

# Dutch ACD shows the subject co-reference that English doesn't

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## ① Modal Complement Ellipsis and Antecedent Contained Deletion

(1) Jessica mocht nog niet gaan werken, maar Jella Jessica was.allowed still not go work but Jella moest <[gaan werken]> must.PST  
*"Jessica was still not allowed to work, but Jella had to work."*  
 (Aelbrecht 2010)

• Aelbrecht (2010): MCE = deletion of VoiceP

⇒ re-analyzed here as **vP-ellipsis**

(2) Sue [<sub>VP<sub>1</sub></sub> likes every boy Op<sub>k</sub> that Mary does [<sub>VP<sub>2</sub></sub> like t<sub>k</sub>]]

• ACD: ellipsis inside a relative clause, antecedent contains ellipsis site

• standard analysis: construct a parallel antecedent via quantifier raising (QR) of the DP, adjoining to antecedent VP (May 1985, Fox 2002)

(3) Sue [<sub>VP<sub>1</sub></sub> [<sub>DP</sub> every boy Op that Mary does [<sub>VP<sub>2</sub></sub> like t]]]<sub>j</sub> [<sub>VP<sub>1</sub></sub> like t<sub>j</sub>]]

## ② The problem

• Dutch MCE does not generally require subjects to be co-referent, (1)

• In ACD, the subjects are **obligatorily co-referent**, (4).

(4) Olaf<sub>i</sub> heeft elk boek gelezen [dat hij<sub>i</sub>/ \*David moest (...t...)].  
 Olaf has every book read that he David must  
*"Olaf read every book that he/ \*David had to."*

⇒ Proposal: **Dutch ACD is a bound pronoun effect**

## ③ The Bound Pronoun Effect

• Clause-bound dependencies **exceptionally allow crossing** of clause-boundaries if the embedded subject is bound by the matrix subject, e.g. in Multiple Sluicing

• Grano & Lasnik (2018:482): bound pronouns can have unvalued  $\phi$ -features

• [ $u\phi$ :\_] on the complement of the phase head "keeps the phase open"

• assumption:  $\phi$ -features can percolate from specs through the extended projection

• assumption for Dutch: VP is a phase

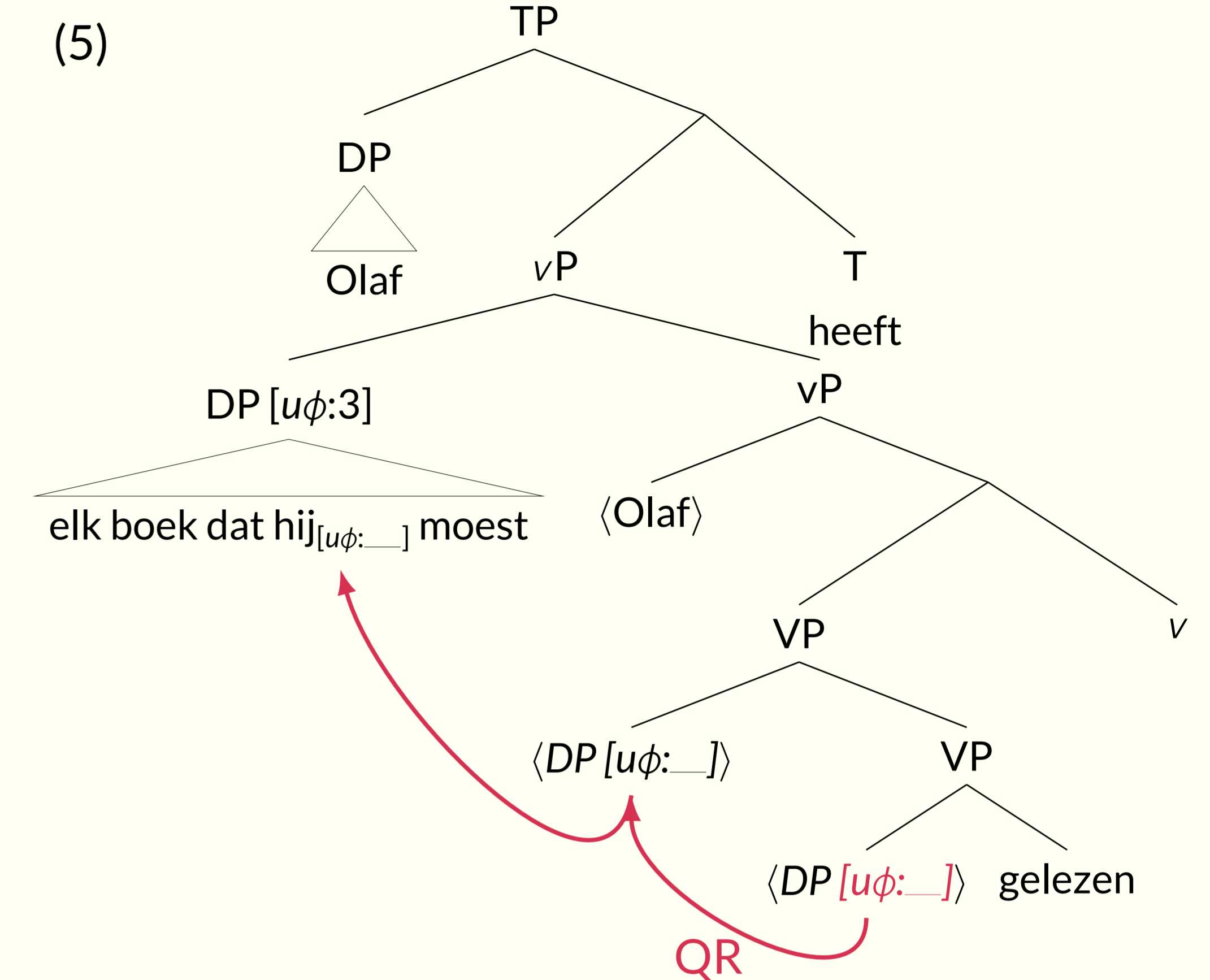
# Scope-rigid languages with

## larger-than-VP-ellipsis

# only get ACD if the embed-

# ded subject is **co-referent**.

## ④ Analysis



elliptical vP: [<sub>VP</sub> t [<sub>VP</sub> t lezen ]]

antecedent vP after QR: [<sub>VP</sub> t [<sub>VP</sub> t lezen ]]

• Dutch QR no higher than VP ⇒ too low for ACD

• QR may not be extra high **only** to create ACD-antecedent (contra Wilder 2003, Cecchetto 2004, with Overfelt 2020): ACD only possible if high QR is independently licensed via subject co-reference

• English ACD: VPE, QR to VP is sufficient

• Dutch MCE generally: doesn't require high QR (contra Sauerland 2017)

⇒ ACD in scope-rigid languages with MCE is only possible with subject co-reference: French, Italian, Spanish (Dagnac 2010) vs. Czech (Gruet-Skrabalova 2020)

## ⑤ Grano & Lasnik (2018) vs. Barros & Frank (2021)

• Barros & Frank (2021): phase suspension also with non-referential (e.g., expletive, no NP) and co-referent (e.g., epithets) subjects

• **Attention Shift**: clause-boundedness holds if the subjects refer to different salient referents

• In Dutch ACD, **only co-referential** (6-a), but not non-referential subjects are licit, (6-b).

(6) a. Olaf<sub>i</sub> kan (iedereen) uitnodigen wie [die idioot]<sub>i</sub> wil.  
 Olaf can anyone invite who the idiot wants  
 b. ??Olaf heeft de boeken gelezen die geen student/  
 Olaf has the books read that no student  
 niemand mocht.  
 no.one was.allowed.to

⇒ binding = co-reference (Lasnik 1989, Bruening 2014, pace Reinhart 1983,2006)?