Semantics of Left-dislocated Prepositional Phrases[*]

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Abstract

This paper investigates left-dislocated prepositional phrases in German, and especially the relation between the PP and its resumptive pronoun *da*. Whilst, in the case of left-dislocated NPs, it is clear that the left-dislocated NP and the resumptive pronoun are coreferential, in the case of left-dislocated PPs the relation between PP and the resumptive pronoun has turned out to be problematic. I argue that the pronoun refers to a topic-situation, which then is restricted by the PP. Three observations support this claim.

1 Introduction

German left-dislocation is a structure in which a constituent is located in front of a sentence with verb second order. Left-dislocation is primarily used in spoken German, but it can be found in written German, too. In general, left-dislocation is possible for all kinds of XPs: NPs[1] see (1a), APs see (1b), AdvPs see (1c) and (1d), VPs see (1e), CPs see (1f), and PPs see (1g), which are the topic of this paper.

(1)   a.   [Den Felix], **den** mag jeder.
               the   Felix the likes everybody

        b.   [Neugierig], **das** ist Gesine schon   immer gewesen.
               curious,   that is Gesine already always been

        c.   und [dreimal   in der Woche] **das** reicht dann ...   (Selting, 1993, ex. 8)
               and three.times in the week   that suffices then ...

        d.   [Gestern], **da** hat Maria den Stuhl gestrichen.
               yesterday *da* has Maria the chair painted.up

        e.   nee [so ständich m jemandn so um sich habm] **das** könnt ich au   nich
               no so always   m someone so at self have   that could I   also not
                                         (Selting, 1993, ex. 9)

[1] For the sake of simplicity, I will use the term 'NP' for referring to NPs and/or DPs throughout this paper.

f. [Wo die beiden Straßen aufeinander treffen], **da** haben sie alle Bäume
where the both streets on.each.other cross, *da* have they all trees
gefällt.
choped.down

g. [In unserem Garten], **da** stehen drei Apfelbäume.
in our garden, *da* stand three apple.trees

There are a lot of studies that investigate left-dislocated NPs, e.g. Cardinaletti (1987), Grewendorf (2002) and Frey (2004b), but hardly any about left-dislocated PPs. (1a) illustrates a classic example of a left-dislocated Noun Phrase (NP). The NP *den Felix* ('the Felix') is located in front of a sentence with verb second order and is resumed by the pronoun *den* ('the') in the matrix clause. For all kinds of XPs the left-dislocated constituent is considered to be syntactically integrated in the matrix clause. In the case of NPs this is hinted by the morphosyntactic agreement between the left-dislocated NP and its resumptive pronoun. In (1a), the NP and the pronoun agree in their morpho-syntactic features like case and number: Both are singular and accusative. Unfortunately, beyond this, no indisputable, clear cut syntactic analysis can be found. In the literature about dislocation structures, there are a lot of other differentiating factors to distinguish left-dislocation constructions from other dislocations at the left periphery, but morpho-syntactic agreement is the only uncontroversial criterion; see e.g. Shaer *et al.* (to appear) for an overview. However, this criterion only applies to NPs, but does not hold for PPs, as we will see in the next section. This fact makes an analysis of the relation between the left-dislocated PP and its resumptive pronoun more difficult.

Left-dislocation is used to highlight a constituent (c.f. Altmann, 1981). The highlighted constituent is considered to be the topic of the sentence in the sense of 'aboutness-topic'. For a definition of this concept of topic, see Reinhart (1981). Roughly speaking, 'aboutness topic' means that the topic of a sentence is the constituent whose referent the sentence is about. In contrast to the concept of 'familiarity-topic' (see Krifka (1992) inter alia for definition), an aboutness topic entity does not have to be familiar, but it can. For further discussions see Frey (2004a). In (1a), the NP *den Felix* ('the Felix') is the topic of the whole sentence.

Most proposals for left-dislocation require that the left dislocated constituent has argu-ment status (e.g. Cardinaletti, 1987; Frey, 2004b). But in the case of PPs, most are modifiers like in (2). Thus existing analyses for NPs cannot simply be adopted for PPs.

(2) In Berlin, da kosten Äpfel weniger als in München.
in Berlin *da* cost apples less than in Munich

The aim of this paper is to compile the essential properties of left-dislocated PPs and to present a first proposal on this basis concerning the role of *da*. I assume that syntactically, *da* is an anaphor for the left-dislocated PP, and that semantically, *da* is a demonstrative pronoun for the situation the speaker emphasizes to the hearer by left-dislocation. This salient situation is restricted by the PP.

2 Properties of Left-dislocated PPs

Whether a PP can be left-dislocated or not does not seem to depend on its syntactic function. Left-dislocated PPs may equally well have the status of a predicative phrase, an argument or an adverbial modifier. For illustration, see the following examples: In (3a) the PP is a predicative, in (3b) the PP is used as an argument of the verb *wohnen* ('to live'), and in (3c) the PP has adverbial status.

(3) a. In München, da ist doch Verena.
         in Munich   *da* is still Verena
     b. In der dritten Etage, da wohnt Frau Meyer.
         on the third   floor   *da* lives Mrs. Meyer
     c. Am Donnerstag, da repariert Felix sein Fahrrad.
         on Thursday,   *da* repairs   Felix his bicycle

Yet, interestingly, left-dislocation is not possible for PPs that are directional argument PPs, see (4).

(4) *Nach Hamburg, da fahre ich.
      to   Hamburg *da* go   I

As we will see later, this observation gives additional support for my analysis of the relation between the left-dislocated PP and its resumptive pronoun.

This paper mainly focuses on PPs that are modifiers for two reasons: first, the majority of PPs are modifiers, and second, former approaches have mainly investigated arguments in left-dislocation. (5) presents examples for various left-dislocated modifiers:

(5) a. Im   Hof, da spielen Kinder.
         in.the yard *da* play   children
     b. Am Montag, da geht er ins   Kino.
         on Monday *da* goes he to.the movies
     c. Ohne   ihr Notebook, da kann Maria nicht arbeiten.
         without her laptop   *da* can Maria not   work

Whilst, in the case of NPs, the resumptive pronoun always has to be a weak d-pronoun[2], cf. Cardinaletti (1987), there are various different possibilities for a resumption of PPs. (6) shows examples for locative PPs.

(6) a. Auf diesem Stuhl, **da**   hat schon   Napoleon gesessen.
         on this   chair 'there' has already Napoleon sat
     b. Auf diesem Stuhl, **auf dem** hat schon   Napoleon gesessen.
         on this   chair 'on the' has already Napoleon sat

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[2] Weak d-pronouns are pronouns whose morphological forms are identical to those of definite articles. (cf.Frey (2005))

     c.   Auf diesem Stuhl, **darauf**   hat schon   Napoleon gesessen.
          on   this   chair 'thereon' has already Napoleon sat
     d. ?Auf diesem Stuhl, **dort**   hat schon   Napoleon gesessen.
          on   this   chair 'thereabouts' has already Napoleon sat

In (6a), the pronoun is *da*. Altmann (1981) calls it a 'universal pronoun', which means that it can resume several kinds of XPs. In (6b), the resumptive element consists of a recurrence of the preposition plus a demonstrative pronoun, which agrees morphosyntactically with the NP embedded in the PP. A third possibility for resumption of a left-dislocated PP is a pronominal adverb, which is a composition of the pronoun *da* and the preposition appearing in the PP, in (6c) *darauf* ('thereon'). In some cases the resumption of the PP can be performed by an adverb, e.g. the locative adverb *dort* ('there') in (6d). Yet, the usage of *dort* is not always possible for locative, left-dislocated PPs. Some examples are disliked by native speakers, see (7):

(7)   ?Auf dem Gendarmenmarkt, dort findet ein Konzert statt.
        on   the Gendarmenmarkt there take   a   concert place

The only variant of resumption of a left dislocated PP where morpho-syntactic agreement could be checked is (6b). This construction is not preferred by speakers. In fact the pronoun preferred by native speakers is *da*. In Fritzsche (2005), I carried out a corpus study, which shows that 89% of left-dislocated PPs in the corpus[3] used *da* as resumptive pronoun, but I did not find any instance of a left dislocated PP that is resumed by a recurrence of the preposition plus a demonstrative pronoun, like in (6b). That is the reason why this paper considers only left-dislocated PPs with *da* as resumptive pronoun.

3   Problem statement and hypothesis

Explaining the semantic relation between *da* and the left-dislocated PP turns out to be problematic. Traditionally, *da* is analysed to be either locative or temporal. In (5a), where the PP *auf dem Hof* ('in the yard') is a locative modifier, *da* could refer to the embedded argument, the inner region of the yard. Analogously, *da* could refer to the relevant time span in (5b), where the PP *am Montag* ('on Monday') is a temporal modifier. Therefore the straightforward solution would suggest that *da* is coreferential with the internal argument of the PP. But this solution wouldn't work for examples like (5c). Obviously, *da* does not refer to Maria's laptop or something related. My suggestion is that *da* has to be analysed as a situative pronoun here, roughly: situations without her laptop. In the following parts of the paper I will elaborate this idea and supply further evidence for my assumption.

The idea of interpreting *da* as a situative pronoun is not really new. It has already been mentioned by Ehrich (1983, 1992) that in certain contexts *da* can only be interpreted as

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[3] The corpus is a database of several corpora of German written language. These corpora consist of newspapers, journals and trade magazines, of literature and light fiction, as well as protocols of parliamentary debates. The corpora are accessible at the chair of Corpus Linguistics, Humboldt-University at Berlin.

referring to the described situation as a whole. And also Kratzer (2004) analysed *da* as a situative pronoun. Both consider cross-sentential phenomena as in (8):

(8)   Maria hat ihr Notebook vergessen. Da kann sie nicht arbeiten.
        Maria has her laptop   forgotten *da* can she not   work

In (8), *da* refers to a situation of Maria not having her laptop, which is an implication of the fact that she has forgotten her laptop. Such situations can be described by one or more sentences. Such a situation could also be given by a PP as in (5c), here repeated as (9). I will assume that in sentences with left-dislocated PPs, *da* refers to a 'topic situation' that is restricted by the PP. In example (9), the 'topic situation' is the situation that Maria does not have her laptop.

(9)   Ohne   ihr Notebook, da kann Maria nicht arbeiten.
        without her laptop   *da* can Maria not   work

The concept of a 'topic situation' has been introduced by Maienborn (2001, 2005) as a generalization of Klein's notion of 'topic time'. It is the discourse situation the proposition is about. Klein (1994) differentiates three types of times: time of utterance, time of event, and topic time. *Time of utterance* is the time, at which the speaker makes his utterance. *Event-time* is the time span in which the event is temporally localised and *topic time* is the time span the speaker makes his utterance about. See (10) for illustrations:

(10)   Das Licht war an.
       The light was on.

Utterance time is the time when the speaker utters the sentence, event time is the time span in which the light was really on, i.e., several seconds, minutes or hours, etc., and topic time is the time span the speaker talks about, e.g., the moment the speaker looked into the room.

Certainly, this analysis bears the problem that we cannot simply assume that the left-dislocated PP and the resumptive pronoun *da* are coreferent in its intrinsic sense, and obviously it is unclear how to analyse the syntactic relation between *da* and the PP.

4 Evidence

There are three observations supporting my hypothesis that *da* refers to a 'topic situation':

1. *Da* can refer to PPs with semantically different but coherent parts.

2. Left - dislocation of modifier PPs and their resumption by *da* is -under neutral intonation- only possible for frame-setting modifiers, which inherently restrict a topic situation.

3. Left-dislocation of PPs and their resumption by *da* is excluded for PPs that are only used as coherence relations and do not restrict a 'topic situation'.

4.1 *Da* can refer to PPs with semantically different but coherent parts.

Left-dislocation of PPs that consist of several PPs are possible, see (11).

(11)   Am Montag in der Universität, da habe ich Maria getroffen.
      on   Monday at the university   *da* have I   Maria met

In (11), *da* simultaneously refers to the location *Universität* ('university') and the time *Montag* ('Monday'). Therefore, *da* refers to the situation as a whole. 'Coherent' means here that the parts of the complex PP must be pragmatically suitable. A sentence like (12) is infelicitous, because the two PPs appear to be somehow incongruent. However, a detailed analysis of 'pragmatical suitability' is still missing.

(12)   *Am Montag ohne   Peter, da habe ich Maria getroffen.
      on   Monday without Peter *da* have I   Maria met

Generally, it is assumed for German that the prefield can be occupied by only one single XP. Insofar examples like (11) are problematic. And so, in research about complex PPs it is often assumed that a complex PP consisting of temporal and locative PPs should be analysed as one single PP, e.g. Wunderlich (1984) or Zifonun *et al.* (1997). The former argue that one PP is simply the modifier of the other if both their semantic roles are the same. Müller (2003) shows that this cannot be true: he gives examples for complex PPs where the second PP cannot be a modifier of the first, cf. (13a) vs. (13b).

(13)   a.   Im   Kosmetiksalon im   Bahnhof traf sich   die Creme der Stadt.
         in.the beauty.parlour in.the station   met REFL the cream of   city
     b.   Am   Bahnhof, im   Kosmetiksalon traf sich   die Creme der Stadt.
         at.the station   in.the beauty.parlour met REFL the cream of   city
                                       (Müller, 2003, ex. 20a)

The PPs in (13a) could be analysed in the sense of Wunderlich (1984) as one single PP. The PP *im Bahnhof* ('in the station') could be a modifier of the PP *im Kosmetiksalon* ('in the beauty parlour') because the beauty parlour is located in the inner region of the station. But these cases are seldom. Sentences like (13b) are more frequent, and here, both PPs together cannot be analysed as one single PP because the PP *im Kosmetiksalon* ('in the beauty parlour') does not modify the PP *am Bahnhof* ('at station') directly. The beauty parlour is not located in the inner region of the station, but near to the station. In Zifonun *et al.* (1997) the analysis is more sophisticated. They explain examples like (13b) in such a way that the PP *im Kosmetiksalon* ('in the beauty parlour') modifies the PP *am Bahnhof* ('at station') restrictively. The interpretation would be: near the station, and more precisely in the beauty parlour. And so, they analyse the complex PP as a single one.

However, the approach of Zifonun *et al.* (1997) cannot explain sentence like (14).

(14) Im   Hause am   Bergsee   zur Sommerzeit   sei es freilich nur ein
      in.the house at.the mountain.lake at summer.time is it aye   only a
      Harmonicum.
      harmonic.thing

<div align="right">(Müller, 2003, ex. 23a)</div>

The temporal PP *zur Sommerzeit* ('at summer time') cannot be a modifier for the complex locative PP *im Hause am Bergsee* ('in the house at the mountain lake'), neither restrictively nor as an appositive. Thus here we have two separate PPs. As in the case of sentences with verb second order more than one PP can be fronted, for the case of left-dislocation we could expect more than one PP, too. However, obviously there are semantic and pragmatic restrictions for all PPs together to restrict one topic situation. Under the assumption that *da* does not refer to the PP directly via coreference, but indirectly via topic situation, cases of multiple frontings can be immediately captured.

The following examples taken from the corpus illustrate the variety of complex modifiers in left-dislocation:

(15) a. Aber hier, aber jetzt, vor   den Spätzle und dem Toastbrot, da ist -
          but   here but   now in.front.of the pasta   and the   toast   *da* is -
          sie   waren selber   gar nicht gefasst   darauf - plötzlich kein Stück
          they were themself   not   looked.out for   - suddenly no   piece
          mehr übrig von ihrem Schweigen.
          more left   of   their   silence

<div align="right">(KO-5777302)</div>

      b. Auf dem Bahnhof von Biarritz jedoch, im   Smalltalk mit dem jungen
          on   the station   of Biarritz yet   in.the small.talk with the   young
          Mann, im   vollen Wartesaal   in der dunklen Ecke, da beginnt ein
          man   in.the full   waiting.room in the dark   corner *da* begins a
          Leuchten, ...
          glow   ...

<div align="right">(KO-10577701)</div>

It is obviously possible that several PPs and adverbs together describe one single situation (= 'topic situation') in making several aspects of this situation available to the hearer. And, the resumptive pronoun *da* can refer to this situation and to all of its aspects (e.g. time, location, ...).

4.2 Left-dislocation is only possible for frame-setting modifiers

Under neutral intonation, left-dislocation of PPs and their resumption by *da* is only possible for frame-setting modifiers. Maienborn (2001) differentiates three types of locative adverbial modifiers: Frame-setting modifiers, event-external modifiers and event-internal modifiers. Example (16) covers all three types:

(16) In den Anden werden Schafe vom   Pfarrer auf dem Markplatz   an den
      in the Andes are   sheep from.the priest   on the marketplace at the
      Ohren gebrandmarkt.
      ears   branded

(Maienborn, 2001, ex. 16)

The PP *in den Anden* ('in the Andes') is a 'frame-setting modifier'. It restricts the scope
for the proposition, meaning that the proposition is true only with respect to the region
of the Andes. The PP *auf dem Marktplatz* ('on the marketplace') is an 'event-external'
modifier: It localises the event. This means that the event of branding takes place on the
marketplace. Event-external modification is the standard case for adverbial modification.
Finally, the PP *an den Ohren* ('at the ears') is an 'event-internal' modifier. "Internal
modifiers do not locate a whole eventuality but an entity that serves some function within
the eventuality. Depending on the particular functional embedding, internal modifiers can
convey instrumental or manner information about the eventuality" (Maienborn, 2001,
p.218). My observation is that left-dislocation of modifier PPs is only possible if the PP
is a frame-setting modifier.

(17) a. In Frankreich, da marinieren die Köche das Huhn   in Rotwein.
          in France   *da* marinate   the cooks the chicken in red.wine
      b. ?In Rotwein, da marinieren die Köche das Huhn.
          in red.wine *da* marinate   the cooks the chicken.
      c. ?In der Küche, da streitet Peter mit Maria.
          in the kitchen *da* quarrels Peter with Maria

In (17a), with a left-dislocated frame-setting PP, the sentence is acceptable regardless of
any variation in its intonation. See, in contrast, (17b) and (17c). In (17b) the event-
internal modifier *in Rotwein* ('in red wine') has been left-dislocated. Under neutral in-
tonation, the sentence fails. Only a contrastive pronunciation could lead to a felicitous
interpretation, see (18).

(18) In ROTwein, DA marinieren die Köche das Huhn,   und nicht in Ingwersoße.
      in red.wine *da* marinate   the cooks the chicken and not   in ginger.dressing

Interestingly, native speakers, if forced to interpret (17b), tend to assume a situation in
which the cook is situated in red wine while marinating the chicken; i.e. they interpret
the left-dislocated locative as an event-external modifier. Similar observations hold for
(17c): Only a strong contrastive intonation can save the sentence. However, this case
is more intricate. The sentence could be felicitous under neutral intonation under an
interpretation of the locative as a frame-setting modifier. In this case the interpretation
would be that the kitchen is Peter's preferred location to quarrel with Maria (in contrast,
e.g., to the living room.), see (19):

(19)   In der Küche, da   streitet Peter mit Maria und im   Wohnzimmer trinkt
    in the kitchen there quarrels Peter with Maria and in.the living.room   drinks
    er Bier / streitet er mit Clara.
    he beer / quarrels he with Clara

Here, the PP in der Küche ('in the kitchen') clearly is a frame-setting modifier, as it restricts the scope for the proposition that *Peter quarrels with Maria*, and its left-dislocation results in a well-formed sentence.

Now remember the problematic directional PPs mentioned in section 2. Repeating (4) as (20a) and modifying it to (20b) we see that the sentence becomes felicitous:

(20)   a. *Nach Hamburg, da   fahre ich.
          to   Hamburg there go   I
    b. Nach Hamburg, da   fahre ich mit dem Zug.
          to   Hamburg there go   I by train

Obviously, in (20b) the PP *nach Hamburg* ('to Hamburg') is interpreted as a frame-setting modifier, since the interpretation of the sentence is now as follows: Concerning my trip to Hamburg, I will take the train. Like this, the unacceptability disappears.

All in all, these findings show that only frame-setting modifiers can be dislocated to the left. If an event-external modifier is left-dislocated, it is interpreted as a frame-setter. As frame-setting modifiers always restrict a topic situation, see Maienborn (2003), this fact gives evidence for the assumption.

4.3 Left-dislocation of PPs and their resumption by *da* is excluded for PPs that are only used to establish a coherence relation and do not restrict a topic situation

The third point of evidence for my claim is that left-dislocation of PPs and their resumption by *da* is excluded for PPs that are only used to establish a coherence relation and do not restrict a topic situation.

Schauer & Hahn (1998) and also Grabski & Stede (2006) have argued that not only clauses can be considered coherence bearing units, but also phrases and hence prepositional phrases, too. Grabski & Stede (2006) introduced the following sufficient but not necessary criterion for PPs as coherence bearing units: if the argument of the PP is an eventuality, the PP signals a coherence relation. (Grabski & Stede, 2006, p.2)

In (21), the PP *trotz des schlechten Wetters* ('despite the bad weather') is only used in order to establish a coherence relation between the embedded DP *des schlechten Wetters* ('the bad weather') and the matrix clause.

(21)   Trotz   des schlechten Wetters gehen wir schwimmen.
    despite the bad   weather go   we swim

Within the RST framework (Rhetorical Structure Theory; see Mann & Thompson, 1988),

the PP *despite the bad weather* would be analysed as the discourse relation 'concession'.[4] This PP does not restrict a situation. Under my analysis, we would expect that the PP cannot be left-dislocated. Example (22) shows the expected outcome.

(22) *Trotz   des schlechten Wetters, da gehen wir schwimmen.
      despite the bad   weather da go   we swim

This does not only concern concessive PPs. Similarly, PPs introducing causal relations cannot be left-dislocated, see (23).

(23) a. Aufgrund der zahlreichen Indizien   wurde der Dieb entlarvt.
          due.to   the numerous   evidences was   the thief debunked
      b. *Aufgrund der zahlreichen Indizien, da wurde der Dieb entlarvt.
          due.to   the numerous   evidences *da* was   the thief debunked
      c. Durch diese Aktion wurde die Regierung   gestoppt.
          by   this action was   the government stopped
      d. *Durch diese Aktion, da wurde die Regierung   gestoppt.
          by   this action *da* was   the government stopped

Let me point out that it is not the causal semantics of the preposition that prevents left dislocation, but the fact that the PP establishes a causal coherence relation, see (24a) and (24b):

(24) a. Wegen   der WM,   da mache ich mir keine Sorgen.
          concerning the FIFA.World-Cup, *da* make I   me no   worries
      b. *Wegen   der WM,   da kommt Peter schon   am Montag.
          because of FIFA.World-Cup, *da* comes Peter already on Monday

The main difference between the PPs in (24a) and (24b) is already hinted at by the different English translations for the preposition *wegen*. In (24a), the PP *wegen der WM* ('concerning the FIFA.World-Cup') acts as a frame-setting modifier in the preferred reading that the speaker is not worrying about the WM. If the PP were an argument of a causal coherence relation, the interpretation would be that the FIFA World-Cup is the reason for me not to worry. I think the first reading is preferred. In (24b), the obvious interpretation is that the PP expresses a coherence relation with the matrix clause: The FIFA World-Cup is the reason for Peter coming on Monday. (24b) is unacceptable as expected by the analysis.

Generally, the semantics of the particular prepositions is obviously not crucial for the ability to be left-dislocated or not. This becomes clear if we have a closer look at the preposition *bei*. Grabski & Stede (2006) have found eight different coherence relations triggered by the preposition *bei*. For example, *bei* can be used for conditionals as well as for concessives. Whilst in the case of *trotz* ('despite'), the semantics of *trotz* yields the concessive relation, in the case of *bei*, the choice of a particular coherence relation arises

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[4] Following Kehler (2002), who developed a different classification, the PP would be a relation of type 'denial of preventer'.

from the readers interpretation and his world knowledge, cf. Grabski & Stede (2006).

An example for the preposition *bei* triggering a concession relation is (25a). And again, as we can see in (25b), a left-dislocation is not acceptable.

(25) a. Bei   allem Verständnis für Tierliebe   kann dem Antrag der
          despite all   sympathy   for love.of.animals can the request of.the
          Bienenfreunde leider   nicht stattgegeben werden.
          friends.of.bees regrettably not   allowed   be
      b. *Bei   allem Verständnis für Tierliebe,   da kann dem Antrag der
          despite all   sympathy   for love.of.animals *da* can the request of.the
          Bienenfreunde leider   nicht stattgegeben werden
          friends.of.bees regrettably not   allowed   be

Example (25b) shows that the unacceptability actually has its reason in the type of coherence relation (i.e. concession in this case), and not in the semantic of the preposition. Obviously, in the case of concessions and causal relations, no topic situation is available the pronoun *da* can refer to.

However, it appears there are PPs that express a coherence relation with regard to their host sentence and that still can be left-dislocated, namely PPs establishing a conditional relation, see (26a).

(26) a. Bei starken Gewittern, da werden die Katzen unruhig.
          at heavy   storms,   *da* become the cats   agitated
      b. Bei solchen Leuten, da bin ich immer vorsichtig.
          with such   people *da* am I   always with.caution

To be precise, the example (5c) repeated here as (27), which is the flash point for my investigations, is a conditional.

(27) Ohne   ihr Notebook, da kann Maria nicht arbeiten.
      without her laptop   *da* can Maria not   work

Now the question is why is it impossible to left-dislocate concessive PPs and PPs in causal coherence relations, but possible for PPs in a conditional coherence relation.

Due to the fact that frame-setters establish conditional structures, both are similar, and it is not surprising that conditional PPs can be left-dislocated, too.

As we know that frame-setting modifiers inherently restrict a topic situation, we expect the left-dislocation of conditional PPs to be acceptable.

Thus, regardless whether a PP establishes a coherence relation or not, the crucial issue is if the PP restricts a topic situation.

5 Conclusion

The problem was to find an analysis of the relation between *da* and the left-dislocated PP. We have seen that *da* cannot refer to the internal argument of the PP because there are cases where *da* cannot be coreferential with the embedded NP. Alternatively, I have proposed that *da* refers to the topic situation of a sentence, which in turn is further restricted by the PP. I have presented three observations that support this claim. *Da* can refer to complex PPs with semantically different but coherent parts. Left-dislocation of modifier PPs and their resumption by *da* is -under neutral intonation- only possible for frame-setting modifiers, which inherently restrict a topic situation, and, left-dislocation of PPs and their resumption by *da* is excluded for PPs that are only used as coherence relations and do not restrict a 'topic situation'.

This paper has contributed to the discussion about *da* as a situation pronoun. Whilst previous approaches consider the cross-sentential phenomena, it was shown here that *da* can be analysed intra-sentential situation anaphora. Furthermore, the analysis has elucidated semantic and pragmatic aspects of the relation between PPs and *da*. However, some further effort is needed to formalise the findings within a compositional framework.

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