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').

(1) [Context: Interlocutor A says: Ons plan is totaal mislukt. our plan is totally failed 'Our plan has totally failed.' Interlocutor B responds by saying:] Hoezo? a. Hoezo {mislukt/totaal mislukt/ons plan}? HOEZO HOEZO {failed /totally failed /our plan} 'What do you mean, {failed/totally failed/our plan}? 'What do you mean?' Hoezo is ons plan totaal mislukt? c. HOEZO is our plan totally failed 'What do you mean, our plan has totally failed?' (2) A: Bob Dylan is geen goede zanger meer. Bob Dylan is no good singer anymore 'Bob Dylan is not a good singer anymore.' B: (Ik heb hem altijd vreselijk gevonden!) Hoezo geen goede zanger meer? HOEZO no good singer anymore I have him always terrible found 'What do you mean, not a good singer anymore? (He's always been terrible!)' (3) Het water is warm. Hoezo warm? (Het is gloedheet!) A: B: the water is warm HOEZO warm it is glow-hot 'The water is warm.' 'What do you mean, warm? (It's scalding!)' (4) Ben je ziek? B: Hoezo? A: are you sick HOEZO 'Are you sick?' 'Why?'; 'Why do you ask?' (5) A: Doe ie ias aan! B: Hoezo? (Ben jij de baas soms?) do your coat on HOEZO are you the boss maybe 'Put on your coat!' 'Why? (Are you my boss?)' (6) Waarom/Hoezo zei de politie dat de verdachte gearresteerd is? /HOEZO said the police that the suspect is 'Why did the police say the suspect was arrested?' - with waarom: ambiguous between main-clause and embedded-clause reading - with *hoezo*: only main-clause reading is available (7) Ik vraag me af waarom/*hoezo het regent. me off why /*HOEZO it rains 'I wonder why it's raining.'

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(9)

She is why

'She resigned WHY?'

Zij is WAAROM/*HOEZO afgetreden?

/*HOEZO resigned

(8)

who is why

'Who resigned why?'

Wie is waarom/*hoezo afgetreden?

/*HOEZO resigned