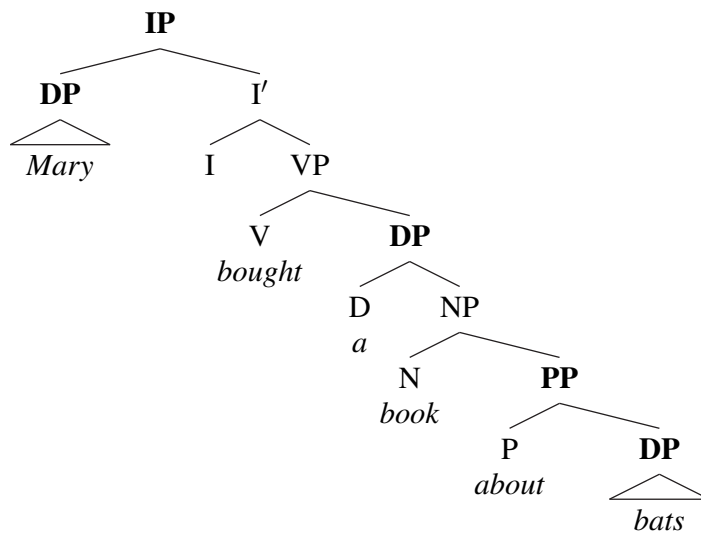


Focus projection, givenness, second occurrence focus

A more systematic look at focus projection (Selkirk 1996), givenness (Schwarzschild 1999), and second occurrence focus (Büring 2008).

1 Focus projection

- (1) a. MARY bought a book about bats.
b. Mary bought a book about BATS.
- (2) a. [[Mary] [bought [a book [about bats]]]]
b.



- (3) a. Who bought a book about bats?
b. [MARY]_{FOC} bought a book about bats.
- (4) a. What did Mary buy a book about?
b. Mary bought a book about [BATS]_{FOC}.
- (5) a. What kind of book did Mary buy?
b. Mary bought a book [about BATS]_{FOC}.
- (6) a. What did Mary buy?
b. Mary bought [a book about BATS]_{FOC}.
- (7) a. What did Mary do?
b. Mary [bought a book about BATS]_{FOC}.
- (8) a. To be appropriate, the constituent corresponding to the *wh*-phrase should be focus-marked (FOC).

- b. The question: is a given stress pattern compatible with FOC-marking on a given constituent?
 - c. Being F-marked can be “projected” up the tree from the accented word.
- (9) Focus projection
- a. The accented word is F-marked.
 - b. If the head of an XP is F-marked, the XP can be F-marked.
 - c. If an internal argument (object) of a head is F-marked, the head can be F-marked.
 - d. The highest projection of F-marking is FOC.
- (10) Interaction between F-marking, FOC-marking, and interpretation
- a. A constituent without F-marking is interpreted as given.
 - b. A constituent with F-marking is interpreted as new.
 - c. A constituent with FOC-marking can be either (F-marked can be given only if FOC).
- (11) a. MARY bought a book about BATS.
 b. What’s been happening?
 c. [[Mary]_F [bought a book about BATS]_F]_{FOC}
- (12) a. MARY bought a BOOK about bats.
 b. Blah blah blah something about bats. Also: What’s been happening?
 c. [[Mary]_F [bought [a BOOK_F about bats]_F]_F]_{FOC}
- (13) What did he do?
- a. * He only smoked in the TENT.
 - b. He only looked at the TENT.
- (14) a. What’s up?
 b. [JOHNSON_F died]_{FOC}.
 c. $\overbrace{\text{Johnson}_i \text{ [VP } t_i \text{ died.]}}$
- (15) a. What’s up?
 b. [I made A PHONE_F beep]_{FOC}.
 c. I made a phone_i [VP t_i beep.]
 d. * [I forced A PHONE_F to beep]_{FOC}.
 e. I forced a phone [VP PRO to beep.]

- (16) a. What's up?
 b. [Your EYES_F are red]_{FOC}.
 c. Your eyes_i [VP t_i are red.]
 d. * [Your EYES_F are blue]_{FOC}.
 e. Your eyes [VP are blue.]
- (17) a. Something about Helen, taking a nap, watching TV, lounging around.
 b. What BOOKS_F did Helen review?
 c. what books_i did [IP Helen review t_i] ?

2 Schwarzschild's commentary, proposal

- (18) a. John drove Mary's red convertible.
 b. What did he drive before that?
 c. He drove her [BLUE]_F convertible.
 d. # He drove her blue CONVERTIBLE.

Does the absence of F-marking mean something is given? *Her new convertible?*

- (19) a. Mary's old convertible is no longer available.
 b. What's John going to do?
 c. He'll [[RENT]_F her [NEW]_F convertible]_{FOC}.

Schwarzschild (1999) works out a notion of “givenness” that doesn't need to be a whole constituent (can be something like *her — convertible*). Basically: there's some property *X* such that the discourse contains/entails *her X convertible*.

His basic story is: If something isn't F-marked, it must be given. Then, F-mark as little as you can. (You have to F-mark some things if you are saying anything new, but don't waste Fs.)

3 Buring and second occurrence focus

- (20) (Everyone already knew that Mary only eats vegetables.)
 If even PAUL_F knew that Mary only eats vegetables_F, then he should have suggested a different restaurant.

The reason that 2OFi can get away with being unaccented is presumably because they're given in some way. They are, indeed, a "second occurrence."

In Büring's paper, 2OF is "second occurrence focus" and 2OFi is the plural, "second occurrence foci."

Büring's section 3.1 contains an attempt to show that we cannot just define 2OF as "focused and given" (and '1OF' [primary focus] as being "focused and new").

John in the question is sufficient to allow *John* in the first answer to be treated as given, but it still has to have an accent in the second answer (where it should be just as given, but now must be accented).

- (21) Who showed up last at John's party?
 - a. [Those German FRIENDS of John's]_F (showed up last at his party).
 - b. JOHN_F (showed up last at his party).
- (22) a. Bob was completely drunk at John's party.
 - b. No, JOHN_F was completely drunk at his party.

The focused things above are *free* (they are not associated with a focus-sensitive word like *only* or *even*). Above, these foci are still Given. And even associated foci can be.

- (23) John is having a party. But only JOHN_F knows when and where.

The question now is: what is the difference between PF (primary focus) and 2OF? It's not just a difference in Givenness. Nor boundness.

The intuition Büring tries to work with here is that it seems like 2OF is somehow contained inside the primary focus. So, we work on "contained" and "inside."

- (24) Domain theory of primacy
 - Among two foci in a sentence, the primary focus is the focus whose domain contains the domain of the other.

Primary focus gets the main pitch accent.

The kind of default domain is the whole sentence. The usual kinds of focus (answer to a question, corrective contrast) would be foci whose domain is the whole sentence. The ones with smaller domains will be those that have a focus-sensitive operator (like *only*) acting on the focus.

- (25) John only_I eats TOFU_{FI}.

Maybe something like this: the focus gets "captured" and used by *only*, outside of which, as far as the rest of the sentence is concerned, there is no focus. So, the domain is more or less the place beyond which the effects of a focus don't reach.

(26) John [only_I eats TOFU_{F1}].

Büring supposes that *all* foci need to be “interpreted” by some kind of operator. *Only* and *even* and other focus-sensitive items count as a way to interpret focus, but if there is no obvious one, then it is assumed that there is one at the top of the tree, attached to the sentence. Büring writes it in two pieces, \sim and CONTEXTCONNECT: \sim CC. This takes care of the “free” foci (those unassociated with any other focus-sensitive item). \sim CC connects the focus to the domain to the context in the following way. (CC is CONTEXTCONNECT): There must be a salient antecedent in the context whose meaning is an element of the set of propositions introduced by \sim .

(27) a. Bill drinks Tang.
b. JOHN drinks Tang (too).

(28) a. Bill drinks Tang.
b. BILL drinks sangria (too).

(29) a. Lots of poeple drink lots of stuff.
b. JOHN drinks TANG.

Now, we get this (1 contains 2, so 1 is primary, hence accent on first *faculty*).

(30) a. Out grad students only quote the faculty.
b. No, [the FACulty_I [only₂ quote the faculty_{F2}]] \sim _I CC.

For this one, neither 1 nor 2 contain the other, but yet *John* must get the accent.

(31) a. Many people only drank juice at John’s party.
b. [[Even_I JOHN_{F1}] [only₂ drank juice_{F2} at his party]].

The reason for this is that it’s the “cheapest” way to match up with the context. So, the one that associates with the \sim is *John*. Then, it’s contained, and gets the accent.

(32) a. Someone only drank juice at John’s party.
b. # Even John only drank something/juice at his party.

(33) a. [[Even_I JOHN_{F1,3}] [only₂ drank juice_{F2} at his party]] \sim ₃ CC

(34) FocusProminence
if P is the domain of a focus sensitive operator O [i.e. focus-sensitive particles and \sim CC], the most prominent element in P is a focus of O.

(35) Domain of a focus/an Operator
P is the domain of a focus F and the domain of its operator O iff P is the biggest constituent containing F, but excluding O.

- (36) Stress-to-Accent-rule
Assign a pitch accent to the strongest/nuclear stress and to every metrically strong syllable preceding it.
- (37) IP-head-right
The head of the intonational phrase is the rightmost stress (at the next lower level) within IP.
- (38) Frederick the Great spoke French to his family, and. . .
- (39) [... German_{F1} to his HORSES_{F1}] ~ ₁CC.

What goes wrong here? (Why can't *Paris* be 2OF?)

- (40) What did John only eat in PARIS?
- # John only ate crêpes in PARIS.
 - # John only ate CRÊpes in Paris.
 - [John only₁ ate crêpes_{F2} in Paris_{F1}] ~ ₂CC
 - CRÊpes, John only eats in Paris.

The most prominent element of *only*'s domain is *Paris*? The most prominent element of ~'s domain is *crêpes*? But we already know it's less prominent than *Paris*. Wait. (Conclusion: free focus must precede the whole domain of the associated focus.)

- (41) (She scrubbed the front steps, but) she only SWEPT the KITCHen.

Why is this ok? Why not as bad as *crêpes in Paris*? Check out the pause. Prosody.

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