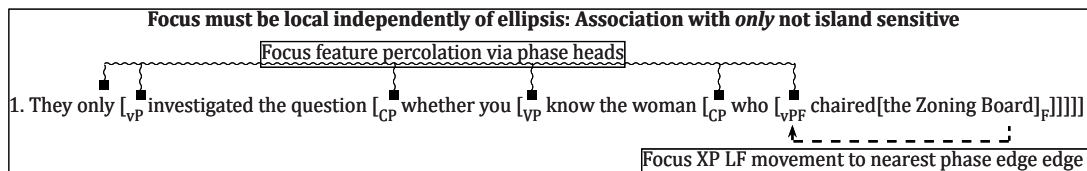


1. Phase based Information Structure: Focus is local

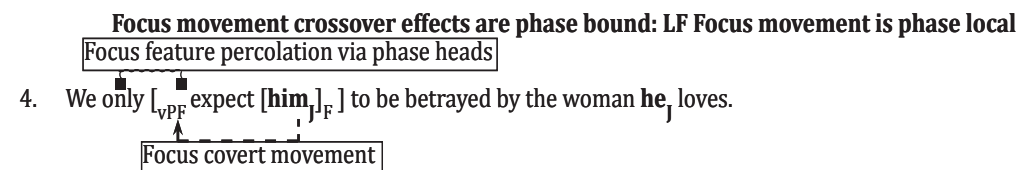


Proposal: (i) XP Focus movement is local to nearest Phase Edge; (ii) movement appears covert since copy is linearized. (iii) Focus features percolate via phase heads to focus particle *only*. (iv) Feature percolation is not Island Sensitive.

Focus prominence assigned phase by phase Kratzer & Selkirk (2007). All focus:topmost XP in a Spell-out Domain receives focus pitch

2. dass ein Jünge [_{VP} [DP **eine Géige**] [_{PP} im Supermarkt] kaufe] 3. dass ein Jünge [_{VP} [PP **im Súpermarkt**] lebte]
- that a boy a violin in.the.DAT supermarket bought that a boy in.a.DAT supermarket lived

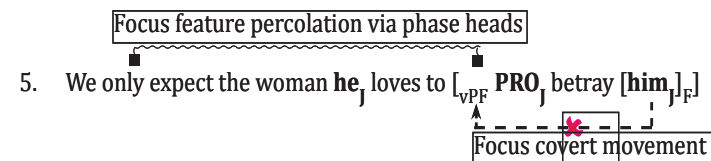
Only topmost XP can receive focus/prominence pitch in all new context since it has to move to Edge of local phase. Lower XP's blocked via Relativized Minimality/MLC Probing effects



him does not raise over the coindexed pronoun (Kratzer 1997).

Bound variable reading possible. We expect nobody but John to have the property: 'λve,t [ve,t is betrayed by the woman ve,t loves]'

Referential reading possible. We expect nobody but John to have the property: 'λve,t[ve,t is betrayed by the woman John loves]'

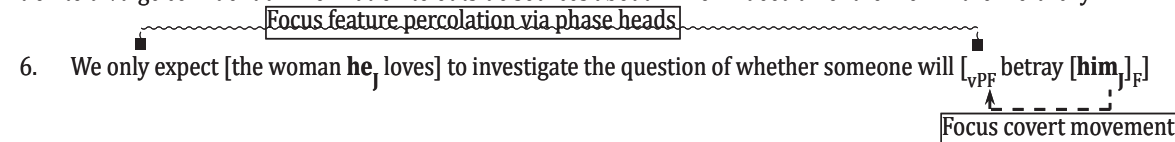


him covertly raises over coindexed PRO at LF - Crossover effect:

Bound variable reading impossible. We expect nobody but John to have the property: 'λve,t [the woman ve,t loves betrays ve,t]'

Referential reading possible. We expect nobody but John to have the property: 'λve,t [the woman John loves betrays ve,t]'

Prompt: What should we expect in a situation where a man's lover is determining whether one of his subordinates may be in a position to divulge confidential information to outside sources about him or indeed all of the men in the hierarchy.



him covertly raises to local phase edge - no Crossover: **Both Bound and Referential readings possible.**

Prediction: Focus movement should exhibit Crossover effects only when focused pronoun Movement to a local phase edge does not cross a co-indexed pronoun. This is the case of (4) not (5). We see an interaction of cross-over effects and island insensitivity in (6). The lower pronoun is associated with *only* across an island and across a co-indexed pronoun. No Crossover, No islands in(6)

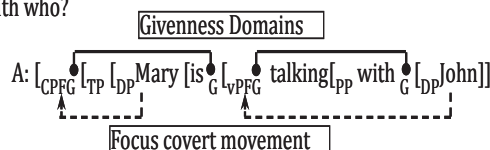
Givenness is Presuppositional (Sauerland 2005)

- Givenness **G** operator inserted anywhere within a phase, terminates at Phase head.

Kučerová (2012)

- Multiple Focus constructions

7. Q: Who is talking with who?



- Focus computed off Givenness: covert movement to nearest Focus licensing Phase head

- In the case of Ellipsis, always FP licenses remnants, in non ellipsis contexts not necessary.

Givenness is Propositional and assigned locally. Multiple focus cannot be presuppositional since it leads to over-generation we would need to presuppose that 'Mary is talking with someone' To have *Mary_F* is defined. We would need to presuppose that 'someone is talking to John' in order for the complement of *Mary_F* to be defined. Neither presupposition is satisfied in (7). Presupposed Givenness yields correct results: presupposes 'someone is talking with someone.'

Givenness needs to be computed locally terminate at a phase level in order for Givenness movement Kučerová (2012) to be licensed and because of examples like below Wagner (2006):

Givenness licensed within DP phase:

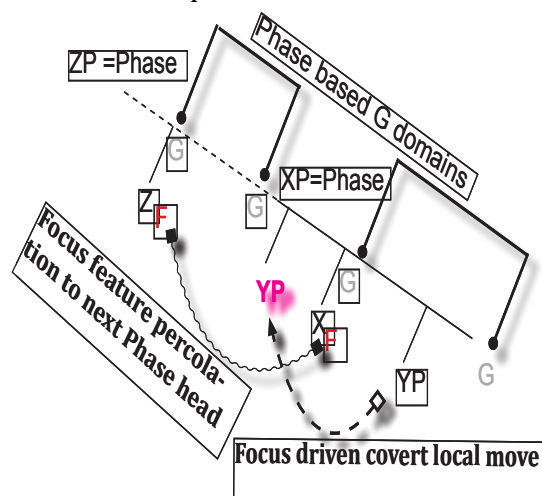
Mary's uncle, who produces high-end convertibles, is coming to her wedding. I wonder what he brought as a present.

8. a. He brought [a CHEAP convertible] #b. He brought [a RED convertible] c. He brought [a red CONVERTIBLE]

- Givenness/Focus within DP: 'Red' is not valid alternative to 'high-end' and cannot be focused. Givenness/Focus cannot be evaluated within CP then 'brought' should be focused.

-Givenness is presuppositional and computed on a phase by Phase basis.

-Focus is computed off Givenness.



-An XP that is focused needs to move to the nearest Phase Edge.

- Focus features percolate upwards via phase heads until ~ operator (Rooth 1992) the resets an Alternatives computation to a normal one is encountered at Spell-Out.

~ { [xF...yF...zF...hF]} Focus Percolation + MaximizePresupposition = Avoid Focus!

- Focus covert movement can be analyzed as overt movement that forces the trace to be linearized and thus pronounced. In line with Fanselow & Lenertová (2011) who argue that prominence focused XP's are linearized immediately: For example: What's new?

a. GULáši jsem uvarčila ti. (Cz) b. #GULáši matka uvarčila ti. c. Matka uvarčila GULáš.
goulash aux.1sg cooked.sg.fm ' goulash mother cooked.sg.fm Mother cooked goulash
I cooked goulash.' 'Mother cooked goulash'

-Prosody/Focus Forces linearizing a focus moves copy/trace to receive prominence pitch marking.

Focus marking of ellipsis remnants

- a Phase head that has non inherited Focus features combined with an E feature triggers

projection of a Focus head that becomes the phase

- overt movement of the focused XP to Spec-FP.

The difference between an ellipsis context and non ellipsis context is the way focus is linearized. In ellipsis focused remnant does not have any PF elements to linearize against so it moves to Spec-F to linearize against a Focus feature.

In ellipsis:

- The Phase containing a Remnant projects a FP as the edge
- Remnant overtly moves to Spec-FP
- F features percolate via phase heads until ~
- Focus is computed off Givenness within a phase
- Givenness is assigned on a phase-by-phase basis
- E feature licenses ellipsis (Merchant 2001)
- E feature is on a Phase head (Genegel 2007, Bošković 2014).
- Ellipsis is suppression of PF material in Spell-out Domain
- Ellipsis is constrained by mutual entailment modulo focus (Merchant 2001)
- E feature is inherited from phase head to phase head via Givenness. MaxElide!
- Phase Impenetrability Condition applies to
- E features, G marking, F marking, Linearization

IS and Ellipsis need to be computed on a phase-by phase system

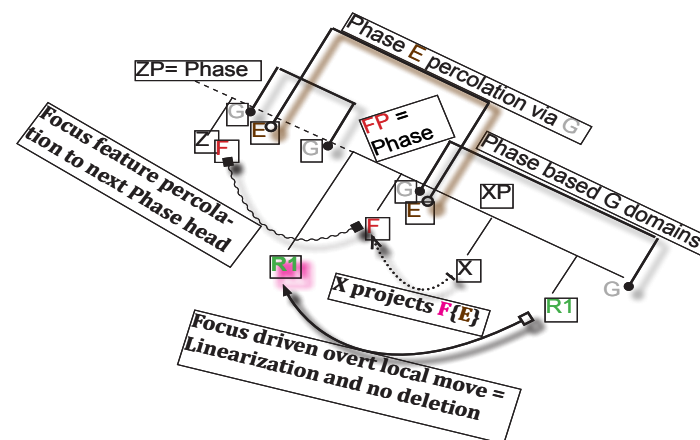
- Linearization triggers cyclic movement to avoid ordering paradoxes during Spell-out (Fox & Pesestky 2005)

- PF null terminal nodes do not become linearized or participate in LCA computation: otherwise copies/traces would yield ordering paradoxes.

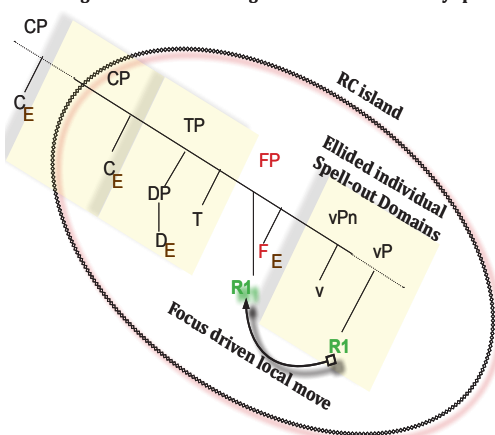
Immediate Linearization in Ellipsis - when multiple remnants in same phase α : $[\alpha R1 R2]$

- R1 linearized as $R1 > F\{E\}$
- R2 rightward moves to Spell-out Domain of R1 linearized as $F\{E\} > R2 \rightarrow R1 > R2$

Discontinuous Ellipsis



Single remnant in Sluicing: island alleviation always possible



Ellipsis feature propagates via G operator Szczegielniak (2016)

- MaxElide! (Takahashi & Fox 2005) reduced to phase based $\{E\}$ feature propagation via G
- E** propagation via G - obligatory deletion of G-marked constituents

*9. John read something but I do not know $[_{FP} \text{what}_1 [_{F_{FGE}}] [_{CP} [_{TP} \text{he did}_G [_{vP} t_1 [_{v_{FGE}}] \text{read } t_1]]]_G]$

Focus overt movement

E feature percolation via G = MaxElide!

Givenness Domains

10. John read something but I do not know $[_{CPFG} [_{TP} \text{he did}_G [_{FP} \text{what}_1 [_{F_{FGE}}] [_{vP} \text{read } t_1]]]_G]$

Focus feature percolation = Avoid Focus!

Focus overt movement

Wh-remnant in Spec-FP not G-marked and NOT ELIDED

Prosodic ellipsis (PE) needs to be phase based

- PE Bruening (2015) cannot be licensed by evacuation movement (Sailor & Thoms 2013)

11 a. I disproved theories held by Wittgenstein last year and ((ϕ I disproved theories held by (Φ Einstein))(ϕ this year))

*b. Einstein_i, I disproved theories held by t_i this year.

- Full relatives have more prosodic structure and 'the guy' is prominent (red) and cannot be deleted.

*12. I taught the guy that knows Icelandic how to dance and (ϕ I taught (Φ the guy)) (ϕ that knows (Φ Faroeese))(ϕ how to sing))

- Bruening (2015): Ellipsis targets a syntactic/prosodic unit XP and deletes all but the head of XP, where the head of XP is the most prominent syntactic/prosodic sub-constituent of XP. The most prominent syntactic sub-constituent of XP is in Spec-X if X projects a specifier, otherwise it is X.

- **Above needs to be modified. PE needs to be phase based. Most prominent prosodic/syntactic unit must move to nearest phase edge Spec-F. Multiple remnants must be in the same Phase. Then it accounts for full relative clause below, where both remnants need to be in the same Phase. Compare (13) with (11).**

13. I disproved theories that were held by Wittgenstein last year and [_{CPGE} I [_{vPGE} disproved [_{DPGE} theories [_{CPGE} that were [_{FP} [_{DP} Einstein]_i [_{DP} this year]_i [_{F_{FGE}} I [_{vP} held by t_i t₂]]]]]]

- impossible below since R2: [how to sing] is a complement of 'teach' - cannot rightward move into vP phase headed by Focus that contains R1: [Faroeese]

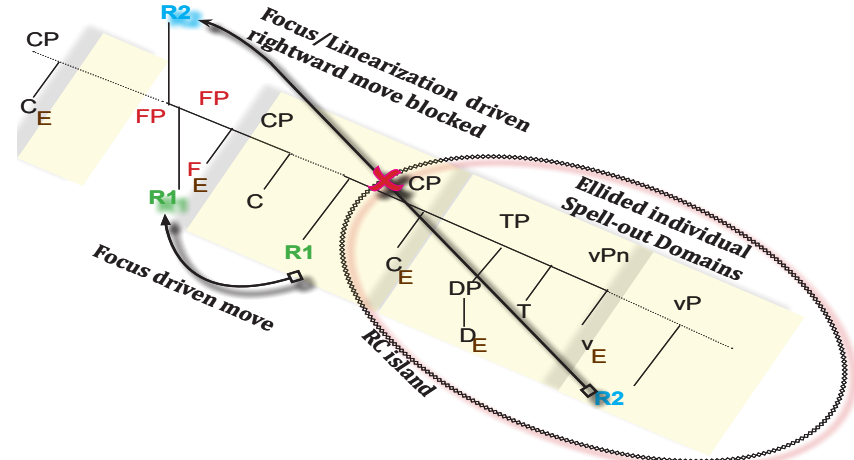
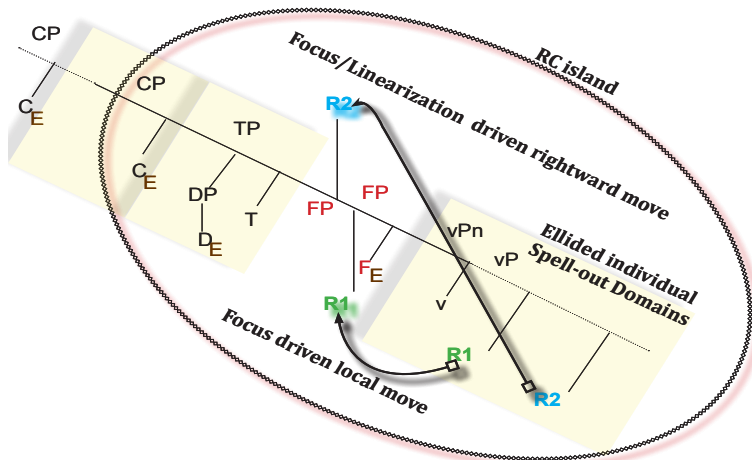
*14. I taught the guy that knows Icelandic how to dance and [_{CPGE} I [_{vPGE} taught [_{DPGE} the guy [_{CPGE} that [_{FP} [_{DP} Faroeese]_i [_{F_{FGE}} I [_{vP} knows t_i]]]]] [_{CP} how to sing]

15 Oni zatrudnili lingwistę który podarował jakąś książkę jakiemuś profesorowi ale nie wiem którą książkę któremu profesorowi
They hired linguist who gave some book some professor but not know which book which professor
'??They hired a linguist who gave some book to some professor but I do not know which book to which professor.'

*16. Oni zatrudnili jakiegoś lingwistę który zna jakiś dialekt, ale nie wiem którego lingwistę który dialekt
They hired some linguist who knows some dialect but not know which linguist which dialect
'*They hired some linguist who knows some dialect but I do not know which linguist which dialect.'

Multiple remnants in Sluicing: **R1** and **R2** inside relative clause island: Example 15

Multiple remnants in Sluicing: **R1** outside Island, **R2** inside island: Example 16



Second Remnant (R2) rightward moves to Spell-out Domain of First Remnant (R1)

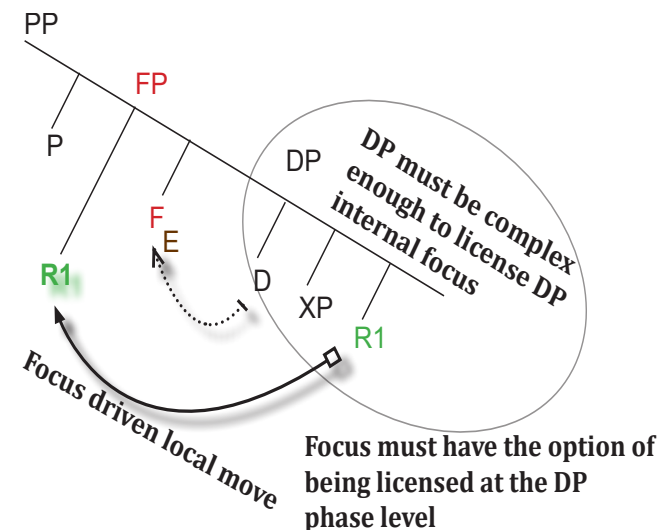
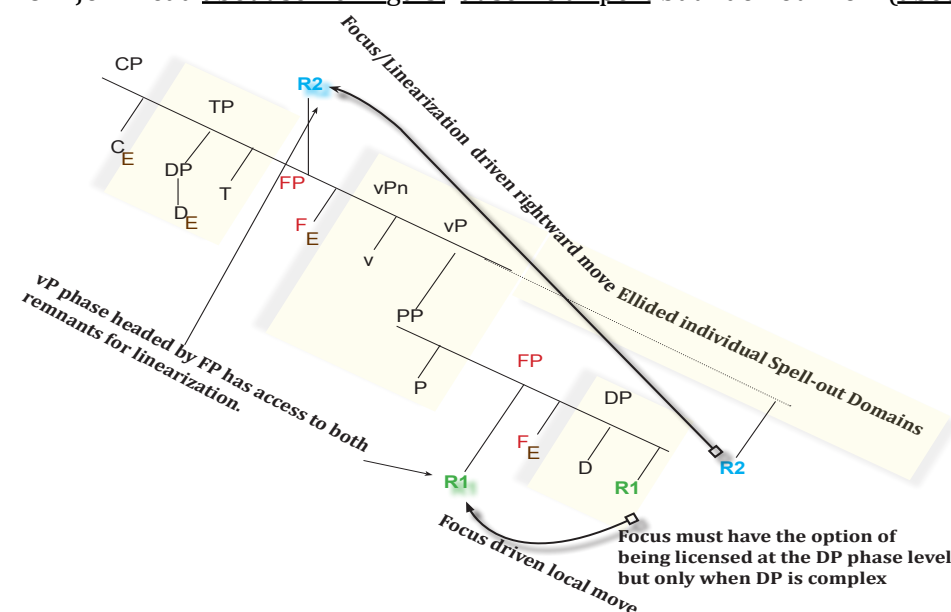
- Movement cannot cross an Island - Rightward Movement cannot strand a PP (Lasnik 2013)

17. Jan podszedł do jakiegoś artysty na pewnym koncercie ale nie wiem (do) którego artysty *(na) którym koncercie

Jan approached to some artist on certain concert but not know (to) which artist (on) which concert

'Jan approached some artist at some concert but I do not know which artist at which concert'

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



- DP focused locally below P - there is no movement across PP. - P-omission possible only when DP is complex (Nykiel 2013)

- DP complexity required to license focus via Givenness within DP

Clefts or wh-move cannot account:

19 a. Byłaś ubrana w coś czerwonego tamtej nocy, ale nie pamiętam (w) co.

were dressed in something.ACC red.ACC that night but not remember (in) what.ACC

'You were dressed in something red that night, but I don't remember what'

*b. Byłaś ubrana w coś czerwonego tamtej nocy, ale nie pamiętam co to w czerwonego byłaś ubrana tamtej nocy

were dressed in something.ACC red.ACC that night but not remember what.ACC it in red (ACC) were dressed that night

'You were dressed in something red that night, but I don't remember what it was.'

*c. Byłaś ubrana w coś czerwonego tamtej nocy, ale nie pamiętam co byłaś ubrana w t czerwonego tamtej nocy

were dressed in something.ACC red.ACC that night but not remember what.ACC were dressed in red (ACC) that night

*'You were dressed in something red that night, but I don't remember what you were dressed in red that night'

DP complexity and Internal Focus

- ??20. Jan rozmawiał z kimś ale nie wiem kim
 Jan talked with someone but not know who
 22 ??a. Jan zatańczył z tylko nią b. Jan zatańczył tylko z nią
 Jan danced with only her Jan danced only with her

21. Jan rozmawiał z pewnym profesorem, ale nie wiem którym
 Jan talked with some professor but not know which
 23 ??a. Jan zatańczył z tylko chłopcem
 Jan danced with only boy
 b. Jan zatańczył z tylko wysokim chłopcem
 Jan danced with only tall boy

Indonesian

24. Esti bilang kamu bicara dengan seseorang tentang sesuatu yang penting di sini, tapi saya tidak tahu (dengan) siapa (tentang) apa
 Esti say you talk with someone about something that important in here but I NEG know (with) who (about) what
 'Esti said that you were talking with someone about something important here, but I don't know who you were talking with about what.
 25. *a. Apa yang Ali mem-beli?
 what C Ali ACT-buy
 "What did Ali buy?"
 b. Apa yang di-beli (oleh) Ali?
 what C PASS-buy by Ali
 "What did Ali buy?"

In (24) Indonesian allows both R1 and R2 to omit PP's (Saito 2011)

- vP is a weak phase (Aldridge 2008)
 - cannot license a Spec in Active (25)
- A weak vP cannot license a Focus head and Spec. there is no possible rightward movement
- Both DP's need to license respective FP's and DP focus possible for both R1 and R2

Languages with a non-defective vP cannot NOT license FP

- Phase heads carry Information Structure features (Givenness, Focus) = IS is computed on a phase-by-phase basis.
- Givenness is presuppositional; Focus is licensed via covert movement (non-ellipsis).
- Phase heads carry Ellipsis features =
 - Ellipsis is computed on a phase-by-phase basis via Givenness,
 - phase-by-phase Focus licenses remnants.
- Linearization is computed on phases (not Spell-out Domains).
- Focus triggers immediate linearization.
- A phase head carrying an Ellipsis feature projects an FP.
- Ellipsis requires overt R(ement) movement to FP.
- Focus features percolate via phase heads limiting Focus (Schwarzschild (1999) AvoidFocus!).
- We need to investigate Focus feature percolation when there are two Focus Phrases as in P-omission with multiple remnants.