10. Primary Right Focus Movement vs. Secondary Left Focus Movement.

- The movement pattern referred here to as Right Focus Movement manifests the placement of sentence categories to the right for their standard position, on the condition that they get focus marking: it is meant that these sentence categories would not move outside their positions unless there were focal.

- The target position of Right Focus is the position to the right for VP or vP: it may be both clause-final or clause-internal, but it is essential that it is located to the right for the position of the verbal head (finite verb, \(V^o\)) and is adjacent to the right edge of vP. The source positions of the moved focal elements are vP-internal or VP-internal: for the sake of simplicity we assume here that they are located to the left of verbal heads, though their exact location is not relevant for the following analysis.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vP} & \quad [\ldots t_i \ldots] \quad [\text{VP} \; [V^o] \ldots] \quad [\text{Focus Phrase} \; \ldots \; x_i] \\
\text{vP} & \quad [\text{VP} \; [\ldots t_i \ldots] \quad [V^o] \ldots] \quad [\text{Focus Phrase} \; \ldots \; x_i]
\end{align*}
\]

- Right Focus movement is specific for maximal projections containing an element which is Focus Proper: the element, which is Focus Proper, moves together with its maximal projection.

\[
[\text{vP} \quad [ZP \quad \ldots \; [x] \ldots] \; ] + \text{Right Focus} \Rightarrow [\text{vP} \; [ZP \quad \ldots \; [t_i] \ldots] \; ]; \; [\text{FP} \; x_i]
\]

In the Minimalist Program it has become customary to analyze Right Focus not as Movement but as an Adjunction operation, i.e. interprete it as attachment of a sub-tree, called ‘Focus Projection’ or ‘Focus Phrase’, to an already complete and well-formed tree structure. The two sub-trees are merged and a sentence gets an explicit focus marking. Different counter-arguments can be raised against this approach.

- For the first, it is implausible that Focus assignment emerges on a late stage of syntactic derivation, when the order of constituents is already generated: a description like this would make sense only if Right Focus were the sole position for focus marking, which is obviously wrong for many languages, incl. Russian and other languages with LI. If we, on the contrary, assume that the moved phrase gets focus marking already in the source position, i.e. \textit{in situ}, an analysis in terms of adjunction has no advantages over the hypothesis about overt syntactic movement — except for the dogmatic reason that Right Adjunction does not violate Fiengo’s postulate which excludes all instances of downward movement from left to the right, while Right Focus Movement does.
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- For the second, there is evidence that the placement of certain elements in the Right Focus position does not leave the remaining part of the clause intact. We have shown in (9) that in Russian intransitives clauses with a Locative Phrase the placement of the subject NP in Right Focus becomes obligatory only if the Locative is preposed: this effect implies that Locative Inversion is based on movement into Focus positions, and not on adjunction.

- For the third, languages with Right Focus Phenomena also have regular Left-to-Right movement of focal elements from the allegedly adjoined Focus Phrase into the remaining part of the clause, cf. Russian example (26a) above: \( \text{Loc} + V_{\text{intrans}} + \text{Sub}_F \Rightarrow \text{Loc} + \text{Sub}_F i + V_{\text{intrans}} \). This again proves that Right Focus and the part of the sentence generated before the alleged adjunction of the Focus Phrase do not remain intact and allow for syntactic restructuring even after the assignment of communicative status has taken place. But if syntactic restructuring, movement outside Right Focus is possible and Focus Phrase is not a Phase of syntactic derivation in the sense of [Chomsky 2001], we have no ground to claim that we deal with Adjunction and not with overt syntactic Movement (visible on the level of Phonetic Form).

Sentences derived by Right Focus Movement are communicatively neutral and represent prototypical topic-focus articulation for the given number of categories the clause in question consists of. We have also seen that for some configurations as, e.g. LI, Right Focus Movement is obligatory. On these reasons we will refer to Right Focus Movement as Primary or obligatory Focus Movement.

Sentences derived by Left Focus Movement, i.e. movement of focal elements outside their positions in the Right Focus phrase, on the contrary, always express non-neutral communicative values respective to the source clauses where the same elements remain in Right Focus. Left Focus Movement seems to be optional everywhere; we are unaware of any configurations, which would be ill-formed without Left Focus Movement. On these reasons we will refer to Left Focus Movement as Secondary or optional Focus Movement.

- In Russian, Left Focus Movement is not bound to movement of external or internal arguments (=Subject and Object NPs).

- In Russian, prosodic marking of focal elements placed in Right Focus and in Left Focus differs: whereas in Right Focus focal elements have default prosodic marking ‘\( \& \)’ (= falling or even low tone), elements moved outside Right Focus and placed in Left Focus get non-
default prosodic marking ‘\’ (= perceptually marked steep fall). Therefore, one needs to account for two related but different mechanisms, one of them responsible for movement of some projection F’, containing the actual bearer of the focal accent (Focus Proper, FP), the other one responsible for replacement of the Focus Proper itself. Both mechanisms have to be interpreted in terms of Movement, since they bring about changes in constituent order.

- In Russian, the placement of sentence categories into Left Focus brings about two closely related syntactic operations: a) projection F’ containing the Focus Proper FP is moved to the Left Focus position; b) the element being FP gets a reinforced prosodic marking, when it is moved outside from Right Focus.

In the default case (i.e. under Right Focus) verbal heads precede their complements in Russian. Verbal complements have to include a movable phrase [F’], which contains the actual Focus Proper with default prosodic marking ‘\’: [F… Vº… [F’ [FP\]]. Under Left Focus configurations, [F’] is moved to the left of the verbal head, and FP gets a non-default prosodic marking [FP\ \ ], which is an overt marker of the Left FP Movement:

\[ [F \ Vº [F RIGHT FOCUS [FP \ FOCUS PROPER]]] \Rightarrow [F LEFT FOCUS [FP \ FOCUS PROPER]]_j], Vº [F’ [FP \ ]],].

10. 1. Left. Focus Movement of internal arguments and non-argument words in Russian.

Example (30a) demonstrates Secondary Movement of a focalized internal argument (= surface object NP). Emphatic focal accent is designated below as ‘\’ (perceptually marked steep fall). The source clause, where the focalized argument is located in the Right Focus, is given in (30b). Syntactic derivation for a pair of sentences with assigned communicative status is shown in (30c). Elements that moved out from Right Focus are typed in (30c) strikeout as e.g. ‘весь’.

We use low index ‘i’ for tagging moved focal projections and low index ‘j’ for tagging moved Foc Pro.

(30a) [т \ Васька] [F [весь [\ FP сыр] съел]]!

“Vasja (name of a cat) ate up all the cheese”.

(30b) [т \ Васька] [F съел [весь [FP сыр]]]!

(30c) [т \ Васька] [F съел [F RIGHT FOCUS весь [FP FOCUS PROPER сыр]]] \Rightarrow [т \ Васька] [F [F LEFT FOCUS [FP сыр] FOCUS PROPER]]_j], съел [весь [FP сыр]],].!
Example (31a) shows Secondary Movement of a non-argument element — focalized free adverbial of time вчера “yesterday”. The source clause is given in (31b). Syntactic derivation for this pair of sentences is shown in (31c). These examples have an complex topic constituent: therefore, we apply a special symbol ‘TP’ for the Topic Proper Катя ‘a personal name’, while the second topical element, elicit particle –то lacks the accent and stands outside the Topic Proper: [T [TP Катя]-то].

(31a) [T [TP Катя]-то], оказывается [F вчера [FP в \ пять часов] приходила]!
“It turns out that Kate indeed came yesterday at five o’ clock”.

(31b) [T [TP Катя]-то], оказывается [F приходила] [F вчера [FP в \ пять часов]!

(31c) [T [TP Катя]-то], оказывается [F приходила] [F’ RIGHT FOCUS вчера [FP в \ FOCUS PROPER пять часов]!] ⇒ [T [TP Катя]-то], оказывается [F [F’ LEFT FOCUS [FP \ FOCUS PROPER] j] приходила [F вчера [FP \ пять часов] j]!]

Finally, example (32a) shows the possibility of Secondary movement of a bound adverbial мимо ‘past, by’ belonging to a phrasal verb пройти мимо “go by”, “go past”, “miss”.
(32a) <Дурак Вы, боцман, и шутки у Вас дурацкие>: [T [TP Торпеда]-то] [F [F’ [FP \ мимо] прошла]]!
“You are a fool, boatswain, and your jokes are foolish: the torpedo went past”.

(32b) [T [TP Торпеда]-то] [F прошла [F’ [FP \ мимо]]]!

(32c) [T [TP Торпеда]-то] [F прошла [F’ RIGHT FOCUS [FP \ FOCUS PROPER мимо]]!] ⇒ [T [TP Торпеда]-то] [F [F’ LEFT FOCUS [FP \ \ FOCUS PROPER] j] прошла [F’ [FP \ мимо] j]!]

10.2. Left Focus Movement of external arguments in Russian intransitive clauses with LI.

Left Focus Movement of subject NPs in the nominative case displays in Russian the same features as Left Focus Movement of internal arguments and non-argument words. In (33ac) we provide examples for Left Focus Movement of a nominative subject новая Васина подруга “Vasja’s new girlfriend” in a clause with LI and unergative verb плавать ‘swim’. The Focus Proper in the phrase is подруга ‘girlfriend’: in (33b) it has default prosodic marking ‘\’, in
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(33a) — non-default prosodic marking ‘\`\`’. This proves that (33a) is derived from (33b), which is shown in (33c). (33ab) both have a complex topic constituent which can be pronounced in a number of ways: for the sake of simplicity, we have chosen an interpretation where the Locative в бассейне “in the swimming pool” is Topic Proper, while the adverbial of time сейчас “now” is deaccented.

(33a) <Слушай:> [Т [TP в бассейне] сейчас] [F [F-новая [F-Васина [FP \`\`подруга]]]] плавает.

<Listen!> In swimming-pool.Prep now Vasja.Poss. girlfriend Nom.Sg. swim.3Sg.

“<Look here>. Vasja’s new girlfriend is swimming now in the swimming pool.”

(33b) [Т [TP в бассейне] сейчас] [F плавает [F-новая [F-Васина [FP \`\`подруга]]]]

(33c) [Т [TP в бассейне] сейчас] [F плавает [F-Васина [FP \`\`FOCUS PROPER подруга]]] [Т [TP в бассейне] сейчас] [F [F-LEFT FOCUS [F-Васина [FP \`\`FOCUS PROPER].]]] плавает [F-новая [F-Васина [FP \`\`подруга].]]]

Along the same lines, (34a) exemplifies Secondary Movement of a nominative subject цветной телевизор “new television receiver” in the classical case of LI, with an unaccusative verb стоять “stand”. In (34b) the focal subject has default prosodic marking ‘\`’; in (34a) it gets non-default sentence marking ‘\`\`’. Both (34a) and (34b) have a complex topic [Т A у них [TP в квартире]] “in their flat” with a Locative в квартире being the Topic Proper.

(34a) <Ты представляешь. Захожу я к ним.> [Т A у них [TP в квартире]] [F [F-цветной [FP \`\`телевизор]] стоит]!

<You fancy.2Sg.Prs. Call.1Sg. Pre. I to them.> And by-them. Gen.Pl. in flat.Prep. colour TV-receiver. Nom.Sg. stands.3Sg.Pres.

“<Imagine that: I am calling for them>. And in their flat there is a color TV receiver.”

(34b) [Т A у них [TP в квартире]] [F стоит [F-цветной [FP \`\`телевизор]]]

(34c) [Т A у них [TP в квартире]] [F стоит [F-RIGHT FOCUS цветной [FP FOCUS PROPER \`\`телевизор]]]! ⇒ [Т A у них [TP в квартире]] [F [F-LEFT FOCUS [FP \`\`FOCUS PROPER].]] стоит [F-цветной [FP \`\`телевизор].]]!

---

1. Under an alternative reading the Topical Phrase may be accented differently, with both adverbial elements retaining their default topic marking ‘\’: [Т [B бассейне] сейчас] [F-новая [F-Васина [FP \`\`подруга]]] плавает. In this case it is possible to postulate one complex topic [B (бассейне сейчас] with redundant prosodic marking or assume a structure with two independent topics: [Т [B бассейне] [Т2 сейчас]. The second option seems less probable.
10. 3. Left Focus Movement of external arguments in Russian clauses without LI.

Russian allows Left Focus placement of external arguments not only in intransitive clauses with LI, but also in structures of different type: in all cases the nominative subject moves outside Right Focus into a target position in the vP, and is placed before the verbal head. Overt markers of the movement pattern are the same as in cases commented above in § 10.1.-10.2: default focus accent ‘\n’ in the Right Focus position is replaced by the reinforced focus accent ‘\n\n’ in the Left Focus Position. There are no configurations where Left Focus movement is obligatory. We provide an illustration from a pair of transitive clauses with the so called argument scrambling, and Object + Subject + Verb order; the moved Focus Phrase уже Иван Петров “already Ivan Petrov” stands after two initial topics.

(35a) \[ \text{T1 \ Эту арию [т Альвизе]} \ [\text{T2 \ [т по } \text{итальянски]}] \ [\text{F} \ [\text{F'}} \text{ уже } \text{[F-Иван [FP }}\text{ \n Петров]]} \text{ пел}].

This.Acc. aria.Acc. of Alvise.Gen. in Italian already Ivan Petrov. Nom.Sg. sing.Pret.Imperf.3Sg. “Already Ivan Petrov sang this aria of Alvise in Italian”

(35b) \[ \text{T1 \ Эту арию [т Альвизе]} \ [\text{T2 \ [т по } \text{итальянски]}] \ [\text{F пел }([\text{F'}} \text{ уже } \text{[F- Иван [FP }}\text{ \n Петров]])].

(35c). \[ \text{T1 \ Эту арию [т Альвизе]} \ [\text{T2 \ [т по } \text{итальянски]}] \ [\text{F пел }([\text{F'}} \text{ RIGHT FOCUS уже } \text{[F- Иван [FP FOCUS PROPER }\text{ \n Петров]]}] \Rightarrow \text{[T1 \ Эту арию [т Aльвизе]} \ [\text{T2 \ [т по } \text{итальянски]}] \ [\text{F к LEFT FOCUS [FP \n FOCUS PROPER J] пел } [\text{F'}} \text{ уже } \text{[F- Иван [FP \n Петров]]}].

Russian data from clauses of all types allow us to generalize the pattern of Left Focus Movement and specify its target in the following way:

- Under Left Focus Movement the moved fragment F’ of the Focus Phrase leaves its location in the Right Focus position and ends up before the verbal head, but after the last topical constituent:

\[ [\text{T1} \ [\text{T2} \ [\text{Tn} \ [\ldots [\text{[Left Focus [F \ [FP FOCUS PROPER \n J]] V\sigma [Right Focus [F \ [FP \n J]]]]}}]

10.4. Left Focus Movement in clausal and local domains.
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One of the crucial questions with Left Focus Movement is the distribution of this phenomenon. We have demonstrated that in a clausal domain Left Focus Movement involves two different operations: a) movement of the focal fragment of vP b) movement of the element which is the sole bearer of the focal accent. What moves in a) is a maximal projection, while the element that moves in b) may be recognized as a head.

Now, we must account for similar movement patterns in domains smaller than clause. In many languages, including Russian, constituent order within a movable focal fragment may be changed as well. For instance, example (33a) has an emphatic variant (36a) with a preposed Focus Proper подруга “girlfriend”. We use the spelling with capital letters in order to show that the element acting as Focus Proper has already been moved to the (clausal) Left Focus position.

(33a)  <Кстати, насчет Васи> [Г [TP В бассейне сейчас] [F [новая [F-Васина [FP \ ПОДРУГА]]] плавает]]

“<Speaking about Vasja>. In the swimming pool (one can now see) Vasja’s new girlfriend swimming”

(36a)  [Г [TP В бассейне сейчас] [F [новая [FP \ ПОДРУГА] Васина] плавает].

In Russian linguistic framework it is customary to speak of a ‘shift of an Accent Bearer, i.e. Focus Proper, which ends up in a position before the finite verb’, cf. [Янко 2001] and to neglect syntactic constituency. At the first glance the only movable element in (36) seems to be Focus Proper ПОДРУГА ‘girlfriend’ which is moved to the left of its complement, possessive adjective Васина ’belonging to Vasja’: if that were true, the movement domain were the projection [F-Васина [FP \ ПОДРУГА]] and we might suggest that (36a) had a structure that looks like (36b).

(36b)  [F" LEFT FOCUS-LOCAL [FP \ FOCUS PROPER-LOCAL] ] [Васина [FP \ ПОДРУГА]].

This solution is not quite convincing. The neutral constituent order for Russian NPs, exemplified by source sentence (33a), is Qualitative Adjective + Possessive Adjective + Noun, not *Possessive Adjective + Qualitative Adjective, as in (36a). That means that constituent order in the Left Focus position in (36a) is derived, not basic and that possessive adjective Васина in (36a) ends up before the qualitative adjective новая just because the whole group Qualitative Adjective + Noun Васина ПОДРУГА containing the Focus Proper ПОДРУГА has been moved to the left for the Possessive Adjective, as shown in (36c):

2. Prosodic marking like this is appropriate if one the participants has already been activated in the previous context.
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If the derivation is (36c) is shown correctly, then the placement of elements in the Left Focus position involves two-fold movement both in clausal domains and in a domains smaller than close: we may hypothesize that Left Focus phenomena always involve movement of focal fragments larger than the Focus Proper itself. The possibility to check this hypothesis for (36c) are somewhat limited, since one has to construct unnatural Russian examples where a focal head moves to the Local Left Focus Proper position, while its complements do not leave their places, cf. (36d).

For those native speakers of Russian who accept test example (36d), the correct derivation is (36b) and no further arguments are needed that elements acting as Focus Proper may move on the level of Phonetic Form without overt movement of the projection F’. For those native speakers of Russian who reject (36d), the correct derivation is (36c) and the hypothesis of two-fold movement to Local Left Focus finds additional support. Actually, phrases like Rus. новая Васина подруга are ambiguous, since they often allow for syntactic reinterpretation:

The fact that (36d) is acceptable for a part of native speakers of Russian may be due to ‘local’ rules of syntactic constituency and not to the principles of Left Focus Movement as such: both новая Васина подруга and Васина новая подруга are acceptable segments which allow for semantic reinterpretation in a suitable context. We must therefore find such a combination of two adjectives where reinterpretation is less probable and investigate its behavior in the Left Focus position. We suggest to test a phrase лучшая Васина статья ‘Vasja’s best paper’ in (38a-d). (38a) represents the standard variant with Right Focus and default focal accent, (38b) represents a variant with Clausal Left Focus and reinforced focal accent, (38c) represents a well-formed
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variant with additional Local Left Focus, while (38d) shows a problematic variant without movement of F’:

(38a). [T В последнем [TP й номере] [F опубликована [F’ лучшая [F” Васина [FP С статья]]]].

‘In the last number {of a journal} Vasja’s best paper is published’

(38b) [T В последнем [TP й номере] [F [F’ CLAUSAL LEFT FOCUS [F” [FP С FOCUS PROPER]]], опубликована [F’ лучшая [F” Васина [FP С статья]]]].

(38c) [T В последнем [TP й номере] [F [F’ [F” [FP С статья] Васина] лучшая] опубликована].

(38c’) [T В последнем [TP й номере] [F [F’ CLAUSAL LEFT FOCUS [F” [FP С FOCUS PROPER] j]] i [F’ лучшая [F” Васина [FP С статья]]] j i опубликована].

(38d) *[T В последнем [TP й номере] [F [F’ [F” [FP С статья] лучшая Васина]] опубликована].

(38d’) [T В последнем [TP й номере] [F [F’ CLAUSAL LEFT FOCUS [F” [FP С FOCUS PROPER]]], [F’ лучшая [F” Васина [FP С статья]]] i опубликована].

The contrast of well-formed (38c) and ill-formed (38d) indicates that ‘accompanying movement’ of the focal projection is possible in all cases where Local Left Focus Movement brings about movement of the head element (Focus Proper) and obligatory in most of them. We arrive at the conclusion that Left Focus Movement, unlike Right Focus Movement is a cyclic mechanism, which can take place many times if the moved Focus Phrase has a complex structure and its head, Focus Proper, ‘lies deep’:

[F’ LOCAL LEFT FOCUS [F” ___ x [F” ___ …. [F” ___ [FP FOCUS PROPER]]]]]

The relation of Clausal and Local Left Movement needs further investigation. If Local Left Movement precedes Clausal Left Movement, then its starting point is inversion of the Focus Proper itself in its nearest domain F”/F”, as shown schematically in (39): the fragment moved on a given step of derivation, is capitalized.

(39) [F Focus Phrase [F x [F” y [FP Z] j]] k ] …] ⇒ [F Focus Phrase [F x [F” [FP Z] j y tj ] ]k ] ... ]

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It is however dubious that inverted constituent emerge already in the Right Focus position, since sentences like (40ab) are normally ill-formed, if the element acting as Focus Proper is not located in the right edge of the Right Focus Phrase:

(40a) * [Т в последнем [ТП A номере] [Ф опубликована [Ф' [Ф'' [ФП B статья] j Васина] i лучшая] k].
(40b) * [Т в последнем [ТП A номере] [Ф опубликована [Ф' [Ф'' [ФП B статья] j лучшая [Васина] i] k].

It is more plausible that Local Left Movement takes place after Clausal Left Movement, not vice versa. When the element acting as Focus Proper stands clause-internal, there is no constraint banning its movement outside the right edge of the Left Focus Phrase. In this case (41) seems to be a more appropriate picture of actual derivation: the domain of operation is tagged by capitalizing.


If the algorithm of in (41a) is sketched correctly, then cyclic Left Focus Movement is based on constant shrinking of the Focus domain, till the projection containing the element acting as Focus Proper is moved to the left edge, cf. (41 b).

(41b) F = Focus Phrase > F'= Clausal Left Focus Phrase > F'' = focal projection within Left Focus Phrase > F'' = smallest focal projection within Left Focus Phrase > FP = Focus Proper.