

Phase by Phase Givenness: The case of P-omission and Island alleviation in multiple remnant sluicing

Some sluicing constructions that do not have an overt grammatical continuation, be it cleft, wh-movement. For example, Polish and Indonesian can omit Prepositions in sluice constructions whose anaphor cannot be expressed in the form of a wh-expression or a cleft, or any type of overt movement (Sato 2011), (Nykiel 2013)

1. Byłaś ubrana w czerwonego tamtej nocy, ale nie pamiętam (w) co
were dressed in something red that night but not remember (in) what
You were dressed in something red that night but I do not remember what'
2. Saya ingat Ali berdansa dengan seseorang, tapi saya tidak tahu (dengan) siapa
I remember Ali dance with someone but. I NEG know (with) who
'I remember Ali danced with someone, but I don't know (with) whom.'

However, P-omission is constrained. In multiple wh-remnants only the first Preposition can be dropped in Polish (3) sluices (Szczegielniak 2015), and English discontinuous ellipsis (4) (Dowty 1988, Bruening 2015). The same holds for Spanish (5), but not Indonesian, where both P's can be omitted (6).

3. Jan podszedł do jakiegoś profesora po jakimś wykładzie ale nie wiem (do) którego
Jan approached to some professor after some lecture but not know (to) which
profesora *(po) jakim wykładzie
professor (after) what lecture
'Jan approached some professor after some lecture but I do not know which
professor after which lecture'
4. Mary read a book about Nixon at the airport and (about) Reagan *(at) the train station.
5. Juan leyó un libro sobre un político en una biblioteca, pero no sé (sobre) qué
Juan read a book about some politician in some librarybut not know (about) which
político *(en) qué biblioteca
politician (in) which library

6. Esti bilang kamu bicara dengan seseorang tentang sesuatu yang penting di sini, tapi
Esti say you talk with someone about something that important in here but
saya tidak tahu (dengan) siapa (tentang) apa
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.

Adopting a presuppositional account of Givenness (Sauerland 2005) that has a reflex in syntax (Kučerová 2012), I will propose a new way of licensing ellipsis based on phase-by-phase computation of Information Structure. Remnant movement licensing ellipsis can be local within its phase, but still subject to AvoidFocus! (Schwarzschild 1999). This will provide insight into not only P-omission but also new facts about Island alleviation. For example, the fact that island alleviation requires both remnants to be in the same phase as in (7a) vs (7b) in Polish, and (8a) vs (8b) in Spanish.

7. a. Oni zatrudnili lingwistę który podarował jakąś książkę jakiemuś profesorowi, ale nie
They hired linguist who gave some book some professor but not
wiem [którą książkę] [któremu profesorowi]
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.'
- *b. Oni zatrudnili jakiegoś lingwistę który zna jakiś dialekt, ale nie wiem [którego
They hired some linguist who knows some dialect but not know which
lingwistę]1 [który dialekt]2
linguist which dialect
'*They hired some linguist who knows some dialect but I do not know which linguist
which dialect.'
8. a. Contrataron a un lingüista que le dio un libro a un profesor, pero no sé
hired a linguist who gave some book to some professor but not know
qué libro a qué profesor.
which book to which professor

- *b. Contrataron a un lingüista que sabe un dialecto, pero no sé qué lingüista
 hired some linguist who knows some dialect but not know which linguist
 qué dialecto.
 which dialect

The difference between Indonesian and Polish and Spanish will stem from the fact that Indonesian has a defective active v-phase that contains both remnants. This accounts for the inability of inner argument wh-movement when v is active (9a) vs (9b) when it is passive (Aldridge 2008).

9. *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?”

Given time I will explore the relationship between wh-movement and local phase based focus movement in sluicing in the light of recent proposals in Kotek (2014).