

# Theoretical and Experimental Approaches to Romance Linguistics

EDITED BY  
Randall S. Gess  
Edward J. Rubin

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THEOR AND  
EXPERIMEN ROACHES  
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Edited by

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## PREFACE

The present volume is the outcome of the 34<sup>th</sup> annual *Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL)* held at the University of Utah in March, 2004. The symposium continued a 33 year-old tradition of annual conferences on the topic of theoretical Romance linguistics, sponsored and organized by different scholars at North American institutions each year. The tradition is noteworthy in that the *LSRL*, despite being an annual event, is not a regular meeting of an established scholarly organization because there is no organization or association behind the title. Rather, its continuity since 1970 is simply a testament to the number of scholars committed to the theoretical study of the Romance language family, and to the high regard granted to the conference in the field. The *LSRL* is widely recognized as one of the most prestigious venues for the presentation of scholarship on Romance linguistics, and attracts international participation from prominent senior scholars to graduate students, thereby promoting the sharing and dissemination of cutting-edge scholarly research on theoretical and Romance linguistics.

The 34<sup>th</sup> *LSRL* included participation from scholars representing institutions in the United States, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, France and Spain. The 51 presentations covered a number of areas of linguistic inquiry: syntax, semantics, phonetics, phonology, morphology, first and second language acquisition, historical linguistics, and sociolinguistics. In addition, the first-time parassession on laboratory approaches to Romance Linguistics provided valuable empirical studies on a variety of theoretical questions. The present volume includes 20 studies selected from among those presented at the conference, both theoretical and experimental, and covering most of the areas represented there. There were revisions to the selected studies, stemming from conference-based comments and discussions.

There are several organizations and individuals that helped to make the 34<sup>th</sup> *LSRL* a success, and we would like to acknowledge them here. First we would like to thank our graduate students, Jennifer Mitchell, Aleksandra Zaba, Julia James, Vivian Ngai and David Hall, for their invaluable assistance in organizing and facilitating the conference event. At the University of Utah, we would like to thank the Office of the Vice President for Research, the College of Humanities, The Department of Linguistics, the Tanner Humanities Center and the Department of Languages and Literature. Thanks go also to our colleague, David Iannucci, who paid conference registration fees for several undergraduate students at the University of Utah. We would also like to thank the University of Utah's Lonnie Norton, and UCSD's Ezra Van Everbroeck, for their invaluable assistance with the PASHA abstract reviewing software.

Further thanks go to Brett Losee and Kelly Love at the Hotel Monaco for all of their assistance in putting on the conference. Most importantly, we must express our profound gratitude to the National Science Foundation, whose Grant No. 0344654 supported the work on which the dissemination of the material in this volume is based.

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# DETERMINER SHARING AND CYCLICITY IN WH-MOVEMENT\*

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## 1. *Introduction*

In determiner sharing structures, a determiner is (apparently) missing from one of the constituents in the second conjunct in a coordinate structure (see McCawley 1993):

- (1) The boys will wash the dishes, and girls, mop the floor.

This sentence is interpreted as if the determiner in the initial subject *the boys* were also present in the subject in the second conjunct.

In this paper, we examine the properties of this construction in Spanish, and provide an analysis based on Johnson's (2000) and Lin's (2002) proposals for this construction in English. An important part of the analyses proposed by these authors is the claim that determiners are licensed in functional projections above  $\nu$ P (see Sportiche 1996). We adopt Lin's (2002) version of this claim, and propose an extension to it by arguing that there are more licensing positions for determiners than originally proposed in that work. Moreover, by examining certain restrictions on word order in determiner sharing in questions, we argue that they provide evidence for the hypothesis put forth in Chomsky 1986, 2000 that wh-movement involves an intermediate step in a position between TP and VP.

This paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, we introduce the basic data and provide an analysis of determiner sharing in non-questions. In Section 3, we extend this analysis to sharing of wh-determiners, and in Section 4 we use this analysis to provide evidence for the claim that wh-movement involves an intermediate step between TP and VP.

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\*We would like to thank the audience at the 34th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages for their comments and questions. We also thank an anonymous reviewer for their help in clarifying certain aspects of our analysis.



## 2. Gapping and Determiner Sharing

Gapping sentences are coordinate structures where T (and, possibly, a verb) is ‘missing’ from the second and later conjuncts (examples from Lin 2002):

- (2) a. Jessica ate an apple and Joanne, an orange.  
b. Jessica ate an apple, and Joanne *ate* an orange.
- (3) a. Jessica will referee the hockey game and Jori, time the luge race.  
b. Jessica will referee the hockey game, and Jori *will* time the luge race.

In each of the (a) examples, T (in the case of (2a), the V-T complex) is apparently not present in the second conjunct, and the sentence is interpreted as if the second conjunct contained the same T (and V in (2a)) as the first conjunct (i.e. it has the same interpretation as the corresponding (b) sentence.)<sup>1</sup>

There are two approaches to gapping in the literature. In the *ellipsis*, or *large conjunct* approach, what is coordinated is entire sentences. T is missing from the second and latter conjuncts because of ellipsis (see Neijt 1979, Wilder 1997, Hartmann 2001, Murguía 2004):<sup>2</sup>

- (4) a. [<sub>TP</sub>Jessica [<sub>V-T</sub>ate]an apple]and [<sub>TP</sub>Joanne [<sub>V-T</sub>ate]an orange]  
b. [<sub>TP</sub>J. will referee the hockey game]and [<sub>TP</sub>J. ~~will~~ time the luge race]

In the *sharing* or *small conjunct* approach, coordination is below TP. In particular, the subject and T that appear at the beginning of the sentence are not part of the first conjunct; they are part of the higher shared structure (see Siegel 1987, Johnson 1996, Lin 2002). In this approach, there is no ellipsis involved:

- (5) a. [<sub>TP</sub> Jessica ate [[<sub>vP</sub>*t<sub>Sbj</sub>* *t<sub>V</sub>* an apple]and [<sub>vP</sub>Joanne *t<sub>V</sub>* an orange]]]  
b. [<sub>TP</sub> J. will [[<sub>vP</sub>*t* referee the hockey game]and [<sub>vP</sub>J. time the luge...]]]

In both examples, the first subject is extracted from the first conjunct to its surface position in the shared structure,<sup>3</sup> and the subject in the second conjunct

<sup>1</sup>It is also possible to have gapping of both T (an auxiliary) and V (a main verb), as in *Jessica will referee the hockey game, and Jori the luge race*. In this paper, we concentrate only on sentences where only T (and anything adjoined to it) is missing.

<sup>2</sup>What is common to all these analyses is coordination of TP and ellipsis in the second conjunct. However, they differ in how ellipsis is implemented (deletion, “reconstruction”, etc.)

<sup>3</sup>This is in apparent violation of Ross’s (1967) Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC). As argued by Lin (2002), once this principle is properly formulated, these are in fact not violations of the

remains in its base position in vP. In addition, in (2a, 5a), the verb is moved Across-the-Board to T from both conjuncts.

Gapping is also possible in Spanish:<sup>4</sup>

- (6) a. Juan fue al cine y María, al parque.  
 Juan went to.the movies and María to.the park  
 “Juan went to the movies and Maria went to the park.”  
 b. Juan corrigió los trabajos y María, los exámenes.  
 Juan graded the papers and María the exams  
 “Juan graded the papers and María graded the exams.”

In the sharing analysis, the initial subject and T in (6a) are shared, i.e. not included in any of the conjuncts:<sup>5</sup>

- (7) *Sharing analysis*  
 Juan went [<sub>vP</sub> *t*<sub>Juan</sub> *t*<sub>V</sub> to the movies ] and [<sub>vP</sub> María *t*<sub>V</sub> to the park ]

In the ellipsis analysis, the conjuncts are TPs, and T (which includes the adjoined verb) is elided in the second conjunct:

- (8) *Ellipsis analysis:*  
 [<sub>TP</sub> Juan went to the movies ] and [<sub>TP</sub> María ~~went~~ to the park ]

Lin's (2002) evidence for the sharing analysis of gapping in English can easily be applied to this construction in Spanish. Her main arguments are based on the fact that in the sharing analysis (see (7)), the shared subject c-commands both vPs. However, the ellipsis analysis (8) involves coordination of whole clauses, so the first subject does not c-command anything in the second conjunct. We will only apply one of Lin's arguments for this claim to Spanish. The following example illustrates this point:

- (9) Cada estudiante<sub>i</sub> leyó *El Quijote* y su<sub>i</sub> madre, *La Celestina*.  
 each student<sub>i</sub> read *El Quijote* and his<sub>i</sub> mother *La Celestina*  
 “Each student<sub>i</sub> read *El Quijote* and his<sub>i</sub> mother read *La Celestina*.”

CSC. See also footnote 6.

<sup>4</sup>For ease of exposition, the English translations of the Spanish examples do not involve any gapping.

<sup>5</sup>For ease of exposition, we only use English glosses in the analysis of Spanish examples.

In this example, the first subject *cada estudiante* “each student” binds a pronoun in the second conjunct. This shows that this subject cannot be part of the coordination; it must be higher. Hence, what is coordinated is vP. On the other hand, in clear cases of coordination of TP (i.e. with nothing ‘missing’ from the second conjunct), this binding is not possible:<sup>6</sup>

- (10) ??Cada estudiante<sub>i</sub> leyó *El Quijote* y su<sub>i</sub> madre leyó *La Celestina*.  
 each student<sub>i</sub> read *El Quijote* and his<sub>i</sub> mother read *La Celestina*.  
 “Each student<sub>i</sub> read *El Quijote* and his<sub>i</sub> mother read *La Celestina*.”

This is predicted by the sharing analysis, but not by the ellipsis analysis. We therefore follow Lin 2002 in adopting the former.

In *determiner sharing* structures, a determiner is also missing from the non-initial conjuncts (see McCawley 1993, Johnson 2000 and Lin 2002):<sup>7</sup>

- (11) a. The boys will wash the dishes and, girls mop the floor.  
 b. The boys will wash the dishes and *the* girls will mop the floor.

In (11a), a determiner is missing from the subject in the second conjunct, and is interpreted as if it had the same determiner as the subject in the first conjunct. The resulting interpretation is the same as (11b). The following are two relevant examples of determiner sharing from Spanish:<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup>There is a potential problem for the analysis if *cada estudiante* ‘each student’ (10) is allowed to undergo QR:

- (i) each student<sub>i</sub> [<sub>t<sub>i</sub></sub> read *El Quijote*] and [his<sub>i</sub> mother read *La Celestina*]  
 ↑

As argued in several works (see Ruys 1993, Fox 2000, Lin 2002 and references cited there), QR out of a conjunct in a coordinate structure is possible as long as the moved element binds a variable in all other conjuncts, which is precisely the case in (i). However, this specific example is ruled out due to Fox’s (2000) Scope Economy: QR of *each student* does not cross another scope bearing element. We would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out this potential problem.

<sup>7</sup>As noted by the authors cited above, not all determiners can participate in determiner sharing. For instance, it is not possible with *a*, *that* or numerals, but it is possible with most other determiners. In Spanish, the list of determiners that cannot be ‘shared’ is even greater (see footnote 8). There is no known explanation for these facts.

<sup>8</sup>The number of determiners that can participate in determiner sharing is very reduced in Spanish. Whereas it is possible with *bastante* ‘enough/several’, *cuánto* ‘how much/how many’, *demasi-*

- (12) a. Ni muchos niños han leído los libros ni niñas revisado los  
 neither many boys have read the books nor girls reviewed the  
 artículos.  
 articles  
 “Neither many boys have read the books nor *many* girls *have* re-  
 viewed the articles.”
- b. Ni demasiados niños comieron las manzanas ni niñas las  
 neither too many boys ate the apples nor girls the  
 peras.  
 pears  
 “Neither too many boys ate the apples nor *too many* girls *ate* the  
 pears.”

In (12a), the first subject contains the determiner *muchos* ‘many’. The subject in the second conjunct is missing this determiner. Nevertheless, it is interpreted as if the determiner were present, as shown in the translation. (12b) is a similar example except that there is no auxiliary and the ‘missing’ determiner is *demasiados* ‘too many’.

As first shown by McCawley (1993), determiner sharing implies gapping: in addition to the determiner, T must also be missing from the second conjunct in English. This is also true of determiner sharing in Spanish.<sup>9</sup> For instance, if an auxiliary is added to the second conjunct in (12a), the result is (13a), which is not grammatical. Similarly, adding a tensed verb to the second conjunct in (12b) also results in ungrammaticality, as shown in (13b).

- (13) a. \*Ni muchos niños han leído los libros ni niñas *han*  
 neither many boys have read the books nor girls *have*  
 revisado los artículos.  
 reviewed the articles  
 “Neither many boys have read the books nor many girls have re-  
 viewed the articles.”

---

*ado* ‘too much/too many’ *mucho* ‘much/many’, *poco* ‘little/few’, *qué* ‘what/which’, *suficiente* ‘enough’ and *varios* ‘several’, it is not possible with *cada* ‘each’, *el* ‘the’, *ningún* ‘no/any’, *todo* ‘all’, *un* ‘a’, numerals, demonstratives and possessives. We are not aware of any systematic way of distinguishing the determiners in the two groups.

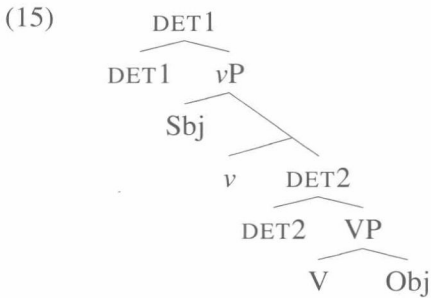
<sup>9</sup>As we will see below, not all cases of determiner sharing entail a missing T in the second conjunct. In particular, when the shared determiner is a question wh-word, T can be present in the second conjunct. See Section 3.

- b. \*Ni demasiados niños comieron las manzanas ni niñas  
 neither too.many boys ate the apples nor girls  
*comieron* las peras.  
*ate* the pears  
 “Neither too many boys ate the apples nor too many girls ate the  
 pears.”

Given the logic of the sharing analysis, this must mean that both D and T are shared in the structure. That is, D and T are not part of the coordination. They are above the coordinated *v*Ps. For instance, (12a) must have the following analysis:

- (14) Neither *many<sub>D</sub>* boys *have<sub>T</sub>* [<sub>*v*P</sub>read the books] nor [<sub>*v*P</sub>girls reviewed the article]

In order to implement this observation, Lin 2002 adopts a version of Sportiche’s (1996) DP-partitioning hypothesis (Lin bases her analysis on proposals made in Johnson 2000). In particular, she proposes that there are two determiner-related positions (labeled DET1/DET2 in (15)), one above *v*P and another one above VP:

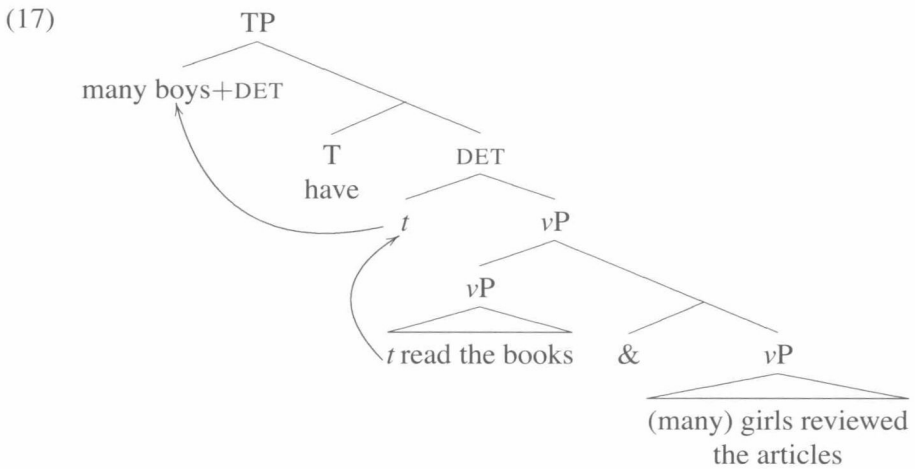


Furthermore, there are certain requirements imposed on the relation between DET and determiners in argument positions. First, a determiner must be in the c-command domain of DET. The determiners in subject and object position in (15) satisfy this requirement. Furthermore, DET must be adjoined to a DP by Spellout. This is achieved by moving DP to DET; the subject moves to DET1, and the object to DET2:

- (16) [Sbj+DET1 [<sub>*v*P</sub>*t*<sub>Sbj</sub> [Obj+DET2 [<sub>*v*P</sub>V *t*<sub>Obj</sub>]]]]
-

Finally, DET also imposes a restriction on the spellout of the determiner: a determiner can be spelled out overtly only if the DP it heads is adjoined to DET. In the normal case, a DP is always adjoined to a DET, so its D head is spelled out overtly.

This theory of determiners allows Lin to explain why determiner sharing implies gapping in English, and her analysis extends straightforwardly to Spanish. For instance, consider (12a) above. In this sentence, the determiner *many* is 'missing' from the second conjunct, and as shown in (13a), T (i.e. the auxiliary) must be missing as well. (12a) has the following structure:<sup>10</sup>



In this structure, the requirements on DET are satisfied by adjoining to it the subject from the first conjunct (and subject+DET moves further to [Spec, TP]). Since this DP is adjoined to DET, its D head is spelled out as *muchos* 'many'. The subject in the second conjunct does not move to DET, so its D head is not spelled out overtly. Thus, in this analysis, what is shared in the coordination is DET, and conditions on the pronunciation of determiners give the illusion that the subject determiner is shared by both conjuncts. More importantly, the analysis derives the fact that T must be shared as well (see (13)). Given the structure in (17), if the conjuncts contain T, they must also contain DET, since the former c-commands the latter. Since sharing of DET is a necessary ingredient of the determiner sharing construction, it follows that this construction is not possible unless T is shared as well.

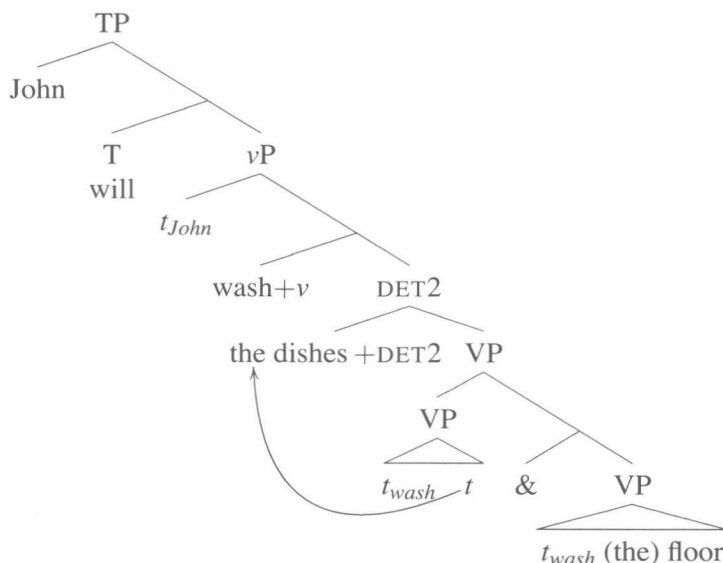
<sup>10</sup>We represent determiners that are not realized overtly by enclosing them in parentheses.

As noted in Johnson 2000 and Lin 2002, it is not possible to share determiners in object position in English:<sup>11</sup>

- (18) \*John will wash the dishes and Bill, mop floor.

This follows from the structure in (15). Since the object determiner is shared, DET2 and everything above it is excluded from the conjuncts. Thus, the second conjunct cannot contain a subject or a V (the latter having moved to *v*). Thus, sharing the object determiner can only result in a structure which is homophonous with a sentence in which just the NPs in the object are coordinated:

- (19) John will wash the dishes and floor.



In this respect, Spanish contrasts sharply with English; determiner sharing in object position *is* possible in this language:

- (20) Ni Juan leyó demasiados libros, ni Pedro revistas.  
 neither Juan read too.many books nor Pedro magazines  
 "Neither Juan read too many books, nor Pedro read too many magazines."

<sup>11</sup>Determiner sharing in object position is possible in English when the object is initial in the second conjunct. This also follows from the analysis. See Johnson 2000 and Lin 2002.

- (21) Ni Juan ha comido demasiadas manzanas, ni Pedro bebido  
 neither Juan has eaten too.many apples nor Pedro drunk  
 cervezas.  
 beers  
 “Neither J. has eaten too many apples, nor P. has drunk to many  
 beers.”

As expected, determiner sharing also entails gapping in this case:<sup>12</sup>

- (22) \*Ni Juan leyó demasiados libros, ni Pedro *leyó* revistas.  
 neither Juan read too.many books nor Pedro *read* magazines  
 “Neither Juan read too many books, nor Pedro read too many maga-  
 zines.”
- (23) \*Ni Juan ha comido demasiadas manzanas, ni Pedro *ha*  
 neither Juan has eaten too.many apples nor Pedro *has*  
 bebido cervezas.  
 drunk beers  
 “Neither Juan has eaten too many apples, nor Pedro has drunk to  
 many beers.”

We would like to relate this difference between the two languages to a well-known difference in their syntax: while word order is quite rigid in English, it is not in Spanish. In particular, VOS orders in Spanish are quite natural:

- (24) Leyó demasiados libros Juan.  
 read too.many books Juan  
 “John read too many books.”

We assume that, in this order, the subject is in its base position in *vP*, and the object is in a derived position above *vP*, which we take to be the specifier of *AgroP*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Examples (22-23) are grammatical in the irrelevant reading in which the object in the second conjunct is understood as a bare plural.

<sup>13</sup>We have chosen the label ‘*AgroP*’ simply for convenience. All that is needed for the analysis is some VP-external position which can account for the attested VOS order in Spanish. Whatever this position is, it is not available for overt movement in English, where the VOS order is not possible, even if, as proposed in Johnson 1991 and Lasnik 1999, English objects move out of VP.



- (25)  $[_{TP} V+v+Agr_O+T [_{Agr_OP} Object \ t_{Agr_O} [_{v_P} Subject \ t_v [_{VP} t_V \ t_{Object}]]]]]$

In order to account for determiner sharing in object position, we also need a DET position above  $Agr_OP$ . Its syntax is the same as the other DET positions proposed in Lin 2002 and outlined above: it licenses a determiner in its c-command domain (in this case, the one in the object in the specifier of  $Agr_OP$ ), and a DP must adjoin to it by Spellout (i.e. the one in the specifier of  $Agr_OP$ ). Under this analysis, a sentence like (20) involves coordination of  $v_P$ , with movement of the object in the first conjunct to  $Agr_OP$  and DET:

- (26) J. read [too many books+DET [ $Agr_OP t$  [ $v_P t_{Juan} \ t_V \ t$ ] & [ $v_P$  Pedro ... ]]]

In English, the specifier of  $Agr_OP$  is not available for (overt) movement. This implies that determiner sharing in object position is not possible in this language (even assuming that there is an object-related DET above  $Agr_OP$ ).

To summarize so far, Spanish offers additional evidence for Johnson's (2000) and Lin's (2002) general approach to gapping and determiner sharing. Furthermore, the fact that determiner sharing in object position is possible in this language argues for an extension of Sportiche's (1996) and Lin's (2002) theory of determiners which makes an 'extra' DET position available to objects higher in the structure.

### 3. *Determiner Sharing in Questions*

Determiner sharing is also possible with wh-determiners:

- (27) ¿Cuántos niños han leído libros y niñas revisado revistas?  
how.many boys have read books and girls reviewed magazines  
"How many boys have read books and how many girls have reviewed magazines?"
- (28) ¿Cuántos libros has leído y revistas revisado?  
how.many books have.2SG read and magazines reviewed  
"How many books have you read and how many magazines have you reviewed?"

These two examples involve sharing of the wh-determiner *cuántos* "how many" in subject (27) and object (28) positions. Their syntax is essentially the same as