

Separating focus and contrast in Romance: insights from Camuno

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Preliminaries

- **Focus** = grammatical category introducing **new, contrastive** or **surprising information**
- **Focus in Romance: syntactic and phonological marking** [3]
- **SYNTACTIC ACCOUNTS:**
 - A focus feature on the head of a FocP is checked by movement of an XP to its specifier [9]
 - A focus operator indirectly interacts with an XP which is interpreted as the focus of the sentence [5]
- **INTERFACE ACCOUNTS:**
 - Focus evacuation movement: unfocalized YPs dislocate so that focus XP aligns with stress [1]
 - PF ensures the right stress is assigned to the appropriate focus-XP [10]

Pattern under investigation

(1) Focus structures:

- a. l' a fat ho al ho om la hopa.
CL.3SG has made up the her husband the soup
'It is her husband that made the soup.'
- b. *al ho om l' a fat ho la hopa.
the her husband CL.3SG has made up the soup
- c. l' è al ho om ke l' a fat ho la hopa
CL.3SG is the her husband that CL.3SG has made up the soup
'It is her husband that made the soup.'

Focus in Camuno:

- Immediately **after the verb** (IAV) position:
 - **Short movement** [2]
 - In-situ interpretation [7]
 - Left peripheral interpretation [8]
- Aligns with the **main sentence stress** (MSS):
 - Assigned by nuclear stress rule [1]
 - Assigned at PF [9]
 - **Selected at PF** [10]

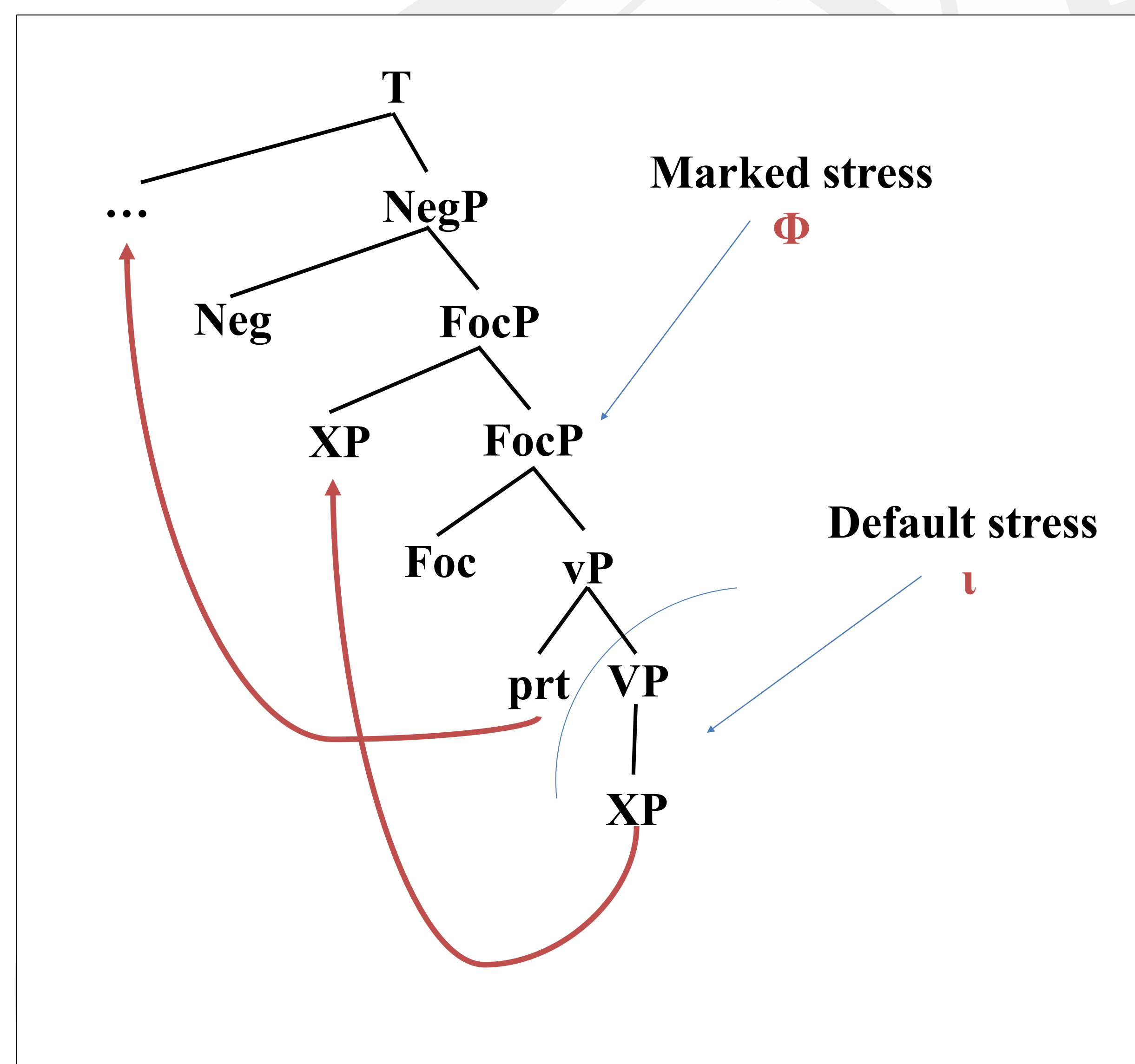
Question

Can the distributional and prosodic properties of focus structures be captured by a single operation?

Hypothesis

Two correlated but **independent operations co-occur** in the derivation of focus structures.

Focus is marked syntactically.
Contrast with discourse-antecedent or beliefs is **marked**, independently, at the **PF-interface**.



Default stress = alignment with prosodic phrase ι
Marked stress = alignment with phonological phrase Φ [4]

- Spelled-Out phases are parsed as phonological phrases [6]
- PF selects among potential stresses [10]
- MSS = ι containing lexical verb \rightarrow verb-movement at PF

Contrast with(out) focus

(2) Corrective (a) and Mirative (b) focus:

- a. ["Valeria waited for her mum on the curb at the airport"]
al l' a hpetat **de-deter** a la ho mama
CL.3SG CL.3SG has waited inside at the her mom
'She waited for her mom inside (not on the curb)'
- b. [with the new law, 52 years old Valeria can retired at 53.]
la Paola la andarà l' **an ke e** en penfu
the Paola CL.3SG go.FUT the year that come in retirement
'Paola will retire next year (can you believe it?!).'

Post-verbal distribution = contrastive interpretation without (narrow) focalization

- (3) a. l' o **mia** ist en tjeza
CL.3SG have NEG saw in church
'I didn't see him in the church.'
- b. l' o ist **MIA** en tjeza
CL.3SG have seen NEG in church
'No, I didn't see him in the church (why would have I?)'
- (4) a. l' a fat tja **amò** al kuniŋ
CL.3SG have made up again the rabbit
'He made rabbit again.'
- b. l' a fat tja **AMÒ** al kuniŋ
CL.3SG have made up again the rabbit
'Of course he has already made rabbit (at some point)!'

Conclusion

- **Movement + Interface = focus.**
- **PF + Context = contrast.**
- Different interpretations \rightarrow unified analysis.
- Non-focus contrast accounted for.
- Non-contrast focus (wide focus) accounted for.

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