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Crazy in what way?

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

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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 example

- (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

Topic of today's talk:

X-in what way-sluicing in Dutch

A relevant example:

(2) A: Ze zijn gek in Chicago! — B: Gek in welk opzicht?
they are crazy in Chicago crazy in which perspective
[‘A: They are crazy in Chicago! 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 followed by the wh-phrase *in welk opzicht* ('in **w**hat **w**ay')

hereafter: **IWW**-sluicing

Introduction

Topic of today's talk:

- 1) the syntactic properties of IWW-sluites in Dutch
- 2) the syntactic derivation / underlying source of IWW-sluites in Dutch

Outline

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

Outline

- A. A closer look at a basic example**
- B. Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch
- C. Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch
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- E. Conclusion & outlook

A closer look at a basic example

(2) A: Ze zijn **gek** in Chicago! — B: **Gek** in welk opzicht?
they are crazy in Chicago crazy in which perspective
[‘A: They are crazy in Chicago! 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

This is reminiscent of *Why*-stripping (e.g. Yoshida et al. 2014):

(3) A: John was eating **natto**. — B: Why **natto**?

(4) A: Ze zijn **gek** in Chicago! — B: Waarom **gek**?
they are crazy in Chicago why crazy

- ▶ 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:

- (4) A: Ze zijn gek in Chicago! — B: **Waarom** gek? **wh** > **non-wh**
they are crazy in Chicago why crazy
- (2) A: Ze zijn gek in Chicago! — B: **Gek** **in welk** **opzicht?** **non-wh** > **wh**
they are crazy in Chicago 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

Important observation: no verbatim requirement

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

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

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

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- E. Conclusion & outlook

Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluiques in Dutch

1.

connectivity effects

vs.

2.

unexpected remnants

3.

violating the preposition stranding
generalization

Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluices 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-sluice

Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Connectivity effects

A. Shape of indexical elements

(6) 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)

(7) A: Jessica_i heeft haar^{*_{i/j}} / haarzelf_{i/*j} bedrogen.
Jessica has her herself deceived

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

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

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

Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluites in Dutch

1. Connectivity effects

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

(8) A: [Elke jongen_i] bewondert zijn_i moeder.
 every boy admires his mother

— B: Zijn_i moeder in welk opzicht?
 his mother in which perspective

[‘A: Every boy admires his mother. B: His mother in what way?’]

Conflicting 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

Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluiques in Dutch

1.

connectivity effects

vs.

2.

unexpected remnants

2. Unexpected 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 (selection):

- Quantifier
- Prefix
- NP
- Adj + conjugated V
- Conjugated V + P

Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Unexpected remnants

Quantifier

(9) 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?’]

Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Unexpected remnants

Prefix

(10) A: Hij heeft echt anti-ziekenhuis gevoelens.
 he has really anti-hospital feelings

— B: Anti in welk opzicht?
 anti in which perspective

[‘A: He has strong anti-hospital feelings. B: Anti in what way?’]

2. Unexpected remnants

NP

(11) A: Ada zegt dat ze met haar vriendjes wil meegaan.
Ada says that she with her friend.DIM.PL wants with-go

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

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

2. Unexpected remnants

Adj + conjugated V

(12) [Flemish Dutch]

A: Ze geloven nie da gij slim zijt.
they believe not that you smart are.2SG

— B: Slim zijt/*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?’]

Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluites in Dutch

2. Unexpected remnants

Conjugated V + P

(13) 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?’]

Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluiques in Dutch

1.

connectivity effects

vs.

2.

unexpected remnants

3.

violating the preposition stranding
generalization

Conflicting 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

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)

- (14) a. Who was he talking with?
b. Peter was talking with someone, but I don't know (with) who.

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)

(15) a. *<Met> wie wil je niet <*met/mee> praten?

with who want you not with talk

['Who don't you want to talk with?']

b. Peter wilde met iemand niet praten, maar ik weet niet *(met) wie.

Peter wanted with someone not talk but I know not with who

['Peter did not want to talk with someone, but I don't know (with) who.']

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

(16) A: Ik wil echt nooit meer praten met Bo.

I want really never more talk with Bo

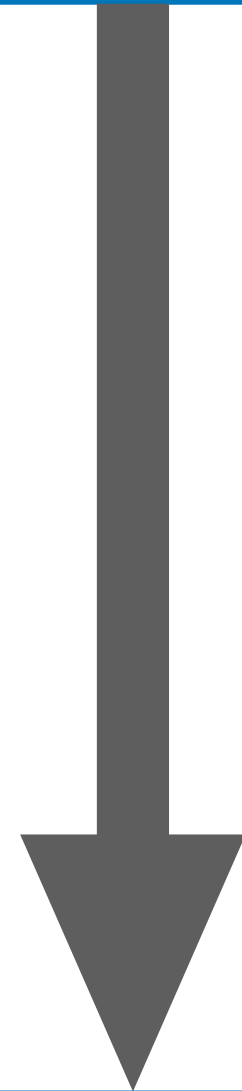
— B: (Met) Bo in welk opzicht?

with Bo in which perspective

['A: I never ever want to talk to Bo again. B: (To) Bo in what way?']

Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluites in Dutch

1.
connectivity effects

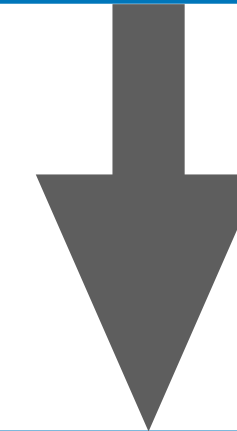


full-fledged syntactic structure?

vs.

2.
unexpected remnants

3.
violating the preposition stranding
generalization



not the regular syntactic
operations?

Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluiques in Dutch

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

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

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- C. Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch**
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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
2. A short quotative source

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

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

(6) 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-sluiques in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

HOWEVER: the source for (6B) cannot be a regular wh-movement structure

cf. Dutch = V2-language

- (17) 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

► (17c) CANNOT be the underlying source for (6B)

Two derivations of IWW-sluiques in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

PROPOSAL for IWW-sluiques:

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

the source for (6B):

- (18) *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)

(19) 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 (19)!)

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

❖ Dutch left dislocation allows for preposition stranding

👉 back to example (16)

(16) A: Ik wil echt nooit meer praten met Bo.
I want really never more talk with Bo

— B: Bo in welk opzicht?
Bo in which perspective

['A: I never ever want to talk to Bo again. B: Bo in what way?']

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

1. Left dislocation

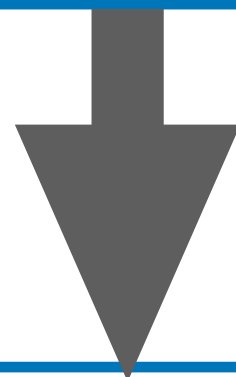
❖ Dutch left dislocation allows for preposition stranding

► IF: the (grammatical) question in (20) is the non-elliptical counterpart of (16B)
THEN: the PSG is not violated in IWW-sluicing after all !

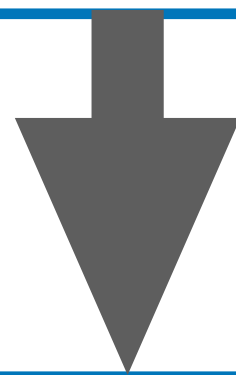
(20) Bo in welk opzicht ~~— wil je daar echt nooit meer mee praten —~~ ?
Bo in which perspective want you *d*-PRON really never more with talk
[‘In what way don’t you ever want to talk to Bo again?’]

Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluiques in Dutch

connectivity effects



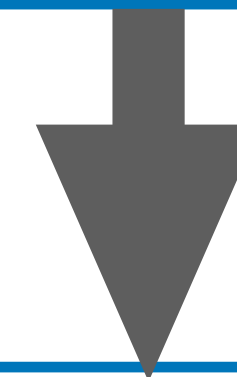
underlying left dislocation structure



preposition stranding
generalization

vs.

unexpected 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
2. **A short quotative source**

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Short quotative source

Unexpected remnant (Adj + V)

(21) A: Ze zei dat het heet was in Vegas.
she said that it hot was in Vegas

— B: Heet was in welk opzicht?
hot was in which perspective

['A: She said it was hot in Vegas. B: Hot in what way?']

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Short quotative source

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

(21) A: Ze zei dat het heet was in Vegas.
she said that it hot was in Vegas

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

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Short quotative source

Unexpected remnant

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

(21) A: Ze zei dat het heet was in Vegas.
she said that it hot was in Vegas

— B: `HEET WAS' in welk opzicht **is dat** ?
hot was 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

Unexpected remnant

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

(21) A: Ze zei dat het heet was in Vegas.
she said that it hot was in Vegas

— B: `HEET WAS' in welk opzicht ~~—〈is dat〉—~~?
hot was in which perspective is that

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Short quotative source

Unexpected remnant (Quantifier)

(9) 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?’]

Two derivations of IWW-sluiques in Dutch

2. Short quotative source

Unexpected remnant

➤ **cannot have undergone left dislocation** (no corresponding *d*-PRON for Quant)

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

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

Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

2. Short quotative source

Unexpected remnant

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

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

— B: 'VEEL' in welk opzicht ~~—⟨is dat⟩—~~?
many in which perspective is that
(interpretation: *in what way do you mean/use that word?*)

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-sluiques in Dutch

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

1. A left dislocation structure
 2. A short quotative source
- ▶ **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

► certain replacements:

- ✗ prohibited in a short (quotative) IWW-question
- ✓ but permitted in IWW-sluicing (+ in left dislocation)

(cf. Griffiths et al. 2022 for similar observations for reprise fragments)

Two derivations: Extra evidence

☞ the IWW-slauce in (22), with HYPERNYM-replacement

(22) A: Ik heb een hekel aan die rottweiler.
I have a despise on that Rottweiler

— B: Aan die hond in welk opzicht?
on that dog in which perspective

[‘A: I despise that Rottweiler. B: Despise that dog in what way?’]

Two derivations: Extra evidence

☞ the IWW-slurce in (22), with HYPERNYM-replacement ➤ **no short IWW-source**

(22) A: Ik heb een hekel aan die rottweiler.

I have a despise on that Rottweiler

— B: # Aan die hond in welk opzicht < is dat > ?
on that dog in which perspective is that

➤ cannot mean “in what way did you mean the words ‘AAN DIE HOND’ ”
because A never actually *used* those words

Two derivations: Extra evidence

☞ the IWW-slauce in (22), with HYPERNYM-replacement ➤ **left dislocation source ok**

(22) A: Ik heb een hekel aan die rottweiler.

I have a despise on that Rottweiler

— B: **Aan die hond** in welk opzicht ~~heb je **daar** een hekel aan~~?
on that dog in which perspective have you *d*-PRON a despise on

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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 zijn gek in Chicago! — B: Gek in welk opzicht?
they are crazy in Chicago crazy in which perspective

➤ B: ~~Ze zijn gek in Chicago~~ in welk opzicht?
they are crazy in Chicago 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-slalice

(23) 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-sluice

✓ follows straightforwardly if IWW-sluice = left dislocation structure

(23') **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-slalice

✗ an *in situ* account based on an echo question (23'') would at least predict the possibility of an inflected adjective

(23'') ~~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

(24) 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) - **cf. (25)**

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

(25) 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. (26)**

(26) ... 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)

(27) ?? ... 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

(28) * ... maar **ik betwijfel leuk** in welk opzicht ⟨ dat Jan dat is ⟩ .
but I doubt nice in which perspective that John *d*-PRON is

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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')

(29) A: Ze zijn *amazing* in Chicago! — B: Geweldig in welk opzicht?
 they are amazing in Chicago amazing in which perspective
['A: They are amazing in Chicago! B: Amazing in what way?']

Conclusion

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

1. A left dislocation structure
2. A short quotative source

Outlook

Many questions left unanswered!

- ▶ *In what way*-X-slucing (cf. order remnants reversed)? Properties/analysis ?
- ▶ Properties/analysis of IWW-slucing 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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(All errors are my own.)

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Appendix 1 - Connectivity effects (some more examples)

- A. Shape of indexical elements (cf. supra)
- B. Sensitive to Binding Theory Principle A/B (cf. supra)
- C. Quantifier-binding relations established in antecedent maintained in IWW-slurice (cf. supra)
- D. Sensitive to Binding Theory Principle C
- E. Fixed diathesis

Appendix 1 - Connectivity effects (some more examples)

A. Shape of indexical elements

(6) 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?']

Appendix 1 - Connectivity effects (some more examples)

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

(7) A: Jessica_i heeft haar^{*_{i/j}} / haarzelf_{i/*j} bedrogen.
Jessica has her herself deceived

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

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

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

Appendix 1 - Connectivity effects (some more examples)

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

(8) A: [Elke jongen_i] bewondert zijn_i moeder.
 every boy admires his mother

— B: Zijn_i moeder in welk opzicht?
 his mother in which perspective

[‘A: Every boy admires his mother. B: His mother in what way?’]

Appendix 1 - Connectivity effects (some more examples)

D. Sensitive to Binding Theory Principle C

(i) A: Bo_i/hij_i is met $zijn_i$ auto gekomen.
Bo/he is with his car come

— B: a. (Met) $zijn_i$ auto in welk opzicht?
with his car in which perspective

b. ?? (Met) Bo_i 's auto in which opzicht?
with Bo's car in what perspective

['A: Bo/he came in his car. B: (In) his car in what way?']

Appendix 1 - Connectivity effects (some more examples)

E. Fixed diathesis (e.g. no active-passive mismatches)

(ii) A: Dat meisje heeft de wedstrijd gewonnen.
that girl has the contest won

— B: (*Door) dat meisje in welk opzicht?
by that girl in which perspective

[‘A: That girl won the contest. B: That girl (won the contest) in what way?’]

[‘A: That girl won the contest. B: (The contest was won) by that girl in what way?’]

Appendix 2 - Short quotative source: content vs. form

SIDE NOTE: although this is a quotative use of IWW-sluicing, the question is more about the *content* (of what someone said), rather than about the specific *wording*

Appendix 2 - Short quotative source: content vs. form

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Compare (i)-(ii) and (21):

- (i) A: Jim gebruikt het woord "heet" heel vaak. — B: * "Heet" in welk opzicht?
Jim uses the word hot very often hot in which perspective
- (ii) A: Het woord "heet" heeft drie letters. — B: * "Heet" in welk opzicht?
the word hot has three letters hot in which perspective

► B trying to ask a question about the word/form "heet"

Appendix 2 - Short quotative source: content vs. form

SIDE NOTE: although this is a quotative use of IWW-sluicing, the question is more about the *content* (of what someone said), rather than about the specific *wording/form*

Compare (i)-(ii) and (21):

(21) A: Ze zei dat het heet was in Las Vegas. — B: 'HEET WAS' in welk opzicht?
she said that it hot was in Las Vegas hot was in which perspective

► B asking a question about the meaning/use of 'being hot' (cf. warm or erotic?)