Phase by Phase Givenness and Focus Marking in Multiple Remnant Sluicing involving P-omission and Island Alleviation.

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No possible structure for anaphor

Byłaś ubrana w coś czerwonego tamtej nocy, ale nie pamiętam pro byłaś ubrana w co czerwonego tej nocy
were dressed in something red that night but not remember pro were dressed in what red that night

![Diagram of sentence structure](image_url)

H2P= CP phase  (you) were dressed in what something red
H2E= Q pro
H1P= vP phase dressed in what something red
G=Givenness operator
H3P= DP phase what something red
Wh

Edge of Spec-H3P not elided, not in domain of any G
Overt Focus movement of the wh
No Global E feature

E feature percolation via G

- Sluicing

H2P = CP phase

H1P = vP phase
Derivations

• Sluice
  – I saw a man but I do not know
  \[ [_{H2P} \text{who}_2] [_{H2E} \text{Q} ] \text{ TP I G } [ [_{H1P} [_{H1E} t_1 \text{ saw } t_2 ] ] \text{ G} ] \]

• vP ellipsis
  – John arrived and
  \[ [[_{H2P} [_{H2} ] \text{ TP Mary did } [ [_{H1P} [_{H1E} \text{arrived } t ] ] \text{ G} ] ] ] \text{ too} \]

Derivations embedded DP

• vP ellipsis with one argument
  – John photographed Mary and
  \[ [[_{H3P} [_{H3} ] \text{ TP Roger did } [ [_{H1P} [_{H1E} \text{ t photograph } \text{ G} ] ] ] \text{ G} ] ] ] \text{ too} \]

• Note DP phase (H2P) [Mary] has its own ellipsis feature and G marking independent of the vP it is in.
Derivation Adjuncts

• Adjunct ellipsis
  – I saw a man at a bar but I do not know
  \([H2P \text{ who}_2 [H2E \text{ Q}] [TP I_1 G [[[H1P \text{ [H1E] t}_1 \text{ saw t}_2]]] G] G]\)

• Sprouting
  – I saw a man but I do not know
  \([H2P [H3P \text{ where}_3 [H2E \text{ Q}] [TP I_1 G [[[H1P \text{ [H1E] t}_1 \text{ saw ] G] t}_3] G] G]\]

• H3 does not inherit an E feature from H2 since domain of H3 is not G-marked

MaxElide!

E inheritance via G

Needs to be Elided

Elided string
Focus agreement/probing

- Givenness licensed via G insertion on a phase-by-phase basis
- Givenness Presupp.
- Phase heads probe for focus
- E feature percolation, F marking percolation

Focus Ellipsis and Givenness

Focus on: XP

HP

Needs to be Elided

G assignment
Focus locally assigned in Phase

- Focus movement following focus transmission can be stopped because of extraction islands
- That is why it appears that Focus association is not island sensitive.
- They only investigated the question whether you know the woman who chaired [the Zoning Board] F

Crossover

16b We only expect [the woman he loves] to [\text{HP t betray [him]_F}]

In (16b) the focused pronoun moves to the edge of HP (vP phase for Focus. Crossing trace of subject and triggering crossover.

17. We only expect [the woman he loves] to investigate [the question of whether someone will [\text{HP betray [him]_F}]

No Crossover in (17) focused pronoun moves to local phase edge never crossing trace of higher pronoun.
Wagner(2006) F via sisterhood

- Within a Phase H we need to establish focus/given distinction under sisterhood. Needs to be something more complex than just one wh.
- Mary's uncle, who produces high-end convertibles, is coming to her wedding. I wonder what he brought as a present.
  - a. He brought a [CHEAP convertible].
  - #b. He brought [a RED convertible].
  - c. He brought [a red CONVERTIBLE]

Focus within DP

18a Dostaliśmy wiele komentarzy, ale pod tylko received many comments, but under only tym jednym newsem było ich więcej niż sto this one news were them more than 100

- Focus movement:

  Este libro interesante [Spanish, Bernstein 2001]
  this book interesting
  ‘This interesting book’
  b. El libro interesante este
     the book interesting this
  ‘This interesting book’
PF Inversion

- E feature inverts PF on Phase head
- No E, pronounce complement of H, H' and suppress Edge and G
- E present, suppress PF of H' and pronounce Spec-H and H
- E feature forces Focus movement to edge

Remnant can stay on local edge

- Complex enough to project focus DP can be focused below P
DP focus and complexity

- Within a Phase DP we need to establish focus/given distinction under sisterhood (Wagner). There Needs to be something more complex than just one wh.

Multiple Remnants

- Top can have internal focus
- Lower ones must have assigned focus via head that linearizes both remnants.
- In two simplex Wh both receive focus from head that linearizes them

Jan kupił coś komuś, ale nie wiem co komu
Jan bought something someone but not know what who
Jan bought something for someone but I do not know what for whom'
Remnants extrapose

- When a pair of remnants receives focus from a head that linearizes them there is movement to the edge.

32b John talked to someone about something but I do not recall (to) who *(about) what

Top remnant can be focused internally

32a. Jan podszedł do jakiegoś artysty na pewnym koncercie, ale nie wiem (do) którego *(na) którym (to) which (on) which
Islands

They hired a linguist who gave some book to some professor but I do not know which book to which professor.’

• The above has both remnants inside the same common minimal phase (vP)
• The remnants can be linearized
• The remnants are assigned Focus

Islands not same phase (30b)

*They hired some linguist who knows some dialect but I do not know which linguist which dialect*

• Here each remnant is in a different phase, the lower one cannot raise out of RC to share same minimal phase with upper remnant.
Multiple remnants in Islands

• Both remnants have to be in the same spell-out cycle/phase. When one remnant inside RC the other outside, there is no possibility

Indonesian

• v is defective phase. Second remnant cannot move. Gets focus in-situ, linearized in situ
Islands same phase

- Both remnants need to be in the same phase for linearization and focus assignment
- In situ, when XP complex enough for internal focus

Thank you

- Thanks to:
  - Marcel den Dikken
  - Victor Manfredi
  - Javier Martin Gonzalez
  - Ken Safir
  - Livia Camargo Souza
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