

Comparing Coordination and Gapping

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Abstract

The most basic distinction in the classical semantic relations of structure is between (i) functor-argument and (ii) coordination. Functor-argument connects different kinds of contents, namely (a) referent/relation (subject/predicate), (b) referent/relation (object/predicate), and (c) property/referent, property/relation, as well as property/property (modifier/modified). Coordination connects¹ the same kinds of content, namely (a) referent–referent, (b) property–property, and (c) relation–relation (conjunct–conjunct), at the elementary, phrasal, and clausal level of grammatical complexity (1–6). Semantically related but syntactically different are the subject, predicate, and object *gapping* constructions (7–9).

Examples representing the constructions are systematically analyzed as (i) contents defined as sets of proplets connected by address and as (ii) graphical presentations of the semantic relations of structure. These brief but concise manners of analysis bring out the syntactic-semantic differences between coordination and gapping in general as well as the differences within the coordination constructions and within the gapping constructions in particular.

keywords: functor-argument, coordination, gapping; gap-list; grammatical complexity of elementary, phrasal, and clausal degree

1 Coordination of Elementary Adnominals

The distinction between functor-argument and coordination is established in the data structure of proplets, defined as non-recursive feature structures with ordered attributes. The continuation attributes of functor-argument are *fnc*, *arg*, and *mdd* while those of coordination are *nc* (next conjunct) and *pc* (previous conjunct).

An example of a modifier–modifier coordination at the elementary level of grammatical complexity is *tall, cool, black, new* in the following content:

1.1 CONTENT OF The tall, cool, black, new building collapsed.

[sur: noun: building cat: snp sem: def sg fnc: collapse mdr: tall nc: pc: prn: 23	[sur: adj: tall cat: adn sem: pad mdd: building mdr: nc: cool pc: prn: 23	[sur: adj: cool cat: adn sem: pad mdd: mdr: nc: black pc: tall prn: 23	[sur: adj: black cat: adn sem: pad mdd: mdr: nc: new pc: cool prn: 23	[sur: adj: new cat: adn sem: pad mdd: mdr: nc: pc: black prn: 23	[sur: verb: collapse cat: #n' decl sem: ind past arg: building mdr: nc: pc: prn: 23
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This content is a set (order-free) of self-contained proplets with (i) the *core values*

¹For an overview of exceptions to the grammatical equality of conjuncts and proposals for their resolution see Bruening and Al Khalaf (2020).

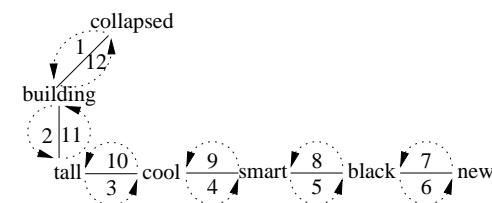
of the attributes noun, adj, and verb, (ii) the *continuation values* of the attributes fnc, arg, mdr, mdd, nc, and pc, and (iii) the shared prn value, here 23.

The modification relation between the adn coordination *tall cool black new* and the noun *building* is tall|building. It is coded by the features [mdr: tall] of *building* and [mdd: building] of the initial conjunct *tall*. In the noninitial conjuncts, in contrast, the mdd attributes have no value; if needed, it can be retrieved from the initial conjunct via the pc connections (NLC 8).

The semantic relations coded in 1.1 may be shown as the following graph, whereby the different slashes /, \, |, and – represent the subject/predicate, object\predicate (not exemplified in 1.2), modifier|modified, and conjunct–conjunct relations:²

1.2 GRAPHICAL PRESENTATION OF THE SEMANTIC RELATIONS IN 1.1

numbered arcs graph (NAG)



surface realization

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
the	tall	cool	smart	black	new					building	collapsed_.
V/N	N A	A–A	A–A	A–A	A–A	A–A	A–A	A–A	A–A	A N	N\V

The modifier|modified relation between the adn coordination and the modified noun is traversed in arcs 2 (downward) and 11 (upward).

As shown in the *surface realization*, The is realized from the goal proplet in arc 1, tall from the goal proplet in arc 2, cool in arc 3, smart in arc 4, black in arc 5, and new in arc 6. After empty return via the arcs 7-10, building is realized from the goal proplet of arc 11, and collapsed_ . of arc 12. The semantic relations are shown in the bottom line, beneath the surface. The direction of the traversals is specified by the arrows of arcs listed by number in the top line.

2 Coordination of Phrasal Adnominal Modifiers

In English, phrasal modifiers (prepnouns) consist of a preposition and a noun, e.g., in the water (noun concept), in here (noun indexical), or in Paris (noun name). In contrast to elementary modifiers, which may morphologically distinguish between adnominal and adverbial use, as in beautiful woman vs. sang beautifully, no such distinction exists in phrasal modifiers. Thus, in the water may be used adnominally (3.1) and adverbially (2.1). Also, while elementary modifiers in adnominal use precede the modified noun, phrasal modifiers follow. Consider the content of The man in the water for days without a lifejacket survived.:

²In substitution-based linguistics (PSG), there is some agreement that the flat concatenation of coordination is a difficulty for constituent structure: Ross (1967), Dik (1968), Goldsmith (1985), Sag, Gazdar, Wasow, and Weisler (1985), Lakoff (1986), Bayer (1996), Osborne (2006), and others. The same holds for gapping constructions (7

2.1 SUBJECT MODIFIED BY PHRASAL MODIFIER CONJUNCTION

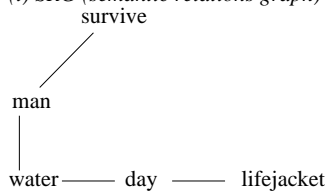
sur: noun: man cat: snp sem: def sg fnc: survive mdr: water nc: pc: prn: 26	sur: noun: water cat: adv sem: <i>in</i> def sg fnc: mdd: man nc: day pc: prn: 26	sur: noun: day cat: adv sem: <i>for</i> indef pl fnc: mdr: nc: life jacket pc: water prn: 26	sur: noun: life jacket cat: adv sem: <i>without</i> indef sg mdd: mdr: nc: pc: day prn: 26	sur: verb: survive cat: #n' decl sem: ind past arg: man mdr: nc: pc: prn: 26
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For reasons of phrase-internal agreement, DBS represents phrasal modifiers as a single noun proplet, like a case-marked locative in classical Latin. The core attribute of phrasal modifiers is noun, but their semantic role as modifiers is specified by the *cat* value *adv*, for adjective with adnominal and adverbial use. In each conjunct, the preposition is preserved for the speak mode as the first *sem* value.

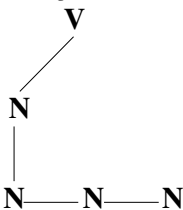
Phrasal conjuncts and modifiers have adnominal as well as adverbial use. The uses are distinguished by word order in conjuncts (3.1 vs. 2.1), but create an ambiguity between an adnominal (TExer 1.5.3) and an adverbial (TExer 1.5.4) reading in modifiers. The repetition of phrasal modifiers requires the same kind, whereas no such restriction holds for the repetition of phrasal conjuncts. For example, in the modifier repetition on the table (locational) under the tree (locational) in the garden (locational) the modifiers are all of the same modality (TExer 5.1), but in the conjunct repetition in the water (locational) for days (temporal) without a life jacket (manner) the modalities of the conjuncts are all different.

2.2 GRAPHICAL PRESENTATION OF THE ADNOMINAL READING 2.1

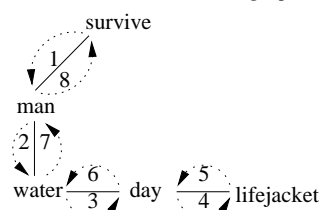
(i) SRG (semantic relations graph)



(ii) signature



(iii) NAG (numbered arcs graph)



(iv) surface realization

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
the_man	in_the_water	for_days	without_a	lifejacket			survived_.
V/N	N N	N-N	N-N	N-N	N-N	N N	N/V

The modifier|modified relation between the phrasal modifier coordination and the

modified noun is traversed in arcs 2 (downward) and 7 (upward). Fulfillment of the continuity condition (NLC 3.6.5) as the think-speak mode counterpart to (and the source of) the time-linear derivation order in the hear mode is clearly shown in the bottom line of the (iv) *surface realization*, i.e., the goal proplet of operation n equals the start proplet of operation n+1.

3 Coordination of Phrasal Adverbial Modifiers

The distinction between the adnominal and the adverbial use of one and the same phrasal modifier coordination is located in the connection between the modified and the initial conjunct, e.g., between man and in the water in 2.1 (adnominal), and between survived and in the water in 3.2 (adverbial).

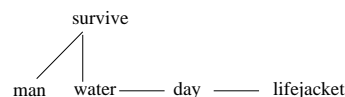
3.1 PREDICATE MODIFIED BY PHRASAL MODIFIER CONJUNCTION

sur: noun: man cat: snp sem: def sg fnc: survive mdr: nc: pc: prn: 25	sur: verb: survive cat: #n' v sem: ind past arg: man mdr: water nc: pc: prn: 25	sur: noun: water cat: snp sem: in def sg fnc: survive mdr: nc: days pc: prn: 25	sur: noun: days cat: snp sem: for def sg mdd: mdr: nc: lifejacket pc: water prn: 25	sur: noun: lifejacket cat: snp sem: without indef sg mdd: mdr: nc: pc: day prn: 25
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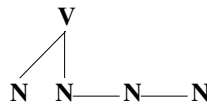
The presentation of the content as a set of proplets is complemented by the standard representation as a semantic relations graph:

3.2 GRAPHICAL PRESENTATION OF THE ADVERBIAL READING 3.1

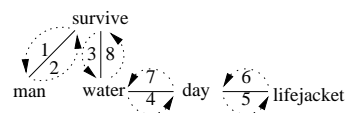
(i) SRG (semantic relations graph)



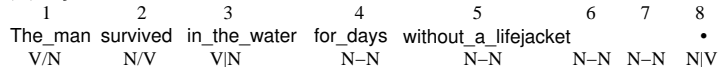
(ii) signature



(iii) NAG (numbered arcs graph)



(iv) surface realization



The modifier|modified relation between the phrasal modifier coordination and the modified verb is traversed in arcs 3 (downward) and 8 (upward).³

³Comparison with TExer 5.1.12 shows the semantic difference between the intrapositional repetition of modification vs. coordination.

4 Coordination of Elementary Nouns as Subject

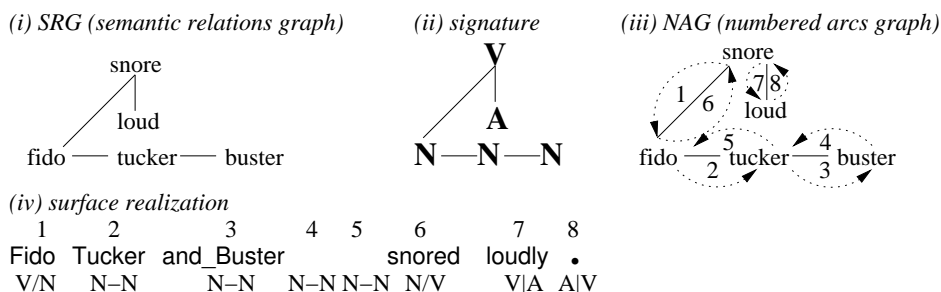
From the coordination of modifiers in 1–3, we turn to the coordination of arguments. In the following example Fido, Tucker, and Buster snored loudly, the coordination of names is coded via the *nc* and *pc* values and used as the grammatical subject:

4.1 NOUN COORDINATION SERVING AS SUBJECT

[sur: fido noun: [dog x] cat: snp sem: nm m fnc: snore mdr: nc: [dog y] pc: prn: 18]	[sur: tucker noun: [dog y] cat: snp sem: nm m fnc: mdr: nc: [dog z] pc: [dog x] prn: 18]	[sur: buster noun: [dog z] cat: snp sem: <i>and</i> nm m fnc: mdr: nc: pc: [dog y] prn: 18]	[sur: verb: snore cat: #n' decl sem: ind past arg: [dog x] mdr: loud nc: pc: prn: 18]	[sur: adj: loud cat: adv sem: pad mdd: snore mdr: nc: pc: prn: 18]
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In contrast to elementary (1.1) and phrasal (3.1) coordinations serving as modifiers, coordinations of nouns serving as argument require the prefinal conjunction *and*,⁴ coded as the initial *sem* value of the final conjunct.

4.2 GRAPHICAL PRESENTATION OF THE SEMANTIC RELATIONS IN 4.1



The semantic relation between a noun coordination and the predicate is based on the standard subject/predicate or object\predicate relation, using the initial conjunct (here in arcs 1 and 6). In the content 4.1, this relation is coded by the [fnc: *snore*] feature of the initial conjunct *fido* and the [arg: [dog x]] feature of the verb *snore*. In the noninitial conjuncts, the *fnc* attributes have no value; if needed, it can be retrieved from the initial conjunct via the *pc* connections (NLC 8.3.3 ff).

5 Intra- and Extrapositional Verb Coordination

While adn and noun coordinations are intrapositional, verb coordination may also be extrapositional. This is because DBS represents a proposition by its

⁴For the graph analysis and for the complete sequence of hear mode operations see TExer 3.6.

top verb, whereby the complete content may be reconstructed by navigating along the continuation values. In a text or dialogue, the traversal of the first proposition begins with the top verb, continues along the continuation values, returns to the current top verb, and continues to the top verb of the next proposition by extrapropositional coordination (6.2). A top verb with an empty nc slot concludes an extrapropositional traversal.

Intra- and extrapropositional verb coordinations may combine as follows:

5.1 EXTRA- AND INTRASSENTENTIAL VERB COORDINATION COMBINED

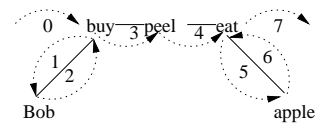
Julia slept. Bob bought, peeled, and ate an apple. Fido snored.
 [prn: n] [prn: n+1] [prn: n+2]

The critical transition is from the intraclausal verb coordination of [prn: n+1] to the next sentence [prn: n+2] by means of an extrasentential verb–verb coordination. The following solutions have been proposed:

5.2 ALTERNATIVE NAGS FOR EXTRAPROP. VERB COORDINATION

TEExer3 proposal

(iii) numbered arc graph (NAG)

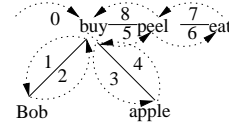


(iv) surface realization

1	2	3	4	5	6
Bob	bought	peeled	and_ate	an_apple	.
V\N ⁱ	N\N	V-V	V-V	V\N	N\N

NLC2 proposal

(iii) numbered arc graph (NAG)



(iv) surface realization

1	2	5	6	7	8	3	4
Bob	bought	peeled	and_ate			an_apple	.
V\N	N\N	V-V	V-V	V-V	V-V	V\N	N\N

The (obsolete) NLC2 analysis on the right takes an intrapropositional perspective by treating subject (4), predicate (NLC2 8.3.4), object (NLC2 8.2.7), and modifier (1–2) coordinations alike. The initial conjunct *buy* is (a) the representative of the proposition as the carrier of the syntactic mood value, (b) the point of extrapropositional entrance, and (c) the point of extrapropositional exit.

If there is only a single top verb, which is usually the case, this is easily fulfilled. However, if there are several verbs of equal rank, e.g., the intrapropositional verb coordination in n+1 of 5.1, the NLC2 proposal would have to allow two values in the nc slot of the initial conjunct *buy*, one for the intrapropositional conjunct *peel*, the other for the extrasentential conjunct *snore*.

The TEExer proposal avoids this complication by implementing sentential verb conjunctions in the forward direction only, leaving a possible backward navigation to the following inference:

5.3 BACKWARD NAVIGATION INFERENCE FOR VERBAL CONJUNCTION

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{verb: } \beta \\ \text{pc: } \alpha \\ \text{prn: } n+1 \end{bmatrix} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{verb: } \alpha \\ \text{nc: } \beta \\ \text{prn: } n \end{bmatrix}$$

In summary, while almost all functor-argument and coordination relations are implemented bidirectionally, the backward traversal of verbal conjunctions in the speak mode is treated by inference (5.3) instead of a routinely provided $V \leftarrow V$ operation. This is because a return traversal in verbal coordination (i) is not necessary, as demonstrated by the TExer solution shown in 5.2, (ii) may therefore only be used when rhetorically desired, as when telling a story starting from the end, and (iii) requires specific operators like *before that*, appropriately specified by the inference.

6 Extrasentential Coordination

The connection between sentences in a text is extrasentential coordination (parataxis), as in the following example:

6.1 CONTENT OF *Mary slept. Fido snored.*

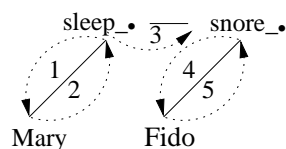
sur: mary noun: [person x] cat: snp sem: nm f fnc: sleep mdr: nc: pc: prn: 17	sur: verb: sleep cat: #ns3 decl sem: ind past arg: [person x] mdr: nc: (snore 18) pc: prn: 17	sur: verb: snore cat: #ns3 decl sem: ind past arg: [dog y] mdr: nc: pc: (sleep 17) prn: 18	sur: fido noun: [dog y] cat: snp sem: nm m fnc: snore mdr: nc: pc: prn: 18
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The values in the *nc* and *pc* slots are the extrapropositional addresses (**snore 18**) and (**sleep 17**). The multiple operation applications for simultaneously establishing functor-argument and coordination relations within the proplet set are data-driven, i.e., there is no need for additional software.

The pivot of an extrasentential coordination in the hear mode derivation is the interpunctuation between sentences. The interpunctuation proplet (i) supplies the syntactic mood value to the top verb of the present sentence, (ii) cross-copies with the intervening subject of the next sentence, and (iii) absorbs the next verb, thus becoming the predicate of the next sentence. These steps leave no trace in the content 6.1 and in the semantic relations graph:

6.2 GRAPHICAL PRESENTATION OF THE SEMANTIC RELATIONS IN 6.1

(iii) *numbered arc graph (NAG)*



(iv) *surface realization*

1	2	3	4	5
Mary	slept_.		Fido	snored_.
V/N ⁱ	N/V	V-V	V/N	N/V

For the complete declarative specification of an extrasentential coordination see TExer 2.1.

7 Quasi Coordination in Subject Gapping

In linguistics, a grammatical construction in which a single *shared* item is in a semantic relation with a sequence of n ($n \geq 1$) ‘gapped’ items is called *gapping*. Basic examples are (i) subject gapping, (ii) predicate gapping, and (iii) object gapping,⁵ which have the following pretheoretical structure:

7.1 PRETHEORETICAL COMPARISON OF THREE GAPPING KINDS

<i>subject gapping</i>	<i>predicate gapping</i>	<i>object gapping</i>
Bob buy apple	Bob buy apple	Bob buy \emptyset
\emptyset peel pear	Jim \emptyset pear	Jim peel \emptyset
<i>and</i> \emptyset eat peach	<i>and</i> Bill \emptyset peach	<i>and</i> Bill eat peach

The shared item is shown in bold face, while the gapped items are indicated by the gap marker \emptyset .

The following example shows the content of a subject gapping:

7.2 CONTENT OF A SUBJECT GAPPING

Bob bought an apple, \emptyset peeled a pear, and \emptyset ate a peach.

Bob bought an apple, \emptyset peeled a pear, and \emptyset ate a peach.

sur: bob noun: [person x] cat: snp sem: nm m fnc: buy peel eat mdr: nc: pc: prn: 32	sur: verb: buy cat: #n' #a' decl sem: ind past arg: [person x] apple mdr: nc: pc: bprn: 32	sur: noun: apple cat: snp sem: indef sg fnc: buy mdr: nc: pc: prn: 32	sur: verb: peel cat: #n' #a' v sem: ind past arg: [person x] pear mdr: nc: pc: prn: 32
sur: noun: pear cat: snp sem: indef sg fnc: peel mdr: nc: pc: prn: 32	sur: verb: eat cat: #n' #a' v sem: <i>and</i> ind past arg: [person x] peach mdr: nc: pc: prn: 32	sur: noun: peach cat: snp sem: indef sg fnc: eat mdr: nc: pc: prn: 32	

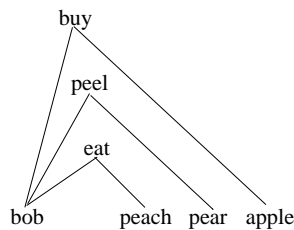
Gapping constructions are intrapositional, and a fortiori intrasentential. They are only quasi-coordinations because the **nc** and **pc** slots are not involved, i.e., they have no intrapositional values. They resemble nominal and intrapositional verb coordinations, however, in that they use prefinal *and* and consist of unbounded repetitions of grammatically similar items.

⁵There seems to be no “modifier gapping” in natural language.

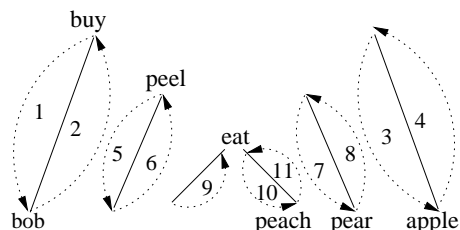
The semantic relations between the shared item *bob* and the gapped items \emptyset *peel pear* and \emptyset *eat peach* are run via the gap list in the shared item and the repetition of the shared item's address, here [person x], in the verbs of the gapped items (**arg** slot, initial position). In this way, the semantic relations of structure are complete in a gapping construction without using the **nc** and **pc** slots (TE_{Exer} 5.2).

7.3 GRAPHICAL PRESENTATION OF THE SEMANTIC RELATIONS IN 7.2

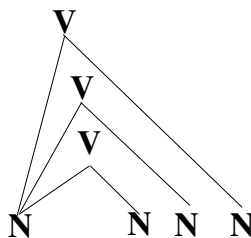
(i) SRG (semantic relations graph)



(iii) NAG (numbered arcs graph)



(ii) signature



(iv) surface realization

1	2	3	4	1	6	7	8	5	9	10	11		
Bob	bought	an	apple		peeled	a	pear		and	ate	a	peach	.
V\N ⁱ	N ^s /V	V\N	N\N	V\N ^s	N ^s /V	V\N	N\N	V\N ^s	N ^s /V	V\N	N\N		

The different tilts of the three N/V and N\N relations are solely for visual separation in the graph. The gaps appear as empty traversals. The navigation ends with arc 11. The upward arc 9 does not have a downward counterpart. The arc numbering is breadth-first. The number of operations is even. As a multiple verb construction (5), the last verb, here *eat*, is used for the extrapositional exit (TE_{Exer} 1.4.8).

The think-speak navigation along the semantic relations between proplets is continuous (Continuity Condition, NLC 3.6.5), as shown by the bottom line of the *surface realization*. This is possible by leaving the control of the gaps in the surface to the lexicalization rules, here arcs 4, 1 and 8, 5. For example, lexnoun realizes the surface of the shared noun proplet *bob* (goal proplet of the V\N^s operations in arcs 1, 1, and 5) if, and only if, its initial fnc value is not yet #-marked.

8 Quasi Coordination in Predicate Gapping

The pretheoretical characterization of predicate gapping in 7.1 is formally instantiated as the following content:

8.1 CONTENT OF A PREDICATE GAPPING

Bob **bought** an apple, Jim \emptyset a pear, and Bill \emptyset a peach.

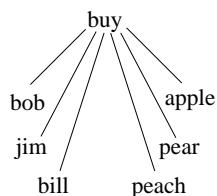
[sur: bob noun: [person x] cat: snp sem: nm m fnc: buy mdr: nc: pc: prn: 33]	[sur: verb: buy cat: #n' #a' decl sem: ind past arg: [person x] apple [person y] pear [person z] peach mdr: nc: pc: prn: 33]	[sur: noun: apple cat: snp sem: indef sg fnc: buy mdr: nc: pc: prn: 33]	[sur: jim noun: [person y] cat: snp sem: nm m fnc: buy mdr: nc: pc: prn: 33]
[sur: noun: pear cat: snp sem: indef sg fnc: buy mdr: nc: pc: prn: 33]	[sur: bill noun: [person z] cat: snp sem: <i>and</i> nm m fnc: buy mdr: nc: pc: prn: 33]	[sur: noun: peach cat: snp sem: indef sg fnc: buy mdr: nc: pc: prn: 33]	

Predicate gapping requires a transitive verb as its shared item, here *buy*. Its *arg* slot contains the gap list, here the subject-object pairs *bob apple*, *jim pear*, and *bill peach*⁶. The subject and object proplets of the gapped items take *buy* as their shared *fnc* value. The conjunction *and* is coded into the initial *sem* slot of *bill*.

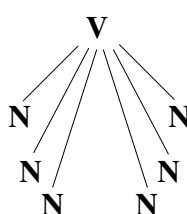
The semantic relations of structure may be shown as a standard graph:

8.2 GRAPHICAL PRESENTATION OF SEMANTIC RELATIONS IN 8.1

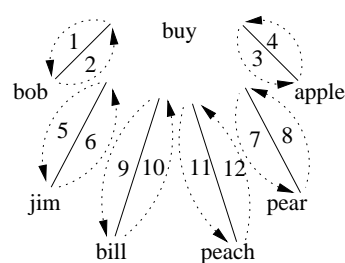
(i) SRG (semantic relations graph)



(ii) signature



(iii) NAG (numbered arcs graph)



(iv) surface realization

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Bob	bought	an	apple	Jim	a	pear	and	Bill	a	peach	.
V ^p /N	N/V ⁱ	V\N	N\N	V ^p /N	N/V ^p	V\N	N\N	V ^p /N	N/V ^p	V\N	N\N

The shared predicate relates to the subject and object of its initial sentence (arcs 1–4) and of its two gapped items (arcs 5–8 and 9–12).

9 Quasi Coordination in Object Gapping

Compared to subject and predicate gapping, in which the gaps precede the shared item (filler), object gapping is special in that the filler follows the gaps. Therefore the gap list must be accumulated in an external cache until the filler arrives (strictly time-linear derivation order).

9.1 CONTENT OF AN OBJECT GAPPING

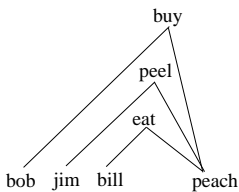
Bob bought \emptyset , Jim peeled \emptyset , and Bill ate a peach .

[sur: bob noun: [person x] cat: snp sem: nm m fnc: buy ... prn: 34]	[sur: verb: buy cat: #n' #a' v sem: ind past arg: [person x] peach ... prn: 34]	[sur: jim noun: [person y] cat: snp sem: nm m fnc: peel ... prn: 34]	[sur: verb: peel cat: #n' #a' v sem: ind past arg: [person y] peach ... prn: 34]
[sur: bill noun: [person z] cat: snp sem: and nm m fnc: eat mdr: nc: pc: prn: 34]	[sur: verb: eat cat: #n' #a' decl sem: ind past arg: [person z] peach mdr: nc: pc: prn: 34]	[sur: noun: peach cat: snp sem: indef sg fnc: [p. x] buy [p. y] peel [p. z] eat ... prn: 34]	

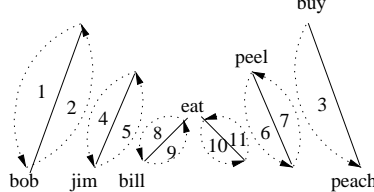
The three verb proplets all take the core value **peach** as their shared object.

9.2 GRAPHICAL PRESENTATION OF THE SEMANTIC RELATIONS IN 9.1

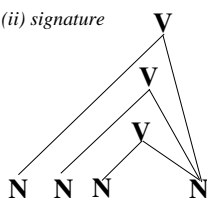
(i) SRG (semantic relations graph)



(iii) NAG (numbered arcs graph)



(ii) signature



(iv) surface realization

1 2 3 7 4 5 6 11 8 9 10 11
 Bob bought Jim peeled and Bill ate a peach .
 V/N N/V V\N^o N^oV V/N N/V V\N^o N^oV V/N N/V V\N^o N^oV

The shared object is clearly shown. Just as the graph 7.3 for subject gapping is missing a downward arc opposite arc 9, the current graph for object gapping is

missing an upward arc opposite arc 3. As a multiverb construction, the last verb, here *eat*, is used for the extrapositional exit.

10 Conclusion

Coordination and gapping have in common that they repeat an unlimited number of similar items. They differ in that the connection between the conjuncts of a coordination is coded by the values of their *nc* (next conjunct) and *pc* (previous conjunct) attributes, while no such *nc*–*pc* relations exist in gapping constructions.

Instead subject, predicate, and object gapping establish the relation between a single *shared item* and a sequence of repeating *gapped items* by means of (i) a gap list in the shared item and (ii) copies of the shared item’s core value in the grammatically appropriate slots of the gapped items. The *nc* and *pc* attributes are not used, i.e., they have no intrapositional values in gapping constructions.

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