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AGREEMENT AND FOCUS IN GALICIAN INFLECTED INFINITIVES*

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Abstract: In Galician Inflected Infinitive (henceforth II) clauses we can get the subject in three different positions: postverbal, preverbal or at the very end of the clause. The most common unmarked word order obtains when the subject is either in postverbal position or dropped (Galician is a pro-drop language). I argue that the other two positions are reserved for the subject in focus. This paper accounts for all different subject positions in the II construction: postverbal (straight in-situ checking), preverbal (by means of a Focus Phrase) and sentence final (by means of p-syntactic movement). The various positions of the subject in Galician II clauses provide further support for a bifurcation of the syntax into narrow syntax and p-syntax.

1. Introduction

Among the morpho-syntactic phenomena that characterize the Galician and Portuguese languages, the II really stands out. In these languages IIs coexist with the 'invariable' infinitive, which is common to all the other Latin languages. An II is usually defined as [-T,+Agr] and contrasts with non-inflected infinitives, which are [-T,-Agr]. This paper addresses the two main problems that Galician IIs posit: (a) Nominative case assignment to the subject and (b) the three different positions that can occur in II clauses¹.

The fact that Galician (and also Portuguese) II clauses have Nominative subjects creates a problem since Nominative case assignment and checking have usually been interpreted as connected with finiteness. In Galician II clauses we can get the subject in three different positions: postverbal, preverbal or at the very end of the clause. Accounting for the different subject positions in the sentence is not a simple matter. Previous studies (e.g. Longa 1994) fail to account for all three subject positions.

2. Data

Person	Personal Inflection	1 st conj.	2 nd conj.	3 rd conj.
Eu (I)	-Ø	fal-a-r-Ø	com-e-r-Ø	sent-i-r-Ø
Ti (You)	-es	fal-a-r-es	com-e-r-es	sent-i-r-es
El/ela(He/she)	-Ø	fal-a-r-Ø	com-e-r-Ø	sent-i-r-Ø
Nós (We)	-mos	fal-a-r-mos	com-e-r-mos	sent-i-r-mos
Vós (You)	-des	fal-a-r-des	com-e-r-des	sent-i-r-des
Eles (They)	-en	fal-a-r-en	com-e-r-en	sent-i-r-en

Table 1: Galician II forms (falar = to speak, comer = to eat, sentir = to feel)

The II is formed by simple suffixation of subject endings to the infinitive, the latter an invariable form consisting of the verb root, thematic vowel and a suffixal infinitival marker (-r), as witnessed by Table 1. The morphological structure of Galician verbs is: root + conjugation-vowel + mood and tense suffix + number and person suffix. For example:

- (1) **comeremos** (*we will eat*) = com (root) + -e- (2nd conjugation) + -re (future and indicative suffix) + mos (1st person plural suffix).

However, in the inflected infinitives we do not have a tense suffix:

- (2) **comermos** (*to eat (we)*) = com (root) + -e- (2nd conjugation) + -r (infinitive) + mos (1st person plural suffix).
- (3) **comamos** (*we eat (subjunctive)*) = com (root) + -a- (present subjunctive) + mos (1st person plural suffix).

It is important to remember that nominative subjects in infinitive clauses are not unproblematic within syntactic theory because nominative case assignment and checking have usually been interpreted as connected with finiteness. Ledgeway (1998:3), when he talks about the Calabrian inflected infinitive, says that:

“In essence, the personal infinitive is morphologically identical to the canonical Romance infinitive, inasmuch as it fails to inflect for any of the so-called finite categories, but it differs in that it licenses a (covert or overt) subject with independent reference (that is, not controlled by an argument of the matrix predicate), the latter occurring only in postverbal position.”

This is the main problem with IIs in Galician. In this type of construction, Galician also has a subject which is assigned Nominative Case. Nonetheless, there is no tense capable of assigning such a case in the sentence. Therefore, the main problem is to find out why the Nominative case of the subject is licensed and what it is in the sentence that is licensing it. Moreover, we will see that the subject in II clauses can be placed in different positions in the sentences. In Galician tensed clauses the most common word-order is SVO, though others are also possible. Remarkably, nominative subjects in infinitive constructions are grammatical in Galician (and also in Portuguese). The subject can be in three different positions: postverbal, preverbal or at the very end of the clause. We see in (4) that the II clause is embedded in a sentence. In (4) I show the unmarked word order for II constructions (with postverbal subjects). In (5)-(7), for the sake of simplicity, I will just show the II clause and not the whole sentence.

(4) Para ir-es ti ó partido, tiveron que ser as entradas
 For go-2nd p.sg you to-the game, had (3rd p. pl) that be the tickets
For you to go to the game, the tickets had to be
 ben baratas. (unmarked word order)
 very cheap
very cheap.

(5) Para ti ir-es ó partido. (pre-verbal focus)
 For go-2nd p.sg you to-the game.
For you to go to the game.

(6) Para ir-es ó partido ti. (clause-final focus)
 For go-2nd p. sg. to-the game you.
For you to go to the game.

We can also drop the subject, as in (7).

(7) Para ir-es ó partido. (dropped subject)
 For go-2nd p.sg. to-the game
For you to go to the game.

3. The Framework

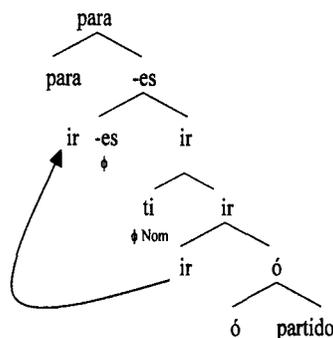
I adopt some of the most recent ideas of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 2000). In particular, I make use of three operations: “Merge”, “Move” and “Agree”. The operation Merge takes two syntactic objects (α , β) and with them it creates a syntactic structure: $K(\alpha, \beta)$, where K is a projection of either α or β . This operation is responsible for developing hierarchical, constituent and clause

structures. The operation Agree (Chomsky 2000:101): “establishes a relation (agreement, Case Checking) between an LI (lexical item) α and a feature F in some restricted space (its domain).” With this operation the system gets rid of both feature checking and the division between weak and strong features and so I will not take them into account in my analysis. Move, in turn, combines both Merge and Agree: “The operation Move establishes agreement between α and F and merges P(F) to α P, where P(F) is a phrase determined by F (perhaps but not necessarily its maximal projection) and α P is a projection headed by α .” (Chomsky 2000:101). Specifically, movement associates two syntactic items; one of these objects will dominate the other to form a new syntactic object. I will also make use of the operation Move to take the subject to the Focus position where it gets the main stress in the clause.

4. Postverbal/Dropped Subject: Straight In-Situ Checking

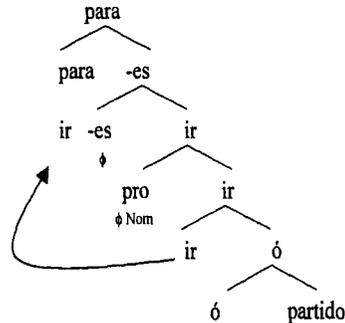
My assumption is that when the subject is either in postverbal position or dropped (Galician is a pro-drop language), we get the most common word order (i.e., unmarked word order). Neeleman and Reinhart (1998) argue that every language has a neutral unmarked stress pattern, assigned by the nuclear stress rule (NSR). V(S)O (as in (4) and (7)) would be the unmarked stress pattern of Galician II clauses. Ladd (1978:78) mentioned that “normal stress is simply the accent placement that permits the broadest possible focus interpretation -focus on the whole sentence.” According to Feng (2002:19) the term ‘normal stress’ implies that every sentence has a normal pronunciation and any special prosodic properties can be described as deviations from this form. The analysis is the following:

- (4) Para ir-es ti ó partido.
 For go-2nd p.sg you to-the game.
For you to go to the game.



Note that there are no labels in the tree diagram since elements combine properly under set merge using information independently required in the lexical array. This has been proposed by Collins (2002), who argues that category labels are not needed in syntactic theory. This case is pretty straightforward; case, person and number agree with the subject remaining in-situ and the verb moves up, triggered by the agreement in the inflectional ending. In Parafita (2002) I argued that Agr carries the ϕ features (not Tense) and that there is no T projection in Galician II clauses. In this type of construction, unmarked word order obtains when the subject is in postverbal position (VSO), unlike in tensed clauses where we get SVO order. VSO order is possible because there is no T, and therefore there is no EPP that can trigger the subject movement to a preverbal position. Thus, case undergoes Agree in situ. In this way we get the right word order for the II clause with a postverbal subject. In sentence (7), in which we drop the subject, we get the same analysis, only that the subject position “ti” would be filled by pro:

- (7) Para ir-es ó partido.
 For go-2nd p.sg. to-the game
For you to go to the game.



Notice that in my analysis (contrary to Chomsky 1995) I posit that the node Agr exists since it can be interpretable at LF in the sentence, i.e., it has semantic content. It is Agr that carries the ϕ features and not Tense, as we have already seen. Earlier approaches to Portuguese and Galician II constructions hypothesized that there is a T node. However, since IIs are [-T] I posit that II clauses in Galician have an Agr node but no T. In Minimalist approaches to syntax, the status of Agreement as a functional head projected in syntax has become somewhat uncertain. Chomsky (1995 and later works) argues that Agreement has no specific semantic content and consequently should not project as a functional head. However, there is much morphological and syntactic indication in favor of

agreement projections (Bródy 2000, Cinque 1999, Ritter and Rosen 2001). My deduction is that since in Galician II clauses Agr carries the \varnothing features (not Tense), Nominative case in the subject is obtained under Agree in situ.

5. Preverbal Subjects: Leftward Focus Movement

Previous studies (e.g. Longa 1994) fail to account for all the subject positions that we can get in this type of construction: postverbal, preverbal and clause-final. When the subject is in preverbal position it is focused and receives focal stress. I posit that we have a Focus Phrase that motivates the movement of the subject to a preverbal position. Focus can be defined as a conventionally encoded way of picking out a distinguished constituent (or constituents) in a sentence; this constituent plays a special role with respect to the immediate discourse context of the utterance (Roberts 1998:109). The literature presents a wide range of views on the issue of the grammatical representation of focus from a primarily syntactic perspective. Szendrői (2002:23) observes that ‘...the spectrum ranges from the functionalist sentence perspective (i.e. the Prague School) through the discourse theoretically motivated works (like Prince 1971, 1981; Reinhart 1981, 1995; Erteschik-Shir 1997) to the strict ‘encoding’ view of the GB-Minimalist literature.’ There are three kinds of information in the discourse: Topic (old information), Focus (new information) and perhaps “Neither/ Unmarked”. Any category (Topic, Focus) may be referred to by a language in order to encode information structure. But there are differences between (and even within) languages that indicate that we need a richer typology than that. Different studies provide us with distinctions like the following: identificational vs. informational focus, wide vs. narrow focus, \pm contrastive focus, \pm exhaustive focus, shifted vs. continuing topic, \pm contrastive topic, focus vs. presupposition, topic vs. ground, topic vs. tail vs. link, focus (rheme) vs. ground (theme). However, these notions have not been defined in a clear-cut manner and some questions arise: Do we need all these distinctions? What component of the grammar do the distinctions belong to? Syntax? Semantics? Pragmatics? To what extent do they overlap? As Roberts (1998:110) states: ‘...currently there is no consensus about either the role of Focus in universal grammar or its functional character.’ Uriagereka (1995:155) says that he has not found any conclusive evidence that there are separate functional categories to express matters of topic, focus, emphasis, contrast, etc. All of these have an aspect in common: they encode point of view of a speaker or some other subject, in a manner to be clarified immediately. Uriagereka therefore assumes that one category alone serves as an all-purpose device to encode a point of view. Uriagereka calls the category in question ‘F’. ‘All I mean is this: F encodes point of view’ (Uriagereka 1995:155). However, I think that Galician focus besides encoding point of view, also contains the main stress of the sentence. Accordingly, the stress-focus correspondence principle (Reinhart 1995) in (8) applies in Galician sentences like (5):

(8) *Stress-focus correspondence principle*: The focus of a clause is any syntactic constituent that contains the main stress of the intonational phrase corresponding to the clause.

(Reinhart 1995:62)

This means that focus is always marked by prosodic means, by main stress. In English, it is possible to put prominence on a particular word by putting heavy stress or pitch accent on it. Let's look at the following example from Szendrői (2002:11):

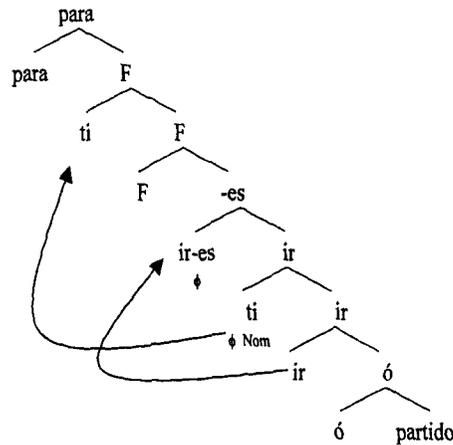
- (9) a. Who ate the pizza?
b. JOHN ate the pizza.

The question-answer pair indicates that the focus of the answer is on the subject DP. This is also true for Galician II clauses. In Galician, focus is marked by prosodic means, by main stress, and also by a special word order. Szendrői (2002:12) argues that there is no differentiation between these parameters and that focus is marked prosodically. This is true of Galician too since it does not mark focus by only special word order. If Galician focus movement is indeed triggered by the necessity to satisfy the *Stress-focus correspondence principle*, then we may acutely suspect that there exists a syntactic [+Focus]-feature in the grammar. As Szendrői (2002:13) noticed, although Reinhart's hypothesis states that grammars of all languages encode focus by prosodic means, this does not mean that there is no language variation to how the *Stress-focus correspondence principle* is satisfied. A special word order may be used to bring an element into the main stress position, and thus into focus. This is an available option in Galician.

I argue that the focus that we can observe in Galician II clauses is contrastive focus (as in Meinunger 1998) which is used to single out and identify a specific set of entities, namely those and only those of which the presupposition holds (especially Rooth 1985). Choi (1996) defines contrastive focus as [+Prominent, +New], as opposed to mere Focus which would be defined as [-Prom, + New]. According to him, Topic would be [+Prom, -New]. In order to distinguish these notions of focus, several tests have been developed. The most successful ones are the exhaustivity tests by Szabolcsi (1981). She provides contexts and constructions that give different truth conditions for either focus. Campos and Zampini (1990:48) argue that in contrastive focus constructions the focused element is being emphasized as opposed to another element in the sentence. They say that normally the focus bears emphatic intonation, there is a pause between the focused element and the rest of the sentence, and subject/verb inversion is preferred, although not obligatory. Let us analyze the sentence in (5) according to what has been said. The account is based on the assumption that there is a

syntactic [+Focus]-feature present in the grammar, so in this sense we can say that it is a feature-driven account.

- (5) Para ti ir-es ó partido.
 For you go-2nd p.sg to-the game.
For you to go to the game



Bródy (1990,1995) argues that Hungarian has a focus projection on the left periphery of the sentence. Rizzi (1997) also argues that there is a Focus Phrase in the left periphery. Contrastively focused constituents, arguments and adjuncts alike, move to [Spec, FP] in order to check their +Focus feature. There they receive focal stress and contrastive interpretation. In a tensed sentence, this is accompanied by V movement to F, and the focused constituent and the V are adjacentⁱⁱ. As far as preverbal focus is concerned, Frascarelli's analysis of Italian focus (1999:212) can support the analysis of Galician focus presented in this paper:

'...my proposal is to include the syntax of Focus within the feature-checking mechanism. Focus information is encoded in a feature, [+F], base-generated in F^0 . This feature is strong because, in the case of marked constituents, a specific formal requirement must be met: the assignment of the main prominence. Focus is encoded in a strong feature and it is checked by the verb, which head-to-head moves to F^0 . According to minimalism, lexical elements are inserted 'fully inflected', so we may

assume that the [+F] feature is also part of the lexical 'informational packaging.' As [+F] is a strong feature, the XP containing the designated constituent must define a checking configuration with the verb (in F^0) in order to obtain visibility at <PF, LF>.'

Thus, it seems that in Galician II clauses there is a syntactic feature F which affects semantic interpretation and most importantly, can drive movement.

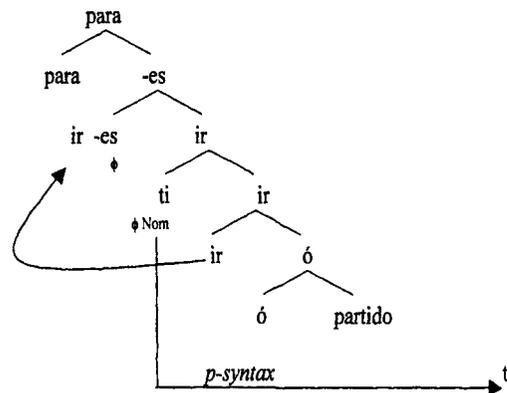
6. Sentence-Final Subjects: P-syntactic Focus Movement

When the subject is at the very end of the sentence, I argue that the focus on the subject is even more prominent than when the subject is preverbal. What moves? Is it the subject that moves to the end of the sentence (rightward) or is it the complement (ó partido) that moves upwards as a constituent? According to Arregi (2001:18) '...given the standard assumption that there is no lowering, a given phrase XP cannot be focused by movement. Rather, other phrases more embedded than XP must move to a position higher than XP.' But what would be the motivation for this movement? There is nothing obvious that can cause the upward movement of the constituent or the movement of the subject to the right edge of the sentence. Moreover, if Kayne (1994) is correct, neither rightward movement nor rightward adjunction are a part of the grammar. Kayne (1994:71) concludes that 'no movement rule can adjoin anything to the right of anything' since rightward adjunction is generally prohibited in the theory. Ackema and Neeleman (1999) support this assumption from the perspective of language processing. They argue that the human parser cannot process certain instances of rightward movement because the introduction of an antecedent-trace relation leads to a conflict with information about the parse which is already stored in short-term memory before this relation can be established. Similar situations do not occur in cases of leftward movement. Therefore they conclude that a processing approach to limitations on rightward movement is more fruitful. There is also overwhelming evidence that an element cannot be moved to a position that is lower in the tree than the position it originates in (e.g. Van Riemsdijk & Williams 1986:202). The so-called antisymmetric theory (Kayne 1994) mentioned above implies that rightward movement cannot exist since it would imply downward movement in the tree. This means, in essence, that what looks like an element that has been moved rightward is either base-generated in its surface position, or it is actually moved leftward but all its surrounding materials have been moved leftward even further. We have explained already that this type of movement would be unmotivated and therefore not possible. The problem now is how to account for the position of the focused subject in sentences like (3).

Erteschik-Shir (2001:2) propounds a kind of Phonological movement: "Motivation for **P-syntactical** movement arises when the subject-predicate

structure is misaligned with topic-focus structure. Lack of alignment is thus viewed as an imperfection, remedied by movement.” And Erteschik-Shir and Strahov (2000:2) argue that **F-structure** features are checked at P-syntax by morphology, intonation and/or scrambling; which are all subject to characteristic nonconfigurational P-syntactic constraints such as Adjacency, Edge and Direction (Left/ Right). P-syntactic rules apply to F-structure, the output of narrow syntax to which TOP/FOC features have been assigned. I propose that since in (6) there is such a strong focus on the subject there must be some kind of P(honological)-movement that triggers the movement of the subject to the right of the sentence. As Zubizarreta (1998:124,134) says when she talks about Spanish: “ I refer to the strategy employed by Spanish as p-movement (for prosodically motivated movement)...p-movement may also apply in the context of an emphatic constituent.” Let us see this in sentence (6).

- (6) Para ir-es ó partido ti.
 For go-2nd p. sg. to-the game you.
For you to go to the game.



Erteschick-Shir and Strahov (2000:11) state that “... the ability of overt case marking in a language seems then to be the parameter responsible for reordering processes such as topicalization, scrambling and object shift. Since overt case morphology becomes “visible” in the phonology, this parameter is best viewed as a parameter of P-syntax.” However, they also remark that case marking is the trigger for movement since only topic marked DPs move, and so case and foci would have to be licensed in some other way. Furthermore, narrow syntax merges structures and movement in narrow syntax is triggered by the need for feature checking. So, it seems that Galician sentence-final focused subjects move to the right p-syntactically in order to pick up main stress.

Hitherto we have seen how the analysis presented here accounts for all different subject positions in the II construction: postverbal (straight in-situ checking), preverbal (by means of a Focus Phrase) and sentence final (by means of P-syntactic movement). We have also seen how the various positions of the subject in Galician IIs provide further support for a bifurcation of the syntax into narrow syntax and p-syntax. It has just been proposed in this paper that a division of the syntax into narrow syntax and p-syntax is necessary in order to account for the various positions of the subject in Galician II clauses. In narrow syntax movement is triggered by the need for syntactic feature checking; merger of structures is typical of this type of syntax. In the following section I will define the notion of P(rosodic)-syntax.

7. Properties of P-syntax. (Erteschik-Shir and Strahov 2000)

1. What triggers movement in P-syntax? Movement is triggered by f-structure requirements. According to Erteschick and Strahov (2000), all movement prompted by TOP/FOC status is P-syntactic. However, I am assuming that some TOP/FOC movement can be narrow-syntactic (e.g. leftward focus movement in Galician II constructions).
2. What are the landing sites of movement in P-syntax? P-syntactic rules target (merge-Max) edges and peripheral (language dependent) TOP and FOC positions. Nothing prevents movement to the right in P-syntax. If Agreement of various kinds also turns out to be P-syntactic, then a position adjacent to the element bearing the relevant feature will also be a P-syntactic landing site.
3. What 'structure' is available in P-syntax? We suggest a structure stripped of syntactic constituent structure leaving only topic/focus edges and the edges of merge-Max. Since focus and overt topic assignment applies to syntactic constituents, some syntactic structure carries over to P-syntax. Further research shall be done to show whether additional syntactic edges must be marked. This might be a language specific parameter. If we assume, for example, that Hungarian, say, marks VP edges, we might be able to derive the designated preverbal focus position. A language that does not mark VP edges, will only allow movement of topic and focus to sentence initial and sentence final position respectively.

Erteschik-Shir and Strahov (2000) propose that scrambling languages such as Russian employ p-syntactic scrambling to position foci VP-finally. Non-scrambling languages, or Topic-in-situ languages such as Scandinavian, may employ a different strategy: they prosodically incorporate distressed elements. The scrambling effect in Scandinavian is due to the fact that the incorporated constituent moves along with its host. "...we propose that F-structure features are checked at P-syntax by morphology, intonation and/or scrambling which are all

subject to characteristic nonconfigurational P-syntactic constraints such as Adjacency, Edge and Direction (Left/Right).” They mention the PF stress rule:

(10) *The PF stress rule*: Assign stress to the focus constituents.

P-syntactic rules apply to f-structure, the output of narrow syntax to which TOP/FOC features have been assigned. Narrow syntax merges structures, and movement in narrow syntax is triggered by the need for feature checking. In view of the fact that P-syntax has no recourse to syntactic hierarchical structure (only the edges of f-structure and merge -MAX are required for sure), we suspect that movement to edge locations might best be accounted for in P-syntax. Consequently, when analyzing Galician II clauses we will have to make reference to two different types of syntax: **narrow syntax** (movement is triggered by the need for syntactic feature checking, merger of structures is typical of this type of syntax) and **P (prosodic)-syntax**. This latter level has also been proposed by Embick and Noyer (2001: 555) who state that ‘not all structures and strings are the result of operations that occur exclusively in the syntactic component of the grammar’. They say that syntax generates and moves terminals according to its own principles and is oblivious to morphophonological concerns. PF takes the output of syntax and resolves morphophonological dependencies according to its own principles. Since P-syntax is part of the phonology, it is sensitive to TOP/FOC features and has no recourse to syntactic hierarchical structure. The availability of P-syntax directs us to doubt whether some features are checked in P-syntax and to the problem of how to decide which features are checked where. In view of the fact that P-syntax has no recourse to syntactic hierarchical structure (only the edges of f-structure and merge-MAX are required for sure), we suspect that movement to edge locations might best be accounted for in P-syntax. (Erteschik-Shir and Strahov 2000:12). Other authors support the idea of p(rosodic) syntax. Guimarães (1999:1) says that... ‘phonological processes are blind to syntactic structure. There is a mapping procedure that ‘interprets’ syntactic structure and generates the prosodic structure.’ Abney (in Fach 1999) argues for a modification of the standard approaches to phrase structure in order to achieve a much closer correspondence with the units of prosodic structure. The units resulting from these modifications are called ‘chunks’. Chunks are defined as tree fragments in which so-called ‘problematic’ segments are left unattached.

8. Clause-Final Focus: Rightward Movement in the Narrow syntax or P-Syntactic Movement?

Now that P(rosodic) syntax has been defined, I will provide evidence that the movement of the focused subject to the right does not happen in the narrow syntax, as opposed to the movement of the focused subject to the left. If this movement were narrow-syntactic we should be able to classify it as either A-movement or A’- movement. Let’s see then whether the type of movement we are

observing here is A-movement (movement to an A position) or A' movement (movement to an A' position).

A-positions are positions in which arguments occur, they are positions which are assigned grammatical functions (i.e. subject positions and object positions). Usually we assume that subjects originate in a θ -marked specifier position within VP and typically move into a specifier of an inflectional functional position for feature checking (Agree). Move raises items, merges them into new (higher) structure to check features. Here we are talking about rightward movement, so this is not a case of raising (it is actually a case of lowering). Clause-final focus movement is movement of a DP subject (as is the canonical case of A-movement). On the basis of this definition the type of movement that we observe in sentences like (6) would be A-movement. However, the purpose of the movement is not to check case or agreement. A-movement is also said to be obligatory and this type of movement is optional in the sense that the DP can either be moved for focus or not. A-movement does not show reconstruction effects and is not subject to WCO (weak cross-over) either. Conversely, A'-movement is not movement triggered by case-checking and it should show reconstruction and Cross-Over effects. The problem is that the movement that is being questioned here does not seem to fit either the A-movement or the A'-movement type. As it has been said, it behaves like A'-movement because it shows reconstruction effects and it is not movement triggered by the necessity to check case. However, it does not show the typical Weak cross-over effects of A'-movement since any movement from subject position to a higher A' adjoined position would not create a WCO construction. Let us look at the following inflected infinitive clauses with all different subject positions:

(11) Para ler cada neno_i o seu_i libro (unmarked word order)
 For read each boy the his book
For each boy to read his book

(12) Para cada neno_i ler o seu_i libro (leftward movement)
 For each boy read the his book
For each boy to read his book

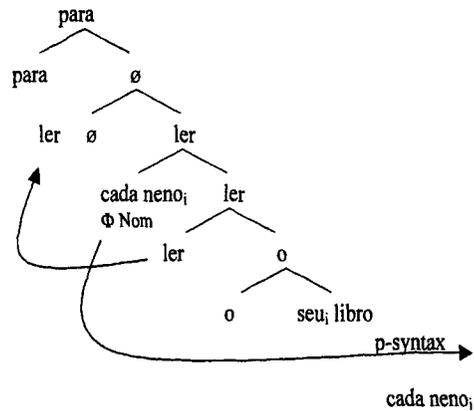
(13) Para ler o seu_i libro cada neno_i (rightward p-syntactic movement)
 For read the his book each boy.
For each boy to read his book.

(14) Para ler Xan_i o seu_i libro. (unmarked word order)
 For read Xan the his book
For Xan to read his book

(15) Para Xan_i ler o seu_i libro. (leftward movement)
 For Xan read the his book.
For Xan to read his book

(16) Para ler o seu_i libro Xan_i (rightward p-syntactic movement)
 For read the his book Xan
For Xan to read his book.

We can see that in all these examples the bound constituent is c-commanded by its antecedent, as observed in the tree-diagram for (13) below:



The following chart summarizes the diagnosis that shows that focus movement of the subject to the right in Galician inflected infinitive clauses is not consistent with either A-movement nor A'-movement:

	Movement is not for case	Shows WCO	Shows reconstruction effects
Behaves like A'-movement?	Yes	(?)	Yes
	Movement is for case	Doesn't show WCO	No reconstruction effects
Behaves like A-movement?	No	(?)	No

Table 2: Diagnosis of A and A' movement

It seems that movement to the right is not A-movement. Is it A'-movement then? The problem in answering this question is that WCO arises when we A' move a constituent over a pronoun co-indexed with the constituent and here we are dealing with movement of the subject, so it is difficult to create the WCO situation. However, it is like A'-movement in view of the fact that the movement is not for case and it shows reconstruction effects (i.e., the moved subject is 'placed back' into the original site for purposes of binding). This last section has shown that providing evidence for what type of movement we are dealing with here is quite a difficult task (and may imply that the distinction between A-movement and A'-movement should be re-defined). The fact that we can not clearly classify this movement as either type of narrow syntactic movement (A-movement or A'-movement) can be used to support our evidence that the rightward movement mentioned here is in fact not even syntactic movement. I submit that the inconsistent behavior of the rightward movement points to its p-syntactic properties.

9. Other Analyses of Sentence-Final Focus

A well-known property of many Romance languages is the fact that, although these languages are characterized as underlyingly SVO, postverbal clause-final subjects may appear in so-called subject-inversion constructions. For the languages permitting this ordering, the phrase-final subject receives main sentential stress. Both Zubizarreta (1998) and Ordóñez (1997,1998) show that VOS order requires main sentence stress on the clause-final subject. This contrasts with VSO order where the role of the subject is more flexible and it may be stressed or neutral. The following are examples from Spanish, Catalan, Italian and French (Ordóñez 1997). According to Ordóñez (1997), VOS is most acceptable in Spanish and Catalan, somewhat restricted in Italian, and unavailable in French. Zubizarreta reaches the same conclusions for Spanish and Italian vs. French, but she doesn't discuss Catalan. The following sentences from different Romance languages show that sentence-final focus is not restricted to Galician II clauses.

- Spanish

(17) ¿A quién le prestó el diccionario Juan?
 To whom cl-lent the dictionary Juan
Who did Juan lend the dictionary to?

(18) Espero que te devuelva el libro Juan.
 (I) hope that cl-you return the book Juan.
I hope that Juan returns the book to you.

- Catalan

- (19) Demà comprarà un llibre la Magda.
 Tomorrow will buy a book the Magda.
Tomorrow Magda will buy a book.

- Italian

- (20) Ha recensito il libro un professore.
 Has summarized the book a professor.
A professor has summarized the book.

- French

- (21) *A qui donnera le livre ton ami?
 To who(m) will give the book your friend
To who(m) will your friend give the book?

9.1 Earlier Solution: Right Adjunction

Earlier approaches to these word order facts recognized the contrastive interpretation of the subject in VOS order and posited right adjunction as the mechanism that derived the phrase-final subject in these subject inversion constructions (Rizzi 1982, Torrego 1984). In other words, assuming the VP-internal subject hypothesis, verb raising derives VSO from underlying SVO, and then right adjunction of the subject constituent derives VOS. This sort of analysis was adopted by Suñer (1994).

9.2 A Later Solution: Scrambling

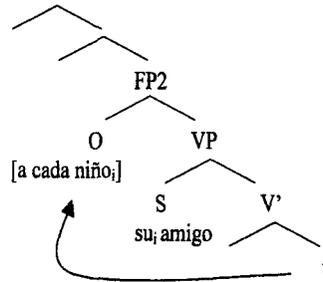
Ordóñez (1998) gave some evidence from binding that demonstrates that the object c-commands the subject in VOS order, raising problems for the right adjunction approach since the object would not c-command the subject in this configuration. E.g. (Spanish)

- (22) ¿Qué le regaló [a cada niño_i] su_i amigo?
 What cl-bought [for each boy]_i [his friend]_i-(S)
What did his friend buy for each boy?

Ordóñez (1998) proposes instead that the VOS word order be thought of in terms of scrambling. In other words, Spanish and other Romance languages derive VSO from SVO by raising the verb out of the VP projection within which

the arguments are generated. The VOS order is then derived from VSO by scrambling the object constituent leftward to the specifier of functional projection:

(23)



The focused constituent (here the subject) remains in situ (VP internally) and the 'deemphasized' constituent (the object) is scrambled leftward to a specifier position above VP. What's the motivation for doing this? Ordóñez is not clear about what drives scrambling, particularly to focus the unmoved constituent.

9.3 The Latest Solution: Prosodically-Motivated Movement

Zubizarreta proposed that the movement involved in these cases is prosodically motivated movement, which affects 'defocalized' constituents only. In other words, scrambling the object leftward leaves the subject in a position to receive 'nuclear stress', which generally applies to clause-final constituents in Romance languages. She suggests that the NSR applies at the point of spell-out, meaning that the prosodically motivated scrambling must take place before spell-out, in the overt-syntax. So, the subject occupies a position that in Romance languages will be assigned focal stress at PF. As a result, the object is moved to the left because it is in the focus position and the object does not need to be focused; this leaves the subject in the focus position. Even though this is p-movement, it is not the kind of p-movement that I posit in my analysis. Moreover, we will see in section 8 that p-syntactic movement is always to an edge location. Given that the movement proposed by Zubizarreta is not to an edge location, it is questionable whether it could be considered as p-syntactic movement.

9.4 Other Proposals and Observations

Kiss (1981) and Szabolcsi (1981) argue that Hungarian is a free word order language, with special slots for topic and focus before the main sentence: [[T][F][S⁰]]. Kiss assumes that T and F are generated empty. Material from S⁰ can be moved there, leaving a trace behind. We might assume then that Galician has different focus positions or slots (preverbal, sentence final) to which

material from the sentence moves. This, however, does not solve the problem of how this movement is made. Zubizarreta (1998) argues that:

1. In Romance, NS (nuclear stress) falls on the rightmost accented word within the I-phrase.
2. The focused constituent must contain the intonational nucleus of the intonational phrase, where the intonational nucleus is identified as the syllable that bears the main prominence.

Zubizarreta argues that Spanish and Italian resolve cases in which 1 and 2 clash by movement (which she terms p-movement, meaning that it is a type of movement that is prosodically motivated). More precisely when the last constituent in the I-phrase is defocalized, the defocalized constituent is fronted in order for NS to be able to fall on the right-most constituent within the I-phrase, while complying with the requirement in 2. So, maybe marked focus on discourse linking is the result of a mismatch between the prosodic representation, the syntactic representation and the syntax-prosody mapping principles. The mismatch is resolved in a different way in different languages; in fact, it may be resolved in different ways in different constructions of the same language. Zubizarreta and Vergnaud (2000) remark that "...Suñer 2000 has shown that p-movement in Romance affects binding relationsⁱⁱⁱ. If binding relations are determined in the LF component of the grammar and if there is no direct grammatical connection between PF and LF, then p-movement must apply in the syntax. If p-movement applies in the syntax, then the NSR must also apply in the syntax. Our tentative conclusion is that certain prosodic information is available in the syntax, information such as phrasal stress, deaccenting and prosodic phrasing."

The expressions (structures) generated by the computational system at the heart of the human faculty of language must be legible to systems that access these objects at LF and PF, the interfaces between syntax and semantics/phonology. However, it is not always clear whether a phenomenon is best described as an effect of syntax or rather as an LF phenomenon or a PF phenomenon.

10. Conclusion and Remaining Issues

I provided a solution to the two main problems that Galician II clauses present: Nominative case assignment to the subject and the three different subject positions that can occur in inflected infinitive clauses. I showed that the most common unmarked word order obtains when the subject is either in postverbal position or dropped (Galician is a pro-drop language). I argued that the other two positions are reserved for the subject in focus. Earlier studies of subject focus (Zubizarreta 1998, Ordóñez 1997 and 1998) present a particular problem with final focused subjects in that they posit unmotivated movement. My analysis

accounted for all different subject positions in the inflected infinitive construction: postverbal (straight in-situ checking), preverbal (by means of a Focus Phrase) and sentence final (by means of P-syntactic movement). The various positions of the subject in Galician II clauses provided further support for a bifurcation of the syntax into narrow syntax and p-syntax.

Over the last several years, a significant amount of linguistic research has been directed towards understanding the interface conditions between the computational (narrow syntax) system and other systems involved in language knowledge and use. Some of the linguistic phenomena that were previously viewed as purely syntactic appear now to have a better explanation in terms of conditions and interfaces. Most generative linguists today will agree that the expressions (structures) generated by the computational system at the heart of the human faculty of language must be legible to systems that access these objects at LF and PF, the interfaces between syntax and semantics/phonology. However, it is not always clear whether a phenomenon is best described as an effect of syntax or rather as an LF phenomenon or a PF phenomenon.

Is sentence-final focus in Galician p-syntactic? Why not consider preverbal focus as p-syntactic focus too? Why not consider pre-verbal focus as narrow syntactic focus? The answers to these questions are:

- Preverbal focus takes place in the narrow syntax : movement motivated by feature checking and the landing site is not the edge of the clause (there is a complementizer preceding)

(2) Para **ti** ires ó partido.
 For you to go to-the game.
- Sentence final focus shows typical characteristics of p-syntax (movement is to the edge of the clause)

(3) Para ires ó partido **ti**.
 For go to-the game you
- It has also been shown that rightward movement of the subject can not be clearly classified as A-movement or A'-movement (the typical distinctions in the narrow syntax). Leftward movement is A'-movement since it is triggered by A' feature-checking (a focus feature), it is not movement for case and it shows reconstruction effects. However, this is not the case with rightward movement since this type of movement is not triggered by feature-checking (I have shown theoretical motivation for this). As is well-known, in a minimalist approach movement is exclusively triggered by the checking of features. This takes place in functional projections whose heads and specifiers are located on the left. Given this line

of thinking, rightward movement simply cannot be triggered since it cannot exist (Beerman, LeBlanc and Riemsdijk 1997).

- Other analyses (cf. section 7) do not give any explanation for what triggers the movement. They say that the object is originally in final position (which is the focused position) and moves leftwards because of its need to avoid focus. In this way, it leaves the focus position to the subject. So, in these approaches the final position is the focused position. According to this assumption, the final element of the clause is always focused, but in unmarked sentences the final position is not focused.
- Binding is also a phenomenon that has been ascribed to various parts of the human language faculty. One reason for this is that a purely syntactic approach to binding phenomena seems to call for conceptually unclear operations like reconstruction. Trying to avoid such problems, Binding has been claimed to be a phenomenon that only involves LF. Recently, PF-solutions have also been advanced to account for notoriously tricky cases of binding in and out of adjuncts. Focus is a pragmatic and semantic concept that may both involve stress and accent (phonological properties), focus particles (a lexical property), and word orders, making use of specific positions in the sentence (as in the case mentioned in this paper). This extends beyond the question of whether or not a particular phenomenon is located at some interface or in narrow syntax. It is not always clear in present-day Minimalism which grammatical tool to use in a particular situation, or whether all kinds of proposed tools are available.

Taking all these facts into consideration, the Galician data presented should make us inquisitive about whether it is possible (or even necessary) to supply a unified explanation for the behavior of elements at the right and left peripheries of the clause and also about whether these peripheral positions are available at early stages of first and second language acquisition.

NOTES

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¹ These positions are also possible in regular tensed clauses in Galician. However, since in tensed clauses the normal word order is SVO and not VSO (as in Inflected Infinitive clauses), the postverbal subject would be focused, as opposed to the preverbal subject.

² But according to Szendroi (1999:549), motivation for focus movement is triggered by stress and not by the presence of a syntactic +Focus feature. We should also mention the Reinhartian stress-driven movement rule for Hungarian:

Stress-driven movement: In Hungarian, movement of the focused constituent to the left-periphery is triggered by the requirement that a focused constituent be stressed.

³ However, this does not seem to be the case in the Galician data here.

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