

## On adjunction and excorporation

I will argue that we need to maintain and extend the notions of adjunction and excorporation in the grammar. The discussion will center round the relevance of these operations to heads and phrases with evidence drawn from overt focus fronting in Bulgarian (BG).

First, I will provide additional evidence for excorporation of the host of adjunction (see Roberts 1991, Watanabe 1993, Bošković 1997 among others) with head movement. Verbs in BG undergo raising as they appear to the left of a manner adverb which is generally assumed to mark the left edge of VP (1). This is also true for periphrastic verbal forms, consisting of an aspectual Aux(iliary) and the Part(iciple) of a main verb. Note that adverbs can't normally split Aux and Part (2), which I take as evidence for adjunction. I assume with Bošković that Part is checking a strong [+Aux] feature in BG by adjoining to Aux, and Aux+Part move further up as a complex. If Part were undergoing short movement to a projection below Aux instead, it should have been possible for lexical material to intervene between Aux and Part.

Now Aux may precede a sentential adverb in a verum focus construction (3a), where Aux is contrastively focused. Assuming that Aux is base generated with a strong focus feature, I suggest that it excorporates out of the adjoined complex in T to check that feature (3b). Excorporation is obligatory for Economy reasons (4): it is more economical for Y to excorporate if it has a feature to check. The target is  $\Delta P$ , a clause internal discourse-related projection, which C takes as a complement, and which licenses focus in BG.

I will also provide an argument for host excorporation out of phrasal adjunction based on multiple wh-fronting (MWF) in BG. It is standardly assumed that all fronted wh-phrases are in SpecCP, where they form a constituent (Rudin 1988) since no intervening lexical material is allowed (5a). For some speakers, the split is possible but only after the first wh-phrase (5b). Adopting Bošković's (1998, 2002) analysis of MWF as an ephenomenon involving non-wh-fronting and the familiar wh-movement, I capture these data by having the two movements target different projections.

In particular, I propose that all wh-phrases first move to Spec $\Delta P$  in order to check their strong focus feature. Assuming the wh-criterion is satisfied in the same way crosslinguistically, i.e. moving one wh-phrase suffices to satisfy the strong [+wh] feature of C, I argue that splitters do just that (6) while non-splitters move all wh-phrases to SpecCP (7). Thus with a single wh-phrase in SpecCP it is possible for adjuncts to intervene after the first fronted wh-phrase only.

Following Rudin 1988, I propose that fronted wh-phrases cluster in Spec $\Delta P$  by rightward adjunction but producing one of the two structures in (8). However, only (8b) allows excorporation of a single wh-phrase. Specifically, I extend Roberts' notion of excorporation from heads to adjoined structures in general. Given that  $wh_1$  has a segment that dominates all other wh-phrases in the cluster, it is the highest one (cf. Kim 1998), and therefore subject to excorporation. Once again excorporation is Economy driven since this way movement carries less material.

I propose that the ban on excorporation from (8a) is structural: the operation cannot target a segment and must leave a constituent behind. Thus, in (8b) excorporation is possible as it targets both segments of  $wh_1$  (given in bold) and leaves behind a constituent. In (8a), excorporation is not possible because it has to either target a segment or, if all segments are affected, it will not leave behind a constituent.

Sluicing provides support for this analysis of MWF in BG. Only non-splitters (5a) allow multiple sluicing (9), evidence that all fronted wh-phrases are in SpecCP. Splitters, on the other hand, pattern with English speakers for whom there is no doubt that there is a single wh-phrase in SpecCP in overt syntax (10). Note that the separability facts cannot be captured on alternative theories of MWF placing all fronted wh-phrases in multiple specifiers (cf. Richards 1997).

In conclusion, I show that the operations of adjunction and excorporation are empirically necessary and will discuss the theoretical implications of allowing two adjunction structures for phrases.

- (1) a. Ivan (\*bârzo) **pro ete** [VP bârzo [VP t knjigata]].  
 Ivan quickly read-PT.3P.SG quickly book-the
- b. Ivan **beše** (\*bârzo) **pro el** [VP bârzo [VP t knjigata]].  
 Ivan Aux.PRES.3P.SG quickly read quickly book-the

- (2) Ivan **beše** (\*opredeleno/ bârzo) **pro el** knjigata.  
 Ivan Aux.PRES.3P.SG definitely quickly read book-the  
 "Ivan had (definitely) read the book (quickly)."

- (3) a. (Ivan) **BEŠE** opredeleno **pro el** knjigata.  
 Ivan Aux.PRES.3P.SG definitely read book-the  
 "He/Ivan HAD definitely read the book."

- b. [<sub>Δ</sub> **beše** ... [<sub>T</sub> **beše+pročel** [<sub>VP</sub> **beše+pročel** knjigata]]]

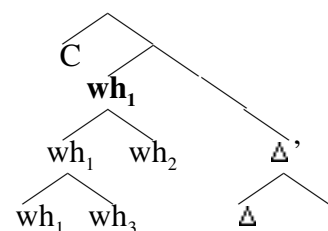
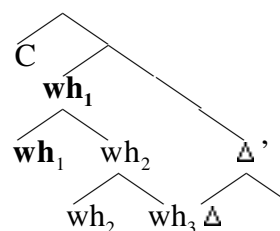
- (4) Watanabe 1993: [ X [ Y+Z<sub>i</sub> ] t<sub>i</sub> where X, Y and Z are heads.

- (5) a. **Koj** (\*spored tebe) **kakvo** (\*spored tebe) **koga** e kupil?  
 who according to-you what when Aux.PRES.3P.SG bought

- b. **Koj** (spored tebe) **kakvo** (\*spored tebe) **koga** e kupil?  
 who according to-you what when Aux.PRES.3P.SG bought

- (6) [<sub>CP</sub> **wh<sub>1</sub>** C ... [<sub>ΔP</sub> **wh<sub>1</sub>+wh<sub>2</sub>+wh<sub>3</sub>** Δ [<sub>TP</sub> **wh<sub>1</sub>** e kupil [<sub>VP</sub> **wh<sub>1</sub>** e-kupil **wh<sub>2</sub> wh<sub>3</sub>** ]]]]

- (7) [<sub>CP</sub> **wh<sub>1</sub>+wh<sub>2</sub>+wh<sub>3</sub>** C [<sub>ΔP</sub> **wh<sub>1</sub>+wh<sub>2</sub>+wh<sub>3</sub>** Δ [<sub>TP</sub> **wh<sub>1</sub>** e kupil [<sub>VP</sub> **wh<sub>1</sub>** e-kupil **wh<sub>2</sub> wh<sub>3</sub>** ]]]]

- (8) a. 
- b. 

- (9) Njakoj e razljal nešto, no ne znam **koj kakvo**. cf.(6)  
 someone Aux.PRES.3P.SG spilled something but not know-PRES.3P.SG who what

- (10) a. Njakoj e razljal nešto, no ne znam **koj** (\*kakvo).  
 someone Aux.PRES.3P.SG spilled something but not know-PRES.3P.SG who what

- b. Someone spilled something but I don't know **who** (\*what).

