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## An experimental approach to embedded gapping in Romance

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It is usually assumed (Hankamer 1979 and the subsequent literature) – based especially on English data in (1) – that some elliptical constructions, such as gapping, cannot be embedded within the conjunct it belongs to. Therefore, according to Johnson (2009), there would be a strong syntactic constraint on gapping (and a diagnostic of this elliptical construction), i.e. ‘the no embedding constraint.’

(1) \*Alfonso stole the emeralds, and **I think [that Mugsy the pearls]**.

We show, based on empirical evidence from two acceptability judgment tasks for Spanish and Romanian, that embedded gapping is acceptable in the same way as its embedded non-elliptical counterpart. Moreover, there is a sensitivity to the semantic type of the embedding predicate (cf. Fernández-Sánchez 2016): embedded clauses under a factive verb are less acceptable than embedded clauses under a non-factive verb; however, factive predicates don’t behave the same, confirming the dichotomy proposed by Hooper (1974) between semi-factive and true factive verbs: semi-factive verbs are much closer to non-factives than to true factive verbs. Crucially, all these effects are not correlated with ellipsis; therefore, what has been claimed to be specific to gapping is in fact more general. The fact that some predicates embed clauses better than others can be explained by the semantic principle postulated by Hooper & Thompson (1973): embedded assertions are more acceptable than embedded presupposed clauses.

**References:** • Fernández-Sánchez, J. (2016): Embedded gapping isn’t gapping and embedded stripping, stripping. Paper presented at the 2016 Hispanic Linguistics Symposium, Georgetown University. • Hankamer, J. (1979): *Deletion in coordinate structures*. New York: Garland Pub. • Hooper, J. (1974): On assertive predicates. In: *Syntax and Semantics* 4, 91-124. • Hooper, J. & S. Thompson (1973): On the Applicability of Root Transformations. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4(4), 465-497. • Johnson, K. (2009): Gapping is not (VP-) ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40, 289-328.