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The Syntax of Gapping

0. Introduction*

The classical analysis of Gapping involves deletion in the domain of two coordinated sentences, such that the right-hand conjunct is represented by two major constituents, so-called 'remnants', the rest of the conjunct being deleted. Recent approaches refrain from such deletion rules. Instead, the remnants are taken at surface value and treated as instances of 'non-constituent coordination'. This view on Gapping is favoured especially in Categorial Grammar (CG), which identifies e.g. Sue a CD as a 'non-constituent' of the same category as Sally a book (cf.(1)). In a second reading, the pairs to be matched are John-a book and Sue-a CD. The CG treatment of that reading is less easy (Van der Zee (1983), Steedman (1990)). In contrast with surface-oriented CG, the classical generative analysis would assume two sources for (1), one with deletion of John gave and one with deletion of gave Sally.

(1) John gave Sally a book and Sue a CD

In this paper I briefly review the different approaches. The conclusion is that the deletion analysis is too liberal, in that too many things are too readily assumed to be deleted, and that all other analyses complicate matters by dealing with Gapping without gapping. Next, I will give suggestions as to a less liberal analysis of Gapping along the generative lines. Although I focus on Gapping in coordinate structures, I take it that Gapping is an instance of a more general phenomenon called 'major ellipsis' in Cremers (1982), 'ellipsis' in Chao (1987) and 'deep ellipsis' in Dirksen (1990), covering the verbless complements of comparatives (2), verbless exclamations (3), Sluicing (4), question-answer pairs (5), mixtures of Gapping and Right Node Raising (6) and Stripping (7).

(2) John gave Sally more CD's than Sue books
(3) If we don't give her a CD, who else !
(4) Somebody gave Sally a CD, but nobody knows who and why
(5) Who gave Sally what ? John a book and Bill a CD
(6) John gave Sally and Bill Sue a CD
(7) John gave chocolates to Mary, and flowers too

1. The Deletion Analysis

Classical Gapping establishes a transformational relation between sentences (8) and (9), such that the underlined material is deleted.

(8) a. John gave Sally a book and John gave Sue a CD
b. John gave Sally a book and Bill gave Sally a CD
c. Yesterday John bought a book for Sally and today John bought a CD for Sue
d. Who bought a book for Sally and who bought a CD for Sally

(9) a. John gave Sally a book and Sue a CD
b. John gave Sally a book and Bill a CD
c. Yesterday John bought a book for Sally and today for Sue
d. Who bought a book for Sally and who a CD ?

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Ross (1975, 438-39) exemplifies the essentials of this deletion analysis.

(10) Gapping à la Ross
a. (OPTIONAL) Delete identical verbs
b. (OBLIGATORY) If step (a) has applied, delete any other identical constituents[1]

Application of (10) to (8) results in (9). The input consists of complete sentential conjuncts, the output of a complete one followed by an incomplete one. Although (10) does not mention any output conditions, the assumption is that the gapped conjunct contains remnant categories that are conditioned as to their form ('major constituents'), function ('focus constituents'), domain ('adjacent conjuncts') and cardinality ('≥ 2', according to most analyses).[2] The ultimate version of (10) is to be found in Neijt (1979, 95).

(11) Gapping à la Neijt
Delete

This single imperative is of course embedded in a sophisticated theory preventing the output of just zero conjuncts. Since (11) is subject to the same conditions as (10), (10) and (11) virtually do the same job. The classical deletion analysis is gradually eclipsed by alternative generative approaches, such as the linearization analysis and by competing approaches, such as Categorial Grammar and Generalized Phrase Strucure Grammar (GPSG).

2. Gapping without deletion

2.1. The traditional framework

The successor of the classical deletion approach is the linearization analysis, foreshadowed by Hudson (1975, 1976), carried out by Williams (1978) and Goodall (1987), and authorized by Chomsky (1982, 15: "Such suggestions might be correct, and I think they merit examination."). Hudson elaborated the idea that a Gapping conjunction is a sentential conjunction only superficially, and a lexical-phrasal conjunction underlyingly. To get the point, imagine a Hudsonian derivational relation between (12a) and (12b).

(12) a. John and his wife eat too much and too little
b. John eats too much and his wife too little

The rule deriving (12b) from (12a) would be Raising, or Conjunct-postposing, applied to and his wife and too little, respectively. Williams and Goodall established a similar but more abstract relationship between phrasal and sentential conjunction. The phrasal conjuncts of (12a) are partly ordered underlyingly, pictured in three-dimensional trees, and the surface conjunction is produced by a "spell-out" rule (Chomsky (1982)) linearizing the three-dimensional representation. Here, a verb does not subcategorize for single arguments, but for unlimited sets of arguments. An updated version of this situation, with IP instead of S and with V to I, is pictured in (13a) and (13b).

(13) a. [IP [NP John] [I' [I eat$_i$] [VP [NP his wife] [V' [V t_i] [NP too much and too little]]]]]

b. [IP [NP John] [I' [I buy$_i$] [VP [NP Bill] [V' [V t_i] [NP a book and a CD]]]]]

The 'normal' linearization procedure would result in an ordering of the arguments, so that (13a) would automatically yield (12a). The Gapping variant (12b) calls for a reordering operation, something like Hudson's Raising. Goodall (1984, 81) suggests 'linking': "In the union of the phrase markers for the

sentences xyz and vyw, link x and z." Linking precedes linearization. Applied to (13a), give John and too much the indices x and z, his wife and too little the indices v and w , eat the index y. Link John and too much and the effect of linearizing the linked constituents is that v..w follows x..z. From an empirical point of view, the linearization analysis generates problems that would never be raised by the classical deletion analysis. For instance, as a consequence of the parallelism property of the conjuncts, disparallel sentences are beyond the scope of this theory (14). In this respect, this theory is too restrictive, although one could argue about the stylistic merits of such constructions[3].

(14) a. In the evening John eats too much and too little in the morning
b. In Oxfordstreet John buys books and CD's at Piccadilly Circus
c. Everybody wants to dance with Kim and with Karen nobody
d. Who killed this beloved dictator and why so brutally ?

As to (14d), the adjuncts why and so brutally have no counterparts at all in the lefthand sentence, granting its Gapping status is questionable, as it also looks like Sluicing (cf. (4)). Other obstinate cases designate this linearization theory as too permissive. For instance, phrasal linearization might be odd while Gapping would be acceptable (15) and vice versa (16).[4]

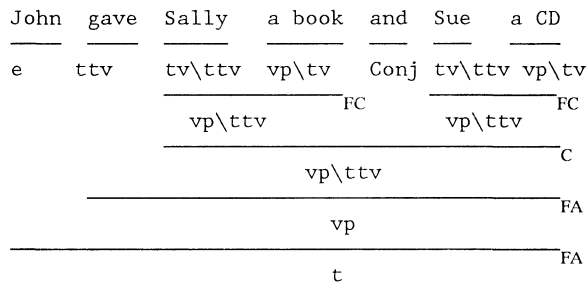
(15) a. ?John and me buy a CD for me and John
a'. John buys a CD for me and I for John
b. ?John and Mary love himself and herself
b'. John loves himself and Mary herself

(16) a. John and Mary buy a CD for themselves and for each other
a'.*John buys a CD for themselves and Mary for each other
b. John and Mary remember Les Paul and Mary Ford
b'.?John remembers Les Paul and Mary Mary Ford

2.2. Categorial Grammar

Starting with Stump (1978), Montague-inspired CG offered a series of proposals dealing with Gapping without deletion. In Stump's early CG analysis the remnants are reconstructed up to the level of t (truth-value), which implies in more traditional terms that Gapping is uniformly treated as a sentential or propositional level phenomenon. Later on, Van der Zee (1983), Dowty (1988), Oehrle (1987) and Steedman (1990) have exploited intriguing techniques such as Type Raising and Function Composition in order to establish subsentential levels of coordination. The techniques achieving the desired results surely deserve our admiration, but this may not blind us to the fact that the CG analysis actually deals with Gapping without identifying any gaps. Let me illustrate this point with an example of non-constituent coordination taken from Dowty (1988). Having grasped the flexible assignment of syntactic categories, one must conclude that for instance the non-Gapping sentence John gave Sally a book and a CD could be analysed along the same lines as the Gapping sentence (17). If this conclusion is correct, the CG approach does not add much to our understanding of the Gapping phenomenon. Steedman (1990) proceeds along the same lines, replacing the name 'non-constituent' for 'non-standard constituent' and including the analysis of Sue a CD paired with John a book in the CG repertory.

(17)



2.3. Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar (GPSG)

GPSG is like CG in that it does not allow for transformational rules. Consequently, GPSG and CG only deal with syntactic surface structure and employ a richer set of syntactic constituents. Despite GPSG's high standards of formalization, the approach to Gapping has remained informal, and it deviates radically from the CG point of view. In CG, Gapping is simply a special case of coordination, but in GPSG the elliptical nature of Gapping is acknowledged. I take the GPSG strategy of dealing with Gapping as very attractive and for that reason the spirit of it will be incorporated in the analysis developed in the next section. Sag, Gazdar, Wasow & Weisler (1985, 162) suggest an interpretative strategy in trying to handle elliptical constructions in general, and Gapping in particular: "The interpretation of an elliptical construction is obtained by uniformly substituting its immediate constituents into some immediately preceding structure, and computing the interpretation of the results."

Applied to (1) (=(17)), this strategy is effectuated in the following procedure. First, fully analyse John gave Sally a book, then identify Sue a CD as an elliptical construction and finally, match its immediate constituents with an appropriate pair of constituents in the preceding sentence. The result of this procedure will be that, on the basis of categorial, semantic and intonational (Focus) features, a CD is paired with a book and Sue with either Sally or John.

(18) a. John gave Sally a book and Sue a CD
John gave SALLY a BOOK and
SUE a CD
b. JOHN gave Sally a BOOK and
SUE a CD

In section 3, this phased analysis is translated in generative terms.

3. A phased Gapping analysis

3.1 LCL and generative syntactic categories

A well-known property of coordination is that only likes and likes can coordinate, and Williams 1981 coins this the Law of Coordination of Likes.[5]

(19) LCL: Conjuncts are alike in syntactic category

Any syntactic category is allright with LCL. However, the above discussion makes it clear that the set of possible syntactic categories may vary in different theories. The question, then, is: what is the relevant set of of generative syntactic categories ? I take the the following categories, presented here without any discussion, as the basic set.

(20) Syntactic categories

Lexical heads:	{ V, N, A, P,..}
Functional heads:	{ I, C,..}
Phrases:	{VP, NP, AP, PP, CP..}
Predications:	{VP*, NP*, AP*,..} (Small Clauses)
Sentences:	{IP, IP_s, IP_t} (subscripts: s = subject specifier, t = topic specifier)

These categories can be manipulated in several ways. They can be extended with adjuncts, and some can or even must be subjected to Move Alpha. In general, only phrases may be moved. Head movement is restricted to V, which gives rise to either V to I (Verb Second, not taken as V to C) or V to V (Verb Raising). Note that predications only function as complements of V or I and that XP* does not participate in Move Alpha.

3.2 Gapping and the identification of the conjuncts (GIC)

A well-known property of Gapping is that it has a special relation with major constituents. "Major constituents are arguments, complements, or adjuncts of the missing heads of their projections." (Chao (1987, 17), who mentions Hankamer as the source). According to this view, only phrases or predications (cf.(20)) are possible remnants. However, since the remnant restrictions are embedded in the classical deletion analysis, the syntactic category of the conjunct containing these remnants is tacitly equated with the syntactic category of the complete antecedent string (= the full string to the left of the connective). The GPSG procedure sketched above now offers the opportunity to rearrange the situation in such a way that the syntactic category dominating the remnants can be deduced from the syntactic and prosodic information given in the antecedent. In order to avoid too much generosity in offering empty categories, two decisions have to be made. Imposing an upward limit to gapped categories, I identify the category dominating the remnants as the the minimal dominating category, rather than the traditional maximal dominating category, and the relevant minimal dominating categories appear to be VP and VP* (21b). There must also be a downward limit, preventing gaps that are not recoverable as major constituents (21c).

(21) Gapping and the identification of the conjuncts (GIC)
- a. Expand the antecedent and assign Focus.
- b. Obey the LCL and establish a conjunction relation between the remnants, ≥ 2 and in Focus, and the appropriate conjunct in the antecedent. The appropriate righthand conjunct category is the minimal category dominating the remnants, which is VP* if the subject is in Focus and VP otherwise.
- c. Obey the following depth-condition on gapped constituents: Except for V, the head of the conjunct, empty constituents are sisters of V, VP or VP*.

This GIC needs some clarification. Taking (21a) for granted and postponing (21c) to the end of this section, I want the ≥ 2 and in Focus condition mentioned in (21b) to help in discriminating between genuine Gapping and regular phrasal constituent coordination. For instance, John gives Sally BOOKS and RECORDS is of the latter type, and (21b) accordingly blocks an analysis in terms of Gapping[6]. At the same time, (21b) excludes I as a possible Gapping target. There are good reasons to reject any I-deleting Gapping analysis (cf. Oehrle 1985), and (21b) settles with this option. Don't drive and drink cannot be related to an IP conjunction source Don't drive and don't drink. By way of illustration, in (22a-d) instances of simple constituent coordination that could be mixed up with

genuine Gapping are underlined ((22d) is one of Oehrle's cases in support of 'a direct account of gapped structures').

(22) a. Don't drive and drink (VP)
b. Why don't we kiss and say goodbye ? (VP)
c. Why doesn't Sally drive and John drink ! (VP*)
d. Seldom does Kim play bingo and Sandy sit at home (VP*)

Before enlarging on the merits of GIC, I want to show more precisely how it works. GIC results in two different analyses of (1), one with VP and one with VP* level conjunction, (18a) and (18b), respectively. This is demonstrated in (23). Note that the empty V is presented as a Verb Second trace in both conjuncts. This analysis makes use of Across-the-Board (ATB) verb movement. As a diagnostic citerion for the two types of conjunction, think of the optionality of the connective and (VP* conjunction can do without, (and) VP conjunction can't) or try as well as (which may combine with VP, but not with VP*, cf. Sag 1976, 208). In the labels VP_c and VP_c* c means conjunction. $[_{NP}e]$ figures in (23b) in accordance with the Projection Principle and it must somehow be interpreted as 'Sally'.

(23)a.
Apply (21a):
$[[_{IPs}[_{NP}John_i]\ [_{IP}[_{I}give_j\text{-}s]\ [_{VP*}[_{NP}t_i][_{VP}[_{VP}[_{V}t_j][_{NP}SALLY]][_{NP}a\ BOOK]]]]]]$
Apply (21b):
$[_{VPc}[_{VP}[_{VP}[_{V}t_j][_{NP}SALLY]][_{NP}a\ BOOK]]]$ Conj $[_{VP}[_{VP}[_{V}t_j][_{NP}SUE]][_{NP}a\ CD]]]]$

(23)b.
Apply (21a):
$[[_{IPs}[_{NP}JOHN_i]\ [_{IP}[_{I}give_j\text{-}s]\ [_{VP*}[_{NP}t_i][_{VP}[_{VP}[_{V}t_j][_{NP}Sally]][_{NP}a\ BOOK]]]]]]$
Apply (21b): $[_{VPc*}[_{VP*}[_{NP}t_i][_{VP}[_{VP}[_{V}t_j][_{NP}Sally]][_{NP}a\ BOOK]]]$
Conj $[_{VP*}[_{NP}SUE][_{VP}[_{VP}[_{V}t_j][_{NP}e]]_{[NP}a\ CD]]]]$

Counting the blessings of GIC, I think the following ones are worth mentioning.

a. GIC generalizes over remnants in comparatives (24).
b. GIC defines Gapping as the structural counterpart of Sluicing and VP-deletion (25).
c. GIC allows for the possibility of paired subjects that differ in person and number (26).
d. GIC explains the preference for canonical order in the Gapped conjunct (27).
e. GIC explains why Gapping is rightward in the domain of IP (28).
f. GIC explains why contrasting preverbs are incompatible with Gapping (29).
g. GIC partly explains the cardinality and the syntactic category of the remnants (30).
h. GIC in conjunction with LCL define the widely-discussed locality constraints on Gapping (31).
i. GIC prevents the output of remnants originating from different domains (32).

Let me briefly illustrate these points one by one. In English GIC would treat the phrasal comparative just as a regular coordination (24a, 24b), since the complementizer than selects an IP complement. The Dutch complementizer dan, however, combines with VP (24c), CP (24d), (24e), but not with IP (24f). In (24g) a mix of both Gapping types is constructed. The result appears to be bad, as the English option of the cardinality condition on remnants would require no more than two remnants. However, this situation is applies to English rather than to the language system, for the Dutch variant (24h) is formally perfect.

(24) a. John gave SALLY MORE BOOKS than SUE CD's
b. JOHN gave Sally MORE BOOKS than SUE CD's
c. John gaf SALLY MEER BOEKEN dan SUE CD's
d. John gaf SALLY MEER BOEKEN dan (dat) hij SUE CD's gaf
e. JAN gaf Sally MEER BOEKEN dan (dat) SUE haar CD's gaf
f. *John gaf Sally MEER BOEKEN dan (dat) hij gaf SUE CD's
g. ?SADY saw JOHN giving SALLY MORE BOOKS than SANDY BILL SUE CD's
h. SADY zag JOHN SALLY MEER BOEKEN geven dan SANDY BILL SUE CD's

The maximal domain of Gapping is VP*. The higher categories IP and IP_s are shared by the conjuncts designated by GIC. VP-deletion and Sluicing have the opposite effect of Gapping, because in a sentential conjunction these rules 'delete' the righthand VP* (VP-deletion, Dutch Sluicing) or IP (English Sluicing). I speculate that the absence of VP-deletion in Dutch ((25d), Dutch version of (25c)) must be related to the absence of lexical I-verbs. The final auxiliary 'heeft' has no Verb Second source, and consequently (25d) is out.

(25) a. Somebody gave Sally a CD, but nobody knows why (Sluicing, IP)
b. Iemand heeft Sally een CD gegeven, maar niemand weet waarom (Sluicing, VP*)
c. I don't know why she did it but she did (VP-deletion)
d. *Ik weet niet waarom ze het gedaan heeft maar ze heeft

It has often been observed that the subject of the Gapped conjunct and the IP subject may differ in agreement features, in such a way that the IP subject must agree with I and the remnant subject needs not. According to GIC, the antecedent is processed first. The VP* level conjunction relation is established subsequently, hence the agreement features of the righthand conjunct subject cannot but accidentally coincide with those of the IP subject.

(26) a. JOHN gives Sally a BOOK, and her FRIENDS a CD
b. *JOHN give Sally a BOOK, and her FRIENDS a CD

The rightward conjunct is a VP or a VP*, normally reflecting the canonical order of constituents. However, adjunction (scrambling) remains possible within the righthand conjunct (cf. (14), (27a) = (14c)), presumably subject to semantic or pragmatic conditions (cf. fn 3). Note that, with intermediate adjunction, ATB movement of Wh-phrases is allowed out of a Gapped conjunct ((27b), the question mark relates to the ≥ 2 condition).

(27) a. Everybody wants to dance with Kim and with Karen nobody
b. ?Which books did John give to Sally and which books Bill to Sue ?
c. Which books did John give to Sally and Bill to Sue ?

Why is there no leftward Gapping ? GIC does not permit this option. No matter what the the category of the antecedent is in (28a), the righthand conjunct is an IP. Applying the LCL, we would look for a like antecedent, and since there is no I in the antecedent, (28a) is out. In Dutch subordinate sentences, CPs with C selecting a VP* complement, both directional options are available, as there is no V to I (28b,c) ((28c) is Right Node Raising or 'backward Gapping').

(28) a. *John SALLY a BOOK and gives SUE a CD
b. Omdat John SALLY een BOEK geeft en SUE een CD
c. Omdat John SALLY een BOEK en SUE een CD geeft

The widely-observed fact that contrasting pre-verbs do not join in with Gapping now can be related to GIC. Pre-verbs must be thought of as I adjuncts, and since the maximal category of the gapped conjunct is VP*, there can be no pre-verb in this conjunct. The illustrations and the judgements are from Sag (1976, 196). Note that (29a) and (29b) are impeccable after dropping the second pre-verb.

(29) a. *Betsy quickly dropped the frying pan and Peter suddenly the soup bowl
b. *Betsy sometimes sleeps with Duke and Peter frequently with his teddy bear

GIC changes the perspective of the old remnant questions. In the righthand VP or VP*, any major constituent could show up as a remnant, but there seem to be language-specific options: English two (24g), Dutch any number ((24h), (30b)). Given the categories directly dominating both of the remnants, in VP* the '≥ 2' requirement has the effect of combining the subject with a constituent representing VP ((30a) and (30b)), and this constituent is not necessarily an argument, since VP adjuncts as too or not will do the job (30c, 30d) (according to Chao (1987), (30c) would not be Gapping, but 'Stripping'). Such a remnant must be paired with the entire antecedent VP. Under special conditions, one remnant will do. It looks as if the connective itself must be in Focus in (30e).

(30) a. Dat Jan weggaat is erg, maar dat jij weggaat nog erger
(That John leaves is bad, but that you leave still worse)
b. SADY zag JOHN SALLY MEER BOEKEN geven en/dan SANDY BILL SUE CD's
c. JOHN gave Sally a book and BILL TOO !
d. John gave SALLY a book, and NOT SUE !
e. JOHN gave Sally a book AND BILL !

GIC and LCL cooperate in accounting for the locality conditions on Gapping (Neijt 1979, among others). GIC requires a gapped conjunct of type VP or VP*, and LCL guarantees categorial identity of the antecedent conjunct. Not meeting these requirements, the strings produced in (31) are all ill-formed.

(31) a. *JOHN gave Sally a BOOK, while BILL a CD
b. *I know that JOHN gave Sally a BOOK and that BILL a CD
c. *JOHN gave Sally a BOOK and I know someone who said (that) BILL a CD
d. *JOHN gaf Sally MEER BOEKEN dan dat SUE CD's (cf. (24e))

Finally, (21c), which is a version of the Major Constituent Condition (cf. Neijt, 1979 and Chao, 1987, a.o.), needs some comments. One of its effects is that VP* or VP-internal gaps are allowed if they follow from the Projection Principle (cf. footnote 2: (i)-(k) should be rejected). Another effect is that implied arguments, such as the NP e in the gapped conjunct of (23b), are allowed, as they are directly dominated by VP. Note that such an implied argument can also be a VP (32a, b) or a VP* (32c, d), but note also that the subject of such a Small Clause syntactically acts as a regular object of V (otherwise (32a, b) would be violations of (21c)).

(32) a. JOHN saw SUE swimming and PETER MARY
b. JOHN zag SUE zwemmen en PETER MARY
c. JOHN saw Sue swimming in NEW YORK and PETER in LOS ANGELES
d. JOHN zag Sue in NEW YORK zwemmen en PETER in LOS ANGELES

A controversial effect of (21c) is that it excludes (33), object of dispute in a range of publications (cf. Steedman (1990), 248, where (33a) is accepted). In (33a) the underlined string indicates what should be reconstructed in the righthand VP* conjunct. The remnant FROGS is not a major constituent, as it is smuggled in from a CP argument. I object to the Dutch version (33b), but given the varying judgements of the informants, it is beyond doubt that (21c) deserves further investigation[7].

(33) a. HARRY claimed that hedgehogs eat MUSHROOMS, and BARRY, FROGS
b. *HARRY beweerde dat EGELS paddestoelen eten, en BARRY, KIKKERS

4. Conclusion

For the syntax of Gapping two things are relevant, the Law of Coordination of Likes (LCL) and the Gapping Identification of Conjuncts procedure (GIC). The first thing is common coin, but the second thing is object of debate in all theories. I have critically reviewed some leading approaches and I have given strong arguments in favour of a generative analysis implemented in GIC. This GIC designates the gapped conjunct as VP or VP*, and it requires that the gapped conjunct is linked to the antecedent conjunct in a certain processing order. The antecedent sentence must be fully expanded, povided with Focus and interpreted first, the establishment of the appropriate conjunction relation must follow.

Notes

* I would like to thank Joseph Bayer, Crit Cremers, Petra Hendriks, Jack Hoeksema, Sietze Looyenga and an anonymous reviewer for their comments.

1. For a list of works within this tradition, the references in Sag (1976) and Van Oirsouw (1987) are recommended. The languages under consideration are predominantly English and Dutch. As for Dutch, Paardekooper (1971) fits in this deletion analysis line. Cf. Zwarts (1978) for discussion. Finally, an interesting analysis of Focus and Gapping is Kerstens and Van Bart (1986).

2. The focus condition is never questioned, all the others are. In this article, the cardinality condition is not at stake (but cf. (25h) and (31d)). As can be found in Neijt (1979, 89), "it does not hold in Dutch at all." The Major Constituent Condition is challenged by (i)-(k). My English informants Eric Fudge and Paul Fletcher hesitatingly accepted (i) and Jack Hoeksema sanctioned (j). The informants are in good company, for Sag (1976, 204) accepts (k), where the dean must be paired with with the principal.

   (i) Nobody wanted to dance with Mary yesterday and Sue today
   (j) Met de een danste ik de tango en de ander de chachacha
   ('With the one I danced the tango and the other the chachacha')
   (k) My mother met with the principal on Thursday and the dean on Friday

3. In Dutch, disparellelism, presumably created by scrambling, generally does not lead to bad conjunctions. The Dutch versions of (14b, c) are perfect.

   (i) In Oxfordstreet koopt Jan boeken en CD's op Piccadilly Circus
   (j) Iedereen wil met Kim dansen en met Karen niemand

4. See Van Oirsouw (1987) for an extensive critical evaluation of the three-dimensional analysis. For a similar analysis of 'pseudo'Gapping from the Functional Grammar perspective, see Dik (1980).

5. This LCL would not be without exceptions. In particular, predicative NP and AP appear to be possible conjuncts. See Sag et al. (1985) for discussion.

6. The ≥2 condition should be subtilized in order to cope with 'John gives BOOKS to Sally, AND CD's' (cf. (30e)). I think of a refinement of this condition including the option of a connective in Focus, but this point cannot be worked out here. Cf. Neijt o.c. for a conjunct movement analysis.

7. More than just (21c) is at stake in confrontation with (6) and (i), kindly presented by the reviewer. Informants disagree about its acceptability.

   (i) Joep wilde met en Koos zonder een kaartje in de bus stappen
   Joep wanted with and Koos without a ticket on the bus get

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