

Stripping the gap: Stripping and gapping in Dutch

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OUTLINE OF THE TALK

1. Introduction
2. Strapping versus stripping
3. Strapping versus gapping
4. Analyses that don't work for strapping
5. Towards an analysis that does work
6. Further research
7. Conclusions

1 INTRODUCTION

- Negation + remnant constituent (cf. (1)) = stripping (Lobeck 1995, Merchant 2003)
 - (1) a. Ik heb Klaas gisteren gezien, maar niet Monika.
b. I saw Kate yesterday, but not Monika.
- Dutch: another construction similar to stripping (cf. (2)a), but different word order.
English: reverse order is ungrammatical ((2)b)
 - (2) a. Ik heb Klaas gisteren gezien, maar Kim niet.
I have Klaas yesterday seen but Kim not
'I saw Klaas yesterday, but I didn't see Kim.'
b. *I saw Kate yesterday, but Kim not.

→ Main claim of this talk:

- (1) = stripping
(2)a = new elliptical construction, *strapping*

2 STRAPPING VERSUS STRIPPING

Overview:

- 2.1 The characteristics of stripping
- 2.2 Dutch stripping
- 2.3 Strapping is not stripping

2.1 *The characteristics of stripping*

- Lobeck (1995:27): stripping =

“a rule that deletes everything in a clause under identity with corresponding parts of the preceding clause, except for one constituent (and sometimes a clause-initial adverb or negative)”

- (English) stripping has the following characteristics (Lobeck 1995, Merchant 2003, Jones 2004):

① The remnant constituent is (usually) accompanied by a polarity marker (*not*), a focusing adverb (*only, also, even, too*) or a modal adverb (*always, possibly, maybe, definitely*)

- (3) a. I saw Kate yesterday, but not Monika.
b. He talked to Peter yesterday, and {also to Charlotte}/{to Charlotte too}.
c. He talked to Peter yesterday, and probably to Charlotte.

- ② Stripping only occurs in coordination, never in a subordinate clause.
- (4) a. He talked to Peter yesterday, but not to Charlotte.
b. *He talked to Peter yesterday, while not to Charlotte.
- stripping cannot be embedded, unless the coordination structure is embedded as a whole:
- (5) a. *He talked to Peter yesterday, but I think that not to Charlotte.
b. I think that [he talked to Peter yesterday, but not to Charlotte].
- ③ There can only be one remnant constituent apart from the polarity marker and adverbs:
- (6) a. *I saw Kate yesterday, but <not>Marsha <not> Monika.
b. *He talked to Peter yesterday, and <probably> Thomas <probably> to Charlotte.
- ④ The remnant constituent and its correlate in the antecedent are contrasted and bear stress.
- ⑤ The stripped conjunct cannot precede its antecedent:
- (7) *Not to Charlotte, but he talked to Peter.

2.2 Dutch stripping

- Dutch counterpart (cf. (1)a): same properties

- ① The remnant constituent is accompanied by a polarity marker, a focusing adverb or a modal adverb:
- (8) a. Ik heb gisteren Klaas gezien, maar niet Kim.
I have yesterday Klaas seen but not Kim

- 'I saw Klaas yesterday, but not Kim.'
- b. Hij heeft gisteren met Peter gepraat, en ook met Charlotte.
he has yesterday with Peter talked en also with Charlotte
'He talked to Peter yesterday, and also to Charlotte.'
- c. Hij heeft gisteren met Peter gepraat, en waarschijnlijk met
he has yesterday with Peter talked and probably with
Charlotte.
Charlotte
'He talked to Peter yesterday, and probably to Charlotte.'

- ② It only occurs in coordination, never in a subordinate clause and can only be embedded if the antecedent clause is embedded in the same clause as well.
- (9) a. *Hij heeft gisteren met Peter gepraat, terwijl niet met Charlotte.
He has yesterday with Peter talked while not with Charlotte
b. *Hij heeft gisteren met Peter gepraat, maar ik denk dat niet met
he has yesterday with Peter talked but I think that not with
Charlotte.
Charlotte
c. Ik denk [dat hij met Peter gepraat heeft, maar niet met Charlotte].
I think that he with Peter talked has but not with Charlotte
'I think that he talked to Peter, but I don't think he talked to Charlotte.'
- ③ There can only be one remnant constituent apart from the polarity marker and adverbs:
- (10) *Ik heb Klaas gisteren gezien, maar niet Gert Kim.
I have Klaas yesterday seen but not Gert Kim
- ④ The remnant constituent and its correlate in the antecedent are contrasted and bear stress.
- ⑤ The stripped conjunct cannot precede its antecedent:

(11) *Niet met Charlotte, maar hij heeft met Peter gepraat.
not with Charlotte but he has with Peter talked

2.3 Strapping is not stripping

- Dutch construction in (2)a, repeated in (12): more differences from stripping than just word order

(12) Ik heb gisteren Klaas gezien, maar Kim niet.
I have yesterday Klaas seen but Kim not
'I saw Klaas yesterday, but I didn't see Kim.'

2.3.1 Similarities between (12) and stripping:

- ① The remnant constituent can be accompanied by a polarity marker (cf.(13)a), a focusing adverb ((13)a) or a modal adverb ((13)b):

(13) a. Hij heeft gisteren niet met Peter gepraat, maar met Charlotte wel.
he has yesterday not with Peter talked but with Charlotte AFF
'He didn't talk to Peter yesterday, but he did to Charlotte.'
b. Hij heeft gisteren met Peter gepraat, en met Charlotte ook.
he has yesterday with Peter talked and with Charlotte too
'He talked to Peter yesterday, and also to Charlotte.'
c. Hij heeft gisteren met Peter gepraat, en met Charlotte
he has yesterday with Peter talked and with Charlotte
waarschijnlijk.
probably
'He talked to Peter yesterday, and probably to Charlotte.'

- ② It only occurs in coordination, never in a subordinate clause and can only be embedded if the antecedent clause is embedded in the same clause as well.

(14) a. *Hij heeft gisteren met Peter gepraat, terwijl met Charlotte niet.
He has yesterday with Peter talked while with Charlotte not

b. *Hij heeft gisteren met Peter gepraat, maar ik denk dat met
he has yesterday with Peter talked but I think that with
Charlotte niet.
Charlotte not
c. Ik denk [dat hij met Peter gepraat heeft, maar met Charlotte niet].
I think that he with Peter talked has but with Charlotte not
'I think that he talked to Peter, but I don't think he talked to Charlotte.'

- ③ The remnant constituent and its correlate in the antecedent are contrasted and bear stress.

- ④ The reduced conjunct cannot precede its antecedent:

(15) *Met Charlotte niet, maar hij heeft met Peter gepraat.
with Charlotte not but he has with Peter talked

2.3.2 Important difference with stripping, though:

- ⑤ There can be more than one remnant constituent apart from the polarity marker and adverbs:

(16) Ik heb Klaas gisteren gezien, maar Gert Kim niet.
I have Klaas yesterday seen but Gert Kim not
'I saw Klaas yesterday, but Gert didn't see Kim.'

→ multiple remnants = property of **gapping** (cf.(17))

(17) I saw Kate yesterday, and Thomas Charlotte.

!! Differences with gapping: see section 3

→ claim: new elliptical construction, **strapping**

3 STRAPPING VERSUS GAPPING

Overview:

- 3.1 The characteristics of gapping
- 3.2 Strapping is not gapping
- 3.3 Summary

3.1 The characteristics of gapping

- “Gapping involves a conjunction of two XPs, where the second conjunct contains a gap, which is interpreted as identical to the verb in the first conjunct.” [Vanden Wyngaerd (1999:2), see also Lobeck (1995) and Neijt (1979)]

- Properties of gapping:

- ① Gapping allows multiple remnant constituents (see definition)
- ② Gapping occurs in coordinate structures, but is disallowed in subordinate clauses, unless the coordination structure is embedded as a whole:
 - (18) a. Peter likes bananas, and Jessica pears.
 - b. *Peter likes bananas, while Jessica pears.
 - c. I think [that Peter likes bananas, and Jessica pears].
 - d. *Peter likes bananas, and I think that Jessica pears.
 - e. *I think that Peter likes bananas, and he knows that Jessica pears.
- ③ The remnant constituent and its correlate in the antecedent are contrasted and bear stress.
- ④ A gap cannot precede its antecedent.

(19) *Jessica pears, and Peter likes bananas.

- ⑤ A gapped clause cannot contain a negative adverb and is odd with modal adverbs:

- (20) a. *Peter likes bananas, but Jessica not pears.
- b. ?*Peter likes bananas, and Jessica probably pears.

3.2 Strapping is not gapping

- strapping: multiple remnants → not stripping
! not gapping either!

3.2.1 Similarities with gapping:

- ① Strapping allows multiple remnant constituents (= difference with stripping):
 - (21) Peter houdt van bananen, maar Jessica niet van peren.
Peter loves of bananas but Jessica not of pears
'Peter likes bananas, but Jessica doesn't like pears.'
- ② Strapping occurs in coordinate structures, but is disallowed in subordinate clauses, unless the coordination structure is embedded as a whole:
 - (22) a. *Peter houdt van bananen, terwijl Jessica niet van peren.
Peter loves of bananas while Jessica not of pears
 - b. Ik denk [dat Peter van bananen houdt, maar Jessica niet van peren].
I think that Peter of bananas loves but Jessica not of pears
'I think that Peter likes bananas, but Jessica doesn't like pears.'
 - c. *Peter houdt van bananen, maar ik denk dat Jessica niet van peren.
Peter loves of bananas but I think that Jessica not of pears
 - d. *Ik denk dat Peter van bananen houdt, maar hij weet dat Jessica
I think that Peter of bananas loves but he knows that Jessica
niet van peren.
not of pears

③ The remnant constituent and its correlate in the antecedent are contrasted and bear stress.

④ The reduced conjunct cannot precede its antecedent.

(23) *Jessica niet van peren, maar Peter houdt van bananen.
Jessica not of pears but Peter loves of bananas

Difference between strapping and gapping (= similarity with stripping):

⑤ The remnant constituents can be accompanied by a polarity marker or a modal adverb:

- (24) a. Peter houdt van bananen, maar Jessica niet van peren.
Peter loves of bananas but Jessica not of pears
'Peter likes bananas, but Jessica doesn't like pears.'
b. Peter houdt van bananen, en Jessica waarschijnlijk van peren.
Peter loves of bananas and Jessica probably of pears
'Peter likes bananas and Jessica probably likes pears.'

3.3 Summary

properties	stripping	gapping	strapping
Allows negation/modal	X		X
Only in coordination	X	X	X
Contrasted	X	X	X
Reduced conjunct cannot precede antecedent	X	X	X
Multiple remnants		X	X

4 ANALYSES THAT DON'T WORK FOR STRAPPING

Overview
4.1 Complex constituent + extraposition
4.2 Movement + TP ellipsis
4.3 Low coordination + ATB movement

4.1 Complex constituent + extraposition

- Possible analysis: contrasted constituents form one phrase which is split up later
→ e.g. Reinhart (1991), McCawley (1991) for stripping

Step 1: 1 clause, in which correlate + remnant = complex constituent

(25) [_{IP} Hij heeft [met Sofie, maar niet met Wim] gepraat gisteren].
he has with Sofie but not with Wim talked yesterday
'He talked to Sofie, but not to Wim yesterday.'

Step 2: extraposition of remnant

(26) [_{IP} [_{IP} Hij heeft [met Sofie, ~~maar niet met Wim~~] gepraat gisteren], [maar niet met Wim]].

☹ Strapping:

(27) Hij heeft met Sofie gepraat gisteren, maar met Wim niet.
he has with Sofie talked yesterday but with Wim not

!! impossible analysis: 'base sentence' is ungrammatical

(28) *Hij heeft [met Sofie, maar met Wim niet] gepraatgisteren.
he has with Sofie but with Wim not talked yesterday

☹ Multiple remnants?

- (29) Peter heeft vandaag met Sofie gepraat, maar Thomas gisteren niet met Wim.
Peter has today with Sofie talked but Thomas yesterday not with Wim
'Peter talked to Sofie today, but Thomas didn't talk to Wim yesterday.'

4.2 Movement + TP ellipsis

- Merchant 2003, Jones 2004 for stripping:

Step 1: coordination of 2 full clauses, with a high NegP in 2nd conjunct

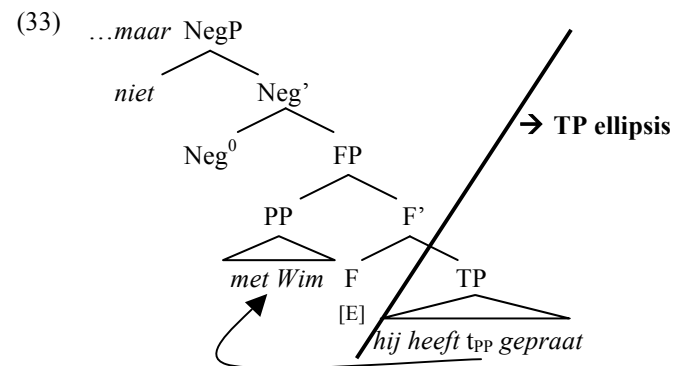
- (30) Hij heeft met Sofie gepraat, maar [_{NegP} niet [_{TP} hij heeft met Wim he has with Sofie talked but not he has with Wim gepraat]]
talked

Step 2: movement of the contrasted constituent out of TP

- (31) Hij heeft met Sofie gepraat, maar [_{NegP} niet [_{FP} met Wim [_{TP} hij heeft he has with Sofie talked but not with Wim he has ~~met Wim~~ gepraat]]
with Wim talked

Step 3: ellipsis of TP

- (32) Hij heeft met Sofie gepraat, maar [_{NegP} niet [_{FP} met Wim [_{TP} ~~hij heeft...~~]]]



- Strapping:
reverse order 'remnant + niet 'not'' → in specifier of FP projection higher than NegP?
multiple remnants: to multiple specifiers of that higher FP?

☹ word order = that of non-elliptical sentence:

- indirect object DP precedes direct object DP (cf.(34),(35))

- (34) a. Ik heb Stijn het boek niet gegeven. → **IO DO**
I have Stijn the book not given
'I didn't give Stijn the book.
b. *Ik heb het boek Stijn niet gegeven. → ***DO IO**
I have the book Stijn not given

- (35) Ik heb Stijn het boek gegeven,...
I have Stijn the book given
a. maar Jurgen de foto niet. → **IO DO**
but Jurgen the picture not
b. *maar de foto Jurgen niet. → ***DO IO**
but the picture Jurgen not
'I gave Stijn the book, but I didn't give Jurgen the picture.'

* nonfinite verb follows negation and DP objects (cf.(36),(37))

(36) Ik heb <*gegeven> Stijn <*gegeven> het boek <*gegeven> niet
I have given Stijn given the book given not
<gegeven>. → <*V> IO <*V> DO <*V> Neg <V>
given
'I didn't give Stijn the book.'

(37) a. Ik heb Stijn het boek getoond, maar <*gegeven> de foto
I have Stijn the book shown but given the picture
<*gegeven> niet <gegeven>. → <*V> DO <*V> Neg <V>
given not given
'I showed Stijn the book, but I didn't give him the picture.'
b. Ik heb het boek aan Stijn getoond, maar <*gegeven> niet
I have the book to Stijn shown but given not
<gegeven> aan Jurgen <gegeven>. → <*V> Neg <V> IO (PP) <V>
given to Jurgen given
'I showed the book to Stijn, but I didn't give it to Jurgen.'

* definite DPs precede negation, PPs preferably follow it (cf.(38),(39))

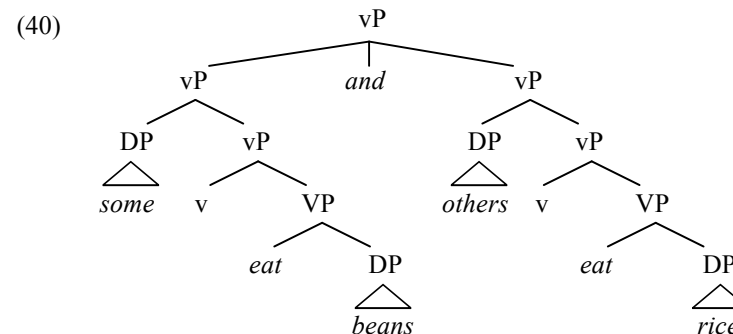
(38) Ik heb <*niet> het boek <niet> aan Stijn <*niet> gegeven.
I have not the book not to Stijn not given
'I didn't give the book to Stijn.' → <*Neg> DP <Neg> PP <*Neg> V

(39) Ik heb het boek aan Stijn gegeven, maar <*niet> de foto
I have the book to Stijn given but not the picture
<niet> aan Jurgen <*niet>. → <*Neg> DP <Neg> PP <*Neg>
not to Jurgen not
'I gave the book to Stijn, but I didn't give the picture to Jurgen.'

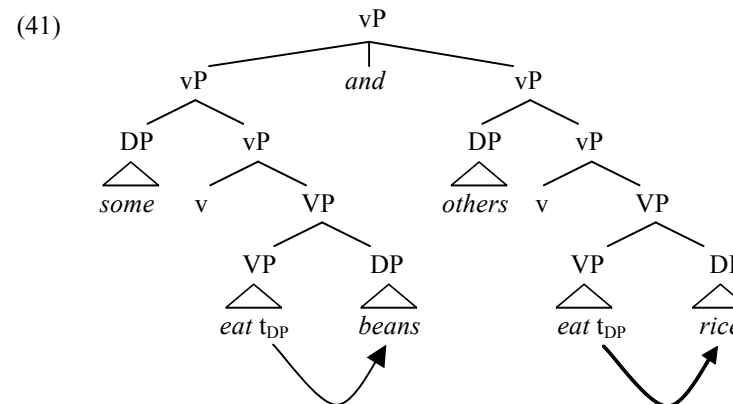
4.3 Low coordination + ATB movement

- Johnson (2006) for gapping:

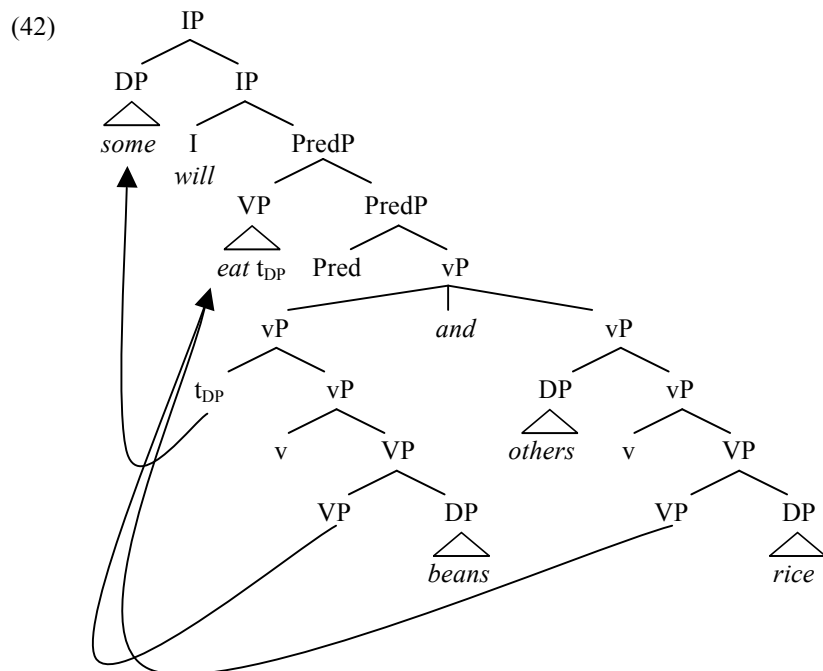
Step 1: coordination of vPs



Step 2: adjunction of contrasted DPs to higher segment of VP



Step 3: ATB movement of the VPs and movement of the 1st conjunct's subject to [Spec,IP]



☹ Strapping can contain negation and high adverbs → coordination level must be higher than vP in these cases

☹ word order:

✖ VP moved to the front → nonfinite verb precedes objects!

(43) *<sub>[IP Ik heb [_{PredP} [_{VP} gegeven]]_{[vP} [_{vP} het boek aan Stijn] maar [_{vP} de foto niet aan Jurgen]]]]
I have given the book to Stijn but the picture not to Jurgen</sub>

↔

(44) Ik heb het boek aan Stijn gegeven, maar de foto niet aan Jurgen.
I have the book to Stijn given but the picture not to Jurgen
'I gave the book to Stijn, but I didn't give the picture to Jurgen.'

✖ order of negation and DP/PP arguments? (cf. problem with previous analysis)

5 TOWARDS AN ANALYSIS THAT DOES WORK

- Strapping: negation, higher adverbs → coordination level can be higher than vP
Other indications:

* wh-elements

- (45) a. Wanneer heeft Wim Sofie gekust en Reiner Jessica?
when has Wim Sofie kissed and Reiner Jessica
'When was it that Wim kissed Sofie and Reiner kissed Jessica?'
'When did Wim kiss Sofie and when did Reiner kiss Jessica?'
- b. Wanneer heeft Wim Sofie gekust en wanneer Reiner Jessica?
when has Wim Sofie kissed and when Reiner Jessica
'When did Wim kiss Sofie and when did Reiner kiss Jessica?'
'When was it that Wim kissed Sofie and Reiner kissed Jessica?'

→ (45)a: 1 question with wh-word having scope over both conjuncts
= coordination of 2 IPs + ATB extraction of wh-element to [spec,CP]
(45)b: 2 questions with 2 wh-words
= coordination of 2 CPs (with 2 [spec,CP] positions)

* quantified subjects

- (46) a. Veel mensen hebben het boek wel aan Roos gegeven, maar de
many people have the book PRT to Roos given but the
foto niet aan Reiner.
picture not to Reiner
'There are a lot of people who have given the book to Roos, but who
didn't give the picture to Reiner.'
'There are a lot of people who have given the book to Roos, but there
are also a lot of people who didn't give the picture to Reiner.'
- b. Veel mensen hebben het boek wel aan Roos gegeven, maar veel
many people have the book PRT to Roos given but many
mensen de foto niet aan Reiner.
People the picture not to Reiner

'There are a lot of people who have given the book to Roos, but there
are also a lot of people who didn't give the picture to Reiner.'
'There are a lot of people who have given the book to Roos, but who
didn't give the picture to Reiner.'

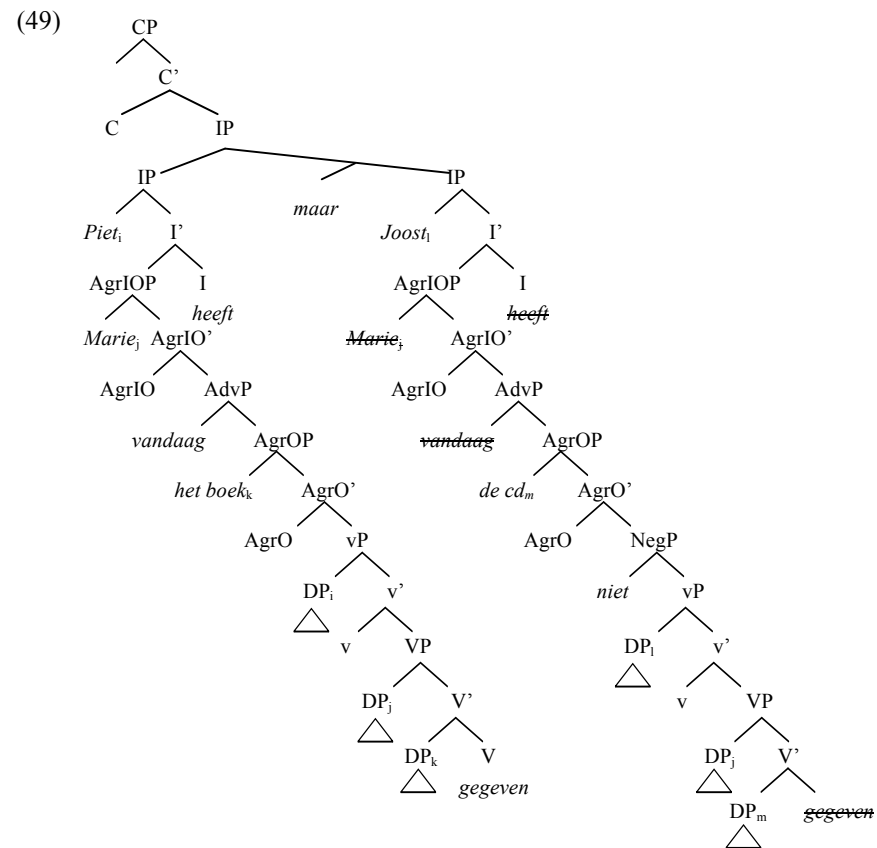
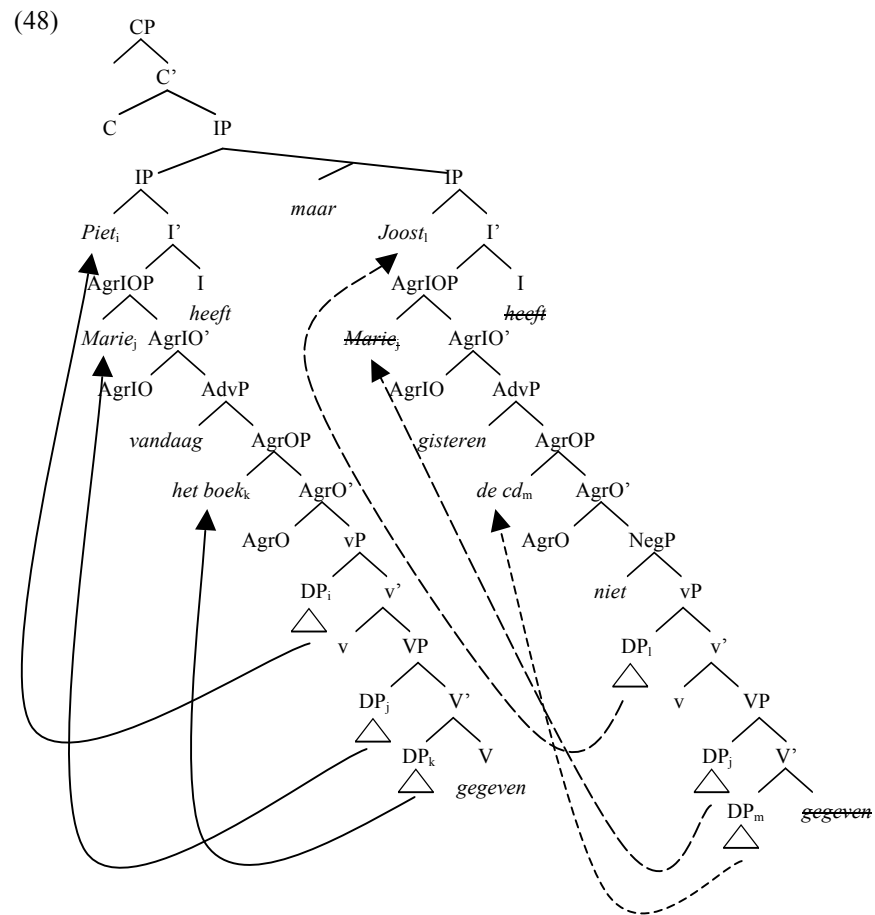
→ (46)a: quantifier has scope over both conjuncts
= coordination level lower than IP + ATB extraction of subject
(46)b: 2 separate quantifiers
= coordination of 2 IPs

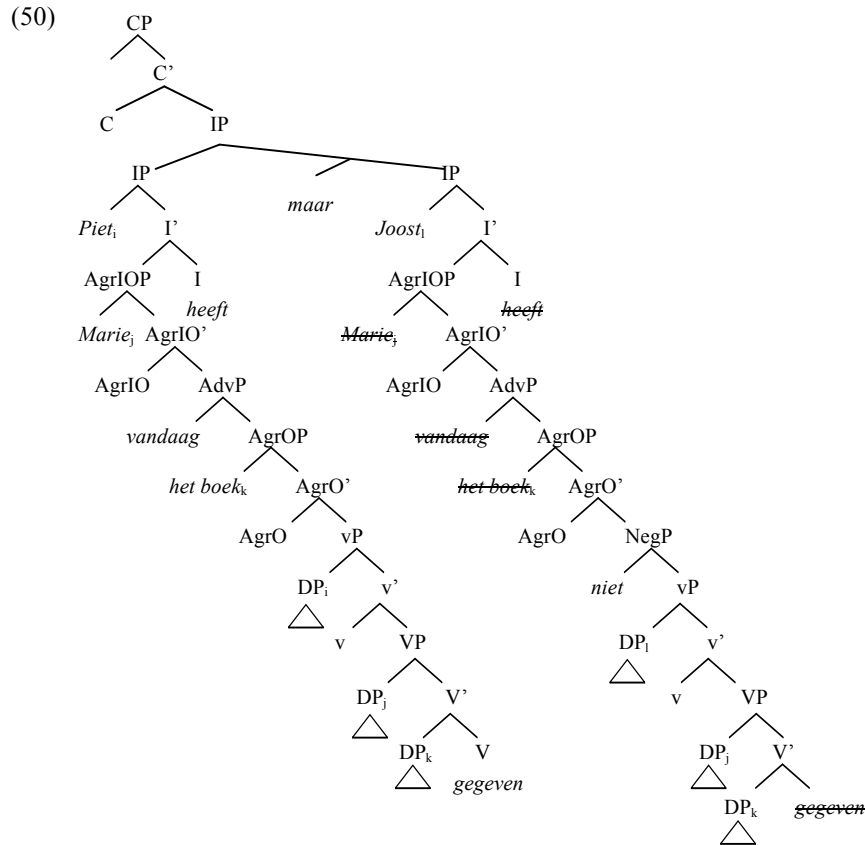
➔ coordination level can differ in strapping (and gapping, cf. (45))

- What is coordinated? What can be elided? What stays?

① conjuncts with different subjects → coordinated IPs, with less to more ellipsis:

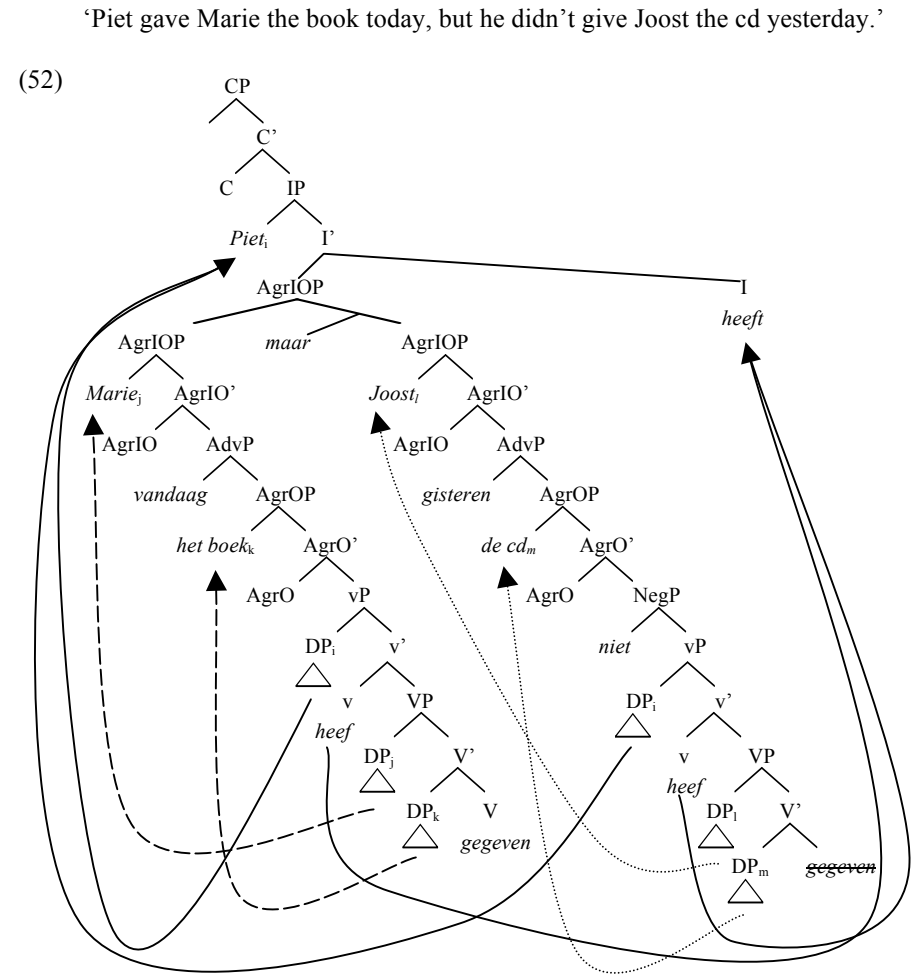
- (47) Piet heeft Marie vandaag het boek gegeven, ...
Piet has Marie today the book given
'Piet gave Marie the book today, ...'
- a. maar Joost ~~heeft Marie~~ gisteren de cd niet ~~gegeven~~. (cf.(48))
but Joost has Marie yesterday the cd not given
but Joost didn't give her the cd yesterday.'
- b. maar Joost ~~heeft Marie vandaag~~ de cd niet ~~gegeven~~. (cf.(49))
but Joost has Marie today the cd not given
but Joost didn't give her the cd today.'
- c. maar Joost ~~heeft Marie vandaag het boek~~ niet ~~gegeven~~. (cf.(50))
but Joost has Marie today the book not given
but Joost didn't give it to her (today).'





② conjuncts with the same subject, but different IOs → coordinated AgrIOPs

(51) Piet heeft Marie vandaag het boek gegeven, maar ~~Piet heeft~~ Joost
Piet has Marie today the book given but Joost yesterday the
gisteren de cd niet ~~gegeven~~.
yesterday the cd not given



→ level of coordination = position of 1st contrasted constituent (= 1st constituent of 2nd conjunct)

- How do the non-contrasted constituents get elided?

Ackema & Szendroi (2002): coordination = result of the projection of a bivalent item

e.g. [I,I]P = IP & IP

→ coordinate ellipsis: 2nd head of bivalent item is null and anaphoric with 1st head

e.g. [I,0]P = IP & 0P

+ “dependent ellipsis”: “the null head in coordinate ellipsis licenses the heads of its dependents to be null” [Ackema&Szendroi 2002:9]

e.g. in case of coordinate ellipsis on IP level (cf.(48)): null I-head *heeft* + null V-head *gegeven*

ellipsis of IO *Marie* (or other objects)? Unclear still...

6 FURTHER RESEARCH

- Dutch: strapping > < English: no strapping
→ How about other languages? German? Danish? Romance languages? Chinese?
- Stripping, gapping, strapping: elliptical constructions that seem to differ only marginally:

properties	stripping	gapping	strapping
Allows negation/modal	X		X
Only in coordination	X	X	X
Contrasted	X	X	X
Reduced conjunct cannot precede antecedent	X	X	X
Multiple remnants		X	X

→ is strapping in fact just the Dutch version of gapping?

!! Describing and explaining ellipsis facts: not about fancy names

→ Bigger question: How and why do languages differ in allowing certain elliptical constructions?

What can be left out in coordinated clauses in which languages? What can be left out in other kinds of clauses? Sluicing, spading...?

→ **typology of ellipsis**

7 CONCLUSIONS

- Dutch: next to regular stripping, also a construction reminiscent to both stripping and gapping → strapping
 - !! Strapping ≠ stripping: multiple remnants
 - !! Strapping ≠ gapping: negation, higher adverbs
- Analyses for stripping and gapping do not work for strapping
- Towards an analysis: the coordination level can differ in strapping, depending on the first contrasted constituent.
 - !! Not clear yet how constituents get elided
- Bigger question: typology of ellipsis? Differences between languages?

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