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Topicalization and Scrambling (i)

Bresnan Ch.9, through §9.4

Inside-Out Function Application:

For any f-structure f' and attribute a, (a f') designates the f-structure f such that (f a) = f'.

example: $f \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SUBJ } f'[\dots] \\ \text{COMPL } f''[\dots] \\ \text{PRED } \dots \end{array} \right]$

These descriptions hold:

$$(f \text{ SUBJ}) = f'$$

$$(f \text{ COMPL}) = f''$$

Thus, so do these exs. of inside-out function application: $(\text{SUBJ } f') = (\text{COMPL } f'') = f$

Now consider cases where f' is further embedded:

$$f \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{TOP } h[\dots] \\ \text{SUBJ } [\dots] \\ \text{COMPL } g \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{SUBJ } [\dots] \\ \text{OBJ } f' \\ \text{PRED } \dots \end{array} \right] \\ \text{PRED } \dots \end{array} \right]$$

Specify the entire attribute path: $(f \text{ COMPL OBJ}) = f'$

Inside-out fn application with an attribute path: $(\text{COMPL OBJ } f') = f$

English Topicalization: we want to set the TOP value equal to the missing OBJ, e.g. in:

$$\frac{\text{Ann}}{\text{TOP}}, \text{ I think he likes } \frac{e}{\text{OBJ}}.$$

So $h = f'$ in the above f-structure. Hence: $(f \text{ TOP}) = (f \text{ COMPL OBJ})$

We want to identify the f-structure corresponding to a gap, i.e. to equate the gap's f-structure with some DF (TOP or FOC) value. Call the f-s for the gap f'.

Then, for some attribute path x:

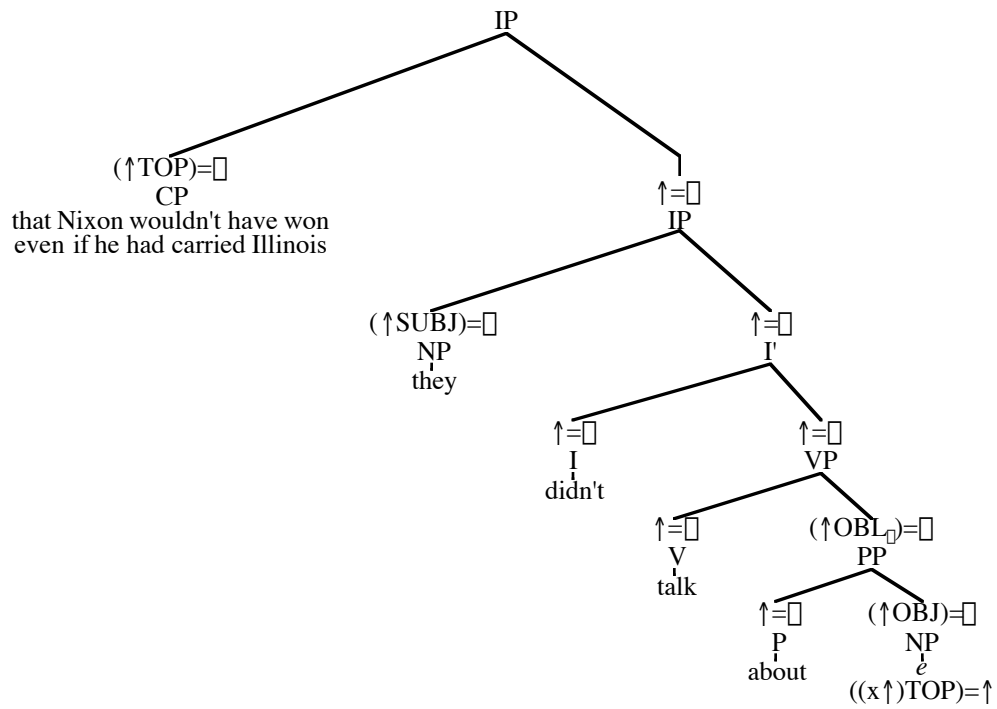
$$((x f') \text{ TOP}) = f' \quad \text{in the above f-s, } (x f') = f' \text{ and so } (f \text{ TOP}) = f'$$

Principle for Identifying Gaps:

Associate $XP \rightarrow e$ with $((x \uparrow) \text{ DF}) = \uparrow$

n.b.: x is an attribute path (a string of attributes); the annotation $((x \uparrow) \text{ DF}) = \uparrow$ appears on the empty string e.

Example of topicalization with category mismatch:



f	TOP	["that Nixon..."]
	SUBJ	["they"]
	POL	-
	TENSE	PAST
	OBL _□	[OBJ □]
	PRED	'talk-about ((f SUBJ)(f OBL _□ OBJ))'

Note that we need the empty category under NP, if we want to preserve the generalization that NP/DP is the canonical structural realization of the OBJ function. See fn 22, p. 72.

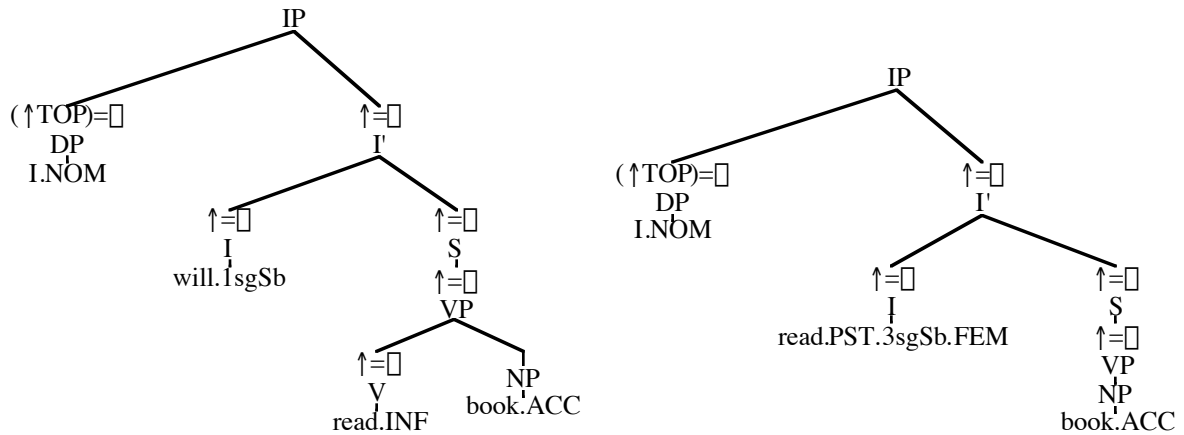
Russian Topicalization

Russian uses CASE to identify core GF's; and configuration to identify DFs.

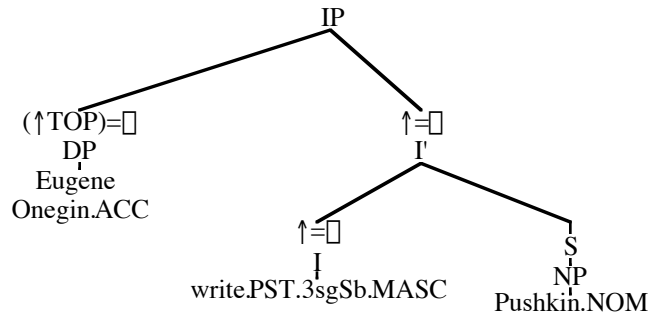
Nom: SUBJ ; Acc: OBJ.

[Spec, IP]: TOP or FOC ; adjoined to IP: TOP.

So in these cases, 'I' is both the SUBJ (by case) and the TOP (by position):



Here E.O. is the OBJ (by case) and the TOPic (by position):



'Pushkin wrote *Eugene Onegin*.'

It follows from this theory that scrambling (which leaves no trace) must be clause-bounded, since the case equation (e.g. (↑SUBJ)=□) can only identify the DP as Subject of the clause in which it appears.

Topicalization (leaving a trace), however, can go across clauses, since the GF is identified by the trace position (via functional uncertainty).

But Topic adjunct positions must be 'clause prominent':

Clause-Prominence of DFs:

DF adjuncts must be clause-prominent, occurring either at an edge of the clause or adjacent to the head of a clause.