

Gek in welk opzicht?

On the syntax of *X-in what way*-sluicing in Dutch

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Grote Taaldag 2023, Universiteit Utrecht, 3 February 2023

Introduction

Sluicing: traditional example

(cf. Ross 1969, Merchant 2001, Vicente 2018, amongst many others)

- (1) Jo kocht iets voor Vic.
Jo bought something for Vic
— Echt? Wat?
really what

Introduction

Sluicing: traditional analysis

(cf. Ross 1969, Merchant 2001, Vicente 2018, amongst many others)

- (1') Jo kocht iets voor Vic.
Jo bought something for Vic
— Echt? Wat kocht Jo voor Vic?
really what bought Jo for Vic

- ▶ same propositional content and assertoric force as full sentential counterpart

Introduction

Sluicing: traditional analysis

(1") Jo kocht iets voor Vic.
Jo bought something for Vic
— Echt? Wat_i ~~< kocht — Jo — t_i — voor Vic >~~?
really what bought Jo for Vic

Introduction

Sluicing: traditional analysis

(1") Jo kocht iets voor Vic.
Jo bought something for Vic
— Echt? Wat_i ~~< kocht — Jo — t_i — voor Vic >~~?
really what bought Jo for Vic

- ▶ A'-movement of the wh-phrase to a position higher than the ellipsis site < >
- ▶ ellipsis of clausal constituent

Introduction

Topic of today's talk:
X-in what way-sluicing in Dutch

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X-in what way-sluicing in Dutch

A relevant example:

(2) A: Ze worden gek in dit land! — B: Gek in welk opzicht?
they become crazy in this country crazy in which perspective
[‘A: They’re going crazy in this country! B: Crazy in what way?’]

Introduction

Topic of today's talk:
X-in what way-sluicing in Dutch

i.e. seemingly non-sentential questions
with a non-wh-phrase preceding the wh-phrase *in welk opzicht* ('in what way')

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Topic of today's talk:
X-in what way-sluicing in Dutch

i.e. seemingly non-sentential questions
with a non-wh-phrase preceding the wh-phrase *in welk opzicht* ('**i**n **w**hat **w**ay')

hereafter: **IWW**-sluicing

Introduction

Topic of today's talk:

1. the syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch
2. the syntactic derivation / underlying source of IWW-sluices in Dutch

Outline

- A. A closer look at a basic example
- B. Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch
- C. Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch
- D. Conclusion & outlook
- Appendix. Against an *in situ* account

Outline

- A. A closer look at a basic example**
- B. Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch
- C. Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch
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- Appendix. Against an *in situ* account

A closer look at a basic example

(2) A: Ze worden gek in dit land! — B: Gek in welk opzicht?
they become crazy in this country crazy in which perspective
[‘A: They’re going crazy in this country! B: Crazy in what way?’]

- ▶ non-wh-remnant (*gek* ‘crazy’ in (2)) + wh-remnant (*in welk opzicht* ‘in what way’)

A closer look at a basic example

(2) A: Ze worden **gek** in dit land! — B: **Gek** in welk opzicht?
they become crazy in this country crazy in which perspective
[‘A: They’re going crazy in this country! B: Crazy in what way?’]

- ▶ non-wh-remnant (*gek* ‘crazy’ in (2)) + wh-remnant (*in welk opzicht* ‘in what way’)
- ▶ the non-wh-remnant is **repeated** from the antecedent clause

A closer look at a basic example

Important observation: no verbatim requirement

(3) A: Astrid zei dat de mensen in Utrecht *amazing* zijn.
Astrid said that the people in Utrecht *amazing_{English}* are

— B: *Amazing* / Geweldig in welk opzicht?
amazing_{English} *amazing_{Dutch}* in which perspective

[‘A: Astrid said that the people in Utrecht are amazing. B: Amazing in what way?’]

A closer look at a basic example

IWW-sluicing = reminiscent of *Why*-stripping (e.g. Yoshida et al. 2015, Corver 2021):

(4) A: John was eating natto.

— B: Why / How come natto?

(cf. Yoshida et al. 2015)

(5) A: Zij zal Obama interviewen.
she will Obama interview

— B: Waarom / Hoezo Obama?
why how-so Obama

(cf. Corver 2021)

A closer look at a basic example

IWW-sluicing = reminiscent of *Why*-stripping (e.g. Yoshida et al. 2015, Corver 2021):

- | | |
|---|--|
| (4) A: John was eating natto. | — B: Why / How come natto? |
| (5) A: Zij zal Obama interviewen.
she will Obama interview | — B: Waarom / Hoezo Obama?
why how-so Obama |

- ▶ non-wh-remnant + wh-remnant

A closer look at a basic example

IWW-sluicing = reminiscent of *Why*-stripping (e.g. Yoshida et al. 2015, Corver 2021):

- (4) A: John was eating **natto**. — B: Why / How come **natto**?
- (5) A: Zij zal **Obama** interviewen.
she will Obama interview — B: Waarom / Hoezo **Obama**?
why how-so Obama

- ▶ non-wh-remnant + wh-remnant
- ▶ the non-wh-remnant is **repeated** from the antecedent clause

A closer look at a basic example

Differences with *Why*-stripping:

(6) A: Ze worden gek in dit land! — B: Waarom gek?
they become crazy in this country why crazy

(2) A: Ze worden gek in dit land! — B: Gek in welk opzicht?
they become crazy in this country crazy in which perspective

- ▶ different wh-remnant (restricted to *why/how come* in *Why*-stripping)

A closer look at a basic example

Differences with *Why*-stripping:

- (6) A: Ze worden gek in dit land! — B: **Waarom** gek? **wh** > **non-wh**
they become crazy in this country why crazy
- (2) A: Ze worden gek in dit land! — B: **Gek** in **welk** opzicht? **non-wh** > **wh**
they become crazy in this country crazy in which perspective

- ▶ different wh-remnant (restricted to *why/how come* in *Why*-stripping)
- ▶ the **order** of the 2 remnants

A closer look at a basic example

IWW-sluices: 2 possible readings

(2) A: Ze worden gek in dit land! — B: Gek in welk opzicht?
they become crazy in this country crazy in which perspective

A closer look at a basic example

IWW-sluices: 2 possible readings

(2) A: Ze worden gek in dit land! — B: Gek in welk opzicht?
they become crazy in this country crazy in which perspective

- 1. explanation-seeking question
in what way are they becoming crazy in this country?

A closer look at a basic example

IWW-sluices: 2 possible readings

(2) A: Ze worden gek in dit land! — B: Gek in welk opzicht?
they become crazy in this country crazy in which perspective

- 2. metalinguistic/quotative question
in what way are you using / do you mean the word 'gek'?
(why was that word choice made?)

My claim today:

the 2 possible readings of IWW-sluices correspond to 2 different syntactic derivations

Outline

- A. A closer look at a basic example
- B. Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch
- C. Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch
- D. Conclusion & outlook

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Syntactic properties of IWW-sluites in Dutch

1. Connectivity effects
2. Non-constituent remnants
3. Violating the preposition-stranding generalization

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluites in Dutch

1. **Connectivity effects**
2. Non-constituent remnants
3. Violating the preposition-stranding generalization

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluiques in Dutch

1. Connectivity effects (selection)

- A. Shape of indexical elements
- B. Sensitive to Binding Theory
- C. Quantifier-binding relations established in antecedent maintained in IWW-sluique

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Connectivity effects

the non-wh-remnants in IWW-sluicing exhibit the same grammatical dependencies as their correlates in the corresponding non-elliptical sentence

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Connectivity effects

[standard assumption]

these connectivity effects are generated by standard syntactic processes

1. Connectivity effects

A. Shape of indexical elements

(7) A: Ik heb zo **mijn** favorietjes.
I have so my favorite.DIM.PL

— B: a. **Je** favorietjes in welk opzicht?
your favorite.DIM.PL in which perspective

b. * Mijn favorietjes in welk opzicht?
my favorite.DIM.PL in which perspective

[‘A: I have my favorites. B: Your favorites in what way?’]

1. Connectivity effects

B. Sensitive to Binding Theory (Principle A/B)

(8) A: Jessica_i heeft haar_{*i/j} / zichzelf_{i/*j} bedrogen.
Jessica has her herself deceived

— B: a. Haar_{*i/j} (bedrogen) in welk opzicht?
her deceived in which perspective

b. Zichzelf_{i/*j} (bedrogen) in welk opzicht?
herself deceived in which perspective

[‘A: Jessica deceived her(self). B: (Deceived) her(self) in what way?’]

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Connectivity effects

B. Sensitive to Binding Theory (Principle C)

(9) A: Jo_i/hij_i is met zijn_i/*Jo_i's auto gekomen.
Joe/he is with his Joe's car come

- B: a. (Met) zijn_i auto in welk opzicht?
with his car in which perspective
- b. * (Met) Jo_i's auto in welk opzicht?
with Joe's car in which perspective

['A: Joe/he came by car. B: By car in what way?']

1. Connectivity effects

C. Quantifier-binding relations established in antecedent are maintained in IWW-sluiters

(10) A: [Elke jongen]_i heeft met zijn_i moeder overlegd.
every boy has with his mother consulted

— B: Met zijn_i moeder (overlegd) in welk opzicht?
with his mother consulted in which perspective

[‘A: Every boy consulted with his mother. B: (Consulted) with his mother in what way?’]

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Connectivity effects

IF [standard assumption]:

these connectivity effects are generated by standard syntactic processes

THEN:

IWW-sluices have to be associated with a full-fledged syntactic structure

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluites in Dutch

1. Connectivity effects
2. Non-constituent remnants
3. Violating the preposition-stranding generalization

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluiters in Dutch

1. Connectivity effects
2. **Non-constituent remnants**
3. Violating the preposition-stranding generalization

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Non-constituent remnants

IWW-sluices can host (as the non-wh-remnants) elements that are normally not the target of certain syntactic operations (such as movement)

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Non-constituent remnants

IWW-sluices can host (as the non-wh-remnants) elements that are normally not the target of certain syntactic operations (such as movement)

examples:

- Quantifier
- Prefix
- N(P)
- Conjugated V + P
- Adj + conjugated V

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Non-constituent remnants

Quantifier

(11) A: Er kwamen veel mensen naar het feest.
there came many people to the party

— B: Veel in welk opzicht?
many in which perspective

[‘A: Many people came to the party. B: Many in what way?’]

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Non-constituent remnants

Prefix

(12) A: Jan heeft dat voorstel moeten heroverwegen.
he has that proposal must reconsider

— B: Her- in welk opzicht?
again.PREFIX in which perspective

[‘A: John had to consider that proposal again. B: Again in what way?’]

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Non-constituent remnants

N(P)

(13) A: Ada zegt dat ze haar nieuwe vriendjes wil verrassen.
Ada says that she her new friend.DIM.PL wants surprise

— B: Vriendjes in welk opzicht?
friend.DIM.PL in which perspective

[‘A: Ada says she wants to surprise her new friends. B: Friends in what way?’]

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Non-constituent remnants

Conjugated V + P

(14) A: Rudi zegt dat hij meedoet aan *The Voice*.
Rudi says that he participates in The Voice

— B: Meedoet aan in welk opzicht?
participates in in which perspective

[‘A: Rudi says that he’s participating in The Voice. B: Participating in in what way?’]

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Non-constituent remnants

Adj + conjugated V

(15) A: Ze geloven niet dat jij slim bent.
 they believe not that you smart are.2SG

— B: Slim bent/??ben/??zijn in welk opzicht?
 smart are.2SG/am.1SG/be.INF in which perspective

[‘A: They do not believe you are smart. B: Smart in what way?’]

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Non-constituent remnants

Also note: non-constituent remnant not compatible with e.g. indexical shift

(16) A: Ze geloven niet dat jij **slimmer bent** dan **ik**.
they believe not that you smarter are.2SG than I

- B:
- a. Slimmer dan **jij** / ***ik** in welk opzicht?
smarter than you I in which perspective
 - b. **Slimmer bent**/??ben/??zijn in welk opzicht?
smart are.2SG/am.1SG/be.INF in which perspective
 - c. ?? **Slimmer bent** dan **jij** in welk opzicht?
smarter are.2SG than you in which perspective

[‘A: They do not believe you are smarter than me. B: Smarter than you in what way?’]

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluites in Dutch

1. Connectivity effects
2. Non-constituent remnants
3. Violating the preposition-stranding generalization

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluites in Dutch

1. Connectivity effects
2. Non-constituent remnants
3. **Violating the preposition-stranding generalization**

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

3. Violating the PSG

IWW-sluices do not seem to obey the preposition-stranding generalization (PSG), which normally provides evidence for A'-movement of the ellipsis remnant

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

3. Violating the PSG

A language L will allow preposition stranding under sluicing
iff L allows preposition stranding under regular wh-movement

(Merchant 2001:92)

- (17) a. Who is he looking at?
 b. Peter is looking at someone, but I don't know (at) who.

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

3. Violating the PSG

A language L will allow preposition stranding under sluicing
iff L allows preposition stranding under regular wh-movement

(Merchant 2001:92)

(18) a. *<Naar> wie kijkt hij <*naar>?

at who looks he at

['Who is he looking at?']

b. Peter kijkt naar iemand, maar ik weet niet *(naar) wie.

Peter looks at someone but I know not at who

['Peter is looking at someone, but I don't know (at) who.']

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

3. Violating the PSG

IWW-sluices do not seem to obey the preposition-stranding generalization (PSG), which normally provides evidence for A'-movement of the ellipsis remnant

(19) A: Ik wil wel eens gaan kijken naar de Olympische Spelen.
I want AFF once go look at the Olympic Games

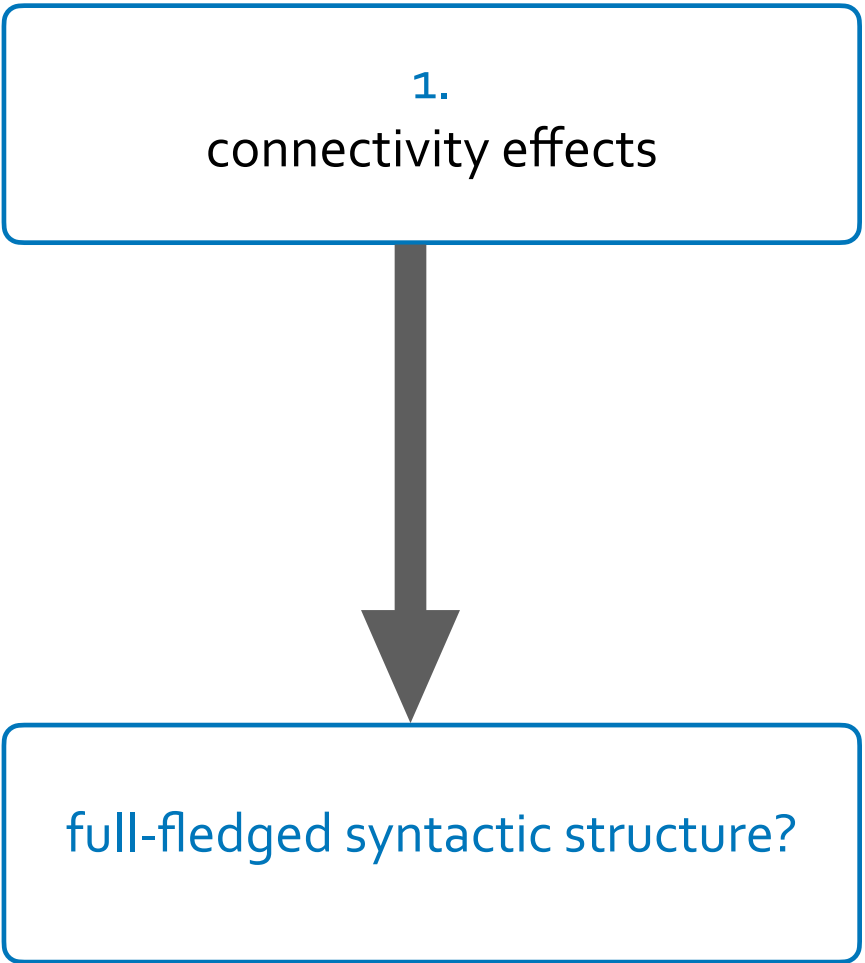
— B: (Naar) de Olympische Spelen in welk opzicht?
at the Olympic Games in which perspective

[‘A: I would like to go and watch the Olympics. B: The Olympics in what way?’]

Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluites in Dutch

Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluites in Dutch

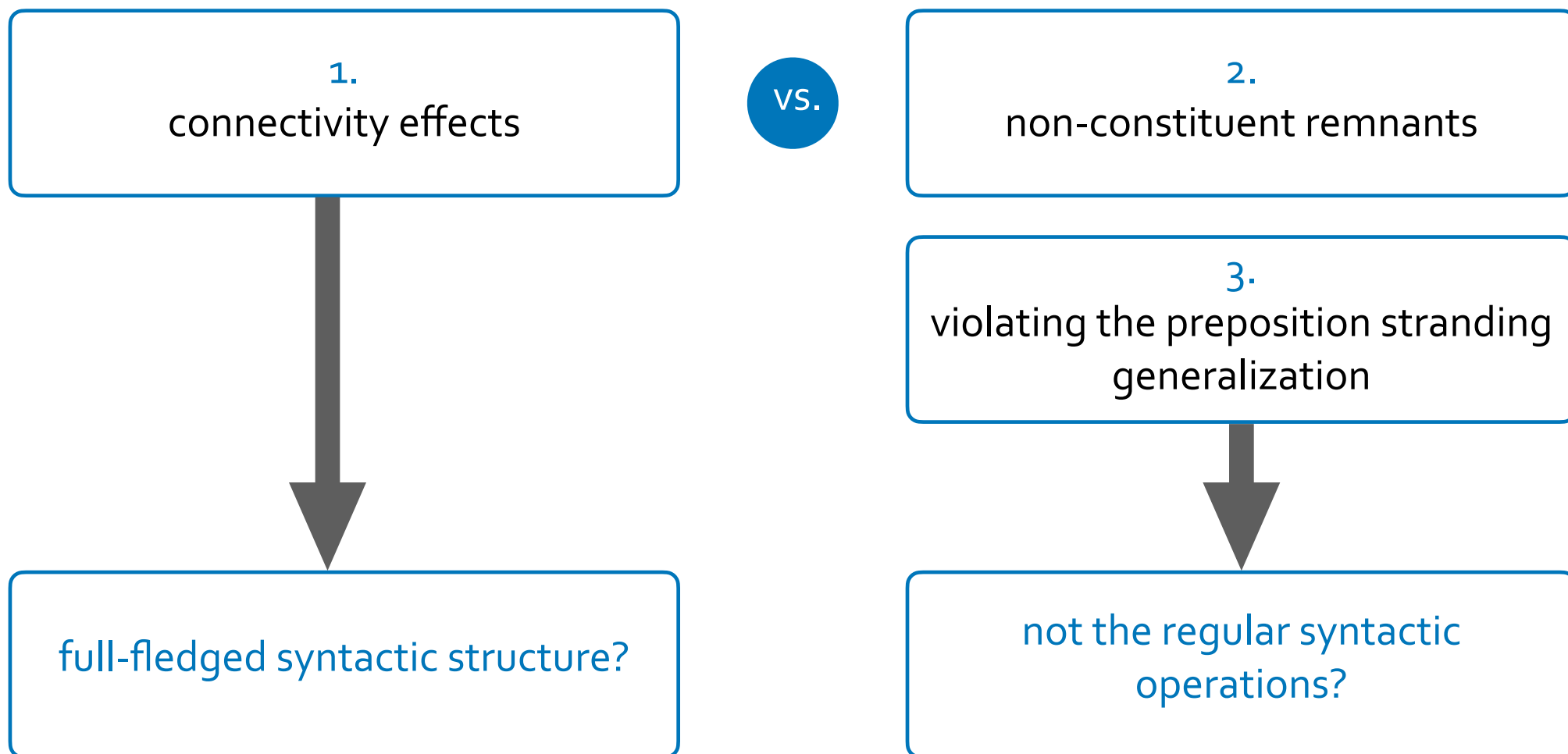
1.
connectivity effects



```
graph TD; A["1.  
connectivity effects"] --> B["full-fledged syntactic structure?"]
```

full-fledged syntactic structure?

Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluites in Dutch



Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluites in Dutch

Proposal (to be able to deal with all the properties of IWW sluites):

IWW-sluites correspond to 2 different underlying structures that undergo clausal ellipsis

Proposal (to be able to deal with all the properties of IWW sluices):

IWW-sluices correspond to 2 different underlying structures that undergo clausal ellipsis

Recall my claim earlier:

the 2 possible readings of IWW-sluices correspond to 2 different syntactic derivations

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Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

IWW-sluices correspond to 2 different underlying structures that undergo clausal ellipsis

1. A left dislocation structure (~ explanation-seeking interpretation)
2. A short quotative source (~ metalinguistic/quotative interpretation)

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

IWW-sluices correspond to 2 different underlying structures that undergo clausal ellipsis

1. **A left dislocation structure** (~ explanation-seeking interpretation)
2. A short quotative source (~ metalinguistic/quotative interpretation)

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

Connectivity effects

(7) A: Ik heb zo mijn favorietjes.

I have so my favorites

— B: Je / *mijn favorietjes in welk opzicht?

your my favorites in which perspective

[‘A: I have my favorites. B: Your favorites in what way?’]

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

Connectivity effects ➤ **1 underlying source is a full-fledged syntactic structure**

(7) A: Ik heb zo mijn favorietjes.

I have so my favorites

— B: Je / *mijn favorietjes in welk opzicht?

your my favorites in which perspective

[‘A: I have my favorites. B: Your favorites in what way?’]

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

HOWEVER: the source for [e.g.] (7B) cannot be a regular wh-movement structure

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

HOWEVER: the source for (7B) cannot be a regular wh-movement structure

cf. Dutch = V2-language

- (20) a. ✓ **In welk opzicht** **heb** je zo je favorietjes?
in which perspective have you so your favorites
- b. * **In welk opzicht** je **hebt** zo je favorietjes?
in which perspective you have so your favorites

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

HOWEVER: the source for (7B) cannot be a regular wh-movement structure

cf. Dutch = V2-language

- (20) a. ✓ **In welk opzicht** **heb** je zo je favorietjes?
in which perspective have you so your favorites
- b. * **In welk opzicht** je **hebt** zo je favorietjes?
in which perspective you have so your favorites
- c. * Je favorietjes **in welk opzicht** **heb** je zo?
your favorites in which perspective have you so

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

HOWEVER: the source for (7B) cannot be a regular wh-movement structure

cf. Dutch = V2-language

- (20) a. ✓ *In welk opzicht heb je zo je favorietjes?*
in which perspective have you so your favorites
- b. * *In welk opzicht je hebt zo je favorietjes?*
in which perspective you have so your favorites
- c. * *Je favorietjes in welk opzicht <heb je zo>?*
your favorites in which perspective have you so

► (20c) cannot be the underlying source for (7B)

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

PROPOSAL for IWW-sluices [part 1]:

non-wh-remnant = left-dislocated constituent in an 'in what way'-question

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

PROPOSAL for IWW-sluices:

non-wh-remnant = left-dislocated constituent in an 'in what way'-question

the source for (7B):

- (21) **Je** **favorietjes** **in welk** **opzicht** heb je **die** zo?
your favorites in which perspective have you *d*-PRON so

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

PROPOSAL for IWW-sluices:

non-wh-remnant = left-dislocated constituent in an 'in what way'-question

the source for (7B):

- (21) Je favorietjes in welk opzicht <heb je die zo>?
your favorites in which perspective have you *d*-PRON so

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

PROPOSAL for IWW-sluices:

non-wh-remnant = left-dislocated constituent in an 'in what way'-question

❖ clausal ellipsis in left dislocation structures is already known to be available in mainland Germanic languages in general, and in Dutch in particular (cf. Den Dikken & Surányi 2017, Abels 2018, Griffiths et al. 2021)

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

➤ clausal ellipsis in left dislocation structure in Dutch: example from fragment answers (Griffiths et al. 2021:283-4)

(22) Q: Waar kijkt hij naar?

where looks he at

A: Mijn favoriete film.

my favorite film

['Q: What is he watching? A: My favorite film.']

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

➤ clausal ellipsis in left dislocation structure in Dutch: example from fragment answers (Griffiths et al. 2021:283-4)

(22) Q: Waar kijkt hij naar?
where looks he at

A: Mijn favoriete film <daar—kijkt—hij—naar>.
my favorite film d-PRON looks he at

[‘Q: What is he watching? A: My favorite film, that’s what he’s watching.’]

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

PROPOSAL for IWW-sluices:

non-wh-remnant = left-dislocated constituent in an 'in what way'-question

❖ Dutch left dislocation allows for preposition stranding

(cf. Den Dikken & Surányi 2017, Griffiths et al. 2021)

(cf. also example (22)!)

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

❖ Dutch left dislocation allows for preposition stranding

➤ back to example (19)

(19) A: Ik wil wel eens gaan kijken naar de Olympische Spelen.
I want AFF once go look at the Olympic Games

— B: (Naar) de Olympische Spelen in welk opzicht?
at the Olympic Games in which perspective

[‘A: I would like to go and watch the Olympics. B: The Olympics in what way?’]

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

❖ Dutch left dislocation allows for preposition stranding

► IF: the (grammatical) question in (23) is the non-elliptical counterpart of (19B)
THEN: the PSG is not violated in IWW-sluicing after all !

(23) (Naar) **de O.S.** in welk opzicht wil je **daar** wel eens gaan **naar** kijken?
at the O.G. in which perspective want you *d*-PRON AFF once go at look
[‘In what way would you like to go and watch the Olympics?’]

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

❖ Dutch left dislocation allows for preposition stranding

► IF: the (grammatical) question in (23) is the non-elliptical counterpart of (19B)
THEN: the PSG is not violated in IWW-sluicing after all !

(23) (Naar) **de O.S.** in welk opzicht < ~~wil je **daar** wel eens gaan **naar** kijken~~ > ?
at the O.G. in which perspective want you *d*-PRON AFF once go at look
[‘In what way would you like to go and watch the Olympics?’]

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluiters in Dutch

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connectivity effects

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluites in Dutch

connectivity effects



underlying left dislocation structure

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluites in Dutch

connectivity effects



underlying left dislocation structure



NOT

violating the preposition stranding
generalization !!!

Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluiques in Dutch

connectivity effects

vs.

non-constituent remnants

underlying left dislocation structure

preposition stranding
generalization

Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluiques in Dutch

connectivity effects



underlying left dislocation structure



preposition stranding
generalization

vs.

non-constituent remnants



underlying structure = ???

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

IWW-sluices correspond to 2 different underlying structures that undergo clausal ellipsis

1. A left dislocation structure (~ explanation-seeking interpretation)
2. A short quotative source (~ metalinguistic/quotative interpretation)

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

IWW-sluices correspond to 2 different underlying structures that undergo clausal ellipsis

1. A left dislocation structure (~ explanation-seeking interpretation)
2. **A short quotative source** (~ metalinguistic/quotative interpretation)

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Short quotative source

Non-constituent remnant (Adj + V)

(24) A: Ze zei dat het heet aanvoelde in Vegas.
 she said that it hot felt in Vegas

— B: Heet aanvoelde in welk opzicht?
 hot felt in which perspective

[‘A: She said it felt hot in Vegas. B: Hot in what way?’]

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Short quotative source

Non-constituent remnant ➤ **cannot have undergone left dislocation**
(no corresponding *d*-PRON for Adj+V)

(24) A: Ze zei dat het **heet aanvoelde** in Vegas.
she said that it hot felt in Vegas

— B: **Heet aanvoelde** in welk opzicht?
hot felt in which perspective

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Short quotative source

Non-constituent remnant

► **underlying source = non-isomorphic information-seeking question**

(24) A: Ze zei dat het heet aanvoelde in Vegas.
she said that it hot felt in Vegas

— B: `HEET AANVOELDE' in welk opzicht **is dat**?
hot felt in which perspective is that

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Short quotative source

Non-constituent remnant

➤ **underlying source = non-isomorphic information-seeking question**

(24) A: Ze zei dat het heet aanvoelde in Vegas.
 she said that it hot felt in Vegas

— B: `HEET AANVOELDE' in welk opzicht **is dat**?
 hot felt in which perspective is that
 (interpretation: *in what way do you mean/use those words?*)

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Short quotative source

PROPOSAL for IWW-sluices [part 2]:
underlying source

= *definitional clarification requests*

(Griffiths et al. (2022), cf. Ginzburg's (2012) *explicit clarification requests*)

► Griffiths et al. (2022:21): “nothing prevents clausal ellipsis from being licensed” in such information-seeking questions

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Short quotative source

Non-constituent remnant

► **underlying source = non-isomorphic information-seeking question**

(24) A: Ze zei dat het heet aanvoelde in Vegas.
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— B: `HEET AANVOELDE' in welk opzicht <~~is dat~~>?
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Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

IWW-sluices correspond to 2 different underlying structures that undergo clausal ellipsis

1. A left dislocation structure (~ explanation-seeking interpretation)
2. A short quotative source (~ metalinguistic/quotative interpretation)

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

IWW-sluices correspond to 2 different underlying structures that undergo clausal ellipsis

1. A left dislocation structure (~ explanation-seeking interpretation)
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► **why not treat all cases as in [2.]?**

► **why *TWO* derivations?**

Two derivations: Extra evidence

more evidence (than already discussed earlier)
that a short question can not be the only IWW-source

Two derivations: Extra evidence

more evidence (than already discussed earlier)
that a short question can not be the only IWW-source

- ▶ 1. preservation of modality
- ▶ 2. scope ambiguity

Two derivations: extra evidence

1. Preservation of modality

more evidence

that a short question can not be the only IWW-source

▶ 1. preservation of modality

- ✗ not possible in a short (quotative) IWW-question
- ✓ but possible in IWW-sluicing (+ in left dislocation)

(cf. Weir 2014 in the context of Why-stripping)

Two derivations: extra evidence

1. Preservation of modality

► the example in (25), containing the modal MOETEN

(25) A: Ruud moet zich aanpassen aan die andere stijl.
 Ruud must himself adapt on that other style

— B: Aan die andere stijl in welk opzicht?
 on that other style in which perspective

[‘A: Ruud has to adapt to that other style. B: To that other style in what way?’]

Two derivations: extra evidence

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(25) A: Ruud moet zich aanpassen aan die andere stijl.
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- (25B) has a reading “in what way does Ruud **NEED TO** adapt to that other style”
- preservation of modality

Two derivations: extra evidence

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(25) A: Ruud moet zich aanpassen aan die andere stijl.
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— B: Aan die andere stijl in welk opzicht?
 on that other style in which perspective

- (25B) has a reading “in what way does Ruud **NEED TO** adapt to that other style”
- **preservation of modality**
- only follows if (25B) has a full clausal underlying structure

Two derivations: extra evidence

1. Preservation of modality

➤ the IWW-sluit in (25), containing a MODAL ➤ **left dislocation source available**

(25') A: Ruud moet zich aanpassen aan die andere stijl.
Ruud must himself adapt on that other style

— B: Aan die andere stijl in welk opzicht **moet** R. zich daaraan aanpassen?
to that other style in which perspective must R. himself *d*-PRON adapt

Two derivations: extra evidence

1. Preservation of modality

► the IWW-sluitce in (25), containing a MODAL ► **left dislocation source available**

(25') A: Ruud moet zich aanpassen aan die andere stijl.
Ruud must himself adapt on that other style

— B: Aan die andere stijl in welk opzicht < ~~moet R. zich~~ — daaraan — ~~aanpassen~~ >?
to that other style in which perspective must R. himself *d*-PRON adapt

Two derivations: extra evidence

2. Scope ambiguity

more evidence

that a short question can not be the only IWW-source

▶ 2. scope ambiguity

- ✗ not possible in a short (quotative) IWW-question
- ✓ but possible in IWW-sluicing (+ in left dislocation)

Two derivations: extra evidence

2. Scope ambiguity

► let's start from the ambiguous example in (26):

(26) Jan mag het examen niet afleggen.

John may the exam not take

['John is not allowed to take the exam.' / 'John is allowed not to take the exam.']

$(\neg > \diamond, \diamond > \neg)$

Two derivations: extra evidence

2. Scope ambiguity

► the example (27) is scopally ambiguous as well:

(27) A: Jan mag het examen niet afleggen.

John may the exam not take

— B: Het examen niet afleggen in welk opzicht?
the exam not take in which perspective

$(\neg > \diamond, \diamond > \neg)$

[‘A: John can not take the exam. B: Not take the exam in what way?’]

Two derivations: extra evidence

2. Scope ambiguity

► the example (27) is scopally ambiguous as well:

(27) A: Jan mag het examen niet afleggen.

John may the exam not take

— B: Het examen niet afleggen in welk opzicht?
the exam not take in which perspective

$(\neg > \diamond, \diamond > \neg)$

► scope ambiguity

► only follows if (27B) has a full clausal underlying structure

Two derivations: extra evidence

2. Scope ambiguity

► the scopally ambiguous IWW-sluit in (27B) ► **left dislocation source available**

(27') A: Jan mag het examen niet afleggen.
John may the exam not take

— B: **Het examen niet afleggen** in welk opzicht ...
the exam not take in which perspective

$(\neg > \diamond, \diamond > \neg)$

... **mag** Jan **dat** (niet) (*doen*)?
may John *d*-PRON not do

Two derivations: extra evidence

2. Scope ambiguity

► the scopally ambiguous IWW-sluitce in (27B) ► **left dislocation source available**

(27') A: Jan mag het examen niet afleggen.
John may the exam not take

— B: **Het examen niet afleggen** in welk opzicht ...
the exam not take in which perspective

$(\neg > \diamond, \diamond > \neg)$

... $\langle \text{mag Jan dat (niet) (doen)} \rangle?$
may John *d*-PRON not do

Outline

- A. A closer look at a basic example
- B. Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch
- C. Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch
- D. Conclusion & outlook

Outline

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Conclusion

Topic of today's talk:
IWW-sluicing in Dutch

i.e. seemingly non-sentential questions
with a non-wh-phrase followed by the wh-phrase *in welk opzicht* ('in what way')

(28) A: Ze zijn *amazing* op de GTD! — B: Geweldig in welk opzicht?
they are amazing at the GTD amazing in which perspective
[‘A: They are amazing at the GTD! B: Amazing in what way?’]

Conclusion

Dutch IWW-sluices correspond to 2 different underlying structures that undergo clausal ellipsis

1. A left dislocation structure (~ explanation-seeking interpretation)
2. A short quotative source (~ metalinguistic/quotative interpretation)

Outlook

Many questions still to be answered

- ▶ *In what way*-X-sluicing (cf. order remnants reversed)? Properties/analysis ?
- ▶ Properties/analysis of IWW-sluicing across Germanic languages (and beyond) ?
- ▶ Implications for the analysis of other, related elliptical constructions, such as *Why*-stripping (Yoshida et al. 2014), reprise fragments (Griffiths et al. 2022), ... ?
- ▶ ... ?

Thank you!

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Thanks to

- Jeroen van Craenenbroeck, Andrés Saab, David Adger, Jessica Rett, the members of CRISSP, and the audience at CGSW₃₆ at the University of Chicago for (lengthy) discussion and useful insights and input;
- Griffiths, Lipták & Güneş (2022) for inspiration;
- an anonymous reviewer for interesting comments.

(All errors are my own.)

Outline

- A. A closer look at a basic example
- B. Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch
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- Appendix. Against an *in situ* account

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Appendix: Against an *in situ* account

in line with recent ellipsis literature (cf. in line with (either in spirit or very specifically), amongst others, Abe 2015, Ott 2018, Ott & Struckmeier 2018, Griffiths 2019, Griffiths et al. 2022) :

an *in situ* analysis of IWW-sluicing, with clausal ellipsis in an echo-like question?

Against an *in situ* account

in line with recent ellipsis literature (cf. in line with (either in spirit or very specifically), amongst others, Abe 2015, Ott 2018, Ott & Struckmeier 2018, Griffiths 2019, Griffiths et al. 2022) :

an *in situ* analysis of IWW-sluicing, with clausal ellipsis in an echo-like question?

- “Ellipsis applies selectively in the elliptic clause. Focus-marked phrases (and some particles) are not elided” — Griffiths et al. (2022:12)
- “sluicing does not require wh-movement, [and] can “delete around” wh-phrases and other remnants in situ” — Ott (2018:1)

Against an *in situ* account

in line with recent ellipsis literature (cf. in line with (either in spirit or very specifically), amongst others, Abe 2015, Ott 2018, Ott & Struckmeier 2018, Griffiths 2019, Griffiths et al. 2022) :

an *in situ* analysis of IWW-sluicing, with clausal ellipsis in an echo-like question?

(2) A: Ze worden gek in dit land! — B: Gek in welk opzicht?
they become crazy in this country crazy in which perspective

➤ B: ~~Ze worden gek in dit land~~ in welk opzicht?
they become crazy in this country in which perspective?

Against an *in situ* account

in line with recent ellipsis literature (cf. in line with (either in spirit or very specifically), amongst others, Abe 2015, Ott 2018, Ott & Struckmeier 2018, Griffiths 2019, Griffiths et al. 2022) :

an *in situ* analysis of IWW-sluicing, with clausal ellipsis in an echo-like question ?

► no, 2 arguments:

1. adjectival IWW-remnants
2. embeddability

Against an *in situ* account

1. Adjectival IWW-remnants

adjectival inflection that is present in the antecedent, is lost in the IWW-sluice

(29) A: Jan is een leuk*(-e) jongen.
John is a nice-AGR boy

— B: Leuk(*-e) in welk opzicht?
nice-AGR in which perspective

[‘A: John is a nice boy. B: Nice in what way?’]

Against an *in situ* account

1. Adjectival IWW-remnants

adjectival inflection that is present in the antecedent, is lost in the IWW-sluiice

✓ follows straightforwardly if IWW-sluiice = left dislocation structure

(29') **Leuk**(*-e) in welk opzicht is Jan **dat**?
nice-AGR in which perspective is John *d*-PRON

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(29') **Leuk**(*-e) in welk opzicht <is Jan **dat**>?
nice-AGR in which perspective is John *d*-PRON

Against an *in situ* account

1. Adjectival IWW-remnants

adjectival inflection that is present in the antecedent, is lost in the IWW-sluice

- ✗ an *in situ* account based on an echo question (29'') would at least predict the possibility of an inflected adjective

(29'') Jan is een leuk*(-e) jongen in welk opzicht?
John is a nice-AGR boy in which perspective

Against an *in situ* account

1. Adjectival IWW-remnants

adjectival inflection that is present in the antecedent, is lost in the IWW-slurice

- ✗ an *in situ* account based on an echo question (29'') would at least predict the possibility of an inflected adjective

(29'') Jan is een leuk*(-e) jongen in welk opzicht?
John is a nice-AGR boy in which perspective

Against an *in situ* account

2. Embeddability

IWW-sluices = embeddable

(30) Ze zeiden dat Jan een leuke jongen is, ...
they said that John a nice boy is

... maar ik **vraag me af** / **weet niet** leuk in welk opzicht.
but I ask me off know not nice in which perspective

[‘They said that John is a nice boy, but I wonder / don’t know nice in what way.’]

Against an *in situ* account

2. Embeddability

echo questions: not embeddable (e.g. Noh 1998, Sudo 2007, Kellert 2018)

left dislocation: embeddable (e.g. Temmerman 2008 for ELD in Dutch)

Against an *in situ* account

2. Embeddability

echo questions: not embeddable (e.g. Noh 1998, Sudo 2007, Kellert 2018) - **cf. (31)**

left dislocation: embeddable (e.g. Temmerman 2008 for ELD in Dutch)

(31) A: Who ate my cake?

B: Who ate WHAT ?

B: # I don't know who ate WHAT. (#EQ)

(cf. Kellert 2018:7)

Against an *in situ* account

2. Embeddability

echo questions: not embeddable (e.g. Noh 1998, Sudo 2007, Kellert 2018)

left dislocation: embeddable (e.g. Temmerman 2008 for ELD in Dutch) - cf. (32)

(32) ... maar ik **vraag me af** / **weet niet** ...
but I ask me off know not

... **leuk** in welk opzicht dat Jan **dat** is.
nice in which perspective that John *d*-PRON is

Against an *in situ* account

2. Embeddability

echo questions: not embeddable (e.g. Noh 1998, Sudo 2007, Kellert 2018)

left dislocation: embeddable (e.g. Temmerman 2008 for ELD in Dutch) - cf. (32)

(32) ... maar ik **vraag me af** / **weet niet** ...
but I ask me off know not

... **leuk** in welk opzicht < ~~dat~~ Jan **dat** is > .
nice in which perspective that John *d*-PRON is

Against an *in situ* account

2. Embeddability

embedded IWW-sluices: only in contexts that allow embedded left dislocation!
(cf. Abels 2018 for similar observations in a different sluicing context in German)

(33) ?? ...maar ze **vertelden me niet** leuk in welk opzicht.
but they told me not nice in which perspective

(34) * ... maar **het is verrassend** leuk in welk opzicht.
but it is surprising nice in which perspective

Against an *in situ* account

2. Embeddability

embedded IWW-sluices: only in contexts that allow embedded left dislocation!

(cf. Abels 2018 for similar observations in a different sluicing context in German)

(33) ?? ...maar ze **vertelden me niet leuk** in welk opzicht < dat Jan dat is >.
but they told me not nice in which perspective that John *d*-PRON is

(34) * ... maar **het is verrassend leuk** in welk opzicht < dat Jan dat is >.
but it is surprising nice in which perspective that John *d*-PRON is

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