"Hij wil wel, maar hij kan niet": Modals without complements in Dutch

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OUTLINE OF THE TALK

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1   INTRODUCTION

Some Dutch auxiliaries do not always require a complement when there is a contextually salient antecedent → reminiscent of English VP ellipsis

(1) A: Wie   wil   er   meerijden   naar het strand morgen?
         who   wants there with.drive to   the beach tomorrow
     B: Ik   kan niet.
         I   can not
     "Who wants to drive along to the beach tomorrow" – "I can't."

! However: Dutch doesn't have VP ellipsis (among others Lobeck 1995)

→ main claim: Dutch modals can select a null VP proform as their complement

2   THE BASIC DATA: RESTRICTIONS

Overview:
    2.1   Only modals
    2.2   Only deontic modals
    2.3   Summary

2.1   Only modals

❶ *Willen* 'want'

(2) A: Komt   Thomas ook naar je   lezing?
         comes Thomas also to   your talk
     B: Hij wil   niet.
         he wants not
     "Is Thomas coming to your talk too?" – "He doesn't want to."

❷ *Moeten* 'must/have to'

(3) A: Komt   Thomas ook naar je   lezing?
         comes Thomas also to   your talk
     B: Hij moet.
         he has.to
     "Is Thomas coming to your talk too?" – "He has to."

❸ *Mogen* 'be allowed to'

(4) A: Rij   je morgen   mee naar het strand?
         drive you tomorrow with to   the beach
     B: Ik mag niet.
         I   may not
     "Are you driving along to the beach tomorrow?" – "I am not allowed to."

❹ *Kunnen* 'can'

(5) A: Wie doet er vanavond de afwas?
   Who does there tonight the dishes
   B: Ik kan niet.
   I can not
   "Who is doing the dishes tonight?" – "I can't."

❺ *Hoeven* 'need'

(6) A: Komt Thomas ook naar je lezing?
   comes Thomas also to your talk
   B: Hij hoeft niet
   he needs not
   "Is Thomas coming to your talk too?" – "He doesn't need to."

❻ *Zullen* 'shall/will'

(7) A: Komt Thomas ook naar je lezing?
   comes Thomas also to your talk
   B: *Hij zal niet
   he will not

❼ *Zijn* 'be'

(8) A: Is Thomas ook naar je lezing gekomen?
   is Thomas also to your talk come.part
   B: *Hij is niet
   he is not

❽ *Hebben* 'have'

(9) A: Heeft Katrien gisteren gebeld?
   has Kartien yesterday called
   B: *Ze heeft niet
   she has not

→ only real **modal** verbs, no aspectual auxiliaries

2.2   Only deontic modals

Modals can have 2 interpretations: deontic and epistemic

(10) Om acht uur moet Klaas thuis zijn.
   at eight hour must Klaas at.home be
   a. "At 8 Klaas is obliged to be home."   **= deontic**
   b. "At 8 it must be the case that Klaas is at home."   **= epistemic**

→ without complement:

❶ deontic

(11) A: Werk je morgen?
   Work you tomorrow
   B: Ik moet wel. Ik heb een lezing volgende week.
   I must PRT I have a talk next week
   "Are you working tomorrow?" – "I have to. I am giving a talk next week."

❷ epistemic

(12) A: Werkt Klaas morgen?
   Works Klaas tomorrow
   B:*Hij moet wel. Hij werkt altijd op zaterdag.
   he must PRT he works always on Saturday

→ only a **deontic** reading is compatible with a null complement

2.3. Summary

Some auxiliaries in Dutch can occur without a complement, but not all:

✓ *kunnen* 'can'	⇔	*	*zullen* 'will'
willen 'want'			*zijn* 'be'
mogen 'be allowed'			*hebben* 'have'
moeten 'have to'			
hoeven 'need'			

⇨ only **deontic modal** verbs are allowed to have a null complement

3   A COMPARISON WITH VP ELLIPSIS IN ENGLISH

Overview:
   3.1   VPE = deletion of a full syntactic structure
   3.2   No syntactic structure in modal complement
   3.3   The analysis: a null VP proform

3.1   VPE = deletion of a full syntactic structure

• Ross (1969), Merchant (2001) & Johnson (1996, 2001) among others claimed that:

   English VP ellipsis (VPE) = deletion of a full syntactic structure

   (13)   Mina didn't eat the banana, but Peter did [$_{VP}$ ~~eat the banana~~].
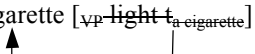
   (14)
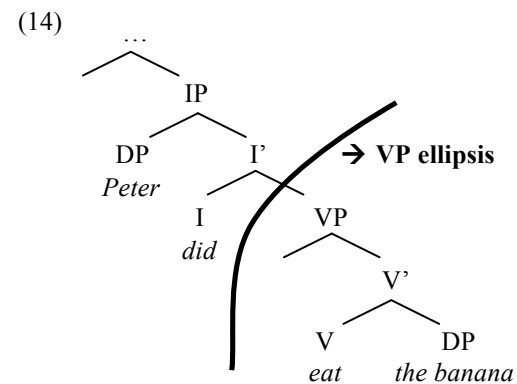
⇨ 4 arguments:

   ❶ Arguments may survive the ellipsis (= Pseudo-gapping):

   (15) Mina lit a cigar and Peter did **a cigarette**.

Explanation: the object is moved out of the VP prior to the deletion (Johnson 1996; Lasnik 1999a, 1999b, 2001)

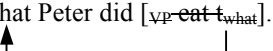(16) Mina lit a cigar and Peter did a cigarette [~~VP light t~~a cigarette]

❷ Wh-phrases may extract out of an elided VP (cf. Schuyler 2002, Merchant to appear)

(17) Mina ate a banana, but I don't know what Peter did.

Explanation: the wh-word is moved out of the VP prior to the deletion

(18) Mina ate a banana, but I don't know what Peter did [~~VP eat t~~what].

❸ An elided VP can have a *there*-expletive as its subject (Ross 1969):

(19) Mina thought there to be an elephant in the garden, but there seemed not to.

Explanation: *there* is licensed by an indefinite DP of in the elided VP

(20) Mina thought there to be an elephant in the garden, but **there** seemed not to [~~VP be **an elephant** in the garden~~]
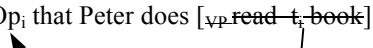
❹ VPE allows antecedent-contained deletion (ACD)

(21) Mina reads each book that Peter does.

Explanation: the quantifier *each* in the antecedent is coindexed with an operator in the elided VP

(22) Mina reads each$_i$ book Op$_i$ that Peter does [~~VP read t~~$_i$ ~~book~~]

⇨ VP ellipsis in English involves deletion of a fully specified syntactic VP structure

3.2   *No syntactic structure in null modal complements (NMC)*

Dutch modals with a null complement: different results for these 4 tests

❶ They do not allow for pseudo-gapping:

(23) A: Wie   doet   vanavond   de   afwas?
         who   does   tonight   the   dishes
      B:* Ik   kan   niet,   maar   ik   wil   wel   **de was**.
          I   can   not   but   I   want   PRT   the   laundry

! **However**: adjuncts can optionally survive the ellipsis

(24) A: Wie   doet   vanavond   de   afwas?
         who   does   tonight   the   dishes
     "Who wants to do the dishes tonight?"
      B: Ik   wil   wel,   maar   niet vanavond.
        I   want   PRT   but   not tonight
     "I want to (do the dishes), but not tonight."
      B': Ik   wil   wel.
        I   want   PRT
     "I want to (do the dishes tonight)."

❷ Object wh-extraction is disallowed:

(25) A: Aan   wie   moet   Katrien   een   cadeautje   geven?
        to   who   must   Katrien   a   present   give
      B:*Dat   weet   ik   niet. Aan   wie   moet   Bert?
        that   know   I   not   to   who   must   Bert

! **However**: subject wh-extraction is allowed

(26) Iemand   moet straks de afwas doen. Wie   kan?
     someone   must   later the dishes do   who   can
     "Someone has to do the dishes later today. Who can do that?"

❸ The subject of a modal without complement cannot be a *there*-expletive

(27) A: Moeten er   veel   mensen naar de   vergadering komen?
        must   there a.lot.of people to   the meeting   come
     B:*Nee, er   moeten niet.
        no   there must   not

❹ Antecedent-contained deletion (ACD) is ungrammatical with modals

(28) *Joris leest   elk   boek dat Monika niet wil.
      Joris reads   each book that Monika not wants

⇨ Null modal complements (NMC) do not involve deletion of a fully specified
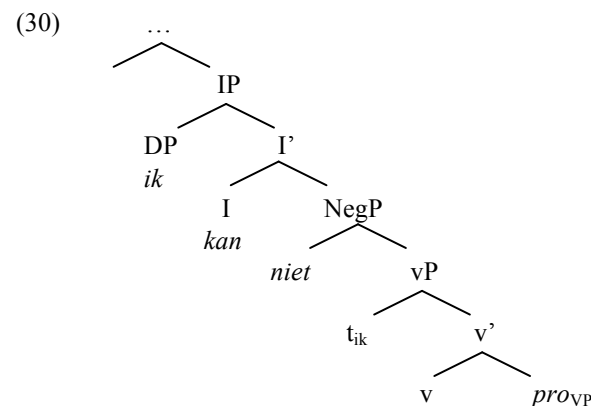   syntactic VP structure

(30)

3.3   The analysis: a null VP proform

VPE**:** deletion of a fully-fledged syntactic VP structure
         ⇕
modals with empty complement: no syntactic specified complement, but a null VP
proform

(29) Ik wil   wel komen vanavond, maar ik kan niet.
      I   want PRT come   tonight   but   I   can not
      "I want to come tonight, but I can't."
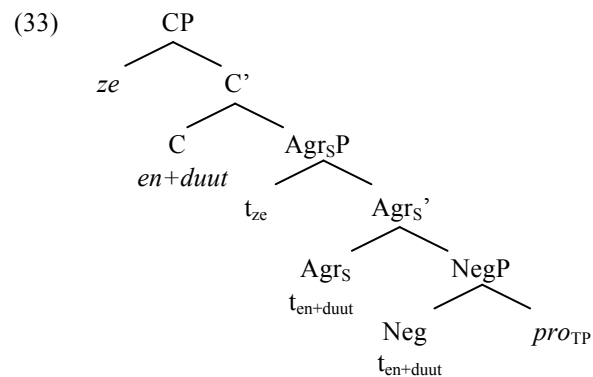
4   *Z'EN DUUT*: PROFORMS

Short Do Replies (SDR) in Dutch dialects (see Ryckeboer 1986, 1998):

(31) A: Sofie zie   Pieter geirn.
         Sofie sees Pieter gladly
      B: Z'en   duut.
         she.NEG does
      "Sofie loves Pieter." – "No, she doesn't."

(32) A: Sofie zie   Pieter nie   geirn.
         Sofie sees Pieter not   gladly
      B: Ze   duut
         she   does
      "Sofie doesn't love Pieter." – "Yes, she does."   [Wambeek Dutch]

Van Craenenbroeck (2004): SDR do not involve deletion of a full syntactic structure
                             → they involve a null clausal proform

(33)   CP
           ╱   ╲
        ze   C'
               ╱   ╲
             C   AgrₛP
          en+duut   ╱   ╲
                    t_{ze}   Agrₛ'
                           ╱   ╲
                        Agrₛ   NegP
                     t_{en+duut}   ╱   ╲
                              Neg   *pro*_{TP}
                          t_{en+duut}

Overview:
    4.1   *Z'en duut* vs. VPE: no syntactic structure in SDR
    4.2   Two proform types
    4.3   Summary

4.1   Z'en duut *vs. VPE: no syntactic structure in SDR (Van Craenenbroeck 2004)*

• Unlike VPE, SDR do not involve deletion of a full syntactic structure: 4 tests

❶ They do not allow for pseudo-gapping:

(34) A: Pieter zie   Sofie geirn.
         Pieter sees Sofie gladly
      B:*Mo ij en   duu   Jessica.
         but he NEG does Jessica   [Wambeek Dutch]
      INTENDED READING: "Pieter loves Sofie." – "But he doesn't Jessica."

   Explanation: *pro* does not contain any internal structure, so nothing can be
                     moved out of it

❷ Both subject and object wh-extraction are disallowed:

(35) A: Ik weet   wou da   Sofie geire ziet.
         I   know who that Sofie gladly sees
      B: * En   wou en   duu-se?
           and who NEG does.she   [Wambeek Dutch]
      INTENDED READING: "I know who Sofie loves." – "And who doesn't she?"

(36) A: Ik weet   wou da   Sofie geire ziet.
         I   know who that Sofie gladly sees
      B: * En   wou en   duut?
           and who NEG does   [Wambeek Dutch]
      INTENDED READING: "I know who loves Sofie." – "Who doesn't?"

Explanation: *pro* does not contain any internal structure, so nothing can be moved out of it

❸ The subject of a Short Do Reply cannot be a *there*-expletive

(37) A: Dui   stonj   drou mann inn   of.
        There stand_PL three men   in.the garden
     B: a.* Dui   en   doenj.
             There NEG do_PL
        b.* Dui   en   duut.
             There NEG does   [Wambeek Dutch]

Explanation: *there* is only licensed by an indefinite DP lower in the structure, but SDR-proforms do not contain lower internal structure

❹ Antecedent-contained deletion (ACD) with SDR is ungrammatical

(38) * Pieter leest   elken boek da Sofie duut
       Pieter reads   each book that Sofie does   [Wambeek Dutch]

Explanation: *i*-within-*i* filter violation (Chomsky 1981)

(39) *Pieter [leest elk boek da Sofie duut pro_i]_i

= parallel to (40)

(40) *I saw [every portrait of it_i]_i

⇨ Van Craenenbroeck (2004): SDR does not involve a fully-fledged deleted syntactic structure , but a structureless clausal proform

4.2   Two proform types

→ More differences between VPE and SDR:

❺ *Do* in VPE can occur in the past tense, *duut* in SDR cannot.

(41) A: Ed loved Julia. – B: a. No, he didn't.
                            b.* No, he doesn't.

(42) A: Sofie zag Pieter geirn. – B: a.* Z'en   dee
        Sofie saw Pieter gladly   she.NEG   did
                                     b. Z'en   duut
                                          she.NEG   does
     "Sofie loved Pieter." – "No, she didn't."   [Wambeek Dutch]

Explanation: SDR-proform replaces whole TP, including Tense → default tense

⇔ A modal with a null complement can occur in the past tense

(43) A: Heeft Klaas echt   gewerkt gisteren? – B: Hij moest   wel.
        has   Klaas really worked yesterday   he must.pst PRT
     "Did Klaas really work yesterday?" – "He had to."

Explanation: only VP, which does not contain tense, is null

❻ VPE can co-occur with adverbs, while SDR cannot:

(44) A: Julia will come tomorrow. – B: No, she probably won't.

(45) A: Sofie kom mergen. – B:* Z'en   duu wuirschaainlek.
         Sofie comes tomorrow   she.NEG does probably   [Wambeek Dutch]

Explanation: proform replaces whole TP, including the adverbs in it

⇔ Modals can co-occur with adverbs

(46) A: Komt Sam vanavond? – B: Nee, hij kan waarschijnlijk niet.
       comes Sam tonight   no he can probably   not
    "Is Sam coming tonight?" – "No, he probably can't."

Explanation: adverbs can occur higher than the null VP

❼ Subject restrictions:
        no restrictions for VPE: it allows proper names, universal quantifiers, weak
                and strong pronouns…
        severe restrictions for SDR: only weak pronouns that are coreferential with
                the subject of the antecedent clause

(47) A: Ed loves Julia. – a. B: But Bill doesn't.
                     b. B: Everybody does.

(48) a. A: Pieter zie   Sofie geirn. – B:* Mo   Jef en   duut.
         Pieter sees Sofie gladly.   but   Jeff NEG does
      INTENDED READING: "Pieter loves Sofie." – "But Jeff doesn't."
     b. A: Pieter zie   Sofie geirn. – B:* Iederiejn   duut.
         Pieter sees Sofie gladly   everybody does   [Wambeek Dutch]
      INTENDED READING: "Pieter loves Sofie." – "Everybody does."

Explanation: in SDR the subject has to be base-generated in [spec, Agr$_S$P] and
                  only a weak pronoun that is contextually given can be base-
                  generated there.

⇔ no subject restrictions with null modal complements

(49) Ik dacht   dat er   veel   mensen zouden komen vanavond,
    I thought that there a.lot.of people would   come   tonight
    maar niemand kan..
    but   nobody   can
    "I thought a lot of people would come tonight, but nobody can make it."

Explanation: the base position of the subject is higher than the null VP

⇒ NMC are null VP proforms: they replace the VP complement of the modal

4.3   Summary

	VP ellipsis	NMC	SDR	
Pseudo-gapping	✓	*	*	**Determine syntactic Structure or proform**
ACD	✓	*	*	
There-expletives	✓	*	*	
Object wh-extraction	✓	*	*	
Subject wh-extraction	✓	✓	*	**Determine which type of proform**
Past tense	✓	✓	*	
Adverbials	✓	✓	*	
Subject restrictions	no	no	yes	

⇒ NMC differs from both VPE and SDR:
- in VPE there is deletion of a fully specified VP with internal structure, while in NMC there is not (parallel to SDR)
- in SDR the proform replaces a whole clausal structure (i.e. TP), while in NMC the proform is a smaller part, namely VP.

5 MORE ON THE RESTRICTION TO DEONTIC MODALS

• Only deontic modals can select a VP proform as their complement.

   Explanation:deontic modals are less restricted in the choice of their complement
                          than auxiliaries and epistemic modals (Barbiers 1996). Next to
                          VPs some deontic modals can select:

❶ an NP

(50) a.Stijn wil   een puppy.
         Stijn wants a   puppy
         "Stijn wants a puppy."
      b.Stijn moet een puppy
         Stijn must a   puppy
         "Stijn has to have a puppy."
      c.Stijn mag   een puppy.
         Stijn may   a   puppy
         "Stijn is allowed to have a puppy."
      d.Stijn hoeft geen puppy.
         Stijn needs no   puppy
         "Stijn doesn't need to have a puppy."

(51) a.Stijn moet een puppy
         Stijn must a   puppy
         #"It must be the case that Stijn has a puppy."
      b.* Stijn zal   een puppy.
          Stijn will a   puppy

❷ a PP

(52) a. Ik wil   naar huis.
          I   want   to   house
          "I want to go home."
      b. Ik moet   naar huis."
          I   must   to   house

"I have to go home."
      c. Ik mag   naar huis.
          I   may   to   house
          "I am allowed to go home."
      d. Ik hoef   niet naar huis.
          I   need   not to house
          "I don't have to go home."
      e. Ik kan   naar huis.
          I   can   to   house
          "I can go home."

(53) a. Ik moet   naar huis."
          I   must   to   house
          #"It must be the case that I go home."
      b.* Ik zal   naar huis.
          I   will   to   house

❸ an AdvP

(54) a. Ik wil   weg.
          I   want   away
          "I want to go away."
      b. Ik moet   weg.
          I   must   away
          "I have to go away."
      c. Ik mag   weg.
          I   may   away
          "I am allowed to go away."
      d. Ik hoef   niet weg.
          I   need   not away
          "I don't need to go away."
      e. Ik kan   weg.
          I   can   away
          "I can go away."

(55) a. Ik moet weg.
        I   must away
        #"It must be the case that I am away."
    b.* Ik zal   weg.
        I   will   away

❹ an AP

(56) a. Hij wil   dood.
        he wants dead
        "He wants to be dead."
    b. Hij moet dood.
        he must dead
        "He has to be dead."
    c. Hij mag   dood.
        he may   dead
        "He is allowed to be dead."
    d. Hij hoeft niet dood.
        he need not dead
        "He doesn't need to die."
    f. Hij kan   dood.
        he can   dead
        "He can die."

(57) a. Hij moet dood.
        he must dead
        #"It must be the case that he is dead."
    b.* Hij zal   dood.
        he will   dead

→ selectional possibilities of deontic modals are wider than those of other auxiliaries

⇨ **deontic modals can select a VP proform**

6 CONCLUSION

❶ Deontic modal verbs in Dutch can select a null VP proform as their complement

❷ Sentences with null modal complements (NMC) differ from VP ellipsis in 4 aspects:
- they do not allow pseudo-gapping
- they do not allow object wh-extraction
- they do not allow a *there*-expletive as their subject
- they do not allow Antecedent Contained Deletion (ACD)

❸ The properties listed in ❷ are the same as the ones we find in Short Do Replies in Dutch, which are analyzed as containing a structureless clausal (TP) proform. NMC differ from SDR in the kind of proform: the one in NMC is a VP proform.

❹ The fact that modals can select a null VP proform is reflected in their less restricted selectional requirements in general.

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