

Contrastive focus reduplication and the modification puzzle

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Contrastive focus reduplication (CR) is a reduplication phenomenon found in many languages including English and German. CR concerns the reduplication of a lexical item to single out a default or prototypical meaning in which one of the duplicates receives contrastive (focal) stress (Gomesi et al. 2004). An English example from Gomesi et al. 2004 is given in (1).

- (1) I'll make the tuna salad, and you make the SALAD-salad.

In this talk, we will focus on CR in the nominal domain. Here, CR happens inside the DP. This is evidenced by the fact that a CR construction can be combined with a determiner and can be coordinated with another DP:

- (2) I'll make the tuna salad and you make [_{DP} the SALAD-salad] and [_{DP} the dessert].

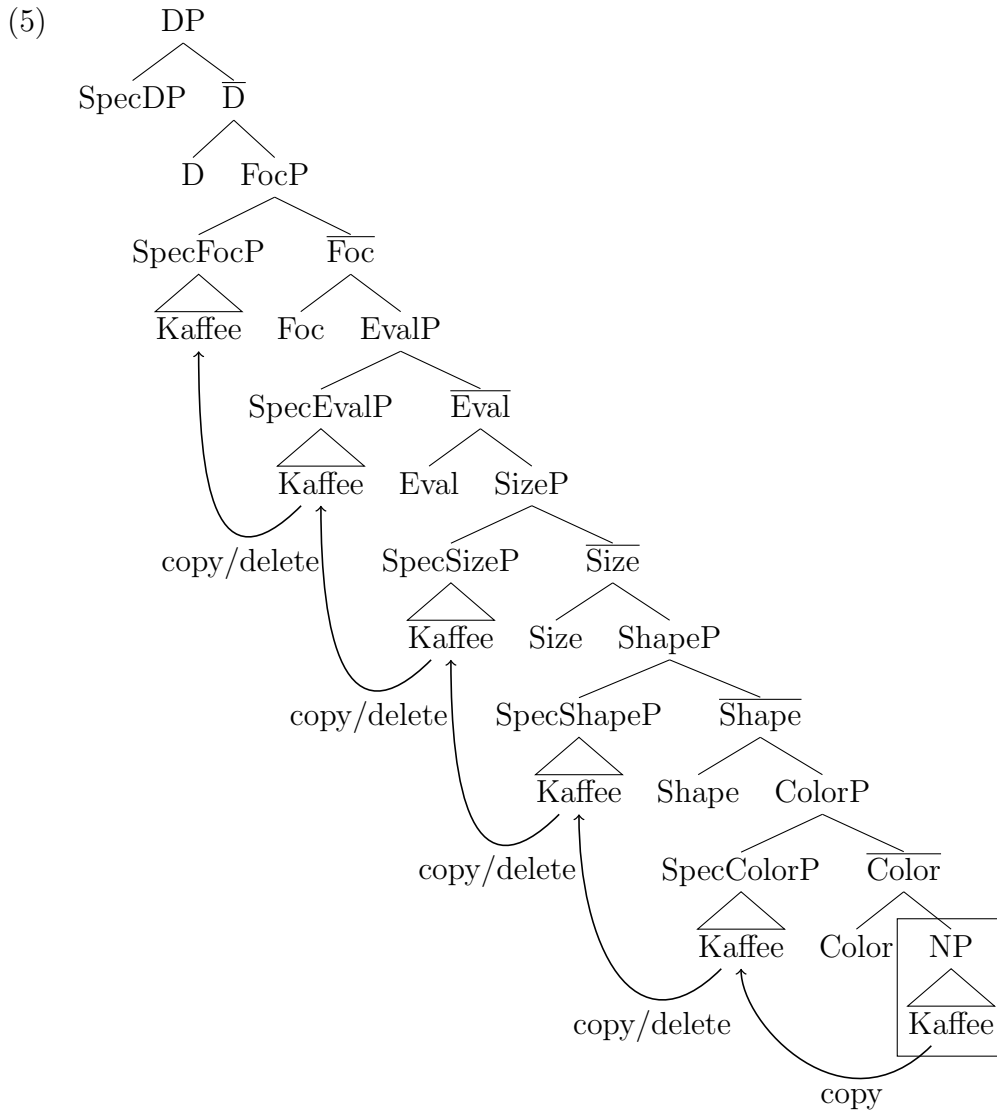
CR has been analyzed as head movement into a CR projection (Gomesi et al. 2004 and similarly Travis 2003) and, especially in the German literature, as a word formation process, or to be more precise, as compounding (e.g., Hohenhaus 2004; Stolz 2009; Finkbeiner 2012; Finkbeiner 2014; Kentner 2017). Head movement accounts fail because elements bigger than a head can undergo CR (e.g., *Do you LIKE-HIM-like him*). While compounding accounts would explain the undeniable modifier-head structure that CR exhibits and CR's stress pattern, this talk is concerned with a so-far undescribed property of CR which compounding accounts fail to predict: nominal CR constructions cannot be modified by an adjective:

- (3) *Ich will einen (*schwarzen/kostenlosen/heißen) KAFFEE-Kaffee.*
I want a black/free/hot coffee-coffee
'I want a (*black/free/hot) COFFEE-coffee.'

While adjectival modification is banned in nominal CR constructions, *real* intensification is allowed in German as well as in English (*Paul is a real MAN-man*). Thus, adjectives are banned in nominal CR, but veracity modifiers are allowed. Adjectives are hosted in the specifiers of rigidly ordered functional projections according to Cartographic models of syntax (e.g., Cinque 1994; Scott 2002), while veracity modifiers are allowed to be attached at any part of the DP given that it is the highest position filled (including the DP-internal focus position: *a really BLACK cute kitten*; but cannot attach to a lower position: **a BLACK really cute kitten*). A partial representation of the internal structure of the DP is given in (4).

- (4) DP > FocP > EvalP > SizeP > ShapeP > ColorP > MaterialP > NP

We assume that the NP in a nominal CR construction moves in a cyclical fashion to the specifiers of all these projections, finally landing in SpecFocP (while leaving a copy of itself behind). This can explain the fact that nominal CR allows only a determiner—but no evaluative, size, shape, color, or other modification. In each projection, the moved copy acts as a modifier, modifying the meaning of the respective projection. This leads to a prototypical meaning. A COFFEE-coffee (or a German KAFFEE-Kaffee) is then a coffee with the size of a coffee, the shape of a coffee, the color of a coffee and so on. This explains the stress pattern and the fact that modification is blocked. Veracity modifiers can attach to FocP, in contrast. A sample derivation is found in the tree on the next page.



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