

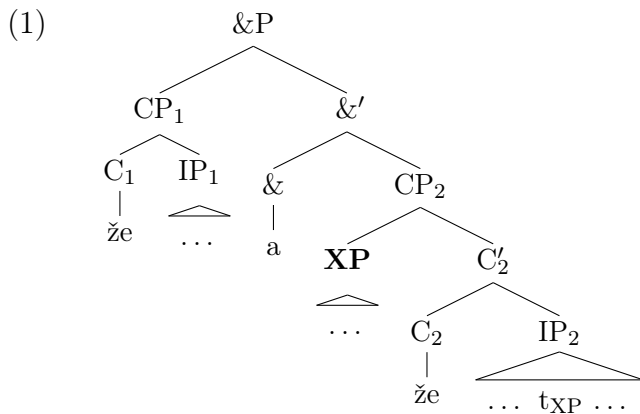
Topicalisation in coordination under subordination

INTRODUCTION This paper adds to the descriptive and theoretical work on Czech syntax and semantics by examining the properties of the boldfaced expression in (4). The embedded clausal coordination is assumed to have the structure indicated in (1). The main findings are: (i) when the topicalised constituent (i.e., XP) is interpreted as CT, the first conjunct has to comprise a constituent that is also interpreted as CT; (ii) in such cases, the word order within each conjunct is regulated by a combination of independent, language-specific restrictions, and a subset of principles proposed in Büring (2003; to appear).

BACKGROUND Jackendoff (1972) uses question-answer pairs to demonstrate how the form of the question can influence the form of the answer. As far as the phonetic realisation of the answer is concerned, he distinguishes between an A-accent and a B-accent. The former is realised with a fall accent and the latter with a fall-rise accent (p.261). Büring (2003) refers to any constituent realised with the A-accent as F, and to any constituent realised with the B-accent as CT. Depending on their interpretation, deaccented elements in the data set below are referred to as either T or G.

FINDINGS Considering basic question-answer pairs in Czech reveals that the order of constituents in the answer is regulated by the rule in (2). In principle, a (partial) answer to the question in (3) that comprises CT could have one of the following two constituent orders: SVO, OVS. If the order is SVO, S is interpreted as CT, V as G, and O as F. If the order is OVS, O is interpreted CT, V as G, and S as F. The sentences in (4) and (5) can both be used in reply to the question in (3). As far as coordination is concerned, the two conjuncts may (see (4)) or may not (see (5)) have an identical order of constituents. As far as semantics is concerned, each conjunct counts as a partial answer to the question in (3). According to Büring (to appear), the presence of CT in a clause indicates the presence of an alternative question. However, Büring's proposal does not force the answer to such a question to comprise CT. One prediction that follows from this is that it should be possible to coordinate a clause that comprises CT with a clause that does not comprise CT. A partial answer to the question in (3) can have an OSV order. Since V must be interpreted as G, either S or O might be interpreted as F. If S is interpreted as F, the sentence is severely degraded, regardless of whether O is interpreted as T or CT. If O is interpreted as F, S might be interpreted as T. However, the rule in (2) prevents it from being interpreted as CT. The structure in (6) satisfies all the necessary requirements on the use of CT in the second conjunct, yet it is ill-formed. I would like to argue that the presence of CT in between the conjunction *a* and the subordinating conjunction *že* forces the presence of CT in the first conjunct. If it did not, then it should be plausible to interpret *Petr* as T, *snědl* as G and *fazole* as F.

EVIDENCE It is also plausible for the CT-marked constituent in the second conjunct to follow *že*. If it is true that topicalisation has an interpretive effect, then the effect should be absent in the absence of topicalisation. The sentence in (7) shows that, when CT in the second conjunct is realised below *že*, the first conjunct need not contain CT. It is worth noting that the semantics of the complementiser *že* is not responsible for the interpretive effect mentioned above. The phenomenon can also be found in parallel constructions containing other complementisers (e.g., *aby*). The generalisation is that, when CT precedes the complementiser in the second conjunct, the first conjunct has to contain CT. Given this, the aforementioned movement operation should not be allowed in the absence of the first conjunct (cf. stripping), for there would be no second CT. The ungrammaticality of the sentence in (8), compared to the grammaticality of the sentence in (9), suggests that the above analysis is indeed correct.



REFERENCES

Jackendoff, R. (1972) *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Büring, D. (to appear) '(Contrastive) topic'. In *Handbook of Information Structure*, C. Féry and S. Ishihara (eds.). Oxford University Press.

Büring, D. (2003) 'On D-trees, beans, and B-accent'. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 26: 511-545.

(2) CT-PRECEDENCE

When a constituent interpreted as CT and a constituent interpreted as F occur within the same clause, the constituent interpreted as CT must linearly precede the constituent interpreted as F.

- (3) Kdo co snědl?
 who.NOM what.ACC eat.PST
 Who ate what?

- (4) Jakub řekl, že [Petr]_{CT} [snědl]_G [fazole]_F, a [Marie]_{CT} že
 Jacob.NOM say.PST že Peter.NOM eat.PST beans.ACC and Mary.NOM že
 [snědla]_G [špenát]_F. [[SVO]&[SVO]]
 eat.PST spinach.ACC
 Jacob said that Peter ate the beans, and that Mary ate the spinach.

- (5) Jakub řekl, že [fazole]_{CT} [snědl]_G [Petr]_F, a [Marie]_{CT} že
 Jacob.NOM say.PST že beans.ACC eat.PST Peter.NOM and Mary.NOM že
 [snědla]_G [špenát]_F. [[OVS]&[SVO]]
 eat.PST spinach.ACC
 Jacob said that the beans were eaten by Peter, and that Mary ate the spinach.

- (6) ??Jakub řekl, že [fazole]_{CT} [Petr]_F [snědl]_G, a [Marie]_{CT} že
 Jacob.NOM say.PST že beans.ACC Peter.NOM eat.PST and Mary.NOM že
 [snědla]_G [špenát]_F. [[OSV]&[SVO]]
 eat.PST spinach.ACC
 Jacob said that the beans were eaten by Peter, and that Mary ate the spinach.

- (7) (?)Jakub řekl, že [fazole]_F [Petr]_T [snědl]_G, a že [Marie]_{CT}
 Jacob.NOM say.PST že beans.ACC Peter.NOM eat.PST and že Mary.NOM
 [snědla]_G [špenát]_F. [[OSV]&[SVO]]
 eat.PST spinach.ACC
 Jacob said that the beans were eaten by Peter, and that Mary ate the spinach.

- (8) *Jakub řekl, [Petr]_{CT} že [snědl]_G [fazole]_F. [SVO]
 Jacob.NOM say.PST Peter.NOM že eat.PST beans.ACC
 Jacob said that Peter ate the beans.

- (9) Jakub řekl, že [Petr]_{CT} [snědl]_G [fazole]_F. [SVO]
 Jacob.NOM say.PST že Peter.NOM eat.PST beans.ACC
 Jacob said that Peter ate the beans.

Note: T = Topic; CT = Contrastive Topic; F = Focus; G = Given; S = Subject; V = Verb; O = Object.