

Focus Marking, Focus Interpretation & Focus Sensitivity

Malte Zimmermann & Daniel Hole
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Session V: 25-07-09
Extensions and case studies

Malte Zimmermann & Daniel Hole

mazimmer@rz.uni-potsdam.de

holedan@gmail.com

- **Schedule:**

- i. The formal representation of focus
- ii. The discourse-anaphoric nature of focus
- iii. The meaning of marked focus constructions
- iv. FOC-particles and Q-Adverbs
- v. Extensions and case studies

1. Exclusive part. - 2. Additive part. - 3. Adv. quantifiers

RETURNING to yesterday's problems I
Simplified SM format for today:

(8) John only introduced **BILL**_F to Sue.

(9) a. $\neg \exists x [x \in \text{ALT}_C \wedge x \neq \text{Bill} \wedge$
John introduced x to Sue = 1]

b. $\forall x [x \in \text{ALT}_C \wedge$
John introduced x to Sue = 1 $\rightarrow x = \text{Bill}]$

where ALT_C is the set of C-restricted alternatives to the
focus value

(10) ONLY (FOC) (BACKGROUND)

1. Exclusive part. - 2. Additive part. - 3. Adv. quantifiers

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(10) ONLY (FOC) (BACKGROUND)

1. Exclusive part. - 2. Additive part. - 3. Adv. quantifiers

RETURNING to yesterday's problems II

(33) Chinese *zhǐ* vs. *cái* II

- a. Wǒ **cái** yǒu yìbāi kuài qián ...
 I only_{sc} have 100 \$ money
 'I only have 100 \$...'
- b. ... méi yǒu liǎngbāi kuài.
 not have 200 \$
 '... and not 200 \$.'
- b'. # ... méi yǒu biéde dōngxi.
 not have other things
 '... and not other things.'

1. Exclusive part. - 2. Additive part. - 3. Adv. quantifiers

RETURNING to yesterday's problems II

(33) Chinese *zhǐ* vs. *cái* II

- a. Wǒ **cái** yǒu yìbāi kuài qián ne
 I only_{sc} have 100 \$ moneyPRT
 'I only have 100 \$...'
- b. ... méi yǒu liǎngbāi kuài.
 not have 200 \$
 '... and not 200 \$.'
- b'. # ... méi yǒu biéde dōngxi.
 not have other things
 '... and not other things.'

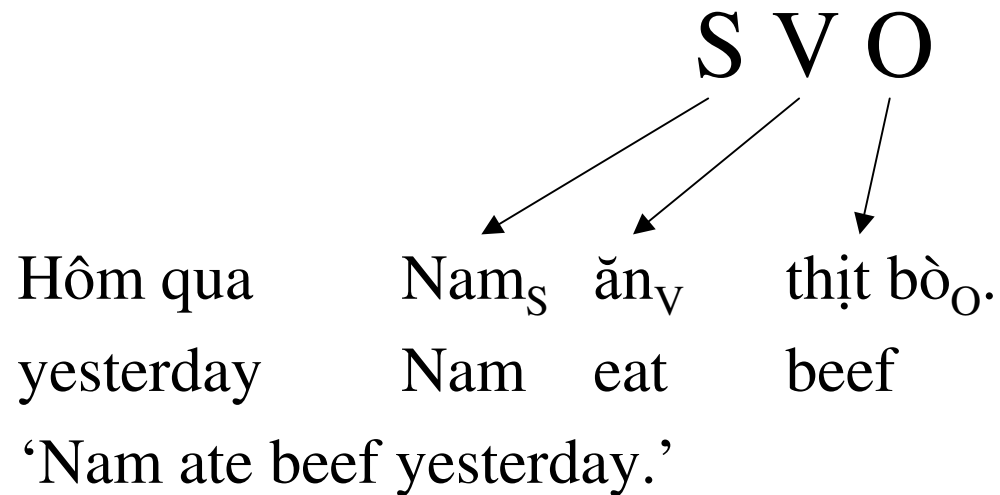
1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Plan for today:

- Vietnamese
- Chinese
- What to do?

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Vietnamese major constituent order



1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

A fieldworker's nightmare¹

(1) **Chỉ** **mỗi** **NAM_F** **mới** **ăn** **thịt bò** **thôi.**
only₁ only₂ Nam only₃ eat beef only₄
'Only Nam eats beef.'

(2) **Thậm chí** **đến** **NAM_F** **cũng** **ăn** **thịt bò.**
even₁ even₂ Nam also eat beef
'Even Nam ate beef.'

¹ Just kiddin': Thank you so much, Kieu Phuong HA and Thu Trang NGUYEN!

All the Vietnamese data is from Hole (2008).

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Tidying up 1: The AwF pattern

Focus-sensitive particles in adverbial position: ONLY and EVEN

(1) Hôm qua Nam **chỉ** [ăn thịt bò] thôi.
yesterday Nam only eat meat beef PRT
'Nam only [ate beef] yesterday.'

(2) Hôm qua Nam **thậm chí** [ăn thịt bò].
yesterday Nam even eat meat beef
'Nam even [ate beef] yesterday.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Tidying up 1: The AwF pattern

Focus-sensitive particles in adverbial position:

Minor complication with postverbal adverbial ALSO

- (3) [Bác nông dân nuôi lợn.] (Bác ấy) trồng **cả** cà chua.
CL farmer raise pig he grow also tomatoes
'The farmer raises pigs. He also grows tomatoes.'

- (4) Bác nông dân không chỉ ăn cà chua mà [trồng]_F **cả** cà chua.
the farmer not only eat tomato but grow also tomato
'The farmer doesn't just eat tomatoes, he also [grows]_F tomatoes.'

➤ Probably a superficial phonological effect

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Tidying up 1: The AwF pattern

Focus-sensitive particles in adverbial position:

Minor complication with postverbal adverbial ALSO

- (3) [Bác nông dân nuôi lợn.] (Bác ấy) trồng **cả** cà chua.
CL farmer raise pig he grow also tomatoes
'The farmer raises pigs. He also grows tomatoes.'

Analogous things happen with individual modals:

- (5) Nam **có thể ăn** thịt bò.
Nam can eat meat beef
'Nam can eat beef.'
- (6) Nam **ăn được** thịt bò.
Nam eat can meat beef
'Nam can eat beef.' (he's not allergic to it, or otherwise adversely affected by it)

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Tidying up 1: The AwF pattern in a nutshell

- (9) Adverbial focus-sensitive particles in Vietnamese
 - (i) Adverbial focus-sensitive particles in Vietnamese associate with a constituent in the extended VP-projection of a sentence;
 - (ii) the adverbial focus-sensitive particle for EVEN foci is *thậm chí*;
 - (iii) the adverbial focus-sensitive particle for ALSO foci is *cả*;
 - (iv) the adverbial focus-sensitive particle for ONLY foci is *chỉ*.

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Tidying up 2: The partition pattern

Vietnamese doesn't only have adverbial AwF focus marking.

There's a second system which looks very much like an instantiation of SM.

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Tidying up 2: The partition pattern

(10) THE PARTITION PATTERN (prototypical case)
[[PRT_{FOC} Focus argument] [PRT_{BG} Background]]

- (11) a. [[**Đến** [Nam]_F] [**cũng** [ăn thịt bò]_{BG}]].
PRT_{FOC}Even Nam PRT_{BG}Even/also eat meat beef
'Even Nam ate beef.'
- b. [[**Cả** [Nam]_F] [**cũng** [ăn thịt bò]_{BG}]].
PRT_{FOC}also Nam PRT_{BG}Even/also eat meat beef
'Nam, too, ate beef.'
- c. [[**Mỗi** [Nam]_F] [**mới** [ăn thịt bò]_{BG}]].
PRT_{FOC}Only Nam PRT_{BG}Only eat meat beef
'Only Nam eats beef.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Tidying up 2: The partition pattern

(10) THE PARTITION PATTERN (prototypical case)
[[PRT_{FOC} Focus argument] [PRT_{BG} Background]]

(17) TOPOLOGY OF THE PARTITION PATTERN FOR AEO FOCI (to be revised)

a. The general pattern

[PRT_{FOC} FOCUS] [PRT_{BG} BACKGROUND]

b. Instantiations

EVEN: *đến*

cũng

ALSO: *cả*

FOCUS

cũng

BACKGROUND

ONLY: *mỗi*


mới

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Tidying up 1+2: Confounding factors

- (a) Backgrounded subjects preceding background markers

(12) **Đến** [pho mát]_F [Nam **cũng** thích]_{BG}.
PRT_{FO}Ceven cheese Nam PRT_{BG}Ceven/also like
'Nam likes even [cheese]_F.'



That's an independent phenomenon. Just as in English, subjects precede many sentence-level operators (the subject function as a grammaticalized topic function).

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Tidying up 1+2: Confounding factors

(a) Backgrounded subjects preceding background markers

(b) Mixed structures/Optional use of markers

(13) b. [[(Thậm chí) (đến) [Nam]_F] [(cũng) [ăn thịt bò]_{BG}]].
even PRT_{FO}Ceven Nam PRT_{BG}even/also eat meatbeef
'Even Nam ate beef.'/'Nam, too, ate beef.'

(14) [[(Cả) [Nam]_F] [(cũng) [ăn thịt bò]_{BG}]]. (cf. (11b))
PRT_{FO}Calso Nam PRT_{BG}even/also eat meat beef
'Nam, too, ate beef.'

(15) a. [Chỉ [(mỗi) [Nam]_F] [(mới) [ăn thịt bò]_{BG}]]. (cf. (11c))
only PRT_{FO}Only Nam PRT_{BG}Only eat meat beef
'Only Nam eats beef.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Tidying up 1+2: Confounding factors

- (a) Backgrounded subjects preceding background markers
- (b) Mixed structures/Optional use of markers
- (c) Partition structures with in-situ foci

- (16) a. [Lam **cũng** cho Nam **cả** [tiền]_F]_{BG}.
Lam PRT_{BG}even/also give Nam PRT_{FO}also money
'Lam gave Nam also [money]_F.'
- b. [Nam **chỉ** đọc **mỗi** [sách]_F **thôi**]_{BG}.
Nam only read PRT_{FO}only book PRT
'Nam read only [books/a book]_F.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Object focus I

(23) DIRECT OBJECT+AWF-STRATEGY

- a. Hôm qua Nam **thậm chí** ăn [thịt bò]_F.
yesterday Nam even eat meat beef
'Nam even ate [beef]_F yesterday.'
- b. Bác nông dân trồng **cả** [cà chua]_F.
CL farmer grow also tomatoes
'The farmer also grows [tomatoes]_F.'
- c. Hôm qua Nam **chỉ** ăn [thịt bò]_F thôi.
yesterday Nam only eat meat beef PRT
'Nam only ate [beef]_F yesterday.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Object focus II

(25) DIRECT OBJECT+PARTITION STRATEGY+PREPOSED FOCUS

- a. **Đến** [pho mát]_F Nam **cũng** thích.
PRT_{FOCeven} cheese Nam PRT_{BGiven/also} like
'Nam likes even [cheese]_F.'
- b. **Cả** [quyển sách] Nam **cũng** đọc.
PRT_{FOCalso} CL book Nam PRT_{BGalso} read
'Nam read even [the book]_F.'
- c. **(Chỉ) mỗi** [thịt bò]_F Nam **mới** ăn thôi.
only PRT_{FOConly} meat beef Nam PRT_{BGonly} eat PRT
'Only [beef]_F does Nam eat.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Object focus II

(25) DIRECT OBJECT+PARTITION STRATEGY+PREPOSED FOCUS

- a. **Đến** [pho mát]_F Nam **cũng** thích.
PRT_{FOCeven} cheese Nam PRT_{BGiven/also} like
'Nam likes even [cheese]_F.'

- b. **Cả** [quyển sách] Nam **cũng** đọc.
PRT_{FOCalso} CL book Nam PRT_{BGalso} read
'Nam read even [the book]_F.'

- c. (Chỉ) **mỗi** [thịt bò]_F Nam **mới** ăn thôi.
only PRT_{FOConly} meat beef Nam PRT_{BGonly} eat PRT
'Only [beef]_F does Nam eat.'

strengthening
effect!

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Object focus III

(25') DIRECT OBJECT+PARTITION STRATEGY+IN SITU FOCUS

a. * Nam (**cũng**) thích **đến** [pho mát]_F.
Nam PRT_{BGiven/also} like PRT_{FOCeven} cheese
int.: 'Nam likes even [cheese]_F.'

b. Nam **cũng** đọc **cả** [quyển sách]_F.
Nam PRT_{BGiven/also} read PRT_{FOCalso} CL book
'Nam read also [the book]_F.'

c. Nam **chỉ** ăn **mỗi** [thịt bò]_F thôi.
Nam only eat PRT_{FOConly} meat beef PRT.
'Nam ate only [beef]_F.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Object focus IV

Robust generalization for MCN and VIE:

Partition strategy & EVEN → obligatory preposing

(25') DIRECT OBJECT+PARTITION STRATEGY+IN SITU FOCUS

- a. * Nam (**cũng**) thích **đến** [pho mát]_F.
Nam PRT_{BGeven/also} like PRT_{FOCeven} cheese
int.: 'Nam likes even [cheese]_F.'

(25) DIRECT OBJECT+PARTITION STRATEGY+PREPOSED FOCUS

- a. **Đến** [pho mát]_F Nam **cũng** thích.
PRT_{FOCeven} cheese Nam PRT_{BGeven/also} like
'Nam likes even [cheese]_F.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Adjunct focus in simple sentences: adverbial markers & „in situ“ focus

(35) ADJUNCT+AWF-STRATEGY

- a. Năm ngoái Nam làm việc **thậm chí** vào [chủ nhật]_F.
last year Nam do work even on Sunday
'Last year Nam worked even on [Sundays]_F.'
- b. Năm ngoái Nam làm việc **cả** vào [chủ nhật]_F.
last year Nam do work also on Sunday
'Last year Nam worked also on [Sundays]_F.'
- c. Năm ngoái Nam làm việc **chỉ** vào [thứ ba]_F.
last year Nam do work only on Tuesday
'Last year Nam worked only on [Tuesdays]_F.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Adjunct focus in simple sentences: adverbial markers & partition strategy

(36) ADJUNCT+PARTITION STRATEGY+SIMPLEX SENTENCE

- a. Năm ngoái **thậm chí** vào [chủ nhật]_F Nam **cũng** làm việc.
last year even on Sunday Nam PRT_{BGiven/also} do work
'Last year Nam worked even on [Sundays]_F.'
- b. Năm ngoái **cả** vào [chủ nhật]_F Nam **cũng** làm việc.
last year also on Sunday Nam PRT_{BGiven/also} do work
'Last year Nam also worked on [Sundays]_F.'
- c. Năm ngoái **chỉ** vào [thứ ba]_F Nam **mới** làm việc.
last year only on Tuesday Nam PRT_{BGonly} do work
'Last year Nam worked only on Tuesdays.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Adjunct focus in simple sentences: adverbial markers & partition strategy

(36) ADJUNCT+PARTITION STRATEGY+SIMPLEX SENTENCE

- a. Năm ngoái **thậm chí** vào [chủ nhật]_F Nam **cũng** làm việc.
last year even on Sunday Nam PRT_{BGiven/also} do work
'Last year Nam worked even on [Sundays]_F.'
- b. Năm ngoái **cả** vào [chủ nhật]_F Nam **cũng** làm việc.
last year also on Sunday Nam PRT_{BGiven/also} do work
'Last year Nam also worked on [Sundays]_F.'
- c. Năm ngoái **chỉ** vào [thứ ba]_F Nam **mới** làm việc.
last year only on Tuesday Nam PRT_{BGonly} do work
'Last year Nam worked only on Tuesdays.'

Instantiations

EVEN: *đến*

ALSO: *cả*

ONLY: *mỗi*

FOCUS

cũng

cũng

mới

BACKGROUND

Zimmermann / Hoie:

Focus Semantics

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Adjunct focus in simple sentences: adverbial markers & partition strategy

OLD PARTITION SYSTEM The general pattern
[PRT_{FOC} FOCUS] [PRT_{BG} BACKGROUND]

Instantiations

EVEN:	<i>đến</i>		<i>cũng</i>	
ALSO:	<i>cả</i>	FOCUS	<i>cũng</i>	BACKGROUND
ONLY:	<i>mỗi</i>		<i>mới</i>	

NEW PARTITION SYSTEM The general pattern
[PRT_{FOC}/ PRT_{ADV} FOCUS] [PRT_{BG} BACKGROUND]

Instantiations

ALSO	<i>cả / cả</i>		<i>cũng</i>	
EVEN	<i>đến/ thậm chí</i>	FOCUS	<i>cũng</i>	BACKGROUND
ONLY	<i>mỗi/ chỉ</i>		<i>mới</i>	

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Adjunct focus in complex sentences

(39) ADJUNCT+PARTITION STRATEGY+COMPLEX SENTENCE

- a. {**Ngay cả/Thậm chí (cả)**} khi thời tiết [đẹp]_F Nam **cũng** đi ô tô.
even also/even also when weather good Nam PRT_{BGiven/also} drive car
'Even when/if the weather is [good]_F Nam still drives with his car.'
- b. **Cả** khi thời tiết [đẹp]_F Nam **cũng** đi ô tô.
also when weather good Nam PRT_{BGiven/also} drive car
'Nam also drives with his car when/if the weather is [good]_F.'
- c. **Chỉ** khi thời tiết [xấu]_F Nam **mới** đi ô tô.
only when weather bad Nam PRT_{BGonly} drive car
'Only when/if the weather is [bad]_F does Nam drive with his car.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Verb focus with transitive verbs

(40) VERB+AWF-STRATEGY

Hôm qua Nam **thậm chí** [ăn]_F pho mát(, chứ không chỉ đứng nhìn).
yesterday Nam even eat cheese CONTR.CONJ not only stand see
'Yesterday Nam even [ate]_F the cheese(, he didn't just look at it).'

(41) VERB+AWF-STRATEGY

Nam **thậm chí** không thèm [nhìn]_F pho mát.
Nam even not want see cheese
'Nam didn't even want to [look]_F at the cheese.'

(42) VERB+AWF-STRATEGY

Bác nông dân không chỉ ăn cà chua mà [trồng]_F **cả** cà chua.
the farmer not only eat tomato but grow also tomato
'The farmer doesn't just eat tomatoes, he also [grows]_F tomatoes.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

The system I

ADVERBIAL PARTICLES		ARGUMENT FOCUS MARKERS	BACKGROUND MARKERS
EVEN	<i>thậm chí</i>	<i>đến</i>	<i>cũng</i>
ALSO	<i>cả</i>	<i>cả</i>	<i>cũng</i>
ONLY	<i>chỉ</i>	<i>mỗi</i>	<i>mới</i>

Table 2: Vietnamese focus-sensitive expressions with AEO foci (to be revised)

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

The system II

		PARTICLES C-COMMANDING FOCI	PARTICLES C-COMMANDING BACKGROUNDS (at some level of representation)
EVEN	argument	<i>đến</i>	<i>cũng</i>
	non-argument	<i>thậm chí</i>	
ALSO	argument	<i>cả</i>	<i>cũng</i>
	non-argument	<i>cả</i> (plus preposing of the verb)	
ONLY	argument	<i>mỗi</i>	<i>mới</i>
	non-argument	<i>chỉ</i>	

Table 3: Vietnamese focus-sensitive expressions with AEO foci (final)

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

We're almost there ... for Vietnamese

- (56) a. **Chỉ** **mỗi** [thịt bò]_F Nam **mới** ăn **thôi**.
only PRT_{FO}only meat beef Nam PRT_{BG}only eat only
'Only [beef]_F does Nam eat.'
- b. Nam ăn thịt bò và **cũng** ăn **cả** [thịt gà]_F **nữa**.
Nam eat meat beef and PRT_{BG}even/also eat PRT_{FO}also meat chicken also
'Nam eats beef, and he eats also [chicken]_F.'

What's the function of these guys?

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

We're almost there ... for Vietnamese

- (56) a. **Chỉ** **mỗi** [thịt bò]_F Nam **mới** ăn **thôi**.
only PRT_{FO}only meat beef Nam PRT_{BG}only eat only
'Only [beef]_F does Nam eat.'
- b. Nam ăn thịt bò và **cũng** ăn cả [thịt gà]_F **nữa**.
Nam eat meat beef and PRT_{BG}even/also eat PRT_{FO}also meat chicken also
'Nam eats beef, and he eats also [chicken]_F.'

What's the function of these guys? ---

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Moving on to Chinese: AwF ...

Wait, we need some comic relief!

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Moving on to Chinese: AwF ...

(57) MANDARIN CHINESE+AwF-STRATEGY


- a. Lǎo Wáng shènzhì bù hē chá.
old Wang even not drink tea
'Old Wang doesn't even drink tea.'
- b. Lǎo Wáng yě hē chá.
old Wang also drink tea
'Old Wang also drinks tea.'
- c. Lǎo Wáng zhǐ hē chá.
old Wang only drink tea
'Old Wang only drinks tea.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Moving on to Chinese: ... and partition

(59) MANDARIN CHINESE+PARTITION STRATEGY

a. **Lián** [zhèi zhǒng shū]_F Lǎo Wáng *(dōu) mǎi-guo.
PRT_{FOCeven} this kind book old Wang PRT_{BGeven} buy-ASP
'Old Wang has bought even this kind of book before.'

b. **Jiùsuàn** [Dénián]_F lái, wǒ *(yě) bú qù.
 if.PRT_{FOCalso} Denian come I PRT_{BGalso} not go
≈ '[Denian]_{CT} coming won't make me go, [either]_F.'²¹
cf. German *Auch wenn [Denian]_F kommt, gehe ich nicht hin.*

c. **Zhǐyǒu** [zhèi zhǒng shū]_F Lǎo Wáng *(cái) mǎi-guo.
PRT_{FOConly} this kind book old Wang PRT_{BGonly} buy-ASP
'Only this kind of book has Old Wang bought before.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and movement

Generalization I:

Particle-marked EVEN and ONLY SM foci precede their foci ...

(1) SUBJECT FOCUS

- a. [*Lián TĀ*] *dōu bú huì lái*.
even (s)he DOU not will come
'Even (S)HE won't come.'
- b. [*Zhǐyǒu TĀ*] *cái huì lái*.
even (s)he CAI will come
'Only (S)HE will come.'

(2) ADJUNCT FOCUS

- a. *Tā* [*lián XĪNGQĪTLĀN*] *dōu yào gōngzuò*.
(s)he even Sunday DOU want work
'(S)He wants to work even on SUNDAYS.'
- b. *Tā* [*zhǐyǒu XĪNGQĪTLĀN*] *cái bú yào gōngzuò*.
(s)he only Sunday CAI not want work
'(S)He only doesn't want to work on SUNDAYS.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and movement

Generalization I:

Particle-marked EVEN and ONLY SM foci precede their foci
even if they have to move first (no in-situ partition as in Vietnamese!)

EVEN:

(3) OBJECT FOCUS

- a. *Xiǎo-Wáng* [lián Jĭ-RÒU]_i (dōu) bù chī t_i !
Little Wang even chicken-meat DOU not eat
'Little Wang doesn't even eat CHICKEN MEAT!'
- b. **Xiǎo Wáng* {lián} dōu bù chī [{lián} Jĭ-RÒU]!
Little Wang even DOU not eat even chicken-meat
intended: 'Little Wang doesn't even eat CHICKEN MEAT!'
- c. *Xiǎo Wáng* bù chī jī-ròu.
Little Wang not eat chicken-meat
'Little Wang doesn't eat chicken meat.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and movement

Generalization I:

Particle-marked EVEN and ONLY SM foci precede their foci
even if they have to move first (no in-situ partition as in Vietnamese!)

ONLY:

(4) OBJECT FOCUS

a. *Lǎo Wáng* [*zhǐyǒu* *ZHÈ-zhǒng* *shū*]_i *cái mǎi-guo* *t_i*.
Old Wang only this-CL:kind book CAI buy-ASP
'Old Wang has bought only THIS kind of book before.'

b. **Lǎo Wáng* {*zhǐyǒu*} *cái mǎi-guo* {*zhǐyǒu*} *ZHÈ-zhǒng shū*.
Old Wang only CAI buy-ASP only this-CL:kind book
intended: 'Old Wang has bought only THIS kind of book before.'

c. *Lǎo Wáng mǎi-guo zhè-zhǒng shū*.
Old Wang buy-ASP this-CL:kind book
'Old Wang has bought this kind of book before.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and movement

- (i) Particle-marked EVEN and ONLY foci precede Neg/ModP.
- (ii) Movement of the focus may ensure the right syntax.
- (iii) A particle co-varying with the type of focus preceding Neg/ModP must often be used preceding Neg/ModP.

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and movement

Complications (i) + (ii):

- (i) Movement of postverbal material with SM/partition structures is constrained.
- (ii) It is constrained differently for ONLY foci and EVEN foci, respectively.

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and movement

Generalization I:

Particle-marked EVEN and ONLY SM foci precede their foci
even if they have to move first (no in-situ partition as in Vietnamese!)

Generalization II:

Visible movement of objects in ONLY partition structures is constrained
by referential status/definiteness.

- (10) *Lǎo Wáng* [*zhǐyǒu* **(zhèi)* *SĀN-běn* *shū*]_i *cái* *mǎi-guo* *t_i*.
Old Wang only this 3-CL book CAI buy-ASP
'Old Wang has bought only **(these)* THREE books before.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and movement

Generalization I:

Particle-marked EVEN and ONLY SM foci precede their foci
even if they have to move first (no in-situ partition as in Vietnamese!)

Generalization II:

Visible movement of objects in ONLY partition structures is constrained
by referential status/definiteness.

Generalization III:

Movement of objects in EVEN partition structures is not constrained.

(19) a. INDEFINITES

Lǎo Wáng [*lián* *yì-běn shū*]_i *dōu* *méi* *yǒu* *t_i*.
Old Wang even 1-CL book DOU not have
'Old Wang doesn't even have a SINGLE book.'

b. VERBS

Lǎo Wáng [*lián* *DÒNG*] *dōu* *bu* *dòng*.
Old Wang even move DOU not move
'Old Wang doesn't even MOVE.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and movement

Upshot so far:

It's probably misguided to interpret preposing with partition structures in MCN as solely governed by a need to oppose a focus and a background part in the syntax.

At least the preposing is constrained differently:

Definiteness preposing for ONLY foci (reminiscent of scrambling in German and object shift in other languages)

Exhaustivity(?) - driven preposing for EVEN foci (reminiscent of the preverbal focus facts in Hungarian and other languages; Malte on Wednesday)

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and movement

But then again...

Definiteness preposing with ONLY foci is obligatory, whereas normal object preposing/object shift is optional.

	DEFINITE	GENERIC	INDEFINITE/ NON-REFERENTIAL
movement of objects	possible		impossible
movement of objects in ONLY focus interacting with <i>cái</i>	obligatory		

Table 1: Overt movement of canonically post-verbal objects (Hole 2004: 58)

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and movement

Refined upshot:

With respect to obligatory preposing in partition structures

- (i) DEFINITE objects interpreted as ONLY foci
- (ii) objects interpreted as EVEN foci

form a natural class.

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and movement

Implementation I:

Shyu (1996)

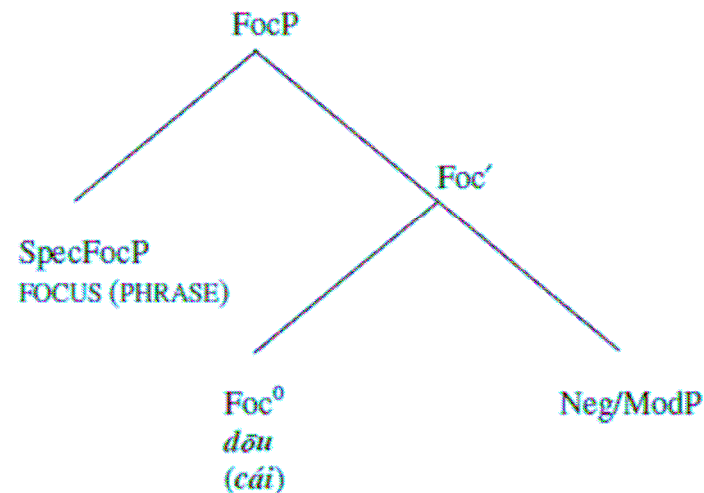


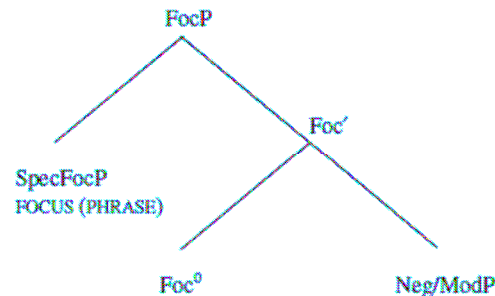
Figure 1: Checking configuration for Mandarin focus phrases headed by *dōu* (or *cái*)

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and movement

Implementation I:

Shyu (1996)



The analysis explains...

- (8) (i) the obligatory use of *dōu* (and *cái*) – they are heads
- (ii) the general topology of the construction and, specifically...
- (iii) the movement facts – movement to/through SpecFoc is required

Weaker points:

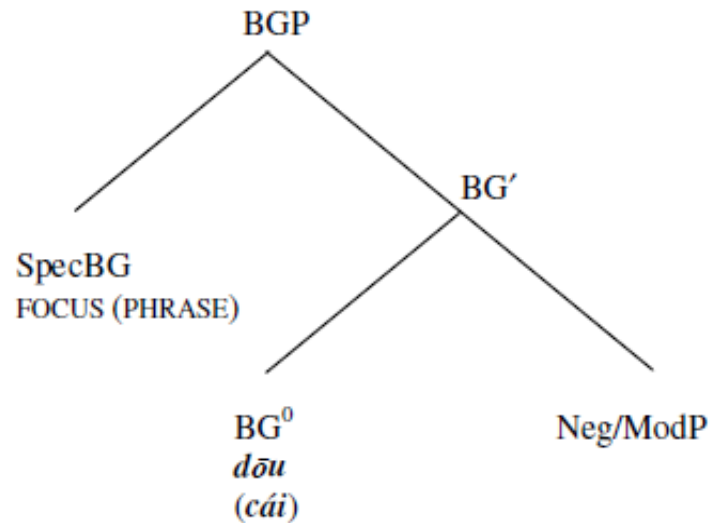
- (9) (i) renewed reluctance to assume FocPs
- (ii) How are the ad-focus particles accommodated?
What is their function?
- (iii) semantic side of the proposal is missing

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and movement

Implementation II:

Hole (2004)

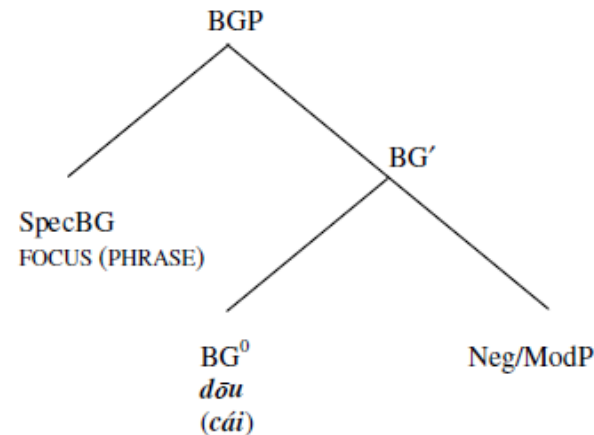


1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and movement

Implementation II:

Hole (2004)



The analysis explains...

- (i) the obligatory use of *dōu* (and *cái*) – they are heads
- (ii) the general topology of the construction and, specifically...
- (iii) the movement facts – movement to/through SpecBG is required
- (iv) the concomitant use of an ad-focus marker as part of Spec

Weaker points:

- (i) renewed reluctance to assume FocPs
- (ii) What's the LF status of the partition? -- A problem with NPIs...

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and Logical Form

Position I: The partition structures are interpreted as such at LF; only LFs with Structured Meanings are well-formed.

Putative constraint on interpretable LFs:

(A) $*[_{\text{BGP}} \dots \text{XP}_{\text{FOC}} \dots]$

Evidence for (A): Chinese Beck Effects (Beck 1996; 2006)

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and Logical Form

Putative constraint on interpretable LFs:

(A) *_[BGP ... XP_{FOC} ...]

Evidence for (A): Chinese Beck Effects (Beck 1996; 2006)

A Beck effect with multiple *wh*-questions in German:

- a. **Wen** hat Karl **wo** getroffen? (no echo inton.)
 who.OBJ has Karl where met
 ‘For which persons x and which places y: Karl met x at place y?’
- b. ***Wen** hat Karl nicht **wo** getroffen? (no echo inton.)
 who.OBJ has Karl not where met
 *‘For which persons x and which places y: Karl met x at place y?’
- c. **Wen** hat Karl nicht **in Köln** getroffen?
 who.OBJ has Karl not in Cologne met
 ‘Who didn’t Karl meet in Cologne?’

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and Logical Form

Putative constraint on interpretable LFs:

(A) $*[_{\text{BGP}} \dots \text{XP}_{\text{FOC}} \dots]$

Evidence for (A): Chinese Beck Effects (Beck 1996; 2006)

- b. ***Wen** hat Karl nicht **wo** getroffen? (no echo inton.)
 who.OBJ has Karl not where met
 *‘For which persons x and which places y: Karl met x at place y?’

(14) $*[\dots X_i \dots [Q \dots [\dots t_i^{\text{LF}} \dots]]]$ (Beck 1996)

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and Logical Form

Putative constraint on interpretable LFs:

(A) $*[_{\text{BGP}} \dots \text{XP}_{\text{FOC}} \dots]$

Evidence for (A): Chinese Beck Effects (Beck 1996; 2006)

(14) $*[\dots X_i \dots [Q \dots [\dots t_i^{\text{LF}} \dots]]]$ (Beck 1996)

We know that definite ONLY-marked objects must move in Chinese.

NEW: Indefinite ONLY-marked objects stay in situ even in the presence of partition morphemes!

(11) *Lǎo Wáng cái mǎi-le sān-běn shū.*
Old Wang CAI buy-ASP 3-CL book
'Old Wang bought only THREE books.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and Logical Form

Putative constraint on interpretable LFs:

(A) $*[_{\text{BGP}} \dots \text{XP}_{\text{FOC}} \dots]$

We know that definite ONLY-marked objects must move in Chinese.

NEW: Indefinite ONLY-marked objects stay in situ even in the presence of partition morphemes!

(11) *Lǎo Wáng cái mǎi-le sān-běn shū.*
Old Wang CAI buy-ASP 3-CL book
'Old Wang bought only THREE books.'

NEW: Intervening negation/modals lead to uninterpretability.

(13) **Lǎo Wáng cái néng/bù mǎi sān-běn shū.*
Old Wang CAI can/not buy 3-CL book
intended: 'Old Wang can only buy/only doesn't buy THREE books.'

If this is taken as a sign of blocked LF movement, (13) is an argument in favor of (A) as an LF constraint.

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and Logical Form

Position II: The partition structures are not interpreted as such at LF; all this is a PF phenomenon.

Putative constraint on pronounceable PFs:

(A') PF: $*[\text{deaccentedBG} \dots \text{XP}_{\text{FOC}} \dots]$

(A) LF: $*[\text{BGP} \dots \text{XP}_{\text{FOC}} \dots]$

A strong argument against (A): NPIs as a special case of
EVEN foci

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and Logical Form

Position II: The partition structures are not interpreted as such at LF; all this is a PF phenomenon.

NPIs

(29) a. lexical EVEN focus

*Lǎo Wáng (lián) jī-ròu *(dōu) méi chī!*
old Wang even chicken-meat DOU not.have eat
'Old Wang didn't even eat CHICKEN MEAT!'

b. lexical NPI

*Lǎo Wáng (lián) yī-dī jiǔ *(dōu) méi hē!*
old Wang even 1-drop wine DOU not eat
'Old Wang didn't even have a DROP of wine!'

c. indefinite pronoun as strong NPI

*Lǎo Wáng SHÉNME *(dōu) méi hē!*
old Wang what DOU not eat
'Old Wang didn't drink ANYTHING AT ALL!'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and Logical Form

NPIs

(29) a. lexical EVEN focus

*Lǎo Wáng (lián) jī-ròu *(dōu) méi chī!*
old Wang even chicken-meat DOU not.have eat
'Old Wang didn't even eat CHICKEN MEAT!'

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*Lǎo Wáng (lián) yī-dī jiǔ *(dōu) méi hē!*
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c. indefinite pronoun as strong NPI

*Lǎo Wáng SHÉNME *(dōu) méi hē!*
old Wang what DOU not eat
'Old Wang didn't drink ANYTHING AT ALL!'

If NPIs must be interpreted in the scope of negation, then the NPIs in (29) must reconstruct before LF, or their preposing is just a PF effect.

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and Logical Form

Conflicting evidence:

Indefinite ONLY foci seem to require partitions in LF syntax. ONLY foci with partition structures are interpreted above negation.



NPIs as a subtype of EVEN foci cannot be interpreted above negation. Being an NPI entails being interpreted in the scope of negation.

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and Logical Form

Conflicting evidence:

ONLY foci seem to require LF partitions.

EVEN foci exclude LF partitions.

Way out I: ONLY and EVEN foci belong to independent systems with merely similar behavior.

Way out II: ONLY and EVEN foci belong to one and the same system, but:

- (i) Movement is constrained differently for ONLY and EVEN foci.
- (ii) Movement has nothing to do with scope/interpretation.
- (iii) The true focus quantification is done by pronounced or unpronounced adverbial focus markers.

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and Logical Form

Way out II: ONLY and EVEN foci belong to one and the same system, but:

- (i) Movement is constrained differently for ONLY and EVEN foci.
- (ii) Movement has nothing to do with scope/interpretation.
- (iii) The true focus quantification is done by pronounced or unpronounced adverbial focus markers.

- (36) a. EVEN >> NEG ↓ *NEG >> EVEN
Zhāngsān shènzhì/Ø_{even} [lián CHÁ]_i [dōu bù hē t_i].
Zhangsan even even tea DOU not drink
'Zhangsan doesn't even drink TEA.'
- b. ONLY >> NEG ↓ *NEG >> ONLY
Zhāngsān Ø_{only} [zhǐyǒu [ZHÈI zhǒng chá]_i [cái bù hē t_i].
Zhangsan only this kind tea CAI not drink
'Zhangsan only doesn't drink this_F kind of tea.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Chinese partition structures and Logical Form

Way out II: ONLY and EVEN foci belong to one and the same system, but:

- (i) Movement is constrained differently for ONLY and EVEN foci.
- (ii) Movement has nothing to do with scope/interpretation.
- (iii) The true focus quantification is done by pronounced or unpronounced adverbial focus markers.

Supporting evidence:

- (i) Krifka (1995): *even* is just a redundant uptake of **Emph.Assert**
- (ii) Lee (2005): Korean ad-focus *-man* ‘only’ agrees with a (frequently implicit) marker in adverbial position.

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Returning to the fieldworker's nightmare

- (1) **Chỉ mỗi NAM_F mới ăn thịt bò thôi.**
only₁ only₂ Nam only₃ eat beef only₄
'Only Nam eats beef.'
- (2) **Thậm chí đến NAM_F cũng ăn thịt bò.**
even₁ even₂ Nam also eat meat beef
'Even Nam ate beef.'

1. Vietnamese - 2. Chinese - 3. What to do?

Returning to the fieldworker's nightmare

(1) **Chỉ** **mỗi** **NAM_F** **mới** **ăn** **thịt bò** **thôi.**
only_{Q(+EVAL?)} only_{PF-FOC} Nam only_{PF-BG} eat beef only?
'Only Nam eats beef.'

But this is just the beginning...

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Thank you!