evidence from reconstruction that CLD exhibits connectivity effects, while HTLD I, II do not.

4 Evidence for a movement account of CLD

There is a tight syntactic connection between the CLD'ed element and the clause-internal gap. In addition to case matching between the CLD'ed element and the resumptive pronoun, left dislocated elements in these constructions reconstruct to clause-internal positions. In this section, evidence for reconstruction is provided from Conditions A and C, and from quantifier binding. It is important to note that Czech lacks logophoric pronouns entirely. Both pronominal and possessive reflexives must

be c-commanded by their antecedent at some point in the derivation, see (45) in chapter 2 (see also Sturgeon 2003 for additional evidence).

4.1 Conditions A and C

Reflexive pronouns can be dislocated in CLD constructions. This suggests that these elements undergo reconstruction to a clause-internal position. In chapter 2, I showed that Czech possessive and non-possessive reflexives obey Condition A; a version of the binding conditions is provided in (9-10), repeated from (41-43) in chapter 2.

(9) a. *Binding Domain:*

A binding domain for α is the most deeply embedded Complete Functional Complex (CFC) containing α in which the basic binding requirements for α can be met.

b. *Complete Functional Complex:*

An XP in which all the θ -roles compatible with a lexical head are assigned in A-positions.

(10) *Condition A:*

For α , an anaphor, its basic binding requirements can be met in principle in a category C iff there is an assignment of indices to DP's within C (perhaps different from the actual assignment of indices within C) according to which α is A-bound.

Possessive reflexives can be left dislocated in CLD constructions; this suggests that reconstruction to a clause-internal position for interpretation of the possessive reflexive is possible, (11). Accusative case matching between the left dislocated element and the reflexive pronoun provides evidence that this is an example of CLD.

- (11) Svého₁ nejlepšího přítele, toho má Honza₁ rád. CLD
self's best friend.ACC that.ACC has Honza joy
 'His₁ best friend, Honza₁ likes him.'

If reconstruction did not occur in (11), the reflexive possessive would not be c-commanded by its antecedent at any level of the derivation and (11) would be expected to be ungrammatical.

The same pattern is found with non-possessive reflexive pronouns. Again, a c-commanding antecedent is required. The reflexive pronoun embedded in the picture NP in (12) is ungrammatical because it lacks a c-commanding antecedent (see also Sturgeon 2003).

- (12) Honza₁ rád čte. *Knížky o sobě₁ ho velmi zajímají.
Honza joy reading books about self him.ACC.CL very-much interest
 ‘Honza₁ likes to read. Books about himself₁ interest him very much.’

Non-possessive reflexive pronouns also grammatically occur in CLD constructions, (13). In order to be c-commanded by its antecedent, *Honza*, the nominal containing the reflexive pronoun must originate in a clause-internal position. Note, again, that there is case matching between the left dislocated element (*book*) and the resumptive pronoun.

- (13) Jenom knížku o sobě₁, tu má Honza₁ rád. *CLD*
only book.ACC about self, that.ACC has Honza joy
 ‘Only the book about himself₁, that Honza₁ likes.’

Given that Czech lacks logophoric uses of reflexive pronouns, reflexive pronouns in Czech must be c-commanded by their antecedent at some level of the derivation.

Reconstruction to a clause-internal position accounts for the grammaticality of the left dislocated reflexives in (11) and (13).

R-expressions in Czech respect Condition C; the example in (14) is ungrammatical if the two R-expressions co-refer.

- (14) Honza₁ podal Honzovi_{2/*1} pivo.
Honza passed Honza.DAT beer.
 ‘Honza₁ passed Honza_{2/*1} a beer.’

CLD’ed elements are also subject to Condition C. Reconstruction of the left dislocated element in (15) triggers a violation of Condition C if the null subject and *Martin* co-refer because the null subject pronoun c-commands the base position of the left dislocated element.

- (15) Faktu, že Martin₁ je chudý, tomu nepřikládá_{2/*1} velký význam. *CLD*
fact.DAT that Martin is poor that.DAT NEG-attach big meaning
 ‘The fact that Martin₁ is poor, he_{2/*1} doesn’t attach much importance to it.’

The sentence in (15) is grammatical, however, if the R-expression, *Martin*, and the subject of the matrix verb do not corefer. Again, Condition C provides evidence for reconstruction of the CLD’ed element to a clause internal position.

4.2 Quantifier binding

A pronoun interpreted as a bound variable must be c-commanded by the quantifier that binds it, as was shown in chapter 2.⁴ Bound pronominals can occur in CLD constructions, (16). Note accusative case matching between the CLD’ed element and the resumptive pronoun.

- (16) Svého₁ nejlepšího přítele, toho má každý₁ rád. *CLD*
self’s best friend.ACC, that.ACC has every joy
 ‘One’s₁ own best friend, everyone₁ loves them.’

⁴ Bound pronominals are homophonous with reflexive pronouns when they appear in the same clause as their antecedent.

The grammaticality of (16) suggests that the bound pronominal was c-commanded by its antecedent at some level of the derivation. Reconstruction of the left dislocated element would account for the grammaticality of this example.

Reconstruction for quantifier binding is also possible in contexts of negation,

(17). *No one* grammatically binds the pronominal within the left dislocated DP.

(17) Svého₁ psa, toho nikdo₁ nemá rád. CLD
self's dog.ACC that.ACC no-one NEG-has joy
'One's₁ own dog, no one₁ likes it.'

As in the previous examples, the grammaticality of (17) is expected if the CLD'ed element reconstructs to clause-internal position.

That CLD'ed constituents are evaluated in their base position for purposes of reflexive and quantifier binding follows from a movement analysis of CLD constructions.

5 Evidence for Non-movement Analyses of HTLD I, II

Neither HTLD construction, on the other hand, exhibits reconstruction effects: it is not possible to left dislocate reflexive or bound pronouns in either. This suggests that hanging topics are base generated in a clause-peripheral position and related to their resumptive element through a process akin to cross-sentential pronominalization.

The appearance of optional case matching between the resumptive element and the hanging topic in HTLD II, then, is not related to a movement derivation; there is no obligatory correlation between case matching and movement in left dislocation.

This raises the question of the mechanism by which case is transmitted between a resumptive element and its antecedent; I return to this issue in §9.

5.1 Reconstruction and HTLD I

Reflexive pronouns cannot be left dislocated in HTLD I; the possessive reflexive in (18) is ungrammatical. This ungrammaticality is expected if hanging topics are not generated by movement, but are base generated at the left edge. In that case, the reflexive is not c-commanded by its antecedent at any stage in the derivation. Note, also, the lack of case matching; the hanging topic is in the nominative case and the resumptive pronoun is in the accusative.

- (18) *Svoje₁ sestřenice Anička, tu má Honza₁ rád. *HTLD I*
self's cousin Anička.NOM that.ACC have Honza joy
 Intended: ‘His₁ cousin Anička, Honza₁ likes her.’

The same results hold for non-possessive reflexives, (19). Again, there is no case matching between the hanging topic and the resumptive pronoun.

- (19) *Knížka o sobě₁, tu má Honza₁ rád. *HTLD I*
book.NOM about self, that.ACC has Honza happy
 Intended: ‘The book about himself₁, Honza₁ likes it.’

Reconstruction to satisfy Condition A is not possible in HTLD I constructions.

HTLD’ed elements do not reconstruct to their base position for evaluation of Condition C either, (20). It is possible for an R-expression (*Honzův* (‘Honza’s’)) contained within a left dislocate to be related to a coreferential pronoun which would have c-commanded it had it reconstructed to the base position of the resumptive.

- (20) Honzů_{v1} kůň, toho má₁ velmi rád. *HTLD I*
Honza's horse.NOM that.ACC has much joy
 'Honza's₁ horse, he₁ loves it very much.'

These facts suggest that HTLD I is not generated through movement from a clause-internal position.

The same results are found with quantifier binding: a bound pronoun cannot be contained within a hanging topic. The example in (21) is HTLD I as evidenced by the lack of case matching between the left dislocated element (nominative) and the resumptive pronoun (accusative) and the appearance of the strong pronominal at the left edge of the main clause.

- (21) *Svůj₁ nejlepší přítel, toho má každý₁ rád. *HTLD I*
self's best friend.NOM, that.ACC has every(one) joy
 Intended: 'Self's₁ own best friend, everyone₁ loves him.'

Reconstruction judgments in HTLD I and CLD were extremely robust across consultants. All speakers consulted agreed that reflexive elements were possible in the left dislocate in CLD, but not HTLD I, constructions. The fact that these judgments were so robust, given the usual variability involved in judgments on reflexive pronouns, provides strong support for the analysis.

5.2 Reconstruction and HTLD II

Judgments for HTLD II are more difficult to obtain because these constructions tend to be a bit degraded when compared with CLD and HTLD I. The fact remains, though, that HTLD II patterns with HTLD I with respect to reconstruction effects. Bound pronominals contained within left dislocates are strictly ungrammatical in

HTLD II. Consider the ungrammatical (22a-b). The left dislocated element is in the nominative case in (22a); case matching between that element and the resumptive clitic is absent.

- (22) a. *Svoje₁ dcera, každá₁ matka jí dala do školy nové šaty.
self's daughter.NOM every mother her.DAT.CL gave to school new clothes
 'Her₁ daughter, every₁ mother gave her new clothes for school.' HTLD II

In (22b) the left dislocate and the pronominal match in dative case; the result is ungrammatical as well.

- b. *Svojí₁ dceři, každá₁ matka jí dala do školy nové šaty.
self's daughter.DAT every mother her.DAT.CL gave to school new clothes
 'Her₁ daughter, every₁ mother gave her new clothes for school.' HTLD II

When reflexive binding is considered, however, the facts are not quite as clear.

Reconstruction for the evaluation of Condition A is not possible when case matching between the left dislocate and the resumptive clitic is absent, (23a).

- (23) a. *Ta svoje₁ holka, maminka₁ jí dala sušenky.
that self's daughter.NOM mother her.DAT.CL gave cookies
 'Her₁ daughter, mom₁ gave her cookies.' HTLD II

In contexts of case matching, however, the example is degraded, rather than strictly ungrammatical, (23b).⁵

- b. ?Té svojí₁ holce, maminka₁ jí dala sušenky.
that self's daughter.DAT mother her.DAT.CL gave cookies
 'Her₁ daughter, mom₁ gave her cookies.' HTLD II

HTLD II lacks reconstruction for the evaluation of Condition C in contexts with case matching as well as those without, (24a-b). Coreference between the

⁵ Since all other tests point to a lack of reconstruction in 'case matching' HTLD II, I leave this inconsistency as an outstanding issue for future research and assume that neither HTLD II construction undergoes reconstruction.

possessive within the left dislocate and the pronominal subject is grammatical in both examples.

(24) a. 'Janina₁ fenka, má₁ ji moc ráda. *HTLD II*
Jana's dog.NOM have her.ACC.CL much joy
'Jana's₁ dog, she₁ loves it very much.'

b. Janinu₁ fenku, má₁ ji moc ráda. *HTLD II*
Jana's dog.ACC have her.ACC.CL much joy
'Jana's₁ dog, she₁ loves it very much

With the possible exception of (23b), HTLD II patterns with HTLD I in that there is no evidence that the left dislocate has a syntactic connection with the clause-internal gap. Hanging topics appear to be base generated at the left edge of the clause and associated with the clause-internal resumptive through coreference.

5.3 Conclusion

The data presented in this section and the previous one suggest that a tight syntactic connection exists between the left dislocated element and the clause internal gap in CLD constructions. The same is not true of HTLD I and II. In those constructions there is no evidence of reconstruction of the hanging topic to a clause-internal position, with the exception of (23b), and, thus, no connection between hanging topics and the clause-internal gap. I suggest that these differences stem from their distinct syntactic derivations. CLD constructions involve movement of the left dislocated element from a clause-internal position to the left edge; hanging topics are base generated on the left periphery of their clause.

6 Gender and Resumption

In the previous sections I showed that there is a syntactic connection between the left dislocated element and the clause-internal gap in CLD; HTLD I, II both lack such a connection. If the left dislocated element in a CLD construction moves from its base position through [Spec, IP] to [Spec, TopP], we would expect evidence of a tight syntactic connection not only between the CLD'ed element and the clause-internal gap, but also between the CLD'ed element and the resumptive pronoun in [Spec, IP]. These effects should be absent in HTLD constructions; the relationship between the hanging topic and the left edge resumptive is one of coreference, similar to that found in cross-sentential pronominalization.

Evidence of a syntactic connection between a left dislocate and its corresponding resumptive can be found by considering the pronominalization behavior of a certain class of nouns: nouns which exhibit a grammatical/natural gender mismatch. Nouns of this type occur cross-linguistically and are often unique in their behavior as antecedents; in some languages, including Czech, they can antecede a pronoun which matches either the grammatical gender of the antecedent DP or the natural gender of its discourse referent. *Děvče* ('girl.NEUT') is a noun of this type in Czech.⁶ Its grammatical gender is neuter, but it refers to discourse

⁶ Other such nouns in Czech include slang terms for teenaged girls: *pulec* ('tadpole.MASC'), *žabec* ('young frog.MASC'). Both of these terms are grammatically masculine, but have discourse referents which are feminine. I use *děvče* ('girl.NEUT') instead of these other terms since this word is a part of standard Czech and not a slang term.

referents whose natural gender is female.⁷ We know that this noun is grammatically neuter because the gender of its modifiers is neuter: *to chytré děvče* ('that.NEUT clever.NEUT girl.NEUT'). However, cross-sententially, pronominals referring to this discourse referent can be either feminine or neuter, (25).

- (25) Představila jsem ho tomu děvčeti a ta/to
introduced AUX.ISG.CL him.ACC.CL that girl.DAT.NEUT and that.FEM/that.NEUT
 mu stiskla/o ruku.
him pressed.FEM/NEUT hand
 'I introduced him to that girl and she shook his hand.'

We first consider the predictions for HTLD constructions with respect to this class of nouns. If the left dislocate in HTLD I, II were base generated at the left edge and related to the resumptive through a process of pronominalization, we expect that both the feminine and neuter pronouns would be possible under coreference with the DP *to děvče* ('that girl.NEUT'). This is, indeed, what is found. Consider (26a). The demonstrative resumptive can be either feminine or neuter.

- (26) a. To děvče, toho/tu jsem představila Janě.
that girl.NEUT.NOM that.NEUT.ACC/that.FEM.ACC AUX.ISG.CL introduced Jana
 'That girl, I introduced her to Jana.'
HTLD I

The HTLD II example in (26b-c) illustrates the same pattern. Resumption of the left dislocate can match the grammatical gender of the DP or the natural gender of its discourse referent. (26b) illustrates an example without case matching between the left dislocate and the resumptive and (26c) an example with case matching.

⁷ Laura Janda (p.c.) suggests that there is no mismatch in this case because *děvče* ('girl') refers to sexually immature members of the female gender whose natural gender is, in fact, neuter. Whatever the analysis of the gender mismatch, the fact remains that pronominals referring to the discourse referent of *děvče* can be either feminine or neuter.

- b. To děvče, představila jsem ho/ji Janě.
that girl.NEUT.NOM introduced AUX.1SG.CL it.NEUT.ACC/her.FEM.ACC Jana.DAT
 'That girl, I introduced her to Jana.'
 HTLD II
- c. Tomu děvčeti, představila jsem mu/jí Janu.
that girl.NEUT.DAT introduced AUX.1SG.CL it.NEUT.DAT/that.FEM.DAT Jana.ACC
 'That girl, I introduced Jana to her.'
 HTLD II

The results found in (26) are compatible with the analysis for HTLD I, II assumed thus far. Resumption in these constructions parallels cross-sentential pronominalization because HTLD'ed elements are base generated in their surface position and in a co-referential relationship with the clause-internal pronominal element.

Given the analysis outlined above, CLD constructions are predicted to differ. The left dislocated XP moves from its base position within the clause, through [Spec, IP], to a left peripheral position; I assume that the resumptive element is a spelled out copy of the left dislocate. If the resumptive element in [Spec, IP] is a syntactic copy of the left dislocate, the gender of the resumptive element should obligatorily match the grammatical gender of the left dislocate, not the natural gender of its discourse referent. This is what is found, (27). The only possible gender of the resumptive is a neuter; the feminine form is ungrammatical for all speakers consulted. Case matching between the left dislocated XP and the left-edge resumptive element indicates that this is, indeed, a CLD construction.⁸

⁸ Researchers have suggested that a factor conditioning the choice between the genders on the pronoun in cases like those described above is recency of mention. If the antecedent has been mentioned recently, grammatical gender is more likely to override the natural gender of the discourse referent in pronoun choice. However, if the antecedent is farther away, the natural gender has a bigger impact on

- (27) Tomu děvčeti, tomu/*té jsem dala jedničku.
that girl.NEUT.DAT that.NEUT.DAT/that.FEM.DAT AUX.ISG.CL gave one
 'That girl, I gave her an A.'
CLD

The data presented in this section provides support for the proposed syntactic connection between the left dislocate, the resumptive pronoun and the clause-internal gap in CLD constructions which has not yet been discussed in the literature.

Reconstruction effects suggest that the CLD'ed element is interpreted in its base position for binding, and obligatory grammatical gender matching suggests a syntactic connection between the resumptive and the left dislocate. These effects are absent in HTLD I, II. There is no evidence from reconstruction of a syntactic connection between the hanging topic and the clause-internal gap and no evidence from gender matching of a connection between the hanging topic and its coreferent resumptive.

7 Phrasal Categories

Another difference between CLD and HTLD I constructions is the inventory of phrasal categories that appear in dislocation constructions.⁹ Czech patterns with German LD in that any category can figure in CLD, but only DP's can appear in HTLD constructions (see Grohmann 2003). Grohmann uses the larger intonational

pronoun choice. I have found this to be true in Czech in field work on cross-sentential pronominalization. However, the fact that the resumptive and its antecedent are equi-distant in HTLD I and CLD suggests that what we are seeing in (27) is not simply a recency effect.

⁹ We know that HTLD II is limited to nominals because clitic pronouns are restricted to DP's; there are no clitic pronouns which refer to, for example, locative or temporal XP's.

break associated with HTLD to show that only DP's can dislocate in HTLD constructions. I employ connectivity tests which are more reliable for Czech.

When considering phrasal categories other than DP's, HTLD and CLD constructions are, on the surface, indistinguishable because case matching is not a relevant diagnostic. We must turn to connectivity effects. Consider the left dislocated prepositional phrase in (28). It is grammatical to embed a reflexive within a dislocated PP; this suggests a CLD derivation. In order for the reflexive to be grammatical, Condition A must be evaluated at the base position of the PP; at that point in the derivation the reflexive is c-commanded by its antecedent.

- (28) [Se svým₁ bratrem]₃, s tím pojede Honza₁ t₃ na výlet.
with self's brother.INSTR with that.INSTR will-go Honza on trip
 'His₁ brother, Honza₁ is going to go on a trip with him.'

The example in (28) suggests only that a CLD derivation is available; HTLD is not ruled out.

When an R-expression is left dislocated, Condition C is violated if a pronoun c-commands the base position of the left dislocate. If an HTLD derivation, as well as a CLD derivation, were available, the expectation would be that (29) would be judged grammatical under both coindexations since a derivation would exist under which reconstruction did not occur.

- (29) [S Honzovým₁ psem]₃, s tím pojede_{2/*1} t₃ na výlet.
with Honza's dog.INSTR with that.INSTR will-go on trip
 'Honza's₁ dog, he_{2/*1} will go on a trip with it.'

The ungrammaticality of a coindexation under which the R-expression embedded within the left dislocate (*Honzovým* ('Honza's.INSTR')) corefers with the subject of

the matrix verb suggests that an HTLD derivation of (29) is unavailable. Given the above examples, I assume that PP's can left dislocate in CLD, but not in HTLD I constructions.

Other categories can dislocate in CLD as well. As expected, the resumptive element matches the left dislocate in category. Consider the left dislocated CP in (30).

- (30) [Abych Honzovi₁ uvařila vepřové maso]₃, to po mě chce_{2/*1} t₃.
C.COND.ISG Honza.DAT cooked pork meat that.NEUT from me wants
 'For me to cook Honza₁ pork, he_{2/*1} wants that from me.'

Reconstruction for the evaluation of Condition A is not a relevant diagnostic when considering fronted finite clauses because reflexive pronouns are clause-bounded (see Sturgeon 2003). However, Condition C is evaluated after reconstruction as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of coreference between the matrix subject and the embedded object, *Honza*. Regardless of the position of the null-pronominal within the matrix clause ([Spec, vP] or [Spec, IP]), it c-commands the embedded object and induces a violation of Condition C. Since (30) is ungrammatical under the indicated co-reference, the matrix subject must c-command the embedded clause at some point in the derivation.

Strong evidence supporting a movement approach to left dislocated CP's (i.e. that they occur in CLD, but not HTLD) is presented in (31-32). In (31), a dislocated CP appears at the left edge of the clause.

- (31) Jestli se máš dobře, to bych se zajímala.
if REFL-CL have.2SG well it.NEUT COND.ISG.CL REFL-CL wonder
 'Whether or not you are doing well, I wonder about that.'

There are two possible derivations for (31). One in which the CP was base-generated at the left edge (HTLD) and one in which it moved there from a clause-internal position. If it were base generated at the left, the sentence in (32), in which the verb, *zajímat se* ('wonder.INF'), takes a DP complement, should be grammatical. However, this is not what is found. This verb, like the English equivalent, takes only a CP or PP complement; a DP complement is ungrammatical, (32).

- (32) *Zajímám se to.
wonder.1SG REFL-CL it.CL
 Lit: 'I wonder it.'

Given that the matrix verb in (31) requires a CP (or PP) complement, (31) must have a CLD derivation. If the CP dislocate moves from a base-position within the matrix VP, the subcategorization requirements of *zajímat se* ('wonder.INF') must be satisfied before movement. However, if the CP is base generated at the left edge, the pronominal resumptive, *to* (it.NEUT) would not be able to satisfy the subcategorization requirements of the matrix verb. Given that Condition C appears to be evaluated after reconstruction in (30) and that the subcategorization requirements of *zajímat se* ('wonder.INF') can only be satisfied under a movement analysis, I conclude that CP's can be left dislocates only in CLD constructions.

Manner adverbials can also appear at the left edge in CLD constructions, see

- (33). The corresponding demonstrative pronoun for manner adverbials is *tak* ('thus').

- (33) Potichu, tak zavřel dveře.
quietly thus closed doors
 'Quietly, I closed the door like that.'

Reconstruction, however, is not a possible test for this type of left dislocate as their attachment point is too high in the clause-internal syntax to contain a reflexive pronoun. A reflexive possessive is not possible in (34), though the potential antecedent linearly precedes the reflexive pronoun.

- (34) Honza₁ vešel do pokoji hlučně jako jeho₁/*svoje₁ kočka.
Honza entered to room loudly like his self's cat
'Honza entered the room loudly like his cat.'

Though it is not possible to provide evidence from reconstruction that manner adverbials appear in CLD and not HTLD constructions, given the fact that there is evidence for other categories (such as CP's and PP's), I will assume that manner adverbials are only possible in CLD constructions.

The evidence provided in this section that any category can dislocate in CLD constructions parallels the behavior of other A-bar movement operations, such as wh-movement. Additional evidence is provided in the following section that CLD, as well as the movement operation associated with the resumptive in HTLD, involves A-bar movement.

8 Evidence for A-bar Movement of Resumptive Pronouns

The previous sections have detailed a range of differences between CLD constructions on the one hand and HTLD I, II on the other. Movement vs. non-movement derivations were posited to explain these differences. If the difference between these two types of constructions is indeed one of movement vs. non-

movement, we would expect that the behavior of these constructions would also differ with respect to islands. The expectation would be that the movement construction, CLD, would exhibit island sensitivity, while the non-movement HTLD I, II would not. This prediction, however, is only partially borne out in the data. It is true that CLD'ed constituents cannot be related to a gap within an island, but this restriction also holds for HTLD I. The reason for this apparent inconsistency is that, in both CLD and HTLD I, the resumptive pronoun moves from its base position to a position at the left edge of the main clause. In other words, regardless of whether the left dislocate moves to its surface position or is base generated there, there is movement of the resumptive. Therefore, island effects emerge in both constructions. HTLD II constructions differ, however. Since the resumptive pronoun remains in the clause within which it was generated as a clitic and does not move to the left periphery, island effects should be absent. This is what is found.

Before demonstrating these effects, however, I establish that long distance dependencies are, in fact, possible in CLD and HTLD I, II constructions.

8.1 Long distance dependencies

That contrastive topicalization constructions (i.e. movement to [Spec, IP] without resumption) involve A-bar movement was established in chapter 2. This construction exhibits long distance dependencies and island sensitivity, and constituents of any category can front. In this and the following section, I show that fronting of the demonstrative resumptive in HTLD I and CLD involves a parallel movement.

We first consider long distance dependencies. The left dislocate can be associated with a gap in an embedded finite or non-finite clause in both CLD and HTLD I.¹⁰ Consider (35a-c). Case matching between the left dislocate and the left edge resumptive indicate that these are instances of CLD. The examples provided below illustrate finite, subjunctive and non-finite embedded clauses respectively.

- (35) a. Chemii, tu_i Honza potvrdil, že jeho dcera bude studovat t_i.
chemistry.ACC that.ACC Honza confirmed C his daughter will study.INF
 ‘Chemistry, Honza confirmed that his daughter is going to study it.’ CLD
- b. Tu zkoušku, tu_i chci aby Petr udělal t_i. CLD
that exam.ACC that.ACC want C.COND.3SG Petr passed
 ‘That exam, I hope Petr passes it.’
- c. Písničku od Beatles, tu jsem Petra slyšela zpívat t_i. CLD
song.ACC from Beatles that.ACC AUX.1SG Petr.ACC heard sing.INF
 ‘The Beatles song, I heard Petr sing one.’

Long distance dependencies are also grammatical in HTLD I, (36a-c). The accusative resumptive pronoun has moved out of an indicative embedded clause in (36a). Note the lack of case matching between the left dislocated element and the resumptive pronoun.

¹⁰ Unlike wh-movement, which is fully grammatical out of all embedded indicative and subjunctive clauses, extraction out of an embedded indicative clause in CLD and HTLD tends to be slightly degraded. This is also found with long distance dependencies in contrastive topicalization (see chapter 2). I do not have an explanation of this.

Petr Sgall (p.c.) has suggested that HTLD may be more felicitous from a finite indicative clause than CLD. Sgall commented that the prototypical case would be HTLD I as in (i), but (ii) (CLD) is also possible.

- (i) Zdeňk, toho_i myslím, že Marie pozvala t_i na tu pártu. HTLD I
Zdeňk.NOM that.ACC think C Marie invited on that party
 ‘Zdeňk, I think Marie invited him to the party.’
- (ii) Zdeňka, toho_i myslím, že Marie pozvala t_i na tu pártu. CLD
Zdeňk.ACC that.ACC think C Marie invited on that party

This observation also provides additional support for the movement/non-movement distinction between CLD and HTLD. Coreference is more likely to be available across a distance than is movement.

(36) a. A ten druhej? No, toho₁ myslím, že nemůžu zapomenout t₁. *HTLD I*
and that second.NOM well that.ACC think C NEG-can forget.INF
 ‘And the second? Well, I think I can’t forget him.’

(36b-c) illustrate long distance dependencies in subjunctive and non-finite clauses.

b. A ten druhej? No, toho₁ chci abych mohla zapomenout t₁. *HTLD I*
and that second.NOM well that.ACC want C.COND.ISG could forget.INF
 ‘And the second? Well, I wish I could forget him.’

c. Ta peněženka, tu₁ jsem viděla Honzu ukrást t₁. *HTLD I*
that wallet.NOM that.ACC AUX.ISG.CL saw Honza.ACC steal.INF
 ‘That wallet, I saw Honza steal it.’

Like other A-bar movements in Czech, the resumptive in left dislocation can be associated with a gap in an embedded clause.

Though there is no movement out of the embedded clause, antecedence over a distance is also grammatical in HTLD II constructions. The examples in (37a-c) illustrate both case matching and non-case matching HTLD II in the three types of embedded clauses considered above: finite, subjunctive and non-finite.

(37) a. Honza/Honzovi, doufám, že Martina mu pozve na ten večírek.
Honza.NOM/DAT hope C Martina him.DAT.CL invites on that party
 ‘Honza, I hope Martina invites him to the party.’ *HTLD II*

b. Honza/Honzovi, chci abys mu představila Janu.
Honza.NOM/DAT want C.COND.2SG him.DAT.CL introduced Jana.ACC
 ‘Honza, I want you to introduce Jana to him.’ *HTLD II*

c. Ta holka/Tu holku, viděla jsem maminku dovést ji do školy.
that girl.NOM/ACC saw AUX.ISG.CL mom bring her.ACC.CL to school
 ‘That girl, I saw her mother bring her to school.’ *HTLD II*

Now that it has been established that all three left dislocation constructions allow long distance dependencies, we turn to island sensitivity.

8.2 Island sensitivity

Both the movement left dislocation construction, CLD, and the non-movement HTLD I exhibit island effects due to movement of the resumptive element to the left edge.

Though long distance dependencies are allowed in CLD constructions, the gap cannot be separated from the dislocate by an island boundary. The example in (38a) illustrates this with respect to a wh-island.

- (38) a. *Petrovi, tomu₂ by mě zajímalo koho₁ Marie představila t₁ t₂.
Petr.DAT that.DAT C.COND.3SG me interested who.ACC Marie introduced
Intended: ‘Petr, I wonder who Marie introduced to him.’ CLD

(38b) involves a Complex NP Island; the gap in a CLD construction cannot be found within a relative clause.

- b. *Zdeňka, toho₁ Hana viděla chlapa, který zná t₁. CLD
Zdeněk.ACC that.ACC Hana saw guy REL knows
Intended: ‘Zdeněk, Hana saw a guy who knows him.’

HTLD I parallels CLD with respect to island sensitivity. Consider (39a-b). The gap associated with the hanging topic cannot be within a wh-island, (39a), or a relative clause, (39b).

- (39) a. *Petr, tomu₂ by mě zajímalo koho₁ Marie představila t₁ t₂.
Petr.NOM that.DAT C.COND.3SG me interested who.ACC Marie introduced
Intended: ‘Petr, I wonder who Marie introduced to him.’ HTLD I

- b. *Zdeněk, toho₁ Hana viděla chlapa, který zná t₁. HTLD I
Zdeněk.NOM that.ACC Hana saw guy REL knows
Intended: ‘Zdeněk, Hana saw a guy who knows him.’

HTLD II is a good testing ground for the non-movement nature of HTLD.

Since there is no movement of the resumptive out of its clause, island effects should not appear. As expected, HTLD II differs from both CLD and HTLD I in that a

resumptive element can be separated from its antecedent by an island boundary.

Consider (40a-b); the hanging topic is associated with a resumptive element within an Complex NP island. In both (40) and (41), an example of HTLD II without case matching between the left dislocate and the resumptive precedes HTLD II with case matching.

- (40) a. Honza, viděla jsem chlapa, který ho zná. HTLD II
Honza.NOM saw AUX.ISG guy REL him.ACC.CL knows
'Honza₁, I saw a guy who knows him₁.'
- b. Honzu, viděla jsem chlapa, který ho zná. HTLD II
Honza.ACC saw AUX.ISG guy REL him.ACC.CL knows
'Honza₁, I saw a guy who knows him₁.'

Similar effects are found with wh-islands, (41a-b).

- (41) a. Honza, Anička se ptala kamarádky, co mu dala
Honza.NOM Anička REFL.CL asked friend what him.DAT.CL gave
k vánocům.
towards Christmas HTLD II
'Honza, Anička asked her friend what she gave him for Christmas.'
- b. Honzovi, Anička se ptala kamarádku, co mu dala
Honza.DAT Anička REFL.CL asked friend.ACC what him.DAT.CL gave
k vánocům.
towards Christmas HTLD II
'Honza, Anička asked her friend what she gave him for Christmas.'

Lack of island effects in HTLD II constructions provides further evidence that, in this construction, there is no movement of the left dislocate from a clause-internal position to a position at the left edge. Island effects are not a diagnostic of movement of the left dislocate in CLD and HTLD I, however, due to movement of the resumptive demonstrative to the left edge of the main clause.

Evidence from island sensitivity and long distance dependencies suggest that movement of the resumptive element in CLD and HTLD I is an instance of A-bar movement. A base generated DP is coreferent with this resumptive element in HTLD I. In CLD, however, there is an additional movement; from its position at the left edge, the resumptive raises to [Spec, TopP]. The fact that any element can CLD is consistent with the assumption that movement in this construction is an instance of A-bar movement.

9 Syntactic Positions of CLD and HTLD I, II

Up to this point I have assumed that CLD'ed elements are in the specifier position of a functional projection above CP, TopP, while hanging topics adjoin to that projection. To probe the relative syntactic positions of CLD'ed and HTLD'ed elements, I consider cases in which the two co-occur.

9.1 *The left periphery*

We can determine immediately that CLD and HTLD I cannot co-occur. This is because both involve a resumptive in [Spec, IP], and that position can only hold a single element, (42a). The same holds for multiple HTLD I's, (42b).¹¹

¹¹ If both left dislocates exhibit case matching, their appearance at the left edge is marginally possible, (i). To account for the syntactic positions of multiple resumptive elements, we must assume that the second resumptive hangs not in the IP domain, but is adjoined to vP. That the second demonstrative follows the second position clitic supports this contention.

(42) a. *Honza knihu, tu tomu chci koupit. HTLD I, CLD
Honza.NOM book.ACC that.ACC that.DAT want buy.INF
 Intended: ‘Honza, a book, I want to buy him one.’

b. *Honza kniha, tu tomu chci koupit. HTLD I, HTLD I
Honza.NOM book.NOM that.ACC that.DAT want buy.INF
 Intended: ‘Honza, a book, I want to buy him one.’

It is more telling to consider co-occurrence patterns with HTLD II, since the complicating effect of multiple resumptives in [Spec, IP] is absent. If hanging topics adjoin to the functional projection that hosts CLD’ed XP’s, HTLD II should obligatorily precede CLD. This is what is found. I restrict my attention to HTLD II with case matching because this variety of HTLD II is preferred by my consultants. Consider (43a).

(43) a. Honzu₂ Janě₁, tě₁ ho₂ představila. HTLD II, CLD
Honza.ACC Jana.DAT that.DAT him.ACC.CL introduced
 Lit: ‘Honza Jana, she introduced him to her.’

The hanging topic obligatorily precedes the CLD’ed XP. The alternate order of the left dislocates, CLD preceding HTLD II, is ungrammatical, see (43b).

b. *Janě₁ Honzu₂, tě₁ ho₂ představila. CLD, HTLD II
Jana.DAT Honza.ACC that.DAT him.ACC.CL introduced
 Lit: ‘Jana Honza, she introduced him to her.’

Additionally, multiple hanging topics are predicted to be grammatical since, in principle, any number of adjoined elements are allowed. I limit myself to two

(i) ?Honzovi knihu, tu jsem tomu chtěla koupit.
Honza.DAT book.ACC that.ACC AUX.ISG.CL that.DAT wanted buy.INF
 Lit: ‘Honza, the book, I wanted to buy him one.’

I leave the analysis of this example as an issue for future research.

adjoined DP's since there are pragmatic restrictions on the number of hanging topics that speakers will accept. In (44) multiple HTLD II's appear at the left edge.

- (44) Honzovi knížku, chci mu ji dát zítra večer.
Honza.DAT book.ACC want him.DAT.CL it.ACC.CL give.INF tomorrow night
 'Honza the book, I want to give it to him tomorrow night.'

HTLD I and HTLD II are also predicted to co-occur. Since case matching in left dislocation is preferred by speakers and because there are pragmatic restrictions on multiple dislocates, I have not been able to generate a construction with this pattern that my consultants will accept. I attribute this gap to the combined effects of these two degrading factors.

We have established that hanging topics are positioned higher in the syntax than are CLD'ed XP's and are found in an adjoined position. The next question to consider is the location of these positions relative to other elements which occur in the C-domain. In the previous chapter, we established that wh-elements which co-occur with contrastive topics appear in [Spec, CP]. Can left dislocated elements precede wh-phrases in [Spec, CP]? The answer is yes. A common way to form wh-questions in Slavic languages, and Czech in particular, is for an LD'ed element to precede the clause. Consider (45a). A CLD'ed element precedes a wh-expression which is positioned in [Spec, CP].

- (45) a. Tu knížku, komu tu jsi dala? *CLD*
that book.ACC who.DAT that.ACC AUX.2SG.CL gave
 'That book, who did you give it to?'

In (45b), a left dislocate precedes a wh-question in an HTLD II construction. In this case the wh-expression is in [Spec, IP].

- b. Toho psa/ Ten pes, komu jsi ho dala? *HTLD II*
that dog.ACC/that dog.NOM who.DAT AUX.2SG.CL it.ACC.CL gave
 ‘That dog, who did you give it to?’

HTLD I cannot occur with wh-questions, however. This is because the resumptive pronoun in [Spec, IP] in these constructions is interpreted obligatorily as a contrastive topic; this interpretation is indicated by an intonational rise. The resumptive element in HTLD I is incompatible with this discourse function, and, as a result, HTLD I cannot occur with wh-questions. This discursal incompatibility is discussed in detail in chapter 4. HTLD II is grammatical, though, because the resumptive element, a clitic, does not appear in [Spec, IP].

The proposed syntactic structures for HTLD I, II and CLD in (7-8) make the correct predictions. HTLD I, II obligatorily precede CLD and multiple hanging topics are allowed at the left periphery. The fact that hanging topics are base generated in a position adjoined to TopP while CLD’ed elements move into the specifier of this projection accounts for these facts. Further evidence for these structural positions is found when embedded clauses are considered.

9.2 *Embedded contexts*

CLD’ed elements, but not hanging topics can appear at the embedded clause boundary of complements to bridge verbs. Consider (46). The CLD’ed *Pan Kopyto* immediately follows that complementizer in the embedded clause.

- (46) Pana Nováka oni neznají, ale babička řekla, že Pana Kopyto,
Mr. Novak.ACC they NEG-know but grandma said c Mr. Kopyto.ACC
toho znají. CLD
that.ACC know
 ‘Mr. Novak they don’t know, but grandma said, Pan Kopyto, they know him.

The same is not true for HTLD I, II. These elements cannot be found at this embedded clause boundary, (47a-b).

- (47) a. *Honza mě řekl, že škodovka, tu si Marie koupila.
Honza me.DAT told c škoda.NOM that.ACC REFL-CL Marie bought
 Intended: ‘Honza told me that the Škoda Marie bought it.’ HTLD I
- b. *Honza mě řekl, že škodovka, Marie si ji koupila.
Honza me.DAT told c škoda.NOM Marie REFL-CL it.ACC.CL bought
 Intended: ‘Honza told me that the Škoda Marie bought it.’ HTLD II

This is what is expected if these elements are adjoined to, rather than in the specifier of, TopP. Chomsky 1986 argues that it is not possible to adjoin to lexically selected projections (see also McCloskey 2005). If we assume the that TopP is part of an expanded C-domain which includes the Top projection as well as CP, these projections together form the C-domain complex which is selected by the governing bridge verb in (47a-b). Adjunction to an embedded TopP, then, is predicted to be ungrammatical. CLD’ed elements, however, can appear in embedded positions because they appear in a specifier, rather than an adjoined, position.

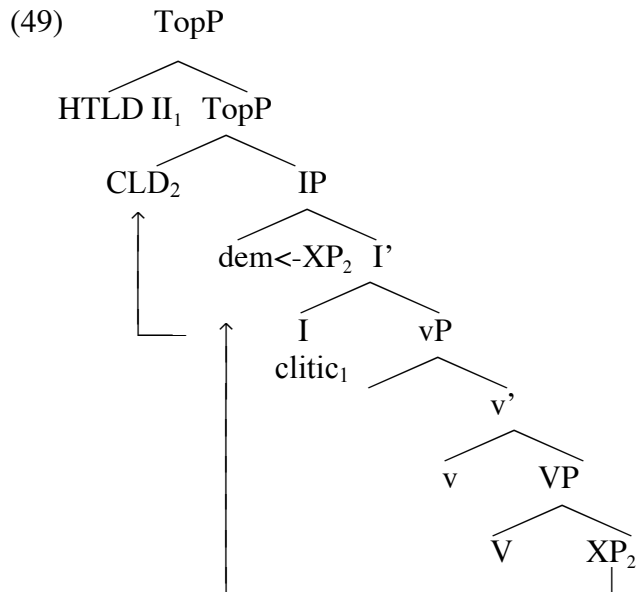
Though hanging topics cannot appear at this clause boundary, they can be associated with a gap within an embedded clause. It is grammatical for a hanging topic at the left edge of the clause to be coreferent with an resumptive element in an embedded position. (48a) is an example of HTLD and (48b) HTLD II.

- (48) a. Škodovka, Honza mě řekl, že tu si Marie koupila.

Škoda.NOM Honza me.DAT told C that.ACC REFL-CL Marie bought
 ‘The Škoda, Honza told me that Marie bought it.’ HTLD I

b. *Škodovka, Honza mě řekl, že si ji Marie koupila.*
Škoda.NOM Honza me.DAT told C REFL-CL it.ACC.CL Marie bought
 ‘The Škoda, Honza told me that Marie bought it.’ HTLD II

The patterns presented above are consistent with a structure in which CLD’ed elements occupy [Spec, TopP] and HTLD I, II are adjoined to that projection. A schematic tree is provided in (49).



In chapter 5 a more detailed syntactic account of movement in CLD constructions is presented.

9.3 The syntax of HTLD

The analysis of HTLD constructions is straightforward. The hanging topic is base generated in an adjoined position dominating the main clause. There is an additional requirement that the clause to which the hanging topic is adjoined contain a coreferential element.¹² In the examples provided in this chapter we have seen that this coreferential element can be a left edge demonstrative (or, for some speakers, a pronominal) or a clitic resumptive element. A coreferential epithet, positioned at the left edge, is also allowed, see (50).

- (50) Honza, toho pitomce nikdy nechci vidět.
Honza.NOM that.ACC idiot.ACC never NEG-want see.INF
'Honza, I never want to see that idiot.'

Given that there is a requirement that a coreferential element appear within the clause to which the hanging topic is adjoined, I assume that hanging topics must enter into a binding relation with this clause-internal element. This binding relation provides a mechanism for characterizing the optional case-matching that is found in HTLD II; apparently, morphological case can be optionally transmitted through this relation between the hanging topic and the pronoun it binds. Crucially, while this binding

¹² Note that Czech also has the type of left dislocation van Riemsdijk 1997 terms 'Loose Aboutness' Left dislocation. In these LD constructions, there is no coreferential resumptive element within the clause, but, rather an 'aboutness' relationship holds between the left dislocate and the main clause. An example is given in (i).

- (i) Pokud jde o ryby, mám ráda smaženého kapra.
as-far-as goes about fish have joy fried carp
'As far as fish go, I like fried carp.'

These constructions often begin with the phrase *pokud jde o* (lit: 'as far as goes about') and only require that the left dislocate is semantically related to the following clause; a coreferential resumptive element is not required. Usually this semantic relationship is one of proper inclusion between the sets denoted by the two related elements (i.e. fish~carp). I assume that (i) instantiates a different type of left dislocation construction in which the left dislocate is base generated in a functional projection above TopP and do not consider it here.

relation provides a mechanism for case agreement, it does not provide a mechanism for reconstruction. This will follow from the analysis to be developed more fully in chapter 5, where reconstruction is a consequence of the copy theory of movement. Since HTLD involves no movement, it can involve no reconstruction.

There is one remaining issue. In HTLD I constructions, the resumptive obligatorily appears at the left edge of the main clause. I suggest that this does not reflect a syntactic requirement, but a pragmatic one related to the discourse function that HTLD I instantiates: topic promotion (see chapter 4). In the preceding chapter, I posited that elements in [Spec, IP], if not associated with a CT or a focus interpretation, were construed as topical. If HTLD I promotes the discourse referent of the HTLD'ed DP to topic status, then the next occurrence of a DP referring to that discourse referent is expected to be in a position associated with the topic discourse function. As noted in §2, German places the same requirement on resumptive pronouns: they must appear either in a left edge topic position or in a topic position within the middlefield. Frey 2004b, 2005 also suggests a discourse function of HTLD in German that is compatible with that of Czech, topic promotion. Presumably, the position of the resumptive in German is also linked to this discourse function.

10 Conclusion

Three left dislocation constructions were considered in this chapter: CLD, HTLD I, II. CLD, but not HTLD I or II, exhibits connectivity effects between the clause-internal gap and the left dislocated element. This suggests that CLD'ed XP's move from a clause-internal position to a position at the left edge. That this movement involves an intermediate position, [Spec, IP], in which a spelled out copy of the moved XP appears as a resumptive demonstrative, is supported by grammatical gender matching facts; in CLD, the resumptive element must match in grammatical gender with the left dislocate even when the natural and grammatical genders conflict. This requirement does not hold of HTLD I, II, where the resumptive mirrors cross-sentential pronominalization in that the resumptive can match the left dislocate in either natural or grammatical gender. These contrasts follow from a movement account of CLD and a base-generation account of HTLD I, II. In HTLD I, II, the left dislocate is base-generated in an adjoined position on the left periphery. It then enters into a binding relationship with a clause-internal resumptive element. Through this relation, case can be optionally transmitted from the resumptive to the left dislocate in HTLD II.

In the following chapters I focus primarily on CLD and link the pragmatics of this construction to its syntax. Chapter 4 develops a pragmatic analysis of CLD as contrastive topic, and supports it with corpus data from Czech. In chapter 5, I focus on the syntactic analysis of CLD, and link the appearance of the resumptive which

occurs at its left edge to the way that the discourse function of CLD is syntactically instantiated.