

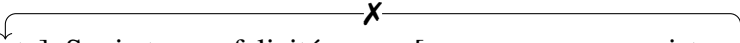
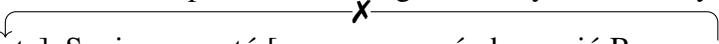
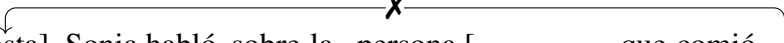
Appendices

Mixed-identity requirements in ellipsis: the case of Topic-Remnant Elided Questions in Spanish *Laura Stigliano, Ohio State University, US, stigliano.4@osu.edu*

Appendix A: adjunct, interrogative, and relative clause islands

This appendix complements the arguments presented in Section 3.4, specifically examining the behavior of wh-TREQs in the context of adjunct, interrogative, and relative clause islands. Following a similar structure to that of Section 3.4, the goal of this appendix is to provide additional evidence in support of the claims made earlier regarding the structure underlying wh-TREQs in Spanish, and the need of syntactic identity to license this elliptical construction.

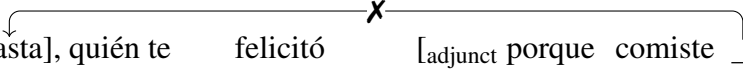
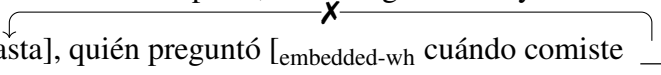
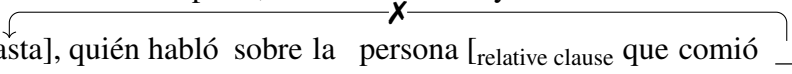
Topicalizations out of adjuncts, embedded wh-questions and relative clauses are ungrammatical, giving rise to *adjunct*, *interrogative* and *relative clause* islands, respectively, as shown in (1):

- (1) a.  **[Pasta]*, Sonia te felicitó [adjunct porque comiste ____].
pasta Sonia CL.2S congratulated because you.ate
Intended: ‘As for pasta, Sonia congratulated you because you ate that.’
- b.  **[Pasta]*, Sonia preguntó [embedded-wh cuándo comió Bruno ____].
pasta Sonia asked when ate Bruno
Intended: ‘As for pasta, Sonia asked when Bruno ate that that.’
- c.  **[Pasta]*, Sonia habló sobre la persona [relative clause que comió ____].
pasta Sonia talked about the person that ate
Intended: ‘As for pasta, Sonia talked about person that that.’

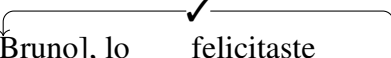
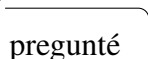
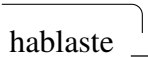
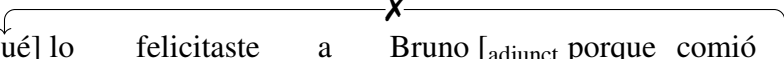
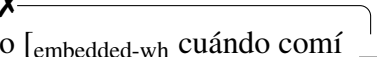
As explained in Section 3.4 for complex NP islands, if remnants of wh-TREQs are topicalized out of the ellipsis site, and the ellipsis site contains a structure that is syntactically identical to its antecedent's, then we expect wh-TREQs that would involve a topicalization out of adjuncts, embedded wh-questions and relative clauses not to be possible. This prediction is borne out, as the following examples show:

- (2) a. A: Sonia me felicitó [adjunct porque comí pizza].
 Sonia CL.1S congratulated because I.ate pizza
 'Sonia congratulated me because I ate pizza.'
- B: *Y pasta?
 and pasta
 Literal: 'And pasta?'
 Intended: 'What about pasta? Who congratulated you because you that?'
- b. A: Sonia preguntó [embeddd-wh cuándo comí pizza].
 Sonia asked when I.ate pizza
 'Sonia asked when I ate pizza.'
- B: *Y pasta?
 and pasta
 Literal: 'And pasta?'
 Intended: 'What about pasta? Who asked when you ate that?'
- c. A: Sonia habló sobre la persona [relative clause que comió pizza].
 Sonia talked about the person that ate pizza
 'Sonia talked about the person that ate pizza.'
- B: *Y pasta?
 and pasta
 Literal: 'And pasta?'
 Intended: 'What about pasta? Who talked about the person that ate that?'

That is, I take the ungrammaticality of the wh-TREQs in (2) to mean that their sources are the ungrammatical structures in (3):

- (3) a. 
 pasta who CL.2S congratulated because you.ate
 Intended: ‘As for pasta, who congratulated you because you ate that?’
 b. 
 pasta who asked when you.ate
 Intended: ‘As for pasta, who asked when you ate that?’
 c. 
 pasta who talked about the person that ate
 Intended: ‘As for pasta, who talked about the person that ate that?’

Importantly, the examples above involve a topicalization from inside the island, and wh-movement from outside the island. This means that only the former movement is illicit, while the latter is not. However, the reverse scenario also results in an ungrammatical wh-TREQ. This serves as supporting evidence for the claim that there is indeed wh-movement occurring inside the ellipsis site. The examples in (4) illustrate the availability of topicalizations of material from outside an island, while the examples in (5) demonstrate that a wh-phrase cannot be moved out of adjuncts, embedded wh-questions and relative clauses, as expected:

- (4) a. [A Bruno], lo felicitaste  [adjunct porque comió pasta].
 DOM Bruno CL.3S congratulated because he.ate pasta
 'Bruno, you congratulated him because he ate pasta.'
- b. [A Bruno], le pregunté  [embedded-wh cuándo comiste pasta].
 to Bruno to.him I.asked when you.ate pasta
 'Bruno, I asked him when you ate pasta.'
- c. [A Bruno], le hablaste  sobre la persona [relative clause que comió
 to Bruno to.him talked about the person that ate
 pasta].
 'Bruno, you talked to him about the person that ate pasta.'
- (5) a. *[Qué] lo felicitaste a Bruno  [adjunct porque comió ___]?
 what CL.3S congratulated DOM Bruno because he.ate
 Intended: 'What_i did you congratulated Bruno because he ate t_i?'
 b. *[Qué] le preguntaste Bruno  [embedded-wh cuándo comí ___]?
 what to.him asked Bruno when I.ate
 Intended: 'What_i did you ask Bruno when I ate t_i?'
 c. *[Qué] le hablaste a Bruno sobre la persona [relative clause que comió
 what to.him talked to Bruno about the person that ate
 ___]?
 Intended: 'What_i did you talked to Bruno about the person that ate t_i?'
 x

Furthermore, when this is tested in the context of wh-TREQs, the result is ungrammatical, as the following examples show:

- (6) a. A: La felicitaste a Sonia [adjunct porque comió pizza].
 CL.3S congratulated DOM Sonia because she.ate pizza
 'You congratulated Sonia because she ate pizza.'
- B: *Y a Bruno?
 and to Bruno
 Literal: 'And Bruno?'

Intended interpretation: ‘What about Bruno? What_{*i*} did you congratulated him

because he ate *t_i*?’

- b. A: Le pregunté a Sonia [embedded-wh cuándo comiste pizza].
to.her asked to Sonia when you.ate pizza
‘I told Sonia that you asked when I ate pizza.’

B: *Y a Bruno?
and to Bruno
Literal: ‘And Bruno?’

Intended interpretation: ‘What about Bruno? What_{*i*} did you ask him when I

ate *t_i*?’

- c. A: Le hablé a Sonia sobre la persona [relative clause que comió
to.her I.talked to Sonia about the person that ate
pizza].
pizza
‘I talked to Sonia about the person that ate pizza.’

B: *Y a Bruno?
and to Bruno
Literal: ‘And Bruno?’

Intended interpretation: ‘What about Bruno? What_{*i*} did you talk to him about

the person that *t_i*?’

Crucially, the ungrammaticality of the wh-TREQs in (6) is not due to the topicalization of *a Bruno* ‘to Bruno’, since it doesn’t cross an island boundary, as the examples in (4) show. Instead, it is the wh-movement of *qué* ‘what’ that makes these sentences ungrammatical, as shown in (5). This suggests that the source of the ungrammaticality

in (6) can be traced back to the structures in (7), where the ungrammaticality arises from the illicit wh-movement:

- (7) a. *[A Bruno], [qué] lo felicitate — [adjunct porque comió ___]?
DOM Bruno what CL.3S congratulated because he.ate
-

Intended: ‘As for Bruno, what_i did you congratulated him because he ate t_i?’

- b. *[A Bruno], [qué] le preguntaste — [embedded-wh cuándo comí ___]?
to Bruno what to.him asked when I.ate
Intended: ‘As for Bruno, what_i did you ask him when I ate t_i?’
-

- c. *[A Bruno], [qué] le hablaste — sobre la persona [rel. clause que comió ___]?
to Bruno what to.him talked about the person that ate
-

Int.: ‘As for Bruno, what_i did you talked to him about the person that ate t_i?’

This, in turn, also provides evidence that there’s wh-movement inside the ellipsis site.

Appendix B: a note on *what-about* questions in English

In this appendix I briefly discuss what I will refer to as *what-about* questions in English.¹

Unlike Spanish, English doesn’t allow topicalization out of wh-questions, as shown in (8-a), but it does allow hanging topics followed up by a resumed wh-question, as shown in (8-b):

- (8) a. *Bruno, what ate?

¹I thank two anonymous reviewers for prompting me to think about this phenomenon.

- b. What about Bruno? What did he eat?

As an anonymous reviewer notes, *what-about* questions in English can be used without the following resumed wh-question, in a superficially similar way as wh-TREQs in Spanish:

- (9) A: Sonia ate pizza.
B: And what about Bruno?
A: Pasta.

In light of this data, it's worthwhile to explore the differences and similarities between English *what-about* questions and Spanish wh-TREQs, with the aim to determine if a unified approach is justified. One crucial question is whether a *what-about* question like the one in (9)B is indeed elliptical. Specifically, we must determine whether the follow-up resumed question we see in (8-b) undergoes ellipsis in an example like (9), or if there is no such resumed question at all. This empirical question goes beyond the scope of this paper. However, for now, let's consider the hypothesis that (at least some cases of) *what-about* questions in English, like the one in (9), are indeed elliptical. As suggested by an anonymous reviewer, this would involve hanging topics (the *what-about* question itself) followed by an elided resumed question. Importantly, these configurations are not possible in Spanish, as I discussed around P-omission facts in footnote 7.

An important difference is that *what-about* questions in English are available in contexts where topicalization is not possible, whereas wh-TREQs in Spanish are not, as I extensively showed. More striking is the fact that English *what-about* questions

show island sensitivity—just like topicalization-based wh-TREQs in Spanish—, despite apparently not involving movement of the remnant (although one could think of an alternative approach where movement is indeed involved):

- (10) A: Sonia heard the rumor that I ate pizza yesterday.
 B: And (what about) pasta? Who heard the rumour that you ate that yesterday?
 A: Bruno.
- (11) A: Sonia heard the rumor that I ate pizza yesterday.
 B: And (what about) pasta?
 A: #Bruno

As an anonymous reviewer points out, the unacceptability of (11) on the relevant reading² seems to be linked to the island-boundedness of the correlate. However, this cannot be directly attributed to an island-violating movement of the remnant, given that these are assumed to be based-generated. Based on these facts about English, an anonymous reviewer argues that the facts reported for Spanish regarding island sensitivity are not due to movement, but something else; in other words, whatever causes unacceptability in English should account for the ungrammaticality of Spanish wh-TREQs in contexts of islands.

However, I argue that this is not the case, and that English *what-about* questions cannot be equated to Spanish wh-TREQs. First, it's important to note that the examples provided above involve some contrastiveness between *pizza* in the antecedent and *pasta*

²The *what-about* question in (11) is impossible with the intended meaning in (10), but seems to be possible with a polar question meaning, which is not particularly relevant for the current discussion.

in the *what-about* question. As Griffiths & Lipták (2014) noted, contrastive fragments cannot have non-contrastive correlates:

- (12) A: John was very tired and hungry. You know what he did? He left the office at three and he had a pizza in his favorite restaurant on his way home.
B2: No, a SALAD he had in his favorite restaurant on his way home.
B1: *No, a SALAD.

(adapted from Griffiths & Lipták 2014, ex. (30))

Griffiths and Lipták, propose, then, a *felicity condition on contrastive fragments* according to which '[c]ontrastive fragments are only felicitous if their correlate is contrastively focused' (p. 202). I contend that this condition explains why the island examples provided by the anonymous reviewer are ungrammatical in English. Moreover, it predicts that a *what-about* question that inquires about anything in an embedded clause (not just an island) would be ungrammatical, given that its correlate would be background (i.e., not contrastively focused) information. This prediction is borne out. Importantly, the non-elliptical counterparts are perfectly grammatical:

- (13) A: Sonia said that I ate pizza yesterday.
B: And what about pasta? Who said that you ate that yesterday?
A: Bruno.
- (14) A: Sonia said that I ate pizza yesterday.
B: And what about pasta?
A: #Bruno.

Given these facts, I don't think that the examples from *what-about* questions in English should directly inform an analysis of wh-TREQs in Spanish. Ultimately, further research on *what-about* questions in English is needed to determine: (i) whether these are elliptical structures, (ii) whether the *what-about XP* part is based-generated in the left-periphery or moved, and (iii) the relationship between the XP in the *what-about* question and the resumed element in the follow up question. At the moment, I don't have enough data to provide a definite answer to any of these questions.

References

Griffiths, James, and Anikó Lipták. 2014. Contrast and island sensitivity in clausal ellipsis. *Syntax* 17.3.189–234.