

The (In)dependence of Verb-Stranding VP-Ellipsis and Verb-Doubling VP-Topicalization

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1 Introduction

Things you can do with VPs:

- (1) **Delete them: VP-ellipsis**
Lisa despises cauliflower because Rita does [_{VP} ~~despise cauliflower~~]
- (2) **Front them: VP-topicalization**
(I told you that Rita would despise the cauliflower) and [_{VP} despise the cauliflower]
Rita did _{VP}.

Languages have different strategies of filling the gap that VP leaves (because of ellipsis or lower-copy-deletion):

- **dummy** verb, e.g., *do*-support in English in (1) and (2)
- **doubled** verb, e.g., in Portuguese in (3) and (4)

- (3) **Verb-stranding VP-ellipsis (VVPE)** *Portuguese*
Eu **dei** um livro pra Maria e o Pedro também **deu**
I gave a book to.the Maria and the Pedro also gave
[_{VP} ~~deu um livro pra Maria~~].

‘I gave a book to Maria, and Pedro did, too.’ (Santos 2009, 28)

- (4) **Verb-doubling VP-topicalization (VVPT)** *Portuguese*
[_{VP} **Temperar** aquele peixe] [_{TP} o cozinheiro **temperou** _{VP} (mas...)]
season.INF that fish the cook seasoned but
‘As for seasoning that fish, the cook seasoned it (but. . .)’ (Bastos-Gee 2009, 162)

Attempts to establish a connection between VP-ellipsis and VP-topicalization:

- Johnson (2001) derives VPE from VPT in English: VPE = VPT plus topic drop (but see Aelbrecht & Haegeman 2012; Thoms & Walkden 2019 for problems and development)

- Funakoshi (2012) expands on Johnson (2001) and offers a general unified account of headless ellipsis (=X-stranding) and headless movement (≠ X-doubling): X-movement intervenes for XP-ellipsis or -topicalization
- Hein (2021) is the first to notice a cross-linguistic overlap between the repair strategies languages use for VPE and VPT.

Why this is interesting

- Ellipsis and movement have something in common: non-pronunciation. Cross-linguistic VVPE and VVPT patterns could be another argument for their unification.
- How does head movement interact with ellipsis/XP-fronting and in which module does it apply?

Preview of conclusion:

- 💡 Cross-linguistic repair patterns of VVPE and VVPT provide an argument for the underlying identity of ellipsis and lower copy deletion.
- 💡 The patterns can be derived by ordering head movement and deletion in post-syntax.
- We identify and discuss two potential counterexamples: Japanese and Welsh.

Roadmap:

1. Introduction
2. Verbal behaviour in movement and ellipsis
 - 2.1 Previous approaches to VVPE and VVPT
 - 2.2 A unified account
3. Cross-linguistic survey
4. Consequences and implications

2 Verbal behaviour in movement and ellipsis

2.1 (Verb-stranding) VP-ellipsis

Simplest case: V does not undergo head movement and is deleted as part of the VP (5), as in English (1). A dummy verb *do* is inserted to express finiteness/tense.

(5) [TP T {VP-V-Obj}]

Verb-stranding: V undergoes head movement to a head outside of VP, e.g. T or Asp as in (6), before it is elided, as is the case in Portuguese (3) (Goldberg, 2005; Lipták & Saab, 2014).

(6) [TP V+T {VP-(V)-Obj}]

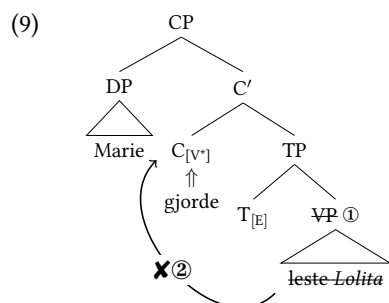
Prediction: If a language has VPE and V-raising out of VP, it should exhibit VVPE.

Problem: Mainland Scandinavian languages (Danish, Norwegian, Swedish) allow VPE (7), have V-raising to C (in V2-clauses, Vikner, 1995), but do not show VVPE, instead a dummy verb is inserted just like in English (8).

(7) Jan kan løse problemet men Kari kan ikke [_{VP} løse problemet].
Jan can solve problem.DEF but Kari can not
'Jan can solve the problem but Kari can't.' (Norwegian, Thoms, 2012, 7)

(8) Johan leste ikke *Lolita*, men Marie gjorde [_{VP} leste *Lolita*].
Johan read.PST not *Lolita* but Marie do.PST
'Johan didn't read *Lolita* but Marie did.' (Norwegian, Thoms, 2012, 7)

Solution (Sailor, 2018): (VP-)ellipsis is triggered by T (Aelbrecht, 2010) and thus derivationally prior to V-movement, which is triggered by C (9).¹ It renders the ellipsis site inert for further syntactic operations thereby bleeding subsequent V-raising.



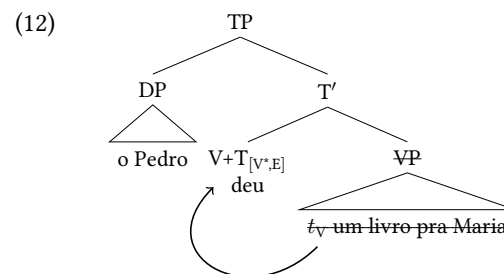
(10) **Conditions on X-stranding XP-ellipsis** (Sailor's 2018 version)

A language L has X-stranding XP-ellipsis iff:

- L has X-movement out of XP triggered by a feature [X*] on a head α ;
- L has XP-ellipsis triggered by merger of a head β bearing [E]; and,
- Satisfaction of [X*] on α is derivationally prior to merger of β , or $\alpha = \beta$.

(11) Eu **dei** um livro pra Maria e o Pedro também **deu**
I gave a book to the Maria and the Pedro also gave
[_{VP} deu um livro pra Maria].

'I gave a book to Maria, and Pedro did, too.' (Portuguese, Santos 2009, 28)



2.2 (Verb-doubling) VP-topicalization

Simplest case: V does not undergo head movement. It is moved as part of the VP. The lower copy of the VP is targeted by a regular postsyntactic process of copy deletion (13), as is the case in English (2).

(13) [CP [_{VP} V Obj] ... [_{VP} V-Obj]]

Verb-doubling: V undergoes head movement to a head outside of the low VP copy in the syntax, e.g. T, prior to its deletion at PF (14) (Abels, 2001; Nunes, 2004; Landau, 2006; Kandybowicz, 2008; Aboh & Dyakonova, 2009), as is the case in Portuguese (4).

(14) [CP [_{VP} V Obj] ... V+T ... [_{VP} (V)-Obj]]

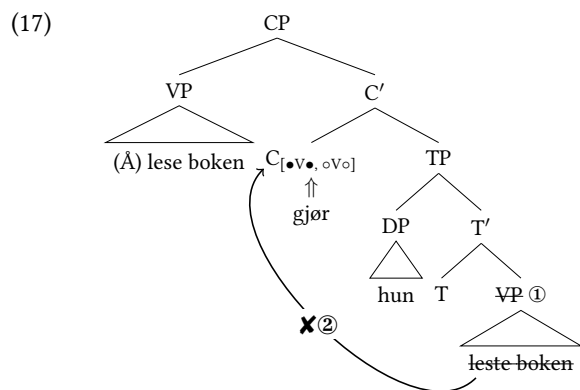
Prediction: If a language has VPT and V-raising out of VP, it should exhibit VVPT.

Problem: Mainland Scandinavian (and German, Dutch) allow VPT (15) and have V-raising, but do not show VVPT (16).

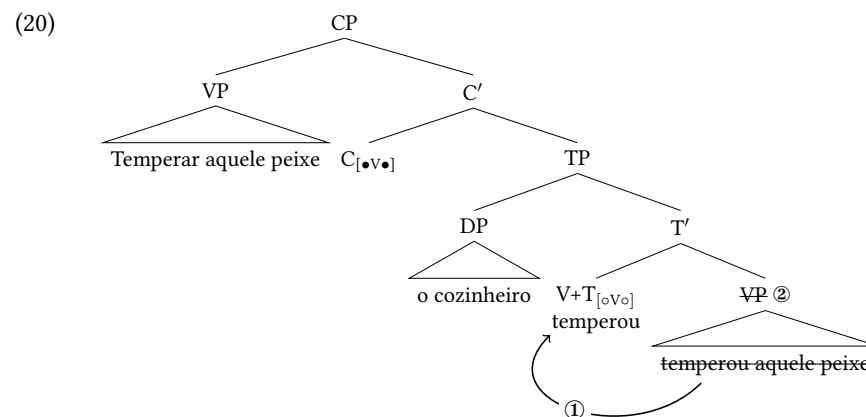
¹V-raising in Mainland Scandinavian skips T (Vikner, 1995; van Craenenbroek & Haegeman, 2007).

- (15) [_{VP} (Å) lese boken] vil hun [_{VP} lese boken] i dag.
 to read book.DEF wants she today
 ‘As for reading the book, she wants to do it today.’ (Norwegian, Siri Gjersøe p.c.)
- (16) [_{VP} (Å) lese boken] **gjør** hun [_{VP} lese boken] i dag.
 to read book.DEF does she today
 ‘As for reading the book, she does it today.’ (Norwegian, Siri Gjersøe p.c.)

Solution (Hein, 2021): VPT and V-raising are due to movement-triggering probes on C. One, [**•V•**], triggers phrasal movement and a second, [**◦V◦**] triggers head movement. As VP dominates V, it is encountered first by the simultaneous probing procedure, moved to SpecCP, and its lower copy becomes inert for further syntactic operations, thereby bleeding V-raising induced by the second probe on C (17).



- (18) **Prerequisites for bleeding of head movement** (Hein, 2021)
- YP dominates X;
 - $H_{[•V•]}$ does not c-command $H_{[◦X◦]}$
- (19) [_{VP} **Temperar** aquele peixe] [_{TP} o cozinheiro **temperou** *t*_{VP} (mas...)]
 season.INF that fish the cook seasoned but
 ‘As for seasoning that fish, the cook seasoned it (but. . .)’ (Portuguese, Bastos-Gee 2009, 162)



2.3 A unified account?

Given that current proposals for VVPE and VVPT draw on the same logic of VP-evacuating verb movement interacting with a deletion operation, is there a way to give a unified analysis?

Sailor (2018) plus Hein (2021)

Extending either Sailor (2018) to VVPT or Hein (2021) to VVPE is not straightforwardly possible.

- Sailor requires the verb to escape deletion if both verb movement and VP-deletion are triggered by the same head, e.g. T as in Portuguese VVPE (12).
- Hein requires verb movement to be bled by deletion if both verb and VP-movement are triggered by the same head, e.g. C as in Norwegian dummy-inserting VPT (17).

Adopting both side by side is possible. This would leave open the possibility of a **language showing different repair-strategies for VPE and VPT**:

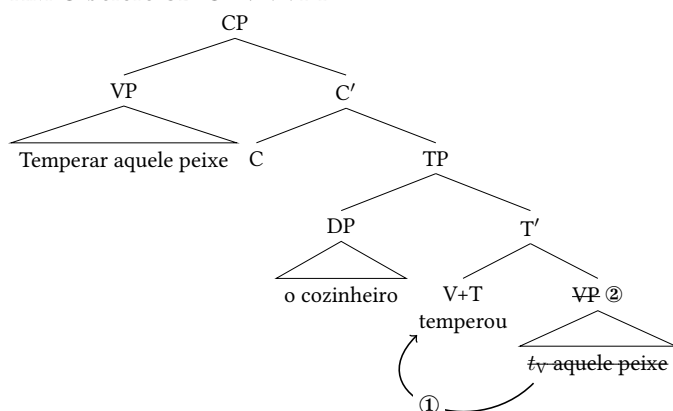
- For instance, if V-raising were triggered by T and VP-ellipsis were licensed by Asp (below T), we would expect a dummy verb with VPE.
- If the same language also had VP-topicalisation triggered by C, it should exhibit verb doubling with VPT.

Crucially, the relative structural height of the different triggers plays a role.

An alternative: Hein (2020)

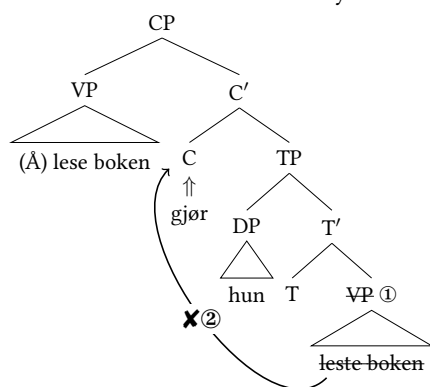
- Hein (2020)'s analysis of VVPT is based on the assumption that head movement (HM) does not take place in the syntax but rather at PF (cf. Chomsky, 1995, 2001; Schoorlemmer & Temmerman, 2012; Zwart, 2017; Harizanov & Gribanova, 2019).
- He suggests that it can either apply before the PF-operation of copy deletion (CD) or after it, varying parametrically from language to language.
- If the order of operation is **HM before CD**, V evades deletion and **the language exhibits VVPT**, like Portuguese.

(21) HM ① before CD ② → VVPT



- If **CD applies before HM**, V is deleted as part of the low VP copy and **the language shows dummy verb insertion with VPT** like Norwegian.

(22) CD ① before HM ② → dummy-verb VPT



- Adopting a postsyntactic view of ellipsis (cf. Lasnik, 2001; Merchant, 2001, 2004; Goldberg, 2005; van Craenenbroek, 2010), different repairs for VPE and VPT follow in the same way:

- HM before E → VVPE
- E before HM → dummy-insertion

- As copy deletion and ellipsis both are non-pronunciation operations taking place at PF (or they might even be the exact same operation), no other PF-operation should be able to intervene between them.
- This generates the prediction that the order of CD and E wrt. HM should be the same within a language. Therefore, **each language should show the same repair for VPE and VPT**.
- Crucially, the type of repair is independent of the height of any of the triggering heads involved.

A second alternative: Landau (2018, 2020a,b)

- Landau (2018, 2020a,b) argues that true VVPE cannot exist. Cases of apparent VVPE are actually argument ellipsis (AE).²

(23) (I gave a book to Maria...)

- | | | |
|----|---|------|
| a. | and Pedro also gave [VP give a book to Maria] | VVPE |
| b. | and Pedro also gave [DP a book] [PP to Maria] | AE |

- It's surprisingly hard to find reliable diagnostics (lexical identity of the verb, adjunct inclusion, ditransitive disjunction, reference to a non-overt object, see e.g., Landau 2020a; Gribanova 2013a; Simpson 2023 for discussion).
- Under this view there is no connection to VPT and the respective repairs.
- A language would show (apparent) VVPE if it allowed argument ellipsis, independent of any kind of V-raising. Verb-doubling in VPT, however, still requires it.
- **A language could thus show different behaviour in VPE and VPT**, in line with the prediction of the first proposed unified account.

(24) Summary of predictions

Sailor (2018) + Hein (2021)	asymmetry between VPE and VPT
Hein (2020)	symmetry
Landau (2018,2020a,b)	asymmetry

²Landau (2020b) leaves room for doubling in verb-echo answers in Finnish, Irish, Hungarian, which he characterizes as TP-ellipsis after T-to-Pol movement.

3 Cross-linguistic survey

3.1 Already documented languages

Language		VPE	VP-Top	Same strategy?
German	(Germanic)	✗	✓ (dummy)	n.a.
Dutch	(Germanic)	✗	✓ (dummy)	n.a.
Spanish	(Romance)	✗	✓ (doubling)	n.a.
Yoruba	(Benue-Congo)	✗	✓ (doubling)	n.a.
Swahili	(Bantu)	✓ (doubling)	??	??
Hungarian	(Finno-Ugric)	✓?	??	??
English	(Germanic)	✓	✓	✓ (dummy)
M.Sc.	(Germanic)	✓	✓	✓ (dummy)
Welsh (eventive)	(Celtic)	✓	✓	✓ (dummy)
Hebrew	(Semitic)	✓?	✓	✓ (doubling)
Russian	(Slavic)	✓	✓	✓ (doubling)
Polish	(Slavic)	✓	✓	✓ (doubling)
Portuguese	(Romance)	✓	✓	✓ (doubling)
Japanese	(Japonic)	✓? (doubling)	✓ (dummy)	✗
Welsh (stative)	(Celtic)	✓ (doubling)	✓ (dummy)	✗

See Appendix for data.

3.2 Novel data

Language		VPE	VP-Top	Same strategy?
Finnish	(Finno-Ugric)	✓ (PolP, doubling)	✗	n.a.
Persian	(Indo-Aryan)	✓	✗	n.a.
Turkish	(Turkic)	✓	✓	✓ (doubling)

Finnish:

- Finnish allows verb-stranding ellipsis as answers, as in (25).

- (25) a. Puhuu-ko Joni ranskaa?
speaks-Q Joni French
'Does Joni speak French?'
b. Puhuu.
speaks
'Yes.' (lit. (He) speaks.)
(Holmberg 2007, 223)

- Holmberg (2007, 2016) analyses this as Pol(arity)P ellipsis: verb moves via T and Pol to C, and PolP (for him =IP) is deleted, (26).

(26) [CP puhuu [_{TP/PolP} Joni *t* ranskaa]]

- Finnish doesn't allow 3rd person referential null subjects (Holmberg 2005), so in (25) the subject must be part of a bigger deleted phrase
- VVPT: Initially Finnish looked like an asymmetric language: "*Finnish does not display the type of VP-fronting observed in Hebrew (Landau 2006) or Spanish (Vicente 2007) where a copy of the moved head remains in situ.*" (Brattico 2022, 666), but no example given.
- Novel data: Finnish does not allow any phrasal fronting, neither with a doubled copy of the verb nor with a stranded auxiliary, (27),³ (28)⁴

- (27) a. *[_{VP} Puhu-a ranskaa] Teemu puhu-i *t*.
speak-A.INF French Teemu speak-3SG.PST
intended: 'As for speaking French, Teemu did it.'
b. *[_{VP} Myy-dä auto-n] Pekka e-i *t*. (Hän on laina-nnut sen.)
sell-A.INF car-ACC Pekka NEG-3SG he AUX loan-PERF it
(intended: 'It wasn't sell his car that Pekka did. He loaned it to someone.')

- c. *[_{TP} Olla myy-nyt auto-n] Pekka o-n Merjalle.
AUX.INF sell-PST.PRTCPL car-ACC Pekka AUX.3SG to.Merja

- (28) *[Myy-nyt tavara-nsa] Pekka o-n *t*.
sell-PST.PRTCPL stuff-PX/3SG Pekka.NOM be-PRS.3SG
intended: 'Pekka sold his stuff.' (Brattico 2022, 670, ex. (12a))

⇒ Finnish is not informative

Persian:

- Toosarvandani (2009, 2018) argues that Persian shows *v*-stranding VP ellipsis.
- With complex predicates (light verb plus noun, adjective, or PP), like *otu zadan* 'iron hit = to iron', the light verb occupying *v* is stranded (29)

³Judgments from 1-2 speakers.

⁴Finnish only seems to marginally allow VP-fronting in modal contexts, similar to modal complement ellipsis in Dutch, (i).

- (i) [Myy-dä auto-n]₁ Pekka halu-si *t*₁ Merjalle.
sell-A/INF car-ACC Pekka.NOM want-PST.3SG to.Merja
'Pekka wanted to sell the car to Merja.'

(Brattico 2022, 670)

- (29) Sohrāb piranā-ro otu na-zad vali Rostam [~~piranā-ro-otu~~]
 Sohrab shirt.PL-ACC iron NEG-hit.PST.3SG but Rostam shirt.PL-ACC iron
 zad.
 hit.PST.3SG
 ‘Sohrab didn’t iron the shirts but Rostam did.’ (Toosarvandani, 2009, 61)

- With simplex verbs, like *xandan* ‘to read’, the verb itself is stranded, analysed by Sailor (2009) as having moved to *v* (30).

- (30) Maysam ketāb=o bâ deqqat xund ammâ Nasim
 Maysam book=ACC with attention read.PST.3SG but Nasim
 [~~ketāb=o bâ deqqat t_{xund}~~] na-xund.
 book=ACC with attention NEG-read.PST.3SG
 ‘Maysam read the book carefully but Nasim didn’t (read it carefully).’
 (Toosarvandani, 2018, 953)

- Novel data:⁵ Persian only allows topicalization of non-verbal material both with complex predicates (31), and with simplex verbs (32).

- (31) Complex predicates
- a. *Rostam shalvâr-esh-o xoshk na-kard vali [_{vP} piran-esh-o otu
 Rosta, pants-his-ACC dry NEG-do.PST.3SG but shirts-his-ACC iron
 zadan] midunam ke t_[vP] zade
 hit.INF know.PRS.1SG that hit.PST.3SG
- b. Rostam shalvâr-esh-o xoshk na-kard vali [_{DP} piran-esh-o]
 Rostam, pants-his-ACC dry NEG-do.PST.3SG but shirts-his-ACC
 midunam ke t_[DP] otu zade
 know.PRS.1SG that iron hit.PST.3SG
 ‘Rostam didn’t dry his pants but iron his shirts I know he did.’

- (32) Simplex verbs
- a. *Maryam mâhi xarid vali [_{vP} român xandan] Rostam t_[vP]
 Maryam fish buy.PST.3SG but novel read.INF Rostam
 xund/kard.
 read.PST.3SG/do.PST.3SG
- b. Maryam mâhi xarid vali [_{DP} român] Rostam t_[DP] xund.
 Maryam fish buy.PST.3SG but novel Rostam read.PST.3SG
 ‘Maryam bought fish but read a novel Rostam did.’

⇒ Persian is not informative

Turkish:

- Lüle & Atlamaz (2026) argue that Turkish exhibits *v*+V-stranding *v*P-ellipsis (in addition to argument ellipsis): adjuncts can be interpreted in the ellipsis site, (33) and (34); phrases other than type *e* can be elided (35)

- (33) Adjunct inclusion test logic (Oku 1998)
- a. [_{VP} adjunct object verb] [_{VP} ~~adjunct object t_{verb}~~]
adjunct reading available → VPE
- b. [_{VP} adjunct object verb] [_{VP} ~~object verb~~]
adjunct reading not available → AE

- (34) a. Arcan kitab-ı tamamen oku-du, Nazlı Δ oku-ma-dı.
 Arcan book-ACC completely read-**pst** Nazlı read-NEG-PST
 ‘Arcan read the book completely, Nazlı didn’t read Δ.’
- b. Nazlı-nın on sayfa-sı kal-dı.
 Nazlı-GEN ten page-POSS remain-PAST
 ‘Nazlı has ten pages left.’ (Lüle & Atlamaz 2026, 33)

- (35) Mete kız-ı-nın ad-ı-nı Selin koy-du. Baran Δ
 Mete daughter-POSS-GEN name-POSS-ACC Selin give-PAST Baran
 koy-ma-dı.
 give-NEG-PAST
 ‘Mete named his daughter Selin. Baran didn’t name Δ.’ (Lüle & Atlamaz 2026, 34)

- Novel data:⁶ Turkish allows *v*P-fronting with verb-doubling, (36)

- (36) [Kahvey-i bilerek dök-mes-ine] *pro* döktü ama...
 coffee-ACC deliberately spill-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-DAT spilled but
 ‘As for spilling the coffee deliberately, s/he did (but...)’
- (37) [kız-ı sev-me-si-ne] *pro* sevdi ama onu öpemedi
 girl-ACC love-NMLZ-POSS.3SG-DAT loved but her not.kiss.POT
 ‘He did love the girl, but he could not kiss her.’

⇒ Turkish shows symmetric repair strategies

3.3 Potential asymmetric cases: Japanese and Welsh

Japanese shows a **dummy-verb** strategy in VP-topicalization, (38). It does not allow a dummy verb with VPE, (39).

⁶Judgment from 2 speakers.

⁵Judgements from 3 speakers.

- (38) a. [Sushi-o tabe-sae] John-ga si-ta.
sushi-ACC eat-even John-NOM do-PST
'Even eat sushi, John did.'
b. *[Computer-o kai-wa/sae] John-ga kat-ta.
computer-ACC buy-CON/even John-NOM buy-PST
(Nishimaya & Cho 1998, 467)
- (39) a. Hiroshi-wa nantoka LA keiyude Nihon-he kaetta kedo,...
H.-TOP managed LA via Japan-to return
'Although Hiroshi managed to return to Japan via LA...'
b. *Mary-wa Δ sinakatta.
Mary did.not
intended: 'Mary didn't.' (Fujii 2016)

Japanese exhibits a **verb-doubling** pattern with ellipsis which has been analysed as argument ellipsis (Oku 1998; Takahashi 2006; Saito 2007) or VVPE (Otani & Whitman 1991; Funakoshi 2016, see Saito 2017 for an overview). The argument against VVPE and for AE is the **adjunct inclusion** test.

Judgments about adjunct inclusion are contradictory:

- (40) a. Bill-wa kuruma-o teineini arat-ta.
Bill-TOP car-ACC carefully wash-PAST
'Bill washed the car carefully.'
b. *John-wa Δ araw-anak-atta.
John-TOP wash-NEG-PAST
(intended) 'John didn't wash the car carefully.' (Oku 1998, 171)
- (41) Bill-wa teineini kuruma-o arat-ta kedo, John-wa Δ araw-anak-atta.
Bill-TOP carefully car-ACC wash-PAST but John-TOP wash-NEG-PAST
'Bill washed the car carefully, but John didn't wash the car carefully.' (Funakoshi 2016, 119)

The adjunct inclusion test might be flawed (Manetta 2021; Simpson 2023):

- The test is often employed with a follow-up sentence that disambiguates towards the adjunct-inclusion reading. For instance, (42) includes a correction. Simpson (2023) shows that the same pattern is not well-formed in English, where VPE is unequivocally present, (43).
- (42) a. ata makir ota me-ha-tixon?
you know her from-the-high.school
'Do you know her from high school?'
b. #lo makir Δ . me-ha-cava.
not know from-the-army

intended: 'I don't know her from high school. (I know her) From the army.'
(Hebrew, Landau 2020a, 346)

- (43) a. Did you see John in Paris?
b. #I did not. In London. (Simpson 2023, 439)

⇒ Japanese is a potential counterexample to Hein's generalization. We need more/better diagnostics for VVPE vs. AE.

Welsh exhibits an eventive/stative split (Rouveret 2012): eventive predicates show symmetrical dummy-repair (see Appendix). Stative verbs are stranded in ellipsis, (44).

- (44) Mi wyddit ti bopeth a gwyddwn i hefyd.
Prt knew you everything and knew I too
'You knew everything and I did too.' Rouveret, 2012, 916

When fronted, stative predicates use a different strategy: they cannot use dummy-*do*, but instead use dummy-*be*, (45). We could not find a doubled example.

- (45) a. [Deall Cymraeg Canol] yr oedd yn berffaith.
know Welsh Middle C was PRED perfect
'He knew Middle Welsh perfectly.'
b. *[Deall Cymraeg Canol] a wnâi yn berffaith.
know Welsh Middle REL did PRT perfect
Rouveret, 2012, 918

⇒ Welsh is another potential counterexample, but we don't know if doubling stative predicates in topicalization is impossible.

4 Consequences and implications

- Verb-doubling in VP-topicalization and ellipsis seem to co-occur quite robustly.
- A common treatment in terms of the **ordering of post-syntactic operations**, where **ellipsis and copy deletion** are reduced to the same underlying mechanism can account for the cross-linguistic pattern straightforwardly.
- A treatment of apparent VVPE as AE could only treat the symmetric patterns as accidental and possibly loses a generalization.
- Japanese and Welsh could potentially show asymmetric patterns, but more in-depth research has to be done.

- Further languages to research (all described as VVPE-languages): Lithuanian, Greek, Uzbek, Kashmiri, Bangla, Malayalam

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Appendix

Dutch: no VPE (46) (Lobeck, 1995, a.o.); dummy-inserting VPT (47)

- (46) A: Heeft Tom lang staan wachten? – B: *Hij heeft.
has Tom long stand wait he has
‘Has Tom been waiting long?’ – ‘He has.’ (Aelbrecht, 2008)
- (47) [Haar verraden] doet hij niet *t*.
her betray does he not
‘He doesn’t betray her.’ (Broekhuis & Corver, 2015, 1043)

English: dummy strategy in VPE and VP-top, (48), (49).

- (48) We wanted John to eat the pies, and he did ~~eat the pies~~.
- (49) We wanted John to eat the pies, and [eat the pies] he did *t*.

German: no VPE (50); dummy-inserting-VP-topicalization (51)

- (50) *Rudi schreibt eine Postkarte aber Rita {tut/ schreibt} nicht.
Rudi writes a postcard but Rita does writes not
- (51) [Eine Postkarte schreiben] {tut/ *schreibt} Rita nicht *t*.
a postcard write does writes Rita not
‘As for writing a postcard, Rita doesn’t do so.’

Hebrew: Insofar as Hebrew exhibits VVPE (and not only argument ellipsis, see e.g., Goldberg 2005 vs. Landau 2020a) (52), it has the parallel doubling strategy also in VP-topicalization (53).

- (52) A: saragt et ha-sveder ha-ze?
knit.2SG.F ACC the-sweater the-this
‘Did you knit this sweater?’
B: lo, ima šeli sarga.
no mother mine knit.PAST.3SG.F
‘No, my mother did.’ (Doron 1999)
- (53) [Liknot et ha-praxim] hi kanta *t*.
buy.INF ACC the-flowers she bought
‘As for buying the flowers, she bought (them).’ (Landau 2006, 37)

Hungarian: It has been claimed that Hungarian has verb-stranding ellipsis similar to Finnish: responsive ellipsis of TP (Lipták 2012), or proper VP ellipsis (Lipták 2013, 2019) (54). It is unclear to what extent VP-fronting or TP-fronting are allowed, (55).

- (54) A: Láttá János a szomszédokat?
saw János the neighbours.ACC
‘Did János see the neighbours?’
B: Láttá.
saw
‘He did.’ (Lipták 2012, 85)
- (55) Unclear status of VP-fronting

- a. [Virágot venni] virágot vett...
flower.ACC buy.INF flower.ACC bought
'As for buying flowers, that's what he did (but...)' (Ürögdi 2006, 317)
- b. *[Moziba menni] moziba ment tegnap Péter.
cinema.INTO go.INF cinema.INTO went yesterday Péter
(intended: 'As far as going to the cinema, Péter went yesterday.') (Lipták & Vicente 2009, 652, fn. 2)

Mainland Scandinavian: VPE and VP-topicalization trigger a dummy strategy, (56) and (57).

- (56) a. Johan har inte läst *Lolita* men Kalle har.
Johan has not read *Lolita* but Kalle has
'Johan hasn't read *Lolita*, but Kalle has.' (Swedish, Sailor 2018, 855)
- b. Mona og Jasper vaskede bilen, eller rettere Mona gjorde.
Mona and Jasper washed the.car or rather Mona did
'Mona and Jasper washed the car, or rather Mona did.' (Danish, Sailor 2018, 856)
- (57) ... og [køre bilen] gjorde han.
and drive.INF the.car did he
'...and drive the car he did.' (Danish, Platzack 2008, 280)

Polish: Polish allows verb-echo answers that Ruda (2022) analyzes as VoiceP and vP-ellipsis, (58). Polish exhibits verb-doubling with VP-topicalization.

- (58) a. Kupiłeś truskawki?
bought.2SG.M strawberries.ACC
'Did you buy strawberries?'
b. Kupiłem.
bought.1SG.M
'I did.' (Ruda 2022, ex. (1))
- (59) [Dać kwiaty] (to) jej dał, ale prezentu nie kupił.
give.INF flowers TO her he.gave but present not bought
'He gave her flowers, but he didn't buy a present.' (Bondaruk 2009, 67)

Portuguese: Brazilian and European Portuguese exhibit VVPE (in addition to argument ellipsis, Cyrino & Matos (2016)), (60). At least Braz. Portuguese also exhibits VVPT, (61).

- (60) a. Os miúdos puseram os brinquedos na caixa antes do jantar?
the kids put the toys inside-the box before of-the dinner?
'Did the kid put the toys in the box before dinner?'
b. Puseram.
put
'Yes, they did.' (Cyrino & Matos 2016, ex. (50))
- (61) [Temperar peixa] o cozinheiro sempre tempera nos fins de semana.
season.INF fish the cook always seasons on.the ends of week
'As for seasoning the fish, the cook always does it on weekends.' (Bastos-Gee 2009, 162)

RUSSIAN: Russian has been argued to show V-stranding vPE (Gribanova 2013*b,a*), (62). Russian also shows doubling in VP-topicalization, (63).

- (62) a. Ty poznamomil Masu s Petej?
you.NOM introduce.SG.M Maša.ACC with Peter.INSTR

- 'Did you introduce Masha to Peter?'
b. Konečno poznamomil!
of-course introduce.SG.M
'Of course I introduced (Masha to Peter)!'
(Gribanova 2013*b*, 102)

- (63) [Kupit' pomidory] ona kuila, no salata ne sdelala.
buy.INF tomatoes she bought but salad not make.PERF
'She bought the tomatoes but she hasn't made a salad.'
(Verbuk 2006, 397)

Spanish: Spanish does not allow general VP ellipsis, neither with Aux-stranding nor with doubling. (64). With VP-topicalization, it shows doubling. (65).

- (64) a. *Susana había leído Guerra y Paz pero María no había.
Susana had read War and Peace but María not had
'Susana had read War and Peace but María had not.' (López 1999)
- b. ¿Dístele el libro?
gave.2SG-CL.DAT.3SG the book
'Did you give him the book?'
- c. *Sí, di.
yes, gave.1SG (Martins 1994, 174)
- (65) [Leer el libro] Juan lo ha leído.
read.INF the book Juan it has read
'As for reading the book, Juan has read it.' (Vicente 2009)

Swahili: Swahili has been described as a VVPE language in Ngonyani (1996) et seq., where V moves to T and VP is deleted, see (66).

- (66) a. Mw-alimu a-li-nunu-a ki-tabu ch-a Chomsky
1-teacher 1SM-PT-buy-FV 7-book 7-a Chomsky
'The teacher bought Chomsky's book.'
b. na wa-nafunzi wa-li-nunu-a Δ pia.
and 2-student 2SM-PT-buy-FV too
'And the student did, too.' (Ngonyani 1996, 75)

We could only find V-fronting examples for Swahili, (67). It is unclear whether VP-fronting is possible.

- (67) Ku-pim-a ni-ta-ku-pim-a.
INF-measure-FV SM.1SG-FUT-OM.2SG-measure-FV
'I will MEASURE you.' (Gibson & Yoneda 2018, 21)

Welsh: Eventive predicates like *buy* use the dummy-repair strategy in both ellipsis and fronting, (68).

- (68) a. Prynodd Siôn llyfr hwna gwnaeth Mair hefyd.
bought Siôn the book this and did Mair too
'Siôn bought this book and Mair did too.' Rouveret, 2012, 916
- b. [Pori'r comin a'r cloddiau] a wneath Ifas am y lleill.
browse.the common and.the hedges PRT did.3SG Ifas for the others
'Ifas browsed the common and the hedges for the others.' Tallerman, 1996, 100

Yoruba: It's not clear that Yoruba allows real predicate ellipsis. (69) includes a pro-form. It seems to lack VVPE, (70), but more research needs to be done. It exhibits VVPT, (71).

- (69)

Níyì sọ pé òjò ní rọ̀ sùgbọ̀n Adé kò sọ̀ bẹ̀ẹ̀.

Niyi say that rain prog fall but Ade neg say so

‘Niyi said it is raining but Ade didn’t.’

(Aremu & Weisser 2024, ex. (14a))
- (70)

a. *Tolú se awon omo naa daadaa, sugbon Dàpò ko se.

Tolú do/treat PL child the well but Dàpò not do/treat

‘Tolú treats the children well, but Dàpò not treat.’

b. *Tolú so aja a re ni Fifi, sugbon Dàpò ko so.

Tolú name dog pos his SEC fifi but Dàpò not name

‘Tolú named his dog Fifi, but Dàpò not name.’

c. *Tolú ka iwe naa tan (patapata), sugbon Dàpò ko ka.

Tolú read book the finish completely but Dàpò not read

‘Tolú read the book completely/until the end, but Dàpò not read.’
- (Daniel Aremu, p.c.)

(71)

Rí-[rà iwé] ni Ajé ra iwé.

NMLZ-buy paper FOC Aje buy paper

‘It’s book-buying that Aje is doing/did.’

(Manfredi 1993, 20)