

Abstract

Saramaccan (henceforth SA), a creole spoken in Suriname, is unique among creoles in two ways: 1. it has two lexifier languages (i.e., Portuguese and English), and 2. it existed until the mid 1960's in relative isolation without undergoing any significant "de-creolization" or developing a creole continuum, thus giving us a glimpse of what might be deemed a "pure creole."

In this paper, using data from Byrne (1985, 1987), I examine A'-movement in SA, specifically focusing on Wh-movement and Focus movement. Several peculiarities are immediately evident when considering A'-movement in SA. Many of these facts can be explained within a Minimalist syntactic framework. For instance, focus particles are generally optional, but with subjects of matrix clauses, they are obligatory. A PF constraint that requires pronounced material to intervene between a moved constituent and its trace for Focus interpretation to be available can account for this fact. Additional evidence for this PF constraint is found in the focalization of embedded subjects to a position outside of their clause; in these instances, the focus particle is optional. These same types of sentences can contain a word that functions like a complementizer, but it is shown to be a serial verb. Subjects can generally be focused on either side of the serial verb, and this can easily be explained if we consider proposals like the "internal left-periphery" where every vP can potentially have a left-peripheral field (Beletti, 1999).

Island effects are also evident in SA when DPs are focalized across Wh-elements, which is easily explained in Minimalist terms if we consider the Phase Impenetrability Condition of Chomsky (2000).

Keywords: Saramaccan, creole, A'-movement, Wh-movement, focalization, Minimalism, Phase Impenetrability Condition

A'-movement in Saramaccan: an overview

1. Background

Saramaccan is a creole spoken by the Saramaka Bush Negro in the jungle interior of Suriname. One interesting fact is that Saramaccan remained in a fairly isolated state until the 1960's, so it could provide us with a glimpse of the structure of a creole in its "initial state," before heavy contact with other languages and the resultant "de-creolization." Saramaccan (henceforth SA) is unique in that it has English and Portuguese as lexifier languages, and thus, the lexicon resembles a general mix of English and Ibero-romance. SA is an SVO language, and freely employs a wide variety of serial verbs, which I will not discuss in this paper.

In this paper, I will primarily examine forms of A'-movement in SA. I will be working in a Minimalist framework, generally assuming VP-internal subjects, light-verb structures (vP) (Chomsky, 1995), and the phase theory of locality for movement (Chomsky, 2000; 2001). The fact that I have chosen this framework for research will not have any major implications for my analysis. I will abstract away from verb movement in my analysis, as that could be a topic for research in itself. All of the Saramaccan data that I use in this paper is from the research of Francis Byrne (1985; 1987; 1993). The structure of this paper is as follows. Section 2 describes some traits common to most creoles. Section 3 details various forms of A'-movement in SA. Section 4 presents data which requires some theoretical explanation, as well as some potential solutions and issues pertaining to those solutions. Section 5 concludes with some implications for my research as well as some avenues for further research. Section 6 is an appendix which provides data regarding yes-no questions in SA.

2. Creole basics

In this section, I describe some structural tendencies that are common to creoles as a typological group. In no way do I imply that the characteristics mentioned are true of every creole, nor do I intend to give a detailed analysis of these tendencies and the implications that they have for theoretical work describing creoles as a typologically unified linguistic group. There is a wealth of literature regarding this topic, and I refer the reader to the primary sources for more information. See especially Arends, et. al. (1995) for a particularly good overview.

2.1. Verbs

One linguistic aspect common to most creoles is the fact that they display drastically reduced verbal morphology. Agreement morphology is usually not inflected on the verb, nor is it conveyed in the sentence at all. Tense, mood and aspect are typically not inflected on the verb, but rather are indicated by pre-verbal tense, mood and aspect (TMA) particles. These particles are clitic-like in that they must occur attached to the verb, and they generally occur in the order Tense-Mood-Aspect-Verb, while the tense particle in most non-creole languages typically reverses the order of Tense and Mood. (Bakker, et. al., 1995) The

ordering evident in creoles could give us some indication of the unmarked structure of the Inflectional field, and can easily be incorporated into the system described by Cinque (1999). The data in (1) comes from SA and shows generally how tense and aspect markers function in relation to the verb in creoles, as well as the ordering restriction placed upon these particles.

- (1) a. di mujee wooko
the woman work
“The woman works”
b. di mujee ta- wooko
the woman ASP-work
“The woman is working”
c. di mujee bi- ta- wooko
the woman TNS-ASP-work
“The woman was working”
d. *di mujee ta- bi- wooko
the woman ASP-TNS-work

2.2. Nouns

As with verbs, nouns in creoles generally have reduced morphological marking. Overt Case marking and grammatical gender are typically absent from creoles. SA conforms to this general pattern; number marking on nouns is absent in SA as well, but number is indicated by determiners. The data in (2) shows number marking on determiners in SA. From the data in (2), the reader can also infer that no Case marking is involved in SA as the determiner-noun forms are the same in both subject and object positions.

- (2) a. di womi wooko
the(SG) man work
“the man works”
b. dee womi wooko
the(PL) man work
“the men work”
- (3) a. Kofi si di womi
Kofi see the(SG) man
“Kofi sees the man”
b. Kofi si dee womi
Kofi see the(PL) man
“Kofi sees the men”

3. A'-movement in Saramaccan

In this section, I describe the two main forms of A'-movement in SA, Wh-movement and focus-movement. Understanding the basic schemas for these two types of movement is necessary when considering some issues that arise with more complex instances of A'-movement, including cases of interaction between

(8) [_{CP} [_{IP} Kofi [_{VP} si [_{NP} di mujee [_{CP} OP_k [_{IP} t_k [_{VP} bi-ta- wooko a di keiki]]]]]]]]]

We encounter evidence in the next section from Wh-movement that the structure in (8) is not possible, and (6) is the appropriate structure for (5).

3.1.3. Matrix Wh-questions

Wh-extraction from a subordinate clause to the matrix [Spec, CP] generally occurs exactly as with root questions. The Wh-element is preposed and no other modifications to the structure are made. This is exemplified in (9).

(9) a. ambe Kofi si bi- ta- wooko a di keiki
 who Kofi see TNS- ASP- work at the church
 “Who did Kofi see working at the church?”

b. naase Kofi si di mujee bi- ta- wooko
 (a+unse)
 loc+where Kofi see the woman TNS- ASP- work
 “Where did Kofi see the woman working?”

In (9a) we have an instance of subject extraction from a subordinate clause. As per the discussion in §3.1.2, there are two potential structures for this sentence, given in (10). The first is one shown in (10a), where the matrix verb selects a sentential complement, and the subject is extracted through successive cyclic movement by way of the intermediate [Spec, CP]; this would assume a base structure as in (6). The second possibility (given in (10b)) is that the verb selects a DP object which is modified by a relative clause, where the base form would be that given in (8). This option would require the movement of the DP object without pied-piping of the relative clause. No subadjacency-type violations result from this type of movement because restrictions on extraction from complex noun phrases (CNP) are specific to constituents inside the relative clause. The data in (10c) shows that extraction of the head-NP of a CNP can be licit. So from the data in (10), we cannot draw any conclusions as to the structure of (9a).

- (10) a. extraction of the subject of a subordinate clause
 [_{CP} ambe_i [_{IP} Kofi [_{VP} si [_{CP} [_{IP} t_i [_{VP} bi-ta- wooko a di keiki]]]]]]]]]
 b. extraction of an object modified by a relative clause
 [_{CP} ambe_i [_{IP} Kofi [_{VP} si [_{NP} t_i [_{CP} OP_k [_{IP} t_k [_{VP} bi-ta- wooko a di keiki]]]]]]]]]
 c. extraction of an object modified by a relative clause (English)
 What did John eat t that made him sick?

Now, consider the data in (9b). We could propose the two possible structures for (9a) as potentially relevant for (9b). These are given in (11). It would seem that the structure of both sentences in (9) would have to involve a sentential complement selected by the matrix verb, as in (11a), because the movement of a

PP from a subordinate clause through an intermediate [Spec, CP] is generally non-problematic. Movement out of a CNP-island, as in (11b), generally leads to some type of Subjacency violation because the intermediate [Spec, CP] is occupied. Given this evidence, I conclude, along with Byrne, that the structure of the sentences in (5) and (9) is that in (6)/(10).

- (11) a. [_{CP} naase [_{IP} Kofi [_{VP} si [_{CP} [_{IP} di mujee [_{VP} bi-ta- wooko t_i]]]]]]
 b. [_{CP} naase_i [_{IP} Kofi [_{VP} si [_{NP} di mujee [_{CP} OP_k [_{IP} t_k [_{VP} bi-ta- wooko t_i]]]]]]]]

3.1.4. Headless Relatives

Based on the discussion above, we can confidently give the structure for some headless relative clauses in SA. The importance of these structures will be evident as we proceed with the discussion of A'-movement in SA (see §4.1.).

- (12) a. Kofi si ambe bi- ta wooko a di keiki
 Kofi see who TNS- ASP- work at the church
 "Kofi saw who was working at the church"
 [_{CP} [_{IP} Kofi [_{VP} si [_{CP} ambe_i [_{IP} t_i [_{VP} bi-ta- wooko a di keiki]]]]]]]
 b. Kofi si naase di mujee bi- ta wooko
 Kofi see loc+where the woman TNS- ASP- work
 "Kofi saw where the woman was working"
 [_{CP} [_{IP} Kofi [_{VP} si [_{CP} naase_i [_{IP} di mujee [_{VP} bi-ta- wooko t_i]]]]]]

3.2. Island Effects

In §3.1.3. we used the familiar CNP-island as a diagnostic to determine the structure of subordination in SA. In the data that I have access to, the only other island-effects that I encountered are Wh-islands. It is a topic for further research whether SA displays other island-effects, such as sensitivity to sentential-subject islands or adjunct islands.

3.2.1. Wh-islands

SA shows sensitivity to extraction of constituents across Wh-islands. In (13), we have evidence that extraction of a Wh-PP out of a headless relative leads to ungrammaticality. In (14), we see a similar instance of Wh-island effects, with an embedded Wh-subject moved out of a headless relative also causes ungrammaticality.

- (13) a. [_{CP} [_{IP} Kofi [_{VP} si [_{CP} ambe_i [_{IP} t_i [_{VP} bi-ta- wooko a di keiki]]]]]]]
 Kofi see who TNS- ASP- work at the church
 "Kofi saw who was working at the church"
 b. * [_{CP} naase_k [_{IP} Kofi [_{VP} si [_{CP} ambe_i [_{IP} t_i [_{VP} bi-ta- wooko t_k]]]]]]]]
 loc+where Kofi see who TNS- ASP- work
 (14) a. [_{CP} [_{IP} Kofi [_{VP} si [_{CP} naase_i [_{IP} di mujee [_{VP} bi-ta- wooko t_i]]]]]]
 Kofi see loc+where the woman TNS- ASP- work
 "Kofi saw where the woman was working"

- b. *_{[CP ambe_k [_{IP} Kofi [_{VP} si [_{CP} naase_i [_{IP} t_k [_{VP} bi-ta- wooko t_i]]]]]]}
 who Kofi see loc+where TNS- ASP- work

3.3. Focus movement

In SA, there is extensive use of non-Wh constituent fronting. I will call this movement *focus movement* or *focalization* for a number of reasons. The first reason is that, cross linguistically, focalization is realized through movement, while topicalization generally occurs through base generation in the left periphery with a resumptive pronoun “doubling” the topicalized element in its logical position in the clause. SA shows no evidence of resumptive pronouns, so this serves as one indication that the non-Wh constituent displacement in SA is focus movement. The fact that Wh-elements serve as intervenors blocking this type of movement (see §4.1) indicates that the process is indeed focalization, since focused elements and quantifiers are considered to occupy the same syntactic position when moved, due to the fact that they are both quantificational in nature.

3.3.1. NP-focus

In SA, NPs (or DPs) may undergo focus movement, either from subject position or from object position.

3.3.1.1. Subject focus

When matrix subjects are focalized in SA, a focus particle obligatorily follows the moved subject. This focus particle takes the form of a third person pronoun and it agrees in number with the focalized constituent.¹

In (15), we have some examples of subject focus movement. (15a) is a base sentence without subject focus, and (15b) and (15c) show how the focus particle agrees in number with a singular and with a plural subject, respectively.

- (15) a. di/dee womi lesi di buku
 the (sg/pl) man read the book
 “The man/men read the book”
 b. di womi hen lesi di buku
 the (sg) man HE read the book
 “It was the man who read the book”
 c. dee womi de lesi di buku
 the (pl) man THEY read the book
 “It was the men who read the book”

It is interesting to note that subjects of subordinate clauses, when focalized, are not obligatorily accompanied by a focus particle. This is illustrated in (16).

¹ In the data that I have access to, only third-person DPs are focalized, so it would be interesting to determine whether first- and second-person pronouns can be focalized, and if so, are they accompanied by an agreeing focus particle?

- (16) di mujee Kofi si bi- ta- wooko a di keiki
 the woman Kofi see TNS- ASP- work at the church
 “It was the woman that Kofi saw working at the church”

Without the data regarding CNP-islands presented in §3.1.2. – 3.1.3., we might construe this as being evidence that the structure of sentences like (5) actually consists of a matrix verb which selects a modified DP. I will assume that the conclusion I reached above is correct, and the structure of (5) is actually a sentential complement of a matrix verb.

3.3.1.2. Object Focus

Object focus in SA is a bit different than subject focus in that the focus particle is optional with object focalization. When the focus particle is present, it agrees with the focalized object for number, as is the case with subjects. In (17), I have listed some instances of object focalization. The sentence in (17a) is the base form. The form in (17b) is an instance where object focus is not accompanied by the focus particle. In (17c) and (17d) we have examples of the focus particle agreeing with the focused object DP for number, singular and plural, respectively. In (17e) we see that the object cannot occur with a focus particle *in situ*.

- (17) a. di womi sei di fou a di wojowojo
 the man sell the bird at the market
 “The man sold the bird at the market”
 b. di fou di womi sei a di wojowojo
 the bird the man sell at the market
 “It was the bird that the man sold at the market”
 c. di fou hen di womi sei a di wojowojo
 the(sg) bird IT the man sell at the market
 “It was the bird that the man sold at the market”
 d. dee fou de di womi sei a di wojowojo
 the(pl) bird IT the man sell at the market
 “It was the birds that the man sold at the market”
 e. *di womi sei di fou hen a di wojowojo
 the man sell the bird IT at the market

3.3.2. PP-focus

Prepositional phrases may also be focalized in SA. In the data available to me, the focus particle is never found with focalized PPs. The data in (18) shows typical examples of PP focalization, with both base and focused forms indicated.

- (18) a. a go a di womi wosu
 he go loc the man house
 “he goes to the man’s house”
 b. a di womi wosu a go
 loc the man house he go
 “It was to the man’s house that he went”

- c. a kotɪ dɪ fɪsɪ kʊ dɪ fakɑ
he cut the fish with the knife
“he cut the fish with the knife”
- d. kʊ dɪ fakɑ ɑ kotɪ dɪ fɪsɪ
with the knife he cut the fish
“It was with the knife that he cut the fish”

The sentences in (19) give evidence that the focalization operation may not strand prepositions; a DP that is the complement of a preposition may not be focalized without pied piping of the preposition, and the preposition may not be focalized without pied piping of their DP complements.

- (19) a. *dɪ wɔmɪ wɔsʊ ɑ go ɑ
the man house he go loc
- b. *ɑ ɑ go dɪ wɔmɪ wɔsʊ
loc he go the man house
- c. *dɪ fakɑ ɑ kotɪ dɪ fɪsɪ kʊ
the knife he cut the fish with
- d. *kʊ ɑ kotɪ dɪ fɪsɪ dɪ fakɑ
with he cut the fish the knife

The data in (20) shows that Wh-movement from within PPs patterns with PP focus; pied piping of the preposition is obligatory.

- (20) a. naase ɑ go
(ɑ+unse)
loc-where he go
“Where did he go to?”
- b. *unse ɑ go ɑ
where he go loc
- c. kʊ ɑndɪ ɑ kotɪ dɪ fɪsɪ
with what he cut the fish
“With what did he cut the fish?”
- d. *ɑndɪ ɑ kotɪ dɪ fɪsɪ kʊ
what he cut the fish with

4. Theoretical issues regarding A'-movement in Saramaccan

In this section, I describe a few phenomena related to A'-movement in SA that have not been accounted for in any current linguistic research. I provide sketches of potential theoretical mechanisms that could account for these issues. I then briefly discuss some problems with each possible solution, both theory-internal gaps as well as shortcomings of the theory in accounting for data in SA.

4.1. Island effects with Wh-elements and focus

It seems that focalized elements and Wh-elements can produce island effects for focus movement. The sentences in (21) - (22) display how focalization is

ungrammatical when the movement crosses a Wh-element in a headless relative clause. This is evident both with focalized PPs (21) and subjects (22).

- (21) a. Kofi si ambe bi- ta wooko a di keiki
 Kofi see who TNS- ASP- work at the church
 “Kofi saw who was working at the church”
 [CP [IP Kofi [VP si [CP ambe_i [IP t_i [VP bi-ta- wooko a di keiki]]]]]]
 b. *[CP a di keiki_k [IP Kofi [VP si [CP ambe_i [IP t_i [VP bi-ta- wooko t_k]]]]]]
 at the church Kofi see who TNS- ASP- work
- (22) a. [CP [IP Kofi [VP si [CP naase_i [IP di mujee [VP bi-ta- wooko t_i]]]]]]
 Kofi see loc+where the woman TNS- ASP- work
 “Kofi saw where the woman was working at the church”
 b. *[CP di mujee_k [IP Kofi [VP si [CP naase_i [IP t_k [VP bi-ta- wooko t_i]]]]]]
 the woman Kofi see loc+where TNS- ASP- work

From the data in (23), we see that an element moved to an intermediate focus position can also serve as an island for movement of an element to a higher focus position.

- (23) a. a ki fu di mii njan di kuku
 he want (for) the child eat the cookie
 “He wants the child to eat the cookie”
 b. a ki fu di mii hen njan di kuku
 he want (for) the child HE eat the cookie
 “He wants it to be the child that eats the cookie”
 c. *di kuku a ki fu di mii hen njan
 the cookie he want (for) the child HE eat

I have not found any data regarding Wh-movement across an element in an intermediate focus position, but I hypothesize that such data would pattern similar to the data in (21) – (23). Additional data regarding multiple Wh-constructions, if possible in SA, would be helpful as a diagnostic of island phenomena.

One possible analysis of this interaction between Wh-movement and focus movement comes from the literature regarding the “left periphery,” which basically takes the concept of the CP and divides it up into a series of ordered functional projections. This notion of left periphery can be schematized as in (24), adapted from Rizzi (2002).

- (24) [Force [Topic [Focus [Topic [Finiteness [TP

In Rizzi’s (1997) seminal work on the left periphery, he concludes that Wh-elements and focalized elements are both quantificational in character, and both types of elements target the same functional projection for movement, call it

FocP (for Focus Phrase). And since both Wh-elements and focalized constituents are A'-specifiers, we can use a Relativized Minimality (RM) system to account for the data above. In a nutshell, no element of a certain syntactic 'type' may be moved over another element of the same 'type.' A'-specifiers, A-specifiers, and heads are considered the three main 'types' that Rizzi distinguishes, and this system straightforwardly accounts for many syntactic phenomena, like head-to-head movement, superiority effects, and island effects. If we accept the hypothesis that Wh-elements and focalized elements are both A'-specifiers, the data in (21) – (23) falls out neatly, because movement of a focused constituent over a Wh-element (or another focalized constituent) would be a direct violation of RM. The RM system was revolutionary when Rizzi (1997) first introduced the approach towards the end of the GB-era, when Barriers-type (Chomsky, 1986) frameworks with complex mechanisms were needed to account for locality and Subjacency effects. The RM system reduced Subjacency effects to constituent configuration, dispensing with convoluted theories that attempted to account for said effects in a structural manner.

There are some potential problems for the RM analysis of syntactic phenomena like island effects, especially considering the direction that much current syntactic theory has taken based on the research by Chomsky (2000; 2001). Chomsky's 'phase' based system of locality constraints does eliminate the need for complex theories of structural relationships by proposing that the CP and the vP are natural clausal constituents that serve as boundaries for movement. Within the phase based system, movement is based on feature checking through the operations Agree and Merge. The RM system and the phase based system of syntax can be easily collapsed if we assume that the same features that apply to Wh-elements can also apply to focalized elements, and the checking of these features is what drives the RM effects. It is more difficult to incorporate the theories regarding the left periphery into a phase based theory of syntax because the two are somewhat at odds. For example, within the phase based system, the CP is a phase boundary. Much of the literature regarding the left periphery makes a good case for dividing the CP into a more finely grained architecture, but it is difficult to see how to incorporate the two systems. What would actually constitute a phase boundary if the CP is a demarcated field consisting of several functional projections? What would be considered the 'edge' of the phase. Chomsky alludes to the possibility that these two systems can be related by allowing for multiple specifiers; if the CP can have multiple specifiers, this could be the equivalent of saying that the CP contains more than one position for movement, somewhat parallel to the system proposed in the left periphery literature.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to provide an in-depth discussion of how the RM system and the phase based system can be reconciled. I do believe that some formulation of one of these systems, or a combination of the two, could adequately account for the facts as evidenced in the SA data. A thorough explanation of some mechanism to account for the data would commit me to a

specific framework and would be more an exercise in the manipulation of some theory than a survey of the aspects of A'-movement in SA, which is my intent in this work.

4.2. Focus positions in Saramaccan

Let me begin this subsection by describing how we can theoretically represent focus movement. In a system employing a left periphery analysis, focalized elements and *Wh*-elements are generally considered to occupy [Spec, FocP] after movement (see (24)), while complementizers can arguably occupy the head position in the *force* or *finiteness* functional projections (For^0 or Fin^0 respectively). If a more bare-bones system is adopted, complementizers occupy C^0 and moved *Wh*-elements and focalized elements occupy [Spec, CP]. In any case, focalized elements always occur in a predictable position relative to the complementizer in the CP-field to which they move. Now consider some instances of focalization in (25).

- (25) a. a ke fu di mii njan di kuku
 he want for the child eat the cookie
 "He wants the child to eat the cookie"
- b. a ke fu di mii hen njan di kuku
 he want for the child HE eat the cookie
 "He wants for it to be the child to eat the cookie"
- c. a ke di mii (hen) fu njan di kuku
 he want the child (HE) for eat the cookie
 "He wants the child to be the one to eat the cookie"
- d. di mii (hen) a ke fu njan di kuku
 the child (HE) he want for eat the cookie
 "It is the child that he wants to eat the cookie"

The data in (25) shows that focalization can target positions both before and after *fu* 'for'. If *fu* is a complementizer, we would not expect focused elements to appear both before and after *fu*. If a Chomskyan system is employed, we would expect focalized constituents to appear to the left of the complementizer. If a left peripheral system is adopted, we could situate *fu* in ForceP, whereby the focalized element would occur to the right of *fu*; alternately, we could situate *fu* in FinP, and we would expect focalized constituents to occur to the left of *fu*. In any case, we would not predict that focused material could occur on either side of *fu*.

One possible account for the data in (25) would employ a left peripheral system. We could state that *fu* is optionally base generated in ForceP, and focalization would yield sentences like in (25b) where the focused element appears to the right of *fu*. The other option is that *fu* can be base generated in FinP, and we could derive sentences like (25c) where focalized material appears to the left of *fu*. The alternation in (25) would then be reduced to some sort of lexical ambiguity of *fu* and where it can be generated. This option is undesirable for a number of reasons. For one, the type of lexical ambiguity proposed for *fu* would

be a pure stipulation to force an analysis out of the system. Another drawback to this approach is that we would expect *fu* to either have different meanings in its different base generated positions, or we would expect *fu* to display some kind of selectional differences depending on its position; neither of these effects seems to surface, and the only difference between (25b) and (25c) seems to be a minor variation in the scopal interpretation of the focalized constituent, as is evident from the glosses of the respective sentences.

An alternative approach to account for the data in (25) is proposed by Byrne (1985; 1987), which relies crucially on an intimate knowledge of SA. Byrne gives extensive and conclusive evidence that *fu* is actually a serial verb, drawing from the fact that *fu* can be tensed and can function as a modal. I will not present the arguments that Byrne presents here, but I refer the reader to the primary sources for a detailed discussion. Byrne then analyzes the *fu* verb which heads a full CP and which selects a CP complement. This is schematized in (26).

(26) [CP [IP a [VP ke [CP [IP [VP fu [CP [IP di mii [VP njan di kuku]]]]]]]]]

Byrne concludes that focalization can target the [Spec, CP] both immediately below and immediately above *fu*.

Some alternate proposals have been made recently regarding the nature of serial verbs. Choi (2003) considers serial verb constructions to consist of multiply stacked vP-VP layers without intervening projections. This could be schematized as in (27).

(27) [CP [IP a [VP ke [CP [IP [VP [VP fu [VP di mii njan di kuku]]]]]]]]]

Choi uses this mechanism to account for serial verb constructions in Korean where both verbs have thematic content, but we can easily modify that system to account for *fu* which apparently has no thematic content, but rather serves solely as a predicational connective linking a main verb with an embedded sentence. If we consider *fu* to be a light-verb head that doesn't project a specifier, we could propose a structure like in (28) where no thematic information is encoded on the v^0 (except perhaps a *proposition* -role that is discharged on the embedded clause). We run into issues of how the embedded clause would pick up tense information, but I abstract away from that here.

(28) [CP [IP a [VP ke [CP [IP [VP fu [VP di mii njan di kuku]]]]]]]]]

Even with the structure described in (28), we still need to discover how focalization can target positions both immediately before and after *fu*. Beletti (1999) provides evidence from Romance that each vP can potentially have a left peripheral field. If this is the case, we could propose that both the vP headed by *fu* and the embedded vP can potentially project a FocP, which would allow for the distribution of focalized elements in (25). This is effectively the same proposal

that Byrne developed, albeit with quite a bit more empirical research as a foundation. A schematic for this type of structure is given in (29).

- (29) [_{FocF} (di mii) a [_{VP} ke [_{FocF} (di mii) [_{VP} fu [_{FocF} (di mii) [_{VP} di mii njan di kuku]]]]]]

Further research regarding the nature of serial verb constructions could lend great insight to this aspect of A'-movement in SA. Additional data regarding the positions that Wh-movement potentially targets could also serve to confirm or disprove this hypothesis.

4.3. Obligatory focus marker with subjects

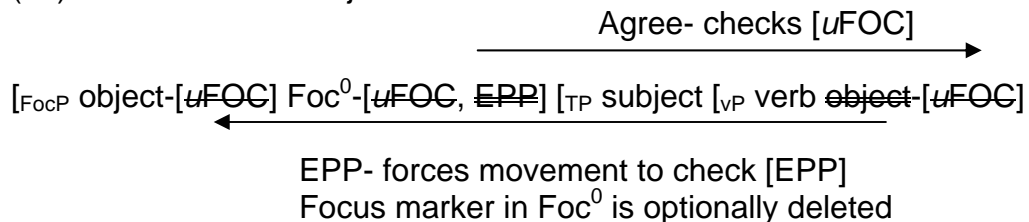
As we saw in §3.1., the focus marker is obligatory with subject focus in SA but is optional when objects are focalized. The relevant data is given in (15) – (17). After considering this issue for some time, I have devised a system which could account for this alternation.

In SA, the focus particle is always base generated in the head of FocP. The focus particle is then optionally deleted at PF, where optional pronunciation is generally used for emphasis. In order for a focalized element to be interpreted as *focused* at PF, some pronounced material must intervene between the focused position and the position from which the constituent was moved. We can phrase this constraint as in (30). I abstract away from traces due to movement prior to focus movement for clarity of exposition.

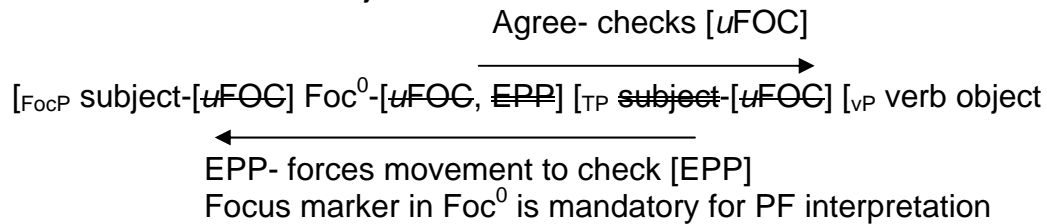
- (30) *PF Constraint on Focus*
 Interpret a constituent as a focus only if pronounced material intervenes between the focalized constituent and its trace

With focalization of objects, it is evident that the constituent has been focused because it is obviously displaced from its base-generated position. With focalization of matrix subjects, the focus particle is obligatory for the subject to be interpreted as focalized, because otherwise the subject would simply be interpreted as a canonical subject. Let me schematize how focus movement occurs for subject and object focus in SA, as in (31).

- (31)a. focalization of objects



b. focalization of subjects



I assume that the focus particle is base generated in Foc⁰ and the optional deletion occurs at PF. The fact that the focus particle is base generated in Foc⁰ explains why DPs may not occur with the focus particle in their base generated positions. The focus particle contains some uninterpretable focus feature [*u*FOC] that contains an EPP feature. The focus particle enters into an Agree relationship with a DP that contains a feature [*u*FOC] and these features are checked through the Agree relationship. The EPP feature of the focus particle forces the DP with which it established an Agree relationship to move to [Spec, FocP].

Some data supporting my hypothesis is given in (32), which is repeated and modified from (25) above.

- (32) a. a ke fu [di mii] njan di kuku
 he want for the child eat the cookie
 “He wants the child to eat the cookie”
- b. a ke fu [di mii]_i hen t_i njan di kuku
 he want for the child HE eat the cookie
 “He wants for it to be the child to eat the cookie”
- c. a ke [di mii]_i (hen) fu t_i njan di kuku
 he want the child (HE) for eat the cookie
 “He wants the child to be the one to eat the cookie”
- d. [di mii]_i (hen) a ke fu t_i njan di kuku
 the child (HE) he want for eat the cookie
 “It is the child that he wants to eat the cookie”

In (32a) we have an example of a matrix verb that selects a tensed complement clause. In (32b), we see that when the subject of the subordinate clause is focalized to the immediately higher [Spec, FocP], the focus particle is mandatory in order for the embedded subject *di mii* to be interpreted as focalized; otherwise, *di mii* would simply be interpreted as the subject of the embedded clause, as is predicted by (30). In (32c), the subject of the embedded clause is focalized to the [Spec, FocP] associated with the serial verb *fu*, and in (32d) the embedded subject is focalized to the matrix [Spec, FocP]. In both of these cases, the focus particle is optional because *di mii* is obviously displaced from its canonical subject position, and the embedded subject can be interpreted as focused with or without the focus particle.

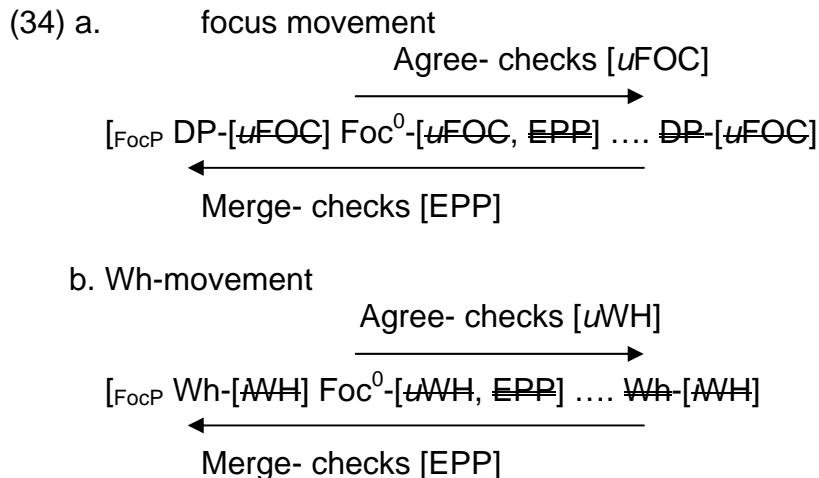
One question to ask is: why does this PF constraint not apply to Wh-elements. An answer that immediately comes to mind is that Wh-elements are overtly marked as such, and this marking allows for immediate interpretation of the Wh-element as ‘moved’, due to the nature of Wh-movement as a whole.

4.4. The incompatibility of Wh-elements with Focus

Wh-elements are generally not compatible with the focus particle in SA. Data supporting this statement is given in (33).

- (33) a. *ambe hen/de lesi di buku
 who HIM/THEY read the book
 b. *ambe hen di womi sei a di wojowojo
 who IT the man sell at the market

One possible analysis is immediately evident when inspecting the pattern in (33). Let me outline a system that could easily account for the data. For concreteness, I assume that both Wh-elements and focalized elements move to [Spec, FocP]. I assume that Wh-movement and focus movement are generally motivated by the need for feature checking; the Foc^0 head has an [EPP] feature and can contain either a [μ FOC] or a [μ WH] feature which is checked through an Agree relationship with a DP containing the appropriate feature. Consequent movement to [Spec, FocP] checks the [EPP] feature of the Foc^0 head. This procedure is schematized in (34).



If the focus particle is base generated in Foc^0 (with the [μ FOC] feature), no Agree relationship can be established between Foc^0 and a Wh-element due to feature incompatibility; since the operation Move is a composite operation based on Agree and Merge, movement of the Wh-element to [Spec, FocP] is not possible because the initial Agree relationship necessary for Move cannot be established. In a configuration like what is seen in (33), the [μ FOC] and [EPP] features of Foc^0

