Licensing Focus Movement:
Distributional and interpretive properties

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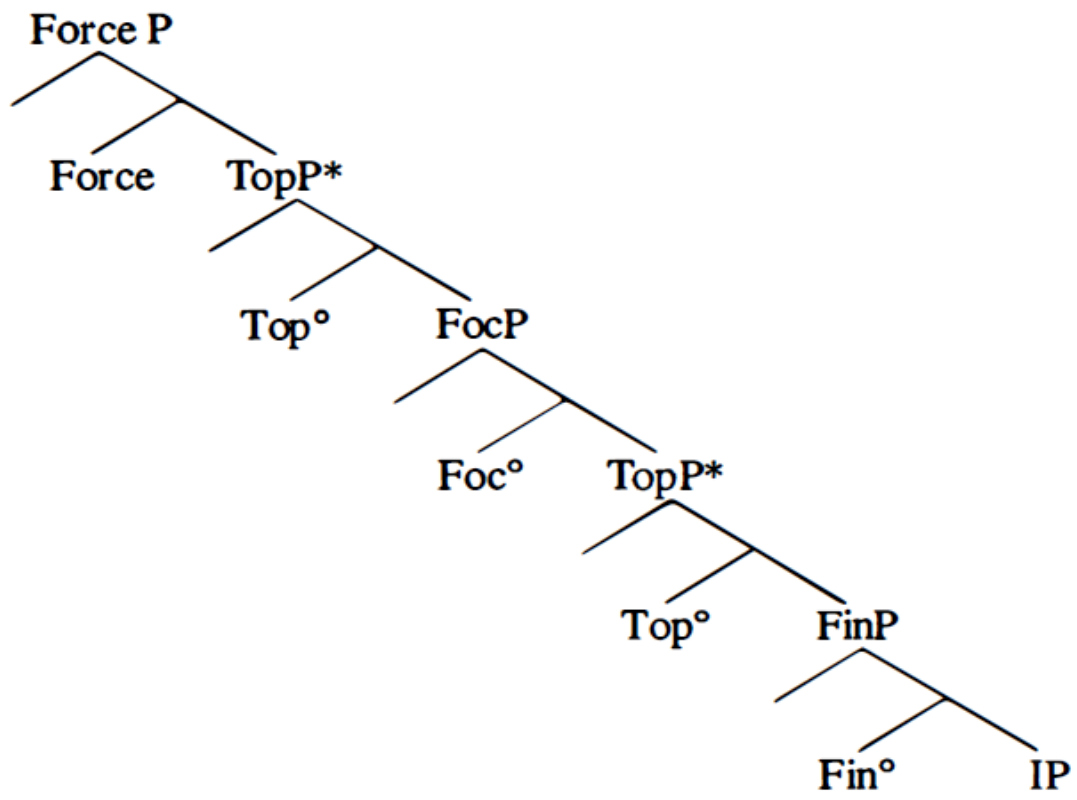
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- **Multifunctional projections in the left periphery**

➢ **Complementizer**
  - Rosenbaum (1967) → first appearance
  - Bresnan (1970), (Chomsky 1981) → central role for certain syntactic operations (e.g. WH)
  - Chomsky (1986) → clausal head
  - Chomsky (1995 et seq.): multiple specifiers and edge positions

• The need for more functional projections, or, indeed, a sequence of two or more functional projections, was proposed :

➢ **ΣP** (Laka 1990) → mainly for negation, but also for polarity, emphasis and other operators.

➢ **FP** (Uriagereka 1995a,b): a functional projection for discourse properties and "point of view".

- **Rizzi (1997)**

(1) ForceP   (TopP*)   **FocP**   (TopP*)   FinP   IP

(See also Brody 1990, 1995; Benincà 2001)

• In many Romance varieties (and elsewhere), the focus constituent bearing the main prosodic prominence of the sentence can appear in a left-peripheral position:

(2) a. Abbiamo visto **Paolo**.   (focus in situ)   *Italian*
         have.1PL seen   Paul

   b. PAOLO   abbiamo visto.   (Focus Fronting (FF))
       PAUL   have.1PL seen
       'We saw Paul'/'It was Paul that we saw.'

   b'. [$_{FocP}$ [PAOLO]$_{[focus]}$ [Foc^0$_{[focus]}$ [$_{FinP}$ *pro* abbiamo visto *t*]]
            Paul   we-have seen

Focus Criterion (Brody 1990: 101, 1995; cf. also Rizzi 1997):
   A.   At S-structure and LF the spec of an FP must contain a [+focus] phrase
   B.   At LF all [+focus] phrases must be in an FP

→ A constituent bearing a [focus] feature moves to Spec/FocP , in a Spec/Head configuration with Foc^0, which also bears a [focus] feature.
→ At the interface, Spec/FocP is interpreted as the <u>focus</u>, and the complement of Foc^0 as the presupposition (Rizzi 1997) or <u>background</u> (in the sense of Krifka 2007).

❓ **Cartographic assumption**: *One Feature One Head* (Cinque & Rizzi 2010: 54): "each morphosyntactic feature corresponds to an independent syntactic head with a specific slot in the functional hierarchy."

➤ Problem of the division of labour between syntax and pragmatics with respect to the different interpretations or types of focus:
**Q**: Which pragmatic or discourse features count as morphosyntactic features?

(3) a. Abbiamo visto **Paolo**. (F in situ: information focus)
     have.1PL seen Paul

   b. PAOLO abbiamo visto (, non Marco). (FF: contrastive focus)
     PAUL have.1PL seen not Mark
     'We saw Paul/It was Paul that we saw (, not Mark).'

☞ **Belletti** (1999, 2004 et seq.): specialized FocPs:
     FocP in the left periphery of the clause > contrastive focus
     FocP in the left periphery of the vP > information focus

Cf. also É. Kiss's (1998) distinction between identificational and information focus.

• **Belletti (2004: 25):**

TopP
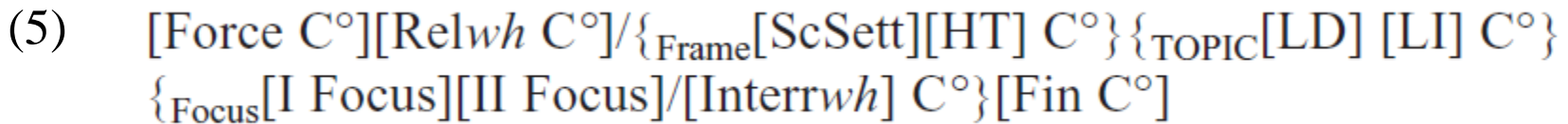   **FocP** ← *information focus*
        TopP
           vP
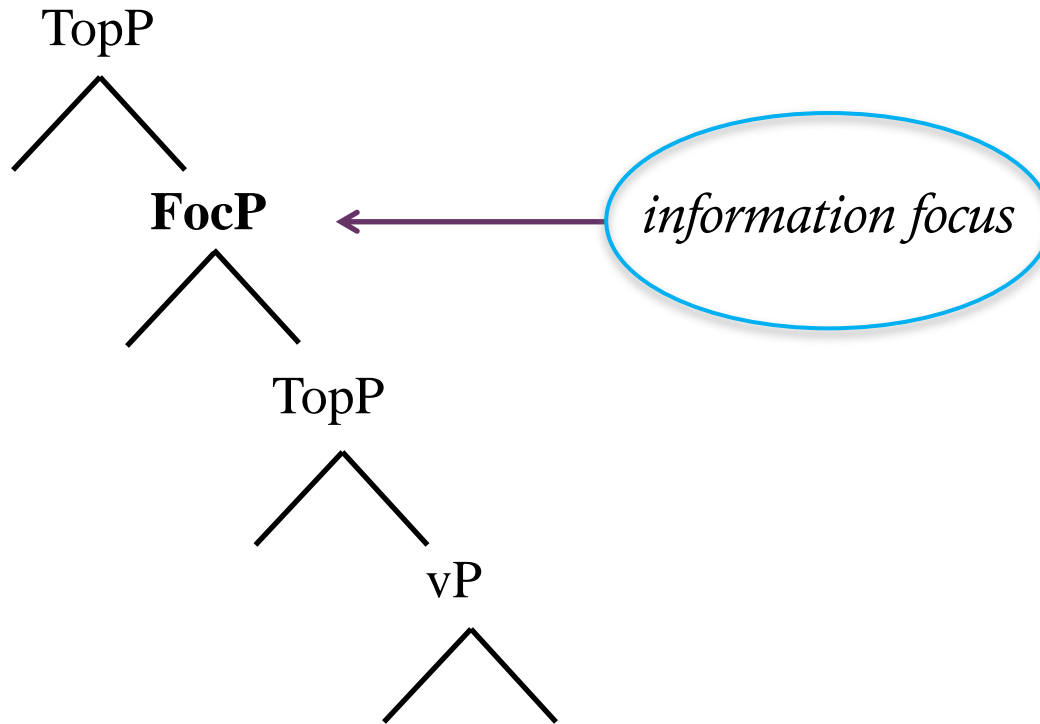
➢ Problem of the optionality of contrastive FF:
→ Rizzi (1997) on (contrastive) focus in situ: covert movement at LF

- **Benincà & Poletto (2004: 71)**, on the basis of information FF in Old Italian and in modern Southern Italian (*simplified structure*):

(4)   [Hanging Top [Scene Setting [LD [LI [Contr. Focus [Inform. Focus]]]]]]

topic field   *focus field*

where LD = Left Dislocated, LI = List Interpretation (≈ Contrastive Topic)

- **Benincà (2006: 61)**: the left periphery of Medieval Romance:

(5)   [Force C°][Rel*wh* C°]/{$_{Frame}$[ScSett][HT] C°}{$_{TOPIC}$[LD] [LI] C°}
{$_{Focus}$[I Focus][II Focus]/[Interr*wh*] C°}[Fin C°]

- **Cruschina (2012: 2019)**, based on Italian dialects (Sicilian, Sardinian):

(6)   CFocP   TopP   IFoc   FinP

Cf. Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) for a hierarchy of Top projections

On the other hand...

- **Brunetti (2004, 2009)** → a unification of focus :
    - same interface properties
    - same syntax

☞ the (apparent) unacceptability of Focus movement with information focus (in an answer to a wh-question) is due to pragmatic factors related to conditions on ellipsis; the different interpretations are only pragmatic in nature.

- **Interface approaches** that question the need for a FocP and/or reject the idea of a syntactic [focus] feature responsible for focus movement:
    - ***stress-based approach*** → focus movement is triggered by a prosodic requirement (Szendrői 2001; see also Samek-Lodovici 2005, 2015);
    - ***pragmatic approach*** → focus movement is an (optional) interface-driven syntactic operation (<u>discourse templates</u>: similar to Focus Criterion but in pragmatic terms) (cf. Neeleman & van de Koot 2008, Neeleman et al. 2009; see also Horvath 2010).

☞ these approaches presuppose a direct communication between LF and PF...

However...

• The different interpretations of focus differ with respect to distinct prosodic properties and different distributions in terms of movement (cf. Bocci 2013, Bianchi, Bocci & Cruschina [BBC] 2015, 2016, a.o.):

➜ In the **Y-/T-model of the grammar**, there is no direct communication between the phonological (PF) and the semantic component (LF), which only interact via syntax (Chomsky & Lasnik 1977, Chomsky 1981, 1986, 1995) (the interface approaches clearly reject this model):

PF ⟵————————⟶ **LF**
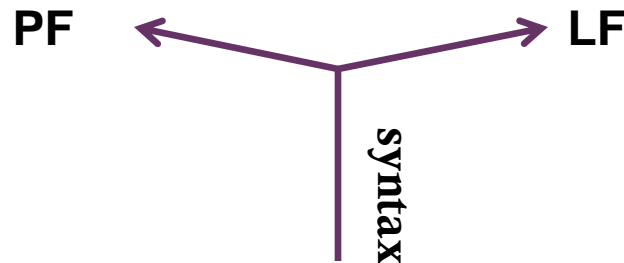
syntax

☞ If we want to keep a T-model of the grammar, we have to assume that the different focus interpretations associated with distinct prosodic properties are determined by <u>active features in the syntactic computation</u>, which provide specific instructions to the interfaces.

➤ **Problem**: How many projections? How many features? One for each interpretation? (cf. information focus, contrastive/corrective focus, mirative focus, exhaustive focus, etc.).

Alternative proposal (Bianchi 2015, Bianchi, Bocci & Cruschina 2015, 2016):

→ *A separation between the special interpretation and focus*

- Different interpretations associated with focus => CONVENTIONAL IMPLICATURES *which*

"are conventionally associated with the activation of a left-peripheral functional projection which bears an implicature-triggering feature"
and which

"depend on the availability of a focus structure yielding a non-singleton set of alternative propositions in the scope of the implicature trigger: we will dub them focus-associated implicatures" (FAI)   (BBC 2015: 17)

(7) $[_{FP}\text{Force} \ldots [_{FaiP} \text{FAI}^0_{[mir]/[corr]} [_{FocP} \text{YP}_{i\,[+foc]} \text{Foc}^0_{[+foc]} \ldots [_{TP} \ldots <\text{YP}_i> \ldots]]]]$

- **Focus** evokes a set of alternatives that share the same background
$$\text{(Rooth 1985, 1992)}$$

2.1 INFORMATION FOCUS

- Typical of answers to questions → the focus structure is imposed by the **question-answer congruence** (cf., e.g., Paul [1880] 1995, Halliday 1967, Roberts [1998] 2012, Schwarzschild 1999, Krifka 2001, 2011):

(8) *A* is a congruent answer to *Q*, only if the constituent in *A* that corresponds to a *wh*-phrase in *Q* is focussed (i.e., F-marked). (Reich 2002)

The traditional view on Italian (and other Romance languages)

- The focal status of a constituent (i.e. the [focus] feature) is not a sufficient condition for FF in Italian and in other Romance languages:
  ☞ *information focus* occurs in a <u>postverbal position</u>, at least in Italian and in other Romance languages, including Spanish, Portuguese and – arguably– Romanian (Belletti 2004, Cruschina 2012, 2016).

(9) a. Chi ha parlato?   *Italian* (Belletti 2004)
         who have.3SG speak.PP
         'Who spoke?'

     b. Ha parlato **Gianni**.   b'. # **Gianni** ha parlato.
         have.3SG speak.PP Gianni   Gianni have.3SG speak.PP
         'Gianni spoke'

(10) a. ¿Qué compró Pedro?   *Spanish* (Zubizarreta 1999)
         what buy.PST.3SG Pedro
         'What did Pedro buy?'

     b. Pedro compró **manzanas**.   b'. # **Manzanas** compró Pedro.
         Pedro buy.PAST.3SG apples   apples bought Pedro

☞ In these languages, thus, FF depends on the presence of additional or
    concomitant requirements/properties.

VARIATION I

- In Sicilian and Sardinian FF is possible with *information focus* in congruent answers (Cruschina 2012, 2016a, Jones 1993, 2013, Remberger 2014):

(11) A: Unni   ti   nni   jisti   airi   sira?   *Sicilian*
           where   you= there.from= you.went yesterday evening
           'Where did you go last night?'

    B: **Au   cinema**   jivu.
           to.the   cinema   I.went
           'I went to the cinema'

(12) A: Su libru,   a   chie   l'as   dadu?   *Sardinian*
           the book   to   whom   it=you.have given
           'The book, to whom did you give it?'

    B: Su libru,   **a   Maria**   l'apo   dadu.
           the book   to   Mary   it=I.have   given
           'The book, to Mary I gave it' (Jones 2013: 78)

VARIATION II

- Other Romance appear more tolerant towards FF with information focus:

(13) A: ¿Qué   comió   Miguel?   *Asturian*
       what   ate   Miguel
       'What did Miguel eat'
   B: **Les pataques**   comió   Miguel.
       the potatoes   ate   Miguel
       'Miguel ate potatoes.' (Viejo Fernández 2008: 255)

(14) A: A qui   va enviar   la carta,   el   mariner?   *Central Catalan*
       to who   send.PST.3SG the letter   the sailor
       'Who did the sailor send the letter to?'
   B: **A la dama** va enviar   la carta   el   mariner.
       to the lady   send.PST.3SG the letter   the sailor
       'The sailor sent it to the lady.' (Vanrell & Fernández-Soriano 2013)

☞ Are these instances of 'plain' information focus? Can additional effects associate with FF in congruent answers (e.g. mirativity)?

VARIATION III

- Also possible in Italian, but only with a special (surprise?) interpretation:

(15)   A: Sai   come   lo   chiamava   il suo amico?
            know.2SG   how   him.CL called.IMPF.3SG   the his friend
            'Do you know how his friend called him?

       B: "**Novellino**"   lo   chiamava.
            greenhorn   him.CL   called.IPF.3SG
            'He called him *greenhorn*.'
            (S. Veronesi, *No man's land*, Milan 2003, from BBC 2016)

☞ NB: In Sicilian and in Sardinian, with information FF a special interpretation of the answer is also possible, but by no means necessary. FF is also frequent in identificational contexts, e.g. Sic. *Montalbano sugnu!* 'I'm Montalbano'.

➔ **INFORMATION FOCUS**

- The position varies across Romance according to the **(conventionalized) answering strategy** , in the sense of Belletti (2005, 2009):

For example:

– FocP in the left periphery of vP in Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, ...

– FocP in the left periphery of the CP in Sicilian, Sardinian, Hungarian, ...

- General problem: **The optionality of FF**:
whenever Focus Movement is allowed, the in-situ option is also possible

- <u>An example</u> (Cruschina 2015):
grammaticality judgements on **FF in Sicilian** (1-100 scale)

Table 1: Average of acceptability rate in answers to questions (information focus)

	+FF	−FF
Subject	86.85	81.22
Object	83.16	86.03
PP	84.47	85.91
TOT.	84.82	84.38

Table 2: Average of acceptability rate with contrastive focus

	+FF	−FF
Subject	72.88	68.94
Object	73.5	77.87
PP	76.47	73.3
TOT.	74.28	73.37

- **Focus** evokes a set of alternatives that share the same background

(Rooth 1985, 1992)

2.2 CONTRASTIVE FOCUS

- Contrast against an explicit focal alternative:

(16)   A GIANNI l'ho   dato   (non a Piero).   *Italian*
        to Gianni   it.CL-have.1SG give.PP   not to Piero
        'I gave it to John (not Peter)'. (Belletti 2004: 17)

☞ implies the antecedent proposition: 'I gave it to Peter'.

(17)   MANZANAS   compró   Pedro (y no   peras).   *Spanish*
        apples   buy.PST.3SG Peter   and not pears
        'Pedro bought apples (and not pears).' (Zubizarreta 1999: 4239)

☞ implies the antecedent proposition: 'Pedro bought pears'.

☞ Widespread view: *contrast* is the interpretive feature associated with FF in Romance (Rizzi 1997), a necessary requirement for FF to obtain (López 2009).

- Contrastive focus ➔ *Corrective focus* (Bianchi & Bocci 2012):

  ☞ *Contrast across utterances*: the asserted proposition (i.e. the corrective claim) is incompatible and inconsistent with an antecedent proposition which comes from a previous speech act:

(18) A: Hanno invitato Marina.   *Italian*
       have.3PL invited Marina

    B: GIULIA hanno invitato, (non Marina).
      Julie have.3PL invited, (not Marina).
      'They invited Julie, not Marina.'

→ Contrastive/Corrective FF is possible in most Romance languages, with some limitations in French and in Portuguese, where clefts and postverbal focus, respectively, are preferred strategies over FF (at least for a group of speakers in Portuguese, cf. Costa & Martins 2011).

- **Focus** evokes a set of alternatives that share the same background

(Rooth 1985, 1992)

2.3 MIRATIVE FOCUS

- Type of focus related to new information which is particularly <u>surprising</u> or <u>unexpected</u> (Cruschina 2012, borrowing the term from linguistic typology, cf. DeLancey 1997, 2001, Aikhenvald 2012)

(19) a.   Non ci   posso   credere!   **Due bottiglie** ci siamo   bevuti!   *Italian*
not to.it=can.1SG believe.INF two bottles   REFL=be.1PL drunk
'I can't believe it! We drank two bottles!'

   b.   ¡Por Dios, **dos botellas** se   han   bebido!   *Spanish*
for   God   two bottles   REFL have.3PL drunk
'My God! They have drunk up two bottles!'

☞ Mirative FF is very common in (almost) all Romance varieties (Italian, Spanish, Romanian, Sicilian, Sardinian, Brazilian Portuguese, etc.).

Brazilian Portuguese

(20) a. Imagina só! **Por essa bestinha da Júlia** ele foi se apaixonar!
imagine only for that animal   of Julie   he fell-in-love
'Just imagine! He fell in love with that idiot of Julie!'

b. **Două luni**   mi-a luat să scriu acest articol!   *Romanian*
two   months me it-took to write this   paper
'It took me two months to write this paper!'

• Despite the general idea that French does not allow FF to the left periphery of the sentence, in the corpus-based studies by Abeillé et al. (2008), cases of FF similar to our mirative focus have been described:

(21)   a. Tu as beaucoup fumé?   *French*
you have.2SG a-lot smoked
'Did you smoke a lot?'
b. **Deux cigarettes** j'ai fumé.
two cigarettes I have.1SG smoked
'Two cigarettes, I smoked.' (Sabio 2006: 175)

French

(22)   a. Tu sais ce qui est arrivé? **Le candidat du patron**, ils   ont refusé!
           you know what is arrived the candidate of-the boss they have refused
           'Do you know what happened? They refused the boss's candidate!'

       b. **Trois heures** il avait de retard, le train!
           three hours it had of delay the train
           'The train was delayed by three hours!' (Abeillé et al. 2008, (10), (19))

- Hartmann & Zimmermann (2007: 389) on **Hausa**: "In our view, a focus constituent, or part of it, appears ex situ in order to mark its content or discourse function as unexpected or surprising in a given discourse situation."

(23)   *Mèeneenèe ya*   *fàaru?*
           what   3SG.REL.PERF happen
           'What happened?'
           Dabboobi-n jeejìi nee mutàanee su-kà   kaamàa.
           animals-of   bush PRT men   3PL-REL.PERF catch
           '(The) men caught WILD ANIMALS.'

- **Focus** evokes a set of alternatives that share the same background

(Rooth 1985, 1992)

2.4 EXAUSTIVE FOCUS (Hungarian)

- FF involves exhaustive identification or exclusion by identification of the subset of the set of alternatives (Szabolcsi 1994, É. Kiss 1998):

(24) a.　Mary **egy kalapot** nézett　　ki　magának.　　　*(exhaustive)*
　　　Mary a　　hat.ACC　pick.PST.3SG　out　herself.ACC
　　　'It was (only) a hat that Mary picked for herself.'

　 b.　Mari　ki　nézett　　　magának　egy kalapot.　　　*(informational)*
　　　Mary out pick.PST.3SG　herself　　a　hat
　　　'Mary picked for herself a hat.' (É. Kiss 1998: 249)

☞ (Exhaustive) FF is the preferred answering strategy in Hungarian.
　 I will return to this in §4.3.

TYPE OF FOCUS	FF
Information	Sicilian, Sardinian, Old Italian, ...
Contrastive	Sicilian, Sardinian, Italian, Spanish, Catalan, Romanian, B-Portuguese, % E-Portuguese, ...
Mirative	Sicilian, Sardinian, Italian, Spanish, Catalan, Romanian, Brazilian Portuguese, (French,) ...
	→ *optionally in the low FocP*
Exhaustive	Hungarian

- **Non-contrastive emphatic/mirative FF:**
  o Catalan (Vallduí 1992, 1995)

  o Italian (Brunetti 2004, 2009)

  o Brazilian Portuguese (Kato and Raposo 1996)

  o many southern Italian dialects, e.g. Neapolitan and Cosentino
  (Ledgeway 2009a:784–790, 2009b)

  o northern Italian dialects, e.g. Triestino (Paoli 2010)

  o Sardinian (Jones 2013)

  o Romanian (Zafiu 2013, Cruschina, Giurgea & Remberger 2015)

  o Spanish (Jiménez-Fernández 2015)

  o German (Frey 2010, Cruschina, Giurgea & Remberger 2015, Trotzke 2016)

  o Hungarian (Cruschina 2016b)

→ *underlined references use the term 'mirative'*

▪ The morphosyntactic **feature** triggering FF → **Italian** (Romance):

a) CONTRAST (Rizzi 1997, Frascarelli 2000, López 2009, Cruschina 2012, a.o.)

b) GIVENNESS (Samek-Lodovici 2006, 2015) (+ *prosodic requirement*)

▪ The morphosyntactic **feature** triggering FF → **Hungarian**:

c) EXHAUSTIVITY (Szabolcsi 1994, É. Kiss 1998) (→ §4.3)

➢ **Recall**: The focal status of the constituent (i.e. the [focus] feature) is not a sufficient condition for FF in Italian and in other Romance languages.

☞ In these languages, thus, FF depends on the presence of additional or concomitant requirements/properties.

- **Traditional cartographic analysis of FF**

(25) a.   PAOLO   abbiamo visto.   (FF)
         PAUL   have.1PL seen
         'We saw Paul'/'It was Paul that we saw.'

    a'. $[_{FocP}$ $[PAOLO]_{[focus]}$ $[Foc^0{}_{[focus]}$ $[_{FinP}$ *pro* abbiamo visto *t*]]
           Paul   we-have seen

$\rightarrow$ FF is an instance of feature-driven movement that takes place the syntax.

$\rightarrow$ The trigger of movement is the [(**contrastive**) focus] feature.

Q: Are all instances of FF contrastive? (In the corrective sense $\rightarrow$ a salient focal alternative is available in the context and is 'corrected'):
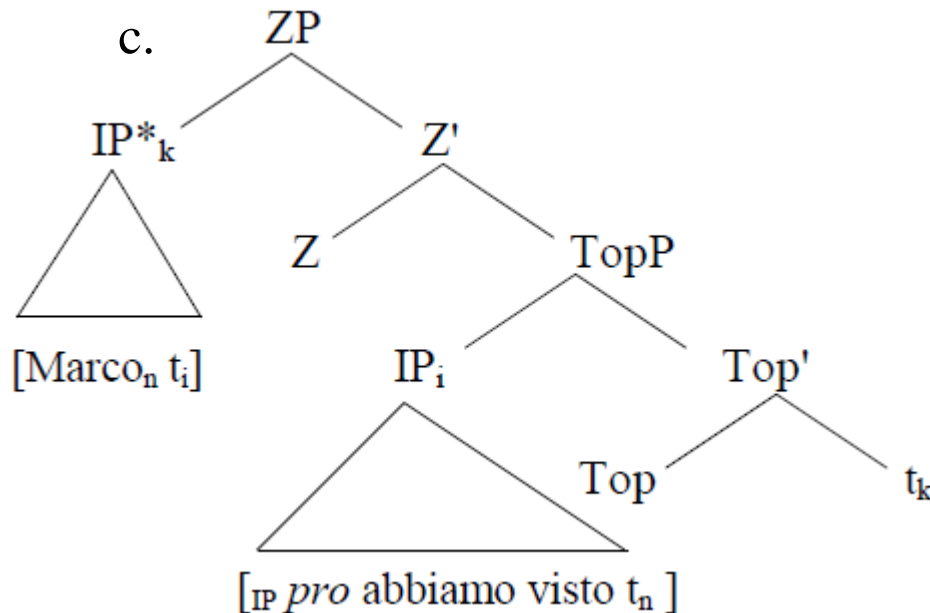- o   Information focus $\rightarrow$ does not trigger FF
- o   <u>Mirative focus</u> $\rightarrow$ does trigger FF, but *is not always contrastive*

- **The givenness analysis (Samek-Lodovici 2006, 2015)**
- – the IP is marked as GIVEN, the [-GIVEN] focus must evacuate the IP;
- – the focal constituent adjoins to IP (creating IP∗);
- – the remnant IP undergoes *right dislocation* (i.e. left dislocation + remnant inversion), so that the focus can receive main sentence stress (since the rest of the clause is dislocated).

(26)   a. $[_{IP*}$ Marco$_n$ $[_{IP}$ *pro* abbiamo visto $t_n]]$ (focus evacuation)

          b. $[_{TopP} [_{IP}$ *pro* abbiamo visto $t_n]_i$ $\emptyset_{Top} [_{IP*}$ Marco$_n$ $t_i]$]]

                                        (remnant IP-topicalization)
                                        (leftward movement of higher IP*)

c.

ZP
IP*$_k$ Z'
          Z   TopP
[Marco$_n$ t$_i$]   IP$_i$ Top'
                          Top   t$_k$
              $[_{IP}$ *pro* abbiamo visto t$_n$]

- **The givenness analysis (Samek-Lodovici 2006**, 2015)

→ The initial trigger of the derivational steps that lead to FF is **givenness** (+ prosodic requirement that focus be in the rightmost position where it is assigned main prominence).
→ This analysis presupposes that in FF structures, the postfocal material (the background) is always given.

Q: Is the postfocal material given in all instances of FF?
  - o   Information focus → yes (in answers to questions)
  - o   Contrastive focus → yes (same as in the antecedent for contrast)
  - o   <u>Mirative focus</u> → *no, not always and not necessarily*

- **Mirative FF**:
(i)   It is not contrastive/corrective (i.e. there are not explicit alternatives);
(ii) The background need not be given;
(iii) It is **problematic** for both the *contrastive* and the *givenness* analysis.

Q: Is the postfocal material given in all instances of FF?
- o Information focus → yes (in answers to questions, (27))
- o Contrastive focus → yes (same as in the antecedent for contrast, (28))

(27) A: Unni   ti   nni   <u>jisti   airi   sira</u>?   *Sicilian*
where   you= there.from= you.went yesterday evening
'Where did you go last night?'

B: **Au   cinema**   <u>jivu   airi   sira</u>.
to.the   cinema   I.went   yesterday evening
'I went to the cinema.'

(28)   A: <u>Hanno   invitato </u>Marina.   *Italian*
have.3PL   invited Marina

B: GIULIA <u>hanno invitato</u>,   (non Marina).
Julie   have.3PL invited, (not Marina).
'They invited Julie, not Marina.'

- **Mirative FF**:

(i)   It is not contrastive/corrective (i.e. there need not be any salient alternative in the context):

(ii) The postfocal material (the background) is not necessarily given: the context can be a broad focus sentence.

Italian

(29) Sapessi   che sorpresa! **Un anello di diamanti**   mi   ha   regalato!
     know.COND.2SG what surprise   a ring   of diamonds to.me has given
     'What a surprise! He gave me *a diamond ring*!'

(30) Ti   rendi conto! **Uno schiaffo** mi   ha   dato!
     REFL realize.2SG   a   slap   to.me has given
     'Do you realize?/Can you believe it? He gave me *a slap*!'

☞ Unlike information and contrastive FF, mirative FF can occur in out-of-the-blue contexts, where the post-focal material is <u>clearly not given</u> (see Zimmermann 2007 on 'partial focus movement', see also Fanselow & Lenertová 2011 on 'subpart of focus fronting').

- **Next questions**:

Q1: Acceptability of mirative FF in Italian

Q2: Does the fronted constituent qualify as focus in the mirative condition?
  - (a) Prosodically: Does it bear main prominence? Is the background prosodically subordinate?
  - (b) Semantically: Does it evoke a set of alternatives?

Q3: Are mirative and corrective fronted foci grammatically distinct?

Bianchi, Bocci & Cruschina (2015, 2016):
- Syntactic experiment → Q1
- Prosodic experiment → Q2(b), Q3
- Semantic analysis in terms of conventional implicatures depending on a focus structure → Q2(a)

THE SYNTACTIC EXPRIMENT (Bianchi, Bocci & Cruschina 2015)

- We tested 2 factors in a crossed design:
  a)   'Focus situ' with 2 levels (in situ vs. ex situ)
  b)   'Context type' with 3 levels (merely contrastive vs. corrective vs. mirative)

- 97 subjects;

- 36 experimental items presented under the following <u>six conditions</u>:

(i) corrective context, in situ;   (ii) corrective context, ex situ;
(iii) mirative context, in situ;   (iv) mirative context, ex situ;
(v) merely contrastive context, in situ; (vi) merely contrastive context, ex situ.

Merely contrastive context: a *clause-internal contrast* between a focussed element and a parallel element in the negative tag:

(31) A: Io vi saluto, devo   rientrare   a casa.
          I you greet   I.must go-back   to home
          'I'm off, I have to go back home.'
      B: */?? [Il TAXI] ti conviene prendere, non [la   metro]
          the taxi   you'd better take,   not   the underground
          'You'd better take the taxi, not the underground...'

→ Focus is contrastive (there is a salient alternative in the context)
→ The postfocal material is not necessarily GIVEN: the context can be a broad
   focus sentence.
                    (There is no surprise or unexpectedness effect as with mirative focus)

- The **results** of the experiment show that:

a) Focus in situ is preferred over focus ex situ, even when fronting is fully acceptable. The contrast between focus in situ (corrective and mirative) and focus ex situ (corrective and mirative) is strongly significant (p<.001).

b) FF in mirative and in corrective contexts is accepted as equally good; no statistically significant difference of acceptance rate (p>.05).

c) Merely contrastive focus does not license FF (contrast with corrective focus ex situ and mirative focus ex situ is 'extremely significant': p<0.0001).
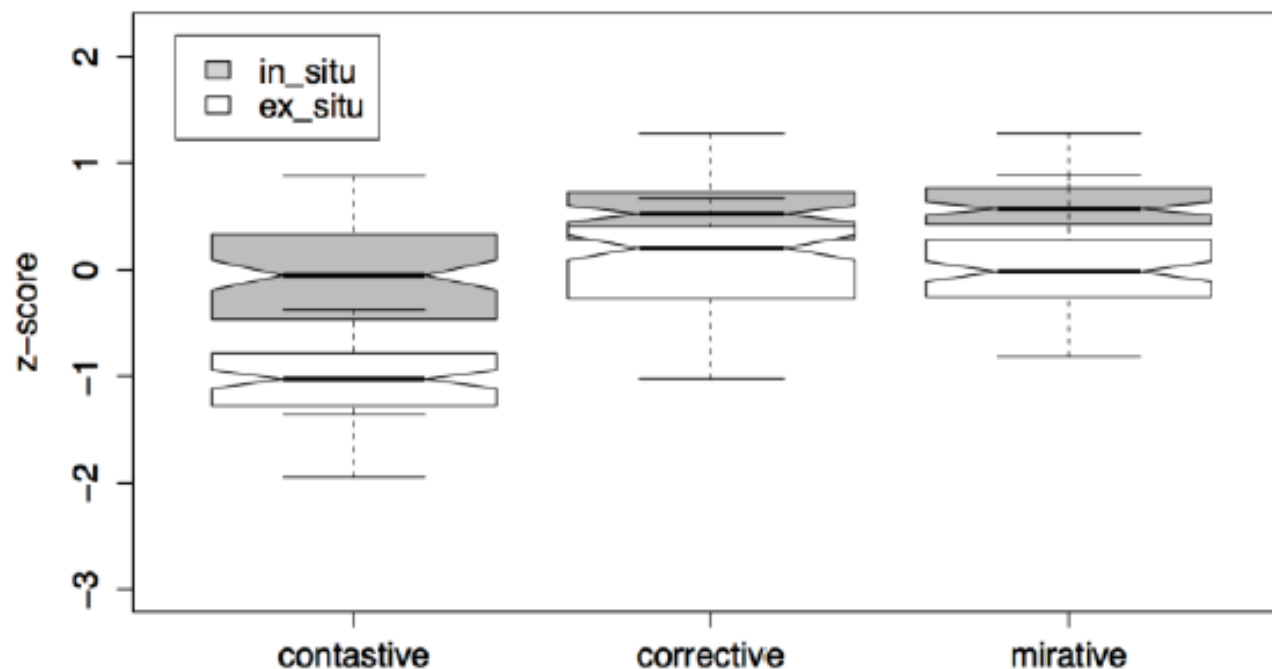
THE PROSODIC EXPRIMENT (Bianchi, Bocci & Cruschina 2015, 2016)

- The **results** show that:

a) The mirative fronted constituent always bears main prominence.
b) The rest of the clause is prosodically subordinate, exactly as with corrective focus.

⬇

> The fronted constituent in the mirative condition qualifies
> as focus from the prosodic point of view.

c) In mirative contexts FF is typically realized with high *plateau* profile ending on the stressed syllable of the focus element and followed by a fall. The stressed syllable was associated with either **H*** or **H+L***, and the right edge of the focus was associated with low phrase accent (L-).
d) The prosodic mirative pattern is significantly distinct from the rising pitch accent (**L+H***) observed in corrective contexts (cf. also Bocci 2013).

⬇ ⬇

> In Italian, corrective FF and mirative FF are grammaticalized as two as
> distinct types of foci, marked by different phonological properties
> ☞ only mirative FF is possible in polar questions (cf. §4.2)

THE PROSODIC EXPRIMENT (Bianchi, Bocci & Cruschina 2015, 2016)

⬇ ⬇

More details from Giuliano Bocci tomorrow!

• **The corrective import** (Bianchi & Bocci 2012, Bianchi 2013, BBC 2015)

(32) A: <u>Hanno   invitato</u> Marina.   *Italian*
         have.3PL invited Marina
         'They invited Marina.'
    B: [GIULIA] <u>hanno invitato</u>,   (non Marina).
       Julie   have.3PL invited, (not Marina).
       'They invited *Julie*, not Marina.'

   – (32B) asserts the proposition '(John and Mary) invited Julie';
   – Narrow focus in (32B) yields a set of alternative propositions of the form 'John and Mary invited x', x an entity;
   – (32A) asserts the proposition 'John and Mary invited Marina':

☞ The proposition asserted in (32A) is a focus alternative of the proposition (32B).

---

(33) *Corrective import* → **Conventional implicature**
     There is one focus alternative proposition, already introduced in the context, which is incompatible with the proposition expressed in the corrective reply.

- The *corrective import* (33) is a conventional implicature (Potts 2005, 2007):
  (i) It is a speaker commitment;
  (ii) It is *not* backgrounded (i.e. already part of the common ground);
  (iii) It cannot be denied by the speaker (cf. 34)
  (iv) It is not sensitive to higher operators (*say* in (35)):

(34) A: Avete   visto   Gianni, vero?
                 have.2PL seen   John,   right
                 'You saw John, didn't you?'
        B: MARCO abbiamo   visto.   # E anche   Gianni, certo.
                 Mark   (we) have   seen.   and also   John,   sure.
                 'It was Mark that we saw. # And John too, of course.'

(35) A: Gianni   darà   i   documenti   a Lucia.
               John   give.FUT.3SG   the documents   to Lucy.
               'John will give the documents to Lucy.'
        B: No, ha detto [che [A ME]   li darà].
               no has said   that to me   them give.FUT.3SG
               'No, he said that he will give them to *me*.'

• **The mirative import** (BBC 2015, 2016)

(36)   **Una collana di diamanti** mi   hanno   regalato!
        a necklace   of diamonds to-me have.3PL given
        'They gave me a diamond necklace!'

  – Narrow focus in (36) yields a set of alternative propositions of the form: 'they gave me *x*', where x is an entity.

(37) *Mirative import* → **Conventional implicature**
        There is at least one focus alternative proposition which is *more likely* than the asserted proposition with respect to a contextually relevant modal base and a stereotypical ordering source.

  o   the contextually relevant modal base is the *context set*, i.e. the set of worlds compatible with the common ground information at the point when the proposition is asserted;

  o   stereotypical ordering source → a conversational background assigning to every world the set of propositions which represent the normal course of events in that world (Kratzer 2012 [1981]).

.

→ Mirative FF does not yield a traditional focus-background partition, in that the background need not be given.

- The mirative import is characterized as a conventional implicature (building on Frey 2010), and the unexpectedness in terms of the comparative likelihood of alternative propositions (Grosz 2011).

☞ The mirative import can sometimes be interpreted with a bouletic nuance, whereby the asserted proposition is less (or more) desirable than another alternative. This corresponds to the use of a bouletic ordering source instead of a stereotypical one (cf. Grosz 2011).

(38)   Caspita!   **Marina** hanno   invitato!   *Italian*
        gosh/damn   Marina   have.3PL invited
        'Gosh/Damn! They invited Marina!'

➔ On this account, mirative focus evokes a set of alternatives, which is necessary for a correct interpretation of the mirative implicature (NB: the alternatives need not be salient in the context).

- The mirative import is a conventional implicature:

(i) It is a speaker commitments;
(ii) It is *not* backgrounded (i.e. already part of the common ground);
(iii) It cannot be denied by the speaker ((39)
(iv) It is not sensitive to higher operators, e.g. the question operator in (40),
   contrary to at-issue/descriptive entailments.

(39) Credevo che non sapesse cucinare, invece... **Il pollo tandoori** ha preparato!
   I-thought that not be-able.3SG cook instead   the chicken tandoori has prepared
   # Ma la cosa   non mi   sorprende...
    but the thing not me.CL surprises
   'I thought he couldn't cook, instead... he made *tandoori chicken*!
    # But that doesn't surprise me.'

(40) Ma domani   **al   mare**   andate?
   but tomorrow to-the seaside   go.2PL
   'Are you going to the *seaside* tomorrow?'

➢ **Claim**: The trigger of FF is the CI itself!

☞ We propose a cartographic implementation of this idea...

a) These CIs have a direct impact on both the semantics and the prosody.
b) In compliance with the T-model of the grammar, the corrective or the mirative implicatures are triggered by a *syntactic feature*; this feature is prosodically signalled on the focus element.

- The different interpretations associated with focus are
CONVENTIONAL IMPLICATURES, which

"are conventionally associated with the activation of a left-peripheral functional projection which bears an implicature-triggering feature"
and which

"depend on the availability of a focus structure yielding a non-singleton set of alternative propositions in the scope of the implicature trigger: we will dub them focus-associated implicatures" (FAI) (BBC 2015: 17)

(41) $[_{FP}$ Force ... $[_{FaiP}$ FAI$^0_{[mir]/[corr]}$ $[_{FocP}$ YP$_{i\,[+foc]}$ Foc$^0_{[+foc]}$... $[_{TP}$ ... $<$YP$_i>$ ... $]]]$

- **FF and non-at issue meanings in polar questions** (Bianchi & Cruschina 2016)

(42) Ma domani **al mare** andate? *Italian*
but tomorrow to-the seaside go.2PL
'Are you going to the *seaside* tomorrow?'

(43) Chi **a Maria** salutasti? *Sicilian*
PTC ACC Maria greet.PST.2SG
'Did you say hello to Maria?'

(44) a. **Vseki den** li risuva Ivan? *Bulgarian* (Dukova-Zheleva 2010)
Every day PTC draws Ivan
'Is it *every day* that Ivan draws?'

b. **Knigu** li Anna pročitala? *Russian* (King 1995: 137)
book PTC Anna read.PST.3SG
'Was it *a book* that Anna read?'

c. **Pariisissa**ko Matti on kaynyt? *Finnish* (Holmberg 2001: 146)
to.Paris+PTC Matti have.PRS.3SG be.PP
'Is it *Paris* that Matti has visited?'

- **In Italian and Sicilian nuclear PQs:**

(i) FF is not sensitive to the question operator and does not affect the question denotation (what is suspended is the truth value of the proposition, the speaker is nonetheless committed to non-at-issue meaning);

(ii) FF contributes non-at-issue projective content (i.e. a <u>mirative conventional implicature</u> or a presupposition) which exploits the focus structure (i.e. the set of alternatives).

➔ <u>Contrastive/corrective focus is not possible in PQs</u>

- **Interaction between Polar Question operator and FF**:

Approaches that differentiate nuclear PQs from total PQs by assuming that in the former the fronted constituent (i.e. a narrow focus) directly contributes to the 'building' of the interrogative clause (like with wh-questions) are too radical in that they fail to predict that <u>nuclear PQs are answered by polar particles, like total PQs</u> :

o Holmberg (2014) → at the syntactic level
o Dukova-Zheleva (2010) → at the semantic level

- We assume that in yes/no questions the Polar Question illocutive operator Q introduces in the context the polar set $\{p, \neg p\}$, consisting of the proposition expressed by the sentence radical and its complement.

The proposition set approach (Hamblin 1973, Karttunen 1977, Krifka 2001, a.o.)

☞This approach characterizes the denotation of a question as a set of propositions. The PQ operator is <u>on top of the sentence radical</u>: it takes in input the proposition expressed by the latter and returns a question denotation.

(45) $[_\alpha$ Q ... $[_{TP}$ ... $]$

Q: At which compositional level are the focus structure and the mirative import generated?

(37') *Mirative import* → **Conventional implicature**

There is at least one focus alternative proposition which is *more likely* than the asserted proposition with respect to a contextually relevant modal base and a stereotypical ordering source.

- The mirative import is a conventional implicature and cannot be cancelled:

(46) a. Chi **a   Maria**   salutasti?   *Sicilian*
PTC ACC Mary   greet.PST.2SG
'Did you greet *Mary*?'

 b. .... Pinsava   ca   jirivu   sciarriati.
think.PST.1SG that are.PST.2PL fight.PST.PTCP.M.PL
'I thought you had a row.'

 c. # ...   Propia   cumu   pinsava.
exactly   like   think.PST.1SG
'Exactly as I would have thought.'

- The interlocutor B can confirm or deny the at-issue content of A's question, and at the same time confirm or reject the mirative import conveyed by A's question:

(47) A: Chi *a   Maria*   salutasti?   *Sicilian*
         PTC ACC Mary   greet.PST.2SG
         'Did you greet *Mary*?'

   B: Sì, chi c'è   di stranu?
        yes what   there-is of-strange
        'Yes, what's strange about it?'

   B': Ma no, chi dici?!
        but not what   say.2SG
        'No (way), what are you talking about?!'

- The mirative implicature requires a set of propositions that do not have an 'open polarity' within them. Hence, the implicature must be introduced by a functional layer higher than the focus structure but *lower than* the Q operator (which, we assume, introduces 'open polarity') $\rightarrow \beta$

(48) $[_\alpha \ Q \ \ldots [_\beta \ \text{F-IMP}_C \ [_\gamma \ [_{\text{FocP}} \ XP_F \ [_{\text{FinP}} \ldots . <XP_F>]] \sim C \ _\gamma] \ _\beta] \ _\alpha] \ [_{\text{TP}} \ldots]$

Semantic layers of interpretation:

- The TP expresses the proposition p (*the sentence radical*).
- The γ layer introduces a contextually relevant set C of alternative propositions.
- The β layer introduces the mirative import.
- The α layer encodes the Q operator introducing the polar set.

- **Exhaustive focus in Hungarian**

→ FF involves exhaustive identification or exclusion by identification of the subset of the set of alternatives (Szabolcsi 1994, É. Kiss 1998):

(24') a.   Mary **egy kalapot** nézett   ki   magának.   *(exhaustive)*
          Mary a   hat.ACC pick.PST.3SG out herself.ACC
          'It was (only) a hat that Mary picked for herself.'

    b.   Mari ki   nézett   magának egy kalapot.   *(informational)*
          Mary out pick.PST.3SG herself   a   hat
          'Mary picked for herself a hat.' (É. Kiss 1998: 249)

☞ Italian FF is not (inherently) exhaustive (cf. Brunetti 2004)...

❖ **HYPOTHESES** on the nature of the exhaustive meaning:
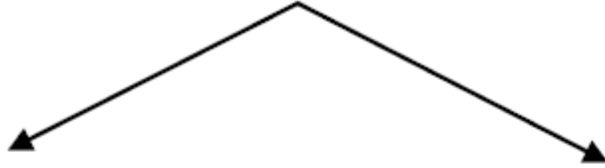
SEMANTIC

PRAGMATIC

1. [+exhaustive] associated with structural focus/with the focus operator (Szabolcsi 1981), É. Kiss (1998).

2. Semantic operator, independent from focus/FF (Horvath 2005, 2007, 2010) → Exhaustive Identification Operator. See also Brody & Szendrői 2011).

3. Semantic Presupposition
Kenesei (1986), Kálmán & van Leusen (1993), Szabolcsi (1994), Bende-Farkas (2009), É. Kiss (2006, 2010): structurally encoded, semantic consequence of its specificational predicate role)

1. (Conversational) implicature
a) Wedgwood (2003, 2005, 2007):
                    → *Relevance Theory*
b) Onea (2007, 2009), Onea & Beaver
    (2011):   → *Gricean Pragmatics*

2. Conventional implicature
    Gerőcs, Babarczy & Surányi (2014)

← Kas & Lukács (2013: 242):
    "The semantic presupposition and pragmatic implicature hypotheses are lending themselves as possible candidates, since both are concerned with the role of context and the latter with listeners' inferences."

QUESTION:

↳ Is Hungarian FF always exhaustive in <u>all contexts</u> (not just in question-answer pairs)? Is it a necessary condition for Hungarian FF?

➢ QUESTION-ANSWER CONTEXTS

• **Onea & Beaver (2011: §3.4):**

1. "The exhaustiveness inference arises pragmatically from an association between the pre-verbal focus position in Hungarian and the answering constituent for a wh-question under discussion, in the sense of Roberts (1996) and Beaver and Clark (2008)."

2. "<u>Immediately pre-verbal focus in Hungarian is always the answering constituent to a (possibly implicit) question under discussion</u>."

• Within the pragmatic approach to FF in Hungarian, all experiments adopt question-answer pairs (following Onea & Beaver 2011). Even when an explicit question is not used, the accommodation of an implicit QUD is assumed (cf. e.g. Gerőcs et al. 2014).

➢ **Other Contexts** (*not all foci are answers*) (Cruschina 2016b)

• To determine whether the **exhaustive** interpretation, typical of question-answer pairs, is a semantic constant of FF, we should test FF in contexts that, presumably, do not require exhaustivity from a pragmatic and conversational viewpoint.

→ **Questionnaire** (with 22 native speakers) on:
   (i)   FF in mirative contexts (including out-of-the-blue contexts);
   (ii)   FF in polar questions;
   (iii) FF in corrective contexts.

☞ **NB**: I won't discuss cases of answers to questions, but note that FF is found is 'mention-some' answers (e.g. Where can you buy tooth paste over here? – For example, *in the pharmacy* you can buy it; Wedgwood 2005) and in newspapers headings.

I. Mirative contexts

- (49) and (50) from É. Kiss (2007: 78): could (50B) have a mirative interpretation?

(49) A: MELYIK CSAPAT nyerte meg a világbajnokságot?
which team won PRT the world-cup
'Which team won the world cup?'

   B: AZ OLASZ CSAPAT (nyerte meg a világbajnokságot).
the Italian team won PRT the world-cup
'The Italian team (won the world cup).'

(50) A: Mi történt?   B: AZ OLASZ CSAPAT nyerte meg a világbajnokságot!
   'What happened?'   the Italian   team   won PRT   the world-cup
                                            'It was the Italian team that won the world cup.'

☞ Comment from questionnaire: in (50) "B's reply implies that it is a surprise that the Italian team won, so it's weird to negate that in the continuation" (i.e. # bár ezen nem lepődöm meg... 'but that doesn't surprise me...').

- Examples from the questionnaire:

(51) [CONTEXT: Anna and Luca talk about Lea, Gianni and their recent wedding]

a) Azt hittem, hogy nincs pénzük! Képzeld!
    A MALDÍV-SZIGETEKRE utaztak el nászútra!

    'I thought they were penniless!
    Guess what! *To the Maldives* they went on honeymoon!'

Continuation 1: → ... #	bár ezen nem lepődöm meg...
	but that doesn't surprise me...
Continuation 2: → ...	és még a Seychelle-szigetekre is (elutaztak)!
	and to the Seychelles too (they went)!

b) # A MALDÍV-SZIGETEK volt az, ahova nászutra utaztak!
    'It is *to the Maldives* that they went on honeymoon!'

➔ Continuation 1 is judged as odd, while Continuation 2 is considered natural.
   A cleft cannot be used in the same context (not even in other languages, e.g.
   English or Italian) → mirative focus is not exhaustive!

☞ There need not be any QUD, any presupposition and hence any identification...

II. Polar questions

(52)   MARIT hívták meg?
       Mary they invited?

(53) a.   A szomszédaikon kívül MARIT hívták meg?
        besides their neighbours, *Mary* they invited?

   b.   MARIT hívták meg? És Jánost is? Őrület!
        Marina they invited? And John too? Oh dear!!

   c.   MARIT hívták meg vagy MARIT ÉS JÁNOST (hívták meg)?
        Mary they invited or *Mary and John* (they invited)?

➔   (53c) is possible, but better with *csak* 'only' for some speakers (note, anyway, that the exhaustive meaning in the first disjunct can be derived as an implicature associated with the disjunction (also in Italian)).

(54)   Anna AZT A KÖNYVET olvasta el?
Anna *that book* read?

Meaning 1: → *Was is really that book that A. read?*
Meaning 2: → *Is it that book that Anna read?*
Meaning 3: → *Is it only that book that Anna read?*

(55)   Márk SZICÍLIÁRA ment el?
Mark *Sicily* visited?

Meaning 1: → *Was it really that book that A. read?*
Meaning 2: → *Is it Sicily that Mark visited?*
Meaning 3: → *Is it only Sicily that Mark visited?*

➔   For (54) and (55) speakers found that Meaning 2 (*identificational*) is the most prominent; Meaning 1 (*mirative*) is also possible (with the appropriate prosodic contour and context), but crucially *Meaning 3* was barely chosen (by two speakers only who pointed out that it might be possible "depending on the context").

III. Corrective contexts

(56) [CONTEXT: Anna and Luca talk about Lea, Gianni and their recent wedding]

    A: Ha jól értettem, a Virgin-szigetekre mentek nászútra.
        'If I've understood correctly, they went to the Virgin Islands on honeymoon'.

    B: Nem, tévedsz! A MALDÍV-SZIGETEKRE mentek nászútra, nem a Virgin-
        szigetekre.
        'No, you are wrong! *To the Maldives* they went on honeymoon, not to the
        Virgin Islands!'

- Accepted 100%, but is corrective focus exhaustive?

☞ YES, if we assume that the contextual set of focal alternatives only includes the corrective claim and the antecedent proposition (i.e. the target of the correction) (cf. van Leusen 2004);

☞ NO, Correction > "The alternative proposition and the corrective claim are *incompatible descriptions* of one and the same event" >> Only one alternative is excluded, but the predicate might still hold for others.

→ NB: They cannot be used to answer a question (e.g. in Romance).

QUESTION:

↳ Is Hungarian FF always exhaustive in <u>all contexts</u> (not just in question-answer pairs)? Is it a necessary condition for Hungarian FF?

(i)   FF in mirative contexts (including out-of-the-blue contexts);

(ii) FF in polar questions;

(iii) FF in corrective contexts.

➔ exhaustivity seems to be a implicature conventionally associated with question-answer contexts...

Conclusions

- The different interpretations and distribution of foci can be accounted for, in a cartographic approach, by assuming that FF can be associated with a family of CIs (& presuppositions) which are directly encoded in the syntax.

- The different features for CIs are responsible not only for the semantic differences, but also for the distinct phonological properties and for the movement to the left periphery → 1 focus, different CIs

THIS APPROACH (BBC 2015, 2016) allows for a research enterprise both in:

➢ **Synchrony** → crosslinguistic variation w.r.t. the CIs that can be associated with FF, FF as a strategy associated with specific structures or contexts, etc.

➢ **Diachrony** → the conventional association with focus may change over time (cf. non-contrastive focus movement in Medieval Romance, Benincà 2006, Poletto 2014, a.o.).

Thank you!