

Contrastive Left Dislocation in Czech: Evidence for a movement analysis*

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0 Introduction

- A long-standing puzzle in the literature on left dislocation is the means by which the left dislocated element is related to its corresponding resumptive pronoun and clause-internal gap (van Riemsdijk and Zwarts 1974/1997, Anagnostopoulou 1997, Vat 1997, Grohmann 2003, among others).
- New evidence from Czech Contrastive Left Dislocation (a construction, as yet, not discussed in the literature) sheds light on this puzzle.
- Researchers have argued for a chain formation account of this construction due to certain syntactic connections between the left dislocated element and the clause internal gap, such as case matching and reconstruction effects (Cinque 1991, Wiltschko 1997, Frey 2003).
- I follow Grohmann 2003 in advocating, instead, a Copy and Delete movement approach to Contrastive Left Dislocation.

Goal:

- Present new evidence from Czech which supports a tight syntactic connection between the left dislocated element, the resumptive pronoun and the clause internal gap in CLD.

1 Overview of left dislocation in Czech

- Two types of left dislocation constructions, Contrastive Left Dislocation (CLD) and Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD), are found.
- In both constructions there is:
 - a constituent at the left edge separated from the following clause by an intonational break
 - a coreferent resumptive pronoun (usually a demonstrative) at the left edge of a clause which has all its argument positions filled
 - a clause internal gap bound by the left dislocated element and the resumptive
- These constructions also differ in several important ways.
- One difference is that in CLD constructions, the left dislocated element matches the case of the resumptive (the expected case of the clause internal gap).

- (1) *Ostatně toho draka₁, toho₁ by si mohl tak jedině namalovat... CLD*
besides that dragon.acc that.acc would-cl refl-cl be-able-to so only draw.inf
'Besides, that dragon₁, he would only be able to draw him₁...' (Czech National Corpus¹)

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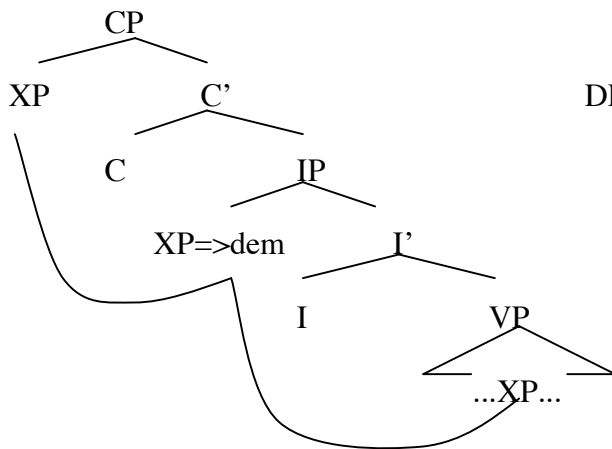
¹ The Czech National Corpus is sponsored by Charles University (Prague, Czech Republic); it can be found on the web at www.ucnk.ff.cuni.cz.

- In HTLD constructions, this type of case matching is absent. The left dislocated element, instead, occurs in a default nominative case.

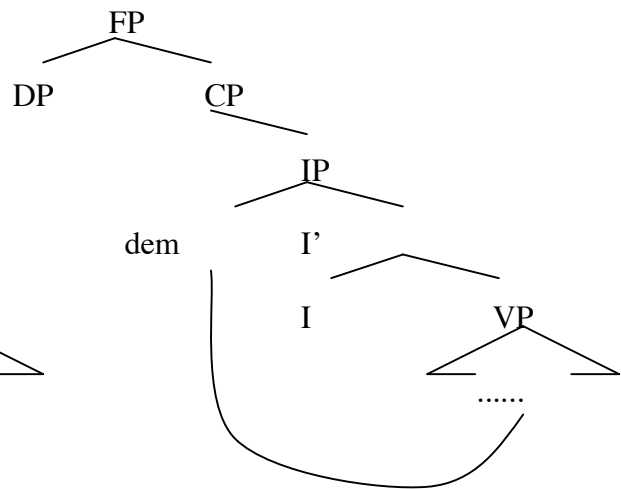
(2) *Opal? Tě se nic nestalo.* **HTLD**
 Opal.nom that.dat refl-cl nothing neg-happened
 ‘Opal? Nothing happened to her.’ (Czech National Corpus)

- There are additional discourse differences between these two constructions. For instance, CLD constructions can be used to answer WH-questions; HTLD constructions cannot.
- I promote a movement account of CLD due to the matching effects given above and other connectivity effects shown in section 2, see the tree in (3a).
 - The left dislocated element moves from its base position within the clause through [Spec, IP] and to [Spec, CP]. The resumptive pronoun is Spelled Out as a demonstrative pronoun in [Spec, IP].
 - The demonstrative is a Spelled Out trace of movement, possibly due to an EPP feature in [Spec, IP] (see also Landau to appear).
- I suggest that the left dislocated element in HTLD constructions is base generated in its base position; I provide more evidence for this in section 3.
 - A clause internal is topicalized (moves to [Spec, IP]).

(3a) **CLD:**



(3b) **HTLD:**



2 Syntactic Characteristics of CLD

- There is evidence of a tight syntactic connection between the left dislocated element, the resumptive and the gap in CLD constructions.
- Familiar evidence from condition A and idiom chunk interpretation, along with new evidence from indefinite interpretation show a syntactic connection between the left dislocated element and the clause internal gap in CLD. Evidence from quantifier binding and condition C are found in the Appendix.

2.1 Condition A

- Classic arguments from reconstruction for condition A suggest a tight syntactic connection between the CLD'ed element and the clause-internal gap.
- Possessive reflexives in Czech obey condition A, (4).

(4) *Honza₁ dal svému₁ příteli dárek.*
 Honza gave self's friend.dat present
 'Honza₁ gave his₁ friend a present.'

- The possessive reflexive in (5) is ungrammatical because it is not c-commanded by its antecedent.

(5) *Honza₁ měl narozeniny minulý týden. *Svůj₁ přítel mu dal dárek.*
 Honza had birthday last week self's friend him-cl gave present
 'Honza had a birthday last week. His₁ friend gave him a present.'

Czech has no logophoric reflexives; this) (see also Sturgeon 2003).

- Possessive reflexives can be left dislocated in CLD constructions.
- This suggests that reconstruction to a clause-internal position for interpretation of the possessive reflexive is possible, (6).

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

2.2 Idiom Chunks

- Researchers have argued that idioms must be generated in a strictly local configuration (Marantz 1984, Bhatt 2002, among others).
- Traditionally, idiom chunks have been used to distinguish between raising and control predicates. Idiom chunks cannot occur in control constructions because the idiom would be split between different clauses. This is true in Czech.
- The idiom chunk *ranní ptáče* ('early bird') from the idiom, *Ranní ptáče dál doskáče* ('The early bird jumps farther'), cannot be separated from the rest of the idiom in a control construction. (7) is grammatical, but not under an idiomatic interpretation.

(7) *Požádala jsem ranní ptáče, aby dál doskákalo.*
 required aux.1sg early bird.acc that.3sg far hopped
 'I required the early bird to jump farther.'

- Idiom chunk interpretation, however, is retained in CLD constructions, (8). This suggests reconstruction of the left dislocated element.

- (8) *Opici, tu má Olinka.* **CLD**
 monkey.acc, that.acc has Olinka
 ‘Drunk, Olinka is that.’
 Lit: ‘A monkey, Olinka has one.’

2.3 Indefinites

- New evidence for this syntactic connection can be found in indefinite interpretation. A CLD’ed element can be interpreted as a non-specific indefinite, (9).
- The nominal in (9) must be interpreted in a syntactic position below *want* to achieve narrow scope with respect to the verb (Halvorsen 1977).

- (9) *Kočku nechci, ale psa, toho bych chtěla.* **CLD**
 cat neg-want but dog.acc that.acc would wanted
 ‘A cat I don’t want, but a dog, I want one.’

Interim Conclusion:

- CLD exhibits a close syntactic connection between the left dislocated element and the clause internal gap.
- This close syntactic connection can be accounted for through a movement account of the CLD’ed element from its base position to a position at the left edge

3 Syntactic Characteristics of HTLD

- HTLD differs from CLD in that there is no evidence of a syntactic connection between the left dislocated element and the clause internal gap.
- Evidence from condition A, idiom chunks and indefinites is given here. Additional evidence from condition C and quantifier binding is in the Appendix.

Condition A

- Reconstruction to satisfy condition A is not possible in HTLD constructions, (10).

- (10) **Svoje₁ sestřenice Anička, tu má Honza₁ rád.* **HTLD**
 self’s cousin Anna.nom that.acc have Honza happiness
 ‘His₁ cousin Anna, Honza₁ likes her.’

Idiom Chunks

- Idiom chunk interpretation is not maintained in HTLD constructions. As opposed to CLD, the only available interpretation in (11) is the literal one.

- (11) *Opice, tu má Olinka.* **HTLD**
 monkey.nom that.acc has Olinka
 ‘A monkey, Olinka has one.’ *‘Olinka is drunk.’ (idiomatic interpretation)

Indefinites

- *Pes* ('dog.nom') in (12) cannot be interpreted as a non-specific indefinite suggesting that the left dislocated element does not reconstruct to a position below the verb, *want*.

(12) **Kočku nechci, ale pes, toho bych chtěla.* **HTLD**
cat neg-want but dog.nom that.acc would wanted
'A cat I don't want, but a dog, I want one.'

- I suggest that the left dislocated constituent in HTLD constructions is base generated in its surface position.

4 Syntactic Connection between the Resumptive and the CLD'ed element

- There is also a syntactic connection between the left dislocated element and the resumptive pronoun in CLD constructions.

4.1 Gender matching

- New evidence from gender matching suggest a tight connection between the resumptive pronoun and the left dislocated element in CLD constructions. This connection is not found in HTLD.
- In Czech it is possible to refer to animals, including pets, pronominally in either their natural gender or in the neuter.²

(13) *Kde je fenka? To/Ta je pod stolem v kuchyně.*
where is dog.fem it.neut/it.fem is under table in kitchen
'Where is the dog? It is under the table in the kitchen.'

- Matching is not required in HTLD constructions, (14); both the neuter and the feminine demonstratives are possible.

(14) *Ta kočka, to/tu má podomek rád.* **HTLD**
that cat.fem.nom that.neut.acc/that.fem.acc had servant joy
'That (Czech National Corpus)

- In CLD constructions, however, the resumptive pronoun must match the left dislocated element in grammatical gender, (15).

(15) *Tu svou kočku, tu/*to má podomek rád.* **CLD**
that self's cat.fem.acc that.fem.acc/that.neut.acc had servant joy
'That cat, the servant loved it.' (modified from the Czech National Corpus)

- This matching effect suggests a tight syntactic connection between the CLD'ed element and the resumptive pronoun: further evidence for movement of the left dislocated element through [Spec, IP] to the left edge.

² Note that the natural gender of most animals is indicated by the gender of the lexical item, *fenka* ('dog.fem'). In this case the masculine word for dog, *pes*, is morphologically unrelated to the feminine.

5 Conclusion

- Connectivity and matching facts support a close syntactic connection between the left dislocated element, the resumptive pronoun and the clause internal gap in CLD constructions.
- I propose a movement account in which the left dislocated element moves from its base position within the clause to its surface left edge position, [Spec, CP], leaving behind a demonstrative resumptive pronoun in [Spec, IP] as shown in the tree in (3a) (see also Pesetsky 1998, Landau to appear).
- Though both a chain formation analysis and a movement analysis could be made to account for these facts, a movement account can be made to account for the facts straightforwardly without the additional machinery associated with chain formation.³
- Also, given restrictions imposed by the Minimalist Program, such as Inclusiveness, there is no means by which to represent chains.

6 Appendix

6.1 Additional evidence for syntactic movement in CLD constructions

- Evidence from condition C and quantifier binding also show connectivity between the CLD'ed element and the clause internal gap.

Condition C

- R-expressions in Czech respect condition C. (16) is ungrammatical if the two R-expressions co-refer.

(16) *Honza₁ podal Honzovi_{2/*1} pivo.*
Honza passed Honza.dat beer.
'Honza passed Honza a beer.'

- Reconstruction of the left dislocated element in (17) triggers a violation of condition C as the null subject pronoun c-commands the base position of the left dislocated element.

(17) *Faktu, že Martin₁ je chudý, tomu nepřikládá_{2/*1} velký význam.* **CLD**
fact.dat that Martin is poor that.dat neg.care big meaning
'The fact that Martin₁ is poor, he_{2/*1} doesn't attach much importance to it.'

Quantifier binding

- Quantifier binding requires that a quantificational NP c-command a bound pronominal.
- It is not possible for the quantifier to bind the possessive pronoun in (18) as c-command does not hold.

³ One definition of CHAIN used to account for Contrastive Left Dislocation in German (or German Left Dislocation) used by Frey 2003 is given in (i).

(i) A CHAIN $\langle a_i, \dots, a_n \rangle$ is a sequence of nodes sharing the same θ -role such that for any i , $1 \leq i < n$, a_i c-commands and is coindexed with a_{i+1} . (cf Cecchetto and Chierchia 1999)

(18) **Svoje₁ kočka kousnula každého₁ majitele.*
 self's cat bit every owner
 'His cat bit every owner.'

- In (19) the bound pronominal reading is available because the quantified NP c-commands the bound pronominal.

(19) *Každý₁ majitel krmil svoji₁ kočku.*
 every owner fed self's cat
 'Every owner fed his cat.'

- In order for the bound pronominal in the grammatical (20) to be c-commanded by its quantificational antecedent, reconstruction must take place.

(20) *Svého₁ nejlepšího přítele, toho má každý₁ rád.* **CLD**
 self's best friend.acc, that.acc has every(one) joy
 'One's₁ own best friend, everyone₁ loves them.'

6.2 Additional evidence for base generation in HTLD constructions

- There is also a lack of connectivity effects found through these additional tests: Condition C, quantifier binding.

Condition C

- Condition C is not violated in (21); the possessive *Honzův* ('Honza's') grammatically corefers with the clausal subject. This suggests that reconstruction does not take place.

(21) *Honzův₁ nejlepší přítel, tomu řekl₁ o své mámě.* **HTLD**
 Honza's best friend.nom that.dat said about self's mother
 'Honza's best friend, he told him about his mother.'

Quantifier Binding

- A clause internal quantificational NP cannot bind a left dislocated element, (22).

(22) **Svůj₁ nejlepší přítel, toho má každý₁ rád.* **HTLD**
 self's best friend.nom, that.acc has every(one) joy
 'One's₁ own best friend, everyone₁ loves them.'

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