All about the syntax of *whereabouts* and *whenabouts**

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1. Introduction

- The topic of this talk is the syntactic behaviour in contemporary English of expressions such as *whereabouts* and *when abouts*, in contrast to the simple forms *where* and *when* (cf. 1, 2).

(1) a. <u>Where</u> does he live?
    b. <u>Whereabouts</u> does he live?

(2) a. <u>When</u> are you leaving?
    b. <u>When abouts</u> are you leaving?

- *whereabouts* and *when abouts* seem to request more approximate answers than *where* or *when* – 'roughly/approximately where/when?'

- Oxford English Dictionary definition of *whereabouts*: 'About where? in or near what place, part, situation, or position?'[1]

- To my knowledge, there are no contexts where *whereabouts* or *when abouts* is required – they can always be replaced by the simple forms *where* or *when* (+ modifying adverb) respectively.

Aim: The aim of this talk is to present and account for the distinctive syntactic behaviour in contemporary English of the *wh*-expressions *whereabouts* and *when abouts*, henceforth *wh-abouts*, in contrast to simple *where* and *when*.

Conclusion: *whereabouts* and *when abouts* are syntactically complex *wh*-expressions which are inherently interrogative. They are derived from the base order of *about + s + wh* by DP-internal movement which shows parallels to movement in the clausal domain.

Outline of the talk:
1. Introduction
2. Introducing the data: *wh-abouts*
3. The external syntax of *wh-abouts*
4. The internal syntax of *wh-abouts*
5. Towards an analysis
6. Conclusions

[1] http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/228212?redirectedFrom=whereabouts#. Accessed on 18.01.2011.

2. Introducing the data: *wh-abouts*

- *wh-abouts* occurs only with a restricted range of *wh*-words, most canonically *where*:

    - *whereabouts*[2]:   (cf. ?? *about where…?*)

- part of standard English: has an entry in the OED; accepted by all native speakers I consulted
- orthographic variation between *whereabouts* and *where abouts* – preference for the former?
- many native speakers think of it as 'one word'

- Additionally:

    - *when abouts*:   (cf. *about when…?*)

- orthographic variation between *whenabouts* and *when abouts* – preference for the latter
- native speaker intuition that it's 'two words'
- no dictionary entry; prescriptive pressure against the form?
- part of my idiolect of English, but seemingly not of all native speakers:

    - *what time abouts*   (cf. *about what time…?*)
    - *how long (ago)/old/soon/often abouts* etc.   (cf. *about how long etc…?*)

- informal, non-standard
- rejected by many native speakers; my own intuition is that they are marginally acceptable

    - **who abouts*   (cf. * *about who…?*)
(3) * Who abouts do you think will be there?

    - **what abouts*   (cf. * *about what…?*)
(4) a. What about a drink/going for a drink?
     b. * What about(s) does he plan to make?

    - *#how abouts*   (cf. * *about how…?*)
(5) a. How(s) about(s) a drink/going for a drink?
     b. * How about(s) does he plan to make it?

    - **why abouts*   (cf. * *about why…?*)
(6) * Why about(s) does he plan to make it?

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[2] *whereabouts* is also distinguished from the other cases of *wh-abouts* by the existence of a noun with the same form (i). My focus here is on the interrogative form of *whereabouts* alone, however.
   (i)   The police are keen to ascertain the suspect's whereabouts on the evening of June 27th.

Table 1: Summary of forms of *wh-abouts*

grammatical	%/?	*
whereabouts	when abouts	who abouts
	what time abouts	what abouts
	how long (ago) abouts how old abouts how soon abouts how often abouts	how abouts
		why abouts

- Note that the only *wh*-expressions able to occur in *wh-abouts* are those which can be pre-modified by *about* (with the possible exception of *where*).

- I will primarily use *whereabouts* to illustrate the patterns discussed for *wh-abouts* below, as it is the *wh-abouts* form found in Standard English and accepted by all speakers, thus resulting in clearer judgements. *when abouts*, which I accept, shows parallel syntactic behaviour.

3. **The external syntactic behaviour of *wh-abouts***

Key external syntactic properties of *wh-abouts*:

a) ***wh-abouts* is limited to interrogative contexts:**

- *wh-abouts*, like the simple *wh*-word contained within, can occur in both matrix (7) and embedded (8) interrogatives, and can undergo long distance extraction (9):

(7) a. <u>Where</u> did he eat?   *where* in matrix interrogative
    b. <u>Whereabouts</u> did he eat?   *wh-abouts* in matrix interrogative

(8) a. I wondered <u>where</u> he ate.   *where* in embedded interrogative
    b. I wondered <u>whereabouts</u> he ate.   *wh-abouts* in embedded interrogative

(9) Whenabouts do you think you'll be sending them through?[3]

wh-abouts is excluded from exclamatives, unsurprisingly, given *where* and *when* cannot occur in exclamatives in English either (cf. 10)

(10) a. * <u>Where</u> I looked!   * *where* in matrix exclamative
     b. * <u>Whereabouts</u> I looked!   * *wh-abouts* in matrix exclamative

- However, the behaviour of *whereabouts* diverges from that of *where* when it comes to relatives:

(11) a. I ate at the place <u>where</u> he ate.   *where* in restrictive relative clause
     b. * I ate at the place <u>whereabouts</u> he ate. *wh-abouts* in restrictive relative clause

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[3] Thanks to Yasmin Sulaiman for providing me with this example.

(12)a. I ate in China town, <u>where</u> he ate when he was in London.

where in non-restrictive relative clause
  b. * I ate in China town, <u>whereabouts</u> he ate when he was in London.

*wh-abouts in non-restrictive relative clause

(13)a. I ate <u>where</u> he ate.   *where* in free relative
  b. * I ate <u>whereabouts</u> he ate.   *wh-abouts in headed relative

- the restriction seems to be syntactic rather than semantic, in that relative pronoun *where* modified by *about* or *roughly* is able to introduce at least some relatives[4]:

(14)I ate about/roughly <u>where</u> he ate when he was in London.

b) ***wh-abouts* is excluded from occurring in situ in reprise and multiple *wh*-questions:**

- *wh-abouts*, unlike e.g. *where*, is excluded from occurring in-situ in echo questions:

(15)A: I'm going on holiday to Auchtermuchty.
  B: You're going on holiday <u>where</u>?
  B: * You're going on holiday <u>whereabouts</u>?

- It is also excluded from occurring in-situ in multiple *wh*-questions:

(16)What are we going to buy <u>where/*whereabouts</u>?

- However, it is not entirely excluded from occurring in-situ. It can do so, but apparently only when it is the single *wh*-word in a genuine information-seeking question[5]:

(17)A: We've booked a holiday for the summer.
  B: Oh, and you're going <u>whereabouts</u> (exactly)?

4. **The internal syntactic behaviour of *wh-abouts***

- In this section I will demonstrate that *wh-abouts* appears to have internal syntax of its own. I suggest that it is composed of the following elements:

  a) simple *wh*-expression
  b) adverb *about*
  c) adverbial suffix *-s*

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[4] According to the OED (http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/228211#eid14722869, accessed on 18/01/2011) *whereabout* used to have a (rare) use as a relative pronoun as illustrated in (i), although this use is now obsolete. Here my focus is solely upon the syntax of *wh-abouts* in contemporary English. In future work I hope to be able to consider these forms from a diachronic perspective.
(i) **1722** WHISTON *The. Earth* II. 218 At..Pekin..whereabout probably Noah liv'd immediately before the Deluge.
[5] See Ginzburg & Sag (2000) and Pires & Taylor (2007) for evidence that, contra the claims of Pesetsky (1987) and Cheng & Rooryck (2000) a.o, *wh*-in-situ in English is not limited to echo questions and multiple *wh*-questions.

a) simple *wh*-expression [6]

- Modification of *wh-abouts* by aggressively non-D-linked modifiers such as *on earth, the hell*, *the fuck* (Pesetsky 1987), expressions claimed to be able to modify X°s but not XPs (Merchant 2002: 7[7]), is impossible:

(18)a. * Whereabouts the hell does he live?
     b. * When abouts the fuck could she have met him?

- However, at least some speakers permit modification of the simple *wh*-expression contained within *wh-abouts*:

(19)a. Where the hell abouts does he live?
     b. When the fuck abouts could she have met him?

- Modifiers such as *exactly*, which have been claimed to modify XPs but not X°s (Merchant 2002: 11) can on the other hand modify *wh-abouts* as a whole but not the *wh*-expression contained within it alone:

(20)a. * Where exactly abouts does he live?
     b. Whereabouts exactly does he live?

- These patterns are parallel to the modification possible for *wh*-phrases such as *which book*. I take this to suggest that *wh-abouts* is similarly syntactically complex, and is composed at least of a simple *wh*-expression, and *abouts*.

(21)a. * Which book the hell did she read then?
     b. Which the hell book did she read then?
     c. Which book exactly did she read then?
     d. * Which exactly book did she read then?

- I will demonstrate below, that *abouts* itself has internal complexity, but first I turn to the relationship between *abouts* and the simple *wh* expression.

b) adverb *about*

- **• *wh-abouts* is not swiping**

- Swiping, or 'sluiced *wh*-word inversion with prepositions in northern Germanic', (Merchant 2002: 1) is a form of ellipsis whereby the complement of a *wh*-word is sluiced, and what remains is the *wh*-word and a preposition, in inverted order (22):

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[6] Note that it seems plausible that *where* itself could be decomposed further, with *wh* a morpheme shared with other *wh*-words, and with *-e-* and *-r-* morphemes shared, for instance, with *there*. See Kayne (2005: 2) for discussion.

[7] All page references are to the manuscript version, available to download from http://home.uchicago.edu/~merchant/publications.html.

(22) Peter went to the movies, but I don't know <u>who with</u>.   (1) from Merchant (2002: 1)

- *wh-abouts* bears a resemblance to swiping, as illustrated in (23) and (24). In both cases B's response is composed of *wh*-word + *about(s)*:

(23) A: He gave a talk yesterday.   swiping
     B: What about?

(24) A: He gave a talk yesterday.   *wh-abouts*
     B: Whereabouts?

- However, a *wh*-word is able to strand a preposition (25a), yet the equivalent pattern with *wh-abouts* (25b) is ungrammatical in Standard English[8].

(25) a. What did he give a talk about?
     b. * Where does he live abouts?

- Similarly, whilst a *wh*-word can pied-pipe a preposition (26a), giving the order *about* + *wh*-word, this is ungrammatical with *wh-abouts*:

(26) a. About what did he give a talk?
     b. * Abouts where does he live?

- Finally, the 'swiped' order *wh*-word + P requires obligatory non-pronunciation of the rest of the clause (27a) i.e. it can only occur in sluiced *wh*-questions. The same does not apply to *wh*-abouts (27b).

(27) a. * What about did he give a talk?   *swiping
     b. Whereabouts did he give a talk?   *wh*-about

- The differences in distribution shown between *wh-abouts* and cases of swiping can be explained if *abouts* is not in fact a prepositional form but an adverbial one.

- *about* exists in English as both a preposition and an adverb. Evidence that in *wh-abouts* we are dealing with the latter is:

  ▪ omissibility
- Adverb *about* is optional (28a), preposition *about* is not (28b). As noted above, *whereabouts* can be replaced by simple *where* with no reduction in grammaticality, and no (significant) shift in meaning (29).

(28) a. We were (<u>about</u>) 20km from Lisbon.
     b. He spoke *(<u>about</u>) his mother.

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[8] Speakers of Scottish Standard English <u>do</u> seem to allow material to separate *where* and *about(s)*. However, they also show a preference for *whereabout* with no *-s*. These differences between varieties of English are interesting, and I hope to explore them further in future research, but here I restrict my focus to Standard English.

(29)a. <u>Whereabouts</u> were we?
  b. <u>Where</u> were we?

  ▪ meaning
- Preposition *about* is defined by the OED[9] as meaning 'concerning, regarding', whilst, in the relevant sense, adverb *about* means 'approximately'. The felicity of (30) B_2 but not B_1 as a response suggests that *wh-abouts* involves adverb *about* i.e. A means 'Roughly where did he speak?', not 'About which place did he speak?'[10].

(30)   A: Whereabouts did he speak?
            B_1: # About China.
            B_2: About 100 km north of Beijing.

- **wh-abouts is not simply wh- modified by an adverb abouts**

- *where* modified by an adverb such as *exactly* can also occur in contexts where *wh-abouts* is found (31) and (32) (see McCloskey 2000: 63 f.n. 8 on the distribution of *exactly*):

(31)A: He gave a talk yesterday.
    B: Where abouts?/Where exactly?

(32)a. Whereabouts did he give a talk?
    b. Where exactly did he give a talk?

- However, *where exactly* has a much broader distribution than *whereabouts*. The former is perfectly felicitous in contexts where *wh-abouts* is considered ungrammatical (33-35):

(33)a. * Where does he live abouts?
    b. Where does he live exactly?

(34)a. * Abouts where does he live?
    b. Exactly where does he live?

(35)a. * Where did he say abouts that he lived?
    b. Where did he say exactly that he lived?

- Thus *wh-abouts* can occur only in a sub-set of the environments where *wh*-word modified by *exactly* is found.

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[9] http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/527?rskey=zCntZF&result=3&isAdvanced=false#. Accessed on 18/01/2011.
[10] This is in fact something of an oversimplification. The OED entry for *about* (http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/527?rskey=zCntZF&result=3&isAdvanced=false#, accessed on 18/01/2011) shows that the distinction between prepositional and adverbial uses of *about* is not always so clear-cut.

- Furthermore, *wh-abouts* can itself be modified by *exactly* (36). This distinguishes *abouts* from the adverbs it is often glossed with e.g. *roughly*, *approximately*, which seem to clash with *exactly* (37)[11]:

(36)a. <u>Whereabouts</u> exactly does he live?
    b. <u>When abouts</u> exactly are you leaving?

(37) a. * Where approximately/roughly exactly does he live?
     b. * Approximately/roughly where exactly does he live?

- Furthermore, McCloskey (2000: 63 f.n.8) considers the *exactly* which occurs in *wh*-questions such as those in (33-37) to 'presumably' be the same *exactly* found in declarative contexts such as those illustrated in (38a). Note however that in these contexts, *abouts* is excluded (38b). Adverbial *about* is found instead, although (on my judgement at least) only as a pre-modifier[12]. (39) provides further examples where *exactly* and *about* are acceptable, yet *abouts* isn't.

(38)a. She made (exactly) ten trips (exactly) to France last year. (v + vi) in McCloskey (2000: 63 f.n.8)
    b. She made (*abouts) ten trips (*abouts) to France last year.
    c. She made (about) ten trips (*about) to France last year.

(39)a.   I live exactly/*abouts/about 6 miles from Bolton.
    b.   She's exactly/*abouts/about 30 years old.
    c.   That's exactly/*abouts/about half-way there.
    d.   It's exactly/*abouts/about the size of a jumbo jet.
    e.   That's exactly/*abouts/about what I would have said.

- It is clear that *abouts* has a very restricted distribution in comparison to adverbs such as *roughly*, *approximately*, or even *about*.
- whilst *about* is a pre-modifier, *abouts* is a post-modifier.
- whilst *about* can modify both *wh*- and non-*wh* expressions, *abouts* can modify only the former. These patterns are summarised below in Table 2:

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[11] This raises the question as to what interpretational difference, if any, there is between a pair such as (ia) and (ib):
    (i)   a. Where exactly does he live?
          b. Whereabouts exactly does he live?
Note in relation to this that the Merriam Webster online dictionary (http://www.merriam-webster.com/ dictionary/whereabouts, accessed on 18/01/2011) gives *where* as a synonym of *whereabouts*.
[12] Quirk et al (1985: 663) claim that *about* can occur as a postmodifier as well as a premodifier, and in fact use this as a diagnostic for the adverbial status of *about*. They give their example (3b), here reproduced as (i) by way of illustration. However, they label this 'informal' and do not discuss the emphasis marked on *forty*, which is not required to make the sentence felicitous when *about* is a premodifier, as in (ii), their (3b).
    (i)   She is FŎRTY about.
    (ii) She is about forty.

Table 2 – Distribution of *abouts* vs. *about*

	post-modifier *abouts*	pre-modifier *abouts*	post-modifier *about*	pre-modifier *about*
wh (locative)	whereabouts	* abouts where	* whereabout	?? about where
non-*wh* (locative)	* halfway abouts	* abouts halfway	* halfway about	about halfway
wh (temporal)	when abouts	* abouts when	* whenabout	about when
non-*wh* (temporal)	* at 6pm abouts	* abouts 6pm	* 6pm about	about 6pm

c) adverbial suffix *-s*

- We have seen that in most contexts *about* and not *abouts* is the usual adverbial form.
- What then is the *-s* of *abouts*?

- **-s is not plural -s**[13]
When *whereabouts* functions as subject, singular and not plural agreement is required, just as with *where*, in contrast to, for example *which places*:

(40) a. Whereabouts is interesting?
     b. * Whereabouts are interesting?

(41) a. Where is interesting?
     b. * Where are interesting?

(42) a. * Which places is interesting?
     b. Which places are interesting?

- *-s* is the same *-s* found in e.g. *forwards, backwards, anyways* etc[14], and in non-standard American English *somewheres*, *anywheres*, *nowheres* (Kayne 2005)[15]?
- Further support for the idea that *-s* is an independent unit in *wh-abouts* comes from the fact that some speakers permit the final *-s* of *wh-abouts* to be anticipated by an *-s* which attaches to the *wh-word* – a phenomena referred to as morphological prolepsis (Corver 2005, 2007):

> 'morphological prolepsis, i.e. the anticipating appearance of an inflectional morpheme α on an element X, which is not a regular host of such an inflectional element and which is followed by an element Y which is a regular host of α' (Corver 2007: 2).

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[13] Thanks to Guglielmo Cinque for bringing to my attention the need to exclude the possibility that the *-s* of *whereabouts* is plural *-s*, and to Liliane Haegeman for helping me construct the relevant examples to show that this is not the case,

[14] http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/169281?rskey=ZhrOb2&result=4&isAdvanced=false#. Accessed on 18/01/2011.

[15] Kayne (2005: 5 f.n. 14) suggests that *whereabouts* could also receive an analysis along the lines he takes for these items. This involves an *-s* morpheme merged higher than the *wh*-word, with the latter then raising higher than this morpheme, pied-piped by the determiner *some/any/no*. This similarity is in fact captured by the analysis offered here, which also gives a motivation for this *wh*-movement in *whereabouts* where there is no pied-piper, and yet at the same time still manages to correctly rule out **wheres*. For details, see section 5.

- whilst *about* might not be the most 'regular' host of *-s*, it can be considered more so than the *wh*-word. Kayne (2005: 4) observes that (43), his (38) is impossible:

(43)* <u>Wheres</u> (else) are you going?

-proleptic *-s* can co-occur with final *-s*, giving *-s* duplication:

(44)a. <u>Wheresabouts</u> is the product key?[16]
    b. <u>Whensabouts</u> are you getting the codex?[17]

proleptic *-s* can also occur even when there is no final *-s*:

(45)a. <u>Wheresabout</u> in SoCal are you from?[18]
    b. Does anyone know <u>whensabout</u> and why we started calling our utility metres 'meters' rather than 'metres'?[19]

Finally, forms of *wh-abouts* without either proleptic *-s* or final *-s* present are also attested[20]:

(46)a. <u>Whereabout</u> in the US does dave grohl live?[21]
    b. <u>Whenabout</u> do ya think you'll be down here?[22]

- Having identified the elements of which *wh-abouts* is composed, I will now turn to consider the relations that hold between them.

5. Towards an analysis

- In this section I outline a possible derivation for interrogative *wh-abouts*.
- A strong motivation for the analysis offered is the presence of *-s*, which is not found on simple adverbial *about*. I take this to be indicative that its occurrence is therefore tied to the particular derivation of *wh-abouts* (and the limited class of other expressions which contain *abouts*).

- This analysis is inspired in particular by:
(i) the derivation that Bennis et al (1998) give for Dutch exclamative DPs such as (47), as also described in Corver (2005), sketched below in (48).
(ii) the derivation which Corver (2007) offers for Dutch phrases such as *blootshoofds* 'bare-headed' (49), as sketched in (50).

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[16] http://forum.agecommunity.com/forums/thread/836060.aspx. Accessed on 17/01/2011.
[17] http://s10.invisionfree.com/Tor_Elasor/ar/t18.htm. Accessed on 17/01/2011.
[18] http://stadium-arcadium.com/forum/viewtopic.php?p=86186&sid=8a2c24236a24b5c9a8b820a85baae351. Accessed on 17/01/2011
[19] http://forums.moneysavingexpert.com/showthread.php?t=1240063. Accessed on 17/01/2011.
[20] *whereabout* is the only form of *wh-abouts* besides *whereabouts* to have an entry in the OED (http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/228211?redirectedFrom=whereabout# accessed on 18/01/2011). The former is listed as '*rare*: replaced by WHEREABOUTS'. However, in certain dialects of English (amongst which, Scottish Standard English) *whereabout* still appears to be the preferred form, at least for some speakers in some contexts.
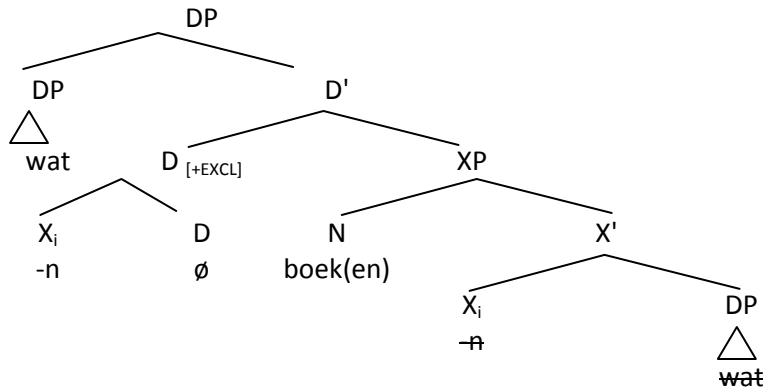[21] http://wiki.answers.com/Q/Whereabout_in_the_US_does_dave_grohl_live. Accessed on 17/01/2011.
[22] https://twitter.com/cKdisco/status/27957044829. Accessed on 17/01/2011.

Bennis et al (1998):

(47) *wat 'n boek(en)!*   (36a) from Corver (2005)
      what a book(s)
      'what books!'

(48)   (37) from Corver (2005)

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                      DP
            ┌──────────┴──────────┐
          DP                      D'
          △              ┌────────┴────────┐
         wat          D [+EXCL]            XP
                   ┌─────┴─────┐      ┌─────┴─────┐
                 Xᵢ           D      N           X'
                 -n           ø    boek(en)  ┌────┴────┐
                                            Xᵢ        DP
                                            -n         △
                                                      wat
```

- Corver (2005: 17-18), recapitulating Bennis et al (1998), explains that this derivation is based upon the assumption that there is a predication relation between *boek(en)*, the subject of the small clause XP, and *wat*, the predicate. The head of this small clause is overtly realised by spurious article *-n*.

- The surface order, with *wat* preceding *boeken* results from predicate fronting (A'-movement) of *wat* across the SC subject to the left edge of the DP.

- This movement is triggered by the D head which bears the feature [+EXCL], just as C [+EXCL] triggers the overt raising of the *wh*-word in the clausal domain. As *wat* then sits in the specifier of a functional projection specified as [+EXCL], it receives an exclamative interpretation.

- Bennis et al (1998) further assume that there is an effect, parallel to V2 in main clauses, such that the D head must be lexical in exclamative DPs. This is achieved by head movement of the small clause head X to D.

Corver (2007):

(49) *blootshoofds*
       bare-s-head-s
       'bare-headed'

(50)
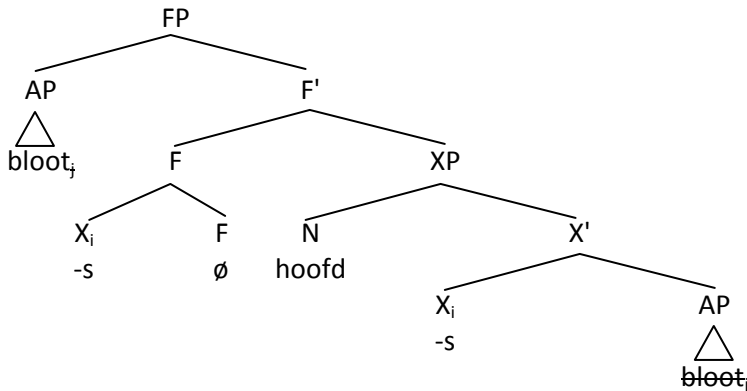
- Under this account, the initial relation between *hoofd* and *bloot* is parallel to that between *boek(en)* and *wat* in (48) – the former is the subject of the latter in a predication relation established within a small clause. In this case, the head of the small clause is the suffix *-s*.

- As in (48), there is movement of the predicate to the specifier position of a higher functional projection, which places it higher than its subject, which remains in situ. There is also movement of the small clause head to the head of this higher FP. I do not dwell on the details of these movement operations, as I consider (48) a better model for *wh-abouts* in this regard.

From Bennis et al (1998) I take the following ideas:

- having a DP which is typed for illocutionary force in the way that a clause is (i.e. by an interrogative/exclamative feature on the head).

- having a *wh*-phrase where the 'inverted' surface order of the constituents is derived by A'-movement of the *wh*-word to the left edge of the phrase.

From Corver (2007) I take the following ideas:

- the explanation of the various combinations of proleptic *-s* and *-s* duplication in terms of different possibilities for which copy is/copies are spelt out.

Based on these influences, I propose the derivation for *wh-abouts*, which is given below in (52), exemplified by *whereabouts*.

(51) *whereabouts*
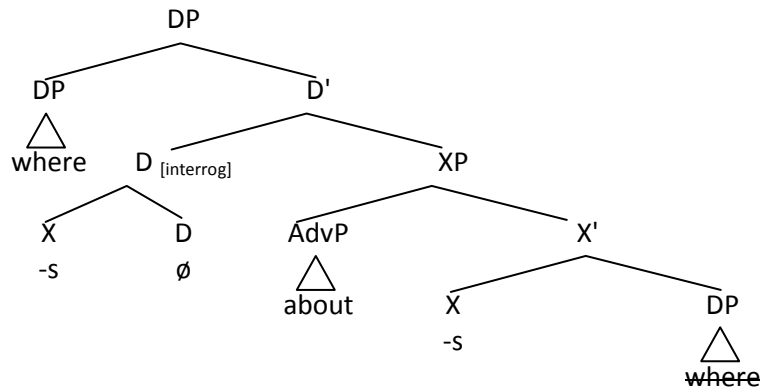
- -   *-s* is the head of a small clause which takes *where* as its complement and *about* in its specifier position, establishing what I assume to be the underlying relationship of *wh-abouts*, with *about* pre-modifying *where*.

- -   this small clause is selected by a D head with an interrogative feature which, like an interrogative C head, is strong and thus attracts the *wh*-word to move to its specifier position[23].

- -   just as *wh*-movement to spec-CP is accompanied by T-to-C movement, I assume that *wh*-movement to spec-DP is accompanied by raising of the small clause head X to D. Given that this *-s* may (and frequently does) end up with a null realisation, I assume that strong D is required to attract something, but that there is no commitment to whether or not this must be overtly realized.

What such an approach can account for:

- -   the restriction of *wh-abouts* to interrogative environments: if the derivation of *wh-abouts* involves an interrogative D head, which types the DP as interrogative, then its occurrence in a matrix clause with illocutionary force other than interrogative is presumably blocked by a clash between the feature on D and the feature on C.

- -   exclusion from *wh*-in-situ in echo questions: if in-situ echo questions, in contrast to in-situ information-seeking questions, are non-interrogative (Ambar & Veloso 2001), then a similar explanation can be offered for the exclusion of *wh-abouts* from the former but not the latter. Note that the idea that echo questions are not really interrogative is contentious however (Pires

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[23] Alternatively, movement of *where* to spec-DP could be motivated by the need for the *wh*-expression to have an unambiguous phrasal status in order to be linearized by the LCA. Just as Corver (2007: 24) suggests that 'the adjective has an ambiguous categorial status: it is both a head (minimal) and a phrase (maximal)' in order to motivate movement of *bloot* in (43), so simple *wh*-expressions have been regarded as 'minimal maximal' elements (Merchant 2002: 10) and could be hypothesised to move for the same reasons.

& Taylor 2007). The behaviour of *wh-abouts* in different types of questions (reprise, rhetorical, multiple) is something I wish to look at further in future work.

- the limited range of *wh*-items able to occur in *wh-abouts*: as the initial configuration involves *about* pre-modifying the *wh*-word, the exclusion of e.g. *why abouts follows as a consequence of the impossibility of **about why?*.

- the behaviour of *abouts* vs. *about*: on the assumption that *-s* is the small clause head, it follows that *about* is the general form, and that *abouts* will arise only when *-s* is required to mediate a relationship between *about* and the *wh*-word of *wh*-abouts.

- *-s* prolepsis and *-s* duplication: (most of) the various realisations of *-s* in *wh-abouts* can be accounted for by applying Nunes'(1995, 2004) ideas about the linearization of chains, as implemented by Corver (2007). The basic idea is that either, or both, of the copies of *-s* found in the derivations in (50) and (51) can be spelt out in the phonological component. For details of precisely how each of the various patterns outlined in (44)-(46) can be accounted for under such an approach, see appendix.

Questions which remain:

- In Bennis et al (1998) and Corver (2005, 2007), the small clause structure is seen to involve a predication relation, with the element in spec-XP the subject, and the complement to X the predicate. Yet this does not seem to be the appropriate characterisation of the relation within *wh-abouts*, which rather involves modification of the (*wh*)complement of X by the element in its specifier position.

- It is not yet clear to me what prevents *wh-abouts* from remaining in-situ in multiple *wh*-questions, as these presumably are interrogative.

Further aspects of *wh-abouts* to investigate:

- detailed study of micro-variation between/within grammars as to the distribution of proleptic *-s* within *wh-abouts*, of *abouts* vs. *about*…
- the behaviour of *wh-abouts* in in-situ and multiple *wh* questions

Furthermore…

- ***wh-abouts* is not just about *wh*…**

- As discussed above, the distribution of *abouts* is highly constrained in comparison to that of adverbs such as *about*, *approximately*, *roughly*.

- However, *abouts* does not occur solely in conjunction with the limited class of *wh*-expressions discussed above. It can also occur with a very restricted class of (locative/temporal) non-*wh*-pronouns:

(52)a. whereabouts
b. thereabouts
c. hereabouts

(53)a. when abouts
b. then abouts
c. ?? now abouts

- This suggests that in fact the *wh*-element is not the key to the syntax of *wh-abouts*. If *there* and *here* also invert with *about*, then the movement involved cannot just be *wh*-movement.

- Idea: R-movement in English parallel to that found in Dutch cases of pronominal adverbs (van Riemsdijk (1978)?

- (54) and (55), van Riemsdijk's (1978: 37) (9b +c), show (simplifying somewhat) the exclusion of neuter pronominal forms from the complement of prepositions in Standard Dutch. These are instead replaced by R-pronouns, which cannot remain in complement position, and so R-move to precede the preposition.

(54)a. * op dat   'on that'
b. * op daar   'on there'
c. daar over   'there on'

(55)a. * op wat   'on what'
b. * op waar   'on where'
c. waarop   'where on'

- <u>There are some intriguing similarities to English -*abouts*</u>:

o *where, there* and *here*, the forms which can occur with, and obligatorily precede, *abouts* are cognates of the Dutch forms *waar*, *daar* and *hier* which undergo R-movement over a preposition of which they are complement in pronominal adverbs such as those shown in (54) and (55).

o the variation in form seen in *about* vs. *abouts* seems to mirror to some extent the alternation found with certain prepositions in Dutch, e.g. between *met* and *mee* 'with': both seem to be dependent on the presence vs. absence of a preceding R pronoun (R-movement)[24]

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[24] Note that the picture is not quite as straightforward as this however, as the form *mee* 'with' arises in other contexts too, cf. (i) and (ii). Here the preposition *mee* has no overt complement at all:
(i)   a. Ga je mee?
b. *Ga je met?
go you with
'Are you coming along?'
(ii)   a. Ik heb een boek mee.
b. *Ik heb een boek met.
I have a book with
'I have a book with me.'
I thank Liliane Haegeman for bringing these patterns to my attention and for providing relevant examples.

Table 3: Comparison of the distribution of *met/mee* in Standard Dutch and *about/abouts* in English

	Dutch [−R]	Dutch [+R]	English [−R]	English [+R]
***met/about* precedes**	met een mes	* met waar	about the top	?? about where (about here/there)
***mee/abouts* precedes**	* mee een mes	* mee waar	* abouts the top	* abouts where
***met/about* follows**	* een mes met	* waar met	* the top about	* whereabout
***mee/abouts* follows**	* een mes mee	waarmee	* the top abouts	whereabouts

- <u>However, there are also some significant differences:</u>

o (Most of the) English R-pronouns can follow as well as precede *about* (albeit with the corresponding variation in form between *about* and *abouts* discussed above). Dutch R-pronouns must precede the preposition.

o The *about* of *wh-abouts* was argued above to be an adverb, not a preposition like Dutch *met/mee* 'with' and *op* 'on'[25].

o in English *whereabouts, where* retains its locative sense, which is not the case for Dutch *waar* in e.g. *waarop* 'on what'. This is in contrast to the obsolete English *whereabout(s)* meaning 'About, concerning, or in regard to which'[26], (cf. 56) which is semantically a closer parallel to the Dutch cases, in that *where* here does not retain its locative meaning (also e.g. *wherefore*, *therefore*, where *-s* does not occur):

(56) Neyther had I any thing at all, where abouts to occupie my penne.[27]
    'Nor had I anything at all with which to occupy my pen.'

o Furthermore, temporal pronominal forms such as *when, then* can occur with *abouts* in English*,* as well as locative *where*, *there*, whereas the equivalent temporal forms cannot occur as the complement to prepositions (cf. 57) and are excluded from pronominal adverbials in Dutch (cf. 58):

(57) a. * op dan
    b. *danop

(58) a. *op wanneer
    b. *wanneerop

o *wh-abouts* of the form discussed above for English is restricted to an interrogative use, which is not the case for the Dutch pronominal adverbials, which can also occur e.g. in relatives (cf. 59)[28]:

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[25] Although as 'adverb' is not considered to be a primitive category, the extent to which this is a significant difference is not clear.

[26] http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/228212#eid14722960. Accessed on 03/02/2011.

[27] A. Fleming tr. Apollonius in *Panoplie Epist.* 224 (1576). Example cited in the OED: http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/228212#eid14722960. Accessed on 03/02/2011.

[28] From http://www.dutchgrammar.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=11&t=570&p=4801. Accessed on 03/02/2011.

(59) Dat is het boek <u>waarover</u> ik het had.
    that is the book whereabout I it had
    'That's the book that I was talking about'.

o   stranding is possible with the Dutch pronominal adverbial forms (cf. 60). In Standard English, this
     is not possible with *whereabouts* (cf. 61):

(60) <u>Waar</u> heeft zij vaak <u>over</u> gesproken?   (68a) from Bennis (1987: 206).
     Where has she often about talked?
     'What has she often talked about?'

(61)* <u>Where</u> does he live <u>abouts</u>?

Beyond *wh-abouts*: next steps

-    Given that, despite certain similarities, there are also some significant differences between
     English *-abouts* forms and Dutch pronominal adverbials, I leave the question of how significant
     the parallelism between the English and Dutch forms is, and how this might feed into an analysis
     of *wh-abouts*, as an open question which I hope to pursue in future research.

-    In order to do this, I hope to investigate the distribution and syntax of the non-*wh-abouts* forms
     such as *thereabouts* further.

-    Evidence from an internet search turns up a limited number of cases of bare adverbial *abouts* in
     declarative contexts. If these reflect grammatical usage, then they suggest that for certain
     speakers *abouts* is no longer limited to co-occurring with a small closed class of items. Perhaps
     for such speakers, *abouts* has been reinterpreted as an adverb. Further research is necessary in
     order to investigate this hypothesis.

-    It would also be of interest to investigate the internal syntax of the items which have thus far
     been considered as 'simple' expressions: e.g. *where*, *there* and their Dutch equivalents.

6. **Conclusions**

-    In this talk I have shown that *wh-abouts* is not a simple *wh*-expression, but is composed of a *wh*-
     word, the adverb *about*, and the suffix *-s* and offered an account of the particular syntactic
     behaviour of *wh-abouts* (in comparison to the simple *wh*-expressions *where* and *when*) in terms
     of this fact that *wh-abouts* has internal syntax.
-    *wh-abouts* was analysed as a DP typed as interrogative, with *wh*-movement to spec-DP and
     accompanying head movement to D, inspired by the analysis given by Bennis et al (1998) for
     exclamative DPs in Dutch, and in parallel to the derivation of an interrogative-typed clause.
-    However, it was noted that although highly restricted in distribution, *abouts* does not occur only
     with *wh*-expressions, but also with other locative and temporal pronouns such as *here, there,
     then*, a fact which goes unexplained under the current account.
-    Certain parallelisms were drawn with the case of Dutch R-pronouns which can occur 'inverted'
     with prepositions, although in view of the numerous differences also identified, this was left
     open for further research.

Appendix

Accounting for -*s* prolepsis and -*s* duplication: linearization of chains

- Taking into account the full range of possibilities for -*s* prolepsis and -*s* duplication, the possible variant forms of *whereabouts* are given in (63). These mirror the three forms of *bloot(s)hoofd(s)* 'bare-headed', shown in (62), plus the additional variant with no overt -*s*. I will discuss the derivation of each of these in turn. In every instance, this is based upon the derivation proposed by Corver (2007) for the equivalent variant of *bloot(s)hoofd(s)*.

(62)a. blootshoofd   (63)   a. wheresabout   c. whereabouts
    b. blootshoofds   b. wheresabouts   d. whereabout
    c. bloothoofds

- Corver (2007: 20-25) uses Nunes' (1995, 2004) proposal about the linearization of chains to account for the range of forms of Dutch *bloot(s)hoofd(s)* 'bare-headed', assuming the basic derivation given in (50).
- Nunes' work on the linearization of chains takes as a starting point Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA): 'a lexical item A precedes a lexical item B iff A (or a phrase containing A) asymmetrically c-commands B'.
- On the assumption that the copies that form a chain do not count as distinct items for the purposes of linearization, then all but one of the copies in a chain must be deleted in order to permit linearization with regard to the other lexical items. This is achieved by the operation of Chain Reduction, which deletes the lowest copy (=non realisation at PF), allowing linearization of the remaining items to take place in line with the LCA.
- Therefore, again following Corver, the obligatory overt realisation of only the highest link in the chain for *where* (ruling out, correctly, e.g. **wheresaboutswhere*), is the usual case. Something extra must be said in order to account for the range of patterns in (63), however:

a. wheresabout: This is the simplest case, where Chain Reduction applies to the lowest copy of the chain as expected, and so only the higher copy gets an overt realisation.

b. wheresabouts: In this case it is assumed that the higher copy of -*s* has undergone morphological fusion into the head D, forming a single lexical item. This takes places prior to phonology. As by PF the higher and lower copies of -*s* are no longer indistinct, there is no need for either to be deleted, and the result is -*s* duplication.

c. whereabouts: In this case Chain Reduction applies to the higher copy in the chain, contrary to what is usually expected. If in such cases the X head which -*s* realises is right adjoined to D (rather than left adjoined, as is assumed to occur in the derivation of *wheresabout*, and as is sketched in (51)), then -*s* would be prevented from phonologically cliticising onto its host *where* by the intervening D head. The derivation can be prevented from crashing if this higher copy of -*s* is deleted. The corollary of this is that the lower link in the chain must then be spelt out[29].

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[29] Appealing to right adjunction seems at odds with an account couched in terms of the LCA. It is perhaps surprising under this approach that the derivation of *whereabouts*, the standard and most widely occurring variant, appears more complex than that of for instance *wheresabout*, which is accepted by far fewer speakers. What is also not clear to me from Corver's (2007) account is what determines the choice of a particular option in any given

d. <u>whereabout</u>: Here there is no parallel form of *bloot(s)hoofd(s)*. It is not clear to me how it would be possible to have a phonologically null realisation of both links in a chain. Further investigation is required to see whether in other regards *whereabout* shows the same syntactic behaviour as the forms (63a-c) to confirm whether the same derivation is appropriate even in cases with no (visible) *-s*.

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instance. What also remains unexplained is why there are multiple spell-out possibilities for *-s* in *bloot(s)hoofd(s)*, but not for *'n* in *wat 'n boek(en)*.