Focus Movement and Association with ONLY in Russian and Chinese

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1.   Introduction

Russian and Mandarin Chinese, two typologically unrelated languages, exhibit a noteworthy convergence in the distribution of their counterparts to *only*. In contrast to English *only*, Russian [Rus] *tol'ko* and Chinese [Chn] *zhiyou* must appear immediately adjacent to their XP associates, defined as prosodically prominent constituents bearing focus.[1] Observe that while English *only* in (1) is free to associate with either argument in the predicate (Rooth 1985), *tol'ko* and *zhiyou* in (2)/(3) evidently lack that choice. Instead, they must appear next to the focus bearing XPs, as demonstrated by (4).

(1)   a.   John **only** introduced [Bill]$_F$ to Sue.
       b.   John **only** introduced Bill [to Sue]$_F$.

(2)   a.   *Andrej **tol'ko** ispek [pirog]$_F$ dlja sestry. [Rus]
             Andrey only   baked pie   for sister
             Intended: 'Andrey only backed [a pie]$_F$ for his sister.'

       b.   *Andrej **tol'ko** ispek pirog [dlja sestry]$_F$.

(3)   a.   *Zhangsan **zhiyou** kao   [dangao]$_F$ gei jiejie. [Chn]
             Zhangsan only   baked pie   for sister

       b.   *Zhangsan **zhiyou** kao dangao [gei jiejie]$_F$.

(4)   a.   Andrej **tol'ko** [pirog]$_F$ ispek dlja sestry. [Rus]
       b.   Andrej **tol'ko** [dlja sestry]$_F$ ispek pirog.
       c.   Zhangsan **zhiyou** [dangao]$_F$ kao gei jiejie. [Chn]
       d.   Zhangsan **zhiyou** [gei jiejie]$_F$ kao dangao.

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[1]In addition to *zhiyou*, Chinese has another 'only' *zhi*, which cannot be associated with nominals directly. Due to the limitation of space, we do not discuss the adverb *zhi* in this paper.

The data in (2)/(3)/(4) are consonant with one obvious solution: viz., *only* is base-generated as a constituent of an F-marked phrase. However, there are good reasons to reject this ostensibly compelling analysis. In the following sections, we defend the position that the *only*-complexes in (4) are formed derivationally, as sketched in (5). Our starting point has to do with the merge site for *only*. We endorse the view that it is heavily constrained: *only* can adjoin to CP (but not TP), *v*P, and FP, a functional projection within the nominal domain (but not NP). These nodes share two core properties: CP, *v*P, and FP are all phases and functional projections in the sentential, verbal, and nominal domains, respectively.[2] If so, we can generalize the restriction on the base position of *only* as in (6). In order to obtain the adjacency effects reported above, we posit syntactic focus movement, whereby the F-marked associate right-adjoins to *only* overtly, as in (5a/b). This focus movement is understood as A-bar displacement (Wagner 2006). In (5c), XP_F is close enough to *only*, so no movement is necessary.

(5) a. $[_{CP} \text{ } only\text{+}XP_F \text{ } [_{CP} \text{ t}_{XP} \text{ }]]$ (6)   *Only* is eligible to adjoin strictly to
     b. $... \text{ } [_{vP} \text{ } only\text{+}XP_F \text{ } [_{vP} \text{ t}_{XP} \text{ }]]$ phases that are also functional pro-
     c. $... \text{ } [_{FP} \text{ } only \text{ } [_{FP} \text{ F } [_{NP} \text{ } XP_F \text{ }]]]$ jections.

This treatment may strike one as excessively cumbersome at first glance. After all, the simplest explanation compatible with (2)/(3)/(4) is to claim that *only* is base-generated within the focused phrase in (4). The next section presents evidence that this cannot be the right approach. Furthermore, we show that (6) is not exclusive to Rus/Chn-type languages, but holds of Eng-type as well.

2.   Analysis

To glean the significance of the ensuing discussion, it is useful to be *au fait* with the details of the analysis and our assumptions. Consider a sample derivation in (7): here *only* is *v*P-adjoined; NP_F moves to it for focus, forming a right-adjunction structure. This formalism is borrowed from Rudin's (1988) account of Bulgarian multiple *wh*-fronting, where the second *wh*-phrase adjoins to the first one. The core property of a derived constituent in right-adjunction situations is its resistance to any further operations: once formed, the right-adjunction complex is not splittable. We demonstrate that *only*-phrases in Rus/Chn are compliant with this principle, i.e., they, too, cannot be separated in syntax.
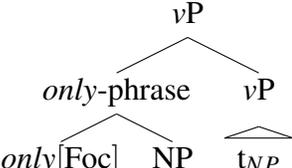
(7)   *v*P   (8)   a. $[_{NP} \text{ N}]$ (9)   a. $[_{NP} \text{ N}]$
        ╱   ╲   b. $[_{FP} \text{ F } [_{NP} \text{ N}]]$ b. $[_{FP} \text{ F } [_{NP} \text{ N}]]$
   only-phrase   *v*P   c. $[_{NP} \text{ Adj } [_{NP} \text{ N}]]$ c. $[_{DP} \text{ D } [_{NP} \text{ N}]]$
     ╱   ╲   ╱╲
  only[Foc] NP   t$_{NP}$

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[2]The phasehood of CP and *v*P is generally uncontested in the literature, but there is no clear consensus on phase in the nominal domain. Our claim regarding the phasehood of FP is related to the structure of NPs in Rus/Chn and a contextual understanding of phasehood, which will be made clear in the next section.

We further assume, following Bošković (2013), that languages are subject to parametric variation with respect to the inventory of functional projections in the nominal domain. Languages without articles, like Rus and Chn, lack DP. Crucially, the absence of DP does not entail the absence of other functional projections: so, both (8a) and (8b) are legitimate variants of the traditional noun phrase (TNP) in Rus/Chn. The adjectives on this account are treated as adjuncts to NP in the manner of (8c).

We also adopt Bošković's (2014) dynamic approach to phases, who argues that the highest phrase in the extended domain of a lexical head functions as a phase. A particular XP may or may not be a phase, contingent on its syntactic context. For example, within the domain of N, NP, DP or FP can in principle serve as a phase, depending on the availability of functional elements in the language and the specific configurations resulting from Merge. For instance, in (9a), NP is the highest projection in the N-domain, hence, it is a phase in this context. If the additional functional layer is introduced, as in (9b), FP becomes a phase, as it is now the highest projection within the domain of N. Both of these configurations are possible in Rus/Chn-type languages. (9c) captures the usual situation in Eng TNPs: DP here is the highest projection, hence a phase in the nominal domain. With these preliminaries in place, we can now consider the behavior of *only* in the nominal domain.

2.1   *Only* in the nominal domain

This section presents evidence that *only* is not base-generated in the NP. To start, *only* cannot intervene between a preposition in its complement in Rus/Chn in (10a) (in contrast to Eng). In this, *only* distinguishes itself from a normal adjectival modifier like *very* in (10b). Given our assumptions regarding the status of TNP in Eng/Rus/Chn and (6), these facts are not at all surprising: in (10a), Rus/Chn *only* adjoins to NP, an illegitimate merge site for this element. Conversely, Eng (10a) is compliant with (6): adjunction of *only* to what looks like a noun phrase in Eng proceeds without a glitch precisely because this noun phrase is a DP, hence a functional projection and a phase.

(10)   a.   with **only**   the bare   essentials ...   [Eng, www]
              *s   **tol'ko**   predmetami pervoj   neodxodimosti [Rus]
              *yong **zhiyou** jiben   yongpin ...   [Chn]

        b.   in a **very** big   bank   [Eng]
              v   **očen'** bol'šoj bank   [Rus]
              zai **hen**   da-de yinhang [Chn]

The examples in (11) confirm that Rus/Chn *only* may not adjoin to NP: in contrast to *very*, *only* is illicit in contexts with multiple adjectives if it appears adjacent to the lower one. This holds of all three languages: *only* cannot be wedged in between the two adjectives, but an intensifying adverb can be. Given our assumptions in (8c), (11) attempts to introduce *only* as an adjunct to the NP-segment. Of course, (6) prohibits precisely that.

(11)   staraja {**o'čen'/*tol'ko**} krasivaja   ma'šina [Rus]
　　 lao   {**hen/*zhiyou**}　 piaoliang-de che   [Chn]
　　 old   {**very / *only**}　pretty　　 car   [Eng]

The next piece of evidence is due to Rus in (12). Rus is a language that makes liberal use of Left-Branch Extraction (LBE): both, adverbs (*očen'* in (a)) and adjectives (*svežuju* in (b)) are eligible for movement out of a noun phrase. Observe, however, that *tol'ko* does not pattern with these constituents, which we take to be base-generated inside the NP. Its apparent immobility follows from the earlier proposal that *only* and its associate form a Rudin-style adjunction structure, and, hence, cannot be split.[3]

(12)   a.   {* **Tol'ko**$_i$ / **Očen'**$_i$} vy [t$_i$ svežuju] rybu kupili? [Rus]
　　　　　 only　 / very　　you　 fresh　　fish bought
　　　　　 'Did you only buy the [fresh]$_F$ fish? vs. 'Did you buy [very]$_F$ fresh fish?'

　　　　b.   Vy {* **tol'ko** / **svežuju**$_i$} kupili　kupili [t$_i$ rybu]?
　　　　　 you　 only　/ fresh　　　bought fish
　　　　　 'Did you only buy [fish]$_F$?' vs. 'Did you buy [fresh]$_F$ fish.'

In summary, *only* in Rus/Chn fails to pattern with conventional nominal modifiers in a variety of contexts. It stands to reason that the mechanism involved in forming a constituent with it must be distinct from the operation that builds a noun phrase. Said mechanism is stated in (6) and it prohibits the adjunction of *only* precisely in places where normal modifiers can be introduced. Furthermore, (6) is not unique to Rus or Chn, as Eng also complies with it. If true, the difference between (1) and (4) reduces to the requirement for focus movement: in Eng, an F-marked constituent stays put and gets the in-situ focus association facilitated by prosody, while in Rus/Chn, XP$_F$ must move to *only* in syntax.

Notice that (6) (in conjunction with the treatment of phases and the assumptions about the structure of TNP adopted here) predicts that Rus/Chn should have situations, where *only* does adjoin to something that looks like a noun phrase. That is, adjunction of *only* in the nominal domain is not banned in principle: it proceeds as long as the adjunction site is a functional element and a phase. Rus (13) confirms this: both examples feature *only* sandwiched between the head noun and its complement – genitive in (a) and instrumental in (b). Crucially, contexts like (13) are assumed to require a functional projection, FP, whose *raison d'etre* is to assign case in the manner of (13c) (see, e.g., Bošković 2013, Bailyn 2004).[4] In this configuration, FP constitutes the highest projection within the lower N. Thus, it serves as a legitimate host for *only* in compliance with (6). This situation corresponds to (5c) or, indeed, the English cases, where *only* is adjoined to DP.

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[3]The alternative derivation for the ill-formed (12) is the failure of focal associates to move to *only*.

[4]Bošković argues that FP is projected in some (but not all situations) when a noun assigns case: he argues for FP in contexts like (13b). We opt for uniformity in this respect, assuming that FP is always present in situations of adnominal case assignment. Bailyn's nomenclature for our genitive assigning FP is QP.

(13) a. Ja znaju [studentov [**tol'ko** [$_{FP}$ pervogo$_F$ kursa]]]. [Rus]
          I know students$_{ACC}$ only   first$_{GEN}$ year$_{GEN}$
          'I only know the FIRST year students.'

      b. Vozmono [upravlenie [**tol'ko** [$_{FP}$ etim$_F$ razdelom]]]. [Rus, www]
          possible management only   this$_{INST}$ division$_{INST}$
          'The management of only this division is possible.'

      c. FP as phase: [N [$_{FP}$ **F** [$_{NP}$ Adj N]]]

The final confirmation that *zhiyou* and *tol'ko* are not base-generated NP-adjuncts comes from scope interaction facts. As a background, consider Eng (14) and (15). Taglicht (1984) argues that in (14), *only* is DP-adjoined. Here, the *only*-phrase interacts scopally with the matrix predicate: it can be interpreted to take either narrow or wide scope with respect to *knew*. On the other hand, *only* in (15) is VP-adjoined. Observe that neither placement of *only* in (15) results in ambiguity: *only* takes scope in the clause in which it appears.

(14) I knew that he had learnt **only** [Spanish]$_F$. (Taglicht 1984)

      a. *knew > only*: I knew he hadn't learnt any other language.
      b. *only > knew*: I didn't know he had learnt any other language.

(15) a. I knew that he had **only** learnt [Spanish]$_F$. ^{OK}*knew > only*; **only > knew*
      b. I **only** knew that he had learnt [Spanish]$_F$. ^{OK}*only > knew*; **knew > only*

It follows that *only*, base-generated inside the TNP in Eng, correlates with ambiguity, while the VP-adjoined one does not. If this is correct, we do not expect the ambiguity characteristic of the DP-adjacent *only* from (14) to obtain in Rus/Chn, because Rus/Chn do not produce the right configuration in the TNP to obey (6). What we anticipate instead is the pattern with the VP-adjacent *only* from (15), where surface scope is obligatory.

The prediction is borne out. Though (16a) (modeled after Büring and Hartmann 2001) looks exactly like Eng (14), it lacks the wide scope construal of the *only*-phrase. Cases like (16b) are likewise unambiguous. Here, the *only*-phrase obligatorily outscopes the matrix verb. In short, Rus *only*-phrase is interpreted in the clause in which it appears. The same holds for Chn (17): the *only*-complex is understood to be under the scope of the matrix, but not *vice versa*. The interpretation facts are hence consistent with the analysis under which Rus/Chn *only* is VP-adjoined (see also Erlewine 2015 for arguments that *zhiyou* is adverbial). The adjacency of a focal NP to *only* is achieved derivationally: i.e., *Maša* in (16) and *Xibanyawen* in (17) are required to move to *only* overtly .

(16) a. Ja žaleju, čto potseloval **tol'ko** [Mašu]$_F$.
          I regret that kissed   only   Masha
          'I regret that I kissed only Masha.'
          (i) ^{OK}and no one else. (ii) #but I don't regret that I kissed Anastasia

  b. Ja **tol'ko** [Mašu]$_F$ žaleju, čto potseloval.
    (i) #and no one else. **(ii) ^{OK} but I don't regret that I kissed Anastasia**

(17) Wo zhidao ta **zhiyou** [Xibanyawen]$_F$ cai xue-guo. [Chn] ^{OK}*knew>only*
   I know he only Spanish   then learn-ASP   **only>knew*

In sum, the NP-adjacency to *only* in Rus/Chn is a consequence of movement. One peculiarity concerns (16a): if *Masha* moves to *only*, why does the complex follow the verb (cf. also the preverbal *only*-complex in (4a))? The next section answers this question along with offering an explanation for *only*'s distribution in the verbal and sentential domains.

2.2 *Only* in the verbal and sentential domains

So far, we showed how (6) handles *only* in the nominal domain. We now turn to its application in other domains. Under the standard approach to phases, *v*P and CP are phases (Chomsky 2001).[5] We predict that to meet (6), *only* may adjoin to either *v*P or CP, but crucially not to TP. Eng (18) provides us with the first piece of evidence that it must be so. While high adverbs like *probably* may surface within TP, as in (18a), *only* must be placed lower. (18b) shows that sentential adverbs (e.g., *intentionally*) may precede *only*, but the VP-adjoined ones (like *mildly*) may not.

(18) a. John {?*only/probably} should (only) introduce [Bill]$_F$ to Sue.
   b. John {intentionally/*mildly} only insulted [Mary]$_F$. (McCawley 1996)

Consider the Chn examples (19). The *only*-complex generated below the subject must meet two requirements: it must appear before the verb (e.g., *he* 'drink') and comply with the adjacency constraint ((a)-(b)). When generated above the subject, as in (c/d), the verb need not follow it, but the focalized subject must surface to its immediate right. Observe that the *zhiyou*+subject is separated from the verb by a sentential adverb *yiding* 'certainly' (d).

(19) a. Zhangsan **zhiyou** [pijiu]$_F$ cai he. b. *Zhangsan **zhiyou** he [pijiu]$_F$. [Chn]
    Zhangsan only   beer   then drink

   c. **Zhiyou** [Zhangsan]$_F$ he pijiu. d. **Zhiyou** [Zhangsan]$_F$ <u>yiding</u> he pijiu.

Huang (1991) argues that Chn finite verbs are confined to *v*P (much like their Eng counterparts). If so, Chn (and Eng) are reliable diagnostic languages for the base positions of *only*. Given the dataset in (19), we converge on two such positions exactly as expected – *v*P to accommodate (19a) and CP to capture (19c/d). Rus (20), however, throws a wrench

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[5]The analysis is in principle amenable to the contextual treatment adopted in this paper for the nominal domain in the following way: the highest projection within the verbal domain (whether it is *v*P or AspP) is a legitimate host for *only*; ditto for the clausal domain. Since the finer details of sentential architecture in Rus/Chn are somewhat orthogonal for this discussion, we simply adhere to the standard take on phases.

in this clean account by allowing all permutations of word order: **only**+XP$_F$>V in (a), V>**only**$+XP_F$ in (b), and **only**+XP$_F$...V in (c/d).

(20)   a. Andrej **tol'ko** [beer]$_F$ pil.   b. Andrej pil **tol'ko** [beer]$_F$. [Rus]
          Andrey only   beer   drank

         c. **Tol'ko** [Andrej]$_F$ pil pivo.   d. **Tol'ko** [pivo]$_F$ Andrej pil.

Operating on the hypothesis that the two languages are essentially non-distinct in the ways they derive *zhiyou-* and *tol'ko*-complexes, we propose the analysis in (21). Rus/Chn *only* can adjoin either to CP (Option 1) or *v*P (Option 2). The focal associate must move to adjoin to *only*. In Chn, if Option 1 is selected, *only*'s sole eligible associate is the subject. This is, in fact, exactly what we observe in English (22) for high *only*: the C-adjoined *only* obligatorily associates with the subject.[6] Option 2 in Chn produces all the instances, where the F-marked associate is internal to *v*P. Recall that in Chn, Vs do not raise out of *v*P. Therefore, Option 2 results in configurations with the preverbal order of *only*-complexes.

   In Rus, the subjects and the *v*P-internal constituents are both eligible to move to the CP-adjoined *only* (cf. (21e/f)). The crucial point of divergence between Rus and Chn lies in the behavior of verbs. While in Chn, they do not raise out of *v*P, in Rus they do so optionally (akin to Pollock's (1989) non-finite verbs).[7] If so, Rus *only*-constituents may precede or follow the verb, depending on whether the latter chooses to raise, as schematized in (21b).

(21)   a.   Chn: [$_{CP}$ *only*   subject   ...   [$_{vP}$ *only*   VERB   XP   ]]

         b.   Rus: [$_{CP}$ *only*   subject   ...   [$_{vP}$ *only*   VERB   XP   ]]

(22)   a.   *Only John likes [Susan]$_F$.   b. Only [John]$_F$ likes Susan.

So far, we have evidence for (6) in the verbal and sentential domains: *only* adjoins to *v*P and CP. Next we show that TP cannot be the locus of *only* in the sentential domain. The point is defended based on the behavior of Rus *only* in embedded *Yes/No* (Y/N) questions.

   Rus marks polar interrogatives by a question marker *li*, which cliticizes to the first prosodic word (1W) in its CP. Depending on the nature of fronted material, a "neutral" Y/N question or a cleft-like Y/N interrogative are possible. To obtain the former, as in (23a), the verb must precede *li*. (23b/c) instantiate focus construal of the fronted material akin to the interpretation of Eng clefts. (23d) shows what happens when the 1W of *li* is violated: *li* cannot go after the constituent with two prosodic words.

(23)   a.   Ja ne znaju, kupil   **li** Ivan mašinu.
               I   neg know bought Q Ivan car

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[6]We leave the source of this requirement for future investigation.

[7]For arguments that Rus has verb movement see, e.g., Bailyn (1995), Gribanova (2013) and King (1995). Most people converge on the analysis that verbs move in Rus, but disagree on how high.

'I don't know whether Ivan bought a car.'

    b.   Ja ne znaju, Ivan **li** kupil mašinu.
          'I don't know whether it was Ivan who bought the car.'

    c.   Ja ne znaju, novuju **li** mašinu Ivan kupil.
          'I don't know whether it was the NEW car that Ivan bought.'

    d. *Ja ne znaju, novuju mašinu **li** Ivan kupil.

Zanon (2015) argues that *li* is generated in C^0. In the examples with fronted verbs, like (23a), V moves to adjoin to C, hence serving as a satisfactory host for *li* in PF. XPs, on the other hand, move to Spec, CP. When a fronted XP consists of several stressed elements, *li* ought to go after the first stressed element immediately to its left, as schematized in (24). The latter operation takes place in PF and amounts to a local rearrangement.

(24)   a. .... [new car ***li*** ...] → Syntax
        b. .... [new ***li*** car] → PF (to satisfy 1W of *li*)

Suppose now that *only* is adjoined to *v*P in the context of a neutral interrogative (with the C-adjoined verb) in the manner of (25). If there is no position for *only* in the T-domain, we predict that the objects, but not the subjects, can move to *only*.

(25) $[_{CP}$ **V+*li*** $[_{TP}$ subject ... t$_V$ $[_{vP}$ ONLY t$_V$ ...]]]

This is borne out in (26): in (b) *only* is *v*P-adjoined, so the object can move to it; in degraded (a), *only* must be TP-adjoined to accommodate the subject. Since this is ill-formed, it follows that TP is not a legitimate adjunction site for *only*.

(26)   (Don't know,) a. ?*ljubit li **tol'ko Ivan**$_F$ Mašu. b. ljubit li Ivan **tol'ko Mašu**$_F$.
                     loves Q only Ivan Masha   loves Q Ivan only Masha

But if *only* cannot adjoin to TP, there must still be a position for it above it, as we need to account for the existence of *only*+subject complexes, as in (27) and (20c).

(27)   Tol'ko [Ivan]$_F$ ljubit Mašu.
        Only Ivan   loves Masha

Now, we have two potential derivations with the CP-adjoined *only*: one involves a neutral interrogative, as in (28a), the other, a cleft-like interrogative in (29). In the former, the verb moves to C as in (28b). PF rearrangement, as in (28c), results in a happy PF. The ill-formedness of (28a) corroborates two claims. First, there is verb movement in Rus (which may target a position as high as C). We know this because focus movement is phrasal, so a head cannot move to adjoin to *only*. Thus, the verb must be in C. If so, *tol'ko* has no local associate, because nothing moved to it, whence the source of the degradedness.

(28) a. *(I don't know), tol'ko li [ljubit]$_F$ Ivan Mašu?
      b. [$_{CP}$ only V+li [$_{TP}$]] → syntax output   c. *only li* V → PF rearrangement

Cleft-like embedded interrogatives in (29) involve movement of XP$_F$ to adjoin to *only* in the manner of (30a). This syntactic output creates the configuration for PF rearrangement so that *li* ends up with exactly one prosodic host – namely, *only*. It is no surprise that either the subject in (29a) or the object in (29b) can appear in this configuration: *only* gets its obligatory associate in syntax, and W1 of *li* is satisfied. Note that the verb does not move to C in this situation. [8] Note, incidentally, that the verb does not move to C in this situation.

(29) Ja ne znaju ... a. tol'ko li **Ivan**$_F$ ljubit Mašu.   b. tol'ko li **Mašu**$_F$ ljubit Ivan.

(30) a. [$_{CP}$ ONLY + XP **li** [$_{TP}$ ... **VERB** [$_{vP}$ ...]] → syntactic output
      b. ONLY **li** XP → PF rearrangement; 1W of *li* is satisfied

To recap: based on Chn and Rus word order facts and Rus *only* in Y/N interrogatives, we conclude that *zhiyou* and *tol'ko* do not adjoin to TP. Instead, their base positions are limited to CP and *v*P in the verbal/sentential domains. The adjacency to *only* is achieved *via* movement of a focalized constituent.[9]

3.   Conclusion

Rus/Chn share a number of common properties *vis-á-vis* the behavior of *tol'ko* and *zhiyou*. Both elements impose an adjacency requirement on their focalized associates, which is a consequence of obligatory focus movement. *tol'ko* and *zhiyou* do not merge with NP directly, because they do not pattern with normal nominal modifiers and do not induce scope readings consistent with the NP *only*. Based on Chn word order facts and the behavior of *tol'ko* in Rus Y/N interrogatives, we demonstrated that TP is likewise an illicit adjunction site for the Rus/Chn *only*. The surface placement of verbs in the two languages (Chn Vs do not raise, while Rus Vs raise optionally), explained the facts surrounding the placement of the *only*-complexes in the two languages. We concluded that *tol'ko* and *zhiyou* may merge strictly with phases which are also functional projections – CP, *v*P, and FP. The latter is presumed to be the point of commonality with Eng. If true, the difference between Eng and Rus/Chn reduces to the availability of syntactic focus movement. Finally, we would like to put forth the following prediction: if a language has syntactic focus movement, it will also have a requirement that an F-marked XP be adjacent to *only*.

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[8]It is worth reiterating that the *only*-complex is not splittable in syntax, as shown in Section 2.1, exactly like Rudin's MWh clusters. An apparent violation of this is due to a superficial PF-reordering mechanism.

[9]The adjacency to *only* in Rus/Chn may be disrupted under certain well-defined conditions. This happens when the F-marked constituent is not eligible for movement at all. In such situations, a larger phrase, containing both the intervener (which blocks the movement) and the focused associate are pied-piped to *only* in compliance with restrictions on minimal pied-piping. In other words, if the F-marked element itself cannot move, it can tag along with the first movable XP, which contains the intervener and the focused element. For details, see Zanon (to appear).

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