Let's focus on noun phrase ellipsis

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Abstract

We discuss NPE from the perspective of microvariation. We show that data from Dutch dialects (but also Frisian and Afrikaans) suggest a link between NPE and focus. In order to theoretically implement this empirical link, we propose NPE should receive a comparable analysis to ellipsis in the verbal domain (cf. Merchant 2001 a.o.): NPE, just like for instance sluicing, is argued to be licensed by contrastive focus. We argue that the DP contains a focus projection which attracts the remnant of NPE to its specifier. The complement of this focus projection gets elided at PF. We show that this projection is also utilized in another nominal construction, namely noun phrases featuring indefinite article doubling.

1.   Introduction

The phenomenon of ellipsis in the nominal domain (henceforth referred to as Noun Phrase Ellipsis of NPE) has received a fair amount of attention in the last few decades (cf. among others Lobeck 1991, 1995; Kester 1992, 1996, Bernstein 1993, Panagiotidis 2003). In this paper we discuss NPE from the perspective of microvariation. We show that data from Dutch dialects (and also Frisian) suggest a link between NPE and focus. In order to theoretically implement this empirical link, we propose that the DP contains a focus projection. We show that this projection is also utilized in another nominal construction, namely noun phrases featuring indefinite article doubling.

The idea that the left periphery of DP mirrors that of CP (cf. Rizzi 1997) in that it has a focus projection has already been put forth in the literature (cf. among others Giusti 1996, Aboh 2004, Ntelitheos 2004). A schematic representation of the noun phrase hierarchy is provided in (1).

(1)   [DP [FocP   [NumP   [NP]]]]

Several empirical arguments have been proposed in favor of the presence of such a projection within the extended nominal domain. Aboh (2004), for instance, shows that the head of the DP-internal focus projection gets spelled out by a special morpheme in a language like Gungbe. Another argument in support of a focus projection in the left periphery of DP comes from adjective ordering. With a neutral intonation and meaning, adjectives are ordered in quite a strict way (cf. among others Sproat & Shih 1991): more inherent adjectives are closer to the noun than the less inherent ones. In particular, this means that color adjectives are further away from the noun than adjectives indicating nationality, as is shown in example (2).

(2)   de roze   Amerikaanse auto's
        the pink   American   cars
        'the pink American cars'   [standard Dutch]

However, when one of the adjectives is stressed, the order can change (cf. also Scott 1998 for English). This is illustrated in example (3) below.

(3)   de AMERIKAANSE   roze   auto's
       the American_STRESS   pink   cars
       'the AMERICAN pink cars'   [standard Dutch]

In this case, the nationality adjective *Amerikaanse* 'American' receives contrastive and focal stress. As it is stressed, it can undergo movement to the left. We assume that in this case it has moved into the Spec-position of a left peripheral focus projection of the noun phrase (cf. also Scott (1998:113) for a similar analysis for AP-reorderings within the English nominal domain). Schematically:[1]

(i) $[_{DP}$ de $[_{FocP}$ AMERIKAANSE$_i$ $[_{Foc'}$ Foc $[_{YP}$ roze $[_{Y'}$ Y $[_{ZP}$ t$_i$ $[_{Z'}$ Z $[_{NP}$ auto's$]]]]]]]]$

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2 we discuss the phenomenon of NPE and provide a new analysis for this construction. Section 3 provides the data and an analysis for indefinite article doubling. We show that NPE and indefinite article doubling are actually two sides of the same coin. Section 4 concludes this paper.

2.   Noun Phrase Ellipsis

In this section we first discuss previous analyses of NPE and show that they cannot account for NPE in a special type of construction, namely the *wat voor*-construction in Dutch. Subsection 2.2 demonstrates the empirical link between NPE and Focus on the basis of data from Dutch dialects and Frisian. In section 2.3 we implement this empirical link between NPE and focus in a new analysis of NPE.

2.1   Previous analyses of NPE

NPE has been argued to be dependent on the presence of agreement on the remnant of ellipsis (cf. Lobeck 1995, Kester 1996). Kester (1996), for example, shows that noun ellipsis in Dutch is licensed by inflection on the adjective. This is suggested by the contrast between (4) and (5).[2]

(4)   Ik heb   een   groen-e fiets   en   jij   **een   rooi-e**   ___.
       I have   a   green-_INFL_ bike   and   you   a   read-_INFL_
       'I have a green bike and you have a red one.'   [standard Dutch]

(5)   *   Ik heb   een   wit   konijn en   jij   **een   zwart**   ___.
            I have   a   white   rabbit and   you   a   black-ø   [standard Dutch]

Kester (1996), following Lobeck (1995), argues that the position of the omitted noun in (4) and (5) is filled by *pro*. This *pro* must be licensed and identified. The contents of pro is identified (i.e. interpreted) under identity with an antecedent (i.e. *fiets/konijn*). Licensing of *pro* takes place via so-called "strong" agreement. In this case, strong agreement is found in the overt presence of adjectival inflection (i.e. −*e*). In (5) there is no (overt) adjectival inflection and hence *pro* is not licensed.[3] As a result of that, the sentence is ungrammatical.

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[1] Following Cinque (2005), we take attributive APs to be base-generated in the Spec-position of some functional projection. We leave the categorial nature of these projections unspecified in (i).

[2] In many southern dialects of Dutch the example in (5) is actually grammatical. Also for some speakers in Northern colloquial Dutch this example is (marginally) acceptable.

[3] To be a bit more precise, Kester (1996) adopts Cinque's proposal that attributive adjectives are specifiers of functional projections within DP. She further argues that a functional head which is in a Spec-head agreement relation with an attributive adjective with morphological inflection is specified for "strong" agreement, and licenses the empty noun (i.e. pro). Thus, it is the functional head which is specified for "strong" agreement.

An interesting challenge for the hypothesis that noun ellipsis is licensed by adjectival agreement is found with NPE in the *wat voor*-construction in northern colloquial Dutch.[4] First consider an example of this construction in (6) below.

(6)   **Wat voor schoenen**   heb   jij   gekocht?
        what for   shoes   have you   bought
        'What kind of shoes did you buy?'   [standard Dutch]

The properties of the *wat voor*-construction are extensively discussed in the literature (cf. among others Bennis, Corver & Den Dikken 1998, IJbema 1997, Beermann 1997, Corver 1991). However, ellipsis of the noun in the *wat voor*-construction has not received a lot of attention. An example of ellipsis in the *wat voor*-construction (henceforth *wat voor*-ellipsis) is provided in (7).

(7)   Over schoenen gesproken…(Talking about shoes…)
        Wat voor ____   heb   jij   (er)   gekocht?
        what for   have you   (R-pron)   bought
        'What kind (of shoes) did you buy?'   [northern colloquial Dutch]

In light of the analysis of NPE discussed above, *wat voor*-ellipsis is particularly interesting. As is shown in example (7), there is no inflection on the remnant, in casu *wat voor* 'what kind of'; however, the noun can be omitted. Apparently, NPE is not licensed by agreement in this construction. As a consequence, it must be licensed by something else.[5] The question arises what this something else is.

We show that ellipsis in this construction is licensed by focus on the remnant. Moreover, we argue that NPE is not only licensed by Focus in this particular construction, but rather that it is always licensed by Focus. This means that we argue that, contrary to the standard assumptions concerning adjectival ellipsis (cf. Kester 1996, Lobeck 1995), this type of NPE is also licensed by Focus and not by agreement.[6] As such, the analysis of NPE will be on a par

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[4] Ellipsis in the *wat voor*-construction is possible for a subset of the speakers of Dutch, but not for all speakers. As this phenomenon cannot be claimed to be part of standard Dutch, we dub the variety it is found in northern colloquial Dutch.

[5] NPE could be argued to be somehow licensed by the R-pronoun in this case. However, this pronoun is not obligatorily present in this construction.

[6] In Sleeman (1996), it is observed that the idea of relating the possibility versus impossibility of NPE to the presence versus absence of adjectival inflection cannot be extended to all languages featuring inflection on attributive adjectives. She observes that in French, for example, NPE is not always possible (cf. also Ronat 1977), as is shown by the following example, drawn from Sleeman (1996):

(i)   *Malheureusement je n'ai pas entendu l'intéressante
        Unfortunately, I neg have neg heard the interesting
        'Unfortunately, I haven't heard the interesting one (e.g. lecture).'

Sleeman further observes that in languages that systematically lack overt inflection on attributive APs (e.g. English), NPE is sometimes nevertheless permitted. Consider, for example, (iia) where the noun following the superlative adjective is ellipted. Interestingly, NPE is not permitted in (iib), where we have a non-superlative form:

(ii)   a. You will get the smallest   (e.g. the smallest car)
        b. *You will get the small   (e.g. the small car)

In view of the facts in (i) and (ii), Sleeman concludes that the inflectional part of the adjective cannot be what licenses NPE in languages such as French and English (even though, she argues, this analysis may be the correct one for languages such as Dutch and German). She claims that in languages such as French and English, NPE is possible in nominal contexts in which the ellipted noun is licensed by being properly governed by an element (e.g. a quantifier or an adjective) that has a partitive meaning.

with the analysis of ellipsis in the verbal domain (cf. Rooth 1992, Johnson 2001, Merchant 2001). Argumentation in favor of this comes from an in depth investigation of noun ellipsis with adjectival remnants and *wat voor*-remnants in variants of Dutch.

2.2   The relation between Noun Ellipsis and Focus

In this section we demonstrate the empirical link between NPE and Focus. In particular we provide data from North-Eastern Dutch and Frisian in which NPE goes hand in hand with a specialized type of adjectival inflection on the remnant of ellipsis. Section 2.2.2. attempts to show that adjectival inflection in NPE contexts in standard Dutch can also be argued to be a specialized type of adjectival inflection different from the inflection found on adjectives in attributive contexts.

2.2.1 Noun ellipsis in North-Eastern Dutch and Frisian

In the North-Eastern part of the Netherlands, noun-ellipsis (often) goes together with the presence of an *(e)n*-suffix on the remnant. This is illustrated in examples (8a'-b') from Frisian. Interestingly, the examples in (8a-b) show that this *en*-affix does not appear on the adjective in the corresponding attributive uses of the adjective.[7]

(8)   a.   in saai-**e**   jongen   a'.   in saai-**en**   ____
             a   boring-**e** boy   a   boring-**en**
             'a boring boy'   'a boring one'

       b.   in donker-**e** jongen   b'.   in donker-**en**   ____
             a   dark-**e**   boy   a   dark-**en**
             'a dark boy'   'a dark one'   [Frisian]

This *en*-affix also appears on the remnant of *wat voor*-ellipsis in Frisian, as is illustrated in example (9). This clearly shows that, in Frisian, ellipsis with a *wat voor*-remnant and ellipsis with an adjectival remnant should get a similar analysis.[8]

(9)   I am sure I bought some books, but I don't remember…

a.   hokk-**en** /   hoek-**en**   ____   as ik kocht   ha.
       how-**en**   /   how-**en**   as I   bought   have

b.   hoe-**n**-t   ____   as ik kocht   ha.
       how-**en**-t   as I   bought   have

       '…what kind (of books) I have bought.'   [Frisian]

The *en*-affix is also found in North-Eastern variants of Dutch, as in example (10) of Ruinen Dutch and in example (11) of Groningen Dutch. Also in these examples it is clear that *wat voor*-remnants are treated no different from other remnants of NPE, such as remnants containing the adjectival wh-item *welk* 'which' and possessive pronominals like *oen* 'your' and *zien* 'his'.

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[7] This affix only appears on adjectival remnants in indefinite contexts. Although we do not have an analysis for this restriction at this point, we come back to it in section 3.

[8] The –t in *hoe-n-t* in (9b) is traditionally labelled as the paragogic –t. See also Corver and Van Oostendorp (2005).

(10) a. Welk-**n** ____ beduol-ie?
      which- **en**   mean-you
      'Which ones do you mean?'

    b. Huo zok-**n**-t   ____   bint 't?
      how such-**en**-t   are   it
      'What kind is it?'

    c. Det bint oen-**n**   ____   en   det   bint   Ruof zien-**n** ____.
      that is   your-**en**   and   that   is   Ruof his-**en**
      'That one is yours and that one is Ruof's.'

                                    [Ruinen Dutch: Sassen 1953]

(11)   Watveur-**en**-t   wil   ie hebben?
      what.for-**en**-t   want he have
      'What kind does he want to have?'   [Groningen Dutch: Ter Laan 1953]

Now the question arises as to what the status of the *en*-affix is. As the examples in (8) from Frisian show, it is not the canonical adjectival inflection found in attributive contexts. Interestingly, however, this suffix can also appear on attributive adjectives. In this case, though, the meaning of the adjective is emphasized (cf. Tiersma 1985), i.e. you get a high degree reading.

(12) a. Hy is in dreg-**en** baas.
      he is a   tough-**en** boss
      'He is a very tough boss.'

    b. It is in djipp-**en** tinker.
      he is a   deep-**en** thinker
      'He is a very deep thinker.'   [Frisian]

To summarise, the specialized inflection appearing on the remnant of ellipsis in Frisian and North-Eastern Dutch is the same as the inflection signaling an emphasized meaning of the adjective. As such, the link between NPE and Focus becomes immediately obvious. The marker appearing on the remnant of NPE is the same as the emphasis or focus marker in these varieties of Dutch. This marker appears on adjectival remnants, *wat voor*-remnants and possessor remnants, indicating that all these cases of NPE should get a similar analysis.

2.2.2 Ellipsis with an adjectival remnant in standard Dutch

In this subsection, we start from the question whether we can also link NPE with an adjectival remnant in standard Dutch to focus. We argue that this is indeed the case and that the *e*-affix appearing on the adjective in attributive contexts is not necessarily the same as the one appearing on the adjectival remnant of NPE. However, before we can provide arguments in favor of this claim, we first have to explicate the pattern of adjectival inflection in Dutch.

2.2.2.1 The basic pattern

In Dutch, adjectives agree for number, gender and definiteness. A schematic overview of the inflection on attributive adjectives is provided in table (13) below.

(13)

	Definite	indefinite
non-neuter– sg	de klein-**e** goochelaar the small-**e** magician	een klein-**e** goochelaar a small-**e** magician
non-neuter – pl	de klein-**e** goochelaars the small-**e** magicians	klein-**e** goochelaars small-**e** magicians
neuter – sg	het witt-**e** konijn the white-**e** rabbit	een wit konijn a white-ø rabbit
neuter – pl	de witt-**e** konijnen the white-**e** rabbits	witt-**e** konijnen white-**e** rabbits

As this overview shows, the attributive adjective in Dutch is always followed by a schwa (i.e. orthographically –*e*; phonetically *ə*), except when the noun is indefinite, neuter and singular. As we have already discussed in the introduction to this paper, it has been observed in the literature that NPE is only possible following an adjective which carries inflection. This basically means that all nouns can be elided apart from the indefinite neuter singular nouns, as is illustrated in (14).

(14) a. Over goochelaars gesproken…(Talking about magicians…)
  Ik heb laatst nog een goed-**e** ____ gezien.
  I have recently PRT a good-INFL seen
  'I saw a good one recently.'

  b. Over konijnen gesproken … (Talking about rabbits)
 * Ik heb laatst nog een wit ____ gezien.
  I have recently PRT a white seen
  'I saw a white one recently.' [northern standard Dutch]

These examples appear to provide direct evidence for the idea that NPE is conditioned by adjectival agreement. However, there is more to say about these examples. Consider the example in (15) (cf. also Kester 1996, Broekhuis et al. 2003).

(15) Over konijnen gesproken…(Talking about rabbits…)
  # Ik heb gisteren een zwart-**e** ____ zien lopen.
  I have yesterday a black-**e** see walk
  'I have seen a black one yesterday.' [colloquial Dutch]

Although this example is not equally acceptable for all speakers of Dutch, there is a large subset of speakers that find this example correct. What is remarkable about this example is that the *e*-affix can appear on the adjectival remnant of NPE, but it cannot appear on the adjective when the noun is not omitted, as has been illustrated in example (16).

(16) Ik heb gisteren een zwart(*-**e**) konijn zien lopen.
  I have yesterday a black-**e** rabbit see walk
  'I have seen a black rabbit yesterday.' [colloquial Dutch]

This means that in the example in (15) the *e*-affix cannot simply be dubbed adjectival agreement. This dichotomy between the appearance of the *e*-affix on adjectives that form the remnant of NPE and on adjectives in attributive position is also found in two other contexts. Firstly, consider example (17) in which the attributive adjective can appear with or without the *e*-affix, depending on the meaning of the adjective.

(17) Ik heb gisteren een groot / grot-**e** pianisthoren spelen.
  I have yesterday a big / big-**e** pianisthear play
  'I have heard a great / big pianist yesterday.' [colloquial Dutch]

The presence of the *e*-affix on the adjective *groot* 'big/great' affects its meaning: when it is present, the adjective means *big*, whereas it means *great* when it is absent. In ellipsis contexts, however, the adjective has to carry an *e*-suffix independent of its meaning, as is shown in (18). So, also in this case the *e*-suffix appears on the adjectival remnant of NPE, whereas it does not appear on the adjective in attributive contexts.

(18) Ik heb gisteren een   echt grot-**e** ____ horen spelen.
      I   have yesterday a   real big-**e**   hear play
      'I have heard a truly great / big one yesterday.'   [colloquial Dutch]

Secondly, adjectives that are derived from past participles cannot show inflection in attributive contexts, as is illustrated in example (19a). However, when used in ellipsis contexts, these participial adjectives need to get the inflection.

(19) a. het   doorbakken(*-**e**) konijn   a'. het   doorbakken*(-**e**) ____
          the   well.baked-**e** rabbit   the   well-baked-**e**
                                                                           [colloquial Dutch]

To summarize, NPE with an adjectival remnant in standard Dutch shows some particular properties when examined carefully. There are several contexts in which an *e*-affix can appear on the adjectival remnant of NPE, whereas it cannot appear on the adjective in attributive position. This means that this *e*-affix cannot simply be characterized as adjectival inflection. The question therefore arises what the status of this *e*-affix is when it not just adjectival inflection. In the next subsection we provide evidence in favor of the idea that the *e*-affix in the colloquial varieties of Dutch discussed in this subsection is a focus marker in addition to an adjectival agreement ending. As such we unify its analysis with the one of the *en*-affix in Frisian and the North-Eastern varieties of Dutch.

2.2.2.2 Adjectival ellipsis in colloquial Dutch is linked to Focus

A first indication that the *e*-affix is also used as a focus marker is provided by Corver (2004), who shows that in several contexts the *e*-suffix in Dutch is used to emphasize. In the examples in (20) and (21) the meaning of adverbs and pronouns can be emphasized by making use of this *e*-affix.[9]

(20) a. verdomd aardig   a'. verdomd-**e** aardig
          damned   nice   damned-**e**   nice

      b. verrekt   handig   b'. verrekt-**e** handig
          terribly handy   terribly-**e** handy

(21) a. ik   (I)   a'.   ikk-**e**   (I-ᴇ)
      b. dat   (that)   b'.   datt-**e**   (that-ᴇ)
      c. wat   (what)   c'.   watt-**e**   (what-ᴇ)   [standard Dutch]

Although not found in standard Dutch, several dialects of Dutch display the *e*-affix as a focus marker on measure phrases. In the examples in (22) from Katwijk Dutch, for instance, the *e*-affix appears on the measure phrase *kist* 'box' or *hoop* 'heap', emphasizing the measure: it is a surprisingly substantial box with peat and a surprisingly great amount of water.

(22) a. 'n kist   törref   a'.   'n kist-**e** törref
          a box   peat   a box-**e** peat
          'a box with peat'   'a ʙᴏx with peat'

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9 Corver (2004: fn. 16) argues that the affix −*e* occupies a functional head position, whose Spec is occupied by the constituent carrying emphatic/focalized meaning.

b. 'n hóóp waeter   b'.   'n hóóp-**e**   water
    a   heap   water   a   heap-**e**   water
    'a lot of water'   'a LOT of water'

<div align="right">[Katwijk Dutch: Overdiep 1940]</div>

We assume that the *e*-affix appearing on adjectival remnants of NPE is actually the focus marker found in the constructions discussed in (20)-(22). As this instance of the *e*-affix is not sensitive to the features of the elided noun, it is also expected to surface in positions that are usually not related to adjectival inflection, like the ones in examples (15), (18) and (19). On the other hand, it also means that in the case of NPE of nouns that normally trigger the *e*-ending on adjectives in attributive position, like the one in (14a), this affix can be thought to have a double function. It is both the focus marker and the adjectival agreement affix. Or to put it differently, the *e*-affix is a 'unified' morphophonological realization of the grammatical properties 'focus' and 'agreement'. This unified spell-out is possible, since the spell-out corresponding to the agreement property (i.e. −*e*) and the spell-out of the focus property (i.e. −*e*) are non-distinct.[10]

In this respect Dutch differs from Frisian, as in the latter language the focus marker is different from the adjectival inflection. Consider the schematic overview in (23).

(23)

	adjectival inflection		focus marker	
	indef.neut.sg	**Other**	**indef.neut.sg**	**other**
Frisian	-ø	-e	-en	-en
colloquial Dutch	-ø	-e	-e	-e

Frisian and the variant of colloquial Dutch discussed here are similar with respect to the regular adjectival inflection: it is absent (arguably, a null-affix) when the noun is indefinite neuter singular and an *e*-affix in all other cases. With NPE, however, Frisian uses the *en*-affix, whereas colloquial Dutch has the *e*-affix, which is identical to the regular adjectival inflection.

There are also other reasons to assume that NPE in colloquial Dutch is related to Focus. First of all, reconsider the example in (14b), repeated here as (24). This example shows that an indefinite neuter singular noun cannot be elided (without adding the *e*-affix to the adjectival remnant).

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[10]   Later in the paper, we will argue that the emphatic/focus marker −*e* occupies a functional head position, whose Spec-position is occupied by the remnant AP of the ellipted noun phrase. A consequence, then, of our idea that *goed-e* (good-e) in (14a) involves a unified spell-out (14a) of the focus-feature and the agreement-feature is that the adjectival inflection −*e* is taken to occupy a functional head position separate from the attributive AP, that is also in cases of non-ellipsis (e.g. *een klein-e goochelaar* in (13)). Following Cinque's proposal that an attributive adjective occupies the Spec-position of a functional head F, the representation in (i) can be assigned to the nominal expression *een kleine goochelaar* (*F(P)* simply stands for 'Functional (Projection)').

(i) a.   [_DP_ een [_FP_ klein [_F'_ −e [_NP_ goochelaar]]]]   (cf. (13))
              a   small -e   magician
          'a small magician'

It goes beyond the scope of this paper to further motivate this analysis of attributive adjectival inflection in Dutch. We restrict ourselves to mentioning one potential argument in support of the idea that adjectival inflection in Dutch is not an 'integral' part of the adjective itself (as e.g. in Romance languages) but rather separate from the adjective; see also Corver (2004). This argument is the fact that −*e* can attach to complex phrasal APs such as *zo klein mogelijk* in (iia), where *klein* is the semantic head of the adjective phrase and *zo...mogelijk* the modifying part; as shown in (iia), -*e* is not realized on the semantic head *klein* but rather follows the entire adjectival complex. (iib) represents the structure adopted here.

(ii) a.   een   [zo klein mogelijk-e]   goochelaar
          a   so small possible-e   magician
     b.   [_DP_ een [_FP_ [zo klein mogelijk] [_F'_ −e [_NP_ goochelaar]]]]

(24)   Over konijnen gesproken…(Talking about rabbits…)
        * Ik heb   gisteren een   wit   ____   zien   lopen.
           I   have yesterday a   white   see   walk
           'I have seen a white one yesterday.'

However, NPE is possible when the remnant of ellipsis is contrastively focused as in the
example in (25).

(25)   Jij   hebt een   ZWART   konijn,   maar ik heb   een   WIT   ____.
        you   have a   black_STRESS rabbit,   but   I   have   a   white_STRESS.
        'You have got a black rabbit, but I have got a white one.'   [colloquial Dutch]

The same holds for NPE with a *wat voor*-remnant in colloquial Dutch. Consider the
examples in (26).

(26)   I have bought two books, but I do not know…

a.   wat   voor   *(boeken) ik   heb   gekocht.
        what   for   books   I   have   bought

b.   wat   **VOOR**   (??boeken) ik   heb   gekocht.
        what   for_STRESS   books   I   have   bought

c.   **WAT**   voor   (boeken) ik   heb   gekocht.
        wat_STRESS   for   books   I   have   bought

        'what kind of books I have bought'   [colloquial Dutch]

These examples show that ellipsis with a *wat voor*-remnant can only take place when either
the first part of the remnant *wat* 'what' or the second part *voor* 'for' is stressed. Again this
indicates that NPE and focus are closely tied together.

2.2.3   Noun ellipsis in Afrikaans

So far, we have argued that NPE is possible if the remnant of NPE is either marked for focus
morphologically, i.e. there is a focus affix on the remnant, and/or phonologically, i.e. there is
stress on the remnant. In this subsection, some further evidence for the relationship between
NPE and contrastive focus will be given on the basis of Afrikaans.
    In Afrikaans, monosyllabic adjectives such as *mooi* 'beautiful', *wit* 'white', *duur*
'expensive', *lang* 'long' and *swart* 'black', typically do not carry any inflection (i.e. −*e*) when
they are used attributively, i.e. as a modifier of a noun.[11] For example:[12]

(27)   a. Jan   het   ['n *wit*   konyn]   gekoop
            Jan   has   a white   rabbit   bought

        b. Jan   het   vandag ['n *lang* vergadering]
            Jan   has   today   a long   meeting

        c. Dit   is ['n *mooi*   kind]
            this is   a beautiful child   [Afrikaans]

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[11] Polysyllabic attributive adjectives carry inflection (i.e. −*e*) in non-ellipsis contexts: e.g. *'n lewendig*(-e) wedstryd* (a lively(-e) match), *'n lelik*(-e) gesig* (an ugly(-e) face), *onverwagt*(-e) verliese* (unexpected(-e) losses).
[12] We would like to thank Frenette Southwood and Johan Oosthuizen for discussion of the data from Afrikaans.

Quite interestingly, a monosyllabic attributive adjective *can* carry the inflectional marker *-e*, though, when it is used emphatically/affectively (cf. Ponelis 1993). This is illustrated in (28), which should be compared with (27c):

(28) Dit   is regtig ['n *mooi-e*   kind]   daardie
       this   is really   a beautiful-e   child,   that one
       'That's really a very beautiful child!'   [Afrikaans]

What is interesting now is that in contexts of NPE, a bound morpheme *–e* must appear after the adjectival remnant of the elliptical noun phrase. Consider, for example, the following sentences:[13]

(29) a. Jan het   ['n *wit* konyn]   gekoop en Marie het   ['n *swart-e* ---]   gekoop
           Jan has   a white rabbit   bought and Marie has   a black-e   bought
           'Jan bought a white rabbit and Marie a black one.'

      b. Jan het vandag   ['n *lang* vergadering]   en hy het môre   ['n *kort-e* ---]
           Jan has today   a long meeting   and he has tomorrow   a short-e
           'Jan has a long meeting today and he will have a short one tomorrow.'
                                                                              [Afrikaans]

Given that *–e*, in neutral contexts, does not appear as a marker of agreement on the attributive adjective in non-elliptical noun phrases, the *–e* in (29) cannot be interpreted as an inflectional marker. We would like to propose that this *–e* is the same type of *–e* as in (28). More in particular, we claim that this *–e* is a focus marker which morphophonologically attaches to the preceding adjective.

   In the next subsection we provide an analysis of NPE implementing the observation that NPE is facilitated by Focus.

2.3   Analysis of noun ellipsis

In section 2.2, we have established that the remnant of NPE is either marked for focus morphologically, i.e. there is a focus affix on the remnant, and/or phonologically, i.e. there is stress on the remnant. Two questions arise at this point. The first one concerns the exact nature of the focus on this remnant. In the literature on focus typology, it is generally assumed that at least two types of focus must be distinguished: information focus and contrastive focus (cf. among many others Kiss 1998, Drubig 2003, Winkler 2005). In the first subsection, we try to figure out which type of focus is involved in NPE. The second question is how the link between NPE and Focus can be theoretically implemented. Interestingly, this connection has also been made for ellipsis in the clausal domain (cf. among others Rooth (1992a), Johnson (2001) and Merchant (2001). In subsection 2, we provide an analysis of NPE which is quite similar to the one proposed for sluicing by Merchant (2001).

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[13] Besides the NPE-strategy, Afrikaans has the substitution strategy for the phenomenon of 'NPE', i.e. a proform is substituted for the 'elided' noun; compare English: *a big *(one)*. Observe that, as opposed to what we have seen for the NPE-pattern, the bound morpheme *–e* cannot appear after the adjective that precedes the proform *een*.

(i) a. Jan het ['n *wit* konyn] gekoop en Marie het ['n *swart* een] gekoop
          Jan has a white rabbit bought and Marie has a black one bought
     b. Jan het vandag ['n *lang* vergadering] en hy het môre ['n *kort* een]
          Jan has today a long meeting and he has tomorrow a short one

2.3.1 Focus in the nominal domain

As already noted above, two types of foci are generally distinguished in the literature: (i) information focus (also called: presentational focus) and (ii) contrastive focus (also called: identificational focus). The former can pragmatically be defined as new, non-presupposed information (Kiss 1998:246), the latter can informally be characterized as evoking a suitable "subset of the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold; it is identified as the exhaustive subset of this set for which the predicate phrase actually holds" (Kiss 1998: 245). The two types of foci are illustrated by the Dutch examples (30B) and (31), respectively:

(30) A: Wat is er aan de hand? ('What's going on?')
      A': Wat heeft Jan gedaan? ('What did Jan do?')
      A": Wat heeft Jan ingeslikt? ('What did Jan swallow?')

      B: Jan   heeft   een   WORM   ingeslikt
           Jan   has   a   worm   swallowed
           'Jan swallowed a worm.'

(31) Jan   heeft   een   WORM   ingeslikt,   niet   een   VLIEG
      Jan   has   a   worm   swallowed,   not   a   fly

Sentence (30B) exemplifies information focus: In reply to question A, the entire sentence represents the new information (i.e. all focus). The lexical item *worm* on which the strongest pitch accent is realized is assigned the focus feature, say [F]. From that position, the focus feature is said to project outside the maximal projection of the accented word, in this case up to the dominating projection CP (i.e. the entire main clause). In reply to question A', it is the VP that provides the new information (so-called wide focus). The focus feature [F] associated with *worm* projects up to VP. In reply to question A", finally, the direct object noun phrase provides the new information; the focus feature [F] projects from N up to the object noun phrase (i.e. DP).

    Turning next to (31), which also has the pitch accent on the lexical item *worm*, we observe that the informational role of the direct object noun phrase *een WORM* is different from its role in (30). In (31), 'a worm', rather than the alternative entity 'a fly', is identified as the entity to which the predicate applies. In (31), a contrastive in situ focus is realized on *een worm*, placing it in opposition to the DP *een vlieg*. As shown in (32), the contrastive focus DP can also be fronted to the left periphery of the sentence:

(32) [Een   WORM   ]$_j$ heeft Jan   t$_j$ ingeslikt,   niet   een   VLIEG
          a   worm   has   Jan   –   swallowed,   not   a   fly

The chain {een WORM$_j$, t$_j$}, created by movement in overt syntax, is mapped onto an operator-variable chain at LF (say: [Focus$_j$ [...x$_j$...]]). It is generally assumed that a contrastively focused constituent that remains *in situ* (e.g. *een WORM* in (31)) undergoes LF-movement of the focus phrase into an appropriate A-bar position (cf. among others Kiss 1998, Drubig 2003, Winkler 2005) .

    With the above as our background, let us address the question as to what kind of focus is involved in contexts of NPE. Consider, first, the example in (33):

(33) A: Wat   heeft   Jan   ingeslikt?
           What   has   Jan   swallowed

      B: Jan   heeft   [een   bruine   WORM] ingeslikt
      B': #Jan   heeft   [een   BRUINE worm] ingeslikt
          Jan   has   a   brown   worm   swallowed

In this example, the direct object noun phrase *een bruine worm* provides the new information to the hearer. As shown by answer B, the entire noun phrase can only represent the new information if pitch accent falls on the noun *worm*. If the attributive adjective carries pitch accent, as in B', the sentence is infelicitous. Notice that this latter intonation pattern is possible, if the color adjective *bruine* stands in a relation of opposition with another color adjective, e.g. *witte*:

(34)   Jan heeft [een BRUINE worm]   ingeslikt,   niet   [een WITTE worm]
           Jan has   a brown worm   swallowed,   not   a white one

Notice that this accentuation pattern is the one also found in ellipted noun phrases:

(35)   Jan heeft [een BRUINE worm] ingeslikt, niet [een WITTE ~~worm~~]

Given this, one might conclude that the type of focus involved in NPE is contrastive focus rather than information focus.

One might even suggest that information focus never applies at the level of the noun phrase and that it is an information structural property that only applies at the level of the sentence/proposition. Consider, for example, the pattern (33B), which functions as a reply to (33A). The direct object noun phrase in this example constitutes the focalized constituent and *worm*, the most deeply embedded constituent within this noun phrase, carries pitch accent. Even though the entire noun phrase clearly is the focalized constituent, informational focus is not defined at the level of the noun phrase but at the level of the entire sentence (i.e. the proposition); i.e. *een bruine worm* represents the new information, with 'Jan has swallowed x' as the presupposed information. In this example, the clause is taken to be the syntactic unit whose information structure is specified. The question therefore arises as to whether information focus ever takes the noun phrase as such, i.e. in isolation, as its domain of application. To put it more generally, can the noun phrase ever be taken to be an independent (i.e. autonomous) syntactic unit with its own information structure?

In order to see whether information focus applies at the level of noun phrase, it is important to identify nominal constructions that are not embedded within a sentence/proposition and function as independent utterances. In other words, one has to look for what one might call 'root' nominal constructions. Two potential instances of root nominals are the following: (a) nominal constructions that function as titles of books (36) and paintings (37) *et cetera*; (b) vocative noun phrases (38).[14]

(36)   a. Aspects of the theory of SYNTAX   (books by Noam Chomsky)
           b. The logical structure of linguistic THEORY
(37)   a. Bust of an old MAN   (paintings by Rembrandt)
           b. Portrait of an old MAN
           c. The return of the prodigal SON
(38)   a. Dear friends of HOLLAND!
           b. Hi, little friend of WILL'S!

The normal way to pronounce these titles and vocatives is with pitch accent on the rightmost, i.e. the most deeply embedded, constituent (on the recursive side). Since titles are typically assigned to books, poems, paintings *et cetera* in isolation, i.e. not in (a contextual) relation of opposition to some other object, these titles typically have an informational focus reading; i.e. the title represents new information in its entirety. One could imagine, though, that an artist has painted two paintings (e.g. a diptych) that are somehow related to each other and in

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[14] Interestingly, the indefinite article *a* is absent in the titles (viiia,b), which suggests that these titles have their own syntactic peculiarities. The absence of the indefinite article also suggests that titles like (viiia,b) should not be derived from underlying copular constructions of the type: 'This is *(a) bust of an old man'. As indicated, the indefinite article must be present in those copular constructions.

which some property of the individuals/objects represented are contrasted with each other. Imagine, for example, a diptych consisting of two portraits of men having different ages. This diptych could have the following title, in which *old* and *young* are contrastively focused.

(39)   Portrait of an OLD man and portrait of a YOUNG man

In short, both information focus and contrastive focus seem to be applicable to the nominal domain. Thus, the noun phrase is a domain of information packaging (see also Drubig 2003:24).

Interestingly, even in 'root' nominal constructions it is possible to have NPE. Consider, for example, the following Dutch vocative expressions in which the noun is ellipted:[15]

(40)   a.   Hé,   [stoere JONGEN],   ga eens gauw weg!
            Hey,   sturdy guy,   go PRT quickly away
            'Hey, you sturdy guy, go away!'

       b.   Hé, [STOERE --], ga eens gauw weg!

       c.   Hé,   [kale VENT], loop eens door!
            Hey,   bold guy,   walk PRT PRT
            'Hey, you bold guy, walk on!'

       d.   Hé, [KALE --], loop eens door!

In (40b,d), we have an ellipted noun. The referent of the ellipted noun is situationally accessible, i.e. active in the addressee's mind due to his/her salient presence in the discourse-external world (cf. Lambrecht 1994:100). More specifically, upon hearing the utterance in (40b,d), the hearer knows that he is the one who is addressed by the speaker. As such, the referent of the (ellipted) noun can be taken to be presupposed. The new information is provided by the attributive adjective, which carries pitch accent. Arguably, the attributive AP carries contrastive focus: in (40d), for example, a person having the characteristic of being bold is addressed by the speaker, as opposed to other persons who don't have this characteristic.

Having identified the phenomena of information focus and contrastive focus within the structural context of root nominals, we conclude that information packaging is not restricted to sentences/propositions. Non-root nominal constructions, i.e. noun phrases that function as arguments within a sentence, 'participate' in the information packaging at the sentential level. The noun phrase *een worm* in (ivb), for example, represents the new information (i.e. focus) in relation to the presupposed information 'Jan swallowed x'. Argumental noun phrases (i.e. non-root nominals) may, however, also display DP-internal focus. This DP-internal focus is typically associated with contrastive focus.[16]

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[15] Interestingly, English permits vocative expressions of the following type:

(i)   Hey gorgeous! Hey, pretty! Hey, handsome! Hey, stupid!

If these constructions are analyzed as ellipted constructions (e.g. Hey, gorgeous ~~girl~~!), the question obviously arises as to why NP-ellipsis (i.e. non-pronunciation of *girl*) is permitted here. In regular noun phrases, the attributive AP cannot be a remnant (e.g. John met an ugly girl and Bill met a gorgeous ~~girl~~). We leave this for future research.

[16] That the DP-domain can be the domain of contrastive focus is also clear from constructions like (i):

(i)   [Niet een GROENE jas maar een BLAUWE --] heeft Jan gisteren gekocht
         Not a green coat but a blue – has Jan yesterday bought
         'Jan didn't buy a green coat, he bought a blue one.'

Drawing a parallel with current ideas on the representation of contrastive focus in the sentential domain, we will assume that DP-internal contrastive focus involves (DP-internal) movement of the focalized constituent to the Spec-position of a DP-internal focus projection (cf. also Aboh 2004, Giusti 1996). This is schematically represented in (41), where an attributive AP is the focalized constituent (see e.g. (3)).

(41) $[_{DP}$ D $[_{FocP}$ AP$_{i/[+F]}$ $[_{Foc'}$ Foc $[_{YP}$ t$_i$ $[_{Y'}$ Y $[_{NP}$ N$]]]]]]$

This idea of DP-internal focus displacement will be worked out in more detail in the following subsection, where we give a more detailed analysis of the relation between noun phrase ellipsis and contrastive focus. Before turning to that, we would like to close off this subsection with an instance of noun phrase ellipsis where contrastive focus does not appear to be involved. The relevant examples are given in (42):

(42)   a.   Jan heeft [een bruine worm] ingeslikt en Kees heeft ook [een bruine --] ingeslikt
             Jan has a brown worm swallowed and Kees has also a brown – swalllowed
             'Jan swallowed a brown worm and Kees also swallowed a brown one.'

       b.   Kijk, [een bruine worm]. En nog [een bruine --], en daar ook nog [een bruine --].
             Look, a brown worm. And yet a brown – and there also yet a brown.
             'Look, a brown worm! And another brown one, and there again another brown one.'

In (42a), the attributive AP in the ellipted noun phrase does not seem to stand in a relation of contrast to the color adjective *bruine* in the 'antecedent' DP. The same holds for example (xiiib), where the speaker identifies various brown worms. What we would like to argue, though, is that in these examples it is presupposed that there are also other types of colored worms, e.g. white worms, black worms *et cetera*. Thus, *bruine* in the ellipted noun phrase does carry contrastive focus; it is contrasted with other (i.e. non-brown) members of the set of colored worms.

2.3.2 An analysis for NPE

In the previous subsection we have established that the remnant of NPE carries contrastive focus. The observation that this type of focus goes hand in hand with ellipsis has been established for the sentential domain (cf. Rooth 1992, Johnson 2001, López and Winkler 2000, and Merchant 2001). In this paper, we show that Merchant's (2001) implementation of this connection between focus and ellipsis can be extended to NPE. We show that Merchant's (2001) analysis should be slightly modified in order to capture NPE in the way proposed by Van Craenenbroeck & Lipták (2006).

Merchant (2001:23-37) argues that ellipsis, and more in particular sluicing (i.e. IP-ellipsis), should be analyzed as involving the so-called E-feature. This syntactic feature is merged with a head whose complement is to be elided. It has several properties, one of which is (the semantic instruction that) the complement of this [E]-feature should be recoverable (i.e. there must be an appropriate antecedent). In order to be recoverable it has to be e-GIVEN. This semantic/pragmatic notion of e-GIVENness links ellipsis to contrastive focus. Apart from this property, the [E]-feature has two other properties. It is endowed with the features [+Wh,+Q], which are uninterpretable (whence, in need of checking) and strong. The latter property implies that they have to be checked in a local Spec-head relationship after wh-movement has applied. Furthermore, the [E]-feature is endowed with a phonological property (i.e. a phonological instruction) which represents the requirement that complement

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In (i) a coordinate (nominal) structure consisting of two nominal conjuncts has been moved from the direct object position to Spec,CP. The two contrastively focused APs are contained within the coordinated nominal construction.

of the null C be elided at PF (i.e. it instructs not to phonologically parse the complement of C). In order to see how this works, consider the example in (43).

(43)   I know Pete stole something, but I don't know [$_{CP}$ what$_i$ [$_C$ [E] [$_{IP}$ ~~Pete stole what$_i$.~~]]]

The [E]-feature in this example ensures that its complement, i.e. the IP *Pete stole what*, is recoverable, as its content can be identified on the basis of the presence of an appropriate antecedent, viz. the clause *I knew Pete stole something*. The [+Wh,+Q]-feature on [E] has been checked by overt movement of *what* into its specifier. The resulting configuration (i.e. a null C, whose [+Wh,+Q]-feature has been checked) allows its complement to be elided. Finally, the complement of the [E]-feature gets elided at PF.

    The difference between the sluicing examples discussed by Merchant (2001) and NPE is that the remnant of NPE is not necessarily a wh-phrase. As we have shown in the preceding (sub)sections, the remnant of NPE carries identificational focus. Interestingly, Van Craenenbroeck & Liptak (2006) have shown that the remnant of sluicing in Hungarian also does not necessarily have to be a wh-phrase, but can also be a constituent carrying focus. They argue that in this language the [E]-feature contains the feature [+Op], attracting an operator, like a focused constituent, to its specifier.

    We would like to argue that the [E]-feature in NPE is also endowed with this [+Op]-feature. The remnant of ellipsis which carries the contrastive focus is an operator (cf. É.Kiss 1998) and (A-bar-)moves into the specifier of the [E]-feature in order to check its [+Op]-feature.[17]

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[17] Sleeman (1996) associates the licensing of NPE with the semantic property of partitivity; i.e. a functional head carrying the feature [+partitive] is able to license (under government) an ellipted complement; see also footnote 6. She makes the interesting observation that even in a language like English, in which generally NPE is not permitted, NPE is possible as long as the remnant defines a subset which is included in a larger set. In (i), for example, the superlative attributive adjective can be followed by an ellipted noun, because the superlative defines a subset that is included within a larger set of properties/elements with which it is compared (i.e. the comparison class); see also Halliday & Hasan (1976).

(i) Of these girls, I prefer the eldest   (also permitted: *the eldest one*)

Halliday & Hasan (1976) even point out examples in which adjectives of quality are not followed by the pronominal element *one*; see also Sleeman (1996:51) for discussion:

(ii) a. Which last longer, the curved rods or the straight rods? *The straight* are less likely to break.
   b. I like strong tea. I suppose *weak* is better for you.

Also in this case, the referent of the ellipted noun phrase is a member of a larger set (e.g. the set of straight rods and curved rods). Although partitivity may very well play a role in (i) and (ii), it is also clear from the examples that the ellipted noun phrase stands in a relation of contrast to its non-ellipted counterpart: e.g the eldest as opposed to those who are not the eldest, the straight rods as opposed to the curved rods, et cetera. In view of this contrastive relationship, it is likely that the remnant of the ellipted noun phrase carries contrastive focus. Although an in-depth study of the relation between partitivity and contrastive focus is beyond the scope of this article, it is quite clear that there is a certain relationship between these two semantic-pragmatic notions: Partitivity entails the inclusion of a subset in a larger set; contrastive focus evokes a suitable "subset of the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold; it is identified as the exhaustive subset of this set for which the predicate phrase actually holds" (Kiss 1998: 245). In short, the two notions share the property that a subset is included in a larger set. In this article, we won't make an in-depth inquiry into the possibility of relating contrastive focus and partitivity. One of the nice properties of an analysis of NPE in terms of contrastive focus is that it draws a parallel with the licensing of ellipsis in the clausal system, which has also been accounted for by making use of the notion of contrastive focus. The notion 'partitivity' does not seem to be extendable in any straightforward way to the clausal domain. Notice, finally, that an analysis of the NPE in (i) and (ii) would involve leftward movement of the contrastively focused adjective to Spec,FocP, with subsequent deletion of the complement of the Focus-head.

With all this in mind, consider the examples in (44) and (45) and their derivation in (46).

(44)   Over konijnen gesproken…(Talking about rabbits…)
        Ik heb   gisteren   een   zwart-**e**   ____   zien   lopen.
        I   have   yesterday   a   black-**e**   see   walk
        'I have seen a black one yesterday.'   [colloquial Dutch]

(45)   Over jongens gesproken, dat is ook … (Talking about boys, that is …)
        in   saai-**en**   ____
        a   boring-**en**
        'a boring one'   [Frisian]

The derivation of these examples is provided in (46). In this structure, the NP is merged with the adjective. The adjective carries contrastive focus, which we represent with a [+Op]-feature. It moves to Spec,FocP in order to check the [+Op]-feature on the [E]-feature. The head of FocP is spelled out by a focus marker. In Frisian, this focus marker is the *en*-affix. The focus marker in the variety of Dutch discussed here is the *e*-affix. At PF, the sister of the head with the [E]-feature, i.e. Foc°, can be elided.

(46)
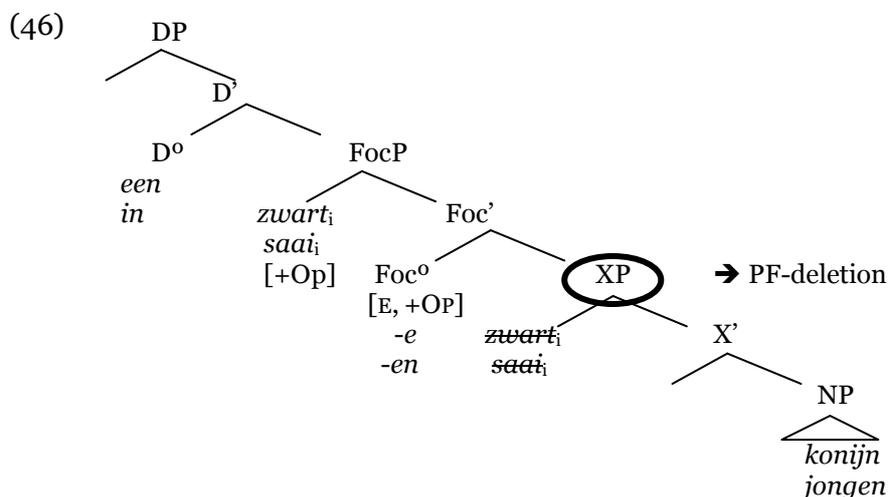
In the previous section we have already seen that ellipsis of an [indef. neut. sing]-noun can be licensed by just contrastive focus on the (adjectival) remnant. Consider the example in (25), repeated here in (47).

(47)   Ik heb   een   zwart konijn en   jij   hebt   een   WIT   ____.
        I   have   a   black rabbit and   you   have   a   white_STRESS
        'I have a black rabbit and you have a white one.'   [northern standard Dutch]

The derivation of this example runs parallel to the one provided in (46) with this difference that in this example focus is not expressed morphologically, but phonologically by stress. When the noun is not [indef. neut. sing], as in the example in (48), the *e*-affix is obligatorily present. In this case, the affix has a double function: it is an agreement affix and a focus marker. The focus marker can be omitted, as in (47), but the agreement affix cannot; i.e. agreement must be spelled out morphologically.

(48)   Ik heb   een   zwarte kat   en   jij   hebt   een   witt-**e** /   *WIT.
        I   have   a   black cat   and   you   have   a   white-**e**   white_STRESS
        'I have a black cat and you have a white one.'   [northern standard Dutch]

2.4.   Summary

In this section, we have shown that the remnant of NPE carries contrastive focus. This connection has been implemented theoretically by adopting and adapting Merchant's (2001) analysis for sluicing in the sentential domain. More in particular, we have argued that NPE involves a functional head Foc carrying an [E]-feature, which requires (i) movement of an operator, *in casu* the remnant of NPE, into its specifier, (ii) e-GIVENness of its complement and (iii) PF-deletion of its complement. The second characteristic is Merchant's way to implement and to make specific his view on the connection between Focus and ellipsis.

3   Indefinite article doubling

In the previous section we have shown that NPE, like ellipsis in the sentential domain, is linked to contrastive focus. Focus can be expressed on the remnant of NPE by a focus marker. In this section, we will investigate the properties of this focus marker in more detail. In particular, we argue that the focus marker is an instance of the indefinite article found in indefinite article doubling constructions.

This section is organized as follows. In the first subsection we show that the focus marker and the lower indefinite article in the indefinite article doubling construction are actually two sides of the same coin. Subsection 3.2 gives an analysis of indefinite article doubling, which very closely resembles the analysis of NPE provided above.

3.1   Indefinite article doubling and the focus marker

Recall that in Frisian the remnant of ellipsis can be marked by the *en*-affix. An example is provided in (8), repeated here as (49).

(49)   a. in saai-**e**   jongen   a'. in saai-**en**   ____
          a   boring-**e**   boy   a   boring-**en**
          'a boring boy'   'a boring one'   [Frisian]

The question arises as to what the precise nature of this affix is. Interestingly, this affix is not only found on remants of NPE with an adjectival remnant, as in (49), but it is also found on attributive adjectives, as shown in (12) above, repeated here as (50).

(50)   a. Hy is in dreg-**en** baas.
          he is a tough-**en** boss
          'He is a very tough boss.'

       b. It is in djipp-**en** tinker.
          he is a deep-**en**   thinker
          'He is a very deep thinker.'   [Frisian]

By adding the *en*-affix to the adjective, its meaning gets intensified. In the preceding sections, we took this to mean that the *en*-affix is a focus marker. In this section we refine this view somewhat and show that the *en*-affix is actually an instance of the so-called spurious indefinite article (cf. Bennis, Corver & Den Dikken 1998), which marks A'-movement in the nominal domain.[18] We argue that in both cases, i.e. in NPE and in indefinite article doubling, A'-movement to Spec,FocP has taken place.

The pattern found in Frisian is also attested in other variants of Dutch. A difference between Frisian and these other varieties, however, regards the distribution of indefinite

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[18] Bennis, Corver & Den Dikken (1998) argue that the spurious indefinite article *een* is also found with certain instances of A-movement within the nominal domain.

article doubling. In Frisian it can occur in "simple DPs" where an adjective modifies a noun; in the other varieties indefinite article doubling is only possible in so-called *intensifying such constructions* and, in some cases, also in exclamatives. At present we do not have an account for these distributional differences. First consider the examples in (51) and (52) from Schouwen-Duiveland Dutch and Kruiningen Dutch (both spoken in the Dutch province of Zeeland).

(51)   a. Wat   en slächt-**en** spul   is tat   noe!
            what a   bad-**en**   stuff is that   now
            'What a bad stuff is that!'

       b. Zukk-en   vull-**en**   waeter   ak   noh   nojt ezie!
            such-a   dirty-**en** water   have.I PART never seen
            'Such dirty water have I never seen before!'   [Schouwen-Duiveland Dutch, De Vin 1916]

(52)   Zo'n   lief-**en**   oma!
          such-a   sweet-**en** grandmother
          'Such a sweet grandmother!'   [Kruiningen Dutch]

The fact that the *en*-affix can only be used in the context of exclamation (cf. example (51a)) or intensifying *such* (cf. examples (51b) and (52)), seems to suggest that also in these dialects the *en*-affix expresses emphatic force (cf. also De Vin 1916:36). When this *en*-affix is indeed a focus marker, like the Frisan *en*-affix and the colloquial *e*-affix, we also expect it to appear in ellipsis contexts in these dialects. This expectation is met, as is illustrated in the examples in (53) and (54) below.

(53)   a. en hroat ŭus   a'. den   hroast-**en**   ____
          a big   house   the   biggest-**en**
          'a big house'   'the biggest'   [Schouwen-Duiveland Dutch, De Vin 1916]

(54)   a. een ouw-**e**   opa   a'. een   ouw-**en**   ____
          a old-**e**   grandfather   an   old-**en**
          'an old grandfather'   'an old one'   [Kruiningen Dutch]

The construction illustrated in examples (50)-(52) is reminiscent of so-called indefinite article doubling in other Germanic languages (cf. Delsing 1993, Lilley 2001, Leu 2001, Plank 2002, Kalulli & Rothmayr 2006), illustrated in example (55).[19]

(55)   a. en stor en ful en kar
          a big a ugly a guy
          'a bíg, úgly guy'   [Northern Swedish, cf. Delsing 1993]

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[19] Rijkhoff (1992:237) points out that in Turkish the adjective may precede or follow *bir* ('a, one'). If *bir* serves as a cardinal numeral, i.e. 'one', it must always precede the adjective; cf. (ia). The element *bir* occurs in between the adjective and the noun when the adjective is emphasized; cf. (ib). In noun phrases in which both the indefiniteness and the adjectival property of the referent are emphasized, *bir* shows up twice; cf. (ii). This latter pattern is quite similar to the phenomenon of indefinite article doubling noted in (39).

  (i) a.   bir büyük ev   b. büyük bi rev
          a/one big house   big a house
          'a/one big house'   'a bíg house!'

  (ii)   bir güzel bir kiz
        BIR beautiful BIR girl
        'a beautiful girl'

b. en so en guete Wii
    a so a good wine
    'such a good wine'   [Allemanic, cf. Brandner 2006]

c. a so a grosa Bua
    a so a big   boy
    'such a big boy'   [Bavarian, cf. Kallulli & Rothmayr 2006]

d. ä ganz ä schönä Baum
    a totally a beautiful tree
    'a very beautiful tree'   [Swiss German, cf. Leu 2001]

The *en*-affix occurs in the same syntactic contexts as indefinite article doubling does: intensifying *such*-constructions and exclamatives. On the basis of this similarity, we would like to argue that the construction exemplified in (50)-(52) is also an instance of indefinite article doubling and that the *en*-affix is an indefinite article. Notice furthermore that the *en*-affix has the same phonetic form as the indefinite article in Schouwen-Duiveland Dutch and Kruiningen Dutch.

   Now the question arises as to what allows for the presence of more than one indefinite article in these nominal constructions. We would like to propose that at least one of the articles is a so-called spurious indefinite article (Bennis, Corver & Den Dikken 1998, henceforth referred to as BCD 1998). As illustrated in example (56), indefinite articles in Dutch cannot be used before plural nouns and before mass nouns.

(56) a. (*een) mannen.
          a   men

      b. (*een) melk
          a   milk

However, BCD (1998) show that the indefinite article in Dutch can occur in exactly these contexts in certain nominal construction types. These contexts turn out to be similar to the structrural environments in which the *en*-affix is attested, viz. exclamatives and intensifying *such* constructions. This is illustrated in the examples in (57) and (58).

(57) a. Wat   een   idioten!
          what SPURIOUS.EEN idiots
          'What an idiots!'

      b. Een   bier   dat   hij dronk
          SPURIOUS.EEN beer   that he drank
          'The amount of beer that he drank!'   [colloquial Dutch]

(58) **Zo 'n**   dingen zeggen ze   hier niet!
      such SPURIOUS.EEN things say   they here not
      'Such things they don't say here!'   [colloquial Dutch]

This comparison constitutes another reason to assume the *en*-affix in these dialects is actually an indefinite article.

   Now recall that in section 2, we did not just identify the *en*-affix as a focus marker, but also the *e*-affix. If the *en*-affix is actually an instance of the spurious indefinite article, the *e*-affix, fulfilling the same role as the *en*-affix, should ideally also be reducible to an instance of the indefinite article. Although we do not have evidence in favor of this claim from the variety of Dutch discussed in the previous section, there is data from other varieties of Dutch confirming this point of view. Consider the examples in (59) and (60) (from Overdiep 1937, cf. also Corver 2004).

(59) a. Hij   heeft   een   mirakel   van   een   bibliotheek.
          he   has   a   miracle   of   SPURIOUS.EEN   library   [standard Dutch]

     b. Hij   heeft   een   mirakel-e bibliotheek.
          he   has   a   miracle-$_E$ library
          'He has a miracle of a library.'   [Katwijk Dutch]

(60) a. Wat   een   grote   vis!
          what   SPURIOUS.EEN   big   fish   [standard Dutch]

     b. Watt-e   grote   vis!
          what-$_E$ big   fish
          'What a big fish!'   [Katwijk Dutch]

One question remains which we are unfortunately not able to answer at present. Recall from the preceding section that the remnant of NPE in colloquial Dutch is marked by an *e*-affix. In the intensifying *such* construction and in exclamatives, this variety of Dutch does not use an *e*-affix, as Katwijk Dutch does, but it uses the spurious indefinite article. However, in the other varieties of Dutch discussed in this paper, the marker in ellipsis contexts and the one used in exclamatives and the intensifying *such* construction is always the same. On the basis of this, the question arises as to why in colloquial Dutch the focus marker is not always either the *e*-affix or the spurious indefinite article. We leave this question for future research.

3.2   An analysis of indefinite article doubling

In this section, we give an analysis for the indefinite article doubling construction discussed in the previous section. We base our analysis on the one proposed for NPE provided in section 2.

    We argued that NPE is derived by A'-movement of the remnant of ellipsis into the specifier of a FocP in the left periphery of the nominal domain. The head of this FocP can be marked by the focus marker, which we have argued to be an instance of the spurious indefinite article in the previous subsection. At this point, it is interesting to note that BCD (1998) point out that this spurious indefinite article typically shows up in noun phrases that feature DP-internal displacement of a predicate.[20] In short, the presence of the spurious indefinite article can be used as a diagnostic tool for the identification of DP-internal displacement.

    Let us start our analysis with the example in (45), which we assign the derived representation in (46):

(61) Een   zo   een   lieve   oma!
      a   such   a   sweet   grandmother
      'Such a sweet grandmother!'   [standard Dutch]

---

[20] BCD (1998) identify two types of DP-internal movement operations that involve the presence of the spurious indefinite article, viz. Predicate inversion (i.e. A-movement of a predicate) and Predicate fronting (i.e. A-bar movement of a predicate). BCD assume that the predicate originates in a DP-internal small clause XP, which is headed by the spurious indefinite article. In contexts of DP-internal predicate displacement, the spurious indefinite article raises to a higher functional head (e.g. D or a functional head lower than D). In this article, we will simply assume that the spurious indefinite article is base-generated in the head position of FocP. Thus, we will abstract away from the idea that the spurious indefinite article finds its origin in the head position of a DP-internal small clause XP.

(62)

```
            DP
           /  \
              D'
             /  \
          D°    FocP
          'n    /  \
         ZOᵢ [+F]  Foc'
                   /  \
                 'n    XP
                  [[tᵢ lieve] oma]
```
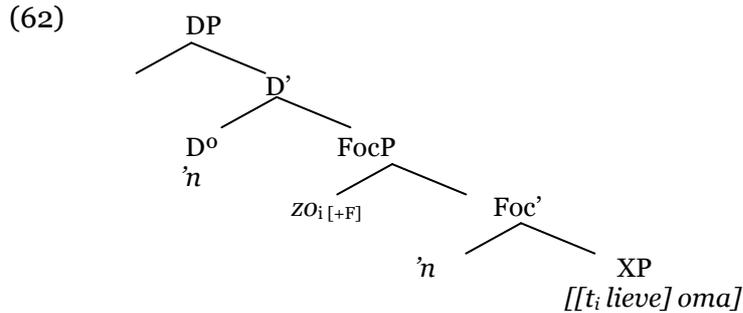
We assume that the degree word *zo* originates within the attributive AP headed by *lieve* and moves to the Spec-position of FocP, which is headed by the spurious indefinite article *'n*. The other indefinite article is the 'regular' indefinite article, which we take to occupy the D-position.

A further illustration of the occurrence of the spurious indefinite article is given in (47):

(63) a. 'n nogal 'n grote man
          a rather a big   man
          'a rather big man'

    b. (*'n) nogal 'n grote mannen
          a   rather a big   men
          'rather big men'   [regional Dutch]

In (47a), there are two instances of the indefinite article *'n*. The leftmost article is the regular indefinite article. This is shown by the fact that it must be absent when the noun is plural (in casu: *mannen*). That is, we must have a zero-article with plural nouns. The article that occurs in between the degree word and the adjective is an instance of the spurious indefinite article. Its occurrence in front of a plural noun in (47b) shows its spurious nature. We propose that in (47), just as in (45), the spurious indefinite article heads the DP-internal Focus-projection and that the degree adverb *nogal* originates within the attributive AP and undergoes movement to Spec,FocP.

Let us now turn to the Frisian example in (34) and the Northern-Swedish example in (39a). In both examples, a bare (gradable) AP precedes what we consider to be the spurious indefinite article, which heads the DP-internal FocP. This structural position is in line with the phonology of the bare AP: i.e. it must be emphasized. Northern-Swedish, as opposed to Frisian, has the additional property that the spurious indefinite article can iteratively occur. We will interpret this iterative occurrence of the spurious indefinite article as a recursive FocP-structure, where each attributive AP has undergone leftward movement to Spec,FocP. Schematically:

(64)

```
              DP
             /  \
                D'
               /  \
            D°    FocP
            en    /  \
               storᵢ [+F]  Foc'
                          /  \
                        en    FocP
                             /  \
                         fulⱼ [+F]  Foc'
                                   /  \
                                 en    XP
                                 en    tᵢ tⱼ kar
```
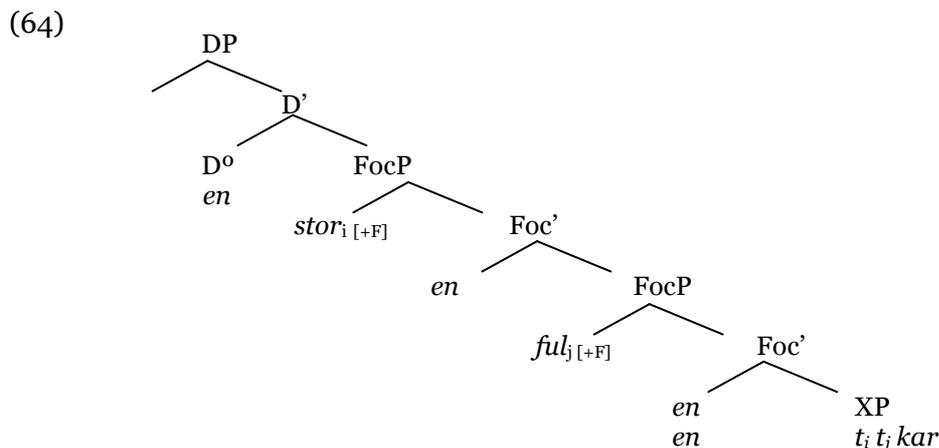
We will assume that a recursive FocP-analysis also holds for the pattern in (36) from Kruiningen-Dutch. We tentatively propose that in this pattern the attributive AP *zo lief* is first moved into the lowest Spec,FocP, and that the degree word *zo* is subsequently fronted into a higher Spec,FocP. Each of the two FocPs is headed by a spurious indefinite article. Schematically:

(65)
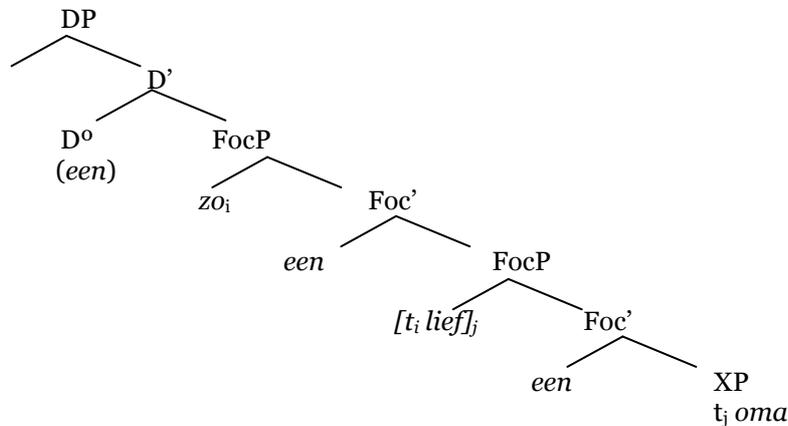
4   Conclusion

In this paper we have shown that Noun Phrase Ellipsis (NPE) is connected to contrastive focus. In particular, we have provided data showing that in certain varieties of Dutch and in Frisian a special marker appears on the remnant of ellipsis, which can be identified as a focus marker. In the second part of the paper these focus markers were shown to be instances of the spurious indefinite article. As regards the link with contrastive focus, NPE resembles ellipsis in the sentential domain, which is also argued to be dependent upon focus. We have implemented this link between NPE and focus by adopting Merchant's (2001) analysis of sluicing in the sentential domain and Van Craenenbroeck & Lipták's (2006) adaptation of that. We have argued that the remnant of ellipsis undergoes A'-movement into a left peripheral FocP within DP. The sister of the head of FocP gets elided at PF. We further argued that the specifier of FocP is also involved in nominal constructions featuring the phenomenon of indefinite article doubling. The analysis we have provided for this phenomenon is similar to the one we have given for NPE, in the sense that, in both cases, A'-movement of the focused part of the DP into Spec,FocP has taken place and that, in both cases, the head of FocP can be realized by (an instance of) the spurious indefinite article.

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