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To cite this version:

HAL Id: hal-00881807
https://univ-tlse2.hal.science/hal-00881807
Submitted on 31 Dec 2017

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Modal ellipsis in French, Spanish and Italian
Evidence for a TP-deletion analysis

Anne Dagnac

French, Spanish and Italian, reputedly non-VP-ellipsis allowing languages, can display gaps after root modals. I argue that these gaps are instances of ellipsis, viewed as PF-deletion of a constituent. They indeed allow for \(^{A}\)-movement, which an alternative null proform analysis cannot capture. Yet, they differ from English VP-ellipsis, in particular wrt the kind of remnants they allow, their tolerance to voice mismatches, and by displaying a constraint on subjects in Antecedent Contained Deletion. I propose that these differences follow from the status of the modals in these languages and the size of the deleted structure, which is a TP in the three Romance languages \textit{vs} a VP in English.\(^1\)

1. Introduction

French, Spanish and Italian, unlike English, are classically held (cf. e.g. Lobeck 1995) not to allow for VP-ellipsis after auxiliaries, cf. (1) \textit{vs} (2):

\begin{enumerate}
\item a. *Tom a vu Lee mais Marie n’ a pas__ [Fr]
\item b. *Tom ha visto Lee pero María no ha__ [Sp]
\item c. *Tom ha visto a Lee ma María non ha__. [It]
\end{enumerate}

\text{Tom has seen (to) Lee, but Mary Neg^2 has___.}

‘Tom saw Lee, but Mary didn’t’

1. Special thanks to Jason Merchant, for his 2006 lectures in Paris that gave this work its seminal impulse and for later patient answers. Thanks, too, to J.Runner, L.Aelbrecht, D.Sportiche, S.Lappin, H.Demirdache, K.Johnson, the audiences of various talks including LSRL38, and two anonymous reviewers, for helpful comments, questions and/or answers. All errors are of course mine.

2. The French discontinuous negation \textit{ne...pas} involves a scope marker (SM) \textit{ne} and a negative word \textit{pas}, which I subsume under NEG in the gloss when giving similar Italian/Spanish examples.
Modal ellipsis in French, Spanish and Italian

2. Arguments for a modal ellipsis in French

A major diagnostic to distinguish between null proforms and ellipses is the (im) possibility to extract sub-items from the gap. Null proforms, being devoid of inner structure, cannot provide extraction sites for sub-items. On the contrary, if ellipsis is a deleted but otherwise 'normal' XP, any classical extraction from within this XP occurring before Spell Out is predicted to be possible.

In French, extraction facts clearly support the PF-deletion analysis: modal ellipsis allows for ACD, cf. (6), as first pointed by Busquets and Denis, but also for free relatives, cf. (7), and, under the same kind of contrast conditions found with English VPE (Park 2004, Merchant 2008b), for WH-questions, cf. (8):

(6) Léa lit tous les livres qu'elle peut <lire t>.

Lea reads all the books that she can.

(7) Il embrasse [WH qui] il peut <embrasser t>.

He kisses [WH who(ever)] he can

(8) Je sais quels livres Léa peut lire et je sais aussi

I know which books Léa can read and I know also

quel livres Ben ne peut pas <lire t>.

which books, Ben sm can not <read t>.

'I know which books Léa can read and I also know which books Ben can’t'

Whether ACD involves a classical relative operator or a copy of the head (Sauerland 2000, 2004, Fox 2002) in a matching/head raising analysis (cf. 6'), it requires an item to be moved from a base position inside the gap that a proform could not provide:

(6') Léa lit tous [sp les livres [spec,cp livres] qu'elle peut <lire [les livres] t>]

And so do free relatives and WH-questions. I assume that (7) involves WH-movement of the animate direct object qui (Rooryck 1994). In (8), quels livres ('which books'), must undergo movement from the direct object position of lire ('read') in the embedded clause.

That these constructions involve movement is confirmed by their island-sensitivity, cf. respectively (9), (10) and (11):

(9) *Bob a lu tous les livres que Léa partageait l’opinion qu’il

'Bob read all the books that Lea shared the opinion that he couldn’t'
3. ACD and the ‘same subject constraint’

Cechetto and Percus (2006) argue that Italian doesn’t display ACD with modals on the basis of examples such as (15) (their [29b]), which I extend to Spanish in (16):

(15) *Potrei mangiare ogni pizza che Gianni potrebbe.
    Could:1sg eat each pizza that Gianni could:3sg
    ‘I could eat every pizza that Gianni could’

(16) *María lee todos los libros que Juan puede.
    Mary reads all the books that John can

This argument misses an important fact, though: in these examples, the subject of the modal (John) and the subject of the matrix clause (I, Mary) are referentially disjunct. But if both subjects corefer, ACD is perfectly grammatical in these languages, cf. (17) – a contrast also found in French, cf. (17c) vs (17’).5

(17) a. Maria legge tutti i libri che può.
    [Italian]
b. María lee todos los libros que puede.
    [Spanish]
c. Marie lit tous les livres qu’elle peut.
    [French]
    Mary reads all the books that (she) can:3sg
    Mary reads all the books that she can’

(17’) *Marie lit tous les livres que Jean peut.
    Mary reads all the books that John can

3.2 Other A’-movements

Likewise, contra Depiante (2001), under the correct contrast conditions, WH-questions are perfectly grammatical, cf. (18–19)6.

(18) a. Ahora, ya sé a quién puedo confiar mi hijo,
    pero todavía no sé a quién no puedo.
    [Sp]
    but (still) not know:1sg (still) to whom can:1sg (still) to whom can’t
    ‘Now, I know to whom I can confide my son, but I still don’t know to whom I can’t’

b. Adesso, so a chi posso affidare mio figlio,
    ma non so ancora a chi non posso.
    [It]
    but (still) not know:1sg (still) to whom neg can:1sg
    ‘Now, I know to whom I can confide my son, but I still don’t know to whom I can’t’

4. Many thanks to Jaime, Enrique, Luisa, Zazil, Lucia, Fabio, Roberta and Andrea for patient discussions and judgements. My Spanish informants are from Galicia, Madrid, Andalucía and Mexico City, my Italian informants from northern Italy and Sardinia.

5. See Section 4 for an account.

6. Some informants require further contrast, on the WH-word or the modal itself. I ignore this point, since, crucially, given some contrast, they all admit WH-questions.
Free relatives are licensed, too, cf. (19).

(1) a. Besa a quien puede. [Sp]  
    b. Baccia chi può. [It]  

    ‘S/he kisses who s/he can’

All these sentences involve A'-movement from the gap. Hence, Spanish and Italian pattern with French: their Modal Ellipses involve a deleted constituent. In the next section, though, I argue that they differ from English VP-ellipsis.

### 4. Modal Ellipsis is a TP-Ellipsis

If French, Spanish and Italian modal ellipsis was indeed similar to English VPE, as proposed for French by Busquets and Denis, they should display parallel properties, which is partly not the case. I propose to link these differences to the status of their deontic modals. English modals are commonly viewed as auxiliaries selecting a vP/VP, cf. (20), and, following Merchant (2008a), as deleting a VP:

\[ \text{(20)} \quad \ldots \{\text{can}_{\text{vP}} \{\text{t}_{\text{sujet}} \{\text{VP} \}}\} \} / \{\text{can}_{\text{vP}} \{\text{t}_{\text{sujet}} \{\text{VP} \}}\} \}\]

French, Spanish and Italian modals are subject-raising verbs argued to select a TP (see e.g. Wurmbrand 2001, and Ruwet 1972 for French), with a general structure such as (21):\(^7\)

\[ \text{(21)} \quad \{\text{vP modal} \{\text{TP} \{\text{t}_{\text{sujet}} \{\text{T} \}} \ldots \{\text{A} \{\text{t}_{\text{sujet}} \{\text{VP} \}} \}} \}\]

I propose that they target this TP for deletion.\(^9\)

---

**4.1 Remnants**

Several elements can indeed intervene between the modal and the elided verb, among which aspectual and voice auxiliaries of the lower verb. In English, as expected if only VP elides, they can be left over by VPE, as shown respectively in (22) and (23):

(22) Paul managed to repair this stuff – Luke couldn’t have <repared this stuff>

(23) The janitor should remove the trash whenever it is apparent that it needs to be <removed t>

On the contrary, in French, Spanish and Italian, all projections above the elided VP must disappear, as shown for the aspectual head in (24) and the voice head in (25):

    b. *Tom puede haber acabado en junio, y Lea también puede haber.
    c. *Tom può aver finito ingiugno e anche Lea può avere.

    b. *Paco puede ser trasladado, y Kiko también puede ser.
    c. *Paolo può essere trasferito, e anche Kiko può essere.

Assuming that ‘have’ is in AspP (Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2002) and passive ‘be’ dominates either a VoiceP above vP (Collins 2005) or a vP with a passive feature, this is expected if modal ellipsis deletes the full TP, cf. (26):

(26) a. Modal \(\{\text{TP} \{\text{t}_{\text{sujet}} \{\text{A} \{\text{t}_{\text{sujet}} \{\text{VP} \}} \}} \ldots \} \}\)

The case of negation is less straightforward. With English modals, the nontensed verb may marginally admit a negation, which doesn’t survive ellipsis with modals, though, cf. (27). We assume that, like the negation following to in \textit{He tried to not win}, it is an instance of constituent negation, contrary to the sentential negation that appears before to in \textit{He tried not to win} and can escape ellipsis (Travis 2000), cf. (28b):

(27) a. She cannot resist temptation, and he cannot [\text{vP NOT resist it.}]
    b. *She cannot resist temptation, and he cannot [NOT resist it.]

(28) a. *He wanted to yield, but he tried [\text{TP to NOT yield}]
    b. He wanted to yield, but he tried [\text{TP NOT to yield}]

---

\(^7\) vs a vP (Johnson 2004, Merchant 2007) or a VoiceP (Baltin 2007). A reviewer points that it predicts wrongly that Floated Quantifiers can be remnants. In fact, as Sag (1978) already noted, the problem extends to high adverbs such as often or probably, and is not specific to ellipsis, since this ban extends to various pre-extraction positions. I follow Sag in assuming this is due to a phonological output constraint.

\(^8\) Other proposals all involve a complement bigger than VP, which would not crucially change the general argumentation.

\(^9\) According to e.g. Abeillé & Godard (2003), Cardinaletti & Shlonsky (2004), Romance restructuring modals (who ban ellipsis, cf. note 3) are auxiliary-like and select a vP/VP instead of a TP. They are then likely to disallow ellipsis for the same reason other auxiliaries do. This reason may be that the category of potential licensees for ellipsis is parametrical and deletion in these languages can target TPs but not vPs/VPs.
Thus, the (higher) sentential negation in (28b) survives VP-ellipsis, whereas the constituent negation in (27b/28a), the only one available with modals, must disappear with the VP.

The three Romance languages can display a sentential negation on the infinitive clause, which is in a NegP above T (Zanuttini 2001).10 If TP is deleted, cf. (30), it is predicted not to survive ellipsis, which is borne out, cf. (29)

\[
\begin{align*}
(29) \ a. & \ *Paul \ peut \ \textit{aller} \ \textit{a} \ \textit{Madrid} \ \textit{et} \ \textit{Lea} \ \textit{peut} \ ne \ \textit{pas} \ <>. \ [\text{French}] \\
& b. \ *\text{Paco} \ \textit{puede} \ \textit{ir} \ \textit{a} \ \textit{Madrid} \ \textit{y} \ \text{Lea} \ \textit{puede} \ ne \ \textit{pas} <>. \ [\text{Sp}] \\
& c. \ *\text{Paolo} \ \textit{può} \ \textit{andare} \ \textit{a} \ \textit{Madrid} \ \textit{e} \ \textit{Lea} \ \textit{può} \ ne \ \textit{non} <>. \ [\text{It}]
\end{align*}
\]

Paul can go to Madrid and Lea can not.

The different sizes of the deleted material in English VPE vs ‘Modal Ellipsis’ thus capture the differences in the remnants allowed:

\[
\begin{align*}
(30) \ a. & \ \text{Modal \ [TP \ (NegP) \ [T \ [\text{Asp \ [passive BE \ [\text{VP \ [Neg] \ [\ldots]]]]]]]]]} \ \text{[11]}
\\
& b. \ \text{Modal \ (Neg1) \ [Asp \ [passive BE \ [\text{VP \ [Neg] \ [\ldots]]]]]]}
\end{align*}
\]

4.2 Voice mismatches

Another difference between the two constructions is their tolerance to voice mismatches between the elided constituent and its antecedent.

10. For French, cf. Zanuttini (2001): a NegP1 above T, hosting Spanish and Italian negations, also hosts the scope-marker ne. I leave open (and don’t note in (30)), the exact location of the lower NegP hosting French pas, since it is irrelevant here. I assume that the Agr5 projection above NegP, necessary in tensed clauses to host the subject, is not projected in infinitive TPs following raising verbs.

11. A reviewer notes that this proposal correctly predicts (i), with a positive polarity particle on the infinitive, but not (ii) or (iii):

\[
\begin{align*}
& i. \ *Juan \ \textit{puede no llegar tarde al trabajo, pero Pedro puede si}
\\
& \text{Juan can not arrive late at-the job, but Pedro can yes}
\\
& ii. *Juan \ (no) \ puede no llegar tarde al trabajo, pero Pedro puede \textit{llegar tarde...} \\
& \text{Juan (no) can not arrive late at-the job, but Pedro can}
\\
& iii. *Juan \ \textit{puede no llegar tarde al trabajo, pero Pedro \textit{si} puede\textit{llegar tarde...}}
\\
& \text{Juan can not arrive late at-the job, but Pedro \textit{yes} can}
\end{align*}
\]

In fact, my proposal predicts (ii), since it violates the identity requirement on ellipsis: the two TPs differ ([TP1 haber llegado tarde al trabajo] ≠ [TP2 haber llegado tarde al trabajo]). In (iii), si, though on \textit{poder}, must have low scope on the infinitive for the sentence (in particular \textit{pero}) to make sense. This suggests it has raised to a focus position in the matrix (before poder), which both enables it to be outside the elided site, and its trace/copy inside the gap to escape the parallelism requirement via focus (on this, see Section 4).

Voice mismatches are possible with English VP-ellipsis, under the right discourse conditions (Kehler 2000, Frazier & Clifton 2006). In (31), the antecedent verb is active and the elided one passive; (32) illustrates the reverse case.

(31) The janitor must remove the trash whenever it is apparent that it should be <removed> (Merchant 2008a, [2b])

(32) This problem was to have been looked into, but obviously nobody did <look into this problem> (Merchant 2008a, [1a])

On the contrary, Modal Ellipsis appears to rule them out, even in the same discourse conditions, as exemplified respectively for French, Spanish and Italian in (35–36).12

\[
\begin{align*}
(33) \ a. & \ *\text{Il faut remplacer l’ampoule de l’escalier, mais elle,}
\\
& b. *\text{Hay que cambiar la bombilla de la escalera, pero pro, }
\\
& c. *\text{Bisogna cambiare la lampadina della scala, ma pro,}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Someone should replace the bulb in the staircase but it can’t – it’s jammed’

(34) a. *\text{Este problema debería haber sido solucionado, pero}
\\
& b. *\text{Questo problema avrebbe dovuto essere risolto, ma}
\\
& c. *\text{Este problema debería haber sido solucionado, pero}

This problem must-be-PST-COND solved, but evidently nessuno ha potuto.

12. Some speakers seem to marginally admit the passive antecedent/active ellipsis cases. In any case, voice data need investigating as thoroughly as in English.
ellipses. With pseudo-gapping and sluicing, he argues, more material is deleted (respectively vP and TP). Hence, the diverging v-heads are inside the ellipsis site and violate the identity condition.

If both his analysis and the data in (33–34) are right, the different tolerance to voice mismatches found in Modal Ellipsis and English VPE is straightforwardly accounted for by my proposal: in the latter, the deleted TP includes the diverging voice feature and thus violates the identity condition on ellipses.

5. Accounting for the ‘Same Subject Constraint’

Another puzzling difference is that ACD constructions are submitted to the ‘Same Subject Constraint’ (cf. Section 2) in the three Romance languages, but not in English – cf. (35) vs (36), for the same context.

(35) [Tom is married to Lea, and he is blind: he cannot read. So, Lea reads aloud for him. In fact]
Lea reads every book that Tom can’t. (J. Merchant, p.c.)

(36) a. *Lea lit tous les livres que Tom ne peut pas.
   b. *Lea lees todos los libros que Tom no puede.
   c. *Lea legge tutti i libri che Tom non può.

Lea reads all the books that Tom can’t read.
The TP-deletion hypothesis offers a way to account for this difference, too, as I shall show here for French. As is well-known, ellipses must comply to an identity condition. Its nature has been much debated, but a current formulation is that the content of the elided constituent must be semantically identical to its antecedent, modulo Focus-marked elements (for a technical implementation, see e.g. Merchant 2001). Within recent accounts of ACD (Sauerland 2000, 2004, Fox 2002), this requirement extends to traces, viewed as copies. Practically, this means that diverging elements (here the subjects) must either be outside the ellipsis site or be focussed.

Now, with an elided VP, such as in English (35), the trace of the subject is outside the elided site, cf. (37): it always evades the identity requirement.

(37) Lea reads every book [cp book, that Tom, he can’t [vp read the book]]

On the contrary, with a raising verb and a TP-ellipsis, as in (36) roughly detailed in (38), a copy of the subject is inside the ellipsis site. It must then either corefer with its antecedent, or be focussed. The SSC is then just a specific instantiation of the identity condition on ellipses: if the infinitive subject corefers with the antecedent subject, cf. (39) the ellipsis is well-formed. If it doesn’t, as in (36/38), it violates the identity condition and is then ruled out.

(38) *Lea lit tous les livres que Tom, il ne peut pas lire.
Lea reads all the books that he can’t read.

(39) Tom lit tous les livres que il peut lire.
Tom reads all the books that he can.

Its only way to avoid ill-formedness in this case is to be F-marked. This, we claim, happens in conjuncts, cf. (40), where all F-marking devices (De Cat 2004), in particular left-dislocation and narrow focus intonation on DPs, are available to mark subjects:

(40) (Context: Which neighbors can come?)
Paul peut venir mais Marie ne peut pas. Paul can come but Marie sm can not
mais Marie)RG L%[intp ne peut pas] RG L%[intp]

So, why can’t subjects also resort to F-marking in ACD constructions? Because, we claim, restrictive relatives are not on the same information level as their main clauses: be they elided or not, the proper ways to F-mark subjects are not available for them. This is the case with contrastive topics, marked by left dislocated subjects, which require parallel information structures (Gergel et al. 2007): 13

(41) *Lea lit tous les livres que Tom, il ne peut pas lire.
Lea reads all the books that Tom, sm can not read
‘Lea reads all the books that Tom can’t read’

(42) *Lea lit tous les livres que Tom, il ne peut pas.
Lea reads all the books that Tom, sm can not
‘Lea read all the books that Tom can’t’

DP subjects with a narrow focus intonation cf. (43), or with a focus-sensitive particle as in (44), are also impossible in non-elided restrictive relatives, as the subject can’t correspond to the WH-part of a related question, contrary to what happens to the conjunct in (40) – only Lea, the main subject, can:

(43) Lea lit tous les livres que Tom ne peut pas lire
a. #Tom)RG L%[intp ne peut pas lire) RG L%[intp
b. Tom)RG n’a pas pu lire) RG L%[intp

13. Imposing such a focus structure on the relative may be possible but turns it into a non-restrictive one, irrelevant here.
So, in the elided relative in (36/38), the subject has no way out: the narrow focus intonation that would F-mark the disjunct subject (cf. 45a) is ruled out just as in its non-elided version in (43a). Only the broad focus intonation found in (43b) is possible, but it doesn’t F-mark the subject, and (45b), the elided version of (43b), violates the identity condition.

6. Conclusion

French, Spanish and Italian pattern together in licensing, after modals, gaps that display a full range of island-sensitive extractions, in particular relativization and WH-movement, as long as the relevant semantic constraints are met. This casts strong doubt over a null proform analysis, that would be unable to provide a base position for the moved items. But they also differ from English VPE-ellipsis: they cannot strand any item higher than VP, they display the ‘Same Subject Constraint’ in ACD and they rule out voice mismatches. I propose that all these differences stem from the fact that ‘Modal Ellipsis’ deletes a TP while English VPE deletes a mere VP, a direct consequence of the different status of the modals in these languages. The SSC consists in the extension of the usual identity condition on elided material to the copy of the raised subject. Within this view, Lobbeck’s (1995) claim that these Romance languages don’t display VPE remains fully grounded: they only allow for TPE. But the existence of an instance of TP-ellipsis with (non-optional) deontic modals brings new material to the on-going debate on how ellipsis is licensed.

References

Johnson, Kyle. 2004. "How to be Quiet". Ms, University of Massachusetts.

(44) *Lea lit tous les livres que Tom aussi peut lire
*Lea reads all the books that Tom also can read.

(45) *Lea lit tous les livres que Tom ne peut pas.
a. *(Tom)RG L,%[IntP ne peut pas]RG L,%[IntP
b. *(Tom)RG ne peut pas]RG L,%[IntP

No device to (properly) F-mark subjects being available in restrictive relatives, ACD subjects can only corefer to the antecedent subject not to violate the general identity condition on ellipsis.14 Since this unavailability stems from the informational status of restrictive relatives, Spanish and Italian are then expected to show such a restriction.

To my knowledge, the constraint on subjects in ACD modal ellipsis had gone unnoticed so far. The data and this first proposal may need refining. Some speakers seem to unevenly accept some cases of disjunction. One reviewer finds (i), marginally acceptable.

(i) *A Juan le gusta comer todo lo que Pedro no puede
Its French counterpart (ii), with an infinitive in subject position, is also marginally acceptable, and some French speakers accept (iii), where the relative subject is a contrastive pronoun with a somewhat underdocumented status:

(ii) *Je porterai tous les cartons que Luis ne peut pas.
(iii) *Je porterai tous les cartons que Luis ne peut pas.

These cases may suggest that the status of the subject/antecedent matters for the proper formulation of identity conditions, or that the claim that subjects can’t escape identity via focus in restrictive relatives is too strong: some kind of F-marking (but not all) may be available to contrast (some types of) subjects in ACD constructions. If our proposal can be maintained, this constitutes a field of investigation per se.
Optional prepositions in Brazilian Portuguese

Mary A. Kato

This paper discusses the phenomenon of preposition optionallity in Brazilian Portuguese (BP), starting from Bouchard’s (1981) observation that the preposition of a strictly subcategorized PP complement in French can be absent in the “chopping” type of relativization, though the same sort of “deletion” is ruled out in wh-questions, a contrast that leads him to propose that movement is absent in such relatives. My aim in this paper is (a) to show that this phenomenon is not restricted to relative clauses, (b) to propose a uniform analysis of preposition optionallity in several domains, (c) to argue that prepositions which encode inherent case are optional in the numeration, and (d) to claim that absence of the preposition involves only A’-positions, where the DP can have a “default” case. The paper ends up with a discussion on contrastive topicalization, assumed to be derived from VP-topicalization.

1. Introduction

The phenomenon of optional prepositions in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) has been extensively studied in Tarallo’s (1983) work on relative clauses, inspired by Bouchard’s (1981) paper on a similar phenomenon in French.

The aim of the present study is to show that this phenomenon is not restricted to relative clauses, and to propose a uniform analysis of this optionallity in several domains: topic positions, relative clauses, and cleft constructions. The research questions are the following:

a. what sort of prepositions can be optional in BP?
b. what positions license optionallity of prepositions in BP and why?

* This paper had the support of CNPq grant 301219/2008 and FAPESP 2006/00965-2. I thank the valuable contributions of Juanito Avelar, Heloisa Salles, Jairo Nunes, Marcello Marcelino and Paulo Medeiros. I also owe an enormous debt to Bouchard’s comments on the first version of the paper. The usual disclaimers apply.