

An Argument for focus (FOCUS?) movement

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Interpreting Phonology?

- GIVENness Constraint Schwarzschild (1999, 155):
If a constituent is not F-marked, it has to be given.
- Captures focus related phenomena via conditions on F-marking (Givenness Constraint, Avoid-F).
- F-marking plays no role in syntax, it is only interpreted in phonology and semantics.
- Theories based on f-marking effectively require direct communication between Semantics and Phonology.
- Theories that postulate focus movement differ:
Focus changes syntactic configurations, which then feed phonological realization.

Association with Focus

- Truth conditions of 'only':

$$(1) \text{ only}(f)(p(x)) = 1 \text{ iff } \forall a \in \text{Alt}(f): p(a) = 1 \vdash p(f) \geq p(a)$$

- 'only' takes two arguments, the focus and the open proposition/property:

$$(2) \text{ Notation: Only } \underline{\text{John}} \uparrow \text{ate any vegetables.} \uparrow$$

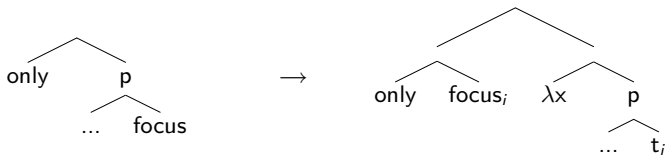
- Choice of semantic focus influences phonological realization (accent placement).
- Question: Is focus determined by phonology alone, or is it determined in syntax, which is then reflected in phonology?
- The answer to this question bears on architecture of the interfaces.

Association with Movement

- Focus Movement (e.g. Chomsky 1976):
Focus (f) moves and adjoins to the tree:



- Focus Association with Movement:



- Problem: Association with Focus into Islands possible.

Association without Movement (Rooth 1992)

- 'only' is interpreted in-situ.
- Focus (f) can be smaller than syntactic complement of 'only'.
- Achieved by restricting the alternative set, as signaled by prosody.
- Advantage over Movement Theory: Explains why Association into Islands is possible.
- But: Nested focus dependencies require movement anyway (Rooth 1996).

A Hybrid Theory

- Focus moves to associate.
- If semantic focus is in an island, entire island is pied-piped
Drubig (1992).
- If focus is smaller than moved constituent, alternative
restriction Krifka 1996, Kiss 1998, Krifka 2004.
- Disadvantage: Needs *both* mechanisms to single out semantic
focus.
- Notation:

(3) They were \lceil advised to learn **only** Modern Spanish \rceil .
- Arguments for Focus Movement also in Fox, Nissenbaum and
Sauerland (class notes).

NPIs are licensed in Downward Entailing Environments

- 'every' licences NPIs (e.g. existential any-DPs) in its first but not in its second argument:
 - (4) a. *Every linguistics student \lceil knows any famous linguist. \rceil
b. Every student with any knowledge in linguistics \lceil knows Jim Mccawley \rceil .
- NPIs are licensed in Downward Entailing Environments Ladusaw (1979)
 - (5) a. Every student \lceil knows Mccawley \rceil . \rightarrow Every linguistics student \lceil knows Mccawley. \rceil
b. Every student \lceil knows a famous linguist. \rceil \nrightarrow Every student \lceil knows Mccawley. \rceil

'Only' and NPIs

- 'only' licenses NPIs in second argument, but not in its first:

- (6) a. Only John \uparrow ate any kale \downarrow .
b. *Only any students \uparrow ate kale \downarrow .

- But: 'only' doesn't seem to be DE in either argument:

- (7) a. Only students \uparrow ate vegetables \downarrow . \nrightarrow
Only students \uparrow ate kale \downarrow .
b. Only John \uparrow ate vegetables \downarrow . \nrightarrow
Only John \uparrow ate kale \downarrow .

Strawson Entailment

- However: entailment holds if presupposition is met von Fintel (1999):
 - (8) a. Only John \lceil ate vegetables \rceil
 - b. Presupposition: John ate kale
 - c. \rightarrow Only John \lceil ate kale \rceil .
- but only second argument, not in first argument:
 - (9) a. Only students \lceil ate kale \rceil
 - b. Presupposition: Linguistics students ate kale
 - c. \nrightarrow Only linguistics students \lceil ate kale \rceil .
- Only is Downward Strawson Entailing in second but not in first argument—just where NPIs are licensed.
- In other words: [Only + focus] is a DE operator.

['only' + focus] does not *always* license NPIs

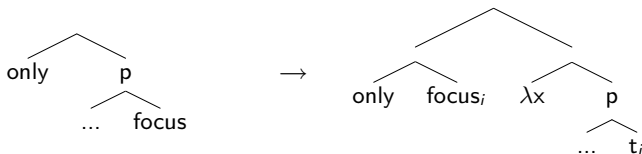
- Consider VP-only:
 - (10) *John only ATE any kale.
- Should be ok if 'ate' is the syntactic focus of 'only':
 - (11) a. John only ATE vegetables.
b. Presupposition: John did something with kale.
c. → John only ATE kale.
- If the first argument of 'only' is entire VP, then facts follow:
The NPI is not c-commanded by a DE operator.
- This is consistent with in-situ theory of focus association.
- This is inconsistent with a movement theory where it is always exactly the semantic focus that moves.

VP-only *can* license NPIs into VP

- (12) a. John only gave any kale to HIS friends.
b. John only gave KALE to any of his friends.
- First argument of 'only' can be smaller than entire VP—This is incompatible with the in-situ theory.
- The facts are compatible with the hybrid theory:
If the focus is an XP that is not inside of an island, then only this constituent moves.
- If the focus is the head, the entire constituent pied pipes.
- Likewise, If the focus is in an island, the entire constituent pied pipes.
- Further prediction of hybrid movement theory: Island Effects.

Proposal: Sideward Focus Movement

- Sideward Movement to provide first argument for 'only':



- This is not movement to the root of the tree.
- Assumed here: Only restriction on movement: Interpretability.

Where is 'only'?

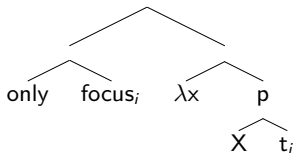
- The subject can be inside of the focus of 'only':
 - (13) We thought they would stage the entire play. But then...

Macbeth **only** gave his soliloquy.

└ The witches didn't give their dialogue.
- Association with the subject alone is possible (sometimes):
 - (14) a. 'She barely knows him and doesn't want to. Everyone else likes him. We have talked about getting married. My dad only knows.' (from Google)
 - b. The Lord/God/Heaven only knows.

Where is 'only'?

- 'Only' attaches to propositions/properties (second argument)
- Surface structure position of subject within focus negotiated by movement that either reconstructs or happens at PF in the first place (topicalized subjects are outside focus).
- Focus moves to form constituent with 'only' (provides first argument)



Focus Movement vs. Only-Phrase movement

- 'only' can also attach to first argument (=focus constituent) directly.
- ...then only-phrase movement (focus movement's bigger brother) is necessary to 'pick up' second argument.
- This may be related to suffixal 'only' e.g. in Korean (Youngjoo Lee 2004)
- Only-Phrase Movement explains the following ambiguity:

(15) Taglicht 1984

- a. They were advised to 「learn **only** Spanish」.
 - b. They were 「advised to learn **only** Spanish」.
- Both movements have a common goal: derive the appropriate syntactic configuration to interpret 'only'.

Focus Movement vs. Only-Phrase Movement

- The following two structures have identical truth conditions but differ in their syntax:

- (16) a. They were \lceil advised to learn **only** Spanish \rceil .
b. They were **only** \lceil advised to learn Spanish \rceil .

- (a) involves only-phrase movement
- (b) involves focus movement.
- In (a) and (b) 'only' takes the same arguments.
- General Idea:
Syntactic Distribution of 'only' follows from necessity to establish the right configuration to interpret 'only' at LF.
- Prediction: Island effects for both only-phrase movement and focus movement.

Only-Phrase Movement is Island Sensitive

- (17) a. Jill was advized to study only the language that HER INFORMANT speaks.
b. Jill was advized to study the language that only HER INFORMANT speaks.
- In sentence (a), the only-phrase can either scope over 'advize...' or 'study...'.
It can't 'lower' to scope within the embedded clause.
- In sentence (b), only-phrase can only scope within the embedded clause.
- only-phrase movement obeys island constraints. Bayer 1996.

Is Focus Movement Island Sensitive?

- NPI licensing into Complex DP with 'never':

Most rumours in the press about presidential candidates having affairs with film stars never substantiate. For example in 1960, they could never corroborate the claim that JOHN F. KENNEDY had an affair with any film star, and as for Nixon, there were no such rumours.

- NPI licensing into Complex DP with 'only':

*Most rumours in the press about presidential candidates having affairs with film stars are never substantiated. In 1960, they only \lceil corroborated \rceil the rumour that JOHN F. KENNEDY had an affair with any film star.

The rumours about Nixon turned out to be made up.

Is Associating Movement is Island Sensitive?

- Head of Relative Clause and 'never':
Kim isn't interested in what her fellow students have to say. She doesn't talk to them , and she doesn't go to the parties they give. She has never even gone to TALKS that were given by any students.
- Head of Relative Clause and 'only':
*Kim is very timid, and doesn't connect well with her fellow students on a personal level. She avoids talking to them about non-academic stuff, and she never shows up when someone throws a party. She has only \lceil ever gone to \rceil TALKS that were given by any students.

Is Associating Movement Island Sensitive?

- Tail of Relative Clause and 'never':
Yesterday during the dinner we talked about the restaurants we had been to, and who had recommended them to us. Mary was very negative about many places. I don't mind that she's very picky about restaurants, but i think she was doing it on purpose to annoy John. She only complained about restaurants that JOHN had recommended to anyone.
- Tail of Relative Clause and 'only':
*Yesterday during the dinner we talked about the restaurants we had been to, and who had recommended them to us. Mary was very negative about many places. I don't mind that she's very picky about restaurants, but I think she was doing it on purpose to annoy John. She only 「complained about」 restaurants that JOHN had recommended to anyone.

Rooth's observation, Krifka's Critique

- (18) a. They only_i found the diary entries that MARYLIN_i made about John.
b. They also_j only_i found the diary entries that MARYLIN_i made about BOBBY_j.
- Rooth's own response: the example shows that (i) focus movement is needed; (ii) it doesn't obey island constraints.
- Krifka's reply: About-phrase is really a sentence adverb. True nested association into island ungrammatical.
- Problem: This simply doesn't seem to be correct:
(19) a. In 1960, they only_i confirmed the claim that MARYLIN_i had affair with John.
b. In 1960, they also_j only_i confirmed the claim that MARYLIN_i had an affair with BOBBY_j.

Multiple Contrastive Accents outside of Islands

- *Two contrastive DPs and VP-only: Association with first DP:*

(20) Did they really introduce every girl to more than one boy?

- a. ok No. They only \lceil introduced ANNA to JIM \rceil .
- b. * No. They only \lceil introduced ANNA to jim \rceil .
- c. ?? No. They only \lceil introduced anna to JIM \rceil .

- *2- \bar{i} Association with the second DP:*

(21) Did they really introduce more than one girl to every boy?

- a. ok No. They only \lceil introduced ANNA to JIM \rceil .
- b. ? No. They only \lceil introduced ANNA to jim \rceil .
- c. * No. They only \lceil introduced anna to JIM \rceil .

Possible and Impossible Patterns

- Impossible: Association with deaccented constituent.

- (22) a. * No. They only \lceil introduced ANNA to jim \rceil .
b. * No. They only \lceil introduced anna to JIM \rceil .

- Even second occurrence doesn't save the examples:

- (23) Schwarzschild (2004):
Which topic did they teach only in the semantics class?
They only taught BINDING in the semantics class.

- But:

- (24) There was quite some overlap between the syntax class and the semantics class. But some topics were only taught in one class. They only \lceil taught Binding

Comparison to Nested Focus Structure

- A modified Rooth-Example (flipped linear order):
Most rumours about presidential candidates knowing many films stars are never substantiated. In 1960, they only introduced JFK to [Marylin]F. They also_j only_i introduced [Bobby]I to Marylin_j.
- Same pattern for island cases:
Most rumours about presidential candidates and their aids having affairs with films stars are never substantiated. In 1960, they only ever corroborated the claim that JFK had an affair with [Marylin]F. Other rumours about JFK's affairs were all made up. They also only ever corroborated the claim that [Bobby]F had an affair with Marylin. Other rumours about Bobby also turned out to be made up.

A telling example

- If you are arriving later than 14.00, please choose an alternative hostel. And we also only; accept reservations made at least one week in advance.
(Add. Casanova Hotel in Rome. Google.)
- Alternative for 'also' here (partly accomodated):
(We) only accept reservations if you are arriving at 14.00.
- Does the associate of also in 'nested' cases always include only?

Nested Focus Association Again

- They only \uparrow found
the diary entries that *Marylin* made about John \uparrow .
- Alternative set for 'also':
only the diary entries that *Marylin* made about John.
only the diary entries that *Marylin* made about Bobby.
- Contrastive Stress:
also only the diary entries that Marylin made about BOBBY.

Comparison with Even

- Compare with 'even':
"Every open[ing in a] door, even only a crack, may be an opening for peace", Archbishop of Gulu told Fides. (Google page on Uganda)
- Focus and Domain of 'only':
Even only a crack 「may be an opening for peace.」
- Focus and Domain of 'even':
Even only a crack 「may be an opening for peace.」
- 'also [only ...]' really involves association of also with entire [only ...]
- Reason: Focus movement across 'only' is impossible (extraction from under 'only' is bad. Beaver and Clark).
- Contrast with parallel structure 'overwrites' prosody.

Parallel Structures

- Parallel Structures (and only those) allow contrastive Stress Shift.
- This is needed even in alternative semantics:
Farmers who only \lceil GROW rice \rceil usually only \lceil EAT rice \rceil .
- Contrastive Stress to flag differences in Parallel Structures:
A BLUE convertible and a RED convertible.
- Is Contrastive Stress in fact be at play in some cases that Schwarzschild would attribute to givenness effects?

Parallel Structures

- (25) Mary is the owner of a factory producing luxurious convertibles. She did something quite unexpected yesterday:
 - (26) a. ??She went to Àvis and rènted a blúe convertible.
 - b. She went to Àvis and rènted a blùe convéritable.
- Is (a) acceptable without an assumed alternative of the same form? If not, why would this be?
- (27) Mary really likes yellow convertibles. So I wonder why last summer, she went to Avis and rented a BLUE convertible.
- ‘Deaccenting’ of material here only if there is a *parallel structure*. Givenness is not enough.

Conclusion and Outlook

- NPI Licensing provides argument for focus movement.
- Focus movement is island sensitive.
- Potential counterargument from apparent nested focus dependencies may not hold up.
- Contrastive Stress Shift may play crucial role explaining prosody.
- Relation of focus movement and accent placement remains to be explored.