

# Resumption in Czech Left Dislocation: The Syntax-Phonology Interface\*

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H5

## 1. Introduction

In Left Dislocation in Czech, a dislocated XP precedes a clause with a coreferent left edge resumptive element (for the first discussions of these constructions, see Ross 1967, van Riemsdijk and Zwarts 1974/1997).

- (1) Toho kluka, toho neznám.<sup>1</sup>  
that guy<sub>ACC</sub> that<sub>ACC</sub> NEG-know  
'That guy, I don't know him.'

The appearance of both a left dislocated XP and a left-edge resumptive element, underlined in the above example, raises several syntactic questions. What movement or other binding relationship holds between these two coreferent elements? If the relationship is one of movement, what accounts for the pronunciation of two elements (the left dislocate and the resumptive) in the movement chain?

I show that there are two types of left dislocation constructions in Czech: one involves movement of the dislocate to the left edge and one base generation. For the movement left dislocation construction, resumption is analyzed as a reflex of the phonological, not the syntactic, component of the grammar (see also Pesetsky 1998, Franks 1998,

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<sup>1</sup> Much of the data considered in this paper are textual examples collected from the Czech National Corpus ([www.ucnk.ff.cuni.cz](http://www.ucnk.ff.cuni.cz)) and through Google searches. Examples with no website or corpus attribution were elicited from native speakers.

Bošković 2001, Stjepanović 2003, Landau 2005, among others). Due to the prosodic requirements of the structural position of the resumptive element, pronunciation of an otherwise unpronounced movement copy is required.

## 2. Syntax of Czech Left Dislocation

Czech has two distinct left dislocation constructions, Contrastive Left Dislocation (CLD), (2), and Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD), (3). In both constructions, a constituent at the left edge is separated from the following clause by an intonational break and a coreferent resumptive demonstrative pronoun appears at the left edge of a clause which has all its argument positions filled. Within the clause, there is a gap that is bound by the left dislocated element and the resumptive.

These two constructions also exhibit surface differences which suggest that the left dislocates in the two constructions are generated through distinct syntactic mechanisms. CLD is characterized by obligatory case matching between the left dislocated element and the resumptive demonstrative. Both appear in the expected case of the clause-internal gap, accusative, see (2).

- (2) Ostatně toho draka<sub>1</sub>, toho<sub>1</sub> by si mohl tak  
 besides that dragon<sub>ACC</sub> that<sub>ACC</sub> COND-CL REFL-CL be-able-to so  
 jedině namalovat...  
 only draw<sub>INF</sub>  
 ‘Besides, that dragon<sub>1</sub>, he would only be able to draw him<sub>1</sub>...’  
 (Czech National Corpus) (CLD)

In HTLD, case matching, among other connectivity effects, is absent. The dislocate appears in the default, nominative case, even though the resumptive element is in the dative in (3).

- (3) Anička? Té se nic nestalo.  
 Anička<sub>NOM</sub> that<sub>DAT</sub> REFL-CL nothing NEG-happened  
 ‘Anička? Nothing happened to her.’  
 (Czech National Corpus) (HTLD)

I argue that the syntactic mechanism responsible for positioning the left dislocated element at the left edge of the clause accounts for the surface differences between the two constructions. CLD is generated through movement of the left dislocate from its base position, through [Spec, IP], to a position high in the left periphery, while the left dislocate in HTLD is base-generated in its surface position.

Evidence for a movement account of CLD comes from connectivity. Effects such as case matching and reconstruction for Condition A provide evidence of a tight syntactic connection between the left dislocated XP and the gap in CLD. Possessive reflexives in Czech obey Condition A (Toman 1991, Sturgeon 2003), (4).

- (4) Honza<sub>1</sub> dal svému<sub>1</sub> příteli dárek.  
 Honza gave self's friend<sub>DAT</sub> present  
 'Honza<sub>1</sub> gave his<sub>1</sub> friend a present.'

Possessive reflexives, however, can appear in the left dislocate in CLD. This suggests that reconstruction to a clause-internal position for interpretation of the possessive reflexive is possible, (5).

- (5) [Svého<sub>1</sub> nejlepšího přítele]<sub>2</sub>, toho má Honza<sub>1</sub> rád t<sub>2</sub>.  
 self's best friend<sub>ACC</sub> that<sub>ACC</sub> has Honza joy  
 'His<sub>1</sub> best friend, Honza<sub>1</sub> likes him.' (CLD)

R-expressions in Czech respect Condition C; the example in (6) is ungrammatical if the two R-expressions co-refer.

- (6) Honza<sub>1</sub> podal Honzovi<sub>2/\*1</sub> pivo.  
 Honza passed Honza<sub>DAT</sub> beer.  
 'Honza<sub>1</sub> passed Honza<sub>2/\*1</sub> a beer.'

CLD'ed elements are also subject to Condition C. Reconstruction of the left dislocated element in (7) triggers a violation of Condition C if the null subject and *Jan* co-refer because the null subject pronoun commands the base position of the left dislocated element.

- (7) Faktu, že Jan<sub>1</sub> je chudý, tomu nepřikládá<sub>2/\*1</sub> velký význam.  
 fact<sub>DAT</sub> that Jan is poor that<sub>DAT</sub> NEG-attach big meaning  
 ‘The fact that Jan<sub>1</sub> is poor, he<sub>2/\*1</sub> doesn’t care about it.’ (CLD)

The sentence in (7) is grammatical, however, if the R-expression, *Jan*, and the subject of the matrix verb do not corefer. Reconstruction effects are expected if the CLD’ed element moves from a clause internal position to a position high in the left periphery.<sup>2</sup>

HTLD differs from CLD in that there is no evidence of a syntactic connection between the left dislocated element and the clause internal gap.<sup>3</sup> Reconstruction to satisfy Condition A is not possible in hanging topic constructions, (8).

- (8) \*Svoje<sub>1</sub> sestřenice Anička, tu má Honza<sub>1</sub> rád.  
 self’s cousin Anna<sub>NOM</sub> that<sub>ACC</sub> have Honza happiness  
 ‘His<sub>1</sub> cousin Anna, Honza<sub>1</sub> likes her.’ (HTLD)

Unlike CLD, bound pronominals cannot appear in the dislocate in HTLD, see (9).

- (9) \*Svůj<sub>1</sub> nejlepší přítel, toho má každý<sub>1</sub> rád.  
 self’s best friend<sub>NOM</sub>, that<sub>ACC</sub> has every(one) joy  
 Intended: ‘Self’s<sub>1</sub> own best friend, everyone<sub>1</sub> loves him.’  
 (HTLD)

Reconstruction for Condition C is evaluated from the surface position of the left dislocate (see Sturgeon 2006). Due to the lack of reconstruction effects, I assume that hanging topics are base-generated at the left edge of the clause.

The proposed structures for CLD and HTLD are given in (10).

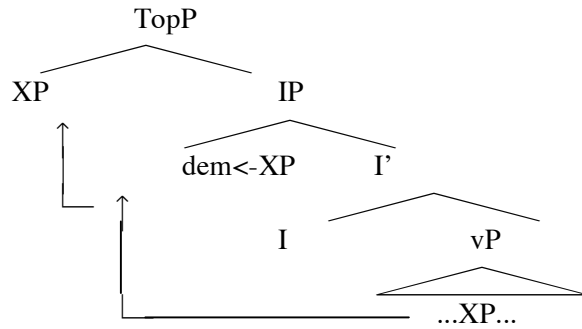
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<sup>2</sup> Quantifier binding relationships are also evaluated under reconstruction. Due to space limitations, this evidence is not presented here (see Sturgeon 2006).

<sup>3</sup> Note, however, that both CLD and HTLD are subject to island effects because the resumptive element in both constructions moves to the left edge of the clause. For HTLD constructions this left edge position, [Spec, IP] is the final position of the resumptive (see Sturgeon 2006 for additional discussion).

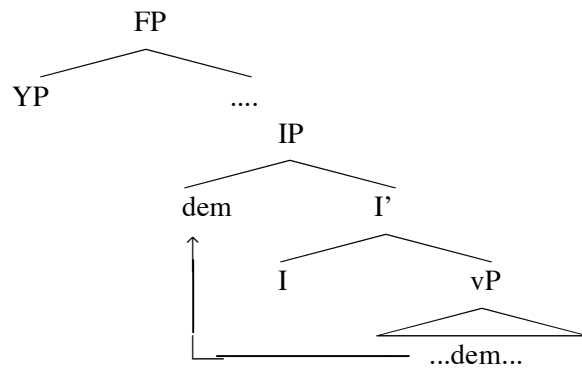
(10) a. **CLD**

The left dislocate moves from its base position within the clause, through [Spec, IP] to [Spec, TopP].



b. **HTLD**

The left dislocate is base-generated at the left edge of the clause and a clause-internal demonstrative moves to [Spec, IP].



Positing a movement analysis for CLD and a base generation analysis for HTLD makes the correct predictions with respect to connectivity effects, as shown above. It also makes the correct predictions regarding the appearance of the resumptive in HTLD. The resumptive is the head of a movement chain, and, therefore, is expected to be pronounced. The pro-

nunciation of a resumptive element in CLD, however, remains mysterious. Intermediate movement copies are generally unpronounced.

### 3. Topic Promotion and HTLD

As has been suggested for left dislocation in other languages, the discourse function of HTLD in Czech is that of topic promotion (for English, see also Gundel 1974/1988, Gregory and Michaelis 2001, among others). The use of the HTLD construction in (11b) indicates to the hearer that the discourse referent has been promoted to topic status.

- (11) a. A man approaches; it is Mr. Kopyto. People call out to him.  
Otto is thinking, what a strange name.
- b. „Pan Kopyto, toho oni neznají.”  
Mr. Kopyto<sub>NOM</sub> that<sub>ACC</sub> you NEG-know  
“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.”  
(Czech National Corpus) (HTLD)

One indication that Mr. Kopyto has been promoted to topic is that he is the subject of the four following sentences, see (11c).

### 4. Contrastive Topic and CLD

Prince 1981 and Büring 2003 (among others) discuss constructions which have an interpretation Büring calls ‘contrastive topic’. CLD, as opposed to HTLD, is used in contrastive contexts and can be characterized as instantiating this discourse function.<sup>4</sup> Jackendoff 1972 identifies A and B accents in English. The A accent is a rising intonational contour which falls on focused (F) elements. This accent contrasts with the B-accent, a fall-rise intonational contour associated

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<sup>4</sup> From a corpus of approximately 100 naturally occurring textual examples of left dislocation, I extracted 23 examples which were unambiguously CLD. All of these examples exhibited a contrastive topic discourse function.

with contrastive topics (CT). An example of a topicalization construction in English is associated with both A and B accents, (12).

- (12) a. Where were you at the time of the murder?  
b. I<sub>CT</sub> was at HOME<sub>F</sub>. (Roberts 1996: 122)

This intonational pattern has two requirements. The first is that a focused element also appear in the clause. The second is that the contrastive topic intonation creates the expectation that there are answers to parallel questions involving alternatives to the contrastive topic in (12b): ‘But Bill<sub>CT</sub> was at the BAR<sub>F</sub>’.

CLD builds on a parallel topicalization construction in Czech: an XP with a contrastive topic interpretation moves from its base position to [Spec, IP] (Hajičová et al. 2003, Veselá et al. 2003). The first conjunct in (13) illustrates a topicalization construction in Czech, and the second clause provides context for the topicalization.

- (13) [Tu zajímavou knížku]<sub>CT1</sub> četla Hana<sub>F</sub> t<sub>1</sub>, ale [tu nudnou]<sub>CT</sub>  
that interesting book<sub>ACC</sub> read Hana but that boring<sub>ACC</sub>  
Martina<sub>F</sub>.  
Martina  
‘That interesting book Hana read, but that boring one Martina  
read.’ (CLD)

The contrastive topic in the first conjunct suggests to the hearer that there are alternatives to *tu zajímavou knížku* (‘that interesting book<sub>ACC</sub>’) in the discourse that were read by different people. The second conjunct overtly mentions one of these alternatives.

In CLD, the dislocate undergoes an additional leftward movement to a functional projection dominating the clausal domain and a resumptive element remains in [Spec, IP]. In the textual example in (14b), the speaker is contrasting two discourse entities: that guy (who he doesn’t know) and Prochor (who he recognizes).

- (14) a. Anyone who knows that guy will laugh at least...  
 b. Toho kluka<sub>CT</sub>??? Toho neznám<sub>F</sub>, ale Prochora<sub>CT</sub> v něm  
 that guy<sub>ACC</sub> that<sub>ACC</sub> NEG-know but Prochor in it  
 poznávám<sub>F</sub>.  
 recognize  
 ‘That guy<sub>CT</sub>, I don’t<sub>F</sub> know him, but Prochor<sub>CT</sub> I recognize<sub>F</sub>.’  
 (<http://www.dfklub.cz/gallery/opinion.php?id=10917>) (CLD)

The use of the CLD construction in (14b) indicates to the hearer that the discourse referent of the DP will be contrasted with another referent in the discourse. Mention of Prochor in the second conjunct satisfies this expectation.

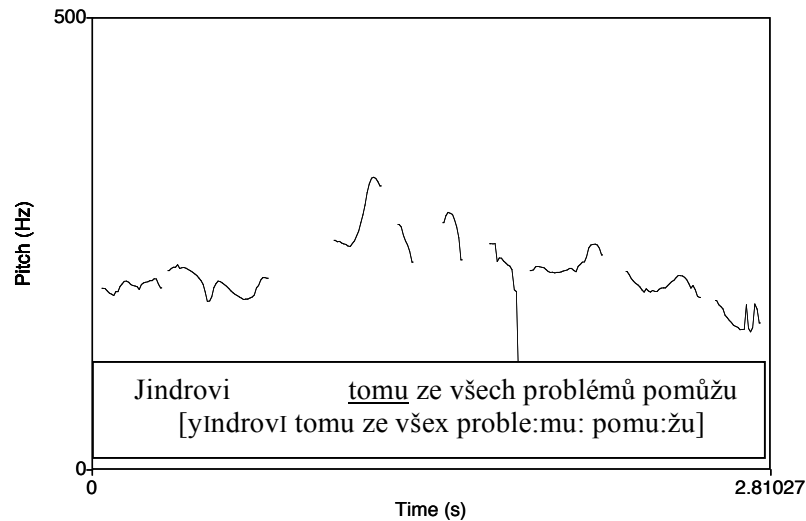
## 5. Prosody and Left Dislocation

Like contrastive topicalization in English, a particular intonational contour is associated with both contrastive topicalization and CLD constructions in Czech.

Prosodic data were collected from two native Czech speakers in a phonetic experiment. The speakers were presented with 26 sentence tokens in written form and asked to read the tokens in sequence. The tokens consisted of HTLD and CLD tokens interspersed with filler examples. Since expressions containing CLD and HTLD’ed elements are highly sensitive to context, the appropriate context was created by introducing these tokens with one or more sentences. Through this experiment, I determined that the resumptive element in CLD constructions carries the prosodic rise associated with the contrastive topic interpretation of this construction, see (15). This rise is the same as that found for topicalized elements, which are known to have a contrastive topic interpretation, in Veselá et al. 2003.

- (15) Jindrovi, tomu ze všech problémů pomůžu...  
 Jindra<sub>DAT</sub> that<sub>DAT</sub> from all problems help<sub>1SG</sub>  
 ‘Jindra, I help him with all his problems...’  
 (modified from the Czech National Corpus) (CLD)

(16) Pitch track for (15b) (CLD)<sup>5</sup>



In the above pitch track, we see that the marked rise in pitch falls on the demonstrative element, *tomu* ('that').<sup>6</sup> Since this rise in pitch is the same as that found on topicalized elements in Czech by Veselá et al. 2003, I suggest that CLD'ed elements are also interpreted as contrastive topics and the locus of that interpretation is on the demonstrative resumptive.

## 6. The Syntax of Resumption

Many previous analyses of left dislocation have appealed to 'chain formation': a base-generated left dislocate forms a chain with a demonstrative which has moved to the left edge of the clause (Anagnostopoulou 1997, Wiltschko 1997, among others). With the advent of the Copy and Delete Theory of movement (Chomsky 1995), it is possible to provide a movement account of this construction without

<sup>5</sup> Phonetic research was done using Praat (Boersma and Weenink 1999-2006).

<sup>6</sup> The intonational pattern in HTLD constructions is distinct. There is no particular rise in pitch on either the left dislocated element or on the left-edge resumptive (see Sturgeon 2006).

the additional machinery associated with chain formation. I follow Vat 1981/1997 and Grohmann 2003 in advocating a movement account and suggest that the resumptive is a spelled out movement copy.

Spell-out of the resumptive element in CLD is motivated at the Syntax-Phonology Interface and depends crucially on the phonetic evidence provided in the previous section. The analysis is as follows. The locus of the intonational rise associated with the contrastive topic discourse function of CLD is the demonstrative pronoun, which I argue is located in [Spec, IP]. This prosodic rise requires overt phonetic material for expression, and the material which is available for pronunciation in this position is the movement copy of the CLD'ed phrase. As a result, this intermediate movement copy, which would otherwise remain unpronounced, must be pronounced at PF. A detailed analysis of this process is provided in section 6.2.

### *6.1 The syntax of CLD*

Diverging from a recent account of movement (Grohmann 2003), I assume that the two leftward movements in this construction (first to [Spec, IP], then to [Spec, TopP]) are motivated by distinct discursual features. It was established in section 4 that the CLD construction indicates that the CLD'ed element is a contrastive topic, and there is prosodic evidence for locating this interpretation in [Spec, IP]: the intonational contour associated with the contrastive topic discourse function falls on the resumptive which has moved to [Spec, IP] from a clause-internal position. As discussed in section 4, contrastive topic constructions also create the expectation that there are alternatives to the contrastive topic in the discourse. I suggest that CLD constructions introduce a connection to a set of alternatives through the additional leftward movement to a position high in the left periphery, [Spec, TopP] (for additional discussion, see Sturgeon 2006). In order to represent that connection in the syntactic structure, I posit that this higher position is associated with a familiarity interpretation. Movement to this position serves to establish a connection between the discourse referent of the left dislocate and a previously mentioned set of alternatives to the contrastive topic in the discourse. The discourse referent of the left dislocate is familiar in the discourse, defined in (17).

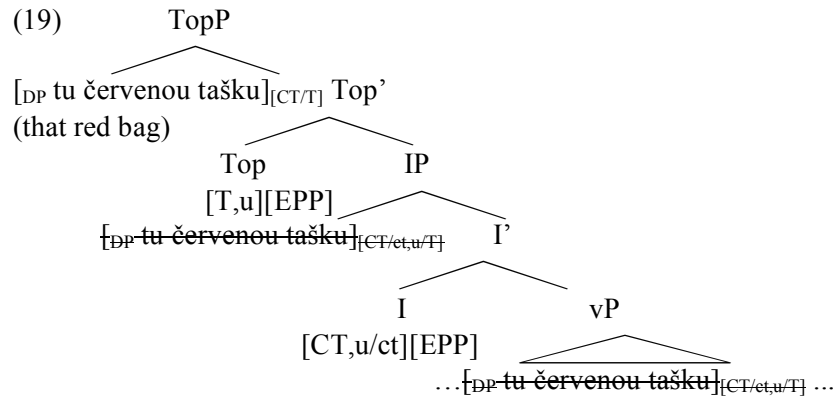
- (17) *Familiar*: The referent or property denoted by the XP is a member of a previously evoked cognitively salient set or is in a part-whole relation with an already introduced referent or property. (modified from Frey 2005: (40))

I adopt the feature-based movement of the Minimalist Program. I assume that movement for contrastive topicalization is an operator movement on par with wh-movement. Movement to [Spec, IP], an A-bar position, is motivated by the EPP feature on  $I^0$  and by contrastive topic operator features on  $I^0$  ([CT,u/ct]) and the left dislocate ([CT/ct,u]). The final movement, to [Spec, TopP] is motivated by both the EPP and an uninterpretable familiarity feature (T) on the head and an interpretable T feature on the moved XP. The proposed structure is illustrated in (19) for the example in (18).<sup>7</sup>

- (18) Tu červenou tašku, tu si koupila Jana.  
 that red bag<sub>ACC</sub> that<sub>ACC</sub> REFL-CL bought Jana  
 ‘That red bag, Jana bought it.’ (CLD)

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<sup>7</sup> I assume that the EPP on [Spec, IP] motivates movement of the highest XP with the appropriate featural make-up. For instance, the highest wh-phrase or contrastive topic will raise to [Spec, IP] if an uninterpreted wh or ct feature appears in  $I^0$ . In the absence of an operator feature on  $I^0$ , the highest XP in the clause will raise and be interpreted as a topic. This derives the unmarked word order, SVO; in unmarked clauses, the highest XP, generally the subject, raises to [Spec, IP]. To account for the many verb-initial sentences in this pro-drop language, I follow Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998 and assume the verb raises to  $I^0$  in just these cases and that that satisfies the EPP. (see Sturgeon 2006 for additional details).



A final problem remains. In movement, the top copy is pronounced and lower copies delete. This would require that the intermediate copy in [Spec, IP] remain unpronounced.

## 6.2 Pronouncing the resumptive

Recent work within Minimalism has linked pronunciation of non-initial copies or multiple chain links to PF requirements in the grammar. Since movement leaves multiple copies in multiple syntactic positions, the possibility that multiple chain links are pronounced at PF is available. Several researchers have suggested the following: narrow syntax is responsible for movement and the PF component of the grammar determines which chain links surface overtly (Pesetsky 1998, Franks 1998, Bošković 2001, Stjepanović 2003, among others). Landau 2005 suggests that multiple positions in a movement chain can be pronounced due to constraints in the PF component of the grammar: copies spell out overtly at PF when they are *associated* with phonetic content. There are two ways an element can be *associated with phonetic content*. The first is a positional requirement. A head can require that the  $X^0$  that is adjoined to it or that the XP in its specifier position spell out overtly. The second is intrinsic. For example, if an element does not move, it has phonetic content (Landau, p.c.). A definition is given in (20).

- (20) *X is associated with phonetic content* iff:  
a. X has phonetic content, or  
b. X is in a position specified with some phonological requirement.  
(Landau 2005: (52))

To implement the spell out of elements which are ‘associated with phonetic content’, Landau posits a principle of P recoverability, (21).

- (21) *P-Recoverability*  
In a chain  $\langle X_1, \dots, X_i, \dots, X_n \rangle$  where  $X_i$  is associated with phonetic content,  $X_i$  must be pronounced. (Landau 2005: (53))

An economy condition ensures that copies not associated with phonological requirements are deleted, (22).

- (22) *Economy of Pronunciation*  
Delete all chain copies at PF up to P-recoverability.  
(Landau 2005: (60))

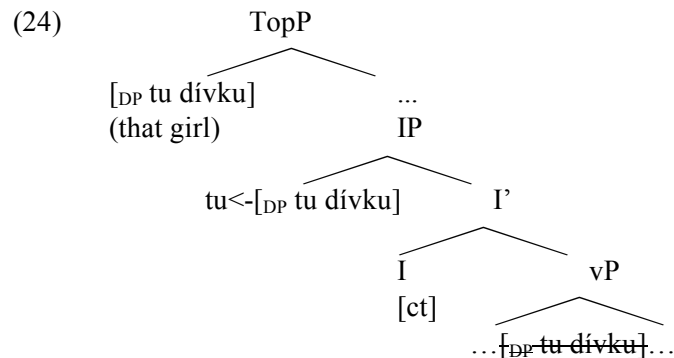
I extend Landau’s 2005 proposal to Czech CLD. The intuition behind this proposal is simple. In order for the prosodic contour associated with the resumptive element to be realized, overt material must appear in [Spec, IP]. The intermediate copy of the left dislocate in [Spec, IP] is required to spell out because it is in a structural position associated with a phonological requirement. When  $I^0$  bears a contrastive topic operator feature (ct), it requires the element in its specifier position to be associated with a prosodic rise. The highest position of the movement chain, the position of the left dislocate, is pronounced due to a requirement that top positions in the chain be realized overtly.<sup>8</sup> The base position in the chain is not associated with any phonological requirement and remains unpronounced.

The tree in (24) illustrates the proposal for (23).

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<sup>8</sup> Landau, p.c., suggests that a requirement of this sort is required in the grammar. Note, however, that this type of requirement is not found in Franks 1998 and Bošković 2001.

- (23) Ale tu dívku ... tu znám určitě...  
 but that girl<sub>ACC</sub> that<sub>ACC</sub> know<sub>1SG</sub> for-sure  
 ‘But that girl, I know her for sure...’ (CLD)



I suggest that the fact that it is only the demonstrative and not the entire DP that is pronounced at PF can be explained through an extension of Landau’s Economy of Pronunciation, (22); the intermediate copy is phonologically reduced to the corresponding pronominal element. All that is needed is overt phonetic material to carry the intonational rise; the full DP is not required. What is pronounced, then, is the demonstrative pronoun that corresponds to the discourse referent of the DP.<sup>9,10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> It is tempting to suggest that the DP undergoes an ellipsis-like process and is syntactically reduced to its D<sup>0</sup>. An analysis of this type is contraindicated by data from left dislocated conjoined DP’s, see (1).

- (1) Toho svého psa a tu svou kočku, ty/ \*[toho a tu] mám  
 that self’s dog<sub>ACC</sub> and that self’s cat<sub>ACC</sub> them/[that<sub>ACC</sub> and that<sub>ACC</sub> have  
 ráda.  
 joy  
 ‘My dog and cat, I love them.’

In (1), the conjoined DP’s are resumed by a plural pronoun, rather than conjoined D heads. This suggests that the resumptive corresponds to the semantic type of the CLD’s DP, rather than a stranded syntactic head.

<sup>10</sup> Due to space restrictions, it is not possible to discuss the use of the demonstrative, rather than personal, pronoun in CLD constructions. A discussion of this can be found in Sturgeon 2006.

## 7. Conclusion

Czech has two, previously undescribed, left dislocation constructions, CLD and HTLD. Resumption in HTLD is straightforward. The resumptive element is required to move to the left edge of the clause, heads a movement chain and, for that reason, is pronounced.<sup>11</sup> Resumption in CLD is more mysterious. Pronunciation of both the left dislocate and the resumptive in CLD is understood within a framework in which multiple movement copies may be pronounced at PF. Due to the fact that the resumptive element carries the prosodic rise associated with the contrastive topic interpretation of the construction, it must be pronounced at PF.

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<sup>11</sup> Obligatory movement of the resumptive in HTLD constructions is a reflex of its discourse function. HTLD'ed DP's are interpreted as topics, and for that reason, must appear in [Spec, IP], which is the position associated with topics in Czech (see Sturgeon 2006 for a more detailed discussion).

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