Subtypes of sluicing
(Or: On sluicing, swiping, spading and other elliptical activities)

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THE STARTING POINT

A SLUICING

(1) Ed saw someone, but I don’t know who [e].

(2) 

B THE SPLIT CP-HYPOTHESIS

(3) 

(Rizzi 2002)

A+B SLUICING IN A SPLIT CP

(4) a. wh in specCP₁, deletion of CP₂

b. wh in specCP₁, deletion of IP

c. wh in specCP₂, deletion of CP₁

d. wh in specCP₂, deletion of IP

BASIC OUTLINE OF THE COURSE

1. The basic data: spading & swiping
2. Splitting up CP: simple vs. complex wh-phrases
3. The analysis: sluicing in a split CP
4. When spading met swiping: Frisian
5. Other elliptical activities
   5.1. Spading-lookalikes
   5.2. Adverbial modification under sluicing
   5.3. Hungarian sluicing
1 THE BASIC DATA: SPADING & SWIPING

1.1 Introduction

(5) 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.

SWIPING = Sluicing Wh-word Inversion with Prepositions In Northern Germanic
(Merchant 2002)

(6) Jef eis 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.'
[Westphalian Dutch]

SPADING = Sluicing Plus A Demonstrative In Non-Insular Germanic
(Van Craenenbroeck to appear)

1.2 Basic properties

1.2.1 Spading

1.2.1.1 Spading involves a demonstrative pronoun, not a complementizer

(7) Jef eis iemand gezien, mo ik weet nie wou da.
Jeff has someone seen but I know not who that

(8) A: Jef ei gisteren iemand gezien. B: Wou da?
Jeff has yesterday someone seen who that

(9) a. Zegge-men zadde?
say-who that
b. Zeg ne kieje wou [ da / * zadde ] se kunne rupen eit.
say a time who that / that she could call has
tell me who she was able to call.'

(10) a. Zo'k dat wel doen kunnen?
would I that / that do can
b. Wetaine wie as we rupen hebben?
knows anyone who that we called have
Does anyone know who we have called?'

(11) a. Niemand heen dat ooit gewild.
   nobody has that ever wanted
b. Vertelt maar ni wie (*dat) zij haa kunne roope.
tell not who that she has can call
   'Don't say who she was able to call.'

1.2.1.2 Spading only occurs in sluicing

(12) a. Jef eis 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.'
   [Westphalian Dutch]

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

c. Uu (*dad) ei Jef tproblem opgekost?
   how that has Jeff the problem solved
   'How did Jeff solve the problem?'

Jeroen van Craenenbroeck
On sluicing, swiping, spading and other elliptical activities

(13) a. Wui da?
   where that
   'Where?'

b. Tege wou da? against whom that
   'Against whom?'

(14) a. Wui?
   where
   'Where?'

b. Tege wou? against whom
   'Against whom?'

c. Welken boek da?
   which book that
   'Which book?'
   [Westphalian Dutch]

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1.2.1.4 A spaded demonstrative bears stress

(15) a. Zied 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. Zied iemand gezien, ...
   she has someone seen
   ... mo kweet nie [ wou DA / * WOU da].
   but I know not who thatDA exactly / who thatDA
   'She saw someone, but I don't know who.'
   
   [Waeckeh Dutch]

(16) Zied iemand gezien, ...
she has someone seen
... mo kweet nie [ wou DA just / * wou da REST].
but I know not who thatDA exactly / who thatDA exactly
'She saw someone, but I don't know who exactly.'

[Round Dutch]

1.2.1.5 Spading induces a 'surprise'-reading (negative presupposition)

(17) A: Jef iemand gezien. B: Wou da?
   Jeff has someone seen who thatDA
   'A: Jeff saw someone. B: Who?'
   
   [Waeckeh Dutch]

18 Jaid Ceexaar is see Marcus Brutus en Gaius Cessius vermoed, en ...
Julius Caesar is by Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cessius murdered and ...
... de crueg is wannije (iday)?
the question is when thatDA
Julius Caesar was murdered by Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cessius, and the question is when?

[Round Dutch]

1.2.1.6 Spading stems from an underlying cleft

   I have someone seen who thatDA
   'A: I saw someone. B: Who?'
   
   b. Wou ejie gezien?
   who have.you seen
   'Who did you see?'
   
   c. Wou is da da ge gezien etj?
   who is thatDA thatC you seen have
   'Who is it that you saw?'
   
   [Waeckeh Dutch]

(20) a. Wou is da da ge gezien etj?
   who is thatDA thatC you seen have
   'Who is it that you saw?'
   
   b. Wou is 't da ge gezien etj?
   who is it thatC you seen have
   'Who is it that you saw?'
   
   [Waeckeh Dutch]

1.2.1.6.1 Case

(21) a. [ Wea / * Wem ] kemp noe 't fees?
   whoDA / whoC comes to the party
   'Who is coming to the party?'
   
   b. [ * Wea / Wem ] has-te gezieë?
   whoDA / whoC have.you seen
   'Who did you see?'
   
   [Waeckeh Dutch]

SLICING

(22) a. A: 't Kunt murrege inne noe 't fees.
   it comes tomorrow someone to the party
   B: [ Wea? / * Wem ]?
   whoDA / whoC
   'A: Someone is coming to the party tomorrow. B: Who?'
   
   b. A: Ich han inne gezieë. B: [ * Wea / Wem ]?
   I have someone seen
   whoDA / whoC
   'A: I saw someone. B: Who?'
   [Waeckeh Dutch]

CLEFTS

(23) a. [ Wea / * Wem ] is dat daa noe 't fees Kemp?
   whoDA / whoC is thatDA REL to the party comes
   'Who is it that is coming to the party?'
   
   b. [ Wea / * Wem ] is dat daa-te gezieë has?
   whoDA / whoC is thatDA REL-CA you seen have
   'Who is it that you saw?'
   [Waeckeh Dutch]

SPADING

(24) a. A: 't Kunt murrege inne noe 't fees.
   it comes tomorrow someone to the party
   B: [ Wea? / * Wem ] dat?
   whoDA / whoC thatDA
   'A: Someone is coming to the party tomorrow. B: Who?'
   
   b. A: Ich han inne gezieë.
   I have someone seen
   B: [ Wea / * Wem ] dat?
   whoDA / whoC thatDA
   'A: I saw someone. B: Who?'
   [Waeckeh Dutch]

1.2.1.6.2 Modification of the wh-phrase by negation and affirmation

SLICING

(25) A: Lewei ei me bekam iederiechin 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?'
   
   [Waeckeh Dutch]

(26) A: Lewei ei me bekam 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?'
   [Waeckeh Dutch]

CLEFTS

(27) Me wou <nie> was da <*nie> da Lewei geklapt ou?
   with who not was thatDA not thatC Louis spoken had
   [Waeckeh Dutch]

(28) Me wou <wel> was da <*wel> da Lewei geklapt ou?
   with who aff was thatDA aff thatC Louis spoken had
   [Waeckeh Dutch]

SPADING

(29) A: Lewei ei me bekam iederiechin geklapt.
   Louis has with almost everyone spoken
   B: * Me wou <nie> da <nie>?
   with who not thatDA not
   [Waeckeh Dutch]

(30) A: Lewei ei me bekam niemand geklapt.
   Louis has with almost nobody spoken
   B: * Me wou <wel> da <wel>?
   with who aff thatDA aff
   [Waeckeh Dutch]
1.2.1.6.3 Multiple wh

SLEICING
(31) Ieder iemand te kappen, mo kwet ikou mii tou wou me vou.

Everyone stood with someone to talk but I know not who

"Everyone was talking to someone, but I don't know who to whom." [Wambeek Dutch]

CLEFTS
(32) * Wou wa da da me wou stond te kappen?
who was that wh- who with whom to talk

[Wambeek Dutch]

SPADING
(33) Ieder iemand te kappen, ...

... no kwet nie wou (*da) me wou (*da),

but I know not who that wh- with who that wh-

[Wambeek Dutch]

1.2.1.6.4 Non-overt antecedent

SLEICING
(34) [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

[Wambeek Dutch]

CLEFTS
(35) [context: same as in (34)]

*Wou is da da ge gotj kizen?
who is that wh- that- you go choose

"Who is it that you will choose?"

[Wambeek Dutch]

SPADING
(36) [context: same as in (34)]

*Wou da?
who that

[Wambeek Dutch]

Table 1 Comparison of slicing, spading and clefts with a wh-pivot

1.2.1.6.5 Modification of the wh-phrase by nog 'else'

SLEICING
(37) A: Jef ei nie alliein Lewie gezien. B: Nieje? Wou nog?

Jeff has not just Louis seen no who else

"Jeff hasn't just seen Louis. B: No? Who else (has he seen)?"

[Wambeek Dutch]

CLEFTS
(38) * Wou <nog> was da <nog> da Jef gezien ou?
who else was that wh- else that- Jeff seen had

[Wambeek Dutch]

SPADING
(39) A: Jef ei nie alliein Lewie gezien.

Jeff has not just Louis seen

B: * Nieje? Wou <nog> da <nog>?

no who else that wh- else

[Wambeek Dutch]

1.2.1.6.6 Summary: spading vs. clefts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SLEICING</th>
<th>SPADING</th>
<th>CLEFTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>typing of wh-phrase</td>
<td>BCC</td>
<td>RDM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modification by NEG and AFF</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>multiple wh</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-overt antecedent</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modification by nog 'else'</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.1.7 Data summary: basic properties of spading

(40) Basic properties of spading

a. Spading involves a demonstrative pronoun, not a complementizer
b. Spading only occurs in splicing
c. Spading only targets minimal wh-phrases
d. A spaded demonstrative bears stress
e. Spading induces a 'surprise'-reading
f. Spading stems from an underlying cleft

1.2.2 Swiping

(41) Swiping only occurs in slicing

1.2.2.1 Swiping only occurs in slicing

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.

1.2.2.2 Swiping only targets minimal wh-phrases

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

1.2.2.3 A swiped preposition bears stress

a. Ed invited someone, but I don't know [WHO / * who].
b. Ben was talking, but I don't know [TO WHOM / * TO WHO].
c. Ben was talking, but I don't know [WHO TO / WHO TO].

1.2.2.4 *Ed was talking with someone about something, but I don't know who WITH what.

Jeroen van Craenenbroek

On slicing, splicing, spading and other elliptical activities

EGG Summer School Wroclaw
25 July – 5 August 2005
1.2.2.4 Swiping only affects prepositions which have no antecedent

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

Howard shares the apartment with some one, but I have no idea who with.

Howard [(v, [v, _howard shares the apartment] with someone), but I have no idea who with, ]

Howard shares the apartment. I forget who (*with).

She got involved in something over her head, but I don't remember what (*in).

1.2.2.5 Data summary

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

1.2.3 Spading vs. swiping: setting the research agenda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPADING</th>
<th>SWIPING</th>
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<tr>
<td>- only occurs in sluicing</td>
<td>- only occurs in sluicing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- only targets minimal wh-phrases</td>
<td>- only targets minimal wh-phrases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- he stranded element (demi) prep) bears stress</td>
<td>- he stranded element (demi) prep) bears stress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- involves a demonstrative</td>
<td>- involves a demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- stems from a cleft</td>
<td>- stems from a cleft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- induces a <em>surprise</em>-reading</td>
<td>- induces a <em>surprise</em>-reading</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 Basic properties of spading and swiping

2 SPLITTING UP CP: SIMPLE VS. COMPLEX WH-PHRASES

2.1 The basic proposal

2.2 Supporting evidence

2.2.1 Two head positions

2.2.2 Two head positions vis-à-vis wh-movement
2.2.3 The operator/non-operator status of wh-phrases

58. a. Pe cine [*E-] ai văzut?
   * who, him have you seen
   rE: who, him have you seen

   * Who did you see?

   [Romanians, Dobrovie-Kanu 1996:197-198]

59. a. * Which grade did his, teacher give [which student]?
   * Which grade did his, teacher give who?
   b. * Which grade did his, teacher give who?
   (Reinhart no date:1)

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

61. a. [ Die jongens ], die, ken ik niet toub.
   * Those boys, do I not know?
   b. * Iedereen, die, ken ik niet toub.
   * Everybody, do I not know?

62. a. ?? [ Welke jongen ], die, heb je toub gezien?
   * Which boy, do you see?
   b. * Wie, die, heb je toub gezien?
   * Who, do you see?

63. a. * Which boy does Julia like?
   * Which boy, do his parents like?
   b. * [Which boy], do his, parents like?
   c. * [Which boy], did you see, without saying hi to e?

2.2.4 Spelling out intermediate copies

64. a. * Wen glaubt Hans wen Jakob gesehen hat?
   * Who does Hans think that Jakob saw?
   b. * Wen, who, denkt Hans von Jakob gesehen hat?
   * Who, think Hans about Jakob seen has

   [German, McDaniel 1986]

65. a. Mit wen glaubst du mit wen Hans spricht?
   * Who do you think Hans is talking to?
   b. * Wesen Buch glaubst du, dass Wesen Buch Hans liest?
   * Whose book, do you think, that whose book Hans reads

   [German, McDaniel 1986]

2.2.5 The empty operator

66. a. * [ Waar / * Wat ] heb je die kist mee opengemaakt?
   * What did you open that crate with?
   where / what have you that crate with open.made
   ‘What did you open that crate with?’

   [Verba, Bekker 1995:3]

2.2.6 Truncating the CP-domain

67. a. * Die sleutel is te klein [ Op om het slot mee open te doen ]
   * That key is too small [ Op the lock with open to do
   that key is too small to open the lock with.’
   * Have I already with worked
   ‘I have already worked with that.’

   [Van de Rijt 1981:289-290]

2.2.7 Subextraction from specCP and the Freezing principle

68. 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
   ‘What book on table lies is for you’

   [Van de Rijt 1981:289-290]
2.3 Open issues and recalcitrant data

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

(76) 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 to put!

(77) [After A’s birthday party, A and B are standing in front of the table on which the gifts are piled. A wants to know who gave A each particular gift.]

<table>
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<th></th>
<th>ok</th>
<th>?</th>
<th>77-79</th>
<th>*</th>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>63%</td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>66%</td>
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</table>

(78) A gliding scale of complexity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SIMPLE</th>
<th>COMPLEX</th>
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<tr>
<td>how, why</td>
<td>who, what, which buy</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Chinese

Dutch, English

2.3.2 Reconstruction

(79) a. [or [who]]  
b. [or [who]]

(80) [Which friend of her’s] did [every student], invite?

(81) LF: <Which friend of her’s> did every student, invite <which friend of her’s>

(82) complex wh

2.3.3 Embedded left dislocation in dialectal Dutch

(83) Naar zijn promotie, daar kijkt [iedere taalkundige], naar twa beurt uit.  
Every linguist looks forward to his defense.

(84) a. A [lei/ * se stesso], Maria dice che non ci pensiamo mai.  
Mary says that we never think of her.

b. A [lei/ * se stesso], Maria non ci pensa.  
Mary doesn’t think of herself

(85) ‘It is himself; who John, likes best.’

(86) ‘[Alan’s grades] were difficult [Op for him, to explain twp to his parents].’

(87) ‘A failing grade in their, first year] would be hard [Op for anyone, to explain twp to their parents].’

(J. Merchant p.c.)
3

3.1 Spading

3.1.1 A preliminary assumption

(97) A: Jef is iemand gezien. B: Wou da?
Jeff has someone seen who
'A: Jeff saw someone. B: Who?'

(98) Jef ei nen BOEK gekocht.
Jeff has a book bought
'Jeff bought a BOOK.'

(99) Wannie je ei < *nen BOEK> Jef < nen BOEK> gekocht?
When has a book Jeff a book bought?
'When did Jeff buy a BOOK?'

3.1.2 The analysis

(100) A: Jef is iemand gezien. B: Wou da?
Jeff has someone seen who
'A: Jeff saw someone. B: Who?'

(101) Wou ei Jef gezien?
who has Jeff seen
'Who has Jeff seen?'

(102) Wou is da da Jef gezien eit?
who is that that-loc Jef seen has
'Who is it that Jeff has seen?'

(103) [p da [C° [w-arg[C:Jef gezien eit]] that-loc is who that-loc Jef seen has]

(104) [p C°[w-arg[C:Jef gezien eit]] that-loc is who that-loc Jef seen has]

(105) 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.
   (Richards 2001:105)

(106) [...] XP2 [\ldots] [...] [\ldots] XP3 [...]
   (Richards 2001:134)

(107) a. Jan had iedereen a 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?
   (Jan introduced to whom)
c. Wie had Jan aan wie voorgesteld?
   (Who had Jan to whom introduced)
   'Who had John introduced to whom?'

(108) [p C°[w-arg[C:Jef gezien eit]] that-loc is who that-loc Jef seen has]

(109) [p C°[w-arg[C:Jef gezien eit]] that-loc is who that-loc Jef seen has]]
3.1.3 The basic properties of spading revisited

(115) Basic properties of spading
a. Spading involves a demonstrative pronoun, not a complementizer
b. Spading only occurs in sluicing
c. Spading only targets minimal wh-phrases
d. A spaded demonstrative bears stress
e. Spading induces a ‘surprise’-reading
f. Spading stems from an underlying elid

(116) *Wu dad ei Jef probleem opgelost?
how that.was has Jeff the problem solved
INTENDED READING: ‘How did Jeff solve the problem?’

(117) *Wu dad is da Jef gezien eit?
who that.was is that.w- Jeff seen has
INTENDED READING: ‘Who is it that Jeff has seen?’

(118) [CP wou CP2 wou] [CP2 da Jef gezien eit][CP1 wou] [CP1 da Jef gezien eit’]]]
3.2 Swiping

3.2.1 The analysis

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

(126) [a Ed wrote a book [w about what \(w_{op} \odot q\)]]

(127) \([C, C'_{op}, w_{op}\ odot q] \rightarrow [C, C'_{op}, w_{op}\ odot q] \rightarrow [C, C'_{op}, w_{op}\ odot q]]\]

(128) \([C, C'_{op}, w_{op}\ odot q] \rightarrow [C, C'_{op}, w_{op}\ odot q] \rightarrow [C, C'_{op}, w_{op}\ odot q]]\]

(129) \([C, C'_{op}, w_{op}\ odot q] \rightarrow [C, C'_{op}, w_{op}\ odot q] \rightarrow [C, C'_{op}, w_{op}\ odot q]]\]

APPENDIX: SLICING = PF-DELETION OR \(pro_\ell\)?

Introduction

(138) Ed bought something, but I don't know what \(e\).

Arguments in favour of a PF-deletion analysis to slicing

1. Case of the wh-phrase in SPD

SLICING

(140) a. \(A\): Kant murrege inne noa \(y\ fees.\) it comes tomorrow someone to the party
\(B\): \({Wew?/ * Wem?}\) \(\text{wh}_{\text{op}} / \text{wh}_{\text{op}}\) \(A:\) Someone is coming to the party tomorrow. \(B:\) Who?

b. \(A:\) Ich han inne g消极. \(B:\) \({Wew?/ * Wem?}\) \(\text{I have someone seen}\) \(\text{wh}_{\text{op}} / \text{wh}_{\text{op}}\) \(A:\) I saw someone. \(B:\) Who?

(Warbeck Dutch)
SPADING

(141) a. A: ʻt Kumt murrege inne nou ʻt fees.
   it comes tomorrow someone to the party
   B: { Wea / * Wem } dat?
   who_{dat} / who_{gen}, that_{dat}
   'A: Someone is coming to the party tomorrow. B: Who?'
   b. A: Ich han inne geziat.
      I have someone seen
   B: { Wea / * Wem } dat?
      who_{dat} / who_{gen}, that_{dat}
   'A: I saw someone. B: Who?'

2. the presence of the demonstrative pronoun

(142) Jef eit iemand gezien, mo ik weet nie wou da.
   Jeff has someone seen but I know not who that_{dat}
   'Jeff saw someone, but I don’t know who.’

3. the empirical parallelisms between SPD and clefts

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<tr>
<th>SLEICING</th>
<th>SPADING</th>
<th>CLEFTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Case of wh-locus</td>
<td>SGE</td>
<td>ROM</td>
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<tr>
<td>modification by NEG and AFF</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>multiple wh</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-overt antecedent</td>
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<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modification by nog ‘else’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. the different behavior of simple and complex wh-phrases

(143) a. Wui dat?
   where that_{dat}
   "Where?”
   b. Tege wou dat?
      against whom that_{dat}
   "Against whom?"
   c. * Welken boek dat?
      which book that_{dat}

5. the restriction to sluicing

(144)*Uu dad ei Jef no probleem opgelost?
   how that_{dat} has Jeff the problem solved
   INTENDED READING: 'How did Jeff solve the problem?”
   [Weesak dach]

(145)*Vou dad is da Jef gezien ei?
   who that_{gen} is that_{gen} Jeff seen has
   INTENDED READING: 'Who is it that Jeff has seen’?
   [Weesak dach]

(146) 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 Loan talking?

4 WHEN SPADING MET SWIPING: FRISIAN

4.1 Introduction

(147) A: Jan hat juster in prantsie holden.
   John has yesterday a talk held
   B: Wêr dat oer?
      where that_{dat} about
   'A: John gave a talk yesterday. B: What about?’

4.2 Frisian spading

   I have yesterday someone seen who that_{dat}
   'A: I saw someone yesterday. B: Who?’
   b. Mei wa (*dat) stie Jan juster te praten?
      with who that_{dat} stood John yesterday to talk
   "Who was John talking to yesterday?’
   c. A: Ik haw in boek fan Jan liend.
      I have a book of John borrowed
   B: Hokker boek (*dat)?
      which book that_{dat}
   d. Wa. DAT? / * WA dat?
      who that_{dat} / who that_{dat}
   "Who?’
   e. A: Jan hie net allinnich Pty únnooge.
      John had not only Pete invited
   B: (i) Nee? Wa noch meer (*dat)?
      no who else more that_{dat}
   (ii) * Nee? Wa noch meer wie dat dy’t er …
       no who else more was that_{dat} (ref.) he … únnooge lie?
      invited had
   'A: John hadn’t just invited Pete. B: No? Who else?’

4.3 Frisian swiping

(150) * 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, Meurs 2002:110]

(151) A: Jan hat juster in prantsje holden.
   John has yesterday a talk held
   B: Wêr dat oer?
      where that_{dat} about
   'A: John gave a talk yesterday. B: What about?’

(152) Jan hat juster in prantsje holden, mar ik wyt net wêr oner.
   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]
(153) What is that book ABOUT?

(154) a. Wêr giet dat boek ÔER?
where goes that book over
'What is that book ABOUT?'
b. * Wa giet dat boek ÔER?
who goes that book over
INTENDED MEANING: 'Who is that book ABOUT?'

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

(156) A: Jan hat juster in prantsje holden.
John has yesterday a talk held
B: a. Wêr dat oer?
where that that about
b. ? Wêner dat?
where about that
'A: John gave a talk yesterday. B: What about?'

(157) 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 about
'A: John was talking to someone yesterday. B: Who?'

(158) a. A: Jan hat juster in prantsje holden.
John has yesterday a talk held
B: * Hokker boek oer?
which book about
b. * Hokker tiidrek giet dat boek ÔER?
which era goes that book about
c. Hokker tiidrek GIET dat boek ÔER?
which era goes that book about
'd. 'Which era is that book about?
A: Jan hat juster in prantsje holden.
John has yesterday a talk held
B: * Hokker boek dat oer?
which book that about

4.4 The analysis

(159) A: Jan hat juster in prantsje holden.
John has yesterday a talk held
B: Wêr dat oer?
where that that about
'A: John gave a talk yesterday. B: About what?'

(160) Wêr wie dat oer dat Jan juster in prantsje holden hat?
where was that about that; John yesterday a talk held has
'What was it that John gave a talk about yesterday?'
5 OTHER ELLIPTICAL ACTIVITIES

5.1 Spading-lookalikes

5.1.1 Sluicing + dan ‘then’

(162) A: Ed heet iemand gezien.  B: Oh? Wie dan?  
Ed has someone seen  oh who then
'A: Ed saw someone.  B: Really? Who?'  (Dutch)

(163) a. * Wie DAN?  
who then
b. Wie dan?  
who then
'Who?'  (Dutch)

(164) 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)

(165) A: Ed heet niet alleen Julia uitgenodigd.  B: Neet? 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)

(166) A: Je moet één van je boeken aan Ed geven.  
you must one of your books to Ed give
Ed you give
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)

5.1.2 Eastern Norwegian spading

(167) a. * Hvem det?  
who that
b. * Hva det?  
what that
Hvorfor det?  
Why
Why?

Hvorfor det?  
how that
How do you mean?

Why do you say that?

Av liviken grunn det?  
of which reason that

(168) Hvorfor DET? / * Hvorfor det?  
why that / why that
'Why?'  (Eastern Norwegian)

(169) Hvorfor (*det) har Jens kjøpt ny bil?  
why that has Jens bought new car
'Why has Jens bought a new car?'  (Eastern Norwegian)

(170) a. A: Jens kommer ikke.  B: * Hvordan <i>ikke</i> det <i>ikke</i>?  
Jens comes not how not that
Hvorfor det?  
why that
A: Is Jens coming to the party to see Mary?  B: Why else?

b. Hvorfor <i>ellers</i> er det <i>ellers</i> at Jens kommer?  
why else is that else that
Jens comes
Why else is it that Jens is coming?

(171) a. A: Kommer Jens til festen for å se Marit?  
comes Jens to the party to see Mary
Hvorfor <i>*det</i>  
why that
A: Why?

b. Hvorfor *ellers* er det <i>ellers</i> at Jens kommer?  
why else is that else that
Jens comes
Why else is it that Jens is coming?

(172) [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
Why?

b. Hvorfor er det at hun har gjort det?  
why that has she done
Why is it that she has done that?

(173) [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 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. * Hvem er det da da ge gekruzen etj?  
who is that you have chosen
Who is it that you have chosen?

b. Hvem er det da da ge gekruzen etj?  
who is that you have chosen
Who is it that you have chosen?

(174) A gliding scale of complexity

SIMPLE

Chinese, Eastern Norwegian

Dutch, English

COMPLEX

how, why

which bay

(175) Hvorfor det at Jens har kjøpt ny bil?  
why that has Jens bought new car
'Why has Jens bought a new car?'  (Eastern Norwegian)

(176) * Wuiouem da je ne nieven onno gekocht eit?  
why that is Jeff a new car bought
'Why has Jeff bought a new car?'  (Norwegian Dutch)
5.1.3 French spading

(177) a. Je vais à Londres. B. Quand ça?
   A: Je vais à Londres le 25 juillet.
   'A: I’m going to London. B: When?

b. A: Qui ça?
   B: Je ne sais pas qui c’est.
   'A: Who?
   B: Who?

(178) a. Marie est en train de lire un livre.
   B: Quel livre Marie est en train de lire?
   'B: What book is Marie reading?

b. Qui ça?
   A: Je ne sais pas qui c’est.
   'B: Who?
   A: Who?

c. A: Je ne sais pas qui c’est.
   B: Je ne sais pas qui c’est.
   'A: I don’t know who.
   B: I don’t know who.

d. Tout le monde était en train de parler avec quelqu’un...
   B: Je ne sais pas qui c’est.
   'B: I don’t know who.

'What?

5.2 Adverbial modification under sluicing

5.2.1 Introduction

(181) Ed heeft iemand gezien, maar ik weet niet wie precies.
   ‘Ed has seen someone, but I don’t know who exactly.’

(182) Ed heeft een boel mensen gezien, maar ik weet niet wie allemaal.
   ‘Ed has seen a bunch of people, but I don’t know who all of them were.’

(183) A: Je zou iemand kunnen bellen. B. Wie bijvoorbeeld?
   ‘A: You could call someone. B: Who for example?’

5.2.2 Spading and swiping as constituency diagnostics

(185) Ed invited someone, but I don’t know who exactly.

(186) A: You should invite someone.
   B: Who for example?

(187) *A bunch of students were protesting, and the FBI is trying to find out who all.

(188) *Someone dented my car last night – I wish I knew who the hell.

5.2.3 Adverbial modifiers in non-elliptical wh-questions

(191) a. What exactly did he say that he wanted?
   b. What did he say that he exactly wanted?
   c. What did he say that he wanted exactly?

(192) a. Wie precies denk je dat Ed gezien heeft?
   b. Wie denk je precies dat Ed gezien heeft?
   c. Wie denk je dat Ed gezien heeft?

5.2.4 The analysis: stranding the adverbial modifier in specCP

5.2.4.1 Adverbial modification under swiping

(195) Ed gave a talk, but I don’t know what about exactly.

(196) [Ed gave a talk (about ‘about [what] [in, out] exactly [exactly [a]]])]

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5.2.4.2 Adverbial modification under spading

(197) CP  
| (198) A: Ed eefd iemand uitgenodigd. | B: Wie da precies?  
| Ed has someone invited | who that exactly  
| ‘A: Ed has invited someone. B: Who exactly?’  

(199) [o dat wie] is [o wie, -o] precies [o wie] dat Piet uitgenodigd heeft]  
that is who exactly who that Piet invited has

(200) CP  
| (201) A: John will also say something. | B: ? Exactly what?  
| Ed heeft iemand geholpen. | who exactly who  
| Ed has someone helped | B: ? Precies wie?  
| ‘Who exactly did John see?’  

5.2.5 A residual issue: pied-piping the modifier in spading

B: *Wie precies da?  
who exactly that  
‘A: Ed has invited someone. B: Who exactly?’

option 01

(203) A: Piet eefd ne student gezien B: *Welke student da?  
Piet has a student seen | which student that  
‘A: Piet has seen a student. B: Which student?’

option 02

(204) A: Piet eefd ne student gezien B: Welke student precies?  
Piet has a student seen | which student exactly  
‘A: Piet has seen a student. B: Which student exactly?’

(205) CP  
| (206) A: Die man gisteren vertrokke ik niet.  
that man yesterday trusted I not  
‘I didn’t trust that man yesterday.’
(210) * Ik vroeg ma af welke kadet mijn kinderen just...
I ask myself off which present my children exactly
... dat de gegeven that *sent* have
'wonder which present exactly my children have given.'

(211) ?? Ik vroeg ma af men kinderen welke kadet just...
I ask myself off my children which present exactly
... dat de gegeven that *sent* have
'I wonder which present exactly my children have given.'

(212) Ik vroeg ma af men kinderen welke kadet just...
I ask myself off my children which present exactly
... dat de gegeven that *sent* have
'wonder which present exactly my children have given.'

5.3 Hungarian slicing

5.3.1 Introduction: another case of slicing in a split CP

(213) A gyerek találkozat valakivel de nem élmékszám, hogy kivel,
the children met someone with but not remember that who with
'children met someone, but I don't remember who.'

(214) ? Tudom, hogy a diákok es a tanárok is meghívák valakit de ...'know-1SG that the students and the teachers also invited someone, but ...
know-1SG that the students whom
'I know that the students and the teachers each invited someone, but I don't know who the students invited.'

(215) wh in spec CP, deletion of IP

\[ CP \rightarrow CP \rightarrow \text{ELLIPSIS} \]

5.3.2 Towards a slicing typology: relativizing the [s]-feature

(216) a. the syntax of [s]: \( V_{\text{WHO}}(x, \phi) \)
b. the phonology of [s]: \( e_s \rightarrow \Omega / s / \ldots \)
c. the semantics of [s]: \( \{ e \} \rightarrow s : \text{given} (p) \phi \)

5.3.3 Consequences of the proposal: close encounters with slicing of a different kind

(217) The Wh-slicing-correlation
The syntactic features that the [s]-feature has to check in a certain language are identical to the strong features a wh-phrase has to check in a regular constituent question in that language.

(218) a. the syntax of [s] in English: \( V_{\text{WHO}}(x, \phi) \)
b. the syntax of [s] in Hungarian: \( e_s \rightarrow \Omega / s / \ldots \)

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This section is based on joint work with Anikó Liptáék, cf. Van Craenenbroeck & Liptáék (to appear).
5.3.4 The bigger picture: three types of sluicing-languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>type of wh-movement</th>
<th>syntactic properties of the $[\epsilon]$-feature</th>
<th>sample languages</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>movement to specCP</td>
<td>$E_{\text{postP, specP}}$</td>
<td>English, Dutch, German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>movement to specFocP</td>
<td>$E_{\text{whP}}$</td>
<td>Hungarian, Spanish, Basque, Greek, Polish</td>
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<tr>
<td>wh-in-situ</td>
<td>/ $(\text{no sluicing})$</td>
<td>Korean, Japanese, Chinese</td>
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Table 3 Typology of wh-movement and sluicing constructions