

CHAPTER 4

THE DISCOURSE FUNCTIONS OF LEFT DISLOCATION

1 Introduction

In addition to being different syntactically, the three left dislocation constructions in Czech, CLD, HTLD I and II, differ pragmatically. In this chapter, I provide a formal framework within which to understand their discourse functions. The chapter focuses on CLD and HTLD I, but the distribution of HTLD II constructions suggests that their discourse function mirrors that of HTLD I.

Many discursual analyses of English left dislocation constructions (LD) have been proposed and most suggest a topic/comment structure (see Gundel 1972, 1985; Halliday 1967, Reinhart 1981, among many others). Chafe 1975 and Geluykens 1992, on the other hand, suggest that left dislocation constructions mark contrast. Prince 1997, in an influential in-depth corpus study, argues against researchers who suggest that left dislocation constructions in English are ‘topic-marking’. She argues, instead, that English left dislocation has three functions: simplifying the discourse by left dislocating a discourse new entity which would otherwise occur in the subject

position, resumptive pronoun LD's which rescue potential island violations and 'poset' LD's.

Prince's characterization of 'poset' LD's has been the most influential and has laid the framework for a new understanding of the pragmatics of left dislocation structures. According to Prince, the discourse referent of the left dislocate in poset LD is related to the previous context through membership in a cognitively salient set. Gregory and Michaelis 2001, through a careful corpus study of spontaneous spoken examples from the Switchboard corpus, consider Prince's characterization of left dislocation in English and argue that, though there are some differences between the three sub-cases, there is one over-arching discourse function: topic promotion.

Unlike English, Czech has three distinct LD constructions, CLD and HTLD I, II, which contrast syntactically in that the preposed element in CLD constructions moves to its surface position while hanging topics are base generated at the left edge. These syntactic differences correlate with discursal differences. Through textual analysis of the distribution of two of these constructions, CLD and HTLD I, I show that HTLD constructions exhibit the discourse function normally associated with LD constructions in English, that of topic promotion (see also Gregory and Michaelis 2001). CLD constructions, on the other hand, pattern with contrastive topic constructions in English such as topicalization (Prince 1981) and the B-accent (Jackendoff 1972). Researchers such as Frey 2005 and Grohmann 2003 also suggest that the discourse function of CLD in German is contrastive, though a thorough analysis of the discourse function of this construction has not yet been undertaken.

I start with CLD and the argument that it expresses the contrastive topic discourse function. In this, I build on earlier work on contrastive topic, especially Prince 1981 and Büring 2003 in English, and Hajičová and Sgall 2004 on Czech. Büring's 2003 formal pragmatic analysis serves as the basis for my discussion of CLD constructions in Czech.

The discourse function of HTLD constructions contrasts sharply with that of CLD. The referents of HTLD'ed XP's do not contrast with other entities in the discourse. Instead, HTLD constructions promote entities to topic status. Despite the distinct discourse functions of these two constructions, there is a common thread. Though in neither construction is the discourse referent the topic of the preceding discourse, in both constructions the discourse referent of the left dislocate has been either previously mentioned or is a member of a salient set in the discourse which has been previously mentioned.

To illustrate the discourse function of these two constructions, spontaneous textual examples have been identified from the Czech National Corpus and through Google searches. These examples have been supplemented with field research.

2 Contrastive Topic

Two influential strands of research on contrastive topic marking have developed separately. Formal semanticists have focused primarily on the contrastive topic interpretation associated with certain intonational patterns (the fall-rise intonational

contour, the hat or bridge accent, the B-accent) (Jackendoff 1972; Roberts 1996, 1998; Krifka 1999; Steedman 2000; Büring 1997, 1999, 2003; among others). The functional literature has focused primarily on certain preposing constructions, including English topicalization, which has been argued to have a contrastive topic marking function (Chafe 1975; Prince 1981, 1997; Ward 1988; Lambrecht 1994; Birner and Ward 1998; among others). One goal of this work is to bring together these distinct strands of research which make compatible claims about contrastive topics.

The B-accent in English is a fall-rise intonational contour which Jackendoff 1972 argues contrasts with the A-accent, a focus-marker. One requirement on the use of the contrastive topic-marking B-accent is that the sentence also contain a focus-marked element. In (1) the subject argument is marked as a contrastive topic while the direct object is focused.

- (1) a. What about Fred? What did he eat? Fred_B ate the beans_A.
b. What about Susan? What did she eat? Susan_B ate the eggplant_A.
(adapted from Jackendoff 1972: 261)

The speaker is pairing eaters with what was eaten. First, Fred is considered with respect to a food item; then the speaker moves on to consider another person, Susan. The situation is described 'eater-by-eater'. This example is typical of constructions containing contrastive topic marking. Two (or more) elements intonationally marked with the B-accent are considered with respect to the same open proposition, in this case: *a ate x*, a=contrastive topic.

Certain preposing constructions in English have the same discourse function. Prince 1981 considers topicalization, as in (2). Again, the speaker is considering an event involving food, this time from the perspective of food items. In this case the speaker considers food items and pairs them with people. Contrastively topicalized elements are subscripted as CT and focused ones as F.

- (2) a. What about the beans? Who brought them? The beans_{CT} Mary_F brought.
b. What about the eggplant? Who brought it? The eggplant_{CT} Susan_F brought.

Again, contrastive topics co-occur with focused elements. Contrastive topics are preposed and focused elements are marked with an intonational rise.

Other languages also have contrastive topicalization constructions in which the contrastive topic appears at the left edge of the clause. Szabolcsi 1981, Kiss 1987 and Molnár 1998 propose that elements in the initial position in Hungarian can be interpreted as contrastive topics. The same is shown for Finnish and Catalán in Vallduví and Vilkuna 1998. Hajičová and Sgall 2004 argue that the initial position in Czech, though part of the topic portion of the sentence, can also be interpreted contrastively and is accompanied by an optional intonational contour similar to the B-accent.

In the remainder of this section I consider analyses of contrastive topic in greater detail. First, the Prince 1981, 1997 approach to topicalization in English is outlined; her use of cognitively salient sets in analyzing English topicalization has been influential. My analysis of Czech CLD as a contrastive topic marking constructions builds on the analysis of another contrastive topic marking construction

in Czech, contrastive topicalization. The discourse function of this construction is discussed in depth in Hajičová et al. 2003 and Hajičová and Sgall 2004. I then turn to the Büring 2003 formal analysis of the B-accent (what he calls ‘contrastive topic marking’) which builds on the analysis of A- and B-accents in Roberts 1996 and is reminiscent of the approach to contrastive topic taken in Krifka 1999. Once these analyses are in place I use the analysis developed in Büring 2003 to show that the CLD construction in Czech marks the left dislocated element as a contrastive topic.

2.1 Prince 1981, 1997

A strength of the Prince 1981, 1997 study of English topicalization is her use of spontaneous textual examples. Such examples force the researcher to consider questions that might not otherwise arise if only constructed examples were used. Common to both the formal semantics and the functional proposals is the requirement that contrastive topic marking co-occur with focus marking. An important theoretical contribution of this analysis is that the discourse referent of a topicalized element must be a member of a cognitively salient set which has been previously evoked in the discourse.¹ This relationship between the contrastive topic and the preceding discourse is an important one and has not, to my knowledge, been incorporated into formal pragmatic accounts of this construction.

¹ Prince 1981, 1997 characterize this set relationship as a ‘partially-ordered set’ (poset). Other researchers have characterized this set relationship as that of a ‘cognitively salient set’ (Hajičová and Sgall 2004, Frey 2005). I assume this characterization of the relevant set relationship and do not consider the question of whether ‘poset’ is the correct formalization.

Consider the example in (3) as illustration. There are three groups of mice in the discourse context; each group is considered in turn with respect to the same open proposition concerning what it will be fed in a feeding experiment.

- (3) a. She has an idea for a project. She's going to use three groups of mice.
 b. One_{CT} she'll feed mouse chow_F, just the regular stuff they make for mice.
 c. Another_{CT} she'll feed veggies_F.
 d. And the third_{CT} she'll feed junk food_F. (Prince 1997: (14))

The relevant open proposition is shown in (4) for (3b).

- (4) a. *Open proposition:* She'll feed one (\in {the three groups of mice}) X.
 b. *Instantiation:* X = mouse chow (Prince 1997: (13))

The topicalized elements *one*, *another* and *the third* denote groups (i.e. subsets) of mice. These groups of mice are members of the previously introduced set, *three groups of mice*. Each sentence contains a focused element which corresponds to the different foods each group will be fed: *mouse chow*, *veggies* and *junk food*. Each alternative group of mice is paired with a distinct focus value (food item).

Another example is considered in (5); focus falls on a degree phrase in this example.

- (5) a. "My father loves crispy rice," says Samboon, "so we must have it on the menu."
 b. And Mee Grob_{CT} he loves just as much_F." Mee Grob (\$4.95) is a rice noodle... (Prince 1997: (18a))

- (6) a. *Open proposition:* He loves Mee Grob (\in {Thai dishes}) to-X-degree.
 b. *Instantiation:* X=just as much (Prince 1997: (19))

The relevant set in this example is inferred from the context, the set of Thai dishes, which includes crispy rice and Mee Grob. The open proposition contains a variable over degrees whose value in the topicalized example is denoted by *just as much*. In

this case the focus value does not change between alternative members of the set; the speaker indicates that his father loves both dishes equally.

The two requirements of topicalization structures that Prince 1981, 1997 identifies are exhibited in both (3) and (5). The discourse referent of the topicalized element must be a member of a previously evoked or inferred cognitively salient set and the sentence must contain a focused element. The focused element often differs across topicalized alternatives, (3), but that is not a requirement of the construction, see (5).

2.2 *Hajičová and Sgall 2004*

An important precursor to my analysis of CLD as a contrastive topic marking construction is Hajičová and Sgall's 2004 approach to Czech contrastive topicalization. Contrastive topicalization in Czech is characterized by a preposed XP in [Spec, IP] that is associated with an optional intonational rise (see chapter 2 on the syntax of this construction).² This construction differs from CLD in that it has no resumptive element.

The analysis of contrastive topicalization presented in Hajičová and Sgall 2004 is compatible with Prince 1981, 1997 for English topicalization. Their analysis is framed within the Topic Focus Articulation (TFA) framework.³ Contrastive topicalization is a special instance of a contrastive element appearing in the topic

² For Hajičová and Sgall, contrastive topics are base generated at the left edge of the clause.

³ Details about this framework are given in Chapter 1.

portion of the sentence (generally the preverbal domain under TFA); this portion of the sentence generally reserved for given (i.e. contextually bound) information. This contrastive element has the requirement that it must be in a cognitively salient set relationship with a set which has been previously established in the discourse (see also the ‘theme alternative set’ of Steedman 2002).

Hajičová and Sgall consider in detail the types of relationships between the contrastive topic and the previous context that license contrastive topicalization. Among these are: explicitly enumerated sets, implicit sets and part-whole relations. In (7) the set from which the discourse referents of the contrastively topicalized elements are chosen is overtly enumerated in the previous context: the sports teams from *Brno* and *Ostrava*.

- (7) a. Včera se hrál zápas mezi Brnem a Ostravou.
yesterday REFL-CL played match between Brno and Ostrava
- b. Domácím_{CT} se dařilo ze začátku_F. Hostům_{CT} se povedl
home.DAT REFL-CL succeeded at beginning visitors.DAT REFL-CL succeeded
až druhý poločas_F.
in second half

‘Yesterday the match between Brno and Ostrava took place. The home team_{CT} was successful at the beginning_F. The visitors_{CT} succeeded only in the second half_F.’

(modified from the Czech National Corpus, Hajičová and Sgall 2004: (30-31))

The contrastively topicalized DP’s (*home team* and *visitors*) are compared with respect to the period in the game in which they were winning: the home team in *the beginning*, the visitors in *the second half*. The periods in the game are the focused elements in the construction and, as such, appear in the position generally associated

with narrow focus in Czech: the sentence final position.

The discourse referents of contrastively topicalized elements can also be members of an implicit set in the discourse, see (8). The speaker is comparing the opinions of people regarding the development of a case. Most people were happy about it, but the addressee was not.

- (8) a. ‘People were happy about the development of that case, but you have a different opinion.’
b. Přiznal_{CT} ses, že tebe_{CT} osobně to mrzí_F.
admitted.1SG REFL-CL/AUX.2SG.CL that you.DAT personally it bothers
‘You admitted that you_{CT}, personally, were bothered_F by it.’
(Czech National Corpus, Hajičová et al 2003: (26))

Again, the contrastive topic appears at the left edge of the (embedded) clause and the focused element at the right. Focus in this case falls on the right-edge embedded finite verb.

Another relationship that holds between contrastively topicalized elements is that of part-whole. In (9), the speaker describes renovating their house.

- (9) a. Loni jsme renovovali celý dům.
last-year AUX.1PL.CL renovated whole house
b. Omítku_{CT} jsme natřeli na žluto_F, střechu_{CT} jsme vyspravili_F...
plaster AUX.1PL.CL painted on yellow roof AUX.1PL.CL fixed
‘Last year we renovated the whole house. The plaster_{CT} we painted yellow_F, the roof_{CT} we fixed_F...’ (Czech National Corpus, Hajičová et al 2003: (22))

The contrastive topics, *the plaster* and *the roof*, are in a part-whole relationship with the previously evoked, house. Focus falls on the VP in both clauses; *painted yellow* and *fixed* are in clause-final positions. The felicity of this example suggests that the

relationship that holds between the contrastive topic and the preceding context must be revised. It is not just that the contrastive topic must be a member of a previously evoked set; it can also be in a part-whole relationship with an element in the preceding context.

In the following section I present Büring's 2003 analysis of contrastive topic constructions in English; this analysis is compatible with the intuitions behind Prince's characterization of English topicalization and that of contrastive topicalization in Czech (Hajičová and Sgall 2004). Büring 2003 provides the foundation for the analysis of Czech CLD developed below.

2.3 *Büring 2003*

Büring 2003 develops a formal pragmatic analysis of the contrastive topic intonation (the B-accent) in English. His approach to contrastive topic marking is similar in some respects to the functional analysis of preposing constructions presented above. Both strands of research require that contrastive topic marking co-occur with focus marking. What the functional approaches provide is the additional requirement of a link between the contrastive topic and the previous context.

Researchers have suggested that the contrastive topic accent indicates that the statement containing the contrastive topic is a partial answer to a (possibly covert) question in the discourse. The question to which (10a-b), repeated from (1), are partial answers is: *Who ate what?*

(10) a. What about Fred? What did he eat? Fred_{CT} ate the beans_F.

b. What about Susan? What did she eat? Susan_{CT} ate the eggplant_F.

The utterance in (10a) not only functions as a partial answer to *Who ate what?*, it also suggests to the hearer that additional questions, such as *What did Susan eat?*, *What did X eat?*, are active in the discourse. One such question, *What did Susan eat?*, is answered overtly in (10b).

It is not necessary for additional alternatives to be considered overtly in the discourse. Büring 2003 provides an illustrative example, (11).

(11) Where were you at the time of the murder?
I_{CT} was at home_F. (Büring 2003: (22))

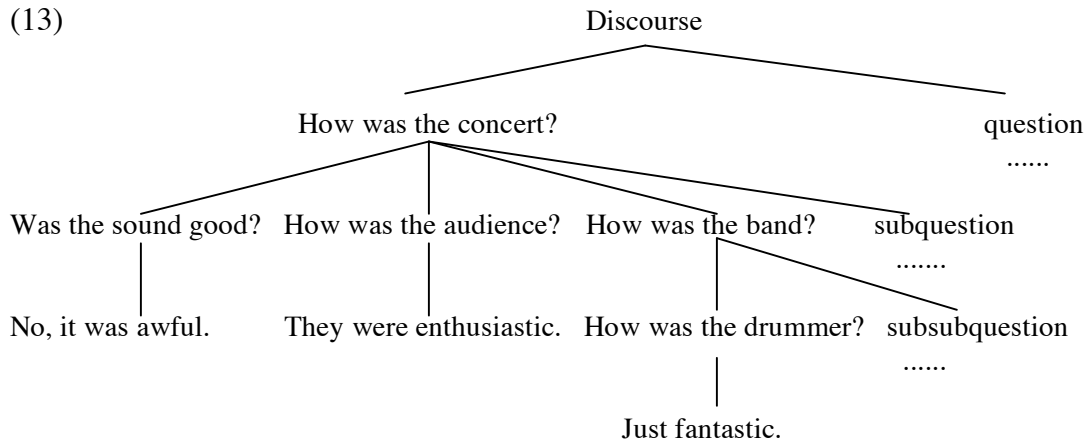
The contrastive topic marking on the subject, *I*, suggests to the hearer that there are others in the discourse context who may have been at different locations at the time of the murder. A speaker might use CT-marking in (11) to suggest that other people might not have such a solid alibi.

Büring 2003 builds on the partial answer aspect of the use of contrastive topic marking and develops a formal analysis using a notion of Contrastive Topic (CT) congruence. His analysis presupposes a model of discourse in which questions, subquestions and assertions form a hierarchical structure.

2.3.1 Discourse Trees

Büring represents the hierarchical structure of discourse through discourse trees (d-trees). The discourse in (12) involves a series of questions and answers whose structure is represented by the d-tree in (13).

- (12) How was the concert?
 Was the sound good? No, it was awful.
 How was the audience? They were enthusiastic.
 How was the band?
 How was the drummer? Just fantastic.
 And what about the singer? Better than ever.
 Did they play old songs? Not a single one. (Büring 2003: (4))



Each node in the tree is called a Move (cf. Carlson 1983) and each Move consists of sentences expressed as syntactic objects.

D-trees are subject to certain general well-formedness conditions, two of which are given in (14).

- (14) a. *Informativity*: Don't say known things, don't ask for known things.
 b. *Relevance*: Stick to a question until it is sufficiently resolved.
 (Büring 2003: (8))

Büring implements Informativity using Stalnaker's 1978 concept of *common ground*.

He follows Roberts 1996 in defining Relevance with respect to a question under discussion (QUD); 'for any move M, the QUD is the move M' immediately dominating it' (Büring 2003: 5). The definition of Relevance used is given in (15).

Relevance

- (15) a. an assertion A is relevant in a d-tree DT iff A is an answer to the QUD for A in DT.
b. a question Q is relevant in a d-tree DT iff at least one answer to Q is an answer to the QUD for Q in DT. (Büring 2003: (9))

In order for a Move to be relevant in a given d-tree, it must answer the QUD or, if the Move is a question, an answer dominated by that Move must address the QUD for that question.

For example, the subtree in the d-tree in (13), *How was the band?*, *How was the drummer?*, *Just fantastic* satisfies Relevance. The answer, *Just fantastic* is relevant because it answers its QUD, *How was the drummer?* That subquestion is relevant because an answer to it ((The drummer was) *Just fantastic*) addresses the QUD, *How was the band?* And, finally, the subquestion *How was the band?* is relevant because an answer to the subsubquestion it dominates addresses its QUD, *How was the concert?* With this model of discourse in place, I turn to Büring's approach to contrastive topic marking (CT-marking).

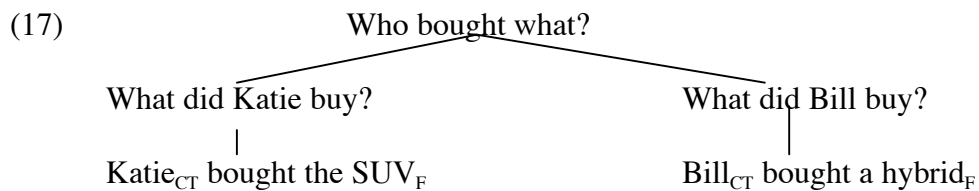
2.3.2 *CT congruence*

Contrastive topic marking does two things. First, it indicates that the utterance is a partial answer to a larger question, the question under discussion. Second, it suggests to the hearer that alternatives to the contrastive topic are under consideration in the discourse. The first conjunct in (16) is a partial answer to the question, *Who bought what?*, and implicates that alternatives to the contrastive topic, Katie, are under

consideration. The second conjunct provides more information about an alternative to Katie, Bill.

(16) Katie_{CT} bought the SUV_F, but Bill_{CT} bought a hybrid_F.

It is possible to map the utterance in (16) onto a d-tree which provides information about the context in which the utterance is felicitous. The d-tree in (17) is rooted in the question to which (16) is a partial answer: *Who bought what?* An utterance containing a contrastive topic is dominated by both the question under discussion (QUD) and an intermediate question (a subquestion) concerning the CT-marked element. Sisters to the subquestion are questions concerning alternatives to the contrastively marked element.



CT- and F-marking are shown in the tree in (17), though they are not technically properties of Moves. Under Büring 2003, utterances (which do contain CT- and F-marking) map onto Moves.

Büring proposes a CT-congruence condition to address the question of what d-trees license utterances with CT-marking. The first requirement of CT-congruence is that the Move which dominates an utterance with CT-marking be a member of the CT-value of the utterance. Büring draws on Rooth's 1985 analysis of focus to calculate the CT-value of an utterance such as (16), *Katie_{CT} bought [the SUV]_F*. First, the focus value is calculated, (18).

- (18) *Focus value of (16)*
 $[[\text{Katie}_{CT} \text{ bought } [\text{the SUV}]_F]]^f = \{\text{Katie bought } x \mid x \in D_e\}$
 $\{\text{'Katie bought an SUV'}, \text{'Katie bought a hybrid'}, \text{'Katie bought a station wagon'}\}$

The focus value of a sentence containing a constituent x_F is a set of propositions in which x is replaced by alternatives to it. Note that this focus value corresponds to the ordinary value of the question, *What did Katie buy?*

To form the CT-value a set of sets of propositions is formed. The focus value is a set of propositions and when the contrastive topic is also replaced by variable, the result is a set of sets of propositions, (19).

- (19) *CT-value of (16)*
 $[[[\text{Katie}]_{CT} \text{ bought } [\text{the SUV}]_F]]^{ct} = \{\{x \text{ bought } y \mid y \in D_e \mid x \in D_e\}$
 $\{\{\text{'Katie bought the SUV'}, \text{'Katie bought the hybrid'}, \text{'Katie bought the station wagon'}\}, \{\text{'Bill bought the SUV'}, \text{'Bill bought the hybrid'}, \text{Bill bought the station wagon'}\}, \{\text{'Fran bought the SUV'}, \text{'Fran bought the hybrid'} \dots\}\}$

The CT-value of (16), this set of sets of propositions, corresponds to the ordinary value of the set of questions: $\{\text{What did Katie buy?}, \text{What did Bill buy?}, \text{What did Fran buy?} \dots\}$.

Does the tree in (17) satisfy the first requirement of CT-congruence: the Move dominating an utterance, U , with CT-marking must be a member of the CT-value of U ? The left branch of the tree satisfies this requirement; the question, Q , immediately dominating U is a member of the CT-value of U . *What did Katie buy?* is a member of the CT-value of *Katie_{CT} bought [the SUV]_F*. The second requirement is that Q must have at least one sister, Q' , which is also a member of the CT-value of U . This also holds in the tree in (17). The sister to *What did Katie buy?*, *What did Bill buy?*,

is also a member of the CT-value of U. Büring's formulation of CT-congruence is given in (20).

(20) *CT-congruence*

An utterance U containing a contrastive topic can map onto a move M_U within a d-tree D only if U indicates a strategy around M_U in D.

Büring defines 'indicate a strategy' in (21).

(21) U indicates a strategy around M_U in D iff there is a non-singleton set Q' of questions such that for each $Q \in Q'$

i) Q is identical to or a sister of the question that immediately dominates M_U .

ii) $[[Q]]^O \in [[U]]^{CT}$

The tree in (17) satisfies the requirements of CT-congruence: the utterances are immediately dominated by questions which are members of the CT-value of those utterances and the set of questions is a non-singleton set.

The subquestions associated with the example in (16) contrast with an utterance in which the intonational contours have been reversed. In (16), the speaker is pairing people with cars, person by person. The opposite would be true if the intonation were reversed. In (22) the same situation is under discussion, but the speaker is pairing cars with people, car by car. The subquestions related to these two utterances illustrate the observation made by Jackendoff 1972 that CT-marking is important in framing the discourse.

(22) Katie_F bought the SUV_{CT}.

The super question (*Who bought what?*) is the same for both (16) and (22), but CT marking on the car (rather than on the buyer) structures the discussion differently. In this case, the speaker is presenting the information 'car by car', rather than 'person by

person'. The subquestions for (22) are: *Who bought the SUV?*, *Who bought X?* Kuno 1982 calls this means of structuring the discourse the 'sortal key'. A question to consider is what influences the choice of sortal key. This question, Büring does not address.

Returning to the functional research on this topic provides insight into factors influencing the choice of sortal key. Prince 1981, 1997 and Hajičová and Sgall 2004 both note that the discourse referents of contrastive topics are members of a cognitively salient set in the discourse (see also Birner and Ward 1998, Gregory and Michaelis 2001, Frey 2005). I follow these approaches and suggest that the element which is the contrastive topic must be related to the previous context in a particular way. This relationship is characterized in (23) under the term, *familiar*.

(23) *Familiar*: The referent or property denoted by the XP stands in a cognitively salient (set) relation or a part-whole relation to an already introduced referent or property.⁴ (modified from Frey 2005: (40))

I purposefully distinguish this relationship with the previous context from that of topicality. The notion of topicality is used in section 4 to refer to discourse referents which are not only familiar in the sense of (23), but also continue to be discussed in the following context.

Though contrastive topics share some features with foci (the construction of an alternative set), they are familiar in that they are related to elements already

⁴ In this definition, I distinguish between a cognitively salient set and a part-whole relationship to a previously mentioned referent or property. Prince 1997 and Hajičová and Sgall 2004 consider the part-whole relationship to be another set relationship among elements in the discourse. However, this is not generally the approach taken in the formal semantics literature. The part-whole relation has been discussed in the literature on bridging inferences (Clark and Haviland 1977, among others).

introduced in the discourse context. The constructed alternative set for CT's has either already been introduced or evoked in the discourse context or one or more of its members has been evoked. Focused elements have no such relationship to the previous discourse.

Since CT's are linked in a particular way to the larger discourse context in a way that focused elements are not, the speaker can influence the following discourse through his or her choice of which element to mark as the CT; this element is the sortal key. In (22), the speaker chose to mark the car (*the SUV*), rather than the person buying the car as the contrastive topic. That the DP referring to the car has been marked as a CT suggests to the hearer that the relevant alternative set consists of alternatives to the SUV. The speaker is likely, then, in the following discourse to contrast that type of car with other types of cars, rather than contrasting the car buyer with other car buyers. The alternate intonational pattern, in which the DP referring to the car buyer is CT marked, (16), would involve an alternative choice of sortal key. This would be appropriate if the speaker were discussing a group of car buyers.

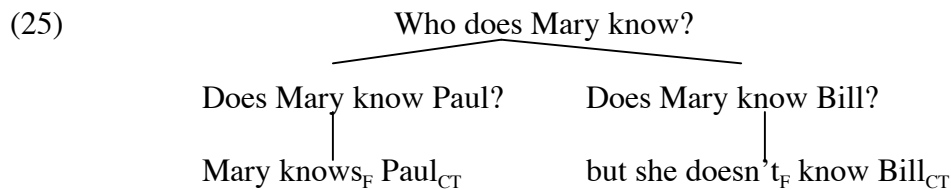
2.3.3 *Focus on clausal polarity*

The focus in a contrastive topic construction can fall on any element, including the polarity of the clause. This is the case in the majority of the Czech corpus examples to be discussed, so I will show how these fit into the framework developed in the previous section. Consider (24). This utterance would be felicitous in a context in

which the speaker is considering certain people with respect to whether or not Mary knows them.

(24) Mary knows_F Paul_{CT}, but she doesn't_F know Bill_{CT}.

The CT-marking in (24) suggests to the hearer that there are alternatives to Paul in the context who Mary does not know. The focus value of *Mary knows_F Paul_{CT}* is the set of propositions, {Mary knows Paul, Mary doesn't know Paul}. Note, again, that the focus value of *Mary knows_F Paul_{CT}* corresponds to the ordinary value of the question, *Does Mary know Paul?* (Hamblin 1973). The CT-value is the set of sets of propositions in which the CT-marked element has been replaced by alternatives to it: {{Mary knows Paul, Mary doesn't know Paul}, {Mary knows Bill, Mary doesn't know Bill}}...}. The two parts of the utterance in (24) map onto Moves in (25).



The tree in (25) is licit because the subquestion dominating *Mary knows_F Paul_{CT}* is a member of the CT-value of that utterance. The sister to that subquestion is also a member of this CT-value.

2.3.4 Conventional meanings vs conversational implicature

Another aspect of this analysis is the division of labor between the conventional meaning of CT marking and the conversational implicatures associated with it. An observation about CT-marking is that hearers will typically assume, given an

utterance such as *Katie_{CT} bought the SUV_F*, that the questions raised by this utterance concern people other than Katie and cars other than the SUV. Büring 2003 asks how we get from the conventional meaning of contrastive topics, *What did X buy?*, to this implication. He concludes that this is a conversational implicature. If the speaker knew that another person, besides Katie, bought an SUV, it would be simpler to say, ‘Katie and Matt bought SUV’s’. A naturally occurring example from the television drama *Six Feet Under* illustrates the defeasibility of this implicature, (26).

(26) One_{CT}’s in a nursing home_F, and the other_{CT}, I think, is also in a nursing home_F. (*Six Feet Under* (HBO): season 3, episode 2)

The use of the CT-marking in (26) suggests to the hearer that alternatives to the contrastively accented element are associated with different focus values.⁵ However, this is a conversational implicature associated with CT-marking, not part of the conventional meaning, and can, therefore, be defeated.

Another implicature associated with CT-marking is that alternatives to the CT-marked element are available in the discourse context. Under the Büring 2003 proposal this is also a conversational implicature. While I agree that it is an implicature that the focal values associated with alternatives to the contrastive topic differ, I maintain that the inference that alternatives to the contrastively marked element are available is not a conversational implicature, but should be part of the conventional meaning of CT-marking. This is not the case in Büring 2003. Büring’s definition of CT-congruence, (20), requires that the question dominating the assertion

⁵ Krifka 1999 suggests a connection between the use of the additive particle, *also*, and contrastive topic marking; this appears to hold in this example.

containing CT-marking be a member of a non-singleton set. However, there is no requirement that members of this set differ in their meaning. Büring defines these questions not as semantic objects, but as syntactic objects. Two utterances of the same question could satisfy this requirement as there could be two distinct syntactic objects in the set.

If CT-marking merely conversationally implicated the existence of alternatives to the CT-marked element in the discourse context, the implicature would be defeasible. But, in fact, it is very difficult, I suggest impossible, to defeat this implicature.

(27) #God_{CT} created the world in seven_F days. (Büring, p.c.)

The utterance in (27) is odd in a context in which there are no alternatives to *God*, but it improves dramatically if the context is enriched, see (28).

(28) Maybe your god_{CT} created the world in seven_F days, my god_{CT} could have done it in five_F. (Büring, p.c.)

As I understand Büring 2003, there is no explanation for the infelicity of the intonational pattern associated with (27). However, if it were part of the conventional meaning of CT marking that there are alternatives to the CT marked element in the discourse, the infelicity of (27) would be explained.

As shown in (26), an utterance with CT-marking does not commit the speaker to a change in focus value changes between alternatives. There is a commitment, however, to the existence of alternatives to the CT-marked element in the discourse context. It would be possible to capture this commitment if a strategy consisted of a

non-singleton set of questions which were semantic, rather than syntactic, objects. If this were the case, it would not be possible for there to be two questions with the same semantic interpretation in a strategy. Keeping in mind other restrictions, such as Informativity and Relevance, this change requires that an alternative to the CT be considered in a strategy in order for it to be well-formed and thus, captures the intuition that the existence of alternatives to the CT is part of the conventional meaning of CT-marking.

While Prince 1981, 1997; Hajičová and Sgall 2004; and Büring 2003 provide similar characterizations of contrastive topic marking, the Büring 2003 analysis formalizes the felicity conditions on the contexts in which CT-marking occurs. I add to this formalization the requirement that the discourse referent of a CT be familiar in the sense of (23).

3 CLD as Contrastive Topic Marking

In this section, I provide evidence that the discourse function of CLD constructions in Czech is that of contrastive topic marking. CLD constructions exhibit all the features associated with contrastive topics: a focused element occurs obligatorily within the utterance and the discourse referent of the CLD'ed element is contrasted with alternatives in the discourse context. Spontaneous corpus examples provide solid evidence that this is the correct interpretation of the construction; these examples are supplemented by constructed examples from field research.

3.1 Overview of the discourse function of CLD

That Czech CLD constructions mark contrastive topics is supported by native speaker intuitions. Offered a CLD construction in elicitation contexts, speakers insist on continuations in which the CLD'ed element is compared to alternatives with respect to an open proposition. In addition to insisting on contrastive continuations, when presented with a contrastive context (of the type discussed in Büring 2003), speakers overwhelmingly prefer to use a CLD and not an HTLD construction; this supports the hypothesis that CLD'ed, but not HTLD'ed, elements are contrastive topics.

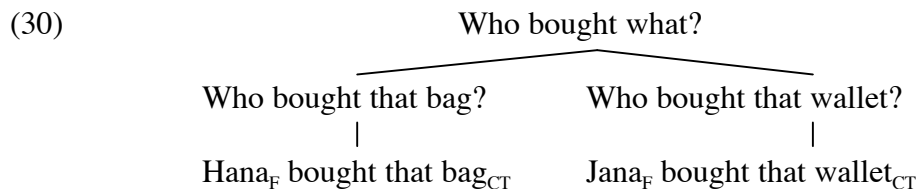
Consider the elicited example in (29). Accusative case matching between the preposed element and the resumptive pronoun indicates that this is CLD.

- (29) Tu tašku_{CT}, tu si koupila Hana_F, ale tu peněženku_{CT}, tu
that bag.ACC that.ACC REFL-CL bought Hana but that wallet.ACC that.ACC
si koupila Jana_F.
REFL-CL bought Jana

‘That bag_{CT}, Hana_F bought it and that wallet_{CT}, Jana_F bought it.’

The speaker is discussing buying events and is considering them purchase by purchase. First *that bag* is considered and paired with a buyer, then *that wallet*. The contrastive topics, *that bag* and *that wallet*, occur in the CLD positions of their respective clauses. Each of the focused subjects, *Hana* and *Jana*, occurs at the right edge of its clause, a position linked with narrow focus, and is associated with an intonational rise.

The utterance in (29) maps onto Moves in the d-tree in (30). The CLD'ed construction in the first conjunct indicates that the question, *Who bought that bag?* is active in the discourse and that related questions, such as: *Who bought that wallet?*, are as well. Both questions are overtly addressed in (29).



According to Büring's CT-congruence condition, these utterances licitly map onto these Moves. *Who bought that bag?* is a member of the CT-value of *Hana_F bought that bag_{CT}*.

- (31) *CT-value of (30)*
 $\llbracket [Hana]_F \text{ bought } [that \text{ bag}]_{CT} \rrbracket^t = \{ \{x \text{ bought } y \mid y \in D_e \mid x \in D_e \} \}$
 $\{ \{ 'Hana \text{ bought that bag}', 'Jana \text{ bought that bag}', 'Jitka \text{ bought that bag.}' \}, \{ 'Hana \text{ bought that wallet}', 'Jana \text{ bought that wallet.}', 'Jitka \text{ bought that wallet.}' \} \dots \}$

Additionally, the set containing these two questions (*Who bought that bag?* and *Who bought that wallet?*) make up a strategy in the sense of (20). They are members of a non-singleton set of questions whose members dominate the Moves, *Hana bought that bag* and *Jana bought that wallet*.

The context in which this Czech CLD example occurs is very similar to the contexts in which the English B-accent is found. The speaker is considering answers to a multiple wh-question and one element, in this case the purchase, serves as the CT-marked sortal key. CT-marking in this case takes the form of a CLD

construction. In the remainder of this section, I consider additional examples of CLD which support my contention that CLD is a CT-marking construction in Czech. The majority of these data are spontaneous textual examples identified from the Czech National Corpus and through Google searches.

In (32) a set of two sisters (representing two historically significant railway lines) has been previously introduced into the discourse. The speaker considers these two discourse entities in turn with respect to distinct predications. Again, instrumental case matching between the left dislocated element and the resumptive pronoun suggest that it is a CLD construction.⁶

- (32) a. Sudičky totiž oběma přisoudily stejně: stát se ovliňovatelkami
fairies namely both awarded same become.INF REFL-CL influencers
 stovek lidských osudů a výrazně působit na tvárnost svého
hundreds people fate and strongly affect.INF on appearance self's
 okolí. Ne, není tu řeč o konkrátních osobách.
surroundings no isn't here talk about concrete people
- b. Tou první_{CT}, z dvojice známou a populární, tou je železniční
That first.INSTR of two well-known and popular that.INSTR is railway
 trať z Pardubic do Liberce_F. ...
route from Pardubice to Liberec
- c. Skromným sourozencem_{CT}, prožívajícím svůj bohatý život bez
modest sibling living self's rich life without
 okázalé publicity, je pak trať z Jaroměře do Svatoňovic_F.
showy publicity is then route from Jaroměř to Svatoňovice

⁶ In copular constructions, the subject DP can appear in the instrumental or the nominative case. For a discussion of the distinction between these two possibilities see Veselovská 2003.

- a. ‘The fairies awarded the same amount of good fortune to both sisters: to become influencers of hundreds of people’s fates and strongly affect the appearance of their surroundings. No, we are not talking about specific people.
- b. The first one_{CT} of the two, well known and popular, that is a railway route from Pardubice to Liberec_F. ...
- c. The modest sibling_{CT}, living its rich life without showy publicity, is a route from Jaroměř to Svatoňovice_F.’ (Czech National Corpus)

In this example, the discourse referent of the CLD’ed element, *that first* (sister), is a member of the previously evoked set of sisters, overtly referred to in the discourse by the phrase, *both*. In (32b), the first sister appears in a CLD construction and is paired with the focused predication, *a railway route from Pardubice to Liberec*. In (32c), the second sister is paired with a distinct predication, *a route from Jaroměř to Svatoňovice*. The context in which this CLD construction appears is reminiscent of those found in the previous examples of contrastive topics. Distinct alternatives (the two sisters) are considered with respect to wh-questions with the same focused constituent, in this case: *What is the first sister?*, *What is the second sister?* The CLD construction in (32b) is a partial answer to the question under discussion: *What are the two sisters?* The statement in (32c) concerning the second sister also provides a partial answer; the conjunction of these two statements provides a complete answer to the question under discussion.

This example provides evidence for the hypothesis that the choice of sortal key is related to discourse familiarity. The set of two sisters has been introduced in the discourse whereas the distinct railway lines they are associated with have not. The element which is linked to the prior discourse, in this case, *the first* (sister) and

the modest sister, serve as sortal keys. They are, in turn, related to two railway lines, new information in the discourse context.

The first sister is referred to by a CLD'ed DP (i.e. a construction involving left dislocation), the second by a contrastively topicalized DP (no left dislocation). Both constructions have the same discourse function, marking contrastive topics, and often appear together. In most corpus examples in which more than one member of the contextually salient set is overtly considered and a CLD construction introduces a member of the set, the CLD construction appears first, followed by a contrastive topicalization construction. Though a thorough analysis of the discorsal differences between CLD and contrastive topicalization is outside the scope of this dissertation, I hypothesize that they have different distributions which are related to the activation status of the contrastive topic. I suggest that CLD constructions are used to refer to elements with a lower activation status. Lambrecht 1994, among others, has reached similar conclusions for left dislocation constructions; they are often used to raise the activation state of a discourse referent. The use of CLD appears to establish the connection between the contextually salient set and a member of that set. Once that connection is established, contrastive topicalization (a simpler construction) is used to refer to additional members of that set.

In (33) focus falls on the polarity of the clause. Case matching shows that this is a CLD construction; both the CLD'ed element and the resumptive pronoun are accusative. The example is from an online chat room and the context is a posted photograph. Speaker A writes (33a) and Speaker B responds with (33b).

- (33) a. Jinak kdo zná toho kluka, že se aspoň zasměje...
alternatively who knows that guy C REFL-CL at-least will-smile
- b. Toho kluka_{CT}??? Toho neznám_E, ale Prochora_{CT} v něm poznávám_F.
that guy.ACC that.ACC NEG-know but Prochor in it recognize
- a. ‘Anyway, whoever knows that guy will at least laugh...’
- b. That guy_{CT}, I don’t_F know him, but Prochor_{CT} I recognize_F from the picture.’ (<http://www.dfklub.cz/gallery/opinion.php?id=10917>)

Again, the first contrastive topic is CLD’ed and the second is contrastively topicalized. Focused elements, the matrix verbs, *know/recognize*, occur at the right edge in both clauses. As in previous examples, the sortal key, members of the set of elements in the photograph, is linked to the discourse context.

As shown in chapter 3, XP’s of any category can be CLD’ed. The expectation, then, is that these elements would also be associated with a contrastive topic interpretation. Consider an example with a preposed AP, (34).

- (34) „...milostivá_{CT}, to jsem_F. Ale pardon! ochlasta a blázen_{CT} nejsem_F.“
gracious that.NEUT am. but pardon drunk and lunatic NEG-am
 “‘Gracious_{CT}, that I am_F. But, excuse me! A drunk and a lunatic_{CT} I am not_F.”
 (Czech National Corpus)

The speaker contrasts properties that she has with properties that she does have. The property *gracious* appears in a CLD construction and is paired with the positive polarity of the copula; the properties evoked by the nominals *drunk* and *lunatic*, on the other hand, are paired with the negative polarity of the copula. Focal intonation in this case is associated with the copula; this element appears at the right edge in both clauses. The speaker is providing partial answers to the question under discussion:

What am I? The two clauses in (34) address the subquestions, *Am I gracious?* and *Am I a drunk and a lunatic?*

The same results are found when a VP is fronted. Consider (35), an elicited example.

- (35) Hráť kuželky_{CT}, to umí moc dobře_F, ale hrát fotbal_{CT},
play.INF bowling that.NEUT know very well but play.INF soccer
 to ne_F.
that.NEUT no

‘Bowling_{CT}, she knows_F that well, but soccer_{CT}, she doesn’t_F.’

The fronted VP in this case functions as a contrastive topic. The VP *to bowl* is compared with the VP *to play soccer*. These contrastive topics are paired with different polarities of the matrix VP: *know well, not know well*. The speaker is addressing the question under discussion, *How well do you play sports?*

As with other categories, a CLD’ed PP indicates that alternative questions are active in the discourse; consider the elicited example in (36).⁷

- (36) V hezkých lesích_{CT}, v těch jsme se procházeli_F, ale v
in pretty forests.LOC in that.LOC AUX.IPL.CL REFL-CL walked but in
 ošklivých_{CT}, v těch ne_F.
ugly.LOC in that.LOC no

‘In pretty forests_{CT}, we went walking_F in some, but in ugly ones_{CT}, we didn’t_F.’

The speaker asserts in the first conjunct that they had been walking in pretty forests.

The use of CLD suggests to the hearer that alternative locations are under

⁷ CLD’ed PP’s are also attested in online corpora, see (i).

(i) K tragédii. K té došlo třeba až za sto let.
towards tragedy towards that got-past maybe even after 100 years
 ‘That tragedy, we won’t get past it even after 100 years. (Czech National Corpus)

consideration. This implication is overtly satisfied in the discourse. The second conjunct addresses another location, *in ugly forests*. Both alternative PP's appear in CLD constructions and are associated with opposing focus values. *In pretty forests* is paired with positive polarity, indicated by focal intonation on the matrix verb; *in ugly forests* is paired with negative polarity, indicated with a negative particle.

The same results are found when AdvP's are preposed. In the elicited (37), the comparison is between manner adverbials. The speaker compares the manner in which the door and the window are closed.

- (37) Potichu_{CT}, tak zavřel dveře_F, ale hlučně_{CT}, tak zavřel okno_F.
quietly thus closed doors but loudly thus closed window
 'Quietly_{CT}, I closed the door_F like that, but loudly_{CT}, I closed the window_F like that.'

The manner adverbials function as contrastive topics and the focused elements within the clauses, *door* and *window*, occur at the right edge.

In sum, a wide range of phrasal categories instantiate the left dislocated element in Czech CLD: DP, AP, PP, VP, AdvP. Regardless of category, CLD is always associated with a contrastive topic interpretation.

3.2 *Conversational implicature vs. conventional meaning*

In the previous examples, the focus value changed across alternatives. Due to the strong conversational implicature associated with contrastive topic constructions, we would expect this to be true in most cases. This holds for my Czech data. In the majority of the corpus examples (and all elicited examples) the alternatives are

associated with focused elements that have different values (including values for clausal polarity). However, there are several examples in which the focus values paired with alternatives to the contrastive topic are the same. One such example is given in (38). Note that in this example the contrastive topic in the first clause is identified through contrastive topicalization and the second through a CLD construction. We know that the first conjunct involves contrastive topicalization because a strong pronoun, *nám* ('us.DAT') appears in [Spec, IP]. The polarity of the focused VP's is positive in both clauses.

- (38) a. „Tak nám_{CT} nalejte dva stoky_F a [támhle tomu pánovi]_{CT}, tomu
so us pour two drinks and over-there that man.DAT that.DAT
 nalejte_F taky.“
pour also
- b. „Samořejmě, samozřejmě...“ slabikoval hostinský...
of-course of-course said bartender
- a. “”OK, pour_F us_{CT} a drink and [that man over there]_{CT}, pour_F him a drink, too.””
- b. “Of course, of course,” said the bartender...’ (Czech national Corpus)

The maxim of manner suggests that if you knew that both *us* and *that man* were paired with the same focus value, it would be simpler to say: ‘Pour a drink for us and for that man over there’. However, the maxim of manner is a conversational implicature, hence defeasible. Recall that it was also violated in the naturally occurring English example given in (26). That examples of this type exist and that they are rare is predicted by Büring 2003.

In section 2.3.4, I posited that it is part of the conventional meaning of CT-marking, not a conversational implicature, that there are alternatives to the contrastive topic in the discourse context in English and suggested a modification to the Büring 2003 analysis. This appears to hold for Czech as well. In the examples considered above, alternative members of the set evoked by the contrastive topic are overt in the discourse. There are, however, examples in which neither the set of which the contrastive topic is a member nor overt alternatives are mentioned. Those examples share a common characteristic, though. The contrastive topic is modified by an element which suggests the existence of (unmentioned) alternatives: *na příklad* ('for example'), *třeba* ('for instance'). Consider example (39).

- (39) a. Též já mám své představy jak pomoci...
also I have self's ideas how help.INF
- b. Na příklad Jindru_{CT}, toho všech strastí ušetřím_E.
on example Jindra.ACC that.ACC all woes will-save.ISG
- a. 'I also have my ideas about how to help...
- b. For example, Jindra_{CT}, I will save_E him from his woes.'
 (Czech National Corpus)

CT-marking in (39) indicates that other questions are active in the discourse which concern alternatives to the discourse referent of the CLD'ed DP, *Jindra*. Answers to such question are covert, as in the example in (11).

I have found no corpus examples in which there are neither overt alternatives to the contrastive topic nor a modifier of the type in (39). Interestingly, in cases in which an element such as *for example* precedes the left dislocated XP, speakers strongly prefer to use a CLD construction when given a choice between CLD and

HTLD, supporting the idea that *for example* suggests the existence of alternatives to the contrastive topic. The existence of examples of this type is compatible with the contention that the existence of alternatives to the contrastive topic is part of the conventional meaning of the contrastive topic construction and not a conversational implicature.

3.3 Conclusion

In this section, I conclude then that Czech CLD is, in fact, a CT-marking construction and is compatible with the analysis of contrastive topic found in Büring 2003. Two contributions have been made to the understanding of contrastive topic presented in Büring 2003. First, contrastive topics serve as sortal keys and structure the discourse that follows. Second, the implicature that there are alternatives in the discourse to the CT is shown to be part of the conventional meaning of an utterance containing CT-marking, not a conversational implicature. Data from English and Czech supports this.

Native speaker judgments support these findings: when presented with a CLD construction native speakers require a context in which questions are raised about alternatives to the contrastive topic. There is also a correlation between a contrastive topic context and a preference for a CLD construction. When speakers are given the choice between using a CLD or an HTLD construction in a particular context, they overwhelmingly prefer a CLD construction when a contrastive topic interpretation is available in the discourse. With this established, I turn to HTLD constructions.

4 The Discourse Function of HTLD

In this section, I argue that the HTLD construction is not associated with a contrastive topic interpretation, but is, rather, a topic promotion device. To show this, I follow Gregory and Michaelis's 2001 analysis of HTLD constructions in English and utilize their algorithm for identifying sentence topics (see also Reinhart 1981, Davison 1984, Gundel 1985, Geluykens 1992). The contexts of eighteen spontaneous corpus examples support this claim.

The main difference between CLD and HTLD constructions is that in HTLD constructions, there is no evidence that any alternative questions are being raised. In some cases this is due to the fact that there are no other discourse referents under discussion. In (40), the discourse referent of the hanging topic has been previously mentioned and is the only referent under discussion by the participants. We know that this is HTLD and not CLD because case matching is absent: the hanging topic is nominative, the resumptive accusative.

- (40) a. „Jonatáne, a ted’ vezmeš do huby hadr a vyleštíš nám hezky auto,
Jonatán and now bring to mouth rag and shine us well car
 zadarmo tě živit nebudem, “a Šebestová šeptala za
for-free you support.INF NEG-will.IPL and Šebestová whispered behind
 plotem Machovi, „človeče, to je děsný, oni si z něho udělali
fence Mach.DAT man it is horrible they REFL-CL from him made
 úplnýho otroka,
totally slave
- b. chudinka malej, toho čeká pěkněj život.“
poor-thing small.NOM that.ACC waits nice life
- c. a Mach vytáhl sluchátko a řekl, Šebestová, víš co, radši z něho
and Mach took receiver and said Šebestová know what better from him
 uděláme třeba vrabce nebo sýkorku, aspoň bude volnej jako pták...
make maybe sparrow or chickadee at-least would-be free like bird
- a. “Jonatán, and now bring a rag in your mouth and shine our car, we aren’t
 going to support you for free.” And Šebestová whispered behind the fence
 to Mach, “hey, it is horrible how they are making him a slave,
- b. poor little thing, a nice life was awaiting him.’
- c. And Mach pulled out the telephone receiver and said, “It would be better
 for us to make him a sparrow or a chickadee, at least then he would be as
 free as a bird...” (Czech National Corpus)

Two individuals, Mach and Šebestová, are discussing a third, Jonatán, with respect to the proposition: *a nice life was awaiting him*. There is no alternative to Jonatán that has a different life situation (for instance: ‘lucky dog, a nice life is still awaiting him’).

In section 2, a definition of familiarity was presented, (23). The discourse referents of CLD’ed elements are familiar under that definition; this is also true of the discourse referents of HTLD’ed elements. These elements are members of a cognitively salient set which has been previously introduced into the discourse. In

(40) this is the singleton set containing Jonatán. Discourse referents of HTLD'ed elements, however, can be members of non-singleton sets without raising alternative questions in the discourse. The hanging topic in (41) is a member of the set of party guests. Note the lack of case matching between the hanging topic (nominative) and the resumptive element (accusative).

- (41) a. Mechanicky stiskla ruku Krulišovi a manželce, docentu Melužinovi a manželce...Aaronu Cohenovi, tomu zastupci Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, který vážně seděl se snoubenkou u baru...
mechanically shook hand Kruliš and wife, docent Melužin and wife Aaron Cohen.DAT that deputy Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer who seriously sat with fiance at bar
- b. Jarouši, ten lackej v předsíni, toho já vodněkud znám...
Jarouši.VOC that lackey.NOM in lobby that.ACC I from-somewhere know
- c. Ba ne, tendle ksift je mi hrozně povědomej. Mám dojem, že můj bracha mu jednou dal přes dršku
even no that face is me.DAT horribly familiar have.ISG impression that my brother him.DAT once gave across mug
- a. ‘Mechanically, she shook hands with Kruliš and his wife, with Docent Melužin and his wife,..., with Aaron Cohen, that deputy from Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer who sat seriously with his fiancé at the bar,...’
- b. “Jarouš, that lackey in the lobby, I know him from somewhere....”
- c. No, that face is really familiar to me. I have the feeling my brother punched him in the face once.” (Czech National Corpus)

In this example the speaker is considering party guests in turn. *That lackey in the lobby* is considered with respect to the open proposition, ‘I know x from somewhere’; there are no alternatives in the discourse context which are considered with respect to the same proposition. Instead, (different) information is provided about different

party guests: who is sitting at the bar, who is a deputy from Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, etc.

4.1 Overview of the requirements of 'topic promotion'

The previous two examples suggest that since alternative questions are not generally raised by HTLD constructions, these constructions have a discourse function other than marking a contrastive topic. I provide evidence that this construction can be characterized as that of topic promotion, following the criteria that Gregory and Michaelis 2001 appeal to in identifying topic promotion in English hanging topic constructions.

First, it is necessary to show that the discourse referents of hanging topics are sentence topics. Gregory and Michaelis consider both the preceding and the following contexts of left dislocation constructions. They note that topical elements have generally been evoked in the previous discourse either by prior mention or by membership in a previously mentioned set. I characterize this as familiar in (23). Topical elements also tend to persevere in the following context. Once these two properties have been established it is also necessary to show that the discourse referents of hanging topics are not *already* established sentence topics--otherwise HTLD would not be 'topic promoting'. I use the notion of backward looking center from Centering Theory to probe whether the discourse referents of hanging topics are non-topical in the context preceding the HTLD construction (on Centering Theory see

Grosz, Joshi and Weinstein 1983; Grosz, Joshi and Sidner 1986; Grosz, Joshi and Sidner 1995; among others).

4.2 *The preceding context*

Researchers have pointed out that the role of topic is distinct from the discourse status of the referent (given/familiar). Evoked elements are not necessarily topical and topics need not be discourse-old. Lambrecht and Michaelis 1998 and Prince 1992 provide evidence that discourse-new entities can function as topics if they are inferable from the preceding context (see also Birner and Ward 1998). One way of being inferable from the preceding context is to be a member of a previously evoked set; this corresponds to the notion of familiarity in (23). Gregory and Michaelis 2001 rate the ‘anaphoricity’ of tokens (the degree to which a referent has a discourse antecedent) on a scale of 0-2. A score of ‘0’ means that there is no discourse antecedent, a score of ‘1’ means that the discourse referent is a member of a previously evoked set, and ‘2’ means that the discourse referent has been previously mentioned.

In all of the Czech HTLD examples in my corpus, the discourse referent of the hanging topic has been either previously mentioned or is a member of a previously evoked set (scores of ‘1’ or ‘2’). Consider again (41). In this case the discourse referent of the hanging topic, *ten lokaj v předsini* (‘the lackey in the lobby’), has not been mentioned in the previous context, but it is a member of an evoked set: the set of party guests. This discourse referent receives a rating of ‘1’. In (40), the discourse

referent of the hanging topic, *Jonatán*, has been previously mentioned in the discourse, and receives a rating of ‘2’.

Example (42) below is similar. Again, there is only one entity under discussion: Mr. Kopyto, the discourse referent of the hanging topic, (42b). The hanging topic appears in the nominative case, while the resumptive is in the accusative.

- (42) a. A tu paní Štěrnová zvolala: „Pan Kopyto!“ A ostatní se
and suddenly Mrs. Sternova called Mr. Kopyto and others REFL-CL
 přidali. „Pan Kopyto, pan Kopyto, kdo jiný!“...Otto seděl a mlčel.
joined-in Mr. Kopyto Mr. Kopyto who else Otto was-sitting and quiet
 Pomyslil si, co je to za divné jméno a kdo to vůbec je.
thought REFL-CL what is it from strange name and who it at-all is
- b. „Pan Kopyto, toho oni neznají.
Mr. Kopyto.NOM that.ACC you NEG-know
- c. To je jeden známý od Backrů,“ řekla babička. „Je to nějaký
it is one acquaintance from Backra said grandma is it some
 baaadatel [sic] překládá z jazyka německého...Germanist a
scholar translated from language German Germanist and
 sběratel... Nosí velký brejle a má hluboký hlas. Prý měl krční
antiquarian wears large glasses and has deep voice they-say had neck
 operace...“
operation
- a. ‘And all of a sudden Mrs. Sternova called, “Mr. Kopyto!” And the others
 joined in. “Mr. Kopyto, Mr. Kopyto. Who else!” ... Otto was sitting and
 stayed quiet. He was thinking, what a strange name and who is that.
- b. “Mr. Kopyto, you don’t know him.
- c. He is an old acquaintance from Backra,” said grandma. “He is some sort
 of scholar; he translates German...Germanist and antiquarian...He wears
 large glasses and has a deep voice. They say he has had a neck
 operation.””
 (Czech National Corpus)

The discourse referent of *Mr. Kopyto*, (42b), has been mentioned in the previous context, and receives a score of ‘2’.

For a topic promotion account such as Gregory and Michaelis 2001, cases in which the discourse referent of the hanging topic has been previously mentioned could be problematic. If that discourse referent is already topical, then HTLD would not be *topic-promoting*. Gregory and Michaelis distinguish between discourse referents with no antecedent (those with a ‘0’ rating) and those with an antecedent (a rating of ‘1’ or ‘2’). There is, however, a way to tease apart previously mentioned entities (those with a rating of ‘2’) from established topics under Centering Theory. The Centering Theory notion of backward looking center has been equated with that of continuing topic (see Beaver 2004, among others). Backward looking centers tend to be the discourse referents of DP’s which have been in the syntactic subject position in one or more of the past two clauses. In (40), the discourse referent of the hanging topic, *Jonatán*, was mentioned once in the previous two clauses; the DP associated with it was the object of a preposition in the immediately preceding clause. The same is true of the discourse referent of the hanging topic in (42), *Mr. Kopyto*. This referent was also mentioned once in the preceding two clauses; in the immediately preceding clause the DP associated with it was an object clitic. Under Centering Theory, neither *Jonatán* nor *Mr. Kopyto* are the backward looking centers of the clauses preceding the left dislocation constructions (and, thus, are not topics).

Summarizing, the discourse referents of hanging topics in Czech have either been overtly mentioned in the preceding context, (40) and (42), or are members of a

previously evoked set, (41). This generalization, however, is also true of the discourse referents of CLD'ed elements. There are two important differences, though. A key difference already discussed is that alternative questions are raised by the use of a CLD construction, but not by HTLD constructions. Another difference is outlined in the following section: perseveration.

4.3 Perseveration in the discourse

Once it has been established that an entity has been mentioned in the previous context (is familiar), but is not yet topical, it is necessary to consider whether the discourse referent of the hanging topic is topical in the following context. If the discourse function of HTLD is to promote a discourse referent to topicality, this referent should be topical in the context following the HTLD construction. One measure of topicality that will be useful in determining if this is the case is perseveration in the discourse. To determine whether a discourse referent perseverates in the discourse, Gregory and Michaelis follow the quantitative measures introduced in Givón 1983. Givón defines topic persistence as: 'the number of times the referent persists as an argument in the subsequent ten clauses following the current clause' (Givón 1983: 908). Gregory and Michaelis considered only the five subsequent clauses due to the nature of the spoken examples they considered, but found that considering ten clauses provided no more insight into the discourse status of the entity under consideration. I follow them in considering the five following clauses.

CLD and HTLD constructions differ dramatically in the perseverance of the discourse referent of the left dislocated element. The discourse referents of hanging topics are much more likely to persevere in the following discourse than those of CLD'ed elements. In twelve of the eighteen HTLD examples under consideration, the discourse referent persists for two or more clauses (67% of cases). Perseveration in the discourse is much less common with respect to CLD constructions: in only three of the twenty-three examples does the discourse referent of the CLD'ed element persevere in two or more of the following clauses (13% of cases).

Consider the passages discussed above. In (40b), there are two references to Jonatán in the three clauses following the HTLD construction; those mentions are underlined. In (41c), the discourse referent of the hanging topic, the lackey in the lobby, is mentioned overtly in two of the following clauses. Example (42c) is even more striking; Mr. Kopyto, is mentioned pronominally in all of the following five clauses. The hanging topic construction promotes Mr. Kopyto to topic status and sets the stage for a discussion of details about his life: he is an old acquaintance, he is a Germanist, he wears large glasses, etc. The fact that the discourse referents of the hanging topics in (40-42) persist in the discourse suggest that these elements are, indeed, topics. What can be said about the contexts following CLD examples?

Though the discourse referents of both CLD'ed and HTLD'ed elements must be familiar, there is a striking contrast between the contexts which follow these two constructions. Unlike HTLD, the discourse referents of CLD'ed elements are not generally mentioned in the subsequent discourse. In example (43), the speaker

considers two individuals in turn with respect to the question, ‘Who do I know?’, but additional information is not provided about either one. This example contrasts robustly with the HTLD examples considered above.

- (43) a. Neznám ho, a přece bych řekl, že už jsem ho někde
NEG-know him and exactly would say C already AUX.ISG.CL him somewhere
 viděl...
 seen
- b. Ale tu dívku ... tu znám určitě...
but that girl.ACC that.ACC know for-sure
- c. ta tvář je mi velice povědomá...když jsem přišel blíž, málem
that face is me.DAT very familiar when AUX.ISG.CL came closer a-little
 jsem se rozesmál.
AUX.ISG.CL REFL-CL started-to-laugh
- a. ‘I don’t know him, but I would say that I have seen him somewhere...
 b. But that girl...I know her for sure...
 c. that face is very familiar to me...when I came a little bit closer I almost
 laughed.’ (<http://www.cswu.cz/jediland/ffcz/sunny/pochopitez11.htm>)

The discourse referent of the CLD’ed element, *that girl*, does not perseverate in the discourse; her face is mentioned in the following clause, but no further information is provided about her.

Most examples of CLD exhibit a similar pattern: various alternatives are considered in turn and the discourse does not focus on any one in particular. In (32) the discourse concerns two sisters (railway lines) and addresses the question: *what is she?* The discourse, however, focuses on neither sister. The same is found in (38). The discourse referent of the CLD’ed element, *that man over there*, is not mentioned in any of the following clauses. After the CLD construction, the discourse returns to

a discussion of the larger bar scene. Though the discourse referents of both CLD'ed and HTLD'ed elements are members of a previously evoked set, only HTLD constructions promote a discourse referent to topic status.

I conclude that the HTLD construction is a topic promotion device. Hanging topics have been evoked (either overtly or as members of a previously evoked set) in the preceding discourse, but are, as yet, non-topical. Appearing in the left edge hanging topic position promotes them to sentence topic status. Their status as sentence topic is confirmed by the fact that they persevere in the following discourse. CLD'ed element, on the other hand, exhibit a contrastive topic discourse function. The discourse referents of CLD'ed elements do not persevere in the discourse, but, are, instead, contrasted with other members of a set of alternatives with respect to an open proposition.

4.4 *Considering HTLD II*

Data collected from elicitation suggests that HTLD II, like HTLD I, is a topic promoting construction. This construction is infelicitous in contrastive contexts. In (44), the speaker is contrasting two books with respect to their lengths, and HTLD II is infelicitous.

- (44) #Tu krátkou knížku, dočetla jsem ji včera, ale tu dlouhou,
that short book.ACC read AUX.ISG.CL her.CL yesterday but that long.ACC
dočtu ji příští týden.
read her.CL next week

'The short book, I read it yesterday, but the long one, I will read it next week.'

However, HTLD II is felicitous in a context in which the speaker provides additional information about the discourse referent of the HTLD II'ed element in the following sentence, see (45).

(45) Tu krátkou knížku, dočetla jsem jí včera. Byla moc
that short book.ACC read AUX.ISG.CL her.CL yesterday was very
zajímavá.
interesting

'The short book, I read it yesterday. It was very interesting.'

What appear to be the case in (45) is that the discourse referent of the HTLD'ed DP has been promoted to topic status by the use of this construction. Evidence of this comes from the fact that this element is referred to by a null pronoun in the following clause.

Though a thorough analysis of corpus data has not been conducted, these data suggest that HTLD II patterns with HTLD I, and contrasts with CLD, with respect to discourse function.

4.4 Conclusion

There are some discursal similarities between the two left dislocation constructions in Czech. In both the discourse referent of the left dislocated XP is a member of a cognitively salient set which has been previously mentioned (i.e. both are familiar according to the definition in (23)). However, in key ways, these two constructions differ. First, CLD, but not HTLD, indicates that alternative questions are active in the discourse. CLD marks contrastive topics. Second, the discourse referents of hanging

topics persist in the discourse, while those of CLD'ed elements do not. This, in conjunction with the fact that the discourse referents of hanging topics have non-topical antecedents, suggests that HTLD functions as a topic promotion device.

The comparison between these two constructions points to a difference between various notions of topicality. As Gregory and Michaelis 2001 discuss, topicality is two-fold: a connection to the previous and a connection to the following context. Both constructions exhibit the first notion of topicality (familiarity), that of previous mention. Only HTLD exhibits the second, that of perseverance in the discourse. The differing behaviors of these two constructions with respect to topicality suggests that a more nuanced understanding is needed. It is possible for a construction to be sensitive to one component of topicality, but not the other.

5 Conclusion

Two theoretical contributions were made in this chapter. First, a modification of Büring 2003 was suggested which captures the intuition that the existence of alternatives to the contrastive topic is a part of the conventional meaning of a contrastive topic construction, rather than a conversational implicature. Second, I imported from the functional literature the requirement that contrastive topics must be familiar in the discourse, in the sense provided in (23). This notion of familiarity is also relevant to the discourse function of both CLD and HTLD. The discourse

referent of the LD'ed element in both these constructions must be familiar. However, only HTLD promotes this familiar discourse referent to topic status.

CLD and HTLD are members of a larger typology of preposing constructions. The evidence presented in this chapter suggests a connection between preposing (movement) constructions and a contrastive topic interpretation. The construction involving movement (CLD) exhibits a contrastive topic interpretation, but the base generated construction, HTLD, does not. This pattern is not particular to Czech. Gregory and Michaelis 2001 show that English preposing constructions differ significantly in their discourse functions. English HTLD (non-movement) is similar to Czech HTLD in that it is a topic promotion construction. Topicalization (movement), on the other hand, is not topic promoting. Prince 1981, 1997 argues that it is, instead, a contrastive topic construction.

The same is true for Bulgarian and German. Arnaudova 2004 analyzes two Bulgarian preposing constructions, Clitic Left Dislocation Constructions (CLLD) and topicalization. She finds that the movement construction, topicalization, has a contrastive topic interpretation along the lines of Büring 2003, while CLLD (non-movement) has a topic/comment structure. The same appears to be true of German. Although Frey 2004a, 2005 is cast in a different framework, his analysis of German CLD⁸ and HTLD suggests that CLD constructions in German have a 'contrastive flavor' along the lines of contrastive topic, while HTLD does not. Under his analysis

⁸ He uses the term, *German Left Dislocation* (GLD), rather than *Contrastive Left Dislocation*, but I follow Grohmann 2003 and use CLD.

HTLD constructions serve to introduce new discourse topics; this is compatible with what I have established for HTLD in Czech.

A question to consider why this pairing between movement and contrastive topic and non-movement and topic/comment might hold across languages.