OBJECT SHIFT AND PSEUDOGAPPING IN THE SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES

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1. THE PSEUDOGAPPING CONSTRUCTION

The Pseudogapping construction (in (1)) is generally considered to be an instance of VP ellipsis, combining properties of both VP ellipsis (in (2)) and Gapping (in (3)).

(1)   Mary invites John, and Abby will _ Tim.
(2)   Mary invites John, but Abby didn't.
(3)   Mary invites John, and Abby _ Tim.

Like VP ellipsis, Pseudogapping has a finite auxiliary (*will*), and a contrastive remnant (*Tim*) like Gapping.
This *remnant* can take different forms: indirect object (as in (1)), direct object (as in (4)), and prepositional object (as in (5)).

(4)   Abby plays the piano better than her father does _ the violin.
(5)   John gave more books to Susan than Tony did _ to Sarah.

So far, the Pseudogapping construction is only attested for English (and, perhaps, Korean, cf. fn. 2).[1] It occurs most often in spoken language (according to Levin 1986), and is found most commonly in comparative constructions, as in (4) to (6).

(6)   Mary invited John more often than Abby did _ Tim.

2. THE OBJECT SHIFT ANALYSIS

In recent years Pseudogapping has generally considered to be a special instance of VP ellipsis and has been analysed accordingly. The common analysis assumes the deletion of the VP, taking place after the remnant has moved out of the VP. The *Object Shift* analysis (Lasnik 1995, 1999), which has become the standard analysis, is sketched in (7):

(7)   John invited Sarah, and Mary will [$_{XP}$ Jane$_i$] [$_{VP}$ invite t$_i$].

In Lasnik's analysis, the XP is the agreement phrase Agr$_O$P, and the object is moved to the specifier position of this phrase, [Spec,Agr$_O$].

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[1] Kim (1997) provides a discussion of Korean Pseudogapping. However, the Korean Pseudogapping construction, as he describes it himself, patterns rather with English *VP ellipsis* in having an auxiliary and only a *single* remnant (either subject or object). Hence, pending further evidence to the contrary, I suggest that Korean Pseudogapping is a different phenomenon from English and Scandinavian Pseudogapping.

This movement is triggered by an EPP-*feature* for objects (Lasnik 1995,1999).[2]
According to Lasnik, the verb stays *in situ* in Pseudogapping, while it raises obligatorily in other clauses, and is subsequently deleted with the VP.

☞Aim:
Investigation of the situation in the Scandinavian languages, and the use of Scandinavian data to refine the English Pseudogapping analysis.

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3. THE SITUATION IN THE SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES

3.1. Empirical Evidence

(8) and (9) illustrate Pseudogapping in Norwegian, and (10) and (11) show the Icelandic counterparts.[3]

(8)   Prepositional Complements (*Norwegian*):
   a. Peter kan vente lenger på Mari enn Paul kan _ på Kari.
      Peter   can   wait   longer for Mari than Paul can   for Kari.
   b. Peter vil vente lenger på Mari enn Paul vil _ på Kari.
      Peter   will   wait   longer for Mari than Paul will   for Kari.
   c. Peter skal lese flere bøker for Mari enn Paul skal for Kari.
      Peter shall read more books for Mari   than Paul shall for Kari.
   d. Per har lest flere bøker for Kari enn Paul har for Mari.
      Peter has read more books   for Kari than Paul has   for Mari.
   e. Per vil   leke lenger med Mari enn Paul vil med Kari.
      Per will(wants to) play longer   with   Mary than Paul will with Kari.

(9)   Dative Construction (*Norwegian*):
   a. *Mary vil gi Susan mange penger og Paul [vil Jane en bok].
      *Mary will give Susan much money and Paul *will Jane a book.*
   b. *Mary vil gi mange penger til Susan og Paul [vil en bok til Jane].
      Mary   will give much   money   to Susan   and Paul will a book to Jane.
   c. Mary vil gi mange penger til Susan og Paul vil til Jane**.**
      Mary will give much money   to Susan and Paul will to Jane.

(10) Prepositional Complements (*Icelandic*):
   a. Pétur hefur lesið fleiri bækur fyrir Kara-ACC en Páll hefur fyrir María-ACC.
      Peter has   read more books for   Kari   than P. has   for   Maria.
   b. Pétur vill   biða lengur eftir María en Páll (?vill) eftir Jóni.
      Peter wants to wait longer after M.   than P. wants after Jóni.
   c. Pétur vill leika lengur við Maríu en Páll vill við Jóni.
      P   wants play longer with M   than P. wants with John.

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(11) <u>Dative Construction (*Icelandic*)</u>:
  a. María myndi   skila fleiri bókum til Péturs en Páll   myndi til Jóns.
     M FUT.SUBJ will return more books   to Peter   than P FUT.SUBJ will   to John.
  b. María myndi   skila fleiri bókum til Péturs en Páll   [??]myndi blöðum   til Jóns.[4]
     M FUT.SUBJ will return more books   to Peter   than P FUT.SUBJ. will   newspapers to John.

(12) <u>Generalisation</u>:
  Scandinavian   Pseudogapping   only   has   prepositional   remnants,   i.e.
  prepositional phrases or a prepositional dative.

3.2. Problems for the *Object Shift* - Analysis

Simplest possible assumption: Scandinavian Pseudogapping is derived by object shift.[5]

But: Pseudogapping in the Scandinavian languages only seems to occur with prepositional phrases as *remnants* (either a prepositional dative or various types of prepositional complements).

- The *only* remnants that <u>cannot</u> be shifted via *Object Shift*. This sheds doubts on *Object Shift* as the decisive movement in Pseudogapping.

- Other objects that are able to undergo *Object Shift* are not found in Pseudogapping.

- The presence of an auxiliary always blocks the verb movement necessary for *Object Shift* – by definition, however, Pseudogapping always displays an overt auxiliary.

> 1. Why does Scandinavian only allow prepositional objects as Pseudogapping remnants?
> 2. If *Object Shift* is not a possible mechanism for the derivation of Pseudogapping in the Scandinavian languages, are there alternatives?

(2.) also questions the appropriateness of the *Object Shift* analysis for English Pseudogapping, since the assumption that *Object Shift* exists in English is not entirely uncontroversial.

In the "standard" analysis of English, *Object Shift* is not considered to be part of the English grammar. However, following work on particle constructions (Johnson 1991), ECM constructions, and Pseudogapping (Lasnik 1995 and subsequent work), *Object Shift* has been introduced in the analysis of English (cf. also Chomsky 2001), though often conceived to be restricted to Pseudogapping (Fox&Pesetsky 2004, Takahashi 2004).

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[4] Presumably, the difference in acceptability is due to the double remnant.
[5] I am aware of the fact that it is sometimes pointed out in the literature that what is usually called "object shift" with respect to the English language differs from object shift in the Scandinavian languages. What I am trying to show here, however, is that object shift in its original form does not even account for the Pseudogapping facts in Scandinavian.

4. A CASE STUDY: THE ICELANDIC DATA

4.1. Preliminary Observations

(13) María myndi   skila fleiri bókum til Péturs en   Páll myndi   til Jóns.
   M   FUT.SUBJ(will) return more books   to Peter   than Paul FUT.SUBJ(will) to John.

- Pseudogapping seems to occur only with verbs of the *skila/ræna* class (return/rob) (classification according to Holmberg&Platzack 1995).

- Verbs belonging to the *gefa* class (give) don't seem to occur with Pseudogapping – in spite of the observation that precisely this verb is very natural in the Mainland Scandinavian Languages.

☞ There seems to be a verb class specific difference.

4.2. Overview of the Icelandic verbs under discussion

4.2.1. The *gefa* class: canonical ditransitive verbs

Verb	Meaning	Case of the IO	Case of the DO
gefa	***give***	***DAT***	***ACC***
segja	say (tell)	DAT	ACC
senda	***send***	***DAT***	***ACC***
synja	show	DAT	ACC

Examples: (Holmberg/Platzack 1995: 187)

(14) Jón gaf Ólafi   bókina.
   Jon gave Olaf(DAT) a-book(ACC).
(15) Hún sagði Þeim   sögu.
   She told   them(DAT) a-story(ACC)

The *to* construction

- Most ditransitive verbs in Mainland Scandinavian (and in English) show either the order DP DP or DP PP (i.e. either the double-object construction (DOC) or the *to*-construction).
- In Icelandic, however, the *to*-construction is <u>not</u> permitted in the *gefa* verb class:

(16) Ég gaf Jóni   bókina.
   I   gave John(DAT) a-book(ACC).
(17) *Ég gaf bókina   til Jóns.
   I   gave a-book(ACC) to John.

(18) Hún sýndi mér málverk sín.
   She showed me pictures her
(19) *Hún sýndi   málverk sín fyrir mig/til mín.
    Sie   showed pictures her for me /to me.
   (Holmberg/Platzack 1995: 188)

Inversion

In contrast to the *skila/ræna* class, the *gefa* verb class can change the order of the objects (IO>DO), i.e. inversion is possible.

(20) Hann gaf konunginum ambáttina.
      He   gave the-king(DAT) the-maidservant(ACC).
(21) Hann gaf ambáttina   konunginum.
      He   gave the-maidservant(ACC) the-king(DAT).
      (Collins/Thráinsson 1993: 150)

4.2.2. *The* skila/ræna *class*

Verb	Meaning	Case of the IO	Case of the DO
skila	*return*	*DAT*	*DAT*
ræna	rob	ACC	DAT
óska	wish	DAT	GEN
leyna	hide	ACC	DAT
spyrja	ask	ACC	GEN

Examples: (Holmberg/Platzack 1995: 188)

(22) María skilaði mér   bókinni   minni.
      Maria returned me(DAT) the-book(DAT) my(DAT).
(23) Þeir rændu Ólaf   peningunum.
      They robbed Olaf(ACC) the-money(DAT).

to-construction

The *skila/ræna* class generally permits the *to*-construction:

(24) Hún skilaði   bókinni til Jóns.
      She   returned the-book to John.
(25) Þeir ætluðu að ræna veskinum af mér.
      They intended to rob   the-purse   of me.
(26) Jón leyndi   sannleikanum fyrir Maríu.
      John concealed the-truth   for(of) Maria.
      (Holmberg/Platzack 1995: 205)

4.3. Pseudogapping in the two verb classes

4.3.1. The *gefa*-class

The pattern with gefa

(27) *María myndi gefa Pétri fleiri bækur en Páll myndi Jóni blöð.
       Mary will   give Peter more books than Paul will Joni newspapers.
(28) **María myndi gefa Pétri fleiri bækur   en   Páll myndi blöð.
       Mary will   give Peter more books than Paul will   newspapers.

(29)   ??María myndi gefa Pétri fleiri bækur en   Páll myndi Jóni.
         Mary will   give Peter more books than Paul will   John.

Note, however, that (29) is attested marginally acceptable only by one speaker (as is (32)).

The pattern with senda

(30)   *María myndi senda Pétri fleiri bækur en Páll myndi Jóni blöð.
(31)   **María myndi senda Pétri fleiri bækur en Páll myndi blöð.
(32)   ??María myndi senda Pétri fleiri bækur en Páll myndi Jóni.

But: *senda* allows the *to*-construction (contrary to Holmberg & Platzack's (1995) generalisations; K. Ottósson (p.c.)).

☞ Pseudogapping should be allowed (and fully grammatical) in this case. This prediction is borne out:

(33)   María myndi senda fleiri bækur til Péturs en   Páll myndi til Jóns.
         Mary will   send   more books to Peter than Paul will   to John.

These data permits the conclusion that there is at least a very strong preference for the prepositional remnant in Pseudogapping (as indicated in the generalisation in (12)).

4.3.2. Pseudogapping in the *skila* class

(34)   María myndi   skila fleiri bókum til Péturs en Páll   myndi til Jóns.
         M FUT.SUBJ will return more books   to Peter   than P FUT.SUBJ will   to John.
(35)   María myndi   skila fleiri bókum til Péturs en Páll   ??myndi blöðum   til Jóns.
         M FUT.SUBJ will return more books   to Peter   than P FUT.SUBJ. will   newspapers to John.
(36)   *María myndi skila fleiri bókum til Péturs en Páll myndi blöðum.
(37)   ?María myndi skila fleiri bókum til Péturs en Páll myndi til Jóns.[6]

4.4. Evaluating the "PP remnant" Generalisation

Argument Structure

Pseudogapping does not occur with *gefa* (as shown in (38)).
☞only *to*-constructions are allowed in Icelandic Pseudogapping (the *gefa* verbs don't permit the *to*-construction)

(38)   *María myndi gefa Pétri fleiri bækur en   Páll myndí Jóni blöð.
         Mary will   give Peter more books than Paul will   John newspapers.
         (K. Ottósson, p.c.)

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[6] In (36) and (37), the judgements correspond to the judgements concerning the *gefa*-examples in their gradation. The fact that the judgements in the *gefa/senda*-examples are more severe might be due to their being less natural in combination with the *to*-construction.

Holmberg/Platzack (1995) account as follows for the lack of *to*-constructions in *gefa*-verbs:

(39) *The lexical representation of* gefa-*verbs ... requires an experiencer with a dative. A PP*
      cannot have dative Case, hence cannot satisfy the lexical selection requirements of the
      verb.
      (Holmberg/Platzack 1995: 204)

(40) *? Hún gaf bókina til Jóns.
          She   gave the-book to John
      (Holmberg/Platzack 1995: 204)

The *gefa*-class doesn't allow the *to*-construction but can nonetheless place an indirect object after the direct object via inversion (but see Dehé's work for a contrasting point of view).

Hence, if an indirect remnant should occur in Pseudogapping, it need not necessarily be a PP.

Inversion, focus and markedness

Inversion takes place with indefinite and/or heavy indirect objects, though neither of these two characteristics seem to be crucial as such – the requirement for inversion seems to be that the indirect object is more focussed than the direct one (cf. Ottósson 1991, Holmberg & Platzack 1995 for examples).

The presence of the focus indicates the markedness of this word order, which can also be presupposed in the construction with the prepositional datives.
The *to*-phrase is emphasized by the mere choice of the dative construction (as opposed to unmarked word order IO>DO, which, presumably, displays no clear focal preference).
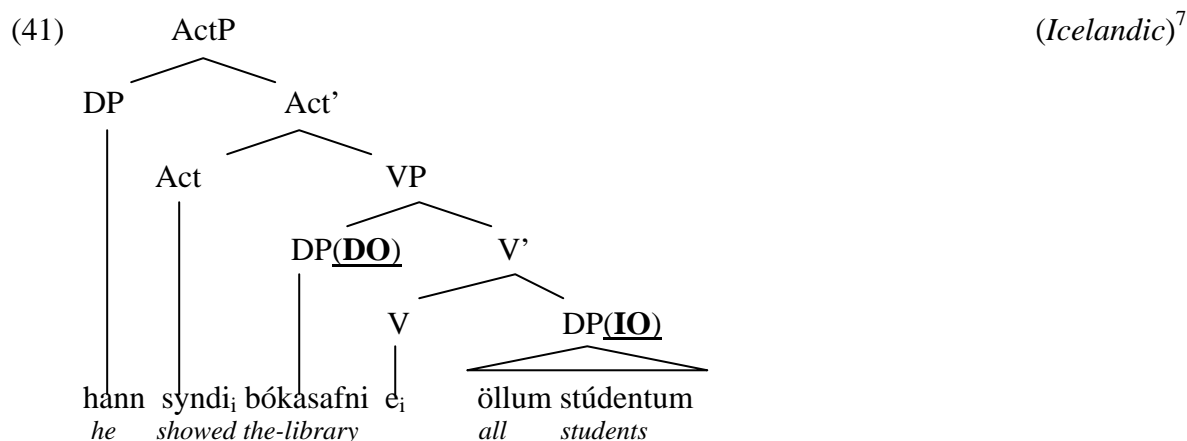
Parallelism between the PP construction and the inverted structure

The parallel between the two constructions with respect to the focal properties of the indirect object also exists in other ways, namely *argument structure* and *syntactic structure*.
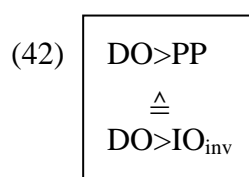
Holmberg & Platzack (1995: 207) point out that, in the inverted double object construction, the dative IO is not a pure experiencer. Instead, it shares the thematic properties of a PP in the Mainland Scandinavian and English *to*-construction.

In their analysis of inversion in the *gefa* verbs, Holmberg&Platzack (1995: 206f.) use the Falk/Holmberg hypothesis (Falk 1990 and Holmberg 1991) which assumes a base-generated structure as in (41) below for the inversion cases. According to this structure, the inverted DOC should be treated as *to*-construction, without preposition but with morphological case and focus instead.

Hence, morphological case (Dative) and focus together fulfil the same syntactic requirements as the preposition in the Mainland Scandinavian languages, without violating the verb's selectional properties (which the preposition would do). (Holmberg/Platzack 1995: 207).

(41)   ActP   (*Icelandic*)[7]

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              ActP
            /      \
          DP       Act'
          |       /    \
         Act    Act     VP
          |            /    \
                   DP(DO)    V'
                    |       /    \
                    V      V    DP(IO)
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hann   syndi$_i$ bókasafni e$_i$ öllum stúdentum
he   *showed the-library*   *all   students*

The *to*-construction seems to correspond to the inverted structure, hence:

(42)
DO>PP
$\triangleq$
DO>IO$_{inv}$

Optionality of Arguments

The *skila/ræna* verbs only assign optional case to their indirect object (IO). Holmberg & Platzack (1995: 205) observe the following ((43) - (45)):

(43)   *Verbs in this class either specify that the Case assigned to the IO is optional (*skila*) or do not specify any Case at all for the IO (*ræna, leyna*). ... shows that* skila*, unlike* gefa*, is perfectly acceptable without an IO:*

(44)   a. Hún hefur ekki skilað   bókinni.
          She   has   not   returned the-book
       b. *?Hún hefur ekki gefið bókina.[8]
             She   has   not   given the-book
       (Holmberg/Platzack 1995: 205)

(45)   *That is to say, neither* skila *nor* ræna/leyna *require an IO with a specific Case (in more traditional terms, neither assign Case obligatorily).*
       Hence the experiencer argument can be realized as a PP.

In case the indirect object is mentioned at all, it may receive a certain amount of stress. This, is not the case in the canonical word order IO>DO, since there the accent may be expected to be rather on the sentence-final element, which is the direct object – that is, if there is any perceivable difference at all. The emphasis (or focus) on the indirect object, though, would naturally follow from the choice of the prepositional phrase, placed after the direct object.

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[7] Holmberg&Platzack (1995:207).

[8] Note that this example is grammatical with 'give' in the sense of 'give away'. Holmberg&Platzack (1995) refer to Halldór Sigurðsson.

In Pseudogapping, the sentence-final element (i.e. the remnant) displays a kind of inherent focus (stress) by its very nature, since it obligatorily contrasts with its antecedent.
☞ Hence, it may be appropriate to choose the prepositional phrase variant of word order in case the speaker wishes to place special emphasis on the indirect object in Pseudogapping.

This correlation between the optionality of the arguments and prepositional phrase is supported by the occurrence of Pseudogapping with the *to*-construction in the *skila/ræna* class.

5. STEPS TOWARDS AN ANALYSIS FOR ICELANDIC PSEUDOGAPPING

☞Theoretical explanation to capture the particular properties of the Pseudogapping construction in Icelandic.

5.1. The correlation with HNPS

The *skila/ræna* verb class, which allows Pseudogapping, does not have the possibility to emphasize the indirect object by means of inversion. Hence, to focus the indirect object, a different mechanism is needed.

In principle, there are two possible variants:

- Movement of the direct object (DO) across the indirect object (IO),
  DO_i [IO>t_i], or
- Movement of the indirect object (IO) across the direct object (DO),
  [t_i>DO] IO.

Since Icelandic displays Heavy Noun Phrase Shift (HNPS) constructions with constituents that are reasonably heavy, this phenomenon could be considered to be at play in the movement operations suggested above.

Ottósson (1991): Asymmetric behaviour of the objects with respect to Heavy Noun Phrase Shift, since HNPS of the direct object (DO) across the indirect object (IO) leads to ungrammaticality, as is illustrated with the anaphoric relations in (46).

(46) a. ?Ég gaf   unnustu sína$_i$ [piltinum   sem hafði beðið óÞreyjufullur i mörg ár]$_i$.
        I   gave fiancée REFL(ACC)   the-boy(DAT) who   has   waited impatiently   for many years.
     b. *Ég gaf unnusta   sínum$_i$ [stúlkuna   sem allir strákanier voru á höttunum eftir]$_i$.
        I   gave fiancé(masc) REFL(DAT) the-girl(ACC) who   all   boys   „liked"
     (cited in Holmberg/Platzack 1995: 211)

In sharp contrast to this, the indirect object can be moved via HNPS across the direct object.
☞HNPS the right analysis for Pseudogapping?[9]

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[9] This approach is considered in different papers on English Pseudogapping, e.g. in Jayaseelan (1990) and Takahashi (2004).

Pseudogapping with IO remnants (without preposition)

(47) ??María myndi gefa Pétri fleiri bækur en Páll myndi Jóni.
(48) ??María myndi senda Pétri fleiri bækur en Páll myndi Jóni.

☞Pseudogapping patterns with Heavy Noun Phrase Shift.

Pseudogapping with DO remnants

(49) **María myndi gefa Pétri fleiri bækur en Páll myndi blöð.

Whilst this could still be due to the general discomfort with the verb *gefa* in Pseudogapping, the pattern is reproduced with *skila*.

(50) **María myndi senda Pétri fleiri bækur en Páll myndi blöð.
(51) *María myndi skila fleiri bókum til Péturs en Páll myndi blöðum.

☞The pattern of HNPS is reproduced with respect to the Pseudogapping remnants.

Pseudogapping cases with a single remnant, a DO, is ungrammatical as well:

(52) *Pétur hefur lesið fleiri bækur en   María hefur dagblöð.
        Peter has   read more books than Maria has   newspapers.

5.2. Arguments against the HNPS hypothesis

☞*Heaviness* of the Pseudogapping remnant?

Jayaseelan (1990) based his HNPS account on the intuition that the remnant in Pseudogapping always has to be focused (the focus in question being contrastive focus). Hence, the remnant displays a sufficient amount of heaviness or prominence required for Heavy Noun Phrase Shift.

Possible Counterarguments:

(i)   Pseudogapping has personal pronouns as remnants, which normally are excluded from HNPS.
(ii)   If the only elements that seem to be able to be extraposed are *PPs*, we cannot assume Heavy *Noun* Phrase Shift.

Why should Icelandic that has the possibility of using the word order DO>PP as a natural alternative to the IO>DO word order (with *skila/ræna* verbs) use the HNPS variant when the indirect object is emphasized?

☞For emphasizing the *indirect object* in Pseudogapping, the *to*-construction is preferred over the HNPS variant.

Why is the direct object (DO) not allowed as remnant in Icelandic Pseudogapping?

If Ottósson's observations are true, then HNPS of direct objects (DO) across indirect objects (IO) seems to be blocked. The Scrambling alternative that he proposed to explain the Icelandic inversion examples, however, is rejected by Holmberg&Platzack (1995: 213) on the grounds of the comparison to German (where two base-generated structures for inverted and non-inverted structures are assumed as well).[10]

5.4. Information Packaging and the *to*-construction

Extensive work on the dative alternation (cf. Levin & Rappaport-Hovav 2005 and the references cited therein) points to an information-structural component in the choice of one structure over another.

Phonological Prominence

The r*emnant* in Pseudogapping is inherently emphasized. The conclusion one might draw from the distribution of Pseudogapping in Icelandic, Mainland Scandinavian, and English, is that the emphasis of the indirect object is preferably carried out in the phonologically more prominent *to*-construction. Put differently, in case the focus is to be on the indirect object, the sentence final position (naturally provided in the prepositional construction) and the phonologically more prominent element are employed together to achieve maximal effect.

But: the notion of 'phonological prominence' is not without problems – it is hard to perceive the prepositional phrase as being phonologically more prominent.[11]

Relative "Weight" of Constituents

Although this component seems to be less motivated for the cases above, there have been studies to the effect that the choice between the two structures in the dative alternation are also influenced by the "weight" or "heaviness" of the constituents (cf. Wasow (2002)).

The Given vs. New – Distinction/ Contrastivity

The long-standing assumption that given material precedes new material, however, seems to mirror the Pseudogapping facts very well – given that given material is deleted in the second conjunct.
The second factor arising in Pseudogapping is the inherent contrastivity on the Pseudogapping remnant. Since the remnant is always contrasted to its counterpart in the antecedent clause, there is an obligatory 'newness'. If, then, the remnant is to be contrasted, this could tie in with considerations of heaviness and prominence, leading to the preference of the DO>PP word order.

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[10] An alternative explanation could be lying in the different structure of the DO complements and the prepositional complements, i.e. a direct complement could be affected by deletion more immediately because of constituent structure (V+DO). It is unclear, however, how this would extend to the English data, possibly giving rise to a PP adjunct analysis, for which, to my knowledge, there is no sufficient motivation yet.
[11] Anna McNay (p.c.).

Optionality of Arguments and Syntactic Concerns

Except for the verb "to give", other verbs have a clear tendency towards allowing a ditransitive along with a monotransitive structure, e.g. the verb "to send" or "to return". As shown above, the Icelandic counterparts of these verbs permit the Pseudogapping construction. This is possibly a further argument to add a prepositional phrase in case the non-obligatory argument is to be mentioned at all, and contrasted.

With respect to the syntactic analysis, prepositional complements differ from other objects, possibly being adjuncts. Moreover, they seem to be less restricted in terms of movement. It does not seem implausible to assume that this difference which gains new weight in the light of the Scandinavian data but has only received marginal treatment in the Pseudogapping analysis, should be considered in more detail in further syntactic analysis of the Pseudogapping phenomenon.

6. EXTENSION TO MAINLAND SCANDINAVIAN AND ENGLISH

6.1. Icelandic data

Verb class	Inversion (DO>IO)	*to*-construction (DO>PP)	Pseudogapping
gefa	yes	no	no
skila/ræna	**no**	**yes**	**yes**

6.2. Data from Mainland Scandinavian

Verb	Inversion (DO>IO)	to-construction (DO>PP)	Pseudogapping
Equivalents of 'give' (Icel. gefa*)*	**no**	**yes**	**yes**

- Like in Icelandic, Pseudogapping in Mainland Scandinavian only occurs with prepositional objects.
- In contrast to Icelandic, however, the verbs corresponding to the Icelandic *gefa* have the *to*-construction, which should allow the Pseudogapping construction. This is borne out, e.g. in the Norwegian data in (8) and (9).
- Inversion (as in the Icelandic *gefa*-verb class) is generally excluded in Mainland Scandinavian.

6.3. English data

Ditransitive Verbs in English

Verb	Inversion (DO>IO)	to-construction (DO>PP)	Pseudogapping
to give (Icelandic gefa*)*	**no**	**yes**	**yes**

- In contrast to Scandinavian (both Icelandic and Mainland Scandinavian), English permits a variety of remnants in Pseudogapping: direct objects (DO), indirect objects (IO), and

prepositional complements (PP). With respect to the verb 'to give', English patterns with Mainland Scandinavian in allowing the *to*-construction.

▪ Like in Mainland Scandinavian, inversion is generally excluded in English.

▪ As in all the other languages under consideration, English has prepositional remnants in Pseudogapping (with *to*):

(35) Although John wouldn't give the book to Bill, he would _ to Susan.[12]

▪ In English all types of *remnants* are allowed, but Levin (1986) already pointed out, that prepositional *remnants are preferred* and considered more acceptable than the cases without preposition.

7. CONCLUSION AND OUTLOOK

The generalisation that Icelandic only allows prepositional remnants in Pseudogapping can be carried over to Mainland Scandinavian and English. In English, all kinds of objects are permitted, but there is a preference for the *to*-construction nonetheless. This distributional fact could be accounted for in terms of information packaging, by exploiting different tendencies to focus one of the postverbal constituents. Syntactically, the HNPS analysis seems very promising, but presumably needs to be modified to a more general focus movement analysis to account for the possible remnants in English.

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[12] Example taken from Takahashi 2003 (Handout, p. 7).