IP-ellipsis in Dutch Dialects[*]

X + *that*-clause

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1.   Introduction

Belgian dialects of Dutch feature sentences of the type "X + *that*-clause", where X seems to be an adverbial or adjectival phrase:[1]

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

I claim that this construction involves IP-ellipsis and that the underlying structure of the sentence in (1) is the one in (2). The ellipsis operation deletes the semantically weak elements *het* 'it', *is* 'is' and *zo* 'the case' (lit. 'so').

(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 comes."

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 takes a look at some basic data and determines the possible choices for X. In section 3 the syntactic structure is considered, and a general conclusion is formulated in section 4.

2.   The basic data: what is X?

2.1. *Introduction*

Dutch does not distinguish morphologically between adverbs and adjectives. In order to classify the X's in "X + *that*-clause" I make use of the following criteria:
1. Can the word be used as an attributive adjective, as in (3)a, or as a predicative adjective, as in (3)b? If so, it is considered an adjective.

(3)   a. een vreemde zaak

         a   strange   case
     b. Dat hij niet wil   komen,   is jammer.
       that he not want to.come   is unfortunate
      "That he doesn't want to come, is unfortunate."

2. Can the element be used as a sentential adverb, as in (4)? If so, it belongs to the class of adverbs.

    (4)   Kim slaapt misschien.
        Kim sleeps perhaps

3.   Some   words   satisfy   both   criteria,   for   example   *waarschijnlijk* 'probable/probably'. These elements are ambiguous between adverbs and adjectives. I shall refer to them as adjective-adverbs, without thereby wanting to imply that such a hybrid category exists[2].

    (5)   a. de waarschijnlijke winnaar
         the probable   winner
       b. Dat hij niet wil   komen,   is waarschijnlijk.
         that he not wants to.come   is probable
       c. Kim slaapt waarschijnlijk.
         Kim sleeps probably

This categorization is reflected in the construction *het is X (zo) + dat*-clause 'it is X (the case) + that-clause' (lit. 'it is X (so) + that-clause'). The adverbs require the presence of *zo* 'the case' (lit. 'so'), while the adjectives cannot co-occur with *zo*. The adjective-adverbs are grammatical in both constructions, i.e. with and without *zo*.

    (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 comes."
      Het is ADJ da(t) IP
       b. Het is logisch (*zo) da   Kris komt.
         it   is logical   so   that Kris comes
         "It is logical that Kris comes."
      Het is ADJ-ADV (zo) da(t) IP
       c. Het is waarschijnlijk (zo) da   Kris komt.
         it   is probably   so   that Kris comes.
         "It is probably the case/probable that Kris comes."

Summing up, I have shown that the suitable X's are to be situated in three categories: adverbs, adjectives and adjective-adverbs. In the next subsection I discuss these categories separately, determining for each of them the criteria setting these elements apart from other words of the same parts of speech.

2.2. *Adverbs*

The first class I consider are the adverbs. Only sentential adverbs are grammatical in "X + *that*-clause", however. Adverbs modifying the verb phrase, such as *snel* 'quickly' in *Hij loopt snel* 'he runs quickly', or aspectual adverbs such as *altijd* 'always' cannot be used in this construction.

> (7) a. Misschien da Kris komt.
>   perhaps that Kris comes
>   b. *Altijd da Kris komt.[3]
>   always that Kris comes

Cinque (1999) has organized all adverbs in a hierarchy and he has made a distinction between 'higher' and 'lower' adverbs. The higher adverbs are mostly speaker-oriented, while aspectual adverbs and adverbs of manner, for instance, are subject- or event-oriented. In his hierarchy the adverbs are in the specifier position of a concomitant functional head.

> (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*]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

The adverbs occurring in "X + *that*-clause" are restricted to those found in the higher Mod-nodes.[4]

> (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*

Adjectives which are possible in "X + *that*-clause" include the following: *logisch* 'logical', *evident* 'evident', *nogal wiedes* 'goes without saying',, *ondenkbaar* 'unthinkable', *spijtig* 'regrettable', *vreemd* 'strange', *jammer* 'unfortunate', *grappig* 'funny', *dom* 'stupid' and *goed* 'good'. Cinque's hierarchy does not mention adjectives, yet if his classification is extended to include adjectives it is

clear that all purely adjectival X's belong to the Mood$_{evaluative}$-node.[5] They all express the speaker's opinion about the proposition that follows.

       (12) Logisch/Jammer   da   Kris komt.
            logical/ regrettable that Kris comes
            "It is logical/regrettable that Kris comes."

2.4. *Adjective-adverbs*

The third category of elements suitable as X in "X + *that*-clause" are the adjective-adverbs.

       (13) 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.

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

2.5. *Summary*

There are three groups of words occurring in "X + *that*-clause": adverbs, adjectives and adjective-adverbs. This categorization is reflected in the construction *het is X (zo) + dat*-clause: the adverbs only occur with *zo* 'the-case', while the adjectives and *zo* cannot co-occur. The third class is grammatical in both constructions, i.e. both with and without *zo*.

       (17) a. Het is ADV *(zo) dat-clause
            b. Het is ADJ (*zo) dat-clause
            c. Het is ADJ-ADV (zo) dat-clause

Semantically the adverbs and adjective-adverbs belong to the speaker-oriented Mod-nodes in Cinque's (1999) hierarchy, and the adjectives are expressions of evaluative Mood.

3.   The syntactic structure

3.1. *The non-elliptical 'base sentence'*

I argue that the proper analysis of "X + *that*-clause" is ellipsis-based. The underlying sentence is *Het is X (zo) + dat*-clause, with ellipsis of the semantically (virtually) empty elements *het is (zo)* 'it is (the-case)'.

       (18) a. Het is waarschijnlijk zo da Sofie Jella heeft gebeld.
              it   is probably   so that Sofie Jella has   called

      b. Waarschijnlijk da   Sofie Jella heeft gebeld.
        probably   that Sofie Jella has   called
      "It is probably the case that Sofie has called Jella."

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

The a-examples show that we are dealing with two CPs instead of only one: the matrix clause *het is X (zo)* 'it is X (so)' and a subclause introduced by *dat* 'that'.

    Before I turn to what is deleted and how this happens, I take a look at the non-elliptical sentence ((18)a/(19)a). As shown in (20), the part between *het is* and the *dat*-clause can be quite complex:[6]

(20) a. Het is misschien wel niet slecht da Jes het haar verteld heeft.
        it   is perhaps   PRT not bad   that Jes it   her told   has
      b. Het is   ✖   wel niet slecht da   Jes het haar verteld heeft.
        it   is   PRT not bad   that Jes it   her told   has
      c. Het is   ✖   ✖   niet slecht da   Jes het haar verteld heeft.
        it   is   not bad   that Jes it   her told   ha
      d. Het is   ✖   ✖ ✖ slecht da   Jes het haar verteld heeft.
        it   is   bad   that Jes it   her told   has
      "It is (perhaps) (not) bad that Jes told her."
      e. *Het is misschien wel niet ✖   da Jes het haar verteld heeft.
        it   is perhaps   PRT not   that Jes it   her told   has
      f. *Het is misschien ✖ ✖ ✖ da Jes het haar verteld heeft.
         it   is perhaps.   that Jes it   her told   has

These examples reveal positions for an adverbial part, the particle *wel*, negation or affirmation and an adjective, in that order. The adjective position is the only one that is obligatorily filled, whereas all the others are optional. The adjective is the predicate of the matrix clause, which explains its obligatoriness. When no adjective is available, the semantically weak *zo* 'the-case' is inserted. I argue that *zo* is also a predicate, albeit a semantically poor one.

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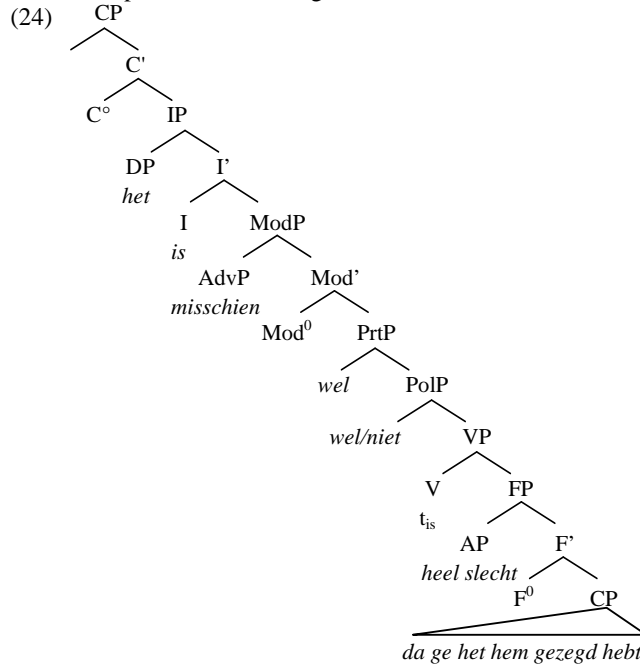   "It is perhaps the case that Jessica told her."

Another argument for the status of *zo* as a predicate is the fact that adjectives and *zo* cannot co-occur: they occupy the same position.

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

There is a sharp contrast between *zo* and the adjectival predicate, however: *zo* is prohibited in "X + *that*-clause". It is elided together with *het* 'it' and *is* 'is'.

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

Irrespective of the *zo*-problem, the facts give evidence for the structure in 0.[7]

(24)

```
            CP
           /  \
             C'
            /  \
         C°      IP
               /   \
            DP       I'
            het     /  \
                  I      ModP
                  is    /    \
                   AdvP       Mod'
                 misschien   /    \
                          Mod⁰     PrtP
                           wel    /    \
                                PolP
                               /    \
                          wel/niet    VP
                                     /  \
                                   V      FP
                                  t_is   /  \
                                      AP     F'
                                  heel slecht / \
                                            F⁰   CP
                                       da ge het hem gezegd hebt
```

A final remark on the structure of the non-elliptical variant of "X + *that*-clause" concerns the position of the *dat*-clause in 0. Consider the following examples:

(25) a. Heel slecht da   ge   het hem gezegd hebt is het misschien wel
            very bad   that you it   him said   have is it   perhaps   PRT
            niet.
            not
            "It is perhaps not very bad that you told him."

b. Heel slecht is het misschien wel niet da ge het hem gezegd
   very bad   is it perhaps   PRT not that you it him said
   hebt.
   have
   "It is perhaps not very bad that you told him."

The first sentence seems to suggest that the CP is the internal argument of the adjectival predicate. In order to implement these observations in the structure I adapt the cleft analysis of Merchant (1998) and references cited there. Merchant claims that the pivot of a cleft sits in the specifier of a functional node inside the VP and that the subclause is the complement of that functional head. In my analysis this functional head F^0 takes the AP as its specifier and the CP as its complement. Assuming the underlying structure is like the tree in 0, the examples in (25) can be derived as follows: in (25)a the FP as a whole is fronted, while (25)b involves movement of the AP alone.

3.2. *Ellipsis of the IP*

So far I have only discussed the non-elliptic variant of "X + *that*-clause". This section takes a look at the elliptic sentence. What is elided and what survives?

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

Apparently, the whole ModP can survive the ellipsis when the predicate is an adjective and the *dat*-clause is not elided either.[8,9] When *zo* takes the role of predicate, however, it is elided along with *het is*.

(27) a. Het is misschien zo dat Yves komt.
        it   is perhaps   so that Yves comes
        "It is perhaps the case that Yves comes."
     b. Misschien (*zo) dat Yves komt.
        perhaps   so that Yves comes
        "It is perhaps the case that Yves comes."

The analysis has to explain why *zo* cannot survive the ellipsis while an adjective and the rest of ModP can. Before I go into the analysis of "X + *that*-clause", however, I turn to Van Craenenbroeck (2004) and his approach to Dutch sluicing.

3.2.1.   *Dutch dialect sluicing*

There are several approaches to sluicing, and one of them is argued for by Merchant (2001). He considers sluicing to involve ellipsis of the IP, while the wh-phrase, which has moved out of the IP to [Spec,CP], remains untouched.

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

Van Craenenbroeck (2004, 2005) follows Merchant's lead in his discussion of the Dutch dialect construction he calls spading (which is short for 'Sluicing Plus A Demonstrative In Non-insular Germanic').

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

The Standard Dutch sluicing cases don't have *da* 'that' following *wie* 'who', just like in English. Van Craenenbroeck gives conclusive evidence that this *da* is a demonstrative pronoun and that the underlying sentence of the sluice is a cleft:

(30)   da   is wie dat   Roos gezien heeft
        that$_{dem}$ is who that$_C$ Roos seen   has

He claims that from this underlying structure we can derive the spading construction in (29), as is shown in (31). The wh-word first moves to SpecFocP, checking an Op-feature there and then goes on to [Spec,ForceP] to check its Q-feature.[10] The demonstrative *da*, which sits in [Spec,IP], moves to a second specifier position in FocP to check a focus feature. After ellipsis of the IP only *wie da* remains, as required.

(31)   [$_{ForceP}$ Wie [$_{FocP}$ da [$_{IP}$ ~~t$_{da}$ is t$_{wie}$ [$_{CP}$ dat   Roos gezien heeft~~?]]]]
               who   that$_{dem}$ is   that$_C$ Roos seen   has

Van Craenenbroeck (2004:60) argues that "the overt movement of the demonstrative pronoun to Spec[FocP] […] 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", as is illustrated in (32). This phenomenon is called the 'ellipsis repair effect' (Merchant 2001; Van Craenenbroeck 2004; cf. also Richards 2001).

(32)   *Wie da   is (da)   dat   Roos gezien heeft?
        who that$_{dem}$ is (that$_{dem}$) that$_C$ Roos seen   has

When we go back to 'regular' sluicing without a demonstrative, we see that other elements can follow the wh-word, as well (Van Craenenbroeck 2005:79). These constructions do not involve gapping, as gapping is not allowed in embedded clauses (Neijt 1979; cf. also Johnson 2003).

(33)   a. Ik weet wie met Marsha gedanst heeft, maar ik weet niet
          I   know who with Marsha danced has   but   I know not
          wie met Kaat.
          who with Kaat

"I know who danced with Marsha, but I don't know who
danced with Kaat."

   b. Ik weet niet wie de pen genomen heeft, maar ik weet wel
     I know not who the pen taken has but I know AFF
     wie de bal.
     who the ball
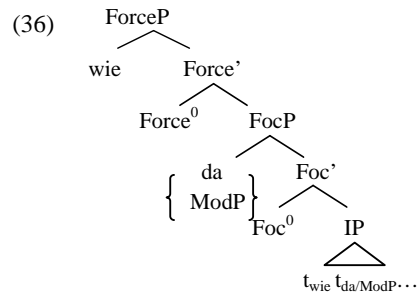   "I don't know who took the pen, but I know who took the ball.

What is important for the discussion of "X + *that*-clause" is that elements of ModP, PrtP and PolP are also allowed as a 'survivor' of the ellipsis in sluicing. In other words, the same elements that show up as X in "X + *that*-clause" can also be found to the right of sluiced wh-phrases.

   (34) a. Babs heeft waarschijnlijk een dossier ingediend, en ik weet
        Babs has probably a file submitted and I know
        wie zéker.
        who certainly.EMPH
        "Babs probably submitted a file and I know who
        CERTAINLY did."
     b. Babs heeft misschien wel een dossier ingediend, en ik weet
      Babs has perhaps PRT a file submitted and I know
      ook wie misschien wel niet.
      also who perhaps PRT not
      "Babs perhaps submitted a file and I also know who perhaps
      HASN'T."

The ModP-elements in (34) cannot co-occur with the demonstrative *da* (cf. (35)). I argue that the demonstrative and ModP occupy the same position, namely the [Spec,FocP], for *da* is always stressed in spading constructions (Van Craenenbroeck 2004), as are the ModP-elements.

   (35) a. *Ik weet wie met Marsha gedanst heeft, maar ik weet niet
       I know who with Marsha danced has but I know not
      wie da met Kaat.
      who that$_{dem}$ with Kaat
     b. *Babs heeft waarschijnlijk een dossier ingediend, maar ik
      Babs has probably a file submitted but I
      weet niet wie da zéker.
      know not who that$_{dem}$ certainly.EMPH

I suggest the following: in these sluices ModP moves out of the IP, just like the demonstrative. The wh-phrase has moved to the Spec of ForceP, the highest node in the tree structure given in (36), and ModP sits in [Spec,FocP].

(36)

```
            ForceP
           /      \
        wie      Force'
                /      \
            Force⁰    FocP
                     /     \
           ┌  da  ┐  Foc'
           │ ModP │ /    \
           └      ┘ Foc⁰   IP
                          /\
                   t_wie t_da/ModP…
```

Just like the demonstrative (cf. (32)), ModP can only move in sluicing:

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

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

The same pattern is found in "X + *that*-clause": ModP can only be fronted as a whole if the IP, consisting of *het is (zo)*, is deleted.
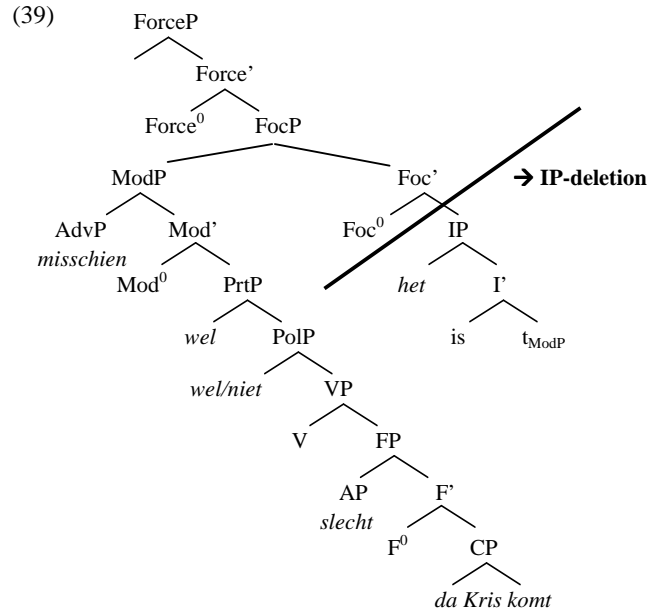
(38) a. Waarschijnlijk nie slecht da   ge   het hem gezegd hebt.
          probably   not bad   that you it   him said   have
          "It is probably not bad that you said it to him."

      b. *Waarschijnlijk nie slecht da   ge   het hem gezegd hebt is het.
          probably   not bad   that you it   him said   have is it

Given this parallel, the sluices with ModP remnants and "X + *that*-clause" should have parallel analyses. The main difference between these constructions is what happens to the *dat*-subclause. This CP elides in sluicing and remains in "X + *that*-clause".

3.2.2.   *IP Ellipsis in "X + that-clause"*

Just like in the sluices, the ModP in "X + *that*-clause" moves out of the IP, to [Spec,FocP]. This movement only occurs when the IP is elided. The *dat*-clause is the complement of FP and, unlike in sluicing, the CP is not E-GIVEN (unless there is an antecedent, see footnote 8).[11] 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 the *zo*-predicate.

(39)

```
                        ForceP
                          |
                        Force'
                      /        \
                  Force⁰        FocP
                            /          \
                         ModP          Foc'          → IP-deletion
                        /    \         /    \
                     AdvP    Mod'    Foc⁰    IP
                   misschien  /  \          /   \
                           Mod⁰  PrtP     het    I'
                                 /  \           /   \
                               wel  PolP       is   t_ModP
                                   /    \
                               wel/niet  VP
                                        /   \
                                       V     FP
                                            /   \
                                          AP    F'
                                        slecht  /  \
                                              F⁰   CP
                                                   /  \
                                               da Kris komt
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Comparing sluices and "X + *that*-clause" has helped determine the syntactic structure of the sentences with a real adjectival predicate, but the ones with the semantically empty *zo* 'the case' still need some attention. Recall that *zo* is not allowed in "X + *that*-clause":

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

I suggest that *zo* moves out of the ModP before the latter goes to [Spec,FocP]. The landing site of this dummy predicate is a issue I will investigate later, as are the trigger of this movement and why it is dependent on the movement of ModP.

4.   Conclusion

The main claim of this paper is that the Belgian Dutch construction "X + *that*-clause" involves IP-ellipsis. First, I discussed the basic data, which showed that X can be an adverb, an adjective or an element belonging to both these

categories. After considering more complex constructions, I discovered that X is in fact a ModP, containing a position for an adverbial phrase, a particle *wel*, a negation marker or affirmative element and an adjectival predicate. When the adjective is absent, the dummy predicate *zo* 'the case' (lit. 'so') takes its place. I have drawn a parallel between spading constructions, in which the IP is elided, and "X + *that*-clause". In spading contexts a ModP can follow the wh-word, and I claim that ModP can only be fronted as a whole in "X + *that*-clause" when the IP is elided, as well.

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[1] Although this construction is much more frequent in Belgian Dutch, some Northern Dutch speakers find it acceptable, as well (Hans den Besten and Helen de Hoop p.c. via Guido vanden Wyngaerd). Apparently, languages and language varieties vary in the range of possible X's: in Northern dialects "X + *that*-clause" is only acceptable with adjectives, while in Belgian Dutch both adjectives and adverbs appear. "X + that-clause" is found in French as well, but there only adverbs are allowed:

    (i)   a. {Probablement/*Probable} qu' il viendra.
            probably   probable that he will.come

"It is probable that he will come."

This contrast might have a semantic explanation involving modality versus evaluation. How this would work I defer to future research, however.

[2] An anonymous reviewer points out that *waarschijnlijk* in (5)c can be considered an adverbially used adjective. I follow Cinque (1999) and Nilsen (2003), however, in analyzing it as an adverb syntactically.

[3] In contrast to manner adverbs, aspectual adverbs can be used in the non-elliptical sentence: *Het is vaak zo da Kris komt* ('it is often the case that Kris comes'). These lower adverbs are not exactly prohibited in "X + *that*-clause", but they cannot occur without a Mod- or Mood-expression. In other words, either Mod or Mood should always be expressed.

> (i) a. Altijd beter dat hij erbij   is.
>   always better that he there-by is
>   "It's always better that he is also there.'
>   b. Vaak nie slecht da hij erbij   is.
>   often not bad   that he there-by is
>   'It's often not bad that he is also there.'

At first sight, the example in (ii) is contradicting this claim.

> (ii) Altijd   da ze moet zagen!
>   Always that she has.to nag
>   "She always has to nag!"

However, this is not the same construction as the one discussed in the main text. Unlike (7)a, the sentence in (ii) has to be an exclamative and has more in common with the construction in (iii), which is also exclamative and involves topicalization of *gelopen* 'run'.

> (iii) Gelopen   dat we hebben!
>   run.pastpart that we have
>   "Boy, have we run!"

[4] The Mod$_{volitional}$ adverbs are not present in "X + *that*-clause". In Cinque's hierarchy, these are also special in that they are situated amongst the Asp-nodes. He calls this kind of adverbs root-modals and opposes them to the epistemic and alethic modals in the higher Mod-nodes. The latter are speaker-oriented while the former are subject-oriented.

[5] Cinque (1994) and Laenzlinger (2000) claim that there is a similar hierarchy for (attributive) adjectives: speaker-oriented adjectives come first, followed by subject-oriented adjectives and manner/thematic adjectives. This means that the adjectives occurring in "X + that-clause" belong to the highest nodes of the hierarchy, as is the case with the adverbs.

[6] PRT is short for particle here. The Dutch particle *wel* is not easily translatable in English.

[7] The copular verb *is* 'is' moves from the V-position to the head of IP to check its inflection feature.

[8] The *dat*-clause can be elided, as well, but only when it is given in the linguistic context.

> (i) A: Wim is er   ook bij.   – B: Misschien wel nie slecht
>   Wim is there also with – B: perhaps   PRT not bad
>   "Wim is there, as well." –"Perhaps that's not bad."

[9] As I said in footnote 7, the copular verb is 'is' moves from the V-position to the head of IP and is not part of the ModP anymore at the time – arguably PF – the ellipsis occurs.

[10] ForceP and FocP are the labels I have given to these functional nodes. Van Craenenbroeck refers to them as CP$_1$ and CP$_2$.

[11] The notion 'E-GIVENness' was first introduced by Merchant (2001).