Focus without movement: Syntax-prosody interface in Georgian
Lena Borise and Maria Polinsky
Harvard University & University of Maryland

1   Introduction

What is the relationship between syntax and information structure?

A. Information structure (IS) is embedded in syntax:
-- a constituent is moved to a particular position because of its IS status;
-- syntactic representations are specified for various IS categories; consequence: extensive peripheries, rich set of criteria based on semantic properties ([TOPIC], [CONTRASTIVE], [EXHAUSTIVE], [WH], etc.)

(1)   [TopP [TopP [FocP [XP ….[TP …[vP [TopP [TopP [FocP [vP …
        IS domain   IS domain

B. Information structure is read off syntactic structure:
-- syntactic configurations are not uniquely associated with specific IS statuses;
-- IS categories such as focus can be obtained in heterogeneous syntactic positions.

(2)   [CP [TP [vP …

☞ **Goal of this talk**: argue for position B using a subset of novel data from Georgian.

Outline:
- Georgian: Introduction (section 2)
- Focus and its properties (section 3)
- Prosody of Georgian focus (section 4)
- Non-focused material (section 5)
- Conclusions (section 6)

2   Georgian: Introduction

(3) **Some basic properties of Georgian (Kartvelian):**
a. generally head-final;
b. complex agreement system + extensive pro-drop (Bejar 2003);
c. flexible word order;
d. apparent preverbal focus position, similar to Basque and Hungarian.

(4) **Less commonly attested properties:**
a. not consistently head-final (Asatiani & Skopeteas 2012; Skopeteas & Fanselow 2010)
b. no cross-clausal A-bar movement (Harris 1981: 17, 18, 166; Harris 1984: 75-77)
c. weak/non-existent word-level stress (Vicenik & Jun 2014)

2.1   Georgian as a head-final language

Small clauses are strictly head-final (Johnson & Tomioka 1997):
(5) a. *Manana* [SC *Gela-s   č'k'vian-ad*]   *tvlis*.
       M.NOM   G.-DAT   clever-ADV   consider.PRS.3SG
       'Manana considers Gela smart.'
    b. **Manana* [SC *č'k'vian-ad Gela-s*] *tvlis*.

Verbal idioms with the internal argument/PP manifest verb-final order (Asatiani & Skopeteas 2012; Skopeteas & Fanselow 2010):
(6)   *Manana-m   pex-eb-i   gač'ima*.
      Manana-ERG   legs-PL-NOM   stretch.AOR.3SG
      'Manana died.' (lit: stretched her legs)
(7)   *Manana* [PP *nems-is   q'undz-ši*]
      M.NOM   needle-POSS   needle's.eye-LOC
      gadzvra.
      go.through.AOR.3SG
      'Manana did everything possible.' (lit.: went through a needle's eye)

Verb-initial orders are unacceptable in the declaratives
(but are possible in yes-no questions; more on this in 2.2):
(8)   **Šeč'ama   Manana-m   alubali*.
       eat.AOR.3SG   M-ERG   cherry.NOM
       ('Manana ate the cherry.')

_____

2.2   Unexpected of a head-final language

(9)   **VO orders are common and robust**
   a.   Both VO and OV orders occur frequently in discourse and can
        be found in all-new contexts (Skopeteas & Fanselow 2010);
   b.   Corpus studies: a slight preference for SOV in conservative
        registers/written styles, and for SVO in colloquial registers
        (Asatiani & Skopeteas 2012; Apridonidze 1986; Vogt 1971).

No verb raising: only low verbal negation available (see also
Lomashvili 2011: 81-82, 93-94):

(10)   *Sam-ze   nak'leb   st'udent'-s   ar   ecodineba   es   p'asuxi.*
       three-on   less   student-DAT   not   know.FUT   DEM   answer
       'Fewer than three students will not know the answer.'
       NOT: 'It won't be the case that fewer than three students will
       know the answer.' (~3 > NEG; *NEG > ~3)

(11)   *Manana-m   p'uri   išviatad   ar   gamoacxo.*
       Manana-ERG   bread.NOM   seldom   not   bake.AOR.3SG
       'Manana seldom did not bake bread.'
       (seldom > NEG; *NEG > seldom)

No evidence for object shift for nouns or pronouns:

(12)   a.   *Nino   c'itel   k'aba-s   edzeb-da,   magram* (*is*)
            N.NOM   red   dress-DAT   look.for-PRF.3SG   but   3SG
            ver   ip'ov-a   (is).
            NEG   find-AOR.3SG   3SG
            'Nino was looking for a red dress, but didn't find one.'
       b.   *Nino edzebda c'itel k'abas, magram* (*is*) *ver ip'ova* (*is*).

(13)   a.   *Nino   tavis   saqvarel c'itel   k'aba-s   edzeb-da,*
            N.NOM   own   favorite red   dress-DAT   look.for-PRF.3SG
            magram (*is*)   *ver   ip'ov-a   (is).*
            but   3SG   NEG   find-AOR.3SG   3SG
            'Nino was looking for her favorite red dress, but didn't find it.'
       b.   *Nino edzebda tavis saqvarel c'itel k'abas, magram* (*is*) *ver
            ip'ova* (*is*).

Complementizers (= C⁰'s) are clause-initial or second-position clitics
(Aronson 1990 on *rom* 'that'**;** Aronson 1990; Erschler 2015 on *tu* 'if,
whether'):

(14)   a.   *Manana   pikrob-s   [rom Rezo   (*rom)   saxl-s*
            M.NOM   think-PRS.3SG   COMP R.NOM   COMP   house-DAT
            (**rom*)   *ašenebs*   (**rom*)].
            COMP   build-PRS.3SG   COMP
            'Manana thinks that Rezo builds a house.' (Erschler 2015:5)
       b.   *C'igni   (*rom)   gušin   (rom)   Vano-m   (rom)*
            book.NOM.   COMP   yesterday   COMP   V.-ERG   COMP
            Tamaz-s (*rom*)   *Nest'an-is-tvis* (*rom*) čem-tan (*rom*)
            T.-DAT   COMP   N.-GEN-for   COMP   1SG-at   COMP
            daacemin-a   (**rom*).
            give.CAUS-AOR.3SG   COMP
            'the book that Vano had Tamaz give Nestan at my place
            yesterday' (Foley 2013:11)
       c.   *Nino-s   unda   icod-e-s   (*tu) didi   mankana   tu*
            N.DAT   want   know-OPT-3SG   COMP big   car.NOM   COMP
            iqida   (*tu)   Mariam-ma (**tu*) *Germania-ši   (*tu)*
            buy-AOR.3SG   COMP   M.ERG   COMP Germany-LOC   COMP
            'Nino wants to know if Mariam bough a big car in Germany.'

Verb-initial yes-no questions (YNQs) do not involve verb movement;
postverbal material is right-adjoined and coindexed with silent
pronominals in the main clause; postverbal adjuncts can come in any
order, without change in meaning:

(15)   a.   *Damal-a   Mariam-ma   alubl-eb-i?*
            hide-AOR.3SG   Mariam-ERG   cherry-PL-NOM
            'Did Mariam hide the cherry?'
       b.   *Damala alublebi Mariamma?*
       c.   [*pro_i   pro_j   damal-a*] *Mariam-ma_i alubl-eb-i_j?*
       d.   [*pro_i   pro_j   damal-a*] *alubl-eb-i_j   Mariam-ma_i?*

Morphologically complex verb forms are derived via m-merger
(Matushansky 2006; Harizanov 2014).

No obligatory movement to Spec,TP; no evidence of expletives (Nash
2017).

Unresolved: case licensing (see Nash 2017 for a discussion).

3   Focus and its properties

Wh-words/focused constituents appear in the immediately preverbal position:

(16) A: *Bebia*   [WH *ra-s*]   *alagebda*?
            grandma.NOM   what-DAT   wash.PRF.3SG
            'What did grandma clean?'
      A':   *[WH *Ra-s*] *bebia*   *alagebda*?
      B: *Bebia*   [Focus *samzareulo-s*] *alagebda*.
            grandma.NOM   kitchen-DAT   wash.PRF.3SG
            'Grandma cleaned THE KITCHEN.'
      B':   ??[Focus   *Samzareulo-s*] *bebia alagebda*.

3.1   Properties of the preverbal focus position

Narrow scope strongly preferred:

(17) *Sam-ze   nak'leb bič'i*   [Focus *q'ovel   chanta-s*]
      three-on   less   boy.NOM   all   bag-DAT
      caighebs.
      carry.PRS.3SG
      'Less than three boys will carry EVERY BAG.'
      (~ 3 > every; ??every > ~ 3)

(18) *Masc'avlebeli išviatad* [Focus *sam-ze   nak'leb st'udent'-s*]
      teacher.NOM   seldom   three-on less   student-DAT
      mouc'od-ebs.
      call-PRS.3SG
      'The teacher seldom calls on LESS THAN THREE STUDENTS.'
      (SELDOM > ~3; ??~3 > SELDOM)

Corresponding broad focus utterances allow both wide and narrow scope readings.

Preverbal position hosts expressions with focus-sensitive *mxolod* 'only' and *-ac (k'i)* 'even':

(19) a. *Maimun-s   **mxolod Manana-m**   ak'oca*.
         monkey- DAT   only   Manana-ERG   kiss.AOR.3SG
         'Only Manana kissed the monkey.'
      b. ***Mxolod   Manana-m**   *maimun-i   ak'oca*.
         only   Manana-ERG   monkey- DAT   kiss.AOR.3SG

(20) a. *Maimun-i   Manana-m-**ac   k'i**   ak'oca*.
         monkey-NOM   Manana-ERG-too   yes(=even)   kiss.AOR.3SG
         'Even Manana kissed the monkey.'

b. **Manana-m-*ac*   *k'i*   *maimun-i   ak'oca*.
   Manana-ERG-too   yes(=even)   monkey-NOM   kiss.AOR.3SG

Focus does not have to be exhaustive (Fanselow & Skopeteas 2010):

(21) *Agret-ve   Maria-m   K'ot'e-s   scema*.
      also-EMPH   Maria-ERG   Kote-DAT   hit.AOR.3SG
      'Maria hit KOTE (among others that she hit).'

Focus must be unique - two focus items cannot occur before the verb:

(22) a. ??*Masc'avlebel-s-ac k'i*   [Foc *Manana*]
         teacher-DAT-too   yes(=even)   Manana.NOM
         elap'arak'a   gušin.
         speak.PRF.3SG   yesterday
         ('MANANA spoke even to the teacher yesterday.')
      b. ??[Foc *Manana*] *masc'avlebel-s-ac   k'i elap'arak'a gušin*.

If focus is associated with a relative clause (RC) or PP, the RC/PP has to extrapose:

(23) *Aramzada   maimun-s$_i$ svavs   divan-ze*
      scoundrel.NOM monkey-DAT   put.PRS.3SG   sofa-on
      [CP *romel-s-ac   Manana-m   ak'oca*]$_i$.
          which-DAT-COMP   Manana-ERG   kiss.AOR.3SG
      'The scoundrel is putting THE MONKEY on the sofa THAT MANANA KISSED.'

(24) *Me   kali$_i$ vnaxe   gušin*
      1SG   woman.NOM   1SG-see.AOR.3SG   yesterday
      [PP *qvavil-eb-it   xel-ši*]$_i$.
          flower-PL-with hand- LOC
      'I saw a WOMAN yesterday WITH FLOWERS IN HER HAND.'

In non-focal contexts, RC or PP dislocation is impossible (section 5).

No difference in binding relations between focus and non-focus: no A-movement/A-scrambling involved[1]

(25) a. **K'las-ši   tavis tavi   Manana-s   akebs.*
         class- LOC   self.NOM   Manana-DAT   praise.PRS.3SG
         ('In class, Manana praises herself.')

   b. **K'las-ši   Manana-s   [Foc *tavis tavi*]   akebs.*
         class- LOC   Manana-DAT   self.NOM   praise.PRS.3SG
         ('In class, Manana praises HERSELF.')

Condition C: no A-movement/A-scrambling involved

(26) a. *Gušin   man$_i$ Manana$_k$-s   bavšv-s*
         yesterday   3SG.ERG   Manana-POSS   child-DAT
         mdinare-ši   dabana.
         river- LOC   wash.AOR 3SG
         'Yesterday s/he$_{i/*k}$ washed Manana$_k$'s child in the river.'
         (she ≠ Manana)

   b. *Gušin   Manana$_k$-s   bavšv-s   mdinare-ši*
         yesterday   Manana-POSS   child-DAT   river- LOC
         [Foc *man$_i$*]   *dabana.*
            3SG.ERG   wash.AOR.3SG
         'Yesterday S/HE$_{I/*k}$ washed Manana$_k$'s child in the river.'
         (she ≠ Manana)

3.2   There is no focus/wh-movement in Georgian

Evidence: absence of island effects, absence of WCO, no superiority effects, single-pair answers to multiple wh-questions.

No island effects (shown for relative clauses):

(27) *Levani   šexvda   kal-s   [romeli-c*
     Levan.NOM   meet.AOR.3SG   woman-DAT   which-COMP
     ra-s   at'arebs]?
     what-DAT   wear.PRS.3SG
     lit: "What did Levan meet a woman who wears?"

No weak crossover in questions (see also Amiridze 2006):

(28) a. *Mis-ma   kmar-ma   vin   aghuc'era*
         3SG.POSS-ERG   husband-ERG   who   describe.AOR.3SG
         Giorgi-s?
         G-DAT
         'Whose husband described her to Giorgi?'
         (lit.: Whom did her husband describe to Giorgi?)

   b. *Tavis-ma   kmar-ma   romeli   kali*
         self.POSS-ERG   husband-ERG   which   woman.NOM
         aghuc'era   Giorgi-s?
         describe.AOR.3SG   Giorgi-DAT
         'Which woman's husband described her to Giorgi?'
         (lit.: Which woman did self's husband describe…)

No weak crossover in relative clauses:

(29) *Arcerti   gogo$_i$ ar   ikneba   k'maqopili*
     not.one.NOM girl.NOM not   be.FUT   satisfied
     [*romeli-c   mis-ma/tavis-ma   amxanag-eb-ma*
     which-COMP   3SG.POSS-ERG/self.POSS-ERG   friend-PL-ERG
     ar   akes]$_i$.
     not   praise.AOR.3SG
     'No girl whom her friends did not praise will be satisfied.'

Superiority effects: weak, not categorical, only for some speakers (Amiridze 2006; Erschler 2015):

(30) a. *Vin   ra   č'ama   gušin?*
         who   what   eat.AOR.3SG yesterday?
         'Who ate what yesterday?'

   b. ??*Ra   vin   č'ama   gušin?*
         what who   eat.AOR.3SG yesterday

Single-pair answers to multiple wh-questions are possible, in addition to pair-list answers (cf. Bošković 1999, 2002):

(31) a. *Vistvis   sad   imghera   Levan-ma   simghera?*
         who.for where sing.AOR.3SG Levan-ERG song.NOM
         'Where did Levan sing a song for whom?'

---

[1] This is a simplification; additional complications arise in possessive reflexives which we do not consider here (Amiridze 2006: 53-60; McGinnis 1999).

b. *Levan-ma   Lena-s-tvis pilarmonia-ši   imghera*
Levan-ERG   L-GEN-for   philarmony- LOC   sing.AOR.3SG
simghera.
song.NOM
'Levan sang a song for Lena in the philarmony.'

b'. *Levan-ma   Lena-s-tvis pilarmonia-ši   imghera*
Levan-ERG   L-GEN-for   philarmony- LOC   sing.AOR.3SG
simghera,   da   Maša-s-tvis sak'oncert'o darbaz-ši.
song.NOM   and   M-GEN-for concert   hall-LOC
'Levan sang a song for Lena in the philarmony, and for Masha in the concert hall.'

No cross-clausal A-bar movement (Harris 1981, 1984); **wh-scope marking only** (cf. Dayal 1994, 1996 for Hindi):

(32) a. **Vi-s/vin   tkva   masc'avlebel-ma*
who-DAT/who.NOM   say.AOR.3SG   teacher-ERG
[CP *vi-s   unda vuqurot*]?
who-DAT   must watch.SUBJUNCTIVE.1PL
('Whom did the teacher say that we must watch?')

b. *Ra   tkva   masc'avlebel-ma*
what.NOM   say.AOR.3SG   teacher-ERG
[CP *vi-s   unda vuqurot*]?
who-DAT   must watch.SUBJUNCTIVE.1PL
'Whom did the teacher say that we must watch?'

No cross-clausal focus movement:

(33) a. **Manana-s/Manana tkva   masc'avlebel-ma*
M-DAT/M.NOM   say.AOR.3SG   teacher-ERG
[CP *Manana-s unda vuqurot*].
M-DAT   must watch. SUBJUNCTIVE.1PL
('It is Manana that the teacher said that we must watch.')

b. *Masc'avlebel-ma tkva   * [CP *Manana-s   unda*
teacher-ERG   say.AOR.3SG   M-DAT   must
vuqurot].
watch. SUBJUNCTIVE.1PL
'It is Manana that the teacher said that we must watch.'

☞   No A-bar movement in wh-questions or focus constructions

***

Interim summary:

1. Foci in Georgian (wh-words, words corresponding to wh-words in replies to WHQs, and constituents modified by *mxolod* 'only' and -*ac k'i* 'even') occupy the immediately preverbal position.

2. There is no evidence of wh/focus movement in Georgian.

☞   **How is the focus-verb adjacency achieved?**

Proposal:

1. Focus/wh-verb adjacency results from the requirement on the focused constituent to be prosodically prominent.

2. In the absence of word-level stress, prominence is expressed by prosodic grouping of the focused/wh-expression with verb.

3. Non-focal information occurs to the left or to the right of the focus + verb prosodic unit, thus instantiating *p-displacement* (Zubizarreta 1998).

4. *P-displacement* is a language-specific counterpart of *p-movement* (syntactic movement for the sake of prosodic well-formedness, Zubizarreta 1998 et seq.), which involves base-generation/displacement for the sake of prosodic well-formedness.

4   *Prosody of Georgian focus*
4.1   *Background*

Focus is expressed with prosodic prominence: focus-bearing constituent has to be more prosodically prominent than other constituents in the same clause (cf. Zubizarreta 2014 for an overview of existing approaches).

Focus placement is determined by the position of the Nuclear Stress (NS) in a clause (Chomsky & Halle 1968:91): cf. accounts of preverbal focus in Italian and Spanish (Zubizarreta 1998), Basque (Arregi 2002) and Hungarian (Szendrői 2003).

(34)   **Georgian stress**:

- acoustically weak (Chikobava 1942, Zhghenti 1960, Aronson 1990, Hewitt 1995, a.o);
- stress placement/existence of word-level stress are disputed (see Skopeteas et al. 2009, Butskhrikidze 2016 for an overview).

☞ In Georgian, NS cannot be expressed as anchored to word stress in the most acoustically prominent word in a sentence.

☞ Prosodic prominence at phrasal level is established through boundary tones and prosodic phrasing, not by pitch accents (cf. Skopeteas & Féry, to appear, for a similar conclusion).

(35) **Georgian prosody above the word: levels of prosodic phrasing** (Jun et al. 2007; Vicenik & Jun 2014):

a. <u>Accentual Phrase (AP)</u>: lexical word, bears pitch accent on the initial syllable (X*), and a final boundary tone (Xa)

b. <u>Intermediate Phrase (ip)</u>: intermediate unit that optionally combines APs; bears a final boundary tone (X-) that overrides an AP-boundary tone

c. <u>Intonational Phrase (IP)</u>: clause, bears a final boundary tone that overrides other boundary tones (X%)

4.2 *Prosodic baseline: all-new declaratives*

a. each lexical word = Accentual Phrase (AP);
b. each AP has a raising contour: L* Ha;
c. each successive Ha lower than previous one (downstep).

(36) *Giorgi-s   mosc'ons   dzalian   lamazi   gogo*
Giorgi-DAT like.PRS.3SG   very   beautiful girl.NOM
Tbilisi-dan.
Tbilisi-from
'Giorgi likes a very beautiful girl from Tbilisi.'
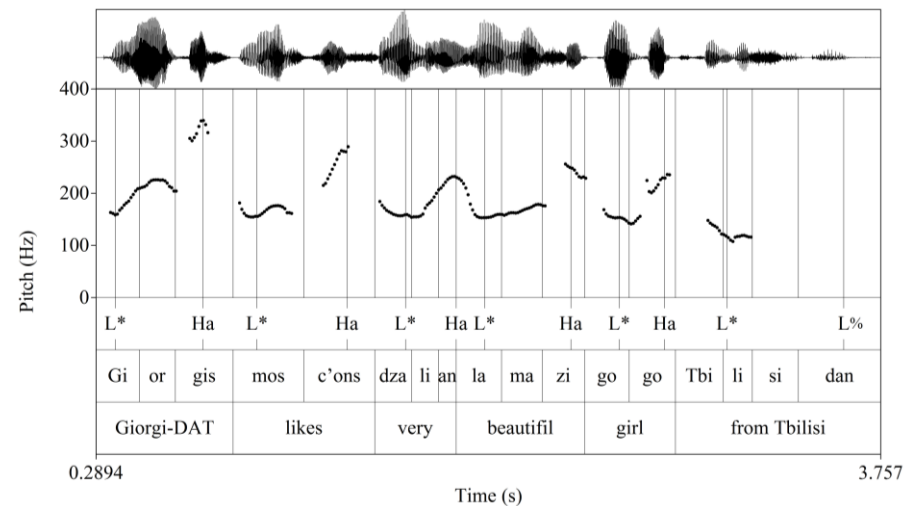
Fig. 1. Prosodic realization of an all-new declarative sentence.

Sequential prosodic phrases with no differentiation in contour or grouping; sequencing is indicated by downstep.

4.3 Prosody of focus

Internal argument
a. preverbal focus constituent combines into an ip together with the verb;
b. the focus+verb ip has a falling contour over both constituents: H* L% (H* L- if there is other material following);
c. pre-focal material has a typical falling contour: L+H* L- (H* pitch accent if peak not delayed, La if a single lexical word).

(37) ('What did grandma clean yesterday morning?')

Gušin	*dila-s*	*bebia*	*samzareulo-s*
yesterday	morning-DAT	grandma.NOM	kitchen-DAT

alagebda.
wash.PRF.3SG

'Yesterday morning, grandma cleaned THE KITCHEN.'
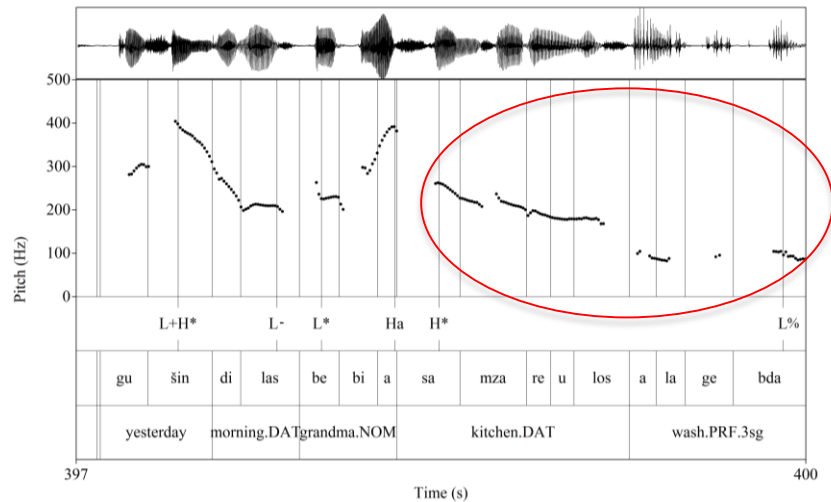
Fig. 2. Prosodic realization of S[O]_FV

External argument
a. preverbal focus constituent combines into an ip together with the verb;
b. the focus+verb ip has a falling contour: H* L-;
c. pre-focal given information has a neutral raising contour: L* H-.

(38) ('Who bought bananas last week?')

Gasul	*k'vira-s*	*Manana-m*	*iq'ida*	*banan-eb-i.*
last	week-DAT	M-ERG	buy.AOR.3SG	banana-PL-NOM

'Last week, MANANA bought bananas.'
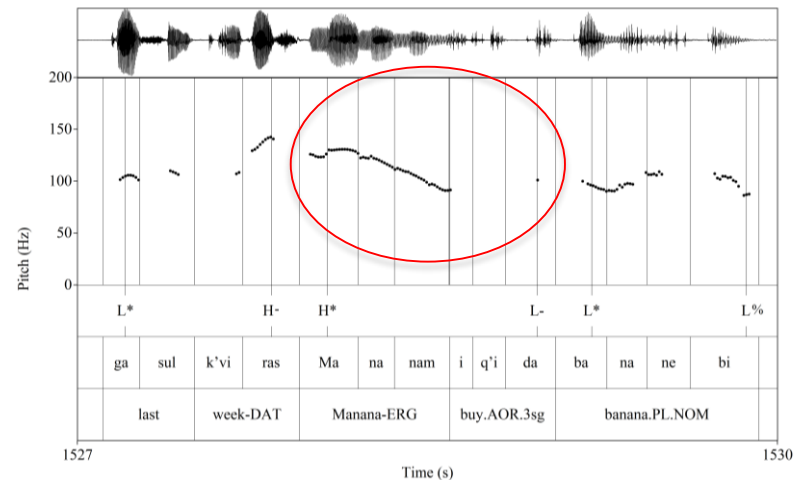
Fig. 3. Prosodic realization of [S]_FVO

Wh-question
a. preverbal wh-word combines into an ip together with the verb;
b. the focus+verb ip has a falling contour: H* L-;
c. the IP ends in an HL% boundary tone typical of wh-question.

(39) *Vi-s*   *uvlis*   *Nino?*
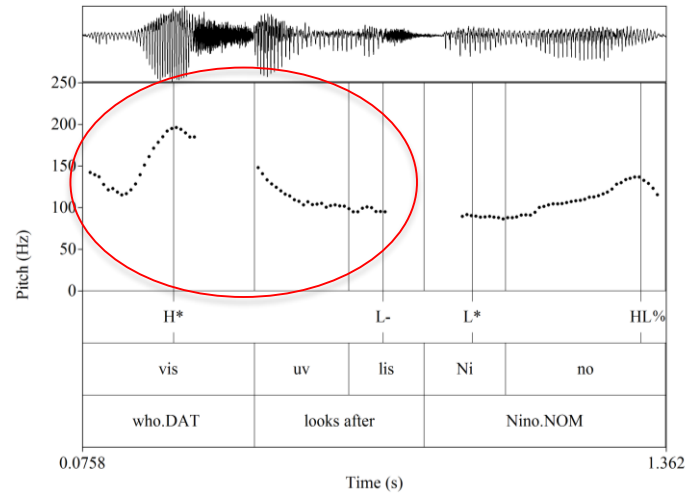who-DAT   look.after.PRS.3SG Nino.NOM
'Who does Nino look after?

Fig. 4. Prosodic realization of wh-questions

Summary of the prosodic facts:
1. Foci exhibit the same prosodic pattern regardless of their structural position or the nature of the focus element (wh-word, focus expression).
2. Foci are obligatorily prosodically grouped with the verb (cf. Borise 2016).
3. Backgrounded information is variably realized with a falling contour, H*/L+H* La (Fig.2), or with the neutral declarative rising intonation, L* Ha (Fig.3).

5   *Displaced units: Non-focal material*

Constituents that do not bear focus and would otherwise interrupt the focus+verb unit, undergo prosodically motivated *p-displacement*, which does not involve syntactic movement.

Pre-focal material either receives special 'given' prosody, or retains neutral prosody (in contrast with, e.g., Romance languages, where displaced non-focal material receives special prosody, and focal material receives neutral prosody - cf. Vallduví 1991 on Catalan).

Post-verbal material following focus receives low and flat tone (so-called 'superlow' tone, Skopeteas & Féry 2010): the Georgian equivalent of post-focal de-accenting.

(40) **Types of constituents:**
    a. prefocal base-generated scene-setting expressions
    b. prefocal base-generated topics
    c. postverbal adjoined material

No condition C effects with the left-peripheral material:
(41) *Is*$_{i/*k}$ *Manana*$_k$-*s bavšv-s   mdinare-ši bans*.
       3SG.NOM   M-POSS   child-DAT   river- LOC   wash.PRS.3SG
       'She$_{i/*k}$ is washing Manana$_k$'s child in the river.'
(42) *Manana*$_k$-*s bavšv-s is*$_{i/k}$ *mdinare-ši bans*.
       M-poss   child-dat 3sg.nom river- LOC   wash.prs.3sg
       Manana$_k$'s child, she$_{i/k}$ is washing in the river.'

No condition C effects with the right-peripheral material:
(43) *Is*$_{i/k}$ *bans   mdinare-ši Manana*$_k$-*s bavšv-s*.
       3SG.NOM   wash.PRS.3SG river- LOC   M-POSS   child-DAT
       'She$_{i/k}$ is washing Manana$_k$'s child in the river.'

Wide scope strongly preferred for both prefocal and postverbal (postfocal) material (cf. Gundel 1988, Molnár 1993, Erteschik-Shir 2007 on topics and scope):
(44) *Or   ena-s   q'oveli   st'udent'i   am*
       two   language-DAT all   student.NOM   this
       k'las-ši   sc'avlobs.
       class- LOC   learn.PRS.3SG
       'Two langages, every student in this class is studying.'
        (TWO > EVERY; ???EVERY > TWO)
(45) *Am   k'las-ši   q'oveli   st'udent'-i   sc'avlobs*
       this   class- LOC   all   student-NOM   learn.PRS.3SG
       or   ena-s.
       two   language-DAT
       'In this class, every student is studying two languages.'
       (TWO > EVERY; ???EVERY > TWO)

Dislocated RC: impossible for scene-setting expressions, base-generated left-hand topics, and postverbal material.

(46) *Bagh$_i$-ši*   *st'umr-eb-i*   *saghamo-s*   *čai-s*
garden- LOC   guests-PL-NOM afternoon-DAT tea-DAT
svamdnen   [$_{CP}$ *romeli-c*   *Manana-s*   *babua-m*
drink.PRS.3PL   which.NOM-COMP   M-POSS   grandfather-ERG
gaxsna]$_i$
create.AOR.3SG
('The guests are having afternoon tea in the garden that Manana's grandfather had set up.')

(47) *St'umr-eb-i*   *č'amen*   *sač'mli$_i$-s*   *bagh-ši*
guests- PL-NOM   eat.PRS.3PL   food-DAT   garden- LOC
[$_{CP}$ *romel-i-c*   *Manana-m*   *iq'ida*]$_i$
which-NOM-COMP   M-ERG   buy.AOR.3SG
('The guests are eating the food, in the garden, that Manana bought.')

6   Conclusions and outstanding questions

Conclusions:
1. Foci in Georgian occupy the immediately preverbal position.
2. There is no evidence of wh/focus movement in Georgian.
3. Focus-verb adjacency results from the requirement on the focused constituent to be prosodically prominent.
4. Prominence is expressed by prosodic grouping of the focused/wh-expression with verb.
5. Non-focal information occurs to the left or to the right of the focus + verb prosodic unit, thus instantiating *p-displacement*. (Zubizarreta 1998; Horvath 2010).
6. *P-displacement* is a language-specific counterpart of *p-movement* (syntactic movement for the sake of prosodic well-formedness, Zubizarreta 1998 et seq.), which involves base-generation for the sake of prosodic well-formedness.
7. In Georgian, IS is read off syntactic structure: syntactic configurations are not uniquely associated with specific IS statuses (cf. Erteschik-Shir 2005; Neeleman & Vermeulen 2012; Horvath 2000, 2010; Szendrői 2001, a.o.).

Outstanding questions:

1. **From Georgian to English and back:** what motivates the general absence of operator A-bar movement?
2. **Georgian ≠ Basque ≠ Hungarian:** a number of languages have focus associated with the immediately preverbal overt constituent; our data suggest that they are not the same syntactically. What makes them similar?

Lena Borise   *Maria Polinsky*
Department of Linguistics   *Department of Linguistics*
Boylston Hall   *Marie Mount Hall*
Harvard University   *University of Maryland*
Cambridge, MA 02138   *College Park, MD 20718*
USA   *USA*

borise@fas.harvard.edu   polinsky@umd.edu

_____

References

Amiridze, Nino. 2006. *Reflexivization strategies in Georgian*. Utrecht: LOT.

Apridonidze, Šukia. 1986. *Sit'q'vatganlageba axal kartulši (XIX-XX sauk'unis prozis mixedvit. Mart'ivi c'inadadeba)* [Word Order in Modern Georgian (According to the Prose of the XIX-XX Centuries. Simple Sentence)]. Tbilisi: Mecniereba.

Aronson, Howard. 1990. *Georgian: A reader's grammar*. Bloomington: Slavica.

Arregi, Karlos. 2002. Focus on Basque movements. Ph.D. Dissertation, MIT.

Asatiani, Rusudan,and Stavros Skopeteas 2012. Information structure in Georgian. *The Expression of Information Structure* 5, 127-150.

Bejar, Susanna. 2003. Phi-syntax: A theory of agreement. Ph.D. Dissertation, U of Toronto.

Borise, Lena. 2016. *Prosody of Focus in a Language with a Fixed Focus Position: Evidence from Georgian.* Poster presented at WCCFL 34, University of Utah.

Bošković, Željko. 1999. On multiple feature checking: Multiple wh-fronting and multiple head-movement". In S. Epstein and N. Hornstein (eds.) *Working Minimalism*, 159-187. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Bošković, Željko. 2002. On multiple wh-fronting. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 33: 351-383.

Chikobava, Arnold. 1942. *On a question of accent in the Old Georgian language*. Izvestija. Academy of Sciences GSSR 3 (3).

Chomsky, Noam, and Morris Halle. 1968. *The sound pattern of English*. Harper&Row.

Dayal, Veneeta. 1994. Scope marking as indirect Wh-dependency. *Natural Language Semantics* 2: 137-170.

Dayal, Veneeta. 1996. *Locality in Wh quantification: Questions and relative clauses in Hindi*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Erschler, David. 2015. Embedded questions and sluicing in Georgian and Svan. *Languages of the Caucasus* 1(1).

Erteschik-Shir, Nomi. 2005. Sound patterns of syntax: Object shift. *Theoretical Linguistics* 31:47-93.

Erteschik-Shir, Nomi. 2007. *Information structure: The syntax-discourse interface*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Foley, Steven. 2013. *The syntax of Georgian relative clauses*. Senior Honors Thesis, New York University.

Gundel, Jeanette. 1988. Universals of topic-comment structure. In M. Hammond et al. (eds.) *Studies in syntactic typology*, 209-239. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Harizanov, Boris. 2014. Clitic doubling at the syntax-morphophonology interface: A-movement and morphological merger in Bulgarian. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 32:1033–1088.

Harris, Alice C. 1981. *Georgian syntax: A study in Relational Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harris, Alice C. 1984. Georgian. In W. Chisholm et al. (eds.): *Interrogativity: a colloquium on the grammar, typology, and pragmatics of questions in seven diverse languages; Cleveland, Ohio, October 5th, 1981-May 3rd, 1982.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hewitt, Brian George. 1995. *Georgian: A structural reference grammar*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Holmberg, Anders. 1986. *Word Order and Syntactic Features in the Scandinavian Languages and English*. PhD dissertation, University of Stockholm.

Horvath, Julia. 2000. Interfaces vs. the computational system in the syntax of Focus. In H. Bennis, M. Everaert and E. Reuland (eds.) *Interface Strategies*, 183-207. Amsterdam: Royal Netherland's Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Horvath, Julia. 2010. "Discourse-features", syntactic displacement and the status of contrast. *Lingua* 120:1346-1369.

Johnson, Kyle, and Satoshi Tomioka. 1997. Lowering and mid-size clauses. *Reconstruction: Proceedings of the 1997 Tübingen Workshop, Universität Stuttgart and Universität Tübingen*.

Jun, Sun-Ah, Chad Vicenik and Ingvar Lofstedt. 2007. Intonational Phonology of Georgian. *UCLA Working Papers in Linguistics* 106: 41-57.

Kiss, Katalin É. 1995. NP movement, operator movement, and scrambling in Hungarian. In: Kiss, Katalin É (ed.): *Discourse configurational languages*, 207-243.

Lomashvili, Leila. 2011. *Complex predicates: The syntax-morphology interface.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Matushansky, Ora. 2006. Head-movement in linguistic theory. *Linguistic Inquiry* 37: 69-109.

McGinnis, Martha. 1999. A-scrambling exists! *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, vol. 6, Article 20.

Molnár, Valeria. 1993. Zur Pragmatik und Grammatik des TOPIK-Begriffs. In Marga Reis (ed.) *Wortstellung und Informationstruktur*, 155-202. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Nash, Léa. 1995. *Portée argumentale et marquage casuel dans les langues SOV et dans les langues ergatives: l'exemple du géorgien*. Ph.D. Diss., Université Paris VIII.

Nash, Léa. 2002. *Topics in Georgian syntax*. Handout, MIT.

Nash, Léa. 2017. The structural source of split ergativity and ergative case in Georgian. In Jessica Coon, Diane Massam, and Lisa deMena Travis (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Ergativity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Primus, Beatrice. 1999. *Cases and thematic roles: Ergative, accusative and active*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Skopeteas Stavros, and Gisbert Fanselow. 2010. Focus in Georgian and the expression of contrast. *Lingua* 120:1370-1391.

Skopeteas Stavros, Caroline Féry, and Rusudan Asatiani. 2009. Word order and intonation in Georgian. *Lingua* 119:102-127.

Skopeteas Stavros, and Caroline Féry. 2016. *Focus and intonation in Georgian Constituent structure and prosodic realization.* Ms.

Skopeteas, Stavros, and Caroline Féry. 2010. Effect of narrow focus on tonal realization in Georgian. Presented at the Speech Prosody 2010, 5th International Conference, Chicago, Illinois.

Szendrői, Krista. 2001. *Focus and the syntax-phonology interface*. PhD dissertation, UCL.

Szendrői, Krista. 2003. A stress-based approach to the syntax of Hungarian focus. *The Linguistic Review* 20: 37-78.

Vallduví, Enric. 1991. Focus constructions in Catalan. *Theoretical analyses in Romance linguistics,* 457-479. Amsterdam: John Benjamins..

Vicenik, Chad, and Sun-Ah Jun. 2014. An autosegmental-metrical analysis of Georgian intonation. In: Jun, Sun-Ah (ed.): *Prosodic Typology II: The Phonology of Intonation and Phrasing*. Oxford University Press.

Vogt, Hans. 1971. *Grammaire de la langue géorgienne*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Zhghenti, Sergi. 1960. *Kartvelur enata šedarebiti ponet'ik'a* [Comprative phonetics of the Kartvelian languages]. Tbilisi: TSU.

Zubizarreta, Maria Luisa. 1998. Prosody, focus and word order. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Zubizarreta, Maria Luisa. 2014. Nuclear stress and information structure. In C. Fery and S. Ishihara (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Information Structure*, 165-184. Oxford: Oxford University Press.