

## Focus and Externalization

Aritz Irurtzun

*CNRS-IKER*

**ABSTRACT.** In this piece I analyze the nature of focus and its variable externalization patterns across languages. I argue that if we do not want to postulate different architectures of grammar for different languages we should analyze focus as an intrinsically syntactic element. It is its syntactic fixation that allows capturing its cross-linguistically variable externalization patterns.\*

**Keywords:** focus, externalization, variability, architecture of grammar

### 1. Introduction

The nature of focus is very elusive. On the one hand, its manifestations are extremely varied across languages (some of them are very robust, some of them very subtle). On the other hand, its analyses can also be extremely different: depending on the language under study and the theoretical prism taken for the analysis, focus can be a fundamental notion, central to the architecture of the clause, or a mere discursive notion which does not affect the grammar in any significant way. Here I want to analyze a sample of the externalization patterns that can be observed across languages in focus constructions and confront them to the types of conceptions of focus and its place in the architecture of grammar available in the literature.

The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 brings into discussion evidence of different sorts and languages which I argue constitute a plea for the syntactic nature of focus. In Section 3 I provide a possible analysis of the syntactic patterning of focus and last, Section 4 closes the article with the conclusions.

---

\*\* My greatest thanks to H. Tokizaki for his invitation and to the audience of the PhEx 2021 Workshop for their comments and questions. This work has received financial support from the CNRS through the MITI interdisciplinary programs 80|PRIME - 2021 PALEOSIGNES, from the ANR ANR-17-CE27-0011 BIM; ANR-18-FRAL-0006 UV2 (ANR-DFG), the MINECO PGC2018-096870-B-I00 and FFI2017-87140-C4-1-P, and the JSPS 15H03213 (JSPS KAKENHI).

## 2. Focus externalization

As is well known, in languages like English focus may not affect the word order of a sentence. Thus, the same SVO word order of informationally unmarked clauses can be also employed with different focus structures, as represented in (1). Here the word order in (1B) can provide an appropriate answer to –among others– any of the questions in (1A), either with focus on the object (as an answer to 1A-a), the VP (answer to 1A-b), the whole clause (answer to 1A-c), or the subject (answer to 1A-d):

- (1) A.    a. What did John buy?  
           b. What did John do?  
           c. What happened?  
           d. Who bought cider?  
       B.    John bought cider.

Of course, the prosodic contour of the different utterances with the word order in (1B) would change with the nature of the focus, but the word order could be kept constantly as the base SVO. As a matter of fact, a wide range of phenomena are attested cross-linguistically to mark focus by prosodic means (nuclear stress placement, prosodic phrasing, etc, *cf.* Kügler and Calhoun, 2020). In some languages/constructions these are the only means focus is encoded, in others prosodic means are combined with syntactic and/or morphological means.

As a matter of fact, many languages employ dedicated vocabulary items that surface adjacent to the focal constituent. This is a common feature cross-linguistically –which is well-known in particular in African languages– but by no means restricted to them. In Fyem for instance, focus marking with a particle is pervasive; when an element is focal, it is attached enclitic *-i*, as illustrated in (2), from Nettle (1998):

- (2) a. náá      má rándan-i [Fyem]  
       1S.PERF do    work-FOC  
       It's working that I did (rather than sleeping).  
       b. mí-í      náá má rándan.  
       me.FOC 1S.PERF do work  
       It's me that worked (rather than someone else).

But as I said, this is not restricted to African languages. For instance in Persian focus marker *-ke* surfaces encliticised to the focus of the sentence in its *in situ* position (Oroji and Rezaei, 2013). Compare the informationally neutral (3a) with the focus variants in (3b) to (3e):

- (3) a. mæn ketab-o be Ali ne-midæm. [Persian]  
       I book-OM to Ali won't-give.1SG  
       I won't give the book to Ali.  
       b. mæn-ke ketab-o be Ali ne-midæm.  
           I-FOC book-OM to Ali won't-give.1SG  
           [I]<sub>F</sub> won't give the book to Ali.  
       c. mæn ketab-o-ke be Ali ne-midæm.  
           I book-OM-FOC to Ali won't-give.1SG  
           I won't give [the book]<sub>F</sub> to Ali.  
       d. mæn ketab-o be Ali-ke ne-midæm.  
           I book-OM to Ali-FOC won't-give.1SG  
           I won't give the book [to Ali]<sub>F</sub>.  
       e. mæn ketab-o be Ali-ke ne-midæm-ke.  
           I book-OM to Ali-FOC won't-give.1SG-FOC  
           I won't [give]<sub>F</sub> the book to Ali.

In other languages the focal particle is not necessarily directly adjacent to the focal element. This is the case of Vietnamese, where material can intervene between the focal particle and the actual element being focal. As illustrated in (4), focus marker *cái* is placed before the classifier and the nominal *ngựa* 'horse', while the focal element is the postnominal adjective *đen* 'black'. The same happens in the measure phrase in (5), with material intervening between *cái* and the focal *sen* 'lotus' (Nguyen, 2004):

- (4) Tôi thích cái con ngựa [đen]<sub>F</sub>. [Vietnamese]  
       I like FOC CL horse black  
       I like the [black]<sub>F</sub> horses.  
       (5) Hai cái ấm trà [sen]<sub>F</sub> thiu rồi!  
           two FOC pot tea lotus stale already  
           The two potfuls of [lotus]<sub>F</sub> tea are already stale.

Other languages such as Yorùbá combine the employment of focus particles with focus movements to the left periphery (Awobuluyi, 1992; Jones, 2006). The neutral word order in Yorùbá is SVO (6a), and as shown in examples (6b) to (6e), the focal element is fronted from its base position and accompanied by the particle *ní*:

- (6) a. *dàda á jì owó òjó.* [Yorùbá]  
 Dada INFL steal money Ojo  
 Dada stole Ojo's money.
- b. *dàda ní ó jì owó òjó.*  
 Dada FOC INFL steal money Ojo  
 [Dada]<sub>F</sub> stole Ojo's money.
- c. *owó òjó ní dàda á jì.*  
 money Ojo FOC Dada INFL steal  
 Dada stole [Ojo's money]<sub>F</sub>.
- d. *òjó ní dàda á jì owó rẹ́.*  
 Ojo FOC Dada INFL steal money PRO  
 Dada stole [Ojo's]<sub>F</sub> money.
- e. *jíjì ní dàda á jì owó òjó.*  
 stealing FOC Dada INFL steal money Ojo  
 Dada [stole]<sub>F</sub> Ojo's money.

In other languages, focus is accompanied by a verbal particle attached to the verb to mark it as nonfocal. This is the case in Ngandi (Heath, 1978), where foci are fronted and accompanied by a verb with infix *-ga-* (glossed as 'SUB', which also appears in *wh*-questions, but not in polarity questions):

- (7) a. *ni-Conklin, ɲaya, ni-jambuɭaɲa, ɲar-ga-riɖ-i.* [Ngandi]  
 Conklin I Wallace 1PLEX-SUB-go-PPUN  
 Conklin, I, and Wallace were the ones who went.
- b. *a-jeñ-uɲ bara-ga-yaw-ɖu-ɲi.*  
 fish 3PL/A-SUB-spear-AUG-PCON  
 It was fish that they speared.

- c. gu-wulčum-đu      ba-ga-bu-yđi-ŋi.  
by.means.of.spears 3PL-SUB-hit-RECIP-PCON  
Spears are what they fought with.
- d. gu-đawal-gič-uŋ ba-ga-ruđu-ŋi.  
to.the.country 3PL-SUB-go-PCON  
It was to the country that they went.
- e. ni-guŋ-gu-yuŋ ba-ga-ruđu-ŋi.  
for.honey      3PL-SUB-go-PCON  
Honey is what they went for.
- f. jipa? guŋukuwič ñar-ga-ñawk-đu-ŋ.  
later tomorrow 1PLEX-SUB-speak-AUG-FUT  
Tomorrow is when they will talk.

Actually, focus fronting is a pervasive strategy cross-linguistically. One local instance of this is attested in Russian ‘scrambling’ to the left periphery of DPs (Bailyn, 2002; Irurtzun and Madariaga, 2010). This operation is represented in the examples in (8), where the basic adjective+noun word order of (8a) can be altered as in (8b) with a focal adjective (which is the one that gets nuclear stress):

- (8) a. Ja postiral [<sub>DP</sub> krasnye noski]. [Russian]  
I washed red socks  
I washed the red socks.
- b. Ja postiral [<sub>DP</sub> noski krasnye].  
I washed socks red  
I washed the red [socks]<sub>F</sub>.

Other languages show overt focus movements to higher phrases. For example, Italian has been argued to display a focus position at the edge of vP (Belletti, 2004). Italian is a SVO language, but as an answer to a *wh*-question on the subject, only the VS order of (10b) is appropriate. Belletti (2004) argues that such a configuration is obtained *via* movement of the subject to a vP peripheral focus position, where it surfaces immediately following the Aux-V complex in T:<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Italian is also well-known for its richly articulated CP layer with left peripheric focus positions (see below).

- (9) a. Gianni ha parlato. [Italian]  
       Gianni AUX spoken  
       Gianni spoke.  
       b. Ha parlato Gianni.  
           AUX spoken Gianni  
           [Gianni]<sub>F</sub> spoke.

Likewise, Spanish too has a postverbal focus construction (Zubizarreta, 1998; López, 2009; Ortega Santos, 2016; Etxepare, 2021):

- (10) a. Juan ha hablado. [Spanish]  
       Juan AUX spoken  
       Juan spoke.  
       b. Ha hablado Juan.  
           AUX spoken Juan  
           [Juan]<sub>F</sub> spoke.

This could be analyzed along the same lines, proposing focus movement to a focus-designated position, which is then followed by movement of the rest of constituents above it, therefore masking the movement of the focus (this is, in point of fact, the analysis proposed by Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria (2005, 2012) for ‘*in situ*’-like *wh*-constructions in Spanish).

However, the clearest cases for focus movement involve the complementizer area. As a matter of fact, many languages display focus movements up to the left periphery of the clause, which in the literature has been linked to the generation of focus semantics, just like interrogative syntax has been linked to interrogative semantics. Furthermore, focus movement to the left periphery is attested in languages of all regions and families, and with all types of neutral word order:

- SVO: e.g. Italian (Romance; Rizzi, 1997) or Gungbe (Kwa; Aboh, 2004).
- SOV: e.g. Skolt Saami (Uralic; Feist, 2010) or Basque (isolate; Irurtzun, 2016).
- VSO: e.g. Chamorro (Malayo-Polynesian; Chung, 2020) or Copala Trique (Mixtecan; Hollenbach, 1992).
- VOS: e.g. Tzotzil (Mayan; Aissen, 1987) or Seediq (Atayalic; Holmer, 1996).

- OVS: e.g. Hixkaryana (Cariban; Derbyshire, 1985) or Tuvaluan (Oceanic; Besnier, 2000).
- OSV: e.g. Warao (isolate; Romero-Figueroa, 1997) or Nadëb (Nadahup; Weir, 1984).

Furthermore, movement of the focus is associated in many languages with movement of the inflected verb or verbal complex, as in the case of Basque (Irurtzun, 2016). As illustrated in (11), the neutral word order in Basque is SOV (11a) but a focalization of the subject cannot maintain this word order (11b), it rather has to have focus fronting immediately followed by the verbal complex (11c). The structure giving raise to this word order is represented in (12):

(11) a. Jonek ura edan du. [Basque]

Jon water drink AUX

Jon drank water.

b. \*[Jonek]<sub>F</sub> ura edan du.

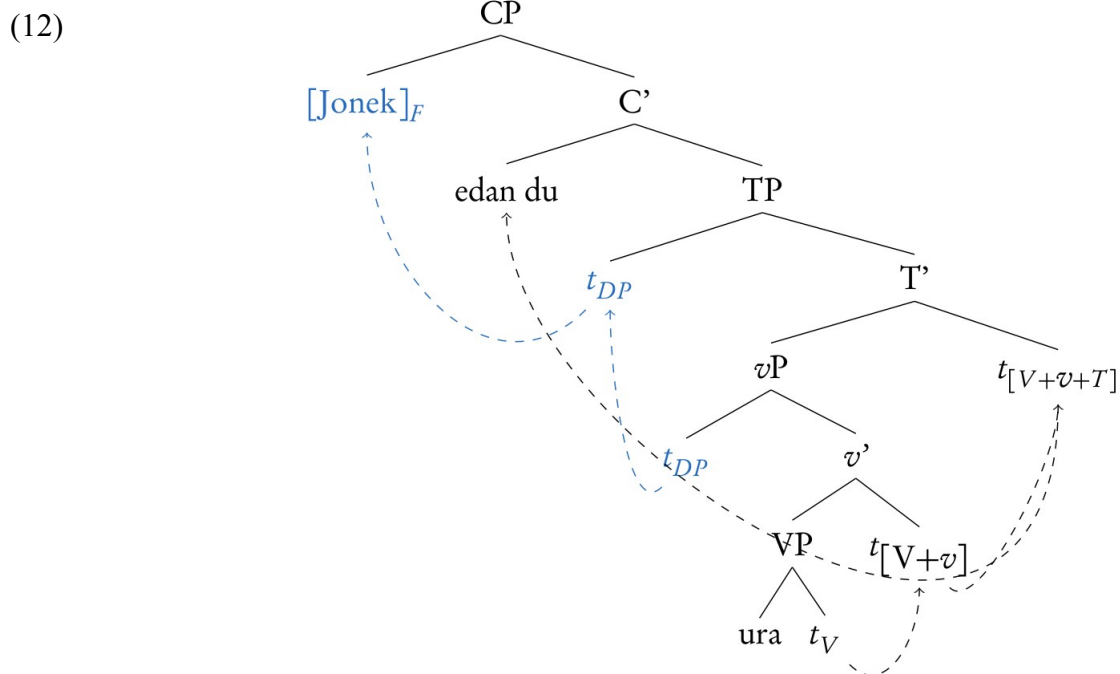
Jon water drink AUX

[Jon]<sub>F</sub> drank water.

c. [Jonek]<sub>F</sub> edan du ura.

Jon drink AUX water

[Jon]<sub>F</sub> drank water.

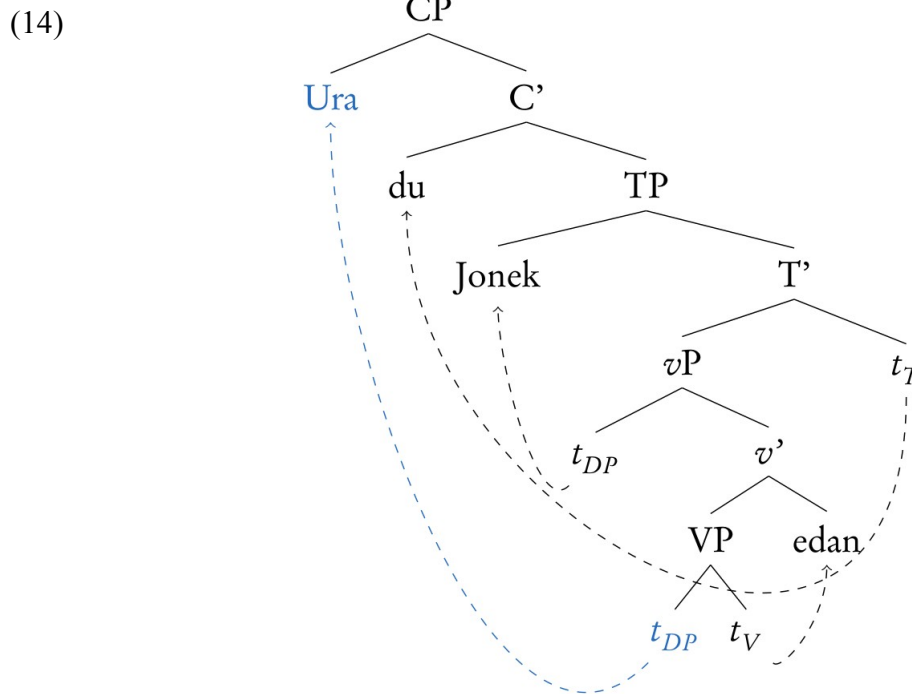


This is the pattern attested across all Basque varieties. However, in Northern Basque varieties (Navarro-Labourdin and Zuberoan (Souletin)) there is also an alternative construction where

instead of the whole verbal complex, it is just the auxiliary that is fronted to the right of the focus, leaving the main verb *in situ* (Duguine and Irurtzun, 2010). This structure is illustrated in (13-14):

- (13) [Ura]<sub>F</sub> du Jonek edan.  
 water AUX Jon drink  
 Jon drank [water]<sub>F</sub>.

[Basque]



Similar patterns of focus-auxiliary association are also attested in other languages such as Godoberi (Testelec, 1998a). In (15) we can observe the contrast between neutral (15a), where the auxiliary follows the verb and focal (15b) and (15c), where the auxiliary directly follows the focal subject and object respectively:

- (15) a. ʕali-di hanq'u-Ø biχ-ata buk'a.  
 Ali-ERG house-ABS build-GER AUX.PAST  
 Ali was building a house.  
 b. ʕali-di buk'a hanq'u-Ø biχ-ata.  
 Ali-ERG AUX.PAST house-ABS build-GER  
 It was Ali who was building a house.

[Godoberi]



- c. ʕali-di hanq'u-Ø buk'a biχ-ata.  
 Ali-ERG house-ABS AUX.PAST build-GER  
 It was a house that Ali was building.

The same can be seen in other languages like Chamalal, where the focus surfaces left-adjacent to the auxiliary, while the verb is *in situ* (Testelec, 1998b):

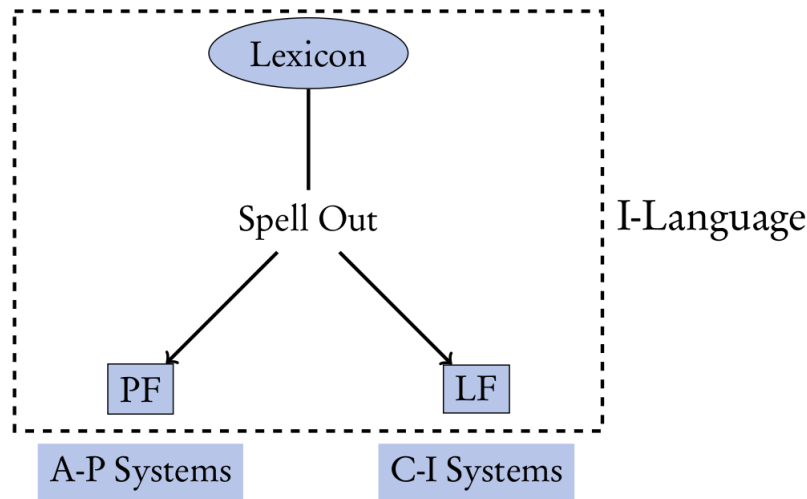
- (16) a. Ihwa-d ida rasul č'īn. [Chamalal]  
 shepherd-ERG AUX.PRS Rasul beat.PRF  
 [The shepherd]<sub>F</sub> has beaten Rasul.  
 b. Ihwa-d rasul ida č'īn.  
 shepherd-ERG Rasul AUX.PRS beat.PRF  
 The shepherd has beaten [Rasul]<sub>F</sub>.

Last, as we already saw in (6) for Yorùbá, left periphrastic movement can also be accompanied by focus particle insertion. The same is observed in Unua, an SVO language where focus fronting can be followed by the particle *go*, which in turn can optionally be followed by *nu* 'now' (Pearce, 2015):

- (17) a. John ma go nu ra-b-xa re-be-ki-i. [Unua]  
 John only FOC now 3PL-IRR-go 3PL-IRR-see-TR  
 It is John that they are going to see.  
 b. Nabbubb ngo go rrate rra-ta-i.  
 grass the FOC 1INCL.PL 1INCL.PL-cut-TR  
 It was the grass that we cut.  
 c. Garvat ngo go xai u-vase i-rrum.  
 fence the foc 2SG 2SG-make 3SG-fall  
 It was the fence that you made fall down.

When analyzing the nature of focus topics, etc, the cartographic approach to the syntax of the left periphery analyzes the 'fine structure' of the complementizer system by proposing a sub-atomic decomposition of Comp and providing detailed 'maps' of the different positions available in the left periphery of the clause (Force, Topics, Foci, . . . ) and their relative order across languages (see, among many others Rizzi, 1997, 2001). As an example, the finely





**Figure 1:** The inverted-Y model of the architecture of grammar.

Thus, movement of the focus phrase is fully compatible with any morphological marking or with any phonological phrasing, nuclear stress assignment, etc. Furthermore, a similar covert syntactic movement has also been proposed for other languages like English.

The trend of analysis in generative grammar relating focus to presupposition dates back at least to Chomsky (1970, 1976). When analyzing A'-dependencies, Chomsky (1970, 1976) proposes that focus creates a binary partition of a clause into the focal phrase and a focally induced presupposition. According to his proposal, the sentence in (21a) with focus on the subject would have the underlying partition in (21b). Likewise, the sentence in (22a) with focus on the object would have the partition in (22b):

- (21) a. [John]<sub>F</sub> writes poetry.  
       b. John [is the one who writes poetry].
- (22) a. John writes [poetry]<sub>F</sub>.  
       b. Poetry [is what John writes].

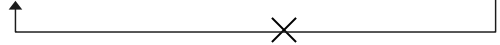
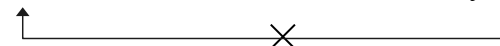
As can be observed, the intuition about focally induced presuppositions is rather strong; (21b) and (22b) constitute appropriate paraphrases of (21a) and (22a), respectively. Furthermore, assuming such a partition, we could imagine that it is obtained *via* a covert transformation that extracts the focus XP from its base position and replaces it with a variable, as in (23), which would be the transformation behind (21a)-(21b):

- (23) John( $x$ ) [ $x$  writes poetry].

The difference between English and, say, Italian or Basque, is that this extraction is overtly realized in discourse-configurational languages whereas it is covert in languages like English. In fact, a good prediction of the extraction analysis is that it captures straightforwardly the striking crossover effects observed in sentences with focus, like the one in (24):

(24) The woman  $he_{j/*i}$  loved betrayed  $[John_i]_F$ .

In this sentence, the focal XP ‘John’ cannot be understood as coreferential with the pronoun ‘he’. If, as Chomsky (1976) defends, we take focus to be an operator that undergoes leftward movement (in the case of English, a covert one), in (24) we would have the crossover configuration in (25a), which is absolutely parallel to the one that obtains with *wh* operators that undergo overt movement in English (*cf.* (25b)):

- (25) a.  $Op_i$                       pronoun<sub>*i*</sub>                       $t_i$   
  
 b. \*Who<sub>*i*</sub> did the woman he<sub>*i*</sub> loved betray  $t_i$  ?  


Thus, the presuppositional analysis of focus which began from a mere semantic observation about its interpretation gains plausibility from different syntactic facts: (i) the typological evidence of overt displacements of the focus phrase observed in discourse-configurational languages, and (ii) the behavior that we expect from those displacements with respect to weak crossover effects, among others.

### 3. The grammatical nature of focus

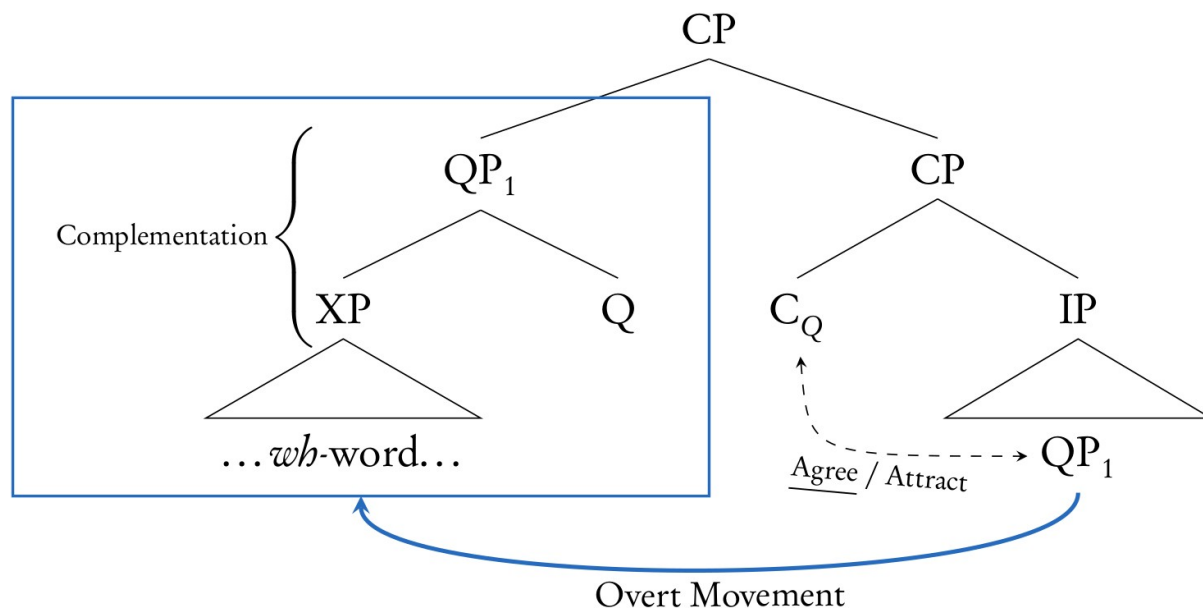
How can we make sense of the varied patterns attested for focus across languages? The first observation that I would like to make is that agnostic approaches to the grammatical nature of focus such as Schwarzschild (1999) or Reinhart (2006) are unable to model the patterns just sketched. Those approaches seek to account for focalization effects without appealing to the presence of a focus-marked item in the grammar. If that were the case, we should not observe the wide variety of externalizations that we observe for focus cross-linguistically. Of course, neither Schwarzschild (1999) nor Reinhart (2006) are studies that

seek to account for the wide cross-linguistic manifestations of focus, however, I would like to note that any universalist proposal (in the generative grammar spirit) should seek for architectural compatibility with the phenomena of other languages, as the architecture of grammar is –by hypothesis– universally homogeneous. Thus, if the evidence of some languages suggests a grammatical encoding of a notion such as focus (where it surfaces with determinate grammatical means (phonological, morphological, or syntactic), then the explanatory move in my view is to assume such a representation for other languages too. Then the observable variability would be in terms of externalization (*cf.* the ‘universal syntax and parametric phonology’ of Tokizaki and Dobashi (2013)), not in terms of different architectures of grammar for different languages.

Even more so, taking into account that languages that allow merely prosodic manifestations of focus (like English) also have specific focus constructions such as clefts and pseudo-clefts (26) (Akmajian, 1970), focus-fronting strategies (27b) (Ward, 1988; Birner and Ward, 1998; Casielles, 1998), and reduplication constructions (27a) (Ghomeshi et al., 2004; Bazalguette, 2015):

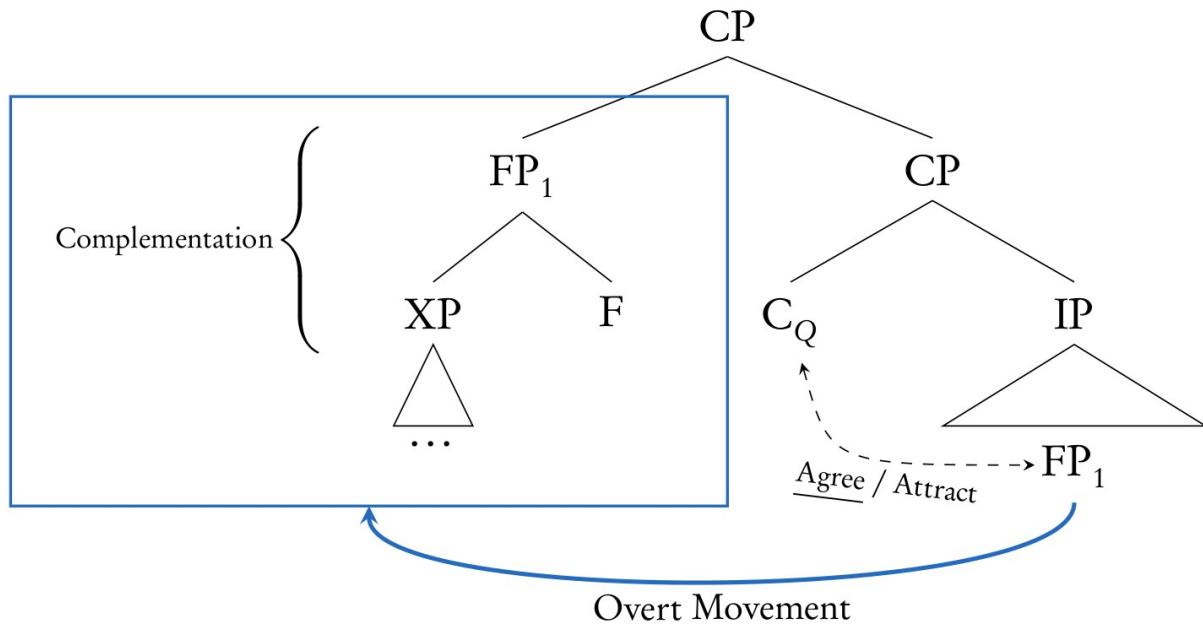
- (26) a. It was Agnew who Nixon chose. (focus on Agnew)
- b. The one Nixon chose was Agnew. (focus on Agnew)
- (27) a. Bill has a new theory/car/dog/boat. ‘Foo’ he calls it. (focus on Foo)
- b. Six dollars it costs. (focus on six dollars)
- (28) a. I’ll make the tuna salad, and you make the salad-salad. (focus on salad).
- b. I didn’t buy a Chihuahua, I bought a dog-dog. (focus on dog).

Now, the question is the following one: how could we conceive of the grammatical encoding of focus? One possible conception would be that a focus-marking head (‘an F-particle’) is merged with the element that is to be interpreted as focal. This could be seen as the answer version of Cable’s (2010) Q (see also Horvath (2007)). Under Cable’s (2010) approach to *wh*-interrogatives, all languages have Q particles like those observed in languages like Tlingit, except that in some languages these particles are silent. In languages like Tlingit, these particles take phrases containing *wh*-phrases as their complements, and then movement of the QP to Spec-CP moves along the *wh*-item, as represented in Fig. 3:



**Figure 2:** QP structure and fronting in Tlingit (adapted from Cable (2010, 38)).

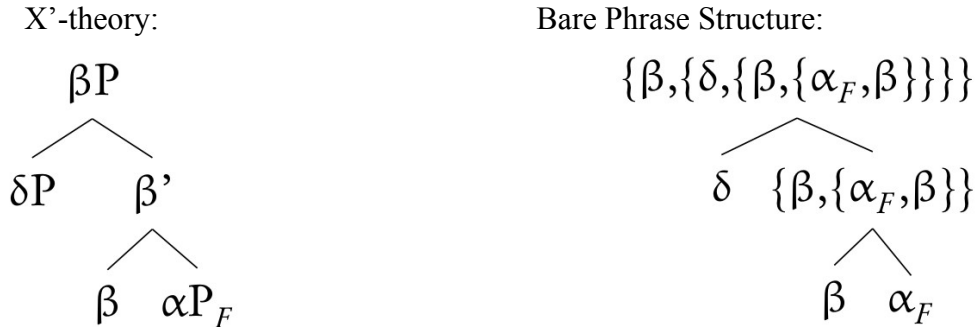
In languages like Japanese or Korean, on the other hand, the Q is adjoined to the XP containing the *wh*-item, and hence, it is moved leaving the *wh*-item *d*. As I suggested, this type of analysis could be partially applied to focus constructions, where instead of the Q particle we would have a Focus particle, which would be overt as in Persian, or covert as in Basque. Likewise, some languages would display overt movement to the CP area (to a designated Focus position, as in the cartographic literature), whereas others would have covert movement (or partial movement):



**Figure 3:** Focus structure and fronting in a Q-based theory (to be revised).

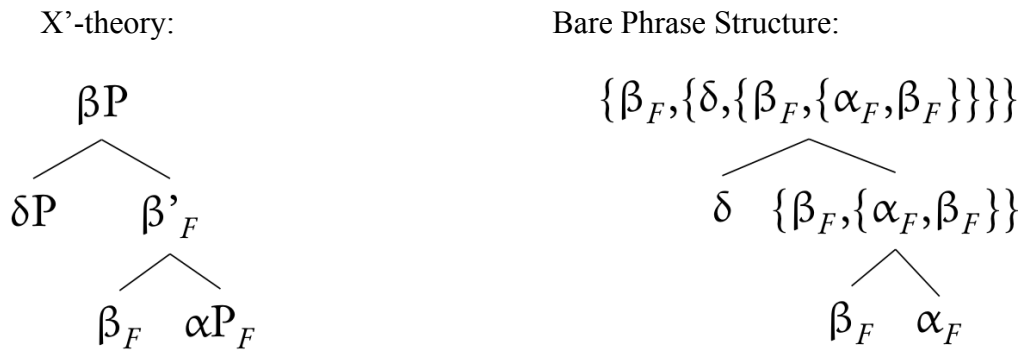
However, such an analysis runs short in the identification of the actual focus. As we saw in the Vietnamese constructions, it does not have to be the whole complement of the focal particle that is the focus, rather, it could be a subconstituent of it. The same happens in syntactic movements in other languages where phrases much larger than the actual focus can be focus-fronted, as in Basque clausal pied-piping (cf. Irurtzun (2016)). Thus we need a derivational approach that will determine the actual focus structure in the syntax.

In Irurtzun (2007, 2008) I proposed a derivational analysis of focus which is compatible with the classic inverted-Y architecture of grammar as it determines focus structures in the narrow syntax. The proposal is that  $[+F]$  is an optional formal feature (like  $[+plural]$ ) that can be assigned to different items in a numeration. Then phrase structures are construed in the usual way *via* merge, and the focus structure will be the phrase/set that contains only  $[+F]$ -featured items. Thus, for instance, in Fig. 4 only  $\alpha$  is endowed with a  $[+F]$  feature and it will be this item (the singleton) that is the focus:



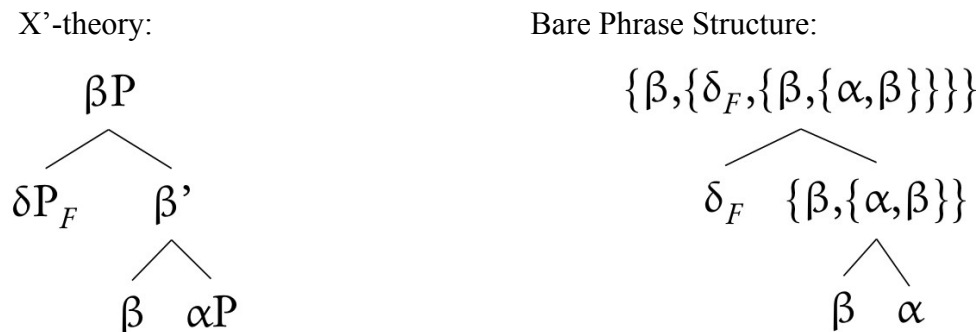
**Figure 4:** Focus structure composition on  $\alpha$ , based on Irurtzun (2007, 2008).

In contrast, if both  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  have the  $[+F]$  feature, it will be the phrase they compose ( $\beta'$ , or in BPS terms  $\{\beta, \{\alpha, \beta\}\}$ ) that will be focal. In fact, despite  $\beta$  projects to  $\beta P$ , the set containing  $\delta$  is not composed only of  $[+F]$ -marked material (as it has  $\delta$ , which does not bear a  $[+F]$  feature), therefore it will not be  $\beta P$  that is focal but  $\beta'$ :



**Figure 5:** Focus structure composition on  $\beta'$ , based on Irurtzun (2007, 2008).

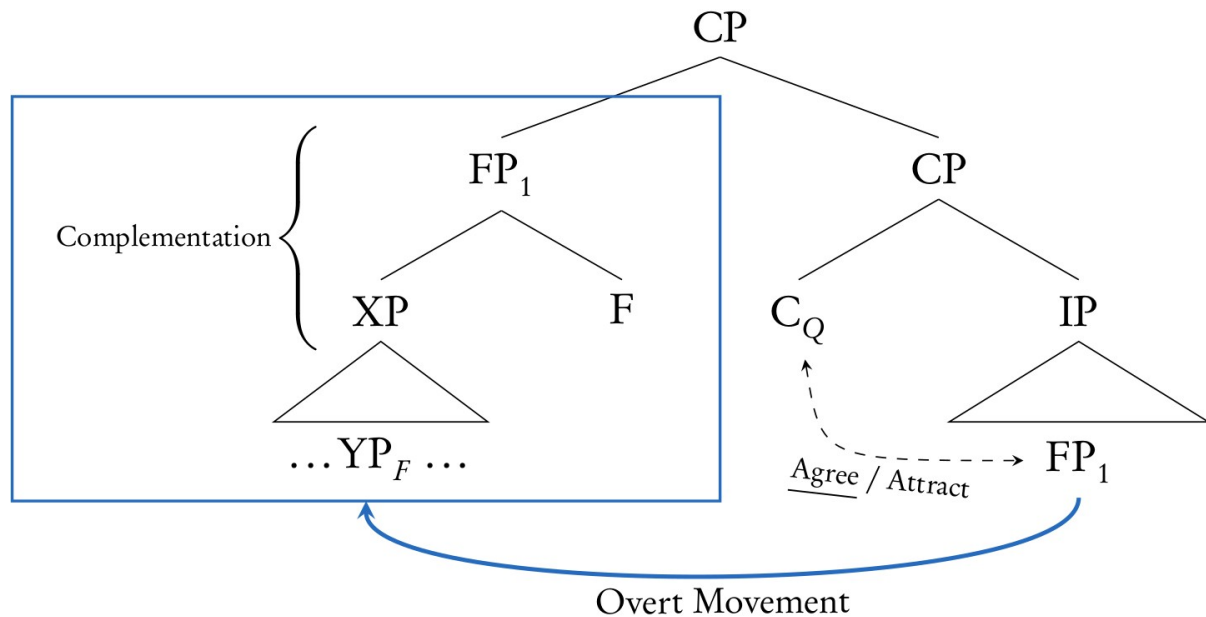
As a last illustration, if  $\delta$  is the element bearing the focus feature, then the focal phrase will be the singleton containing  $\delta$ :



**Figure 6:** Focus structure composition on  $\delta$ , based on Irurtzun (2007, 2008).



Thus, focus structures can be construed in the syntax deterministically and without any reference to ‘optional’ focus projection in PF from a stressed item. Then, the focal elements (or phrases containing them) can be combined with focus particles and be target for displacements operations in the syntax. Likewise, after Spell Out the syntactically established focus structure can be interpreted as such and for instance be assigned nuclear stress directly to it (see Irurtzun (2007, 2008, 2013)) and be associated with focus semantics. In a nutshell then, a Q-based theory of focus does not suffice in and of itself to capture the nature of focus; it necessarily has to be supplemented with a derivational analysis of focus structure such as Irurtzun’s (2007,2008) that determines which element within the sister of Q/the focal particle is the focus (or alternatively, that the whole sister phrase is the focus). This is represented in Fig. (7):



**Figure 7:** Focus structure and fronting in a derivational F-Structure and Q-based theory.

#### 4. Conclusions

A proper treatment of focus looks complicated. It is a pervasive feature of natural languages but it shows a wide variety of manifestations cross-linguistically. Two main positions can be held: (i) to assume a different nature of focus across languages; or (ii) to assume a uniform nature, with varying externalizations.

The first conception seems paradoxical to me, since the assumption that focus is grammaticalized in the syntax in some languages while it is directly a matter of phonology-discourse in others requires alternative architectures of grammar for different languages.

On the other hand, a substantive assumption on the universal grammatical nature of focus seems to me the one with the highest explanatory power: having a focus structure represented in the syntax paves the way for an explanation of its association with particles, movements (& restrictions) and phonological and semantic effects. An approach for focus representations based on a ‘universal syntax and parametric phonology’ (Tokizaki and Dobashi, 2013) seems to me the most promising when facing such a multifaceted phenomenon.

## References

- Aboh, Enoch Oladé. 2004. *The Morphosyntax of Complement-Head Sequences: Clause Structure and Word Order Patterns in Kwa*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- Aboh, Enoch Oladé. 2007. Leftward focus versus rightward focus: the Kwa-Bantu conspiracy. *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics* 15:81–104.
- Aissen, Judith. 1987. *Tzotzil Clause Structure*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Akmajian, Adrian. 1970. *Aspects of the Grammar of Focus in English*. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge.
- Awobuluyi, Oladele. 1992. Issues in the syntax of Standard Yoruba focus constructions. *Journal of West African Languages* XXII:69–88.
- Bailyn, John. 2002. Inversion, dislocation and optionality in Russian. In *Current Issues in Formal Slavic Linguistics (FDSL 3)*, ed. Gerhild Zybatow, Uwe Junghanns, Grit Mehlhorn, and Luka Szucsich, 280–293. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Bassong, Paul Roger. 2014. *Information Structure and the Basa’a Left Peripheral Syntax*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Yaounde I, Yaounde.
- Bazalguette, Timothy Owen. 2015. *Algorithmic Acquisition of Focus Parameters*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Cambridge, Cambridge.
- Belletti, Adriana. 2004. Aspects of the low IP area. In *The Structure of CP and IP: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, Volume 2, ed. Luigi Rizzi, 16–51. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Besnier, Niko. 2000. *Tuvaluan: A Polynesian Language of the Central Pacific*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Birner, Betty J., and Gregory Ward. 1998. *Information Status and Noncanonical Word Order in English*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Cable, Seth. 2010. *The Grammar of Q: Q-Particles, Wh-Movement, and Pied-Piping*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Casielles, Eugenia. 1998. FOCUS PREPOSING (it is called). In *Proceedings of the Workshop on Focus [UMOP 21]*, ed. Elena Benedicto, Maribel Romero, and Satoshi Tomioka, 51–64. Amherst: GLSA.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1970. Deep Structure, Surface Structure and semantic interpretation. In *Studies in General and Oriental Linguistics: Presented to Shiro Hattori on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Roman Jakobson and Shigeo Kawamoto, 183–216. Tokyo: TEC Corporation for Language Research.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1976. Conditions on rules of grammar. *Linguistic Analysis* 2:303–351.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge (MA): MIT Press.
- Chung, Sandra. 2020. *Chamorro Grammar*. eScholarship.
- Derbyshire, Desmond C. 1985. *Hixkaryana and Linguistic Typology*. Arlington: SIL & University of Texas at Arlington.
- Duguine, Maia, and Aritz Irurtzun. 2010. Opérateurs d'exclusivité dans les questions et réponses en basque. *Revue de Sémantique et Pragmatique* 27:105–117.
- Etxepare, Ricardo. 2021. Focus and word order across Spanish varieties. In *A Guide to Spanish Dialects*, ed. Ángel J. Gallego and Cristina Sánchez, to appear. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Etxepare, Ricardo, and Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria. 2005. In-situ wh-phrases in Spanish: Locality and quantification. *Recherches Linguistiques de Vincennes* 33:9–34.
- Etxepare, Ricardo, and Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria. 2012. Las preguntas de qu-in situ en español: un análisis derivacional. In *El movimiento de constituyentes*, ed. José María Brucart and Ángel J. Gallego, 251–271. Madrid: Visor Libros.
- Feist, Timothy. 2010. *A Grammar of Skolt Saami*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Manchester, Manchester.
- Ghomeshi, Jila, Ray Jackendoff, Nicole Rosen, and Kevin Russell. 2004. Contrastive focus reduplication in English (the salad-salad paper). *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 22:307–357.
- Heath, Jeffrey. 1978. *Ngandi Grammar, Texts, and Dictionary*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Hollenbach, Barbara E. 1992. *A syntactic sketch of Copala Trique*. In *Studies in the Syntax of Mixtecan Languages* 4, ed. C. Henry Bradley and Barbara E. Hollenbach, 173–431. Dallas: SIL & University of Texas at Arlington.

- Holmer, Arthur J. 1996. *A Parametric Grammar of Seediq*. Lund: Lund University Press.
- Horvath, Julia. 2007. Separating “focus movement” from focus. In *Phrasal and Clausal Architecture: Syntactic Derivation and Interpretation*. In honor of Joseph E. Emonds, ed. Simin Karimi, Vida Samiian, and Wendy K. Wilkins, 167–187. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Hyman, Larry M. 2010. Focus marking in Aghem: Syntax or semantics? In *The Expression of Information Structure: A Documentation of its Diversity across Africa*, ed. Ines Fiedler and Anne Schwarz, 95–116. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Irurtzun, Aritz. 2007. *The Grammar of Focus at the Interfaces*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of the Basque Country UPV/EHU, Vitoria-Gasteiz.
- Irurtzun, Aritz. 2008. A derivational approach to the focus structure. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics – Revue Canadienne de Linguistique* 53:355–386.
- Irurtzun, Aritz. 2013. Focal NSR and stress placement in Basque phrases and N+N compounds. *Linguistic Analysis* 38:207–242.
- Irurtzun, Aritz. 2016. Strategies for argument and adjunct focalization in Basque. In *Microparameters in the Grammar of Basque*, ed. Beatriz Fernández and Jon Ortiz de Urbina, 243–263. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Irurtzun, Aritz, and Nerea Madariaga. 2010. A minimalist approach to DP-internal scrambling in Russian. In *Current Issues in Formal Slavic Linguistics*, ed. Gerhild Zybatow, Philip Dudchuk, Serge Minor, and Ekaterina Pshehotskaya, 285–300. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Jones, Susie. 2006. Focus in Yorùbá: a semantic/pragmatic account. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 46:143–160.
- Kügler, Frank, and Sasha Calhoun. 2020. Prosodic encoding of information structure: A typological perspective. In *The Oxford Handbook of Language Prosody*, ed. Carlos Gussenhoven and Aoju Chen, 454–467. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- López, Luis. 2009. *A Derivational Syntax for Information Structure*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nettle, Daniel. 1998. *The Fyem Language of Northern Nigeria*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Nguyen, Tuong Hung. 2004. *The Structure of the Vietnamese Noun Phrase*. Doctoral Dissertation, Boston University, Boston.
- Oroji, Mohammad Reza, and Amir Rezaei. 2013. Exploring ‘ke’ as a focus particle in Persian from both form and function points of view. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 33:76–84.

- Ortega Santos, Ivan. 2016. *Focus-related Operations at the Right Edge in Spanish: Subjects and Ellipsis*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Pearce, Elizabeth. 2015. *A Grammar of Unua*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Reinhart, Tanya. 2006. *Interface Strategies: Optimal and Costly Computations*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery. In *Elements of Grammar*, ed. Liliane Haegeman, 281–337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 2001. On the position “int(errogative)” in the left periphery of the clause. In *Current Studies in Italian Syntax: Essays Offered to Lorenzo Renzi*, ed. Guglielmo Cinque and Giampaolo Salvi, 267–296. Amsterdam: Elsevier BV.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 2013. The functional structure of the sentence, and cartography. In *The Cambridge Handbook of Generative Syntax*, ed. Marcel den Dikken, Cambridge Handbooks in Language and Linguistics, 425–457. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rizzi, Luigi, and Giuliano Bocci. 2017. Left periphery of the clause: Primarily illustrated for Italian. In *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Syntax, Second Edition*, ed. Martin Everaert and Henk C. van Riemsdijk, 1–30. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Romero-Figueroa, Andrés. 1997. *A Reference Grammar of Warao*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Schwarzschild, Roger. 1999. GIVENness, AvoidF and other Constraints on the Placement of Focus. *Natural Language Semantics* 7:141–177.
- Testelec, Jakov G. 1998a. Word order variation in some SOV languages of Europe. In *Constituent Order in the Languages of Europe*, ed. Anna Siewierska, 649–680. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Testelec, Jakov G. 1998b. Word order variation in some SOV languages of Europe. In *Constituent Order in the Languages of Europe*, ed. Anna Siewierska, 257–280. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Tokizaki, Hisao, and Yoshihito Dobashi. 2013. Introduction to universal syntax and parametric phonology. *Linguistic Analysis* 38:147–151.
- van der Wal, Jenneke. 2009. *Word Order and Information Structure in Makhuwa-Enahara*. Utrecht: LOT.
- Ward, Gregory L. 1988. *The Semantics and Pragmatics of Preposing*. New York: Garland.
- Watters, John R. 1979. Focus in Aghem. In *Aghem Grammatical Structure*, ed. Larry M. Hyman, 157–189. Los Angeles: University of California Department of Linguistics.

- Weir, Evelyn Mary Helen. 1984. *A negação e outros tópicos da gramática nadëb*. Master's thesis, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Campinas.
- Zubizarreta, María Luisa. 1998. *Prosody, Focus and Word Order*. Cambridge: MIT Press.