Two types of NP preposing in French

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Abstract

We contrast two types of sentences with a preposed NP in French in a construction based HPSG grammar. They differ with respect to different grammatical aspects (syntax, semantics, pragmatics and phonology), which cluster uniquely into constructions. Both are colloquial, a reason why they have been recognized only recently (see Zribi-Hertz 1986, 1996, Sabio 1995, 2006). Accordingly, we rely for the data on spoken corpora (Corpaix, CFRP) as well as on our intuitions. Both constructions involve a partitioned semantics but this mode of composition is associated with different effects. One construction is characterized semantically: the preposed NP is the theme of a categorical proposition. The other construction is characterized pragmatically: it is associated with an independent declarative clause, a typical use of which is to signal a break in the interaction.

1. Introduction[1]

Our aim is to contrast two types of complement fronting in French, that can be found in declarative clauses, and frequently occur in every day speech. Examples of construction 1 and construction 2 are given in (1) and (2), respectively. The preposed NP is italicized.[2,3]

(1) a. *Le chocolat* j'adore. (Chocolate I adore)
    b. *Paris* je connais pas [CFRP] (Paris I don't know)

(2) a. *huit ans* je devais avoir [CRFP] (eight years I must have had)
    b. *des moulins à légumes* ça s'appelait [CRFP] (vegetable mills that was called)

The NP complement occurs as a left peripheral element, before the (pronominal) subject. Such examples clearly differ from well known cases of preposed NPs in French, which are commonly found in (clitic) left dislocation (3a), as well as wh questions (3b) or wh exclamative clauses (3c) :

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[2] Corpaix is a corpus of spoken French collected by the GARS at University of Provence (it consists mostly of interviews). CRFP is a spoken corpus, funded by DGLLF, collected at the beginning of this century in several French towns and balanced for sex, age, social status. We follow common transcription practice in not having punctuation marks nor capital letters in examples taken from spoken corpora.
[3] Throughout the text, we give glosses rather than translations.

(3) a. *Marie*, tout le monde l'adore. (Marie everyone loves her)
   b. *Quel âge* il avait ? (Which age he had ?)
   c. *Quel chapeau* tu as ! (What a hat you have !)

We systematically contrast the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of the two constructions, before presenting a formal analysis in HPSG. While the syntactic difference does not correlate with an information structure distinction (see Prince 1998, 1999 and Fanselow and Lenertovà 2008 for a similar conclusion about complement fronting in English, and in German and Czech respectively), it clearly correlates with other distinctions, one construction being characterized semantically, and the other being characterized form an illocutionary point of view (it corrresponds to a speech act).

Although they have been largely overlooked in the literature, some of their properties have been studied by Pohl 1984, Sabio 1995, 2006, Zribi-Hertz 1986, 1996, Hakihiro 2004. A prosodic study still remains to be done.

2. Syntactic properties

In the two constructions (cx 1 *vs* cx 2), illustrated in (1) and (2) above, the preposed NP is associated with a grammatical function within the sentence. More precisely, these sentences contain a predicate with an unrealized syntactic argument (an object in (1), (2a), a predicative complement in (2b)), which is somehow linked to the preposed NP. This contrasts with a hanging topic as in (3).

(3) a. *Le cinéma* alors on se décide ? (the movie then we make a decision?)
   b. euh *la mairie de Saintes* on connaît le le candidat socialiste qui vient de se déterminer [CRFP]
      (hum the town council of Saintes we know the the socialist candidate who has just made his decision)

Let us first look at cx 1. The preposed constituent is a NP or a VP (4a) ; but the missing constituent always has the same grammatical function: it is an object. Moreover, the verb belongs to the class of verbs which take an optional complement (4b):

(4) a. *Travailler seule*, je ne supporte pas (Working alone, I can't stand)
   b. A : Tu aimes le chocolat ?   (you like the chocolate?)
      B : J'adore.   (I adore)

Accordingly, a sentence identical with that of cx 1, but without the preposed NP, remains grammatical. The relation between the preposed NP and the

missing object can be a long distance dependency; however, it does not obey island constraints (the missing object can be within a relative clause or an adjunct clause):

(5) a. *Le chocolat*, elle a dit [qu'elle adorait].
   (the chocolate, she said that she adored)
   b. *Le chocolat*, je ne connais personne [qui n'aime pas].
   (the chocolate I know nobody who does not like)
   c. *Les F3*, il faut être fou [pour supporter].
   (The F3 appartments, one must be crazy to stand)

In fact, construction 1 has the properties of left dislocation, with an anaphoric relation between the preposed constituent and some pronominal element in the sentence. Indeed, the missing object alternates here with the general pronoun *ça* ('that', 'it'), which is attested in our corpora:

(6) a. *Le chocolat* j'adore ça. (the chocolate I adore it)
   b. *la montagne* j'a- j'adore ça [CFRP] (the mountain I adore it)
   c. *les expressions modernes* j' j'aime pas trop ça quoi [Corpaix]
   (the modern expressions I don't like that that much you know)

It is well known that clitic left dislocations do not obey island constraints (e.g. Delais *et al.* 2004):

(7) a. *Le chocolat,* je ne connais personne [qui n' aime pas ça].
   (Chocolate, I know no one who dislikes it)
   b. *Marie*, il faudrait être fou [pour la supporter].
   (Marie, you must be crazy to bear with her)

As is the case with clitic-left-dislocations, we can have (another) left-dislocated NP, which is not ordered with respect to the preposed NP:

(8) a. Moi, *le chocolat*, j'adore (ça)   (me, the chocolate, I love (that))
   b. *Le chocolat*, moi, j'adore (ça)   (the chocolate, me, I love (that))

Thus, construction 1 can be analyzed as involving a left dislocated NP, linked to an unrealized pronoun (Zribi Hertz 1986).[4] It remains to be shown that the verb has a null pronominal complement rather than being detransitivized. The *faire* causative construction provides a test for transitivity (e.g. Abeillé *et al.* 1998), since the causee is marked with preposition *à* with a transitive infinitival verb and is unmarked otherwise. In (9b), *manger* (to eat) is detransitivized.

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[4] See Laurens 2008 for similar examples of right dislocations with null pronouns.

(9) a. Il fera manger la soupe **aux** enfants / ***les** enfants
        (He will make eat their soup to the children / the children)
    b. Il fera manger **les** enfants / ***aux** enfants
        (He will make eat the children / to the children)
    c   *Les F3,* rien ne pourra **leur** faire aimer / ***les** faire aimer
        (F3, nothing will make like to them / them)

In cx 1, the causee must be marked with *à* (9c) and is thus transitive. We propose that the object is a null pronoun, interpreted like 'ça' (*that*) (Zribi-Hertz 1986, 1996). We thus call cx 1 the 'ça-dislocation-construction'.

In cx 2, on the other hand, the preposed constituent can be of various categories (NP, AP, PP, AdvP); it is linked to a missing constituent with various syntactic functions (object, predicative complement, oblique complement or specifier) .

(10)   a. [*Trois heures*]$_{NP}$, il avait de retard, le train   [specifier]
           (3 hours, it had of delay, the train)
       b. [*Extrême-gauche*]$_{NP}$, elle était. (extreme-left she was) [predicative]
       c. [*Place de la Nation*]$_{NP}$, on est allés. (Nation square we went)
                                                                          [oblique]
       d. [*A moitié anglaise*]$_{AP}$ elle était. (half British she was) [predicative]
       e. [*A une sorcière*]$_{PP}$ tu ressembles. (to a witch you resemble)
                                                                          [oblique]
       f. [*Gentiment*]$_{AdvP}$ il s'est comporté. (kindly he behaved) [oblique]

The fronted complement enters into long distance dependencies (11a), and can correspond to an obligatory complement (as with *avoir*, (11b)). Contrary to what we observed with cx 1, it is difficult to insert a pronoun (in the place of the missing constituent), or it has a different meaning (11c).

(11)   a. *Huit ans*, je crois qu'il avait à l'époque.
           (eight years I think he had at the time)
       b. A. Il avait quoi, huit ans, à l'époque ?
           (he had what, eight years, at the time?)
           B. *Il avait. (he had)
       c. Huit ans, elle les avait / ?elle avait ça.
           (she had them / that = 'at least that')

Moreover, contrary to what we have seen with cx 1, cx 2 obeys island constraints:

(12)   a. *Huit ans, je ne vois personne [qui ait ici].
           (eight years, I see nobody who has here)

  b. *_18 ans_ on ne peut pas voter [sans avoir].
   (18 years you can't vote without having)

We conclude that the preposed NP is a filler in cx 2. Example (10a) confirms the filler gap dependency, since it contains an object of the form _de N_, which is only licensed by negation or the extraction of a specifier _(*Il avait de retard, le train,_ It had of delay, the train, _vs Combien il avait de retard, le train ?_ How much did it have of delay, the train, Abeillé _et al._ 2005). Another property shared by cx 2 and extraction constructions is the possible occurrence of the complementizer _que_ after the fronted element in non standard varieties (noted with %):

(13) a. _%Trente euros_ **que** ça m'a coûté ! (30€ that it costed me)
  b. _%Où_ **que** c'est que je vais le mettre ? [corpaix]
   (where that it is that I am going to put it ?)

To summarize, the preposed NP in cx 1 is a left dislocated phrase, while it is a filler in cx 2.

3. Semantic Properties

The two constructions also contrast semantically. First, the content of cx 1 involves a general proposition, while cx 2 is not so constrained; second, the proposition in cx 1 is categorical, while it is thetic in cx 2.

3.1. General vs unspecified proposition

With cx 1, the content of the sentence is general: neither the NP nor the sentence can be associated with the denotation of a particular. The NP denotes a kind, a type, or an abstract object. Hence the contrast between (14a) and (14b,c). If a proper name is preposed as in (14d) (from Grevisse and Goosse 2008), it cannot refer to an individual but to the property of having this name (in the context of parents choosing a name for their baby for example):

(14) a. _La musique classique_, je (ne) connais pas bien / j'apprécie
   beaucoup. [cx 1]
   (the classical music, I don' know very well / I appreciate a lot)
  b. ??_Ton offre / Ton frère_, tu sais que tout le monde apprécie.
   (your offer / your brother, you know that everybody appreciates)
  c. ??_La musique classique_, j'ai apprécié dans ce concert.
   (the classical music, I appreciated in the concert)
  d. _Marine_, j'aime bien. ((being called) Marine I like)

Confirmation of the constraint is given by the fact that, instead of an NP, one can have a preposed infinitival VP object, denoting a property (4a). In addition, the verb is typically an individual level predicate with respect to its object (Kratzer 1995), like *apprécier* (to appreciate)*, adorer* (to adore), *détester* (to hate), *haïr* (to hate), *ne pas supporter* (to not stand), *ignorer* (to ignore). It can be a stage level predicate, if there is a quantification or an habitual or iterative aspectual operator, such that there is no unique situation associated with the sentence; rather it describes a period over time, or a generalization over a behavior.

(15)   *Ce genre de repas, simple mais avec de bons produits*,   [cx 1]
        (this type of meal, simple but based on good products)
        a. je n'avais encore jamais mangé à Paris. (I had never eaten in P., yet)
        b. on trouve rarement aujourd'hui. (one rarely finds nowadays)
        c. ??j'ai justement mangé hier. (I ate yesterday actually)

Neither cx 2, nor the dislocation with an explicit pronoun (other than *ça*), are similarly constrained; they can denote a general (16a) or a particular proposition (16b,c):

(16)   a. *45mn*, on peut attendre le bus, sur cette ligne.   [cx 2]
            (45mn, one can wait for the bus, on this line)
        b. et là, tu sais ce qui lui est arrivé – *une antenne* ils lui ont jeté sur la
            tête [Corpaix]   [cx2] (and then, you know what happened to him –
            an antenna they threw to his head)
        c. *La musique classique*, j'en ai justement écouté hier. (the classical
            music, I listened to some yesterday) [clitic left-dislocation]

3.2. categorical vs thetic proposition

The second semantic difference between the two constructions concerns the (logical) form of the proposition: it is categorical in cx 1, while it is thetic in cx 2. We take the distinction between thetic *vs* categorical sentences to be semantic rather than structure informational (see Ladusaw 1994; Kim 1998 argues that the distinction may induce different truth conditions). In a categorical proposition, a property is predicated of (the referent of) an argument, which is a (sentence) theme, whereas a thetic proposition describes a situation as a whole.
It is important to distinguish the notion of Discourse Topic, which belongs to the domain of Information Structure, from that of a sentence theme, which characterizes the semantic role of the distinguished argument in a categorical proposition. However, it is notoriously difficult to associate distinctive

properties with the notion of sentence theme (Jacobs 2001).[5] We rely here on four properties; the two first ones are borrowed from Jacobs' notion of semantic subject; the two others come from Marandin's distinction between categorical and thetic propositions (2007). (i) the theme is a semantic argument of the predicate; (ii) it occurs to its left and is the last to saturate it; (iii) it shows an affinity with definite NPs; (iv) a categorical proposition favors individual level predicates (specially dispositions).

Cx 1 exhibits the four properties. The head sentence is turned into a predicate, because the null pronoun semantically contributes a variable; this predicate is saturated by the preposed NP. As we have seen, the verb denotes a disposition of its subject, due to its lexical semantics (like *aimer, ignorer*) or to its aspectual or quantificational environment, which induces a generalization. In addition, the preposed NP is definite (see the examples above, (1),(3),(5),(7),(14a),(15)), or has an affinity with a definite NP (17).

(17) a. ??*un repas simple, avec de bons produits*, on sert rarement au
         restaurant à Paris. [cx 1] (a simple meal, based on good products,
         one rarely finds in a restaurant in Paris)
      b. *un repas de ce genre*, on sert rarement au restaurant à Paris. [cx 1]
         (this type of meal one rarely finds in a restaurant in Paris)

Cx 2 clearly has properties (i) and (ii). The gap is semantically a variable, as has been proposed in a general way for filler head constructions (see Webelhuth 2007 for an implementation in HPSG), hence turning the head sentence into a semantic predicate. This predicate is saturated by application to the filler. The preposed NP is also to the left of the predicate. But the parallelism between the two constructions stops there. The NP is preferably an indefinite; in particular, measure expressions are frequent (denoting duration, frequency, age, a sum of money):

(18) a. *Onze heures* elle est restée chez les juges [cx 2] [*Canard Enchaîné*,
         2006] (11 hours she stayed with the judges)
      b. tu l'as pas vu une seule fois aux informations – *pas une fois* tu l'as
         vu [cx 2] [Corpaix]

Definite NPs are not impossible, but not favored.

(19) a. Tu sais ce qui est arrivé ? *Le candidat du patron*, ils ont refusé !
         (You know what happened ? The boss' candidate they refused !)
      b. A: Je cherche mes lunettes.   (I'm looking for my glasses)
         B: *Tes lunettes*, tu cherches ?   (Your glasses you're looking for ?)

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[5] There can be a hierarchy of themes, a question which we leave aside here, see Webelhuth 2007.

In fact, the preposed NP is not constrained semantically; in particular, it can be non referential, being a predicative NP (20a,b) or an idiom chunk (20c):[6]

(20) a. j'ai écrit dans le journal local d'Aire-sur-la-Lys je me rappelle plus maintenant ah *l'Echo de la Lys* // ça s'appelait je crois bien [cx 2] [Corpaix] (I wrote in the local newspaper fo Aire-sur-la-Lys I cannot recall now Ah l'Echo de la Lys it was called I think)
      b. *Horreur*, je lui faisais, docteur. [cx 1] [R. Forlani, *Ma chatte ma folie,* 1992, 15] (horror she had of me, doctor)
      c   *Des clopinettes* il m' a donné.   (peanuts he gave me)

Finally, dispositions are not favored (any predicate is possible, and there is no aspectual constraint). Since the proposition in cx 2 is not categorical, then, it is thetic.

To conclude, the two constructions share their compositional mode: both are characterized by a partitioned semantics (e.g. Krifka 2001), where the sentence translates as a predicate, which is saturated by application to the (denotation of the) preposed NP. However, they crucially differ both regarding the type of content (general *vs* unspecified) and the type of logical form (categorical *vs* thetic proposition). While there is no correlation a priori between the generality of the proposition and the other properties, it is tempting to relate partitioned semantics and a categorical proposition. Construction 2 shows that this would be wrong: there is no correlation between a compositional mode and a specific logical form for the sentence. In other words, a thetic proposition is perfectly compatible with a partitioned semantics. While the distinguished element of cx 1 plays a special role in semantics (it is the theme in a categorical proposition), it is not the case in construction 2. As we see below, the charaterization of construction 2 is at the illocutionary level.

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[6] Notice that the fronted NP in (20b) is light in the sense of Abeillé and Godard 2000. Only special stress enables it to be extracted.

4. Discourse and Pragmatic properties

4.1. Information Structure properties

The two constructions have sometimes been contrasted in terms of information structure, cx 1 being called 'topicalization' and cx 2 being called 'focalization'. The focus *vs* ground distinction is not relevant here, if it is understood in terms of new / old information. Topicalization is wrong if it is understood as Discourse Topic, it is not wrong if it is meant for the sentence theme (see section 3.2).

In cx 1, the left dislocated NP is not always part of the ground (as is sometimes said of left dislocated phrases): it can be a (partial) answer to a question (21a), thus being an informational focus; it can also introduce a (sub) discourse topic (21b).

(21) a. A. Quelle est la matière qui t'a le moins plu et pourquoi ?
                (what is the topic that you liked less and why ?
          B. euh *la grammaire* j'ai pas du tout apprécié parce que en fait
                j'étais pas très bonne [cx 1] [Corpaix]
                (grammar I really did not like, because in fact I was not very
                good)

      b. A. Comment ont-ils reçu les auteurs du 19° ?
                (how did they react to 19° century authors?)
          B. *Balzac*, ils ont bien aimé ; ils peuvent s'identifier aux héros. *La
                poésie*, ils ont plus de mal à apprécier. [cx1]
                (Balzac they liked, they can identify themselves with the heroes;
                Poetry, they have more difficulty appreciating)

In cx 2, the filler NP can be a narrow focus (20a). But it can also be part of an all focus utterance as in (16b), where the whole sentence answers a question of type 'what happened' ; it can also consist completely of repeated material (22), with an unclear informational status (it is possibly a reassertion, in which case it would be like an all focus utterance, in spite of the repetition).

(22) Mon père il va m'acheter un petit mouton *un petit mouton* il va
      m'acheter. [cx 2] [Corpaix]
      (My father he is going to buy me a small lamb a small lamb he is going
      to buy me)

That a left peripheral complement in a given construction is compatible with several informational status has already (although not frequently) been noted in the literature. Prince 1998, 1999 shows that fronted NPs in English can

correspond to old (23a) or new (23b) information (she underlines the part of the sentence with prosodic stress):

(23) a. A. What does he (= John) think of Sam ?
   B. Sam he <u>doesn't like</u> – think of someone else
   b. Let's assume there's a device which can do I – <u>a parser</u> let's call it. What follows ? (J.D. Fodor)

More recently, Fanselow and Lenertovà 2008 show that left fronted complements in German declaratives can correspond to a narrow focus, a (discourse) topic or be part of a wider focus.

(24) a. [A.   What did you see there?]
   B. [Eine LaWIne] haben wir gesehen !
      (An avalanche-acc have we seen)
   b [A. I've heard the mayor has been arrested. Who reported him to the police?]
   B. [Den Bürgenmeister] hat wohl der Villenbesitzer angezeigt.
      (The mayor-acc has supposedly the villa-owner-nom reported)
   c. [A. What's new , What happened?]
   B. [Einen Hasen] habe ich gefangen.
      (A rabbit-acc have I found)

Their general conclusion, which indeed also applies to French, and construction 2 in particular, is that, *contra* most generative analyses, leftwards movement is not triggered by, or does not correlate with informational features.

4.2. Illocutionary status

The two French constructions under study crucially differ concerning their illocutionary properties. While cx 1 is not specified, cx 2 is pragmatically characterized.
First, cx 2 differs form cx 1 with respect to the two following properties: it cannot be embedded ((25a) *vs* (25b)); it can only be a declarative clause (neither an interrogative (25c) *vs* (25d), nor an imperative (25e)), although it can have a questioning or injunctive value in context (26).

(25) a. Tu sais bien que *le chocolat*, j'adore depuis toujours. [cx 1]
      (you know that the chocolate, I have always adored)
   b. *On m'a raconté *qu'une antenne* on lui avait jeté sur la tête. [cx 2]
      (I was told that an antenna they threw on his head)
   c. *Le chocolat*, est-ce que tu aimes toujours ? [cx 1]
      (the chocolate, is it the case that you still love)

d. *_Une antenne_, pourquoi / est-ce qu'on lui a lancé sur la tête ? [cx 2]
(an antenna, why did / is it the case that they throw on his head)
e. *_Du Rodopyl_, prends ! (Rodopyl, take)

(26) a _Huit ans_ il avait ?   (Eight years he had ?)
      b _Du Rodopyl_ tu prends, n'oublie pas !   (Rodopyl you take, don't
         forget)

This shows that cx 2 is defined as an utterance type rather than a sentence type. We assume that the clause type is uniquely associated with a content type, but not with a speech act (Beyssade and Marandin 2006). We analyze (26a,b) as a confirmation request and a confirmation order, respectively.
Second, cx 2 can be an answer to a question, where the preposed NP functions as a narrow focus (_Quel âge il avait ? – Huit ans il avait_, What was his age ? – eight years he had). It is not easily an 'out of the blue utterance', but requires an antecedent (as in a 'reprise utterance', Godard & Marandin 2006).[7] But very often, it is not part of a smooth progression. for instance, it is not integrated in a narration: a continuation with a sentence where the NP is a theme is not appropriate: (27b), where _ce_ refers to the whole preceding situation, is a felicitous continuation for (16a), not (27a), where _elle_ refers back to the antenna. No such constraint exists on cx 1 (28).

(27) et là, tu sais ce qui lui est arrivé – _une antenne_ ils lui ont jeté sur la tête
      [Corpaix] [cx2] (and then, you know what happened to him – an
      antenna they threw to his head) (= (16b))
      a. #Elle était complètement fichue. (it was completely ruined)
      b. C'était vraiment bête (it was rather stupid)

(28) _Le chocolat_, j'adore ; c'est délicieux, et en plus ça remonte le moral.
      [cx 1] (the chocolate, I adore; it is delicious, and it lifts one's spirits)

Cx 2 frequently contributes additional information, or a correction, that is information which is 'relevant' to the discourse topic (or the topmost QUESTION UNDER DISCUSSION) rather than a straightforward continuation in a narrative (Ginzburg 2008).
Lastly, cx 2 is typically associated with speaker's attitudes (surprise, admiration, disgust, justification etc.). We call the preposed NP a 'center' for the clause. It may be the locus for an additional information that was left unresolved in the preceding discourse (as in (20a)), or for a correction, the NP corresponding to the point of disagreement (that is the case with (10b),

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[7] It can also be used as an initial move in routine situations (such as shop interaction):
- _Des oranges, il me faut_. (oranges, I need), which can be analyzed as genre-relevant utterances (Ginzburg 2008).

which is an answer to the question *Elle était socialiste ?* She was a socialist?; interaction noted on the fly); in such cases, the preposed NP may well correspond to a narrow focus, as it does in question-answer pairs. Alternatively, the partition of the sentence serves to make the utterance more dramatic, highlighting that part of the situation that seems particularly worth of notice (as in (16b)), and justifying a pause in the discourse, a reaction on the part of the audience etc. The role of the preposed NP then appears to be that of a figure (reminiscent of the figure-ground distinction in cognitive linguistics).[8] We call the whole construction a 'dramatic extraction'.

5. HPSG analysis

We use the construction-based version of HPSG (Ginzburg and Sag 2000) to account for our constructions, which are both based on a partitioned semantics.

5.1. Partitioned semantics

We assume the following hierarchy of semantic objects, which are possible values for CONT, (*abst(raction), appl(ication)* are taken from Webelhuth 2007):
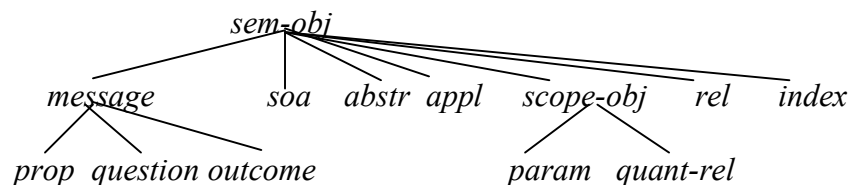
As in Ginzburg and Sag 2000, *message* is the type of content appropriate for clauses, *proposition* for declarative clauses, *question* for interrogative clauses

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[8] The content of cx 1 is a categorical proposition (section 3.2). On the other hand, the preposed NP is acceptable at the beginning of an interrogative sentence (25c), whose content is not of type *question* (Ginzburg and Sag 2000). This would be problematic if the expression with which the preposed NP combines were of type *question*. However, there are reasons to think that it is the entire clause, including the preposed NP, that is interpreted as a question, rather than the segment of the clause which begins with an interrogative word (*est-ce que* in (25c)). This move is required for the combination of some initial adverbs with declarative and interrogative clauses, where the entire clause comprising the initial adverb (which occurs before the wh constituent) must be interpreted as an interrogative clause (Bonami and Godard 2007). Given that a proposition is an element of a question (Ginzburg and Sag 2000), we assume that a proposition is available to combine with the preposed NP in (25c).

and *outcome* for imperative clauses. Soa are descriptions of situations. Following Webelhuth 2007 who shows the necessity of a more articulated semantics than is usuallly done in HPSG, in particular for head-filler phrases, we propose the type of *partitioned soa*. We add the PARTITION (*partitioned/ non-partitioned*) dimension to the REALITY (*realis/irrealis*) and POLARITY dimensions (*pos/neg*) in Ginzburg and Sag 2000.

A partitioned-soa is the basis of a categorical proposition (the content in cx 1) and of the content of a centered-clause (cx 2). It has a nucleus of type *application*, that applies a (lambda) abstraction to an argument:

(29) *partitioned-soa* => $\begin{bmatrix} \text{QUANTS} & \text{list}(quant\text{-}rel) \\ \text{NUCLEUS } application \end{bmatrix}$

   application => $\begin{bmatrix} \text{FUNC } abstr \\ \text{ARG} & sem\text{-}obj \end{bmatrix}$

   abstraction => $\begin{bmatrix} \text{VAR} & param \\ \text{BODY } soa \end{bmatrix}$

The parameter in *abstr* corresponds to an argument with respect to which the predicate is not saturated (e.g. the subject combining with the content of a VP), or a SLASH value (in extraction constructions), or a STORE value (in dislocations).

We assume a two dimensional classification of the content of propositions:

proposition

GENERALITY   LOGICAL-FORM

particular general   categorical   thetic

cx-1-content
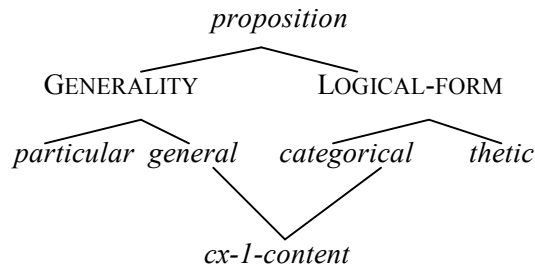
We define the content of a categorical proposition, which is the type of content appropriate for cx 1, as based on a partitioned-soa, with a feature THEME whose value corresponds to the argument saturating the predicate. We give it a list value in order to account for relative thematicity when there are several themes (as in the case of multiple left-dislocations):

(30) *categorical-proposition* => $\begin{bmatrix} \text{SITUATION } s \\ \text{SOA} & \begin{bmatrix} partitioned\text{-}soa \\ \text{NUCLEUS } appl\,(abstr)([1]) \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{THEME} & <[1]> + \text{L} \end{bmatrix}$
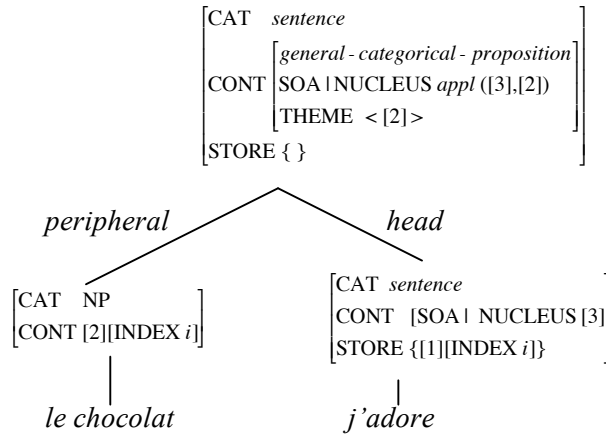
5.2. Left-dislocated constructions

For the syntax of cx 1, we rely on a more general analysis of left-dislocations. Following Engdhal and Vallduví 1996, Balari 1998, Alexopoulou and Kolliakou 2002, we analyze left-dislocations as follows: (i) there is a specific head-dislocated phrase (32); (ii) pronominal elements (including *ça* and the null pronoun in cx 1) optionally put a parameter in the STORE value (31); (iii) this parameter is coindexed with the left-dislocated phrase. The null *pro* has a non-canonical SYNSEM, with an index of type *abstract-object,* like that of *ça* in French:

(31)   *ça* →
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{CONT} & [1]parameter\ [\text{INDEX}\ abstract\text{-}obj] \\ \text{STORE} & \{([1])\} \end{bmatrix}$$

   pro →
$$\begin{bmatrix} non\text{-}canonical \\ \text{CONT} & parameter\ [1]\ [\text{INDEX}\ abstract\text{-}obj] \\ \text{STORE} & \{([1])\} \end{bmatrix}$$

(32) *head-dislocated-phrase* →
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & sentence \\ \text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} categorical\text{-}prop \\ \text{SOA} & \begin{bmatrix} partitioned\text{-}soa \\ \text{NUCLEUS}\ appl\ ([3],[1]) \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{THEME} & <[1]>\ +\ L \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{STORE} & S \\ \text{HD-DTR}\ [2] & \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & sentence \\ \text{CONT} & [\text{SOA} \mid \text{NUCLEUS}\ [3]] \\ \text{STORE} & \{\ [\text{INDEX}\ i]\}\ \cup\ S \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{DTRS} & <\begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT}\ \text{NP or VP} \\ \text{CONT}\ [1][\text{INDEX}\ i] \end{bmatrix},\ [2]> \end{bmatrix}$$

We define *ça-dislocation*, the type of cx 1, as follows:

(33)   *ça-dislocation-cx* →
   head-dislocated-phrase &
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} general\text{-}proposition \\ \text{THEME} & <[abstract\text{-}obj]> \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

An example is the following:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & sentence \\ \text{CONT} & \begin{bmatrix} general\text{-}categorical\text{-}proposition \\ \text{SOA}\,|\,\text{NUCLEUS } appl\,([3],[2]) \\ \text{THEME} \ <[2]> \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{STORE} \ \{\ \} \end{bmatrix}$$

peripheral   head

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & \text{NP} \\ \text{CONT} & [2][\text{INDEX } i] \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & sentence \\ \text{CONT} & [\text{SOA}\,|\,\text{NUCLEUS}\,[3]] \\ \text{STORE} & \{[1][\text{INDEX } i]\} \end{bmatrix}$$

le chocolat   *j'adore*

5.3. Dramatic extraction construction

For the syntax of cx 2, we rely on the general head-filler schema proposed in Bouma *et al.* 2001.

(34)   *head-filler-phrase* →
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & [\text{HEAD } [0]\ verbal] \\ \text{SLASH} & \text{S} \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} & [2]\begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT}\,|\,\text{HEAD } [0] \\ \text{SLASH } \{[1]\} \cup \text{S} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{DTRS} & <[\text{LOC } [1]],[2]> \end{bmatrix}$$

We associate cx 2 with a type of clause with a 'center' (which can be a narrow focus or a figure in an all-focus utterance).[9]

(35) *centered-clause* →
$$\begin{bmatrix} declarative\text{-}clause \\ \text{CONT} \begin{bmatrix} proposition \\ \text{SOA} \begin{bmatrix} partitioned\text{-}soa \\ \text{NUCLEUS } appl\,([3],\,[1]) \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{CENTER } [\text{CONT } [1]] \end{bmatrix}$$
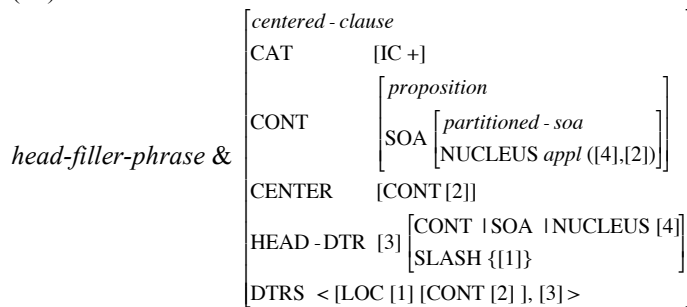
We define a centered-clause as a subtype of declarative clause, assuming the following (partial) hierarchy of clauses:

clause

decl-clause   *inter-clause imper-clause ...*
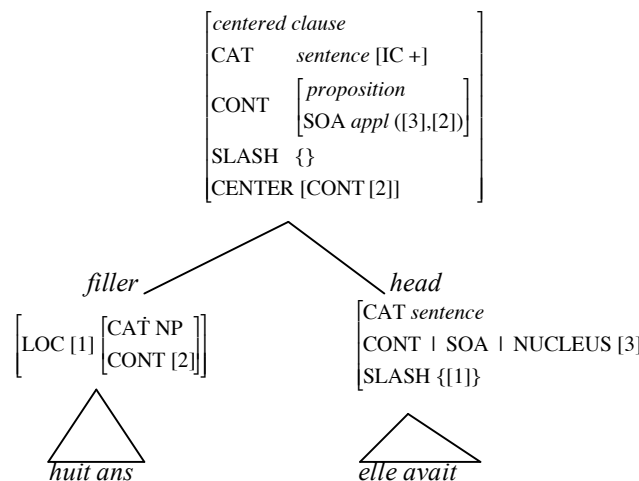
centered-clause   *...*

---
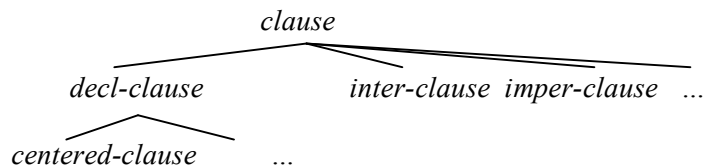
[9] We assume that in idiomatic expressions such as (20c) , the fronted NP makes a non null semantic contribution.

The dramatic extraction, the type of cx 2, combines a head-filler phrase with a centered proposition (where IC stands for 'independent clause').

(36) *dramatic-extraction-cx* →

$$
\textit{head-filler-phrase} \ \& \
\begin{bmatrix}
\textit{centered - clause} \\
\text{CAT} \quad [\text{IC} +] \\
\text{CONT} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \textit{proposition} \\ \text{SOA} \begin{bmatrix} \textit{partitioned - soa} \\ \text{NUCLEUS } \textit{appl} \, ([4],[2]) \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{CENTER} \quad [\text{CONT}[2]] \\
\text{HEAD - DTR} \ [3] \begin{bmatrix} \text{CONT} \mid \text{SOA} \mid \text{NUCLEUS} \, [4] \\ \text{SLASH} \, \{[1]\} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{DTRS} \ < [\text{LOC} \, [1] \, [\text{CONT} \, [2]] \,], \, [3] >
\end{bmatrix}
$$

An example is the following:

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\textit{centered clause} \\
\text{CAT} \quad \textit{sentence} \, [\text{IC} +] \\
\text{CONT} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \textit{proposition} \\ \text{SOA } \textit{appl} \, ([3],[2]) \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{SLASH} \ \{\} \\
\text{CENTER} \, [\text{CONT}[2]]
\end{bmatrix}
$$

filler

$$
\begin{bmatrix} \text{LOC} \, [1] \begin{bmatrix} \text{CA\.T NP} \\ \text{CONT}[2] \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

huit ans

head

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{CAT } \textit{sentence} \\
\text{CONT} \mid \text{SOA} \mid \text{NUCLEUS} \, [3] \\
\text{SLASH} \, \{[1]\}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

elle avait

Conclusion

The contrast between two types of NP preposing in French leads to three conclusions. First, the need for constructions as clusters of unrelated properties. It is tempting to link the pragmatics of cx 2 with filler status of the NP. This would be wrong: an argument PP can be a filler, without acquiring the same pragmatic properties (for a comparable point, see Prince 1998); moreover, the preposed NP in cx 2 is not associated with a unique informational status: it can be a narrow focus or part of an all focus utterance. Second, the need for (at least) two types of saliency. A partitioned content can highlight a constituent because it is a (semantically salient) theme (in a

categorical proposition) or because it is a (pragmatically salient) figure (in a centered proposition). Third, the lack of correlation between an all focus utterance and a thetic proposition. In this analysis, the content in construction 2 (the dramatic extraction construction) is a thetic proposition; yet, the proposed NP can function as a narrow focus. This non coincidence is expected if we are right to clearly distinguish between the two dimensions; but it is worth noticing, and promises new developments: we expect cross classification; for instance, do we have an all focus utterance with a categorical proposition (the sentence *God is eternal* may be a candidate)? Do we have a thetic proposition with an NP functioning as a figure, as well as a narrow focus (this may be the analysis for the clefted NP in *C'est la police qui arrête le voisin*, It is the police who are arresting the neighbor, as an answer to 'What is happening?).

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