

Microvariation at the IS-syntax interface: the case of focus fronting

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1. Introduction

Goal: This paper explores the discourse-syntax properties of the different constituents involved in focus fronting constructions in Spanish. One of the main traits is that the V(erb) must be adjacent to the focalized constituent in this type of language. Roberts (2012) and Biberauer et al. (2010) >> this condition is subject to microparametric variation: some varieties of Spanish (Southern peninsular Spanish) seem to obviate the adjacency condition. I discuss the syntax of different types of focus (contrastive/corrective, and mirative) alongside Quantifier Fronting and Resumptive Preposing, all of which crucially hinges on the discourse interpretation of pre- or post-verbal position of subjects.

Background: It is well-known that languages such as Spanish (as opposed to English, but along with Catalan and Romanian) instantiate an adjacency condition in focus fronting constructions (Rizzi 1997, Uribe-Etxebarria 1991, Uriagereka 1995, a.o.):

- (1) a. THIS BOOK I don't need (but that one I do). (Haegeman 2012: 8, her (4c))
b. * THIS BOOK don't I need (but that one I do).
- (2) a. *EL DIARIO Pedro compró. (Zubizarreta 1999: 4241, her 137)
b. EL DIARIO, compró Pedro. (Zubizarreta 1999: 4240, her 135)
'Pedro bought the newspaper'.

Standardly >>> V must be adjacent to the focused constituent (Zubizarreta 1999: 4241; NGRAE 2009-2012). In more theoretical terms, this adjacency condition has been explained by proposing movement of T to C (or T to Foc in cartographic analyses), after V being displaced to T (Rizzi 1997, Barbosa 2001).

- Descriptive surveys such as the one carried out by NGRAE does not take into account the different types of focus and includes all kinds of fronting within a single group regardless of the distinct salient properties at the levels of interpretation and intonation. In this group phenomena are mixed up such as Contrastive Focus, Mirative Focus (Delancey 1997, 2001), Resumptive Preposing (Cinque 1990, Leonetti & Escandell 2009), and Quantifier fronting/Negative Preposing (Barbosa 2001; Bosque 1980). Researchers have agreed that in all these cases the adjacency condition applies obligatorily:

- (3) a. ¡Por Dios, dos botellas se han bebido! (MF, adopted from Cruschina 2012)
'My God! They have drunk up two bottles!'
- b. ¿Dónde está Nin? Eso mismo preguntaba el folleto. (RP: RAE-ASALE. p. 2988)
'Where is Nin? The leaflet was asking the same question'.
- c. Algo tendrán que hacer ustedes. (QF: RAE-ASALE. p. 2988)
'You will have to do something about it'.

- Studies in generative grammar have emerged that distinguish some of these IS phenomena (Bianchi 2012, Cruschina 2012, Haegeman 2012). In Spanish, some works have identified focus preposing other than contrastive (Torrego 1980, Uriagereka 1988, Quer 2002, Gallego 2007, Leonetti & Escandell 2009), yet all these analyses agree that T-to-C is compulsory in Spanish focus fronting.

Claim: In this work, I show that interpretative and intonational properties can be used to establish a more accurate typology of focus. Based on data from Spanish and especially its Southern variety, I propose that the adjacency condition is subject to microparametric variation in that depending on the type of focus, preverbal subjects are readily found in some varieties of Spanish (Andalusian, Extremaduran). An experiment is carried out with native speakers in which they have to judge the grammaticality of fronted focus constructions.

Data: In some dialects such as Andalusian there is no adjacency restriction. The (A) sentences below provide the context where the informants have to rightly place the sentences that follow:

(4) A: **Iberia ha echado a 80 trabajadores en Sevilla.** ‘Iberia has fired 80 employees in Seville’.

CF B.1.: Anda ya! A 40 TRABAJADORES Iberia ha echado en Sevilla (no a 80).

B.2.: Anda ya! A 40 TRABAJADORES, ha echado Iberia en Sevilla (no a 80).

‘No way! Iberia has fired 40 employees in Seville (not 80)’.

MF C.1.: Pero A 80 TRABAJADORES Iberia no puede echar así como así.

C.2.: Pero A TANTOS TRABAJADORES no puede echar Iberia así como así.

‘But Iberia can’t fire so many employees this way’.

RP D.1. *EL MISMO PROBLEMA la compañía está teniendo en Barcelona.

D.2. EL MISMO PROBLEMA está teniendo la compañía en Barcelona.

‘The company is having the same problem in Barcelona’.

QF E.1. Pues, ALGUNA RESPONSABILIDAD el Gobierno debería pedir a Iberia.

E.2. Pues, ALGUNA RESPONSABILIDAD debería pedir el Gobierno a Iberia.

‘Well, the government should demand accountability from Iberia’.

- The informants have been divided into 2 different groups. The first group includes areas from northern Spain and Madrid, whereas the second group comprises the south.¹

Analysis: The word order variation detected in the different discourse-related phenomena is accounted for by proposing criterial features in dedicated categories which trigger movement of a given constituent to a specific syntactic (but discourse-based) position in the left periphery. I hold that in the type of focused constructions studied here subjects are topics, specifically Given Topics or Familiar Topics (in the sense of Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007 Bianchi & Frascarelli 2010 and Frascarelli & Jiménez-Fernández 2012, 2013).

Proposal: In line with Jiménez-Fernández 2011 and Frascarelli & Jiménez-Fernández 2012, subjects with the discourse function of Fam-Tops/G-Tops may move to a TP-internal position in Spanish, accounting for the pattern FOC+Subj+VP. In this type of focused construction Foc does not trigger movement of V. This happens with CF, MF and QF. On the other hand, as in Italian (Cardinaletti 2009; Benincà & Poletto 2004), in RP (which is identified as topic fronting) V-to-Top is obligatory in all varieties of Spanish, hence there is no slot for subjects in between the moved constituent and V.

¹ Regarding V-adjacency in Catalan, Quer (2002: 254-255, fn.3) suggests that there may be dialectal variation since for some speakers this condition can be obviated (see also Vallduví 1995).

2. The focused constituent: different types of Focus

- The label *Focus* is often applied to phrases performing two discourse functions, namely (a) the introduction of new information (IF) and (b) the introduction of a contrast (CF) (Kiss 1998).
 - A number of scholars have argued in favour of a clear-cut distinction between these discourse categories, based on syntactic, phonetic, phonological and discourse factors (cf. Kiss 1998, Zubizarreta 1998, Nespor & Guasti 2002, Donati & Nespor 2003);
 - Cross-linguistic evidence supports the necessity of a distinction between different types of Focus, which is *syntactically encoded* (cf. Molnár 2002, 2006, Bentley 2007, Cruschina 2011, Bianchi & Bocci 2012, Bianchi 2013), and *differently interpreted at the interfaces* (Frascarelli & Ramaglia 2013a, 2013b).

Assumption: Focus is encoded as a syntactic feature [+Focus] which characterises all types of focus, and conveys purely new information.

The distinction of types is realised by different combinations of features (a general line pursued by Haegeman 2010, Haegeman 2012, Starke 2004):

Types of focus:		
IF: [+Foc]	CF: [+Foc] [+Contrast]	RP: [+Top] [+Pol]
MF: [+Foc] [+Mirative]	QF: [+Foc] [+Pol]	

Working Hypotheses

- The different types of focus are encoded in the lexicon as syntactic features, which project their own phrase structure with specific interface interpretations (in line with Inclusiveness and the Cartographic approach; cf. Frascarelli & Ramaglia 2013b, Frascarelli & Jiménez-Fernández 2012, 2013).
- Different types of Contrastive element may behave differently w.r.t. the relative position of subject and verb both across languages and within a single language.
- Within Spanish, a crucial difference w.r.t. V-to-Foc is detected between SPS speakers and other varieties >>> **microparametric distinction**

Different types of focus: semantic characterization²

- The semantics of Focus
 - In the *Alternative Semantics* approach (Rooth 1992, Beaver & Clark 2008), Focus generates a set of alternatives: given a question like “what does John want?”, a set of propositions varying in the position of the focused direct object ({John wants COFFEE, John wants TEA, ...}) constitutes *congruent answers* to it.
 - The *Structured Meaning* approach (Krifka 2006) instead partitions the proposition into a Focus (e.g., ‘coffee’ in the example above) and a background (the denotation of the rest of the clause, i.e. the property of being something that John wants).
- When the different types of focus are addressed, we are confronted with different semantic operations, which are reflected in the syntactic derivation.

A. MIRATIVE FOCUS

Brunetti (2009), Paoli (2009), Cruschina (2011) consider Mirative as not purely “informative”: it provides new information and, based on the speaker’s knowledge of the hearer’s expectations, signals that such information will be *unexpected*:

² The semantic and interface characterization of different types of focus is based on my joint work with Mara Frascarelli. I thank her for her insightful comments and our fruitful discussions.

- (5) *¡No me lo puedo creer! ¡DOS BOTELLAS nos hemos bebido!*
 ‘I can’t believe it! TWO BOTTLES we drank!’

Âmbar (1999: 41) terms a similar kind of fronting in Portuguese as “evaluative construction”, involving the fronting of an emphatic and evaluative element to a dedicated functional projection (i.e., the *Evaluative Phrase*) in the left periphery.

→ Mirative is not dependent on a question-answer context. Contrast is established with an element that is part of the shared knowledge of the participants and can be semantically characterized as a “proposal to negotiate a shared evaluation” (Bianchi 2012). The set of alternatives is therefore very large.

B. CORRECTIVE/CONTRASTIVE FOCUS

When the Focus marks a constituent that is a direct rejection of an alternative, either spoken by the speaker himself (‘not A, but B’) or by the hearer, the Focus is ‘Corrective’. Correction thus implies removal of information (cf. a.o. Gussenhoven 2007), as seen in (6), and can also apply to *given* material (in the sense of Heim 1982), as illustrated in (7):

- (6) A: *I heard you met Fred yesterday.*
 B: *No, I met BILL.*
 (7) A: *I know John is going on vacation with Fred and Bill.*
 B: *No, he’s only leaving with BILL.*

→ Correction implies a Focus-Background partition and the set of alternatives is very restricted (limited by the semantic properties of the rejected item).

This type of Contrast may not be associated with a corrective import, as is shown in the following sentences ((8) is from Frascarelli & Jiménez-Fernández 2013; (9) is from Kratzer 2004):

- (8) *My doctor is always so late that a newspaper is not enough: you can read A NOVEL FROM TOLSTOJ while you wait!*
 (9) A: *Guess what? Fred passed.*
 B: *If FRED passed, bar exams have become too easy.*

→ ‘Pure’ Contrast implies a Focus-Background partition (which can be created by the sentence itself) and the set of alternatives is restricted.

3. QUANTIFIER FRONTING

Leonetti & Escandell (2009) suggest two defining properties of these constructions: 1) Fronted QPs does not show any emphatic intonation, in contrast with other types of focus; 2) the interpretation of the fronted element does not involve a contrast with other alternatives (Quer 2002):

- (10) a. *Nada tengo que añadir, (*no algo).*
 ‘Nothing more can be added (*not something).’
 b. *Algo debe saber, (*no nada).*
 ‘(There) must be something she knows (*not nothing).’ (L&E 2009: 161)

- Interestingly, L&E remark the adjacency of V and the fronted element as a common property of all types of fronting except CLLD.

Following L&E, QF is a true case of Verum Focus Fronting, in which the IS partitions the proposition in two parts, focus and background. Focus corresponds to polarity. Hence the implication of negative and positive polarity in (10a-b) respectively. The alternatives reduce to two: positive and negative.

4. RESUMPTIVE PREPOSING

Cinque (1990: 87) holds that in RP “the fronted phrase must either directly resume an identical phrase in the immediately preceding discourse or be inferentially linked to such a phrase”. On the other hand L&E (2009) claim that contrary to Q-Fronting, RP occurs mostly with definite DPs.

- (11) a. La stessa proposta fece poi il partito di maggioranza.
 ‘Then the majority party made THE SAME PROPOSAL.’
 b. ...e questo disse anche il Sottosegretario.
 ‘... and so said also the Subsecretary.’
 c. Allo stesso modo si comporto suo figlio.
 ‘In the same way, his son behaved.’ (Cinque 1990; Benincà 1988)

“Resumptive Preposing shows every diagnostic of *wh*-movement: the fronted constituent has to be adjacent to the verb, which triggers subject-verb inversion, and it is incompatible with any other instance of *wh*-movement such as, for instance, Focus movement”. (Leonetti & Escandell 2009: 167)

☀ **Clarification:** L&E group RP and QF together. In light of the data from SPS, this is untenable, and I prefer to stick to the distinction made by Cinque (1990) and Quer (2002). They share a common property>>> polarity focus/verum focus (Höhle 1992: 113). The alternatives are most restricted: positive or negative.

>> L&E: No focus-background partition of the sentence. Instead, we have a focus-background partition of the sentence polarity. This may be true for QP.

However, for RP it’s not the case that the whole proposition is the background: “the VFF construction is accepted only when its whole propositional content is background information, i.e., has been mentioned in the previous discourse.” (L&E 2008: 183):

- (12) Había que leerse el Quijote, y el Quijote se leyó.
 ‘We had to read the Quixote, and we did it.’

This clearly contrasts with true RP constructions:

- (13) La misma propuesta hizo el partido de gobierno.
 ‘The same proposal was made by the government party.’

This sentence is felicitous as a response to a previous proposition such as *El partido de la oposición ha propuesto hacer escraches al sistema*. Hence, there is no requirement that the whole proposition is background information.

- RP instantiates [+ given] information, as illustrated in the above example, so I will assume that it qualifies as a **topic**.

3. Methodology and data

- Three tests have been created for a *systematic interface analysis* of focus fronting (for Mirative, Corrective and Contrastive Foci, and for Quantifier and Resumptive Preposing) in two varieties of Spanish: Southern Peninsular Spanish (SPS, Andalusian and Extremaduran) and Northern

Peninsular Spanish (NPS, Asturian, Catalan Sp., Basque Sp., and Madridian). The interface properties of the focused constituent have been analysed w.r.t. those of the rest of the sentence.

- In the first test I have taken into account just Contrastive Focus and Mirative Focus, as a preliminary study.
- In the second test, all types of focus to be examined here have been taken into consideration. FF with preverbal subjects was systematically compared with FF with postverbal subjects on purpose.
- The third test has concentrated on FF with preverbal subjects, controlling the possible confusion with the postverbal constructions.

Step 1: Informants (34 SPS and 15 NPS native speakers) were given a set of sentences preceded by a context inducing a specific focus reading of the preposed constituent (judgments could be expressed as */??/OK). This was presented in writing. In particular,

- A sentence introducing the context was provided for speakers to react. This created the environment to induce a **G[iven]-Topic** interpretation of both preverbal and postverbal subjects.³

Step 2: Three informants for the SPS variety were asked to collaborate in the recording of the relevant (elicited) sentences.

Sample examples: Sentences A constitute the stimulus context; focused constituents are in CAPS and topics are underlined. Sentences in 1 are instances of preverbal subjects, whereas those in 2 contain postverbal subjects.

(14)

1.A: Iberia ha echado a 80 trabajadores en Sevilla.

‘Iberia has fired 80 employees in Seville’.

CF B.1.: ¡Anda ya! A 40 TRABAJADORES Iberia ha echado en Sevilla (no a 80).

B.2.: ¡Anda ya! A 40 TRABAJADORES ha echado Iberia en Sevilla (no a 80).
‘No way! Iberia has fired 40 employees in Seville (not 80)’.

MF C.1.: Pero A TANTOS TRABAJADORES Iberia no puede echar así como así.

C.2.: Pero A TANTOS TRABAJADORES no puede echar Iberia así como así.⁴
‘But Iberia can’t fire so many employees this way’.

RP D.1. EL MISMO PROBLEMA la compañía está teniendo EN BARCELONA.

D.2. EL MISMO PROBLEMA está teniendo la compañía EN BARCELONA.
‘The air company is having the same problem in Barcelona’.

QF E.1. Pues, ALGUNA RESPONSABILIDAD el Gobierno debería pedir a Iberia.⁵

E.2. Pues, ALGUNA RESPONSABILIDAD debería pedir el Gobierno a Iberia.
‘Well, the government should demand accountability from Iberia’.

³ As argued in Frascarelli (2007), G-Topics instantiate given/familiar information, sit in the low C-domain and can be found in any type of embedded clause (B&F 2010); this can describe the preverbal subjects that I focus on in this work. On the other hand, postverbal subjects can also be interpreted as G-Topics in languages like Spanish (as opposed to Italian), as shown by Frascarelli & Jiménez-Fernández (2013). These G-Topics are not right-dislocated topics; they remain in their original position, spec-vP.

⁴ Some informants have commented that sentences C.1. and C.2. are grammatical only if a clitic is inserted. These informants are Northern Spanish speakers. In Southern Spanish the clitic insertion renders the sentences ungrammatical.

⁵ Topicality of subject via context bridging (Roberts 2003), hence it is weakly familiar (Roberts 1993). It can be claimed that in the economic situation Spain is going through at the moment the involvement of the government in this type of events is expected. It is activated by the speakers’ knowledge about the new employment laws the Spanish government is proposing now.

(15)

2.A: Juan tiene que leerse el manual de Radford para el examen.

‘Juan has to read Radford’s textbook for the exam.’

CF B.1.: EL MANUAL DE HAEGEMAN Juan se tiene que leer para el examen (no el de Radford).

B.2.: EL MANUAL DE HAEGEMAN se tiene que leer Juan para el examen (no el de Radford).

‘Juan has to read Haegeman’s textbook for the exam, not Radford’s.’

MF C.1.: Pero ESE TIPO DE MANUALES Juan no puede leerse en 2 días.

C.2.: Pero ESE TIPO DE MANUALES no puede leerse Juan en 2 días.⁶

‘But Juan can’t read this type of textbooks in two days.’

RP D.1.: EL MISMO LIBRO el profesor ha recomendado PARA LOS ALUMNOS DE 5°.

D.2.: EL MISMO LIBRO ha recomendado el profesor PARA LOS ALUMNOS DE 5°.

‘The teacher has recommended the same textbook for students in their 5th year.’

QF E.1.: Pero NINGÚN LIBRO Juan se puede terminar en 2 días.

E.2.: Pero NINGÚN LIBRO se puede terminar Juan en 2 días.

‘But Juan can finish no book in two days.’

4. Analysis of data

The figures in the different tables are based on the OK sentences only.

1) Preliminary test: preverbal and postverbal subjects

Test 1	Focus Fronting with preverbal DP subject (SPS)		Focus Fronting with postverbal DP subject (SPS)	
Type of focus	CF	MF	CF	MF
grammaticality	30%	50%	83.3%	86.6%
felicity	40%	53.3%	80%	93.3%
	Focus Fronting with preverbal DP subject (standard Sp)		Focus Fronting with postverbal DP subject (standard Sp)	
Type of focus	CF	MF	CF	MF
grammaticality	7%	28.5%	100%	21.4%
felicity	14%	28.5%	100%	21.4%

Table 1 – FF pre/post-verbal subjects (CF & MF)

⁶ Some speakers find demonstratives difficult to be interpreted as focus. See Leonetti & Escandell (2009) for the focus interpretation of DPs introduced by demonstratives.

Partial conclusion 1: In SS preverbal subjects are discarded in FF constructions; in SPS postverbal subjects are preferred over preverbal subjects, BUT the latter is a possibility since it is accepted by half of the informants.

Importantly, SPS speakers who didn't find the preverbal option grammatical did NOT consider it ungrammatical, but marginal (contrary to what happened with SS informants). This is an indication that *in SPS FF with preverbal subjects is acceptable*.

2) Test 2: FF with preverbal and postverbal 'subjects'

Test 2	Focus Fronting with preverbal G-TOPIC DP subject (SPS)			
Type of focus	CF	MF	RP	QF
grammaticality	56.25%	56.25%	50%	40.6%
Felicity	46.8%	46.8%	40.6%	28%
Focus Fronting with preverbal G-TOPIC DP subject (SS)				
Type of focus	CF	MF	RP	QF
grammaticality	37.5%	41.6%	29.1%	16.6%
Felicity	33.3%	45.8%	25%	25%

Table 2 – FF with a preverbal G-Topic

Test 2	Focus Fronting with postverbal G-TOPIC DP subject (SPS)			
Type of focus	CF	MF	RP	QF
grammaticality	90.6%	87.5%	93.7%	90.6%
Felicity	93.7%	93.7%	96.8%	90.6%
Focus Fronting with postverbal G-TOPIC DP subject (SS)				
Type of focus	CF	MF	RP	QF
grammaticality	100%	58.3%	83.3%	79.1%
Felicity	100%	45%	83.3%	70.8%

Table 3 – FF with a postverbal G-Topic

When SPS informants were faced with the systematic comparison between pre- and post-verbal subjects, they definitely thought the postverbal-subject version was fully grammatical. BUT figures in Table 2 indicate that in this context they found preverbal subjects acceptable (approx. 50%, except for QF).

Partial conclusion 2: SPS speakers prefer postverbal subjects in FF, but the preverbal option is at least acceptable. SS dubbed the preverbal subject construction as ungrammatical.

3) Fronting with a preverbal G-Topic in SPS

Test 3	Focus Fronting with preverbal G-TOPIC DP subject (SPS)			
Type of focus	CF	MF	RP	QF
grammaticality	68.7%	71.8%	62.5%	81.2%

Table 4 – FF with a preverbal G-Topic in SPS

When confronted with FF with preverbal subjects alone (no explicit mention of the postverbal constructions), SPS speakers have a great tolerance with respect to RP, yet we must consider this type of fronting just marginal. On the other hand, grammaticality increases with CF and it achieves its highest ranking with MF and QF.

Partial conclusion 3: SPS speakers regard the preverbal subject construction as grammatical, especially with CF, MF and QF. Intuitively, *RP is a different phenomenon*.

→ **Interface analysis** will provide an explanation for this contrast and for marginal judgments.

5. Interface analysis

NB1:

Narrow focus in **Peninsular Spanish** is characterized by a **pre-nuclear rising pitch accent: L+H*** (cf. Face 2002, Hualde 2003, Prieto 2004). This means that a **valley** in the fundamental frequency (F0) occurs **at the onset of the stressed syllable** and the **F0 peak** is realized **on a post-tonic syllable**.

NB2:

As pursued in Frascarelli & Jiménez-Fernández (2012, 2013), since one tone can mark different categories, intonational analysis of discourse categories *should not* take into consideration only the prosody of the dislocated constituent, but also the *intonational contour of the rest of the sentence*: a Focus combines with a Presupposition, which is prosodically flat, while a Topic with a Comment, which must contain a pitch accent.

To provide a comprehensive account, a systematic contrast is provided between intonation curves of constructions with **preverbal and postverbal subjects**. In addition, two possibilities are shown: constructions with and without a coda (Vallduvì 1992).

5.1. The interpretation of focus with postverbal/preverbal DP ‘subjects’

A) CONTRASTIVE FOCUS

i) *Contrastive Focus* WITH CODA

(16a) Un broche de diamantes le ha regalado Juan para lucirlo en la fiesta!

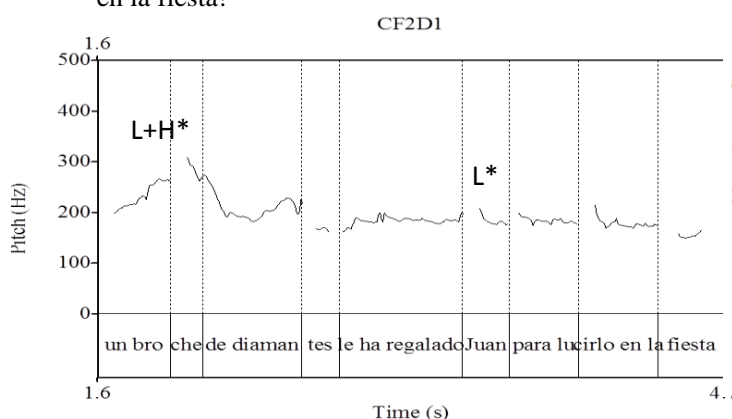


Figure 1a – Contrastive Focus with postverbal S

(16b) Un broche de diamantes Juan le ha regalado para lucirlo en la fiesta!

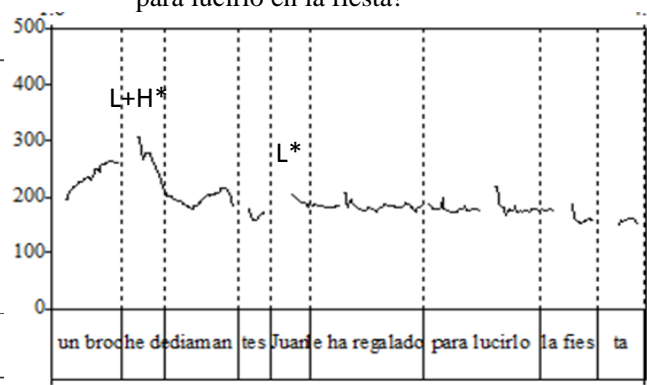


Figure 1b – Contrastive Focus with preverbal S

ii) *Contrastive Focus* WITHOUT CODA

(17a) Un broche de diamantes le ha regalado Juan!

(17b) Un broche de diamantes Juan le ha regalado!

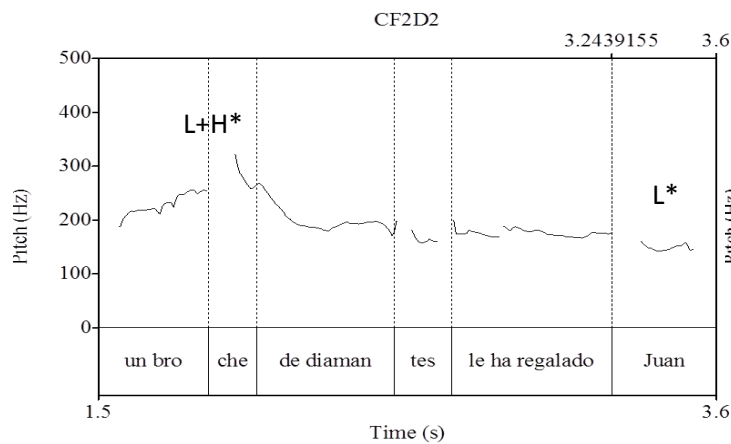


Figure 2a – Contrastive Focus with postverbal S

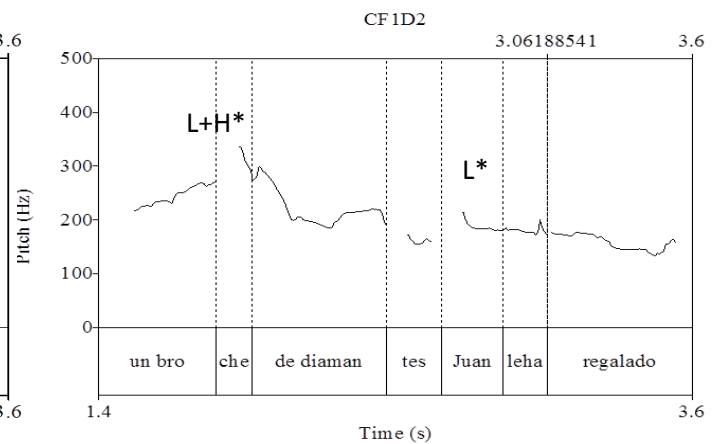


Figure 2b – Contrastive Focus with preverbal S

B) MIRATIVE FOCUS

i) *Mirative Focus WITH CODA*

(18a) ¡Varias langostas de dos kilos puso la familia en el centro de la mesa!

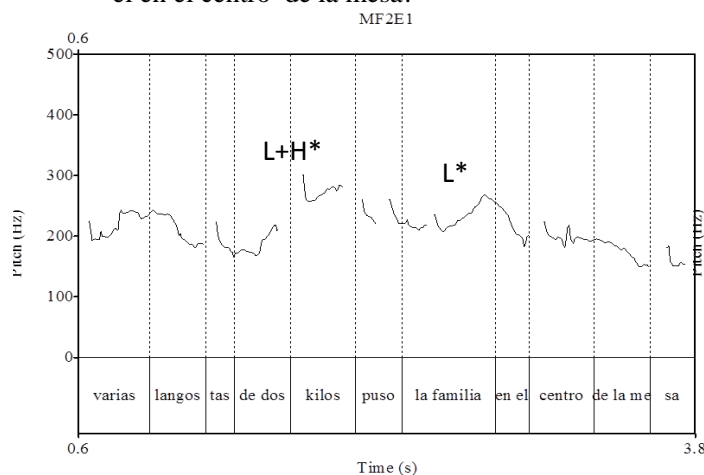


Figure 3a – Mirative Focus with postverbal S

(18b) ¡Varias langostas de dos kilos la familia puso en el centro de la mesa!

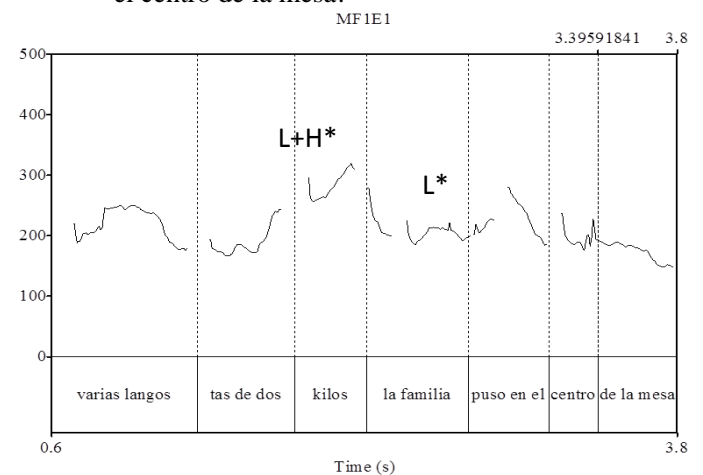


Figure 3b – Mirative Focus with preverbal S

ii) *Mirative Focus WITHOUT CODA*

(19a) ¡Varias langostas de dos kilos sirvió la familia!

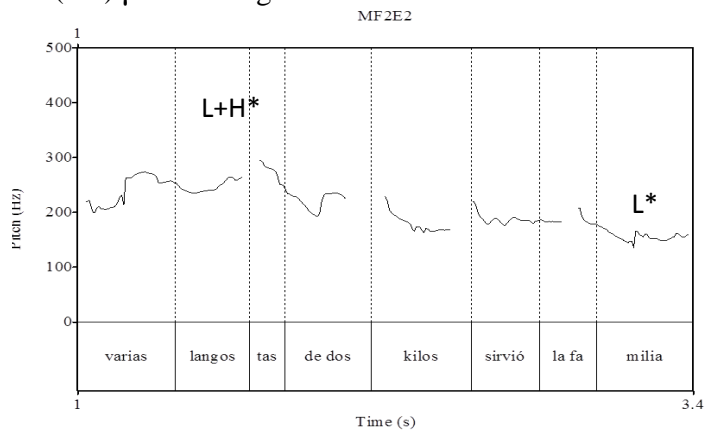


Figure 4a – Mirative Focus with postverbal S

(19b) ¡Varias langostas de dos kilos la familia sirvió!

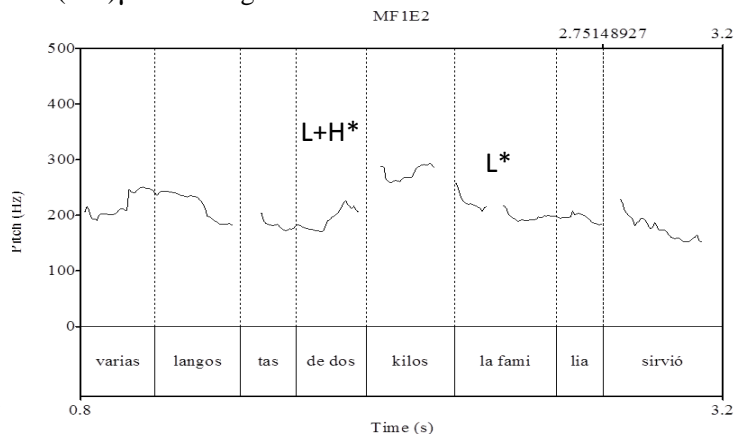


Figure 4b – Mirative Focus with preverbal S

C) QUANTIFIER FRONTING

i) *Quantifier Fronting WITH CODA*

(20a) ¡Algunos problemas solucionará esta ley a corto plazo!

(20b) ¡Algunos problemas esta ley solucionará a corto plazo!

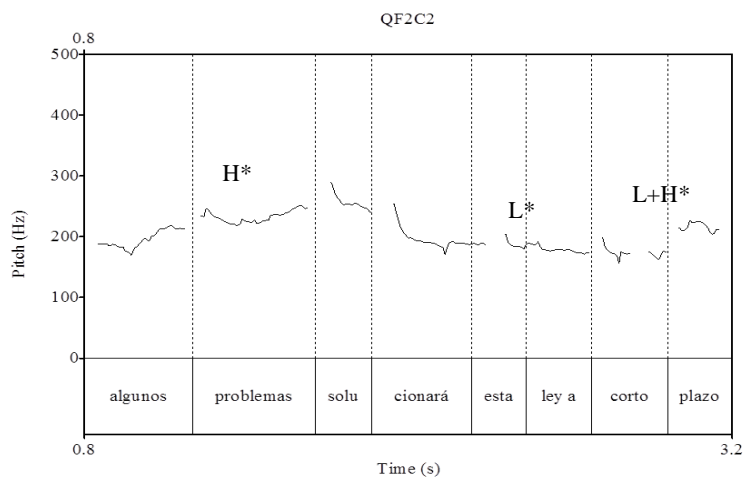


Figure 5a – Quantifier Fronting with postverbal S

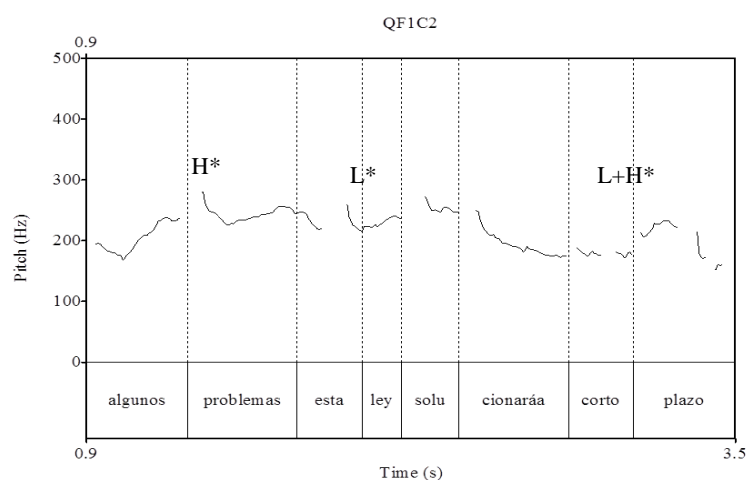


Figure 5b – Quantifier Fronting with preverbal S

ii) *Quantifier Fronting without coda*

(21a) ¡Algunos problemas solucionará esta ley!

(21b) ¡Algunos problemas esta ley solucionará!

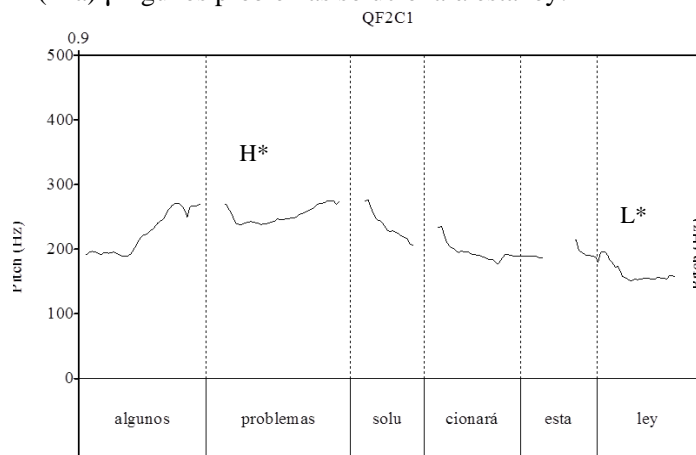


Figure 6a – Quantifier Fronting with postverbal S

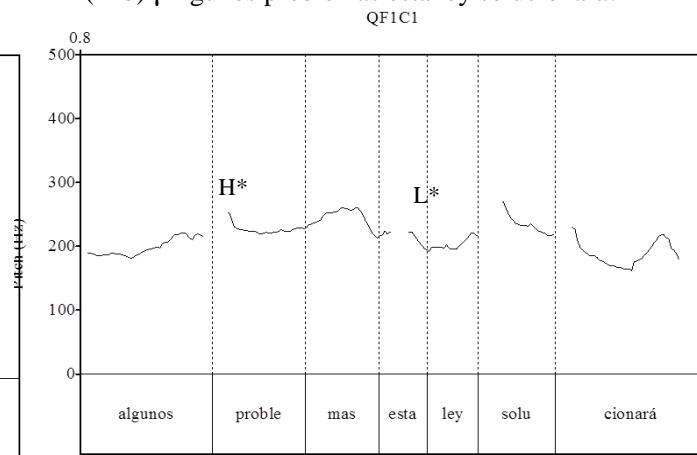
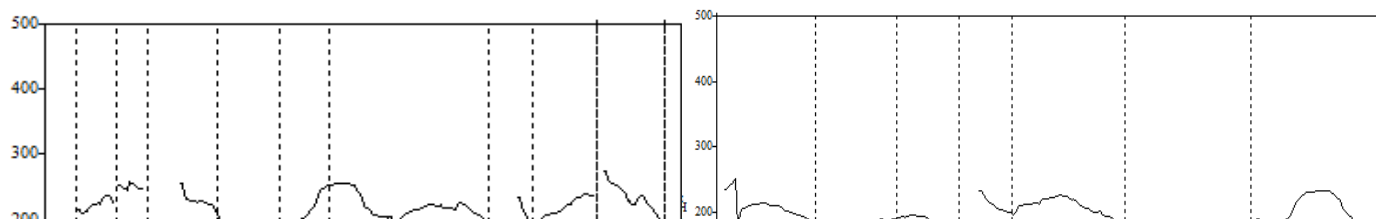


Figure 6b – Quantifier Fronting with preverbal S



C) RESUMPTIVE PREPOSING

i) *Resumptive Preposing WITH CODA*

(22a) ¡La misma ley ha propuesto el presidente de Portugal para solucionar los problemas en la universidad!!

(22b) ¡La misma ley el presidente de Portugal ha propuesto para solucionar los problemas en la universidad!

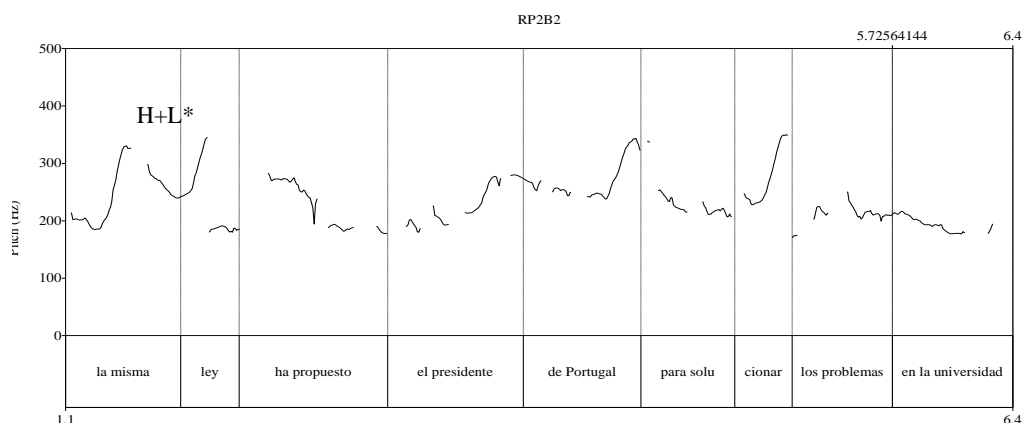


Figure 7a – Resumptive Preposing with postverbal S

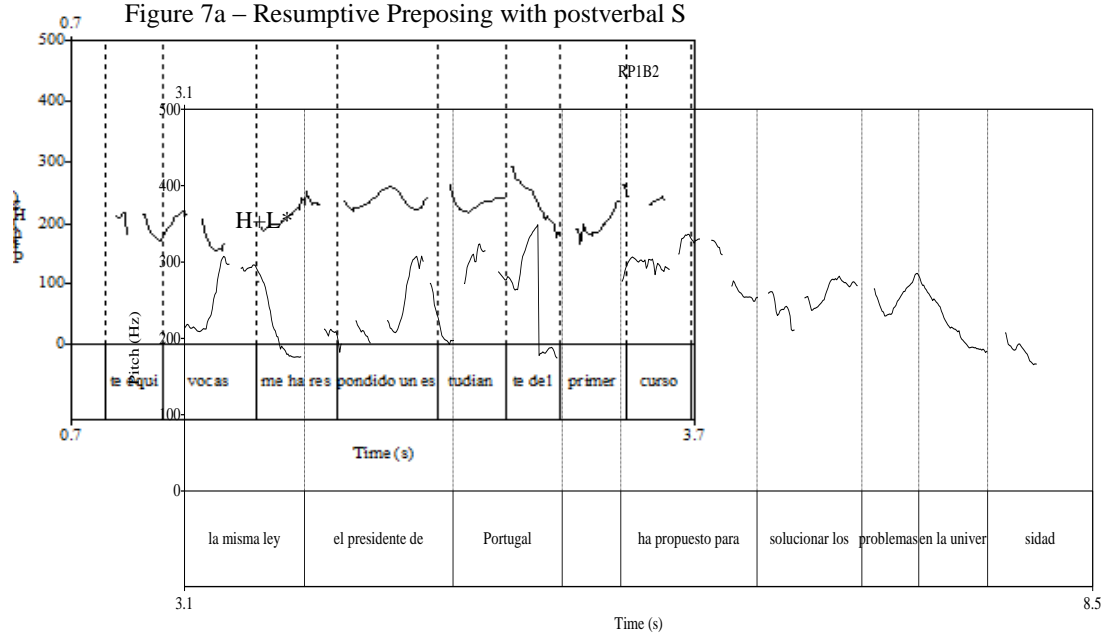


Figure 7b – Resumptive Preposing with preverbal S

i) *Resumptive Preposing WITHOUT CODA*

(23a) ¡La misma ley ha propuesto el presidente de Portugal!

(23b) ¡La misma ley el presidente de Portugal ha propuesto!

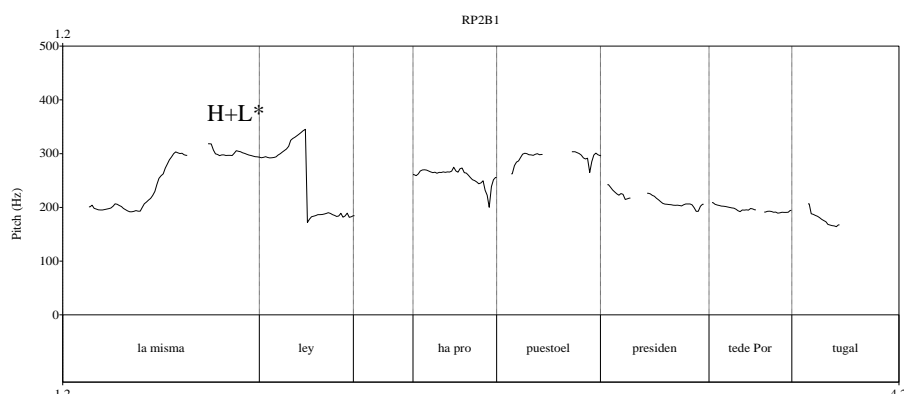


Figure 8a – Resumptive Preposing with postverbal S

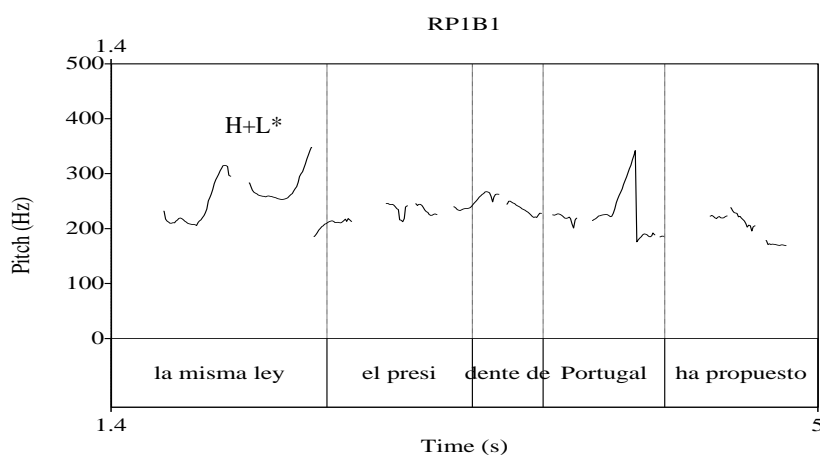


Figure 8b – Resumptive Preposing with preverbal S

- **Southern Peninsular Spanish: Mirative, Contrastive** are marked with a pitch accent (**L+H***).
- Both preverbal and postverbal subjects are G-Tops, showing a **L* pitch accent**.
- the tonic vowel of the subject stays at a low tone (with the usual post-tonic rise in Spanish).
- Differences depending on the presence/absence of a coda (Vallduví 1992)
- **Codas** are always flat, suggesting that they are part of the Presupposition >>>> Focus+Background.

5.2. Conclusions from the interface analysis

1. **CF**: flat coda /// **MF**: non-flat coda, it shows a pitch accent, corresponding with given information (contextual givenness, Roberts 2004).
2. **MF** doesn't conform to the Foc+Background partition (Frascarelli & Jiménez-Fernández 2012) >>> Bianchi's idea that MF contains shared info.
3. **QF**: the last element of the coda has a pitch accent, reflecting the idea that the fronted QP is not necessarily interpreted as focus >>> With/without coda, speakers interpreted it as subtype of Contrastive Topic or *Partial Topic* (Büring 1999).
 - a. **QF**: Contrastive Topic (Büring 1999; Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007): **H***

- b. **H* tone** in the quantifier and percolation of features down the rest of the constituent (Frascarelli & Jiménez-Fernández 2013)
- c. *Interpretation with coda*: "some problems" [C-Top] will be solved SOON (focus), others won't. >>>> But they may in the future!!
- d. *Interpretation without coda*: "some problems" [C-Top] will be SOLVED (focus), others will never be. Polarity focus/**Verum Focus** (Leonetti & Escandell 2009): narrow focus on the polarity and the rest is background info.
- e. In light of this, preverbal subjects in SPS are licensed in QF because we have no FF, but a C-Top. This confirms the hierarchical ordering of types of topics in Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007): C-Top+G-Top
- f. This supports that G-Tops can be either pre- or post-verbal in Spanish (Frascarelli & Jiménez-Fernández 2012)

- 4. **RP**: totally different >>> Benincà & Poletto (2004: 62): a focus-like fronting termed Anaphoric Anteposition, *without intonational contrast*. Contrary to focus proper, RP needs V-adjacency even in Italian.

- with coda, speakers provided a pitch accent in this appendix; without coda ...
- a. RP: Topic (Cinque 1990; Cardinaletti 2009; Jiménez-Fernández & Miyagawa 2013)
 - b. Semantically RP is used to repeat a nominal expression that has been just mentioned and tell something else about it. It's a rhetorical device that has much to do with emphasis and GIVEN information. "misma" takes a pitch. It is (some kind of) Focus, even though it is located in a IS-complex phrase, whose head ("ley") is clearly GIVEN and low-toned.
Focus within Topic
 - c. As for the subject, it is neither low nor high: it is simply part of a broad focus, downgrading contour. So, when it is initial, it marks the starting (rising) part, when it is final, it stays in the downgrading (lowering) part.
 - d. what follows is all new information (coda).
 - e. *Interpretation with coda*: the head noun ("presidente") is NOT LOW. However, the tonic vowel of the DP-embedded PP ("Portugal") seems to be low (especially in preverbal position). Roberts (2004) >>> **Weakly familiar**.
 - f. *Interpretation without coda*: the tonic vowel of "presidente" seems to be low (both in pre- and postverbal position)
 - g. Marginality with preverbal subjects is due to a misinterpretation: RP-ed constituent is interpreted as a C-Top.

6. Evidence for G-Tops and preverbal subjects

- G-Tops in focus fronting constructions move to spec-TP, one piece of evidence comes from binding data, assuming that a new binding configuration emerges as a result of moving a possible antecedent to an A-position (Miyagawa 2010), thereby improving a Principle A effect:

- (24) a. *EN LA FIESTA su amigo puso a Juan muy triste (no en la reunión).
 b. EN LA FIESTA a Juan lo puso su amigo muy triste (no en la reunión).
 'Juan was made very sad by his friend at the party.'

Assuming that movement to an A'-position involves reconstruction effects, whereas movement to an A-position does not, sentence (24) with CF supports the proposal that the dislocated object *a Juan* moves to spec-TP, an A-position, and binds the anaphoric expression *su amigo*. This sentence is well-formed in SPS only if this topic is interpreted as a G-Top.

- On the basis of Catalan data, López (2009) concludes that *Floating Quantifiers* are allowed only in A-movement, not in A'-movement (Lasnik 2003). In Spanish, the same constraint is found, thus cases of A-movement such as raising constructions are compatible with FQs.
- (25) *Los niños parecen haber terminado todos la tarea.*
 the kids seem-PRES.3PL to.have finished all the homework
 'The kids seem to have all finished their homework.'

If a pre-verbal subject in these varieties of Spanish is interpreted as a G-Top in focus constructions, and if G-Tops undergo movement to spec-TP, this predicts that G-Top subjects should be compatible with FQs. This prediction is borne out:

- (26) A LAS 10 los niños habían terminado **todos** la tarea (no a las 11).

When pre-verbal subjects occur in focus fronting constructions in Southern Peninsular Spanish, these are interpreted as G-Tops moved to spec-TP. In other varieties of Spanish, G-Top subjects are always postverbal because of the obligatory character of T-to-C movement in focus fronting.

7. Final Conclusions

CF, MF and QF are grammatical with preverbal subject in SPS for different reasons, as opposed to RP:

- 1) CF and MF target a FocusP whose head may or may not be endowed with a [TNS] feature. Hence, the verb may raise up to Foc and subjects are postverbal. Alternatively, Foc may not encode the [TNS] feature and thus V raises only up to T, accounting for why preverbal subjects are compatible with CF and MF. This is reflected in the grammaticality judgements: both CF and MF obtain around 70%, thereby explaining the microparametric variation detected in Spanish.
- 2) QF is grammatical with preverbal subjects when interpreted as a C-Top. This is expected since in that case Top does not trigger T-movement. Confirmed by the percentage of grammaticality (81%).
- 3) RP is not compatible with preverbal subjects. In this case there is no option in SPS: Top must always be endowed with a [TNS] feature, triggering T-movement. The OK answers are explained because speakers have interpreted RP as a C-Top.
- 4) As regards pre-verbal subjects, they are always interpreted as G-Tops.

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