

# Deriving word order restrictions on remnants of ellipsis from information structure factors\*

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## 1 Introduction

(1) *Fragments (???)*

A: Which book have you read?

B: *Cryptonomicon* [=I have read *Cryptonomicon*]

(2) *Negative fragments (???)*

A: Which book have you read?

B: Not *Cryptonomicon* [=I haven't read *Cryptonomicon*]

Spanish has two types of negative fragments: [NEG XP] and [XP NEG] (Bosque 1984; Depiante 2000, 2004; Vicente 2006). However, they are not always in free distribution: as Bosque observes, if the remnant is a subject, the felicity of each order depends on whether the subject in the antecedent is preverbal or postverbal.

(3) *[NEG XP] remnants*

a. Vino Juan, pero no Pedro  
came Juan but not Pedro

b. ?? Juan vino, pero no Pedro  
Juan came but not Pedro

(4) *[XP NEG] remnants*

a. Juan vino, pero Pedro no  
Juan came but Pedro not

b. ?? Vino Juan, pero Pedro no  
came Juan but Pedro not

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A similar paradigm can be constructed in Spanish (we modify it slightly, because human objects trigger differential case marking with the preposition *a* 'to').

- (8) a. Ha cubierto la casa la nieve, pero no las hojas caducas  
has covered the house the snow but not the leaves dead  
"The snow has covered the house, but the fallen leaves haven't"
- b. Ha cubierto la casa la nieve, pero LAS HOJAS CADUCAS no  
has covered the house the snow but the leaves dead no  
"The snow has covered the house, but the fallen leaves haven't"

In order to get the reading where *the fallen leaves* is interpreted as object in a [NEG XP] order, it is necessary to focalize *the house* in the antecedent (which here we do by leaving the object *in situ*).

- (9) La nieve ha cubierto LA CASA, pero no las hojas caducas  
the snow has covered the house but not the leaves dead  
"The snow has covered the house, but the snow hasn't covered the fallen leaves"

We can also explain the ungrammaticality of the following examples, where the remnant XP is an object and the only possible correlate in the antecedent clause is a subject.

- (10) a. ?? Ha leído un libro Juan, pero no una revista  
has read a book Juan but not a magazine  
"Juan has read a book, but he hasn't read a magazine"
- b. ?? Ha leído un libro Juan, pero una revista no  
has read a book Juan, but a magazine not  
"Juan has read a book, but he hasn't read a magazine"
- c. ?? Ha leído un libro Juan, pero UNA REVISTA no  
has read a book Juan, but a magazine not  
"Juan has read a book, but he hasn't read a magazine"

Thus, in order to account for this paradigm, we need to say that:

- in [NEG XP] orders, the remnant XP is necessarily focused (cf. Vicente 2006 for the same conclusion).
- in [XP NEG] orders, the remnant XP can be focused if it receives focal stress.
- in either order, the focus/non-focus status of the remnant must match the focus/non-focus status of its correlate in the antecedent.

This conclusion can be confirmed through the focus particle *incluso* 'even'.

- (11) a. Ha leído el libro incluso Juan, pero no Pedro  
has read the book even Juan but not Pedro  
"Even Juan has read the book, but Pedro hasn't"
- b. ?? Ha leído el libro incluso Juan, pero Pedro no  
has read the book even Juan but Pedro not  
"Even Juan has read the book but Pedro hasn't"

- c. Ha leído el libro incluso Juan, pero PEDRO no  
has read the book even Juan but Pedro not  
“Even Juan has read the book, but Pedro hasn’t”

If the antecedent is a preverbal subject, a [NEG *XP*] order is possible only if the antecedent subject is focalized.

- (12) Q: ¿Qué ha pasado?  
what has happened
- a. Juan ha leído un libro, pero María no  
Juan has read a book, but María not  
“Juan has read a book, but María hasn’t”
- b. ?? Juan ha leído un libro, pero no María  
Juan has read a book but not María  
“Juan has read a book, but María hasn’t”
- (13) Q: ¿Quién ha leído un libro?  
who has read a book
- A: JUAN ha leído un libro, pero no María  
Juan has read a book but not María  
Juan has read a book, but María hasn’t”

Note also that, if the preverbal subject is focused, then the remnant in [XP NEG] orders also needs to be focused.

- (14) Q: ¿Quién ha leído un libro?  
who has read a book
- A: JUAN ha leído un libro, pero MARÍA no  
Juan has read a book but María not  
“Juan has read a book, but María hasn’t”
- A': ?? JUAN ha leído un libro, pero María no  
Juan has read a book but María not  
“Juan has read a book, but María hasn’t”

#### The conclusions so far...

- In the [NEG XP] order, the remnant XP is necessarily in focus.
- In the [XP NEG] order, the remnant XP can either be in focus or not, depending on whether it receives focal stress.
- In either case, the focus/non-focus status of the remnant and its correlate in the antecedent must be the same.

### 3 Objects

Objects *in situ* license both [XP NEG] and [NEG XP] orders, though the former seems to require some degree of focal stress on the remnant XP.

- (15) a. Juan ha leído un libro, pero una revista no  
Juan has read a book, but a magazine not  
“Juan has read a book, but he hasn’t read a magazine”

- b. Juan ha leído un libro, pero no una revista  
 Juan has read a book but not a magazine  
 "Juan has read a book, but he hasn't read a magazine"

If the object is left dislocated (topicalized), the [XP NEG] order is preferred, inasmuch as the elliptical clause preserves the same prosody (raising intonation plus pause) of the antecedent.

- (16) a. A Chomsky, Juan lo ha leído, pero a Postal, no  
 to Chomsky Juan CL has read, but to Postal not  
 "Chomsky, Juan has read, but Postal, he hasn't"  
 b. ?? A Chomsky, Juan lo ha leído, pero no a Postal  
 to Chomsky Juan CL has read but not to Postal  
 "Chomsky, Juan has read, but he hasn't read Postal"

**We can maintain the previous conclusions:**

- In the [NEG XP] order, the remnant XP is necessarily in focus.
- In the [XP NEG] order, the remnant XP can either be in focus or not, depending on whether it receives focal stress.
- In either case, the focus/non-focus status of the remnant and its correlate in the antecedent must be the same.

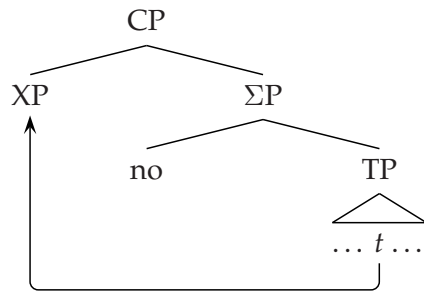
## 4 Technical analysis

### 4.1 [XP NEG] orders

Depiante (2000, 2004) offers evidence (from, amongst other things, island effects) that [XP NEG] orders are derived via movement of the remnant to a left peripheral position plus deletion of IP. We assume that the negative particle *no* is a spellout of Laka's (1990)  $\Sigma$  head.

- (17) *Locality effects in [XP NEG] orders*
- a. \* Existe el rumor de que Juan entregó el trabajo a tiempo, pero María no  
 exists the rumour of that Juan handed.in the paper to time but María not  
 "There is a rumour that Juan handed his paper in on time, but there is no rumour that María handed hers in on time."
- b. He oído que Juan entregó el trabajo a tiempo, pero María no  
 have heard that Juan handed.in the paper to time but María not  
 "I have heard that Juan handed his paper in on time, but I haven't heard that María handed hers in on time."

(18) *A derivation for [XP NEG] orders*



In order to capture the different properties of remnants in [XP NEG] orders, we have to assume that various landing sites are possible (i.e., TopP and FocP, at the very least).

#### 4.2 [NEG XP] orders

The analysis of [NEG XP] orders is more complicated. Depiante (2000) proposes that negation is adjoined directly to the remnant XP, the combination forming a constituent. Depiante (2004) claims that [NEG XP] orders require a gapping-like non-constituent-deletion operation. Finally, Vicente (2006) argues that [NEG XP] fragments also arise via movement in the same way as [XP NEG] orders, though in this case the landing site is immediately below  $\Sigma P$ . We won't attempt to make a case for any of these three analyses.

In any case, the obligatoriness of the focus reading in [NEG XP] fragments can be derived from the fact that, in all three analyses, the remnant XP receives focal stress via the Nuclear Stress Rule, which entails a focus interpretation.

## 5 Conclusions and prospects

- The remnant in negative fragments must match the focus/topic status of its correlate in the antecedent.
- The [XP NEG] and [NEG XP] orders offer each a different topic/focus articulation.
- More research is needed to determine exactly why the two orders differ along these lines.

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