

A movement account of Dutch gapping

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OUTLINE OF THE TALK

1. Introduction: Dutch gapping
2. Analysis: movement + ellipsis
3. Corroborating evidence
4. Consequences of the analysis
5. Possible problems and open questions
6. Conclusions

1 INTRODUCTION: DUTCH GAPPING

• Gapping in Dutch:

- (1) IK heb MARSHA gisteren gezien en MONIKA KAAT.
 I have Marsha yesterday seen and Monika Kate
 'I saw Marsha yesterday and Monika Kate.'

• Analysis: gapping is derived through movement + clausal ellipsis

- (2) ...en [Monika [Kaat [~~t_{Monika} heeft t_{Kaat} gisteren gezien~~]]]
 and Monika Kate has seen

→ Main claim of this talk:

Dutch gapping involves movement + ellipsis

2 ANALYSIS: MOVEMENT + ELLIPSIS

Overview:

- 2.1 The analysis of Dutch gapping
- 2.2 Ellipsis and phase heads

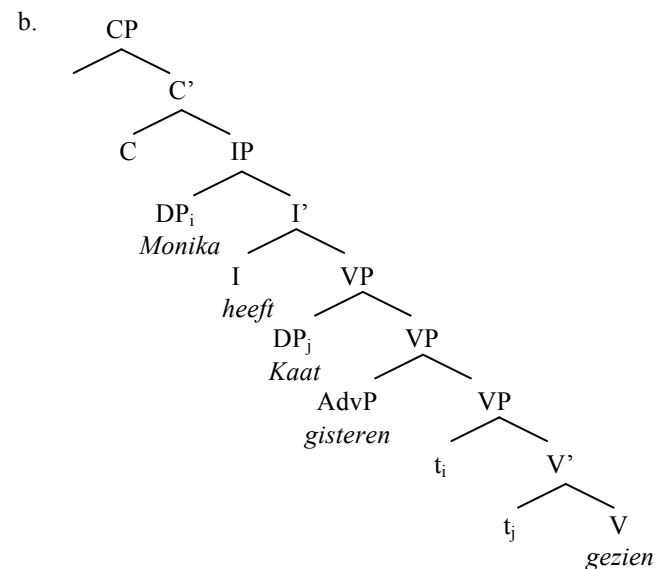
2.1 The analysis of Dutch gapping

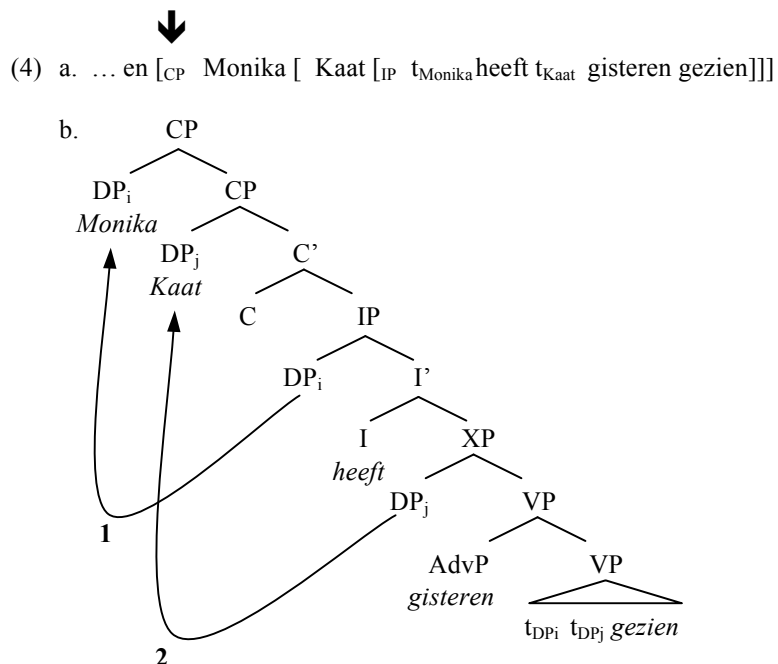
Claim: gapping = movement of remnants to left periphery of the clause + IP-ellipsis

• Step 1: movement

- (3) IK heb MARSHA gisteren gezien...
 I have Marsha yesterday seen

a. ... en [CP [IP MONIKA heeft KAAT gisteren gezien]



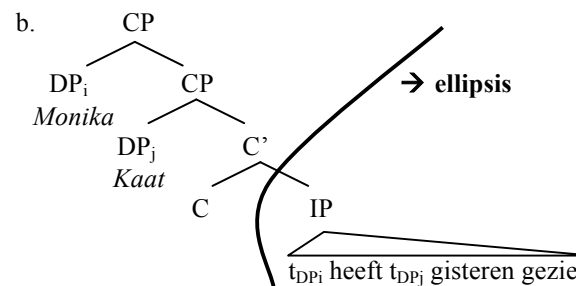


→ **Trigger for movement:** [GAP]-feature on C-head (parallel to Merchant's (2001) E-feature) triggers movement of all the elements in the 2nd conjunct which bear contrastive focus

This feature first probes the closest focused element & pulls it up, then the 2nd, which is tucked in and so on (Richards 2001).

• **Step 2: Clausal ellipsis**

(5) a. ... en [_{CP} Monika [Kaat [_{IP} ~~t_{Monika}~~ ~~heeft~~ ~~t_{Kaat}~~ ~~gisteren~~ ~~gezien~~]]]



(6) Ik heb Marsha gisteren gezien en Monika Kaat.
I have Marsha yesterday seen and Monika Kate
'I saw Marsha yesterday and Monika saw Kate.'

• This analysis = parallel to analyses of other ellipsis phenomena:

✗ Fragment answers (Merchant 2004)

(7) a. Who did he see? – Peter.
b. [_{CP} Peter [_{IP} ~~he~~ ~~saw~~ ~~t_{Peter}~~]]

✗ Stripping (Merchant 2003, Jones 2004)

(8) a. I saw Peter, and not Thomas.
b. I saw Peter, and [_{NegP} not [_{FP} Thomas [_{IP} ~~I~~ ~~saw~~ ~~t_{Thomas}~~]]]

✗ Sluicing (Merchant 2001)

(9) I saw someone, but I don't know [_{CP} who [_{IP} ~~I~~ ~~saw~~ ~~t_{who}~~]]

✗ Spanding (Van Craenenbroeck 2004, 2005)

(10) Ik heb iemand gezien, maar ik weet niet [CP₁ wie [CP₂ da [t_{da} is t_{wie}
I have someone seen but I know not who that is
[-da ik gezien heb]]]]
that I seen have
'I saw someone, but I don't know who.'
[Belgian Dutch]

* XP + *that*-clause (Aelbrecht 2006)

(11) [CP [ModP Misschien goed da Kris komt [IP het is t_{ModP}]]].
perhaps good that Kris comes it is
'It is perhaps good that Kris is coming.'
[Belgian Dutch]

2.2 Ellipsis and phase heads (Gengel 2006)

- Merchant's [E]-feature: triggers ellipsis

My analysis: A single [GAP]-feature on C triggers

- ① movement of focused XP to [Spec]
 - ② ellipsis of IP
- Phase heads display a similar double function:
 - ① movement of a constituent to its edge
 - ② sends its complement off to spell-out
 - Combination of the two: maybe ellipsis and phases are two sides of the same coin
→ ellipsis is not triggered by a special feature, but is a property of phase heads:
 - ① phase head sends its complement off to spell-out
 - 1) for being spelt out, or
 - 2) for being left unpronounced (ellipsis)
 - ② phase head can attract an element to its specifier position
 - 1) to provide an 'escape hatch' from spell-out, or
 - 2) to save it from ellipsis

3 CORROBORATING EVIDENCE

Overview:

- 3.1 Gapping is island-sensitive
- 3.2 Link between P-stranding and P-gapping
- 3.3 Ellipsis of the finite verb is necessary for nonfinite V to elide

3.1 Gapping is island-sensitive

- (12) a. ?Piet zegt dat het Nederlands SVO is en Jeroen SOV.
Piet says that the Dutch SVO is and Jeroen SOV
'Pete says Dutch is SVO and Jeroen says it is SOV.'
- b. *Piet kent iemand die Sloveens spreekt en Jeroen Kroatisch.
Pete knows someone who Slovene speaks and Jeroen Croatian
'Pete knows someone who speaks Slovene and Jeroen knows someone who speaks Croatian.'
- c. Piet kent iemand die Sloveens spreekt en Jeroen iemand
Pete knows someone who Slovene speaks and Jeroen someone
die Kroatisch spreekt.
who Croatian speaks
'Pete knows someone who speaks Slovene and Jeroen knows someone who speaks Croatian.'

→ in my analysis *Kroatisch* moves out of an island in (12)b:

*...en [Jeroen_i Kroatisch_j [IP t_i kent [iemand [die t_j spreekt]]]]]

→ island sensitivity: strong argument for **movement** (Merchant 2001,2003,2004)

3.2 Link between P-stranding and P-gapping

Only languages displaying P-stranding under wh-movement, such as English, can also gap the preposition (Vanden Wyngaerd 1999):

- (13) a. What was Steven talking about?
b. Jeffrey talked about linguistics and Karen (about) politics.

Languages not allowing P-stranding (e.g. Dutch, German) don't allow P-gapping:

- (14) a. *Wat heeft Steven gepraat over?
b. * Was hat Steven gesproken über?
what has Steven talked about
- (15) a. Joris praatte over taalkunde en Karen *(over) politiek.
b. Joris sprach über Linguistik und Karen *(über) Politik.
Joris talked about linguistics and Karen about politics.'

→ P-stranding languages: preposition can be stranded inside ellipsis site when contrasted constituent moves to left periphery and thus can be gapped

→ non-P-stranding languages: no stranding of preposition, so no P-gapping

3.3 Ellipsis of the finite verb is necessary for nonfinite V to elide

When the I-node is spelt out, the nonfinite verb form cannot be elided:

- (16) a. *Sofie wil Wim een boek geven en Jessica zal Reiner een cd ~~geven~~.
Sofie wants Wim a book give and Jessica will Reiner a cd
b. Sofie wil Wim een boek geven en Jessica ~~wil~~ Reiner een cd ~~geven~~.
Sofie wants Wim a book give and Jessica Reiner a cd
'Sofie wants to give Wim a book and Jessica wants to give Reiner a cd.'

the analysis: contrasted XP's move to [Spec,CP]

→ I-node, being a head, is not attracted to specifier
+ ellipsis bleeds I-to-C movement (Merchant 2001)

→ if the finite verb is spelt out, there has not been any ellipsis

Note: non-finite verb can survive the ellipsis through VP-movement to [Spec,CP]

4 CONSEQUENCES OF THE ANALYSIS

Overview:

- 4.1 The remnant constituent and its correlate in the antecedent are contrasted and bear stress
4.2 The number of remnants is not structurally restricted
4.3 The word order of gapping is parallel to that in full sentences
4.4 Gapping can occur as an answer to a wh-question

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

- (17) a. *SOFIE heeft WIM een BOEK gegeven en JESSICA REINER een CD
Sofie has Wim a book given and Jessica Reiner a cd
gegeven.
given
b. SOFIE heeft WIM een BOEK gegeven en JESSICA REINER een CD.
Sofie has Wim a book given and Jessica Reiner a cd
'Sofie gave Wim a book and Jessica Reiner a cd.'

→ the [GAP]-feature only attracts constituents bearing contrastive focus → no other elements can move out of the ellipsis site and survive the ellipsis

4.2 The number of remnants possible is not structurally restricted

- (18) a. SOFIE heeft Wim een boek gegeven, en JESSICA REINER.
Sofie has Wim a book given and Jessica Reiner
'Sofie gave Wim a book, and Jessica Reiner.'
- b. SOFIE heeft WIM een boek gegeven, en JESSICA REINER EEN CD
Sofie has Wim a book given and Jessica Reiner a cd
'Sofie gave Wim a book, and Jessica Reiner a cd.'

- c. SOFIE heeft WIM GISTEREN een boek gegeven, en JESSICA REINER
Sofie has Wim yesterday a book given but Jessica Reiner
EERGISTEREN EEN CD.
the.day.before.yesterday a cd
'Sofie gave Wim a book yesterday, and Jessica Reiner a cd the day
before.'

→ E-feature can attract as many constituents as are contrasted

4.3 The word order of gapping is parallel to that in full sentences

- * Indirect object DP precedes direct object DP

Full sentence:

- (19) a. Ik heb Stijn het boek gegeven. → **IO DO**
I have Stijn the book given
'I gave Stijn the book.'
b. *Ik heb het boek Stijn gegeven. → ***DO IO**
I have the book Stijn given

Gapped clause:

- (20) Ik heb Stijn het boek gegeven, ...
I have Stijn the book given
a. en Jurgen de foto. → **IO DO**
and Jurgen the picture
b. *en de foto Jurgen. → ***DO IO**
and the picture Jurgen
'I gave Stijn the book, and Jurgen the picture.'

- * Nonfinite verb follows negation and DP objects

Full sentence:

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

Gapped clause:

- (22) 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.'

- * Definite DPs precede negation, PPs preferably follow it

Full sentence:

- (23) 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**

Gapped clause:

- (24) 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.'

→ [GAP]-feature probes down and attracts the 1st contrasted phrase it encounters, then tucks in the 2nd one and so on → remnants end up in the exact same order as before movement

4.4 Gapping can occur as an answer to a wh-question

- * Gapping can occur in an answer to a wh-question:

- (25) Wie heeft wat aan Bert gegeven? – Piet een boek en Thomas een cd.
who has what to Bert given Pete a book and Thomas a cd
'Who gave what to Bert?' – 'Pete gave a book and Thomas a cd.'
(26) Heeft iedereen met iedereen gepraat? – Nee, Sam niet met de baas.
has everyone with everyone talked no Sam not with the boss
'Did everyone talk to everyone?' – 'No, Sam didn't talk to the boss.'

→ movement analysis doesn't need an antecedent in the same clause (see also stripping (Merchant 2003) & fragment answers (Merchant 2004))

5 POSSIBLE PROBLEMS & OPEN QUESTIONS

Overview:

- 5.1 Dutch gapping can contain negation
- 5.2 Gapping is restricted to coordination

5.1 Dutch gapping can contain negation

- (27) 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.'

However, negative marker *niet* 'not' cannot easily be moved to the left periphery:

- (28) *Niet heb ik hem gezien.
not have I him seen

Solution: sentences with *niet* in left peripheral position most of the times seem to involve ellipsis:

* Stripping:

- (29) Ik heb Klaas gisteren geholpen, en niet Gert.
I have Klaas yesterday helped and not Gert
'I helped Klaas yesterday, and not Gert.'

* Other constructions:

- (30) a. Niet dat ik mij wil moeien, maar kan je niet beter weggaan?
not that I me want involve but can you not better leave
'It's not that I want to interfere, but wouldn't it be better if you left?'

- b. Komt Jurgen vanavond? – Niet dat ik weet.
comes Jurgen tonight not that I know
'Is Jurgen coming tonight?' – 'Not that I know of.'

- (31) Komt Jurgen vanavond? – Ik denk van niet.
comes Jurgen tonight I think of not
'Is Jurgen coming tonight?' – 'I don't think so.'

→ in elliptical constructions, *niet* can move much more easily → why?
Ellipsis licenses movement that is otherwise illicit, ellipsis repair effect?

5.2 Gapping is restricted to coordination

* Gapping is disallowed in subordination (Neijt 1979):

- (32) *Sam heeft Ellen gekust, **omdat** Bert Mieke.
Sam has Ellen kissed because Bert Mieke

Subordinators: *omdat* 'because', *nadat* 'after', *terwijl* 'while'... = C-heads
Conjunctions: *en* 'and', *maar* 'but'... trigger verb second → no C-heads

* A gap can only be embedded if the entire conjunction is embedded under the same matrix verb ((33)a).

(33) Antecedent & gapped clause both embedded under same matrix verb

- a. Ik denk [dat Peter van bananen houdt, en Jessica van peren].
I think that Peter of bananas loves and Jessica of pears
'I think that Peter likes bananas and Jessica pears.'

Non-embedded antecedent & embedded gapped clause

- b. *Peter houdt van bananen, en ik denk dat Jessica van peren.
Peter loves of bananas and I think that Jessica not of pears

Antecedent & gapped clause embedded under different matrix verb

- c. *Ik denk dat Peter niet van bananen houdt, maar hij weet dat
I think that Peter not of bananas loves but he knows that
Jessica van peren.
Jessica of pears

- * An embedded clause can, however, sometimes be the antecedent of a gapped matrix clause:

(34) [Ik denk [dat Peter niet van bananen houdt]], maar [Jessica in elk
I think that Peter not of bananas loves but Jessica in any
geval van peren.
case of pears
'I think that Peter doesn't like bananas, but Jessica definitely likes pears'

→ **generalization:** presence of overt complementizer intervening between antecedent and gap blocks gapping

Hypothesis: [GAP]-feature has specific syntactic requirements → can only merge with empty C_[+FOC]-head
= parallel to Merchant's [E]-feature: [E_S] for sluicing can only co-occur with null C-head that is [+wh,+Q], found in constituent questions

→ prediction: gapping is possible in embedded clause without an overt complementizer:

(35)?Kaat heeft de cd gekocht, en ik heb Piet verteld (* dat) Kim het
Kate has the cd bought and I have Pete told that Kim the
boek.
book
'Kate bought the cd and I told Pete (that) Kim bought the book.'

☹ Questions:

- ① Is there evidence for an empty C_[FOC]-head in Dutch?
- ② How is this analysis compatible with a double CP-layer account?
- ③ How about complementizers triggering verb second, such as *want* 'for' and *dus* 'so'?

No gapping:

(36) *Sam heeft Ellen gekust, **want/dus** Bert Mieke.
Sam has Ellen kissed for so Bert Mieke
'Sam kissed Ellen, for/so Bert kissed Mieke.'

→ are they C-heads, like *omdat* 'because',...? → then they would block gapping

Although:

(37) a.?Niet iedereen heeft met iedereen gepraat, want Sam niet met
not everyone has with everyone talked for Sam not with
de baas.
the boss
'Not everyone talked to everyone else, for Sam didn't talk to the boss.'
b.*Niet iedereen heeft met iedereen gepraat, omdat Sam niet
not everyone has with everyone talked because Sam not
met de baas.
with the boss

in certain contexts *want* and *dus* do allow gapping → no C-heads

why (36) is ungrammatical might have different explanation: further research

6 CONCLUSIONS

- ① Dutch gapping = movement + clausal ellipsis
[GAP]-feature attracts contrasted constituents to its specifier and elides IP
→ double function is also found in phase heads

→ ellipsis and phase heads might be two sides of the same coin
- ② Arguments for the analysis:
 - Gapping is island-sensitive
 - Link between P-stranding and P-gapping
 - Ellipsis of finite verb is necessary for nonfinite verb to elide
- ③ The analysis explains some basic properties of gapping:
 - The remnant constituent and its correlate in the antecedent are contrasted and bear stress
 - The number of remnants is not structurally restricted
 - The word order of gapping is parallel to that in full sentences
 - Gapping can occur as an answer to a wh-question
- ④ Further research:
 - Movement of negation in gapping
 - Restriction to coordination + the exact nature of the [GAP]-feature
 - Differences between complementizers
 - ...

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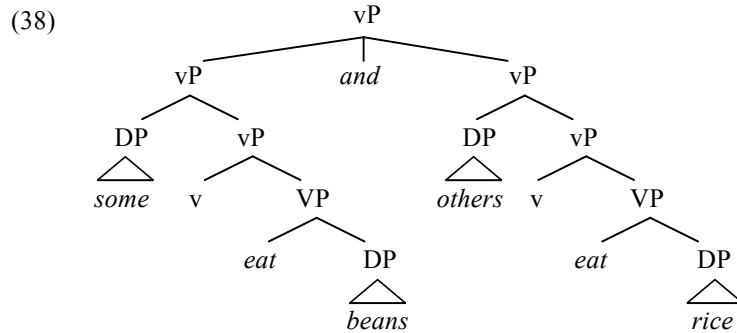
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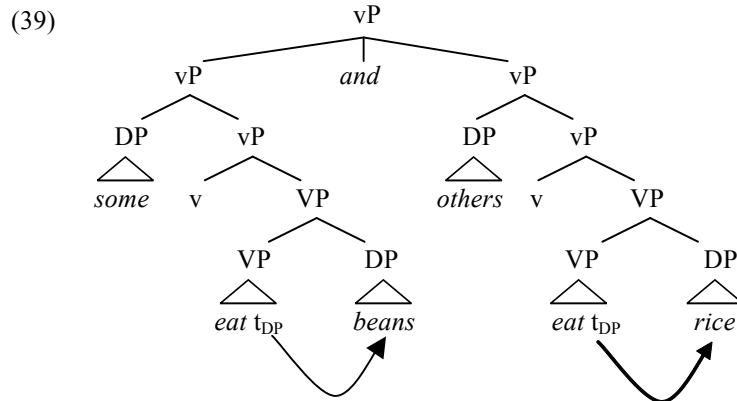
APPENDIX: WHY OTHER ANALYSES OF GAPPING DON'T DO THE TRICK IN DUTCH

① Johnson (2006): low coordination + ATB movement

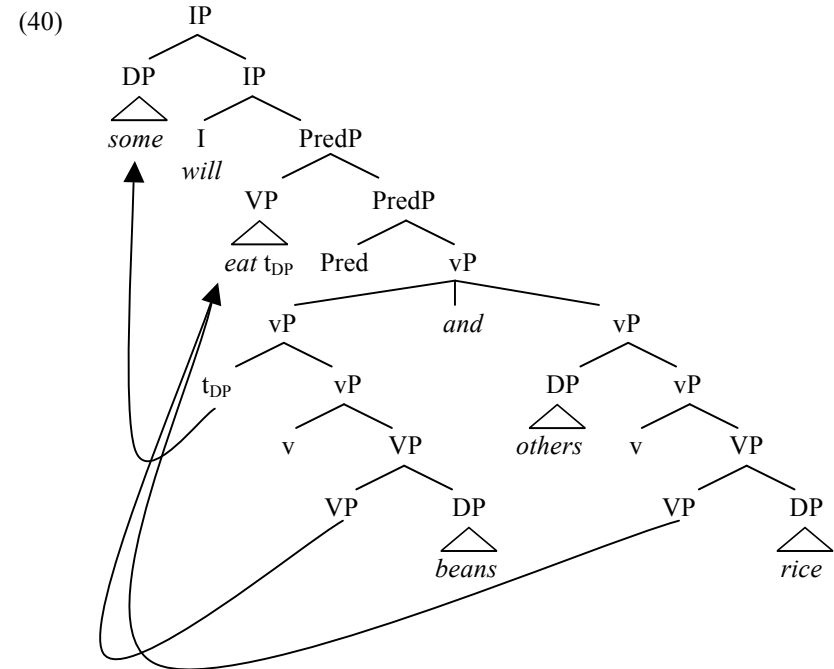
Step 1: coordination of vPs



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]



☹ Dutch gapping 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!

(41) *_{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

↔

(42) 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?

● 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: null I-head *heeft* + null V-head *gegeven*

island sensitivity???

Link with P-stranding???

Wh-questions???