



- (7) c. Moja sestra su mi ga i njen muž poklonili.  
 ‘It is my SISTER and her husband who gave it to me.’

Under no syntactic analysis is *sestra i njen muž* a constituent, so the remnant movement account (4c/d) is unlikely for (7b). *Moja* could be targeted as focus, but movement of *moja* alone would be a Coordinate Structure Constraint violation, so the LBE account (4a/b) is also unlikely. Base generation (4e) of non-constituent *sestra i njen muž* is similarly problematic. Distributed deletion (4f) however could work, provided that the material following the focus need not be a constituent. Note that even the preserved focused portion is not required to be a constituent, as in (8), which patterns with (7):

- (8) a. U izuzetno veliku sobu sam ušao. ‘I entered an exceptionally large room.’  
 b. U izuzetno sam veliku sobu ušao. ‘It was an EXCEPTIONALLY large room that I entered.’  
 c. U izuzetno veliku sam sobu ušao. ‘It was an exceptionally LARGE room that I entered.’

Our proposal exploits focus features, so that (8a) will look like (9):

- (9) [u izuzetno ~~veliku sobu~~ [sam [u izuzetno veliku sobu [ušao ...  
 [+Foc]

When an element in a phrase bears the [+Foc] focus feature, that phrase moves to SpecFP (or SpecCP, if this is where [+Foc] is checked). The operative principle is now that there can be no focus to the right of the element bearing this feature. All material following the [+Foc] element within SpecFP thus bears “flat” intonation and is subsequently deleted. This results in pronunciation of the next highest copy. Crucially, in this system material neither side of the [+Foc] element need be a constituent. Constraining distributed deletion may be problematic, given the following (cf. Fanselow & Ćavar 2002):

- (10) a. Na veliko se Ivan drvo popeo. ‘It was on a BIG tree that Ivan climbed.’  
 b. \*Drvo se Ivan na veliko popeo.                      c. ?\*Na veliko se Ivan popeo drvo.

(10b) is bad because “inverted” splits are not derivable through distributed deletion, but we claim only through base generation (4e), each part displaying full morphology; (10c) is degraded because a low copy of *drvo* is pronounced. This account extends to the analysis of splitting by focus *li* in Bulgarian in Franks 2006, based on ideas in Lambova 2003, even though Bulgarian disallows true LBE:

- (11) a. Novata li kniga na Ivan vidja? ‘Was it the NEW book by Ivan that you saw?’  
 b. V tozi li grad si xodil? ‘Have you been to THAT city?’

- (12) a. Novata ~~kniga na Ivan~~ li ~~novata~~ kniga na Ivan vidja? b. V tozi ~~grad~~ li ~~v tozi~~ grad si xodil?

Troubling however is the ungrammaticality of Croatian/Serbian (13), based on Bošković 2005:

- (13) ?\*Visoke je on lijepo djevojke vidio. ‘It was TALL beautiful girls that he saw.’

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