IP-ellipsis in Dutch dialect clefts

Lobke Aelbrecht
CRISSP/Brussels
lobke.aelbrecht@kubrussel.ac.be

OUTLINE OF THE TALK
1 Introduction: X + that-clause
2 The basic data: what is X?
3 The analysis: clausal ellipsis
4 Other cases of clausal ellipsis
5 Remaining problem: the disappearance of zo
6 Conclusion

1 INTRODUCTION: X + THAT-CLAUSE

Belgian Dutch allows for sentences of the type in (1):

(1) a. Misschien dat Kris komt.
perhaps that Kris comes
"It is perhaps the case that Kris is coming."

b. Goed dat Kris komt.
good that Kris comes
"It is good that Kris is coming."

 Main claim of this talk: (1) involves fronting, followed by clausal ellipsis (cf.(2))

(2) a. [CP Misschien da Kris komt [CP het is zo + misschien da Kris komt]]
perhaps that Kris comes it is so
b. [CP Goed da Kris komt [CP het is + goed da Kris komt]].
good that Kris comes it is

2 THE BASIC DATA: WHAT IS X?

Overview:
2.1 Determining the category of X
2.2 Adverbs
2.3 Adjectives
2.4 Adjective-adverbs
2.5 Modification
2.6 Summary

2.1 Determining the category of X

X + that-clause: X = adjective or sentential adverb
Problem: no morphological distinction between adverbs and adjectives in Dutch
 categorization based on the syntactic distribution:

(3) Adjective: a. een vreemde zaak
a strange case
b. Dat hij niet komt, is vreemd.
that he not comes is strange
"That he doesn’t come, is strange.” [Dutch]

(4) (Sentential) Adverb: Kaat slaapt misschien.
Kaat sleeps perhaps
"Perhaps Kaat is sleeping.” [Dutch]

(5) Ambiguous: a. de waarschijnlijke winnaar
the probable winner
b. Kaat slaapt waarschijnlijk.
Kaat sleeps probably
"Kaat probably sleeps.” [Dutch]
→ Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst (General Dutch Grammar): when adjectives are used adverbially, they are considered a subclass of the adverbs

→ label: adjective-adverb

◆ When we look at co-occurrence possibilities with zo in het is X (zo) dat... (‘it is X {so/the case} + that-clause), the same three groups are distinguished:

(6) It is ADV *(so) that...
   a. Het is misschien *(zo) da Kris komt.
      it is perhaps so that Kris comes
      “It is perhaps the case that Kris is coming.”
      [Dutch]
   b. Het is goed *(zo) da Kris komt.
      it is good so that Kris comes
      “It is good that Kris is coming.”
      [Dutch]
   c. Het is waarschijnlijk *(zo) da Kris komt.
      it is probably so that Kris comes
      “It is probably the case/probable that Kris is coming.”
      [Dutch]

2.2 Adverbs

(7) a. Misschien da Kris komt.
      perhaps that Kris comes
      “It is perhaps the case that Kris is coming.”
      [Dutch]
   b.* Altijd da Kris komt.
      always that Kris comes
      [Belgian Dutch]

◆ Adverb order displays cross-linguistic restrictions (Cinque 1999):

    he talks intentionally too fast
    “Probably he intentionally talks too fast.”
    [English]
   b. * Hij praat opzettelijk waarschijnlijk te snel.
      [Dutch]
   * he talks intentionally probably too fast
      [English]

→ Cinque (1999): ordering of adverbs:
   high adverbs: speaker-oriented, e.g. probably (expresses modality)
   middle adverbs: subject-oriented, e.g. intentionally
   low adverbs verb modifiers, e.g. fast (manner adverb)

(9)

The adverbs occurring in X + that-clause are restricted to the modality adverbs, a subclass of the speaker-oriented adverbs.


2.3. Adjectives

(11) Logisch/Vreemd da Kris komt.
    logical strange that Kris comes
    “It is logical/strange that Kris is coming.”
    [Belgian Dutch]
2.4. Adjective-adverbs

(13) Waarschijnlijk da Kris komt.
probably that Kris comes
“It is {probably the case/probable} that Kris comes.” [Belgian Dutch]

Like the ‘real’ adverbs the adjective-adverbs in X + that-clause express modality.

(14) waarschijnlijk ‘probably’, klaarblijkelijk ‘obviously’, zeker ‘certainly’ and mogelijk ‘possibly’

2.5. Modification

◆ Lower (not speaker oriented) adverbs & degree words cannot occur on their own in X + that-clause (cf.(7)b), but they can modify either modality or evaluation, or both.

(15) a. Altijd beter dat er iemand ouder bij is.
always better that there someone older with is
“It is always better to have someone older there too.”

b. Misschien vaak niet slecht dat hij erbij is.
perhaps often not bad that he there with is
“It is perhaps often not bad to have him there too.”

c. Heel misschien da hij komt.
very perhaps that he comes
“There is a slight chance that he might be coming.” [Belgian Dutch]

2.6. Summary

◆ Three groups of words occur in X + that-clause: adverbs, adjectives and adjective-adverbs.

→ test: co-occurrence with zo in het is X (zo) dat… ‘it is X (so/the case) that…’:

- With adverbs zo is obligatory:
  Het is ADV *(zo) dat…
- With adjectives zo is prohibited:
  Het is ADJ *(zo) dat…
- With adjective-adverbs zo is optional:
  Het is ADJ-ADV (zo) dat…

◆ adverbs and adjective-adverbs: speaker-oriented modality
adjectives: speaker-oriented evaluation

◆ Lower adverbs can only occur in X + that-clause when they modify modal adverbs or evaluative adjectives.
3 THE ANALYSIS: CLAUSAL ELLIPSIS

Main claim: X+ that-clause is derived through ellipsis (cf. (16) & (17))

(16) Het is misschien zo dat Kris komt.
    it is perhaps so that Kris comes
    “It is perhaps the case that Kris is coming.” [Belgian Dutch]

(17) Het is goed dat Kris komt.
    It is good that Kris comes
    “It is good that Kris is coming.” [Belgian Dutch]

Overview:
3.1 Conditions on ellipsis
3.2 A closer look at the syntactic structure
3.3 Ellipsis of het is X(zo) dat(...)

3.1 Conditions on ellipsis

1 Recoverability: Only recoverable elements may be elided.
   1) semantically empty elements (cf. (16) & (17))
      2) contextually given elements (cf. (18))

(18) Jella likes cats, but Sofie does not like cats. [English]

2 Structural restrictions: Only elements forming a constituent can be elided

(19) Thomas geeft een boek aan Anne en Stijn geeft een cd aan Roos.
    Thomas gives a book to Anne and Stijn gives a cd to Roos
    “Thomas gives a book to Anne and Stijn gives a cd to Roos.” [Dutch]

(20) *Thomas geeft een boek aan Anne en Stijn geeft een cd aan Roos.
    Thomas gives a book to Anne and Stijn gives a cd to Roos
    [Dutch]

→ the elided elements do not form a constituent here

in (16) and (17) they do form a constituent: see section 3.2

3.2 A closer look at the syntactic structure

(21) a. Het is misschien wel niet slecht dat Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
    it is perhaps not bad that Jessica it her told has
    “It is perhaps not bad that Jessica told her.”

    b. Misschien wel niet slecht dat Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
    perhaps not bad that Jessica it her told has
    “It is perhaps not bad that Jessica told her.” [Belgian Dutch]

◆ Most simple hypothesis for (21): *misschien wel niet slecht forms one constituent.

→ not true (Dutch being a verb second language): *misschien wel niet slecht cannot
   occur to the left of the finite verb (cf. (22))

(22) *Misschien wel niet slecht is het dat Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
    perhaps not bad is it that Jessica it her told has
    [Belgian Dutch]

→ the combination *misschien wel niet slecht is not one constituent

◆ Possible combinations of adverbs, a particle, negation and an adjective in the non-
   elliptical sentence:
3.3 Ellipsis of het is X (zo) da(t)…

3.3.1 What is elided? What survives?

X + that-clause with an adjectival predicate

(27) *Het is misschien wel niet slecht da Kris komt. 
    it is perhaps not bad that Kris is coming.

X + that-clause with zo as its predicate

(28) a. *Het is misschien wel niet zo da Kris komt. 
    it is perhaps not so that Kris is coming.
    b. Het is misschien wel niet zo da Kris komt. 
    it is perhaps not so that Kris is coming.

Het is ADV PRT NEG ADJ da Jessica het haar verteld heeft

→ The ADJ position is obligatorily filled, the others are optional:

(24) a. *Het is misschien wel niet X da Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
   it is perhaps PRT not that Jessica it her told has
   Het is misschien wel niet slecht da Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
   “It is perhaps not bad that Jessica told her.” [Belgian Dutch]

When no adjectival predicate is available, the semantically underspecified zo ‘the-case’ is inserted:

   it is perhaps that Jessica it her told has
   Het is misschien wel niet slecht da Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
   “It is perhaps not bad that Jessica told her.” [Dutch]

→ zo is a dummy predicate, in complementary distribution with adjectival predicates.

(26) *Het is slecht zo da Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
    it is bad so that Jessica it her told has [Dutch]
Ellipsis: 2 steps

Movement of *misschien wel niet slecht da Kris komt* (modality phrase in (29))

\[ (29) \quad \text{CP} \quad \text{C'} \quad \text{C}^0 \quad \text{IP} \quad \text{DP} \quad \text{I'} \quad \text{I}^0 \quad \text{ModP} \quad \text{AP} \quad \text{IP} \quad \text{DP} \quad \text{I}^0 \quad \text{tModP} \]

Ellipsis of IP (Inflectional Phrase)

\[ (30) \quad \text{CP} \quad \text{ModP} \quad \text{C'} \quad \text{IP} \quad \text{DP} \quad \text{I'} \quad \text{I}^0 \quad \text{tModP} \]

\[ (31) \quad [\text{CP} \quad \text{ModP} \quad \text{misschien wel niet slecht da Kris komt}] \quad [\text{IP} \quad \text{het} \quad \text{is} \quad \text{tModP}] \]

4 OTHER CASES OF CLAUSAL ELLIPSIS

Overview:
- 4.1 Sluicing
- 4.2 Fragment answers
- 4.3 Spading

– Other constructions analyzed as movement to the left periphery of the sentence, followed by IP ellipsis:

4.1 Sluicing

– traditional analysis of sluicing: ellipsis of IP (Merchant 2001)

\[ (32) \quad \text{Someone has stolen my bike, but I don't know who [in English]} \]
4.2 Fragment answers

◆ Merchant (2004): fragment moves to the left periphery of the clause, and IP is elided

(33) A: What did he give to the cat?
B: Food [he gave t to the cat] [English]

4.3 Spading

◆ Belgian Dutch dialects: SPADING ‘Sluicing Plus A Demonstrative In Non-insular Germanic’ (Van Craenenbroeck 2004, 2005)

(34) A: Monika heeft iemand gezien.
   Monika has someone seen
B: Wie da?
   who that
   “Monika has seen someone.” – “Who?” [Belgian Dutch]

Van Craenenbroeck (2004, 2005): the underlying sentence of the spaded clause is a cleft with a demonstrative pronoun da as its subject. Da moves to the left periphery of the clefted clause.

(35) da is wie da Monika gezien heeft
    that is who that_monik_a seen has
    = underlying cleft

(36) Wie is da t wie da Monika gezien heeft?
    who is that that_monik_a seen has
    “Who is it that Monika has seen?”
    = cleft question

(37) [Wie [ da [ t wie [ da Monika gezien heeft?]]]]
    who that is that_monik_a seen has
    “Who?”
    = spading

5 REMAINING PROBLEM: THE DISAPPEARANCE OF ZO

◆ Dummy predicate zo (or a similar existential predicate such as het geval ‘the case’) is needed in the non-elliptical sentence when there is no adjective:

(38) a. Het is misschien {zo/het geval} da Marsha ook gaat.
    it is perhaps so/the case that Marsha also goes
   “It is perhaps the case that Marsha is also going.”

   b. * Het is misschien da Marsha ook gaat.
    it is perhaps that Marsha also goes

   [Belgian Dutch]

◆ zo is excluded from X + that-clause (as is het geval):

(39) a. Misschien da Marsha ook gaat.
    perhaps that Marsha also goes
   “It is perhaps the case that Marsha is also going.”

   b. * Misschien {zo/het geval} da Marsha ook gaat.
    perhaps so/the case that Marsha also goes

   [Belgian Dutch]

Problem: zo is inside ModP (in the adjective-position)
   ⇒ it should survive the ellipsis!

◆ Zo behaves differently in constructions without ellipsis as well:

   ⇒ restriction disallowing fronting of ‘existential’ predicates such as zo and het geval (cf.(40)).

(40) a. Het is misschien wel {zo/het geval} da Marsha ook gaat.
    it is perhaps PRT so/the case that Marsha also goes
   “It is perhaps the case that Marsha also goes.”

   b. * {Zo/Het geval} is het misschien wel da Marsha ook gaat.
    perhaps so/the case is it perhaps PRT that Marsha also goes

   [Belgian Dutch]
This restriction does not apply to the (evaluative) adjectives (cf. (41)).

(41) a. Het is misschien wel leuk da Marsha ook gaat.
   it is perhaps PRT nice that Marsha also goes
   “It is perhaps nice that Marsha also goes.”

   b. Leuk is het misschien wel da Marsha ook gaat.
   nice is it perhaps PRT that Marsha also goes
   “It is perhaps nice that Marsha also goes.”

   [Belgian Dutch]

Possible solution: because of this restriction, zo cannot be fronted together with
misschien wel → zo is moved to a position higher than the adverb,
but inside IP. When IP is elided, so is zo, since it is still in IP.

Problem: this rather ad hoc solution is not completely satisfactory
→ remaining questions: Where exactly does zo move to and why?
    Why does zo HAVE to move when misschien wel (niet) moves, and only in that case?

→ further research

6 Conclusion

◆ Main claim: X + that-clause involves movement + clausal ellipsis
Underlying structure: Het is X dat… ‘it is X + that-clause’

◆ X can contain an adverb, the particle wel, negation or affirmation and an
  (adjectival) predicate.

◆ The adverbs in X + that-clause express modality and the adjectives express the
  speaker’s evaluation of the proposition in the that-clause.

◆ X + that-clause is derived in two steps: first the elements in X and the that-clause
  move to the left periphery of the clause, and then the IP is deleted.

References

Cinque, G. (1994). “On the evidence for partial N movement in the Romance DP”. In:

Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Utrecht: LOT.

Craenenbroeck, J. van (2005). “Adverbial modification under sluicing”. In: Kiyong
Choi and Changguk Yim (eds.), Ellipsis in Minimalism, Proceedings of the 7th
Seoul International Conference on Generative Grammar. Seoul: Hankook,
pp.77-102.

Haeseryn, W., Romijn, K, Geerts, G., Rooij, J De & Toorn, M.C. Van den (1997).
Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst (ANS). Groningen/Deurne: Martinus
Nijhoff/Wolters Plantyn.

movement types”. GG@G 1, pp.55-104.


661-738.