Towards a Discourse-Pragmatic Description of Left-Dislocation in Biblical Hebrew

by

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted to any university for a degree.

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Abstract

This is an exploratory investigation into the discourse-pragmatic function(s) of the so-called Left-Dislocation construction in Biblical Hebrew. This inquiry is a part of a larger investigation into the nature and function of word order variation in Biblical Hebrew. In light of past research on Biblical Hebrew word-order variation, specifically concerning Left-Dislocation constructions, it is concluded that a re-analysis of Left-Dislocation constructions in Biblical Hebrew is called for. Advancements within the fields of cognitive-functional linguistics and discourse-pragmatics (information-structure) have afforded numerous avenues towards a more comprehensive cognitive-oriented frame of reference for ascertaining the functions of Biblical Hebrew word-order variation.

The discourse-pragmatic and cognitive-functional notion of information-structure serves as the basis for the theoretical framework employed in the present investigation. Information-structure is principally concerned with the question as to why grammars of natural language offer speakers a variety of morphosyntactic and prosodic options for expressing the same propositional content.

Since the Left-Dislocation construction is a universal syntactic phenomenon, typological information regarding the form and function of Left-Dislocation constructions across languages served as a critical source of insight into the prototypical formal features and functional domains of the construction within Biblical Hebrew. The insights garnered from cross-linguistic data informed the parameters employed in the construction and construal of a random data-set of one hundred cases of Left-Dislocation drawn from the narrative portions of the Hebrew Bible stretching from Genesis to 2 Chronicles.

The investigation of our data-set, within the confines of a discourse-pragmatic framework, reveals that Left-Dislocation constructions in Biblical Hebrew are principally employed to facilitate the topic-promotion of identifiable but inactive discourse-referents. These referents could be the primary or secondary topics of the sentences in which they are used.

Opsomming

Hierdie studie is 'n verkennende ondersoek na die diskoerspragmatiese funksie(s) van sogenaamde linksverskuiwing ('Left-Dislocation') konstruksies in Bybelse Hebreeus. Hierdie vraagstelling vorm deel van 'n meer omvattende ondersoek na die aard en funksie van woordorde-variasies in Bybelse Hebreeus. Na aanleiding van 'n uitvoerige literatuurstudie oor die funksie(s) van woordorde-variasies in Bybelse Hebreeus, veral met betrekking tot linksverskuiwingskonstruksies, is tot die gevolgtrekking gekom dat 'n heranalise van linksverskuiwingskonstruksies in Bybelse Hebreeus nodig is. Vooruitgang op die gebiede van kognitiewe-funksionele taalkunde, en tekspragmatiek (informasiestruktuur) het dit moontlik gemaak om 'n meer omvattende kognitief-georiënteerde verwysingsraamwerk vir die bepaling van die funksie(s) van Bybels-Hebreeuse woordorde-variasies te formuleer.

Die diskoerspragmatiese en kognitiewe-funksionele opvatting van informasiestruktuur dien as die basis vir die teoretiese raamwerk wat in die huidige ondersoek gebruik is. Informasiestruktuur is hoofsaaklik gemoeid met die vraag waarom die grammatika van natuurlike taal aan sprekers 'n verskeidenheid van morfosintaktiese en prosodiese opsies bied vir die uitdrukking van dieselfde proposisionele inhoud.

Aangesien die linksverskuiwingskonstruksie 'n universele sintaktiese verskynsel is, is taaltipologiese inligting oor die vorm en funksie van die linksverskuiwingskonstruksie gebruik om insig te kry in die prototipiese formele eienskappe en funksies van die konstruksie in Bybelse Hebreeus.

Aan die hand van bg. taaltipologiese insigte is parameters geformuleer aan die hand waarvan 'n ewekansige monster voorbeelde van linksverskuiwing uit verhalende tekste uit Genesis tot 2 Kronieke ondersoek is. Daar is bevind dat linksverskuiwing in Bybelse Hebreeus hoofsaaklik aangewend word om identifiseerbare, maar onaktiewe diskoersreferente te promoveer as topieks. Hierdie referente mag primêre of sekondêre topieks wees.

This thesis is dedicated to my wife, for her selfless sacrifice

and unwavering support,

to my parents, for their everlasting patience and love,

and to my daughter, whom I can't wait to meet.

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I am also indebted to my family and friends for their prayerful support and encouragement. Specifically, thanks to my parents for their sacrificial love and their enduring patience throughout the years. They have instilled in me a love for learning and have supported me in my education at every level, even though it required my moving halfway around the world. They have consistently modeled the love of Christ for me throughout the years, and I would not be the person I am today were it not for their loving example.

I owe a tremendous debt to my beautiful wife Bri for the countless sacrifices she has made to make this possible. She has joyfully endured my long hours of work and my range of emotions throughout this project. She is the love of my life and I could not have imagined a better partner.

Lastly, I thank God who has gifted me and strengthened me for this project. It is he who deserves all glory and honor and it is hoped that somehow, in whatever modest way, this study will contribute to the understanding of his Word.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BH   Biblical Hebrew

BHRG   Van der Merwe, C. H. J., Naudé, J.A. & Kroeze, J.H. 1999. *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

CP   Complementizer Phrase

DFE   Dominant Focal Element

ESV   English Standard Version

EX   Extraposition

FG   Functional Grammar

FSP   Functional Sentence Perspective

GKC   Gesenius, W., Kautzsch, E. & Cowley, E. A. 1910. *Gesenius' He brew Grammar: As edited and enlarged by the late E Kautzsch. Second English edition revised in according with the twenty-eighth German Edition (1909) by A. E. Cowley*. Oxford:Clarendon Press.

IP   Inflection Phrase

JM   Joüon, P., & Muraoka, T. 1991. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew.* Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico.

LD   Left-Dislocation

MT   Masoretic Text

NP   Noun Phrase

PA   Pronominal Agreement

PRO   Pronoun

PSRR   Principle of the Separation of Reference and Role

S-V-Comp   Subject-Verb-Complement

TOP   Topicalization

VSO   Verb-Subject-Object

WO   Waltke, B K & O'Connor, M 1990. *An Introduction to Biblical He-brew Syntax*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE PROBLEM

The aim of this study is a more comprehensive profile of the discourse-pragmatic functions of Left-Dislocation (LD) constructions in Biblical Hebrew (BH). The problem this investigation seeks to address is a part of a larger area of inquiry regarding the nature and function of BH word-order variation. Since the 1985 publication of the seminal work by Takamitsu Muraoka entitled *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew*, the investigation into the function of BH word-order variation has progressed considerably.[1] Advancements within the field of cognitive-functional linguistics, specifically discourse-pragmatics (information structure), also termed information-structure, have afforded numerous avenues towards a more comprehensive cognitive-oriented frame of reference for ascertaining the functions of BH word-order variation. More recent work, incorporating insights from information-structure to the study of BH word-order include Baily & Levinsohn (1992), Buth (1987, 1990, 1999), Gross (1996), Disse (1998), and especially Van der Merwe (1999a and 1999b), Heimerdinger (1999), Holmstedt (2000) and Van der Merwe and Talstra (2003), Floor (2004), and Lunn (2006).

The theoretical approach to information-structure[2] has its roots in the linguistic circle known as the Prague School operating before the Second World War. The Prague School introduced the notions 'Theme' as denoting the old or given information of the sentence, and 'Rheme' as denoting the new information.[3] The Prague School disbanded shortly after the end of the war, but its influence persisted, inspiring what came to be formally known as the Functional Sentence Perspective introduced by the Czech linguist Jan Firbas (and others), ultimately yielding the pragmatic notions Topic (for theme) and Focus (for rheme). Lambrecht's 1994 work entitled "*Infor-*

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1. This statement is not meant to diminish the significant contributions to the study of BH word-order that occurred prior to, and in many ways underlie Muraoka (1985).
2. The term 'information-structure' was originally coined by Halliday (1967).
3. Cf. Firbas (1962 and 1964) for an overview.

mation Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents, is, in many ways, regarded as the culmination of the various functional-pragmatic theoretical perspectives which were decedents of the FSP introduced by Firbas in the 1960's.

Information-structure is principally concerned with the question as to why grammars of natural language offer speakers a variety of morphosyntactic and prosodic options for expressing the same propositional content. Moreover, the cognitive-functional approach to information-structure assumes that the form of an utterance is directly related to the presumed mental states of the interlocutors and largely has to do with the flow of given (Topic) and new (Focus) information in discourse. Although several studies have employed the theory of information-structure in an effort to investigate the linear ordering of clause constituents in BH, scholarly investigations utilizing a coherent discourse-pragmatic frame of reference into the function(s) of the so-called Left-Dislocation[4] construction are scarce.[5] We submit, therefore, that an exploratory investigation is needed into the discourse-pragmatic function(s) of LD in BH which would take as its point of departure recent developments within the field of discourse-pragmatics as represented by Lambrecht (1994), Jacobs (2001) and Erteshik-Shir (2007), and would ultimately contribute towards a more comprehensive profile of LD in BH.

Lastly, we would be amiss if it was not noted that information-structure is a vast topic of research that is pursued within different theoretical frameworks producing numerous empirical insights. Although the present investigation presupposes a cognitive-functional framework, approaches to information-structure that assume a different frame of reference, e.g. generative frameworks[6] – which also regard the information-structure notions of topic and focus as complementary notions – are acknowledged but deemed, at this stage, largely outside the scope of what is necessary for the development of a discourse-pragmatic framework for BH.

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4. In addition to the term 'Left-Dislocation', various alternative terms are used in the linguistic literature. The LD constituent is often referred to as 'theme' (Dik, 1980) and (Moutaouakil, 1989), 'link' (Vallduvi, 1992), and in classical grammar 'nominativus pendens' or 'casus pendens'. Although the term 'dislocation' usually involves some sort of movement, no such presupposition is intended by our use of the term. Left-dislocation is used here strictly out of linguistic convention.
5. This statement does not overlook the two significant works by Walter Gross (1987 and 2001), nor that of Khan (1988). We argue, however, in §2.2.4 that these works are found wanting in the theoretical framework employed.
6. Cf. Chomsky (1995), Vallduvi and Engdahl (1996) and Mcnally (1998). Generative linguists are not principally concerned with functional issues, but rather on explaining syntactic movement at the clause or sentence level.

1.2 THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The primary purpose of this study is the administration of an exploratory investigation into the discourse-pragmatic function(s) of LD in BH in an effort to contribute towards the broader goal of ascertaining a comprehensive functional profile of LD in BH. A discourse-pragmatic framework is employed which is principally derived from Lambrecht (1994) with additional insights from Chafe (1976, 1987, and 1994), Vallduvi and Vilkuna (1998), Jacobs (2001), Floor (2004), Erteschik-Shir (2007) and Gundel and Fretheim (2009). The purpose of such a framework is to support a coherent, empirically verifiable description of the discourse-pragmatic functions of LD constructions in BH. Subsequent to the description of our framework, the exploratory investigation will proceed according to the following steps:

1. *The identification of the prototypical formal features of LD constructions within a variety of languages.*[7]

2. *The identification of the prototypical discourse-pragmatic function(s) of LD constructions within a variety of languages. Specifically, the prototypical discourse-pragmatic functions of LD within English will be evaluated.*[8]

3. *A database is constructed consisting of one hundred instances of LD sampled from a variety of BH narrative texts reflecting the prototypical formal features of LD constructions determined by the cross-linguistic investigation.*

4. *Our proposal as to the discourse-pragmatic function(s) of LD in BH are tested against our data-set of one hundred cases and the results presented.*

Due to the inherent restrictions on this preliminary investigation, an exhaustive account of the form and functions of LD in BH is an endeavor which exceeds the limited scope of this present work. Notwithstanding these limitations it is hoped that this study will offer further clarity into the discourse-pragmatic functions of LD constructions in BH, as well as serving to provide insight into specific areas for future research.

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7. This part of our study will be principally derived from Lambrecht (2001).
8. In addition to Lambrecht (2001), Prince (1992, 1997, and 1998) and Gregory and Michaelis (2001) are employed for this.

1.3 HYPOTHESES

The overall core hypothesis is divided into two principal parts. First, this investigation posits that LD in BH possess a superordinate discourse-pragmatic function of topic-promotion wherein an identifiable and inactive (but accessible) discourse referent is (re)activated as the topic of a proposition. This superordinate function of LD possesses two subordinate functions: the (re)activation of a primary topic, and the (re)activation of a secondary topic.

This part of our hypothesis presupposes the discourse-pragmatic notion of topic with its two types: primary topic and secondary topic.[9] While the overall notion of topic will be defined in terms of a pragmatic relation which is what the proposition is about, the sub-notions primary and secondary topic will be principally distinguished as follows:

1. *A primary topic is what the proposition as whole is about and possess a quality of informational separation as the address of the new information asserted by the comment (or focus structure). The primary topic is identifiable, discourse active, often (but not always) the grammatical subject,[10] often (but not always) possesses some continuity after (re)activation, and is the most cognitively salient topical referent within the proposition.*

2. *A secondary topic does not possess the quality of informational separation and occurs within the comment or focus structure of the proposition. The secondary topic is identifiable, discourse active or at least accessible, often (but not always) the grammatical object or indirect object, must always be accompanied by a primary topic, and is cognitively less salient than the primary topic.*

In addition to topic-promotion, the second part of our hypothesis states that LD in BH facilitates two additional operations which are pragmatically associated with topics: spatio-temporal deictic

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9. In §2.3.3.6 we offer a description of three topic types: primary topic, secondary topic, and topic frame. For our investigation, however, primary and secondary topics are the most salient types.
10. Primary topics are not always the semantic agent in transitive clauses. In passives, for example, the subject is the primary topic as the undergoer of the predication. In passive clauses, the predicate communicates information about the subject, and the subject therefore is the topic (Floor, 2004:79).

orientation, and contrastiveness. First, LD is employed to signal deictic orientations which serve to establish the spatio-temporal framing information necessary for the accurate construction of the cognitive text-world of the subsequent discourse unit. Second, contrastiveness, is hypothesized to serve as a pragmatic overlay for focus structures, each of the topic types, or even spatio-temporal deictic orientations.

1.4 GENERAL ASSUMPTIONS AND PRESUPPOSITIONS

1.4.1 Assumption 1: Word Order and Markedness in Biblical Hebrew

In this study we assume a Verb-Subject-Comp (V-S-Comp) canonical word-order for the main clause, or clause proper in BH. For a detailed discussion of this issue see Van der Merwe, Naudé, & Kroeze (1999), Buth (1999) and Moshavi (forthcoming).[11] The position taken by these scholars is adopted here.

Moreover, the notion of markedness as a linguistic concept is also related.[12] We assume that a marked word-order is signaled when anything other than an V-S-Comp order occurs. The usage of a marked construction explicitly indicates the presence of a particular feature. For example, within a verbal clause, when any constituent is fronted before the verb, either within the boundaries of the clause or in an extra-clausal position in front of the clause proper, the word-order is considered marked, signaling the presence of a particular feature. The reverse, however, does not follow. Use of an unmarked form does not specify whether the feature is present or not, i.e. it may or may not be present. Thus, the marked construction is not inherently equal to the opposite of the unmarked construction.[13]

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11. For an alternative view, see Holmstedt (2002).
12. For a cogent description of markedness as a linguistic concept, see Battistella (1996).
13. According to Dryer (1995:112) "a construction is pragmatically marked relative to another if the range of contexts in which it is appropriate is a proper subset of the set of contexts in which the unmarked construction is used".

1.4.2 Assumption 2: The Inaccessibility of Prosody and Intonation Prominence Patterns in Biblical Hebrew

This investigation also assumes that prosody and intonation prominence patterns are not viable options for discerning the information-structure of BH clauses. This is due to the inconsistency of the Masoretic accents and the lack of correlation between the accents and focus patterns (cf. Shimasaki, 2002 in this regard).[14] Therefore, to the extent possible, the information-structure of BH must be determined solely on the basis of word-order markedness and other markendness configurations (i.e. pronominalization and relexicalization).

1.4.3 Assumption 3: The Priority of Left-Dislocation Associated with Verbal Clauses in Biblical Hebrew

Finally, instances of LD associated with verbal clauses are given priority within this present investigation to the exclusion of possible instances of LD associated with verbless clauses in BH. Whether or not so called tripartite nominal clauses in BH formally constitute instances of LD is the topic of much debate.[15] Since the incorporation of the problem of LD in verbless clauses would require much more space than afforded by the parameters of the present project, this investigation will consider only instances of LD associated with verbal clauses in BH.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

The first part of this project comprises a set of literature studies within the field of BH linguistics, specifically regarding their treatment of LD constructions. The aim of this survey is twofold: 1) by surveying the previous work on LD, numerous insights are garnered which inform the present investigation and complement the framework used, 2) the survey demonstrates the need for an exploratory investigation regarding the discourse-pragmatic function(s) of LD in BH within a cognitive-functional framework informed by recent developments in the more general linguistic field of discourse-pragmatics (information-structure).

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14. Shimasaki (2002) hypothesizes that BH expresses focus by pitch prominence on the basis of language universals. However, he ultimately concedes that he could not "find any direct relationship between the Masoretic accents and our focus patterns" (Shimasaki, 2002:58n.5).
15. The tripartite nominal clause is formally grouped into two classes: [X Y PRO] and [X PRO Y]. See Andersen (1971), Gross (1987, 1999), Revell (1989), Geller (1991), Buth (1999), Muraoka (1999), Van Wolde (1999), Naudé (2002), Woodard (2009).

In an effort to account for the linguistic phenomenon of why grammars of natural language offer speakers (and writers) a variety of morphosyntactic and prosodic options for expressing the same propositional content, the theory of discourse-pragmatics posits that the form of an utterance is directly related to the presumed cognitive states of the interlocutors. Therefore, a sophisticated cognitive-oriented discourse-pragmatic framework is constructed and employed in order to account for why the BH authors would communicate a proposition with the form of a clause fronted by a dislocated constituent, rather than with a more formally economical construction.

Moreover, since the LD construction is a universal syntactic phenomenon (cf. Lambrecht, 2001:1051), it is assumed that typological information regarding the form and function of LD across languages serves as a critical source of insight into the prototypical formal features and functional domains of the construction within BH. The insights garnered from the cross-linguistic data serve to inform the parameters used in the construction and construal of our data-set. That is, the prototypical formal features of LD across languages inform our syntactic criteria for determining LD constructions in BH and serve to inform our hypothesis concerning the functions of LD constructions in BH.

Finally, we will empirically test our hypothesis concerning the discourse-pragmatic functions of LD constructions in BH against our database comprised of one hundred instances of LD constructions drawn from various narrative portions of the Hebrew Bible stretching from Genesis-II Chronicles. The results of our investigation will then be presented with examples empirically demonstrating the veracity of our hypothesis.

1.6 OUTLINE OF THIS STUDY

This study is divided into five chapters. Following the present chapter, which serves as an overall introduction, providing the rationale, scope and limits of the study, the rest of the investigation is outlined as follows:

In **Chapter 2** a linguistic description of LD and the theoretical framework employed for this investigation is provided. This chapter commences with a literature review of the most salient works regarding LD in BH. This is followed by a detailed description of the discourse-pragmatic

framework employed for this study. Finally, a typological description of LD is provided in an effort to ascertain the prototypical formal and functional properties of LD across languages.

Chapter 3 consists of our primary hypotheses and the parameters for our investigation. This chapter principally consists of an outline of the formal criteria employed for distinguishing instances of LD in BH, the parameters which guided the construction of our data-set, the methodology used in analyzing our data, and our hypothesis for the discourse-pragmatic functions of LD in BH.

Chapter 4 presents the findings of our investigation. The prototypical discourse-pragmatic functions of LD are illustrated with examples from our data-set, as well as more peripheral instances which could not be classified according to our discourse-pragmatic framework due to their function as pragmatic devices employed to signal the text-world framing information (i.e. spatio-temporal adjuncts). Some additional observations are then provided regarding our data-set, followed by several areas in need of further research.

Chapter 5 summarizes the findings of this study.

Following the final chapter, an **Appendix** is provided with a statistical break-down of the various formal and functional types of LD represented by our data-set.

LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter commences with a survey of linguistic descriptions of LD constructions in BH (§2.2). Section 2.2 consists of a brief description of the treatment of LD constructions within the prominent Hebrew grammars (§2.2.1). This is followed by a review of the analysis of LD constructions within a selection of significant preliminary BH publications (§2.2.2).[16] Subsequently, contributions employing a generative framework to the description of LD constructions are considered (§2.2.3). Section 2.2.4 is an evaluation of those investigations employing a functional or discourse approach (§2.2.4); and lastly, an appraisal is offered of the most significant publications which have attempted to apply Lambrecht's cognitive-oriented theoretical framework to the linear ordering of constituents in BH, specifically in regards to their treatment of LD constructions (§2.2.5).

This evaluation of the linguistic descriptions of LD constructions in BH will demonstrate that a more systematic investigation of the discourse-pragmatic function(s) of LD constructions in BH is needed. Moreover, we will argue that such an investigation will be most effectively achieved through the application of a coherent cognitive-oriented discourse-pragmatic framework (§2.3). This discourse-pragmatic framework will principally be derived from Lambrecht (1994), Jacobs (2001), Chafe (1987, 1994), Floor (2004), Erteschik-Shir (2007), and Gundel and Fretheim (2009). In §2.3.1 we will introduce several precursory notions of our framework, after which we will provide a description of the two fundamental information-structure categories which will guide our model, viz. Pragmatic States and Pragmatic Relations (§2.3.2 - §2.3.3). Finally, in section 2.3.4 we will offer a brief overview of two additional pragmatic operations, viz: contrastiveness and deictic orientations.

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16. Since the terminology varies significantly in regards to LD constructions within the linguistic literature, we have decided to mostly reflect the terminology employed in each work reviewed. Elsewhere, 'LD' will be used for the construction in question.

Typological evidence of LD constructions is presented in §2.4 in an effort to better ascertain the prototypical form and function of LD constructions across languages. First we attempt to demonstrate the formal criteria of LD constructions across languages (§2.4.1), followed by a description of possible functions thereof (§2.4.2). Finally, a brief summary and conclusion is presented (§2.5).

2.2 LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTIONS OF LEFT-DISLOCATION IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

2.2.1 Hebrew Grammars and Left-Dislocation

2.2.1.1 Gesenius (GKC)

GKC (1910:§143) classifies casus pendens constructions[17] under the heading *compound sentence*, where a compound sentence is defined as "every sentence, the subject or predicate of which is itself a full clause". According to GKC §143a-b, a compound sentence is formed by the juxtaposition of a subject (which always precedes) and either 1) an independent noun-clause with or without a retrospective pronominal, or 2) an independent verbal-clause with or without a retrospective pronominal. It is clarified in GKC §143c that the grammatical subject is not the only syntactic constituent which can be dislocated before the clause proper.

While syntactic descriptions of casus pendens are offered,[18] GKC lacks any substantial account of the semantic-pragmatic functions of such constructions. In §143c it is only averred that "prominence is given to the principle subject, by its mere separation from the context by means of a greater disjunctive, in a manner which would be quite impossible in a simple noun or verbal clause" (ibid.:§143c). GKC, however, in no way specifies what is meant by the vague notion 'prominence'.

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17. The term 'casus pendens' (hanging case) is a term with its origins in Latin-based grammatical study. It is used by GKC to refer to a construction wherein a noun phrase stands outside the clause and is represented within the clause by a resumptive pronominal.
18. See §111h; 112n,t,mm,oo; 116u, 143, 159i; 164a.

2.2.1.2 Waltke and O'Connor (WO)

WO (1990) classifies casus pendens constructions[19] as *nominative absolute* constructions (WO, 1990:76).[20] The construction is syntactically defined as a nominative absolute standing outside the clause as an absolute entity. A relationship is signaled between the absolute entity and the clause via an optional resumptive pronoun referring back to the absolute entity. WO observes that, in addition to the subject, the dislocated absolute may be associated as 1) possessor with the subject, 2) possessor with the direct object of the clause, 3) it may refer to the direct object of the clause, or 4) the object of a prepositional phrase in the clause (ibid.:76-77). In addition, WO observe instances wherein a relative clause is dislocated and separated from the clause proper by a conjunction (ibid.:77).

WO provide a taxonomy of syntactic descriptions of casus pendens constructions, describing instances of casus pendens as they pertain to the broader syntactic discussions at hand, e.g. within the context of 1) the verbless clause,[21] 2) the prefix conjugation,[22] 3) non-finite verb forms (e.g. participles),[23] 4) circumstantial phrases and clauses,[24] and 5) appositional constructions.[25]

Regarding their description of the semantic-pragmatic functions of casus pendens constructions, WO only slightly advances the description proposed by GKC. It is asserted that the casus pendens "serves to highlight or focus one element of the main clause" (ibid.:76).[26] It is not, however, explained by WO what is meant by the vague terms 'highlight' and 'focus'. In addition, it is noted that "it may serve in context to contrast this element to a comparable item in another clause" (ibid.). WO, however, offers no alternative function other than 'highlighting/focus' or 'contrast' for dislocated relative clauses and those separated from the clause proper by a conjunction.   It is simply averred that these constructions, as well as those with complex subjects, "al-

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19. WO also use the terminology *sentence topic,* and *focus marker.*
20. The terminology *nominative absolute* employed by WO is regrettable in that the term 'nominative' is a linguistic term used to denote the syntactic subject in a case language. BH, however, has no such functional case system, so the use of the term is misleading. Second, as WO observes, non-subject constituents are often dislocated (ibid.:76).
21. §16.3.3.
22. §32.2.1.
23. §32.2.5 and §37.5.
24. §33.2.4.
25. §16.3.4.
26. Hence, the functional term *focus marker.*

low a grammatically complex part of the clause to stand on its own, thus increasing clarity" (ibid.:77).

2.2.1.3 Joüon and Muraoka (JM)

Unlike GKC and WO, Joüon and Muraoka (1991) refrains from describing casus pendens constructions[27] as principally consisting of a *subject* in a dislocated position. Rather, JM offers a more accurate syntactic description of a dislocated construction as one wherein "a noun or pronoun is often placed at the head of a clause in such a way as to stand aloof from what follows, and then resumed by means of a retrospective pronoun" (JM, 1991:551). JM observes that, syntactically, the dislocated noun can be 1) a genitive,[28] 2) an object,[29] 3) the complement of a preposition,[30] or 4) a subject (ibid.).[31] Casus pendens constructions are further described as often containing dislocated constituents separated from the clause proper by a ו,[32] and often contain a relative clause within the dislocated noun phrase.[33] Moreover, JM notes the frequency with which dislocated constructions occur with particular particles (ibid.).[34]

JM offers little in regards to a description of the viable function(s) of casus pendens in BH. It is simply noted that casus pendens constructions "are sometimes occasioned by the importance of the noun, i.e. it is the element of the clause which first springs to the speaker's mind, and sometimes by a desire for clarity or smoothness of expression" (ibid.:551).

2.2.1.4 Van der Merwe, Naudé and Kroeze (BHRG)

Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze describe LD constructions as those wherein a "noun or noun phrase can be taken from its normal position in the clause and placed at the beginning of the clause" (BHRG, 1999:249).[35] Moreover, it is added that "this dislocated constituent often refers

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27. JM also uses the term 'extraposition' in §154i-n42. For a critique of the term 'extraposition' for LD, see below §2.2.4.2
28. §156g
29. §156h
30. §156d, i
31. §156e, j
32. §156l. JM avers that this is similar to the 'waw of apodosis' (ibid.: 554).
33. §156k.
34. יֵשׁ ;הנה ;אין
35. BHRG (1999:357) also provide a definition for dislocation constructions in the glossary: "A dislocation construction consists of a grammatical element, isolated to the left or the right of the clause, and a main clause

to the matter which the clause is about" (ibid.). BHRG is the only grammar to employ a sophisti-cated cognitive-pragmatic framework for the description of word-order variation in BH.[36] BHRG utilizes Lambrecht's (1994) notions of 'identifiability' and 'activation' of topics in the de-scription of the function of LD constructions in BH. According to BHRG the function of LD constructions is "usually to *(re-)activate* an *identifiable* referent that is talked about" (ibid.:339).

2.2.1.5 Summary and Conclusion

GKC, WO, and JM employ the traditional methodology of confining the investigation, almost exclusively, to the study of meaning and structure of individual sentences in which the sentence is isolated from its broader discourse context. This methodology yields an inadequate descrip-tion of dislocated constructions in BH whereby the description is, for the most part, relegated to a structural analysis at the clause and sentence level with minimal consideration to the discourse-pragmatic functions involved. Any linguistic investigation restricted to a sentence-level descrip-tion is inevitably destined for misrepresentation and misinterpretation due its limited scope whereby the multi-propositional (i.e. discourse) nature of language and the communicative func-tion of morphosyntactic structures are not accounted for (Givon, 1984:10). Where an attempt at advancing a functional description occurs in GKC, WO, and JM, the description is invalidated by superficially vague notions such as 'prominence' (GKC), 'highlight/focus' or 'an increase in clari-ty′ (WO), and 'importance' (JM).

Although BHRG employs a cognitive-pragmatic framework in describing the functions of word-order variation in BH, only a single discourse-pragmatic function is ascribed to LD construc-tions. Such a description is surely too simplistic, and a more nuanced description is called for. For example, the functional relation between LD constructions and the discourse-pragmatic no-tion of topic with its various types is not discussed. Moreover, no consideration is made as to whether different syntactic representations of dislocation constructions reflect different dis-course-pragmatic functions. Furthermore, it is not clarified how the pragmatic function of dislo-cated constructions differs from that of the syntactically distinct so-called 'fronted' construc-

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containing an element that refers to the dislocated constituent".
36. The framework used by BHRG is derived largely from Lambrecht (1994), and follows some of the views proposed by Gross (1996).

tions.[37] In other words, the issue of why an author would employ a dislocated construction rather than a fronted construction (or vise-versa) if both constructions can accomplish the same discourse-pragmatic function is not clarified. In addition to these prominent reference grammars, significant investigations into the form and function of LD constructions have appeared in various publications. To these publications we now turn.

2.2.2 Preliminary Publications on Left-Dislocation in Biblical Hebrew

2.2.2.1 Driver[38]

Driver (1892) represents the classic treatment of dislocation in BH. Driver treats the casus pendens construction in an appendix wherein he provides a syntactic taxonomy of, what he considers are, the principle types of casus pendens in BH. His treatment of casus pendens is similar to that of early Hebrew grammars, e.g. GKC (1910) and Joüon (1923), in that the description is restricted to a composition of syntactic inventories characterized by an *ad hoc* attempt at classifying the data.

Driver contends that the primary function of casus pendens is "as a means for the author to avoid long and unwieldy sentences" (Driver, 1998:265).[39] This is advantageous, according to Driver, for two fundamental reasons: 1) the subject or object is afforded a prominent place at the beginning of the clause, thus alleviating the body of the sentence by allowing a light pronominal suffix to take its place, and 2) the sentence is rounded off whereby an ending is provided upon which the voice may suitably rest (ibid.).[40] Driver's explanation for the function of casus pendens constructions, however, must be called into question since, as Khan (1988:xxxi) correctly observes, not all dislocated nominals are long and unwieldy.

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37. BHRG (1999: 346) states that both LD constructions and constructions with a fronted constituent are employed to accomplish the task of introducing or (re)activating a topic of an utterance that is not discourse active. It is, however, asserted that fronted constructions are more frequently used.
38. We used the 4th edition for this review. The only significant difference in the 4th edition is the addition of an introductory essay by W. Randall Garr.
39. Naudé (1990:116) contends that the framework employed by Driver is that of a 'prescriptive grammatical approach' wherein he prescribes the existence of dislocation in terms of extragrammatical factors (also cf. Newmeyer, 1983: 2-27).
40. Driver classified verbless clauses with a dislocated constituent as compound clauses. The vague term 'emphasis' was used by Driver to characterize the function of some of these clauses (1998:268). (cf. Geller's comments on Driver, 1991:17-18).

2.2.2.2 Muraoka

In Muraoka's 1985 seminal work on BH word-order entitled *Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew,* a chapter is devoted to the description of casus pendens constructions in BH. Muraoka attempts to determine whether casus pendens should be construed as 'emphatic' and to specify the nature of the 'emphasis' which may be present. He begins by observing that there are three formal perspectives from which one may detect emphasis in casus pendens constructions: (1) the resumptive pronoun may be considered pleonastic, which Muraoka asserts is one of the formal features characterizing emphatic constructions, (2) the possible emphasis may be due to the initial position occupied by the dislocated constituent, or (3) extraposition does not affect the basic inner structure of an utterance and, if present, emphasis is something superimposed on this basic structure (Muraoka, 1985:93-94). Muraoka then proposes a classification of casus pendens based on the syntactic function of the pronominal element resuming the dislocated constituent within the clause proper. The categories set forth are (1) adnominal, (2) object, (3) prepositional phrase, (4) subject, (5) participle, and (6) cases where the phrase אני הנני (as well as the reversed order) is dislocated (ibid.:94-99). Muraoka concludes that in most cases casus pendens construc-tions are emphatic and that in general it either expresses emotional energy or depth of feeling on the part of the speaker or else some form of contrast (ibid.).

Muraoka is at the forefront of those criticizing grammarians for an uncritical use of the vague term 'emphasis' as a catch-all term for word-order deviations. He therefore attempts to issue defi-nitional parameters on the term. Regrettably, however, Muraoka restricts his definition to psy-chological explanations and thus neglects the semantic and discourse-pragmatic issues involved. Moreover, to the detriment of his investigation, the term 'emphasis' is retained and employed as a singular explanation for the function of casus pendens constructions and other word-order phe-nomena.[41]   Unfortunately, these methodological impediments ultimately precluded the author from a nuanced and comprehensive appraisal of the functional range of LD constructions in BH.

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41. Rosenbaum (1997:3) remarks that "this is an example of the 'fallacy of the tool', i.e. whatever the problem, use a hammer, whether it is to stop a leak or fix a clock". For a more comprehensive critique of the term 'emphasis' see Van der Merwe (1992).

2.2.2.3 Summary and Conclusion

Although the formal taxonomy afforded by Driver's (1892) early investigation is not without its value, the vague, solely intuitive speculation as to the functions of LD in BH leave much to be desired. Moreover, Muraoka's (1985) contribution towards an account of BH word-order variation is ultimately restricted by the semantically equivocal term 'emphasis' its attempt to account for the function of LD in BH.

2.2.3 Generative Approaches to Left-Dislocation in Biblical Hebrew

2.2.3.1 Naudé

In his 1990 article entitled *A Syntactic Analysis of Dislocations in Biblical Hebrew,* Naudé criticizes previous traditional/taxonomic approaches to the syntactical description of dislocation constructions in BH.[42] In contrast, Naudé employs the generative grammatical framework of Government-Binding Theory, to arrive at an underlying linguistic reality for dislocation constructions in BH (Naudé, 1990:120). Specifically Naudé (1990) is concerned with the categoric status of dislocated constituents and the coreferential relation between the dislocated constituent and its recursive element (ibid.:116).

Taking into account the two possible BH sentence formation strategies: 1) a movement strategy in which all the usual constraints on movement are obeyed; 2) a no-movement strategy using resumptive pronouns (resumptive clitics), where all the usual constraints can be violated,[43] Naudé (ibid.:124) hypothesizes that movement cannot account for dislocation in BH. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that the dislocation constituents are base-generated and occupy the CP (alias S) adjunction position in D-structure and S-structure. Therefore, dislocated constituents as CP adjuncts can be said to have the same categoric status as ordinary clauses (ibid.). Despite superficial similarities, dislocated constructions contrast significantly with constituents appearing in a preposed C-specifier position in the S-structure having been moved out of IP (alias S) by a rule of topicalization (ibid.). Whereas so-called topicalization constructions exhibit the typical 'movement' property of leaving a gap at the extraction site, dislocation con-

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42. Specifically, Naudé scrutinizes the publications of Driver (1892), Muraoka (1985), and Gross (1987).
43. These two sentence formation strategies for BH are proposed by Hayon (1973) and Chomsky (1977:71-155).

structions leave no such gap (ibid.:125). In addition, Naudé argues that moved topicalization constituents are assigned the case appropriate to the position it occupied in the D-structure, whereas dislocated constituents are assigned nominative case irrespective of the case assigned to the recursive element (ibid.:126). Thus, he concludes that "[s]ince movement in some sense 'preserves' case-marking, it is therefore evident that dislocation cannot involve movement". Lastly, Naudé presents evidence that suggests that base-generated dislocated constituents do not occupy the C-specifier position, but instead should be construed as adjoined to the CP (ibid.:127).[44] Naudé observes that in Isa. 49.21 and Gen. 37.30 the C-specifier position is filled by a WH-NP specifier suggesting that dislocated constituents cannot fill this slot. Moreover, citing Greenberg (1984), Naudé posits that, like in colloquial English, in BH, various interjections and WH-words can occur after dislocated constituents, but not after topicalized constituents. This is due to the fact that interjections and topicalized constituents both occur in the C-specifier position as IP-adjuncts, whereas dislocated constituents are CP-adjuncts (Naudé, 1990:128).[45]

2.2.3.2 Holmstedt

Following Naudé (1990), R. Holmstedt (2000), in an unpublished article entitled *The Syntax and Pragmatics of "Fronting" in Biblical Hebrew,* also applied a generative framework in the analysis of the generative notions of 'dislocation' and 'topicalization'.[46] Holmstedt scrutinizes and attempts to advance upon Naudé's arguments in several significant ways.

According to Holmstedt, dislocation in BH occurs in "three basic arrangements depending on the type of resumptive NP within the clause" (Holmstedt, 2000:5). The three types of resumptive NPs are: 1) an independent pronoun, 2) a clitic pronoun, or 3) a full NP (ibid.).

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44. Naudé (ibid.:127) suggests the recursive base rule of the form: CP → XP CP (where XP is the dislocated constituent).
45. See Holmstedt (2000), who affirms the classification of dislocated constituents as CP-adjuncts, but provides evidence that BH topicalized constructions do appear outside the clausal boundary (see §2.2.3.2).
46. Holmstedt argues for a basic SVO word-order for BH against Van der Merwe who argues that BH is a VS language (Van der Merwe, 1999:3). While Van der Merwe's conclusion is based on the statistical dominance of the VS pattern in BH, Holmstedt argues from a generative perspective which presupposes that every language has an abstract underlying SVO word-order. In his paper, however, Holmstedt does not justify his position. Furthermore, it is unclear as to why his pragmatic analysis requires an SVO word-order. See Moshavi (forthcoming) for a cogent refutation of the arguments for SVO word-order in BH.

Holmstedt demonstrates that Naudé's (1990) claim - that BH topicalized constituents do not precede clause-initial boundary markers (i.e. WH-words and various interjections) - is not necessarily the case. Holmstedt (2000:6) makes the important observation that the conjunction ו also marks clause-initial boundaries,[47] and provides two examples where a constituent is separated from the clause proper by a clause-initial boundary marker with a gap in the clause proper where the initial constituent used to be (i.e. Naudé's topicalization construction), thus seemingly contradicting Naudé's assertion.[48] However, Holmstedt argues in favor of Naudé's claim - that constituents preceding clause-initial boundary markers are dislocated clause-external elements - and avers that fronted constituents[49] separated by a clause-initial boundary marker with a gap in the matrix clause where the initial constituent used to be, are actually left-dislocated constituents with a 'covert resumptive pronoun' (ibid.:9). In other words, fronted constituents syntactically separated from the clause proper by a conjunction or some other particle, and lacking a resumptive NP within the clause proper, according to Holmstedt, still qualify as LD constructions.

Beyond the refinement of Naudé's syntactic description, Holmstedt advances a pragmatic analysis of fronting and dislocation. Following McNally (1998), Holmstedt proposes five information-structure concepts: 1) Theme, 2) Rheme, 3) Contrast, 4) Link, and 5) Tail. The concepts Theme, Link and Tail coincide with the functional notion of Topic. Theme is "that piece of information which anchors the added information to the existing information state" (ibid.:10). Link is the information-instruction to "tell the addressee where to insert the 'added information' of the rheme" (ibid.: 12). Thirdly, Tail instructs the hearer, "to go to entry X under some given address" (ibid.). McNally's (1998) notions of Theme and Link are difficult to distinguish. Following Floor (2004:57), who also criticizes McNally's ambiguous categories, we ask why a Link cannot be a Theme as well since both function to 'anchor' the added information. The 'aboutness'

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47. Holmstedt lists the following as clause-initial boundary markers: WH-interrogatives (Num. 16.11), the adverbial לפנים (Josh. 11.10), and the conjunction ו (Lev. 7.20) (ibid.:6).
48. The examples cited are Num. 23.3 and Jer. 22.15 (both cited in Naudé's article!). In Num 23.3 a conjunction ו separates the topicalized constituent from the clause proper, and in Jer. 22.15 an interrogative particle is the dividing element.
49. Holmstedt prefers the term 'fronted' rather than Naudé's 'topicalization' since topicalization can bring with it the misunderstanding that the fronted item is now topical, which is often not the case.

definition of topic/theme proposed by the functional linguists seems to carry more unambiguous explanatory power.[50]

A strength in Holmstedt's argument is his decision to follow McNally (1998), and Vallduvi & Vilkuna (1998), in construing contrast as a different pragmatic category, functioning as an over-lay over other topic and focus categories (ibid.:11-12).[51]

Holmstedt proposes that LD constructions in BH primarily function either as: 1) a Discourse-New Link, where a discourse-new entity is introduced or reintroduced into the discourse via the LD construction, or 2) a Contrastive Link, where the LD constituent orients the addressee to that discourse entity, and as Contrast, the LD constituent sets that entity in relation to a membership set, established with discourse-old entities, or by logically inferable entities (ibid.:13).

As an example of an LD construction functioning to introduce a Discourse-New Link, Holmstedt points to Gen. 34.23: "*Their cattle and their property and all their beasts,* shall they not be ours?" (ibid.:13). Since, Holmstedt, however, refrains from using the notions of topic and focus, it is difficult to know whether a Discourse-New Link is focal or topical.[52] For instance, taking into account the cognitive theories set forth by Lambrecht (1994), Chafe (1994), and Gómez-González (2001), the question can be raised as to whether or not the LD constituent is presup-posed or not? In other words, it is possible to construe *"Their cattle etc.."* as semi-active, infer-able from the immediately preceding discourse. The verbless clause proper would then be inter-preted as an argument-focus structure, with the focus landing on the third masculine plural pronominal.[53]

Holmstedt also provides an example of an LD constituent fulfilling the function of Contrastive Link. Num. 16.11 reads, "Therefore, you and all your community have banded together against Yahweh! *But Aaron,* what is he that you should murder him?" (Holmstedt, 2000:58). It is

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50. Cf. §2.3.3.1
51. Cf. §2.3.4.1
52. Holmstedt argues against Van der Merwe, Naudé & Kroeze (1999:346-47) that there are not two information structure categories (e.g. topic and focus) available, but that 'topicalization' has two information instructions collapsed into one. The Link as well as a member set (i.e. contrastive). To this, Floor (2004: 58) acknowledges the claims veracity, but asks, "what about such 'topicalized' constituents that are totally new information, and at the same time contrastive"? Floor remarks that it is possible that Holmstedt misunderstood Van der Merwe, Naudé, & Kroeze's use of the term 'focus' (ibid.).
53. Following Buth (1999) the clause proper is construed as a marked construction due to the P-S word-order. Cf. Floor (2004:58).

claimed that the Contrastive Link, *Aaron*, is not discourse-new, but rather orients the addressee to the change in the discourse Theme. Furthermore, the Contrastive Link "instructs the addressee to establish a semantically related membership set which is contextually or logically inferable" (ibid.:14). While contrast is most certainly a part of the example cited, Holmstedt's inadequate view of the scope and function of the contrast overlay is aptly criticized by Floor (2004:58), who writes, "there are also other fronted topical constituents that can be contrastive. Contrastive topic frames as well as contrasted secondary topics can also appear in the pre-verbal position in Biblical Hebrew". Moreover, "comparison, exhaustive identification, and confirmation of identity are other such pragmatic functions of contrastiveness that need to be accounted for" (ibid.).[54]

2.2.3.3 Summary and Conclusion

The generative framework employed by Naudé (1990) and Holmstedt (2000) contribute towards a surface level syntactic description of LD constructions. Moreover, Holsmstedt's significant insight that contrast should be viewed as a separate pragmatic overlay is valuable for a more nuanced description of the functions of LD constructions in BH. Since the present investigation employs a cognitive-functional approach, the generative framework does not receive much attention here. However, as Floor (2004:44) comments, "[w]hat is very interesting is that generative linguists working on information-structure have come to many of the same results independently from functionalists." It is germane, however, to note that generative linguists limit the study of information-structure to the clause-level.

2.2.4 Discourse and Functional Approaches to Left-Dislocation in Biblical Hebrew

2.2.4.1 Gross

It is indeed no overstatement that Gross' 1987 monograph entitled *Die Pendenskonstruktion im biblischen Hebräisch* is one of the most systematic, rigorous and exhaustive treatments of the so-

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54. Cf. §2.3.2

called Pendenskonstruktion[55] in BH.[56] Gross is a scholar with methodological roots in the school of Wolfgang Richter and this investigation is a part of a broader effort initiated by Richter for the purpose of ascertaining a more comprehensive understanding of the syntax of the sentence in BH.

In regards to the Pendenskonstruktion, Gross offers the following by way of definition:

> *"Ich verstehe unter Pendentia Wortgruppen, nominale oder pronominale Elemente, die im folgenden Satz syntaktisch oder zumindest semantisch die Rolle eines oder des Teils eines Syntagmas spielen, von diesem Satz aber isoliert sind, insofern in diesem Satz eine pronominale Kopie von ihnen vorhanden und/oder zu Beginn dieses folgenden Satzes durch w=/wa=, Konjunktion, Fragepronomen oder Satzdeiktikon eine Satzgrenze angezeigt ist" (Gross, 1987:2).*[57]

For Gross, the Pendenskonstruktion is composed of three primary components: 1) the dislocated constituent (pendens), which has some role in the following clause but is nevertheless isolated from it, the linked clause (Der zugehörige Satz) and the resumptive element (Die Aufnahme) (Gross, 1987:184-186). Moreover, the grammatical completeness of the following clause serves to evince the detachment of the initial constituent, and the inception of a new clause is often signaled by an interrogative, conjunction, or other particle appearing between the dislocated element and the clause proper (ibid.: 249-258). Furthermore, the resumptive element (or Aufnahme), also serves to complete the clause proper and links the pendens constituent to the clause functioning as a device by which the dislocated constituent plays its role within the following clause.

Gross' framework is highly taxonomic. Gross identifies more than one thousand instances of the Pendenskonstruktion and classifies these under seventy sentence models. The primary objectives for Gross' investigation are broad in scope and include the identification of the form and function

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55. Gross also employs the terms 'Linksversetzung' and 'Freie Thema', as well as 'Pendenskonstruktion', but argues that the difference is not a significant one for BH (Gross, 1987:7). Gross, however, defends his preference for the term Pendenskonstruktion (ibid.:39n117).
56. Cf. Naudé (1990:117)
57. By this definition, specifically Gross' careful and deliberate 'und/oder', it appears as though Gross argues for only one of the two criteria stated for identifying Pendenskonstruktion (e.g the presence of a resumptive pronoun or the clear marking of the inauguration of the clause proper by a conjunction, interrogative pronoun etc.) as essential.

of the dislocated constituent, as well as the complete construction which it initiates. The grammar of the clause proper, including the grammatical and semantic links between the dislocated (pendens) construction and the clause proper, are also treated. Due to the length and breadth of Gross' investigation, a comprehensive review/critique would take more space than afforded here. A few general remarks, however, are called for in the effort to further justify our present investigation.

Although Gross (1987) is a pioneering effort in every respect, regrettably Gross' lack of a coherent conceptual framework to account for his distributional data, results in a rather unsophisticated account for the function of LD constructions in BH. In this regard we affirm Naudé's (1990:118) criticism that "[w]ithout the linguistic universals specified by... a (linguistic, JRW) theory, the grammarian is unable to distinguish between aspects of language that are relevant to the explanation and prediction of classes of language usage products, and aspects which are irrelevant".[58] Furthermore, while Gross indicates that vague categories and pseudo-explanations, such as the notion 'emphasis', are not sufficient for an explanation of the function of LD constructions in BH, his inadequate framework impedes his effort at offering a theoretically well-justified explanation that accounts for all of the data presented. Despite the methodological and theoretical shortcoming, Gross (1987) is an invaluable resource due to its copious indexes to authors, topics and texts in which LD constructions appear (ibid.:210-229). Indeed, the database of LD constructions presented in Gross (1987:210-220) will serve as the point of departure for the construction of the database employed for the present investigation.

2.2.4.2 Khan

In his 1988 monograph entitled *Studies in Semitic Syntax,* Khan investigates the form and function of extraposition constructions (Ex) and pronominal agreement (PA) constructions in the Se-

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58. As a result of the incapability of Gross' method in drawing such a distinction, many of Gross' extensive summaries become superfluous to the description of LD as such. In other words, many of the constituents distinguished in his numerous symbols do not seem to be essential to dislocation as such, and could have been covered by simpler generalizations. Cf. S 4 (ibid.:86), S 5 (ibid.:87), S 6 (ibid.:102), S 7 (ibid.:103), S 8 (ibid.:145).

mitic languages of Arabic, Biblical Hebrew (along with Aramaic and Syriac), Akkadian, and Amharic.[59] Ex constructions are defined by Khan as:

> *"Syntactic constructions in which a noun or nominal phrase stands isolated at the front of a clause without any immediate formal connection to the predication. The initial 'extraposed' nominal is not adjoined to any relational particle such as a preposition or an object marker... The grammatical relation of nominal in the predication is usually indicated vicariously by means of a co-referential resumptive pronoun" (Khan, 1988:xxvi).*

Moreover, Kahn defines PA constructions as:

> *"A noun or nominal phrase whose grammatical relation is indicated by its case inflection or by an adjoining relational particle accompanied in the same clause by a co-referential agreeing with it in number, gender, person, and grammatical relation" (ibid.:xxvi-vii).*

According to Khan, these two constructions are structurally distinguishable by the location of the nominal. In Ex constructions the nominal is detached from the main predication and placed in front of the clause proper. In PA constructions, however, nominals which are accompanied by 'agreement pronouns' are not restricted to initial position, but may occur anywhere in the clause, i.e. the nominal stands inside the predication (ibid.:xxvii-viii). Khan attempts to demonstrate that Ex and PA structures display "many quite diverse functions, thus confirming... the claim that the relation between syntactic structure and function in language is generally not one to one" (ibid.:xxxiv).

Khan commences by presenting a taxonomy of the various structural types evinced by the Ex and PA constructions in BH.[60] In regards to the types of constituents extraposed in BH, the following taxonomy is presented: (i.) pronoun, (ii.) noun or nominal phrase,[61] (iii.) subject of the

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59. Khan justifies his keeping the two constructions distinct by his methodology of: (a) maintaining a clear dichotomy between the structure of a syntactic construction and its function, and (b) that structure is the starting point of the analysis, i.e. his aim is to seek out the function which is performed by a given structure rather than a structure that performs a given function (Kahn, 1988:xxvii).
60. Our analysis of Khan will be restricted to his investigation of BH.
61. Khan specifies nouns/nominal phrases which are: (i.) definite in status, (i.a) referring to a specific referent, (i.b.) generic, (b) indefinite (very rare).

auxiliary verb היה, and (iv.) instances where the extraposed constituent is introduced by ל. Following this taxonomy, a taxonomy of the formal characteristics of the juncture between the extraposed constituent and the rest of the clause is provided: (i) the presence of a disjunctive accent following the dislocated constituent in the MT,[62] (ii.) instances where the extraposed constituent is connected to the clause proper by a waw conversive,[63] (iii.) where the extraposed constituent is connected to the clause proper by הנה,[64] and (iv.) where a noun or nominal phrase is sometimes separated from the clause proper by a subordinating conjunction.[65] Lastly, Khan offers a taxonomy of the formal features of the resumptive constituent in the clause proper: (i.) clitic pronoun,[66] (ii.) independent personal pronoun,[67] (iii.) demonstrative pronoun, (iv.) locative pro-form, and (v.) full noun,[68] (vi.) instances of a so-called 'partial resumptive' (i.e. where only a noun which is contained within the extraposed nominal phrase is resumed), and finally (vii.) cases where no explicit resumption occurs (ibid:67-74).

Next, Khan presents the structural analysis for PA constructions.[69] Two structurally distinct PA constructions are distinguished: (i.) resumptive, and (ii.) anticipatory. Resumptive PA constructions occur with the following complements (i.) את (direct object marker), (ii.) ל, (iii.) ב, (iv.) על, (v.) עם, (vi.) אל, (vii.) מן, (viii.) instances where a nomen rectum possessing the periphrastic prefix ל is fronted before the nomen regens and resumed on the latter by a suffix pronoun. Likewise, anticipatory PA constructions occur with the following complements: (i.) את (direct object marker), (ii.) ל, (iii.) על, (iv.) עם, (v.) מן, (vi.) instances where a genitive suffix anticipating a

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62. Khan also observes a conjunctive accent present where the dislocated constituent is a pronoun.
63. Several structural variations are distinguished: (i.) before the perfect consecutive, (i.a) when the dislocated nominal is generic, (i.b) when the verb expresses an order, prescription, or request, (i.c) where the waw is motivated by discourse factors, and (ii.) before the imperfective consecutive.
64. Khan (1988:70n6) notes that "הנה may also occur between the subject and its predicate without subsequent resumption of the subject".
65. The subordinating conjunctions כי *and* טרם *are distinguished.*
66. Where the clitic pronoun is a: (i.) object, (ii.) prepositional complement, (iii.) noun complement, (iv.) subject morpheme of the verb (v.) a complement of אין*, and (vi.) a complement of* עוד *.*
67. Where the independent personal pronoun is: (i.) in the verbal clause, or (ii.) in the verbless clause.
68. Khan observes instances where: (i.) the same lexical constituent as the dislocated constituent appears in the clause proper. In such cases, Khan notes that the resumptive constituent is identical with the head noun of the dislocated phrase and is often qualified by a deictic pronoun, and (ii.) a different lexical item from the dislocated constituent occurs in the clause proper, yet is nonetheless construed as coreferential with it (ibid.:73).
69. Khan asserts that "in BH, pronominal agreement constructions are always symmetrical, i.e. 'agreed with', and the nominal and the agreement pronoun have the same case marker or the same preposition. The agreement pronoun may be resumptive or anticipatory (ibid:75).

nominal which is preceded by a participle indicating genitive relation, and (vii.) instances where an independent third person pronoun precedes a subject nominal (ibid.:75-79).

Khan employs the methodological framework of 'discourse analysis' to account for the functions of Ex and PA constructions in BH.[70] Khan observes that Ex and PAR (pronominal agreement constructions with resumptive pronouns) constructions are in most cases functionally synonymous and therefore treats them together, distinguishing six major functional categories: (i) signaling the boundaries of spans of discourse, (ii.) Ex used to achieve rhetorical schemes, (iii.) contrastive assertion, (iv.) SV-clauses and Ex/PAR, (v.) differences between Ex and PAR clauses, and (vi.) anticipatory agreement (ibid.:78-97). Khan's six functional categories are more explicitly described below.

For his first major functional category, Khan asserts that the signaling of the boundaries, at the onset and closure of the discourse span, serves as a widespread function of Ex and PAR constructions. Ex/PAR constructions frequently occur at the beginning of a speech or poem.[71] In addition, it is observed that Ex/PAR constructions are prevalent within the body of a discourse at the point where a new span is initiated. The Ex/PAR may: (i) signal the change in topic,[72] (ii.) act as a 'bridge'[73] between the prior discourse and new topic span, (iii.) signal a new episode, (iv.) signal a change in theme,[74] (v.) signal a change in the level of description (i.e. a shift from a general perspective to a more specific one or vice versa), and (vi.) signal a shift from foreground to

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70. Khan's 'discourse analysis' framework is principally taken from Grimes (1975), Longacre (1976), and Dijk (1972, 1981).
71. Khan (1988:78-79) argues that the items which are extraposed or fronted in a PAR construction at the head of a speech or poem have at least one of the following properties: (i.) 'Durability' in the succeeding discourse, i.e. the referent has topic status, (ii.) 'Givenness', i.e. the referent has been mentioned in the prior discourse. If the referent is not mentioned previously but is perceived by the addressee in the environment it is 'situationally' given, or (iii.) High in individuation.
72. Khan defines the notion of 'topic' as "an individual or an entity which occupies a central position in a stretch of discourse...a topic is a referent which a stretch of discourse is about" (1988:xxxv). Moreover, Khan defines a stretch of discourse in which a certain referent has topic status as a 'topic span', and additionally those topics at the higher level span as 'primary topics' and those of the shorter (i.e. embedded) span as 'secondary topics' (ibid.).
73. According to Khan, a 'bridge' occurs when "the Ex/PAR item is related to the prior discourse (explicitly given or inferable) yet does not itself have topic status within the succeeding clauses. Instead the topic is a completely new referent (not given or inferable from prior context), which is introduced with the body of the Ex/PAR clause" (ibid.:81).
74. 'Theme' is defined by Khan as "a term used to refer to the semantic domain of the information which is predicated about the topic referent" (1988:xxxv). Likewise the 'theme span' is "a stretch of discourse the content of which belongs to a single semantic domain" (ibid.).

background information (ibid.:78-83). Likewise, in addition to signaling the termination of a speech or poem, the Ex/PAR construction may signal the conclusion of a thematic span within the body of a discourse. Lastly, Kahn observes that Ex/PAR constructions may signal the climax of a discourse span (ibid.:83-86).[75]

According to Khan (ibid.: 88-93) in many instances, Ex clauses are used to achieve rhetorical schemes. Two such schemes are posited. The first is characterized by Ex clauses used to form parallel or chiastic structures where there is either a semantic opposition or equivalence between clauses present. The second is characterized by two clauses which begin with the same word and are extraposed to achieve the figure of anaphora.

Khan's third major functional category is that of 'contrastive assertion' wherein the "resumptive pronoun in an Ex/PAR clause signals that the initial nominal phrase, with which it co-refers, is the focus of 'contrastive assertion'" (ibid.:93). Moreover, that sometimes two foci of contrastive assertion occurs is also observed (ibid.:95).

Although Khan (1988:78) states that "Ex sentences and pronominal agreement constructions with resumptive pronouns (PAR) perform the same functions and are in most cases interchangeable", a point of difference is also observed. Where nominal Ex and PAR clauses possess at least one of the following properties: (i.) giveness (ii.) durability in subsequent discourse, or (iii.) individuation, an Ex nominal may also be generic.[76] With PAR constructions, however, the initial nominal is never generic. Thus, Khan concludes that "the slot at the front of the PAR clauses is restricted to highly individuated nominals whereas the equivalent slot in Ex clauses admits nominals which are lower on the individuation scale" (ibid.: 97).[77]

Lastly, Khan discusses the function of 'anticipatory agreement' wherein the status of the subsequent nominal rather than the clause within the discourse determines or motivates the agreement

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75. In addition, Khan notes other syntactic devices for marking span boundaries. For span onset, these include: (i.) SV-clauses, (ii.) re-identification of participants, (iii.) clause initial sentence adverbials, (iv.) the auxiliary היה. *And likewise for span closures, (i.) SV-clauses, and (ii.) reidentification of participant (1988:86-88).*

76. By 'generic' Khan means "familiar by virtue of its meaning rather than by its connection to the prior discourse" (1988:96-97).

77. Khan defines 'individuation' as "the distinctness or salience of a nominal from its own background and, in some circumstances, also its distinctness from the other nominals in the clause" (1988:xxxvi-vii). Furthermore, cf. Khan (1988:xxxvii) for a discussion regarding the 'individuation scale' and where generic nominals rank on this scale.

pronoun. It is observed that the 'agreed with' nominal is generally high in individuation, high in saliency,[78] and has been referred to in the immediately preceding text (i.e. are discourse salient) (ibid.:97).

In his final section, Khan observes that Ex constructions occur frequently within the structure of legal formulae in the Old Testament. He therefore devotes a separate section for the investigation of Ex clauses within the legal genre. Instances of Ex in the casuistic laws in the Priestly document, and apodictic laws of the Priestly document are examined.

Within the causuistic laws, Khan observes two types of extraposed nominal structures: (i.) relative phrase + אשׁר + qualifying clause, and (ii.) participial phrase (generally introduced by כל) (ibid:98). The legal case is represented by the extraposed nominal phrase which is resumed (usually by a full nominal phrase) within the body of the clause expressing the ruling. Moreover, Khan observes that the "ruling clause is often a fixed formula which is attached with little variation in form to a large number of different legal cases" (ibid.). In regards to the function of these constructions, Khan asserts that since the extraposed relative phrase is referred to as if it were a proposition rather than an entity term, the semantic structure of casuistic law formula with extraposed relative/participial phrases is best interpreted as a conditional sentence consisting of a protasis and apodosis clause (ibid.:99). This claim is supported by the occurrence of the conjunction ו (i.e. *waw* apodosis) serving to connect the extraposed nominal phrase to the clause proper. Khan also observes constructions wherein a noun is extraposed before the particle כי of the initial protasis clause as a "common type of casuistic law formula" (ibid.).

Within the apodictic laws it is common for the object to stand before the verb without any resumptive pronoun. Khan, however, argues that there are two circumstances where an extraposed nominal is resumed by a full nominal in the clause proper: (i.) when the initial object is a lengthy compound nominal phrase consisting of several nouns which are co-ordinated in the form of a list, and (ii.) in order to provide distinctness to a law which is of wide application and of particular importance (ibid.:100).

While Khan (1988) is undoubtably a significant contribution towards a more comprehensive understanding of the form and function of LD constructions in BH, the effort does not escape criti-

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78. Put differently, the nominal is located high on the 'perceptual salience hierachy' (Khan1988 ;̣xxxvii).

cism. Khan regrettably labels LD constructions 'extraposition'; a label that is traditionally used in linguistic literature to refer to constituents dislocated at the end of the clause.[79] Although his syntactic taxonomy is advantages, his syntactic distinction between extraposition and pronominal agreement with a resumptive element is arguably superfluous for BH.[80] Moreover, his contention that PAR constructions should be construed as positioned within the clause proper due to the co-occurrence of an identical adjoining relational particle on both the noun phrase and the agreement pronoun can be called into question.[81] Additionally Khan's argument that PAR constructions are distinguishable from LD constructions due to the occurrence of the nominal within PAR constructions to appear at the end of the clause, can alternatively be explained by construing those constructions as instances of right-dislocation.

Although Khan's discourse framework yields a taxonomy of various discourse functions for LD constructions, it lacks a coherent cognitive base for an adequate explanation for the various pragmatic functions of LD constructions at the clause level.[82] For instance, Khan's (ibid.:xxxv) notion of topic as an "individual or entity which occupies a central position in a stretch of discourse", and "a topic referent which a stretch of discourse is about", disregards the crucial discourse-pragmatic perspective of a clausal topic as a mental representation standing in a certain pragmatic relation to a certain proposition (cf. Lambrecht, 1994:127). Although Khan (1988) offers a trove of valuable insights concerning the form and function of LD constructions at the dis-

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79. Cf. Bussmann (1998:160) who identifies extraposition as right-dislocation and offers the following definition: "[s]entential elements...shifted rightwards to the end of the sentence". Michaelis & Lambrecht (1996), however, argue that extraposition differs from right-dislocation constructions in that within the former the predicate and the extraposed nominal are focal elements, and in the later, the predicate alone is in focus. Nevertheless it is clear that extraposition and left-dislocation are different syntactic phenomena.

80. Khan admits that "pronominal agreement constructions in which the 'agreed with' nominal occurs at the front of the clause are closely allied to extraposition" (ibid.:xxvii). Moreover, he notes that, "in some cases the two clauses are indistinguishable (ibid.:xxviin.2). Indeed, Khan (ibid.) admits that "many Semitists treat extraposition and pronominal agreement with a clause initial nominal as variants of the same basic construction".

81. In regards to classifying LD constructions and PAR constructions together, Khan (ibid.:xxvii) states that, "such a classification is valid if the criterion of the taxonomy is function, since in many cases these two construction types are functionally equivalent. Subsequently in his functional analysis of PAR and LD constructions, Khan (ibid.:78) states, "Ex sentences and PAR constructions perform the same functions and are in most cases interchangeable".

82. See Khan (1988:xxxii) where he acknowledges the clause-level information-structure analysis of LD constructions from Lambrecht (1981) and Prince (1981), among others, but decides against this framework in favor of a discourse analysis approach.

course level, we believe a more empirically verifiable nuanced 'bottom-up' perspective is called for which takes into account the discourse-pragmatic notion of 'topic' at the clause level.

2.2.4.3 Rosenbaum

Rosenbaum (1997), in his application of Simon Dik's 'Functional Grammar' (FG) to the set corpus of Isaiah 40-55,[83] employs the functional term 'Theme' for LD constructions.[84] Rosenbaum quotes Dik's definition of Theme as follows:

> *"[Theme] sets the scene, specifies the domain or the universe of discourse with respect to which the predication following it is going to present some relevant information" (Dik, 1981, quoted in Rosenbaum, 1997:44).*

Rosenbaum, however, recognizes that Dik's functionally narrow definition for LD constructions fails to account for all of the data. Moreover, Dik's struggle in differentiating the pragmatic relations of 'Topic' and 'Theme' is also recognized. Dik ultimately acknowledges that the primary difference between topic and theme is syntactic rather than pragmatic. In other words, "the topic, unlike the theme, must be an integrated part of the predication... when we delete the theme from the construction, we are left with a predication which is complete in itself" (Dik, 1981, quoted in Rosenbaum, 1997:45).[85] Rosenbaum identifies the central problem with Dik's struggle in differentiating topic and theme as his aversion to more than one constituent occupying the topic function per sentence, which consequently leads Dik to label topical LD constituents as theme (Rosenbaum, 1997:45). Contrary to Dik, Rosenbaum follows Buth (1987) in distinguishing the pragmatic relations: Setting, Topic and Theme, where setting presents the framework within which the topic is stated and commented upon, topics are intra-clausal constituents about which the utterance predicates something in the discourse setting, and theme is reserved for extra clausal constituents which are functionally equivalent to marked topics (ibid.).

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83. In addition to Dik's FG, Rosenbaum utilizes insights from Russian Formalism, Prague School Linguistics and Discourse Analysis. Moreover, Rosenbaum (1997) represents the first attempt at applying a coherent functional framework to a set corpus of BH poetry for the interpretation of word-order variation.
84. Rosenbaum (1997:46) prefers the functional term 'theme' due to the excessive use of formally inaccurate terminology borrowed from Indo-European languages for the description of LD constructions. (cf. Andersen, 1988 in this regard).
85. Cf also Buth (1987) who, in regards to the difference between Theme and Topic, states "they differ more in syntax than pragmatics" (Buth, 1987, quoted in Rosenbaum, 1997:45).

Rosenbaum concludes that most theme constructions in BH can be syntactically characterized by a Theme in the P_2[86] position which is resumed in the following predication by a coreferential element (ibid.:46).[87] In addition, it is proposed that the introduction of new topics can occur via a theme construction where the extraposed constituent is resumed in a verbless clause (ibid.:36). The complexity of the theme construction by the placement of constituents in the P_1 position, the use of parentheticals, and foregrounding (i.e defamiliarization), as well as the formal complexity of the theme constituent itself by being composed of multiple constituents, nominalizations and various relative clause and appositional modifications, is observed by Rosenbaum (ibid.).

Rosenbaum (1997) makes a valuable contribution to the investigation of the function of BH word-order variation, and specifically LD constructions by applying a coherent theoretical framework to a set corpus of BH poetry. Regrettably, although FG *à la* Dik offers a coherent functional framework, it lacks a cognitive foundation which would account for the broader discourse-pragmatic realities.[88] Moreover, Van der Merwe (1999a:178-79) citing Bolkenstein (1998) remarks "despite the heuristic value of Dik's pragmatic categories...(Dik's approach, JRW) provides a taxonomy of pragmatic labels to be mapped onto syntactic and semantic ones, without addressing the issue of whether these labels are suitable and informative at the pragmatic level".[89] Moreover, in regards to the practicality of FG's taxonomy of pragmatic labels and the lack of a sophisticated cognitive base, Van der Merwe (1999a:179) remarks, "...assigning semantic-pragmatic labels without a well-justified pragmatic frame of reference may easily lead to the *ad hoc* assignment of these labels". Unfortunately, the functional grammatical model em-

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86. Following FG, the word order positions in the Hebrew clause are the following: P_2 - Pdp - P_1 - VSO. VSO is the basic functional pattern; P_1 is the initial (preverbal) position that is still morphosyntactically fully integrated with the clause; Pdp is a discourse particle; and P2 is the theme, which is dislocated and external to the clause (our LD).

87. There are no cases of Theme without a resumed coreferential constituent in Isa. 40-55. Moreover, Rosenbaum (1997:47n42) surveys the instances where the Theme is not resumed by a coreferential element in the main predication listed by Khan (1988) and Gross (1987) and concludes that in most cases the instances listed can be alternatively explained.

88. The specific discourse-pragmatic realities in mind here are Lambrecht's (1994) presupposed versus asserted information, identification and activation states. cf. also Chafe (1976; 1985a; 1985b; 1987; 1992; 1994) in this regard.

89. "Pragmatics is not another linguistic module (or component) like the phonological, lexical and syntactic modules. The pragmatic level of linguistic behaviour rather represents an overarching perspective on the way in which language is used. It may provide a cognitive, social or cultural perspective on linguistic phenomena at either a phonological, lexical or syntactic level" (Verschuren, 1999 quoted in Van der Merwe, 1999a:179n5).

ployed by Roesenbaum, with its lack of a cognitive-oriented perspective, fails to represent an accurate and coherent account of the discourse-pragmatic function of LD constructions in BH.[90]

2.2.4.4 Summary and Conclusion

The taxonomic approach of Gross (1987), the discourse analysis of Khan (1988) and the application of Dik's FG by Rosenbaum (1997) all contribute towards a better understanding of the form and function of LD constructions in BH. They all, however, lack a cognitive-oriented discourse-pragmatic frame of reference needed for a more comprehensive and nuanced description of LD constructions in BH. With the 1994 publication by Knud Lambrecht entitled *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus, and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents,* a sophisticated discourse-pragmatic theoretical framework was offered by which to account for how surface structures (e.g. word-order, prosody etc.) represent what happens cognitively when people communicate.

2.2.5 Lambrecht and Left-Dislocation in Biblical Hebrew

In recent years, a few publications have appeared which attempt to apply Lambrecht's Information-Structure[91] theory, with its redefined notions of Topic and Focus, to the problem of BH word-order variation.[92] Within this section, the more significant of these publications come under scrutiny with the purpose of evaluating their treatment of LD constructions in BH.

2.2.5.1 Heimerdinger

Heimerdinger (1999) represents one of the first approaches to word-order variation in BH to comprehensively employ Lambrecht's (1994) cognitive-oriented Information-Structure theory as its point of departure.[93] Although Heimerdinger employs insights from Givon and Tomlin, positioning the pragmatic notion of topic within the broader framework of narratology and discourse

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90. Cf. also Lunn (2006) and Floor (2004) for a more comprehensive analysis and critique of Rosenbaum and his contribution to the study of BH word-order.
91. Lambrecht defines 'information structure' as the "formal expression of the pragmatic structuring of a proposition in a discourse" (Lambrecht: 1994:5).
92. In §2.3 below a more in-depth summary of Lambrecht's theory will be provided.
93. Although, Heimerdinger classifies his own methodological approach as a "weak version of functionalism" (Heimerdinger, 1999:32).

continuity, his theory is principally derived from Lambrecht.[94] Among the many significant con-

tributions Heimerdinger makes to the investigation and interpretation of BH word-order variation

is the attempt to identify specific BH surface structures and configurations employed in the real-

ization of specific discourse-pragmatic functions.

Heimerdinger understands LD constructions as NP + Vayyiqtol + PRO, where a NP designating

a referent is dislocated before the clause proper containing information about the referent in

question. The dislocated NP is encoded as topic and the grammatical Subject of the clause prop-

er is realized through a resumptive clitic pronoun. This construction, according to Heimerdinger

(1999:151) "allows a speaker to encode a referent with a non-active state as Subject and Topic

on its first mention". Moreover, he states that "the referents are construed as being unused or ac-

cessible through inference from the discourse context (ibid.). In every example, cited by

Heimerdinger, where the NP + Vayyiqtol + PRO construction is employed, the referent only oc-

cupies the topic function within the clause concerned, but is not maintained as topic within the

ensuing discourse.[95]

In addition, Heimerdinger asserts that LD constructions also function to 'reintroduce a referent as

Subject with Topicalization. All that is said in regards to the syntactic construction is that it is

similar to the one used with non-active referents mentioned for the first time (ibid.:159). The

distinction between this present function and the former one centers on whether or not the refer-

ent has been deactivated from an earlier activation state. In the former function, the referent has

not been deactivated from a previous state, but belongs to a set of expectations associated with a

'frame'.[96] Whereas, in what Heimerdinger terms 'Topicalization',[97] the referent was, earlier in the

discourse, active, and then subsequently deactivated, and is now reactivated via the LD construc-

tion. In both cases the referent is considered 'semi-active' (or 'accessible'). In this topicalization

construction the referent is represented by a full nominal form and represents the point of depar-

ture for the clausal predication (ibid.:160).

94. While Heimerdinger's theory differs from Lambrecht's in various ways, (cf. Heimerdinger's notion of 'Dominant
    Focal Element'), Lambrecht's theory of Topic is, for the most part, not altered (aside from minor terminological
    differences, e.g. Heimerdinger's 'not-yet-activated' for Lambrecht's 'unidentifiable').
95. Of the examples cited by Heimerdinger are Gen. 22.24; 1 Sam 10.11; 11.11; 14.19.
96. Heimerdinger's 'Frame' is identical to Chafe's 'Schema' (Chafe 1987:29).
97. On the problems surrounding the ambiguous term 'topicalization' within the linguistic literature see Floor (2004:
    68-72) (cf. also §2.3.3.2).

Heimerdinger also observes the occurrence of what he terms 'multiple topic in a vayyiqtol clause' (ibid.:152). This is an instance of LD wherein a non-subject constituent is reactivated and given the role of topic. These types of constructions contain more than one topical referent.

Heimerdinger's contribution is a significant advancement towards a more comprehensive understanding of the function of BH word-order variation. Particularly, for the present work, his employment of the cognitive notions of 'identifiability' and 'activation states' and their interface with BH syntax to realize the topicality/non-topicality of discourse referents is of utmost value. Upon close analysis, however, Heimerdinger (1999) is lacking in several respects.[98] Besides the narrow abstraction NP + Vayyiqtol + PRO, a clear syntactic definition and description of LD constructions is not provided by Heimerdinger. Specifically, a description of LD constructions occurring without a *vayyiqtol* form is almost nonexistent. Additionally, Heimerdinger lacks a more nuanced profile of the various topic types in BH. For instance, although he observes instances wherein an LD construction involves multiple topics, this phenomenon is not accounted for by the notions Primary Topic and Secondary Topic, and the discourse-pragmatic distinctions therein. Moreover, Heimerdinger's observation that LD constructions are one of several that are often employed to reactivate semi-active referents in a discourse leads Van der Merwe (2000:577) to state "in light of the perspective which Heimerdinger provides on the range of constructions that are used to introduce or reactivate topical entities in a discourse, a systematic investigation of the pragmatic function of dislocation constructions is called for".

2.2.5.2 *Van der Merwe and Talstra*
In addition to Heimerdinger (1999), Van der Merwe & Talstra (2003) also endeavor to apply Lambrecht's framework to the problem of BH word-order variation. An extensive account of Topic and word-order in BH is provided in light of Lambrecht's model. The framework developed by Van der Merwe & Talstra divides BH into the following clause types: Verbal, Participial, Nominal, and Pendens Constructions.

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98. For our purposes we are only concerned with Heimerdinger's treatment of LD constructions. For a more comprehensive review and critique see: Van der Merwe (2000), Levinsohn (2002a), and Floor (2004).

In regards to the various syntactic configurations of the so-called pendens construction, Van der Merwe & Talstra are silent.[99] They, however, do assert that the verbal and nominal pendens constructions serve to "*establish (promote)* identifiable, but non-active entities to a state of discourse activeness *(topic frame)* as far as a subsequent utterance is concerned" (Van der Merwe & Talstra 2002/3:86). This analysis accords with Heimerdinger (1999) in positing that LD constructions in BH primarily function as a topic promoting device for discourse referents which have already been made identifiable via previous mention or as a part of a knowledge frame.

Van der Merwe & Talstra (2002/3:83), in their account of fronted constituents in BH verbal clauses aver that one of the functions of fronting is to "establish *entities* as the *topics to be compared or contrasted*...in cases like these a *topic frame* for the subsequent clause is established". Moreover, it is added that, "the function of these constructions is similar to that of pendens constructions". Although it is not explicitly stated by Van der Merwe & Talstra, several examples can be identified wherein an LD construction is employed to re-activate a referent when compared or contrasted with another referent. This raises the question as to why BH employs two different constructions (i.e. fronting and LD) for what appears to be a seemingly synonymous discourse-pragmatic function. Little is said by Van der Merwe & Talstra in this regard.[100]

While Van der Merwe & Talstra's application of Lambrecht's model is a substantial advancement in regards to the problem of BH word-order variation, and can even be said to improve on that of Heimerdinger (1999) in several aspects,[101] various questions are left unanswered by their brief treatment of LD constructions in BH. Among these are whether the various forms of LD constructions perform different pragmatic functions. In other words, can different functions be discerned, for example: from LD constructions in which the dislocated constituent contains a relative clause? Or, in which a dislocated constituent is separated from the clause proper by a conjunction? A description of the various forms represented by the label LD construction (or its

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99. Van der Merwe and Talstra point readers to Muraoka (1999:188-198) who provides a list of possible syntactic configurations of so-called 'tripartite nominal clauses'.
100. Cf. Gen. 15.4; 44.17; Deut. 1.36; 38-39; 1 Kgs 22.14; 2 Kngs 17.36; Ps. 37.9. Kahn (1988:93-95) observes that in cases where two entities are contrasted, the LD construction appears to have a focusing function. In each case, the resumptive pronoun in the clause proper is fronted, confirming that the entity is the focus of the clause proper.
101. For example, cf. Van der Merwe and Talstra's more extensive account of topic and word-order in BH, and their account of focus structures without Heimerdinger's superfluous Dominant Focal Element (DFE).

numerous synonyms) and whether these forms employ different discourse-pragmatic functions, is needed for a comprehensive investigation into the functions of LD constructions in BH.

2.2.5.3 Lunn

Following Rosenbaum (1997) and Gross (2001), Lunn (2006) also attempts to systematically account for the phenomenon of word-order variation in BH poetry. Lunn's explanation, however, is to be preferred for two primary reasons: 1) Unlike Rosenbaum and Gross, Lunn's approach is primarily informed by Lambrecht's cognitive-oriented discourse-pragmatic model, and 2) Lunn's database far exceeds that employed by Rosenbaum (1997).[102]

Lunn's primary thesis includes two parts: 1) Lunn avers that variations in word-order follow the same basic rules in BH poetry as in narrative. Therefore, the fronting of non-verbal constituents and dislocation constructions within BH poetry can be explained by the same semantic-pragmatic model used to account for the word-order variation of narrative texts.[103] 2) The literary device termed 'defamiliarizatoin'[104] is proposed as a systematic account for those instances that cannot be explained pragmatically. Although Lunn's account for the pragmatic factors influencing word-order variation in BH poetry is primarily informed by Lambrecht (1994),[105] he departs from Lambrecht in distinguishing different types of focus, viz. contrasting, parallel, replacing, restricting, expanding, selecting, and specifying focus (Lunn, 2006:47-54).[106] This perspective considerably influences his interpretation of LD constructions in BH.

Lunn regrettably follows Khan (1988) in labeling LD constructions as 'extraposition'.[107] Although Lunn argues, along with Heimerdinger and Van der Merwe & Talstra, that extraposed constructions function to mark a change in topic,[108] he differs from the aforementioned scholars

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102. Lunn's database includes: Ps. 1-150; Is. 40-66; Job 3-14; Prov. 1-9; Song. 1-8; Num. 23-24.
103. According to Lunn (2006: 278), of the 34% of clauses with non-canonical word order in his extensive database, only 8.4% could not be accounted for by pragmatic means.
104. Lunn's definition of 'defamiliariazation' is borrowed from Schklovsky of the Russian Formalist School who writes "By the defamiliarization of the language is meant the device of making it strange and the device of impeded form which augments the difficulty and duration of perception, since the process of perception in art is an end in itself, and is supposed to be prolonged (Matejka and Promorska, 1971: 12 quoted in Lunn, 2006:2).
105. In this regard, Lunn follows the work by Heimerdinger (1999) and Shimashaki (2002).
106. Lunn follows Dik (1980), Rosenbaum (1997) and others in this regard (Lunn, 2006:47n96).
107. See above (§2.2.4.2) for a critique of the label 'extraposition' for LD constructions.
108. Cf. Lunn's (2006:83) interpretation of Gen. 17.15 and Job 3.6.

in arguing that extraposed constructions can function as one of the various focus types.[109] In this regard, Lunn goes so far as to claim, "extraposition may be employed simply to indicate the same types of focus as marked word order" (ibid.:55). In addition, it is argued that the function of extraposition, although not exactly functionally synonymous, largely coincide with verbal clauses with fronted constituents (ibid.:140).[110] This observation is supported, according to Lunn, by the numerous cases of parallelism wherein the colon with an extraposed construction is in a parallel relationship to that of a colon containing a clause marked simply through a fronted constituent (ibid.). Furthermore, Lunn follows Khan (1988) in mentioning the various functions extraposed constructions may perform at the discourse level (e.g. span closure).[111]

Although Lunn (2006) is a significant advancement towards a more adequate understanding of word-order variation in BH poetry, parts of his model are in need of refinement.[112] For our purposes, we need only draw attention to Lunn's inadequate account of the discourse-pragmatic relation of Topic in BH, which subsequently results in a deficient representation of the functions of LD constructions in BH.

Although Lunn (ibid:33) follows Lambrecht (1994) in defining Topic as "the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is about", and describes this topic relation in terms of the 'activation state' of the referent, he fails to incorporate within his model a nuanced description of the various topic 'types' (e.g. primary topics, secondary topics etc.) and an account for how different topic types are marked within the clause.[113] For example, Floor (2004:73-108) observes that LD constructions are employed not only to reactivate semi-active primary topics, but also to reactivate secondary topics, and often function as the 'topic frame' providing a temporal or spatial frame for the primary or secondary topics. Furthermore, Lunn's explanation for the function of LD constructions gives the impression that these constructions are most accurately construed via

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109.Lunn interprets the extraposition in 1 Kgs 5.19; Ps. 50.23 as 'replacing focus' (2006:55; 140-141); and Deut. 1.37-38; Ps. 37.9 as 'expanding focus' (2006: 83-84).
110.Lunn follows Khan (1988) in stating that "extraposition is a particular type of markedness which, although varying in form from straightforward fronting, often overlaps with fronting in the pragmatic functions that it performs" (2006:83n59). Instances of topic-shift marked by extraposition when an SV-clause would have served the same purpose, are cited as examples in this regard.
111.Cf. Khan (1988:83-84)
112.Cf. Van der Merwe's (2007) critique of Lunn in this regard.
113.See below for a summary of Floor's topic types (cf. §2.3.3.6).

one of his multiple focus types.[114] This is, however, contrary to Lambrecht's insight that the basic discourse function of LD constructions is defined pragmatically as "a grammatical device used to promote a referent on the Topic Acceptability Scale from accessible to active status, form which point on it can be coded as a preferred topic expression" (Lambrecht, 1994:183).[115] We also note that Lunn's model fails to account for the cognitive-pragmatic function of topic contrastiveness. Although Lunn describes contrastiveness in terms of one of his various focus types (i.e. contrastive focus), he is silent on how the pragmatic element of contrastiveness interfaces with that of topichood.[116] Likewise, no description is offered in regards to LD constructions employed in marked topic expressions where the pragmatic element of contrast is involved. Lastly, Lunn's (2006:53) position that verbal clauses with fronted constituents and those marked by LD constructions functionally coincide, can be called into question.

2.2.5.4 Floor

Floor's (2004) dissertation entitled *From Information Structure, Topic and Focus to Theme in Biblical Hebrew Narrative,* sets out to "investigate in what way, and in what sense, themes can be more objectively traced in BH by means of a cognitive approach of information-structure" (ibid.:4). It is hypothesized that a link indeed exists between information-structure theory and thematics theory from which an exegetical instrument for theme analysis for BH narrative texts can be developed (Floor 2004:5).[117]

Floor (2004) represents a notable advancement on previous works which employed Lambrecht's (1994) information structure model to the investigation of the problem of BH word-order variation. This is due, in part, to his more nuanced account of the pragmatic relation of Topic in BH, and in particular, the various ways LD constructions interface with this pragmatic relation. With Lambrecht (1994) as his point of departure, Floor employs the insights of several other linguists, from both functional and generative perspectives, in discerning four specific topic types in BH:

114. In his introduction to the function of extraposed constructions, Lunn (2006: 54) writes, "Word-order variation and the use of focus particles are not the only surface realizations of the presence of marked focus.. Extraposition may also serve to identify a focused constituent".
115. This is not the only discourse-pragmatic function of LD constructions averred by Lambrecht. See discussion under §2.3 below.
116. Cf. Floor (2004:104-107) who recognizes that contrast is generally associated with focus, but that contrastiveness can also be a pragmatic overlay for every topic type (see below).
117. Floor's investigation employs Gen. 1-25 as a primary database.

1) Primary Topic, 2) Secondary Topic, 3) Tail Topic, and 4) Topic Frame (ibid.:73-107).[118] In this way, Floor improves upon Lambrecht's framework (and consequently those who have employed it!), by developing Lambrecht's vague notion of 'multiple topics'.[119] Moreover, Floor (2004:105) rejects the traditionally held view that contrastiveness is purely a property of the focus domain.[120] Rather, he follows Vallduvi & Vilkuna (1998)[121] in separating the pragmatic notion of contrastiveness from information packaging, since contrast can be a pragmatic overlay for both focus structures and topics.[122] According to Floor (2004:105), contrast reflects three sub-functions: 1) comparing members of a set, 2) restricting the identity of a member of a set, and 3) confirming the identity of a member of a set vis-à-vis the other members of its set.[123] Moreover, Floor (ibid.:107) posits that primary topics, secondary topics, and topic frames can possess a contrastive overlay. On account of their particular relevance to the current investigation, each of Floor's four topic types are described below in relation to their role as discourse-pragmatic functions signaled by LD constructions.[124]

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118. Although Floor's information-structure model is principally based on Lambrecht (1994), he also employs insights from functional linguists, such as: Dik (1980, 1989), Givon (1977, 1984, 1990), Gomez-Gonzalez (2001), Chafe (1976, 1987, 1994), and, Callow (1975, 1998) and from the generative camp: Vallduvi & Engdahl (1996), Vallduvi & Vilkuna (1998). Moreover, Floor also draws upon the insights of Rosenbaum (1997), Buth (1990, 1992, 1999), Heimerdinger (1999), Holmstedt (2000), Shimashaki (2002), Van der Merwe (1999), and Van der Merwe & Talstra (2003), in the development of his information-structure model for BH.

119. Although Lambrecht (1994) distinguishes three specific topic types: 1) Primary Topics, 2) Secondary Topics, and 3) Anti-Topics, he fails to further develop these sub-types. Furthermore, Lambrecht fails to specify a sub-type for topical constituents that are not subjects, but are, nevertheless, presupposed and function to provide the frame or basis for another topic (i.e. Floor's 'Topic-Frame').

120. Cf. Dik (as quoted in Levisohn: 2000b:37), and Shimasaki (2002:63-65).

121. Vallduvi & Vilkuna employ the word 'Kontrast' as a cover term for several "operator-like interpretations of focus that one finds in the literature" (Vallduvi & Vilkuna, 1998: 83). Contrast is defined as the activation of a set membership, which one member, the one with the focus peak, has identified or listed exhaustively (ibid.: 83-88). "Semantically, *kontrastiveness* means contrast in the sense of pragmatic *counter-expectation*, but also confirmation of identity in the sense of...*exhaustiveness*" (Floor, 2004: 105).

122. Cf. Holmstedt (2000) who makes a similar distinction.

123. Floor (2004: 106) is careful to note, however, that "not all three types of contrastiveness are applicable to topics". Topic contrast is restricted to one of two possibilities, namely comparing a pair of discourse-active topics, or confirming the identity of a discourse-active topic. "Exhaustive identification or restricting the identity of a referent is a focus contrastiveness function" (ibid.).

124. Tail Topics will only be briefly mentioned due to this category's irrelevance to the present study.

Employing Jacobs' (2001) 'four dimensions of topic comment',[125] Floor (2004:78) characterizes *primary topics* as possessing three of the possible four dimensions, viz.: 1) Information Separation and 2) Grammatical Predication, and 3) Addressation status.[126] Six defining characteristics are presented as a criteria for identifying primary topics (ibid.:79-80). These characteristics will be discussed in full below (cf. §2.3.3.5)

Subsequently, Floor (ibid.:80-88) provides a formal description of the unmarked and marked word-order of primary topics.[127] Unmarked primary topics are those that appear highest on Lambrecht's (1994:165-168) 'topic accessibility scale' and are most commonly expressed through pronominal reference and relexicalization within the so-called 'basic' or 'canonical' word-order of the clause.[128] In contrast, all formal manifestations of marked[129] primary topic constructions[130] in BH involve some variation of prepositioning, while maintaining a topic-comment sentence articulation (Floor, 2004:83).[131]

Commencing his discussion of LD as a marked construction for primary topics, Floor provides a syntactic criterion for identifying LD constructions in BH. Following Van der Merwe, Naudé, & Kroeze (1999:339),[132] Floor (2004:85) defines LD constructions as "noun phrases pre-positioned

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125. Jacobs challenges the theoretical validity of the notion topic, and contends that "there is no proper or rigorous definition of 'topic'. Moreover, he argues, quoting Reinhart (1982) and Polinsky (1999), that "the 'aboutness'-definition is not enough". Therefore he proposes four salient semantic attributes of topic-comment: 1) Informational Separation (where there is a clear separation in the information-structure role of constituents X and Y. X is topical and Y is focal), 2) Predication (where X is the semantic subject and Y the semantic predicate), 3) Addressation (where the comment Y is 'about' topic X. Y is relevant to X, regardless of the grammatical or semantic relationship) and, 4) Frame-Setting (where the X sets the frame for the interpretation of Y (Jacobs, 2001:645-658).

126. Floor (2004:78) avers that "the term primary topic is useful in that a primary topic has two *links*, operating at two levels: on the one hand it links clauses in the sense that it recurs in a sequence of clauses, as a marker of cohesion. On the other hand, it is a cognitive link. The primary topic referent is linked with the mental *text base* that is constructed as the discourse progresses."

127. The reader is referred to Floor (2004:80-83) for a full account of Floor's description of unmarked primary topic constructions. Here, we limit our discussion to Floor's marked constructions for primary topics.

128. Although Floor (2004: 81) notes that canonical (V-S) word order can also signal primary topic change (Cf. Gen. 14.21).

129. By 'marked' is meant "a topic expression...marked for specific pragmatic functions by means of their irregular word-order" (Floor 2004:83).

130. Floor notes that, "marked primary topics are topics in the sense that they must be presupposed, they are discourse active or at least semi-active, and thirdly, some new information is asserted about them in the comment of the proposition".

131. According to Floor's topic framework, "when the preverbal constituent is anything other than a primary, secondary topic, or topic frame, the focus structure of the proposition is different and it cannot be topic-comment sentence articulation" (2004:83).

132. Cf. §2.2.1.4

before the verb that are an argument of, and syntactically detached from the clause proper, but with a recursive element in the clause proper".[133] Moreover, Floor provides a strict syntactic criteria for LD constructions (see Ch.3 below).

In regards to function, Floor follows Van der Merwe & Talstra (2003:23) and Gregory & Michaelis (2001:16665, 1670-73) in asserting that LD constructions primarily function as sentence level topic promoting devices, establishing identifiable, but non-active (i.e. cognitively semi-active) entities to a state of discourse activeness. Additionally, LD constructions (topics) can be contrastive (Lambrecht, 1994:177). Furthermore, long reactivated topics sometimes require LD constructions. As an explanation for this phenomena, Floor (2004: 87) avers that "if a long, presupposed noun phrase occurs within the syntax of the clause proper, it will be in a disadvantageous position". In addition, it is observed that such long detached noun phrases often contain a relative clause. These relative clauses within the LD construction often serve to "add information[134] to a primary topic that is then taken further as the subject in the clause proper" (ibid.). In these cases, the LD constituent is the topic frame functioning to orient the hearer-reader to the identity of the referent that is re-activated. Citing Gen. 24.7 as an example, Floor argues that the recursive pronoun may be fronted within the clause proper, in which case it can serve as the marked, topicalized primary topic functioning to confirm the identity of the primary topic referent. Lastly, Floor (ibid.:88) states that due to a lack of evidence to the contrary, he follows Van der Merwe & Talstra (2003) in understanding LD constructions in BH as "always presupposed and topical, promoting presupposed topics from inactive to active status".

According to Floor, secondary topics are like primary topics in that they are also presupposed, discourse-active topic expressions, referential and anaphoric (Floor 2004:88). Secondary topics, however, differ from primary topics in that they are less salient than primary topics and dependent on primary topics in the proposition. Moreover, secondary topics are a part of the focus domain in a sentence, whereas primary topics can never be a part of the newly asserted information (ibid.). Though recognizing that secondary topics are not the primary referents about which the utterance says something, and thus can be construed as not truly topical, Floor asserts that "to a

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133. Although the noun phrase is syntactically detached from the clause proper, semantically and pragmatically the LD topic is still very much a part of the proposition (Floor, 2004:85).

134. According to Floor (2004:88n52) the information added by the relative clause(s) could be understood as either new or presupposed (cf. Gen. 24.7).

certain extent new information is nevertheless attributed to the secondary topic referent" (ibid.:89). Additionally, the topicality of secondary topics can be affirmed due to their display of the following three properties: activation, information enrichment,[135] and importance in a discourse (ibid.). Like primary topics, six attributes of secondary topics are identified by Floor (ibid.:89-90) as a criterion for identifying secondary topics. These attributes will be discussed in full in §2.3.3.5 below.

Functionally, LD constructions are employed as a marked word-order configuration of secondary topics to promote a secondary topic to discourse-active status, while shifting the discourse theme as well (ibid.:93).[136]

Floor's third topic type is labeled 'tail topics' (Lambrecht's 'antitopic').[137] Tail topics are always manifested by right-dislocated constructions in BH and thus, for obvious reasons, will be omitted from the present discussion (ibid.:93-95).

Lastly, topic frames occupy Floor's fourth topic expression.[138] They are "presupposed, topical referents that set a frame for another topic, normally a primary topic" (ibid.:95).[139] Floor is careful to distinguish between deictic orientations (i.e. spatial-temporal frames) and what he terms topic frames. Unlike deictic orientations, which frame the ensuing discourse in terms of its text-world situation, topic frames possess a semantic relationship with the subsequent primary topic (ibid.). Floor avers that this semantic relationship is theoretically divisible into two types: either whole to part , or general to specific.[140] As with primary and secondary topics Floor offers a detailed criteria for identifying topic frames. These criteria will be discussed in §2.3.3.5 below.

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135. I.e. "the asserted information adds something new to the knowledge of secondary topic referents in the mind of the addressee" (Floor, 2004:89).
136. Floor (2004:246) distinguishes between theme shift and topic shift, arguing that, "All topic shifts are also theme shifts, but not all theme shifts include topic shifts. It is possible for the theme to shift in terms of space, time, and goal, but the primary (and secondary) topic remain(s) the same." Floor develops his discourse thematic model in chapters 6-9 of his dissertation.
137. Cf. Lambrecht (1994:202-205).
138. Floor follows Jacobs' (2001) notion of 'frame-setting'.
139. "The primary topic is interpreted in terms of this framing topic" (Floor, 2004:95). Moreover, topic frames never occur alone, but must always be accompanied by a primary topic for which they set the frame (ibid:96).
140. Floor (2004:95n61) admits that he has not identified any particular criteria for distinguishing these two subtypes.

As with primary and secondary topics, Floor (ibid.:97) observes topic frames are also marked by fronted constituents or LD constructions.[141] LD constructions include a fronted temporal or locative adverbial noun or noun phrase and function to set the parameters for the primary topic (ibid.: 98).[142]

More than merely describing the information-structure of BH at the clause (sentence) level, Floor attempts to provide an instrument for tracing the larger theme of a discourse by employing the information-structure analysis of its clauses. Floor (ibid.:243) offers the following definition for discourse theme:

> *"Theme is the developing and coherent core or thread of a discourse in the mind of the speaker-author and hearer-reader, functioning as the prominent macrostructure of the discourse."*[143]

Moreover, a (narrative) discourse theme is described as composed of a hierarchical structure that can be represented as follows:

Thematic Paragraph < Scene < Episode < Narrative

The hierarchical structure consists of a narrative that is embedded with one or more episodes, episodes with one or more scenes, and scenes with one or more thematic paragraphs[144] (ibid.:244-245). Located at the boundary of thematic segments, shifts in theme can occur between the various thematic units either on the same hierarchical level, or between different levels of the discourse hierarchy (ibid.:246).[145] As previously mentioned, Floor distinguishes between

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141. Moreover, Floor (2004:99) observes that nominal phrases or LD constructions functioning as topic frames can also precede argument focus structures. Cf. Gen. 6.19 in this regard.
142. This is what Rosenbaum (1997) and Buth (1987) refer to as 'setting'.
143. Floor's notion of discourse theme is heavily influenced by Callow (1975, 1998), Kintsch (1998), and Chafe (1994), among others.
144. According to Floor (2004:245) the thematic paragraph composes the smallest theme unit, below the scene. "The thematic paragraph must consist of at least one sentence with one primary topic or a topicless sentence focus structure."
145. According to Floor (2004:246), these theme shifts at higher-level thematic units are normally clearly marked (either syntactically or semantically). "The presupposition is that the greater the discontinuity, for example between two episodes or between two narratives, the more marked is that theme shift in the information-structure. Lower down on the thematic hierarchy less marking is observed, and between two scenes and two subscenes, sometimes no marked configurations occur in terms of the information-structure" (ibid.).

topic shifting and theme shifting. This later is described by Floor (ibid.:247-56) as one of the various 'theme traces' discernible from the information structure.[146]

A theme trace is defined by Floor (ibid.:255-56) as:

> *"a clue in the surface form of a discourse, viewed from the perspective of information structure, that points to the cognitive macrostructure or theme of a text. This clue is in the form of (1) a marked syntactic configuration, be it marked word-order or marked in the sense of explicit and seemingly 'redundant', signaling some thematic sequencing strategy, or (2) some recurring concept(s) signaling some prominence and coherence".*

In regards to the relationship between marked word-order configurations and theme traces, Floor (ibid.:247) remarks:

> *"What is crucial... is that marked word-order configurations normally have some cognitive-pragmatic import, and that these prominent and cognitively-salient configurations tend to be thematic... the pragmatic functions of left-dislocation and fronting, for instance, are generally thematic in some way or another, for two reasons: one, because of its cognitively salient position, and two, because functions like topic promotion, topic announcing, topic shift, etc., are significant in the development of the discourse thread".*

In order to discover theme traces linked with the information-structure of BH, Floor examines both syntactic configurations that are marked, infrequent, and with specific use, and the discourse-pragmatic strategies employed for expression in the information-structure (ibid.: 247-248).[147] Moreover, Floor (ibid.:262-63) argues that each of the four topic types (i.e. primary topic, secondary topic, etc.), including the topic contrasting overlay, can be selected by the speaker-author to express one of five information-structure strategies or theme functions. These

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146. Sentences with unmarked word-order, however, are not necessarily non-thematic. "In such 'unmarked' sentences, the important information-structure categories of primary topic and focus content are always present, and as such can still play a thematic function" (Floor, 2004:247).

147. Floor (2004:248) provides a few mechanisms which function as theme traces in BH: 1) Marked word-order constructions like fronting and left-dislocation, 2) Seemingly redundant and optional explicit pronominal marking, 3) The relexicalisation of discourse-active or semi-active referents, and 4) grammatical elements, e.g. discourse markers and interclausal connectives.

information structure strategies are: 1) Maintaining topic continuity, 2) Introducing topic discontinuity (e.g. topic promotion, and topic shift), 3) Topic frame-setting, 4) Topic strengthening by means of topic contrasting (e.g. confirming or restricting the identity of a topic, or comparing a pair of topics), and 5) Topic deictic orientation, signaling a theme shift (ibid.).

In addition to functioning as marked word-order configurations signaling modifications of the information structure at the clause level, Floor argues that LD constructions also function as theme traces at the discourse level. According to Floor (ibid.:269-75), LD constructions function as primary topic promotion devices raising a thematic participant to active status, and in addition, signaling a primary topic shift indicating a theme shift, where a shift occurs from one discourse active topic to another. According to Floor (ibid.:289), "topic theme shifting or theme announcing is a primary or secondary topic that has an additional function of announcing a thematic macroword dominating the contents of the subsequent sentence or paragraph".[148] Moreover, LD constructions also appear as a theme trace when a topic shift occurs with the pragmatic contrast overlay, where two primary topics are compared (ibid.:277-79).

Like with primary topics, LD constructions are employed as theme traces with secondary topics as well. This occurs in signaling the promotion of a secondary topic to discourse active status, as well as functioning as a theme shifting, or theme re-directing device (ibid.:284-88). Furthermore, Floor (ibid.:282-83) observes that marked secondary topic constructions often occur at significant discontinuities in the narrative, either at the end of a scene or the beginning of a new one, marking some closure or some new development in the theme.

Lastly, topic frames (often marked by LD constructions) can also serve as theme traces "in the sense that they cognitively strengthen the topical referent (i.e primary or secondary topic, JRW) for which they provide the frame (ibid.:290). However, as is the case with primary and secondary topics, Floor cautions that topic frames do not always qualify as theme traces (ibid.) "The subsequent primary topic framed by the topic frame may have gained in cognitive strength, edging closer to being a macroword, but this is not necessarily always the case" (ibid.).

148.Floor (ibid.:147) quotes van Dijk & Kintsch (1983:131) in defining macrowords as "[G]lobally relevant inference words corresponding to the theme of a sentence..".

Floor's more nuanced description of the discourse-pragmatic notion of topic presents a more comprehensive picture of the function of LD constructions in BH. Moreover, Floor's model for tracing the theme of a text through the information-structure of the clause offers a compelling and objective framework for ascertaining the theme of a text through an analysis of the information-structure of particular clauses and sentences. Regrettably, however, Floor's database is limited to that of Genesis 1-25. This limited corpus hardly offers an adequate database to confirm his proposed account for the functions of LD constructions.[149] Therefore, within this present investigation many of Floor's valuable insights will be assessed within a larger data set in an effort to confirm, refine or broaden the discourse-pragmatic description proposed.

2.2.5.5 Moshavi

In *Word Order in the Biblical Hebrew Finite Clause: A Syntactic and Pragmatic Analysis of Preposing* (forthcoming), Moshavi employs the prose corpus of Gen-II Kings as her database[150] for examining the syntactic-pragmatic phenomenon of preposing within the finite clause.[151] Her thesis is that the majority of preposed clauses can be most adequately explained by one of two syntactic-pragmatic constructions: focusing[152] or topicalization[153] (Moshavi:2). Within this corpus, she recognizes only two general registers: narrative and direct speech quotations, and argues that "even with this oversimplified taxonomy it is possible to identify differences in the frequency and function of preposing in the two registers" (ibid.:7). Although Moshavi incorporates the insights of Lambrecht into her investigation, her pragmatic categories of focus and topicalization are largely redefined.[154]

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149. Cf. Moshavi (forthcoming) who admits an incapability of analyzing LD constructions due to their sparsity within the book of Genesis (Moshavi:124).
150. Moshavi analyzed Genesis in its entirety (401 preposed clauses), the conclusions were then tested by means of computerized searches within the rest of the corpus of Ex-II Kings (ibid.:95).
151. Moshavi employs the term 'preposing' for what has been termed in the present work 'fronting'.
152. Focusing, according to Mosahvi (ibid.:128), "signals a relation between the clause and the context of the addressee's attention state".
153. Topicalization, "signals the relation between the clause and the linguistic context that accompanies it...[a]s such, topicalization functions in a manner similar to discourse connectives that signal a pragmatic relation between two sentences or text segments" (ibid.).
154. For example, Moshavi argues that Lambrecht's (1994) predicate focus and sentence focus relations involve given information of an entirely different type than that of argument (Moshavi's constituent) focus. Thus she concludes that the pragmatic concept of informational focus is only applicable to the constituent focus relation (ibid.:129). Moreover, Moshavi abandons Lambrecht's notion of topic, in favor of the notion of topicalization which is principally based on the theoretical framework of Prince (1985, 1986, 1988, 1998), Ward and Prince

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Moshavi syntactically distinguishes preposing from LD constructions by characterizing the later by a co-referential pronoun within the clause proper (ibid.:118). Moreover, she avers that contra to the preposed constituent, the clause proper is syntactically complete without the LD element. And, a preposition is often omitted from the LD constituent, which never occurs with preposed elements (ibid.:119). Furthermore, the LD constituent is often connected to the clause proper via a conjunction.[155] Although Moshavi argues that the LD constituent lacks any syntactic function, she is careful to confirm that the LD constituent is not entirely external to the clause.[156] LD constructions connected to the clause proper by a conjunction are classified by Moshavi as marked constructions, while those without a conjunction are classified as non-preposed, and thus unmarked (ibid.:122-123). The resumptive element within the clause proper may appear in the normal post-verbal position, or it may be preposed.[157] Although she acknowledges the undeniable pragmatic import of LD constructions, Moshavi is regrettably silent in regards to the function of LD constructions in BH.[158]

2.2.5.6 Summary and Conclusion

The application of Lambrecht's sophisticated cognitive-oriented framework in an effort to arrive at a more well-justified and comprehensive understanding of the discourse-pragmatic functions of the problem of BH word-order variation has proved a successful endeavor in many respects. Specifically the insights gained from the investigations of Heimerdinger (1999), Van der Merwe & Talstra (2002/3), Lunn (2006), Floor (2004) and Moshavi (forthcoming), have contributed to-

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(1991); and Birner and Ward (1998). Topicalization, in Moshavi's framework, indicates a contextual relation between the preposed constituent and another element in the immediately preceding or succeeding discourse context. In other words, according to Moshavi, preposed topicalization constructions in BH function as generalized discourse connectors marking a link between the preposed item and a second discourse item (cf. Buth, 1995, who employs the term 'contextualizing constituent') (Moshavi.:146-51). "[T]opicalization cues the reader to a coherence relation between the segments containing these (preposed, JRW) items, a relation which specifically concerns the pair of linked items (ibid.:150).

155.Moshavi observes that the LD constituent may be connected to the clause proper either by a single (cf. Josh 15.16) or double conjunction (cf. Gen. 17.14).

156.In support for this claim, Moshavi (ibid.:120) notes that it is possible for an LD constituent to be preceded by clausal adverb (cf. 2 Kgs 1:6, 16).

157.Moshavi observes that within LD constructions with co-referential subject pronouns, the subject pronoun is usually preposed (ibid.).

158.According to Moshavi the pragmatic functions of LD constructions are not addressed in her investigation due to their sparsity in Genesis (ibid.:124). She merely avers that LD constructions are employed for both focus and topicalization constructions (ibid.:237).

wards a more comprehensive understanding of the functions of LD constructions in BH. How-ever, each of above reviewed publications is not without its shortcomings and therefore further refinement of the theoretical model employed, as well as additional testing within a broader data set is called for. Furthermore, all of the above reviewed publications which have attempted to apply Lambrecht's discourse-pragmatic framework to the linear ordering of constituents in BH lack an in depth analysis of LD constructions.

2.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Having demonstrated in §2.2 that further consideration is needed in the effort to ascertain a more coherent description of the discourse-pragmatic function(s) of LD constructions in BH, we now set out to outline the theoretical framework which will guide the present investigation. The in-formation-structure theory set forth in Lambrecht (1994) will serve as our primary point of de-parture for the construction of our framework. Additional insights will be drawn from Chafe (1976, 1987, and 1994), Vallduvi and Vilkuna (1998), Jacobs (2001), Floor (2004), Erteschik-Shir (2007) and Gundel and Fretheim (2009). The purpose of such a framework is to support a coherent, empirically verifiable description of the discourse-pragmatic functions of LD construc-tions in BH.

2.3.1 Precursory Notions[159]

In this first section, some precursory notions of the theory of information-structure[160] – within the broader theoretical domain of discourse-pragmatics[161] – are presented in order to provide the nec-essary theoretical background against which the more salient aspects of our framework can be described (i.e. Identifiability, Activation, Topic, Focus, etc.).

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159. Information-structure is a vast topic of research that has been pursued within different theoretical frameworks, and has produced numerous empirical insights. It is beyond the scope of this present work to survey all of the different approaches with their various nuances.
160. "The information-structure of the sentence is a term originally introduced by Halliday (1967) to account for the distinction of focus, presupposition, and propositional attitude toward entities in the discourse conveyed by phrasal intonation" (Erteschik-Shir, 2007:1).
161. According to Lambrecht (1994:2), discourse-pragmatics is the "general domain of inquiry into the relationship between grammar and discourse". The term 'information-structure' is employed when special emphasis is placed on the structural implications of discourse-pragmatic analysis (ibid.).

Prince (1981:224) defines information-structure[162] as "the tailoring of an utterance by a sender to meet the particular assumed needs of the intended receiver", thus reflecting "the sender's hypotheses about the receiver's assumptions and beliefs and strategies". Put differently, the theory of information-structure assumes that the form of an utterance is directly related to the presumed mental states of the interlocutors and the flow of given and new information in discourse. In light of this assumption it is possible to better account for the linguistic phenomenon of why grammars of natural language offer speakers a variety of morphosyntactic and prosodic options for expressing the same propositional content.[163] The following examples (1a)-(1j), adapted from Gundel and Fretheim (2009:146) serve to illustrate this phenomenon:

(1)[164] a. *The dog chased a cat.*

b. *The cat, the dog chased.*

c. *There was a dog that chased a cat.*

d. *The cat was chased by a dog.*

e. *A dog chased the cat.*

f. *It was the dog that chased a cat.*

g. *What the dog chased was a cat.*

h. *The dog chased the cat.*

i. *(As for) the cat, the dog chased it.*

j. *The dog chased it, the cat.*

The examples in (1) all convey the same propositional content, viz. that a particular dog chased a particular cat. From the point of view of information-structure, the way in which a speaker[165] structures their information largely depends on two fundamental factors: 1) what they intend the utterance to be primarily about (as opposed to the new information asserted about that entity), and 2) what the writer assumes the addressee already knows or believes and/or is attending to (Gundel and Fretheim, 2009:146).[166] In this sense, we can say that information-structure goes

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162. Prince employs the term 'information packaging' following Chafe (1976).

163. It is misleading to think, however, that information-structure alone determines the difference in the formal structure between sentences. Rather, a view of 'competing-motivations' is preferred, wherein all aspects of grammar, i.e. morphosyntax, semantics, prosody, and information-structure, compete, or interact with each other ultimately determining the form of the sentence (cf. Lambrecht, 1994: 25-35).

164. The possibilities could be further multiplied by incorporating sentences that reflect the same constituent-ordering but differ in terms of which constituent(s) are stressed.

165. For our purposes speaker/hearer and writer/addressee are synonymous.

166. "Two (or more, JRW) utterances with identical propositional content may display different packagings if they

beyond the sentence grammar, taking into consideration both the immediate context of an utterance and the shared cultural and informational assumptions of the interlocutors. In going beyond the sentence grammar, however, it should *not* be understood that the theory of information-structure is concerned only with abstract psychological phenomenon. Rather, as Lambrecht argues, such psychological phenomenon is only relevant to the linguist insofar as it is reflected in grammatical structure (e.g. morphosyntax and prosody) (1994:3).[167] Information-structure is a discourse-pragmatic phenomena that is an integral component of sentence grammar, and a determining factor in the formal structuring of sentences (ibid.).[168] Of primary concern for the theory of information-structure are sentences like those in example (1), which Lambrecht terms 'allosentences'.[169] "Allosentences are semantically equivalent but formally divergent sentence pairs" (ibid.:6). Put differently, the various formal manifestations of the different ways a speaker may structure their *information* must always be understood against the background of available, but unused grammatical alternatives (i.e. allosentences) for expressing a given proposition (ibid.). But what is meant by the term 'information'?

2.3.1.1 Information

In outlining what is meant by the term 'information', it is helpful to first distinguish information from meaning. Whereas the meaning of a sentence is expressed by individual words, or relations

update different information states, In fact, information states determine the felicity of particular types of packaging, the so-called packaging instructions. A packaging instruction consists of an element which corresponds to the actual update potential of the utterance - the rheme (or focus, JRW) - and, optionally, of an element that spells out how the rheme is to be anchored to the input information state - the theme (or topic, JRW)" (Vallduvi & Vilkuna, 1998:81).

167. According to Lambrecht (1994:25), information-structure should be construed as a component of sentence grammar on a par with morphosyntax, semantics, and prosody in which these components are seen as interacting with each other in various language specific ways.

168. Lambrecht (ibid.:4-5) makes a theoretical distinction between 'conversational pragmatics', 'lexical pragmatics', and 'discourse pragmatics'. Whereas conversational pragmatics is primarily concerned with the interpretation of a sentences in relation to conversational settings (cf. Grices' conversational implicatures), and lexical pragmatics is concerned with the meaning, or pragmatic structure of individual lexical items (cf. deixis), discourse-pragmatics (i.e. information-structure) is concerned with the discourse circumstances under which given pieces of information are expressed via one, rather than another morphosyntactic or prosodic form. At the risk of oversimplification, Lambrecht avers the following in an attempt at clarification, "while conversational pragmatics is concerned with the question of why one and the same sentence form may express two or more meanings, discourse pragmatics is concerned with the question of why one and the same meaning may be expressed by two or more sentence forms" (ibid.:5). With discourse pragmatics, grammatical convention directly determines the relationship between the form and function of the sentence within the discourse.

169. Cf. Daneš (1966).

established between words, and thus is a function of the linguistic expressions which it contains, the information value of an utterance of the sentence depends on the mental states of the inter-locutors and can only be conveyed relationally through propositions (ibid.:43).[170] In other words, whereas the meaning of a sentence, or propositional content, remains constant, to inform some-one of something is to actuate a change in the hearer's mental representation[171] by: adding one or more propositions, replacing an existing proposition, or confirming an already existing proposi-tion (ibid.:44).[172] When a speaker sets out to convey a piece of information to a hearer, the speaker assumes the hearer possess a certain model or picture of the world which the speaker wishes to influence.[173] Thus, the conveyance of information requires the speaker to perpetually update their assumptions concerning the current cognitive state of the hearer as speech progress-es. In other words, the speaker must constantly hypothesize what information is already a part of the hearer's mental representation during the course of speech.

2.3.1.2 Given Information and New Information

The successful conveyance of information depends on the speaker's accurate assumption of what the hearer already knows, i.e. their mental representation. We can term this mental representa-tion, – what is known or believed at the time of speech[174] and which the speaker assumes is cog-

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170. E.g. "One can inform someone of the price of a book, but not of a book or of ten dollars. The expression *the price of a book* codes the proposition 'The book has a price,' i.e. it codes a relation between a predicate and an argument, but the expressions *a book* or *ten dollars* codes only quantities of entities" (ibid.:46).
171. Lambrecht (ibid.:43) defines 'mental representation' as the, "sum of 'propositions' which the hearer knows or believes or considers uncontroversial at the time of speech".
172. By proposition is meant the denotatum of the states of affairs, situations, events etc. By having a knowledge of a proposition, is to have a mental representation of its denotatum (ibid.:44).
173. "It should be noted that when a speaker influences the hearer's 'picture' of the world by adding to it, only a small portion of that picture is normally affected, namely the portion which is 'under discussion' and with respect to which the piece of information conveyed is meant to be relevant" (ibid.:44).
174. Dryer (1996) observes that the activation status and the belief status of propositions are independent parameters. In other words, he claims that a distinction must be made between activated beliefs and non-activated beliefs, and activated propositions that are not believed.

nitively available to the hearer at the time of the utterance – 'given information'.[175] In contrast, the information added to that mental representation is termed 'new information' (ibid.:50).[176]

2.3.1.3 Propositional Information and Referential Elements

So far, we have restricted our definition of information to what Lambrecht (1994:47) terms 'propositional information', i.e. the creation of knowledge via propositions. It is necessary, however, to make explicit, what has thus far been taken for granted, viz. the distinction between 'propositional information' and 'referential elements'. By referential elements, we mean individual lexical items or phrases which make up the propositional information. In other words, referential elements can be thought of as the building blocks from which propositions are formed (ibid.:47). Although regrettably, the notions 'given' and 'new' are commonly attributed to individual sentence constituents, thus yielding a segmentation view of information whereby the notions 'given' and 'new' are matched with specific sentence constituents, the present framework takes an alternate view.[177] Following Lambrecht (1994) we restrict the use of the terms 'given' and 'new' to the domain of propositional information, and will attempt to account for the denotata of individual sentence constituents (specifically LD constructions in BH) in the minds of the

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175. This is not the only sense in which the term 'given' is used in the linguistic literature. See Prince (1981) who describes three prominent uses of the term: (1) givenness as predictability/recoverability, where the speaker assumes that the hearer can predict or could have predicted that a particular linguistic item will or would occur in a particular position within a sentence, (2) givenness as Saliency, where the speaker assumes that the hearer has or could appropriately have some particular thing/entity...in his/her consciousness at the time of hearing the utterance and, (3) givenness as shared knowledge, where the speaker assumes that the hearer "knows," assumes, or can infer a particular thing (but is not necessarily thinking about it. Cf. Also Gomez-Gonzalez (2001:35-37) who distinguishes between: (1) Relational givenness, which is Given with respect to the New in individual clauses, (2) Contextual givenness, which is Given information rendered by the co-text in terms of recoverability, predictability, shared knowledge, or assumed familiarity, and (3) Active givenness, what the speaker and/or his addressee have in mind.
176. Cf. Chafe (1976:30).
177. Restricting the terms 'given' and 'new' to the domain of propositional information rather than being ascribable to discourse referents helps to avoid the misleading view that the information of an utterance can be divided up amongst it's individual constituents, each carrying a subportion - either given or new - of this total information. As Lambrecht (ibid.:47-48) argues, if 'new information' were equated with 'new constituent', it would be difficult to account for the information-structure of the simple sentence *She did it.* "In this sentence all constituents must be equally 'old' (given, JRW) because otherwise they could not all appear in anaphoric pronominal (and 'pro-verbal') form: to be able to interpret these constituents we must know from previous discourse who or what they refer to. Nevertheless, in an appropriate utterance context this sentence clearly may convey new information in the sense that it may change the addressee's representation of the world. The conveying of information is in principle independent of the previous mention or non-mention of the designata of the different constituents in a sentence" (ibid.:49). Moreover, "the conveying of information comes about...via the establishment of relations between the elements of the proposition" (ibid.).

speech participants in terms of their assumed pragmatic states, rather than with the terms 'given' and 'new'. With this careful distinction, two fundamental discourse-pragmatic categories emerge: (1) Pragmatic States, i.e. the pragmatic status of denotata of individual constituents in a proposition (cf. §2.3.2), and (2) Pragmatic Relations, i.e. the relationship between these denotata and the propositions in which they appear as predicates or arguments (cf. §2.3.3) (ibid.:49).

2.3.1.4 Pragmatic Presupposition and Assertion

We must offer a necessary clarification to the often conflated notions, 'presupposition'/'given information' and 'assertion'/'new information'. In our above characterization of information, it was argued that an informative proposition consists of a combination of two parts: a given portion, which the hearer is assumed to already know, and a new portion, which is added to the hearer's, already existing, mental representation. This being the case, we can say that the new portion of the proposition is only new with respect to what is already given in the hearer's mental representation. This is significant in that these two parts of the proposition are reflected linguistically, as Lambrecht (ibid.:51) notes, "sentences typically contain some lexical or grammatical manifestation of the information assumed to be already given in the hearer's mind, as a verbal point of departure or basis for the new information to be added". Therefore when information is manifested linguistically in speaking or writing, something new is related to something that can be taken for granted.[178] Given information which is lexicogrammatically represented in a sentence is termed the 'presupposition',[179] while the 'assertion' is the added proposition expressed by the sentence which the hearer is expected to know as a result of hearing the sentence uttered (ibid.:52).[180] In

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178. Although it seems redundant to explicitly state something that can be taken for granted, this, nevertheless, is a necessity as Lambrecht (ibid.:51) aptly demonstrates with the following sentence: "*I finally met the women who moved in downstairs*". The proposition expressed by the restrictive relative clause *who moved in downstairs* expresses the fact that the speaker takes for granted that the hearer already knows that someone moved in downstairs. This given information is explicitly stated via the relative clause to help the hearer determine the referent of the phrase *the woman*, by relating this referent to some already given piece of knowledge, which the speaker assumes the hearer happens not to be thinking of at the time the sentence is uttered (ibid.).

179. This use of the term presupposition should not be confused with the more traditional use of the term in formal semantics, where the term is used to refer to the effects of certain lexical items on the truth conditions of the sentences containing them. Our use of the term is more appropriately construed as 'pragmatic presupposition', in that it is the lexicogrammatically evoked set of propositions which the speaker and hearer are assumed to have in common at the time of the utterance. In light of this definition then, the truth-value of any pragmatically presupposed proposition is taken for granted by the interlocutors and therefore cannot be affected by an assertion (ibid.:63).

180. While the notions presupposition and assertion come very close to what has been described above as given and

other words, a presupposed proposition is one which is shared in both the speaker's and hearer's mental representation at the time of utterance and is lexicogrammatically evoked in the sentence, while the assertion only exists in the mind of the speaker until the utterance is performed (ibid.:77).[181] Therefore, the presupposition and the assertion occur together in the same sentence, but must not be construed as properties of individual sentence constituents, (as was explained in §2.3.1.3), and both are necessary for the successful conveyance of information (ibid.:56). Lambrecht (ibid.:57-58) clarifies this phenomenon when he states:

> *"To make an assertion is to establish a RELATION between a presupposed set of propositions and non-presupposed propositions, the latter being in some sense added to, or superimposed on, the former. The assertion is therefore not to be seen as the utterance 'minus the presupposition' but rather as a combination of two sets of propositions. ....[I]t is important to understand that the superimposition of the asserted proposition on the set of presupposed propositions often occurs in such a way that the two cannot be lexically factored out and identified with specific sentence constituents".[182]*

This is further illustrated by the observation that an assertion may consist in relating two or more presuppositions to each other (ibid.:58).[183] Just as a piece of new information may result from

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new information, there is nevertheless a distinction. While given information is the speaker's assumption of what the hearer already knows - i.e. the sum of propositions which the hearer knows or believes or considers uncontroversial at the time of speech - the presupposition is the lexicogrammatical representation of the propositions evoked in the sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or takes for granted at the time the sentence is uttered (ibid.:52). In other words, presupposition is a specifically linguistic concept. Shared knowledge between a speaker and hearer that is not linguistically evoked in an utterance does not meet our criteria for presupposition (ibid.:55) Alternatively, while the new information connotes the communicative act whereby a speaker increases the hearer's knowledge by adding a proposition to it, the assertion is the added proposition itself (ibid.:54).

181. Clark and Haviland's (1977:4) 'given-new contract' is pertinent here. They argue that, "[t]o ensure reasonably efficient communication, the speaker and listener adhere to a convention regarding the use of this distinction (i.e. the given-new distinction, JRW) in sentences. The speaker tries, to the best of his ability, to make the structure of his utterances congruent with his knowledge of the listener's mental world. He agrees to convey information he thinks the listener already knows as given information and to convey information he thinks the listener doesn't yet know as new information. The listener, for his part, agrees to interpret all utterances in the same light".

182. Cf. §2.3.1.3 above.

183. Lambrecht (ibid.:58-59) provides the following example:
   A: Why did you do that?
   B: I did it because you are my friend.
   Here the assertion in B's informative answer consists of the establishment of a relation of causality between two pragmatically presupposed propositions, e.g. *I did it,* and *you're my friend.*

the combination of expressions whose referents are entirely given, or rather 'accessible' (cf. §2.3.2) from the preceding context, so too an assertion may be produced by the combining of presupposed propositions.

2.3.1.5 Pragmatic Accommodation

Lastly, we must make brief mention of the option speakers have of creating a pragmatic presupposition by employing a sentence that requires it. For example, Lambrecht (ibid.:66), quoting from Stalnaker (1973:449) illustrates this phenomenon by the following exchange: "Someone asks of my daughter, 'how old is he?' I answer , '*she* is ten months old'". The presuppositional situation in the conversation is created by the use of the pronoun '*she*' which differs from the presupposition taken for granted by the addressee's question.[184] Thus, Lewis (1979:172) observes, "say something that requires a missing presupposition, and straightaway that presupposition springs into existence, making what you said acceptable after all". This observation led Lewis to formulate the 'rule of accommodation for presupposition' wherein a presupposition is automatically created by the speech participants if the presupposition evoked by some expression does not correspond to the presupposed discourse situation.[185] Once this presupposition is created, it automatically becomes part of the set of pragmatic presuppositions of that particular discourse (Lambrecht, 1994:67).

2.3.2 The Pragmatic States

At the conclusion of §2.3.1.2 two information-structure categories were distinguished: 1) Pragmatic Relations, and 2) Pragmatic States. It was argued that individual constituents, or the referential elements of the sentence, are best described in terms of their pragmatic states within a proposition. We now attempt to describe in more detail these pragmatic cognitive states and how they are linguistically represented.

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184. Lambrecht draws the significant conclusion that, "if a speaker can create a new presuppositional situation merely by using an expression which requires this situation, then presuppositional structures must indeed be inherent properties of linguistic expressions, whether words or constructions" (ibid.:66-67).
185. The rule states, "If at time T something is said that requires presupposition P to be acceptable, and if P is not presupposed just before t, then - ceteris paribus and within certain limits - presupposition P comes into existences at t" (Lewis, 1979:172).

2.3.2.1 Mental Representations of Discourse Referents and the Discourse Register

As was previously stated, the mental representation of interlocutors can be thought of as the "sum of 'propositions' which the hearer knows or believes or considers uncontroversial at the time of speech" (ibid.:43). These propositions are made up of referential elements which thus occupy a primary place in the mental representation of the interlocutors (cf. §2.3.1.2). We will term the mental representation of referential elements 'discourse referents'. In other words, the representation of discourse referents within the mind of the interlocutors exist independently of the linguistic elements used to encode them. During the discourse, the mental representation of the interlocutors is constantly being updated as new information is encountered, or added to their mental representation. Likewise, the mental representations of individual referential elements, or discourse referents, also undergo changes of state which are linguistically represented as the discourse progresses. Discourse referents are linguistically represented as sentence constituents, that is as noun phrases, pronouns, various kinds of tensed or non-tensed subordinate clauses, and certain adverbial phrases (ibid.:75). They do not, however, occur as constituents which serve as predicates, since "predicates by definition do not denote discourse referents but attributes of, or relations between, arguments" (ibid.).[186]

Upon the initiation of a discourse or dialogue, the interlocutors are assumed to share a fare amount of common knowledge about the world around them. This shared knowledge forms what is termed the 'discourse register'. Lambrecht (ibid.:74) defines the discourse register as, "[t]he set of representations which a speaker and a hearer may be assumed to share in a given discourse". As various discourse referents are introduced and re-introduced into the discourse, the discourse register is simultaneously updated.[187] This introduction and re-introduction of discourse referents involves two information-structure categories: 1) Identifiability, and 2) Activation.

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186. Following Lambrecht (ibid.:74) we will often neglect the terminological distinction between referents and the mental representations of referents in a discourse. However, as will be seen in §2.3.2.2-§2.3.2.3 below, the conceptual distinction is of the utmost importance.
187. Lambrecht (ibid.) observes, that discourse referents may be either entities or propositions. "A proposition may acquire the status of a discourse referent once it is assumed by a speaker to be known to the addressee, i.e. once it has been added to the set of pragmatic presuppositions in the discourse register. The mental representation of such a propositional referent may then be stored in the register together with the representations of entities".

2.3.2.2 Identifiability

In order for a speaker to say something informative about a specific discourse referent, the discourse referent in question must first be 'identifiable' within the addressee's mental representation. Lambrecht (ibid.:76) describes this cognitive phenomenon of identifiability[188] as having to do with "a speaker's assessment of whether a discourse representation of a particular referent is already stored in the hearer's mind or not". If a speaker assumes that no representation of an entity exists within the mind of the addressee, then the speaker must first create such a representation via linguistic expression before anything informative can be added to it.[189] The metaphor of a 'file' is often used in the linguistic literature for describing the establishment of a new discourse representation.[190] In other words, when a new representation is established it is as if a new referential file is opened within the addressee's mind to which information can then be added, stored and retrieved in future discourses (ibid.:77).[191] Thus, when a representation of a discourse referent is within the discourse register, i.e. a shared representation exists in the speaker's and hearer's mind at the time of the utterance, it is considered identifiable, while a referent which exists only within the speakers mental representation is classified as unidentifiable, or in Prince's (1981) terms 'brand-new' (ibid.:77-78).[192]

Prince's (1981:236) observation that a brand-new (unidentifiable) referent can be of two types: Anchored, or Unanchored, is also significant. An anchored brand-new referent is one that is

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188. The term 'identifiability' is first used by Chafe (1976).
189. However, as Gundel et al. (1993:277) observes, "identifiability does not have to be based on previous familiarity if enough descriptive content is encoded in the nominal itself. For example, in the sentence: '*I couldn't sleep last night. The dog next door kept me awake'*, the NP *The dog next door* is perfectly felicitous even if the addressee had no previous knowledge that the speaker's neighbor has a dog".
190. Cf. Heim (1982) Givon (1992), and Lambrecht (1994)
191. The cognitive distinction of identifiability/unidentifiability is often marked linguistically by definite/indefinite noun phrases (but not always, cf. Russian in this regard). Although the correlation between the cognitive category of identifiability and the grammatical category of definiteness is at best an imperfect one, this grammatical phenomenon serves to illustrate the significant point that "what counts for the linguistic expression of the cognitive distinction...is not that the addressee know, or be familiar with the referent in question but that he be able to pick it out from among all those which can be designated with a particular linguistic expression and identify it as the one which the speaker has in mind" (ibid.:77).
192. This distinction is conceptually related to the distinction between pragmatically presupposed and asserted propositions (cf. §2.3.1.3). Prince (1981:235) distinguishes the two concepts of 'identifiability' and 'unidentifiability' with the corresponding terms 'unused' and 'brand new'. According to Prince, a brand new entity is one which must first be created within the addressee's mind, while an unused entity is one in which "the hearer may be assumed to have a corresponding entity in his/her own model and simply has to place it in (or copy it into) the discourse-model (discourse-register, JRW), akin to taking some staple off of the shelf when it's presence is suddenly taken for granted in a recipe (e.g. salt)".

linked to an already identifiable referent, e.g. *a guy I work with*, where the brand-new noun phrase *a guy* is linked to the already identifiable pronoun *I*. One the other hand, an unanchored brand-new referent is simply brand-new e.g. *a guy,* or *a girl*. This line of thought is picked up by Chafe who argues that a referent may become identifiable through modification. That is, when a common noun is insufficient to identify a shared referent the noun may be modified in such a way that produces identifiability (Chafe, 1994:99). According to Chafe (ibid.), "[m]odification creates an *ad hoc*, narrower category within which the referent becomes unique, when it would not have been unique within the category expressed by the noun alone". This particular kind of identifiability may be created via possessive pronoun or noun, attributive adjective, prepositional phrase, or a relative clause which serves to modify a noun category with an event or state within which the referent is a participant (ibid.:99-100).

Additionally it is noteworthy that not all NPs participate in the identifiable-nonidentifiable distinction. Specifically we have in mind NPs with generic referents, i.e., referents that represent a class or category, and nonreferential NPs. According to Chafe (ibid.:103) "sharing knowledge of generic referents is different from sharing knowledge of particular referents". In other words, possessing knowledge of a category entails that one possesses some knowledge of a prototypical member of that category, whereas the shared knowledge of identifiability depends on knowing a particular instance (ibid.). Therefore the notion of identifiability does not apply to NPs with generic referents. Moreover, frequently NPs or pronouns are used when there is no referent at all, either particular or generic. According to Chafe (ibid.:103) these NPs/pronouns "do not form a coherent set, but constitute a miscellaneous collection of circumstances under which NPs or pronouns fail to refer".[193]

Within a discourse, when a representation (i.e. mental file) is first established, or becomes identifiable, in the mind of the addressee, it becomes the most focal representation of the hearer's knowledge. That is, it occupies their focus of consciousness.[194] Chafe's (ibid.:53) analogy be-

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193. Of particular interest for this investigation are pronouns such as 'whoever' or 'whatever' and 'everyone'.

194. 'Knowledge' and 'Consciousness' are not to be equated. Chafe (1994:28) argues that "although every human mind is devoted to modeling a larger reality within which it (or the organism it inhabits) occupies a central place, only one small piece of that model can be *active* at one time. At any given moment the mind can focus on no more than a small segment of everything it 'knows'". Chafe uses the word 'consciousness' to refer to this limited activation process (ibid.). Therefore, "knowing something and thinking of something are two different mental states" (Lambrecht, 1994:93). Moreover, the grammatical consequences between these two mental states is significant. This will be described further in the next section (§2.3.1.4).

tween consciousness and vision works well, in that one's consciousness, not unlike one's vision, is only capable of focusing on one item at a time.[195] Moreover, as with vision, some items in one's consciousness are relegated to the periphery, while others fall out of consciousness (or visibility in the case of vision) altogether. One's consciousness, like ones eye, is in constant motion, "the eye with its brief fixations, the mind with its continual shifting from one focus to the next" (ibid.). These levels of consciousness are termed 'activation states' by Chafe (1976, 1987, 1994).

2.3.2.3 Activation States

Taking into account the human mind's facility to store things in short term memory and long term memory,[196] and it's capacity to focus only on a small segment of this memory at any one time, Chafe (1987, 1994) argues that a particular 'concept', once it is assumed to be identifiable, may occupy one of three 'activation states' at any given point in the discourse. These three states are: Active, Semi-Active/Accessible, or Inactive.   Chafe (1987:25) defines these states as follows:

- *Active: A concept "that is currently lit up, a concept in a person's focus of consciousness".*

- *Semi-Active/Accessible: A concept "that is in a person's peripheral consciousness, a concept of which a person has a background awareness, but which is not being directly focused on".*

- *Inactive (or unused[197]): A concept "that is currently in a person's long-term memory, neither focally nor peripherally active".*[198]

As was argued above (§2.3.1) the theory of information-structure is only concerned with abstract psychological phenomena insofar as they are evinced linguistically within the sentence, i.e. when they have formal correlates within the sentence structure. The formal representation of the cog-

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195. Cf. Foveal vision (Chafe, 1994:53).
196. Chafe cautions against viewing memory as a location. He avers, "in the long run it may be less fruitful to speak of something being *in* memory or retrieving something *from* memory than to view these phenomena in terms of activation" (Chafe, 1994:53). He adds that, "[w]estern psychology may have been misled by the fact that in European languages the process of remembering is reified in *memory* as a noun" (ibid.).
197. Lambrecht (1994:107) suggests the alternate term 'unused' to further distinguish the category 'inactive' from the category 'identifiable'.
198. What Chafe refers to as a 'concept' in his definition of the three activation states has been referred to here as the discourse referents's mental representation (following Lambrecht, 1994).

nitive statuses of discourse referents is supported by Gundel & Fretheim (2009:148) who argue that "a speaker's assumptions about the status of some entity in the mind of the addressee...constrains the linguistic forms that may be appropriately used in referring to that entity and conversely, the form of a nominal expression facilitates understanding by constraining possible interpretations". For instance, Gundel et al. (1993) proposes that languages signal the cognitive statuses of discourse referents via determiners and pronouns, as part of their lexical meaning.[199] Unaccented pronominal encoding of a discourse referent is perhaps the most lucid example evincing the discourse reference's state of activeness within the mind of the speaker (Lambrecht, 1994:95).[200] Since the referent is 'lit up' within the interlocutors consciousness, i.e. is one of the clause topics under discussion (see §2.3.3.1 below), it does not require the full lexical encoding of the referent, but can be unambiguously designated by pronominal or inflectional coding.[201]

Since the mind can only focus on, or light up, a limited portion of the knowledge it holds at any given time, it follows that as referents are activated in a persons consciousness other referents are replaced and thus pass out of the active status. Accordingly, Chafe (1987:28) argues that "deactivation takes place as frequently as activation". Unless an active referent is either explicitly or

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199. It should be noted that Gundel et al. (1993) represents an alternate view to the cognitive statuses of discourse referents. Two striking differences between that of Gundel et al. (1993) and Lambrecht (1994) is noted by Polinsky (1999:570) who writes, "First...Gundel et al. include phenomena outside the sentence in the domain of IS (information structure, JRW), while L(ambrecht, JRW) does not. Second, L(ambrecht, JRW) explicitly does not assume a one-to-one correspondence between the mental representation of discourse referents and the linguistic expression of these referents". Moreover, whereas for Gundel et al. it is important to annotate the cognitive statuses simultaneously for what L(ambrecht, JRW) calls activation and for the relational characteristics topic and focus, L(ambrecht's, JRW) model is of a cascading nature: first there is an activation and identification, which precedes the establishment of any entity of topic. Once an entity has been ratified as topic, its activation status is irrelevant" (ibid.). Similar to, but also distinct from the activation states of Lambrecht (1994) (and Chafe, 1994), Gundel et al. (1993) propose what they term, 'The Givenness Hierarchy' which forms an entailment scheme, with lower levels of activation entailed in higher levels:
in focus > activated > familiar > uniquely identifiable > referential > type identifiable
200. Lambrecht (1994:95) observes the possible exception of generic pronouns and certain deictic uses of pronouns. Moreover, "'[a]s for the formal expression of the inactive status of a referent, it is the opposite of that of active referents. Inactive marking entails accentuation of the referential expression and full lexical coding. The grammatical correlate of inactiveness is thus the coding of a referent in the form of an accented lexical phrase" (ibid.:96). Thus, Lambrecht (ibid.:98-99) concludes, "[a] pronoun is marked as having an active referent; a lexical noun phrase is unmarked for the activation state of its referent". Thus, "while active referents can be unambiguously marked as such, via absence of prosodic prominence, or pronominal coding, or both, there is no corresponding unambiguous marking for the status inactive, at least not via prosody or morphology".
201. Referents that have been activated and thus meet all of the criteria for pronominal or inflectional coding are sometimes still lexicalized as a full noun phrase. This occurs, for instance, when more than one referent is discourse active at the same time and referring to one of the two via a pronominal would lead to ambiguity (ibid.:95).

implicitly referred to, it immediately begins a process of decay wherein the referent moves quickly from the center, or focus of consciousness (i.e. active), to the periphery (i.e. semi-active/ accessible), and ultimately completely out of focus (i.e. inactive) altogether. Therefore when de-activation occurs, a referent does not automatically move from active status to inactive status, but rather becomes 'cognitively accessible'.

Deactivation from an earlier state (i.e, textually accessible), however, is not the only way a refer-ent can become cognitively accessible (or, semi-active). According to Lambrecht (1994:100), cognitive accessibility, can be attributed to two other factors: inference form a cognitive schema or frame (i.e. inferentially accessible), or presence in the text-external world (i.e. situationally accessible).

An inferentially accessible concept is one which "belongs to a set of expectations associated with a schema" (Chafe, 1987: 29). Chafe defines a schema as follows:

> *"A schema is usefully regarded as a cluster of interrelated expectations. When a schema has been evoked in a narrative, some if not all of the expectations of which it is constituted presumably enter the semi-active state. From that point on, they are more accessible to recall than they would have been as inactive con-cepts" (ibid.).*[202]

Similarly, Prince (1981:236) argues that "a discourse entity is inferable if the speaker assumes the hearer can infer it, via logical - or, more commonly, plausible - reasoning, from discourse entities already evoked or from other inferables".[203]

In addition to inferential accessibility, a referent can be situationally accessible. In other words, due to a referent's presence in the text-external world shared by the interlocutors, a referent is automatically accessible. Lambrecht (1994:99) illustrates this phenomenon with the following example: "sitting in an office room with a friend I might say *Those pictures sure are ugly* with

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202.Chafe's concept of a schema is similar to that of Fillmore's semantic frame: "By the term 'frame' I have in mind any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of them you have to understand the whole structure of which it fits" (Fillmore, 1982:111).
203.Prince offers the following example: *I got on* a bus *yesterday and* the driver *was drunk.* The NP *the driver* is inferable from the assumed knowledge (i.e. schema) about buses viz. that buses have drivers.

reference to some photographs on the wall which I assume my addressee is not presently aware of but which I take to be easily accessible to him".

Inferential and situational accessibility as sub-types to Chafe's semi-active category indicate a deficiency in defining semi-active/accessibility solely in terms of 'background awareness' and consciousness' (ibid.:100). Lambrecht (ibid.:104) argues that since there are few reliable criteria for determining whether a referent is inactive or semi-active within the mind of an addressee, it is perhaps better not to construe the accessibility of a referent as necessarily present in the hearer's consciousness. Rather, due to a referent's inferential accessibility or situational accessibility, the referent is easier to evoke in the addressee's mind than an inactive referent. Lambrecht (ibid.:104) therefore, argues for a modification of the concept of accessibility, asserting that it is better to "think of cognitive accessibility as a 'potential for activation', rather than as a 'state of a referent' in a person's mind".

Chafe (1987, 1994) and Lambrecht (1994) argue that 'inference' should be construed as a discrete cognitive state – a subtype of the semi-active state, alongside textual and situational. We find this line of argumentation lacking and instead follow Gundel et al. (1993:281) in understanding inference as "a way something can achieve a particular status". Put differently, the category 'inferable' (or for that matter, 'textual' and 'situational') does not represent a specific givenness status itself, but instead this category is a description of the means by which a certain entity has achieved a particular givenness status viz. accessible.

Figure 1[204] below, is a list summarizing the seven most salient terminological conventions employed in the above description (§2.3.2.2 - §2.3.2.3) of the Identifiability/Activation system of discourse referents. The list moves from the least (1) to the most (7) accessible. As will be further elucidated in §2.3.3 below, the list in Figure 1 will also serve as what will be termed the 'Topic Acceptability Scale'.

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204. Figure 1 is adapted from Lambrecht (1994:109)

Figure 1:

1. *unidentifiable/brand new*
2. *unidentifiable anchored/brand-new anchored*
3. *inactive/unused*
4. *textually accessible*
5. *situationally accessible*
6. *inferentially accessible*
7. *active/given*

Figure 2[205] is a linear representation of the list provided in Figure 1, along with number tags designating where the terms in Figure 2 are located on the scale represented in Figure 1.

Figure 2:
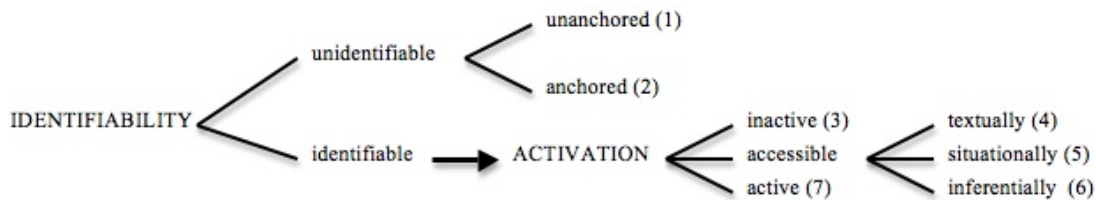
2.3.3 The Pragmatic Relations

Unlike the previously discussed information-structure category of pragmatic states, the information-structure notions of Topic and Focus are better construed as pragmatic relations in that they possess a certain relation with a proposition.[206] Not unlike the mental representation of discourse referents (see §2.3.2.1 above), Topic and Focus relations exist independently of the linguistic expressions used to encode them. That is to say that a terminological and conceptual distinction must be drawn between the relational notions of Topic and Focus on the one hand, and Topic and Focus expressions on the other. This distinction will be further explained in §2.3.3.1.

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205. Figure 2 is adapted from Lambrecht (1994:109)
206. In addition to Pragmatic Relations, the information-structure notions of Topic and Focus are also termed 'Pragmatic Roles' (Comrie, 1989:62) and 'Pragmatic Functions' (Dik, 1978:128).

2.3.3.1 Topic, Topic Expressions, and Pragmatic Sentence Articulations

The subject of Topic has suffered from a fair amount of terminological obfuscation in recent years.[207] It is, however, beyond the scope of the present work to survey all of the various uses of the term within the literature, and therefore, we are content to use as our point of departure Lambrecht's (1994:127) characterization of Topic as pragmatic relation, quoted as follows:

> *"A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if IN A GIVEN DIS-*
> *COURSE the proposition is construed as being ABOUT this referent, i.e. as ex-*
> *pressing information which is RELEVANT TO and which increases the ad-*
> *dressee's KNOWLEDGE OF this referent. ...[W]e may say that the relation of*
> *'topic-of' expresses the pragmatic relation of aboutness which holds between a*
> *referent and a proposition with respect to a particular discourse. The term 'prag-*
> *matic relation' should be understood as meaning 'relation construed within par-*
> *ticular discourse contexts.' Topic is a PRAGMATICALLY CONSTRUED SEN-*
> *TENCE RELATION".[208]*

In other words, Topic is what the sentence is all about.[209] Topic is a pragmatic relation in that it stands in relation to the proposition. The rest of the clause, viz. 'the comment',[210] is relevant to the topical referent, in that it comments on this referent (ibid.:119).[211]

(2)[212]   a. *(What did the professor do next?) The professor went to WORK.*

b. *(Who went to work?) The PROFESSOR went to work.*

c. *(What happened?) The PROFESSOR went to WORK.*

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207. For an overview of the treatment of Topic from both generative and functional perspectives in recent past, see Floor (2004). Also, cf. Goutsos (1997:1-31) who provides a comprehensive overview of topic prior to Lambrecht (1994).

208. Gundel's definition of topic is highly compatible with Lambrecht's. Gundel's (1988:210) definition is as follow: "An entity E is the topic of a sentence, S, iff in using S the speaker intends to increase the addressee's knowledge about, request information about, or otherwise get the addressee to act with respect to E".

209. Because we are concerned with the pragmatic constraints upon a particular sentential construction, viz. left-dislocation, our definition of topic will include only sentence-level topics, excluding the broader notion of discourse topic, as discussed by Halliday and Hasan (1976), van Dijk (1977), and van Oosten (1985), among others.

210. This part of the sentence, in a Topic-Comment sentence articulation, also expresses the Focus (i.e. Predicate-Focus) (cf. §2.3.3.7).

211. This characterization differs from that of other functional linguists. For instance, the Prague School defines Topic (their 'Theme') as the first constituent in the sentence. Givon (1984, 1990) defines Topic as any participant in the discourse, and Brown & Yule (1983) understand Topic as 'discourse topic'.

212. These examples are adapted from Lambrecht (1994:121).

d. *(Lucy had a fantastic day today.) After the professor went to WORK,*
she had the whole house to herself.

For example, in the sentence in (2a) the referent of the subject NP 'the professor' is clearly what the sentence is about, and therefore constitutes the Topic of the sentence. In information-structure terms the sentence possess a Topic-Comment pragmatic sentence articulation.[213] As a universal feature of language, most Topic-Comment articulations also coincide with the canonical constituent order of that language, where the sentence subject is, most often, also the topic (ibid.:132). Moreover, a linguistic constituent which is the topic of a sentence, i.e. it is the entity which stands in an aboutness relation to the proposition, also at the same time interacts with the pragmatic properties of the mental representation of discourse referents. Thus in (2a) above, the discourse referent 'the professor' is the topic of the sentence in that it is the referent which the proposition is about, and at the same time the referent can be said to be identifiable, active,[214] and presupposed.[215] This interaction between the pragmatic relation of topic and the pragmatic properties of discourse referents will be discussed further in §2.3.3.3 below.

While the pragmatic property of presupposition is related to the topic relation, presupposition does not necessarily entail topichood, i.e. presupposition and topic, though related, are not synonymous (Lambrecht, 1994:122). Indeed, some information is presupposed (i.e. open propositions) but does not involve the topic relation. Stated alternatively, "anything presupposed is propositional in nature (such as some shared belief or knowledge), but topic referents are for the most part not propositions, but entities" (ibid.:151). For example, in (2b) above, the proposition "X went to work" is incomplete, or open, i.e. it lacks a referent. As an open proposition, the presupposition does not meet the criteria for topichood, i.e. "The PROFESSOR" is not the topic in that the referent is not about "went to work". Rather, this sentence articulation is termed by

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213. The term 'articulation' employed here for the three topic sentence types is from Andrews (1985) who terms the three pragmatic sentence categories: 'topic-Comment articulation', 'focus-presupposition articulation' (our 'identificational' articulation) and 'presentational articulation' (our 'thetic' articulation) respectively.
214. In an actual discourse situation, the nominal 'the professor' would be more naturally (but not necessarily) coded as an unaccented pronominal, which is the cognitively preferred topic expression (cf. §2.3.3.3 below) and the most common way of coding discourse active referents (cf. §2.3.1.3 above).
215. More accurately, the topic referent is identifiable, active and presupposed to play a role in a given proposition, i.e. the topic referent is 'in the presupposition'.

Lambecht (ibid.) 'identificational', in that it serves to identify the missing argument in an open proposition.[216]

Example (4c) represents another pragmatic sentence articulation wherein the subject is a non-topic, just as with the identificational type. In (4c), however, the proposition that "X went to work" is not pragmatically presupposed. The answer in (4c) is not construed as conveying information about the professor. Rather its function is to inform the addressee of an event involving the professor as a participant. Sentences like these are termed 'Thetic' sentences by Lambrecht (ibid.:137-150). Thetic sentences "introduce a new element into the discourse without linking this element either to an already established topic or to some presupposed proposition" (ibid.:144). This 'all new' property differentiates the thetic sentence articulation from identificational and topic-comment articulation.[217] Moreover, thetic sentences are topicless in the sense that there is no topic about which the sentence says something.[218] Lambrecht (ibid.) distinguishes two types of thetic articulations: event-reporting and presentational. Event-reporting sentences, like (4c) introduce a new event, while the presentational sentences introduce a new entity.[219]

A fourth sentence articulation is discussed by Lambrecht (1994:125-126) entitled 'background-establishing' clauses. This type is illustrated in (2d) wherein the background-establishing clause is "After the professor went to WORK". This adverbial clause is pragmatically presupposed and functions to 'set the scene' for the topic of the clause proper, viz. "she". Lambrecht (ibid.:126) argues that this background-establishing type is characterized by a pragmatically presupposed proposition serving as a scene-setting topic for another proposition, which in turn can be any of

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216. The correlation between topic and presupposition has lead to a series of 'topic-tests' employed to determine the topic status of an expression. These tests include: 1) the 'question-answer' test, 2) the 'as-for' test, 3) the 'about' test.

217. The difference between thetic sentences and topic-comment sentences is not unambiguously marked (ibid.:137).

218. An alternate view is that the topic of thetic sentences is "the particular situation (time and place) about which it is asserted" (Gundel, 1974, quoted in Erteschik-Shir 2007:16). In other words, thetic sentences can be "viewed as having implicit 'stage' topics indicating the spatio-temporal parameters of the sentences (here-and-now of the discourse) (Erteschik-Shir, 2007:16). This construal of topic, however, does not seem to accord with Lambrecht's understanding of topic, since, according to Lambrecht (ibid.:156) only 'referring expressions' can be topics.

219. English 'existential' *there*-sentences are good examples of the presentational type, e.g. "Once there was a king. He was very wise". "The basic communicative function of such sentences is not to predicate a property of an argument but to introduce a referent into a discourse, often (but not always) with the purpose of making it available for predication in subsequent discourse" (ibid.:177).

the three previously discussed pragmatic sentence articulations. Lambrecht, however, expresses doubt as to whether this articulation can be considered a major information-structure category (ibid.) Moreover, his characterization is vague in regards to in what sense the background-establishing clause is to be considered topical. In other words, his explanation of the exact pragmatic relationship between the background-establishing clause and the clause it is associated with, lacks clarity. In the present work, we will take Floor (2004:100-104) as our point of departure and argue that spatio-temporal orientation clauses are best construed as additional pragmatic operators that are not an integral part of the information structure, but rather provide the framing information necessary to build the cognitive text-world of the subsequent clause and/or discourse unit.[220]

In summary, Lambrecht (1994) argues for four pragmatic sentence articulations: 1) Topic-Comment, 2) Identificational, 3) Thetic, with it's two subtypes viz. event-reporting and presentational, and 4) Background-establishing.[221] For our purposes, we will only be concerned with (1) the topic-comment articulation and (4) the scene-setting type, since the three different topic types (cf. §2.3.3.6) only occur within these two articulations.

As was mentioned above (cf. §2.3.3), a distinction must be drawn between the pragmatic relation of Topic and the expressions which encode this relation, viz. Topic Expressions. In other words, just as the relational construct of information cannot be construed as divisible among individual sentence constituents (see above §2.3.1.1-§2.3.1.3), so too Topic (and Focus) as a relational category exists independent of linguistic expressions. The topic relation should be understood as designating the discourse referent itself, about which information is being conveyed in a proposition (ibid.:127). The topic expression on the other hand, is defined by Lambrecht as follows:

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220. These types of spatial-tempoal frames are termed 'setting' by Buth (1999) and Rosenbaum (1997), and 'point of departure' by Levinsohn (2000b). These clauses should not be confused with what below will be termed Topic Frames (cf. §2.3.3.5).
221. Pragmatic sentence articulations 1-3 have alternate focus articulations, viz. 1) predicate-focus, 2) argument-focus, and 3) sentence focus (see §2.3.3.7)

"A constituent is a topic expression if the proposition expressed by the clause with which it is associated[222] is pragmatically construed as being about the referent of this constituent" (ibid.:131).

Put differntly, the topic expression is the linguistic expression used to designate a topic referent in a sentence.[223] Since topic expressions designate discourse referents, it follows that only refer-ring expressions can be discourse topics (ibid.:156). Topic expressions, unlike topic relations, are segmental by nature and must encode the respective referents (Polinsky, 1999:571). This ter-minological and conceptual distinction is significant in that "while a topic expression always necessarily designates a topic referent, a referent which is topical in a discourse is not necessarily coded as a topic expression in a given sentence or clause" (Lambrecht, 1994:130). This is be-cause a referent is an entity that exists in the minds of the interlocutors, independent of its lin-guistic expression (ibid.). Polinsky (1999:571) summarizes how a clause constituent becomes a topic expression as follows: "To establish the topic expression, one first needs to find referent R associated with proposition P which is construed as being about R and then to map R onto the constituent expressing it". Below, (§2.3.3.6) we will describe three specific 'topic types' which will be pertinent for our analysis of LD constructions in BH.

2.3.3.2 The Problematic Term 'Topicalization'
Just as subjects can be non-topical (cf. the identification and thetic sentence articulations above), topics can be non-subjects. Within the linguistic literature the term 'topicalization' is often used in reference to non-subjects which are fronted to sentence initial position. Unfortunately, how-ever, the profusion of definitions ascribed to this term over the years has rendered it impractical for use.[224] According to Floor (2004:68) this is due to the confusion surrounding the use of 'topi-

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222. Lambrecht (ibid.:131) notes that "[t]he somewhat vague formulation of the topic constituent being 'associated' with a clause is necessary in order to account for topic constituents which bear no grammatical relation to a predicate and whose semantic relation to the proposition is determined by principles of pragmatic construal only".

223. In addition to 'topic expression' Lambrecht (1994) employs the terms 'topic constituent' and 'topic phrase'. These can consist of lexical topic expressions (a noun or noun phrase) or pronominal topic expressions (a pronoun or pronominal clitic).

224. See Floor (2004:68-69) for a brief survey of the various uses of the term in the linguistic literature and a cogent argument for its abandonment.

calization' as an information-structure category.[225] Lambrecht (1994:147), for instance character-izes constructions wherein a non-subject constituent is marked as a topic expression by being placed in the sentence-initial position normally occupied by the topical subject as 'topicaliza-tion'.[226] As Floor observes, however, this definition is inadequate in that "such fronted objects do not necessarily become the topic of the proposition". In other words, simply because a con-stituent is syntactically fronted, the aboutness relation is not automatically changed. "Where pre-supposition, topicness, and marked syntactic word-order vis-à-vis its pragmatic function are not clearly defined, the use of the term topicalization becomes problematic and ambiguous" (ibid.). Following Floor (2004) we will abandon the term topicalization and refer to the exact syntactic process e.g. left-dislocation, or to the discourse-pragmatic function, e.g. topic reactivation, topic-shift etc.[227]

2.3.3.3 The Topic Acceptability Scale

While topic, as defined here, is a pragmatic relation independent of the properties of pragmatic states viz. identifiability and activation, topic nevertheless interacts with these states in various ways.[228] In other words, independence does not prohibit interaction (ibid.).[229] Indeed, as Lam-brecht (1994:162) avers, "in order to make a referent interpretable as the topic of a proposition and in order to make the proposition interpretable as presenting relevant information about this topic, the topic referent must have certain activation properties...". In other words, in order for a referent to become an acceptable topic, it must possess a certain degree of pragmatic accessibili-

225. Floor (ibid.) states that, "in the literature the term often refers to a pragmatic function of fronting something for some reason or another, and simultaneously it refers to some syntactic process or configuration. Then in some uses, topicalization refers to both a syntactic fronting construction and a left-dislocation construction, whereas others, keep the two forms very separate".

226. Topicalization, according to Lambrecht, is only the case when the fronted non-subject constituent is presupposed and discourse active. When it is not, the fronted constituent is part of the focus information and therefore is not topical. Lambrecht's definition of 'topicalization' is the same as the term 'Y-movement' in the linguistic literature.

227. This term will be used below only within the contexts of describing its use by other authors.

228. Lambrecht notes that, "[t]he distinction between the mental representations of referents and the pragmatic relations which these referents enter into as elements of propositions is related to the distinction between 'given/new referents' and 'given/new information'. (cf. §2.3.1.1 - 2.3.1.3 above). Moreover, as Lambrecht and Michaelis (1994:495) argue, evoked status does not entail topic status, since pronouns, both deictic and anaphoric, may be foci.

229. Lambrecht (ibid.:151) notes, "'[t]hat the pragmatic relation is not identical to the pragmatic property (i.e. state, JRW) follows from the fact that an active referent may also enter into a FOCUS relation with a proposition". In other words, activeness is not a sufficient condition for topichood.

ty. Before selecting a topic for a sentence, the speaker must first make certain hypothesis concerning the status of the referent in the mind of the addressee. The speaker's decision as to the particular way the topic referent is coded within the sentence is determined by this hypothesis (ibid.:163). The 'topic acceptability scale' helps to illustrate the correlation between the topic relation and the pragmatic states of discourse referents. According to Lambrecht (ibid.:165), we can measure the degree of pragmatic well-formedeness of a sentence containing a topic expression by the position of the topic referent on the topic acceptability scale, represented in Figure 3[230] which moves from (1) most acceptable to (5) unacceptable.

> Figure 3:
> 1. *active/given*
> 2. *accessible*
> 3. *inactive/unused*
> 4. *brand-new anchored*
> 5. *brand-new unanchored*

Topic referents which are active in the discourse are most acceptable due to, what Chafe (1987) terms, the referent's 'low cost' of cognitive effort of interpretability. In other words, active referents are preferred topics since they require the least amount of processing effort on the part of the addressee. This coincides with the fact that active referents are normally unaccented and pronominal. Hence, the preferred topic expression is an unaccented pronominal or inflectional morpheme (Lambrecht, 1994:165 and 195). Alternatively, accessible referents are less easy to interpret, and unused/inactive referents even more so still, requiring a 'high cost' of cognitive effort. In light of the topic acceptability scale, Lambrecht (ibid.:176) argues that various widely attested grammatical construction types can be construed as pragmatically motivated structural devices whose basic function is to promote referents from non-active (i.e. brand-new, unused, or accessible) to active status and consequently from lexical to pronominal coding in the sentence.[231]

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230. Figure 3 is adapted from Lambrecht (ibid.:165).
231. According to Lambrecht (ibid.) the grammatical function of such constructions "is to match the requirements of syntactic structure and information-structure in cases where the two do not naturally coincide".

Left-dislocation is an example of one such 'topic-promotion' construction.[232]   A not-yet-active topic referent in the form of a lexical noun phrase with a certain degree of activation (i.e. potential for activation) can be placed in a 'dislocated' position to the left of (or in front of) the clause which contains the propositional information about the topic referent (ibid.:182).   This clause which contains the propositional information also (usually) contains a resumptive pronoun coreferential with the dislocated constituent and signaling the semantic role of the detached constituent within the clause (cf. §2.4).

2.3.3.4 The Principal of the Separation of Reference and Role

Non-canonical syntactic configurations whereby the lexical representation of a topic referent occurs separately from the designation of the referent's role as an argument in a proposition are motivated by cognitive factors.   As Lambrecht (ibid.:166) argues, "the mental effort necessary to interpret the proposition which expresses the new information about the topic must be performed simultaneously with another processing task, the task of remembering, inferring, or otherwise determining the referent of the topic expression".   LD constructions are an example of a syntactic manifestation of the separation of these two cognitive tasks.   This is termed by Lambrecht (ibid.:184-188) "The Principle of the Separation of Reference and Role" for topic expressions. This principle is summed up by the pragmatic maxim: "Do not introduce a referent and talk about it in the same clause" (ibid.:185).   This principle is advantageous for both the speaker and the hearer.   "From the speaker's point of view, it is easier to construct a complex sentence if the lexical introduction of a non-active topic referent is done independently of the syntactic expression of the proposition about the referent" (ibid.)   Moreover, the hearer is cognitively helped by this construction in that "it is easier to decode a message about a topic if the task of assessing the topic referent can be performed independently of the task of interpreting the proposition in which the topic is an argument" (ibid.).   Hence, topic referents that are not yet active, and thus cannot

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232. Another example of a topic promotion construction are presentational thetic sentences, as in: "Once there was a king. He was very wise." In this case, the reason why the referent of the NP *a king* can be expressed at the beginning of the next sentence in the preferred topic form *he* is that the referent was lexically expressed, and thereby pragmatically activated, in the immediately preceding sentence (ibid.:177).

be coded as preferred topic expressions, appear as lexical noun phrases outside the clauses which express the propositional information about them (ibid.:186).[233]

The Principle of the Separation of Role and Reference implies that topic expressions can be categorized into two categories: Reference-oriented and Role-oriented. Reference-oriented topic expressions "name the topic referent, by means of a lexical phrase, whose distribution and constituent structure is that of a noun phrase" (ibid.:186-187). Role-oriented topic expressions on the other hand "designate the topic referent anaphorically or deictically, via a pronominal expression" (ibid.:187). In other words, "[t]hey serve as grammatical links between the topic referent and the proposition, by indicating the semantic role of the referent as an argument, i.e. as a participant in the action, event, or state expressed by the proposition" (ibid.). For instance, in the case of LD constructions, the dislocated noun phrase serves to name the referent, about which the following proposition conveys some new information. That is to say, the noun phrase is a referent-oriented topic expression.[234] The resumptive pronoun, however, serves as a role-oriented topic expression indicating the role played by this topic referent as an argument in the proposition (ibid.).

A significant issue, which we have not yet addressed, concerns the proclivity for sentences to contain more than one topic at a time. For instance, simply because a non-subject may be promoted to topic status does not entail that the subject must lose its topic status (e.g. this is often the case with left-dislocation constructions) (ibid.:147). This issue will be discussed in the sections that follow. In order to do this, however, we must depart from Lambrecht's notion of topic as a single concept. Instead, following Jacobs (2001), topichood will be more accurately described by four salient semantic attributes of prototypical topic-comment articulations, rather than one single concept of 'aboutness'. As is demonstrated in §2.3.3.6, these topic attributes can be combined in various ways to yield a variety of differing topic types.

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233. Cf. Kuzar and Netz (2010) who have empirically tested Lambrecht's PSRR and concluded that due to the separation of reference and role, LD constructions facilitate recall of topic referents within the hearer's mind much better than other topic expressions.

234. A qualification is in order, as Lambrecht (ibid.:188) notes, "[s]ince the dislocated lexical topic constituent does not occupy an argument position in a clause, it is strictly speaking not with the lexical topic NP but with the anaphoric pronominal topic expression that the pragmatic aboutness relation between the referent and the proposition is expressed. It is therefore slightly inconsistent to call such a detached lexical constituent a 'topic NP'. Rather it is a 'topic-announcing' NP".

2.3.3.5 Jacobs' Four Dimensions of Topic-Comment

Jacobs (2001) argues, from a cognitive linguistic point of view that the variety of syntactic structures employed by languages to encode the topic-comment sentence articulation results *not* from a common semantic or pragmatic feature, but rather that they all sufficiently resemble prototypical examples of the topic-comment articulation (Jacobs, 2001:642). This prototypical resemblance is what justifies their membership within this topic-comment class.

Jacobs (ibid.:645-658) posits four salient semantic[235] attributes of prototypical examples of topic-comment:

1. *Information Separation: where there is explicit separation in the information-structure role of constituents X and Y. X is the topic and Y is the comment.*

2. *Predication: where X is the semantic subject and Y is the semantic predicate.*

3. *Addressation: where the comment Y is 'about' the topic X, Y is relevant to X regardless of grammatical or semantic relation.*

4. *Frame Setting: where X sets the frame for the interpretation of Y.[236]*

In light of these four prototypical features of topic-comment, we can construe these attributes, following Floor (2004), as giving rise to three particular topic types when grouped together in different combinations or configurations.[237]

2.3.3.6 Three Topic Types

In our framework, Jacobs' four prototypical features of topic-comment are combined to produce the following three topic categories or topic types. These three topic categories are adapted from Floor (2004:73-107).

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235. Jacobs (2001:675) notes that the term 'semantic' is used in a broad sense that covers all aspects of meaning conventionally associated with an expression including the semantic form of the expression i.e. the way the set of propositions conventionally linked with the expression is internally structured.
236. For an in-depth discussion of these categories, see (Jacobs, 2001:645-658).
237. Although Lambrecht (1994:147-150) mentions a number of sub-categories of topic, he fails to significantly develop these sub-types.

1. *Primary Topic: primary topics are defined as topics that have 1) informational separation, 2) predication as subjects, and 3) addressation, but not 4) frame-setting.*

2. *Secondary Topic: secondary topics are topics that have a component of 3) addressation but not one of 2) predication. There is informational separation in the sense that they are presupposed, but differently than that of primary topics. Secondary topics are an integral part of the comment portion (or focus structure), whereas none of the other three topic categories can be part of the focus structure. Secondary topics also prohibit 4) frame-setting.*

3. *Topic Frame: fronted or left-dislocated elements (which have the component of frame-setting) will be defined in terms of this separate topic category called 'topic frame'. Topic frames seem to "restrict the application of the proposition by the rest of the sentence to a certain domain" (Jacobs, 2001:656). Both fronted and left-dislocated constructions function as possible topic-frames.*

The following chart in Figure 4, adapted from Floor (ibid.:77), illustrates how Jacobs' four attributes combine within the three topic types:

Figure 4:

	Primary Topic	Secondary Topic	Topic Frame
Informational Separation	+	–	+
Predication	+	–	–
Addressation	+	+	+
Frame-Setting	–	–	+

2.3.3.6.1 Primary Topic

Primary topics possess informational separation, grammatical predication as grammatical subjects, and they are the address of the new information asserted by the comment (or focus structure). Primary topics usually recur in a sequence of clauses. In this way, they serve as clausal links and markers of cohesion within a discourse (ibid.:78).[238] Primary topics are discourse active and thus pronominal reference is usually sufficient. Floor (ibid.:79) provides six criteria for identifying prototypical primary topics in BH. For their heuristic value, we repeat them here in full:

1. *Primary topic is identifiable, that is, "it has to exist in the universe of that discourse", "independently of its role in a given proposition" (Van der Merwe, 1999a:293 and Lambrecht, 1994:336). The primary topic has either been made identifiable in the co-text, or its identity is known and assumed as known from the cognitive text-world.*

2. *A primary topic is a referent that has been made discourse active.*

3. *A primary topic often remains active, in other words, continues, through a span of discourse. It remains the topic of a sequence of sentences. It has at least some continuity after it has been activated as a topic, and it normally occurs in some syntactic subject or semantic agent chain. A primary topic is in a chain of at least one occurrence after being activated in some assertion or focus structure.*

4. *Subjects are not always primary topics. Sometimes subjects are part of an all-focus sentence, and sometimes the subject referent only appears once as a subject, and not again in the subsequent discourse. In such cases, the primary topic may be another presupposed/given referent in the sentence, most likely one that is discourse active and better still, referred to in the previous clause. In some focus structures, like argument focus, the subject is part of the presupposed information of a proposition, but it is not the topic.*

5. *A primary topic is the pragmatically most salient topic, if there is more than one topic in a proposition (for example a subject as well as an object about which the assertion is made) (Lambrecht, 1994:1541). The primary topic is pragmatically more salient than the*

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238. Floor (ibid.) also notes that primary topics serve as cognitive links, linking the primary topic referent with the mental 'text base' that is constructed as the discourse progresses.

secondary topic. It is the most important referent about which something is asserted. This saliency of the primary topic can be determined by both the pragmatics and the syntax of the proposition. In terms of the pragmatics, the primary topic is separate from the rest of the proposition, which enriches the primary topic with new assertions (Jacobs' separateness principle). Salience in terms of syntax can be determined by means of the topic accessibility scale: the more accessible and salient a topic is, the less it is expressed in the syntax. So a topic that is only referred to anaphorically by the verb prefix, for instance, is more salient than an object noun phrase.

6. *Primary topics are not always the semantic agent in transitive clauses. In passives, for example, the subject is the primary topic, as the undergoer of the predication. The aboutness relation is key. In passive clauses, the predicate communicates information about the subject, and the subject therefore is the topic.*

2.3.3.6.2 Secondary Topic

While secondary topics, like primary topics, are presupposed discourse-active topic referents, they are, however, cognitively less salient than primary topics and dependent on the primary topics in the proposition (ibid.:88). Unlike primary topics, secondary topic referents occur within the comment or focus structure of the proposition. Moreover, the secondary topic is not the primary address of the new information (ibid.). In light of the fact that secondary topics occur within the comment portion of the proposition, it could be argued that secondary topics are not topical entities in that the proposition is not primarily about the referent of the secondary topic. However, as Lambrecht (1994:147) argues, the primary topic and the secondary topic can be construed as being in relation to one another in that both are presupposed to be topics under discussion at the time the sentence is uttered. The purpose of an utterance possessing a primary and a secondary topic is to inform the addressee of the relation between the referents as arguments in the proposition (ibid.:148). "Thus a sentence containing two (or more)[239] topics, in addition to conveying information about the topic referents, conveys information about the relation that holds between them as arguments in the proposition" (ibid.). Moreover, Floor (2004:89) argues

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239. As Floor observes, "a sentence can have more than one secondary topic, in various combinations, with the most frequent combination that of indirect object and object, or object and then indirect object."

for the topichood of secondary topics by observing the the topical properties they possesses, viz.: activation, information enrichment (i.e. the asserted information adds something new to the knowledge of the secondary topic referent in the mind of the addressee), and importance (even primary participants) in a discourse. The following six criteria for identifying prototypical secondary topics in BH are adapted from Floor (ibid.:89-90).

1. *Secondary topics are always cognitively identifiable.*

2. *Secondary topics are always discourse active or accessible, which implies that they are always a part of the cognitively presupposed information.*

3. *Secondary topics are always part of the comment in topic-comment sentence articulations.*

4. *Secondary topics tend to be objects and indirect objects within the predication of transitive verbs.*

5. *Not all objects are secondary topics. The object must meet the above-mentioned requirements of being an identifiable, presupposed, and active referent as part of the comment or predicate focus structure of a topic-comment sentence.*

6. *Secondary topics must be accompanied by a primary topic. Without a primary topic in the clause, secondary topics are not possible. Secondary topics are always cognitively less salient than primary topics, even in constructions where they are pre-posed before the verb.*

2.3.3.6.3 Topic Frame

Lastly, the topic frame is a accessible topical element that functions to set the frame for another topic (normally the primary topic). The primary topic is then interpreted in terms of this framing topic (ibid.:95). Unlike spatio-temporal deictic orientation clauses which serve to establish the time or location from which the subsequent discourse should be interpreted (cf. example 2d in §2.3.3.1 above), topic frames, according to Floor (ibid.:95) are in a specific kind of relevance re-

lationship with the subsequent primary topic: either whole-part or general-specific.[240] For in-stance in example (3), the generic individual referential topic-frame (Philosophy), frames the

(3)   *"As for Philosophy, Descartes was very influential".*[241]

more specific primary topic (Descartes).[242] Topic frames are always accessible, newly active or re-activated information (ibid.:96). Moreover, the topic frame must be accompanied by a prima-ry topic for which the topic frame sets the frame.[243] As with primary and secondary topics, Floor (ibid.:96-97) provides the following heuristic tool for identifying prototypical topic frames in BH:

1. *There must be some marked noun phrase in a pre-verbal position, fronted or left-dislocated.*

2. *The fronted noun phrase must set a semantic frame for the primary topic, which is normally expected to be the subject of the verb.*

3. *The frame must be in some way accessible and topical. It cannot be a newly-asserted or newly-activated referent.*

4. *The topic frame normally precedes the primary topic in terms of word-order, but a topic frame can also precede a fronted constituent-focus[244] structure in some cases.*

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240. Floor (ibid.) provides a caveat, however, with this claim, stating that, "these two types of topic frames could be collapsed into one if no particular criteria can be identified to set them apart. So far I have not found any such criteria, but still keep them apart in the hope that further investigation will yield some criteria to distinguish the types."

241. In §2.4.1.1 below, this construction will be termed an 'unlinked topic construction'.

242. Within the linguistic literature this concept is often termed 'basis' and 'point of departure' by the prague school (Cf. Dooley & Levinsohn, 2001:68-70). Moreover it is also often termed 'theme' (Gomez-Gonzalez, 2001; Dik, 1989).

243. Floor (2004:99) observes that nominal phrases or LD constructions functioning as topic frames can also precede argument focus structures. Cf. Gen. 6.19 in this regard.

244. For 'constituent-focus' see §2.3.3.7.

2.3.3.7 A Brief Overview of Focus[245]

Not unlike the subject of Topic, the information-structure notion of Focus is employed to denote a wide array of concepts within the linguistic literature.[246] Lambrecht (1994:207 and 213) defines the pragmatic relation of focus in the following way:

> *"The focus of the proposition expressed by a sentence in a given utterance context, is seen as the element of information whereby the presupposition and the assertion DIFFER from each other... It is the UNPREDICTABLE or pragmatically NON-RECOVERABLE element in an utterance. The focus is what makes an utterance into an assertion.*
>
> Also: *FOCUS: The semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition."*

As was argued in §2.3.1.4, an assertion should be construed as a combination of two sets of propositions viz. a presupposed set and a non-presupposed set, whereby the non-presupposed proposition set is superimposed upon the presupposed one. What is asserted is a new pragmatic relation between referents. The focus should not be construed as identical to the assertion, but rather, "just as a topic is included in the presupposition without being identical to it, a focus is part of an assertion without coinciding with it" (ibid.:206).[247] This does not entail that within the focus domain that new referents are necessarily activated (however, often the focal referent is indeed newly activated), but, as Chafe (1994:119, 121) claims, the focus is a new assertion, or new idea, information that is 'newsworthy' or 'interesting'.[248] It is worth clarifying again that, focus,

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245. Since the discourse-pragmatic relation of focus is negligible for our analysis of LD constructions, we only offer a brief overview of the category.
246. The category denoted by the term focus originates in the pragmatic tradition, going back to the early Prague School. In addition to focus, the category has been termed 'rheme' by Firbas (1964, 1971) and Contreras (1976). Moreover, the concept has been defined as the new information of the sentence (Välimaa-Blum, 1988), the elements in the sentence that are contextually unbound (Rochemont, 1986), and what pushes the communication forward (Firbas, 1964), or as with Lambrecht (1994), it is the element whereby the presupposition and the assertion differ from one another. Callow (1975), draws a distinction between 'focus span' (i.e. items of thematic material which are of particular interest or significance) and 'focus emphasis' (i.e. the intensity between the speaker and hearer) and Givon (1990), links the concept of contrastiveness with focus.
247. Moreover, Lambrecht (ibid.) states that "[t]he focus of a sentence...is generally seen as an element of information which is ADDED TO, rather than superimposed on, the pragmatic presupposition".
248. As Floor (2004:116) observes, "this is a very important aspect of Lambrecht's theory, because within this framework he can account for contrastiveness or other asserting devices on presupposed active or accessible referents".

like topic, is a relational pragmatic category. Consequently, focus has to do with the conveying of information and not the attribution of the property 'new' to the denotata of individual sentence constituents (Lambrecht, 1994:209).[249] For example the exchange in example (4), adapted from Lambrecht (ibid.) illustrates this focus relation:

(4)   *Q: Where did you go yesterday?*

       A: I went to the CIRCUS.

The referent CIRCUS cannot alone be the focus, since by itself it is not informative. In other words, it is not that the referent CIRCUS (or its denotatum) is new that certifies the referent as in focus, but rather "its role as the second argument of the predicate 'go-to' in the pragmatically pre-supposed open proposition 'speaker went to x'" (ibid.:209-210). A pragmatic focus-relation exists between the denotatum CIRCUS and the proposition it is a part of.

Different languages mark the pragmatic relation of focus in a variety of ways: prosody, morpho-logical focus markers, and syntactic constructions. "The syntactic domain in a sentence which expresses the focus component of the pragmatically structured proposition" is termed the 'focus domain' by Lambrecht (ibid.:214). As with the sentence articulations for topic (Cf. §2.3.3.1), there exists three pragmatic articulations, or structures for focus, which are closely associated, and can even be said to mirror the three topic articulations:[250] 1) predicate-focus articulation, 2) constituent-focus articulation,[251] and 3) sentence-focus articulation.

The predicate-focus structure is parallel to the topic-comment sentence type and is defined by Lambrecht (ibid.:122) as an articulation "in which the predicate is in focus and in which the sub-ject (plus any other topical elements) is in the presupposition".

The constituent-focus structure is defined as "any sentence in which the focus is an argument (constituent, JRW) rather than the predicate or an entire proposition" (ibid.:224). Constituent-fo-cus articulations are parallel to identificational sentence articulations which serve to identify a

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249. As was argued in §2.3.2
250. Here we exclude Lambrecht's 'background-establishing' topic articulation as it has no focus counterpart.
251. Although Lambrecht uses the term 'argument-focus', a more accurate term is 'constituent-focus' since more than arguments can occur in this type of focus articulation. In other words, adjuncts as well as arguments can occur in Lambrecht's so-called 'argument-focus' articulation. Therefore, the term 'constituent-focus', which encompasses more than arguments is deemed more accurate and will, therefore, be employed here.

referent (ibid.:222). "'Constituent' is any non-predicating expression in a proposition, and it includes references of time, place and manner" (Floor, 2004:117). Subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, adverbial phrases, and prepositional phrases, are all examples of constituents that can be in focus (ibid.).

Sentence focus corresponds to the thetic sentence articulation "in which the focus extends over both the subject and the predicate (minus any topical non-subject elements)" (Lambrecht ,1994:222). Across languages, constructions with sentence focus tend to display the same surface level features as those with constituent focus (ibid.:307).[252]

2.3.4 Additional Pragmatic Operations

As the final section of our theoretical framework, we offer a brief description of two specific pragmatic operations that fall outside the scope of the information-structure of the clause or sentence. These two pragmatic operations are non-topical, but are nevertheless associated with topics; they are: contrastiveness and deictic orientations. In both cases, nominal, pronominal, and spatial-temporal adverbs interface with topics in specific ways from a pragmatic domain outside the scope of information-structure.

2.3.4.1 Contrastiveness

Within the linguistic literature, the notion of 'contrast' or 'contrastiveness' is typically associated with focus (cf. Givon, 1990; Dik, 1989; Gross, 1996; Dik and Hengeveld, 1997; and Gomez-Gonzalez, 2001).[253] As Lambrecht (1994.:291-296) observes, however, in addition to focus, topics too can be contrastive.[254] Following Vallduvi and Vilkuna (1998) Holmstedt (2000) and Floor (2004), we will argue that contrast, as a pragmatic operation, is best understood as a sepa-

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252. In Lambrecht (2001:620-21) it is observed that sentences focus primarily occurs in intransitive clauses, and transitive clauses with a pronominal object.
253. Moreover, in regards to Biblical Hebrew, Khan (1988), Rosenbaum (1997), Gross (2001), Shimasaki (2002), and Lunn (2006) also describe contrast as a notion associated only with focus.
254. The function of contrastive topics is very different than that of contrastive foci. For instance, "the notion of topic is incompatible with the idea of correction or contradiction associated with contrastive foci. Contradicting or correcting a statement entails negating it or some part of it. However,...topics are outside the scope of negation" (ibid.:291). In regards to topics being outside the scope of negation, cf. Lambrecht (1994:150-160) and Payne (1985:199ff).

rate optional pragmatic element which functions as an overlay for focus structures as well as topics, and even spatio-temporal deictic orientations.

In their 1998 article entitled *On Rheme and Kontrast,* Vallduvi and Vilkuna argue against the tendency to conflate the two interpretive notions of informational 'rhematicity'[255] and quantificational 'kontrast' under one term 'focus' (Vallduvi & Vilkuna, 1998:79). Often the operator-like properties of what Vallduvi and Vilkuna have termed 'kontrast' are explained away by pragmatists as a conversational implicature[256] or an epiphenomenon of rheme (ibid.:81). According to Vallduvi and Vilkuna, however, kontrast should be 'teased apart' from rhematicity (ibid.:80). The intentionally peculiar spelling of kontrast is meant to distinguish this particular concept as associated with 'narrow focus' and an "operator-like element, whose exact semantic import varies from author to author" (ibid.:81), (e.g. exhaustiveness operator,[257] contrastiveness operator, or an identification operator) from the multifarious uses of the term 'contrast' in semantics, syntax and phonology (ibid.). Kontrast signifies that a certain element associated with a constituent activates a certain membership set {membership set M=...a, b, ...}. The members of M must be comparable, and are thus subjected to ontological and contextual restrictions (ibid.:84). In addition, the notion of kontrast as defined by Vallduvi and Vilkuna is not exclusive to either focus or topic. Rather, for instance "[a] kontrast may indeed be coextensive with a sentential rheme, in which case, of course, a given expression is doubly 'focal' in the sense of being rhematic and kontrastive" (ibid.:85). Moreover, "[u]nless a distinction between kontrast and rheme is made, examples like (...) can be accounted for only if one allows for the possibility of having foci-within-foci" (ibid.). In contrast to this one dimensional approach, the proposal made by Vallduvi and Vilkuna is that the pragmatic notion of kontrast not be construed as an information-structure category, but as a separate pragmatic overlay for both focus structures and topic types. Put differently, kontrast is a separate pragmatic dimension outside of the scope of information-structure,

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255. The concept of 'rheme' is defined as the new information of a sentence that is asserted and not presupposed. This is similar to Lambrecht's notion of 'focus'. For Vallduvi and Vilkuna the notion of rheme belongs to the domain of 'information-packaging' (another term for information-structure introduced by Chafe, 1976) and possess 'information-packaging instructions'. According to Vallduvi and Vilkuna (1998:81) information-packaging instructions "consists of an element which corresponds to the actual update potential of the utterance - the rheme - and, optionally, of an element that spells out how the rheme is to be anchored to the input information state - the theme".
256. Lambrecht (1994:303) for instance understands contrast as a conversational implicature.
257. An exhaustiveness operator is an element that indicates exhaustive listing, where one and only one is indicated (ibid.:84).

but nevertheless interacting with the two fundamental information-structure categories viz. topic and focus, in specific ways.

Vallduvi and Vilkuna propose two specific kinds of kontrast elements which can function as an optional pragmatic overlay: identificational kontrast (e.g. "John paid for Sue (not for Mary)") and exhaustive kontrast (e.g. "Only Sam is playing tonight") (ibid.).[258] Additionally, the notion of 'comparing' could be added as a type of contrast (cf. Floor 2004:45).[259] In the present investigation, we will use the term 'contrast' with the standard spelling with the understanding that this term denotes the concept behind Vallduvi and Vilkuna's 'kontrast'.

2.3.4.2 Deictic Orientations

Deictic orientations serve to set the spatio-temporal framework within which topics operate. They are not of themselves topical, but pragmatic operations associated with the primary and secondary topics of the text.

Buth (1999) and Rosenbaum (1997) employ the term 'setting' for such spatio-temporal orientations, and Levinsohn (2000b) prefers the term 'point of departure'.[260] Heimerdinger (1999:122) argues that,

> *"Topical entities are the essential elements around which a story is constructed;*
> *the main topical participants belong to the goal of the discourse. Spatio-temporal*
> *settings do not have such a role and cannot be categorized in such a way."*

Heimerdinger prefers the term 'basis' which was first proposed by linguists from the Prague School (cf. Benes, 1962). Heimerdinger (1999:122) defines 'basis' as "the spatial or temporal framework set by a preverbal adverbial and within which the ensuing stretch of discourse holds". In other words, deictic orientations serve to establish the spatio-temporal framing information necessary for the accurate construction of the cognitive text-world[261] of the subsequent discourse unit.

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258. Examples adapted from Floor (2004:45).
259. The 'comparing' type is distinguished from contrast for clarity but "the relation between comparing and contrasting is not always clear" (ibid.).
260. It should be clarified that Levinsohn's 'point of departure' includes more than spatial-temporal orientations.
261. According to Werth (1999:51) "a 'text-world' is defined as a deictic space, defined initially by the discourse itself, and specifically by the deictic and referential elements in it."

2.4 A TYPOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF LEFT-DISLOCATION

The LD construction is a universal syntactic phenomenon. This is supported by Lambrecht (2001:1051) who states, "dislocation constructions, can be identified in most, if not all, languages of the world, independently of language type and genetic affiliation". By analyzing the form and functions of LD constructions in other languages, we can expect to gain insight into the form and functions of LD constructions in BH. Therefore, having presented our theoretical framework in §2.3, we now set out to establish a typological description of the form and functions of LD constructions across a variety of languages. From this description we hope to establish an empirical cross-linguistically informed hypothesis (see chapter 3) as to the form and function of left-dislocation constructions in BH.

2.4.1 The Form of Left-Dislocation

In this section the formal characteristics of the LD construction are described. These formal features are principally derived from the cross-linguistic analysis of LD constructions as presented in Lambrecht (2001). Before we present our formal description, however, a fundamental presupposition of our analysis must be specified.

In contrast to the understanding that LD constructions are the result of a movement rule, which moves the dislocated NP out of a corresponding non-dislocated structure (cf. Ross, 1967) we assume *a priori* a monostratal (i.e. non-transformational) syntactic framework.[262] In other words, the LD construction will not be analyzed as the result of a movement rule specifying the movement of a constituent from a base (canonical) to a derived (dislocated) position (Lambrecht ,2001:1051).[263] Thus the term 'dislocation' is employed for convenience only.[264]

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262. This is the position represented by Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG), Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG), Construction Grammar (CG), and Role and Reference Grammar (RRG).
263. Cf. Gundel (1974) who presents a cogent argument against that of Ross (1967). Also, Cf. Naudé (1990) who presents evidence in favor of the monostratal view by employing the Government-Binding Theory to LD constructions in BH (cf. §2.2.3.1).
264. As Lambrecht (2001:1051) observes, various terms for 'left-dislocation' have been used in the literature: 'Theme' (Dik, 1980; Moutaouakil, 1989), 'Topic' (Lambrecht, 1981; 1994), 'Link' (Vallduvi, 1992).

2.4.1.1 Formal Criteria for Left-Dislocation Constructions

LD constructions may be formally defined as sentence structures in which a referential constituent which could function as an argument or adjunct within a predicate-argument structure occurs instead outside and to the left of (or before)[265] the clause containing the predicate (ibid.:1050). Moreover, "the role of the denotatum of the dislocated constituent as an argument or adjunct of the predicate is represented within the clause by a pronominal element which is construed as coreferential with the dislocated phrase" (ibid.).[266] The basic structure of LD constructions can be represented by the following abstract representation: XP_i s[...pro_i...] (ibid.).[267] This representation is exhibited in the following examples adapted from Lambrecht (2001:1051) from French, English, German, Russian, Italian, and Turkish equivalents.

(5)   a. *[Les Romains]$_i$, ils$_i$ sont fous*.

        b. *[The Romans]$_i$, they$_i$ are crazy*.

        c. *[Die Römer]$_i$, die$_i$ spinnen*.

        d. *[Rimljane]$_i$, oni$_i$ s uma sošli.*

        e. *[I Romani]$_i$, son-o$_i$ pazz-i.*

        f. *[Romi-lar]$_i$, ø$_i$ deli.*

From this cross-linguistic sample, several observations can be made as to the form of the coreferential pronoun in LD constructions. It appears that the pronominal may be a bound atonic pronoun (5a), a free pronoun (5b-d), an inflectional suffix (5e)[268], *or* it may be null element as in the Turkish example (5f). That certain languages permit instances of LD with a null element in the pronominal position can be illustrated in spoken French. Example (6) is taken from Lambrecht (ibid.:1057). According to Lambrecht (ibid.), "[g]iven the well-formedness of (33b) (our 6b, JRW), (33a) (our 6a, JRW) can be analyzed as an instance of LD with an understood direct-object pronominal.

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265. In languages which are written left-to-right (e.g. Indo-European) LD constituents appear outside and to the left of the clause proper. In languages written right-to-left (e.g. Semitic), however, the LD constituent is more accurately described as appearing outside and *before* the clause proper.

266. Lambrecht (ibid.) adds that "[t]ypically, the dislocated phrase is marked with special prosodic features".

267. This simplistic structure will be elaborated upon at the end of §2.4.1.1, where a more complete representation will be presented.

268. It is beyond the scope of this investigation to enter into the theoretical debate as to the classification status of inflectional affixes as either purely syntactic agreement markers, or as anaphoric pronominals.

(6)   a. *[Les cacahuètes]ᵢ, jⱼ'aime bien øᵢ [moi]ⱼ.*

      'Peanuts, I like (them), me.'

    b. *J'aime bien ø*

      'I like them.'

    c. *[Les cacahuètes]ᵢ, [moi]ⱼ, jⱼ'aime bien øᵢ.*

      'Peanuts, me, I like (them).'

That this is indeed the correct analysis is demonstrated by (33c) (our 6c, JRW), in which the initial NP *les cacahuètes* is separated from the clause by another dislocated NP *(moi)*."[269] This evidence suggests that we amend our previously stated definition to include LD constructions without any overt resumptive pronoun. In other words, coreference is a sufficient, but not a necessary condition for LD constructions across languages.

Further evidence suggesting that coreference is not a necessary condition for grammatically well-formed LD constructions is demonstrated by what Lambrecht (1994:193) terms 'unlinked topic constructions'. An unlinked topic construction is one whereby an LD constituent has no semantic or syntactic relation to the predicate (Lambrecht, 2001:1058). Put differently, the LD topic NP is not anaphorically linked to an argument, whether overt or null, within the proposition about the topic (Lambrecht, 1994:193). Examples (7) from English and French, adapted from Lambrecht (2001:1058-59) illustrates the unlinked topic construction.

(7)   a. *[As for education], John prefers Bertrand Russell's ideas*

    b. *That isn't the typical family anymore. [The typical family today], the*
      husband and the wife both work.

    c. *[Napoléon]ᵢ, saᵢ campagne de 1813 est très contestée.*

      'Napoleon, his 1813 campaign is quite contested.'

It is evident from these three sample sentences that the link between the LD constituents, viz: *"As for education", "The typical family today",* and *"Napoléon",* and the following clause is one of pragmatic accessibility. In other words, the link "indicates a kind of relevance relation between the (LD, JRW) entity and the proposition" (Lambrecht, 2001:1058).[270] Moreover, unlinked topic

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269. LD with null-instantiated pronominals is found in V-final languages (e.g. Turkish & Japanese), as well as European languages such as Portuguese and French, as has been demonstrated (ibid.).

constituents must occur in pre-sentential position, i.e. as LD constituents. A further specification, however, can be made. Examples (7b) and (7c) represent two subtypes of the unlinked topic construction, viz.: frame and possessive. The semantic relation between the LD constituent in (7b) is that of a semantic frame relation, and in (7c) the possessive determiner of the subject (*sa*) stands in possessive relation to the topic (*Napoléon*). In the case of the later example, the possessive determiner serves as an anaphoric link to the LD topic constituent. Thus, unlinked topic constructions, while not always occurring without an anaphoric pronominal link, serve to evince that coreference is only a sufficient, not a necessary criteria for LD constructions.

Within languages which do permit/require coindexed pronominals for well-formed LD constructions, the coindexed pronominal may serve one of several various grammatical functions, viz.: subjects (most common) (cf. example (5)), objects (cf. examples 9b and 10b), oblique objects (cf. example (9) from French), and adjuncts (cf. example (10) from German) (ibid.:1054-1055). Examples (9) and (10) are adapted from Lambrecht (ibid.:1055).

(8)   *[La plage]$_i$, il faut **y**$_i$ aller quand il fait chaud.*
        'The beach, you gotta go there when it's warm.'

(9)   *[In Ostdeutschland]$_i$, da$_i$ ist ein Fünftel der Leute arbeitslos.*
        'In Eastern Germany, one fifth of the people are unemployed.'

While various languages employ different types of pronominals (i.e. depending on the pronominal system(s) of a certain language), languages also differ with respect to the types of constituents they permit in the LD position (ibid.:1061). According to Lambrecht, the most commonly found category is the noun phrase, with prepositional phrases and adverbial phrases occurring less frequently, and LD adjectival phrases occurring less often still (ibid.).[271] In addition, vocative phrases commonly occur in the LD position.[272] LD vocatives may be linked or unlinked to a pronominal argument and are often ambiguous between a vocative or a topic reading.

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270. The above described 'topic frame' (cf. §2.3.3.6) is a type of unlinked topic construction.
271. In English, for instance, "APs cannot be dislocated because English does not allow coindexation between adjectives and pronouns. Fronted APs in English are topicalized, not dislocated" (ibid.:1062) In French, however, where coindexation between adjectives and pronouns is permitted, the left-dislocation of an AP is a grammatical option. Even more uncommon, is the dislocation of verb-headed phrases (i.e. *"to speak French, everyone knows it's not easy"*), and non-maximal phrasal constituents (i.e. *"[De robe]i je mets laquellei?"*) (ibid.:1063-1064).
272. "By 'vocative phrase' we do not mean a morphological case form (although such a case for may occur) but a sentence constituent whose function is to call the attention of an addressee to a given proposition" (ibid.:1065).

(10)   *[John]*$_{ij}$*, he*$_j$ *hates you*$_i$*.*

Thus, in example (10) the LD proper noun (i.e. John) can be coindexed either with the second-person pro-noun (i.e. you), in which case the LD NP is construed as a vocative, or with the third-person pronoun (he), in which case it is construed as a topic (ibid.:1065).

Due to the optionality of the inter-clausal anaphoric pronominal, the most significant formal feature identifying LD constituents across languages is their status as extra-clausal constituents, i.e. "as constituents which do not partake in the semantic and syntactic dependency relations between predicates and their arguments" (ibid.). The status of extra-clausal constituents entails that their presence or absence is not a determining factor for the structural acceptability or ill-formedness of the sentence. Put differently, LD constituents are altogether nonsyntactic, and thus optional in regards to the predicate-argument structure of the clause (ibid.).[273]

The extra-clausal status of LD constituents is made apparent when LD constructions are compared with constructions involving a referential constituent in non-canonical initial position, or the so-called COMP (complementizer) or WH-position. By occupying this position, its syntactic and semantic role as compliment to the verb is preserved (ibid.:1052). Lambrecht (2001) refers to these sentence as instances of 'topicalization'. Examples (11) and (12) from Lambrecht (ibid.) demonstrate this difference. Example (11a) from English and (12b) from German are instances of 'topicalization', while (11b) and (12b) are examples of their LD counterparts.

(11)   a. *[This movie] I saw___ when I was a kid.*
        b. *[This movie]*$_i$*, I saw it*$_i$ *when I was a kid.*

(12)   a. *[Diesen Film] sah ich___, als ich ein Kind war.*
        b. *[Diesen Film]*$_i$*, den*$_i$ *sah ich als ich ein Kind war.*

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273. Lambrecht (ibid.) adds that, "this does not entail, of course, that their presence is optional... from a communicative point of view". Moreover possessing the status of 'optionality' does not entail that LD constituents qualify as sentence adjuncts. Adjuncts, like arguments or compliments "refer to a grammatical or semantic relation between a denotatum and a predication" (ibid.:1066). Furthermore, "adjuncts also may occur in various sentence positions and may possess either a focus or topic relation to a proposition" (ibid.). The term 'LD constituent', however, refers to a constituent in a specific syntactic position which indicates a pragmatic relation to the predication rather than a syntactic or semantic one (ibid.). Thus, the terms 'LD constituent' and 'adjunct' are mutually exclusive.

Within both (11a) and (12a) the NP in brackets represents the topicalized NP, while the 'gap' represents the position in which the NP would occupy in its canonical form. In languages which do not permit a null instantiation of definite direct objects (e.g. English or German), the significant difference between the two sentence types represented in (a-b) is reflected in the fact that within (11b) and (12b), the bracketed constituent can always be omitted without causing any structural ill-formedness (ibid.). This fact is further demonstrated by the ungrammaticality of topicalization sentences wherein the COMP position is filled by a WH-word, thus preventing the topicalized NP from functioning as the object of the verb, as demonstrated in examples (13) and (14) taken from Lambrecht (ibid.).

(13)   a. *[This movie], when I saw___ I was a kid.[274]
       b. [This movie]$_i$, when I saw it$_i$ I was a kid.

(14)   a. *[Diesen Film], als ich___ sah, war ich ein Kind
       b. [Dieser Film]$_i$, als ich den$_i$ sah, war ich ein Kind.

"The LD structures (13b & 14b, JRW), on the other hand, are grammatical because the object requirement of the verb is satisfied by the pronominal argument, the dislocated NP occurring in...(LD, JRW) position, which precedes the COMP slot" (ibid.).

Yet another clause-external indicator for LD constituents is their position relative to other sentential elements, viz.: discourse particles, focus elements, interrogative particles and negative particles. For instance, many languages (e.g. Caddo, Seneca, Catalan etc.) employ certain discourse particles that are clause external. Thus, any constituent occurring before such particles would by default also be extra-clausal. Example (15) is an illustration of this from Cado,

(15)   [sa$^{\jmath}$u$^{\jmath}$úš]$_i$ bah$^{\jmath}$na sinátti$^{\jmath}$ tučát$^{\jmath}$i.hahwah$_i$.
       'Mrs. Owl, they say, she spilled it.'

adapted from Chafe (1976:52). The presence of the discourse particle *bah$^{\jmath}$na* between the sentence-initial NP *sa$^{\jmath}$u$^{\jmath}$úš* and the rest of the clause indicates that *sa$^{\jmath}$u$^{\jmath}$úš* is extra-clausal.[275] Focus

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274.The * sign means grammatical inappropriateness.
275.Chafe (1976) refers to extra-clausal constituents, such as LD constituents, 'premature subjects'.

elements,[276] unlike discourse particles, are clause-internal elements, "[s]ince focal denotata are by definition communicatively indispensable elements of propositions and...propositions are expressed in clauses" (Lambrecht, 2001:1066). Therefore, it follows that an LD extra-clausal constituent may not follow a focus element in a sentence. This is verified by the ill-formedness of example (16b) as opposed to (16a) below from Lambrecht (ibid.).

(16) a. *[My friends]$_i$, FIFTY SIX HUNDRED DOLLARS they$_i$ raised.*
      b. **FIFTY SIX HUNDRED DOLLARS [my friends]$_i$ they$_i$ raised.*

This same constraint also holds for interrogative particles. As Lambrecht (ibid.:1067) states, "[s]ince what is being questioned is a proposition, expressed in a clause, and since dislocated elements are extra-clausal, a TOP (LD, JRW) element must precede a question particle. The Arabic example (17) from Lambrecht (ibid.) is an illustration of this phenomenon.

(17) a. *[Zaydun], ʾa najaha masru 'iji?*
         'Zayd, did his plan come off?'
   b. **ʾa [Zaydun] najaha masru 'uhu?*

Example (17b) is ill-formed because the LD constituent follows rather than precedes the interrogative particles (ibid.). Moreover, an analogous argument can be made in regards to negative particles since topics by definition are outside the scope of negation (cf. Lambrecht, 1994:153-155). Thus, we can affirm that clause-initial negative particles, along with discourse particles, focus elements, and interrogative particles, are typically expected to follow LD constituents (Lambrecht, 2001:1067).

In summary, our brief survey of the form of LD constructions across languages evince that the coreference relation between LD constituents and an inter-clausal anaphoric pronominal is an epiphenomenon rather than a criterial necessity. The coreference relation is one of pragmatic construal alone without any determining syntactic or semantic relation (ibid.). Thus, according to Lambrecht (ibid.), "[i]t follows that the coreference relation is always cancelable". This was demonstrated through languages which permit a null element in the pronominal position and with the so-called unlinked topic constructions. Furthermore the various types of pronominals and the various grammatical functions were surveyed, as well as the various types of constituents

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276.Cf. §2.3.3.7 above.

which may occur in the LD position. Lastly, it was demonstrated that the most significant criteria for LD constructions is the extra-clausal status of the LD constituent. In light of this description we may amend our preliminary abstract representation for LD constructions viz., XP_i s[...pro_i...], to the more accurate schematic representation in Figure 5 below.

Figure 5.
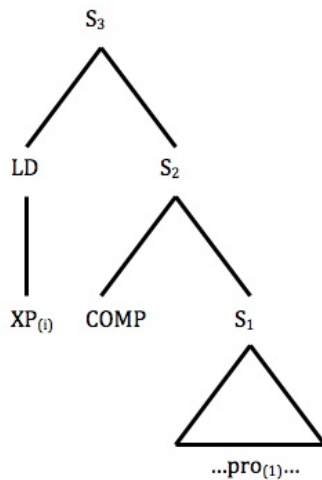
The obligatory clausal core is represented by S_1 which contains the (possibly null) coindexed pronominal and whose proposition expresses the focal information of the sentence. Moving up the tree, S_2 is the sentential unit consisting of the COMP slot[277] and S_1. S_3 is the overall sentential unit[278] consisting of the S_2 unit with the LD slot to the left.[279]

2.4.2 The Functions of Left-Dislocation

There is a general consensus among linguists that LD constructions are fundamentally topic marking constructions across languages.[280] As Lambrecht (ibid.:1072) argues, LD constructions are "grammatical constructions which serve to mark a constituent as denoting the topic with respect to which a given sentence expresses a relevant comment". Rather than positing that LD constructions are employed to serve a single discourse-pragmatic function across languages, in

277. The COMP slot may sometimes contain the focus instead of the S1, e.g. in argument focus articulations (cf. §2.3.3.7).
278. Ziv (1994) refers to S3 as a discourse unit rather than a sentential unit.
279. The subscript on the LD XP is in parentheses because of the occurrence of unlinked topics.
280. Cf. also Dik (1978), Gundel (1988), Lambrecht (1994), Ziv (1994) and Gregory and Michaelis (2001) in this regard.

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this section we will argue, along with Gregory and Michaelis (2001), that this topic establishing, or topic promoting function is the *superordinate* function of all LD constructions.[281] Since a superordiate function does not prohibit a construction from possessing multiple discrete subfunctions, we will argue that multiple discrete subfunctions are realized by LD constructions with a single more abstract superordinate function, viz. topic establishing, which serves to unify its different uses.[282] Before describing this superordinate function with its discrete subfunctions, it is crucial to survey the pragmatic appropriateness conditions for LD constructions across languages.

2.4.2.1 Pragmatic Appropriateness Conditions for LD Constructions

While LD constructions possess the same semantic structure and propositional content as their canonical counterparts (i.e. allosentences, cf. §2.3.1), they are subject to different appropriateness conditions. Put differently, LD constructions appear in different discourse environments than their canonical counterparts. This is because LD constructions are employed to accomplish specific discourse-pragmatic functions.

As was articulated in §2.3.3.3, an acceptable topic expression must at least be identifiable to the hearer. In other words, for an entity to be construable as a topic (as defined in §2.3.3.1) of a predication, the hearer must already possess a mental representation of the entity prior to the act of predication (Lambrecht 2001:1073). Thus, it follows that "[o]ne cannot assess the predication relative to a given topic unless one knows what the topic entity is" (ibid.). The consequences of this cognitive identifiability constraint in the semantic interpretation of topic expressions can be seen in languages lacking a grammatical category of definiteness such as the Japanese sentence in example (18) from Lambrecht (ibid.).

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281. This is contra to Prince's (1997:120) claim that "no single function can account for all of the LD data in English".
282. Gregory and Michaelis (2001:1675) aver, "[a] construction may have several specific, discrete functions while also having a single more abstract function which unifies its uses."

(18)   *Neko wa kingyo o ijitte.*

'The/*A cat is playing with the/a goldfish.'

In this example, the referent of the topic noun phrase (*Neko wa*) can only be construed as being uniquely identifiable by the hearer and thus definite, while the object NP (*kingyo o*) can be construed as either definite or indefinite (ibid.). It therefore follows that in languages with a grammatical category of definiteness, a LD constituent, as a part of a topic marking expression, should necessarily be definite (ibid.).[283]

A further pragmatic condition for the appropriate use of LD constructions across languages concerns the referent's potential for activation. For the appropriate use of the LD construction, the referent represented by the LD constituent must possess a certain degree of cognitive accessibility (i.e. potential for activation, Cf. §2.3.2.3). In Prince's (1992) terms, a topic referent must not only be "hearer-old", i.e. identifiable, but also "discourse-old", i.e. the referent must have been either linguistically, or extra-linguistically evoked in the prior context. Example (19) from Lambrecht illustrates this constraint.

(19)   a. *Hi John. Guess what. I saw your Sister last night.*

        b. *#Hi John. Guess what. Your sister, I saw her last night.*[284]

Assuming that the addressee's sister is not cognitively accessible from the discourse context, the use of an LD construction in (19b) is inappropriate (Lambrecht, 2001:1073).

2.4.2.2 The Superordinate Function of Left-Dislocation
Although Prince (1985, 1997, 1998) has cogently argued that LD constructions are not limited to a single discourse-pragmatic function, it is no contradiction to affirm that a superordinate function exists which unifies the multiple functions. We argue, following Gregory and Michaelis (2001), that the superordinate discourse-pragmatic function of LD constructions is that of 'topic-promotion'. By this we mean that LD constructions are grammatical devices employed to pro-

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283. An exception to this constraint are cases wherein the topic expression is capable of a generic interpretation (ibid.). According to Prince (1992:303), "some indefinite NPs represent Hearer-old entities. This is the case, for example, with generics... That is, if a speaker thinks the hearer knows the meaning of some noun, a minimal condition on its normal felicitous use, and if that noun denotes an entity type, then the speaker must assume that the hearer already knows that there is a class of such entity-types; therefore, generics are Hearer-old (i.e. Identifiable, JRW)".

284. The # sign indicates discourse-inappropriateness.

mote a referent on the Topic Acceptability Scale (cf. §2.3.3.3) from accessible to active status, from which point it may be coded as a preferred topic expression, i.e. an unaccented pronominal (Lambrecht, 1994:1083).

The results of a study conducted by Gregory and Michaelis (2001) from English conversational data from the Switchboard corpus indicates that LD constructions as topic promoting devices on average possess low anaphoricity and high topic-persistence. In other words, the denotata of LD constituents, in general, do not have discourse antecedents as measured by average anaphoricity scores, and tend to persevere in subsequent discourse, as measured by average topic-persistence scores (Gregory and Michaelis, 2001:1690-1700).[285] Thus, on average, the referent of the dislocated constituent is absent from the discourse context prior to the utterance with LD, and persists within the discourse after the utterance with LD. The property of low anaphoricity and high topic persistence for LD referents is evidence that LD is fundamentally a topic-establishing device.[286]

Moreover, Gregory and Michaelis (ibid.:1675) found that in spoken language, subject position is largely restricted to the coding of previously evoked, i.e. 'discourse old', referents.[287] "Clearly it makes sense to suppose that speakers employ syntactic strategies to avoid violation of the mapping constraint on subjects, but this same constraint could be invoked as the motivation for the use of the vast majority of all LD tokens..." Out of 187 instances of LD, Gregory and Michaelis found that in 167 the resumptive pronoun, corefering to the dislocated NP, has the grammatical function of subject. According to Gregory and Michaelis (ibid.) this finding suggests that the superordinate function of all LDs is to ensure that only discourse active-referents appear in the subject role. This conclusion fits well with Lambrecht's Principle of Separation of Reference and Role (cf. §2.3.3.4). "The LD sentence pattern allows introduction of the referent in an extraclausal position, with the result that what would otherwise be a discourse-new referent is readily

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285. This contrasts significantly with so-called 'topicalization' constructions. Gregory and Michaelis (2001:1690-1700) observe that, on average, topicalization constructions tend to have high anaphoricity and low-topic persistence, indicating that, unlike LD constructions, topicalization constructions are not employed to establish new topics in English.
286. According to Gregory and Michaelis (2001:1688), they say that "a referent has been promoted to topic status by the use of a particular sentence type when we have evidence that this referent is not in the discourse context at *t-1* and is in the discourse context at *t+1*, where *t* is the time at which the sentence type in question is used".
287. "In the Switchboard corpus, in particular 95% of subjects (as against only 34% of objects) are pronominal" (ibid.).

expressed as a pronoun, and thereby mapped to the subject role in a clause whose focus structure is the canonical topic-comment pattern" (ibid.) Therefore, an obvious reason for a speaker to employ an LD construction is precisely to place an otherwise unqualified referent in the grammatical role canonically reserved for topics (ibid.). While LD tokens with a resumptive element possessing the grammatical function of object or oblique do not prevent a suboptimal mapping between subject status and discourse status, there is nothing to prevent them from also fulfilling the role of topic-promotion (ibid.:1675-1676).

2.4.2.3 Prince's 'Subordinate' Functions of Left-Dislocation in English[288]
In her analysis of LD constructions in English, Prince (1997, 1998) associates three distinct functions with LD tokens:

1. *LD1 (simplifying discourse processing): These "serve to simplify the discourse processing of Discourse-new entities by removing them from a syntactic position disfavored for Discourse-new entities and creating a separate processing unit for them" (1997:124).*[289]

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288. The word 'Subordinate' is in quotes due to the fact that Prince does not view these three functions as subordinate to any superordinate function for LDs. However, Gregory and Michaelis (2001) have shown that indeed Prince's functions have in common a superordinate function.
289. By 'Discourse-new' Prince means any NP referring to a referent that has not been previously evoked in the discourse-stretch (Prince, 1992:303). According to Prince (ibid.), an entity's 'Discourse-status' is separate from the entity's 'Hearer-status', i.e. information, by which referents may be old/new with respect to the speaker's beliefs about the hearer's beliefs. Thus, discourse entities may be considered old/new with respect to the hearer, or they may be considered old/new with respect to the discourse. In this way, Discourse-status and Hearer-status is partially independent from each other in that Hearer-status tells us nothing of Discourse-status and Discourse-status tells us nothing of Hearer-status (ibid.:309). In contrast, however, the two sets of statuses are not completely independent in that if an entity is Discourse-old, it necessarily follows that the entity is also Hearer-old as well due to the fact that hearers are assumed to remember the referents we have told them about for the duration of the discourse. Likewise, the status Hearer-new entails the status Discourse-new, since if it were not the hearer would already know about it (ibid.). According to Prince (ibid.:304-308), a third category, however, is often employed by the interlocutors. Discourse entities may be 'inferable', that is, they "are technically Hearer-new and Discourse-new but depend upon beliefs assumed to be Hearer-old, and where these beliefs crucially involve some trigger entity, which is itself Discourse-old, and where they themselves are being treated as though they were Hearer-old and possibly also Discourse-old" (ibid.). Therefore, with respect to the label 'Discourse-new' for the referents of LD constituents, we argue that they are inferable, i.e. extra-linguistically evoked, and thus treated as though they are Hearer-old and Discourse-old. In this way, both explicitly evoked elements (i.e. Prince's Discourse-old) and inferable elements (Prince's Discourse-new) behave as a single class of Discourse-old elements (cf. Birner and Ward, 1998:178). As Gregory and Michaelis (2001:1681) aver, "clearly, even when the denotatum of the preclausal NP is new to the discourse (i.e. Discourse-new), it is related to the discourse context in some respect and will have a discourse status".

2. *LD2 (triggering a [po]set inference): These "trigger an inference on the part of the hearer that the entity represented by the initial NP stands in a salient 'partially ordered set relation'* (quotations mine) *to some entity or entities already evoked in the discourse model" (ibid.:126).*

3. *LD3 (amnestying an island violation): These are considered instances of "topicalization in disguise" wherein the resumptive pronoun occurs "because the extraction site is one from which it is difficult or impossible to extract" (Prince, 1998:291).*

With regards to LD1, inactive topic referents with some potential for activation (i.e. accessibility) and consequently the inability to be coded as preferred topic expressions, appear as LD lexical noun phrases located outside the clauses which expresses the propositional information about them (ibid.:186). Since the subject position, as the grammatical expression of the topic role, is a dispreferred position for inactive referents (cf. the PSRR §2.3.3.4)[290], the LD1 serves to simplify the processing of the new topic[291] by removing the inactive referent from a dispreferred position viz., the subject position.[292] Example (20) from Prince (1997:121) exemplifies this function.

(20)   *'It's supposed to be such a great deal. The guy$_i$, when he came over and asked if I wanted a route, he$_i$ made it sound so great. Seven dollars a week for hardly any work. And then you find out the guy told you a bunch of lies.'*

The dislocation of the inactive NP *the guy* prevents the referent from occupying the subject position, after which the now active topic referent easily occupies the subject position as a pronominal within the clause proper.

The LD2 function marks the denotatum of the LD constituent as contrasting with an inferentially related element in the discourse. The LD referent is a part of a 'partially ordered set relation' (*poset* relation) which can mark various types of relationships between the denotatum of the preclausal NP and previously evoked referents, viz: *is-a-member-of, is-part-of, is-a-subtype-of, is-*

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290. Cf. Chafe's (1987, 1994) 'Light Subject' constraint, and Du Bois' (1987) 'Given A' constraint.
291. The term 'new topic' requires explanation. Since topic expressions cannot have brand-new referents, this term does not designate a 'topic expression with a new referent' but rather the 'new coding of an accessible referent' i.e. a referent with a potential for activation (Lambrecht, 1994:353).
292. The object position is the prototypical position for discourse-new entities (Gregory and Michaelis, 2001:1672).

an-attribute-of, and *is-equal-to* (Gregory and Michaelis, 2001:1672).[293]   The LD2 function is demonstrated in example (21) from Prince (1997:125).

(21)   *'"My father loves crispy rice", says Samboon, "so we must have it on the*
           menu. And Mee Grob$_i$, too, he loves it$_i$, just as much". Mee Grob
           ($4.95) is a rice noodle [...]'.

The LD1 function cannot be ascribed to example (21) because the coreferential pronoun is in object position. Rather, *Mee Grob* is a member of a *poset* relation of the set of items on the menu, and the use of the LD construction marks it as belonging to this set (Gregory and Michaelis, 2001:1672).

Lastly, the LD3 function serves to preempt violations of certain structural constraints on long-distance dependencies. According to Prince (1998:291), LD3s are actually instances of Topicalization in disguise. She writes, "some Left-Dislocations are in fact Topicalizations where extraction site is difficult or impossible for reasons having to do with grammatical processing and where the speakers salvage the situation by leaving a resumptive pronoun *in situ*, much as in the case of certain resumptive pronoun relative clauses in English" (ibid.:295). Consider example (22) taken from Prince (1997:133).

(22)   *GC: You bought Anttila?*
        EP: No, this is Alice Freed's copy.
        GC: My copy of Anttila$_i$ I don't know who has it$_i$.
                *? My copy of Anttila$_i$ I don't know who has [e]$_i$.

Since the extraction site of the fronted (i.e. topicalized) NP is located within a relative clause, a gap is impossible and therefore topicalization is impossible. Prince (1998:296) writes, "we cannot know in any specific case that the writers in fact intended to produce a Topicalization; at the same time, we must acknowledge that such situations must arise where a Topicalization is warranted on discourse grounds but is difficult or impossible on grammatical grounds and where a resumptive pronoun occurs in the extraction site, giving the illusion of Left-Dislocation".[294]

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293. See Ward (1988), Ward and Prince (1991) and Birner and Ward (1998) for further details concerning *poset* relations.
294. Cf. Holmstedt (2000) (§2.2.3.2) who argues that LD3 occurs in BH (Num. 23.3; Jer. 22.15).

2.4.2.4 A More Nuanced Difference Between LD1 and LD2 in English

Gregory and Michaelis (2001:1681) argue that the presence or absence of *poset* relations is an insufficient determiner for the difference between LD1 and LD2 in English. "[I]f LD1 and LD2 are distinguished by a presence or absence of a poset relation, a circularity arises: LD1 and LD2 will always be distinct in this regard" (ibid.). In order to provide more empirically verifiable evidence towards the distinction between LD1 and LD2, Gregory and Michaelis employed two measures of the retrospective discourse status of the LD denotatum: 'givenness'[295] and 'anaphoricity'[296]. By employing the anaphoricity measure it can be determined whether or not the referent is part of an anaphoric chain of a particular type. While employing the givenness measure provides an index as to what the speaker assumes is already present in the consciousness of the hearer at the time of the utterance (ibid.). These two coding schemes serve as an instrument which Gregory and Michaelis employ to tease apart two properties which jointly define discourse status but which are not mutually entailing (ibid.). "While an entity which is anaphoric is also necessarily highly active or 'given', an active entity need not be anaphoric, since deictic and anaphoric reference are distinct" (ibid.).

The results of Gregory and Michaelis' findings indicate that there are indeed two distinct subfunctions of LD in English, viz., LD1 and LD2. A significant difference exists in the average anaphoricity scores. None of the denotata of the LD NPs in LD1 had an anaphoric relation to the preceding discourse, while 62% of the denotata of the LD NPs in LD2 are anaphorically related to the preceding discourse (ibid.:1690). Moreover, LD1 and and LD2 differ significantly in regards to their average givenness statuses, with NPs of LD1 tokens possessing lower givenness statuses - corresponding to less accessible referents - than LD2 tokens. In other words, instances of LD2, on average are far more accessible than the referents of LD1 as measured both by their morphosyntactic realizations and their characteristic relationships to the prior discourse (ibid.:1691). Furthermore, LD1 and LD2 also differ substantially in regards to their average topic-persistence ratings, with LD2 persisting as topics far more often than that of LD1 (ibid.:1692).

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295. Gregory and Michaelis employ Gundel's et al. (1993) 'Givenness Hierarchy' in this regard.
296. According to Gregory and Michaelis (2001:1687) 'anaphoricity' is "an index of the degree to which a referent can be said to have a discourse antecedent".

Gregory and Michaelis (ibid.:1692-1693) argue that the difference in topic-persistence between LD1 and LD2 is attributable to their distinct patterns of anaphoricity. If 62% of the denotata of LD NPs in LD2 have been previously mentioned, or are members of an evoked set (*poset*), it follows that LD2 is frequently employed when the LD referent is already part of an anaphoric chain (ibid.). Moreover, according to Prince's definition for LD1, the LD NP of LD1 is never part of an anaphoric chain.[297] Therefore, according to Gregory and Michaelis there is a distinct difference between LD1 and LD2. LD1 tokens are predications about less anaphoric and less accessible referents which do not persist as topics as much as LD2. LD2 tokens, on the other hand, are predications about more anaphoric and more accessible referents which persist as topic more often than LD1 (ibid.:1693).

A clarification, however, is in order. Although LD1 and LD2 differ in regards to their average anaphoricity, givenness, and topic-persistence ratings - with LD2 possessing higher anaphoricity, givenness and topic-persistence ratings than LD1 - *all* cases of LD, on average, were not arguments in predications prior to the target utterance (corresponding to both low anaphoricity and low givenness) and will be arguments in predications subsequent to the target utterance (corresponding to high topic persistence). In other words, both LD1 and LD2 meet the criteria for the superordinate function of all LDs, viz., topic-promotion (cf. §2.4.2.2). This is confirmed by Gregory and Michaelis (ibid.:1693-1696) who compared the average anaphoricity, givenness and topic-persistence scores of all LDs to those of so-called topicalization (TOP) constructions; a sentence type that is presumed not to introduce or mark new topical referents in Englsh. Their results revealed that, on average, denotata of fronted NPs in TOP constructions tend to have discourse antecedents (i.e. are more anaphoric), are more accessible (i.e. are more given), and tend to *not* persist as topics, in stark contrast to the denotata of preclausal NPs in all LD constructions.[298]

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297. According to Givon's (1984:906) 'quantitative measure of topicality' one can predict whether a referent will continue as a topic in the subsequent discourse by measuring the distance from the last mention, determining whether the referent is an argument in the predication in the preceding clause, and counting the number of potential alternative candidates for topic status.

298. With regard to topic-persistence, Gregory and Michaelis (ibid.:1695) write, "[a]lthough we saw a significant difference between the topic-persistence scores for LD1 and LD2 (LD2s earn significanlty higher topic-persistence scores), when the topic-persistence scores of TOP are compared to those of LD1 and LD2 separately, the differences in topic persistence are still significant. Thus, the denotata of the preclausal NPs of LD1 are more likely to persist as topics than those of TOP".

2.4.3 Genre, Register and Left-Dislocation

Lastly, we must make brief mention of two separate but related factors which influence the frequency with which LD constructions occur: Genre and Register. According to Geluykens (1992:99), the frequency of LD use is dependent upon genre, with spoken English conversations evincing the greatest use of LD, and written English only showing LD usage within pseudo-conversations. With regards to register, Givon (1979:229), asserts that unplanned discourse tends to "show more topicalized (Left-Dislocated, JRW), constructions, [which], are almost entirely absent in the formal planned register". Lambrecht (1994:182) concurs with this analysis averring that, "detachment constructions are inappropriate in formal registers".[299]

2.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have attempted to establish that although significant efforts have been undertaken, both in distant and recent past, to provide a nuanced description of the form and function(s) of LD constructions in BH, a more comprehensive profile is, nevertheless, still lacking. We have argued that this has been due, in part, to the inadequacy of the particular framework (or lack thereof!) employed. Therefore, it was proposed that a more sophisticated, cognitive-oriented discourse-pragmatic approach is called for in order to further elucidate the form and functions of LD constructions in BH. Such a proposal was presented followed by a typological profile of the form and function of LD constructions across-languages. Together with the discourse-pragmatic framework and the cross-linguistic representation, we are now prepared to venture a hypothesis into the form and function of LD in BH.

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299. In contrast, Gregory and Michaelis (2001:1679) found that "topicalization constructions occur far more frequently in written English than in spontaneous spoken English."

Chapter 3

HYPOTHESIS AND PARAMETERS FOR INVESTIGATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this brief chapter we outline the specific formal criteria employed for distinguishing LD constructions in BH and in turn for selecting our database (§3.2). Subsequently, we offer a syntactic organization of our data-set (§3.3), followed by a description of the methodology used in analyzing the data (§3.4). Next, we offer some brief comments on the notion of identifiability in Biblical Hebrew. This is followed by our hypothesis for the prototypical discourse-pragmatic functions of LD in BH (§3.5). Finally, we hypothesize that in addition to specific discourse-pragmatic functions, LD constructions in BH are also employed to accomplish additional operations on a different pragmatic level (§3.6).

3.2 FORMAL CRITERIA FOR DISTINGUISHING LEFT-DISLOCATION IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

It was typologically demonstrated in §2.4.1.1 that the form of LD constructions varies across languages. For example, it was shown that the presence of a resumptive element within the clause proper is not a necessary criteria for LD status. Consequently, it was argued that the most salient criteria for formally distinguishing LD constructions is the extra-clausal status of the LD constituent. Taking the cross-linguistic description in §2.4.1.1 as our point-of-departure, we offer four distinct syntactic criteria, adapted from Floor (2004:84), for distinguishing LD constructions in BH:

1. *The constituent must be pre-positioned before the verb, and occur clause-initially*.

2. *There must be some syntactic separation from the clause proper, either by means of some conjunction or a particle.*

3. *If there is no such syntactic separation, the nominal is still left-dislocated if it has a recursive element in the syntactic clause proper that is more explicit than only the subject verb affix. In other words, a full pronoun as subject, object, or indirect object, in addition to other anaphoric lexical elements, all qualify as recursive elements for a left-dislocated constituent.*

4. *The detached constituent can be preceded by a conjunction.*

This strict syntactic criteria serves as the standard by which the database for the present investigation is constructed.

3.3 THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE DATABASE

Our database consists of one hundred cases of LD drawn from the narrative portion of the Hebrew Bible spanning from Genesis-II Chronicles.[300] The cases comprising our data-set were principally selected from the extensive database composed by Gross (1987). In selecting our data-set we were careful to gather samples of LD from a variety of books with the aim of examining instances of LD within differing narrative contexts. Additionally, we also aimed for our data-set to reflect a sample of each of the four primary syntactic types of LD in BH. Specifically, the data-set is formally organized as follows:

1. *LD construction with a resumptive pronominal in the clause proper.*

2. *LD constituents separated from the clause proper by a conjunction waw or a wayyiqtol.*

3. *LD constructions separated from the clause proper by כי.*

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300. Due to the inherent limitations (i.e. this study is conducted under the guidelines and parameters required for an investigation at the Master's level) of this exploratory investigation, only one hundred instances of LD were sampled. This amount was chosen as it was believed that one hundred cases would be sufficient to allow for a cross-selection of the typical syntactic types of LD in BH and would provide enough data to discern any overt functional patterns, while permitting us to remain within the parameters required for this project.

4. *LD construction separated from the clause proper by an interrogative particle.*

The LD constituents within each of the four syntactic categories occur as grammatical subjects and objects. In addition to noun phrases, the LD constituents occur as prepositional phrases and adverbials.

Additionally, due to the limited scope of the data-set, we included only the more formally proto-typical cases of LD within BH narrative texts. Therefore, more peripheral cases of LD were avoided in an effort to first ascertain the discourse-pragmatic functions of the more prototypical cases. For example, instances of LD wherein the LD constituent was headed by a focus particle, discourses particle or temporal adjunct (e.g. ויהי) were excluded from our investigation. Further-more, instances involving any major text-critical issues within the LD portion of the sentence were discarded and replaced with less contested examples.

3.4 METHODOLOGY

In order to ascertain a more nuanced profile of LD in BH, we set out to analyze six specific as-pects of LD constructions in BH narrative:

1. *Activation States: In which specific activation state (i.e. active, semi-active, inactive) was the dislocated constituent at the point where the LD construc-tion occurred.*

2. *Potential for Activation: If the LD constituent was semi-active at the point where the LD construction occurred, what was its specific potential for acti-vation (i.e. textually accessible, situationally accessible, or inferentially accessible)?*

3. *Topic Type: What was the specific topic type of the LD constituent (i.e. Prima-ry Topic or Secondary Topic)?*

4. *Topic Persistence: Once the LD construction has occurred, does the referent of the LD constituent persist as a topical referent in the succeeding dis-*

course? Moreover, is there a correlation between the topic persistence (or lack-thereof) and the specific topic type which was dislocated?

5. *Poset Relation: Is there a discernible difference in function between referents of LD constituents which occur in a POSET relation (i.e. Partially Ordered Set Relation - LD2) and those that do not (LD1)?*

6. *Contrast: Is there a discernible pattern with regards to the pragmatic overlay of contrast within LD constructions.*

3.5 A NOTE ON 'IDENTIFIABILITY' IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

The notion of 'identifiability' was discussed in §2.3.2.2 where it was defined as a speaker's (writer's) assessment of whether a discourse representation of a referent is already stored in the hearer's mind or not (Lambrecht, 1994:76). In regards to identifiably and BH, it is important to know that ancient BH narratives recount the lives of famous and infamous men and women of Israel's past, in addition to famous locations and artifacts of Israel's heritage. These figures, places and artifacts are often assumed by the writers to be identifiable due to the universe of discourse shared by the writer and reader, or that there existed only one notable referent which could be denoted by these NPs, i.e. Abraham, Moses, David etc. The reader is assumed to know these unique referents and therefore they need not be identified every time they appear in a new story. Rather, they are considered inactive referents stored in the long-term memory of the reader (cf. Heimerdinger 1999:133-134).

3.6 A HYPOTHESIS OF THE DISCOURSE-PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF LEFT-DISLOCATION IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

The following hypothesis is divided into two parts. The first part of our hypothesis concerns the prototypical discourse-pragmatic functions of LD in BH, while the second part hypothesizes that LD constructions are employed to accomplish additional pragmatic operations.

3.6.1 Functions of Left-Dislocation

It is hypothesized that the prototypical superordinate function of LD in BH is that of topic-promotion of an identifiable but inactive discourse referent. The LD construction facilitates the topic-promotion of a previously inactive discourse referent by assisting the reader in the cognitive processing of a proposition which is about a newly (re)activated topic referent. Put differently, the LD construction eases the processing effort by separating two otherwise competing cognitive tasks viz. the assessment of the newly activated topic referent (reference), and the interpretation of the proposition within which the topic is an argument (role) (cf. the PSRR in § 2.3.3.4). The function of topic-promotion is further specified by the two following sub-functions:

1. *The (re)activation of primary topics.*

2. *The (re)activation of secondary topics.*

Moreover, in relation to these two sub-functions, it is hypothesized that LD complex NPs serve one of two primary functions: 1) to aid the reader in the identification of the intended discourse referent within the discourse register, and 2) to activate, or specify a particular conceptual profile which is a part of a larger conceptual domain.[301] Furthermore, since the preferred primary topic expression is a pronominal (cf. §2.3.3.4) it is surmised that the subject position within the clause proper is a cognitively disadvantageous position for complex extended NPs. Therefore, the dislocation of extended NPs, which would otherwise occur as the grammatical subject within the clause proper, can be attributed a cognitive-processing function as well.

3.6.2 Additional Pragmatic Operations

In addition to discourse-pragmatic functions, it is further hypothesized that LD in BH serves to accomplish two pragmatic operations:

1. *Spatio-Temporal Deictic Orientations*

2. *Contrastiveness*

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301. Here we have in mind Langacker's (1987) distinction between a 'concept profile', which refers to the concept symbolized by the word (or phrase) in question, and the 'domain', which is the larger knowledge or conceptual structure that is presupposed by the profiled concept. Langacker demonstrates this distinction with the illustration of a 'circle' (domain) and a 'radius' (profile).

Each of these two operations is understood as functioning at a different pragmatic dimension than that of the information-structure of the clause. These two additional operations, however, differ from each other in specific ways. While spatio-tempora deictic orientations serve to provide the framing information necessary for constructing a cognitive text-world, contrastiveness, may serve as a pragmatic overlay for focus structures, each of the topic types, or even spatio-temporal deictic orientations.

Chapter 4

LEFT-DISLOCATION IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

4.1 INTRODUCTION

We are now prepared to present the results of our investigation by demonstrating the two discourse-pragmatic functions of LD in BH listed in §3.5. The examples in §4.2 are from our data-set of one hundred cases of LD of various syntactic types taken from the narrative portion of the Hebrew Bible spanning from Genesis-II Kings. In §4.3 we will take up the issue of deictic orientations marked by LD constructions in BH, which is followed by a brief discussion of some further observations gleaned from our investigation (§4.4). Lastly, we will suggest several areas in need of further research (§4.5).

4.2 DISCOURSE-PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF LEFT-DISLOCATION

In §3.6 it was hypothesized that LD in BH serves two prototypical discourse-pragmatic functions: (re)activation of a primary topic, and (re)activation of a secondary topic. In this section we will attempt to demonstrate these two functions with prototypical examples drawn from our data-set. Additionally, the various formal types of LD represented in our data-set (cf. §3.3) are also reflected in our examples. Although no strict overt pattern emerged through our investigation as to the form-to-function mappings of LD in BH, instances where a correlation presented itself are duly noted.[302]

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302. It is surmised that a more in-depth investigation from a larger data-set would yield more tangible results as to the form-to-function mappings of LD in BH (cf. §4.5.1).

4.2.1 (Re)Activation of Primary Topic[303]

Well over half of our data-set of LD constructions (62%) were categorized as serving to (re)activate primary topics. In other words, the LD construction is commonly employed to promote identifiable but inactive[304] referents to active status as primary topics. Genesis 3.12 illustrates this function:

(23) Genesis 3.12[305]

וַיֹּאמֶר הָאָדָם ;הָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה עִמָּדִי ;הִוא
נָתְנָה־לִּי מִן־הָעֵץ וָאֹכֵל:

The man said, *"The woman whom you gave to be with me*ᵢ, sheᵢ gave me fruit of the tree, and I ate."[306]

Within the discourse of Genesis 3, the discourse referent "*the woman*" is discourse active as a primary topic within vv.1-8 and then undergoes a process of 'decay' (i.e. deactivation) in v.9 as the conversation between Yahweh and Adam takes center stage. The referent, however, is reactivated as the primary topic in v.12 via LD as the answer to Yahweh's interrogation concerning Adams misdeeds. Moreover, the LD constituent is modified by a relative clause. In this instance the relative clause most likely does not serve to aid in the identification of the dislocated referent since the referent possesses a high degree of accessibility due to its previous mention in the discourse (i.e. textually accessible). Rather, the relative clause serves to specify a particular conceptual profile which is a part of a larger conceptual domain, i.e. "the woman (domain), who you created to be with me (profile)", which is meant to imply Yahweh's culpability in Adam's actions. The fronted resumptive pronoun within the clause proper yields a constituent focus struc-

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303. The parentheses in '(Re)Activation' are meant to reflect the particularity that some referents denoted by LD constituents cannot be said to be 'reactivated' since they have never before been activated. We specifically have in mind those instances wherein a referent has not been mentioned before in the preceding discourse but yet is identifiable and accessible via inference or the text-external world (cf. example (24) below). Such a referent is said to be 'activated' but not 'reactivated'.

304. Most of the time, however, the inactive referent is accessible. That is, the referent has some potential for activation via inference or the text-external situation.

305. We have distinguished the dislocated portion by a grey shading within the Hebrew portion, and by italics within the English portion. Moreover, where there occurs a resumptive element within the clause proper we have marked both the dislocated constituent and the resumptive element with a subscripted [i]. Cases where the resumpitve element occurs as a suffix, we have placed the subscripted [i] before the word on which the suffix occurs.

306. All English translations are from the English Standard Version (2006) unless otherwise specified.

ture.[307] In other words the presupposed open proposition "X gave it to me"[308] has been overlaid (or superimposed[309]) by the non-presupposed proposition with the identity of X supplied by the third person resumptive pronominal (i.e. the focus domain) constituting the assertion "*she* gave it to me".[310]

Another example of LD functioning to (re)activate a primary topic is found in Genesis 15.4:

(24)   Genesis 15.4

וְהִנֵּ֨ה דְבַר־יְהוָ֤ה אֵלָיו֙ לֵאמֹ֔ר
לֹ֥א יִֽירָשְׁךָ֖ זֶ֑ה כִּי־אִם֙ אֲשֶׁ֣ר יֵצֵ֣א מִמֵּעֶ֔יךָi
הֽוּא יִֽירָשֶֽׁךָ׃i

And behold, the word of the LORD came to him: "This man shall not be your heir; *your very own son*i, hei shall be your heir."[311]

Unlike the previous example, the referent of the LD constituent *"your very own son"* (lit. *"the one who will come from your body"*) in v.4 has not occurred within the previous discourse. In other words, the referent is not textually accessible in any way. However, as was observed in §2.3.2.3, a referent can become accessible, or rather, come to possess a potential for activation, in ways other than having appeared in the previous discourse. One such way is via inference from a cognitive-semantic frame, or in Chafe's (1987:29) terms 'schema' (cf. §2.3.2.3).[312] In

307. Lambrecht (1994:236-237; 2001:614-615) briefly introduces a concept he refers to as the 'blending' of focus structures. It is possible that LD constructions with a fronted resumptive element constituting a constituent-focus structure could be further explained by such a notion. This is, however an area in need of further research.

308. The open proposition is presupposed due to pragmatic accommodation (cf. §2.3.1.5). In other words, presumably in an effort to deflect his own culpability in the sin, Adam resists answering the direct question asked by Yawheh in v.11, opting instead to answer another question, not asked, viz. "who gave it to you" consisting of the presupposed open proposition "X gave it to you", to which Adam supplies the assertion "*she* gave it to me". A further possibility, is that the fronted resumptive pronoun is in focus in order to 'confirm the identity' of the referent restricting the identity to a particular referent, e.g. *"she and no one else!"*.

309. The reader is reminded that although the properties of presupposition and assertion occur together within the same sentence, they must not be construed as properties of individual sentence constituents. Rather, "to make an assertion is to establish a relation between a presupposed set of propositions and non-presupposed propositions, the latter being in some sense added to, or *superimposed* on the former. The assertion is therefore not to be seen as the utterance 'minus the presupposition' but rather as a combination of two sets of propositions. ....[I]t is important to understand that the superimposition of the asserted proposition on the set of presupposed propositions often occurs in such a way that the two cannot be lexically factored out and identified with specific sentence constituents" (Lambrecht, 1994:57-58) (cf. §2.3.1.4).

310. LD constructions within our database that reflect this syntactic structure whereby an LD consttuent is coindexed with a fronted pronominal as grammatical subject and additionally functions to (re)activate a primary topic are as follows: Gen. 4.22; 19.38; 24.7; 44.17; Lev. 22.11; Num. 5.31; 35.19; Deut. 1.30; 36; 38; 39; 30.8; Judg. 18.30; Josh. 22.22; 23; 23.5; 1 Sam. 17.37; 1 Kgs. 8.19; 1 Chron. 11.20; 28.6; 29.16.

311. Translation mine.

312. It should be noted that in our analysis that we depart from Chafe (1987, 1994) and Lambrecht (1994) in

Gen. 15.4, the referent of the LD constituent is made accessible within the reader's mental representation via inference made possible by the 'offspring/inheritance' schema evoked in v.2-3.[313] Therefore, the referent denoted by the LD constituent is made identifiable and accessible via inference from a cognitive schema and can therefore be activated as a primary topic by way of LD.

Furthermore, not unlike example (23), in Gen. 15.4 the coindexed resumptive pronoun is in a marked position, viz. fronted before the verb of the clause proper. The clause proper represents the assertion "*your very own son* shall be your heir" where the presupposed open proposition "X shall be your heir" is overlaid by the non-presupposed proposition which supplies the identification of X with the referent denoted by the third person resumptive pronominal (i.e. the focus domain). In other words, the information-structure of the clause proper reflects a constituent-focus structure with the focus domain consisting of the fronted third person pronominal.

A contrastive element overlays this structure as well. The LD construction with a fronted resumptive pronoun within the clause proper possesses an identificational contrastive overlay. This contrastive overlay instructs the addressee to establish a semantically related membership set which is contextually inferable and serves to replace the identity of the topical referent in the previous clause, denoted by the substantival demonstrative adjective, with the identity of the referent denoted by the LD constituent.

In accordance with our syntactic constraints on LD constructions in BH, the presence of a resumptive pronominal within the clause proper is a sufficient but not a necessary condition for LD status. Numbers 5.30 is an instance of LD without a resumptive element:

(25)　　Numbers 5.30

אֹו אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲבֹר עָלָיו רוּחַ קִנְאָה וְקִנֵּא אֶת־אִשְׁתֹּו וְהֶעֱמִיד אֶת־הָאִשָּׁה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וְעָשָׂה לָהּ הַכֹּהֵן אֵת כָּל־הַתֹּורָה הַזֹּאת׃

or *a man who is overcome by a spirit of jealousy so that he is jealous of his wife,* he shall set the woman before the LORD, and the priest shall carry out for her all this law.[314]

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construing 'inference' as a discrete cognitive status. Rather, we are persuaded by Gundel et al. (1993) that inference is rather a way that something can achieve a particular status.

313. The referent is also identifiable via inference from the same cognitive frame.

314. Translation mine.

In this example, the LD constituent (i.e. "*a man who is overcome by a spirit of jealously so that he is jealous of his wife*") is not resumed within the clause proper by a recursive pronominal, but rather its extra-clausal status is marked via the ו (*weqatal*) signaling the beginning of the clause proper. The LD constituent in this example is unique from the previous two examples in yet another way. The dislocated NP is extended through the use of a relative clause which serves to profile a salient piece of information concerning the referent. This modification serves to narrow the category within which the NP becomes unique, when it would not have been unique within the category expressed by the NP alone (cf. §2.3.2.2). After which, the referent becomes unique-ly identifiable as a representative of a specific group, viz. 'husbands who are overcome by jealously'.[315]

Moreover, since the subject position is a cognitively disadvantageous position for the processing of extended referents, the LD construction is employed to aid in the cognitive processing of the extended dislocated NP. In addition, the LD constituent is made accessible via inference made possible by the 'jealously' frame evoked in v.29. The LD construction then serves to activate this referent as the primary topic of the clause proper.[316]

In addition to LD constituents separated from the clause proper by a ו are instances where the LD constituent is found to be extra-clausal by its position preceding a *wayyiqtol*. An example of this is found in 2 Chronicles 25.13:

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315. The fact that generic indefinite NPs can have identifiable referents is evidence towards the lack of correlation between the formal category of definiteness and the information-structure category of identifiability (cf. Lambrecht, 1994:82-83).

316. LD constructions within our database that reflect this syntactic structure whereby an LD constituent as grammatical subject is separated from the clause proper by a ו and functions to (re)activate a primary topic, can be further categorized into two syntactic sub-categories: (1) LD constituent separated by ו without any overt resumptive element within the clause proper - 1 Sam. 25.27 2 Sam 5.8; Ex. 30.33, 38, Lev. 15.17, 17.13, 23.29, 2 Chron. 13.9, and (2) LD constituent separated by ו with resumptive elements within the clause proper - Gen. 17.14, Ex. 31.14, Lev. 7.20, 25, 27, 18.29; Num. 9.13; Deut. 17.12, 18.20.

(26)   2 Chronicles 25.13

וּבְנֵי הַגְּדוּד אֲשֶׁר הֵשִׁיב אֲמַצְיָהוּ מִלֶּכֶת
עִמּוֹ לַמִּלְחָמָה וַיִּפְשְׁטוּ בְּעָרֵי יְהוּדָה
מִשֹּׁמְרוֹן וְעַד־בֵּית חוֹרוֹן וַיַּכּוּ
מֵהֶם שְׁלֹשֶׁת אֲלָפִים וַיָּבֹזּוּ בִּזָּה רַבָּה׃

But *the men of the army whom Amaziah sent back, not letting them go with him to battle,* raided the cities of Judah, from Samaria to Beth-horon, and struck down 3,000 people in them and took much spoil.

The extended LD constituent (i.e. "*the men of the army whom Amaziah sent back, not letting them go with him to battle*") consisting of a relative clause is separated from the clause proper via a *wayyiqtol* verb form. The referent of the LD constituent is identifiable and made accessible by its occurrence within the previous discourse (v.10). After its introduction and activation, the referent in question undergoes a process of decay, or deactivation in vv.11-12 whereby through the lack of explicit or implicit mention the referent moves from the center of the focus of consciousness (active) towards the periphery (semi-active). The LD construction in v.13 serves to reactivate this referent as the primary topic of the clause. Moreover, the dislocation of the extended NP aids the reader in the cognitive processing of the constituent by removing it from a cognitively disadvantageous position, viz. the subject position, within the clause proper, and providing the reader with salient information which narrows the category within which the referent becomes uniquely identifiable.[317]

The (re)activation of primary topics is also accomplished by LD constructions wherein the detached constituent is separated from the matrix clause by the particle כִּי. This is exemplified by Numbers 27.8:

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317. LD constructions within our database that reflect this syntactic structure whereby the LD constituent as grammatical subject separated by a *wayyiqtol* that functions to (re)activate primary topics can be further categorized into two syntactic sub-categories: (1) LD constituents separated by *wayyiqtol* without any overt resumptive element within the clause proper - Gen. 22.24; Ex. 9.21; 1 Sam. 14.19, 2 Sam. 20.14; Dan. 11.5, and (2) LD constituents separated by *wayyiqtol* with overt resumptive elements within the clause proper - Ex. 38.24, Num. 14.36-37; 4.38-40.

(27)   Numbers 27.8

וְאֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל תְּדַבֵּר לֵאמֹר
אִישׁ כִּי־יָמוּת וּבֵן אֵין לוֹ וְהַעֲבַרְתֶּם
אֶת־נַחֲלָתוֹ לְבִתּוֹ:

And you shall speak to the peo-ple of Israel, saying, *"a man*, if he dies and has no son, then you shall transfer his inheritance to his daughter.[318]

Every instance of an LD constituent separated from the clause proper by כי within our data-set is characterized syntactically by the lack of any resumptive element within the clause proper. Moreover, each instance occurs within the casuistic legal structure of the Hebrew Bible whereby the law has a conditional semantic structure. Since further research is needed to ascertain the in-formation-structure of conditional sentences in BH, we will refrain from commenting here on in-formation-structure of the clause proper which contains the conditional.[319] Moreover, the dislo-cated NP in example (27) is unlike the previous examples in that the NP has no referent, either particular or generic. In other words, the NP has an implicit universal semantic quality that by nature causes it to be nonreferential (cf. Chafe, 1994:104).[320] These types of nonreferential LD constructions are difficult to account for within the present framework. It appears from our data-set that instances of LD of this type are specific to this legal precept genre. It is noteworthy that in each of the seven occurrences of this type within our data-set, the LD construction occurs at the periphery of the direct discourse span: either at the beginning or at its closure. We maintain that the dislocated nonreferential NP preceding the כי can, nevertheless, still be construed as an activated (albeit, apparently brand-new, or at least unused) primary topic. It is indeed evident, however, that further research is needed to adequately explain the information-structure of these cases (cf. §4.5.4).[321]

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318. Translation mine.
319. We understand the כי as introducing the protasis of a conditional clause.
320. The nonreferential status of the NP is confirmed by the fact that the NP could easily be translated by the nonreferential pronoun 'anyone' or 'any man'.
321. LD constructions within our database that are syntactically characterized by the LD constituent separated from the clause proper by כי and functioning to (re)activate a primary topic are as follows: Lev. 2.1; 4.2; 5.1; 5.15; 21.9; Num. 5.6.

The last example of an LD construction functioning to (re)activate a primary topic involves an LD constituent separated from the clause proper by an interrogative particle. 2 Samuel 24.17 serves as our example:

(28)   2 Samuel 24.17

וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־יְהוָה בִּרְאֹתוֹ ׀ אֶת־הַמַּלְאָךְ ׀ הַמַּכֶּה בָעָם וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי חָטָאתִי וְאָנֹכִי הֶעֱוֵיתִי וְאֵלֶּה הַצֹּאן מֶה עָשׂוּ תְּהִי נָא יָדְךָ בִּי וּבְבֵית אָבִי׃

Then David spoke to the LORD when he saw the angel who was striking the people, and said, "Behold, I have sinned, and I have done wickedly. *But these sheep*, what have they done? Please let your hand be against me and against my father's house."

The LD constituent in example (28) is not resumed by a coindexed pronominal within the clause proper but is nevertheless clause-external due to its separation from the clause proper by the interrogative particle. The LD constituent (i.e. "*these sheep*") is composed of a demonstrative adjective modifying the noun which serves to further specify the identity of the referent within the mental representation of the reader. The constituent is anaphoric, and therefore textually accessible with its antecedent (i.e. "*the people*") located within the portion of indirect discourse in v.17a. The LD construction functions to reactivate the referent as the primary topic of the clause. Additionally, a contrastive overlay is involved whereby the actions of the speaker (i.e. David) in the previous clause are compared to those of the newly reactivated primary topic.[322]

4.2.2 (Re)Activation of Secondary Topic

In addition to the (re)activation of primary topics, LD constructions also function to (re)activate secondary topics (27%). Not unlike primary topics, secondary topics are identifiable and accessible topic referents which are cognitively less salient than primary topics and dependent upon the primary topics within the proposition. Moreover, secondary topics primarily occur within the focus structure of the proposition (or the comment portion within a topic-comment articulation).

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322. LD constructions within our database that are syntactically characterized by the LD constituent separated from the clause proper by an interrogative and functioning to (re)activate a primary topic are as follows: Judg. 5.17; 2 Kgs. 15.21; 36; Est. 10.2 It should be added that these types of constructions are most common in poetic texts and are very rare in BH narrative.

Therefore, secondary topics tend to be objects or indirect objects within the predication of transitive verbs. Example (29) from Deuteronomy 14.6 is an illustration of a secondary topic reactivated via an LD construction:

(29)   Deuteronomy 14.6

וְכָל־בְּהֵמָ֡ה מַפְרֶ֩סֶת֩ פַּרְסָ֨ה וְשֹׁסַ֜עַת שֶׁ֣סַע שְׁתֵּ֣י
פְרָס֗וֹת מַעֲלַ֤ת גֵּרָה֙ בַּבְּהֵמָ֔ה ;אֹתָ֖הּ תֹּאכֵֽלוּ׃

*Every animal that parts the hoof and has the hoof cloven in two and chews the cud*ᵢ*, it*ᵢ *you may eat.*

In this example, the LD constituent is a generic NP designating the sub-set class of the animals which are acceptable for consumption. The participial clause within the extended dislocated NP serves to narrow the broader category (i.e. "*every animal*") thereby causing the referent to become uniquely identifiable within the mental representation of the reader. Moreover, the referent possesses a potential for activation via inference made possible by the schema, viz. animals permissible for consumption, introduced in v.4.

This example meets our syntactic criteria for LD by the presence of a coindexed resumptive pronominal within the matrix clause. In this case, the resumptive pronominal is fronted before the verb within the clause proper resulting in a constituent-focus structure.[323] In other words, the fronted resumptive pronominal within the clause proper supplies the missing constituent within the presupposed open proposition "X are the animals you may eat" introduced in v.4. In this way, the information-structure of this sentence reflects the information-structure of the sentence in example (24).[324]

Another example of an LD construction functioning to (re)activate a secondary topic is found in Genesis 26.15:

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323. The function of the constituent-focus structure is to confirm the identity of the referent.
324. LD constructions within our database that are syntactically characterized by the LD constituent coindexed with a fronted resumptive pronominal which is the grammatical direct object or indirect object of the clause proper are as follows: (with object marker) Deut. 13.1; Num. 22.20; 23.12; 1 Kgs 22.14; 2 Kgs 17.36; (without object marker) Num. 22.38; 24.13; Lev. 22.8; 1 Sam. 15.9; (Prepositional Phrase) Lev. 21.3; 2 Sam. 6.22.

(30)   Genesis 26.15

וְכָל־הַבְּאֵרֹת אֲשֶׁר חָפְרוּ עַבְדֵי אָבִיו
בִּימֵי אַבְרָהָם אָבִיו ₁סִתְּמוּם
פְּלִשְׁתִּים ₁וַיְמַלְאוּם עָפָר:

(Now, *every well that his fa-
ther's servants had dug in the
days of his father Abraham*ᵢ, the
Philistines stopped themᵢ up and
filled themᵢ with dirt.)[325]

Here, similar to (29), the relative clause within the extended dislocated NP provides the reader with a specific piece of salient information which narrows the broader category (i.e. "*all of the wells*") to a more uniquely identifiable referent. Although the head noun is definite, seemingly indicating that the referent denoted by the noun is somewhat identifiable, the specific referent has not been mentioned either implicitly or explicitly since Genesis 21.25-30. The impetus, therefore, for the modification via relative clause to the definite noun, appears to be the wide distance between the last mention of the referent and the current one. Put differently, the relative clause functions to lower, what Chafe (1994:71-81) terms, the 'activation cost' of the referent. Thus, in Genesis 26.15 the LD construction functions to reactivate the identifiable and textually accessible referent as the secondary topic.

Unlike (29), however, in this instance the resumptive pronoun is in an unmarked position within the matrix clause. The clause proper is characterized by a predicate-focus structure with the primary topic as the affixed anaphoric pronoun (i.e. "*they*") serving as the primary topic and the resumptive third person plural objective pronominal suffix serving as the secondary topic within the focus domain.[326]

LD constructions whereby the dislocated constituent is separated from the clause proper by a ו also function to reactivate secondary topics. Numbers 14.31 exemplifies this:

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325. Translation mine.
326. LD constructions within our database that are syntactically characterized by the LD constituent coindexed with an unmarked resumptive pronominal which is the grammatical direct object of the clause proper are as follows: (with object marker) Lev. 14.6; Gen. 47.21; 13.15; 35.12; (without object marker) Deut. 4.3; Num. 1.3; Judg. 7.5; Ezra 1.4; 2 Chron. 15.16.

(31)   Numbers 14.31

וְטַפְּכֶם אֲשֶׁר אֲמַרְתֶּם לָבַז יִהְיֶה וְהֵבֵיאתִי אֹתָם_i
וְיָדְעוּ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר מְאַסְתֶּם בָּהּ:

But your little ones, who you said would become a prey_i, I will bring them_i in, and they shall know the land that you have rejected.[327]

The LD constituent in Example (31) represents an extended NP with two modification devices included to aid the reader in the identification of the specific referent, viz. a possessive and a relative clause. The impetus for the modification in (30) is presumably the same for (31). Although the referent is textually accessible, the distance from its last mention is wide (v.3) resulting in a high activation cost. Thus, the modifications functions to lower the activation cost of the textually accessible dislocated referent.

The identifiable and textually accessible referent is placed in an LD construction – syntactically confirmed by its position to the left of the ו (*weqatal*) which marks the beginning of the clause proper – to reactivate a referent within the mental representation of the reader as the secondary topic of the clause.[328]

Another example whereby the LD construction signals the reactivation of a secondary topic and is formally characterized by the LD constituent separated from the clause proper by a ו (*weqatal*) is found in 2 Samuel 14.10[329]:

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327. Translation mine.
328. In Num. 14.31 the LD constituent is separated from the clause proper by a ו and is also resumed by a coindexed pronominal.
329. In 2 Sam. 14.10 the LD constituent is separated from the clause proper by a ו and is also resumed by a coindexed pronominal.

(32)   2 Samuel 14.9-10:

9 וַתֹּאמֶר הָאִשָּׁה הַתְּקוֹעִית אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ עָלַי אֲדֹנִי
הַמֶּלֶךְ הֶעָוֺן וְעַל־בֵּית אָבִי וְהַמֶּלֶךְ וְכִסְאוֹ נָקִי׃ ס
10 וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ ₁הַמְדַבֵּר אֵלַיִךְ
₁וַהֲבֵאתוֹ אֵלַי וְלֹא־יֹסִיף עוֹד לָגַעַת בָּךְ׃

9 And the woman of Tekoa said to the king, "On me be the guilt, my lord the king, and on my father's house; let the king and his throne be guiltless." 10 The king said, "*the one who threatens you*₁, bring him₁ to me, and he shall never touch you again."[330]

Here, the LD constituent is a definite substantival participial phrase (v.10) which is a generic referent representing the class of the clan who were threatening the woman and her son (i.e. lit. "*the one who speaks to you*") (v.7). Therefore, the generic referent is textually accessible within the mental representation of the reader and is reactivated as the secondary topic by the LD constructions heading v.10.[331]

Lastly, Genesis 17.15 is an example of an LD constructions functioning to reactivate a secondary topic whereby the resumptive pronoun as the topical element is in a possessive relation with the grammatical object within the clause proper:

(33)   Genesis 17.15

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אֶל־אַבְרָהָם ₁שָׂרַי אִשְׁתְּךָ
לֹא־תִקְרָא אֶת־₁שְׁמָהּ שָׂרָי כִּי שָׂרָה שְׁמָהּ׃

And God said to Abraham, "*As for Sarai your wife*₁, you shall not call her₁ name Sarai, but Sarah shall be her name.

The referent denoted by the LD constituent (i.e. "*Sarai*") is textually accessible, but not unlike (30) and (31), a wide distance has lapsed since its last mention (Genesis 16.8). Since the referent presumably possesses a higher degree of cognitive saliency (as a main participant in the narrative) than the referents of the previous two examples, an extended complex NP is not needed to

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330. Translation mine.
331. Num. 14.31 and 2 Sam. 14.9-10 represent the only two examples in our database which are formally characterized by the separation of the LD constituents from the clause proper by a ו, whereby the resumpitve is the grammatical direct object of the clause proper, and where the LD construction functions to (re)activate a secondary topic. Additionally, LD constructions within our database that are characterized by a direct object syntactically separated from the clause proper by a *wayyiqtol* form whereby the constructions serves to (re)activate a secondary topic are as follows: 2 Sam. 22.41; 1 Kgs. 9:20-21.

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identify the intended referent. The question, however, as the to the presence of the possessive modifier 'your wife' is not without significance. In accordance with our hypothesis for LD complex NPs (cf. §3.6.1) we submit that the modifier serves to activate, or specify a particular conceptual profile which is a part of a larger conceptual domain. Here, Sarai's role as Abraham's wife is profiled by the possessive modifier. Sarai's role is relevant for construing the import and weight of Yahweh's following instruction, i.e. that not just anyone, but *your wife's* name is to be changed.[332]

4.3 DEICTIC ORIENTATIONS

The remainder of the cases of LD within our database (11%) were more difficult to classify in terms of their discourse-pragmatic function (i.e. primary or secondary topic (re)activation). This is due to their pragmatic function as deictic operators which provide the spatio-temporal framing information necessary for the accurate conceptual construal of the cognitive text-world of the discourse.

An example of an LD construction functioning to provide a salient spatial deictic orientation is found in Deuteronomy 12.14:

(34)　Deuteronomy 12.14

כִּי אִם־בַּמָּקֹום אֲשֶׁר־יִבְחַר יְהוָה בְּאַחַד שְׁבָטֶיךָ
שָׁם תַּעֲלֶה עֹלֹתֶיךָ וְשָׁם תַּעֲשֶׂה כֹּל
אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי מְצַוֶּךָ:

but only *at the place that the LORD will choose in one of your tribes*ᵢ, thereᵢ you shall offer your burnt offerings, and there you shall do all that I am commanding you.

The dislocated extended prepositional phrase heading Deuteronomy 12.14 functions adverbially to signal the locative frame of the text-world from which the ensuing discourse must be understood.   In other words, the locative orientation does not introduce altogether new text-world information, but rather functions to signal presupposed spatial text-world information which was first introduced in v.3. This instance of an LD locative orientation also possesses an identificational contrastive overlay of exhaustive antithesis whereby the location designated by the dislo-

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332. This is the only instance within our database of an LD construction with a coindexed resumptive pronoun as the topical (secondary) element in a possessive relation with the grammatical object.

cated prepositional phrase not only replaces the location cited in the previous clause (v.13), but specifies that this place, and this place *only* will do. This contrastive overlay is lexicogrammtically evinced by the the כי אם preceding the LD constituent and the fronted coindexed adverbial within the clause proper.[333]

Another example is found in 2 Chronicles 34.6-7

(35)   2 Chronicles 34.6-7

6 וּבְעָרֵי מְנַשֶּׁה וְאֶפְרַיִם וְשִׁמְעוֹן וְעַד־נַפְתָּלִי בָּהַר בָּתֵּיהֶם סָבִיב: 7 וַיְנַתֵּץ אֶת־הַמִּזְבְּחוֹת וְאֶת־הָאֲשֵׁרִים וְהַפְּסִלִים כִּתַּת לְהֵדַק וְכָל־הַחַמָּנִים גִּדַּע בְּכָל־אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיָּשָׁב לִירוּשָׁלָם: ס	6 *And in the cities of Manasseh, Ephraim, and Simeon, and as far as Naphtali, in their ruins all around,* 7 he broke down the altars and beat the Asherim and the images into powder and cut down all the incense altars throughout all the land of Israel. Then he returned to Jerusalem.

In this instance, the entirety of v.6 consists of the prepositional phrases which functions as a locative adverbial in dislocated position before the clause proper in v.7. The extra clausal status of the dislocated constituent is confirmed by the *wayyiqtol* form heading the clause proper (v.7).[334] The deictic orientation serves to signal the text-world location framework within which the continuing discourse is understood.[335]

In addition to signaling the locative text world information, LD constructions are also employed to indicate the temporal text-world framework. 2 Samuel 15.10 serves as an example of a temporal adjunct dislocated from the clause proper by a *wayyiqtol* form.

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333. LD constructions within our database in which a locative deictic adverbial is dislocated and resumed within the clause proper by a coindexed adverbial are as follows: Gen. 49.30-31; Num. 9.17; Deut. 16.6.
334. It is also possible to construe the prepositional phrase "throughout all of the land of Israel" in v.7 as a resumptive element.
335. This is the only instance within our database of an LD construction serving to mark a spatial deictic orientation which is syntactically characterized by its separation from the clause proper by a *wayyiqtol* form. An example of an LD construction from our database serving this same function, but where the extra-clausal status of the LD constituent is determined by an interrogative particle can be found in 2 Sam. 7.7.

(36)   2 Samuel 15.10

וַיִּשְׁלַ֤ח אַבְשָׁלוֹם֙ מְרַגְּלִ֔ים
בְּכָל־שִׁבְטֵ֥י יִשְׂרָאֵ֖ל לֵאמֹ֑ר כְּשָׁמְעֲכֶם֙ אֶת־ק֣וֹל
הַשֹּׁפָ֔ר וַאֲמַרְתֶּ֕ם מָלַ֥ךְ אַבְשָׁל֖וֹם בְּחֶבְרֽוֹן׃

But Absalom sent secret mes-
sengers throughout all the tribes
of Israel, saying, "*As soon as
you hear the sound of the trum-
pet,* then say, 'Absalom is king
at Hebron!'"

Here, the dislocated prepositional adjunct phrase heading the direct discourse portion of the verse
(v.10b) serves to establish the reference time of the event.[336]

Spatio-temporal deictic orientations are not integral to the information-structure of the clause or
sentence in the same way that topic and focus structures are. They are, nevertheless, crucial for
the conceptual construal of the text-world information by providing the frame or orientation for
the ensuring clause or discourse unit. The question as to why an LD construction is sometimes
employed to mark spatio-temporal deictic orientations is a question for future research (cf.
§4.5.3).

4.4 ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS

We have thus far demonstrated the two discourse-pragmatic functions of LD in BH which fall
under the superordinate function of topic-promotion/topic-establishment viz.: primary topic
(re)activation and secondary topic (re)activation. It was also shown that these functions can also
possess an additional optional pragmatic overlay of contrastiveness, and that LD constructions
can function at a different pragmatic level marking spatio-temporal deictic orientations which
serve to update the text-world information. In this section we make mention of four additional
observations gleaned from our database which serve to further enhance our understanding of LD
constructions in BH.

First, and perhaps most significantly, our data-set reveals that, aside from the superordinate func-
tion of topic promotion, there is no discernible correlation between the functions of LD construc-
tions in spoken English and those in BH. That is to say, a functional difference was not dis-
cerned between instances of LD1 and LD2 within our database. In §2.4.2.4 we reported that

336. Further instances within our data-set of LD constructions serving to mark a temporal deictic orientation are
    found in: Esther 2.19; Num. 9.19; 1 Sam. 10.2; 1 Kgs 14.12.

according to the investigation by Gregory and Michaelis (2001), in spoken English instances of LD2 are far more accessible than instances of LD1. Furthermore, instances of LD2 have a higher topic-persistence rating as compared to instances of LD1 in spoken English. In BH, however, we could discern no such distinguishable pattern between instances of LD1 and LD2. What is more, Gregory and Michaelis found that all instances of LD within their corpus were characterized by their absence as arguments in the prior discourse (i.e. low degree of accessibility) and their presence as arguments in predications within the subsequent discourse immediately following the LD construction (i.e. high degree of topic persistence). Although we did not employ an exact instrument for measuring the degree's of accessibility and topic persistence for referents denoted by LD constructions in BH, LD referents within our database were often highly accessible, having occurred within the same scene or episode.[337] Moreover, we also observed that a fare amount of newly (re)activated referents (via LD) within our database did *not* persist as topical referents within the immediately succeeding discourse. These observations are in stark contrast to the characteristic features of LD in spoken English as presented in Gregory and Michaelis (2001).

Secondly, although the majority of instances of LD constructions within our data-set are characterized by an LD constituent which is identifiable and possesses some degree of cognitive accessibility (or potential for activation) either via previous mention in the textual discourse, or inference by way of a semantic schema/frame, on a few occasions an LD construction is seemingly employed to activate an inactive referent that, although identifiable, appears to be in no way accessible to the reader. An example of this is located in 1 Kings 9.20-21:

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337. For instance, see examples (23), (26) and (31).

(37) 1 Kings 9:20-21

<div dir="rtl">

20 כָּל־הָעָם הַנּוֹתָר מִן־הָאֱמֹרִי הַחִתִּי הַפְּרִזִּי
הַחִוִּי וְהַיְבוּסִי אֲשֶׁר לֹא־מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הֵמָּה:
21 בְּנֵיהֶם אֲשֶׁר נֹתְרוּ אַחֲרֵיהֶם בָּאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר
לֹא־יָכְלוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַחֲרִימָם וַיַּעֲלֵם שְׁלֹמֹה
לְמַס־עֹבֵד עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:

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20 *All the people who were left of the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, who were not of the people of Israel—* 21 *their descendants who were left after them in the land, whom the people of Israel were unable to devote to destruction*ᵢ— theseᵢ Solomon drafted to be slaves, and so they are to this day.

Here, the extended LD constituent stretches from v.20 through v.21a (i.e. 20. "*All of the people who were left of the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, who were not of the people of Israel–*21. *their descendants who were left after then in the land, whom the people of Israel were unable to devote to destruction*"). This extended detached constituent is resumed in the clause proper by a coindexed pronominal suffix on the main verb. While the referent denoted by the extended constituent is understood to be identifiable (cf. §3.5), it possesses no potential for activation (i.e. accessibility), but rather is inactive (i.e. stored within the reader's long term memory). In this instance, the previously inactive referent is activated as the secondary topic of the clause proper. Therefore, we must make allowance for the (rare) employment of LD constructions in BH for the purpose of activating previously inactive (i.e. unused) discourse referents as clause topics.[338]

Third, many of the LD constructions within our data-set possessed complex dislocated NPs composed of a NP + Relative clause. In our estimation, the relative clause modifying the initial head NP serves one of two primary functions. First, the relative clause often serves the purpose of aiding the reader in the correct identification of the intended discourse referent within the discourse register. In other words, the modification of the initial NP by a relative clause serves to "narrow the category within which the referent becomes unique, when it would not have been unique within the category expressed by the noun alone" (Chafe, 1994:99). Second, the relative is sometimes employed even when the referent is easily identifiable. In these instances, the relative clause, instead, serves to specify a particular conceptual profile which is a part of a larger

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338. Another instance from our data-set that may fit this description is found in Gen. 35.12.

conceptual domain. An additional motivating factor possibly enacted within either of these two functions is preferred primary topic expression. Since a pronominal form is the preferred primary topic expression within the canonical sentence form, it is surmised that LD constructions with extended complex NPs serve to ease the processing effort by maintaining the preferred topic expression (i.e. pronominal) within the clause proper.

Fourth, and finally, it is noteworthy that nearly all of the LD constructions within our database that involve a contrastive overlay are formally characterized by a fronted resumptive pronoun within the clause proper serving to constitute a constituent-focus structure.[339] In these instances the contrastive pragmatic operation overlays the constituent-focus structure. LD topic constituents, however, can also possess a contrastive overlay. The English example (38) illustrates this:

(38)   *Jenny is hungry. [Me]$_i$, I'm$_i$ not hungry.*

The contrastive pragmatic element clearly overlays the LD primary topic in (38). Although none were present within our data-set, it is plausible that there are instances of LD in BH that exhibit topic contrastiveness. The nature of contrastiveness as a separate pragmatic overlay upon the information-structure notions of topic and focus and even spatio-temporal deictic orientations within the BH clause, is an area in need of further research.

This leads us to our final section of this chapter in which, in addition to contrastiveness, we suggest several other areas for further research necessary for a more comprehensive profile of LD constructions in BH.

4.5 AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As is the case with most linguistic investigations, our study evoked as many new questions as it did generate new insights. Due to the exploratory nature, confined data-set, and limited scope, of this present investigation we were unable to pursue all of the avenues of inquiry that the present analysis produced. As a consolation, however, with this section we briefly review some

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339. This observation was previously noted by Khan (1988:93-95).

previously mentioned areas in need of future research, as well as offer several new questions for future inquiry.

4.5.1 Left-Dislocation and Mappings between Form and Function

The first area in need of further research, requiring an exhaustive database, involves whether or not a functional difference can be discerned among the various formal types of LD in BH. For example, can a difference be discerned between instances of LD which are formally character-ized by the occurrence of a resumptive pronoun within the clause proper, and those wherein the dislocated constituent is separated from the clause proper by a waw (or *wayyiqtol*). Our limited data-set did not reveal any such differences, but it is possible that with a broader database differ-ences would become apparent.

4.5.2 Left-Dislocation and Contrastiveness in Biblical Hebrew

As was mentioned above, the precise nature of the constraints on contrastiveness as a pragmatic overlay upon various focus structures, topic types and spatio-temporal deictic orientations is an area in need of further research; specifically in regards to LD constructions.

4.5.3 Left-Dislocation vs. Fronting in Biblical Hebrew

One of the most intriguing areas in need of further research concerns the functional difference between LD constructions and fronting in BH. Although some functional overlap between the two constructions likely exists (cf. Floor, 2004),[340] it is unlikely that the two constructions are al-together functionally synonymous. In other words, the question as to why an author would em-ploy one construction and not the other, if both constructions accomplish the same discourse-pragmatic function, remains open. Furthermore, such an investigation would hopefully yield fur-ther discourse-pragmatic criteria for formally distinguishing difficult instances where the con-struction in question could be construed as either LD or fronting. It is proposed, therefore, that what is needed is an in-depth investigation into the pragmatic and functional difference between these two constructions in BH not unlike the investigation carried out by Gregory and Michaelis

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340. Floor (2004) offers several examples wherein fronting is used as a (re)activation device for primary topics, secondary topics, and topic frames.

(2001) for English. It is surmised that such an investigation would yield further insight into the precise nature of the discourse-pragmatic constraints on LD and fronting in BH.[341]

4.5.4 Left-Dislocation and Other Plausible Discourse-Pragmatic Functions

Although there were no clear examples within our data-set of LD constructions functioning to (re)activate a topic-frame as defined in §2.3.3.6, further research is required in order to determine whether or not clear instances of LD exist in BH which function in this way.[342]

Furthermore, according to Lambrecht (1994:183) "the left-detachment construction is often used to mark a shift in attention from one to another of two or more already active topic referents. This explains the frequent occurrence of pronominal NPs in detached positions." Although our data-set yielded no clear examples of LD signaling the discourse-pragmatic function of topic-switching, i.e. there were no clear instances of LD where the dislocated constituent was a pronominal, it is plausible that there are cases in BH that can be construed as functioning as a topic-switch device between two active referents. Further research, however, is needed in this regard.[343]

4.5.5 Left-Dislocation Markings Spatio-Temporal Deictic Orientations in Biblical Hebrew.

As was demonstrated in §4.3, LD constructions are sometimes employed to mark spatio-temporal deictic orientations that contribute to the conceptual construal of the text-world information, viz. the spatial and temporal conceptual spheres. It is our suspicion that these LD constructions which serve to signal the spatio-temporal text-world information function at a different pragmatic level within the discourse and are therefore beyond the scope of our present framework. The question as to why LD constructions are employed to mark some spatio-temporal deictic orientations is in need of further research.[344]

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341. An investigation of this sort would need to employ an empirical instrument for measuring various aspects of topicality, viz. accessibility, topic persistence, etc. Such an instrument is proposed by Givon (1990).
342. Possible cases of LD functioning to (re)activate a topic frame are as follows: Gen. 17.17; Lev. 13.45; 2 Kgs 1.4
343. Possible cases of LD functioning as a topic-switch device are as follows: 2 Kgs 9.27; 1 Sam. 9.13.
344. A relatively new field of research that may provide an adequate framework for investigating such a question is that of 'Text Word Theory'. Cf. Werth (1999) and Gavins (2007).

A specific area of interest involves LD constructions whereby the LD temporal adjunct is headed by ויהי. A ויהי + temporal adjunct clause frame is understood as a temporal deixis which provides the reader with an updated narrative reference time. Put differently, where a temporal deictic orientation occurs without a ויהי, usually no temporal progression on the narrative timeline is understood (Van der Merwe, 1999b:109). Further research is needed, however, to discern why one often finds dislocated temporal deictic orientations headed by ויהי.[345]

4.5.6 Left-Dislocation within Other Biblical Genres

In example (27) it was shown that LD constructions may exhibit non-prototypical features within other non-narrative genres (e.g. legal precepts). This raises the important question as to whether LD constructions employed in different genres accomplish additional functions than those evinced within narrative texts. Further research of LD constructions within other genre types, i.e. legal precepts, poetry, prophetic, etc. is needed in order to answer this question and garner a more comprehensive picture of LD in BH.

4.5.7 Left-Dislocation and Discourse Theme

Floor (2004) represents a significant advancement towards a more objective method of tracing a text's theme through the analysis of the information-structure of the clause and sentence. Although Floor affords LD constructions a significant place within his overall theory (cf. §2.2.5.4), further research is required in order to further assess Floor's hypothesis. For instance, Floor employed Genesis 1-25 as his primary data-set. In our view, the limited quantity of LD constructions within this corpus afforded Floor the position to offer little more than a preliminary hypothesis as to the various ways LD constructions in particular contribute to the formation, progression, and coherence of the text's theme. There is little doubt that LD constructions contribute in meaningful ways at a higher level within the discourse, but further investigation is needed in this regard.

345.In other words, what is the functional difference between temporal adjuncts headed by ויהי within the clause proper and those headed by ויהי but are dislocated as extra-clausal constituents.

4.5.8 Left-Dislocation Constituents Modified by Focus/Discourse Particles

Absent from our investigation were instances of LD wherein the LD constituents are modified by focus or discourse particles which precede the dislocated constituent.[346] According to our formal cross-linguistic analysis of LD these are indeed non-prototypical instances. It was demonstrated (cf. §2.4.1.1) that the extra-clausal status of the LD constituent is the most significant and proto-typical characteristic for classifying LD constructions across languages. The presence, however, of a focus or discourse particle before the dislocated constituent may be a formal indication of the clause-internal status of the constituent. Moreover, it is possible that some discourse parti-cles occur clause externally since their scope is at the text level (cf. §4.5.10), rather than the clause level. Additionally, the question as to how such particles interface with the information-structure of LD constructions (if indeed these are instances of LD) is in need of further inquiry.

4.5.9 Left-Dislocation in Verbless Clauses

Another area of inquiry left untouched by the present work regards instances of LD within BH verbless clauses. What we have in mind here is the so-called 'tripartite nominal clause'.[347] Whether tripartite nominal clauses in BH formally constitute LD constructions has been the topic of much debate.[348] To our knowledge, however, an in-depth investigation into the discourse-pragmatic functions of tripartite nominal clauses has yet to occur.

4.5.10 Left-Dislocation Marking Paragraph and Discourse Units

LD constructions serving to mark discourse units, viz. paragraph, scene, episode etc. is entailed in the need to further investigate LD's role in the theme of a text (cf. §4.5.5). Khan (1988:79-85) observed that LD constructions often occur at the boundaries of a discourse unit, but it is our contention that further inquiry is necessary in this regard. For instance, we believe it unlikely that LD constructions merely function as formal markers signaling the onset or closure of dis-

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346. The following discourse/focus particles occur before so-called LD constituents in BH: (discourse) והיה, ויהי, ועתה; הן, הנה; (focus) אך, אף, גם, רק.
347. The tripartite nominal clause is formally grouped into two classes: [X Y PRO] and [X PRO Y]. See Andersen (1971), Gross (1987; 1999), Revell (1989), Geller (1991), Buth (1999), Muraoka (1999), Van Wolde (1999), Naudé (2002), Woodard (2009).
348. For detailed discussion of the debate, cf. Gross (1987:132-144), Naudé (1990), and Woodard (2009).

course units (Khan). Rather, the occurrences of LD constructions at the boundaries of discourse units can be more accurately explained within an information-structure framework that is compatible with the broader issues of theme analysis. Further research, however, is needed in this regard.

4.5.11 Left-Dislocation Marking Literary Schemes

In Lunn's (2006) account of word-order variation within BH poetry, he proposed a systematic account for instances of marked word-order that could not be explained pragmatically. These, he termed as instances of 'defamiliarization'. Following this, a question for future research involves to what extent defamiliarization is signaled by LD constructions. Put differently, are LD constructions employed to mark literary schemes such as peak, dramatic pause, chiastic structures etc.?

4.5.12 Left-Dislocation and Translation

If, as we have argued, LD constructions in BH are employed for specific discourse-pragmatic functions, and can even contribute towards construal of a text's theme, then what impact does this have on translation? Although LD constructions seem to occur in most (if not all) of the worlds languages, we have seen (i.e. spoken English vs. BH) that they do not always possess an exact one-to-one functional correspondence. How then should translators handle instances of LD when translating BH into a target-language. This inquiry is indeed a part of a much larger issue, viz. how is a text's information-structure to be translated?

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

This project aimed to contribute towards a more comprehensive profile of LD in BH through an exploratory investigation into the prototypical discourse-pragmatic functions of the construction. The lack of a comprehensive analysis of LD constructions in BH which accounts for the more recent advancements within general linguistic theory from a cognitive functional perspective served as the impetus for this project. Therefore, this investigation was principally conducted under the cognitive-functional framework of information-structure as proposed by Lambrecht (1994) with its most salient notions of: (1) presupposition and assertion, (2) identifiability and activation, and (3) topic and focus. Additionally, a typological investigation of LD supplied the prototypical formal properties of LD and served as the grounding for our hypothesis concerning the prototypical superordinate discourse-pragmatic function of LD in BH.

This study arose out of the following hypothesis with its two primary parts. The first part of the hypothesis states that by separating the two cognitive tasks of 1) the assessment of the newly (re)activated discourse referent, and 2) the interpretation of the proposition which is about the topic referent (i.e. PSRR), LD constructions facilitate the topic-promotion of identifiable but inactive discourse referents. This superordinate function of LD constructions in BH was shown to consist of two further prototypical sub-functions. First, it was shown that LD most often (according to our data-set) functions to (re)activate a primary topic. That is to say, that LD constructions often serve to (re)activate an identifiable and accessible topical entity of which the proposition, communicated by the clause proper, is primarily about. Second, LD sometimes functions to (re)activate secondary topics. Like primary topics, secondary topics are identifiable and accessible discourse referents. Unlike primary topics, however, secondary topics are not the address of the new information. That is, secondary topics occur within the comment, or focus portion of the proposition communicated by the clause proper, and are cognitively less salient than primary topics. Not unlike primary topics, secondary topics commonly need to be (re)acti-

vated within the mind of the reader. Thus, it was shown that LD is regularly employed for the (re)activation of secondary topics in BH.

The second part of the hypothesis states that LD in BH also serves to accomplish two additional pragmatic operations, viz. contrastiveness and the orientation of the reader to the spatio-temporal text-world which frames the subsequent discourse unit. We argued that contrastivenss is best construed as a separate optional pragmatic element which serves as an optional overlay upon focus structures, the various topic types, and even spatio-temporal deictic orientations. Our data, however, indicated that, in regards to LD constructions, contrastiveness was only associated with those constructions which exhibited a constituent-focus structure within the clause proper.[349] It was determined that the precise nature of the constraints on contrastiveness in BH, specifically in regards to LD, is an area in need of future research.

In addition to contrastiveness, we demonstrated that LD constructions also sometimes consist of dislocated spatial or temporal adjuncts. In these cases it was surmised that the LD construction is employed to establish the spatio-temporal framing information necessary for the accurate construction of the cognitive text-world of the subsequent discourse unit. The question as to why some spatio-temporal adjuncts are dislocated is a question in need of further study.

Subsequently some further observations were made concerning the overall profile of LD constructions in BH:

- *Aside from the superordinate function of topic-promotion, no correlation was found between the discourse-pragmatic features of LD in BH and that of LD in spoken English.*

- *Although LD constructions prototypically function to (re)activate accessible discourse referents, on a few occasions a LD construction was employed to activate an altogether inactive (unused) discourse referent.*

- *The LD constituent commonly consists of a complex dislocated NP (e.g. NP + relative clause) which serves to either aid the reader in the identification of the intended discourse referent, or to specify a particular conceptual profile*

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349. However, it should *not* be inferred that every instance of constituent-focus structure within our data-set possessed a contrastiveness overlay.

which is a part of a larger conceptual domain. In addition, where the grammatical subject is the primary topic, the complex NP is dislocated to maintain the preferred primary topic expression (i.e. a pronominal) within the clause proper.

– *Contrastiveness was only associated with constructions which exhibited a constituent-focus structure within the clause proper.*

Lastly, in an effort to point the way forward towards ascertaining a more comprehensive profile of LD in BH, we offered twelve specific areas in need of further research, which are reformulated here in the form of twelve questions for future study:

1. *What is the precise nature of the constraints on the pragmatic overlay of contrastiveness upon various focus structures, topic types and deictic orientations involving LD constructions in BH?*

2. *What is the precise nature of the discourse-pragmatic constraints on the use of LD and fronting in BH?*

3. *Aside from the prototypical functions of (re)activating primary and secondary topics, are there any other peripheral discourse-pragmatic functions signaled by LD in BH (e.g. (re)activation of topic-frame, or topic-switch)?*

4. *What is the functional relationship between LD and spatio-temporal deictic orientations in BH?*

5. *Can a functional difference be discerned among the various formal types of LD in BH?*

6. *Does LD display a different functional profile within other biblical genres?*

7. *In what specific ways does LD contribute to the formation, progression, and coherence of a text's theme?*

8. *How are LD constructions to be construed wherein a discourse/focus particle governs the dislocated NP?*

9. *Do tripartite nominal clauses constitute instances of LD in BH? If so, how do they functionally differ from their verbal counterparts?*

10. *Are LD constructions employed to signal the onset or closure of discourse units?*

11. *Are LD constructions employed in the marking of various literary schemes such as peak, dramatic pause, or chiastic structure?*

12. *Lastly, what are the implications of a more comprehensive profile of the functions of LD in BH on the translation of the text into a target language?*

Appendix
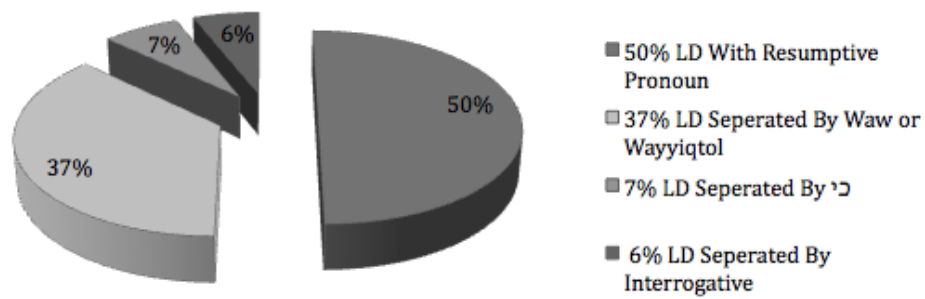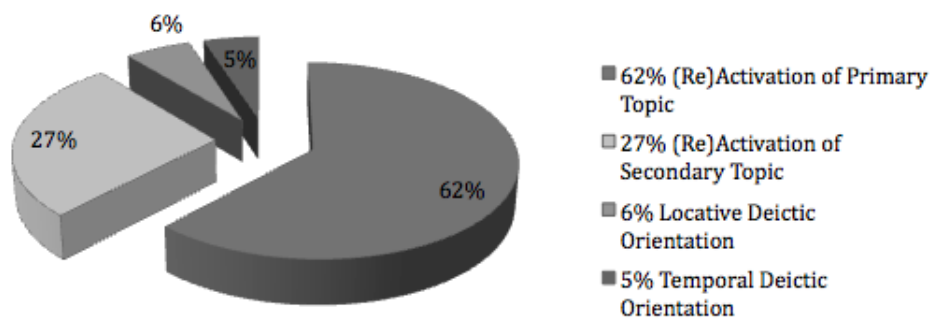
<center>References</center>

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