

## A *Wh* Discourse Particle: Dutch *Hoezo*

**Summary:** This paper provides an analysis of a special kind of *why*-questions in Dutch, formed with *hoezo* (lit. ‘how so’). Our core proposal is that *hoezo* is both a question word and a discourse particle, and signals resistance to updating the Common Ground (or other component of the discourse model) by asking the interlocutor to provide a reason for their preceding discourse move. We contrast *hoezo* with the canonical Dutch counterpart of ‘why’, *waarom*.

**Basic facts:** Syntactically, *hoezo* appears in three types of construction: as a complete question by itself (as in (1a)); followed by a single word or constituent (1b); or as the first element in a full verb-second clause (1c). We provide a unified semantic-pragmatic analysis of all three types. The prototypical use of *hoezo* is in response to an immediately preceding assertion of a proposition *p*. This can often be paraphrased in English as “What do you mean, *p*?”, signalling resistance to adding *p* to the Common Ground (CG). But *hoezo* can also be used to challenge a presupposition or conversational implicature of a preceding utterance (2,3), or in response to other speech acts such as questions or commands (4,5). Some, but not all, of *hoezo*’s uses may be characterized as being metalinguistic.

**Proposal:** Our analysis can be summarized as follows:

- a. *Hoezo* signals resistance on the part of the speaker to updating the CG or other component of the discourse model (or “context structure”; Farkas and Bruce 2010), such as the QUD Stack (Roberts 2012) or the To-Do List (Portner 2004).
- b. It does so by asking the interlocutor to provide a reason for their preceding discourse move; in that sense, *hoezo* is a (pragmatic) question word.
- c. But *hoezo* also functions as a discourse particle (Grosz 2021 a.o.), because as its not-at-issue meaning it expresses the speaker’s attitude towards the current state of the discourse model and whether/how it should be updated (cf. Krifka 2008’s “Common Ground management”).
- d. Because it is a discourse particle, *hoezo* is not a variable-binding operator, unlike canonical *wh*-words such as *waarom/why*. (*Why did she leave?* can be paraphrased as ‘What is the reason *x* such that she left because of *x*?’). *Hoezo* is base-generated in Spec-CP and does not undergo *wh*-movement.

***Hoezo* vs. *waarom*:** Point (d) accounts for several syntactic differences between *hoezo* and *waarom*, which (as far as we know) haven’t been observed previously. *Hoezo* doesn’t allow long-distance construal (see (6)), can’t introduce an embedded clause (7), and can’t appear in multiple-*wh* or echo questions (8,9).

**Conclusion:** This study contributes to the broader literature on adjunct questions (reason, manner, etc.), by extending the typology and analysis of *why*-questions (Zwicky & Zwicky 1973, Schwarz & Simonenko 2018, Cox 2021, a.o.). It also provides evidence for a hitherto unrecognized lexical category, that of *wh* discourse particles (pragmatic question words). Other potential members of this class include English *so what* and *what of it*, and their Dutch counterpart *wat dan nog* (lit. ‘what then still’).

