

**The boundary between coordination and subordination:*****Free exceptives in Spanish.*<sup>1</sup>**

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**1. Goals**

- To explore the syntactic properties of *free exceptive constructions* in Spanish in the context of the distinction between coordination and subordination.
- Proposal: Exceptive particles are coordinating conjunctions that trigger an obligatory ellipsis process on their clausal complements.

**2. The data**

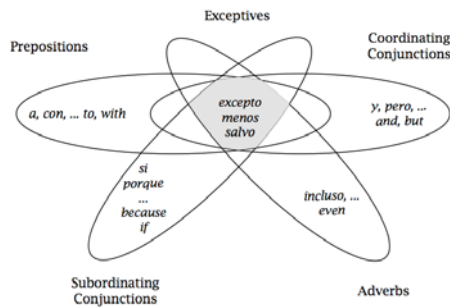
- *Free exceptives*: constituents headed by the particles *excepto*, *salvo* ('except').
    - Free exceptives appear in parenthetical positions inside the host sentence.
    - The exceptive particle introduce phrases of different category.
- (1) a. Las águilas no atacan a las cabras montesas, {excepto/salvo} el águila real.  
 the eagles not attack to the goats mountain, except the eagle royal  
 'Eagles don't attack wild goats, except the golden eagle'
- b. {Excepto/Salvo} en Lorca, ese partido ganará en todas partes.  
 except in Lorca, that party will-win in all places  
 'Except in Lorca, that party will win everywhere'
- Semantically: free exceptives are licensed in sentences which express a generality claim (Hoeksema 1995, Bosque 2005, García Álvarez 2008).
- (2) a. María es adorable, salvo cuando se le lleva la contraria.  
 María is adorable, except when SE her annoys  
 'Maria is really nice, except when you annoy her'
- b. Respecto a ese asunto, no dijo una palabra, salvo que a él le parecía mal.  
 respect to that issue, not he-said a word, except that to him it-seemed bad.  
 'With respect to that issue, he didn't say a word, except that he was against it'

**2.1. *Free exceptives* – *Connected exceptives* (Hoeksema 1987)**

- Connected exceptives are adjacent to a universal QP.
  - Connected exceptives only take DPs as complement.
  - Connected exceptives cannot be displaced.
- (3) a. Nadie excepto él puede hacerlo.  
 nobody except he can do-it  
 'Nobody but him can do it'
- b. Recibí el apoyo de todos mis hijos, excepto el mayor.  
 I got the support of all my sons except the eldest one'
- b'. *free exceptive*: Recibí el apoyo de todos mis hijos, excepto del mayor.  
 I got the support of all my sons, except of the eldest one
- (4) a. \*Excepto el mayor, recibí el apoyo de todos mis hijos.  
 except the eldest one, I got the support of all my sons
- b. \*Recibí el apoyo de todos mis hijos durante mi enfermedad, excepto el mayor.  
 I got the support of all my sons during my illness, except the eldest one
- b'. *free exceptive*: Excepto del mayor, recibí el apoyo de todos mis hijos.  
 except of the eldest one, I got the support of all my sons
- Connected exceptives are licensed by explicit universal quantifier phrases.
- (5) \* Las águilas no atacan a los leones, excepto el león enfermo.  
 the eagles don't attack to the lions, except the lion ill  
 'Eagles don't attack lions, except ill lions'  
 (Cf. *free exceptive*: Las águilas no atacan a los leones, excepto al león enfermo)
- (6) a. La campaña publicitaria ha sido un éxito entre todos {excepto los niños / excepto entre los niños} (Bosque 2005)  
 the campaign advertising has been a success among everybody {except the children / except among the children}'  
 'The advertising campaign has been successful for everybody {except the children / except for the children}'
- b. La campaña publicitaria ha sido un éxito {\*excepto los niños/excepto entre los niños}  
 the campaign advertising has been a success {except the ch./except among the ch.}'  
 'The advertising campaign has been successful {except the ch./except for the ch.}'

### 3. Previous analysis

(7) a. ¿What is the category of the exceptive marker?



b. ¿Does the exceptive marker introduce a sentential or a sub-sentential constituent?

#### • P + subsentential constituent (Bello 1847, Moltmann 1992)

(8) Las águilas no atacan a las cabras montesas, [PP *excepto* [DP *el águila real*]].  
 'Eagles don't attack wild goats, except the golden eagle'

o Arguments against this proposal:

a) Exceptive particles do not assign oblique case (Gutiérrez 1986, Pavón 1999).

(9) \**excepto* ti                                        *except* you<sub>oblique case</sub>

(10) *excepto* {a / para / sin / contra ...} ti    *except* {to / for / without / against} you<sub>oblique case</sub>

b) The combinatory of prepositions is lexically restricted in Spanish: *por entre los árboles*, *de entre los árboles* / \**por hasta los árboles*.

c) The exceptive particle is not a preposition introducing a sentence.

(11) a. Juan recogerá al niño, [PP *para* [CP *que* tú recojas a la niña]].

John will-pick-up to-the boy, for that you pick-up to the girl  
 'John will pick up the boy, so that you pick up the girl'

b. \*Juan recogerá al niño, [PP *para* [CP *que* tú a la niña]].

John will-pick-up to-the boy, for that you to the girl

(12) Todos los niños adoran todas las asignaturas, *excepto* Juan las matemáticas.

all the boys love all the subjects, except Juan the mathematics

'All the children love all the subjects, except Juan Math'

#### • Adverb (De Bruyne 1999: 10.18.2, Kovacci 1999: 11.6):

- o ¿Could *excepto, salvo* be focal adverbs like *incluso* 'even'?
- o Arguments against this proposal

a) Focal adverbs are not relational elements from the syntactic point of view:

(13) a. Irás *incluso* tú.                             will-go<sub>2p.sg</sub> even you                'Even you will go'  
 b. \*Irás *excepto* tú.                            will-go<sub>2p.sg</sub> except you

b) Position of focal adverbs:

(14) a. Puedes llamarme hasta la una, *incluso*. [Pavón 1999]  
           can<sub>2p.sg</sub> call me until one, even  
 b. \*Iremos todos, Juan *excepto*.  
           will-go<sub>1p.pl</sub> all, Juan *except*

• **Coordinating conjunction + subsentential constituent** (Reinhart 1990, Bello 1847; García Álvarez 2008).

• **Coordinating conjunction + elliptical full sentence** (Harris 1982).

(15) Everyone smiled, except Felix      "zeroing transformation" (Harris 1982)  
 a. Everyone smiled, except Felix did not smile.  
 b. Everyone smiled, except Felix did not.  
 c. Everyone smiled, except not Felix.  
 d. Everyone smiled, except Felix. [from Hoeksema 1995 (12)]

(16) a. Todos los niños adoran todas las asignaturas, *excepto* Juan las matemáticas.

b. Todos los niños adoran todas las asignaturas, *excepto* Juan ~~adora~~ las matemáticas.  
           all the boys love all the subjects, except Juan ~~loves~~ the mathematics

(17) a. Los niños adoran la física y Juan las matemáticas.

b. Los niños adoran la física y Juan ~~adora~~ las matemáticas.  
           the children love the physics and Juan (loves) the mathematics

- **Subordinating conjunction** (similar to *puesto que* ('since')).

(18)a. Juan estudiará en la cocina, puesto que María estudiará en el salón.

Juan will study in the kitchen, since María will study in the sitting room

b. \*Juan estudiará en la cocina, puesto que María en el salón.

Juan will study in the kitchen, since María in the sitting room

(19)a. Juan comprará la carne, si tú compras el pan.

Juan will buy the meat if you buy the bread.

b. \*Juan comprará la carne, si tú el pan.

Juan will buy the meat if you the bread

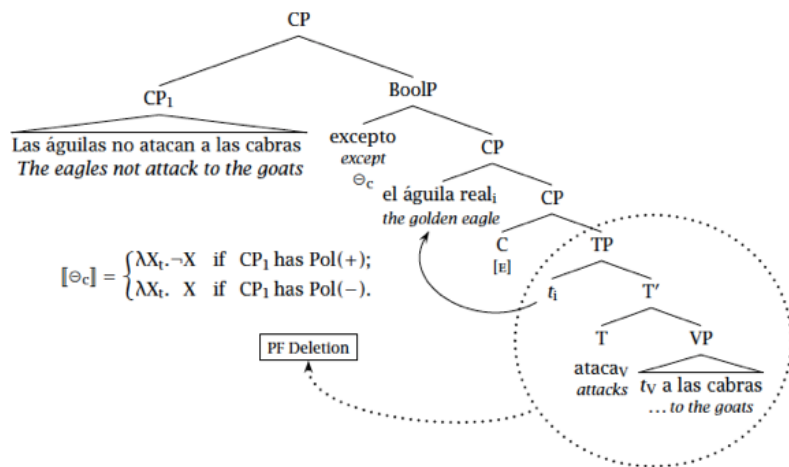
**4. Proposal**

(20) Las águilas no atacan a las cabras montesas, excepto el águila real.

the eagles not attack to the goats mountain, except the eagle royal

'Eagles don't attack wild goats, except the golden eagle'

(21)

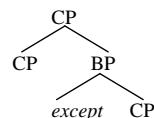
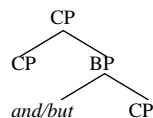


**4.1. Exemptive particles: coordinating conjunctions**

- Munn (1993): The Boolean Phrase Hypothesis. <sup>ii</sup>

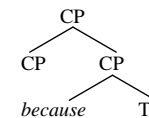
(22) a. Sentential coordination

b. Exemptive coordination



- Subordinate structures (adverbial, non selected subordinate clauses): same phrase structure geometry.
- Differences in syntactic behaviour between coordinate vs. subordinate sentences: lexical properties of coordinating vs. subordinating conjunctions. Fernández-Salgueiro (2008): subordinators are complementizers that select for a TP as complement; coordinators, in the case of sentential coordination, occupy a position higher than Comp in the second conjunct.

(23) Sentential subordination (adverbial, non selected subordinate clauses)



- Proposal: exemptive conjunctions (*excepto, salvo*) are coordinating conjunctions that select for a CP as complement and have the following lexical idiosyncratic properties:

**4.2. Lexical idiosyncratic properties of exemptive conjunctions**

**4.2.1 Exemptive conjunctions trigger an obligatory ellipsis process on their CP complement**

- *Exemptive coordinators* select for a CP whose head is null and triggers the ellipsis process (following Merchant (2003), Aelbrecht (2007) ideas for stripping and gapping)
- The process of ellipsis described in (21) displays the properties of gapping (Ross 1967).

- o There is no limitation as to the number of remnants.

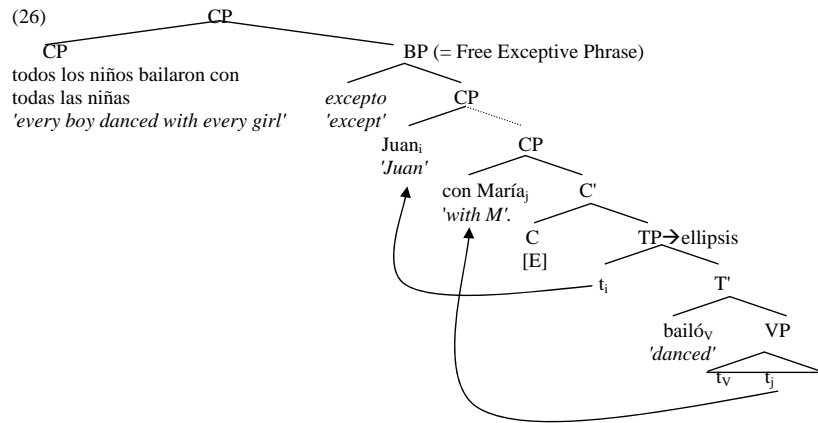
(24) Todos los niños bailaron con todas las niñas en todas partes, excepto Juan con

María en la cocina.

All the boys danced with all the girls everywhere, except J. with M. in the kitchen

'All the boys danced with all the girls everywhere, except J. with M. in the kitchen'

(25) Todos los niños bailaron con todas las niñas en todas partes y Juan bailó con María en la cocina.  
 'All the boys danced with all the girls everywhere, and J. danced with M. in the kitchen'



- o The finite verb cannot be the remnant of the ellipsis process.

(27)a. Hicimos de todo, \*excepto comimos.

we-did of everything, except ate

'We did everything but eat'

b. \*Juan compró flores a María, y regaló.

Juan bought flowers to María, and gave

- o Remnants are interpreted as contrastive focus or topic. (See Moltmann 1992, Wrinkler 2005 for the different information structures associated with gapping).

(28) Los cuentos, todos los niños los adoran, excepto los de miedo los niños pequeños, claro.

the tales, all the children loves them, except the scary ones the little children, of course

#### 4.2.2 Exceptive conjunctions trigger polarity inversion on their CP complement

(29) García Álvarez 2008: 188, (68), based on Hoeksema 1985.

[excepto]([CP]<sub>1</sub>, [CP]) = [CP]<sub>1</sub> & ([<sub>oc</sub>])([CP]) where

$$[<sub>oc</sub>] = \begin{cases} \lambda X_t. \neg X & \text{if } CP_1 \text{ has Pol}(+) \\ \lambda X_t. X & \text{if } CP_1 \text{ has Pol}(-) \end{cases}$$

(30)a. Las águilas no atacan a las cabras montesas, excepto el águila real.

the eagles not attack to the goats mountain, except the eagle royal

'Eagles don't attack wild goats, except the golden eagle'

b. El águila real ataca a las cabras montesas.

'The golden eagle attacks wild goats'

#### 4.2.3 Exceptive conjunctions allow displacement of the free exceptive construction

- Lexical idiosyncratic property of exceptive conjunctions, related to the lexical origin of *excepto* and *salvo*, as participles in absolute clauses (Brucart 1999).

(31) Para que María pueda recoger al niño, Juan recogerá a la niña.

for that ('so that') María Could pick up to-the boy, Juan will pick up to the girl

(32)\*{Y/Pero} Pedro fue a Madrid, Eva fue a Barcelona.

{and/but} Pedro went to Madrid, Eva went to Barcelona

(vs. Eva fue a Barcelona {y/pero} Pedro fue a Madrid)

(33)a. Juan llegará tarde, de modo que podemos empezar.

Juan will be late, of manner that ('so') we can begin

b. \*De modo que podemos empezar, Juan llegará tarde.

## 5. Evidence supporting the analysis

### 5.1. Free exceptives are elliptical sentential constituents

#### 5.1.1. Free exceptives are CPs:

- Adverbs syntactically licensed at the CP level (speaker oriented adverbials) can appear in free exceptives.

(34) Lamentablemente, todo el mundo salió malherido, excepto, afortunadamente, Juan.  
 unfortunately, all the people got bad-wounded, except, fortunately, Juan  
 'Unfortunately everybody got seriously wounded, except, fortunately, Juan'.

#### 5.1.2. Free exceptives are CPs. TP is elided

- The host sentence and the exceptive clause must share the same tense and voice specification.

(35) \*Los trabajadores comen siempre aquí, excepto Juan la semana pasada.  
 the workers eat always here, except Juan the last week  
 'The workers always eat here, except Juan last week'

(36)a. \*Todos los estudiantes fueron examinados por todos los profesores, excepto Juan a Pedro (cf. ..., excepto Pedro por Juan).

all the students were examined by all the teachers, except Juan to Pedro

b. \*Todos los profesores examinaron a Juan, excepto por Pedro.

all the teachers examined to Juan, except by Pedro

'All the teachers examined Juan, except by Pedro'

(37)a. \*Juan viajó a Francia ayer y María a Alemania mañana.

Juan went to France yesterday and María to Germany tomorrow

b. Revistas fueron compradas por algunos, {periódicos por otros/\*otros periódicos}.

Magazines were bought by some, {newspapers by others/others newspapers}

### 5.1.3. Ellipsis in free exceptives is a movement+deletion process

- Preposition stranding

- Spanish is not a P-stranding language:

(38) \*¿Quién has venido con?; \*¿Qué has hablado hoy de?

'Who did you come with?; What have you talked today about?'

- \*P-stranding in ellipsis

(39) Todos los niños bailaron con todas las niñas en la fiesta, \*excepto Juan María

'All the boys danced with all the girls at the party, except Juan with María'

(40)a. Jeffrey habló de lingüística {y Karen de política / \* y Karen política}

b. Jeffrey talked about linguistics {and Karen about politics / and Karen politics}

[Aelbrecht 2007]

- Island sensitivity<sup>iii</sup>

- *Dudar vs. intentar*

(41)a. Juan dudaba si vender el coche.

'Juan hesitated whether to sell his car'

b. \* ¿Qué dudaba Juan si vender?

'What did Juan hesitate whether to sell?'

(42)a. Juan intentó vender el coche.

'Juan tried to sell his car'

b. ¿Qué intentó Juan vender?

'What did Juan try to sell?'

- Free exceptive attached to the main clause:

(43)a. Ningún chico dudaba si vender el coche, excepto Juan ~~dudaba si vender el coche~~

'No boy hesitated whether to sell his car, except Juan'

b. Ningún chico intentó vender el coche, excepto Juan ~~intentó vender el coche~~

'No boy tried to sell his car, except Juan'

- o Second remnant extracted from subordinate clause:

(44)a. \*Ningún chico dudaba si bailar con alguna chica, excepto Juan ~~dudaba si bailar~~ con María.

'No boy hesitated whether to dance with some girl, except Juan with María'

b. Ningún chico intentó bailar con ninguna chica, excepto Juan ~~intentó bailar~~ con María.

'No boy tried to dance with any girl, except Juan with María'

## 5.2. Arguments for the coordinate status of free exceptives

- Parallelism requirements: extraction.

(45)a. Todos los niños han forrado sus libros, excepto Juan los suyos.

'Every child covered her books with a dust jacket, except Juan his.'

b. \*Los libros [que todos han forrado], [excepto Juan los suyos].

'The books that everybody has covered with a dust jacket, except Juan his'

c. Los libros que todos han forrado, excepto Juan.

'The books that everybody has covered with a dust jacket, except Juan'

d. Los libros [que [[todos han forrado \_\_], [excepto [Juan \_\_]]]].

- o Coordination – ATB extraction. Subordination – Parasitic Gap.

(46) Across The Board

a. Which paper have you read *t* and Mary recommended *e*?

b. \*Which paper have you read *t* and Mary recommended this book?

(47) Parasitic Gap

a. Which paper did you read *t* before filing *e*?

b. Which paper did you read *t* before filing this book? (Fernandez Salgueiro, 2008)

(48) Coordinate sentences

a. Extraction from the first conjunct

\*El libro que Juan compró y Pedro leyó {la crítica / una revista}

the book that Juan bought and Pedro read {the review / a magazine}

b. ATB extraction

El libro que Juan compró y Pedro leyó.

the book that Juan bought and Pedro read

(49) Subordinate sentences

a. Extraction from the main sentence

El libro que Juan ha comprado antes de leer María {la crítica / una revista}

the book that Juan has bought before of read María {the review / a magazine}

b. Parasitic Gap

El libro que Juan ha comprado antes de leerlo María

the book that Juan has bought before of read-it María

- Reconstruction effects: sloppy readings - Haïk (1985)<sup>iv</sup>

(50)a. ATB: I wonder which picture of himself Peter likes *t* and John hates *t*

(sloppy reading possible)

b. I wonder which picture of himself Peter likes *t* and Mary hates *t*

(51) PGap: I wonder what picture of himself John looked at *\_* before Peter destroyed *e*

(sloppy reading impossible)

- o Free exceptives: sloppy reading possible.

(52)a. La foto de sí mismo que vio todo niño, excepto Juan.

the picture of himself that every boy saw, except Juan

b. La foto de sí misma que vio toda la familia, excepto Juan

the picture of herself that all the family<sub>fem</sub> saw, except Juan

## 5.2. Adjunction site: Free exceptives are attached to the CP level of the host sentence

- Free exceptives are adjoined to sentences which express a semantic generalization.

(53) No dijo una palabra sobre ese asunto, salvo lo que ya te he contado.

'He did not say a word about that issue, except what I have already told you'

- The subject of the host sentence does not have c-command inside the free exceptive. <sup>v</sup>

(54)a. \*Vacunaron gratis a {todas las tribus indígenas<sub>i</sub> / cada tribu<sub>i</sub>}, excepto ~~vacunaron~~  
gratis a su jefe<sub>i</sub>

they-vaccinated for free to all the tribes indigenous, except to its chief

'They vaccinated every indigenous tribe for free, except its chief'

b. {\*Cada / \*Toda} tribu indígena<sub>i</sub> fue vacunada, excepto su jefe<sub>i</sub>; ~~fue vacunado~~.

each / every tribe indigenous was vaccinated, except its chief

'Each indigenous tribe was vaccinated, except its chief'

(55) Todo niño recitó una poesía todos los días, excepto ~~todo niño recitó una poesía~~ el  
día de su cumpleaños.

every child recited a poem all the days, except the day of her birthday

'Every child recited a poem everyday, except on her birthday.'

(56)a. \*Vacunaron a todas las tribus; y no vacunaron a su jefe;

b. \*Todas las tribus; fueron vacunadas y/pero su jefe; no fue vacunado.

- Telescoping – modal subordination (Roberts 1989, Poesio and Zucchi 1992, Fox 2000).

(57) {Aquí se vacuna / Se vacunará / Se debe vacunar} a toda tribu indígena  
gratuitamente, excepto a su jefe.

(58)a. \*Cada candidato se situó en el centro del escenario. Después, recogió su diploma.

b. Cada candidato<sub>i</sub> debe situarse en el centro del escenario. Después, pro<sub>i</sub> debe

recoger el diploma. [Moreno Quibén 2003: 127, (8)]

'Every phd candidate walked to the center of the stage. After that, he picked up  
his diploma/must pick up his diploma'

## 6. Conclusions and prospects

- Free exceptives: coordinate elliptical sentences. *Excepto* and *salvo* ('except') are coordinating conjunctions which selects for an elliptical CP.

- Gapping-like ellipsis is a diagnostic for sentential coordination.

- There are some questions for the future:

- Which is the exact adjunction site of free exceptives in the CP area of the main clause if we assume a rich Left Periphery?

(59)a. Juan dijo que, excepto a Juan, invitaría a todos.

Juan said that, except to Juan, he-would-invite to everybody

b. \*Juan dijo, excepto a Juan, que invitaría a todos.

(60)a. El chico que, excepto con Juan, no habla con nadie es ese.

the guy that, except with Juan, not talk with nobody is this

b. \*El chico, excepto con Juan, que no habla con nadie es ese.

- Can the present analysis be extended to other exceptive elements?: *menos*, *excepto que* (61), *a excepción de*, *con la excepción de*, *exceptuando*, *aparte de*, *exceptuado*, *salvando a*.

(61) Iremos, excepto que llueva

we-will go, except that it-rains<sub>subjunctive</sub>

- To what extent is the difference between free and connected exceptives parallel to the difference between clausal and phrasal comparatives?

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<sup>ii</sup> Some reasons to choose this analysis of coordination (vs. Munn 1987, Johannessen 1993):  
 -The conjunction and the second conjunct form a constituent which is a maximal projection.  
 -Coordinate structures are not selected by any head (for example, verbs select for CPs, DPs, etc. but not for coordinate phrases). Only the first conjunct is selected (cf. unlike category coordination cases: Munn 1993: 80).

<sup>iii</sup> When testing island effects in free exceptives it must be taken into account that if there are two remnants, they cannot be separated by a finite clause boundary, (i), as it has already been noted in the literature for exceptives in other languages (see Moltmann 1992, a.o.). Remember also that gapping cannot affect a string that reaches into a finite clause, although data seem to be controversial with respect to this (see Coppock 2001, Johnson 2004, Wrinkler 2005, Aelbrecht 2007, Repp 2009, Merchant 2009b, a.o.).

(i) \*Todos los niños dijeron que todas las niñas eran tontas, excepto Juan Eva  
 'All the boys said that all the girls were silly, except Juan Eva'

<sup>iv</sup> There is no agreement in the literature with respect to reconstruction effects in ATB extraction and P-Gap structures. According to Munn (1993), neither ATB extractions nor P-Gap give rise to sloppy readings:

(i) a. Which pictures of himself<sub>i</sub> did John paint t<sub>i</sub> before Peter<sub>j</sub> bought e<sub>j</sub>?  
 b. Which pictures of himself<sub>i</sub> did John buy t<sub>i</sub> and Bill<sub>j</sub> paint e<sub>j</sub>?

This kind of parallelism supports the idea that both ATB and P-Gap are derived from the same syntactic structure (remember (22) and (23)) and by the same syntactic mechanisms, which reduces ATB to P-Gap. In Munn's proposal, ATB is not analysed as simultaneous wh-movement from both conjuncts but is reduced to P-Gap adopting an analysis based on null operator movement + chain composition; in Fernández Salgueiro's proposal, ATB is also reduced to P-Gap, adopting a sideward movement analysis. According to Munn's BP hypothesis, both in coordinate and subordinate structures extraction from the adjunct sentence is impossible and extraction from the non adjunct sentence is allowed. However in the case of 'coordinate' sentences' extraction must operate on both conjuncts simultaneously (Coordinate Structure Constraint). This parallelism requirement is, according to Munn, a property of the coordinating conjunctions. Coordinating conjunctions take scope over the two conjuncts at LF, so, both conjuncts must be semantically identical (that is, if there is an operator-variable relationship in one of the sentences, there must be a parallel relationship in the other one) (see also Fernández Salgueiro 2008).

<sup>v</sup> Fernández-Salgueiro (2008) claims that all kind of subordinate adverbial clauses are attached to the vP of the main clause, and also that in the case of coordinations, the second conjunct is attached to the vP of the first conjunct. Condition-C violations of the kind shown in (i) are evidence for that proposal, according to Fernández-Salgueiro. (i) shows that the subject of the main clause or first conjunct c-commands the subject of the subordinate clause or second conjunct. Contrasts like the one shown in (ii), concerning quantifier binding, must be attributed to the properties of the concrete conjunctions involved, and not to the adjunction site of the subordinate clause/second conjunct.

(i) a. \*He<sub>i</sub> bought the book after John<sub>i</sub> saw it. (Cf. His<sub>i</sub> best friend bought the book after John<sub>i</sub> saw it)  
 b. \*He<sub>i</sub> bought the book and John<sub>i</sub> read it. (Cf. His<sub>i</sub> best friend bought the book and John<sub>i</sub> read it)  
 (ii) a. No man<sub>i</sub> bought the book after he<sub>i</sub> read it  
 b. \*No man<sub>i</sub> bought the book and he<sub>i</sub> read it

Our claim is that condition-C effects cannot be taken as argument for the site of adjunction of subordinate clauses/second conjuncts. Co-indexing of a pronoun and a R-expression is possible even in cases where the pronoun c-commands the R-expression, as long as both the pronoun and the R-expression are in different 'governing categories' and are second mentions of a referent previously introduced in the discourse. Note that in (iii), assuming that temporal DPs/PPs are hierarchically lower than Object DPs (*Besaré a todos el día de su cumpleaños*) and clitics (in T), there is a c-command relation between the clitic object and the R-Expression (See Pérez-Jiménez 2006):

(iii) (hablando de María) 'talking about María'  
 ... la<sub>i</sub> visitaron miles de amigos en el día en que María<sub>i</sub> hubiera querido estar sola.  
 her<sub>i</sub> visited thousands of friends in the day in which María<sub>i</sub> had wanted be alone