

Qualifying Paper Proposal

DP-Internal Ellipsis in Spanish

Aaron Braver*

1 December, 2008

1 Introduction

This paper is concerned with a construction in Spanish known variably as ‘N-drop’, ‘NP-ellipsis’, ‘N’-ellipsis’, and ‘N-ellipsis’, among other names. The data considered to be a part of this construction varies from author to author, but the common element in all examples given of this construction, which I will refer to as ‘NPE’¹ or ‘DP-internal ellipsis’, is that a DP does not contain an overt noun². The most typical sort of example consists of a DP with a definite article, the empty category, and a postnominal AP modifier, often conjoined with another similar DP:

- (1) el pato amarillo y el [] blanco
the duck yellow and the [] white
‘The yellow duck and the white (one)’

Spanish also allows instances of NPE headed by a definite article to have relative clause modifier, as in (2), or prepositional phrase modifier, as in (3), in place of the adjectival modifier.

- (2) el pingüino que vió Martín, y el [] que vió Marta
the penguin that saw Martín, and the [] that saw Marta
‘The penguin that Lee saw, and the (one) that Marta saw’
- (3) el pingüino de Antártida y el [] de Australia
the penguin of Antarctica and the [] of Australia
‘The penguin from Antarctica and the (one) from Australia’

In this paper, I approach NPE from the structure of the elements that can serve as modifiers in the construction—APs, relative clauses, and *de*-PPs. I also examine the position and composition of demonstratives, which, as shown in §2.2, change the set of possible NPE modifiers. These considerations serve as useful tools in mapping the DP structure of Spanish.

2 Generalizations

As mentioned in §1, the term ‘NPE’ has been used to describe various sets of data. In this section, I lay out the generalizations that I intend to capture, and provide data to support these generalizations.

*Thanks are due to the following individuals for comments, discussion, and judgments: Jane Grimshaw, Viviane Déprez, José Camacho, Mark Baker, Huib Kranendonk, Matt Barros, Carlo Linares, Alexandra Linares, Teresa Torres, Ignacia Perugorría, and the participants of the Fall 2008 Qualifying Paper Workshop at Rutgers

¹While this term is commonly used as an abbreviation for NP-ellipsis, I use the term here simply to describe the set of facts to be considered, and make no commitment to a PF deletion analysis

²Analyses of NPE as nominalization of overt modifiers might disagree with this characterization

2.1 Restrictions on modifiers

To begin, with definite determiners the empty category can be followed with either an adjective, a PP, or a relative clause. Each of these classes of modifiers, however, is restricted in some way. Adjectival modifiers, for example, must be the sort that appear postnominally in a vanilla DP. Adjectives that can normally appear either pre- or postnominally have only the postnominal interpretation under NPE.

- (4) a. el mero soldado
the mere soldier
'the mere soldier'
- b. *el soldado mero
the soldier mere
- c. *el gran soldado y el mero []
the great soldier and the mere []
- (5) a. el amigo viejo
the friend old
'the old (elderly) friend'
- b. el viejo amigo
the old friend
'the old (longtime) friend'
- c. el amigo peruano y el [] viejo
the friend Peruvian and the [] old
'the Peruvian friend and the old (elderly/*longtime) (one)'

As can be seen in (4), *mero* can be used only prenominaly, and is not a licit NPE modifier in a DP headed by a definite article³. In (5), we see that *viejo* 'old' means either 'elderly' (postnominally) or 'longtime' (prenominally). In NPE, only the postnominal ('elderly') reading is available, as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of the 'longtime' reading in (5c).

As with adjectival modifiers, PP modifiers are restricted—only PPs headed by *de* 'of' are licit modifiers for NPE in Spanish. PPs headed by other prepositions result in ungrammaticality, as is shown in (6)

- (6) a. el pingüino de Antártida y el [] de Australia
the penguin of Antarctica and the [] of Australia
'The penguin from Antarctica and the (one) from Australia'
- b. *el pingüino con gafas y el [] con una bufanda
the penguin with glasses, and the [] with a scarf
- c. *el pingüino para el zoológico y el [] para el acuario
the penguin for the zoo and the [] for the aquarium

Relative clause modifiers are also restricted. These modifiers are not licit when a non-*de*-PP is pied-piped above it. This is shown in (7).

- (7) a. el estudiante de quien habló Marta, y el [] de quien habló Martín
the student of whom spoke Marta, and the [] of whom spoke Martín
'the student that Marta spoke of, and the (one) who Martín spoke of'
- b. *el estudiante que conoció Marta, y el [] con quien caminó Martín
The student that met Marta, and the [] with who walked Martín

³I use the notion 'head of a DP' here and throughout not in the sense that an element is in D⁰, but rather that the element serves as the determiner for the DP - this allows for views in which demonstratives reside in SpecDP, or where quantificational elements do not reside in DP itself

Finally, *some* modifier is necessary:

- (8) a. *el pingüino rápido y el []
 the penguin fast and the []
 b. el pingüino rápido y el [] lento / de Madrid / que viene de Madrid
 the penguin fast and the [] slow / of Madrid / that comes of Madrid
 ‘the fast penguin and the slow (one)/(one) from Madrid/(one) that comes from Madrid’

2.1.1 Adding an adjective

Most of the restrictions listed in the previous section disappears with the addition of a postnominal adjective. That is to say, adding a postnominal adjective to the ungrammatical cases from the previous section ‘saves’ them—except when a prenominal adjective is involved.

Consider the illicit cases with a PP headed by something other than *de*. Compare the following cases to the ones in (6):

- (9) a. el pingüino alto con gafas y el [] *(bajo) con una bufanda
 the penguin tall with glasses, and the [] *(short) with a scarf
 ‘the tall penguin with glasses, and the short (one) with a scarf’
 b. el pingüino alto para el zoológico y el [] *(bajo) para el acuario
 the penguin tall for the zoo and the [] *(short) for the aquarium
 ‘the tall penguin for the zoo, and the short (one) for the aquarium’

Similarly, adding an adjective to DPs with a pied-pied relative clause makes them grammatical. Compare the following example to (7b):

- (10) el estudiante alto que conoció Marta, y el [] *(bajo) con quien caminó Martín
 The student tall that met Marta, and the [] *(short) with who walked Martín
 ‘The tall student that Marta met, and the short (one) Martín walked with’

Surprisingly, adding a postnominal adjective does not make cases with prenominal adjectives licit, suggesting that not only are prenominal adjectives are not licit NPE modifiers, but also that they block otherwise good NPE. Consider the following examples:

- (11) a. *el supuesto asesino, y el verdadero []
 the alleged assassin, and the real []
 b. *el supuesto asesino, y el verdadero [] alto
 the alleged assassin, and the real [] yellow
 (12) el supuesto asesino alto, y el (*supuesto) [] bajo
 the alleged assassin tall, and the (*alleged) [] short

As the examples in (11) demonstrate, adding a postnominal adjective does not change the grammaticality of an instance of NPE with a prenominal adjective. Additionally, example (12) shows that even if only the postnominal adjectives are contrasted, a prenominal adjective ensures ungrammaticality.

Obviously, adding a postnominal adjective to instances of NPE without any modifier (as in (8a)) leads to grammaticality, as this is equivalent to simply having a postnominal adjective modifier in the first place.

2.2 Determiner asymmetries

The generalizations given thus far hold for instances of NPE in which the DP is headed by a definite article. The set of licit modifiers changes, though, when the DP is headed by a demonstrative. In fact, the only restriction listed in §2.1 not lifted is that on prenominal adjectives. Taking these restrictions one by one, we begin with the restriction on non-*de*-PPs.

The restriction on non-*de*-PPs is lifted when the DP is headed by a demonstrative. Compare the following examples with those in (6), in which (b) and (c) are ungrammatical.

- (13) a. ese pingüino de Antártida y aquel [] de Australia
 this penguin of Antarctica and that [] of Australia
 ‘this penguin from Antarctica and that (one) from Australia’
 b. ese pingüino con gafas y aquel [] con una bufanda
 this penguin with glasses, and that [] with a scarf
 ‘this penguin with glasses, and that (one) with a scarf’
 c. ese pingüino para el zoológico y aquel [] para el acuario
 this penguin for the zoo and that [] for the aquarium
 ‘this penguin for the zoo, and that (one) for the aquarium’

Similarly, the restriction on pied-piped relative clauses is removed when the DP is headed by a demonstrative. Compare the following example with (7b).

- (14) ese estudiante que conoció Marta, y aquel [] con quien caminó Martín
 this student that met Marta, and that [] with who walked Martín
 ‘this student that Marta met, and that (one) Martín walked with’

Just as adding a postnominal adjective cannot ‘save’ instances of NPE with a prenominal adjective, replacing the definite article with a demonstrative in cases of NPE with a prenominal adjective results in ungrammaticality. Compare the following example to (11a).

- (15) ??ese supuesto asesino y aquel verdadero []
 this alleged assassin and that real []

It should be noted that adding a postnominal adjective in addition to the demonstrative seems to make the example slightly more grammatical, but not entirely licit.

- (16) ?esa gran casa amarilla y aquella gran [] azul
 this great house yellow and that great [] blue

Finally, the need for a modifier is lifted when the DP is headed by a demonstrative. Compare the following example to (8a):

- (17) Compramos muchos libros, y tú compraste algunos []
 We bought many books, and you bought some []
 ‘We bought many books, and you bought some books’

An identical⁴ lifting of restrictions occurs when the DP is headed by certain quantificational (or adjectivo-quantificational) elements, such as *alguno* ‘some’. Note that these elements alternate between ‘strong’ forms, generally ending in a vowel showing gender agreement, and a ‘weak’ form which lacks such a vowel. Only the strong forms are licit with NPE.

- (18) a. **algún** pingüino alto (weak forms)
 some penguin tall
 ‘some tall penguin’
 b. *algún pingüino alto, y **algún** [] bajo
 some penguin tall, and some [] short
 ‘some tall penguin, and some short (one)’

⁴Since the restrictions on modifiers are identical for strong forms and demonstratives, I do not provide the full paradigm for strong forms here, and refer the reader to the demonstrative paradigm

- (19) a. * **alguno** pingüino alto (strong forms)
 some penguin tall
 ‘some tall penguin’
- b. algún pingüino alto, y **alguno** [] bajo
 some penguin tall, and some [] short
 ‘some tall penguin, and some short (one)’

3 Theory and assumptions

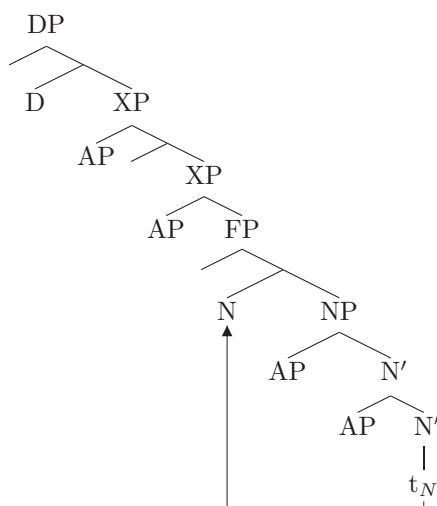
In this section I detail the assumptions and hypotheses that most promise to capture the data outlined above. I also provide several alternatives which I believe have merit, and point to areas which require further research before a concrete proposal can be made.

3.1 Adjective structure

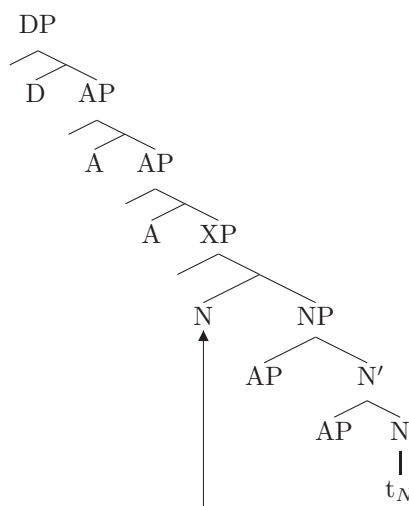
In order to capture the prenominal/postnominal adjective asymmetries listed in §2.1, I propose that the structural positions of these adjectives are different. I do not rule out a combined view in which both features and structure play a role. In this section I outline several potential structures that create this prenominal/postnominal adjective asymmetry. This is an area I believe to be crucial to understanding NPE in Spanish, and therefore expect it to receive a great deal of attention in the paper.

One interesting option (in (20a)) is to assume that postnominal adjectives are all specifiers of NP, while prenominal adjectives are specifiers of functional projections above NP. A slight modification of this structure (in (20b)), in which prenominal adjectives are the heads of the functional projections above NP captures nicely the fact that prenominal adjectives cannot have complements, while postnominal ones can.

- (20) a. AP = Spec



- b. A = head

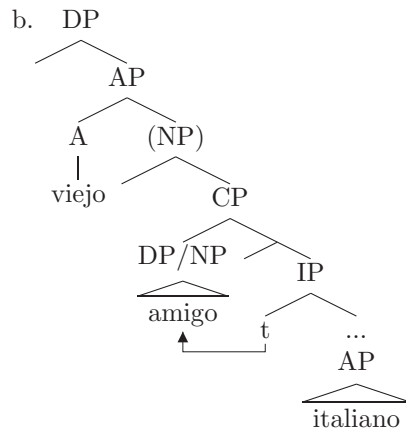


These structures both achieve the desired result of putting pre- and postnominal adjectives in different positions from each other.

Alexiadou’s (2001) proposal, in addition to suggesting a head rather than specifier position for prenominal adjectives, follows the Kayne (1994) proposal in analyzing postnominal adjectives as

small clauses, in order to generate a predication relationship between the noun and the adjective⁵:

- (21) a. el viejo amigo italiano
 the old friend italian
 ‘The old (elderly/*long-time) Italian friend’



In this structure, the matrix NP is empty except for its CP complement—even though no ellipsis is said to happen here. Alexiadou notes that the NP may not even exist, but rather that the AP could take the CP directly as a complement. This structure provides two possibilities for explaining the grammaticality of NPE with postnominal adjectives. One possibility relies heavily on relating the Spanish DP to the Spanish clause. Since Spanish clauses allow null subjects, we might allow the adjectival small clause to go without an overt ‘subject’ as well (note that the downstairs DP/NP is generated in SpecIP—a canonical subject position). A second possibility takes advantage of the fact that the matrix N can be empty in cases where no ellipsis is said to have taken place. Whatever mechanism allows this to be the case could potentially be extended to cases of NPE.

Another class of adjective structures generate prenominal adjectives below postnominal adjectives, which then move up above the postnominal adjectives via either pied-piping or snowball/rollup movement with the N(P) (Laenzlinger 2005, Gutierrez-Rexach and Mallén 2001). Such movement could potentially be exploited to derive the fact that prenominal adjectives ‘poison’ cases of NPE which would be licit otherwise—a condition could be established that prevents movement of the prenominal adjectives across the postnominal adjectives unless accompanied by an overt noun.

3.2 *de*-PPs

As noted in §2.1, PPs headed by *de* are able to serve as modifiers in NPE, while other PPs are not (see the examples in (6)). It has been noted for quite some time in the literature on Spanish (and other languages) that ‘of’ has different properties from other prepositions (see, for example, Torrego (1987), Ormazabal (1991), Raposo (1999) and Ticio (2003)). One way to apply this notion to NPE is to assume that the (semantic) ‘weakness’ of *de* allows it to be transparent to feature percolation. On this view, the (nominal) features from the DP complement of a *de*-PP are able to percolate up through to the (empty) N position in the upstairs DP, or a position in which these features can license NPE.

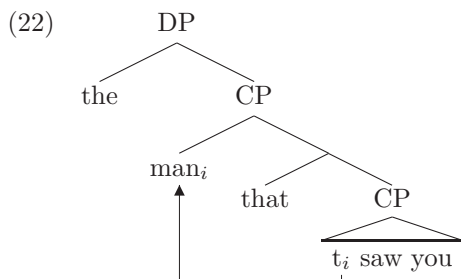
There are two alternatives to this view. First, we could assume that the structural position of *de*-PPs differs from that of all other PPs. If, say, *de*-PPs are specifiers of N while other PPs are adjuncts, one might claim that specifier position is ‘close enough’ to license NPE, while adjunct position is not. This view, however, does not easily capture the *de*/other P distinction when the PP in question is (presumably) a complement. A second alternative is to assume that *de*-PPs are

⁵Kayne makes this claim for all predicative adjectives

more ‘contrastive’ than other PPs—there does seem to be a contrastiveness requirement on NPE. It is not obvious, though, why *de*-PPs should be more contrastive than other PPs, especially when the *de*-PPs can be paraphrased as other PPs while still not licensing NPE.

3.3 Relative clauses

In §2.1 it was shown that relative clauses can serve as NPE modifiers. One way to model this characteristic is to assume, à la Kayne (1994), that the NP starts out in a lower clause and moves up to the spec of the higher CP:



In this structure, the empty noun (here overt ‘man’) starts in ‘subject’ position of the CP (as did the NP in adjective structure in (21b)). It is tempting to state again, then, that the empty category can be aligned with subject *pro*-drop. This might be possible for cases of subject extraction like (22), but it is unclear how such an analysis could be extended to cases of complement extraction.

One interesting aspect of the Kaynian analysis is that the empty category is generated in the lowest CP. There is no ‘matrix’ N head that is empty—rather, the empty category is within a down-stairs CP. While not immediately providing an explanation for the grammaticality of the relative clause modifiers, it potentially shifts the question. Rather than asking ‘why can a DP have an empty N?’ the question becomes ‘how does the lower CP license the empty category?’.

3.4 Demonstratives

Following Giusti (1997) and Brugè (2002), I assume that adjectives in Spanish start out in a functional projection very close above NP. They then move to the specifier of DP. Not landing in D^0 , demonstratives don’t obviously block sequences of a demonstrative and a determiner. I adopt what amounts to a doubly-filled DP filter, the basic idea of which again comes from Giusti and Brugè.

With this basic structure in mind, there are (at least) two options for generating the demonstrative generalizations listed in §2.2. The first option is essentially the claim that demonstratives are adjectival. This hypothesis is not far from the claim that other determiner-like elements (namely, certain quantificational elements) are adjectival. On this view, demonstratives start out in the same position as adjectives—or at least one that is structurally similar—and license NPE by the same mechanism as other adjectives. This predicts that instances of NPE headed by a demonstrative should act as though they have a (postnominal) NPE modifier. This prediction is born out in that no additional modifier is necessary, as was shown in (17). An additional benefit of this analysis is that it captures the fact that prenominal adjectives result in at least some degradation of grammaticality in demonstrative-headed instances of NPE (as in (15)), just as they do in cases of standard postnominal AP modifiers. ‘Strong’ forms would receive a similar analysis on this view.

An alternative analysis of demonstratives, which still maintains the movement of demonstratives to SpecDP, follows from the [+Referential, +Deictic] feature specification of these elements. On this view, when the demonstratives move to SpecDP, they essentially freeze the DP as is. The idea comes from the fact that like pronouns (also [+Referential]), demonstrative-headed DPs cannot

be modified by restrictive relative clauses. The DPs, then, freeze into pronouns or pronoun-like elements regardless of the existence of an overt N.

3.5 Remaining questions

Several questions remain to be answered. I list them here, with the intention of addressing them in more detail in the paper.

- **Does N (or NP) move?** Some analyses of adjective position within the DP require N(P) movement to a position between prenominal and postnominal adjectives. Is this movement necessary, or is the NP generated in this position? Does this movement influence the grammaticality of NPE? For example, if postnominal adjectives are generated in the specifiers of FPs above NP, the key to licensing NPE could be that the N land in the head of each of these FPs and be checked by an AP along the way.
- **Why do prenominal adjectives ‘poison’ NPE?** The structures provided above do not immediately predict this property of prenominal adjectives. As suggested at the end of §(3.1), one potential solution involves banning movement of prenominal adjectives across postnominal ones without an overt N. An additional avenue of investigation might be into features of the prenominal adjectives that might block NPE. Finally, the semantics of the prenominal adjectives should be considered—only a limited set of adjectives appear prenominally, based largely on semantic class. This distinction might also account for the NPE facts.
- **How are the various licit modifiers related?** Similarly, how are the illicit modifiers related? Ideally, a single feature of the licit modifiers can be established that unifies them as a class.
- **How do ‘strong’ forms license NPE?** Do they get a similar analysis to demonstratives, or are they in a class of their own? Additionally, the ungrammaticality of weak forms of similar adjectives in NPE needs to be explained, possibly along the lines of Bernstein’s (1993) WordMarker Phrase.
- **What is the role of agreement morphology?** The ‘rich’ agreement morphology of Spanish is often cited as the licenser of NPE. Spanish, however, allows NPE even when there is no overt agreement anywhere in the DP. Additionally, recent analyses put forward that NPE has more to do with partitivity and atomization (Valois and Royle to appear) or classifiers (Alexiadou and Gengel 2008) than gender agreement.

Works cited (alphabetical)

- Alexiadou, Artemis (2001). *Adjective Syntax and Noun Raising: Word Order Asymmetries in the DP as the result of Adjective Distribution*. *Studia Linguistica* 55(3):217–248.
- Alexiadou, Artemis and Gengel, Kirsten (2008). *Classifiers as Morphosyntactic Licensors of NP Ellipsis: English vs. Romance*. Paper presented at NELS 39.
- Bernstein, Judy B. (1993). *Topics in the syntax of nominal structure across Romance*. Doctoral Dissertation, CUNY, New York, New York.
- Brugè, Laura (2002). *The Position of Demonstratives in the Extended Nominal Projection*. In Guglielmo Cinque (ed.) *Functional Structure in DP and IP: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, volume 1, pp. 15–53. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Giusti, Giuliana (1997). *The Categorical Status of Determiners*. In Liliane Haegeman (ed.) *The New Comparative Syntax*, pp. 95–123. Addison Wesley Longman Limited, London.

- Gutierrez-Rexach, Javier and Mallén, Enrique (2001). *NP Movement and Adjective Position in the DP Phases*. In Julia Herschensohn, Enrique Mallén, and Karen Zagona (eds.) *Features and Interfaces in Romance: Essays in Honor of Heles Contreras*, pp. 107–132. John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam.
- Kayne, Richard (1994). *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*. MIT Press, Cambridge.
- Laenzlinger, Christopher (2005). *French Adjective Ordering: Perspectives on DP-Internal Movement Types*. *Lingua* 115:645–689.
- Ormazabal, Javier (1991). *Asymmetries on Wh-movement and Some Theoretical Consequences*. Ms. University of Connecticut.
- Raposo, Eduardo (1999). *Towards a Minimalist Account of Nominal Anaphora in Spanish and English*. Ms. University of California, Santa Barbara.
- Ticio, M. Emma (2003). *On the Structure of DPs*. Doctoral Dissertation. University of Connecticut.
- Torrego, Esther (1987). *On Empty Categories in Nominals*. Ms. University of Massachusetts.
- Valois, Daniel and Royle, Phaedra (to appear). *Partitivity, Atomization, and N-Drop: A Longitudinal Study of French Child Language*. To appear in *Language Acquisition*.

Categorized bibliography

DP structure - adjectives

- Alexiadou, Artemis (2001). *Adjective Syntax and Noun Raising: Word Order Asymmetries in the DP as the result of Adjective Distribution*. *Studia Linguistica* 55(3):217–248.
- Barbiers, Sjef (1992). *Adjectives as Auxiliaries of the Noun Phrase*. *Linguistics in the Netherlands* 9:13–24.
- Delsing, Lars-Olof (1992). *On Attributive Adjectives in Scandinavian and Other Languages*. In Anders Holmberg (ed.) *Papers from the Workshop on the Scandinavian Noun Phrase*, pp. 20–44. University of Umeå.
- Demonte, Violeta (1999). *A Minimal Account of Spanish Adjective Position and Interpretation*. In Jon A. Franco, Alazne Landa, and Juan Martín (eds.) *Grammatical Analyses in Basque and Romance Linguistics*, volume 187 of *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, pp. 45–76. John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam.
- Gutierrez-Rexach, Javier and Mallén, Enrique (2001). *NP Movement and Adjective Position in the DP Phases*. In Julia Herschensohn, Enrique Mallén, and Karen Zagona (eds.) *Features and Interfaces in Romance: Essays in Honor of Heles Contreras*, pp. 107–132. John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam.
- Kester, Ellen-Petra (1996). *The Nature of Adjectival Inflection*. Doctoral Dissertation, Universiteit Utrecht.
- Laenzlinger, Christopher (2005). *French Adjective Ordering: Perspectives on DP-Internal Movement Types*. *Lingua* 115:645–689.
- Zuber, Richard (1996). *Ordre des Adjectifs et Catégorisation Multiple*. *Studi Italiani di Linguistica Teorica e Applicata* XXV(3):533–545.

DP structure - demonstratives

- Brugè, Laura (2002). *The Position of Demonstratives in the Extended Nominal Projection*. In Guglielmo Cinque (ed.) *Functional Structure in DP and IP: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, volume 1, pp. 15–53. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Giusti, Giuliana (1997). *The Categorical Status of Determiners*. In Liliane Haegeman (ed.) *The New Comparative Syntax*, pp. 95–123. Addison Wesley Longman Limited, London.

DP structure - other

- Bernstein, Judy B. (1993). *Topics in the syntax of nominal structure across Romance*. Doctoral Dissertation, CUNY, New York, New York.
- Cinque, Guglielmo (2005). *Deriving Greenberg's Universal 20 and Its Exceptions*. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36(3):315–332.

Prepositions and percolation

- Grimshaw, Jane (2005 [1991]). *Words and Structure*. CSLI Publications, Stanford. Originally circulated as (1991) unpublished ms., Brandeis University.
- Oga, Kyoko (2000). *Two types of 'of' and Theta Role Assignment by Nouns*. In Kyoko Oga and Mamiko Akita (eds.) *Newcastle and Durham Working Papers in Linguistics*, volume 6, pp. 95–108.
- Ormazabal, Javier (1991). *Asymmetries on Wh-movement and Some Theoretical Consequences*. Ms. University of Connecticut.
- Torrego, Esther (1987). *On Empty Categories in Nominals*. Ms. University of Massachusetts.

Previous analyses of NPE - Spanish and other Romance

- Alexiadou, Artemis and Gengel, Kirsten (2008). *Classifiers as Morphosyntactic Licensors of NP Ellipsis: English vs. Romance*. Paper presented at NELS 39.
- Bernstein, Judy B. (1993). *The Syntactic Role of Word Markers in Null Nominal Constructions*. *Probus* 5:5–38.
- Branco, António and Costa, Francisco (2006). *Noun Ellipsis without Empty Categories*. In Stefan Müller (ed.) *Proceedings of the 13th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, pp. 81–101. CSLI Publications.
- Kester, Ellen-Petra and Sleeman, Petra (2002). *N-ellipsis in Spanish*. *Linguistics in the Netherlands* 19:107–116.
- Kornfeld, Laura M. and Saab, Andrés L. (2004). *Nominal Ellipsis and Morphological Structure in Spanish*. In Reineke Bok-Bennema, Bart Hollebrandse, Brigitte Kampers-Manhe, and Petra Sleeman (eds.) *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory*, volume 2002, pp. 183–198. John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam.
- Raposo, Eduardo (1999). *Towards a Minimalist Account of Nominal Anaphora in Spanish and English*. Ms. University of California, Santa Barbara.
- Sleeman, Petra (1993). *Noun Ellipsis in French*. *Probus* 5:271–295.
- Sleeman, Petra (1996). *Licensing Empty Nouns in French*. Doctoral Dissertation, Universiteit van Amsterdam.
- Ticio, M. Emma (2005). *NP-Ellipsis in Spanish*. *Proceedings of the 7th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium* 7:128–141.

Previous analyses of NPE - other

- Corver, Norbert and van Koppen, Marjo (2007). *Let's Focus on Noun Phrase Ellipsis*. Ms. University of Utrecht, UiL-OTS.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia and Stavrou, Melita (1999). *Nominalization and Ellipsis in the Greek DP*. *Linguistic Review* 16(4):295–331.
- Kester, Ellen-Petra (1994). *Adjectival Inflection and the Licensing of pro*. *University of Maryland Working Papers in Linguistics* 2:91–109.
- Kester, Ellen-Petra (1996). *Adjectival Inflection and the Licensing of Empty Categories in DP*. *Journal of Linguistics* 32:57–78.
- Lobeck, Anne (2003). *Ellipsis in DP*. In Henk van Riemsdijk and Martin Everaert (eds.) *The Syntax Companion*. The LingComp Foundation, Tilburg, The Netherlands.

Ntelitheos, Dimitris and Christodoulou, Eleni (2005). *The Acquisition of Nominal Ellipsis in Greek*. In Reiko Okabe and Kuniko Nielsen (eds.) *UCLA Working Papers in Linguistics*, 13.

Ellipsis

Johnson, Kyle (2001). *What VP Ellipsis Can Do, What It Can't, but not Why*. In Mark Baltin and Chris Collins (eds.) *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*, pp. 439–479. Blackwell Publishers.

Johnson, Kyle (2004). *How to be Quiet*. Paper presented at CLS 40.

Lobeck, Anne (1993). *Strong Agreement and Identification: Evidence from Ellipsis in English*. *Linguistics* 31:777–811.

Lobeck, Anne (1995). *Ellipsis: Functional Heads, Licensing, and Identification*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Merchant, Jason (2001). *The Syntax of Silence: Sluicing, Islands, and the Theory of Ellipsis*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Proforms

Barbiers, Sjef (2005). *Variations in the morphosyntax of ONE*. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 8:159–183.

Barbiers, Sjef (2007). *Indefinite numerals ONE and MANY and the cause of ordinal suppletion*. *Lingua* 117:859–880.

Cardinaletti, Anna and Starke, Michal (1999). *The Typology of Structural Deficiency: A Case Study of the Three Classes of Pronouns*. In Henk Van Riemsdijk (ed.) *Clitics in the Languages of Europe*, pp. 145–233. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Déchaine, Rose-Marie and Wiltschko, Martina (2002). *Decomposing Pronouns*. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33(3):409–442.

Perlmutter, David and Orešnik, Janez (1973). *Language-Particular Rules and Explanations in Syntax*. In Stephen R. Anderson and Paul Kiparsky (eds.) *A Festschrift for Morris Halle*, pp. 419–459. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Other

Liceras, Juana M.; Díaz, Lourdes; and Mongeon, Caroline (2000). *N-Drop and Determiners in Native and Non-Native Spanish: More on the Role of Morphology in the Acquisition of Syntactic Knowledge*. *Círculo de Lingüística Aplicada a la Comunicación* 3. <<http://www.ucm.es/info/circulo/no3/liceras.htm>>.

Snyder, William; Senghas, Ann; and Inmann, Kelly (2001). *Agreement Morphology and the Acquisition of Noun-Drop in Spanish*. *Language Acquisition* 9(2):157–173.

Valois, Daniel and Royle, Phaedra (to appear). *Partitivity, Atomization, and N-Drop: A Longitudinal Study of French Child Language*. To appear in *Language Acquisition*.

White, Lydia; Valenzuela, Elena; Kozłowska-MacGregor, Martyna; and Leung, Yan-Kit Ingrid (2004). *Gender and Number Agreement in Nonnative Spanish*. *Applied Psycholinguistics* 35:105–133.

Zagona, Karen (2002). *The Syntax of Spanish*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.