

Syntax of Dutch

Coordination and Ellipsis

Comprehensive Grammar Resources

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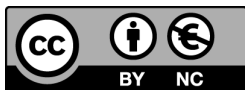
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Coordination and ellipsis

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Abbreviations and symbols

This appendix contains a list of abbreviations and symbols that are used in this volume. Sometimes, conventions are adopted that differ from the ones given in this list, but if this is the case this is always explicitly mentioned in the text.

References to the other volumes of the *Syntax of Dutch*.

References to the chapters and sections in the other volumes in the series *Syntax of Dutch* are preceded by a letter: V + section # refers to the three volumes on Verbs and verb *phrases*; N + section # refers to the two volumes on *Nouns and noun phrases*; A + section # refers to the volume on *Adjectives and adjective Phrases*, and P + section # refers to the volume on *Adpositions and adpositional phrases*. P3.2, for example, refers to Section 3.2 in Hans Broekhuis (2013). *Syntax of Dutch: Adpositions and adpositional phrases*. Amsterdam: AUP.

Symbols and abbreviation used in the main text

°xxx refers to the xxx in the glossary

Abbreviations used in both the main text and the examples

AP	Adjectival Phrase
CP	Complementizer Phrase
DP	Determiner phrase
NP	Noun Phrase
Noun phrase	Used when the NP-DP distinction is not relevant
PP	Prepositional Phrase
TP	Tense Phrase
VP	Verb Phrase

Symbols, Abbreviations and conventions used in the examples

<i>t</i>	Trace (the original position of a moved element)
XXX	Small caps indicate that XXX is assigned contrastive accent

Abbreviations used as subscripts in the examples

1p/2p/3p	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd person	pl	Plural
acc	Accusative	dat	Dative
pred	Predicate	nom	Nominative
sg	Singular		

Abbreviations used in the glosses of the examples

AFF	Affirmative marker
COMP	Complementizer: <i>dat</i> ‘that’ in finite declarative clauses, <i>of</i> ‘whether/if’ in finite interrogative clauses, and <i>om</i> in infinitival clauses
prt.	Particle that combines with a particle verb
PRT	Particle of different kinds
REFL	The short form of the reflexive pronoun, e.g., <i>zich</i> ; the long form <i>zichzelf</i> is usually translated as <i>himself/herself/itself</i>

Diacritics used for indicating acceptability judgments

*	Unacceptable
*?	Relatively acceptable compared to *
??	Intermediate or unclear status
?	Marked: not completely acceptable or disfavored form
(?)	Slightly marked, but probably acceptable
no marking	Fully acceptable
%	Varying judgments among speakers
#	Unacceptable under intended reading
\$	Special status: old-fashioned, archaic, very formal, semantically incoherent, degraded/unacceptable for non-syntactic reasons, etc. The nature of the deviation is normally explained in the main text.

Other conventions

xx/yy	Acceptable both with xx and with yy
*xx/yy	Unacceptable with xx, but acceptable with yy
xx/*yy	Acceptable with xx, but unacceptable with yy
(xx)	Acceptable both with and without xx
*(xx)	Acceptable with, but unacceptable without xx
(*xx)	Acceptable without, but unacceptable with xx
.. <xx>	Alternative placement of xx in an example
.. <*xx> ..	Impossible placement of xx in an example
<i>XX ... YY</i>	Italics indicate binding
XX _i ... YY _i	Coindexing indicates coreference
XX _i ... YY _j	Counter-indexing indicates disjoint reference
XX _{*i/j}	Unacceptable with index <i>i</i> , acceptable with index <i>j</i>
XX _{i/*j}	Unacceptable with index <i>j</i> , acceptable with index <i>i</i>
[XP ...]	Constituent brackets of a constituent XP

Logical symbols

\wedge : Conjunction or distributive AND	\oplus : cumulative AND
\vee : Inclusive disjunction	$\underline{\vee}$: Exclusive disjunction
\rightarrow : Material implication	\leftrightarrow : Material equivalence
$>$: Larger than	$<$: Less than
\neg : Negation	
$\exists x$: Existential operator	$\forall x$: Universal operator
p, q, \dots : proposition letters	ϕ, ψ, χ : formula letters
\models : Entails	$\not\models$: Does not entail
\equiv : Is logically equivalent to	
\cap : Intersection	
\cup : Union	
\in : Element of	

Preface and acknowledgments

1. General introduction

Dutch is an official language in the Netherlands, Belgium-Flanders, Surinam, Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles. With about 22 million native speakers it is one of the world's greater languages. It is taught and studied at more than 175 universities around the world (source: *taaluniversum.org*). Furthermore, Dutch is one of the most well-studied living languages; research on it has had a major, and still continuing, impact on the development of formal linguistic theory, and it plays an important role in various other types of linguistic research. However, much information is hidden in scientific publications that are mainly of interest for and accessible to certain groups of formal linguists or that are more or less outdated in the light of more recent findings and theoretical developments, and more material is buried in publications with only a limited distribution or which are simply inaccessible to large groups of readers because they are written in Dutch. The series *Syntax of Dutch* (SoD) therefore aims at providing a comprehensive scientifically based description of the syntax of Dutch that is accessible to a wider international audience. For similar phonological and morphological descriptions the reader is referred to *taalportaal.org* (which also contains the complete *SoD* and similar descriptions of Frisian and Afrikaans).

2. Main objective

The main objective of *SoD* is to present a synthesis of currently available syntactic knowledge of Dutch. It gives a comprehensive overview of the relevant research on Dutch that not only presents the findings of earlier approaches to the language, but also includes the results of the formal linguistic research carried out over the last four or five decades, which often cannot be found in earlier reference books. It should be emphasized, however, that *SoD* is primarily concerned with language description and not with linguistic theory; the reader will generally look in vain for critical assessments of theoretical proposals made to account for specific phenomena. Although *SoD* addresses many of the central issues of current linguistic theory, it does *not* provide an introduction to current linguistic theory itself. Readers interested in such an introduction are referred to one of the many existing introductory textbooks, or to handbooks like *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, edited by Martin Everaert & Henk van Riemsdijk, or *The Cambridge Handbook of Generative Syntax*, edited by Marcel den Dikken. A recommendable syntactic description of Dutch in a more theoretical setting is *The Syntax of Dutch* by Jan-Wouter Zwart in the *Cambridge Syntax Guides* series.

3. Intended readership

SoD is not intended for a specific group of linguists, but aims at a more general readership: it intends to be a work of reference accessible to a large audience with some training in linguistics and/or neighboring disciplines and it aims at providing support to all researchers interested in matters relating to the syntax of Dutch. The

descriptions that *SoD* provides are generally also accessible to advanced students of language and linguistics. We have tried to avoid jargon from specific theoretical frameworks and to use as much as possible the *lingua franca* that linguists use in a broader context. Whenever we introduce a notion that is not part of the *lingua franca*, we provide a brief clarification in the glossary; first occurrences of such notions in a certain context are normally marked by means of the marker °.

4. Object of description

The object of description is aptly described by the title of the series, *Syntax of Dutch*. This title suggests a number of ways in which the empirical domain is restricted, which we want to spell out here in more detail by briefly discussing the two notions *syntax* and *Dutch*.

1. *Syntax*

Syntax is the field of linguistics that studies how words are combined into larger phrases and, ultimately, sentences. This means that we do not systematically discuss the internal structure of words (this is the domain of morphology) or the way in which sentences are put to use in discourse: we only digress on such matters if this is instrumental in describing the syntactic properties of the language. For example, Chapter N1 contains an extensive discussion of deverbal nominalization, but this is only because this morphological process is relevant for the discussion of complementation of nouns in Chapter N2. And Section N8.1.3 will show that the word order difference between the two examples in (1) is related to the preceding discourse: if pronounced with neutral (non-contrastive) accent, the object *Marie* may only precede clausal adverbs like *waarschijnlijk* ‘probably’ if it refers to some person who has already been mentioned in (or is implied by) the preceding discourse.

- (1) a. Jan heeft waarschijnlijk *Marie* gezien. [Marie = discourse new]
Jan has probably Marie seen
‘Jan has probably seen Marie.’
b. Jan heeft *Marie* waarschijnlijk gezien. [Marie = discourse old]
Jan has Marie probably seen
‘Jan has probably seen Marie.’

Our goal of describing the internal structure of phrases and sentences means that we focus on competence (the internalized grammar of native speakers), and not on performance (the actual use of language). This implies that we will make extensive use of constructed examples that are geared to the syntactic problem at hand, and that we will not systematically incorporate the findings of currently flourishing corpus/usage-based approaches to language. Corpus data and other sources of actual language use will only be used insofar as this may shed light on matters concerning the internal structure of phrases; see Broekhuis (2016) for a more extensive motivation of this choice. One case for which this type of research may be syntactically relevant is the word order variation in the (italicized) °verb clusters in examples like those in (2), which has been extensively studied since Pauwels (1950)

and which has been shown to be sensitive to a large number of interacting variables, see De Sutter (2005/2007) for extensive discussion.

- (2) a. dat Jan dat boek *gelezen heeft*.
 that Jan that book read has
 ‘that Jan has read that book.’
 b. dat Jan dat boek *heeft gelezen*.
 that Jan that book has read
 ‘that Jan has read that book.’

This being said, it is important to point out that *SoD* will pay ample attention to certain aspects of meaning, and reference will also be made to phonological aspects such as stress and intonation wherever they are relevant (e.g., in the context of word order phenomena like in (1)). The reason for this is that current formal grammar assumes that the output of the syntactic module of the grammar consists of objects (sentences in the case of syntax) that relate form and meaning. Furthermore, formal syntax has been quite successful in establishing and describing a large number of restrictions on this relationship. A prime example of this is the so-called ‘binding theory, which accounts (among other things) for the fact that referential pronouns like *hem* ‘him’ and anaphoric pronouns like *zichzelf* ‘himself’ differ in the domain within which they can/must find an antecedent. For instance, the examples in (3), in which the intended antecedent of the pronouns is given in italics, show that whereas referential object pronouns like *hem* cannot have an antecedent within their minimal clause, anaphoric pronouns like *zichzelf* ‘himself’ must have an antecedent within this domain, see Section N5.2.1.5, sub III, for more detailed discussion.

- (3) a. *Jan* denkt dat Peter *hem*/**zichzelf* bewondert.
 Jan thinks that Peter *him*/himself admires
 ‘Jan thinks that Peter is admiring *him* [= Jan].’
 b. Jan denkt dat *Peter* *zichzelf*/**hem* bewondert.
 Jan thinks that Peter *himself*/him admires
 ‘Jan thinks that Peter is admiring *himself* [= Peter].’

II. Dutch

SoD aims at giving a syntactic description of what we will loosely refer to as Standard Dutch, although we are aware that there are many problems with this notion. First, the notion of Standard Dutch is often used to refer to written language and more formal registers, which are perceived as more prestigious than the colloquial uses of the language. Second, the notion of Standard Dutch suggests that there is an invariant language system that is shared by a large group of speakers. Third, the notion carries the suggestion that some, often unnamed, authority is able to determine what should or should not be part of the language, or what should or should not be considered proper language use. See Milroy (2001) for extensive discussion of this notion of standard language.

SoD does not provide a description of this prestigious, invariant, externally determined language system. The reason for this is that knowledge of this system does not involve the competence of the individual language user but “is the product of a series of educational and social factors which have overtly impinged on the

linguistic experiences of individuals, prescribing the correctness/incorrectness of certain constructions” (Adger & Trousdale 2007). Instead, the notion of standard language in *SoD* should be understood more neutrally as an idealization that refers to certain properties of linguistic competence that we assume to be shared by the individual speakers of the language. This notion of standard language deviates from the notion of standard language discussed earlier in that it may include properties that would be rejected by language teachers, and exclude certain properties that are explicitly taught as being part of the standard language. To state the latter in more technical terms: our notion of standard language refers to the core grammar (those aspects of the language system that arise spontaneously in the language learning child by exposure to utterances in the standard language) and excludes the periphery (those properties of the standard language that are explicitly taught at some later age). This does not mean that we will completely ignore the more peripheral issues, but it should be kept in mind that these have a special status and may exhibit properties that are alien to the core system.

A distinguishing property of standard languages is that they may be used among speakers of different dialects, and that they sometimes have to be acquired by speakers of such dialects as a second language at a later age, that is, in a similar fashion as a foreign language (although this may be rare in the context of Dutch). This property of standard languages entails that it is not contradictory to distinguish various varieties of, e.g., Standard Dutch. This view is also assumed by Haeseryn et al. (1997: Section 0.6.2), who make the four-way distinction in (4) when it comes to geographically determined variation.

- (4) • Types of Dutch according to Haeseryn et al. (1997)
- a. Standard language
 - b. Regional variety of Standard Dutch
 - c. Regional variety of Dutch
 - d. Dialect

The types in (4b&c) are characterized by specific properties that are found in certain larger, but geographically restricted regions only. The difference between the two varieties is defined by Haeseryn et al. (1997) by appealing to the perception of the properties in question by other speakers of the standard language: if the majority of these speakers do not consider the property in question characteristic for a certain geographical region, the property is part of a regional variety of *Standard Dutch*; if the property in question is unknown to certain speakers of the standard language or considered to be characteristic for a specific geographical region, it is part of a regional variety of *Dutch*. We will not adopt the distinction between the types in (4b) and (4c) since we are not aware of any large-scale perception studies that could help us to distinguish the two varieties in question. We therefore simply join the two categories into a single one, which leads to the typology in (5).

- (5) • Types of Dutch distinguished in *SoD*
- a. Standard Dutch
 - b. Regional variety of Dutch
 - c. Dialect of Dutch

We believe it to be useful to think of the notions in (5) in terms of grammatical properties that are part of the competence of groups of speakers. Standard Dutch can then be seen as a set of properties that is part of the competence of all speakers of the language. Examples of such properties in the nominal domain are that non-pronominal noun phrases are not morphologically case-marked and that the word order within noun phrases is such that nouns normally follow attributively used adjectives but precede PP-modifiers and that articles precede attributive adjectives (if present); cf. (6a). Relevant properties within the clausal domain are that finite verbs occupy the co-called second position in main clauses whereas non-finite verbs tend to cluster in the right-hand side of the clause (see (6b)), and that finite verbs join the clause-final non-finite verbs in embedded clauses (see (6c)).

- (6) a. de oude man in de stoel [word order within noun phrases]
 the old man in the chair
- b. Jan *heeft* de man een lied *horen zingen*. [verb second/clustering]
 Jan has the man a song hear sing
 ‘Jan has heard the man sing a song.’
- c. dat Jan de man een lied *heeft horen zingen*. [verb clustering]
 that Jan the man a song has hear sing
 ‘that Jan has heard the man sing a song.’

Regional varieties of Dutch arise as the result of sets of additional properties that are part of the competence of larger subgroups of speakers—such properties will define certain special characteristics of the variety in question but will normally not give rise to linguistic outputs that are inaccessible to speakers of other varieties; see the discussion of (7) below for a typical example. Dialects can be seen as a set of properties that characterizes a group of speakers in a restricted geographical area—such properties may be alien to speakers of the standard language and may give rise to linguistic outputs that are not immediately accessible to other speakers of Dutch; see the examples in (9) below for a potential case. This way of thinking about the typology in (5) enables us to use the language types in a more gradient way, which may do more justice to the situation that we actually find. Furthermore, it makes it possible to define varieties of Dutch along various (e.g., geographical and possibly social) dimensions.

The examples in (7) provide an example of a property that belongs to regional varieties of Dutch: speakers of northern varieties of Dutch require that the direct object *boeken* ‘books’ precede all verbs in clause-final position, whereas many speakers of the southern varieties of Dutch (especially those spoken in the Flemish part of Belgium) will also allow the object to permeate the verb sequence, as long as it precedes the main verb.

- (7) a. dat Jan <boeken> wil <*boeken> kopen. [Northern Dutch]
 that Jan books wants buy
 ‘that Jan wants to buy books.’
- b. dat Jan <boeken> wil <boeken> kopen. [Southern Dutch]
 that Jan books wants buy
 ‘that Jan wants to buy books.’

Dialects of Dutch may deviate in various respects from Standard Dutch. There are, for example, various dialects that exhibit morphological agreement between the subject and the complementizer, which is illustrated in (8) by examples taken from Van Haeringen (1939); see Haegeman (1992), Hoekstra & Smit (1997), Zwart (1997), Barbiers et al. (2005), Van Koppen (2005/2017) and the references given there for more examples and extensive discussion. Complementizer agreement is a typical dialect property as it does not occur in (the regional varieties of) Standard Dutch.

- (8) a. A_{sg} Wim $komp_{sg}$, mot jə zorgə dat je tuis ben.
 when Wim comes must you make.sure that you at.home are
 ‘When Wim comes, you must make sure to be home.’
 b. Azz_{pl} Kees en Wim $kommə_{pl}$, mot jə zorgə dat je tuis ben.
 when Kees and Wim come must you make.sure that you home are
 ‘When Kees and Wim come, you must make sure to be home.’

The examples in (9) illustrate another property that belongs to a certain set of dialects. Speakers of most varieties of Dutch would agree that the use of possessive datives is only possible in a limited set of constructions: whereas possessive datives are possible in constructions such as (9a), in which the possessee is embedded in a °complementive PP, they are excluded in constructions such as (9b), in which the possessee is a direct object. Constructions such as (9b) are perceived (if understood at all) as belonging to certain eastern and southern dialects, which is indicated here by means of a percentage sign.

- (9) a. Marie zet Peter/hem_{possessor} het kind op de knie_{possessee}.
 Marie puts Peter/him the child onto the knee
 ‘Marie puts the child on Peter’s/his knee.’
 b. %Marie wast Peter/hem_{possessor} de handen_{possessee}.
 Marie washes Peter/him the hands
 ‘Marie is washing Peter’s/his hands.’

Note that the typology in (5) should allow for certain dialectal properties to become part of certain regional varieties of Dutch, as indeed seems to be the case for possessive datives of the type in (9b); cf. Cornips (1994). This shows again that it is not possible to draw sharp dividing lines between regional varieties and dialects and emphasizes that we are dealing with dynamic systems; see the discussion of (5) above. For our limited purpose, however, the proposed distinctions seem to suffice.

It should be stressed that the description of the types of Dutch in (5) in terms of properties of the competence of groups of speakers implies that Standard Dutch is actually not a language in the traditional sense; it is just a subset of properties that all non-dialectal varieties of Dutch have in common. Selecting one of these varieties as *Standard Dutch in the more traditional sense described in the first paragraph of this subsection* is not a linguistic enterprise and will therefore not concern us here. For practical reasons, however, we will focus on the regional variety of Dutch spoken in the northwestern part of the Netherlands. One reason for doing this is that the main authors of *SoD* are native speakers of this variety and can therefore simply appeal to their own intuitions in order to establish whether this variety does or does

not exhibit a certain property. A second reason is that this variety seems close to the varieties that have been discussed in the linguistic literature on “Standard Dutch”. This does not mean that we will not discuss other varieties of Dutch, but we will do this only if we have reason to believe that they behave differently. Unfortunately, however, not much is known about the syntactic differences between the various regional varieties of Dutch and since it is not part of our goal to solve this problem, we want to encourage the reader to restrict the judgments given in *SoD* to speakers of the northwestern variety (unless indicated otherwise). Although in the vast majority of cases the other varieties of Dutch will exhibit identical or similar behavior given that the behavior in question reflects properties that are part of the standard language (in the technical sense given above), the reader should keep in mind that this cannot be taken for granted as it may also reflect properties typical for the regional variety spoken by the authors of this work.

5. Organization of the material

SoD is divided in four main parts that focus on the four LEXICAL CATEGORIES: verbs, nouns, adjectives and adpositions. Lexical categories have denotations and normally take arguments: nouns denote sets of entities, verbs denote states-of-affairs (activities, processes, etc.) that these entities may be involved in, adjectives denote properties of entities, and adpositions denote (temporal and locational) relations between entities.

The lexical categories, of course, do not exhaust the set of word classes; there are also FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES like complementizers, articles, numerals, and quantifiers. Such elements normally play a role in phrases headed by the lexical categories: articles, numerals and quantifiers are normally part of noun phrases and complementizers are part of clauses (that is, verbal phrases). For this reason, these functional elements will be discussed in relation to the lexical categories.

The four main parts of *SoD*, which were published in 2012-2016 have the subtitle *Xs and X phrases*, where *X* stands for one of the lexical categories. This subtitle expresses that each part discusses one lexical category and the ways in which it combines with other elements (like arguments and functional categories) to form constituents. Furthermore, the four main parts of *SoD* all have more or less the same overall organization in the sense that they contain (one or more) chapters on the following topics.

I. Characterization and classification

II. Internal syntax

A. The lexical domain I: Argument structure

B. The lexical domain II: Modification

C. The functional domain

III. External syntax

For a more detailed description of these topics we refer to the prefaces of the four main parts because the present *SoD* volume is special in that it discusses two issues that are normally included in descriptive grammars but that do not fit in the overall organization of this work: coordination and ellipsis in coordinate structures. For the organization of this volume we refer to the introduction on page 1.

6. History of the project and future prospects

With the publication of this volume, the SoD-project will come to an end. The idea for the project was initiated in 1992 by Henk van Riemsdijk. In 1993 a pilot study was conducted at Tilburg University and a steering committee was installed after a meeting with interested parties from Dutch and Flemish institutions. However, it was only in 1998 that a substantial grant from the Netherlands Organization of Scientific Research (NWO) was finally obtained. Since then various parties have made it possible to continue the project. The project has resulted in the following parts, which all appeared in the series *Comprehensive Grammar Resources* published by Amsterdam University Press.

I. Noun and noun phrases (2012)

Hans Broekhuis, Evelien Keizer and Marcel den Dikken

This work, which was published in two volumes, discusses the internal make-up as well as the distribution of noun phrases. Topics covered include complementation and modification of noun phrases, properties of determiners (article, demonstratives), numeral and quantifiers, and also the use of noun phrases as arguments, predicates and adverbial modifiers.

II. Adjectives and adjective phrases (2013)

Hans Broekhuis

This work discusses the internal make-up as well as the distribution of adjective phrases. Topics covered include complementation and modification, comparative and superlative formation, and the attributive, predicative and adverbial uses of adjective phrases. Special attention is paid to the so-called partitive genitive construction and the adverbial use of past/passive participles and infinitives.

III. Adpositions and adpositional phrases (2013)

Hans Broekhuis

This work, which was published in late 2013, discusses the internal make-up and the distribution of adpositional phrases. Topics covered include complementation and modification of adpositional phrases, as well as their predicative, attributive and adverbial uses. A separate chapter is devoted to the formation and the syntactic behavior of pronominal PPs like *erop* ‘on it’, which also includes a more general discussion of the syntax of R-words such as *er* ‘there’.

IV. Verbs and Verb phrases (2015-6)

Hans Broekhuis, Norbert Corver and Riet Vos

This work, which was published in three volumes, discusses the internal make-up and distribution of verb phrases and clauses. After a general introduction covering various issues including tense marking, volume 1 provides an extensive discussion of argument structure and verb frame alternations. Volume 2 is devoted to various types of verbal/clausal complements in complex clauses. Volume 3 discusses adverbial modification and the organization (word order) of the clause.

V. Coordination and ellipsis

Hans Broekhuis, Norbert Corver

In addition to the four main parts mentioned in I-IV, the present volume provides an extensive discussion of coordination and ellipsis in coordinate structures.

The fact that the final volume appears now does not mean that work on the SoD-project will be terminated. Since the work listed in I to III was written in the period 1998-2002 but only published between 2012-2016, it is clear that it can no longer be considered fully up-to-date. We therefore plan the preparation of a revised version of *SoD*. This will also enable us to remove various omissions and inconsistencies that arose due to the fact that the various main parts were not written simultaneously but consecutively in a span of two decades.

The output of the *SoD* project has also been integrated into a broader project initiated by Hans Bennis and Geert Booij, which resulted in the online grammar *Language Portal Dutch/Frisian* (taalportaal.org), which includes similar projects on the phonology and the morphology of Dutch. As the name suggests, the *Language Portal Dutch/Frisian* also includes a grammatical description of Frisian. In fact, the *Language Portal* project is expanding and now also includes a partial grammatical description of Afrikaans (which will be completed in the near future).

The series editors of *Comprehensive Grammar Resources* series are in the process of initiating a number of grammar projects comparable to *SoD*: languages include Basque, Japanese, Mandarin, Polish, Russian, Spanish and Swedish. Two volumes on noun phrases of the *Syntax of Hungarian* were published in 2018, and another volume on adpositional phrases in Hungarian is on its way.

7. Acknowledgments

Over the years many Dutch linguists have commented on parts of the work presented here and since we do not want to tire the reader by providing long lists of names, we simply thank the whole Dutch linguistic community; this will also safeguard us from the embarrassment of forgetting certain names. The persons mentioned on the title pages of the various volumes have all played an important role. Anneke Neijt and Hans Bennis should be mentioned especially, however, because Anneke played a crucial role in getting the SoD-project started while Hans played a crucial in getting it finished. Carole Boster and Frits Beukema also need special mention, as they ensured that *SoD* is written in legible and grammatical English, and never blamed the editor of the SoD-series for stubbornly repeating most of his mistakes.

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possible for Norbert Corver en Crit Cremers to join the *SoD*-team from 2011-2016; this has resulted in the works mentioned in Section 6, sub IV. In 2017 Hans Broekhuis and Norbert Corver have joined forces in writing the present volume.

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Introduction

This part of *Syntax of Dutch* deals with coordination as well as ellipsis phenomena found in coordinate structures. Coordination will be the main topic of Chapter 1. Although coordinate structures resulting from coordination prototypically involve a single COORDINATOR such as *en* ‘and’ or *of* ‘or’, it cannot be said that such coordinators select for certain internal or external \circ arguments. This means that these coordinate structures differ from other syntactic structures in that they are not (extended) \circ projections of an argument-taking lexical \circ head. Instead, coordinators typically join two or more similar phrases (which will be referred to as COORDINANDS) into a larger phrase of the same kind. Some illustrations are given in (1) with the coordinator *en* ‘and’: example (1a) involves the coordination of two main clauses and (1b&c) the coordination of two nominal phrases. Section 1.1 starts by discussing a number of more general properties of coordinate structures and their constituting parts. The discussion in Sections 1.2 to 1.4 provides a detailed discussion of the various types of coordinate structures and their constituting parts, that is, the coordinators and the coordinands.

- (1) a. [_{CP} [_{CP} Jan leest het boek] en [_{CP} Peter leest het artikel]].
Jan reads the book and Peter reads the article
‘Jan is reading the book and Peter is reading the article.’
- b. Jan leest [_{NP} [_{NP} het boek] en [_{NP} het artikel]].
Jan reads the book and the article
‘Jan is reading the book and the article.’
- c. [_{NP} [_{NP} Jan] en [_{NP} Peter]] lezen het boek.
Jan and Peter read the book
‘Jan and Peter are reading the book.’

Chapter 2 discusses the fact that coordinate structures are prone to reduction. The examples in (2) show that identical elements in the coordinands tend to be left unpronounced, which is indicated by means of strikethrough. We will focus on two main types of ellipsis. Example (2a) is a case of BACKWARD CONJUNCTION REDUCTION: right-peripheral material in the left coordinand is normally left unpronounced to the extent that it is identical to that of the right coordinand. Example (2b) is a case of GAPPING: the right coordinand of the coordination is reduced by non-pronunciation of (at least) the finite verb.

- (2) a. [[Jan leest het boek ~~over coördinatie~~] en
Jan reads the book about coordination and
[Peter leest het artikel over coördinatie]].
Peter reads the article about coordination
‘Jan is reading the book and Peter is reading the article on coordination.’
- b. [[Jan leest het boek] en [Peter ~~leest~~ het artikel]].
Jan reads the book and Peter reads the article
‘Jan is reading the book and Peter the article.’

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Although coordinate structures are relatively easy to recognize, Chapter 3 will discuss a number of cases, which have been claimed to exhibit some but not all of the properties of coordination. The forms that will be discussed are *als* ‘as’ and *dan* ‘than’ in comparative constructions, *behalve* ‘except/besides’, *in plaats van* ‘instead of’, and *laat staan* ‘let alone’. We will argue that here we are not dealing with borderline cases of coordination but with run-of-the-mill subordination; the claim that these forms exhibit borderline behavior and should therefore be analyzed as coordinator-like elements is to be attributed mainly to the misconception that gapping is possible in coordinate structures only.