

**The grammar of registers**  
Subject omission in written English

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**1. Starting point: subject omission in finite sentences in written registers**

Even though standard English and French are not pro drop languages, in certain written registers subjects of finite clauses may be left implicit (Haegeman 1999).

*English examples*

(1) diary, (2)-(3) 'global topic' texts (Matushansky 1995) (journalistic prose (2), encyclopedia entries (3)), (4) instructional writing: recipe (4a), stage directions (4b), (5) notes.<sup>2</sup>

- (1) Day<sup>3</sup> before yesterday \_\_\_ came on some men waiting with a she-camel which had fallen in the middle of the bridge over the Oued.  
(George Orwell, 07.01.1939, *Online Orwell project*)
- (2) *Solti's timeline: The rise of a maestro*  
1932 \_\_\_ Goes to Karlsruhe to assist Josef Krips. Within a year \_\_\_ is sent home as Krips anticipates the Nazis' rise to power. ...  
1997 \_\_\_ Conducts his last symphony with the Zurich Tonhalle Orchestra.  
Shortly after, \_\_\_ dies in his sleep, aged 84, in France. (*Observer* 9.9.12, p.17 c. 2)
- (3) *Common Sandpiper*  
\_\_\_ Teeters hind part of body almost constantly, \_\_\_ bobs head; when flushed \_\_\_ flies low over the water, alternating rapid, shallow wingbeats [and \_\_\_ glides on gently bowed wings]; \_\_\_ often perches on stones and washed up wood close to water. (*Collins Nature Guide, Birds of Britain and Europe*, 1994, Page 112)
- (4) a. \_\_\_ Serves four. (recipe)  
If refrigerated, \_\_\_ will keep a week to 10 days. (Recipe: Kennedy, Ellen, *Things my mother told me*. Boston, Branden Press Publishers, 1975: 105)  
\_\_\_ Contains caffeine (Coke can)
- b. Ouch! Too sharp...  
(\_\_\_ Tosses the pencil. Starts on another.) (<http://freedrama.net/deargod.html>)
- (5) a. \_\_\_ Wish you were here! (Postcard)  
b. \_\_\_ Must try harder. (School report)

*French examples<sup>4</sup>*

- (6) a. \_\_\_ M'accompagne au Mercure, puis à la gare.  
b. 1926 A l'occasion de son soixantième anniversaire, \_\_\_ reçoit de nombreux hommages du monde entier. (Kandinsky, MSK, Brussels June 2013)  
c. *Aigle Royal (Aquila chrysaetos)*  
\_\_\_ Fréquente les zones montagneuses et les grandes forêts d'altitude. \_\_\_ Se nourrit de gros oiseaux, de mammifères, marmottes notamment, et de charognes.  
(*La biodiversité en Wallonie*, <http://biodiversite.wallonie.be/fr/>)  
d. Après ouverture, \_\_\_ se conserve encore 3 jours au frigo.

- (*Pâtes fraîches aux œufs farcies aux truffes*. Inv/imp : NV Copimex, SA.)  
e. \_\_\_ Préparons les photocopies. (email)

## Outline

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## 2. Register determined subject omission in writing and subject omission in spoken English

Quirk et al (1985: 896-7): subject omission in informal speech:

- (7) a. \_\_\_ Beg your pardon. 1SG  
b. \_\_\_ Can't play at all. 3SG  
c. \_\_\_ Must be hot in Panama. 3SG weather *it*  
d. \_\_\_ Must be somebody waiting for you. 3SG expletive *there*

Distributional differences (Napoli 1982, Weir 2012, Lindstrom and Travis, to appear).  
Weir (2012: 107):<sup>5</sup>

- (i) Subject pronoun drop (SPD) in spoken English: Restriction on auxiliary

There are several configurations in which SPD is not permitted. ... verbs with clitic forms – namely *am, are, is, have, has, had, will* and *would* – seem unable to stand without a subject if they are uncliticised:

[*ec* = 'empty category', i.e. non overt subject, lh]

- [8] a. \**ec* am thinking of leaving tomorrow.  
b. \**ec* are going to get in trouble.  
c. \**ec* is going to the party.  
d. \**ec* have been to Turkey.  
e. \**ec* has left already.  
f. \**ec* will rain tomorrow.  
g. ?\**ec* would go to the party if I could.  
h. \**ec* had met John before then. (Weir 2012)

Subject omission in the written registers is attested with such auxiliaries:

- (9) a. \_\_\_ Have done 110 pages. (*Diary of Virginia Woolf*, p. 33; 1.11.)  
b. \_\_\_ Am reading the book of Job. (Plath, 1959. 290)

Table 1. Diary: subject omission in root clauses (Nanyan 2013)  
 Nanyan (2013): 5.469-word corpus: *Harry S. Truman 1947 Diary*,  
<http://www.trumanlibrary.org/diary/transcript.htm>.

	Total	Overt	Null
Non-contracted auxiliary	41	34	7
Non contracted copula <i>be</i>	52	51	1

(ii) Left peripheral adjuncts

SPD: incompatible with left peripheral adjuncts (Napoli 1982: 97f, and Weir 2012, but see Thrasher 1977) (10), this restriction does not hold for the written registers (11):

- (10) a. \*Tomorrow, \_\_\_ won't be in the office.  
 b. \*When I was in Paris, \_\_\_ visited the Louvre. (Weir 2012: 109, his (13))
- (11) a. With a sigh of relief \_\_\_ saw a heap of ruins.  
 (Woolf, V, 1940: 330; Ihsane 1998, (40j))  
 b. 2007 After several drink driving and drug charges, \_\_\_ attended mandatory and  
 voluntary rehab spells. (*Observer* 26.11.12 page 31 cols 1-2)  
 c. *Gannet* (Collins: page 18)  
 When fishing \_\_\_ plunges into sea from height of up to 40m.

Thrasher (1977), Napoli (1982) and Weir (2012): null subjects in spoken English = left edge phonological deletion. Given the distributional differences, this analysis does not carry over to subject omission in written registers, from now on abbreviated as WSO.

### 3. Properties of WSO

Interpretively, null subject is like a pronominal.

As is the case for ellipsis in general, the deleted material must be recoverable from the context, and hence the nominal expression must have a contextually accessible antecedent.

=> null subject has an anaphoric, i.e. 'pronominal', reading.

Null subject is 'informationally undistinguished' (Mikkelsen 2015) and Wexler (2013), i.e. the subject is discourse old. Lexical subjects will tend not to be discourse old.

#### 3.1. Syntactically active: triggers agreement (finite verb, participles, adjectives), binds reflexive

- (12) a. \_\_\_ Am reading the book of Job. (Plath, 1959: 290)  
 b. \_\_\_ Have done 110 pages. (*Diary of Virginia Woolf*, p. 33; 1.11.1936)  
 c. \_\_\_ has thrown her wedding ring into the cauldron too.  
 (*Diary of Virginia Woolf*, V: p. 6, 10.1.1936)

#### 3.2. No restriction on verb type

- (13) \_\_\_ Finished, almost, story of Shadow. (Plath, 287)

- \_\_\_ Hope I can work for some weekly in London. (Plath 295)  
 \_\_\_ May drive to Paris with him. (Plath 127)

### 3.3. Identification of the content of the non overt subject

#### 3.3.1. Not just first person singular

- (14) \_\_\_<sub>3sg</sub> Studies under [David] Daiches. (Plath, 1956, 126)  
 \_\_\_<sub>1pl</sub> Had exquisite lunch just off commercial square... (Plath, 1956, 136)  
 \_\_\_<sub>3pl</sub> Sat there for 3/4 hours. (Woolf, 1940, 334)

#### 3.3.2. May be non referential

- (15) a. Up at 6:45 - \_\_\_ Rained all day & rained hard at times (Sunday, October 4, 1964)  
 b. \_\_\_ Started raining this P.M. - Kitty came up this afternoon. Catherine & Gladys called - Hot dogs for supper & left-overs from yesterday. \_\_\_ Poured down rain tonite. (Monday, August 31, 1964) (a-d: <http://mymothersdiary.blogspot.be/>)

Table 2. Category of person and number of overt and null subjects in root clauses

	Total	Null	% Null
1 <sup>st</sup> person SG.	168	108	64,29%
1 <sup>st</sup> person PL.	39	19	48,72%
Lexical DP and 1 <sup>st</sup> person SG.	6	na	
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	2 <sup>6</sup>	0	
3 <sup>rd</sup> person SG. lexical NP	65	na	
3 <sup>rd</sup> person SG. Pronouns	66	8	6,1%
<i>Non referential</i>	12	5	41,67%
3 <sup>rd</sup> person PL. lexical NP	25	na	
3 <sup>rd</sup> person PL. pronouns	17	0	0
Total	400	135	33,75%

Nanyan (2013): 5.469-word corpus : *Harry S. Truman 1947 Diary*,  
<http://www.trumanlibrary.org/diary/transcript.htm>.

#### 3.3.3. Grammatical features not always recoverable from inflection

- (16) a. \_\_\_ Have been awake since black 3.30. (Plath, 1956, 154). ≠ 3sg  
 b. \_\_\_ Couldn't even read. (Plath, 1956, 108)  
 c. \_\_\_ Got up as brash, nerve-raking alarm ground off at 6. (Plath, 1956, 54)

#### 3.3.4. Referential Interpretation: recoverability

While the content of the WSO is mostly contextually recoverable, specific instances of WSO are not always uniquely recoverable: in (17), the WSO of *didn't eat* and (perhaps less likely) of *watched tv tonite* could be construed as 'I', i.e. the diary writer, as 'we', i.e. the writer and 'Ruby' and possibly even just as 'Ruby'.

- (17) I sat down & didn't even start supper - \_\_\_\_ Didn't feel good - \_\_\_\_ Think I got too much sun - Ruby came over for awhile - \_\_\_\_ Didn't eat supper until 7:15 - \_\_\_\_ Watched tv tonite - \_\_\_\_ Wrote a note to Vera & sent a birthday card.  
 (“*My mothersdiary.blogspot*”: (1964), Friday, August 21, 1964 )

#### 4. Distribution of WSO<sup>7</sup>

##### 4.1. Root phenomenon

For most speakers, WSO is restricted to root clauses (but for embedded null subjects see Haegeman & Ihsane 1999, 2002).

- (18) Embedded WSO is not attested:
- \_\_\_\_ Dreamt that \*(I) picked up a New Yorker. (Plath, 1982: 304)
  - \_\_\_\_ Says \*(he) has been struck by the number of more or less ordinary Conservatives \*(he) has met who are becoming perturbed by the Government's foreign policy. (*Orwell diaries*, Villa Simont, [22.11.38](http://www.orwelldiaries.com); <http://www.orwelldiaries.com>)
  - \_\_\_\_ Have dinner at Palace where \*(I) make a speech in reply to the Mexican President. (*Truman's diary*: <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/diary/7> January 1947)
  - \_\_\_\_ Separates from wife and moves into the Savoy hotel, where \*(he) meets Valerie Pitts (above right with Solti), whom \*(he) marries three years later. (*Observer* 9.9.12 page 17 col 2)

##### 4.2. “Left edge constraint”

WSO incompatible with left-peripheral fronting: subject auxiliary inversion, *wh*-fronting and argument fronting:

- (19) a. \* (When) will \_\_\_\_ see her again?  
 b. \*This book, \_\_\_\_ didn't like. (Wilder 1994,1997)

Cf. (11) WSO is compatible with sentence-initial adjuncts

#### 5. The syntax of WSO: what it is not

##### 5.1. Pro drop

- (20)It. a. \_\_\_\_ Parlo /parli /parla etc italiano.  
 Speak-1SG /speak-2SG /speak 3SG Italian  
 b. *pro* Parlo italiano.  
 c. Io parlo italiano.  
 I speak-1SG Italian

##### Problems for the pro drop analysis:

###### (i) Distribution

*pro* is compatible with embedded clauses, as well as with *wh*-fronting, focus-fronting and CLLD:

- (21)It. a. I ragazzi cantano [quando *pro* lavorano].  
 the boys sing.3PL when *pro* work.3PL  
 ‘The boys sing while they are working.’
- b. Quando tornerà *pro*?  
 when return.FUT.3SG *pro*?  
 ‘When will he/she come back?’
- c. GIULIA *pro* hanno invitato, (non Marina).  
 Giulia *pro* have-3PL invited (*non* Marina)
- d. Questo libro, *pro* non lo voglio.  
 This book *pro non* it want-1SG

(ii) Interpretation

Samek-Lodovici (1996, 29): the nominal complement of the AGENT *by*-phrase cannot be an antecedent to *pro* in Italian (22a). The the nominal complement of the AGENT *by*-phrase can antecede WSO (22b):

- (22)It a. Questa mattina, la mostra é stata visitata da Gianni  
 This morning the exhibition has been visited by Gianni  
 Più tardi, \**pro*<sub>i</sub>/egli/lui ha visitato l’università.  
 Later on, he has visited the university  
 (Samek-Lodovici 1996 : 31, (3))
- b. \_\_\_<sub>k</sub> Was contacted by the **department secretary**<sub>i</sub> in the morning.  
 \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> Told me he urgently needed the financial reports.

5.2. Topic drop (cf. Huang 1984, Raposo 1986)

- (23)Prt.a. O Manel guardou \_\_\_ no cofre da sala de jantar.  
 Manuel kept in the safe of the dining room (Raposo 1986:381, (16a))
- b. Eu disse ao António [que pedise ao Manel  
 I told Antonio that he-asked Manuel  
 [que guardasse \_\_\_ no cofre de sala de jantar]].  
 that he-keeps in the safe of the dining room (Raposo 1986:381: (16b))

Analysis: movement of topic to the left periphery:

- (24) a. [TOPIC] O Manel guardou \_\_\_ no cofre da sala de jantar.  
 ←
- b. [TOPIC] Eu disse ao António [que pedise ao Manel  
 ← [que guardasse \_\_\_ no cofre de sala de jantar]].

Haegeman 1990, Hyams and Wexler 1993, Matushansky 1995: WSO=Topic drop

Problems for the topic drop analysis:

(i) Distribution

Topic drop affects objects (23). No systematic object drop in the diary register.<sup>8</sup>  
 Topic may originate in an embedded clause (23b). WSO is a root phenomenon (18).

(ii) Interpretation

Non-referential subjects are not plausible topics. WSO can be non referential (17).

**6. WSO and coreference effects**

Though by and large equivalent to a pronominal subject, the WSO pattern cannot always be derived by simply deleting a pronominal subject of a root clause.

In a root clause with initial adjunct, an overt subject pronoun may be coreferential with a nominal expression contained in the adjunct (*he=Mourinho* in (25a)). This coreference relation is unavailable with WSO in what (at first sight) would look like the same context (25b).

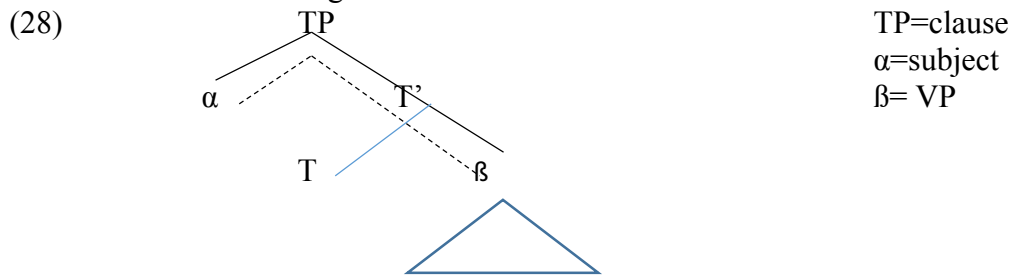
- (25) a. During Mourinho's<sub>3</sub> first year in London, he<sub>i/3</sub> became famous for his grey Armani coat.
- b. During Mourinho's<sub>3</sub> first year in London, [   ]<sub>i/\*3</sub> became famous for his grey Armani coat.<sup>9</sup>

The coreference effect does not arise when a left peripheral adjunct contains a possessive pronoun: the relevant pronoun can be coreferential with the WSO (26a,b).

- (26) a. During his<sub>3</sub> first year in London, he<sub>i/3</sub> became famous for his grey Armani coat.
- b. During his<sub>3</sub> first year in London, [   ]<sub>i/3</sub> became famous for his grey Armani coat.

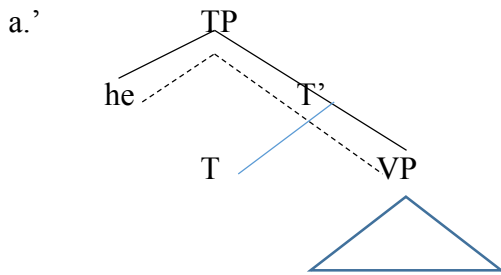
- (27) a. *Principle C (Binding theory: Chomsky 1981) (informal statement):*  
a referential expression cannot be referentially dependent on a c-commanding nominal (pronoun or referential expression).

- b. *C-command*  
a constituent  $\alpha$  c-commands another constituent  $\beta$  iff the first branching node dominating  $\alpha$  also dominates  $\beta$ .

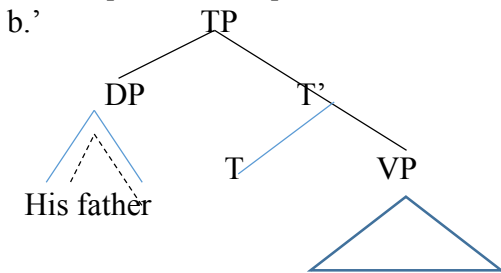


$\alpha$  c-commands (a constituent contained in)  $\beta$ ;  
(a constituent contained in)  $\beta$  does not c-command  $\alpha$ .

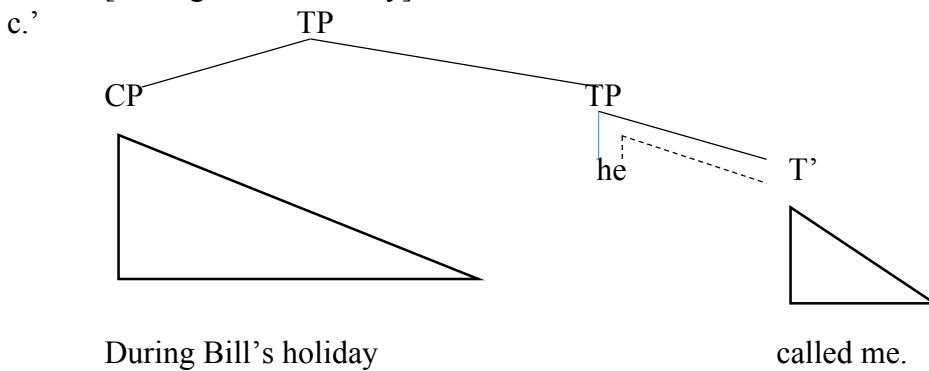
(28) a. He<sub>i/\*3</sub> told Bill<sub>3</sub> to leave. \*he=Bill



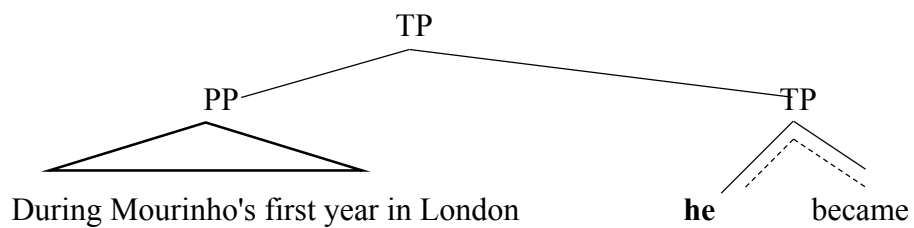
b. [His<sub>i/3</sub> father] told Bill<sub>3</sub> to leave. OK: his=Bill



c. [During Bill's<sub>s3</sub> holiday] he<sub>i/3</sub> called me. OK: he=Bill



(29) a.(=25a)

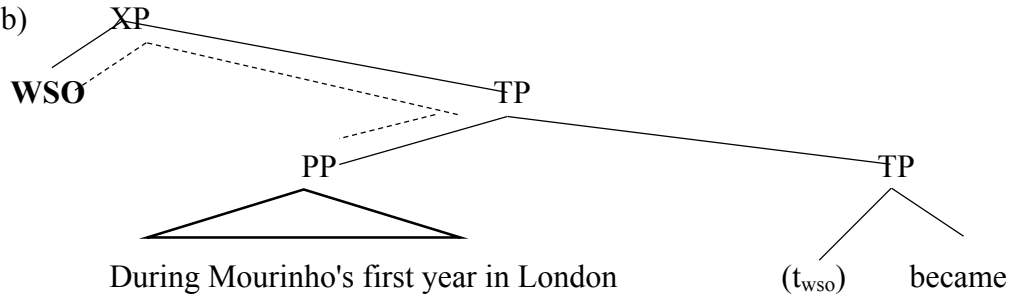


To capture the contrast between (25a=29a) and (25b), (25b) could be interpreted as a principle C violation with the referential DP *Mourinho* being illicitly referentially dependent on the WSO

- ⇒ WSO has to c-command the referential DP (*Mourinho*)
- ⇒ hence WSO cannot occupy the same position as the pronoun *he* in (25a-29a).
- ⇒ hypothesis:



(29) b.(=25b)

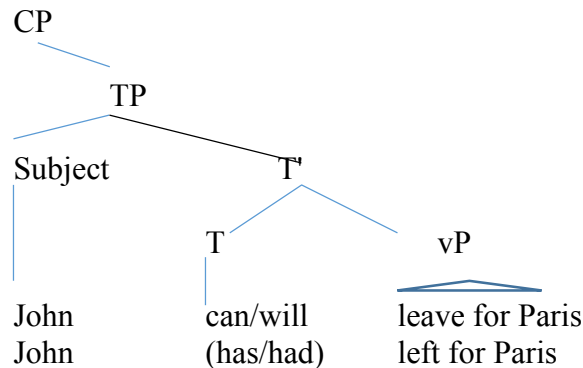


Which position does the WSO move to? What is projection XP in (29b)?

## 7. WSO as the subject of predication

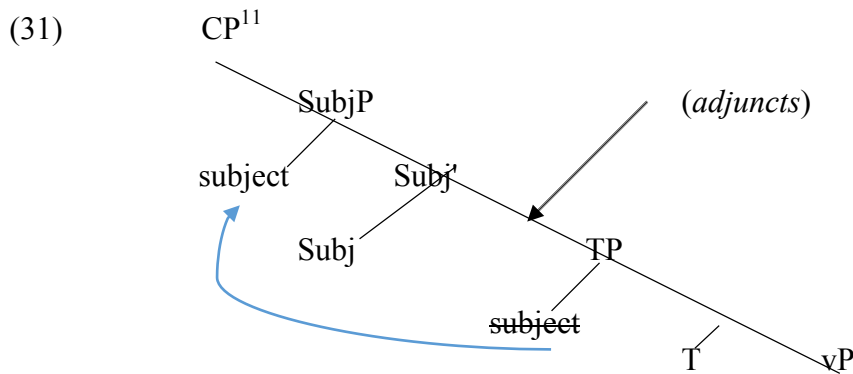
### 7.1. Decomposing TP: *SubjP*

(30) Minimalist clause structure



- (i) Unique subject position: the subject = specifier of TP;
- (ii) subject = specifier of TP => adjacent to the constituent (finite auxiliary) in T.

(i) Cartography (Rizzi 1997, Cinque 1999): decomposition of the subject position. Cardinaletti (1997, 2004), Haegeman (2002), Rizzi and Shlonsky (2005, 2006), the subject position ('SpecTP') is decomposed in terms of (at least) two positions, SpecSubj<sup>10</sup> and SpecT:



T is the functional head encoding temporal relations; T is involved in finite agreement + assigning the (nominative) case form of the subject.

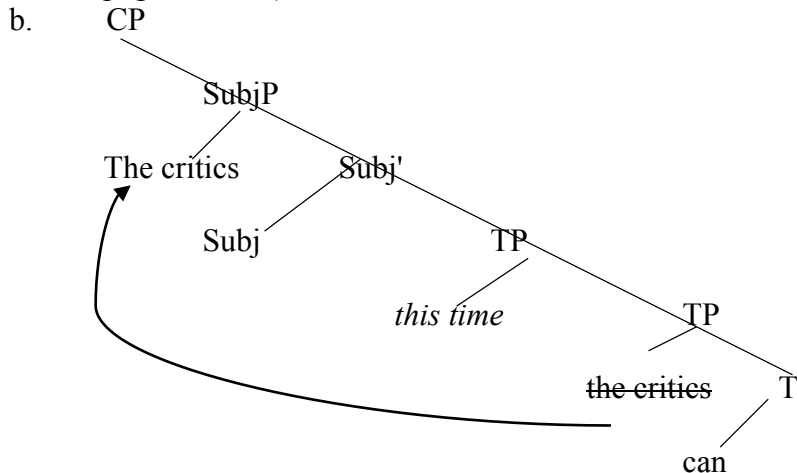
Subj is a predication type functional head, whose specifier encodes the subject of predication (Cardinaletti 1997, 2004) or the aboutness subject.

=> TP adjoined constituents can intervene between the subject in SpecSubjP and the auxiliary in T (cf. arrow in (31)).

(ii) the English middlefield (Haegeman 2002)

A (temporal) modifier may be inserted between subject and constituent in T (auxiliary).

(32) a. The critics this time can only award their prize posthumously. (*Observer* 30.5.10, page 20 col 1)



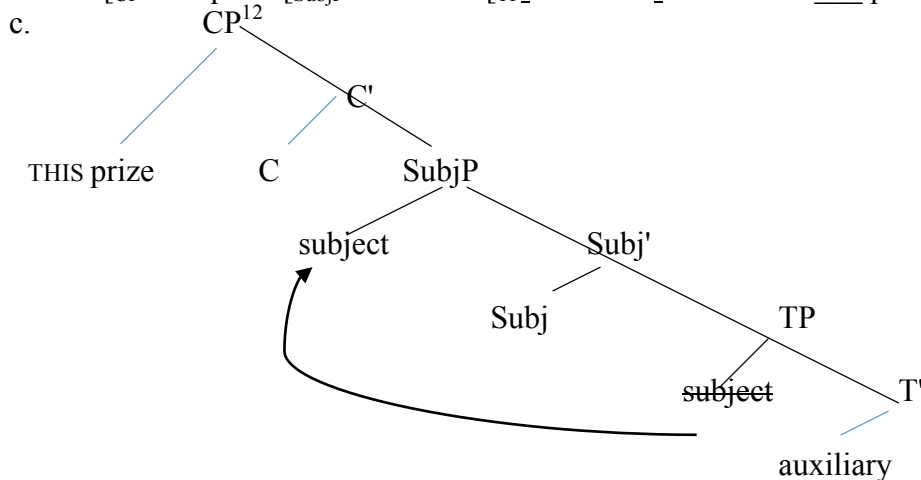
Prediction: adjunct/argument asymmetry:

A fronted argument (*his own position*) moves to a topic position => in CP layer => above SubjP.

A fronted argument may not be inserted between subject and constituent in T (auxiliary).

(33) a. \*The critics THIS prize will award \_\_\_ posthumously.

b. [<sub>CP</sub> THIS prize [<sub>SubjP</sub> the critics [<sub>TP</sub> the critics will award \_\_\_ posthumously]]].



## 7.2. WSO and SubjP: a proposal

Recall: WSO: adjunct/argument asymmetry ((11) vs. (19b):

- (34) a. This time \_\_\_ have awarded the prize posthumously.  
 b. \* THIS prize \_\_\_ have awarded posthumously this time.

Hypothesis:

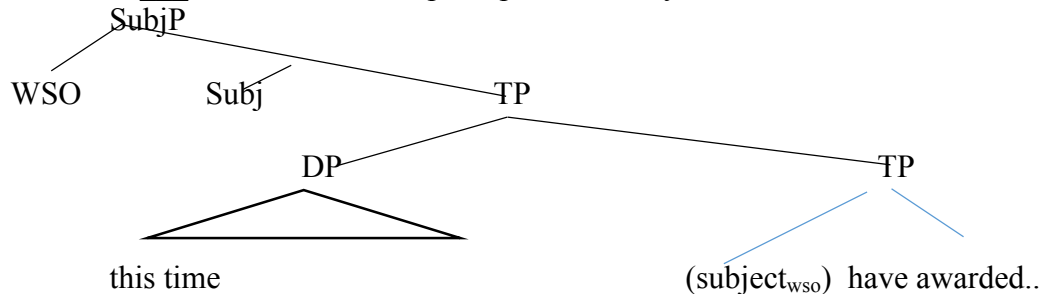
(i) Which position does the WSO move to? What is projection XP in (29b)?

WSO: movement to SubjP.

+

(ii) WSO depends on the possibility of terminating the projection at the level of SubjP, i.e. SubjP must be the 'root' projection and all higher structure (=CP) remains unprojected. For a theoretical underpinning of this root restriction: Rizzi (2006).

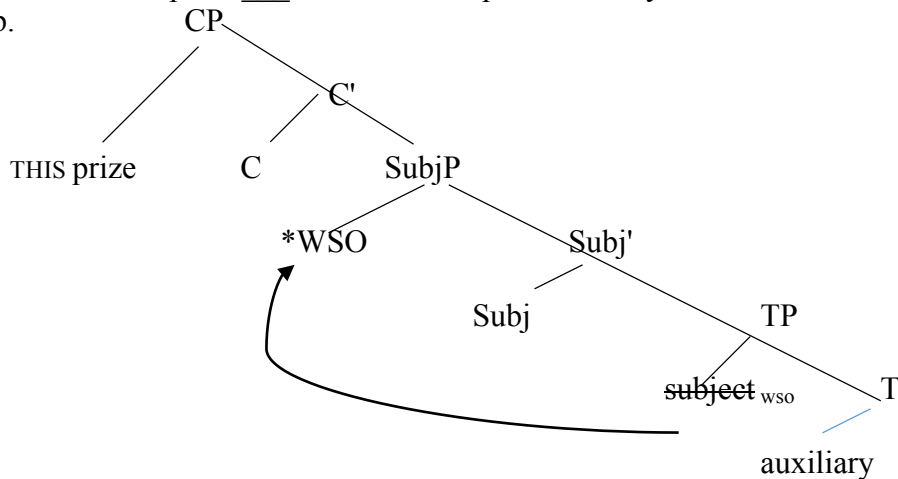
- (35) a. This time \_\_\_ have awarded the prize posthumously.  
 b.



### 7.3. Adjuncts and WSO

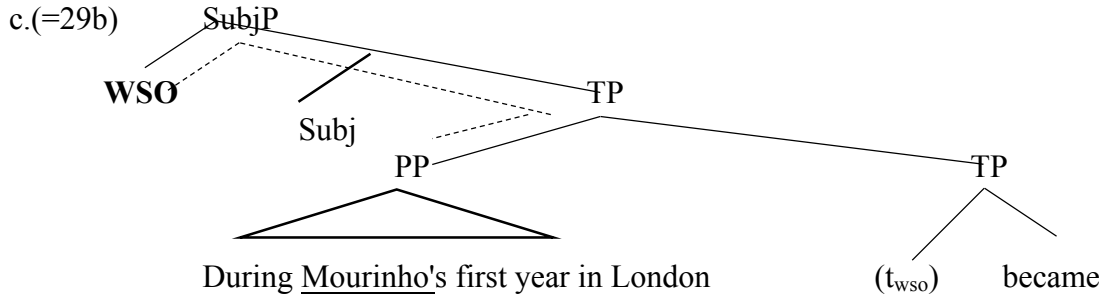
#### 7.3.1. Adjunct argument asymmetry

- (36) a. \*THIS prize \_\_\_ have awarded posthumously.  
 b.



#### 7.3.2. Coreference effects

- (37) a. During Mourinho's<sub>3</sub> first year in London, he<sub>i/3</sub> became famous for his grey Armani coat (29a).  
 b. During Mourinho's<sub>3</sub> first year in London, [\_\_<sub>i/\*3</sub>] became famous for his grey Armani coat.



- (38) a. During his<sub>3</sub> first year in London, he<sub>i/3</sub> became famous for his grey Armani coat.  
 b. During his<sub>3</sub> first year in London, [  ]<sub>i/3</sub> became famous for his grey Armani coat.  
 c. [<sub>SubjP</sub> WSO<sub>3</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> during his <sub>i/3</sub> first year [<sub>TP</sub> Subj<sub>wso3</sub> became...]]].

7.3.3. A prediction: long moved adjuncts

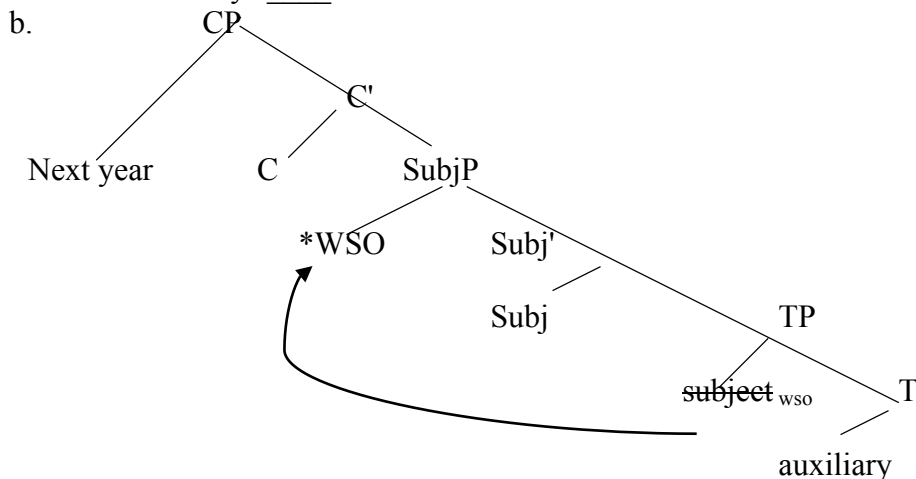
Long-moved adjuncts pattern with fronted arguments and can only move to the CP domain:

- (39) a. John Prescott believes [<sub>CP</sub> (that) [ there will be an improvement in the performance of the railways next year]]  
 b. \*John Prescott next year believes [<sub>CP</sub> (that) [ there will be an improvement in the performance of the railways    ]]  
 c. Next year John Prescott believes [<sub>CP</sub> (that) [ there will be an improvement in the performance of the railways    ]]

The adjuncts compatible with WSO are TP adjoined, i.e. crucially they are not in the CP layer.

Prediction: because long-moved adjuncts cannot target a TP-internal position and must end up in a superordinate CP (39b vs 39c)=> long-moved adjuncts will be incompatible with WSO. See Haegeman (2002) and Weir (2012:12) for additional examples.

- (40) a. \*Next year    believes (that) there will be an improvement in the performance of the railways   .



7.4. Issues for further research

7.4.1. Weight restrictions and the initial adjunct

In my analysis, an initial adjunct in a WSO pattern is TP-adjoined and thus linearly to the right of the landing site of SpecSubjP. An overt pronominal subject in SpecSubjP would precede such adjuncts but an overt pronoun is strongly dispreferred to the left of the longer of these adjuncts. Only a stressed pronoun can occur there (41). Perhaps, this restriction is due a weight requirement (ultimately a PF requirement) on constituents in the middlefield, the weak unstressed pronoun being unable to be followed immediately by a heavy constituent (Quirk 1985: 492, 514, 521, Ernst 2002a: 504, 2002b: 194, Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 780).

- (41) a. The actor/ ??He after several drink driving and drug charges, attended mandatory and voluntary rehab spells.  
b. The actress/ ??She while in Cannes for the film festival, missed a progress hearing  
c. The bird/\*it when fishing plunges into sea from height of up to 40m.

#### 7.4.2. Speculation on the absence of CP in abbreviated registers

If the C layer contains, among other things, the complementizer (*that, if*) and the inverted auxiliary, and if it encodes illocutionary force (Rizzi 1997), the question arises how (or whether) clauses that terminate below CP, i.e. at SubjP, can encode (declarative) illocutionary force.

Registers instantiating WSO are related to in specialised and restricted communicative situations. Notably, in the diary style, for instance, there is no interaction between discourse participants. The speaker/writer is not addressing an external hearer/reader. There is no updating of the writer's background by the interlocutor, the background is the writer's background and remains unchanged throughout the diary entry.

Similarly, global topic texts are set apart from the main body of the newspaper communication (among others in terms of their typography) and their topic is held constant across the entire text.

I speculate that such specialised communicative contexts serve to set up a global and invariable interface with the discourse (a global CP) with fixed discourse coordinates that are constant across sentences. The invariant discourse coordinates may then allow for a truncation of the left periphery, i.e. the interface between the proposition and its discourse context.<sup>13</sup>

#### 7.4.3. A "grammar" of registers?

What is the relation between the 'grammar of specialised' registers and the core grammar of a language? Is this an instance of 'multilingualism'? is it a relation of core/periphery? Apart from various types of omissions (see also headlines, recipes etc), are other syntactic properties register relations? (cf. quiz questions with *wh in situ*).

Observe that the parallelism between WSO and subject ellipsis in coordination (Wilder 1994/1997, Haegeman 2013) also suggests that WSO is a grammatical phenomenon.

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## Notes

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- <sup>1</sup> This research is funded by FWO Belgium as part of project 2009-Odysseus-Haegeman-G091409.
- <sup>2</sup> Subject omission in the register of notes may be more like that encountered in text messages. On the latter see also Stark and Robert-Tissot (2015).
- <sup>3</sup> As pointed out by Andrew Radford (p.c.) the question arises whether article drop as illustrated in this example is to be attributed to the same phenomenon as subject drop. Though this is in principle possible, and obviously would be desirable, unifying the two phenomena is problematic because they do not necessarily coincide: while French diary writing has subject drop, it seems to lack article drop. This issue needs to be investigated further. Similarly, the abbreviated registers also display copula drop (*Leonard sick*). As will become clear from the discussion, the analysis for subject drop which developed here does not capture this.
- <sup>4</sup> According to Matushansky (1995), French stage directions do not allow subject ellipsis.
- <sup>5</sup> As pointed out by Andrew Radford (p.c.) there is also variation in spoken English: AR would accept several of the starred examples in an informal spoken register.
- <sup>6</sup> Nanyan (2013: 30, her (126))
- (i) a. But they all walk up and down the halls of this place and moan about what they should have done and didn't. So-*you* see. I've only named a few. (Truman Diary, 1947, 6 Jan.)
- b. The rule around here is that no one may speak to the President. I break it every day and make 'em speak to me. So-*you* see what I get. But I still want 'em to tell me. (idem. 16 Jan.)
- <sup>7</sup> As shown in Wilder (1994/1997), the distribution of WSO is like the distribution of subject ellipsis with second conjuncts. In Haegeman (2013) I propose that the analysis presented here also captures subject ellipsis in second conjuncts. For reasons of time, I cannot go into this here.
- <sup>8</sup> Object drop is frequent in recipe contexts. In the diary register described here there is no object drop. See however Haegeman and Ihsane (1999, 2002) for the variety of diary writing which allows embedded null subjects as well as object drop.
- <sup>9</sup> The representation of the examples will be modified below.
- <sup>10</sup> Shlonsky (2014) suggests that Subj is associated with Person features.
- <sup>11</sup> 'CP': shorthand for the articulated left periphery of the clause. I represent the adjunct *yesterday* as a TP adjunct. This is a simplification.
- <sup>12</sup> 'CP': shorthand for the articulated left periphery of the clause (Rizzi 1997).
- <sup>13</sup> As pointed out by Andrew Radford (p.c.), an alternative to the 'truncation' of CP is to consider that Force, Fin and Subj are syncretic. Possibly this could be achieved by Subj to C movement. On this assumption, it would be the syncretism that is register specific. I leave this avenue for future research.