

Resumptive Remnants of Gapping in English

I. The Issue

While "gapping" has been a familiar term since the earliest days of modern syntax (since at least Ross, 1970), most detailed analyses of gapping constructions have addressed only a single gapping paradigm, well-known (though no less perplexing) and represented in (1):

- (1) John eats apples, and Mary, pears.

I will refer to constructions like (1) as *standard gapping*. The purpose of this paper is to address current theories of standard gapping, specifically in relation to a separate paradigm which has gone almost completely unaddressed, represented below in (2-6). This type of gapping, I will refer to as *resumptive gapping* due to the apparent presence of a resumptive pronoun as a remnant. Examples drawn from the internet abound.

- (2) Imagine meeting incredible people who love supporting you and you, them.
(<http://bit.ly/1AK6doz>)
- (3) I have watched angry thoughts directed to you from another; most of them from a total stranger who you don't even know, nor he, you.¹
(<http://bit.ly/1AeCAKS>,
modified slightly by classmate Stephanie Queiroz)
- (4) I thank God for my good health, a job that I love, an ever growing ministry, a wonderful and supportive family, friends that *really* know me, and I them.
(<http://bit.ly/1wUaDBQ>)
- (5) So then I tried drama instead—intense relationships with men who tried to love me better, and I, them.
(<http://bit.ly/1HgXJGh>)

¹ Note that (3) is an apparent counter-example to the McCloskey's (2002) *Highest Subject Restriction*.

- (6) But I have so many caring people with excellent advice. And who can relate to me and me, them. (<http://bit.ly/11pZbFa>)

The data mined from the internet has noteworthy similarities. For one, the conjuncts are preceded by a relative pronoun. This calls into question the form of the coordinated phrases – are they CPs? Are they TPs? Or, as has been proposed in theories of standard gapping, could they be vPs?

My data is also restricted to resumptive gaps of a single form, though there are potentially many others hereto undiscovered. The limitation is partially due to my method collecting naturally occurring examples. To find gapped clauses, I googled permutations of the following sort: "CONJ PRONOUN PRONOUN" – for instance, "and you him", "nor them, you", "or me, them", so on and so forth. I then inspected the results to see whether or not the conjunction was preceded by a relative pronoun or a complementizer, thereby filtering for data more explicitly relevant to the issue at hand.²

Another important property of the data is the presence of resumptive pronouns which arise as a remnant of the gap (a point which I will discuss at length in section III). Notice, also, the alternation in the sentences given in (2-6): the resumptive of the second conjunct corresponds to either a subject or object which is present in the first conjunct. In (2), for instance, the object in the first conjunct is "you," which alternates as the subject in the second conjunct. That is a common, albeit coincidental, tendency which may be relevant to the analysis of resumptive gapping at a later point in time.

Tentatively, and without much justification, I would like to propose that the presence of the relative pronoun and the presence of a resumptive pronoun are mutually conditioned, and that this is a defining property of gapping with resumptive remnants.

² "who * CONJ PRON PRON" also works well. "who * and you them"

As an aside: When asked to paraphrase resumptive gaps, native speakers have most often given sentences like the following; (2) is reproduced again:

- (2) a. Imagine meeting incredible people who love supporting you and you, them. (<http://bit.ly/1AK6doz>)
- b. Imagine meeting incredible people who love supporting you and (who) you love supporting.
- c. Imagine meeting incredible people who love supporting you and (who) you love to support.
- d. *Imagine meeting incredible people who love supporting you and (who) you love supporting/to support them.

(2b, 2c), to me, seem like natural, non-elliptical ways of expressing precisely the same meaning as (2a). Of note is the fact that (2d) is never given as a potential paraphrase, though it contains an overt object pronoun like the resumptive gap did.³ (2d) would, presumably, match the gapped (2a) more, if we view "matching" in terms of superficial identity. I will return more to this discussion in a later section.

Finally, though this may be a feature of gaps generally (Johnson, 2004:44), another property of resumptive gaps is a loosened restriction on pronominal case of the subject in the second conjunct. To my ear, (6) is grammatical with either "I" or "me" in the subject position of the gapped conjunct. I will not be addressing this quirk here.

Thus, my discussion of resumptive gaps will be framed in terms of the issues to which I have alluded in this section:

- *The Coordination Issue*
How can we determine what exactly is being coordinated (CP-CP, TP-TP, vP-vP)?
- *The Resumption Issue*
How do we analyze the apparent presence of resumptive remnants of examples like (2-6)? Is it a *true* resumptive pronoun? How does it surface?

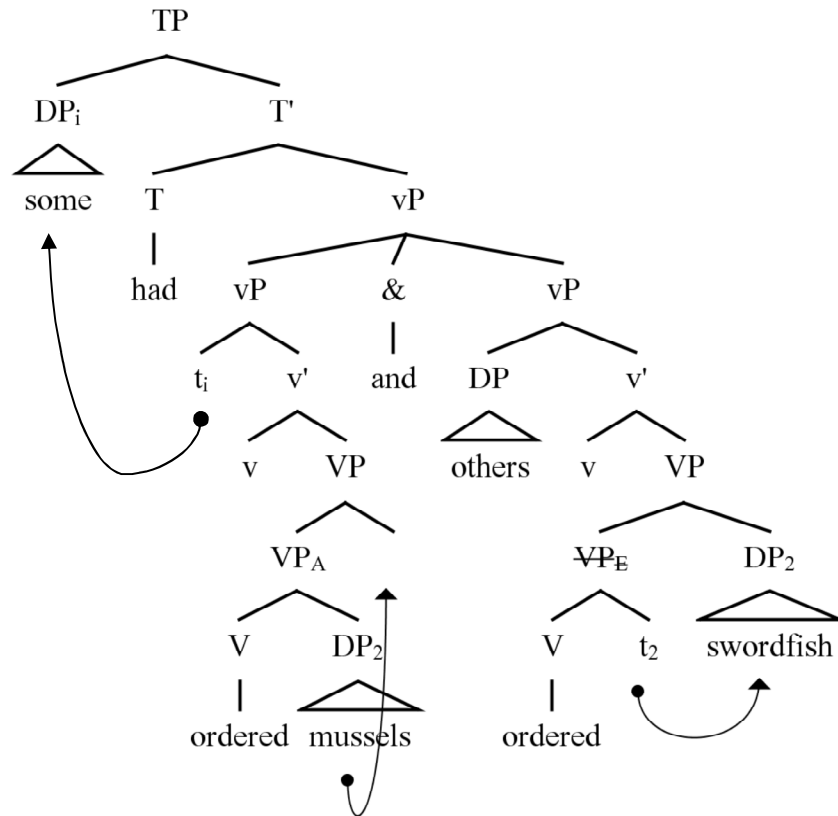
³ I did find one naturally occurring instance of this: "The help of a good friend...Someone who won't judge you nor you judge them." (<http://bit.ly/1wAz3pC>)

II. The Coordination Issue

When confronting this new data, we must entertain the question: *what's being coordinated?* Most examples of standard gapping do not give us an obvious reason to consider CP-CP coordination – however, such a possibility comes into light when analyzing resumptive gaps.

Due to compelling modal scope facts, Coppock (2001) and Johnson (2004, 2009), proceeding based on observations from Siegel (1987), argue for vP-vP coordination rather than a larger coordination. Therefore, in most recent gapping literature, it has been assumed that gapping is low vP-coordination, such as the following example given in Toosarvandani (2013:20):

- (7) *Some had ordered mussels, and others, swordfish.*



This structure is strongly supported because, among other reasons, negation and modals can scope over both conjuncts, rather than be interpreted conjunct-internally (Johnson, 2004; Coppock, 2001, Toosarvandani, 2013). Scope over both conjuncts can be modeled in a standard gap like (8a), its truth conditions given in (8b):

- (8) a. John doesn't understand Cantonese, or Mary, Mandarin.
 b. $\neg(\text{understand}(\text{John, Cantonese}) \vee \text{understand}(\text{Mary, Mandarin}))$

A structure like that of (7) provides these facts for free, since negation and modals c-command the conjuncts.⁴ However, it should be noted that this vP coordination structure presents issues which have been brought up in the past; one issue is that A-movement out of the conjunction structure is permitted to satisfy the EPP. This is apparently a licensed violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint, whereas A'-movement has never been shown to be. This difference between A- and A'-movement will be relevant again later, in my final analysis of resumptive gaps.

Do resumptive gaps show the same results with respect to negative or modal scope? In the following examples, I have included some naturally occurring tokens from Google, and altered some others to test scope facts on resumptive gapping constructions. Also, make note of the grammaticality judgments relevant to the three conjunctions, *and*, *or*, and *nor*.

⁴ This is not entirely conclusive evidence for *only* vP-vP conjunction. It merely suggests that vP coordination is one possible form of coordination, especially in light of sentences like (1):

- (1) Either John doesn't understand Cantonese, or Mary, Mandarin (...I forget which.).

If *either* is taken to mark the leftmost boundary of a disjunction (Larson, 1985), then we expect to have two coordinated TPs. In fact, this seems to be the case because (1) naturally (for me) makes clear an interpretation in which it is either the case that John does not understand Cantonese, *or* it is the case that Mary does not understand Mandarin. This is unlike (8a), which is most naturally interpreted as "John doesn't understand Cantonese, and Mary doesn't understand Mandarin." Crucially, the reading of (8a) is a "no one understands anything" reading, whereas the reading elicited by (1) is the "someone understands something" reading. (8a) is equivalent to:

- (2) $\neg(\text{understand}(\text{John, Cantonese}) \vee \text{understand}(\text{Mary, Mandarin}))$

But footnote example (1) is equivalent to:

- (3) $(\neg(\text{understand}(\text{John, Cantonese})) \vee \neg(\text{understand}(\text{Mary, Mandarin})))$

- (9) We DO know how much you hate talking to someone who can't understand you, nor you them. (<http://bit.ly/12pvjtZ>)
^{OK}or
 *and
- (10) Again, as in the situation with the imam, what good is a stranger who doesn't have any connection to you nor you to them. (<http://bit.ly/1pQ7A0c>)
^{OK}or
 *and
- (11) It's so frustrating especially when you have a technical question trying to relay it to someone who doesn't understand you or you them.
^{OK}nor
 *and
 (<http://bit.ly/1yGyngc>)
- (12) It gives you an opportunity to relate and learn about the people who might help you and you them. (<http://bit.ly/1zNDQB4>)
 *n/or
- (13) I know so many cruel people who can't relate to me, *and me, them.
^{OK}n/or
 (c.f., [6])
- (14) Imagine meeting mean people who don't like seeing you, *and you, them.
^{OK}n/or
 (c.f., [2])

In googling sentences of this sort, I found that this construction, compared to resumptive gaps, is even rarer yet.⁵ The scope properties of the negated resumptive gaps seem to align nicely with the facts proposed for standard gapping. Take (11), for instance. To my ear, this can only have the following interpretation:

- (15) ...someone who doesn't understand you, or you, them.
 $\lambda x \neg (\text{understand}(x, \text{you}) \vee \text{understand}(\text{you}, x))$
 Paraphrase: ...someone who doesn't understand you and who you don't understand.

Next, if we return to the grammaticality judgments given for different conjunctions in (9-14), it would appear that not all conjunctions are created equal. "And" in *negated* resumptive gaps is systematically unavailable, even though it is in (12) with no negation and a modal occupying T⁰. This is not due to some independent issue with "and," as the following minimal pair shows:

- (2) Imagine meeting incredible people who love supporting you, and you, them. *n/?or
 (14) Imagine meeting mean people who don't like seeing you, *and you, them. OK_{n/or}

The distribution of "and" holds true for standard gapping as well:

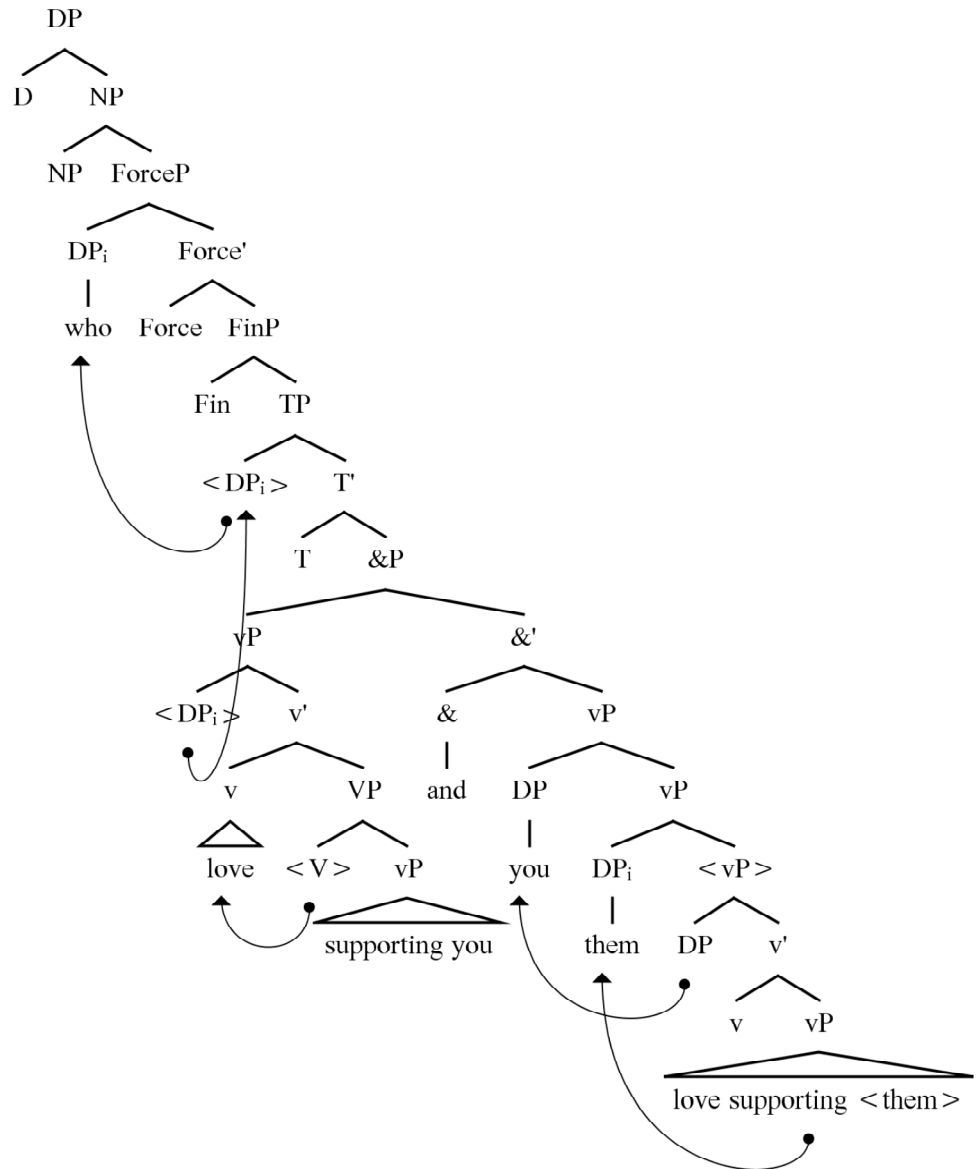
- (2') a. I love supporting you, and you, me. *n/?or
 b. I don't love supporting you, ??and you, me. OK_{n/or}

Therefore, given the fact that the presence of negation seems to affect the availability of conjunctions, and the fact that truth-conditional equivalences hold between standard and resumptive gaps, it seems that a vP-vP coordination structure is satisfactory for these resumptive

⁵ Search pattern: "who NEG * CONJ PRON PRON," i.e., "who won't * nor you them", "who don't * and me, them", "who can't * nor you them" (all quotes included). Not all patterns returned relevant data, and it's worth noting that when data was returned, it was NEVER with "and" as a coordinator. The only relevant data found occurred with n/or.

gaps. By accepting such a structure, I adopt the following tree as a valid structure for (2), and for resumptive gaps in general. I adopt a cartographic approach to the left periphery (Haegeman, 2012) and have diagrammed only the relevant portion (in brackets).

(2) Imagine meeting incredible people [who love supporting you and you, them].



This approach inherits the faults of a vP-vP coordination approach, and more work should be done to iron out those theoretical kinks, but not here. For instance – (1) this structure violates the Coordinate Structure Constraint (perhaps not such an issue, Johnson, 2004, 2009;

Coppock, 2001); (2) why should both conjuncts share a single subject in SpecTP, and how can the subject of the second conjunct remain Caseless? These are questions to consider with this structure in mind.

(16) *Conclusion*

Resumptive gapping appears sufficiently similar to standard gapping so that a vP-vP coordination structure can accurately predict how resumptive gapping patterns.

III. The Resumption Issue

A preliminary requirement is to clearly define the meaning of my claim that gapping with resumptive remnants *has* resumptive remnants. According to McCloskey (2006:95), a resumptive pronoun "is a pronominal element which is obligatorily bound and which appears in a position in which, under other circumstances, a gap would appear." Crucially, a resumptive pronoun is *just* a pronoun in form, shape, and sound. If we return to several paraphrases of (2), reproduced below, which were given earlier, the resumptive element will become apparent:

- (2)
- a. Imagine meeting incredible people who love supporting you and you, them. (<http://bit.ly/1AK6doz>)
 - b. Imagine meeting incredible people who love supporting you and (who) you love supporting __. (GAP)
 - c. Imagine meeting incredible people who love supporting you and (who) you love to support __. (GAP)
 - d. *Imagine meeting incredible people who love supporting you and (who) you love supporting/to support them. (RESUMPTIVE)

Of these, (2a) is the original, (2b) and (2c) show two potential paraphrases with gaps where expected, and (2d) shows the ungrammatical example with a resumptive pronoun filling the gap in (2b) and (2c). The most shocking contrast is between (2a) where resumption is perfectly grammatical (to my ear, and to the ear of whoever wrote it originally) and (2d) where it is sharply ungrammatical.

The questions that must be addressed are:

1. How does the resumptive aspect of resumptive gapping tie in with the structure proposed in section II?
2. What kind of resumptives are these and how are they generated?
3. Why are they generated?

It is not uncommon to hear the claim that resumptives are a last resort operation for fixing an otherwise ungrammatical utterance. Shlonsky's analysis of Hebrew and Palestinian Arabic (1992) makes just such a claim. This is reinforced and reformulated under the light of later research like Aoun, et. al's work (2001) on Lebanese Arabic (McCloskey, 2006). In light of such claims, I propose that resumptive remnants in gapping can give evidence for a vP-vP coordination structure.

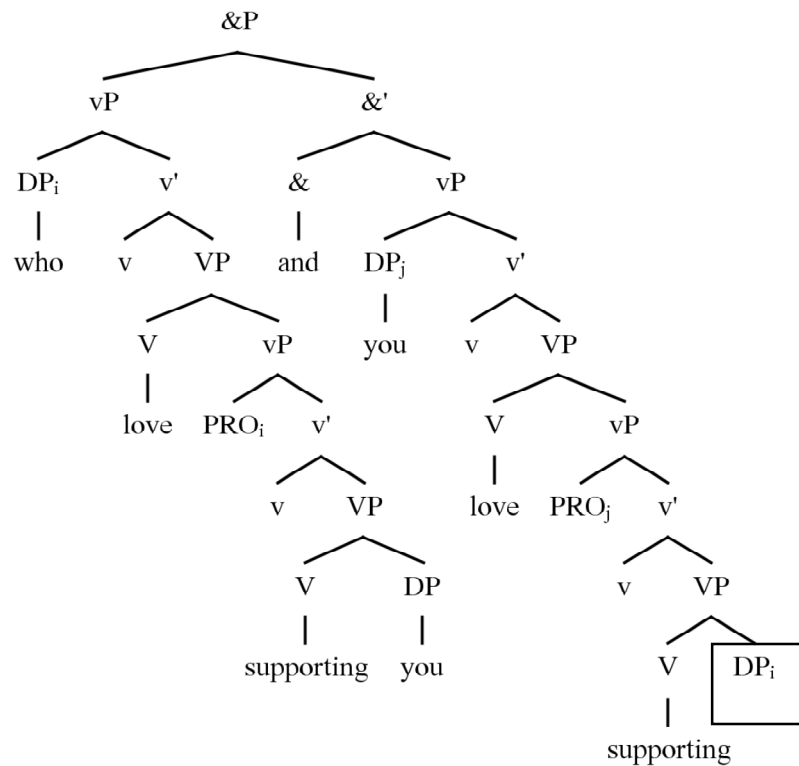
Aoun et. al (2001) define two types of resumption which may both be available within a single language's grammar:

- (17) *Apparent Resumption* (2001:393)
- a. Involves movement from a position within the maximal projection containing the pronoun or epithet phrase. (=53)
 - b. This movement cannot cross an island boundary. (=54a)
- (18) *True Resumption* (2001:394)
- a. No movement takes place from the position of the pronoun or the epithet phrase. An A'-antecedent binds the resumptive element. (=55)
 - b. The antecedent-resumptive relation [must] cross an island boundary. (=56a,b)

Within Lebanese Arabic, for which such a distinction is relevant, Aoun et. al (2001) provide data which show that either type of resumption may operate language-internally. What is important is that in *apparent* resumption *only* do reconstruction effects apply – this suggests that apparent resumption is the result of movement. True resumption, by contrast, involves a base-generated pronoun (Aoun et. al, 2001; McCloskey, 2006).

Considering that these two resumptive strategies are both potentially available, I propose that the resumptive remnant in resumptive gaps arises via *true* resumption. In order to justify this claim, it must be shown that an island violation prevents movement in resumptive gapping, thereby inducing base-generation of a resumptive pronoun to remedy the potential violation. Given a vP-vP coordination structure, the Coordinate Structure Constraint is a viable candidate. (19) gives the assumed underlying structure of the vP conjunct in a resumptive gap like (2), pre-movement.

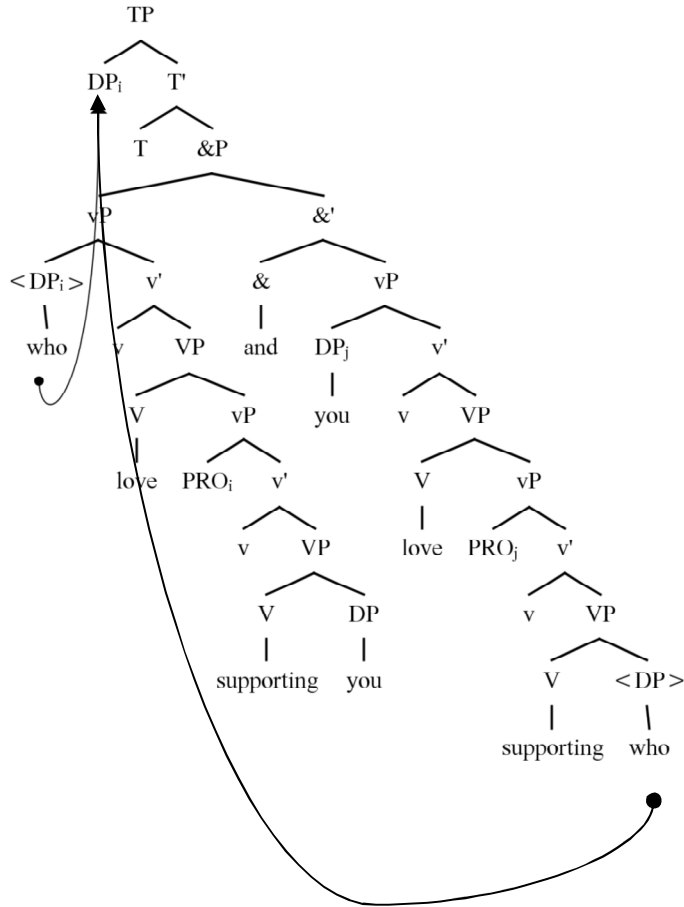
(19) Imagine meeting incredible people who love supporting you and you, them.



The DP of interest is boxed in the second conjunct. Ultimately, in the final derivation, this DP will be the the resumptive object. In this position we may merge either *who* or a base-generated resumptive pronoun (i.e., true resumptive). I will first walk through an ungrammatical derivation in which *who* is merged in the boxed DP position.

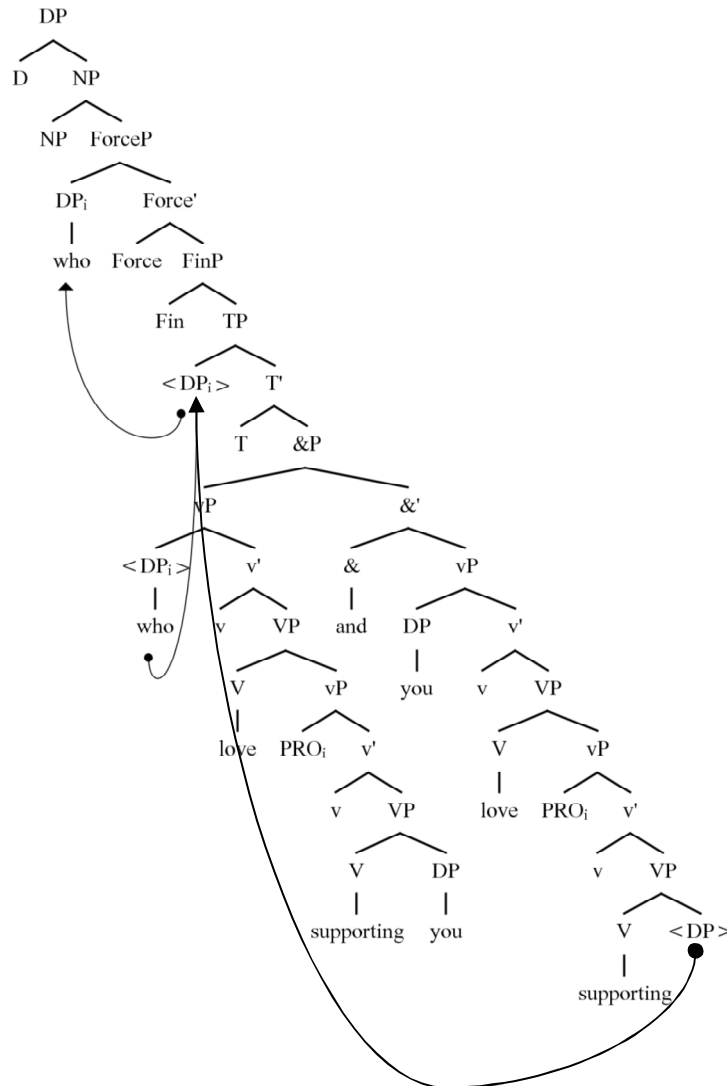
A-movement of *who* out of the first conjunct to SpecTP to satisfy the EPP is a generally accepted violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint. One could then claim that the *who* in the object of the second conjunct ATB moves to SpecTP:

(20)



On this derivation, after ATB moving to Spec TP, A'-movement would then take place from SpecTP to SpecForceP (a.k.a., SpecCP). This movement would then yield the final structure, but would not require an overt resumptive in the second conjunct:

(21)

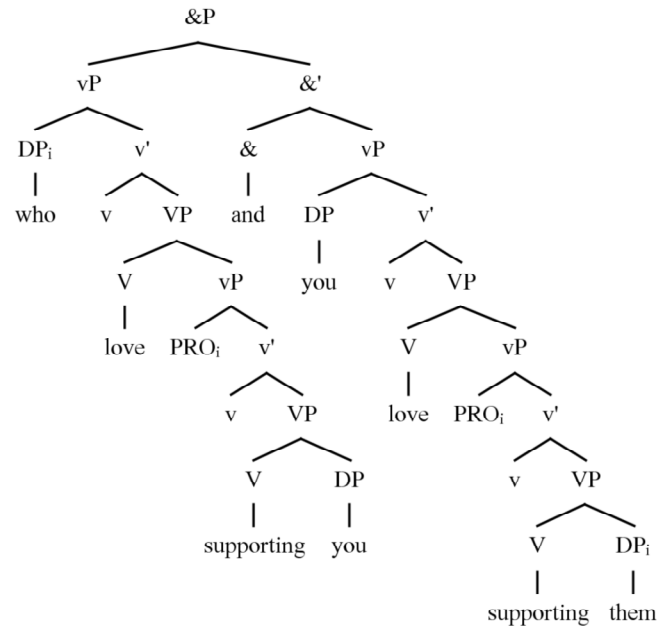


This derivation is impossible because ATB movement of the second *who* to SpecTP is prohibited. *Who* in the second conjunct has already received Case in its original position. There is no motivation for ATB moving the object of the second conjunct and the subject of the first conjunct to SpecTP. A second possible derivation may be considered in which there is no ATB movement to SpecTP, and the second *who* raises directly to SpecForceP, but this option is an unrecoverable violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint because it is A'-movement out of

the conjunct. I therefore conclude that neither of these two potential accounts can be amended, and they fail to account for the presence of the true resumptive in the second conjunct.

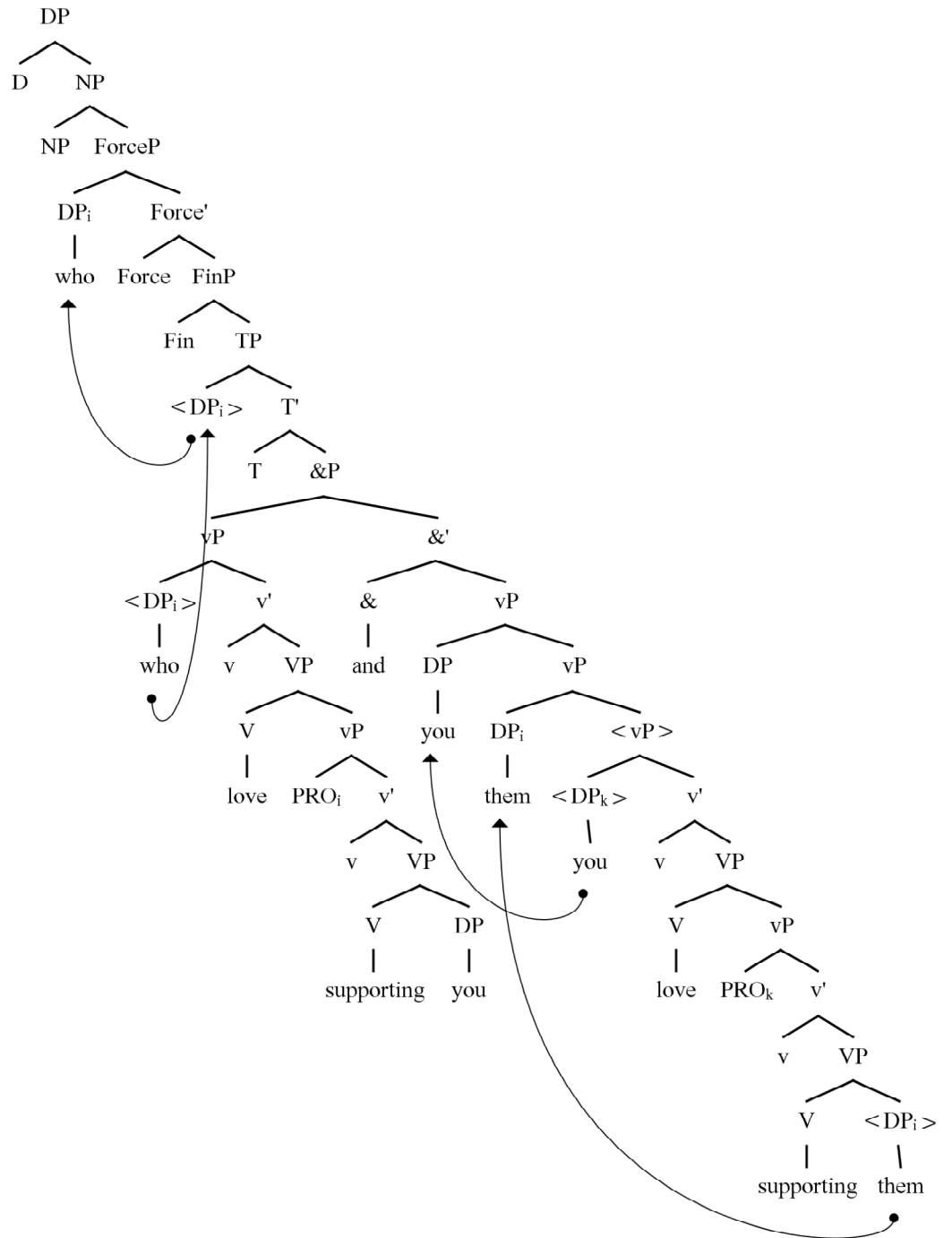
In fact, the derivation proceeds as follows:

(22)



The DP object of the second conjunct is, in fact, a base-generated *true resumptive* pronoun by virtue of the fact that any movement of a *wh*-word out of this conjunct would result in a violation of the CSC or a violation of ATB movement and Case. There is no *wh*-word in the second conjunct of this derivation, nor is there any movement involved in the generation of this resumptive. The derivation proceeds as in (23). A-movement of *who* in the first conjunct takes place, and it moves to SpecTP, where it can then A'-move to SpecForceP/SpecCP. At this position, the relative pronoun *who*'s relationship with the resumptive pronoun is simply one of binding. As *who* is co-indexed with and c-commands the resumptive *them*, this binding relationship is permissible. This also satisfies Aoun et. al's (2001) stipulation that a binding relationship between an antecedent and a true resumptive *must cross an island boundary*. In this case, the island is the Coordinate Structure Island.

(23) Imagine meeting incredible people [who love supporting you and you, them].



IV. Concluding Remarks

In this paper, I have analyzed new data, namely that of gapping with resumptive remnants. Based on scope of negation facts and the distribution of conjunctions under negation, I concluded that a low vP-coordination structure of gapping does account for the structural features of resumptive gapping. I then analyzed the resumptive remnant of this type of gapping with reference to facts about true resumption. The ultimate conclusion is that the resumptive pronoun in resumptive gaps provides additional evidence for a vP-vP coordination structure of gapping, and that there is no movement involved in the generation of the resumptive remnant. Rather, these resumptive remnants are base-generated due to the impossibility of movement out of the second conjunct in these gaps.

References

- Aoun, Joseph, Lina Choueiri, and Norbert Hornstein. (2001) Resumption, Movement, and Derivational Economy. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 32:371-403.
- Collins, Chris. (2014) Relative Clause Deletion. *Lingbuzz*, URL: <http://bit.ly/1CCSrVE>
- Coppock, Elizabeth. (2001) Gapping: In defense of deletion. *Chicago Linguistic Society (CLS)* 37:133-148.
- Fox, Danny. (1999) Focus, Parallelism, and Accommodation. In: *Proceedings of SALT 9*, Tanya Matthews and Devon Strolovitch (eds.), 70-90. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.
- Haegeman, Liliane. (2012) Chapter I: The Articulated Structure of the Left Periphery. In: *Adverbial Clauses, Main Clause Phenomena, and Composition of the Left Periphery*. pp. 3-52. Oxford University Press.
- Johnson, Kyle. (2004) In Search of the English Middle Field. Unpublished, URL: <http://bit.ly/1vfhp3z>
- Johnson, Kyle. (2006) Gapping. In: *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax, Volume I*. Martin Everart and Henk van Riemsdijk (eds.), 407-435. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Johnson, Kyle. (2009) Gapping Is Not (VP-) Ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 40:289-328.

- Johnson, Kyle. (2014) Gapping. *Personal Webpage*: URL: <http://bit.ly/1tJxuhB>
- Larson, Richard K. (1985) On the Syntax of Disjunction Scope. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 3, 217-264. Reidel Publishing Company.
- McCloskey, James. (2002). Resumption, Successive Cyclicity, and the Locality of Operations. In *Derivation and Explanation in the Minimalist Program*. Samuel Epstein and Daniel Seeley (eds.), 184-226. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- McCloskey, James. (2006) Resumption. In: *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax, Volume I*. Martin Everart and Henk van Riemsdijk (eds.), 94-117. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Ross, John Robert. (1967) Constraints on variables in syntax. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.
- Ross, John Robert. (1970) Gapping and the order of constituents. In: *Progress in linguistics*. Manfred Bierwisch and Karl E. Heidolph (eds.), 249-259. The Hague: Mouton.
- Shlonsky, Ur. (1992) Resumptive Pronouns as a Last Resort. *Linguistic Inquiry* 23:443-468.
- Toosarvandani, Maziar. (2013) Gapping is low coordination (plus VP-ellipsis): A reply to Johnson. *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*.