Focus Movement in the "low" IP area and some of its consequences

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Introduction

A dedicated Focus Phrase was originally proposed, I believe, by Horvàth (1976), to account for focalization in Hungarian. Belletti & Shlonsky (1995) developed an analysis of postverbal subjects in Hebrew and Italian that hinged on a process of focus movement in the VP area. Ndayiragije (1999) argued in favor of a VP-peripheral Focus phrase as part of an analysis of inversion in Kirundi. Jayaseelan (1991) argued extensively in favor of a VP-periphery - analogous to Rizzi's (1997) "left periphery" -, composed of FocusP and Topic phrases. This idea was independently developed and gained wide recognition in Belletti's (2001, 2004) account of Romance inversion. I think it is fair to say that the idea that UG provides a structural position for focus in the low IP area is, by now, mainstream.

In today's talk, I would like to explore some consequences of this idea, some of which are relevant for the theory of locality, by studying a number of focus-related but otherwise different empirical domains and try to see how far one can go in unifying them analytically. A significant part of my presentation is based on recently published and ongoing work with Luigi Rizzi.

I will discuss 4 empirical domains:
(i)   Inverse copular sentences
(ii)   Focalizing BE in Spanish and Portuguese
(iii)   Inversion in Bantu
(iv)   Pseudogapping in English

I.   Focus movement in inverse copular sentences

(1)   a. John is my best friend.   Direct copular sentence
        b. My best friend is John.   Inverse copular sentence

(2)   One salient property of inverse copular sentences across languages is that **the postcopular DP is always focal**, whereas direct copular sentences are possible with focus on either the pre or the postcopular DP, (den dikken (2006), Heycock (2012) a.o.)

(3)   Examples from Heycock (2012); transposed to Hebrew in Shlonsky & Rizzi (2018) (see also Roy & Shlonsky (2019)):

A. mi   haya   ha   poše'a?   (Dani o Bill?)
    Who   was   the   culprit? (Dani or Bill?)

B: DANI   haya   ha   poše'a.
    DANI   was   the   culprit

(4) A: sapri li mašehu 'al Dani. hu haya ha poše'a o ha qorban?
   Tell me something about Dani. He was the culprit or the victim?

   B: Dani haya ha POŠE'A.
   Dani was the CULPRIT

(5) A: Mi haya ha poše'a? (Dani o Bill?)
   Who was the culprit? (Dani or Bill?)

   B: ha poše'a haya DANI.
   The culprit was DANI

(6) A: sapri li mašehu 'al Dani. hu haya ha poše'a o ha qorban?
   Tell me something about Dani. He was the culprit or the victim?

   B: *ha POŠE'A haya Dani.
   The CULPRIT was Dani
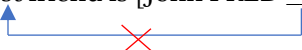
Why should this be so?

One fairly standard assumption is that both direct and inverse copular sentences are derived from a single source, more closely corresponding to the direct construction, i.e., (7).

(7)   Is [John [my best friend]

Raising the surface subject from the predicative small clause would yield, respectively,

(8)   a. John is [__ [my best friend]]
       b. my best friend is [John __]

Whereas (8a) is not problematic, the inverse construction (8b) raises the problem of locality, as *John* would intervene between the source and the target of movement. The problem would arise both if one assumes the predicative small clause to be a bare XP – YP structure, as in Moro (2000), or a more structured Spec-head-complement configuration headed by a Pred head, as in Bowers (1993), Svenonius (1994) (or a Relator in the sense of den Dikken (2006)). For concreteness, I phrase or discussion in terms of the more structured approach in (9).

(9)   My best friend is [John PRED __]

How can the locality violation be overcome?

(10)   **Derivation of inverse copular sentences** (Rizzi (2015), Shlonsky & Rizzi (2018))

       Step I: Focalization - Movement of the subject of PredP to a (low) Spec/Foc.
       a. [_PredP John Pred [my best friend]]
       b. Foc [_PredP John Pred [my best friend]]
       c. John Foc [_PredP John Pred [my best friend]]

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Step II: Smuggling (Collins (2005)) - Movement of the (remnant) PredP to a position above FocusP.

[PredP ~~John~~ Pred [my best friend]] … John Foc [PredP ~~John Pred [my best friend]~~]

Step III: *be*→T and "EPP".

is [PredP ~~John~~ Pred [my best friend]] … John Foc [PredP ~~John Pred [my best friend]~~]

My best friend is [PredP ~~John~~ Pred [~~my best friend~~]] John Foc [PredP ~~John Pred [my best friend]~~]

(11) Krapova and Cinque (2008):
  Only full chains (and not single links) count as intervenors for Relativized Minimality

Moro showed that the postcopular nominal in the inverse sentence cannot be wh-moved, (12). This should be construed as a violation of *criterial freezing*.

(12) a. [Quale foto del muro] pensi che fu la causa della rivolta?
    'Which picture of the wall do you think was the cause of the riot?'

  b. *[Quale foto del muro] pensi che la causa della rivolta fu?
    'Which picture of the wall do you think the cause of the riot was?'

(13) a. Ron haya roš ha 'ir.
    Ron was head the city
    'Ron was the mayor.'

  b. Roš ha 'ir haya Ron.
    head the city was Ron.
    'The mayor was Ron.'

(14) a. (ša'alu oti) ma/mi Ron haya ___.
    (they) asked me what/who Ron was
    '(They asked me) what/who Ron was.'

  b. *(ša'alu oti) mi roš ha 'ir haya ___.
    (they) asked me who head the city was
    '(They asked me) who the mayor was.'

NB
there are complications in English. Moro (1997, 268, note 45) and Williams (2011: 181) note that wh-movement is possible from the postcopular position in ICS…

(15) a. Why does the syntactic process responsible for moving the subject out of PredP take the form of focus movement?
  b. What is the formal motivation for the smuggling step?
  c. What is the landing site of smuggling?

(16) **Proposal** (ongoing work with Luigi Rizzi):
Inverse copular sentences come equipped with a v head that has the dual properties of selecting Focus (and consequently, a focus phrase) and attracting PredP to its specifier:

[PredP ~~DP1~~ Pred DP2] **v** [FocusP DP1 Foc ~~[PredP <DP1> Pred DP2]~~

(17) a. E' andato via Gianni.   Belletti (2001; 2004)
is gone away Gianni
'Gianni has gone away.'

    b. Ha risposto bene Gianni.
has answered well Gianni
'Gianni answered well.'

    c. Ha fatto tutto Gianni.
has done all Gianni
'Gianni did everything.'

    d. Ayer preparó la cena Maria.
yesterday prepared the supper Maria
'It was Maria who prepared dinner yesterday.'   Zubizarreta (2014: 254)

II.   **The Focalizing SER construction (FSC) is some varieties of Spanish and Portuguese**
(Bosque 1999; Camacho 2006; Curnow & Travis 2004; Kato & Mioto 2016; Méndez Vallejo 2009; 2010; 2015; 2019; Mioto 2012; Sedano 1990; Toribio 2002; Vercauteren 2015; 2018; Zubizarreta 2014).

(18) A: ¿Qué trajo Laura?
what brought Laura
'What did Laura bring?'

    B: Laura trajo fue sangría.
Laura brought BE-past sangria
'It was sangria that Laura brought.'

(19) [vP Laura trajo sangría]   → merge of Foc and move of *sangria*:

Sangría Foc [vP Laura trajo __]   → merge of selecting v:

v [FocusP sangría Foc [vP Laura trajo __]]   → smuggling:

[vP Laura trajo __] v [FocusP sangría Foc __]

(20) a. Yo andaba siempre era con una puertorriqueña.   (Sedano 1990: 95).
'it was with a Puerto Rican woman that I was always around'

    b. ...me da miedo es la arena.   (Sedano 1990: 96)
'what scares me is sand'

c. A. O João deu um iPad pra irmã mais velha. (Kato & Mioto (2016: 299),
   the J. gave an iPad to-the sister older citing Costa & Duarte (2003))
   'John gave an iPad to his older sister.'

   B. Não, o João deu foi um Kindle pra irmã mais nova.
   no, the J. gave was a Kindle to-the sister younger
   'No, John gave A KINDLE to his younger sister.'

d. Gustavo le traía era un regalo a la mamá.
   Gustavo CL bring.3SG.IM be.3SG.IMP a gift to the mother
   'It was a gift for his mother that Gustavo brought' (Méndez-Vallejo (2009: 212))
   (but see Camacho (2006))

(21) Este bote é tripulado é por sete homens. Vercauteren (2015:283)
   this boat is manned BE by seven men
   'This boat is manned by SEVEN MEN.'

(22) Mi hermano estaba era triste. Camacho (2006)
   my brother was BE sad
   'It was sad that my brother was.

(23) Ha [risolto il problema] v [Gianni Foc ___

(24) a. È questa macchina che Gianni vuole vendere. Italian
   b. É este carro que o João quer vender. European Portuguese (Mioto 2012)
   c. Este carro que o João quer vender. Brazilian Portuguese (Mioto 2012)
   'It's this machine than John wants to sell.'

(25) a. ¿Qué se comieron los pájaros? Camacho (2006: 16-17)
   What ate the birds

   b. *¿Qué se comieron los pájaros fue ___?
   What ate the birds BE

(26) a. ¿Qué era lo que Juan leía?
   what was what Juan read
   'What was it that Juan read?'

   b. *¿Qué Juan leía era?
   what Juan read BE

(27) *O que comeu o Superhomem foi ___? Vercauteren (2015: 275)
   the what ate the Superman was

III. Low focus in Bantu

Postverbal focus is very common in Bantu and there is a substantial literature arguing that it exploits the low focus projection: Aboh (2007a; 2007b) and the work cited in Güldeman et al. (2015: 169–170).

(28) Bantu subject-object inversion
(Marten & van der Wal 2014; Morimoto 2006; Ndayiragije 1999; Ura 2000)

a. Imw- ana ka- tula ici- ya.   <u>Luguru</u>: Marten & van der Wal (2014),
1 child sm1- broke 7- pot   citing Mkude (1974)
'The child broke the pot.

b. Ici-ya ci- tula mw- ana.
7- pot SM7- broke 1- child
Lit : 'The pot broke the child.

(28a) illustrates the canonical subject-verb-object (SVO) order. The verb agrees with the subject in noun class (class 1).

In (28b), subject and object seem to have switched positions: The subject appears to the right of the verb while the object appears to its left and the verb agrees with it in noun class (class 7).

An important clue to the understanding of subject-object reversal (and various other inversion constructions in Bantu), is that the postverbal subject is interpreted as focus.

(29) KiRundi: Ndayiragije (1999)
a. Abâna ba-á- ra- nyôye amatá.   Disjoint form: No focus
children 3P-PST-DJ- drink:PERF milk
'Children drank milk.'

b. Abâna ba-á- nyôye amatá.   Conjoint form: Focus on the object
children 3P-PST- drink:PERF milk
'Children drank MILK (not water).'

(30) a. Chomsky a- á- ra- anditse igitabo.   J. Ndayiragije (p.c.)
Chomsky 3SG- PST- DJ- write:PERF book
'Chomsky wrote a book.'

b. Ico gitabo ki- á- anditse Chomsky.
that book 3SG- PST- write:PERF Chomsky
'CHOMSKY wrote that book.'

(31) a. **No focus: object >adverb**
Yohani a- á- ra- oógeje imiduga néezá.   Ndayiragije (1999)
John 3P-PST- DJ- wash:PERF cars well
'John washed cars well.'

b. *Yohani a- á- ra- oógeje néezá imiduga.
John *3P-PST- DJ- wash:PERF well cars*
'John washed cars well.'

(32) a. **Focus on object: adverb>object**
Yohani a- á- oógeje néezá imiduga.
John *3P-PST-wash:PERF well cars*
'John washed CARS well (not trucks).'

b. *Yohani a-á- oógeje imiduga néezá .
John *3P-PST-wash:PERF cars well*
'John washed CARS well (not trucks).'

(33) **Derivation of (31a)**
Well [John wash cars] → vP raises over adverb:

[John wash cars] well [~~John wash cars~~] → V and subject raise:

John wash [~~John wash~~ cars] well [~~John wash cars~~]

(34) **Derivation of (32a)**
Well [John wash cars] → Merge Foc and move object to Spec/Foc:

Cars Foc well [John wash ~~cars~~] → Merge v and move complement of Foc to Spec/v:

[well [John wash ~~cars~~]] v cars Foc [~~well [John wash cars]~~] → V$_{lex}$ and subject raise:

John wash [well [~~John wash~~ ~~cars~~]] v cars Foc [~~well [John wash cars]~~]

(35) **Focus on the adverb**
Yohani a- á- oógeje imiduga néezá. Ndayiragije (1999)
John *3P-PST- wash:PERF cars WELL*
'John washed cars WELL (not badly).'

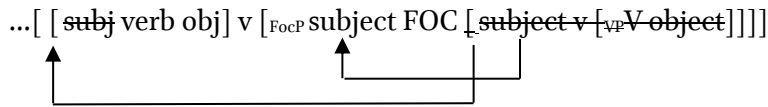well John wash cars →Merge Foc and move adverb to Spec/Foc:

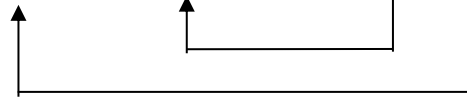well Foc ~~well~~ John wash cars → Merge v and move complement of Foc to Spec/v:

[~~well~~ [John wash cars]] v well Foc [~~well [John wash cars]~~] → V$_{lex}$ and subject raise:

John wash [~~well~~ [~~John wash~~ cars]] v well Foc [~~well [John wash cars]~~]

(36) **Focus on the subject**

    ...[[~~subj~~ verb obj] v [FocP subject FOC [~~subject v [VP V object~~]]]]

(37) [SubP object SUBJ [... verb...[...~~subject verb object~~] v [FocP subject FOC [~~subj v [VP V object~~]]]]]

Two questions arise:
(i) How can the object move over the copy of the subject?
(ii) Why is the subject not a viable target for probe by SUBJ in (37)?

(38) Krapova and Cinque (2008)

(39) *Umuntu   iyyo bitabo   -bi-á-   somye ~~umuntu~~ Foc...
    person   *those books*   *3P-PST-* *read:PERF*
    The person who read those books...'

IV.   Why does Romance lack Bantu-like Subject-Object Inversion?

(40) a. Compró   los libros fue Pedro.   Camacho (2006:14)
       bought-3s   *the books BE Pedro*
       'It was Pedro who bought the books.'

    b. *Los libros   compraron fue Pedro.
       the books   *bought-3pl BE Pedro*

(41) a. Down the hill rolls the ball.
     b. Down the hill roll the balls.

(42) Pho   muho-ni   pha-tuluka   ng'ombe sabaa za ku-nona.
    16.DEM   *river-LOC*   *16S.PST-emerge 10.cows seven of INF-be.fat*
    'From the river emerged seven fat cows.'   Digo: Diercks (2012: 264)

(43) a. Le foto del muro **sono** la causa della rivolta   Moro 1997
       the photos of the wall **are** the cause of the riot.

    b. La causa della rivolta **sono** le foto del muro
       the cause of the riot **are** the photos of the wall.

In joint work with Luigi Rizzi, I argued that the head responsible for Case checking and agreement and the EPP head are distinct; call the former Subj1 and the latter Subj2 (Shlonsky & Rizzi 2018), developing Cardinaletti (1997).

Here is the structure of (43) at the point at which Subj1 is merged:

(44) Subj1 ... [__ Pred the cause of the riot] v [[the photos of the wall] Foc ....

(45) Subj2 … Subj1 … [__ Pred la causa della rivolta] v [[le foto del muro] Foc ….

(46) La causa della rivolta Subj2 sono … Subj1 … [__ Pred la causa della rivolta] v [[le foto del muro] Foc ….

Much more needs to be said about agreement in copular sentences : e.g., Hartmann & Heycock (2020) and refs.

V. Pseudogapping as focalization + smuggling
Jayaseelan (2001), Gengel (2007), Merchant (2008), Thoms (2016)…

(47) a. ?Kathy wants to study astronomy, but she doesn't <u>meteorology</u>.   Thoms 2016
     b. I didn't expect John to like it, but I did <u>you</u>.
     c. The DA will prove Jones guilty and the assistant will <u>Smith</u>.
     d. ?John gave Bill a lot of money, and Mary will <u>Susan</u>.
     e. Although John wouldn't give Bill the book, he would <u>the paper</u>.
     f. John spoke to Bill and Mary should <u>Susan</u>.
     g. Mary is proud of John, and Bill is <u>of Sally</u>.

(48) *He drinks whiskey more often than she does <u>whiskey</u>.
     (cf. He drinks whiskey more often than she does.)

(49) a. A: Gee, I've never seen you on campus before.   Jayaseelan (2001:66)
        B: Yeah! Neither have I ~~seen~~ <u>you</u> ~~on campus before~~.

     b. Will might try to buy kale, but he won't ~~try to buy~~ <u>asparagus</u>.   Johnson (2008: 71)

(50) a. I give a dime to Mary, but I did <u>a nickel to Sue</u>.   Castro (2016)
     b. She is working today, and he is <u>tomorrow.</u>

(51) a. A. O João deu um iPad pra irmã mais velha.   (Kato & Mioto (2016: 299)
        the J. gave an iPad to-the sister older
        'John gave an iPad to his older sister.'

        B. Não, o João deu foi um Kindle pra irmã mais nova.
        no, the J.   gave was a Kindle to-the sister younger
        'No, John gave A KINDLE to his younger sister.'

     b. Las tías llegaron fue ayer.   (Méndez Vallejo 2009: 212)
      the aunts arrived BE yesterday
      'It was yesterday when my aunts arrived.'

(52) a. Move remnant to Spec/Focus.
     b. Merge vP/VP with the v that selects Foc.
     c. Elide Spec/v.

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