A Minimalist approach to Reprise Fragments

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1. Introduction

- *Reprise fragments* (RFs) (Bolinger 1978, Ginzburg 2012:148) are nonsentential questions that prototypically involve the repetition of a morpheme, word, or phrase from the most recent utterance in a discourse:[1]

(1) A: Is John a neurophysiologist? B: NEURO?

(2) A: Did Bo finagle a raise? B: BO? / FINAGLE? (Ginzburg & Cooper 2004)

(3) A: John's bought a red car. B: A RED car?

- No prior Minimalist analyses of RFs[2]
- No prior cross-linguistic research on RFs whatsoever

- The **connectivity effects** displayed by standard, non-reprise fragments motivates a clausal ellipsis approach to standard fragments: (see Merchant 2004: 676-684)

(4) A: Wem folgt Hans? B: {Dem / * Den} Lehrer
      who.DAT follows Hans?   the.DAT the.ACC teacher

(5) Hans folgt[+DAT] dem[+DAT] Lehrer. (*underlying clause for 4B*)

- RFs also display connectivity effects (see 7-11), which motivates an analysis whereby RFs are derived from *reprise questions* (RQs) (e.g. *echo questions*) via clausal ellipsis.

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1   The term *reprise question* was coined by Bolinger (1978). The term *reprise fragment* is commonly used in the monostratal generative literature (e.g. Ginzburg & Cooper 2004, Purver 2004, Ginzburg 2012), in which these fragmentary utterances have received exclusive attention. For current purposes, one can think of *reprise question* and *reprise fragment* as synonymous with *echo question* and *echo fragment*.

2   English RFs have been analysed in monostratal frameworks such as HPSG (Ginzburg & Cooper 2004), Conversation-Oriented Semantics (KoS, Ginzburg 2012), and Dynamic Syntax (Kempson et al. 2011).

(6) a.   Is John a NEUROphysiologist?   (RQ counterpart of 1B)

       b.   Did Bo FINAGLE a raise?   (RQ counterpart of 2B)

       c.   John's bought a RED car?   (RQ counterpart of 3B)

Connectivity effects displayed by reprise fragments[3]

(7)   *Case connectivity in reprise fragments*
      a.   A: Did he phone you?   B: HE? / * HIM?   (Ginzburg & Cooper 2004:302)

      b.   A: Ist   dieser   Platz   noch   frei?
                Is   this.NOM   place   still   free?

        B: {DIESER / * DIESEN / * DIESEM} Platz?
           This.nom /   this.acc /   this.dat   place   (ibid.)

(8)   *Anaphoric binding in reprise fragments*
      a.   A: John$_i$ will arrive in his$_i$ car.
          B: * In John$_i$'s CAR?   *Principle C violation*

      b.   A: John$_i$ thinks that he$_i$ is being spied on.
          B: * That the bastard$_i$ is being SPIED on?   *Principle C violation*

      c.   A: Does John$_i$ think that Mary will kiss him$_i$?
          B: * That MARY will kiss himself$_i$?   *Principle A violation*

(9)   *Morphological mismatch violations in reprise fragments*
      a.   A: Did he adore the book?   B: ADORE? / * ADORED?   (Ginzburg 2012:152)
      b.   A: Is John hugging Pete?   B: HUGGING? / * HUGGED?

(10) *Quantifier-binding in reprise fragments*
      A: [Every Englishman]$_i$ admires his$_i$ mother.   B: His$_i$ MOTHER?

Aim: Outline an analysis of clausal ellipsis that accounts for the behaviour of standard and reprise fragments in English and Hungarian.

§2: The syntax of reprise questions (RQs) in English and Hungarian

§3: The distribution of reprise fragments (RFs) in English and Hungarian

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3   One might argue that RFs show connectivity effects not because they are derived from an underlying RQ, but because they are verbatim 'copies' of the expression in the antecedent clause which they reprise. For evidence that RFs are not verbatim copies, see **Appendix 1**.

§4: Analysis. Crucial components:

    (i)   Clausal ellipsis may occur 'around' in-situ remnants

    (ii)   Clausal ellipsis is always licensed by a **syntactically derived** question

   (iii) QUD is composed of two non-intersecting sets; standard and reprise questions

2. Reprise questions in English and Hungarian

2.1. The syntax of English reprise questions

- English RQs involved unselective binding of a *Focus Phrase* (Drubig 1994) by an echo-question operator   (Artstein 2002, Sobin 2010, cf. Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2015)

(11) A: Did Bo finagle a raise?   B: Did Bo FINAGLE a raise?

(12)   (*syntax tree for 11B*)
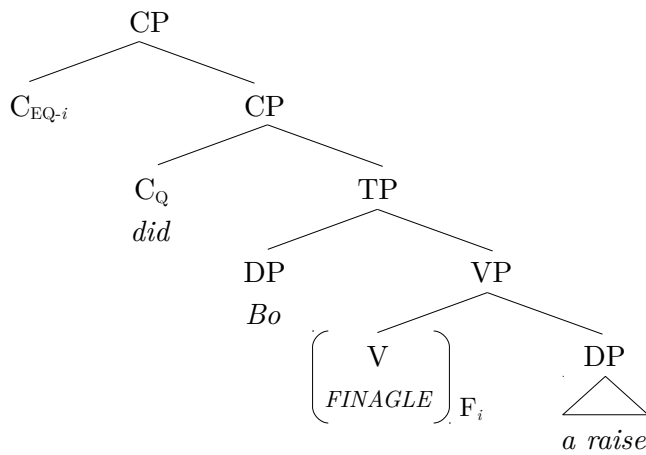
where F = F-marking

- English RQs are insensitive to syntactic islands:

(13) $[_{\text{ISLAND}}$ The man that kissed WHO] is coming to dinner?   (Artstein 2002 and refs therein)

- No restriction on F-percolation = no restriction on the size of question phrase:

(14) a.   [$C_{\text{EQ-}i}$ Did Bo FINAGLE$_i$ a raise]?   (question phrase = *finagle*)

       b.   [$C_{\text{EQ-}i}$ Did Bo $[_{\text{VP}}$ FINAGLE a raise$]_{\text{F-}i}$]?   (question phrase = *finagle a raise*)

       c.   [$C_{\text{EQ-}i}$ Did $[_{\text{TP}}$ Bo FINAGLE a raise$]_{\text{F-}i}$]   (question phrase = *Bo finagle a raise*)

- This differs to English standard questions, which display limited pied-piping:

(15) a. $[_{\text{DP}}$ Who$]_1$ did Mary speak with t_1?

       b. $[_{\text{PP}}$ With whom$]_1$ did Mary speak t_1?

       c. * $[_{\text{VP}}$ Speak with whom$]_1$ did Mary t_1?

2.2. The syntax of Hungarian reprise questions

(16) Áron   ki-t   csókolt   meg?   [standard question]
      Áron   who-ACC   kiss.PST.3SG   PRT
      'Who did Áron kiss?'

- Hungarian standard questions involve:
  - (i)   overt A′-movement of the *wh*-item (or the phrase containing it) to Spec, FocP
  - (ii)   covert A′-movement of the *wh*-item to Spec, CP   (Lipták 2001)

- Hungarian reprise questions generally display same syntax as Hungarian standard questions, but with an additional C_{EQ} projection.

(17) A: Áron   meg csókolta   Drakulát.
         Áron   PRT   kiss.PST.3SG   Dracula.ACC
         'Áron kissed Dracula.'

   a. B: Áron   **KI-T**   csókolt   meg?   [*wh*-RQs: preverbal]
           Áron   **who-ACC**   kiss.PST.3SG   PRT
           'Áron kissed WHO?'

   b. B: Áron   **DRAKULÁ-T**   csókolta   meg?   [polar RQ: preverbal]
           Áron   **Dracula-ACC**   kiss.PST.3SG   PRT
           'Was it really DRACULA that Áron kissed?'

   c. B: *   Áron   meg   csókolt   **KI-T**?   [* *wh*-RQ: in-situ]
           Áron   PRT   kiss.PST.3SG   **who-ACC**

(18) $CP_{(EQ)}$ (*syntax tree for 16, 17a, and 17b*)
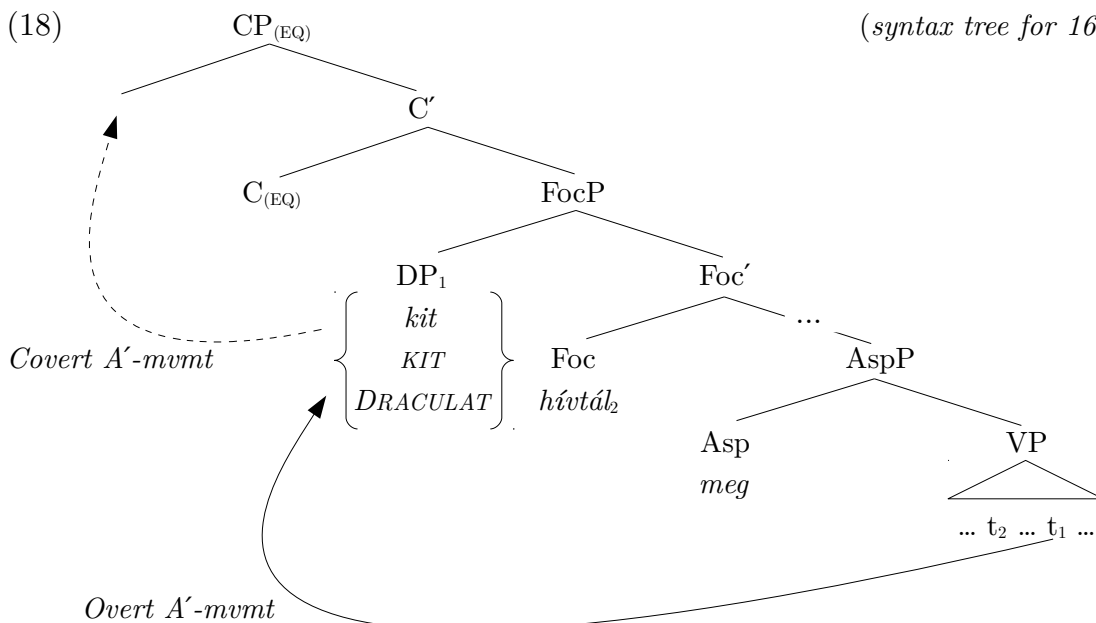
- If FocP isn't projected, then the question phrase only undergoes <u>covert</u> A′-movement:

(19) A: El   a   Kalasnyikovval!   (*Verbless imperative*)
   away the Kalashnikov.INST
            'Away with the Kalashnikov!'

     B: * A **KALASNYIKOVVAL** el?   [polar RQ: A′-movement]
     B′: El a **KALASNYIKOVVAL**?   [polar RQ: in-situ]

(20) A: Látott   János   a   görög   úton   kariatidákat?
            see.PST.3SG János   the   Greek trip.on caryatids.ACC
            'Did John see caryatids during the Greece trip?'

     B: ?*Hogy   **KARIATIDÁKAT** látott-e   a   görög úton?   [RQ: A′-movement]
            that   **caryatids.ACC** see.PST.3SG-Q the Greek   trip.on
            'Did he see CARYATIDS during the Greece trip?'

     B′:   Hogy   látott-e   a   görög   úton   **KARIATIDÁKAT**?   [RQ: in-situ]
            that   see.PST.3SG-Q   the   Greek   trip.on   **caryatids.ACC**
            'Did he see CARYATIDS during the Greece trip?'

(21)   (*syntax tree for 18B′*)

Covert A′-movement
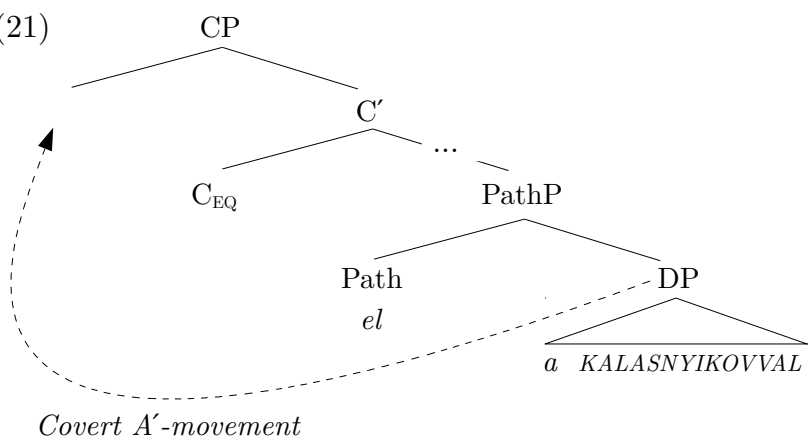
- Both standard and reprise questions are sensitive to syntactic islands in Hungarian:

(22) a. * Hány   adtad   el [$_{\text{ISLAND}}$ a t_1 kilós   dinnyét].   (standard *q*)
            how.many sell.PST.2SG PRT   the t_1 kilo.ADJ melon.ACC
            'How many kilos was the melon that you sold?'

     b. * HÚSZ$_1$ adtad   el [$_{\text{ISLAND}}$ a t_1 kilós   dinnyét]?   (reprise *q*)
            twenty sell.PST.2SG PRT   the t_1 kilo.ADJ melon.ACC
            'You sold the TWENTY kilo melon?'

- The apparent 'island-insensitivity' displayed by in-situ reprise questions in Hungarian is illusory, as the phrase that undergoes covert A′-movement is actually the **entire island**:

(23) A: El [$_{\text{ISLAND}}$ a   húsz   kilós   dinnyével]!
away   the   twenty kilo.ADJ melon.INST
'Away with the twenty kilo melon!'

B: El [$_{\text{ISLAND}}$ a **HÚSZ** kilós dinnyével]?   (reprise q)

(24) *LF for (23):*   [$_{\text{CP}}$ [$_{\text{ISLAND}}$ a **HÚSZ** kilós dinnyével]$_1$ C$_{\text{EQ}}$ [$_{\text{PP}}$ el t_1]]

(for more on in-situ RQs, see **Appendix 2**)

Summary of §2:

	Type of utterance	
	Standard question	**Reprise question**
English	Overt A′-movement to SpecCP Question phrase: limited pied-piping Island-sensitive	Unselective binding with C$_{\text{EQ}}$ Question phrase: unrestricted F-percolation Island-insensitive
Hungarian	Overt A′-movement to SpecFocP Covert A′-movement to SpecCP Question phrase: limited pied-piping Island-sensitive	(Overt A′-movement to SpecFocP) Covert A′-movement to SpecCP Question phrase: limited pied-piping Island-sensitive

3.   Reprise fragments in English and Hungarian

(25) A: John saw an Alsatian yesterday.   B: {A DOG / (a) WHAT}?

(26) A: Áron   meg   csókolta   Drakulá-t.   B: { KI-T   /   DRAKULÁ-T}?
Áron   PRT   kiss.PST.3SG Dracula-ACC   who-ACC   Dracula-ACC
'Áron kissed Dracula.'

- Reprise fragments (RFs) in English and Hungarian **must**:
  (i)   Contain the focused/*wh*-item item (i.e. the 'echoed' phrase)
  (ii)   Be a constituent with a pronounced head   (see **Appendix 3** for discussion)

(27) A: Sally saw the man that fell with her binoculars.
B: [$_{\text{PP}}$ with her BINOCULARS]?
B′: * [$_{\text{VP}}$ fell][$_{\text{PP}}$ with her BINOCULARS]?

(28) A: John has given a vampire some garlic.
B: [$_{v\text{P}}$ given$_1$ [$_{\text{VP}}$ a vampire t_1 some GARLIC]]?
B′: * [$_{\text{VP}}$ a vampire t_{given} some GARLIC]?

(29) A: Did Bo finagle a raise?

    B: [$_{vP}$ FINAGLE a raise]]?

    B′: * [$_{TP}$ Bo t_{did} FINAGLE a raise]?

- In English, a standard, non-reprise fragment is unacceptable when its correlate in the antecedent clause is island-bound (and no *island-evading* source is available)[4]

(30) A: [$_{ISLAND}$ The rumour that John is dead] must be false.

    B: * No, MARY$_1$.   (contrastive fragment)

- However, RFs are island insensitive, and **<u>can</u>** have correlates in the antecedent clause that are island-bound.   (as noted by Merchant 2004:709)

(31) A: [$_{ISLAND}$ The rumour that Dracula died last night] is surely false.

    B: {WHO / that WHO died}?

    B′:   {DRACULA / that DRACULA died}?

- Both standard and reprise Hungarian fragments are unacceptable when their antecedent correlates are island-bound (compare 32B and 33B).

(32) A: Kidobtuk   [$_{ISLAND}$ a   valamit   tartalmazó   palackokat].

        PRT.throw.PST.1PL the something.ACC containing   bottle.PL.ACC

        lit. 'We threw away the something-containing bottles.'

    B: * Igen,   BPA-t.   (standard fragment)

        yes   BPA-ACC

(33) A: Eladtam [$_{ISLAND}$ a   húsz   kilós   dinnyét].

        sell.PST.1SG   the   twenty kilo.ADJ melon.ACC

        'I sold the twenty-kilo melon.'

    B: * **HÚSZ**? ('TWENTY?')   (reprise fragment)

- Island-sensitivity obtains with RFs even when the corresponding RQ has an 'in-situ' configuration:

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[4] For years, islands were thought to be obviated under clausal ellipsis (e.g. Ross 1969; Chung, Ladusaw & McCloskey 1995, Merchant 2001: §5.1). Building on work from Merchant (2001), Abels (2011) and Barros, Ellliot & Thoms (2013, 2014) show that most apparent 'island-obviations' arise from the fact that a short, non-isomorphic elliptical 'source' is available (see i). When adequately controlled to preclude short sources, island-violations are indeed observed (see ii).

(i)   John has bought a big house. God knows [HOW big]$_1$ [$_{TP}$ it is t_1].

(ii) # They hired a hard worker. God knows [HOW hard] [$_{TP}$ s/he was t_1].   *Short source: bad intersective reading*

                                      * [$_{TP}$ they hired [a t_1 worker]]   *Isomorphic source precluded*

(34) A: El [ISLAND a húsz kilós dinnyével]!
         away the 20 kilo.ADJ melon.INST
         'Away with the twenty-kilo melon!'

    B: El [ISLAND a **HÚSZ** kilós dinnyével]?   (reprise question)
    B′: * **HÚSZ**?   (reprise fragment)

(35) A: Látta János a görög útján [ISLAND a húsz kilós dinnyét]?
         see.3SG.DEF János the Greek trip.on the 20 kilo melon.ACC
         'Did János see the twenty-kilo melon on the Greek trip?'

    B: Hogy látta-e a görög útján [ISLAND a **HÚSZ** kilós dinnyét]?   (reprise question)
    B′: ***HÚSZ**?   (reprise fragment)

Summary of §3

	Type of fragment	
	Standard fragments	**Reprise fragments**
English	Constituent with its head *Island-sensitive?* Yes	Constituent with its head *Island-sensitive?* **No**
Hungarian	Constituent with its head *Island-sensitive?* Yes	Constituent with its head *Island-sensitive?* Yes

Where "*Island sensitive?* means "*unacceptable if the correlate in the antecedent clause is island-bound?*"

4. A Minimalist analysis of standard and reprise fragments

4.1. Background assumptions

[1] Assumed model of clausal ellipsis

→ Clausal ellipsis applies to a clausal constituent

→ Renders constituent unpronounced (PF-deletion) to exclusion of *wh*/focus phrase(s)

(Reich 2002, Abe 2015, 2016, Ott & Struckmeier 2016, among others)

(36)   A: John spoke with someone.

    a. B: [CP [PP with WHOM]₁ did John speak t₁]?   (standard *wh*-fragment)
    b. B: Yeah, [CP John spoke [PP with MARY]].   (standard non-*wh*-fragment)

[2] Assumed recoverability condition on clausal ellipsis

- Clausal ellipsis site is recovered from the meaning of a single q in the set of *questions under discussion* (QUD)

  (e.g. Ginzburg & Sag 2000, Reich 2002, Krifka 2006, AnderBois 2014, Barros 2014, Weir 2014, 2017)

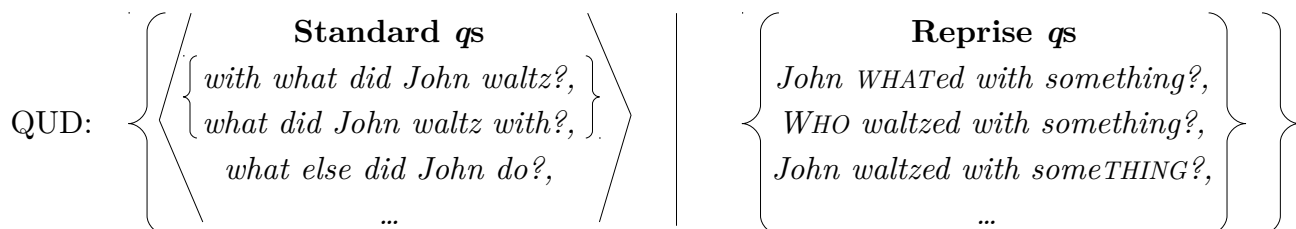(37) **Background-matching condition**   (drastically simplified from Weir 2017)
Let q be a question in the QuD. Let **α** be a target utterance. Clausal ellipsis is recoverable in **α** iff:
(i)   The question/focused phrases of q and **α** correspond in size
(ii)   If the backgrounded parts of q and **α** are identical.

[3] Assumed composition of the QUD   [**Crucial!**]

- The QUD is composed only of syntactically well-formed qs in language L, regardless of whether these qs are explicitly uttered or inferred.

  (*contra* Roberts 1996/2012, see **Appendix 4** for justification of this claim)

- At any point in conversational-time, the QUD is composed of two non-intersecting sets of qs, <u>standard</u> qs and <u>reprise</u> qs.   (cf. Ginzburg & Cooper 2004, Engdahl 2006)[5]

(38) John waltzed with something.

$$
\text{QUD:} \left\{ \left\langle \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \textbf{Standard } q\textbf{s} \\ \textit{with what did John waltz?,} \\ \textit{what did John waltz with?,} \\ \textit{what else did John do?,} \\ \textit{…} \end{array} \right\} \right\rangle \Bigg| \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \textbf{Reprise } q\textbf{s} \\ \textit{John WHATed with something?,} \\ \textit{WHO waltzed with something?,} \\ \textit{John waltzed with someTHING?,} \\ \textit{…} \end{array} \right\} \right\}
$$

- Fragments are licensed by qs in the QUD that match in function:
  → Standard fragments are only licensed by standard qs in the QUD
  → Reprise fragments are only licensed by reprise qs in the QUD

Assumptions [1-3], added together =
If a question q is syntactically ill-formed in language L, then q cannot be a member of the QUD in L. Clausal ellipsis therefore cannot be licensed in any utterance that relies on q for its semantic licensing.

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5   In Ginzburg & Cooper's (2004) HPSG analysis, standard qs and reprise qs are modelled as being invoked from either the propositional CONT(ENT) of an utterance or from the C(ONTEXTUAL)-PARAM(ETERS) of an utterance.

4.2. Capturing the behaviour of fragments in English and Hungarian

4.2.1. *Standard fragments*

- 'Island-sensitive' standard fragment are simply fragments without a licensing q in the QUD:

(39) $T_1 \rightarrow$ A: [$_{\text{ISLAND}}$ The rumour that John is dead] must be false.

      $T_2 \rightarrow$ B$_1$:   No, ...

Standard qs

$T_3 \rightarrow$ QUD: $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \textit{What must be the rumour that John is dead be?,} \\ \textit{What must be false?,} \\ \textit{...} \end{array} \right\}$

      NOT in QUD: * *Who must the rumour that is dead be false?* ●

      $T_4 \rightarrow$ B$_2$: *   No, [[the rumour that MARY is dead] must be false]. ●

- Clausal ellipsis not licensed because (39B) relies on a syntactically ill-formed standard q for licensing. No such q is present in the QUD.

- The analysis for 'island-sensitive' Hungarian standard fragments follows the same reasoning.

4.2.2. *Reprise fragments*

- The apparent 'island-insensitivity' of English reprise fragments arises because such fragments are licensed by implicit reprise qs in QUD, which are *wh*-in-situ in English:
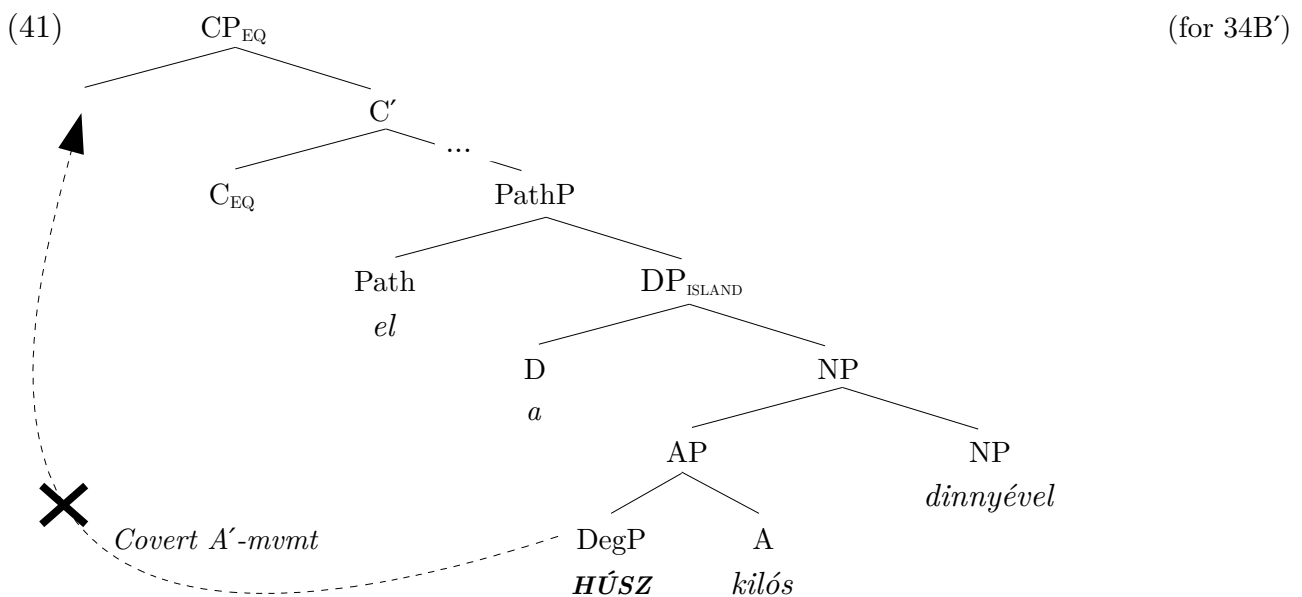
(40) $T_1 \rightarrow$ A: [$_{\text{ISLAND}}$ The rumour that Dracula is dead] must be false.

Reprise qs

$T_2 \rightarrow$ QUD: $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \textit{The rumour that WHO is dead must be false?,} \\ \textit{The rumour that Dracula is DEAD must be false?,} \\ \textit{...} \end{array} \right\}$ ●

      $T_3 \rightarrow$ B: [[the rumour that DRACULA is dead] must be false]? ●

- Hungarian reprise qs are formed via island-sensitive A′-movement (see §2). Consequently, reprise fragments in Hungarian are unacceptable because there is no q in the QUD available to license such fragments (as such qs cannot be syntactically generated).

- Hungarian reprise fragments that correspond to in-situ reprise questions also seem island-sensitive (see 34, repeated below) because a subconstituent inside the island – rather than the entire island – is the Focus phrase. Covert A′-movement of the Focus phrase is therefore crosses an island-boundary (see 41).

(34) A: El [ISLAND a   húsz   kilós   dinnyével]!
         away   the 20   kilo.ADJ melon.INST
         'Away with the twenty-kilo melon!'

   B: El [ISLAND a **HÚSZ** kilós dinnyével]?   (reprise question)
   B′: * **HÚSZ**?   (reprise fragment)

(41)   CP_EQ   (for 34B′)
                 /   \
                      C′
                    /   \
                         ...
                  C_EQ   PathP
                            /   \
                         Path   DP_ISLAND
                          el   /   \
                                  D   NP
                                  a   /   \
                                          AP   NP
                                        /   \   *dinnyével*
                                     DegP   A
        ✗   *Covert A′-mvmt*   **HÚSZ** *kilós*

Take-home message of §4.2:
- Questions that require island-violating A′-movement to be formed can't be qs in the QUD. Fragments that rely on such qs to licensed are therefore judged as unacceptable.

5.   An extension: oversized RFs in English

- Weir's Background-matching condition on clausal ellipsis (see 37) states that fragments must correspond in size to the question-phrase of a q in the QUD:

(42) T$_1$ →   A: John just met with someone important.

              QUD: {*Who did John meet with?*, ...} wh = [DP who]

     T$_2$ →   B: Yeah, DONALD TRUMP. wh = [DP Donald Trump]
              B′: *   Yeah, met with DONALD TRUMP. wh = [VP met with DT]

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- Syntactically, there's no restriction on the size of the question-phrase of reprise questions in English (see §2).

(43) John | spoke | to | the man | that | Pete | introduced | to | WHO?
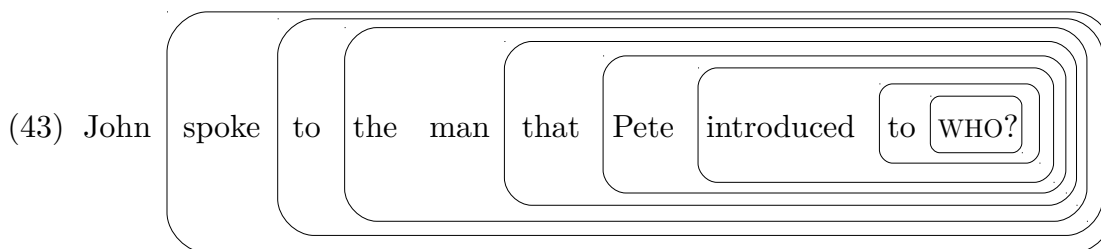
- These gives rise to the prediction that RFs that match the focuses in (44) are licit in English. This is borne out, see (45). We refer to larger-than-usual fragments as *oversized*.

(45)   A: John spoke to the man that Pete introduced to Dracula.
  a.   B: WHO?
  b.   B: introduced to WHO?
  c.   B: that Pete introduced to WHO?
  d.   B: the man that Pete introduced to WHO?
  e.   B: to the man that Pete introduced to WHO?
  f.   B: spoke the man that Pete introduced to WHO?, etc...

- Oversized RFs are not permitted in Hungarian, however (46). This is because the question-phrase of Hungarian RQs are limited in size, according to whatever limits standard pied-piping (see Cable 2010 for popular approach).

(46) A: Azt   hiszem, hogy Peti   gyorsan fogja enni   a   fagyit.
         that.ACC think.1SG that   Peti   quickly   will   eat.INF the   ice.cream.ACC
         'I think that Peti will quickly eat the ice cream.'

B: Azt   hiszed, hogy Peti   gyorsan fogja enni   a   **FAGYIT?**
    that.ACC think.2SG that   Peti   quickly   will   eat.INF the   ice.cream.ACC
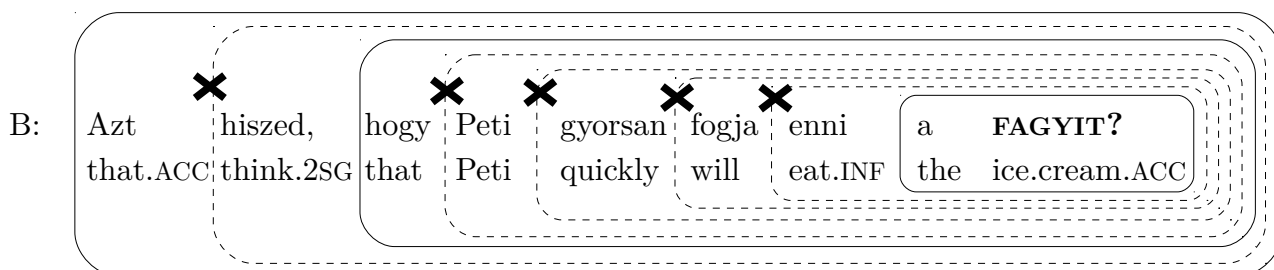
  a.   B: A FAGYIT?
  b.   B: *Enni a FAGYIT?
  c.   B: *Fogja enni a FAGYIT?
  d.   B: *Gyorsan fogja enni a FAGYIT?
  e.   B: *Peti gyorsan fogja enni a FAGYIT?

  f. B: Hogy Peti gyorsan fogja enni a FAGYIT?
  g. B: *Hiszed, hogy Peti gyorsan fogja enni a FAGYIT?
  h. B: Azt hiszed, hogy Peti gyorsan fogja enni a FAGYIT?

NB: There are an interesting independent prosodic constraint on oversized RFs in English. See **Appendix 5** for details.

6. Conclusion

- We have presented novel data on reprise fragments from English and Hungarian.

- We have shown that standard and reprise fragments display dissimilar properties in English, whereas Hungarian standard and reprise fragments pattern similarly.

- Our small-sample study is suggestive of a broader cross-linguistic typology of reprise fragments.

- The cross-linguistic distribution of RFs motivates a Minimalist analysis of fragmentary responses that treats fragments as in-situ (in languages without (c)overt focus-movement) and subject to a syntacticised QUD-licensing condition.

- This analysis is therefore closely aligned with analyses from other frameworks (e.g. Ginzburg & Sag's 2000 HPSG account), which is clearly a welcome result.

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Appendix 1: Reprise fragments as metalinguistic copies?

- Merchant (2004:709) suggests that reprise fragments (and other confirmatory, clarificational, and elaborative fragments) involve "a kind of metalinguistic conjunction [with their antecedent correlate]: the speaker is suggesting a correction of some aspect of the form of the original utterance...".

- We interpret this notion of 'metalinguistic conjunction' as the conjunction of two type-u expressions (Potts 2007) at a discourse level. First, this requires that reprise fragments are type-u expressions. Second, this requires that reprise fragments are verbatim copies of their correlates (seeing as reprise fragments show connectivity effects, see §1).

- Reprise fragments don't show the opacity expected of type-u utterances, however. Why should a type-u expression (i.e. a string of sounds/symbols) need to be a constituent with a pronounced head (see §3)? Why should RFs be apparently 'island sensitive' in Hungarian (see §3)?

- Reprise questions and reprise fragments don't need to be verbatim copies of the clause or subclausal constituent they reprise, either. Both may deviate in form from their antecedents through diexis shift, synonym, hyponym, and pronominal substitution, through dative shift, and through the application of ellipsis:

Reprise questions

(A1)	A:	Scratch my little toe!	B:	Scratch **your** little TOE?
(A2)	A:	Did you go to New York recently?	B:	Did I go to **the BIG APPLE** recently?
(A3)	A:	Do you want an Alsatian?	B:	Do I want a DOG?
(A4)	A:	I want John to kiss me.	B:	You want **HIM** to kiss you?
(A5)	A:	I want him to kiss me.	B:	I want **JOHN** to kiss you?
(A6)	A:	I should've given Bo your room.	B:	You should've given **my room to BO**?
(A7)	A:	The rumour that Dracula came to brunch is surely false.	B:	The rumour that **WHO** did $\mathbf{\Delta}_{\mathbf{VP}}$ is surely false?

Reprise fragments

(A8)	A:	Scratch my little toe!	B:	**Your** little TOE?
(A9)	A:	Did you go to New York recently?	B:	To **the BIG APPLE**?
(A10)	A:	Do you want an Alsatian?	B:	A DOG?
(A11)	A:	I want John to kiss me.	B:	**HIM**?
(A12)	A:	I want him to kiss me.	B:	**JOHN**?
(A13)	A:	I should've given Mary your room.	B:	Given **my room to MARY**?
(A14)	A:	The rumour that Dracula came to brunch is surely false.	B:	That WHO did $\mathbf{\Delta}_{\mathbf{VP}}$?

- **Conclusion:** reprise fragments do not obtain their connectivity effects through metalinguistic conjunction. They are reprise questions to which clausal ellipsis applies.

Appendix 2: **Prosodic constituency and *wh*-in-situ**

- English RQs exhibit a high plateau preceding the echoed phrase which displays no internal prosodic constituency.

- The assertion in (A15A) displays four accentual phrases (in square brackets). In comparison, the material that precedes the echoed phrase in (A15B) is contained in one accentual phrase, along with the echoed phrase.

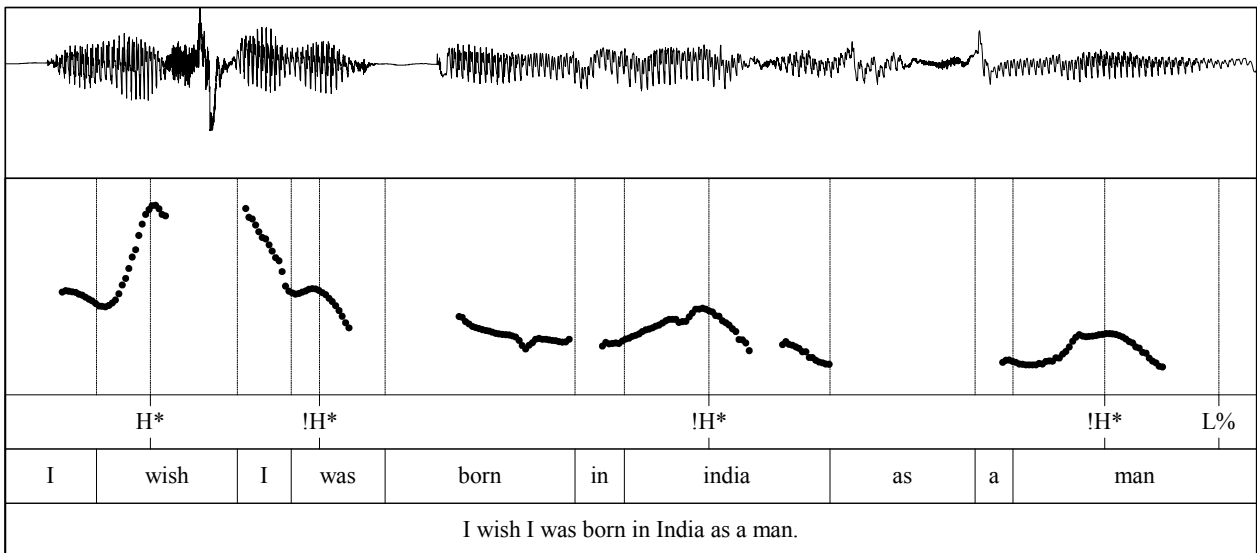|		
(A15)	A:	[I wish] [I was born] [in India] [as a man].
	B:	[You wish you were born in India as a WHAT?]

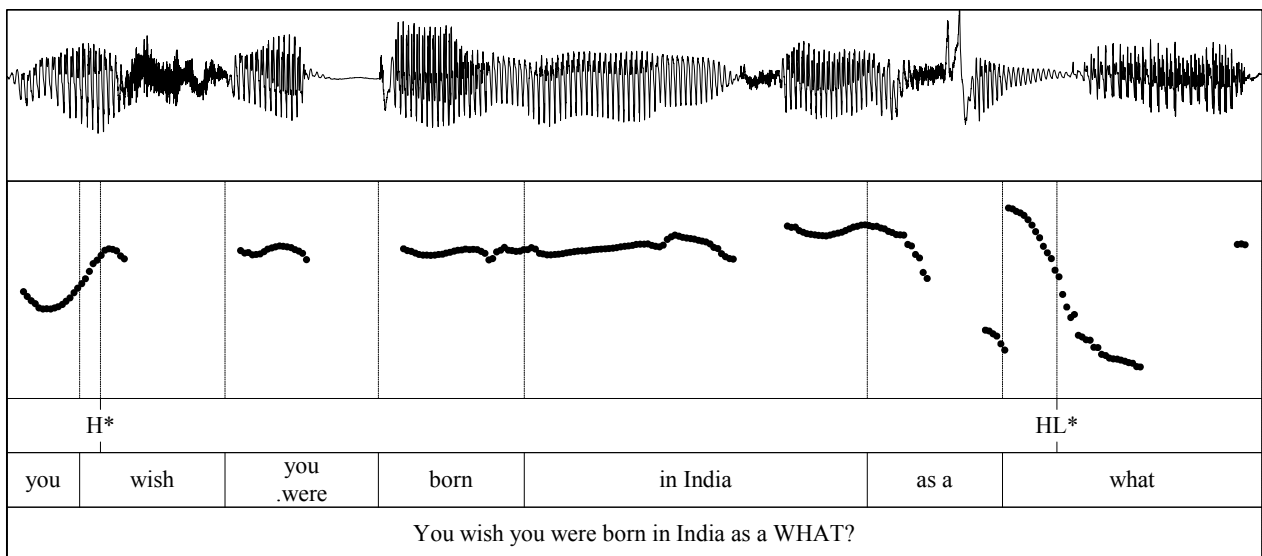**Figure 1.** F0 contour of an English declarative assertion (A15A)

Figure 2. F0 contour of an English reprise question (A15B)

- Hungarian RQs retain the prosodic constituency of their antecedents (albeit in a compressed form). This constituency is often more metrically-prominent than in standard questions and declaratives (Varga 2010, Kálmán 2001:27 as cited in Gyuris 2017).

(A16) A: [Bárcsak] [születtem   volna] [Indiában   férfinak]!
           if.only   born.PAST.1SG COND   India.in   man.DAT
           'If only I were born in India as a man!'

       B: [Bárcsak] [születtél   volna] [Indiában] [MINEK]?
           if.only   born.PAST.2SG COND   India.in   what.DAT
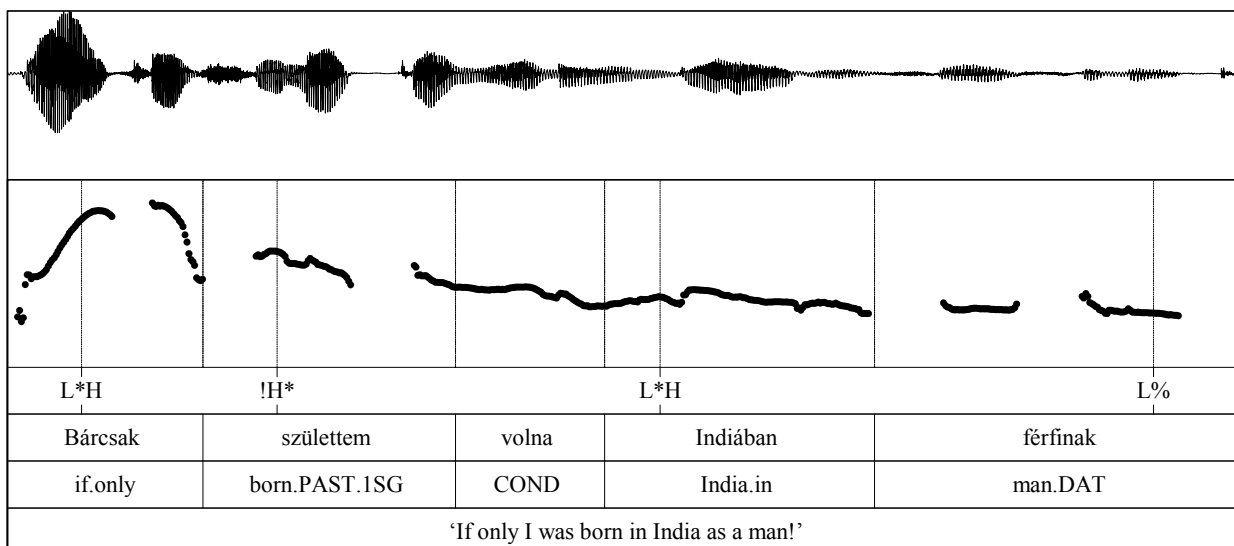   'If only you were born in India as WHAT?'

L*H	!H*		L*H		L%
Bárcsak	születtem	volna	Indiában		férfinak
if.only	born.PAST.1SG	COND	India.in		man.DAT
'If only I was born in India as a man!'					

Figure 3. F0 contour of an Hungarian declarative assertion (A16A)

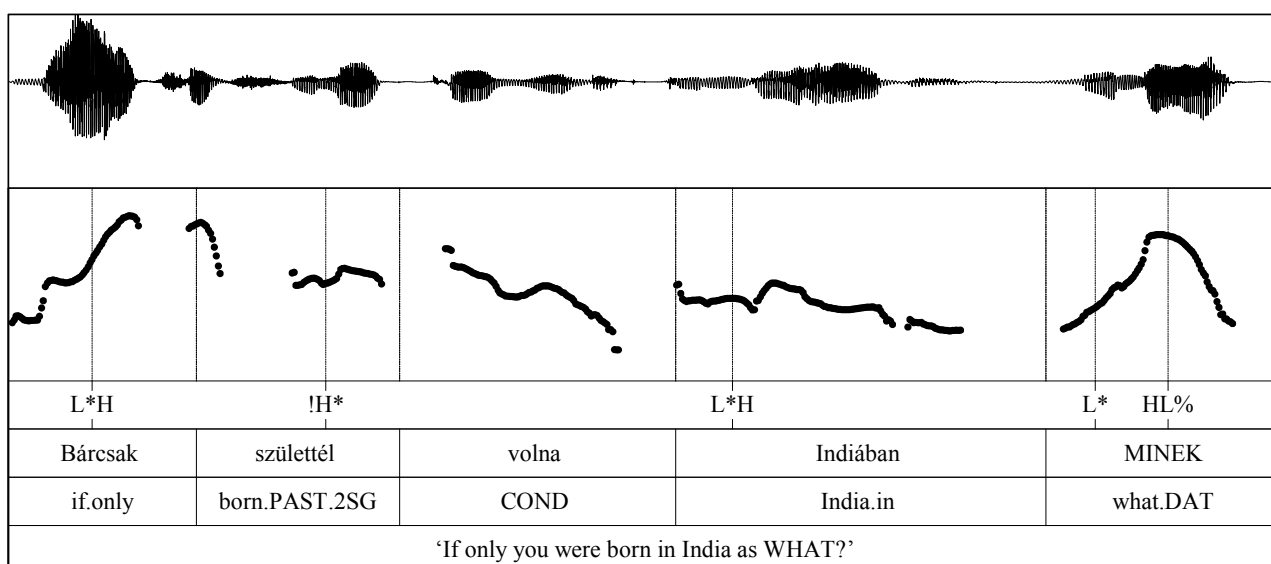| L*H	!H*		L*H		L*	HL%
Bárcsak	születtél	volna	Indiában		MINEK	
if.only	born.PAST.2SG	COND	India.in		what.DAT	
'If only you were born in India as WHAT?'						

Figure 4. F0 contour of an Hungarian reprise question (A2.2B)[6]

- The observation that English and Hungarian in-situ RQs display different prosodic traits eliminates potential prosodic explanations for why *wh*-in-situ questions are grammatical in *wh*-movement languages (such as Richards 2010).

Appendix 3: Why must RFs have pronounced heads?

- We have tacitly adopted Büring's (2006) *Unrestricted Vertical Focus Projection* principle during this presentation, which states that:

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6 Notice that the F0 peak on the *wh*-item in Fig. 4 is not due to focus-related prominence, but to the question-intonation boundary tone (cf. Ladd 1996, Grice *et al.* 2000).

(A17)　i.　Any argument or adjunct of XP licenses F-marking on X.

　　　　ii.　X licenses F-marking on XP.

- According to Büring's principle, any F-marked XP contains an F-marked head.

- F-marked items retain their F-marking when they move (Sauerland 1998). Pronounced copies in a movement-chain are pronounced with the prosodic reflex of F-marking (i.e. a pitch accent).

- Reprise fragments without pronounced heads are therefore unacceptable because ellipsis is improperly applied. In such cases, we've attempted to render unpronounced an item to which a pitch accent must be applied:

(A18)　A:　John has given a vampire garlic.

　　　　B:　* [He has [$_{vF}$ **given$_F$** [$_{VP}$ a vampire t_{given} [GARLIC]$_F$]$_F$]]?　　　(*given* is must be accented)

Appendix 4: Support for inferred *q*s in the QUD being syntactically derived

- Fiengo & May (1994:193) suggest that inferred *q*s from which ellipsis is recovered are syntactically derived because they defend a theory of ellipsis-licensing that makes reference to syntactic phrase markers.

- But if ellipsis recoverability is purely semantic, and ellipsis is recovered from a *q* in the QUD, then one may uphold Robert's (2012) claim that inferred *q*s in the QUD are unstructured, and merely denote sets of sets of possible worlds.

- Weir (2017) provides support for the notion that inferred *q*s are structured (i.e. they have LFs). Because LFs are the product of syntax, this entails that inferred *q*s in the QUD are **syntactically derived**.

- Weir's evidence comes from pairs of *cointensional* questions: pairs of questions with distinct syntax but which pick out the same sets of possible worlds (A19-A20). If inferred *q*s were unstructured, clausal ellipsis would be licensed by either *q*. Because they are not (see A21), inferred *q*s must be structured (i.e. syntactically derived).

(A19)　How many signals did the machine send?

(A20)　How many times did the machine send a signal?

(A21)　A:　I heard that the machine sent a certain number of signals.

　　　　B:　Yes, {TWO / * TWICE}.

(A22)　QUD for A21B **is** the structured *q* "*how many signals did the machine send?*"

　　　　QUD for is A21B **isn't** the unstructured *q* "{{w_1, w_2, w_3}, {w_3, w_4, …}, …}"

where $w =$ worlds in which the machine sends a different number of signals / sends signals a different number of times.

Appendix 5: Uninflected perfect *have*

- While it might appear from §2.1 that constituency is the only requirement on oversized reprise fragments in English, some interesting additional constraints are observed. For instance:

- Oversized reprise fragments cannot be introduced by uninflected perfect *have*, but can be introduced by possessive, causative, and experiential *have*.

(A23) A: John may have kissed Dracula last night.
       B: (*Have) kissed WHO last night?   (perfect uninflected *have*)

(A24) A: John has eaten his homework.
       B: (Has) EATEN it?   (perfect inflected *have*)

(A25) A: Mary wants to have a quiet holiday in Ibiza.
       B: Have a QUIET holiday?   (possessive *have*)

(A26) A: We should have this portrait hung.
       B: Have it HUNG?   (causative *have*)

(A27) A: Jill will have a quiet holiday in Ibiza.
       B: Have a QUIET holiday in Ibiza?   (experiential *have*)

- Interestingly, of the types of *have* in (A23) to (A27), only perfect *have* may undergo contraction in non-elliptical constructions:

(A28) a. John should {have / –'ve} kissed Mary.   perfect *have*
       b. They might {have / * –'ve} students leaving their seminars.   possessive *have*
       c. John will {have / * –'ve} them all fired.   causative *have*
       d. Jill will {have / * –'ve} a quiet holiday in Ibiza.   Experiential *have*

- Uninflected perfect *have* also resists being seperated prosodically from the modal verb that precedes it:

(A29) * John should, *I thought to myself*, have been arrested.

- **Conclusion:** uninflected perfect *have* is a **<u>clitic</u>**, regardless of whether it has undergone phonological contraction or not. It must cliticise leftwards. If there is no leftward item to cliticise onwards, *have* cannot be prosodically licensed. This rules out uninflected perfect *have* introducing reprise fragments (as in A23).