FOCALIZING *SER* ('TO BE') IN COLOMBIAN SPANISH

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A mis padres, César y Dunia,
por su constante apoyo y amor incondicional.

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esto es para ti, para que te entretengas en el cielo.

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iv

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Dunia Catalina Méndez Vallejo

FOCALIZING *SER* ('TO BE') IN COLOMBIAN SPANISH

This dissertation examines the syntactic configuration of the focalizing *ser* ('to be') structure (FS) in Colombian Spanish. The FS has been reported in a few dialects of Spanish (Venezuelan, Colombian, Ecuadorian, Dominican, and Panamanian), and it is not stigmatized, despite being dialectally marked. Although the FS has been previously studied, it is still unclear what kind of constituents may be FS-focused and what its structural configuration is. Thus, the purpose of the present study is twofold: first, to offer a clear and comprehensive account of the syntactic properties of the FS; and second, to propose a coherent theoretical analysis of the form. Based on acceptability judgments collected from 45 Colombian speakers, I show that the FS can focus only post-verbal elements, and that the morphology of FS *ser* is not established randomly. The empirical observations gathered in this dissertation allow me to conclude that the FS is a sentence-internal focus structure, and that FS *ser* establishes morphological agreement with the main verb in Tense and Aspect, and with contrasted post-verbal subjects and certain direct objects in Person and/or Number. After a careful examination of the agreement patterns shown in FS *ser*, I claim that the operation Agree can account for these agreement processes. The theoretical analysis here proposed seems to provide a more accurate view of the FS, and to satisfactorily account for all empirical observations. Future research should extend my syntactic analysis in order to explore semantic, pragmatic, prosodic, and cognitive aspects that may incur in the production and perception of the FS.

Table of Contents

Table of Figures

List of symbols

ok   A sentence judged as grammatical

*   A sentence judged as ungrammatical

?   A sentence with dubious grammaticality

\#   A grammatical sentence that is not appropriate for a particular context

%   A sentence that presents variability in grammaticality judgments

List of common abbreviations

In text

FS	Focalizing *ser* ('to be') construction
FS *ser*	Verb *ser* in the FS structure
TP	Tense Phrase (also referred to as IP)
T	Tense (also referred to as INFL)
IP	Inflectional Phrase
VP	Verbal Phrase
*v*P	Little *v* Phrase
CP	Complementizer Phrase
DP	Determiner Phrase
NP	Noun Phrase
PP	Prepositional Phrase
AdvP	Adverbial Phrase
AdjP	Adjectival Phrase
PerfP	Perfective Phrase
ProgrP	Progressive Phrase
TopP	Topic Phrase
FocP	Focus Phrase
ApplP	Applicative Phrase
S	Subject
V	Verb

O	Object
DO	Direct Object
IO	Indirect Object
EPP	Extended Projection Principle
DOM	Differential Object Marking
HMC	Head Movement Constraint

In examples

SG	Singular
PL	Plural
PRES	Present tense
PAST	Past tense
FUT	Future
COND	Conditional
SUBJ	Subjunctive
IMPER	Imperative
PROB	Probability
IMP	Imperfect
PRET	Preterit
INF	Infinitive
COMP	Complementizer
PRON	Pronoun
FOR	Formal

INFORM	Informal
CL	Clitic
ACC	Accusative
DAT	Dative
FEM	Feminine
MASC	Masculine
NEUT	Neuter
OP	Operator
NEG	Negation

Introduction

The term *Focalizing ser* (henceforth abbreviated as FS) has been previously used by Sedano (1990) and Bosque (1999) to refer to a particular focus structure which has been reported to occur in only a handful of Spanish dialects: Colombian, Venezuelan, Ecuadorian, Panamanian, and Dominican (Kany 1951; Albor 1986; Lipski 1994; Toribio 2002). The syntactic peculiarity of this structure resides on the fact that the verb *ser* ('to be') appears to have been "inserted" in the middle of an independent free-standing sentence. For example, a simple declarative sentence such as (1) may be transformed into a sentence such as (2), where *ser* intervenes between the main verb and the direct object:

    (1) *Catalina   escribe   una   tesis   de sintaxis*

         Catalina   write.3SG.PRES a   thesis of syntax

         'Catalina writes a syntax dissertation'

    (2) *Catalina   escribe   __es__   una   tesis   de sintaxis*

         Catalina   write.3SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES a   thesis of syntax

         'It __is__ a syntax dissertation that Catalina writes'

Although (1) and (2) seem very similar, (2) can only be uttered in specific discourse contexts, as an answer to a question, or in response to a comment as shown in the dialogue in (3):

(3) **A:** *¿Catalina no escribe un libro de aventuras?*

  Catalina   not write.3SG.PRES a   book of adventures

  'Is Catalina not writing an adventure book?'

 B: *No, Catalina escribe* **es** *una tesis de sintaxis*

  no   Catalina write.3SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES a   thesis of syntax

  'No, it **is** a syntax dissertation that Catalina writes'[1]

Interestingly, although speakers of non-FS dialects often perceive the FS as a very odd structure, speakers of FS-dialects do not even realize that it is a non-standard form. Furthermore, the FS-sentence produced by B in (3) may be more or less equivalent to the pseudo-cleft structure in its interpretation, which is common in both FS and non-FS dialects. That is, FS-speakers can answer the question in (3) with an FS-sentence, as in (3), or with a pseudo-cleft sentence, as in (4):

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[1] It is important to mention at this point that given the contrastive nature of sentences such as (3), speakers tend to utter these FS sentences with a marked intonation (falling intonation on *ser*). This, however, does not entail that all FS sentences are intonationally marked. A non-contrastive version of the sentence in (3), as shown in (i) below, tends to be uttered with no particular intonation (e.g. there is no falling intonation on *ser*). Although this is an interesting observation, I will not discuss it any further in this dissertation. Given that the main purpose of this study is to explore the syntactic configuration of the FS, it must remain for future research to investigate the correlation between contrastive and non-contrastive FS and prosody, which will probably give some valuable insight into the true nature of the FS construction.

 (i) **A:** *¿Qué escribe Catalina?*
   what write.3SG.PRES Catalina
   'What does Catalina write?'
  B: *Catalina escribe* **es** *una tesis de sintaxis*
   Catalina write.3SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES a   thesis of syntax
   'It **is** a syntax dissertation that Catalina writes'

(4) **A:** *¿Catalina   no   escribe   un libro de aventuras?*

 Catalina   not write.3SG.PRES a   book of adventures

 'Is Catalina not writing an adventure book?'

 B: *No, <u>lo   que</u> Catalina escribe   **es**   una tesis   doctoral*

 no   PRON COMP Catalina   write.3SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES a thesis doctoral

 'No, <u>what</u> Catalina writes **is** a doctoral dissertation'

Given the apparent similarity between the FS and the pseudo-cleft, some researchers (Albor 1986; Toribio 2002; Sedano 2003b) claim that the FS is a pseudo-cleft with no CP components such as relative pronoun and complementizer. However, other researchers (Bosque 1999; Curnow and Travis 2003; Camacho 2006) argue that the FS is not a pseudo-cleft, but an independent structure.

The present dissertation takes this latter claim as a point of departure and investigates in depth the syntactic structure of the FS. Hence, the goals of this study are: i) to provide a precise syntactic analysis of the FS; ii) to point out some hitherto unnoticed peculiar and sometimes puzzling syntactic and semantic properties of the FS; and iii) to capture these properties under the proposed syntactic analysis.

Looking at the general properties of FS syntax, I will provide evidence to show that any phrase (e.g. DP, PP, AdvP, CP, etc.), serving any kind of grammatical function (e.g. subject, direct or indirect object, etc.), can be focused by the FS, as long as it is post-verbal. Furthermore, my observations regarding

the morphology of FS *ser* allow me to suggest that it establishes Tense and Aspect agreement with the verb in T (e.g. a matrix verb or an auxiliary verb), on the one hand, and Person and/or Number agreement with the focused constituent, on the other.

In terms of the semantic properties of the FS, first, I point out (as observed by Curnow and Travis) that the FS may entail both contrastive and non-contrastive focus. Second, I propose that the contrastive function of the FS directly correlates with the agreement pattern observed between FS *ser* and the focused constituent: FS *ser* agrees with post-verbal subjects and DOs (with no DOM) *only* if these constituents occur in a contrastive context. Furthermore, given that FS *ser* has lost its original characteristics as a copula or an auxiliary verb, and that it is used to introduce the focused element and to concatenate it with previous information, I argue that FS *ser* should be viewed as a link between focus and its background.

Based on all this evidence, I claim in this dissertation that the FS is a TP-internal focus structure, base-generated in a Focus Phrase (FocP), and placed below T and above *v*P. This clearly accounts for all FS-focused constituents, especially for FS-focused PerfPs and ProgrPs. In addition, since FS *ser* is here understood as link between focus and its background, I argue that it should be placed in the specifier of the FocP ([Spec, FocP]), rather than in its head position (Foc).

As for the agreement pattern, I find that FS *ser* establishes Tense/Aspect agreement with T, and Person/Number agreement with the focused constituent

in-situ, by means of the operation Agree (Chomsky 2000; Chomsky 2001; Béjar 2003; Chomsky 2004; Rezac 2004; Boeckx 2008). In particular, I show (following Chomsky's and Boeckx's observations regarding the distribution of (un)interpretable features) that: a) the interpretable Tense/Aspect features in T (the Probe) match and value the uninterpretable Tense/Aspect features in [Spec, FocP] (the Goal); and b) the interpretable Focus/φ features in the focused XP (the Goal) match and value the uninterpretable Focus/φ features in Foc (the Probe). Additionally, in cases of contrastive focus I conclude that if the focused constituent has φ features, it must check them with FS *ser*, otherwise FS *ser* acquires default morphology ([3 PERSON], [SINGULAR]). Also, based on the results of binding tests, I show that contrasted elements remain in-situ and do not move to a higher position (e.g. FocP) in order to check Focus features.

The data used in this dissertation are derived from acceptability judgments of sample sentences embedded in appropriate discourse contexts. These acceptability judgments were collected from 45 Colombian speakers, born and raised in Bucaramanga (and its metropolitan area), and who were college students at the time of the data collection. In addition to the data drawn from the acceptability judgments, I have included some FS sentences that I have recorded from T.V. programs, or that I have elaborated based on what I (or others around me) have uttered in particular speech situations. As I will mention, particularly in Chapter 1 (section 1.5), these data should be considered in terms of its illustrative purpose and not as part of any quantitative analysis. This study focuses on the

theoretical aspects of the FS construction and does not intend to draw any statistical analysis of the form.

This dissertation comprises four chapters. **Chapter 1** (*The FS as an independent focus structure*) introduces some general characteristics about the FS and cleft constructions, specially the pseudo-cleft. In this chapter, I briefly describe my assumptions regarding Spanish clause structure in terms of the use of *ser* as a copula and auxiliary verb, word order, and the syntactic derivation of declarative clauses. Furthermore, I refer to previous studies on the FS, some of which examine it as an incomplete version of the pseudo-cleft (Albor 1986; Toribio 2002; Sedano 2003b), and others that view it as a completely different form (Bosque 1999; Curnow and Travis 2003; Camacho 2006). Throughout the entire chapter, I intend to show that the FS is an independent structure (i.e. it is not a pseudo-cleft) that has its own syntactic and semantic properties.

Chapter 2 (*Syntactic properties of the FS*) describes the syntactic characteristics of the FS in terms of the types of constituents that can (and cannot) be FS-focused, the syntactic position of the FS within the clause, the morphology of FS *ser*, and the relation between the FS and certain syntactic phenomena such as word order, topicalization, passivization, question formation, and extraction. Based on my empirical observations, I claim that the FS may focus all kinds of phrases, as long as they are placed below T (e.g. PerfPs, ProgrPs, DPs, PPs, AdvPs, CPs, etc.). Furthermore, I find that FS *ser* agrees with the main verb (the verb placed in T) in both Tense and Aspect. On the other hand, FS *ser* agrees with post-verbal subjects and DOs (with no DOM) in Person

6

and/or Number, *only* in contrastive contexts. Given these generalizations, I claim

that analyzing the FS as a FocP placed below T and above *v*P allows me to

account for all grammatical and ungrammatical outcomes.

Chapter 3 (*FS in TP-internal FocP*) provides more compelling evidence for

my syntactic analysis of the FS as a TP-internal FocP, and it examines the

agreement pattern shown in FS *ser* through the mechanism of Agree.

Particularly, I claim that FS *ser* enters Grammar after two agreement processes

have taken place in-situ: in one, Tense and Aspect features are matched and

valued in [Spec, FocP]; in another, Person and Number features are matched and

valued in Foc. Furthermore, regarding the latter process, I explain that

contrasted constituents must check φ features with Foc, whereas non-contrasted

constituents must not. Importantly, when the focused constituent does not have a

particular φ feature (i.e. [Person], [Number]), FS *ser* acquires default

morphology (i.e. [3 PERSON] and/or [SINGULAR]). At the end of this chapter, I

include the results of a binding test and I conclude that contrasted constituents

check Focus features in-situ since there is no strong evidence supporting the idea

that they move to a higher position (e.g. FocP) in order to check them.

Finally, **Chapter 4** (*Conclusions: FS syntax and beyond*) draws some

general conclusions about my theoretical and empirical observations on the FS,

and presents some ideas for future investigation. Specifically, I suggest that there

is a need to clarify the semantic properties of the FS and to establish a relation

between them and the pragmatic conditions that allow users of the FS to choose

this form over the pseudo-cleft. Additionally, I comment on the urge to study the

cognitive (extra-grammatical) aspects of the FS (in terms of language processing, memory load, etc.) and their implications on dialectal differences (i.e. production and perception of the FS in contrast with the pseudo-cleft).

I believe that the theoretical analysis of the FS that I have presented in this dissertation provides a more accurate view of this focus structure, and satisfactorily accounts for my empirical observations. Although I hope to have successfully contributed to the understanding of the syntactic structure of the FS, further work is still necessary to elucidate the semantic, pragmatic, and cognitive properties of the FS. I believe that my syntactic proposal will serve as an initial step towards a much more challenging investigation, one in which I will need to explain why the FS is used in certain Spanish dialects, and how it coexists with other focus structures, such as the pseudo-cleft.

Chapter 1:

The FS as an independent focus structure

In this chapter I introduce the *Focalizing ser* structure (FS) as I discuss some general aspects of Spanish syntax, such as clause structure in declarative and interrogative sentences, and clefts. The main goals of this chapter are: a) to provide a general introduction of the FS; b) to show that the FS must not be analyzed as a cleft (the FS is not a dependent clause); and c) to claim that the FS has a particular syntactic configuration which reflects some specific semantic differences among its syntactic units.

After establishing some general aspects about the structure of the FS in section 1.2, I will develop a systematic account of the syntactic properties of the FS in Chapter 2. Finally, the theoretical considerations regarding clause structure in Spanish (introduced in section 1.3), and the empirical observations from Chapter 2 will become relevant for my syntactic proposal of the FS in Chapter 3.

1.1. The FS as an alternative focus construction

Cleft constructions are commonly used in Spanish to focalize certain elements in a sentence. A sentence such as (1), for example, can be transformed into a cleft construction such as (2), where the copula verb *fue* 'was' (> *ser* 'to be') c-commands the focalized direct object (*lingüística* 'linguistics'), and a relative clause (*lo que* 'what') is placed within the subject CP:

(1)   *Juan   estudió   lingüística*

Juan   study.3SG.PAST   linguistics

'Juan studied linguistics'

(2)   <u>*Lo   que*</u> *Juan   estudió   fue   **lingüística***[2]

the.NEUT   COMP   Juan   study.3SG.PAST   be.3SG.PAST   linguistics

'<u>What</u> Juan studied was **linguistics**'

Taking into account the rather informal traditional views of focus (Chomsky 1971; Jackendoff 1972), we expect the focalized element (*lingüística* 'linguistics', in (2)) to be the new, non-presupposed segment of the sentence[3]. Thus, (2) can perfectly serve as an answer for the question in (3) below:

(3) **A:** *¿Qué   estudió   Juan?*

what   study.3SG.PAST   Juan

'What did Juan study?'

   B: *Lo   que   Juan   estudió   fue   **lingüística***

the.NEUT   COMP   Juan   study.3SG.PAST   be.3SG.PAST   linguistics

'What Juan studied was **linguistics**'

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[2] The cleft construction shown in examples (2) - (3) is technically referred to in the literature as a pseudo-cleft structure (see: Heggie, L., 1988). A more detailed account of cleft structures is provided in section 1.4.1.

[3] According to this preliminary definition of focus, the focalized element is such that has not been mentioned in previous discourse, and may serve as the new segment that provides the answer to a question. A lengthier discussion of the notion of focus can be found in Chapter 3.

In a few dialects of Spanish (i.e. Venezuelan, Ecuadorian, Panamanian, Colombian, and Dominican), on the other hand, a sentence involving the same focus interpretation can also be created without the relative clause, as in (4):

(4) *Juan*   *estudió*   *fue*   ***lingüística***

      Juan   study.3SG.PAST   be.3SG.PAST   linguistics

      'It was **linguistics** what Juan studied'

The structure in (4), here referred to as the FS, has not been widely studied. It has been reported to occur in Brazilian Portuguese (Casteleiro 1979; Wheeler 1982; Kato, Braga et al. 1996; Oliveira and Braga 1997; Mikolajczak 2003; Mioto 2008; Kato 2009), European Portuguese (Ambar 1999), Venezuelan Spanish (Sedano 1988; 1990; 1994; 1995; 2003a; 2003b), Colombian Spanish (Albor 1986; Curnow and Travis 2003), Caribbean Spanish (Bosque 1999; Camacho 2006), and Dominican Spanish (Toribio 2002).

At first sight, the cleft sentence in (2)–(3) looks very similar to the FS in (4). In fact, as suggested by some scholars (Albor 1986; Toribio 2002; Sedano 2003b), these two forms appear to involve essentially the same structure, except that in the FS the relative clause (*lo que* 'what') does not show up. Although this seems plausible, others (Bosque 1999; Curnow and Travis 2003; Camacho 2006) have shown that these two forms are affected differently in cases of clitic climbing

and *wh*-extraction, which suggests that they actually are two distinct syntactic structures[4].

In the present study, I support this latter view according to which the FS and the pseudo-cleft are different syntactic structures. Following previous observations (Bosque 1999; Curnow and Travis 2003; Camacho 2006), I will show in section 1.4 that the FS does not involve a dependent clause and that the FS and the pseudo-cleft are affected differently by various syntactic phenomena (e.g. clitic climbing, focus of negative expressions, question formation, etc.).

It is important to mention at this point that both the cleft structure and the FS are used parallel to each other, and that no structure is replacing the other. Thus, a user of the FS is expected to employ both the cleft and the FS in the same, or in similar discourse contexts.   For example, in their study of the FS in Colombian Spanish, Curnow and Travis (2003) found 37 cases of the FS and 58 cases of the cleft in seven hours of naturally-occurring conversation. Sedano (2003b), in her study of Caracas Spanish, found 207 cases of the FS and 386 cases of the cleft in two corpora of spoken Spanish[5].

Although both structures are employed in these two studies, the FS does not seem to be used more frequently than the cleft. Even more interestingly, the FS does not always occur in the same syntactic contexts than the cleft. Sedano (2003b), for example, finds that the FS is placed more often before adverbs and prepositional phrases than the cleft (before adverbs: FS=92 %, Cleft= 8%; before prepositional phrases: FS=69%, Cleft=31%), and that the cleft is placed more

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[4] I will discuss both of the views at length in sections 1.4.2., and 1.4.3.
[5] These corpora are compiled in Bentivoglio and Sedano (1987).

often before nouns and pronouns (before nouns: FS=24 %, Cleft= 76%; before pronouns: FS=5%, Cleft=95%).

In terms of the social implications of this non-standard form, Sedano (2003a) finds that the FS is more frequently produced by young speakers who belong to low and mid-low socioeconomic classes[6]. These results lead Sedano (2003a) to conclude that the FS has not acquired a negative value in Caracas Spanish, and that it is not considered a marginal form. According to her, Caracas speakers simply view the FS as a colloquial, semi-formal structure, characteristic of the Venezuelan Andes.   Furthermore, taking into account that the FS has been reported to occur in Venezuelan Spanish after 1960, Sedano (2003a) attributes its growing expansion to the increasing number of Colombian immigrants that have entered Venezuela during the past decades[7].

Looking at the use of the FS in Colombian Spanish, it seems more apparent that this is not a marginal form, and that Colombian speakers may not even be aware of it[8]. As mentioned in previous studies (Albor 1986), the FS has spread across socioeconomic levels and age groups, and it is used in daily conversation, among friends, family members, co-workers, etc. Moreover, the FS can be found

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[6] Based on the results of her statistical analysis, Sedano (2003a) shows that the FS is favored by low socioeconomic levels (Low=.635; Mid-low=.613; Mid-high=.371; Mid=.351; High=.363), and by young age (14-30 years=.591, 30-45 years=.540, 45-60 years=.434, +60 years=.281).
[7] In fact, Sedano (1988, 2003a: 841-842) proposes that the FS is a typical case of a change from below, in which the innovative form (the FS) becomes predominant in the speech of young speakers who belong to lower socio-economic classes. She also claims that the FS has probably spread rapidly in Caracas Spanish due to a covered prestige shown in foreign forms, and to the increasing presence of Colombian women employed as housekeepers and baby-sitters.
[8] Although I have not conducted a study of speakers' linguistic attitudes toward the FS, I have noticed that Colombian speakers do not show any reaction (e.g. objection or rejection) when they hear the structure, unlike speakers of other dialects. Furthermore, in one occasion when I explained the structure of the FS to a group of linguistic students at a Colombian university, many of these students expressed that certain cleft structures sounded ungrammatical, whereas the FS counterparts sounded perfectly grammatical to them.

in novels and shorts stories[9], in chat logs and blogs on the internet, and even on TV programs, such as news broadcasts, soap-operas, talk-shows, and political interviews[10].

Although all these sociolinguistic considerations are very interesting and will be very important for our understanding of the FS, this dissertation will only focus on the syntactic analysis of the form, given that the formal properties of the FS are still not completely clear, despite several efforts (Bosque 1999; Toribio 2002; Camacho 2003; Kato 2009). It remains for future research to conduct a more extensive study of the social aspects that surround its production, and of speakers' attitudes towards it.

Throughout the next sections, I will provide a general idea of the structure of the FS and of its connection with cleft structures. In section 1.2 I broadly describe some structural particularities of the FS (its use as a focus structure, its place within the sentence, the morphology of *ser*, and the kinds of constituents that it may focus). In section 1.3 I discuss some aspects of Spanish clause structure and their relation with the FS (copula verbs, word order, question formation, VP structure, and verb movement). In section 1.4 I summarize the structure of clefts in Spanish, and I provide some background on the study of the FS as a pseudo-cleft and as an independent structure. Finally, in section 1.5 I explain methodological aspects of data collection.

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[9] Albor (1986) has found the FS in several short stories, novels, and newspaper reports.
[10] I have personally heard and collected a number of instances of the FS that I found in written comments left at various internet sites, or that I heard on various kinds of TV programs.

1.2. The basic structure of the FS

Before going into a more detailed description of the FS, it is essential to clarify whether this form really is a focus construction. As mentioned above, focused elements are traditionally viewed as the new, non-presupposed segments in a sentence.   Hence, if we assume that the FS introduces focus in this sense, it can only precede discourse-new elements. In (5) below, for example, the FS is clearly preceding a discourse-new element (*en Berlín* 'in Berlin'):

(5) **A:** *¿Dónde*   *nevó*   *ayer?*

      where   snow.3SG.PAST   yesterday

      '**Where** did it snow yesterday?'

  B: *Nevó*   *ayer*   *fue*   *en* *Berlín*

      snow.3SG.PAST   yesterday be.3SG.PAST   in   Berlin

      'It was **in Berlin** where it snowed yesterday'

However, if the FS precedes a discourse-old element (*ayer* 'yesterday'), we expect the sentence to be grammatical, but not an appropriate outcome for the question in (5):

(6) **A:** *¿Dónde*   *nevó*   *ayer?*

      where   snow.3SG.PAST   yesterday

      '**Where** did it snow yesterday?'

B: # *Nevó*   *fue*   *ayer*   **en Berlín**

snow.3SG.PAST   be.3SG.PAST   yesterday   in   Berlin

'It was **in Berlin** where it snowed yesterday'

In fact, the answer in (6) can only become semantically appropriate in a context where the adverb *ayer* ('yesterday') is the focalized element, as in (7) below:

(7) **A:** *¿Cuándo*   *nevó*   *en Berlín?*

when   snow.3SG.PAST   in   Berlin

'**When** did it snow in Berlin?'

B: ᵒᵏ *Nevó*   *fue*   ***ayer***   *en Berlín*

snow.3SG.PAST   be.3SG.PAST   yesterday   in   Berlin

'It was **yesterday** that it snowed in Berlin'

Notice that the verb *ser* ('to be') itself is neither focus nor topic: in a sense it links the presupposed segment of the sentence (*nevó ayer* ('it snowed yesterday) in examples (5) – (6) and *nevó en Berlín* ('it snowed in Berlin) in example (7)) with the focused, non-presupposed segment (*en Berlín* (in Berlin) in examples (5) – (6) and *ayer* ('yesterday') in example (7)). In this sense, it is clear that the FS (i.e. FS *ser*) is located, typically, between the focused phrase and its background as if it is connecting the two. This observation will become particularly important

in Chapter 3 (section 3.1), where I argue that the FS should be analyzed as focus link, rather than a copulative verb.

Taking into account that several kinds of focus have been proposed in the literature (Chomsky 1971; Kiss 1988; Rooth 1992; Lambrecht 1996; Erteschik-Shir 1997; Zubizarreta 1998; Bosch and Van Der Sandt 1999; Domínguez 2004; Krifka 2006; Molnár and Winkler 2006; Gundel and Fretheim 2007), I will now clarify that the FS may introduce contrastive and non-contrastive focus[11]. Contrastive focus (following Krifka's (2006) definition) is here understood as a kind of focus that refers to a set of alternatives (either presupposed from Common Ground content or explicitly given in discourse context) from which an item is selected, and confronted to such set.

In this sense, when the FS introduces contrastive focus, it entails that part of the presupposed information is incorrect, and that a new element of the set of presuppositions needs to be chosen. In (8), for example, speaker A presupposes that speaker B owns two dogs. Speaker B's use of the FS introduces an amendment for speaker A's statement and allows Speaker B to select a different element from the set of possible pets (Pets: {dogs, cats, hamsters,…,}):

(8) **A:** *Pensé   que   tenías   dos   perros*
          think.1SG.PAST COMP have.2SG.PAST two   dogs
          'I thought that you had two dogs'

---

[11] See chapter 3 for more on contrastive and non-contrastive FS.

17

B: *No,   tengo   es   dos gatos*

   no   have.1SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES two   cats

   'No, it is **two cats** that I have'

As pointed out by Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (personal communication), a similar contrastive function may be found in most Spanish dialects when using *pero* ('but') in these contexts. Hence, speaker B's reply in (8) may also occur as in (9) in non-FS dialects:

(9) **B:** *No,   tengo   pero dos gatos*

    no   have.1SG.PRES but   two   cats

    'No, I have but **two cats**'

In this dissertation, I will not develop an extensive discussion on the use of *pero* ('but') as a contrastive element, but I will clarify at this point that *pero* ('but') is used much more restrictively than the FS[12]:

(10) **A:** *¿No   tienes   hambre?*

     no   have.2SG.PRES hunger

     'Aren't you hungry?'

---

[12] Please see Chapter 3 (section 3.4) for further discussion on *pero* ('but') and the FS.

B: *No,   tengo   (ᵒᵏ es)   (*pero)   **sed***

    no   have.1SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES but   thirst

    'No, it is **thirsty** that I am'

As mentioned in previous studies of the FS (e.g. Sedano 1990; Curnow and Travis 2003), the FS is not always used to introduce contrast. In fact, it may simply emphasize or intensify what has been introduced in discourse as new information. For example, in (11), speaker B provides an answer to speaker A's question, and emphasizes the fact that she no longer has a rabbit but a pair of cats. Thus, although there is an implicit set of alternatives from which speaker B is choosing, it is clear that she is not correcting speaker A's presupposition, but highlighting that she now has two cats[13]:

(11) **A:** *¿Y   ahora   tienes   mascotas?*

    and   now   have.2SG.PRES pets

    'Do you have pets now?'

B: *Pues, cuando llegué acá decidí adoptar un conejo. El pobre se murió*

    well, when I came here I decided to adopt a rabbit. The poor one died

    *y   ahora   tengo   es   **dos gatos***

    and   now   have.1SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES two   cats

    'Well, when I came here I decided to adopt a rabbit. The poor one died and now it is **two cats** that I have'

---

[13] Following Krifka (2006), the case in (8) supposes a set of *closed alternatives*, and the case in (11) a set of *open alternatives*. For Krifka (2006) all questions imply at least an *open* set of alternatives.

Having established that the FS may introduce contrastive and non-contrastive focus, we will briefly discuss some general characteristics of the form. This preliminary review of the FS will allow the reader to become familiarized with the syntactic contexts that render grammatical and ungrammatical outcomes. As we will see in this section (and even more specifically in Chapter 2), the FS shows interesting syntactic properties and constraints, some of which have not been explicitly discussed in previous studies: it must always occur post-verbally; it establishes morphological agreement with certain elements in the sentence; and it may focus a variety of post-verbal constituents.

In terms of linear order (with respect to other constituents), the FS can never occur at the beginning of the sentence. In (12), for example, the FS is correctly placed after the main verb (*propuso* 'he proposed'), and immediately to the left of the focused element (*una reforma* 'a reform'):

(12) ^{ok} *El presidente   propuso   fue   una reforma*

     the president   propose.3SG.PAST be.3SG.PAST a   reform

     'It was **a reform** that the president proposed'

However, when the FS is placed before the main verb (13), or before the fronted subject (14), the sentence becomes ungrammatical:

(13) *El presidente   fue   propuso   una   reforma
     the president   be.3SG.PAST   propose.3SG.PAST   a   reform
     'It was **a reform** that the president proposed'

(14) * Fue   el   presidente   propuso   una   reforma
     be.3SG.PAST   the president   propose.3SG.PAST   a   reform
     'It was **a reform** that the president proposed'

Also, if the FS occurs at the end of the sentence, the outcome is also ill-formed[14]:

(15) * El presidente   propuso   una   reforma   fue
     the president   propose.3SG.PAST   a   reform   be.3SG.PAST
     'It was **a reform** that the president proposed'

Looking at the verb *ser* ('to be') in the FS structure, I find that it is not always conjugated in the present tense, and that this variation is in sync to the conjugation of the main verb. As shown in the examples below, *ser* can occur in present tense (16), and in past (preterit) tense (17), and in imperfect tense (18)):

---

[14] According to Toribio (2002), a sentence such as (15) is grammatical in Dominican Spanish. However, in Colombian Spanish a sentence of this type (where the FS occurs sentence-finally) is highly unacceptable.

(16) *Los jugadores* **llegan**   *es*   *en tren*

     the players   arrive.3PL.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   in   train

     'It is by train that the players **arrive**'

(17) *Los jugadores* **llegaron**   *fue*   *en tren*

     the players   arrive.3PL.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   in   train

     'It was by train that the players **arrived**'

(18) *Los jugadores* **llegaban**   *era*   *en tren*

     the players   arrive.3PL.IMP   be.3SG.IMP   in   train

     'It was by train that the players **arrived**'

As shown in (16) – (18), *ser* and the main verb are conjugated in the same tense, and they must maintain the same aspectual features (i.e. [±perfectiveness]). However, as will be explained in more detail in Chapter 2, if *ser* does not have the same tense and aspect features of the main verb, the outcome is ungrammatical:

(19) * *Los jugadores* **llegan**   *era*   *en tren*

     the players   arrive.3PL.PRES   be.3SG.IMP   in   train

     'It was by train that the players **arrive**'

(20) * *Los jugadores* **llegaron**   *era*   *en tren*

     the players   arrive.3PL.PRET   be.3SG.IMP   in   train

     'It was by train that the players **arrived**'

(21) * *Los jugadores* **llegaban** *fue* *en tren*

the players arrive.3PL.IMP be.3SG.PRET in train

'It was by train that the players **arrived**'

Ser may also be conjugated in the future tense, only when there is not a meaning of futurity, but of probability[15]. That is, if we are describing an event that occurs in future time (22), then *ser* remains in present tense; but if we are describing an event that *may* occur at any point in time (23) then *ser* must be conjugated in the future tense (B1), not in present tense (B2):

(22) **A:** *¿Adónde irán el próximo año?*

'Where will you be next year?'

B: *El próximo año* **estaremos** *es* *en Buenos Aires*

the next year be.1PL.FUT be.3SG.PRES in Buenos Aires

'It is in Buenos Aires where **we will be**'

---

[15] The future tense in Spanish may be used to express futurity, as shown in (i) below:

(i) *Juan* **llegará** *mañana*
Juan come.3SG.FUT tomorrow
'Juan will come tomorrow'

However, as shown in (ii), the future tense may also be employed in Spanish to convey certain modality effects, such as probability:

(ii) *¿Cuándo* **llegará** *Juan?*
when come.3SG.FUT (PROB) Juan
'When might Juan come?'

For an interesting discussion about modality and the Spanish future tense, please see Aaron (2006) and Bybee et al. (1991)

(23) **A:** *Pensé que Antonio venía hoy*

  'I thought that Antonio would be coming today'

  B1: ^{ok} *No, Antonio **vendrá**   será   mañana*

   no   Antonio come.3SG.FUT (PROB) be.3SG.FUT tomorrow

   'No, it would be tomorrow that Antonio **would come**'

  B2: * *No, Antonio **vendrá**   es   mañana*

    no   Antonio come.3SG.FUT (PROB) be.3SG.PRES tomorrow

   'It is tomorrow that Antonio **would come**'

In addition, *ser* may also take a conditional form, only if the main verb is also in conditional:

(24) ^{ok} ***Hablaría**   sería   con su mamá*

   speak.3SG.COND be.3SG.COND with her mother

   'It would be with her mother with whom she **would have spoken**'

(25) * ***Hablaría**   es   con su mamá*

   speak.3SG.COND be.3SG.PRES with her mother

   'It is with her mother with whom she **would have spoken**'

In terms of other types of morphological agreement, *ser* must agree in person and number with post-verbal subjects:

(26) ^{ok} *Llegué*   *fui*   **yo**

arrive.1SG.PRET   be.1SG.PRET   I

'It was **I** who arrived'

(27) * *Llegué*   *fue*   **yo**

arrive.1SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   I

'It was **I** who arrived'

On the other hand, s*er* optionally agrees *only* in number with post-verbal direct objects (28) – (29), but it never agrees with post-verbal indirect objects (30) – (31)[16]:

(28) ^{ok} *Tengo*   *es*   **dos**   **perros**

have.1SG.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   two   dogs

'It is **two dogs** that I have'

(29) ^{ok} *Tengo*   *son*   **dos**   **perros**

have.1SG.PRES   be.3PL.PRES   two   dogs

'It is **two dogs** that I have'

(30) ^{ok} *Le*   *traje*   *esto*   *fue*   **a**   **ellos**

CL   bring.1SG.PRET   this   be.3SG.PRET   to   them

'It is **to them** that I bring this'

---

[16] Please see Chapter 2 for a more complete account of person and number agreement.

(31) *<i>Le traje</i>   <i>esto fueron</i>   **<i>a ellos</i>**

   CL bring.1SG.PRET this be.3PL.PRET to them

   'It is **to them** that I bring this'

Finally, the FS can focus a variety of elements, such as prepositional phrases (32), adverbs (33), adjectives (34), verb complements (35), post-verbal subjects (36)[17], and even complementizer phrases (37):

(32) <i>Mariana se casó</i>   <i>fue</i>   **<i>con Ernesto</i>**

   Mariana PRON marry.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET with Ernesto

   'It was **to Ernesto** that Mariana married'

(33) <i>El cura llegó</i>   <i>fue</i>   **<i>ayer</i>**

   the priest arrive.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET yesterday

   'It was **yesterday** that the priest arrived'

(34) <i>Lo vieron</i>   <i>fue</i>   **<i>muerto</i>**

   CL saw.3PL.PRET be.3SG.PRET dead

   'It was **dead** that they saw him'

(35) <i>Tengo</i>   <i>es</i>   **<i>la lista de los ganadores</i>**

   have.1SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES the list of the winners

   'It is **the list of winners** that I have'

---

[17] According to Toribio (2002), a sentence such as (36) is ungrammatical in Dominican Spanish. As we will show in Chapter 2, FS-focused post-verbal subjects are perfectly acceptable in Colombian Spanish.

(36) *La embarré*   *fui*   *yo*

    CL   mess up.1SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   I

    'It was **I** who messed up'

(37) *Toca*   *es*   *que vaya*   *usted*

    have to.3SG.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   that   go.3SG.SUBJ   you.FOR

    'It is **that you go** that we have to do'

Based on these observations, it becomes clear that we need a theoretical explanation to account for the syntactic configuration of the FS. As shown, the FS must always occur post-verbally, immediately before the focused element, and it establishes morphological agreement with the main verb and with post-verbal subjects and direct objects. This suggests that the FS is not a fixed, frozen expression that can be inserted anywhere in the sentence. Hence, this justifies the development of a comprehensive syntactic analysis (illustrated in Chapter 3) that accounts for these morphological and syntactic properties in light of informational aspects (i.e. topic and focus).

1.3. Spanish clause structure and the FS

In this section I will discuss some of the most basic aspects of Spanish clause structure as they will become relevant in Chapter 3, where I will develop my syntactic analysis of the FS. First, I describe copula verbs in Spanish and I show that only *ser* may be used in the FS construction. After briefly discussing some functions of *ser* (as a copula and as an auxiliary), I argue that *ser* acts as a focus operator in the FS construction. Second, I explain various kinds of word order in

Spanish and their effect on the use of the FS. At this point, I also mention the status of the FS in declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exclamative contexts. Finally, I review some theoretical assumptions regarding Spanish syntactic structure and their implications on the FS.

1.3.1. "Copula" verbs

In Spanish, the verb 'to be' is expressed with two verbs: *ser* and *estar*[18]. The former is employed to describe personality traits, physical appearance, origin, belonging, and age. The latter is employed to describe states, emotions, and results of changes. For example, in (38), the construction *ser+ delgada* ('thin') suggests that one of Juliana's physical properties is to be thin. In (39), on the other hand, the construction *estar+ delgada* ('thin') suggests that Juliana may not have been a thin person, and now she looks thinner than before:

(38) *Juliana es delgada*

     Juliana   be.3SG.PRES thin

     'Juliana is thin'

(39) *Juliana está delgada*

     Juliana   be.3SG.PRES thin

     'Juliana looks thin'

According to Zagona (2001: 47), the difference between these two verbs corresponds to the distinction between "individual-level" predicates and "stage-

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[18] A complete list of the conjugations of *ser* and *estar* can be found in Appendix A.

level" predicates. That is, *ser* attributes permanent qualities, and *estar* attributes

transient properties. Hence, in (38) above, *delgada* ('thin') is an individual

characteristic of Juliana, whereas in (39), *delgada* ('thin') is a changed property,

or the result of a change of states (from fat to thin)[19].

Taking this into account, and following Dik's (1983) description of English

be, it is important to note that both *ser* and *estar* function as *copula* verbs in

contexts such as (38) – (39). That is, no matter what the semantic distinction

may be between *ser* and *estar*, they both introduce a predicate when they act as

copula verbs.

Going back to the FS, it is clear that only *ser* can precede the focused

element:

(40) [ok]*Nosotros   traíamos   era   pollo   asado*

we   bring.1PL.IMP be.3SG.IMP chicken   roasted

'It was roasted chicken what we brought'

(41) **Nosotros   traíamos   estaba   pollo   asado*

we   bring.1PL.IMP be.3SG.IMP chicken   roasted

'It was roasted chicken what we brought'

However, *ser* in the FS construction does not function as a copula verb. As

shown in (40) – (41), for example, it does not introduce a copula predicate, but a

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[19] As Zagona (2001) points out, a distinction between *ser* and *estar* in terms of
permanent/temporary conditioning does not always hold. This is currently an open discussion in
Spanish linguistics, and it escapes from the realm of the present dissertation.

focused element. In addition, the fact that the FS may follow copula predicates, as in (44), strongly suggests that it does not function as a copula in these cases:

(42) ᵒᵏ*Estoy*   **triste** *porque   no   me   llamaste*

be.1SG.PRES sad   because not PRON call.2SG.PRET

'It <u>am</u> **sad** because you did not call me'

(43) **Soy*   **triste** *porque   no   me   llamaste*

be.1SG.PRES sad   because not PRON call.2SG.PRET

'I <u>am</u> **sad** because you did not call me'

(44) *Estoy*   *es*   **triste** *porque   no   me   llamaste*

be.1SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES sad   because not PRON call.2SG.PRET

'It is **sad** that I am because you did not call me'

Interestingly, the FS may also follow the copula verb *ser*, only if that does not result in the repetition of a phonetically identical form of *ser*. That is, in (45) - (48), the use of the FS is not blocked because the morphology of the copula verb in T (*soy, eres, somos, son*) does not phonetically match the morphology of *ser* in the FS (*es*):

(45) ᵒᵏ*Yo* **soy**   *es*   *profesora de español*

I   be.1SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES teacher   of Spanish

'It is a Spanish teacher that I **am**'

(46) ^{ok} *Tú*   ***eres***   *es*   *profesora de español*

    you.INFOR be.2SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES teacher   of Spanish

    'It is a Spanish teacher that you **are**'

(47) ^{ok} *Nosotros* ***somos***   *es*   *profesores de español*

    we   be.1PL.PRES be.3SG.PRES teachers   of Spanish

    'It is Spanish teachers that we **are**'

(48) ^{ok} *Luis y   Laura* ***son***   *es*   *profesores de español*

    Luis   and Laura be.3PL.PRES be.3SG.PRES teachers   of Spanish

    'It is Spanish teachers that Luis and Laura **are**'

However, if there is a phonetic duplication (i.e. phonetic repetition) between the copula *ser* in T and the FS *ser*, the outcome is banned. In (49) – (50), for example, the morphology of the copula (*es*; *son*) phonetically matches that of the FS verb (*es*; *son*):

(49) * *Luis* ***es***   *es*   *profesor de español*

    Luis   be.3SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES teacher of Spanish

    'It is a Spanish teacher that Luis **is**'

(50) * *Luis y   Laura* ***son***   *son*   *profesores de español*

    Luis   and Laura be.3PL.PRES be.3PL.PRES teachers   of Spanish

    'It is Spanish teachers that Luis and Laura **are**'

Now that it is clear that *ser* in the FS is not a copula verb, it is crucial to determine whether it is an auxiliary verb (another possible function of *be* in non-FS dialects of Spanish). Progressive constructions in Spanish are always headed by *estar* (51) – (52), but FS *ser* may occur below the auxiliary as in (53). This allows us to claim that FS *ser* may not be an auxiliary verb:

(51) ᵒᵏ**Estamos**   *corriendo* *por* *el*   *parque*

     be.1PL.PRES   run.PROGR by   the park

     'We **are** running by the park'

(52) *__Somos__   *corriendo* *por* *el*   *parque*

     be.1PL.PRES   run.PROGR by   the park

     'We **are** running by the park'

(53) ᵒᵏ**Estamos**   *es*   *corriendo* *por* *el*   *parque*

     be.1PL.PRES   be.3SG.PRES run.PROGR by   the park

     'It is running that we **are** doing by the park'

This is further illustrated in cases of passive constructions where the auxiliary verb is *ser* (54). As shown in (55), the fact that FS *ser* occurs in a much lower position than the auxiliary *ser* strengthens my claim that it should not be treated as an auxiliary:

(54) *Ha*   ***sido***   *condenado*   *Pedro*

     have.3SG.PRES   be.PERF   condemn.PERF   Pedro

     'Pedro has **been** condemned'

(55) [ok] *Ha*   ***sido***   *condenado*   *es*   *Pedro*

     have.3SG.PRES   be.PERF   condemn.PERF   be.3SG.PRES   Pedro

     'It is Pedro who has **been** condemned'

Based on these observations, it is possible to suggest at this point that FS *ser* does not function as a copula or an auxiliary verb, but rather as some "connector" between the presupposed and the non-presupposed (new) portions of the utterance[20]. As it will be more clearly developed in Chapter 3 (section 3.1), I claim (based on the data here presented) that the FS should be analyzed as focus link, rather than a copulative or auxiliary verb.

1.3.2. Clause structure

Spanish is a head-initial language, which suggests that lexical and functional heads (e.g. verbs, nouns, adjectives, determiners, prepositions, etc.) must precede their complements. In the case of prepositional phrases, for example, the preposition always occurs before the DP complement, as shown in (56) – (57) below:

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[20] It is important to clarify that FS *ser* is described here as connecting new and old information, only based on the fact that it always appears between focus and its background.

(56) ᵒᵏ*Envié   la   carta* [***por*** [<u>*correo   electrónico*</u>]]

send.1SG.PRET the letter by   mail   electronic

'I sent the letter **by** e-mail'

(57) ** Envié   la   carta* [[<u>*correo   electrónico*</u>] ***por***]

send.1SG.PRET the letter   mail   electronic   by

'I sent the letter **by** e-mail'

In the case of the FS, we also find that focused elements must always be preceded by *ser*. This should not be surprising given that FS *ser* always introduces focus:

(58) ᵒᵏ*Me trajeron   [fue   [<u>el   periódico del   domingo</u>]]*

PRON bring.3PL.PRET be.3SG.PRET the newspaper of-the Sunday

'It was the Sunday paper what they brought me'

(59) ** Me   trajeron   [[<u>el   periódico del   domingo fue</u>]*

PRON bring.3PL.PRET the newspaper of-the Sunday   be.3SG.PRET

'It was the Sunday paper what they brought me'

In terms of declarative sentences, Spanish shows relatively free word order. That is, as noted by Contreras (1976), Hernanz and Brucart (1987), Zagona (2001), among others, the order of constituents is not fixed according to grammatical function, and it is greatly determined by information structure (new

34

and old information). Hence, Spanish allows several kinds of word order (60) –

(65), S-V-O being the least marked one[21]:

(60) *Matilde   compró   papas*   S-V-O

Matilde   buy.3SG.PRET   potatoes

'Matilde bought potatoes'

(61) *Compró   Matilde   papas*   V-S-O

buy.3SG.PRET   Matilde   potatoes

'Matilde bought potatoes'

(62) *Compró   papas   Matilde*   V-O-S

buy.3SG.PRET   potatoes   Matilde

'Matilde bought potatoes'

(63) *Matilde   papas   compró*   S-O-V

Matilde   potatoes   buy.3SG.PRET

'Matilde bought potatoes'

(64) *Papas   Matilde   compró*   O-S-V

potatoes   Matilde   buy.3SG.PRET

'Matilde bought potatoes'

(65) *Papas   compró   Matilde*   O-V-S

potatoes   buy.3SG.PRET   Matilde

'Matilde bought potatoes'

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[21] Examples (60) – (65) may be conditioned by discourse context and intonation.

In fact, relative order of other elements such as predicates, arguments, and adjuncts has no apparent effect on the use of the FS. That is, the FS may occur in sentences with an S-V-O order (66), or with an O-V-S order (67). However, as shown in section 1.2 (see example (13)), the FS must not occur pre-verbally, thus ruling out S-O-FS-V (68), or O-S- FS-V orders (69):

(66) *ok*Matilde   compró   *fue*   papas

 Matilde   buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET potatoes

 'It was potatoes that Matilde bought'

(67) *ok* Papas   compró   *fue*   Matilde

 potatoes   buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET Matilde

 'It was Matilde who bought potatoes'

(68) * Matilde   papas   *fue*   compró

 Matilde   potatoes be.3SG.PRET buy.3SG.PRET

 'It was buying potatoes that Matilde did'

(69) * Papas   Matilde *fue*   compró

 potatoes Matilde be.3SG.PRET buy.3SG.PRET

 'It was buying potatoes that Matilde did'

As for interrogatives, Spanish shows three types of structures: yes/no questions, *wh*-questions, and *wh*-in-situ questions. The former, is determined by rising intonation and/or word order (70) – (71); the second, is formed by overt movement of an interrogative constituent to CP (72); the latter, is characterized

by the lack of overt movement of the interrogative constituent from its base position (73):

(70) *¿Matilde compró papas?*

Matilde buy.3SG.PRET potatoes

'Did Matilde buy potatoes?'

(71) *¿<u>Compró</u> papas <u>Matilde</u>?*

buy.3SG.PRET potatoes Matilde

'Did Matilde buy potatoes?'

(72) *¿**Qué**ᵢ compró Matilde ____ ?*

what buy.3SG.PRET Matilde

'**What** did Matilde buy?'

(73) *¿Matilde compró **qué**?*

Matilde buy.3SG.PRET what

'Matilde bought **what**?'

Interestingly, the use of the FS is highly restricted in interrogative contexts. That is, the FS never occurs with yes-no questions (74), or *wh*-questions (75), but it can occur with *wh*-in-situ questions, specifically echo questions (76):

(74) **¿Matilde compró fue papas?*

Matilde buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET potatoes

'It was potatoes that Matilde bought?'

(75) *¿**Qué**_i   compró   Matilde   fue   ____?

what   buy.3SG.PRET   Matilde   be.3SG.PRET

'**What** was it that Matilde bought?'

(76) ^{ok}¿*Matilde*   *compró*   *fue*   **qué?**

Matilde   buy.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   what

'It was **what** that Matilde bought?'

Although the source of this asymmetry in interrogative constructions will be addressed in Chapter 2 (section 2.4), it is worth mentioning at this point that yes-no questions may block the occurrence of the FS because they require a rising intonation, which differs from the lowering intonation pattern observed in final-clause focus (see Zubizarreta (1998))[22]. As for *wh-* and *wh*-in-situ questions, a preliminary observation suggests that the FS must focus a pronounceable element, not its trace (see Bosque (1999) for a similar claim).

Leaving interrogatives temporarily aside, Spanish imperatives are morphologically rich, and they present several restrictions regarding clitics and negation. In (77), for example, positive imperatives do not allow clitics to climb over the verb, whereas in (78) negative imperatives require the clitic to climb over the verb:

---

[22] This comment should be viewed as highly speculative. As pointed out by Manuel Díaz-Campos (personal communication), rising intonation in yes/no questions is more frequently observed in Spanish dialects from Spain. However, in other dialects (e.g. coastal dialects in Colombia, Venezuela, Panama, etc.), rising intonation does not apply to questions. Given this, it is possible that intonation may not have much to do with the constraint observed in examples (74) and (75). As I will discuss in section 2.4, the fact that echo questions allow the use of the FS may be more appropriately explained in terms of syntax.

(77) ¡(***Te**) <u>Ve**te**</u>   de   aquí!

      CL   go.2SG.IMPER - CL from   here

      'Go **away** from here!'

(78) ¡No **te** <u>vayas</u> (***te**)   de   mi   lado!

      not   CL   go.2SG.IMPER - CL from   my   side

      'Don't go **away** from my side!'

Now, Spanish exclamatives are usually formed by a focused element that moves to CP, and it is headed by the complementizer *que* ('that'):

(79) ¡Qué **bien**ᵢ pintaste   ____   este cuadro!

      how   well   paint.2SG.PRET   this portrait

      'How **nicely** you painted this portrait!'

Note that the use of the FS is restricted in cases of imperative (80) and exclamative (81) structures:

(80) * ¡Vete   **es**   de   aquí!

      go.2SG.IMPER - CL be.3SG.PRES from   here

      'It is from here that you must go'

(81) * ¡Quéᵢ bien   pintaste   **fue**   ____ este cuadro!

      how   well   paint.2SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET   this portrait

      'It was so nice that you painted this portrait!'

So far I have highlighted an interesting correlation between the FS and the informational structure of Spanish. First, as shown in cases of *wh*-questions and exclamatives, the FS must always precede the focused element (not its trace). This is not surprising if we bear in mind that the FS (more specifically *ser*) is used to introduce new information and, as such, should not follow the focused element in a head-initial language like Spanish. Second, the FS must always occur post-verbally (that is, below T), no matter how word order has taken place. This indicates that the FS is a sentence-internal phenomenon (TP-internal), so its syntactic structure should not involve more than one clause, which is further evidenced by the fact that it must not occur in cases involving two clauses (e.g. exclamatives and *wh*-questions).

1.3.3. Subjects and Objects in Spanish

The verb in Spanish is generated inside a Verbal Phrase (VP), which is the primary predicate of the clause, and the sister of an Inflectional Phrase (IP). The VP has been assumed to be a lexical category, and the IP to be a functional category which licenses VP constituents and bears Tense and Aspect features (Chomsky 1970; Jaeggli 1982; Chomsky 1986; Demonte and Fernández Lagunilla 1987; Pollock 1989; Chomsky 1995; Bobaljik and Jonas 1996). This IP has also been analyzed as a Tense Phrase (TP), comprising a T(ense) Phrase and an Agr(eement) Phrase (Pollock 1989).

Following the Internal Subject Hypothesis (Fukui and Speas 1986; Kitagawa 1986; Kuroda 1988; Kitagawa 1994), subjects in Spanish are assumed to originate inside vP, as specifiers of the verb (Koopman and Sportiche 1991). Having the

subject and the verb generated inside the VP, the verb moves to INFL to check tense and agreement features ([± finite; past; person; number; case]).

Unlike subjects in English and French, subjects in Spanish do not necessarily have to move to the Spec of IP (or TP) to receive nominative case (Bordelois, Contreras et al. 1986; Contreras 1991; Olarrea 1996). For example, Contreras (1991), following Koopman and Sportiche (1988), argues that in Spanish subjects can be assigned nominative case in-situ (inside the VP), given that INFL is lexical, it L-marks the higher VP, and it governs the subject NP. Hence, V-O-S and V-S-O word orders simply result from V-to-I movement, and not from subject post-posing (Contreras, 1991: 65).

In order to account for pre-verbal subjects (S-V-O word order), it has been proposed that subjects may adjoin to the Spec of IP (or TP) after they have been assigned nominative case within VP (Contreras, 1991), and possibly to check EPP features with a functional head (Cuervo 2001). Other accounts suggest that subject DPs may occur as Topic Phrases, and that they would need to move to the Spec of IP (Mejías-Bikandi 1992; Zubizarreta 1998), or above IP (Ordóñez 1997; Rizzi 1997) to satisfy informational structure requirements. Finally, it has also been suggested that pre-verbal subjects are left dislocated: a covert pronoun *pro* generates inside the VP and it moves to the Spec of IP where it is associated with an overt DP, which has adjoined to IP (Contreras 1991; Barbosa 1994; 1995; Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1996).

At this point, we will simply assume that pre-verbal subjects are generated inside VP and later moved to Spec of IP (or TP), once the verb has been placed in

Tense. As mentioned in 1.2, the FS may focus post-verbal subjects (see (36), repeated here as (82)). However, the FS must not focus pre-verbal subjects (83)[23]:

(82) *[ok]La embarré   fui   yo*

　　CL   mess up.1SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET I

　　'It was **I** who messed up'

(83) ***Fui*   *yo la embarré***

　　be.3SG.PRET I   CL   mess up.1SG.PRET

　　'It was **I** who messed up'
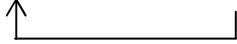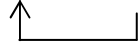
In terms of direct and indirect complements of the verb, several authors have reported a dative alternation in Spanish, and the existence of double object constructions (Demonte 1995; Cuervo 2001; 2003). De Pedro Munilla (2004), for example, argues that the accusative-dative order observed in double object constructions is base generated as a dative-accusative order. Hence, a sentence such as (84) would be generated as shown in (85):

(84) *Marcela le   trajo   **un regalo** <u>a   Rodrigo</u>*
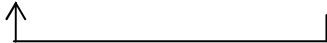
　　Marcela CL bring.3SG.PRET a   gift   to Rodrigo

　　'Marcela brought <u>Rodrigo</u> **a gift**'

---

[23] Please see Chapter 2, sections 2.1.6. and 2.4.3. for a more detailed discussion regarding the FS and pre-verbal/post-verbal subjects, and topicalization.

(85) a. [DP NOMINATIVE [*v* CLITIC [DP <u>DAT</u> DP **ACC**]VP] *v*P] *v*P

b. [DP NOMINATIVE [*v* CLITIC [DP **ACC** DP <u>DAT</u> _____]VP] *v*P] *v*P

c. [DP NOMINATIVE [CLITIC *v* ____ [DP **ACC** DP <u>DAT</u>] *v*P] IP] IP

Similarly, Cuervo (2001; 2003) proposes an Applicative Phrase (ApplP) within VP, where both object complements would be generated. Following Pylkkänen (2002), she suggests that the DO is generated as a sister of the Applicative head, and the IO as a specifier of ApplP. The DO is active (it has unchecked structural case), hence it checks accusative case with small *v*, by moving to the Spec of *v*P. The IO, on the other hand, is invisible to small *v* (it has an inherent case and no uninterpretable case to check somewhere else in the derivation), so it remains within the Spec of ApplP. Thus, the previous example in (84) would be derived as follows:

(86) a. [DPNOMINATIVE [*v* [DP<u>DAT</u> [CLITIC DP**ACC**] APPLP]APPLP]*v*P]*v*P

b. [DPNOMINATIVE [DP**ACC** [*v* [DP<u>DAT</u> [CLITIC ___] APPLP]APPLP]*v*P]*v*P]*v*P

c. [DPNOMINATIVE[DP**ACC**[*v* CLITIC [DP<u>DAT</u> [___] APPLP]APPLP]*v*P]*v*P]*v*P

d. [DP NOMINATIVE [CLITIC *v* ____ [DP**ACC**[DP<u>DAT</u>] APPLP]APPLP]*v*P]IP]IP

43

Finally, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007) extends Cuervo's proposal and suggest that there is a Dative Phrase (DatP) above *v*P, headed by the dative clitic. If the DO is φ incomplete, it moves from the ApplP to [Spec, *v*P] and it remains there while the IO raises to [Spec, DatP] to check structural case. If the DO is φ complete, it undergoes blind movement to [Spec, *v*P], and from there checking movement to the highest [Spec, DatP], above IO.

Although details concerning the placement of DO and IO will become important in later chapters (especially in Chapter 3), we will assume at this point that accusative and dative complements are generated in ApplP, within the VP. Furthermore, as mentioned in section 1.2, verb complements may also be focused by the FS. In cases of double object construction, for example, both complements may be in the FS focus projection as a single constituent (87), or they may be focused individually (88) – (89):

(87) *Nosotros   le   mandamos   fue   **un libro a   Carlitos***

  we   CL send.1PL.PRET be.3SG.PRET a   book to Carlitos

  'It was **a book to Carlitos** that we sent'

(88) *Nosotros   le   mandamos   <u>a   Carlitos</u> fue   **un libro***

  we   CL send.1PL.PRET to Carlitos   be.3SG.PRET a   book

  'It was **a book** that we sent <u>to Carlitos</u>'

(89) *Nosotros   le   mandamos   <u>un libro</u> fue   **a   Carlitos***

  we   CL send.1PL.PRET a   book   be.3SG.PRET to Carlitos

  'It was **to Carlitos** that we sent <u>a book</u>'

So far I have shown several aspects of Spanish syntax which will become relevant for the syntactic analysis of the FS (the status of *ser* as a copula or auxiliary verb; word order and sentence structure; argument distribution and verb movement in Spanish). Although I leave the discussion of DO and IO distribution in FS constructions for Chapter 2, I will now summarize my assumptions regarding Spanish sentence structure. As I mentioned previously, I assume that verbs and subjects are generated inside the VP and that they later move to TP (subjects to [Spec, TP] and verbs to T) in order to check formal features (Subjects check EPP features in [Spec, TP], and verbs check Tense and Aspect features in T). DOs and IOs are also generated inside VP, more specifically inside an ApplP within VP. DOs are originated as complements of the Appl head (Appl') and later moved to [Spec, *v*P], and IOs are base generated as specifiers of the ApplP (in [Spec, ApplP]) and remain in-situ. Hence, I assume that a sentence such as (90) is structured as shown in (91):

(90) *Lucía   le   envió   una   carta   a   su   madre*
      Lucía   CL   send.3SG.PRET   a   letter   to   her   mother
      'Lucía sent a letter to her mother'

(91)

TP
├ Lucía_i
└ T'
  ├ T
  │ └ le envió_j
  └ vP
    ├ t_i
    └ vP
      ├ una carta_k
      └ v'
        ├ v
        │ └ t_j
        └ VP
          ├ V
          │ └ t_j
          └ ApplP
            ├ a su madre
            └ ApplP'
              ├ Appl
              │ └ (le)
              └ DP
                  t_k
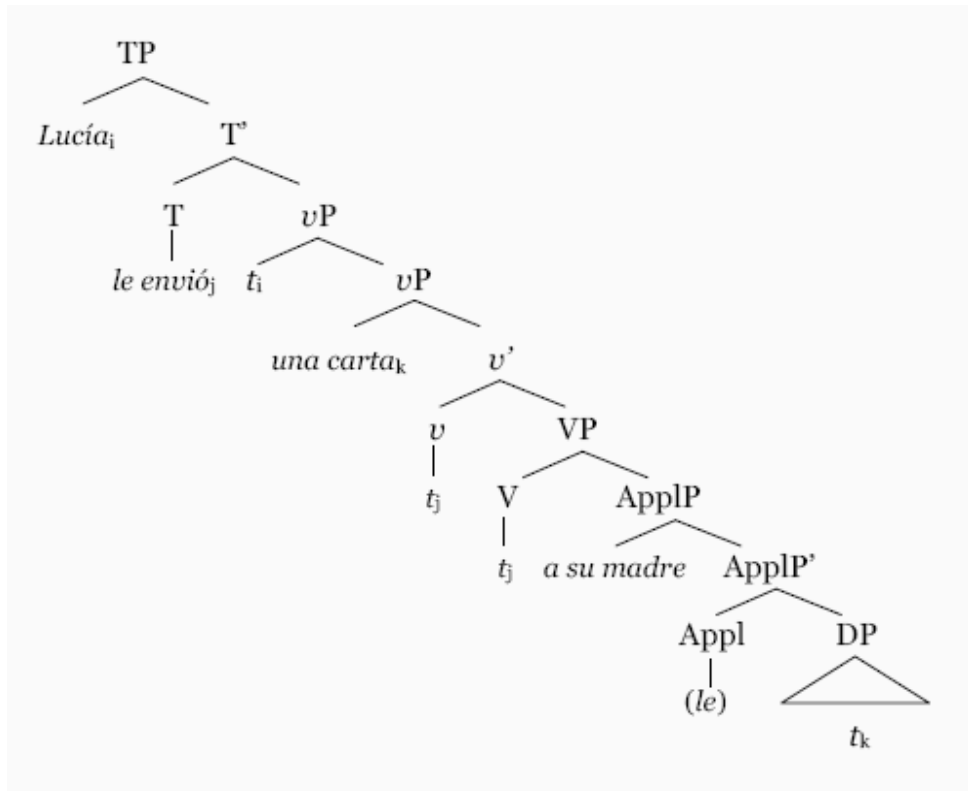
1.4. The FS and the Pseudo-cleft

Having established some general aspects of the FS in section 1.2 and some preliminary theoretical assumptions about Spanish clause structure in section 1.3, I will now discuss the relation between the FS and clefts. First, in section 1.4.1 I introduce some semantic and pragmatic observations about clefts and the FS in terms of discourse context and (non-)contrastive focus. Then, I briefly describe types of clefts in Spanish and I point out that pseudo-clefts (in comparison to true clefts and inverted true clefts) are structurally more similar to the FS. Finally, in sections 1.4.2 and 1.4.3 I examine previous accounts on the FS as a pseudo-cleft and as an independent structure, and I argue that the FS should be analyzed as a TP-internal focus structure that is part of the functional projection of *v*P. Thus, the main purpose of this section is to clarify that the FS is not a pseudo-cleft and that its syntactic structure needs to be redefined.

1.4.1. <u>Clefts in Spanish</u>

Cleft constructions have been widely studied in English (Higgins 1979;
Atlas and Levinson 1981; Declerck 1988; Heggie 1988; Sornicola 1988; Hedberg
1990), and in Spanish (Goldsmith 1986; Sornicola 1988; Guitart 1989; Sedano
1990; Toribio 2002). Three main types of cleft structures have been proposed for
both languages: true clefts, inverted true clefts, and pseudo-clefts.

A common observation regarding the semantics of clefts in English and in
Spanish is that they are extremely context-dependent. Declerck (1988), for
example, claims that cleft values are specified for a variable (like enumerating
items on a list), and that speakers can pick out the referent(s) from a set[24].
Hence, this variable should not only be known information, but also be present in
the hearer's awareness at the time of the utterance. In this sense, the cleft in (92)
must refer to a given variable or an informative presupposition, and cannot be
uttered in an "out-of-the-blue" context:

(92) **Situation**: José, Camilo, and Augusto are playing soccer in their

parents' backyard. Camilo kicks the ball and breaks a window. Their

mother comes out of the house and asks a question which her son

Augusto answers:

---

[24] Atlas and Levinson (1981) have also suggested that clefts present values that are specified for
particular variables. For example, a sentence such as *It was John who Mary kissed* should
logically be specified as:

(iii) λx (Kiss (Mary, x)) (John)

47

A: *¿Quién rompió la ventana?*

who break.3SG.PRET the window

'Who broke the window?'

B: *Fue Camilo el que rompió la ventana*

be.3SG.PRET Camilo the COMP break.3SG.PRET the window

'It was Camilo who broke the window'

The mother's question in example (92) entails a series of presuppositions: a) her three children ({José, Camilo, Augusto}) are playing soccer in the backyard; b) the loud noise that she heard corresponds to glass breaking; c) she has probably seen scattered pieces of glass on the floor. Given these presuppositions, the cleft uttered by Augusto in (92) stands as a valid and expected answer for her question. However, if the cleft in (92) had been uttered by Augusto as soon as he came home from school, his mother would probably not know what he was talking about.

A similar context restriction is found in the FS. Thus, the FS equivalent of the cleft in (92) is only pragmatically appropriate when a presupposition has been activated in previous discourse:

(93) *Rompió la ventana fue Camilo (yo no)*

break.3SG.PRET the window be.3SG.PRET Camilo I not

'Is was Camilo who broke the window (not me)'

48

Another common observation regarding the semantics of clefts is that they may convey a contrastive meaning. Declerck (1988) argues that specificational clefts (those in which a value is specified for a presupposed variable) are always contrastive and exhaustive (there is an exhaustive list of possible values to select). The cleft in (94), for example, clearly has a contrastive and exhaustive meaning:

(94) **Situation**: Lucía knows that her roommate, Clara, has had two
boyfriends so far during her life (Luis and Mateo). Clara broke up with
Luis, and is now dating Mateo. Clara recently received a love letter, and
is talking to Lucía about it. Lucía asks Clara a question:

A: *Entonces, ¿Mateo te envió la carta?*
so Mateo CL send.3SG.PRET the letter
'So, did Mateo send you the letter?'

B: *No, fue Luis el que me la envió*
no be.3SG.PRET Luis the COMP CL PRON send.3SG.PRET
'No, it was Luis who sent it to me'

Given the situation in (94), it is clear that both Lucía and Clara have a limited set of possible senders in mind ({Luis, Mateo}). Thus, when Clara utters the cleft in (94), she is picking one of the elements from the list, which automatically creates a contrast between the selected element (Luis) and the other available element (Mateo). As pointed out in section 1.2 (see examples (8) – (10)), this

contrastive meaning is also found in the FS. Hence, the FS counterpart of (94) is also contrastive:

(95) *No, me la envió* ***fue*** *Luis (no Mateo)*

     no CL PRON send.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET Luis not Mateo

     'Is was Luis who sent it to me (not Mateo)'

However, as Heggie (1988) and Declerck (1988) have also argued, clefts are not exclusively contrastive. In fact, clefts may simply be used to attribute a property to a particular element, and not to contrast two elements from a presupposed list. The cleft in (96) below, for example, does not suggest a list of scenarios for the story, but it provides a characterization of the story that the speaker wishes to narrate:

(96) **A:** *¿Te pasa algo?*

     PRON   happen.3SG.PRES something

     'Is there something wrong with you?'

     B: *Sí...lo que voy a decir es muy importante*

       yes PRON COMP go.1SG.PRES to say.INF be.3SG.PRES very important

       'Yes...what I am about to say is very important'

Similarly, as shown in section 1.2 (see example (11)), the FS is also used non-contrastively, to emphasize new information. However, unlike clefts, the FS does

not attribute properties to what is focused, which further shows that FS *ser* is not a copula verb. So, the FS equivalent of (96) is ill-formed (97), and a different structure must be used (98):

(97) *Sí... voy   a   decir es   muy importante*
      yes   go.1SG.PRES to say.INF be.3SG.PRES very important
      'Yes...what I am about to say is very important'

(98) ok *Sí... voy   a   decir   es   **algo**   muy importante*
      yes   go.1SG.PRES to say.INF be.3SG.PRES something very important
      'Yes...It is something very important that I am about to say'

I will now turn to each type of cleft construction and I will provide a brief review of their syntactic structure. At this point it is important to distinguish between the types of Spanish clefts and to indicate that the only one that resembles the structure of the FS is the pseudo-cleft. This apparent structural similarity will become relevant in sections 1.4.2 and 1.4.3, where I discuss the relation between the FS and the pseudo-cleft.

1.4.1.1. *True clefts*

Also referred to as *it-clefts* (c.f. Declerck, 1988; Heggie, 1988; Lambrecht 2001), true clefts contain a matrix clause in which there is a conjugated form of the verb *ser* ('to be') and a focalized element, followed by a subordinate clause in which there is a relative clause. In (99), for example, the

focalized adverb in the relative clause (*ahí* 'there') needs to agree with the relative *wh*-word *donde* ('where') in the subordinate clause:

(99) **Fue**   ***ahí***   <u>*donde*</u>   *me*   *encontré*   *con*   *Susana*

    be.3SG.PRET   there   where   PRON   find.1SG.PRET   with   Susana

    'It was **there** <u>where</u> I met with Susana'

The focalized element in the matrix clause can also be an NP (100) or a DP (101). In these cases, the head of the relative clause should agree in number with the head of the NP or DP in the matrix clause, and with the head of the IP in the subordinate clause. As shown, the cluster [determiner + COMP] may also be used. In this case, the determiner also needs to agree in gender and number with the head of the NP or DP in the matrix clause, and with the head of the IP in the subordinate clause:

(100)   *Fue*   ***ella*** <u>*quien*</u> /<u>*la*</u>   <u>*que*</u>   *salió*   *con*   *Juan*

    be.3SG.PRET   she   who.SG   the.FEM.SG   COMP   leave.3SG.PRET   with   Juan

    'It was **she** <u>who</u> left with Juan'

(101)*Fueron*   ***ellos*** <u>*quienes*</u> / <u>*los*</u>   <u>*que*</u>   *salieron*   *con*   *Juan*

    be.3PL.PRET   they   who.PL   the.MASC.PL   COMP   leave.3PL.PRET   with   Juan

    'It was **the they** <u>who</u> left with Juan'[25]

---

[25] Notice that the relative clause should contain either a ***wh*-word**, or the [<u>DET+COMP</u>] cluster. If both are used, the sentence becomes ill-formed:

Sornicola (1988), claims that adverbial phrases, prepositional phrases, and temporal clauses cannot appear in the focused position in Spanish. However, examples (102) - (105) show that this may not be the case:

(102) *Fue* **con el cuchillo** *que abrió el sobre*

be.3SG.PRET with the knife COMP open.3SG.PRET the envelope

'It was **with the knife** that he opened the envelope'

(103) *Era* **poco** *lo que la preocupaba*

be.3SG.IMP little the.NEUT.SG COMP PRON worry.3SG.IMP

'It was **little** that worried her'

(104) *Fue* **vivo** *que lo encontraron*

be.3SG.PRET alive COMP PRON find.3PL.PRET

'It was **alive** that they found him'

(105) *Fue* **estando ahí** *que recordé su nombre*

be.3SG.PRET be.PROGR there COMP remember.1SG.PRET his name

'It was **being there** that I remembered his name'

(iv) *Fue ella* **quien** <u>*la que*</u> *salió con Juan*
be.3SG.PRET she who the COMP leave.3SG.PRET with Juan
'It was she **who** left with Juan'

Furthermore, the [DET+COMP] cluster is indivisible. That is, a sentence that contains either element, but not both also becomes ill-formed:

(v) *Fue ella* <u>*que*</u> *salió con Juan*
be.3SG.PRET she COMP leave.3SG.PRET with Juan
'It was she <u>who</u> left with Juan'

Also, there are some interesting patterns regarding number and person agreement between the focalized subject in the matrix clause and the verb in the subordinate clause. For example, if the focalized element is *yo* ('I'), the verb in the complement clause may be in first person singular (106), or in third person singular (107). If the focalized element is *tú* ('you.INFOR'), the verb in the complement clause may be in second person singular (108), or in third person singular (109). However, if the focalized element is *él* or *ella* ('he' or 'she'), the verb must be in third person singular (110):

(106) *Soy*   **yo** <u>quien</u> / <u>la que</u>   **voy**   *a*   *Indianápolis*

be.1SG.PRES I   who   the COMP go.1SG.PRES to Indianapolis

'It is **I** <u>who</u> goes to Indianapolis'

(107) *Soy*   **yo** <u>quien</u> / <u>la que</u>   **va**   *a*   *Indianápolis*

be.1SG.PRES I   who   the COMP go.3SG.PRES to Indianapolis

'It is **I** <u>who</u> goes to Indianapolis'

(108) *Eres*   **tú**   <u>quien</u> / <u>la que</u>   **vas**   *a*   *Indianápolis*

be.2SG.PRES you.INFOR who the COMP go.2SG.PRES to Indianapolis

'It is **you** <u>who</u> goes to Indianapolis'

(109) *Eres*   **tú**   <u>quien</u> / <u>la que</u>   **va**   *a*   *Indianápolis*

be.2SG.PRES you.INFOR who the COMP go.3SG.PRES to Indianapolis

'It is **you** <u>who</u> goes to Indianapolis'

(110) *Es   **él** *quien* / *el que*   **va**   *a   Indianápolis*

be.3SG.PRES he   who   the COMP go.3SG.PRES to Indianapolis

'It is **he** who goes to Indianapolis'[26]

On the other hand, if the focalized element is *nosotros* ('we'), the verb in the subordinate clause must agree in number with the subject, and can only be in first person plural (111) – (112). Similarly, if the focalized element is *ellos* or *ellas* ('they.MASC' or 'they.FEM'), the verb in the subordinate clause must be in third person plural (113):

(111) ᵒᵏ*Somos   **nosotros** *quienes* /*los que*   **vamos**   *a   Indianápolis*

be.1PL.PRES we   who.PL the.PL COMP go.1PL.PRES to Indianapolis

'It is **we** who go to Indianapolis'

(112) **Somos   **nosotros** *quienes* /*los que*   **van**   *a   Indianápolis*

be.1PL.PRES we   who.PL the.PL COMP go.3PL.PRES to Indianapolis

'It is **we** who go to Indianapolis'

(113) *Son   **ellos** *quienes* /*los   que*   **van**   *a   Indianápolis*

be.3PL.PRES they   who.PL the.PL COMP go.3PL.PRES to Indianapolis

'It is **they** who go to Indianapolis'

---

[26] As mentioned before, the [DET+COMP] cluster is sensitive to gender. Thus, in examples (109) – (110) the referent must be a female. Otherwise, the [DET+COMP] cluster should change from *la que* to *el que*.

In terms of other types of agreement, the copula verb *ser* ('to be') in the matrix clause and the main verb in the subordinate clause usually show tense and aspect agreement. In (114), for example, the copula verb is conjugated in past tense ([+ perfective]), and *robar* ('to steal') in the subordinate clause is also in past tense ([+ perfective]):

(114) **Fue**   *ella* <u>*quien*</u> /<u>*la   que*</u>   *me*   **robó**
       be.3SG.PRET she   who   the COMP   PRON   steal.3SG.PRET
       'It **was** she <u>who</u> **stole** from me'

Although the tense and aspect agreement shown in (114) renders the most acceptable form of the sentence, it is also possible to have cases in which such agreement is not present. For example, sentences (115) – (117) may also occur in certain discourse contexts:

(115) **Es**   *ella* <u>*quien*</u> /<u>*la   que*</u>   *me*   **robó**
       be.3SG.PRES she   who   the COMP   PRON   steal.3SG.PRET
       'It **is** she <u>who</u> **stole** from me'

(116) **Sería**   *ella* <u>*quien*</u> /<u>*la   que*</u>   *me*   **robó**
       be.3SG.COND she   who   the COMP   PRON   steal.3SG.PRET
       'It **would be** she <u>who</u> **stole** from me'

(117) **Será**   *ella* <u>*quien*</u> */<u>la que</u>*   *me*   ***robó***

be.3SG.FUT (PROB)   she   who   the COMP   PRON   steal.3SG.PRET

'It **might be** she <u>who</u> **stole** from me'

Finally, as for negation, sentential negation can occur in the matrix clause preceding the verb *ser*, and/or in the subordinate clause preceding the main verb. However, as it has been shown by Heggie (1988) and Declerck (1988), sentences with negation in the matrix clause (e.g. (119)) usually entail contrast, that is, there is an expectation for a contrastive statement to follow the cleft:

(118) *Fue*   *Simón* <u>*quien*</u> */<u>el que</u>*   ***no***   *pasó*   *el*   *examen*

be.3SG.PRET Simón   who   the COMP   NEG   pass.3SG.PRET   the   exam

'It was Simón <u>who</u> **did not** pass the exam'

(119) ***No fue***   *Simón* <u>*quien*</u> */<u>el que</u>*   *pasó ...*   *[sino Paulina]*

NEG be.3SG.PRET Simón   who   the COMP   pass.3SG.PRET   but Paulina

'It was **not** Simón <u>who</u> passed...but Paulina'

Also, as shown in English by Heggie (1988), neither negative polarity items ((120) – (121)) nor indefinite expressions ((122) – (123)) can occur as focused items:

(120) *Fue **nadie** <u>quien</u> /<u>el que</u> pasó el examen

be.3SG.PRET nobody who the COMP pass.3SG.PRET the exam

'It was **nobody** <u>who</u> passed the exam'

(121)*Fue **nada** <u>lo que</u> trajo a la fiesta

be.3SG.PRET nothing PRON COMP bring.3SG.PRET to the party

'It was **nothing** <u>that</u> he brought to the party'

(122) *Fue **alguien** <u>quien</u> /<u>el que</u> pasó el examen

be.3SG.PRET somebody who the COMP pass.3SG.PRET the exam

'It was **somebody** <u>who</u> passed the exam'

(123) *Fue **algo** <u>lo que</u> trajo a la fiesta

be.3SG.PRET something PRON COMP bring.3SG.PRET to the party

'It was **something** <u>that</u> he brought to the party'

According to Declerck (1988), sentences (120) – (123) are ill-formed because NPs with zero reference (*nadie* 'nobody', *nada* 'nothing', *alguien* 'somebody', *algo* 'something') do not represent the value that is assigned to the variable (there is a semantic clash between what is presupposed and what is asserted). However, (120) – (123) may improve if the matrix clause becomes predicational:

(124) ^okFue **nadie /alguien conocido** <u>quien</u> /<u>el que</u> pasó

be.3SG.PRET nobody/something known who the COMP pass.3SG.PRET

'It was **nobody / somebody that we knew** <u>who</u> passed'

58

(125)ᵒᵏ*Fue*   **nada /algo nuevo**   <u>lo   que</u> *nos* *trajo*

be.3SG.PRET nothing/something new PRON COMP PRON bring.3SG.PRET

'It was **nothing / something new** <u>that</u> he brought for us'

As illustrated, true clefts are composed by two clauses: a higher clause containing *ser* and the focused constituent, and a lower clause containing presupposed (discourse old) information. These two clauses are linked by a relative clause that may agree in person, number, and gender with the focused element. Given this, and taking into account the preliminary description of the FS in section 1.2, it is clear that true clefts and the FS show a very different structure: there is no relative clause in the FS; the focused element always occurs post-verbally; and *ser* in true clefts seems to be less restricted morphologically than *ser* in the FS (it does not always agree in tense, aspect, person, and number with the verb in the subordinate clause).

1.4.1.2. *Inverted true clefts*

Inverted true clefts, also known as inverted pseudo-clefts (Heggie, 1988; Sedano, 1990), or inverted *wh*-clefts (Declerck 1988; Lambrecht 2001), are very similar structurally to true clefts. The only structural difference between these clefts and the true clefts is the position of the copula verb *ser*. While *ser* in true clefts precedes the focalized constituent, in inverted true clefts it follows it. Thus, the true cleft shown in (99) above can be transformed into an inverted true cleft, as shown in (126):

(126) ***Ahí*** *fue* <u>*donde*</u> *me* *encontré* *con* *Susana*

there be.3SG.PRET where PRON find.1SG.PRET with Susana

'It was **there** <u>where</u> I met with Susana'

As expected, inverted true clefts can also focus various types of constituents, such as DPs (127), PPs (128), AdvPs (129), AdjPs (130), and VPs (131):

(127) ***Ellos*** ***fueron*** <u>*quienes*</u> */* <u>*los*</u> <u>*que*</u> *salieron* *con* *Juan*

they be.3PL.PRET who.PL the.MASC.PL COMP leave.3PL.PRET with Juan

'It was **they** <u>who</u> left with Juan'

(128) ***Con*** ***el*** ***cuchillo*** *fue* *que* *abrió* *el* *sobre*

with the knife be.3SG.PRET COMP open.3SG.PRET the envelope

'It was **with the knife** that he opened the envelope'

(129) ***Poco*** *era* *lo* *que* *la* *preocupaba*

little be.3SG.IMP the.NEUT.SG COMP PRON worry.3SG.IMP

'It was **little** that worried her'

(130) ***Vivo*** *fue* *que* *lo* *encontraron*

alive be.3SG.PRET COMP PRON find.3PL.PRET

'It was **alive** that they found him'

(131) ***Estando*** ***ahí*** *fue* *que* *recordé* *su* *nombre*

be.PROGR there be.3SG.PRET COMP remember.1SG.PRET his name

'It was **being there** that I remembered his name'

Not surprisingly, these clefts show restrictions similar to those found in true clefts: focused subjects may agree in person and number with the subordinated verb (132), the copula in the matrix clause may agree in tense and aspect with the subordinated verb (133), and no indefinite or negative polarity items (134) may be focused:

(132) ***Yo soy*** <u>*quien* /*la que*</u> ***voy/va*** *a Indianápolis*
     I   be.1SG.PRES who   the COMP go.1SG/3SG.PRES to Indianapolis
     'It is **I** <u>who</u> **goes** to Indianapolis'

(133) *Ella* ***fue/es*** <u>*quien* /*la que*</u> *me* ***robó***
     she be.3SG.PRET/PRES who   the COMP PRON steal.3SG.PRET
     'It **was** she <u>who</u> **stole** from me'

(134) ***Nadie/alguien*** *fue* <u>*quien*/*el que*</u> *pasó el examen*
     no/somebody   be.3SG.PRET who the COMP pass.3SG.PRET the exam
     'It was **nobody** <u>who</u> passed the exam'

Once again, inverted true clefts are composed by two clauses: one containing *ser* and the focalized element, and another one containing discourse-old information. Exactly as in the case of true clefts, it is clear that the FS is structurally different from inverted true clefts.

1.4.1.3. *Pseudo-clefts*

Pseudo-clefts, also known as *wh*-clefts (Heggie, 1988; Declerck 1988; Lambrecht 2001), are in some sense the opposite image of true clefts: the

subordinate clause, which contains the relative clause, is higher than the matrix clause, where we find the copula verb *ser* and the focalized element. Thus, in true clefts and inverted true clefts the focalized element is in the higher clause, and in pseudo-clefts the focalized element is in the lower clause. The true cleft in (99) above, for example, can be transformed into a pseudo-cleft as shown in (135):

(135) <u>*Donde*</u> *me*   *encontré*   *con* *Susana* *fue*   **ahí**

      where   PRON find.1SG.PRET with Susana be.3SG.PRET there

      '<u>Where</u> I met with Susana was **there**'

Similarly to true clefts and inverted true clefts, the focused elements in the pseudo-cleft may be DPs (136), PPs (137), or AdvPs (138):

(136) <u>*Quienes*</u> /<u>*Los*</u>   <u>*que*</u> *salieron*   *con* *Juan* *fueron*   **ellos**

      who.PL the.MASC.PL COMP leave.3PL.PRET with Juan be.3PL.PRET they

      '<u>Those who</u> left with Juan were **they**'

(137)<u>*Con lo*   *que*</u> *abrió*   *el* *sobre* *fue*   **con el cuchillo**

      with PRON COMP open.3SG.PRET the envelope be.3SG.PRET with the knife

      'With what he opened the envelope was **the knife**'[27]

---

[27] Notice that in this example the preposition *con* 'with' must be used twice (in the matrix clause, and in the subordinate clause). This is not too surprising, considering that the true cleft version of (137) may also have a similar structure:

  (vi) *Fue*   **con el cuchillo** <u>*con lo*   *que*</u> *abrió*   *el* *sobre*
        be.3SG.PRET with the knife   with PRON COMP open.3SG.PRET the envelope
        'It was **with the knife** <u>that</u> he opened the enveloped'

(138) <u>*Lo   que*</u> *la   preocupaba era   poco*

the.NEUT.SG COMP PRON worry.3SG.IMP be.3SG.IMP little

'What worried her was **little**'

Although many AdjPs and VPs may be focused with the pseudo-cleft, there are some cases in which such transformation is more restricted. For example, true clefts (104) – (105) and inverted true clefts (130) – (131), may be expressed as in (139) – (140):

(139) ? *Como lo   encontraron   fue   vivo*

how   PRON find.3PL.PRET be.3SG.PRET alive

'The way they found him was **alive**'

(140) ? *Cuando recordé   su nombre fue   estando ahí*

when   remember.1SG.PRET his name be.3SG.PRET be.PROGR there

'When I remembered his name was **when I was standing there**'

In fact, a more natural version of (139) - (140) may look more like (141) – (142) below[28]:

Please see Goldsmith (1986) for a more detailed discussion regarding the pseudo-cleft construction and preposition doubling.

[28] Notice that the FS does not show any restrictions when it focuses AdjPs or VPs. For example, sentences such as (139) and (141) are simply expressed as in (vii), and sentences such as (140) and (141) are expressed as in (viii):

(vii)ok *Lo   encontraron fue   vivo*
         PRON find.3PL.PRET be.3SG.PRET alive
         'It was **alive** that they found him'

63

(141) ok *Lo   que   lo   encontraron   fue   **vivo**²⁹*

PRON   COMP   PRON   find.3PL.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   alive

'The way they found him was **alive**'

(142) ok *Cuando recordé   su   nombre fue   **cuando estaba ahí***

when   remember.1SG.PRET   his name   be.3SG.PRET   when being there

'When I remembered his name was **when I was standing there**'

As for person and number agreement between the focused subject and the verb in the subordinate clause, there are interesting differences between the pseudo-cleft and the true cleft (or the inverted true cleft). As illustrated in examples (106) – (109), when the focused subject is *yo* (I) or *tú* ('you.INFOR'), the verb in the subordinate clause can be conjugated in first or third person singular (for *yo* 'I'), or in second or third person singular (for *tú* 'you.INFOR'). However, when these sentences are transformed from true clefts into pseudo-clefts, we find that such agreement flexibility is lost³⁰:

(143) ok *Quien /La que   **va**   a Indianápolis soy   **yo***

who   the COMP go.3SG.PRES   to Indianapolis be.1SG.PRES   I

'<u>The one who</u> goes to Indianapolis is **me**'

(viii) ok *Recordé   su   nombre fue   **estando ahí***
remember.1SG.PRET   his   name   be.3SG.PRET   be.PROGR there
'It was **standing there** that I remembered his name'

²⁹ For César Félix-Brasdefer (personal communication), the adverbial *como* ('how') must be used in this example, instead of the relative pronoun *lo que* ('what'): **Como** *lo encontraron fue vivo* ('The way they found him was alive').

³⁰ The FS equivalents of (143) – (146) require tense and aspect agreement between *ir* ('to go') and FS *ser* ('to be'). Please see section 1.2 (examples (26) – (27)), and Chapter 2, section 2.3.2.

(144) *<u>Quien</u> /<u>La que</u> **voy** *a Indianápolis soy* **yo**

     who   the COMP go.1SG.PRES to Indianapolis be.1SG.PRES I

    '<u>The one who</u> goes to Indianapolis is **me**'

(145) ^{ok} <u>Quien</u>/<u>La que</u> **va** *a Indianápolis eres* **tú**

     who   the COMP go.3SG.PRES to Indianapolis be.2SG.PRES you.INFOR

    '<u>The one who</u> goes to Indianapolis is **you**'

(146) *<u>Quien</u>/<u>La que</u> **vas** *a Indianápolis eres* **tú**

     who the COMP go.2SG.PRES to Indianapolis be.2SG.PRES you.INFOR

    '<u>The one who</u> goes to Indianapolis is **you**'

As it occurs in true clefts and inverted true clefts, if the focused subject is in third person singular (*él* 'he'; *ella* 'she') or in third person plural (*ellos* 'they.MASC'; *ellas* 'they.FEM'), the verb in the subordinate clause must be in third person singular or in third person plural, respectively:

(147) <u>Quien</u> /<u>La que</u> **va** *a Indianápolis es* **ella**

     who   the COMP go.3SG.PRES to Indianapolis be.3SG.PRES she

    '<u>The one who</u> goes to Indianapolis is **she**

(148) <u>Quienes</u> /<u>Los que</u> **van** *a Indianápolis son* **ellos**

     who.PL the.PL COMP go.3PL.PRES to Indianapolis be.3PL.PRES they

    '<u>The ones who</u> go to Indianapolis are **they**'

However, in the case of *nosotros* ('we'), the verb in the subordinate clause may be in first person plural (149) or in third person plural (150). This flexibility in agreement is not found in true clefts or inverted true clefts, as shown in examples (111) – (112) above:

(149) [ok] *Quienes /Los que* **vamos** *a Indianápolis somos* **nosotros**
who.PL the.PL COMP go.1PL.PRES to Indianapolis be.1PL.PRES we
'The ones who go to Indianapolis are **we**'

(150) [ok] *Quienes /Los que* **van** *a Indianápolis somos* **nosotros**
who.PL the.PL COMP go.3PL.PRES to Indianapolis be.1PL.PRES we
'The ones who go to Indianapolis are **we**'

In terms of tense and aspect agreement, pseudo-clefts show similar patterns with the other clefts. As it was pointed out in examples (114) – (117), the copula in true clefts (and also in inverted true clefts) usually agrees in tense and aspect with the main verb of the subordinate clause. When such sentences are transformed into pseudo-clefts, we also find that although there is a preference for tense and aspect agreement (151), it is not impossible to find cases in which such agreement is lost (152) – (154)[31]:

---

[31] The FS equivalent of (151) does not allow flexibility in tense and aspect agreement. As shown in section 1.2 (examples (16) – (25)), FS *ser* always agrees in tense and aspect with the main verb. Thus, the only possible way in which (151) may be correctly transformed into an FS structure, is if the verb *robar* ('to steal) and the verb *ser* agree in tense and aspect. Thus having the tense and aspect mismatches shown in (152) – (154) would render ill-formed FS sentences.

(151) *Quien /La que*   *me*   ***robó***   ***fue***   *ella*

who   the COMP PRON steal.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET she

'<u>The one who</u> **stole** from me **was** she'

(152) *Quien /La que*   *me*   ***robó***   ***es***   *ella*

who   the COMP PRON steal.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRES she

'<u>The one who</u> **stole** from me **is** she'

(153)*Quien /La que*   *me*   ***robó***   ***sería***   *ella*

who   the COMP PRON steal.3SG.PRET be.3SG.COND she

'<u>The one who</u> **stole** from me **would be** she'

(154) *Quien /La que*   *me*   ***robó***   ***será***   *ella*

who   the COMP PRON steal.3SG.PRET be.3SG.FUT (PROB) she

'<u>The one who</u> **stole** from me **might be** she'

Finally, as it occurs in the other cleft constructions, sentential negation may occur in the matrix clause, and/or in the subordinate clause.   As illustrated in the true cleft examples (118) - (119), if negation occurs in the matrix clause, a contrastive statement is expected to follow the cleft sentence:

(155)*Quien /El que* ***no*** *pasó*   *el examen fue*   *Simón*

who   the COMP NEG pass.3SG.PRET the exam   be.3SG.PRET Simón

'<u>The one who</u> **did not** pass the exam was Simón'

(156) _Quien_ /_El que_ pasó **no fue** Simón ... [sino Paulina]

who the COMP pass.3SG.PRET NEG be.3SG.PRET Simón but Paulina

'The one who passed was **not** Simón ...but Paulina'

Furthermore, as shown for true clefts (see examples (120) – (125) above), negative polarity items and indefinite items may be focused in a pseudo-cleft structure only if the matrix clause becomes predicational (159) – (160)[32]:

(157)*_Quien_ /_El que_ pasó el examen fue **nadie**

who the COMP pass.3SG.PRET the exam be.3SG.PRET nobody

'The one who passed the exam was **nobody**'

(158) *_Quien_ /_El que_ pasó el examen fue **alguien**

who the COMP pass.3SG.PRET the exam be.3SG.PRET somebody

'The one who passed the exam was **somebody**'

(159) ok _Quien_ /_El que_ pasó fue **nadie conocido**

who the COMP pass.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET nobody known

'The one who passed the exam was **nobody that we knew**'

(160) ok _Quien_ /_El que_ pasó fue **alguien conocido**

who the COMP pass.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET somebody known

'The one who passed the exam was **somebody that we knew**'

---

[32] As it will be shown in section 1.4.3, the FS equivalent of (157) and (159) requires sentential negation (a NegP above TP), which strongly suggests that the FS is not a variation of the pseudo-cleft structure, and that it is actually part of the extended projection of _v_P.

Until this point I have shown some general structural aspects of Spanish clefts. In all three types, it is clear that their syntactic structure involves two separate clauses: one containing *ser* and the focused element, and another one containing the presupposed segment. In all these clefts there are syntactic and morphological restrictions that do not occur in the FS structure (e.g. morphological agreement with a relative clause, focus restrictions on AdjPs, VPs, and on certain negative and indefinite expressions). Furthermore, the only cleft that more closely resembles the FS is the pseudo-cleft, given that in both structures the focused element is placed at the end of the sentence. However, as illustrated in section 1.4.3, this structural similarity is only apparent since the FS is a functional projection placed in the internal periphery of TP.

Before moving on, I would like to finish this section with a brief comment on the semantic meaning of clefts. As I mentioned at the beginning of section 1.4, all clefts are assumed to entail similar semantic meanings (e.g. contrast, exhaustiveness, specification, and emphasis). However, there still seems to be a difference between true clefts (and inverted true clefts) and pseudo-clefts in terms of information structure. As pointed out by several scholars (Heggie, 1988; Declerck 1988; Lambrecht 2001; Sedano, 1990; etc.), true clefts and inverted true clefts appear to maintain stronger connectivity with previous discourse than pseudo-clefts. That is, as pointed out by Declerck (1988), due to the thematic organization of the sentence and its previous discourse context, a focused anaphoric NP (e.g. *él* 'he' in (161) – (163)) is normally processed first. This would

explain why a true cleft (161) and an inverted true cleft (162) would be used more than the pseudo-cleft (163) in certain discourse contexts:

(161)^{ok} *Julio_i fue a la cárcel porque fue **él**_i <u>quien</u> cometió el crimen*

    'Julio went to jail because it was **he** <u>who</u> committed the crime'

(162) ^{ok} *Julio_i fue a la cárcel porque **él**_i fue <u>quien</u> cometió el crimen*

    'Julio went to jail because **he** was <u>the one who</u> committed the crime'

(163) [?]*Julio_i fue a la cárcel porque <u>quien</u> cometió el crimen fue **él**_i*

    'Julio went to jail because <u>the one who</u> committed the crime was **he**'

   Although these semantic differences among clefts are interesting, I will not discuss this specific matter any further in this dissertation. In turn, I will briefly discuss some semantic properties of the FS in Chapter 3 (section 3.4); specifically my claim that the FS may be used in both contrastive and non-contrastive contexts.

    1.4.2. <u>The analysis of the FS as a pseudo-cleft</u>

   As illustrated throughout this chapter, the FS and the pseudo-cleft may appear to be structurally similar. The pseudo-cleft in (2), repeated here as (164), only appears to differentiate itself from the FS in (4), repeated here as (165), in that it includes CP elements that the FS does not seem to have (that is, *lo que* 'what' in (164)):

(164) _Lo   que_ _Juan_ _estudió_   _fue_   **_lingüística_**

the.NEUT COMP Juan study.3SG.PAST be.3SG.PAST linguistics

'What Juan studied was **linguistics**'

(165) _Juan_ _estudió_   _fue_   **_lingüística_**

Juan study.3SG.PAST be.3SG.PAST linguistics

'It was **linguistics** what Juan studied'[33]

According to Albor (1986), Sedano (1988; 1990; 1994; 1995; 2003a; 2003b), and Toribio (1992; 2002), the only syntactic difference between the pseudo-cleft and the FS is that the relative clause in the CP is not pronounced. Albor (1986: 184), for example, argues that an FS structure such as _necesito es descansar_ 'It is resting what I need to do' undergoes a series of transformations, including omission of COMP in the last stages:

(166) Deep structure: DESCANSAR ES DESCANSAR Y ÉL NECESITA DESCANSAR

'TO REST IS TO REST AND HE NEEDS TO REST'

Transposition of the goal: _Descansar es descansar y_ DESCANSAR _él necesita_

'To rest is to rest and TO REST he needs'

Relativization of the goal: *_Descansar es descansar_ QUE _él necesita_

'To rest is to rest THAT he needs'

---

[33] Notice that the FS and the pseudo-cleft have been translated into English in different ways. This is intended to avoid any confusion between the two forms. Furthermore, as it will be shown in section 1.4.3, the pseudo-cleft and the FS will not be considered as structurally equivalent in this dissertation, and the distinct translations will help maintain that distinction.

Transposition of the antecedent: *Es descansar DESCANSAR *que él necesita*

'It is to rest TO REST that he needs'

Pronominalization of the antecedent: *Es descansar* LO *que él necesita*

'It is to rest WHAT he needs'

The goal of *ser* becomes a subject: LO QUE ÉL NECESITA *es descansar*

'WHAT HE NEEDS is to rest'

The relative pronoun is omitted: QUE *él necesita es descansar*

'THAT he needs is to rest'

Que is omitted: *El necesita es descansar*

'He needs is to rest'   [Albor 1986: 184]

Toribio (1992; 2002), claims in her syntactic analysis that the FS is "the null operator counterpart of the traditional pseudo-cleft" (Toribio, 2002: 134).   Thus, the difference between her pseudo-cleft and FS examples (provided here in (167) – (168)), relies on the fact that the relative pronoun or complementizer is present in the former (167) but not in the latter (168):

(167) <u>*A   la   que*</u>   *yo vi   fue a **Doña María***

   [*a   la* (*pro*) [CP OP *que*   [IP *yo vi   t*...

   'It was **Doña María** <u>who</u> I saw'

(168) ~~*A   la   que*~~   *yo vi   fue a **Doña María***

   [*a   la* (*pro*) [CP OP *que*   [IP *yo vi   t*...

   'It was **Doña María** <u>who</u> I saw'

Taking into account Brody's (1995) and E. Kiss' (1998) Focus Phrase

proposal, Toribio (2002) argues that the focused constituent in both the pseudo-

cleft and the FS occupies the specifier of a Focus Phrase, whose head selects a CP.

In the case of the pseudo-cleft, the focused constituent is generated in [Spec FP],

and linked to the correspondent *wh*-pronoun in the embedded CP at LF. In an FS

construction, on the other hand, such relation is not established. Hence, Toribio

(2002: 139-140) suggests the following structures for the pseudo-cleft in (167),

and for the FS (168):

(169)

```
                           TP
                    ┌──────────┴──────┐
          [CP a quien yo vi t]k       T'
                             ┌────────┴────────┐
                           fuej                FP
                                     ┌─────────┴──────┐
                              (a) Doña María          F'
                                             ┌────────┴────────┐
                                             F               CP
                                             tj                tk
```

(170)

```
                         TP
                ┌────────┴────────┐
             Spec                 T'
          [CP yo vi ti]k  ┌───────┴───────┐
                  T               FP
                fuej      ┌────────┴───────┐
                        Spec               F'
                  (a) Doña Maríai  ┌───────┴───────┐
                                   F             CP
                                   tj             tk
```

73
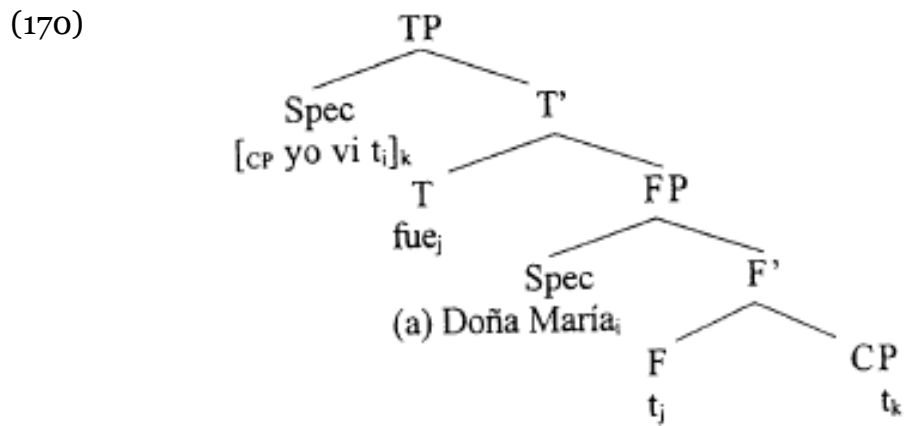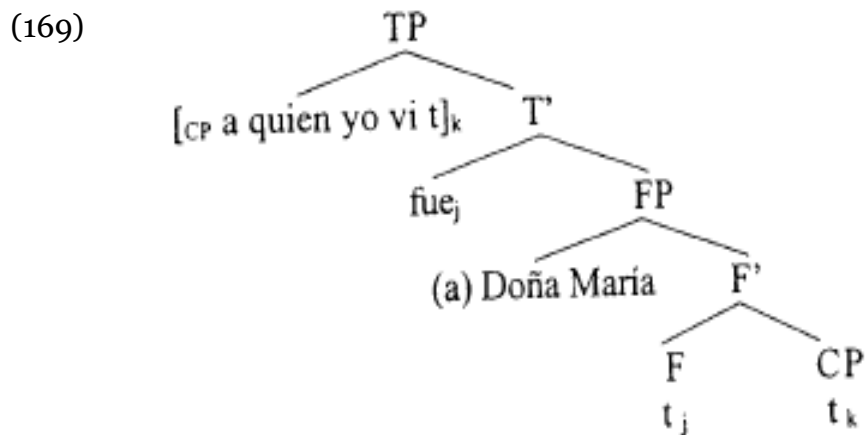
What is common in all the analyses mentioned so far (Albor 1986; Sedano, 1990; Toribio, 2002) is that the FS is viewed as part of a secondary clause. That is, similarly to pseudo-clefts, *ser* and the focused element are assumed to be part of lower clause governed by a higher clause containing a second TP and a null relative clause. As I will show in the next section, there is strong evidence to suggest that the FS is not a secondary clause, but part of a single TP.

1.4.3. Analyzing the FS as a different structure

At first sight, the analysis of the FS as a pseudo-cleft may seem logical and appealing. However, we will see that it fails to account for a number of syntactic phenomena in which the FS and the pseudo-cleft provide opposite outcomes.

First of all, as initially pointed out by Curnow and Travis (2003), not all pseudo-clefts can be transformed into FS sentences (171) – (172), and not all FS sentences can be transformed into pseudo-clefts (173) – (174):

(171) ᵒᵏ *Lo   que   hicimos   fue   llamar a   la   policía*

      PRON COMP do.1PL.PRET be.3SG.PRET call.INF to the police

      '<u>What</u> we did was **to call the police**'

(172) * *Hicimos   fue   llamar a   la   policía*

      do.1PL.PRET be.3SG.PRET call.INF to the police

      'It was **calling the police** what we did'³⁴

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³⁴ Please see chapter 2 for similar examples and for a more extended account of the *hacer* + FS structure.

(173) ^{ok}*Lo   quiero   es   **vivo***

　　　PRON want.1SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES alive

　　　'It was **alive** that they found him'

(174) * *Como lo   quiero   es   **vivo***

　　　how   PRON want.1SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES alive

　　　'The way they found him was **alive**'

This poses a very difficult problem for the analysis shown in section 1.4.2. In fact, if we assume that the FS and the pseudo-cleft are structurally equivalent, and that the only difference between them is the omission of CP elements in the FS, we would expect both structures to have the same outcomes. However, as illustrated in (171) – (174) above, there are contexts in which these two forms are not inter-convertible.

For example, Curnow and Travis (2003) have shown that the pseudo-cleft cannot focus negative polarity items (175), whereas the FS can (176)[35]:

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[35] Bosque (1999: 23) argues that this contrast occurs between the pseudo-cleft and the FS:

(ix) ^{ok}*Lo   que   quiero   **no** es   trabajar*
　　　PRON COMP want.1SG.PRES   NEG be.3SG.PRES work.INF
　　　'What I want is not to work'

(x) * *Quiero   **no** es   trabajar*
　　　want.1SG.PRES   NEG be.3SG.PRES work.INF
　　　'It is not working what I want to do'

However, based on data that I have collected (see section 1.5 for a more detailed description of the data that I have used for this dissertation) and on other scholars' observations (Heggie, 1988; Declerck, 1988), I conclude that both the pseudo-cleft and the FS need to be followed by a contrastive statement in order to become more acceptable (see also examples (155) – (156) in section 1.4.1.3):

(xi) ^{ok}*Lo   que   quiero   **no** es   trabajar sino ver   televisión*
　　　PRON COMP want.1SG.PRES   NEG be.3SG.PRES work.INF but   see.INF T.V.
　　　'What I want is not to work, but to watch T.V.'

(175) * *Lo   que   <u>no</u>   comió   fue   **nada**

PRON COMP NEG   eat.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET nothing

'What he did not eat was **nothing**'

(176) ᵒᵏ *<u>No</u> comió   fue   nada*

NEG   eat.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET nothing

'It was **nothing** what he ate'

Curnow and Travis (2003) also indicate that the pseudo-cleft is sensitive to clitic climbing (177) – (178), whereas the FS is not (179) – (180):

(177)ᵒᵏ *<u>Lo   que</u>   quiero   es   **ir<u>me</u>***

PRON   COMP want.1SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES go.INF-CL

'<u>What</u> I want to do is **to leave**'

(178) * *<u>Lo   que</u>   **me**ᵢ   quiero   es   **ir**ᵢ*

PRON COMP CL   want.1SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES go.INF

'<u>What</u> I want to do is **to leave**'

(179)ᵒᵏ *Quiero   es   **ir<u>me</u>***

want.1SG.PRES   be.3SG.PRES go.INF-CL

'It is **leaving** what I want to do'

(xii) ᵒᵏ*Quiero   **no** *es   *trabajar sino ver   televisión*
      want.1SG.PRES NEG   be.3SG.PRES work.INF but   see.INF T.V.
      'It is not working, but watching T.V., what I want to do'

This seems to show that *no* ('not') establishes narrow scope over the focused element, which forces an additional, contrastive clause to occur. Thus, in example (xii), *quiero no* ('I want not') introduces the expectation that I want to do *something else* besides working. If the sentence stops in *trabajar* ('to work'), this expectation is not met.

(180) ᵒᵏ **_Me_**ᵢ _quiero_   _es_   **_ir_**ᵢ

   CL   want.1SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES go.INF

   'It is **leaving** what I want to do'

These two observations suggest that the FS is indeed part of one clause (the

TP), and that it should not be analyzed as a pseudo-cleft. Since _no_ ('not') in (175)

and _quiero_ ('I want') in (178) are placed in CP (a second clause different from

TP), the negative head is unable to bind the lower negative polarity item (_nada_

'nothing'), and the modal becomes unreachable by the clitic (_me_). The fact that

the FS can 'interrupt' these cases of negation bounding and clitic climbing

suggests that we are not dealing with two clauses, but with only one clause[36].

In addition, Bosque (1999: 18) indicates that the focused constituent can be

extracted out of the pseudo-cleft, but not out of the FS. Thus, in (181), the focused

element may move to CP to create a question, whereas it may not in (182):

(181)ᵒᵏ **_¿Qué_**ᵢ _es_ⱼ   <u>_lo_   _que_</u> _quieres_   _hacer_ ____ ____?

   what   be.3SG.PRES PRON COMP want.2SG.PRES do.INF

    '**What** is it <u>that</u> you want to do?'

(182) * **_¿Qué_**ᵢ _es_ⱼ   _quieres_   _hacer_   ____ ____?

   what   be.3SG.PRES want.2SG.PRES do.INF

    '**What** is it <u>that</u> you want to do?'

---

[36] As suggested by Yoshihisa Kitagawa (personal communication), it is important to point out
that clitic climbing is generally considered to be clause-bound and its apparent exceptions are
analyzed as involving "restructuring" and the like, which has an effect of reducing two clauses to
one.

Bosque (1999) claims that the ungrammaticality of (182) is explained by the fact that *ser* violates the *Head Movement Constraint* by inappropriately skipping a head (T) in its movement to a higher head (possibly C), and that this would result in *ser* not been able to c-command the complement under its scope. This line of analysis further illustrates the need to examine the FS as a TP-internal phenomenon, not as a focus structure dependent from other clauses (such as CP).

One more syntactic difference between the pseudo-cleft and the FS concerns the inability of the pseudo-cleft to intervene between auxiliary verbs (183), to focus VP- (185), or DP- internal constituents (187):

(183) * *Lo   que   ha   estado   es   **haciendo frío***

      PRON COMP have.3SG.PRES be.PERF be.3SG.PRES do.PROGR   cold

      '<u>What</u> it has **been** is **cold**'

(184) ^{ok}*Ha   estado   es   **haciendo frío***

      have.3SG.PRES be.PERF be.3SG.PRES do.PROGR   cold

      'It is **cold** how it has **been**'

(185) * *Lo   que   toca   salir   es   **mañana***

      PRON COMP have to.3SG.PRES leave.3SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES tomorrow

      '<u>What</u> we need to do is leave **tomorrow**'

(186) ^{ok} *Toca   salir   es   **mañana***

      have to.3SG.PRES leave.INF be.3SG.PRES tomorrow

      'It is leaving **tomorrow** what we have to do'

(187) * *Como   me   gusta   <u>la   música</u>   es   **<u>moderna</u>**

       how   PRON   like.3SG.PRES   the   music   be.3SG.PRES   modern

       '<u>The kind of music</u> I like is **modern**'

(188) ^{ok} *Me   gusta   <u>la   música</u>   es   **<u>moderna</u>**

       PRON   like.3SG.PRES   the   music   be.3SG.PRES   modern

       'It is **modern** music what I like'[37]

This shows, once again, that the pseudo-cleft is composed by two different clauses and that the FS only involves one clause (the TP). In (183), *ser* seems to have moved to the CP (intervening between the perfective and the progressive), thus failing to head the lower IP. In (185) and (187) *ser* does not head the lower IP (TP) and seems to intervene between the lexical head (*salir* 'to leave'; *música* 'music') and its complement (*mañana* 'tomorrow'; *moderna* 'modern'). In the case of the FS, none of these constraints apply if we assume that it is not heading an independent IP, and that it is part of the extended projection of *v*P.

In terms of verb agreement, there are some interesting differences between the pseudo-cleft and the FS that I should indicate. As mentioned for the pseudo-cleft in section 1.4.1.3., the copula *ser* must not agree in person and number with the main verb in the subordinate clause (see examples (146) – (147), here repeated as (189) – (190)). However, *ser* in the FS seems to agree in person and number with the main verb of the sentence (191) – (192)[38]:

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[37] This example is originally provided in Sedano (1990), and consequently cited in Bosque (1999).
[38] As mentioned in section 1.2, *ser* establishes agreement with the post-verbal subject in person and number. This agreement seems to run parallel to the usual person and number agreement

(189) ^{ok}_Quien_ /_La que_ **va** a Indianápolis soy **yo**

who the COMP go.3SG.PRES to Indianapolis be.1SG.PRES I

'The one who goes to Indianapolis is **me**'

(190) *_Quien_ / _La que_ **voy** a Indianápolis soy **yo**

who the COMP go.1SG.PRES to Indianapolis be.1SG.PRES I

'The one who goes to Indianapolis is **me**'

(191)^{ok} **Voy** a Indianápolis soy **yo**

go.1SG.PRES to Indianapolis be.1SG.PRES I

'It is **me** who goes to Indianapolis'

(192) * **Va** a Indianápolis soy **yo**

go.3SG.PRES to Indianapolis be.1SG.PRES I

'It is **me** who goes to Indianapolis'

Also, as shown for the pseudo-cleft in section 1.4.1.3., _ser_ might not agree in tense and aspect with the main verb in the subordinate clause (see examples (154) – (155), here repeated as (193) – (194)). However, _ser_ in the FS must always agree in tense and aspect with the main verb in T (195) – (196):

(193) ^{ok} _Quien_ /_La que_ _me_ **robó** **fue** _ella_

who the COMP PRON steal.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET she

'The one who **stole** from me **was** she'

---

operation that is found between the main verb and the post-verbal subject. Please see Chapter 2 for more details.

(194) ^{ok}*Quien /La que   me   **robó**   **es**   ella*

who   the COMP PRON steal.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRES she

'<u>The one who</u> **stole** from me **is** she'

(195) ^{ok}*Me   **robó**   **fue**   ella*

PRON   steal.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET she

'It **was** she who **stole** from me'

(196) ** Me   **robó**   **es**   ella*

PRON   steal.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRES she

'It **is** she who **stole** from me'

These agreement patterns suggest that *ser* in the pseudo-cleft and *ser* in the

FS are not placed in the same syntactic positions. In the pseudo-cleft *ser* is the

head of the lower TP, which allows it to check different tense and aspect features

than the verb in CP (*robar* 'to steal' in examples (193) – (194)). The fact that FS

ser always agrees with another verb in T, indicates that it is not the head of a TP

itself, and that it depends on the clause head (the verb in T) to check tense and

aspect features. This line of thought leads me to argue, once again, that the FS is

not part of a separate clause (i.e. an IP preceded by a CP).

Finally, as observed by Curnow and Travis and Bosque, the FS and the

pseudo-cleft differ not only syntactically, but also semantically. For example, a

pseudo-cleft such as (197) entails a superlative reading, whereas the FS version in

(198) cannot entail a superlative reading, but a comparative reading:

(197) *Lo que **más** me impresiona   es   <u>su infinita paciencia</u>*

PRON COMP more PRON impress.3SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES her infinite patience

'What impresses me **the most is** <u>her infinite patience</u>'

(198) ***Más*** *me impresiona   **es**   <u>su infinita paciencia</u>*

more PRON impress.3SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES her infinite patience

'It **is** <u>her infinite patience</u> what impresses me **more** about her'

Bosque also argues that there are scope differences between the pseudo-cleft and the FS when they occur with focal adverbs. The pseudo-cleft in (199), for example, contains a focal adverb (*sólo* 'only') that does not c-command the focused DP (*esta carta* 'this letter'); hence, it does not have scope over it. On the other hand, the focal adverb in the FS (200) actually c-commands the focused DP, and has scope over it:

(199) *Lo que **sólo** escribí   fue   <u>esta   carta</u>*

PRON COMP only write.1SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET this   letter

'What I only did with this letter was <u>to write it</u>'

(200) ***Sólo*** *escribí   fue   <u>esta   carta</u>*

only write.1SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET   this   letter

'It was **only** <u>this letter</u> what I wrote'

These semantic differences shown in (197) – (200) become easier to explain if we assume that the FS is not a pseudo-cleft structure and that it remains inside

TP. The fact that the FS does not correlate with a relative clause in CP bans it from entailing a superlative reading (in (198)): there is not an anaphoric element (*lo que* 'what') that anchors a particular feeling as the most memorable one. On the other hand, having focal adverbs in CP (e.g. in pseudo-clefts) does not allow them to have scope over elements internal to TP. As shown in (200), the fact that this scope takes place indicates that the FS is inside TP, and not in an independent clause (as occurs with pseudo-clefts).

As has been illustrated throughout this section, there is compelling evidence to suggest that the pseudo-cleft and the FS are evidently different syntactic structures: the pseudo-cleft involves two different clauses (CP and TP), and the FS involves only one (TP). The fact that they do not always convey the same semantic meanings (e.g. superlative vs. comparative readings with *más* 'more') and that they react differently to various syntactic phenomena (e.g. negation, clitic climbing, verb agreement, *wh-* extraction, etc.), provides strong evidence to the idea that the FS is not a pseudo-cleft structure. Hence, the syntactic analysis that I propose in the next chapters is based on the claim that the FS is syntactically different from the pseudo-cleft.

1.5. Methodological considerations

One of the biggest challenges regarding the study of the FS is the data collection. Although this form is widely used in Colombian Spanish, across socio-economic levels and age groups, it is very difficult to record a significant amount

of tokens in natural conversations or corpora to run a statistical analysis, partly because the FS is highly restricted by discourse[39].

Taking this into account, I decided to conduct acceptability judgments of example sentences embedded in appropriate discourses among a group of Colombian speakers, instead of recording interviews or group conversations[40]. The purpose of the acceptability judgments was to investigate speakers' evaluation of the FS (when it occurs in various syntactic contexts), and to substantiate my intuitions regarding the syntax of the FS with speakers' evaluation of the form. Thus, if I predict that a particular sentence is ill-formed, the acceptability judgment provided by the participants helps me to corroborate such valuation.

1.5.1. Data collection and instrumentation

I decided to prepare an identification experiment using a computer program (Praat 5.0.36)[41]. This program allowed me to play a sound file and to provide participants with a screen where they could select a letter grade for the sentence they heard. After the participant made a selection, the program

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[39] It has been noted by Sedano (1990) and Curnow and Travis (2003) that the FS is a very common form in Colombian and Venezuelan Spanish, but that it is very difficult to elicit many tokens from sociolinguistic interviews or even casual conversations. Based on pilot studies that I have conducted, I found that the FS is best captured by listening to people's conversations and taking field notes. This, however, does not ensure an extremely large amount of tokens. Also, this kind of data collection does not ensure that the FS will be captured in all possible kinds of syntactic contexts (e.g. before perfective and progressive forms, intervening between DPs, etc.).
[40] I conducted several pilot studies that included interviews and pair conversations. Although the interactions were very interesting from a linguistic point of view, they failed to provide contexts that would force speakers to produce the FS in various syntactic environments. For example, from a two-hour conversation, only two or three tokens of the FS were extracted. Given this, the present study resorts to data collected from acceptability judgments, rather than data drawn from interviews or conversations.
[41] Boersma, P. and D. Weenink (2008). Praat: doing phonetics by computer

automatically played the next sound file and was ready for the next grade selection[42]. Once the experiment was completed, I was able to systematically record all the acceptability judgments.

Out of a total of 125 sentences, 84 were FS structures, and 41 were distracters (including true clefts, inverted true clefts, and pseudo-clefts)[43]. All these sentences were part of a mini dialogue: they were uttered as a response for a comment, or for a question. For example, participants heard the mini-dialogue in (201) below, and they were expected to evaluate the last sentence they heard (the FS structure, in this case):

(201) **A:** *Julio   sacó   la   basura   esta   mañana*

Julio   take.3SG.PRET   the   garbage   this   morning

'Julio took out the garbage this morning'

B: *No… sacó   la   basura   fue   **María***

not   take.3SG.PRET   the   garbage   be.3SG.PRET   María

'No…It was **María** who took out the garbage'

Before conducting an acceptability judgments test, all participants completed a tutorial task which explained the procedures for the data collection. This tutorial was prepared as a Power Point presentation, and participants had the opportunity to see an example of the computer screen, prior to the task. They

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[42] A sample of the computer screen presented to participants can be found in Appendix B.
[43] A complete list of the FS sentences tested is included in Appendix C.

were also encouraged to ask questions before the task and to take as much time as they needed to during the whole procedure.

In order to evaluate the sentences, I designed a scale from 1 to 5: 1 being the least acceptable and 5 being the most acceptable. I instructed participants to rate each sentence based on two examples given in the tutorial task. In the Power Point presentation, the well-formed example was rated as 5, whereas the ill-formed example was rated as 1.[44] Although the participants were not explicitly told that 1 was unacceptable and 5 was acceptable, they were able to provide a consistent evaluation of all sentences in terms of what sounded *more* or *less* strange to them.

1.5.2. Participants

As for the participants, they were all college-level students at *Universidad Industrial de Santander*, in Bucaramanga, Colombia. A total of 45 male and female speakers, born and raised in Bucaramanga, were recruited for the data collection task.

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[44] The sample sentences shown in the tutorial task are presented as follows:

(xiii) ᵒᵏ *El   que   la   vino   a   buscar   fue   Gonzalo*
    PRON COMP PRON come.3SG.PRET to look for.INF be.3SG.PRET Gonzalo
    'The one who came to look for her was Gonzalo'

(xiv) * *El   a   que   vino   buscarla   fue   Gonzalo*
    PRON to COMP come.3SG.PRET look for.INF-CL be.3SG.PRET Gonzalo
    'The one who came to look for her was Gonzalo'

86

1.5.3. <u>Data analysis</u>

The data drawn from these acceptability judgments will be presented throughout Chapters 2 and 3, as I discuss certain syntactic properties of the FS[45]. I computed the average scores for each sentence in order to have a general idea of speakers' acceptability tendencies for the FS: sentences ranging below 2.0 are here understood as unacceptable; sentences ranging between 2.0 and 2.9 are seen as mildly acceptable; and sentences ranging between 3.0 and 3.9 are viewed as highly acceptable[46]. It is important to note that these numbers do not offer a reliable statistical account of the FS, and are simply used to show that a particular sentence tends to be acceptable or unacceptable (not just by me, but by other speakers of this dialect).

In addition to this data, I will include in my examples (in Chapters 2 and 3) some FS sentences that I have collected from T.V. programs, or that I have elaborated based on what I (and others around me) have uttered at some point in time. Once again, these examples are only used to illustrate certain points that I make, but not to build a quantitative analysis of the FS. As I have mentioned before, and I will continue to reiterate, the analysis that I present in this dissertation is by no means quantitative. In fact, I will be offering a strictly theoretical proposal for the syntax of the FS, and I will not be making any conclusions regarding statistical tendencies or frequency of FS use.

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[45] A summary table with the average scores for each FS sentence is provided in Appendix C.
[46] The highest average score for an FS sentence was 3.8, and the highest average score for a pseudo-cleft sentence was 4.6.

1.6. Conclusions

The main goal of this chapter was to establish the FS as an independent focus structure. As it has been successfully shown so far, the FS is in fact formally different from the pseudo-cleft. Particularly, I have provided a preliminary account of the FS, a concise description of Spanish clause structure, and a brief analysis of cleft constructions, more specifically pseudo-clefts.

In section 1.1 I introduced the FS as an alternate focus construction, used alongside the pseudo-cleft (and other clefts) in very few Spanish dialects. In section 1.2 I discussed the semantic function of the FS and I illustrated certain constraints on FS placement and on the morphology of FS *ser*.

In section 1.3 I expanded on the functions of *ser* as a copula and an auxiliary verb, and I suggested that FS *ser* should be better viewed as a focus operator. Furthermore, I elaborated on issues of word order, clause structure, and verb movement to establish my theoretical assumptions regarding the syntactic structure of 'standard' Spanish.

Finally, in section 1.4 I provided a summary of cleft constructions and I focused on the syntactic differences between pseudo-clefts and the FS. This finally led me to conclude that the FS should not be examined as a pseudo-cleft since it is part of the extended projection of the *v*P. Finally, in section 1.5 I commented on my data collection procedures and I explained that my syntactic analysis of the FS will be based on the results of acceptability judgments that I conducted in Bucaramanga, Colombia.

Having established all of these important aspects, I will further elaborate on the syntactic properties of the FS in Chapter 2. In particular, I will describe the type of constituents that may (or may not) be FS-focused, the morphology of FS *ser*, and the effects of certain syntactic phenomena on the FS. In Chapter 3, I will review my generalizations regarding the syntactic configuration of the FS, in order to provide a theoretical analysis of this dialectally-marked form.

Chapter 2

Syntactic properties of the FS

In this chapter I will provide a thorough description of the combinatorial properties of the FS, specifically in terms of the types of constituents that it can precede, its syntactic position within the clause, the agreement patterns shown between FS *ser* ('to be')[47] and other sentential elements, and its relation with various syntactic phenomena such as word order, topicalization, passivization, question formation, and extraction.

These empirical observations are important because they will allow me to draw a general picture of FS syntax, uncovering a new generalization with respect to its agreement properties in correlation with different types of focus. Furthermore, establishing such a comprehensive account of the FS will also allow me to encompass previous accounts of the FS, and to contribute with new data that clarify the nature of the FS and its syntactic properties.

I introduce this chapter with an account of all the types of constituents that may be (and may not be) FS-focused (section 2.1). Then, in section 2.2, I discuss the syntactic placement of the FS, and show that it must be located below TP and above *v*P. In section 2.3, I illustrate the morphology of FS *ser* (in terms of its feature agreement with the main verb and certain focused elements), which, to the best of my knowledge, has not been at all explored in previous studies of the

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[47] From this point forward the verb *ser* ('to be') in the FS construction will be referred to as FS *ser*.

FS. Finally, in section 2.4, I elaborate on the effects of word order, topicalization, passivization, and extraction in the occurrence of the FS.

It is important to clarify at this point that the data included in this chapter (and in the rest of the dissertation) are mainly drawn from the acceptability judgments that I collected from Colombian speakers, and that it is used as a sample of what can be found in real speech.

2.1. FS-focused elements

In this section, I will discuss the use of FS *ser* as a focalizing element that precedes focus phrases of all types of categories such as PPs, AdjPs, AdvPs, PerfPs and ProgrPs, CPs, and DPs. What is common in all these cases is that the FS always focuses post-verbal constituents (those that have not moved to a higher TP position).

Furthermore, I will describe my new observations regarding the morphology of FS *ser*, and I will attempt to show that the agreement patterns found between FS *ser* and certain sentential elements are not random. Among my empirical observations, I will show that in the case of FS-focused PPs, AdjPs, AdvPs, PerfPs and ProgrPs, and CPs, FS *ser* acquires default morphology (third person singular), regardless of its tense and aspect features. Also, in the case of FS-focused DPs, the morphology of FS *ser* changes depending on the type of DP that it precedes (subjects, DOs with and without DOM, and IOs), and on the type of focus entailed (contrastive and non-contrastive). Specifically, FS *ser* agrees in person and number with contrasted FS-focused post-verbal subjects; it agrees in

number with contrasted FS-focused DOs with no DOM; and it does not agree in person or in number with FS-focused IOs (contrasted and non-contrasted).

Finally, I would like to mention that I have included a brief description of the statistical results that other scholars have drawn from their studies (particularly results from Sedano (2003b) and Curnow and Travis (2003)) regarding FS-focused PPs, AdjPs, AdvPs, PerfPs and ProgrPs, CPs, and DPs. This information is included in Appendix D, in order to give the reader an idea about the distribution of FS-focused constituents, as found in previous studies.

2.1.1. Prepositional Phrases

One of the most common constituents focused by the FS is PPs[48]:

(1) **A:** *Escuché que Lucrecia y David están en Maracaibo*

'I heard that Lucrecia and David are in Maracaibo'

B: *No, Lucrecia   y   David   están   es   en Caracas*

no   Lucrecia   and   David   be.3PL.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   in   Caracas

'No, it is **in Caracas** where Lucrecia and David are'

Now, let us consider the kinds of PPs that may be FS-focused. It is important to clarify here that some of the most common simple prepositions in Spanish are: *a* ('to'; 'at'), *ante* ('before'), *bajo* ('under'), *con* ('with'), *contra* ('against'), *de* ('of'; 'from'), *desde* ('from'; 'since'), *en* ('in'; 'on'; 'at'), *entre* ('between'; 'among'), *hacia*

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[48] Sometimes a question or a comment will be included in the examples to show that the FS sentence would not be produced in an "out-of-the-blue" context. In cases where the context is not provided, the reader should assume that the FS is uttered in response to a comment or a question.

('until'; 'toward'); *hasta* ('until'; 'toward'), *para* ('for'), *por* ('for'; 'by'), *según* ('according to'), *sin* ('without'), *sobre* ('on'; 'about'), and *tras* ('after', 'behind').

In fact, any of these simple prepositions may head a FS-focused PP. Included below are some representative examples where certain simple prepositions are shown to head the FS-focused PP. Notice that FS *ser* always occurs in third person singular, independently of the number features of the PP complement:

(2) *Va   a tocar   sacarlo   es   a   golpes*
     go.3SG.PRES to have to.INF remove.INF-CL be.3SG.PRES by hits
     'It is **hitting it** that we are going to have to take it out'

(3) *Tengo   cita   es   con el   doctor*
     have.1SG.PRES appointment be.3SG.PRES with the doctor
     'It is **with the doctor** that I have an appointment'

(4) *Yo vengo   a   hablar es   de   Patricia*
     I   come.1SG.PRES to talk.INF be.3SG.PRES about Patricia
     'It is **about Patricia** that I come to talk'

(5) *Me estaba   preguntando era   por   Gonzalo*
     PRON be.3SG.IMP ask.PROGR   be.3SG.IMP about Gonzalo
     'It was **about Gonzalo** that he was asking'

Furthermore, the FS always immediately precedes the entire PP: it can never intervene between the PP head and its complement (6), or it can never occur inside the PP complement (7) - (8):

(6) *La   vi   [PP ***en*** *fue*   *el   parque   Santander*]

    PRON see.1SG.PRET in   be.3SG.PRET the park   Santander

    'It was **at Santander Park** where I saw her'

(7) *La   vi   [PP ***en el*** *fue*   *parque   Santander*]

    PRON see.1SG.PRET in   the be.3SG.PRET   park   Santander

    'It was **at Santander Park** where I saw her'

(8) *La   vi   [PP ***en el parque*** *fue*   *Santander*]

    PRON see.1SG.PRET in   the park   be.3SG.PRET Santander

    'It was **at Santander Park** where I saw her'

So far I have shown that the FS may focus PPs headed by simple prepositions. Although most PP heads take DPs as complements, there are cases in which the PP head selects infinitival clauses (9), IPs (10), CPs (11), AdvPs (12), and even other PPs (13). In these cases, the FS may also precede the entire PP:

(9) *Hablaba   era   [**sin   pensar**]

    speak.3SG.IMP be.3SG.IMP without think.INF

    'It was **without thinking** that he spoke'

(10) *Lo   hizo   fue   [IP **para enfurecer a su mamá**]

    PRON do.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET to   anger.INF   to her mother

    'It was **to anger her mother** that she did it'

(11) *Marta   confía   es   [CP **en que Carlos   venga**]

Marta   trust.3SG.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   in   COMP Carlos   come.3SG.SUBJ

'It is **that Carlos comes** that Marta hopes for'

(12) *Ana   se   vistió   fue   [AdvP **en menos de nada**[49]]

Ana   PRON   dress.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   in   less   of   nothing

'It was **very quickly** that Ana got dressed'

(13) *Ahí   venden   todo   es   [PP **al   por mayor**]

there   sell.3PL.PRES   everything   be.3SG.PRES   to-the   by   greater

'It is **by whole-sale** that they sell everything there'

In this section I have illustrated FS-focused PPs. No matter what kind of complement the PP head takes (i.e. DP, IP, AdvP, PP), the FS must always precede the entire constituent and must not occur inside it (either between P and its complement, or within the PP complement). Finally, as it will be explained in section 2.3, FS *ser* always occurs in third person singular when it focuses a PP, regardless of its tense and aspect features, and of the number features of the PP complement.

2.1.2. Adjectival Phrases

Besides PPs, AdjPs are also commonly focused by the FS:

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[49] Acceptability judgment average score: 2.0. In comparison to other types of FS-focused PPs, this one seems to be less acceptable, probably because it occurs in more restricted discourse contexts (it is a fixed expression).

(14) **A:** *¿Por qué será que el tornillo no se sostiene?*

'Why is it that the screw does not hold?

  B: *Debe   ser   que está   **es**   flojo***

must.3SG.PRES   be.INF   that   be.3SG.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   loose

'It is **loose** that the screw ought to be'

Similarly to FS-focused PPs, even when the focused adjective is plural, FS *ser* is still conjugated in third person singular:

(15) *Mi papá   está   **es**   contento*

my father   be.3SG.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   happy

'It is **happy** that my dad is'

(16) *Julián   y   Sandra   van   a   resultar es   aliados*

Julián   and   Sandra   go.3PL.PRES   to   end.INF   be.3SG.PRES allied

'It is **allied** that Julián and Sandra are going to turn out'

Also, the FS may focus adjectives (cf. (14) – (16)) or an entire phrase comprising an adjective and its modifier (17). Hence, the FS must precede the entire AdjP and cannot intervene between the adjective and its modifier (18):

(17) ^ok*El   toro   estaba   era   como   asustado*

the   bull   be.3SG.IMP   be.3SG.IMP   like   scared

'It was **kind of scared** that the bull was'

96

(18) *El   toro   estaba   **como** era   **asustado**

the   bull   be.3SG.IMP like   be.3SG.IMP scared

'It was **kind of scared** that the bull was'

Despite the ungrammaticality of (18), there are some cases in which the FS may intervene to focus an adjective. In (19), for example, the FS intervenes between the noun and the adjective to focus only the adjective:

(19) ^okMe gusta   la   música   es   **moderna**

PRON like.3SG.PRES the   music   be.3SG.PRES   modern

'It is **modern** that I like music'

[Sedano 1990: 93]

Looking at my own data, I found other cases in which DP-internal adjectives may be accepted as FS-focused (20) – (21)[50]:

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[50] Although examples (20) – (21) are acceptable in Colombian Spanish, I found that sentences similar to (19) are not acceptable in this dialect. For example, sentences (i) – (ii) were rated as unacceptable by my participants:

(i)   * A Francisco le   gusta   la   música   es   **moderna**
       to Francisco CL   like.3SG.PRES the music   be.3SG.PRES   modern
       'It is **modern** that Francisco likes music'
(ii) * A Marcelino le   gusta   la   música   es   **rock**
       to Marcelino CL   like.3SG.PRES the music   be.3SG.PRES   rock
       'It is **rock** that Marcelino likes music'

In section 2.4.6 I will discuss these examples in detail, and I will show that FS-focused adjectives should be better analyzed as FS-focused Small Clauses. Furthermore, I will claim that stage-level small clauses can be FS-focused, whereas individual-level small clauses cannot. This observation seems to explain why certain speakers accept sentences such as (19) and (i) – (ii), whereas other speakers do not.

(20) ᵒᵏ*En la tienda venden café es* **molido**

      in   the   store   sell.3PL.PRES   coffee   be.3SG.PRES   ground

      'It is **ground coffee** that they sell in the store'

(21) ᵒᵏ*En este almacén venden ropa es* **usada**

      in   this   store   sell.3PL.PRES   clothes   be.3SG.PRES   used

      'It is **used clothes** that they sell in this department store'

In brief, it is clear that the FS may focus AdjPs formed by an adjective or by a cluster of an adjective and adjectival modifier (e.g. adverb). Similarly to FS-focused PPs, FS-focused AdjPs are preceded by the FS, and the FS must not intervene between the adjectival modifier and the adjective. In certain cases of DP-internal adjectives, the FS may focus only the adjective, and as I will show in section 2.4.6, this is due to the semantic properties of the adjective in question. Finally, FS *ser* (like FS *ser* preceding PPs) is always conjugated in third person singular when it focuses an AdjP.

2.1.3. Adverbial Phrases

Another constituent that can be FS-focused is the AdvP:

(22) **A:** *¿No compraron la tela la semana pasada?*

      'Did you not buy the fabric last week?'

    B: *No, la tela la compramos fue* **ayer**

      no   the   fabric   PRON   buy.1PL.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   yesterday

      'No, as for the fabric, it was **yesterday** that we bought it'

The FS may focus a single adverb (as in (22)), or an entire AdvP comprised by an adverb and its modifier. In (23), for example, the focused AdvP is formed by the adverbial head *así* ('like that') and another adverb acting as a modifier (*mejor* 'better'):

(23) *Va   a   tocar   es   **así**   **mejor***
go.3SG.PRES to   must.INF be.3SG.PRES like-that   better
'It is **better like that** that we ought to do this'

As illustrated in FS-focused PPs and AdjPs, the FS must always precede the AdvP, and it must not disrupt the AdvP:

(24) ᵒᵏ*Los   abuelos   llegan   es   **súper temprano***
the   grandparents   arrive.3PL.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   super   early
'It is **super early** that the grandparents will be arriving'

(25) **Los   abuelos   llegan   **súper temprano**   es*
the   grandparents   arrive.3PL.PRES   super   early   be.3SG.PRES
'It is **super early** that the grandparents will be arriving'

(26) **Los   abuelos   llegan   **súper**   es   **temprano***
the   grandparents   arrive.3PL.PRES   super   be.3SG.PRES   early
'It is **super early** that the grandparents will be arriving'

In addition, FS ser always takes default morphology (3SG) when preceding
AvdPs:

(27) ᵒᵏ*Los niños comieron **fue** **muy rápidamente***

the children eat.3PL.PRET be.3SG.PRET very quickly

'It was **very quickly** that the children ate'

(28) **Los niños comieron* ***fueron*** ***muy rápidamente***

the children eat.3PL.PRET be.3PL.PRET very quickly

'It was **very quickly** that the children ate'

Interestingly, not all adverbs (or AdvPs) can be focused by the FS. As
exemplified below, the unacceptability of sentences such as (30) is not due to the
misplacement of the FS (as in (25) – (26)), or to the lack of default morphology in
FS *ser* (as in (28)):

(29) ᵒᵏ*Nos avisaron fue **inmediatamente** después*

PRON notify.3PL.PRET be.3SG.PRET immediately after

'It was **immediately** after that they notified us'

(30) **No vimos fue **naturalmente** nada*

not see.1PL.PRET be.3SG.PRET naturally nothing

'It was **naturally** that we did not see anything'

100

Based on Cinque's (1999) analysis of Italian adverbs and Zagona's (2002) account of Spanish adverbs, the adverb in (29) should be analyzed as a VP adverb (Cinque's "lower adverb"), and the adverb in (30) as an IP adverb (Cinque's "higher adverb"). In fact, as I will explain further in section 2.2, IP adverbs can never be FS-focused because they are placed in a much higher position than the FS. This explains why an IP adverb (as in (31)) renders an unacceptable outcome whereas a VP adverb (as in (32)) renders an acceptable outcome:

(31) *[IP *No vimos*   *fue*   **naturalmente** [vP *nada*]]

       not   see.1PL.PRET be.3SG.PRET   naturally   nothing

       'It was **naturally** that we did not see anything'

(32) ok[IP *Nos avisaron*   *fue*   [vP **inmediatamente después**]]

       PRON   notify.3PL.PRET be.3SG.PRET   immediately   afterwards

       'It was **immediately after** that they notified us'

One last aspect that is important to discuss is the correlation between the FS and focal adverbs such as *solo* ('only') and *incluso* ('even'). When any of these adverbs precede the FS (33) – (34), the sentence becomes unacceptable, and when any of them follows it, the sentence becomes acceptable (35):

(33) *<u>*Sólo*</u>/<u>*Incluso*</u> *hay*   *es*   **cuatro empleadas**

       only / even   have.3SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES four   employees

       'It is **four workers** that there are <u>only/even</u>'

(34) *Hay   <u>sólo</u> / <u>incluso</u>   es   **cuatro empleadas**

      have.3SG.PRES only / even   be.3SG.PRES four   employees

      'It is **four workers** that there are <u>only/even</u>'

(35) ᵒᵏ*Hay*   *es*   <u>*sólo*</u> / <u>*incluso*</u> *cuatro empleadas*

      have.3SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES only / even   four   employees

      'It is **only/even four employees** that there are'

As shown, the FS must be outside of the scope of focal adverbs, and it cannot be part of their focus projection. This should not be surprising, given that *solo* and *incluso* form a single constituent with their focused element (*cuatro empleadas* 'four workers'), and as in other cases we have examined, the FS must never intervene within a constituent (e.g. between a DP and its modifier). This may become clearer in example (36) where the intensifier *pero* ('but') intervenes within the constituent [*solo cuatro empleadas*]. This serves as a good comparison with cases (33) – (34) because, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, *pero* ('but') in non-FS dialects of Spanish resembles the contrastive use of the FS:

(36) **A:** *¿No hay como diez empleadas?*

      'Are there not about ten employees?'

     B: *No,* (*<u>*sólo*</u>) *hay*   (*<u>*sólo*</u>) **pero** (ᵒᵏ <u>*sólo*</u>) *cuatro empleadas*

      no   only have.3SG.PRES   only but   only   four   employees

      'No, there are **but** <u>only</u> four employees'

Although this is a very interesting observation, I will not analyze the relationship between the FS and focal adverbs any further in this dissertation. At this point, I will suggest that what I have shown so far may provide evidence for the idea that *solo* ('only') has a blocking effect, perhaps related with freezing effects (Bošković 2007a; Bošković 2008; Rizzi to appear).

As I have illustrated in this section, FS-focused AdvPs are commonly accepted in Colombian Spanish. Similarly to FS-focused PPs and AdjPs, the FS must precede the entire focused AdvP, and must not intervene within the AdvP (between the adverbial head and its modifier). Furthermore, FS *ser* takes default morphology (3SG) when it is placed before AdvP (as it does in cases of FS-focused PPs and AdjPs). Next, I pointed out that the FS may focus adverbs that originate as VP adjuncts (VP adverbs), but not adverbs that originate as IP adjuncts (IP adverbs). As it will be further explained in section 2.2, this indicates that the FS must be placed in a low TP position: below T and above *v*P. Finally, I showed that the FS must always be placed before focal adverbs (*solo* 'only' and *incluso* 'even'), and I suggested that this is due to the fact that the FS may not intervene within constituents.

2.1.4. Perfective and Progressive Phrases

Other FS-focused phrases may be Perfective Phrases (PerfPs) (37) or Progressive Phrases (ProgrPs) (38):

(37) **A:** *¿Y Rubén no había salido cojeando?*

     'And had Rubén not left limping?'

B: *No, él había   era   **llegado**   cojeando*

no   he   have.3SG.IMP   be.3SG.IMP   arrive.PERF   limp.PROGR

'No, it was **having arrived** that he did with limping'

(38) **A:** *¿Y Rubén no había salido cojeando?*

'And had Rubén not left limping?'

B: *No,   él   había   salido   era   **saltando***

no   he   have.3SG.IMP   leave.PERF   be.3SG.IMP   jump.PROGR

'No, it was **being jumping** that he had left in'

Notice that in (37) the only focused segment is the PerfP (*llegado* 'arrived'), and in (38) it is the ProgrP (*saltando* 'jumping'), as they constitute the only pieces of new information offered in each context[51]. If the PerfP and the ProgrP are part of the new information provided in the sentence, then they can both be FS-focused:

(39) **A:** *¿Y Rubén no había salido cojeando?*

'And had Rubén not left limping?'

B: *No,   él   había   era   **llegado   saltando***

no   he   have.3SG.IMP   be.3SG.IMP   arrive.PERF   jump.PROGR

'No, it was **having arrived jumping** that he had done'

---

[51] As Yoshihisa Kitagawa (personal communication) points out, PerfPs and ProgrPs take *v*Ps as complements. Given this, it would be more accurate to suggest that when these aspectual phrases (PerfPs and ProgrPs) are focused, their embedded *v*Ps are also part of the focus projection.

I have not conducted any statistical study of FS-focused PerfPs and ProgrPs, but it seems that FS-focused PerfPs are by far less common than FS-focused ProgrPs[52]. This should not be surprising given that FS-focused PerfPs require a more restricted discourse context to be licensed than FS-focused ProgrPs. In fact, FS-focused PerfPs seem to occur more frequently when no ProgrPs are part of the focus projection:

(40) **A:** *Según entiendo, los impuestos siguen igual que el año pasado*

'As far as I understand, taxes are still the same as last year'

  B: *No, los   han   es   **aumentado***

    no   PRON have.3PL.PRES be.3SG.PRES increase.PERF

    'No, it is **having increased** that they did'

Also, ProgrPs seem to be FS-focused more often when a PerfP is not preceding them (41) or when the preceding PerfP is not part of the focus projection (42):

(41) *Estaba   **era**   **leyendo lo que me mandaron***

    be.3SG.IMP be.3SG.IMP read.PROGR PRON COMP PRON send.3PL.PRET

    'It was **reading what they sent me** that I was doing'

---

[52] It is important to clarify again that I am not conducting a quantitative analysis of FS-focused elements. My observation that FS-focused PerfPs are less common than ProgrPs is merely impressionistic, and it is not based on any kind of statistical result.

(42) *Ha   estado   es   **saliendo   con Luisa***

have.3SG.PRES   be.PERF   be.3SG.PRES   date.PROGR   with Luisa

'It is **dating Luisa** that he has been doing'

This indicates that PerfPs seem to be FS-focused more often when they are used as perfectives ((37), (39) - (40)), than when they are used as auxiliaries ((42)). As I will explain in more detail in Chapter 3, this leads me to believe that PerfPs that are outside the focus projection of the FS (that are placed before the FS) have actually moved from a PerfP, placed above *v*P, to an AuxP, available below T and above TopP. For now, it is important to note that although both PerfPs and ProgrPs can be FS-focused as single constituents ((37) – (38)) or as a whole unit ((39)), ProgrPs ((41) - (42)) and PerfPs ((40)) are more commonly FS-focused.

Finally, I would like to point out a couple of issues regarding FS *ser* morphology. First, as in previous cases of FS-focused PPs, AdjPs, and AdvPs, FS *ser* must take default morphology (3SG) when preceding PerfPs and/or ProgrPs:

(43) *Han   (^ok *es*)   **_estado_**   (^ok *es*)   **_estudiando_**

have.3PL.PRES be.3SG.PRES   be.PERF   be.3SG.PRES   study.PROGR

'It is **studying / having studied** that they have been doing'

(44) *Han   (* *son*)   **_estado_** (* *son*)   **_estudiando_**

have.3PL.PRES be.3PL.PRES   be.PERF   be.3PL.PRES   study.PROGR

'It is **studying / having studied** that they have been doing'

Second, when the auxiliary in T is the verb *haber* ('to have') and it is

conjugated in first person singular (present indicative), the FS cannot intervene

between the auxiliary and the PerfP (as in (45) below). However, if *haber* ('to

have') is conjugated in second or third person singular, or in first or third person

plural (present indicative), the FS can intervene between the auxiliary and the

PerfP (as in (46) below):

(45) * *He*　　　　　　*es*　　　　　　***estado* *estudiando* *mucho***

　　　have.1SG.PRES　be.3PL.PRES　be.PERF　study.PROGR　　much

　　　'It is **having studied much** that I have been doing'

(46) ᵒᵏ *Has /ha/hemos/han*　　　*es*　　　　　　***estado* *estudiando***

　　　have.2SG/3SG/1PL/3PL.PRES　be.3PL.PRES　be.PERF　study.PROGR

　　　'It is **having studied** that you/he/we/they have been doing'

The pattern in (45) – (46) shows that this is not a syntactic phenomenon, but

rather morpho-phonological in the sense that the vowel that ends the auxiliary

verb (h*e*) is the same vowel that initiates the FS *ser* (*es*). Given this, the

ungrammaticality of (45) may be explained by a phonological factor and not by

any semantic or syntactic constraint.[53]

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[53] As suggested by Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (personal communication), the ungrammaticality in (45) may be explained in terms of the mechanism of *haplology* (the so called syntactic OCP), according to which one of two consecutive identical or similar syllables is eliminated. So, in (45) FS *ser* is destined to be phonetically eliminated as it induces phonetic redundancy. For other examples of *haplology* in several languages, see Bošković, Ž. and J. Nunes (2007) and the references therein.

In this section I have shown some interesting patterns in FS-focused PerfPs and ProgrPs. Both phrases may be FS-focused individually (if each of them are the only constituent that entails new information), or as a group (if they are both part of the constituent that entails new information). Furthermore, PerfPs are more commonly FS-focused when they are used as PerfPs (and when there is no ProgrP following them), than when they function purely as an auxiliary verb (and when there is a ProgrP following them). Additionally, as illustrated for FS-focused PPs, AdjPs, and AdvPs, FS *ser* in FS-focused PerfPs and ProgrPs takes default morphology (3SG). Finally, cases of FS-focused PerfPs preceded by *he* ('have.1SG.PRES') are ungrammatical, as the phonetic realization of the FS (*es*) produces a phonological redundancy when it combines with *he* ('have.1SG.PRES').

2.1.5. Complementizer Phrases

Another common constituent that is FS-focused is the CP:

(47) **A:** *¿Sí supo que Carolina se va a estudiar a Inglaterra?*

    'Did you know that Carolina is going to study in England?'

 B: *No, yo pensaba*   *era*   ***que iba***   ***a***   ***trabajar***

    no I   think.1SG.IMP be.3SG.IMP that go.3SG.IMP to   work.INF

    'No, it was **that she was going to work** that I was thinking'

Based on the data collected, it seems that the FS is commonly used to focus a wide variety of CPs. One of the most common types of FS-focused CPs that I have found is introduced by *que* ('that'), as shown in (47) above and (48) below:

(48) *Me   da   miedo   es   **que no vengas***

PRON give.3SG.PRES fear   be.3SG.PRES that not come.2SG.SUBJ

'It is **that you do not come** that scares me'

Other FS-focused CPs may be introduced by a variety of clausal conjunctions such as *porque* ('because'), *cómo* ('how'), *dónde* ('where'), *cuando* ('when'), *para que* ('so that'), among others:

(49) *Me   da   tristeza es   **porque** se   va*

PRON give.3SG.PRES sadness be.3SG.PRES because PRON go.3SG.PRES

'It is **because she is leaving** that I am sad'

(50) *Yo le expliqué   fue   **cómo** llenar   el   formulario*

I   CL explain.1SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET how   fill.INF   the form

'It was **how to fill out the form** that I explained to her'

(51) *Estoy   pensando   es   **dónde** voy   a   vivir*

be.1SG.PRES   think.PROGR   be.3SG.PRET where go.1SG.PRES to live.INF

'It is **where I am going to leave** that I am thinking about'

(52) *Le dan   todo es   **cuando**   gane*

CL give.3PL.PRES all   be.3SG.PRES when   win.3SG.PRES

'It is **when he wins** that they give him everything'

(53) *Toca*   *pagarle*   *es*   ***para que***   ***venga***

must.3SG.PRES   pay.INF-CL   be.3SG.PRES   so   that   come.3SG.SUBJ

'It is **so that he comes** that we ought to pay him'

In addition to focusing CPs that include a complementizer (*que* 'that') or a clausal conjunction (*porque* 'because', *cómo* 'how', *dónde* 'where', *cuando* 'when', *para que* 'so that', etc.), the FS may focus CPs with null complementizers or clausal conjunctions:

(54) *Toca*   *es*   [CP Ø COMP ***hablar con él***]

must.3SG.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   talk.INF   with   him

'It is **talking to him** that we ought to do'

(55) *Me vine*   *fue*   ***a terminar la carrera***

CL   come.1SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   to   finish.INF   the   major

'It is **to finish the major** that I came to do'

Notice that, unlike cases of FS-focused PPs, AdjPs, and AdvPs, the FS may precede not only an entire CP (as in (56)), but also constituents that are placed inside the embedded CP (as in (57)). That is, (57) involves the FS construction within the embedded clause. This should not be surprising given that the FS may be a functional projection internal to the TP that embeds another clause (as in (56)), or a functional projection internal to the TP that is embedded by another clause (as in (57)):

(56) ᵒᵏ[IP *Toca*   *es*   [CP **_llamar a la secretaria_**]]

must.3SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES call.INF to the secretary

'It is **calling the secretary** that we ought to do'

(57) ᵒᵏ[IP *Toca*   [CP **_llamar_** *es*   **_a la secretaria_**]]

must.3SG.PRES   call.INF   be.3SG.PRES to the secretary

'It is **the secretary** that we ought to call'

It is important to clarify at this point that the FS may focus complements of control verbs (subject and object control verbs) raising verbs, and Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) verbs. According to the literature on control (Perlmutter 1970; Chomsky 1981; Manzini 1983; Hornstein 1999; Landau 1999), subject and object control verbs take CPs as complements whereas raising and ECM verbs take IPs as complements. Thus, the FS may focus CPs with a null complementizer and an embedded IP (as in (58) – (59)), or IPs (such as (60) - (61)):

(58) ᵒᵏ[*Ella*ᵢ *trataba*   *era* [CP PROᵢ **_de imponerle todo a Jairo_**]]

she   try.3SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES   of impose.INF-CL all toJairo

'It was **imposing everything to Jairo** that she tried to do'

(59) ᵒᵏ[*Mimamá me*ᵢ *obligó*   *fue* [CP PROᵢ **_a venir   hoy_**]]

my mother CL   force. 3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET   to come.INF today

'It was **coming today** that my mother forced me to do'

111

(60) ᵒᵏ[*Empezaron*ᵢ *fue*   [IP *t*ᵢ ***a   tirar   piedras   como locos***]]

　　　start.3PL.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   to   throw.INF   rocks   like   crazy

　　　'It was **throwing rocks like crazy people** that they started to do'

(61) ᵒᵏ[*Vi*   *a María fue*   [IP *t*ᵢ ***llegar***]]

　　　see.1SG.PRET   to María   be.3SG.PRET   arrive.INF

　　　'It was **arriving** that I saw María doing'

In English, ECM structures allow epistemic verbs to take IP complements headed by the particle *to* (62). However, as pointed out by Castillo (2002), Spanish ECM structures of this kind are not possible (63), which restricts Spanish ECM structures to verbs of perception (as in (61) above):

(62) ᵒᵏ[*We believe* [IP *them **to** be pretty*]]

(63) *[*Nosotros   creemos*   [IP *a   ellas   **ser**   bonitas*]]

　　　　we   believe.3SG.PRES   to   they   be.INF   pretty

　　　　'We believe them to be pretty'

In fact, for a sentence such as (63) to become grammatical, the embedded IP must be analyzed as a CP with a complementizer, as in (64). Notice that when this occurs, the FS may focus the entire embedded CP (65):

(64) ᵒᵏ[*Nosotros creemos* [CP **que ellas son** *bonitas*]]

we believe.3SG.PRES that they be.3PL.PRES pretty

'We believe **that** they **are** pretty'

(65) ᵒᵏ[*Nosotros creemos* ***es*** [CP **que ellas son bonitas**]]

we believe.1PL.PRES be.3SG.PRES that they be.3PL.PRES pretty

'It is **that they are pretty** that we believe'

To end this section, I will briefly discuss a particular causative structure headed by the verb *hacer* ('to do/to make'). As it has been previously noted in Spanish (Curnow and Travis 2003; Bosque 1999; Sedano 1990, 2003a, 2003b; Kato 2009), infinitival structures with *hacer* can be focused by the pseudo-cleft (66), but not by the FS (67):

(66) ᵒᵏ<u>*Lo que*</u> *él hizo* ***fue*** <u>***cantar***</u>

PRON COMP he do.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET sing.INF

'<u>What</u> he did was **to sing**'

(67) * *Él hizo* ***fue*** <u>***cantar***</u>

he do.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET sing.INF

'It was **singing** that he did'

However, as noted by Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (personal communication), the non-focused version of (66) – (67) is also ill-formed in Standard Spanish when the subject of the main IP (*él*) matches the subject of the embedded CP (PRO):

113

(68) * [*Él*ᵢ   *hizo*   [CP PROᵢ ___**cantar**___]]

      he   do.3SG.PRET   sing.INF

      'He made himself sing'

Thus, for (68) to become grammatical it must become clear that the subject of the main IP (*él* 'he') is not the subject of the embedded CP (69) – (70). As expected, when the subject of the embedded CP does not correspond to the subject of the main IP, the FS may focus the infinitival construction (71) – (72):

(69) ᵒᵏ[*Él hizo*   [CP PROᵢ ___**cantar   a   todo   el   mundo**___ᵢ]]

      he   do.3SG.PRET   sing.INF to   all   the   world

      'He made everyone sing'

(70) ᵒᵏ[*Él   los*ᵢ   *hizo*   [CP PROᵢ ___**cantar**___]]

      he   CL   do.3SG.PRET   sing.INF

      'He made them sing'

(71) ᵒᵏ[*Él hizo*   *fue* [CP PROᵢ ___**cantar   a   todo   el   mundo**___ᵢ]]

      he   do.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET   sing.INF to   all   the world

      'It was **singing** that he made everyone do'

(72) ᵒᵏ[*Él   los*ᵢ   *hizo*   *fue*   [CP PROᵢ ___**cantar**___]]

      he   CL   do.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET   sing.INF

      'It was **singing** that he made them do'

In fact, in examples (69) – (72) the verb *hacer* ('to do') acquires a causative reading (*hacer* acts here as an object control verb), whereas in example (66) above the verb *hacer* does not acquire a causative reading (*hacer* acts as a subject control verb). To illustrate this, let us consider a couple of examples, where *hacer* functions as a subject control verb (73) – (74) and as an object control verb (75) – (76). As shown, subject control *hacer* correlates with the pseudo-cleft structure, and object control *hacer* correlates with the FS structure:

(73) ᵒᵏ[*Lo que* élᵢ *hizo*   [*fue* PROᵢ ***llorar***]]

      PRON COMP he do.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET cry.INF

      '<u>What</u> he did was **to cry**'

(74) *[*Él*ᵢ *hizo*   *fue* [PROᵢ ***llorar***]]

      he   do.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET cry.INF

      'It was **crying** that he did'

(75) *[*Lo que* él *hizo*   [*fue*   ***llorar*** *<u>a los niños</u>*]]

      PRON COMP he do.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET cry.INF to the kids

      '<u>What</u> he did was **to make the kids cry**'

(76) ᵒᵏ[*Él* *hizo*   *fue*   [***llorar*** *<u>a los niños</u>*]]

      he   do.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET cry.INF to the kids

      'It was **crying** that he made the kids do'

In fact, for (75) to become grammatical, it is necessary to include a second verb *hacer* in the matrix clause. This indicates that *hacer* in the subordinate clause does not have the same semantic meaning as *hacer* in the matrix clause:

(77) ᵒᵏ [*Lo que* *él* *hizo* [*fue* **_hacer_** **_llorar a los niños_**]]

PRON COMP he do.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET do.INF cry.INF to the kids

'What he did was **to make the kids cry**'

Although I will no longer discuss the relation between *hacer* and the FS in this dissertation, it is clear from the pattern observed in (73) – (76) that *hacer* entails causativity when used in the FS structure. Moreover, given that the pseudo-cleft requires a second *hacer* in the matrix clause to entail causativity, it is possible to claim that the FS is preceded by this second "causative *hacer*", and not by the first *hacer*. This clearly shows that the FS does not have the same syntactic structure of the pseudo-cleft, and that it is located inside the matrix IP, as the functional projection of *v*P.

As illustrated in this section, the FS may focus a wide variety of embedded CPs: with or without a complementizer (*que* 'that') and/or a clausal conjunction (e.g. *porque* 'because', *cómo* 'how', *dónde* 'where', *cuando* 'when', *para que* 'so that'). In cases of FS-focused infinitival constructions, the FS may occur in subject and object control structures (where CPs are complements), as well as in raising and ECM structures (where IPs are complements). In cases of [*hacer* + infinitive] structures, only the pseudo-cleft may focus the infinitival if the subject

of the main clause corresponds to the subject of the embedded clause. Finally, going back to the examples provided in this section (particularly (65)) it is clear that FS *ser* always takes default morphology (3SG) when focusing CPs or IPs (as in FS-focused PPs, AdjPs, AdvPs, PerfPs, and ProgrPs).

2.1.6. Determiner Phrases

The last type of FS-focused phrase that I will discuss is the DP:

(78) **A:** *¿Qué necesitas que te preste?*

'What do you need me to lend you?'

B: *Pues,   necesito   es   la   mesa   y   unas sillas*

well   need.1SG.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   the   table   and   some   chairs

'Well, it is **the table and a few chairs** that I need'

In (78), the FS precedes a DP that functions as a direct object, but it is also possible to find the FS preceding DPs that function as indirect objects (79), or as subjects (80)[54]:

(79) **A:** *Pensé que Francisco le traía regalos a su hija Daniela*

'I thought that Francisco brought gifts for his daughter Daniela'

---

[54] As I mentioned in Chapter 1 (section 1.2), Toribio (1992, 2002) finds FS-focused subjects ill-formed in Dominican Spanish. However, as shown by an acceptability judgment average score of 3.8 for example (80), FS-focused subjects are perfectly acceptable in Colombian Spanish.

B: *No, él   le trae   algo   es   **a su esposa***

no he   CL bring.3SG.PRES something be.3SG.PRES to his wife

'No, it is **to his wife** that he brings something'

(80) **A:** *¿No salió Lucas?*

'Was it not Lucas who left?'

B: *No,   salió   fue   **Lucía***

no   leave.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRES   Lucía

'No, it was **Lucía** who left'

From the data that I have analyzed, DOs appear to be more commonly FS-focused than IOs and subjects. This may be due to the fact that subjects and IOs are more likely to become topics than DOs, therefore, they may be less likely to be focused by the FS[55].

Moving on to the syntactic properties of FS-focused DPs, it is important to indicate that although single FS-focused DPs are more frequently produced, it is possible to find more than one DP being FS-focused. In (81), for example, the FS focuses both a DO DP and an IO DP:

(81) **A:** *Escuché que Clara le trajo una torta a Juan*

'I heard that Clara brought a cake for Juan'

---

[55] This should be understood simply as an impressionistic comment on the data that I have collected. However, I have not conducted any type of quantitative analysis regarding the distribution of FS-focused subjects, DOs, or IOs. In fact, this is not the main purpose of the present study, and it is simply mentioned here to clarify what my impression is regarding the distribution of FS-focused subjects, DOs, and IOs in my data of Colombian Spanish.

B: *No,	Clara	le	trajo	fue	**galletas	a	Armando***

no	Clara	CL	bring.3SG.PRET	be.3SG.PRET	cookies	to Armando

'It was **cookies for Armando** that Clara brought'

Clearly, in a case such as (81), both DPs (*galletas* 'cookies' and *a Armando* 'to Armando') are part of newly introduced discourse that is brought to correct and replace old information (*una torta* 'a cake' and *a Juan* 'to Juan'). However, if one of the DPs is not being focused (it is not new information), then it should not be placed adjacent to the FS. Hence, the non-focused DP either precedes the FS (82), or stays in-situ, following a focused constituent that is pronounced with contrastive intonation (83)[56]:

(82) **A:** *¿Entonces qué le trajo Clara a Armando?*

'So, what did Clara bring for Armando?'

B: *Clara	le	trajo	<u>a	Armando</u>	fue	**galletas***

Clara	CL	bring.3SG.PRET	to Armando	be.3SG.PRET	cookies

'It was **cookies** that Clara brought for Armando'

(83) **A:** *¿Clara no le trajo una torta a Armando?*

'Did Clara not bring a cake for Armando?'

[56] In a case such as (83), the only focused constituent is the DO (*galletas* 'cookies'). The IO (*a Armando* 'for Armando') is part of the presupposition, or of the previously activated discourse (topic). For this DO to be understood as focus, it needs to be pronounced with contrastive intonation. As I will point out in Chapter 3 again, this constitutes empirical evidence that weakens Kato's (2009) analysis of the FS in terms of remnant movement.

B: *No, Clara le trajo   fue   GALLETAS <u>a Armando</u>*

no Clara CL bring.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET cookies   to Armando

'No, it was **COOKIES** that Clara brought for Armando'

As shown, both DO and IO DPs may occur in the focus projection of the FS (as a single focused constituent), or they may be individually FS-focused. This will become particularly important in Chapter 3 (section 3.2.2) when I explain why my proposal regarding the syntactic structure of the FS may be more suitable than previous ones.

Finally, in terms of FS *ser*, it is important to point out that FS-focused DPs, as opposed to any other type of FS-focused constituent (PPs, AdjPs, AdvPs, PerfPs, ProgrPs, CPs), may require FS *ser* to acquire non-default morphology. As for FS-focused DPs, for example, FS *ser* agrees in person and number with the focused subject DP:

(84) ok *Tengo   un perro soy   yo*

have.1SG.PRES a   dog   be.1SG.PRES   I

'It is **I** who has a dog'

(85) **Tengo   un perro es   yo*

have.1SG.PRES a   dog   be.3SG.PRES   I

'It is **I** who has a dog'

In cases of FS-focused singular DOs and IOs, FS *ser* keeps its default morphology:

(86) ᵒᵏ *Tengo*   ***es***   ***un perro***

     have.1SG.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   a   dog

     'It is **a dog** that I have'

(87) ᵒᵏ *Le di*   *un perro* ***fue***   ***a la niña***

     CL   give.1SG.PRET   a   dog   be.3SG.PRET   to   the   girl

     'It was **to the girl** that I gave a dog'

Interestingly, when the FS-focused DO is plural, FS *ser* may match the number features of the DO (88) – (89). However, when the FS-focused IO is plural, FS *ser* must not match the number features of the IO (90)[57]:

(88) ᵒᵏ *Tengo*   *es*   ***dos perros***

     have.1SG.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   two   dogs

     'It is **two dogs** that I have'

(89) ᵒᵏ *Tengo*   *son*   ***dos perros***

     have.1SG.PRES   be.3PL.PRES   two   dogs

     'It is **two dogs** that I have'

---

[57] As will be explained in 2.3, cases of DOs with *Differential Object Marking* (DOM) also require FS *ser* to take default morphology.

(90) *_Le di   un perro fueron   **a   las niñas**_

     CL give.1SG.PRET a   dog   be.3PL.PRET to the girls

     'It was **to the girls** that I gave a dog'

I will further examine these agreement patterns between FS-focused DPs and FS _ser_ in section 2.3. What is important to know at this point is that FS-focused DPs establish a different morphological relation with FS _ser_ than other kinds of FS-focused constituents (PPs, AdjPs, AdvPs, PerfPs, ProgrPs, and CPs). As I will illustrate in section 2.3 and in Chapter 3, this mismatch is due to the nature of the focused constituent and its informational function within discourse (i.e. if it occurs in contrastive or non-contrastive contexts).

As I have shown throughout section 2.1, the FS may focus a wide variety of post-verbal constituents (PPs, AdjPs, AdvPs, PerfPs, ProgrPs, CPs, IPs, and DPs). Furthermore, as I will indicate in section 2.2, the position of the FS in relation to the focused and non-focused elements of the sentence suggests that the FS is an IP (TP)-internal focus structure, placed between INFL (T) and _v_P. Finally, as I will discuss in section 2.3, FS _ser_ agrees in person and number with focused subject DPs, optionally agrees in number with focused DO DPs, and acquires default morphology (3SG) when it focuses all other constituents (i.e. IO DPs, PPs, AdjPs, AdvPs, PerfPs, ProgrPs, CPs, and IPs).

Regarding the kind of elements that can (and cannot) be FS-focused, I have suggested that the FS may focus all types of phrases (e.g. DPs, PPs, etc.), serving any kind of syntactic function (e.g. subject, DO, IO, adjunct, etc.), as long as they
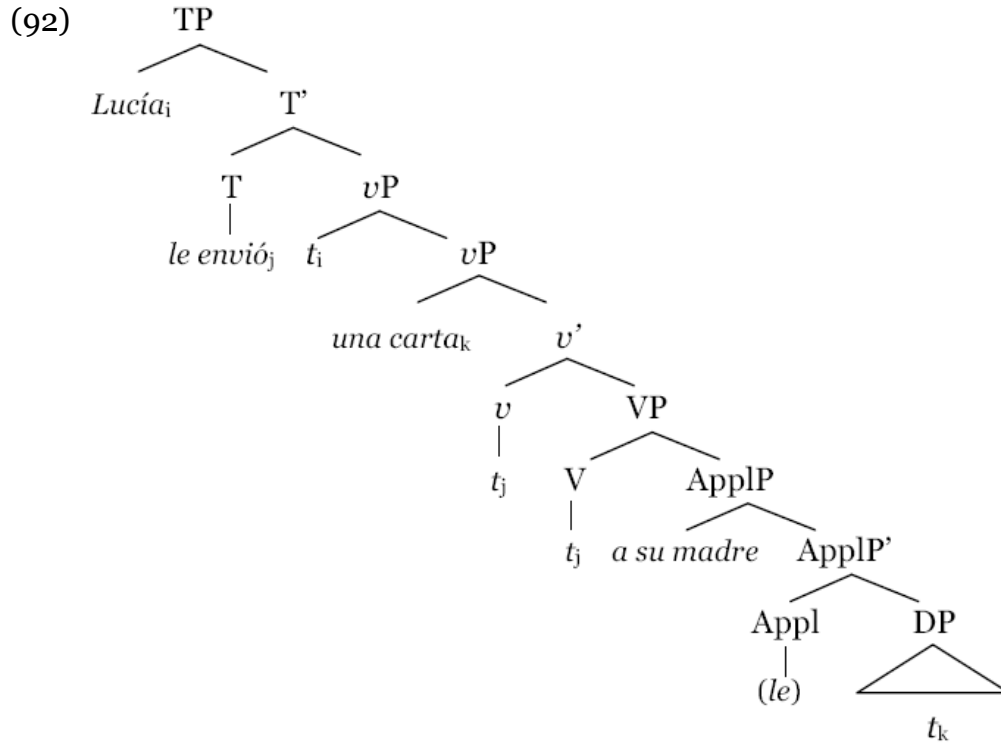
are post-verbal. That is, if an XP is placed below T, it may be FS-focused. However, if this XP is placed above T, then it cannot be focused by the FS.

2.2. The placement of the FS

In this section I will attempt to show that the FS (specifically FocP) is a TP-internal focus structure. As I mentioned in Chapter 1 (section 1.3.3), I assume that verbs and subjects are generated inside the VP and that they later move to TP (subjects to [Spec, TP] and verbs to T) in order to check formal features: Subjects check EPP features in [Spec, TP], and verbs check Tense and Aspect features in T. Furthermore, DOs and IOs are also generated inside VP, more specifically inside an ApplP within VP: DOs are originated as complements of the Appl head (Appl') and later moved to [Spec, *v*P], and IOs are base generated as specifiers of the ApplP (in [Spec, ApplP]) and remain in-situ. This would render the S-V-DO-IO word order found in a sentence such as (91), diagrammed in (92)[58]:

(91) *Lucía le envió   una carta a su madre*

      Lucía CL send.3SG.PRET a   letter to her mother

      'Lucía sent a letter to her mother'

---

[58] The trees shown in (92), (94), (96), and (98) are simplified versions of a much richer structure which may include multiple functional projections (e.g. Aspectual Phrases, Auxiliary Phrases, etc.). For illustration purposes, I will not specify any additional projections, unless they are relevant for my current discussion.

(92)

```
                    TP
                 ┌──┴──┐
              Lucíaᵢ    T'
                     ┌──┴──┐
                     T      vP
                     │    ┌──┴──┐
                  le envióⱼ tᵢ   vP
                           ┌────┴────┐
                     una cartaₖ      v'
                              ┌──────┴──┐
                              v          VP
                              │       ┌──┴──┐
                              tⱼ      V     ApplP
                                      │   ┌──┴──────┐
                                      tⱼ  a su madre  ApplP'
                                                   ┌──┴──┐
                                                  Appl    DP
                                                   │      △
                                                  (le)    tₖ
```
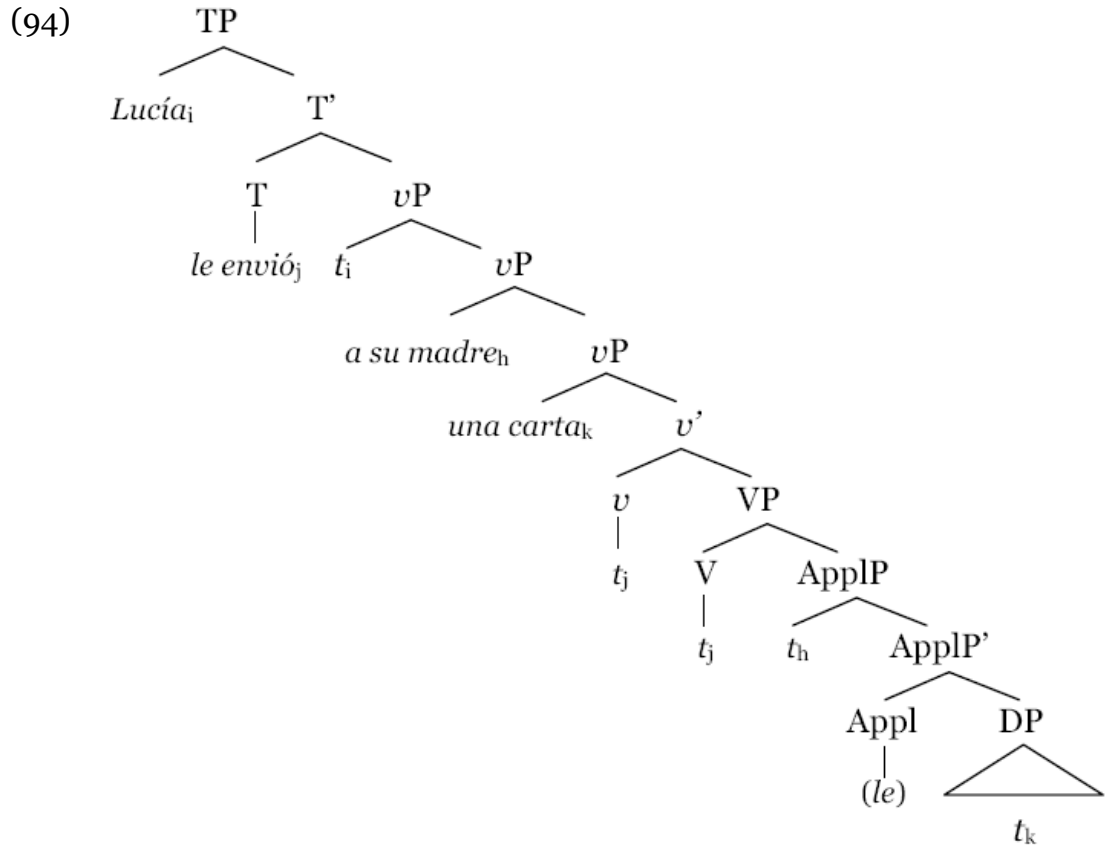
Following previous research on double objects in Spanish (e.g. Jaeggli 1983;
Demonte 1995; Ordóñez 1997; Cuervo 2003, De Pedro Munilla 2004, Gutiérrez
Bravo 2006; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007), I assume that the S-V-IO-DO order is
derived from the S-V-DO-IO order when the IO also moves from the ApplP to the
periphery of vP: from [Spec, ApplP] to a [Spec, vP] above DO[59]:

(93) *Lucía le envió a su madre una carta*

     Lucía CL send.3SG.PRET to her mother a   letter

     'Lucía sent a letter to her mother'

---

[59] Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007) claims that both the DO and the IO continue moving to a DatP above vP. Although this is an interesting analysis, I will adopt a simpler structure where DOs and IOs move to specifier positions in the periphery of vP. This is done to simplify my illustration of Spanish sentence structure, and will not jeopardize the syntactic analysis of the FS that I propose in Chapter 3.

(94)

```
                    TP
                  /    \
             Lucíaᵢ     T'
                      /    \
                    T        vP
                    |      /    \
                le envióⱼ  tᵢ     vP
                               /    \
                      a su madreₕ    vP
                                   /    \
                           una cartaₖ    v'
                                       /    \
                                      v      VP
                                      |    /    \
                                     tⱼ   V      ApplP
                                          |    /    \
                                         tⱼ  tₕ      ApplP'
                                                   /    \
                                                Appl     DP
                                                 |      /\
                                                (le)   /  \
                                                      ‾‾‾‾
                                                       tₖ
```
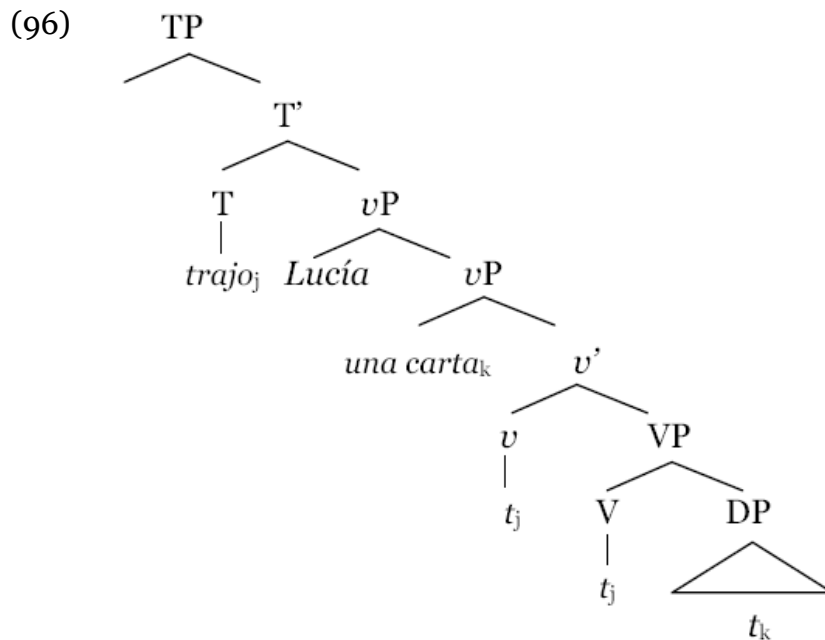
In cases where the subject does not move to [Spec, TP] and V-S-O or V-O-S word orders are rendered, I will assume that the subject stays in-situ, in [Spec, vP] (Bordelois, Contreras et al. 1986; Contreras 1991; Olarrea 1996). In fact, according to Ordóñez (2007), post-verbal subjects in V-S-O orders are moved to a specifier position above vP, to a phrase that he calls SubjP. For Ortega-Santos (2006), post-verbal subjects represent lower copies of the moved subject that get to be pronounced only when they are in focus. Although both of these analyses provide strong arguments against the idea that post-verbal subjects never move, I will simply assume that V-S-O and V-O-S orders obtain because the subject has remained in vP and has not moved to [Spec, TP]. This assumption will be

sufficient to illustrate my analysis of the FS, even though I do not discard Ortega-Santos' (2006) idea that post-verbal subjects constitute a lower copy of the subject that is ultimately pronounced. In other words, my analysis will remain the same even if any of these proposals for post-verbal subjects were here adopted.

Hence, I assume that a V-S-O sentence such as (95) would be generated as in (96), and a V-O-S sentence as (97) would be generated as in (98):
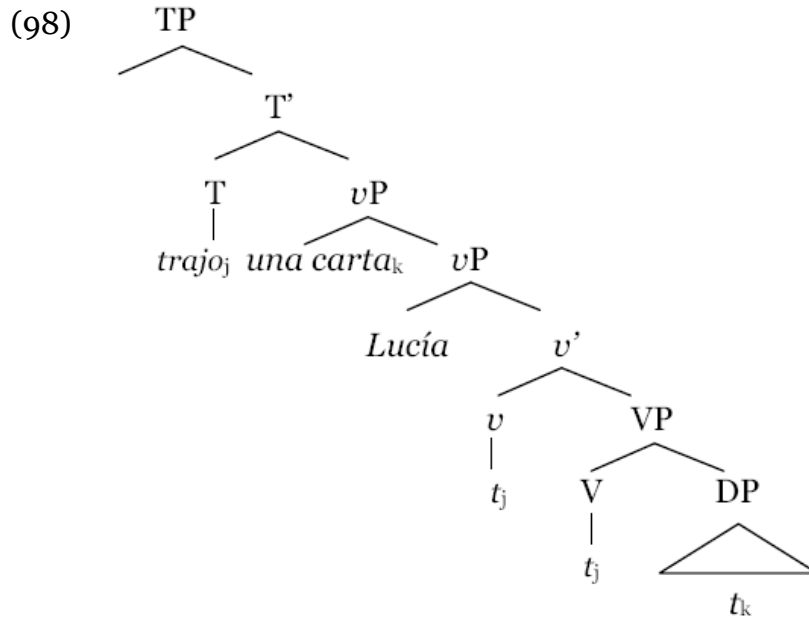
(95) *Trajo*   *Lucía una carta*

bring.3SG.PRET   Lucía   a   letter

'Lucía brought a letter'

(96)

TP
├── T'
│   ├── T
│   │   └── *trajo*$_j$
│   └── vP
│   ├── *Lucía*
│   └── vP
│   ├── *una carta*$_k$
│   └── v'
│   ├── v
│   │   └── t_j
│   └── VP
│   ├── V
│   │   └── t_j
│   └── DP
│   └── t_k

(97) *Trajo una carta Lucía*

bring.3SG.PRET a letter Lucía

'Lucía brought a letter'

(98)

Having this in mind, I will now discuss where FS *ser* occurs and does not occur. First, as I mentioned in Chapter 1 (section 1.2), the FS must be placed immediately before the focused constituent, as shown in B1's reply in (99). That is, if an element intervenes between the FS and the focused constituent, as occurs in B2's reply, then the sentence becomes infelicitous:

(99) **A:** *Escuché que Mónica trajo una carta*

'I heard that Mónica brought a letter'

B1: [ok] *No, trajo una carta fue **Lucía***

no bring.3SG.PRET a letter be.3SG.PRET Lucía

'It was **Lucía** who brought a letter'

B2: # *No, trajo*   *fue*   <u>*una carta*</u> **Lucía**

no   bring.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET a   letter Lucía

'No, it was **Lucía** who brought a letter'

As I commented in Chapter 1, B2's reply in (99) is grammatical in Colombian

Spanish, but it is infelicitous because the segment *una carta* ('a letter') is old

information (topic), and should not be inside the focus projection of the FS. Thus,

for B2's reply to become semantically appropriate, it would need to occur in a

context like this:

(100) **A:** *Escuché que Lucía trajo una torta*

'I heard that Lucía brought a cake'

B: ok *No, trajo*   *fue*   **una carta** *Lucía*

no   bring.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET a   letter Lucía

'It was **a letter** that Lucía brought'

The focused element in the FS construction, as I have mentioned in previous

sections and in Chapter 1, is always post-verbal. If the focused element moves to

a pre-verbal position, above T (102), or is stranded (103), the FS-sentence

becomes ungrammatical:

(101)^{ok}[PP *Para su experimento* [IP *buscaba*   [*v*P *perros   callejeros*

for   his experiment   search.3SG.IMP dogs   stray

era   Ramírez]]]

be.3SG.IMP   Ramírez

'It was **Ramírez** who searched for stray dogs for his experiment'

(102) *[PP *Para su experimento era   Ramírez* [IP *buscaba*

for   his experiment   be.3SG.IMP Ramírez   search.3SG.IMP

[*v*P *perros callejeros*]]]

dogs   stray

'It was **Ramírez** who searched for stray dogs for his experiment'

(103) *[PP *Ramírez para su experimento* [IP *buscaba*   [*v*P *perros*

Ramírez   for   his experiment   search.3SG.IMP   dogs

callejeros   era]]]

stray   be.3SG.IMP

'It was **Ramírez** who searched for stray dogs for his experiment'

Notice that this occurs with any type of focused constituent, for example, pre-
posed DOs (104), IOs (105), PPs (106), and CPs (107):

(104) * *Fue   un I-Pod*_i   *Azucena   compró* ____

be.3SG.PRET a   I-Pod   Azucena   buy.3SG.PRET

'It was **an I-Pod** that Azucena bought'

(105)* *Fue*   ***a Carlos*_i** Azucena *le*   *compró*   *un* *I-Pod* ____

        be.3SG.PRET   to Carlos   Azucena   CL   buy.3SG.PRET   a I-Pod

        'It was **for Carlos** that Azucena bought an I-Pod'

(106) * *El* *I-Pod*   *fue*   ***con***   ***un cheque*_i** *lo* *pagó* ____

        the   I-Pod   be.3SG.PRET   with   a   cheque   CL   pay.3SG.PRET

        'It was **with a cheque** that she paid the I-Pod'

(107)* *Fue*   ***que quería***   ***un I-Pod*_i** *le dijo*   *él* ____

        be.3SG.PRET   that want.3SG.IMP   a   I-Pod   CL say.3SG.PRET   he

        'It was **that he wanted an I-Pod** that he said to him'

Given this, the FS never occurs sentence-initially as this would imply that it precedes the matrix verb. As I have shown so far, the FS always occurs post-verbally, even when it is placed within a subordinated clause:

(108) ^{ok}[IP *Martín dijo*   [CP *que* [IP *viene*   *es*   ***sólo***]]]

        Martín   say.3SG.PRET that   come.3SG.PRES   be.3SG.PRES alone

        'It is **alone** that Martín said that he is coming'

(109) * [IP *Martín dijo*   [CP *que* [IP *es*   ***sólo***   *viene*]]]

        Martín   say.3SG.PRET that   be.3SG.PRES   alone come.3SG.PRES

        'It is **alone** that Martín said that he is coming'

Although the matrix verb always precedes the FS, it does not need to be adjacent to it. As illustrated in (110) – (111), elements such as DPs and AdvPs may intervene between the matrix verb and the FS:

(110)^{ok} *Salieron* <u>*los dos*</u> *fue* **a caminar por la cuadra**

      leave.3PL.PRET   the two be.3SG.PRET to walk.INF by   the block

      'It was **to walk around the block** that the two of them left'

(111)^{ok} *Salieron* <u>*justamente*</u> *fue* **a caminar por la cuadra**

      leave.3PL.PRET just   be.3SG.PRET to walk.INF by   the block

      'It was **to walk around the block** that the just left'

Finally, the FS must always precede a fully pronounceable constituent. In other words, the FS cannot be stranded:

(112)* **A mi mamá_i** *le traje* *un regalo fue* ____

      to my mother CL bring.1SG.PRET a   gift   be.3SG.PRET

      'It was **for my mother** that I brought a gift'

(113)* **Un regalo_i** *le traje* *fue* ____ *a mi mamá*

      a   gift   CL bring.1SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET   to my mother

      'It was **a gift** that I brought for my mother'

Now, it is important to clarify that sentence-final FS (as in (112) above) seems acceptable in Dominican Spanish, according to Toribio (2002), as long as

the entire sentence is being focused by the FS. That is, a sentence such as (112) may become grammatical in Dominican Spanish if the entire sentence is new information (114). However, this type of "backward-looking" FS-focus is not possible in Colombian Spanish (115)[60]:

(114) **A:** *¿Qué pasó?*

'What happened?'

B: [ok] ***A mi mamá le traje   un regalo** *fue*

　　　to　my　mother　CL　bring.1SG.PRET　a　gift　　be.3SG.PRET

　　　'It was **bringing a gift for my mother** that I did'

(115) **A:** *¿Qué pasó?*

'What happened?'

B: *****A mi   mamá le traje   un   regalo** *fue*

　　　to my   mother CL bring.1SG.PRET a   gift   be.3SG.PRET

　　　'It was **bringing a gift for my mother** that I did'

Having in mind that Spanish matrix verbs are placed in T, after moving from *v* (Contreras 1991; Mejías-Bikandi 1992; Olarrea 1996; Zagona 2002), it becomes clear that the FS must be placed below T, as it always occurs post-verbally. However, it is still not obvious why the FS must be placed above *v*P. The fact that it precedes post-verbal subjects, DOs, IOs, PPs, and CPs seems to suggest that it

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[60] Although this is an interesting fact about the FS in Colombian Spanish, I will not discuss the use of the FS sentence-finally anymore in this dissertation. Future research should consider this type of focalization as a differentiating factor between Colombian Spanish and other FS dialects.

is placed within *v*P. Bosque (1999), for example, claims that the FS is a Focus Phrase (headed by the non-copulative verb *ser*) contained within VP. Thus, a sentence such as (116) is analyzed by Bosque as in (117):

(116) *Juan comía*   *era*   ***papas***

     Juan   eat.3SG.IMP   be.3SG.IMP   potatoes

     'It was **potatoes** that Juan ate'

(117) [IP *Juan*$_i$ [VP *t*$_i$ [V *comía*   [FP [F° *era*   ***papas***]]]]

                                        [Bosque 1999: 4]

Camacho (2006) agrees with Bosque in that the FS only takes *v*P-internal constituents within its scope: internal arguments, *v*P adverbs, and post-verbal subjects. In his analysis, Camacho claims that the FS is a Copula Phrase, given that FS *ser "has the same minimal structural and argumental properties as other copular verbs: a subject and a predicate […]"* (Camacho 2006: 18). Hence, a sentence such as (118) is analyzed as in (119), where "*the Copula Phrase is an equative structure, whose subject is null and whose predicate is the focused DP […] the argument of the main verb is null, and it is coindexed with the null subject of the copular verb*" (Camacho, 2006: 18):

(118) *Los pájaros se comieron*   *fue*   ***las migas***

     the   birds   CL   eat.3PL.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   the   crumbs

     'It was **the crumbs** that the birds ate'

                                        [Camacho 2006: 18]

(119)
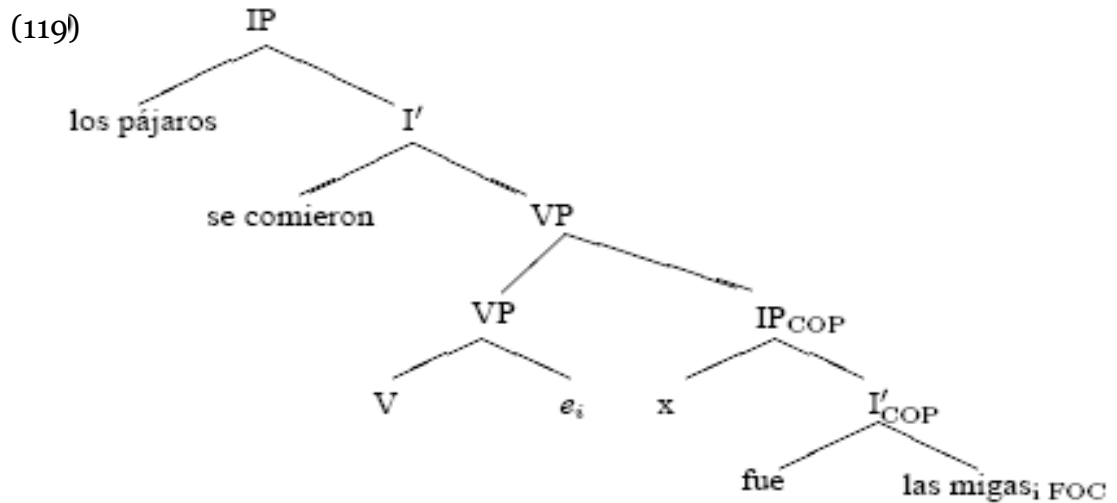
                                                                    [Camacho 2006: 19]

Camacho further claims that FS *ser* precedes only a single constituent:

(120) ᵒᵏ *Marta le compró   pan   fue   [VP **a su   abuela**]*

     Marta   CL buy.3SG.PRET bread be.3SG.PRET to her   grandmother

     'It was **for her grandmother** that Marta bought bread'

(121) * *Marta le   compró   fue   [VP **pan** a   su   abuela]*

     Marta   CL buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET bread to her   grandmother

     'It was **bread** that Marta bought for her grandmother'

(122) * *Marta le   compró   fue   [VP pan   **a su   abuela**]*

     Marta   CL buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET bread to her   grandmother

     'It was **for her grandmother** that Marta bought bread'

(123)* *Marta   le   compró   fue*   [VP **pan   a   su   abuela**]

　　　Marta   CL   buy.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   bread   to   her   grandmother

　　　'It was **bread for her grandmother** that Marta bought'

<div align="right">[Camacho 2006: 20]</div>

According to Camacho, the fact that the FS affects a single, domain-final constituent correlates with the idea that focus aligns with the nuclear stress of the sentence (which in Spanish is the lowest c-commanded argument, typically on the right edge of the sentence). Although this is an interesting claim, the data that I have collected suggest that in Colombian Spanish FS *ser* can be followed by a single focused constituent (120), a focused and a non-focused constituent (121), and more than one focused constituent (123). A case such as (122), however, is infelicitous, simply because there is an already-mentioned constituent (*pan* 'bread') that interferes between the FS and the focused element (*a su abuela* 'for her grandmother'). As we have observed before (see examples (99) – (100)), the FS must be placed immediately before the focused constituent.

Both Bosque and Camacho are correct in claiming that the FS and the pseudo-cleft are syntactically different structures, as shown in Chapter 1. However, although they illustrate that the FS cannot focus constituents that are placed above INFL (or T), they fail to account for cases in which the FS focuses constituents that are placed outside the *v*P (such as perfectives and progressives) but below T. As I will explain in more detail in Chapter 3 (section 3.2), Camacho's analysis is even more problematic, as he relates the FS with a fixed

clausal stress position, based on empirical observations that do not hold in other dialects (e.g. Colombian Spanish).

Hence, I argue in this dissertation that the FS originates in a Focus Phrase below T and above *v*P (not inside *v*P). As illustrated in section 2.1, the FS may focus perfectives and progressives, which are usually assumed to be inserted above *v*P, in Aspectual Phrases or Auxiliary Phrases as functional heads (Ouhalla 1991; Cinque 1995; Alexiadou 1997; Zagona 2002). I will assume here, based on Alexiadou (1997) and Zagona (2002), that perfectives are generated inside PerfPs and that progressives are generated inside ProgrPs, and that both are placed above *v*P. Thus, I claim that the FS must be placed above *v*P, given the data below:

(124)^{ok} [IP *Había era* [PERFP ***estado*** [PROGRP ***trayendo***[*v*P ***café***]]]]

       have.3SG.IMP be.3SG.IMP be.PERF   bring.PROGR   coffee

       'It was **bringing coffee** that he had been doing'

(125)^{ok} [IP *Había* [PERFP *estado era* [PROGRP ***trayendo*** [*v*P ***café***]]]]

       have.3SG.IMP   be.PERF be.3SG.IMP   bring.PROGR   coffee

       'It was **bringing coffee** that he had been doing'

In addition, the relation between adverbs and the FS also suggest that the FS is placed below T and above *v*P. In section 2.1 I indicated that the FS must not focus IP-adverbs, but it may focus *v*P adverbs. Thus, the ungrammaticality of (126) is explained by the fact that the sentential adverb (an adverb that modifies

an IP) is generated in the high-IP (TP) area, and it is now being placed in a much lower position, below T:

(126)* [NEGP *No* [IP *tiene*   *gatos* *es*   ***probablemente***]]

         not   have.3SG.PRES   cats   be.3SG.PRES   probably

         'It is **probably** that he does not have any cats'

However, when the FS precedes a *v*P adverb (an adverb that modifies an entire *v*P, or parts of the *v*P), then the sentence becomes grammatical (127):

(127)ok [NEGP *No* [IP *tiene*   *gatos* *es*   [*v*P   ***ahora***]]]

         not   have.3SG.PRES   cats   be.3SG.PRES   now

         'It is **now** that he does not have any cats'

It is important to mention that some IP-adverbs may function as *v*P adverbs, given certain contextual circumstances. For example, in (128) the adverb *honestamente* ('honestly') modifies the entire sentence, as it describes the way in which the speaker is uttering the sentence[61]. However, in example (129), this same adverb is no longer used to describe how the sentence is uttered, but to describe the way in which somebody else speaks. In this latter case, as pointed

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[61] For Cinque (1999), adverbs of this type are also referred to as "speech-act" adverbs.

out by Guitart (personal communication)[62], the IP adverb can appear within a
lower position (acting as a *v*P adverb):

(128)[ok] [IP ***Honestamente***, [IP *creo*   [*v*P *que   no   me   dices   todo*]]]

honestly   think.1SG.PRES   that   not   CL   say.2SG.PRES   all

'Honestly, I think that you do not tell me everything'

(129)[ok] [IP *No* [IP *me   hablas* [*v*P ***honestamente***]]] *(sino con   mentiras)*

not   CL   speak.2SG.PRES   honestly   but   with   lies

'You do not speak to me honestly (but with lies)'

As expected, the FS cannot focus *honestamente* ('honestly) when it acts as an
IP-adverb, but it can when it functions as a *v*P adverb:

(130) * [IP *Es   honestamente*, [IP *creo   [*v*P *que   no   me   dices   todo*]]]

be.3SG.PRES   honestly   think.1SG.PRES   that   not   CL   say.2SG.PRES   all

'It is **honestly** that I believe that you do not tell me everything'

(131)[ok] [IP *No* [IP *me hablas es* [*v*P ***honestamente***]]] *(sino con mentiras)*

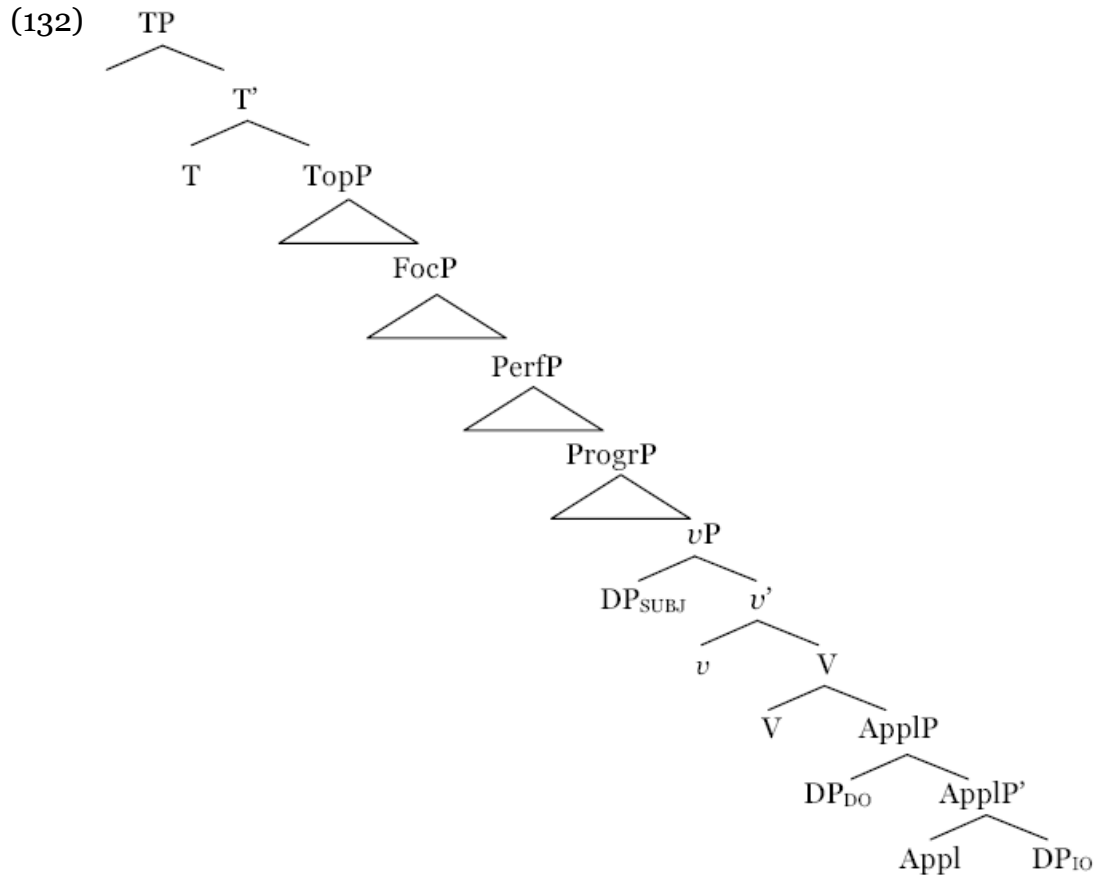not   CL speak.2SG.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   honestly   but   with   lies

'It is **honestly** that you do not speak (but with lies)'

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[62] Camacho also points out that the FS may focus speech-oriented adverbs only when they acquire
a VP-internal interpretation. Following Cinque (1999) and Zagona (2002), I assume that not all
VP adverbs are VP-internal, and that they may be placed inside the *v*P, or in [Spec, *v*P]. Thus, in
(129) I assume that *honestamente* is a manner adverb, base-generated in [Spec, *v*P].

Based on all these observations, the syntactic layout of Spanish declarative sentences shown in (91) –(98), and following the idea that there are TP-internal topic and focus projections (Horvath 1986; Yanagida 1995; Belletti 2004; Hsu 2008), I argue that the FS is base-generated inside a Focus Phrase (FocP) that is placed below T and above vP[63].

Given that some constituents may be placed between the matrix verb and the FS, I will further assume that besides an internal focus projection, there is an internal topic projection (TopP) preceding the FocP. Furthermore, since the FS may precede PerfPs and ProgrPs, I will also claim that this IP (TP)-internal FocP is placed above PerfP and ProgrP. I will not discuss in this chapter evidence to support this analysis (I will do so in Chapter 3, section 3.2), but I will continue to assume from this point forward that the FS is placed below T and above vP, as illustrated in (132) below:

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[63] Many thanks to Yoshihisa Kitagawa, who suggested an analysis along these lines when I first started to investigate the syntactic structure of the FS.

(132)

```
TP
 |
 T'
 /\
T   TopP
     /\
    FocP
     /\
    PerfP
     /\
    ProgrP
     /\
     vP
     /\
  DP_SUBJ   v'
           /\
          v    V
              /\
             V    ApplP
                  /\
               DP_DO   ApplP'
                       /\
                     Appl   DP_IO
```

2.3. FS *ser* and the puzzle of agreement

The agreement patterns shown by FS *ser* have been little discussed in previous literature. Albor (1986), for example, briefly mentions some cases of tense and aspect agreement between FS *ser* and the matrix verb. Curnow and Travis (2003) claim that FS *ser* is an emphatic marker, usually taking third person singular and one of three main tense forms (present: *es* ('is'); and past: *fue, era* ('was')). Bosque (1999) also points out that FS *ser* may agree in tense and aspect with the matrix verb. However, he is the only one to show that there is person and number agreement between FS *ser* and the focused subject, and that there may be number agreement between FS *ser* and the focused object. As we

will see below, although Bosque tries to offer a syntactic account of the agreement patterns of FS *ser*, he still fails to explain why there are certain agreement asymmetries between FS *ser* and the matrix verb, and between FS *ser* and the focused elements.

Throughout this section, I will discuss the morphology of FS *ser* as I illustrate three agreement patterns: between FS *ser* and the matrix verb (the verb in T), between FS *ser* and the focused post-verbal subject, and between FS *ser* and the focused post-verbal objects (DOs and IOs).

As far as I can tell, the analysis of the agreement patterns and their account that I present here is novel and much more comprehensive than the analyses of the morphological features of FS *ser* observed in the literature, and it will lead to a simple and well-defined agreement pattern which will be systematically integrated in the syntactic structure that I propose in Chapter 3. In fact, the morphological description that I offer in this section will allow me to provide a new generalization on agreement patterns that has not been observed in previous studies. Furthermore, as it will become clear in Chapter 3 (section 3.3), the generalizations that I draw about FS *ser* morphology follow from my syntactic analysis of the FS[64].

2.3.1. Tense and aspect agreement with T

As I have already mentioned, three scholars have alluded to the Tense and Aspect agreement shown between FS *ser* and the matrix verb without

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[64] I am very thankful to Yoshihisa Kitagawa for leading me to the paradigmatic analysis of the agreement patterns of FS *ser*, and for pointing out its potential implications to the syntactic analyses of the FS construction.

actually spelling out the intricacies of the system (Albor 1986; Curnow and Travis 2003; Bosque 1999). First, Albor reports that FS *ser* is conjugated in third person singular indicative, and that it agrees with the main verb in tense. Thus, if the main verb is in present, FS *ser* is in present (133); if the main verb is in imperfect, FS *ser* is in imperfect (134); and, if the main verb is in preterit, FS *ser* is in preterit (135):

(133) *Quiero*   *es*   **carne**

  want.1SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES meat

  'It is **meat** that I want'

(134) *Quería*   *era*   **carne**

  want.1SG.IMP be.3SG.IMP meat

  'It was **meat** that I wanted'

(135) *Quise*   *fue*   **carne**

  want.1SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET meat

  'It was **meat** that I wanted'

Curnow and Travis also indicate that FS *ser* agrees with the main verb in tense and aspect, as shown in (133) – (135) above. They clarify that *es* ('is') is the most common form of FS *ser* found in their corpus. Furthermore, although they only collected cases of FS *ser* in present, imperfect, and preterit, they acknowledge that it is important to determine whether FS *ser* shows tense

agreement with the matrix verb or with the subordinate verb in cases of FS focus within CPs[65]:

(136) _Creo_   que   _quería_   (_es / era / fue_)   **carne**

think.1SG.PRES   that   want.3SG.IMP   be.3SG.PRES/IMP/PRET   meat

'It was **meat** that I think he wanted'

Finally, Bosque illustrates that FS _ser_ agrees in tense and aspect with the main verb, as in (133) – (135) above. However, he claims that in Caribbean Spanish a default present tense is also possible in cases such as (137) – (138):

(137)   _Quería_   _es_   **carne**

want.1SG.IMP   be.3SG.PRES   meat

'It is **meat** that I wanted'

(138) _Quise_   _es_   **carne**

want.1SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRES   meat

'It is **meat** that I wanted'

Bosque suggests that tense features may match (they become non-default) when the interpretable tense features of the main verb are "copied" by FS _ser_.

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[65] Towards the end of this section, I will provide some examples of FS focus in embedded CPs, and I will show that the FS agrees in tense and aspect with the matrix verb of the IP in which it has originated. For example, in (136), I will claim that FS _ser_ agrees in tense and aspect with _quería_ ('he wanted') and not with _creo_ ('I believe') because the FS is internal to the IP _quería carne_ ('he wanted meat').

Furthermore, as shown in (134) - (135) and (137) – (138) FS *ser* takes present tense as the "*[...] default tense, and past (or future) is expletive, that is, they are uninterpretable features that have to be covertly checked in agreement configurations against the interpretable counterparts that the main verb shows.*" (Bosque 1999: 28). Thus, for him, this situation "*strongly recalls the syntax of expletive negation and related structures*" (Bosque 1999: 28).

As for Colombian Spanish, the data that I have collected strongly suggest that there is no default tense marking for past tenses, as argued by Bosque. That is, in Colombian Spanish FS *ser* must agree in tense *and* aspect with the main verb (the verb in T). For example, as I showed in Chapter 1 (section 1.2), when the main verb is in present tense, FS *ser* must also be in present tense (139) – (140):

(139)ok *Vienen*   *es*   *a   poner   pereque*

    come.3PL.PRES be.3SG.PRES to   put.INF   bother

    'It is **to bother** that they come'

(140) **Vienen*   *era / fue / sería / será*   *a   poner   pereque*

    come.3PL.PRES be.3SG.IMP/PRET/COND/FUT to   put.INF   bother

    'It was/would be/ will be **to bother** that they come'

Furthermore, when the main verb is in past tense (either in preterit or in imperfect), FS *ser* must match not only tense but also aspect features:

(141)^{ok} *Eso*   *parecía*   *era*   **una** **pelea** **de** **gatos**

that   seem.3SG.IMP be.3SG.IMP a   fight   of   cats

'It was **a cat fight** that that seemed to be'

(142)* *Eso* *parecía*   *es / fue / sería / será*   **una pelea de gatos**

that seem.3SG.IMP be.3SG.PRES/PRET/COND/FUT a   fight   of   cats

'It was **a cat fight** that that seemed to be'

(143)^{ok} *Yo le* *quemé*   *fue*   **los** **aviones**

I   CL   burn.1SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET the   planes

'It was **the planes** that I burned for him'

(144)* *Yo* *le* *quemé*   *es / era / sería / será*   **los**   **aviones**

I   CL   burn.1SG.PRET be.3SG.PRES/IMP/COND/FUT the   planes

'It was **the planes** that I burned for him'

However, when the matrix verb is not conjugated in present or past tense, but in conditional or future tense, the constraint becomes less strict. In cases of hypothetical situations where the matrix verb is conjugated in conditional, FS *ser* must also be in conditional:

(145)^{ok} *Podría*   *sería*   **viajar**   *(si tuviera plata)*

can.3SG.COND be.3SG.COND   travel.INF   (if I had money)

'It would be **travelling** that I could do (if I had money)'

145

(146)* _Podría_   _es / era / fue / será_   **_viajar_**   _(si pudiera)_

can.3SG.COND   be.3SG.PRES/IMP/PRET/FUT   travel.INF   (if I could)

'It would be **travelling** that I could do (if I could)'

However, in other cases, where there is not such hypothetical reading, but a reading of persuasion, FS _ser_ may take present tense (_es_) or imperfect (_era_) as its "default" forms:

(147)ok _Tú_   _podrías_   _es / era_   **_venir_**   **_a_**   **_ayudarme_**

you   can.2SG.COND   be.3SG.PRES/IMP   come.INF   to   help.INF-CL

'It is **coming to help me** that you could do'

(148)*_Tú_   _podrías_   _fue / sería / será_   **_venir_**   **_a_**   **_ayudarme_**

you   can.2SG.COND   be.3SG.PRET/COND/FUT   come.INF   to help.INF-CL

'It is **coming to help me** that you could do'

Similarly, when there is a hypothetical situation and the matrix verb is conjugated in future tense, FS _ser_ must also take the future form[66]:

(149)ok _Tendrá_   _plata_   _será_   **_la familia_** _(si alguien tiene)_

have.3SG.FUT   money   be.3SG.FUT(PROB) the family   (if anyone has)

'It would be **the family** who had money (if anyone had any)'

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[66] Recall that, as I mentioned in Chapter 1 (section 1.2), future tense in Spanish may be used as a marker of probability. Thus, there are many modal functions of the future tense in Spanish, including the meaning of probability, especially common in cases of hypothetical situations. In examples (149) – (150), this meaning of probability is signaled by the gloss (PROB).

(150)* <u>*Tendrá*</u> *plata* <u>*es / era / fue / sería*</u> **la familia** *(si alguien tiene)*

have.3SG.FUT   money be.3SG.FUT(PROB) the   family (if anyone has)

'It would be **the family** who had money (if anyone had any)'

On the other hand, if the situation merely refers to a future event (an event that will take place in the future) and the matrix verb is conjugated in future tense, then FS *ser* takes present tense (*es*) as its "default" form:

(151)^{ok} <u>*Dormirán*</u>   <u>*es*</u>   **en el hotel** *(este lunes)*

sleep.3PL.FUT be.3SG.PRES in   the hotel   (this Monday)

'It is **in the hotel** that you will sleep (this next Monday)'

(152)* <u>*Dormirán*</u>   <u>*era / fue /sería / será*</u>   **en el hotel** *(este lunes)*

sleep.3PL.FUT be.3SG.IMP/PRET/COND/FUT   in   the hotel (this Monday)

'It is **in the hotel** that you will sleep (this next Monday)'

So far I have illustrated agreement patterns between the matrix verb (the verb in T) and FS *ser*. When the matrix verb is conjugated in present or past tense, FS *ser* must match these tense and aspect features. However, when the matrix verb is conjugated in conditional or future forms, FS *ser* only matches tense and aspect features if there is a hypothetical meaning. This last pattern is interesting and seems to correlate with mood distinctions already present in conditional and future forms in standard Spanish. Although I will focus on Tense and Aspect agreement between FS *ser* and the verb in T, the theoretical analysis

147

that I propose in Chapter 3 (section 3.3) predicts that all the morphological specifications in T (Tense, Aspect, Mood) are checked by FS *ser*. Thus, particular modal features, such as probability (as in (149) - (150)), are expected to "transfer" to FS *ser* morphology.

Hence, the Tense and Aspect agreement pattern found between FS *ser* and the matrix verb (the verb in T), may be summarized as follows:

(153)

	T	FS *ser*	Examples
TENSE	[- past]	[- past]	(139) - (140)
	[+ past]	[+ past]	(141) - (144)
ASPECT	[- perfective]	[- perfective]	(141) - (142)
	[+ perfective]	[+ perfective]	(143) - (144)

Figure 1: Agreement between FS *ser* and the verb in T (with examples)

Having this in mind, consider cases in which the verb in T is an auxiliary verb. As expected, FS *ser* must match the tense and aspect features of the auxiliary verb, not of the verb that originates in *v*P:

(154)[ok] *Estaba*   *era*   **durmiendo** *cuando* *me llamaste*

be.3SG.IMP be.3SG.IMP sleep.PROGR   when   CL call.2SG.PRET

'It was **sleeping** that I was doing when you called me'

148

(155)* *Estaba*   *siendo*   **durmiendo** *cuando   me   llamaste*

be.3SG.IMP   be.PROGR   sleep.PROGR   when   CL   call.2SG.PRET

'It was **sleeping** that I was doing when you called me'

(156)ᵒᵏ *Fui*   *fue*   *a   caminar por   la   cuadra*

go.1SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   to   walk.INF   by   the   block

'It is **walking around the block** that I am going to do'

(157)* *Fui*   *ser*   *a caminar   por la   cuadra*

go.1SG.PRET   be.INF   to walk.INF   by   the   block

'It is **walking around the block** that I am going to do'

(158)ᵒᵏ *Hemos*   *es*   *venido*   *a   celebrar*

have.1PL.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   come.PERF   to   celebrate.INF

'It is **coming to celebrate** that we have done'

(159)* *Hemos*   *sido*   *venido*   *a   celebrar*

have.1PL.PRES   be.PERF   come.PERF   to   celebrate.INF

'It is **coming to celebrate** that we have done'

Furthermore, when there are two TPs, FS *ser* only agrees with the local T, that is, the T that heads the TP where the FS is generated. This clause-internal agreement is illustrated in (160) – (163), where FS *ser* must agree with the closest precedent T ((160), (162)), not with the one that heads a separate TP ((161), (163)):

(160) ᵒᵏ [TP _Dijiste_ _fue_   [CP **que** [TP **te habías   casado**]]]

say.2SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET that   CL have.2SG.IMP marry.PERF

'It was **that you had married** that you said'

(161)* [TP _Dijiste_ _era_   [CP **que** [TP **te _habías_   casado**]]]

say.2SG.PRET be.3SG.IMP that   CL have.2SG.IMP marry.PERF

'It was **that you had married** that you said'

(162)ᵒᵏ [TP _Dijiste_ [CP _que_ [TP te _habías_   _era_   **casado**]]]

say.2SG.PRET   that   CL have.2SG.IMP be.3SG.IMP marry.PERF

'It was **that you married** that you said you had done'

(163)* [TP _Dijiste_ [CP _que_ [TP te _habías_   _fue_   **casado**]]]

say.2SG.PRET   that   CL have.2SG.IMP be.3SG.PRET marry.PERF

'It was **that you married** that you said you had done'

This addresses Curnow and Travis' (2003) interest to highlight tense and aspect agreement patterns between FS _ser_ and the matrix verb in embedded clauses. Going back to example (136), repeated here as (164), I suggest that FS _ser_ must match the tense and aspect features of the T that heads the TP where the FS is generated. In the case of (164), FS _ser_ must agree with _quería_ ('he wanted'), not with _creo_ ('I think'):

(164) [TP _Creo_ [CP _que_ [TP _quería_ ᵒᵏ_era /* es /* fue_   **carne**]]]

think.1SG.PRES that want.3SG.IMP be.3SG. IMP/PRES/PRET   meat

'It was **meat** that I think he wanted'

150

As predicted, if the matrix verb in the embedded TP is conjugated in present (165), or in preterit (166), FS *ser* must agree with it when it is generated in that embedded TP. However, if the FS is generated in the upper TP, then it must match the tense and aspect features of the higher matrix verb ((167) – (169)):

(165) [TP *Creo* [CP *que* [TP *quiere* ^ok *es /* era /* fue* *carne*]]]
think.1SG.PRES that want.3SG.PRES be.3SG. PRES/IMP/PRET meat
'It is **meat** that I think he wants'

(166) [TP *Creo* [CP *que* [TP *quiso* ^ok *fue /* es /* era* *carne*]]]
think.1SG.PRES that want.3SG.PRET be.3SG. PRET/PRES/IMP meat
'It was **meat** that I think he wanted'

(167) [TP *Creo* ^ok *es /* era /* fue* [CP *que* [TP *quería* *carne*]]]
think.1SG.PRES be.3SG. PRES/IMP/PRET that want.3SG.IMP meat
'It is **that he wants meat** that I think'

(168) [TP *Creía* ^ok *era /* es /* fue* [CP *que* [TP *quería* *carne*]]]
think.1SG.IMP be.3SG. IMP/PRES/PRET that want.3SG.IMP meat
'It is **that he wants meat** that I think'

(169) [TP *Creí* ^ok *fue /* es /* era* [CP *que* [TP *quería* *carne*]]]
think.1SG.PRET be.3SG. PRET/PRES/IMP that want.3SG.IMP meat
'It is **that he wants meat** that I think'

In fact, this observation points exactly toward what I have claimed since the beginning of this dissertation: the FS is a TP-internal focus structure that is part

of one clause (it is clause-bound). Hence, the FS does not form a separate TP by itself (which would occur with the pseudo-cleft). As we saw in (160) - (169), the FS establishes tense and aspect agreement with the T that heads the TP in which the FS has been generated: if the FS is generated inside an embedded TP, then it agrees with the head of this embedded TP; if the FS is generated inside an embedding TP, then it agrees with the head of this embedding TP. Thus, the FS agrees with the head of the TP in which it (the FS) serves as internal focus.

Throughout this section, I have examined the agreement relation between the matrix verb (in T) and FS *ser*. The emerging pattern (summarized in (170)) shows that the FS must match tense and aspect features with the head of the TP in which it generates. This is strictly observed in simple and compound tenses, in present tense and past tense ([± perfective]), and less strictly observed in future tense and conditional. In this last case, the FS only matches tense and aspect features if the matrix verb entails a hypothetical situation (future of probability or a hypothetical condition). As I have mentioned, I assume that when the matrix verb is conjugated in future tense or in conditional there are additional modal features that force FS *ser* to take default morphology (e.g. present tense). However, this is an issue that is worth mentioning, but that will not be considered any longer in this dissertation, since it is not crucial for my syntactic proposal of the FS.
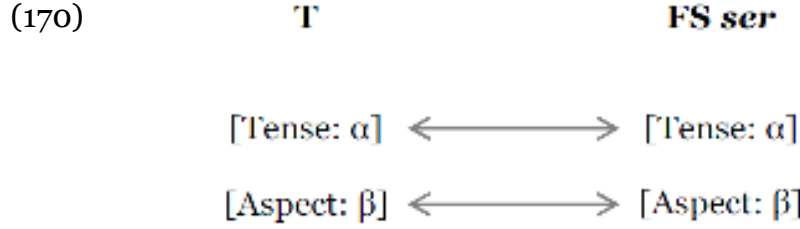
(170)   T   **FS *ser***

$$[\text{Tense: } \alpha] \longleftrightarrow [\text{Tense: } \alpha]$$

$$[\text{Aspect: } \beta] \longleftrightarrow [\text{Aspect: } \beta]$$

Figure 2: Agreement pattern between FS *ser* and the verb in T

2.3.2. <u>Number and person agreement with post-verbal subjects</u>

In this section, I will describe the agreement pattern found between FS *ser* and FS-focused post-verbal subjects. In my limited survey of the literature, Bosque (1999) was the only work I could find which particularly alludes to number and person agreement between FS *ser* and the focused post-verbal subject. He uses the pattern shown in (171) – (174) as additional evidence against the idea that the FS and the pseudo-cleft are structurally equal: in the pseudo-cleft ((171) – (172)) the verb *llamar* ('to call') is placed in a different clause than *ser*, which allows the former to agree with *el que* (the one); in the FS ((173) – (174)), there is only one clause (one TP), which forces the matrix verb *llamar* ('to call) to agree with its correspondent subject *yo* (I'):

(171) [ok] [TP [DP *El* [CP *que* <u>*llamó*</u>]]   <u>*fui*</u>   **yo**]

      PRON   COMP call.3SG.PRET be.1SG.PRET I

      'The one who called was **I**'

(172)[ok] [TP [DP *El* [CP *que* <u>*llamé*</u>   <u>*fui*</u>   **yo**]

      PRON   COMP call.1SG.PRET be.1SG.PRET I

      'The one who called was **I**'

153

(173)* [TP *Llamó*   *fui*   *yo*]

   call.3SG.PRET   be.1SG.PRET   I

   'It was **I** who called'

(174)ok [*Llamé*   *fui*   *yo*]

   call.1SG.PRET   be.1SG.PRET   I

   'It was **I** who called'

[Bosque 1999: 26]

Although Bosque's observation coincides with my claim that the FS is a TP-internal structure, he does not provide any explanation for the fact that FS *ser* agrees in person and number with the post-verbal subject. As shown in the replies to the comment in (175), the post-verbal subject not only must agree with the matrix verb (cf. B1, B3-B4), but also with FS *ser* (cf. B1, B2):

(175) **A:** *Me contaron que de ustedes dos Sonia es la que nada*

   'They told me that from the two of you Sonia is the one who swims'

   B1: ok *No,* *nado*   *soy*   *yo*

      no   swim.1SG.PRES   be.1SG.PRES   I

      'No, it is **I** who swims'

   B2: * *No,* *nado*   *es*   *yo*

      no   swim.1SG.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   I

      'No, it is **I** who leaves'

B3: * *No,   nada   soy   yo*

    no   swim.3SG.PRES   be.1SG.PRES   I

    'No, it is **I** who leaves'

B4: * *No,   nada   es   yo*

    no   swim.3SG.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   I

    'No, it is **I** who leaves'

This same pattern is observed when the post-verbal subject is *tú/vos* ('you.INFORM') ((176)-(177)), or any pronoun (or NP) bearing a 3SG feature (*él* 'he', *ella* 'she', *usted* 'you.FOR') ((178))[67]:

(176) **A:** *¿No es Lucrecia la que te va a pagar las cuentas?*

    'Is not Lucrecia the one who is going to pay for your bills?'

B1: *No,   me   las pagas   ᵒᵏ eres / *es   tú*

    no   PRON   CL   pay.2SG.PRES   be.1SG/3SG.PRES   you.INFORM

    'No, it is **you** who will pay them for me'

B2: **No,* *me   las paga   eres / es   tú*

    no   PRON CL   pay.3SG.PRES   be.1SG/3SG.PRES   you.INFORM

    'No, it is **you** who will pay them for me'

(177) **A:** *¿No es Lucrecia la que te va a pagar las cuentas?*

    'Is not Lucrecia the one who is going to pay for your bills?'

---

[67] In Colombia, the use of *vos* is characteristic of certain geographical regions (e.g. Western Colombia: Antioquia and Valle del Cauca). However, although *vosotros* ('you.PL.INFORM') is very common in Spain, it is never used in Colombia, or in any other Spanish-speaking country in Latin America.

B1: *No, <u>me   las pagás</u>   ^{ok} <u>sos / *eres/*es</u>   **vos**

   no   PRONCL pay.VOSEO.PRES   be.VOSEO/2SG/3SG.PRES you.INFORM

   'No, it is **you** who will pay them for me'

B2: *No, <u>me las   paga</u>   <u>sos / eres/es</u>   **vos**

    no CL PRON pay.3SG.PRES   be.VOSEO/2SG/3SG.PRES you.INFORM

    'No, it is **you** who will pay them for me'

(178) **A:** *¿No es Lucrecia la que te va a pagar las cuentas?*

   'Is not Lucrecia the one who is going to pay for your bills?'

B1: *No, <u>me   las paga</u>   ^{ok} <u>es /*eres</u>   **él/ella/usted/Leo**

   no   PRON CL   lose.3SG.PRES be.3SG/2SG.PRES   he/she/you.FOR/Leo

   'No, it is **he/she/you/Leo** who will pay them for me'

B2: *No, <u>me las pago/pagas</u>   <u>soy /eres</u>   **él/ella/usted/Leo**

   no PRON CL pay.1SG/2SG.PRES   be.1SG/2SG.PRES he/she/you.FOR/Leo

   'No, it is **he/she/you/Leo** who will pay them for me'

As for plural FS-focused post-verbal subjects (bearing 1PL or 3PL features), they also agree with both the matrix verb and FS *ser*:

(179) **A:** *¿No son ellos los que se van para Europa?*

   'Are they not the ones who are leaving for Europe?'

B: *No, <u>nos   vamos</u>   ^{ok} <u>somos /*es /*son</u>   **nosotros**

   no   CL   go.1PL.PRES   be.1PL/3SG/3PL.PRES we

   'No, it is **we** who are going'

156

(180) **A:** *¿No son ustedes los que se van para Europa?*

'Are you not the ones who are leaving for Europe?'

B: *No, <u>se van</u>*   ^{ok} <u>*son /*es /*somos*</u>   ***ellos/Carlos y José***

no   CL go.3PL.PRES   be.3PL/3SG/1PL.PRES   they/   Carlos   and   José

'No, it is **they/Carlos and José** who are going'

However, unlike singular post-verbal subjects, plural post-verbal subjects take "default" morphology (3SG), when there is non-contrastive reading, but they do agree when there is a contrastive reading:

(181) **A:** *¿Quiénes se van para Europa?*

'Who is leaving for Europe?'

B: <u>*Nos vamos*</u>   ^{ok} <u>*es /*somos /*son*</u>   ***nosotros***

CL   go.1PL.PRES   be.1PL/3SG/3PL.PRES   we

'It is **we** who are going'

(182) **A:** *¿Quiénes se van para Europa?*

'Who is leaving for Europe?'

B: <u>*Se van*</u>   ^{ok} <u>*es /*somos /*son*</u>   ***ellos/Carlos y José***

CL   go.1PL.PRES   be.1PL/3SG/3PL.PRES   they/   Carlos   and   José

'It is **they/Carlos and José** who are going'

As can be observed in (183) below, having default morphology in FS *ser* ([3SG]) is never possible when the focused element is a singular post-verbal

subject. This becomes especially clear in first (*yo* 'I') and second person (*tú/vos* 'you.INFORM'), because first and second person/number features are different from the default form (cf. (183)). However, the number/person features of FS-focused *el/ella/usted* ('he/she/you.FOR'), cannot be distinguished from the number/person features of FS *ser* default morphology (cf. (184)):

(183) **A:** *¿Quién se va para Europa?*

'Who is leaving for Europe?'

B1: <u>*Me voy*</u>　　　ᵒᵏ <u>*soy /*es*</u>　　　***yo y nadie más***

CL　　go.1SG.PRES　be.1SG/3SG.PRES　I　　and　nobody　else

'It is **I and nobody else** who is going'

B2: <u>*Te vas*</u>　　　ᵒᵏ <u>*eres /*es*</u>　　　***tú*** 　　 ***y nadie más***

CL　go.2SG.PRES　be.2SG/3SG.PRES　you.INFORM and　nobody　else

'It is **you and nobody else** who is going'

B3: **<u>*Te vas*</u>**　　ᵒᵏ <u>*sos /*es*</u>　　　***vos*** 　　 ***y nadie más***

CL go.2SG.PRES　be.VOSEO/3SG.PRES　you.INFORM　and　nobody　else

'It is **you and nobody else** who is going'

(184)**A:** *¿Quién se va para Europa?*

'Who is leaving for Europe?'

B: <u>*Se va*</u>　　　ᵒᵏ <u>*es*</u>　　　***él/ella/usted y nadie más***

CL go.3SG.PRES　be. 3SG.PRES　he/she/you.FOR　and　nobody　else

'It is **you and nobody else** who is going'

So far, we have observed that post-verbal subjects always agree in person and number with the matrix verb and in person and number with FS *ser*, only in contrastive contexts. This pattern becomes more strictly observed for singular pronouns (or NPs) than for plural pronouns (or NPs). In fact, the choice between assigning default morphology (*es* 'is') to FS *ser* and matching person and number features with FS *ser* depends on contrast[68]: if the plural post-verbal subject has been contrasted with other elements in previous discourse, then FS *ser* must match its person and number features; if the plural post-verbal subject has not been contrasted with other elements, then FS *ser* takes default morphology.

As expected, this pattern holds when the matrix verb is conjugated not only in simple tenses (present and past), but also in compound tenses (present perfect and pluperfect). For example, regardless of contrast, when the post-verbal subject is *yo* ('I') the only possible choice must be one in which the verb in T (the matrix or the auxiliary verb) and FS *ser* bear first person singular features (1SG):

(185) **A:** *De ustedes dos, ¿no fue Sonia la que nadó en los olímpicos?*

'From the two of you, was not Sonia who swam in the Olympics?'

B: ᵒᵏ *No, en los olímpicos nadé   fui   yo*

no   in the Olympics swim.1SG.PRET be.1SG.PRET I

'No, it was **I** who swam in the Olympics'

---

[68] Recall that contrastive focus is here understood in terms of picking one element from a set of alternatives, and confronting that element with such set. Non-contrastive focus, on the other hand, selects any element from any possible set of alternatives as the answer for a given question. For a more detailed discussion on contrastive/non-contrastive focus, please see Chapter 1, section 1.2, and Chapter 3, section 3.4.

(186) **A:** *Pensaba que en la escuela era tu hermana la que nadaba*

'I thought that it was your sister who used to swim at school'

    B: ^{ok} *No, en la escuela <u>nadaba</u> <u>era</u>* ***yo***

    no   in   the   school   swim.1SG.IMP   be.1SG.IMP   I

    'No, it was **I** who used to swim at school'

(187) **A:** *¿No era Silvia la que había salido a caminar?*

'Was it not Silvia who had left to take a walk?'

    B: ^{ok} *No, <u>había</u> salido a caminar <u>era</u>* ***yo***

    no   have.1SG.IMP   leave.PERF   to   walk.INF   be.1SG.IMP   I

    'No, it was **I** who had left to take a walk'

(188) **A:** *¿No fue Silvia la que estuvo viajando por Medellín?*

'Was it not Silvia who was travelling around Medellín?'

    B: ^{ok} *No, <u>estuve</u> viajando por Medellín <u>fui</u>* ***yo***

    no   be.1SG.PRET   travel.PROGR   by   Medellín   be.1SG.IMP   I

    'No, it was **I** who was travelling around Medellín'

However, in cases of post-verbal plural subjects (*nosotros* 'we', *ellos* 'they.MASC', *ellas* 'they.FEM', *ustedes* 'you. PL')[69], they must agree in person and number with the verb in T (the matrix verb or the auxiliary) and with FS *ser*, only if there is a contrastive reading ((189) – (191)):

---

[69] Recall that in Colombian Spanish the second person plural pronoun (*vosotros* 'you.PL') is never used. Given this, the agreement pattern found between FS *ser* and post-verbal subjects never include this form.

(189) **A:** *Supe que Juan fue el que se ganó la lotería*

'I found out that Juan was who won the lottery'

  B1: *No, <u>nos   la   ganamos</u>   ᵒᵏ <u>fuimos/ * fue</u>   **nosotros***

    no   CL   PRON win.1PL.PRET   be.1PL/3SG.PRET   we

    'No, it was **we** who won the lottery'

  B2: *No, <u>se   la   ganaron</u>   ᵒᵏ <u>fueron/ * fue</u>   **ellos***

    no   CL PRON   win.3PL.PRET   be.3PL/3SG.PRET they

    'No, it was **they** who won the lottery'

(190) **A:** *Supe que Juan era el que trabajaba para Rodrigo*

  'I found out that Juan was who used to work for Rodrigo'

  B1: *No, para Rodrigo <u>trabajábamos</u> ᵒᵏ <u>éramos/ * era</u>   **nosotros***

    no   for   Rodrigo work.1PL.IMP   be.1PL/3SG.IMP we

    'No, it was **we** who used to work for Rodrigo'

  B2: *No, para   Rodrigo <u>trabajaban</u> ᵒᵏ <u>eran/ * era</u>   **ellos***

    no   for   Rodrigo work.3PL.IMP be.3PL/3SG.IMP they

    'No, it was **they** who used to work for Rodrigo'

(191) **A:** *Supe que Juan había estado bebiendo toda la tarde*

  'I found out that Juan had been drinking all afternoon'

  B1: *No, <u>habíamos</u>   estado   bebiendo ᵒᵏ <u>éramos/ * era</u> **nosotros***

    no   have.1PL.IMP be.PERF   drink.PROGR be.1PL/3SG.IMP   we

    'No, it was **we** who had been drinking'

161

B2: *No, estuvieron   bebiendo   ᵒᵏ fueron/ * fue   ellos*

no   be.3PL.PRET   drink.PROGR   be.3PL/3SG.PRET   they

'No, it was **they** who were drinking'

Nonetheless, if such contrast is not entailed in previous discourse, FS *ser* takes default morphology ((192) – (194)):

(192) **A:** *¿Quién se ganó la lotería?*

'Who won the lottery?'

B1: *Nos la   ganamos   ᵒᵏ fue/ * fuimos   nosotros*

CL   PRON win.1PL.PRET be.3SG/1PL.PRET we

'No, it was **we** who won the lottery'

B2: *Se la   ganaron   ᵒᵏ fue/ * fueron   ellos*

CL   PRON win.3PL.PRET be.3SG/3PL.PRET they

'No, it was **they** who won the lottery'

(193) **A:** *¿Quién trabajaba para Rodrigo?*

'Who used to work for Rodrigo?'

B1: *Para Rodrigo trabajábamos ᵒᵏ era/* éramos   nosotros*

for   Rodrigo work.1PL.IMP   be.3SG/1PL.IMP   we

'No, it was **we** who used to work for Rodrigo'

B2: *Para Rodrigo trabajaban ᵒᵏ era/ * eran   ellos*

for   Rodrigo work.3PL.IMP be.3SG/3PL.IMP   they

'No, it was **they** who used to work for Rodrigo'

162

(194) **A:** *¿Quién había estado bebiendo toda la tarde?*

'Who had been drinking all afternoon?'

B1: <u>*Habíamos*</u> *estado* *bebiendo* ^{ok} <u>*era/* éramos*</u> ***nosotros***

have.1PL.IMP be.PERF drink.PROGR be.3SG/1PL.IMP we

'No, it was **we** who had been drinking'

B2: <u>*Estuvieron*</u> *bebiendo* ^{ok} <u>*fue/ * fueron*</u> ***ellos***

be.3PL.PRET drink.PROGR be.3SG/3PL.PRET they

'No, it was **they** who were drinking'

In this section, I have discussed person and number agreement between the post-verbal subject and FS *ser*. On the one hand, the verb in T (the matrix verb or an auxiliary verb) establishes person and number agreement with the post-verbal subject. On the other hand, FS *ser* also establishes person and number agreement with the post-verbal subject. This agreement must strictly occur with all singular post-verbal subjects, whether or not they receive contrastive focus. However, this agreement must occur with plural post-verbal subjects *only* if there is contrastive focus; otherwise, FS *ser* takes default morphology. I will explain this pattern in more detail in Chapter 3 (section 3.3), and I will argue that it is perfectly accountable for through the operation Agree (Chomsky 2000; Chomsky 2001; Chomsky 2004). For now, I would like to conclude this section with a graph (195) that summarizes the agreement pattern between FS ser and focused post-verbal subjects:

(195)

	T	FS *ser*	Post-verbal subj
[+ contrast]	[num: α] [pers: β]	[num: α] [pers: β]	[num: α] [pers: β]
[- contrast]	[num: SG] [pers: β]	[num: SG] [pers: β]	[num: SG] [pers: β]
	[num: PL] [pers: β]	[num: DEFAULT] [pers: DEFAULT]	[num: PL] [pers: β]
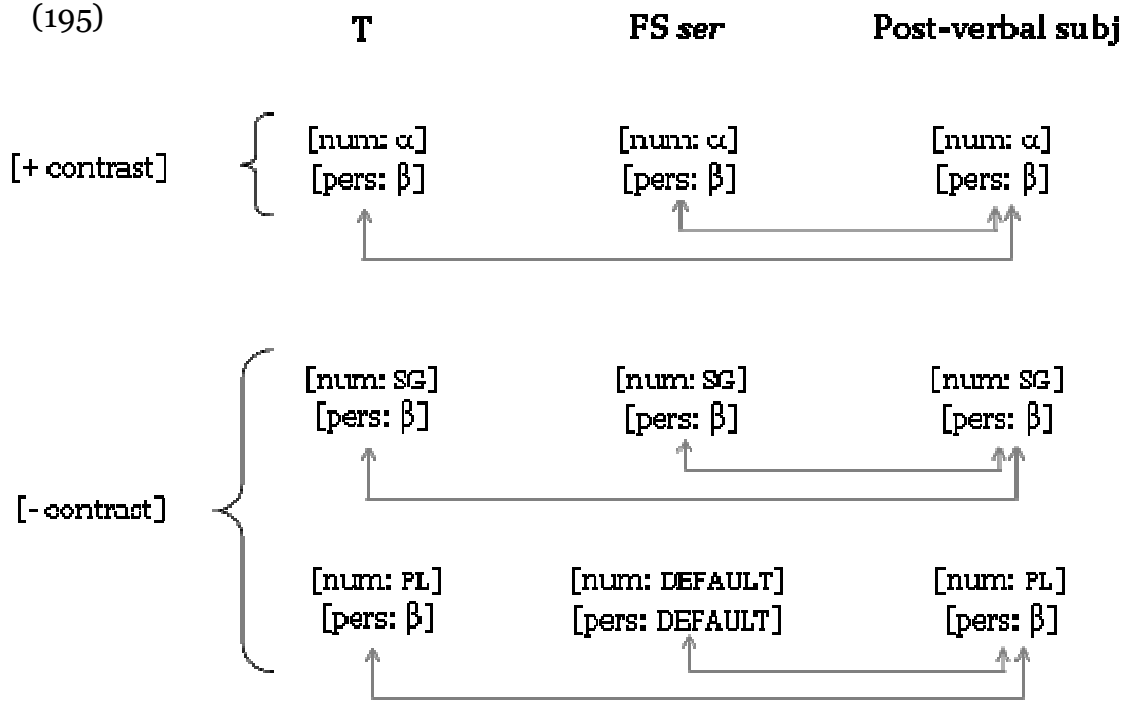
Figure 3: Agreement pattern between FS *ser* and post-verbal subjects

2.3.3. Number agreement with objects

In this section, I will discuss the number agreement pattern observed between FS *ser* and certain objects (i.e. DOs with no *Differential Object Marking*). Before moving on to what I have found in my data, I would like to mention a couple of observations made in previous studies. For example, Curnow and Travis (2003) find that FS *ser* usually takes default morphology (3SG) when preceding singular or plural NPs. Although they do not provide any details on this topic, they clarify that their additional data (not included in their 2003 paper) suggest that plural forms of FS *ser* (*son* 'they are', *fueron* 'they were') may also be used when preceding plural NPs.

Bosque (1999), on the other hand, points out that FS *ser* optionally shows number agreement with the focused object. Specifically, he argues that in (196) FS *ser* may take default morphology (*es* 'is'), or copy the number features from the focused object, even though he does not offer an account of how this happens:

(196)^{ok} *Juan comía   era / eran   papas*

      Juan   eat.3SG.IMP   be.3SG/PL.IMP potatoes

      'It was **potatoes** that Juan used to eat'

In this section, I examine this agreement pattern between the FS and direct objects (as in (196)), and also between the FS and indirect objects. Toward the end of the section it will become clear that the variability in number agreement, initially referred to by Bosque, is not random and resides purely on the availability of contrastive focus interpretations.

In terms of FS-focused direct objects, there seems to be number agreement between FS *ser* and the DO when the latter is singular:

(197) *Saúl   quiere   * ^{ok}*es / * son   este   carro*

      Saúl   want.3SG.PRES   be.3SG/PL.PRES this   car

      'It is **this car** that Saúl wants'

165

This number agreement does not seem to be disrupted by changes in word order (198), by having a plural subject (199), or by adding an indirect object (200):

(198) (*Saúl*) *quiere* (*Saúl*) ᵒᵏ*es / * son* **este carro** (*Saúl*)

Saúl want.3SG.PRES be.3SG/PL.PRES this car

'It is **this car** that Saúl wants'

(199) *Saúl y Javier quieren* ᵒᵏ*es / * son* **este carro**

Saúl and Javier want.3PL.PRES be.3SG/PL.PRES this car

'It is **this car** that Simón wants'

(200) *Saúl le regaló a María* ᵒᵏ*fue / * fueron* **este carro**

Saúl CL give.3SG.PRET to María be.3SG/PL.PRES this car

'It is **this car** that Simón wants'

It is important to mention at this point that the number agreement shown between FS *ser* and the singular DO is independent from the number (and person) features that may be present in T (in the matrix or the auxiliary verb). For example, in (201) the matrix verb *tengo* ('I have') does not share any person and/or number features with FS *ser*, even though FS *ser* still seems to agree in number with the focused DO. Also, notice in this same example that there is still tense and aspect agreement between T and FS *ser* (*tengo* and *es* are both conjugated in present tense):

(201) *Tenemos* ^{ok} *es / * son* **un carro último modelo**

have.1PL.PRES be.3SG/PL.PRES a car last model

'It is **a brand new car** that we have'

Furthermore, this number agreement shown between FS *ser* and singular DOs can also be observed for singular DOs that are preceded by "personal *a*", which have often been referred to in the literature as cases of *Differential Object Marking*, or DOM (cf. Suñer 1988; Pensado 1995; Torrego 1998; Zagona 2002; Aissen 2003; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, among others):

(202) *El niño besó* ^{ok} *fue / * fueron* **a su madre**

the child kiss.3SG.PRET be.3SG/PL.PRET to his mother

'It is **his mother** who the child kissed'

So far, FS *ser* seems to agree in number with focused singular DOs, regardless of the number (and person) features of the matrix verb and whether the DO is preceded by "personal *a*" (henceforth referred to as DOM). However, when the focused DO is plural, FS *ser* may take default morphology (3SG), or agree with the plural DO in number (3PL):

(203) ^{ok} *Margarita compró* *fue* **unas faldas rosadas**

Margarita buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET some skirts pink

'It was **some pink skirts** that Margarita bought'

167

(204) ^{ok} *Margarita   compró   <u>fueron</u>   **unas   faldas   rosadas***

Margarita   buy.3SG.PRET   be.3PL.PRET   some   skirts   pink

'It was **some pink skirts** that Margarita bought'

Once again, the choice of number agreement between FS *ser* and the focused

plural DO is not affected by changes in word order (205), by having a plural

subject (206), or by adding an indirect object (207):

(205) ^{ok} (*<u>Ella</u>*)   *compró*   (*<u>ella</u>*)   *<u>fue / fueron</u>*   **unas   faldas**   (*<u>ella</u>*)

she   buy.3SG.PRET   she   be.3SG/PL.PRET   some   skirts   she

'It was **some skirts** that she bought'

(206) ^{ok} *<u>Las   dos   hermanas</u>* *compraron*   *<u>fue / fueron</u>*   **unas   faldas**

the   two   sisters   buy.3SG.PRET   be.3SG/PL.PRET   some   skirts

'It was **some skirts** that the two sisters bought'

(207) ^{ok} *Ema   le   compró*   *<u>a ella</u> <u>fue / fueron</u>*   **unas   faldas**

Ema   PRON buy.3SG.PRET   to   her   be.3SG/PL.PRET   some   skirts

'It was **some skirts** that Margarita bought for her'

Moreover, this agreement variability is not determined by the number (and

person) features of the verb in T. Similarly to FS-focused singular DOs (see

example (201) above), the matrix or the auxiliary verb only agrees in tense and

aspect with FS *ser*:

168

(208) ^{ok}*En   la   escuela   vendemos   <u>es / son</u>   **empanadas**

     in   the school   sell.1PL.PRES be.3SG/PL.PRES filled-pies

     'It is **empanadas (filled-pies)** that we sell at school'

Unlike cases of FS-focused singular DOs, when the plural DO is preceded by "personal *a*" (i.e. DO with DOM) FS *ser* does not show this agreement variability:

(209) *Torres capturó*   ^{ok} <u>*fue / *fueron*</u> **_a_**   **los**   **ladrones**

      Torres capture.3SG.PRET be.3SG/PL.PRET to the thieves

      'It was **the thieves** that Torres captured'

Before I attempt to explain why FS *ser* takes default morphology when it precedes DOs with DOM, I need to explain why there is a choice in number agreement when the FS focuses plural DOs. First, when the FS-focused DO is singular, FS *ser* takes singular number features (3SG), whether there is contrastive (210) or non-contrastive focus (211):

(210) **A:** *¿No tienes vino blanco?*

     'Do you not have white wine?'

  B: *No,   tengo*   ^{ok} <u>*es/* son*</u>   ***vino***   ***tinto***

     no   have.1SG.PRES be.3SG/3PL.PRES wine red

     'No, it is **red wine** that I have'

(211) **A:** *¿Qué tienes para tomar?*

'What do you have to drink?'

B: *Tengo*   ^{ok} *es/* son*   **vino   tinto**

have.1SG.PRES   be.3SG/3PL.PRES   wine   red

'It is **red wine** that I have'

However, when the FS-focused DO is plural FS *ser* agrees in number with the focused plural object only if there is a contrastive reading (similarly to what happens in cases of FS-focused post-verbal subjects). Otherwise, FS *ser* takes default morphology (3SG):

(212) **A:** *Me parecía que tenías gatas*

'I thought that you had some female cats'

B: *No, tengo*   * *es /* ^{ok} *son*   **gatos**

no   have.1SG.PRES   be.3SG/3PL.PRES   cats

'No, it is **male cats** that I have'

(213) **A:** *¿Tienes mascotas?*

'Do you have pets?'

B: *Sí, tengo*   ^{ok} *es/* son*   **gatos**

yes   have.1SG.PRES   be.3SG/3PL.PRES   cats

'It is **cats** that I have'

Based on these examples, it seems that FS *ser* acquires the number features of the focused DO only when there is contrastive focus. As expected, when such contrastive reading is not present, FS *ser* takes default morphology (3SG). This is only clearly observed in cases of FS-focused plural DOs, given that for FS-focused singular DOs the number choice (between 3SG or 3PL) is not available. In other words, the default value (3SG) is the same than the acquired value (3SG). Thus, the number agreement between FS *ser* and singular DOs that I illustrated at the beginning can simply be described in terms of this contrast distinction: if the FS-focused singular DO receives contrastive focus, FS *ser* agrees with it in number (3SG); if the FS-focused singular DO does not receive contrastive focus, FS *ser* takes default morphology (3SG). Either way, FS *ser* is always singular (3SG) when it precedes singular DOs or non-contrasted plural DOs, and it is plural (3PL) when it precedes contrasted plural DOs.

Going back to cases of focused DOs with DOM, I have already shown that when preceding this type of DOs FS *ser* must always take default morphology (3SG), whether the DO is singular or plural. In fact, as I illustrate below, this same pattern is shared by FS-focused IOs:

(214)*Rosa   le cosió   la   camisa* ^{ok} *fue / *fueron*   ***a Simón***

      Rosa   CL sew.3SG.PRET   the   shirt   be.3SG/PL.PRET   to Simón

      'It was **for Simón** that Rosa sewed his shirt'

(215) *Rosa les cosió   la ropa* ^{ok} *fue / *fueron* **a sus hijos**

    Rosa CL sew.3SG.PRET the clothes be.3SG/PL.PRET to her children

    'It was **for her children** that Rosa sewed some clothes'

This lack of agreement between FS *ser* and FS-focused plural IOs holds when there is non-contrastive focus (216) and even when there is contrastive focus (217):

(216) **A:** *¿A quiénes les vendiste los libros de física?*

    'To whom did you sell the Physics books?'

  B: *Se los vendí*   ^{ok} *fue/* fueron*   **a mis vecinos**

    CL PRON sell.1SG.PRET be.3SG/3PL.PRET to my neighbors

    'It was **to my neighbors** that I sold them'

(217) **A:** *Me parecía que le habías dado plata a tus hermanas*

    'I thought that you had given your sisters some money'

  B: *No, se la   di*   ^{ok} *fue / * fueron*   **a mis hermanos**

    no CL PRON give.1SG.PRET be.3SG/3PL.PRET to my brothers

    'No, it was **to my brothers** that I gave it'

The difference in number agreement shown by FS-focused plural DOs and IOs should not be surprising if we consider that DOs and IOs are not analyzed structurally equal anyway, even in non-FS dialects of Spanish. According to Cuervo (2001, 2003), DOs and IOs are generated inside an Applicative Phrase

below VP: DOs as complements of an applicative head, and IOs as specifiers of the ApplP[70]. For her, dative arguments (IOs) are applied arguments that are licensed by the applicative head (where the clitic merges). This applicative head assigns "inherent case" to the dative argument, whereas the vP head (v') assigns accusative case to the DO, forcing it to move from the ApplP to [Spec, vP]. Thus, IOs and DOs not only are generated in different syntactic positions, but also react differently to feature checking (e.g. case).

Furthermore, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007) suggests that DOs with DOM and IOs share certain structural properties: both DOs with DOM and IOs may be placed higher than DOs with no DOM. Extending this observation to what we have observed so far, it is not surprising to find that DOs with DOM and IOs prompt default morphology on FS *ser*.

Finally, it is important to mention at this point that I found no person agreement between FS *ser* and FS-focused objects (DOs and IOs), despite the fact that this kind of agreement may occur between FS *ser* and post-verbal subjects (cf. section 2.3.2). Thus, as shown in (218) - (220), no matter what person features the object may have, FS *ser* will always take default person features (3 PERSON):

(218) *Vimos*   **ok** *fue / *fuimos*   ***dos cebras***

     see.1PL.PRET   be.3SG/1PL.PRET   two   zebras

     'It was **two zebras** that we saw'

---

[70] See (91) – (93), in Chapter 2, for a typical example of a double object construction in Spanish.

(219) *Nos vio*   **ᵒᵏ *fue / *fuimos/ *fueron*   *a   nosotros***

PRON see.3SG.PRET be.3SG/1PL/3PL.PRET   to we

'It was **we** that he saw'

(220) *Nos trajo*   *torta*   **ᵒᵏ *fue / *fuimos/ *fueron* *a nosotros***

PRON bring.3SG.PRET cake   be.3SG/1PL/3PL.PRET   to we

'It was **for us** that he brought cake'

Hence, in terms of FS-focused objects, we have observed that FS *ser* agrees in number only with contrasted DOs:

(221)

FS *ser*   **Post-verbal DOs (no DOM)**

[+ contrast] {   ⌈num: α⌉   ⟷   ⌈num: α⌉

[- contrast] {   ⌈num: DEFAULT⌉   ⟷   ⌈num: α⌉
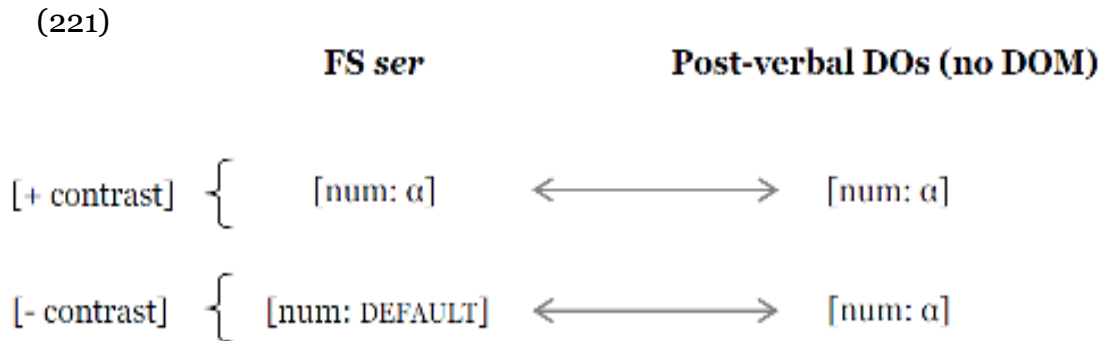
Figure 4: Agreement pattern between FS *ser* and DOs with no DOM

In all the other cases (non-contrasted DOs, and contrasted/non-contrasted IOs and DOs with DOM) FS *ser* takes default morphology (3SG):

(222) **FS *ser***   **Other constituents**

                                                   (e.g. DOs w/DOM and IOs

[+ contrast] { [num: DEFAULT] ⟵——————⟶ [num: α]

[- contrast] { [num: DEFAULT] ⟵——————⟶ [num: α]
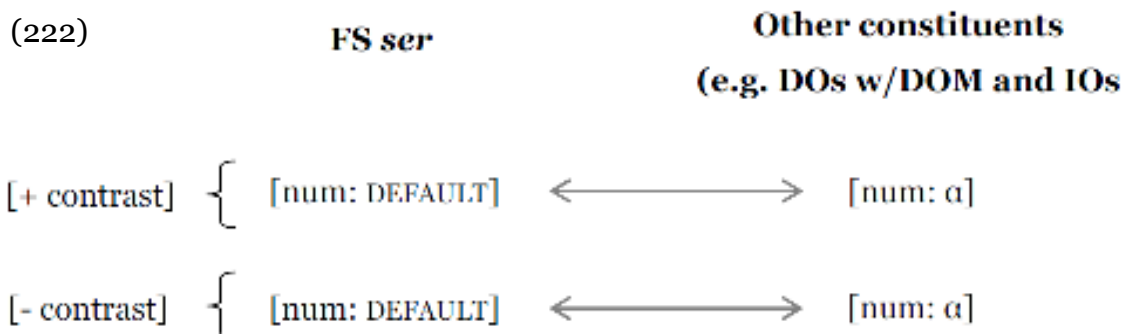
Figure 5: Agreement pattern between FS *ser* and other objects

I can now summarize the entire agreement pattern that I have discussed in section 2.3, as follows: a) FS *ser* agrees in tense and aspect with the verb in T (the matrix or the auxiliary verb); b) FS *ser* agrees in person and number with post-verbal singular subjects, regardless of contrast; c) FS *ser* agrees in person and number with post-verbal plural subjects *only* if there is contrast; d) FS *ser* agrees in number, but not in person, with certain objects (it never agrees in number with IOs or with DOs with DOM); e) FS *ser* agrees in number with DOs without DOM, *only* if there is contrast; and f) FS *ser* takes default morphology (3sG) when it precedes non-contrasted DOs without DOM, and contrasted/non-contrasted DOs with DOM and IOs.

These generalizations point at two agreement processes: one in which FS *ser* agrees with the verb in T, and another in which FS *ser* agrees with the focused constituent. The first process is clearly illustrated in (153) above, here repeated as Figure 6 (223); the second process is illustrated as in Figure 7 (224) below:

(223)

	T	FS *ser*	Examples
TENSE	[- past]	[- past]	(139) - (140)
	[+ past]	[+ past]	(141) - (144)
ASPECT	[- perfective]	[- perfective]	(141) - (142)
	[+ perfective]	[+ perfective]	(143) - (144)

Figure 6: Agreement process 1 → between FS *ser* and the verb in T

(224)

Type of focus	FS *Ser*	Type of FS-focused constituent	Examples
Post-verbal subjects			
[+ contrast]	[1,2,3] / [SG] ←	[1,2,3] / [SG]	(175) - (178)
	[1, 3] / [PL] ←	[1, 3] / [PL]	(179) - (180)
[- contrast]	[1,2,3] / [SG] ←	[1,2,3] / [SG]	(183) - (184)
	Default: [3, SG] ←	[1, 3] / [PL]	(181) - (182)
DOs without DOM			
[+ contrast]	[SG] ←	[SG]	(197) - (210)
	[PL] ←	[PL]	(203) - (207)
[- contrast]	*Default*: [3, SG] ←	[SG]	(211)
	Default: [3, SG] ←	[PL]	(213)
DOs with DOM and IOs			
[± contrast]	*Default*: [3, SG] ←	[SG]	(202), (214)
	Default: [3, SG] ←	[PL]	(209), (215)

Figure 7: Agreement process 2 → between FS *ser* and the focused constituent

2.4. Remaining syntactic phenomena

In this section I will briefly discuss FS focus in relation to various syntactic phenomena such as word order, adjacency, topicalization and CP focus, passivization and impersonal constructions, question formation, and DP extraction. Each of these topics will be shortly described in separate sub-sections. My goal here is to spell out the FS patterns that I have found with respect to each of these phenomena. Having established the kind of constituents that may be FS-focused (in section 2.1), the position of the FS within TP (in section 2.2), and the agreement pattern shown between FS *ser* and various constituents (in section 2.3), it will become more evident that the FS is a TP-internal focus structure, where FS *ser* serves as a link between old and new information and as some kind of focus intensifier.

2.4.1. Word order

As I have illustrated in Chapter 1, Spanish is relatively free in terms of word order. Although the default word order is S-V-O, it is possible to find V-S-O, V-O-S, S-O-V, O-S-V, and O-V-S word orders. Taking into account that the FS is always placed between T and *v*P, it is expected to have grammatical outcomes when the FS focuses a post-verbal constituent in S-V-O, V-S-O, V-O-S, and O-V-S word orders:

(225) [ok] *Luisa* *rompió*   *fue*   *el vaso*

      Luisa   break.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   the glass

      'It was **the glass** that Luisa broke'

(226) ^{ok}*Rompió*   *Luisa*   *fue*   **el   vaso**

break.3SG.PRET   Luisa   be.3SG.PRET   the   glass

'It was **the glass** that Luisa broke'

(227) ^{ok}*Rompió*   *fue*   **el   vaso** *Luisa*

break.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   the   glass   Luisa

'It was the glass that Luisa broke'

(228) ^{ok}*El vaso* *lo* *rompió*   *fue*   **Luisa**

the   glass   CL   break.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   Luisa

'It was Luisa who broke the glass'

However, when the FS focuses a subject, or an object in S-O-V (230) or O-S-V orders (230), ungrammatical outcomes are obtained:

(229) (*Fue*)   *Luisa*   (**fue*)   *el   vaso*   *rompió*

be.3SG.PRET   Luisa   be.3SG.PRET   the glass   break.3SG.PRET

'It was **Luisa** who broke the glass/ It was **the glass** that Luisa broke'

(230) (*Fue*)   *el   vaso* (**fue*)   *Luisa*   *rompió*

be.3SG.PRET   the glass   be.3SG.PRET   Luisa   break.3SG.PRET

'It was **Luisa** who broke the glass/ It was **the glass** that Luisa broke'

In fact, given that subjects and objects may move to pre-verbal positions in Spanish (as shown in Chapter 1, section 1.3.2), the ungrammaticality of (229) – (230) does not reside on the fact that the subject and/or the object have moved to

178

a pre-verbal position, but that the FS is focusing pre-verbal elements. As expected, if either the subject or the object remain in-situ (post-verbally) then the sentence becomes grammatical:

(231)^{ok} *Luisa   rompió   fue   **<u>el   vaso</u>***

     Luisa   break.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   the   glass

     'It was **the glass** that Luisa broke'

(232) ^{ok}*El vaso lo rompió   fue   **<u>Luisa</u>***

     the   glass CL break.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET   Luisa

     'It was **Luisa** who broke the glass'

Furthermore, if the FS focuses an adjunct that is placed post-verbally in S-O-V or O-S-V orders, the sentence becomes grammatical because the FS is focusing a post-verbal constituent:

(233) ^{ok}*<u>Luisa</u> <u>el   vaso</u> lo rompió   fue   **<u>ayer</u>***

     Luisa   the glass CL break.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   yesterday

     'It was **yesterday** that Luisa broke the glass'

(234) ^{ok}*<u>El   vaso</u> <u>Luisa</u> lo rompió   fue   **<u>ayer</u>***

     the   glass Luisa CL break.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   yesterday

     'It was **yesterday** that Luisa broke the glass'

Hence, as long as the FS focuses a post-verbal constituent, other constituents (e.g. subjects, objects, adjuncts) may be placed anywhere in the sentence (in unmarked or marked positions), subject to the conditions on Spanish word order (Hernanz and Brucart 1987; Ordóñez 1997; Zubizarreta 1998). Given this, the focus relation established between the FS and the post-verbal constituent is not conditioned by changes in word order affecting non-focused constituents. As shown in (233) – (234), for example, even when both the subject and the object are placed pre-verbally and the object moves above the matrix verb (233) or above the subject (234), the FS continues to focus the adverb.

Moreover, having non-focused constituents placed post-verbally does not interrupt the focus relationship between the FS and the adverb ((235) – (236)). However, as I have mentioned before, if the non-focused item intervenes between the FS and the focused element (the adverb in this case), then the sentence is still grammatical, but semantically inappropriate (237):

(235) ᵒᵏ *El vaso*   *lo rompió*   (*Luisa*) *fue*   ***ayer***   (*Luisa*)

    the   glass   CL break.3SG.PRET Luisa   be.3SG.PRET yesterday Luisa

    'It was **yesterday** that Luisa broke the glass'

(236) ᵒᵏ *Luisa*   *rompió*   (*el   vaso*) *fue*   ***ayer***   (*el   vaso*)

    Luisa   break.3SG.PRET the   glass   be.3SG.PRET yesterday the glass

    'It was **yesterday** that Luisa broke the glass'

(237) #*Rompió*   *fue*   <u>*el   vaso / Luisa*</u> **<u>*ayer*</u>**

   break.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   the glass / Luisa   yesterday

   'It was **yesterday** that Luisa broke the glass'

As expected, if both *el vaso* and *ayer* (238), or *Luisa* and *ayer* (239) are
focused, then sentence (237) becomes completely acceptable:

(238) [ok] *Rompió*   *fue*   **<u>*el   vaso*</u> <u>*ayer*</u>**

   break.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   the glass   yesterday

   'It was **the glass, yesterday,** that was she broke'

(239) [ok] *Lo   rompió*   *fue*   **<u>*Luisa*</u> <u>*ayer*</u>**

   PRON   break.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   Luisa   yesterday

   'It was **Luisa, yesterday,** who broke the glass'

In brief, I have shown here that the FS is not directly affected by word order
variation. As I have argued in section 2.2, the only constraint imposed on the FS
is that it focuses a post-verbal phrase immediately following FS *ser*. Hence, if a
focused element remains post-verbally (as in (225) - (228), (231) - (234)), the FS
sentence is grammatical. However, if an element moves pre-verbally (as in (229)
- (230)), the FS sentence becomes ungrammatical.

2.4.2. <u>Focus projection and adjacency</u>

   As I indicated at the end of section 2.4.1 (and previously in this chapter,
and in Chapter 1), the FS must always be adjacent to the focused element. That

is, no topical element (typically, a constituent already mentioned in previous discourse) can intervene between the FS and the focused element. In cases similar to (237) above, the sentence is grammatical but semantically inappropriate:

(240) **A:** *Escuché que Chucho se compró una Harley-Davidson*

       'I heard that Chucho bought a Harley-Davidson'

    B: # *No, se   compró   <u>*fue*</u>   <u>*Chucho*</u> **una Vespa***

       no   CL buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET Chucho a   Vespa

       'No, it was <u>Chucho</u> who bought **a Vespa**'

Thus, for the reply in (240) to become semantically appropriate, *Chucho* must be part of the new information, either by itself or along with the DO *una vespa* ('a Vespa'):

(241) **A:** *Escuché que Lucho se compró una Harley-Davidson*

       'I heard that Lucho bought a Harley-Davidson'

    B1: ^{ok} *No, se   compró   una Harvey <u>*fue*</u>   <u>**Chucho***</u>

       no   CL buy.3SG.PRET a   Harvey be.3SG.PRET Chucho

       'No, it was **Chucho** who bought a Harley'

    B2: ^{ok} *No, se   compró   *<u>*fue*</u>   <u>**Chucho***</u> **una Vespa***

       no   CL buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET Chucho a   Vespa

       'No, it was **Chucho** who bought **a Vespa**'

This shows that the FS in fact introduces new information in the discourse, not old information. Hence, the FS should be placed inside a Focus Phrase, not inside a Topic Phrase, since it always precedes focused constituents, that is, constituents that have not been mentioned in previous discourse.

2.4.3. CP foci, CP topics, and TP topics

So far, I have shown that because the FS introduces new information in discourse, it must be assumed to originate inside a Focus Phrase (FocP). Furthermore, having established that the FS is a TP-internal structure that focuses post-verbal elements (not necessarily vP-internal elements), I have argued that it originates in a FocP placed below T and above vP.

As it has been pointed out before, topical elements (elements that have been mentioned in previous discourse) may precede the FS and its focused-constituent. Taking into account that both topic and focus projections are believed to exist in the low-IP area (Belletti 2004; Hsu 2008), I have claimed that these topicalized elements eventually move to a Topic Phrase (TopP) , placed between TP and FocP. In (242) for example, the DO *plata* ('money') constitutes old information (it has been mentioned in previous discourse), and it is still placed post-verbally above the FS, which suggests that it is topicalized and placed inside a TP-internal TopP:

(242) **A:** *Me dijeron que Darío estaba podrido en plata*

'Someone told me that Darío was filthy rich'

B: ᵒᵏ *No,* [TP *tendrá*ᵢ [TOPP *plata*ⱼ [FOCP *será **la familia**ₖ* [ᵥP *t*ₖ *t*ᵢ *t*ⱼ]]]]

no   have.3SG.FUT(PROB) money   be.3SG.FUT   the family

'No, it might be **his family** who has money'

Notice that topics do not always need to move to this TopP in order to be topicalized. In some cases, topics may stay in-situ, without intervening between the FS and the focused constituent. In (243), for example, the adjunct *ayer* ('yesterday') is a topic (it was already mentioned by A) that stays in-situ, and does not intervene between the FS and the focused constituent (*el recibo* 'the receipt'):

(243) **A:** *Supe que te llegaron los tiquetes ayer*

'I heard that you received the tickets yesterday'

B: ᵒᵏ *No,* [TP *me llegó*ᵢ [FOCP *fue*   [ᵥP ***el recibo*ₖ** [ᵥP *t*ᵢ *t*ₖ *ayer*]]]]

no   CL arrive.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   the receipt   yesterday

'No, it was **the receipt** that arrived yesterday'

This kind of topicalization does not happen very frequently, probably because old information is generally introduced before new information (Lambrecht 1996; Erteschik-Shir 1997; Bury 2004; Büring 2006; Gundel and Fretheim 2007). In turn, the focused element is necessarily contrastive and needs to be pronounced with contrastive intonation in order to be licensed. Thus, (243) above cannot occur in a non-contrastive context (244), and the focused DP must

be pronounced with contrastive intonation (***EL RECIBO***), and with no pause between the DO and the adverb (245):

(244) **A:** *¿Qué te llegó ayer?*

'What did you receive yesterday?'

B: *[TP *Me llegó*ᵢ   [FOCP *fue*   [ᵥP ***el recibo***ₖ [ᵥP *t*ᵢ *t*ₖ <u>*ayer*</u>]]]]

CL   arrive.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET the receipt   yesterday

'It was **the receipt** that arrived yesterday'

(245) **A:** *Supe que te llegaron los tiquetes ayer*

'I heard that you received the tickets yesterday'

B: ᵒᵏ *No,* [TP *me llegó*ᵢ [FOCP *fue* [ᵥP ***EL RECIBO***ₖ [ᵥP *t*ᵢ *t*ₖ <u>*ayer*</u>]]]]

no   CL arrive.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET the receipt   yesterday

'No, it was **the receipt** that arrived yesterday'

The examples in (243) - (245) are very interesting because it provides evidence against Camacho's (2006) claim that the FS is strictly a domain-final phenomenon. As I mentioned in section 2.2, Camacho rules out sentences similar to (243), where a focused XP is followed by a topicalized XP, as in (121), here repeated as (246). However, just as in (245), a sentence such as (246) would be acceptable in Colombian Spanish, as long as it occurs in a contrastive context (247):

(246) * *Marta le compró fue* [VP ***pan** a su abuela*]

Marta   CL buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET bread to her grandmother

'It was **bread** that Marta bought for her grandmother'

[Camacho 2006: 20]

(247) **A:** *Supe que Marta le compró carne a su abuela*

'I heard that Marta bought meat for her grandmother'

B: ᵒᵏ*No, Marta le compró fue* **PAN** <u>*a su abuela*</u>

no   Marta CL buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET bread to her grandmother

'No, it was **bread** that Marta bought for her grandmother'

Furthermore, as I will explain in more detail in Chapter 3 (section 3.2), Kato (2009) proposes a remnant analysis for the FS where a sentence such as (248) is derived through a series of steps, as shown in (249):

(248) *Compró fue* **uvas**

buy.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   grapes

'It <u>was</u> **grapes** that he bought'

(249) a. [FP F [IP [I' *compró* [vP t_V **uvas**]]]]

    b. [FP [vP t_V **uvas**] [F F [IP [I' *compró* [vP t_VP]]]]]

    c. [IP <u>*fue*</u> [VP t_cop [FP [vP t_V **uvas**] [F F [IP [I' *compró* [vP t_VP]]]]]]]

    d. [TopP [IP [I' *compró* [vP t_VP]]] [IP <u>*fue*</u> [VP t_cop [FP [vP t_V **uvas**] [F F

       [IP t_IP]]]]]]

186

Although the derivation in (249) predicts the correct outcome for sentence (248), it fails to capture in-situ topicalization shown in (243). As illustrated in (251), although the focused XP and the topicalized XP end up in the correct linear order, the topicalized XP must be here analyzed as a focused item, instead of a topicalized item, which does not reflect the information structure found in (250):

(250) ᵒᵏ *No, me llegó*   ***fue***   **el**   **recibo**   <u>*ayer*</u>

    no   CL   arrive.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   the   receipt   yesterday

    'No, it was **the receipt** that arrived yesterday'

(251)   a. [FP F [IP [ᵣ *me llegó* [vP tv **el recibo** [*ayer*]]]]]

    b. [FP [vP tv **el recibo ayer**] [F F [IP [ᵣ *me llegó* [vP tvP]]]]]

    c. [IP <u>*fue*</u> [vP tcop [FP[vP tv **el recibo ayer**] [F F [IP [ᵣ *me llegó* [vP tvP]]]

    d. [TopP [IP [ᵣ *me llegó* [vP tvP]]] [IP <u>*fue*</u> [vP tcop [FP [vP tv **el recibo**

     ayer] [F F [IP tIP]]]]]]

This further illustrates that the data in (243) - (245) provide important evidence to rule out previous syntactic analyses of the FS where the FS-focused constituent is assumed to be clause-final. Notice also that among topic constituents remaining in-situ, it is also possible to find IOs (252), DOs (253), subjects (254), and CP complements (255):

(252) **A:** *Escuché que Verónica le compró un carro a Eric*

    'I heard that Verónica bought a car for Eric'

B: ᵒᵏ*No,* [TP *le compró*ᵢ [FOCP *fue* [*v*P **UNA MOTO**ₖ [*v*P *t*ᵢ *t*ₖ <u>*a Eric*</u>]]]]

no   CL buy.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET a motorcycle   to Eric

'No, it was **a motorcycle** that she bought for Eric'

(253) **A:** *Escuché que Verónica le compró a Eric un carro*

'I heard that Verónica bought a car for Eric'

B: ᵒᵏ*No,* [TP *le compró*ᵢ [FOCP *fue*   [*v*P *t*ᵢ *A* **SANDRO** <u>*un carro*</u>]]]]

no   CL buy.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET to Sandro   a   car

'No, it was **for Sandro** that she bought a car'

(254) **A:** *Me pareció que Alba salió al parque y que Gino se quedó en la casa*

'I thought that Alba left to the park and that Gino stayed at home'

B: ᵒᵏ*No,* [TP *se fueron*ᵢ [FOCP *fue* [*v*P **LOS DOS** [*v*P *t*ᵢ <u>*al parque*</u>]]]]

no CL leave.3PL.PRET be.3SG.PRET the two   to-the park

'No, it was **the two of them** who went to the park'

(255) **A:** *¿No tenías un amigo que vivía en Tunja?*

'Did you not have a friend who lived in Tunja?'

B: ᵒᵏ*No,* [TP *tenía*ᵢ [FOCP *era* [*v*P *t*ᵢ **UNA TÍA** [CP <u>*que vivía en Tunja*</u>]]]]

no have.1SG.IMP   be.3SG.IMP an aunt   who lived in Tunja

'No, it was **one of my aunts** who lived in Tunja'

Beside topicalization in-situ (cf. (243), (252) - (255)), and topicalization in the middle periphery (cf. (242), already-mentioned information may move to CP, to a higher TopP, to become topicalized (Lambrecht 1994; Vallduví 1995; Rizzi 1997; Belletti 2004; Casielles-Suárez 2004; Rizzi 2004; Erteschik-Shir 2007). In

(256), for example, *de ellos* ('about them') originates as an adjunct to *v*P, and in

(257) *el helado* ('the ice-cream') originates as a DO. In both cases, they later

move to a TopP in CP:

(256) **A:** *¿No has sabido algo de María Fernanda y Camilo?*

  'Have you not heard something about María Fernanda and Camilo?'

 B: ᵒᵏ [CP [TOPP *De ellos*ₖ] [NEGP *no* [TP *sé*ᵢ [FOCP *es* [*ᵥ*P *t*ᵢ **nada** *t*ₖ]]]]

  of they   not know.1SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES nothing

  'About them, it is **nothing** that I know'

(257) **A:** *¿No le habías dado el helado al niño?*

  'Did you not give the ice-cream to the child?'

 B: ᵒᵏ [CP [TOPP *El helado*ₖ] [TP *se lo di*ᵢ [FOCP *fue* [*ᵥ*P *t*ᵢ **al perro** *t*ₖ]]]]

  the   ice-cream CL PRON give.1SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET to-the dog

  'The ice-cream, it was **the dog** to whom I gave it'

As I have shown, topicalization in CP (cf. (256) - (257)) and topicalization in-

situ (cf. (243), (252) - (255)) is not foreign in non-FS dialects of Spanish. What is

interesting, however, is that the FS structure allows all kinds of topicalization

(either in-situ, TP-internal, or in CP), but no additional focalization. In other

words, the FS cannot occur alongside other focus structures. For example, in

(258), two pieces of new information are focused in different parts of the

sentence (*una torta* ('a cake') is placed in CP, whereas *a Ana* ('to Ana') is FS-

focused inside TP):

(258) **A:** *¿Qué le dio Ricardo a quién?*

'What did Ricardo bring to whom?'

B1: *[CP ***Una torta***k *fue lo que* [TP *le dio*i [FOCP *fue* [vP *t*i ***a Ana*** *t*k]]]]

　　　a　　cake　　　was　what　CL　give.3SG.PRET　be.3SG.PRET　to Ana

'It was **Ana** to whom he gave **a cake**'

B2: *[CP [FOCP ***Una torta***k] [TP *le dio*i [FOCP *fue* [vP *t*i ***a Ana*** *t*k]]]]

　　　a　　　cake　　CL　give.3SG.PRET　　　be.3SG.PRET　to Ana

'It was **Ana** to whom he gave **a cake**'

Having both TP-internal and TP-external (CP) focus (258)rules out sentence (258), perhaps because once a focus feature has been checked, a second focus feature is blocked from checking. This may be due to the Freezing Effect proposed in Bošković (2008), according to which "*operator in operator-variable chains cannot undergo further operator movement*" (Bošković 2008: 1). According to Bošković, the Freezing Effect prevents an instance of operator movement (e.g. focalization) from feeding another operator movement (e.g. another focalization), or even its own reapplication. Given this, in a sentence such as (258), only one of the two Focus Phrases can check focus, whereas the other becomes blocked and cannot check focus[71].

As I have illustrated so far, FS-focus correlates with TP-internal and/or TP-external topicalization, but not with additional focalization (in CP). Taking into

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[71] Yoshihisa Kitagawa (personal communication) suggests the possibility that a multiple *wh*-question makes up a single instance of one complex *wh*-question, as has been implied in the literature for a long time (e.g. the notion of absorption). Kitagawa (2006) also points out that multiple-*wh*s involving more than one clause and interpreted as foci must share their scope.

account previous studies on topic, focus, and information structure (Lambrecht 1996; Erteschik-Shir 1997; Rizzi 1997; Zubizarreta 1998; Bosch and Van Der Sandt 1999; Breul 2004; Bury 2004; Casielles-Suárez 2004; Rizzi 2004; Krifka 2006; Gundel and Fretheim 2007), it is not too surprising that various kinds of topicalization, but not of focalization, may occur alongside the FS: pieces of old information can be stacked one of top of the other, and they can be easier to activate in the speaker's memory inventory, whereas pieces of new information need to be introduced one by one, or in one continuous chunk. Furthermore, from a syntactic perspective, Bošković's Freezing Effect seems to explain why FS focus does not allow additional focalization: once a Focus Phrase has checked focus features, a second Focus Phrase is blocked from focus checking.

2.4.4. Passive voice and impersonal constructions

Until now, I have shown that the FS may be used in declarative sentences, with active voice constructions. In this section, I will present some data regarding the use of the FS in passive voice and impersonal constructions. It will become clear that the FS may also focus a variety of elements in these constructions, as long as they are post-verbal.

First, in terms of passive voice in Spanish, there are two main constructions that I will discuss here: the "true passive" and the "passive with *se*". In the former, which resembles the structure of the passive voice in English, the object (and not the subject) establishes number and person agreement with the matrix verb. The matrix verb is the passive *ser* ('to be'), and it is followed by a complement that establishes number and gender agreement with the object. For

example, in (259), the object *las ladronas* ('the thief.PL-FEM') agrees with the matrix passive verb in person and number, and with the verb complement *capturadas* ('captured.PL-FEM') in number and gender. The subject in this sentence is implicitly *la policía* ('the police'):

(259) **A:** *¿Qué sucedió?*

'What happened?'

B: *Que las ladronas fueron capturadas (por la policía)*[72]

that the thief.PL-FEM be.3PL.PRET captured.PL-FEM by the police

'That the female thieves were captured (by the police)'

This type of passive structure is not as commonly used in Spanish as the "passive with *se*" (cf. Zagona, 2002). In this latter kind, the matrix verb is preceded by a passive marker *se* and followed by an object. As in cases with "true passives", the matrix verb agrees with the object (in number), and there is an implicit subject that is need not be expressed. For example in (260), the "passive with *se*" version of (259), the object *las ladronas* ('the thief.PL-FEM') agrees in number with the matrix verb:

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[72] The object can be placed before the passive *ser* or after the verb complement. In a case such as (259), for example, it is also possible to have this sentence:

(iii) *Que fueron capturadas las ladronas (por la policía)*
that be.3PL.PRET captured.PL-FEM the thief.PL-FEM by the police
'That the female thieves were captured (by the police)'

(260) *Se capturaron las ladronas (la policía lo hizo)*

  PASSIVE capture.3PL.PRET the thief.PL-FEM the police did-it

  'The thieves were captured (by the police)'

Looking at these two passive structures in relation to the FS, I find that the FS is more compatible with the "passive with *se*" than with the "true passive". For example, in a similar sentence to (261), the use of the FS (cf. B1) renders it ungrammatical with an acceptability judgment average score of 1.8. On the other hand, the use of the FS in the "passive with *se*" version of this sentence significantly improves the outcome (cf. B2):

(261) **A:** *¿No habían enviado el paquete?*

  'Had they not sent the package?'

 B1: **No,* *fue enviada fue la carta*

  no be.3SG.PRET send.SG-FEM be.3SG.PRET the letter.SG-FEM

  'No, it was **the letter** that was sent'

 B2: ᵒᵏ *No, se envió fue la carta*

  no PASSIVE send.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET the letter.SG-FEM

  'No, it was **the letter** that was sent'

This suggests that the unacceptability of the "true passive" version of (261) does not relate to passivization *per se*, but to a particular aspect of the "true passive" construction. In fact, in the "true passive" the matrix verb is passive *ser*,

193

which looks exactly as the FS *ser*. In (261), for example, both the passive *ser* and the FS *ser* are conjugated in third person singular, preterit: passive *ser* agrees in number with the singular object; FS *ser* agrees with passive *ser* in tense and aspect, and it takes default number morphology (SG) because the focused element is a contrasted DO. Thus, perhaps having a duplicated segment such as *fue* ('it was') may trigger the unacceptability of a "true passive" sentence such as (261)[73]. In the case of the "passive with *se*", however, this problem is solved given that the matrix verb is not another *ser*, and such duplication does not occur.

In fact, when the passive *ser* in a "true passive" construction takes a completely different conjugation from FS *ser*, the sentence becomes more acceptable. For example, the "true passive" in (261) may become acceptable in (262), given that passive *ser* and FS *ser* do not share the same morphology, therefore, are not pronounced in the same way:

(262) [ok] *No, había   sido   enviada   era   la carta*

no   have.3SG.IMP be.PERF   send.SG-FEM be.3SG.IMP the letter.SG-FEM

'No, it was **the letter** that was sent'

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[73] Recall that in chapter 1 (section 1.3.1), I discussed a similar case of *ser* duplication between copula *ser* and FS *ser*. In that case, the duplication clearly explained ungrammatical cases, which suggests that the ungrammaticality of (261) may also be due to *ser* duplication, this time between passive *ser* and FS *ser*.

Moving on to impersonal constructions, I find that the FS may be used to focus elements in various kinds of impersonal sentences. One of the most common impersonal structures compatible with the FS is "*hay que*+INF":

(263) [ok] *Hay*   *es*   **que**   **estudiar bastante**

        have.IMPERSONAL.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   that   study.INF   much

        'It is **studying much** that we have to do'

(264) [ok] *Había*   *era*   **que**   **estudiar**   **bastante**

        have.IMPERSONAL.IMP   be.3SG.IMP   that   study.INF   much

        'It was **studying much** that we had to do'

As shown in (263) – (264), FS *ser* agrees with impersonal *haber* (*hay*) in tense and aspect, just as it does with any other verb. Furthermore, based on what I described in section 2.1.5, the FS may also occur inside the embedded CP focusing post-verbal elements:

(265) [ok] *Había*   *que*   *estudiar*   *era*   **bastante**

        have.IMPERSONAL.IMP   that   study.INF   be.3SG.IMP   much

        'It was **much** that we had to study'

Other impersonal constructions where the FS may occur include sentences with "impersonal *haber*" (266), "meteorological expressions" (267), and

sentences with "*uno*" (268). As expected from what I have illustrated in previous

sections, FS *ser* always agrees with the verb in T in both tense and aspect:

 (266) ^ok *Hay*   *es*   **un tipo en el jardín**

    have.IMPERSONAL.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   a   guy in the garden

    'It is **a guy in the garden** that there is'

 (267) ^ok *Nevó*   *fue*   **en Berlín**

    snow.IMPERSONAL.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   in Berlin

    'It was **in Berlin** where it snowed'

 (268) ^ok *Aquí* <u>*uno vive*</u>   *es*   **preocupado**

    here   one live.3SG.PRES be.3SG.PRET preoccupied

    'It is **worried** that one lives here'

It is important to mention at this point that the pluralization of impersonal

haber[74] has little effect on the use of the FS. In particular, I found that when the

complement of *haber* is plural and *haber* becomes pluralized, the occurrence of

the FS still renders grammatical outcomes:

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[74] *Haber* is an impersonal verb in Spanish, so it does not need to agree in number with any constituent. However, in many Spanish dialects, this verb becomes pluralized when a plural object follows it. Please see Díaz-Campos (2003), Montes Giraldo (1982), and Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007) for a more detailed discussion on this topic.

(269) ^{ok} *Habían*   *era*   **unos cuantos billetes de $100**

       have.IMPERSONAL.IMP   be.3SG.IMP   a   few   bills   of $100

       'It was **a few bills of $100** that there were'

(270) ^{ok} *Había*   *era celebraciones de la Virgen del Carmen*

       have.IMPERSONAL.IMP   be.3SG.IMP   celebrations of the Virgin of Carmen

       'It was **celebrations for Virgin Carmen** that there were'

Interestingly, when *haber* is pluralized and FS *ser* agrees in number with the focused element (thus becoming pluralized as well), the sentence is still grammatical:

(271) **A:** *Pensé que habían dos estudiantes sentados en el andén*

        'I thought that there were two students sitting in the sidewalk'

      B: ^{ok} *No, ahí   habían   eran   tres borrachos*

       no   there   have.3PL.IMP   be.3SG.PRET   three   drunks

       'No, it was **three drunks** who were there'

As it has been illustrated in this section, the FS may occur in passive voice and impersonal constructions. In all of these cases, the FS must maintain tense and aspect agreement with the verb in T, and it may establish number agreement with the focused object (as explained in section 2.3, this number agreement variation depends on contrast). It has also been observed that the FS is more compatible with the "passive with *se*" construction than with the "true passive",

possibly because in the latter case there is a reduplication of the verb *ser* (cf. (261) - (262)). Furthermore, the pluralization of impersonal *haber* seems to have little effect on the use of the FS.

In this section, I have pointed out that the FS-focus pattern observed in active voice sentences is similar to that of passive voice and impersonal constructions: the FS must focus post-verbal constituents, agree in tense and aspect with the verb in T, and optionally agree in number with the focused object. It is still necessary to conduct more research on the relation between passive voice and impersonal constructions on the one hand and FS-focus on the other.

2.4.5. Question formation

In terms of FS-focus and *wh*-extraction, Bosque (1999) indicates that in comparison to the pseudo-cleft structure (272), an FS-focused constituent cannot be extracted to form a question (273). So, as shown in the derivation in (274), the *wh*-word corresponding to the focused XP starts by being placed inside VP, and then it moves to [Spec, CP]. FS *ser* moves from the Focus Phrase (inside VP) to the head of CP. According to Bosque (1999: 19), the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (273) is explained by two facts: FS *ser* moves from F° to C°, skipping T° (incurring in the Head Movement Constraint); and FS *ser* does not c-command its complement:

(272) ᵒᵏ¿***Qué*** *era*   *lo*   *que*   *Juan*   *leía?*

     what   be.3SG.IMP   PRON   COMP   Juan   read.3SG.IMP

     '**What** was it that Juan was reading?'

(273) *¿**Qué**   era   Juan leía?

   what   be.3SG.IMP Juan read.3SG.IMP

   '**What** was it that Juan was reading?'

(274) [CP **Qué**ᵢ [C' eraⱼ [TP Juan [C' leía [VP [FP [F' tⱼ] tᵢ]]]]]]

Looking at the FS structure itself, without comparing it to the pseudo-cleft,
the sentence indeed becomes ungrammatical when FS-focused elements are
extracted. As I have mentioned in Chapter 1 (and in Chapter 2), having the FS in
a pre-verbal position is already ruled-out in this structure. In other words, a
sentence such as (273) is not surprisingly ungrammatical, given that the FS is a
TP-internal focus structure and in (273) the focused element has been placed
above TP. However, even when the FS remains within FocP, the focused element
should not be extracted (as in (275)), as this would prevent the FS to properly
establish a focus relation with its focused element:

(275) *¿**Quién**ᵢ   salió   fue   ____ ?

   who   leave.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET

   '**Who** was it that left?'

As I pointed out before, FS *ser* needs to precede a fully-pronounceable
constituent. However, in (275) the focused constituent is not pronounced in the
lower TP-area, but in CP (the XP has moved from *v*P to CP). In this case, the FS

is really not introducing or emphasizing the focused element, which renders the ungrammaticality in (275).

Furthermore, even when the FS precedes a fully-pronounceable focused element (there is no focus extraction), an FS-sentence does not allow *wh-* or *yes/no*-questions. That is, the FS is not compatible with structures in which new information is being requested by means of *wh-* (extracted or in-situ) or yes/no-questions:

(276) *¿**Qué**ᵢ Luis   le trajo   _____   fue   **a María?**

 what   Luis   CL bring.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   to   María

 '**What** was it that it was **to María** that he brought?'

(277) *¿**Qué**ᵢ le trajo   _____   fue   **a quién?**

 what   CL bring.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   to   who

 '**What** was it that it was **to whom** that he brought?'

(278) *¿Luis le trajo   **un libro** fue   **a María?**

 Luis   CL bring.3SG.PRET a   book be.3SG.PRET   to   María

 'Was it **to María** that Luis brought **a book**?'

A possible reason for the ungrammaticality of (276) – (278) may reside on the fact that in all of these sentences there are two information processes happening at the same time: on the one hand, the FS is focusing a constituent, and on the other, new information is being requested through *wh-* and yes/no questions. As I discussed in section 2.4.3, Bošković (2008) argues that the

Freezing Effect would prevent more than one instance of operator movement to take place (e.g. *wh*-movement, focalization). According to this, it is possible to suggest that the ungrammaticality of (276) – (278) is due to the fact that both focalization and question formation are taking place in the same sentence. In fact, as we would expect based on this idea of Freezing Effect is that once *wh*-movement has taken place, focalization is blocked, and once focalization takes place, *wh*-movement is blocked. Thus, Bošković's Freezing Effect seems to account for the ungrammaticality obtained not only from multiple focalization (cf. section 2.4.3), but also from simultaneous question formation and focalization (276) – (278).

This appears to be a more compelling reason when we find that sentences (276) – (278) significantly improve when they acquire an echo-question reading. Following previous literature on interrogatives and echo questions (Rudin 1988; Huddleston 1994; Noh 1995; Noh 1998; Bošković 2002; Reglero 2003; Reglero 2004; Bošković 2006), echo questions resemble *wh*-in-situ questions in that the *wh*-word has not moved to CP[75]. However, unlike *wh*-in-situ questions, echo questions do not inquire about new information (they cannot be uttered in an "out-of-the-blue" context), but about information that has been mentioned in previous discourse.

As pointed out by Noh (1995), echo questions repeat what has been said before and *"[…] can be used not only when the echoer did not hear properly or*

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[75] Reglero (2003) and Bošković (2006, 2002) argue that *wh*-in-situ corresponds to a lower copy of the extracted *wh* that gets to be pronounced (that is, the higher *wh* copy is not pronounced).

understand what was said, but also when he wants to express his incredulity at what he heard”. In this sense, echo questions do not have the same syntactic properties of other interrogative sentences (*wh*-extraction, *wh*-in-situ, yes/no questions), and must be produced with high-rise intonation. Hence, sentences (276) – (278) above may become grammatical only in an echo-question context, as shown in (279) - (280) below:

    (279) **A:** *Entonces Luis le trajo un macaco a María*

        'So, Luis brought a macaque to María'

      B1: ᵒᵏ *¿Luis le trajo fue **qué** a María?*

      Luis   CL bring.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET what to María

      'It was **what to María** that he brought?'

      B1: ᵒᵏ *¿Luis le trajo fue **qué** a quién?*

      Luis   CL bring.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET what to who

      'It was **what to whom** that he brought?'

    (280) **A:** *Entonces Luis le trajo un libro a María*

        'So, Luis brought a book to María'

      B: ᵒᵏ *¿Luis le trajo fue **un libro** a María?*

      Luis   CL bring.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET a   book to María

      'Was it **a book to María** that Luis brought?'

    Thus, the FS is not compatible with interrogative constructions in which new information is requested (i.e. questions involving *wh*-extraction, *wh*-in-situ, or

yes/*no* question formation), but it is compatible with interrogative constructions in which the speaker requests clarification or expresses surprise (i.e. echo questions). The observations that I have made so far follow from Bošković's Freezing Effect: the FS is expected to be blocked in cases of "true" question formation (i.e. *wh*-extraction, *wh*-in-situ, and yes/no questions) because both focalization and question formation take place in the same sentence; however, the FS is not expected to be blocked in cases of echo questions because they do not involve any kind of operator movement (i.e. they are syntactically different from other interrogative forms).

At this point, it is important to clarify that the FS may focus only one *wh*-word, as in (281), or two adjacent *wh*-words, as in (279) above and (282) below. In fact, having the FS focusing one or more *wh*-words is in line with what I have shown for other declarative sentences: one or more constituents may be focused by the FS (contra Camacho, 2006):

(281) **A:** *¡Cómo te parece que los hijos de Alba aprendieron inglés en Kent!*

      'Did you know that Alba's children learned English in Kent?'

  B: *¿Cómo?... ¿aprendieron   ingles   **fue**   **dónde**?*

      what   learn.3PL.PRET English be.3SG.PRET where

      'What?... it was **where** that they learned English?'

(282) **A:** *Sí sabías que Miguel le dio un anillo a Isabel, ¿no?*

      'You knew that Miguel gave a ring to Isabel, did you not?'

B: *No… ¿Miguel   le dio   fue   **qué a quién**?*

no   Miguel   CL give.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET what   to who

'No… it was **what to whom** that Miguel gave?'

A: *¡Un anillo a Isabel!*

'A ring to Isabel!'

Hence, as I have illustrated throughout this section, the FS may focus echo questions, but not any other type of interrogative constructions (*wh*-questions, *wh*-in-situ, and yes/no questions). As I have argued here, this seems to follow from Bošković's Freezing Effect, as this would predict that either focalization or question formation may take place in the same sentence, but not both. In effect, based on the data that I have included here, when both the FS and an interrogative structure occur (*wh*-extraction, *wh*-in-situ, yes/no question), the sentence is rendered ungrammatical. However, when the FS occurs in an echo-question structure, the sentence becomes grammatical. Given that echo questions differentiate from other types of questions, in both their syntactic and semantic properties, it does not seem too surprising that they show different effects on the FS structure.

2.4.6. DP-internal focus elements

One final aspect that I will briefly discuss in this section is FS-focusing of DP-internal elements. As I pointed out in section 2.1.2, Sedano (1990) was the first to report a case of DP-internal FS-focus in her corpus of Caracas Spanish:

(283) ᵒᵏ *Me gusta   la   música es   **moderna***

     PRON   like.3SG.PRES   the music   be.3SG.PRES   modern

     'It is **modern** that I like music'

<div align="right">[Sedano 1990: 93]</div>

Although this particular sentence was evaluated as ungrammatical in the acceptability judgments that I conducted[76], I have found that there are similar sentences to (283) that were considered grammatical. For example, sentences (20) – (21) from section 2.1.2, repeated here as (284) – (285), received scores above 2.0 (2.6 and 2.2, respectively) in their acceptability judgment average scores:

(284) ᵒᵏ *En la   tienda venden   café   es   **molido***

     in   the store   sell.3PL.PRES coffee be.3SG.PRES   ground

     'It is **ground coffee** that they sell in the store'

(285) ᵒᵏ *En este almacén venden   ropa   es   **usada***

     in   this store   sell.3PL.PRES clothes   be.3SG.PRES   used

     'It is **used clothes** that they sell in this department store'

Although sentence (283) and sentences (284) – (285) are syntactically similar (the matrix verb is followed by a DP containing a copula complement), it is important to note that the FS-focused adjective in (283) is of a different class

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[76] The acceptability judgment average score for sentence (283) was 1.7.

than those in (284) – (285). That is, the adjective *moderna* ('modern') in (283) serves as an individual-level adjective (it characterizes an inherent property of the individual), whereas the adjectives *molido* ('ground') in (284) and *usada* ('used') in (285) serve as stage-level adjectives (they characterize a temporal condition of an entity).

This explains the asymmetry shown in (286) - (287) below: if the sentence has an FS-focused individual-level adjective, it is ungrammatical; but if it has an FS-focused stage-level adjective it becomes grammatical:

(286) *Julián trajo*   *el* *perro* *fue*   ***dálmata***

   Julián bring.3SG.PRET the dog be.3SG.PRET Dalmatian

   'It was **Dalmatian** that Julián brought the dog'

(287) ᵒᵏ*Julián trajo*   *el* *perro* *fue*   ***encadenado***

   Julián bring.3SG.PRET the dog be.3SG.PRET chained

   'It was **chained** that Julián brought the dog'

Following this line of thought, I find that not only stage-level adjectives may be FS-focused. In fact, as shown in (288) – (289), stage-level verbs, and not individual-level verbs, may be focused by the FS:

(288) *Laura prefirió*   *fue*   ***saber*** ***su*** ***nombre***

   Laura prefer.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET know.INF his name

   'It was **knowing his name** that Laura preferred to do'

(289) ᵒᵏ *Laura   prefirió   fue   **viajar   a Roma***

Laura   prefer.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET   travel.INF to Rome

'It was **travelling to Rome** that Laura preferred to do'

Hence, the FS structure may focus stage-level predicates, but not individual-level predicates. Having this in mind, and looking back at sentence (283), it is possible to argue that when an FS-focused predicate is ambiguously stage-level and individual-level, the acceptability of the sentence may fluctuate between grammatical and ungrammatical. So, in sentence (283) above, the adjective *moderna* ('modern') may entail the identity of the music that I like (individual-level), or the characteristic of the music that I like (stage-level). Given this, it is possible to predict that sentence (283) would remain ungrammatical if it entails the first reading, and it would become grammatical if it entails the second reading. As shown in (290) - (291), this prediction holds:

(290) * *Me gusta   la música es   **moderna** (no rock)*

PRON like.3SG.PRES the music   be.3SG.PRES modern   not rock

'It is **modern** (not rock) that I like music'

(291) ᵒᵏ *Me   gusta   la música es   **moderna** (no bailable)*

PRON like.3SG.PRES the music   be.3SG.PRES modern   not dancing

'It is **modern** (not for dancing) that I like music'

So far, the distinction between individual-level and stage-level FS-focused predicates poses an interesting explanation for the acceptability asymmetry shown in this section (and in section 2.1.2). However, this does not explain why the FS may "intervene" within DPs and not between other kinds of constituents (e.g. PPs, AdjPs, and AdvPs). In fact, following Cardinaletti and Guasti's (1995) account of copula complements, I claim that in the structures that I have exemplified until this point the DP is followed by a Small Clause (SC), and not by just a single adjectival modifier. Under this analysis, the DP is viewed as having moved to a topic position above FocP, and the SC as remaining inside vP. For example, in (292) below, the DP subject of the SC *el edificio* ('the building') moves to TopP and the only focused segment (the SC [t_j *torcido*] 'crooked') remains in-situ:

(292) **A:** *¿No habían hecho el edificio recto?*

　　　'Had they not made the building straight?'

　　B: [ok] *No,*[TP *hicieron*$_i$ [TOPP *el edificio*$_j$ [FOCP *fue* [$_v$P t_i t_i [SC t_j ***torcido***]]]]]

　　　no　　make.3PL.PRET　the building　　be.3SG.PRET　　　crooked

　　　'No, it was **crooked** that they built it'

Analyzing these cases in terms of focused Small Clauses nicely corresponds to my previous observation about the inability of the FS to focus individual-level predicates. Taking examples (290) – (291) once again, it is possible to see that both of these sentences would constitute an awkward reply to A's question in

(293), mainly because B is being asked to describe the type of music that he likes (rendering a stage-level reading), not to identify it (rendering an individual-level reading):

(293) **A:** *¿Cómo te gusta la música entonces?*

'What kind of music do you like?'

B: ^{ok}[TP *me gusta*_i [TOPP *la música*_j [FOCP *es* [_vP *t*_i *t*_j [SC ***moderna***]]]]]

CL   like.3SG.PRES   the music   be.3SG.PRES   modern

'It is **modern** that I like music'

In (293), *la música* ('the music') moves to TopP above the FS because it has been mentioned before (it is a topic). However, *moderna* ('modern') is the focus of the sentence and needs to stay in-situ to establish a focus relation with the FS. Thus, sentence (290) above becomes grammatical only when the question changes and the entire DP is FS-focused:

(294) **A:** *¿Qué te gusta?*

'What do you like?'

B: ^{ok}[TP *Me gusta*_i [FOCP *es* [_vP *t*_i *la música* [SC ***moderna***]]]]

CL   like.3SG.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   the music   modern

'It is **modern music** that I like'

For now, I will conclude that a Small Clause functioning as DP complement may be FS-focused only when it constitutes a stage-level predicate. However, if the SC entails an individual-level reading, then the FS must not focus it. In cases where the FS may focus the SC, the already-mentioned DP moves to the TopP above FocP and the SC receives focus from the FS.

Hence, as a new generalization, I will conclude here that the FS does not really intervene within the DP, as we would initially assume. This seems to be further supported by the fact that DP-internal elements that are not SCs must not be focused by the FS:

(295) *Ví   a   [DP *todos* (*fue*)   **los** (*fue*) ***grandes*** (*fue*) ***actores***]

    see.1SG.PRET to   all   be.3SG.PRES the   great   actors

    'It was **the/great/actors** that I saw all'

So, what is important to remember from this section is that cases such as (283) are not exactly cases of DP-internal focus. Instead, I have offered an explanation based on the idea that certain predicative relations may be better analyzed in terms of Small Clauses. As I have tried to show, SCs may be FS-focused *only* if they entail a stage-level reading, in which case the already-mentioned DP must move to a TopP above the FS.

In this entire section I have tried to illustrate some remaining syntactic phenomena which is not particularly central to my syntactic analysis of the FS,

but that still indicates some interesting issues regarding the way in which information is presented in discourse.

2.5. Conclusions

Throughout this chapter I have provided a comprehensive description of the FS structure in terms of the type of constituents that it may focus, its syntactic position as a TP-internal focus structure, and the morphology of FS *ser* in relation to other TP constituents. The main conclusion that I have drawn so far is that the FS may focus any constituent, as long as it is post-verbal. Thus, as I illustrated in section 2.1, the FS may focus post-verbal PPs, AdjPs, AdvPs, DPs, and CPs, which strongly suggests that the FS must be placed below T. Furthermore, given that the FS may focus constituents generated above *v*P (e.g. PerfPs and ProgrPs), I argue (contra Bosque (1999) and Camacho (2006)) that the FS must not be placed inside *v*P, but above it. Hence, the FS originates inside a FocP placed below T and above *v*P.

In terms of the morphology of FS *ser*, I have attempted to describe in full (for the first time) the agreement relation between FS *ser* and T, and between FS *ser* and the focused DP. In brief, my new generalization postulates that: a) FS *ser* must agree with the verb in T (the matrix verb or the auxiliary verb) in both tense and aspect; b) regardless of contrast, FS *ser* does not establish any kind of agreement with post-verbal IOs or DOs with DOM; c) FS *ser* establishes Person and number agreement with post-verbal subjects and number agreement with DOs without DOM, only in cases of contrastive focus; d) FS *ser* acquires default

morphology (3 PERSON, SINGULAR) when it fails to agree with the focused constituent.

Finally, towards the end of this chapter, I have discussed some interesting syntactic phenomena and its relation with the FS. First, in section 2.4.1, I described issues of word order in declarative sentences and I showed that verb-final word orders (S-O-V and O-S-V) render ungrammatical FS structures, precisely because the FS focuses pre-verbal elements. In section 2.4.2, I pointed out that the FS must occur adjacent to its focused element, and that when there is an intervening constituent, this does not render the sentence as ungrammatical, but as semantically inappropriate. In section 2.4.3, I touched upon various mechanisms to express topicalization and their relation to the FS. Based on the data presented, I argued that TP-internal or TP-external topicalization may occur alongside the FS, but that additional focalization is ruled out (possibly due to Bošković's Freezing Effect).

In section 2.4.4, I referred to passive voice and impersonal constructions and I showed that the FS may focus post-verbal elements in these types of sentences, just as it does in active voice structures. In section 2.4.5, I discussed aspects related to question formation, and I claimed that the FS may focus echo-questions but not any other type of interrogative constructions (i.e. *wh*-extracted elements, *wh*-in-situ, yes/no questions). Once again, similarly to cases of simultaneous focalization, this seems to correlate with Bošković's Freezing Effect. Finally, in section 2.4.6, I studied certain cases of DP-internal FS focus and I uncovered a new generalization according to which the FS may focus Small

Clauses that function as DP complements. In these cases, the DP moves to the TopP, above the FS, and the only focused element (the SC) remains within vP.

In the next chapter (Chapter 3), I will propose and argue for the syntactic analysis of the FS construction that makes these patterns possible. In light of previous studies on the FS, I will reiterate the theoretical and empirical advantages of analyzing the FS as a TP-internal Focus Phrase, placed below T and above vP. In addition, I will incorporate my new generalization on the morphology of FS *ser* in my syntactic analysis of the FS, and I will show that the operation Agree (Chomsky 2000; Chomsky 2001; Chomsky 2004) can account for the patterns that I have uncovered.

Chapter 3

FS in TP-internal FocP

Throughout this dissertation, I have examined many aspects of the syntax of the FS, and I have claimed that the FS should be analyzed as an independent syntactic structure that is not structurally related to pseudo-clefts. In Chapter 2, for example, I described in detail all the constituents that can be FS focused (cf. section 2.1). Based on these observations, I discussed the placement of the FS within the Tense Phrase (cf. section 2.2), and I concluded that the FS is in a FocP, placed below T and above *v*P. Looking at FS *ser* itself (cf. section 2.3), I also expanded on the agreement pattern shown between FS *ser* and the verb in T, and between FS *ser* and the focused constituent (i.e. post-verbal subjects and objects). Finally, I briefly commented on various syntactic phenomena and their relation to the FS (cf. section 2.4).

Taking all of these observations into account, this chapter aims to further develop my syntactic analysis of the FS, and to explain in more detail a) the syntactic structure of FS sentences and the FocP itself, and b) the agreement pattern shown in FS *ser*. This chapter will also allude to my assumption that FS *ser* serves as a connector between old and new information, and will lead to my claim that the FS *ser* should be viewed as a connector between focus and its background. Furthermore, this chapter will briefly discuss the contrastive and non-contrastive uses of the FS and its relation to syntactic movement.

This chapter is organized as follows: in section 3.1, I review the function of FS *ser* as a contextual bridge between old and new information. I include some examples and argue that FS *ser* should be analyzed as focus link, given that this illustrates more accurately its semantic function and syntactic structure. In section 3.2, I discuss in detail previous syntactic analyses of the FS and I focus on the particular conceptual and empirical problems that they face. In addition, I provide an extensive description of my own syntactic analysis of the FS and I conclude that the extended structure of the FS may include AuxP, a subsequent TopP above FocP, or a PerfP and a ProgrP below FocP. In terms of the FocP itself, I suggest that since the FS *ser* appears between focus and its background, it should be placed in [Spec, FocP], as the specifier of the FocP head (Foc).

In section 3.3, I review the morphology of FS *ser* (as described in Chapter 2), I refer to the mechanism of Agree, and I define my own theoretical assumptions regarding Agree and the FS. Also, I analyze the two agreement processes found in the FS through the mechanism of Agree. In section 3.4, I briefly review the contrastive and non-contrastive uses of the FS and I discuss the relation between contrastive FS and syntactic movement. Finally, in section 3.5, I summarize my findings, and I draw some conclusions regarding the syntactic structure of the FS.

3.1. FS *ser* as focus link

In Chapter 2 (section 2.4), I briefly mentioned that the FS (specifically, FS *ser*) is a focus intensifier, as it is only licensed to precede a focused phrase, and that it serves as a "link" between old and new information. Before moving on to

my syntactic analysis of the FS, it is important to develop in more detail the idea that FS *ser* functions as focus link.

As I have shown in previous chapters, FS *ser* serves not only to introduce a new piece of information in discourse (focus), but also to relate it to previous, already-mentioned information (topic). In this sense, the FS is not itself part of the new or old information, but it is simply produced to associate topic and focus. As pointed out by Kitagawa (personal communication), FS *ser* always appears between focus and its background within the FS construction. In this sense, the FS is always dependent on preceding discourse and/or pragmatic context. In (1), for example, the focused constituent introduced by the FS (*a mi oficina* 'to my office') is understood as new information given that is the only piece of information that is not mentioned in the question uttered by speaker A[77]:

(1) **Context**: A and B work at the same place and A is B's secretary. B comes in one morning and steps into one of his co-worker's office, Dr. Muñoz' office, thinking that he is going into his own office:

A: *Dr. Romero, ¿sí sabe que entró a la oficina del Dr. Muñoz?*

Dr. Romero, do you know that you entered Dr. Muñoz' office?

B: ᵒᵏ *Ah…Pensé   que había   entrado era   a mi oficina*

oh think.1SG.PRET that have.3SG.IMP entered be.3SG.PRET to my office

'Oh, I thought that it <u>was</u> **my office** that I had gone into'

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[77] As brought up to my attention by Yoshihisa Kitagawa (personal communication), there is no need for an utterance to prompt the use of the FS. For example, in (1), A does not need to utter a particular sentence: A may choose to chase B and look very surprised, which would show that something is wrong. Thus, the FS may depend on pragmatic context, as well as discourse context.

In fact, when an FS sentence similar to that in (1) is used in an "out-of-the-blue" context, it becomes semantically inappropriate. The FS sentence uttered by B in (2), for example, does not constitute an adequate reply to A's comment, as it does not follow from the discourse context and A's question:

(2) **Context**: B steps into A's office. A and B do not know each other and have never talked to each other before. A notices that B enters into Dr. Muñoz' office without permission:

A: *Disculpe señor, pero ¿qué se le ofrece?*

Excuse me sir, but what do you want?

B: # *Perdón... entré* <u>*fue*</u> ***al cuarto equivocado***

sorry   enter.1SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   to-the   room   wrong

'Sorry...it <u>was</u> **the wrong room** that I entered'

As shown in examples (1) – (2), the use of FS *ser* is extremely context dependent, and it functions as a connector between new information and its background. In the case of (1), the FS provides a bridge between A's comment and the introduction of the new string of information (*a mi oficina* 'into my office'). In (2), on the other hand, this bridge cannot be established between the precedent context (A's comment) and the new information (*al cuarto equivocado* 'into the wrong room'), given that there is no contextual relation between A and B's utterances.

Viewing the FS as focus link is not surprising, considering that it creates a bridge between previous context and new information. Furthermore, as I have observed in Chapter 1 (section 1.3.1), the FS (FS *ser*, in particular) has lost its semantic meaning as a copula or an auxiliary verb. In fact, I have claimed that FS *ser* should not be analyzed as a verb anymore, given that it does not hold any of its original predicative properties (i.e. as a copula or auxiliary verb).

Hence, FS *ser* does not show any particular semantic meaning as a verb, although it still maintains verb morphology. Instead, it seems to fulfill the discourse/pragmatic function of introducing (and emphasizing) focus and linking it to what has already been mentioned.

Thus, a sentence such as (3) can be envisioned as in (4), where the FS connects the old segment in discourse (X) with the new segment (Y):

(3) **A:** *¿No estaban ellos en Barcelona?*

　　 Were they not in Barcelona?

　B: *No,　ellos　estaban　　era　　　　en Bruselas*

　　　 no 　they 　be.3PL.IMP 　be.3SG.IMP 　in 　Brussels

　　　 'No, it <u>was</u> **in Brussels** that they were'

(4) **A:** *X̲ in Z*

　B: *No,　X̲* *in Y*

Moving a step further, Kitagawa (personal communication) suggests that FS *ser* may be directly associated with the focused element in terms of interpretation

while it undergoes agreement on its own with a functional head. Based on the idea that expletives are associated with a post-verbal CP and involve φ agreement with T (and V)[78], Kitagawa has pointed out to me that FS *ser* might be similar to an expletive. In this sense, FS *ser* would still be generated as the specifier of the FocP, would be anaphorically related to the FS-focused element, and would establish φ-feature agreement with the head of FocP (Foc). Thus, viewing FS *ser* as a kind of expletive would provide a more concrete way to analyze the relation between FS *ser* and the focused constituent, and it would justify my observation that FS *ser* links focus with its background. Although this is a very appealing avenue for my analysis[79], I will not pursue this issue further in this dissertation, given that I do not have enough empirical evidence to make such a claim. It will remain for future research to explore this idea in order to find concrete syntactic and semantic connections between FS *ser* and expletives.

For now, I conclude this section by suggesting that the FS (specifically FS *ser*) constitutes a focus link, as it allows new information to relate to previous discourse, pragmatic context, and/or old information. As I will illustrate in the next sections, understanding the FS as focus link nicely correlates with its syntactic function within the Focus Phrase: FS *ser*, more specifically, will be analyzed as the specifier of the FocP, rather than its head.

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[78] As shown in (i) below, the English expletive *it* agrees in person and number with the verb in T. Furthermore, *it* is interpreted as the post-verbal CP, as shown in (ii):

   (i)   *It*.3SG [T *bothers*.3SG] *me* [CP *that he did not call*]
   (ii)   [CP *That he did not call*] *bothers me* → ***It** bothers me*

[79] I am very grateful to Yoshihisa Kitagawa for his insightful comments regarding this issue, and for suggesting me to look into expletives as a way to explain the relation between FS *ser* and the focused constituent.

3.2. The syntactic position of the FS

From Chapter 1 (see section 1.4), I compared the FS structure with the pseudo-cleft, and I have argued that these two forms should not be analyzed as sharing the same syntactic structure. As I suggested in Chapter 2 (section 2.2), the FS needs to be analyzed as a TP-internal focus structure, generated below T and above vP.

This section is comprised of two subsections: in the first one, I discuss previous syntactic analyses of the FS, and in the second one, I explain my own syntactic proposal. In terms of previous syntactic analyses of the FS, I will summarize (in section 3.2.1) two main approaches regarding the syntactic position of the FS: in one of them (see section 3.2.1.1), the FS generates as a CP-internal Copula Phrase, and is derived through a series of remnant movements; in another (see section 3.2.1.2), the FS generates inside vP as a Copulative Phrase, or inside VP as a Focus Phrase. Finally, in section 3.2.2, I examine the FS as a TP-internal Focus Phrase, following previous claims according to which there are various functional projections inside TP (Horvath 1986; Cinque 1999; Belletti 2004; Rizzi 2004; Hsu 2008).

3.2.1. <u>Previous analyses</u>

Although the use of the FS in Spanish has been reported in a number of studies (Albor 1986; Sedano 1988; Sedano 1990; Toribio 1992; Sedano 1994; Sedano 1995; Bosque 1999; Toribio 2002; Curnow and Travis 2003; Sedano 2003a; Sedano 2003b; Camacho 2006), only a few scholars have offered a

syntactic analysis of the form (Bosque 1999; Toribio 2002; Camacho 2006; Kato 2009).

In Chapter 1, section 1.4.2, I summarized Toribio's (1992, 2002) syntactic proposal for the FS, and I pointed out that it does not capture the real nature of this form. According to Toribio (1992, 2002), the FS shares the same syntactic structure of the pseudo-cleft, except that it lacks all CP elements (relative pronoun and complementizer). As I have pointed out in Chapters 1 and 2, there is compelling empirical evidence to reject this type of analysis and to support the idea that the FS is a syntactic structure distinct from a pseudo-cleft construction.

In Chapter 2, section 2.2, I briefly discussed Bosque's (1999) and Camacho's (2006) syntactic approaches to the FS, and I claimed that although they provide a more coherent view of the FS as an independent syntactic structure, they both failed to satisfactorily account for certain FS-focused elements (e.g. PerfPs, ProgrPs, etc.). Furthermore, in section 2.4.3, I mentioned Kato's (2009) remnant movement analysis for the FS, and I hinted that it does not hold in some cases of in-situ topicalization following FS-contrasted elements.

In order to review these last three syntactic approaches to the FS, I will first address Bosque's (1999) and Camacho's (2006) analyses in section 3.2.1.1, and then I will move on to Kato's (2009) remnant movement analysis in section 3.2.1.2.

3.2.1.1. *FS in vP (VP)*

In Chapter 2, section 2.2, I briefly discussed two syntactic approaches to the FS: in one, it is viewed as the head of a Focus Phrase generated

221

inside VP (Bosque, 1999); and in the other, it is studied as the head of a Copula Phrase generated inside *v*P (Camacho, 2006). In this section, I will review these two proposals in more detail and I will show that both of them present some theoretical and empirical problems.

First, Bosque analyzed the FS as a Focus Phrase contained within VP, where FS *ser* is the head of the focus projection, and its role is "[…] *analogous to the role of intonation as a focus marker in standard Spanish or in English*" (Bosque, 1999: 4). Bosque suggests, in other words, that an FS sentence such as (5) should be derived as in (6), which would correspond to the standard Spanish sentence in (7) and to its English equivalent in (8):

(5) *Margarita coleccionaba* <u>*era*</u> **postales**

     Margarita   collect.3SG.IMP be.3SG.IMP postcards

     'It <u>was</u> **postcards** that Margarita used to collect'

(6) [IP *Margarita*i [VP ti [V *coleccionaba* [FP [[F° <u>*era*</u>] **postales**]]]]

(7) *Margarita coleccionaba* [FP **POSTALES**]

(8) *Margarita used to collect **POSTCARDS***

Notice that Bosque's analysis of Spanish sentence structure differs from more current syntactic approaches (Mejías-Bikandi 1992; Chomsky 1995; Olarrea 1996; Zagona 2002; Ortega-Santos 2006; Ordóñez 2007) in that the verb and its arguments are assumed to be in VP and not in *v*P. In this sense, Bosque's proposal of having the FS originating in a Focus Phrase inside VP cannot account

for FS-focused post-verbal subjects, which I assume to be in [Spec, vP] following previous accounts (Mejías-Bikandi 1992; Olarrea 1996; Zagona 2002; Ortega-Santos 2006; Ordóñez 2007). For example, a sentence such as (9) would be derived under Bosque's analysis as in (10), where the subject is left in a much higher position than the FS and the outcome does not correspond to the original sentence in (9):

(9) *Llegó* <u>*fue*</u> **Ignacio**

arrive.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET Ignacio

'It <u>was</u> **Ignacio** who arrived'

(10) [$_{IP}$ *Llegó*$_i$ [**Ignacio** $_{vP}$ [$_V$ t$_i$ [$_{FP}$ [$_{F°}$ <u>*fue*</u>]]]]]

Furthermore, having the FS in a Focus Phrase inside VP also fails to account for FS-focused PerfPs and ProgrPs, as I assume (following Zagona, 2002) that PerfPs and ProgrPs are placed above vP. Again, following Bosque's analysis, it becomes clear that the FS-focused PerfP (11) and the ProgrP (13) would be placed in a much higher position than the FS, thus rendering the wrong outcome:

(11) **A:** *¿No había salido ya Ignacio?*

Had not Ignacio left already?'

B: *No, había* <u>*era*</u> **llegado**

no have.3SG.IMP be.3SG.IMP arrive.PERF

'It <u>was</u> **arriving** that he had done'

223

(12) [$_{IP}$ *Había* [$_{PERFP}$ **llegado**$_i$ [$_{vP}$ t$_i$ [$_{FP}$ [$_{F°}$ <u>*era*</u>]]]]]

(13) **A:** *¿No había estado corriendo Ignacio?*

Had not Ignacio been running?'

B: *No, había   estado   <u>era</u>   **caminando***

no have.3SG.IMP be.PERF be.3SG.IMP walk.PROGR

'It <u>was</u> **walking** that he had been doing'

(14) [$_{IP}$ *Había* [$_{AUXP}$ *estado* [$_{PERFP}$ **caminando**$_i$ [$_{vP}$ t$_i$ [$_{FP}$ [$_{F°}$ <u>*era*</u>]]]]]

As shown, although Bosque's analysis captures the focalizing nature of the FS by placing it in a Focus Phrase, it fails to account for FS-focused elements that are not within VP (e.g. post-verbal subjects, PerfPs, and ProgrPs).

Moving on to Camacho's (2006) proposal, there is also a tendency to view the FS as a phrase generated within VP. In his analysis, FS *ser* "[...] *has the same minimal structural and argumental properties as other copular verbs: a subject and a predicate*" (Camacho, 2006: 18). Thus, Camacho claims that FS *ser* is structured as in (15), where there is an XPSUBJECT in [Spec, IP] and a YPPREDICATE as complement of I':

(15)

```
            IP
           /  \
     XPSUBJ    I'
              /  \
             I    YPPRED
```
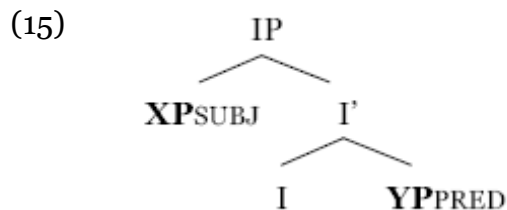
[Camacho, 2006: 18]

Given this, Camacho argues that in the FS structure there is a Copula Phrase (CopP), adjunct to VP, which "[...] *is an equative structure, whose subject is null and whose predicate is the focused DP. The argument of the main verb is null, and it is coindexed with the null subject of the copular verb*" (Camacho, 2006: 18). In this sense, and as I mentioned in Chapter 2 (section 2.2), a sentence such as (16) is derived in Camacho's analysis as shown in (17):

(16) *Los   pájaros se comieron   fue   **las   migas***

    the   birds   CL eat.3PL.PRET be.3SG.PRET the   crumbs

    'It was **the crumbs** that the birds ate'

(17)
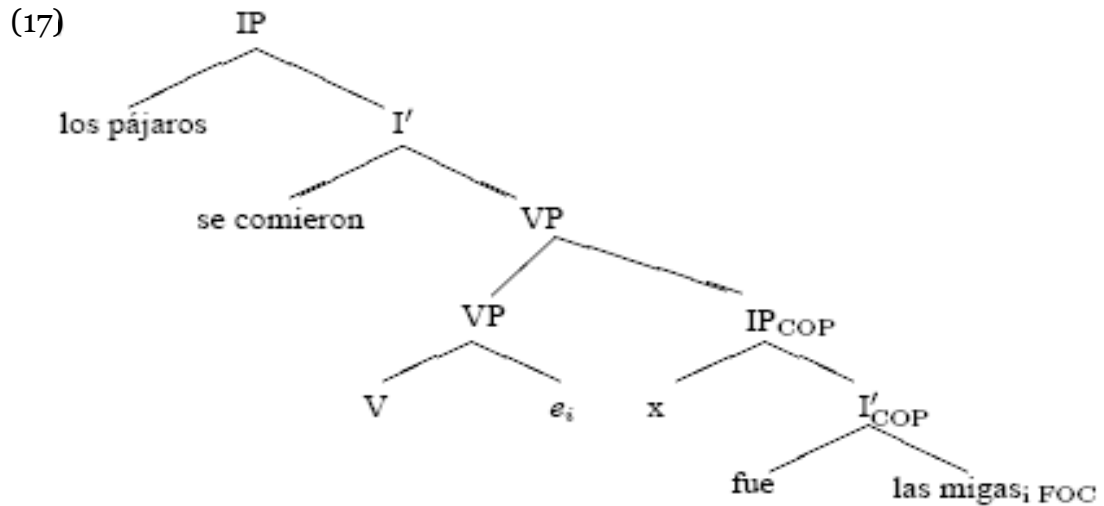
[Camacho, 2006: 19]

For Camacho, a sentence such as (16) entails a presupposition (birds ate x) that contains a variable x in place of the focused constituent, and an equative structure in which the variable x is identified (x = crumbs):

(18) a. *The birds ate <u>was</u> **crumbs***

   b. The birds ate x & the x that the birds ate = crumbs

Thus, the semantic structure in (18b) correlates with the syntactic structure illustrated in (17) given that the higher part of the tree (from IP to VP) denotes the presupposed clause (the birds ate x), and the adjoined structure (IPCOP) denotes the equative clause (x = crumbs).

Although the structure in (17) appropriately matches the semantic structure in (18b), it may not capture the true syntactic and semantic nature of the FS. First, as I have indicated in Chapter 1 (section 1.3), FS *ser* does not act as a copula verb, but as a focus intensifier, given that it does not share the same properties of other copula verbs and it can focus copula complements. Second, the semantic structure ((18b)), derived from the syntactic structure in (17), implies that the focused constituent only receives a contrastive reading. However, as I have mentioned in previous chapters, my data show that the FS may render both contrastive and non-contrastive readings.

Leaving this matter aside for a moment, Camacho also claims that the syntactic structure in (17) also makes the prediction that when the focused constituent is a quantifier, only narrow scope can be obtained: "[…] *it should not take scope over any argument in the main clause, since it is not only structurally lower, but also inside an adjoined constituent*" (Camacho, 2006: 19). Hence, although a standard sentence such as (19a) may show both narrow

scope (19b) and wide scope (19c), an FS sentence such as (20a) can only show

narrow scope (20b):

  (19) a. *Un niño se comió   cada manzana*

          a   boy CL eat.3SG.PRET each apple

          'Each boy ate an apple'

      b. A single boy ate each of the apples ($\exists > \forall$)

      c. For each apple there was a different boy that ate ($\forall > \exists$)

  (20) a. *Un niño se comió   <u>fue</u>   **cada manzana***

          a   boy CL eat.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET each apple

          'It was each apple that a boy ate'

      b. A single boy ate each of the apples ($\exists > \forall$)

                                [Camacho, 2006: 19]

However, Camacho's prediction according to which a sentence such as (20) only renders a narrow scope reading is not entirely correct. Based on judgments provided by Colombian speakers (as well as my own judgment), an FS sentence such (21) may be used in contexts where both narrow and wide scopes are obtained. In (22a), for example, sentence (21) only renders a narrow scope reading (22b), but in (23a), sentence (21) renders both narrow scope (23b), and wide scope readings (23c):

(21) *Un policía   capturó   <u>fue</u>   **a cada ladrón**

     a   policeman capture.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET to each   thief

     'It <u>was</u> **each thief** that a policeman captured'

(22) a. **A:** *Pensé que un policía capturó a cada indigente*

       'I thought that a policeman captured each beggar'

    B: No, *un policía capturó <u>fue</u> **a cada ladrón***

    'No, it <u>was</u> **each thief** that a single policeman captured'

                                      (narrow scope)

    b. Narrow Scope:
                             Thief$_1$

              Policeman$_1$ ⟵→ Thief$_2$
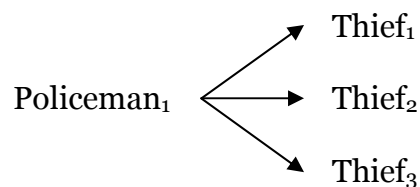
                             Thief$_3$

(23) a. **A:** *¿Qué pasó?*

    'What happened?'

    B: Que *un policía capturó <u>fue</u> **a cada ladrón***

    'That it <u>was</u> **each thief** that a single policeman captured'

                                        (narrow scope)

    'That it <u>was</u> **each thief** that each policeman captured'

                                        (wide scope)

    b. Narrow Scope:
                             Thief$_1$

              Policeman$_1$ ⟵→ Thief$_2$
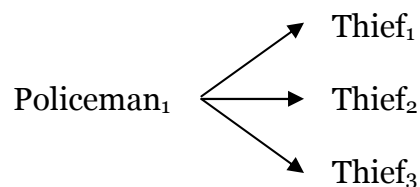
                             Thief$_3$

c. Wide Scope: $Policeman_1 \longrightarrow Thief_1$

                       $Policeman_2 \longrightarrow Thief_2$

                       $Policeman_3 \longrightarrow Thief_3$

Thus, by analyzing the scope facts related to contrastive and non-contrastive FS, I have discovered that when the FS-focused constituent is a quantifier, both narrow and wide scopes may be rendered: in cases of contrastive FS (22a) only the narrow scope reading is available, and in cases of non-contrastive FS (23a), both narrow and wide scope readings are possible. This new generalization shows that Camacho's syntactic structure (in (17)) may not be making the correct predictions not only in terms of quantifier scope, but also regarding the contrastive and non-contrastive nature of the FS: for Camacho, the FS is only used in contrastive contexts (i.e. identificational focus[80]) and, as I have argued since Chapter 1, the FS may be both contrastive and non-contrastive.

Another crucial assumption made by Camacho is that the FS always affects "*a single, domain-final constituent in the relevant domain (typically the clause)*" (Camacho, 2006: 20). Thus, as I mentioned in Chapter 2 (section 2.2), a sentence such as (24) is grammatical for Camacho, whereas sentences (25) – (27) are not:

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[80] Camacho follows Kiss' (1998) proposal according to which focus may be *identificational focus* and *information focus*. For Kiss, the former represents "*a subset of the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold; it is identified as the exhaustive subset of this set for which the predicate phrase actually holds*" (Kiss, 1998: 245). The latter, on the other hand, consists of "*new, nonpresupposed information marked by one or more pitch accents –without expressing exhaustive identification performed on a set of contextually or situationally given entities [...]*" (Kiss, 1998: 246). Kiss' *identificational focus* is sometimes understood as *contrastive focus*, whereas her *information focus* is often viewed as *presentational focus* (Kiss, 1998: 245).

(24) ᵒᵏ *Marta   le   compró   pan   fue*   [VP **a** { **su   abuela** }]

Marta   CL buy.3SG.PRET bread be.3SG.PRET to her grandmother

'It was **for her grandmother** that Marta bought bread'

(25) * *Marta   le   compró   fue*   [VP { **pan** } *a   su   abuela*]

Marta   CL buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET bread to her grandmother

'It was **bread** that Marta bought for her grandmother'

(26) * *Marta   le   compró   fue*   [VP *pan*   **a** { **su   abuela** }]

Marta   CL buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET bread to her grandmother

'It was **for her grandmother** that Marta bought bread'

(27) * *Marta   le   compró   fue*   [VP { **pan   a   su   abuela** }]

Marta   CL buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET bread to her grandmother

'It was **bread for her grandmother** that Marta bought'

[Camacho, 2006: 20]

Camacho explains that the FS may only focus a single constituent given that "*any constituent that appears to the right of the copular verb must be interpreted as part of the identificational predicate of that verb, hence its argument position must be a variable*" (Camacho, 2006: 20). Thus, in sentences (25) – (27) above, the null subject of the equative clause (the variable *x*) must identify both of the variables in argument position (e_c: *pan* 'bread' and e_m: *abuela* 'grandmother'), and also be identified through the predicate of the copular verb. So, "*since the antecedents (e_c, e_m) do not form a single constituent, presumably,*

the null subject of the copular verb cannot identify the arguments of the main verb" (Camacho, 2006: 20).

In addition, for Camacho the FS-focused constituent must be domain-final because it must receive the intonational peak of the clause, which in Spanish has been previously assumed to fall on the lowest c-commanded argument, typically at the right edge of the sentence (Fant 1984; Zubizarreta 1998; Face 2002). Sentence (28), for example, is ungrammatical for Camacho because the focused constituent is not aligned with the intonation peak of the clause:

(28) * *Le regalaron*   *fue*   **una camiseta** *a Marta*

       CL give.3PL.PRET be.3SG.PRET a   T-shirt   to Marta

       'It <u>was</u> **a T-shirt** that they gave to Marta'

                              [Camacho, 2006: 21]

Although Camacho's generalization regarding single, domain-final FS-focused constituents nicely agrees with the idea that focus aligns with the nuclear peak of the sentence, it runs into serious empirical problems. As I have illustrated in Chapters 1 and 2, sentences such as (25), (27), and (28) are perfectly acceptable in Colombian Spanish, either when two constituents are being focused (as in (27)), or when only one of the two constituents is focused (as in (25) and (28)). Also, as I explained in Chapter 2 (section 2.2), the ungrammaticality of a sentence such as (26) is not due to having two constituents in the focus

projection, but to having a topic element (*pan* 'bread') intervening between the FS and the focused element (*su abuela* 'her grandmother')[81].

Arguing for single, domain-final FS-focused constituents allows Camacho to establish a correlation not only with the theory of nuclear peak alignment, but also with his observation that the FS entails exhaustivity. Following tests presented in Kiss (1988: 250), Camacho shows that the FS is exhaustive given that a sentence containing a conjoined, focused constituent (29) is contradicted by the same sentence with only one of the focused conjuncts (30):

(29) *Compraron   un carro híbrido <u>fueron</u>   {**Marta y   Miguel**}*

        buy.3PL.PRET a   car   hybrid be.3PL.PRET   Marta   and Miguel

        'It <u>was</u> **Marta and Miguel** who bought a hybrid car'

(30) *Compró   un carro híbrido <u>fue</u>   {**Marta**}*

        buy.3SG.PRET a   car   hybrid be.3SG.PRET   Marta

        'It <u>was</u> **Marta** who bought a hybrid car'

<div align="right">[Camacho, 2006: 22]</div>

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[81] According to Camacho's example (24), the DO *pan* ('bread') is not FS-focused. As I have explained in previous chapters, a sentence such as (24) can be acceptable *only* if the DO is focus and not topic, as shown in (i)-(iii) below:

(i)   ^{ok} *Marta le compró   <u>fue</u>   **pan a su   abuela***
            Marta CL buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET   bread to her grandmother
            'It <u>was</u> **bread to her grandmother** that Marta bought'

(ii) ^{ok} *Marta le compró   <u>fue</u>   **pan** a su   abuela*
            Marta CL buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET   bread to her grandmother
            'It <u>was</u> **bread** that Marta bought for her grandmother'

(iii) * *Marta le compró   <u>fue</u>   pan **a su abuela***
            Marta CL buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET   bread to her grandmother
            'It <u>was</u> **to her grandmother** that Marta bought bread'

Also, when an FS sentence can be followed by a clause that denies previous content, then the FS clause involves exhaustive focus:

(31) **A:** *Miguel   perdió   <u>fue</u>   un {anillo}*

    Miguel   lose.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   a   ring

    'It <u>was</u> **a ring** that Miguel lost'

    B: ^{ok} *No, Miguel también perdió   un arete*

    no   Miguel also   lose.3SG.PRET an earring

    'No, Miguel also lost an earring'

<div align="right">[Camacho, 2006: 22]</div>

As I have illustrated in previous chapters, FS sentences may present exhaustive focus as claimed by Camacho. However, I have also shown that FS sentences not always exhaust a set of alternatives. Thus, A's FS-sentence in (32) does not necessarily contradict B's FS-sentence, which indicates that the FS-focused constituent should not be viewed exclusively as exhaustive (or contrastive in my terminology):

(32) **A:** *¿Qué toca comprar?*

    What should we buy?

    B: *Toca   comprar   <u>es</u>   arroz y   carne*

    ought.3SG.PRET buy.INF   be.3SG.PRET   rice   and meat

    'It <u>is</u> **rice and meat** that we ought to buy'

<div align="center">233</div>

A: *Ya   veo.   Entonces toca   comprar <u>es</u>   **arroz***

now   I-see   then   ought.3SG.PRET buy.INF   be.3SG.PRET   rice

'I see. So, it <u>is</u> **rice** that we ought to buy'

Furthermore, in a dialogue such as (34), the sentence uttered by A is not felicitously followed by the sentence uttered by B. This shows that B cannot deny what A has previously said, which suggests that the FS sentence is not exhaustive (or non-contrastive in my terminology):

(33) **A:** *Julián   está   <u>es</u>   **loco***

Julián   be.3SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES crazy

'It <u>is</u> **crazy** that Julián is'

B: *#No, Julián   también está   borracho*

no   Julián   also   be.3SG.PRES   drunk

'No, Julián is also drunk'

Thus, contrary to what Camacho claims, I argue that FS focus is not exclusively exhaustive. I have argued in Chapters 1 and 2 that FS focus may be both contrastive and non-contrastive: in contrastive contexts, the focused constituent is selected from a set of alternatives and confronted with them; in non-contrastive contexts, the focused constituent is simply the new piece of information. In fact, as previously noted by Curnow and Travis (2003), the FS may be used contrastively (in the sense of Kiss' identificational focus), and also

234

non-contrastively (in the sense of Kiss' informational focus). In the latter case, these authors claim that in non-contrastive cases the FS is used to convey new information (Curnow and Travis, 2003: 8).

To summarize my observations regarding Camacho's proposal, I find that his analysis presents both theoretical and empirical downfalls[82]. First, he claims that FS *ser* is a copula verb, and as such it is generated inside a CopP. However, as I have illustrated in Chapter 1, FS ser should not be treated as a copula verb because: a) it does not show the same properties of other copula verbs (*ser* and *estar*), and b) it may precede copula complements. Second, Camacho argues that his syntactic structure (in (17)) makes correct predictions regarding quantifier scope, single domain-final focused constituents, and exhaustivity. On the contrary, I have found that: a) FS-focused quantifiers may render both narrow and wide scopes; b) the FS may focus more than one constituent, and the FS-focused constituent does not necessarily need to be domain-final; and c) FS-focused constituents are not produced exclusively in exhaustive contexts, which indicates that the FS may entail both contrastive and non-contrastive focus.

Finally, as I claimed at the beginning of this section, Bosque's and Camacho's syntactic proposals for the FS may present certain theoretical and empirical issues. Although the two proposals examine the nature of the FS in very different ways (Bosque views it as a FocP and Camacho as a CopP), they both predict that the FS only focuses VP-internal constituents. However, as I have argued since

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[82] Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (personal communication) points out that what I refer to as "empirical downfalls" should be attributed to a dialectal difference between Colombian Spanish and the FS dialect studied by Camacho.

Chapter 1, the FS may also focus elements that are placed above *v*P, such as PerfPs and ProgrPs, which suggests that neither Bosque nor Camacho have successfully captured the syntactic structure of the FS.

3.2.1.2. *FS in CP: remnant movement*

Kato (2009), based on her analysis of the FS in Brazilian Portuguese (Kato 2008), claims that FS structures are derived from a series of remnant movements, and that the FS is generated inside a Copula Phrase placed in CP. Although Kato does not provide a theoretical motivation for the occurrence of such Copula Phrase in CP, she argues that having the copula *ser* ('to be') in the numeration allows contrastive focus readings.

Thus, a sentence such as (34) is derived by Kato through a series of steps (Phases), as shown in (35): a. a Functional (Focus) Phrase merges above IP; b. *v*P moves to [Spec, FP] through *v*P remnant movement; c. the Copula merges, first projecting VP and then moving to the root clause; d. IP moves to [Spec, TopP] through IP remnant movement, where it is interpreted as the sentence presupposition:

(34) *Juan compró   fue   **uvas***

      Juan buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET   grapes

      'It was **grapes** that Juan bought'

(35) a. [FP F [IP *Juan* [I' *compró* [vP tv **uvas**]]]]

b. [FP [vP tv **uvas**] [F F [IP *Juan* [I' *compró* [vP tvP]]]]]

c. [IP *fue* [VP tcop [FP [vP tv **uvas**] [F F [IP *Juan* [I' *compró* [vP tvP]]]]]]]

d. [TopP [IP *Juan* [I' *compró* [vP tvP]]] [TopP' Top [IP *fue* [VP tcop [FP [vP tv

uvas] [F F [IP tIP]]]]]]]

According to Kato, this type of analysis predicts not only the grammaticality of FS-focused post-verbal elements, but also the semantic properties reflected on FS structures. Thus, a sentence such as (34) above can be mapped out in terms of presupposition and focus, as illustrated in (36):

(36)   *Juan compró*   *fue*   **uvas**

          Presupposition   copula   Focus

Furthermore, Kato claims that her analysis can account for FS-focused DPs, PPs, CPs, VP-adverbs, and post-verbal subjects. In fact, in cases of FS-focused post-verbal subjects preceded by DPs, as in (37), Kato argues that there may be a TP-internal TopP hosting moved elements, as shown in (38):

(37) **A:** *Pensé que Julián había sacado la basura*

'I thought that Julián had taken the garbage out'

B: *No, sacó*   LA   BASURA   *fue*   **María**

no   take-out.3SG.PRET the garbage   be.3SG.PRET María

'No, it <u>was</u> **María** who took THE GARBAGE out'

(38) a. [FP F [IP [I' *sacó* [TopP *LA BASURA* [**María** [vP tv tDP]]]]]

b. [FP [**María** [vP tv tDP]] [IP [I' *sacó* [TopP *LA BASURA* [vP tvP]]]]]

c. [IP *fue* [FP [**María** [vP tv tDP]] [IP [I' *sacó* [TopP *LA BASURA* [vP tvP]]]]]

d. [TopP [IP [I' *sacó* [TopP *LA BASURA* [vP tvP]]]] [IP *fue* [FP [**María** [vP tv tDP] [F F [IP tIP]]]]]]

As illustrated in (38), the DP *la basura* ('the garbage') has moved from *v*P to a TopP located between TP and *v*P. Having this constituent moved to this position allows the FS to focus only the new information item *María*. This seems to render grammatical outcomes in other cases where the topicalized element is an adjunct, as in (39) where the adverb *ayer* ('yesterday') intervenes between the main verb and the focused element. Notice that, similarly to the derivation in (38), the derivation in (40) includes a TP-internal TopP where the adverb needs to be placed:

238

(39) **A:** *¿Sandro no había comprado la cama ayer a precio normal?*

Had Sandro not bought the bed on regular price yesterday?

B: *No, la compró   AYER   fue   en descuento*

no CL buy.3SG.PRET yesterday be.3SG.PRET in discount

'No, it <u>was</u> **on reduced price** that he bought it YESTERDAY'

(40) a. [_{FP} F [_{IP} [_{I'} *la compró* [_{TopP} *AYER* [*en descuento* [_{vP} t_V t_{DP}]]]]]]

b. [_{FP} [*en descuento* [_{vP} t_V t_{DP}]] [_{IP} [_{I'} *la compró* [_{TopP} *AYER* [_{vP} t_{vP}]]]]]

c. [_{IP} *fue* [_{FP} [*en descuento* [_{vP} t_V t_{DP}]] [_{IP} [_{I'} *la compró* [_{TopP} *AYER* [_{vP}

t_{vP}]]]]]

d. [_{TopP} [_{IP}[_{I'} *la compró* [_{TopP} *AYER* [_{vP} t_{vP}]]]] [_{IP} *fue* [_{FP} [*en descuento*

[_{vP} t_V t_{DP}] [_F F [_{IP} t_{IP}]]]]]]

Although Kato's analysis seems compelling at first, it runs into theoretical and empirical problems. First, having the FS generated inside a Copula Phrase would imply that FS *ser* is a copula verb, but as I have pointed out in Chapter 1 (section 1.3), FS ser does not act as a copula or as an auxiliary verb. Second, the inclusion of a Copula Phrase above FP in CP appears to be mysterious and theoretically unfounded. Kato claims that the FS has a copula in the numeration (along with a functional focus head F) to allow contrastive focus readings. However, as I have shown in Chapters 1 and 2, the FS may also render non-contrastive focus, which would possibly imply that in non-contrastive cases the

Copula Phrase is not needed in the numeration. This would create a theoretical

and empirical problem given that the Copula Phrase would be expected to occur

only in cases of contrastive FS, which has no particular syntactic motivation and

does not agree with what my data have indicated so far (that the FS precedes both

contrasted and non-contrasted focused elements).

Third, in Kato's analysis FS *ser* is inserted in a Copula Phrase preceding a

Focus Phrase, which implies that there is not an actual connection between the

FS and focus. In this sense, Kato's inclusion of the Copula Phrase in CP seems to

be ad hoc to allow remnant movement, and does not have any apparent

theoretical motivations. Kato (personal communication), on the other hand,

considers that the only advantage that a remnant movement analysis has over a

TP-internal focus analysis is that it avoids violating the Head Movement

Constraint (HMC), according to which a head may not skip a governing head

position (Travis 1984). However, as I will show in section 3.2.2, my analysis of

the FS as focus link, base-generated in [Spec, FocP], does not interrupt verb

movement from v to T, thus not incurring in a violation of the HMC.

Fourth, although Kato's analysis correctly predicts that the FS may be

preceded by topicalized constituents, it fails to account for cases when the FS is

followed by old-information elements. So, in examples (37) and (39), where a DP

(*la basura* 'the garbage') and an adverb (*ayer* 'yesterday') have already been

mentioned in previous discourse, Kato suggests that they are moved from vP to a

TP-internal TopP (above the FS). However, as I mentioned in Chapter 2 (section

2.4.3), the FS may precede topic constituents that have remained in-situ. Recall

examples (242) – (246) from Chapter 2, here repeated as (41) – (45), where the

FS-focused element is followed by a topicalized adverb, IO, DO, PP, and CP,

respectively:

(41) **A:** *Supe que te llegaron los tiquetes ayer*

    'I heard that you received the tickets yesterday'

  B: [ok] *No,* [TP *me llegó*ᵢ [FOCP *fue* [*ᵥ*P ***EL RECIBO***ₖ [*ᵥ*P *t*ᵢ *t*ₖ <u>*ayer*</u>]]]]

    no   CL arrive.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET the receipt   yesterday

    'No, it was **the receipt** that arrived yesterday'

(42) **A:** *Escuché que Verónica le compró un carro a Eric*

    'I heard that Verónica bought a car for Eric'

  B: [ok] *No,* [TP *le compró*ᵢ [FOCP *fue* [*ᵥ*P ***UNA MOTO***ₖ [*ᵥ*P *t*ᵢ *t*ₖ <u>*a Eric*</u>]]]]

    no   CL buy.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET a motorcycle   to Eric

    'No, it was **a motorcycle** that she bought for Eric'

(43) **A:** *Escuché que Verónica le compró a Eric un carro*

    'I heard that Verónica bought a car for Eric'

  B: [ok] *No,* [TP *le compró*ᵢ [FOCP *fue* [*ᵥ*P *t*ᵢ ***A SANDRO*** <u>*un carro*</u>]]]]

    no   CL buy.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET to Sandro   a   car

    'No, it was **for Sandro** that she bought a car'

(44) **A:** *Me pareció que Alba salió al parque y que Gino se quedó en la casa*

    'I thought that Alba left to the park and that Gino stayed at home'

B: [ok] *No,* [TP *se fueron*_i [FOCP *fue* [_vP **LOS DOS** [_vP *t*_i *al parque*]]]]

no   CL leave.3PL.PRET   be.3SG.PRET the two   to-the park

'No, it was **the two of them** who went to the park'

(45) **A:** *¿No tenías un amigo que vivía en Tunja?*

'Did you not have a friend who lived in Tunja?'

B: [ok] *No,* [TP *tenía*_i [FOCP *era* [_vP *t*_i **UNA TÍA** [CP *que vivía en Tunja*]]]]

no   have.1SG.IMP   be.3SG.IMP an aunt   who lived in Tunja

'No, it was **one of my aunts** who lived in Tunja'

Notice again that in all these cases, the FS-focused element always receives a contrastive reading and is pronounced with contrastive intonation, most likely to ensure that the topicalized element that follows is understood as topic and not as focus. Going back to Kato's remnant movement analysis, it becomes clear that these topicalized constituents have not moved to a TopP above the FS, and that they have remained in-situ. For example, when a sentence such as (46) follows a derivation as proposed by Kato (as in (47)), the resulting outcome does not match its initial syntactic structure (the IO *a Eric* 'to Eric' precedes the FS-focused element instead of following it):

(46) *No, le compró   fue   una moto   A ERIC*

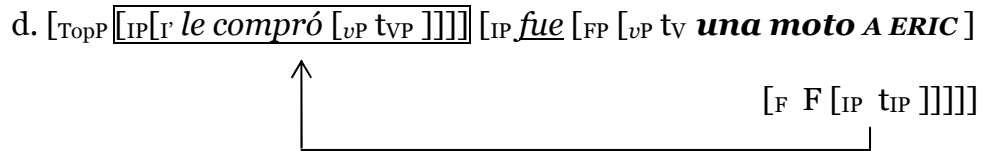no   CL buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET a   motorcycle to Eric

No, it was **a motorcycle** that she bought FOR ERIC'

(47) a. [FP F [IP [I' *le compró* [TopP *A ERIC* [vP tV **una moto** tDP]]]]]

b. [FP [vP tV **una moto** tDP]] [IP [I' *le compró* [TopP *A ERIC* [vP tVP]]]]]

c. [IP *fue* [FP [vP tV **una moto** tDP]] [IP [I' *le compró*[TopP *A ERIC* [vP tVP]]]]]

d. [TopP [IP[I' *le compró*[TopP *A ERIC* [vP tVP]]]] [IP *fue* [FP [vP tV **una moto**

tDP] [F F [IP tIP]]]]]]

For a moment, let us assume that the topicalized IO *a Eric* ('to Eric') has not

moved to a TP-internal TopP, and has remained within *v*P. In this case, the IO

would move to FP along with the focused DP *una moto* ('a motorcycle'), through

*v*P remnant movement. As shown in (49), this derivation does not render the

expected outcome either (as in (48)) because this implies that the IO is part of the

focus projection of the FS, that is, both the DO and the IO are FS-focused:

(48) *No, le compró   fue   una moto   A ERIC*

no   CL buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET a   motorcycle to Eric

No, it <u>was</u> **a motorcycle** that she bought FOR ERIC'

(49) a. [FP F [IP [I' *le compró* [vP tV **una moto A ERIC**]]]]

b. [FP [vP tV **una moto A ERIC**]] [IP [I' *le compró* [vP tVP]]]]

c. [IP *fue* [FP [vP tV **una moto A ERIC**]] [IP [I' *le compró* [vP tVP]]]]

d. [TopP [IP[I′ *le compró* [vP tvP]]]]] [IP *fue* [FP [vP tv ***una moto*** *A ERIC*]

[F F [IP tIP]]]]]

Thus, the derived sentence in (49) may be grammatically correct, but it is
infelicitous for the context for which (48) is uttered:

(50) **A:** *Escuché que Verónica le compró un carro a Eric*

'I heard that Verónica bought a car for Eric'

B: #*No, le compró* _*fue*_ ***una moto*** *A ERIC*

no   CL buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET a   motorcycle to Eric

No, it <u>was</u> **a motorcycle** that she bought FOR ERIC'

In fact, the derived sentence in (50) can be grammatically correct and
semantically appropriate in a different context, such as (51) below:

(51) **A:** *Escuché que Verónica le compró un carro a Gino*

'I heard that Verónica bought a car for Gino'

B: ok *No, le compró* _*fue*_ ***una moto*** *a Eric*

no   CL buy.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET a   motorcycle to Eric

No, it <u>was</u> **a motorcycle** that she bought for Eric'

As illustrated, Kato (2009) proposes an interesting analysis for the FS in
terms of *v*P and IP remnant movements. Although this seems to nicely account

244

for FS-focused constituents, it presents some theoretical and empirical problems that are difficult to resolve. Theoretically, the insertion of FS *ser* in a Copula Phrase within CP lacks syntactic motivation and does not seem to reflect the fact that FS *ser* does not act as a copula verb. Empirically, the remnant movement analysis can account for topicalized elements that move above the FS (they move to a TP-internal TopP), but it cannot account for topicalized elements that stay in-situ, below the FS.

Throughout section 3.2.1 I have illustrated three main syntactic approaches to the structure of the FS. In the first part of the section, I discussed Bosque's and Camacho's views of the FS as a *v*P(VP)-internal structure. In the second part, I elaborated on Kato's analysis of the FS as a CP-focus structure derived by *v*P and IP remnant movements. As I have argued in this section, all of these proposals present both theoretical and empirical problems, and fail to capture the true syntactic and semantic nature of the FS. I will show, in section 3.2.2, that viewing the FS as focus link, placed in a TP-internal FocP, accounts for all FS-focused constituents and for the semantic nature of the FS as a focus intensifier and as a link between old and new information.

3.2.2. The proposed analysis

In Chapter 2 (section 2.2), I introduced my analysis of the FS in terms of a TP-internal FocP, placed between T and *v*P. In this section, I will attempt to argue for this analysis in a fuller scale. First, as has been demonstrated above, the FS-focused elements must always appear post-verbally at surface. Second, following previous literature (Edmonds 1978; Bordelois, Contreras et al. 1986;

Contreras 1991; Contreras 2002; Zagona 2002), I have adopted the by-now standard analysis that verbs in Spanish overtly move from *v* to T. This leads me to the claim that the FS must be placed below T:

(52) ᵒᵏ [TP *Juan Carlos* [T *nos prestó*ᵢ [FOCP *fue*   [*v*P tᵢ **unas mesas**]]]]

Juan Carlos   CL loan.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET some tables

'It <u>was</u> **some tables** that Juan Carlos loaned to us'

(53) * [TP *Juan Carlos* [FOCP *fue*   [T **nos prestó**ᵢ [*v*P tᵢ *unas mesas*]]]]

Juan Carlos   be.3SG.PRET   CL loan.3SG.PRET some tables

'It <u>was</u> **lending** some tables to us that Juan Carlos did'
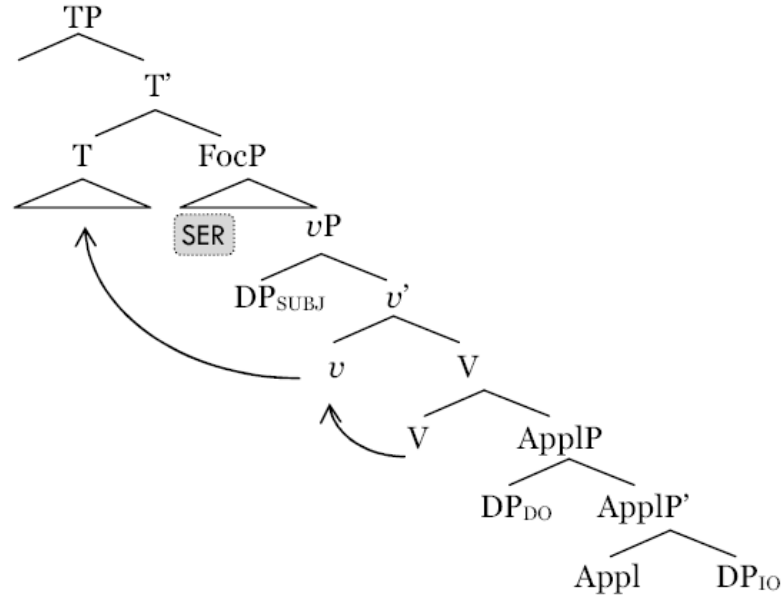
(54) * [FOCP *Fue*   [TP **Juan Carlos** [T *nos prestó*ᵢ [*v*P tᵢ *unas mesas*]]]]

be.3SG.PRET   Juan Carlos   CL loan.3SG.PRET some tables

'It <u>was</u> **Juan Carlos** who loaned some tables to us'

Furthermore, given that FS *ser* always precedes the constituents placed within *v*P, or at the left periphery of *v*P (e.g. post-verbal subjects, DOs, IOs, PPs, VP-adverbs, embedded CPs), I argue that the FS must be placed above *v*P (not inside it). Our first approximation of the structure of the FS construction should include the FS *ser* under a FocP, which is c-commanded by T and c-commands *v*P, as shown in (55):

(55)

```
                    TP
                   /  \
                      T'
                     /  \
                    T    FocP
                   /|\   /  \
                      [SER]  vP
                            /  \
                        DP_SUBJ  v'
                                /  \
                               v    V
                                   /  \
                                  V    ApplP
                                      /   \
                                  DP_DO   ApplP'
                                          /   \
                                        Appl   DP_IO
```

The FS construction involving all types of focused phrases can be properly examined with the analysis in (55) –post-verbal subjects (56), FS-focused DOs (57), FS-focused IOs (58), VP-adverbs (59), FS-focused PPs (60), and FS-focused embedded CPs (61):

(56) [$_{TP}$ [$_T$ *Llegó*$_i$ [$_{FOCP}$ *fue*   [$_{vP}$ **Fernando** [$_v$ t$_i$]]]]]

   arrive.3SG.PRET   be.3SG.PRET Fernando

   'It <u>was</u> **Fernando** who arrived'

(57) [$_{TP}$ [$_T$ *Les traje*$_i$ [$_{FOCP}$ *fue* [$_{vP}$ [$_v$ t$_i$ [$_{APPLP}$ **regalos**]]]]]]

   CL   bring.1SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET   gifts

   'It <u>was</u> **gifts** that I brought for them'

(58) [$_{TP}$ [$_T$ *Se lo llevé*$_i$ [$_{FOCP}$ *fue* [$_{vP}$ [$_v$ t$_i$ [$_{APPLP}$ **a la   secretaria**]]]]]]

   CL CL   take.1SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET   to the secretary

   'It <u>was</u> **for the secretary** that I took that'

247

(59) [TP *Patricia*_j [T *viajaba*_i [FOCP <u>*era*</u>   [*v*P **temprano** t_j [_V t_i]]]]]

    Patricia   travel.3SG.IMP   be.3SG.IMP   early

    'It <u>was</u> **early** that Patricia travelled'

(60) [TP *Los papeles*_j [T *están*_i [FOCP <u>*es*</u> [*v*P t_j [_V t_i [PP **en el armario**]]]]]]

    the papers   be.3PL.PRES   be.3SG.PRES   in the closet

    'It <u>is</u> **in the closet** that the papers are'

(61) [TP *Lucía*_j [T *dijo*_i   [FOCP <u>*fue*</u>   [*v*P t_j [_V t_i [CP **que no iba**]]]]]]

    Lucía   say.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET   that not go.3SG.IMP

    'It <u>was</u> **that she was not going** that Lucía said'

As expected, the structure in (55) rules out FS focus for constituents that are placed above T, such as pre-verbal subjects (62), verbs in T (63), IP-adverbs (64), NegPs above TP (65), or focused constituents in CP (66):

(62) *[FOCP <u>*Fue*</u> [TP **el profesor**_j [T *ganó*_i [*v*P t_j [_V t_i [APPLP *un premio*]]]]]]

    be.3SG.PRET   the teacher   win.3SG.PRET   a prize

    'It <u>was</u> **the teacher** who won a price'

(63) *[FOCP <u>*Fue*</u>   [TP [T **salió**_i   [*v*P [_V t_i [PP *sin permiso*]]]]]]

    be.3SG.PRET   leave.3SG.PRET   without permission

    'It <u>was</u> **leaving** that he did without permission'

(64) *[FOCP <u>*Es*</u> [TP ***francamente*** [T *me sorprende*_i [*v*P [_V t_i [APPLP *tu actitud*]]]]]]

    be.3SG.PRES   frankly   CL surprise.3SG.PRES   your attitude

    'It <u>is</u> **frankly** that your attitude surprises me'

(65) *[FOCP _Es_ [NEGP **no** [T _tengo_i [vP [v ti [APPLP _hijos_]]]]]]

     be.3SG.PRES   not   have.1SG.PRES   children

     'It <u>is</u> **not** that I have children'

(66) *[FOCP _Era_   [CP **a Diana**k [TP [T _la veía_i [vP _poco_ [v ti [APPLP tk]]]]]]]

     be.3SG.IMP   to Diana   CL see.1SG.IMP   little

     'It <u>was</u> **Diana** that I saw very little'

Having established that the FS is below T and above _v_P, I must show exactly where the FocP is located, that is, how close (or far) from T (or from _v_P) this FocP should be. As I mentioned in Chapter 2 (sections 2.1. and 2.2), the FS may precede perfectives and progressives (verbs in their participle and progressive forms), which I assume (based on Alexiadou (1997) and Zagona (2002)) are generated in their own PerfP or ProgrP right above above _v_P. Thus, the structure that I introduced in (55) may be expanded as in (67):

(67)
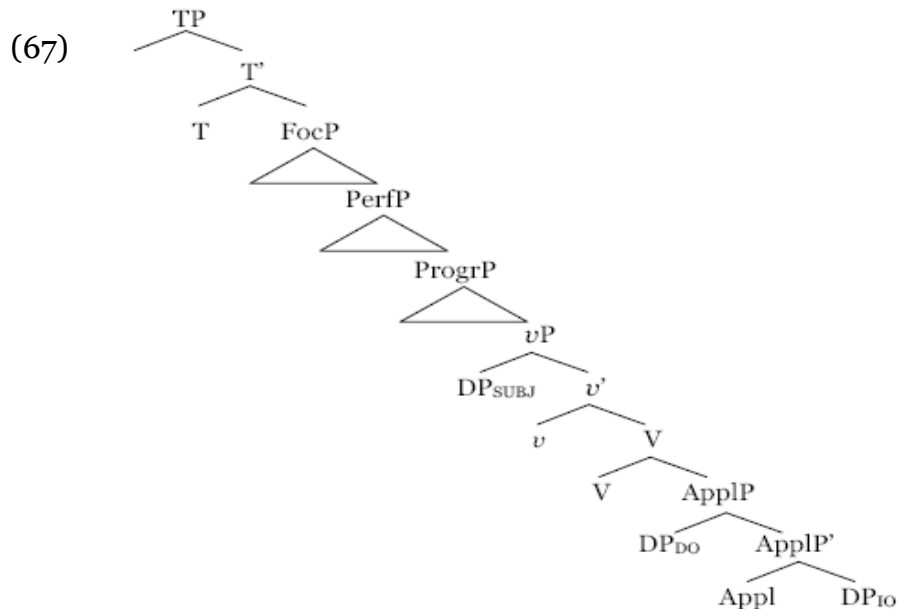
The analysis in (67) can correctly capture all the cases in which the FS precedes perfectives and progressives (68), only perfectives (69), or only progressives (70):

(68) [TP [T *Había*[FOCP <u>*era*</u> [PERFP **salido**ᵢ [PROGRP **bailando**ⱼ [*v*P [v tᵢ tⱼ]]]]]]]

     have.3SG.IMP   be.3SG.IMP leave.PERF   dance.PROGR

     'It <u>was</u> **having left dancing** that he had done'

(69) [TP *Yo*   [T *había*   [FOCP <u>*era*</u> [PERFP **ganado**ᵢ [*v*P [v tᵢ]]]]]]

     I   have.1PL.IMP   be.3SG.IMP win.PERF

     'It <u>was</u> **having won** that I had done'

(70) [TP *Ellos* [T *habían estado* [FOCP <u>*era*</u> [PROGRP **paseando**ᵢ [*v*P [v tᵢ]]]]]]

     they have.3PL.IMP be.PERF   be.3SG.IMP   wander.PROGR

     'It <u>was</u> **wandering** that they had been doing'

However, as we should expect from the analysis in (67), the FS may not precede auxiliary verbs that are placed in T:

(71) *[TP [FOCP <u>*Era*</u> [T **había** [PERFP *estado* [PERFP *cocinando*ᵢ [*v*P [v tᵢ]]]]]]]

     be.3SG.IMP   have.3SG.IMP be.PERF   cook.PROGR

     'It <u>was</u> **having** been cooking that he had done'

(72) *[TP [FOCP <u>*Era*</u> [T **estaba** [PROGRP *cocinando*ᵢ [*v*P [v tᵢ]]]]]]

     be.3SG.IMP   be.3SG.IMP   cook.PROGR

     'It <u>was</u> **was** cooking that he was doing'

If we follow Zagona (2002), and assuming that auxiliary verbs originate in an Auxiliary Phrase below T and later move from here to T in order to check their Tense and Aspect features, we are led to the analysis that a FocP in the FS construction is placed below AuxP and above PerfP, as illustrated in (73):

(73)

```
TP
   \
    T'
   /  \
  T    AuxP
          \
          Aux'
         /    \
       Aux    FocP
              /  \
            PerfP
            /  \
          ProgrP
          /  \
          vP
         /  \
    DP_SUBJ  v'
            /  \
           v    V
               /  \
              V   ApplP
                 /    \
              DP_DO   ApplP'
                     /    \
                   Appl   DP_IO
```
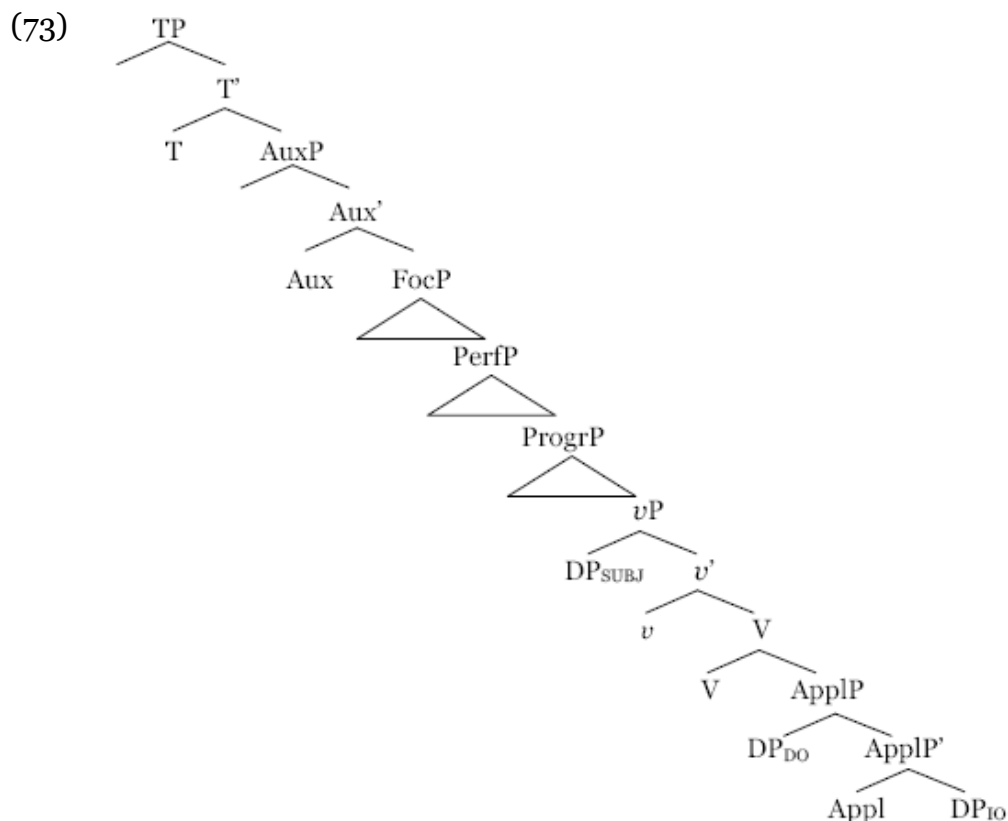
Now, as I mentioned in Chapter 2 (section 2.2), the FS may also be preceded by constituents previously mentioned in discourse (74) – (76):

(74) **A:** *¿No les habían traído un radio a tus papás?*

Had they not bring a radio for your parents?

251

B: *No,* [TP [T *nos trajeron*i *UN RADIO* [FOCP *fue* [vP [v ti [APPLP ***a nosotros***]]]

no CL bring.3PL.PRET a radio be.3SG.PRET to we

'No, it <u>was</u> **for us** that they brought A RADIO'

(75) **A:** *¿No les habían traído un computador a tus papás?*

Had they not bring a radio for your parents?

B: *No,* [TP [T *les trajeron*i *A ELLOS* [FOCP *fue* [vP [v ti [APPLP ***un radio***]]]]]]

no CL bring.3PL.PRET to them be.3SG.PRET a radio

'No, it <u>was</u> **a radio** that they brought FOR THEM'

(76) **A:** *¿No habían llegado en avión tus abuelos?*

Had your grandparents not arrived by plane?

B: *No,* [TP [T *llegaron*i *EN AVIÓN* [FOCP *fue* [vP [v ti [APPLP ***mis papás***]]]]]]

no arrive.3PL.PRET in plane be.3SG.PRET my parents

'No, it <u>was</u> **my parents** who arrived BY PLANE'

Notice that the FS may not be preceded by focused constituents:

(77) **A:** *¿No les habían traído un computador a tus papás?*

Had they not bring a radio for your parents?

*****B:** *No,*[TP [T *les trajeron*i *A MIS HIJOS* [FOCP *fue* [vP [v ti [APPLP ***un radio***

no CL bring.3PL.PRET to my children be.3SG.PRET a radio

'No, it <u>was</u> **a radio FOR CHILDREN** that they brought'

ok **B:** *No,* [TP [T *les trajeron*i [FOCP _fue_ [vP [v ti [APPLP ***un radio*** *A MIS HIJOS*

no CL bring.3PL.PRET be.3SG.PRET   a   radio to my children

'No, it <u>was</u> **a radio FOR MY CHILDREN** that they brought'

This suggests that the FS may be preceded by topicalized elements that move to a TopP placed below T and above FocP. Thus, the analysis in (55) above should be further specified as in (78):

(78)
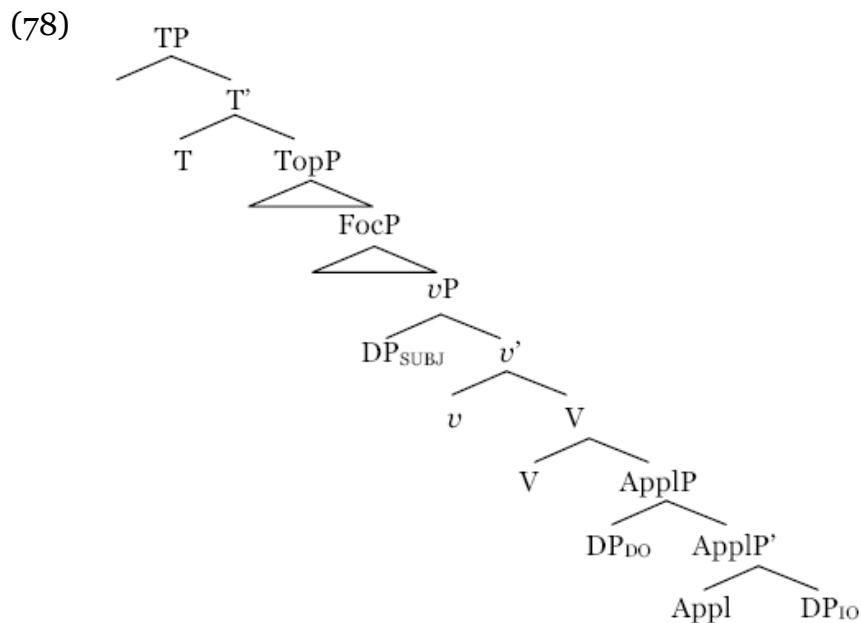
At this point, recall that perfectives may follow (79) or precede the FS (80):

(79) [TP [T *habían* [FOCP _era_ [FOC [PERFP ***estado***[PROGRP ***paseando***i [vP [v ti]

have.3PL.IMP   be.3SG.IMP   be.PERF   wander.PROGR

'It <u>was</u> **having wandered** that they had done'

(80) [TP [T *habían* ESTADO [FOCP <u>*era*</u> [FOCP [PROGRP ***paseando***i [vP [v ti]]]]]]

    have.3PL.IMP   be.PERF   be.3SG.IMP   wander.PROGR

    'It <u>was</u> **wandering** that they had BEEN doing'

Hence, assuming that there is a TopP above FocP, it would be possible to claim that in a case such as (81) the perfective has moved to [Spec, TopP]:

(81) [TP [T *Habían* [TOPP ESTADO [TOP' [FOCP <u>*era*</u> [FOCP [PERFP __ [PROGRP ***paseando***i…

However, since it is possible to have topicalized elements following the perfective (82), I argue that the latter is not exactly a topicalized constituent that has moved to [Spec, TopP], but a verb that may move to the next available head, in this case, Aux:

(82) [TP [T *Habían* ESTADO [TOPP *los dos* [FOCP <u>*era*</u> [FOCP [PROGRP ***paseando***i […

    have.3PL.IMP be.PERF   the two   be.3SG.IMP   wander.PROGR

    'It <u>was</u> **wandering** that the two of them had BEEN doing'

(83) [TP [T *habían*j [AUXP [AUX' tj ESTADO [TOPP *los dos* [FOCP <u>*era*</u> [FOCP [PERFP __

Given all of the above, the initial structure shown in (55) may be expanded as in (84) below, in order to capture more accurately the relationship between the FS and PerfPs, ProgrPs, and topicalized constituents:

254

(84)

```
            TP
           /  \
              T'
            /   \
          T     AuxP
               /____\
                  TopP
                 /____\
                    FocP
                   /____\
                      PerfP
                     /____\
                        ProgrP
                       /____\
                          vP
                         /  \
                  DP_SUBJ    v'
                            /  \
                           v    V
                               /  \
                              V    ApplP
                                  /   \
                              DP_DO    ApplP'
                                      /    \
                                   Appl    DP_IO
```
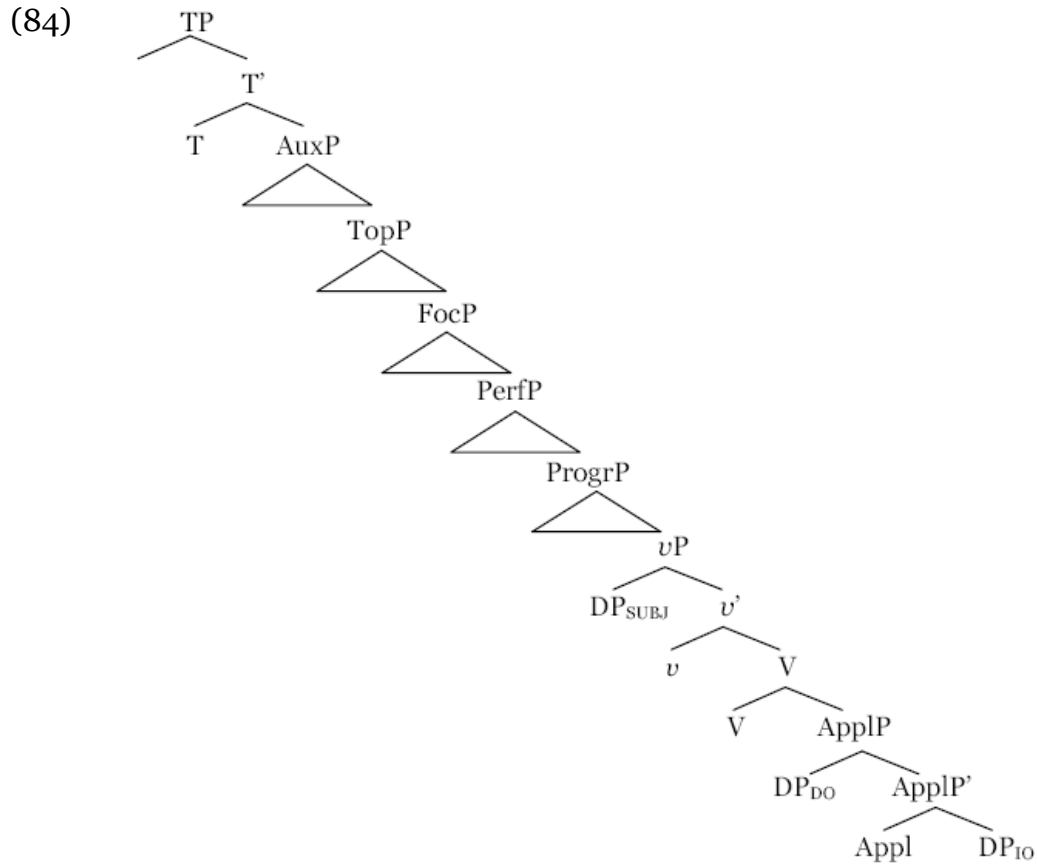
The extended structure in (84) accounts for grammatical and ungrammatical outcomes. First, it suggests that only post-verbal elements (constituents placed below T) that convey new information may be FS-focused: as seen in examples (52) – (54) and (62) – (66). Second, the FS *ser* cannot precede the elements that have moved (or are generated) to or above T. Third, the FS focuses not only the elements that are placed (or are originated) within *v*P but also the elements placed above *v*P, such as PerfPs and ProgrPs, as exemplified by (68) - (70). Fourth, already-mentioned constituents may move out of the focus projection of the FS to a TopP generated above the FS: sentences such as (74) – (77) indicate that only old-information may be topicalized in this TopP above FocP.

Most importantly, the syntactic structure that I propose in (84) correctly predicts that the FS is an independent syntactic structure. In other words, it shows that the FS is part of the extended projection of *v*P, as it serves as a functional structure internal to TP, and that it is not a pseudo-cleft (as Toribio (2002) claims), or a VP adjunct (as Camacho (2009) claims).

Furthermore, having the FS in a TP-internal FocP is not a surprising claim given that other authors have also found evidence for the occurrence of functional projections (topic and focus) in the internal periphery of TP (Horvath 1986; Yanagida 1995; Belletti 2004; Hsu 2008).

Belletti (2004), for example, follows Rizzi's (1997) study of the left periphery of the clause and claims that "[...] *the area immediately above VP displays a significance resemblance to the left periphery of the clause* [...] *In particular, a clause-internal Focus position, surrounded by Topic positions, is identified in the low part of the clause*" (Belletti, 2004: 17). Thus, taking as her point of departure the study of post-verbal subjects in Italian, Belletti argues that the low IP area at the left periphery of *v*P/VP is rich regarding the functional projections available. For her, these positions are tightly connected with discourse-related interpretations (Focus and Topic), similarly to IP-external functional positions (within CP).

Similarly, Hsu (2008) claims that Rizzi's proposal for the left periphery may also be applied to the IP-internal field in Mandarin Chinese. She analyzes preposed objects and verb-copying sentences in Chinese, and claims that both of these phenomena can successfully be explained in terms of IP-internal Topic and

Focus projections. More importantly, Hsu argues that a Topic Phrase must precede the Focus Phrase (there cannot be a Topic Phrase below the Focus Phrase), and that both Topic and Focus phrases must be placed below T and above *v*P.

Finally, now that I have provided empirical and theoretical evidence to support the idea that the FS is TP-internal focus structure, it is important to clarify a few details concerning the placement of FS *ser* and the focus checking mechanism.

First, as I mentioned in previous chapters and explained in more detail in section 3.1, the FS serves as a link between old and new information, as it introduces the new-information element (the focused constituent). Viewing the FS as focus link that emphasizes the occurrence of the focused element suggests that FS *ser* should be more accurately examined as the specifier of the FocP, instead of its head. In this sense, although FS *ser* establishes tense and aspect agreement with the verb in T and person/number agreement with the focused element (as I showed in Chapter 2, section 2.3), it has lost its semantic properties as a verb (i.e. as a copula or auxiliary verb). In fact, FS *ser* does not itself confer focus to the focused constituent, but it emphasizes or intensifies the focus assignment. Hence, I claim that *both* FS *ser* and the head of the FocP (Foc) constitute the focusing structure, as illustrated in (85):

(85)
      FocP
     /\
  SER   FocP'
        /\
     Foc   XP   257
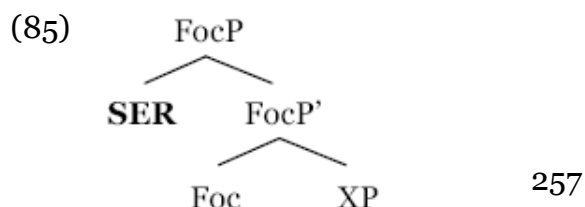
The internal structure of FocP as shown in (85) accurately reflects the semantic function of FS *ser* as link between focus and its background[83]. Furthermore, adopting this type of analysis predicts that a verb moving from *v* to T, for example, will be able to land temporarily in Foc without incurring in the Head Movement Constraint[84].

In terms of the focus checking mechanism, I propose that the [Focus] feature of the head of FocP (Foc) as Probe and that of the focused element as Goal undergo matching and valuating by means of the mechanism of Agree (Chomsky 2000; Chomsky 2001; Chomsky 2004; Rezac 2004; Pesetsky and Torrego 2007; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007; Boeckx 2008). Foc (the Probe) here has an uninterpretable Focus feature [*u*Focus] (*u* indicates uninterpretability) and the focused constituent (the Goal) has an interpretable Focus feature [*i*Focus] (*i* indicates interpretability). Foc probes into its c-commanding domain in order to look for a Goal with a valued Focus feature. Once the Probe and the Goal have matched, the Probe receives value from the Goal and the latter remains in situ, that is, the focused constituent does not move after matching and valuating the focus feature with Foc. This is roughly sketched in (86):

---

[83] I am grateful to Yoshihisa Kitagawa for suggesting the analysis of FS *ser* as in (85), and for pointing out its possible outcome in regard to the HMC.

[84] Recall that Kato (personal communication) opts not to analyze the FS as a TP-internal FocP because that would incur in a violation of the HMC, given that (for her) FS *ser* would be placed as the head of FocP. However, examining FS *ser* as focus link, placed in [Spec, FocP], nicely predicts that the entire FocP is the focus assigning structure and that no violation of the HMC takes place.

(86) a. Match

Foc   Focused constituent

[*u* Focus: _____] ───────▶ [*i* Focus: +Focus]

b. Valuation

Foc   Focused constituent

[*u* Focus: +FOCUS]   [*i* Focus: +Focus]

In this section, I have shown previous analyses of the FS in terms of a CP-internal structure (Kato's (2009) remnant movement), and a *v*P(VP)-internal structure (Bosque's (1999) VP-internal Focus Phrase, and Camacho's (2003) Copula Phrase adjunct to VP). Although each of these proposals attempts to integrate the syntactic layout of the FS with its informational properties (the FS links presupposed with new information), none of them seems to satisfactorily account for certain cases of FS focus (e.g. FS-focused PerfPs and ProgrPs, post-FS topics, etc.).

In the second part of the section, I presented my own proposal for the syntactic structure of the FS. In my analysis, the FS is located in a FocP placed below T and above *v*P, given that it must focus post-verbal elements and it may precede PerfPs and ProgrPs. I further claimed that the FS structure may include a TopP above FocP, since topicalized elements may occur post-verbally, right before the FS. Finally, taking into account that the FS is here viewed as a link between new information and its background, I argued that FS *ser* is placed in

[Spec, FocP]. Also, I claimed that the head of FocP (Foc) matches and values the Focus feature of the focused constituent by the mechanism of Agree.

3.3. Solving the agreement puzzle

Having established the overall syntactic structure of the FS in section 3.2.2, this section will focus on the morphology of FS *ser*, in particular, the way in which it establishes tense and aspect agreement with the verb in T, and person/number agreement with some focused elements. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, section 2.3, the agreement pattern that I have unveiled in this dissertation has not been extensively discussed in previous literature, and the little that has been described on this topic (see Bosque (1999) and Curnow and Travis (2003)) has not been explained in any terms.

In this section, I will provide a coherent analysis of the morphology of FS *ser*, and I will show that the agreement pattern spelled out in FS *ser* is not random. In fact, as it was already mentioned in Chapter 2 (see the the table in (224), under section 2.3), I propose three generalizations regarding the agreement pattern: a) FS *ser* always agrees in tense and aspect with the main verb (the verb in T); b) FS *ser* agrees with focused post-verbal subjects and DOs (i.e. DOs with no DOM) *only* in contrastive contexts; c) FS *ser* acquires default morphology (third person singular: 3SG) when preceding any other type of constituent (e.g. FS-focused DOs with DOM, IOs, PPs, CPs, AdvPs, PerfPs, ProgrPs, etc.).

The two types of agreement shown in FS *ser* (tense and aspect with the main verb and person/number with post-verbal subjects and DOs) will be here explained by means of the mechanism of Agree (Chomsky 2000; Chomsky 2001;

Chomsky 2004; Rezac 2004; Pesetsky and Torrego 2007; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007; Boeckx 2008). Following the premises of this mechanism, I claim that a) FS *ser* matches and values Tense and Aspect features with T, and b) Foc matches and values φ features (person and/or number) with the post-verbal subject and the DO (both eventually placed in [Spec, *v*P]). In this sense, both agreement relations (with T and with post-verbal subjects and DOs) are established by Agree between a Probe and a Goal.

In order to introduce this analysis, in section 3.3.1 I present a brief summary of the agreement pattern observed in FS *ser*, which had already been discussed at length in Chapter 2, section 2.3. In this section I also include a concise explanation of the mechanism of Agree and I define my own theoretical assumptions regarding the process of agreement. In section 3.3.2, I describe how FS *ser* establishes tense and aspect agreement with the verb in T, and in section 3.3.3, I elaborate on the agreement relation between FS *ser* and the focused constituent.

3.3.1. Preliminaries

3.3.1.1. *FS ser and the agreement pattern*

In Chapter 2 (section 2.3), I described in detail the agreement pattern between FS *ser* and the main verb (the verb in T) on the one hand, and between FS *ser* and the focused constituent, on the other. In the first case, I concluded that FS *ser* agrees in both Tense and Aspect with whichever verb that

moves to T (a matrix verb moving from *v* to T, or an auxiliary verb moving from Aux to T).

Given this, the grammaticality of a sentence such as (87) is affected in (88) – (89) because FS *ser* does not agree with T either in aspect (88), or in both tense and aspect (89):

(87) ^{ok}*Los periquitos <u>venían</u>   <u>era</u>   **de Australia***
     the   parakeets   come.3PL.IMP be.3SG.IMP from Australia
     'It <u>was</u> **from Australia** that the parakeets came from'

(88) *Los periquitos venían   <u>fue</u>   **de Australia**
     the   parakeets   come.3PL.IMP be.3SG.PRET from Australia
     'It <u>was</u> **from Australia** that the parakeets came from'

(89) *Los periquitos venían   <u>es</u>   **de Australia**
     the   parakeets   come.3PL.IMP be.3SG.PRES from Australia
     'It <u>was</u> **from Australia** that the parakeets came from'

Notice that this is also true when the verb in T is an auxiliary verb that has moved from Aux to T:

(90) ^{ok}*Los periquitos habían   venido   <u>era</u>   **de Australia**
     the   parakeets have.3PL.IMP come.PERF be.3SG.IMP from Australia
     'It <u>was</u> **from Australia** that the parakeets came from'

(91) *_Los periquitos había_   _venido_   _fue_   _**de Australia**_

    the parakeets have.3PL.IMP come.PERF be.3SG.PRET from Australia

    'It <u>was</u> **from Australia** that the parakeets came from'

(92) *_Los periquitos había_   _venido_   _es_   _**de Australia**_

    the parakeets have.3PL.IMP come.PERF be.3SG.PRES from Australia

    'It <u>was</u> **from Australia** that the parakeets came from'

In the second case, we observed that FS *ser* agrees in person and/or number *only* with post-verbal subjects and DOs with no DOM. So, in cases of FS-focused post-verbal subjects FS *ser* takes person and number features (93), and in cases of FS-focused post-verbal DOs FS *ser* only takes number features (94) – (95):

(93) ^{ok} _Pasé_   _el examen_ _fui_   _**yo**_

    pass.1SG.PRET   the exam   be.1SG.PRET I

    'It <u>was</u> **I** who passed the exam'

(94) ^{ok} _Tengo_   _es_   _**dos carros**_ _**viejos**_

    have.1SG.PRES be.3SG.PRES two cars   old

    'It <u>is</u> **two old cars** that I have'

(95) ^{ok} _Tengo_   _son_   _**dos carros**_ _**viejos**_

    have.1SG.PRES be.3PL.PRES two cars   old

    'It <u>is</u> **two old cars** that I have'

No other type of constituent (i.e. DOs with DOM, IOs, PPs, AdvPs, CPs, PerfPs, and ProgrPs) triggers such agreement with FS *ser*:

(96) *Ayer   visité   (*^{ok} *fue* /* *fueron*)   **a mis abuelos***

yesterday   visit.1SG.PRET   be.3SG/3PL.PRET   to my grandparents

'It <u>was</u> **my grandparents** that I visited yesterday'

(97) *Les di   unos regalos* (^{ok} *fue* /* *fueron*)   **a mis sobrinos**

CL   give.1SG.PRET some gifts   be.3SG/3PL.PRET to my nephews

'It <u>was</u> **my nephews** to whom I gave gifts'

(98) *Venimos   (*^{ok} *es* /* *son*)   **de   Marte***

come.1PL.PRES   be.3SG/3PL.PRES   from Mars

'It <u>is</u> **from Mars** that we come'

(99) *Llegamos   (*^{ok} *fue* /* *fueron*)   **anoche***

arrive.1PL.PRET   be.3SG/3PL.PRET   last night

'It <u>was</u> **last night** that we arrived'

(100) *Nos decía   (*^{ok} *era* /* *eran*)   **que no quería   comer***

PRON   say.3SG.IMP   be.3SG/3PL.IMP that not want.3SG.IMP eat.INF

'It <u>was</u> **that she did not want to eat** that she said'

(101) *Han   (*^{ok} *es* /* *son*)   **empezado   a   correr***

have.3PL.PRES   be.3SG/3PL.PRES start.PERF   to run.INF

'It <u>is</u> **having started** running that they have done'

(102) *Han*   *estado*   ([ok] *es* /* *son*)   ***corriendo***

      have.3PL.PRES be.PERF   be.3SG/3PL.PRES run.PROGR

      'It <u>is</u> **running** that they have done'

In addition, the person and/or number agreement between FS *ser* and post-verbal subjects and DOs with no DOM is *only* established in cases of contrastive focus. Thus, when post-verbal subjects and DOs with no DOM occur in non-contrastive contexts ((104), (106)), such agreement is not applicable and FS *ser* acquires default morphology (third person singular: 3SG):

(103) **A:** *Pensé que había viajado Marcelino*

      'I thought that Marcelino had travelled'

    B: *No, viajaron*   <u>*fueron*</u>   ***Paco y***   ***Luis***

      no   travel.3PL.PRET be.3PL.PRET   Paco   and Luis

      'No, it <u>was</u> **Paco and Luis** who travelled'

(104) **A:** *¿Quién viajo?*

      'Who travelled?'

    B: *Viajaron*   (*<u>*fueron*</u> / [ok] <u>*fue*</u>)   ***Paco y***   ***Luis***

      travel.3PL.PRET be.3PL/3SG.PRET   Paco   and Luis

      'It <u>was</u> **Paco and Luis** who travelled'

(105) **A:** *Pensé que habías comprado una lasaña*

      'I thought that you had bought one lasagna'

B: *No, compré* <u>*fueron*</u> **dos pizzas**

no   buy.1SG.PRET   be.3PL.PRET   two pizzas

'No, it <u>was</u> **two pizzas** that I bought'

(106) **A:** *¿Qué compraste?*

'What did you buy?'

B: *Compré* (*<u>*fueron*</u> / ^{ok} <u>*fue*</u>) **dos pizzas**

buy.1SG.PRET   be.3PL/3SG.PRET   two pizzas

'It <u>was</u> **two pizzas** that I bought'

As I mentioned in Chapter 2 (section 2.3), FS-focused plural post-verbal subjects react differently to contrast than singular post-verbal subjects[85]: the former does not trigger person and number agreement in non-contrastive contexts (see (103) - (104)), but the latter always triggers such agreement, no matter if there is a contrastive (107) or non-contrastive (108) context:

(107) **A:** *Pensé que había viajado Marcelino*

'I thought that Marcelino had travelled'

B: *No, viajé* (^{ok} <u>*fui*</u> / *<u>*fue*</u>) ***yo***

no   travel.1SG.PRET   be.1SG/3SG.PRET   I

'No, it <u>was</u> **I** who travelled'

(108) **A:** *¿Quién viajo?*

'Who travelled?'

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[85] I do not provide an explanation for this enigma here. I will do so in section 3.4.

B: *Viajé*   (ᵒᵏ *fui* / **fue*)   ***yo***

travel.1SG.PRET   be.1SG/3SG.PRET   I

'It <u>was</u> **I** who travelled'

To summarize, as shown in (170) in Chapter 2 (here repeated as (109)), FS *ser* agrees with the verb in T in both tense and aspect:

(109)   T   FS *ser*

[Tense: α] ⟵⟶ [Tense: α]

[Aspect: β] ⟵⟶ [Aspect: β]
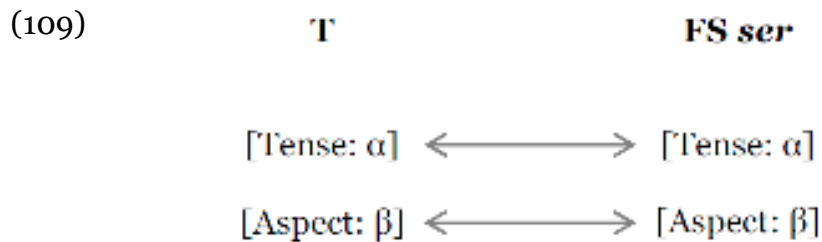
Figure 8: Agreement pattern between FS *ser* and the verb in T

Furthermore, in terms of FS-focused post-verbal subjects[86], FS *ser* agrees with singular post-verbal subjects in both person and number, whether they occur in contrastive and non-contrastive contexts. In turn, as shown in (195) in Chapter 2 (here repeated as (110)), FS *ser* agrees with plural post-verbal subjects *only* when they occur in contrastive contexts:

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[86] Notice that the second person plural pronoun (*vosotros* 'you.PL') is not included in the agreement pattern because it is never used in Colombian Spanish.

(110)

$$\text{T} \qquad\qquad \text{FS } \textit{ser} \qquad\qquad \text{Post-verbal subj}$$

[+ contrast]

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{num: } \alpha \\ \text{pers: } \beta \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} \text{num: } \alpha \\ \text{pers: } \beta \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} \text{num: } \alpha \\ \text{pers: } \beta \end{bmatrix}$$

[- contrast]

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{num: SG} \\ \text{pers: } \beta \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} \text{num: SG} \\ \text{pers: } \beta \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} \text{num: SG} \\ \text{pers: } \beta \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{num: PL} \\ \text{pers: } \beta \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} \text{num: DEFAULT} \\ \text{pers: DEFAULT} \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} \text{num: PL} \\ \text{pers: } \beta \end{bmatrix}$$
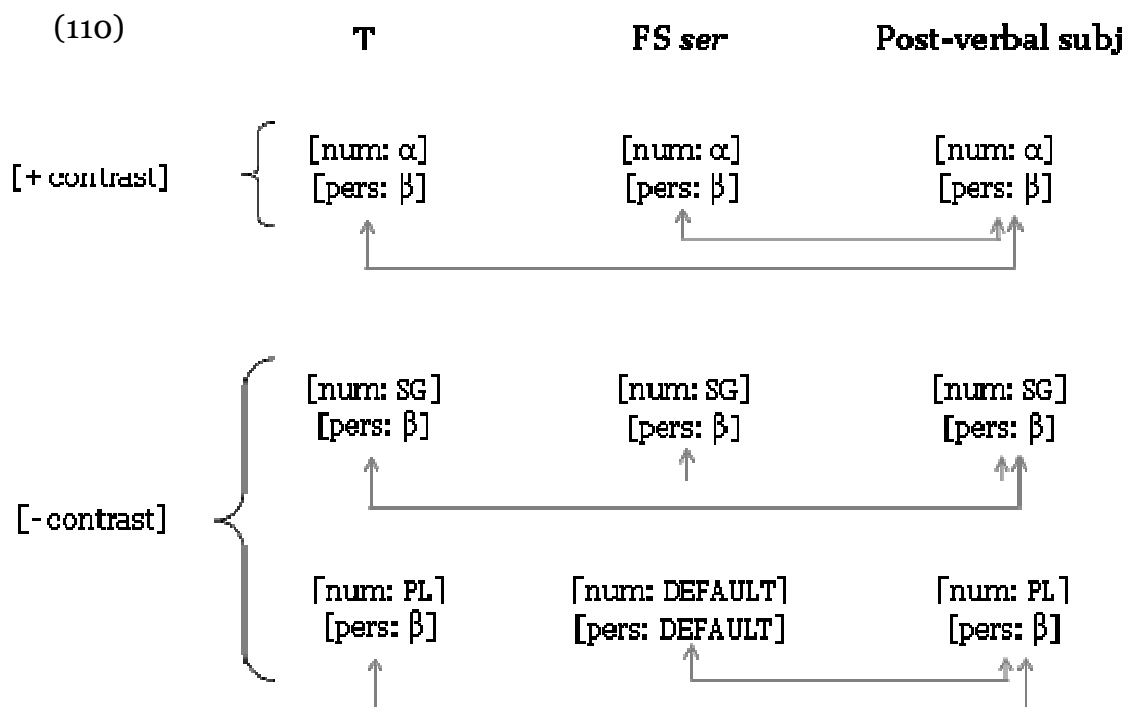
Figure 9: Agreement pattern between FS *ser* and post-verbal subjects

In the case of FS-focused DOs with no DOM, as illustrated in (221) in Chapter 2 (here repeated as (111)), FS *ser* agrees with them in number only when they occur in contrastive contexts:

(111)

$$\text{FS } \textit{ser} \qquad\qquad \text{Post-verbal DOs (no DOM)}$$

[+ contrast] $\{$ $[\text{num: } \alpha] \quad \longleftrightarrow \quad [\text{num: } \alpha]$

[- contrast] $\{$ $[\text{num: DEFAULT}] \quad \longleftrightarrow \quad [\text{num: } \alpha]$
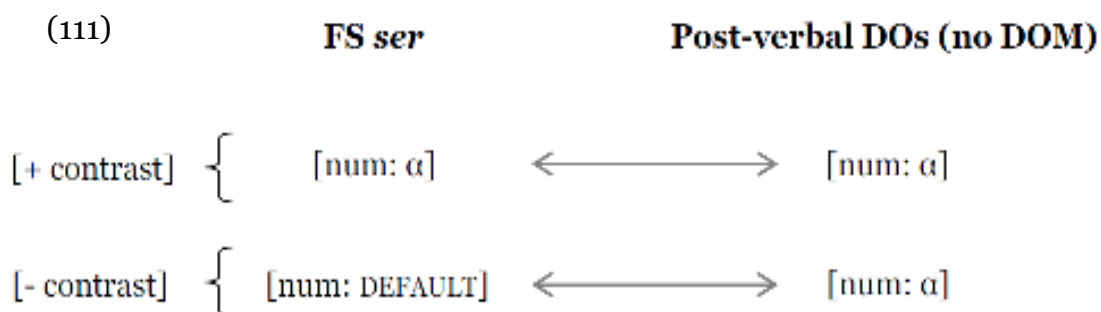
Figure 10: Agreement pattern between FS *ser* and DOs with no DOM

Finally, as shown in (222) in Chapter 2 (here repeated as (112)), FS *ser* does not show any person and/or number agreement with any other FS-focused constituent (i.e. DOs with DOM, IOs, PPs, AdvPs, CPs, PerfPs, and ProgrPs):

(112) **FS *ser*** **Other constituents (e.g. DOs w/DOM and IOs**

[+ contrast] { [num: DEFAULT] ⟵⟶ [num: α]

[- contrast] { [num: DEFAULT] ⟵⟶ [num: α]
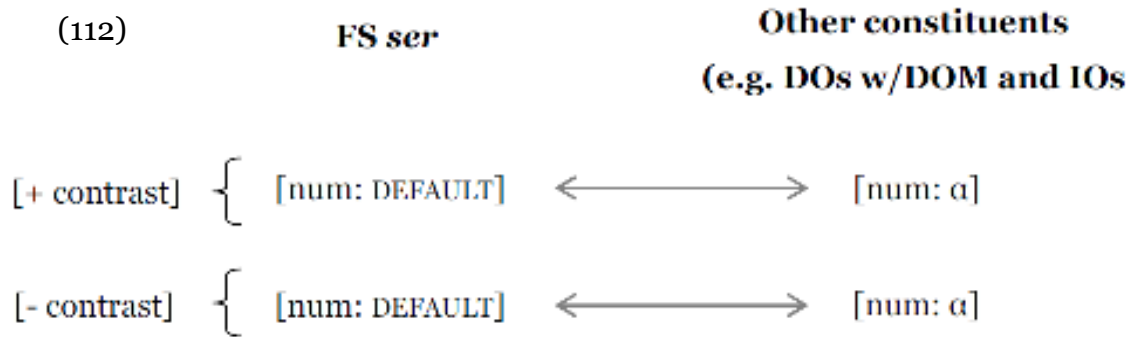
Figure 11: Agreement pattern between FS *ser* and other objects

Now that I have described, once again, the agreement pattern between FS *ser* and the verb in T, and FS *ser* and the focused constituent, I will move on to section 3.3.1.2, where I briefly discuss the mechanism of Agree and I define my own theoretical assumptions regarding the process of agreement.

3.3.1.2. *The mechanism of Agree*

Chomsky (2000) introduces the mechanism of Agree in an attempt to separate movement from case/agreement licensing. Thus, Agree is defined by Chomsky (2000) as a process of long-distance feature checking with no movement. Boeckx (2008) explains Agree as a process in which a functional head searches within its c-commanding domain for an agreeing element with a

269

matching feature. Once this occurs, the agreeing element checks the features of the functional head and agreement is triggered[87].

In this sense, Chomsky's (2000) proposal finally departs from his earlier work (Chomsky 1980; 1981; Chomsky and Lasnik 1993), in which agreement was still dependent on movement. Furthermore, according to Rezac (2004), the operation of Agree does not exactly correspond to the mechanism of Attract, as stated in the Minimalism Program (Chomsky 1995). For Rezac, the former process entails that uninterpretable features are originally unvalued and then become valued from the interpretable features of the goal; the latter process entails that feature bundles are moved or displaced within the checking domain[88].

Thus, under the operation of Agree an uninterpretable and unvalued feature looks for a matching feature within its domain. Once this matching process has been completed, the former uninterpretable feature receives value from the feature with which it has matched. Given this, Agree consists of two procedures: Match and Valuation. For Rezac, an unvalued *probe* that is located in the *target*

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[87] In Boeckx's own words: "*In an Agree analysis, a Probe (a functional head) searches inside its c-command domain for a Goal (the agreeing element) with a matching feature. Once the Goal is found, it checks the features of the Probe, triggering agreement. Any displacement of the agreeing category was assumed to be motivated by an independent Fill-Spec/EPP-requirement. Like the generalized spec-head analysis, the Agree-based theory takes all instances of case-agreement to be established in the same manner, but this time movement does not figure as part of the theoretical symmetry established.*" (Boeckx, 2008: 10)

[88] Rezac states this as follows: "*The ATTRACT operation is triggered by a feature which is not interpretable on a target, finds a goal, and moves its formal feature bundle into the local neighborhood of the target, its CHECKING DOMAIN [...] So Agree is truly not attract; the interpretable features of the goal are never displaced as a syntactic atom, whereas in MP [Minimalist Program] they (as a formal feature bundle) are re-Merged in the probe's checking domain [...] MI [Minimalist Inquiries: the framework] and DBP [Derivation by Phase] propose that uninterpretable features are unvalued, e.g. [number =], and the Agree operation values them from the interpretable features of a goal –which are themselves never displaced to the target.*" (Rezac, 2004: 12)

finds a matching feature (a *controller*) that is located in the *goal*. According to this view, the *target* can be seen as any projection of the term that contains the *probe*, and the *goal* as any projection of the term that contains the *controller*[89].

In turn, while discussing the existence of small *v* in Spanish existentials, Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007) describes the operation Agree as a system in which a set of uninterpretable and unvalued features probe into their c-commanding domain, looking for goals with valued features. Once these features are found and matched, the goal values the uninterpretable features of the probe[90].

Thus, for the purposes of my analysis of FS *ser* morphology, I will assume, following Chomsky's main proposal (2000, 2001, 2004), that the operation Agree consists of two mechanisms: Match and Valuation. So, when an uninterpretable (unvalued) feature enters into the syntactic structure, it looks for an agreeing element with an interpretable (valued) feature. Once it finds it, it checks its

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[89] In Rezac's own words: "*Agree takes an unvalued F, called a PROBE [...] and finds a matching feature, which I will call a CONTROLLER, following Béjar (2003)Béjar, S. (2003). Phi-syntax: A theory of agreement, University of Toronto. [...] Probe and controller are both feastures on the terms (lexical items) of bare phrase structure as given by Merge; the term on which the probe is located I call the TARGET and the term on which the controller is located is the GOAL [...] It is an extension of this terminology to speak of the TARGET as any projection of the term that contains the probe, and the GOAL as any projection of the term that contains the controller. Context usually disambiguates the two uses of* <u>*target*</u> *and* <u>*goal*</u>*, but they must not be confused with* <u>*probe*</u> *and* <u>*controller*</u>*.*" (Rezac, 2004: 13)

[90] Rodríguez-Mondoñedo explains this as follows: "*Under the Agree system (c.f. Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004), T and v have a set of uninterpretable φ features (person, number, gender) that are unvalued. They probe into their c-command domain, looking for goals with valued φ features – a nominal, for instance. Once they match a goal, the goal will value their uninterpretable φ features, and as a reflex of this, the goal will get its uninterpretable Case-feature valued. It is a matter of controversy how this 'reflex' happens. For Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004 it just happens as a stipulation and in situ; for Bošković 2005, 2007 this is obtained by positioning a valued [case] feature in the probe (that would be ACC in small v), and making the goal move to c-command the probe to check case (the relevant DP thus becomes a probe, probing a small v, which then serves as a goal, under Agree).*" (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo, 2007: 23)

feature in situ: the two features match and the uninterpretable (unvalued) feature becomes valued.

Based on Chomsky and Boeckx, I will also assume that functional heads act as a Probe, and that they search, within their c-command domain, for a Goal with a matching feature. Thus, I do not adopt here Rezac's terminology, according to which the Probe (the unvalued feature, located in the Target) finds and matches the Controller (a matching feature, located in the Goal). On the other hand, I will take into account the *Conditions on matching*, originally from Chomsky (2000), and presented in Rezac (2004: 13):

(113) <u>*Conditions on matching*</u>
Matching is a relation that holds of a Probe P and a Goal G. Not every matching pair induces Agree. To do so, G must (at least) be in the domain D(P) of P and satisfy locality conditions. The simplest assumptions for the probe-goal system are shown in (40):
(40) a. Matching is feature identity
b. D(P) is the sister of P
c. Locality reduces to "closest c-command"
Thus, D(P) is the c-command domain of P, and a matching feature G is closest to P if there is no G' in D(P) matching P such that G is in D(G')

[Chomsky: 2000: 122]

Furthermore, I follow Chomsky and Boeckx in their assumption that φ features are interpretable on the Goal (DP), but uninterpretable on the Probe (T/*v*). However, Case is valued on the Probe (T/*v*). In particular, for Boeckx "*the presence of an uninterpretable feature on an element is forced to ensure 'syntactibility' (which expresses the same intuition as Chomsky's 2000 notion of 'visibility'): to ensure that the element can be combined (i.e., can participate in*

272

concatenation)." (Boeckx, 2008: 108). This is also compatible to Rodríguez-Mondoñedo's agreement principle in Spanish: T and v have uninterpretable φ features that they need to match and value with a goal placed within their c-commanding domain.

Given this, I assume that in a non-focused sentence such as (114) two agreement processes take place: a) T finds agreeing φ features in the post-verbal DP subject, and have their features matched and valued (115); and b) T matches and values the post-verbal DP subject Case features (116):

(114) *Llegaron   los   niños   de Gabriela*

arrive.3PL.PRET the   children of Gabriela

'Gabriela's children arrived'

(115) a. <u>Match</u>

      T   *los niños de Gabriela*

  [*u* φ: _____]   ⟶   [*i* φ: 3, plural]

  b. <u>Valuation</u>

      T   *los niños de Gabriela*

  [*u* φ: 3, PLURAL]   [*i* φ: 3, plural]

(116) a. <u>Match</u>

      T   *los niños de Gabriela*

  [*i* Case: nom]   ⟶   [*u* Case: _____]

b. <u>Valuation</u>

T	*los niños de Gabriela*
[*i* Case: nom]	[*u* Case: NOM]

The aim of this section was twofold: first, I reviewed the agreement pattern shown between FS *ser* and the verb in T, in one hand, and between FS *ser* and the focused constituent, on the other. Second, I discussed the operation Agree and I clarified the assumptions I adopt regarding this mechanism: a) Agree does not require movement and is comprised of the mechanisms of Match and Valuation; b) the uninterpretable (unvalued) features of the Probe are first matched with and then valued by the interpretable (valued) features of the Goal; c) the Probe searches within its c-commanding domain for a matching Goal (following Chomsky's (2000) *Conditions on matching*); and d) φ features are interpretable in the Goal (DP) but uninterpretable in the Probe (T/*v*), and Case features are interpretable in the Probe (T/*v*) but uninterpretable in the Goal (DP).

As I will attempt to show in the next two sections, the agreement pattern shown by FS *ser* can be correctly captured by the operation Agree. In section 3.3.2, I will claim that the interpretable (valued) Tense/Aspect features in T match and value the uninterpretable (unvalued) Tense/Aspect features in FS *ser*. Finally, in section 3.3.3, I will argue that the uninterpretable (unvalued) φ features of Foc are matched and valued by the interpretable (valued) φ features found in FS-focused DP subjects and DP objects with no DOM. Furthermore, I will also argue that the application of Agree in the FS construction is controlled

by the presence of some additional features that are relevant to the notions of focus and contrast.

3.3.2. Agreement between T and FS *ser*

In Chapter 2 (section 2.3.1), and in section 3.3.1.1 (in this chapter), I have described at length the agreement pattern shown between FS *ser* and the verb in T. As I have pointed out, FS *ser* must agree with whichever verb that moves to T (a matrix verb moving from v to T, or an auxiliary verb moving from Aux to T), in both Tense and Aspect. Thus, as illustrated in (109), here repeated as (117), if the verb in T is in present tense, FS *ser* must be in present tense; if it is in past tense, FS *ser* must be in past tense; and if it is in preterit or imperfect, FS *ser* must also be in preterit or imperfect:

(117) **T** **FS ser**

[Tense: α] ⟷ [Tense: α]

[Aspect: β] ⟷ [Aspect: β]
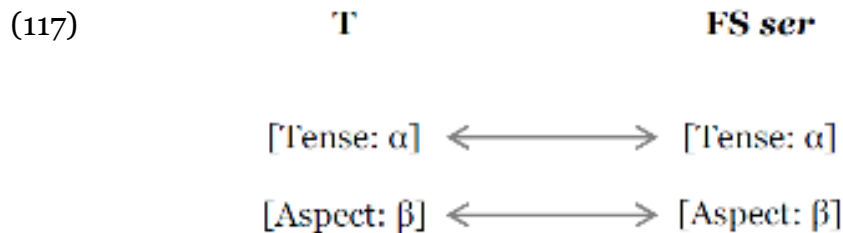
Figure 12: Agreement pattern between FS *ser* and the verb in T

Furthermore, recall that FS *ser* is being viewed in this dissertation as focus link (cf. section 3.1), and as such it has lost its original semantic properties as a copula or auxiliary verb. In fact, as I have mentioned before, although FS *ser* does not act as a copula or auxiliary verb in the FS construction, it still keeps verbal morphology given that it is originally a verb. In this sense, it is not too

surprising that it maintains certain morphological relation with other verbs, specifically with the verb in T.

Thus, following Boeckx's (2008) observation regarding the distribution of (un)interpretable Case (and Tense/Aspect) features, I will claim here that the interpretable Tense/Aspect features in T (the Probe) search, match, and value the uninterpretable (unvalued) Tense/Aspect features present in FS *ser*. Now, since FS *ser* functions as a connector between new information and its background, I have claimed that it should be analyzed as the specifier of FocP, rather than its head. Given this, the interpretable Tense/Aspect features of the Probe (T) match and value the uninterpretable (unvalued) Tense/Aspect features of the Goal (FS *ser*, located in [Spec, FocP]).

As shown in 0 below, Agree is appropriately induced between the Probe (**T**) and the Goal (**FS *ser***). That is, taking into account Chomsky's (2000) *Conditions on matching*, I find that a) the Domain of T is the sister of T, and the c-commanding Domain of T; b) the matching Tense/Aspect features of FS *ser* are the closest to T; and c) there is no other goal G' in the Domain of T matching the Tense/Aspect features of T:

(118)

```
                          TP
                        /    \
                             T'
                           /    \
                    T              FocP
            [i Tense: past]       /    \
            [i Aspect: ±perf]
                          SER           FocP'
                     [u Tense: ___ ]   /    \
                     [u Aspect: ___ ]
                                    Foc      XP
```
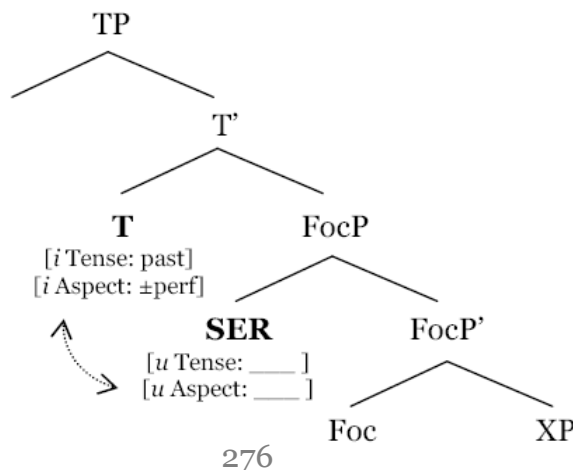
Hence, similarly to the Case agreement process observed between T (or *v*) and a DP placed in *v*P, in the Tense/Aspect agreement process (between T and FS *ser*) the interpretable Tense and Aspect features of the Probe (T) search for matching uninterpretable (unvalued) Tense and Aspect features within its c-commanding domain. Once the uninterpretable features are found in [Spec, FocP], the Probe (T) matches them and values them.

So, in an FS sentence such as (119) below, the interpretable features in T ([*i* Tense: past], [*i* Aspect: +perf]) find agreeing uninterpretable features in FS *ser* ([*u* Tense: ____], [*u* Aspect: ____]), match them, and value them ([*u* Tense: PAST], [*u* Aspect: +PERF]) in situ, as illustrated in (120) – (121):

(119) *Salieron*   <u>*fue*</u>   **por la   mañana**

     leave.3PL.PRET be.3SG.PRET by   the morning

     'It <u>was</u> **in the morning** that they left'

(120)   a. <u>Match</u>

        T   FS *ser*

        [*i* Tense: past]   ⟶   [*u* Tense: ____]
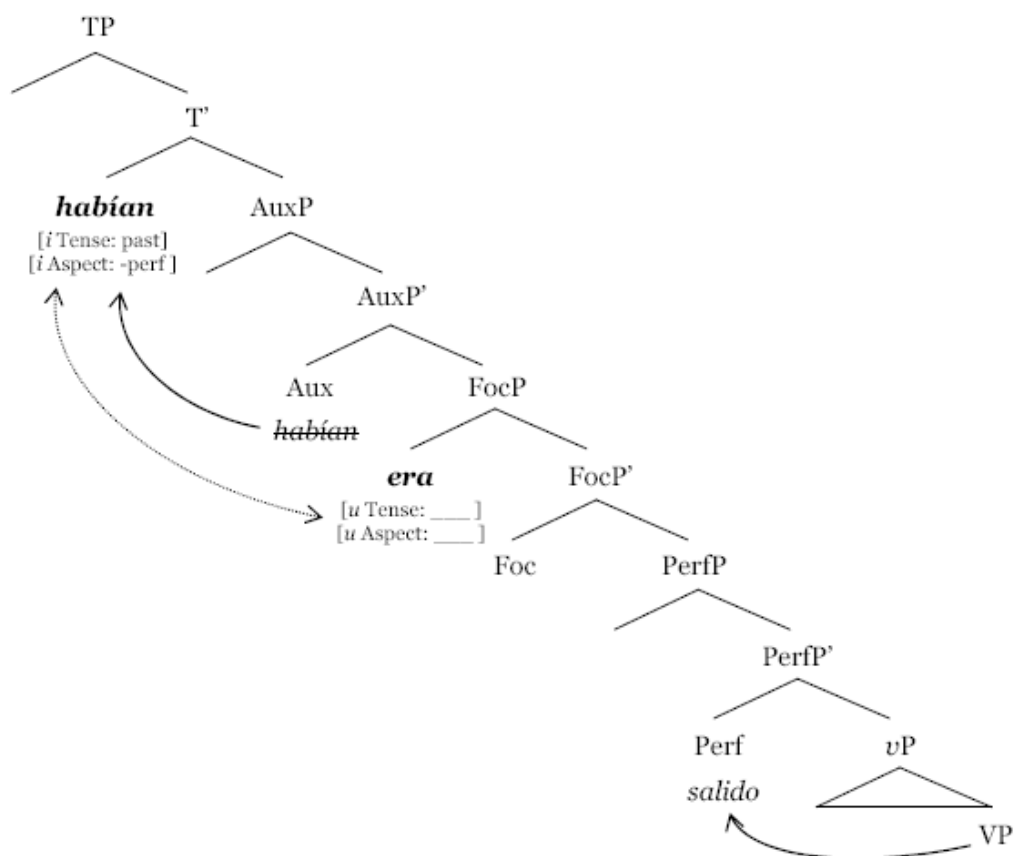
        [*i* Aspect: +perf] ⟶   [*u* Aspect: ____]

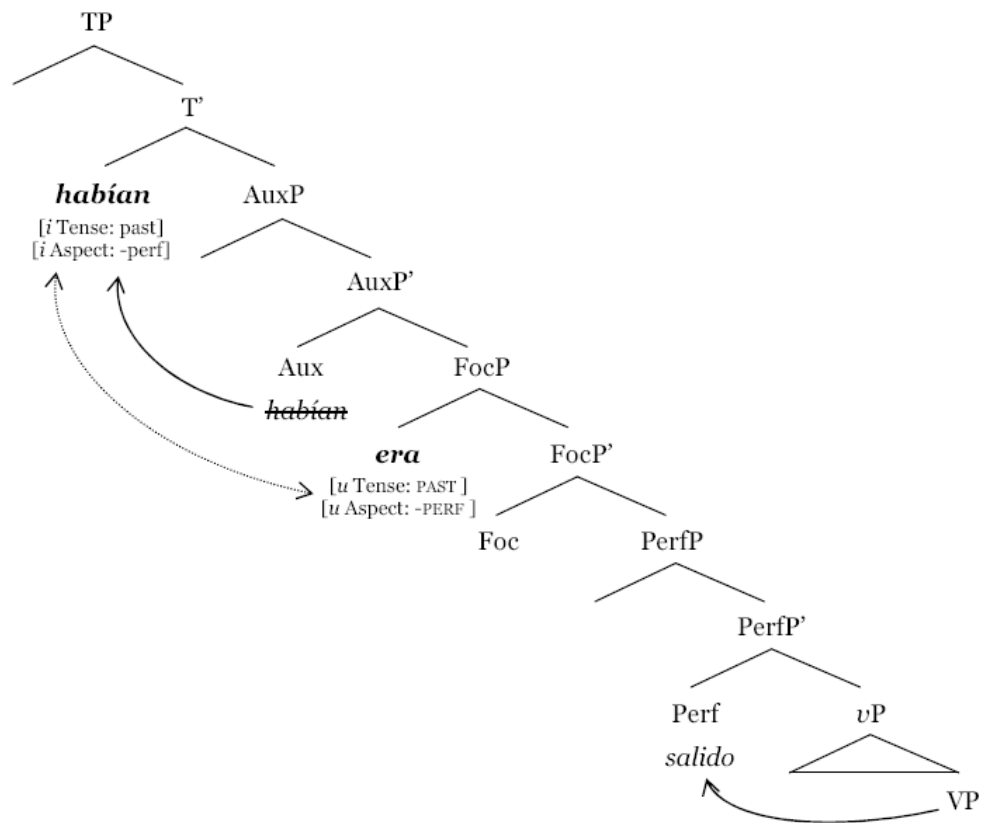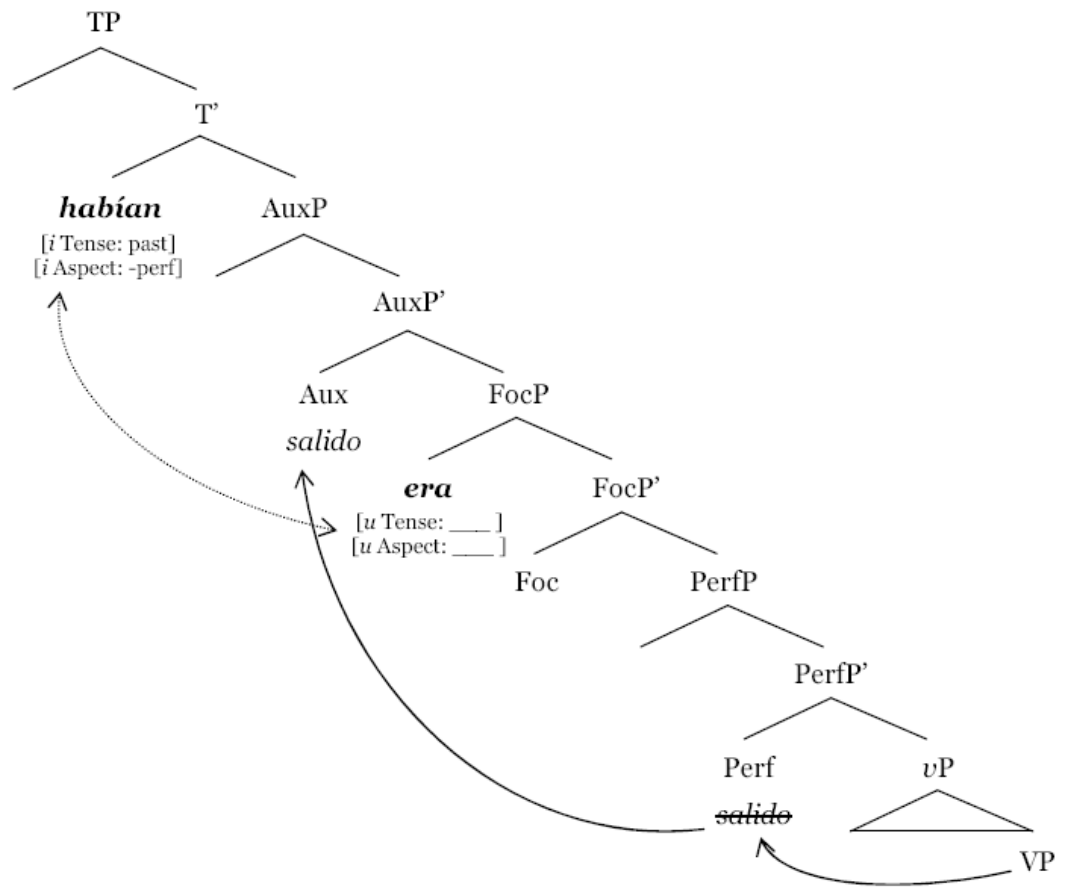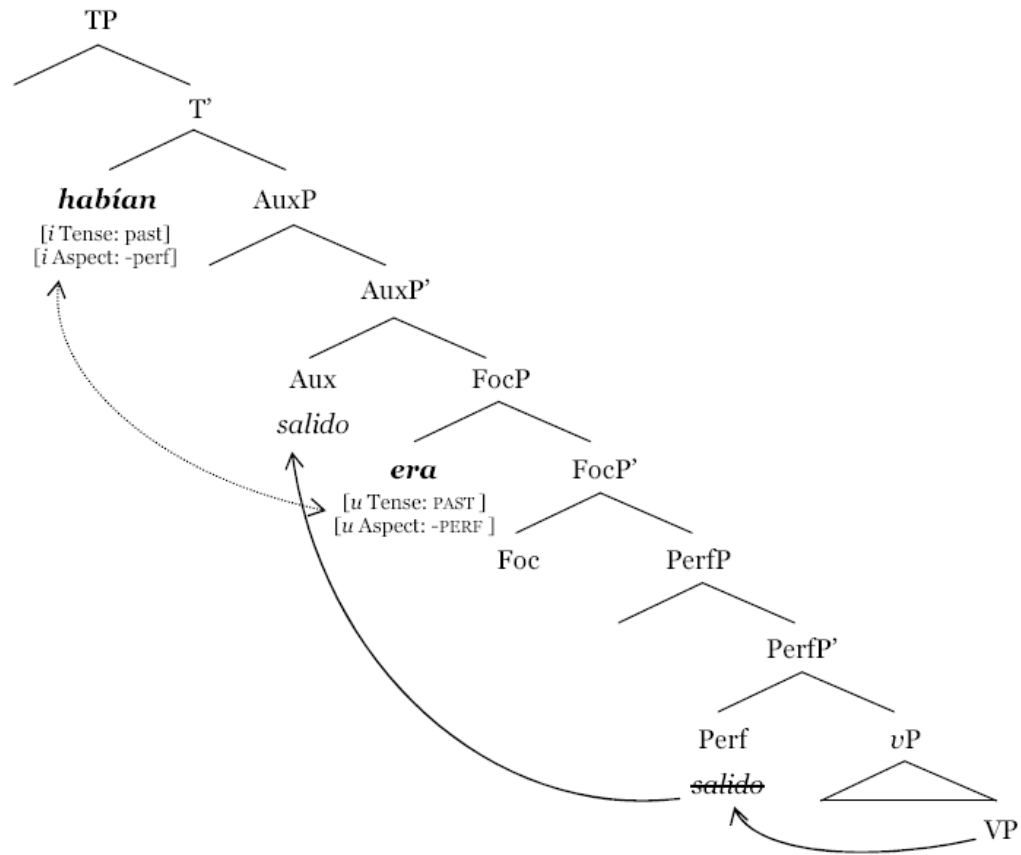   b. <u>Valuation</u>

        T   FS *ser*

        [*i* Tense: past]   [*u* Tense: PAST]

        [*i* Aspect: +perf]   [*u* Aspect: +PERF]

(121) a. <u>Match</u>   b. <u>Valuation</u> (in situ)

TP
 └ T'
    ├ **salieron**
    │ [*i* Tense: past]
    │ [*i* Aspect: +perf]
    └ FocP
       ├ **fue**
       │ [*u* Tense: ____]
       │ [*u* Aspect: ____]
       └ FocP'
          ├ Foc
          └ XP

TP
 └ T'
    ├ **salieron**
    │ [*i* Tense: past]
    │ [*i* Aspect: +perf]
    └ FocP
       ├ **fue**
       │ [*u* Tense: PAST]
       │ [*u* Aspect: +PERF]
       └ FocP'
          ├ Foc
          └ XP
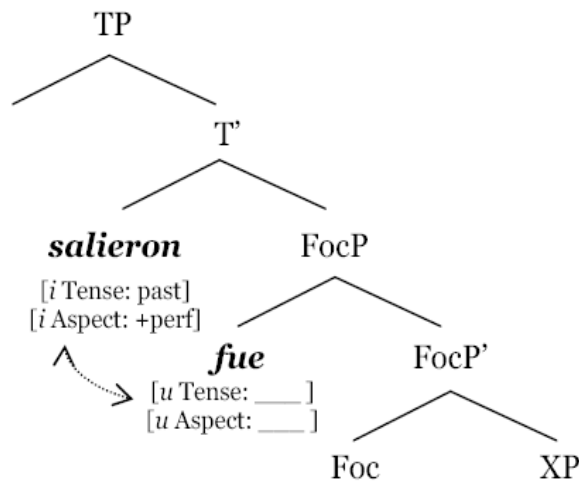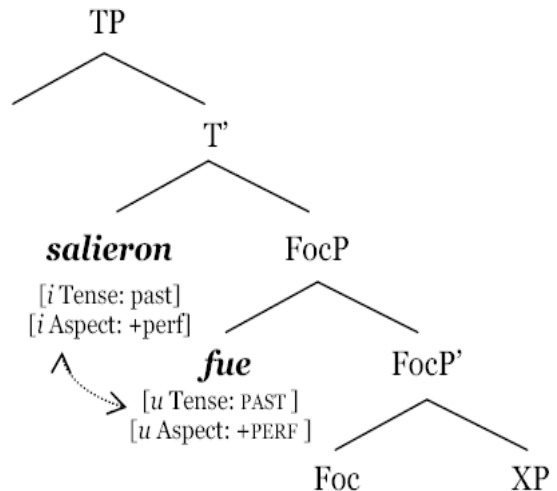
In (119) – (121), the verb in T has originally moved from *v* to T to check Tense and Aspect features[91]. As expected, the operation Agree also applies when the verb in T is an auxiliary verb that had previously moved from Aux to T. In (122) – (124), for example, I assume (as I mentioned in Chapter 2, section 2.3) that the auxiliary *habían* is base-generated in Aux and later moves to T. Furthermore, the perfective *salido* is placed in a PerfP above *v*P, and results from a morphological process after the main verb *salir* ('to leave') moves from V to Perf[92]:

(122) *Habían*   <u>*era*</u>   **salido**   *por la mañana*

  have.3PL.IMP be.3SG.IMP leave.PERF by   the morning

  'It <u>was</u> **having left in the morning** that they had done'

---

[91] Notice that verb movement occurs independently of the operation Agree and does not affect the agreement process here described.

[92] This process is not illustrated here for simplification purposes. Although it is important to keep in mind that the formation of the Perfective in (123) implies movement of *salir* ('to leave') from V to Perf, it is not crucial for what I intend to show here: the Agree operation between T and FS *ser*.

(123) a. <u>Match</u>

T	FS *ser*
[*i* Tense: past] $\longrightarrow$	[*u* Tense: ____]
[*i* Aspect: -perf] $\longrightarrow$	[*u* Aspect: ____]

b.   <u>Valuation</u>

T	FS *ser*
[*i* Tense: past]	[*u* Tense: PAST]
[*i* Aspect: -perf]	[*u* Aspect: -PERF]

(124) a. <u>Match</u>

b. <u>Valuation</u> (in situ)

TP
└ T'
  ├ **habían**
  │ [*i* Tense: past]
  │ [*i* Aspect: -perf]
  └ AuxP
     └ AuxP'
        ├ Aux
        │ ~~habían~~
        └ FocP
           ├ **era**
           │ [*u* Tense: PAST]
           │ [*u* Aspect: -PERF]
           └ FocP'
              ├ Foc
              └ PerfP
                 └ PerfP'
                    ├ Perf
                    │ *salido*
                    └ *v*P
                       └ VP

Notice that when the perfective moves from Perf to Aux (as I claim it does in section 3.2), Agree still holds between T and FS *ser*:

(125) *Habían   salido   <u>era</u>   **por la   mañana**

have.3PL.IMP   leave.PERF   be.3SG.IMP   by   the   morning

'It <u>was</u> **having left in the morning** that they had done'

(126) a. <u>Match</u>

          T   FS *ser*

[*i* Tense: past] ⟶ [*u* Tense: ____]

[*i* Aspect: -perf] ⟶ [*u* Aspect: ____]

280

b. Valuation

T	FS *ser*
[*i* Tense: past]	[*u* Tense: PAST]
[*i* Aspect: -perf]	[*u* Aspect: -PERF]

(127)a. Match

b. <u>Valuation</u>

TP
T'
habían
[*i* Tense: past]
[*i* Aspect: -perf]
AuxP
AuxP'
Aux
salido
FocP
era
[*u* Tense: PAST]
[*u* Aspect: -PERF]
FocP'
Foc
PerfP
PerfP'
Perf
~~salido~~
*v*P
VP

In this section, I have shown that the agreement pattern that I found between the verb in T (a matrix verb moving from *v* to T, or an auxiliary verb moving from Aux to T) and FS *ser* can be analyzed in terms of the operation Agree. I have argued, following Chomsky and Boeckx, that Tense and Aspect features are interpretable in T (the Probe) and uninterpretable in FS *ser* (the Goal). Thus, after the main verb (or the auxiliary verb) has moved to T, the Probe (T) searches for agreeing Tense/Aspect features within its c-commanding domain. Once FS *ser* enters the numeration, the Probe (T) finds its Goal (FS *ser*), and matches and values Tense/Aspect features in [Spec, FocP].

282

In the next section, I will show that the operation Agree can also account for the Person and/or number agreement between FS *ser* and post-verbal subjects and DOs with no DOM. Agree will further allow me to explain Focus checking between the head of FocP (Foc) and the FS-focused constituent. As it will become clear throughout section 3.3.3, φ features are matched and valued only when both [+Focus] and [+Contrast] features are checked between Foc and the FS-focused constituent.

3.3.3. Agreement between FS *ser* and the focused constituent

It may seem, from what I described in Chapter 2 (sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3) and in section 3.3.1 (in this chapter), that the agreement pattern found between FS *ser* and the focused constituent is more complicated than that between FS *ser* and the verb in T. In fact, as we observed previously, FS ser *only* establishes φ-feature agreement with post-verbal subjects and DOs without DOM, under very specific focus circumstances: when these two types of constituents occur in contrastive contexts, FS *ser* agrees with them in person and/or number. All other kinds of constituents (i.e. DOs with DOM, IOs, PPs, AdvPs, CPs, PerfPs, and ProgrPs), on the other hand, never prompt such agreement, whether they occur in contrastive or non-contrastive contexts.

This φ-feature (i.e. Person/Number) agreement pattern between FS *ser* and the focused constituent is better illustrated in (128) below (also shown in Chapter 2 in (224)):

(128)

Type of focus	FS *Ser*		Type of FS-focused constituent
Post-verbal subjects			
[+ contrast]	[1,2,3] / [SG] [1, 3] / [PL]	←——— ←———	[1,2,3] / [SG] [1, 3] / [PL]
[- contrast]	[1,2,3] / [SG] *Default*: [3, SG]	←——— ←———	[1,2,3] / [SG] [1, 3] / [PL]
DOs without DOM			
[+ contrast]	[SG] [PL]	←——— ←———	[SG] [PL]
[- contrast]	*Default*: [3, SG] *Default*: [3, SG]	←——— ←———	[SG] [PL]
DOs with DOM and IOs			
[± contrast]	*Default*: [3, SG] *Default*: [3, SG]	←——— ←———	[SG] [PL]
Other			
[± contrast]	*Default*: [3, SG]	←———	No φ features

Figure 13: Agreement between FS *ser* and the focused constituent

Based on these observations and those that I have made in Chapter 2 (sections 2.3.2 and 2.3.3), I conclude that FS *ser*: a) agrees with singular post-verbal subjects in person and number, in both contrastive and non-contrastive contexts; b) agrees with plural post-verbal subjects, *only* in contrastive contexts; c) agrees in number with singular and plural DOs without DOM, *only* in contrastive contexts; d) does not agree in number with singular or plural DOs

with DOM, and with singular or plural IOs, in both contrastive and non-contrastive contexts; and e) does not hold any φ-feature agreement with any other constituent (i.e. PPs, AdvPs, CPs, PerfPs, and ProgrPs), in both contrastive and non-contrastive contexts.

Notice that when FS *ser* does not agree with a certain constituent in person and/or number, it acquires default morphology, which is standardly regarded as third person singular: [3, SG]. A clear example of this is when FS *ser* precedes a PP; as illustrated in (129) – (130), FS *ser* can only be conjugated in third person singular ([3, SG])[93]:

(129) ^{ok} *Los guardias nos   sacaron   <u>fue</u>   **a las malas**
        the   guards   PRON   remove.3PL.PRET be.3SG.PRET to the bad
        'It <u>was</u> **in bad terms** that the guards threw us out'

(130) * *Los   guardias nos   sacaron   <u>fueron</u>   **a las malas**
        the   guards   PRON   remove.3PL.PRET be.3PL.PRET to the bad
        'It <u>was</u> **in bad terms** that the guards threw us out'

It is important to mention at this point that in a case such as (129) – (130) the default morphology shown in FS *ser* is a clear matter: FS *ser* does not show any apparent person and/or number agreement with the focused element (even though it contains a plural DP: *las malas*), or with the verb in T (even though it agrees in person and number with plural subject: *los guardias*).

---

[93] Please see chapter 2 for more examples of FS *ser* default morphology when preceding AdvPs, CPs, PerfPs, ProgrPs, etc.

However, when the FS precedes non-contrasted singular DOs with no DOM (131), singular DOs with DOM (132), and singular IOs (133) it is not as clear that FS *ser* has taken default morphology. In all of these cases, if FS *ser* agreed in person and number with the focused constituent, it would be conjugated in third person singular ([3, SG]), that is, it would take the same morphology found in the default form. Despite this, I will continue to assume that in all of these cases, instead of undergoing person and/or number agreement, FS *ser* actually takes default morphology:

(131) **A:** *¿Qué compraste?*

　　　　What did you buy?

　　B: *Compré*　　　*fue*　　　　　**un　saco**

　　　　buy.1SG.PRET　be.3SG.PRET　one　sweater

　　　　'It <u>was</u> **a sweater** that I bought'

(132)　*Julián　besó*　　　　　*fue*　　　　　**a　Julieta**

　　　Julián　　kiss.3SG.PRET　be.3SG.PRET　to　Julieta

　　　'It <u>was</u> **Julieta** that Julián kissed'

(133) *Le　mandé*　　　　*una rosa*　　*fue*　　　　**a　mi　mamá**

　　　CL　send.1SG.PRET　a　　rose　　be.3SG.PRET　to　my　mother

　　　'It <u>was</u> **my mother** to whom I sent a rose'

Having reviewed the φ-feature agreement pattern between FS *ser* and the focused constituent, and having clarified certain aspects of FS *ser* default

morphology, I will now discuss how the operation Agree can be used to explain φ-feature agreement and Focus-feature checking between FS *ser* and the focused element. As we will see in detail, the φ-feature agreement process entirely depends on the Focus-feature checking process: if the focused constituent checks both [+Focus] and [+Contrast] features, φ-feature agreement also applies; however, if only [+Focus] is checked, φ-feature agreement does not apply, thus prompting default morphology on FS *ser*.

At this point, let us recall that FS *ser* is viewed here as focus link, placed in the specifier of a TP-internal FocP ([Spec, FocP]). I assume, following previous studies on focus (Bródy 1995; Bosch and Sand 1999; Gundel 1999; Breul 2004; Bury 2004; Molnár and Winkler 2006), that focus features are present in the head of the Focus Phrase, not in its specifier. Based on this, I will claim that Foc contains uninterpretable Focus features, such as [Focus] and [Contrast], and that it acts as a Probe. In turn, the focused constituent contains interpretable (valued) Focus features ([Focus] and [Contrast]), and it acts as a Goal.

Furthermore, following Chomsky's and Boeckx's observations regarding the distribution of (un)interpretable φ features, I will argue that the Probe (Foc) also contains uninterpretable φ features ([Number] and [Person]), and that the Goal (the focused constituent) contains interpretable (valued) φ features. Also, as I mentioned in section 3.3.1, I have assumed here that the operation Agree: a) comprises two mechanisms (Match and Valuation); b) does not require movement (it can occur in-situ); c) requires that the Probe matches and values its

uninterpretable features within its c-commanding domain, according to
Chomsky's (2000) *Conditions on matching*.

Thus, as shown in (134), Agree is appropriately induced between the Probe
(**Foc**) and the Goal (the focused **XP**). That is, taking into account Chomsky's
(2000) *Conditions on matching*, I find that a) the Domain of Foc is the sister of
Foc, and the c-commanding Domain of Foc; b) the matching Focus and φ
features of the focused XP are the closest to Foc; and c) there is no other goal G'
in the Domain of Foc matching the Focus and φ features of Foc:

(134)

```
                    FocP
                   /    \
                 SER    FocP'
                       /    \
                    Foc      vP
          [u Focus: ____ ]    /\
          [u Contrast: ____ ] /  \
            [u φ: ____ ]    XP
            [u φ: ____ ]   [i Focus: ±Focus]
                           [i Contrast: ±Contrast]
                           [i φ: Number]
                           [i φ: Person]
```
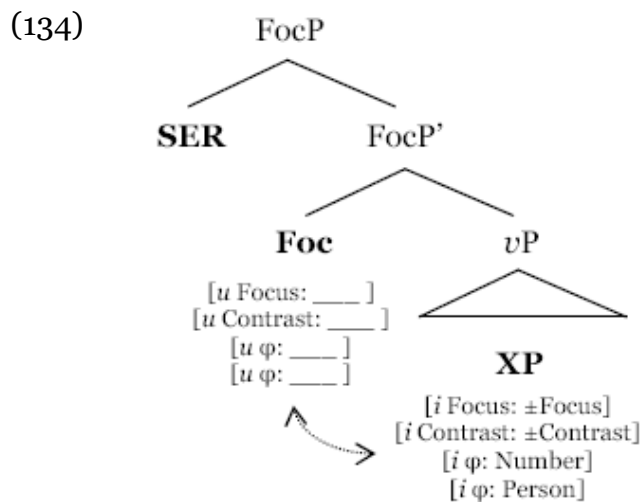
Hence, I argue (following Chomsky and Boeckx) that the Probe (Foc)
searches for matching interpretable (valued) Focus and φ features within its c-
commanding domain. Once the Probe (Foc) finds the interpretable features, the
focused constituent (XP) matches and values its uninterpretable features.
Importantly, Focus features are matched and valued before φ features. So, if a
focused XP is contrasted (i.e. it matches and values [Focus] and [Contrast]

288

features), it matches and values the uninterpretable φ features of the Probe (Foc). However, based on the conditions about incomplete goals discussed by Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007) and Béjar (2003), I argue that if a focused XP is not contrasted (it matches and values *only* [Focus] features), it does not match and value the uninterpretable φ features of the Probe (Foc), thus inducing default morphology on FS *ser*.

So, in an FS sentence such as (135) below, the uninterpretable features in Foc ([*u* Focus: ____], [*u* Contrast: ____], [*u* φ: ____]) find agreeing interpretable features in the focused DO without DOM ([*i* Focus: +Focus], [*i* Contrast: +Contrast], [*i* φ: plural]). Thus, the Goal matches them, and values them ([*u* Focus: +FOCUS], [*u* Contrast: +CONTRAST], [*u* φ: PLURAL]) in situ, as illustrated in (136) – (137):

(135) **A:** *¿No habían traído unas sábanas?*

Had they not bring some sheets?

B: *No, trajeron* ~~*fueron*~~ **unas almohadas**

no bring.3PL.PRET be.3PL.PRET some   pillows

'It <u>was</u> **some pillows** that they brought'

(136) a. <u>Match</u>

| Foc | | DP_{DO (no DOM)} |

Foc   DP_DO (no DOM)

[*u* Focus: ____] ⟶ [*i* Focus: +Focus]

[*u* Contrast: ____] ⟶ [*i* Contrast: +Contrast]

[*u* φ: ____] ⟶ [*i* φ: plural]

289

b. <u>Valuation</u> (in situ)

Foc	DP$_{DO}$ (no DOM)
[*u* Focus: +FOCUS]	[*i* Focus: +Focus]
[*u* Contrast: +CONTRAST]	[*i* Contrast: +Contrast]
[*u* φ: PLURAL]	[*i* φ: plural]
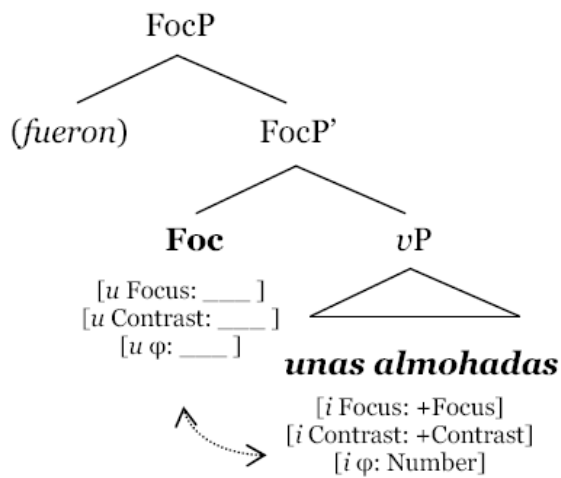
(137) a. <u>Match</u>   b. <u>Valuation</u> (in situ)
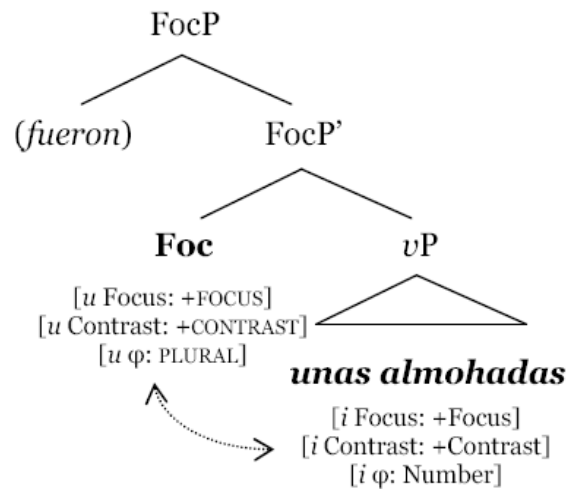
However, as shown in (138), when the focused DO without DOM is not contrasted (it has a [-Contrast] feature), it *only* matches and values the Probe's uninterpretable Focus and Contrast features. So, when the focused DP values the Probe's uninterpretable Contrast feature with [-CONTRAST], φ features cannot be valued in Foc, which prompts default morphology, as illustrated in (139) – (140):

(138) **A:** *¿Qué trajeron?*

What did they bring?

B: *Trajeron*   *fue*   **unas almohadas**

bring.3PL.PRET   be.3SG.PRET   some pillows

'It <u>was</u> **some pillows** that they brought'

(139) a. <u>Match</u>

| Foc | | DP_{DO (no DOM)} |

Foc   DP_{DO (no DOM)}

[*u* Focus: ____]   ⟶   [*i* Focus: +Focus]

[*u* Contrast: ____]   ⟶   [*i* Contrast: -Contrast]

[*u* φ: ____]   ⟶   [*i* φ: plural]

b.   <u>Valuation</u> (in situ)

Foc   DP_{DO (no DOM)}

[*u* Focus: +FOCUS]   [*i* Focus: +Focus]

[*u* Contrast: -CONTRAST]   [*i* Contrast: -Contrast]

[*u* φ: DEFAULT]   [*i* φ: plural]
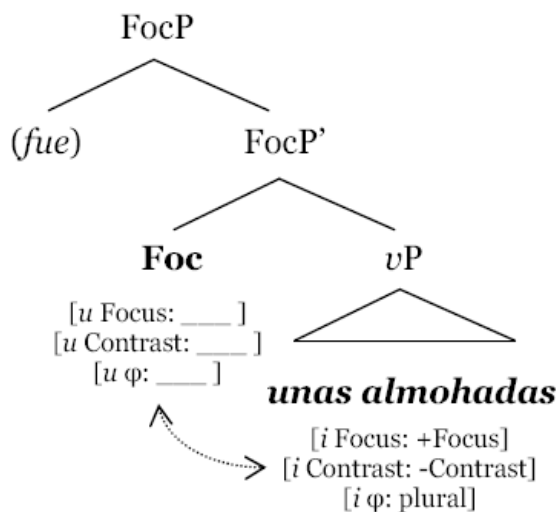
(140) a. <u>Match</u>   b. <u>Valuation</u> (in situ)
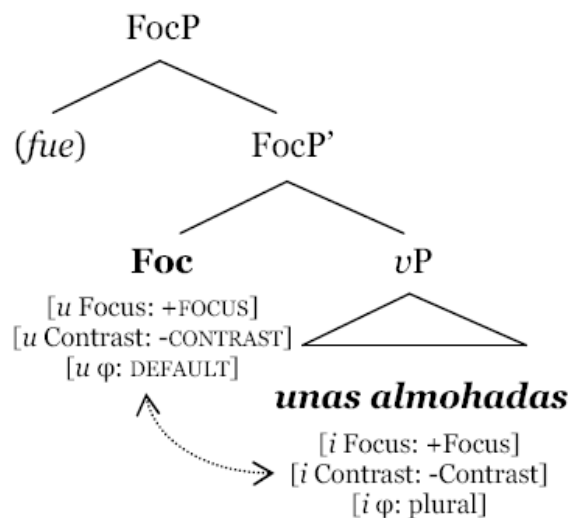
In cases of FS-focused DOs with DOM or FS-focused IOs, the Goal (the focused DP) matches and values the uninterpretable Focus features of the Probe (Foc), but it is unable to match and value its uninterpretable number feature. So, regardless of the Contrast features present in the Goal ([±Contrast]), Foc can only acquire default φ features ([u φ: DEFAULT]).

Although this may seem inexplicable at first, previous studies on Spanish DOs and IOs (Demonte 1995; Cuervo 2001; Cuervo 2003; De Pedro Munilla 2004; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007) suggest that DOs with DOM and IOs are structurally different from DOs without DOM. Cuervo (2001, 2003), for example, claims that "*the dative, even when closer to v has no uninterpretable case –it has inherent case –and so is 'invisible' to v (as the inherent dative experience in English is not 'seen' by T in a raising construction like seem + experience).*" (Cuervo, 2001: 128).

Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007), also shows that A-marked DOs (DOs with DOM) and IOs are syntactically different from non-A-marked DOs (DOs without DOM). For him, A-marked DOs and IOs show the same case-feature process and are placed in a Dative Phrase above vP, whereas non-A-marked DOs always remain in [Spec, vP]. Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2007), based on his observations of Spanish DOM, further suggests that DOs with DOM and IOs have similar φ-feature structure.

Based on this, I assume here that FS-focused DOs with DOM and IOs are placed in different structural positions (out of the reach of Agree), which prevents them from matching and valueing φ features and prompts them to only

match and value Focus features ([Focus] and [Contrast]). For example, in

sentence (141), the plural IO receives contrastive focus. However, as shown in

(142) – (143), only Focus and Contrast features are matched and valued, so Foc

receives default φ features ([3, SG]):

(141) **A:** *¿No les habían comprado zapatos a los huérfanos?*

      Had they not bought shoes for the orphans?

  B: *No, les compraron   zapatos* <u>*fue*</u>   ***a los mendigos***

     no   CL buy.3PL.PRET shoes   be.3SG.PRET to the beggars

     'It <u>was</u> **the beggars** for whom they bought shoes'

(142) a. <u>Match</u>

       Foc   DP$_{IO}$

     [*u* Focus: _____]   ⟶   [*i* Focus: +Focus]

     [*u* Contrast: _____]   ⟶   [*i* Contrast: +Contrast]

     [*u* φ: _____]   ⟶   [*i* φ: Ø]

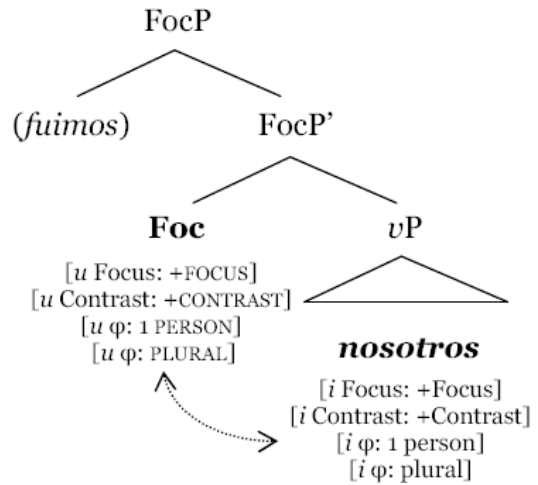 b.   <u>Valuation</u> (in situ)

       Foc   DP$_{IO}$

     [*u* Focus: +FOCUS]   [*i* Focus: +Focus]

     [*u* Contrast: +CONTRAST]   [*i* Contrast: +Contrast]

     [*u* φ: DEFAULT]   [*i* φ: Ø]
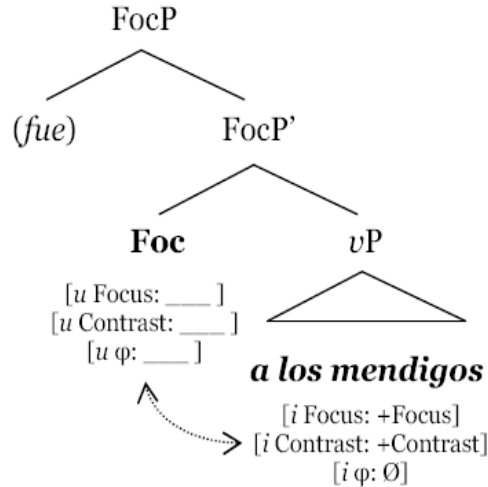
(143) a. <u>Match</u>   b. <u>Valuation</u> (in situ)
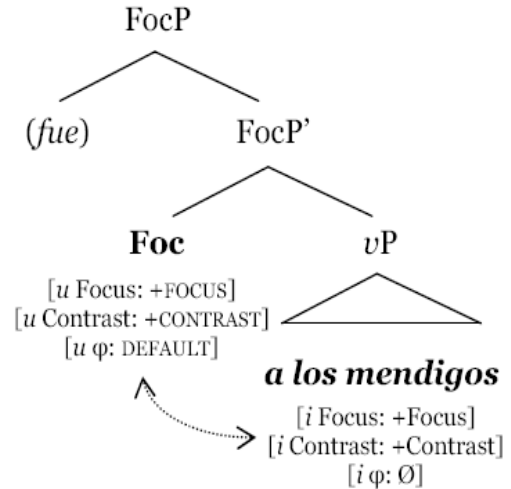
Other FS-focused constituents, such as PPs, AdvPs, CPs, PerfPs, and ProgrPs, are also unable to check φ features (e.g. [number]) with FS *ser*. I assume here, as I did for FS-focused IOs and DOs with DOM, that these constituents only value and match Focus features ([Focus] and [Contrast]) with Foc. Hence, in sentences such as (144), Foc once again acquires default number features φ features ([3, sg]), even though the focused element is contrasted:

(144) **A:** *Pensé que ustedes trabajaban en Carrefour*

     'I thought that you worked at Carrefour'

   B: *No, trabajamos   <u>es</u>   **en el   Éxito***

     no   work.3PL.PRES be.3SG.PRET in   the Éxito

     'It <u>is</u> **at Éxito** that we work'

(145) a. <u>Match</u>

      Foc   PP

[*u* Focus: _____]   ⟶   [*i* Focus: +Focus]

[*u* Contrast: _____]   ⟶   [*i* Contrast: +Contrast]

[*u* φ: _____]   ⟶   [*i* φ: Ø]

b.   <u>Valuation</u> (in situ)

      Foc   PP

[*u* Focus: +FOCUS]   [*i* Focus: +Focus]

[*u* Contrast: +CONTRAST]   [*i* Contrast: +Contrast]

[*u* φ: DEFAULT]   [*i* φ: Ø]
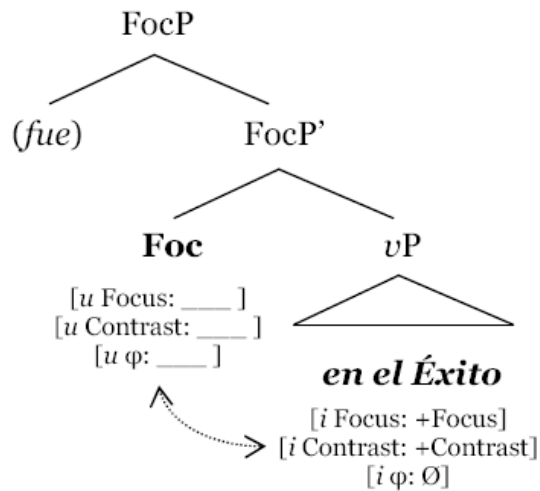
(146) a. <u>Match</u>   b. <u>Valuation</u> (in situ)
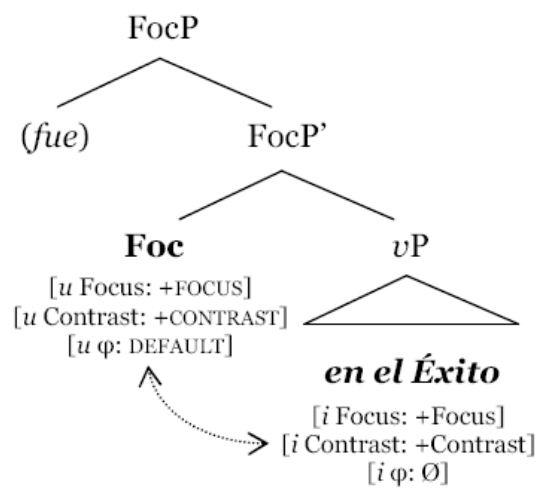
Finally, in terms of FS-focused post-verbal subjects, I find that contrasted

DPs (singular and plural) trigger φ feature ([person] and [number]) matching

and valuation in Foc. In (147), for example, the contrasted DP plural subject

matches and values φ features in Foc:

(147) **A:** *Me dijeron que habían ganado Los Leopardos*

   'They told me that The Leopards had won'

  B: *No, ganamos <u>fuimos</u> **nosotros***

   no win.3PL.PRET be.1PL.PRET we

   'It <u>was</u> **we** who won'

(148) a. <u>Match</u>

Foc		DPSUBJECT
[*u* Focus: _____]	⟶	[*i* Focus: +Focus]
[*u* Contrast: _____]	⟶	[*i* Contrast: +Contrast]
[*u* φ: _____]	⟶	[*i* φ: 1 person]
[*u* φ: _____]	⟶	[*i* φ: plural]

 b. <u>Valuation</u> (in situ)

Foc	DPSUBJECT
[*u* Focus: +FOCUS]	[*i* Focus: +Focus]
[*u* Contrast: +CONTRAST]	[*i* Contrast: +Contrast]
[*u* φ: 1 PERSON]	[*i* φ: 1 person]
[*u* φ: PLURAL]	[*i* φ: plural]

(149) a. <u>Match</u>   b. <u>Valuation</u> (in situ)

FocP
(*fuimos*)   FocP'
         Foc   *v*P
[*u* Focus: ____]
[*u* Contrast: ____]
    [*u* φ: ____]   ***nosotros***
    [*u* φ: ____]   [*i* Focus: +Focus]
                     [*i* Contrast: +Contrast]
                     [*i* φ: 1 person]
                     [*i* φ: plural]

FocP
(*fuimos*)   FocP'
         Foc   *v*P
[*u* Focus: +FOCUS]
[*u* Contrast: +CONTRAST]
    [*u* φ: 1 PERSON]   ***nosotros***
    [*u* φ: PLURAL]   [*i* Focus: +Focus]
                       [*i* Contrast: +Contrast]
                       [*i* φ: 1 person]
                       [*i* φ: plural]
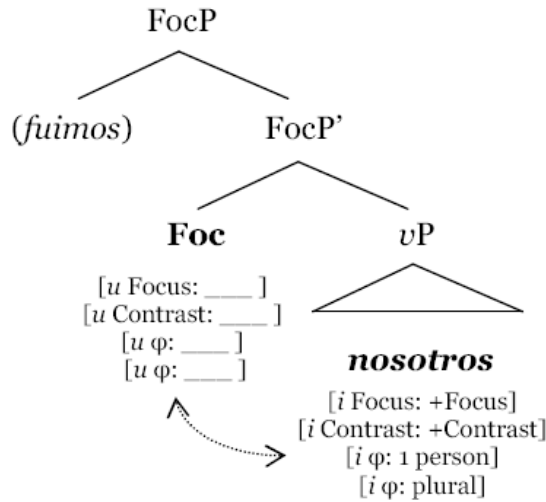
However, in cases of non-contrasted DPs, I find that singular DP subjects still match and value Person and Number features in Foc. This seems puzzling and problematic for my analysis, given that non-contrasted DOs (without DOM) never match and value φ features (i.e. [number]) in Foc. So, as shown below, a contrasted singular DP subject (150) establishes Person and Number agreement with FS *ser*, as well as a non-contrasted singular DP subject (151):

(150) **A:** *Mi papá me dijo que había salido Marta Lucía*

'My father told me that Marta Lucía had left'

  B: *No,   salí   <u>fui</u>   **yo***

  no   leave.1SG.PRET be.1SG.PRET I

  'It <u>was</u> **I** who left'

(151) **A:** *¿Qué pasó?*

'What happened?'

B: *Pues que,   salí   fui   yo   a mirar qué pasaba*[94]

    well that leave.1SG.PRET be.1SG.PRET I   to see.INF what happened

    'Well, that it <u>was</u> **I** who left to see what was happening'

On the other hand, plural FS-focused post-verbal subjects do not agree with FS *ser* when they occur in non-contrastive contexts. Consider, for example B1 and B2 sentences in (152), where both *nosotros* ('we') and *ellos* ('they') is preceded by an FS *ser* with default morphology ([3, SG]):

(152)**A:** *¿Quién salió al supermercado esta mañana?*

    'Who left for the supermarket this morning?'

  B1: *Salieron   (*fueron / ᵒᵏ fue)   **mis abuelos***

    leave.3PL.PRET be.3PL/3SG.PRET my   grandparents

    'It <u>was</u> **my grandparents** who left'

  B2: *Salimos   (*fuimos / ᵒᵏ fue)   **nosotros***

    leave.1PL.PRET   be.1PL/3SG.PRET   we

    'It <u>was</u> **we** who left'

However, as it has been noted by some scholars (e.g. Contreras,1991; Olarrea 1996; Ordóñez 1977; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007), plural post-verbal subjects may behave differently than singular post-verbal subjects. For example, given the

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[94] Recall that, as I explained in chapter 2 (section 2.3.2), when FS *ser* precedes first and second person singular post-verbal subjects (*yo* 'I' and *tú* 'YOU.INF'), it always has to match their person and number features. Thus, sentences such as (151) - (152) never allow FS *ser* to take person and/or number features different from ([1 person] and [singular]).

context in (153), the DP *los estudiantes* ('the students') entails *nosotros* ('we') and not *ellos* ('they'):

(153) **Context:** Mario (M) studies Medicine at a Colombian University. He is giving a tour to a group of new students, and he is explaining what he and other students usually do for fun:

M: *Generalmente vamos a ver partidos de fútbol y hacemos apuestas.*
'Generally we go to watch Football matches and we gamble.

ok *Después,* ***vamos*** *los estudiantes a un bar a tomar cerveza.*
afterwards go.1PL.PRES the students to a bar to drink.INF beer
'Afterwards, the students (we) go to a bar to drink beer'

Nevertheless, in a similar discourse context, a singular DP such as *yo* ('I') cannot be entailed from any other pronoun or DP, as illustrated in (154):

(154) **Context:** I study Medicine at a Colombian University. I give a tour to a group of new students, and I explain what I usually do for fun:

M: *Generalmente voy a ver partidos de fútbol y hago apuestas.*
'Generally I go to watch Football matches and I gamble.

* *Después,* ***voy*** *el estudiante a un bar a tomar cerveza.*
afterwards go.1SG.PRES the student to a bar to drink.INF beer
'Afterwards, the student (I) go to a bar to drink beer'

299

Based on this observation, I claim that the agreement asymmetry found in singular and plural FS-focused post-verbal subjects (having singular subjects agreeing with FS *ser* in both contrastive and non-contrastive contexts) does not rely exclusively on the FS phenomenon. That is, the fact that singular post-verbal subjects always agree with FS *ser* in Person and Number does not have to do with the FS itself, but to certain morphological and semantic properties of post-verbal subjects in Spanish. Hence, I will not discuss this issue any further in this dissertation because it is not crucial for my analysis of the FS, specifically regarding the operation Agree and the agreement pattern observed between FS *ser* and post-verbal subjects.

To summarize my analysis regarding agreement between FS *ser* and the focused constituent, I have argued that the agreement pattern found between the FS and post-verbal subjects and DOs with no DOM can be explained through the operation Agree. I have claimed, following mainly Chomsky's (2000, 2001, 2004) and Boeckx's (2008) assumptions concerning the distribution of (un)interpretable features, that the head of FocP (Foc) acts as a Probe and contains uninterpretable Focus ([Focus] and [Contrast]) and φ features ([Person] and [Number]). In turn, the focused constituent (XP) acts as a Goal and contains interpretable (valued) Focus ([Focus] and [Contrast]) and φ features ([Person] and [Number]). Hence, the Probe (Foc) searches for agreeing Focus and φ features within its c-commanding domain, and once it finds them, the Goal (the focused XP) matches them and values them. Furthermore, I clarified that Focus

features are matched and valued before φ features, given that the latter may not be checked in cases of non-contrastive focus.

Hence, in cases of FS-focused post-verbal subjects, I showed that the focused DP matches and values Person and Number features in Foc, only if it has also matched and valued [+Focus] and [+Contrast] features. However, if the focused DP has matched and valued [+Focus] and [-Contrast] features, it does not match and value Person and Number features in Foc, thus triggering default morphology in Foc ([3,SG]). However, this process is only captured in plural post-verbal subjects, and not in singular post-verbal subjects. As I speculated towards the end of the section, this asymmetry between singular and plural post-verbal subjects (i.e. between first and second person singular and first and third person plural) may not be attributable to the FS phenomenon, but to other morphological and semantic properties of Spanish post-verbal subjects.

Furthermore, as I illustrated for FS-focused DOs without DOM, the Agree operation just described is much more straightforward: when the focused XP matches and values [+Focus] and [+Contrast] features, it also matches and values φ features (i.e. [plural]). However, when the focused XP matches and values [+Focus] and [-Contrast] features, it does not check number features with Foc, which prompts default morphology in Foc ([3, SG]). Also, since FS-focused DOs without DOM only contain Number features, Foc acquires default Person features, which I find to be third person ([3 person]).

Finally, I concluded that FS-focused DOs with DOM, IOs, and other FS-focused constituents (i.e. PPs, AdvPs, CPs, PerfPs, and ProgrPs) are structurally

different from other constituents and cannot check φ features ([Person] and/or [Number]) with FS *ser*. Given this, I argued that, regardless of contrast (whether the focused constituent checks [± Contrast]), Foc gets valued only Focus features ([+Focus] and [± Contrast]). Thus, since there are no φ features in the focused XP, Foc values default morphology ([3, SG]).

Based on all of this, the chart included in (128) should be modified as shown in (155), in order to capture more accurately the processes just described:

(155)

Type of focus	FS *Ser*		Type of FS-focused constituent
	Post-verbal subjects		
[+ contrast]	[1,2,3] / [SG]	←	[1,2,3] / [SG]
	[1, 3] / [PL]	←	[1, 3] / [PL]
[- contrast]	[1,2,3] / [SG]	←	[1,2,3] / [SG]
	Default: [3, SG]	←	[1, 3] / [PL]
	DOs without DOM		
[+ contrast]	*Default*: [3] / [SG]	←	[SG]
	Default: [3] / [PL]	←	[PL]
[- contrast]	*Default*: [3, SG]	←	[SG]
	Default: [3, SG]	←	[PL]
	DOs with DOM and IOs		
[± contrast]	*Default*: [3, SG]	←	No φ features
	Other		
[± contrast]	*Default*: [3, SG]	←	No φ features

Figure 14: Agreement between FS *ser* and the focused constituent (revised)

Throughout this entire section I have addressed two agreement processes that I observed in the FS construction: in one, FS *ser* establishes Tense and Aspect agreement with the verb in T; and in the other, FS *ser* establishes Person and/or Number agreement with certain focused constituents. To introduce this section, I briefly reviewed the agreement pattern shown between FS *ser* and the verb in T, and between FS *ser* and the focused constituent. Then, I discussed the mechanism of Agree and I defined my own assumptions regarding this process and the distribution of (un)interpretable features. Based on Chomsky and Boeckx I have assumed that: a) Agree consists of two steps (Match and Valuation) and does not require movement; b) the Probe searches within its c-commanding domain for a matching Goal (following Chomsky's (2000) *Conditions on matching*); and c) φ features are interpretable in the Goal (DP) but uninterpretable in the Probe (T/v), and Case features are interpretable in the Probe (T/v) but uninterpretable in the Goal (DP).

Having established the FS *ser* agreement pattern and my theoretical assumptions regarding the operation Agree, I argued (in sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3) that Agree can account for the two agreement processes here observed. For the first agreement process (FS *ser* agreeing with T in Tense and Aspect), I claimed that Tense and Aspect features are interpretable in T (the Probe) and uninterpretable in FS *ser* (the Goal). Thus, the Probe (T) searches for agreeing Tense/Aspect features within its c-commanding domain. Then, the Probe (T) finds its Goal in [Spec, FocP], and matches and values Tense/Aspect features for FS *ser*. For the second agreement process (FS ser agreeing with post-verbal

subjects and DOs with no DOM), I argued that Focus ([+Focus] and [±Contrast])

and φ features ([Person] and [Number]) are uninterpretable in Foc (the Probe)

and interpretable in the focused XP (the Goal). Furthermore, since I assume that

Focus features are checked before φ features, I claimed that in cases of non-

contrastive focus (when the focused XP values [-CONTRAST] in Foc), the φ

features of the focused XP are not valued, thus prompting default morphology in

Foc ([3, SG]). In addition, when constituents are unable to check φ features

([Person] and/or [Number]) with FS *ser*, Foc values default morphology (i.e.

[SINGULAR] and/or [3 PERSON]).

In conclusion, these two processes occur simultaneously: one the one hand, T

matches and values Tense and Aspect features in [Spec, FocP] (156a); on the

other, the focused XP matches and values Focus and φ features in Foc (156b):

(156) a.
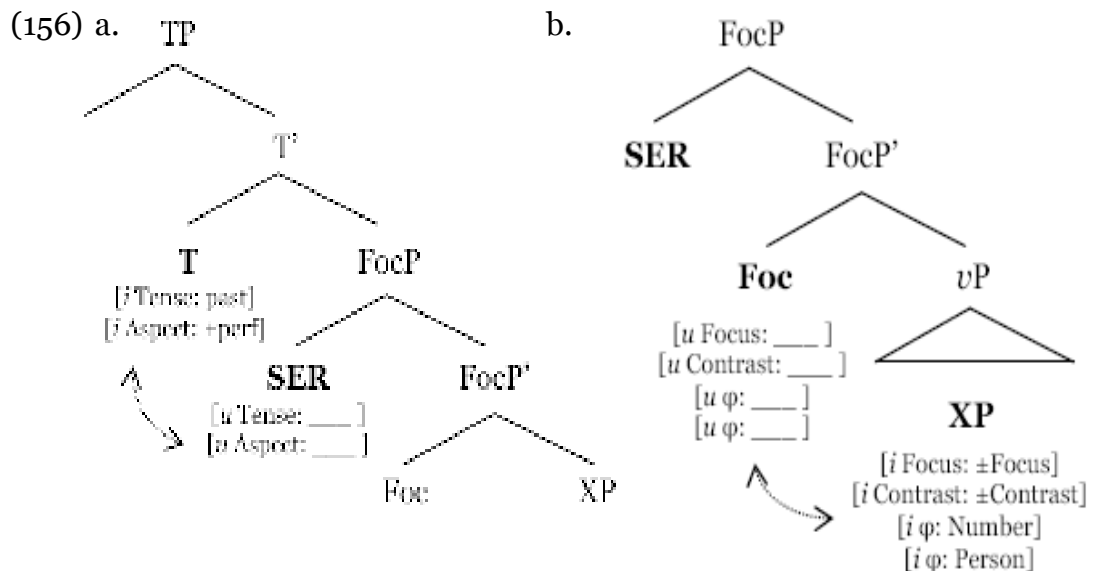
Based on previous accounts (Rochemont and Culicover 1990; Rooth 1992; Lambrecht 1994; Bródy 1995; Erteschik-Shir 1997; Breul 2004; Bury 2004; Molnár and Winkler 2006; Gundel and Fretheim 2007), it seems that informational components (e.g. topic and focus) enter the derivation at a later stage, after morphology has taken place. First of all, Chomsky (1995) claims that the central architecture of the language faculty should start from Initial Array (referred to by Chomsky and Lasnik (1997) as D(eep)-Structure), move on to Spell-Out operation (earlier called S(urface)-Structure: Chomsky and Lasnik (1997)), and end up in both LF (Logical Form) and PF (Phonological Form):

(157)

```
        Initial Array
             |
             |
         Spell Out
           /    \
          /      \
       LF          PF
```
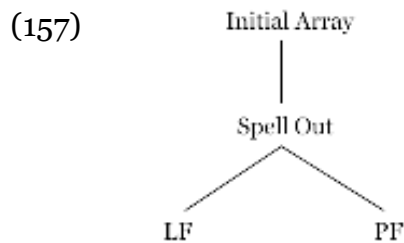
[From Boeckx 2008: 118]

Based on this, Erteschik-Shir (1997) suggests that F-structure (focus structure) feeds both PF (Phonological Form) and semantics and is sensitive to lexical information. Thus, as shown in 0, F-structure (and not LF) provides the input to a semantic rule of Predication:

(158)

```
          Syntax
             |
             |
        F-structure
          /      \
         /        \
      PF          Semantics
```
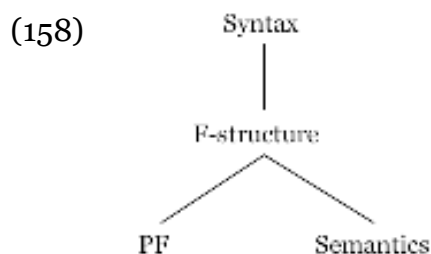
[Erteschik-Shir 1997: 3]

Winkler (2006), on the other hand, claims that the information-structural component mediates between syntax, semantics, phonology, and even pragmatics. Thus, although in her analysis focus and information structure are filtered to different fields of Grammar (focus is assigned at PF and information structure is computed at LF), they both take place after the syntactic array.

Taking this into account, I claim that the two agreement processes illustrated in (157) take place before FS *ser* is spelled out in the Grammar. That is, Tense and Aspect features are valued in [Spec, FocP] and Focus and φ features are valued in Foc before FS *ser* is pronounced at PF. So, once this group of features is present in FocP, FS *ser* will eventually (either at Spell-Out or at LF) "materialize" as *es* ('is'), *fue* ('was'), *era* ('was'), etc. In a sentence such as (159), for example, the structure in (161) shows that FS *ser* is pronounced as *fui*, given that the bundle of features valued in FocP are [PAST, +PERF, +FOCUS,+CONTRAST, SG, 1]:

(159) *Salí*   *<u>fui</u>*   **yo**

       leave.1SG.PRET   be.1SG.PRET I

       'It <u>was</u> **I** who left'

(160) Morpho-syntax: Spell out/PF:

TP
  T'
    T   FocP
    [*i* Tense: past]
    [*i* Aspect: ±perf]
              [*u* Tense: PAST]   FocP'
              [*u* Aspect: +PERF]
                    Foc   *v*P
                    [*u* Focus: + FOCUS]
                    [*u* Contrast: + CONTRAST]
                    [*u* φ: SINGULAR]
                    [*u* φ: 1]
                              XP
                              [*i* Focus: ±Focus]
                              [*i* Contrast: ±Contrast]
                              [*i* φ: Number]
                              [*i* φ: Person]

TP
  T'
    T   FocP
    sali
          fui   FocP'
                    Foc   *v*P
                                  yo
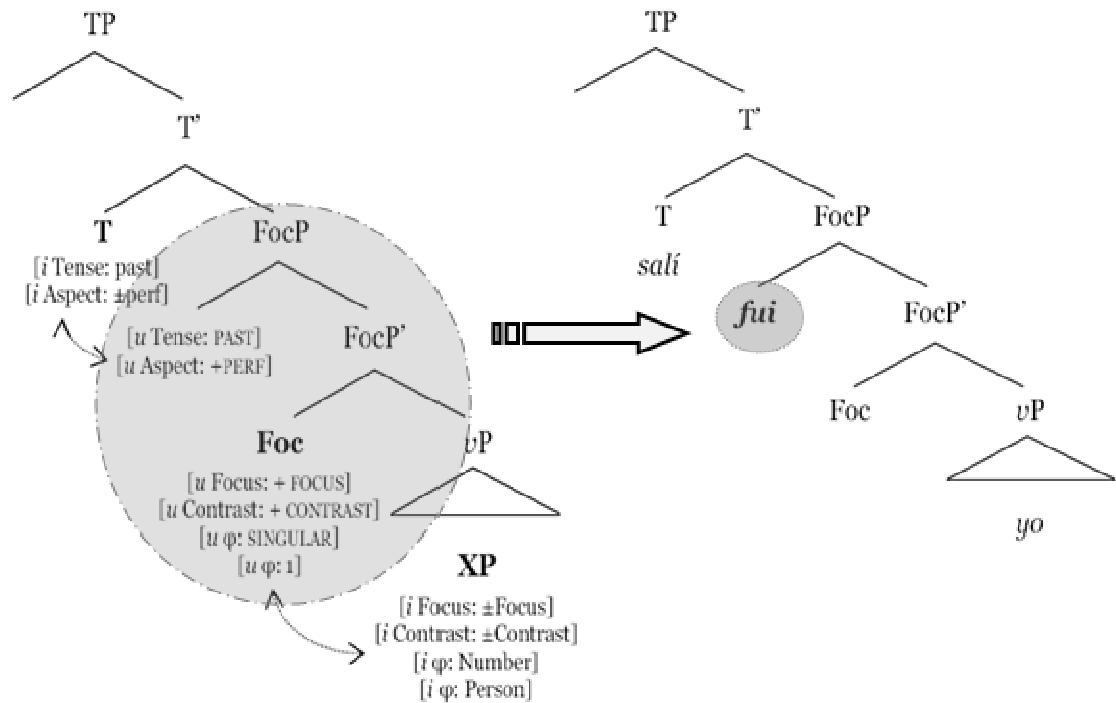
Hence, I do not claim here that FS *ser* enters the Grammar already specified
in terms of Tense/Aspect, Focus and Person/Number. That is, in a case such as
(159), FS *ser* does not enter the derivation at Spell Out (or at PF) already as *fui*.
The fact that FS *ser* may take various morphological features, and that they are
dependent on contrast, suggests that FS *ser* is not a fixed form, and that it
acquires specific morphological features later in the derivation. Furthermore, I
believe that this "late insertion" of FS *ser* in the Grammar is what differentiates
FS dialects from other non-FS dialects: the morphological and syntactic layout of
TP-internal focus is present in all Spanish dialects, but only in FS-dialects FS *ser*
gets realized. As I will mention in my concluding chapter (Chapter 4), this is a

very interesting observation that I could not elaborate on in this dissertation, and that needs to be explored in future research[95].

3.4. Contrastive and non-contrastive FS

In Chapter 1 (section 1.2), I postulated that the FS provides both contrastive and non-contrastive focus. Although many scholars have attempted to clarify the distinction between these two types of focus, it is still not obvious what contrast really means. Erteschik-Shir (1997: 12), for example, claims that "*contrast is contextually constrained to occur only if a contrast set is available*". Thus, in a sentence such as (161), she indicates that "*B's answer is contrastive because it selects Janet from the contrast set provided in the context. If, however, no such context set were provided by A, Janet in B's answer would be a noncontrastive focus.*" (Erteschik-Shir 1997: 12):

(161) **A:** *Who wants to marry John, Janet or Ann?*

　　 B: *JANET wants to marry John*

[Erteschik-Shir 1997: 12]

Molnár (2006), points out that there are many controversial issues regarding the definition of contrast. She claims that there is no agreement on whether contrast a) should be viewed as a gradient or non-gradient notion; b) is a uniform

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[95] Following Kitagawa's (personal communication) suggestion regarding FS *ser* as an expletive (see section 3.1), it may be possible to consider that in non-FS dialects FS *ser* is a phonetically-empty expletive. This would still imply the existence of a TP-internal FocP where no focusing form is pronounced.

phenomenon, that is, if there should be different degrees or different kinds of contrast; and c) is an independent phenomenon of information structure, or is only related to topic and focus. For Molnár, *"Contrast always operates on alternatives independently of the character of the set (open vs. closed) and the presence of alternatives in the linguistic context and in the situation [...] contrast is always connected to highlighting independently of the accent type and the special extension of the pitch range."* (Molnár, 2006: 212). Furthermore, *"the notion of contrast cannot be reduced to a feature serving to differentiate topicality and focusing, nor can it be regarded as a notion standing alongside topic and focus in information structure."* (Molnár 2006: 227).

Selkirk (2007), based on Rooth (1992), uses the term *contrastive focus* to designate the status of a constituent in sentences including *"a specification that there exist alternatives to the proposition expressed by the sentence which are identical to that proposition except for different substitutions for the contrastively focused constituent."* (Selkirk 2007: 126).

Finally, Krifka (2006), based on the notion Common Ground (information that is mutually known, and that is shared and continuously modified in communication), argues that focus indicates the presence of alternatives for interpretation, and that it has two main functions: one is to highlight the part of an answer that corresponds to the *wh*-part of a constituent question (what has been traditionally referred to as information focus or non-contrastive focus); and another is to correct and confirm information (what has been sometimes referred to as contrastive focus). So, for Krifka, contrastive focus *"is used for truly*

contrastive purposes, which presupposes that the Common Ground content contains a proposition with which the current utterance can be constructed, or that such a proposition can be accommodated […] The typical use of contrastive focus is corrective, but it can also be additive." (Krifka, 2006: 21).

Based on all of these observations, I have assumed (since Chapter 1) that contrastive focus consists of picking one element from a set of given alternatives (i.e. that have been provided in previous context, that is, in the Common Ground), and confronting that element with such set. Non-contrastive focus, on the other hand, selects any element from any possible set of alternatives (i.e. not necessarily a set provided in previous discourse) as the appropriate answer for a given question. Given this, non-contrastive focus simply introduces new information, whereas contrastive focus introduces a new element, compares it with a set of given possibilities, and implies that the speaker is correcting or adding certain information already given in the Common Ground.

Hence, in a non-FS sentence such as (162), the segment *una casa* 'a house' can be understood as non-contrasted, whereas in (163) it should be viewed as contrasted:

(162) **A:** *¿Qué compró Lucía?*

　　　　'What did Lucía buy?'

　　B: *Compró **una casa***

　　　　'She bought **a house**'

(163) **A:** *¿Al fin qué compró Lucía, una casa o un apartamento?*

'What did Lucía end up buying, a house or an apartment?'

   B: *Compró UNA CASA*

'She bought A HOUSE'

As shown, the focused segment in (162) stands as the new piece of information that A asks about. Although B picks an element from a set of possible things that *Lucía* can buy, this set is not restricted to the Common Ground established between A and B. That is, although there is a limited set of possible things that someone may purchase, it is not strictly defined by the speakers. In (163), on the other hand, such set of possibilities is indeed restricted. In this particular case, the set has been defined in A's question to two alternatives: *Set of things that Lucía bought: {a house, an apartment}*.

Taking this definition into account, I will briefly discuss the contrastive and non-contrastive aspects of the FS in relation to syntactic movement. In section 3.4.1, I will review the contrastive and non-contrastive manifestations of the FS, as they have been discussed in previous analyses (e.g. Curnow and Travis 2003; Sedano 1990), and as I have described them in this dissertation. Then, in section 3.4.2, I will analyze contrastive focus and its relation with syntactic movement.

3.4.1. Contrast and no contrast with the FS

As I have mentioned in different occasions throughout this dissertation, there has been some disagreement in the literature regarding the contrastive/non-contrastive function of the FS. Camacho (2006), for example,

following Kiss' (1998) terminology, claims that the FS marks *identificational focus*, that is, "*focus in which the speaker exhaustively identifies an alternative to a given item in a preceding clause or in the discourse.*" (Camacho 2006: 14). Given that Kiss herself has compared her term *identificational focus* to the more familiar term *contrastive focus*, I assume here that Camacho acknowledges the contrastive nature of the FS when he describes it as *exhaustive*. Furthermore, Camacho argues that the main difference between non-FS sentences bearing focus through nuclear-peak alignment and FS sentences is that the former may involve presentational focus (i.e. non-contrastive focus), whereas the latter only involves exhaustive focus. As I explained in detail in section 3.2, Camacho applies a couple of tests, originally proposed in Kiss (1998), and argues that the FS only entails exhaustive (contrastive) focus. We saw in section 3.2, however, that such tests do not provide enough evidence to support the idea that the FS is exclusively exhaustive (contrastive).

Sedano (1990), when describing the uses of the FS, reports that it is used contrastively in 58% of her data. Although she briefly describes some examples of contrastive FS, she does not provide any information regarding the remaining 42% of her data, which leaves me (and other readers) to assume that it corresponds to cases of non-contrastive FS.

Curnow and Travis (2003), on the other hand, state that the FS may be used in both contrastive and non-contrastive contexts:

"Thus it is clear that emphatic es [the FS] can be used non-contrastively. However, in all cases where emphatic es is used non-contrastively, the information marked with es is being asserted as (or inquired about as) new information. Emphatic es can be used in cases of contrasting new information [...] contrastive old information [...], or non-contrastive new information [...], but it is never used with non-contrastive old information."

[Curnow and Travis 2003: 8]

Furthermore, in cases of non-contrastive FS (where the FS is used to mark new information) Curnow and Travis find that the FS may precede an entire predicate, and that speakers are using this form to emphasize the "newness" of the predicate.

In the present dissertation, I have assumed (similarly to Curnow and Travis) that the FS may be both contrastive and non-contrastive. As I illustrated in Chapter 1 (section 1.2), when the FS is used contrastively, there is a set of alternatives (either presupposed or explicitly given in discourse context) from which an item is selected. In (164), for example, given the context of the conversation and A's question, B has an available set of presupposed alternatives from which he chooses the focused element: *Set of possible alcoholic beverages for the party: {Whiskey, Beer}*:

(164) **Context**: A and B are preparing a big party at their house. Based on their friends' preferences, A and B think that they should offer only Whiskey or beer. Two days ago B bought some alcoholic drinks, and now A is confused about what he got at the store:

A: *¿No habías comprado dos botellas de Whiskey?*

Had you not bought two bottles of Whiskey?

B: *No, compré   fue   tres canastas de cerveza*

no   buy.2SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET three boxes   of   beer

'No, it <u>was</u> **three boxes of beer** that I bought'

The sentence uttered by B in (164) can also occur in a non-contrastive

context as in (165). In this last case, the context of the conversation and A's

question suggests that B selects the focused item from a less restricted set of

alternatives, some of which may not even be presupposed by A:

(165) **Context**: B went to a brand new supermarket in town and is now

telling A about his experience.

A: *¿Qué compraste?*

What did you buy?

B: *Compré   fue   tres canastas de cerveza*

buy.2SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET three boxes   of   beer

'It <u>was</u> **three boxes of beer** that I bought'

Finally, as I mentioned in Chapter 1 (section 1.2), the contrastive use of the

FS may be comparable to that of certain adverbs such as *pero* ('but'). As pointed

out by Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (personal communication), *pero* ('but') may be

used in non-FS dialects (e.g. Peruvian Spanish) to convey contrastivity, as shown in (166) below[96]:

(166) **Context**: A and B are preparing a big party at their house. Based on
their friends' preferences, A and B think that they should offer only
Whiskey or beer. Two days ago B bought some alcoholic drinks, and
now A is confused about what he got at the store:

A: *¿No habías comprado dos botellas de Whiskey?*
Had you not bought two bottles of Whiskey?

B: *No, compré   pero **tres canastas de cerveza***
no   buy.2SG.PRET but   three boxes   of beer
'No, it <u>was</u> **three boxes of beer** that I bought'

In turn, certain discourse markers, such as *nada más* ('just'), *fíjate*
('imagine'), or *pues* ('though'), may be used in non-FS dialects to convey the non-contrastive function of the FS, as shown in (167):

(167) **Context**: B went to a brand new supermarket in town and is now telling
A about his experience.

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[96] Although the use of *pero* in (166) seems appropriate for some non-FS users, César Félix-Brasdefer (personal communication) points out that it is not common in other non-FS dialects (e.g. Mexican Spanish).

A: *¿Qué compraste?*

What did you buy?

B: *Compré* <u>*nada más /fíjate/pues*</u> **tres canastas de cerveza**

buy.2SG.PRET just/imagine/though three boxes of beer

'It <u>was</u> **three boxes of beer** that I bought'

At this point, I will not further develop the idea that *pero* ('but'), *nada más* ('just'), *fíjate* ('imagine'), and *pues* ('though') are expressions that may resemble contrastive and non-contrastive uses of the FS. Although this may become an interesting aspect for the investigation, I am simply referring to it here for illustration purposes: many of the readers may not be familiar with the FS, but may be able to recognize the contrastive/non-contrastive uses of alternative expressions.

Having determined, once again, that the FS can indeed be used in both contrastive and non-contrastive contexts, I will now discuss (in section 3.4.2) the relation between contrastive FS and syntactic movement. As it will become clear at the end of that section, I argue that in cases of contrastive FS, the focused element remains in situ, and does not move to a higher position (e.g. FocP).

3.4.2. Contrastive FS and movement to FocP

In many studies, it has been reported that only contrasted elements may move to higher syntactic positions to receive (or to check) contrastive focus. (Horvath 1986; Kiss 1988; Lambrecht 1994; Bródy 1995; Erteschik-Shir 1997; Zubizarreta 1998; Ambar 1999; Gundel 1999; Ocampo 2003; Breul 2004; Bury

2004; Domínguez 2004; Molnár 2006; Selkirk 2007). Casielles-Suárez (2004), for example, suggests that in Spanish (and in many other languages), a focused constituent can be moved to the left periphery (preposed in CP) in order to receive contrast.

Ambar (1999), in her study of focus structures in Brazilian Portuguese, claims that a focused phrase can appear in two different syntactic positions: preceding the verb (when it entails contrastive focus), and following it (when it entails non-contrastive focus). Finally, Ouhalla (1999) discusses focus types in Standard Arabic, and points out that focus in-situ and focus preposing have been traditionally related to instances of new information (the former), and of contrast (the latter).

Given this, it would be possible to assume that in cases of non-contrastive FS, the focused element remains in-situ, after having checked Focus features with Foc. On the other hand, in cases of contrastive FS, the focused element would move to a higher position, possibly to the FocP, to check such Focus features with Foc. This is, in fact, a very appealing possibility, especially when we consider cases of contrastive focus in other languages (Horvath 1986; Kiss 1988; Selkirk 2007), where the contrasted element is forced to move to higher syntactic positions to check contrastive features and match certain prosodic structures.

In order to check for this possibility, I performed a couple of movement tests. First, I examined binding and its relation with the focused constituent, and I found the results to be inconclusive, as there were conflicting judgments from the speakers I consulted. In (168), for example, B's non-contrastive FS-sentence is

ambiguous: it is not clear whether *su libro* ('his book') refers to *Andrés* or to *cada estudiante* ('each student'):

(168) **A:** *¿Qué le dio Andrés a quién?*

      What did Andrés give to whom?

   ok**B:** *Andrés$_i$ le dio*   <u>*fue*</u>   ***su libro***$_{i/j}$ ***a cada estudiante***$_j$

      Andrés CL give.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET his book   to each student

      'It <u>was</u> **his book to each student** that Andrés gave'

Hence, contrastive FS-sentences are expected to resolve this ambiguity. However, the ambiguity holds, even when the FS-sentence is uttered in a contrastive context:

(169) **A:** *Escuché que Andrés le dio su cuaderno a cada profesor*

      'I heard that Andrés gave his notebook to each teacher'

   ok**B:** *No, Andrés$_i$ le dio*   <u>*fue*</u>   ***su libro***$_{i/j}$ ***a cada estudiante***$_j$

      no Andrés CL give.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET his book   to each student

      'No, it <u>was</u> **his book to each student** that Andrés gave'

Furthermore, when the DP *su libro* in dialogue (169) was pronounced with emphatic intonation, the Colombian speakers that I interviewed provided mixed acceptability judgments for B's reply. For example, some of my participants strongly believed that *su libro* referred only to *Andrés* (B1), others strongly

believed that it referred only to *cada estudiante* (B2), and others were not sure

whether it referred to *Andrés* or to *cada estudiante* (B3):

(170) **A:** *Escuché que Andrés le dio su cuaderno a cada profesor*

'I heard that Andrés gave his notebook to each teacher'

%**B1:** *No, Andrés*ᵢ *le dio* <u>*fue*</u> *SU LIBRO*ᵢ/*ⱼ *a cada estudiante*ⱼ

no Andrés CL give.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET his book to each student

'No, it <u>was</u> **his book to each student** that Andrés gave'

%**B2:** *No, Andrés*ᵢ *le dio* <u>*fue*</u> *SU LIBRO**ᵢ/ⱼ *a cada estudiante*ⱼ

no Andrés CL give.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET his book to each student

'No, it <u>was</u> **his book to each student** that Andrés gave'

%**B3:** *No, Andrés*ᵢ *le dio* <u>*fue*</u> *SU LIBRO*ᵢ/ⱼ *a cada estudiante*ⱼ

no Andrés CL give.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET his book to each student

'No, it <u>was</u> **his book to each student** that Andrés gave'

In addition, even when the entire focused segment (*su libro a cada estudiante*) was pronounced with emphatic intonation, my participants continued to provide mixed responses:

(171) **A:** *Escuché que Andrés le dio su cuaderno a cada profesor*

'I heard that Andrés gave his notebook to each teacher'

%**B1:** *No, Andrés_i le dio*   _fue_   *SU LIBRO_{i/*j} A CADA ESTUDIANTE_j*

no Andrés cl give.3sg.pret be.3sg.pret his book to each student

'No, it <u>was</u> **his book to each student** that Andrés gave'

%**B2:** *No, Andrés_i le dio*   _fue_ *SU LIBRO_{*i/j} A CADA ESTUDIANTE_j*

no Andrés CL give.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET his book to each student

'No, it <u>was</u> **his book to each student** that Andrés gave'

%**B3:** *No, Andrés_i le dio*   _fue_ *SU LIBRO_{i/j} A CADA ESTUDIANTE_j*

no Andrés CL give.3SG.PRET be.3SG.PRET his book to each student

'No, it <u>was</u> **his book to each student** that Andrés gave'

As a final attempt to find a correlation between contrast and syntactic movement, I also tested FS-sentences in which the bounding pronoun was not FS-focused. In (172), for example, B's reply is uttered in a non-contrastive context, and is ambiguous:

(172)**A:** *¿Qué le dio Andrés a quién?*

'What did Andrés give to whom?

ok**B:** *Andrés_i le dio*   *su libro_{i/j}* _fue_   ***a cada estudiante_j***

Andrés CL give.3SG.PRET his book   be.3SG.PRET to each student

'It <u>was</u> **his book to each student** that Andrés gave'

Interestingly, when the same FS-sentence occurs in a contrastive context (as in (173)), speakers report variant judgments regarding the bounding pronoun:

some claim that *su libro* refers only to Andrés (B1); some claim that it refers only to *cada estudiante* (B2); and others claim that it could refer to both (B3):

(173) **A:** *Escuché que Andrés le dio su libro a cada profesor*

      'I heard that Andrés gave his book to each teacher'

  %**B1:** *No, Andrés$_i$ le dio   su libro$_{i/*j}$* <u>*fue*</u> ***a cada estudiante*$_j$**

      no Andrés CL give.3SG.PRET his book be.3SG.PRET to each student

      'No, it <u>was</u> **each student** to whom Andrés gave his book'

  %**B2:** *No, Andrés$_i$ le dio   su libro$_{*i/j}$* <u>*fue*</u> ***a cada estudiante*$_j$**

      no Andrés CL give.3SG.PRET his book be.3SG.PRET to each student

      'No, it <u>was</u> **each student** to whom Andrés gave his book'

  %**B3:** *No, Andrés$_i$ le dio   su libro$_{i/j}$* <u>*fue*</u> ***a cada estudiante*$_j$**

      no Andrés CL give.3SG.PRET his book be.3SG.PRET to each student

      'No, it <u>was</u> **each student** to whom Andrés gave his book'

This lack of consensus remains, even when the focused constituent is pronounced with emphatic intonation:

(174) **A:** *Escuché que Andrés le dio su libro a cada profesor*

      'I heard that Andrés gave his book to each teacher'

  %**B1:** *No, Andrés$_i$ le dio   su libro$_{i/*j}$* <u>*fue*</u> ***A CADA ESTUDIANTE*$_j$**

      no Andrés CL give.3SG.PRET his book   be.3SG.PRET to each student

      'No, it <u>was</u> **each student** to whom Andrés gave his book'

%**B2:** *No, Andrés*ᵢ *le dio*   *su libro*_{*i/j} <u>*fue*</u>   ***A CADA ESTUDIANTE***ⱼ

      no   Andrés   CL   give.3SG.PRET   his book   be.3SG.PRET   to each student

      'No, it <u>was</u> **each student** to whom Andrés gave his book'

%**B3:** *No, Andrés*ᵢ *le dio*   *su libro*_{i/j} <u>*fue*</u>   ***A CADA ESTUDIANTE***ⱼ

       no   Andrés   CL   give.3SG.PRET his book   be.3SG.PRET   to each student

      'No, it <u>was</u> **each student** to whom Andrés gave his book'

Hence, the results of the binding tests that I have performed do not provide compelling evidence to support the idea that contrasted FS-focused elements move to a higher syntactic position (possibly to FocP). Although I do not intend to completely reject the possibility that contrasted, FS-focused elements move to a higher position, I do not wish to pursue this matter any further in this dissertation. I believe that this is an important aspect that deserves much more dedicated research and time, both of which I do not have available at this point.

Taking this into account, I would like to end this section by claiming that the difference between contrastive FS and non-contrastive FS resides purely on feature checking, and not on syntactic movement. I argued in section 3.3.3 that FS-contrasted constituents match and value not only Focus features, but also φ features; non-FS-contrasted constituents, on the other hand, only match and value Focus features. That is, in cases of contrastive FS-focus, both Focus and φ features are checked, whereas in non-contrastive FS-focus, only φ features are checked.

3.5. Conclusions

In this Chapter, I have addressed certain theoretical aspects regarding my syntactic analysis of the FS. In section 3.1, I expanded on my claim that the FS should be viewed as focus link, based on my empirical observation that the FS serves as a bridge (or link) between old and new information. The fact that the FS must never be used in "out-of-the-blue" contexts clearly suggests not only that it introduces the focused element, but also that it makes a connection between what is presupposed and what is new in discourse.

Having clarified that the FS acts as a link between new information and its background, rather than a verb with full semantic meaning (i.e. a copula or an auxiliary verb), I dedicated section 3.2 to the description of the syntactic structure of the FS. In this section, I reviewed previous syntactic proposals for the FS structure, and I pointed out some conceptual and empirical shortcomings that each of these proposals faces. For example, Bosque (1999) suggests that the FS is generated as the head of a Focus Phrase placed inside VP. Although he correctly examines the FS as a non-copular verb, he fails to account for FS-focused elements that are placed above vP, such as PerfPs and ProgrPs. Camacho (2006), claims that the FS should be analyzed as a Copula Phrase, adjoined to VP. Similarly to Bosque's account, Camacho's theory does not account for FS-focused PerfPs or ProgrPs. Furthermore, it makes wrong empirical predictions based on the assumption that only single, domain-final constituents can be FS-focused. Finally, Kato (2009) proposes that the FS originates in a Copula Phrase, placed in CP, above a CP-internal Focus Phrase. For Kato, the derivation of FS-sentences

323

implies a sequence of *v*P- and IP-remnant movements. Although this analysis promises to correlate the syntactic structure of the FS with its informational layout (old and new information), it faces certain conceptual problems, and it fails to account for topic elements that remain in-situ, below the FS.

The second part of section 3.2 focuses on my syntactic analysis of the FS, previously sketched in Chapter 2 (section 2.2). According to my proposal, the FS is generated as a TP-internal Focus Phrase (FocP), placed below T and above *v*P. Furthermore, given that the FS functions as a connector between old and new information, I argued that FS *ser* should be placed in [Spec, FocP], rather than in Foc. This structure successfully accounts for all FS-focused constituents, particularly FS-focused PerfPs and ProgrPs.

In section 3.3, I summarized two agreement patterns that I had described in Chapter 2 (section 2.3): in one, FS *ser* agrees in Tense and Aspect with the verb in T; and in the other, FS *ser* agrees in Person and Number with the post-verbal subject, and in Number with DOs without DOM. Once I determined the agreement pattern observed in FS *ser*, I proceeded to discuss the operation Agree. Finally, I dedicated the next part of the section to explain the morphology of FS *ser*, and I concluded that: a) the interpretable Tense and Aspect features in T match and value the uninterpretable Tense and Aspect features in [Spec, FocP]; b) the uninterpretable Focus ([*u* Focus], [*u* Contrast]) and φ features ([*u* Person], [*u* Number]) in Foc are matched and valued by the interpretable corresponding features in the focused XP; c) Focus features are matched before φ features: if a focused XP matches and values [+Focus] and [+Contrast] features, it also

matches [Person] and/or [Number] features; however, if it matches and values [+Focus] and [-Contrast] features, it does not match any φ features; and d) when a focused XP cannot match and value a particular φ feature (either because it does not have it, or because it is blocked by the [- Contrast] feature), FS *ser* acquires a default φ feature ([3] and/or [sɢ]).

Finally, in section 3.4, I revised my definition of contrastive (and non-contrastive) focus, and I discussed the contrastive and non-contrastive uses of the FS. Although some scholars have claimed that the FS is only used contrastively (e.g. Camacho 2006), I have argued in this dissertation that the FS is indeed used in both contrastive and non-contrastive contexts. Finally, in section 3.4.2, I used binding tests to illustrate that contrastive FS does not involve syntactic movement. In other words, both FS- contrasted and non-contrasted constituents remain in-situ and check Focus features in-situ. So, contrary to what could have been initially thought, FS-contrasted elements do not move to a higher position (e.g. FocP) to check Focus features.

Chapter 4

Conclusions: FS syntax and beyond

Throughout this dissertation, I have addressed the syntactic configuration of the FS, which is a focus structure produced in only a few Spanish dialects (i.e. Colombian, Venezuelan, Ecuadorian, Panamanian, and Dominican). Although previous studies have concluded that the FS is an incomplete form of the pseudo-cleft (Albor 1986; Sedano 1990; Toribio 2002), I have argued here, following some other scholars (Bosque 1999; Curnow and Travis 2003; Camacho 2006), that the FS should not be viewed as a pseudo-cleft, but as a completely different structure, with its own syntactic and semantic properties.

The main goals of this study have been to provide a complete description of the structural properties of the FS, and to propose a coherent syntactic analysis of this dialectally-marked form. Some important generalizations I came to draw based upon my analysis are: a) only post-verbal constituents may be FS-focused; b) FS *ser* should be viewed as focus link, rather than as a copulative or auxiliary verb; c) FS *ser* establishes Tense/Aspect agreement with the verb in T; d) only contrasted elements trigger Person/Number agreement with FS *ser*; and e) the operation Agree can correctly capture the agreement processes shown by FS *ser*. Furthermore, the empirical observations that I have included in Chapters 1 and 2 allowed me to suggest that the Focus Phrase (FocP) in the FS construction is generated below T and above *v*P.

Particularly, in Chapter 1, after having reviewed some syntactic characteristics of the pseudo-cleft and the FS, I concluded that the FS should not be examined as an incomplete version of the pseudo-cleft. For example, I argued (following Bosque, Camacho, and Curnow and Travis) that, unlike the pseudo-cleft, the FS is not sensitive to clitic climbing, and cannot occur in cases of *wh*-extraction. Hence, I stressed the need to analyze the FS as an independent structure, with its own syntactic and semantic properties.

In Chapter 2, I described FS-focused constituents and I pointed out that the FS *ser* can precede any phrase (e.g. DP, PP, CP, etc.) that serves any kind of syntactic role (e.g. subject DP, adjunct, etc.), as long as it is placed post-verbally. Furthermore, I showed that the morphology of FS *ser* is not random, and can be summarized in terms of two agreement processes: first, FS *ser* agrees with the verb in T (a matrix verb moving from v to T, or an auxiliary verb moving from Aux to T) in both Tense and Aspect; second, FS *ser* agrees with post-verbal subjects and DOs (without DOM) in Person and/or Number, *only* in contrastive contexts.

Finally, in Chapter 3, I argued that, unlike previous syntactic accounts of the FS (Bosque's and Camacho's VP-internal analysis, and Kato's (2009) remnant analysis), my syntactic proposal makes the correct predictions regarding grammatical and ungrammatical outcomes. Specifically, I claim that my TP-internal FocP analysis correctly predicts FS-focused PerfPs and ProgrPs, and FS-focused constituents followed by topicalized phrases. Furthermore, I concluded that the mechanism of Agree (c.f. Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004; Rezac 2004;

Boeckx 2008) can be used adequately to explain the agreement processes between FS *ser* and T, and between FS *ser* and the focused XP. Particularly, I showed that: a) the interpretable Tense/Aspect features in T (the Probe) can match and value the uninterpretable Tense/Aspect features in [Spec, FocP] (the Goal); and b) the interpretable Person/Number features in the focused XP (the Goal) can match and value the uninterpretable Person/Number features in Foc (the Probe). Finally, I argued that only contrasted post-verbal subjects and DOs without DOM trigger Person and/or Number agreement with FS *ser* and that they do so in-situ (without moving to a higher position, such as FocP). Thus, when the focused constituent does not have any φ features (Person and/or Number), FS *ser* acquires default morphology ([3 PERSON] and/or [SINGULAR]).

The present study attempts to offer a novel examination of the syntactic properties of the FS. Previous studies have concentrated on describing the syntactic environments in which the FS is likely (or unlikely) to occur (Albor 1986, Sedano 1990, Curnow and Travis 2003), whereas others have been devoted to provide a syntactic analysis of the form (Bosque 1999, Toribio 2002, Camacho 2006, Kato 2009). In this latter case, I have shown that none of these analyses seem to successfully account for all grammatical and ungrammatical cases, or to postulate a reasonable explanation for the morphology of FS *ser*. I paid special attention to the issue of morphological agreement between FS *ser* and other sentential elements, which, to the best of my knowledge, has not been investigated in any comprehensive way in the literature.

It is my hope that I have succeeded in sorting the apparently random morphological features of FS *ser*, identified coherent agreement patterns involving FS *ser*, and arrived at the correct syntactic analysis which systematically and accurately captures them. In particular, I argued in Chapter 3 that these agreement processes can be accounted for by the operation Agree, which fulfills the dual role of associating the focus head with the focused phrase, and the tense head with the FS *ser*. In addition, I speculated on the possibility that the agreement found between T and [Spec, FocP], and between Foc and the focused XP takes place before FS *ser* enters Grammar. Hence, FS *ser* becomes materialized (i.e. it is pronounced with a specific conjugation) at Spell-out (or at PF), once the FocP has acquired morphological specifications.

In terms of the dialectal implications of this claim, I suggested that the TP-internal FocP may be present in all Spanish dialects and that the morphological processes may still take place between T and an empty focus operator as Spec of FocP, and between the focus head and the focused XP. However, in FS-dialects this FocP is actually phonetically produced as a form of *ser*: *es*, *era*, *fue*, etc. In non-FS-dialects, on the other hand, this FocP is not substantiated as *ser*, and may be revealed through discourse markers or adverbs such as *pero* 'but', *nada más* ('just'), *fíjate* ('imagine'), or *pues* ('though').

Although this is interesting and plausible, I believe that much more research must be done in order to reach a more accurate conclusion. It is imperative that I investigate in depth the semantic and pragmatic characteristic of the FS to elucidate whether there are unique expressions in other dialects (or in non-FS

dialects of Spanish) that fulfill the same focus functions served by the FS. In fact, it is possible that in some dialects TP-internal focus is expressed through certain words or expressions, and that in other dialects it is only realized by conferring particular prosodic properties to the focused constituent (i.e. by producing it with a specific intonation, intensity, etc.).

Furthermore, undertaking a semantic and pragmatic account of the FS will allow me to clarify its focusing properties (contrast and emphasis), its scope relation with the focused constituent, and the discourse contexts that prompt its use. Although it was not my intention to cover any of these aspects in the present study, I pointed out that the FS may be used in both contrastive and non-contrastive contexts, and that it is extremely context-dependent. It still remains for future research to exhaustively examine all the semantic and pragmatic intricacies of the form in order to provide a complete and coherent picture of the configuration of the FS.

Additionally, it would be interesting to venture into other less considered areas of FS-research. For example, I believe that the prosodic characteristics of the FS structure should also be analyzed. Very little is known about the semantic and/or pragmatic implications of producing the FS with raising or lowering intonation, or with more or less intensity. Given that the FS has been examined as an *emphatic* expression (Curnow and Travis, Albor, Sedano), it would be very useful to analyze the prosodic features of the form, and to determine whether or not the way in which the FS is pronounced has any implications on its emphatic and/or contrastive properties.

Finally, I believe that it is important to explain certain questions that have never been successfully answered: *why is the FS used?*, *why do FS-speakers use both the FS and the pseudo-cleft?*, and *why do non-FS-speakers not use the FS?*. In order to answer these questions, I think that it is necessary to conduct a more ambitious study concerning the cognitive implications of the FS. This type of research would need to include not only production, but also perception tests for both FS- and non-FS users. For example, Sedano (2003a, 2003b) claims that the FS, unlike the pseudo-cleft, is easier to produce, but more difficult to process. Hence, it would be interesting to determine, based on production and processing tests, whether or not an FS-speaker makes less effort to produce the FS than the pseudo-cleft, and whether or not he makes more effort to process the FS than the pseudo-cleft. This kind of research would help not only to clarify if Sedano's remark is a misconception or a well-founded fact, but also to unravel once and for all the distinction between the FS and the pseudo-cleft.

Hence, although this dissertation has not provided answers to all possible questions, it has provided at least the first step of this long research project. I hope that this study has set the ground for future investigations, having elucidated some of the contexts in which the FS may and may not occur, and proposed a specific formal account of the various syntactic and semantic properties associated with it.

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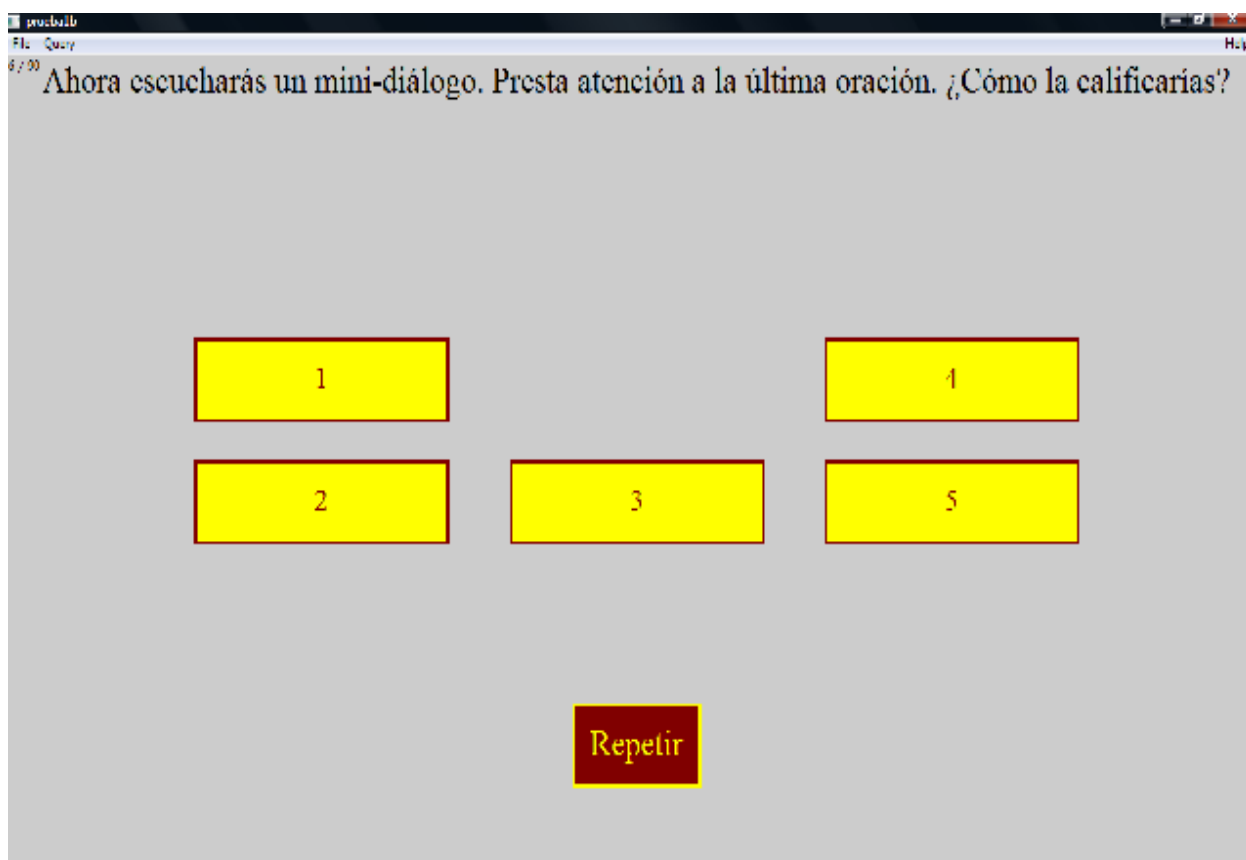
Appendix A

Conjugations of *ser*

Pronoun	Present Tense	Past Tense		Future Tense	Conditional Mood	Subjunctive Mood
		Preterit	Imperfect			
Yo (I)	soy	fui	era	seré	sería	sea
Tu (You.INFOR)	eres	fuiste	eras	serás	serías	seas
El (He), *Ella* (She), *Usted* (You.FOR)	es	fue	era	será	sería	sea
Nosotros(We)	somos	fuimos	éramos	seremos	seríamos	seamos
Ellos (They), *Ustedes* (You.PL)	son	fueron	eran	serán	serían	sean

Conjugations of *estar*

Pronoun	Present Tense	Past Tense		Future Tense	Conditional Mood	Subjunctive Mood
		Preterit	Imperfect			
Yo (I)	estoy	estuve	estaba	estaré	estaría	esté
Tu (You.INFOR)	estás	estuviste	estabas	estarás	estarías	estés
El (He), *Ella* (She), *Usted* (You.FOR)	está	estuve	estaba	estará	estaría	esté
Nosotros(We)	estamos	estuvimos	estábamos	estaremos	estaríamos	estemos
Ellos (They), *Ustedes* (You.PL)	están	estuvieron	estaban	estarán	estarían	estén

Sample computer screen

[Now you will listen to a mini-dialogue. Pay attention to the last sentence.
How would you grade it?]

Appendix C

Complete list of all FS sentences tested including average scores

No.	Stimulus	Context	Average
1	*Sacó la basura fue María*	Subject DPs	2.4
2	*Tenía era Francisco una novia*		2.3
3	*Tendrá plata será la familia*		2.9
4	*Para su diabólico experimento era Ramírez buscaba perros callejeros*		1.2
5	*Salió fue Lucía*		3.8
6	*Quiero es tres libras pero de la parte buena*	Object DPs	2.6
7	*Necesito es la mesa y unas cuantas sillas*		2.9
8	*Repitió fue lo que ya había dicho la semana pasada*		2.6
9	*El policía les enseña eso es a niños y grandes*		3.1
10	*Guillermo tiene es dos hijos*		3.0
11	*Dijo fue que venía mañana*		3.1
12	*María siempre le trae es a su hermana menor algo*		1.7
13	*Mi papá está es contento porque al fin se ganó la lotería*	Copula complements and agreement	2.6
14	*Mis padres han sido es profesores toda la vida*		2.0
15	*Ellos eran es buceadores profesionales*		1.8
16	*Mariana es es alta*		1.9
17	*Cuando nos dimos cuenta estos niños habían era salido a buscar al perrito perdido*		2.7
18	*El comité olímpico había premiado es a los atletas irlandeses*		2.1
19	*La mujer se vistió fue en menos de nada*	Focused prepostional phrases	2.0
20	*Lucrecia y David están es en Caracas*		3.2
21	*Me trajeron una torta fue para mi cumpleaños*		3.5
22	*Sólo hay es cuatro empleadas en el banco*	Scope and Adverbs	1.7
23	*Nos avisaron fue inmediatamente después del accidente*		2.5
24	*Los dos viajaban era afortunadamente en tren*		2.2
25	*Tenemos es sólo lo necesario para sobrevivir*		3.3
26	*Nos queda sólo es lo del pasaje de regreso*		1.7
27	*Vivían era lejos*		2.0
28	*Venía era preciso ese día cuando le dieron la noticia*		2.2
29	*Ahora toca es estar pilas para que no lo roben a uno por ahí*	Impersonal verbs/Passive voice	3.3
30	*Nevó fue en Berlín*		3.4
31	*Hay es un tipo en el jardín*		3.1
32	*Allá hacía era frío*		2.1
33	*Aquí hay es que estudiar bastante para poder pasar los exámenes*		2.7

34	*En temporada alta se puede es viajar a la costa a precios bastante cómodos*		2.5
35	*El profesor Torres prefiere es saber los nombres de memoria*	Clitic climbing/Stage and Individual-level predicates	2.4
36	*Me quiero es ir a Cartagena para Semana Santa*		2.3
37	*Quiero es irme rápido antes de que se vayaCamilo*		3.1
38	*Ella prefiere es dormir hasta bien tarde*		3.0
39	*Laura va a estar es viviendo con su hermana durante algún tiempo*		3.2
40	*Estaba era leyendo la carta que me mandaron*	Complex VPs	3.3
41	*Pedro ha estado es saliendo con la ex-novia de Luis*		3.0
42	*A Marcelino le gusta la música es rock*		1.6
43	*Mauricio quería conocer a una modelo era española*		1.7
44	*A Francisco le gusta la música es moderna*	Complex DPs	1.7
45	*Tengo un montón es enorme de ropa sucia*		1.4
46	*En este almacén venden ropa es usada*		2.2
47	*En la tienda venden café es molido*		2.6
48	*No tomó vino fue Carlos*		2.3
49	*Carmenza fue no dijo eso*		1.2
50	*No pudo venir fue mi hermano*	Negative polarity items	2.5
51	*La profesora no trajo fue las notas sino el examen*		1.8
52	*Pobre Pachito no comió fue nada*		2.6
53	*¿Juan le dio fue qué a quién?*		2.1
54	*Le pregunté a quién besó fue Carlos*		1.4
55	*¿Quién salió fue?*	*Wh*-extraction, *wh* in-situ and islands	1.2
56	*¿Qué se imagina que Graciela hizo fue después del divorcio?*		1.4
57	*¿Aprendieron inglés fue dónde?*		2.1
58	*¿Qué Luis le trajo fue a quién?*		1.8
59	*Empezaron fue a tirar piedras por todas partes*		3.3
60	*Ella trataba era de imponerle todo*		2.8
61	*El cree es tener las respuestas para todo*	Between Aux and *v*P	1.7
62	*Yo se lo mando es quitar pero rapidito*		1.8
63	*Sofía parecía era estar enferma todo el tiempo*		2.3
64	*Tengo un perro soy yo*	Binding	2.3
65	*En la fiesta cocinamos fuimos nosotros*		1.8
66	*Diego dijo lo que le habían contado fue ayer*		1.6
67	*Ella vio el carro que compró fue Pedro*	Relativization	1.7
68	*Mariana nos contó todo lo que le dijeron fue por teléfono*		2.4
69	*Fue encarcelado fue el ladrón*	Passive voice	1.8
70	*Es posible es que nos llamen a preguntar qué pasó*		2.3

71	*Quemé la pizza fue de jamón*	Extraction	1.8
72	*Compré fue nueva la moto*		1.6
73	*Julián compro la casa azul fue de Juan*		1.7
74	*Recogió la chaqueta fue verde de su mamá*		1.3
75	*De él vimos fue la casa*		2.8
76	*Ellas fueron fue novias de Gilberto*	Coordination	2.2
77	*Tenemos es dos gatos y un perro*		2.4
78	*Tenemos son dos gatos y un perro*		2.8
79	*Tenemos es un gato y dos perrros*		2.5
80	*Tenemos son un gato y dos perros*		1.8
81	*Había era una cama vieja*	Constructions with "había"	3.6
82	*Habían eran tres borrachos acostados en el andén*		2.2
83	*Por ahí habían era unos cuantos billetes de $1000*		2.9
84	*Ese día había era celebraciones de La Virgen del Carmen*		2.6

Appendix D

Summary of statistical distribution of FS-focused elements from previous studies (Sedano 2003b; Curnow and Travis 2003)

Prepositional Phrases (PPs)

As shown by Sedano in Venezuelan Spanish, PPs constitute the second most common syntactic category to be focused by the FS. In her study, a total of 207 tokens of the FS was collected from two corpora of spoken Caracas Spanish (Bentivoglio and Sedano 1987): one of them gathered in 1977, and another one in 1987.

From a total of 134 PPs used (in both FS and pseudo-cleft contexts), 92 of them were focused by the FS (69%). Also, according to her statistical analysis, PPs are the second most significant constituent to be focused by the FS (.827). It is important to clarify here that in variationist studies employing statistical analyses, a factor is found to be favorable for the occurrence of the dependent variable (the FS or the pseudo-cleft) if it has a weight of ≥ .500.

In Colombian Spanish, Curnow and Travis create a corpus consisting of seven hours of spontaneous casual conversation (65,000 words) recorded in Cali, Colombia, in 1997. From this corpus, the authors find 37 cases of the FS and 58 cases of the pseudo-cleft. They find that adjuncts (like PPs and adverbs) are the second most common constituent focused by the FS (37% of all FS-focused constituents). From the 14 cases of FS-focused adjuncts, 8 correspond to FS-focused PPs (21.6% of all tokens of the FS). Although this does not seem to be a striking amount of cases, it is important to mention that no adjuncts were found to be focused by the pseudo-cleft.

Adjectival Phrases (AdjPs)

According to Sedano's results, FS-focused AdjPs are not as common as FS-focused PPs in Caracas Spanish. From a total of 23 cases of focused AdjPs, 10 correspond to cases of FS focus (43%). Although AdjPs are favorable for the occurrence of the FS (.736), their statistical weight is less than that of PPs (.827). As for Colombian Spanish, Curnow and Travis found only one case of FS-focused AdjPs (2.7 % of all FS-focus cases) and no cases of AdjPs focused by the pseudo-cleft structure.

Adverbial Phrases (AdvPs)

In Sedano's study, adverbs constituted the most common FS-focused constituent (92% of all focused adverbs were FS-focused), and were the most favorable for the occurrence of the FS (.932). In Colombian Spanish, Curnow and Travis (2003) find that adverbial adjuncts are the second most common type of adjunct to be FS-focused (N=4/14; 28.5%), and the third to be most FS-focused overall (10.8% of all FS-focused constituents were adverbial adjuncts).

344

Perfective and Progressive Phrases (PerfPs, ProgrPs)

It is difficult to determine how frequent FS-focused PerfPs and ProgrPs were in Sedano's study, as they were analyzed along with CPs as adverbial subordinate clauses. In Curnow and Travis' work, the FS was found to intervene between the main verb and the auxiliary verb (ProgrP in my terminology) only once. Although this is a very low number of cases (N=1/37; 2.7%), Curnow and Travis found no cases of focused ProgrP in pseudo-cleft constructions, which suggests (once again) that the FS and the pseudo-cleft have different syntactic properties.

Complementizer Phrases (CPs)

Looking at Sedano's analysis, it is again difficult to determine how frequently CPs were FS-focused, as they were classified into two different grammar categories (noun subordinate and adverbial subordinate clauses). In Colombian Spanish, Curnow and Travis find very few cases of FS-focused CPs (N= 3/37; 8.1%) in comparison to cases of CPs focused by the pseudo-cleft (N= 32/58; 55.1%).

Determiner Phrases (DPs)

Looking at Sedano's statistical account of FS-focused constituents, it is once again difficult to determine how frequent FS-focused subjects were in her Caracas Spanish corpus (they were coded into three different types of constituents: pronouns, NPs, and others). However, it is possible to extrapolate that they were not preceded by the FS as frequently as AdvPs or PPs, given that the categories "*pronouns*", "*NPs*" and "*others*" were not selected as statistically significant for the occurrence of the FS (*Pronouns*: 1/22; 5%= .065; *NPs*: 63/267; 24%=.386; *Others*: 2/12; 17%= .281). Notice that the number to the left of the slash (/) corresponds to cases of the FS, and the number to the right of the slash (/) corresponds to the total amount of focused "*pronouns*", "*NPs*", or "*others*" (by the FS and the pseudo-cleft).

In Colombian Spanish, Curnow and Travis find FS-focused DPs to be the most common type of FS-focused constituent (15/37: 40.5%). The most common type of FS-focused DPs were direct object DPs (12/15: 80), followed by indirect object DPs (2/15: 13.3%), and subject DPs (1/15: 6.7%).

Curriculum Vitae

Dunia Catalina Méndez Vallejo

Education

PhD

Dual PhD in:	Linguistics and Hispanic Linguistics
Institution:	Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.
Specialization:	Syntax
Thesis title:	*Focalizing ser ('to be') in Colombian Spanish*
Thesis directors:	Yoshihisa Kitagawa and Miguel Rodríguez-Mondoñedo

M.A.

In:	Hispanic Linguistics
Institution:	Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.
Conferred:	January, 2006

In:	Linguistics
Institution:	Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.
Conferred:	December, 2005

In:	Semiological Studies
Institution:	Universidad Industrial de Santander. Bucaramanga, Colombia
Thesis title:	*Análisis Semiótico del Discurso Producido por los Jóvenes Universitarios de Bucaramanga acerca del Sujeto Tatuado.*
Thesis director:	José Horacio Rosales Cueva
Conferred:	February, 2002.

B.A.

In:	Language Teaching.
Institution:	Universidad Industrial de Santander. Bucaramanga, Colombia
Conferred:	October, 1999.

Research and Teaching Interests

Primary areas:	Syntax and information structure; Syntax-prosody interface; Sociolinguistics; Morpho-syntactic variation; Hispanic Linguistics.
Secondary areas:	Pragmatics-prosody interface; Dialectology; Language change.

Publications

Journal Articles

Méndez Vallejo, D. C. (2009). Some syntactic considerations regarding the *Focalizing ser* ('to be') construction in Colombian Spanish. *2008 WECOL Proceedings*. University of California. Davis, CA.

Méndez Vallejo, D. C. (2008). Periphrastic and morphological future forms in Bogotá Spanish: A preliminary sociolinguistics study of upper class speakers. *IULC Working Papers Online*: 08-03. 1-22.

Méndez Vallejo, D. C. (2002). Fundamento teórico para una investigación semiótica del discurso producido por los jóvenes universitarios de Bucaramanga acerca del cuerpo tatuado. Bucaramanga: *Revista UIS Humanidades*. 71-88.

Under review

Méndez Vallejo, D. C. (under review). Syntactic variation in Colombian Spanish: The case of the Focalizing ser (FS) structure. Submitted for publication in the *39th LSRL Proceedings*. Tucson, AZ

Méndez Vallejo, D. C. (under review). Preposed focused objects in Spanish. *TROPOS*. Michigan State University. East Lansing, MI.

Méndez Vallejo, D. C. (under review). The Spanish imperfect-preterit relation and meaning change: A study of six common Spanish verbs. *Revista Idiomas UIS*. Universidad Industrial de Santander. Bucaramanga, Colombia.

Méndez Vallejo, D. C. (under review). Consideraciones teóricas acerca de la estructura "ser focalizador" en el español colombiano. *Revista S*. Universidad Industrial de Santander. Bucaramanga, Colombia.

In preparation

Méndez Vallejo, D.C. (in preparation). On the syntax of the Focalizing ser ('to be') structure. To appear in *Linguistic studies in Colombian varieties of Spanish* (Book).

Méndez Vallejo, D. C. (in preparation). Conversational patterns in requests: the case of young female university students from Bucaramanga, Colombia.

Díaz-Campos, M. A., Chappetto, E., McNulty, E. & Méndez Vallejo, D.C. (in preparation). Frequency and the spreading of sociolinguistic variation: A usage-based study of the pluralization of "haber" in Spanish.

Editions

De Jong, K. & Méndez Vallejo, D.C. (eds). (2007). *IULC Working Papers Online*. Vol. 7. Indiana University. Bloomington, IN. https://www.indiana.edu/~iulcwp/contents.cgi?which=7

Kapatsinski, V., Méndez Vallejo, D.C., Yoon, J. & Yoshida, K. (Assoc. eds). (2006). *IULC Working Papers Online*. Vol. 6. Indiana University. Bloomington, IN. https://www.indiana.edu/~iulcwp/contents.cgi?which=6

Chapetto, E., José, B., Méndez Vallejo, D.C., Riordan, B. & Taylor, J. (Assoc. eds). (2005). *IULC Working Papers Online*. Vol. 5. Indiana University. Bloomington, IN. https://www.indiana.edu/~iulcwp/contents.cgi?which=5

Presentations

Invited speaker

Méndez Vallejo, D.C. (August, 2008). *Propuesta teórica para la estructura del "ser focalizador" en el español colombiano*. Invited lecture: Lingüística IV (Fourth level Undergraduate Linguistics), taught by Dr. José Horacio Rosales Cueva. Language Department. Universidad Industrial de Santander, Bucaramanga, Colombia.

Méndez Vallejo, D.C. (February, 2007). *Periphrastic and morphological future forms in Bogotá Spanish: a preliminary sociolinguistics study of upper-class speakers*. Invited lecture: Spanish 326 (Introduction to Hispanic Linguistics), taught by Dr. Aarnes Gudmestad. Department of Spanish and Portuguese. Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.

Peer-reviewed participation

Méndez Vallejo, D.C. (April, 2009). Syntactic variation in focus structures: The case of the "*Focalizing ser* (FS)" in Colombian Spanish. To be presented in: *Kentucky Foreign Language Conference (KFLC 62)*.University of Kentucky. Lexington, KY.

Méndez Vallejo, D.C. (March, 2009). Syntactic variation in Colombian Spanish: The case of the "*Focalizing ser* (FS)" structure. *39th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL 39)*.University of Arizona. Tucson, AZ.

Méndez Vallejo, D.C. (November, 2008). Some syntactic considerations regarding the Focalizing *ser* ('to be') structure in Colombian Spanish. *Western Conference on Linguistics (WECOL)*. University of California. Davis, CA.

Méndez Vallejo, D.C. (October, 2008). TP-internal focus: The case of the focalizing *ser* ('to be') construction in Colombian Spanish. *38th Michigan Linguistics Society (MLS)*. Wayne State University. Detroit, MI.

Méndez Vallejo, D.C. (September, 2008). Focalizing ser ('to be') structure in Colombian Spanish. Accepted to be presented in: *Syntax of the World's Languages III (SWL)*. Free University of Berlin. Berlin, Germany.

Méndez Vallejo, D.C. (April, 2008). Focalizing *ser* (FS) structure in Colombian Spanish. A preliminary analysis. In: *Eleventh Annual Ohio State University Symposium on Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Literatures, Cultures, and Linguistics*. Department of Spanish and Portuguese. Ohio State University. Columbus, OH.

Méndez Vallejo, D.C. (October, 2007). Periphrastic and morphological future forms in Bogotá Spanish: A preliminary sociolinguistics study of upper class speakers. Poster presentation. In: *New Ways of Analyzing Variation (NWAV) 36*, Philadelphia, PA.

Méndez Vallejo, D.C. (April, 2007). Conversational patterns in requests: the case of young female university students from Bucaramanga, Colombia. In: *First International Conference on Spanish and Portuguese Dialogue Studies*. Department of Spanish and Portuguese. University of Texas. Austin, TX.

Díaz-Campos, M.A., Chappetto, E., McNulty, E. & Méndez Vallejo, D.C. (October, 2005). Frequency and the spreading of sociolinguistic variation: A usage-based study of the pluralization of "haber" in Spanish. In: *New Ways of Analyzing Variation (NWAV) 34*, New York, NY.

Departmental conferences

Méndez Vallejo, D.C. (March, 2008). Focalizing *ser* ('to be') structure in Colombian Spanish. A preliminary analysis. In: *Second Annual Linguistics Departmental Student Conference*. Linguistics Department. Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.

Méndez Vallejo, D.C. (March, 2007). The role of prosody in requests produced by young female university students from Bucaramanga, Colombia. In: *First Annual Linguistics Departmental Student Conference.* Linguistics Department. Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.

Méndez Vallejo, D.C. (March, 2007). Conversational patterns in requests: the case of young female university students from Bucaramanga, Colombia. In: *Brown Bag Series in Hispanic Linguistics.* Department of Spanish and Portuguese. Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.

Méndez Vallejo, D.C. (November, 2006). Periphrastic and morphological future forms in Bogotá Spanish: a preliminary sociolinguistics study of upper-class speakers. In: *Brown Bag Series in Hispanic Linguistics.* Department of Spanish and Portuguese. Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.

Honors and Awards

2009   *Agapito Rey* Travel Grant. Department of Spanish and Portuguese. Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.

Departmental Travel Award. Linguistics Department. Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.

2008   *Tinker* Field Research Grant. College of Arts and Sciences, Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (CLACS). Indiana University, Bloomington, IN.

Agapito Rey Academic Year Graduate Fellowship. Department of Spanish and Portuguese. Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.

Nominated *Best Teacher Award.* Department of Spanish and Portuguese. Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.

2007   Best Householder Paper Award. Linguistics Department. Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.

Agapito Rey Travel Grant. Department of Spanish and Portuguese. Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.

2003   Associate Instructorship. Graduate School, College of Arts and Sciences. Department of Spanish and Portuguese, Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.

2000 Beca trabajo (Research Fellowship). Dean of Human Sciences. Masters Program in Semiology, Universidad Industrial de Santander. Bucaramanga, Colombia.

Research and Fieldwork Experience

Summer 2008 Dissertation fieldwork. Bucaramanga, Colombia. Conducted acceptability judgments on the focalizing *ser* ('to be') construction, at Universidad Industrial de Santander.

Summer 2007 The production of requests in Bucaramanga Spanish. Bucaramanga, Colombia. Collected data from young female university students, at Universidad Santo Tomás de Aquino and Universidad Industrial de Santander.

2001-2002 Master Thesis Fieldwork. Bucaramanga, Colombia. Investigated the semiotic meaning of the tattooed subject among young students from Bucaramanga.

Teaching Experience

Indiana University: Associate Instructor. (Fall 2003 - present). Department of Spanish and Portuguese. Bloomington, IN

Linguistics 103: Introduction to the study of language. (Summer 2008). Offered by the Linguistics Department. Basic concepts and methods in phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, among other linguistic fields. Full course responsibilities.

Spanish 150: First Year Spanish. (Fall 2003; Spring 2004). Elementary level Spanish: essential grammar and vocabulary. Responsible for class preparation and evaluation following a common syllabus.

Spanish 200: Second Year Spanish I. (Fall 2008; Fall 2004). First part of the intermediate level: Basic grammar, vocabulary, reading, and writing. Responsible for class preparation and evaluation following a common syllabus.

Spanish 250: Second Year Spanish II. (Spring 2005; Summer 2007). Second part of the intermediate level: Basic grammar, vocabulary, reading, and writing. Responsible for class preparation and evaluation following a common syllabus.

Spanish 275: Introduction to Hispanic Culture. (Spring 2008; Fall 2006; Fall 2005). Review of the historical and cultural development of Spanish-speaking countries. Responsible for class preparation and evaluation following a common syllabus.

Spanish 310: Spanish Grammar and Composition. (Spring 2006). Advanced study on specific grammar topics. Practice of writing and reading skills. Responsible for class preparation, evaluation, and syllabus design.

Spanish 312: Introduction to Expository Writing in Spanish. (Spring 2007). Development of stylistic and academic writing. Practice of reading skills. Responsible for class preparation, evaluation, and syllabus design.

Spanish 326: Introduction to Hispanic Linguistics. (Fall 2007). Overview of basic linguistic concepts and topics: phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax. Responsible for class preparation, evaluation, and syllabus design.

Spanish 332 and Spanish 333: The Hispanic World I and II. (Fall 2008). Introduction to Spanish literature, taught by Prof. Carl Good. Grading assistant: Responsible for grammar corrections on students' essays.

University of Scranton: Spanish Teaching Assistant. (Fall 2002 - Spring 2003). Department of Foreign Languages. Scranton, PA.

Spanish 311: Spanish Conversation. (Spring 2003). Development of self-expression in Spanish: Practice in both reading and speaking skills. Responsible for class preparation and evaluation following a common syllabus.

Spanish 312: Spanish Composition. (Fall 2002). Intensive writing practice, grammar, writing analysis, and composition. Responsible for class preparation and evaluation following a common syllabus.

Spanish 211: Intermediate Spanish I. (Spring 2003). First part of the intermediate level: Basic grammar topics, writing, and speaking. Responsible for class preparation and evaluation following a common syllabus.

Spanish 212: Intermediate Spanish II. (Fall 2002). Second part of the intermediate level: writing, speaking, and general topics on Hispanic culture. Responsible for class preparation and evaluation following a common syllabus.

Servicio Nacional de Aprendizaje (SENA): Part time instructor.
(February 2002 – August 2002)
Bucaramanga, Colombia.

Elementary English: Essential grammar and vocabulary. Development of speaking and listening skills. Computer-based course for students in the Tourism Program. Full course responsibilities.

Universidad Santo Tomás de Aquino: Part time instructor.
(June 2001 - August 2002)
Department of Foreign Languages
Bucaramanga, Colombia.

Elementary English: Development of basic listening and speaking skills. Directed to undergraduate students fulfilling their foreign language requirement. Responsible for class preparation and evaluation following a common syllabus.

Intermediate English: Focus on grammar and speaking. Directed to undergraduate students fulfilling their foreign language requirement. Responsible for class preparation and evaluation following a common syllabus.

Advanced English: Focus on vocabulary, speaking, and listening. Directed to undergraduate students in International Business and Tourism Programs. Responsible for class preparation and evaluation following a common syllabus.

Universidad Industrial de Santander: English instructor.
(September 1998 - August 2002)
Instituto de Lenguas
Bucaramanga, Colombia.

English instructor. (September 1998 – August 2002). Instituto de Lenguas. Courses taught: Basic, Intermediate, and Advance English for teenagers and adults. Responsible for class preparation and evaluation following a common syllabus.

Methodology Instructor. (February 2000 – April 2001). Workshop: "Programa de Formación en la Metodología de la Enseñanza Asistida por Nuevas Tecnologías". Instituto de Lenguas (in partnership with the Department of National Education). Full course responsibilities.

Methodology Instructor. (January – May 2000). Workshop: "The use of new technologies in the classroom". This course was primarily directed to elementary and secondary school teachers. Instituto de Lenguas and CENPI (Centro Nacional para la Enseñanza del Inglés). Full course responsibilities.

Teaching-related service

Spanish instructor. (Since 2007). Beginning Spanish and Spanish for Healthcare Providers. People's University: an annex office of the City of Bloomington (Adult Community Center). Bloomington, IN.

Linguistics Tutor. (Since 2007). Academic help in General Linguistics, Syntax, and Pragmatics. Linguistics Department. Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.

Spanish Tutor. (Since 2004). Academic help for students of Spanish. Department of Spanish and Portuguese. Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.

Spanish Tutor. (Since 2007). Academic help for elementary, intermediate, and advanced Business students. Center for International Business Education and Research (CIBER). Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.

Spanish interim instructor. (September 2007). Spanish 131 (Introductory Spanish). Indiana University Purdue University Columbus (IUPUC). Columbus, IN.

Spanish instructor. (2002-2003). Elementary Spanish. School Age Mothers Program. Offered by the City of Scranton for teenage mothers finishing High-School. Scranton, PA.

Administrative Experience

Special Programs Coordinator. (August 2000 – May 2001). Directed and organized English programs for children between the ages of 4 and 15. Instituto de Lenguas. Universidad Industrial de Santander. Bucaramanga, Colombia.

Academic Sub-Coordinator. (November 1999 – August 2001). Assisted the Academic Coordinator in the management of English courses in the Adult Learning Program. Instituto de Lenguas. Universidad Industrial de Santander. Bucaramanga, Colombia.

Academic Service

Volunteer Funding Committee member. (Since 2008). Graduate and Professional Student Organization (GPSO). Evaluated travel-grant applications. Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.

Translator and Transcriber. (Since 2007). English-Spanish translation and transcribing services for Absolute Marketing Research. Bloomington, IN.

Invited speaker. (September 2008). *Teaching portfolio Share Fair*. Campus Instructional Consulting. Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.

Invited speaker. (July 2008). *Jornada de ponencia de egresados de la Escuela de idiomas (Universidad Industrial de Santander, Colombia) sobre experiencias académicas en Estados Unidos y Europa*. Language Department. Universidad Industrial de Santander. Bucaramanga, Colombia.

Language Table Coordinator. (2006 - 2007). *Café Hispano* (Spanish Language Table). Organized and lead weekly meetings. Department of Spanish and Portuguese. Indiana University. Bloomington, IN.

Membership in Professional Organizations

May 2008	Modern Language Association
September 2008	Linguistic Society of America
September 2008	Indiana University Linguistics Club

Languages

Spanish	Native speaker.
English	Near-native speaker. Excellent reading/writing proficiency.
French	Intermediate speaker. Good reading/writing proficiency.
Hungarian	Advanced learner. Good reading proficiency.
Quechua	Intermediate learner.
German	Elementary learner.

References

Available upon request