ARC-RoLO seminar — 16.03.2021

LOW FOCUS MOVEMENT IN ROMANCE

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ROADMAP

1- General consensus

2- Types of 'wh-in situ'

3- Low movement of wh-elements (Romance)

4- Low movement of foci (Romance)

5- Theory of WH-TO-FOC

6- Extension of the theory

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GENERAL CONSENSUS (NORTHERN ITALIAN)

Munaro et al. (2001), Poletto & Pollock (2000 and subsequent; 2019)

➢ Clause-internal wh-elements are moved;

➢ They move to the LP of the clause;

➢ The movement is masked by further computations (including movement of the remnant-IP).

➡ **The theory presented here challenges both.**

Manzini & Savoia (2005;2011)

➢ Scope construals

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GENERAL CONSENSUS (INTERROGATIVE WH-MOVEMENT)

Common consensus: the interrogative fronting of wh-elements results from a property borne by the wh-element.

Huang (1982): English: Spell-Out: 'WHO did you see?'
                Chinese: Spell-Out: 'Ni kanjian-le SHEI' (you saw WHO)
                           LF: 'SHEI ni kanjian-le' (WHO you saw)

Trevisan clause-internal movement of wh-elements argues that a covert/overt movement parameter is not enough.

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'WH-TO-FOC' (BONAN 2019;2021)

'Wh-to-Foc' implements the periphery of vP in the derivation of 'wh-in situ' in answer-seeking interrogatives.

Theoretical framework:

➢ Aboh & Pfau (2011): wh-movement should be dissociated from interrogative force (wh-elements are nor inherently interrogative – only required for the identification of the content of the question);

➢ Cable (2010): a model is required where wh-fronting is never triggered by properties of the wh-element, but rather targets the features of the Q-particle.

➡ **The theory presented here blends and amends these two approaches.**

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THREE TYPES OF 'WH-IN SITU'

Evidence from Romance

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TYPE 1: 'PURE'

(1)   Chinese (Huang 1982:253(159))

a.   Ni   kanjian-le   SHEI ?

you   see-asp   who

'WHO did you see?'

b. *   SHEI_i   ni   kanjiain-le   ____i ?

xxx

who   you   see-asp

Present-day Chinese (Huang 1982, Soh 2005, Huang & Li 2009 et Jin 2014), present-day Japanese (Hagstrom 1998, Kishimoto 2005), Korean (Beck & Kim 1997), Sinhala (Kishimoto 2005), etc.

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TYPE 2: 'OPTIONAL' (real optionality or semantic/pragmatic specialisation)

(2)   French

    a.   Tu   as   vu   *qui* ?

        you$_{2PS}$ have   seen   who

        'Who did you see?'

    b.   *Qui*$_i$ tu   as   vu   ___$_i$?

        who   you$_{2PS}$ have   seen

French (Baunaz 2005, Mathieu 2009, Shlonsky 2012, Faure & Palasis 2020), Brazilian Portuguese (Kato 2013, Figueiredo Silva & Grolla 2016, Rosemeyer 2019) European Portuguese (Cheng & Rooryck 2000, Kaiser & Quaglia 2015), Spanish (Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria 2005, Reglero 2015, Biezma 2018), NIDs (Munaro 1999, Poletto 2000, Manzini & Savoia 2005, Bonan 2019), etc.

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TYPE 3: 'FAKE' ⟶ (type 1 or type 2)

(3)   Trevisan (Bonan 2021)

    ge   'gatu   'dato   A KI$_i$ a   te'tʃa   ___$_i$?

    DAT   have=you$_{2PS}$ given   to who   the   saucepan

    'Who did you give the saucepan to?'

Very few mentions in the literature on Romance wh-in situ:
Kato (2003;2013)
Belletti (2006)
Manzini (2014)
Badan & Crocco (2021)

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LOW MOVEMENT OF WH-ELEMENTS

Bonan (2019)
Bonan (2021)

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## «A TYPOLOGICALLY INTERESTING AND SIGNIFICANT TYPE» (Cheng & Bayer 2017)

➢ Type 1 (Old Japanese Nara period, Watanabe 2003 et Aldridge 2009; Ancient Chinese, Aldridge 2010, *et alia*);

➢ Type 2 (Old Japanese Heian period, Watanabe 2003; Farsi, Kahnemuyipour 2001 et Karimi & Taleghani 2007; Malayalam, Jayaseelan 1996; Hindi-Urdu, Mahajan 1990, Manetta 2010 et Dayal 2017; Aghem as in Hyman 2005 et Aboh 2007; Brazilian Portuguese, Kato 2013; Trevisan, Bonan 2021, *et alia*).

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WHAT TYPE OF MOVEMENT?

Focal/wh-movement targeting Foc (Belletti 2004)/**SpecvP**: Jayaseelan 1996 for Malayalam; Turano 1998 for Albanian; Kahnemuyipour 2001 for Farsi; Kato 2003;2013 for Brazilian Portuguese; Belletti 2006 for French; Hyman 1979;2005 and Aboh 2007 for Aghem; Manetta 2010 and Dayal 2017 for Hindi-Urdu; Manzini 2014 and partially Poletto & Pollock 2019 for NIDs; Bonan 2019 for Trevisan; Manzini 2014 for NIDs, Badan & Crocco 2021 for Italian, *et multa alia…*

(5)

```
        TopP
       /    \
      /    FocP
          /    \
         /    TopP
             /    \
            /      vP
```
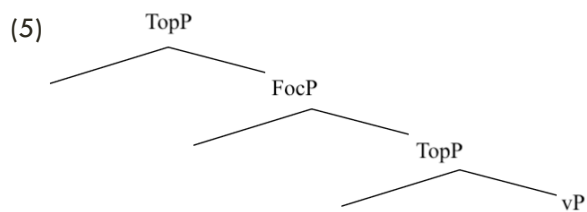
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TREVISAN (BONAN 2019;2021)

(6) ge 'gatu 'dato A KI$_i$ a te'ʧa ___$_i$?

DAT have=you given to who the saucepan

'Who did you give the saucepan to?'

(7) te ghe gà dato a teʧa A KI ?! (✓echo /✗ genuine)

you= DAT have given the saucepan to who

'You gave the saucepan TO WHOM?!'

(8) A KI$_i$ ghe gatu dato a teʧa ___$_i$? (real optionality)

to who DAT have=you given the saucepan

'TO WHOM did you give the saucepan?'
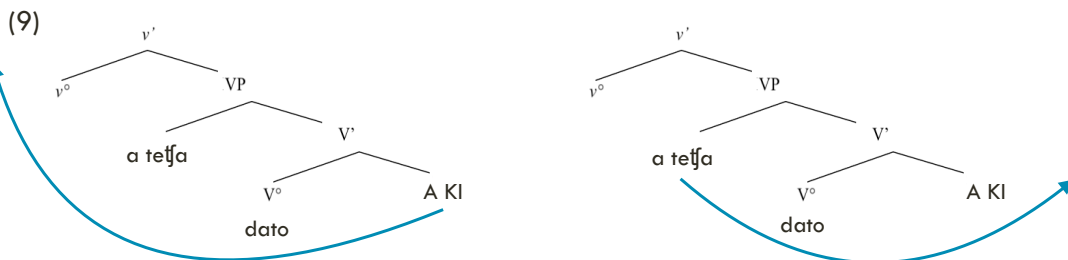
Exceptions:
➤ che ('what')
➤ parké ('why')
Bonan & Shlonsky (2021)

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ACTIVE PAST PARTICIPLE > IO > DO

➢ Is IO > DO the base order in Trevisan?

➢ If not, is this ordering derived by moving the IO or the DO?

(9)

➢ How come the past participle surface higher than the DO?

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DECLARATIVE ORDER

(10) a. ghe go   dato i pomi$_{DO}$ a ʤani$_{IO}$ **(DO>IO)**

        DAT have$_{1PS}$ given the apples to John

        'I gave the apples to John'

     b. * ghe go   dato a ʤani$_{IO}$ i pomi$_{DO}$

        DAT have$_{1PS}$ given to John   the apples

(11) a. go   maɲà ɲɔki$_{DO}$ jɛri   sera$_{TIME}$ a sagra$_{PLACE}$ **(DO>ADV)**

        have$_{1PS}$ eaten gnocchi yesterday night   at festival

        'I ate gnocchi yesterday evening at the festival'

     b. ? go   maɲà ɲɔki$_{DO}$ a sagra$_{PLACE}$ jɛri   sera$_{TIME}$

        have$_{1PS}$ eaten gnocchi a festival   yesterday night

     c. * go   maɲà { jɛri   sera$_{TIME}$ } { a sagra$_{PLACE}$ } ɲɔki$_{DO}$

        have$_{1PS}$ eaten yesterday night   at festival   gnocchi

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INTERROGATIVE ORDER

(12) a.　ghe　gatu　　　dato A KI$_{IO}$　i　　pomi$_{DO}$?　　　　**(IO>DO)**

　　　DAT　have=you　given　to who　the　apples

　　　'TO WHOM did you give the apples?'

　　b. *　ghe　gatu　　　dato　i　　pomi$_{DO}$　A　KI$_{IO}$?

　　　DAT　have=you　given　the　apples　　to　whom

(13) a.　gatu　　　maɲà　KWANDO$_{wh-ADV}$　ɲɔki$_{DO}$　a　sagra$_{ADV}$?　　**(ADV>DO)**

　　　have=you　eaten　when　　　　　gnocchi　at　festival

　　　'WHEN did you eat gnocchi at the festival?'

　　b. *　gatu　　　maɲà　ɲɔki$_{DO}$　a　sagra$_{ADV}$　KWANDO$_{wh-ADV}$?

　　　have=you　eaten　gnocchi　at　festival　　when

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MARKED ORDERS: CLITIC LEFT DISLOCATION (I)

agreement (number/gender)

coindexed clitic

(14)　ghe　i$_i$　gatu　　　dat**i**　A KI,　　i　pomi$_i$?　= phrased independently

　　　DAT　they=　have=you　given$_{M.PL}$　to who　#　the apples

　　'The apples, TO WHOM did you give (them)?'

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MARKED ORDERS: CLITIC LEFT DISLOCATION (II)

(15) a. * ghe gatu regaeà KWANDO aa marìa lanɛl ?

   DAT have=you gifted when to.the Mary the.ring

b. ghe gatu regaeà KWANDO lanɛl aa marìa ?

   DAT have=you gifted when the.ring to.the Mary

'WHEN did you give Mary the ring?'

(16) a. ghe o_i gatu regaeà KWANDO, aa marìa, $lanɛl_i$?

   DAT it= have=you$_{2PS}$ gifted when # to.the Mary # the.ring

b. ghe o_i gatu regaeà KWANDO, $lanɛl_i$, aa marìa ?

   DAT it= have=you$_{2PS}$ gifted when # the.ring # to.the Mary

'The ring, KWANDO did you give (it) to Mary?'

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MARKED ORDERS: MARGINALISATION ? (I)

Cardinaletti (2002), Samek-Lodovici (2015):

'Low' focalisations in Italian are in situ.

The post-focal material can be:

➢ Marginalised (destressed in its base position) = c-command;

➢ Dislocated without clitic (destressed and realised in an internal-merge position) = no c-command.

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MARKED ORDERS: MARGINALISATION ? (II)

(17) a. ghe go dato A ʤANI i pomi **IO > DO**

DAT have$_{1PS}$ given to John the apples

'It's TO JOHN that I gave the apples'

(Lit: 'I gave TO JOHN the apples')

b. go maɲà JƐRI SERA ɲɔki **ADV > DO**

have$_{1PS}$ eaten yesterday night gnocchi

'It's YESTERDAY NIGHT I ate gnocchi'

(Lit: 'I ate YESTERDAY NIGHT gnocchi')

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MARKED ORDERS: MARGINALISATION ? (III)

(18) a. ʤanil$_i$ ghe gà regaeà AL BƆtʃA$_i$ el so$_{i/*i}$ putinƆt

John=he DAT has gifted to.the boy the his doll

'John gave his doll TO THE BOY'

(Lit: 'John gave TO THE BOY his doll')

b. ghe gaeo$_i$ domandà A KI$_i$ el so$_{i/*i}$ putinot ?
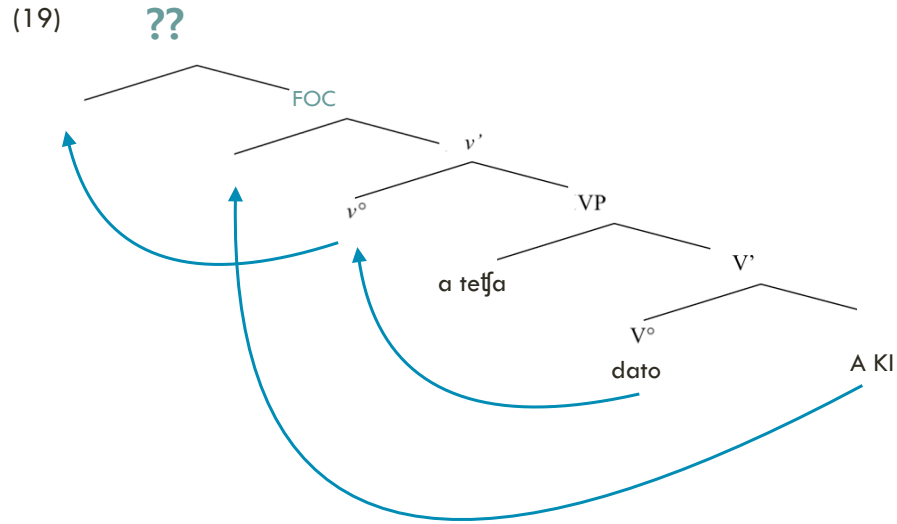
DAT has=he asked to who. the his doll

'TO WHOM did he ask his doll?'

(Lit: 'Did he ask TO WHOM his doll?')

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MARKED ORDERS: MARGINALISATION ? (IV)

(19) **??**

Tree structure:
- FOC
  - *v'*
    - *v°*
    - VP
      - a teʧa
      - V'
        - V°
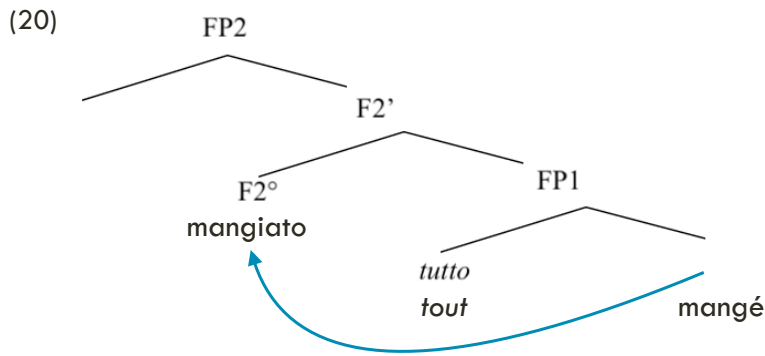   - dato
        - A KI

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VERB MOVEMENT PROPERTIES

Cinque (1999):

➢ ADVs are not adjuncts;

➢ they are located in the Specs of functional projections (FPs) within IP;

➢ in Italian, "(active) past participles must move to the head to the left of *tutto* ['all']" , along the lines of(20):

(20)

Tree structure:
- FP2
  - F2'
    - F2°
      - mangiato
    - FP1
      - *tutto*
      - *tout*
      - mangé

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VERB MOVEMENT PROPERTIES (II)

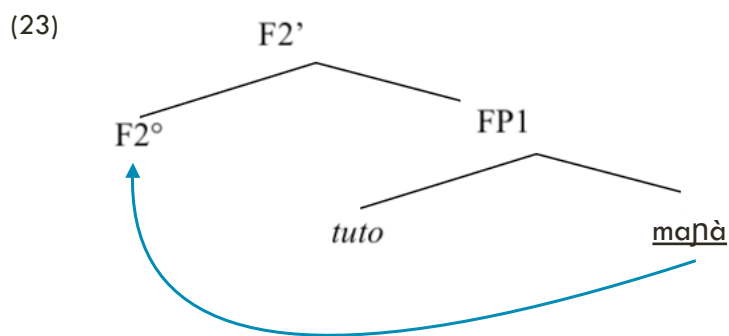(21) a.   a   lo   ga   ma<u>n</u>à   **tuto**

        she= it   has   eaten   all

    b. * a   lo ga tuto ma<u>n</u>à

        she= it   has all   eaten

        'She ate it all'

(22) a.   a   ga   ma<u>n</u>à   **ben** el   pometo

        she= has   eaten   well the applesauce

    b. * a   ga ben ma<u>n</u>à el pometo

        she= has well   eaten   the applesauce

        'She ate the applesauce well'
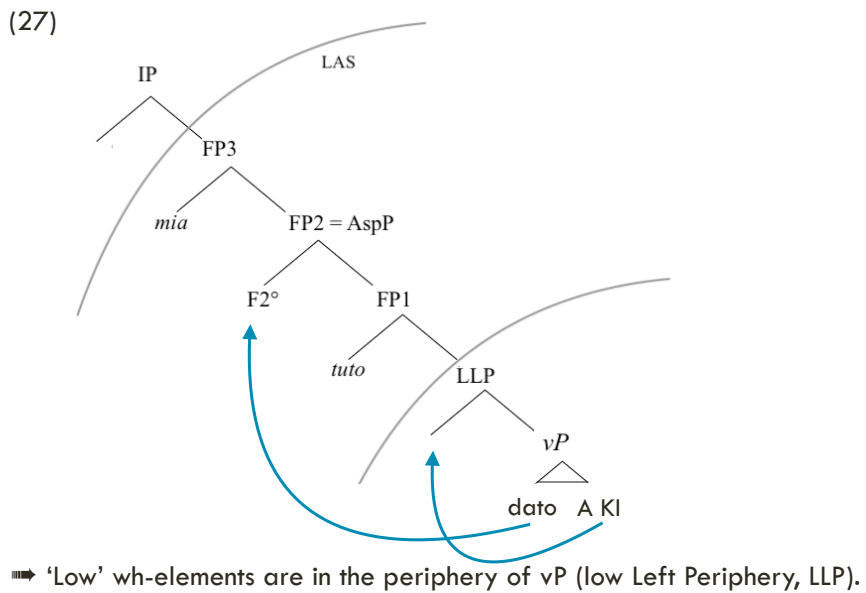
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VERB MOVEMENT PROPERTIES (II)

(23)

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3/15/21

VERB MOVEMENT PROPERTIES (III)

(24) no   gheo   go   [$_{LAS}$ **mia**   <u>dato</u>$_i$ **tuto**   [$_{vP}$ ___$_i$]] !

NEG   DAT=it   have   NEG   eaten   all

'I didn't give it all to him!'

(25) gheo   gatu   ... [$_{FP2}$ <u>dato</u>$_i$ ... [$_{FP}$ A KI$_j$ F° ... [$_{vP}$ ___$_i$ ___$_j$]]]?

DAT=it   have=you   given   to who

'WHO did you give it to?'

(26) gheo   gatu   <u>dato</u>   **tuto**   A KI?

DAT=it   have=you   given   all   to who

'WHO did you give it all to?'

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VERB MOVEMENT PROPERTIES (IV)

(27)

➡ 'Low' wh-elements are in the periphery of vP (low Left Periphery, LLP).

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CHARACTERISATION

THE 'FOCUS/WH-' PARALLEL

(28) A: sɔ   ke   te   ghe ga   prestà el   to   libro a Pjɛro
          know$_{1PS}$ that you= DAT have lent the your book to Piero
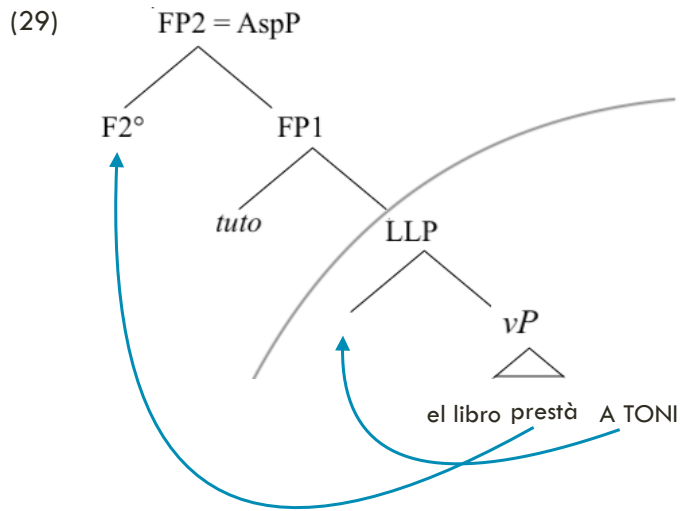   'I know that you lent your book to Piero'

    B: ghe gɔ   prestà a TƆNI$_i$ el libro ____$_i$, no   a pjɛro
          DAT have$_{1PS}$ lent   to Toni the book   NEG to Piero
          'No, I lent the book TO TONI, not to Piero'

    B': ? ghe gɔ   prestà el   libro A 'TƆNI, no   a Pjɛro
             DAT have$_{1PS}$ lent   the book TO TONI NEG to Piero

CONTRASTIVE FOCUS IN TREVISAN

(29)

```
          FP2 = AspP
         /        \
       F2°         FP1
                  /    \
                tuto    LLP
                       /    \
                     ...      vP
                              △
                  el libro prestà  A TONI
```

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INFORMATIONAL FOCUS IN TREVISAN

(31) a. Question: KI   ze   ke   ze   rivà?

who is   that is   arrived

'WHO's arrived?'

b. Answer: ze rivà   ʤANI / UN TOZATO

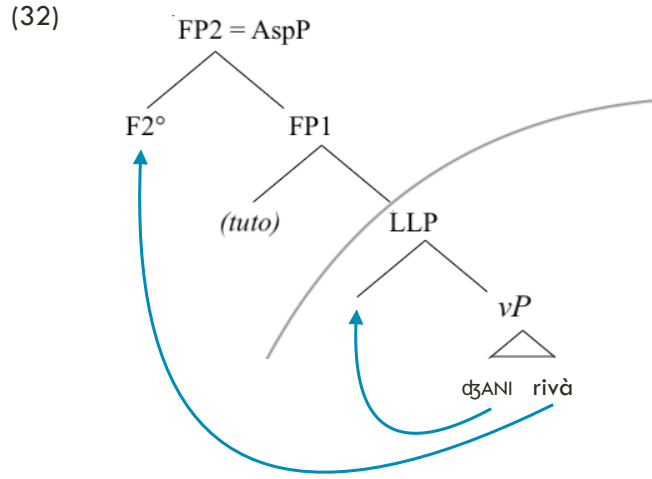is   arrived John / a   young.man

Lit: 'Arrived JOHN / A YOUNG MAN'

* ʤANI / UN TOZATO   ze rivà

John / a   young.man is   arrived

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INFORMATIONAL FOCUS IN TREVISAN (II)

(32)

FP2 = AspP
├─ F2°
└─ FP1
   ├─ (tuto)
   └─ LLP
      ├─ [movement]
      └─ vP
         └─ ʤANI rivà

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INFORMATIONAL FOCUS IN TREVISAN (III)

(33) a. Question: A KI   ghe gatu   dato   i   pomi?

to who DAT have=you₂ₚₛ   given   the apples

'TO WHOM did you give the apples'

b. Answer: ghe   go   dato   A ʤANI   i   pomi

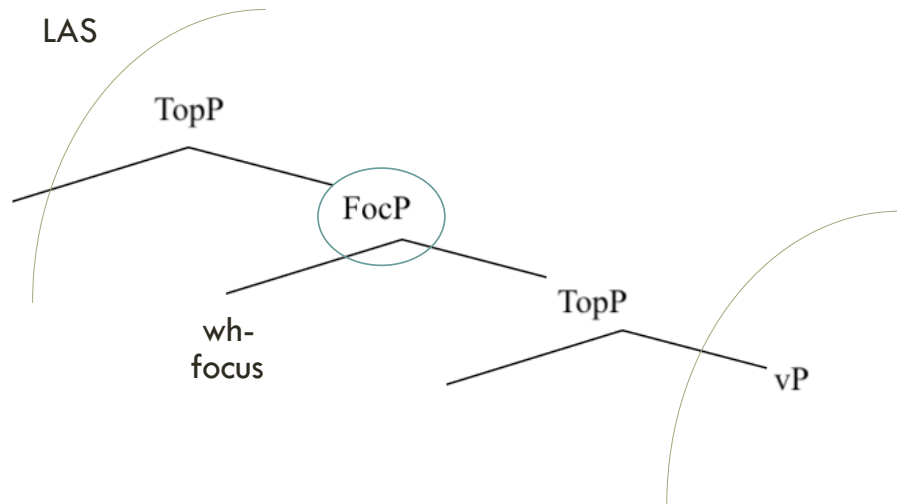DAT   have₁ₚₛ given   to John   the   apples

Lit: 'I gave TO JOHN the apples'

➡ Informational focus is not 'in situ' in Trevisan;

➡ Both the movement of foci and that of wh-elements targets SpecFoc (Belletti 2004), in the LLP.

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LLP: BELLETTI (2004)

(34)   LAS

TopP

FocP

wh-
focus

TopP

vP

Horvath (1986): 'whenever languages have a special position for contrastively-focused constituents, this should also be available for wh-elements'

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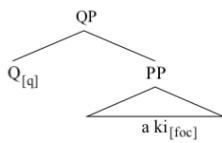# THE THEORY OF 'WH-TO-FOC'

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FEATURES

Cable (2010), Aboh & Pfiau (2011): Question-particles are needed in wh-interrogatives + wh-needed for meaning (what C targets is Q).

Wh-elements		
Features	Context of activation	(Output Effect)
[wh]	Relatives	
[focus]	Interrogatives	

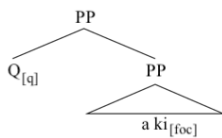➡ Q-particles carry [q] and do the clause-typing in wh-interrogatives.

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CABLE (2010)

(35) PROJECTION of Q

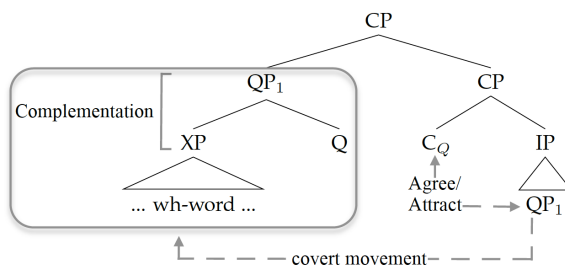= Q moves with the wh-element

(36) ADJOINED Q

= Q moves alone

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TWO TYPES OF WH-IN SITU (CABLE'S)

1- Wh-in situ with projection of Q

= like English, but 'covert' interrogative movement

(37)

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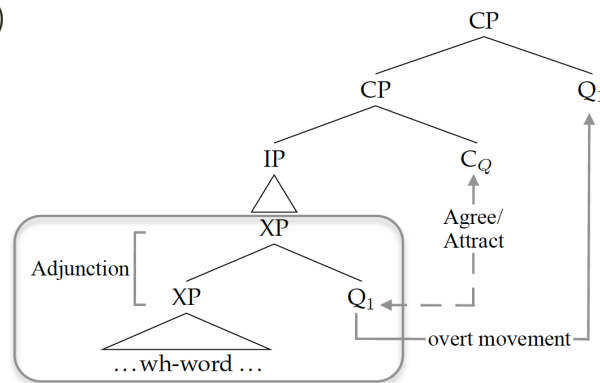## TWO TYPES OF WH-IN SITU

2- Wh-in situ with adjunction of Q

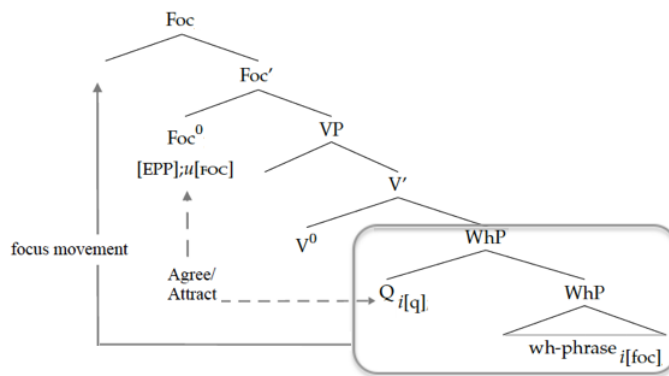= wh-element in situ, Q moves alone

(38)

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THE 'THIRD TYPE'

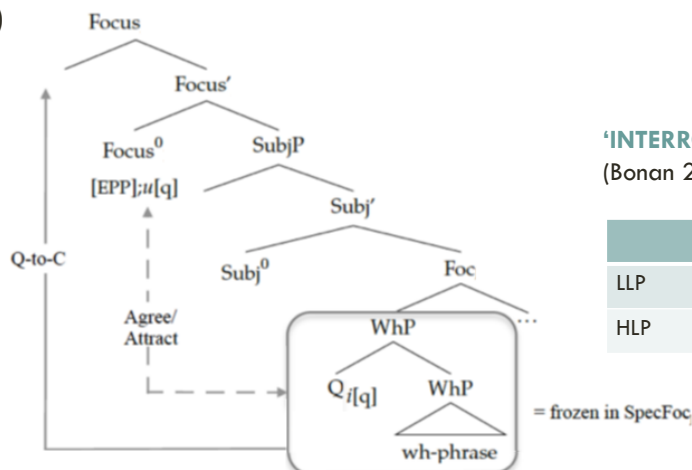First step: **WH-TO-FOC** (focus movement)

(40)


```
              Foc
                \
                 Foc′
                /    \
          Foc⁰        VP
        [EPP];u[FOC]     \
                          V′
    focus movement       /  \
                       V⁰    WhP
              Agree/        /    \
              Attract → Q_i[q]   WhP
                                  \
                              wh-phrase_i[foc]
```

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WH-TO-FOC (II)

Second step: **Q-to-Focus** (interrogative movement)

(41)


```
              Focus
                 \
                  Focus′
                 /      \
          Focus⁰         SubjP
        [EPP];u[q]          \
                             Subj′
      Q-to-C               /      \
                      Subj⁰        Foc
              Agree/              /    ...
              Attract         WhP
                             /    \
                        Q_i[q]    WhP
                                   \
                                wh-phrase
```

= frozen in SpecFoc_i

'INTERROGATIVE FEATURE SCATTERING'
(Bonan 2021)

	[FOC]	[Q]
LLP	+	-	←
HLP	+	+

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EXTENDING WH-TO-FOC

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OLD JAPANESE

(42) a. [...]NANI-WO-**ka**-mo   mikari-no hito-no   ori-te   kazasa-mu

what-ACC-Q-MO   hike-GEN person-NOM pick-CONJ wear.on.the.hair-will

'WHAT should hikers pick and wear on the hair?'

b. [...]IZUKU-YU-**ka**   imo-ga   iriki-te   yume-ni   mie-tsuru

where-throught-Q wife-NOM enter-CONJ dream-LOC appear-PERF

'FROM WHERE did my wife come and appear in my dream?'
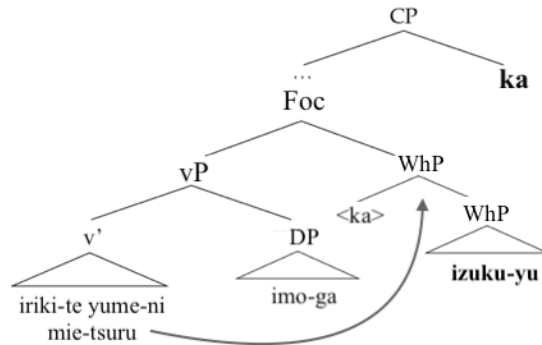
(Watanabe 2003:182(5))

Aldridge (2009): Nara period (8th century): low interrogative movement (wh-to-foc).

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OLD JAPANESE

(43)

Evolution: wh-to-foc > wh-in situ.

Heian period: 9th-12th century: optionality (low movement & real wh-in situ).

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ARCHAIC CHINESE

(44) a. qi   zi   YAN$_i$ [$_{VP}$ wang   ___$_i$]?

3.GEN   son   where   go

'WHERE would their sons go?'

b. Wu   SHEI$_i$ [$_{VP}$ qi   ___$_i$]?

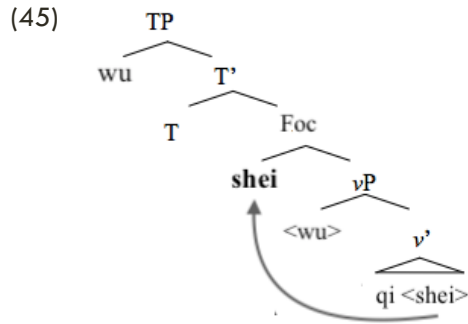I   who   deceive

'WHO do I deceive?'

(Aldridge 2010:2(2))

Aldridge (2010): Archaic Chinese (Warren State Period, 5th-3rd BC): "position for interrogative and other focus constituents in the edge of vP".

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ARCHAIC CHINESE

(45)

Evolution: **wh-to-foc > wh-in situ**.

What about contrastive foci?

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PRESENT-DAY CHINESE

(46) a. Lisi bu xihuan ZHEI BEN SHU

Lisi not like this CLAS book

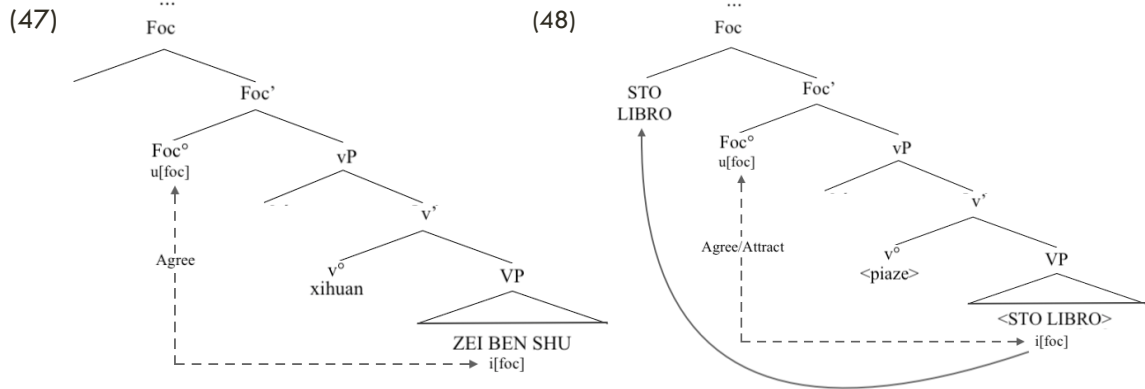b. * ZHEI BEN SHU Lisi bu xihuan

this CLAS book Lisi not like

'Lisi does not like THIS BOOK' (intended, for instance, not THAT BOOK)

(Badan 2015:28(10))

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PRESENT-DAY CHINESE

(47)

(48)

Aldridge (2010): Archaic chinese: focus moved to the 'periphery of *v*P' = LLP.

➤ **The evolution of focus movement goes from AGREE+MOVE to AGREE alone.**

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CONCLUSIONS

- Wh-to-Foc has important consequences for the theory of 'wh-in situ' in NIDs (and more generally, Romance);

- Wh-to-Foc also has consequences for the general theory of wh-in-situ (synchrony + diachrony), and makes NIDs more similar to Asian languages than we used to think (wh-to-foc vs simple focus agreement);

- The status of wh-to-foc should be checked systematically when studying 'wh-in situ': observation of OIs, adverbs, of the surface position of foci;

- A reconsideration of the role of the LLP in the derivation of wh-in situ is in order.

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THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION!