IP-ellipsis in Dutch dialect clefts

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OUTLINE OF THE TALK

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1 INTRODUCTION: X + *THAT*-CLAUSE

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

(1) a. Misschien da Kris komt.
    perhaps that Kris comes
    "It is perhaps the case that Kris is coming."
  b. Goed da Kris komt.
    good that Kris comes
    "It is good that Kris is coming."   [Belgian Dutch]

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

(2) a. [$_{CP}$ Misschien da Kris komt [$_{IP}$ ~~het is zo t$_{misschien da Kris komt}$~~]]
    perhaps that Kris comes **it is so**
  b. [$_{CP}$ Goed da Kris komt [$_{IP}$ ~~het is t$_{goed da Kris komt}$~~]].
    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
<u>Problem</u>: no morphological distinction between adverbs and adjectives in Dutch
→ categorization based on the syntactic distribution:

(3) **Adjective**: a. een vreemde zaak   (attributive use)
            a strange case
        b. Dat hij niet komt, is vreemd. (predicative use)
            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
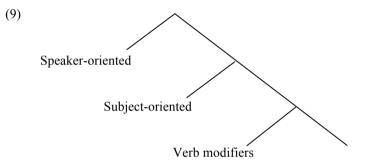
→ label: **adjective-adverb**

◆ 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]
   It is ADJ (*so) that…
   b. Het   is   goed   (*zo)   da   Kris   komt.
      it   is   good   so   that   Kris   comes
      "It is good that Kris is coming."   [Dutch]
   It is ADJ-ADV (so)   that…
   c. Het   is   waarschijnlijk (zo)   da   Kris   komt.
      it   is   probabl{e/y}   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."
   b.* Altijd   da   Kris komt.
      always   that Kris comes   [Belgian Dutch]

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

(8) a. Hij   praat waarschijnlijk opzettelijk   te   snel.   [Dutch]
      he   talks probably   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.

(10)   *wellicht* 'perchance', *allicht* 'most likely', *blijkbaar* 'apparently', *misschien* 'perhaps', *uiteraard* 'indeed', *(na)tuurlijk* 'naturally', *zeker en vast* 'definitely', *alleszins* 'absolutely' and *ongetwijfeld* 'undoubtedly'

2.3. Adjectives

(11) Logisch/Vreemd   da   Kris   komt.
     logical   strange   that Kris   comes
     "It is logical/strange that Kris is coming."   [Belgian Dutch]

◆ Cinque (1994) & Laenzlinger (2000): hierarchy for adjectives, parallel to that for adverbs (cf. (9))

→ speaker-oriented adj > subject-oriented adj > manner/thematic adj

➔ The adjectives occurring in X + *that*-clause are evaluative and speaker-oriented: they all express the speaker's opinion about the proposition in the *that*-clause.

(12) *logisch* 'logical', *evident* 'evident', *nogal wiedes* 'goes without saying', *normaal* 'normal', *ondenkbaar* 'unthinkable', *spijtig* 'regrettable', *vreemd* 'strange', *jammer* 'unfortunate', *grappig* 'funny', *dom* 'stupid', *gek* 'crazy', *goed* 'good', *lief* 'sweet' and *opvallend* 'striking'

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   nie slecht da   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~~ da Kris komt.
    it is perhaps so that Kris comes
    "It is perhaps the case that Kris is coming."   [Belgian Dutch]

(17) ~~Het is~~ goed da 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) da(t)*...

3.1 Conditions on ellipsis

❶ **Recoverability**: Only <u>recoverable</u> 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]

❷ **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** da Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
      it is perhaps PRT not bad that Jessica it her told has
      "It is perhaps not bad that Jessica told her."
    b. **Misschien wel niet slecht** da Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
      perhaps PRT 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 da Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
    perhaps PRT 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:

(23) a. Het is misschien wel niet slecht da Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
b. Het is ✖ wel niet slecht da Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
c. Het is ✖ ✖ niet slecht da Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
d. Het is ✖ ✖ ✖ slecht da Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
It is perhaps PRT not bad that Jessica it her told has
"It is perhaps not bad that Jessica told her."   [Belgian Dutch]

| 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 ✖ da Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
it is perhaps PRT not that Jessica it her told has
b. *Het is misschien ✖ ✖ ✖ da Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
it is perhaps that Jessica it her told has

When no adjectival predicate is available, the semantically underspecified *zo* 'the-case' is inserted:

(25) a. * Het is misschien da Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
it is perhaps that Jessica it her told has
b. Het is misschien zo da Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
it is perhaps so that Jessica it her told has
"It is perhaps the case 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]

3.3   Ellipsis of ~~het is~~ X ~~(zo)~~ da(t)…

3.3.1 What is elided? What survives?

❶ X + *that*-clause with an adjectival predicate

(27) ~~Het is~~ misschien wel nie slecht da Kris komt.
it is perhaps PRT not bad that Kris comes
"It is perhaps not bad that Kris is coming."   [Belgian Dutch]

→ What is deleted?
het is 'it is'

→What survives?
adverb, particle *wel*, *niet* 'not', adjective and the *that*-clause

❷ X + *that*-clause with *zo* as its predicate
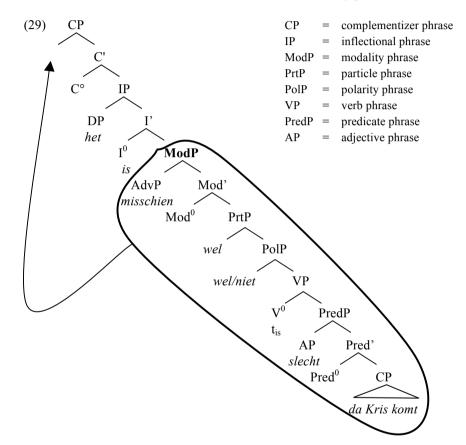
(28) a.*~~Het is~~ misschien wel nie **zo** da Kris komt.
it is perhaps PRT not so that Kris comes
b. ~~Het is~~ misschien wel nie ~~zo~~ da Kris komt.
it is perhaps PRT not so that Kris comes
"It is perhaps not the case that Kris is coming."   [Belgian Dutch]
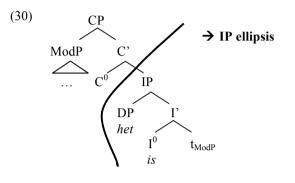
→ What is deleted?
het is, **and *zo***

→ What survives?
adverb, particle *wel*, *niet* 'not' and the *that*-clause

3.3.2 Ellipsis: 2 steps

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

(29)

```
         CP
          |
          C'
        /   \
      C°     IP
           /    \
         DP      I'
         het    /  \
              I⁰    ModP
              is   /    \
               AdvP     Mod'
            misschien   /   \
                      Mod⁰   PrtP
                           /    \
                         wel    PolP
                              /     \
                         wel/niet    VP
                                   /    \
                                 V⁰     PredP
                                 t_is   /    \
                                      AP      Pred'
                                    slecht   /    \
                                          Pred⁰    CP
                                                 da Kris komt
```

CP	=	complementizer phrase
IP	=	inflectional phrase
ModP	=	modality phrase
PrtP	=	particle phrase
PolP	=	polarity phrase
VP	=	verb phrase
PredP	=	predicate phrase
AP	=	adjective phrase

❷ Ellipsis of IP (Inflectional Phrase)

(30)

```
         CP
        /   \
     ModP    C'
     ...    /  \
           C⁰   IP
              /    \
            DP      I'
            het    /  \
                 I⁰    t_ModP
                 is
```

→ **IP ellipsis**

(31) [$_{CP}$ [$_{ModP}$ Misschien wel nie slecht da Kris komt] [$_{IP}$ ~~het~~ [~~is t_ModP~~]]

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) Someone has stolen my bike, but I don't know who [$_{IP}$ ~~t_who has stolen my bike~~]   [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 [$_{IP}$ ~~he gave t$_{food}$ 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$_{dem}$ is who that$_{compl}$ Monika seen has   = **underlying cleft**

(36) Wie is da t$_{is}$ t$_{wie}$ da   Monika gezien heeft?
     who is that   that Monika seen   has
     "Who is it that Monika has seen?"   = **cleft question**

(37) [Wie [da   ~~[$_{IP}$ t$_{da}$ is t$_{wie}$ [$_{CP}$ da   Monika gezien heeft~~?]]]]
     who that$_{dem}$ is   that$_{compl}$ Monika 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.
          so/the case   is it perhaps   PRT that Marsha also goes
                                                           [Belgian Dutch]

This restriction does not apply to the (evaluative) adjectives (cf. (41)).

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(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.

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