

Multiple PP-remnants in Spanish Pseudostripping: The interaction between NP- and TP-ellipsis

Spanish pseudostripping constructions like the ones shown in (1) have been argued to involve movement of a focalized DP/PP remnant (marked in bold) outside of the ellipsis site followed by optional TP ellipsis (marked with strikethrough) (Depiante 2000, Vicente 2006). In this work, I argue that not all pseudostripping remnants can be uniformly analyzed as being fronted alone, as previous work has suggested. I provide evidence that suggests that while remnants conformed of a single PP coming from a DP domain (2a) can be easily accounted for by proposing extraction of the PP outside of the ellipsis site, multiple PP-remnants (2b) are better explained as the result of fronting the whole DP that contains them. The fronted DP can then undergo NP-ellipsis, leaving the N-head unpronounced, but preserving multiple PPs at the left of the structure (3).

(1)

- a. Juan no leyó *Hamlet*, pero **[[*El Quijote*]_j** [_{ΣP} sí [_{TP} ~~lo leyó~~ ~~t_j~~]]]
 Juan not read *Hamlet*, but *El Quijote* yes it read
 'Juan didn't read *Hamlet*, but he did [read] *El Quijote*' (Depiante 2000: 101)
- b. Xochitl fue a la tienda, pero **[[al *mercado*]_j** [_{ΣP} no [_{TP} ~~fue~~ ~~t_j~~]]]
 Xochitl went to the store but to.the market not went
 'Xochitl went to the store, but not to the market'

(2)

- a. Neza comió tacos de suadero, pero **de *carnitas*** no (comió tacos)
 Neza ate tacos of beef, but of pork not ate tacos.
 'Neza ate beef tacos but not pork [tacos]'
- b. Neza comió tacos [_{PPobj} de suadero] [_{PPauth} de Doña Chonita],
 Neza ate tacos of beef of Mrs. Chonita
- pero **[[~~tacos~~ [_{PPobj} de *carnitas*]] [_{PPauth} de Don Pepe]]** no (comió) (*tacos)
 but tacos of pork of Mr. Pepe not (ate) (tacos)
 'Neza ate Mrs. Chonita's beef tacos, but not Mr. Pepe's pork (tacos)'

Evidence in favour of the DP-fronting analysis comes from the fact that, in non-elliptical constructions, N-heads can be pronounced *in situ* if a single PP within the same DP domain has been fronted. However, they are ungrammatical in the same position when multiple PPs have undergone movement. The fact that N-heads can be pronounced *in situ* in some contexts also dismisses proposals that assumed focalized elements in these constructions to be base-generated above TP and not lower (Cinque 1990, Morris 2008).

To account for the difference between the two types of PP-remnants, I follow Ticio (2005, 2010) and assume that object-PPs in Spanish are merged in the sister position of an N-head, while other PPs (author-PPs and possessors-PPs) are merged in higher projections within the DP. In pseudostripping constructions, any single PP can be extracted from the DP and —more importantly— from the pseudostripping ellipsis site: TP. Multiple PPs, however, cannot be extracted as they do not form a constituent together within the DP. Hence, the whole DP has to be fronted as a mechanism to avoid non-constituent movement. The DP can then undergo NP-ellipsis, which I assume targets an NP containing an N-head and an object-PP, but not other PPs located higher. Object-PPs —as in (2b)— can survive NP-ellipsis by moving out of ellipsis site but within the DP (Ticio 2005, 2010). According to this idea, multiple PP-remnants in pseudostripping constructions are the result of two ellipsis operations: an NP-ellipsis targeting N-heads and a pseudostripping operation targeting TP.

References

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