IP-ellipsis in Dutch dialect constructions

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OUTLINE OF THE TALK

1   Introduction: X + *that*-clause
2   The basic data: what is X?
3   The analysis: IP-ellipsis
4   Remaining issue: the disappearance of *zo*
5   Conclusion

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1   INTRODUCTION: X + *THAT*-CLAUSE

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

(1)   {Misschien/Goed} da   Kris komt.
       perhaps/   good   that Kris comes
        "It is {perhaps the case/good} that Kris is coming."

(2)   Het is {misschien zo/goed} da   Kris komt.
        it is perhaps   so/ good   that Kris comes
        "It is {perhaps the case/good} that Kris is coming."

→ Main claim of this talk: (1) is derived from (2) via IP-ellipsis

2   THE BASIC DATA: WHAT IS X?

Overview:
  2.1.   The classification
  2.2.   Adverbs
  2.3.   Adjectives
  2.4.   Adjective-adverbs
  2.5.   Summary

2.1. The classification

Dutch: no morphological distinction between adverbs and adjectives
→ distribution:

(3)   **Adjective**: a. een vreemde zaak (attributive use)
                        a   strange   case
                     b. Dat hij niet komt, is jammer. (predicative use)
                        that he not comes is unfortunate
                        "That he doesn't come, is unfortunate."

(4)   (Sentential) **Adverb**: Kim slaapt misschien.
                              Kim sleeps perhaps
                              "Kim sleeps perhaps."

(5)   Ambiguous: a. de waarschijnlijke winnaar
                     the probable   winner
                  b. Kim slaapt waarschijnlijk.
                     Kim sleeps probably
                     "Kim sleeps probably."
       → label: **adjective-adverb**

This categorization is reflected in the construction *het is X (zo) dat IP* 'it is X (so) that IP' which is semantically equivalent to X + *that*-clause:

(6)   **Het is ADV zo da(t) IP**
a. Het is misschien *(zo) da   Kris komt.
it   is perhaps   so   that Kris comes
"It is perhaps the case that Kris is coming."
Het is ADJ da(t) IP
b. Het is goed   (*zo) da   Kris komt.
it   is good   so that Kris comes
"It is good that Kris is coming."
Het is ADJ-ADV (zo) da(t) IP
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."

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

(8)   [Mood$_{Speech\ Act}$ *Frankly* [Mood$_{Evaluative}$ *Fortunately* [Mood$_{Evidential}$ *Allegedly*
[Mod$_{Epistemic}$ *Probably* [T$_{past}$ *Once* [T$_{future}$ *Then* [**Mod$_{Irrealis}$ *Perhaps***
[**Mod$_{Necessity}$ *Necessarily*** [**Mod$_{Possibility}$ *Possibly*** [Asp$_{Habitual}$ *Usually*
[Asp$_{Repetitive}$ *Again* [Asp$_{Freq(I)}$ *Often* [Mod$_{Volitional}$ *Intentionally* [Asp$_{Celerative(I)}$
Quickly [T$_{Anterior}$ *Already* [Asp$_{Terminative}$ *No longer* [Asp$_{Continuative}$ *Still*
[Asp$_{Perfect(?)}$ *Always* [Asp$_{Retrospective}$ *Just* [Asp$_{Proximative}$ *Soon* [Asp$_{Durative}$ *Briefly*
[Asp$_{generic/progressive}$ *Characteristically*(?) [Asp$_{Prospective}$ *Almost* [Asp$_{sg.completive(I)}$
Completely [Asp$_{pl.completive}$ *Tutto* [Voice *Well* [Asp$_{Celerative(II)}$ *Fast/Early*
[Asp$_{Repetitive(II)}$ *Again*   [Asp$_{Freq(II)}$ *Often*   [Asp$_{sg.completive(II)}$
Completely]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

(Cinque 1999)

→ The adverbs occurring in X + *that*-clause are restricted to those found in the higher
Mod-nodes.

(9) Mod$_{epistemic}$: *wellicht* 'perchance', *allicht* 'most likely' and *blijkbaar* 'apparently'
(10) Mod$_{irrealis}$: *misschien* 'perhaps'
(11) Mod$_{necessity}$: *uiteraard* 'indeed', *(na)tuurlijk* 'naturally', *zeker en vast* 'definitely',
alleszins 'absolutely' and *ongetwijfeld* 'undoubtedly'

2.3. Adjectives

(12) Logisch/Vreemd da   Kris komt.
logical strange   that Kris comes
"It is logical/strange that Kris is coming."

→ all purely adjectival X's belong to the **Mood$_{evaluative}$**-node. They all express the
speaker's opinion about the proposition in the *that*-clause.

(13) *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

(14) Waarschijnlijk da   Kris komt.
probably   that Kris comes
"It is {probably the case/probable} that Kris comes."

Like the adverbs they can be situated in the Mod-nodes of Cinque's hierarchy.

(15) Mod$_{epistemic}$: *waarschijnlijk* 'probably' and *klaarblijkelijk* 'obviously'
(16) Mod$_{necessity}$: *zeker* 'certainly'
(17) Mod$_{possibility}$: *mogelijk* 'possibly'

2.5. Summary

⚔ Three groups of words occurring in X + *that*-clause: **adverbs, adjectives and adjective-adverbs**. This is reflected in the construction "het is X (zo) dat IP":

- Het is ADV *(zo) dat IP
- Het is ADJ (*zo) dat IP
- Het is ADJ-ADV (zo) dat IP

⚔ adverbs and adjective-adverbs: **Mod**-nodes
   adjectives: **evaluative Mood**

3   THE ANALYSIS: IP-ELLIPSIS

Analysis of X + *that*-clause: **ellipsis**

(18)   a. Waarschijnlijk da   Sofie Jella heeft gebeld.
           probably   that Sofie Jella has   called
           "It is probably the case that Sofie has called Jella."
        b. Het is waarschijnlijk zo da   Sofie Jella heeft gebeld.
           it   is probably   so that Sofie Jella has   called
           "It is probably the case that Sofie has called Jella."

(19)   a. Logisch da   Reiner ook komt!
           logical   that Reiner also comes
           "It is logical that Reiner also comes."
        b. Het is logisch da   Reiner ook komt!
            it   is logical that Reiner also comes
           "It is logical that Reiner also comes."

→ (18)a/(19)a are derived from (18)b/(19)b through IP-ellipsis

> Overview:
>   3.1. The non-elliptical 'base sentence'
>   3.2. Ellipsis of ~~het is~~ X ~~(zo)~~ da(t) IP

3.1   The non-elliptical 'base sentence'

3.1.1. X can be more than a single phrase

(20)   Het is misschien niet slecht da   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."

⚔ *misschien niet slecht* does not form a constituent: they cannot be fronted together

(21) *Mischien niet slecht is het da   Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
         perhaps not bad   is it   that Jessica it   her   told   has

⚔ What can occur as X?

(22) 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."
          (PRT stands for 'particle')
     b. Het is   ✖   wel niet slecht da   Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
        it   is   PRT not bad   that Jessica it   her told   has
        "It is not bad that Jessica told her."
     c. Het is   ✖   ✖ niet slecht da   Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
         it   is   not bad   that Jessica it   her told   has
        "It is not bad that Jessica told her."
     d. Het is   ✖   ✖ ✖ jammer   da   Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
        it   is   unfortunate that Jessica it   her   told   has
        "It is unfortunate that Jessica told her."
     e. *Het is uiteraard wel niet ✖   da   Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
         it   is indeed   PRT not   that Jessica it   her told   has
     f. *Het is allicht   ✖ ✖   ✖   da   Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
         it   is most-likely   that Jessica it   her told   has

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

→ The predicate position is obligatorily filled, the others are optional. When no
   adjectival predicate is available, the semantically weak *zo* 'the-case' is inserted:

(23) 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."

→ *zo* is a dummy predicate, occurring in the same position as the adjective.

(24) *Het is jammer   zo da   Jessica het haar verteld heeft.
       it   is unfortunate so that Jessica it   her told   has

Zo is disallowed in X + *that*-clause: it get elided together with *het* 'it' and *is* 'is'.

(25) *Misschien zo da   Kris komt.
        perhaps   so that Kris comes

3.1.2. ModP

(26)   CP

The tree diagram (26):
- CP → C'
- C' → C° and IP
- IP → DP (*het*) and I'
- I' → I (*is*) and ModP
- ModP → AdvP (*misschien*) and Mod'
- Mod' → Mod⁰ and PrtP
- PrtP → *wel* and PolP
- PolP → *wel/niet* and VP
- VP → V and PredP
- PredP → AP (*slecht*) and Pred'
- Pred' → Pred⁰ and CP
- CP → *da Kris komt*
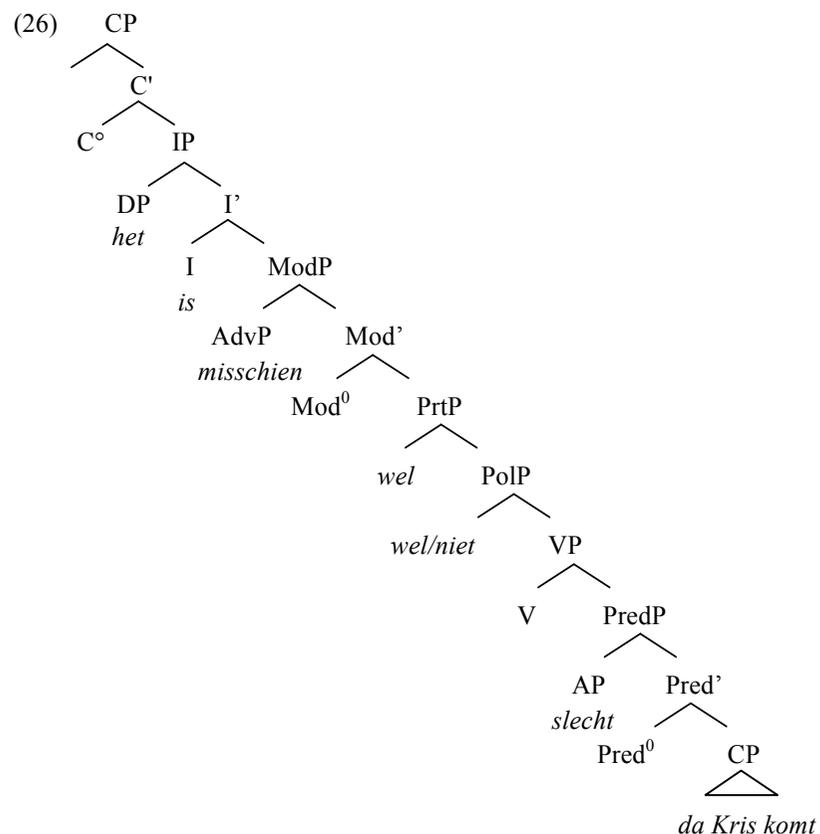
→ CP is the **internal argument** of the adjectival predicate and sits in the complement position of **PredP** (cfr. Merchant (1998) and references cited there). The AP is the specifier of this PredP.

→ The *dat*-clause can move along with the AP or stay behind

(27) a. Heel slecht da   ge   het hem verteld hebt is het misschien wel niet.
         very bad   that you it   him told   have is it perhaps   PRT not
         "It's not very bad that you told him."
      b. Heel slecht is het misschien wel niet da   ge   het hem verteld hebt.
         very bad   is it perhaps   PRT not that you it   him told   have
         "It's not very bad that you told him."

→ (27)a: fronting of PredP > < (27)b: fronting of AP

3.1.3. Summary

⤹ more than one phrase in X: AdvP + particle *wel* + negation/affirmation + predicate

⤹ [$_{ModP}$ ADV Mod⁰ [$_{PrtP}$ wel [$_{PolP}$ niet/wel [$_{VP}$ V [$_{PredP}$ AP [$_{Pred'}$ Pred⁰ CP]]]]]]]]

3.2   Ellipsis of ~~het is~~ X ~~(zo)~~ da(t) IP

3.2.1. What is elided? What survives?

❶ X + *that*-clause with an adjectival predicate
→ *het is* 'it is' deleted
→survivors: AdvP, particle *wel*, PolP, adjective and the CP *da Wim erbij was*
                                                    (without linguistic context)

(28) a. Misschien wel nie slecht da   Wim erbij was.
         perhaps   PRT not bad   that Wim there was
         "Perhaps it's not bad that Wim was there."
      b. Misschien goed da   Wim erbij was.
         perhaps   good that Wim there was
         "Perhaps it's good that Wim was there."

❷ X + *that*-clause with *zo* as the predicate
→ *het is* deleted
→ ***zo* is deleted**, as well
→ survivors: AdvP, *wel*, PolP, CP

(29) a. *Misschien wel zo dat Yves komt.
        perhaps   PRT so that Yves comes
     b. Misschien wel dat Yves komt.
        perhaps   PRT that Yves comes
        "It is perhaps the case that Yves comes."

3.2.2. Belgian Dutch sluicing

⅄ traditional analysis of sluicing: ellipsis of IP

(30) Someone has stolen my bike, but I don't know who [$_{IP}$ ~~has stolen my bike~~]
                                                          (Merchant 2001)

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

(31) A: Antoon heeft iemand   gezien.
         Antoon has someone seen
      B: Wie da?
         who that
         "Antoon has seen someone." –"Who?"

Van Craenenbroeck (2004, 2005): the underlying sentence of the sluice is a cleft and *da* is a demonstrative pronoun which moved out of the cleft-IP:

(32) da   is wie dat   Antoon gezien heeft
      that$_{dem}$ is who that$_{compl}$ Antoon seen   has

(33) [$_{ForceP}$ Wie [$_{FocP}$ da [$_{IP}$ ~~t$_{da}$ is t$_{wie}$~~ [$_{CP}$ ~~dat   Antoon gezien heeft~~?]]]]
          Who   that$_{dem}$ is   that$_{compl}$ Antoon seen   has
          = **SPADING**

⅄ **Ellipsis repair effect**: "the overt movement of the demonstrative pronoun to SpecCP$_2$ […] is only allowed if the lower part of the movement chain is elided. […] [S]luicing is crucially needed to rescue what would otherwise be an illegitimate derivation" (Van Craenenbroeck 2004: 60)

(34) *Wie da   is t$_{da}$ dat   Antoon gezien heeft?
      who that$_{dem}$ is   that$_{compl}$ Antoon seen   has

⅄ Sluicing: other elements than *da* can follow the wh-word

(35) a. Ik weet wie met Marsha gedanst heeft, maar ik weet niet wie **met Kaat**.
        I know who with Marsha danced has   but   I know not who with Kaat
        "I know who danced with Marsha, but I don't know who with Kaat."
     b. Ik weet wie de appel gepakt heeft, maar ik weet niet wie **de banaan**.
        I know who the apple taken has   but   I know not who the banana
        "I know who took the apple, but I don't know who the banana."
(36) a. Barbara heeft waarschijnlijk een dossier ingediend, en   ik weet ook wie
        zéker.
        Barbara has   probably   a   file   submitted and I know also who
        certainly-EMPH
        "Barbara probably submitted a file and I know who CERTAINLY did."
     b. Barbara heeft zeker   geen dossier ingediend, maar ik weet   niet wie

Barbara has certainly no file   submitted but   I know not who
**zeker   wél.**
certainly AFF
"Barbara certainly didn't submit a file, but I don't know who certainly DID."
c. Barbara heeft misschien wel een dossier ingediend, en   ik weet ook wie
Barbara has perhaps   PRT a file   submitted and I know also who
misschien wel niet.
perhaps   PRT not
"Barbara perhaps submitted a file and I also know who perhaps HASN'T."

⌃ What follows the wh-word in (36) is ModP: [ModP *misschien* [PrtP *wel* [PolP *niet* …]]]
   These elements do not co-occur with *da*: they occupy the same position: the
   [Spec,FocP].

(37)   ForceP

     wie   Force'

        Force⁰   FocP

          { da }   Foc'   → **IP ellipsis**
          { ModP }
                   Foc⁰   IP

                      ⋯t_wie t_da/ModP⋯
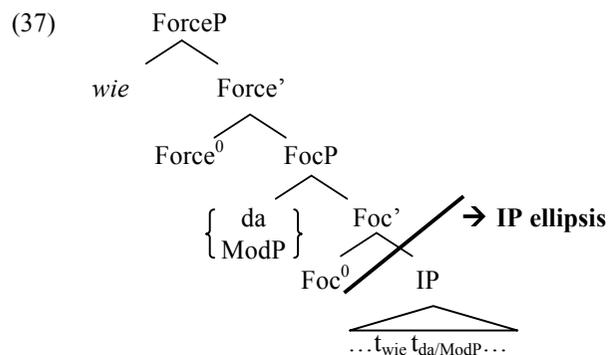
(38) * Barbara heeft waarschijnlijk een dossier ingediend, maar ik weet niet
        Barbara has probably   a   file   submitted but I know not
        wie da   zéker.
        who that_dem certainly-AFF

⌃ Just like the demonstrative pronoun *da*, ModP can only move in sluicing:

(39) a. Ik weet dat Barbara zeker   geen dossier heeft ingediend, maar ik weet
         I know that Barbara certainly no   file   has submitted but I know
         niet wie het zeker   wél is dat een dossier heeft ingediend.
         not who it certainly AFF is that a   file   has submitted
         "I know that Barbara certainly didn't submit a file, but I don't who certainly
         DID submit a file."

      b. *…maar ik weet niet wie zeker   wél het is dat een dossier heeft
           but   I know not who certainly AFF it is that a   file   has
           ingediend.
           submitted

⌃ The same pattern is found in X + *that*-clause: ModP can only be fronted as a whole
   if the IP, consisting of *het is*, is deleted.

(40) a. *Waarschijnlijk dan wel nie slecht is het da   ge   het hem gezegd hebt.
           probably   PRT PRT not bad   is it that you it him said   have
      b. *Waarschijnlijk dan wel nie slecht da   ge   het hem gezegd hebt is het.
           probably   PRT PRT not bad   that you it him said   have is it
      c. Waarschijnlijk dan wel nie slecht da   ge   het hem gezegd hebt.
         probably   PRT PRT not bad   that you it him said   have
         "It is probably not bad that you said it to him."

SPADING

➔ SPADING involves a cleft sentence
➔ *da* can only move if the following IP is elided.
➔ ModP can only move if the following IP is elided.
➔ ModP occupies the same position as the demonstrative pronoun *da* in SPADING: [Spec, FocP]

X + ***THAT*-CLAUSE**

➔ X + *that*-clause involves a cleft-like sentence
➔ ModP can only move as a whole when IP is elided
➔ Does ModP sit in [Spec, FocP] in X + *that*-clause, as well?

> Sluices with ModP remnants and sentences like ModP + *that*-clause should receive parallel analyses.

3.2.3. IP Ellipsis in X + *that*-clause

The analysis:

⌃ ModP in X + *that*-clause moves to a position higher than IP, to [Spec,FocP]. This movement only occurs when the IP is elided.
  ↳ like sluicing

⌃ The *dat*-clause complement of PredP is not necessarily E-GIVEN (Merchant 2001). When there is no antecedent, deletion of the CP would violate the recoverability requirement operative in ellipsis. The only elements allowed to stay in the IP are the semantically empty *het* 'it', *is* 'is' and *zo* 'the case'-predicate.
  ↳ unlike sluicing

(41)

➔ **IP-deletion**
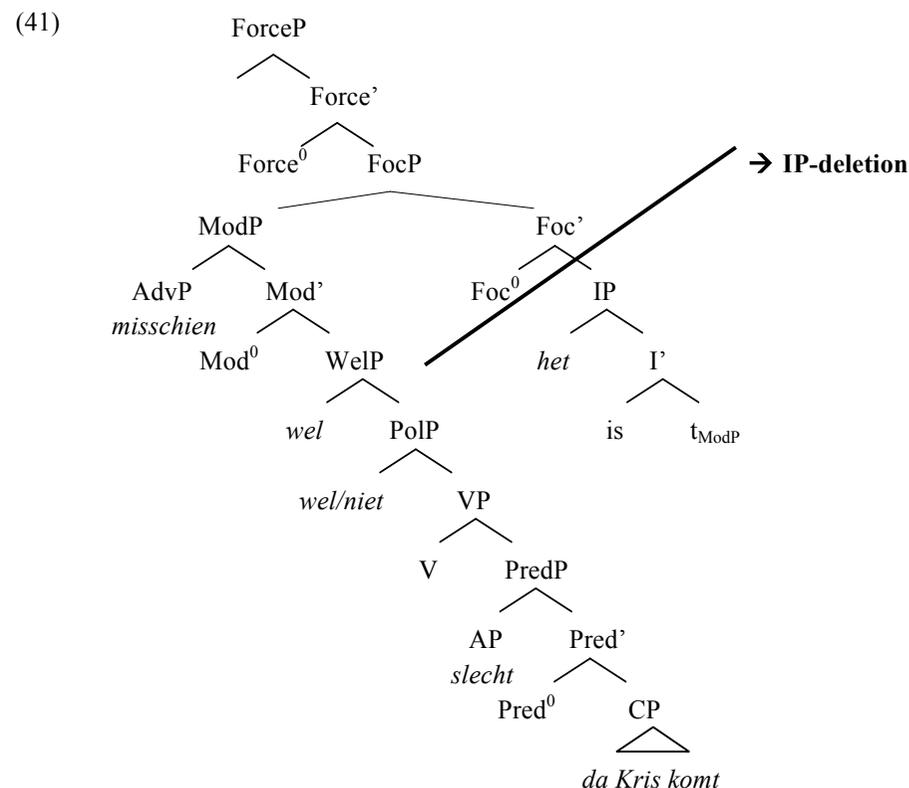
4   REMAINING ISSUE: THE DISAPPEARANCE OF *ZO*

⊼ Dummy predicate *zo* is needed in the non-elliptical sentence when there is no adjective:

(42)   a. Het is misschien zo da   Maarten ook gaat.
            it   is perhaps   so that Maarten also goes
            "It is perhaps the case that Maarten is also going."
         b. *Het is misschien   da   Maarten ook gaat.
             it   is perhaps   that Maarten also goes

⊼ *zo* is excluded from X + *that*-clause:

(43)   a. Misschien da   Maarten ook gaat.
            perhaps   that Maarten also goes
            "It is perhaps the case that Maarten is also going."
         b. *Misschien zo da   Maarten ook gaat.
             perhaps   so that Maarten also goes

→ *zo* is moved out of the ModP before the latter goes to [Spec,FocP]

→ remaining questions:
      What is the landing site of zo?
      What triggers this movement?
      Why is this movement dependent on the movement of ModP?

5   CONCLUSION

⊼ **Main claim: X + *that*-clause involves IP-ellipsis**
   Underlying structure: *Het is* X *dat*-clause 'it is X *that*-clause'

⊼ X = ModP; containing an adverb, the particle *wel*, negation or affirmation and an (adjectival) predicate

⊼ ModP only moves out of the IP in case of ellipsis

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