

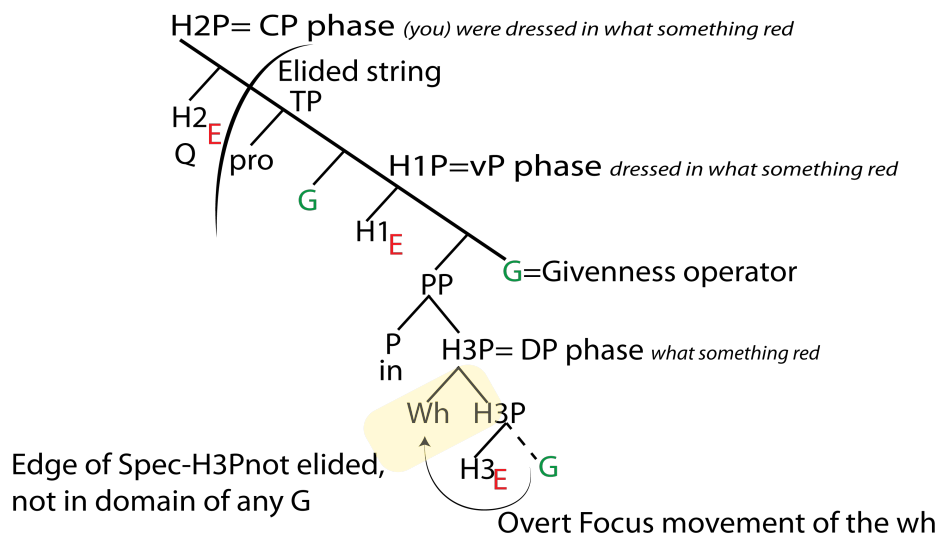
Phase-by-phase computation of Information Structure in Ellipsis

LingLunch MIT 2015

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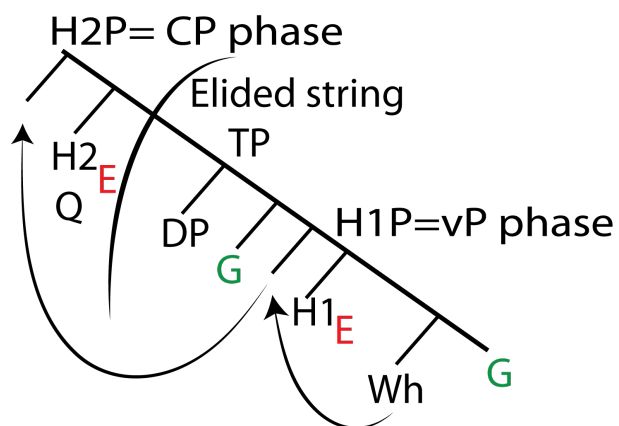
No possible structure for anaphor

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



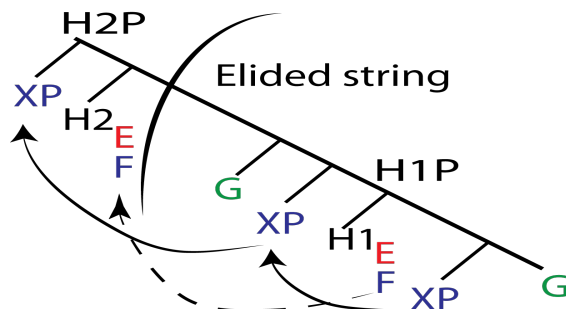
E feature percolation via G

- Sluicing



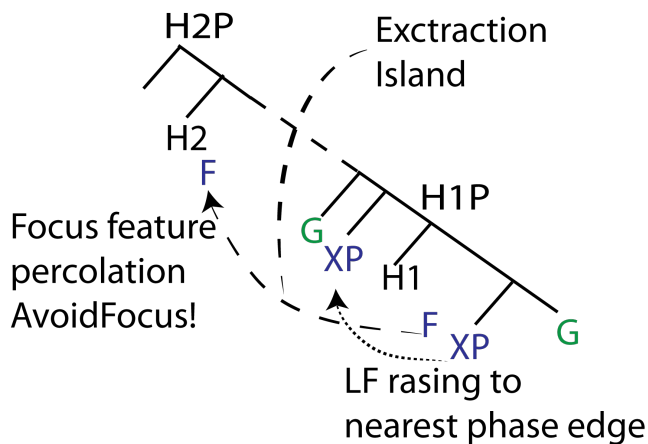
Focus agreement/probing

- 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 transmission stopped

- 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_i loves] to [_{HP} t betray [him_i]_F]



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

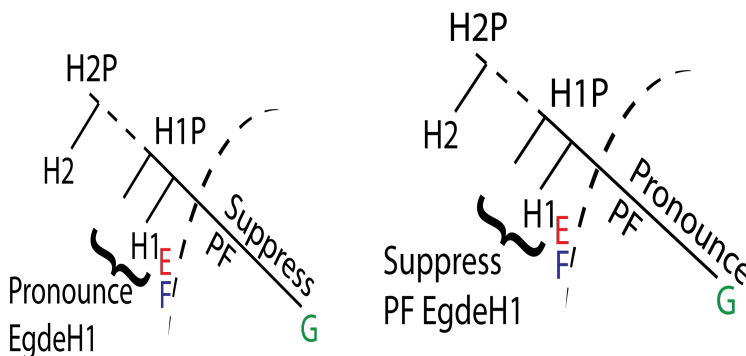
17. We **only** expect [the woman he_i loves] to investigate [the question of whether someone will [_{HP} betray [him_i]_F]



No Crossover in (17) focused pronoun moves to local phase edge never crossing trace of higher pronoun.

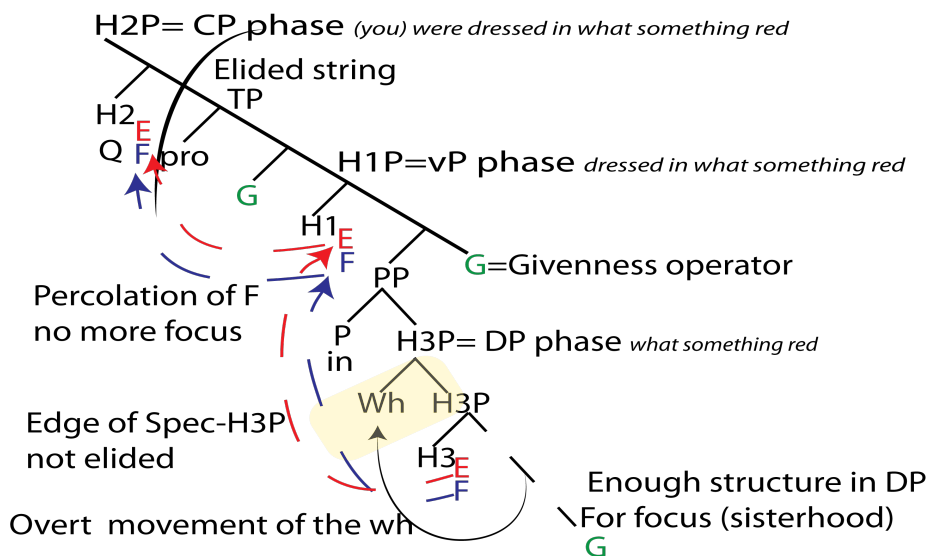
PF Inversion

- 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



Wagner(2006) complexity (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]

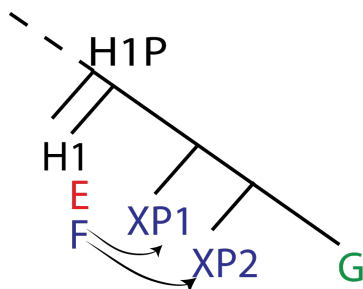
Multiple Remnants

- 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

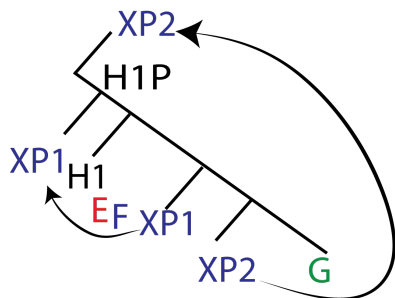
Jan bought something for someone but I do not know what for whom'



Remnants extrapose

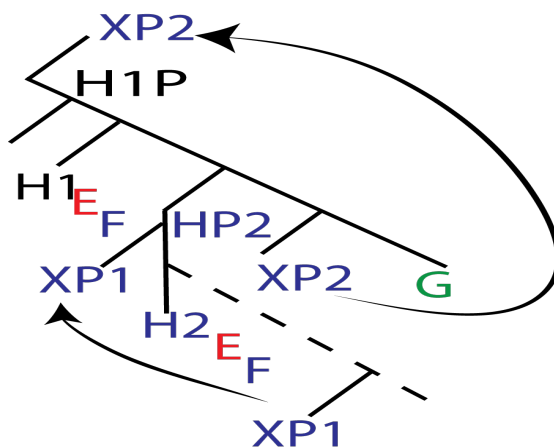
- When a pair of remnants receives focus from a head that linearizes them there is movement to the edge

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
 Jan approached to some artist on some concert but not know
 (do) którego *(na) którym
 (to) which (on) which



Islands

32a Oni zatrudnili lingwistę który podarował jakąś książkę

They hired linguist who gave some book

jakiemuś profesorowi, ale nie wiem

some professor but not know

oni zatrudnili lingwistę {który podarował

they hired linguist who gave

[_{HP=vP} [którą książkę] [któremu profesorowi]]}

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.'

- 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)

*Oni zatrudnili jakiegoś lingwistę który zna jakiś dialekt, ale nie

They hired some linguist who knows some dialect but not

wiem oni zatrudnili [którego lingwistę] {który zna [który dialekt]}

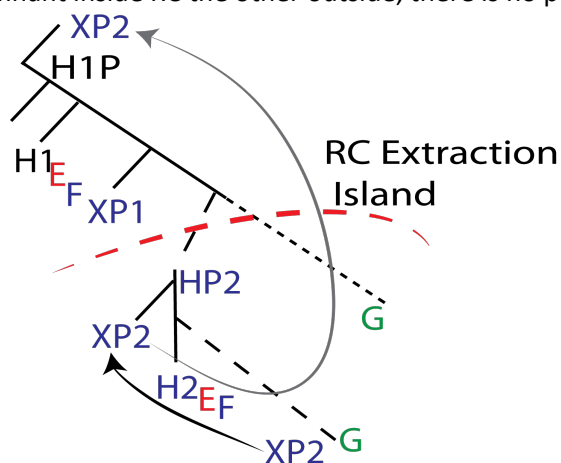
know they hired which linguist who knows which dialect

*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

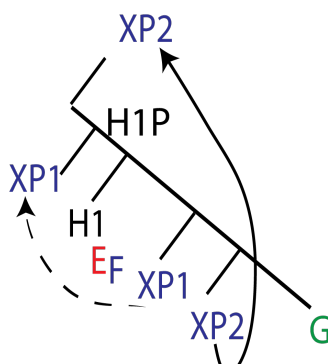
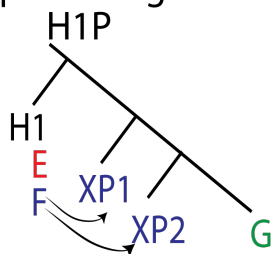


Indonesian

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

Indonesian

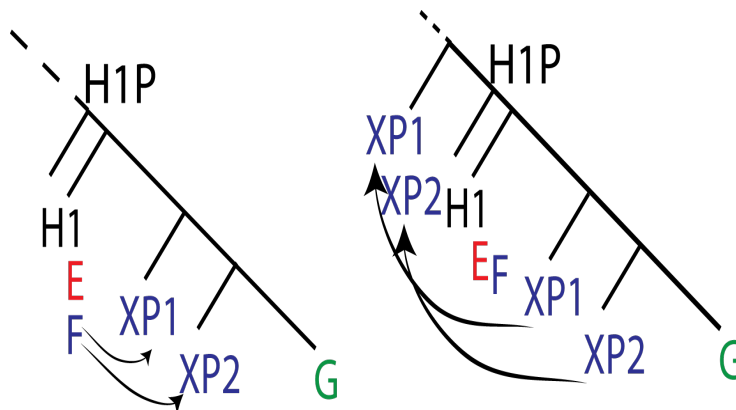
no phase edge in vP



English, Polish, Spanish

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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