

Phase by phase computation of prominence in ellipsis and PP-stranding island alleviation.¹

Adam Szczegielniak
Rutgers University

On the basis of Polish data involving single and multiple sluicing remnants, this paper argues that wh-remnants in sluicing can undergo local focus-driven movement to the nearest phase edge. The proposed analysis aims to account for the asymmetries between regular wh-movement and sluicing as far as preposition stranding effects and island effects are concerned. The proposal suggests that ellipsis remnants can be licensed locally in their phase, and sluicing does not alleviate islands.

1. Introduction

Merchant (2001) observed that the distribution of wh-remnants in sluicing correlates with the distribution of wh-phrases in regular wh-movement. Languages that do not allow wh-movement out of a PP in question formation prohibit in sluicing bare wh-remnants that are case-marked by a PP. In examples (1a,b), we see that question-forming wh-movement cannot strand a preposition. In example (1c), we see that a sluice with a simple wh-remnant cannot have the preposition dropped (for clarity wh-remnants and their correlates are underlined).

¹ I would like to thank the audience of FASL 24 for their comments, especially Ivona Kučerová and Barbara Citko. I would also like to thank Marcel den Dikken, Victor Manfredi, Javier Martín-González, and two anonymous reviewers for their very helpful comments on the previous version of the manuscript. All errors are mine.

- (1) *a. Maria gadała z kimś ale nie wiem kim Maria gadała z
 Mary talked with someone but not know whom Mary talked with
 'Mary talked with someone but I don't know whom Mary talked
 with.'
- b. Maria gadała z kimś ale nie wiem z kim Maria gadała t
 Mary talked with someone but not know with whom Mary talked
 'Mary talked with someone but I do not know with whom Mary
 talked.'
- c. Maria gadała z kimś ale nie wiem *(z) kim
 Mary talked with someone but not know with whom
 'Mary talked with someone but I do not know (with) whom.'

Such parallels between wh-movement and remnant distribution in sluicing have led Merchant (2001) to argue that the wh-remnant is derived via wh-movement out of a syntactic structure that undergoes subsequent ellipsis (understood as a PF operation of suppressing phonological expression of a constituent that has syntactic structure). Counter-examples to the parallelism between wh-movement and wh-remnant licensing involve complex D-linked wh-remnants, which can appear without the P licensing their case (Szczegielniak 2008).

- (2) *a. Maria gadała z którymś mężczyzną ale nie wiem którym₁
 Mary talked with some man but not know which
 Maria gadała z t₁ mężczyzną
 Mary talked with man
 'Mary talked with some man but I do not know which man she
 talked with.'
- b. Maria gadała z którymś mężczyzną ale nie wiem [z którym
 Mary talked with some man but not know with which
 mężczyzną]₁ Maria gadała t₁
 man Mary talked
 'Mary talked with some man but I do not know which man she
 talked with.'

- c. Maria gadała z którymś mężczyzną ale nie wiem (z) którym
 Mary talked with some man but not know (with) who
 'Mary talked with some man but I do not know (with) who.'

We can see from the contrast between (2a) and (2b) that wh-movement of a D-linked phrase cannot strand a proposition. Crucially, in (2c) we observe that a sluicing remnant can appear optionally with, or without, the proposition that licenses its case. The data in (2) breaks the parallelism between wh-movement in questions and wh-movement in sluicing. Szczegielniak (2008) proposed that (2c) can be accounted for by assuming that the underlying structure of the sluice was a copula-less cleft as in (3) with the wh-remnant receiving focus prominence marking.

- ?(3) Maria gadała z którymś mężczyzną ale nie wiem którym ~~to~~
 Mary talked with some man but not know which it
~~z mężczyzną gadała~~
 with man talked
 'Mary talked with some man but I do not know with which man it was she talked.'

This approach has been criticized in Nykiel (2013) on the assumption that such clefts are not grammatical in Polish. The argument is primarily based on judgment questionnaire data that unfortunately does not test the whole structure in (3), but just the subordinate CP that is sluiced in isolation. There is a distinct possibility that the subordinate in isolation is degraded just as the string 'whether she danced' is bad in English unless it is a subordinate to a matrix CP. However, Nykiel's (2013) criticism is well placed because of example (4a) below. It provides clear evidence that the analysis in Szczegielniak (2008) cannot be the whole picture. Example (4a) has the whole DP as the remnant, whereas in (3) the remnant is limited to the wh-part of the D-linked structure, the nominal is elided. In (4b) we see that a cleft continuation is completely ungrammatical for the sluice in (4a). This is because we cannot cleft the whole D-linked complex, so it should not be a possible remnant. It appears we are left with no grammatical continuation for sluices like (4a) where the proposition is omitted since neither clefting or regular wh-

movement out of the PP is possible. It appears we need a third type of derivation for examples like (4a).

- (4) a. Maria gadała z którymś mężczyzną ale nie wiem (z) którym
 Mary talked with some man but not know (with) which
mężczyzną
 man
 'Mary talked with some man but I do not know (with) which man.'
- *b. Maria gadała z którymś mężczyzną ale nie wiem [którym
 Mary talked with some man but not know which
mężczyzną]_i {to z t_i gadała}
 man it with talked
 'Mary talked with some man but I do not know with which man it was she talked.'

The data in (4) unambiguously shows that a cleft continuation is impossible for some cases of P-omission in sluicing. Furthermore, Nykiel (2013) points out that when the antecedent DP is complex enough, a simple wh-remnant can have P-omission, as shown in (5a). In example (5b) we see that a cleft continuation for (5a) is also impossible.

- (5) a. Byłaś ubrana w coś _____ czerwonego tamtej nocy,
 were dressed in something.ACC red.ACC that night
 ale nie pamiętam (w) co.
 but not remember (in) what.ACC
 'You were dressed in something red that night, but I don't remember (in) what.'
- *b. Byłaś ubrana w coś _____ czerwonego tamtej nocy,
 were dressed in something.ACC red.ACC that night
 ale nie pamiętam co to w czerwonego byłaś ubrana
 but not remember what.ACC it in red (ACC) were dressed
 tamtej nocy
 that night
 'You were dressed in something red that night, but I don't remember what it was.'

This paper proposes that the contrast in (4) and (5) is not necessarily an argument against the idea that an ellipsis site contains a fully-fledged syntactic structure. We can maintain the insight that elided structures have syntactic structure provided we examine the nature of syntactic representations that do not need to be linearized. Elided strings are not articulated, which means that whatever output linearization constraints exist, they do not need apply to elided strings. I adopt the standard model theoretic assumptions of a phase-based syntactic derivation (Chomsky 2001). Syntactic structure is sent to the Sensory-Motor (SM) and Conceptual-Intentional (C-I) interfaces in chunks that correspond to the Spell-out Domains (SD) of phase heads that are usually associated with the v, C as well as D heads (Bošković 2014). The paper argues that ellipsis remnant licensing via focus/prominence is phase based. This remnant licensing mechanism is not constrained by linearization the way it is in non-elided structures. Crucially, I will argue that wh-remnants can be focus licensed within the nominal phase they are Merged in, unless linearization forces additional wh-movement, as will be the case with multiple remnants.

(6) Wh-remnant licensing.

- Sluiced anaphors are constrained by mutual entailment with the antecedent modulo focus (Merchant 2001).
- Elided structures are not linearized allowing focused remnants to remain within the phase that licensed their focus.
- A phase licensing a focused remnant is headed by a focus head.

Let us consider a derivation of (5a) given in (7) below.

- (7) a. Byłaś ubrana w coś czerwonego tamtej nocy,
 were dressed in something.ACC red.ACC that night
 ale nie pamiętam (w) co.
 but not remember (in) what.ACC

b. ... [~~byłaś ubrana~~ _{FP} w _{FP} ^F _{CO} ₁ [_{XP} _t ₁ ~~czerwonego~~]] ~~tamtęj nocy~~

The wh-remnant moves up to the edge of a Focus Phrase. Because the phase is being elided, Foc is the phase head of the nominal extended

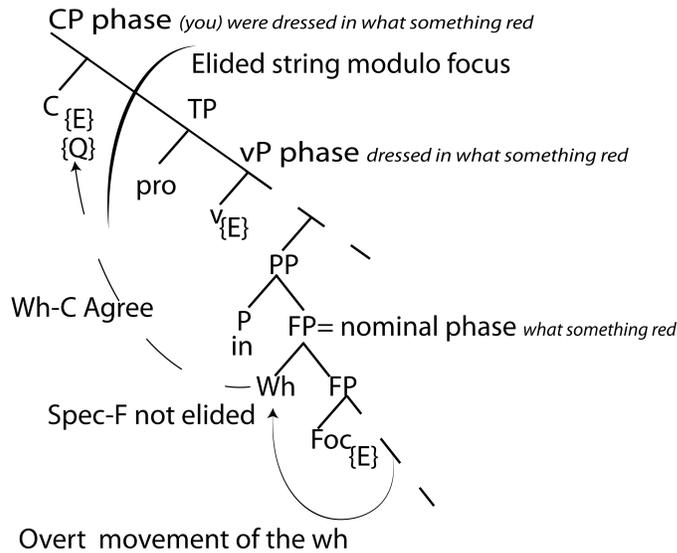
projection. I assume, following Bošković (2014), that phase heads are relative in the sense that it is the topmost head of a given domain that is a phase head. Following Gengel (2007), I assume that ellipsis targets the Spell-out domain of a phase head. However, unlike standard analyses, I propose that each phase head licenses ellipsis individually. This is a direct consequence of Spell-out and the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC).² If a given Spell-out domain is not elided at Spell-out, subsequent cycles cannot access already spelled out structures. In order to assure that ellipsis is not terminated prematurely, we can modify MaxElide! (Takahashi & Fox 2005) to require that the {E} feature be propagated up the structure to phase heads that have material marked as Given by virtue of the Antecedent.

- (8) a. Ellipsis is carried out phase by phase. An {E} feature (Merchant 2001) on each individual phase head licenses ellipsis in its Spell-out domain.
 b. MaxElide! forces the percolation of the {E} feature to higher up phase heads whose Spell-out domain contains material that is Given by virtue of the antecedent.
 c. Ellipsis does not target focused structures.
 d. Focus head has to be the topmost head = phase head in a phase licensing ellipsis.

The conditions in (8) generate the following ellipsis structure of (7) shown in (9) below.

² PIC: Given structure [ZP Z [XP X [HP α [H YP]]], with H and Z the heads of phases: In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α ; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations

(9)



The existence of a focus projection within a nominal domain has been argued for in Nthelios (2003). The mechanism proposed here implies that P-omission in sluicing is not achieved via movement out of PP, but via focus within the nominal and ellipsis of a discontinuous string that is Given. In order to project a focus head necessary for remnant licensing, the nominal domain needs to be complex enough to have an articulated functional architecture that includes a Focus head. Pronominals and simple wh-expressions are assumed to have insufficient projections to license a focus head within the nominal domain. For example, in Polish we can place a focus operator below a PP but not if the nominal is a pronoun.

- (10) ??a Jan zatańczył z tylko nią
 Jan danced with only her
- b. Jan zatańczył tylko z nią
 Jan danced only with her

- c. Jan zatańczył tylko z jedną dziewczyną
 Jan danced only with one girl
- d. Jan zatańczył z tylko jedną dziewczyną
 Jan danced with only one girl

Complexity of the phase containing the remnant (measured by the complexity of the correlate) also matters, as observed in Szczepielniak (2008) and argued for in Nykiel (2013). Remnants that do not correlate with complex nominal antecedents do not allow P-omission (as in 1c vs 2c). I suggest complexity of the phase containing the remnant determines its ability to project a phase that can have a focus head. There are two possible dimensions of complexity. First, a nominal phase has to have enough functional architecture so that remnant movement to the phase edge does not violate Anti-locality (Grohmann 2003).³ Second, I assume Givenness is presuppositional (Sauerland 2005), and focus is computed from Given material. In that sense, we need complex enough structure in a nominal phase so as to be able to license focus locally. There needs to be Given material in the nominal domain for focus licensing within that domain (for a discussion on the locality of Givenness marking see Kučerová 2012, Wagner 2006).

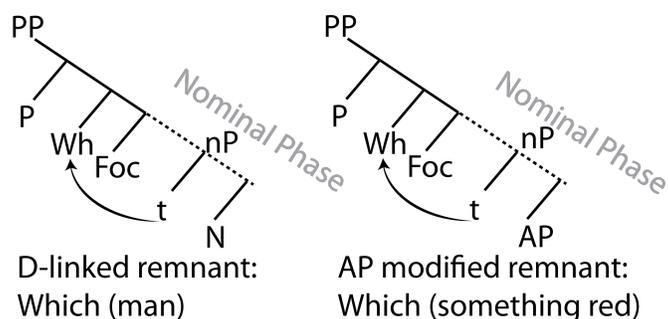
The claim is that phases containing simple wh-expressions and pronouns lack sufficient functional architecture to become a focus headed phase, but a phase containing a complex wh-expression has enough structure and allow local movement below the P head.

³ A D-linked or complex wh-expression can move the Wh out of a DP and strand the remaining nominal, which suggests that Anti-locality does not prevent cyclic movement of the wh-out of the nominal phase, when the nominal is complex. If a wh-can extract out of a nominal phase, then it can also raise to the edge of it.

(i) Którego₁ Marek poznał [_{DP} t₁ mężczyznę]?
 Which Mark met man
 'Which man did Mark meet'

(11) P-omission in d-linked wh as in (4a), and with AP modification (5a).

(4a) ale nie wiem (z) którym mężczyzną (5a) ale nie wiem (w) co



Nominal phase Complex enough to:

- Avoid antilocality
- License Givenness on non Focused XP's

The proposal predicts that within a complex enough phase undergoing ellipsis, remnants can move locally to a phase edge to be focused and linearized as following the antecedent.

The idea is that the remnant of ellipsis can undergo local movement to the edge of a local phase headed by focus and be spelled out there. The implication is that the global outcome of sluicing can appear to target discontinuous strings that are marked as discourse Given. However, on a phase-by-phase basis, there is no discontinuous ellipsis. Within each Spell-out domain, a focused remnant is fronted to phase edge and what remains is considered Given and elided. Support for such an approach will come from the behavior of multiple wh-remnants in sluicing.

2. Multiple Remnant Sluicing in Polish

As I have shown, sluicing structures in Polish omit the proposition that case licenses a wh-remnant provided the remnant has enough structure to license focus within the nominal extended projection. However, P-omission is more constrained in constructions that involve multiple remnants. Polish allows multiple wh-remnants in sluicing as can be seen in (10) below. However, P-omission in multiple sluices can only target

the first remnant provided the correlate of the wh-remnant is complex, just like in the case of P-omission with single wh-remnants.

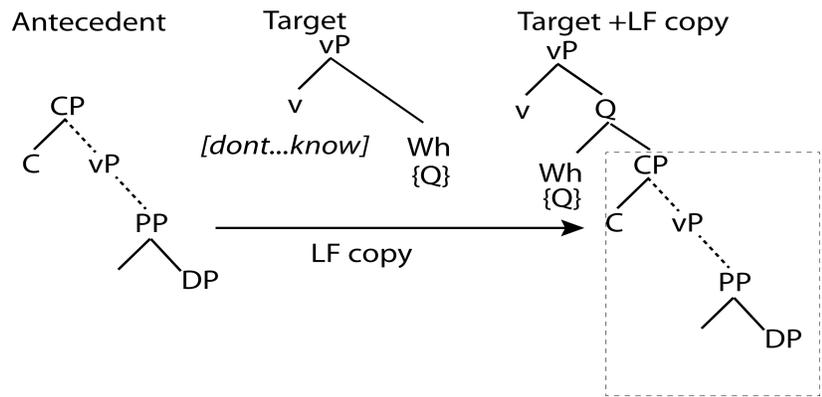
- (12) Jan podszedł do jakiegoś artysty na pewnym koncercie
 Jan approach to some artist on certain concert
 ale nie wiem (do) którego artysty *(na) którym koncercie
 but not know to which artist (on) which concert
 ‘Jan approached some artist at some concert but not know which artist at which concert’.

The same holds for English. Multiple remnants allow P-omission on the first wh-remnant, but not on the second one (Lasnik 2013)

- (13) John read about some linguist at some airport but I do not know
 (about) which linguist *(at) which airport

P-omission is restricted to the first remnant in both Polish and English (Lasnik 2013). Dadan (2015) argues that P-omission is possible because the ellipsis site is a composite of the remnant and an LF copy of the antecedent as shown in (14)

- (14) LF copying mechanism (Dadan 2015)



His proposal captures the generalization that only the top remnant can omit a Proposition. But it does not capture that the correlate antecedent

has to be complex, as seen in (14). Nor does it capture that English, a language allowing extraction out of PP's, is subjected to the same restrictions as Polish. However, the biggest problem with Dadan's account is that the LF copying mechanism that he uses does not allow for P-omission in the first remnant to occur in structures that have two remnants. This is because in his system, only a single wh-remnant can be base generated as a complement of the vP 'not know...' that connects the antecedent and sluice. In Dadan (2015) sluicing is not PF deletion of syntactic structure. Instead, he assumes that the LF of the antecedent can be copied into the ellipsis site. P-omission is achieved by relabeling the remnant from a VP inner argument to a wh-expression in Spec-CP. We obtain a wh-movement configuration without actual movement. The mechanism works well when there is one remnant. Structures with more than one remnant are problem since there are not enough positions as complements of vP. Moreover, relabeling would have to apply to multiple nodes. Unfortunately the prediction that P-omission is only possible when there is one remnant is incorrect, as shown in (11b).⁴ This is not only the case in Polish. Languages like Spanish where P-omission is also possible, although P-stranding is not, also exhibit the same pattern as shown in (15) below. The top remnant can have P-omission. This suggests that the analysis proposed in Dadan (2015) is not feasible.

- (15) Juan leyó un libro sobre un político en una biblioteca, pero no
 Juan read a book about some politician in some library but not
 sé (sobre) qué político *(en) qué biblioteca
 know about which politician (in) which library
 'Juan read a book about some politician in some library but I do
 know which politician in which library'

Lasnik (2013) proposes that English multiple remnant sluices require the lower remnant to right adjoin to the position of the top remnant. The

⁴ To be precise, Dadan (2015) claims that "Preposition omission is possible only in a *single* remnant of elliptical construction, with that single remnant located in the highest spec of CP." This is not the case as (11b) shows, multiple remnants allow P-omission on the first remnant.

reason for such a claim is that only rightward movement prohibits P-stranding as seen in (15).

- (16) *a. A linguist spoke about yesterday a paper on sluicing.
b. A linguist criticized yesterday a paper on sluicing.

English does not allow P-omission on the second remnant as shown in (13), thus Lasnik concludes there has to be rightward movement involved in licensing the lower remnant. Let me expand on this idea and suggest that the reason that the second remnant moves is that both remnants need to be in the same phase for linearization reasons.

(17) Ellipsis linearization. Elided structures remain un-linearized at the interfaces. Remnants must be linearized vis a vis each other in the same phase containing both remnants.

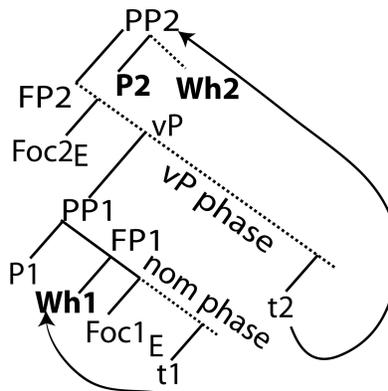
The idea behind (17) is that linearization is Phase based as argued in Fox & Pesetsky (2005). Phase based linearization is relative to other elements the Spell-out domain this means a remnant has to be linearized in relation to some other constituent. In a bottom-up phase based derivation, the lowest remnant does not have any PF material to linearize against. It has to move out of its Spell-out domain until it finds itself in the Spell-out domain of the first remnant. This is the reason in English the lower remnant needs to raise to the phase containing the upper remnant.

Since P-omission is impossible on the second remnant, although English allows P-stranding, we conclude that this movement involves rightward adjunction, which guarantees a linearization $\text{Remnant1} < \text{Remnant2}$, and prevents P-stranding.

Polish does not allow P-stranding and yet behaves exactly like English in that the second remnant cannot undergo P-omission, but the first one can. P-omission has been argued here to involve focus within the nominal extended domain. This mechanism is not available to the second remnant since it has to raise to the same Spell-out domain as the first remnant.^{5,6}

⁵ I assume that the common minimal phase containing both remnants is a vP since I do not treat PP's as phases. If it turns out the PP is a phase, then right adjunction is not to the edge of the vP phase but to the edge of PP1 phase.

(18) Derivation of multiple remnants in (12) (remnants in bold).⁷



There is independent evidence that multiple remnants need to be in the same phase. Island alleviation has been a hallmark property of sluicing. However, multiple remnant sluices can only alleviate islands if there is no island separating the remnants.

(19) Island alleviation with multiple remnants.
 *[R1...[Ω...R2...], where Ω = island, R1, R2 = remnants

Consider the following examples involving multiple remnants. In (20) below, we see that we can have multiple wh-remnants in Polish sluicing. Moreover, both remnants are inside a relative clause island, which suggests that multiple remnants can alleviate island effects

⁶ As has been pointed out to me by one of the reviewers, more needs to be said about FocP heading a vP domain and its potential to block A movement out of vP. For reasons of space, I assume that FocP has to head the vP phase only in ellipsis contexts. I leave the discussion of non-elided phases headed by FocP for further research.

⁷ Following Fox & Pesetsky (2005), I assume that linearization can apply to elements both at the phase edge and within the spell-out domain. This allows us to linearize the second remnant right adjoined to the vP phase edge with the first remnant that remains within the vP spell-out domain since it received focus in the nominal phase edge.

- (20) Oni zatrudnili lingwistę który podarował jakaś książkę
They hired linguist who gave some book
jakiemuś profesorowi, ale nie wiem [którą książkę]
some professor but not know which book
[któremu profesorowi]
which professor
'??They hired a linguist who gave some book to some professor but
I do not know which book to which professor.'

However, when we embed the second remnant inside an Island, but have the first remnant outside an island, the sluice becomes unacceptable.

- *(21) Oni zatrudnili jakiegoś lingwistę który zna jakiś dialekt, ale nie
They hired some linguist who knows some dialect but not
wiem [jakiego lingwistę] [jaki dialekt]
know which linguist which dialect
'*They hired some linguist who knows some dialect but I do not
know which linguist which dialect.'

Note that Polish sluicing with single remnants alleviates relative clause islands, just like English. This can be seen in (22) below.

- (22) Oni zatrudnili nowego lingwistę który zna jakiś dialekt, ale nie
They hired some linguist who knows some dialect but not
wiem [jaki dialekt]
know which dialect
'They hired some linguist who knows some dialect but I do not
know which dialect.'

The generalization from the contrast between example (20) and (22) and (23) is that multiple wh-remnants can alleviate island violations, but only if they are generated inside the same island. When an island separates two remnants, sluicing becomes unacceptable. P-omission is not possible on the second remnant because it needs to move to the active phase of the first remnant in order to be linearized. Island alleviation is not possible when a remnant has to move out of that island to reach the first

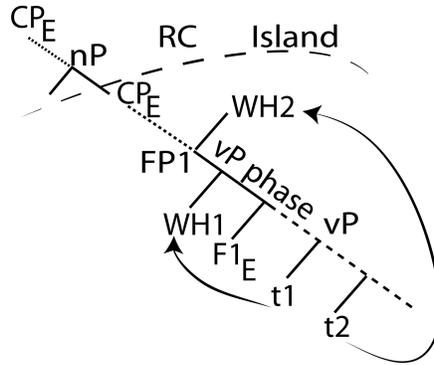
remnant. In other words, sluicing does not alleviate linearization driven movement. This is further supported by examples where we have two remnants that originate from different islands. Alleviation is again impossible.

- *⁽²³⁾ Oni zatrudnili jakiegoś lingwistę który zna ~~jakiś dialekt~~ bo
 They hired some linguist who knows some dialect because
 ciągle czyta jakaś książkę o nim ale nie wiem [jaki dialekt]
 constantly reads some book about it but not know which dialect
 [jaka książkę]
 which book
 '*They hired some linguist who knows some book since he always
 reads some book about it but I do not know which dialect which
 book.'

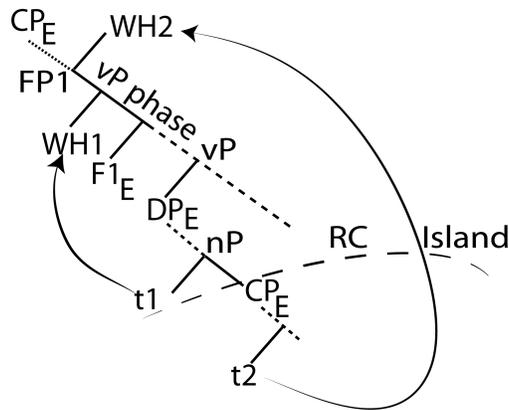
The conclusion from above discussion is that a single wh-remnant within a PP has the option of being focused inside the nominal phase without the need for evacuation movement into the CP. This results in discontinuous ellipsis that targets constituents that are marked as Given but spares the focused wh. In the case of multiple remnants, the topmost remnant can also receive focus inside the nominal phase. However, lower down remnants need to raise to a Spell-out domain of the top remnant. Below is a derivation of the examples in (20) and (21).⁸

⁸ Note that the diagrams in (24) show non PP-embedded remnants. Thus, unlike in (18), the first remnant moves to Spec-Foc of the vP domain. If the first remnants were embedded in a PP, it would receive focus within the nominal phase. I presume that there is an economy condition that forces us to minimize the amount of Focus licensing heads. This would be a syntactic reflex of the constraint AvoidFocus! proposed in Schwarzschild (1999).

- (24) a. Derivation of example (20) Wh1 = argument inside relative clause, Wh2 = argument inside relative clause.



- b. Derivation of example (21) Wh1 = Head Noun, Wh2 = argument inside relative clause.



The underlying assumption is that remnant(s) can move to the topmost edge of an ellipsis site, but crucially they do not have to. Remnant(s) need to be focus licensed, and if there is more than one of them they need to be located in the same phase so as to be linearized. The linearization requirement accounts for the contrast between (24a) and (24b). In (24a)

both remnants can move to the edge of vP phase (Spec-F) and undergo linearization. In (24b) it is impossible for the lower remnant to raise out of the relative clause island and be in the same Spell-out domain as the top remnant. This contrast indicates that sluicing does not alleviate islands.

Using data from P-omission and Island effects with multiple remnants I have argued that ellipsis does not require evacuation of the remnants outside the elided structure. In the last section of this paper, I briefly discuss a possible mechanism for discontinuous ellipsis.

3. Discontinuous Ellipsis

Discontinuous ellipsis is needed independently of multiple wh-sluicing. In example (25a) below, taken from Bruening (2015), we have two remnants that cannot be generated via movement as shown in (25b).

(25) a. I disproved theories held by Wittgenstein this year and I ~~disproved theories held by~~ Einstein last year

*b. [Einstein]₁ [last year]₂ , I disproved theories held by t₁ t₂

Examples like (25) show that we need to have a mechanism to elide a non-constituent because movement cannot evacuate the remnants from the ellipsis site. This mechanism is movement to a local phase-edge which allows remnants to be linearized vis a vis each other. In (25), a tentative analysis involves movement of 'Einstein' to a nearest phase edge, possibly the DP itself, where it is linearized as following the antecedent. The adverbial adjunct is added once the structure is complete via Late Insertion. As such, it cannot disrupt the existing linearization word order between the antecedent and the DP remnant. That is only possible if adjunct remnants follow the argument remnant.

(26) Antecedent < DP remnant < adjunct

This is why the example below is ungrammatical, although in theory the adjunct should be able to attach at the beginning of the clause as in the antecedent.

- * (27) This year I disproved theories held by Wittgenstein and last year
~~I disproved theories held by~~ Einstein

Having shown that a mechanism for discontinuous ellipsis is required for reasons independent of Polish sluicing, let me provide an outline of why phase edges play an important role in licensing ellipsis remnants. I propose that phase heads are endowed with interface features that include, among others: linearization, focus/alternatives marking, Ellipsis, Givenness, prominence. Phase based linearization has been argued by Fox and Pesetsky (2005) to force cyclic wh-movement. For example, a wh-phrase inner argument of a verb needs to move to the vP phase-edge in order to linearize as being above the verb, so as to maintain consistency when the CP is spelled out as shown in (28). Without the movement in (28a), the linear ordering would be inconsistent on a phase-by-phase basis.

- (28) a. $wh_1 vP [\dots V t_1 \dots]$ $wh < V$
 b. $wh_1 CP \dots t_1 vP [\dots V t_1 \dots]$ $wh < C, C < V$ implies $wh < V$

Based on such an approach, we see that in the case of sluicing linearization can be reduced to a simple rule where the remnant is linearized after the antecedent.⁹ The tricky part is when we have two remnants. Following the logic of Fox and Pesetsky (2005), two remnants need to establish a respective linear on a phase-by phase basis. The need to move both remnants to a common phase predicts the inability of dropping the second PP in multiple sluices, as well as island effects if lower remnants are separated from the top one by an island. Crucially linear order can be established between the edge of a phase and its complement. In (18) the top remnant can remain within the vP since it has received focus within the nominal domain, but the lower remnant needs to undergo rightward movement to the edge of the phase containing the top remnant to receive focus and be linearized. In (24) both remnants receive focus from the Foc head in the vP domain. Thus linearization is not the sole trigger of remnant movement. It interacts with another driving force, namely focus marking since remnants need to

⁹ Although there are exceptions to that order, which need to be addressed as pointed out to me by Marcel den Dikken (pc).

be marked as focused. I assume that every phase can be headed by a focus head (Bošković 2014). Crucially focus marking within an ellipsis site prevents deletion of focused material.

- (32) Focus marked elements in Spec-F, F being a phase head, do not undergo PF suppression via E feature on a higher phase head, but are linearized on spell-out.

My analysis assumes focus is possible within the vP phase. This is uncontroversial. Recent work by Bošković (2014), but also Rouveret (2012) has assumed that there is a Focus phrase in the vP domain. Focus within the nominal phase, needed in my analysis for P-omission, has also been documented. For example, in Ntelitheos (2003) has argued based on Greek data that there is focus within a DP. It remains to be seen if there is a general pattern where focus marking is associated with every type of phase head, and it remains to be seen how phase based syntactic marking translates into a semantics of Alternatives as in Rooth (1992).

4. Conclusion

The paper argues that sluicing remnants can be derived via short movement to a local phase head that licenses focus. It allows for instances of phase constrained discontinuous ellipsis. I show that sluicing does not allow PP stranding, or island alleviation. Movement of the remnant can be short enough to avoid the triggering of islands because of less stringent linearization in ellipsis. It remains to be seen if we need to have an approach where there is more than one possible structure assigned to an elided anaphor, as argued in Szczegielniak (2008) and Craenenbroeck (2010). If this paper is on the right track, then this should not be the case, which leaves open the question why elided anaphors can exhibit properties of clefts, as discussed most recently in Barros (2014).

References

- Barros, Matthew. 2014. *Pseudosluicing and Ellipsis Identity*. PhD diss, Rutgers University.
- Bošković, Željko. 2014. Now I'm a Phase, Now I'm Not a Phase: On the Variability of Phases with Extraction and Ellipsis. *LI* 45, 27-89.

- Bruening, Benjamin. 2015. Non-Constituent Coordination: Prosody, Not Movement. *U. Penn Working Papers in Linguistics*, Volume 21, 1-10.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. *Ken Hale: A life in language*, ed. by Michael Kenstowicz, 1-52.
- Dadan, Marcin. 2015. Preposition omission in sluicing — teasing apart LF-copying and PF-deletion in a hybrid system. NELS 46 poster.
- Van Craenenbroeck, Jeroen. 2010. "Invisible last resort: A note on clefts as the underlying source for sluicing." *Lingua* 120.7 1714-1726.
- Fox, Danny, and David Pesetsky. 2005. Cyclic Linearization of Syntactic Structure. *Theoretical Linguistics* 31, 1-45.
- Gengel, Kirsten. 2007. *Focus and Ellipsis: A Generative Analysis of Pseudogapping and Other Elliptical Structures*. PhD thesis Stuttgart.
- Grohmann, Kleanthes. 2003. *Prolific Domains: on the Anti-locality of Movement Dependencies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kučerová, Ivona. 2012. Grammatical Marking of Givenness. *Natural Language and Semantics*, 20(1), 1-30.
- Lasnik, Howard. 2013. Multiple sluicing in English? *Syntax*, 17(1), 1-20.
- Merchant, Jason. 2000. *The Syntax of Silence*. Oxford: UOP.
- Ntelitheos, Dimitris. 2003. The syntax of emphasis: Split DPs and nominal ellipsis. *6th International Conference of Greek Linguistics*.
- Nykiel, Joanna. 2013. Clefts and Preposition Omission under Sluicing. *Lingua* 123, 74-117.
- Rooth, Maats. 1992. *A Theory of Focus Interpretation*. *Natural Language and Semantics*, 75-116.
- Rouveret, Alain. 2012. VP ellipsis, Phases and the Syntax of Morphology. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 30(3), 897-963.
- Sauerland, Uli. 2005. Don't Interpret focus: Why a Presuppositional Account of Focus Fails, and How a Presuppositional Account of Givenness Works. *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung*. 420-425
- Schwarzschild, Roger. 1999. Givenness, avoidf and other constraints on the placement of accent. *Natural Language Semantics*, 7(2), 141-177.
- Szczegielniak, Adam. 2008. Islands in Sluicing in Polish. *Proceedings of the 27th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, 404-412.
- Takahashi & Fox 2005. MaxElide and the Re-binding Problem. *Proceedings SALT*. 33-56
- Wagner, Michael. 2006. Givenness and locality. *SALT*. 23-47.