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Weird in what way?

On the syntax of Dutch 'in what way' sluices

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Introduction
Setting the scene: Sluicing and Sweeping

Setting the scene: Sluicing and Sweeping

Introduction

Sluicing: traditional example

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

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

Introduction

Sluicing: traditional analysis

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

(1') A: Jo kocht iets voor Vic.
Jo bought something for Vic
— B: 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") A: Jo kocht iets voor Vic.
Jo bought something for Vic
— B: 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

Also possible: combination of Sluicing (WH-remnant) + non-WH-element

Sweeping: Sluicing With Extra Elements Persist-ing
(Temmerman 2019)

Introduction

Some examples of Sweeping in Dutch:

1. Mention-*all* and mention-*some* modification

(2) A: Ik heb met zo veel mensen gesproken.
I have with so many people spoken
— B: Met wie **allemaal**?
with who all

Introduction

Some examples of Sweeping in Dutch:

2. WH + particle/adverb

(3) A: Onze vereniging komt regelmatig samen.
our association comes regularly together
— B: Wanneer **doorgaans** ?
when usually

Introduction

Some examples of Sweeping in Dutch:

3. WH + niet/wel

(4) A: Wie wordt de nieuwe coureur van Williams?
who becomes the new driver of Williams
— B: Ik weet wie **niet** .
I know who not

Introduction

Some examples of Sweeping in Dutch:

4. Wh-Stripping (cf. Nevins 2008, Ortega-Santos et al. 2014, Yoshida et al. 2015 for English and Spanish)

(5) Zal hij 4 of 5 verdedigers op het veld zetten ? Wie **op de libero** ?
will he 4 or 5 defenders on the field put who on the libero
['Will he put 4 or 5 defenders on the pitch? Who will he put in the libero position?']

Introduction

Some examples of Sweeping in Dutch:

5. Why-Stripping
(cf. Ortega-Santos et al. 2014, Weir 2014, Yoshida et al. 2015, Corver 2021 for English, Spanish & Dutch)

(6) A: Zij zal Obama interviewen.
she will Obama interview
— B: Waarom / Hoezo **Obama** ?
why how-so Obama
['A: She will be interviewing Obama. B: Why / How come Obama?']

Introduction

Some examples of Sweeping in Dutch:

	WH-remnant	**non-WH-element**
mention-*all/some*	all kinds	'quantifier'
WH + particle/adverb	all kinds	particle/adverb
WH + niet/wel	all kinds	*niet / wel*
Wh-Stripping	all kinds	contrasted/new X
Why-Stripping	*why / how come*	identical/given X

Introduction
Topic of today's talk

A new type of Sweeping: *in what way*-sluicing in Dutch

> i.e. seemingly non-sentential questions involving the combination of a non-WH-element and the WH-phrase *in welk opzicht* ('**i**n **w**hat **w**ay')

hereafter: **IWW**-sluicing

Topic of today's talk: IWW-sluicing

Introduction

in what way-sluicing in Dutch, a relevant example:

(7) A: Dit is **raar**! — B: **Raar** in welk opzicht?
this is weird weird in which perspective
['A: This is weird! B: Weird in what way?']

- non-WH-remnant (*raar* 'weird' in (7)) + WH-remnant (*in welk opzicht* 'in what way')
- the non-WH-remnant is **repeated** from the antecedent clause

Topic of today's talk: IWW-sluicing

Introduction

Important observation: no verbatim requirement

(8) A: Astrid zei dat de mensen in LA *amazing* zijn.
Astrid said that the people in LA amazing$_{English}$ are

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

['A: Astrid said that the people in LA are amazing. B: Amazing in what way?']

Topic of today's talk: IWW-sluicing

Introduction

Sweeping in Dutch:

	WH-remnant	**non-WH-element**
mention-*all/some*	all kinds	'quantifier'
WH + particle/adverb	all kinds	particle/adverb
WH + niet/wel	all kinds	*niet / wel*
Wh-Stripping	all kinds	contrasted/new X
Why-Stripping	*why / how come*	identical/given X
IWW-sluicing	*in what way*	identical/given X

Topic of today's talk: IWW-sluicing

Introduction

IWW-sluices: 2 possible readings

(9) A: Robin gedroeg zich zo raar ! — B: Raar in welk opzicht ?
Robin behaved REFL so weird weird in which perspective

['A: Robin was acting so weird. B: Weird in what way?']

- 1. explanation-seeking question
in what way (in what manner) was Robin acting weird ?

Topic of today's talk: IWW-sluicing

Introduction

IWW-sluices: 2 possible readings

(9) A: Robin gedroeg zich zo raar ! — B: Raar in welk opzicht ?
Robin behaved REFL so weird weird in which perspective

['A: Robin was acting so weird. B: Weird in what way?']

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

My claim today:

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

Main focus 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

I. IWW-sluicing in Dutch

   Ia. Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

   Ib. Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

   Ic. Against an *in situ* account

II. What about "in what way X"?

III. A first glance at the cross-linguistic picture of IWW-sluicing

IV. Parallels with other types of Sweeping

V. Conclusion

Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

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

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

D. Long-distance interpretations

1. Connectivity effects

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

1. Connectivity effects

[standard assumption]
these connectivity effects are generated by standard syntactic processes

1. Connectivity effects

A. Shape of indexical elements

(10) 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?']

Short intermezzo

1. Connectivity effects

A. Shape of indexical elements: my new consultant ChatGPT agrees

I asked, on 4 May 2023 (in Dutch):

> When I say "*Ik heb zo mijn favorietjes*", can my friend reply: "*Mijn favorietjes in welk opzicht?*" ?

ChatGPT's answer, on 4 May 2023 (in Dutch, my translation):

> No, it would be incorrect if your friend replied with "*Mijn favorietjes in welk opzicht*?" because the original sentence does not refer specifically to your friend's favourites, but to your own favourites. In this case, a more appropriate response would be: "*Jouw favorietjes in welk opzicht*?".

1. Connectivity effects

A. Shape of indexical elements

(11) [gym teacher shouting directions to pupils from a distance]

A: Jullie moeten naar **hier** lopen !
you.PL must to here run

— B: a. Naar **daar** in welk opzicht ?
to there in which perspective

b. * Naar **hier** in welk opzicht ?
to here in which perspective

['A: You must run over here! B: Over there in what way?']

1. Connectivity effects

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

(12) A: Jessica$_i$ heeft haar$_{*i/j}$ / [haar eigen]$_{i/*j}$ bedrogen. [certain varieties of Dutch]
Jessica has her her own deceived

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

b. [Haar eigen]$_{i/*j}$ (bedrogen) in welk opzicht ?
her own deceived in which perspective

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

1. Connectivity effects

B. Sensitive to Binding Theory (Principle C)

(13) A: Mo_i/hij_i is met $zijn_i$/*Mo_i's auto gekomen.
Mo/he is with his Mo's car come

— B: a. * Met Mo_i's auto in welk opzicht ?
with Mo's car in which perspective

b. Met $zijn_i$ auto in welk opzicht ?
with his car in which perspective

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

1. Connectivity effects

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

(14) 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?']

1. Connectivity effects

D. Long-distance interpretation possible (cf. no clause-mate condition)

(15) A: Jan gaat ontkennen dat hij met die vrouw weggegaan is.
John goes deny that he with that woman left is

— B: (Met) die vrouw in welk opzicht ?
with that woman in which perspective

['A: John is going to deny that he left with that woman. B: With that woman in what way?']
[*Long-distance interpretation*: In what way is John going to deny that he left with that woman?]

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-sluices in Dutch

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

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

2. Non-constituent remnants

Quantifier

(16) 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?']

2. Non-constituent remnants

Prefix

(17) A: Kai heeft dat voorstel moeten heroverwegen.
Kai has that proposal must reconsider

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

['A: Kai had to consider that proposal again. B: Again in what way?']

2. Non-constituent remnants

N(P)

(18) A: Ada zegt dat ze haar nieuwe vriendje wil verrassen.
Ada says that she her new friend.DIM.SG wants surprise

— B: Vriendje in welk opzicht ?
friend.DIM.SG in which perspective

['A: Ada says she wants to surprise her new friend. B: Friend in what way?']

2. Non-constituent remnants

Conjugated V + P

(19) A: Rudi zegt dat hij meedoet aan *The Voice*.
Rudi says that he participate.3SG in The Voice

— B: Meedoet aan in welk opzicht ?
participate.3SG in in which perspective

['A: Rudi says that he's competing on *The Voice*. B: Competing on in what way?']

2. Non-constituent remnants

Adj + conjugated V

(20) 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?']

2. Non-constituent remnants

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

(21) 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** (dan ik) in welk opzicht?
smarter are.2SG than I 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-sluices in Dutch

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

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)

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

(23) 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.']

3. Violating the PSG

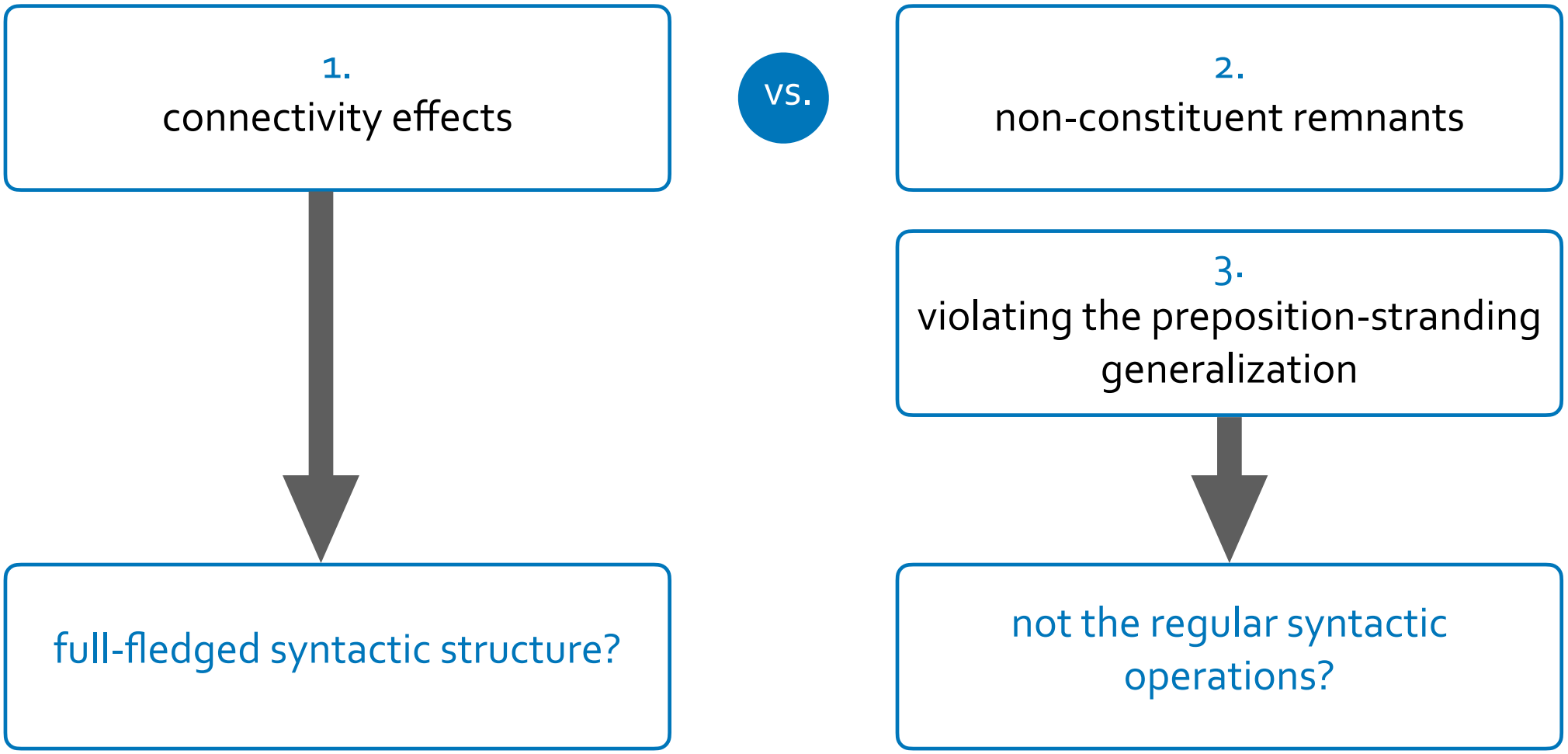
IWW-sluices do not seem to obey the preposition-stranding generalization (PSG):

(24) A: Ik wil wel eens deelnemen aan de Olympische Spelen.
I want AFF once participate on the Olympic Games

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

['A: I would like to participate in the Olympics. B: The Olympics in what way?']

Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch



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)

1. Left dislocation

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

(10) 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?']

1. Left dislocation

HOWEVER: the source for (10B) cannot be a regular WH-movement structure

cf. Dutch = V2-language

(25) 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

▶ (25c) cannot be the underlying source for (10B)

1. Left dislocation

PROPOSAL for IWW-sluices:
non-WH-remnant = left-dislocated constituent in an 'in what way'-question

the source for (10B):

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

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)

1. Left dislocation

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

(27) 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.']

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 (27)!)

1. Left dislocation

❖ Dutch left dislocation allows for preposition stranding

➤ back to example (24)

(24) A: Ik wil wel eens deelnemen aan de Olympische Spelen.
I want AFF once participate on the Olympic Games

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

['A: I would like to participate in the Olympics. B: The Olympics in what way?']

1. Left dislocation

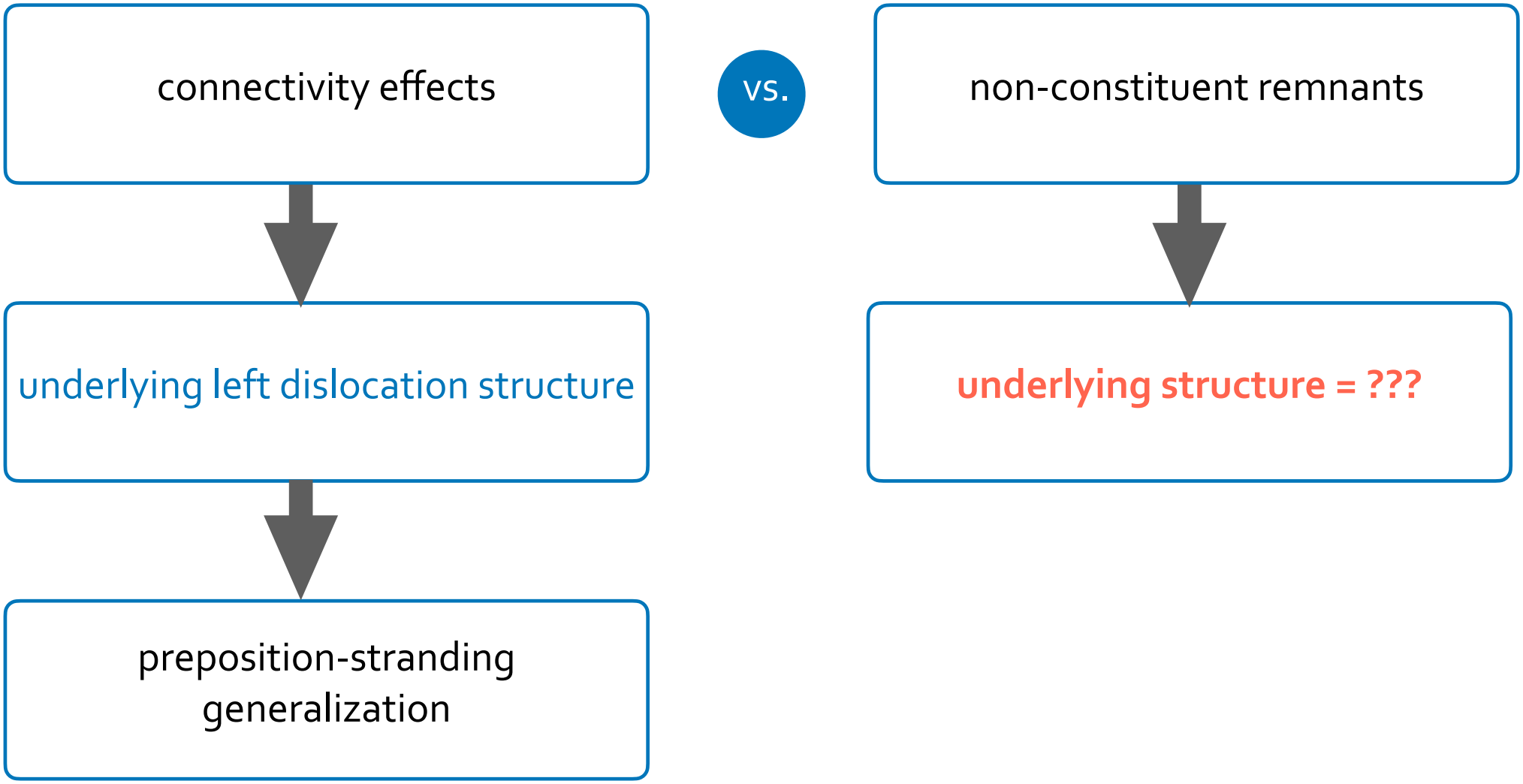
❖ Dutch left dislocation allows for preposition stranding

▶ IF: the (grammatical) question in (28) is the non-elliptical counterpart of (24B)

THEN: the PSG is not violated in IWW-sluicing after all !

(28) (Aan) de O.S. in welk opzicht ⟨~~wil je daar wel eens **aan** deelnemen~~⟩?
on the O.G. in which perspective want you *d*-PRON AFF once on participate
['In what way would you like to participate in the Olympics?']

Conflicting syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch



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)

2. Short quotative source

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

(29) 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

2. Short quotative source

Non-constituent remnant

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

(29) 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*?)

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

2. Short quotative source

Non-constituent remnant

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

(29) 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

2. Short quotative source

Support for quotative analysis:

(30) A: Het was gisteren heet in Vegas.
it was yesterday hot in Vegas

— B: ?* " WAS HEET " in welk opzicht ?
was hot in which perspective

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)

- **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

- 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 (31), containing the modal MOETEN

(31) 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

- (31B) has a reading "in what way does Ruud NEED TO adapt to that other style"
- preservation of modality
- only follows if (31B) has a full clausal underlying structure

Two derivations: extra evidence

1. Preservation of modality

➤ the IWW-sluice in (31), containing a MODAL ➤ **left dislocation source available**

(31′) 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 (32):

(32) 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.']

Two derivations: extra evidence

2. Scope ambiguity

➤ the example (33) is scopally ambiguous as well:

(33) 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

- scope ambiguity
- only follows if (33B) has a full clausal underlying structure

Two derivations: extra evidence

2. Scope ambiguity

➤ the scopally ambiguous IWW-sluice in (33B) ➤ **left dislocation source available**

(33′) 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

… ⟨ ~~mag~~ ~~Jan~~ ~~dat~~ ~~(niet)~~ ~~(doen)~~ ⟩?
may John *d*-PRON not do

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  Ib. Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

  Ic. Against an *in situ* account

II. What about "in what way X"?

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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?

(16) A: Er waren veel mensen op het feest. — B: Veel in welk opzicht?
there were many people at the party many in which perspective

➤ B: ~~Er~~ ~~waren~~ veel ~~mensen~~ ~~op~~ ~~het~~ ~~feest~~ in welk opzicht?
there were many people at the party 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

(34) 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

(34′) 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 (34″) would at least predict the possibility of an inflected adjective

(34″)	~~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

(35) Ze zei dat Jan een leuke jongen is, …
she 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

['She 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. (36)**

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

(36) 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. (37)**

(37) … 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!

(38) ? … maar ze **wilde me niet vertellen** leuk in welk opzicht ⟨ dat Jan **dat** is ⟩.
but she wanted me not tell nice in which perspective that John *d*-PRON is

(39) * … maar **het is verrassend / onduidelijk** leuk in welk opzicht ⟨ dat Jan **dat** is ⟩.
but it is surprising unclear nice in which perspective that John *d*-PRON is

IWW-sluicing in Dutch: 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)

Outline

I. IWW-sluicing in Dutch

   Ia. Syntactic properties of IWW-sluices in Dutch

   Ib. Two derivations of IWW-sluices in Dutch

   Ic. Against an *in situ* account

II. What about "in what way X"?

III. A first glance at the cross-linguistic picture of IWW-sluicing

IV. Parallels with other types of Sweeping

V. Conclusion

What about "in what way X" ?

A relevant example:

(40) A: Dit is raar ! — B: In welk opzicht " raar " ? **WH > non-WH**
this is weird in which perspective weird
['A: This is weird! B: In what way weird?']

What about "in what way X" ?

1. No right dislocation source
2. Non-constituent remnants
3. No connectivity effects

What about "in what way X" ?

1. No right dislocation source

(41) A: Ik heb iedere kandidaat gesproken.
I have every candidate spoken

— B: In welk opzicht iedere kandidaat ?
in which perspective every candidate

['A: I have spoken to every candidate. B: In what way "every candidate"?']

What about "in what way X" ?

➤ the (grammatical) IWW-X-sluice in (41B): **no right dislocation source available**

[no RD of quantified noun phrases, cf. Broekhuis & Corver 2020]

(41') * In welk opzicht heb je **hem/die** gesproken, iedere kandidaat ?
in which perspective have you him/*d*-PRON spoken every candidate
[*Intended reading*: 'In which perspective have you spoken to every candidate?']

What about "in what way X" ?

2. Non-constituent remnants (1 example)

(42) A: Kai heeft dat voorstel moeten heroverwegen.
Kai has that proposal must reconsider

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

['A: Kai had to consider that proposal again. B: In what way "again"?']

What about "in what way X" ?

3. No connectivity effects: no indexical shift

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

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

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

['A: I have my favorites. B: In what way "my favorites"?']

What about "in what way X" ?

3. No connectivity effects: no long-distance interpretation

(44) A: Jan gaat ontkennen dat hij met die vrouw weggegaan is.
John goes deny that he with that woman left is

— B: # In welk opzicht (met) die vrouw ?
in which perspective with that woman

['A: John is going to deny that he left with that woman. B: In what way with that woman?']
[*No long-distance interpretation*: *In what way is John going deny that he left with that woman?]

"in what way X" in Dutch: conclusion

IWW-X-sluicing in Dutch:
only a short quotative source (~ metalinguistic/quotative interpretation)

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

(40) A: Dit is raar ! — B: In welk opzicht 〈~~**is dat**~~〉 **:** " RAAR " ?
this is weird in which perspective is that weird
(interpretation: *in what way do you mean/use that word?*)

Outline

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III. A first glance at the cross-linguistic picture of IWW-sluicing

IV. Parallels with other types of Sweeping

V. Conclusion

A first glance at the cross-linguistic picture of IWW-sluicing

1. **Italian**
2. Spanish

1. Italian

Like Dutch, Italian has 2 IWW-sluicing constructions available:

1. IWW-X: *in che senso* X ? 'in what sense X'

2. X-IWW: X *in che senso* ? 'X in what sense'

1. Italian

Unlike Dutch, each Italian IWW-construction is limited to only 1 use/interpretation
(+ based on the observations for Dutch, the expected syntactic properties)

1. IWW-X: *in che senso* X ? ➤ ~ explanation-seeking interpretation

   ➤ connectivity effects, no unexpected remnants

2. X-IWW: X *in che senso* ? ➤ ~ metalinguistic/quotative interpretation

   ➤ unexpected remnants, no connectivity effects

1. Italian

A. Unexpected remnants (1 example: prefix)

(45) A: John ha dovuto riconsiderare la proposta.
John has had reconsider the proposal

— B: a. * **Ri-** in che senso ?
again.PREFIX in what sense

b. ? In che senso **ri-** ?
in what sense again.PREFIX

['A: John has had to reconsider the proposal. B: In what sense "re-"?']

1. Italian

B. Connectivity effects (1 example: indexical shift)

(46) A: Lo ammetto: Ho **i miei** preferiti.
it admit.1SG have.1SG my.PL.MASC favorites

— B: a. **I tuoi** preferiti in che senso?
your.PL.MASC favorites in what sense

b. * **I miei** preferiti in che senso?
my.PL.MASC favorites in what sense

['A: I admit it: I have my favorites. B: Your favorites in what sense?']

1. Italian

B. Connectivity effects (1 example: indexical shift)

(46′) A: Lo ammetto: Ho **i miei** preferiti.
it admit.1SG have.1SG my.PL.MASC favorites

— B: a. * In che senso **i tuoi** preferiti ?
in what sense your.PL.MASC favorites

b. In che senso **i miei** preferiti ?
in what sense my.PL.MASC favorites

['A: I admit it: I have my favorites. B: In what sense "my favorites"?']

A first glance at the cross-linguistic picture of IWW-sluicing

1. Italian
2. **Spanish**

2. Spanish

Spanish has the following construction available:

X-IWW: *¿X en qué sentido ?* 'X in what sense'

- ~ explanation-seeking interpretation
- connectivity effects, no unexpected remnants

2. Spanish

A. Connectivity effects (1 example: indexical shift)

(47) A: Lo admito: Tengo **mis** favoritos.
it admit.1SG have.1SG my.PL favorites

— B: a. ¿**Tus** favoritos , en qué sentido ?
your.PL favorites in what sense

b. ?* ¿ **Mis** favoritos , en qué sentido ?
my.PL favorites in what sense

['A: I admit it: I have my favorites. B: Your favorites in what sense?']

2. Spanish

B. No unexpected remnants (prefix)

(48) A: Juan tuvo que reconsiderar esa propuesta.
John had that reconsider that proposal

— B: * **Re-** , en qué sentido ?
again.PREFIX in what sense

['A: John had to consider that proposal again. B: Again in what sense?']

2. Spanish

B. No unexpected remnants (conjugated V + Adj)

(49) A: No creen que seas inteligente.
NEG believe.3PL that you.2SG.SUBJ smart

— B: * **Seas** **inteligente**, en qué sentido?
you.2SG.SUBJ smart in what sense

['A: They do not believe you are smart. B: Smart in what sense?']

2. Spanish

Like in Dutch X-IWW-sluicing, the underlying source for Spanish ¿ X *en qué sentido* ? is likely to be a **left dislocation** structure (CLLD), which undergoes clausal ellipsis

- clausal ellipsis in left dislocation structures is already known to be available in Spanish

(cf. e.g. Saab 2010 and Saab & Zdrojewski 2012 on TP-ellipsis,
Ortega-Santos et al. 2014 on 'CLLD-Sluicing')

2. Spanish

An argument that this analysis could be on the right track:

Spanish X-IWW-sluicing is sensitive to exactly the same islands as CLLD
(cf. relative clause islands and adjunct islands)

2. Spanish

➤ let's start from some basic IWW-examples:

X-IWW-sluice

(50) A: El profesor desaprobó a Ana / a tu novia.
the professor failed ACC Ana / ACC your girlfriend

— B: ¿ A Ana / a mi novia , en qué sentido ?
ACC Ana / ACC my girlfriend in what sense

['A: The professor failed Ana / your girlfriend. B: Ana / my girlfriend, in what sense?']

CLLD in IWW-question [probable source for (50)]

(51) ¿ A Ana / a mi novia , en qué sentido el profesor la desaprobó ?
ACC Ana / ACC my girlfriend in what sense the professor her.ACC failed

['Ana / my girlfriend, in what sense did the professor fail her?']

2. Spanish

➤ CLLD is sensitive to **relative clause islands**

CLLD

(52) * A Ana / a tu novia , Juan conoce al profesor que **la** desaprobó.
ACC Ana / ACC your girlfriend John knows the professor that her.ACC failed

[*Intended reading*: 'Ana / your girlfriend, John knows the professor that failed her.']

CLLD in IWW-question

(53) *¿ A Ana / a tu novia , en qué sentido Juan conoce al profesor que **la** desaprobó ?
ACC Ana / ACC your girlfriend in what sense John knows the professor that her.ACC failed

[*Intended reading*: 'Ana / your girlfriend, in what sense does John know the professor that failed her?']

2. Spanish

➤ TP-ellipsis (with CLLD as underlying source) is sensitive to **relative clause islands**
(cf. Saab 2010 and Saab & Zdrojewski 2012)

TP-ellipsis

(54) A: Juan conoce al profesor que desaprobó a Ana / a tu novia.
John knows the professor that failed ACC Ana / ACC your girlfriend

— B: * Y a María también.
And ACC Maria also

['A: John knows the professor that failed Ana / your girlfriend.
Intended reading: B: And he also knows the professor that failed Maria.']

2. Spanish

➤ X-IWW-sluicing in Spanish is sensitive to **relative clause islands** as well

X-IWW-sluice

(55) A: Juan conoce al profesor que desaprobó a Ana / a tu novia.
John knows the professor that failed ACC Ana / ACC your girlfriend

— B: # A Ana / a mi novia , en qué sentido ?
ACC Ana / ACC my girlfriend in what sense

['A: John knows the professor that failed Ana / your girlfriend.
B *not possible under the intended long extraction reading:* Ana / my girlfriend, in what sense does John know the professor that failed her?']

A first glance at the cross-linguistic picture of IWW-sluicing

1. Italian
2. Spanish
   - similar observations as for Dutch IWW-sluicing can be made in other languages
   - more details to be figured out in future research

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V. Conclusion

Parallels with other types of Sweeping

Back to Sweeping:

	WH-remnant	**non-WH-element**
mention-*all/some*	all kinds	'quantifier'
WH + particle/adverb	all kinds	particle/adverb
WH + niet/wel	all kinds	*niet / wel*
Wh-Stripping	all kinds	contrasted/new X
Why-Stripping	*why / how come*	**identical/given X**
IWW-sluicing	*in what way*	**identical/given X**

Parallels with other types of Sweeping

IWW-sluicing

(9) A: Robin gedroeg zich zo raar ! — B: < Raar > in welk opzicht < raar > ?
Robin behaved REFL so weird weird in which perspective weird

['A: Robin was acting so weird. B: Weird in what way?']

Why-Stripping with *waarom* 'why'

(56) A: Robin gedroeg zich zo raar ! — B: < Raar > waarom < raar > ?
Robin behaved REFL so weird weird why weird

['A: Robin was acting so weird. B: Why weird?']

Why-Stripping with *hoezo* 'how come'

(57) A: Robin gedroeg zich zo raar ! — B: < Raar > hoezo < raar > ?
Robin behaved REFL so weird weird how-so weird

['A: Robin was acting so weird. B: How come weird?']

Parallels with other types of Sweeping

1. **Connectivity effects**
    a. Indexical shift
    b. Long distance interpretations
2. Possibility of Spading

Parallels with other types of Sweeping

1a. Connectivity effects: indexical shift

Why-Stripping with *waarom* 'why'

(58) A: Ik heb zo **mijn** favorietjes. — B: <**Je** favorietjes> waarom <**je** favorietjes> ?
I have so my favorites your favorites why your favorites

['A: I have my favorites. B: Why your favorites?']

Why-Stripping with *hoezo* 'how come'

(59) A: Ik heb zo **mijn** favorietjes. — B: <**Je** favorietjes> hoezo <**je** favorietjes> ?
I have so my favorites your favorites how-so your favorites

['A: I have my favorites. B: How come your favorites?']

Parallels with other types of Sweeping

1b. Connectivity effects: long distance interpretations (cf. no clause-mate condition)

(60) A: Jan gaat ontkennen dat hij met die vrouw weggegaan is.
John goes deny that he with that woman left is

Why-Stripping with *waarom* 'why'

— a. B: < (Met) die vrouw > waarom < (met) die vrouw > ?
with that woman why with that woman

Why-Stripping with *hoezo* 'how come'

— b. B: < (Met) die vrouw > hoezo < (met) die vrouw > ?
with that woman how-so with that woman

['A: John is going to deny that he left with that woman. B: Why / how come with that woman?']
[*Long-distance interpretation*: Why / how come is John going to deny that he left with that woman?]

Parallels with other types of Sweeping

IF [standard assumption]:
these connectivity effects are generated by standard syntactic processes

THEN:
Why-Stripping (with *waarom* / *hoezo*) [in both orders!] has to be associated with a full-fledged syntactic structure

Parallels with other types of Sweeping

1. Connectivity effects
    a. Indexical shift
    b. Long distance interpretations
2. **Possibility of Spading**

Parallels with other types of Sweeping

2. **Spading** in Dutch dialects (van Craenenbroeck 2010)
   = Sluicing Plus A Demonstrative In Noninsular Germanic

(61) [Wambeek Dutch, van Craenenbroeck 2010]

A: Jef ei gisteren iemand gezien.
Jeff has yesterday someone seen

— B: **Wou** **da** ?
who that

Parallels with other types of Sweeping

2. Possibility of Spading?

IWW-sluicing — **no**

(9′) A: Robin gedroeg zich zo raar ! — B: < Raar > in welk opzicht **(*da)** < raar > ?
Robin behaved REFL so weird weird in which perspective that weird

['A: Robin was acting so weird. B: Weird in what way?']

Why-Stripping with *waarom* 'why' — **yes**

(56′) A: Robin gedroeg zich zo raar ! — B: < Raar > waarom **(da)** < raar > ?
Robin behaved REFL so weird weird why that weird

['A: Robin was acting so weird. B: Why weird?']

Parallels with other types of Sweeping

Summarizing :

	Connectivity	Spading
X-IWW	yes	no
IWW-X	no	no
X-Why	yes	yes
Why-X	yes	yes

- How to account for this pattern?

Parallels with other types of Sweeping

The analysis of Spading — **minimal WH-phrases** (van Craenenbroeck 2010) :

(61′) [Wambeek Dutch, van Craenenbroeck 2010]

A: Jef ei iemand gezien.
Jeff has someone seen

— B: **Wou** da ?
who that

= Wou is da da Jef gezien eit ?
who is that_{DEM} $\text{that}_{\text{COMP}}$ Jeff seen has

Parallels with other types of Sweeping

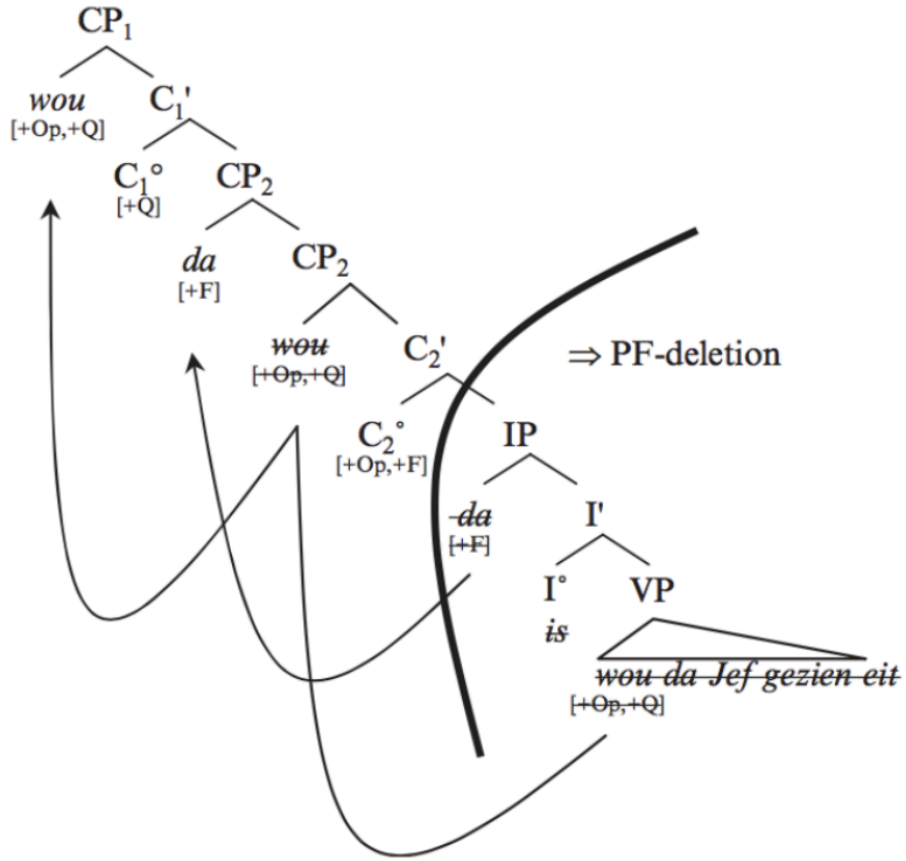
The analysis of Spading (van Craenenbroeck 2010) :

- Spading stems from an underlying (long) cleft
- *da(t)* 'that' in Spading is a (neuter distal) demonstrative pronoun, not a complementizer
- the demonstrative has leftward-moved out of the cleft-IP
- the WH-phrase and demonstrative do not form a constituent
  - the WH-phrase = moved to CP_1
  - the demonstrative = moved to CP_2
- ellipsis targets IP
  - the demonstrative `survives' ellipsis of IP

Parallels with other types of Sweeping

The analysis of Spading (van Craenenbroeck 2010) :

(62)



Parallels with other types of Sweeping

The analysis of Spading — **complex WH-phrases** (van Craenenbroeck 2010) :

(63) [Wambeek Dutch, van Craenenbroeck 2010:18]

A: Jef ei nen boek gekocht .
Jeff has a book bought

— B: Welken boek **(*da)** ?
which book that$_{DEM}$

[= Welken boek is da da Jef gekocht eit ?]
which book is that$_{DEM}$ that$_{COMP}$ Jeff bought has

Parallels with other types of Sweeping

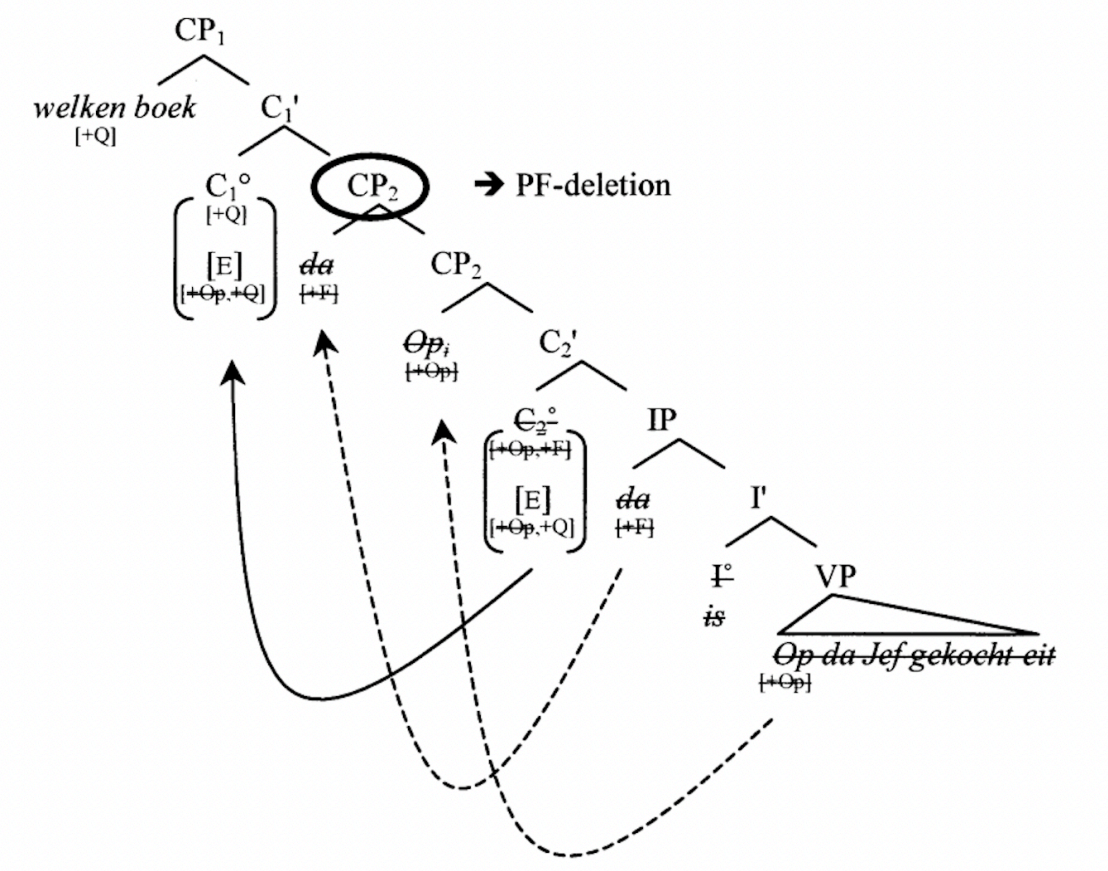
The analysis of the lack of Spading with complex WH-phrases (van Craenenbroeck 2010) :

- the complex WH-phrase = merged in CP_1 (+ operator movement to specCP_2)
- the demonstrative = moved to CP_2
- ellipsis targets CP_2
  - the demonstrative does not `survive' ellipsis of CP_2

Parallels with other types of Sweeping

The analysis of the lack of Spading with complex WH-phrases (van Craenenbroeck 2010) :

(64)



Parallels with other types of Sweeping

Back to Why-Stripping and IWW-sluicing:

- Why-Stripping:
  waarom 'why' (minimal WH) = compatible with Spading

  N.B. *waarom* `why' is probably base-generated / merged in the lower CP (corresponding to IntP here?)
  (cf. Rizzi 2001, Tsai 2008, Ortega-Santos et al. 2014, Yoshida et al. 2015, *pace* Shlonsky & Soare 2011, Corver 2021)

- IWW-sluicing:
  in welk opzicht 'in what way' (complex WH) = not compatible with Spading

  (the higher CP corresponding to ForceP here? cf. Tsai 2008, Yoshida et al. 2015)

Parallels with other types of Sweeping

Back to Why-Stripping and IWW-sluicing:

- if a van Craenenbroeck (2010)-type analysis of minimal vs. complex WH-phrases is on the right track, this also leaves more room in the left periphery for non-WH-remnants in the case of minimal WH-phrases, i.e. in Why-Stripping (cf. IP-ellipsis), arguably resulting in the *Why*-X word order

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V. Conclusion

Conclusion

Topic of today's talk:
A new type of Sweeping: *in what way*-sluicing in Dutch

> i.e. seemingly non-sentential questions involving the combination of a non-WH-element and the WH-phrase *in welk opzicht* ('in what way')

(65) A: Ze zeiden dat Tina de beste was! — B: De beste in welk opzicht?
they said that Tina the best was de best in which perspective
['A: They said that Tina was the best! B: The best in what way?']

Conclusion

MAIN 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)

Conclusion

OTHER CONCLUSIONS:

- IWW-X-sluicing (with reversed order of the remnants) in Dutch only corresponds to a short quotative source

- similar observations as for Dutch IWW-sluicing can be made in other languages (cf. Italian, Spanish)

- Dutch IWW-sluicing differs from Why-Stripping (cf. e.g. Spading) because IWW-sluicing involves a complex WH-phrase, while Why-Stripping involves a minimal one

Thank you!

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- Griffiths, Lipták & Güneş (2022) for inspiration;
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(All errors are my own.)

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