Ellipsis in Dutch dialects

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"Quibus gratias mihi minime agere licet,
his maxime agam oportet."

As a friend of mine often reminds me, *danken doet deugd*. What this short, alliterative phrase roughly means is that saying 'thank you' to someone can be as satisfactory as having someone say it to you. Bearing this in mind, the present section is not only the most difficult one to write of the entire dissertation, but also the most satisfactory one.

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I would also like to thank my family. Many of them speak the dialect which features so prominently in this dissertation, yet only very few of them understand what it is I am saying about this dialect. In spite of this, however, they have always supported me and shown a great interest in my work. Thanks also to my sister and brother-in-law. Both of them know what it is like to write a PhD, and the advice and support they gave me was usually spot-on, especially when delivered in a good restaurant. Last but definitely not least, I would like to thank my parents. What they have done for me over the past 28 years goes well beyond the call of duty. They are without doubt the most caring, giving and supportive persons I know, and I owe to them a debt which I will presumably never be able to repay in full.

My final words go to Fanny and to Aiko (my cat). They say that cats are great stress-relievers, and although Aiko did her best to live up to that expectation, honesty forces me to admit that she actually *caused* quite a bit of stress as well, for example by going into an uncontrollable frenzy from time to time. The greatest stress-reliever of all, however, turned out to be Fanny. Over the past few months she has been forced to become somewhat of a linguist herself. For instance, she learned that the sentence *My boyfriend is writing a PhD* has more or less the same truth conditions as *I don't have a boyfriend*. Now that the dissertation is finished, however, she will learn that truth conditions can change over time. She is the single-most important person in my life, and this book wouldn't be what it is now if it wasn't for her love and support. Not surprisingly, then, my final 'thank you' goes to her.

Antwerp, June 17, 2004

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Abbreviations and formats used in examples and glosses

CAPS	capitals indicate stress
~~strikethrough~~	strikethrough indicates deletion/non-pronunciation
<u>underlining</u>	underlining indicates deaccenting
… (A) …	A is optional
… *(A) …	A is obligatory
… (*A) …	A is excluded
* … (A) …	the sentence is ungrammatical both with and without A
… { A / B } …	A and B are both possible variants
… { A / * B } …	A is an acceptable variant, B is not
* … { A / B } …	neither A nor B is acceptable
… <A> … <A> …	A can occur either in the first or in the second position
… <*A> … <A> …	A can only occur in the second position
A < B	A linearly precedes B
[φ]	phi-features (person/number/gender)
[+F]	focus feature
[+Op]	operator feature
[+Q]	question feature
¬	negation
∃	existential quantification
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
AFF	affirmative particle
C°	complementizer
$C_Q°$	interrogative complementizer (Japanese and Irish)
CA	complementizer agreement
CLITIC	clitic pronoun
CON	conditional mood (Finnish)
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative pronoun
EMPH	emphatic form
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
NEG	negative clitic (Dutch dialects)
Neg	negative auxiliary (Finnish)
NOM	nominative
OBJ	object
PAST	past tense
PE	dummy Case preposition (Romanian)
PL	plural
PRES	present tense
PRT	particle
PV	preverb (Hungarian)
REL	relative pronoun

x

SG	singular
STRONG	strong pronoun
SUBJ	subject
TOP	topic marker (Japanese)
WEAK	weak pronoun

INTRODUCTION

Constructing a theory about something which is invisible is not a straightforward task. Nevertheless, this is precisely what linguists have to do when confronted with elliptical constructions. Not surprisingly, then, this subdomain of linguistic theory has given rise to a wide variety of analyses and theories, as well as to a number of long-standing debates. In this dissertation I want to add to this discussion, but from a fresh perspective. Specifically, in the chapters that follow I demonstrate that an in-depth investigation of previously undiscussed dialect data can shed new light on existing analyses of elliptical phenomena, as well as on the theory of ellipsis in general. As a preliminary illustration of this, consider the data in (1) and (2).[1]

(1) a. Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know about what.
     b. Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know what about.

(2) Jef eid iemand   gezien, mo ik weet nie wou da.
     Jeff has someone seen   but I   know not who that_{DEM}
     'Jeff saw someone, but I don't know who.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The examples in (1) illustrate the well-known fact that in English, when a clause (in this case the complement clause of the verb *know*) is reduced to a mere wh-phrase, the normal order of wh-word and preposition can be reversed. In particular, next to the canonical word order *about what* illustrated in (1a), the mirror image of this string is also acceptable (as is shown in (1b)). The Wambeek Dutch example in (2) on the other hand, demonstrates that in certain Dutch dialects, wh-phrases in elliptical clauses (in this case *wou* 'who') can be followed by the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that'.[2] At first glance, the data in (1) and (2) have nothing more in common than the fact that they both represent elliptical constructions in which an overt element (a preposition in (1b) and a demonstrative pronoun in (2)) occurs to the right of a wh-phrase. As I show in the first half of this dissertation, however, closer inspection reveals a much deeper parallel between these two constructions, one which sheds new light on the analysis of the English data in (1) as well as on several more general theoretical issues. Specifically, I

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[1] Throughout this dissertation, the orthography I use for the Dutch dialect data is situated somewhere between a phonetic spelling and that of the standard language. Only when the precise pronunciation is relevant for the argumentation will I make use of a phonetic transcription.

[2] Wambeek is a village in the Belgian province of Flemish Brabant. Cf. figure 1 on page 8 below for a geographical overview of all the dialects discussed in this dissertation.

will argue that *about* in (1b) and *da* 'that' in (2) occupy the same structural position, and that both these constructions can be seen as arguments in favor of a particular approach to the left periphery of the clause and a specific analysis of sluicing. This introductory section is not the place to go into the details of the argumentation, but as a first indication that there is more to the data in (1)-(2) than meets the eye, consider the sentences in (3) and (4).[3]

(3) a.   Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know about which topic.
     b.   * Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know which topic about.

(4) * Jef ei ne student gezien, mo ik weet nie welke student da.
       Jeff has a   student seen   but I   know not which student that_DEM
       INTENDED READING: 'Jeff saw a student, but I don't know which student.'
                                                                    [Wambeek Dutch]

What these examples show, is that when the wh-word in (1)-(2) is replaced by a complex wh-phrase such as *which book*, both the English construction in (1b) and the Wambeek Dutch one in (2) become ungrammatical. This I will take to be an important clue that these two phenomena are related to one another on a more than superficial level.

In the second part of this dissertation I start out from a detailed comparison between the examples in (5) and (6).

(5) A: Mary doesn't love Pierre.
     B: Yes, she does.

(6) A: Marie zie   Pierre nie geirn.
           Mary   sees Pierre not gladly
     B: Jou   ze duut.
           yes   she does
     'A: Mary doesn't love Pierre. B: Yes, she does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In both these dialogues, speaker B contradicts A's negative statement by means of a short elliptical reply consisting of the affirmative polarity element *yes*, a pronominal subject, and a conjugated form of the verb *do*. Given that the English reply in (5B) is word-for-word identical to the Wambeek Dutch one in (6B), it seems tempting to try and relate these two constructions to one another. As I will demonstrate at length, however, despite first appearances, the data in (5) and (6) should be given a radically different analysis. For example, one very noticeable difference between the two is provided by the data in (7) and (8).

(7) A: There are three men standing in the garden.
     B: a.   No, there aren't.
           b.   * No, it isn't.

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[3] A note on the formatting of ungrammatical examples in this dissertation: if the intended reading of an ungrammatical example is sufficiently clear from the gloss, I do not provide a translation. If not – as is the case here – then I indicate what the meaning of the example would have been, had it been grammatical.

(8) A: Dui   stonj   drou mann inn   of.
         there stand~PL~ three men   in.the garden
     B: a. * Dui   en   doenj.
             there NEG   do~PL~
         b.   't En   duut.
             it NEG   does
     'A: There are three men standing in the garden. B: No, there aren't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

These examples illustrate what happens to the constructions in (5) and (6) when the antecedent clause contains a *there*-expletive. Specifically, while in the English example in (7Ba) both the agreement on the verb and the choice of the subject pronoun are entirely identical to those in the antecedent clause, the Wambeek Dutch construction in (8) behaves substantially differently. In particular, the expletive pronoun *dui* 'there' is excluded from the subject position of B's reply, and the agreement on the verb is third person singular, in spite of the fact that in A's original statement it is plural. In what follows I argue on the basis of these and other data that the ellipsis site in examples such as the one in (6) is of a fundamentally different nature than that in (5). In particular, while the English reply in (5B) is the result of not pronouncing part of a fully-fledged syntactic structure, the Wambeek Dutch construction in (6B) contains a null pronominal which pronominalizes part of the clausal structure. This conclusion will not only allow for a novel perspective on the theory of ellipsis in general, it will also lead to an account of two related dialectal constructions, which can be analyzed along the same lines as the construction in (6B) (cf. also infra, the outline of the dissertation).

All in all, then, the main research questions of the present dissertation are situated at the interface of two domains: the theory of ellipsis and the syntax of Dutch dialects. On the one hand I explore to what extent previously undiscussed dialect data can shed new light on current theories of ellipsis and existing analyses of elliptical constructions. On the other hand I use the analysis of these elliptical constructions as probes into the phenomenon of syntactic microvariation in Dutch. In order to make these issues more concrete, I now turn to a brief characterization of the theoretical and empirical background of this dissertation.

Theoretical background: the syntax of ellipsis
As far as its general theoretical framework is concerned, this book is situated within the broad confines of the Minimalist Program as outlined in Chomsky (1993, 1995, 2000). Specifically, I assume a derivational model, in which syntactic trees are built up out of lexical items via the operations Merge and Move. The derivation proceeds towards LF and at a point referred to as Spell-Out, it branches off to the phonological component, thus effectively separating the derivation into an overt and a covert part. This is abstractly represented in the diagram in (9) (taken from Richards 2001:2).

(9)

PF ◀——— (Spell-Out)

LF
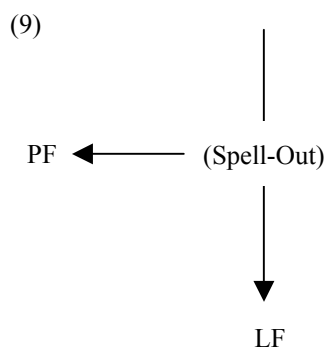
For my present purposes, these general remarks suffice. I will introduce and discuss more specific theoretical claims and assumptions as I go along. In the following paragraphs I turn to the theory of ellipsis.

From its very beginning, the study of ellipsis has occupied a prominent position in the generative tradition. Accordingly, over the years many elliptical constructions have been discussed, and a variety of analyses has been proposed. As should be clear from the brief introduction presented above, this dissertation will be mainly concerned with the syntax of sluicing and that of VP-ellipsis. With respect to these two constructions, two major approaches can be discerned in the literature. They differ in the amount of structure that is assigned to the ellipsis site. Specifically, while some authors assume that the gap in clauses containing sluicing or VP-ellipsis consists of a fully merged syntactic structure the phonological content of which is deleted at PF (Ross 1969; Sag 1980; Hankamer & Sag 1976, Sag & Hankamer 1984; Tomioka 1999, 2001; Merchant 2001a; Johnson 1996, 2001, Lasnik 1999a, 1999b, 2001b), others represent it as a null, structureless non-DP proform which is assigned an interpretation at LF (Chao 1987; Zagona 1988; Hardt 1993, 1999; Chung e.a. 1995; López 1995, 1999; López & Winkler 2000; Lobeck 1995, 1999).[4,5] In order to make this distinction more concrete, consider the two schematic tree structures in (11) of the embedded, sluiced complement in the example in (10).

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[4] I am abstracting away from individual differences between the authors mentioned. For example, advocates of the proform theory of ellipsis differ as to whether they assume that the syntactic representation of the antecedent is copied onto the empty category at LF (e.g. Chung e.a. 1995), or whether it finds its antecedent through purely semantic means (e.g. Hardt 1993, 1999). What I am interested in here, is the general dichotomy between approaches which assume that a full syntactic structure is present at Spell-Out and those which do not. Cf. Winkler 2003:57-66 for a more fine-grained discussion of the various proposals.

[5] With respect to sluicing, there is a third approach which has gained some popularity. It is presented in Van Riemsdijk 1978a and Ginzburg & Sag 2000. These authors assume that the clausal CP-node of the embedded clause in an example such as (10) immediately and exhaustively dominates the sluiced wh-phrase (in this case *what*). I leave this approach undiscussed in the rest of this dissertation. Cf. Merchant 2001a:39-54 for ample counterarguments against this line of analysis.

(10)   Ed bought something, but I don't know what [*e*].

(11)   a. …   b. …

    know   CP   *know*   CP

        what   C'   *what*   C'

            C°   *pro*$_{IP}$ C°   (**IP**) ➔ PF-deletion

                                            ~~*Ed*~~   I'

                                                ~~I°~~   VP

                                                    t$_{Ed}$ V'

                                                            ~~*bought*~~   *t*$_{what}$
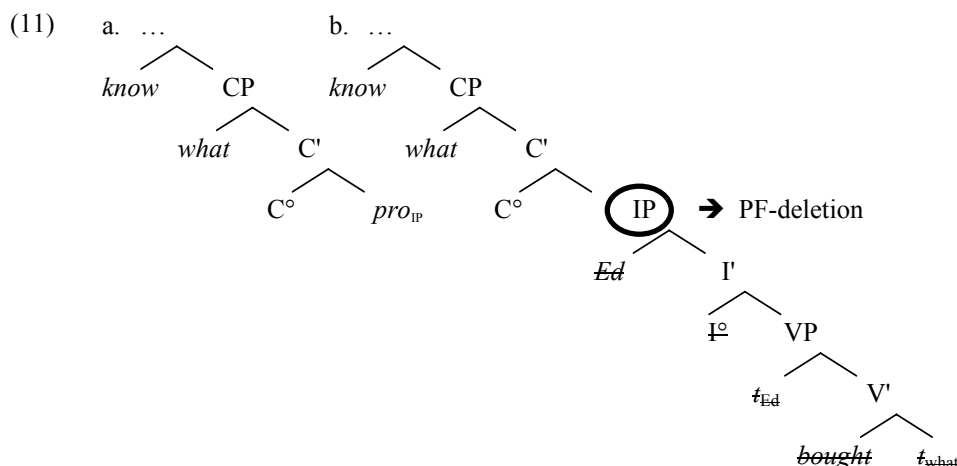
The PF-deletion analysis of the example in (10) is represented by the structure in (11b). In this approach, the interrogative complement clause of the verb *know* is fully merged in the pre-Spell-Out part of the derivation. When handed over to PF, however, the IP-complement of the C°-head the specifier of which hosts the sluiced wh-phrase is deleted. Advocates of this approach often present connectivity effects between the fronted wh-phrase and the elided structure as supporting evidence. For example, Merchant (2001a:89-107) points out that a language allows preposition stranding under sluicing if and only if it does so under regular wh-movement. This suggests that there is a close parallelism between sluicing on the one hand and wh-movement in non-elliptical clauses on the other. Hence, it seems plausible to assume that both start out from the same underlying structure.

The other approach to sluicing is represented in (11a). In this structure the entire IP is spelled out as a null, structureless proform. At LF this *pro*$_{IP}$ is linked to its antecedent, either by copying the antecedent-IP onto it or via a strictly semantic interpretational mechanism (cf. supra, note 4). Arguments in favor of this type of analysis often involve typically 'pronominal' characteristics of elliptical constructions. For example, it is well-known that pronouns such as *he* or *that* do not necessarily require an overt, linguistic antecedent. The fact that the same holds – under certain circumstances – for sluicing and VP-ellipsis is then seen as an indication that these constructions contain a pronominal as well.

It is against this background that I present my discussion of the constructions in (2) and (6) (repeated below). Specifically, I will demonstrate that an in-depth analysis of these data can contribute in two ways to the debate just sketched. On the one hand, they constitute new evidence against the proform analysis of sluicing and VP-ellipsis, and in favor of the PF-deletion approach. On the other hand, I will argue at length that the ellipsis site in an example such as (13B) contains a null, structureless proform rather than a fully-merged but PF-deleted syntactic structure. This means that the proform theory of ellipsis is valid in its own right, but not with respect to the constructions that it was originally proposed for.

(12)   Jef   eid iemand   gezien, mo ik   weet nie wou   da.
       Jeff has someone   seen   but I   know not who   that_{DEM}
       'Jeff saw someone, but I don't know who.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(13)   A: Marie   zie   Pierre   nie geirn.
             Mary   sees Pierre   not gladly
       B: Jou   ze   duut.
             yes   she does
       'A: Mary doesn't love Pierre. B: Yes, she does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

This concludes my overview of the general theoretical background of this dissertation. In the next paragraph I focus on the empirical research underlying it.

Empirical background: the SAND-project
The research leading up to this dissertation was carried out in the context of the SAND-project.[6] This large Flemish-Dutch project was initiated in January 2000 and it involves the co-operation of the universities of Amsterdam, Leiden, Antwerp and Ghent, the Meertens Institute in Amsterdam and the Frisian Academy in Leeuwarden. Its main purpose is to create a two-volume atlas depicting the geographical distribution of various types of syntactic microvariation in Dutch.[7] At the same time, a large electronic database of Dutch dialect data is set up, which linguists should be able to benefit from for many years to come.[8] The data that were collected can be divided into four main empirical domains: the left periphery (e.g. complementizer agreement, clitics, comparatives, relative clauses, partial wh-movement), the right periphery (e.g. verbal clusters, IPP- and IPI-effects, extraposition), pronominal reference (e.g. reflexives and reciprocals, expletives) and negation (e.g. negative concord, multiple negation, expletive negation).

    As far as its chronology is concerned, the project can be roughly subdivided into four stages. First of all, an annotated bibliography was constructed of linguistic and dialectological literature on the four themes mentioned above. At present, it contains over 1300 titles and it can be consulted – in a slightly abbreviated form – at http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/projecten/sand/bibliografie/sandbiblioframe.html. During the second stage of the project, a written questionnaire of 424 questions was sent out as a pilot study to the informants of the Meertens Institute, 368 of which replied. Based on the results of this preliminary study, a new questionnaire of about 120 questions was then composed. This list was used as the basis for oral dialect interviews performed in 267 places (110 in the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium, 157 in the Netherlands) in the course of 2001 and 2002. For these interviews, the socio-economic profile of the informants was kept as homogeneous as possible. Specifically, in the ideal scenario they were between 55 and 70 years old, both they and their parents were born and bred in the place of which they spoke the dialect, they had lived there all their lives, they spoke the

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[6] 'SAND' is an acronym which – in Dutch – stands for 'Syntactic Atlas of the Dutch Dialects'. Cf. also http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/projecten/sand/sandeng.html for more background information on the SAND-project.
[7] The first volume, on subject pronouns, agreement and dependencies, is due to appear in 2004-2005.
[8] This database will be accessible as of December 2004. For more background information on this aspect of the project, cf. Barbiers e.a. to appear.

dialect in at least one public domain, and they were part of the lower middle class.[9] The data that came out of these interviews will form the empirical core for the atlas maps. Finally, in the fourth stage, data that were missing or unreliable were added or verified via a short oral interview over the phone. This final survey took place in 2002-2003 and it involved 105 questions and 252 informants.

Given the sheer size of the project, as well as the large number of constructions that was investigated, it is clear that the SAND-questionnaires (both oral and written) can provide only a first starting point for the type of research presented in this dissertation. For example, during the dialect interviews, only two questions were asked about the construction in (12) and five about the one in (13B). As this by no means exhausts the issues raised by an in-depth syntactic analysis of these phenomena, I sent out a number of additional questionnaires to a smaller number of informants. In particular, figure 1 on the next page presents an overview of all the dialects which actively feature – though some more than others – in the present dissertation. The data thus collected form the main empirical core for the chapters that follow. In these surveys, my informants were asked to rate sentences on a scale of 1 to 5. These scores were converted into grammaticality judgments on the basis of the schema in (14).

(14) 1 → ok
      2 → ?
      3 → ??
      4 → ?*
      5 → *

This kind of approach has two clear advantages. First of all, it guarantees the uniformity of the judgments. Specifically, given that several of my informants are linguists, and given that not all of them use the same type of diacritic to signal a particular type of deviance, the use of numerical values ensures that all the informants have the same grammaticality scale in mind. Secondly, this system allows for a very precise characterization of the judgments. For example, in cases where I have more than one informant of a single dialect, the judgment I give is equivalent to the average of the scores given by the individual speakers. Accordingly, at several points in the discussion I will refer to the numerical value of the judgments, so as to make the characterization more precise.

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[9] For a more detailed discussion of the design and methodology of the SAND-project, cf. Cornips & Jongenburger 2001a, 2001b.

1:      Friesland
2:      Texel
3:      Nijeholtpade
4:      Hellendoorn
5:      Strijen
6:      Tegelen
7:      Panningen
8:      Klemskerke
9:      Kleit
10:     Nieuwkerken-Waas
11:     Moerzeke
12:     Izenberge
13:     Waregem
14:     Wambeek
15:     Flemish Brabant
16:     Waubach
17:     Lauw
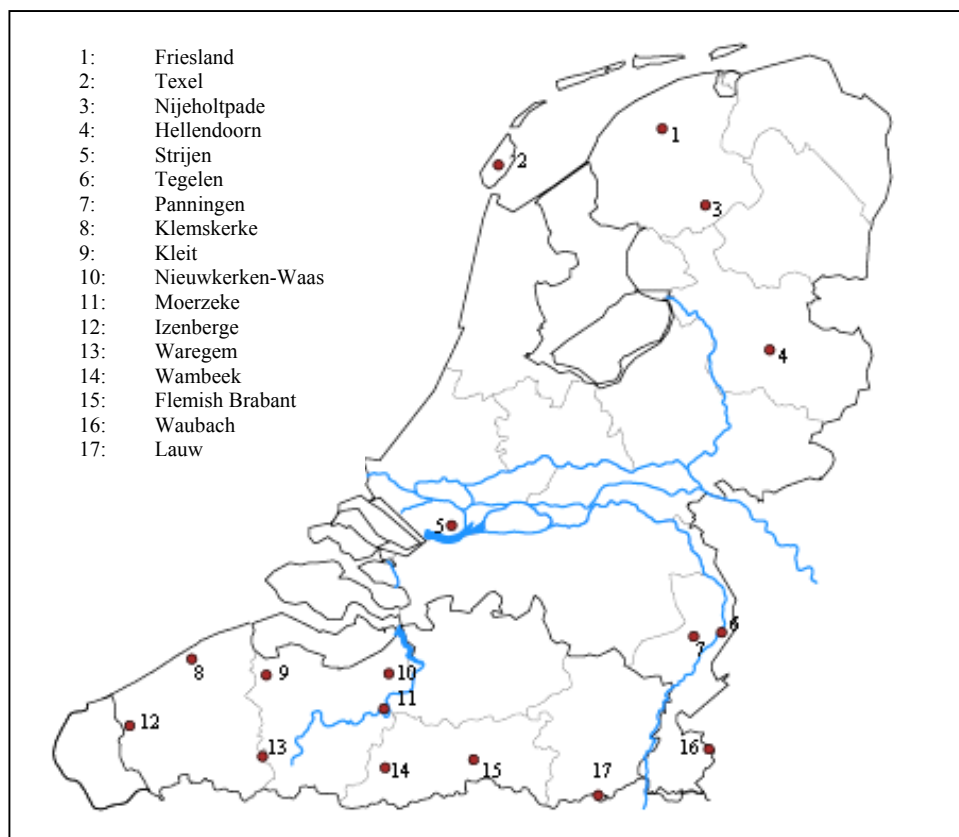
Figure 1 Geographical overview of the dialects featuring in this dissertation[10]

The attention devoted to syntactic microvariation in the SAND-project is not an isolated case. Over the years, the syntactic study of non-standard language varieties has come to occupy a prominent position in the generative research tradition.[11] From the point of view of parameter theory, this is not at all surprising. Given that dialects generally differ from one another in only a very limited number of respects, it should be more straightforward to identify the parameter which is responsible for the variation in such a case than when comparing, say, English to Japanese. Similarly, when two or more properties correlate across dialects, the odds of this being due to a single parameter are greater than in the case of macrovariation.[12] This brings me to the second main research

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[10] In this map the provinces of Friesland (number 1) and Flemish Brabant (number 15) are represented by their capitals (Leeuwarden en Leuven respectively).

[11] Cf. for example Bayer 1984; Kayne 1989; Haegeman 1992; Benincà 1994; Henry 1995; Holmberg & Platzack 1995; Black & Motapanyane 1996; Zanuttini 1997; Poletto 2000 for influential proposals. It should be clear, though, that this list is by no means exhaustive.

[12] Note that notions such as 'microvariation', 'macrovariation', 'language' and 'dialect' are merely used as convenient, descriptive labels here, and that they do not reflect any substantive difference. Cf. Chambers & Trudgill 1998:3-12 for relevant discussion.

question of his dissertation. Specifically, in the chapters and sections that follow I will introduce a wide variety of data and a number of correlations between sets of data. A natural question raised by such an overview is which parameters are responsible for the variation and correlations discussed. I take up this issue in the concluding section to this dissertation. There I show that the conclusions reached here support Chomsky's (1995) hypothesis that all language variation can be reduced to the lexical and/or morphological properties of the languages in question.

This concludes my overview of the general theoretical and empirical background of this dissertation. Before diving into the actual discussion of data and analysis, however, I first present a brief outline of the entire book, so as to provide the reader with a roadmap of what will follow.

Outline of the dissertation

This dissertation consists of two parts. The first one is devoted to what I will call stranding under sluicing, i.e. constructions whereby overt material occurs to the right of a sluiced wh-phrase. The English construction in (1b) and the Wambeek Dutch one in (2) (both repeated below) form the main empirical focus of this part.

(15) a. Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know about what.
b. Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know what about.

(16) Jef eid iemand gezien, mo ik weet nie wou da.
Jeff has someone seen but I know not who that$_{\text{DEM}}$
'Jeff saw someone, but I don't know who.' [Wambeek Dutch]

The first chapter provides a general introduction into these constructions and sketches their theoretical relevance. In chapter two I explore both phenomena in more detail and list the basic properties which an analysis should be able to account for. Chapter three contains the theoretical background for the analysis. Specifically, in this chapter I introduce and discuss a particular incarnation of the split CP-hypothesis. In chapter four I present my analysis and show how it can account for the data laid out in the second chapter. Chapter five is devoted to Frisian. I demonstrate that this language adds an extra layer to the discussion in that it allows the two constructions in (15) and (16) to co-occur in one and the same example. In chapter six I discuss and evaluate previous analyses of these two phenomena, while in chapter seven I briefly explore some other instances of stranding under sluicing. Chapter eight concludes the first part and highlights some of its theoretical consequences.

The second part is mainly concerned with the analysis of the construction exemplified in (6B) (repeated below).

(17) A: Marie zie Pierre nie geirn.
Mary sees Pierre not gladly
B: Jou ze duut.
yes she does
'A: Mary doesn't love Pierre. B: Yes, she does.' [Wambeek Dutch]

After a basic introduction in chapter nine, I closely scrutinize the main properties of this construction in chapter ten. I demonstrate that it is substantially different from English

VP-ellipsis and hence, that it should be analyzed accordingly. Chapter eleven once again contains the theoretical background for the analysis. This time I am not only concerned with the hierarchy of functional projections, but also with devising a minimalist account for the licensing of null pronominals, and with the syntax of contradiction. In chapter twelve I present my analysis of the construction in (17B). Chapter thirteen is entirely devoted to the construction in (18B).

(18)   A: Marie   zie   Pierre   nie geirn.
          Mary   sees   Pierre   not gladly
       B: Da's   wel.
          that.is   AFF
       'A: Mary doesn't love Pierre. B: Yes, she does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Based on a detailed comparison between B's replies in (17) and (18), I argue that the proform *da* 'that' in (18B) is the overt counterpart of the null pronominal which I postulate in my analysis of (17B). Hence, these two constructions turn out to be closely related to one another on an abstract level of analysis. In chapter fourteen, the construction in (19B) is introduced and discussed.

(19)   A: Kom   Marie   mergen?
          comes   Mary   tomorrow
       B: Jui-s.
          yes-she_CLITIC
       'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

This dialogue illustrates that in certain Dutch dialects polarity markers such as 'yes' and 'no' can be accompanied by subject clitics (and in some dialects even by agreement suffixes). Once again, the basic properties of this construction will turn out to be strikingly similar to those of B's reply in (17). This will lead to a unified analysis of these two phenomena. In chapter fifteen, I sum up the main findings of the second part and point out some of its theoretical consequences.

    Finally, in the concluding section of this dissertation I return to the research questions raised above and determine to what extent they have been answered. Moreover, I also point out some future prospects of the research presented here.

1   Introduction

In the following chapters I focus on two subtypes of the construction commonly referred to as 'sluicing' (a term dating back to Ross 1969). A representative example of a sluiced clause is given in (1).

(1)   Ed invited someone, but I don't know who.

In this sentence the interrogative, clausal complement of the verb *know* has been reduced to a mere wh-phrase. Recall from the introduction that there are two prevalent analyses of this construction. They differ mainly in the amount of structure that is assigned to the unpronounced part of a sluiced clause. Consider the two schematic representations in (2) of the example in (1).

(2)   a.   Ed invited someone, but I don't know who *pro*$_{\text{IP}}$.
       b.   Ed invited someone, but I don't know who ~~Ed invited t~~$_{\text{who}}$.

While in the analysis in (2b) the complement clause of *know* is a fully-merged syntactic structure the IP of which has been deleted at PF (indicated here by means of strikethrough), in (2a) this IP has been pronominalized by a null, structureless non-DP proform (represented here as *pro*$_{\text{IP}}$).[13] In this first part I show that an in-depth syntactic analysis of the two constructions in (3) and (4) provides new evidence in favor of the analysis sketched in (2b).

(3)   Jef   eid iemand   gezien, mo ik   weet nie wou da.
       Jeff has someone seen   but I   know not who that
       'Jeff saw someone, but I don't know who.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(4)   Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know what about.

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[13] Advocates of the proform-analysis are Chao 1987; Lobeck 1995, 1999; Chung e.a. 1995, while the PF-deletion approach is presented in Ross 1969; Hankamer & Sag 1976; Sag & Hankamer 1984; Merchant 2001a.

These examples represent instances of what I will call 'stranding under sluicing', i.e. constructions whereby overt material occurs to the right of a sluiced wh-phrase. Specifically, in (3) the sluiced wh-phrase *wou* 'who' is followed by the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that', while in the English example in (4) the preposition *about* appears to have been stranded to the right of the sluiced wh-phrase *what*. In chapter four I show that both these constructions receive a natural account under the PF-deletion approach to sluicing, while in chapter eight I demonstrate that a *pro*-analysis of these data faces considerable difficulties. As such the constructions in (3) and (4) will turn out to provide strong supporting evidence for the approach to sluicing sketched in (2b).

Moreover, I will argue that the data in (3)-(4) can shed new light on the interaction between sluicing on the one hand and the structure of the CP-domain on the other. Traditionally, sluicing is assumed to delete (or pronominalize, depending on one's theory) the IP-complement of the C°-head the specifier of which is occupied by the sluiced wh-phrase (cf. for example Merchant 2001a; Lobeck 1995). Consider the tree structure in (5).[14]

(5)
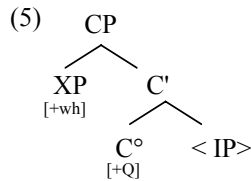
However, this abstract representation does not take into account the possibility that what is traditionally conceived of as a single projection, i.e. CP, might represent a conglomerate of more than one functional projection (cf. especially Rizzi 1997a and much literature in its wake). Needless to say, this could complicate the analysis of sluicing considerably. For one, it opens up the possibility that overt material can be stranded in a C°-projection which is not contained in the ellipsis site. In the chapters that follow I show that the two constructions in (3) and (4) represent precisely this scenario. They will provide an ideal window on the interaction between the syntax of sluicing and the (split) CP-domain.

This first part is organized as follows. In chapter two I present the basic data that form the empirical focus for the rest of the discussion. Chapter three presents the main background assumption for the analysis, i.e. it makes explicit which particular view on the CP-domain I will be assuming. In chapter four I then give the analysis and in chapter five I provide some extra evidence in support of this analysis. Chapter six introduces and discusses previous accounts of the phenomena presented here, while in chapter seven I give a brief exploratory overview of some other instances of stranding under sluicing. Chapter eight sums up and concludes, and points to the major theoretical implications of the data and analyses discussed in this part.

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[14] The angled brackets used here are meant to be neutral between a PF-deletion and a *pro*-analysis of sluicing.

2 The data

2.1 Introduction

As pointed out above, there are two constructions I want to focus on in this part. The first one is manifested in a variety of Dutch dialects, and it is exemplified in (6).

(6)   Jef eid iemand   gezien, mo ik weet nie wou da.
        Jeff has someone seen   but I   know not who that
        'Jeff saw someone, but I don't know who.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In this example the sluiced wh-phrase *wou* 'who' is followed by the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that'. I will henceforth refer to this construction as SPD, which is short for **S**luicing **P**lus **D**emonstrative.[15]

    The second instance of stranding under sluicing under investigation here is the construction which Merchant (2002) has called 'swiping'. Swiping is an acronym which stands for **S**luiced **W**h-word **I**nversion with **P**repositions **I**n **N**orthern **G**ermanic. An example is given in (7).

(7)   Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know what about.

In (7) the normal order of preposition and wh-phrase (i.e. the former precedes the latter: *about what*) is reversed. As a result, the preposition appears to have been stranded to the right of a sluiced wh-phrase.[16]

    In the next two sections I explore each of these two constructions in more detail, pointing out the basic properties which an analysis of these two phenomena should be able to account for. Section 2.4 summarizes the data.

2.2 Basic properties of SPDs in Dutch dialects

Before I proceed to list the basic properties of SPDs in Dutch dialects, a general note on the data and the style of presentation is in order. The data presented in this chapter have been systematically checked for the dialects of Wambeek (in the Belgian province of Flemish Brabant) and Waubach (in the Dutch province of Limburg), and for what I will call 'Brabant Dutch', a non-standard variety of Dutch spoken in large parts of the Belgian province of Flemish Brabant. Moreover, the large majority of the data was also checked

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[15] This construction has briefly been discussed for Frisian by Hoekstra 1993:9-12. I return to Frisian in chapter five and to Hoekstra's analysis in chapter six.

[16] As an aside, it is worth noting that English is not the only language in which unexpected word order changes between prepositions and their NP-complement show up under wh-movement. In particular, Broadwell 2002a, 2002b discusses comparable examples from San Dionicio Zapotec and Amharic (thanks to Jason Merchant p.c. for pointing this out to me). However, given that on the whole the data from these two languages differ substantially from the English swiping facts discussed in the main text, I will not attempt to provide a unified account here. Cf. Broadwell 2002b:70-74, though, for a possible approach.

for the dialect of Nieuwkerken-Waas (in the Belgian province of East Flanders). Finally, none of the data I have seen from the SPD-dialects investigated in the context of the SAND-project conflicts with the generalizations presented here in any way.[17] For expository purposes and reasons of consistency, however, the examples of SPD I discuss will all be from the same dialect (that of Wambeek), unless the structure of the argument forces me to do otherwise (e.g. because another dialect shows more morphological distinctions than that of Wambeek). With this note in mind, I now return to the actual data and introduce the six basic properties of SPDs.

2.2.1   SPDs contain a demonstrative pronoun, not a complementizer

Reconsider the basic SPD-example given in (6), repeated here as (8).

(8)   Jef eid iemand   gezien, mo ik weet nie wou da.
       Jeff has someone seen   but I   know not who that
   'Jeff saw someone, but I don't know who.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Just as in English, the element *da* 'that' in Wambeek Dutch is homophonous between the neuter distal demonstrative pronoun and the declarative complementizer.[18] If it were the latter, an example such as the one in (8) would represent a doubly filled COMP filter violation under sluicing. This would be an unexpected state of affairs, as Merchant (2001a:74-82) shows that cross-linguistically (and for as yet ill-understood reasons), the C°-position to the immediate right of a sluiced wh-pronoun always remains empty, even in those languages which allow doubly filled COMP filter violations in non-elliptical embedded wh-questions (as the dialect of Wambeek does). Moreover, as the example in (9) shows, SPDs are also allowed in matrix sluices. If *da* were a complementizer in this example, it would represent a case where the complementizer shows up in a matrix question, a constellation otherwise unattested in Wambeek Dutch.

(9)   A: Jef   ei gisteren   iemand   gezien. B: Wou   da?
             Jeff has yesterday someone seen   who   that
       'A: Jeff saw someone yesterday. B: Who?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In short, while an analysis of *da* 'that' as a complementizer might seem appealing at first sight, it raises more problems than it solves. What I want to argue instead, is that *da* is a fully-fledged demonstrative pronoun. Supporting evidence for this claim comes from those dialects which morphologically distinguish between the neuter distal demonstrative pronoun and the complementizer used in doubly filled COMP contexts. More specifically, there are a number of dialects in which the two are not (or not necessarily) homophonous. Clearly, they provide an ideal testing ground for the categorial status of this element.

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[17] One important caveat is in order: not all speakers allow SPDs to occur in *embedded* questions. I return to this issue in note 96 in chapter four, section 4.2.5.

[18] The underlying form of both the neuter distal demonstrative pronoun and the declarative complementizer is *dat* (which is also the form used in standard Dutch), but in many (esp. Belgian) dialects the final consonant is dropped in clause-final position and before consonants. Before vowels, however, it is retained and becomes voiced. Accordingly, this element will be spelled as *da*, *dat* or *dad*, depending on the dialect and on its position in the clause.

A first group of dialects which is relevant here concerns those in which the neuter distal demonstrative pronoun apart from its default form *da(t)* also has an emphatic form usually spelled *dadde* or *datte*. As is illustrated by the example in (10a), the dialect of Wambeek is one of them. Moreover, the b-sentence shows that this emphatic form is never used as a complementizer in doubly filled COMP contexts. However, it does show up in SPDs (cf. (10c)), a clear indication that SPDs contain a demonstrative pronoun, rather than a complementizer. [19]

(10) a. Zegge-men dadde?
          say-we   that_EMPH
          'Do we say that?'
      b. Zeg ne kieje wou { da   / * dadde }   se kunne   rupen eit.
          say   a   time who   that_COMP / that_EMPH she could   call has
          'Tell me who she was able to call.'
      c. Wou dadde?
          who   that_EMPH
          'Who?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Secondly, there are dialects in which the complementizer used in doubly filled COMP contexts has a specific form which diverges from that of the neuter distal demonstrative pronoun. This is illustrated in (11a-b) for the dialect of Nijeholtpade. The form of the complementizer used in embedded wh-questions (cf. (11b)) is not *dat* (like the demonstrative pronoun, cf. (11a)), but rather *as*. If SPD were really an instance of doubly filled COMP under sluicing, one would expect this form to show up there as well. As the c-example shows, however, this is not the case.

(11) a. Zo'k   dat   wel doen kunnen?
          would.I that_DEM PRT do   can
          'Would I be able to do that?'
      b. Wet   iene   wie   as   we reupen hebben?
          knows anyone who that_COMP we called   have
          'Does anyone know who we have called?'
      c. Wie { dat   / * as}?
          who   that_DEM /   that_COMP
          'Who?'   [Nijeholtpade Dutch]

Thirdly, a small minority of the dialects under consideration here disallows a wh-phrase to co-occur with a complementizer in embedded wh-questions, i.e. they respect the doubly filled COMP filter. An analysis of SPDs as doubly filled COMP filter violations under sluicing would predict such dialects to disallow SPDs. The data in (12b-c) show this prediction to be false. Moreover, these dialects do display the demonstrative use of *da(t)*, as illustrated in (12a). As such, they constitute yet another indication that the

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[19] As is clear from the examples in (8) and (9), the use of the emphatic form in SPDs is not obligatory in the dialect of Wambeek. Note that this does not weaken the argument, however: the element following the sluiced wh-phrase in the SPD shows the same morphological variation as the demonstrative pronoun, not as the complementizer.

element following the sluiced wh-phrase in an SPD is a demonstrative pronoun, not a complementizer.

(12) a. Niemand heet dat ooit gewild.
     nobody has that$_{DEM}$ ever wanted
     'Nobody ever wanted that.'

 b Vertelt maar ni wie (*dat) zij haa kunne roepe.
     tell$_{IMP}$ PRT not who that$_{COMP}$ she has can call
     'Don't say who she was able to call.'

 c. Wie dat?
     who that
     'Who?'
                                                                [Lauw Dutch]

Summing up, it is clear that the *da(t)*-element following the sluiced wh-phrase in an SPD is the neuter distal demonstrative pronoun, and not a complementizer. Put differently, SPDs do not represent doubly filled COMP filter violations under sluicing. Accordingly (and to avoid confusion), I will henceforth gloss the demonstrative use of *da(t)* as 'that$_{DEM}$' and its complementizer use as 'that$_{C°}$'.

2.2.2 SPDs only occur in sluicing

The second property of SPDs I want to discuss is already encoded in the acronym itself (Sluicing Plus Demonstrative), but it is a point worth emphasizing, as it will play an important role in the analysis. As the data in (13) show, only sluiced wh-phrases (13a-b) can be followed by a demonstrative pronoun. Wh-phrases occurring in non-elliptical questions (whether main (13c), embedded (13d), *in situ* (13e) or echo (13f)), relative clauses (whether headed (13g) or free (13h)) or clefts (whether *it*-clefts (13i) or pseudoclefts (13j)) cannot be directly followed by a demonstrative pronoun.

(13) a. Jef eid iemand gezien, mo ik weet nie wou da.
     Jeff has someone seen but I know not who that$_{DEM}$
     'Jeff saw someone, but I don't know who.'

 b. A: Jef ei gisteren iemand gezien. B: Wou da?
     Jeff has yesterday someone seen who that$_{DEM}$
     'A: Jeff saw someone yesterday. B: Who?'

 c. Uu (*dad) ei Jef tprobleem opgelost?
     how that$_{DEM}$ has Jef the.problem solved
     'How did Jeff solve the problem?'

d. Ik vruig ma af   me   wou (*da)   da   Lewie geklapt eit.[20]
    I   ask   me PRT with who   that_DEM that_C° Louis talked has
    'I wonder who Louis has talked to.'

e. Wou stond me   wou (*da)   te klappen?
    who stood with who   that_DEM to talk
    'Who was talking to who?'

f. A: K'em   de paus gezien. B: G'etj   WOU (*DA)   gezien?!
        I.have the pope seen   you.have who   that_DEM seen
    'A: I saw the Pope. B: You saw WHO?!'

g. Ge   kraaigd alles   wa   (*da)   da   ge   wiltj.
    you get   everything what that_DEM that_C° you want
    'You get anything you want.'

h. Wa (*da)   da   Lewie duut interessee ma nie.
    what that_DEM that_C° Louis does interests   me not
    'I'm not interested in what Louis does.'

i. Et was Jef wuiruin (*da)   dad iederiejn   pausdn.
    it was Jeff where.on that_DEM that_C° everybody thought
    'It was Jeff everyone was thinking of.'

j. Wa (*da)   da   Jef geirn   duut is zwemmen.
    what that_DEM that_C° Jeff gladly does is swim_INF
    'What Jeff likes to do is to swim.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

2.2.3   SPDs only target minimal wh-phrases

The third basic property of SPDs was first observed for Frisian by Hoekstra (1993:9-11), but it also holds for the dialects under consideration here. It concerns the fact that not all types of sluiced wh-phrases can be followed by a demonstrative pronoun. More specifically, only bare wh-pronouns or PPs containing them can occur in an SPD, complex wh-phrases cannot. This is illustrated in (14)

(14) a.   Wui   da?
            where   that_DEM
            'Where?'
      b.   Tege   wou   da?
            against whom that_DEM
            'Against whom?'

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[20] As indicated by the glosses, the second occurrence of *da* in this example is an instance of the complementizer (Wambeek Dutch being an obligatorily doubly filled COMP filter violating dialect). The ungrammaticality of the first *da* is not due to a haplology rule disallowing two contiguous occurrences of this morpheme, however (and similarly for (13g-j)). This becomes clear in light of the example in (i), where there are no less than five contiguous occurrences of *da*, twice as a complementizer (the first and the third occurrence) and thrice as a demonstrative pronoun (the second, fourth and fifth occurrence). This example also shows that there is no ban on the neuter distal demonstrative pronoun occurring next to the complementizer in Wambeek Dutch.

(i) Ik paus da   da,   da   da   da   muu   vervangen.
     I think that_C° that_DEM.SUBJ that_C° that_DEM.SUBJ that_DEM.OBJ must replace
     'I think that that thing must replace that thing.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

    c.   * Welken boek da?
           which   book that$_{DEM}$ [Wambeek Dutch]

That this property is indeed characteristic of SPDs and not due to some more general restriction on sluicing in these dialects, is illustrated by the data in (15). These examples show that in 'regular' sluicing all types of wh-phrases are allowed.

(15)   a.   Wui?
           where
           'Where?'
      b.   Tege   wou?
           against whom
           'Against whom?'
      c.   Welken boek?
           which   book
           'Which book?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

2.2.4   The demonstrative pronoun in an SPD bears stress

A sluiced wh-phrase normally bears stress in the dialects under consideration here. This is illustrated in (16a). In an SPD, however, the stress shifts: it is no longer the wh-phrase, but rather the demonstrative pronoun which bears stress. This is shown in (16b).

(16)   a.   Z'eid   iemand   gezien, mo kweet nie { WOU / * wou}.
           she.has someone   seen   but I.know not   who /   who
           'She saw someone, but I don't know who.'
      b.   Z'eid   iemand   gezien, …
           she.has someone   seen
           … mo kweet nie { wou DA   / * WOU da}.
              but I.know not   who that$_{DEM}$ /   who that$_{DEM}$
           'She saw someone, but I don't know who.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The stress shift illustrated in (16a-b) is not the result of the Nuclear Stress Rule (Cinque 1993) or some variant of it blindly assigning stress to the rightmost or most deeply embedded constituent. This can be demonstrated by means of the example in (17), where the modifier *just* 'exactly' has been stranded to the right of the demonstrative pronoun. In this example it is still the latter that receives the main stress, regardless of whether the modifier follows it and as a result is arguably more deeply embedded (cf. also infra, chapter seven, for some discussion of the structural position occupied by *just* 'exactly' in this type of example).

(17)   Z'eid   iemand   gezien, …
     she.has   someone seen
     … mo kweet nie { wou DA   just   /   * wou   da   JUST}.
        but I.know not   who that$_{DEM}$ exactly /   who   that$_{DEM}$ exactly
     'She saw someone, but I don't know who exactly.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

2.2.5 An SPD induces a 'surprise'-reading

So far I have said very little about the meaning of SPDs. This is partly because their meaning overlaps to a very large extent with that of regular sluices. At the same time, however, the presence of a demonstrative pronoun to the right of a sluiced wh-phrase does add a meaning layer which is absent if the demonstrative is lacking. Consider the dialogue in (18).

(18) A: Jef   eid iemand gezien.   B: Wou da?
            Jeff   has someone seen   who that$_{DEM}$
      'A: Jeff saw someone. B: Who?'
                                                        [Wambeek Dutch]

By using an SPD, the B-speaker is indicating that A's original statement (i.e. Jeff saw someone) came as a surprise to him. B didn't expect Jeff to have seen someone (for example because B knew that Jeff stayed home alone all day). Thus, the use of an SPD induces a 'surprise'-reading on the sluiced question.[21,22] This reading can be brought out more clearly by forcing a non-surprise-reading on the example sentence. The highly conventionalized context of game shows provides the perfect setting for obtaining precisely this effect. Imagine the sentence in (19) being uttered by a game show host.

(19) Juul   Ceesaar is   dee Marcus Brutus en Gaius   Cassius vermoed, en …
      Julius Caesar is   by Marcus Brutus and Gaius   Cassius murdered and
      … de vruig   is: wannieje (#da)?
      … the question is   when   that$_{DEM}$
      'Julius Caesar was murdered by Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cassius, and the
      question is: when?'
                                                        [Wambeek Dutch]

Clearly, in this context the first sentence of (19) (i.e. Julius Caesar was murdered by Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cassius) is not considered to be 'unexpected'. On the contrary, it is presented as a known fact, both to the hearer and to the speaker. Accordingly, the use of an SPD in this context is strongly infelicitous.

2.2.6 An SPD stems from an underlying cleft

The sixth and final characteristic of SPDs is also the most intricate one. What I will show is that there is a close affinity between SPDs on the one hand and cleft structures with a wh-pivot on the other. More specifically, the data will point to the conclusion that an SPD such as B's reply in (20a) derives not from the wh-question in (20b), but rather from the cleft in (20c).

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[21] As is often the case with these kinds of 'affective' readings, they are hard to detect in actual discourse and as a result, the constructions bearing them are often overgeneralized. For example, one of my informants reports that he agrees that SPDs induce a 'surprise'-reading, but at the same time he notes that he cannot guarantee he never uses an SPD in a neutral context. However, when a non-surprise-reading is forced on a sentence (as is the case in (19)), SPDs are clearly infelicitous.
[22] A slightly more formal way of stating this would be to say that SPDs carry a negative presupposition (thanks to Dylan Tsai p.c. and Boban Arsenijevic p.c. for pointing this out to me). Given that the intuitive characterization in terms of surprise suffices for my purposes, however, I will continue to use it in the rest of the discussion.

(20) a.   A: Ik em   iemand gezien.   B: Wou da?
                    I   have someone seen   who that$_{DEM}$
            'A: I saw someone. B: Who?'

      b.   Wou ejje   gezien?
            who have.you seen
            'Who did you see?'

      c.   Wou is da   da   ge   gezien etj?
            who is that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C°}$ you   seen   have
            'Who is it that you saw?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Before I can proceed to demonstrate this, however, an important terminological remark is in order. The dialects under consideration here have two ways of forming a cleft, the difference between the two options being related to the pronoun that occupies the matrix subject position. Specifically, this pronoun can be either the third person singular neuter personal pronoun *het* 'it' (usually shortened to *'t*) or the neuter distal demonstrative pronoun *da(t)* 'that'.[23] Both options are exemplified in (21).

(21) a.   Wou is da   da   ge   gezien etj?
            who is that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C°}$ you   seen   have
            'Who is it that you saw?'

      b.   Wou is 't da   ge   gezien etj?
            who is it   that$_{C°}$ you   seen   have
            'Who is it that you saw?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The specific claim I want to make here is that SPDs derive from an underlying cleft with a wh-phrase as pivot and with a demonstrative pronoun in the matrix clause. For the remainder of this section I abstract away from the difference illustrated in (21), but I return to the two types of clefts in chapter four, section 4.2.4.

    Having set the scene for what will follow, I now present five arguments to support the claim made above. All five of them have the same logical structure: I first identify a particular empirical domain which differentiates clefts with a wh-pivot from 'regular' sluicing, and I then proceed to show that SPDs pattern with clefts and not with sluicing.

2.2.6.1   Case

The first argument concerns the Case of the sluiced wh-phrase in an SPD. For obvious reasons, this can only be demonstrated for those dialects which overtly mark morphological Case on wh-pronouns. As the data in (22) show, the dialect of Waubach is one of them (cf. Hinskens 1993:section 6.3.19 for a more elaborate discussion of the Waubach Case system).

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[23] It is worth pointing out that the neuter proximate demonstrative pronoun *di(t)* 'this' cannot occur in the matrix subject position of clefts. Given that I will argue that SPDs are derived from clefts, this explains why the demonstrative pronoun used in SPDs is always the distal one (i.e. *da(t)* 'that') and never the proximate one (i.e. *di(t)* 'this'). As for why *di(t)* 'this' cannot occur in clefts, I have no new insights to offer. Thanks to Sjef Barbiers p.c. for raising this issue.

(22) a.   { Wea   / * Wem } kemp   noa 't   fees?
             who_NOM / who_ACC comes to   the party
             'Who is coming to the party?'
      b.   { * Wea   /   Wem } has-te   gezieë?
             who_NOM / who_ACC   have.you seen
             'Who did you see?'   [Waubach Dutch]

The sentences in (22) show that subject wh-questions only allow the nominative form of
the wh-pronoun, i.e. *wea*, whereas object wh-questions invariably contain the accusative
form, i.e. *wem*. Moreover, the sluiced versions of the wh-questions in (22) display the
same Case distinctions. This is exemplified in (23).

(23) a.   A: 't Kumt   murrege inne   noa   't   fees.
                  it comes tomorrow someone to   the party
             B: { Wea?   / * Wem}?
                  who_NOM / who_ACC
             'A: Someone is coming to the party tomorrow. B: Who?'
      b.   A: Ich han   inne   gezieë. B: { * Wea? / Wem}?
                  I   have someone seen   who_NOM / who_ACC
             'A: I saw someone. B: Who?'   [Waubach Dutch]

However, the Case difference between subjects and objects disappears in clefts with a
wh-pivot. As the examples in (24) illustrate, both subject and object clefts use the
nominative form of the wh-pronoun.

(24) a.   { Wea   / * Wem } is dat   dea noa 't   fees kemp?
             who_NOM / who_ACC is that_DEM REL to   the party comes
             'Who is it that is coming to the party?'
      b.   { Wea   / * Wem } is dat   dea-s-te   gezieë has?
             who_NOM / who_ACC is that_DEM REL-CA-you   seen   have
             'Who is it that you saw?'   [Waubach Dutch]

This means that the Waubach Case facts form an ideal testing ground for the hypothesis
entertained in this section. If SPDs really derive from an underlying cleft, the Case of the
wh-pronoun should pattern with the data in (24) and unlike the data in (23). The
examples in (25) show that this is indeed the case.

(25) a.   A: 't Kumt   murrege inne   noa   't   fees.
                  it comes tomorrow someone to   the party
             B: { Wea   / * Wem } dat?
                  who_NOM / who_ACC that_DEM
             'A: Someone is coming to the party tomorrow. B: Who?'
      b.   A: Ich han   inne   gezieë.
                  I   have someone seen
             B: { Wea   / * Wem} dat?
                  who_NOM / who_ACC that_DEM
             'A: I saw someone. B: Who?'   [Waubach Dutch]

B's reply in (25b) is the crucial datum here. It shows that object SPDs pattern with object clefts and unlike 'regular' object sluices in displaying the nominative rather than the accusative form of the wh-pronoun. This is a clear indication that SPDs stem from an underlying cleft, not from a regular wh-question.

2.2.6.2   Modification of the wh-phrase by negation and affirmation

Sluiced wh-phrases can be modified by *nie* 'not' or *wel* 'AFF'[24] in the dialects under consideration here (as in standard Dutch, but unlike in English). This is illustrated in (26)-(27).

(26) A: Lewie ei me   bekan iederiejn geklapt.   B: Me   wou   nie?
              Louis has with almost everyone spoken   with who   not
      'A: Louis has spoken with almost everyone. B: With whom didn't he speak?'
                                                                     [Wambeek Dutch]

(27) A: Lewie ei me   bekan niemand geklapt.   B: Me   wou   wel?
              Louis has with almost nobody spoken   with who   AFF
      'A: Louis has spoken with almost no-one. B: With whom DID he speak?'
                                                                     [Wambeek Dutch]

Such modification is sharply ungrammatical in clefts with a wh-pivot, regardless of whether the polarity element is pied-piped or not. This is shown in (28)-(29).[25]

(28) Me   wou   <*nie> was   da   <*nie> da   Lewie geklapt ou?
      with who   not   was   that$_{DEM}$ not   that$_{C°}$ Louis spoken had
                                                                     [Wambeek Dutch]

(29) Me   wou   <*wel> was   da   <*wel> da   Lewie geklapt ou?
      with who   AFF   was   that$_{DEM}$ AFF   that$_{C°}$ Louis spoken had
                                                                     [Wambeek Dutch]

Once again, SPDs pattern with clefts and unlike sluicing. An SPDed wh-phrase cannot be modified by negation or affirmation, irrespective of whether the demonstrative pronoun precedes or follows the modifying element.

(30) A: Lewie ei me   bekan iederiejn geklapt.
              Louis has with almost everyone   spoken
      B: * Me   wou   <nie> da   <nie>?
              with who   not   that$_{DEM}$ not   [Wambeek Dutch]

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[24] Throughout this dissertation, I neutrally gloss the affirmative element *wel* as 'AFF'. A more or less accurate rendering of its meaning in English would be by means of emphatic *do*-support, as in (i).
(i)   Ed houdt wel   van   houtsnijwerk.
         Ed loves AFF   of   woodcarving
         'Ed DOES like woodcarving.'   [Dutch]
Cf. the second part of this dissertation for extensive discussion of *wel*.
[25] Obviously, the examples in (28) and (29) are grammatical when the negation or affirmation marking occurs in the embedded clause of the cleft.

(31) A: Lewie ei me   bekan niemand geklapt.
           Louis has with almost nobody   spoken
    B: * Me   wou <wel>   da   <wel>?
           with who   AFF   that$_{DEM}$ AFF   [Wambeek Dutch]

2.2.6.3 Multiple wh

As is well-known, many languages (including non-multiple wh-movement languages) allow the remnant of a single sluicing operation to consist of more than one wh-phrase (though sometimes only under certain restricted circumstances, cf. Merchant 2001a:109-114; Nishigauchi 1998 for discussion). The SPD-dialects also display this so-called 'multiple sluicing'.

(32) Iederiejn stond me   iemand   te klappen, mo kweet nie wou me   wou.
      everyone stood with someone to talk   but I.know not who with who
      'Everyone was talking to someone, but I don't know who to whom.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Clefts with a (non-echo) wh-phrase as their pivot, however, do not allow the occurrence of more than one wh-phrase. This is illustrated in (33)

(33) * Wou was da   da   me   wou stond te klappen?
       who was that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C°}$ with who stood to talk   [Wambeek Dutch]

Similarly, SPDs also disallow multiple wh-phrases, regardless of whether only one of them is followed by a demonstrative pronoun or whether both are.

(34) Iederiejn stond   me   iemand   te   klappen, …
      everyone stood   with someone to talk
      … mo kweet nie wou (*da)   me   wou (*da).
        but I.know not who   that$_{DEM}$ with who   that$_{DEM}$ [Wambeek Dutch]

2.2.6.4 Non-overt antecedent

Sluicing can in some cases be licensed by a non-overt antecedent (i.e. it can be 'pragmatically controlled' in Hankamer & Sag's 1976 terminology[26]). This is illustrated for the dialect of Wambeek in (35).

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[26] Interestingly, Hankamer & Sag 1976 themselves characterize sluicing as a 'surface anaphor', i.e. as an anaphor which cannot be pragmatically controlled. Examples like the one in (35) (which can easily be multiplied), however, show this claim to be false (as was already observed by Chao 1987:124-125). More generally, Hankamer & Sag's classification does not seem to be entirely accurate (cf. also Sag 1980: 315-328 for some early critical remarks). For example, as pointed out by Merchant to appear b, VP-ellipsis, another surface anaphor, can also be pragmatically controlled. The question of what distinguishes elliptical processes which do not require an overt linguistic antecedent (e.g. sluicing and VP-ellipsis) from those which do (e.g. gapping and pseudogapping) remains an open and intriguing one. Cf. also part two of this dissertation for some relevant discussion.

(35)   [context: a contestant of a game show has to choose which one of her two closest
       friends she wants to take on a luxury cruise; she is given five minutes to think
       about the issue, after which the game show host walks up to her holding a
       picture of friend A in his left hand and a picture of friend B in his right hand; he
       says:]
       Wou?
       who
       'Who?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Clefts with a wh-pivot pattern differently in this respect. As the example in (36) shows, a
cleft requires an explicit linguistic antecedent and hence is infelicitous in a context
where there is no such antecedent.[27]

(36)   [context: same as in (35)]
       #Wou is   da   da   ge   gotj   kiezn?
       who is   that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C°}$ you   go   choose
       'Who is it that you will choose?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Again, SPDs pattern with clefts, and not with sluicing. In the context sketched in
example (35), an SPD is as infelicitous as a cleft with a wh-pivot. This is shown in (37).

(37)   [context: same as in (33)]
       #Wou da?
       who that$_{DEM}$
       'Who?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

2.2.6.5   Modification of the wh-phrase by *nog* 'else'

Sluiced wh-phrases can be modified by *nog* 'else' (these are the so-called 'contrast
sluices' discussed by Merchant 2001a:36-37). Consider an example in (38).

(38)   A: Jef   ei   nie alliejn Lewie   gezien.   B: Nieje? Wou nog?
             Jeff has not just   Louis   seen   no   who else
       'A: Jeff hasn't just seen Louis. B: No? Who else (has he seen)?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Wh-phrases which form the pivot of a cleft cannot be modified in this way. This is true
regardless of whether *nog* 'else' is pied-piped or not.

(39) * Wou <nog> was da   <nog> da   Jef   gezien ou?
        who else   was that$_{DEM}$ else   that$_{C°}$ Jeff seen   had   [Wambeek Dutch]

---

[27] This is where the difference between the two types of clefts outlined above (cf. example (21)
and surrounding text) becomes crucial. Clefts with a wh-pivot and a personal pronoun in the
matrix clause are felicitous in the context sketched in example (35). Compare (36) with (i):
(i)   [context: same as in (35)]
       Wou   is   't   da   ge   gotj   kiezen?
       Who   is   it   that$_{C°}$ you   go   choose
       'Who is it that you will choose?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Here too, SPDs pattern with clefts in not allowing the modifier *nog* 'else', irrespective of its linear position *vis-à-vis* the demonstrative pronoun.

(40)   A: Jef ei   nie alliejn Lewie   gezien.
             Jeff has not just   Louis   seen
       B: * Nieje? Wou <nog> da   <nog>?
             no   who   else   that$_{DEM}$ else   [Wambeek Dutch]

2.2.6.6   Summary

Summing up, I have presented five empirical arguments to support the claim that SPDs derive from clefts with a wh-pivot and not from 'regular' wh-questions.[28] Table 2.1 summarizes the main findings of the preceding sections.

	SLUICING	**SPD**	**CLEFTS**
Case of wh$_{object}$	acc	nom	nom
modification by NEG and AFF	✓	*	*
multiple wh	✓	*	*
non-overt antecedent	✓	#	#
modification by *nog* 'else'	✓	*	*

Table 2.1 Comparison of sluicing, SPDs and clefts with a wh-pivot

This concludes my overview of the basic properties of SPDs in Dutch dialects. They can be summarized as in (41).

(41)   **Basic properties of dialect Dutch SPDs**
       a.   SPDs contain a demonstrative pronoun, not a complementizer
       b.   SPDs only occur in sluicing
       c.   SPDs only target minimal wh-phrases
       d.   The demonstrative pronoun in an SPD bears stress
       e.   SPDs induce a 'surprise'-reading
       f.   SPDs stem from an underlying cleft

---

[28] Merchant 2001a:120-127 discusses ten arguments in support of the claim that 'regular' sluicing in English does not derive from an underlying cleft structure. Clearly, all these arguments could in principle be used to argue that SPDs *do* derive from such a source. On closer inspection, however, I was only able to use two of them (the Case argument of section 2.2.6.1 and modification by *nog* 'else' in section 2.2.6.5). Of the remaining eight, two (swiping and left branch extractions) are – for varying reasons – inapplicable to the data at hand and hence irrelevant, while the other six (the behavior of adjuncts and implicit arguments, prosody, the behavior of aggressively non-D-linked wh-phrases, 'mention some'-modification, 'mention all'-modification and the cross-linguistic distribution of clefts) are compatible with my data, but inconclusive, as they do not distinguish between clefts with a wh-pivot and sluicing in the dialects under consideration here.

In the next section I focus on the other instance of stranding under sluicing which forms the central focus of this part, i.e. swiping.

2.3   Basic properties of English swiping

As I already mentioned in section 2.1, swiping has been discussed fairly recently in a paper by Jason Merchant (Merchant 2002). This means that I can be brief in my overview of the basic properties of this construction. Most of the data presented in the following sections are taken from Merchant's paper (although some of the core observations date back to Rosen 1976). All in all there are four basic properties of this construction that I will focus on.

2.3.1   Swiping only occurs in sluicing

As the data in (42) show, only sluiced wh-phrases (42a-b) can be 'locally inverted' with their prepositions. Swiping does not affect wh-phrases occurring in non-elliptical wh-questions (whether main (42c), embedded (42d), *in situ* (42e) or echo (42f)), relative clauses (whether headed finite (42g), headed infinitival (42h) or free (42i)) or clefts (whether *it*-clefts (42j) or pseudoclefts (42k)) (cf. Merchant 2002:297-298, who calls this 'The sluicing condition').

(42)   a.   Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know [what about].
        b.   A: Ed gave a talk yesterday.   B: [What about]?
        c.   * [Who to] was Lois talking?
        d.   * I don't know [who to] Lois was talking.
        e.   * Who talked [who to]?
        f.   A: The Pope talked about Britney Spears today.
                 B: * He talked [WHO ABOUT]?
        g.   * I finally met the guy [who about] she won't shut up.
        h.   * The officer [who to] to make such complaints is out of the office today.
        i.   * I always hate [who with] he goes out.
        j.   * It was Thomas Mann [who about] she was speaking.
        k.   * [What about] she was talking was *Buddenbrooks*.

2.3.2   Swiping only targets minimal wh-phrases

The set of wh-phrases occurring in swiping is considerably smaller than the set of wh-phrases allowed in 'regular' sluicing. Specifically, only bare wh-pronouns can undergo swiping; complex wh-phrases are systematically excluded. This is exemplified in (43) (cf. Merchant 2002:294-297 for additional examples).[29,30]

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[29] Merchant 2002:297 refers to this restriction as 'The minimality condition'. Rosen 1976:209 formulates the constraint as follows: "In a Sluicing output that includes a stranded preposition, nothing whatever except the deletion site produced by Sluicing is allowed to stand between the WH-word and the preposition." In (43b) for example, the noun *person* is in violation of this constraint, as it stands between the wh-word *which* and the preposition *to*.

[30] Two caveats are in order here. The first one concerns the wh-phrases *which* and *whose*. These seem to be minimal, but they still disallow swiping (cf. (i)), i.e. it looks as if not *all* minimal wh-

(43) a.   Lois was talking, but I don't know who to.
      b.   * Lois was talking, but I don't know which person to.

2.3.3   A swiped preposition bears stress

Sluiced wh-phrases in English normally bear stress. This is true regardless of whether they are the complement of a preposition (44b) or not (44a). In swiping, however, the stress shifts to the preposition. This is illustrated in (44c).

(44) a.   Ed invited someone, but I don't know {WHO / * who}.
      b.   Ben was talking, but I don't know {to WHOM / * TO whom}.
      c.   Ben was talking, but I don't know {* WHO to/ who TO}.

The stress shift in (44b-c) is not the result of "general head-final prominence algorithms operative in English" (as Merchant 2002:305 suggests). This can be illustrated on the basis of examples such as (45). In this sentence the modifying adverb *exactly* has been stranded to the right of the swiped preposition. As a result, it is 'more final' than this preposition and possibly also more deeply embedded (cf. also infra, chapter seven, for some more discussion of this construction and the structural position occupied by *exactly*). Nonetheless, the stress facts remain unaltered: it is still the preposition, and not the adverb, which receives main stress.

(45) A: Ed will give a talk tomorrow.
      B: a.   Really? What ABOUT exactly?
            b.   * Really? What about EXACTLY?

Similarly, when swiping targets the first remnant of a sentence involving so-called multiple sluicing (cf. supra), the stress stays on the preposition, even though it is not final in the sentence and probably not the most deeply embedded element either.[31]

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phrases allow swiping. The second remark concerns the wh-phrases *how long*, *how much* and *how many*, which in spite of being complex are – at least for some speakers – allowed to occur in swiping, as is shown in (ii).
(i)   a.   * She bought a robe for one of her nephews, but God knows which for.
      b.   * They were riding in somebody's car, but I don't know whose in.
(ii) a.   %He's been living in Arizona, but I don't know how long for.
      b.   %She bought it all right, but don't even ask how much for!
      c.   %There's a lot of cities on her list, so she'll be travelling a lot, but I don't know how many to.
With respect to the data in (i), Merchant 2002:301-303 argues that these are in fact 'concealed' complex wh-phrases (in both cases the head noun has been elided), so that swiping can be said to affect *all and only* minimal wh-phrases. I return to the examples in (ii) when discussing Merchant's analysis of swiping, in chapter six.
[31] Not all speakers allow swiping in multiple sluicing: Merchant 2002:315n13 disallows it, while Richards 2001:139 reports examples which for him are acceptable. The sentence in (46), which is modelled on one of Richards' examples, has been judged by four native speakers. Two found it perfect, one gave it one question mark, one gave it two question marks.

(46) ?Ed was talking with someone about something, but I don't know who WITH
about what.

2.3.4   Swiping only affects prepositions which have no antecedent

This property of swiping was first observed by Rosen (1976), who phrased it as follows:
"A stranded preposition survives Sluicing in exactly those cases where there is no
antecedent for its deletion." (Rosen 1976:206). What this means, is that swiping is only
felicitous when the antecedent IP does not contain an instance of the swiped preposition.
This is the case in (47) for example (Rosen 1976:207).

(47)   Howard shares the apartment, but I have no idea who with.

In this example, the clause which serves as the antecedent for sluicing (i.e. *Howard
shares the apartment*) does not contain an instance of the preposition *with*. As a result,
swiping is allowed. As it stands, however, Rosen's claim is too strong (as she herself
already observed). This is shown by the example in (48), which, though slightly more
marked than (47), is still acceptable.[32]

(48)   Howard shares the apartment with someone, but I have no idea who with.

In this example, the first clause, which serves as the antecedent for sluicing, does contain
an instance of the swiped preposition (i.e. it contains the PP *with someone*), yet swiping
is still allowed. Merchant (2002:306) proposes an ingenious way of reconciling Rosen's
original claim with the data in (48). Assuming that in (examples like) (48) the adjunct PP
adjoins to the VP, and assuming that it is the lower VP-segment which serves as an
antecedent for sluicing, Rosen's claim can be upheld, as the antecedent for sluicing does
not contain an instance of the swiped preposition. Merchant's analysis is given in (49),
where VP_A represents the antecedent for the sluiced clause (which is itself marked by
means of strikethrough).

(49)   Howard [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP_A}$ t$_{Howard}$ shares the apartment] with someone], but I have no idea
who with ~~Howard shares the apartment~~.

This predicts that if for some reason the PP cannot be left out of the sluicing antecedent,
swiping should indeed be impossible. This prediction is confirmed by the data in (50)
(Merchant 2002:305; Rosen 1976:207-208)

(50)   a.   We were with somebody. I forget who (*with).
        b.   She got involved in something over her head, but I don't remember what
                (*in).

These examples represent cases where a PP cannot be left out of the antecedent for
sluicing: in the a-sentence it is part of the predicate, while in (50b) it forms part of an

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[32] As Howard Lasnik p.c. informs me, for some speakers the example in (48) is more degraded
than I present it here. For those speakers, Rosen's original claim is an accurate description of the
distribution of swiping. I have no account for this variation.

idiom chunk. In both these cases, swiping is disallowed. That means that Rosen's original observation, once properly modified, gives an accurate description of the distribution of swiping in English.

2.4   Data summary

In the preceding sections I have examined dialect Dutch SPDs and English swiping in some detail. In this final section I want to summarize the main findings of these explorations, so as to set the research agenda for the chapters that follow. The main properties of SPDs and swiping are listed in (51) and (52) respectively.

(51)   **Basic properties of dialect Dutch SPDs**
      a.   SPDs contain a demonstrative pronoun, not a complementizer
      b.   SPDs only occur in sluicing
      c.   SPDs only target minimal wh-phrases
      d.   The demonstrative pronoun in an SPD bears stress
      e.   SPDs induce a 'surprise'-reading
      f.   SPDs stem from an underlying cleft

(52)   **Basic properties of English swiping**
      a.   Swiping only occurs in sluicing
      b.   Swiping only targets minimal wh-phrases
      c.   A swiped preposition bears stress
      d.   Swiping only affects prepositions which have no antecedent

The properties in (51)-(52) are more than mere lists of *explananda* which analyses of SPDs/swiping should be able to account for. The striking similarity between (51b), (51c) and (51d) on the one hand and (52a), (52b) and (52c) on the other, seems to suggest that the two phenomena are subject to the same underlying generalization and that they should be given a (partially) unified account. This is what I will attempt to do in the chapters that follow.

Rather than go straight to the analysis, however, the next chapter introduces and discusses an important background assumption. Specifically, I will present a particular view on the CP-domain which will be crucial for the analysis of both SPDs and swiping.

3 Theoretical background: splitting up CP

3.1 Introduction

In the wake of Pollock's influential paper on splitting up the inflectional projection IP into several separate functional projections (Pollock 1989, cf. also infra, chapter eleven), much of the literature on the CP-layer from the early nineties onwards has focused on arguing that what was traditionally conceived of as CP actually constitutes a conglomerate of functional projections.[33] Roughly (and somewhat metaphorically speaking), one can discern two schools of thought in the literature on this topic. The first one, say the Italian school, assumes the various CPs to be contentful and non-interchangeable. Each projection makes its own specific semantic and syntactic contribution to the clause. The greatest advocate of this school is without doubt Luigi Rizzi (cf. Rizzi 1997a, 2001, 2002), but many other researchers have followed in his footsteps (cf. for example Poletto 2000; Poletto & Pollock 2002; Koopman & Szabolcsi 2000; Zanuttini & Portner 2003). The second one, call it the CP-recursion or CP-shells school, takes the various CPs to be mere copies of one another, arising through a free mechanism of CP-recursion. They are seen as mostly contentless projections whose main purpose is to provide a landing site for various left-peripheral phrases and heads. Much of the empirical focus of this school is on Germanic embedded verb movement, and some key publications are Iatridou & Kroch (1992), Vikner (1995) and Browning (1996). It is against this background that I will present my own view of the CP-domain.

The specific proposal I will make in the following sections belongs in spirit to the Italian school, in that the projections I will propose each make a very specific syntactic and semantic contribution to the clause and as a result are not interchangeable. I diverge from much of the literature in this school, though, by discussing only two different CP-related projections.[34] This is not because I believe these are the only two CP-projections that are available. Rather, for the purposes of the present discussion, they are the only two that are crucial and hence it is them (and only them) I will focus on. Whether or not my proposal can be incorporated into accounts which assume a much richer structure of the CP-domain, I will leave as an open question (although I will point to some literature which seems to suggest that it can).

This chapter is organized as follows. In the next section I present the proposal in its bare essentials, indicating which projections I want to propose and what the precise function and purpose of each of them is. At the same time I point at a number of existing accounts which share certain similarities with mine. Section 3.3 provides substantial empirical support for the proposal, while section 3.4 discusses two remaining issues left

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[33] Needless to say, I cannot do full justice to the substantial body of literature on this topic in this introductory section. Given that the proposal I will make is mostly new and will be backed up by substantial empirical evidence, however, an in-depth discussion of previous split CP-accounts would lead me too far afield. Moreover, as will be pointed out below, my proposal might in fact be incorporable into one of the more 'traditional' views on the split CP-system.

[34] Compare this for example to Rizzi's 2002 expansion of the CP-domain, given in (i) (where the use of a Kleene star signals optional recursion).

(i) [$_{ForceP}$ Force°[$_{TopP*}$ Top°*[$_{IntP}$ Int°[$_{TopP*}$ Top°*[$_{FocP}$ Foc°[$_{Mod*}$ Mod°*[$_{TopP*}$ Top°*[$_{FinP}$ Fin°]]]]]]]]

open by my account. Although I will not be able to provide definitive answers to either of them, I will point at some possible solutions. Section 3.5 sums up and concludes.

3.2   The proposal

As a starting point I will adopt and adapt a proposal put forward by Hoekstra & Zwart (1994, 1997) and Bennis (1997, 2000). They argue that the CP-domain should be split up (at least in Dutch) into two separate functional projections. In support of their proposal they put forth what is still one of the more convincing types of evidence for postulating more than one functional projection, i.e. the presence of more than one functional head. In particular, they argue that the higher CP (labeled WhP by Hoekstra & Zwart and TypP by Bennis) is headed by the complementizer *of* 'if', while the lower one (TopP for Hoekstra & Zwart and SubP for Bennis) is headed by *dat* 'that'. The fact that these two elements can co-occur (both in embedded yes/no-questions (53a) and in embedded wh-questions (53b)) is a clear indication that they do not head the same projection (and see Hoekstra & Zwart 1994, 1997; Hoekstra 1993a, 1993b and section 3.3.1 below for more arguments that *of dat* 'if that' is not one single (complex) morphological head).

(53)   a.   Ik   weet niet $[_{CP_1} [_{C°_1}$ of $]$ $[_{CP_2} [_{C°_2}$ dat $]$ $[_{IP}$ Jan   gaat komen.$]]]$
                I   know not   if   that   John   goes come
                'I don't know if John will come.'
        b.   Ik   vraag me af $[_{CP_1}$ wie $[_{C°_1}$ of $]$ $[_{CP_2} [_{C°_2}$ dat $]$ $[_{IP}$ je   zoekt.$]]]$
                I   ask   me PRT   who   if   that   you   look.for
                'I wonder who you are looking for.'   [colloquial standard Dutch]

However, I diverge from the proposals made by Hoekstra & Zwart and Bennis when it comes to the precise function and content of these two CPs, or to put it more technically: when it comes to the morpho-syntactic features that are being checked in these projections. Specifically, I propose that the lower CP (which I will continue to label CP_2) is the projection where operator/variable-dependencies are being created (i.e. where operator features are being checked), while CP_1 is the projection related to clause typing (in the sense of Cheng 1991). Moreover, I will argue that this distinction has far-reaching consequences for the syntax of wh-movement, in that it causes minimal and complex wh-phrases to behave differently.[35] While minimal wh-phrases move from their IP-internal base position via $specCP_2$ (where they check an operator feature) onto $specCP_1$ (where they check a clause typing feature), complex wh-phrases are base-generated in $specCP_1$ (and check a clause typing feature there) and an empty operator moves from the IP-internal base position into $specCP_2$ (to check the operator feature and create an operator/variable-dependency). The tree structures in (54) and (55) illustrate the basics of the proposal.

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[35] For now, I continue to interpret 'minimal wh-phrases' as meaning 'bare wh-pronouns or PPs containing them'. I return to the issue of how to define this notion in section 3.4.1.

(54) **minimal wh**   (55) **complex wh**

CP$_1$ CP$_1$

wh$_i$ C$_1$'   wh$_i$ C$_1$'

C$_1$°   CP$_2$ C$_1$°   CP$_2$
of   *of*

t$_i$ C$_2$'   Op$_i$ C$_2$'

C$_2$°   IP   C$_2$°   IP
dat   *dat*

…t$_i$…   …t$_i$…
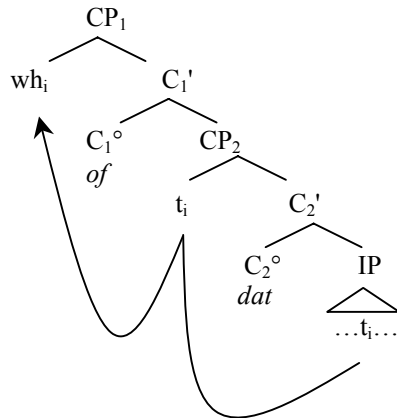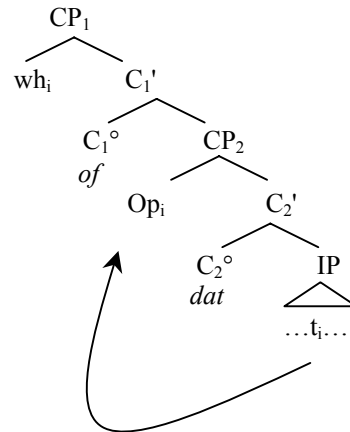
Although the specifics of this proposal are new, several aspects of it bear some resemblance to existing split CP accounts. First of all, the particular division of labor between CP$_1$ and CP$_2$ is reminiscent of what is probably one of the earliest proposals for splitting up CP, i.e. Reinhart 1981. She argues that there are two positions in COMP: the higher one can only be targeted by wh-phrases, whereas the lower one is a more general COMP-position, which can serve as a landing site both for wh-phrases and for relative clause operators. Given that both relative clauses and wh-questions involve operator/variable-dependencies, Reinhart's proposal at an abstract level looks much like mine: the higher left peripheral position is related to clause typing and the lower one to establishing operator/variable-dependencies.[36] Secondly, the idea that wh-phrases can be base-generated in the left periphery can already be found in the literature on Irish (cf. in particular McCloskey 1979, 1990), and in that on wh-adverbials (cf. Reinhart 1981; Rizzi 1990; Culicover 1991). Although my account will differ from the ones just mentioned in the precise set of wh-phrases which is merged directly in specCP, as well as in the arguments I put forward in favor of my position, it is worth acknowledging the general parallelism here. Thirdly, the intuition that the internal complexity of wh-phrases plays a role in determining their precise structural position in the clausal left periphery is one that has recently gained popularity in such works as Munaro (1998), Poletto & Pollock (2002) and Zanuttini & Portner (2003). Although the findings of these works are perhaps not always straightforwardly incorporable into the framework adopted here, they certainly point in the same general direction. Moreover, given that all these papers assume a much richer CP-structure than the one outlined in this chapter, they seem to suggest that the ideas developed in this chapter could in principle be incorporated into such a framework as well (cf. supra).

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[36] Note that this is a reinterpretation of Reinhart's proposal. Specifically, she assumes that the highest COMP-position is the one targeted by question *operators*.

3.3   Empirical support

Related though it may be to existing accounts of how to split up the CP-domain into several projections, my proposal as it stands is clearly in need of some empirical support. I will try to provide such support here. In the following sections I discuss six arguments, each of which targets a specific aspect of the proposal outlined above. The combined force of these arguments should have the effect of strengthening the proposal as a whole.

3.3.1   *Of* and *dat* as separate functional heads

As pointed out above, I follow Hoekstra & Zwart (1994, 1997) and Bennis (1997, 2000) in assuming that the Dutch complementizers *of* 'if' and *dat* 'that' each head their own separate projection in the CP-domain. This is by no means an uncontested point of view, however. Sturm (1996) for example, argues that *of dat* 'if that' is in fact one single (though morphologically complex) complementizer, heading a single CP. Given that the crucial data Hoekstra & Zwart build their argument on (sentences involving conjunction reduction) are indeed subtle and not uncontroversial, I want to present an extra argument here in favor of their proposal.[37] It concerns the fact (first noted by Hoekstra 1994) that in a small number of Dutch dialects the complementizer *of* 'if' can *precede* rather than follow the moved wh-phrase in an embedded wh-question. As the example in (56) illustrates, the dialect of Strijen is one of them.[38]

(56)   Ik weet nie of met wie Jan oan et proate was.
        I   know not if with who John on   it talk$_{INF}$ was
        'I don't know who John was talking to.'   [Strijen Dutch]

These dialects offer a way of testing quite directly the lexical status of the string *of dat* 'if that'. If it is a single morphologically complex complementizer, wh-phrases should not be able to surface in between *of* 'if' and *dat* 'that' (given uncontroversial assumptions about lexical integrity), i.e. *of dat* as a whole should either precede or follow the wh-phrase. If *of* and *dat* head different projections, however, wh-phrases might land in the specifier of the CP headed by *dat*, in which case the string *of* < wh-phrase < *dat* would not be problematic. As the sentence in (57) shows, the data favor the second option.

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[37] Hoekstra & Zwart (1994, 1997) further support their specific implementation of the split CP hypothesis (which involves distinct landing sites for topics and wh-phrases) on the basis of certain extraction asymmetries between topics and wh-phrases. I will leave as a topic for further research the question of whether these facts can be incorporated into the present proposal as well. One thing to note, though, is that examples such as the one in (57) are problematic for Hoekstra & Zwart, as the wh-phrase *met wie* 'with who' occupies the specifier position of a projection which in their proposal is typically reserved for topics. Thanks to Sjef Barbiers p.c. for pointing this out to me.

[38] There is inter-speaker variation with respect to this construction in Strijen Dutch. Of the four informants I interviewed, only two allowed the complementizer to precede the wh-phrase (all of them allowed it to follow the wh-phrase). This, combined with the fact that in other dialects for which this construction has been reported (e.g. that of Amsterdam), it is also very difficult to find speakers who recognize it, might be an indication that this phenomenon is dying out.

(57)   Ik weet nie of met wie dat   Jan   oan et proate was.
       I   know not if with who that$_{C°}$ John on   it   talk$_{INF}$ was
       'I don't know who John was talking to.'   [Strijen Dutch]

Given that the string *of dat* 'if that' can be split up by a wh-phrase, it seems highly unlikely that it constitutes a single complementizer. Thus, this example strongly supports Hoekstra & Zwart's proposal regarding the status of *of* 'if' and *dat* 'that as separate complementizers.[39]

3.3.2   The operator/non-operator status of wh-phrases

The proposal outlined in the previous section postulates an important difference in syntactic behavior between minimal and complex wh-phrases. While the former check an operator feature in specCP$_2$, the latter do not. This seems to suggest that minimal wh-phrases are, but complex ones are not endowed with an operator feature, or put differently, it seems to suggest that complex wh-phrases are not syntactic operators. Interestingly, this is precisely the conclusion that was reached by Dobrovie-Sorin (1990) (reprinted as Dobrovie-Sorin 1994:Ch.6) in her discussion of clitic-doubling of wh-phrases in Romanian. Consider the contrast in (58) (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994:197-198).

(58)   a.   Pe cine   (*l-)   ai   văzut?
             PE who   him$_{CLITIC}$ have.you seen
             'Who did you see?'
       b.   Pe care   băiat   *(l-)   ai   văzut?
             PE which boy   him$_{CLITIC}$ have.you seen
             'Which boy did you see?'   [Romanian]

These examples show that while minimal wh-phrases such as *cine* 'who' cannot co-occur with a doubling clitic, complex ones such as *care băiat* 'which boy' obligatorily do so.[40] Dobrovie-Sorin analyses the ungrammaticality of the clitic in (58a) as follows. Assuming the clitic to absorb the (accusative) Case which would normally be assigned to the position of the gap, this gap cannot be identified as a variable.[41] As a result, the sentence is unacceptable due to a violation of the ban on vacuous quantification. *Cine* is

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[39] A natural question that arises at this point concerns the cause of the variation between the dialect of Strijen and, say, standard Dutch, i.e. why can wh-phrases stay in specCP$_2$ in some dialects, but not in others? At present, I have no explanation to offer for this. For lack of a more interesting account, I will simply assume that in the dialect of Strijen, the clause typing feature on C°$_1$ is optionally strong. This means that it can be checked either before or after Spell-Out. I return to the Strijen Dutch data in section 3.3.6 below, where I show that Frisian might be similar in this respect.

[40] The facts are slightly more complicated than I present them here, as the presence or absence of the dummy Case preposition *pe* seems to play a role as well, especially with respect to wh-phrases such as *ce elev* 'what student' or *cîţi elevi* 'how many students' (cf. Dobrovie-Sorin 1994:208-210 for details). A full exploration of Romanian clitic doubling is clearly beyond the scope of this section.

[41] Dobrovie-Sorin 1994:201 uses the following definition of a variable: "α is a variable if and only if α is an empty category that (a) occupies an A-position, (b) is bound by a quantifier, and (c) is Case-marked."

a quantifier that binds no variable. If this is the correct account for the sentence in (58a), however, it has far-reaching consequences for the status of the complex wh-phrase in (58b). Given that it obligatorily co-occurs with a doubling clitic, it seems to be immune to the ban on vacuous quantification. In other words, the data seem to suggest that *care băiat* is not a quantifier, i.e. that it does not function as a syntactic operator. This is indeed the conclusion Dobrovie-Sorin draws from these data, a conclusion which is further corroborated by the fact that questions such as the one in (58b) – and unlike the one in (58a) – are insensitive to Weak Cross Over (WCO) and unable to license parasitic gaps (Dobrovie-Sorin 1994:202-204). Given that WCO-sensitivity and the possibility of parasitic gap licensing are standard tests for detecting an operator/variable-dependency, the hypothesis that complex wh-phrases are not syntactic operators receives further support from such data.

Moreover, much of the data that was discussed in the literature of the late eighties on English wh-*in-situ* (in multiple wh-questions) seems amenable to a similar analysis (cf. Reinhart no date, 1987, 1990; Pesetsky 1987; Hornstein & Weinberg 1987; Guéron & May 1987). Consider for example the contrast in (59) (from Reinhart no date:1).

(59)   a.   ? Which grade did his$_i$ teacher give [which student]$_i$?
       b.   * Which grade did his$_i$ teacher give who$_i$?

These sentences set up a configuration in which WCO-violations at LF can be detected. Assuming that *in situ* wh-phrases raise to the matrix specCP at LF, a typical WCO-violation should ensue due to the intervening coreferential pronoun. Interestingly, complex and minimal wh-phrases pattern differently, the former but not the latter inducing ungrammaticality. This suggests that while minimal wh-phrases are real quantifiers, which have to raise at LF to check an operator feature, complex ones are not syntactic operators and as a result can be interpreted *in situ* (e.g. through unselective binding or via a choice function).[42]

The third set of data I want to bring into the discussion is the most well-known and well-studied one. Consider the familiar contrast in (60).

(60)   a.   What did which student buy?
       b.   * What did who buy?

While minimal wh-phrases are subject to Superiority, complex ones are not.[43] The contrast in (60) can be given a fairly straightforward account under the assumption that complex wh-phrases unlike minimal ones are not syntactic operators. Specifically, in (60b) the operator-feature on C° has failed to attract the closest bearer of a matching feature, i.e. *who*, and as a result the derivation is ruled out as a violation of Attract

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[42] What remains to be determined of course, is how the pronoun gets bound in (59a) if it is not c-commanded by *which student* at any point in the derivation. I leave this issue open here, as it is orthogonal to the point developed in the main text. Cf. section 3.4.2, though, for some related discussion.

[43] Note that I follow Hornstein & Weinberg 1987, Reinhart 1987, Guéron & May 1987, Aoun e.a. 1987 and Aoun & Li 2003 in assuming the relevant distinction between (60a) and (60b) to be syntactic complexity, and not D-linking (as in Pesetsky 1987, 2000; Comorovski 1996; Dayal 2003). As pointed out before, I return to the precise definition of 'minimal' and 'complex', as well as to the implications of that definition in section 3.4.1.

Closest. In (60a) on the other hand, the wh-phrase *which student* does not bear the relevant feature, and as a result *what* can be moved across it without inducing a violation.[44,45]

My fourth and final point concerns the Dutch construction commonly referred to as contrastive left dislocation (henceforth CLD, cf. Grohmann 2001 for an overview of the extensive literature on this topic). Consider the two examples in (61).

(61)　a.　　[Die jongens $]_i$,　die$_i$　　ken　　ik　niet　t$_{die}$.
　　　　　　those boys　　DEM　　know　I　　not
　　　　　　'Those boys, I don't know.'
　　　b.　* Iedereen$_i$,　die$_i$　ken　ik　niet　t$_{die}$.
　　　　　　everybody　DEM　know I　　not
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Dutch]

The sentence in (61a) represents a typical instance of CLD. A left dislocated phrase (in this case *die jongens* 'those boys') is base-generated in the left periphery of the clause, while a coindexed demonstrative pronoun (here *die*) moves from the clause-internal argument position to the V2-position of the clause (cf. section 3.4.2 below for discussion of this particular analysis). The b-example on the other hand, illustrates that bare quantifiers such as *iedereen* 'everybody' are excluded as left dislocates (cf. also Cinque 1986 for a comparable claim about Italian CLLD). Now consider in this respect the data in (62).[46]

(62)　a.　?? [Welke　jongen $]_i$,　die$_i$　heb　je　　t$_{die}$ gezien?
　　　　　　which　boy　　　　DEM　have　you　　　seen
　　　b.　* Wie$_i$,　die$_i$　heb　je　　t$_{die}$ gezien?
　　　　　　who　DEM　have　you　　　seen
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Dutch]

Once again, complex and minimal wh-phrases pattern differently. While the latter are categorically excluded from CLD, the former are considerably more acceptable as left dislocates (though still clearly marked). In light of the account developed in this chapter, the reason for the ungrammaticality of the example in (62b) is identical to that in (61b), i.e. quantifiers are disallowed to occur in CLD. The fact that there is a contrast with complex wh-phrases, is another indication that these do not function as syntactic

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[44] An obvious question that is raised at this point is how a question like the one in (i) can then be derived.
(i)　　　　Which student bought what?
The derivation of such a question follows naturally, however, from the proposal outlined in section 3.2. In this case an empty operator is merged in the subject position. Given that such an operator does bear operator features, it disallows *what* to move to C° and Superiority is respected. The complex wh-phrase *which student* is merged directly in the higher specCP.
[45] Needless to say, in this short discussion I cannot do justice to the vast literature on Superiority, nor is it my ambition to do so. Rather, what I wanted to show is that the basic facts in (60) follow naturally from the present proposal under an Attract Closest-account of Superiority (cf. Chomsky 1995:296). Cf. Pesetsky 2000; Dayal 2003; Fanselow to appear; Barrs 2000; Aoun & Li 2003 and references cited there for further discussion of Superiority. I also briefly return to this issue in section 3.4.1.
[46] I owe this observation to Sjef Barbiers.

operators.[47] As such, the data in (62) provide further support for the proposed distinction between complex and minimal wh-phrases.

Summing up, the distinction I postulated in my analysis of the CP-domain between minimal and complex wh-phrases on closer inspection turns out be deeply rooted in the generative research tradition and is supported by a variety of facts. One issue still needs further discussion, though. If complex wh-phrases in English are not syntactic operators, then why are simple wh-questions like the one in (63a) sensitive to WCO and able to license parasitic gaps as shown in (63b) and (63c) respectively? (Recall that Dobrovie-Sorin uses precisely these tests for detecting operator/variable-dependencies.)

(63)   a.   Which boy does Julia like?
        b.   * [Which boy]$_i$ do his$_i$ parents like?
        c.   [Which boy]$_i$ did you see t$_i$ without saying hi to e_i?

The traditional answer to this question is to stipulate that specCP in English is a "structural operator position" (cf. Chomsky 1982:102; Cinque 1986:41; Dobrovie-Sorin 1994:211), i.e. phrases that are not inherently operator-like, 'become' operators when they surface in specCP. From a minimalist perspective, however, such an account seems to be in conflict with the Inclusiveness Condition (Chomsky 1995), since a property is added to a phrase in the course of the derivation.[48] Moreover, it is unclear how this intuition could be formalized, given present-day machinery. The answer offered by my account on the other hand, is considerably more simple: questions like the one in (63a) display characteristics of operator/variable-dependencies because they involve empty operator movement from the IP-internal base position to specCP$_2$ (cf. the structure in (55) above).[49]

3.3.3   Wh-copying

The third argument in favor of the proposal outlined above concerns the assumption that complex wh-phrases are base-generated in the left periphery of the clause. The data I will bring to bear on this issue concern the construction known as 'wh-copying'. Consider an example in (64) (taken from McDaniel 1986 as quoted in Nuñes to appear).

(64)   Wen   glaubt   Hans   wen   Jakob   gesehen   hat?
       who$_{ACC}$ thinks   Hans   who$_{ACC}$ Jakob   seen   has
       'Who does Hans think that Jakob saw?'
                                                                      [German]

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[47] The fact that the example in (62a) is itself not fully grammatical follows from the fact that left dislocates have to be fully referential XPs, which *welke jongen* 'which boy' clearly is not.

[48] As Sjef Barbiers p.c. observes, there might be ways around this problem that are compatible with the Inclusiveness Condition. For example, if the left-peripheral head attracting the non-operator bears an operator-feature itself, then it might share this feature with that phrase (e.g. via spec/head-agreement) once it has landed in its specifier. As this issue is only tangentially related to the main line of argumentation developed here, however, I will henceforth leave it undiscussed.

[49] In light of Lasnik & Stowell's 1991 discussion of WCO-effects in operator/variable-dependencies, the data in (63) point to the further conclusion that the empty operator I postulated in my analysis of complex wh-phrases is a 'true quantifier', which binds a 'true variable', rather than a null epithet.

Even though this sentence represents a single question, it contains two instances of the wh-word *wen* 'who$_{ACC}$'. Nuñes (to appear) argues that these two *wen*'s are in fact copies of one another, and that they are part of a single movement chain (cf. also Hiemstra 1986; Du Plessis 1977; McDaniel 1989; Höhle 1990; Fanselow & Mahajan 2000; Fanselow & Ćavar 2001 for earlier, comparable accounts). Normally only one chain link is spelled out (usually the highest one), but in this (exceptional) case, two links of the same chain have both been spelled out. If this is the correct analysis of wh-copying, it makes an interesting prediction with respect to the account of complex wh-phrases developed in the previous section. Given that they are base-generated in the left periphery and do not move themselves, they should not be able to partake in wh-copying. No intermediate copies of the complex wh-phrase can be spelled out, because there simply *are* no such intermediate copies.[50] The examples in (64)-(65) show that this prediction is borne out: wh-copying is allowed with bare wh-phrases (64) and PPs containing them (65a), but not with complex wh-phrases (65b). (The examples in (65) are once again taken from McDaniel 1986, as quoted in Nuñes to appear.)[51]

(65)　a.　　Mit　wem　glaubst　du　mit　wem　Hans spricht?
　　　　　　　with　who$_{DAT}$　think　you　with　who$_{DAT}$　Hans speaks
　　　　　　　'Who do you think Hans is talking to?'
　　　b.　*　Wessen Buch glaubst du　wessen Buch Hans liest?
　　　　　　　whose　book　think　you　whose　book　Hans reads　　　　[German]

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[50] Note that the complex wh-phrase cannot be base-generated in the embedded specCP either. Given that it can only be inserted to check a clause typing feature (i.e. [+Q]), and given that the embedded C°-head does not have the relevant matching feature (the embedded clause being non-interrogative), the complex wh-phrase cannot be base-generated in its specifier. Thanks to Howard Lasnik p.c. for raising this issue.

[51] Fanselow & Mahajan 2000 and Fanselow & Ćavar 2001 – thanks to Benjamin Bruening p.c. for pointing out this paper to me – present some further complications of this picture. First of all, it turns out that while all German speakers allow wh-copying constructions with PPs consisting of an R-pronoun and a preposition (e.g. *womit* 'with what', lit. where-with), not all of them allow wh-copying with PPs containing non-R-wh-pronouns as in (65a). This seems to suggest that for these speakers there is an additional morpho-phonological restriction on wh-copying, an issue I will not go into any further. Secondly, they point out that in some dialects what looks like a complex wh-phrase can occur in the embedded specCP, but only if the copy in the matrix specCP is simple. Consider a relevant example in (i).

(i)　　[Wen]　denkst　du　　[wen　von　den　Studenten] man　einladen　sollte?
　　　　who$_{ACC}$　think　　you　who$_{ACC}$　of　the　students　one　invite　should
　　　　'Which of the students do you think we should invite?'　　　　[colloquial German]

Although an in-depth analysis of this construction is beyond the scope of this section, I would like to point out that an example such as the one in (i) could be analysed by assuming that the PP *von den Studenten* 'of the students' has merged counter-cyclically with the lower copy of *wen* 'who' (cf. Lebeaux 1988; Stepanov 2001 on counter-cyclic merger of adverbs). That this is a promising route to take is suggested by the fact – also pointed out by Fanselow & Ćavar – that 'regular' complex wh-phrases like *welches Schweinderl* 'which piggie' cannot partake in the construction exemplified in (i) (cf. (ii)). *Schweinderl* 'piggie' being the NP-complement of *welches* 'which', it cannot be merged counter-cyclically.

(ii)　*　[Welches]　denkst du　[welches　Schweinderl]　er　nehmen　wird?
　　　　　which　think　you　which　piggy　he　take　will
　　　　　INTENDED READING: 'Which piggy do you think he'll take?'　　　　[colloquial German]

These data thus support the claim that complex wh-phrases are base-generated in the left periphery, rather than having moved there from an IP-internal argument position.[52,53]

3.3.4 Preposition stranding in Dutch

As is well-known, Dutch is what one could call a partial preposition stranding language, in that it allows preposition stranding only in a very limited set of contexts. Van Riemsdijk (1978b) shows that prepositions can only be stranded by R-pronouns and by empty operators. Some relevant examples are given in (66) and (67).

(66) a.   { Waar   / * Wat   } heb je   die   kist   mee opengemaakt?
                where /   what   have you   that crate with open.made
              'What did you open that crate with?'

      b.   de koevoet { waar / * die } ik   de kist   mee   opengemaakt heb
             the crowbar where /   REL I   the crate with open.made   have
             'the crowbar I opened the crate with'   [Dutch]

(67) a.   Die sleutel is   te   klein [*Op* om het slot   mee   open te   doen.]
             that key   is   too small   for the lock with open to   do
             'That key is too small to open the lock with.'

      b.   *Op* heb ik   al   mee gewerkt.
                  have I   already with worked
             'I have already worked with that.'

      c.   een probleem [*Op* om over na   te   denken]
             a   problem   for over PRT   to   think
             'a problem to think about'   [Dutch]

The contrasts in (66) illustrate that R-pronouns (in this case *waar* 'where') can strand a preposition, unlike their non-R-counterparts. The example in (66a) illustrates this for wh-questions, and the b-sentence for relative clauses. The data in (67) on the other hand, exemplify a range of constructions traditionally analyzed as involving empty operator movement (i.e. *tough*-movement in (67a), topic drop in (67b) and infinitival purpose

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[52] A potential question raised at this point is how the Case-feature of complex wh-phrases gets checked. I assume that this is the result of an Agree-relation between the complex wh-phrase and the empty operator. Intuitively, the complex wh-phrase can only be linked to the movement chain of the empty operator (to form a derived chain) if their Case values are identical. Note that this is a more general problem, which also applies to contrastive left dislocation in Dutch. Thanks to Jason Merchant p.c. for raising this issue.

[53] Potentially problematic for the account presented here are examples such as those in (i), which occur in Dutch child language (Sjef Barbiers p.c.).

(i) Waar denk je   in welk   huis   ik woon?
    where think you   in which house I   live
    'In which house do you think I leave?'   [Dutch child language]

Note, however, that this might be an instance of wh-scope-marking, and that it is not *a priori* clear that this construction should be given a copying-analysis as well. It is also unclear to me at this point how productive examples such as the one in (i) are. It is worth noting that Van Kampen 1997:144-147 in her discussion of wh-copying and wh-scope marking in Dutch and English child language does not mention such data. At any rate, I will leave a full exploration of the construction exemplified in (i) as a topic for further research.

clauses in (67c)), and in each of these cases a preposition has successfully been stranded. These data thus illustrate Van Riemsdijk's generalization.

A fact that has so far gone unnoticed in the literature, however, is that not all non-R-wh-phrases behave alike in this respect.[54] Specifically, while bare wh-pronouns clearly resist preposition stranding, complex wh-phrases lead to much better results, in many cases even up to full grammaticality.[55] Consider in this respect the contrast in (68).[56]

(68) a. * Wie   wil   je   niet   mee   samenwerken?
              who   want you   not   with cooperate
      b.   Welke jongen wil je   niet   mee   samenwerken?
            which boy   want you   not   with cooperate
            'Which boy don't you want to cooperate with?'   [Dutch]

In light of these data one could argue that Van Riemsdijk's generalization is in need of revision. It would be unclear, though, what such a revision would look like. In particular, one would be hard-pressed to find a feature which distinguishes R-pronouns, empty operators and complex non-R-wh-phrases on the one hand from simple non-R-wh-phrases on the other. Another option would be to claim that examples like the one in (68b) involve R-pronoun movement or empty operator movement. Given that the sentence in (68b) does not contain an R-pronoun, one is led to the conclusion that wh-questions with complex wh-phrases involve empty operator movement. This conclusion is further corroborated by the contrast in (69).[57]

(69) a. * Met wie   wil je   niet   mee   samenwerken?
              with who   want you   not   with cooperate
      b.   Met welke jongen wil je   niet   mee   samenwerken?
            with which boy   want you   not   with cooperate
            'Which boy don't you want to cooperate with?'   [Dutch]

What the b-sentence of this pair shows, is that complex wh-phrases are not only able to strand a preposition, they can also be merged as a PP in spite of the fact that a preposition appears to have been stranded inside the IP. The contrast with the example in

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[54] Many thanks to Marjo van Koppen for pointing out these data to me.

[55] There is some variability in the judgements here. Not all speakers find examples like (68b) fully acceptable. All the speakers I have consulted share the intuition that there is a contrast between (68a) and (68b), though. I suspect normative judgements are blurring the picture somewhat. Cf. also Merchant 2001a:95-96n6 for some remarks concerning idiolectal variation with respect to preposition stranding in Dutch.

[56] Interestingly, Takami 1992 reports similar contrasts even for a fully-fledged preposition stranding language like English. Specifically, in contexts where preposition stranding is traditionally argued to be less felicitous (e.g. from adjunct PPs), complex wh-phrases are more acceptable than minimal ones. Consider the examples in (i) (Takami 1992:223).
(i)   a.   ??What did you feel dizzy after?
       b.   Which brand of cigarette did you feel dizzy after?
Moreover, Takami reports similar judgements for Danish, another preposition stranding language (p.230).

[57] I owe this observation to Sjef Barbiers. Again, given the notoriously tricky judgements on preposition stranding in Dutch (cf. supra, note 55) it is the relative contrast I am interested in here, more than the absolute judgements.

(69a) shows that this option is not available to minimal wh-phrases. This further supports the hypothesis than in an example such as (69b) it is not wh-phrase itself which moves and strands a preposition, but rather an empty operator. The preposition stranding data in (68)-(69) thus provide substantial support for the proposal outlined earlier.[58,59]

3.3.5   Free relatives in Dutch

So far, I have provided evidence in favor of the status of *of* 'if' and *dat* 'that' as separate complementizers, the operator/non-operator status of minimal versus complex wh-phrases, the base-generation of complex wh-phrases and the idea that they involve empty operator movement. In this section I focus on the hierarchical differences between minimal and complex wh-phrases *inside* the CP-domain. Recall that I argued that minimal wh-phrases have a landing site both in specCP$_2$ and in specCP$_1$.[60] Complex wh-phrases on the other hand do not land in specCP$_2$ at any point in the derivation. This seems to suggest that if one could find a construction where CP$_1$ is absent, but CP$_2$ is not (a truncated structure as it were), it should in principle allow minimal wh-phrases to occur, but not complex ones. Moreover, given that *of* 'if' is the head of CP$_1$ and *dat* 'that' the head of CP$_2$, the latter should, but the former should not be able to appear in this hypothetical construction. In this section I show that (at least one type of) free relatives in Dutch instantiate(s) precisely this pattern. Consider first the data in (70).

(70)   a.   Wat   op tafel   ligt is   voor jou.
                 what on table lies is   for   you
                 'What lies on the table is for you.'
        b.   * Welk   boek op tafel   ligt is   voor jou.
                 which   book on table lies is   for   you   [Dutch]

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[58] Note that the conclusion reached in this section would remain essentially unaffected if Abels 2003:186-209 is correct in claiming that Dutch is in fact a non-preposition stranding language, and that R-pronouns extract from the specifier position of PPs. In light of the data in (67) – which Abels does not discuss – one would still have to claim that there is a null element (possibly a null R-pronoun in his theory) with operator-like behavior which can strand prepositions. I have argued that this element is present in wh-questions with complex wh-phrases as well.

[59] One further consequence of these data is worth noting, especially in the broader context of this dissertation. Given that "A language *L* will allow preposition-stranding under sluicing iff *L* allows preposition-stranding under regular wh-movement" (Merchant 2001a:107), complex wh-phrases unlike minimal ones should be able to strand their preposition under sluicing. The examples in (i) and (ii) bear this out.

(i)   A: Ed stond   met   iemand   te   praten.   B: * Wie?
             Ed stood   with   someone   to   talk   who
       'A: Ed was talking to someone. B: Who?'
(ii)   A: Ed stond   met   een student te   praten.   B: Welke student?
             Ed stood   with   a   student to   talk   which student
       'A: Ed was talking to a student. B: Which student?'   [Dutch]

[60] By 'landing site' I mean 'final or intermediate landing site' here: minimal wh-phrases move through specCP$_2$ to end up in specCP$_1$. Cf. section 3.3.6 below for a refinement, though.

As was first observed by Groos & Van Riemsdijk (1981:204-205) only minimal wh-phrases are allowed to occur in free relatives in Dutch. Complex ones are disallowed.[61,62] This means that one of the requirements to identify free relatives as the hypothetical construction where CP_1 is truncated, has now been met. The other one is illustrated in the examples in (71).

(71)   a.   * Wat of   op tafel ligt   is   voor jou.
             what if   on table lies   is   for   you
       b.   Wat dat op tafel ligt is   voor jou.
             what that$_{C°}$ on table lies is   for   you
             'What lies on the table is for you.'   [Dutch]

These data show that while the complementizer *dat* 'that' is allowed to occur in free relatives, *of* 'if' is not.[63,64] This suggests that (definite) free relatives should indeed be analyzed as truncated clausal structures, where the clause typing layer (CP_1) is absent, but the lower CP-structure is not (cf. the fact that free relatives involve operator/variable-dependencies). With respect to the issue at hand, however, it is important to note that in (70) and (71) complex wh-phrases and the complementizer *of* 'if' pattern together, thus providing strong support for the CP-domain-internal hierarchical distinction I postulated between complex and minimal wh-phrases.

3.3.6   Doubly filled COMP in Frisian

The final set of data I want to discuss in favor of the proposal outlined in the previous section will at the same time require a further refinement of this proposal. Specifically, I will show that in some dialects, minimal wh-phrases can stay in specCP_2 without moving on to specCP_1 (at least before Spell-Out, cf. also note 39 above). The relevant data come

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[61] Moreover, Groos & Van Riemsdijk report that the same judgements hold for German. Cf. also Meinunger 1998 for a similar observation about English free relatives and Grosu 1994 for more general discussion of these 'anti-pied-piping effects'.

[62] An important caveat is in order: I am only focusing on what Grosu & Landman 1998 following a long tradition call the definite usage of free relatives, i.e. those free relatives which can be paraphrased by means of a definite expression. In their universal reading, free relatives are compatible with complex wh-phrases. This is shown in (i).

(i)   a.   I'll read whichever book you want me to read.
      b.   Ik lees welk boek je   ook   maar wil.
           I   read which book you PRT   PRT   want
           'I'll read whichever book you want.'   [Dutch]

However, it is worth pointing out that both English and Dutch require extra lexical material in this case: English obligatorily adds the suffix *-ever* to the wh-item, while Dutch almost invariably uses the particle combination *ook maar*. This makes it not implausible that there is a structural difference between the two types of free relatives, i.e. that universal free relatives involve more functional structure than their definite counterparts, a conclusion which would accord well with the argument developed in the main text (and cf. also infra, note 64). Cf. Grosu 1994; Grosu & Landman 1998 for more in-depth discussion of free relatives.

[63] Hoekstra 1993:18 makes the same observation for Frisian.

[64] Interestingly, one of my informants points out that for him the example in (71a) is acceptable in the universal reading of the free relative. This ties in nicely with the discussion in note 62 above.

from Frisian and from the dialect of Strijen, and they involve doubly filled COMP phenomena. Consider first some Frisian examples in (72) (from Hoekstra 1993:3).[65]

(72) a.   Hy   frege,   wa   (of)   't   jûn   kaam.
             he   asked   who   if   that$_{C°}$ tonight   came
             'He asked who came tonight.'
      b.   Hja   koe   har net yn 't sin   bringe   tsjin   wa …
             she   could her not in the mind bring   against whom
             … (of)   't   se soks sein   hie.
               if   that$_{C°}$ she such   said   had
             'She couldn't remember who she had said such a thing to.'
      c.   Ik   frege,   hokker stik   *(of)   't   se   lêzen hie.
             I   asked   which article if   that$_{C°}$ she   read had
             'I asked which article she had read.'

                                                                    [Frisian]

These examples show that while bare wh-phrases (cf. (72a)) and PPs containing them (cf. (72b)) can be followed both by *'t* 'it' and by *of 't* 'if that' in an embedded wh-question, complex wh-phrases can only be followed by *of 't* 'if that'. What I want to argue is that these data can be given a fairly straightforward account under the view of the CP-domain adopted here. Assume first that Frisian is an obligatorily doubly filled COMP filter violating language (cf. Haegeman 1992:51 for a similar claim about the dialect of Lapscheure), i.e. whenever a phrase occupies specCP, the head of that CP has to be spelled out. Furthermore, assume that this requirement is bi-directional, i.e. *of* 'if' is spelled out *if and only if* its specifier is filled. The sentences in (72) can now be interpreted as showing that while minimal wh-phrases can land in specCP$_2$ (and be followed only by *'t* 'that'), complex ones only have specCP$_1$ as a possible landing (or in my case: merger) site. As a result, they can only be followed by *of 't* 'if that'. The fact that the order *of* < wh-phrase < *'t* is not attested in Frisian follows from the assumption that this language is subject to a bi-directional doubly filled COMP requirement.

   Clearly, these Frisian data bear a close resemblance to the examples from the dialect of Strijen discussed earlier (cf. supra, section 3.3.1). Reconsider one such example in (73).

(73) Ik   weet nie of   met   wie   Jan   oan   et   proate   was.
      I   know not if   with who   John on   it   talk   was
      'I don't know who John was talking to.'

                                                                    [Strijen Dutch]

What this sentence shows, is that while the dialect of Strijen is similar to Frisian in that the movement step from specCP$_2$ to specCP$_1$ is optional, the two varieties differ with respect to the conditions under which the complementizer *of* 'if' is spelled out. Specifically, while Frisian is a bi-directional doubly filled COMP dialect, the occurrence of *of* 'if' in the dialect of Strijen is (at least in wh-questions) completely optional. This implies that these data make a very strong prediction with respect to complex wh-phrases. Given that they never occupy specCP$_2$, they should not be able to be preceded

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[65] Given that doubly filled COMP phenomena in Frisian are a highly complex subject matter, I limit myself to embedded wh-questions here. For a broader overview of the data, I refer the reader to Hoekstra 1993.

by the complementizer *of* 'if'. The example in (74) shows that this prediction is borne out.

(74)   Ik   vroag me af <*of> welke jonge <of> die maisjes gistere   gezien hebbe.
      I   ask   me PRT if which boy if   the girls   yesterday seen   have
      'I wonder which boy the girls saw yesterday.   [Strijen Dutch]

Summing up, while the optionality of the final movement step of minimal wh-phrases in some varieties of Dutch and Frisian clearly needs to be looked into further, the doubly filled COMP data discussed in this section provide strong support for the syntactic and hierarchical differences between complex and simple wh-phrases postulated earlier.

3.3.7   Conclusion

I have now presented six arguments in favor of the split CP-account developed in the previous section. I have shown that this proposal is supported by a variety of facts from a variety of languages. This means that in principle I can now proceed with the analysis of SPDs and swiping. Before doing so, however, I want to discuss two remaining issues raised by the present proposal.

3.4   Two remaining issues

In this section I discuss two additional issues raised by the proposal made in section 3.2. Although I will not be able to provide definitive answers to either of them, I do want to point to some possible solutions. The first issue concerns the precise definition of the notions 'minimal' and 'complex', while the second one deals with reconstruction in wh-questions with complex wh-phrases.

3.4.1   The definition of complexity and the importance of D-linking

Although I have said fairly little so far about the precise criterion which forms the dividing line between minimal and complex wh-phrases, the data I have discussed all seem to suggest that the crucial distinction is between bare wh-pronouns and PPs containing them on the one hand and DPs (possibly also contained inside a PP) featuring a wh-modifier on the other. In other words, the distinction between the two types of wh-phrases is a purely structural one. This is indeed the intuition I want to pursue throughout this and the following chapters.

However, this point of view seems to be at odds with at least one set of data discussed in the preceding sections, i.e. the Superiority violations of section 3.3.2. As was noted very early on, bare wh-pronouns seem to behave like their complex counterparts under certain discourse-related circumstances (usually termed D-linking, following Pesetsky 1987). For example, as was pointed out by Pesetsky (1987:109), the Superiority violating sentence in (75) is acceptable for many speakers – in spite of it containing bare wh-pronouns – because the sets the wh-elements range over are given in the discourse (in this case the preceding sentence).

(75)   I know that we need to install transistor A, transistor B, and transistor C, and I
        know that these holes are for transistors, but I'll be damned if I can figure out
        from the instructions *where what* goes!

In response to these data, three main lines of approach can be discerned in the literature.
The first one is what Dayal (2003) calls the 'functional WH approach'. Its major
advocates are Hornstein (1995), Comorovski (1996) and Dayal (1996). What these
papers have in common is that they try to reduce Superiority effects to the more general
interaction between wh-phrases on the one hand and quantifiers such as *every man* on
the other. This allows them to straightforwardly incorporate the effect of
semantics/pragmatics on native speaker judgments of Superiority violations. Roughly,
what these authors are proposing is that it is the semantics or pragmatics of the wh-
phrase which determines whether it can occur in a Superiority violating configuration
(cf. in this respect also Szabolcsi & Zwarts 1993 on extraction from weak islands).[66]
    A different view is presented in Tsai (1994, 1999) and Reinhart (1997). They argue
that in light of examples such as the one in (75) the division between complex and
minimal wh-phrases should be replaced with the one between bare wh-adverbs like *how*
and *why* on the one hand and all the other wh-phrases on the other. Their reasoning goes
as follows. Wh-phrases which have an N-restriction denote a set and hence can be
interpreted *in situ* (either by choice functions or via unselective binding), i.e. they
display non-operator behavior. This holds both for complex wh-phrases like *which book*,
which have an overt N-restriction, and for bare wh-pronouns like *who* or *what*, where the
N-restriction is implicit (say 'person' in the case of *who* and 'thing' in the case of *what*).
Bare wh-adverbs on the other hand, do not have an N-restriction. Rather, they are
inherent operators and have to raise to specCP in order to be interpreted.
    A third line of approach can be found in Aoun e.a. (1987) and Aoun & Li (2003).
They argue that in spite of the data in (75), the crucial factor determining whether or not
a wh-phrase can occur in a Superiority violating configuration, is structural complexity,
i.e. complex wh-phrases can, but minimal ones cannot. Aoun & Li (2003) provide
various types of evidence in favor of this proposal. First of all, they point out that in
Lebanese Arabic, constructions such as those in (75) do not occur. Specifically, the only
types of wh-phrases which can violate Superiority are structurally complex ones.
Secondly, they note that in an example such as the one in (75) both wh-phrases are
stressed and moreover, that there is an intonation break after the first wh-phrase. The fact
that such 'extra features' are missing in Superiority violating *which*-questions such as
Which review did which writer write? is then seen as an indication that these two
constructions should not be equated with one another. Thirdly, while judgments on
Superiority violations involving *which*-phrases are very robust, those on examples like
the one in (75) are extremely delicate and subject to inter-speaker variation (as was
already pointed out by Pesetsky 1987:109). In this respect, Aoun & Li (2003) point to a
contribution to LinguistList in which out of a group of 27 native speakers a large
majority judged the sentence in (76) unacceptable, in spite of the fact that it was
presented in a heavily D-linked context.[67]

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[66] It would lead me too far afield to go into the details of the functional WH approach here. Cf.
Dayal 2003 for insightful discussion.
[67] The contribution can be found at http://linguistlist.org/issues/10/10-1870.html#1.

(76)   What did who bring?

The analysis I am advocating in this chapter combines elements of the Aoun & Li-approach with that of Tsai and Reinhart. On the one hand, I agree with Aoun & Li (2003) that the distinction relevant for understanding (at least the core cases of) Superiority violations, is the one between structurally complex wh-phrases like *which book* and simple ones like *who* and *why*, i.e. that the effect of D-linking is essentially epiphenomenal (cf. in this respect also Fiengo 1998). On the other hand, I want to allow for some flexibility when it comes to *who* and *what*. Specifically, at least for some speakers, these wh-phrases seem to pattern with their complex counterparts in examples such as the one in (75). Moreover, as pointed out by Tsai (1994, 1999), in Chinese the operator/non-operator-split appears to be between (certain uses of) *how* and *why* on the one hand and all the other wh-phrases on the other, indicating that at least in this language, *who* and *what* pattern with complex wh-phrases for all speakers (and cf. also the discussion of Eastern Norwegian SPDs in chapter seven below). What I want to propose is that complex wh-phrases like *which book* and wh-adverbs like *how* and *why* are limiting cases on opposite ends of a complexity scale, while bare wh-pronouns such as *who* and *what* occupy an intermediate position.[68] Specifically, although the implicit N-restriction of wh-pronouns like *who* is normally syntactically inaccessible, in some languages and in some contexts it is (or can be) activated. If it is, the wh-pronoun starts to behave syntactically like a complex wh-phrase, while pragmatically it may – though it does not have to – acquire a D-linked reading. For example, in the languages under consideration here (i.e. English, Dutch and Frisian), the default syntactic structure of *who* is $[_{DP} [_{D°} who]]$. However, sometimes it is merged as $[_{DP} [_{D°} who] [_{NP} [_{N°} e]]]$.[69] This means that while on the whole it behaves differently from complex wh-phrases like *which book*, in certain restricted contexts they pattern alike. Moreover, this is a point of cross-linguistic variation. In Chinese, the internal structure of *who* is always accessible, and as a result this phrase can always be interpreted *in situ* and never displays operator behavior.

Clearly, the issues touched upon in this section are substantial enough to be considered a field of research on their own. Accordingly, it was not my intention to provide an in-depth discussion of Superiority and/or D-linking here. Rather, I have tried to specify the particular position occupied by my account in the ongoing debate on these issues. Although I will ignore these complications in the rest of the discussion, the reader should bear them in mind.

3.4.2   Reconstruction

In this section I discuss an important prediction of my proposal which – at least at first sight – does not seem to hold. Recall that I argued that complex wh-phrases are base-

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[68] Thanks to Tanya Reinhart for discussing her views on this issue with me. I am following up on a suggestion made by her here.

[69] Positing multiple, syntactically distinct lexical entries for one and the same lexical item is generally considered to be an unattractive move. Note, however, that the variation I am proposing boils down to whether or not the D°-head expresses its complement. Interestingly, this is also the type of variation one seems to find with regular pronouns. Specifically, while a form like *us* is generally analysed as an NP-less DP, in phrases like *us linguists* the NP-complement is realized (cf. Noguchi 1995:37-43 for an overview of the literature on this construction).

generated in the left periphery of the clause (specCP$_1$ to be precise) and hence at no point in the derivation occupy the IP-internal argument position. This seems to suggest that they should be unable to reconstruct into that position. As is well-known and illustrated in (77) (Sauerland 1998:30), this is a false prediction.

(77)   [Which friend of her$_i$'s] did [every student]$_i$ invite?

This example shows that the pronoun *her* can be interpreted as a bound variable, bound by the quantifier *every student* in spite of it not being c-commanded by *every student* in the position it is spelled out in. The commonly held analysis of such reconstruction cases, assumes that at LF (the level at which Binding Theory is argued to apply) it is the lower copy of *her* which is activated (cf. Sauerland 1998; Fox 1999 for extensive discussion). Since this copy is c-commanded by *every student*, the bound variable reading is available and the sentence is correctly ruled in. This is represented in (78).

(78)   LF: <which ~~friend of her$_i$'s~~> did every student$_i$ invite <~~which~~ friend of her$_i$'s>

Given that in my analysis there is no IP-internal copy of the complex wh-phrase, the approach sketched in (78) is not available to me. Put differently, to the extent that the analysis I have proposed is correct, it seems to suggest that not all reconstruction effects are the result of activating (part of) a lower copy in a movement chain. Although this point of view is not at all unprecedented,[70] the proper analysis of reconstruction is a topic the scope of which extends well beyond this section. Accordingly, I will not attempt to explore this issue in depth here. Rather, I want to make plausible the claim that at least in some constructions (including – if I am right – wh-questions featuring complex wh-phrases) reconstruction effects can be witnessed in spite of the fact that no movement has taken place. Consider for example the sentence in (79).

(79)   Naar zijn$_i$ promotie,   daar kijkt [iedere   taalkundige]$_i$ naar t$_{daar}$ uit.
        to   his   defense   there looks every   linguist   to   out
        'Every linguist looks forward to his defense.'   [Dutch]

This sentence illustrates the construction usually referred to as Contrastive Left Dislocation (henceforth CLD, cf. also supra, section 3.3.2). The PP *naar zijn promotie* 'to his defense' surfaces in the left periphery of the clause and is resumed by a d-pronoun (in this case *daar* 'there') which occupies the pre-verb V2-position in the clause that follows. Hoekstra & Zwart (1997) and Hoekstra (1999) argue in detail that – at least in Dutch and Frisian CLD – it is the d-pronoun and not the left-dislocated XP itself which has moved from the IP-internal argument position. Rather, this XP (in this case the PP *naar zijn promotie* 'to his defense') is base-generated in the left periphery and forms a derived chain with the movement chain created by the d-pronoun. That this analysis is on the right track is suggested by this particular example as well. Note that the preposition *naar* 'to' has been stranded inside the IP. This means that the IP-internal gap has the categorial status of a DP. Given that the left-dislocated phrase is a PP, it seems

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[70] Cf. for example Sharvit 1999; Sharvit & Guerzoni 1999 and references cited there for arguments against strictly syntactic accounts of reconstruction such as the one in (78).

unlikely that it has moved from within the IP.[71] Noteworthy from the point of view of the present discussion, however, is that Dutch CLD allows for reconstruction. In the example in (79), the pronoun *zijn* 'his' can be interpreted as a bound variable, bound by the subject *iedere taalkundige* 'every linguist'. If the base-generation analysis sketched above is correct, this pronoun is not c-commanded by the subject at any point in the derivation. As such, Dutch CLD represents a case of reconstruction without prior movement of the reconstructing phrase.

This line of reasoning is reminiscent of Cinque's (1990) discussion of Italian Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD). Consider some examples in (80) (Cinque 1990:59).

(80)   a.   A { lei / *se stessa}, Maria dice che non ci   pensiamo mai.
               of her / herself   Mary says that not   there think$_{1PL}$ ever
               'Mary says that we never think of her.'
       b.   A { *?lei / se stessa}, Maria non ci   pensa.
               of   her / herself   Mary not   there thinks
               'Mary doesn't think of herself'
                                                                        [Italian]

These data show that CLLDed phrases are subject to reconstruction. Specifically, the form of the pronoun in the left peripheral phrase in these examples is dependent on the position of the gap in the clause that follows. In (80b) that gap is in the same minimal domain as the subject *Maria* 'Mary' and as a result the anaphor *se stessa* 'herself' is used. In (80a) on the other hand, a clause boundary intervenes between the two, and it is the non-anaphoric form *lei* 'her' which shows up. At first sight, then, these data seem to suggest that CLLD is the result of movement from the IP-internal argument position to the specifier of some left-peripheral functional projection. Interestingly, however, Cinque (1990:56-97) argues at length and with a substantial number of empirical arguments against such an account. He demonstrates that Italian CLLD is not derived by movement, but rather by base-generation of the left dislocated phrase in the left periphery of the clause. This means that examples such as those in (80) represent a second instance of reconstruction which is not the result of activating a lower copy in a movement chain.

A third set of data which is relevant in this respect concerns clefts and pseudoclefts. These two construction types have since long been a thorn in the side of strictly syntactic accounts of reconstruction. The problem is that while they display strong connectivity effects, it is very hard to devise plausible movement accounts for them. This has inspired many authors to propose semantic analyses of the reconstruction effects. The literature on this topic is vast (cf. for example Svenonius 1998; Merchant 1998; Heycock & Kroch 1999; Sharvit 1999; Bachrach 2003; Den Dikken e.a. 2000; Heller 2003; Shlenker 2003), so I will limit myself to one basic example here (from Svenonius 1998:180).

(81) ? It is himself$_i$ who John$_i$ likes best.

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[71] Note that for essentially the same reason this example cannot be analysed as Copy Spell-Out either (Grohmann 2001). Under that approach, the d-pronoun *daar* 'there' would be the spell-out of an intermediate trace of the moved PP *naar zijn promotie* 'to his defense'. Given standard assumptions about chain uniformity, however, it would be unclear how the lower copies of a movement chain can be DPs (stranding a preposition) while the higher one is a PP (which includes the stranded preposition). At the very least, this state of affairs would require substantial revisions to the mechanism of copy spell-out.

This sentence represents a cleft with a wh-operator in the embedded specCP. Svenonius (1998) argues that such clefts are derived by base-generation of the pivot (in this case *himself*) inside the matrix clause and concomitant movement of the wh-phrase from the IP-internal base position to the embedded specCP. Under such an analysis, however, it is unexpected (given the view of reconstruction outlined in (78)) that an anaphor in the pivot can be bound by the embedded subject. Again, the data seem to point towards reconstruction not being the result of a movement chain.

Fourthly and finally, consider the examples in (82) and (83).[72]

(82)   *[Alan$_i$'s grades] were difficult [*Op* for him$_i$ to explain t$_{Op}$ to his parents].

(83)   [A failing grade in their$_i$ first year] would be hard [*Op* for anyone$_i$ to explain t$_{Op}$ to their parents].

These sentences represent instances of so-called *tough*-movement, which is traditionally considered to be one of the core exemplars of empty operator constructions. Specifically, the sentence-initial bracketed DPs are base-generated in the matrix clause, while an empty operator (indicated here as *Op*) moves from the base position in the embedded clause to the specifier of the CP headed by the infinitival complementizer *for*. Under a Fox/Sauerland-approach to reconstruction, this would imply that *tough*-movement does not show connectivity effects. As the examples in (82) and (83) illustrate, however, this prediction is not borne out (cf. also Lasnik & Stowell 1991:700, Sportiche 2002 for similar observations). In particular, while in (83) the pronoun *their* can be interpreted as a bound variable, bound by the embedded subject *anyone*, the example in (82) is ruled out as a result of a Condition C violation, in spite of the fact that at no stage in the derivation there is a copy of the DP *Alan's grades* which is c-commanded by the pronoun *him*. The data in (82) and (83), then, constitute a fourth type of construction in which reconstruction effects cannot be dependent on the activation of a lower copy in a movement chain.

Summing up, the data reviewed in this section suggest that reconstruction is not a foolproof diagnostic for movement. Although it was not my intention here to venture very deeply into the reconstruction debate, I hope to have made plausible the idea that at least in some constructions connectivity effects are not the result of activating a lower copy in a movement chain and that for such constructions alternative – possibly semantic – reconstruction mechanisms have to be sought. With respect to the analysis of the CP-domain developed in this chapter, this implies that the fact that complex wh-phrases can reconstruct should not be seen as a counterargument against my analysis of them.

3.5   Conclusion

The background assumption necessary to provide an analysis of dialect Dutch SPDs and English swiping is now firmly in place. I have introduced and discussed a specific view on the CP-domain and on the role played by complex and minimal wh-phrases in the

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[72] Thanks to Jason Merchant p.c. for his help in constructing these examples.

various CP-layers making up the left periphery. In the next chapter I put this proposal to work, exploring in detail how it interacts with the syntax of sluicing.

4 The analysis

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present an analysis of dialect Dutch SPDs (section 4.2) and English swiping (section 4.3). In each case I first give the core analysis (i.e. a step-by-step derivation of a representative example), after which I return to the basic properties of the construction and show that they all follow from the proposed account. Recall from chapter two that the basic properties of SPDs and swiping can be summarized as in (84) and (85) respectively.

(84) **Basic properties of dialect Dutch SPDs**
     a.   SPDs contain a demonstrative pronoun, not a complementizer
     b.   SPDs only occur in sluicing
     c.   SPDs only target minimal wh-phrases
     d.   The demonstrative pronoun in an SPD bears stress
     e.   SPDs induce a 'surprise'-reading
     f.   SPDs stem from an underlying cleft

(85) **Basic properties of English swiping**
     a.   Swiping only occurs in sluicing
     b.   Swiping only targets minimal wh-phrases
     c.   A swiped preposition bears stress
     d.   Swiping only affects prepositions which have no antecedent

4.2 Dialect Dutch SPDs

4.2.1 A preliminary assumption

Before proceeding with the analysis, I need to make one preliminary assumption about the demonstrative pronoun in SPDs, one which concerns the properties in (84d) and (84e) mentioned above. Specifically, I will assume that the fact that the demonstrative pronoun bears stress and the fact that SPDs induce a 'surprise'-reading, are both indications that the demonstrative pronoun in an SPD is focused. As far as property (84d) is concerned, this does not seem to be a controversial statement, as it is well-known that there is a close (though not one-to-one) correlation between focus and stress. With respect to property (84e), the claim needs some further elaboration. Recall the example I used to demonstrate the 'surprise'-reading induced by SPDs, repeated here.

(86) A: Jef   eid iemand   gezien. B: Wou da?
             Jeff   has someone seen   who that$_{DEM}$
        'A: Jeff saw someone. B: Who?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

By using an SPD, the B-speaker indicates that he didn't expect Jeff to have seen someone, i.e. out of a relevant set of possible activities Jeff could have been involved in,

the activity of seeing someone is singled out and given high salience. Compare this to an example such as the one in (87), where the noun phrase *nen boek* 'a book' is stressed and focused.

(87)   Jef ei nen   BOEK gekocht.
        Jeff has a   book bought
        'Jeff bought a BOOK.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In this example, out of a relevant set of possible things Jeff could have bought, 'a book' is singled out and given high salience. The parallelism with the 'surprise'-reading induced by SPDs is striking, the only difference being that in (86) it is an entire proposition that is focused. This means that it is fairly safe to assume that focus is involved in causing the 'surprise'-reading of SPDs, but it remains unclear how this relates to the demonstrative pronoun. What I want to suggest is that the demonstrative pronoun is anaphoric on the preceding statement. For example, in the dialogue in (86), the demonstrative in B's reply refers back to A's original statement. This explains how focusing the demonstrative can create a reading whereby the entire preceding proposition appears to be focused.[73] Although the anaphoricity of the demonstrative is an issue I return to in section 4.2.4, it is worth pointing out here that this assumption accords very well with native speaker intuitions about SPDs. Without exception, when a native speaker of an SPD-dialect is asked what the *dat* 'that' in an SPD stands for, s/he points out that it refers to the preceding statement.

As for the technical implementation, I will assume that the demonstrative in an SPD bears a [+F(ocus)]-feature, with a matching feature on $C°_2$.[74] Moreover, in wh-questions (and recall that I will be dealing with clefts with a wh-pivot), focus movement is not overt in Dutch. This is shown in example (88) below, where the focused DP *nen BOEK* 'a book' cannot occur in a left-peripheral position. Accordingly, I will assume that the [+F]-feature on $C°_2$ is weak (in the sense of Chomsky 1995).

(88)   Wannieje   ei   < *nen BOEK>   Jef   < nen BOEK>   gekocht?
        when   has a   book   Jeff a   book   bought
        'When did Jeff buy a BOOK?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

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[73] As an English approximation of this, consider the questions in (i) and (ii), where the focal stress on the demonstrative pronoun has an effect comparable to the use of SPDs in Wambeek Dutch (thanks to Jason Merchant for bringing these data to my attention).
(i)   Who's THAT true of?
(ii)   Who does THAT hold of?
[74] Given that I am assuming a split CP-system consisting of two projections, one could wonder why $C°_2$ and not $C°_1$ bears the matching focus feature. Given that $C°_1$ is related to clause typing, however, it seems inappropriate as a bearer of a focus feature, as focus – unlike e.g. wh – does not have the ability to type a clause. Moreover, in their exploration of the left periphery in Italian and its dialects, Benincà & Poletto to appear show that foci systematically target the lower half of the CP-domain, which in my proposal would translate as CP_2. Thirdly, focus constructions are typically characterized as operator/variable-dependencies (cf. e.g. Rizzi 1997a). That too would suggest $C°_2$ is the most natural head for the focus feature.

4.2.2   The analysis

Recall that I have shown that an SPD stems from an underlying cleft with a wh-pivot (cf. supra, property (84f)). For example, the SPD in B's reply in (89) derives not from the 'regular' wh-question in (90), but rather from the cleft in (91).

(89)   A: Jef   eid iemand   gezien.   B: Wou da?
              Jeff   has someone   seen   who   that$_{DEM}$
       'A: Jeff has seen someone. B: Who?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(90)   Wou ei Jef   gezien?
       who has Jeff   seen
       'Who has Jeff seen?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(91)   Wou   is   da   da   Jef   gezien   eit?
       who   is   that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C°}$ Jeff   seen   has
       'Who is it that Jeff has seen?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

This means that the derivational history of B's reply in (89) runs parallel to that of the example in (91) for at least part of the way. I will now go through this derivation step by step, starting from the matrix IP-level. This is represented in (92).[75]

(92)   [$_{IP}$ da$_{[+F]}$ is   wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ da   Jef   gezien   eit]
              that$_{DEM}$ is   who   that$_{C°}$ Jeff   seen   has

In this structure the demonstrative pronoun is merged in specIP, while the wh-phrase *wou* 'who' occupies some lower specifier position (cf. note 75). As pointed out above, *da* 'that' bears a [+F]-feature, while the wh-pronoun bears an operator feature, and a clause typing feature (called [+Q] here, for 'question'). The next step in the derivation is the merger of C°$_2$. This is represented in (93).

(93)   [$_{C_2'}$ C$_2$°$_{[+Op.strong,+F.weak]}$ [$_{IP}$ da$_{[+F]}$ is wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ da Jef gezien eit]]

C°$_2$ is merged with a weak [+F]-feature targeting the [+F]-feature of the demonstrative pronoun and a strong operator feature matching that of the wh-phrase. This is the point in the derivation where the SPD in (89) and the cleft in (91) part ways. Specifically, the next step in the derivation of the cleft is wh-movement (possibly even preceded by Subject-Auxiliary Inversion[76]). The derivation of the SPD on the other hand, requires

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[75] I will have little or nothing to say about the internal structure of clefts in Dutch. This is mainly because the majority of that structure is deleted in SPDs anyway and as a result, choosing one structure over another would not have dramatic consequences for my analysis. One (fairly standard) assumption I do make, though, is that the demonstrative occupies the matrix subject position, while the pivot occupies a predicate-like position lower in the clause, be it specFocP, specPredP or even a position adjoined to the embedded CP. Even this assumption is not vital for the analysis, however. For relevant analyses of clefts in Germanic, cf. Merchant 1998; Svenonius 1998 and references cited there.

[76] One aspect of the analysis of sluicing I will have nothing new to say about is why the finite verb does not raise to C° when the IP is sluiced in matrix clauses. Cf. Merchant 2001a:62-74 and
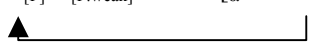
raising of the demonstrative at this point. To see why this is the case, I have to digress slightly from the main argument and go into Richards' (2001) theory of the relation between feature strength and the overt/covert-distinction.

Richards (2001:Ch.4) argues that under some circumstances feature checking relations involving weak features are nonetheless able to trigger overt movement. Notably, one of the circumstances he discusses is when the tail of the movement chain is deleted by ellipsis. Richards argues that the absence of overt movement in a feature checking relation involving weak features is essentially due to a PF-requirement determining which copy in a chain to spell out. More specifically, the combination of the two principles in (94) (Richards 2001:105) has the effect of eliminating overt movement in the majority of the cases involving weak features.

(94)   a.   PF must receive unambiguous instructions about which part of a chain to
              pronounce.
       b.   A strong feature instructs PF to pronounce the copy in a chain with which
              it is in a feature checking relation.

Under these assumptions, the only two types of movement chains available are single-membered chains (where there is no ambiguity as to which copy to spell out) and chains in which a strong feature is being checked (where it is the copy which is in the checking relation that is being spelled out). Non-trivial chains in which one of the copies checks a weak feature do not provide PF with unambiguous instructions as to which copy to spell out: there is more than one copy, which means that there is a choice, but on the other hand, none of the copies checks a strong feature, so PF has no way of deciding which copy to choose. As a result, the derivation crashes.

Given that this ban on overt movement is due to a PF-requirement, however, it should be possible for the ungrammaticality caused by the violation of this requirement to be undone at PF. Consider in this respect the chain in (95) (Richards 2001:134).

(95)   [… XP$_{[F]}$ Y$_{[F,weak]}$ …   [$_\alpha$ … XP$_{[F]}$ …]]

If α is an ellipsis site, then PF receives instructions not to pronounce anything inside α. This means that the lower copy of XP's chain is left unpronounced and that the ambiguity which caused the lack of overt movement in chains involving weak features disappears. In other words, the principles in (94) predict that when the lower part of an overt movement chain involving weak features is deleted at PF, such a chain should be legitimate.[77] This prediction is borne out by the possibility of multiple sluicing in non-multiple wh-movement languages (cf. Richards 2001:131-141 for this and additional

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Lasnik 1999a, 1999b, 2001b for possible approaches, and cf. also Boeckx & Stjepanović 2001 and Baltin 2002 for discussion of Lasnik's account.

[77] Based on data involving Japanese null relative operators, Richards 2001:196 makes the even stronger claim that when a checking relation involving weak features *can* undergo overt movement (e.g. because the tail of the movement chain has been elided), it *must* do so. He argues that this follows from a constraint very reminiscent of Pesetsky's 1989 Earliness Principle: "A feature must be checked as soon as possible after being introduced into the derivation." (Richards 2001:195).

examples of weak features triggering overt movement under ellipsis). Consider the data in (96).

(96) a.   Jan   had   iedereen   aan iemand   voorgesteld, …
              John had   everybody to someone introduced
              … maar ik   weet niet wie   aan wie.
                but I   know not   who   to who
              'John had introduced everybody to someone, but I don't know who to whom.'
      b. * Wie aan   wie   had   Jan   voorgesteld?
            who to   who   had   John introduced
      c.   Wie   had   Jan   aan   wie   voorgesteld?
              who   had   John to   who   introduced
              'Who had John introduced to whom?'   [Dutch]

As the b-sentence shows, overt movement of more than one wh-phrase in a multiple wh-question in Dutch is disallowed. Instead, only one wh-phrase is allowed to move to the left edge of the clause, while all the others remain *in situ* (cf. (96c)). However, as illustrated in (96a), multiple wh-movement does seem to be possible under sluicing, i.e. when the IP following the wh-phrases is deleted. This follows from Richards' theory as outlined above. Assume that C° bears only one strong [wh]-feature. This means that only one of the wh-phrases is allowed to move overtly to the clausal left periphery, whence the ungrammaticality of (96b). The other wh-phrases, however, can move overtly if the lower half of their movement chain is deleted at PF. This is precisely what happens in the sluicing example in (96a). As such, these examples provide strong evidence in favor of Richards' (2001) theory of feature checking and the overt/covert-distinction.[78]

  Returning now to the main argument, it is clear that Richards' proposal applies to SPDs as well. Consider again the stage in the derivation after $C°_2$ is merged, repeated here.

(97) $[_{C_{2'}} C_2°_{[+Op.strong,+F.weak]} [_{IP} da_{[+F]}$ is $wou_{[+Op,+Q]}$ da Jef gezien eit]]$

Given that SPDs only occur in sluicing, i.e. in elliptical contexts, the checking relation between $C°_2$ and the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that' triggered by the weak [+F]-feature on $C°_2$ induces overt movement of the demonstrative pronoun. In other words, *da* 'that' moves to $specCP_2$. This is illustrated in (98).[79]

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[78] One caveat is in order: as pointed out by Merchant 2003b:13, there is disagreement about whether all wh-phrases move to specCP in multiple sluicing examples, or only the highest one (the others targeting distinct, lower functional projections). One finds essentially the same debate in the literature on multiple wh-fronting in non-elliptical wh-questions in multiple wh-movement languages (cf. for example Rudin 1988). Note, however, that even if the second analysis is the correct one for the example in (96a) (and cf. infra, chapter six, for a possible argument that at least in English it is), the logic of Richards' argument remains unchanged: the elliptical case (i.e. (96a)) features movement operations which in the non-elliptical case (96b-c) are illegitimate.

[79] The way I present it here, this derivation seems to involve look-ahead: $C°_2$ has to 'know in advance' that its complement will be elided in order for its weak [+F]-feature to trigger overt movement. The look-ahead problem disappears, however, once I become more explicit about how to implement ellipsis (cf. also Merchant to appear b). Following Merchant to appear b, I assume

(98) $[_{CP_2}$ da$_{[+F]}$ $[_{C_2'}$ C$_2°_{[+Op.strong,\text{+F.weak}]}$ $[_{IP}$ da$_{[+F]}$ is wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ da Jef gezien eit$]]]$

The next step in the derivation involves the movement of the wh-phrase, which checks its operator feature against C$°_2$.[80] Following Richards (2001:Chapter 3), I assume the wh-phrase tucks in under the demonstrative. This is represented in (99).

(99) $[_{CP_2}$ da$_{[+F]}$ $[_{CP_2}$ wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ $[_{C_2'}$ C$_2°_{[\text{+Op.strong,+F.weak}]}$ $[_{IP}$ da$_{[+F]}$ is wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ da Jef
          gezien eit $]]]]$

Now C$°_1$ is merged. This complementizer head bears a strong clause typing feature [+Q], and it attracts the wh-phrase to its specifier. This is shown in (100) and (101) respectively.

(100) $[_{C_1'}$ C$_1°_{[+Q.strong]}$ $[_{CP_2}$ da$_{[+F]}$ $[_{CP_2}$ wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ $[_{C_2'}$ C$_2°_{[\text{+Op.strong,+F.weak}]}$ $[_{IP}$ da$_{[+F]}$ is
          wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ da Jef gezien eit $]]]]]$

(101) $[_{CP_1}$ wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ $[_{C_1'}$ C$_1°_{[\text{+Q.strong}]}$ $[_{CP_2}$ da$_{[+F]}$ $[_{CP_2}$ wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ $[_{C_2'}$ C$_2°_{[\text{+Op.strong,+F.weak}]}$ $[_{IP}$
          da$_{[+F]}$ is wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ da Jef gezien eit $]]]]]]$

Finally, at PF the IP is elided (i.e. sluiced), as are the lower copies in the movement chain of the wh-phrase. The result is shown in (102).

(102) $[_{CP_1}$ wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ $[_{C_1'}$ C$_1°_{[+Q.strong]}$ $[_{CP_2}$ da$_{[+F]}$ $[_{CP_2}$ ~~wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$~~ $[_{C_2'}$ C$_2°_{[\text{+Op.strong,+F.weak}]}$ $[_{IP}$
          ~~da$_{[+F]}$ is wou$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ da Jef gezien eit~~ $]]]]]]$

What remains, then, is a sluiced wh-phrase followed by a demonstrative pronoun, i.e. the derivation has converged and it has yielded an SPD. The tree structure in (103) reiterates the essential ingredients of the analysis.

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that ellipsis should be implemented by means of a syntactic feature (which Merchant calls [E]). Given that [E] is present on C$°_2$, it 'knows' that its complement will be elided. I discuss the [E]-feature more extensively in the next section.

[80] A note on the chronology of the operations is in order: as Norvin Richards p.c. points out, there is no principle in his 2001 theory which would force the demonstrative to move to specCP$_2$ *prior* to the movement of the wh-phrase. Given that these two phrases move to check different features, the relevant principle calculating the locality of these movements (Attract Closest) is in each case blind for the other phrase. In the derivation sketched in the main text, it is the demonstrative pronoun which moves first, but the choice is fairly arbitrary. Specifically, the analysis would work equally well if the wh-phrase moved to specCP$_2$ before the demonstrative, in a canonically extending derivation (i.e. without Tucking In). Mainly for expository purposes, I will keep to the present derivation throughout the rest of the discussion, but the reader should keep the alternative analysis mentioned here in mind.

(103)

CP_1

wou C_1'
[+Op,+Q]

$C_1°$ CP_2
[+Q]

da CP_2
[+F]

~~*wou*~~ C_2'
[+Op,+Q]

$C_2°$ (IP) → PF-deletion
[+Op,+F]

~~*da*~~ I'
[+F]

I° VP
is

~~*wou da Jef gezien eit*~~
[+Op,+Q]
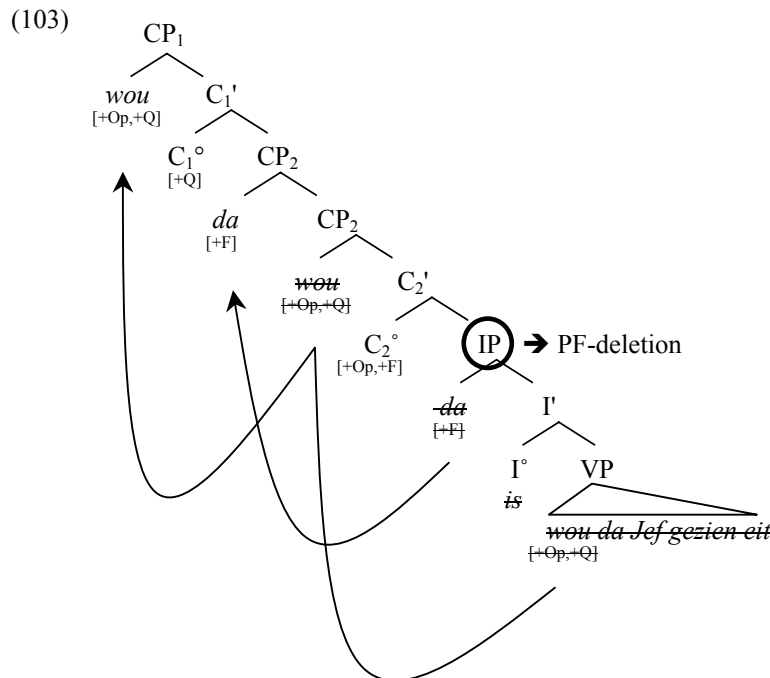
4.2.3   The basic properties of SPDs revisited

Although some of the basic properties of SPDs formed an integral part of the analysis and are as such accounted for, it is worth going over them one more time, as they will highlight another aspect of the interaction between the split CP system proposed in the previous chapter and the syntax of sluicing. Specifically, I will argue that sluicing does not always delete the same portion of the clausal structure. Recall that the basic properties of dialect Dutch SPDs can be summarized as in (104).

(104) **Basic properties of dialect Dutch SPDs**
      a.   SPDs contain a demonstrative pronoun, not a complementizer
      b.   SPDs only occur in sluicing
      c.   SPDs only target minimal wh-phrases
      d.   The demonstrative pronoun in an SPD bears stress
      e.   SPDs induce a 'surprise'-reading
      f.   SPDs stem from an underlying cleft

About four of these six characteristics I can be very brief. The properties in (104d) and (104e) I already discussed in section 4.2.1. There I argued that they are both manifestations of the [+F]-feature on the demonstrative pronoun. Property (104f) I took as the starting point of the analysis, in that the derivational history of SPDs runs (at least partially) parallel to that of clefts with a wh-pivot, and property (104a) follows straightforwardly as well: the demonstrative pronoun found in an SPD is the same as the one found in clefts (cf. also infra, section 4.2.4 for further discussion of this issue). This leaves the properties in (104b) and (104c). The former I crucially used in the analysis.

The overt movement of the demonstrative pronoun to specCP$_2$ triggered by the weak [+F]-feature on C°$_2$ is only allowed if the lower part of the movement chain is elided. In other words, SPDs only occur in sluicing because sluicing is crucially needed to rescue what would otherwise be an illegitimate derivation. This ties in nicely with much recent literature on 'repair' effects induced by ellipsis (cf. Merchant to appear a for a brief overview). One further refinement is in order, though. Reconsider one of the examples I gave earlier (in section 2.2.2) to illustrate the fact that SPDs only occur in sluicing, repeated here as (105).

(105) *Uu   dad   ei   Jef   tprobleem   opgelost?
      how that$_{DEM}$ has   Jeff the.problem solved
      INTENDED READING: 'How did Jeff solve the problem?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

On closer inspection, this example is not just ungrammatical because the demonstrative pronoun has moved overtly without the lower part of its movement chain being elided. The second – and arguably more severe – problem is that there is no base position for the demonstrative pronoun to move from in the first place. Given that SPDs always derive from clefts with a wh-pivot and given that this example does not contain such a cleft, there is simply no source for the demonstrative pronoun. This problem can be circumvented, though, by looking at non-elliptical clefts with a wh-pivot. This time, there *is* a source for the demonstrative pronoun and as the example in (106) shows, overt movement of this demonstrative indeed leads to an ungrammatical result.

(106) *Wou   dad   is   da   Jef   gezien   eit?
      who   that$_{DEM}$ is   that$_{C°}$ Jeff   seen   has
      INTENDED READING: 'Who is it that Jeff has seen?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The structural representation of this example is given in (107). It has undergone precisely the same derivation as the one outlined for SPDs in the previous section, but for the deletion of IP. Given that the result is ungrammatical, this example forms a nice illustration of the repair effect induced by sluicing in SPDs.

(107) [$_{CP_1}$ wou C°$_1$ [$_{CP_2}$ dad [$_{CP_2}$ ~~wou~~ [$_{C_2'}$ C$_2$° [$_{IP}$ ~~dad~~ is ~~wou~~ da Jef gezien eit?]]]]]

The final property of SPDs concerns the fact that only minimal wh-phrases can be followed by a demonstrative pronoun when sluiced, i.e. complex wh-phrases such as *welken boek* 'which book' are systematically excluded from SPDs. This has so far figured in the analysis only in a very indirect way. Specifically, the derivation I went through illustrated how an SPD containing a minimal wh-phrase can be successfully derived. I will now show that the fact that a similar derivation is not possible for complex wh-phrases follows straightforwardly from the interaction between the split CP-account presented in chapter three on the one hand and the syntax of sluicing on the other. Essentially, what I will propose is that sluicing with complex wh-phrases deletes CP$_2$ rather than IP. As a result, the demonstrative pronoun, regardless of whether it moves to specCP$_2$ overtly or not, will not be able to surface. Before I can demonstrate this, however, I have to be more explicit about the syntax of sluicing.

    Following Merchant (2001a:55-61; to appear b) I assume that the ellipsis process involved in sluicing should be implemented by means of a syntactic feature, i.e. the [E]-

feature. [E] is merged with the C°-head whose complement is to be elided, and it represents all the relevant properties which distinguish elliptical structures from their non-elliptical counterparts. Specifically, it is important to stress that this feature is more than a convenient, technical *deus ex machina* which is invented to make analyses of elliptical constructions more in line with present-day machinery. Merchant's implementation allows him to directly link the licensing and identification requirements on ellipsis with the phonological effect of non-pronunciation. This becomes clearer when one considers the syntax, phonology and semantics of the [E]-feature (Merchant to appear b; in (108b) 'φ_{IP}' is the phonological representation of the IP-node).[81]

(108) a.   the syntax of [E]: $E_{[uwh^*, uQ^*]}$
       b.   the phonology of [E]: $\varphi_{IP} \rightarrow \emptyset$ / E __
       c.   the semantics of [E]: $[[E]] = \lambda p : e\text{-GIVEN } (p) [p]$

The formula in (108a) represents the licensing requirements on sluicing. As was pointed out by Lobeck (1995), only the null C° of constituent questions allows its complement to be elided by sluicing. The specification in (108a) captures this intuition by stating that [E] is itself endowed with [+wh,+Q]-features. Moreover, these features are marked as uninterpretable (i.e. in need of checking) and strong (marked by the '*'), which means that they have to be checked in a local relationship, not by means of a long-distance checking mechanism such as Agree. As a result, [E] can only occur on the null C° of constituent questions, which in turn means that only the complement of this C° can be elided. The phonology of [E] is fairly straightforward. It instructs whatever PF or post-PF mechanism responsible for phonological realization, not to parse its complement. The semantics of [E] encodes the identification or recoverability requirement on the elided phrase. Roughly, an expression is e-GIVEN when it has an appropriate antecedent (cf. the next section for a further discussion of e-GIVENness). What the formula in (108c) says, then, is that semantic composition cannot proceed if the complement of [E] is not e-GIVEN. In other words, only phrases which have an appropriate antecedent (i.e. whose content is recoverable from this antecedent) can be elided.

Returning to the main discussion, the issue that is relevant here are the syntactic licensing requirements of [E]. Merchant presents his analysis from the point of view of a single, unsplit CP, i.e. both the [+wh]-feature and the [+Q]-feature are on one and the same C°-head. In the preceding chapter, however, I have argued in favor of a more refined view on the CP-domain. Specifically, while the [+wh]-feature (which I have been calling the [+Op]-feature, and will continue to do so) is checked in CP_2, the [+Q]-feature resides in $C°_1$. Clearly, this will have consequences for the way in which the [E]-feature is licensed, as well as for the question which part of the structure is elided by [E]. I will now go through an abstract sample derivation in order to explore some of these consequences. Assume that $C°_2$ has just been merged, and that it bears the [E]-feature. In this local configuration, the [+Op]-feature of [E] can be checked against that of $C_2°$. This is represented in (109).

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[81] Note that, strictly speaking, the licensing requirements in (108a) are those of [E_S], i.e. the variant of the [E]-feature which is found in sluicing. Other elliptical constructions, such as VP-ellipsis, obviously have other licensing requirements. Given that I only discuss sluicing in this chapter, I abstract away from this refinement.

(109)

C_2'

$\begin{bmatrix} C_2° \\ [+Op] \\ {} \\ [E] \\ [+Op,+Q] \end{bmatrix}$ IP

$\triangle$ …
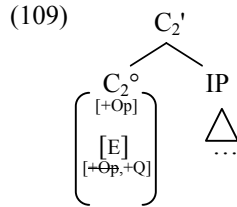
Next, $C_1°$ is merged (abstracting away for now from possible phrasal movement to specCP$_2$, but cf. infra for discussion). It attracts [E], which can then check its [+Q]-feature. This is shown in (110).

(110)

C_1'

$\begin{bmatrix} C_1° \\ [+Q] \\ {} \\ [E] \\ [+Op,+Q] \end{bmatrix}$ CP$_2$

… C_2'

$\begin{bmatrix} C_2° \\ [+Op] \\ {} \\ [E] \\ [+Op,+Q] \end{bmatrix}$ IP

$\triangle$ …
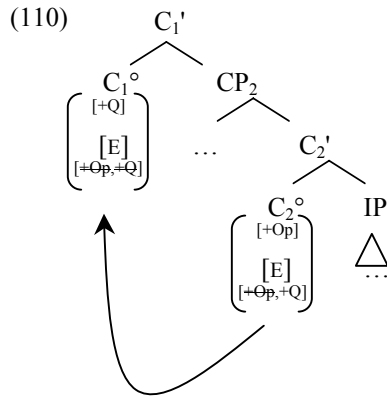
At this point in the derivation, [E] is syntactically fully licensed. This means that it is now in a position to trigger deletion. Given that it resides in $C_1°$, the above reasoning leads to the surprising conclusion that it is CP$_2$ which is elided under sluicing, rather than IP. This, I want to argue, is precisely what happens in sluicing with complex wh-phrases. Moreover, it also accounts for why they cannot occur in SPDs. Consider the ungrammatical SPD-example in B's reply in (111) and its derivation in (112).

(111) A: Jef ei nen boek gekocht.   B: Welken   boek (*da)?
         Jeff has a   book bought   which   book   that$_{DEM}$
      'A: Jeff bought a book. B: Which book?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(112)

CP$_1$

welken boek [+Q]   C$_1$'

C$_1$°
[+Q]
[E]
[+Op,+Q]

CP$_2$ → PF-deletion

da [+F]

CP$_2$

Op$_i$ [+Op]   C$_2$'

C$_2$°
[+Op,+F]
[E]
[+Op,+Q]

da [+F]   IP

I'

I° *is*   VP

Op da Jef gekocht eit [+Op]

Recall that I argued that complex wh-phrases are base-generated in specCP$_1$, while an empty operator moves from the IP-internal base position to specCP$_2$. Other than that, the derivation depicted in (112) is in all relevant respects identical to the one given in the previous section, except for the fact that it is CP$_2$ rather than IP that is deleted at PF. Specifically, after having checked its [+Op]-feature, the [E]-feature on C°$_2$ moves to C°$_1$ in order to check its [+Q]-feature. As soon as both of its features are checked, it triggers deletion of the complement of the head in which it resides, i.e. in this case CP$_2$. As is illustrated in the tree structure in (112), however, this operation has considerable consequences with respect to the possibility of creating an SPD. In particular, regardless of whether the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that' moves overtly to specCP$_2$ or not, it will be contained in the ellipsis site and hence is unable to surface next to the sluiced wh-phrase.[82] That explains why SPDs with complex wh-phrases are not allowed.

The obvious question that arises at this point is why SPDs *are* allowed with minimal wh-phrases. The derivation I went through in the previous section seemed to suggest that in this case it is indeed IP that is deleted by sluicing, and not CP$_2$. Given the implementation I have adopted here, that is only possible if the [E]-feature can be syntactically fully licensed in its lower position (i.e. on C$_2$°), so that it does not have to raise to C$_1$°. If it stays on C$_2$°, it would trigger deletion of IP. That means that only in the case of minimal wh-phrases, the [E]-feature should have a way of checking its [+Q]-feature *in situ* (i.e. on C$_2$°). What I want to suggest is that it is the minimal wh-phrase

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[82] In fact, there are good reasons to think that the demonstrative pronoun does not move to specCP$_2$ in this structure. Under the plausible assumption – also entertained here, cf. section 4.2.4 below for discussion – that an ellipsis site cannot contain any [+F]-marked material, the elided CP$_2$ simply cannot contain a [+F]-marked version of *da* 'that'.

itself (which is marked for [+Op,+Q]) which checks the [+Q]-feature of [E]. As a result, [E] can stay on $C_2°$ and IP is deleted. This is represented in (113).[83] This option is not available in the case of complex wh-phrases, however, because the empty operator occupying specCP$_2$ does not bear a [+Q]-feature (recall that it is the complex wh-phrase itself which bears this feature). This means that in this case [E] is forced to raise to $C_1°$ in order to be licensed and as a result, CP$_2$ is deleted.

(113)
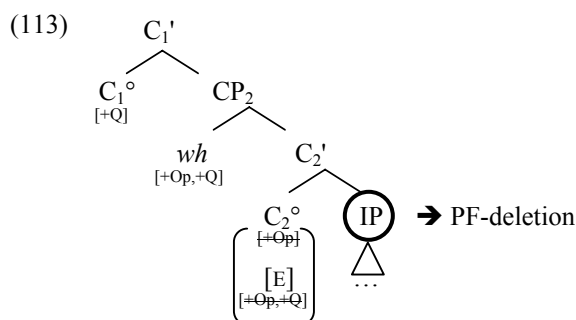
4.2.4 A remaining issue: SPDs and e-GIVENness

In this final section I discuss the identification or recoverability requirement of the [E]-feature in SPDs.[84] Specifically, I will argue that the deletion process postulated above in the analysis of SPDs is appropriately licensed. Recall that Merchant argues that a phrase can only be elided if it has an appropriate antecedent. The technical notion he uses to formalize this constraint, is that of e-GIVENness. Consider the relevant definitions in (114)-(116).

(114) **e-GIVENness** (Merchant 2001a:31)
 An expression E counts as e-GIVEN iff E has a salient antecedent A and, modulo
 ∃-type shifting,
 (i) A entails the F-closure of E, and
 (ii) E entails the F-closure of A.

(115) **F-closure** (Merchant 2001a:14)
 The F-closure of α, written F-clo(α), is the result of replacing F-marked parts of
 α with ∃-bound variables of the appropriate type (modulo ∃-type shifting).

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[83] A note on the (un)interpretability of the features involved: the derivation in (113) seems to suggest that the [+Q]-feature on the wh-phrase is interpretable. That means that strictly speaking in a derivation like the one in (110), it would be the wh-phrase in specCP$_1$ which checks the [+Q]-feature of both $C_1°$ and [E], rather than the [+Q]-feature of $C_1°$ checking the [+Q]-feature of [E] directly. Alternative implementations can be thought of, however. For example, one might assume – as Pesetsky & Torrego 2001 do – that in some cases uninterpretable features can be checked against other uninterpretable features. Or one could argue that in the structure in (113) the [E]-feature can check its [+Q]-feature against $C°_1$ *in situ* as a result of the movement chain of the minimal wh-phrase through specCP$_2$ and onto specCP$_1$ (cf. in this respect Rizzi 1997a:317 on the absence of *do*-support in subject-wh-questions in English).

[84] Many thanks to Crit Cremers for his help with this section.

(116) **∃-type shifting** (Merchant 2001a:14n3)
∃-type shifting is a type-shifting operation that raises expressions to type <t> and existentially binds unfilled arguments.

As an illustration of how these principles work and interact with one another, I will first apply them to the pseudogapping example in (117) (taken from Lasnik 1999a:142), before moving on to SPDs.

(117) I rolled up a newspaper and Lynn did a magazine.

I adopt the by now fairly standard account of pseudogapping, which analyses it as an instance of VP-deletion with prior movement of a DP or PP (henceforth the remnant) out of the VP (cf. Jayaseelan 1990; Johnson 1996; Lasnik 1999a, 1999b, 2001b; Kennedy & Merchant 2000; Takahashi 2004, and cf. also infra, part two, for some discussion). The precise technical details of the analysis are tangential to my concerns here (cf. the above-mentioned references for fully-worked out proposals), but for concreteness' sake I assume that the remnant adjoins to VP, and that it is the lower VP-segment that is deleted.[85] For the example in (117) this yields the partial structural representation in (118).

(118) I [$_{VP}$ rolled up a newspaper] and Lynn did [$_{VP}$ a magazine [$_{VP}$ ~~roll up t$_{a\ magazine}$~~]]

In this structure, the lower VP-segment of the second conjunct has been deleted. The question to ask in light of the preceding discussion is whether this deletion process is recoverable, i.e. whether the elided VP is e-GIVEN. I will now proceed to show that it is, at the same time indicating the role played by each of the definitions in (114)-(116). The first notion that comes to the fore is that of ∃-type shifting. Given that entailment is a relation holding between propositions (Schwarzschild 1999:147), which are of type <t>, it fails to apply to (subjectless) VPs, which are of type <e,t>. This means that the representation of the VP in the first conjunct of the example in (117) (the antecedent VP, call it VP$_A$) is as in (119), where the subject position has been existentially bound.[86]

(119) VP$_A$' = ∃x.x rolled up a newspaper.

As for the elided VP (henceforth VP$_E$), the same reasoning applies, with one complication. The object position contains the trace of the moved DP *a magazine*. Following Merchant (2001a:32) I represent this trace as an existentially bound variable of type <e>.[87] This means that the representation of VP$_E$ is as in (120).

(120) VP$_E$' = ∃x∃y.x rolled up y

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[85] This is also the analysis of Kennedy & Merchant 2000. Note that under the [E]-feature approach to ellipsis this cannot be quite right, as it would be unclear how [E] can elide only a segment of the complement of the head in which it resides. The analysis in (118) will suffice for my present purposes, though.

[86] Following Merchant 2001a:27 I am using primes to indicate that ∃-type shifting has taken place.

[87] As Merchant points out, this is a simplification. It will suffice for my current purposes, though.

Next, the F-closures of VP$_A$ and VP$_E$ have to be determined. Their representation depends on identifying the F(ocus)-marked constituents of these VPs. Given that the example in (117) clearly involves a contrast between *a newspaper* on the one hand and *a magazine* on the other, it seems reasonable to identify these DPs as F-marked. This leads to the following representations for F-clo(VP$_A$) and F-clo(VP$_E$).

(121) a.   F-clo(VP$_A$)' = ∃x∃y.x rolled up y
       b.   F-clo(VP$_E$)' = ∃x∃y.x rolled up y

At this point it can be determined whether VP$_E$ is e-GIVEN. Recall that for this to be the case, the following two entailment relations have to hold (modulo ∃-type shifting).

(122) a.   VP$_A$ entails F-clo(VP$_E$)
       b.   VP$_E$ entails F-clo(VP$_A$)

Overlooking the representations in (119)-(121), it is clear that both requirements are met. The first entailment relation holds because if it is true that someone rolls up a newspaper, then it is equally true that someone rolls up something, and the second entailment relation holds trivially because VP$_E$ = F-clo(VP$_A$). This means that VP$_E$ is e-GIVEN and that the deletion illustrated in (118) is properly licensed.

   With this much as background, I can now return to the main question of this section, i.e. is the elided phrase in an SPD e-GIVEN? In order to make this question more precise, consider the example in (123).

(123) A: [$_{IP_A}$ Jef   eid   iemand   gezien.]
                Jeff   has   someone   seen
       B: Wou   da   [$_{IP_E}$ t$_{da}$ is   t$_{wou}$ da   Jef   gezien   eit]?
               who   that$_{DEM}$ is   that$_{C°}$ Jeff   seen   has
       'A: Jeff saw someone. B: Who?'
                                                                        [Wambeek Dutch]

IP$_E$ is e-GIVEN if and only if IP$_A$ entails F-clo(IP$_E$) and IP$_E$ entails F-clo(IP$_A$). Determining the representation of IP$_A$ is straightforward. Moreover, given that IP$_A$ does not contain any F-marked constituents, the representation of F-clo(IP$_A$) is identical to that of IP$_A$. It is given in (124).[88]

(124) IP$_A$ = F-clo(IP$_A$) = ∃x.Jeff saw x

The semantic representations of IP$_E$ and its F-closure require somewhat more discussion. Not only does this IP contain a cleft structure, there are two additional complications. First of all, the pronoun occupying the subject position in the matrix clause of the cleft is not the expletive personal pronoun *'t* 'it', but rather the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that'. Secondly, this demonstrative pronoun has been focus-moved out of the ellipsis site, leaving a trace in its original position. I discuss each of these issues in turn, but first I have to introduce my basic semantic representation of clefts. It is not my intention here

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[88] I am using English for the semantic representations so as to avoid the use of glosses.

to venture very deeply into this issue nor does this seem necessary for my present purposes, so I will limit myself to a rough-and-ready representation which is able to capture the basic facts. Although the literature on clefts is vast and very diverse, two very basic observations seem to be shared by all. They are listed in (125) ((125a) is taken from Lambrecht 2001:466 and (125b) from Delin 1992:289).

(125) a.   A cleft expresses a simple proposition via a biclausal syntax.
      b.   A cleft conveys a logical presupposition.

By way of illustration, consider the data in (126). The (biclausal) cleft in (126a) expresses the (simple) proposition in (126b) and conveys the logical presupposition in (126c).

(126) a.   It is Julia that Ed invited.
      b.   Ed invited Julia.
      c.   Ed invited someone.

I will translate the two key observations in (125) into my representation of clefts in a direct way. Specifically, I assume that the matrix clause of a cleft contains a hidden presupposition predicate, which predicates over the embedded clause. This is illustrated in (127b) for the cleft in (127a).[89]

(127) a.   Wou is   't   da   Jef   gezien eit?
          who is   it   that$_{C°}$ Jeff   seen   has
          'Who is it that Jeff saw?'   [Wambeek Dutch]
      b. $\exists x \exists P$.Jeff saw x & PRESUPPOSED(P) & P = $\exists y$.Jeff saw y

This representation captures the fact that the cleft in (127a) presupposes that Jeff saw someone, as well as the fact that it expresses a simple proposition through a complex syntax: the embedded clause expresses the main proposition, the matrix clause adds the presupposition through a higher-order predication.

    At this point I can add the first complication: the pronoun in the matrix clause of a cleft underlying an SPD is not the personal pronoun *'t* 'it', but rather the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that'. In order to see what the implications are of this switch for the representation in (127b), it is necessary to compare the two types of clefts more generally. As it turns out, there are two major distinctions between clefts containing *'t* 'it' and those containing *da* 'that'.[90] First of all, whereas *da* 'that' can be stressed in clefts

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[89] Anticipating somewhat the discussion that follows, I have existentially bound the trace left by wh-movement. A more accurate rendering of the example in (127a) would arguably be as in (i).
(i)   ?x∃P.Jeff.saw x & PRESUPPOSED(P) & P = $\exists y$.Jeff saw y
[90] This means that on the whole, the two types of clefts behave very much alike. Specifically, I have found no diverging behavior between them with respect to the following criteria: exhaustivity implicature, (non-)agreement of the copula with the pivot in the matrix clause, Case of the pivot, connectivity effects, restrictions on the category of the pivot, modification of the pivot, subextraction out of the pivot, extraction of the pivot out of weak islands, verbal agreement in the embedded clause and anaphor binding in the embedded clause. I also take this to be a strong indication that the examples containing *da* 'that' are indeed fully-fledged clefts and not some other construction which is only superficially similar to clefts.

with a wh-pivot, *'t* 'it' cannot (not even when its full form *het* is used). This is illustrated in (128).

(128) a. Wou is DA da Jef gezien eit?!
           who is that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C°}$ Jeff seen has
           'Who on earth is it that Jeff saw?!'
      b. * Wou is HET da Jef gezien eit?!
           who is it dat$_{C°}$ Jeff seen has   [Wambeek Dutch]

I take this to mean that whereas *'t* 'it' is a true expletive, *da* 'that' is not (though see below, note 93, for some speculations on the semantic contribution of *'t* 'it'). Specifically, what I will argue is that *da* 'that' is anaphoric on the preceding statement (cf. also supra, section 4.2.1). The second difference between the two types of clefts also points in this direction. It concerns the fact (already pointed out in chapter two, section 2.2.6.4 note 27 above) that whereas *da*-clefts require an overt linguistic antecedent, *'t*-clefts do not. Reconsider the context set up in section 2.2.6.4 above: a contestant of a game show has to choose which one of her two closest friends she wants to take on a luxury cruise. She is given five minutes to think about the issue, after which the game show host walks up to her holding a picture of friend A in his left hand and a picture of friend B in his right hand. In this context the game show host can felicitously utter the cleft in (129b), but not the one in (129a). This indicates that the demonstrative pronoun in (129a) refers back to the preceding statement. When there is no such statement, the cleft is disallowed.[91]

(129) a. # Wou is da da ge gekeuzen etj?
           who is that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C°}$ you chosen have
           'Who is it that you have chosen?'
      b. Wou is 't da ge gekeuzen etj?
           who is it dat$_{C°}$ you chosen have
           'Who is it that you have chosen?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

This suggests that clefts which contain a demonstrative pronoun in the matrix clause impose a stronger restriction on the embedded CP than mere presuppositionality. The embedded CP does not have to be merely presupposed, it has to be anaphoric on a proposition present in the preceding discourse. I take this to mean that *da*-clefts contain a

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[91] Another way to make the same point is to examine the possibility of using the two types of clefts as what Prince 1978 calls 'informative-presupposition *it*-clefts', i.e. clefts which are used to inform the speaker of information s/he was not previously aware of. Consider an example in (i) (Prince 1978:898).

(i)   It was just about 50 years ago that Henry Ford gave us the weekend.

Given that the information expressed in the embedded clause is in no way anaphoric or dependent on the preceding discourse (in fact, the sentence in (i) occurs discourse-initially), one would expect *da* 'that' not to occur in this type of clefts. This prediction is confirmed in (ii).

(ii)   { 't / # Dad } is vanduig 50 juir gelejen dat Albert I gesterven is.
        { it / that$_{DEM}$ } is today 50 years ago that$_{C°}$ Albert I died is
        'It was 50 years ago today that King Albert the First died.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

different hidden predicate than *'t*-clefts. Specifically, I will call this predicate ANAPHORIC.[92,93] This yields the representation in (130b) for the *da*-cleft in (130a).

(130) a.   Wou is da   da   Jef   gezien eit?
            who is that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C°}$ Jeff   seen   has
            'Who is it that Jeff saw?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

     b. $\exists x \exists P.\text{Jeff saw } x \text{ \& } \text{ANAPHORIC}(P) \text{ \& } P = \exists y.\text{Jeff saw } y$

The final step in the reasoning concerns the fact that *da* 'that' has focus-moved out of the ellipsis site (i.e. the second complication pointed out above). Given that I represent traces of movement as existentially bound variables of the appropriate type (cf. supra) and given that the contribution of the demonstrative to the cleft is the anaphoricity, the hidden predicate ANAPHORIC has to be replaced by an existentially bound variable. Applied to the elided IP in my original example (repeated here as (131)), this yields the representation in (132). Moreover, given that the structure contains no other F-marked constituents, the representation of F-clo(IP$_E$) is identical to that of IP$_E$.

(131) A: [$_{IP_A}$ Jef   eid   iemand   gezien.]
                   Jeff   has   someone seen
      B: Wou da   ~~[$_{IP_E}$ t$_{da}$ is t$_{wou}$ da Jef gezien eit]~~ ?
            who that$_{DEM}$ is   that$_{C°}$ Jeff seen   has
     'A: Jeff saw someone. B: Who?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(132) IP$_E$ = F-clo(IP$_E$) = $\exists Q \exists x \exists P.\text{Jeff.saw } x \text{ \& } Q(P) \text{ \& } P = \exists y.\text{Jeff saw } y$

At this point I can try to determine whether IP$_E$ is e-GIVEN in the example in (131). Recall that for this to be the case, the two entailment relations in (133) have to hold.

(133) a.   IP$_A$ entails F-clo(IP$_E$)
     b.   IP$_E$ entails F-clo(IP$_A$)

Given that both IP$_A$ and IP$_E$ are identical to their F-closures, however, this double requirement can be reformulated as the constraint that there be a mutual entailment relation between the two representations in (134).

(134) a.   IP$_A$ = F-clo(IP$_A$) = $\exists x.\text{Jeff saw } x$
     b.   IP$_E$ = F-clo(IP$_E$) = $\exists Q \exists x.\text{Jeff saw } x \text{ \& } Q(P) \text{ \& } P = \exists y.\text{Jeff saw } y$

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[92] Note that I am using this notion in a stricter sense than Delin 1992. Whereas she takes it to mean that the embedded clause in the cleft has 'prior existence', whether in this discourse or not, I explicitly take it to refer back to the current discourse.

[93] It is worth pointing out that this line of reasoning accords well with Svenonius' 1998:182-183 discussion of *it*-clefts in English. Specifically, he argues that the semantic contribution of the subject pronoun *it* is to anchor the embedded CP to the real world as a presupposition. Transferred to my data, this would mean that while *da* 'that' represents the predicate ANAPHORIC, *'t* 'it' is linked to the PRESUPPOSED-predicate.

Given that a conjunction entails each of its conjuncts, the entailment relation from (134b) to (134a) holds trivially. The other entailment relation requires a bit more discussion. When Jeff saw someone, it is true that Jeff saw someone. However, it is equally true that there is at least some property which holds of the proposition 'Jeff saw someone' (e.g. the property of being identical to itself). This means that the mutual entailment relation holds, that IP$_E$ is e-GIVEN, and that the ellipsis operation I postulated in my analysis of SPDs is properly licensed.

   As I already indicated, it is the entailment relation from (134a) to (134b) which is the least straightforward of the two. Interestingly, however, there is independent evidence supporting precisely this entailment relation. It concerns deaccenting. As Merchant (2001a:Ch.1) discusses, the conditions on deaccenting an IP are similar to, but less strict than those on non-pronouncing (i.e. deleting) it. More specifically, for an IP to be deaccented, it has to be entailed by an antecedent IP, but the reverse entailment relation need not hold.[94] That explains the contrast in (135): in neither case does IP$_2$ entail IP$_1$ (while the reverse entailment relation holds), but this state of affairs only leads to ungrammaticality in the example involving sluicing (i.e. deletion), not in the one in which IP$_2$ is merely deaccented (indicated by underlining).

(135) a.   [$_{IP1}$ Abby called BEN an idiot], but I don't know who ELSE [$_{IP2,}$ she insulted t].

       b.   * [$_{IP1}$ Abby called BEN an idiot], but I don't know who ELSE [$_{IP2}$ ~~she insulted t~~]

This means that deaccenting facts can be used to test whether there is an entailment relation between two IPs. Specifically, if my account so far is on the right track and the elided IP in an SPD is e-GIVEN, this leads to the prediction that it should be possible to deaccent a cleft with a demonstrative pronoun in a sluicing environment. The example in (136) illustrates that this prediction is borne out.[95]

(136) Jef   eid iemand   gezien, …
      Jeff has someone seen
      … mo ik   weet nie WOU   da   da   was dat-n   gezien eit
        but I   know not who   that$_{C°}$ that$_{DEM}$ was that$_{C°}$-he seen   has
      'Jeff saw someone, but I don't know who it was that he saw.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

This example shows that an IP containing a cleft with a demonstrative pronoun in the matrix subject position can be deaccented in a sluicing environment. Given that such deaccenting is only possible if there is an antecedent IP which entails the deaccented IP, this example provides independent evidence for the entailment relation from (134a) to (134b).

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[94] As Winkler 2003:80-119 shows, the precise conditions on deaccenting might be more complicated than is indicated here. The characterization given in the main text will suffice for my present purposes, though.
[95] Strictly speaking, this example shows that the entailment relation holds even if *da* 'that' has not focus-moved out of the IP. Given that this is a stricter requirement than the one needed in (134), however, the example represents strong evidence in favor of the postulated entailment relation.

Summing up, in this section I have discussed the identification or recoverability requirement on the ellipsis process involved in SPDs. I have shown that this deletion is indeed licensed and that the deleted IP is e-GIVEN. Moreover, I have presented deaccenting facts as independent evidence in favor of the crucial entailment relation involved.

4.2.5   Conclusion

In the preceding sections I have presented an analysis of dialect Dutch SPDs. I have argued that the possibility of stranding a demonstrative pronoun to the right of a sluiced wh-phrase follows straightforwardly from the split CP account adopted earlier. Specifically, the demonstrative raises to the lower CP-layer, which is not contained in the ellipsis site. Moreover, I have shown that sluicing does not always delete the same subpart of the clausal structure. That explains why SPDs are allowed in some contexts, but not in others. Both options follow naturally from the interaction between the split CP-proposal from the previous chapter and the syntax of sluicing. Finally, I have argued in detail that the ellipsis operation I make use of in my analysis of SPDs is properly semantically licensed.[96]

4.3   English swiping

In this section I present my analysis of swiping in English. Just as I did in the previous section, I start out by going step by step through the derivation of a representative example (in section 4.3.1), so as to illustrate the core of the analysis. Then (in section 4.3.2), I return to the basic properties of swiping as I have outlined them earlier, showing how the analysis accounts for all of them.

4.3.1   The analysis

Consider again a basic swiping example in (137).

(137) A: Ed wrote a book.
       B: What about?

I assume that the derivation of B's reply in (137) starts out parallel to that of the non-elliptical wh-question *About what did Ed write a book?* (or its variant with preposition stranding). Specifically, I pick up this derivation at the IP-level and proceed step by step from there. Consider the partial structural representation in (138).

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[96] There is one characteristic of SPDs I have said nothing about so far. Recall from note 17 above that not all native speakers of SPD-dialects allow this construction to occur in embedded clauses. Although I have no definitive answer to offer here, two possible accounts present themselves. One possibility is that the 'surprise'-reading induced by SPDs can only be speaker-oriented for this group of speakers. This rules out embedded SPDs, as the 'surprise'-reading would there be attributed to the matrix subject. Alternatively – and I owe this suggestion to Michal Starke p.c. – the root/embedded-asymmetry might correlate with a difference in structure for these speakers. Intuitively, in embedded clauses less functional structure would be available, so that there is no position for the demonstrative to move to. I leave this issue as an open question.

(138) $[_{IP}$ Ed wrote a book $[_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}]]$

In this structure, the PP *about what* is in its IP-internal base position inside the object DP *a book about what*. The wh-phrase *what* bears [+Op,+Q]-features. The next step in the derivation involves the merger of $C_2°$. This head bears a strong [+Op]-feature.

(139) $[_{C_2'}$ $C_2°_{[+Op.strong]}$ $[_{IP}$ Ed wrote a book $[_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}]]]$

$C_2°$ attracts the wh-phrase *what* to its specifier. Moreover, *what* pied-pipes the preposition *about*, so that the entire PP *about what* surfaces in specCP$_2$. This is shown in (140).

(140) $[_{CP_2}$ $[_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}]$ $[_{C_2'}$ $C_2°_{\text{[+Op.strong]}}$ $[_{IP}$ Ed wrote a book $[_{PP}$ about
        what$_{[+Op,+Q]}]]]]]$

Next, $C_1°$ is merged. It bears a strong [+Q]-feature (cf. (141)), and it attracts the wh-phrase *what* to specCP$_1$, stranding the preposition *about* in specCP$_2$. This is represented in (142).

(141) $[_{C_1'}$ $C_1°_{[+Q.strong]}$ $[_{CP_2}$ $[_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}]$ $[_{C_2'}$ $C_2°_{\text{[+Op.strong]}}$ $[_{IP}$ Ed wrote a book $[_{PP}$
        about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}]]]]]]$

(142) $[_{CP_1}$ what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ $[_{C_1'}$ $C_1°_{\text{[+Q.strong]}}$ $[_{CP_2}$ $[_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}]$ $[_{C_2'}$ $C_2°_{\text{[+Op.strong]}}$ $[_{IP}$ Ed
        wrote a book $[_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}]]]]]]$

Finally, at PF the IP is elided (i.e. sluiced), as is the copy of *what* in specCP$_2$. The end result is shown in (143).

(143) $[_{CP_1}$ what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ $[_{C_1'}$ $C_1°_{[+Q.strong]}$ $[_{CP_2}$ $[_{PP}$ about ~~what~~$_{[+Op,+Q]}]$ $[_{C_2'}$ $C_2°_{[+Op.strong]}$ $[_{IP}$ Ed
        wrote a book $[_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$]]]]]]$

What remains, then, is the sluiced wh-phrase *what* followed by the (stranded) preposition *about*, i.e. the derivation sketched in (138)-(143) has successfully yielded an instance of swiping in English. The tree structure in (144) is another illustration of the same derivation.

(144)

what $_{[+Op,+Q]}$ ... C$_1$°$_{[+Q]}$ ... [PP *about ~~what~~*]$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ ... C$_2$°$_{[+Op]}$ ... IP ➜ PF-deletion

~~Ed wrote a book~~ [PP ~~*about what*~~]$_{[+Op,+Q]}$
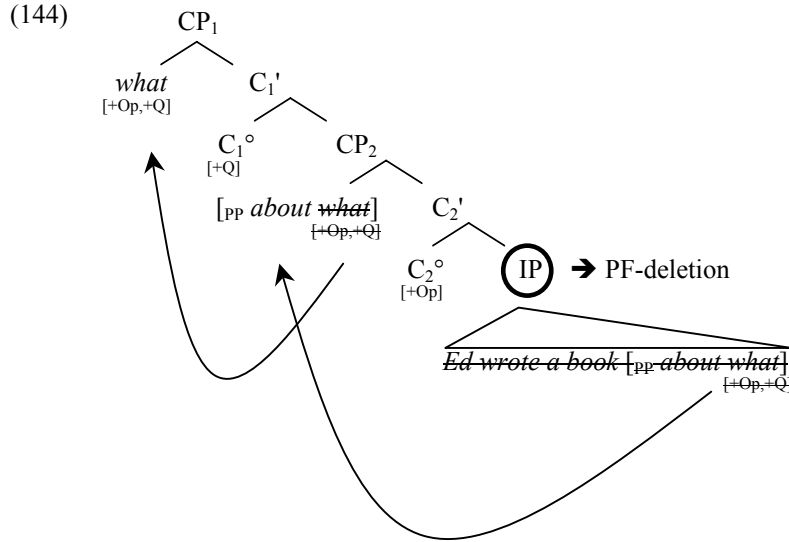
4.3.2   The basic properties of swiping revisited

In this section I return to the basic properties of swiping discussed earlier and repeated in (145), determining the extent to which they are accounted for under the analysis proposed in the previous section.

(145)   **Basic properties of English swiping**
   a.   Swiping only occurs in sluicing
   b.   Swiping only targets minimal wh-phrases
   c.   A swiped preposition bears stress
   d.   Swiping only affects prepositions which have no antecedent

I begin by discussing the property in (145a). What I want to propose is that the fact that swiping only occurs in sluicing follows from the fact that sluicing is needed to rescue what would otherwise be an illegitimate derivation. In other words, swiping represents yet another case of a repair effect induced by ellipsis. In order to see precisely which violation is involved and how ellipsis is able to nullify its effects, consider the example in (146).
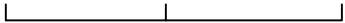
(146)   * Who$_i$ do you think [$_{CP}$ [$_{PP}$ for t$_i$]$_k$ C° [$_{IP}$ she bought it t$_k$]]?

This example shows that preposition stranding is not allowed in intermediate landing sites of successive-cyclic wh-movement in English (as was first observed by Postal 1972). Interestingly, this sentence is *mutatis mutandis* identical to the stage in the derivation of swiping where the wh-phrase has subextracted from the PP in specCP$_2$ on its way to specCP$_1$. I have repeated the relevant representation here as (147).

(147)   [$_{CP_1}$ what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$ [$_{C_1'}$ C$_1$°$_{[+Q.strong]}$ [$_{CP_2}$ [$_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$] [$_{C_2'}$ C$_2$°$_{[+Op.strong]}$ [$_{IP}$ Ed wrote a book [$_{PP}$ about what$_{[+Op,+Q]}$]]]]]]

Both in (146) and in (147), a preposition has been stranded in an intermediate landing site of successive-cyclic wh-movement. As a result, the derivation in (138)-(143) should be as ungrammatical as the example in (146). The fact that it is not, illustrates the repair effect induced by ellipsis.

Under Chomsky's (1995) conception of Form Chain, successive-cyclic movement counts as one single operation. This means that the chain created by such movement should be considered a single syntactic object. Assume now that the notion of Chain Uniformity (in the sense of Chomsky 1995:91) applies not only at LF, but also at PF. Specifically, PF requires chains to be uniform with respect to a number of characteristics (arguably for linearization purposes). One such characteristic is category. This means that a chain such as the one schematically represented in (148) is ill-formed.

(148) … DP … [$_{PP}$ P DP] … [$_{PP}$ P DP]

However, if the lowest of these three chain links somehow becomes invisible to PF, all that is left is a (uniform) chain which contains only DP-links, and Chain Uniformity is restored. This is exemplified in (149), where the blackened area has been deleted at PF.

(149) … DP … [$_{PP}$ P DP] … [$_{PP}$ P DP]

This, I want to argue, is precisely what happens in the derivation of the swiping example presented above. Given that ellipsis (in this case sluicing) deletes all the IP-internal copies of the PP *about what*, the only chain visible to PF is the DP-chain created by the movement of *what* from specCP$_2$ to specCP$_1$, and Chain Uniformity is respected. In the example in (146) on the other hand, the lower PP-copies have not been deleted, Chain Uniformity is violated and the example is ungrammatical.[97,98]

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[97] The analysis presented here is reminiscent of the Uniformity Corollary on Adjunction proposed by Takahashi 1994 and further developed by Ochi 1999 (thanks to Howard Lasnik p.c. for pointing this out to me). Although I will leave a full comparison of this principle and the account developed in the main text as a topic for further research, it is worth looking briefly at Lasnik & Park's 2003 analysis of the ban on extraction out of A-moved subjects, as it is based on Ochi 1999. Their account bears an interesting similarity to mine, but there are also a number of noticeable differences. First of all, while they are concerned with the combination of A- and Ā-movement, I am dealing with a single Ā-chain. Secondly, they claim that in order to rescue a non-uniform chain from ungrammaticality, *all* the chain links have to be deleted. As evidence in favor of this proposal, they present pseudogapping examples such as the one in (i).

(i)   ?* Who will Bill select a painting of, and who$_i$ will Susan [a photograph of t$_i$] [$_{VP}$ *e*]?

In the second conjunct, the DP *a photograph of who* has been extracted out of the elided VP (indicated here as [$_{VP}$ *e*]), after which the wh-phrase *who* has subextracted from this DP. Given that the resulting example is ungrammatical, Lasnik & Park argue that the highest copy of *a photograph of who* should have been deleted as well. Note, however, that the unacceptability of this example follows from my proposal as well under the assumption that the overt DP *a photograph of t$_i$* is not the only copy of *a photograph of who* which is external to the ellipsis site. Specifically, assume that on its way out of the VP, this DP has an intermediate landing somewhere

The second property of swiping concerns the fact that it only targets minimal wh-phrases. Not surprisingly, this follows from the interaction between the analysis of swiping and the view on the CP-domain outlined earlier (in chapter three). Recall that I have argued that while minimal wh-phrases move from their IP-internal base position through specCP$_2$ onto specCP$_1$, complex wh-phrases are base-generated in specCP$_1$ and involve empty operator movement to specCP$_2$. The implication of this, however, is that complex wh-phrases cannot strand a preposition in specCP$_2$. Moreover, given that sluicing with complex wh-phrases deletes CP$_2$ rather than IP (cf. supra, section 4.2.3), there is simply no way a preposition can be spelled out to the right of a sluiced complex wh-phrase, not even if – by some exceptional mechanism – it would be able to move to specCP$_2$ independently of the complex wh-phrase (e.g. pied-piped by the empty operator, an operation which is normally disallowed). In short, the ban on complex wh-phrases in swiping follows straightforwardly from the theory outlined here.

The final two properties of swiping, i.e. the fact that swiped prepositions bear stress and that swiping is disallowed when there is an antecedent for the preposition, I will discuss together, since it seems reasonable to assume that they are both manifestations of the same underlying generalization. Specifically, both these properties seem to indicate that swiped prepositions are focused. On the one hand, the close correlation between focus and stress has often been noted, while on the other hand (at least one type of) foci are often said to represent 'new information', i.e. information for which no antecedent is available. What I want to argue is that the focus interpretation swiped prepositions acquire, follows naturally from the structural position in which they are stranded. Recall from the discussion of SPDs in section 4.2.1 that I argued that CP$_2$ is the position targeted by focus movement. Given that it is precisely in this projection that swiped prepositions are stranded, it seems plausible that they should receive a focus interpretation. In other words, the interpretation they receive correlates with the structural position they occupy. Once again, then, the basic properties of swiping fall out straightforwardly from the current analysis.

Summing up, in this section I have revisited the basic properties of swiping, indicating how each of them follows naturally from the analysis given in section 4.3.1 in conjunction with the split CP-account presented earlier.

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above VP (cf. Johnson 1996 for evidence that pseudogapping remnants can move fairly high and hence arguably might leave such a copy, and cf. also infra, chapter six section 6.3.2, for related discussion). This would mean that eliding the VP in the example in (i) does not have the effect of rescuing the non-uniform chain, as there would still be (at least) two copies of *a photograph of who* external to the VP. More generally, while my analysis can account both for the swiping data discussed in the main text and for examples such as the one in (i), Lasnik & Park's analysis of (i) seems to predict that swiping should be impossible. Moreover, the specific spell-out mechanism they propose (incorrectly) rules out the possibility of remnant movement (cf. in this respect Nuñes to appear: section 1.6).

[98] Note that what I am presenting here can be seen as the PF-counterpart of the deletion-of-chain-links-mechanism Chomsky 1995:91 postulates to ensure Chain Uniformity at LF. It is also worth pointing out that the structure in (149) does not lead to a violation of Chain Uniformity at LF, as the category mismatches discussed here arguably do not create an illegitimate LF-object.

4.4   Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided an analysis of the two instances of stranding under sluicing which form the main empirical focus of this part. In each case the interaction between a PF-deletion analysis of sluicing on the one hand and the split CP-account of chapter three on the other turned out to be crucial. Specifically, I have demonstrated two mechanisms through which a phrase can come to be stranded to the right of a sluiced wh-phrase. Firstly, it can move independently of the wh-phrase to a low CP-layer (in my analysis specCP$_2$) which is not (or not always, cf. infra) contained in the ellipsis site. This was the fate of the focus-moved demonstrative pronoun in SPDs. Secondly, it can be stranded in such a low CP-layer by the wh-phrase on its way to the higher specCP. This featured in the analysis of swiping, where the swiped preposition was stranded in specCP$_2$. Moreover, an in-depth investigation of the interaction between the syntax of the CP-domain and that of sluicing led to the surprising conclusion that sluicing does not always delete the same subpart of the clausal structure. This in turn explained why stranding under sluicing is allowed in only a limited number of cases. Specifically, if the lower CP-layer is contained in the ellipsis site, any material stranded in that projection will also be elided.

Furthermore, the analyses presented in the preceding sections succeed in identifying a common source for the similarities between SPDs and swiping (cf. supra, chapter two section 2.4). First of all, the fact that both these constructions only occur in sluicing follows from the fact that in both cases, sluicing is crucially needed to repair what would otherwise be an illegitimate derivation. Secondly, the fact that they both only target minimal wh-phrases follows from the interaction between the syntax of sluicing and the structure of the CP-domain (cf. supra). Thirdly, the fact that both swiped prepositions and SPDed demonstratives are focused, follows from the fact that they occupy the same structural position. Clearly, this partial structural unification of SPDs and swiping is a highly desirable result. In the next chapter, I consider the relation between these two constructions from the point of view of one single language, i.e. Frisian.

5 SPD meets swiping: the case of Frisian

5.1 Introduction

Nothing in the analyses presented so far would prevent SPDs and swiping from co-occurring in one and the same language. In this chapter I demonstrate that Frisian is such a language. Consider a combined SPD/swiping-example in (150).

(150) A: Jan hat juster in praatsje holden.
       John has yesterday a talk held
   B: Wêr dat oer?
       where that$_{DEM}$ about
  'A: John gave a talk yesterday. B: What about?'   [Frisian]

In B's reply in this dialogue, a sluiced wh-phrase (in this case the R-pronoun *wêr* 'where') is followed by the demonstrative pronoun *dat* 'that', which is in turn followed by the stranded preposition *oer* 'about'. As such, this example combines SPD with swiping. In this chapter I show that the analysis of this construction is the combination of an SPD-with a swiping-analysis. Before I can proceed to demonstrate this, however, a closer inspection of both constructions in isolation is in order. Especially Frisian swiping will require some discussion, as it differs in certain respects from its English counterpart. These differences, I will argue, follow from independent properties of the two languages.

5.2 Frisian SPD

About SPDs in Frisian, I can be brief. Apart from the fact that their dialect Dutch counterparts do not combine with swiping (a point which I return to below), there is no difference between SPDs in Frisian and those in the Dutch SPD-dialects discussed above.[99] In other words, all the properties of dialect Dutch SPDs reported in chapter two hold for Frisian as well. As a (non-exhaustive) illustration of this claim, consider the data in (151).

(151) a. A: Ik ha juster ien sjoen. B: Wa dat?
         I have yesterday someone seen   who that$_{DEM}$
     'A: I saw someone yesterday. B: Who?'
   b. Mei wa (*dat) stie Jan juster te praten?
       with who that$_{DEM}$ stood John yesterday to talk
     'Who was John talking to yesterday?'

---

[99] One caveat is in order here. Whereas the SPD *Wa da?* ('What?', lit. what that$_{DEM}$) is allowed in the Dutch SPD-dialects, its Frisian counterpart is not: **Wat dat?* ('What?' lit. what that$_{DEM}$). However, Hoekstra 1993:14-15 argues that Frisian *wat* 'what' is in fact not a simple wh-phrase, but a DP-modifier with an empty N-head (which can also be overtly realized as *ding* 'thing' or *guod* 'stuff'). Under such an analysis one would expect *wat* 'what' to pattern with complex wh-phrases like *hokker boek* 'which book' rather than with simplex ones like *wa* 'who'. Given that both *wat* 'what' and *hokker boek* 'which book' are disallowed in SPDs, this expectation is met.

c.   A: Ik haw   in boek fan Jan   liend.
          I   have a   book of John borrowed
     B: Hokker boek (*dat)?
          which book   that_{DEM}
     'A: I borrowed a book from John. B: Which book?'
d.   Wa   DAT? / * WA dat?
          who that_{DEM} /   who that_{DEM}
          'Who?'
e.   A: Jan hie   net allinnich Pyt   útnoege.
          John had   not only   Pete invited
     B: (i)   Nee? Wa   noch mear (*dat)?
                no   who else more   that_{DEM}
          (ii) * Nee? Wa   noch mear wie dat   dy't   er …
                 no   who else more was that_{DEM} REL.that_{C°} he
                 … útnoege   hie?
                   invited   had
     'A: John hadn't just invited Pete. B: No? Who else?'   [Frisian]

While the a-example illustrates a grammatical SPD in Frisian, the sentence in (151b) demonstrates that wh-phrases in non-elliptical wh-questions cannot be followed by the demonstrative pronoun *dat* 'that'. That is, Frisian SPDs only occur in sluicing. The example in (151c) shows that Frisian SPDs are disallowed with complex wh-phrases, while (151d) exemplifies the fact that an SPDed demonstrative pronoun bears stress. Finally, the dialogue in (151e) represents the fact that Frisian SPDs stem from an underlying cleft with a wh-pivot. This is illustrated here by means of modification of the wh-phrase by *noch mear* 'else', which is allowed in regular sluicing (cf. 151eB(i)), but disallowed in SPDs (cf. 151eB(i)) and in clefts with a wh-pivot (cf. 151eB(ii)). Moreover, just like their dialect Dutch counterparts, Frisian SPDs induce what I have described above as a 'surprise'-reading. Summing up, the main properties of Frisian SPDs can be listed as in (152).

(152)   **Basic properties of Frisian SPDs**
        a.   SPDs contain a demonstrative pronoun, not a complementizer
        b.   SPDs only occur in sluicing
        c.   SPDs only target minimal wh-phrases
        d.   The demonstrative pronoun in an SPD bears stress
        e.   SPDs induce a 'surprise'-reading
        f.   SPDs stem from an underlying cleft

5.3   Frisian swiping

At first sight, swiping appears to be disallowed in Frisian. This was pointed out by Merchant (2002), who gives the following example (Merchant 2002:310).

(153) * Per is   nei de bioskoop gien, mar ik   wyt net wa   mei.
        Per is   to the cinema   gone but   I   know not who with   [Frisian]

The conclusion that Frisian lacks swiping altogether has obvious repercussions for the main topic of this chapter. Specifically, it would mean that the example in (150) (repeated below) is not an instance of SPD combined with swiping, but rather of some other, as yet unidentified elliptical construction.

(154) A: Jan   hat   juster   in   praatsje   holden.
            John   has   yesterday a   talk   held
       B: Wêr   dat   oer?
            where that_DEM about
      'A: John gave a talk yesterday. B: What about?'   [Frisian]

The sentence in (153) does not represent the full paradigm of non-complex wh-expressions in Frisian, however. Just like Dutch, Frisian has a set of so-called R-pronouns, which form a subset of what I have been calling minimal wh-phrases. Consider a relevant example in (155).

(155) Jan hat juster   in praatsje   holden, mar ik wyt net wêroer
      John has yesterday a   talk   held   but I   know not where.about
      'John gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know what about'   [Frisian]

On the basis of this example, it is less straightforward to decide whether or not Frisian has swiping. Given that R-pronouns only co-occur with *post*positions and not with *pre*positions (cf. Hoekstra 1995), the example in (155) could represent either a structure where the entire PP *wêroer* 'about what' has moved to the left periphery, or one in which the preposition *oer* 'about' has been swiped (assuming the Frisian orthography to be uninformative in this respect). In what follows, I will suggest that the example in (155) is indeed structurally ambiguous in the way I indicated, that there is an independent reason why swiping is disallowed in (153) and that this independent restriction can – at least for some speakers – be lifted when swiping is combined with SPD.

   Recall that a swiped preposition bears stress. In fact, I have argued that both the stress on the preposition and the fact that it is not allowed to have an antecedent when swiped, follow from the fact that swiped prepositions are focused. Interestingly, Hoekstra (1991, 1995) points out that English and Frisian differ with respect to whether a preposition stranded by wh-movement can be stressed. Consider the data in (156)-(158) (these examples are taken from Hoekstra 1995:109-110). [100]

(156)   What is that book ABOUT?

(157) a.   Wêr giet dat   boek OER?
            where goes that book over
            'What is that book ABOUT?'

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[100] Abels 2003:189-191 contests the conclusion Hoekstra 1995 draws from the data in (156) and (157) on the grounds that while *oer* 'over' in the Frisian example is a clearly functional preposition, *about* in the English one is not. Cf. Hoekstra 1991, however, for more examples, many of which escape Abels' objection and all of which show the pattern displayed in (156)-(157).

b.   * Wa   giet   dat   boek OER?
       who   goes   that   book over
       INTENDED MEANING: 'Who is that book ABOUT?'   [Frisian]

(158) a.   WA   giet   dat   boek oer?
                who   goes   that   book over
                'Who is that book ABOUT?'
        b.   Wa   giet   dat   BOEK oer?
                who   goes   that   book   over
                'Who is that BOOK about?   [Frisian]

The example in (156) illustrates that a stranded preposition can be stressed in English. This correlates nicely with the fact that swiped prepositions (which, I have argued, are also stranded) can – and in fact must – also be stressed. The minimal pair in (157) on the other hand, illustrates that not all minimal wh-phrases in Frisian follow the English pattern. Specifically, while prepositions stranded by R-pronouns can be stressed (157a), those stranded by non-R wh-pronouns such as *wa* 'who' cannot (157b). The data in (158) are control sentences which demonstrate that the ungrammaticality of (157b) is indeed caused by its stress pattern: as soon as the stress shifts, the sentence becomes acceptable. What is important from the present perspective, however, is the prediction these data make with respect to the possibility of swiping in Frisian. If a preposition stranded by *wa* 'who' cannot be stressed, *wa* is predicted not to occur in swiping, since swiped prepositions are obligatorily stressed. This means the data in (157b) provide an independent explanation for the ungrammaticality of the example in (153). Moreover, the fact that the sentence in (157a) *is* acceptable, lends plausibility to the claim that the example in (155) is ambiguous between regular sluicing and swiping.[101]

   This claim becomes even more plausible in light of examples which combine swiping with SPD. Reconsider the sentence I gave in section 5.1 (repeated here), this time in combination with its non-swiping counterpart.

(159) A: Jan   hat juster   in   praatsje   holden.
               John   has yesterday a   talk   held
        B: a.   Wêr   dat   oer?
                        where   that_DEM   about
               b.   ? Wêroer   dat?
                        where.about   that_DEM
        'A: John gave a talk yesterday. B: What about?'   [Frisian]

The two possible replies of speaker B differ only in whether the preposition *oer* 'about' is pied-piped by the wh-phrase *wêr* 'where' past the demonstrative pronoun *dat* 'that' or not.[102] This means that SPDs can be used to disambiguate examples such as the one in

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[101] I will have nothing further to say about what causes the contrast between (157a) and (157b), or between (156) and (157). Cf. in this respect Hoekstra 1991, who shows these facts to be part of a larger generalisation concerning the possibility to stress prepositions and particles in Frisian, English and Dutch, where the first language in each case occupies an intermediate position between the other two.

[102] The fact that the pied-piping option is more marked is due to the more general fact that preposition stranding is preferred to pied-piping in Frisian, cf. Hoekstra 1990.

(155). If both the R-pronoun and the preposition precede the demonstrative pronoun, the sentence represents an instance of regular sluicing; if R-pronoun and preposition surface on opposite sides of the demonstrative, the preposition has been swiped. Interestingly, in precisely this context (i.e. in combination with SPD), some Frisian speakers allow even non-R wh-pronouns to swipe their preposition. Compare the two possible replies of speaker B in the dialogue in (160).[103,104]

(160) A: Jan   stie   juster   mei   ien   te   praten.
              John   stood yesterday with   someone   to   talk
       B: a.   * Wa   mei?
                   who   with
            b.   %Wa   dat   mei?
                   who   that_DEM with
       'A: John was talking to someone yesterday. B: Who?'   [Frisian]

I propose to account for the contrast in (160) as well as for the variability of the judgements in (160Bb) as follows. The first thing to note is that in an example which combines SPD with swiping, the stress falls on the demonstrative pronoun rather than on the swiped preposition, i.e. the pattern is wh-DEM-prep, and not wh-dem-PREP. Assume now that for some speakers this suffices to lift the ban on swiping with non-R wh-pronouns. Recall that Frisian disallows stranded prepositions to be stressed (cf. supra). As a result, swiping will only be allowed if stress on the swiped preposition can be avoided. Given that in SPDs it is the demonstrative pronoun which 'absorbs' the stress, they provide exactly the right context, and swiping is allowed when combined with SPD. The other group of speakers, for whom there is no or only a slight contrast between (160Ba) and (160Bb), impose a much stronger restriction on prepositions stranded by non-R wh-pronouns. Not only can they not be stressed, they are also not allowed to occur in a structural focus position. This rules out all instances of swiping with non-R wh-pronouns, regardless of whether it combines with SPD. Both in (160Ba) and in (160Bb) the swiped preposition is – at least under the account presented above – stranded in a structural focus position (i.e. specCP$_2$) and hence both examples are ruled out for this second group of speakers.[105,106]

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[103] Out of the six Frisian speakers I consulted, four reported that the reply in (160Bb) is more acceptable than that in (160Ba). One even found the reply in (160Bb) fully grammatical. Put differently, while the reply in (160Ba) was given an average of 5 on a scale of 1 to 5 (i.e. all speakers finding the example fully ungrammatical), the reply in (160Bb) received an average of 3.5.

[104] As pointed out by Jason Merchant p.c., the judgement task might have been influenced here by the presence of an overt antecedent for the swiped PP. It should be noted, though, that it is still possible to construct an antecedent which does not contain the PP along the lines sketched in chapter two, section 2.3.4 above. Moreover, the effect of an overt antecedent, though present, seems to be less strong in Frisian than it is in English, a contrast for which I have no account at this point.

[105] Interestingly, native speakers of the Dutch SPD-dialects pattern largely with the second group of Frisian speakers, albeit with respect to R-pronouns. Recall from chapter three that R-pronouns are the only type of minimal wh-phrase which can strand their preposition in Dutch (and its dialects). As the example in (i) shows, however, such a stranded preposition cannot be stressed.
(i)   * Wui   guit   daunen   boek   EUVER?
            where goes   that   book   about   [Wambeek Dutch]

There is an extra indication that the reply in (160Bb) should indeed be analysed as a combination of SPD and swiping, rather than as some other as yet unidentified construction. It concerns the behavior of complex wh-phrases like *hokker boek* 'which book'. Consider the data in (161) (the examples in (161b) and (161c) are from Hoekstra 1995:110).

(161) a.　　A:　Jan　hat juster　　in　praatsje　holden.
　　　　　　　　　John　has yesterday a　talk　　held
　　　　　　B: * Hokker boek　oer?
　　　　　　　　which　book about
　　　b.　　* Hokker tiidrek giet　dat　boek OER?
　　　　　　　which era　　　goes that　book about
　　　c.　　Hokker tiidrek GIET　dat　boek oer?
　　　　　　　which era　　　goes　that　book about
　　　　　　'Which era is that book about?'
　　　d.　　A:　Jan　hat juster　　in　praatsje　holden.
　　　　　　　　　John　has yesterday a　talk　　held
　　　　　　B: * Hokker boek　dat　　oer?
　　　　　　　　which　book thatDEM　about　　　　　　　　　　　　[Frisian]

The examples in (161a) and (161b) indicate that with respect to the first two criteria, complex wh-phrases behave like their minimal counterparts. Specifically, they do not partake in 'bare' swiping (161a) and prepositions stranded by complex wh-phrases cannot be stressed (cf. (161b) and compare again with the control sentence in (161c), which has a different stress pattern and is grammatical). The d-example, however, shows that the improvement noted for the reply in (160Bb) is absent for complex wh-phrases. Given that I have argued that complex wh-phrases are – for independent reasons – disallowed both in SPD and in swiping, this example forms a further indication that the construction exemplified in (160Bb) is indeed a combination of SPD and swiping.

　　Summing up, in this section I have argued that although Frisian appears to lack swiping at first sight, a closer inspection of the data reveals that there is an independent restriction on stranded prepositions which rules out a subset of the swiping-cases. Moreover, I have shown that for some speakers this independent restriction can be

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This means that R-pronouns raise the same issue for the Dutch SPD-dialects as non-R bare wh-pronouns do for Frisian. The outcome is different, though. Out of the 11 speakers I consulted only one found a combination of SPD and swiping with R-pronouns fairly acceptable. I have no account for why the Dutch SPD-dialects pattern differently from Frisian in this respect.
(ii)　　A:　Jef　　ei　　nen　　boek　geschreven.
　　　　　　　Jeff　　has　　a　　book　written
　　　　B: * Wui　　dad　　euver?
　　　　　　where　thatDEM　about　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Wambeek Dutch]
[106] It is also worth pointing out that the general picture sketched here is complicated somewhat by the fact that both in Frisian and in Dutch so-called lexical or relational prepositions *can* bear stress when stranded. The problem is that they generally tend to disallow pied-piping to begin with (Gussenhoven 1984:178-179) and that when they are pied-piped, they tend to trigger the occurrence of non-R wh-pronouns. The interaction between these lexical prepositions, swiping and SPDs in both Frisian and Dutch is an issue I hope to return to in future research.

overruled when swiping is combined with SPD. In the next section I provide an analysis of such 'combined' examples.

5.4   The analysis

Having established that an example such as the one in (150) (repeated below as (162)) is indeed a combination of SPD and swiping, the analysis of this sentence should follow straightforwardly from the analyses presented in the previous chapter. In this section I show that this is indeed the case.

(162) A: Jan   hat   juster   in   praatsje   holden.
              John   has   yesterday   a   talk   held
       B: Wêr   dat   oer?
              where   that$_{DEM}$ about
       'A: John gave a talk yesterday. B: About what?'   [Frisian]

Specifically, given that just as their dialect Dutch counterparts, Frisian SPDs can be shown to derive from an underlying cleft structure (cf. supra), the derivation of B's reply in (162) will start out as that of the cleft in (163).

(163) Wêr   wie   dat   oer   dat   Jan   juster   in   praatsje holden   hat?
       where   was   that$_{DEM}$ about   that$_{C°}$ John   yesterday   a   talk   held   has
       'What was it that John gave a talk about yesterday?'   [Frisian]

The main steps of this derivation are schematically represented in the tree structure in (164).

(164)
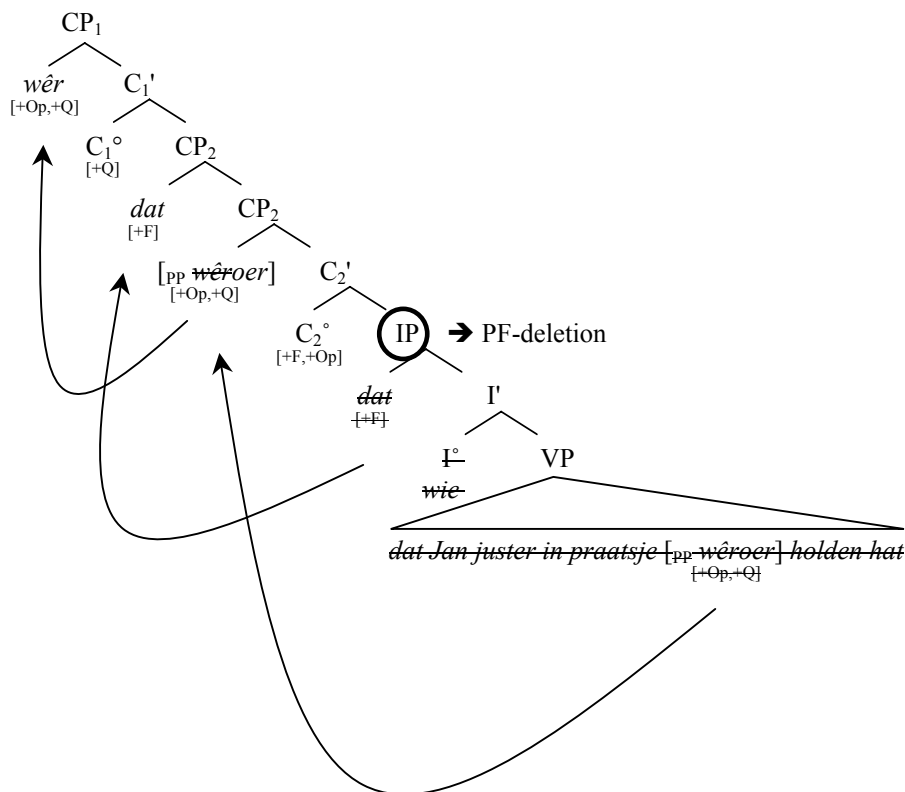
Just as was the case with dialect Dutch SPDs, the first relevant step in this derivation (i.e. the first step distinguishing SPDs from non-elliptical clefts with a wh-pivot) involves the overt movement of the demonstrative pronoun *dat* 'that' to specCP$_2$ to check the weak focus-feature on C$_2$°. This move is only allowed because the lower part of the movement chain will later be elided, i.e. ellipsis (in this case sluicing) is needed to rescue what would otherwise be an illegitimate derivation. Next, the wh-phrase *wêroer* 'about what' moves to the inner specifier of C$_2$° to check its [+Op]-feature. The wh-pronoun *wêr* 'where' then moves on its own to specCP$_1$ to check the [+Q]-feature on C$_1$°, stranding the preposition *oer* 'about' in specCP$_2$. This intermediate stranding is only allowed because ellipsis (sluicing) will later delete all the lower PP-copies of the movement chain. In other words, this is the second point in the derivation where the repair effect induced by ellipsis plays a crucial role. At the final stage of the derivation, the IP is PF-deleted (i.e. sluiced), and so is the copy of the wh-pronoun *wêr* 'where' in specCP$_2$. The end result is the sequence wh-phrase < demonstrative < preposition, i.e. the derivation has yielded a combination of SPD and swiping.

5.5   Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that Frisian has both SPD and swiping and moreover, that these constructions can co-occur in one and the same sentence. The analysis I have proposed for such examples is a combination of an SPD- and a swiping analysis.

6 Previous analyses

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present and discuss previous analyses both of SPDs and of swiping. Specifically, in section 6.2, I discuss Hoekstra's (1993) account of SPDs as well as a straw man analysis which tries to unify SPDs with pseudosluicing (Merchant 1998), while in section 6.3 I discuss the analyses of swiping given in Kim (1997), Richards (2001) and Merchant (2002).

6.2 Previous analyses of SPDs

6.2.1 Hoekstra (1993)

As far as I have been able to ascertain, Hoekstra (1993) is the only account to date of SPDs. The language he focuses on is Frisian. In what follows, I present and critically review this analysis. Specifically, I will point out some data which are problematic for his account and show how the arguments he presents in favor of his proposal can be accounted for under my analysis as well.

Hoekstra proposes to analyze the *dat*-element which occurs to the right of the sluiced wh-phrase in an SPD not as a fully-fledged demonstrative pronoun (as argued above), but rather as a hybrid category which he terms the 'demonstrative complementizer' (Hoekstra 1993:10). Specifically, *dat* is like the regular demonstrative pronoun in that it refers back to the preceding discourse and represents all the old information in the sentence, but it is unlike normal demonstratives in that it does not perform any of the grammatical functions that DPs normally have. Instead, it is merged as a C°-head in the (extended) left periphery, so that SPDs are in all relevant respects identical to doubly filled COMP filter violations in embedded wh-questions (the only difference being that in embedded wh-questions the complementizer *dat* is reduced to *'t*). There are two main arguments in support of this analysis. Consider first the data in (165) and (166) (Hoekstra 1993:3, 9-10).

(165) a.   Wa   dat?
           who that
           'Who?'

      b.   Tsjin   wa   dat?
            against who that
            'Against whom?'

      c.   * Hokker stik   dat?
            which   article that   [Frisian]

(166) a.   Hy frege, wa 't   jûn   kaam.
           he asked who that tonight came
           'He asked who came tonight.'

b.   Hja   koe   har net yn 't   sin   bringe   tsjin   wa …
          she   could her not in   the mind bring   against whom
          … 't   se   soks   sein   hie.
             that   she such said   had
          'She couldn't remember who she had said such a thing to.'
c. * Ik frege,   hokker stik   't   se   lêzen hie.
          I   asked   which   article that   she   read   had   [Frisian]

These examples illustrate that there is a perfect parallelism between the types of wh-phrases which can occur in SPDs (bare wh-pronouns and PPs containing them) and those which in doubly filled COMP contexts can be followed by *'t* 'that'. This is a first indication that *dat* in (165) and *'t* in (166) are one and the same element. Secondly, there is the data in (167) (Hoekstra 1993:11-12).

(167) a. * Wa   deale dat?
          who   devil   that
     b. * Hy frege,   wa   deale   't   de roltsjeredens op'e …
          he asked   who   devil   that   the roller.skates   on.the
          … trep   set   hie.
             staircase   put   had
          'He asked who the devil had put the roller skates on the staircase.'   [Frisian]

These examples show that both the *dat*-element in SPDs and the *'t*-complementizer in doubly filled COMP contexts are disallowed when the bare wh-pronoun is modified by an adverb-like element (in this case the aggressive non-D-linker *deale* 'the devil'). As such, these data constitute a second indication that the two are one and the same element. This concludes my overview of Hoekstra's (1993) analysis of SPDs.

    A first point I want to raise concerns the categorial status of the element following the sluiced wh-phrase in an SPD. This is an issue I already discussed in some detail in section 2.2.1 of chapter two above, so I can be fairly brief here. If SPDs in Frisian are to be assimilated to doubly filled COMP filter violations under sluicing, they are from a cross-linguistic point of view the odd one out. Specifically, Merchant (2001a:74-82) shows that generally speaking, the C°-position to the right of a sluiced wh-phrase remains silent, and he presents data from Slovene, Irish and (colloquial) Danish, all three of which allow for doubly filled COMP filter violations in non-elliptical embedded wh-questions, to support this. Moreover, under a doubly filled COMP account of SPDs, the examples in (165) would represent matrix wh-questions which feature a complementizer, a situation otherwise unattested in Frisian. Furthermore, recall that dialects which morphologically distinguish the complementizer occurring in doubly filled COMP contexts from the demonstrative pronoun, always use the latter in SPDs. Reconsider in this respect the data in (168) from the dialect of Nijeholtpade.

(168) a.   Zo'k   dat   wel   doen kunnen?
          would.I that$_{DEM}$ PRT   do   can
          'Would I be able to do that?'
     b.   Wet   iene   wie   as   we reupen hebben?
          knows   anyone who   that$_{COMP}$ we called   have
          'Does anyone know who we have called?'

c.   Wie   { dat   / * as}?
        who   that_DEM   /   that_COMP
        'Who?'   [Nijeholtpade Dutch]

One could of course argue that given that the relevant evidence is unavailable in Frisian (the complementizer and the demonstrative pronoun being as they are morphologically identical[107]), the argument does not hold for this language, and Frisian SPDs indeed feature a (demonstrative) complementizer rather than a demonstrative pronoun. It is difficult to see what would be gained by such an approach, however. On the contrary, given that there are no empirical differences between Frisian SPDs and their dialect Dutch counterparts (cf. supra, chapter five, section 5.2), the null hypothesis should surely be that they represent the same construction and a generalization would be missed if one assumed otherwise.

A second issue concerns the grammatical status of the demonstrative pronoun. Recall that there is ample evidence, both from Frisian and from the Dutch SPD-dialects, that SPDs stem from an underlying cleft. Not only are these data very difficult to capture under Hoekstra's account, they also serve as counterevidence to his claim that the *dat*-element in an SPD does not perform any of the grammatical functions that DPs normally have. What I have argued is that *dat* occupies the specifier of the matrix IP making up the cleft. As such, it behaves syntactically like a fully-fledged DP.

Thirdly, it is unclear how the doubly filled COMP analysis of SPDs would be able to capture the striking similarities I have pointed out between SPDs on the one hand and swiping on the other. The fact that both constructions only occur in sluicing, only target minimal wh-phrases and involve stress on the stranded element, follows naturally from the analyses presented in chapter four, but it is difficult to see how an analysis of SPDs as doubly filled COMP filter violations under sluicing would have anything to say about swiping.

Finally, I would like to point out that the two main correlations Hoekstra (1993) presents as evidence in favor of his analysis, follow naturally from the present account as well. The first of these two correlations already featured in chapter three above (in section 3.3.6). There I showed that the doubly filled COMP facts in Frisian can be seen as corroborating evidence for the analysis of the CP-domain I proposed, and it was that same analysis which played a crucial role in determining which types of wh-phrases are allowed to occur in SPDs and which ones are not. In other words, the data in (165) and (166) run parallel because both sets of examples derive from a particular analysis of the CP-domain, not because *dat* 'that' in (165) is the same element as *'t* 'that' in (166). Secondly, the correlation noted in (167) can also be captured by the present account. What these data show, is that when modified by an adverb-like element, wh-pronouns start to behave like complex wh-phrases in being merged in specCP$_1$.[108] As a result, they no longer occur in SPDs (167a) and they cannot by followed by *'t* 'that' in doubly filled COMP contexts in Frisian (167b). I will not present an analysis of these facts here (though

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[107] Interestingly, though, as Henk Wolf p.c. points out to me, this generalisation does not hold for all Frisian speakers. Specifically, some of them can use the complementizer *at* in doubly filled COMP contexts instead of *(da)t*. As expected by my account, however, this form never shows up in SPDs.

[108] One possible explanation that comes to mind is that as a result of the adjunction, the operator feature of the minimal wh-phrase becomes too deeply embedded and hence the entire phrase starts to behave like a non-operator. I owe this suggestion to Jason Merchant p.c..

cf. infra, chapter seven, for some discussion), but it is clear that whatever accounts for one example of the pair in (167) will, under the analyses presented in the previous chapters, also account for the other half of the pair. As such, they pose no problem for the analysis adopted here.

Summing up, an analysis of SPDs in terms of wh-phrase + complementizer seems unable to account for all the relevant data, even if this complementizer is argued to belong to the hybrid category of demonstrative complementizers. On the one hand, there are strong indications that the element following the wh-phrase is a fully-fledged demonstrative pronoun and has no direct link to doubly filled COMP filter violations. On the other hand, it is unclear how such an account would deal with the parallelisms between SPDs and clefts or swiping. Moreover, I have shown that the data which make a doubly filled COMP account of SPDs very appealing at first sight, can also be accounted for under the present analysis.

6.2.2   SPDs as pseudosluicing

The analysis I am arguing against in this section can be considered a straw man, since no-one to my knowledge has ever proposed it. However, given that at first sight it is highly appealing as an account for SPDs, it deserves to be mentioned here. What I will argue is that SPDs should not be analyzed as an instance of pseudosluicing.

Merchant (1998:91) defines pseudosluicing as follows: "A pseudosluice is an elliptical construction that resembles a sluice in having only a wh-XP as remnant, but has the structure of a cleft, not of a regular embedded question.". He goes on to argue that what looks like sluicing in Japanese is in fact pseudosluicing.[109] Specifically, in an example such as (169a), the underlying structure of the sluiced CP is not as in (169b), but rather as in (169c).[110]

(169)   a.   Dareka-ga sono hon-o   yon-da ga, watashi-wa dare ka wakaranai.
                someone$_{NOM}$ that book$_{ACC}$ read$_{PAST}$ but I-TOP   who C$_Q$° know.not
                'Someone read that book, but I don't know who.'

        b.   [$_{CP}$ dare$_i$ [$_{IP}$ t$_i$ sono hon-o   yon-da]   ka]
                    who   that   book$_{ACC}$ read$_{PAST}$ C$_Q$°
                '… who read that book.'

        c.   [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ *pro* dare   ~~da/de aru~~] ka]
                          who   be$_{PRES}$ C$_Q$°
                ' …who it is.'

                                                                                  [Japanese]

In light of the preceding discussion, it seems tempting to identify SPDs as a subtype of pseudosluicing. They too are an elliptical construction which resembles sluicing, but differs from it in that it derives from an underlying cleft rather than from a regular wh-question. On closer inspection, however, SPDs turn out to be quite different from pseudosluicing. In order to illustrate this, I have to be more specific about what causes the deletion of all the IP-internal material (except for the wh-phrase) in the structure in

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[109] The analysis of Japanese sluicing as pseudosluicing is still a controversial issue in Japanese (and Korean) linguistics (cf. Merchant 2003b:12 for a quick overview). There does seem to be a consensus, though, that at least *some* of the data should be analysed in this way.

[110] All the Japanese examples in this section are taken from Merchant 1998.

(169c). Merchant (1998) argues that the fact that Japanese does and English does not display pseudosluicing, is due to the following two salient characteristics of Japanese:

(170) a. It is a null subject language.
b. It optionally allows for omission of the copula in embedded sentences.

When operating together, these two characteristics can have the combined effect of reducing an embedded cleft like *that it is X* to *that X*, i.e. all that is left is the complementizer and the pivot. If that pivot is a wh-phrase, the result is a surface string which is highly similar to a CP which has undergone sluicing. This means that the ellipsis process in (169a)/(169c) is not the result of the PF-deletion of IP triggered by the [E]-feature on C°, but rather of the fact that Japanese independently allows certain parts of this particular structure (i.e. pronouns and copulas) to be left unpronounced. The SPD-dialects discussed in the preceding chapters, however, display neither of the two properties summed up in (170). This means that the analysis of the Japanese pseudosluicing example in (169a) cannot be applied to the dialect Dutch SPD-data, a first indication that the two phenomena are fundamentally different.[111]

Moreover, while in Japanese pseudosluicing the copula can optionally be overt, adding a copula to an embedded SPD leads to ungrammaticality.[112]

(171) Dareka-ga   sono hon-o   yon-da ga, watashi-wa dare (data) ka wakaranai.
someone$_{NOM}$ that book$_{ACC}$ read$_{PAST}$ but I-TOP   who was C$_Q$° know.not
'Someone read that book, but I don't know who (it was).'   [Japanese]

(172) Iemand eit daunen boek gelezen, mo kweet nie wou da   (*was).
someone has that   book read   but I.know not who that$_{DEM}$ was
' Someone has read that book, but I don't know who.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Thirdly, given that the licensing requirements on pseudosluicing have nothing in common with those on sluicing, this construction is predicted to occur in contexts which disallow sluicing. In Japanese this is indeed the case, as we find non-wh-pseudosluices in the complement of yes/no- or even declarative complementizers (cf.(173)). SPDs on

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[111] Note also that it would not suffice to say that given that the subject of the cleft is overt in SPDs (i.e. the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that'), it is only the property in (170b) which is causing the problem. Recall that the Dutch SPD-dialects have two ways of forming a cleft. Either the pronoun in the matrix clause is the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that' or it is the personal pronoun *'t* 'it'. If SPDs are indeed the result of (exceptional) omission of the copula, it should be possible to form an SPD with a personal pronoun, rather than a demonstrative. As the example in (i) shows, however, this is not the case.
(i) A: 'k Em iemand   gezien. B: * Wou 't?
I   have someone seen   who it   [Wambeek Dutch]
[112] The cause of the ungrammaticality of the example in (172) is the lack of an overt complementizer following the embedded wh-phrase (Wambeek Dutch being an obligatorily doubly filled COMP dialect). Compare the example in (172) with the one in (i). This means that if one nonetheless wishes to pursue an analysis of SPDs as pseudosluicing, another *ad hoc* deletion rule would have to be postulated to delete the complementizer in embedded SPDs.
(i) Iemand eit daunen boek gelezen, mo kweet nie wou da   da   was.
someone has that book read   but I.know not who that$_{C°}$ that$_{DEM}$ was
' Someone read that book, but I don't know who it was.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

the other hand, only occur in sluicing (cf. supra, chapter two) and hence are disallowed in these contexts (cf. (174))

(173) a.   John-ga   dareka-o   kubinisita rasii kedo, boku-wa Bill   …
            John$_{NOM}$ someone$_{ACC}$ fired   seem but I-TOP   Bill
            … ka dooka siranai.
               whether   know.not
            'It seems that John fired someone, but I don't know whether it was Bill.'

          b.   John-ga dareka-o   kubinisita rasii kedo, boku-wa Bill   to   omou.
                 John$_{NOM}$ someone$_{ACC}$ fired   seem but I-TOP   Bill that$_{C°}$ think
                 'It seems that John fired someone, and I think that it was Bill.'   [Japanese]

(174) a.   * Jef eid iemand   ontsluigen, mo ik weet nie of Lewie da.
            Jeff has someone fired   but I know not if Louis   that$_{DEM}$
          b.   * Jef eid iemand   ontsluigen en   ik paus da   Lewie da.
               Jeff has someone fired   and I   think that$_{C°}$ Louis   that$_{DEM}$
                                                         [Wambeek Dutch]

Finally, while Japanese pseudosluicing is sensitive to islands, SPDs are not (like regular sluicing, cf. Ross 1969; Fox & Lasnik 2003; Merchant 2001a, to appear a for discussion[113]). The relevant contrast is illustrated for the complex NP constraint in (175)-(176).

(175) * Hanako-ga   Taroo-ni   nanika-o   ageta hito-ni   atta   soda   ga, …
         Hanako$_{NOM}$ Taroo$_{DAT}$ something$_{ACC}$ gave person$_{DAT}$ met   I.heard but
         … watashi-wa nani-o   ka   siranai.
             I-TOP   what$_{ACC}$ C$_Q$°   know-not
         'I heard that Hanako met a person who gave Taroo something, but I don't know what.'   [Japanese]

(176) Lewie ei ne film gezien wuirin   dad iemand   meeduut   …
       Louis has a   movie seen   where.in that$_{C°}$ someone participated
       … dat-n   kan,   mo kweet niet wou da.
         that$_{C°}$-he knows but I.know not   who that$_{DEM}$
       'Louis saw a movie which starred someone he knows, but I don't know who.'
                                                           [Wambeek Dutch]

Summing up, it is clear that, though appealing at first sight, it is quite undesirable to analyze SPDs as a subtype of pseudosluicing.

6.3   Previous analyses of swiping

Although swiping has never really been in the center of attention of linguistic theorizing, a number of analyses have been proposed over the years. Specifically, accounts of swiping can be found in Ross (1969), Rosen (1976), Van Riemsdijk (1978a), Lobeck

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[113] Strictly speaking, Ross' original claim was that sluicing *improves* island violations, rather than completely eliminate them (Ross 1969:276-277). Later authors have strengthened this claim, however. Cf. Merchant 2001a:Chapter 3 for discussion and references.

(1995), Chung e.a. (1995), Kim (1997), Culicover (1999), Richards (1997, 2001) and Merchant (2002). In this section I focus only on the analyses given in Kim (1997), Richards (2001) and Merchant (2002), the first two because they bear some resemblance to my own analysis, the third one because it is the most recent, as yet unchallenged account of swiping. For a critical review of older analyses of swiping, I refer the reader to Merchant (2002:298-301).

6.3.1   Kim (1997)

Kim (1997) presents a comparative analysis of a number of elliptical constructions found in Japanese and Korean on the one hand, and English on the other. In his discussion of sluicing in English, he also focuses on swiping (which he calls 'Spill-over Sluicing', cf. Kim 1997:156-183). Specifically, he proposes to analyze an example such as the one in (177) as in (178) (Kim 1997:162).

(177) Mary bought a present. I wonder who for.

(178)
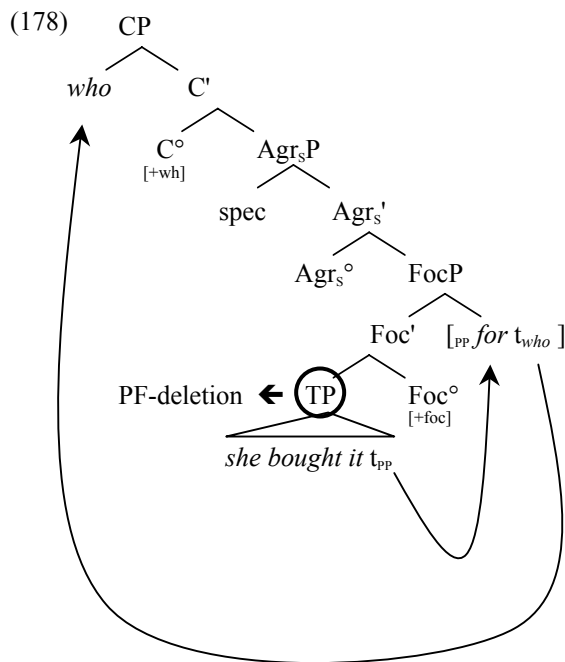
In this structure, the entire PP *for who* first moves to the right-hand specifier of a head-final focus-projection which is situated in between TP and Agr$_S$P, in order to check a focus-feature. Then, the wh-phrase strands the preposition in this specifier, and moves on its own to specCP in order to check the [+wh]-feature of C°. Finally, TP is PF-deleted, and all that remains is the wh-phrase in specCP and the stranded preposition in specFocP, i.e. the derivation has yielded an instance of swiping.

It is clear that the account sketched in (178) is able to capture the fact that swiped prepositions bear stress, as well as the fact that they cannot have an antecedent. Given

that the preposition *for* in (178) is stranded in specFocP, it seems only natural that it should receive a focus interpretation (cf. also the discussion in section 4.3.2 above). Moreover, this analysis can also explain the fact that swiping only occurs in sluicing. Consider the example in (179) (Kim 1997:162).

(179) *I wonder who for she bought it.

Given that the clause-internal focus projection has a right-hand specifier, there is simply no way in which the ungrammatical example in (179) can be derived. Specifically, whenever a preposition is stranded in specFocP, it should be linearly preceded by all the other clause-internal material. Applied to the example at hand, this means that preposition stranding in specFocP in a non-elliptical clause would yield the (grammatical) result in (180). This example is given the structural representation in (181).

(180)   I wonder who she bought it for.

(181)   I wonder [$_{CP}$ who [$_{AgrsP}$ she Agr$_s$° [$_{FocP}$ [$_{TP}$ t$_{she}$ bought it t$_{PP}$] Foc° [$_{PP}$ for t$_{who}$]]]]

Moreover, Kim also presents some further supporting evidence for the fact that the entire PP first moves to the right before the wh-phrase moves on to the left-peripheral specCP. It concerns the examples in (182) and (183) (Kim 1997:164-165).

(182)   John thinks Mary likes someone. Bill wonders who.
        a.   Bill wonders who ~~John thinks Mary likes.~~
        b.   Bill wonders who ~~Mary likes.~~

(183)   Mary claims that the opera was written in the 19th century, but we are not sure who by.
        a.   * … we are not sure who ~~Mary claims the opera was written~~ by.
        b.   … we are not sure who ~~the opera was written~~ by.

What the example in (182) shows, is that 'regular' instances of sluicing (i.e. non-swiping ones) allow both a long-distance reading (in which the matrix clause is contained in the ellipsis site, cf. (182a)) and a short-distance one (in which the ellipsis site consists solely of the embedded clause, cf. (182b)). Swiping on the other hand, only allows for the short-distance reading (compare (183a) with (183b)). This follows, Kim argues, from the Right Roof Constraint (Ross 1967), which states that no element that is moved rightward by a transformation may be moved out of the next higher S-node. Specifically, the PP *by who* is first moved to the right, to the right-hand specifier of the FocP of the embedded clause, and as a result, the wh-phrase cannot subsequently be moved out of this clause and into a higher one. As a result, the reading represented in (183a) is disallowed. This concludes my overview of Kim's (1997) analysis of swiping.

It is clear that there is a certain amount of similarity between the account proposed in chapter four above and the one advocated by Kim (1997). Specifically, both analyses assume that swiping is the result of preposition stranding in the intermediate position of a two-step wh-movement operation. Moreover, in both cases the position the preposition ends up in is a structural focus position, which explains the focus characteristics of

swiped prepositions (i.e. stress and new information). On the other hand, however, the two proposals also differ from one another in a significant number of respects. In the following paragraphs, I will focus on several such differences, arguing that Kim's account faces a number of theoretical and empirical problems. The issues I will discuss are the right-hand specifier of FocP, the fact that Agr_sP is not contained in the ellipsis site, and the fact that swiping only targets minimal wh-phrases.

A first issue I want to address concerns the fact that the focus projection in the structure in (178) has a right-hand specifier. It is worth pointing out that in the grammar of English, such a projection is clearly the odd one out. In particular, English is generally considered to be a fairly consistent head-initial language, which implies that generative analyses tend to use the order specifier < head < complement throughout. Whenever a projection is postulated that does not fit this general pattern, it should be backed up by strong supporting evidence. As I will show below, it is not clear to me that this is the case with respect to the focus projection in the structure in (178).[114] Recall that Kim discusses the contrast between the examples in (179) and (180) (repeated below) as supporting evidence in favor of the right-hand specifier of FocP. Specifically, whenever a preposition is stranded in specFocP, it linearly follows all the other clause-internal material, indicating that specFocP is to the right.

(184) *I wonder who for she bought it.

(185) I wonder who she bought it for.

However, as Kim himself acknowledges, this line of reasoning seems to predict that prepositions can be freely stranded in extraposed positions. Consider in this respect the example in (186) (Kim 1997:163n20).[115]

(186) *What$_2$ did [a book t$_1$] come out yesterday [on t$_2$]$_1$?

As Ross (1967) already observed, extraposed XPs are islands for extraction. Given that the movement operation of the PP *for who* to specFocP in the example in (185) is very similar to an instance of extraposition (cf. also note 114 above), Kim's analysis leads to the prediction that the example in (185) should be as ungrammatical as the one in (186), *quod non*. He proposes that the contrast between (185) and (186) is due to a parsing effect. Specifically, while in (185) the rightward movement operation is string vacuous, in (186) it crosses the elements *come out yesterday*. Under the assumption that Ross' island effects do not show up in string vacuous rightward movement, the grammaticality contrast between (185) and (186) follows. However, it should be pointed out that this hypothesis is not supported by any independent evidence, that string vacuity is not assumed to play a role in any other island effect, and most importantly, that swiping seems to be immune to this restriction. Consider the data in (187) and (188).

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[114] In a footnote, Kim suggests that the specifier he postulates might be the landing site of Heavy NP-shift and Right-Node-Raising (Kim 1997:168n24). Without further argumentation, the success of this hypothesis is difficult to evaluate, however.

[115] Note that this example also violates the Subject Island Condition. The same judgements hold for PPs extraposed from object position, however.

(187) A: A new book came out.
       B: What about?

(188) A: Mary bought a book yesterday.
       B: I wonder who for.

In both these dialogues, the rightward movement of the PP in B's reply is not string vacuous. This is illustrated in the partial structural representations in (189) and (190). In the structure in (189), the PP crosses the complex verb *come out*, while in the example in (190), it has to move across the adverb *yesterday*. In spite of the lack of string vacuity, however, these examples are perfectly well-formed. This casts doubt on Kim's explanation of the contrast between (185) and (186) in terms of the string vacuity of the movement operations involved.[116]

(189) What$_2$ ~~did [a new book t$_1$] come out~~ [about t$_2$]$_1$?

(190) I wonder who$_2$ ~~Mary bought a book t$_1$ yesterday~~ [for t$_2$]$_1$.

The second argument in favor of the right-hand specifier of FocP concerns the examples in (182) and (183) (repeated below).

(191) John thinks Mary likes someone. Bill wonders who.
       a.   Bill wonders who ~~John thinks Mary likes.~~
       b.   Bill wonders who ~~Mary likes.~~

(192) Mary claims that the opera was written in the 19th century, but we are not sure
       who by.
       a.   * … we are not sure who ~~Mary claims the opera was written~~ by.
       b.   … we are not sure who ~~the opera was written~~ by.

While 'regular' sluicing allows for long-distance readings, swiping does not. Kim argues that this is due to the Right Roof Constraint, which prevents *who* from moving into the higher clause subsequent to the rightward movement of the PP *by who*. Note, however, that it is not *a priori* clear if this constraint is applicable here. The constituent which has moved into the higher clause (i.e. the wh-phrase *who*) is not identical to the phrase which has first moved to the right. Rather, it is a subpart of this phrase. This suggests that it is not the Right Roof Constraint which is relevant here, but rather the ban on extraction from extraposed XPs. From that perspective, it remains mysterious why this constraint should be applicable in (192a), but not in (192b) (all the more so because the rightward movement operation is string vacuous in both cases). More importantly, however, it is not clear if the empirical generalization put forward by Kim is entirely accurate. In particular, it turns out to be fairly straightforward to construct examples in which swiping *does* allow for long-distance readings. Consider in this respect the data in (193).

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[116] An option which would in principle still be open, is to assume that the PF-deletion of TP somehow rescues the violation incurred by the lack of string vacuity of the rightward movement operation. As Kim does not mention this option, however, I will not explore it any further here.

(193) John said that Mary had danced, but I don't remember who with.
   a. … who ~~John said Mary had danced~~ with.
   b. … who ~~Mary had danced~~ with.

In this example, both the long-distance and the short-distance reading are straightforwardly available. In fact, due to the particular choice of the lexical items, it is even the long-distance reading (i.e. the one represented in (193a)) which is preferred here. A similar conclusion can be reached on the basis of the example in (194).

(194) Every boy$_i$ says his$_i$ mother will give a talk, but I don't know what about.
   a. … what ~~every boy$_i$ says his$_i$ mother will give a talk~~ about.
   b. * … what ~~his$_i$ mother will give a talk~~ about.

In this example, the matrix subject contains a universal quantifier which binds a pronoun in the embedded subject. For the *but*-clause in this example, this implies that in order for the possessive pronoun *his* to be interpreted as a bound variable, the matrix clause *every boy says* has to be included in the ellipsis site. In other words, the operator/variable-dependency between *every boy* and *his* forces the long-distance reading on the swiped clause. Given that this example is perfectly well-formed, it provides strong evidence against the hypothesis that swiping does not allow for long-distance readings. In fact, this conclusion also seems to hold for Kim's original example (repeated below with judgments omitted).

(195) Mary claims that the opera was written in the 19th century, but we are not sure who by.
   a. … we are not sure who ~~Mary claims the opera was written~~ by.
   b. … we are not sure who ~~the opera was written~~ by.

Consider a context in which a group of people is eavesdropping on Mary giving a presentation. They can hear that she claims a certain opera was written in the 19th century, but they did not quite catch the name of the composer. When reporting about their eavesdropping activities to a third party, they utter the sentence in (195). In such a context, it seems that the long-distance reading is very well available, and probably even preferred. Summing up, it seems fair to conclude that the evidence presented by Kim in favor of a head-final focus projection with concomitant rightward movement to specFocP is not entirely convincing.

 A second aspect of Kim's analysis in which it differs markedly from mine concerns the fact that Agr$_s$P is not contained in the ellipsis site. This immediately raises the prediction that this projection can be filled by overt material in swiping examples. Specifically, the subject should be able to appear in specAgr$_s$P and an auxiliary should be able to raise to Agr$_s$°. As is illustrated in (196) and (197), however, this is not the case.

(196) * Mary has danced, but I don't know who she has with.

(197) … [$_{CP}$ who [$_{Agr_sP}$ she has [$_{FocP}$ ~~[$_{TP}$ t$_{she}$ t$_{has}$ danced t$_{with who}$]~~ Foc° [$_{PP}$ with t$_{who}$]]]]

The derivation of this example is in all relevant respects identical to the one sketched in the tree structure in (178), but for the fact that the subject and the auxiliary have moved into Agr$_S$P. Given that it is only TP that is deleted, these elements should be able to surface in between the wh-phrase and the swiped preposition, *quod non*. As far as the absence of the auxiliary is concerned, Kim (1997:183-185) argues that this is part of the more general phenomenon whereby – in certain contexts and in certain languages – verb movement can be bled by ellipsis (cf. the references mentioned in note 76 above). Specifically, he assumes that the strong feature attracting the auxiliary to Agr$_S$° in the structure in (196) is situated not on Agr$_S$° itself, but rather on the auxiliary. This means that there are now two ways in which this feature can be eliminated: either the auxiliary moves to Agr$_S$°, or it remains *in situ*, and the feature is deleted as a result of the PF-deletion of TP. Given that in swiping examples, the second option is chosen, the auxiliary never surfaces in between the wh-phrase and the swiped preposition. Moreover, he proposes a similar analysis with respect to the subject (Kim 1997:168-172). Here too, he claims that the strong feature driving subject movement to specAgr$_S$P is situated not on Agr$_S$°, but rather on the subject-DP itself. Consequently, there are again two ways of checking this feature: either the subject moves into specAgr$_S$P or it stays *in situ* and its feature is deleted as a result of the PF-deletion of TP. In swiping examples, the subject chooses the second option. However, while the account sketched here might have some plausibility when it comes to verb movement (and cf. the references mentioned in note 76 for more fully worked out accounts), it is doubtful whether it should be extended to subject raising. In particular, Lasnik (2001a) argues explicitly that it should not. He shows that while the verb can stay *in situ* in ellipsis contexts, the subject cannot. Consider in this respect the example in (198) (Lasnik 2001a:360).

(198)   * Mary said she can't swim, even though (really) can ~~she swim~~.

In this VP-ellipsis example, the subject pronoun *she* has not raised from specVP to specIP and as a result, it is contained in the ellipsis site. If subject movement were driven by a strong feature which is situated on the subject-DP, this should be a legitimate way of eliminating the strong subject feature, and the derivation should converge. The fact that the example is ungrammatical, however, seems to suggest that Kim's account for the absence of subject movement in swiping examples is not valid.[117]

The third and final issue I want to focus on concerns the fact that swiping only affects minimal wh-phrases. As Kim himself acknowledges, this generalization is not accounted for under his analysis (Kim 1997:164n22). Specifically, it is not clear why simple wh-phrases can, but complex ones cannot strand a preposition in specFocP.

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[117] There is a second problem raised by data such as those in (196). Given that there are two ways in which the strong feature of the subject can be checked (movement or ellipsis), examples such as those in (i) and (ii) should at least be optionally available. In light of this, Kim 1997:172 claims: "I suggest that the derivations in [(i) and (ii)] are ruled out by the licensing condition on Sluicing: the sluiced site must be licensed by both [+WH] and [+focus] features agreeing with their specifiers, and the sluiced remnant must be licensed by participating in these agreements." This seems to suggest that in order for a subject to be extracted out of a sluiced TP, it has to bear either a [+wh]- or a [+F]-feature. Note that no independent motivation is given for this restriction, and that it does not seem to play a role in any other elliptical construction.
(i)   * Mary bought a present. I wonder who she [$_{TP}$ e] for.
(ii)   * Mary bought something. I wonder what she [$_{TP}$ e].

Summing up, in the preceding paragraphs I have introduced Kim's (1997) analysis of swiping. I have argued that although I share with him the assumption that swiping is the result of preposition stranding in an intermediate (focus) position of a two-step wh-movement operation, his account also leads to a number of theoretical and empirical problems.

6.3.2   Richards (2001)

As already mentioned, the account of swiping proposed by Richards (2001) also bears some resemblance to the analysis developed in chapter four above. In what follows I point out exactly what those parallelisms are, and where the two accounts differ. Moreover, Merchant (2002:300-301) presents a criticism of Richards' account. I will show that the objections he raises do not apply to the analysis proposed here.

Richards (2001:139-140) proposes to analyze swiping as movement of a wh-PP to a functional projection XP outside IP, followed by wh-movement to specCP, which strands the preposition in specXP. The derivation of the question *Who with?* is schematically represented in (199) (Richards 2001:140).

(199)

```
          CP
         /  \
      who    \
              XP
             /  \
          PP      \
         /  \      IP
     with  t_who   /\
```
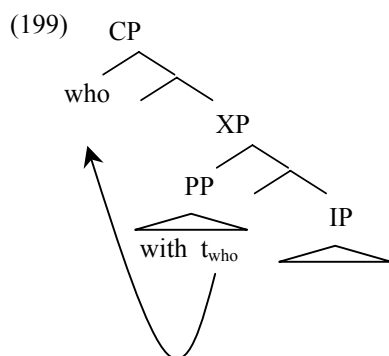
Richards further assumes that movement to specXP is driven by a weak feature (the precise nature of which is left unspecified), while movement to specCP is driven by a strong [+wh]-feature. Combined with his theory about the interaction between feature strength and the overt/covert-distinction (cf. supra, chapter four), this allows for an elegant account of why swiping only occurs in sluicing. Given that the movement of the wh-PP to specXP is triggered by a weak feature, it does not provide PF with unambiguous instructions as to which copy to spell out, and as a result this movement should be illegitimate. This violation can be undone, however, if the lower part of this movement chain is deleted at PF. That explains why movement to specXP (and as a derivative of this movement, swiping) is only allowed under sluicing, i.e. when PF-deletion of IP eliminates the lower part of this movement chain.

Another advantage of this analysis is that it can account for the fact that in multiple sluicing only the first wh-phrase can undergo swiping. Consider the data in (200) (Richards 2001:139).[118]

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[118] Recall from note 31 above that not all native speakers of English allow swiping in multiple sluicing to begin with (see esp. Merchant 2002:315n13 in this respect). The four speakers I consulted all agreed with Richards, though. While their judgements on (200a) ranged from 'perfect'

(200) I know John was talking with somebody about something,
      a.   … but I don't know who with about what.
      b.   * … but I don't know with who what about.
      c.   * … but I don't know what with who about.
      d.   * … but I don't know who with what about.
      e.   * … but I don't know who what with about.

The example in (200a) is derived by movement of both wh-PPs to specXP, followed by wh-movement of *who* to specCP, stranding *with* in (the outer) specXP, and PF-deletion of IP (sluicing). Given that C° bears only one strong [+wh]-feature, this latter movement option is not available to *what*. Specifically, *what* cannot move to specCP to check a weak [+wh]-feature there, since the lower copy of this movement chain (the one in specXP) is not contained in the ellipsis site. As a result, this movement chain does not provide PF with unambiguous instructions as to which copy to spell out and the derivation crashes. The fact that it is *who* and not *what* which moves to specCP is a straightforward Superiority effect: C° attracts the closest wh-phrase available.

The parallelisms between this analysis and the one I presented in chapter four are obvious. Both accounts assume that swiping is the result of a wh-phrase stranding its preposition in an intermediate projection on its way to specCP. Moreover, there is also a striking similarity between the two proposals when it comes to explaining why swiping only occurs in sluicing. Both accounts suggest that ellipsis is needed to rescue what would otherwise be a (PF-)illegitimate derivation. On closer inspection, however, the differences between the two analyses are substantial as well. Whereas Richards leaves the nature of the intermediate landing site (i.e. XP), as well as that of the feature that is being checked there, unspecified, I have argued at length that it concerns a low CP in which operator features are being checked. Furthermore, the two proposals differ in the precise mechanism they hold responsible for the PF-crash in the absence of ellipsis. Specifically, Richards assumes the overt movement to specXP to be driven by a weak feature. Given that such a constellation is only allowed when the lower part of the movement chain is elided, the restricted distribution of swiping follows. My proposal on the other hand, takes the operator feature of $C_2°$ to be strong and the source of the violation to be the lack of Chain Uniformity at PF. Although determining which of the two proposals is to be preferred is not a trivial issue, I consider the fact that minimal wh-phrases can surface in $specCP_2$ in non-elliptical wh-questions (cf. supra, chapter three, section 3.3.6) to be a strong indication that the relevant feature in $C_2°$ is indeed strong and that the violation is due to (a lack of) Chain Uniformity.[119]

Merchant (2002:300-301) presents three points of criticism against Richards' analysis of swiping. Interestingly, the first two will turn out to be inapplicable to my account. The third one requires a bit more discussion. First of all, Merchant points out that Richards'

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to 'fairly acceptable' (i.e. it received an average of 1.75 on a scale of 1 to 5), the examples in (200b-e) were unanimously starred.

[119] Note, incidentally, that this means that a wh-phrase moving to $specCP_1$ via $specCP_2$ would create a single movement chain in which two strong features are being checked, a constellation which is ruled out under Richards' theory (essentially, because PF would receive conflicting instructions as to which copy in the chain to spell out). As he himself notes, however, the ban on movement chains checking more than one strong feature is probably too strict as it stands (Richards 2001:188-191). I leave this as a topic for further research.

analysis as it stands cannot account for the fact that swiping only targets minimal wh-phrases. *A priori* there is no reason why minimal wh-phrases can, but complex ones cannot strand their preposition in specXP. As I have argued at length above, this criticism does not apply to my account. Complex wh-phrases cannot strand a preposition in specCP$_2$ because at no point in the derivation do they occupy this position, being as they are base-generated in specCP$_1$. Secondly, no independent evidence is presented for the existence of XP, nor is it clear what its role is besides hosting the intermediate movement necessary for swiping. Again, the account presented here escapes this criticism, as I have presented ample empirical evidence in favor of the existence of CP$_2$, at the same time indicating what role this projection plays outside of swiping. The third point concerns the repair effect induced by ellipsis. If sluicing is needed to delete the lower copies of the wh-PP which undergoes swiping, certain instances of VP-ellipsis should allow for swiping as well. Consider the example in (201) (Merchant 2002:301).

(201)   * We know when she spoke, but we don't know what about she did.

Here, Merchant argues, VP-ellipsis has deleted the lower copy of the wh-PP *about what* and yet swiping is still disallowed. Given that both Richards' account and mine crucially depend on ellipsis eliding the lower PP-copies, this point of criticism applies to both analyses. What I want to argue, however, is that the instance of VP-ellipsis in (201) has failed to delete *all* intermediate copies of the wh-PP *about what*. Specifically, there is still a copy of this phrase in between the elided VP and IP (indicated neutrally below as adjoined to XP), and it is this copy which causes the violation of Chain Uniformity which is responsible for the ungrammaticality of the example in (201). This is schematically represented in (202).

(202)   [$_{CP1}$ what C$_1$° [$_{CP2}$ about what C$_2$° [$_{IP}$ she did [$_{XP}$ about what [$_{XP}$ … [$_{VP}$ speak about what]]]]]]

NON-UNIFORM CHAIN

The idea that the PP *about what* has an intermediate landing site in between VP and IP on its way to the CP-domain is one that has recently gained popularity in papers such as Fox & Lasnik (2003) and Merchant (to appear a) (and cf. also Fox 2000; Nissenbaum 2000 for related proposals). These papers try to account for the fact that while sluicing is insensitive to islands (cf. Ross 1969 and cf. also supra, note 113 and surrounding text), VP-ellipsis is not. Interestingly, both Fox & Lasnik and Merchant crucially argue that while sluicing deletes all the intermediate copies of the island-violating wh-phrase, VP-ellipsis fails to delete a subset of these intermediate copies (i.e. those in between VP and CP) and as a result, VP-ellipsis is still sensitive to islands. Although this is only the rough outline of their analyses (cf. the original references for more in-depth discussion), it should be clear that this account carries over wholesale to the problem presented by the example in (201)/(202). There too, VP-ellipsis fails to delete all the intermediate copies of the moved PP and as a result, the derivation crashes. More generally, swiping is only licensed under sluicing.

   Summing up, in this section I have presented Richards' (2001) account of swiping. I have shown that although it bears some resemblance to my account, there are also substantial differences. Moreover, my analysis was able to overcome the criticism raised by Merchant (2002) against Richards' analysis.

6.3.3   Merchant (2002)

The account of swiping put forward by Merchant (2002) is radically different from what I have been considering so far. He proposes to analyze swiping as an instance of prosodically conditioned head movement of the wh-pronoun onto the preposition. Reduced to its bare essentials, the analysis of a swiping example such as *Who to?* can then be schematically represented as in (203).

(203)

```
                 CP
               /    \
            PP        C'
          /    \     /   \
    who + to  t_who  C°   IP̶
        ↺
```
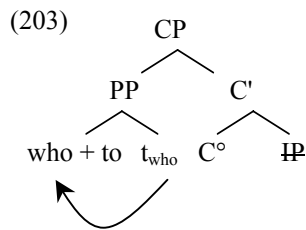
An account of swiping in terms of head movement provides a natural explanation for the fact that this construction only targets minimal wh-phrases. Specifically, given fairly standard assumptions about structure preservation and the ban on D°-extraction in English, examples like the ones in (204) cannot be derived by the mechanism exemplified in (203), as desired.

(204) a.   * Which book about?
       b.   * Which about book?

The example in (204a) would require adjunction of a phrase (*which book*) to a head (*about*), whereas the b-sentence would involve extraction of the D° *which* out of the DP *which book*. Given that both these processes are independently banned from the grammar of English, the minimality restriction on swiping falls out naturally from the head movement account.

   Moreover, there is independent evidence in favor of the hypothesis that swiping only targets heads. Consider the data in (205) (Merchant 2002:303-304)

(205) a.   What <the hell> kind of doctor <*the hell> is she, anyhow?!
       b.   What <*exactly> kind of doctor <exactly> is she?

These data show that while *the hell* is a modifier which typically attaches to heads, adverb-like elements like *exactly* only attach to phrases. If swiping is the result of head movement, wh-phrases which have undergone swiping should only be modifiable by *the hell*, and not by *exactly*. This prediction is borne out in (206) (Merchant 2002:303-304).

(206) a.   He was talking, but God knows what the hell about.
       b.   * He was talking about something, but God knows what exactly about.

The fact that swiping only occurs in sluicing, Merchant takes to be an indication that the head movement operation involved in swiping occurs after Spell-Out. The reasoning goes as follows: (i) swiping involves head movement, (ii) swiping occurs only in sluicing, (iii) sluicing is IP-deletion at PF, *ergo* the head movement operation involved

in swiping occurs after the PF-deletion of IP (given that it is crucially dependent on it), i.e. swiping represents an instance of head movement at PF.

As for the question of what triggers this head movement, Merchant argues that swiping represents the overt counterpart of the process commonly referred to as feature percolation. Specifically, when a wh-phrase pied-pipes a preposition, it somehow has to transfer its [+wh]-feature to the entire PP. It seems reasonable to assume that this transfer happens through feature movement: the [+wh]-feature of the wh-phrase moves and adjoins to the preposition. Normally, this movement does not lead to a change in word order, i.e. the [+wh]-feature does not pied-pipe the phonological matrix of the wh-word that bears it for 'PF convergence requirements' (Chomsky 1995). In English, however, the situation is more complicated. Given that the hypothesized feature movement is optional to begin with – English being a preposition-stranding language – the system has become unstable and both the option where just the [+wh]-feature moves and the option where the entire wh-word moves, have become possible. When the second option is chosen, swiping occurs.

The choice between these two options is not entirely free, however. This is where the interaction between swiping and focus comes into play. Given that swiping only takes place when the IP following the wh-PP has been deleted, the phonological effect of the head movement involved in swiping is that the swiped preposition receives main stress (as a result of "general head-final prominence algorithms operative in English (cf. the nuclear stress rule and its descendents)" Merchant 2002:305). Under a theory of focus which tries to avoid F-marking phrases which are GIVEN (i.e. which have an appropriate antecedent) such as that of Schwarzschild (1999), this predicts swiping to only occur when there is no appropriate antecedent for the swiped preposition. Recall from chapter two above that this is precisely one of the main characteristics of swiping.

After having introduced the main ingredients of Merchant's (2002) analysis of swiping, I now present a critical evaluation of it. I will focus on four aspects of (the analysis of) swiping: the idea that head movement is involved, the generalization that swiping only occurs in sluicing and its interaction with focus, the relation between swiping and preposition stranding, and the parallelisms between swiping and SPDs.

Under the account of swiping as head movement, a number of constituents which one would intuitively catalogue as phrases, have to be reanalyzed as heads. A first group concerns the wh-constituents *how long*, *how much* and *how many*. Recall from note 30 in chapter two above that at least for some speakers these wh-constituents are allowed to occur in swiping.

(207) a.   % He's been living in Arizona, but I don't know how long for.
       b.   % She bought it all right, but don't even ask how much for!
       c.   % There's a lot of cities on her list, so she'll be traveling a lot, but I don't know how many to.

According to Merchant, *how long*, *how much* and *how many* are "subject to varying degrees of reanalysis" (Merchant 2002:297). It is unclear, however, why it should be precisely these constituents which are subject to reanalysis, and not, say, *which book*, *whose mother* or *which*.[120] Interestingly, from the point of view of the theory presented

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[120] It should be noted, though, that in many languages, *how much* and *how many* are monomorphemic. Thanks to Jason Merchant p.c. for pointing this out to me.

above, the fact that it is precisely these three which are allowed in swiping receives a natural explanation. Recall from chapter three (section 3.4.1) above that I have defined the set of complex wh-phrases as consisting of those wh-constituents which have an N-restriction. Given that *how long*, *how much* and *how many* lack such an N-restriction, they are expected to occur in swiping.[121,122,123] Abstracting away from the question of why it should be precisely these wh-constituents which behave differently, however, there is also an argument internal to Merchant's reasoning which casts doubt on their status as heads. Recall that aggressively non-D-linking modifiers are used as a test of the head status of the phrase they attach to. In this respect it is interesting to note that while *how the hell long*, *how the hell much* and *how the hell many* are perfectly well-formed (cf. some examples taken from the Internet in (208)), their counterparts where *the hell* modifies the entire phrase are rare to non-existent. Following the reasoning presented above, this would mean that their occurrence as heads is rare to non-existent.

(208)　a.　　How the hell long has there been chlorine in the tap water?
　　　　b.　　Everybody knows how the hell much that pisses me off.
　　　　c.　　How the hell many do you need to sell to avoid being dropped nowadays?

A similar argument can be constructed on the basis of aggressively non-D-linked simple wh-phrases. Recall from example (205a) above that they are allowed to occur in swiping. Consider some more data (again taken from the Internet) in (209).

(209)　a.　　"You want vomit-flavored Beans?" James asked, "Who on earth for?"
　　　　b.　　"What in the world about?" Justin asked, perplexed as to what they could have found to fight about so suddenly.
　　　　c.　　"Can I have the stuff?"　"What in heaven's name for?"

If all these examples are derived by head movement, the strings *who on earth*, *what in the world* and *what in heaven's name* all have to be reanalyzed as heads, in spite of the fact that they look like ordinary complex phrases. More generally, it is not because a particular modifier only merges with heads that the result of this merger is still a head. Again, this can be demonstrated by adding other modifiers. Recall from example (205b) above, that adverbs like *exactly* only attach to phrases. This means that if aggressively non-D-linked simple wh-phrases are indeed complex heads, they should disallow modification by *exactly*. The (Internet-)examples in (210) show that this prediction is not borne out.

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[121] In this respect, it is also interesting to point out that examples such as the one in (207c) are generally considered to be less acceptable than those in (207a) and (207b) (Merchant 2002:294-295). Given that *how many* can also easily be analyzed as a concealed complex wh-phrase in which the head noun (i.e. the N-restriction) has been elided (cf. also note 30 above), it should come as no surprise that this expression is only marginally acceptable in swiping.

[122] Note that by that same token, these wh-phrases are also expected to occur in SPDs. This prediction is borne out: both *uu lang* 'how long' and *uu veel* 'how much'/'how many' can occur in SPDs, subject to the same type of inter-speaker variation as the one attested for English swiping.

[123] Cf. in this respect also Tsai's 1994:76-93 related discussion on the different behavior of *how much* and *how many pounds* in English wh-*in-situ*.

(210) a.   What the hell exactly does that mean?
       b.   Who the hell exactly is Jack Ryan?
       c.   Where the hell exactly is Wayne State anyway?

A third argument against the analysis of swiping as head movement comes from Frisian. Recall from chapter five above that Frisian allows swiping to co-occur with SPDs. Reconsider a relevant example in (211).

(211) A: Jan   hat   juster   in   praatsje   holden.
                John   has   yesterday   a   talk   held
       B: Wêr   dat   oer?
                where that_DEM about
       'A: John gave a talk yesterday. B: About what?'   [Frisian]

Given that in this example the wh-pronoun is separated from its swiped preposition by an independent lexical element (i.e. the demonstrative pronoun characteristic of SPDs), these data pose a problem for accounts which analyze swiping as PP-internal head movement of the wh-pronoun onto the preposition.[124]

   The second aspect of Merchant's analysis I turn to concerns the fact that swiping only occurs in sluicing. Recall that he uses this empirical generalization as a premise for the conclusion that the head movement involved in swiping occurs at PF. It is unclear, however, whether this line of reasoning really accounts for the generalization. Specifically, it is difficult to see what would rule out the application of the head movement involved in swiping in cases where the IP following the wh-PP has not been elided. One could of course argue that this is where the interaction with focus comes in: swiping is only allowed when it has the phonological effect of placing the main stress on the preposition. Given that stress is assigned by general algorithms assigning prominence to the final or most deeply embedded constituent, a preposition will only be swiped if all the phonological material that follows it has been elided. Such an approach raises two new questions, however. Firstly, it is unclear why swiping is still disallowed when the wh-PP is the most deeply embedded and most final constituent even without IP-deletion taking place. This is the case in (212)

(212) * Who spoke who to?

In this example, because the wh-PP is final and most deeply embedded in the clause, swiping would have the effect of placing extra stress on the preposition. Nevertheless, it is still disallowed.

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[124] A similar type of argument is provided by examples such as B's reply in the dialogue in (i) below, which – as Jason Merchant p.c. informs me – are accepted by many speakers.
(i)   A: She was talking.
           B: Really? Who do you think with?
In this example, the preposition appears to have been stranded in the intermediate specCP. Again, the fact that independent lexical items intervene between the wh-phrase and the preposition makes an account in terms of PP-internal head movement highly unlikely. I leave a full exploration of examples such as those in (iB) as a topic for further research.

The second issue I want to raise in this respect is one which has already featured in the discussion of Richards' (2001) analysis of swiping. Reconsider the paradigm in (213).

(213) I know John was talking with somebody about something,
    a.   … but I don't know who with about what.
    b. * … but I don't know with who what about.
    c. * … but I don't know what with who about.
    d. * … but I don't know who with what about.
    e. * … but I don't know who what with about.

These data show that in cases involving multiple sluicing, swiping is only allowed to occur in the first of the two wh-phrases. Again, this is unexpected from the point of view of a theory which links the occurrence of swiping to the requirement that the swiped wh-PP be left-adjacent to a gap. If anything, such a view would predict the second of the two wh-phrases to undergo swiping, *quod non*.[125]

My third point concerns the relation between swiping and preposition stranding. Under the assumption that swiping involves a type of head movement which is in all relevant respects the overt manifestation of the (normally invisible) process responsible for feature percolation and pied-piping, one would not expect to find phenomena in swiping which under normal (i.e. non-elliptical) circumstances only occur under preposition stranding, and not under pied-piping. In the account developed here, however, such constructions would receive a natural explanation, given that a swiped preposition is in a very real, syntactic sense, stranded (i.e. in specCP$_2$). As Merchant himself points out, there are indeed such phenomena. Consider for example the data in (214) (Merchant 2002:314n13).

(214) a.   What did you do that for?
     b. * For what did you do that?
          INTENDED READING: 'Why did you do that?'

These examples illustrate that the wh-PP *for what* can acquire an idiomatic reading synonymous to *why*, but only if the preposition *for* has been stranded. Under the head movement account of swiping, this would predict the idiomatic reading to be absent in this construction, since pied-piping the entire wh-PP to specCP is a necessary prerequisite for the head movement to take place. As the example in (215) illustrates, however, this is a false prediction (Merchant 2002:315n13).

(215) He did it, but I don't know what for.

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[125] Interestingly, from the point of view of the analysis developed in chapter four, examples such as the one in (i) represent an argument in favor of the hypothesis that multiple sluicing in English involves only one CP-domain-internal wh-phrase, the other wh-phrases occupying some lower structural position (cf. Rudin 1988 and cf. also note 78 above). Given that the swiped preposition *with* occupies specCP$_2$, the complex wh-phrase *about which language* cannot be base-generated in specCP$_1$ (given that it follows *with*), as it would have been had it occupied the CP-domain.
(i)   John was talking with someone about some language, but I don't know who with about which language.

A similar, though admittedly less clear argument can be constructed on the basis of the distribution of *whom* in swiping and preposition stranding. Although judgments based on this archaic, formal Case-marked form of the wh-pronoun *who* are notoriously difficult (cf. Merchant 2001a:133n13), there does seem to be something of a consensus when it comes the data presented in (216) (the example in (216a) is taken from Merchant 2001a:124n8, the one in (216b) from Lasnik & Sobin 2000:361n22, the one in (216c) is based on informant judgments).

(216) a.   Peter went to the movies, but I don't know who(*m) with.
       b.   For who??(m) are you buying a gift?
       c.   Who(??m) are you buying a gift for?

Specifically, the a-sentence illustrates that *whom* is disallowed in swiping, while the examples in (216b) and (216c) show that there is a strong tendency to use *who* in sentences involving preposition stranding, but *whom* in cases of pied-piping. Again, then, there seems to be a parallel between swiping and preposition stranding which a head movement account of swiping has difficulties accounting for.[126]

The fourth and final point I wish to raise is one which for obvious reasons was not discussed by Merchant. Recall that I have demonstrated earlier (in section 2.4 of chapter two) that there are a number of noticeable empirical parallelisms between English swiping on the one hand and dialect Dutch SPDs on the other. Specifically, the fact that both only occur in sluicing, that both only target minimal wh-phrases and that both require stress on the stranded element, were taken to be strong indications that these two phenomena should receive a partially unified account. It is unclear, however, what such an account would look like under an analysis of swiping as PP-internal head movement of the wh-pronoun onto the preposition. Given that this analysis does not appear to have any discernible effects on the behavior of clefts in Dutch dialects, it does not seem to be able to capture the parallelisms pointed out above.

Summing up, in this section I have introduced and critically evaluated Merchant's (2002) account of swiping. I have shown that there is reason to doubt that head movement is involved in swiping and that the stress assigned to swiped prepositions is the result of a general algorithm assigning stress to the most deeply embedded constituent. Moreover, I have pointed out a number of correlations between swiping on the one hand and preposition stranding and SPDs on the other, which seem difficult to capture under a head movement account of swiping.

6.4   Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented and critically reviewed two alternative analyses of SPDs and three alternative analyses of swiping. I have demonstrated that all five these

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[126] It is worth pointing out that Lasnik & Sobin's 2000 account for the *who/whom*-alternation breaks down in sluicing contexts. Specifically, while the contrast in (i) (from Levin 1982) seems to suggest that the elided IP is still visible for their 'Extended Rule' (p.359) to apply, that same rule would on the same grounds predict *whom* to be possible in the example in (216a) as well.
(i)   a.   Someone kissed Janet, but I don't remember who(*m).
       b.   Janet kissed someone, but I don't remember who(?m).

accounts face considerable difficulties when confronted with the full set of data from SPDs and/or swiping. I therefore conclude that the analysis presented in the preceding two chapters is to be preferred over these alternative options.

7 Expanding the data set

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I expand the data set of part one by briefly introducing some other instances of stranding under sluicing. The purpose of this chapter is twofold. On the one hand I want to show that SPDs are not an accidental quirk of dialect Dutch and Frisian, but that they occur in a number of other languages as well. On the other hand, I want to demonstrate how the analysis of SPDs and swiping presented above can shed new light on other constructions where overt material is stranded to the right of a sluiced wh-phrase. The chapter is organized as follows. In section 7.2 I present an exploratory overview of the occurrence of SPDs in French and Eastern Norwegian.[127] I will show that there is a large overlap with dialect Dutch and Frisian SPDs. At the same time, however, each of these languages also displays its own idiosyncratic characteristics. As a result, I will not attempt to provide an in-depth analysis of French and/or Eastern Norwegian SPDs here, leaving the issue instead as a topic for further research (cf. also note 127). In section 7.3 I focus on two constructions where overt material other than a demonstrative pronoun or a preposition has been stranded under sluicing. I will demonstrate that the interaction – or the lack thereof – between these two constructions and SPDs/swiping can provide new insights as to what their analysis should look like.

7.2 SPDs cross-linguistically

7.2.1 French

As was already pointed out by Hoekstra (1993:10n7), the French construction exemplified in (217) at first sight resembles dialect Dutch and Frisian SPDs to a considerable extent.

(217) a.　　A:　Je　vais　à　Londres.　　B:　Quand　ça?
　　　　　　　　I　go　to　London　　　　　when　that$_{\text{DEM}}$
　　　　　'A: I'm going to London.　B:　When?'
　　　b.　　A:　J'ai　vu　quelqu'un.　B:　Qui　ça?
　　　　　　　　I.have　seen　someone　　　who　that$_{\text{DEM}}$
　　　　　'A: I saw someone.　B:　Who?'　　　　　　　　　　　　[French]

In these examples, a sluiced wh-phrase (in (217a) *quand* 'when' and in (217b) *qui* 'who') is followed by the demonstrative pronoun *ça* 'that'.[128] The parallelism between French

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[127] SPDs also occur in Serbo-Croatian (Boban Arsenijevic p.c.) and – to a limited extent – in Czech (Milan Rezac p.c., Jakub Dotlačil p.c.). I hope to return to an in-depth crosslinguistic analysis of SPDs in future research.

[128] It is worth pointing out that in French the demonstrative pronoun (*ça*) is not homophonous to the complementizer which – in some varieties – is used in doubly filled COMP filter violating contexts (i.e. *que*).

and dialect Dutch/Frisian extends beyond these baseline data, however. Consider some additional examples in (218).

(218) a.   A: Marie est en train de lire   un livre.
                   Mary is in train of read$_{INF}$ a book
           B: Quel livre (?? ça)?
                which book   that$_{DEM}$
        'A: Mary is reading a book. B: Which book?'

       b.   Qui ÇA? / * QUI ça?
          who that$_{DEM}$ / who that$_{DEM}$
          'Who?'

       c.   A: J'ai parlé avec presque tout le monde.
                  I.have spoken with almost all the world
           B: Avec qui <*ça> pas <*ça>?
                with who that$_{DEM}$ not that$_{DEM}$
        'A: I have spoken with almost everyone. B: Who didn't you speak with?'

       d.   Tout le monde était en train de parler avec quelqu'un, …
          all the world was in train of talk$_{INF}$ with someone
          … mais je ne sais pas qui (*ça) avec qui (*ça).
            but I NEG know not who that$_{DEM}$ with who that$_{DEM}$
        'Everyone was talking to someone, but I don't know who to whom.'

       e.   [context: a contestant of a game show has to choose which one of her two closest friends she wants to take on a luxury cruise; she is given five minutes to think about the issue, after which the game show host walks up to her holding a picture of friend A in his left hand and a picture of friend B in his right hand; he says:]
          Qui (#ça)?
          who that$_{DEM}$
          'Who?'   [French]

While the dialogue in (218a) illustrates that complex wh-phrases are degraded when combined with a demonstrative pronoun (although the judgments appear to be slightly less strong that in dialect Dutch or Frisian), the minimal pair in (218b) shows that the stress pattern in French SPDs is identical to that of dialect Dutch and Frisian pointed out above. Specifically, in both cases it is the demonstrative, and not the wh-phrase, which receives main stress. The examples in (218c) and (218d) illustrate that just as their dialect Dutch and Frisian counterparts, French SPDs are disallowed in combination with negation or multiple sluicing. Finally, the question in (218e) demonstrates that French SPDs require an overt linguistic antecedent, again in perfect accordance with their dialect Dutch and Frisian counterparts. Thus it seems reasonable to conclude that the French data in (217) are related in a more than superficial way to the dialect Dutch and Frisian data discussed earlier.

    Having said this, however, there is one very noticeable difference between French SPDs and dialect Dutch/Frisian ones. Specifically, while the latter are restricted to sluicing, the former can apparently occur in non-elliptical wh-questions as well. Consider an example in (219).

(219) Tu   as   vu   qui   ça?
      you   have seen who   that$_{DEM}$
      'Who did you see?'   [French]

In this example the string *qui ça* 'who that' seems to function as a single wh-phrase. At first sight this might be taken as an indication that the combination of wh-phrase + demonstrative pronoun has in French grammaticalized into a single phrase. It is not clear, however, that such a conclusion is warranted. Specifically, several facts suggests that questions such as the one in (219) are more complex than they appear to be at first glance. First of all, data such as those in (219) are subject to a fair amount of dialectal and idiolectal variation. Specifically, while some speakers disallow such questions entirely, others only accept them in an echo reading.[129] No such variation exists with respect to the sluiced examples in (217)-(218), however. Secondly, as was pointed out by Cheng & Rooryck (2000), unlike other wh-phrases, *qui ça* cannot raise to sentence-initial position. This is illustrated in (220).

(220)* Qui ça   as-tu   vu?
       who that$_{DEM}$ have-you   seen
       'Who did you see?'   [French]

The fact that *qui ça* cannot move to specCP casts serious doubt on the assumption that it forms a single constituent. Moreover, several recent proposals concerning the left periphery of French assume a very rich functional architecture with a substantial amount of remnant movement (cf. for example Kayne & Pollock 2001; Poletto & Pollock 2002). This means that phrases which occur clause-finally can in fact occupy a fairly high left-peripheral position. Thus, the question in (219) might well be given an analysis compatible with the account presented for dialect Dutch and Frisian in the previous chapters. As pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, though, I will not undertake this enterprise here.

Summing up, in this section I have shown that French has a construction which bears too close a resemblance to dialect Dutch and Frisian SPDs for the two phenomena to be unrelated. The one important difference between the two – i.e. the fact that (for some speakers) French SPDs appear to be not restricted to sluicing – clearly needs further investigation, but might arguably be due to independent differences between the (left periphery of) the languages involved.

7.2.2   Eastern Norwegian

SPDs in Eastern Norwegian (i.e. the dialects spoken in the area in and around Oslo) add yet another color to the cross-linguistic SPD-spectrum.[130] Consider the data in (221).

(221) a.   * Hvem   det?
             who   that$_{DEM}$

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[129] Thanks to Máire Noonan p.c. and Mélanie Jouitteau p.c. (via Milan Rezac) for pointing this out to me.
[130] Many thanks to Øystein Nilsen for his help with the Eastern Norwegian data.

b.   * Hva   det?
       what that_DEM

c.   Hvorfor det?
       why   that_DEM
       'Why?'

d.   Hvordan det?
       how   that_DEM
       'How do you mean?'
       'Why do you say that?'

e.   * Av hvilken grunn   det?
       of   which   reason   that_DEM   [Eastern Norwegian]

These examples show that Eastern Norwegian allows only a subset of the set of minimal wh-phrases to occur in SPDs. In particular, only *hvorfor* 'why' in (221c) and *hvordan* 'how' in (221d) can be followed by the demonstrative pronoun *det* 'that' when sluiced. Moreover, the complex paraphrase of *why*, i.e. *av hvilken grunn* 'for what reason' in (221e), is also disallowed. From the point of view of the theory developed in the preceding chapters, these data are highly interesting. Recall from chapter three that I have defined the set of complex wh-phrases as consisting of those wh-expressions which have an N-restriction. Wh-phrases like *which book* and wh-adverbs like *how* and *why* are on opposite ends of this complexity scale. I also proposed that languages differ as to the position simple wh-pronouns like *who* and *what* occupy on this scale. Specifically, while in English the default behavior of simple wh-pronouns (which can be overridden in certain contexts, cf. chapter three, section 3.4.1) is like that of wh-adverbs, Tsai (1994, 1999) shows that Chinese represents the opposite pattern (as witnessed by the fact that only *how* and *why* cause island violations in Chinese and hence have to move at LF). What I want to argue in light of the data in (221), is that Eastern Norwegian follows the Chinese pattern. Specifically, it groups its simple wh-pronouns with complex wh-phrases like *which book*, leaving only *how* and *why* in the category of the minimal wh-phrases. As a result, it is only these two that are allowed to occur in SPDs. Although this at first sight exotic correlation between Eastern Norwegian and Chinese clearly needs further empirical support, both language-internally and cross-linguistically, there is one indication in the data in (221) that it is on the right track. Specifically, as indicated by the English translation of the example in (221d), *hvordan* 'how' when used in an SPD does not ask for a means. Rather, it asks for the reason or cause behind the preceding statement in the discourse. This correlates nicely with the findings of Tsai (1999). He shows that not all uses of *how* and *why* are disallowed to occur *in situ* inside islands in Chinese. Specifically, one of the two readings of *how* he discerns which are disallowed in islands (i.e. which have to move at LF) is 'causal *how*'.[131] This kind of fine-grained parallelism between the use of *how* in these two languages, further strengthens the correlation I have drawn between them.

The data in (222)-(224) exemplify three more parallelisms between SPDs in Eastern Norwegian and their counterparts in dialect Dutch and Frisian. Specifically, the minimal pair in (222) shows that once again, the main stress falls on the demonstrative pronoun rather than on the wh-phrase, while the example in (223) illustrates that SPDs in Eastern

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[131] The other one is what he calls 'style *how*'. I have been unable to ascertain whether this use of *how* can also occur in (SPDs in) Eastern Norwegian.

Norwegian are disallowed in non-elliptical wh-questions. The pair in (224) on the other hand shows that neither SPDs nor clefts with a wh-pivot can be modified by negation.[132]

(222) Hvorfor DET? / * HVORFOR   det?
      why   that$_{DEM}$ /   why   that$_{DEM}$
      'Why?'   [Eastern Norwegian]

(223) Hvorfor (*det)   har Jens kjøpt   ny   bil?
      why   that$_{DEM}$ has Jens bought new   car
      'Why has Jens bought a new car?'   [Eastern Norwegian]

(224) a.   A: Jens kommer ikke. B: * Hvordan <ikke> det <ikke>?
                         Jens comes   not   how   not   that$_{DEM}$ not
      b.   * Hvordan er det   ikke at   Jens (ikke) kommer?
               how   is   that$_{DEM}$ not   that$_{C°}$ Jens not   comes
                                             [Eastern Norwegian]

At first sight, however, the parallelism with dialect Dutch and Frisian SPDs breaks down in the examples in (225) and (226).

(225) a.   A: Kommer Jens til festen   for å   see Marit?
                         comes   Jens to   the.party for to   see Mary
             B: Hvorfor <*det>   ellers <*det>?
                         why   that$_{DEM}$ else   that$_{DEM}$
             'A: Is Jens coming to the party to see Mary? B: Why else?'
      b.   Hvorfor <?ellers> er det   <ellers> at   Jens kommer?
               why   else   is that$_{DEM}$ else   that$_{C°}$ Jens comes
               'Why else is it that Jens is coming?'   [Eastern Norwegian]

(226) [context: two people standing next to the body of a girl who has just killed
        herself by jumping off a high building; person A shakes his head in
        disbelief and says to person B:]
      a.   Hvorfor (#det)?
               why   that$_{DEM}$
               'Why?'
      b.   Hvorfor er det   at   hun har   gjort det?
               why   is   that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C°}$ she has   done that$_{DEM}$
               'Why is it that she has done that?'   [Eastern Norwegian]

The data in (225a) and (226a) illustrate that SPDs cannot be modified by *ellers* 'else' and that they cannot be pragmatically controlled. As the b-sentences of these examples show, however, neither of these two characteristics holds for clefts with a wh-pivot in Eastern Norwegian. As such, these data seem to suggest that SPDs in Eastern Norwegian are not

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[132] With respect to *hvorfor* 'why' the situation is more complicated, as it does appear to be compatible with a combination of *ikke* 'not' and *det* 'that' (in that order), in spite of the fact that clefts with *hvorfor* 'why' as their pivot are not compatible with negation. I assume this might be related to the fact that in English too, *why* is the only wh-phrase which can be modified by negation (cf. Merchant 2001b), although the issue clearly needs further looking into.

as closely related to clefts as their dialect Dutch and Frisian counterparts are. What I want to suggest, though, is that this difference is only apparent. Specifically, with respect to the data in (226) it is worth pointing out that the Eastern Norwegian word *det* is homophonous between the personal pronoun 'it' and the demonstrative pronoun 'that'. This means that the acceptability of the pragmatically controlled cleft in (226b) might simply reduce to the fact that clefts in which the matrix subject position is occupied by 'it' can be pragmatically controlled. Consider in this respect the Wambeek Dutch contrast (from chapter four, section 4.2.4 above) in (227).

(227)   [context: a contestant of a game show has to choose which one of her two closest
        friends she wants to take on a luxury cruise; she is given five minutes to think
        about the issue, after which the game show host walks up to her holding a
        picture of friend A in his left hand and a picture of friend B in his right hand; he
        says:]
    a.   # Wou   is   da   da   ge   gekeuzen etj?
          who is   that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C°}$ you chosen   have
          'Who is it that you have chosen?'
    b.   Wou   is   't   da   ge   gekeuzen etj?
          who is   it   that$_{C°}$ you chosen   have
          'Who is it that you have chosen?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Moreover, given one extra assumption, the data in (225) can also be made to follow from the proposal made in the preceding chapters. Specifically, suppose that the Eastern Norwegian particle *ellers* 'else' when combined with a wh-phrase causes that wh-phrase to act as if it were complex.[133] That would prevent it from occurring in SPDs, regardless of whether *ellers* 'else' is allowed in clefts or not. Although such an account clearly requires further elaboration, it should be clear that the data in (225) and (226) do not necessarily pose a serious threat for the analysis of SPDs developed in the preceding chapters.

Having said all this, however, there is one respect in which Eastern Norwegian SPDs clearly differ from the dialect Dutch and Frisian ones discussed above. Consider the data in (228).

(228)   Hvorfor det   at   Jens har kjøpt   ny   bil?
        why   that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C°}$ Jens has bought new car.
        'Why has Jens bought a new car?'   [Eastern Norwegian]

What this example shows, is that Eastern Norwegian has the option of adding to an SPD the clause which the demonstrative pronoun *det* 'that' refers to. As the example in (229) shows, this is not at all possible in the Dutch SPD-dialects.

(229)   * Wuiroem da   da   Jef   ne nieven otto gekocht eit?
          why   that$_{DEM}$ that$_{C°}$ Jeff a   new   car   bought   has
                                                                [Wambeek Dutch]

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[133] One possible way to think of this is to assume that by adjoining *ellers* 'else' to the wh-phrase, its operator feature becomes too deeply embedded and hence inaccessible, and the whole phrase starts to behave like a non-operator. Cf. in this respect also note 108 above.

As in the previous section, I will leave an in-depth discussion of SPDs in Eastern Norwegian, as well as of their precise relation to the construction in (228), as a topic for further research. What has emerged from the preceding discussion, though, is that adding a demonstrative pronoun to a sluiced wh-phrase is by no means the privilege of Dutch dialects and Frisian, and moreover, that the cross-linguistic distribution of SPDs is a promising area of research.

7.3   Other instances of stranding under sluicing

7.3.1   Stranding *dan* 'then'

When confronted with an SPD-example, native speakers of standard Dutch (or more generally, non-SPD-dialects of Dutch) often refer to the construction exemplified in (230) as a near parallel of SPDs in their variety of Dutch.[134]

(230) A: Ed heeft iemand   gezien.   B: Oh?   Wie   dan?
              Ed has   someone seen   oh   who   then
         'A: Ed saw someone. B: Really? Who?'   [Dutch]

In B's reply in this dialogue, the sluiced wh-phrase *wie* 'who' is followed by the temporal adverb *dan* 'then'.[135] Interestingly, this example seems to express the same 'surprise'-reading discussed earlier for SPDs. Specifically, by adding *dan* 'then' to the sluiced wh-phrase, speaker B expresses his surprise at John having seen someone. What I will argue in this section, however, is that this construction is to be kept distinct from 'genuine' SPDs. Moreover, I will sketch two possible routes an analysis of this construction might take.

   A first difference between this construction and SPDs concerns stress. Recall that I have shown that SPDs require stress on the demonstrative pronoun, not on the sluiced wh-phrase. The minimal pair in (231) shows that the opposite pattern holds for the construction under discussion here.

(231) a.   * Wie   DAN?
                who   then
         b.   WIE   dan?
                who   then
                'Who?'   [Dutch]

Secondly, unlike SPDs, this use of *dan* 'then' is not restricted to sluicing. In particular, this adverb can be added – with the same 'surprise'-reading – to full wh-questions,

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[134] Interestingly, the standard Dutch wh-word *hoezo* 'how come' (lit. how.so), which mainly occurs in sluicing contexts, seems to allow a form of SPD. Specifically, when sluiced, this wh-word can be split up by an intervening demonstrative pronoun: *Hoe dat zo?* 'How come?' (lit. how that$_{DEM}$ so). I hope to return to the intriguing properties of *hoezo* in future work.

[135] As was pointed out to me by Henk van Riemsdijk p.c. and Martin Salzmann p.c., this construction occurs in German as well. Moreover, as Howard Lasnik p.c. informs me, to a certain extent it is attested in English as well. Cf. the dialogue in (i).

(i)   A: John didn't do it.   B: Well who then?

yes/no-questions and even simple declaratives. This is shown in (232) (and as indicated in the translations, the same facts hold for English).[136]

(232) a.   Wie heb je   gezien dan?
             who have you   seen   then
             'Who did you see then?'
      b.   Komt Ed ook   dan?
             comes Ed also   then
             'Is Ed also coming then?'
      c.   Ed heeft Julia gezien dan?
             Ed has   Julia   seen   then
             'Ed saw Julia then?'   [Dutch]

Thirdly, while SPDs are disallowed when combined with *niet* 'not', *wel* 'so' or *nog* 'else', this does not hold for *dan* 'then'. This is illustrated for *nog* 'else' in (233).

(233) A: Ed heeft niet alleen Julia uitgenodigd. B: Nee? Wie nog   dan?
           Ed has   not just Julia invited   no   who else then
           'A: Ed didn't just invite Julia. B: No? Who else?'   [Dutch]

Fourthly, while complex wh-phrases are disallowed in SPDs, they can be followed by *dan* 'then' when sluiced.[137]

(234) A: Je   moet één   van je   boeken aan   Ed geven.
           you   must one   of your books to   Ed give
      B: Oh ja? Welk   boek dan?
           oh yes which book then
           'A: You should give one of your books to Ed. B: Really? Which book?' [Dutch]

Summing up, it is clear that the construction in (230) should be kept distinct from SPDs. Although the two constructions share some superficial similarities, the differences between them are too substantial to be ignored. As a result, I believe the analysis of this construction should also be quite different from that of SPDs. Although I will not go into details here, the crucial observation seems to be that in spite of the fact that *dan* 'then' occurs in clause-final position, it is not contained in the ellipsis site when the IP is sluiced. This seems to suggest that this adverb occupies a fairly high position in the structure. In order to implement this, two general approaches come to mind. On the one hand, it might be the case that *dan* 'then' is merged in a head position higher than CP_1 and that it attracts the entire clause to its specifier. On the other hand, *dan* 'then' could

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[136] Sjef Barbiers p.c. informs me that for him, the example in (232c) is ungrammatical. At this point, I have no account for this variation.

[137] Jan-Wouter Zwart p.c. informs me that this does not hold for the *dan*-construction in the dialect of Groningen, i.e. it disallows complex wh-phrases. Moreover, the stress facts exemplified in (231) apparently also do not hold for this dialect: it is the temporal adverb which receives main stress, not the wh-phrase (a fact which – as Øystein Nilsen p.c. has pointed out to me – also holds for the Norwegian *da* 'then'-construction). This seems to suggest that not all constructions with *then* are alike. Specifically, some of them might receive an analysis along the lines of the one developed above for SPDs. I leave this issue open here.

also be right-adjoined to CP$_1$. Further research will have to determine which of these two approaches – if any – is on the right track. What is relevant here, is that in spite of first appearances, the standard Dutch construction exemplified in (230) has little or nothing to do with SPDs.

7.3.2   Stranding adverbial modifiers

As a final expansion of the data set of part one, I want to focus on a construction type which has featured at several points in the preceding discussion. It concerns the behavior of adverbial modifiers under sluicing. Consider some basic data in (235) and (236).

(235) A: Ed called one of his friends.   B: Who exactly?

(236) A: Lewie eid iejn   va zen kammeruite gezien.   B: Wou just?
          Louis   has one   of his friends   seen   who exactly
        'A: Louis saw one of his friends. B: Who exactly?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

At first sight, these data seem fairly straightforward. In both cases, an adverbial modifier has adjoined to a wh-phrase, this conglomerate has then undergone wh-movement to specCP, and at PF the IP has been elided (i.e. sluiced). This neat picture becomes more complicated, however, when swiping is added to the English example and SPD to the Dutch one. Consider the data in (237)-(238).[138]

(237) Ed will give a talk tomorrow, but I don't know what <*exactly> about <exactly>.

(238) A: Lewie eid iejn   va zen   kammeruite gezien.
          Louis has one of his   friends   seen
        B: Wou <*just>   da   <just>?
          who   exactly that$_{DEM}$ exactly
        'A: Louis saw one of his friends. B: Who exactly?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Given that in both these examples an independent lexical element (a swiped preposition in (237) and a focus-moved demonstrative in (238)) intervenes between the wh-phrase and the adverbial modifier, it seems highly unlikely that the two form a single constituent at Spell-Out. In other words, these data illustrate that both swiping and SPDs can be used as a constituency diagnostic for elements which have undergone sluicing. Although the precise analysis of the construction in (235)-(236) is much too involved to go into here, I do want to point out that these data might be seen as an indication that Huang & Ochi's (2003) account of aggressively non-D-linked modifiers should be extended to include other instances of adverbial modification as well. In a nutshell, what Huang & Ochi propose is that – at least in some languages – aggressively non-D-linked modifiers are adverbial in nature and hence occupy a position in the left periphery of the

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[138] The judgment on the left-most occurrence of *exactly* in (237) is based on Merchant's 2002:304 example quoted as (206b) in the previous chapter. As both Howard Lasnik p.c. and Jason Merchant p.c. have informed me, however, a full star seems to be too strong a judgment here. As indicated in the main text, though, I leave a full exploration of this construction as a topic for further research.

clause rather than be attached to the wh-phrase itself. Note that this general line of approach might be extended to data such as those in (235)-(236). Specifically, rather than being attached to the wh-phrase, the adverbial *exactly* or *just* 'exactly' might in fact occupy the inner specifier of CP$_2$. That the link between aggressive non-D-linked modifiers and the data in (235)-(236) is warranted, is suggested by the Wambeek Dutch example in (239).

(239) A: 'k Em   gisteren   nen brief va 50 blz.   nui iemand   gestied.
                I have yesterday a   letter of 50 pages to someone   sent
         B: Nui   wou   < * in   godsnuim> dad   < in   godsnuim>?!
                to   who   in   god's.name that$_{DEM}$ in   god's.name
         'A: I sent a 50-page letter yesterday. B: Who in God's name to?!'   [Wambeek Dutch]

This sentence shows that aggressively non-D-linked modifiers such as *in godsnuim* 'in God's name' in Wambeek Dutch pattern just like other adverbial modifiers. Accordingly, it seems plausible that they should receive a unified account. Clearly, the considerations presented above can only be considered a first, intuitive step towards such an account. I leave a full exploration of this issue as a topic for further research. The main conclusion to be drawn from this section is that under the analysis presented in the previous chapters, both SPDs and swiping can be used as a diagnostic for the constituency of phrases which have undergone sluicing.

7.4   Conclusion

As indicated in the introduction, the purpose of this seventh chapter was twofold. On the one hand I have shown that the occurrence of SPDs is not limited to dialect Dutch and Frisian, and that an in-depth cross-linguistic analysis of this phenomenon might shed further light on the issues raised here. On the other hand, I have discussed two other instances of stranding under sluicing. The first one involves the stranding of the temporal adverb *dan* 'then' to the right of sluiced wh-phrases. I have argued that this construction should be kept distinct from SPDs, in spite of the fact that it looks similar at first glance. Secondly, I have shown that when applied to constructions in which a sluiced wh-phrase is combined with an adverbial modifier, both SPDs and swiping can be used as a constituency diagnostic. Moreover, the results that it yields seem to favor a Huang & Ochi (2003)-style approach to adverbial modification of wh-phrases.

8 Conclusion and theoretical implications

8.1 Conclusion

In the preceding seven chapters I have examined in detail two constructions in which overt material is stranded to the right of a sluiced wh-phrase. Both constructions, I have argued, can be successfully analyzed by means of a PF-deletion analysis of sluicing in combination with a view on the CP-domain which assumes there to be (at least) two separate C°-projections. Specifically, in the first construction, a demonstrative pronoun moves independently of the wh-phrase to the specifier of the low CP (CP_2 in my account) and hence survives the ellipsis process involved in sluicing. In the other construction, a preposition is stranded in this same projection by the moving wh-phrase. Moreover, the specific distribution of these two phenomena also follows straightforwardly from their interaction with the split CP-domain. In particular, the different CP-domain-internal syntax of complex and minimal wh-phrases has led to the conclusion that sluicing does not always delete the same part of the clausal structure. This means that material that is stranded in the lower specCP is sometimes contained in the ellipsis site, and sometimes not.

8.2 Theoretical implications

Although some of the theoretical implications of the proposals made in this part have already – implicitly or explicitly – featured in the preceding discussion, it is worth going over them again here, as it will place the data and the analyses presented above against a much broader theoretical background.

8.2.1 The theory of ellipsis and sluicing

A first thing I want to focus on are the implications of the preceding discussion for the analysis of sluicing. Recall from the introductory chapter that there are two main approaches to this construction: one which assumes the IP to be fully syntactically merged but PF-deleted, and one in which it is merged as a null, structureless non-DP proform. In chapter four I have demonstrated that both SPDs and swiping receive a natural and straightforward account under the PF-deletion approach to sluicing. Here I will argue that a *pro*-analysis fares much worse when confronted with data such as those in (240) and (241).

(240) Jef   eid iemand   gezien, mo ik   weet nie wou da.
       Jeff has someone seen   but I   know not who that$_{DEM}$
       'Jeff saw someone, but I don't know who.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(241) Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know what about.

These examples present at least five substantial problems for *pro*-theories of sluicing. The first one concerns the Case of the sluiced wh-phrase in SPDs. Recall that while

object wh-phrases which occur in 'regular' sluicing are obligatorily marked with accusative Case, in SPDs it is invariably the nominative form which is used. Given that under a *pro*-analysis both wh-phrases are merged directly in specCP, it is unclear how this Case difference can come about. One could argue that it is the presence of the demonstrative pronoun which influences the Case of the wh-phrase, but rather than provide an explanation, that just seems to add to the mystery. A second point concerns the mere presence of the demonstrative pronoun. Given that pro_{IP} has no internal structure, the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that' in the example in (240) must have been merged directly in specCP as well. This immediately raises the question of how to restrict this merger operation. That is, it remains unclear why some phrases (e.g. wh-phrases or demonstrative pronouns) can be merged to the left of pro_{IP}, while others (e.g. non-wh DPs or personal pronouns) cannot. Thirdly, recall that there are a number of empirical parallelisms between SPDs and clefts with a wh-pivot (cf. supra, chapter two, section 2.2.6). Although one could presumably claim that the IP-proform takes a cleft as its antecedent, this by no means implies that it should display the same syntactic behavior as well. In order to see why this is so, consider the data in (242).

(242) a.   Ed denkt   dat   het regent, …
             Ed thinks   that$_{C°}$ it rains
             … maar Julia denkt <dat>   niet <*dat>.
             but Julia thinks   that$_{DEM}$ not   that$_{DEM}$
             'Ed thinks it's raining, but Julia doesn't.'
     b.   Ed denkt   dat   het regent, maar Julia denkt …
             Ed thinks   that$_{C°}$ it rains but Julia thinks
             … <*dat   het regent> niet < dat   het regent>.
                that$_{C°}$ it rains   not   that$_{C°}$ it rains
             'Ed thinks it's raining, but Julia doesn't.'   [Dutch]

In the example in (242a), the demonstrative pronoun *dat* 'that' has as its antecedent the CP *dat het regent* 'that it rains' (cf. also infra, chapter thirteen, for discussion of such proforms). This does not mean, however, that it behaves syntactically like a CP as well. As the contrast between (242a) and (242b) shows, while the proform *dat* 'that' obligatorily occurs to the left of the negator *niet* 'not' (as all definite DPs do), CPs such as *dat het regent* 'that it rains' invariably show up to its right. Transferred to the case at hand, this means that the fact that pro_{IP} takes a cleft as its antecedent, does not imply that it starts behaving like one syntactically. As such, the absence of multiple wh, pragmatic control and modification by *nog* 'else', *niet* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF' remain unexplained under a *pro*-analysis of sluicing.

    My fourth point concerns the different behavior of complex and minimal wh-phrases in the examples in (240) and (241). Recall that under the PF-deletion approach this follows from the precise projection which is deleted by sluicing. This generalization would be much harder to formulate under a *pro*-account, however. Although it would in principle be possible to claim that it is either IP or CP_2 which is pronominalized, it is hard to see what would be gained by such a move. Specifically, one would expect there to be only a limited set of proforms available, not one separate one for each functional projection (cf. also part two of this dissertation for extensive discussion). Such a proposal would reintroduce the internal structure of the ellipsis site that the *pro*-analysis wants to do away with in the first place.

Fifthly and finally, it is unclear how a *pro*-analysis of sluicing can provide an explanation for the fact that both SPDs and swiping only occur under sluicing. While I have shown this to be the result of an ellipsis-induced repair effect of a violation at PF, it is hard to see what would prevent one from replacing the IP-proform by a fully explicit syntactic structure in examples such as those in (240) and (241). All in all, then, it seems fair to say that both SPDs and swiping provide strong evidence in favor of a PF-deletion approach to sluicing and against an account which postulates an IP-proform.[139]

A second thing to note about the theory of SPDs as I have presented it above, is that it provides a new argument against approaches to ellipsis which assume this process to be subject to a structural isomorphism requirement, i.e. a phrase can only be elided if it has an antecedent which is *syntactically and structurally* identical to the elided phrase (cf. e.g. Fiengo & May 1994). This position has been criticized recently by a number of authors (cf. e.g. Merchant 2001a:Ch1; Kehler 2002), and it is clear that SPDs provide a new and powerful argument in this debate. Specifically, if the analysis presented above is on the right track, a sentence such as the one in (243a) can serve as an antecedent for the ellipsis schematically represented in (243b). As it is clear that the elided clause and its antecedent are by no means syntactically or structurally identical, these data provide a strong argument against theories which assume such a requirement to be a prerequisite for ellipsis.

(243) a.   Ik   em   iemand   gezien.
            I   have someone seen
            'I saw someone.'
       b.   Wou da   ~~t~~$_{da}$ ~~is~~ ~~t~~$_{wou}$ da   ge   gezien etj?
            who that$_{DEM}$ is   that$_{C°}$ you   seen   have
            'Who (is it that you saw)?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Thirdly, a notion which has played a crucial role in the preceding discussion is that of repair effects induced by ellipsis, i.e. the ability of ellipsis to rescue what would otherwise be an illegitimate derivation or representation by making the offending structure invisible to PF. On the one hand, my analysis of SPDs has provided support for Richards' (2001) implementation of the interaction between the overt/covert-distinction and feature strength. In particular, covert movement triggered by a weak feature on a functional head becomes overt when the complement of that head is elided. On the other hand, in the analysis of swiping I have introduced a new type of repair effect, one which can be seen as the PF-counterpart of Chomsky's (1995:91) notion of Chain Uniformity at LF. I have argued that a chain of successive-cyclic movement has to be uniform at PF with respect to the category of its chain links. Ellipsis can rescue offending chains, however, by deleting a subset of its chain links.

Fourthly, the very existence of a construction such as SPDs seems to give empirical weight to the conjecture made by Merchant (2001a:101n11) that when asked to judge examples involving sluicing, informants often resort to an underlying cleft structure. The

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[139] At this point, one could in principle argue that while swiping and SPDs should be given a PF-deletion account, 'regular' instances of sluicing could still receive a proform analysis (cf. also infra, note 168, on Winkler's 2003 hybrid account of VP-ellipsis). However, not only is such a non-unified account of sluicing theoretically unappealing, the PF-deletion analysis of 'regular' instances of sluicing is also explicitly argued for by Merchant 2001a.

above discussion of SPDs shows that the relation between sluicing and clefts is a very real (and syntactic) one. The demonstrative in an SPD can be seen as providing overt evidence for a structure which under other circumstances (i.e. with an underlying *it*-cleft) would remain invisible. On the one hand, this means that researchers of 'regular' sluicing should always make sure that the structure they are investigating is not an elided cleft structure, while on the other, certain irregularities of sluicing could find their explanation in the fact that the ellipsis site might also contain a cleft structure. One possible example that comes to mind in this respect concerns language-internal exceptions to Merchant's (2001a:107) generalization that "A language *L* will allow preposition-stranding under sluicing iff *L* allows preposition stranding under regular wh-movement". Specifically, as pointed out by Rosen (1976), some prepositions which disallow preposition stranding in non-elliptical wh-questions nevertheless seem to be able to strand under sluicing. As the data in (244) shows, *under* is such a preposition (Rosen 1976:208n1).

(244) a.   * I can only guess which circumstances he would report me under.
       b.   He would report me under some circumstances, but I can only guess
                which.

The a-sentences shows that the preposition *under* can – at least in this particular structure – not be stranded. Given that it does not occur in the sluicing remnant in (244b), however, it appears to have undergone preposition stranding in this example. As such, these examples seem to constitute a language-internal counterexample to Merchant's generalization. In light of the preceding discussion, however, another possibility presents itself. Specifically, the elided structure might be a cleft in which the preposition *under* does not feature. This is represented in (245).

(245) He would report me under some circumstances, but I can only guess which
       ~~circumstances it is~~.

Although this analysis should clearly be seen as tentative and in need of further support,[140] it does look like a promising route to take.

       The fifth and final point I want to raise here is the one which has featured most explicitly in the preceding discussion. Specifically, the analysis of SPDs and swiping has led to the conclusion that sluicing does not always delete the same part of the clausal structure. In one respect, this is not so surprising. Given that it is well-established that moved wh-phrases do not occupy the same structural position in all languages and given that traditional accounts of sluicing assume that it deletes the complement of the head the specifier of which hosts the moved wh-phrase, different languages will sluice different parts of the clausal structure. As an illustration of this, consider the examples in (246)-(247) (the example in (246) is from Merchant 2001a:81-82).

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[140] It is worth noting, for example, that Merchant 2001a:120-127 argues convincingly that the majority of English sluices is *not* derived from clefts. In other words, it looks like the strategy sketched in (245) – if it occurs at all – is used only sporadically, a fact which would clearly require an explanation. One possible hypothesis could be that the PF-deletion of clefts requires more semantic computation (cf. supra, the discussion of e-GIVENness in section 4.2.4 of chapter four), and hence, that they are dispreferred with respect to their much simpler, non-cleft counterparts. At this point, this remains pure speculation, though. Thanks to Howard Lasnik p.c. for raising this issue.

(246) A gyerekek találkoztak vlakivel   de nem emlékszem, hogy kivel.
       the children   met   someone.with but not   I.remember that$_{C°}$ who.with
       'The children met someone, but I don't know who.'   [Hungarian]

(247) Ed invited someone, but I don't know who.

While in Hungarian wh-phrases move overtly to specFocP (cf. Lipták 2001 and references cited there), in English they surface in specCP. This means that in Hungarian it is the complement of Foc° (call it IP) that is deleted, while in English the complement of C°, i.e. (assuming the two languages to have the same functional structure) FocP. What *is* surprising about the account I have proposed, however, is that this variability in the size of the deleted phrase can also be witnessed within one and the same language. In particular, I have argued that while sluicing with complex wh-phrases deletes CP$_2$, sluicing with minimal wh-phrases deletes IP.

8.2.2 The structure of CP and the syntax of wh-movement

The theoretical implications of chapter three deserve mention here as well. First of all, I have brought together a body of evidence in favor of a particular incarnation of the split CP-hypothesis. I have argued for the existence of two separate C°-projections in which the clause typing and the operator properties of wh-questions are located respectively.[141] Such a separation between these two types of properties is a welcome result, I believe, as it is well-known that they can be separated from one another in the data as well. For example, while relative clauses display the operator but not the clause typing properties of wh-words, wh-questions with complex wh-phrases in Romanian show exactly the opposite pattern. As pointed out above, it remains to be seen to what extent the proposal made here is compatible with other – usually much richer – accounts of the CP-domain. Given that most of these accounts assume the same basic hierarchy as I have here (i.e. clause typing dominates focus), the answer might be affirmative.

Secondly, the particular view on the CP-domain I have adopted also entailed a particular view on the syntax of wh-movement. I have proposed that there are considerable differences in CP-domain-internal syntax between complex and minimal wh-phrases (whereby the definition of 'complexity' might be subject to cross-linguistic variation, cf. supra). This too is a desirable result, it seems, as there is a growing body of literature from a very diverse set of languages, all of which point to the relevance of syntactic complexity in the syntax of wh-movement (cf. e.g. Bergvall 1983; Aoun & Li 2003; Poletto & Pollock 2002; Munaro 1998; Zanuttini & Portner 2003). It seems

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[141] Needless to say, it remains to be seen to what extent the argumentation developed here carries over to other languages. Specifically, it might well be that there are languages in which CP$_1$ and CP$_2$ are conflated into one single C°-projection, or conversely, in which more than two C°-projections are made use of (for general discussion of this issue, cf. Thraínsson 1996). What should be clear, though, is that the proposal outlined above raises very specific predictions about the clustering of properties one expects to find in such languages. Thanks to Lisa Cheng p.c. for raising this issue.

reasonable to assume, then, that the importance of the internal complexity of wh-phrases should be encoded in the syntax of wh-movement in a substantial way.[142]

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[142] In fact, the importance of internal complexity might even extend beyond the domain of wh-movement. Cf. in this respect Mortensen 2003 on copy reflexives (thanks to Andrew Nevins p.c. for pointing this out to me).

9   Introduction

The construction exemplified in (1) constitutes the main empirical focus of the second part of this dissertation.

(1)   A: Marie zie   Pierre   nie geirn.
             Mary sees   Pierre   not gladly
       B: Ze duut.
             she does
       'A: Mary doesn't love Pierre. B: Yes, she does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In this dialogue speaker B contradicts A's negative statement by means of a short, elliptical reply consisting of a personal pronoun and a conjugated form of the verb *duun* 'do'. I will henceforth refer to such sentences as Short Do Replies. Although this construction shares with the sluicing data discussed in the preceding chapters the fact that it is an instance of ellipsis, the approach I will adopt towards these data will be quite different from the one outlined above. Specifically, I will argue in detail that the ellipsis site in examples such as the one in (1B) contains no internal structure and hence is best represented as a null, structureless proform. This line of reasoning will bring into the debate several elements usually associated with the literature on pro-drop. Moreover, it will allow me to unify the account of dialect Dutch Short Do Replies with that of the constructions exemplified in (2) and (3).

(2)   A: Marie   gaat nie naar de film.
             Mary   goes not to   the movie
       B: Da's   wel.
             that.is AFF
       'A: Mary doesn't go to the movies. B: Yes, she does.'   [Brabant Dutch]

(3)   A: Kom   Marie   mergen?
             comes Mary   tomorrow
       B: Jui-s.
             yes-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
       'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In the dialogue in (2), speaker B contradicts A's statement by means of a short reply consisting of the proform *da* 'that', a conjugated form of the copula *zijn* 'be' and the affirmative adverb *wel* 'AFF'. The example in (3) on the other hand, illustrates that in some Dutch dialects, the polarity markers 'yes' and 'no' can be combined with a subject clitic. In what follows I argue that both these constructions are crucially related to Short Do Replies. Specifically, I will demonstrate that the syntactic structure underlying B's reply in (3) is identical to that in (1B), while on the other hand I will identify the *da*-element in (2B) as the overt counterpart of the null proform which I postulate in the analysis of (1B). In other words, the considerations in the following chapters will lead to a unified account of these three, at first sight unrelated constructions.

Part two is organized as follows. In the next chapter I introduce the core data that form the main *explananda* for the rest of the discussion. I demonstrate at length that the dialect Dutch construction in (1B) should not be equated with English VP-ellipsis, nor with paraphrases featuring the main verb *duun* 'do'. In this chapter I also point out how the data lead to the conclusion that the ellipsis site in this construction contains no internal structure. In chapter eleven I introduce the main theoretical background assumptions needed for my analysis. The analysis itself is presented in chapter twelve. In chapter thirteen I examine the construction illustrated in (2B) and argue that it contains an overt counterpart of the empty proform postulated in the analysis of Short Do Replies. Finally, in chapter fourteen, I turn to the phenomenon exemplified in (3B) and argue that this construction is derived from the same syntactic structure as that which underlies Short Do Replies. Chapter fifteen concludes and considers some of the theoretical consequences of the analyses.

10 The data

10.1 Introduction

Consider again some representative examples of the construction under discussion here in (4) and (5).

(4)   A: Marie   zie   Pierre   geirn.
               Mary   sees Pierre   gladly
        B: Z'en   duut.
               she.NEG   does
        'A: Mary loves Pierre. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(5)   A: Marie   zie   Pierre   nie geirn.
               Mary   sees Pierre   not gladly
        B: Ze duut.
               she does
        'A: Mary doesn't love Pierre. B: Yes, she does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In the dialogue in (4), speaker B contradicts A's affirmative statement by means of a short elliptical reply consisting of a subject pronoun, a preverbal negative clitic and a conjugated form of the verb *duun* 'do'. As mentioned above, I refer to this type of construction as Short Do Replies (or SDRs for short). Given that the English translation of this example is almost word for word identical and given that a reply such as *No, she doesn't* is commonly analyzed as a case of VP-ellipsis, the null hypothesis seems to be that the Wambeek Dutch example involves VP-ellipsis as well.[143] Moreover, as the data in (5) show, SDRs are not restricted to negative replies only. Without the negative clitic, they can be used to contradict a preceding negative statement, again just like their English counterparts.[144] In the following section, however, I argue that the parallelism between SDRs and VP-ellipsis is unwarranted. Specifically, the two constructions will be shown to pattern differently with respect to a large number of tests. At the same time, this comparison will lead to the conclusion that the ellipsis site in SDRs does not contain any internal structure and hence is best represented as a null proform. This in turn will raise the hypothesis that SDRs are related to paraphrases consisting of the main verb *duun* 'do' and the VP-proform *da* 'that' (section 10.3). However, this hypothesis will prove to be untenable as well. The conclusion, then, will be that SDRs constitute an as

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[143] Although Short Do Replies have been amply noted in the dialectological literature (cf. Ryckeboer 1986, 1998 for discussion and references), there are no theoretical analyses of this construction to date. Haegeman 1995:160, 2002:181 briefly mentions Short Do Replies for the dialect of Lapscheure (West Flanders), but assumes without discussion that they involve VP-ellipsis with concomitant *do*-support.

[144] Haegeman 2002:181 presents an example from the dialect of Lapscheure (West Flanders) in which a negative SDR is used to contradict a preceding negative statement. This seems to suggest that in this dialect – like in many others – this construction is dying out, a hypothesis which is supported by Haegeman's characterization of SDRs in Lapscheure Dutch as "archaic and non-productive" (Haegeman 2002:181).

yet undiscussed type of ellipsis, the analysis of which will be the subject of the following chapters.

Before I proceed with the exposition of the basic data, I should make a few remarks on their cross-dialectal validity. Short Do Replies are found in the dialects spoken in French Flanders (an area in the northeast of France) and in the Belgian provinces of West Flanders, East Flanders and the western part of Flemish Brabant. The data presented in this chapter have been systematically checked for the dialects of Izenberge, Waregem, Klemskerke (West Flanders), Kleit (East Flanders) and Wambeek (Flemish Brabant). Moreover, I have also checked my data against a dialect questionnaire on SDRs which was sent out in 1981 by the Meertens Institute to 145 of its informants.[145] For ease of exposition and reasons of consistency, however, I only present data from one dialect here (that of Wambeek), turning to other dialects only if the structure of the argument forces me to do so, or in the case of cross-dialectal variation. It should also be noted that I am only discussing the *synchronic* use of Short Do Replies here. This is a non-trivial point to make, as this construction (as well as related ones, cf. chapter fourteen) occurs in older stages of Dutch as well (even going back to Middle Dutch), often with slightly differing properties. As a full exploration of the diachronic development of this construction is clearly beyond the scope of this dissertation, I will relegate the diachronic data to the footnotes, hopefully returning to them in future research.

10.2   Short Do Replies = VP-ellipsis?

In this section I present an in-depth comparison of dialect Dutch Short Do Replies with English VP-ellipsis. I discuss ten empirical differences between the two constructions, thus rendering highly unlikely the hypothesis that SDRs are an instance of VP-ellipsis. At the same time, however, the data will also allow for a more positive conclusion concerning the nature of the gap in SDRs.

10.2.1 Distribution

The most striking difference between the two constructions is without doubt their language-internal distribution. Consider first some basic English data in (6).

(6)   a.   A: Ed loves Julia.
              B: No, he doesn't.
      b.   Ed loves Julia, and Freddy does too.
      c.   Ed loves Julia more than Freddy does.
      d.   Ed reads every book that Julia does.
      e.   A: Ed loves Julia.
              B: I think he doesn't.
      f.   A: Does Ed love Julia?
              B: No, he doesn't.
      g.   A: Who loves Julia?
              B: Ed does.

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[145] The results of this questionnaire are reported in Ryckeboer 1986, 1998.

The examples in (6) show that VP-ellipsis not only occurs in short contradictory replies to declarative clauses (6a), but also in coordinations (6b), comparatives (6c), ACD-constructions (6d), embedded clauses (6e), replies to yes/no-questions (6f) and replies to subject-wh-questions (6g). Consider now the Wambeek Dutch counterparts of these data in (7).

(7) a. A: Marie zie Pierre geirn.
             Mary sees Pierre gladly
         B: Z'en   duut.
             she.NEG   does
         'A: Mary loves Pierre. B: No, she doesn't.'

     b. * Marie zie Pierre geirn, en   Jef duud oek.
           Mary sees Pierre gladly and Jeff does too

     c. * Marie zie Pierre liever   dan da   Jef   duut.
           Mary sees Pierre more.gladly than that$_{C°}$ Jeff does

     d. * Marie leest elken boek da   Pierre duut.
           Mary reads every book that$_{C°}$ Pierre does

     e. A: Marie zie Pierre geirn.
             Mary sees Pierre gladly
         B: * Ik paus   da   z'en   duut.
             I think that$_{C°}$ she.NEG does

     f. A: Zie Marie Pierre geirn?
             sees Mary Pierre gladly
         B: * Nieje, z'en   duut.
             no   she.NEG does

     g. A: Wou ziet Pierre geirn?
             who sees Pierre gladly
         B: * Marie duut.
             Mary does   [Wambeek Dutch]

As the contrast between (6) and (7) shows, dialect Dutch SDRs differ from English VP-ellipsis in that they can only occur in short contradictory replies to declarative clauses, while the distribution of VP-ellipsis is much wider.[146,147] This alone constitutes a serious

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[146] Note also that the judgements reported in (7) hold both for affirmative and for negative SDRs.

[147] A diachronic and synchronic caveat is in order. In 19th and early 20th century Dutch, SDRs occurred in three types of constructions: short contradictory replies (as discussed in the main text), tag questions and short questions expressing surprise. The latter two are exemplified by the West Flemish examples in (i) and (ii) (from De Bo 1873:243).

(i)   Dit   is immers   vremd,   en   doet het niet?
      this is after.all strange NEG does it not
      'After all, this is strange, isn't it?'

(ii) A: Zij gaat   trouwen.   B: Doet ze?
          she goes marry$_{INF}$ does she
      'A: She's getting married.   B: Is she?!'

In present-day dialects, relics can sometimes be found of this slightly wider distribution. For example, my informant from Izenberge accepts examples like the one in (ii) and finds the use of SDRs as tag questions not wholly deviant, while my informant from Kleit accepts SDRs as tag

problem for any account which tries to unify the two constructions. However, in the following sections, I show that even if attention is restricted to instances of VP-ellipsis found in short replies to declarative clauses, the differences between the two constructions are still substantial.

10.2.2 *There*-expletives

SDRs also pattern differently from VP-ellipsis when the antecedent clause contains a *there*-expletive. Consider the data in (8) and (9).

(8)   A: There were many people at the party.
       B: a.   No, there weren't.
           b.   * No, there wasn't.
           c.   * No, it wasn't.
           d.   * No, it weren't.

(9)   A: Dui   stonj   drou   mann   inn   of.
             there   stand$_{PL}$ three   men   in.the   garden
       B: a.   * Dui   en   doenj.
                there   NEG   do$_{PL}$
           b.   * Dui   en   duut.
                there   NEG   does
           c.   't En   duut.
                it   NEG   does
           d.   * 't En   duun.
                it   NEG   do$_{PL}$
       'A: There are three men standing in the garden. B: No, there aren't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The facts in (8) were first observed by Ross (1969). He pointed out that the subject position in a clause containing VP-ellipsis can be filled by a *there*-expletive, while the agreement on the auxiliary is with the elided associate DP (in this case the plural DP *many people*). The SDR-data in (9) pattern differently from the English ones in (8) in two respects. Firstly, *there*-expletives are disallowed in the subject position of an SDR and are necessarily replaced by the third person singular neuter pronoun *'t* 'it'. Secondly, the agreement on the verb *duun* 'do' is necessarily third person singular, regardless of the number of the associate DP in the antecedent clause.[148] These data thus constitute a second noticeable difference between SDRs and VP-ellipsis.

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questions and rates their use as surprise questions as "3-4" on a scale of 1 to 5. Given that Ryckeboer 1986 already concluded, based on the 1981 dialect survey mentioned above, that the use of SDRs as tag questions is near-extinct and their use as surprise questions "duidelijk verouderd (..) en sterk gemarkeerd [clearly archaic and strongly marked, jvc]" (Ryckeboer 1986:327), I will not discuss examples like the ones in (i) and (ii) in the rest of this chapter.

[148] The first of these two differences is often obscured in West- and East-Flemish dialects, as many of them display independent variation in *there*-expletive constructions. Specifically, in subject-initial *there*-sentences they use (some dialects obligatorily, some optionally) *'t* 'it' instead of *d'r* 'there' even in non-elliptical contexts. Consider an example from the dialect of Kleit in (i).

10.2.3 Modals and auxiliaries

English VP-ellipsis displays *do*-support only in the absence of other auxiliaries or modals. This can be illustrated very clearly on the basis of elliptical contradictory replies, where the modal or auxiliary from the antecedent clause is obligatorily repeated in the reply. Consider some representative examples in (10).

(10) a. A: Ed hasn't visited Julia.
          B: (i)   Yes, he has.
              (ii) * Yes, he does.
      b. A: Ed is cooking.
          B: (i)   No, he isn't.
              (ii) * No, he doesn't.
      c. A: Ed should come.
          B: (i)   No, he shouldn't.
              (ii) * No, he doesn't.
      d. A: Ed will come.
          B: (i)   No, he won't.
              (ii) * No, he doesn't.

Once again, SDRs pattern completely differently. Regardless of which verb is used in the antecedent clause, the only verb that can occur in SDRs is *duun* 'do'.[149] This is illustrated in (11).

(11) a. A: Jef   ei   Marie   nie gezien.
              Jeff has   Mary   not seen
          B: (i)   * Ij   eit.
                       he   has
              (ii)   Ij   duut.
                       he   does
          'A: Jeff hasn't seen Mary. B: Yes, he has.'

(i)   't Staan   twee   mannen   in de   lochtink.
      it stand$_{PL}$ two   men   in the   garden
      'There are two men standing in the garden.'   [Kleit Dutch]

This variation does not affect the argument made in the main text, though. First of all, those dialects which allow for a choice between *'t* 'it' and *d'r* 'there' in non-elliptical *there*-sentences lose this choice in SDRs and pattern with the Wambeek Dutch data in (9). Secondly, all dialects obligatorily display third person singular agreement in SDRs, regardless of the number of the associate DP in the antecedent clause. That is, even in the dialect of Kleit, the only possible SDR-reply to the example in (i) is the one in (iia), not the one in (iib).

(ii) a. 't En   doet.   b. * 't En   doen
          it NEG   does   it NEG   do$_{PL}$
          'No, there aren't.'

[149] The only exception I know of to this generalization is the verb *zullen* 'will', which is sometimes said to occur in SDRs. Specifically, Ryckeboer 1986:328 mentions one example from 1884 from the dialect of Ijzendijke, and two dialect grammars from the dialect of Aalst (East Flanders) mention this possibility as well (Vanacker 1948:107; Colinet 1896:197). None of my informants allow for it, though. The 1981 questionnaire mentioned above contains no antecedent clauses with *zullen* 'will' and hence is unrevealing in this respect.

b. A: Marie   is   uint   keuken.
            Mary   is   to.it cooking
    B: (i)   * Z'en   is.
                she.NEG   is
        (ii)   Z'en   duut.
                she.NEG   does
    'A: Mary is cooking. B: No, she isn't.'

c. A: Marie   zou   muute   kommen.
            Mary   should   must   come
    B: (i)   * Z'en   zou.
                she.NEG   should
        (ii)   Z'en   duut.
                she.NEG   does
    'A: Mary should come. B: No, she shouldn't.'

d. A: Marie   gui   kommen.
            Mary   goes   come
    B: (i)   * Z'en   guit.
                she.NEG   goes
        (ii)   Z'en   duut.
                she.NEG   does
    'A: Mary will come. B: No, she won't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The discrepancy between (10) and (11) extends even beyond modals and auxiliaries, once languages like Hebrew and Irish are taken into account. Note, as is illustrated in (12), that English VP-ellipsis is disallowed with main verbs.

(12) A: Ed loves Julia.
      B: a.   No, he doesn't.
           b.   * No, he loves not.

The standard account for the ungrammaticality of (12Bb) is that English main verbs do not raise to I° and hence will always be part of the elided VP. This predicts that this construction should be grammatical in languages which have both VP-ellipsis and V°-to-I°-movement of main verbs. The Irish example in (13) (McCloskey 1991a:272) shows that this prediction is borne out (see McCloskey 1991a for extensive argumentation that this example indeed involves VP-ellipsis, and see Doron 1999; Goldberg 2003 for similar observations about Hebrew).

(13) A: Ar   chuir   tú   isteach air?
           C$_Q$°   put$_{PAST}$ you   in   on.it
      B: Chuir.
           put$_{PAST}$
      'A: Did you apply for it? B: Yes, I did.'   [Irish]

Given that all the dialects under discussion here are Verb Second-languages (like Standard Dutch), in which not only modals and auxiliaries but also (finite) main verbs raise out of the VP in matrix clauses, they are expected to pattern with Irish if the

derivation of SDRs really involves VP-ellipsis. It should come as no surprise by now that this is not the case. Consider the relevant Wambeek Dutch examples in (14).

(14)   A: Marie   zie   Pierre   geirn.
                Mary   sees   Pierre   gladly
       B: a.   Z'en   duut.
                  she.NEG   does
             b. * Z'en   ziet.
                  she.NEG   sees
       'A: Mary loves Pierre. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

10.2.4 Past tenses

Related to the data discussed in the previous section is the presence or absence of past tenses in VP-ellipsis and SDRs. When in English the antecedent clause to an elliptical reply is set in the simple past, the auxiliary in that reply has to be past tense as well. This is illustrated in (15).

(15)   A: John loved Mary.
       B: a.   No, he didn't.
             b. * No, he doesn't.

The options allowed for by SDRs are once again more limited. Not only do they obligatorily contain the verb *duun* 'do', this verb cannot be past tense either, not even if the antecedent clause is.[150] Consider a representative example in (16).

(16)   A: Marie   zag   Pierre   geirn.
                Mary   saw   Pierre   gladly
       B: a. * Z'en   dee.
                  she.NEG   did
             b.   Z'en   duut.
                  she.NEG   does
       'A: Mary loved Pierre. B: No, she didn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

10.2.5 Co-occurrence with 'yes' and 'no'

A fifth difference between VP-ellipsis and SDRs concerns the issue of whether they can co-occur with the words for 'yes' and 'no'. Consider the data in (17) and (18).

(17)   A: Ed loves Julia.
       B: a.   He doesn't.
             b.   No, he doesn't.

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[150] This is also reported for the dialect of Lapscheure (West Flanders) by Haegeman 1995:160, 2002:181.

(18)   A: Marie   zie   Pierre   geirn.
               Mary   sees Pierre   gladly
       B: a.   Z'en   duut.
                 she.NEG   does
            b. ?* Nieje,   z'en   duut.
                   no   she.NEG   does
       'A: Mary loves Pierre. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

While a negative VP-ellipsis reply can perfectly well be combined with *no*, adding *nieje* 'no' to a negative SDR yields a severely degraded result.[151] Affirmative replies on the other hand, appear to pattern very differently at first. Consider the examples in (19) and (20).

(19)   A: Ed doesn't love Julia.
       B: a.   He does.
            b.   Yes, he does.

(20)   A: Marie   zie   Pierre   nie geirn.
               Mary   sees Pierre   not gladly
       B: a.   Ze duut.
                 she does
            b.   Jou   ze duut.
                 yes   she does
       'A: Mary doesn't love Pierre. B: Yes, she does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

As the example in (20Bb) shows, the combination of *jou* 'yes' with an affirmative SDR does not lead to an ungrammatical result. The contrast between (18) and (20), then, seems to suggest that there is a substantial difference between negative and affirmative SDRs in this respect. What I want to argue, however, is that this difference is only apparent. Specifically, there are clear indications that the *jou* 'yes' in the example in (20Bb) is not the same element as that used in replies to yes/no-questions. In order to fully make this point, though, I have to go quite deeply into the nitty-gritty details of discourse particles in Dutch dialects. Given that this would interrupt the main line of argumentation developed here, I postpone a full discussion of this issue to the Appendix at the end of this chapter, limiting myself for now to a first (yet strong) indication that the *jou* 'yes' in (20Bb) is to be distinguished from the regular yes/no-particle. Consider the data in (21).

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[151] The judgement seems to improve when there is a substantial pause and intonation break between *nieje* 'no' and the SDR. Maybe that explains why not all my informants gave the sentence a full star: on a scale of 1 to 5, this example received an average score of 4.28. This slight variability in judgements is also reflected in the 1981 questionnaire on SDRs mentioned already several times above. Out of the 145 informants, 6 use the word for 'no' in combination with SDRs. It should be noted, though, that none of these informants uses it consistently (three of them use it only once) and moreover, that for two of them, a second informant from the same place does not use 'no' in combination with SDRs at all.

(21)   A: Marie   zie   Pierre   geirn.
               Mary   sees   Pierre   gladly
       B: Jou   z'en   duut.
               yes   she.NEG   does
       'A: Mary loves Pierre. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

What his example shows is that *jou* 'yes' not only co-occurs with affirmative SDRs, but also with negative ones. This is in sharp contrast with the affirmative particle found in replies to yes/no-questions, which is strongly incompatible with negative clauses.

(22)   A: Kom   Jef?
               comes   Jeff
       B: * Jou,   hij kom   nie.
               yes   he   comes   not   [Wambeek Dutch]

Moreover, *jou* 'yes' is not merely *compatible* with negative SDRs, it also has an emphatic effect. It strengthens the contradictory (i.e. negative) reading of the SDR in (21B) (and similarly for the affirmative reading in (20Bb)). For further discussion of this issue I refer the reader to the Appendix to this chapter and to the analysis of SDRs in chapter twelve. The conclusion to be drawn from this section is that SDRs differ from VP-ellipsis in that the former are incompatible with 'yes' and 'no', while the latter can be freely combined with these elements.

10.2.6 Co-occurrence with adverbs

Consider the data in (23)-(26).

(23)   A: Julia always pays back her debts.
       B: She often doesn't, you know.

(24)   A: Ed lives here.
       B: He doesn't anymore.

(25)   A: Julia will come tomorrow.
       B: No, she probably won't.

(26)   A: Julia thinks you have a lot of money.
       B: I don't, however.

These examples illustrate that VP-ellipsis can co-occur with a wide variety of adverbs: *often* and *anymore* are usually considered to be fairly low adverbs, while *probably* and *however* belong to the higher regions of the Cinquean hierarchy (Cinque 1999). Once again, SDRs allow for only a very small subset of the options available to VP-ellipsis. In this particular case, the only adverbs which can feature in SDRs are very high ones like

pertang 'however' or *iejrlek gezeid* 'frankly'.[152] All other adverbs are excluded. This is exemplified in (27)-(30).

(27) A: Marie guid alted   nui de mes.
           Mary goes always to the mass
     B: * Z'en   duu geregeld.
           she.NEG does often   [Wambeek Dutch]

(28) A: Pierre   woendj ie.
           Pierre   lives   here
     B: * Ij   en   duu nie mieje.
           he NEG does not anymore   [Wambeek Dutch]

(29) A: Marie   kom   mergen.
           Mary   comes tomorrow
     B: * Z'en   duu   wuirschaainlek.
           she.NEG does probably   [Wambeek Dutch]

(30) A: Jef zeit da   gou veel geld   etj.
           Jeff says that you much money have
     B: 'k En   duu pertang.
           I NEG do   however
     'A: Jeff says you have a lot of money. B: I don't, however.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

These data thus constitute a sixth empirical difference between dialect Dutch SDRs and English VP-ellipsis.

10.2.7 Subject restrictions

A seventh set of data which bears on the question of whether SDRs should be analyzed as an instance of VP-ellipsis is represented in (31)-(34).

(31) A: Ed loves woodcarving.
     B: But Bill doesn't.

(32) A: Everybody loves Julia.
     B: Ed doesn't.

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[152] The combination of SDRs with high adverbs is not allowed by all speakers I have consulted. Specifically, some disallow adverbs altogether. I have no account for this variation. Note also that there is no intonation break between the verb and the adverb in B's reply in (30), i.e. it is not the case that only those adverbs can be combined with SDRs which can be inserted as parentheticals (thanks to Lisa Cheng p.c. for raising this issue).

(33) A: Pierre   zie   Marie   geirn.
             Pierre   sees   Mary   gladly
      B: * Mo Jef   en   duut.
             but Jeff NEG   does
      INTENDED READING: 'A: Pierre loves Mary. B: But Jeff doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(34) A: Iederiejn   zie   Marie   geirn.
             everybody   sees   Mary   gladly
      B: * Jef en   duut.
             Jeff NEG   does
      INTENDED READING: 'A: Everybody loves Mary. B: Jeff doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Whereas short elliptical replies in English can feature a different subject from the one present in the antecedent clause (cf. (31)-(32)), this is not possible for SDRs (cf. (33)-(34)). In particular, the only kind of subject that can occur in an SDR is a weak pronoun which is coreferential with the subject of the antecedent clause.[153,154] This is illustrated in (35).[155,156]

(35) A: Marie   kom   mergen.
             Mary   comes tomorrow
      B: a.   Z'en   duut.
                she_WEAK.NEG   does
          b. * Zaai   en   duut.
                she_STRONG NEG   does
          c. * Marie en   duut.
                Mary   NEG   does
      'A: Mary is coming tomorrow. B: No, she isn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

There are two exceptions to this generalization, one of which was already mentioned above. First of all, some of the dialects discussed here allow the weak subject pronoun in

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[153] Note that if the range of the universal quantifier *iederiejn* 'everybody' is contextually restricted to a specific set of people, the reply *z'en duun* 'they.NEG do_PL' would be felicitous in the dialogue in (34).

[154] The SDR-subject cannot be a clitic pronoun either. This is arguably due to the fact that it occupies the first position in a V2-clause (i.e. the SDR), and that clitics do not count for V2-considerations (as is corroborated by the fact that the negative clitic *en* does not lead to a violation of the V2-requirement in negative SDRs). Note that I am assuming here that Cardinaletti & Starke's 1999 tripartition of the pronominal system into clitics, weak pronouns and strong pronouns is applicable to Dutch dialects as well. Cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2000 for discussion.

[155] The deviance of R-expressions as SDR-subjects (cf. (35Bc)) is also reported by Haegeman 1995:160.

[156] It is worth pointing out that due to these severe restrictions on the subject in SDRs, it is impossible to test another characteristic of VP-ellipsis, namely the existence of sloppy readings. However, one might wonder how revealing such a test would have been had it been possible, given that sloppy readings are attested in a variety of constructions, many of them non-elliptical (cf. Hobbs & Kehler 1997 for an overview).

an SDR to be doubled by a postverbal strong subject pronoun.[157] Consider the data in (36) (which should be read as replies to A's statement in (35) above).

(36) a.   Z'en   doe   zij.   [Waregem Dutch]
      b.   ? Z'en   duu   zaai.   [Wambeek Dutch]
      c.   ?* Z'en   doe   zij.   [Kleit Dutch]
      d.   ?* Z'en   doet   zij.   [Klemskerke Dutch]
      e.   * Z'en   doe   zij.   [Izenberge Dutch]
               she$_{WEAK}$.NEG does she$_{STRONG}$
               'No, she doesn't.'

Secondly, when the antecedent clause contains a *there*-expletive, the subject of the SDR is not *dui* 'there', but rather the third person singular neuter pronoun *'t* 'it'. Reconsider example (9) from section 10.2.2 above (partially repeated here as (37)).

(37) A: Dui   stonj   drou   mann   inn   of.
              there stand$_{PL}$ three men   in.the   garden
      B: a. * Dui   en   duut.
                 there NEG   does
           b.   't En   duut.
                 it NEG   does
      'A: There are three men standing in the garden. B: No, there aren't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Interestingly, the use of *'t* 'it' as an SDR-subject seems to be gaining ground at the expense of the other personal pronouns. Put differently, there are a number of Dutch dialects which used to have a full paradigm of SDRs, but which nowadays only use *'t doet* 'it does' to contradict a negative statement and *'t en doet* 'it NEG does' to contradict an affirmative statement, regardless of what the subject in the antecedent clause looks like.[158] I return to this development in chapter twelve. The conclusion to be drawn from this section is that while VP-ellipsis imposes no restrictions on its subject, SDRs co-occur with only a very limited set of subjects.

10.2.8 Co-occurrence with wh-movement

The eighth difference I want to discuss here concerns the fact that a VP-ellipsis site can host the tail of a wh-movement chain (cf. Schuyler 2002; Merchant to appear a). Consider an example of this in (38) (from López 1999:286n17, who cites Tancredi 1992:113).

(38) A: Who did John introduce to Mary?
      B: I don't know. Who did Peter [*e*]?

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[157] Cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002a,b for general discussion and analyses of pronominal doubling in Dutch dialects, and cf. also infra, chapters twelve and fourteen, for further discussion directly related to the issues relevant here.
[158] Some traces of this development can also be found in the dialects I am discussing: my informant from Kleit reports that in affirmative SDRs he has a choice as to whether to use *'t* 'it' or a fully-specified personal pronoun as SDR-subject.

In this dialogue, B's reply is interpreted as *Who did Peter introduce to Mary?*. As such, the trace of the moved wh-phrase *who* is situated inside the ellipsis site, in the object position of the elided verb *introduce*.[159] The example in (39) shows that the ellipsis site in an SDR cannot host such a trace.[160]

(39) A: Ik weet wou da   Marie geire   ziet.
          I   know who that Mary gladly sees
      B: * En   wou en   duu-se?
          and who NEG does.she
          INTENDED READING: 'A: I know who Mary loves. B: And who doesn't she?'
                                                                      [Wambeek Dutch]

In fact, the wh-restriction on SDRs is even stronger than this example suggests. Even subject-wh-questions (where the trace would not be inside the ellipsis site) are incompatible with SDRs. This is shown in (40). As the English translation of this example illustrates, the subject of a clause containing VP-ellipsis can be freely wh-moved.

(40) A: Ik weet wou da   Marie geire   ziet.
          I   know who that Mary gladly sees
      B: * En   wou en   duut?
          and who NEG does
          INTENDED READING: 'A: I know who loves Mary. B: Who doesn't?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Summing up, then, while VP-ellipsis is fully compatible with wh-movement, neither subject- nor object-wh-movement can occur in SDRs.

10.2.9 Pseudogapping

The point made in this ninth section is very much related to the previous one. As is well-known, apart from VP-ellipsis, English also has an elliptical construction which is known as pseudogapping (cf. Levin 1978, 1979). An example is given in (41) (from Lasnik 1999a:142 who cites Sag 1980).

(41) A: Gee, I've never seen you on campus before.
      B: Yea! Neither have I you.

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[159] That the wh-phrase has actually been moved (rather than base-generated outside of the ellipsis site) is suggested by the fact that it obeys island constraints. Cf. Johnson 1996 for discussion.

[160] As discussed by Schuyler 2002 and Merchant to appear a, wh-movement out of a VP-ellipsis site is subject to certain – as yet ill-understood – restrictions. Schuyler 2002:18 phrases the relevant constraint as follows: "For A' extraction out of the site of VPE [VP-ellipsis, jvc] to be licensed, there must be a contrastively focused expression in the c-command domain of the extracted phrase". Note that this requirement is met in the case of SDRs, as the polarity of the clause is always contrastively focused in this construction (cf. the next chapter for discussion). In other words, the ungrammaticality of (39B) is not due to independent restrictions on wh-extraction out of a VP-ellipsis site.

In the wake of Jayaseelan (1990), it has become fairly standard to analyze pseudogapping as a combination of VP-ellipsis with prior extraction of a remnant (in this case *you*) out of the ellipsis site (cf. for example Johnson 1996; Lasnik 1999a, 1999b, 2001b; Kennedy & Merchant 2000; Takahashi 2004 and cf. also supra, chapter four, section 4.2.4 for some discussion). If pseudogapping is indeed a subtype of VP-ellipsis, then data such as those in (41) represent yet another characteristic which can be used to distinguish SDRs from VP-ellipsis. Consider in this respect the example in (42).

(42) A: Pierre   zie   Marie   geirn.
             Pierre   sees   Mary   gladly
      B: * Mo   ij   en   duu   Julia.
             but   he   NEG   does   Julia
      INTENDED READING: 'A: Pierre loves Mary. B: But he doesn't Julia.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The ungrammaticality of B's reply in this dialogue illustrates that there is no pseudogapping variant of SDRs. As such, these data represent yet another empirical difference between SDRs and VP-ellipsis.

10.2.10 Periphrastic *doen* 'do' in Dutch dialects

The tenth and final argument I want to present here against the hypothesis that SDRs are to be analyzed as VP-ellipsis is a more indirect one. The reasoning goes as follows. A number of Dutch dialects use the verb *doen* 'do' in a periphrastic construction which is very reminiscent of English *do*-support. An example from the dialect of Panningen is given in (43).

(43) De   kinger   doen hier   niet   voetballe
      the   children do_{PL} here   not   play.soccer$_{INF}$
      'The children don't play soccer here.'   [Panningen Dutch]

In this example, the main verb *voetballe* 'play soccer' appears in its infinitival form, while the verb *doen* 'do' carries the tense and agreement features. Although this dialectal construction differs from English *do*-support in that it can also occur in non-emphatic affirmative clauses, it does seem very tempting to try and unify the two phenomena (especially in light of the fact that in certain British dialects as well, *do*-support has this slightly wider distribution, cf. Schütze 2004 for data and a unified account). If this use of *doen* 'do' is indeed parallel to English *do*-support and by extension to *do*-support in English VP-ellipsis, and if SDRs are a combination of English-type *do*-support and VP-ellipsis, then one might expect there to be a correlation between dialects which allow the construction exemplified in (43) and those which display SDRs. This expectation is not borne out by the data, however. On the contrary, there is not a single dialect which features both the periphrastic *doen* construction illustrated in (43) and SDRs. This makes it unlikely that the two are related, which in turn casts doubt on the parallelism between English VP-ellipsis and dialect Dutch SDRs.

10.2.11   Taking stock: VP-ellipsis vs. SDRs and PF-deletion vs. *pro*

The data discussed in the preceding ten sections leave little or no room for doubt. Dialect Dutch Short Do Replies were shown to behave very differently from English VP-ellipsis with respect to a large number of tests. As a result, it seems fair to conclude that the two constructions are not – or at the very least not directly – related and that the initial hypothesis with which I began this chapter has to be abandoned. Table 10.1 summarizes the main empirical findings which have led to this conclusion.

	SHORT DO REPLIES	**VP-ELLIPSIS**
distribution	only in non-embedded contradictory replies	coordinations, comparatives, ACD, replies to declarative clauses, yes/no-questions and subject-wh-questions, embedded and main
there-**expletive as subject**	*	✓
agreement with elided associate DP	*	✓
modals and auxiliaries	*	✓
past tenses	*	✓
can co-occur with 'yes' and 'no'	*	✓
co-occurrence with adverbs	only very high adverbs	no restrictions
subject restrictions	only weak personal pronouns	no restrictions
co-occurrence with wh-movement	*	✓
pseudogapping	*	✓
patterns with periphrastic *doen* **'do'**	*	

Table 10.1 Comparison of dialect Dutch SDRs and English VP-ellipsis

At the same time, however, these data also allow for a more positive conclusion. Specifically, several of the characteristics mentioned above have been advanced in the literature as arguments in favor of a particular analysis of VP-ellipsis. Recall from the introductory section to this dissertation that a lot of the research on ellipsis focuses on the question how much structure an ellipsis site can or must contain. With respect to VP-ellipsis in particular, this has led to two diametrically opposed views: one which argues that it involves a fully-fledged but PF-deleted syntactic structure (Ross 1969; Sag 1980; Hankamer & Sag 1976, Sag & Hankamer 1984; Tomioka 1999, 2001; Merchant 2001a; Johnson 1996, 2001) and one which maintains that the ellipsis site contains a null, structureless proform (Chao 1987; Zagona 1988; Hardt 1993, 1999; López 1995, 1999; López & Winkler 2000; Lobeck 1995, 1999). In the current state of the field, it seems

that it is the first of these two hypotheses which has the edge. In order to show why this is the case, I have to return to some of the characteristics mentioned in table 10.1 above.[161]

A first argument in favor of PF-deletion theories of VP-ellipsis (discussed by Ross 1969) emerges in the context of *there*-expletive constructions. Consider the data in (44).

(44) a. I didn't think there were going to be many people at the party, but there were [*e*].
      b. I didn't think there was going to be a famous linguist at the party, but there was [*e*].

These examples show that the subject position in a clause which has undergone VP-ellipsis (i.e. the *but*-clause in both examples) can be filled by a *there*-expletive. Moreover, the auxiliary of such a clause agrees with the unpronounced associate DP. In particular, in (44a) the verb *were* is plural because so is the DP *many people*, while in (44b) the verb *was* is singular in accordance with *a famous linguist*. Examples such as these raise two substantial problems for proform-theories of VP-ellipsis. The first one concerns the agreement marking on the auxiliary. Given that pro_{VP} is a null pronominal, it seems reasonable to assume that this element is marked for (at least default) number. What is not clear, however, is how the number of pro_{VP} can correlate with that of the associate DP in its antecedent. Recall that this null pronominal does not have any internal structure. This means that the associate DP is in no way syntactically present in the *but*-clauses in (44), so unless one makes the *ad hoc* assumption that the number of a pro_{VP} correlates with that of the subject of its antecedent, the agreement facts in (44) remain completely mysterious under a proform-analysis of VP-ellipsis.[162,163] From the point of view of PF-deletion theories on the other hand, these data pose no problem at all. Specifically, given that the ellipsis site contains a fully-fledged syntactic structure, the fact that the auxiliary can agree with the elided associate DP follows naturally.

The second problem posed by the examples in (44) for *pro*-analyses of VP-ellipsis concerns the presence of the expletive pronoun *there* in the subject position of the *but*-clause. As is well-known, in order for the occurrence of this element to be licit, it has to co-occur with an indefinite associate DP lower in the clause.[164] As far as PF-deletion

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[161] Cf. also Johnson 1996 for extensive discussion of these issues.

[162] One possible way out for proform-theories would be to assume that the agreement on the auxiliary is determined at LF, after LF-copying of the antecedent-VP onto the null pronominal. It is unclear to me, however, whether there exists such an operation as LF-copying. Note that it implies that there is inter-arboreal movement – or some notational equivalent of it – between the LF-representations of sentences which are potentially uttered by different speakers. Moreover, this operation is not called upon anywhere else in the grammar, and more importantly, it is not assumed to play a role in the identification of DP-*pro* or any other pronominal. As a result, it is unclear why it should feature here, and by extension, it is unclear whether it can offer a solution to the problem raised by data such as those in (44) for proform-theories of VP-ellipsis.

[163] López 1995, who defends a proform-analysis of VP-ellipsis, discusses examples comparable to the ones in (44), but does not seem to consider them problematic for his approach. On p.107 he suggests that the auxiliary agrees with the VP-proform. As indicated in the main text, it is unclear to me how this would work.

[164] There are various ways in which this can be implemented. For example, *there* can be analysed as some sort of placeholder for the subject with which it forms a derived chain (Chomsky 1981, 1995) or it can be seen as a propredicate which takes the associate DP as its subject (Moro 1997).

theories of VP-ellipsis are concerned, this requirement is straightforwardly met. Specifically, given that the ellipsis site contains a fully-merged syntactic structure, both the examples in (44) contain an unpronounced copy of the associate DP in the c-command domain of *there*. Once again, though, *pro*-analyses fare differently. Recall that under such an approach the only element that occurs in the ellipsis site is a VP-proform. Given that pronominals are definite DPs, they are systematically excluded as *there*-associates.[165] This means that under the proform-analysis of VP-ellipsis, the occurrence of *there* in the subject position of a clause which has undergone VP-ellipsis should be illicit due to the fact that there is no appropriate associate DP. The fact that the examples in (44) are perfectly well-formed can then be seen as an argument against such an analysis.

The second set of data from table 10.1 that bears on this debate involves pseudogapping. Recall that this construction is commonly analyzed as a combination of VP-ellipsis with prior extraction of a DP or a PP (henceforth the remnant) out of the ellipsis site (Jayaseelan 1990; Johnson 1996; Lasnik 1999a, 1999b, 2001b; Kennedy & Merchant 2000; Takahashi 2004). This analysis is corroborated by the fact that the remnant obeys locality restrictions on movement (cf. Johnson 1996 for discussion). This implies that the ellipsis site has to contain a certain amount of structure to be able to host the trace of this movement operation. Under the PF-deletion analysis of VP-ellipsis, this structure is straightforwardly accommodated, but if the ellipsis site is a structureless null proform, there is simply no room for the trace. The standard reply from defenders of the *pro*-analysis, is that pseudogapping is not a subtype of VP-ellipsis and hence irrelevant for the discussion at hand (Lobeck 1999:100-106, Hardt 1993:120-125). It is rarely made precise, though, what exactly pseudogapping *is* an instance of. Although it is true that the restrictions on this construction are – for as yet unknown reasons – more strict than those on VP-ellipsis, a unifying analysis of the two phenomena should surely be the null hypothesis, the extra restrictions following from independent considerations (such as the presence of an extra movement operation in pseudogapping).

The third argument is very much related to the previous one. Recall that VP-ellipsis can be combined with object-wh-movement.

(45)   I know which chisel Ed likes and which one he doesn't.

Again, the ellipsis site has to contain enough structure to host a trace, and again *pro*-theories fail to provide this structure. Not surprisingly, then, advocates of such theories have argued that examples such as that in (45) do not show what they are purported to show. Hardt (1993:17-19) for example argues that (45) is not an instance of VP-ellipsis, but rather of pseudogapping, in which the remnant has been wh-moved. There are two reasons to doubt this line of argumentation. First of all, if pseudogapping is to be analyzed as VP-ellipsis (cf. supra), then the argument does not go through and examples like that in (45) are indeed problematic for *pro*-theories of VP-ellipsis. Secondly, there are facts which suggest that examples such as the one in (45) should not be equated with pseudogapping. To name but one of them (cf. Johnson 1996, Schuyler 2002 and

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Which implementation is chosen is irrelevant for the point developed here. Cf. also note 223 below.

[165] There are some exceptions to this, but they are orthogonal to the argument developed here. Cf. Barbiers & Rooryck 1998 for discussion.

references cited there for further discussion), while pseudogapping cannot strand a preposition, wh-movement out of a VP-ellipsis site can. This is illustrated in (46) (from Johnson 1996:5).

(46) a.   * Sally will stand near Mag, but he won't [*e*] Holly.
      b.   ? I know which WOMAN Fred will stand near, but I don't know which
            MAN he will [*e*].

The a-sentence shows that the remnant in a pseudogapping construction (in this case *Holly*) is not able to strand a preposition (here *near*). As illustrated in (46b), however, wh-movement out of a VP-ellipsis site *can* be combined with preposition stranding. Thus, these data provide a clear indication that (46b) is not merely the wh-counterpart of examples such as the one in (46a).

A fourth argument against proform-theories of VP-ellipsis concerns ACD-constructions. Consider a basic example in (47).

(47)   Ed reads every book that Julia does [*e*].

In this sentence the elided VP (indicated as [*e*]) is contained inside it own antecedent (i.e. the VP *reads every book that Julia does*). For analyses which identify [*e*] as a VP-proform, such a configuration represents a serious problem. In order to see why, consider the contrast in (48).

(48) a.   Ed [reads every book that Julia does pro_i]$_i$.
      b.   * I saw [a portrait of it$_i$]$_i$.

The sentence in (48b) is an illustration of the so-called *i-within-i*-filter (Chomsky 1981), which essentially states that proper subparts of a phrase cannot be coindexed with that phrase. However, under a pro_{VP}-analysis of VP-ellipsis, examples such as the one in (47) appear to be in violation of this filter as well (cf. the indexing in (48a)). In other words, proform-theories of VP-ellipsis predict (48a) to be as ungrammatical as (48b), *quod non*. Hardt (1993:17-19, 124-125) suggests that ACD-examples should be given a pseudogapping analysis, but the two objections raised earlier against this line of argumentation hold here as well. Firstly, if pseudogapping is analyzed as VP-ellipsis, then the argument loses its force, and secondly, just like wh-movement but unlike pseudogapping, ACD-constructions can strand a preposition. Compare the example in (49) (Johnson 1996:5) with that in (46a).

(49)   Sally will stand near every woman that you will [*e*].

Summing up, then, there are four strong arguments in favor of the hypothesis that the gap in a VP-ellipsis construction contains a fully-merged syntactic structure which has undergone phonological deletion.[166] On the other hand, arguments have been raised for

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[166] A fifth argument that is often raised in this respect are so-called missing antecedent phenomena (cf. Grinder & Postal 1971; Bresnan 1971; Hankamer & Sag 1976, Sag & Hankamer 1984; Sag 1979, 1980). Consider the contrast in (i) (from Sag 1980:317).

the opposite position as well. Advocates of *pro*-theories have pointed to properties of VP-ellipsis which they argue PF-deletion theories cannot handle. However, it turns out that the argumentation they put forward only targets a very specific implementation of the PF-deletion analysis, namely one which assumes that the antecedent VP and the elided VP have to be structurally completely parallel. Specifically, virtually all the arguments they discuss deal with discrepancies between the elided VP and its antecedent. Let me illustrate this with an example (from Hardt 1993:34).

(50)   David Begelman is a great [laugher] and when he does [*e*], his eyes crinkle at
        you the way Lady Brett's did in the *The Sun Also Rises*.

In this example, the elided VP (marked [*e*]) takes the NP *laugher* as its antecedent. Such a sentence is problematic for a theory which assumes that VPs can only be PF-deleted under complete structural parallelism with an antecedent VP. In this example there is no such antecedent VP and as a result, VP-ellipsis should be disallowed. Under a proform-analysis on the other hand, the relation between the gap and its antecedent is purely semantic. Hence it comes as no surprise that an NP can qualify as antecedent as well. As I have shown in part one of this dissertation, however, adhering to a PF-deletion theory of ellipsis does not necessarily imply that the elided phrase has to be structurally identical to its antecedent. Merchant (2001a:Chapter 1) for example argues at length in favor of a PF-deletion theory of ellipsis in which the relation between the elided XP and its antecedent is purely semantic (cf. also supra, chapter four section 4.2.4). This means that data such as those in (50) do not provide counterevidence against *all* PF-deletion theories of VP-ellipsis. Moreover, the same line of reasoning applies to the other arguments usually raised in this respect: active/passive-mismatches, non-overt antecedents, split antecedents, various pronominal mismatches usually grouped together under the rubric 'vehicle change' (Fiengo & May 1994), etc (cf. Merchant 2001a, to appear b; Coppock 2001; Kehler 2002 for relevant discussion). In light of the four arguments discussed earlier, then, it seems justified to say that at the current state of the field, the PF-deletion theory of VP-ellipsis which does not assume structural identity between the antecedent VP and the elided VP, is to be preferred over the proform-theory.[167,168]

(i)   a.   Jorge has never ridden a camel, but Ivan has [*e*], and it stank terribly.
         b.   *   Jorge has never ridden a camel, but Ivan has done it, and it stank terribly.

The example in (ib) illustrates that the overt VP-proform *done it* is not able to provide an appropriate antecedent for the pronoun *it* in the final clause. The elided VP in (ia) on the other hand, is. This suggests that the ellipsis site in this example contains more internal structure than a mere proform. Specifically, it hosts an elided version of the indefinite DP *a camel*, which acts as antecedent for the pronoun *it*. There are two reasons why I do not mention this argument in the main text. On the hand, judgements on data such those in (i) are notoriously unstable, as the antecedent for the pronoun can be fairly easily accommodated, even in cases such as (ib) (cf. in this respect also Williams 1977b:693-694). On the other hand, in the dialects under consideration here, the deviance of missing antecedent phenomena with constructions containing an overt proform seems to be even smaller than in English. Put differently, my informants could easily find an antecedent for the pronoun in dialect Dutch counterparts of examples such as the one in (ib), thus rendering the test uninformative.

[167] The account developed by Williams 1977a occupies an intermediate position in this debate. On the one hand, he argues explicitly against PF-deletion analyses of VP-ellipsis, while on the other, he assumes that the ellipsis site is not completely deprived of internal structure. On the contrary,

At this point I can return to dialect Dutch Short Do Replies. In table 10.2 I have repeated those aspects of the comparison between SDRs and VP-ellipsis which featured in the preceding discussion.[169]

	SHORT DO REPLIES	**VP-ELLIPSIS**
there-expletive as subject	*	✓
agreement with elided associate DP	*	✓
co-occurrence with wh-movement	*	✓
pseudogapping	*	✓

Table 10.2 Arguments against a PF-deletion analysis of Short Do Replies

As I have shown above, the characteristics in the leftmost column of table 10.2 play a crucial role in determining the correct analysis of English VP-ellipsis. Specifically, the fact that this construction displays these characteristics can be seen as strong arguments against a *pro*$_{VP}$-analysis and in favor of a PF-deletion account. The reverse reasoning now applies to dialect Dutch SDRs. Note that they pattern systematically differently from VP-ellipsis with respect to these properties. This, I want to argue, is a strong indication that unlike its apparent English counterpart, this construction *should* be given a proform-analysis. Consider first the fact that *there*-expletives are disallowed in the subject position of SDRs. This follows straightforwardly if there is no suitable indefinite

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the gap in a VP-ellipsis example contains the complete structure of the missing VP, but all the terminal nodes in this structure are occupied by empty, anaphoric elements (represented by delta's in Williams' account). This structure is interpreted at LF, by copying the LF-representation of the antecedent VP onto the empty VP. Although this approach is able to overcome some of the objections raised against proform-theories in the main text, it is not without its problems either. First of all, as Williams 1977a:105n3 himself acknowledges, his account offers no solution for the problem raised by ACD-constructions. Secondly, given that structural identity is a precondition for LF-copying, this approach inherits the problems faced by PF-deletion accounts which assume structural isomorphism between the antecedent VP and the elided VP (cf. supra, the discussion of the example in (50)). Thirdly, it relies heavily on the theoretically dubious mechanism of LF-copying (cf. supra, note 162). I abstract away from Williams' approach in what follows, focusing instead on the two extreme cases (a single, structureless *pro* vs. a fully-fledged but PF-deleted syntactic structure).

[168] An option which is in principle also available is to assume a proform-analysis for the 'core' cases of VP-ellipsis, and a PF-deletion analysis for those examples where a phrase has been moved out of the ellipsis site (by wh-movement, pseudogapping or ACD) or where the subject position is occupied by a *there*-expletive. Such a hybrid account is proposed by Winkler 2003:142-178 (although she does not discuss the data pertaining to *there*-expletives). Although this type of approach is clearly compatible with all the data reviewed above, it does seem to be dispreferred when compared to a single, unified theory of VP-ellipsis. Given that I believe such a unified theory to be feasible (cf. the discussion in the main text), I abstract away from Winkler's approach in what follows.

[169] Although they pattern as expected, I have left out the ACD-data. Given that SDRs are disallowed not just in ACD-constructions, but in a large group of other contexts as well (cf. supra), it seems unlikely that this is directly related to the nature of the ellipsis site in SDRs.

associate DP present in the structure, which in turn falls out if the ellipsis site in SDRs consists only of a null proform. Moreover, that would also explain why the SDR-verb never agrees with an elided associate DP (i.e. the second characteristic in table 10.2). If SDRs contain a null proform, such a DP is not syntactically present in the derivation and as a result it cannot affect the agreement marking on the SDR-verb. The third and fourth characteristic also follow this pattern. Given that a null proform contains no internal structure, it cannot host the trace of a movement operation. Hence, SDRs cannot be combined with wh-movement or with whatever movement operation is responsible for pseudogapping (cf. the references mentioned above for various proposals). Moreover, this line of reasoning can be extended to a movement operation which is specific to the dialects discussed here. Consider first the contrast in (51).

(51) a.   Marie   eit<-n>   zaai   <*-n>   wuirschaainlek nie gezien.
              Mary   has-him$_{CLITIC}$ she   him$_{CLITIC}$ probably   not seen
              'Mary probably didn't see him.'

      b.   Marie   eit<*-em>   zaai   <-em>   wuirschaainlek nie gezien.
              Mary   has-him$_{WEAK}$ she   him$_{WEAK}$ probably   not seen
              'Mary probably didn't see him.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

These examples show that the dialects under consideration here have a class of object clitic pronouns which differ in distribution from their deficient non-clitic counterparts. Specifically, while the latter cannot occur to the left of the doubling strong subject pronoun *zaai* 'she', the former obligatorily move to that position. More generally, object clitics in the dialects under consideration here obligatorily move to a position to the immediate right of the finite verb (in main clauses) or of the complementizer (in embedded clauses) (cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2000, 2002b for extensive discussion). As such, these data also make a prediction with respect to SDRs. If the ellipsis site in this construction contains a fully-fledged but PF-deleted syntactic structure, then object clitics should be able to move out of it and attach to the SDR-verb. If on the other hand, this construction contains a null, structureless proform, no object clitic can be present in the structure to begin with and SDRs should not be able to combine with object clitic movement. As the examples in (52) illustrate, it is the latter of these two hypotheses which makes the correct prediction.

(52) A: Marie   eit-n   gezien.
              Mary   has.him$_{OBJ.CLITIC}$ seen
      B: a. Z'en   duut.
              she.NEG   does
          b. * Z'en   duut-n.
              she.NEG   does-him$_{OBJ.CLITIC}$
      'A: Mary saw him. B: No, she didn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The example in (52Bb) shows that SDRs cannot co-occur with object clitics, not even if the antecedent clause contains one. This follows naturally if one assumes that the ellipsis site in this construction contains a null, structureless proform.

   Summing up, there is ample empirical evidence which suggests that the ellipsis site in SDRs does not contain a fully-merged but PF-deleted syntactic structure, but rather a

null, structureless proform. In other words, the data point to the conclusion that an SDR such as B's reply in (53) should be schematically represented as in (54).

(53)　A:　　Marie　zie　Pierre　geirn.
　　　　　　Mary　sees　Pierre　gladly
　　　B:　　Z'en　　duut.
　　　　　　she.NEG　does
　　　'A: Mary loves Pierre. B: No, she doesn't.'　　　　　[Wambeek Dutch]

(54)　Z'en　　duut *pro*.
　　　she.NEG　does
　　　'She doesn't.'　　　　　[Wambeek Dutch]

This concludes my comparison of dialect Dutch SDRs and English VP-ellipsis. In the next section I show how the schematic structure in (54) leads to a new hypothesis concerning the analysis of SDRs.

10.3　Short Do Replies = 'do'-paraphrases with a VP-proform?

In the preceding sections I have eliminated one likely suspect for the analysis of dialect Dutch Short Do Replies, and in so doing I introduced a first ingredient of what I believe to be the correct analysis of this construction. Specifically, the gap in an SDR is not a PF-deleted syntactic structure, but rather an unstructured null proform. In this section I show how this finding introduces a new likely suspect for the analysis of SDRs. This analysis too will be dismissed on empirical grounds, but at the same time it will provide some new clues as to what *is* the correct analysis. Consider the data in (55).

(55)　A:　　Pierre　spelj　met　de　　kinjern.
　　　　　　Pierre　plays　with　the　children
　　　B:　　Da　　duut　n　nie.
　　　　　　that　does　he　not
　　　'A: Pierre plays with the children. B: No, he doesn't.'　　　　　[Wambeek Dutch]

In this dialogue, speaker B contradicts A's statement by means of a paraphrase which contains a pronominal subject, a conjugated form of the verb *duun* 'do' and the VP-proform *da* 'that'. Given that I have just argued that SDRs are also built up out of these three elements, it is tempting to try and unify these two phenomena. Specifically, the hypothesis I will explore in the following sections is that SDRs are essentially the same construction as the one exemplified in (55B), the only difference being that in the former the proform is non-overt.

As I already hinted at several times, however, this hypothesis is falsified by the data. In the following sections I discuss nine empirical tests with respect to which SDRs pattern differently from the type of paraphrases exemplified in (55B). About seven of them I can be very brief, as they already featured above, when I compared SDRs to VP-ellipsis. I begin with the two new ones.

10.3.1 Negation and affirmation marking

A first noticeable difference between SDRs and the construction introduced above concerns the way in which negation and (emphatic) affirmation are expressed. While paraphrases with *duun* 'do' follow the normal pattern, negation and affirmation marking in SDRs is exceptional. Consider the contrast in (56).

(56) A: Pierre spelj   met de   kinjern.
          Pierre plays   with the children
      B: a. Da   (en)   duut n   *(nie).
              that NEG   does he   not
          b. Ij   *(en) duut (*nie).
              he   NEG   does   not
      'A: Pierre plays with the children. B: No, he doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The negation marking in (56Ba) represents the default situation in the dialect of Wambeek. The preverbal negative clitic *en* is optionally present (and usually left out), while the postverbal negator *nie* 'not' is obligatory. As the example in (56Bb) illustrates, SDRs diverge markedly from this pattern. Not only is the negative clitic obligatory in this construction, the postverbal negator is also disallowed. However, the latter of these two requirements does not hold for all SDR-dialects. Especially the more western ones optionally allow the postverbal negator to show up. Out of the dialects I am focusing on in this chapter, only that of Izenberge employs this second pattern. Specifically, in reply to A's statement in (56), speakers of this dialect can reply as in (57).

(57) E *(n)   doe   (nie)
      he NEG   does   not
      'He doesn't.'   [Izenberge Dutch]

Given that the dialect of Izenberge shares with the other dialects the default pattern in (56Ba), however, one can safely conclude that regardless of the cross-dialectal variation noted above, negation marking in SDRs differs considerably from that in paraphrases with *duun* 'do'. As such, these data constitute a first problem for a unified account of these two constructions.

A similar line of reasoning holds for emphatic affirmation marking. Consider the examples in (58).

(58) A: Pierre spelj   nie   met de   kinjern.
          Pierre plays   not   with the children
      B: a. Da   { duut / * DUUT} n   *(WEL).
              that   does / does   he   AFF
          b. Ij   { * duut / DUUT} (*WEL).
              he   does / does   AFF
      'A: Pierre doesn't play with the children. B: Yes, he does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Again, the reply in (58Ba) represents the default situation in the dialects under consideration here. When a clause is emphatically affirmative (e.g. in order to contradict a preceding negative statement), the affirmative adverb *wel* is obligatorily present. Moreover, the main stress in the sentence falls on this adverb, rather than on the verb.

SDRs on the other hand, display the opposite pattern. Not only is the adverb *wel* obligatorily absent, the verb *duun* 'do' necessarily receives main stress. Moreover, all the dialects looked at here behave uniformly in this respect, i.e. even in the dialect of Izenberge, adding *wel* to an affirmative SDR yields an ungrammatical result.[170]

Summing up, the way in which negation and affirmation are marked constitutes a first indication that SDRs should be kept distinct from the type of paraphrases exemplified in (55).

10.3.2 Activities vs. states

The data in (59)-(60) illustrate a second difference between the two constructions under consideration here.

(59) A: Pierre spelj met de kinjern.
         Pierre plays with the children
     B: a. Da duut n nie.
             that does he not
         b. Ij en duut.
             he NEG does
     'A: Pierre plays with the children. B: No, he doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(60) A: Pierre wetj naaig veel.
         Pierre knows very much
     B: a. * Da duut n nie.
               that does he not
         b. Ij en duut.
             he NEG does
     'A: Pierre knows a lot. B: No, he doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The pair in (59) shows that when the antecedent clause contains an activity verb like *spelen* 'play', both SDRs and paraphrases with *duun* 'do' are allowed. However, when the antecedent verb is stative, as in (60), only SDRs are grammatical. Paraphrases with *duun* 'do' are disallowed in such a case. This is a second indication that SDRs are not to be analyzed as *duun*-paraphrases in disguise.

This concludes my overview of the first two differences between SDRs and *duun*-paraphrases. As mentioned above, the following seven all involve properties which were already discussed in the comparison between SDRs and VP-ellipsis (cf. supra, section 10.2). As a result, I can be fairly brief about them, and will only introduce the data from *duun*-paraphrases. For the contrasting SDR-data, I refer the reader to the preceding sections.

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[170] In the 1981 questionnaire on SDRs, there is one informant (out of 145) who uses *wel* 'AFF' in combination with SDRs. His data are very dubious, though. Not only does he speak the dialect of a place which is quite far removed from the 'core' SDR-area, two other informants from this same place radically contradict his judgements.

10.3.3 Distribution

Just like VP-ellipsis and unlike SDRs, *duun*-paraphrases are not restricted to short contradictory replies to declarative clauses. The examples in (61) illustrate that this construction can also occur in coordinations (61a), comparatives (61b), embedded clauses (61c), replies to yes/no-questions (61d) and replies to subject-wh-questions (61e).[171] As such, these data constitute a third argument against unifying SDRs with *duun*-paraphrases.

(61) a.   Marie   spelj   veel   met   de   kinjern, en   Jef   duut dad   oek.
         Mary   plays a.lot   with   the   children and   Jeff   does that   too
         'Mary plays a lot with the children and Jeff does too.'

     b.   ? Marie spelj   miejr met   de   kinjern dan   da   Jef   da   duut.
         Mary plays more   with   the   children than   that$_{C°}$ Jeff   that   does
         'Mary plays more with the children than Jeff does.'

     c.   A: Marie   spelj   veel   met   de   kinjern.
                 Mary   plays a.lot   with   the   children
         B: Ik   paus   da   ze   da   nie duut.
                 I   think that$_{C°}$ she   that   not does
         'A: Mary plays a lot with the children.   B: I think she doesn't.'

     d.   A: Spelj Marie   veel   met   de   kinjern?
                 plays Mary   a.lot   with   the   children
         B: Nieje, da   duu   ze   nie.
                 no   that   does   she not
         'A: Does Mary play with the children a lot?   B: No, she doesn't.'

     e.   A: Wou   speltj er   alted   met   de   kinjern?
                 who   plays there   always   with   the   children
         B: Da   duu   Marie.
                 that   does   Mary
         'A: Who always plays with the children?   B: Mary does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

10.3.4 *There*-expletives

Antecedent clauses which contain a *there*-expletive form a fourth empirical domain in which SDRs and *duun*-paraphrases pattern differently. Recall from section 10.2.2 above that SDR-replies to such clauses necessarily consist of the third person singular neuter pronoun *'t* 'it' and the matching form of the verb *duun* 'do'. The data in (62) illustrate that even this option is not open to *duun*-paraphrases.

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[171] For reasons unclear to me, *duun*-paraphrases in comparative clauses are less acceptable than in the other contexts mentioned. Also noteworthy is the fact that this construction is excluded in ACD-environments (cf. (i)). This corroborates the argumentation presented in section 10.2.11 about ACD being problematic for *pro*-theories of VP-ellipsis.

(i)   *   Jef   leesd   elken   boek   da   Pierre da   duut.
            Jeff   reads   every   book   that$_{C°}$ Pierre   that   does   [Wambeek Dutch]

(62) A: Dui   werken drou mann   inn   of.
             there work_PL three men   in.the   garden
      B: a. * Da   doenj   er   niet.
                 that do_PL   there not
            b. * Da   duut   er   nie.
                 that does   there not
            c. * Da   doenj   't   nie.
                 that do_PL   it   not
            d. * Da   duun-t   nie.
                 that does.it   not
      INTENDED READING: 'A: There are three men working in the garden.
                          B: No, there aren't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

This means that SDRs and *duun*-paraphrases differ not in the choice of the subject pronoun or the agreement on the verb (as was the case with VP-ellipsis), but rather in the simple fact that while the former *can* be used in reply to sentences containing a *there*-expletive, the latter cannot.

10.3.5 Modals and auxiliaries

Unlike the verb used in SDRs, the one in *duun*-paraphrases cannot be used to replace modals or auxiliaries which occur in the antecedent clause. On the contrary, the verb *duun* 'do' in these types of paraphrases can appear in addition to those modals and auxiliaries. It then shows up in its participial or infinitival form. Consider the data in (63)-(65).

(63) A: Marie eit   den   ont   eten   gegeven.
             Mary   has   the   dog   food   given
      B: a. * Da   duu   ze   nie.
                 that does she   not
            b.   Dad   ei   ze   nie geduin.
                 that has   she not done
      'A: Mary has fed the dog. B: No, she hasn't.'[Wambeek Dutch]

(64) A: Marie muut   den   ont   eten   geven.
             Mary   must   the   dog   food   give
      B: a. * Da   duu   ze   nie.
                 that does she   not
            b.   Da   muu   ze   nie duun.
                 that must she not do_INF
      'A: Mary has to feed the dog. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(65) A: Marie   guit   den   ont   eten   geven.
              Mary   goes   the   dog   food   give
      B: a. * Da   duu   ze   nie.
                    that does she not
              b.   Da   gui   ze   nie   duun.
                    that goes she not do_INF
      'A: Mary is going to feed the dog. B: No, she isn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Given that the form of the verb *duun* 'do' used in SDRs is always finite, and given that
this verb can be used to replace modals and auxiliaries, the data in (63)-(65) represent a
fifth difference between SDRs and *duun*-paraphrases.

10.3.6 Past tenses

The sixth difference between SDRs and *duun*-paraphrases concerns the fact that the
latter allow past tenses, while the former don't.

(66) A: Marie   speljn   alted   met   de   kinjern.
              Mary   played   always with the children
      B: a. * Da   duu   ze   nie.
                    that does she not
              b.   Da   dee   ze   nie.
                    that did   she not
      'A: Mary always used to play with the children. B: No, she didn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

10.3.7 Co-occurrence with 'yes' and 'no'

Unlike SDRs, *duun*-paraphrases are perfectly compatible with *jou* 'yes' and *nieje* 'no'.
This is shown in (67) and (68).[172]

(67) A: Marie   spelj   met   de   kinjern.
              Mary   plays   with the children
      B: Nieje, da   duu   ze   nie.
              no   that does she not
      'A: Mary plays with the children. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(68) A: Marie   spelj   nie   met   de   kinjern.
              Mary   plays   not   with the children
      B: Jou,   da   duu   ze   wel.
             yes   that does she AFF
      'A: Mary doesn't play with the children. B: Yes, she does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

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[172] In order for B's reply in (67) and (68) to be felicitous, *nieje* 'no' and *jou* 'yes' have to be
pronounced with a drag tone, in which the vowel is lengthened. I return to this observation in the
Appendix to this chapter.

10.3.8 Co-occurrence with adverbs

While SDRs can only co-occur with very high adverbs such as *pertang* 'however' (at least for some speakers, cf. supra), *duun*-paraphrases can be freely combined with both high and low adverbs. Consider a representative sample in (69)-(72).

(69)   A: Marie   zou   muute   beginne   zwemmen.
               Mary   should   must   start   swim
        B: Da   duu   ze   al.
               that   does   she   already
       'A: Mary should start swimming. B: She already does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(70)   A: Pierre   spelj   voetbal.
               Pierre   plays   soccer
        B: Nieje,   da   duut-n   nie   mieje.
               no   that   does.he   not   anymore
       'A: Pierre plays soccer. B: No, he doesn't anymore.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(71)   A: Ik   eup   da   Marie   gin sein   gui   muiken.
               I   hope   that   Mary   no scene   goes   make
        B: Da   zal   ze   wuirschaainlek   nie   duun.
               that   will   she   probably   not   do
       'A: I hope Mary doesn't make a scene. B: She probably won't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(72)   A: Jef   zou   da   gou   voetbal   speltj.
               Jeff   said $that_{C^\circ}$ you   soccer   play
        B: Da   duun   ek   pertang   nie.
               that   do   I   however   not
       'A: Jeff said you play soccer. B: I don't, however.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

10.3.9 Subject restrictions

In section 10.2.7 above, I illustrated how the subject in an SDR can only be a weak pronoun which is coreferential with the subject of the antecedent clause. As the examples in (73) and (74) show, the subject in *duun*-paraphrases is not so restricted.

(73)   A: Pierre   spelj   voetbal.
               Pierre   plays   soccer
        B: Mo Jef   duut   da   nie.
               but Jef   does   that   not
       'A: Pierre plays soccer. B: But Jeff doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(74)   A: Iederiejn   geef   geldj   uin   dermen.
               everybody   gives   money   to   the.poor
        B: Pierre   duut   da   nie
               Pierre   does   that   not
       'A: Everybody gives money to the poor. B: Pierre doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

10.3.10   Conclusion

The primary conclusion of the present discussion is clear. In the preceding nine sections I have discussed a wide range of data, all of which are problematic for the hypothesis that SDRs are *duun*-paraphrases with a silent proform. It is safe to conclude, then, that this hypothesis should be abandoned. Table 10.3 summarizes the data which have led to this conclusion.

	SHORT DO REPLIES	*DUUN*-**PARAPHRASES**
negation and affirmation marking	exceptional	default
stative verb as antecedent	✓	*
distribution	only in non-embedded contradictory replies	coordinations, comparatives, replies to declarative clauses, yes/no-questions and subject-wh-questions, embedded and main
antecedent clause can contain a *there*-expletive	✓	*
modals and auxiliaries	*	✓
duun **'do' can occur as participle/infinitive**	*	✓
past tenses	*	✓
can co-occur with 'yes' and 'no'	*	✓
co-occurrence with adverbs	only very high adverbs	no restrictions
subject restrictions	only weak personal pronouns	no restrictions

Table 10.3 Comparison of Short Do Replies and *duun*-paraphrases

Once again, however, the contrastive data also offer some insight into what an analysis of SDRs *should* look like. In particular, I want to argue that the comparison with *duun*-paraphrases summarized above allows for two new conclusions. The first one concerns the nature of the verb *duun* 'do' in both constructions. Looking at table 10.3, it seems uncontroversial to say that the verb which appears in *duun*-paraphrases is an instance of the main verb *duun* 'do'. This is suggested by the fact that it can be preceded by modals and auxiliaries, that it can show up as a participle or an infinitive and that it cannot take stative verbs as its antecedent (main verb *do* being an activity verb itself). If this reasoning is on the right track, then it has repercussions for the status of the verb *duun* 'do' in SDRs. Given that this construction patterns systematically differently with respect to the properties just named, one is led to conclude that the verb in an SDR is a pure auxiliary. In other words, the *duun* 'do' that occurs in SDRs is just like the *do* that shows

up in English *do*-support: it is never preceded by modals or auxiliaries, it never appears as a participle or an infinitive, and it is insensitive to the activity/state-distinction.[173]

The second conclusion concerns the proform I have postulated in SDRs. Specifically, I want to suggest that several of the properties listed above follow straightforwardly if one assumes that the SDR-proform replaces or pronominalizes a larger part of the clausal structure than the VP-proform *da* 'that' does in *duun*-paraphrases. The reasoning goes as follows. Given that *da* 'that' co-occurs with modals and auxiliaries, with past tenses, with all kinds of adverbs and with all kinds of subjects, it seems reasonable to assume that this proform only pronominalizes the VP, i.e. the lexical verb and its internal arguments. The rest of the structure is unaffected. If this argumentation is on the right track, however, then the proform that occurs in SDRs replaces a much larger portion of the extended verbal projection. In particular, it includes the projection(s) where modals and auxiliaries are merged, the projection where past tense is assigned, all but the highest adverb projections and (assuming that pronominal subjects move to a higher position than non-pronominal ones, cf. infra for discussion) all but the highest subject position. It is this intuition that I will take as a cornerstone for my analysis of SDRs in the following two chapters.

10.4   Conclusion

In the preceding sections I have eliminated two possible analyses of SDRs. The first one tried to relate this construction to English VP-ellipsis. The main conclusion that came out of this comparison is that while VP-ellipsis involves the PF-deletion of a fully-fledged syntactic structure, the gap in an SDR contains a null proform. This led to a second possible analysis, one which treats SDRs as the null counterpart of paraphrases with the verb *duun* 'do' and the VP-proform *da* 'that'. There were two main reasons not to adopt this approach. First of all, the verb *duun* 'do' turned out to be a main verb in *duun*-paraphrases but an auxiliary in SDRs. Secondly, the SDR-proform pronominalizes a larger part of the clausal structure than the VP-proform *da* 'that' does.

10.5   Data summary: setting the research agenda

Given that the analysis in chapter twelve focuses on SDRs only, and given that most of the SDR-data in the preceding sections were intertwined with data from other constructions, I want to use this final section of chapter ten to summarize the main properties of SDRs. This summary will thus give an overview of those characteristics of SDRs an analysis should be able to account for. In other words, this section sets the research agenda for the chapters that follow. I have listed the relevant properties in (75).

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[173] Note that the distinction I am drawing here between main verb *duun* 'do' and auxiliary *duun* 'do' does not necessarily imply that these two represent different lexical items. In particular, it might be that there is only one such lexical item and that its grammatical properties are determined by the position in which it is merged in the structure. Cf. in this respect IJbema 2002.

(75) **Basic properties of dialect Dutch Short Do Replies**
    a. the subject:
      - is a weak pronominal which is coreferential with the preceding subject
      - if the antecedent clause contains a *there*-expletive, the SDR-subject is *'t* 'it'
      - the use of *'t* 'it' as an SDR-subject is gaining ground at the expense of the
         other personal pronouns
      - some dialects allow the weak subject pronoun to be doubled
    b. negation:
      - is obligatorily marked by the (normally optional) preverbal clitic *en*
      - this clitic can in some dialects be accompanied by the postverbal negator
         nie 'not'
    c. emphatic affirmation:
      - is marked by stress on the verb *duun* 'do'
      - the affirmative adverb *wel* is obligatorily absent
    d. the verb:
      - is always the verb *duun* 'do'
      - *duun* 'do' is an auxiliary in SDRs (cannot be preceded by modals or
         auxiliaries, cannot show up in participial or infinitival form, can replace
         stative verbs)
      - only occurs in the present tense
      - can be used to replace modals and auxiliaries
    e. the gap:
      - is not a PF-deleted syntactic structure (no *there*-expletives, no agreement
         with the elided associate DP, no wh-movement, no pseudogapping, no
         object clitic movement), but rather a null proform
      - this proform replaces a larger part of the structure than merely VP
    f. distribution:
      - SDRs only occur productively in short contradictory replies to declarative
         statements
    g. co-occurrence restrictions:
      - SDRs cannot be combined with 'yes' and 'no'
      - SDRs cannot be combined with adverbs, except (at least for some speakers)
         very high ones such as *pertang* 'however' or *iejrlek gezeid* 'frankly'

10.6   Appendix: the interaction of SDRs with 'yes'

As mentioned in section 10.2.5 above, in this Appendix I focus on the status of the element *jou* 'yes' that accompanies SDRs in examples such as the ones in (76) and (77).

(76) A: Marie zie Pierre nie geirn.
           Mary sees Pierre not gladly
      B: Jou ze duut.
           yes she does
    'A: Mary doesn't love Pierre. B: Yes, she does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(77)   A: Marie   zie   Pierre   geirn.
            Mary   sees   Pierre   gladly
       B: Jou   z'en   duut.
            yes   she.NEG   does
       'A: Mary loves Pierre. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The fact that this element can be combined both with affirmative and with negative
SDRs suggests that it is not an instance of the 'regular' polarity marker *jou* 'yes' which is
used in replies to yes/no-questions. In the following paragraphs I present further
evidence which supports this conclusion. In particular, I will review a set of data with
respect to which the *jou* 'yes' found in SDRs patterns systematically differently from
'regular' instances of this polarity marker. As for the analysis of this element, this is an
issue I return to in chapter twelve. There I will argue that it is the spell-out of a very
specific functional head in the clausal left periphery. The analysis of the 'regular' polarity
marker *jou* 'yes' is an issue I take up in chapter fourteen.

A first thing to note is that when the 'regular' polarity marker *jou* 'yes' is used in a
contradictory reply to a negative declarative clause, its vowel is necessarily lengthened,
i.e. it is pronounced with a drag tone (cf. also supra, note 172). This is illustrated in (78)
(where the '~'-diacritic signals vowel lengthening).

(78)   A: Marie   gui   nie nui de cinema.
            Mary   goes   not to the cinema
       B: Jou*(~), Marie   gui   wel   nui de cinema.
            yes   Mary   goes   AFF   to the cinema.
       'A: Mary doesn't go to the cinema. B: Yes, she does go to the cinema.'
                                                                    [Wambeek Dutch]

In this dialogue, speaker B contradicts A's declarative statement by means of a non-
elliptical (i.e. non-SDR), full clausal reply. As indicated by the grammaticality
judgments, the vowel of the polarity marker *jou* 'yes' is necessarily lengthened in this
example. This predicts that if it is the same element which shows up in the examples in
(76) and (77), vowel lengthening should be obligatory there as well. As the examples in
(79) and (80) illustrate, however, this is not the case.

(79)   A: Marie   zie   Pierre   nie geirn.
            Mary   sees   Pierre   not gladly
       B: Jou(*~)   ze   duut.
            yes   she does
       'A: Mary doesn't love Pierre. B: Yes, she does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(80)   A: Marie   zie   Pierre   geirn.
            Mary   sees   Pierre   gladly
       B: Jou(*~)   z'en   duut.
            yes   she.NEG   does
       'A: Mary loves Pierre. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

If anything, the vowel of the element *jou* 'yes' when it precedes SDRs is even shortened.
The contrast between (78) and (79)/(80) thus constitutes a further indication that these
two instances of *jou* 'yes' should not be equated.

Secondly, when used in contradictory replies to declarative clauses, *jou* 'yes' can be replaced by a combination of the particle *toch*, which is homophonous with an adverb roughly meaning 'however', and the polarity adverb *wel* 'AFF' (cf. also infra, section 11.3 of the next chapter, for extensive discussion). Consider an illustration of this in (81).

(81)   A: Marie   gui   nie   nui de cinema.
               Mary   goes not   to the cinema
       B: Toch wel, Marie   gui   wel   nui de cinema.
               PRT   AFF Mary   goes AFF   to the cinema.
       'A: Mary doesn't go to the cinema. B: Yes, she does go to the cinema.'
                                                                            [Wambeek Dutch]

Again, the prediction raised by this example for the data in (76)-(77) is clear. If the *jou* 'yes' that can accompany SDRs is the same element as the polarity marker found elsewhere in the grammar, then it too should be replaceable by *toch wel* 'PRT AFF'. As shown in (82)-(83), this prediction is not borne out.

(82)   A: Marie   zie   Pierre   nie geirn.
               Mary   sees Pierre   not gladly
       B: * Toch wel   ze   duut.
               PRT   AFF she does
       INTENDED READING: 'A: Mary doesn't love Pierre. B: Yes, she does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(83)   A: Marie   zie   Pierre   geirn.
               Mary   sees Pierre   gladly
       B: * Toch wel   z'en   duut.
               PRT   AFF she.NEG   does
       INTENDED READING: 'A: Mary loves Pierre. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Unlike the polarity marker *jou* 'yes' used in examples such as (78), the one that accompanies SDRs cannot be replaced by a combination of *toch* 'PRT' and *wel* 'AFF'. This is a second indication that these two elements should be kept distinct.

Thirdly, whereas 'regular' occurrences of *jou* 'yes' are usually separated from the clause that follows them by an intonation break, such a break is unacceptable in a combination of *jou* 'yes' with SDRs. Consider the data in (84) and (85) (where the use of a comma indicates the presence of an intonation break).

(84)   A: Kom   Marie?
               comes Mary
       B: Jou(,)   Marie   komt.
               yes   Mary   comes
       'A: Is Mary coming? B: Yes, she is.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(85)   A: Marie   zie   Pierre   nie geirn.
               Mary   sees Pierre   not gladly
       B: Jou(*,)   ze duut.
               yes   she does
       'A: Mary doesn't love Pierre. B: Yes, she does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The fourth difference between the two occurrences of *jou* 'yes' concerns a construction which will be discussed in great detail in chapter fourteen. Consider the example in (86).

(86) A: Kom   ze   mergen?
            comes she   tomorrow
     B: a.   Jui-s.
                 yes-she_CLITIC
           b.   Jui-s,   ze   kom   mergen.
                 yes-she_CLITIC she   comes tomorrow
     'A: Is she coming tomorrow? B: Yes(, she is coming tomorrow).'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In both of B's replies in this dialogue, the subject clitic *s* 'she' (which is coreferential with the subject of A's yes/no-question) is attached to the polarity element *jou* 'yes'.[174] Moreover, the sentence in (86Bb) illustrates that this phenomenon is not restricted to elliptical replies (i.e. replies consisting of just the polarity marker), but that it is also allowed when the polarity marker is followed by a full clausal reply. This predicts that it should also be able to occur when *jou* 'yes' is combined with an SDR. It should come as no surprise by now that this prediction is not borne out by the data.

(87) A: Marie   zie   Pierre   nie geirn.
            Mary   sees   Pierre   not gladly
     B: * Jui-s   ze   duut.
            yes-she_CLITIC she does
     INTENDED READING: 'A: Mary doesn't love Pierre. B: Yes, she does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Fifthly and finally, the polarity marker *jou* 'yes' used in replies to yes/no-questions also differs from the element that combines with SDRs in the types of discourse particles it can co-occur with. Consider first some basic data in (88)-(90).

(88) A: Magge-k-ik   oek   mee?
            may-I_CLITIC-I_STRONG also with
     B: A   ba   jou.
            PRT   PRT   yes
     'A: Can I also come? B: I guess so.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(89) A: Magge-k-ik   oek   mee?
            may-I_CLITIC-I_STRONG also with
     B: Mo   ba   jou.
            PRT   PRT   yes
     'A: Can I also come? B: Of course.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

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[174] Note that when a clitic is attached to *jou* 'yes', the vowel of this polarity element changes. Cf. infra, note 258, for discussion.

(90) A: Magge-k-ik   oek   mee?
            may-I_{CLITIC}-I_{STRONG}   also   with
      B: A   mo   ba   jui-ch
            PRT   PRT   PRT   yes-you_{CLITIC}
      'A: Can I also come? B: Of course you can!'   [Wambeek Dutch]

These examples illustrate that the polarity element *jou* 'yes' which is used in replies to yes/no-questions can co-occur with a variety of discourse particles. The most common among them are *a*, *ba* and *mo*. When two or more of these particles co-occur, their order is always fixed (*a* < *mo* < *ba*) and each of them carries its own specific semantico-pragmatic flavor. However, given that it is very difficult to pinpoint the precise meaning of each of these elements individually (cf. Smessaert 1995 for relevant discussion), I have glossed all of them here as 'PRT', and I have tried to capture only the general meaning of B's reply in the English translation. What is relevant for the present discussion, however, is the prediction that if the polarity element accompanying SDRs is the same as the one in the examples in (88)-(90), then it too should be able to co-occur with these discourse particles. As shown in (91), this is not the case.

(91) A: Ik   muun   oek   mee.
            I   have.to   also   with
      B: a. ?* A   ba   jou   g'en   doetj.
                   PRT   PRT   yes   you.NEG   do
            b. ?* Mo   ba   jou   g'en   doetj.
                   PRT   PRT   yes   you.NEG   do
            c. * A   mo   ba   jou   g'en   doetj.
                   PRT   PRT   PRT   yes   you.NEG   do
      INTENDED READING: 'A: I have to come as well. B: No, you don't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In this example, exactly the same particle combinations are used as the ones in (88)-(90), yet the result is ungrammatical. Moreover, the data in (92) illustrate that the deviance of (91Ba-c) is not due to the combination of the discourse particles with the SDR. Specifically, when *jou* 'yes' is deleted in B's replies in (91), the result is perfectly acceptable.[175]

(92) A: Ik   muun   oek   mee.
            I   have.to   also   with
      B: a. A   ba   g'en   doetj.
                PRT   PRT   you.NEG   do
            b. Mo   ba   g'en   doetj.
                PRT   PRT   you.NEG   do
            c. A   mo   ba   g'en   doetj.
                PRT   PRT   PRT   you.NEG   do
      'A: I have to come as well. B: No, you don't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

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[175] For expository reasons, I abstract away from the semantico-pragmatic meaning layer added by the discourse particles in the translation of the examples in (92).

What these examples show, then, is that the ungrammaticality of B's replies in (91) is solely due to the presence of *jou* 'yes'. This means that this element differs from the 'regular' polarity marker used in (88)-(90) in that it is incompatible with (at least certain combinations of) the discourse particles *a*, *mo* and *ba*. As such, these data constitute a fifth indication that the *jou* 'yes' that combines with SDRs should not be equated with the 'regular' instances of this polarity marker.

Summing up, in this Appendix I have shown that although an element homophonous with the affirmative polarity marker *jou* 'yes' can co-occur with SDRs, the two should be kept distinct. Specifically, the *jou* 'yes' that occurs in SDRs differs from the 'regular' polarity marker in a considerable number of respects: it can be used both with affirmative and with negative SDRs, its vowel cannot be lengthened, it cannot be replaced by *toch wel*, it does not allow for an intonation break with the SDR that follows it, it cannot be combined with subject clitics, and it is incompatible with discourse particle combinations which readily combine with the 'regular' instances of *jou* 'yes'. All in all, then, the evidence against a unified account of these two elements is quite overwhelming. Accordingly, I will propose in chapter twelve that they occupy different structural positions in the clausal left periphery.

11 Theoretical background

11.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present the theoretical background I will make use of in my analysis of SDRs in the next chapter. In so doing, I focus on three issues. In section 11.2 I first make explicit what kind of clause structure I will be assuming. A lot of attention will be devoted to the structural position occupied by polarity projections (i.e. NegPs) in the extended IP-domain. Section 11.3 focuses on the syntax of contradictory sentential emphasis. Following Lipták (2003) I argue that contradicting a declarative clause involves the activation of a very specific functional head in the clausal left periphery. Thirdly, in section 11.4, I examine how the SDR-proform can be properly licensed and identified. Section 11.5 sums up the main findings of this chapter.

11.2 Clause structure

In section 10.3.10 I argued that the proform which occurs in SDRs pronominalizes a larger part of the clausal structure than the VP-proform *da* 'that' does. In order to make this intuition more precise, I have to be more explicit about the hierarchy of IP-internal projections I am assuming. Moreover, given the central importance of negation and emphatic affirmation in SDRs, the position of NegP (or rather, one of its more generalized incarnations such as PolP (Culicover 1991, Holmberg 2003), ΣP (Laka 1990) or AstP (Pollock 1989)) in this structure will also be of crucial importance. The labeled bracketing in (93) is an abstract representation of the clause structure my analysis will be based on.[176]

(93) $[_{CP} \, C° \, [_{Agr_sP} \, Agr_s° \, [_{NegP} \, Neg° \, [_{TP} \, T° \, [_{NegP} \, Neg° \, [_{VP} \, V° \, \dots \,]]]]]]$

A first thing to note about this structure is that it contains not one, but two NegPs.[177] This means that I follow the line of research going back to Lasnik (1972), which argues that negative elements can be base-generated in more than one position in the clausal structure (cf. Robbers 1992; Zanuttini 1997; Van Kemenade 2000; Haegeman 2002; Barbiers 2002b; Cormack & Smith 2002; Butler 2003; Holmberg 2003). In characterizing these two NegPs, I follow Butler (2003), who argues that the lower NegP

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[176] Note that in this structure I abstract away from projections such as AspP, AuxP, ModP, *v*P, Agr$_o$P, various adverbial projections or the possibility of further splitting up TP, as these will not play a role in the sections and chapters that follow. As such, the labelled bracketing in (93) is but a schematic representation of the clause structure I am adopting. In the same vein, what I present as CP here, is arguably a conglomerate of more than one functional projection; cf. supra, chapter three.

[177] Given the multitude of names that has been proposed for the functional projection(s) in which polarity is expressed (NegP, PolP, ΣP, AstP, …), I will continue to use the most neutral and well-known one here, i.e. NegP. Needless to say, this choice is arbitrary and no deeper meaning should be attached to it.

operates on the predicate, while the higher one negates the entire proposition.[178] The example in (94) (Butler 2003:983) helps to clarify this distinction.

(94) a.   My hoover isn't working.
      b.   ¬ [my hoover is working]
      c.   my hoover is ¬ [working]

Under the propositional negation reading (represented in (94b)), the example in (94a) negates the proposition *my hoover is working*. The low negation reading in (94c) on the other hand, simply connects the subject *my hoover* with the negated predicate *not working*. In simple sentences like these, the different contribution of the two NegPs is not very prominent, as the representations in (94b) and (94c) have identical truth conditions. In the next section, however, I will show that when emphasis (i.e. focus) is added to negation and affirmation marking, the difference between the two NegPs becomes vital. Before doing so, I want to take a closer look at each NegP individually, and try to determine which lexical elements can be merged in it.

   Following Haegeman (2002), I assume that the low NegP is the position where the polarity elements *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF' are merged. That this is on the right track is suggested by the fact that *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF' occur to the right of scrambled objects. This is illustrated in (95).

(95) a.   Lewie   ei   gisteren   [daunen boek]$_i$ nie   t$_i$ gelezen.
            Louis   has   yesterday that   book   not   read
            'Louis hasn't read that book yesterday.'
      b.   Lewie   eit   gisteren   [daunen boek]$_i$ wel   t$_i$ gelezen.
            Louis   has   yesterday that   book   AFF   read
            'Louis HAS read that book yesterday.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In both these examples, the direct object *daunen boek* 'that book' has moved across the polarity marker to its left. Given that this type of scrambling is generally assumed to target a position below TP (e.g. Agr$_o$P), these data constitute an argument in favor of generating *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF' in the lower NegP, i.e. the one which is dominated by TP.[179] The next question to ask, then, is whether *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF' form the head or

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[178] Butler links the two NegPs to the *v*P-phase and the CP-phase respectively, and he identifies the higher NegP as Rizzi's (1997a) FocP. Here I depart from his proposal, in that I assume that the higher NegP is part of the IP-domain and that it is dominated by Agr$_s$P. Cf. infra for discussion.
[179] As Sjef Barbiers p.c. observes, the assumption that Dutch scrambling targets a position below TP is not without its problems. Consider the example in (i).
(i)   Jan   heeft   [het   boek]$_i$ jammer   genoeg   gisteren   niet   t$_i$ gelezen.
       John   has   the   book   sadly   enough   yesterday not   read
       'Sadly enough, John hasn't read the book yesterday.'   [Dutch]
In this example, the scrambled object *het boek* 'the book' precedes both the temporal adverb *gisteren* 'yesterday' and the evaluative mood adverb *jammer genoeg* 'sadly enough'. This seems to suggest that scrambled objects can target a fairly high position in the left periphery, arguably higher than TP. This is an issue the scope of which extends beyond this chapter, so I will have nothing more to say about it, but note that even if this line of reasoning goes through, the scrambled object in (95) would still be lower than TP, given that it follows the temporal adverb *gisteren* 'yesterday'. Hence, the argument developed in the main text remains unaffected.

the specifier of this projection. Given that these elements do not block V°-to-C° movement (cf. (96a)), and given that they cannot move along to C° together with the finite verb as one complex head (96b), I assume that they form the specifier rather than the head of the lower NegP (again in accordance with Haegeman 2002).

(96) a.   Gisteren   zou   Jef   {nie/wel} t_{zou} dat-n   ging kommen.
             yesterday said Jeff not/AFF   that$_{C°}$-he went come
             'Yesterday Jeff didn't/DID say that he would come.'
      b.   * Gisteren   zou   {nie/wel} Jef   dat-n   ging kommen.
             yesterday said not/AFF   Jeff that$_{C°}$-he went come
             INTENDED READING: 'Yesterday Jeff didn't/DID say that he would come.'
                                                                        [Wambeek Dutch]

In (96a) the finite verb *zou* 'said' has moved from its VP-internal base position to C°. In so doing, it crosses the NegP occupied by *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF'. Given that this movement does not lead to a violation of the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984), this example can be seen as an argument in favor of the XP-status of *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF'.[180] The sentence in (96b) makes the same point, but from a slightly different angle. If *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF' were indeed the head of the low NegP, then one might expect the finite verb to be able to adjoin to these elements on its way to C°. Given that neither *zou nie* 'said not' nor *zou wel* 'said AFF' can occur as a complex head in the C°-position of the clause, it is unlikely that *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF' are an instantiation of Neg°. Summing up, I have shown that it is plausible to assume that the polarity adverbs *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF' are merged as the specifiers of the lower of the two NegPs in the structure in (93).[181]

Again following Haegeman (2002), I assume that the preverbal negative clitic *en* is merged in the higher NegP.[182] Moreover, it is generated as the head of this projection. A clear indication in favor of its head status is the fact that this element – unlike *nie* 'not', cf. supra – can move together with the finite verb as a complex head to the C°-position. Compare the example in (97) with the one in (96b).

(97)   Gisteren   en   zou   Jef   nie dat-n   ging kommen.
       yesterday NEG   said Jeff not that$_{C°}$-he went come
       'Yesterday Jeff didn't say that he would come.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In this example, the finite verb *zou* 'said' has adjoined to the negative clitic *en* on its way to C°. Given that *en zou* 'NEG said' acts like a complex head (note that the presence of *en*

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[180] An alternative explanation, due to Roberts 1993, would be to assume that *wel* 'AFF' and *nie* 'not' are heads, but that head movement is subject to Relativized Minimality. Specifically, if *wel* 'AFF' and *nie* 'not' are of a different type (A or A-bar) than the movement of the verb to C°, they are not expected to act as interveners for this movement operation. I abstract away from this option here. Thanks to Howard Lasnik p.c. for drawing my attention to it.

[181] Determining whether *wel* 'AFF' and *nie* 'not' are heads or phrases is a more complicated issue than is suggested in the main text. For example, under an XP-account of these elements, it remains mysterious why they cannot freely front to clause-initial position. However, given that this issue is orthogonal to my main concerns, I will not deal with it any further here. Cf. Barbiers 2002b for discussion.

[182] I diverge from Haegeman's proposal, though, in that I assume that the higher NegP (PolP in her account) is higher than TP. Cf. infra for discussion.

does not cause a violation of the V2-requirement), it seems reasonable to assume that *en* is a syntactic head itself.

A further thing to note about the high NegP is that it is situated in between Agr$_s$P and TP. This aspect of the analysis is not without its precedents either. Specifically, Belletti (1990), Holmberg e.a. (1993), López (1995), Haegeman (1995) and Zanuttini (1997) have all proposed identical or highly similar configurations. What is more, the specific hierarchy assumed here receives strong empirical support from the tense and agreement system in Finnish. Consider the examples in (98) (from Holmberg 2003).[183]

(98) a. Minä osta-isi-n   kahvia.
          I   buy-CON-1SG coffee
          'I would buy coffee.'
      b. Minä e-n   osta-isi   kahvia.
          I   Neg-1SG buy-CON coffee
          'I wouldn't buy coffee.'   [Finnish]

The example in (98a) illustrates that in affirmative sentences, the finite verb moves through T° (picking up the suffix *isi*) and onto Agr$_s$° (where it is combined with the agreement ending *n*). In negative sentences on the other hand (cf. (98b)), the verb only moves to T° and it is the negative element itself which moves to Agr$_s$° and consequently is marked with an agreement ending. It is clear that this state of affairs can only be straightforwardly accounted for if one assumes that the hierarchical ordering of functional projections is [$_{AGR_SP}$ [$_{NEGP}$ [$_{TP}$]]]. The tree structure in (99) (adapted from Holmberg 2003) illustrates the derivation of the example in (98b).

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[183] Interestingly, Holmberg 2003 argues in spite of these data that there is no Agr-projection in between the high NegP (PolP in his account) and CP. However, given that he mainly does so for conceptual reasons (i.e. Chomsky's 1995:352ff abandonment of AgrPs), given that this move forces him to assume that Pol° carries phi-features, and given that such an analysis has no straightforward account for the ordering of negation with respect to the inflectional suffixes, I depart from his proposal in this respect.

(99)
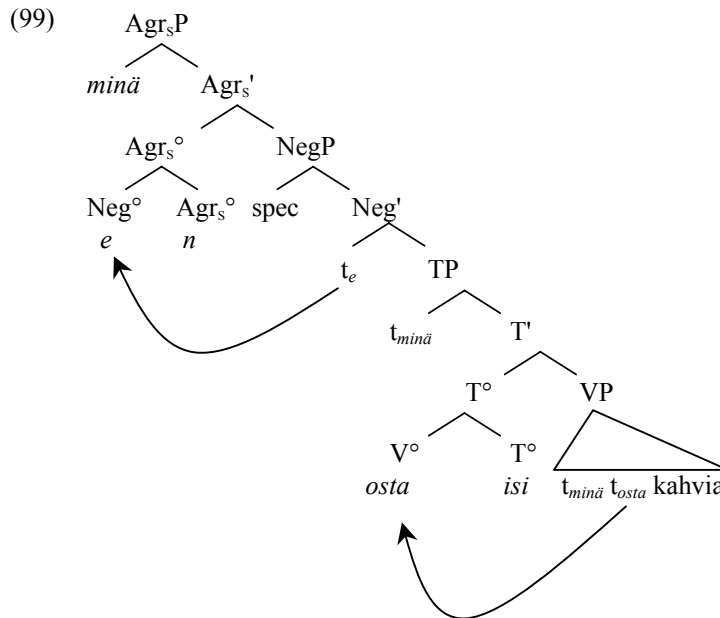
Summing up, in this first section I have outlined the clausal structure I will be assuming in my analysis of SDRs. I have shown that it is both well grounded in previous research and supported by empirical data. Key characteristics of the proposed hierarchy are the adoption of two NegPs, one dominating TP and one dominated by TP, and the assumption that while *nie* 'not' and *wel* 'AFF' are merged as the specifier of the low NegP, the preverbal negative clitic *en* is the head of the high NegP.[184] What I have remained

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[184] Note that this means that in an example like (i), both NegPs are overtly realized. Given that the combination of the two yields only one single semantic negation, this is an instance of negative concord.

(i) Jef   en   kom   nie.
     Jeff   NEG   comes not
     'Jeff isn't coming'   [Wambeek Dutch]

One aspect of the double NegP-account for which I have no analysis, is the fact that in an example like (i) the postverbal negator *nie* 'not' is obligatory, i.e. the preverbal negative clitic *en* cannot express sentential negation on its own (cf. Haegeman 1995, 2002 and cf. also Zanuttini 1997:Ch2 for comparative data from Romance on preverbal negative markers which can or cannot negate a clause on their own). This is illustrated in (ii).

(ii) Jef   en   kom   *(nie).
      Jeff   NEG   comes not
      'Jeff isn't coming'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Haegeman 2002:180-183 argues in the face of these data that the function of the higher NegP (PolP in her account) is "to reinforce sentential negation as expressed by [the lower, jvc] NegP" (Haegeman 2002:180). In the next sections I will argue that the generalization exemplified by (ii) is not an absolute one. Specifically, in SDRs the higher NegP *can* express sentential negation on its own (as is also acknowledged by Haegeman 2002:181). However, given that a full analysis of the syntax of negation in the dialects under consideration here is clearly beyond the scope of this dissertation (cf. in this respect also Zeijlstra forthcoming), I will not elaborate on this issue any further.

silent about so far, are the possible overt incarnations of the head position of the low NegP and the specifier position of the high NegP. With respect to the first I can be brief. I assume that the head of the low NegP is never overtly realized and can only contain an abstract [+NEG]- or [+AFF]-morpheme. The possible lexical realizations of the specifier position of the high NegP are discussed in the next section.

11.3   The syntax of contradictory sentential emphasis

Recall that SDRs can only be used to contradict a preceding declarative statement, i.e. they express contradictory sentential emphasis in Lipták's (2003) terminology. Contradictory sentential emphasis refers to the phenomenon whereby the polarity of a clause is focused in order to contradict a preceding statement (cf. also Gussenhoven 1984:45-55; Höhle 1992). Lipták argues that in Hungarian the expression of contradictory sentential emphasis requires a very specific syntax. In what follows I introduce the main ingredients of her proposal and then show that Lipták's observations and analysis can be transferred to the dialects under consideration here. In the next chapter I will extend the account further to SDRs.

Consider the data in (100) and (101).

(100)   A: Anna nem ment el   moziba.
                Anna not   went PV cinema.to
        B: Anna igenis   elment   moziba.
                Anna yes.also   PV.went   cinema.to
        'A: Anna didn't go to the cinema. B: Yes, she did.'   [Hungarian]

(101)   A: Anna elment   moziba.
                Anna PV.went   cinema.to
        B: Anna igenis   nem ment el   moziba.
                Anna yes.also   not   went PV cinema.to
        'A: Anna went to the cinema. B: No, she didn't.'   [Hungarian]

These dialogues represent typical instances of contradictory sentential emphasis in Hungarian. In (100) a negative clause is contradicted, while in (101) an affirmative one is.[185] What is striking about B's reply in both cases is that it contains the word *igenis*. This lexical item consists of *igen* 'yes' and the emphatic particle *is* 'also', and it only occurs in constructions expressing contradictory sentential emphasis.[186] Lipták analyses this element as occupying a head position in the extended left periphery, which she terms VFoc° (short for Verum Focus[187]). As such, she considers *igenis* to be the overt realization of the VERUM-operator which semantic accounts of contradictory sentential

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[185] Note that these dialogues are only felicitous if it is clear to both participants that it is the truth of the proposition *Anna went to the cinema* which forms the focus of the discussion. In other words, the disagreement expressed by B's reply in (100) and (101) is quite strong.

[186] The reverse is not true: *igenis* is not obligatory in clauses expressing contradictory sentential emphasis. Specifically, it is optional in B's reply in (100) and (101). However, when it is left out, the sentence requires extra-heavy stress on the preverb+verb (in (100)) or on the negation (in (101)). Cf. Lipták 2003 for more details.

[187] Verum Focus is the name given by Höhle 1992 to sentential emphasis.

emphasis have postulated in these types of sentences (cf. for example Höhle 1992; Romero & Han 2002). Roughly, what *igenis* means, then, is 'what now follows is a true proposition'. It is an operator which emphasizes the truth of the clause that follows. For example, in the case of (100) *igenis* emphasizes that the proposition 'Anna went to the cinema' is true, thus refuting A's previous statement that Anna didn't go to the cinema.[188]

These considerations represent only the first half of the analysis of contradictory sentential emphasis in Hungarian, however. Consider the data in (102).

(102) a.   * Anna igenis   tegnap   elment   moziba.
                Anna yes.also   yesterday PV.went   cinema.to
                INTENDED READING: 'Anna DID go to the cinema yesterday.'
      b.   * Anna igenis   tegnap   nem ment el moziba
                Anna yes.also   yesterday not   went PV cinema.to
                INTENDED READING: 'Anna didn't go to the cinema yesterday.'   [Hungarian]

What these examples show, is that *igenis* cannot be separated from the elements that follow it (i.e. the preverb+verb-complex in affirmative clauses and the negation in negative clauses) by the adverb *tegnap* 'yesterday'. Lipták takes this as evidence that these elements are themselves in the left periphery, more specifically in FocP. In (100B) the preverb *el* is in specFocP and in (101B) the negative element *nem* 'not' is. In both cases the finite verb *ment* 'went' moves along to Foc°.[189] This means that a sentence such as B's reply in (100) is given the (partial) structural representation in (103).

(103) [$_{VFocP}$ spec *igenis* [$_{FocP}$ *el* [$_{Foc'}$ *ment* [$_{TP}$ *moziba*]]]]

Summing up, the expression of contradictory sentential emphasis in Hungarian consists of two components. On the one hand, there is the element *igenis*, which is the spell-out of the VERUM-operator, which emphasizes the truth of the proposition that follows. On the other hand, in the clause that follows *igenis* the polarity is focused. In negative clauses this results in movement of *nem* 'not' to specFocP, in affirmative clauses in movement of the preverb (given that Hungarian has no special marker for positive polarity, cf. Lipták 2003:16n12) to that position. With all of this as background, I now turn to some Wambeek Dutch data (cf. also supra, the Appendix to chapter ten).[190]

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[188] It should be clear that I am only presenting an intuitive characterization of the semantics of the VERUM-operator here. For a more formal implementation, cf. Romero & Han 2002:212.

[189] In fact, Lipták shows that lexical foci can move to specFocP following *igenis* as well. This implies that the sentences in (102) are grammatical if the adverb *tegnap* 'yesterday' is itself focused. Given that this type of emphasis will not play a role in the sections that follow, however, I leave it undiscussed here. Cf. the original paper for further details.

[190] A note on the naturalness of the data is in order. Given that the contradictory reading inherent to B's replies is normally expressed by SDRs in the dialects under consideration here, the data in (104)-(105) have a slightly marked status for some speakers. Given that they are perfectly natural in standard Dutch, it seems plausible to assume that their occurring in the dialects is due to influence from the standard language.

(104) A: Marie   gui   nie nui de cinema.
                     Mary   goes not to   the cinema
         B: Toch wel, Marie   gui   wel   nui de cinema.
                     PRT   AFF Mary   goes AFF   to   the cinema.
         'A: Mary doesn't go to the cinema. B: Yes, she does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(105) A: Marie   gui   nui de cinema.
                     Mary   goes   to   the cinema
         B: Toch nie, Marie   gui   nie nui de cinema.
                     PRT   not   Mary   goes   not to   the cinema.
         'A: Mary goes to the cinema. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

From the point of view of the preceding discussion, two aspects of B's replies in these dialogues immediately come to the fore. First of all, there is the particle *toch*, which is homophonous with an adverb roughly meaning 'however' and which is present both in the positive and in the negative reply.[191,192] Secondly, this particle is immediately followed by the element *wel* 'AFF' in the affirmative answer and by the element *nie* 'not' in the negative one. Moreover, these elements occur twice in one and the same reply: once in clause-initial position immediately to the right of *toch* and once in a lower, clause-internal position. This second position can be further pinpointed on the basis of examples such as the one in (106).

(106) A: Marie eit gisteren   daunen boek   nie gelezen.
                     Mary   has yesterday that   book   not read
         B: Toch wel, Marie   eit   gisteren   daunen boek   wel gelezen.
                     PRT   AFF Mary   has   yesterday that   book   AFF read
         'A: Mary hasn't read that book yesterday. B: Yes, she has.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In this example, the second occurrence of the affirmative adverb *wel* 'AFF' occurs to the right of the scrambled object *daunen boek* 'that book'. In light of the discussion in the previous section, then, it seems plausible to identify this second position as the low NegP. More generally, given Lipták's (2003) account of contradictory sentential emphasis in Hungarian as summarized above, it is tempting to see *toch* as the Wambeek Dutch counterpart of *igenis*, and to treat the clause-initial occurrence of *wel* 'AFF' and *nie* 'not' as the result of (focus) movement from the specifier of the high NegP to specCP.[193] The tree structure in (107) illustrates this account for the example in (104B).

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[191] As Marjo van Koppen p.c. informs me, in the colloquial variety of standard Dutch spoken in the Netherlands, *toch* is not the only element that can be used in this way. Other options include *mooi* (derived from an adjective meaning 'pretty' or 'nice') and *echt* (derived from an adjective/adverb meaning 'real(ly)').

[192] Note that *toch wel* in (104B) and *toch nie* in (105B) are not obligatory. However, when they are absent, extra heavy stress is placed on the second occurrence of *wel*/*nie* lower in the clause, which is reminiscent of Hungarian replies in which *igenis* is absent (cf. supra, note 186). I will not attempt to provide an analysis of such examples here.

[193] Note that Hungarian and Wambeek Dutch differ in the position occupied by the subject: it is situated to the left of *igenis* in Hungarian (cf. (100)) and to the right of *toch wel* in Wambeek Dutch (cf. (104)). This is arguably due to the fact that Hungarian features a high topic projection which is absent in (dialectal) Dutch. Cf. Lipták 2001 for general background and cf. Bennis 1997,

(107) VFocP

spec VFoc'

VFoc° CP
toch

wel C'

C° Agr$_s$P

Marie Agr$_s$'

gui NegP

t$_{wel}$ Neg'

Neg° TP

t$_{Marie}$ T'

t$_{gui}$ NegP

wel Neg'

Neg° VP

t$_{Marie}$ t$_{gui}$ nui de cinema
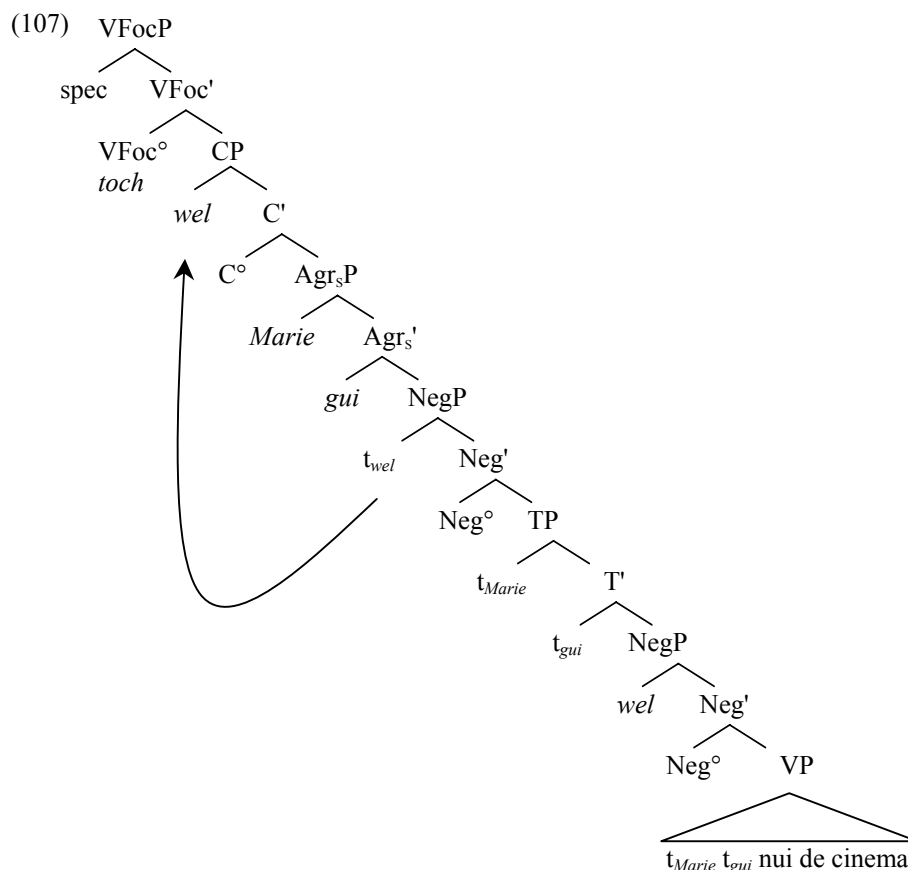
This means that just as in Hungarian, the syntax of contradictory sentential emphasis in the dialects under consideration here consists of two components. On the one hand, there is the particle *toch*, which lexicalizes the VERUM-operator and is situated in the left-peripheral head VFoc°. On the other hand, the polarity of the clause is focused. This is achieved through overt realization of the specifier of the high NegP (as *wel* 'AFF' or *nie* 'not') and concomitant movement of this element to the specifier of the CP-projection immediately dominated by VFocP.[194]

Several aspects of this analysis are in need of further discussion. Its most controversial characteristics are without doubt the assumption that the elements *toch* and *wel* occupy a position in the left periphery of the clause, and the claim that *wel* ends up in that position as a result of movement. In particular, an at first sight more plausible

2000 for discussion of comparable left-peripheral ordering differences between Dutch and Hungarian. Thanks to Sjef Barbiers p.c. for raising this issue.
[194] Note that the tree structure in (107) is not meant to imply that I adhere to a Travis/Zwart-style analysis, in which subject-initial main clauses are IPs (or Agr$_s$Ps in my account, cf. Travis 1984; Zwart 1993a, 1997). Specifically, it might well be that there is an additional CP-projection in between the one targeted by *wel* and Agr$_s$P, and that the subject moves to the specifier of this projection. Cf. infra, note 197 for more general discussion.

hypothesis might be that such discourse particles should not be integrated into the clausal structure at all, and that B's reply in an example such as (104) (repeated below) does not consist of a single syntactic tree. Such an approach could be corroborated by the fact that there is an intonation break between *wel* and *Marie* in this example.

(108) A: Marie   gui   nie nui de cinema.
               Mary   goes not to   the cinema
       B: Toch wel, Marie   gui   wel   nui de cinema.
               PRT AFF Mary   goes   AFF   to the cinema.
       'A: Mary doesn't go to the cinema. B: Yes, she does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Given that the syntax of discourse particles is a heavily underappreciated topic in generative grammar, this issue is too broad to get deeply involved in here. Moreover, although my analysis of SDRs in the next chapter will make use of the assumptions outlined in this section, it will not be crucially dependent on my account of sentences such as the one in (108B). That said, however, I do want to discuss some facts here which render more plausible the assumption that discourse particles such as *toch*, *wel*, *nie*, and by extension *ja* 'yes' and *nee* 'no' occupy a position in the left periphery of the clause.

   The first set of data I want to present in this respect concerns the construction commonly referred to as contrastive left dislocation (cf. also supra, part one, for some discussion). Consider the example in (109).

 (109) A: Daunen boek ei   Marie   nie gelezen.
               that   book has   Mary   not read
        B: Daunen boek,   toch wel,   daunen ei   Marie wel   gelezen.
               that   book   PRT AFF   DEM   has   Mary   AFF   read.
        'A: Mary didn't read that book. B: Yes, she did.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In B's reply in this dialogue a left-peripheral phrase (in this case the DP *daunen boek* 'that book') is resumed by a clause-internal demonstrative pronoun (here *daunen*) which has moved to the pre-verb V2-position of the clause. What is relevant from the present perspective, is that in this particular example the elements *toch* and *wel* occur in between the left-dislocated DP and the clause it is associated with.[195] Given that the DP *daunen boek* is commonly assumed to occupy a position in the left periphery of this clause, the word order of B's reply makes it plausible to assume that *toch wel* is part and parcel of this syntactic structure as well.[196]

   A second indication that discourse particles can occupy a structural position in the clause they co-occur with, is provided by a construction type which will be discussed extensively in chapter thirteen. Consider first the example in (110).

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[195] The left-dislocated DP can also occur to the right of *toch wel*. This is in line with Rizzi's 1997a claim that topics can occupy more than one structural position in the left periphery.

[196] As Lisa Cheng p.c. correctly observes, the strength of this argument is somewhat weakened by the existence of an alternative derivation. Specifically, it might also be that *toch wel* 'PRT AFF' is like a parenthetical in that it is simply adjoined to the structure. In that case, it would indeed be part of the syntactic structure of B's reply, but it would not project its own left-peripheral functional projection, contrary to what is suggested above.

(110) A: Marie   gui   nie nui de cinema.
             Mary   goes not to   the cinema
      B: Jawel, Marie gui   wel nui de cinema.
             yes.AFF Mary goes AFF to   the cinema.
      'A: Mary doesn't go to the cinema. B: Yes, she does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

This example shows that instead of the particle combination *toch wel*, full clausal replies expressing contradictory sentential emphasis can also be introduced by the emphatic element *jawel* (consisting of the polarity marker *ja* 'yes' and the affirmative element *wel*). This same element also shows up in the construction exemplified in B's reply in (111).

(111) A: Marie   gui   nie nui de cinema.
             Mary   goes not to   the cinema
      B: Da's   jawel.
             that.is yes.AFF
      'A: Mary doesn't go to the cinema. B: Yes, she does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In this dialogue, speaker B contradicts A's negative statement by means of a short reply consisting of the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that', the copula *'s* 'is' and the element *jawel*. It seems plausible to assume that at least in this example, *jawel* forms part of the clausal structure of B's reply. Specifically, it does not occur in a clause-initial position and it is not separated from the rest of the clause by an intonation break. However, in chapter thirteen below, I argue in detail that the position occupied by *jawel* in (111B) is identical to the one it occupies in (110B). As such, the data in (111) render more plausible the hypothesis that discourse particles should be integrated into the functional structure of the clause they co-occur with.

The third and final set of data I want to consider here is specific to the polarity elements *ja* 'yes' and *nee* 'no'. It concerns the construction which will be discussed at length in chapter fourteen. Consider an example from the dialect of Waregem in (112).

(112) A: Èè-n   ze   gewonnen?
             have-PL   they   won
      B: Ja-n-s.
             yes-PL-they_{CLITIC}
      'A: Have they won? B: Yes.'   [Waregem Dutch]

This dialogue shows that in the dialects under consideration here, polarity elements such as *ja* 'yes' and *nee* 'no' can be combined with subject clitics and agreement suffixes. Given that clitic placement and agreement marking are typically clause-related processes, the natural conclusion seems to be that polarity markers such as 'yes' and 'no' occupy a position in the extended verbal projection of the clause (cf. infra, chapter fourteen, for in-depth discussion of the construction in (112B)).

All in all, then, it seems fair to conclude that there are empirical reasons to assume that discourse particles such as *toch*, *jawel* 'yes.AFF', *ja* 'yes' and *nee* 'no' occupy a structural position in the left-peripheral functional field of the clause.[197]

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[197] Note that this conclusion has important consequences for the verb second requirement of (dialectal) Dutch. Specifically, if the line of reasoning developed here is on the right track, an

The second controversial aspect of the analysis presented in (107) concerns the assumption that the clause-initial occurrence of *wel* is the result of specNegP-to-specCP-movement. Strong positive evidence in favor of this movement operation is hard to come by, but it seems to me that this is the most minimal assumption to make in light of the discussion in this and the preceding section. Specifically, the alternative would be to assume that this instance of *wel* is base-generated in the left periphery. However, that would require postulating a third polarity-related projection in the functional field of Wambeek Dutch, and moreover, it would weaken the parallelism with Hungarian. Therefore, I assume that this occurrence of *wel* is the result of specNegP-to-specCP-movement. One question that remains from such a perspective, though, is why sentences like the ones in (113) are excluded.

(113) a.   * Marie   ei   nie daunen boek nie gelezen.
                 Mary   has not that   book not read
         b.   * Marie   ei   (ja)wel   daunen boek wel   gelezen.
                 Mary   has (yes)AFF   that   book AFF   read   [Wambeek Dutch]

In these examples the specifiers of both NegPs are filled simultaneously (without either of them undergoing further movement) and the result is ungrammatical.[198] What I want to suggest is that the specifier of the high NegP is only overtly realized when the polarity of the clause is focused and that such focus marking is obligatorily accompanied by specNegP-to-specCP-movement. Given that this movement is obligatory (i.e. that the feature on the C°-head attracting the polarity element is strong), examples like those in (113) cannot be generated.

Another aspect of the analysis I want to explore a bit further concerns the intuition that it is the high rather than the low NegP which is involved in the expression of contradictory sentential emphasis. On the one hand, this follows naturally from the characterization I gave of both NegPs in the previous section. Recall that I follow Butler (2003) in the assumption that while the low NegP operates on the predicate, the high one operates on the proposition. Given that contradictory sentential emphasis clearly has scope over the entire proposition, it seems natural to assume that it is focus marking on the high NegP which is used to express such emphasis. On the other hand, there is also

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example such as B's reply in (108) is in blatant violation of the V2-constraint. Note, however, that this is not a new problem. In particular, it is well-known that the V2-requirement can be violated in certain constructions (contrastive left dislocation being a prime example). More generally, the relevant issue appears to be how to reconcile the verb second requirement of a language like Dutch with the growing body of evidence suggesting that the CP-domain should be split up into several separate functional projections (cf. in this respect Poletto 2002 and references cited there and cf. also the concluding section of this dissertation for some considerations). One final thing to note is that the projection targeted by specNegP-to-specCP-movement has to be a fairly high one, given that it obligatorily precedes the position targeted by the demonstrative pronoun in contrastive left dislocation (cf. supra, example (109B)).

[198] The example in (113a) is acceptable with the second occurrence of *nie* 'not' as an instance of constituent negation on the VP. I assume that constituent negation involves direct adjunction of a negative element to a variety of maximal projections (one of which is VP), and hence that this phenomenon is to be distinguished from those instances of negation which project their own projection in the clausal structure. Nothing in what follows crucially hinges on this, however, so I abstract away from constituent negation from now on.

some data which supports this assumption. Before I can go into them, however, I have to make explicit a particular aspect of the meaning of *wel* 'AFF'. Consider the dialogue in (114).

(114) A: Wat is   ter   gebeed?
              what is   there happened
       B: Marie ei (* wel) nen   boek gekocht.
              Mary   has AFF   a   book bought
       'A: What happened? B: Mary bought a book.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In this example, A's question sets up what one could describe as an out-of-the-blue-context. In particular, no specific presuppositions are entertained, no previous statements have been made. What B's reply is meant to illustrate, then, is that *wel* 'AFF' is not a neutral affirmative adverb. Instead, it only occurs in *emphatic* affirmative sentences, i.e. to contradict a preceding negative statement. That explains why it is excluded in the out-of-the-blue-context set up in (114A).[199] With this in mind, consider the data in (115)-(116).

(115) A: Marie   gui   nie nui de cinema.
              Mary   goes not to the cinema
       B: (Mo) Lewie gui   wel   nui de cinema.
              but Louis goes AFF   to the cinema.
       'A: Mary doesn't go to the cinema. B: (But) Louis does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(116) A: Marie   gui   nie nui de cinema.
              Mary   goes not to the cinema
       B: * Jawel Lewie gui   wel   nui de cinema.
              yes.AFF Louis goes AFF   to the cinema.
       INTENDED READING: 'A: Mary doesn't go to the cinema. B: (But) Louis does.'
                                                                        [Wambeek Dutch]

In B's reply in (115), *wel* 'AFF' appears in the specifier position of the low NegP. Given that this element only occurs in emphatic sentences, this means that the low NegP is focused in this sentence. What this example shows, then, is that focus on the low NegP is not sufficient to induce a reading of contradictory sentential emphasis. B's reply in (115) is not a contradiction of the proposition 'Mary doesn't go to the cinema.'. Rather, it focuses the polarity of the predicate 'to go to the cinema' and then combines this predicate with a different subject, i.e. *Lewie* 'Louis'. The dialogue in (116) on the other hand, illustrates that when the high NegP is focused (as is witnessed by the presence of *jawel* 'yes.AFF'), the contradictory sentential emphasis reading is obligatory. In this example the subject of B's reply cannot be non-coreferential with that of A's original statement, since the presence of *jawel* 'yes.AFF' forces the clause to be interpreted as a direct contradiction of the proposition 'Mary doesn't go to the cinema'. As such, these data support my earlier assumption that it is crucially (focus marking on) the high NegP which is involved in the syntax of contradictory sentential emphasis.

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[199] In this respect, *wel* patterns like emphatic *do*-support in English.
(i)   A: What happened?   B: *   I DID buy a book.

Summing up, in this section I have shown that both in Hungarian and in the dialects under consideration here, there are two components to the syntax of contradictory sentential emphasis. On the one hand, a specialized projection in the CP-domain is activated to host the VERUM-operator, while on the other hand, the high NegP is focused and as a result its specifier is overtly realized and moved to specCP. In the next section I use these findings as a background against which to explore the licensing and identification requirements of the SDR-proform.

11.4   Licensing *pro*

Postulating an instance of *pro* in a particular construction is not without its theoretical consequences. Specifically, a lot of the generative literature from the eighties and early nineties was devoted to discovering the precise licensing and identification requirements of this null element. An influential contribution to this debate was made by Rizzi (1986), who, based on a detailed comparison between Italian and English null objects, reached the two conclusions presented in (117) (Rizzi 1986:519-520).

(117) a.   *pro* is governed by $X_y°$[200]
      b.   Let X be the licensing head of an occurrence of *pro*: then *pro* has the
            grammatical specification of the features on X coindexed with it.

The condition in (117a) represents the licensing requirement of *pro*. Null pronominals are only allowed to occur in a very specific structural relation with a particular syntactic head. This structural relation was commonly assumed to be that of government, i.e. *pro* has to be governed by a syntactic head. The statement in (117b) on the other hand, represents the identification requirement of *pro*. The syntactic head which licenses this null pronominal was also assumed to be responsible for identifying its phi-feature content.

Since the advent of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), however, the notion of government is no longer assumed to be a theoretical primitive. One of the tasks facing current theories of *pro*, then, is to determine if and how the basic empirical insights of the previous accounts can be retained in the new framework.[201] This is what I will undertake in the present section. Moreover, given that most of the literature is concerned with the licensing and identification of DP-*pro*, I will also explore how the theory can be extended to incorporate instances of non-DP-*pro* such as the one found in SDRs (cf. Lobeck 1999; López 1995, 1999 for related considerations).

From a theory-neutral point of view, it seems that the main empirical findings with respect to *pro* can be captured by the statements in (118).

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[200] $X_y°$ is meant to represent a head X° of type *y*, where the class of licensing heads can vary from language to language. On p.524, Rizzi further strengthens this requirement to '*pro* is Case-marked by $X_y°$', but as this refinement is orthogonal to my concerns here, I have left it out. I briefly return to it in note 248, though.

[201] An alternative line of research has been devoted to the elimination of *pro* as a theoretical notion. Cf. in this respect Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998 on expletive *pro* and Panagiotidis 2003a, 2003b on other instances of DP-*pro*. I will have nothing further to say about such approaches in the discussion that follows.

(118) a.   *pro* has to be in a local relation with a syntactic head
       b.   this head has to have the ability to link *pro* to its antecedent
       c.   this head is marked with 'rich' morphology

Let me illustrate these generalizations on the basis of the Italian subject pro-drop example in (119).

(119) *pro* ho   parlato a   tuo   fratello.
            have$_{1SG}$ spoken to your   brother
      'I have spoken with your brother.'   [Italian]

In this sentence, the subject position is occupied by a null pronominal. Its presence is licensed because it is in a local (here: spec-head) relation with the inflectional head I° (in accordance with (118a)). Moreover, this head carries phi-features, which allows the content of *pro* to be recovered (cf (118b)). In this particular example, I° is marked for first person singular, which allows *pro* to be interpreted as coreferential with the speaker of the utterance.[202] Thirdly, there is the requirement in (118c). It was commonly assumed in the eighties that the reason why Italian does and English does not allow *pro* to occur in the subject position of finite clauses, is that the Italian agreement endings are 'richer' or 'more informative' than their English counterparts. Specifically, while in Italian every form in the agreement paradigm receives a different ending, the English system contains a very high degree of syncretism and hence is less informative. As a result, only the former system was considered to be 'rich enough' to allow for the recovery of *pro*'s phi-feature content. Although the precise relation between rich morphology and the recoverability of *pro* has since been argued to be more complex than I have just outlined (cf. Jaeggli & Safir 1989; Rizzi 1997b for relevant discussion), it does seem fair to say that there is *a* connection between the two. For the remainder of the present discussion, then, I abstract away from the complications and continue to assume that a head which licenses *pro* not only has to be endowed with the appropriate features, it also has to morphologically realize them to a sufficient degree.

   With all of this as background I now turn to the proform which I argued is present in SDRs. Recall the three requirements imposed on a *pro*-licensing and -identification environment (repeated below).

(120) a.   *pro* has to be in a local relation with a syntactic head
       b.   this head has to have the ability to link *pro* to its antecedent
       c.   this head is marked with 'rich' morphology

With respect to the property in (120b), it is clear that the linkage between the SDR-proform and its antecedent will be of a different nature than in the case of DP-*pro*. Given that a null DP-pronominal is nothing but a collection of unvalued phi-features, it can be

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[202] Note that this is an aspect of traditional theories of *pro* which is not straightforwardly expressible using minimalist notions such as Agree (thanks to Johan Rooryck p.c. for drawing my attention to this). Specifically, while in (119) it appears to be the phi-features of I° which identify *pro*, the identification relation would work in the opposite direction in a Probe/Goal-system based on Agree. Given that this issue is tangential to my main concerns here, I will not develop it any further. Cf. Panagiotidis 2003a, 2003b for discussion.

exhaustively identified when its licensing head is endowed with such features. In the previous chapter, however, I have argued that an SDR-proform pronominalizes a much larger part of the clausal structure. Given that it is highly unlikely that there is a head which encodes all the relevant (lexical, thematic, aspectual, etc.) information of the missing structure, the head which licenses the SDR-proform must be one which serves as a *connection* between the proform and its antecedent, rather than one which exhaustively identifies that antecedent. Here, I follow López (1995) and López & Winkler (2000), who argue that it is polarity marking (i.e. negation and affirmation) which performs this linking function with respect to non-DP-proforms. To borrow some metaphorical terminology from López (1995:188), polarity has the ability to act as a "hook" between two sentences in a discourse. Prime examples of this polarity-induced linking function are *yes* and *no*. These elements are polarity markers *par excellence,* but they only occur in a discourse, where they link two clauses (usually a yes/no-question and its answer) to one another.[203] However, as López (1995:188) points out, dialogues like the one in (121) indicate that an element like *not* can have such an anaphoric function as well.[204] It is this anaphoric ability which enables polarity marking to link a non-DP-proform to its antecedent.

(121)   A: Is Joan coming?
          B: I think not.

What the preceding discussion suggests, then, is that the head which licenses the SDR-proform is Neg°. However, according to the requirement in (120c), this Neg°-head has to be morphologically realized as well in order for the proform to be recoverable. In light of the preceding sections, the preverbal negative clitic *en* immediately comes to mind: it is merged as the head of the high NegP, and it differs from the low Neg° in that it is morpho-phonologically overt. As a result, I will henceforth assume that the proform I have postulated in SDRs is licensed by the head of the high NegP when this head is realized as the negative clitic *en*.[205] In affirmative clauses it is the suprasegmental affirmative counterpart of the negative clitic, which is realized as heavy stress on the verb *duun* 'do', which licenses the SDR-proform. Note that this line of reasoning immediately accounts for one of the puzzling aspects of SDRs. While in normal, non-elliptical negative clauses, the negative clitic *en* is optional (and usually left out), it is obligatory in SDRs. This is now straightforwardly compatible with the present account. The clitic is obligatory because its presence is crucially needed for the licensing and

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[203] Cf. chapter fourteen for an analysis of 'yes' and 'no' in the dialects under consideration here.

[204] That *not* is used anaphorically in this example is also suggested by the fact that many languages use the words for 'yes' and 'no' in this type of construction. Cf. the French example in (i) (and cf. also Laka 1990 for discussion).

(i)   Je   crois   que   {oui/non}.
         I   think   that   yes/no
         'I think so/not.'   [French]

[205] The assumption that it is the high NegP which licenses the SDR-proform dovetails nicely with Cormack & Smith's 2002 account of negation. Specifically, they argue that the high NegP (which they call Echo[NEG]) is one which typically acts anaphorically. Recall that I have argued above that it is precisely this aspect of negation (or of polarity more generally) which allows the proform to be linked to its antecedent.

identification of the SDR-proform.[206] In technical terms, I will assume that the mechanism which forces *en* to be overt, is focus marking (henceforth [+F]-marking) on the head of the high NegP. The reasoning goes as follows. When [+F] is assigned to the high NegP, in principle there is an option as to whether to assign this feature to the specifier or to the head of this projection. Given that in (dialect) Dutch, [+F]-marking is normally associated with focal stress, and given that the head of the high NegP contains a phonologically deficient element (i.e. the negative clitic *en* or its affirmative counterpart), in the default scenario, [+F] is assigned to specNegP (resulting in movement of *wel* or *nie* to specCP, cf. supra). In SDRs, however, the licensing and identification of the null proform requires the head of the high NegP to be spelled out. In this case, [+F] is exceptionally assigned to Neg°, ensuring that *en* will always be realized.[207] Interestingly, the assumption that the head of the high NegP is [+F]-marked in SDRs receives empirical support from the dialect of Izenberge. Consider first the dialogue in (122).

(122) A: Marie   ziet   Piere   geeren.
              Mary   sees   Pierre   gladly
       B: a.   Toch NIET, Marie (en) ziet   Piere   NIET geeren.
                   PRT   not   Mary   NEG sees   Pierre not   gladly
              b. * Toch niet,   Marie (en) ZIET   Piere   niet geeren.
                   PRT   not   Mary   NEG sees   Pierre not   gladly
       'A: Marie loves Pierre. B: No, she doesn't love Pierre.'   [Izenberge Dutch]

The example in (122Ba) represents an instance of a non-elliptical reply expressing contradictory sentential emphasis (cf. the previous section for discussion).[208] As the contrast between (122Ba) and (122Bb) indicates, the stress obligatorily falls on the negative element *niet* 'not', rather than on the verb. This follows from the account of contradictory sentential emphasis developed above. Recall that one of the main ingredients of this type of reply is focus movement of the negative element from

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[206] Interestingly, this line of reasoning allows for an additional argument – albeit a theory-internal one – against the proform-analysis of English VP-ellipsis (cf. supra, chapter ten, section 10.2.11). Under the assumption that *not* is an XP and *n't* a head (cf. e.g. Haegeman 1995; Holmberg 2003; Mitchell 1994), the data in (i) illustrate that the gap in an English VP-ellipsis-example (indicated here as [*e*]) does not require Neg° to be morphologically realized in order to be licensed. Under the present account, this means that this gap is not a proform.
(i)   a.   Julia loves pancakes, but Ed doesn't [*e*].
       b.   Julia loves pancakes, but Ed does not [*e*].
[207] The terminology adopted here might be slightly misleading. Specifically, I am not assuming that the [+F]-feature is assigned to the head or to the specifier of NegP as such. Rather, it is assigned to the lexical element – or the feature bundle, in a Late Insertion model – that is being merged in this position. Thanks to Lisa Cheng p.c. for helping me clarify this.
[208] The remark made in note 190 above about the naturalness of the data applies here as well. The most natural way to express contradictory sentential emphasis in the dialect of Izenberge is by means of an SDR. Accordingly, the examples in (122) and (124) sound a bit marked to my informant. As this does not appear to influence the point made in the main text, however, I abstract away from this variation here.

specNegP to specCP. Given that focused elements normally receive stress, the facts in (122) are in accordance with this analysis.[209] Now consider the data in (123).

(123) A: Marie   ziet   Piere   geeren.
             Mary   sees   Pierre   gladly
      B: a. * Ze'n   doe   NIE.
                she.NEG   does   not
           b.   Ze'n   DOE   nie.
                she.NEG   does   not
      'A: Marie loves Pierre. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Izenberge Dutch]

Recall that Izenberge Dutch is one of the dialects which optionally allows the postverbal negator *nie* 'not' to be expressed in SDRs, i.e. it allows for the overt realization of the specifier position of the high NegP. Given that SDRs always express contradictory sentential emphasis, the preceding discussion leads one to expect that Izenberge Dutch SDRs will pattern with the data in (122) with respect to stress assignment. As the dialogue in (123) shows, however, the facts are quite the opposite. In Izenberge Dutch SDRs, it is always the verb and never the negative adverb *nie* 'not' which is stressed. I take this as a strong indication that in SDRs it is not the specifier, but rather the head (realized here as the clitic+verb-complex) of the high NegP which is [+F]-marked. A similar point, though from a slightly different angle, can be made on the basis of affirmative SDRs in Izenberge Dutch. Consider first the non-SDR-data in (124).

(124) A: Marie   ziet   Piere   niet   geeren.
             Mary   sees   Pierre   not   gladly
      B: a.   Toch WEL, Marie   ziet   Piere   WEL geeren.
                PRT   AFF   Mary   sees   Pierre   AFF   gladly
           b. * Toch wel,   Marie   ZIET Piere   wel   geeren.
                PRT   AFF   Mary   sees   Pierre   AFF   gladly
      'A: Marie doesn't love Pierre. B: Yes, she does love Pierre.'   [Izenberge Dutch]

These examples are in all relevant respects identical to those in (122). In non-elliptical affirmative replies expressing contradictory sentential emphasis, it is the emphatic affirmative element *wel* 'AFF' and not the verb which receives main stress. Once again, there is a contrast with the SDR-data.

(125) A: Marie   ziet   Piere   niet   geeren.
             Mary   sees   Pierre   not   gladly
      B: a. * Ze doet   { wel / WEL}.
                she does   AFF   AFF
           b.   Ze DOET.
                she does
      'A: Marie doesn't love Pierre. B: Yes, she does.'   [Izenberge Dutch]

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[209] Note that the data in (122Ba) seem to suggest that *both* specNegPs are focused (cf. the fact that the clause-internal *nie* 'not' also bears stress). I assume that this is due to some kind of agreement or concord mechanism between the two NegPs. That is, in the standard case, the value of these two projections is identical, even when it comes to [+F]-marking.

As the reply in (125Ba) shows, the affirmative element *wel* 'AFF' is excluded in SDRs, regardless of whether it is stressed or not. This confirms my hypothesis that in SDRs it is the head rather than the specifier of NegP which is [+F]-marked. Recall from the previous section that *wel* 'AFF' only shows up in *emphatic* affirmative contexts, i.e. when specNegP is [+F]-marked. The fact that this element is excluded in affirmative SDRs in Izenberge Dutch suggests that in SDRs [+F]-marking is assigned to Neg°, rather than to specNegP.

Summing up, what I have argued so far is that the head which is responsible for the licensing and identification of the SDR-proform, is the head of the high NegP which is [+F]-marked and morphologically realized as the negative clitic *en* (or its affirmative counterpart). What remains to be established, then, is the precise nature of the local structural relation this head and the proform are in. This is an issue the scope of which extends well beyond this chapter (or even this dissertation), as it applies to all instances of *pro* and more generally to all constructions in which the notion of government was assumed to play a role. As a result, my proposal here should be seen as tentative and preliminary, and future research will have to determine to what extent it can be successfully extended to other instances of null pronominals or of government. However, given that my proposal is a fairly general one and given that in the analysis of SDRs presented in the next chapter, nothing much will hinge on the particular implementation of this local relation, the discussion presented below will suffice for my present purposes.

I will assume that the local relation between the proform and its licensing head has to be established through the operation Merge (without doubt the most neutral and uncontroversial local relation available in current minimalist theorizing), i.e. a proform at some point in the derivation has to be merged with an appropriate syntactic head in order to be licensed. Moreover, when combined with a Bare Phrase Structure-approach to structure building (Chomsky 1994), there are two types of configurations in which *pro* can be merged with its licensing head. Consider the abstract structure in (126).

(126)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\alpha \\
\diagup\diagdown \\
pro_1 \quad \alpha \\
\diagup\diagdown \\
\alpha \quad pro_2
\end{array}
$$
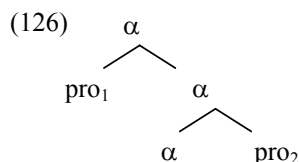
Chomsky (1995:246) argues that the head of a complex syntactic object is also the label of that object. This means that in a structure such as that in (126), both *pro$_1$* and *pro$_2$* are merged with α. From the point of view of the present discussion this means that – under the assumption that α is an appropriate head to license and identify null proforms – both *pro*'s are licensed in this structure. Under a traditional X-bar-theoretic approach to clause structure, *pro$_1$* would be identified as occupying specαP, and *pro$_2$* would be in the complement position of α. Given that both these positions would be governed by α (assuming a definition of government based on m-command), the present proposal seems to have the correct empirical coverage (at least in principle).[210,211] As a result, I will

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[210] One configuration which the notion of Merge is not able to capture and which was nonetheless assumed to be part of the notion of government, is that between a head and the specifier of its

assume for the remainder of the discussion that in order for a null proform to be licensed, it has to be merged with an appropriate head.

11.5   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented and discussed three theoretical prerequisites for my analysis of SDRs. First of all, I have shown that there is evidence suggesting that the dialects under consideration here make use of two NegPs, one dominating TP and one dominated by TP. More generally, the clause structure that will form the basis for my analysis of SDRs is the one given in (127).

(127) $[_{CP}$ C° $[_{Agr_sP}$ Agr$_s$° $[_{NegP}$ Neg° $[_{TP}$ T° $[_{NegP}$ Neg° $[_{VP}$ V° …]]]]]]

Secondly, I follow Lipták (2003) in assuming that the syntax of contradictory sentential emphasis consists of two components: on the one hand, the activation of the C°-related head VFoc° to host the VERUM-operator, and on the other hand, focus movement of the polarity of the clause to the specifier of the CP-projection immediately dominated by VFocP. In non-SDR replies expressing contradictory sentential emphasis, VFoc° is lexicalized as *toch* and the specifier of the high NegP is moved to specCP.

   Thirdly, I have argued that the proform which is present in SDRs is properly licensed and identified if it is merged with the high Neg°-head. Moreover, this head has to be [+F]-marked and morpho-phonologically realized as *en* (or its affirmative counterpart).

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complement. Given that this is not immediately relevant to my concerns, it is one of the issues I will have to leave open.

[211] It is also worth pointing out that the present dicussion implies that the required merger relation does not have to be established upon *first* merger. That is, the local relation can be the result of movement (= copy + remerge) of the empty pronominal to the specifier position of its licensing head.

12 The analysis

12.1 Introduction

With the theoretical background firmly in place, I now turn to the actual analysis of SDRs. In the next section I go through the derivation of an SDR step by step, while in section 12.3 I return to the basic properties of SDRs as I have outlined them in chapter ten, and explore to what extent they can be accounted for under the proposed analysis. Section 12.4 summarizes and concludes.

12.2 Deriving an SDR

In order to make the analysis as explicit as possible, I will explore how an SDR is derived in a step-by-step fashion. Specifically, in this section I present the derivation of B's reply in the dialogue in (128).

(128) A: Marie zie Pierre geirn.
           Mary   sees Pierre gladly
       B: Jou z'en duut.
           yes she.NEG does
       'A: Mary loves Pierre. B: No, she doesn't.' [Wambeek Dutch]

I begin the analysis by putting together two conclusions that were reached in the preceding chapters. On the one hand, I argued in chapter ten, based on a comparison between SDRs and *duun*-paraphrases, that the SDR-proform pronominalizes a larger part of the clausal structure than merely VP. On the other hand, in the previous chapter I established that in order for the SDR-proform to be properly licensed and identified, it has to be merged at some point in the derivation with the [+F]-marked, morphologically realized head of the high NegP. The minimal hypothesis, then, is that this merger relation is established as soon as the proform is introduced into the derivation. That is, the proform is licensed through first merger, not through a subsequent operation of copy+remerge (i.e. move) (cf. note 211 above). The tree structure in (129) represents this first step in the derivation.

(129) NegP

       Neg°   *pro*$_{TP}$
       en
       [+F]

In this structure, the SDR-proform is merged with a Neg°-head which is [+F]-marked and which as a result is obligatorily spelled out as *en*. This means that it is now properly licensed and that it can be successfully linked to its antecedent (i.e. identified). It also implies that I can now be more precise about which part of the clausal structure is pronominalized by the SDR-proform: it replaces the entire TP. A further thing to note

about the structure in (129) is that the element which is inserted in the head position of the newly created NegP is phonologically deficient (*en* being is a clitic), and as a result it is in need of phonological support, all the more so since this head is also [+F]-marked and hence should receive focal stress. In a normal, non-elliptical clause, a verbal element would raise from within the TP to Neg°, thus providing this head with the necessary phonological support. Given that the proform does not have any internal structure, however, this option is not available here. Instead, *do*-support (or rather *duun*-support) is triggered in order to provide Neg° with a phonological host. This is illustrated in (130).

(130) NegP

     Neg°   *pro*$_{TP}$
  en + duun
    [+F]
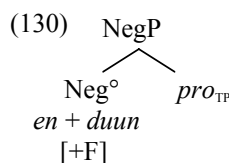
The next step in the derivation involves the merger of Agr$_s$°. This head is endowed with phi-features which have to be checked against a DP-subject and spelled out on a verbal head.

(131) Agr$_s$P

   Agr$_s$°   NegP
   [+φ]
         Neg°   *pro*$_{TP}$
      en + duun
        [+F]
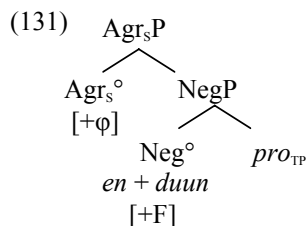
At this point, the derivation is faced with a problem similar to the one which triggered *do*-support in (130). The head of the derivational tree contains a set of features which are normally checked against an XP situated lower in the tree (i.e. the subject), but due to the lack of internal structure of the TP-proform, no such XP is available. Once again, I want to suggest, this problem is resolved through base-generation. Specifically, the derivation in (131) continues by base-generating the subject *ze* 'she' in the specifier position of Agr$_s$P. Before I proceed, however, it is worth addressing the potential theta-theoretic problem which might arise in this type of derivation. Specifically, it is commonly assumed that the reason why subjects are merged inside the VP (i.e. the VP-internal subject hypothesis, cf. Zagona 1982; Koopman & Sportiche 1991), is because that is where they receive a theta-role. Base-generating the SDR-subject in specAgr$_s$P thus seems to deprive this DP of theta role assignment. However, with the elimination of D-structure as an independent level of representation (Chomsky 1995), the only level at which theta-theoretic concerns play a role is LF, the level which communicates with the conceptual-intensional interface. That means that the derivation I proposed is only illicit if it fails to converge at LF. Given that LF is also the level at which the antecedent of the SDR-proform is determined (cf. the fact that Binding Theory applies at LF, Chomsky 1995), there is now a way out of the theta-problem. Assuming that the SDR-proform can be interpreted as a predicate, i.e. as an expression of type <e,t> (and cf. Hardt 1993 for extensive discussion in favor of this assumption), the SDR-subject can receive its theta-role by being combined with this predicate at LF. As a result, the derivation converges in

spite of the subject not being base-generated in specVP (cf. López 1995:133-136 for related considerations[212]).[213,214] Accordingly, the derivation in (131) proceeds as in (132): the subject pronoun *ze* 'she' is merged directly in specAgr$_s$P, and the verb+clitic-complex moves to Agr$_s$° and receives the appropriate agreement ending.[215,216]

(132)
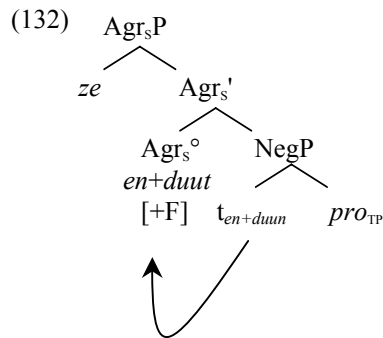
Next, C° is merged. It is endowed with a [+F]-feature, targeting the [+F]-feature of the Neg°-head. This results in (Neg°-to-)Agr$_s$°-to-C°-movement. Moreover, Wambeek Dutch is subject to a V2-requirement, which essentially states that the highest specifier cannot be left unfilled. Given that no XP has to move to specCP for feature checking requirements, it is the subject (the closest category available) which raises to specCP (cf. Svenonius 2002 for an account of V2 along these lines).

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[212] López 1995 is one of the advocates of the proform-theory of English VP-ellipsis (cf. supra, chapter ten, section 10.2.11). As a result, he is faced with essentially the same problem as I am here: the base position of the subject is situated inside the structure which is pronominalized by the proform.

[213] Note that the argumentation developed here does not necessarily imply that subjects are *always* (i.e. also in non-elliptical clauses) merged outside of VP. For example, assuming that there is a principle ensuring that the subject is entered into the derivation as soon as possible, it would be always be merged in specVP whenever there is a V° present.

[214] The approach sketched here bears some resemblance to that found in Hale & Keyser 1993. Specifically, they argue that the interpretation (i.e. the theta-role) of a subject-DP is not necessarily dependent on it occupying specVP, but rather that it is determined on the basis of the structural environment in which this DP is merged. Thanks to Lisa Cheng p.c. for pointing out this parallelism.

[215] Note that under an Agree-analysis, the structure in (132) would require the phi-features of Agr$_s$° to probe inside its specifier. Cf. Rezac 2003 for extensive discussion and justification.

[216] This step in the derivation also introduces a new possible source for the SDR-verb. Specifically, it might be the case that *duun* 'do' is inserted not to support the [+F]-marked negative clitic *en*, but rather to support Agr$_s$°'s phi-features. As nothing much hinges on this issue, I leave the choice open here. Cf. infra, chapter thirteen, for some discussion, though.

(133)

```
              CP
            /    \
          ze      C'
                /    \
             C°       Agr_sP
           en+duut   /     \
           [+F]    t_ze     Agr_s'
                          /     \
                     t_en+duut   NegP
                                /    \
                          t_en+duun   pro_TP
```
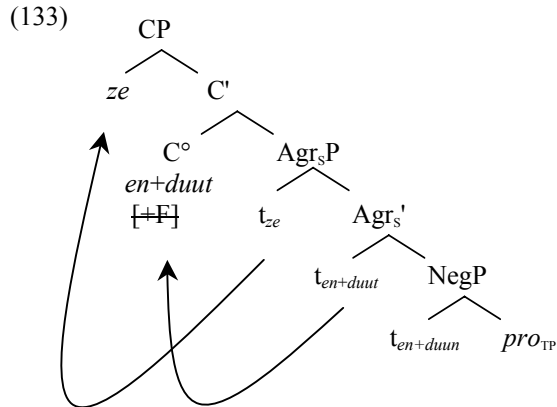
Finally, VFoc° is merged on top of this structure. Recall that it is in this head that the VERUM-operator is situated. In the previous chapter, I followed Lipták (2003) in the assumption that in Hungarian this head is lexicalized as *igenis* 'yes.AFF'. What I now want to suggest, is that the element *jou* 'yes' which can accompany SDRs (cf. supra, the Appendix to chapter ten) is the spell-out of VFoc° in the SDR-dialects under consideration here. Note that from the point of view of Hungarian, this identification is very plausible. Specifically, just like *igenis*, the element *jou* 'yes' that can accompany SDRs shows up both in affirmative and in negative contexts. Moreover, both elements seem etymologically related to the affirmative polarity marker, and both of them are restricted to occur only in contexts of contradictory sentential emphasis (recall from the Appendix to chapter ten above that the element *jou* 'yes' which accompanies SDRs differs markedly from any other occurrence of this polarity marker). All of this means, then, that the next step in the derivation should be represented as in (134).

(134)

```
              VFocP
            /      \
        VFoc°       CP
        jou       /    \
                ze       C'
                       /    \
                    C°       Agr_sP
                  en+duut   /     \
                  [+F]    t_ze     Agr_s'
                                 /     \
                            Agr_s°      NegP
                            t_en+duut  /    \
                                   Neg°     pro_TP
                                   t_en+duun
```
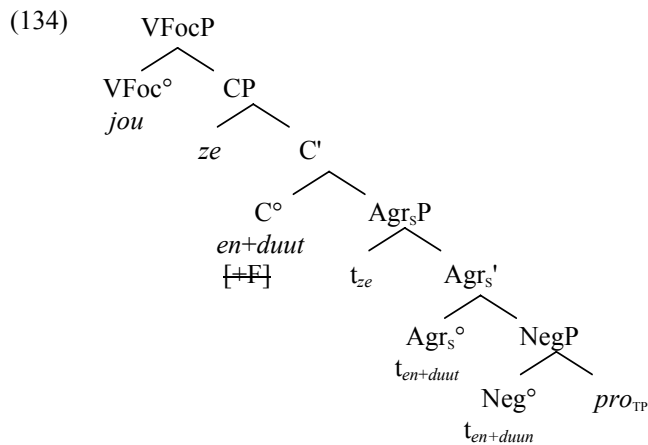
This concludes the derivation of B's reply in (128). Note that this structure crucially makes use of all the ingredients introduced in the previous chapter. First of all, the SDR-proform is licensed in the high NegP, and the agreement on *duun* 'do' and the presence of

the subject are dependent on this NegP being lower in the structure than Agr$_S$P. Secondly, the analysis of the contradictory sentential emphasis reading induced by SDRs consists of two components: on the one hand, the left-peripheral VFoc°-head, realized as *jou*, and on the other, focus movement of a polarity element (in this case the head Neg°) into the CP-domain. Thirdly, the SDR-proform is licensed through merger with a morphologically realized, [+F]-marked Neg°-head.

In order to fully evaluate the success of the analysis, however, I have to return to the basic properties of SDRs and determine to what extent they can be accounted for by the derivation sketched above. This is what I turn to in the next section.

12.3   The basic properties of SDRs revisited

Recall that chapter ten contained a comparison between SDRs on the one hand and VP-ellipsis and *duun*-paraphrases on the other. This resulted in the following list of basic properties of dialect Dutch Short Do Replies.

(135) **Basic properties of dialect Dutch Short Do Replies**
   a. the subject:
      - is a weak pronominal which is coreferential with the preceding subject
      - if the antecedent clause contains a *there*-expletive, the SDR-subject is *'t* 'it'
      - the use of *'t* 'it' as an SDR-subject is gaining ground at the expense of the other personal pronouns
      - some dialects allow the weak subject pronoun to be doubled
   b. negation:
      - is obligatorily marked by the (normally optional) preverbal clitic *en*
      - this clitic can in some dialects be accompanied by the postverbal negator *nie* 'not'
   c. emphatic affirmation:
      - is marked by stress on the verb *duun* 'do'
      - the affirmative adverb *wel* is obligatorily absent
   d. the verb:
      - is always the verb *duun* 'do'
      - *duun* 'do' is an auxiliary in SDRs (cannot be preceded by modals or auxiliaries, cannot show up in participial or infinitival form, can replace stative verbs)
      - only occurs in the present tense
      - can be used to replace modals and auxiliaries
   e. the gap:
      - is not a PF-deleted syntactic structure (no *there*-expletives, no agreement with the elided associate DP, no wh-movement, no pseudogapping, no object clitic movement), but rather a null proform
      - this proform replaces a larger part of the structure than merely VP
   f. distribution:
      - SDRs only occur productively in short contradictory replies to declarative statements
   g. co-occurrence restrictions:
      - SDRs cannot be combined with 'yes' and 'no'

- SDRs cannot be combined with adverbs, except (at least for some speakers) very high ones such as *pertang* 'however' or *iejrlek gezied* 'frankly'

In the present section I go through this list point by point in order to see to what extent the derivation outlined in the previous section is successful in accounting for the basic characteristics of SDRs. I start with the properties listed in (135a).

As discussed extensively in chapter ten above, an SDR-subject has to be a weak pronominal coreferential with the subject of the antecedent clause. This requirement comprises three separate subclaims: the subject cannot be non-coreferential with the antecedent subject, it cannot be a strong pronoun and it cannot be a proper name. Consider an illustration of this in (136).

(136) A: Marie   kom   mergen.
               Mary   comes   tomorrow
       B: a.   Z'en   duut.
               she$_{\text{WEAK}}$.NEG   does
            b. * (Mo) Jef   en   duut.
               but   Jeff   NEG   does
            c. * Zaai   en   duut.
               she$_{\text{STRONG}}$ NEG   does
            d. * Marie   en   duut.
               Mary   NEG   does
       'A: Mary is coming tomorrow. B: No, she isn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The cause of the ungrammaticality of B's replies in (136Bb) and (136Bc) is the same. Recall that SDRs are only used to express contradictory sentential emphasis, i.e. they express a contrast between two clauses which differ *only* in their polarity. A side-effect of this kind of reading is that the element expressing the polarity is the only part of the reply that can be [+F]-marked. All the other information has to be topical. This implies that DPs expressing new information such as *Jef* 'Jeff' in (136Bb) are excluded, and that the weakest (i.e. the most topical) form of the subject pronoun has to be chosen (cp. (136Ba) with (136Bc)). That it is indeed the reading induced by SDRs which is responsible for the restrictions illustrated in (136Bb) and (136Bc) is further suggested by the data in (137).

(137) A: Marie   kom   mergen.
               Mary   comes   tomorrow
       B: a. * Toch nie,   Jef   kom   nie.
               PRT not   Jeff comes not
            b. * Toch nie,   zaai   kom   nie.
               PRT not   she$_{\text{STRONG}}$ comes not.   [Wambeek Dutch]

These examples represent the non-elliptical counterparts of the SDRs in (136Bb) and (136Bc) (cf. supra, chapter eleven, section 11.3 for discussion). As shown by the grammaticality judgments, the same subject restrictions apply in these examples. This is a further indication that it is the contradictory sentential emphasis reading which is

responsible for the unacceptability of (136Bb) and (136Bc).[217] At the same time, this line of reasoning suggests that the explanation for the deviance of the reply in (136Bd) should be sought elsewhere. Consider the example in (138).

(138) A: Marie   kom   mergen.
              Mary   comes   tomorrow
       B: Toch nie, Marie kom   nie mergen.
              PRT not Mary   comes   not tomorrow
       'A: Mary is coming tomorrow. B: No, she isn't coming tomorrow.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

While the non-elliptical reply in (138) allows the full DP subject of the antecedent clause to be repeated, the SDR in (136Bd) does not. Given that both clauses express contradictory sentential emphasis, the meaning of the reply cannot be the culprit in this case. I want to suggest that it is the fact that the SDR-subject is base-generated in specAgr$_s$P which is responsible for the ungrammaticality of (136Bd). There are several ways in which this intuition can be implemented, and given that I have not found any positive evidence in favor of one option over the other, I will refrain from making a choice between them here. A first possibility would be to assume the following. Given that base-generating a subject in specAgr$_s$P is a marked operation, the only type of subject that *can* be base-generated there, is one which is a pure spell-out of Agr$_s$°'s phi-features, i.e. pronouns. Full DP subjects contain lexical information as well as person/number/gender-features and hence would be excluded from being merged in that position. Pronouns are more 'functional' in nature and as a result can be merged higher in the tree. A second option would be to start from the fact that pronouns – in contrast to full DPs – are morphologically Case-marked.[218] Assume that such Case-marking is a necessary prerequisite for recovering at LF the theta-role of a DP which was base-

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[217] It should be pointed out that the example in (137b) becomes grammatical once a contrastive *but*-phrase is added to the reply. This is shown in (i).

(i)   A: Marie   kom   mergen.
              Mary   comes   tomorrow
       B: Toch nie, ZAAI   kom   nie, mo   AAI   wel.
              PRT not   she$_{STRONG}$ comes not, but he$_{STRONG}$ AFF.
       'A: Mary is coming tomorrow. B: No, SHE isn't, but HE is.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

However, I believe this point is orthogonal to the argument developed in the main text. Specifically, the example in (i) arises through the combination of two independent factors: on the one hand, the fact that the clause following *toch nie* 'PRT not' can be elided (cf. (ii)) and on the other hand, the fact that *toch nie* 'PRT not' can be followed by an indirect answer (cf. (iii)).

(ii)   A: Marie   kom   mergen.   B: Toch nie   [*e*].
              Mary   comes   tomorrow   PRT   not
       'A: Mary is coming tomorrow. B: No, she isn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(iii) A: Jef   eit   daunen   boek   gekocht.
              Jeff   has   that   book   bought
       B: Toch nie,   de winkel was   al   tuu.
              PRT   not   the shop was   already   closed
       'A: Jeff bought that book. B: No, he didn't, the shop was already closed.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

What happens in (i), is the same as what goes on in (iii): the actual clause accompanying *toch nie* 'PRT not' has been elided and this expression has subsequently been combined with an indirect reply. As such, it is not relevant for the argumentation developed in the main text.

[218] I owe this suggestion to Luis Vicente p.c.

generated higher than its usual theta-position (cf. supra for discussion). From this it would follow that – at least in the dialects under consideration here – only pronouns can be directly base-generated in specAgr$_s$P. Thirdly, it might be the case that the clause structure I have proposed should be further refined. Specifically, the projection in which pronominal subjects are licensed might be different from (and hierarchically higher than) the position full DP subjects move to. If the high NegP is situated in between these two subject positions, the absence of full DP subjects in SDRs follows naturally. The only type of subjects that can be merged in SDRs are pronominal ones because the only projection that is available, is one which is specialized for these kinds of phrases.[219,220] All in all, then, it seems reasonable to assume that the absence of non-pronominal subjects in SDRs can be made to follow from the fact that SDR-subjects are base-generated in specAgr$_s$P.[221]

The remaining three characteristics of SDR-subjects concern the behavior of *'t* 'it' and the possibility of doubling. Recall the list given in (135a) (repeated below).

(135) **Basic properties of dialect Dutch Short Do Replies**
    a. the subject:
        - is a weak pronominal which is coreferential with the preceding subject
        - if the antecedent clause contains a *there*-expletive, the SDR-subject is *'t* 'it'
        - the use of *'t* 'it' as an SDR-subject is gaining ground at the expense of the
            other personal pronouns
        - some dialects allow the weak subject pronoun to be doubled

In order to understand SDR-replies to clauses which contain a *there*-expletive, it is again informative to first look at their non-elliptical counterparts. Consider the data in (139).

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[219] This third approach might actually receive some support from Old English. Van Kemenade 2000 shows that the preverbal negative element *na* 'not' in Old English follows pronominal subjects, but precedes non-pronominal ones.

[220] It is worth pointing out that this third approach might have implications for the account of complementizer agreement developed in chapter fourteen below. Specifically, under a particular interpretation of that theory, it might predict that only pronominal subjects can co-occur with agreeing complementizers (cf. infra, chapter fourteen, for more details). Although it is well-known that in many Dutch dialects agreeing complementizers are much more common with pronominal subjects than with non-pronominal ones (cf. for example Vanacker 1949:39; this trend is also corroborated by the research carried out in the context of the SAND-project), I will leave a full exploration of this issue as a topic for further research. Thanks to Jason Merchant p.c. for raising this issue.

[221] This probably also explains why epithets are disallowed in SDRs (cf. (i)). Thanks to Anikó Lipták p.c. for raising this issue.

(i)   A: Jef$_i$ komt.   B: * [De stoemerik]$_i$ en   duut.
               Jeff   comes   the idiot   NEG   does.   [Wambeek Dutch]

(139) A: Dui   stui   ne   man   inn   of.
              there stands a   man   in.the garden
       B: a. Toch nie,   dui   stui   ginne man   inn   of.
              PRT not   there stands no   man   in.the garden
          b. * Toch nie,   ij   stui   nie   inn   of.
              PRT not   he   stands not   in.the garden
       'A: There is a man standing in the garden. B: No, there isn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

What this example shows, is that a non-elliptical contradictory reply to a clause containing a *there*-expletive, features a *there*-expletive construction itself. Specifically, as is shown in (139Bb), it is not possible to pronominalize the associate-DP (in this case *ne man* 'a man') and to use that pronoun as the subject of the reply.[222] At first sight, these findings leave no room at all for SDR-replies to clauses containing a *there*-expletive. Recall that due to the lack of internal structure in the SDR-proform, *dui* 'there' is not allowed as a subject in this construction (given that this type of expletive has to co-occur with an indefinite associate DP lower in the structure[223]). This means that neither of the two options exemplified in (139) is available to SDRs. Nevertheless, this construction can be used in reply to a sentence containing a *there*-expletive, provided the subject is the third person singular neuter pronoun *'t* 'it'. Reconsider an example of this in (140).

(140) A: Dui   stonj   drou mann   inn   of.
              there stand$_{PL}$ three men   in.the   garden
       B: 't En   duut.
              it NEG   does
       'A: There are three men standing in the garden. B: No, there aren't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In order to see what is going on in this example, consider the stage of the derivation right before the subject is merged.

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[222] At present, I have no account for what causes the ungrammaticality of this example.

[223] Recall from note 164 that there are several ways in which this requirement can be implemented, and that my analysis remains neutral as to which particular implementation is adopted. Also noteworthy is the fact that in Dutch impersonal passives, *er* 'there' can be used without there being an (overt) associate DP present (cf. the examples in (i) and (ii) below). Given that SDRs are clearly distinct from passives, however, this issue is orthogonal to my concerns here and I will leave it open. Cf. Barbiers & Rooryck 1998, though, for relevant discussion.
(i)   Er   wordt   gedanst.
        there   becomes   danced
        'There is dancing.'   [Dutch]
(ii)   Er   wordt   gezegd dat   Ed morgen   komt.
        there   becomes   said   that   Ed tomorrow   comes.
        'People say that Ed is coming tomorrow.'   [Dutch]

(141)

```
        AgrₛP
       /    \
   Agrₛ°    NegP
   [+φ]    /    \
       Neg°    proₜₚ
     en + duun
       [+F]
```
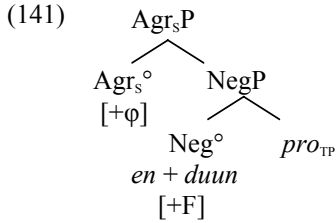
In this partial tree structure, Agrₛ° is endowed with Case and agreement features which are in need of checking against a DP-subject. However, no such DP is available. One alternative that immediately comes to mind is the insertion of an expletive subject. As argued above, though, inserting the expletive *dui* 'there' is not allowed, as there is no associate DP. The only option which remains, then, is merging expletive *'t* 'it' in specAgrₛP. This, I want to argue, is exactly what has happened in B's reply in (140). In other words, this SDR is in all relevant respects identical to the example of expletive *'t* 'it' in (142).

(142) 't Is megelek da   Lewie merge   komt.
       it is possible that_C° Louis tomorrow comes
       'It is possible that Louis will come tomorrow.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In this sentence, Agrₛ° is confronted with a problem similar to the one depicted in (141). Specifically, it needs to check Case and agreement, but the only elements it encounters in its search space are the adjective *megelek* 'possible' and the CP *da Lewie merge komt* 'that Louis tomorrow comes'. Given that neither of these two is a suitable target for Case and/or agreement, the expletive pronoun *'t* 'it' is merged in specAgrₛP.[224,225] It absorbs nominative Case and triggers a third person singular ending on the copula. As such, this example is essentially identical to the SDR in (140B), with one caveat. Given that expletive *it* is generally assumed to be a placeholder for CPs, i.e. propositions, I have to assume that the SDR-proform in (140B) represents an entire proposition. This seems at odds with my earlier argumentation that it is a one-place predicate which provides a theta-role for the subject at LF. It thus looks like SDR-proforms can refer either to predicates (say, VPs or TPs) or to propositions (say, CPs). However, this is precisely the kind of flexibility that is gained by postulating a proform in the derivation of a particular construction. Such a proform has as its antecedent a semantic entity, not a specific and invariant amount of clausal structure (cf. also Hardt 1993 in this respect). In order to

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[224] Note that just as was the case with *there* (cf. supra, note 164), there are various possible approaches to expletive *it* as well. Specifically, it might be analysed as a dummy pronoun essentially serving as a placeholder for the 'real' subject (as is suggested in the main text, cf. also McCloskey 1991b), or it might be seen as a propredicate which takes the CP it co-occurs with as its subject (cf. Moro 1997; Rooryck 2000). Once again, my analysis is meant to be neutral with respect to these options.

[225] Note that the approach adopted here implies that in an example such as the one in (i), the subject clause does not occupy the canonical subject position, but rather a left-peripheral dislocation-like position (cf. Koster 1978). Thanks to Lisa Cheng p.c. for raising this issue.

(i) Da   Lewie merge   komt   is megelek.
     that_C° Louis tomorrow comes is possible
     'That Louis will come tomorrow is possible.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

fully appreciate this point, it is worth looking at some examples featuring the overt proform *da* 'that'. Consider the data in (143).

(143) a.   Ziek, **dad** is   Jef   nie gau.
               sick that is   Jeff   not fast
               'Jeff is not often sick.'

       b.   De gazet   lezen,   **da**   duune-k-ik   geirn.
               the newspaper read   that   do-I$_{\text{CLITIC}}$-I$_{\text{STRONG}}$ gladly
               'Reading the newspaper, I like.'

       c.   Da Lewiemerge   komt,   **da**   kanne-k moeilijk   geliejven.
               that Louis tomorrow comes   that   can.I$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ difficult   believe
               'That Louis will come tomorrow, I find hard to believe.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

All three these examples are instances of so-called contrastive left dislocation (cf. Grohmann 2001). In (143a) an AP has been left-dislocated, in (143b) a VP and in (143c) a CP. In all three these cases, however, the clause-internal demonstrative pronoun which is coindexed with the left-dislocated XP, is the proform *da* 'that'. This means that one and the same pronominal can refer both to predicates (APs and VPs) and to propositions (CPs).[226] Hence, it is not surprising that this option is available to the SDR-proform as well.[227]

One question that remains, though, is why expletive *'t* 'it' is not inserted in *all* SDRs, rather than just in those which have an expletive construction as their antecedent. Although I do not have a fully-fledged answer to this question, it is suggestive that SDRs with *'t* 'it' as their subject are gaining ground at the expense of SDRs with a fully-specified personal pronoun (cf. supra, the third item on the list in (135a)). As has emerged from the preceding discussion, the mechanism through which a fully-specified subject is inserted into an SDR-derivation, is a highly-marked one. In particular, *pace* the VP-internal subject hypothesis, such a subject has to be base-generated directly in specAgr$_S$P. The principle operative in (140B) on the other hand, is a very standard one which is found in other constructions as well (cf. the example in (142)). As a result, it is not surprising that it is the second strategy which is becoming more general at the expense of the first one.[228]

The final subject-related characteristic of SDRs concerns the fact that some dialects allow pronominal subject doubling in this construction. I will argue that this observation provides supporting evidence for a particular aspect of the analysis presented above,

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[226] For a possible approach towards formalizing the semantics underlying these kinds of nominalizations, cf. Potts 2002 (thanks to Jason Merchant p.c. for drawing my attention to this paper).

[227] See chapter thirteen for a more in-depth discussion of *da* 'that' and its relation to the null proform found in SDRs.

[228] As for the question of why the first strategy should exist at all, a possible hypothesis could be that the use of fully-specified personal pronouns in SDRs is a relic, indicating that this construction has evolved from one which involved a fully-merged but PF-deleted syntactic structure, out of which the subject was raised to specAgr$_S$P. At this point, this remains pure speculation, however.

namely the fact that an SDR-subject has moved into specCP. Consider first some basic data in (144).[229]

(144) A: Lewie zie   Pierre geirn.
              Louis   sees   Pierre gladly
       B: ? IJ   en   duud ij.
              he NEG does he
       'A: Louis loves Pierre. B: No, he doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In order to show how these data support the account of SDRs outlined in the previous section, I have to provide some more background information on pronominal subject doubling in the dialects under consideration here. It should be stressed, though, that I will not be concerned with providing fully-worked out accounts of these phenomena. Instead, I will limit myself to some basic empirical generalizations and a plausible structural implementation of them. For a more in-depth discussion of pronominal subject doubling, I refer the reader to Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002a, 2002b).

One of the main empirical points made by Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002a, 2002b), is that – contrary to common belief, cf. for example Haegeman 1990, 1992; De Geest 1995; Zwart 1993a, 1993b and Cardinaletti & Starke 1999 – pronominal subject doubling in dialect Dutch comes in two varieties. The first one is the construction traditionally referred to as clitic doubling. It involves the combination of a subject clitic and a coreferential strong subject pronoun. An example is given in (145).

(145) Merge   spele me   waailn.
       tomorrow   play   we$_{CLITIC}$ we$_{STRONG}$
       'Tomorrow we'll play.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The second construction is similar to clitic doubling in that the second instance of the subject is a strong pronoun, but it differs from examples like the one in (145) in that the first occurrence of the subject can be a weak pronoun, a strong pronoun, a full DP or a proper name.[230] Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002a, 2002b) dub this construction topic doubling. Consider an example in (146).

(146) {Ze   / Zaai   / Dei vrou   / Marie } kom   zaai   mergen   oek.
        she$_{WEAK}$ / she$_{STRONG}$ / that woman / Mary   comes she$_{STRONG}$ tomorrow also
       'She / SHE / That woman / Mary is coming tomorrow as well.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The main reason why the distinction between clitic doubling and topic doubling has gone largely unnoticed in the literature, is the fact that Dutch dialects often fail to make a morphological distinction between weak pronouns and clitics. This makes it difficult to distinguish between the two constructions, especially if the dialect in question allows

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[229] As indicated by the judgement (and also pointed out in chapter ten, section 10.2.7), pronominal subject doubling in SDRs is slightly marked in the dialect of Wambeek. I have no account for this slight deviance, but cf. infra for some discussion of the cross-dialectal variation with respect to subject doubling in SDRs.

[230] The precise range of elements that can be doubled in this way is subject to inter-dialectal variation. Cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002b for a more fine-grained discussion of the data.

only weak pronouns to be topic doubled (cf. supra, note 230). In those contexts where there *is* a morphological distinction, however, an interesting distributional asymmetry between the two constructions shows up. Consider the data in (147).[231]

(147) a.   { * Me   / We }   spele waaile   geirn.
               we$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ / we$_{\text{WEAK}}$ play we$_{\text{STRONG}}$ gladly
            'We like to play.'

      b.   Merge   spele { me   / * we }   waailn.
            tomorrow play   we$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ / we$_{\text{WEAK}}$ we$_{\text{STRONG}}$
            'Tomorrow we'll play.'

      c.   … da   { me   / * we }   waaile   geire   spelen.
             that$_{\text{C°}}$ we$_{\text{CLITIC}}$ / we$_{\text{WEAK}}$ we$_{\text{STRONG}}$ gladly   play
            '…that we like to play.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

These examples show that topic doubling and clitic doubling are in complementary distribution.[232] Specifically, while the former only occurs in subject-initial main clauses, the latter is restricted to inverted main clauses and embedded clauses. This means that the doubling found in SDRs is an instance of topic doubling. Therefore, it is this construction I will focus on in the remainder of the discussion. As pointed out above, I will not be concerned here with providing a full analysis of topic doubling. Instead, I want to consider what the implications of the data in (147) are for the structural position occupied by the first subject element in a topic doubling example.

    What Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002a, 2002b) suggest, is that the distribution of topic doubling follows naturally under the assumption that the first occurrence of the topic doubled subject (e.g. *we* 'we' in (147a)) occupies specCP. Specifically, such a point of view predicts that topic doubling is disallowed when specCP is already filled by another phrase or otherwise unavailable. As it turns out, this is precisely what happens in inverted main clauses and embedded clauses. In the example in (147b), specCP is already occupied by the fronted adverb *mergen* 'tomorrow'. As a result, no subject-DP can occur there and topic doubling is excluded. As for the embedded clause in (147c), it is well-documented – though ill-understood – that in non-interrogative embedded clauses in (dialectal) Dutch, specCP cannot be filled (cf. for example Hoekstra & Zwart 1994, 1997; Zwart 1997; Barbiers 2002a). This means that no subject can occur there either and hence that topic doubling is once again excluded.

    It should be clear by now what the relevance of the preceding discussion is for the analysis of SDRs. Specifically, the distribution of topic doubling suggests that the first occurrence of a topic doubled subject is situated in specCP.[233] The fact that an SDR-subject can also partake in this construction can then be seen as an indication that SDR-subjects are (or at least can be) situated in specCP. One aspect of doubling in SDRs

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[231] For argumentation that *me* 'we' is a clitic and *we* 'we' a weak pronoun, cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2000.

[232] Cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002b:298, though, for an example of the two constructions co-occurring in one and the same sentence. As this refinement is orthogonal to the discussion at hand and would only unnecessarily complicate the picture, I leave it undiscussed here.

[233] In fact, the distribution of topic doubling is not the only argument in favor of the hypothesis that the first subject element occupies specCP. Cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002b for additional argumentation based on topic doubling of indefinites and wh-phrases.

remains to be clarified, however. Recall from chapter ten that this type of doubling is not allowed in all the dialects under consideration here.

(148) a.   Z'en   doe   zij.   [Waregem Dutch]
    b. ? Z'en   duu   zaai.   [Wambeek Dutch]
    c. ?* Z'en   doe   zij.   [Kleit Dutch]
    d. ?* Z'en   doet zij.   [Klemskerke Dutch]
    e.   * Z'en   doe   zij.   [Izenberge Dutch]
          she_{WEAK}.NEG does she_{STRONG}
          'No, she doesn't.'

Given the line of argumentation just developed, these data might lead one to assume that while in the dialects of Waregem and Wambeek an SDR-subject can occupy specCP, in the dialects of Kleit, Klemskerke and Izenberge it cannot. I believe there is an alternative explanation for these data, however. As pointed out by Devos (1986:168), there is a lot of dialectal variation with respect to whether or not pronominal doubling of the type exemplified in (147a) is used to induce a contrastive reading. For example, as shown in (149), in the dialect of Wambeek topic doubling cannot be used to express a contrast.

(149) A: Komme Marie en   Pierre oek mergen?
          $come_{PL}$ Mary and Pierre also tomorrow
    B: * Ze   kom   ZAAI   wel, mo AAI   nie.
          she_{WEAK} comes she_{STRONG} AFF but he_{STRONG} not
   INTENDED READING: 'A: Are Mary and Pierre also coming tomorrow?
                B: SHE is, but HE isn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

This raises a new possible account for the deviance of (148c-e). Recall from the discussion above that strong pronouns are disallowed as SDR-subjects because they are non-topical. They express contrastive information and as a result are incompatible with the contradictory sentential emphasis reading induced by the SDR. This predicts that dialects in which topic doubling is used to express a contrastive reading, i.e. dialects in which B's reply in (149) is grammatical, should disallow doubling in SDRs. As table 12.1 below illustrates, the predicted anti-correlation is indeed found in the data.

	DOUBLING IN SDRs	DOUBLING + CONTRASTIVE READING
Waregem Dutch	✓	*
Wambeek Dutch	?	?*
Kleit Dutch	?*	?
Klemskerke Dutch	?*	✓
Izenberge Dutch	*	✓

Table 12.1 Anti-correlation between doubling in SDRs and contrastive doubling

This means that the data in (148) are not to be taken as an indication that SDRs in Waregem Dutch and Wambeek Dutch differ substantially from their counterparts in the

other three dialects. Doubling of the SDR-subject is disallowed in the dialects of Kleit, Klemskerke and Izenberge because doubling in these dialects induces a contrastive reading. Given that such a reading is incompatible with contradictory sentential emphasis, the examples in (148c-e) are ungrammatical.[234]

This concludes my overview of the subject-related characteristics of SDRs.[235] As has become clear from the sheer length of the discussion, the restrictions on the SDR-subject are one of the more complex aspects of the syntax of SDRs. About many of the other basic properties I can be brief, however, as they were already part and parcel of the analysis itself. The first one I turn to is negation marking.

(135) **Basic properties of dialect Dutch Short Do Replies**
     b. negation:
           - is obligatorily marked by the (normally optional) preverbal clitic *en*
           - this clitic can in some dialects be accompanied by the postverbal negator
                nie 'not'

Under the present account, the fact that the preverbal negative clitic *en* is obligatorily present in SDRs follows naturally from the fact that the high Neg°-head has to be morphologically realized in order for the SDR-proform to be properly licensed and identified. The second property listed in (135b) I do not have an account for, however. Specifically, it is unclear why the dialect of Izenberge allows the presence of the postverbal negator *nie* 'not' in SDRs, while the dialects of Waregem, Wambeek, Kleit and Klemskerke do not. Apparently, these two dialect groups differ in the requirements they impose on the overt realization of the specifier of the high NegP. Specifically, while in Waregem, Wambeek, Kleit and Klemskerke this specifier can only be spelled out if it is itself [+F]-marked, the dialect of Izenberge is more lenient in this respect, and also allows *nie* 'not' to occur when the *head* of the NegP is [+F]-marked.[236] Future research will have to determine if this particular property correlates with other characteristics of the dialects in question.

The next issue is very closely related to the previous one, i.e. emphatic affirmation marking. The list in (135c) represents the basic SDR-characteristics in this domain.

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[234] The facts presented in table 12.1 need to be looked into further. For example, it has to be determined whether there are also contexts in which topic doubling in the dialects of Kleit, Klemskerke and Izenberge occurs without a contrastive reading, and what the effect of such a finding would be on the argument developed here. However, as this would lead me too far afield, I leave it as a topic for further research.

[235] One subject-related property of SDRs I will have to leave open, concerns the question of why this construction does not allow for Subject-Auxiliary Inversion. Recall that I have argued that the movement of the subject into specCP is triggered by V2-considerations, i.e. to fill the highest specifier. This raises the possibility of there being yes/no-variants of SDRs, where the subject remains in specAgr$_S$P. Although I have no explanation for their absence, it is interesting to see that this construction seemed to exist in slightly older stages of Dutch, cf. note 147 above.

[236] Ideally, this variation should be reducible to the feature specification of the negative element itself.

(135) **Basic properties of dialect Dutch Short Do Replies**
    c. emphatic affirmation:
      - is marked by stress on the verb *duun* 'do'
      - the affirmative adverb *wel* is obligatorily absent

The first property is once again related to the fact that the SDR-proform is licensed by
the head of the high NegP. In affirmative SDRs, this head is spelled out as a
suprasegmental affirmative morpheme, which is realized as heavy stress on the verb
duun 'do'. The absence of the affirmative adverb *wel* 'AFF' also follows naturally. Recall
that this element does not show up in neutral affirmative clauses, i.e. when it is not [+F]-
marked. Given that in SDRs it is the head rather than the specifier of the high NegP
which is [+F]-marked, *wel* is categorically disallowed in this construction.
    The properties in (135d) all pertain to the verb found in SDRs.

(135) **Basic properties of dialect Dutch Short Do Replies**
    d. the verb:
      - is always the verb *duun* 'do'
      - *duun* 'do' is an auxiliary in SDRs (cannot be preceded by modals or
         auxiliaries, cannot show up in participial or infinitival form, can replace
         stative verbs)
      - only occurs in the present tense
      - can be used to replace modals and auxiliaries

Recall that the presence of the verb *duun* 'do' in SDRs is the result of *do*-support. Hence,
it is not at all surprising that it is only this verb which shows up, or that it behaves like an
auxiliary. On the other hand, the proform in the complement of *duun* 'do' replaces the
entire TP. This means that *duun* 'do' never moves through T° and as a result can only
occur in the present tense (which I assume to be an instance of default tense marking).
Moreover, the base positions of modals and other auxiliaries are arguably also contained
in the structure which is pronominalized by the SDR-proform.[237] That explains why they
can never occur in this construction.
    The fifth set of SDR-characteristics concerns the properties of the gap.

(135) **Basic properties of dialect Dutch Short Do Replies**
    e. the gap:
      - is not a PF-deleted syntactic structure (no *there*-expletives, no agreement
         with the elided associate DP, no wh-movement, no pseudogapping, no
         object clitic movement), but rather a null proform
      - this proform replaces a larger part of the structure than merely VP

The two properties in (135e) have played a central role throughout the analysis. I have
taken as a starting point for my account the hypothesis that SDRs involve a null proform

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[237] Note that the verb *duun* 'do' in SDRs can be used to replace both deontic and epistemic modals.
Given the line of reasoning developed here, this implies that epistemic modals are base-generated
below TP (*pace* for example Cinque 1999; Butler 2003). Cf. Barbiers 2004 for argumentation that
this is on the right track.

which replaces the entire TP. As a result, the generalizations in (135e) do not need any further discussion here.[238]

(135) **Basic properties of dialect Dutch Short Do Replies**
    f. distribution:
        - SDRs only occur productively in short contradictory replies to declarative
          statements

An important ingredient of the licensing and identification requirements of the SDR-proform is the assumption that the head of the high NegP has to be [+F]-marked in order for the proform to be licit. Under the assumption (made explicit in chapter eleven, section 11.3) that [+F]-marking on the high NegP (whether on the head or on the specifier) always results in a reading of contradictory sentential emphasis (and concomitant movement into the CP-domain), the property in (135f) follows naturally.[239] This brings me to the seventh and final set of properties typical of SDRs.

(135) **Basic properties of dialect Dutch Short Do Replies**
    g. co-occurrence restrictions:
        - SDRs cannot be combined with 'yes' and 'no'
        - SDRs cannot be combined with adverbs, except (at least for some speakers)
          very high ones such as *pertang* 'however' or *iejrlek gezeid* 'frankly'

The second of these two characteristics is once again a consequence of the fact that the SDR-proform pronominalizes a larger part of the clausal structure than merely VP. As this structure also includes the base-generated positions of all but the very high adverbs, it follows that these are the only ones that can co-occur with SDRs. The interaction with 'yes' and 'no' requires somewhat more discussion. Recall from the previous section that I have identified the element *jou* 'yes' which can co-occur with both negative and affirmative SDRs as an instantiation of the VFoc°-head, which lexicalizes the VERUM-operator. This leaves the question of why 'regular' instances of *jou* 'yes' and *nieje* 'no' cannot show up in SDRs. In order to account for this, I need an additional assumption, namely that *jou* 'yes' and *nieje* 'no' are merged in the same specifier as the one which is targeted by specNegP-to-specCP movement in replies expressing contradictory sentential emphasis. The incompatibility of SDRs with these elements is then the result

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[238] One caveat is in order, though. The fact that SDRs contain a null TP-proform does not explain why this construction cannot be combined with *subject* wh-movement (cf. supra, chapter ten section 10.2.8). In this case, the trace would not be part of the structure that is pronominalized by the proform and hence should be licit. I assume that the absence of subject wh-movement in SDRs is the result of the severe subject restrictions on this construction. Specifically, given that wh-phrases are generally considered to be focus-marked, they cannot be merged in the subject position of SDRs (cf. supra).

[239] As for the question of why SDRs are excluded in embedded clauses, various possible approaches come to mind. It might be that the contradictory sentential emphasis reading of SDRs is pragmatically incompatible with embedding, or that the position targeted by NegP-to-CP-movement is absent in embedded clauses (cf. also supra, chapter eleven section 11.3 for discussion). More generally, the idea that certain discourse-related properties of clauses are typically 'root phenomena' does not seem to be a highly controversial one.

of them competing for the same structural position.[240] I return to the syntax of *jou* 'yes' and *nieje* 'no' more in depth in chapter fourteen. The data discussed there will render more plausible the assumption that *jou* 'yes' and *nieje* 'no' occupy specCP. Specifically, I will show that these polarity elements can co-occur with the same range of subject clitics and agreement endings also found on complementizers.

Summing up, in this section I have evaluated the success of the analysis outlined above by going through the list of the basic properties of SDRs. Given that the large majority of them follows naturally from the proposed account, it seems fair to conclude that the analysis has been successful.

12.4   Conclusion

In this chapter I have proposed an analysis for dialect Dutch Short Do Replies. I have shown that this construction arises as a result of the interplay between the three theoretical prerequisites outlined in the previous chapter: the fact that SDRs contain a null proform which is licensed by the morphologically realized, [+F]-marked head of the high NegP, the fact that SDRs induce a contradictory sentential emphasis reading, and the fact that the high NegP is situated below Agr$_S$P in the clausal hierarchy. Moreover, I have argued that the proposed analysis is able to account for a large majority of the basic SDR-characteristics discussed in chapter ten. In the next chapter, I argue that a particular construction in Brabant Dutch contains a non-null counterpart of the SDR-proform.

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[240] Note that an SDR such as the one in (i) is also ungrammatical (thanks to Sjef Barbiers p.c. and Jason Merchant p.c. for raising this issue). In this sentence, specCP is filled by *nieje* 'no', the complex head consisting of the verb and the negative clitic has raised to C°, and the subject has remained in specAgr$_S$P.

(i)   * Nieje   en   duu   ze.
              no   NEG   does   she
              INTENDED READING: 'No, she doesn't'   [Wambeek Dutch]

I want to suggest that the cause of the ungrammaticality of this example is the V2-requirement of (dialectal) Dutch. Specifically, the polarity markers *jou* 'yes' and *nieje* 'no' – for some ill-understood reason, cf. also note 197 above – never occur in a typical V2-clause. Apparently, these elements are incapable of satisfying the requirement that the finite verb must be preceded by precisely one maximal projection. In other words, the SDR in (i) is ungrammatical for the same reason as B's reply in (ii) is.

(ii)   A: Kom   Jef?   B: * Nieje   kom   Jeff   nie.
            comes Jeff   no   comes Jeff   not
            INTENDED READING: 'A: Is Jeff coming? B: No, he isn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

13 Spelling out the proform: *da's nie* and *da's wel*

13.1 Introduction

One aspect of the SDR-proform I have left undiscussed so far is the question of whether this null pronominal has an overt counterpart as well. Note that when it comes to DP-*pro*, this is trivially the case. For instance, next to the Italian pro-drop example presented in chapter eleven (and repeated below as (150)), there is the sentence in (151), in which the null proform has been replaced by the overt pronominal *io* 'I'.

(150) *pro* ho   parlato a   tuo   fratello.
       have$_{1SG}$ spoken to   your   brother
    'I have spoken with your brother.'   [Italian]

(151) Io ho   parlato a   tuo   fratello.
     I   have$_{1SG}$ spoken to   your   brother
    'I have spoken with your brother.'   [Italian]

In light of these data, it seems reasonable to ask whether the same holds for the SDR-proform, i.e. whether there exists a construction in which the non-null counterpart of this pronominal is used.[241] In this chapter I argue that B's replies in (152), (153) and (154) represent precisely such a construction.[242]

(152) A: Marie   gaat   naar de film.
         Mary   goes   to   the movie
    B: Da's   nie.
         that.is not
    'A: Mary goes to the movies. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Brabant Dutch]

(153) A: Marie   gaat nie naar de film.
         Mary   goes not to   the movie
    B: Da's   wel.
         that.is AFF
    'A: Mary doesn't go to the movies. B: Yes, she does.'   [Brabant Dutch]

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[241] It is worth observing that this question is rarely raised by advocates of the proform-theory of English VP-ellipsis. The only exceptions I know of – and thanks to Jason Merchant p.c. for pointing them out to me – are López & Winkler 2000 and Winkler 2003, who analyze the German proform *es* 'it' as the overt counterpart of the null pronominal they postulate in English VP-ellipsis. Note, however, that under such an account it still remains mysterious why English only has the covert form and German only the overt form of this proform. For argumentation that English *so* is not a suitable candidate for the postulated proform, cf. Hardt 1993:106-108 and López 1995:200-234.

[242] As far as I have been able to ascertain, neither the dialectological nor the theoretical literature contains any prior discussion of this construction.

(154) A: Marie   gaat   nie naar   de   film.
              Mary   goes   not to   the movie
      B: Da's   jawel.
              that.is yes.AFF
      'A: Mary doesn't go to the movies. B: Yes, she does.'   [Brabant Dutch]

In all three these dialogues, speaker B contradicts A's statement by means of a short
reply consisting of the proform *da* 'that', the third person singular form of the copula *zijn*
'be' and the polarity element *nie* 'not' in negative replies and *wel* 'AFF' or *jawel* 'yes.AFF'
in affirmative ones.[243] Given that this construction occurs very productively in Brabant
Dutch, the non-standard variety of Dutch spoken in large parts of the Belgian province
of Flemish Brabant, the data will be mainly drawn from this variety.[244] What I want to
argue in this chapter, is that the examples in (152)-(154) represent the Brabant Dutch
counterpart of SDRs, and more specifically, that the element *da* 'that' in B's reply in
(152)-(154) is the overt variant of the SDR-proform. At first sight it is not clear in what
way *da's nie* 'that.is not' and *da's (ja)wel* 'that.is (yes.)AFF' are related to SDRs, so in the
next section, I discuss a number of striking empirical parallelisms between the two
constructions. In section 13.3, I present an analysis of these data which makes use of
precisely the same theoretical tools as the SDR-analysis in the previous chapter. Section
13.4 is devoted to dispelling three possible alternative accounts for this construction,
while in section 13.5 I summarize the main findings of this chapter and show how the
data discussed here form the beginning of a typology of constructions containing non-DP
proforms in (varieties of) Dutch.

13.2   The data

13.2.1 Introduction

In this section I discuss seven properties of the construction introduced above which it
shares with SDRs, thus giving some empirical weight to the hypothesis that the two are
related at some level of representation. Before doing so, however, I want to point out that
the assumption that the overt counterpart of the SDR-proform is spelled out as *da* 'that' is
not altogether an implausible one. Consider again the data in (143) (repeated below).

(155) a.   Ziek, **dad** is   Jef   nie gau.
              sick   that is   Jeff   not fast
              'Jeff is not often sick.'

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[243] The use of *jawel* 'yes.AFF' in this construction is felt to be more emphatic than that of *wel* 'AFF'.
It is only found in the speech of younger, Belgian speakers.
[244] Although I have not yet been able to determine the precise area in which this construction is
used, it is clear that it extends well beyond Flemish Brabant. For example, one of my informants
comes from the province of North Brabant in The Netherlands. All of this also implies that there is
no one-to-one correspondence between the area in which SDRs are used and the area in which the
construction in (152)-(154) is used. Note, however, that this is in no way predicted by the theory.
On the contrary, given that the licensing requirements on the null SDR-proform are stricter than
those on the overt pronominal *da* 'that' (cf. infra for discussion), constructions which contain the
former are expected to be rarer than those which contain the latter.

    b.   De gazet   lezen, **da** duune-k-ik   geirn.
           the newspaper read   that do-I_{CLITIC}-I_{STRONG} gladly
           'Reading the newspaper, I like.'

    c.   Da Lewie merge   komt, **da** kanne-k moeilijk geliejven.
           that Louis tomorrow comes that can.I_{CLITIC} difficult believe
           'That Louis will come tomorrow, I find hard to believe.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Recall from the discussion in the previous chapter that the SDR-proform can be interpreted either as a property (when its subject is a fully-specified personal pronoun) or as a proposition (when the expletive pronoun *'t* 'it' is merged in specAgr_SP). As the data in (155) illustrate (and as was already pointed out above), these same interpretations are also available to the overt proform *da* 'that'. Specifically, in (155a) and (155b) it refers back to an AP and a VP respectively, and it is interpreted as a one-place predicate.[245] In (155c) on the other hand, it is anaphoric on an entire CP and as a result, it is interpreted as a proposition. This makes *da* 'that' a likely candidate for being the overt counterpart of the SDR-proform. The data discussed below further reinforce this intuition.

13.2.2 Distribution

A first striking similarity between SDRs on the one hand and *da's nie/(ja)wel* on the other concerns their distribution. Just like SDRs, *da's nie/(ja)wel* only occur in short replies to declarative clauses and they always express contradictory sentential emphasis. Moreover, neither of the two constructions can be embedded. This is shown for *da's nie/(ja)wel* in (156) and (157).[246]

(156) A: Marie gaat naar de film.
            Mary   goes to   the movie
      B: ?* Ik denk dat   da   nie is.
            I   think that_{C°} that not is
      INTENDED READING: 'A: Mary goes to the movies. B: I think she doesn't.'
                                           [Brabant Dutch]

---

[245] As Lisa Cheng p.c. points out, if the subject is structurally represented in the left-peripheral VP in (155b) (cf. the VP-internal subject hypothesis), then it might be interpreted as a saturated expression rather than as a predicate. Although I have no positive evidence excluding such an account, it does seem to be less likely for the example in (155a), where the interpretation of *dad* 'that' is clearly that of a one-place predicate. More generally, the hypothesis that *da(t)* 'that' can be used to resume predicates in contrastive left dislocation contexts is also argued for by Rullman & Zwart 1996.

[246] A note on the grammaticality judgements is in order. Given that there turns out to be a fair amount of inter-speaker variation with respect to this construction, the judgements given in this chapter represent the average of eight native speakers. I believe this variation is the result of interference from a homophonous construction, in which the proform *da* 'that' is the subject of the intransitive existential main verb *zijn* 'be', and *wel* 'AFF' and *nie* not' are the realization of the low specNegP. That something along these lines is correct, is suggested by the fact that when *jawel* 'yes.AFF' is used in this construction, the inter-speaker variation decreases dramatically and the judgements become much sharper. As I will show in section 13.2.7 below, *jawel* 'yes.AFF' cannot occupy the specifier position of the low NegP and as a result, the ambiguity that exists in the case of *wel* 'AFF' and *nie* 'not' disappears. I hope to further untangle these two constructions in future research.

(157) A: Marie   gaat nie naar de film.
              Mary   goes not to   the movie
       B: a. ?? Ik denk dat   da   wel is.
                  I   think that$_{C°}$ that AFF is
           b. * Ik denk dat   da   jawel is.
                  I   think that$_{C°}$ that yes.AFF is
    INTENDED READING: 'A: Mary doesn't go to the movies. B: I think she does.'
                                               [Brabant Dutch]

In other words, as far as their distribution is concerned, SDRs and *da's nie/(ja)wel* pattern completely alike. This is a first indication that the hypothesis that the two constructions are related is on the right track.

13.2.3 Modals and auxiliaries

The verb used in *da's nie/(ja)wel* is always the copula *zijn* 'be', regardless of which verb occurs in the antecedent clause. This is shown for the perfective auxiliary *hebben* 'have' in (158) and for the modals *willen* 'want' and *mogen* 'may' in (159) and (160) respectively.

(158) A: Marie heeft nen   boek gekocht.
             Mary   has   a   book bought
       B: a.   Da's   nie.
                   that.is   not
           b. * Da   heeft nie.
                   that   has   not
    'A: Mary has bought a book. B: No, she hasn't.'
                                                 [Brabant Dutch]

(159) A: Karel wil   nie komen.
             Carl   wants not come
       B: a.   Da's   wel.
                   that.is   AFF
           b. * Da   wil   wel.
                   that   wants AFF
    'A: Carl doesn't want to come. B: Yes, he does.'
                                              [Brabant Dutch]

(160) A: Bart mag hier nie komen.
             Bart may here not come
       B: a.   Da's   jawel.
                    that.is yes.AFF
           b. * Da   mag jawel.
                   that   may yes.AFF
    'A: Bart is not allowed to come here. B: Yes, he is.'
                                              [Brabant Dutch]

These data are reminiscent of the fact that the verb which shows up in SDRs is invariably the auxiliary *duun* 'do', even if the antecedent clause contains a different auxiliary or a modal. As such, these examples constitute a second parallelism between the two constructions.

13.2.4 Periphrastic tenses

Very much related to the previous point is the fact that the verb *zijn* 'be' in *da's nie/(ja)wel* is itself never preceded by an auxiliary. This is illustrated in (161).

(161) A: Marie   haar   grootvader is   gesneuveld in   WOI.
            Mary   her   grandfather is   died   in   World.War.One
      B: a.   Da's   nie.
                  that.is not
            b. * Da's   nie   geweest.
                  that.is not   been
      'A: Mary's grandfather died in World War I. B: No, he didn't.'   [Brabant Dutch]

Once again, this is a point of parallelism with SDRs, in which the verb *duun* 'do' is subject to the same restriction.

13.2.5 Past tenses

A further restriction imposed on the verb in *da's nie/(ja)wel* is the fact that it can only occur in the present tense, even if the antecedent clause is set in the simple past. This is illustrated in (162).

(162) A: Mary zag   Pierre   graag.
            Mary saw   Pierre   gladly
      B: a.   Da's   nie.
                  that.is not
            b. ?* Da   was   nie.
                  that was   not
      'A: Mary loved Pierre. B: No, she didn't.'   [Brabant Dutch]

Recall that the exact same observation also holds for the SDR-verb. As such, the example in (162) represents a fourth characteristic with respect to which the two constructions pattern alike.

13.2.6 Co-occurrence with adverbs

A fifth point of similarity between the two constructions concerns the set of adverbs *da's nie/(ja)wel* can co-occur with. Consider the data in (163)-(165)

(163) A: Karel kent   de   eerste   1000 cijfers   van pi   uit zijn hoofd.
            Carl knows   the   first   1000 digits   of pi   out his head
      B: ?* Da's   nie meer.
            that.is   not anymore
      INTENDED READING: 'A: Carl knows the first 1000 digits of pi by heart.
                            B: He doesn't anymore.'   [Brabant Dutch]

(164) A: Marie   komt   morgen.
                Mary   comes   tomorrow
       B: ?* Da's   waarschijnlijk nie.
               that.is   probably   not
       INTENDED READING: 'A: Mary is coming tomorrow. B: She probably isn't.'
                                                                    [Brabant Dutch]

(165) A: Ik ben   nie aansprakelijk voor die   schade.
                I   am   not liable   for that damage
       B: Da's   wel, eerlijk   gezegd.
               that.is AFF honestly   said
       'A: I am not liable for that damage. B: Frankly, you are.'   [Brabant Dutch]

These examples show that *da's nie/(ja)wel* can only be combined with very high adverbs
such as *eerlijk gezegd* 'frankly'. Lower ones such as *meer* 'anymore' or even
waarschijnlijk 'probably' are excluded. In other words, the same co-occurrence
restrictions apply here as were operative in SDRs. Thus, these data provide a fifth
indication that the hypothesis pursued in this chapter is on the right track.

13.2.7 The importance of the high NegP

The argument I present in this section is one which has already featured briefly in
chapter eleven. There I argued that the fact that *jawel* 'yes.AFF' can occur in *da's
nie/(ja)wel* is a strong indication that this construction makes use of the high NegP,
rather than the low one. Consider first the example in (166).

(166) * Marie   heeft diejen boek gisteren jawel   gelezen.
          Mary   has   that   book yesterday yes.AFF read
          INTENDED READING: 'Mary DID read that book yesterday.'   [Brabant Dutch]

In this sentence, the polarity marker *jawel* 'yes.AFF' is situated to the right of the
scrambled object *diejen boek* 'that book', a position which I have identified in chapter
eleven as the specifier position of the low NegP. Given that the example in (166) is
ungrammatical, it seems fair to conclude that *jawel* 'yes.AFF' cannot occupy this
particular structural position. Now let me turn to the data in (167).

(167) A: Marie   gaat nie naar de film.
                Mary   goes not to   the movie
       B: Jawel, Marie   gaat wel   naar de film.
               yes.AFF Mary   goes AFF   to   the movie
       'A: Mary doesn't go to the movies. B: Yes, she does.'   [Brabant Dutch]

As illustrated by this example, *jawel* 'yes.AFF' can occur in sentence-initial position in a
full clausal reply expressing contradictory sentential emphasis. In chapter eleven I have
analyzed this word order as the result of (focus) movement from the specifier position of
the high NegP to specCP. This means that *jawel* 'yes.AFF' is a polarity element which is
typically and exclusively associated with the high NegP. The fact it can also occur in the
construction under discussion here, then, indicates that it is the high rather than the low
NegP which is involved in the derivation of *da's nie/(ja)wel*. Given that precisely the

same conclusion was reached about SDRs in the preceding two chapters, this constitutes a further argument in favor of a unified account of these two constructions.

13.2.8 Co-occurrence with 'yes' and 'no'

SDRs and *da's nie/(ja)wel* also pattern alike with respect to whether or not they can co-occur with left-peripheral polarity elements such as *ja* 'yes', *nee* 'no', *toch nie* 'PRT not' and *toch wel* 'PRT AFF'. Consider the data in (168)-(170).

(168) A: Marie   komt   nie morgen.
              Mary   comes   not tomorrow
       B: a. ?? Ja, da's   wel.
                     yes that.is   AFF
              b. ?* Toch wel, da's   wel.
                     PRT   AFF   that.is   AFF   [Brabant Dutch]

(169) A: Marie   komt   nie morgen.
              Mary   comes   not tomorrow
       B: a. ?* Ja, da's   jawel.
                     yes that.is   yes.AFF
              b.   * Toch wel, da's   jawel.
                     PRT   AFF   that.is   yes.AFF   [Brabant Dutch]

(170) A: Marie   komt   morgen.
              Mary   comes   tomorrow
       B: a. ?? Nee, da's   nie.
                     no   that.is   not
              b. ?* Toch nie, da's   nie.
                     PRT   not   that.is   not   [Brabant Dutch]

Although there is a certain amount of variability in the judgments here (cf. also supra, note 246), the general tendency is clear. When *da's nie/(ja)wel* is combined with a left-peripheral polarity element such as *ja* 'yes'/*nee* 'no' or *toch wel* 'PRT AFF'/*toch nie* 'PRT not', the result is degraded. As such, these data constitute an seventh empirical domain in which SDRs and *da's nie/(ja)wel* pattern alike.[247]

13.2.9 Conclusion: SDRs vs. *da's nie* and *da's (ja)wel*

In light of the data presented in the preceding seven sections, it seems fair to conclude that SDRs and *da's nie/(ja)wel* are more alike than they appear to be at first sight. Table 13.1 summarizes the main findings which have led to this conclusion.

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[247] It is also worth pointing out that in precisely this domain, the judgements on SDRs were not extremely sharp either. Cf supra, note 151.

	SHORT DO REPLIES	*DA'S NIE / DA'S (JA)WEL*
distribution	only in non-embedded contradictory replies	only in non-embedded contradictory replies
verb	*duun* 'do'	*zijn* 'be'
verb can replace modals and auxiliaries	✓	✓
verb can be preceded by auxiliary	*	*
verb can occur in the past tense	*	?*
co-occurrence with adverbs	only very high adverbs	only very high adverbs
high or low NegP	high	high
co-occurrence with 'yes' and 'no'	?*	??/?*
co-occurrence with *toch wel/toch nie*	*	?*/*

Table 13.1 Comparison of SDRs and *da's nie/da's (ja)wel*

The properties listed in this table show that there is a very detailed parallelism between the two constructions. Both of them are only used to express contradictory sentential emphasis and both of them contain a non-DP proform. Moreover, the evidence suggests that these two proforms pronominalize the same part of the extended verbal projection. Recall from the preceding chapter that I took the non-occurrence of all but the very high adverbs, the absence of past tenses and the absence of modals and auxiliaries, as evidence that the SDR-proform replaces a larger part of the clausal structure than merely VP (namely TP in my account). Given that these very same properties also hold for *da's nie/(ja)wel*, the natural conclusion seems to be that the proform *da* 'that' which occurs in this construction, pronominalizes TP as well. In other words, in light of the data summarized in table 13.1, it is very plausible to assume that the instance of *da* 'that' found in *da's nie/(ja)wel* is in every respect the overt counterpart of the null proform which I postulated in the analysis of SDRs.

On the other hand, the above discussion has also revealed a number of differences between the two constructions. Most notably, while the verb found in SDRs is invariably the auxiliary *duun* 'do', in *da's nie/(ja)wel* the copula *zijn* 'be' is always used. Secondly, while the SDR-proform is always accompanied by a pronominal subject (whether a fully-specified personal pronoun or the expletive pronoun *'t* 'it'), no such DP is present in *da's nie/(ja)wel*. Thirdly, the two constructions also differ with respect to negation and emphatic affirmation marking. Whereas in *da's nie/(ja)wel* polarity is expressed by lexicalizing the specifier position of the high NegP as *nie* 'not', *wel* 'AFF' or *jawel* 'yes.AFF', in SDRs it is invariably the *head* of this NegP which is activated. Fourthly, the SDR-proform has no phonetic content, while in *da's nie/(ja)wel* the overt proform *da* 'that' is used. Fifthly and finally, while the SDR-proform is situated in the complement

position of the high Neg°-head, the overt proform *da* 'that' appears to occupy the subject position of the clause.

Clearly, an adequate analysis of *da's nie/(ja)wel* should be able to capture the close similarities with SDRs, while at the same time doing justice to the differences between the two constructions. In the next section I try to construct precisely such an account.

13.3 The analysis

In this section I present my analysis of *da's nie/(ja)wel*. In order to make the comparison with the account of SDRs outlined in the previous chapter as explicit as possible, I will once again go step by step through the derivation of a specific example, in this case B's reply in the dialogue in (171) below.

(171) A: Marie   gaat   nie naar   de film.
   Mary   goes   not to   the movie
         B: Da's   jawel.
               that.is   yes.AFF
         'A: Mary doesn't go to the movies. B: Yes, she does.'   [Brabant Dutch]

Recall that in section 13.2.9 above I established that the proform *da* 'that' which shows up in *da's nie/(ja)wel* pronominalizes the same part of the clausal structure as the null SDR-pronominal does. This means that in the first step of the derivation, *da* 'that' is merged with the high Neg°-head. However, given that this pronominal is overt, and hence not in need of special (head-)licensing (cf. supra), the derivation differs from that of SDRs in that this Neg°-head is neither [+F]-marked nor morphologically realized. Consider the partial tree structure in (172).

(172)   NegP
         /\
       Neg°   *da*

Next, the polarity element *jawel* 'yes.AFF' is merged as the specifier of this NegP. Recall from chapter eleven, section 11.3 above that I assume that whenever this specifier is overtly realized, it is also [+F]-marked. This is illustrated in (173).

(173)   NegP
         /\
      jawel   Neg'
       [+F]   /\
             Neg°   *da*

Thirdly, Agr$_s$° is merged. It is endowed with agreement features which need to be checked against a DP-subject (to which it also assigns nominative Case) and spelled out on a finite verb.

(174)   Agr$_s$P

    Agr$_s$°   NegP
    [+φ]

        jawel   Neg'
        [+F]

             Neg°   *da*
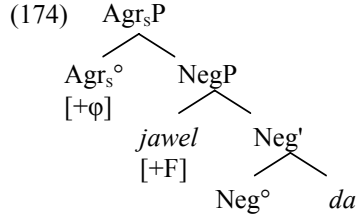
This is the point in the derivation of SDRs where a DP-subject had to be base-generated in specAgr$_s$P, as there was no suitable target to check the phi-features of Agr$_s$°. In this case, however, there is such a target. Specifically, the proform *da* 'that' is an overt DP which is in need of Case. As a result, it can check the phi-features of Agr$_s$°, move to specAgr$_s$P and receive nominative Case there.[248] This is shown in (175).

(175)   Agr$_s$P

   da   Agr$_s$'
  [+NOM]

      Agr$_s$°   NegP
      ~~[+φ]~~

        jawel   Neg'
        [+F]

          Neg°   t$_{da}$

---
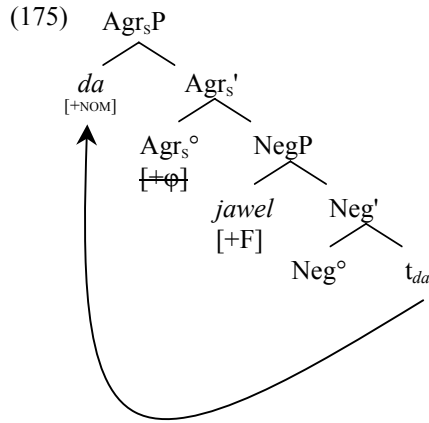
[248] At this point, one could object that if the SDR-proform is nothing but the null counterpart of *da* 'that', it too should be able to check the agreement features of Agr$_s$° and move into specAgr$_s$P. Note, however, that due to it being non-overt, the SDR-proform cannot check the EPP-feature of Agr$_s$° (especially not in a verb second language like (dialectal) Dutch). This means that even if Agr$_s$° were to agree with *pro*$_{TP}$, an additional DP would still have to be merged in its specifier to satisfy the EPP-feature. Arguably, then, an economy principle reminiscent of Chomsky's 2001:15 Maximize Matching ensures that that DP at the same time agrees in phi-features with Agr$_s$°. Another way to implement this – and I am following up on a suggestion made to me by Sjef Barbiers p.c. here – is to assume that while the [D]-feature of *da* 'that' is interpretable, that of *pro*$_{TP}$ is not. Under the assumption that movement into specAgr$_s$P involves checking a strong [D]-feature (cf. Chomsky 1995), this would imply that the former can, but the latter cannot move into this position. Instead, in SDRs an extra DP has to be merged in specAgr$_s$P to check the [D]-feature of Agr$_s$°. Note that it is not *a priori* clear if *pro* needs Case in such a scenario. Assume for instance that Case-marking is one of the ways in which *pro* can be licensed (cf. in this respect also Rizzi's requirement in note 200 above). Specifically, when licensed by a Case-marking head (say, Agr$_s$° or Agr$_o$°), *pro* is interpreted as a DP (say, a subject or an object). When it is licensed by a [+F]-marked Neg°-head, it is interpreted as a TP. Given that (dialectal) Dutch is not a pro-drop language (but see notes 255 and 274 below for a refinement, not relevant here), the SDR-proform cannot be licensed (i.e. Case-marked) by Agr$_s$°, and hence stays *in situ*, where it is licensed by Neg°.

In this partial tree structure, Agr$_s$° is still confronted with a problem, however. The phi-features which it has checked against *da* 'that' still need to be spelled out on a verbal element. Given that the whole of TP has been pronominalized, no such verb can raise from lower in the structure. As a result, a dummy verb has to be inserted as a last resort operation, one which is the pure spell-out of Agr$_s$°'s phi-features. The most unmarked verb available for these purposes is the copula *zijn* 'be' (cf. in this respect also Postma 1993; Becker 2004). This, I want to argue, is how the verbal element in *da's nie/(ja)wel* enters into the derivation. The tree structure in (176) provides an illustration of this.[249]

(176)   AgrₛP

      da   Agr$_s$'
    [+NOM]
              Agr$_s$°   NegP

      MERGE ⟹ *is*
                      jawel   Neg'
                      [+F]
                              Neg°   t$_{da}$
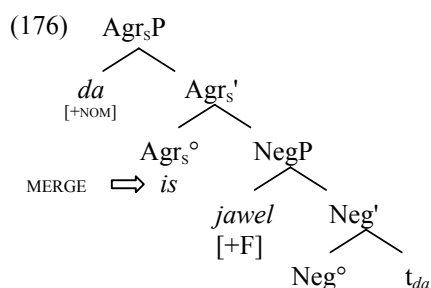
The next step in the derivation involves the merger of C°. This head is endowed with a [+F]-feature targeting that on the polarity element *jawel* 'yes.AFF'. As a result, *jawel* 'yes.AFF' moves from specNegP to specCP. Moreover, completely in line with the analysis of SDRs developed above, the head hosting the VERUM-operator, i.e. VFoc°, is merged on top of this structure.[250] All of this is represented in (177).

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[249] For ease of exposition I have presented the derivation in a slightly countercyclic manner here. Specifically, the insertion of the copula should take place prior to the movement of the proform into specAgrₛP. Alternatively, it might also be the case that the insertion of *is* 'is' is a late, morphological operation which takes place after the 'narrow' syntactic derivation. As this issue is not crucial for the line of argumentation developed here, though, I will leave it open.

[250] As for the possible overt realization of this head, there are at least two possible apporaches. One is to assume that it is never spelled out in *da's nie/(ja)wel*. Another option would be to assume that the element *jawel* 'yes.AFF' should actually be split up into *ja* 'yes' and *wel* 'AFF', where the first would be the spell-out of VFoc° and the second the result of specNegP-to-specCP-movement. I leave the choice open here.

(177)
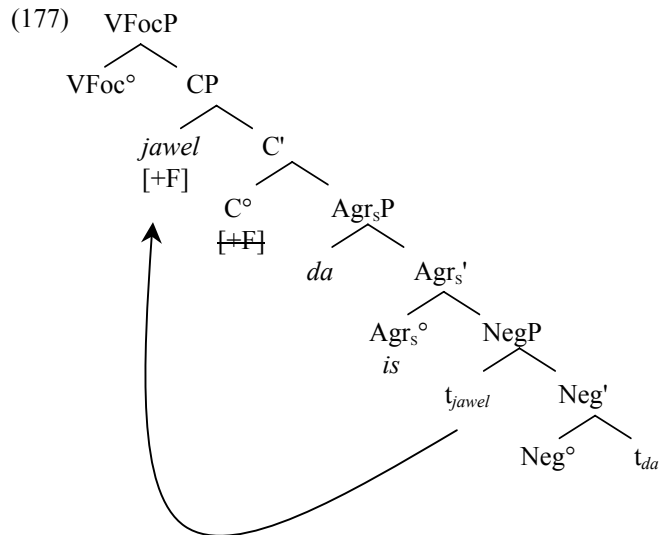
This is the point where the derivation of SDRs was completed. With respect to *da's nie/(ja)wel*, however, it seems that an additional operation is needed. Consider again the basic example in (171) (repeated below as (178)).

(178) A: Marie gaat nie naar de film.
             Mary   goes   not to   the movie
        B: Da's   jawel.
             that.is yes.AFF
        'A: Mary doesn't go to the movies. B: Yes, she does.'   [Brabant Dutch]

While in the structure in (177), the polarity element *jawel* 'yes.AFF' linearly precedes *da is* 'that is', the order is reversed in B's reply in (178). In other words, it seems that the derivation of (178B) requires an additional reordering operation. What I want to propose, is that the entire Agr_sP moves obligatorily to the left of *jawel* 'yes.AFF'. This is illustrated in (179).

(179)
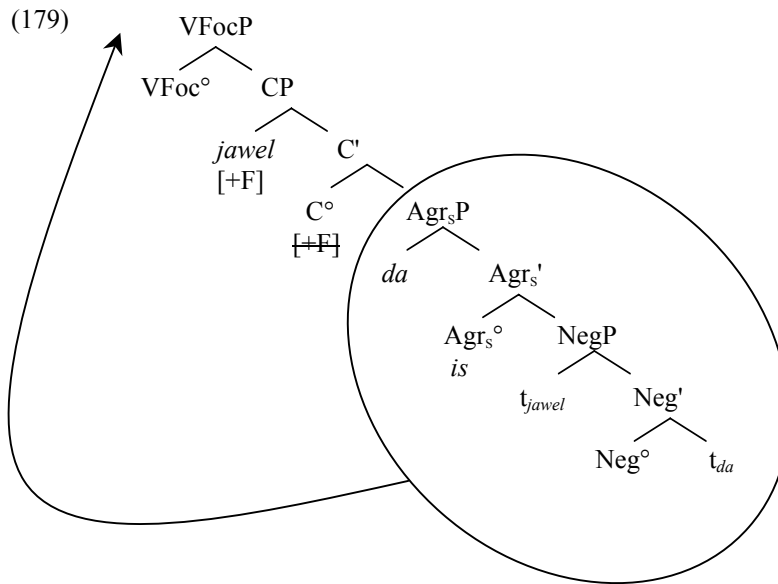
Clearly, the precise nature of this additional movement operation requires some discussion. Although at present I do not yet have a fully-worked out account of this final step in the derivation of *da's nie/(ja)wel*, I want to suggest that this movement is triggered by the prosodic needs of the structure in (177). Specifically, it seems tempting to try and relate the movement operation illustrated in (179) to Zubizaretta's (1998) notion of p-movement. Note that the structure in (177) is subject to two conflicting prosodic requirements. On the one hand, the fact that *jawel* 'yes.AFF' has checked a [+F]-feature implies that it should receive focal stress, while on the other hand, the Nuclear Stress Rule determines that stress should be assigned to the more deeply embedded Agr$_s$P. As pointed out by Zubizaretta (1998), one way to resolve this kind of conflict is by moving the lower phrase to a position immediately c-commanding the higher, [+F]-marked phrase. In other words, the trigger for this movement is the need to undo a prosodically contradictory situation. Once in its higher position, Agr$_s$P is no longer c-commanded by *jawel* 'yes.AFF' and as a result the Nuclear Stress Rule no longer assigns stress to it. This, I want to argue, is why Agr$_s$P moves obligatorily to a position c-commanding the polarity element in *da's nie/(ja)wel*. Moreover, note that this movement is absent in SDRs and in full clausal replies expressing contradictory sentential emphasis. In the former case, this is so because the structure below CP does not have any phonetic content and hence is irrelevant for stress assignment. In the latter case, the conflict is resolved by letting Agr$_s$P form its own intonational phrase. Consider the example in (180).

(180) A: Marie   gui   nie nui de cinema.
             Mary   goes   not to   the cinema
       B: Toch WEL, Marie   gui   WEL   nui de cinema.
               PRT AFF   Mary   goes   AFF   to the cinema.
       'A: Mary doesn't go to the cinema. B: Yes, she does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In B's reply in this dialogue both the high specNegP (which has moved to specCP) and the low specNegP are stressed (cf. also supra, note 209), suggesting that this example contains two intonational phrases. This means that each of the two conflicting requirements can now be met inside its own domain. As a result, the prosodic conflict discussed above no longer arises and the sentence is well-formed. What is important to note from the present perspective, however, is that neither the strategy employed by SDRs, nor that used by full clausal replies is available to *da's nie/(ja)wel*. On the one hand, the SDR-strategy does not apply given the fact that both *da* 'that' and *'s* 'is' have phonetic content and hence are relevant for stress assignment. On the other hand, however, neither of these elements seems capable of bearing stress itself, which makes it impossible for Agr_SP to form its own intonational domain. Consider the data in (181).

(181) A: Marie   gaat   nie naar   de film.
             Mary   goes   not to   the movie
         B: a. * DA's   jawel.
                      that.is   yes.AFF
               b. * Da   IS jawel.
                      that   is yes.AFF
               c.   Da's   jaWEL.
                      that.is   yes.AFF
         'A: Mary doesn't go to the movies. B: Yes, she does.'   [Brabant Dutch]

These examples show that neither *da* 'that' nor *'s* 'is' can be stressed in *da's nie/(ja)wel*. This means that the only option available to this construction in order to resolve the prosodic conflict outlined above, is p-movement of Agr_SP to a position c-commanding the focused polarity element, as illustrated in (179).

This concludes the derivation of B's reply in the dialogue in (178). In order to evaluate this analysis, it is worth going over the similarities and differences between *da's nie/(ja)wel* and SDRs, and determine to what extent they can be captured under the present account. A first thing to note in this respect is that the contradictory sentential emphasis reading induced by both constructions is implemented virtually identically in the two derivations. Specifically, a [+F]-feature is assigned to the high NegP (either to the head or to the specifier), triggering movement from this position to the CP-projection immediately c-commanded by the left-peripheral head hosting the VERUM-operator (VFoc° in my account). This brings both these constructions perfectly in line with the syntax of contradictory sentential emphasis in Hungarian as discussed by Lipták (2003) (cf. supra, chapter eleven, section 11.3), clearly an advantageous result.

Secondly, my analysis has taken as its starting point the hypothesis that the element *da* 'that' in *da's nie/(ja)wel* is the overt counterpart of the SDR-proform. This allows for a unified account of several of the properties listed in table 13.1 above. For example, the fact that neither construction allows for past tenses follows straightforwardly from the fact that their verb doesn't move through T° and hence cannot pick up (or check) past tense morphology. A similar line of reasoning applies to the absence of modals, auxiliaries, perfective aspect and all but the very high adverbs. Given that all these elements are normally base-generated inside the structure which is now pronominalized by the proform, they can show up neither in SDRs nor in *da's nie/(ja)wel*.

Furthermore, in both constructions polarity is expressed by means of the high NegP, and crucial use is made of the fact that this projection is dominated by Agr$_s$P. In SDRs, the subject is merged in specAgr$_s$P, while in *da's nie/(ja)wel* the proform receives its nominative Case in this position. Finally, the incompatibility of both these constructions with 'yes' and 'no' follows from the fact that in both cases, the CP-projection in which these polarity elements are normally merged, is already occupied as a result of movement from the high NegP. All in all, then, it seems fair to say that the analysis of *da's nie/(ja)wel* presented above is successful in capturing the similarities between this construction and SDRs.

On the other hand, the derivation in (172)-(179) also offers enough leeway to account for the differences between the two constructions. Consider first the fact that while the proform used in *da's nie/(ja)wel* is overt, the SDR-proform is not. From this it follows that in SDRs it is the *head* of the high NegP which is [+F]-marked (this [+F]-marking being required for the licensing of *pro*, cf. supra chapter eleven section 11.4), whereas *da's nie/(ja)wel* can resort to the default pattern and assign [+F] to the *specifier* of NegP. In other words, the difference in negation and emphatic affirmation marking follows directly from the overt versus covert nature of the proform. Moreover, due to its having phonetic content, the proform used in *da's nie/(ja)wel* is in need of Case. That explains why it moves to specAgr$_s$P and why no other subject can show up in *da's nie/(ja)wel* (unlike in SDRs).

The fact that SDRs and *da's nie/(ja)wel* feature a different verb (i.e. *duun* 'do' in SDRs versus *zijn* 'be' in *da's nie/(ja)wel*) requires a bit more discussion. Specifically, I have argued that both these verbs are merged as a last resort operation in order to provide morpho-phonological support for features which would otherwise have been stranded. From such a perspective, one might *a priori* expect it to be the same verb which shows up in both cases (especially if – as suggested in note 216 – the SDR-verb is also merged in Agr$_s$°). It should be noted, though, that there are also differences between the two configurations. For example, in SDRs the verb is not merely the spell-out of Agr$_s$°'s phi-features, it also carries [+F]-marking. One possible account for the observed difference might then be to assume that just as *have* can be decomposed into *be* and a dative preposition (Kayne 1993), so can *do* be decomposed into *be* and [+F]-marking.[251] This would accord well with the fact that *do*-support contexts in English all typically involve some kind of focus marking. Another option would be to assume that even in their auxiliary uses, *do* and *be* still share with the homophonous main verbs the fact that while *do* is a two-place predicate, *be* is only a one-place predicate.[252] This would imply that the former is inserted when two non-coreferential entities need to be linked (i.e. the subject and the TP-proform in SDRs), while the latter is used when there is only one such entity (cf. the fact that *da* 'that' moves from within the complement of Agr$_s$° to its specifier). All in all, then, it seems fair to assume that the difference in verbal element between SDRs and *da's nie/(ja)wel* can be made to follow from the analyses proposed in the preceding sections and chapters.

Finally, I have suggested that the derivation of *da's nie/(ja)wel* differs from that of SDRs in that the former features p-movement of Agr$_s$P to a position c-commanding the polarity element. It is clear that this is the most speculative part of the analysis. Specifically, although I have tried to show that this movement operation has some

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[251] I owe this suggestion to Johan Rooryck p.c.
[252] I owe this suggestion to Sjef Barbiers p.c.

plausibility in light of the structures I have proposed, it remains to be seen what role p-movement plays in the grammar of these dialects more generally.[253] In other words, future research will have to determine whether the analysis developed here can be further strengthened.

13.4   Dispelling three alternative accounts

In this penultimate section, I briefly consider three possible alternative analyses for *da's nie/(ja)wel*, all three of which have some initial appeal to them. As I will show, however, most of the data discussed in section 13.2 cannot be adequately accounted for under these approaches. Consider the schematic representations in (182)-(184).

(182) *Da's   nie   =   Da's   nie   ~~waar~~*
          that.is not   that.is not   true

(183) *Da's   nie   =   Da's   nie   ~~zo~~*
          that.is not   that.is not   so

(184) *Da's   nie   ≈   Da's   goe*
          that.is not   that.is good

The first two of these accounts share the assumption that *da's nie* 'that.is not' is in fact an elliptical construction. Specifically, as indicated in (182), one possible way to approach *da's nie* 'that.is not' is to assume that the adjective *waar* 'true' has been elided. Although the precise nature of the ellipsis mechanism responsible for this selective deletion is not immediately clear, this analysis does seem to have the advantage of reducing *da's nie* to a well-known type of subject-predicate structures, in which the copula *zijn* 'be' links a DP to an AP. Another option, illustrated in (183), is to assume that it is the predicative adverb *zo* 'so' which has been elided. Again, the immediate result would be that *da's nie* is a run-of-the-mill predication structure. Moreover, Corver & Thiersch (2001) in their analysis of parentheticals postulate a null counterpart of the adverb *zo* 'so' in Dutch. *Da's nie* could be considered another construction in which this element shows up. A third possible approach is hinted at in (184). In particular, one could assume that it is the polarity element itself which is used as a predicate. In other words, *nie* 'not' would occupy the same structural position as *goe* 'good' does in *da's goe* 'that.is good'. What these three approaches have in common, then, is that they try to relate *da's nie/(ja)wel* to predication structures in which the copula *zijn* 'be' takes a DP as its subject (*da* 'that' in this case) and an AP or an AdvP as its complement.

However, as I will proceed to show, the properties of *da's nie/(ja)wel* discussed in section 13.2 render each of these three schematic accounts highly implausible. Let me start with the fact that *da's nie/(ja)wel* invariably induces a reading of contradictory sentential emphasis. With respect to negative replies to an affirmative antecedent, this

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[253] An additional problem I will have to leave open in this respect is why there is no p-movement in the derivation of SDRs in Izenberge Dutch, where the specifier of the high NegP can be overtly realized as *nie* 'not'.

immediately puts the *zo*-hypothesis represented in (183) in trouble. Consider the example in (185).

(185) A: Marie gaat   naar   de   film.
              Mary goes to   the movie
       B: ?? Da's   nie zo.
              that.is   not so
       INTENDED READING: 'A: Mary goes to the movies. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Brabant Dutch]

Predicative structures with the adverb *zo* 'so' can only marginally be used to contradict a preceding declarative statement. As a result, it is unlikely that they lie at the heart of *da's nie/(ja)wel*. The same applies to structures which contain the adjective *waar* 'true' in affirmative replies. This is shown in (186).

(186) A: Marie   gaat nie naar de   film.
              Mary   goes not to   the movie
       B: a. ?? Da's   wel   waar.
                  that.is   AFF   true
            b. ?? Da's   wel   zo.
                  that.is   AFF   so
       INTENDED READING: 'A: Mary doesn't go to the movies. B: Yes, she does.'
                                                                              [Brabant Dutch]

What these examples illustrate is that both *da's wel waar* 'that.is AFF true' and *da's wel zo* 'that.is AFF so' are degraded when used to express contradictory sentential emphasis. The data become even more dramatic when these clauses are combined with the polarity element *jawel* 'yes.AFF'.

(187) A: Marie   gaat nie naar de   film.
              Mary   goes not to   the movie
       B: a. * Da's   jawel   waar.
                  that.is   yes.AFF   true
            b. * Da's   jawel   zo.
                  that.is   yes.AFF   so
       INTENDED READING: 'A: Mary doesn't go to the movies. B: Yes, she does.'
                                                                              [Brabant Dutch]

Both the structure with *waar* 'true' and the one with *zo* 'so' is categorically incompatible with the polarity element *jawel* 'yes.AFF'. Given that this element regularly shows up in the construction under discussion in this chapter, these data represent a considerable problem for any hypothesis which tries to link these constructions.

Further indications that the hypotheses in (182)-(184) are not on the right track, are provided by the data in (188)-(190).

(188) Ze   zeggen dat   da   waarschijnlijk   nie waar was.
       they say   that_{C°} that probably   not true was
       'They say that it probably wasn't true.'   [Brabant Dutch]

(189) Jan zei   dat   da   waarschijnlijk al   nie   meer   zo   was.
      John said that$_{C^\circ}$ that probably   already not   anymore so   was
      'John said that it was probably already no longer the case.'   [Brabant Dutch]

(190) Ik denk dat   da   waarschijnlijk nie meer   goe was.
      I   think that$_{C^\circ}$ that probably   not anymore good was
      'I think that it was probably not ok anymore.'   [Brabant Dutch]

Recall from the previous section that the verb in *da's nie/(ja)wel* cannot be marked for past tense, that this construction cannot be embedded, and that it can only be combined with very high adverbs such as *eerlijk gezegd* 'frankly', not with lower ones such as *waarschijnlijk* 'probably' or *meer* 'anymore'. If the hypotheses in (182)-(184) are correct, then the same restrictions should apply to predicative structures with *waar* 'true', *zo* 'so' or *goe* 'good'. This prediction is not borne out by the data, however. The sentence in (188), for example, shows that the clause *da's nie waar* 'that.is not true' can occur in embedded contexts, that it can be combined with the adverb *waarschijnlijk* 'probably' and that its verb can show up as *was* 'was'. Moreover, as illustrated in (189) and (190), the same holds for *da's nie zo* 'that.is not so' and *da's goe* 'that.is good'. This makes it highly unlikely that *da's nie/(ja)wel* is derived from or otherwise related to any of these constructions. A similar point is made by the data in (191)-(193).

(191) Da's   altijd   waar geweest.
      that.is always true been
      'That has always been true.'   [Brabant Dutch]

(192) Da's   nooit zo geweest.
      that.is never so   been
      'That has never been like that.'   [Brabant Dutch]

(193) Da's   altijd   goe geweest.
      that.is always good been
      'That has always been ok.'   [Brabant Dutch]

While the verb used in *da's nie/(ja)wel* cannot be preceded by the perfective auxiliary (cf. supra, section 13.2.4), this is perfectly well possible for the occurrence of *zijn* 'be' which shows up in *da's waar* 'that.is true', *da's zo* 'that.is so' and *da's goe* 'that.is good'. As such, these data constitute another counterargument against the hypotheses in (182)-(184).

Finally, whereas *da's nie/(ja)wel* is incompatible with left-peripheral polarity elements such as *ja* 'yes', *nee* 'no', *toch nie* 'PRT not' and *toch wel* 'PRT AFF', no such restriction holds for the constructions discussed in this section. This is illustrated in (194)-(196).

(194) A: Is da   waar?   B: Nee, da's   nie waar.
          is that true   no   that.is not true
      'A: Is that true? B: No, it isn't.'   [Brabant Dutch]

(195) A: Da's   nie zo.   B: Toch wel, da's   wel   zo.
             that.is not so   PRT AFF   that.is   AFF   so
      'A: That isn't the case. B: Yes, it is.'   [Brabant Dutch]

(196) A: Da's   nie goe.   B: Toch wel, da's   wel   goe.
             that.is not good   PRT AFF   that.is   AFF   good
      'A: That's not ok. B: Yes, it is.'   [Brabant Dutch]

Summing up, the evidence just reviewed strongly and unequivocally contradicts the three hypotheses raised at the beginning of this section. Specifically, *da's nie/(ja)wel* is much more restricted in terms of meaning, distribution, verbal morphology and co-occurrence possibilities than standard predicative constructions in which the copula *zijn* 'be' links a subject to its predicate. I take this as an indication that the analysis developed in the previous section is to be preferred over the ones discussed here.

13.5   Conclusion: towards a typology of proform-constructions

In this chapter I have focused on a construction which I argued contains the overt counterpart of the SDR-proform postulated in the previous chapters. I have shown that there is a substantial number of empirical similarities between this construction and SDRs. The account I proposed was able to capture the close parallelism with SDRs, while at the same time offering enough room to incorporate the differences between the two constructions. Finally, in section 13.4, I have shown that three at first sight plausible alternative analyses of *da's nie/(ja)wel* fail to capture many basic properties of this construction. In this concluding section, I want to broaden the perspective somewhat more and present the beginning of a typology of constructions in which the proform *da* 'that' or its covert counterpart can occur in dialect Dutch.

   In the preceding sections I have shown that there are substantial reasons to think that the proform *da* 'that' which shows up in *da's nie/(ja)wel* is the overt counterpart of the null pronominal that is found in SDRs. Obviously, *da's nie/(ja)wel* is not the only construction in which this proform occurs. One might be led to wonder, then, whether other instances of *da* 'that' have a non-overt counterpart as well. In what follows I briefly look into this issue. Specifically, I will present a schematic overview of the types of constructions and configurations the proform *da* 'that' can be used in. In so doing, I will be focusing on the two questions listed in (197).

(197) a.   What part of the structure is replaced/pronominalized by *da* 'that'?
       b.   Does this occurrence of *da* 'that' have a non-overt counterpart?

In my overview I proceed in a bottom-up fashion, starting with the occurrences of *da* 'that' found in the lowest part of the clausal hierarchy. Consider in this respect the data in (198).[254]

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[254] The examples are from Brabant Dutch here, but the facts also hold for the SDR-dialects (as well as for the standard language for that matter).

(198) Hij heeft mij   da   gegeven.
        he   has   to.me that given
        'He has given that to me.'   [Brabant Dutch]

In this example, *da* 'that' occupies the direct object position of the verb *geven* 'give', i.e. it pronominalizes a DP-argument. As such, it leaves the whole of the extended verbal projection intact. Specifically, the verb can be freely marked for tense and aspect, it can occur with all types of adverbs, and it can have other internal arguments besides *da* 'that' (in this case the indirect object *mij* 'to.me'). As the example in (199) shows, this occurrence of *da* 'that' cannot be replaced by *pro*.

(199) * Hij heeft mij   *pro*   gegeven.
          he   has   to.me   given   [Brabant Dutch]

The reason for the ungrammaticality of this sentence is essentially the fact that (dialectal) Dutch is not a pro-drop language. Specifically, the agreement heads (Agr$_S$ and Agr$_O$) in this language are not suitable to license and/or identify null pronominals.[255] Hence, *da* 'that' can occur in this position, but *pro* cannot.

    The second *da*-construction in my overview is one which has already featured in chapter ten, namely paraphrases with the main verb *doen* 'do'. Consider an example in (200).

(200) Ed heeft mij   200 euro gegeven maar Julia heeft da   nie   gedaan.
        Ed has   to.me 200 euro given   but Julia has   that not   done.
        'Ed has given me 200 euros, but Julia hasn't.'   [Brabant Dutch]

In this sentence, *da* 'that' pronominalizes more than just an argument. Specifically, all the internal arguments are missing, low manner adverbs are disallowed and the lexical verb (*geven* 'give' in this case) has been replaced by the dummy activity verb *doen* 'do'. It seems plausible to assume, then, that in this example, *da* 'that' pronominalizes the entire VP. What remains unaffected is the external argument (arguably base-generated in spec*v*P, in which case *doen* 'do' might be the spell-out of *v*°), tense and aspect marking, modals and auxiliaries (presumably base-generated outside of the VP) and all but the very low adverbs. Once again, the covert counterpart of *da* 'that' is disallowed in this construction. This is illustrated in (201).

(201) * Ed heeft mij   200 euro gegeven maar Julia heeft *pro* nie   gedaan.
          Ed has   to.me 200 euro given   but Julia has   not   done.
                                                                      [Brabant Dutch]

Assume that in (200) the proform *da* 'that' is merged with the head of the low NegP. This would not only allow for a nice parallelism with the higher occurrence of *da* 'that' being merged with the head of the high NegP, it seems that from a derivational bottom-up approach to structure-building, one independently has to allow for this possibility. Recall that I argued in this chapter that the occurrence of *da* 'that' found in *da's nie/(ja)wel* is

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[255] There is an exception to this: when the C°-position is occupied by a subject clitic in inverted main clauses or embedded clauses, the canonical subject position (say, specAgr$_S$P) can be filled by a DP-*pro* in the dialects under consideration here. Cf. note 274 below.

merged with the head of the high NegP (cf. also infra). Given that both NegPs are essentially identical, however, it cannot be determined at the point of merger if the Neg°-head which *da* 'that' is merged with belongs to the high or to the low NegP. It is only when this structure is in turn merged with Agr$_s$° that this can be determined. This means that unless one resorts to (theoretically dubious) look-ahead mechanisms, the theory proposed here has to allow for the possibility that *da* 'that' is merged with the head of the low NegP. I assume that the construction in (200) instantiates precisely this option. At the same time, this line of reasoning also sheds light on the ungrammaticality of the example in (201). Recall from chapter eleven above that the head of the low NegP is never morphologically realized as the negative clitic *en*. As a result, it is unable to license and identify a null proform, and *pro* is disallowed in this structure.[256]

Thirdly, there is the construction which was the focus of attention in this chapter, namely *da's nie/(ja)wel*. An example is given in (202).

(202) A: Marie gaat   naar   de   film.
              Mary goes   to   the movie
       B: Da's   nie.
              that.is   not
       'A: Mary goes to the movies. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Brabant Dutch]

Here, *da* 'that' pronominalizes an even larger part of the clausal hierarchy (TP in my account). This can be witnessed by the fact that in examples like B's reply in (202) even more functional elements have gone missing than in the previous two constructions. Specifically, in *da's nie/(ja)wel* tense and aspect marking are disallowed, modals and auxiliaries cannot occur, all the arguments of the verb are absent and all but the very high adverbs are excluded. What remains intact in this case is polarity marking, phi-feature agreement and CP-related properties such as topic and focus. As I have argued at length in this and the preceding chapters, this instance of *da* 'that' *does* have a non-overt counterpart. It shows up in SDR-examples like the one in (204).

(204) A: Marie   zie   Pierre   geirn.
              Mary   sees Pierre   gladly
       B: Z'en   duut *pro*.
              she.NEG   does
       'A: Mary loves Pierre. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Given that the head of the high NegP meets all the requirements for the licensing and identification of null pronominals (cf. supra, chapter eleven section 11.4), the use of *pro* is licit in this structure, and as a result this pronominal can be considered a null counterpart of the proform used in *da's nie/(ja)wel*.

Summing up, in this section I have placed both SDRs and *da's nie/(ja)wel* in a broader typology of constructions in which part of the structure has been

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[256] Needless to say, the observation that the low Neg°-head is never morphologically realized as the negative clitic *en*, is a fact which requires an explanation in itself. In this respect, I have nothing new to offer, although it does seem to be part of a larger generalization, whereby morpho-phonologically deficient negative markers tend to occupy higher structural positions. Cf. Zanuttini 1997 for comparative data from Romance.

pronominalized. I have argued that the fact that the proform *da* 'that' has a non-overt counterpart only in a small subset of these constructions, follows from the stringent licensing and identification requirements imposed on null pronominals.

14 Conjugated 'yes' and 'no' in SDR-dialects

14.1 Introduction

In this chapter I focus on another aspect of the syntax of the SDR-dialects introduced above, namely the way in which they form short replies to yes/no-questions. As I will demonstrate below, such replies make use of exactly the same syntactic structure as that which underlies Short Do Replies. As such, the data discussed here represent an interesting extension of the analysis proposed in chapter twelve. Consider first some basic examples in (205) and (206).[257]

(205) A: Kom Marie mergen?
             comes Mary tomorrow
       B: Jui-s.
             yes-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
       'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(206) A: Kom Marie mergen?
             comes Mary tomorrow
       B: Nieje-s.
             no-she$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
       'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: No.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Instead of merely using a polarity marker such as *jou* 'yes' or *nieje* 'no', speaker B replies to A's questions by means of a combination of such a polarity element with a clitic (in this case *s* 'she') which refers back to the subject of the preceding yes/no-question (here *Marie* 'Mary').[258,259] Moreover, in those dialects which display the phenomenon commonly referred to as 'complementizer agreement' (cf. Zwart 1993a, 1993b, 1997; Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002c; Carstens 2003), clitics are not the only elements which can be attached to 'yes' and 'no'. Consider the Waregem data in (207) and (208).

(207) Kpeize da-n ze gewonnen èè-n.
       I.think that-PL they won have-PL
       'I think they've won.'   [Waregem Dutch]

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[257] The geographical distribution, historical variation and morphological make-up of this construction is discussed in Paardekooper 1993, Smessaert 1995 and De Vogelaer 2003.

[258] In the dialect of Wambeek, adding a clitic to *jou* 'yes' results in a vowel change in this polarity element. Specifically, in the third person masculine singular, the vowel changes from /ɑu/ to /oː/ and in all the other persons from /ɑu/ to /œy/. Such variation in vowel quality is also observed for West Flemish by Smessaert 1995:48. I have no account for it.

[259] The dialects under consideration here differ as to whether the clitic is optional in examples like the ones in (205) and (206), the variation ranging from it being preferred (e.g. in Wambeek Dutch) to it being obligatory (e.g. in Klemskerke Dutch).

(208) A: Èè-n   ze   gewonnen?
              have-PL   they   won
       B: Ja-n-s.
              yes-PL-they~CLITIC~
       'A: Have they won? B: Yes.'   [Waregem Dutch]

The sentence in (207) shows that in the dialect of Waregem, the finite complementizer *da* 'that' agrees in number with the subject of the embedded clause. Specifically, it is combined with the same plural suffix that is also found on the finite verb *èèn* 'have'. As the dialogue in (208) illustrates, this ending can also show up in short replies to yes/no-questions. Speaker A asks a question the subject of which is the third person plural pronoun *ze* 'they', and B replies with a combination of the polarity element *ja* 'yes', the plural agreement ending *n*, and the third person plural subject clitic *s* 'they'. I will henceforth refer to examples like the ones in (205), (206) and (208) as conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' (or conjugated 'yes' and 'no' for short). They will form the main empirical focus of this chapter.

The dialect survey carried out in the context of the SAND-project (cf. supra, the introduction to this dissertation) suggests that it is no coincidence that this construction shows up in the SDR-dialects introduced earlier. Consider in this respect figure two below.
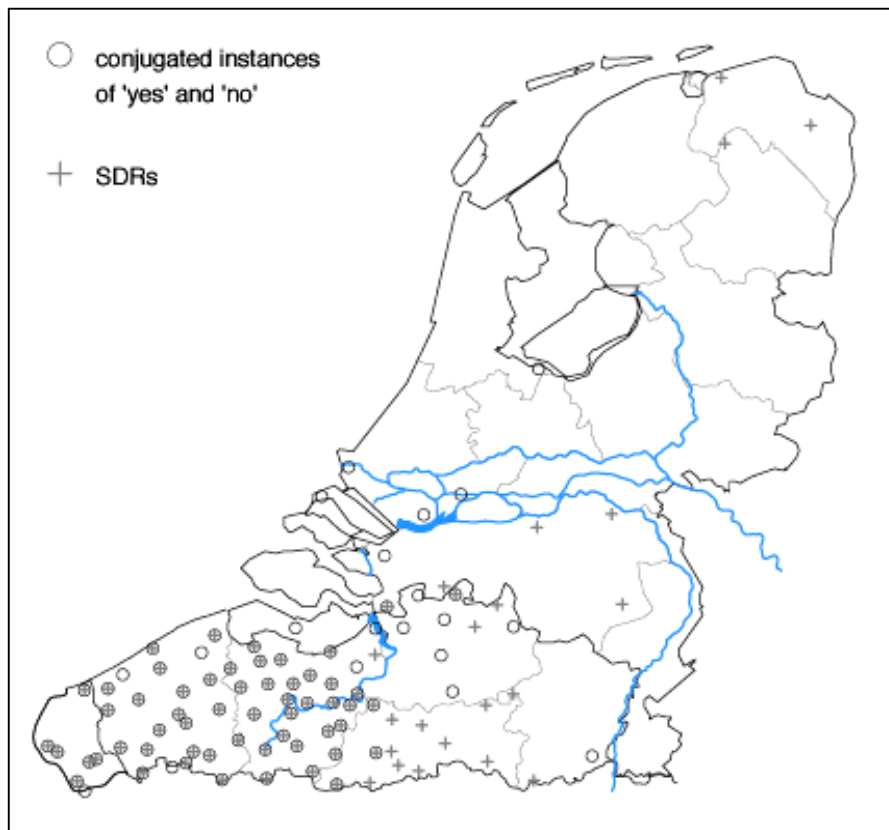
Figure 2 Correlation between SDRs and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'

On this map all the places are indicated in which SDRs or conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' were attested during the SAND-interviews. It is clear that there is a large overlap between these two constructions. Specifically, there is a substantial contiguous area – comprising French Flanders, West Flanders, East Flanders and the west of Flemish Brabant – which systematically and consistently features both constructions.[260] This might be taken as an indication that SDRs and conjugated 'yes' and 'no' are related to one another at some level of analysis. It is this intuition that I will pursue (and substantiate) in the present chapter. Given that it is not *a priori* clear what SDRs have in common with the data presented above, I begin my discussion by pointing out a number of striking empirical parallelisms between the two constructions. In particular, in section 14.2, I show that there are reasons to assume that the SDR-proform is present in the examples in (205), (206) and (208) as well. Section 14.3 focuses on the analysis of

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[260] The fact that the correlation between the two constructions becomes somewhat blurry at the periphery is arguably due to language contact and concomitant language change, and hence should not be seen as counterevidence against the proposed generalization. Moreover, the SDR-points in the Netherlands (three in the north and three in the south) are dubious and might actually disappear under closer scrutiny.

conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. I first provide an account for those elements which can*not* be combined with 'yes' and 'no' and then turn to the elements which *can*. The latter part of the discussion will also shed new light on the absence of subject clitics and complementizer agreement endings on sluiced wh-phrases (cf. Lobeck 1995; Merchant 2001a). In section 14.4, I introduce and critically review a previous analysis of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', namely the one in Postma & van der Wurff (to appear). Section 14.5 sums up and concludes.

14.2   The data

14.2.1 Introduction

In the following sections I explore the construction introduced above in somewhat more detail. In so doing, I focus on four empirical domains, namely restrictions on the subject, *there*-expletives, object clitics and the use of the third person singular neuter pronoun *'t* 'it'.[261] In the final section, I point out how these findings strengthen the hypothesis that conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' are related to SDRs.

14.2.2 Subject restrictions

A point taken for granted so far, but worth reiterating is that the clitic attached to 'yes' and 'no' has to be coreferential with the *subject* of the preceding yes/no-question. Consider in this respect the data in (209).

(209)   A: Ei   Jef   z'   a   gegeven?
                has   Jeff   them   to.you   given
        B: a.   Jo-n.
                    yes-he$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
              b. * Jui-s.
                    yes-they$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
              c. * Jui-k.
                    yes-I$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
        'A: Has Jeff given them to you? B: Yes.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In this dialogue, A's question contains a ditransitive verb with a third person singular masculine subject, a second person singular indirect object and a third person plural direct object. As indicated by the grammaticality judgments of B's replies, the subject is the only one of these three which can serve as the antecedent for the clitic attached to *jou* 'yes'. In other words, the clitic found in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' is always coreferential with the subject of the preceding yes/no-question.

   A second point of interest is illustrated by the data in (210).

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[261] For reasons of brevity, I only present data involving the affirmative polarity marker 'yes' in the following sections. The reported judgements also hold for 'no', however.

(210) A: Kom   Marie   mergen?
               comes Mary   tomorrow
       B: a.   Jui-s.
                    yes-she_CLITIC
             b. * Jui-ze.
                    yes-she_WEAK
             c. * Jui-zaai.
                    yes-she_STRONG
             d. * Jui Marie.
                    yes Mary
       'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

This example shows that the only subject element which can be added to *jou* 'yes' is a clitic pronoun. Specifically, weak pronouns, strong pronouns and proper names are excluded in this construction.[262]

A third restriction on the subject element found in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' concerns the fact that pronominal doubling is disallowed in this construction. This is exemplified in (211).

(211) A: Kom   Marie   mergen?
               comes Mary   tomorrow
       B: a.   Jui-s.
                    yes-she_CLITIC
             b. * Jui-se-zaai.
                    yes-she_CLITIC-she_STRONG
       'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The example in (211) illustrates that while a subject clitic can occur on its own in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', it cannot be accompanied by a doubling strong pronoun.

Summing up, then, the data presented above show that there are severe restrictions on the subject element following the polarity marker in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no': it has to be coreferential with the subject of the preceding yes/no-question, it has to be a clitic and it cannot be doubled.

14.2.3 *There*-expletives

The dialogue in (212) illustrates what happens to conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' when the yes/no-question which acts as their antecedent contains a *there*-expletive.

(212) A: Komt   er   iemand   mergen?
               comes there   someone   tomorrow
       B: a.   Jui-t.
                    yes-it
             b. * Jui-r.
                    yes-there
       'A: Is someone coming tomorrow? B: Yes.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

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[262] This is also observed by De Vogelaer 2003.

As indicated by the grammaticality judgment of B's replies, the expletive pronoun *er* 'there' cannot occur to the right of the polarity element *jou* 'yes' (and similarly for *nieje* 'no'). Instead, it is the third person singular neuter pronoun *'t* 'it' which is used in this case. This seems to suggest that the structure which underlies conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', i.e. the structure from which B's reply in (212Ba) is derived, does not contain a *there*-expletive. This is further confirmed by the data in (213) and (214).

(213) Kpeize da-n   ter   twee venten in den hof   staa-n.
       I.think that-PL there two   men   in the garden stand-PL
       'I think that there are two men standing in the garden.'   [Waregem Dutch]

(214) A: Staan   ter   twee venten in den hof?
                stand_PL there two   men   in the garden
       B: a.   Ja-t.
                    yes-it
             b. * Ja-n.
                    yes-PL
             c. * Ja-n-t.
                    yes-PL- it
             d. * Ja-n-r.
                    yes-PL-there
             e. * Ja-n-s.
                    yes-PL-they
       'A: Are there two men standing in the garden? B: Yes.'   [Waregem Dutch]

Recall from section 14.1 above that in the dialect of Waregem, the polarity markers 'yes' and 'no' can be combined not only with subject clitics, but also with the agreement ending *n* which is typically found in cases of complementizer agreement. As the sentence in (213) illustrates, this suffix also shows up when an expletive construction is embedded below the complementizer *da* 'that'. In this example, the complementizer agrees with the embedded associate DP *twee venten* 'two men'. This predicts that in the dialect of Waregem, the agreement-*n* should be able to show up attached to *ja* 'yes' when the antecedent clause is a yes/no-question which contains a *there*-expletive with a plural associate DP. As shown in (214), this prediction is not borne out. Specifically, the only possible reply to A's question is the one in (214Ba), where the sole element following *ja* 'yes' is the third person singular neuter pronoun *'t* 'it'. The plural agreement ending *n* is disallowed, regardless of whether it occurs on its own (214Bb) or is followed by *'t* 'it' (214Bc), by *er* 'there' (214Bd) or even by *s* 'they' (214Be).[263] This further confirms that

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[263] A small caveat is in order on the judgement of (214Bc). It turns out that not all my informants find this example equally deviant. I suspect this is due to the fact for some speakers, the morphological make-up of the form *jaant* 'yes.PL.it_CLITIC' is becoming non-transparent and that as a result, it is being used as a variant of *jaat* 'yes.it_CLITIC'. For example, as De Vogelaer 2004 points out, in the dialect of Lokeren, the form *jaant* 'yes.PL.it_CLITIC' can be used in reply to *Is da huis al verkocht?* 'Has that house been sold already?' (lit. is that house already sold). Given that in this example the subject is singular, it is clear that the *n* is no longer perceived as a plural suffix. The judgements reported in the main text are also found – though less explicitly – in Smessaert 1995:48-49.

whatever syntactic structure underlies conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', it cannot contain a *there*-expletive.

14.2.4 Object clitics

The SDR-dialects discussed here not only contain a wide range of subject clitics, direct objects can also occur in the form of a clitic pronoun. It seems reasonable to ask, then, whether in addition to subject clitics, object clitics are also allowed to occur to the right of 'yes' and 'no'. As was already pointed out by Smessaert (1995:48), this is not the case. Consider the examples in (215).

(215) A: Ei-s-n   gezien?
            has-she_SUBJ.CLITIC-him_OBJ.CLITIC seen
       B: a.   Jui-s.
                 yes-she_SUBJ.CLITIC
            b. * Jui-s-n.
                 yes-she_SUBJ.CLITIC-him_OBJ.CLITIC
       'A: Has she seen him? B: Yes.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

As illustrated by A's question in this dialogue, a subject clitic and an object clitic can perfectly well co-occur to the right of a fronted finite verb (and similarly for the complementizer *da* 'that' in embedded clauses). In conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', however, object clitics are systematically excluded.

14.2.5 The use of *'t* 'it' in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'

A final empirical point I want to make about conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', concerns the question of what happens when the system starts to decay, i.e. when the construction is dying out. As was already pointed out by Paardekooper (1993), in such cases it is very often the third person singular neuter pronoun *'t* 'it' which starts to take over the role of all the other subject pronouns. This is also corroborated by the fieldwork carried out in the context of the SAND-project. In other words, the only forms still used in this stage are *ja't* 'yes.it' and *nee't* 'no.it', and they are used regardless of what the subject of the preceding yes/no-question looks like. Consider in this respect a representative example from the dialect of Moerzeke.

(216) A: Ein   ze   gegeten?
            have they eaten
       B: Ja-t.
            yes-it_CLITIC
       'A: Have they eaten? B: Yes.'   [Moerzeke Dutch]

In this dialogue, speaker B replies to A's question by means of a combination of the polarity element *ja* 'yes' and the third person singular neuter clitic *'t* 'it', notwithstanding the fact that the subject in A's question is the third person plural pronoun *ze* 'they. This illustrates that the system is in decay in this dialect and that the use of *'t* 'it' is gaining ground at the expense of the other subject clitics.

14.2.6 Data summary: conjugated 'yes' and 'no' vs. SDRs

In the preceding four sections, I have presented a number of empirical generalizations concerning conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. Most of these observations took the form of restrictions on various aspects of this construction. For example, the only elements which can be combined with 'yes' and 'no' (apart from an agreement ending in the complementizer agreement dialects) are subject clitics that are coreferential with the subject of the preceding yes/no-question. Moreover, *there*-expletives are systematically excluded from the subject position of this construction, as is agreement with an elided associate DP. Table 14.1 below summarizes these findings, and it also indicates how SDRs behave with respect to each of these criteria.

	CONJUGATED 'YES' / 'NO'	SHORT DO REPLIES
subject coreferential with preceding subject	obligatory	obligatory
clitic as subject	✓	*
weak pronoun as subject	*	✓
strong pronoun as subject	*	*
proper name as subject	*	*
subject doubling	*	%
***there*-expletive as subject**	*	*
subject used in reply to *there*-expletives	*'t* 'it'	*'t* 'it'
agreement with elided associate DP	*	*
object clitics	*	*
***'t* 'it' as a subject gaining ground at the expense of the other personal pronouns**	yes	yes

Table 14.1 Comparison of conjugated 'yes' and 'no' and SDRs

The data presented in this table show a surprising number of similarities between conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' on the one hand and SDRs on the other, as well as a few noticeable differences between the two. In what follows, I briefly discuss each of these characteristics in turn, and I also point out their relevance for the analysis of conjugated 'yes' and 'no', which I present in the next section. The first six properties listed in the table all pertain to the subject found in these two constructions. Conjugated instances of 'yes'/'no' and SDRs pattern alike in that their subject has to be a deficient

(i.e. weak or clitic) pronoun coreferential with the subject of the antecedent clause. Strong pronouns, proper names and full DPs are excluded. Recall from chapter twelve above that the absence of non-deficient subjects in SDRs is due partly to the obligatory topic interpretation of the subject, and partly to the fact that it is base-generated in specAgr$_S$P. Given that the same restrictions apply to the subject which shows up in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', it seems reasonable to assume that in this case too, the subject is base-generated in specAgr$_S$P. On the other hand, however, the table also shows that the parallelism is not absolute. Specifically, while in SDRs the subject is a weak pronoun, in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' it is a clitic. Moreover, in some dialects pronominal subject doubling is allowed in SDRs, whereas it is categorically excluded by all speakers in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. Somehow, the analysis presented below will have to provide enough room to allow for this variation.

The next three characteristics in table 14.1 all involve the behavior of *there*-expletive constructions. The judgments reported in these three rows are without doubt the most striking and unexpected points of similarity between conjugated 'yes'/'no' and SDRs. Specifically, neither of the two constructions allows *er* 'there' in their subject position, both of them resort to *'t* 'it' as a 'substitute subject', and neither of them allow for agreement with the elided associate DP. When discussing these data with respect to SDRs in chapter ten above, I took them as prime evidence that the ellipsis site in this construction is not a fully-merged yet PF-deleted syntactic structure, but rather a null, structureless proform which pronominalizes a large part of the extended verbal projection. Given that conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' pattern exactly alike with respect to precisely these criteria, the same conclusion seems warranted, i.e. conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' contain a null, structureless proform which pronominalizes a large part of the extended verbal projection.

This conclusion is further corroborated by the absence of object clitics. Recall from chapter ten above that SDRs cannot be combined with object clitics either. Consider again an illustration of this in (217).

(217) A: Marie   eit-n   gezien.
                Mary   has.him$_{OBJ.CLITIC}$ seen
        B: a.   Z'en   duut.
                        she.NEG   does
                b. * Z'en   duut-n.
                        she.NEG   does-him$_{OBJ.CLITIC}$
        'A: Mary has seen him. B: No, she hasn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

This example shows that SDRs cannot co-occur with object clitics, not even if the antecedent clause contains one. This follows naturally from the assumption that the ellipsis site in this construction contains a null structureless proform. Specifically, just as an object cannot be moved out of the ellipsis site by means of wh-movement or by whatever movement operation is responsible for pseudogapping (cf. supra, chapter ten, sections 10.2.8 and 10.2.9), so can it not be moved out by clitic movement either. Once again, the fact that a similar restriction applies to conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', further strengthens the hypothesis that this construction contains such a proform as well.

The final point in table 14.1 concerns the fact that SDRs and conjugated 'yes' and 'no' not only pattern alike with respect to a number of criteria, they seem to be evolving in the same general direction as well. In particular, in both cases, the use of *'t* 'it' as a

subject seems to be gaining ground at the expense of the other personal pronouns. Recall from chapter twelve above that I related this evolution to the fact that the SDR-subject is base-generated in the specifier position of Agr$_s$P. Given that merging an *it*-expletive in this position is a less marked operation than merging a fully-specified personal pronoun there, it is the former option which is targeted by processes of diachronic change. The fact that conjugated 'yes' and 'no' once again pattern the same, is a further indication that their subject is base-generated in specAgr$_s$P as well.

Summing up, the data presented in table 14.1 above lend considerable credibility to the hypothesis that the structure which underlies conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' bears a very close resemblance to that from which SDRs are derived. It is this assumption that I will take as a starting point for my analysis in the next section.

14.3   The analysis

14.3.1 Introduction

In the following sections I present my analysis of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. Given that the argument will be fairly elaborate and that it will require several detours into apparently unrelated phenomena, I want to use this introductory section to sketch the basic outlines of what will follow. In particular, in section 14.3.2 I show that an analysis of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' based solely on the assumptions introduced in the preceding sections and chapters immediately encounters two substantial problems. On the one hand, such an account vastly overgenerates, while on the other it leads to a licensing violation of the null TP-proform. I will argue that both these problems can be successfully avoided under the assumption that Agr$_s$P is PF-deleted in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. With this much as background, I then turn to the actual analysis in section 14.3.3. There I contrast the presence of subject clitics and agreement endings on 'yes' and 'no' with their absence on sluiced wh-phrases. I argue that this discrepancy is the result of the interplay between the structural position occupied by the subject in the elided Agr$_s$P (section 14.3.3.2) and locality restrictions on complementizer agreement and subject clitic placement (section 14.3.3.3). Moreover, in section 14.3.3.4, I briefly discuss two previous accounts for the absence of subject clitics and agreement endings on sluiced wh-phrases. Section 14.3.4 sums up and concludes.

14.3.2 Two preliminary problems

The clitics and agreement endings which show up in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' are identical to those found on the complementizer in the dialects under consideration here. Consider some illustrations of this in (218)-(221).

(218) A: Kom   Jef   mergen?
               comes   Jeff   tomorrow
       B: Jo-n.
               yes-he$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
       'A: Is Jeff coming tomorrow? B: Yes.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(219) Ik paus dat-n   mergen   komt.
      I   think that-he_CLITIC tomorrow comes
      'I think he is coming tomorrow.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(220) A: Èèn Piet en   Jan   gewonnen?
             have Pete and John won
      B: Ja-n-s.
             yes.PL-they_CLITIC
      'A: Have Pete and John won? B: Yes.'   [Waregem Dutch]

(221) Kpeize   da-n   Piet en   Jan gewonnen èèn.
      I.think   that-PL Pete and John won   have
      'I think Pete and John have won.'   [Waregem Dutch]

The examples in (218) and (219) illustrate that the subject clitic which shows up in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' is identical to the clitic pronoun which is right-adjoined to the complementizer in embedded clauses. The pair in (220)-(221) on the other hand, shows that the same holds for the agreement endings occurring in conjugated 'yes' and 'no'. These correlations render more plausible the assumption that the polarity elements 'yes' and 'no' are base-generated in specCP (cf. supra, chapter twelve, section 12.3). Accordingly, this is the hypothesis I will take as the starting point for my analysis of this construction. When combined with the assumption introduced above that conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' contain the same null proform as SDRs, this yields the preliminary structure in (223) for B's reply in the dialogue in (222).[264]

(222) A: Kom   Marie   mergen?
             comes Mary   tomorrow
      B: Jui-s.
             yes-she_CLITIC
      'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(223)   CP
          /   \
        jou   C'
              /   \
            C°   Agr_sP
          /   \   \
        C°   *s*   Agr_s'
                      /   \
                   Agr_s°   NegP
                              \
                              Neg'
                            /   \
                          Neg°   *pro*_TP

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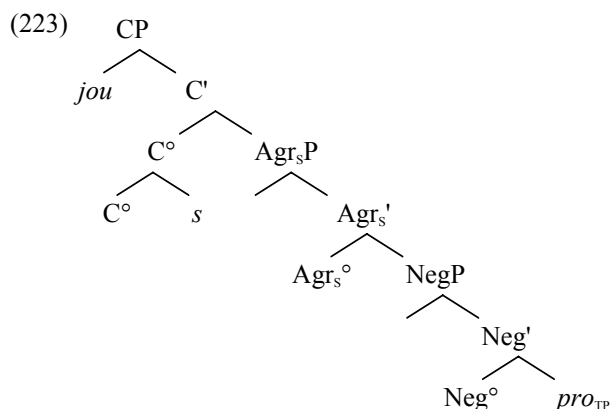
[264] For now, I have simply adjoined the subject clitic *s* 'she' to the C°-head the specifier of which hosts the polarity element. Cf. the next section for more discussion.

In this tree structure, I have simply put together the assumption that *jou* 'yes' occupies specCP with the structure for SDRs proposed in chapter twelve. Specifically, a null proform is merged with a Neg°-head to form the high NegP, which is dominated by Agr_sP and by CP.[265] As it stands, however, this structure immediately raises two sets of questions: one pertaining to the licensing requirements of the null pronominal, and the other to the lexical content of the projections dominated by CP. I start by discussing the latter.

Recall from the preceding sections that only a very limited set of lexical items can be combined with *jou* 'yes' and *nieje* 'no' in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. Specifically, only subject clitics coreferential with the subject of the preceding yes/no-question and – in some dialects – a plural agreement suffix are allowed to occur in this construction. However, at present it is unclear how this follows from the structure in (223). Given that it contains a fully-fledged Agr_sP, it should be possible – and presumably even obligatory, given the EPP-requirement of $Agr_s°$ – to merge a weak subject pronoun or even a doubling strong pronoun in the specifier position of this projection. More generally, the tree structure presented in (223) leads one to expect that many more elements can be overtly realized to the right of the polarity marker. For example, the head of the NegP could (and should, cf. infra) be spelled out as the negative clitic *en*, and it could trigger *do*-support. Moreover, as I have shown in the preceding chapters, the specifier of this projection can be overtly realized as *nie* 'not', *wel* 'AFF' or even *jawel* 'yes.AFF'. Moving on to Agr_sP, not only should it be possible to merge a weak subject pronoun in its specifier, in the analysis of *da's nie/(ja)wel* I have argued that the phi-features of its head can trigger the insertion of *zijn* 'be'. However, as the data in (224) show, none of these options is available.[266]

(224) A: Kom   Marie   mergen?
              comes   Mary   tomorrow
       B: a.   Nieje-s.
                     no-she_CLITIC
              b. * Nieje-s   nie.
                     no-she_CLITIC not
              c. * Nieje-s   en   duu   (nie).
                     no-she_CLITIC NEG   does   not
              d. * Nieje-s   (en)   is   (nie).
                     no-she_CLITIC NEG   is   not
       'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: No.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The first problem with the preliminary structure in (223), then, is that it vastly overgenerates, i.e. it incorrectly predicts the occurrence – or at least the potential occurrence – of many elements which are not found in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'.

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[265] I have left out VFocP as this projection will not play a role in the present discussion.

[266] The reply in (224Bb) is allowed in Middle Dutch. It would be interesting to explore how both SDRs and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' in Middle Dutch relate to the contemporary dialect Dutch data discussed in this and the preceding chapters. I leave this as a topic for further research. It is also worth pointing out that the reply in (224Bb) is ungrammatical even in dialects like the one of Izenberge, in which the polarity element *nie* 'not' is allowed to occur in SDRs.

   The second problem raised by this account concerns the licensing requirements of the null TP-proform in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. Consider the data in (225).

(225) A: Kom   Marie   mergen?
               comes   Mary   tomorrow
       B: a.   Jou, Marie   kom   mergen.
                    yes   Mary   comes   tomorrow
             b. * Toch wel,   Marie   kom   wel   mergen.
                   PRT   AFF   Mary   comes   AFF   tomorrow
       'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes, Mary is coming tomorrow.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In this dialogue, speaker B reacts to A's yes/no-question with a full clausal, non-conjugated affirmative reply.[267] As the contrast between (225Ba) and (225Bb) shows, the affirmative adverb *wel* 'AFF' is strongly disallowed in these kinds of replies. This is not surprising given that – as I have shown above – this element is only used in contexts of *emphatic* affirmation, a reading which is clearly absent in this dialogue. In order to capture *wel*'s restriction to emphatic readings, I assumed in chapter eleven that this adverb is the spell-out of a specNegP which is [+F]-marked. What the examples in (225) show, then, is that in replies to yes/no-questions, [+F]-marking on NegP is not allowed. However, this creates a new problem for the tree structure in (223). Recall that one of the crucial ingredients for the licensing requirements of the SDR-proform is the assumption that the head of the high NegP is [+F]-marked. If [+F]-marking on NegP is disallowed in replies to yes/no-questions (cf. (225)), then the inevitable conclusion seems to be that pro_{TP} in (223) is not properly licensed and that as a result, this structure should be ruled out.

   Summing up, even though the tree structure in (223) combines two assumptions for which I have provided empirical support in the preceding sections and chapters, it immediately raises two non-trivial problems. On the one hand, it vastly overgenerates, while on the other, it fails to properly license the null TP-proform. What I want to suggest, is that both these problems can be solved under the assumption that in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', Agr$_s$P is PF-deleted. The structure in (227) illustrates this for B's reply in (222) (repeated below).

(226) A: Kom   Marie   mergen?
               comes   Mary   tomorrow
       B: Jui-s.
               yes-she$_{CLITIC}$
       'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

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[267] Cf. infra, section 14.4, for a discussion of the combination of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' with full clausal replies.

(227)   CP
        / \
      jou C'
           /   \
         C°   (Agr_sP) ➔ PF-deletion
        / \   \
      C°   *s*   Agr_s'
                   /   \
               ~~Agr_s°~~ NegP
                          \
                          Neg'
                         /   \
                    ~~Neg°~~   *pro*_TP
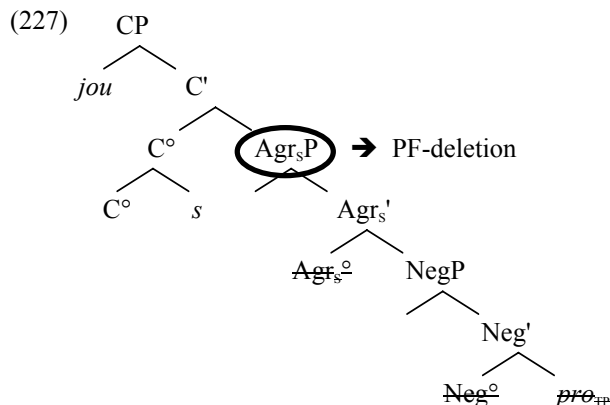
It is clear that the ellipsis process proposed here immediately accounts for the overgeneration problem. The reason why no Agr_sP- or NegP-related material shows up in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' is because both these projections are contained in the ellipsis site. The second issue requires a bit more discussion. I want to argue that conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' provide yet another instantiation of a repair effect induced by ellipsis (cf. Merchant to appear a for a brief overview and cf. also supra, part one, for discussion). That is, the null TP-proform is indeed not properly licensed in the structure in (227), but since the offending configuration is deleted at PF, the derivation nonetheless converges. Clearly, for this line of reasoning to go through, the violation induced by the lack of *pro*-licensing has to be one which is operative at Phonological Form. It is this issue which I now turn to.

In 'historical' terms, what I have been calling the licensing requirement of the null proform, is the requirement that *pro* has to be properly head-governed. Interestingly, many researchers have argued that this is a principle of *overt* syntax and accordingly, that it has to apply at S-structure or at PF (cf. for example Aoun e.a. 1987; Rizzi 1990:39; Chung 1998:276-322). This is not altogether surprising given the fact that this requirement is sensitive to whether or not a category has phonetic content, i.e. null proforms are subject to different restrictions than their overt counterparts. Note that this is a distinction which is assumed not to play a role in the derivation from Spell-Out to LF. With the minimalist elimination of S-structure as an independent level of representation, it seems reasonable to assume, then, that the proper head-government requirement on *pro* applies at PF. However, if this is the case, then violations of this principle should cause a derivation to crash at this interface as well. Moreover, PF-deleting the offending structure should be sufficient to rescue an otherwise non-converging derivation. This is also precisely the tack taken by Merchant (2003a). He argues that comparative constructions in English which have undergone subject-auxiliary inversion, obligatorily display VP-ellipsis because this ellipsis process is needed to PF-delete a non-properly head-governed trace. Although I will not go very deeply into the technical details of his account, it is worth highlighting its main points here, as they are surprisingly similar to the analysis outlined above for conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. Consider first the data in (228).

(228) a.   Abby can play more instruments than her father can play.
       b.   Abby can play more instruments than her father can [*e*].
       c.   * Abby can play more instruments than can her father play.
       d.   Abby can play more instruments than can her father [*e*].

What these examples illustrate, is that whereas normally VP-ellipsis is optional in comparative constructions (cf. (228a-b)), it becomes obligatory once subject-auxiliary inversion has taken place (cf. (228c-d)). Merchant takes this as an indication that ellipsis is needed to rescue what would otherwise be an illegitimate configuration. In order to see which principle is violated in (228c), consider a partial structural representation of this sentence in (229).

(229)   … than [$_{CP}$ *Op*$_i$ can [$_{IP}$ her father t_{can} [$_{VP}$ t_i' [$_{VP}$ t_{SUBJ} play t_i]]]]

The problem is with t_i', i.e. the intermediate, VP-adjoined trace of the comparative operator *Op* which has fronted to specCP. Under the assumption – discussed at length by Merchant – that the trace of the fronted auxiliary *can* in I° is unable to properly head-govern this intermediate trace, the structure in (229) represents an ECP-violation and hence is ruled out. One way to rescue this derivation, however, is by PF-deleting the VP, i.e. by VP-ellipsis. This is shown in (230).

(230)   … than [$_{CP}$ *Op*$_i$ can [$_{IP}$ her father t_{can} [$_{VP}$ t_i' [$_{VP}$ t_{SUBJ} play t_i]]]]

In this representation, the offending, non-properly governed trace t_i' has been PF-deleted. Given that the ECP applies at PF, this ellipsis operation suffices to let the derivation converge. For a more elaborate technical discussion of this analysis, I refer the reader to the original paper.[268]

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[268] A potential problem for Merchant's account – pointed out to me by Howard Lasnik p.c. – is raised by data such as those in (i) and (ii).
(i)   ?More linguists arrived than did philosophers (*arrive).
(ii) ?More linguists solved problems than did philosophers (*solve problems).
In these examples, the comparative operator is subextracted from the subject, but VP-ellipsis is still obligatory in the context of Subject-Auxiliary Inversion. Given that this operator is not assumed to adjoin to the VP on its way to specCP and hence does not leave a non-properly governed trace, it looks like the cause for the obligatory nature of the ellipsis operation must lie elsewhere. However, it is unclear whether the violation incurred by the lack of VP-ellipsis in (i) and (ii) is the same as the one discussed in the main text. It is worth noting, for example, that unlike the examples discussed in the main text, the non-elliptical variants of (i) and (ii) are also ungrammatical *without* Subject-Auxiliary Inversion having taken place. This is illustrated in (iii) and (iv).
(iii) ?*More linguists arrived than philosophers arrived.
(iv) ?*More linguists solved problems than philosophers solved problems.
In these examples, neither VP-ellipsis, nor Subject-Auxiliary Inversion has taken place, and yet the resulting sentences are highly degraded. This suggests that the cause for the deviance of these data should be sought elsewhere. Cf. Kennedy & Merchant 2000 for relevant discussion.
Potentially more damaging for Merchant's account is Winkler's 2003:140 example (represented in (v) below), which seems to show that when the VP following the subject contains a focused element (in this case *drunk*), VP-ellipsis is no longer obligatory in the context of Subject-Auxiliary Inversion. I leave the analysis of this example open.

Returning to conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', it is clear that the licensing problem discussed in the beginning of this section is very similar to the one represented in (229). Specifically, in both cases, a null element (a trace in (229), a null pronominal in conjugated 'yes' and 'no') fails to be properly licensed. The solution I am proposing is essentially the same as the one outlined in (230), i.e. the structure containing the offending null category is deleted at PF. Note that this not only explains why Agr$_S$P is deleted in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', but also why this ellipsis operation is obligatory. It is needed to rescue what would otherwise be an illegitimate PF-configuration.

One aspect of this account still needs further discussion, though. Note that in (228d), the grammar resorts to an ellipsis operation, i.e. VP-ellipsis, which is attested independently of comparative constructions. This is a desirable result. Ellipsis can only target a limited, very specific set of projections, and it cannot be tailor-made to repair illegitimate derivations wherever they occur. This means that the deletion of Agr$_S$P represented in (227) should have some validity outside the realm of conjugated 'yes' and 'no' as well. What I want to suggest, is that this ellipsis operation is an instance of the more general process by means of which the complement of polarity markers such as 'yes' and 'no' can be deleted. Consider the standard Dutch examples in (231).

(231) A: Komt   Ed?
                comes   Ed
       B: a.   Ja, Ed komt.
                  yes Ed   comes
             b.   Ja, ~~Ed   komt.~~
                  yes Ed   comes
       'A: Is Ed coming? B: Yes(, Ed is coming).'   [Dutch]

This dialogue illustrates the well-known fact that polarity elements such as 'yes' and 'no' can optionally be accompanied by a full clausal reply. What I want to suggest, is that when they occur on their own (as in (231Bb)), the complement of the C°-head the specifier of which they occupy (i.e. Agr$_S$P) has been PF-deleted.[269] This means that the ellipsis operation exemplified in (231Bb) is exactly the same as the one represented in the tree structure in (227) above. The only difference is that in the case of conjugated 'yes' and 'no', the deletion is obligatory.

The background for the analysis of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' is now firmly in place. Specifically, I have argued that in this construction, the entire Agr$_S$P has been PF-deleted, and that this ellipsis operation explains why no Agr$_S$P- or NegP-internal material can surface to the right of *jou* 'yes' and *nieje* 'no'. In other words, so far I have provided an account for those elements which can*not* occur in this construction. In the next section I turn to the elements which *can*, i.e. subject clitics and agreement suffixes.

(v)   Abby can play more instruments SOBER than can her father play DRUNK.

[269] In terms of the theoretical framework of PF-deletion adopted in part one of this dissertation, this means that the syntactic licensing requirements of the [E]-feature active in sentences like the one in (231Bb), can be represented as follows: E$_{[uF*,\ u\text{Neg}*]}$. That is, in order to be fully licensed, this feature has to be in a local relation with a head which carries a [+F]- and a [+NEG]-feature.

14.3.3 The actual analysis: conjugated 'yes' and 'no' vs. sluicing

14.3.3.1   The proposal in a nutshell

Consider again a representative example of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' in (232).

(232) A: Èè-n   ze   gewonnen?
                have-PL   they   won
        B: Ja-n-s.
                yes-PL-they_{CLITIC}
        'A: Have they won? B: Yes.'   [Waregem Dutch]

The question of how to analyze B's reply in this dialogue acquires an interesting extra dimension in light of data such as those in (233).

(233) Z'èèn   iemand   ezien, …
        they.have   someone   seen,
        a.   … maar k'en   wee   nie   wie.
                    but   I.NEG   know   not   who
        b.   * … maar k'en   wee   nie   wie-n-s
                    but   I.NEG   know   not   who-PL-they_{CLITIC}
        'They saw someone, but I don't know who.'   [Waregem Dutch]

What these examples show, is that sluiced wh-phrases cannot be combined with subject clitics or with complementizer agreement, not even in those dialects which do allow these phenomena to show up in non-elliptical clauses (cf. Lobeck 1995:58-60; Merchant 2001a:72-74). In light of the preceding discussion, the discrepancy between (232) and (233) is unexpected. To see why this is the case, consider the partial and schematic tree structures in (234).[270]

(234)   a.   CP   b.   CP
            _____   _____
          yes/no   C'   *wh*   C'
                      _____   _____
                    C°   ~~Agr_sP~~   C°   ~~Agr_sP~~

Under the assumptions adopted so far, the basic analyses of sluicing and conjugated 'yes' and 'no' display a number of surprising similarities. Specifically, in both cases the complement of the C°-head the specifier of which is occupied by the central element of the construction (the wh-phrase in sluicing, the polarity marker in conjugated 'yes' and 'no') has been PF-deleted. Seen from this viewpoint, the radical difference in judgments

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[270] In the structure in (234b), I am abstracting away from the split CP-account of wh-movement proposed and discussed in part one of this dissertation, so as to not unnecessarily complicate the discussion. As far as I can see, the conclusions reached in this section would remain unaltered under such an account.

between (232) and (233) requires an explanation. It is this discrepancy I will take as a starting point for my analysis of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'.

I want to suggest that the crucial factor distinguishing the two structures in (234) is the position in which the (unpronounced) subject is situated. Recall that I argued at length in chapter twelve that in dialect Dutch Short Do Replies, the subject is merged directly in specAgr$_S$P. Given that I have taken as a cornerstone for my analysis of conjugated 'yes' and 'no' the assumption that this construction is derived from the same syntactic structure as SDRs, this conclusion also holds for the structure in (234a). In the representation in (234b), on the other hand, the subject is arguably base-generated in specVP. Moreover, Merchant (2001a:185-193) argues that when the IP is sluiced, the subject stays in this low position, until it is covertly raised to specIP at LF. This, I want to argue, is the key to understanding why conjugated 'yes' and 'no' are compatible with subject clitics and complementizer agreement, but sluicing is not. In a nutshell, I will show that both clitic movement and complementizer agreement are subject to very stringent locality requirements. Given that in sluicing the subject remains in specVP, it cannot meet those requirements, and clitics and agreement endings are disallowed. In conjugated 'yes' and 'no' on the other hand, the subject is always merged locally, and as a result, clitics and agreement can freely show up. In order for this line of reasoning to go through, two premises need to be established. On the one hand, I have to show that the two structures in (234) differ with respect to the structural position occupied by the (unpronounced) subject, while on the other hand, I have to demonstrate that complementizer agreement and clitic placement are subject to locality restrictions. I take up these two issues in the following two sections.

14.3.3.2   The structural position occupied by subjects in sluiced IPs

As pointed out above, the assumption that the subject in SDRs – and by extension in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' – is base-generated in specAgr$_S$P is argued for at length in chapter twelve. This means that in this section, I will only focus on the structural position occupied by subjects in sluiced IPs. In particular, I will introduce Merchant's (2001a) proposal and discuss a potential counterargument raised against it by Lasnik & Park (2003).

In his discussion of the position occupied by subjects in clauses which have undergone sluicing, Merchant (2001a) starts out from the observation that sluicing can rescue otherwise illicit instances of movement out of subject islands. Consider the data in (235) (Merchant 2001a:185).

(235) a.   A biography of one of the Marx brothers will appear this year – guess
               which!
       b.   * Which Marx brother did she say that [a biography of *t*] will appear this
               year?

The example in (235b) shows that in English, subextracting a wh-phrase (in this case *which Marx brother*) out of a DP-subject results in ungrammaticality. In (235a), the same movement operation takes places, but the IP out of which the wh-phrase is extracted, is PF-deleted as a result of sluicing. Given that the resulting sentence is perfectly well-formed, it looks like sluicing (or more generally, ellipsis) can void a violation of the subject island constraint. Merchant argues that the reason why the

example in (235a) is grammatical, is because the wh-phrase is extracted from the subject while the latter is still in its base position in specVP. That is, the structure of the ellipsis site in (235a) is not the one in (236a), but rather the one in (236b).

(236)   a.   … which$_k$ [$_{IP}$ [a biography of t$_k$]$_i$ will [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ appear this year]]
        b.   … which$_k$ [$_{IP}$ ____ will [$_{VP}$ [a biography of t$_k$] appear this year]]

The subject island constraint is often analyzed as a subcase of the ban on extraction from 'derived positions', i.e. it is not allowed to extract a phrase from a larger phrase which has been moved as well (cf. for example Stepanov 2001 for a recent account and references). This predicts that subextraction out of a subject should be allowed, provided the movement proceeds from the base position of this DP, i.e. specVP. This prediction is confirmed by data such as those in (237), (238) (both from Merchant 2001a:187) and (239).

(237)   a.   * Which candidate were [posters of *t*] all over town?
        b.   Which candidate were there [posters of *t*] all over town?

(238)   a.   * Which candidate did they say that [to get *t* to agree to a debate] was hard?
        b.   Which candidate did they say that it was hard [to get *t* to agree to a debate]?

(239)   a.   * Wat   waren [*t* voor mensen] op het feest?
               what were   for   people   at the party
        b.   Wat   waren   er   [*t* voor mensen] op het feest?
               what were   there   for   people   at the party
               'What kind of people were there at the party?'   [Dutch]

In the b-sentences of these examples, the insertion of an expletive in specIP allows the subject to stay in its base position in specVP. As the contrast between (237a)-(239a) and (237b)-(239b) shows, subextraction out of a subject-DP is prohibited from its derived position (specIP), but allowed from its base position (specVP). What Merchant suggests, then, is that the reason for the well-formedness of (235a) is essentially the same as that in (237b), (238b) and (239b). Specifically, extraction out of a subject elided by sluicing does not yield a violation of the subject island constraint, because the movement operation proceeds from a non-derived position of the subject. An immediate question raised by this account is why the overt counterpart of the structure in (236b) is not grammatical. Consider the example in (240) (Merchant 2001a:187).

(240) *(Guess) [which Marx brother]$_k$ [$_{IP}$ ____ will [$_{VP}$ [a biography of *t*$_k$] appear this year]]?

The standard explanation for the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (240) is that the EPP has been violated. This principle states that the specifier position of IP has to be overtly realized (cf. Lasnik 2001a for discussion; cf. also Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998 for argumentation that in some languages the EPP can be satisfied by a fronted finite verb). It seems reasonable to assume that this is a requirement that is evaluated at the PF-interface, i.e. that it is essentially a PF-requirement (cf. for example Bobaljik

2002). If that is the case, however, then violations of this principle should be repairable at PF as well. Specifically, if an IP with an unchecked EPP-feature were to be deleted at PF, then the resulting derivation should converge at this interface. Needless to say, this is precisely what happens in the example in (235a)/(236b). This means that sluicing does not repair subject island violations *per se*. Rather, it allows the subject to stay in its VP-internal base position by deleting the offending EPP-feature. Given that subextraction out of 'low' subjects is licit, it appears as if the subject condition is violated under sluicing.

Before returning to the main line of argumentation (i.e. the analysis of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'), it is worth pointing out an important consequence of Merchant's analysis, as well as an objection raised against it by Lasnik & Park (2003). Specifically, the proposal that the subject of a sluiced IP remains in specVP, might lead one to expect that it obligatorily takes narrow scope. As illustrated by the data in (241) (Merchant 2001a:189), this is not the case.

(241) a.   Five pictures of one of the victims weren't distributed to the press, but I
              can't remember which one$_i$ [~~IP~~ ——— ~~weren't~~ [~~VP~~ ~~distributed~~ [~~five pictures of~~
              ~~t$_i$~~] ~~to the press~~]]   ($\exists > \neg, \neg > \exists$)
        b.   [Every soldier from one of the airborne battalions]$_i$ seemed to his$_i$
              commander to be sick, but I don't know (from) which (battalion)$_k$ [~~IP~~ ———
              ~~seemed to his$_j$ commander~~ [~~IP~~ ——— ~~to be~~ [[~~every soldier (from) t$_k$~~]$_j$ ~~sick~~]]]

In the example in (241a), the elided subject *five pictures of t$_i$* can take scope either above or below negation. However, if this DP remained in specVP throughout the entire derivation, only the latter option should be available. A similar line of reasoning applies to the b-sentence. In order for the elided possessive pronoun *his$_j$* to be interpreted as a bound variable, the embedded subject *every soldier (from) t$_k$* has to raise to the subject position of the matrix verb *seemed*, from where it can c-command this pronoun. In light of these data, Merchant proposes that the subject of a sluiced IP undergoes covert phrasal A-movement at LF. That is, the ellipsis process which PF-deletes the IP, allows the subject to remain in its base position up until the moment at which the derivation branches off to PF. At LF, however, feature checking requirements force it to move to specIP.

The idea that covert phrasal A-movement exists, is contested by Lasnik & Park (2003). Given that this leads them to conclude that subjects in sluiced IPs do not remain in specVP, but rather move to specIP, it is important in light of the present discussion to tackle their objection. Consider the data in (242) (Lasnik & Park 2003:652) and (243) (Lasnik 2001c:112).

(242) a.   The DA made every defendant$_i$ out to be guilty during his$_i$ trial.
        b.   * The DA made out every defendant$_i$ to be guilty during his$_i$ trial.

(243) a.   Mary made John out to be a fool.
        b.   Mary made out John to be a fool.

Lasnik & Park's argument goes as follows. Johnson (1991) and Lasnik (2001c) have shown that the word order exemplified in (242a), where the embedded subject *every defendant* surfaces to the left of the particle *out*, is the result of overt object shift, i.e. A-

movement of the embedded subject into the specifier position of the matrix Agr_oP. That this DP indeed occupies a position in the matrix clause is corroborated by the fact that it can bind the pronoun *his* in the matrix VP-adjunct *during his trial*. The b-example on the other hand, shows that when the embedded subject occurs to the right of the particle *out*, it cannot bind into a matrix adjunct. This leads Lasnik (2001c) to conclude that although object shift is normally optional in English (cf. the pair in (243)), it is only from its shifted position that an embedded subject can take scope into the matrix clause. However, suppose that the DP *every defendant* in (242b) could also undergo covert phrasal A-movement. Then it should be able raise to the matrix $\text{specAgr}_o\text{P}$ at LF, and the contrast between (242a) and (242b) should cease to exist. Given that this is not the case, Lasnik & Park (2003) conclude that there is no such thing as covert phrasal A-movement, and that subjects in sluiced IPs raise out of the VP into specIP, just like their non-elided counterparts do.

The key to reconciling the data in (242) and (243) with Merchant's account of subjects in sluiced IPs, is to consider the way in which Lasnik (2001c) analyses the optionality of English object shift. Reconsider the examples in (243). If the variability in word order in these sentences is indeed the result of object shift applying in (243a) but not in (243b), then it looks like this operation is optional. Given that the theoretical framework of the Minimalist Program does not allow for optionality, Lasnik suggests that the difference between (243a) and (243b) eventually boils down to whether or not the matrix clause contains an Agr_oP. In so doing, he follows up on a suggestion made by Chomsky (1995:350) that "[i]f Agr has no strong feature, then PF considerations, at least, give no reason for it to be present at all, and LF considerations do not seem relevant". Lasnik concludes, then, "that the optionality of raising is the optionality of Agr_o" (Lasnik 2001c:119). However, this implies that for covert object shift to apply in an example like (242b) or (243b), an $\text{Agr}_o°$-head would have to be merged into the extended verbal projection of the matrix clause *after* the derivation has branched off to PF, i.e. in 'covert syntax'. Not only is such a merger in violation of the Strict Cycle Condition, it is also unclear why an Agr°-head – which has no relevance for LF, cf. Chomsky's quote above – would be merged in a part of the derivation leading exclusively to LF. The conclusion seems to be, then, that the reason why no covert phrasal A-movement takes place in the b-examples in (242)-(243), is because there is neither a trigger nor a landing site for such a movement.[271] This means that the data in (242) are not to be taken as counterevidence against Merchant's account of subjects in sluiced IPs.

The first premise for my analysis of the discrepancy between sluiced wh-phrases and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' is now in place. I have argued that the two structures in (234) (repeated below) differ with respect to the structural position occupied by the subject inside the elided Agr_sP. In the next section I show that both complementizer agreement and clitic placement are sensitive to such differences in locality.

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[271] It is important to point out that this objection does not hold for Merchant's account of subjects in sluiced IPs as outlined above. Specifically, in that analysis, $\text{Agr}_s°$ is endowed with the relevant features and present in the structure *before* Spell-Out.

(244) a.   CP   b.   CP
              /‾‾\   /‾‾\
         yes/no   C'   *wh*   C'
                   /‾\   /‾\
                 C°   ~~AgrₛP~~   C°   ~~AgrₛP~~
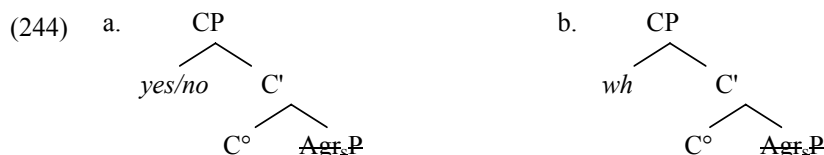
14.3.3.3   Locality restrictions on complementizer agreement & clitic placement

In this section I show that both complementizer agreement and subject clitics only show
up when the subject occupies the highest available subject position. Combined with the
conclusion reached in the preceding section, this will allow for a straightforward account
for the absence of subject clitics and agreement endings on sluiced wh-phrases and their
presence on 'yes' and 'no'. Before I proceed, however, it is worth pointing out that it is
not my intention here to provide an in-depth analysis of complementizer agreement
and/or subject clitic placement in Dutch dialects (though cf. infra, section 14.3.3.4 for
some relevant remarks). Given that such an analysis would be orthogonal to the
argument developed here, I will refrain from making any commitments, referring the
reader instead to the relevant literature.

  The claim that complementizer agreement is subject to some form of locality is not
at all a new or controversial one. Specifically, several authors have recently shown that
in order for an agreement ending to occur on a complementizer, it has to be very local to
the embedded subject (cf. Ackema & Neeleman 2001; Van Craenenbroeck & Van
Koppen 2002c, 2003; Carstens 2003). Consider in this respect the data in (245) (Van
Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2003:67).[272]

(245) a.   … darr-e   wiej   allichte   de wedstrijd winne   zölt.
                  that_C°-PL   we   probably   the game   win   will
       b. * … darr-e   allichte   wiej   de wedstrijd winne   zölt.
                  that_C°-PL   probably   we   the game   win   will
       c.   … dat   allichte   wiej   de wedstrijd winne   zölt.
                  that_C°   probably   we   the game   win   will
            '… that we will probably win the game.'   [Hellendoorn Dutch]

The example in (245a) shows that the dialect of Hellendoorn displays complementizer
agreement when the subject is first person plural. In this clause, the complementizer does
not occur in its bare, uninflected form (i.e. as *dat*) but rather with a plural agreement
suffix *e* attached to it.[273] As illustrated in (245b), however, this ending is disallowed
when an adverb intervenes between the complementizer and the subject. Instead, it is the
bare form of the complementizer which is used in this case (cf. (245c)). Although the
precise analysis of these data is still very much an open question (cf. the references
mentioned above for various approaches), it is clear that complementizer agreement is
subject to very stringent locality requirements, stricter even than those imposed on A-

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[272] The example here is from Hellendoorn Dutch, a dialect in the Dutch province of Overijssel
which also displays complementizer agreement. For reasons independent of the argumentation
developed here, these facts cannot be demonstrated equally clearly for the West Flemish dialects.
Cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002c, 2003 for discussion.
[273] Cf. Goeman 1999 on why the final *t* of the complementizer changes into an *r* when it is
inflected.

dependencies between a verb or an inflectional head and a DP-argument. In light of the examples in (245), Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002c, 2003) suggest that in order for an agreement ending to appear on a complementizer, the subject it is agreeing with has to occupy the specifier position of its complement. With respect to the issue at hand, i.e. the difference between sluicing and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', this generalization suffices to make the required distinction. Consider the tree structures in (246).

(246)　a.

```
            CP
           /  \
       yes/no   C'
              /    \
            C°      Agr_sP
            [φ]     /    \
               SUBJECT   Agr_s'
               |___|    /     \
               LOCAL  Agr_s°   NegP
                             /    \
                          Neg°    pro_TP
```

b.

```
         CP
        /  \
      wh    C'
           /   \
         C°     Agr_sP
         [φ]    /     \
              [e]     Agr_s'
              |      /     \
              |   Agr_s°    NegP
              |           /     \
              |        Neg°      TP
              |                /    \
              |              T°      VP
              |                    /    \
              |                SUBJECT   V'
              |                        /    \
              |_____ V°     …
                    NOT LOCAL
```
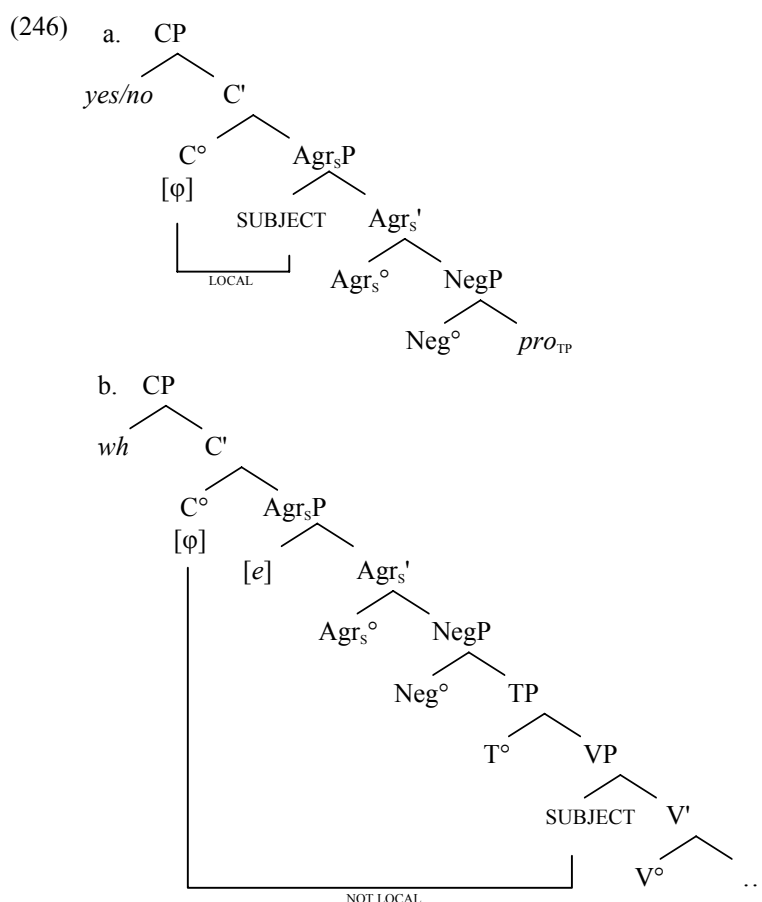
Recall that I established in the previous section that while the subject in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' is base-generated in specAgr_sP, in sluiced IPs it remains in specVP until after Spell-Out. Given that I have just argued that the occurrence of an agreement suffix on C° is sensitive to precisely this kind of locality, it now follows straightforwardly that sluiced wh-phrases pattern differently from 'yes' and 'no' in this respect. Specifically, in the sluicing example schematically presented in (246b), C° is not local enough to the embedded subject for an agreement ending to show up. In the structure in (246a) on the other hand, the subject is invariably situated in the specifier

position of C°'s complement, and hence an agreement suffix is allowed to occur in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'.

A similar line of reasoning applies to clitic placement. Consider the example in (247).

(247) Ik paus dat-n   aai   gui   kommen.
       I   think that-he_CLITIC he_STRONG goes come
       'I think that he will come.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In this example, the third person singular masculine subject is spelled out twice: once as a clitic pronoun attached to the complementizer and once as a strong pronoun. Following Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen (2002b), I assume that the strong pronoun *aai* 'he' is the actual thematic subject of this clause. In other words, it is this DP which is merged in specVP and moved to specIP. The clitic *n* 'he' is but a secondary reflex of this subject (the precise analysis of which I will leave open here, but cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002a, 2002b; Zwart 1993a, 1997; Haegeman 1992 for possible approaches).[274] Now consider from this perspective the data in (248) and (249).

(248) a.   Kem   goed da   zaailn   gisteren nie wisten wa   duun.
              I.have   heard that   they_STRONG   yesterday not knew   what do_INF
       b.   Kem   goed da   gisteren zaailn   nie wisten wa   duun.
              I.have   heard that   yesterday they_STRONG   not knew   what do_INF
              'I heard they were bored yesterday.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(249) a.   Kem goed da-se   zaailn   gisteren nie wisten wa   duun.
              I.have heard that-they_CLITIC they_STRONG   yesterday not knew   what do_INF
       b.   * Kem goed da-se   gisteren zaailn   nie wisten wa   duun.
              I.have heard that-they_CLITIC yesterday they_STRONG   not knew   what do_INF
              'I heard they were bored yesterday.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

As the examples in (248) show, a strong subject pronoun such as *zaailn* 'they' can occur both before and after the adverb *gisteren* 'yesterday'. I assume that this variation in word order is due to the subject occupying different positions in each example. While in (248a), *zaailn* 'they' is situated in the highest subject position available, in (248b) it remains in a lower position. What the sentences in (249) illustrate, then, is that when a strong pronoun is clitic-doubled, it obligatorily occupies the highest subject position. The only difference between the examples in (248) and those in (249) is that in the latter, the subject clitic *se* 'they' is attached to the complementizer. As a result of this, the strong subject pronoun *zaailn* 'they' can no longer occur to the right of the temporal adverb *gisteren* 'yesterday'. More abstractly, these data show that the occurrence of subject clitics in the dialects under consideration here, is crucially dependent on the subject

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[274] Note that the line of reasoning advocated here implies that in an example such as the one in (i), the subject position is filled with a DP-*pro*. I assume that this null pronominal is licensed and identified by the clitic pronoun on C°. Cf. Bennis & Haegeman 1984 for discussion.
(i)   Ik paus dat-n   gui   kommen.
       I   think that-he_CLITIC goes come
       'I think he will come.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

occupying the highest structural position available to it. In other words, subject clitic placement displays a locality restriction similar to the one described earlier for complementizer agreement. This means that the account developed above for the discrepancy between sluiced wh-phrases and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', applies here as well. In particular, subject clitics cannot occur on sluiced wh-phrases because the subject they are supposed to double does not occupy the highest subject position available. In conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' on the other hand, the subject is invariably base-generated in this position, and as a result, clitics are allowed to occur.

Summing up, in the last two sections I have shown that the two premises on which I have based my account for the discrepancy between sluicing and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', are both well-supported by the data. Before rounding off, I briefly consider two previous accounts for the absence of subject clitics and agreement endings on sluiced wh-phrases.

14.3.3.4   Previous accounts: Lobeck (1995) and Merchant (2001a)
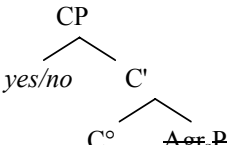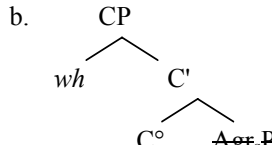
As was already mentioned above, the fact that sluiced wh-phrases cannot be combined with subject clitics or agreement endings was first observed by Lobeck (1995), and later also discussed by Merchant (2001a). In this section I briefly go over the analyses they propose for this phenomenon, arguing that neither account is entirely satisfactory in light of the facts discussed above. Consider again the basic data in (250) and (251) and the schematic tree structures in (252).

(250) A: Èè-n   ze   gewonnen?
                have-PL   they   won
         B: Ja-n-s.
                yes-PL-they$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
         'A: Have they won? B: Yes.'   [Waregem Dutch]

(251) Z'èèn   iemand   ezien, …
         they.have   someone   seen,
         a.   …   maar k'en   wee   nie   wie.
                       but   I.NEG   know   not   who
         b.   * …   maar k'en   wee   nie   wie-n-s
                       but   I.NEG   know   not   who-PL-they$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
         'They saw someone, but I don't know who.'   [Waregem Dutch]

(252)   a.   CP   b.   CP
                 /   \   /   \
            yes/no   C'   *wh*   C'
                      /   \   /   \
                  C°   ~~Agr$_s$P~~   C°   ~~Agr$_s$P~~

Lobeck (1995:58-60) presents examples comparable to the one in (251) as prime evidence that the ellipsis site in sluicing constructions contains a null structureless proform, rather than a fully-merged but PF-deleted syntactic structure. Her reasoning goes as follows. Complementizer agreement is the overt reflex of an agreement relation between C° and I°. Given that *pro* contains no internal structure, there is no I°-head

present in sluicing examples like the one in (251). *Ergo* complementizer agreement cannot show up on sluiced wh-phrases. Moreover, this approach might arguably be able to account for the difference between (250)/(252a) and (251)/(252b) in terms of the size of the constituent that is pronominalized by the proform (Agr_sP in sluicing, TP in conjugated 'yes' and 'no'). However, in light of part one of this dissertation, it should be clear that Lobeck's account is not an option that is available to me. Recall that I argued there that there is substantial empirical evidence suggesting that sluicing is the result of PF-deleting IP. The same conclusion is reached on independent grounds by Merchant (2001a), who also presents a series of arguments directed specifically against Lobeck's (1995) account for the absence of subject clitics and agreement suffixes on sluiced wh-phrases (Merchant 2001a:69-72, cf. the original work for details). This means that the explanation for the ungrammaticality of (251b) has to be sought elsewhere.

Merchant (2001a:72-74) suggests such an alternative approach. Under a PF-deletion analysis of sluicing, the absence of IP-related material (such as clitics and agreement) on sluiced wh-phrases might be the result of the ordering of the operations involved. Specifically, assume that both clitic placement and complementizer agreement are the result of a reordering process roughly described as I°-to-C°-movement. If this movement operation were to take place at a point in the derivation later than the one at which the PF-deletion of IP occurs, then it would be bled by it. Put differently, at the point in the derivation at which the clitic or the agreement ending is supposed to move to C°, the IP has already been deleted and as a result, the movement can no longer take place. While this account is intuitively appealing, it is unclear whether it can provide an explanation for the difference between sluicing and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. If PF-deletion of Agr_sP bleeds Agr_s°-to-C°-movement in the structure in (252b), it should do so in (252a) as well. Moreover, closer inspection reveals that a central assumption adopted by Merchant is in need of revision, namely the hypothesis that complementizer agreement is the result of I°-to-C°-movement. This is an approach which is contested by many recent analyses of this phenomenon (cf. for example Ackema & Neeleman 2001; Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2002c; Carstens 2003; Van Koppen 2003). Instead, the consensus nowadays seems to be that complementizer agreement results from an Agree-relation between (the phi-features of) C° and (those of) the subject.[275] A strong indication that this is on the right track is provided by data such as those in (253) (Van Koppen 2003:4).[276]

(253) Ich dink de-s   [doow en   ich] ôs   t   beste veur …
      I   think that-2SG   you   and I   ourselves the best   in.front.of
      … de   kerk   kenn-e treffe.
         the   church can-PL meet
      'I think you and I should meet in front of the church.'   [Tegelen Dutch]

As was first observed by Van Koppen (2003, forthcoming), the finite complementizer in a complementizer agreement dialect can agree with the first conjunct of a coordinated subject. This shows that the ending which occurs on the complementizer is a reflex of a

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[275] As for why complementizers in Dutch dialects do not display *object* agreement, cf. Carstens 2003.

[276] Again, there are independent reasons why this generalization cannot be demonstrated for the West Flemish dialects. Cf. Van Koppen forthcoming for extensive discussion.

relation between C° and the subject (or a proper subpart thereof), rather than between C° and I°.[277] Note that in the example in (253), the finite verb agrees with the entire coordinated subject (as does the anaphor *ôs* 'ourselves'). Given that the agreement suffix on the verb is generally assumed to be a reflection of the value of I° (or $Agr_s°$ in my account), the second person singular *s*-ending on the complementizer cannot be due to a relation between C° and I°. On the other hand, the sentence in (253) also suggests that complementizer agreement is not the result of (feature-)movement. If the phi-features of the first conjunct of the subject were to move to C°, they would violate both the coordinate structure constraint and the subject island constraint. Since this example is perfectly grammatical, it seems unlikely that this hypothetical movement operation has taken place. One is led to conclude, then, that complementizer agreement is the result of an Agree-relation between C° and (part of) the embedded subject. When combined with Merchant's account for the absence of complementizer agreement on sluiced wh-phrases, this conclusion creates a problem. Specifically, while it might well be the case that the (im)possibility of a certain movement operation is influenced by the fact that (part of) its movement chain is left unpronounced (cf. also supra, part one, for discussion), it is unlikely that the same applies to Agree-relations. Consider in this respect the VP-ellipsis example in (254).

(254) I thought there would be many people at the party and there were ~~many people at the party~~.

In this example, the finite verb *were* in the second conjunct agrees in phi-features with the elided associate DP *many people*. The fact that this DP is left unpronounced does not block the Agree-relation. As a result, it is unlikely that the fact that IP is PF-deleted in sluicing constructions should prevent (the phi-features of) C° from Agree-ing with the (unpronounced) subject. In other words, under the assumption that complementizer agreement is the result of an Agree-relation between C° and the subject, the absence of this phenomenon on sluiced wh-phrases remains mysterious under Merchant's account.

This concludes my overview of Lobeck's (1995) and Merchant's (2001a) analysis for the absence of subject clitics and agreement endings on sluiced wh-phrases. I have shown that neither of them is suitable to account for the difference between sluicing and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'.

14.3.4 Conclusion

Summing up, in the preceding sections I have presented an analysis of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. On the one hand, I argued that this construction involves the PF-deletion of Agr_sP. This not only explains the absence of any Agr_sP- or NegP-related material to the right of 'yes' and 'no', it also eliminates the licensing violation of the TP-proform induced by the lack of [+F]-marking on the head of the high NegP. On the other hand, I have provided an account for the presence of subject clitics and agreement endings on 'yes' and 'no', as well as for their absence on sluiced wh-phrases. The crucial factor distinguishing these two constructions turned out to be the position occupied by the (elided) subject at Spell-Out. While in sluiced IPs the subject remains in specVP, in

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[277] Cf. Johannessen 1998 and Van Koppen forthcoming for more extensive discussion of such first conjunct agreement phenomena.

conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' it is invariably base-generated in specAgr$_s$P. Given that both complementizer agreement and subject clitic placement can be shown to be sensitive to this difference in locality, their limited distribution follows naturally.[278] In the following section, I introduce and discuss a previous account of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no', namely the one presented in Postma & Van der Wurff (to appear).

14.4   A previous analysis: Postma & Van der Wurff (to appear)

Although the possibility of adding subject clitics and agreement suffixes to *ja* 'yes' and *nee* 'no' in Dutch dialects has been amply noted in the dialectological literature (cf. Paardekooper 1993 for an overview), there is only one theoretical analysis of this phenomenon to date, namely the one given in Postma & Van der Wurff (to appear) (henceforth P&W). Their paper is mainly concerned with the cross-linguistic distribution of negative imperatives – an issue I will not go into here – but they present the existence of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' as supporting evidence for a particular aspect of their account. In what follows, I briefly introduce, discuss and evaluate their proposal. I will show that although I share one of P&W's basic assumptions about the syntax of 'yes' and 'no', there is also a crucial difference. In particular, they fail to make the connection with dialect Dutch Short Do Replies.

   P&W assume that negation (or more generally, polarity[279]) in Dutch is expressed by two separate functional projections. The highest one, NegP, hosts epistemic negation, and its head position is lexicalized by *niet* 'not'. The lower one, BoulP, expresses 'boulemaeic' negation, i.e. negation meaning 'I do not want'. Polarity markers such as *ja* 'yes' and *nee* 'no' are syntactic operators which move from specBoulP to specCP. This means that B's reply in the dialogue in (257) is given the partial structural representation in (258).

(257)   A: Komt   Ed?
                 comes Ed
        B: Nee, Ed komt   niet.
                 no   Ed comes not
        'A: Is Ed coming? B: No, he isn't.'   [Dutch]

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[278] It is not *a priori* clear whether this analysis can be extended to account for the absence of 'Wackernagel' clitics on sluiced wh-phrases in languages such as Slovene, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian or Macedonian (cf. Merchant 2001a:65-66 for data and references). Note, though, that this potential lack of generality is not necessarily a drawback of my proposal. Specifically, it is well-known that clitics in Dutch dialects differ substantially from South-Slavic ones in their distribution, syntax and syntactic category. As a result, one might wonder whether these facts should be given a unified account to begin with. Note also that the analysis I have proposed has no new light to shed on the absence of complementizers in sluicing contexts. It should be pointed out, though, that this issue is – at least partially – independent of the data I discuss, given that many Dutch dialects allow subject clitics and agreement endings to show up on C° even in the absence of an overt complementizer. As a result, their absence on sluiced wh-phrases cannot be due to the absence of overt complementizers to the right of sluiced wh-phrases.

[279] Given that P&W are concerned with negative imperatives (cf. supra), their main focus is on negation, rather than on polarity in general. As far as I can see, though, their account extends straightforwardly to positive polarity as well.

(258)   [$_{CP}$ *nee*$_i$ C° [$_{IP}$ *Ed komt* [$_{NegP}$ spec [$_{Neg'}$ *niet* [$_{BoulP}$ *t*$_i$ Boul° … [$_{VP}$ …]]]]]]

In this structure, *nee* 'no' is merged in the specifier position of BoulP, from where it A-bar-moves to specCP. P&W thus assume that this polarity element is merged inside the full clausal reply to the yes/no-question it is associated with. As supporting evidence in favor of this analysis, they discuss conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. Consider in this respect the following quote from their paper:

> "Empirical evidence for assuming that the anaphoric negator [i.e. *nee* 'no', jvc] is at some level part of the clause that it is associated with comes from the phenomenon of conjugated *nee* 'no', found in dialectal and historical varieties of Dutch. What happens in these varieties is that *nee* appears to agree with the subject of its associated clause (..). The data in [(259)] thus suggest that *nee* can behave just like elements that are unequivocally part of a full clause."

(259)   a.   1sg   ninn-ik   'no-I'
      b.   2sg   nin-je   'no-you$_{SG}$'
      c.   3sgm   ninn-ie   'no-he'
      d.   3sgf   nin-se   'no-she'
      e.   3sgn   ninn-it   'no-it'
      f.   1pl   ninn-e-we 'no-PL-we'
      g.   2pl   nin-jullie   'no-you$_{PL}$'
      h.   3pl   nin-se   'no-they'   [Texel Dutch]

In other words, given that 'yes' and 'no' can be combined with elements which are normally associated with fully-fledged clauses (i.e. clitics and agreement markers), it seems plausible to assume that these polarity elements are merged inside such a clause as well. Moreover, the fact that the agreement endings which occur to the right of *nee* 'no' (cf. (259f)) also show up on agreeing complementizers, P&W take to be an indication that the landing site of the proposed movement operation is indeed specCP. Conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' are thus presented as supporting evidence both for the base-generated position of these polarity elements, and for their derived position. This concludes my overview of P&W's analysis of this construction.

    There are four issues I want to discuss with regard to this account. The first involves a point of similarity between the analysis presented in the previous section and P&W's proposal, the latter three concern data which are problematic for their account. First of all, it is interesting to note that my analysis of conjugated 'yes' and 'no' shares with that of P&W the assumption that at Spell-Out, polarity elements such as *ja* 'yes' and *nee* 'no' occupy specCP. The fact that the same conclusion is reached in two papers independently of one another, might be seen as an indication that the general approach adopted here is on the right track. The two accounts differ, however, when it comes to the derivational history of *ja* 'yes' and *nee* 'no'. Specifically, whereas I assumed in the previous section that these elements are merged directly in specCP, in P&W's analysis they move to this position in the course of the derivation. Given that I have been unable to find clear positive evidence favoring one option over the other, I will leave the issue open here, merely noting that the account outlined in the previous section could conceivably be recast in terms of movement as well (e.g. from the specifier position of the high NegP to specCP).

The second point concerns P&W's claim that conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' originate inside the full clausal answer to the yes/no-question they are associated with. It is precisely in this respect that my account differs markedly from theirs. Recall from the preceding sections that I have argued at length that the syntactic structure underlying conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' is the same as that from which Short Do Replies are derived. Schematically speaking, then, while P&W analyze B's reply in the dialogue in (260) roughly as in (261a), I have proposed that it derives from a representation comparable to that in (261b).

(260) A: Kom   Marie   mergen?
              comes   Mary   tomorrow
       B: Jui-s.
              yes-she_{CLITIC}
       'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(261) a.   Jui-s   ←   Jou   ze   kom   mergen
              yes-she   yes   she comes   tomorrow
       b.   Jui-s   ←   Jou   ze   duut   *pro*_{TP}
              yes-she   yes   she does

In what follows, I show that the hypothesis in (261a) makes a number of false predictions. A first thing to note is that while SDRs cannot overtly co-occur with conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' (cf. supra, the Appendix to chapter ten), full clausal replies to yes/no-questions can. Consider the data in (262).

(262) A: Kom   zaai   mergen?
              comes   she_{STRONG}   tomorrow
       B: Jui-s,   zaai   kom   mergen.
              yes-she_{CLITIC} she_{STRONG}   comes   tomorrow
       'A: Is she coming tomorrow? B: Yes, she is.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

If P&W's analysis is on the right track, then B's reply in this dialogue contains one single syntactic tree. That is, the form *juis* 'yes.she_{CLITIC}' has originated inside the clause it is accompanied by. Note that this means that the subject is spelled out twice in this sentence, once as the clitic pronoun *s* 'she' and once as the strong pronoun *zaai* 'she'. In other words, it looks as if this example contains an instance of clitic doubling (cf. supra, section 14.3, for discussion). Now consider from this perspective the data in (263) and (264).

(263) * Ik   paus   da-se   ze   mergen   komt.
        I   think that-she_{CLITIC}   she_{WEAK}   tomorrow comes   [Wambeek Dutch]

(264) A: Kom   ze   mergen?
              comes   she_{WEAK}   tomorrow
       B: Jui-s,   ze   kom   mergen.
              yes-she_{CLITIC} she_{WEAK}   comes   tomorrow
       'A: Is she coming tomorrow? B: Yes, she is.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The example in (263) shows that in the dialects under consideration here, a clitic pronoun cannot be doubled by a weak pronoun. Under P&W's account, this means that the same restriction should hold in conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' followed by a full clausal answer. As illustrated by B's reply in the dialogue in (264), however, this is not the case. Specifically, the clitic pronoun *s* 'she' which is attached to *jou* 'yes', is perfectly compatible with the weak pronoun *ze* 'she' which occupies the subject position of the verb *kom* 'comes'. What the contrast between (263) and (264) suggests, then, is that B's reply in the dialogue in (264) does not consist of a single syntactic tree. Put differently, the data seem to point to the conclusion that conjugated 'yes' and 'no' do not occupy a structural position in the extended verbal projection of a full clausal reply. The same line of reasoning applies to the data in (265)-(268).

(265) * Ik paus da-se   Marie   mergen   komt.
       I   think that-she$_{CLITIC}$ Mary   tomorrow comes   [Wambeek Dutch]

(266) A: Kom   Marie   mergen?
            comes Mary   tomorrow
      B: Jui-s,   Marie kom   mergen.
            yes-she$_{CLITIC}$ Mary   comes   tomorrow
      'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes, she is.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(267) Z'   ei-se   t (*ze)   zaai   guud opgelost.
      she$_{WEAK}$ has-she$_{CLITIC}$ it she$_{CLITIC}$ she$_{STRONG}$ well solved
      'She has solved it well.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(268) A: Kom   Marie   mergen?
            comes Mary   tomorrow
      B: Jui-s,   ze   kom-se   zaai   mergen
            yes-she$_{CLITIC}$ she$_{WEAK}$ comes-she$_{CLITIC}$ she$_{STRONG}$ tomorrow
      'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes, she is.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The example in (265) illustrates that clitic pronouns cannot be doubled by proper names. In this sentence, the clitic pronoun *se* 'she' which is attached to the complementizer is incompatible with the subject-DP *Marie* 'Mary'. Again, this restriction ceases to hold in combinations of conjugated 'yes' and 'no' with full clausal replies. This is shown in the dialogue in (266), where the clitic pronoun and the proper name can freely co-occur. A similar argument can be constructed on the basis of the data in (267) and (268). The sentence in (267) shows that although in the dialect of Wambeek subject tripling is allowed, quadrupling is not. In other words, one sentence can contain at most three distinct spell-outs of the same subject.[280] In B's reply in the dialogue in (268), however, the subject is spelled out four times. This once again suggests that this reply does not consist of a single syntactic tree. Summing up, the assumption that conjugated instances

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[280] The other dialects under consideration here are more restrictive in this respect. They allow for doubling, but disallow tripling. However, a similar argument to the one developed in the main text can be constructed for these dialects. Specifically, although they disallow tripling in ordinary clauses, they freely allow it in combinations of conjugated 'yes' and 'no' with full clausal replies. This once again suggests that these two do not form a single syntactic tree.

of 'yes' and 'no' originate inside the full clausal answer to the yes/no-question they are
associated with, falsely predicts restrictions on pronominal subject doubling to apply to
combinations of conjugated 'yes' and 'no' with full clausal replies. Moreover, the same
conclusion holds for the agreement endings which can show up on 'yes' and 'no'.
Consider the data in (269) and (270).

(269) Kpeize   da-n   Piet   en   Jan   gewonnen   èèn.
       I.think   that-PL Pete   and   John   won   have
       'I think Pete and John have won.'   [Waregem Dutch]

(270) A: Èèn   Piet   en   Jan   gewonnen?
               have Pete   and   John   won
       B: a. * Ja-n,   Piet   en   Jan   èèn   gewonnen.
                yes-PL   Pete   and   John   have   won
           b.   Ja-n-s,   Piet   en   Jan   èèn   gewonnen.
                yes-PL-they_CLITIC Pete   and   John   have   won
       'A: Have Pete and John won? B: Yes, they have.'   [Waregem Dutch]

The example in (269) illustrates that the occurrence of complementizer agreement in
Waregem Dutch is not dependent on the embedded subject being pronominal. In this
sentence, the subject is a coordination of two proper names, yet the complementizer
nonetheless has a plural agreement-*n* attached to it. If P&W's analysis is on the right
track, then the same should hold for the combination of conjugated 'yes' and 'no' with a
full clausal reply. As the contrast in (270) shows, however, this is not the case.
Specifically, the plural agreement-*n* cannot occur on its own to the right of the polarity
marker, not even when it is followed by a full clausal reply with a plural subject.[281] Once
again, then, the data suggest that the relation between conjugated instances of 'yes' and
'no' on the one hand and full clausal replies on the other is less direct than P&W assume
it to be.

     The third point I want to raise in light of their account is in some respects the mirror
image of the second one. So far, I have shown that assuming a tight link between
conjugated 'yes' and 'no' and full clausal replies leads to a number of false predictions.
On the other hand, I have argued in section 14.2 above that there are a number of
striking empirical parallelisms between dialect Dutch Short Do Replies and conjugated
instances of 'yes' and 'no'. As it stands, it is unclear how P&W would account for these
data. For example, in my analysis the absence of object clitics to the right of conjugated
'yes' and 'no' follows from the fact that this construction contains a null proform which
pronominalizes the entire TP. From the point of view of the analysis outlined in this
section, their non-occurrence remains mysterious. Specifically, if subject clitics are able
to raise out of the IP and attach to C°, then there is no reason why object clitics should
not be able to do the same. A similar point can be made with respect to the interaction
between conjugated 'yes' and 'no' and expletive constructions. As far as I can see, P&W

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[281] In my analysis, the deviance of (270Ba) follows from the fact that the SDR underlying
conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' necessarily contains a pronominal subject (cf. supra, chapters
ten and twelve for discussion). Under the assumption (discussed extensively by Cardinaletti &
Starke 1999) that pronouns always show up in their weakest possible morphological form, the
obligatory presence of the clitic follows naturally.

have no straightforward account for the fact that in reply to a yes/no-question which contains a *there*-expletive, it is the third person singular neuter subject clitic *'t* 'it' which is attached to 'yes' and 'no'. In my approach, this follows from the discussion of the properties of SDR-subjects in chapter twelve.

Fourthly and finally, the different behavior of sluiced wh-phrases and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' receives no straightforward account under P&W's analysis. Given that both constructions involve the PF-deletion of a fully-fledged IP, it is unclear why subject clitics and agreement endings are allowed to surface in one, but not in the other.

Summing up, in this section I have introduced and discussed the analysis of conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' developed in Postma & Van der Wurff (to appear). I have shown that the main problem with their account is the assumption that there is a structural, derivational link between conjugated 'yes' and 'no' and the full clausal reply to the yes/no-question they are associated with. Therefore, I conclude that the analysis outlined in the previous section is to be preferred over the one presented by Postma & Van der Wurff.[282]

14.5   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the phenomenon found in a number of Dutch dialects whereby the polarity markers *ja* 'yes' and *nee* 'no' are combined with a subject clitic and in some cases also an agreement suffix. I have shown that there are substantial empirical reasons to assume that the syntactic structure underlying this construction is the same as that from which Short Do Replies are derived. The analysis I proposed capitalizes on this observation. On the one hand, the licensing violation on the TP-proform necessitates the PF-deletion of Agr_SP, while on the other hand, the fact that the subject is base-generated in $specAgr_SP$ allows for a straightforward explanation of why clitics and agreement endings are disallowed to occur on sluiced wh-phrases. Finally, I have introduced and evaluated the analysis of conjugated 'yes' and 'no' developed by Postma & Van der Wurff (to appear), arguing that one of their central assumptions leads to a number of false predictions.

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[282] It is worth pointing out that the discussion in the present section only targets one very specific assumption of P&W's paper, namely the one that conjugated 'yes' and 'no' originate inside full clausal answers. This implies that conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' cannot be used as supporting evidence for the base-generated position of these polarity elements. As far as I can see, however, this does not affect the rest of P&W's account in any substantial way.

15   Conclusion and theoretical implications

15.1   Conclusion

The preceding six chapters contain an in-depth discussion of the dialect Dutch use of the verb *duun* 'do' in short contradictory replies, a basic example of which is given in (271).

(271) A: Marie   zie   Pierre   geirn.
                Mary   sees   Pierre   gladly
        B: Z'en   duut.
                she.NEG   does
        'A: Mary loves Pierre. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

In chapter ten, I argued that a closer inspection of the basic properties of this construction leads to the conclusion that it contains a null, structureless proform, rather than a fully-merged but PF-deleted syntactic structure. Accordingly, the analysis I proposed in chapters eleven and twelve, focused heavily on the licensing and identification requirements of this proform. At the same time, however, I presented evidence in favor of a specific hierarchy of IP-internal functional projections, and discussed the syntax of the contradictory reading induced by these Short Do Replies.

In chapter thirteen, I identified the proform *da* 'that' in B's reply in the dialogue in (272), as the overt counterpart of the null proform I postulated in the analysis of (271).

(272) A: Marie gaat   naar   de   film.
                Mary goes   to   the   movies
        B: Da's   nie.
                that.is   not
        'A: Mary goes to the movies. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Brabant Dutch]

In that chapter I also demonstrated how the overt versus covert nature of the proform correlates with the choice of the verb (*zijn* 'be' versus *duun* 'do') and the way in which negation and emphatic affirmation are expressed (the negative adverb *nie* 'not' in (272) versus the negative clitic *en* 'NEG' in (271)). Finally, chapter fourteen was devoted to short replies to yes/no-questions in dialects which also feature the construction in (271).

(273) A: Kom   Marie   mergen?
                comes   Mary   tomorrow
        B: Jui-s.
                yes-she_CLITIC
        'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

I have shown that the syntactic structure underlying B's reply in this dialogue is in all relevant respects identical to the one from which short contradictory replies with *duun* 'do' are derived. As such, these data represent an extra construction in which the null proform shows up which I postulated in my analysis of Short Do Replies. All in all, then,

the preceding six chapters contain a novel, unified account of the three – at first sight unrelated – constructions illustrated in (271)-(273).

15.2   Theoretical implications

Just as in the first part of this dissertation, I want to use the final section to make explicit some of the theoretical implications of the data discussed and the analyses proposed. This will help situate the main findings of this part in a broader theoretical framework.

15.2.1 The theory of ellipsis and *pro*

The main conclusion of the preceding chapters is the fact that not all elliptical constructions are the result of PF-deleting a fully-merged syntactic structure. Specifically, I have argued at length that dialect Dutch Short Do Replies contain a null, structureless proform which pronominalizes the entire TP. This brought into the analysis of this construction several elements usually associated with the literature on pro-drop. The flip side of all this, however, is that the preceding discussion can also be read as an extra argument in favor of a PF-deletion analysis of English VP-ellipsis. Recall that SDRs and VP-ellipsis pattern differently with respect to a number of characteristics, such as the presence of *there*-expletives, the possibility of agreement with an elided associate DP, and the possibility of extraction from the ellipsis site by means of wh-movement or pseudogapping. All these properties have been presented in the literature as arguments in favor of a PF-deletion analysis of VP-ellipsis. The fact that I have now uncovered a construction which behaves like the mirror image of VP-ellipsis with respect to precisely these criteria, seems to suggest that they indeed show what they are intended to show, and that the conclusion that is based on them is warranted.

On the other hand, my analysis of SDRs also casts doubt on some of the arguments raised by advocates of the proform-theory of ellipsis in favor of their account (cf. for example Chao 1987; Zagona 1988; Hardt 1993, 1999; López 1995, 1999; López & Winkler 2000; Lobeck 1995, 1999). An approach that is often – implicitly or explicitly – adopted by these authors is to look for typically 'pronominal' characteristics of elliptical constructions. For example, it is well-known that pronouns such as *he* or *that* do not necessarily require an overt, linguistic antecedent. The fact that the same holds (under certain circumstances, cf. Merchant to appear b for discussion) for VP-ellipsis is then seen as an indication that this construction contains a pronominal as well. The discussion of dialect Dutch Short Do Replies presented in the preceding chapters suggests that such arguments should be handled with care. Consider the data in (274).

(274) [context: a mother catches her thirteen-year-old son about to sneak off to a party
        in spite of the fact that he's not allowed to go out; the mother shouts:]
    #G'en   doetj!
    you.NEG   do
    INTENDED READING: 'Oh no you don't!'   [Wambeek Dutch]

What this example shows, is that SDRs require an overt, linguistic antecedent, i.e. they cannot be pragmatically controlled (cf. Hankamer & Sag 1976, Sag & Hankamer 1984). From the point of view of the existing proform-theories of ellipsis, this is an unexpected

result. On the one hand, I have argued at length that SDRs contain a null proform, while on the other, this construction does not display what is considered to be a typically pronominal property. In light of the reading induced by SDRs, however, the judgment in (274) is not at all surprising. Specifically, in order to be able to contradict the utterance made by the previous speaker, there has to *be* such an utterance to begin with. In other words, the question of whether or not a certain construction can be pragmatically controlled depends on much more than it containing a pronominal. More generally, if the approach developed in the preceding chapters is on the right track, then the fact that a particular construction can be pragmatically controlled, is neither a necessary nor a sufficient criterion for detecting the presence of a non-DP-proform. Needless to say, this would seriously reduce the force of any arguments based on such data. Moreover, the same line of reasoning applies to a number of other characteristics which are usually raised in this respect, such as active/passive-mismatches or the possibility of taking nominal antecedents. It seems fair to conclude, then, that several of the arguments traditionally presented in favor of proform-analyses of ellipsis should be handled with care.

There is a second noticeable difference between my analysis of SDRs and the existing 'ellipsis-as-*pro*'-literature. In particular, a question that is rarely raised by the authors mentioned above – but cf. note 241 above for two exceptions – is whether the null proform they postulate also has an overt counterpart, and if so, whether there is a construction in which it shows up. This is surprising given that from the point of view of the literature on pro-drop, it seems like an obvious issue to discuss. Recall that I have devoted an entire chapter to answering precisely these questions. In chapter thirteen, I argued that the proform *da* 'that' found in the construction exemplified in (275) represents the overt counterpart of the null pronominal which I postulated in the analysis of SDRs.

(275) A: Marie gaat   naar   de film.
           Mary goes to   the movie
      B: Da's   nie.
           that.is   not
      'A: Mary goes to the movies. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Brabant Dutch]

Summing up, then, not only have I shown that some elliptical constructions involve a null proform, I have also demonstrated that not all the arguments raised in the literature in favor of such an approach are equally valid, and I have suggested a new one.

15.2.2 The internal make-up of IP and the theory of negation

A second implication of the theory developed in the preceding chapters concerns the structural position occupied by polarity markers in the extended IP-domain. On the one hand, to the extent that my analysis is successful, it can be seen as a new argument in favor of postulating two separate polarity projections (NegPs in my account) in the clause structure of (at least dialectal) Dutch. One is situated immediately above TP and the other immediately above VP. On the other hand, both in my analysis of SDRs and in that of *da's nie/(ja)wel*, the existence of Agr$_s$P as an independent functional projection immediately dominating the high NegP, turned out to be of crucial importance. Specifically, in both constructions the presence of nominative Case and phi-feature

agreement is dissociated from tense marking. The most straightforward way to implement such data is by assuming that while Agr$_s$P is present, TP is not. Chapters twelve and thirteen can thus be read as an extended argument in favor of the existence of Agr$_s$P (*pace* Chomsky 1995:352ff).

15.2.3 The syntax of discourse particles

A third issue which has played a central role throughout the second part of this dissertation concerns the syntax of discourse particles. As indicated in section 11.3 of chapter eleven, this is an issue which has received very little attention in the generative research tradition.[283] This is arguably due to the fact that given their high degree of discourse-dependence, it is not *a priori* clear whether such elements should be included in the 'core' part of the grammar. The approach I have taken towards them in the preceding six chapters suggest that they should. Specifically, in chapter eleven I have argued that the elements *toch* and *wel* preceding B's reply in the dialogue in (276) should be analyzed as occupying very specific and well-defined structural positions in the functional field of the clause that follows it.

(276) A: Marie gui   nie nui de cinema.
               Mary goes not to   the cinema
       B: Toch wel, Marie gui   wel   nui de cinema.
               PRT AFF Mary   goes AFF   to the cinema.
       'A: Mary doesn't go to the cinema. B: Yes, she does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

Similarly, in chapter fourteen I showed that there are good reasons to assume that 'yes' and 'no' occupy a structural position in the CP-domain as well. This not only helps explain why they can co-occur with subject clitics and agreement endings in the dialects under consideration here, it also allows for an elegant account of the absence of clitics and agreement endings on sluiced wh-phrases. All in all, then, it seems fair to conclude that the syntax of discourse particles is a field of research in its own right, one which – when taken seriously – will be able to shed new light on current theories of the functional architecture of the clause.

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[283] Some notable exceptions are Pope 1975; Laka 1990; Cinque 1999 and Homberg 2003.

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

In this final section, I present the main overarching conclusions of this dissertation, and I also point out a number of specific questions and topics for future research that were raised by the present discussion. Before doing so, however, I briefly summarize the core empirical findings and theoretical analyses of the preceding fifteen chapters, so as to set the stage for what will follow.

In the first half of this dissertation I focused on the two constructions exemplified in (1) and (2).

(1)   Jef   eid iemand   gezien, mo ik   weet nie wou da.
      Jeff has someone   seen   but I   know not who that$_{DEM}$
      'Jeff saw someone, but I don't know who.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(2)   Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know what about.

As illustrated by the Wambeek Dutch example in (1), some Dutch dialects allow a sluiced wh-phrase to be followed by the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that'. In chapter two I showed that there is substantial empirical evidence suggesting that this construction derives from an underlying cleft structure, in which *da* 'that' occupies the subject position of the matrix clause. Moreover, I argued that the construction in (1) is the result of focus movement of this demonstrative pronoun to the specifier position of a low CP-projection, with concomitant PF-deletion of IP. In the English example in (2) on the other hand, the preposition *about* appears to have been stranded to the right of the sluiced wh-phrase *what*. In my analysis, *about* is situated in the same CP-projection as *da* 'that' is in (1). It is stranded there by the wh-phrase on its way to the higher specCP. The approach just sketched allows for a far-reaching unification of these two constructions. First of all, it provides a straightforward account for the fact that neither of them can feature complex wh-phrases (illustrated in (3) and (4) below). Specifically, under the assumption – discussed extensively in chapter three – that complex wh-phrases are base-generated in the specifier position of the high CP, it follows that when sluicing takes place, it is the lower CP-layer, rather than IP, which is PF-deleted. This means that the projection which hosts *da* 'that' in (1) and *about* in (2) is contained in the ellipsis site and as a result, that these elements cannot show up.

(3)   * Jef ei ne student gezien, mo ik weet nie welke student da.
          Jeff has a   student seen   but I   know not which student that_DEM
          INTENDED READING: 'Jeff saw a student, but I don't know which student.'

                                                                    [Wambeek Dutch]

(4)   * Ed gave a talk yesterday, but I don't know which topic about.

Secondly, the fact that both the demonstrative pronoun in (1) and the stranded
preposition in (2) bear stress, follows from the fact that they both occupy the specifier
position of the CP-projection typically associated with focus movement. Thirdly and
finally, neither of these two constructions occurs in non-elliptical wh-questions, i.e. they
are restricted to sluicing. This I have taken to be an indication that ellipsis is needed to
repair what would otherwise be an illegitimate derivation or configuration. Specifically,
in the case of the example in (1), the focus movement of the demonstrative pronoun is
triggered by a weak feature and hence can only take place in overt syntax if the lower
part of the movement chain is deleted at PF (cf. Richards 2001:134-141). The sentence
in (2) on the other hand, represents a violation of the ban on P-stranding in intermediate
positions (Postal 1972). Here, ellipsis is needed to restore Chain Uniformity at PF. All in
all, then, the analyses proposed in part one of this dissertation not only provide an
adequate account of the two constructions in (1) and (2), they also capture the striking
empirical parallelisms between the two.
     Chapters nine to fifteen were devoted to the three constructions exemplified in (5)-
(7).

(5)   A: Marie zie   Pierre   geirn.
             Mary   sees Pierre   gladly
       B: Jou   z'en   duut.
             yes   she.NEG   does
       'A: Mary loves Pierre. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(6)   A: Marie gaat   naar   de   film.
             Mary goes   to   the movie
       B: Da's   nie.
             that.is not
       'A: Mary goes to the movies. B: No, she doesn't.'   [Brabant Dutch]

(7)   A: Kom   Marie   mergen?
             comes Mary   tomorrow
       B: Jui-s.
             yes-she_CLITIC
       'A: Is Mary coming tomorrow? B: Yes.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

The approach I adopted with respect to these three constructions was quite different from
the one outlined above. In chapter ten, a comparison between examples like the one in
(5) and English VP-ellipsis led to the conclusion that the ellipsis site to the right of the
verb *duut* 'does' in B's reply in (5) contains no internal structure. Specifically, it cannot
host traces of wh-movement, pseudogapping or clitic movement, and unlike VP-ellipsis
it does not allow for the insertion of a *there*-expletive in the subject position of *duut*
'does' (suggesting that it cannot host an elided associate DP). Inspired by earlier accounts

of ellipsis such as Chao (1987), Hardt (1993) and Lobeck (1995), I analyzed the gap in examples like the one in (5B) as a null, non-DP proform. This pronominal is licensed by the head of a high NegP, which is morphologically realized as the negative clitic *en*. Given that this head is situated fairly high in the IP-domain, the proform replaces a large part of the extended verbal projection. This explains why the construction exemplified in (5B) is severely restricted when it comes to tense and aspect marking on the verb, the pronominal status of the subject, and the presence or absence of adverbial modification. The fact that these same restrictions are also present in the construction in (6B), led to the conclusion that the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that' in B's reply in (6) is the overt counterpart of the null pronominal I postulated in the analysis of (5). Moreover, the main differences between the examples in (5B) and (6B) (i.e. the choice of the verb, the type of negation marking and the presence or absence of a subject) were all shown to follow from the covert versus overt nature of this pronominal. As such, data such as those in (6) constitute an important extra argument in favor of the account developed for the construction in (5).

Finally, in chapter fourteen I argued that this very same analysis is also applicable to the phenomenon illustrated in (7), where the polarity marker *jou* 'yes' co-occurs with a subject clitic (and in some dialects also with an agreement suffix). Given that the two constructions in (5) and (7) pattern alike with respect to the behavior of *there*-expletives, the absence of object clitics and the severe restrictions on the subject, it seems plausible to assign the same syntactic structure to them, albeit that in (7) part of this structure has been PF-deleted. Here too, the deletion process is needed to rescue what would otherwise be an illegitimate configuration, i.e. a licensing violation of the null, non-DP proform at PF. Moreover, the fact that the subject is base-generated in a high position in the constructions in (5) and (7) led to an elegant account for the absence of subject clitics and agreement endings on sluiced wh-phrases. Once again, then, the analyses I proposed are able to capture not only the idiosyncratic properties of the constructions in (5)-(7), but also the characteristics they share. This concludes my overview of the preceding fifteen chapters.

As was already pointed out in the introductory section, the main conclusions of this dissertation are situated in two areas: on the one hand the syntax of ellipsis, and on the other the study of Dutch dialects. In what follows I discuss each of these issues in turn. With respect to the first, the most striking finding is the fact that while some elliptical constructions are the result of PF-deleting a fully-fledged syntactic structure, others involve a base-generated null, non-DP proform. At first sight, though, this is not a new conclusion. Specifically, advocates of the proform theory of VP-ellipsis generally – though usually implicitly – assume that a construction such as gapping, which differs from VP-ellipsis with respect to several criteria, is the result of actual deletion. My account differs from theirs in a number of respects, however. First of all, mine is the first to present an explicit analysis *both* for the deletion *and* for the proform side of ellipsis.[284] In particular, for the PF-deletion account I have adopted and adapted Merchant's (2001a) implementation in terms of the [E]-feature, while for the licensing and identification

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[284] A notable exception is Winkler 2003, who also develops fully-explicit accounts for what she calls Discourse-Bound Ellipsis (which includes VP-ellipsis) and Sentence-Bound Ellipsis (which includes gapping and stripping). As was already hinted at in note 168, however, the approach she adopts towards these constructions differs markedly from the one which is pursued in this dissertation.

requirements of *pro*, I have suggested a new, Minimalist account. Secondly, the argumentation I have presented in favor of the presence of a non-DP proform differs markedly from that put forward by other authors. Not only did several of their arguments turn out to be inconclusive (e.g. pragmatic control, active/passive-mismatches, nominal antecedents, etc.), I have also brought a new type of argument into the debate, namely the question of whether the proform has an overt correlate.

Thirdly, it is worth pointing out that the typology of elliptical constructions that follows from my account is noticeably different from the ones proposed earlier. For example, Lobeck (1995, 1999) argues that NP-deletion, VP-ellipsis and sluicing all involve a null, non-DP proform, and seems to assume that gapping and pseudogapping are derived through deletion of a syntactic structure. In my analysis on the other hand, the only constructions containing a null pronominal are dialect Dutch Short Do Replies and conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'.[285] More generally, if the approach outlined in the preceding chapters is on the right track, the set of elliptical constructions containing a null proform is much smaller than previously assumed. This in turn raises interesting questions concerning the distribution of these two mechanisms. Specifically, why does a language employ PF-deletion of a fully-fledged syntactic structure in one case and insert a null proform in the other? Although this is an issue which clearly requires a lot more (cross-linguistic) research, I do want to speculate on it a bit further here. In particular, it is tempting to take the fact that the null proform occurs in only a very limited number of cases, as an indication that it is a last resort mechanism. This is reminiscent of Cinque's (1990:Chapter 3) discussion of operator-bound DP-*pro*. What Cinque suggests, is that in certain constructions where a trace would be illicit (e.g. in islands, parasitic gaps and *tough*-movement constructions), a null, operator-bound pronominal can be inserted as a last resort option. In other words, this instance of *pro* only shows up when movement is independently disallowed (usually as the result of locality restrictions of various sorts). Transferred to the case at hand, this would mean that a null proform can only be used when PF-deletion of a syntactic structure is prohibited for independent reasons. In order to see what those reasons could be, consider the examples in (8).

(8)   a.   Ed's mansion is much larger than Jill's [*e*].
       b.   Ed has read more books than Jill has [*e*].
       c.   Ed has met someone, but I don't know who [*e*].

Assume that in all three these constructions, ellipsis is the result of PF-deleting a fully merged syntactic structure (for the latter two this is argued explicitly in this dissertation, for the first one cf. Chisholm 2002). On the basis of these examples, one could raise the hypothesis that only phase heads can trigger PF-deletion of their complement (cf. Chomsky 2001 on phases).[286] Specifically, in (8c) C° triggers the deletion of IP, in (8b) *v*° triggers the deletion of VP, and in (8a) D° triggers the deletion of NP (cf. Svenonius 2000 on DP being a phase). Such an approach makes sense, given that phases are generally taken to be points where the derivation is sent off to the PF-interface. Clearly, it is at such junctions that it should be determined whether or not the complement of the

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[285] Note that I have had nothing to say about gapping in this dissertation. Cf. Vanden Wyngaerd 1998 and Johnson 2003, though, for an account in terms of PF-deletion.

[286] In terms of the implementation adopted in the first part of this dissertation, this would mean that the [E]-feature is restricted to occurring on phase heads.

phase head will be overtly realized. With all of this in mind, let me now turn to the structure I proposed for dialect Dutch Short Do Replies. The labeled bracketing in (10) schematically represents the structure of B's reply in (9) (traces have been omitted).

(9)   A: Marie   zie   Pierre   nie geirn.
           Mary   sees Pierre   not gladly
      B: Ze   duut.
           she does
      'A: Mary doesn't love Pierre. B: Yes, she does.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(10)   [$_{CP}$ *ze   duut* [$_{Agr_sP}$ spec Agr$_s$° [$_{NegP}$ spec Neg° *pro*$_{TP}$]]]

In this construction, the 'elided' part of the structure is crucially *not* the complement of a phase head. The SDR-proform is a sister of the high Neg°-head, which is situated inside the IP-domain. Under the hypothesis adopted above, this means that PF-deletion is not a viable alternative in this construction, and that as a result, a null pronominal has to be used. Although these extended considerations by no means constitute a full account of the relation between PF-deletion and *pro*, I do consider them suggestive and hope to return to them in future research.

A second characteristic of ellipsis which featured prominently in the preceding fifteen chapters concerns its ability to rescue what would otherwise be an illegitimate derivation or configuration. As pointed out by Merchant (to appear a), this is proving to be a highly fruitful area of research. In this dissertation, PF-deletion was argued to nullify the effects of overt movement triggered by weak features, violations of Chain Uniformity at PF, EPP-violations and the failure to comply with the licensing requirements of a null pronominal. It should be stressed, though, that ellipsis is not being used here as a convenient *deus ex machina* which can be called to the rescue whenever needed. Specifically, not *all* types of violations can be lifted by PF-deleting the offending structure. For example, Sauerland (1996) points out that while strong islands can be repaired by sluicing, weak ones cannot. This suggests that while the former cause a derivation to crash at PF, the latter do so at LF (cf. also Szabolcsi & Zwarts 1993 on weak islands). In other words, ellipsis is used as a heuristic tool to determine which constraint is relevant for which interface. This means that to the extent that the analyses I have proposed are successful, they can be read as an extra argument in support of a PF-requirement on the licensing of null pronominals, a PF-counterpart to Chomsky's (1995:91) notion of Chain Uniformity, an analysis of the EPP-effect as a pure PF-requirement, and a purely PF-driven approach to the overt/covert-distinction *à la* Richards (2001:Chapter 4).

Another way in which ellipsis can function as a heuristic device concerns the theory of clause structure. Specifically, at several points in the foregoing discussion I have used ellipsis (both PF-deletion and *pro*) as a probe into the precise hierarchy of clausal functional projections. This is not surprising, given that deletion is one of the traditional constituency tests, but the way I have put it to use here was slightly more refined. For example, from the contrast between the examples in (1) and (3) (repeated below), I concluded in chapter four that sluicing does not always delete the same part of the clausal structure, and by extension, that the intermediate landing sites of minimal wh-phrases are not identical to those of complex ones.

(11)   Jef   eid iemand   gezien, mo ik   weet nie wou da.
       Jeff has someone seen   but I   know not who that$_{DEM}$
       'Jeff saw someone, but I don't know who.'   [Wambeek Dutch]

(12) * Jef   ei   ne student gezien, mo ik   weet nie welke student da.
       Jeff has a   student seen   but I   know not which student that$_{DEM}$
       INTENDED READING: 'Jeff saw a student, but I don't know which student.'
                                                                    [Wambeek Dutch]

Similarly, in chapter twelve I took the presence of nominative Case and subject/verb-agreement and the absence of tense and aspect marking in Short Do Replies, as an indication that the null proform pronominalizes a part of the structure which is larger than VP and smaller than Agr$_S$P. This in turn implies that there has to be an independent Agr$_S$P-projection (*pace* Chomsky 1995:352ff). As such, ellipsis can be employed to construct fairly detailed arguments concerning clause structure.

The second main topic of the present dissertation is the study of Dutch dialects. As pointed out in the introductory section, the main research question that can be raised in this area concerns the cause of the parametric variation outlined above. Specifically, it is not *a priori* clear why certain dialects display the phenomena I have discussed, while others do not. In other words, what are the micro-parameters distinguishing the various dialects and how does the language learner know how to set them? In the minimalist framework adopted here, all parametric variation is argued to reduce to lexical and/or morphological differences between languages (Chomsky 1995). In what follows, I show that this hypothesis is supported by the data I have discussed. The clearest illustration of this is the presence or absence of SDRs. Recall that in order for the null SDR-proform to be properly licensed, the head of the high NegP has to be morpho-phonologically realized as the negative clitic *en*. This automatically implies that dialects which lack such a clitic, also fail to display Short Do Replies. As such, it forms a clearly visible clue for the language learner, signaling whether or not the head of the high NegP can license a null proform. This picture is complicated, however, by the fact that not all dialects which feature *en* as a negative clitic, also allow Short Do Replies. Future research will have to determine whether these dialects simply do not make use of an option which is in principle available to them, or whether there is an independent factor blocking the derivation of SDRs in these varieties.

Turning to *da's nie/(ja)wel*, the fact that this construction has a much wider distribution than SDRs also follows from the present perspective. Given that it does not require the head of the high NegP to be spelled out, the set of dialects featuring *da's nie/(ja)wel* is much larger than the one allowing for SDRs. Once again, though, the question arises as to why not *all* dialects (including, for example, the standard language) display this construction. I want to suggest that this is a reflection of the extent to which the high NegP is still 'active' or 'visible' in the language. Assume that diachronic variation with respect to negation also involves variation as to which of the two NegPs is used. This ties in nicely with Van Kemenade's (2000) discussion of the history of negation in English. Specifically, on p.74 she concludes "that the history of negation is shaped by a delicate interplay between the high and the low negation position: low in early Old English; high in late Old English and early Middle English; low again in late Middle English and early Modern English". With regards to my data, this would mean that in modern varieties of Dutch, three stages of this evolution can be discerned. In a first group, the high NegP is not only active, its head is also still morphologically

realized out as the negative clitic *en*. This is the set of dialects that allows for SDRs. A second group has lost the negative clitic, but still actively uses the high NegP in constructions such as *da's nie/(ja)wel*, while in the third group, which includes standard Dutch, the high NegP has become completely inert.[287] Although this tripartition remains speculative at this point, it does successfully reduce the variation found with respect to these two constructions to the functional structure and concomitant morphology of the dialects involved (cf. also Haegeman 2002:182-183 for related discussion).

An interesting quirk is added to all of this by conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no'. Recall that in my analysis of this construction the PF-deletion of Agr_sP is needed to mask the fact that the null TP-proform is not properly licensed. This might lead to the expectation that conjugated 'yes' and 'no' can also occur in dialects whose high Neg°-head fails to properly license null pronominals in general. In principle, then, this construction should have the same distribution as *da's nie/(ja)wel*. As pointed out in chapter fourteen, however, conjugated instances of 'yes' and 'no' pattern by and large with SDRs. This seems to suggest that there is a second difference between SDR-dialects and their non-SDR-counterparts. Specifically, only the former have a null pronominal in their lexicon to begin with. Arguably, this property is related to the discussion presented above. Suppose that a dialect has a null pronominal in its lexicon, but that it cannot use it in any construction (because there is no appropriate head to license this proform). It seems plausible to assume that in such a case, the pronominal will become obsolete in the course of time and that eventually, it will disappear from the lexicon. This, I want to suggest, is what has happened to the SDR-proform in dialects which have lost the negative clitic *en*.

With respect to the possibility of demonstrative pronouns occurring to the right of sluiced wh-phrases (i.e. the topic of the first eight chapters), the situation is slightly different. In particular, in this case the presence of this construction in some dialects and its absence in others does not appear to be the result of various stages of a diachronic process co-occurring in contemporary varieties of Dutch. Rather, what I want to suggest is that the presence or absence of Sluicing Plus Demonstrative is crucially related to the type of cleft construction it is derived from. Consider again the data in (13) (adapted from chapter two section 2.2.6 above).

(13) a.   Wannieje is   da   da   Lewie komt?
            when   is   that_DEM that_C° Louis comes
            'When is it that Louis is coming?'
      b.   Wannieje is   't   da   Lewie komt?
            when   is   it   that_C° Louis comes
            'When is it that Louis is coming?'   [Wambeek Dutch]

To my knowledge, the cleft construction in (13b), where the matrix subject position is occupied by the expletive pronoun *'t* 'it', occurs in all varieties of Dutch. The variant in

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[287] Note that this means that in a standard Dutch clause expressing contradictory sentential emphasis, such as B's reply in (i), the first occurrence of *wel* is arguably base-generated directly in specCP, rather than moved to that position from the specifier position of the high NegP.

(i)   A: Ed komt niet.   B: Toch wel, Ed komt wel.
             Ed comes not   PRT   AFF   Ed comes AFF
             'A: Ed isn't coming. B: Yes, he is.'   [Dutch]

(13a) on the other hand, which features the demonstrative pronoun *da* 'that', is more restricted. Although its precise distribution is an issue I have not yet been able to look into, it is clear that this use of *da* 'that' is much less productive in, for example, standard Dutch, than it is in the dialect of Wambeek. Given that SPDs are derived from precisely this type of clefts, their absence in the standard language might be related to the limited distribution of the construction in (13a). Note that this difference can also be reduced to the morpho-lexical properties of the dialects in question. The fact that the dialect of Wambeek allows for the cleft in (13a), indicates that the feature specification of *da* 'that' in this dialect is different than in the standard language. Specifically, this demonstrative pronoun appears to be more underspecified in Wambeek Dutch, allowing it to occur in a subject position normally accessible to expletive *'t* 'it' only. Once again, then, it is a difference in the lexicon which lies at the heart of the syntactic variation discussed in the preceding chapters.

Apart from these two overarching issues (i.e. ellipsis and Dutch dialect syntax), the preceding discussion has also raised a number of very specific questions and topics for future research. Although several such issues were already pointed out in chapters eight and fifteen above, I want to conclude by briefly highlighting four of them here. First of all, recall that in chapter three I argued that complex wh-phrases are base-generated in the specifier position of a high CP-projection. Moreover, in chapter eight I suggested that the importance of phrasal complexity might well extend beyond the domain of wh-movement. Driven to its extreme, this line of thought might lead to the hypothesis that complex phrases never move. Instead, they are always base-generated in (or immediately above) what is traditionally considered to be their landing site. From such a perspective, the analysis of wh-movement proposed in chapter three would in fact be part of a much larger generalization. The key question would then be which theoretical principle lies behind this generalization. Although I cannot go into this issue here, it seems tempting to try and relate it to the process of linearization, i.e. lower copies of complex phrases would lead to a linearization failure at PF (cf. also Uriagereka 1999 for related discussion).

The second point I want to make is related to the previous one. It concerns the presence or absence of connectivity effects between fronted phrases and the rest of the clause. As I pointed out in section 3.4.2 of chapter three, the account of wh-movement I propose requires a revision of the theory of reconstruction. Specifically, the fact that a fronted phrase is able to reconstruct to a position lower in the clause no longer necessarily implies that that phrase occupied such a position in a previous stage of the derivation. Such reconstruction effects can also be obtained through the intermediation of an empty operator. Note that this also complicates the research of ellipsis as involving PF-deletion, as this type of approach is often crucially dependent on remnants of the ellipsis process displaying certain connectivity effects with the elided structure. Future research will have to determine whether these complex requirements can be fitted into a more general theory of reconstruction, and what the effects of such a theory will be for the PF-deletion approach to ellipsis.

Thirdly, the data discussed in the second part of this dissertation have raised the issue of the syntax of discourse particles and their potential impact on clause structure. In chapters fourteen and fifteen I already pointed out that my account of polarity elements such as 'yes' and 'no' requires a revision of the traditional view on the left periphery in Dutch and its dialects, but this conclusion also holds for the kind of particles which briefly featured in the Appendix to chapter ten. Reconsider the example in (14).

(14) A: Magge-k-ik oek mee?
may-I$_{\text{CLITIC}}$-I$_{\text{STRONG}}$ also with
B: A mo ba jui-ch
PRT PRT PRT yes-you$_{\text{CLITIC}}$
'A: Can I also come? B: Of course you can!'$_{\text{[Wambeek Dutch]}}$

In B's reply in this dialogue, the affirmative polarity marker *jou* 'yes' is preceded by three independent discourse particles. In the spirit of Cinque's (1999) work on adverbial modification, one could raise the question whether each of these elements is indicative of a particular functional projection (recall that they occur in a fixed order). More generally, both in standard Dutch and in its dialects, clauses are often accompanied by a multitude of such particles, each with its own very specific syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties. The research questions (syntactic and otherwise) raised by such data are manifold and deserve more attention than they have received so far.

Very much related to this is an issue which has surfaced only sporadically in the preceding discussion, but which actually constitutes a research topic on its own. Both in the first and in the second part of this dissertation, I argued that the clausal left-peripheral functional structure of (dialectal) Dutch is more elaborate than has thus far been assumed. Although this ties in nicely with a lot of research on similar topics in other languages (cf. the references mentioned in the introduction to chapter three), it creates a potential problem when it comes to the verb second requirement of Dutch. Under the assumption that there is only a single CP-layer, the generalization that at most one XP can precede the fronted finite verb follows naturally, but when there are several such projections, violations of V2 should be relatively common, *quod non*. Moreover, if the preceding discussion is on the right track, then only a subset of all the left-peripheral functional projections trigger verb movement (cf. supra, the discussion in chapter eleven). Although this is not the place to discuss this issue in depth, it seems to me that these facts would be most easily compatible with an account of V2 which treats it not as a core syntactic phenomenon, but rather as a phonological requirement (cf. Chomsky 2001; Zwart 2004). In this respect, it is worth noting that left-peripheral elements which do not trigger verb movement (e.g. left-dislocates, polarity markers, discourse particles) are often set off intonationally from the rest of the clause. If V2 is essentially a phonological operation, then it should come as no surprise that it is sensitive to such boundaries. Moreover, this line of approach might also lead to an insightful account for the absence of verb movement in matrix sluices (cf. Merchant 2001a:62-74; Lasnik 1999b, 2001b). Specifically, if V2 is a phonological requirement, then it can be bled by PF-deletion. These considerations are admittedly sketchy and speculative, but they do appear to be promising and I hope to return to them in future research.

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Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Dit proefschrift onderzoekt elliptische constructies. Dit zijn constructies waarbij een deel van een zin onuitgesproken blijft. De centrale onderzoeksvraag is hoeveel interne structuur het onuitgesproken deel van dergelijke constructies bevat. Bekijken we bijvoorbeeld de zin in (1).

(1)   Ed heeft iemand gezien, maar ik weet niet wie.

Moedertaalsprekers van het Nederlands zijn het erover eens dat de *maar*-zin in (1) moet geïnterpreteerd worden als *maar ik weet niet wie Ed gezien heeft*. Nochtans blijft een aanzienlijk deel van deze zin, namelijk *Ed gezien heeft*, onuitgesproken. *Grosso modo* zijn er binnen de generatieve traditie twee soorten van analyses voorgesteld voor dit fenomeen. De eerste gaat ervan uit dat elliptische constructies precies dezelfde syntactische structuur bevatten als hun niet-elliptische tegenhangers. Een deel van die structuur wordt echter gewoon niet uitgesproken. Technischer uitgedrukt, de syntactische derivatie verloopt volstrekt parallel aan die van een niet-elliptische zin, maar op het niveau van PF – dat de overgang tussen syntaxis en fonologie verzorgt – wordt de instructie gegeven een deel van de syntactische structuur fonologisch niet te verwerken. Ik verwijs naar deze hypothese als de PF-deletie-theorie.

De tweede soort van analyse vertrekt van de veronderstelling dat het onuitgesproken deel van het voorbeeld in (1) weliswaar de betekenis heeft van *Ed gezien heeft*, maar niet de syntactische structuur. Concreet wordt er aangenomen dat elliptische constructies een fonologisch niet gerealiseerd voornaamwoord bevatten. Dit voornaamwoord, dat *pro* genoemd wordt, krijgt zijn betekenis op het overgangsniveau tussen syntaxis en semantiek, namelijk LF. Het heeft zelf geen interne, syntactische structuur. Deze hypothese noem ik de *pro*-theorie. De twee mogelijke analyses van het voorbeeld in (1) kunnen dan schematisch weergegeven worden als in (2).

(2)   a. **PF-deletie**: Ed heeft iemand gezien, maar ik weet niet wie ~~Ed gezien heeft~~.
        b. *pro*:   Ed heeft iemand gezien, maar ik weet niet wie *pro*.

De centrale stelling van dit proefschrift is dat zowel de PF-deletie- als de *pro*-theorie noodzakelijk zijn om de variatie aan elliptische constructies in natuurlijke taal op een adequate manier te beschrijven. Bovendien laat ik zien dat er specifieke tests bestaan om de aanwezigheid van een PF-gedeleerde structuur dan wel een leeg voornaamwoord aan te tonen. De invalshoek van waaruit dit proefschrift vertrekt, is die van de microparametrische variatie. Concreet gaat het dan om een zeer gedetailleerde beschrijving en analyse van een aantal elliptische constructies die voorkomen in dialectale varianten van het Nederlands.

Het proefschrift bestaat uit twee delen. In het eerste deel wordt aan de hand van twee specifieke constructies de PF-deletie-theorie onder de loep genomen, terwijl in deel twee een aantal fenomenen geanalyseerd worden vanuit het perspectief van de *pro*-theorie.

De discussie in het eerste deel vertrekt vanuit een empirische vergelijking tussen de Wambeekse constructie in (3) en de Engelse constructie in (4).

(3)   Jef eid   iemand gezien, mo   ik   weet nie   **wou da**.
       Jef heeft iemand gezien maar ik   weet niet   wie dat
       'Jef heeft iemand gezien, maar ik weet niet wie.'   [Wambeeks]

(4)   Ed gave   a   talk   yesterday, but I   don't   know   **what about**.
       Ed gaf   een lezing gisteren   maar ik   doe.niet weten wat   over
       'Ed heeft gisteren een lezing gegeven, maar ik weet niet waarover.'   [Engels]

Het voorbeeld in (3) laat zien dat in het dialect van Wambeek een elliptische vraagzin gevolgd kan worden door het aanwijzend voornaamwoord *dat*. De betekenis van deze zin is *grosso modo* dezelfde als die van de Standaardnederlandse variant zonder *dat*. Het voorbeeld in (4) laat zien dat er, in diezelfde elliptische context, in het Engels een onverwachte woordvolgorde kan opduiken. Normaalgezien gaat een voorzetsel vooraf aan zijn complement (*about what*). In deze constructie kan deze volgorde echter omgekeerd worden (*what about*). In hoofdstuk twee laat ik zien dat deze op het eerste gezicht ongerelateerde constructies enkele opvallende gelijkenissen vertonen. Zo zijn beide fenomenen uitgesloten in niet-elliptische zinnen, en kunnen ze niet voorkomen met complexe vraagwoorden zoals *welk boek*/*which book*. Bovendien is het telkens het element ter rechterzijde van het vraagwoord dat de hoofdklemtoon van de zin draagt. In het licht van deze overeenkomsten lijkt het wenselijk een grotendeels gelijklopende analyse aan te nemen voor deze twee fenomenen. Hoofdstuk drie bevat de theoretische achtergrond voor die analyse. Het betreft een specifieke hypothese over de linkerperiferie van de zin, waarbij het CP-domein opgesplitst wordt in twee verschillende projecties. De hoogste (CP_1) drukt het zinstype uit (bijv. is de zin vragend of declaratief?). De lagere projectie (CP_2) is diegene waar operator/variabele-relaties gevormd worden. Voorts beargumenteer ik dat deze hypothese belangrijke gevolgen heeft voor de analyse van vraagwoordverplaatsing. Meer specifiek, ik ga ervan uit dat complexe vraagwoorden (bijvoorbeeld *welke man* of *in welk jaar*) basisgegenereerd worden in de specificeerderpositie van CP_1. Bovendien verplaatst een lege operator vanuit de zinsinterne basispositie naar de specificeerderpositie van CP_2. Minimale vraagwoorden zoals *wie* of *wanneer* daarentegen, verplaatsen vanuit hun zinsinterne basispositie via de specificeerderpositie van CP_2 naar de specificeerderpositie van CP_1. Ter ondersteuning van dit voorstel bespreek ik een reeks feiten uit het Engels, het Fries, het Duits, het Roemeens en zowel standaard- als niet-standaardvarianten van het Nederlands.

Hoofdstuk vier bevat de analyse van de constructies die geïllustreerd worden in (3) en (4). Mijn voorstel is geschoeid op de leest van de PF-deletie-theorie. Ik laat dus zien dat het onuitgesproken deel van het voorbeeld in (3) interne syntactische structuur bevat. Het gaat meer specifiek om de structuur van een zogenaamde *cleft*-constructie. Een voorbeeld hiervan wordt gegeven in (5).

(5)   Wou   is   da   da   Jef gezien eit?
       wie   is   dat dat Jef gezien heeft
       'Wie is het die Jef gezien heeft?'   [Wambeeks]

De constructie in (3) wordt afgeleid van het voorbeeld in (5) doordat zowel het vraagwoord *wou* 'wie' als het aanwijzend voornaamwoord *da* 'dat' verplaatsen naar de linkerperiferie van de zin. Wanneer vervolgens op PF de rest van de zin onuitgesproken

blijft, zijn deze twee elementen de enige overblijvende restanten van de *cleft*-constructie in (5). Het feit dat complexe vraagwoorden zoals *welk boek* niet kunnen deelnemen aan dit stramien, volgt uit de complexe interactie tussen de centrale hypothese van hoofdstuk drie en de syntaxis van elliptische vraagzinnen. Diezelfde interactie speelt ook een cruciale rol bij de analyse van de Engelse constructie in (4). In de tweede helft van hoofdstuk vier beargumenteer ik dat het voorzetsel *about* 'over' in (4) achtergelaten is in de specificeerderpositie van CP$_2$ door het vraagwoord *what* 'wat'. Dat vraagwoord verplaatst verder door naar de specificeerderpositie van CP$_1$. Aangezien complexe vraagwoorden zoals *which book* 'welk boek' basisgegenereerd worden in de specificeerderpositie van CP$_1$, kunnen zij nooit een voorzetsel achterlaten in de specificeerderpositie van CP$_2$. Samenvattend, de voorgestelde analyses slagen erin zowel de idiosyncratische als de gemeenschappelijke kenmerken van de constructies in (3) en (4) te vatten.

De resterende hoofdstukken van deel één bevatten verdere empirische en theoretische uitbreidingen van de besproken fenomenen. Hier neemt het Fries een belangrijke plaats in. In die taal kunnen de constructies in (3) en (4) immers samen voorkomen in één en hetzelfde voorbeeld. Voorts komen ook het Frans, het Oost-Noors en twee Standaardnederlandse constructies kort aan bod. Tot slot onderwerp ik de reeds. bestaande analyses van de fenomenen in (3) en (4) aan een kritische evaluatie, en ga ik na wat de theoretische consequenties zijn van de gedane voorstellen.

Deel twee spitst zich toe op de *pro*-analyse van elliptische constructies. In dit deel neem ik de dialectale constructie die geïllustreerd wordt in (6) als uitgangspunt.

(6) A: Marie   zie   Pierre   geirn.
         Marie   ziet   Pierre   graag
     B: Z'   en   duut.
         ze   NEGATIE   doet
     'A: Marie houdt van Pierre. B: Nee, Marie houdt niet van Pierre.' [Wambeeks]

In deze dialoog weerlegt de tweede spreker de stelling van spreker A door middel van een kort, elliptisch antwoord. Dat antwoord bestaat uit een persoonlijk voornaamwoord, een clitisch negatie-element en een vervoegde vorm van het werkwoord *doen*. Op het eerste gezicht lijkt het hier te gaan om de Nederlandse pendant van de Engelse constructie die bekend staat onder de naam *VP-ellipsis*. In het Engels zou het antwoord van spreker B immers *She doesn't* luiden, wat een letterlijke vertaling is van (6B). In hoofdstuk tien laat ik echter zeer gedetailleerd zien dat deze eerste indruk misleidend is. Bij nader toezien blijken er immers aanzienlijke verschillen te bestaan tussen de Wambeekse constructie in (6) en VP-ellipsis in het Engels. Voorts beargumenteer ik dat het antwoord van spreker B in (6) geen verkorte variant is van parafrases van het type *Ze doet dat niet*. Op die manier worden in dit hoofdstuk twee mogelijke hypotheses weerlegd voor de analyse van de constructie in (6). Aan de andere kant leidt deze discussie ook tot een uitgebreide inventaris van karakteristieke eigenschappen van deze constructie. Enerzijds blijkt daaruit dat ze onderhevig is aan een hele reeks beperkingen: het onderwerp kan enkel een onbeklemtoond voornaamwoord zijn, het werkwoord kan geen temporele of aspectuele informatie uitdrukken, slechts een kleine subset van de klasse van bijwoordelijke bepalingen kan gecombineerd worden met dit soort van antwoorden, enzovoort. Anderzijds laat de vergelijking met VP-ellipsis zien dat het

onuitgesproken deel van het antwoord van spreker B in (6) geen interne, syntactische structuur bevat. Het gaat hier dus om een fonologisch niet gerealiseerd voornaamwoord. Ter ondersteuning van deze analyse laat ik zien dat deze constructie geen sporen van verplaatsing kan bevatten, en dat ze niet het voornaamwoord *er* als onderwerp toestaat, dit alles in tegenstelling tot het Engels.

Hoofdstuk elf bevat de theoretische achtergrond voor de analyse van deze constructie. Hierbij ga ik ervan uit dat polariteit (negatie en affirmatie) op twee verschillende posities (NegPs) kan worden gerealiseerd in het middendeel van de zin (IP). Verder onderzoek ik aan de hand van het Hongaars de syntaxis van contradictie, en specificeer ik de formele criteria waaraan fonologisch lege voornaamwoorden moeten voldoen. De analyse in hoofdstuk twaalf vertrekt van de veronderstelling dat het lege voornaamwoord in de constructie in (6) de hele temporele projectie (TP) vervangt. Dat verklaart waarom temporele en aspectuele informatie en de meeste bijwoordelijke bepalingen verplicht afwezig zijn: zij worden normaalgezien basisgegenereerd in de structuur die nu vervangen is door *pro*. Het lege voornaamwoord wordt gefiatteerd door het clitische negatie-element, dat zich in het hoofd van de hogere NegP bevindt. Het onderwerp wordt rechtstreeks in de specificeerderpositie van de vervoegingsprojectie (Agr$_S$P) gegenereerd. In dit hoofdstuk laat ik ook zien hoe deze analyse een verklaring biedt voor de typische kenmerken van deze constructie zoals die in hoofdstuk tien geïnventariseerd werden.

De resterende hoofdstukken van deel twee richten zich op twee andere dialectconstructies waarin het lege TP-voornaamwoord een rol speelt. De eerste is geïllustreerd in (7).

(7)   A: Marie   zie   Pierre   graag.
              Marie   ziet   Pierre   graag
       B: Da 's   nie.
              dat is   niet
       'A: Mary houdt van Pierre. B: Nee, Marie houdt niet van Pierre.'   [Brabants]

In deze dialoog weerlegt spreker B wat A zegt door middel van een kort antwoord, dat bestaat uit het aanwijzend voornaamwoord *dat*, een vervoegde vorm van het koppelwerkwoord *zijn* en het negatieve bijwoord *niet*. Behalve het feit dat ze dezelfde betekenis uitdrukken, lijken de constructies in (6) en (7) volstrekt ongerelateerd aan elkaar. In hoofdstuk dertien laat ik echter zien dat B's antwoord in (7) aan precies dezelfde beperkingen onderhevig is als dat in (6). In het licht van deze gelijkenissen analyseer ik de constructie in (7) dan ook volledig parallel aan die in (6). De centrale aanname daarbij is dat het aanwijzend voornaamwoord *dat* in (7) de fonologisch gerealiseerde tegenhanger is van het lege voornaamwoord *pro* in (6). Voorts beargumenteer ik dat de meest opvallende verschillen tussen (6) en (7), zoals de keuze van het werkwoord, de aan- of afwezigheid van een persoonlijk voornaamwoord als onderwerp en de manier waarop negatie is uitgedrukt, verklaard kunnen worden vanuit het al dan niet fonologisch gerealiseerd zijn van het TP-voornaamwoord.

De laatste constructie die in dit proefschrift uitvoerig aan bod komt, betreft de manier waarop in een aantal Vlaamse en Brabantse dialecten korte antwoorden op ja/nee-vragen gevormd worden. Een voorbeeld hiervan is gegeven in (8).

(8) A: Kom   Marie   mergen?
          komt Marie   morgen
     B: Jui-s.
          ja-ze
     'A: Komt Marie morgen? B: Ja.'   [Wambeeks]

In deze dialoog antwoordt spreker B op A's ja/nee-vraag met een combinatie van het affirmatieve partikel *ja* en het persoonlijk voornaamwoord *ze*, dat terugverwijst naar het onderwerp van de voorafgaande vraag. Dit suggereert dat het hier eens te meer om een elliptische constructie gaat. De vraag is dan ook welke structuur er onuitgesproken blijft. In hoofdstuk veertien laat ik zien dat er zware beperkingen staan op het persoonlijk voornaamwoord in (8B), dat het voornaamwoord *er* niet als onderwerp kan voorkomen, en dat clitische lijdend voorwerpsvoornaamwoorden eveneens uitgesloten zijn. Op basis hiervan neem ik aan dat B's antwoord in (8) geen verkorte vorm is van *Ja ze komt morgen* maar wel van *Ja ze doet*. Anders gesteld, het lege TP-voornaamwoord uit hoofdstuk twaalf duikt hier opnieuw op. Zijn aanwezigheid wordt hier echter gecamoufleerd door het feit dat het grootste deel van de zinsstructuur onuitgesproken blijft als een gevolg van de PF-deletie van IP. De analyse die ik voorstel voor deze constructie maakt dan ook gebruik zowel van de PF-deletie- als van de *pro*-theorie van elliptische constructies.

Zoals hierboven reeds. aangegeven, is de overkoepelende conclusie van dit proefschrift dat zowel de PF-deletie- als de *pro*-theorie noodzakelijk zijn in het licht van de rijke variatie aan elliptische constructies in natuurlijke taal. In deel één heb ik laten zien dat het onuitgesproken deel van de constructie in (3) de volledige syntactische structuur van een *cleft*-constructie bevat. In deel twee heb ik met behulp van de *pro*-theorie een grotendeels gelijklopende analyse voorgesteld voor de constructies in (6), (7) en (8). De empirische gegevens en theoretische analyses die in dit proefschrift besproken worden, reiken echter tot buiten de grenzen van de Nederlandse dialectsyntaxis. Deze implicaties komen aan bod zowel in de slothoofdstukken van de twee afzonderlijke delen als in de algemene conclusie. Samenvattend levert dit proefschrift dan ook niet enkel een bijdrage aan de studie van het Nederlands in al zijn varianten, maar ook aan de theoretische analyse van taal in het algemeen en elliptische constructies in het bijzonder.

Curriculum vitae

Jeroen van Craenenbroeck werd geboren op 25 mei 1976 in Asse, België. Van 1994 tot 1996 studeerde hij aan de Katholieke Universiteit van Brussel, waar hij met grote onderscheiding afstudeerde als Kandidaat in de Taal- en Letterkunde: Germaanse Talen. Nadat hij als ERASMUS-uitwisselingsstudent een half jaar aan de Universiteit van Leiden studeerde, vervolledigde hij zijn studies aan de Katholieke Universiteit van Leuven, waar hij in 1998 met de grootste onderscheiding afstudeerde als Licentiaat in de Taal- en Letterkunde: Germaanse Talen. In 1998-1999 was hij als wetenschappelijk medewerker aan de Katholieke Universiteit van Brussel betrokken bij een editieproject van fragmenten van de *Roman van Heinric en Margriete van Limborch*. In september 1999 werd hij Assistent in Opleiding (AiO) aan de Universiteit van Leiden, en vanaf januari 2000 werkte hij ook actief mee aan het SAND-project (Syntactische Atlas van de Nederlandse Dialecten). Binnen dat project vervulde hij vanaf 2002 een meer coördinerende functie, wat tot een verlenging van zijn AiO-contract heeft geleid. Dit proefschrift is het resultaat van het onderzoek dat hij heeft verricht zowel binnen zijn AiO-contract als binnen het kader van het SAND-project. Sinds september 2004 is hij wetenschappelijk medewerker voor Nederlandse Taalkunde en Nederlandse Taalbeheersing aan de Katholieke Universiteit van Brussel.