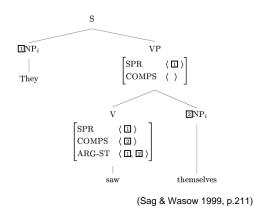
On The Role of Argument Structure in Focus Projection

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(Luiz Amaral)

"The elements in ARG-ST list are ordered and they correspond to phrases in the phrase structure tree. We can then see the order of ARG-ST list to impose a ranking of the phrases in the tree."

If A precedes B in an ARG-ST list, we say that A OUTRANKS B.



ARG-ST list, and the Argument Realization Principle (ARP)

ARP: A word's value for ARG-ST is $\boxed{\mathbb{A}} \oplus \boxed{\mathbb{B}}$, where $\boxed{\mathbb{A}}$ is its value for SPR and $\boxed{\mathbb{B}}$ is its value for COMPS.

a.
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{SYN} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{VAL} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SPR} & \langle \text{II} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} & \langle \text{II} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{ARG-ST} & \langle \text{IINP}, \text{INP} \rangle \end{bmatrix}$$
b.
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{SYN} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SPR} & \langle \text{II} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} & \langle \text{II} \rangle \\ \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{ARG-ST} & \langle \text{IINP}, \text{IPP}, \text{IVP} \rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

(Sag & Wasow 1999, p. 210)

ARG-STR Hierarchy

The elements in the ARG-ST follow the ordering of the following grammatical functions:

Chung et al propose that what is relevant for determining the possibility of focus projection hinges upon the argument ranking.

Focus realization

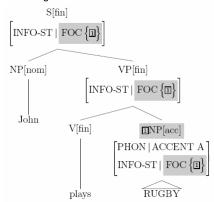
Following Selkirk (1995), they assume that a word accented with the A-accent is FOC-marked.

FOC(US) Realization:

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\square\begin{bmatrix} word \\ \text{PHON} \mid \text{ACCENT A} \\ \text{ARG-ST} \dots \\ \text{INFO-ST} \mid \text{FOC} \left\{ \square \right\} \end{bmatrix}
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The ARG-ST of the verb 'play' is:

The narrow focus reading is:



Instantiation Principle and Focus projection

INFO-ST Instantiation Principle (IIP):

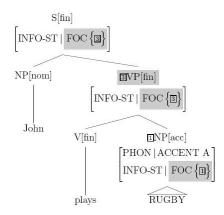
- (i) If a DAUGHTER's INFO-ST is instantiated, then the mother inherits this instantiation (for narrow foci and topics), OR
- (ii) The non-agentive lowest ranking argument's FOC is instantiated, then the FOC of the mother is the sign itself (wide focus).

Example: John plays RUGBY.

- a) John [plays [RUGBY]F]FOC
- b) John plays [[RUGBY]F]FOC
- c) [John plays [RUGBY]F]FOC

Since the object NP is the lowest ranking argument, the focus value on this NP allows its mother to be focused too.

The wide focus reading is:



Advantages of this analysis.

1) It explains why there is no focus projection from elements that are not the lowest ranking one in the ARG-ST list.

Example: The butler [offered the president [some COFFEE]F]Foc.

'The butler [offered the PRESIDENT]F some coffee]Foc.

2) It can handle cases where there is a mismatch between informational partitioning and syntactic constituent.

Example from Vallduví and Engdahl (1996):

- What happened to the China set?
- [The BUTLER BROKE] the set.

Possible Problems

Projection from Adjuncts

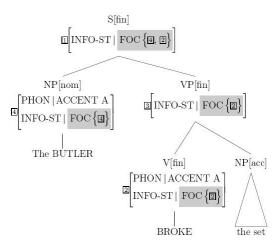
A: What did John cook for Tom?

A': What did John do?

B: He [cooked [LASAGNA] f for Tom] f.

B': *He [cooked lasagna [for TOM]F]F.

[The BUTLER BROKE] the set.



The Nature of the ARG-ST list

In Korean the element in the ARG-ST list that allows for wide focus projection is the **highest** non-agentive ranking argument.

Example: [Mary-eykey [SENMWUL-UL] rewuesse] roc.

Mary-DAT present-ACC gave.

'I gave a PRESENT to Mary.'

*[[MARY-EYKEY]F senmwul-ul ewuesse]Foc.

Mary-DAT present-ACC gave.

'I gave a present to MARY.'

The ARG-ST list for the verb 'give' in Korean is: ARG-ST <NP[agent], NP[theme], PP[goal]>

Which means that only the NP[theme] allows for wide focus projection.

Since Korean is a free word order language, their treatment can also account for sentences such as:

Example: [[SENMWUL-UL] F Mary-eykey ewuesse] Foc. present-ACC Mary-DAT gave.

'I gave a PRESENT to Mary.'

*[senmwul-ul [MARY-EYKEY]Fewuesse]Foc. present-ACC Mary-DAT gave. 'I gave a present to MARY.'

OBS: The ARG-ST list for the verb 'give' does not change: ARG-ST <NP[agent], NP[theme], PP[goal]>

Notice that the intuition presented for Portuguese also works for English in cases such as:

A: What did you do?

I [gave the present [to MARY]F]FOC.

*I [gave [the PRESENT] F to Mary] Foc.

I [gave Mary [The PRESENT] F] FOC.

*I [gave [MARY] F the present] Foc.

Though, one could argue that in English there are two ARG-ST lists for the verb 'give':

ARG-ST <NP, NP, **NP**>
or
ARG-ST <NP, NP, **PP**>

Free word order languages and the function of the final position for focus projection

Portuguese: Eu contei o segredo ao Paulo.

I told the secret to(the) Paulo.

A: O que você fez? (What did you do?)

Eu [contei o segredo [ao PAULO]F]Foc.

*Eu [contei [o SEGREDO]F ao Paulo]Foc.

Eu [contei ao Paulo [o SEGREDO]F]Foc.

*Eu [contei [ao PAULO]F o segredo]Foc.

PHON <contei>
ARG-ST <NP, NP, PP>