# Untangling Tanglewood using covert focus movement

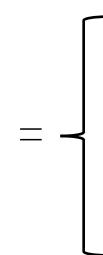
## Tanglewood (Kratzer 1991)

<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]<sub>F</sub> because you did  $\triangle$ . Paraphrase: Tanglewood is the only place x such that I went to x because you went to x.

✓<sup>TW</sup> = 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]<sub>F2</sub> because you did [go to [TW]<sub>F2</sub>] ]<sup>f</sup>

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]<sub>F</sub>)( $\lambda x$ . I went to x because you did [go there<sub>x</sub>])

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) ✓<sup>TW</sup> I only contacted [<sub>island</sub> the person who chairs [the Zoning Board]<sub>F</sub>] 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([<sub>island</sub> the person who chairs [the Zoning Board]<sub>F</sub>]) (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... <sup>√TW</sup> I only speak [Spanish]<sub>F</sub> because I have [*island* a friend who does  $\triangle$ ]. (Intended  $\triangle$  = "speak it<sub>(language)</sub>")

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]<sub>F</sub>]) (λ*x* . I speak *x* because I have [*island* a friend that does [speak it<sub>x (language)</sub>]]) Michael Yoshitaka ERLEWINE

# TW readings with overt bound variables

(9)

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

✓ <sup>TW</sup> I only talked to [John]<sub>F</sub> 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... \*<sup>TW</sup> We only hired [<sub>island</sub> a nanny that speaks [Spanish]<sub>F</sub>] **because our son does**  $\triangle$ . (Intended  $\triangle$  = "speak it<sub>(language)</sub>")

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: \*<sup>TW</sup> I only advised John to bid on [the Elm St. house]<sub>F</sub> and (Intended  $\triangle =$  "bid on it<sub>(house)</sub>")