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The yearly 'Going Romance' and 'Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages' meetings feature research in formal linguistics of Romance languages, mainly in the domains of morphology, syntax, and semantics, and, to a certain extent, phonology. Each volume brings together a peer-reviewed selection of papers that were presented at one of the meetings, aiming to provide a representation of the spread of topics at that conference, and of the variety of research carried out nowadays on Romance languages within theoretical linguistics.

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Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2013
Selected papers from 'Going Romance' Amsterdam 2013
Edited by Enoch O. Aboh, Jeannette C. Schaeffer and Petra Sleeman

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Introduction

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This volume contains a selection of the papers that were presented at the 27th Going Romance conference. Going Romance is one of the leading European annual conferences on the theoretical analysis of Romance languages. While its organization used to rotate among the six Romance departments of the Dutch universities, this changed in 2009, when other European universities started joining this rotating organization of Going Romance.

The 27th Going Romance conference took place on 28–30 November, 2013, at the University of Amsterdam. The invited speakers were Alexandra Cornilescu, Giuseppe Longobardi, Andrew Nevins, and Philippe Prévost. The main two-day program contained a small selection of the papers that were submitted for oral or poster presentation. All abstracts were reviewed by three or four experts in Romance linguistics from all over the world. As usual, the areas of research varied from syntax and semantics to morphology and phonology, from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective to an acquisitional perspective. The third day of the conference was devoted to a workshop on language acquisition with the theme "Language Acquisition and Linguistic Theory".

All presenters and alternates were invited to submit their paper for publication. As is common practice in the publication of the Going Romance volumes, each submission was thoroughly peer-reviewed by two external reviewers, who judged the acceptability of the papers, and recommended revisions. The final decision was made by the volume editors.

Whereas previous volumes were part of the John Benjamins' series Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, since 2009 the selected papers of Going Romance appear in the series Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory (RLLT) published by John Benjamins. In 2014 it was decided that the selected proceedings of one of the major American conferences on the theoretical analysis of Romance linguistics, the Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL), would also be published in the RLLT series, under the scientific responsibility of an American and European editorial board. The first LSRL volume in this series was published earlier this year.

Focus fronting and its implicatures*

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In this paper we investigate the essential semantic and pragmatic features associated with Focus Fronting (FF) in Italian, with the ultimate aim of identifying the actual trigger of this syntactic operation. After introducing the different contexts that could in principle be compatible with FF, we present the results of a syntactic experiment which show that FF is possible in *corrective* and *mirative* contexts, but not in *merely contrastive* contexts. This distribution proves that, contrary to claims that are dominant in the literature, contrast and/or givenness of the background are not necessary conditions for Italian FF. Our second experiment highlights a systematic prosodic difference between the two focus types, showing that the corrective and mirative interpretations are grammatically distinct. We claim that these special interpretations associated with FF are *conventional implicatures* which are syntactically encoded and which trigger syntactic fronting.

1. Introduction: The trigger of Focus Fronting

In most Romance languages the information structure of an utterance may trigger overt syntactic operations that determine the order of the constituents in the sentence. One such operation drives the focus constituent of the sentence, which bears the main prosodic prominence (indicated in bold in the examples), to a clause-initial position. We call this Focus Fronting (FF):

- (1) [**Marco**]_{FOCUS} *abbiamo visto.* (Italian)
Mark have.1PL seen
'It was Mark that we saw.'

* We are indebted to two anonymous reviewers for their detailed and insightful comments. Giuliano Bocci's work was supported by a fellowship associated with the *International Research Chair Blaise Pascal* funded by the French State and Ile-de-France Region.

Not all types of focus allow FF. Rather, the presence or absence of this special grammatical marking seems to depend on additional or concomitant requirements, leading to a wide range of analyses which adopt different views on the (syntactic, prosodic or pragmatic) nature of the triggering factor. According to the cartographic analysis first proposed in Rizzi (1997), the focus constituent (i.e. *Marco* in (1)) bears a (contrastive) focus feature and moves to the specifier of a dedicated focus projection within the left periphery of the clause to satisfy the Focus Criterion (see also Rizzi 2006).

A completely different analysis is put forward in Samek-Lodovici (2006): the contrastive focus constituent in Italian is always in the final rightmost position of the clause (i.e. the same position as non-contrastive foci); the appearance of fronting results from the fact that the rest of the clause, being discourse-given, has been right-dislocated. Crucially, the initial trigger of the derivational steps that lead to the FF configuration is the givenness of the superficially postfocal material.

In order to test the pragmatic conditions that license FF in Italian, and with the intent of developing an accurate analysis of the actual trigger of FF, we set out the present study with a distinction of the contexts that could in principle allow FF. Moving along this empirical line of inquiry, and on the basis of the syntactic and prosodic evidence gathered through scrupulously designed experiments, we show that, as a matter of fact, neither contrast on the focus constituent nor givenness of the background material is a necessary condition for FF. We claim instead that the special interpretations associated with FF are the result of conventional implicatures (CIs) that are encoded in the syntactic structure. Our search for the trigger of FF ultimately turns into a quest for the trigger of the CIs associated with FF, which we take to be a syntactic feature that projects its own phrase in the left periphery of the sentence.

2. The syntactic experiment: Distributional evidence

We conducted a syntactic experiment on the acceptability of FF in Italian in three different contexts: *corrective*, *mirative* and *merely contrastive* contexts.¹ These contexts differ with respect to the status of the focus constituent (contrastive vs.

1. In Italian, the possibility of fronting the narrow information focus in answers to wh-questions is controversial (cf. Brunetti 2004; cf. Cruschina 2012 for an overview). An additional problem is that it is not always easy to exclude an unexpectedness interpretation of the answer with FF, which would fall under the case of mirative contexts (see below). For these reasons, we decided to leave this type of focus aside.

non-contrastive), as well as with regard to the status of the background material (given vs. non-given).

2.1 Corrective, mirative and merely contrastive contexts

We define corrective contexts as those contexts in which a reply containing the focus element corrects part of a previous assertion (Bianchi & Bocci 2012; Bianchi 2013). This conversational move corresponds to a specific use of contrastive focus, which can be characterized as contrast across utterances: the background of the fronted focus repeats verbatim the background of the corrected assertion (underlined in (2)), and cannot contain additional material (Bianchi 2013).

- (2) A: *Hanno invitato Marina.*
 have.3PL invited Marina
 'They invited Marina.'
- B: *Giulia hanno invitato (, non Marina).*
 Julie have.3PL invited not Marina
 'They invited Julie (, not Marina).'
- B': *Hanno invitato Giulia (, non Marina).*
 have.3PL invited Julie not Marina
 'They invited Julie (, not Marina).'

Since it repeats part of the previous assertion, here the non-focal material is necessarily given. The corrective focus contrasts with the focus alternative expressed by the corrected assertion: the proposition 'they invited Julie' corrects the alternative proposition 'they invited Marina.' Thus, in corrective contexts there is precisely one salient alternative that is active in the discourse: corrective foci are therefore contrastive.²

In mirative contexts, the fronted focus element is unexpected or surprising. This label is inspired by DeLancey's (1997) definition of the category of mirativity, whereby the speaker expresses that the information she is asserting has been very recently acquired and is not yet integrated in her system of beliefs (Cruschina 2012, 117 ff.):

2. Although the introduction of a set of alternatives is common to all instances of focus (Rooth 1992), we maintain that contrastive foci differ from information foci in that the former, but not the latter, requires one other member of the set of alternatives to be salient in the context (see also Krifka 2007).

[CONTEXT: Anna tells about a customer who complained for nothing]

- (3) *Pensa te! Col direttore voleva parlare!*
 think you with-the manager wanted.3SG speak.INF
 'Guess what! He wanted to speak with the manager!'
- (3') *Pensa te! Voleva parlare col direttore!*
 think you wanted.3SG speak.INF with-the manager
 'Guess what! He wanted to speak with the manager!'

Mirative contexts can be out-of-the-blue-contexts eliciting broad-focus sentences (as exemplified in (3)); therefore, here the non-focal material is not necessarily given.³ Moreover, mirative focus is clearly not contrastive, because there need not be a salient alternative in the context: the focus alternatives are generally based on expectations. In this sense, it is possible to speak of contrast against expectations or shared knowledge, but this notion would not meet our definition of contrast, which requires that one other alternative be active and salient in the context.

Finally, merely contrastive contexts differ from corrective contexts in that they involve an *utterance-internal contrast* between a focussed element and a parallel element in the negative tag, but there is no contrast with a previous utterance.⁴

- (4) A: *Io vi saluto, devo rientrare a casa.*
 I you greet must.1SG go-back.INF to home
 'I'm off, I have to go back home.'
- B: *Ti conviene prendere il taxi, non la metro...*
 you.DAT be-better.3SG take.INF the taxi not the underground
 'You'd better take the taxi, not the underground...'
- B': **Il taxi ti conviene prendere, non la metro...*
 the taxi you.DAT be-better.3SG take.INF not the underground
 'You'd better take the taxi, not the underground...'

Here too the non-focal material is not necessarily given, as the contrasting alternative proposition conveyed by the negative tag need not be already active in the discourse: the context can be that of a broad-focus sentence.

In sum, in the three types of context focus has the following properties:

- i. corrective context: +contrastive, +given background;
- ii. mirative contexts: -contrastive, ±given background;
- iii. merely contrastive contexts: +contrastive, ±given background.

2.2 The experimental results

To test the distribution of FF in these three contexts, we conducted an experiment with 97 native speakers from different regions of Italy. Each stimulus was shown in two versions, as exemplified above: focus in situ and focus ex situ/fronted. The sentences were presented through an online interface in one of the three contexts under examination, and the subjects were asked to rate the degree of acceptability of each sentence in the relevant context by placing the cursor along a slider bar. We tested 36 experimental items, which were thus presented under the following six conditions, adding up to a total of 216 stimuli: (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.

An introductory sentence was provided in order to create the appropriate contextual conditions; corrective and merely contrastive contexts consisted of short dialogues akin to (2) and (4), while in mirative contexts specific comments or lexical items were added before or after the target sentence in order to enforce the interpretation of surprise and unexpectedness (cf. 3). Crucially, mirative and merely contrastive contexts were designed so as to elicit broad focus on the target sentence.

The overall 216 stimuli were divided into 6 lists, each consisting of 36 experimental stimuli plus 36 fillers. The stimuli were pseudo-randomized and every subject was randomly assigned a list. The responses, converted into z-scores, were fitted into a mixed model (Baayen 2008): 'focus type' and 'focus situ' as interacting fixed factors, 'participant' and 'item' as random factors. The z-scores across focus types and positions are shown in Figure 1, and are summarized below:⁵

3. Zimmermann (2007) calls 'partial focus movement' this fronting where only the most relevant part of a broad focus moves (see also Fanselow & Lenertová 2011).

4. The ungrammaticality of (4B') in a merely contrastive context is explained below.

5. Raw scores were transformed into z-scores by subtracting the participant's mean score (computed over all materials) from the score assigned by that participant to each sentence and dividing this number by the standard deviation for that participant. This procedure standardizes subjects' judgment scores with mean = 0 and standard deviation = 1.

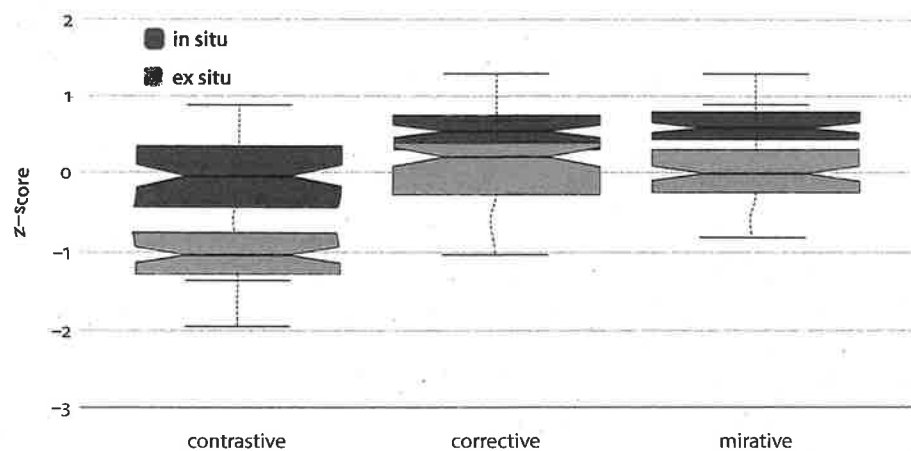


Figure 1. Acceptance values (z-scores) across focus types and positions

- a. Focus in situ (the dark grey box-plots) is always preferred over focus ex situ (the light grey box-plots), even when fronting is fully acceptable. The contrast between corrective and mirative focus in situ, on the one hand, and corrective and mirative focus ex situ, on the other, is strongly significant ($p < .001$).
- b. FF in mirative and in corrective contexts is accepted as equally good; there is no statistically significant difference of acceptance rate between these two conditions ($p > .05$).
- c. FF is not accepted in merely contrastive contexts: the contrast between FF in mirative and corrective contexts, on the one hand, and FF in merely contrastive contexts, on the other, is extremely significant ($p < .0001$). Compare the light grey box-plots in Figure 1, where FF scores much lower in merely contrastive contexts.

Recall now the characterization of the three types of contexts:

- i. corrective context: +contrastive, +given background;
- ii. mirative contexts: -contrastive, \pm given background;
- iii. merely contrastive contexts: +contrastive, \pm given background.

The different acceptability rate of FF in merely contrastive vs. corrective contexts shows that contrast in itself is not a sufficient condition for FF (cf. also Bianchi and Bocci 2012 for further evidence). FF is instead allowed both in corrective and in mirative contexts; crucially, the acceptability of FF in the mirative case shows

that neither givenness of the background nor contrast of the focus constituent is a necessary condition for FF.⁶

3. The prosodic experiment: Intonational evidence

The distribution across various contexts does not tell us whether corrective and mirative foci are two syntactically distinct phenomena or, rather, two potential uses of the same fronting structure (cf. Frey 2010 on German A'-fronting for the latter position). We offer arguments against a unifying account claiming that mirative FF and corrective FF are two distinct types of focus which receive a grammatically different marking. Our claims are mainly based on Bocci's (2013) experimental findings and on the prosodic evidence gathered in our second experiment (see also Cruschina 2012 for some syntactic evidence). Bocci (2013, ch. 6) shows that, in Italian, different types of focus are associated with distinct phonological properties. In particular, the pitch accent associated with corrective FF is clearly different from the pitch accent of broad focus and narrow information focus. Corrective focus displays a raising contour, namely, an L+H* pitch accent, while broad focus and narrow information focus both show an intonational fall (H+L*). In addition, according to Bocci (2013), corrective focus exhibits the same pitch accent both when it is fronted and when it is in situ, and this finding provides strong evidence in favour of our claim that the FF variant and the in-situ variant convey exactly the same type of focus.

6. One reviewer asks whether FF is possible in answers to alternative questions like (iB):

- (i) A: *Gianni ha bevuto il vino o la birra?*
John has drunk the wine or the beer?
'Did John drink wine or beer?'
- B: *La birra ha bevuto.*
the beer has drunk
'He drank beer.'

In this case, the background is given and the focus is contrastive: so, if FF were impossible, this would suffice to show that neither of these properties is a necessary condition for FF. On the other hand, if FF were possible, this would at most show that contrast and/or a given background are sufficient conditions for FF. Our impression is that FF is not natural in this context (unless supported by a mirative flavour), but the issue requires experimental investigation, which remains for future research.

To test the phonological properties of mirative focus and to compare them with those of corrective focus, we carried out a production experiment in which 3 (female) native speakers of Italian (Tuscan variety) read 6 items from our previous syntactic experiment under 5 conditions (the same conditions as in the syntactic experiment with the exception of the ex-situ version for the merely contrastive context, because this was judged as unacceptable). We put together a corpus of 360 utterances (6 items \times 5 conditions \times 3 subjects \times 4 repetitions), out of which we randomly picked up 2 repetitions per subject for the analysis. We manually segmented the sentences into phonemes and transcribed them according to the conventions developed in the ToBI framework. The results are illustrated in Figure 2 in terms of percentages of the prosodic profile of the focus according to the three observed pitch accents L+H*, H+L*, and H*:

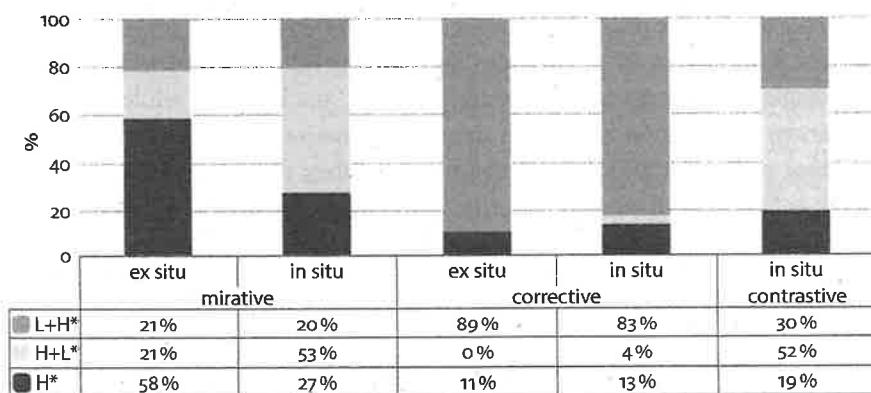


Figure 2. Pitch accents across focus types and positions

The results show that in mirative contexts the fronted focus is typically realized with high *plateau* profile ending on the stressed syllable of the focus element and followed by a fall. In most cases (80%), the stressed syllable was associated with either H* or H+L*, i.e. the pitch accents not preceded by a valley, and the right edge of the focus was associated with low phrase accent (L-). This results in a fall from the half of the stressed syllable towards the end of the constituent (cf. Figure 3). The prosodic mirative pattern is significantly distinct from the rising pitch accent (L+H*) observed in corrective contexts: compare and contrast Figure 3 with Figure 4 (the stressed syllable associated with the nuclear pitch accent is in bold):

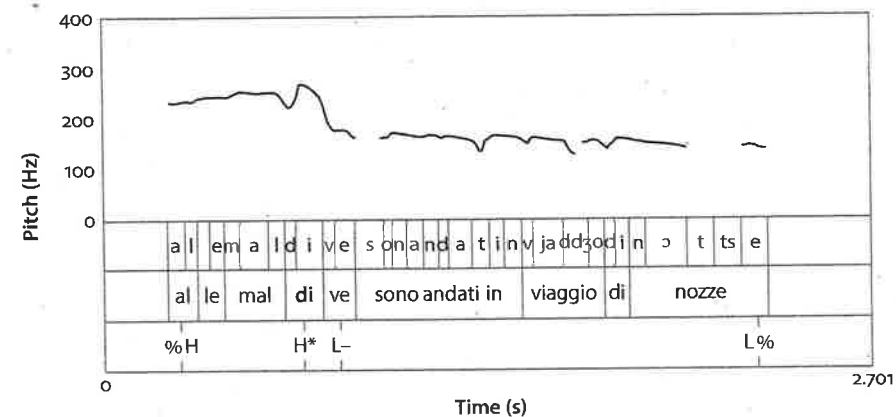


Figure 3. Pitch contour of the utterance with Mirative FF: *Alle Maldive sono andati in viaggio di nozze!* 'They went to the Maldives on honeymoon!'

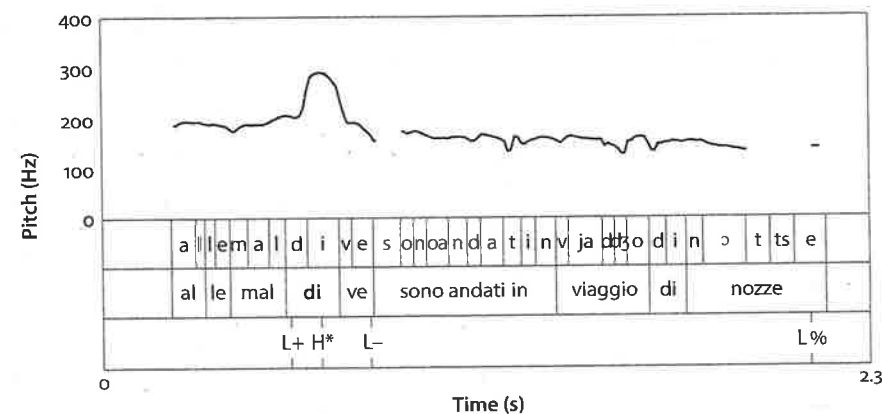


Figure 4. Pitch contour of the utterance with Corrective FF: *Alle Maldive sono andati in viaggio di nozze* (, *non alle Isole Vergini*). 'They went to the Maldives on honeymoon (, not to the Virgin Islands).'

On the basis of this evidence, we conclude that, in Italian, corrective FF and mirative FF are grammaticalized as two as distinct types of foci, marked by different phonological properties. Even if the sentences may appear superficially identical, the two interpretations associated with FF are in fact distinctly marked in the grammar.

4. Characterizing the mirative and the corrective import

Having shown that corrective FF and mirative FF are distinct grammatical phenomena, we will now informally characterize their semantic import (for more details see Bianchi & Bocci 2012; Bianchi 2013; and Bianchi, Bocci & Cruschina 2015).

4.1 The corrective import

In a corrective context, it is easy to see that the proposition expressed by the 'antecedent' assertion ((5A) in the example below) must be a salient member of the set of alternative propositions yielded by narrow focus in the corrective reply (here, (5B)):

- (5) A: *Hanno invitato Marina.*
 have.3PL invited Marina
 B: *Giulia hanno invitato (, non Marina).*
 Julie have.3PL invited not Marina

In (5B), narrow focus on *Giulia* yields a set of alternative propositions of the form 'John and Mary invited *x*' (where *x* is an entity, and 'John and Mary' is the value of the plural null subject); (5A) asserts the proposition 'John and Mary invited Marina', which is in fact a member of this set of alternatives, sharing the background and differing with respect to the focus.

Bianchi & Bocci (2012) argue that corrective focus conveys that the proposition expressed by corrective claim (5B) is *incompatible* with one salient alternative proposition – namely, it is an incompatible description of one and the same event (cf. van Leusen 2004):

- (6) *Corrective import*: There is one alternative proposition, already introduced in the context, which is incompatible with the proposition expressed in the corrective reply.

The incompatibility import implies that accepting both the antecedent proposition and the corrective claim would lead to an inconsistency: this is what gives rise to the correction effect, whereby speaker A's assertion is rejected by speaker B.

4.2 The mirative import

We have applied this label to contexts in which FF is employed to express surprise and unexpectedness (cf. Cruschina 2012):

- (7) *Una collana di perle mi hanno regalato!*
 a necklace of pearls me.DAT have.3PL given

In the example (7), the speaker asserts the proposition 'they gave me a pearl necklace'. Narrow focus on *a pearl necklace* yields a set of alternative propositions of the form 'John and Mary gave me *x*' (where again, *x* is an entity and 'John and Mary' is the value of the plural null subject). The mirative import conveys that there is at least one member of the set of alternative propositions which is *more likely* than the asserted proposition. The relative likelihood of these propositions is calculated on the basis of a relevant modal base and a stereotypical ordering source representing the normal course of events in the world of evaluation (cf. Kratzer 2012), on which the speakers' expectations are based (cf. Bianchi, Bocci & Cruschina 2015 for more details; see also Frey 2010 and Grosz 2011 for similar proposals). We therefore define the mirative import as follows:

- (8) *Mirative import*: 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.

In conclusion, our central claim is that in both cases, FF is associated with an implicature whose interpretation requires a non-trivial focus semantic value (i.e. one that consist in a non-singleton set of alternative propositions). In the following section, we characterize these as conventional implicatures and we propose a syntactic implementation of the implicature trigger.

5. The syntax of focus-associated implicatures

In current syntactic theory, movement is conceived of as a last resort operation that the syntactic component makes use of to obtain interface effects. Within the cartographic approach, in particular, movement must be triggered by morphosyntactic features situated in functional heads and regulated by principles of economy (cf., e.g., Rizzi 2006). In Italian, however, the focus feature cannot be *per se* responsible for FF: if it were, we would expect FF to occur with all types of focus, contrary to fact. The results of our syntactic experiment clearly show that contrast cannot be the triggering feature either, since it is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition: FF does not obtain in merely contrastive contexts but is available with non-contrastive mirative focus. Likewise, even if we assume a givenness feature, along the lines of Féry & Samek-Lodovici (2006), this cannot be viewed as the trigger of FF, as demonstrated by the fact that mirative FF was largely accepted in our first experiment, even though it occurred in broad focus sentences. Opening a new line or inquiry, we claim that FF is triggered by a functional head which syntactically encodes a conventional implicature.

5.1 Conventional implicatures

The corrective and the mirative import are *conventional* implicatures (CIs) in the sense of Potts (2005, 2007). This is shown by the fact that they exhibit the hallmarks of CIs: (i) they are speaker commitments; (ii) they are not backgrounded, contrary to presuppositions; (iii) they cannot be cancelled by the speaker, contrary to conversational implicatures; (iv) they are not sensitive to higher operators, contrary to at-issue entailments.

When uttering a sentence with FF, the speaker must be committed to the associated implicature, i.e. either that the antecedent is incompatible with the corrective claim (in the case of the corrective import), or that the asserted proposition is less likely than other alternatives (in the case of the mirative import). These implicatures are not backgrounded, in the sense that they are not already part of the common ground and, according to Potts, *antibackgrounding* is a requirement of CIs. Furthermore, as opposed to conversational implicatures, CIs are not deniable:

- (9) A: *Avete visto Gianni, vero?*
have.2PL seen John true
'You saw John, didn't you?'
- B: *Marco abbiamo visto. # E anche Gianni, certo.*
Mark have.1PL seen and also John sure
'It was Mark that we saw. # And John too, of course.'
- (10) *Credevo che non sapesse cucinare, invece... il pollo*
thought.1SG that not be-able.SBJV.3SG cook.INF instead the chicken
tandoori ha preparato! # Ma la cosa non mi sorprende...
tandoori has prepared but the thing not me.CL surprises
'I thought he couldn't cook, instead... he made tandoori chicken! # But that does not surprise me.'

Because of the incompatibility between the correction and the antecedent, in (9) it is not possible for the speaker to continue her corrective claim (9B) with an assertion that would restate the focus value of the antecedent. Such a continuation would in fact be inconsistent with the conveyed implicature, leading to pragmatic infelicity.⁷ Similarly, the speaker cannot deny the mirative import of

7. One may hypothesize that the focus value of the antecedent cannot be reintroduced because the corrective focus is exhaustive in nature. However, Brunetti (2004) convincingly shows that unlike English, Italian does not have a focus particle that is sensitive to the exhaustivity of the focus.

unexpectedness in (10): a continuation aiming at such cancellation gives rise to an odd pragmatic result (cf. Frey 2010, 1426).⁸

In addition, the corrective import is not sensitive to higher operators, such as the verb of saying in (11B):

- (11) 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.'

In (11B), the clause containing corrective FF is embedded under a verb of saying. Note that the speaker does not commit herself to the truth of the proposition expressed by the embedded clause, but rather commits to it the matrix clause subject *John*; on the other hand, it is the speaker and not the matrix subject who is committed to the corrective import, namely, to the implicature that the embedded proposition (John will give the documents to B) is inconsistent with the proposition asserted by A (John will give the documents to Lucy): thus, the implicature is insensitive to embedding.

Similarly, the mirative import is also insensitive to higher operators, such as the question operator in (12):

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

In uttering this question, the speaker is obviously not committed to the truth of the at-issue proposition (i.e. 'you are going to the seaside tomorrow'), but he is nonetheless committed to the mirative import that it is unlikely that the addressees go to the seaside tomorrow: the mirative import is therefore clearly out of the scope of the question operator. Insensitivity to higher operators is another characteristic of CIs, which are traditionally considered scopeless (cf. Potts 2005, 2007).

5.2 Layers of interpretation

The next step is to determine at which compositional level these conventional implicatures are introduced. To this aim, let us consider again the interrogative sentence with mirative FF in (12) above (i.e. *Ma domani [al mare] andate?*). We

8. The continuation is pragmatically acceptable when FF conveys a bouletic import of desire rather than unexpectedness (see Bianchi, Bocci & Cruschina 2015).

assume that in yes/no questions a Polar Question illocutive operator introduces in the context the polar set $\{p, \neg p\}$, consisting of the proposition expressed by the sentence radical and its complement: the interlocutor(s) then have to choose which one of the two propositions will update the common ground (see, a.o., Farkas & Bruce 2010). Informally, the polar set in (12) comprises the following proposition: $\{p = \text{the addressees are going to the seaside tomorrow}, \neg p = \text{the addressees are not going to the seaside tomorrow}\}$. The mirative import of (12) conveys that there is one alternative proposition of the form ‘the addressees are going to place x tomorrow’ which is more likely than p . Crucially, the mirative import is built on the proposition expressed by the sentence radical only: hence, the mirative implicature is introduced within the scope of the illocutive Polar Question operator, which generates the polar set. From these considerations it follows that the level at which the implicature is introduced must be *below* the level encoding illocutionary force. A similar conclusion holds for the corrective implicature: the fact that it can be licensed in a subordinate declarative clause (cf. (11B) above) shows that it cannot be introduced directly by the root illocutive operator.

Moreover, note that the mirative and the corrective implicatures can only be interpreted on the basis of a focus structure: the level where the implicatures are introduced “must have a focused constituent inside its syntactic scope in order to generate a pragmatically acceptable meaning. If there is no such focus, then the focal meaning of the clause ... is a singleton set” (Beaver & Clark 2008, 274), and consequently, the mirative and the corrective import cannot be interpreted properly. We therefore assume that a focus structure must be realized at the propositional level, in the scope of the implicature trigger. This leads us to identify four compositional layers:⁹

$$(13) \quad [\alpha \text{ IllocF} \dots [\beta [\text{mir}]/[\text{corr}] [\gamma \text{ YP}_{\text{FOC}} \dots [\text{TP} \dots \langle \text{YP}_{\text{FOC}} \rangle]]]]]$$

5.3 A cartographic implementation

We have so far argued that, in Italian, corrective focus and mirative focus are grammaticalized as distinct types of foci. The distinction is primarily supported by their different prosodic contours (§3): thus, crucially, the conventional implicatures in question have a direct impact on *both* the semantics and the prosody of the sentence. If we want to keep a T-model of the grammar, we have to assume that the corrective and the mirative implicature are triggered by active features in the syntactic structure, which also provide specific instructions to the prosodic component. We therefore propose that these implicatures are conventionally

associated with the activation of a left-peripheral functional projection which bears an implicature-triggering feature. Moreover, recall that the corrective and the mirative CIs 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*. Given our previous argument that the implicature trigger must be syntactically active, it is natural to conceive of this dependency as the actual driving force of FF: the (mirative or corrective) implicature trigger activates a focus structure in its scope, and thus also acts as the *syntactic trigger* of focus movement.

A straightforward implementation of our proposal (though by no means the only possible one) is in cartographic terms (Rizzi 1997, 2006). The highest illocutive layer of (13) can be identified with Rizzi’s Force. At the next lower layer, we propose that a functional head FAI (for ‘focus-associated implicature’) acts as the implicature trigger; this head also activates an immediately lower Focus Phrase, thus triggering the movement of a focus constituent to the Spec of the criterial Focus head. The layers in (13) can be cartographically rendered as in (15):

$$(15) \quad [_{\text{FP}} \text{Force} \dots [_{\text{FAIP}} \text{FAI}^0_{[\text{mir}]/[\text{corr}]} [_{\text{FocP}} \text{YP}_i_{[\text{+foc}]} \text{Foc}^0_{[\text{+foc}]} \dots [_{\text{TP}} \dots \langle \text{YP}_i \rangle \dots]]]]]$$

We know, however, that FF does not always obtain when FAI contains an implicature-triggering feature (either [mir] or [corr]), and that movement is actually optional. We assume that the left-peripheral FAI and Focus heads are always activated, and that optionality results from the possibility of *alternatively spelling out* either the highest or the lowest copy of the movement chain, as independently proposed in other studies (cf. Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2012; see also Bianchi & Bocci 2012).

6. Conclusions

To sum up, the experimental evidence that we provided shows that Italian FF is contingent neither on the givenness of the background nor on the contrastive nature of the focus constituent. We have argued that FF is associated with specific conventional implicatures (mirative or corrective) whose interpretation requires a non-trivial focus structure; we have proposed that the implicature trigger is a functional head in the left periphery which activates a lower Focus Phrase, so as to yield the required set of alternative propositions. In this way, the syntax-semantics mapping turns out to be more complex than the direct encoding of an information-structure category like focus or givenness; yet only such a complex mapping can account for the subtle correlation of interpretive, syntactic, and prosodic properties that our experimental evidence has brought to light

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