Untangling Tanglewood using covert focus movement

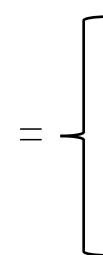
Tanglewood (Kratzer 1991)

<u>Context:</u> You accuse me of being a copy cat. "You went to (1)Block Island because I did. You went to Elk Lake Lodge because I did. And you went to Tanglewood because I did." \sqrt{TW} I only went to [Tanglewood]_F because you did \triangle . Paraphrase: Tanglewood is the only place x such that I went to x because you went to x.

✓^{TW} = intended reading available, where computed alternatives *covary* in the position of pronounced focus and in the ellipsis site.

This is unpredicted by the standard Roothian theory:

 $\llbracket I \text{ went to } [TW]_F \text{ because you did } [go to [TW]_F] \end{bmatrix}^f$



I went to BI b/c you went to BI, I went to ELL b/c you went to BI, I went to TW b/c you went to BI, I went to BI b/c you went to ELL, I went to ELL b/c you went to ELL, I went to TW b/c you went to ELL, I went to BI b/c you went to TW, I went to ELL b/c you went to TW, I went to TW b/c you went to TW

Kratzer's solution: focus indices

Focused constituents bear *focus indices*, not simple F-marks. Focused positions are interpreted as *distinguished variables*.

Alternatives then covary in positions with the same indices. Ellipsis ensures equivalence of focus indices.

[I went to [TW]_{F2} because you did [go to [TW]_{F2}]]^f

I went to Block Island because you went to Block Island, = - I went to Elk Lake Lodge because you went to Elk Lake Lodge, I went to Tanglewood because you went to Tanglewood

Focus indices have also been adopted for overlapping focus dependencies (Wold, 1996) and for the movement (copying) of focused material (Erlewine, 2014).

References Drubig 1994. "Island constraints and the syntactic nature of focus and association with focus" • Erlewine 2014. *Movement out of focus*. MIT dissertation • Erlewine & Kotek 2014. "Intervention in focus pied-piping." NELS 43 • Kratzer 1991. "The representation of focus." In *Semantik* • Krifka 2006. "Association with focus phrases." In *The architecture of focus* • Wagner 2006. "Association by movement: evidence from NPI-licensing." NLS 14 • Wold 1996. "Long-distance selective binding: the case of focus." SALT 6.

Proposal

Only triggers covert movement of its focus. In Tanglewood readings, the focus then binds a **bound variable** in the ellipsis site.

(2) <u>LF:</u> only([TW]_F)(λx . I went to x because you did [go there_x])

This covert focus movement can pied-pipe material (Drubig, 1994; Krifka, 2006; Wagner, 2006; Erlewine & Kotek, 2014).

New evidence from island sensitivity

√TW with *balanced* islands

Kratzer briefly considers an analysis as in (2), but dismisses it as focus association for TW readings is not island-sensitive:

<u>Context:</u> You always contact every responsible person before me. (3) ✓^{TW} I only contacted [_{island} the person who chairs [the Zoning Board]_F] before you did △. (Kratzer 1991)

But here the island is *balanced* in the antecedent and intended ellipsis site, allowing for appropriate pied-piping and binding:

<u>LF:</u> only([_{island} the person who chairs [the Zoning Board]_F]) (4) $(\lambda x \cdot I \text{ contacted } x \text{ before you did [contact them}_{x(\text{person})}))$

If Kratzer's focus index derivation as in (3) is available, we cannot explain the ungrammaticality of (5). Therefore **focus indices cannot be available in the grammar**.

√TW with *elided* focus in an island

<u>Context:</u> I speak Spanish, French, and Mandarin. I also have (6)many friends that speak these languages, but for the most part that's not why I studied these languages... ^{√TW} I only speak [Spanish]_F because I have [*island* a friend who does \triangle]. (Intended \triangle = "speak it_(language)")

Because variable binding is not island-sensitive, embedding the ellipsis site into an island does not block the TW reading.

<u>LF:</u> only([Spanish]_F]) (λ*x* . I speak *x* because I have [*island* a friend that does [speak it_{x (language)}]]) Michael Yoshitaka ERLEWINE

TW readings with overt bound variables

(9)

<u>My interviews:</u> Bill <u>Your interviews:</u>

✓ ^{TW} I only talked to [John]_F before you talked to him. (true)

* TW with antecedent focus in an island

(5) <u>Context:</u> Our son speaks Spanish, French, and Mandarin. We once hired a nanny that happened to speak French, but that wasn't why we hired her. Then we hired a nanny that spoke Mandarin, but that too was a coincidence... *^{TW} We only hired [_{island} a nanny that speaks [Spanish]_F] **because our son does** \triangle . (Intended \triangle = "speak it_(language)")

The unavailability of the Tanglewood reading is explained by our account. Covert focus movement can move the island but not *Spanish* alone. But the bound variable in the ellipsis site must be bound by different languages, not different nannies.

* TW with the antecedent and ellipsis in conjunctions

It is not accidental that the famous *Tanglewood* example (1) uses adjunction. Conjunction blocks the Tanglewood interpretation:

(8) (told) Mary to \triangle as well.

Covert movement of the pronounced focus in (8) to *only* would violate the Coordinate Structure Constraint.

Hadas Kotek

<u>Context:</u> We're interviewing witnesses in our murder investigation. You're concerned that the interviews you're getting have been affected by the witnesses talking to me first. John Steve Sam Steve Sam Dave John

<u>Context:</u> I am under investigation by the Real Estate Board. John and Mary claim that I advised them both to bid on many of the same houses, to raise their prices. I reply: *^{TW} I only advised John to bid on [the Elm St. house]_F and (Intended $\triangle =$ "bid on it_(house)")