

# Jayaseelan 1990: Incomplete VP Deletion and Gapping

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1. *Problem:*

Pseudogapping appears to require non-constituent (and potentially discontinuous) deletion, deleting less than a whole VP. But in most other ways it seems to behave like vPE. Gapping, similarly, looks a lot like a deletion operation, but it too must delete a non-constituent.

2. *Why is it a problem:*

The vPE rule is formulated to target a verb phrase. It is unclear how one could reformulate such a rule to occasionally target potentially discontinuous substrings.

3. *Previous work:*

These problems have been known since the early 1970s. Transformations like the gapping rule from Sag's (1976:212) dissertation are formulated to delete two variables, but they overgenerate wildly. Later work on HNPs in the late 70s and early 80s uncovered several of the properties of this phenomenon.

4. *Jayaseelan says:*

Pseudogapping remnants are moved out of vPE sites. Observing that remnants must receive stress, he proposes that heavy NP shift (HNPS) is responsible for this movement. He notes several properties that HNPS'ed elements share with pseudogapping remnants.

Gapping also appears to require focus stress on remnants. Jayaseelan claims it involves rightward movement of a VP-internal element, right-adjoining it to S, and then left-adjoining the subject to S. Now all you have to do is delete S, and you get gapping.

5. *Why do we care?:*

The degree to which the particulars of the analyses hold up in 2017 is questionable, but Jayaseelan clearly articulates the idea that we don't need rules that delete non-constituents in the grammar. We can reduce apparent non-constituent deletion to movement and subsequent constituent deletion.

## References

- Jayaseelan, K. A. 1990. Incomplete VP Deletion and Gapping. *Linguistic Analysis* 20:64–81.  
Sag, Ivan. 1976. Deletion and Logical Form. Doctoral Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.