



Set I. Word order: Focus-(non)/neutral

- Looking at focus in *ditransitives* because lots of arguments to move around
- Uttered out of the blue or as a response to a maximally broad question like *aaj kyaa huaa?* ‘What happened?’ only one word order is good: the one with immediately preverbal *vaapas* (1a)

(1a) ✓ (aaj) benu-ne anu-ko kitaab **vaapas** de dii ✓
(today) Benu-ERG Anu-DAT book back give GIVE.PFV
‘(Today,) Benu gave the book back to Anu.’

(1b) # (aaj) benu-ne anu-ko **vaapas** **kitaab** de dii ✗
(today) Benu-ERG Anu-DAT back book give GIVE.PFV
- ‘(Today,) It was [a/ book]_F that Benu gave back to Anu.’

(1c) # (aaj) benu-ne **vaapas** **anu-ko** **kitaab** de dii ✗
(today) Benu-ERG back Anu-DAT book give GIVE.PFV
- ‘(Today,) It was [Anu]_F to whom Benu gave the book back.’
- ‘(Today,) It was [a/ book]_F that Benu gave back to Anu.’

(1d) # (aaj) **vaapas** **benu-ne** **anu-ko** **kitaab** de dii ✗
(today) back Benu-ERG Anu-DAT book give GIVE.PFV
- ‘(Today,) It was [Benu]_F who gave Anu the book back.’
- ‘(Today,) It was [Anu]_F to whom Benu gave the book back.’
- ‘(Today,) It was [a/ book]_F that Benu gave back to Anu.’

- Out of these, (1a) is *focus-neutral*; the others (1b/1c/1d) are all *non-neutral*
- I’ll call the word order (1a) *neutral order*; (1b/1c/1d) *non-neutral orders*

Set II. New info? Follow *vaapas*

- Just 1 focus-neutral order; interpreted as all-Given (Schwarzschild 1999)
- All non-neutral orders introduce “new” info (i.e. info not already Given)
- The “new” (non-Given) info can be anything as long as it **follows** *vaapas*

- Context in (2) can be followed by a non-neutral order sentence *iff* something non-Given follows *vaapas*
- Adverb *vaapas* partitions sentence into “focus zone” and “no-focus zone”
- True of all non-neutral orders, illustrated below using (1c)

(2) aliishaa-ne benu-ko kitaab dii, baad mein...
Alisha-ERG Benu-DAT book give.PFV then...
‘Alisha gave Benu a/the book, then...’

(1c) ✓ benu-ne **vaapas** {aliishaa, anu}-ko kitaab dii ✓
Benu-ERG back {Alisha, Anu}-DAT book give.PFV
‘...it was [Anu]_F that Benu gave the book back to.’

(1c’) ✓ benu-ne **vaapas** aliishaa-ko {kitaab, maegzin} dii ✓
Benu-ERG back Alisha-DAT {book, magazine} give.PFV
‘...it was [a magazine]_F that Benu gave back to Alisha.’

(1c’’) # {benu, baalaa}-ne **vaapas** aliishaa-ko kitaab dii ✗
{Benu, Bala}-ERG back Alisha-DAT book give.PFV
Intended: ‘...it was [Bala]_F that gave the book back to Alisha.’

- Reason for # (1c’): non-Given is in no-focus zone (& focus zone is empty)
- Note: Biezma et al. (2017) noticed that when the focus-partition is created using polar question particle *kyaa*, a sentence similar to (1c’’) can be “rescued” if we prosodically Focus the offending constituent
- This doesn’t happen with focus-partition created using *vaapas* (1c’ is #)

Focus-neutrality and *vaapas*

FOCUS-NEUTRAL ORDERS

S IO DO **vaapas** V *all-Given; can prosodically Focus S, IO, or DO*

NON-NEUTRAL ORDERS

- S IO **vaapas** DO V *can’t be all-Given; new info can be DO not S/IO*
- S **vaapas** IO DO V *can’t be all-Given; new info can be IO/DO not S*
- vaapas** S IO DO V *can’t be all-Given; new info can be S/IO/DO*

In non-neutral orders, (1b/1c/1d):

preference for focus to be interpreted on argument in **blue** (highest arg); an argument **in blue box** needs prosodic prominence in addition

Semantics of *vaapas* ‘back’

- Basic meaning contribution: “movement to original state/location”
- Does not affect assertoric content, only adds presupposition: “There exists an event prior to the event being asserted in the sentence such that the two events are the reverse of each other”
- (3a) *Anu gave althe book to Benu* is the reverse of
- (3b) *Benu gave the book **back** to Anu*
- All speakers allow *vaapas* to also mean ‘again’ in some specific circumstances
- Some speakers allow *vaapas* to mean ‘again’ in many different circumstances
- # Judgments or ✗ in Set I and pattern in Set II arise only with *vaapas* ‘back’
- With *vaapas* ‘again’:
 - All orders are fine all-Given (different from Set I.)
 - Focus-alternatives can be created on any constituent regardless of position relative to repetitive-meaning adverb (different from Set II.)

“Non-Given” = “focused”

- Diagnostics based on Bhatt & Dayal (2020)
- You can target material *following* the adverb (but not *preceding*) for:
- Y/N question:** (add rising intonation)

(1c-q) benu-ne **vaapas** [anu-ko]_F kitaab dii...?
Benu-ERG back [Anu-DAT]_F book GIVE.PFV
‘Was it [Anu]_F that Benu gave the book back to...?’

Extending the question: (add an alternative)

(4a) ✓ ...yaa aliishaa-ko? ✓ (4b) # ...yaa baalaa-ne? ✗
...or Alisha-DAT? ...or Bala-ERG?
‘...or was it (to) Alisha?’ Intended: ‘...or did Bala?’

Correcting: (answer the Y/N question with N + alternative)

(4c) ✓ nahiin, aliishaa-ko ✓ (4d) # nahiin, baalaa-ne ✗
no, Alisha-DAT no, Bala-ERG
‘No, it was (to) Alisha.’ Intended: ‘No, Bala did.’

ForceP account of focus-partitioning: N.A.

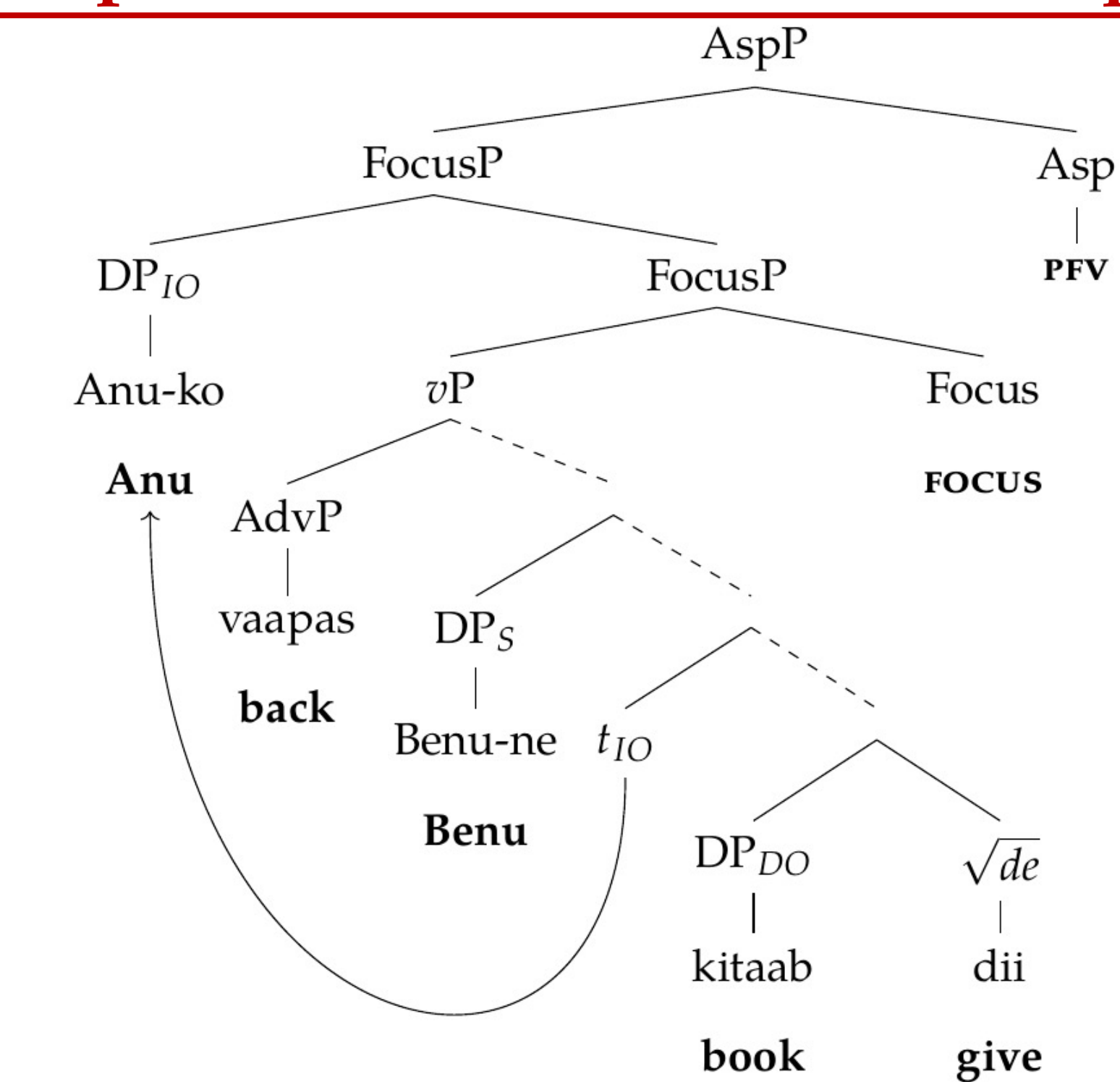
- Focus-partitioning was first noticed by Bhatt & Dayal (2014/2020)
- But it was not a *vP*-adverb that created the partition, it was the polar question particle *kyaa* which Bhatt & Dayal argue is in ForceP
- Their analysis hinges on the “partition-er” *kyaa* being in ForceP – there’s no motivation to apply this to *vaapas*, because *vaapas* simply doesn’t interact with stuff that goes on in the Force layer (e.g. clause type)

FocusP account can’t capture the word order

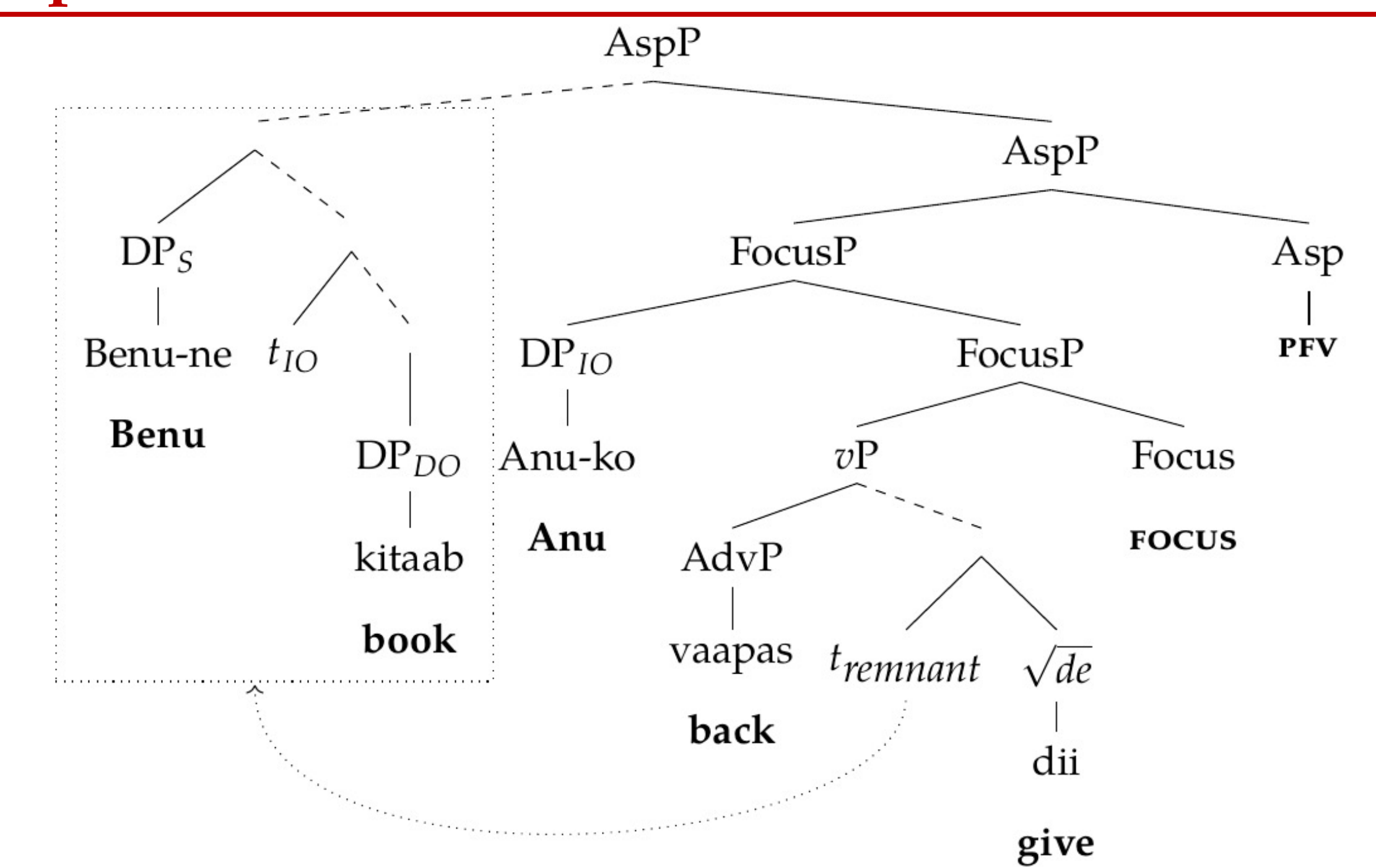
- There is a FocusP above *vP*; a single F-bearing item [XP]_F moves to its Spec
- Everything other than [XP]_F must evacuate the *vP* to explain word order

- FocusP account always produces this linear order:** [XP]_F – *vaapas* – V
- Wrong 2 ways:** fixes Adv position; requires [XP]_F – *vaapas* adjacency
- Shown below with focus on Indirect Object**

Step 1: F-constituent moves to Spec,FocP



Step 2: Whatever’s left in *vP* somehow evacuates it



- Word order produced at the end of Step 2:
- (5) benu-ne kitaab [anu-ko]_F **vaapas** dii ≠ the order in (1c)!
Benu-ERG book [Anu-DAT]_F back give.PFV
‘It was [Anu]_F that Benu gave the book back to.’
- (1c) benu-ne **vaapas** [anu-ko]_F kitaab dii **How to get this?**

Takeaways

- Order of *arguments* wrt to each other is not only way to indicate focus
- Immediately preverbal position not only place to interpret focus
- Focus-partitioning is general, not a property of *kyaa*/ForceP
- Neither ForceP account not FocusP account capture the facts
- There are multiple options for where to interpret focus in focus zone, but highest option easiest to access – looks like a job for AGREE?
- Prosodic focus interacts with focus-partitioning, not totally independent

References

BHATT, Rajesh & Veneeta DAYAL. 2014. Polar-kyaa: Y/N or Speech Act Operator? Talk at Non-Canonical Questions and Interface Issues Workshop, Hegne. BHATT, Rajesh & Veneeta DAYAL. 2020. Polar question particles: Hindi-Urdu *kyaa*. In *NLLT*. PATEL-GROSZ, Prity & Sigrid BECK. 2014. Revisiting *again*: The view from Kutchi Gujarati. In *Sinn und Bedeutung 18* Proceedings. PATEL-GROSZ, Prity & Sigrid BECK. 2014. Different *again*. In *Semantics & Pragmatics*. KIDWAI, Aysha. 1999. Word order & Focus positions in Universal Grammar. In *The Grammar of Focus*. BIEZMA, Maria, Miriam BUTT & Farhat JABEEN. 2017. Interpretations of Urdu/Hindi polar *kyaa*. Talk at Non-At-Issue Meaning & Information Structure Workshop, Konstanz.