

Mixed identity requirements in CP-Ellipsis

Laura Stigliano
The University of Chicago

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CRISSP | Center for Research in Syntax, Semantics and Phonology



The 'big' picture

QUESTIONS:

- What type of identity is needed to license ellipsis?
 - What type of mismatches are allowed under ellipsis?

GOALS:

- Account for different types of ellipsis in an uniform way
 - Provide an analysis that's not construction specific

EMPIRICAL DOMAINS:

- TP-ellipsis (i.e. clausal ellipsis)
 - P-stranding → Sluicing, Fragment Answers, Stripping, Pseudostripping, Split Questions, Bare-argument ellipsis
- CP-ellipsis
 - **Topic Remnant Elided Questions** (TREQs)



Landscape of CP-Ellipsis in Spanish

TREQs – Topic Remnant Elided Questions

	wh-question meaning	polar question meaning
Root	Root wh-TREQs	Root polar TREQs
Embedded	Embedded wh-TREQs	Embedded polar TREQs



Root TREQs

These are 'follow-up' elliptical questions:

(1) A: Sonia comió pizza.
 Sonia ate pizza
 'Sonia ate pizza.'

B: **Y Bruno?**
 and Bruno
 'And Bruno?'

Two possible interpretations:

■ *polar question* meaning

(2) A: *Sonia ate pizza.*
 B: Y Bruno?
 and Bruno
 Int. Interpretation: 'What about
 Bruno? Did he also ate pizza?'
 A: *No.*

■ *wh-question* meaning

(3) A: *Sonia ate pizza.*
 B: Y Bruno?
 and Bruno
 Int. Interpretation: 'What about
 Bruno? What did he eat?'
 A: *Pasta.*



Embedded TREQs

They denote some kind of ignorance with respect to the remnant:

- (4) Sonia comió pizza, **pero Bruno**, no sé.
 Sonia ate pizza **but Bruno** not know
 'Sonia ate pizza, **but Bruno**, I don't know.'

Two possible interpretations:

■ *polar question* meaning

- (5) Sonia comió pizza, pero Bruno, no sé <si comió pizza>.
 Sonia ate pizza but Bruno not know whether he ate pizza
 Int. interpretation: 'Sonia ate pizza, but I don't know whether Bruno ate pizza or not.'

■ *wh-question* meaning

- (6) Sonia comió pizza, pero Bruno, no sé <qué comió>.
 Sonia ate pizza but Bruno not know what he ate
 Int. interpretation: 'Sonia ate pizza, but I don't know what Bruno ate.'



Goal and claims

GOAL: Introduce CP-Ellipsis and (wh-)TREQs in Spanish, and discuss their main consequences for the theory of ellipsis

CLAIMS:

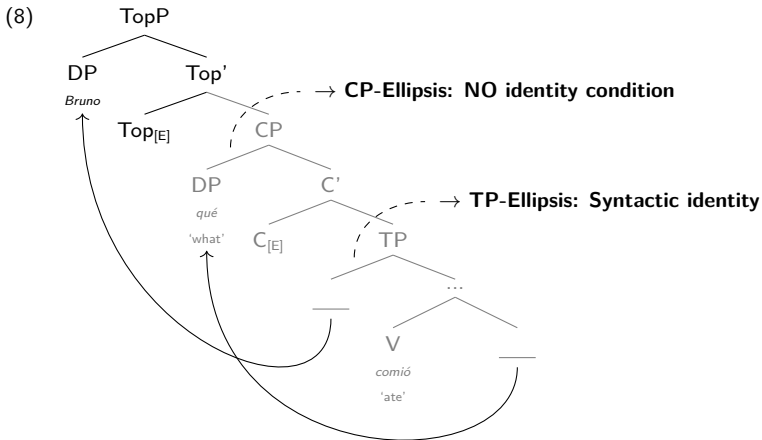
- wh-TREQs are the result of **ellipsis of a wh-question, from which a Contrastive Topic has moved**

(7) B: Y [Bruno_{CT}] <E-site qué_i comió t_i?>
 and Bruno what ate
 'And Bruno ~~what did he~~ eat?'

- TREQs provide evidence for the **need and lack of** syntactic identity
- TREQs involve the presence of **two [E]-features** (one on C and one on Top) that impose different identity conditions



Proposal (simplified)



- The remnant is topicalized out of the E-site
- The E-site contains a wh-question
- (At least some kind of) syntactic identity is needed
- TREQs involve the presence of two [E]-features (one on C and one on Top)

Roadmap



1. Introduction
2. The syntax of wh-TREQs
 - 2.1 Possible and Impossible remnants
 - 2.2 Islands
 - 2.3 Connectivity effects
 - 2.3.1 Voice mismatches
 - 2.3.2 Spray/load alternations
3. The identity condition
4. Implementation
5. Conclusions

2. The syntax of wh-TREQs



Possible and Impossible remnants

- **Possible** remnants for TREQs are exactly those constituents that **can** otherwise be topicalized out of a wh-question
 - DPs (subjects and objects), prepositional phrases (IOs, and PPs both in the verbal and nominal domains), temporal and locative phrases, frequency and manner adverbs, predicative adjectives, infinitival verb phrases, and CPs
- **Impossible** remnants for TREQs are exactly those constituents that **cannot** be topicalized out of a wh-question.
 - TPs, sentential adverbs, and attributive adjectives



Possible remnants

Direct Objects

- (9) [Ensalada], quién comió ___?
 salad who ate
 'As for salad, who ate that?'

- (10) A: Sonia comió pizza.
 Sonia ate pizza
 'Sonia ate pizza.'
- B: Y ensalada?
 and ensalada
 Literal: 'And salad?'
 Interpretation: What about
 salad? Who ate that?
- A: Luciano

Subjects

- (11) [Bruno], qué ___ comió ?
 Bruno what ate
 'As for Bruno, what did he eat?'

- (12) A: Sonia comió pizza.
 Sonia ate pizza
 'Sonia ate pizza.'
- B: Y Bruno?
 and Bruno
 Literal: 'And Bruno?'
 Interpretation: 'What about
 Bruno? What did he ate?'
- A: Pasta



Possible remnants

■ PPs in the verbal domain

- (13) [Con Ana], quién habló ___?
 with Ana who talked
 'As for Ana, who talked with her?'

- (14) A: Sonia habló con Bruno.
 Sonia talked with Bruno
 'Sonia talked with Bruno.'
- B: Y con Ana?
 and with Ana
 Literal: 'And with Ana?'
 Interpretation: 'What about Ana?'
 Who talked with her?'

A: Luciano.

■ PPs in the nominal domain

- (15) [De Ana], quién vio la foto ___?
 of Ana who saw the picture
 'As for Ana, who saw her picture?'

- (16) A: Sonia vio la foto de Bruno.
 Sonia saw the picture of Bruno
 'Sonia saw the picture of Bruno.'
- B: Y de Ana?
 and of Ana
 Literal: 'And Ana's?'
 Interpretation: 'What about Ana?'
 Who saw her picture?'

B: Luciano.



Side note – Remnants are not Hanging Topics

- (17) a. [Con Ana], quién habló ___? → **Topicalization**
 with Ana who talked
 'As for Ana, who talked with her?'
- b. (Con respecto a) Ana, quién habló con ella? → **Hanging Topic**
 with respect to Ana who talked with her
 'With respect to Ana, who talked with her?'
- (18) A: Sonia habló con Bruno.
 Sonia talked with Bruno
 'Sonia talked with Bruno.'
- B: Y con Ana?
 and with Ana
 Literal: 'And with Ana?'
 Interpretation: 'What about Ana?'
 Who talked with her?'
- B': *Y (con respecto a) Ana?
 and with respect to Ana
 Literal: 'And (with respect to) Ana?'
 Interpretation: 'With respect to Ana,
 who talked with her?'
- B'': Y (con respecto a) Ana, quién habló con ella?
 and with respect to Ana who talked with her
 'And with respect to Bruno, who talked with her?'



Possible remnants

■ Temporal phrases

(19) [El viernes], quién corrió ___?
 the Friday who run
 'As for Friday, who ran that day?'

(20) A: Sonia corrió el martes.
 Sonia ran the Tuesday
 'Sonia ran on Tuesday.'

B: Y el viernes?
 and the Friday
 Literal: 'And on Friday?'
 Interpretation: 'What about Friday? Who ran that day?'

A: Bruno

■ Locative phrases

(21) [En la playa], quién corrió ___?
 in the beach who ran
 'As for the beach, who ran there?'

(22) A: Sonia corrió en el parque.
 Sonia ran in the park
 'Sonia ran in the park.'

B: Y en la playa?
 and in the beach
 Literal: 'And in the beach?'
 Interpretation: 'What about the beach? Who ran there?'

A: Bruno



Impossible remnants

TPs

- (23) *[Compró un auto], quién ___?
 bought a car who
 Intended: 'As for buying a car,
 who did it?'

- (24) A: Sonia viajó a Chicago.
 Sonia travelled to Chicago
 'Sonia travelled to Chicago.'

B: *Y compró un auto?
 and bought a car
 Literal: 'And bought a car?'
 Intended interpretation: 'What about
 buying a car? Who did that?'

Sentential adverbs

- (25) *[Probablemente], quién va a renunciar ___?
 probably who will quit
 Intended: 'As for probably, who will
 probably quit?'

- (26) A: Seguramente va a renunciar Sonia.
 surely will quit Sonia
 'Sonia will quit for sure.'

B: *Y probablemente?
 and probably
 Literal: 'And probably?'
 Intended interpretation: 'What about
 probably? Who will probably quit?'



Impossible remnants

■ Post-nominal adjectives

- (27) * $\overbrace{[\text{Joven}], \text{quién vio a un amigo } _?}$
 young who saw DOM a friend
 Intended: 'As for young, who saw a young friend?'

- (28) A: Sonia vio a un amigo viejo.
 Sonia saw DOM a friend old
 'Sonia saw an old friend.'
 (= a friend old in age)
- B: *Y joven?
 and young
 Intended: 'What about young? Who saw a young friend?'

■ Pre-nominal adjectives

- (29) * $\overbrace{[\text{Nuevo}], \text{quién vio a un } _ \text{ amigo ?}}$
 new who saw DOM a friend
 Intended: 'As for new, who saw a new friend?'

- (30) A: Sonia vio a un viejo amigo.
 Sonia saw DOM an old friend
 'Sonia saw an old friend.'
 (= a long-time friend)
- B: *Y nuevo?
 and new
 Intended: 'What about new? Who saw a new friend?'



Interim Summary

Summary:

- **Possible** remnants for TREQs are exactly those constituents that **can** otherwise be topicalized out of a wh-question
- **Impossible** remnants for TREQs are exactly those constituents that **cannot** be topicalized out of a wh-question

Implications:

- There is a **strict correlation** between those constituents that can be topicalized and those constituents that can occur as remnants in wh-TREQs
- These patterns provide evidence for the claim that **there is structure inside the ellipsis site** and that **the remnant has been topicalized** out of it



Long-distance movement

- long-distance movement that doesn't involve islands is possible

(31) a. [Quién] escuchaste que ___ comió ensalada?
 who you.heard that ate salad
 'Who_i did you hear that t_i ate salad?'

b. [Ensalada] escuchaste que Sonia comió ___?
 salad you.heard that Sonia ate
 'As for salad_i, you heard that Sonia ate that_i.'

- wh-movement and topicalization can occur together out of embedded clauses

(32) [Ensalada]_j, [quién] escuchaste que ___ comió ___?
 salad who you.heard that ate
 'As for salad_j, who_i did you hear that t_i ate that_j?'



Islands & Topicalization

■ Topicalizations out of Complex NPs are ungrammatical

- (33) a. [Ensalada], Sonia escuchó que Bruno comió ____.
 salad Sonia heard that Bruno ate
 'As for salad, Sonia heard that Bruno ate that.'
- b. *[Ensalada], Sonia escuchó [NP el rumor de que Bruno comió ____].
 salad Sonia heard the rumor of that Bruno ate
 Intended: 'As for salad, Sonia heard the rumor that Bruno ate that.'
- (34) a. [Ensalada], quién escuchó [que comiste ____].
 salad who heard that you ate
 'As for salad, who heard that you ate that?'
- b. *[Ensalada], quién escuchó [NP el rumor de que comiste ____].
 salad who heard the rumor of that ate
 Intended: 'As for salad, who heard the rumor that you ate that?'



Islands & Topicalization

- wh-TREQs are ungrammatical in the context of islands

(35) A: Sonia escuchó el rumor de que comí pizza.
 Sonia heard the rumor of that ate pizza
 'Sonia heard the rumor that I ate pizza.'

B: *Y ensalada?
 and salad

Literal: 'And salad?'

Int. interpretation: 'What about salad?'

Who heard the rumor that you ate that?'

B': #Y ensalada quién comió?
 and salad who ate

'As for salad, who ate that?'

→ source for (35B):

(36) *[Ensalada]_i, quién escuchó [_{NP} el rumor de que comiste _j]. = (34b)
 salad who heard the rumor of that ate
 Intended: 'As for salad, who heard the rumor that you ate that?'

⇒ remnants of wh-TREQs are **topicalized** out of the ellipsis site and the ellipsis site contains a structure that is **syntactically isomorphic** to its antecedents'



Islands & Wh-movement

■ Wh-movement out of Complex NPs is ungrammatical

- (37) * $[\text{Qué}]_i$ le contaste a Bruno $[\text{NP el rumor de que comí } __]$?
 what to.him told to Bruno the rumor of that ate
 Intended: 'What_i did you tell Bruno the rumor that I ate t_i?'
 (Diagram: A line with a checkmark connects the first 'qué' to the gap in the NP. A line with an 'X' connects the second 'qué' to the gap in the NP.)

- (38) * $[\text{A Bruno}]_i$, $[\text{qué}]_j$ le contaste $__ [\text{NP el rumor de que comí } __]$?
 to Bruno what to.him told the rumor of that ate
 Intended: 'As for Bruno, what_i did you tell him the rumor that I ate t_i?'
 (Diagram: A line with a checkmark connects the first 'qué' to the gap in the NP. A line with an 'X' connects the second 'qué' to the gap in the NP.)

- (39) $[\text{A Bruno}]_i$, le contaste $__ [\text{NP el rumor de que comí ensalada}]$.
 to Bruno to.him told the rumor of that ate salad
 'As for Bruno, you told him the rumor that I ate salad.'
 (Diagram: A line with a checkmark connects the first 'qué' to the gap in the NP.)



Islands & Wh-movement

- wh-TREQs are ungrammatical in the contexts of islands

(40) A: Le conté a Sonia el rumor de que comiste pizza.
 to.her told to Sonia the rumor of that ate pizza
 'I told Sonia the rumor that you ate pizza.'

B: *Y a Bruno?
 and to Bruno

Literal: 'And Bruno?'

Intended interpretation: 'What about Bruno?'

What_i did you tell him the rumor that I ate t_i?'

→ source for (40B):

(41) *[A Bruno], [qué le contaste [NP el rumor de que comí]]? = (38)
 to Bruno what to.him told the rumor of that ate
 Intended: 'As for Bruno, what_i did you tell him the rumor that I ate t_i?'

⇒ wh-TREQs involve **wh-movement inside the ellipsis site**



Wh-movement + Topicalization

- when both the topicalized XP and the wh-phrase move from inside the island, the result is ungrammatical

- (42) **[Ensalada]*, *[quién]* escuchaste [_{NP} el rumor de que comió]?
 salad who you.heard the rumor of that ate
 Intended: 'As for salad_i, who_j did you hear the rumor that t_j ate that_i?'

→ wh-TREQs are ungrammatical in these contexts, as expected

- (43) A: Escuché el rumor de que Sonia comió pizza.
 heard the rumor of that Sonia ate pizza
 'I heard the rumor that Sonia ate pizza.'
- B: *Y ensalada?
 and salad
 Literal: 'And salad?'
 Intended interpretation: 'What about salad?'
 Who_i did you hear the rumor that they_i ate that?'



Interim Summary

Summary:

	topicalization	wh-movement	wh-TREQs
Pattern 1	✓	✓	✓
Pattern 2	✗	✓	✗
Pattern 3	✓	✗	✗
Pattern 4	✗	✗	✗

Implications:

- the remnant is topicalized and moves out of the ellipsis site
- the ellipsis site contains a moved wh-phrase
- syntactic isomorphism between the ellipsis site and its antecedent
- (there is no island 'repair')



Connectivity effects – Voice & Case mismatches

voice mismatches are impossible:

(44) A: La casa fue destruida por Sonia.
 the house was destroyed by Sonia
 'The house was destroyed by Sonia.'

B: *Y Bruno?
 and Bruno
 'And Bruno?'

Intended interpretation: What
 about Bruno? What did he destroy?

B': Y Bruno, qué destruyó?
 and Bruno what destroyed
 'And Bruno, what did he destroy?'

case mismatches are impossible:

(45) A: Sonia lo vio a Bruno.
 Sonia CL saw DOM Bruno
 'Sonia saw Bruno.'

B: Y *(a) Luciano?
 and DOM Luciano
 'And Luciano?'

Interpretation: What about
 Luciano? What saw him?

⇒ **syntactic identity** is needed (e.g. Merchant 2013)



Spray/load alternations

- verb describing caused motion exhibits two arguments

(46) a. *with* variant:

Sonia cargó el camión con libros.
 Sonia loaded the truck with books
 'Sonia loaded the truck with books.'

b. *onto* variant:

Sonia cargó libros en el camión.
 Sonia loaded books in the truck
 'Sonia loaded books onto the truck.'

- mismatch disallowed under ellipsis

(47) a. *Sonia cargó algo en el camión, pero no sé con qué.
 Sonia loaded something in the truck but not I.know with what
 'Sonia loaded something onto the truck but I don't know with what.'

b. Sonia cargó algo en el camión, pero no sé qué.
 Sonia loaded something in the truck but not I.know what
 'Sonia loaded something onto the truck but I don't know what.'



Connectivity effects – Spray/load alternations

■ mismatch disallowed in wh-TREQs

(48) A: Sonia cargó el camión con libros.
Sonia loaded the truck with books
'Sonia loaded the truck with books.'

B: *Y en el auto?
and in the car
Literal: 'And in the car?'
Intended interpretation: 'What about
the car? What did she load in it?'

B': Y en el auto qué cargó?
and in the car what she.loaded
'What about the car? What did she load
in it?'

(49) A: Sonia cargó libros en el camión.
Sonia loaded books in the truck
'Sonia loaded books in the truck.'

B: *Y con revistas?
and with magazines
Literal: 'And with magazines?'
Int. interpr.: 'What about magazines?'
What did Sonia load them with?'

B': Y con revistas qué cargó?
and with magazines what loaded
'What about magazines? What did she
load them with?'



Spray/load alternations

- only structural matching is allowed

(50) A: Sonia cargó libros en el camión.
Sonia loaded books in the truck
'Sonia loaded books in the truck.'

B: Y revistas?
and magazines
Literal: 'And magazines?'
Int. Interpretation: 'What about
magazines? Where did she load them?'

B': Y en el auto?
and in the car
Literal: 'And onto the car?'
Int. Interpretation: 'What about the car?
What did she load there?'

(51) A: Sonia cargó el camión con libros.
Sonia loaded the truck with books
'Sonia loaded the truck with books.'

B: Y con revistas?
and with magazines
Literal: 'And with magazines?'
Interpretation: 'What about magazines?
What did she load with them?'

B': Y el auto?
and the car
Literal: 'And the car?'
Interpretation: 'What about the car?
What did she load it with?'



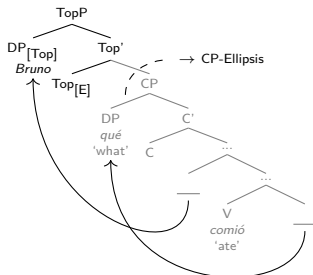
Interim summary

Summary:

- wh-TREQs are the result of ellipsis
- the ellipsis site contains a wh-question
- the remnant is topicalized out of the ellipsis site
- some kind of syntactic identity/isomorphism is needed

Proposal:

(52) B: Y [Bruno] ⟨qué_i — comió t_i⟩?
 and Bruno ⟨what ate —⟩
 'And Bruno what did he eat?'



3. The identity condition



Identity Condition

- **syntactic identity** is necessary to license ellipsis in TREQs
 - island sensitivity
 - connectivity effects (voice mismatches, spray/load alternations)
- **problem** for a strict syntactic identity account

(53) A: Sonia comió **pizza** B: Y Bruno **qué** comió?
 Sonia ate **pizza** and Bruno **what** ate
 'Sonia ate pizza' 'And Bruno?'

- *qué* 'what' gets deleted its correlate is the NP *pizza* 'pizza'
- *qué* 'what' and *pizza* 'pizza' are **not** syntactically identical

CLAIM: syntactic identity is required to license ellipsis of material **inside the TP** but not of material **above the TP** → mixed identity requirements



Lack of identity above the TP

- anything between the CP and the TP can be elided, as long more general, pragmatic conditions are not violated
 - there is no context where wh-TREQs are impossible but their non-elliptical counterparts are possible → **empirical question**

- Sprouting

(54) A: Sonia comió.
 Sonia ate
 'Sonia ate.'

B: *Y pizza?
 and pizza
 Literal: 'And pizza?'
 Intended interpretation: 'What
 about pizza? Who ate that?'

(55) A: Sonia comió.
 Sonia ate
 'Sonia ate.'

B: #Y pizza, quién comió?
 and pizza who ate
 'And pizza, who ate?'

→ cf. sluicing

(56) a. Sonia comió pero no sé qué.
 Sonia ate but not know what
 'Sonia ate but I don't know what.'

b. Sonia comió pero no sé qué comió.
 Sonia ate but not know what ate
 'Sonia ate but I don't know what she ate.'



Lack of identity above the TP

■ Numerals

(57) A: Sonia comió tres pizzas.
 Sonia ate three pizzas
 'Sonia ate three pizzas.'

B: Y Bruno?
 and Bruno
 Literal: 'And Bruno?'
 Intended interpretation: 'What
 about Bruno? How many pizzas
 did he eat?'

A: Dos.
 two
 'Two.'

(58) A: Sonia comió pizzas.
 Sonia ate pizzas
 'Sonia ate pizzas.'

B: Y Bruno?
 and Bruno
 Possible: What about Bruno?
 What did he eat?
 Impossible: What about Bruno?
 How many pizzas did he eat?

A: *Dos.
 two
 'Two.'

(59) A: Sonia comió pizzas.
 Sonia ate pizzas
 'Sonia ate pizzas.'

B: #Y Bruno cuántas (pizzas) comió?
 and Bruno how.many pizzas he.ate
 'As for Bruno, how many pizzas did he eat?'



Lack of identity above the TP

Indefinites

(60) A: Sonia comió algo.
 Sonia ate something
 'Sonia ate something.'

B: *Y ensalada?
 and salad
 Literal: 'And salad?'
 Intended interpretation: 'What
 about salad? Who ate that?'

B': *Y Bruno?
 and Bruno
 Literal: 'And Bruno?'
 Intended interpretation: 'What
 about Bruno? What did he eat?'

(61) A: Sonia comió algo.
 Sonia ate something
 'Sonia ate something.'

B: #Y ensalada quién comió?
 and salad who ate
 'And as for salad, who ate that?'

B': #Y Bruno qué comió?
 and Bruno what he ate
 'And as Bruno, what did he eat?'



Interim Summary

Summary:

- syntactic identity is necessary to license ellipsis
 - islands, connectivity effects
- a strict syntactic identity approach is too strong
 - *qué* 'what' \neq *pizza* 'pizza'

Implications:

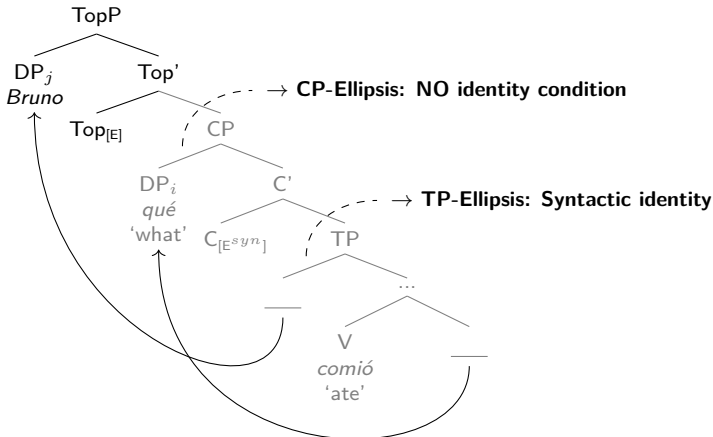
- syntactic identity licenses ellipsis of the TP
- no identity is required above the TP

4. Implementation



Two [E]-features

(62) B: Y Bruno *qué comió?*
and Bruno *what ate*



- two [E]-features that impose different identity conditions → [E^{syn}] and [E]
 - Aelbrecht (2010): for each elliptical phenomenon there is a specific [E]-feature



Two [E]-features

- *selectional* features: each [E]-feature is only compatible with certain heads
 - $[E^{syn}]$ is compatible with C
 - [E] is compatible with Top
- *categorical* features: each [E]-feature imposes different identity requirements
 - $[E^{syn}]$ imposes syntactic identity
 - [E] doesn't require any identity

Implications:

→ CP-Ellipsis **depends on** TP-Ellipsis

→ TP-Ellipsis can occur **independently**

- *inflectional* features: *category* feature the ellipsis licenser (Aelbrecht 2010)
 - [E] is licensed if it establishes a checking relation with $[E^{syn}]$



Prediction: TP-Ellipsis is independent

Prediction:

- sluicing-like cases with two remnants (i.e. a wh-phrase and a topicalized XP)

(63) A: Sonia comió pizza.
 Sonia ate pizza
 'Sonia ate pizza.'

B: Y Bruno qué?
 and Bruno what
 Literal: 'And Bruno what?'
 Interpretation: 'What about
 Bruno? What did he eat?'

A: Pasta

(64) A: Sonia comió pizza.
 Sonia ate pizza
 'Sonia ate pizza.'

B: Y ensalada quién?
 and salad who
 Literal: 'And salad who?'
 Interpretation: 'What about
 salad? Who ate that?'

A: Bruno

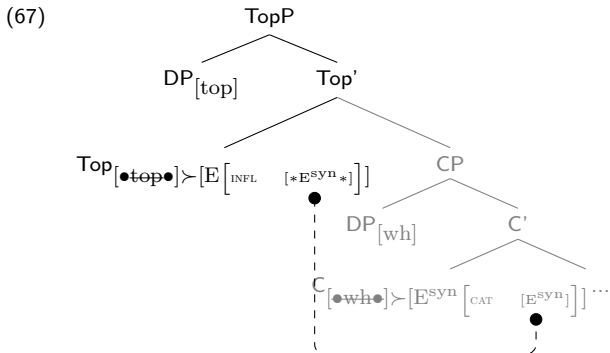


Agreement of [E]-features

- each [E]-feature consists on different feature bundles

$$(65) \quad E^{syn} \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & [E^{syn}] \\ \text{INFL} & \\ \text{SEL} & [C] \end{bmatrix}$$

$$(66) \quad E \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & [E] \\ \text{INFL} & [*E^{syn}*] \\ \text{SEL} & [\text{Top}] \end{bmatrix}$$





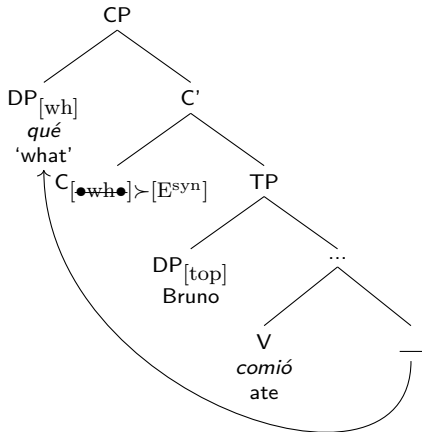
Derivation of CP-Ellipsis

- $[E^{syn}]$ on C triggers ellipsis of its complement (i.e. the TP) and imposes syntactic identity
 - Stigliano (2022): deletion is done head-by-head for all the heads except those [F]-marked or [Top]-marked, which are not deleted
- [E] on Top triggers ellipsis of its complement (i.e. the CP) without imposing any identity requirements

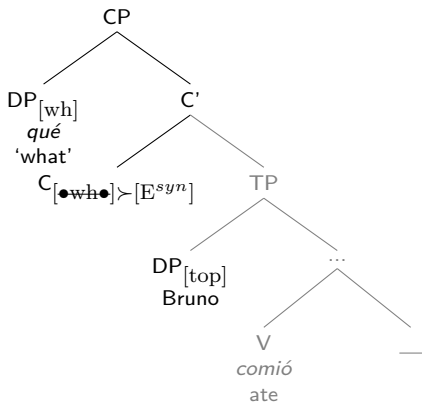


Step-by-step derivation of wh-TREQs

(68) Step 1: Wh-movement



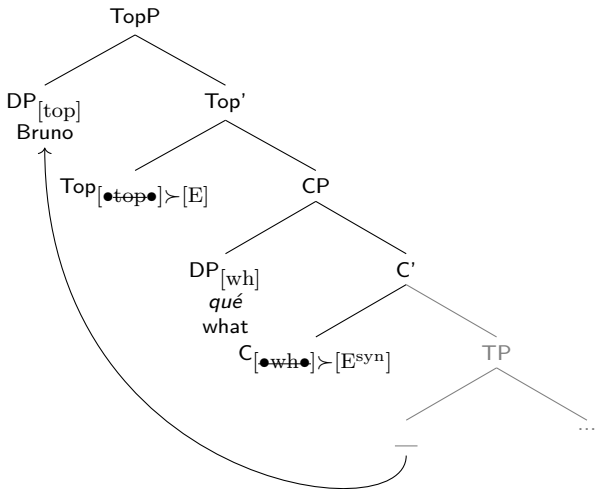
(69) Step 2: TP-Ellipsis





Step-by-step derivation of wh-TREQs

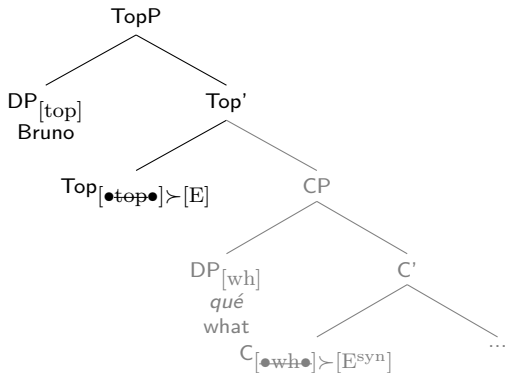
(70) Step 3: Topicalization





Step-by-step derivation of wh-TREQs

(71) Step 4: CP-Ellipsis





Conclusions

Summary:

- understudied type of ellipsis – **TREQs** (Topic Elided Remnant Questions)
- root wh-TREQs consist of **ellipsis of a wh-question** from which a Contrastive Topic has moved, escaping deletion
- syntactic identity** is necessary but also too strong
→ a **more complex identity condition** is needed
- TREQs involve **two elliptical operations**
→ triggered by two different [E]-features

Open Questions/Future (and ongoing) Research:

- How do different [E]-features interact more generally?
- Apply the idea of ellipsis involving more than one [E]-feature more generally?
 - Explain why some languages lack VPE?
- What's the locus of crosslinguistic variation?

THANKS!

Contact: laurastigliano@uchicago.edu



- (72) a. Sonia comió pizza, pero Bruno, no sé.
 Sonia ate pizza but Bruno not know
 Literal: 'Sonia ate pizza, but Bruno, I don't know.'
 Intended: 'Sonia ate pizza, but I don't know what Bruno ate.'
- b. Sonia comió pizza, pero ensalada, no sé.
 Sonia ate pizza but salad not know
 Literal: 'Sonia ate pizza, but salad, I don't know.'
 Intended: 'Sonia ate pizza, but I don't know who ate salad.'

(73) Sonia comió pizza, pero [Bruno_{top}] no sé $\langle_{E\text{-site}} \text{qué}_i \text{ — comió } t_i \rangle$.
 Sonia ate pizza but Bruno not I.know what ate
 'Sonia ate pizza, but Bruno, I don't know what he ate.'

(74) *Sonia comió pizza pero no sé [ensalada_{top}] quién comió.
 Sonia ate pizza but not I.know salad who ate
 Intended: 'Sonia ate pizza, but I don't know who ate salad.'



IOs

(75) [A Bruno], quién le dio pizza ___?
to Bruno who DAT gave pizza
'As for Bruno, who gave him pizza?'

(76) A: Sonia le dio una pizza a Ana.
Sonia CL gave a pizza to Ana
'Sonia gave a pizza to Ana.'

B: Y a Bruno?
and to Bruno
Literal: 'And Bruno?'
Interpretation: 'What about
Bruno? Who gave him a pizza?'

Predicate-argument adjectives

(77) [Azul], quién pintó el auto ___?
blue who painted the car
'Who painted the car blue?'

(78) A: Sonia pintó el auto rojo.
Sonia painted the car red
'Sonia painted the car red.'

B: Y azul?
and blue
Literal: 'And blue?'
Interpretation: 'What about blue?
Who painted the car blue?'



■ Frequency adverbs

(79) [Ocasionalmente], quién corre ___?
occasionally who runs
'As for occasionally, who runs occasionally?'

(80) A: Sonia corre siempre.
Sonia runs always
'Sonia always runs.'

B: Y ocasionalmente?
and occasionally
Literal: 'And occasionally?'
Int.: 'What about occasionally?'
Who runs occasionally?'

■ Manner adverbs

(81) [Rápido], quién corre ___?
fast who runs
'As for fast, who runs fast?'

(82) A: Sonia corre despacio.
Sonia runs slow
'Sonia runs slow.'

B: Y rápido?
and fast
Literal: 'And fast?'
Interpretation: 'What about fast? Who runs fast?'



- (83) Typology of C heads for Spanish:
- $C_{[E^{syn}]}$ and $C_{[\bullet_{wh}\bullet]} \succ [E^{syn}] \rightarrow$ TP-Ellipsis
 - $C_{[\bullet_{wh}\bullet]} \rightarrow$ wh-questions
 - $C_{[E^{syn}] \succ [\bullet_{wh}\bullet]} \rightarrow$ not available in Spanish
- (84) Typology of Top heads for Spanish:
- $Top_{[\bullet_{top}\bullet]} \succ [E] \rightarrow$ CP-Ellipsis (i.e. TREQs)
 - $Top_{[\bullet_{top}\bullet]} \rightarrow$ topicalizations
 - $Top_{[E] \succ [\bullet_{top}\bullet]} \rightarrow$ not available in Spanish



- (85) Assignment, licensing and phonology of $[\dagger^{syn}]$ (adapted from Stigliano 2022):
- Assign $[\dagger^{syn}]$ to every head h in the complement of a head $z_{[E_{syn}]}$ iff h is not dominated by an [F]-marked node or a [Top]-marked node.
 - A head $h_{[\dagger^{syn}]}$ is licensed iff it has an identical correlate h' in its antecedent A.
 - Delete the Q-feature on each head $h_{[\dagger^{syn}]}$.
- (86) Identity (adapted from Saab 2010):
- An abstract morpheme α is identical to another abstract morpheme β if and only if α and β match all their semantic and syntactic features.
 - A root A is identical to a root B if and only if A and B share the same index.
- (87) Assignment, licensing and phonology of $[\dagger]$:
- Assign $[\dagger]$ to the phrase XP in the complement of a head $z_{[E]}$.
 - Delete the Q-features on all heads dominated by $XP_{[\dagger]}$.

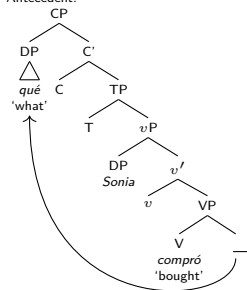
Derivation of TP-Ellipsis



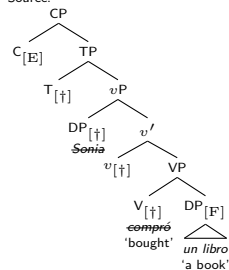
- (88) a. A: [Qué] compró Sonia ___? – B: Un libro.
 what bought Sonia a book
 'A: What did Sonia buy? – B: A book'

- b. [Antecedent [Qué] compró Sonia ___]
 [Source [C_[E] compró_[†] Sonia_[†] [un libro]_[F]]]

Antecedent:



Source:



- (89) Identity reference sets: $\{\langle T_E, T_A \rangle, \langle Sonia_E, Sonia_A \rangle, \langle v_E, v_A \rangle, \langle compró_E, compró_A \rangle\}$