

CONTRASTIVE TOPIC AND PROPOSITION STRUCTURE*

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1. Introduction

This paper first tries to distinguish Contrastive Topic (CT) from non-contrastive Topic marking. It further addresses the issue of how to represent the meaning conveyed by Contrastive Predicate Topic (CPT)(see 3.5). The conveyed meaning is typically the denial of a stronger predicate triggered by the contrastive contour in English (L+H*LH%), as in ‘She ARRIVED,’ or Contrastive Topic markers attached to a repeated predicate in other languages (Korean –*nun*, Japanese –*wa*, Chinese –*shi*, and Russian –*to*)(Lee 2000). The internal structure of the realized sentence that is the locus of such a CPT will also be considered.

The CT construction (see 3.1) involves some leftward movement of the topicalized nominal or predicate. I assume that a typical non-contrastive topic takes the SPEC of TopP position, whereas a CT including CPT takes a mid-sentential out of VP position in Korean and Japanese; it is nearer the nuclear scope zone because of its partially focal feature at the same time, unlike a typical Topic. Then, an antitopic, which also comes from a typical noncontrastive Topic may be treated as a consequence of remnant movement of the complement of a whole TopP from the bottom. In various languages, CT is marked by various devices such as a morpheme, syntactic position and prosodic feature as well as grammatical relation its original category takes and some combination thereof. English happens to have a prosodic feature alone for its marking and it can be an analogue to a CT morpheme in other languages. Chinese shows a variety of CT markings such as by *shi*, *ne*, prosodic feature and movement. CT is basically topical and partially focal, and the degree of leaning toward either Topic or focus depends on various factors.

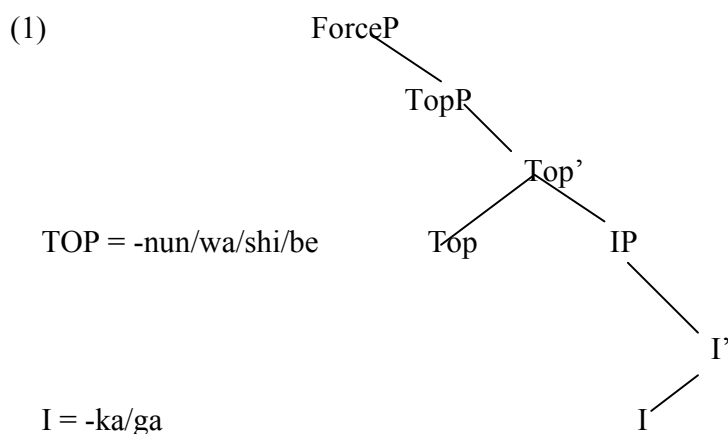
The paper is organized as follows: In 2 I discuss the structure of typical non-contrastive Topic. It tends to be more compatible with individual-level predicate for categorical judgement. Antitopic is a backgrounded, nonprominent, non-contrastive Topic. In SVO languages such as Chinese, Hebrew and English, a ‘copula’ developed into a Topic marker. There is a certain coherence condition on the dependency relation between a nonargumental Topic and its complement IP or an element in it. In 3 I turn to CT. CT is distinct from Contrastive Focus. For entity/individual contrast, scalarity is not so obvious, but scalarity is unmistakable for event/proposition contrast with a CT marker/prosody. How to represent this kind of contrasted proposition generated by CT in connection with the given utterance in linguistic structure must be a tantalizing task. [But --- NOT --- predicate_x stronger than the given] is semantic and the predicate_x is supplied from the contextual contrast-set scale triggered by the CT. The phenomenon of Contrastive Predicate Topic is shown to be crosslinguistically witnessed. In 4 the status of such a contrasted proposition is philosophically considered. An unuttered, syntactically unrealized proposition, though necessarily conveyed by the almost universally witnessed CPT must be what the speaker conventionally meant but it must be more than what

he/she ‘implicates’ (Bach 1999), since the contrastively conveyed proposition is the speaker’s real intent of his/her utterance and the uttered part is simply concessive admission of what is given in argumentation logic (Hamblin 1970, Krabbe 1999). Neale’s (1999) multiple proposition theory may be supportive of the position taken here. Section 5 is a concluding part.

2. *Non-Contrastive Topic Marking*

2.1 Topic and Individual-level Predicate. Non-contrastive Topic, because of its characterizing nature, is more compatible with individual-level predicate. Generic statements take a non-contrastive Topic marker in Korean, Japanese, Chinese and basically also in English though without a marker. Their subjects are normally quantified DPs (with an <<e, t>, t> type) and take a generic tense (‘present’), as in *Humans are finite*. If the predicate of a sentence is an individual-level predicate, no matter whether its subject is referential (discourse-bound/-old), as in *Sam is intelligent*, or quantified DP, the subject becomes by default a non-contrastive Topic. A discourse-anaphoric, referential DP may also become a non-contrastive Topic, followed even by a stage-level predicate, as in *Sam is running* for *What is Sam doing?* Otherwise, stage-level predicates take neutral subjects marked by NOM, not by TOP. Also note that a generic Topic cannot take a stage-level predicate, e.g., **inkan-un tali-ko iss-ta* ‘Humans are running.’ I posit a TopP for such a non-contrastive Topic (Rizzi 1997) and its head category Top is realized as TOP markers such as Korean *-nun* and Japanese *-wa* (Whitman 2001). However, the same morphological marking is used for CTs. The initial distinction is made by the distinction between individual-level predicate (non-contrastive Topic) and stage-level predicate (contrastive Topic) and another possible source of non-contrastive Topic is discourse-bound subjects of stage-level predicates.

I further argue that Chinese *shi* from Copula, African-American English *be* from Copula and Hebrew ‘pronominal copula’ *hu*, as well as some uses of Copula forms in English are also Topic markers. Underlyingly, the VP-level is a nuclear scope, where weak indefinites are existentially closed (Diesing 1992, Carlson 2000) and such VP subjects, getting a θ -role from the verb, move to Spec, IP for NOM case, of which the head is realized as NOM marker *-ka/-ga* in Korean/Japanese. Strong DP subjects including generics appear in Spec, IP, to which INFL gives a θ -role, but unlike in Diesing they must move upward to SPEC, TopP for proper meaning/information structure. This also applies to object arguments (of generic/kind, as in *The metal type printer, Koreans invented it*), which can be left-dislocated as Topic or TOP-marked sentence-initially. Stage-level VP subjects typically cannot take this TopP position. If stage-level VP subjects take the same marker *-nun/-wa* they must become Contrastive Topics (CTs). ForceP lies above TopP and IP/TP lies under TopP. Take a look at the approximate structure of TopP below:



Individual-level predicate vs. stage-level predicate (Carlson 1977, Kratzer 1989) can be exemplified by a possession predicate vs. locative existential predicate in Korean, their subjects being marked by Topic and subject, respectively. Observe:

- (2) [_{TopP} harapeci_i-**nun** [_{IP} Ø_i ton -i manh-(u)si -ta]
 grandpa -TOP money-NOM much-HON-DEC
 ‘Grandpa has much money.’

The adjective *manh-* ‘(has) much’ (or *iss-* ‘has’) in its individual-level possession sense, as a two-place predicate, combines with the NOMinative-taking arguments in turn, taking a generic tense. The AGR morpheme HONorific *-(u)si* shows agreement of the adjective with the TOP (possessor) while in SPEC, IP/TP position, not with its immediate complement *ton* ‘money’ (possee), which must be in Spec, VP first.

On the other hand, LOCative-taking adjectives such as *manh-* ‘much/many’ and *iss-/kyesi-*(HON) ‘be present/exist’ agrees with their subjects raised from SPEC, VP, as shown in (3):

- (3) [_{IP} harapeci -ka kongwon -e kyesi -ta]
 grandpa -NOM park-in exist[HON]-DEC
 ‘Grandpa is in the park.’ (*kyesi-*: lexical HON form of *iss-* ‘exist’)
- (4) [_{IP} ton -i harapeci-eke iss-/ *kyesi- -ta]
 money NOM grandpa -to exist/exist[HON]-DEC
 ‘Money is at/with grandpa.’

Those sentences (3) and (4) as well as *A boy is running*, with VP-generated subjects, are stage-level or “thetic” (Brentano 1973, Kuroda 1972) statements as opposed to individual-level or “categorical” statements. Possession predicates we have seen, as in (2), must have originated from such dative or existential locative constructions as (4) historically, still retaining NOM for the possessee nominal, but became distinct from them.¹

Children acquiring Korean make an error of placing the NEG marker before an entire unaccusative sentence as in (5), otherwise placing it before a predicate including an object.

- (5) an pi-ka o-n-ta
 NEG rain-NOM come-PRES-DEC
 ‘It is not raining.’

Adults place it right before a verb and (5) shows that children take the entire unaccusative sentence as a VP, which must be unergically the case.

2.2 Antitopic. In English a left-dislocated DP (and in European languages a hanging Topic), rather than a “topicalized” XP of simple preposing (or contrastive left-dislocated XP), tends to be a non-contrastive Topic. An antitopic (Chafe 1976, Lambrecht 1995) or “right-dislocated” lexical DP is also necessarily a non-contrastive Topic. Consider (6) and (7):

- (6) Mary, she’s real smart.
 (7) She’s real smart, Mary.
 (8) [_{TopP} Mary [_{Top}] [_{IP} she’s real smart]]
 (9) [_{IP} she’s real smart] [_{TopP} Mary [_{Top}]]

The antitopic construction of (7) is a grammatically conventionalized one and not an afterthought. An unaccented resumptive pronominal in English (or empty category in Korean) preceding the antitopic contributes to high accessibility of the lexical antitopic referent cross-linguistically. This may be treated as a consequence of the positioning of the TopP and (remnant) IP movement to the front by dint of some foregrounding operator. Because IP is fronted to the prominent left peripheral position for its focal part, the antitopic becomes non-prominent and gets a falling intonation both in English and Korean and other languages. Because an antitopic starts out as a Topic it cannot be focal. An antitopic is, therefore, unaccented and therefore non-contrastive across languages. Observe (10) and (11):

- (10) ttalki mek-ul kkeya na-**nun** (child Korean)(Lee 2001)
 strawberry eat-be-going-to I-TOP
 ‘I am going to eat strawberries.’ SK 2;4
 (11) yomiyasui -yo mainichi –**wa** (adult Japanese) (Matsumoto 1996)
 to read-easy -DISC Mainichi-TOP (DISC=Discourse Particle)
 ‘(is) easy to read, the Mainichi.’

In a V-final language Korean, the subject-final order of VS, OVS, and ComplementVS is more than 10% in children of 2;2, 2;7 and 2;10 (Cho 1981), though it may not be a strong support for Kaynes’ (1994) claim of Spec-Head-Comp universal order. In a VOS language Malagasy, a Topic lies on the right edge; the external argument moves into the higher Spec, TopP. In this word order, the right periphery must be a prominent position unlike in SOV or SVO languages. Observe:

- (12) namaky ny boky ny.....mpianatra
 PST-NomP.read DET book DET student
 ‘The student read the book’. (Pearson 2001)

The optimal place for non-contrastive Topic, then, turns out to be a left or right periphery.

2.3 ‘Copula’ as Topic Marker. In African-American English, individual-level vs. stage-level is shown by the presence vs. absence of non-tensed copula *be* and because it coincides with Topic vs. subject I claim that *be* is a Topic marker that is attached to Top°. Consider (13) and (14):

- (13) a. Mary be happy.
 b. Do you be tired?
 (14) a. Mary happy.
 b. Mary nice.
 c. I gonna do it.
 d. You tired?

If *happy* occurs with the Topic marker *be*, as in (13a), it denotes Mary’s persisting character/mood (individual-level), whereas *happy* without *be*, as in (14), constituting a matrix small clause, denotes Mary’s transitory happiness (stage-level). A similar Topic phenomenon is found in colloquial American, where a (reduced) specificational pseudocleft construction is followed by another *is*, as follows:

- (15) a. (The) thing is, **is** that I like you.
 b. The problem is, is that we can’t find the evidence.
 c. What the problem is, **is** that we can’t find the evidence.

The *what---* part of the specificational pseudocleft construction (15c) is plausibly claimed by Dikken et al (2000) to be the same as a question *What is the problem?* But I would argue that *what* in (15c) cannot be licensed as a *wh*-word and must be a *wh*-word-based indefinite. There is no question force operator in the sentence that can license a *wh*-word. But if we view the second *is* as a Topic marker, then Topic is semantically connected to conditional and it can be paraphrased as ‘if we are concerned with what the problem is’ with a *wh*-word *what*. In Korean we find the same expression *munce-ka mue-nya hamyen* ‘If we say what the problem is’ as a paraphrase of the Topic. Similarly, *is* is a Topic marker in *Our kids are great on vacations, but when they come back is they need to play* (Massam 1999). Appositive nouns (Stowell 1981, Massam 1999) used in (15) show (individual-level) identificational relation between them and the complement clauses following. The marker *is* before a complement clause as a Topic marker shows that its preceding (reduced) CP with a topical nominal (*thing, problem*) is a Topic, although its complement CP following is a Comment part. A Topic marker takes the position of Top° and takes an IP/TP as its complement, which is a Comment. Therefore, Massam’s (1999) claim that the second *is* in (15) is a focus marker is quite understandable but misses the target. If it were a focus marker it would not be deleted but it can be deleted as in (15a, b) together with the complementizer *that*. In specificational pseudocleft constructions, however, the Topic marker *is* in English still retains the identificational linking (copula) function as well syntactically. The *wh*-predicate of the CP in Spec, TopP in (15c), involving an appositive noun, is the set of propositions that can serve as an answer to the

corresponding question and can be a λ expression of proposition type. If the construction is of the following type:

- (16) What Mary did is buy a computer

The *wh*-based word stands for a set of properties or a family of set of entities. This is ultimately about Mary the topical nominal and the Comment *buy a computer* is specification of the currently relevant property that serves as an answer to the potential question in the Spec, TopP. It is assigning a value to the involved λ . If a referential Topic is strictly discourse-bound by occurring in the previous context or question as if it were in a closed circuit world or situation, then its complement Comment can be a stage-level predicate, as in *Mary bought a computer* for *What did Mary do?* The (potential) Topic referent in the previous context or question is anaphorically inherited without partitioning (dividing into parts) or accommodation (assuming a super-Topic that includes the current Topic). Otherwise, the combination of a non-generic or non-quantified DP with a stage-level predicate creates a CT situation to be discussed. The *wh*-clause of a specificational pseudocleft construction is a result of Topic-establishing process originating from a question. The *wh*-form in the free relative clause, however, is an indefinite, not a question word any longer with no question operator. In a related construction, the Topic marker (copula) can be deleted, as in (17), and it can be inserted in an error by a Korean student learning English, as in (18):

- (17) "Expectations in the country [are] we can't get anything done." (George W. Bush, L.A. Times January 21, 2001, [are]: Staff writers' addition)
 (18) "I **am** work in an office."

The word *are* in (17) is deleted because it is a Topic marker. If it were a pure copula, it could not be deleted in standard English. The copula is used by Korean students as a Topic marker and therefore it is inserted only at the place where the Topic marker *-nun* should appear in the corresponding Korean sentence, as in (18).

Similarly, I argue that Chinese *shi* is a Topic marker originating from a copula. Chinese *shi* is used at places where a copula cannot occur. Consider:

- (19) a. *dinzi sanpin shi* [_{IP} *sanxing dinzi (de) zui hao*] (Chinese)
 electronic goods-TOP Samsung Electronics best
 'As for electronic goods, Samsung Electronics is the best.'
 b. *jeonja jepum -un* [_{IP} *Samsung jeonja-ka choiko-i-ya*] (Korean)
 electronic products-TOP Samsung Electronics -NOM best-be-DEC
 'As for electronic products, Samsung Electronics is the best.'

In (19a) a nominal before *shi* and a clause after it do not match each other in type and cannot be linked by a copular verb. The marker *shi* shows that the preceding nominal is a Topic and at the same time the following Comment is in focus. It helps you foresee the following focal Comment part and it is still prosodically closer to the following Comment IP unlike *shi* in (20) below and people tend to feel, therefore, that it is a focus marker. In meaning, however, it leaned toward the preceding Topic. It is different from a real focus-

marking *shi* in pseudo-cleft constructions. In the Korean counterpart (19b) exactly the Topic marker *-nun* appears in place of *shi* and a copula is not used. Consider further:

- (20) wo **shi**, wu xiangxin you bai zhong shiti ge (Shanghai dialect)
 I TOP not believe there is such situation
 'I don't believe there is such a situation.'

With an individual-level predicate, *shi* is attached to its subject pronominal in (21), making it a Topic. It cannot be a copula in this position. In Shanghai dialect, *shi* is attached to the Topic even phonologically (Xu and Liu 1992) and *shi* occurs in such positions also in Mandarin Chinese (Jim Huang, p.c.). In a sentence such as *wo shi bu qu (de)* 'I don't go' a 'weak neutral tone' (Chao 1968) is used differently from other uses of *shi*.

Another kind of *shi* construction in Chinese is with *de* that 'describes a profession' as cited by Paris (1978) from Tan (1957) as a nominalization construction. Observe:

- (21) a. ni **shi** baidu de?
 you TOP ferry COMP
 'Do you ferry (as a ferryman)?'
 b. ni baidu ma?
 you ferry Q
 'Are you ferrying ((in) a boat)(as a traveler/ferryman)?'

Originally *shi* was a copula and sentence (21a) might have meant 'Are you a ferrying man?' with *ren* 'man' as a head nominal after *de*, as traditionally claimed or something like 'Is it (the case) that you ferry?' But the function of *shi* has shifted to that of Topic marking and at the same time the function of the complementizer or nominalizer *de* became weak and now it functions as an individual-level predicate or generic tense marker. In Korean the complementizer *kes* with its preceding future prenominalizer *-l* and the following copula *-i-* (*-l kes-i-*) became a future tense marker. Literally, a null expletive subject is required because of the copula preceded by a nominal complement clause for the reading of 'It is (the case) that it will rain'. Consider (22):

- (22) pi-ka o -l kes - i -ta
 rain-NOM come-FUTURE -DEC
 'It will rain'.

Without *shi*--- *de*, the verb is stage-level in Chinese, as in (21b). Similarly, if the adjective used is individual-level, *shi* --- *de* is employed to make the entire sentence a Topic sentence, as in (23a):

- (23) a. rén sheng **shì** you xiàn de. 人生是有限的.
 life TOP finite
 'Life is finite.'
 b. rén sheng you xiàn . 人生有限.
 life finite
 'Life is finite.'

Sentence (23a), typically colloquial, is more natural and ‘clear’ and (23b) tends to be used in stage-level situations of listing, casual presentation, etc.

An exact parallel is found in Hebrew. A ‘pronominal copula’ with PERS, NUMBER and GENDER but no TENSE can appear with predicative adjective or nominal, as in (24). It is obligatory for an identificational relation, as in (25). The same is true of Turkish. If the predicate is individual-level, as in (24a), (26a) and (27), then the subject becomes a Topic and the ‘pronominal copula’ *hu* as a Topic marker shows up. Observe:

- (24) a. David **hu** xole
 PronCOP sick
 ‘David is sick’. (persistently)
 b. David xole
 ‘David is sick’. (at the moment) (Rapoport 1985)
 (25) Dani *(**hu**) mar Cohen (Rothstein 2001)²
 PronCOP Mr.
 ‘Dani is Mr. Cohen’.

The Topic marker *hu* with the frozen features of 3rd-masc-sg cannot be a regular pronoun, since it co-occurs with the second person subject, as in *Ata hu ha-more* ‘You are the teacher’ (Li and Thompson 1977). It cannot be a resumptive pronoun subject in a left-dislocated structure preceded by an intonational pause (Berman and Grosu 1976). It is no longer part of the complement IP but part of the TopP. In the *hu*-Topic-marked Ss, the predicate adjective/nominal characterizes the Topic, as in *shi*-marked Ss in Chinese. It is noted that Chinese *shi* changed its function from a demonstrative meaning ‘this’ to a copula, as everyone agrees, and then to a Topic marker, as I claim, and similarly Hebrew *hu* changed its function from a pronoun to a copula, as most agree, and then to a Topic marker, as I claim. If one leans toward the view that *hu* is an individual-level marking copula, though defective inflectionally, then he/she can treat the Ss without it, as in (24b), as matrix small clauses, or in our terms, Topic-less clauses. Those clauses saturate ‘predication’ in the sense of Rothstein (2001) but she fails to pinpoint their nature as stage-level. An existential locative PP construction without *hu*, for instance, such as *[[Dani]_{DP} [be-tel aviv]_{PP}]_{SC}* means that ‘Dani is presently (in stage-level) in Tel Aviv’.

2.4 Nonargumental Topic. A conditional may be syntactically analyzed as an embedded adjunct (see Kayne 1982), but it shows an important semantic relation to its consequent and is topical, as a PP variant in (26a) shows. Therefore, it may be under a higher TopP as a CP, taking the consequent as a complement clause. The conditional complementizer may be Top⁰. There is an intonational pause after the TopP. *Robin*, then, may be another Topic in an embedded TopP. Its inversion counterpart (26b), on the other hand, involves an emphatic (or focal) concessive (because of hidden *whatever*) construction with sentential scope negation. Observe:

- (26) a. With no clothes, Robin looks attractive.
 b. With no clothes does Robin look attractive. (cf. Horn 1989, Haegeman 2000)

Another kind of Topic construction in Korean, in which a Topic does not come from an argument in its complement IP, is shown in (27):

- (27) [Coffee –**nun** [_{IP} cam –i an w –a]]
 –TOP sleep-NOM not come-DEC
 ‘If we drink coffee, we don’t get sleep.’

The adjunct-like Topic in (27), establishes a conditional thus topical relation with its complement IP in the following way: coffee is a beverage for drinking in its *raison d’être* or telic (purpose) function in the qualia (constitutive, formal, telic and causal) structure of lexical representation of *coffee* à la Pustejovsky’s (1995) generative lexicon theory and the conditional relation arising from the Topic will become *if one drinks coffee*. Then, its complement IP *sleep does not come to one* or *one does not get sleep* becomes individual-level because a conditional relation unlike a causal one holds generically. Without the Topic, the same IP would get a stage-level interpretation. Thai shows an exactly parallel Topic: [_{TopP} Coffee –**meq_{TOP}** [_{IP} khueng ‘sleep’-Veq_{NEG} zaq_{RESULTATIVE}]]. The choice of Topic in the topical relation to its complement IP can never be arbitrary, requiring the following general condition:

- (28) **Coherence** condition for topical S: The Topic phrase in Spec, TopP must be coherently related to the Topic’s complement. This dependency relation based on the Topic marker requires coherent anaphoric (binding), conditional (based on causal/logical), possessive, whole-part, set-member relationship, necessarily with the LARGER (in its abstract sense, including scope) in the TopP preceding the smaller in the complement phrase (Lee 1989, 1994).

3. Contrastive Topic

3.1 CT from Conjunctive Q and Contrastive Focus from Disjunctive Q. Turning now to Contrastive Topic (CT), we can say that a potential (non-contrastive) Topic in the discourse or previous question can be partitioned into parts and CT in the current utterance is about one particular part in contrast with the rest of the parts of the potential Topic and the speaker has the alternatives in contrast or contrast set **in mind**.

This is a phenomenon that Rooth (1996) cannot deal with properly with his focus alternative sets alone. The parts (alternatives) of a potential Topic are conjunctively understood (see (29) below). In the case of pure focus, wide or narrow, the speaker makes exclusive choice of the focused material, ignoring other alternatives at the time of utterance. The alternatives set can be vague in this case. If the alternatives are explicitly given in the context and if they are understood disjunctively (if the question in (29Q) were a disjunctive question with *or* instead of *and*, the answers in (29A)-(32) would be unacceptable), then the chosen focus from among them is a contrastive focus.³ CT is topical in the sense that it comes from a potential Topic and somewhat focal in the sense that the choice of the particular part is not known to the hearer. It gives rise to an implicature-like proposition concerning the alternative in contrast, typically opposite to the given in its polarity or at least epistemologically uncertain.

CT is marked by something like B accent (Bolinger 1965, Jackendoff 1972) or roughly L+H*LH% in English (Pierrehumbert & Hirschberg 1990) and by a similar high tone on the Contrastive Topic marker morphemes in Korean, Japanese and Chinese: the

same markers *-nun*, *-wa*, *-shi*, respectively, as used in non-contrastive Topic. While non-contrastive Topic comes from subject, object, dative/locative, being located in S-initial/final periphery Topic position, Contrastive Topic can come from any PPs of oblique grammatical functions and any constituents/categories including adversals and main verbs in a sentence, though with some linguistic variations. Object shift in Icelandic and scrambling in German and Dutch are sensitive to definite/specific and may be treated to be cases of moving out of VP (Thrainsson 2001), and scrambling in Korean has the same effect, all increasing the topicality of the moved element. However, CT in most languages witnessed, whether morphologically marked or not, accompanies some contrastive contour and may remain in-situ (or it may move along with something else) because of its partial focality. Fronting or topicalization is to make it prominent or emphatic, as in *THESE EXAMPLES_{CT}* I found in Gundel.

So far, CT of individual-contrast, as opposed to event/proposition contrast, which I explore, has well been treated in the literature (Carlson 1983, Krifka 1991, von Stechow 1993, Roberts 1996, Wee 1996, Buring 2000). Consider the following (examples from (30) to (32) mean the same as (29A)):

(29) Q: What about you? Did you eat the beans and the peanuts?

A: I ate the BEANS_{CT}. [L+H*LH%]

(30) na khong-UN mek -ess -e (Korean)

I bean- CT eat -PAST-DEC

(31) Fasulye -LER-i ye -di -m (Turkish, S. Gokmen p.c.)

bean -PL-ACC eat-PAST-1st

(32) wo chi [dou zi]^{CT} le. (Chinese, B. F. Jia p.c.)

I eat beans PERF

In Korean (30) and Japanese, the CT marker replaces the ACC marker and gets a high tone on it. In Korean, unlike in Japanese, however, there is a tendency of avoiding double occurrence of *-nun* and the TOP marker for *na* 'I' dropped in (30) or even a neutral subject NOM marker *-ka* can replace it (e.g., ³Yumi-*ka* brother-*nun* intelligent). But CT cannot drop; together with a high tone, the CT conveys the meaning of 'I didn't eat peanuts'. In Turkish (31), a high tone is on the fourth syllable of the noun 'beans', unlike an answer to the question 'What did you eat?' or 'Did you eat the peanuts?', which has a high tone on the third syllable. Surprisingly, a delayed high tone but not the specificity (alone) of the ACC marker marks CT in Turkish. In Chinese (32), 'beans' has been shifted to the front of the perfective marker. In (31A), *the BEANS_{CT}* can be topicalized with the same CT interpretation in one sense of topicalization. The topicalized CT NP *the BEANS_{CT}* constitutes an independent intonational phrase within the whole sentential intonational phrase. All the answers by dint of the convention of the CT markers and/or contrastive intonation convey the meaning of 'but I didn't eat the peanuts'. Therefore, if any of the answers is followed by 'and I ate the peanuts', the result is unacceptable; the conventionally conveyed meaning is not cancellable. Therefore, if someone who ate peanuts as well answers the question by one of (31A) through (34), people tend to think he/she is lying or the answer is false.

When we have been talking about a group of five people who were here and say "Three people left," then although the numeral expression is indefinite and even nonspecific, it is partitive and it becomes a CT; it is neither a non-contrastive Topic nor a

neutral subject with NOM with its stage-level predicate. Therefore, Kuroda's (1972) and Ladusaw's (2000) assigning the CT sentence simply to categorical judgment seems to be too simplistic; although Ladusaw shows its 'presuppositional' nature correctly he misses its focal nature, which is not in non-contrastive Topics.

Structurally, CT cannot be quite in Spec, TopP above IP. Its topicality heads for the S initial position but its focality draws it back to VP. So, it must be somewhere just out of VP. But it must be distinguished from a simple object shift/scrambling for topicality/familiarity that does not involve contrast, for which Jayaseelan (2001) posits an IP-internal TopP above FP (FocusP) under IP. Under FP lies vP. In Korean, CT-marking and simple scrambling with case-marked phrases are clearly distinguished. In SVO Cantonese, where *V-IO-DO, an IO must be ordered before a DO to get *ne* CT-marked (e.g., *Deidih bei Minh-jai ne jauh mh bak man, Fan-neui ne yat bak man* 'Dad gave his son Mingh \$500 and his daughter Fan \$100.' Xu 2001). In German and Dutch, CT needs a fall-rise contrastive contour, whereas scrambling is a clause-bounded fronting Object shift in Icelandic is also clause-bounded. Object shift and scrambling, based on definiteness/specificity/genericity, are IP-internal, clause-bounded movement (topicalization) (Thrainsson, H. 2001), whereas CT is a more marked operation.

3.2 List CTs. Another kind of individual-contrast is expressed by Chinese CT *ne*. We can find contrasted pairs of items in the following. Observe:

- (33) Q: ni shi hanguoren ma?
 you COP Korean Q
 'Are you Korean?'
 A: wo shi, ni *ne*?(Rising)
 I am you CT
 'I am, and you *ne*?'
 (34) ni *ne* /, shi na-guo-ren?
 you CT COP what-country-person
 'As for you, what country are you from?'
 (35) liang ge yue yiqian --- 'Two months ago, ----
 two CL month ago
 xianzai *ne* --- 'at present ---'
 at present CT
 (36) ---, shiji *ne* '---, actually' (Song-Mei Lee 2000)

This type of CT in Chinese shows an explicitly expressed or listed contrast between two elements of the same type ('I' vs. 'you', 'two months ago' vs. 'at present', '---' vs. 'actually'), whereas the *shi* Contrastive Topic to be discussed shows inter-propositional, scalar, contrast between elements. Although pairs are present, the first element of a pair does not get *ne* marking and no separate unexpressed meaning is conveyed except the given because of the list reading.

In languages like Italian, where a focused NP appears S-finally, CT occurs S-initially as follows:

- (37) Q: Chi e venuto? 'Who came?'
 A: e venuto MARIO_F 'MARIO_F came.'

(38) Q: What about Mario and Maria? Did they come?

A: MARIO_{CT} e venuto (ma MARIA_{CT} no) (Mozzikato, p.c.)
 CT but CT Neg
 ‘Mario_{CT} came (but Maria didn’t)’.

3.3 Mutiple CTs Possible? Multiple focus is possible in one sentence crosslinguistically, e.g., in an answer to a multiple *wh*- Q, but multiple CT is rarely possible. In a language like English, where CT is marked by prosodic contrastive contour alone, only one CT seems to be allowed because sentential intonation architecture is limited. Even in Korean, in which CT is morphologically marked, two CTs in a sentence are quite possible but a third CT may be allowed only in limited contexts. Consider:

(39) i ai –**nun** tongsayng –hanthe-**nun** inhyeng-**un** cu-ess-ta
 this child-CT brother –DATIVE –CT doll –CT give-PAST-DEC
 ‘This child gave the doll to his younger brother’.

As previously mentioned, alternatives for focus are ignored and do not take our memory storage, whereas alternatives for CT must be in mind every time it occurs and take processing cost. In (39), the hearer is expected to process three distinct contrast-sets (different from simple alternatives for focus), one for the ‘child’, another for the ‘younger brother’ and the third for the ‘doll’, for the three contrast-sets expressed and, furthermore, the unexpressed contrasted elements of each contrast-set are all associated with polarity-reversed, i.e., negative (here), propositions, e.g., ‘that child didn’t give ---,’ ‘---didn’t give --- to his older brother,’ ‘--- didn’t give a model plane ---,’ etc.⁴ Tracing all the involved computation is not easy and three high pitch rises are not easy either. Note that the S initial -*nun* can equally function as a CT as other CT markers located in the middle of the sentence. It can ambiguously function as a non-contrastive Topic. The mid-sentential CTs cannot be treated differently as Contrastive Focus, unlike in Choi (1999). They all come from a potential conjunctive Topic as CTs.

3.4 CTs in Relative Clauses. In relative and subordinate clauses in Korean and Japanese, non-contrastive Topic cannot occur whereas CT can (Lee 1973). However, occurrence of CT in relative clauses is rather restricted and restrictions vary crosslinguistically. Observe:

- (40) a. a song that MARY_{CT} sings well (from SUBJ)
 b. ?*a boy who ate the BEANS_{CT} (from OBJ) (Whitman and others, p.c.)
 c. (?)*a man who cut the tree with an AXE_{CT} (from Oblique)
 d. *a singer who ARRIVED_{CT} (from V) (Leaper, p.c.)
- (41) a. Mary-**nun** cal puru-nun norae (from SUBJ) (Korean)
 -CT well sing REL(Pres) song
 ‘a song that Mary-CT sings well’
 b. khong –**un** mek –un ai (from OBJ)
 beans -CT eat-REL(PAST) child
 ‘a child who ate the beans-CT’
 c. (?)tokki-ro-**nun** nam-rul caru –n saram (from Oblique)
 axe -with-CT tree-ACC cut –REL man

- d. ??o-ki-nun o-n/ ha-n kasu (from V)
 come-NMZ-CT come(REL)/do-REL(PAST) singer
- (42) a. Yoko-**wa** joozu-ni utaeru uta (from SUBJ) (Japanese)
 -CT well sing-able song
- b. ???mame-**wa** tabeta kodomo (from OBJ)
 beans-CT ate boy
- c. ???ono-de -**wa** ki -o kitta kikori (from Oblique) (Takasu, p.c.)
 axe-with-TOP tree-ACC cut tree-cutter
- (43) a. MALI chang de hao (er bie ren chang de bu hao) de ge
 sing well but others sing not well COMP song
 ‘a song that Mary-CT (but not others) sings well’
- b. (2)yong FUTOU kan shu de ren (from Oblique) (Chinese)
 with axe cut tree COMP man (B. F. Jia, p.c.)
 ‘a man who cut the tree with an axe-CT’

In English (40), only the CT from the subject in the relative clause is all right and CTs from object, oblique and verb are all bad, getting worse from object to oblique and verb, which reflects NP accessibility hierarchy, by which a subject is most accessible and object and oblique are less and less accessible to a grammatical operation like relativization (Keenan and Comrie 1972). The hierarchy applies in other languages as well. As in the case of multiple CT licensing in the matrix clause, there is a sharp distinction between contour CT languages such as English and morphologically CT-marking languages such as Korean, Chinese and Japanese in CT licensability in relative clauses. If a more contrastive context is provided, including negative relative clauses, then acceptability increases. If (42b) is followed by *-mo toonyuu-wa noma-nai* ‘even (a child---) does not drink soybean milk’, it sounds rather acceptable. If (42c) is followed by *-mo te-de-wa kire-nai* ‘even (a tree-cutter ---) cannot with a hand’, it also gets almost acceptable’. If (43b) is contrasted with a corresponding negative sentence with *yong dao* ‘with a knife’ in contrast, e.g. ‘but could not cut it with a knife,’ then it becomes all right. Note that *shi* is used as a CT marker in front of the CT NP/PP in relative clauses in (43). It is not simple focus, as traditionally believed. Thus we can see that CT can occur in relative clauses in general, though with language-specific and context-sensitive restrictions. This claim is rather contra Jacobs (1997) and Krifka (1999), even in German, but is in line with Molnar (1998). In Malagasy, however, the *dia* CT seems to be almost impossible in relative clauses.

3.5 Contrastive Predicate Topic: Crosslinguistic Evidence. Let us turn to the issue of Contrastive Predicate Topic (CPT). This part addresses how predicates in contrastive prosodic contour or morphological marker show the nature of Contrastive Topic and generate scalar propositions that are more than ‘conversational implicatures.’ Such a CT induces an alternative contrast set (C-set henceforth) of event descriptions in the speaker’s mind, based on the common ground in context. The C-set of event-descriptions is partially ordered on a quantificational (Horn’s) scale in terms of degree of accessibility to goal event in event series, which will be illustrated shortly.

An utterance of a predicate in CT generates a polarity-reversed predicate meaning inversely (Lee 2000):

- (44) If ‘CT(p)’ is given, then contrastively (‘but’) ‘not q’ (q: a higher stronger predicate) is conveyed and if ‘CT(not-q)’ is given, then contrastively ‘p’ (a lower weaker predicate) is conveyed.

The cross-linguistic conventionality of this mechanism suggests its semantic contribution. Event-denoting predicates, then, share their scalar nature with quantifier expressions in CT situations. Our present treatment of CT sheds new light on why scope inversion occurs and how reversed polarity or event-contrast occur. The notion of CT can thus be extended and modified from non-predicate nominal expressions (Buring 1994) to predicative event-descriptions cross-linguistically, which reveals aspects of interaction between Topic-Focus information structure and scalar information strength structure.

How does CT occur on predicates? Suppose someone asks a question combining (45) and (46). ‘Going on the stage’ is the ultimate goal event and one of the two questions alone can be understood as a super-question that combines (45) and (46) via accommodation. Then, it has a potential predicate Topic that has been talked about in the questions. In an answer ‘Her arriving and going on the stage was blocked by the crowd of her fans’, the predicates as a whole became a Topic. This is a rare case of noncontrastive Topic and when the goal event of going on the stage is the ultimate concern the hearer can respond to a subquestion given as (45). Then, an answer can be (47) in English and (48) onwards in Korean, Japanese, Chinese, Italian, Russian, Turkish and Hungarian with the relevant predicate meanings from the contextually salient scalar C-set. Consider:

- (45) What about her? Did she arrive yet?
 (46) Did she go on the stage?
 (47) a. She ARRIVED_{CT} [L+H*LH%].
 b. Arrive she DID_{CT}.
 (48) a. o -ki **-nun** hae-ss -e (Korean)
 come –NMZ –CT do-PAST-DEC NMZ=Nominalizer
 b. o -ki **-nun** o -ass -e
 come –NMZ –CT come-PAST-DEC
 (a-b) ‘(She) came-CT.’
 (49) a. doochaku-**wa** shita (Japanese)
 arrive –CT did
 ‘(She) arrived-CT.’
 b. ki **-wa** shita
 come –CT did
 ‘(She) came-CT.’
 (50) lái **shì** lái le. ‘來是來了’ (dān shì meī yǒu shàng tái biāo yǎn)
 come CT come PERF but CT not on the stage perform
 ‘(He) came-CT (but didn’t go on the stage).’ (Chinese)
 (51) per venire e venuto (Italian) (Mozzicato, p.c.)
 for come(Inf) be came(come-PAST)
 (52) Maria pridti **-to** pri-shl-a. No ne vzo-shl-a na stsen-u
 approach-CT approach-PAST-FEM But not up-climb-P-F on stage-ACC
 ‘Maria came-CT. But, she didn’t go on the stage.’ (Russian) (V. Rouss, p.c.)

- (53) Q: Seda gel-di ve sahne-ye cik-ti mı? (Turkish) (S. Gokmen, p.c.)
 come-PAST and stage-to go on-PAST Q
 ‘Did Seda come and go on the stage?’
 A: gel-**mesine** gel-di (ama sahne-ye cik-ma-di)
 come-CT come-PAST but stage-to go on-not-PAST
 ‘Seda CAME_{CT} (but she didn’t go on the stage).’
 (54) meg -erkez -ni meg-erkez-ett (Hungarian) (B. Gyuris, p.c.)
 PreV-arrive-INF PreV-arrive-PAST[3rdSg]
 ‘(He/She) ARRIVED_{CT}’

In English and some other languages the same contrastive contour as used for individual-contrast is the only means of showing CPT, as in (47). Verb fronting is to make the verb prominent, as a separate operation for proposition affirmation (see Birner and Ward 1998 for the case of preceding *but*) and (47b) has both effects of CT and prominence, reinforcing the contrast involved. Otherwise, there are two different syntactic patterns of Contrastive Predicate Topic: as in (49) one is [Vstem/root +NMZ + CT do_{LV} +Inflectional Elements] and the other is [Vstem/root +NMZ + CT Vstem/root +Inflectional Elements] (copying may be involved, see Choi 2001). In some languages NMZ (Nominalizer) is not needed and Vstem/root or infinitive is used. Japanese belongs to the first pattern and the rest (Chinese, Italian, Russian, Turkish, Hungarian) to the second pattern.⁵ In Turkish a CT marker *mesine* is attached to the verb stem, the verb being repeated or copied, whereas individual-contrast is marked by a delayed high tone. In all the verb repetition (copying) pattern languages inflectional functional categories appear with the second verb, which head the functional projection. The pattern of light verbs *ha* ‘do’ (in Korean) and *suru* ‘do’ (in Japanese) cannot be an exception to this generalization.

If we view the patterns as basically identical in meaning, we can learn that the patterns do not denote repetition of ‘coming’ events. Both of them denote one time event of ‘coming’ and the lexical meaning of the original head verb may be transferred to the copied verb and the functional complex ([V-Agr(HON)-T-Top-Force] for Korean) remains for the original verb. It is true that the repetition has the flavor of the tautology of [P is P] or rather a question-answer pair of [Q: P? A: yes, P], as a way of affirmation. It is reminiscent of VP ellipsis in [Did she arrive? Yes, she did] in English. But because of the CT situation, that is not complete and another question is conjoined: [Did she go on the stage?]. The speaker has a negative answer to it but it is not explicitly expressed but is conveyed by means of the conventional CT used. In CT situations all predicates are quantificationally scalar, the ultimate goal event being universal, say, here ‘going on the stage’ in the context. If the answer is rendered as a negative Contrastive Predicate Topic such as ‘She didn’t GO ON THE STAGE_{CT}’, what the speaker conveys may be a proposition with a weaker affirmative predicate ‘but she arrived’. For (47) we need:

- (55) a. C-set on the scale: {arrive < go on the stage}
 b. Conveyed meaning: (*But* she did *not* go on the stage.)

3.6 CT and Negation. In the interaction between negation and universal quantifier, the negation wide scope interpretation is a case of CT. Consider the following example in Korean:

- (56) motu o -ci -**nun** an-h-ass-e
 all come-COMP-CT not-do-PAST-DEC
 ‘Not all came’.

If the predicate is CT-marked in a negative S as in (56), because of its partial focality it is associated with universal quantifier (or it may be ambiguously associated with the verb) as a focus inducer. Then, necessarily negation wide scope reading occurs, some weaker quantifiers than universal standing in contrast to be affirmatively combined with the verb in meaning. Even if the CT marker deletes, still a compensatory high pitch falls on the preceding complementizer and there cannot be ambiguity in speech. We can expect similar effects in other languages. Let’s compare the following two sentences with negation and CT in Korean:

- (57) a. Yumi-ka o -ci -**nun** an-h-ass-ta
 -NOM come-COMP-CT not-do-PAST-DEC
 ‘Yumi didn’t come but ---’
 b. Yumi-ka an o -ki -**nun** an o -ass -ta / hae -ss -ta
 -NOM not come-NMZ-CT not come-PAST-DEC do-PAST-DEC
 ‘Yumi didn’t come but ---’

In (57a) CT can be associated either with the subject *Yumi* making it focused and contrasted with someone else or it may be associated with the verb ‘come’ to make it focused and contrasted with weaker verbs in respect of the current goal event in the context and the conveyed propositional meaning may be ‘but she sent flowers’. If the subject marker in (57a), i.e. *-ka* in *Yumi-ka*, is replaced by *-nun* by default it becomes TOP and normally cannot be in the scope of the following CT *-nun*. *Yumi* in (57a), when *-nun* is focally associated with the verb *o-* ‘come,’ is originally a Topic but because another *-nun* follows in the same sentence the first original *-nun* is avoided and a neutral subject marker *-ka* steps in instead. This does not happen in Japanese. In (57b) the whole stuff *an o-ki* ‘not coming’ is within the scope of the CT *-nun*, copied out of the head, and the CT cannot be associated with the subject *Yumi* and thus cannot focus it, cannot make it be contrasted with anything. The subject here, I claim, comes from Topic *Yumi-nun*; because a non-contrastive Topic occurs with a Contrastive Topic, the non-contrastive one tends to concede to the marked focal and topical *-nun* and gets the NOM marker. This phenomenon does not occur in Japanese. At most a con-contrastive Topic marker can drop in Japanese. Because ‘not coming’ together has been repeated there is no double negation effect (cf. Choi 2001). Instead of *an o-ass-ta*, the light verb ‘do’ form *hae-ss-ta* ‘do-PAST-DEC’ but not **an hae-ss-ta* ‘not do-PAST-DEC’ with negation can be used. (57b) sounds like a more volitional negative act, whereas (57a) can be more circumstantial. In (57a) if another negation marker *an* ‘not’ comes before the verb *o* ‘come’ there occurs double negation effect. The second negation is a real negation and is not in a repetition construction. Because of its denial interpretation double negation here,

particularly with CT, is weaker than the positive form in its positive force. We can see that a repetition is not a simple repetition. Motivations for different syntactic structures are important.

We can notice various cases of CTs marked by *shi* of transitive verbs in Chinese, as follows:

- (58) fan, chi **shi** chi guo le, dan shi mei you chi bao
 rice eat CT eat PER PF but CT not eat enough/full
 ‘Rice, I ate-CT, but I didn’t eat enough.’
- (59) shu **shi** mai le, diannao mei you mai
 book CT buy PF computer not buy
 ‘A book, I bought but I didn’t buy a computer.’
- (60) zhen **shi** da guo le, yao hai mei you chi
 injection CT get PER FP medicine yet not eat
 ‘I got a shot but I didn’t take medicine yet.’
- (61) ni **shi** xiang baba, ta **shi** xiang mama (Hashimoto 1966)
 you CT resemble father he CT resemble mother
 ‘You-CT resemble father, he-CT resembles mother.’

In (58) the CPT clause is contrasted with the next clause that has a negated higher predicate *mei you chi bao* ‘not eat fully’. In (59) object individuals are contrasted but still there seems to be some scalar tendency. In (60) related events involving objects are contrasted. A list contrast of individuals, which is not common, is also made in (61).

3.7 How CTs License Weak NPIs. CT construction constitutes a weakly affective context because of its associated negatively conveyed proposition. Consider:

- (62) a. He *lifted a FINGER_{CT}*. (But he wasN’T very helpful) [weakly negative]
 b. Joe-ka *sonkkarak hana -RA-TO* kkattak-ha-ki –NUN hae –ss –ta
 –NOM finger one-DEC–CONC move-do-Nmn-CT do-PAST-DEC
 ‘He lifted a finger-CT.’ (Korean)
- c. bae-na sagwa-NUN an mek-ess-e (Korean)
 pear or apple –CT not eat-PAST-DEC
 ‘I ate neither pears nor apples.’ (NEG > disjunction)
- d. bae-na sagwa -rul an mek-ess-e
 pear or apple -ACC not eat-PAST-DEC
 ‘What I didn’t eat is either pears or apples.’ (possible) (NEG < disjunction)
- (63) a. gercek-te calis-ma-di-m (Turkish)
 at all study-not-PAST-IstSg
 ‘I didn’t study at all.’
- b. ?*gercek-te calis-ti-m
 at all study-PAST-IstSg
 ‘I studied at all.’
- c. gercek-te calis-masina calis-ti-m
 at all study-CT study-PAST-IstSg
 ‘I did STUDY_{CT} at all.’ (Lit.)

In (62a) a very strong NPI *lift a finger* is in an apparently affirmative sentence but because of its Contrastive Topic effect it is quite acceptable. In Korean (62b), similarly a weak affective item can co-occur with CT. In (62c) because of the affective CT marker its associated disjoined NP can be interpreted only as ‘neither pears nor apples’ with the short form negation following, whereas in (62d) the ACC-marked disjoined NP can be interpreted as ‘It is pears or apples that I didn’t eat’. In Turkish (63) a strong NPI that can occur in a negative sentence, as in (63a), but not in a positive sentence, as in (63b), freely occurs in a CT-*masina*-marked verb repetition sentence, as in (63c). If we ignore this kind of negative force of CT we cannot treat its semantics properly. The contrastive contour and CT markers make a whole difference.

There is some general confusion about the distinction between Contrastive Topic and Contrastive Focus (e.g., see Choi 1999). But we can postulate a conjunctive super-question for a CT-marked answer and the Korean marker *-nun* consistently shows the function of Contrastive Topic, whatever place in a sentence it may take, whatever grammatical function (subject to oblique) it may come from, whatever category from noun, adverb to verb it may be attached to, as we have seen so far. On the other hand, Contrastive Focus supposes a disjunctive super-question such as ‘What about Yumi? Did she eat the beans or (did she eat) the peanuts?’ Then, you cannot answer it with ‘I ate the beans-*nun*_{CT}’ appropriately but with ‘I ate the beans-*ru*_{ACC}.’ The latter is Contrastive Focus. Other forms of Contrastive Focus also come from previous contexts that may be reduced to alternative questions. From the given set of alternatives, you choose one exclusively. It is focused and the rest is ignored and eliminated unlike in CT.

4. Proposition Structure

4.1 The Unrealized Proposition Cannot Be Conversational Implicature. In (47), the initial proposition expressed with Contrastive Predicate Topic *She ARRIVED_{CT}* is concessively admitted and is not complete as an answer to the super-question that is a potential predicate Topic. Therefore, the speaker’s real intent in uttering (47) is to convey a more assertorial proposition of *but she did not go on the stage* from the viewpoint of argumentation logic (see Hamblin 1970, Krabbe 1999). The uttered part is nothing but a concessive commitment. It is somewhat like axiomatically given suppositions in argumentation and what is important is what follows from these as a concluding assertion, which is not expressed. In ‘one step back, two steps forward,’ ‘two steps forward’ gains more weight than the retraction. The following part, unuttered in CT, is more important. If one utters (47) with the contrastive contour and continues with --- *and she went on the stage*, it sounds contradictory, without perhaps some epistemological hedge such as *maybe* inserted after *and*. Without the contrastive contour it is perfect. In this sense, characterization of the phenomenon as a ‘conversational scalar implicature,’ as done by Rooth (1994) and Buring (2000), is not tenable. The phenomenon should originate from it. But it has a conventional linguistic CT contour or morphological marker or syntactic shift/scrambling. ‘Conventional implicature’ may be still weak, although Grice may be satisfied. Bach (1999) shows a similar objection to the ‘conventional implicature’ treatment of particles such as *even*, but he does not treat such a prosodically distinct phenomenon as CT that has an unuttered part. C-set is computed in such a way: if any right side element entails its left side element in a relevant dimension, then it constitutes a scalar C-set. If *arrive* temporally precedes and is necessitated by *go on the stage*, *Mary*

went on the stage entails *Mary arrived* in the limited closed circuit context.

4.2 Semantic Strength and Different Layerings of Propositions. Meaning strength scale (though goal event-oriented), polarity-reversal, and inverse relation are all semantically motivated. The only part pragmatics of context intervenes in is selecting the relevant alternative elements on the scale. The contrastive conjunction *but* and the polarity reversal negation *not* are semantically or conventionally determined. Event/subevent descriptions are ordered on the scale based on degree of accessibility to the ultimate goal in the relevant series of events. The predicate meaning *go on the stage* entails the predicate meaning *arrive*. In other words, *go on the stage* is stronger than *arrive* in meaning in the relevant series of events for the planned goal.

Neale (1999) discusses Frege's (1892) 'coloring' of thought. For Frege, *Alfred has not arrived yet* and *Alfred has not arrived* have the same sense but have different coloring, the former suggesting that someone expects Alfred to arrive. Afterwards, linguists came out with many more expressions that generate Grice's 'conventional implicatures' such as 'even', 'still', 'yet', 'anyway', 'however', 'nevertheless', etc. including honorifics in Korean (see (3)), Japanese, and Tamil. The syntactic HONorific agreement in Korean coming from the conventional marking of *-shi-* is motivated by the following pragmatic attitudinal manner of speech:

(64) Proposition: [The speaker HONORs the (Topic/)subject referent]

Neale (1999) argues that the content of the suggestion for 'yet' is a *second proposition expressed*, dependent upon the ground-floor proposition (that Alfred has not arrived), proposing a multiple proposition approach. A *dependent way* for an *n*-th proposition is ultimately attributable to semantic features of lexical items. An utterance simply expresses one or more propositions and these have truth-values. All the associated propositions must be true for an utterance to be true. If this position is taken, the unuttered proposition generated by CT can be duly treated. However, I cannot agree on Neale's not distinguishing between presuppositions and other types of propositions. Assertion, entailment, presupposition, conventional implicature and conversational implicature in that order may have different degrees of influence for truth. A person who misses the HON marker *-shi* from (3) in Korean may have uttered an inappropriate utterance regardless of the truth of the utterance. The utterance cannot change its truth value because of lack of the HON marker. But there must be more refined and polished layerings of different propositions analyzed for different utterances.

5. Conclusion

Because CT is only intonationally marked in some widely studied languages, its status, particularly its unuttered part, is easy to be ignored or minimally/weakly treated. Different markers of CT in various languages and various intonational patterns for this particular phenomenon of CT and Contrastive Predicate Topics (CPTs) have been investigated. We have shown how CT, which is topical and focal, is distinct from non-contrastive Topic, which is not focal at all, on one hand, and how it is distinct from contrastive focus, which is associated with disjunctive question, on the other. CT underlies negation wide scope reading in its interaction with negation and licenses weak existential NPIs in different languages.

CPT utterances witnessed in various languages necessarily convey unrealized polarity-reversed or negative higher predicate meanings, which is largely semantic and partly pragmatic. This cannot be a matter of conversational implicature and may not even be a matter of conventional implicature in the sense that the speaker's real intent is to convey this unrealized proposition.

Notes

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¹In underlying structure a VP-internal Dative may be posited to give an explanation of why the possessee takes NOM rather than ACC. If the fronted possessor DP takes a dative marker, however, it is still an existential locative construction, blocking an HON agreement. For a very small number of Koreans who accept HON agreement in this situation, fronting creates topicalization effects.

²Cf. *Dani more* 'Dani is a teacher (at the moment)' without copula is possible as well as *Dani hu more* 'Dani is a teacher'.

³As Chunghye Han pointed out (p.c.), a disjunctive question presupposes that a single chosen answer is expected. Therefore, it can trigger a contrastive focus but *-nun* can never trigger a contrastive focus.

⁴Because the S-initial CT from the subject takes wide scope over other following CTs, its alternative, namely 'that child,' turns out to have given neither his elder brother nor his younger brother neither a model plane nor a doll. This consequence is due to the basic scalar (in whatever sense) nature of alternative C-sets. I share this intuition with Choon-Kyu Lee (p.c.).

⁵In Japanese, however, some younger speakers prefer the second pattern for a few verbs such as *kuru* 'come' (e.g., *kita-koto-wa kita* 'came-thing-CT came').

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SUMMARY

Because Contrastive Topic (CT) is only intonationally marked in some well-known languages such as English, it has been minimally treated. Different markers of CT in various languages and various intonational patterns for this particular phenomenon and Contrastive Predicate Topics (CPTs) have been investigated. We have shown how CT, which is topical and focal, is distinct from non-contrastive Topic, which is not focal at all, on one hand, and how it is distinct from contrastive focus, which is associated with disjunctive question, on the other. CT underlies negation wide scope reading in its interaction with negation and licenses weak existential NPIs in different languages.

CPT utterances witnessed in various languages necessarily convey unrealized polarity-reversed or negative higher predicate meanings, which is largely semantic and partly pragmatic. This cannot be a matter of conversational implicature and may not even be a matter of conventional implicature in the sense that the speaker's real intent is to convey this unrealized proposition.