

## 1 Clause-internal FocP

- Jayaseelan (2001) proposes that there is a FocP in the middle field.
- His starting observation is that *wh*-elements must be adjacent to the verb in many languages, like Malayalam.

(1) *Preverbal wh-element Malayalam:*

- a. *nii aa pustakam aar-kkə koDuttu?*  
you that book who-DAT gave  
'To whom did you give that book?'
- b. \**aar-kkə nii aa pustakam koDuttu?*

- This can't well be an SpecAgr<sub>OP</sub> position. Jayaseelan proposes that there are clause-medial topic and focus positions to which material may move.
- Following the criticisms of Lasnik (1995, 1999), Jayaseelan abandons the HNPS analysis of pseudogapping.
- But rather than adopt the view that this is all movement to SpecAgr<sub>OP</sub>, Jayseelan proposes instead that this pseudogapping remnants appear in the specifier of a clause-medial FocP.
- He adopts this view, in part, because pseudogapping remnants must bear contrastive stress, an observation he makes in Jayaseelan 1990.
- Furthermore, Lasnik observes that PPs can be pseudogapping remenants, but PPs do not move to SpecAgr<sub>OP</sub>.
- Also, Chomsky (1995) has suggested doing away with Agr projections anyway.

In the original Rizzi (1997), SpecFocP is identified as the landing position of *wh*-elements.

This analysis features in, e.g., Merchant (2013).

## 2 Making covert movement over

- Richards (2001) assumes that object movement is typically covert.
- However when the tail of a covert movement chain is deleted, and some element in that chain needs to be pronounced, overt movement may become more economical.
- This is based, in part, on the theory of movement in his book/dissertation.
  - There are strong positions and there are weak positions.
  - Strong positions trigger overt movement, weak positions require covert movement.

This is essentially the analysis in his dissertation (Richards 1997).

(2) John could pull you out of a plane, like he [<sup>W</sup> his brother<sub>k</sub><sup>2</sup> [pulled his brother<sub>k</sub><sup>1</sup> out of a plane]].

- If the tail of a typically covert movement chain is deleted by some independent operation, however, overt movement to the higher weak position is possible:

(3) John could pull you out of a plane, like he did [<sup>W</sup> his brother<sub>k</sub><sup>2</sup> [~~pull his brother<sub>k</sub><sup>1</sup> out of a plane~~]].

- This avoids a number of the complications of Lasnik's analysis.
- It's also the basis his analysis of multiple sluicing – more on that next week!
- It's not totally clear to me, though, what causes this object movement, whether it always happens, or even exactly where it's moving. It's just driven to a weak position.

Richards focuses on gapping, though claims this should work for pseudogapping. I am extrapolating a bit.

I talk about this quite a bit in LaCara 2017.

## References

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