

# Ways of *wh*-scope marking: Evidence from Greek

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Christos Vlachos

Queen Mary University of London  
crsvlachos@gmail.com

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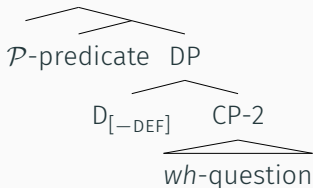
# Introduction

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# Claim

- An indefinite D-head may introduce a typical *wh*-question in the complement position of a proposition-selecting predicate ( $\mathcal{P}$ ):

(1) CP-1



- D<sub>[-DEF]</sub> embeds but does not l-select CP-2;
- DP is the argument of  $\mathcal{P}$  (in CP-1): D ranges over the set of (true) propositions discharged by CP-2, and returns a single proposition that is input to  $\mathcal{P}$ ;
- Being embedded, but not l-selected, CP-2 is an *Unselected Embedded wh-Question* (UEwhQ).

- (1) is a *wh*-scope marking strategy which extends the strategy proposed by Herburger (1994) for German and generates:

(2) Greek *wh*-slifting:

Pu      zi            tora, nomizis?

where lives-3SG now think-2SG

“Where does s/he live now, do you think?”

(3) English *wh*-slifting:

Where does he live now, do you think?

(Ross 1973; Haddican et al. 2014)

(4) German *wh*-Integrated Parentheticals:

a. WAS-INTEGRATED PARENTHETICAL (WAS-IP)

Wo wohnt er jetzt, was glaubst du?  
where lives he now what believe you

“Where do you think he lives now?” (Reis 2000: 359, (3))

b. VERB-INITIAL INTEGRATED PARENTHETICAL (VIP)

Wo wohnt er jetzt, glaubst du?  
where lives he now believe you

“Where does he live now, do you think?”

(Reis 2000: 359, (2))

# Import(ance)

- A clausal argument (S) may be dominated by a nominal (N) projection (Chomsky 1955/1985; Rosenbaum 1967).
- Cast in recent terms, D may dominate CP and may translate to a *definite* or an *indefinite* element (Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1971; Adger and Quer 2001; Alrenga 2005; Arsenijević 2009; Kayne 2010; Roussou 2010; Takahashi 2010; Knyazev 2016).
- The indefinite reading may arise from *polaritiness* (Adger and Quer 2001), or the declarative *that*-complementizer (Roussou 2010).
- Here, I argue that D may be a *prima facie* indefinite; i.e. existential.

- Facts
- Analysis
- Extensions
- Conclusions

# Facts

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# Overview of facts

- German *wh*-IPs and English *wh*-slifting share the same empirical profile, in terms of distribution, interpretation and prosody.
- Vis-à-vis word order, this profile distinguishes between two patterns:
  - *Was*-pattern (exemplified by *was*-IPs);
  - V1-pattern (instantiated by VIPs and *wh*-slifting).

*For space reasons, I restrict attention to German and English, as the latter extends to Greek (mutatis mutandis)*

- The was-pattern admits three linear arrangements:

(5) a. INITIAL

[<sub>CP-2</sub> Wohin ist er gegangen] [<sub>CP-1</sub> was glaubst du ]?  
where-to is he gone what believe you

“Where do you believe did he go?” (Reis 2000: 364, (15a))

b. SPLIT

[<sub>CP-2</sub> Wohin [<sub>CP-1</sub> was glaubst du ] ist er gegangen]?  
where-to what believe you is he gone

“Where do you believe did he go?” (Reis 2000: 364, (15b))

c. FINAL

[<sub>CP-1</sub> Was glaubst du ] [<sub>CP-2</sub> wohin ist er gegangen]?  
what believe you            where-to is he gone

“Where do you believe did he go?”            (Reis 2000: 364, (15c))

- The V1-pattern features only two of these configurations:

(6) VIPs:

a. INITIAL

[<sub>CP-2</sub> Wo    wohnt er jetzt] [<sub>CP-1</sub> glaubst du ]?  
          where lives   he now           believe you

“Where does he live now, do you think?”

b. SPLIT

[<sub>CP-2</sub> Wo           [<sub>CP-1</sub> glaubst du ] wohnt er jetzt]?  
          where           believe you lives   he now

“Where do you think he lives now?”

(Reis 2000: 359, (2))

c. FINAL

\*[<sub>CP-1</sub> Glaubst du ] [<sub>CP-2</sub> wo wohnt er jetzt]?  
believe you where lives he now

“\*Do you think, where does he live now?”

(7) *Wh*-slifting:

a. INITIAL

[<sub>CP-2</sub> When on earth will the children come back] [<sub>CP-1</sub> do you think]?

b. SPLIT

[<sub>CP-2</sub> When on earth [<sub>CP-1</sub> do you think] will the children come back]? (fashioned on Haddican et al.'s 2014: 99, (82))

c. FINAL

\*[<sub>CP-1</sub> Do you think] [<sub>CP-2</sub> when on earth will the children come back]?

- CP-2 acquires the “main” question request (as Haddican et al. 2014 put it for *wh*-slifting). Crucially, if CP-2 is a yes/no-question, then the interpretation of CP-1 is that of a yes/no-question:

(8) *Was*-pattern:

[<sub>CP-1</sub> Was glaubst du ] [<sub>CP-2</sub> wird er morgen kommen]?  
what believe you will he tomorrow come

“Will he come tomorrow, do yo think?” (Reis 2000: 364, (16))

– Therefore:

- + *Was* does not necessitate a *wh*-interrogative reading;
- + The *wh*-interrogative reading arises from CP-2 and not *was*.

- The same effect can not be demonstrated with the V1-pattern due to the lack of (an overtly realized) *was*. Yet, it is worth mentioning that yes/no-interrogative slifting is possible, as shown with *wh*-slifting in (9) (same with VIPs).

(9) a. Do extraterrestrials exist, do you think?

(modelled on Ross's 1973: 149, (46a))

b. Is Raul coming, do you think? (Haddican et al. 2014: 87, (3))



## Interpretation iii

- Although I do not discuss this further (see Vlachos 2017 for details), notice in passing that CP-1 undergoes a reduction in meaning; e.g.:

(10) a. Restricted interpretation of the clausal subject:

\*Was glaubt keiner, mit wem ist sie verheiratet?  
what believes nobody to whom is she married  
“What does nobody believe, to whom is she married?”

(Reis 2002: 10, (19a))

b. Restricted set of proposition-selecting predicates:

\*Was bedauerte sie, wohin ging hans?  
what regretted she where-to went Hans  
“What did she regret, where did Hans go to?”

(Reis 2002: 10, (18a))

# Prosody

- In UEwhQs, CP-2 carries the main melody, contrary to typical *wh*-scope marking, where CP-1 is prosodically dominant (Reis 2000, 2002; Haddican et al. 2014).
- In UEwhQs, CP-1 is prosodically reduced and integrated in CP-2, unlike sequential *wh*-scope marking, where CP-1 and CP-2 are prosodically distinct (Reis 2000, 2002; Dayal 2000):

## (11) SEQUENTIAL WH-QUESTIONS:

- a. [<sub>CP-1</sub> Was glaubst du ] (\): [<sub>CP-2</sub> Wann ist Goethe geboren]?  
what believe you                      when is Goethe born

“What is your guess: What’s Goethe’s birthday?”

(modelled on Reis’s 2000: 361, (6c))

- b. [<sub>CP-1</sub> What do you think]? [<sub>CP-2</sub> Who will Mary see]?  
(Dayal 2000: 171, (27b))

- At least the V1-pattern observes Condition C violations:

(12) Predicate

a. INITIAL

\* How afraid of John <sub>$i$</sub>  are you, does he <sub>$i$</sub>  think?

b. SPLIT

\* How afraid of John <sub>$i$</sub> , does he <sub>$i$</sub>  think, are you?

(13) Strong crossover (Argument)

a. INITIAL

\* Which girl<sub>i</sub> saw a unicorn, did she<sub>i</sub> say?

b. SPLIT

\* Which girl<sub>i</sub>, did she<sub>i</sub> say, saw a unicorn?

- If the offended R-expression is not the head of an A'-chain, headed by an argument, the R-expression does not reconstruct:

(14) INITIAL

What did John<sub>i</sub> buy, did he<sub>i</sub> say? (Haddican et al. 2014)

- Still, the SPLIT order is ungrammatical:

(15) SPLIT

\* What<sub>i</sub> did he<sub>i</sub> say, did John<sub>i</sub> buy?

## Summary of facts

- UEwhQs admit two variants:
  - Was-pattern features three word orders: INITIAL; SPLIT; FINAL;
  - V1-pattern manifests two word orders: INITIAL; SPLIT (\*FINAL).
- CP-2 becomes interpretationally and prosodically prominent (while CP-1 is reduced in these respects).
- Condition C does not bleed (at least in the V1-pattern; there is one exception though).

# Analysis

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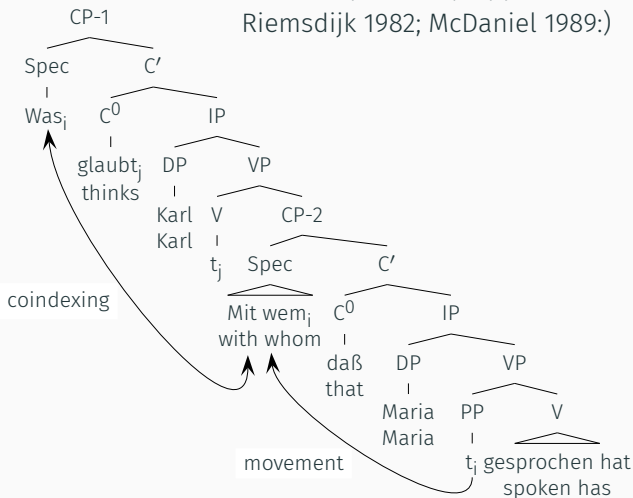
# Overview of analysis

- It is uncontroversial that *wh*-IPs fall under *wh*-scope marking of the German/Hindi sort (Reis 2000, 2002; for *wh*-scope marking, see van Riemsdijk 1982, McDaniel 1989, Dayal 1994, and the collection of papers in Lutz et al. 2000, among many others).
- However, there is a debate as to if *wh*-slifting should be treated in terms of *wh*-scope marking (Kayne 1998; Lahiri 2002; Stepanov and Stateva 2016), or not (Haddican et al. 2014).
- Since *wh*-IPs and *wh*-slifting have the same empirical profile, and *wh*-IPs are *wh*-scope marking, then *wh*-slifting must be *wh*-scope marking as well.
- UE*wh*Qs (*wh*-IPs and *wh*-slifting) extend the subordination strategy of *wh*-scope marking (Herburger 1994) to typical *wh*-questions.

# Subordination in *wh*-scope marking i

(16)

- Direct Dependency Approach (DDA; eg, van Riemsdijk 1982; McDaniel 1989:)

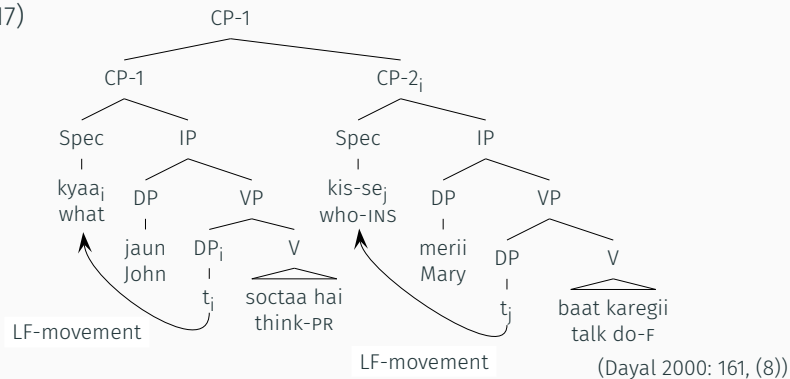


(modelled on Dayal's 2000: 158, (1b))

# Subordination in *wh*-scope marking ii

- Indirect Dependency Approach (IDA; eg, Dayal 1994:)

(17)



## Subordination in *wh*-scope marking iii

- DDA is by definition predicated upon subordination.
- Dayal (2000) explores I/VP-adjunction alternatives to the juxtaposition of CP-2 in (17), yielding pseudo-subordination.
- Herburger (1994) proposes a true-subordination strategy for IDA:

(18) a. Was glaubst die Maria, wen sie gesehen hat?  
what thinks Maria who she seen has  
“Who does Mary think see saw?”

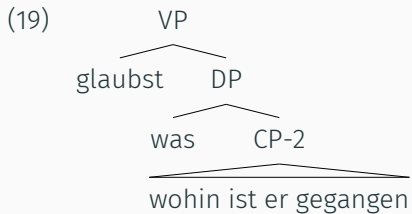
b. [<sub>CP-1</sub> Was<sub>i</sub> + C ... [<sub>DP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>CP-2</sub> wen sie gesehen hat]]]?  
(modelled on Lahiri's 2002: 513, (44)–(45))

- Herburger (1994) proposes that the  $\llbracket D \text{ CP-2} \rrbracket$  denotation may map transparently to a  $[D \text{ CP-2}]$  syntax:
  - $D$  (ie, *was*) translates at LF to an existential ( $\exists$ -)quantifier;
  - $\exists$  ranges over the set of propositions discharged by CP-2;
  - $\exists$  returns the single proposition which is the argument of  $\mathcal{P}$ .

## Subordination in UEwhQs i

- The facts from Condition C say that CP-2 must originate from the complement position of  $\mathcal{P}$  so that a term in CP-1 may c-command a term in CP-2.
- $\mathcal{P}$  does not select *wh*-interrogatives, like CP-2 (eg, Grimshaw 1979).
- CP-2 is the complement of an element that not only provides the appropriate argument to  $\mathcal{P}$ , but also forms the right constituent with CP-2; ie, *was*:
  - Translates at LF to a  $\exists$ -quantifier, which ranges over the set of propositions discharged by CP-2;
  - Returns the single proposition that is input to  $\mathcal{P}$ .

- The fragment in (19) exemplifies this:



## Word order in UE $wh$ Qs i

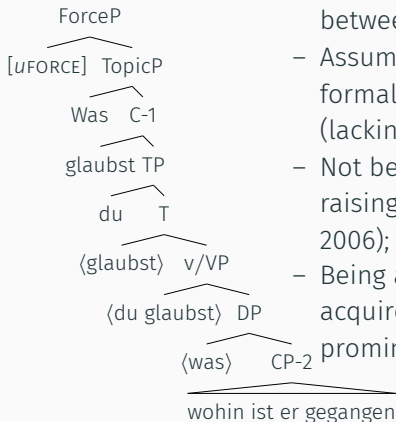
- The fact that *was* does not necessitate a *wh*-question reading of CP-1 means that *was* lacks *wh*-feature to agree with the Force of CP-1, which types the clause.
- The fact that CP-1 is prosodically reduced means that *was* cannot be associated with Focus either.
- So, *was* is compatible with a head that encodes neither Force nor Focus features; ie, Topic.
- The fact that CP-2 determines the *wh*-interrogative reading of CP-1 means that the *wh*-element heading CP-2 agrees with the Force of CP-1.



## Word order in UEwhQs ii

- Putting this together, we have the FINAL order in (20), which completes the fragment in (19):

(20) FINAL:



- Lacking [WH], *was* does not “intervene” between matrix Force and CP-2;
- Assuming that I-selection (Pesetsky 1991) formally translates to Agree (Adger 2003), *was* (lacking [WH]) can not I-select CP-2;
- Not being I-selected, CP-2 may feature T-to-C raising, despite being subordinate (McCloskey 2006);
- Being associated with matrix Force, CP-2 acquires interpretational and prosodic prominence, despite being subordinate.

## Word order in UEwhQs iii

- *Was*-movement to Topic is necessitated for reasons that have to do with the interpretation of *was* itself: in order to translate to a  $\exists$ -quantifier that ranges over propositions, *was* must raise to the left-periphery of CP-1.
- So, a FINAL arrangement where both *was* and CP-2 surface in situ is ungrammatical, as (21) demonstrates, despite forming a constituent.

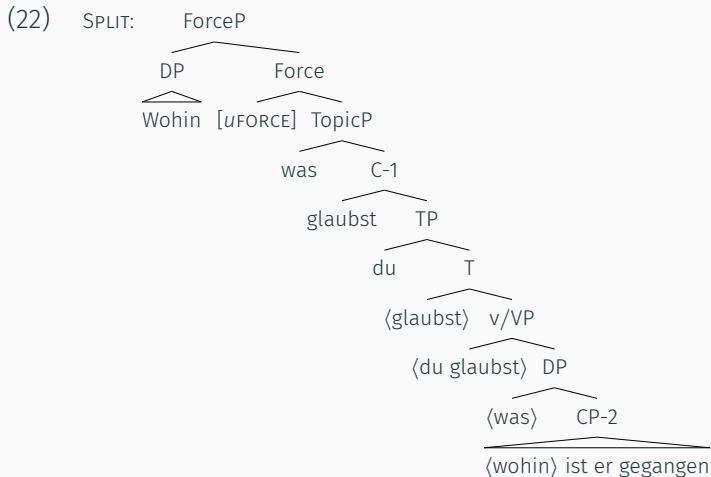
(21) \*<sub>[CP-1</sub> Du glaubst <sub>[DP</sub> <sub>[D</sub> was <sub>[CP-2</sub> wohin ist er  
you believe what where-to is he  
gegangen]]]]?  
gone

“Where do you believe did he go?”

- However, Agree between matrix Force and the *wh*-phrase introducing CP-2 does not relate to the interpretation of the *wh*-phrase itself: CP-2 is a well-formed operator-variable chain (in the sense of Browning 1987).
- Agree relates to the interpretation of the matrix Force, and apparently, renders *wh*-movement optional.

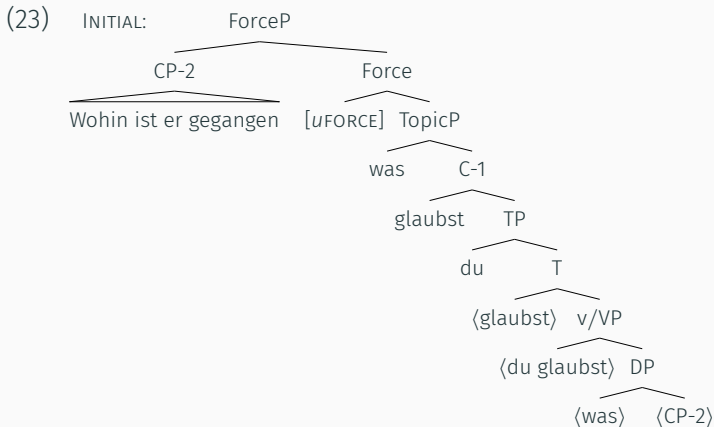
# Word order in UEwhQs v

- Optional *wh*-movement generates the SPLIT variant:



## Word order in UEwhQs vi

- Basque-like clausal pied-piping (Arregi 2003), which is parasitic on *wh*-movement, gives the INITIAL variant:



## Word order in UEwhQs vii

- Despite forming a constituent, *was* and CP-2 do not move together, as they target distinct heads; Topic and Force respectively (just as they don't surface in situ together).
- Hence, the ungrammatical (24a), which explores the possibility that *was* and CP-2 move together, and (24b), which assumes the additional possibility of *wh*-subextraction from [Spec,CP-2]:

(24) a. FINAL-like

\* [<sub>ForceP</sub> [<sub>TopP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> Was [<sub>CP-2</sub> wohin ist er gegangen]] [<sub>C-1</sub> glaubst du <DP>]]]?

b. SPLIT-like

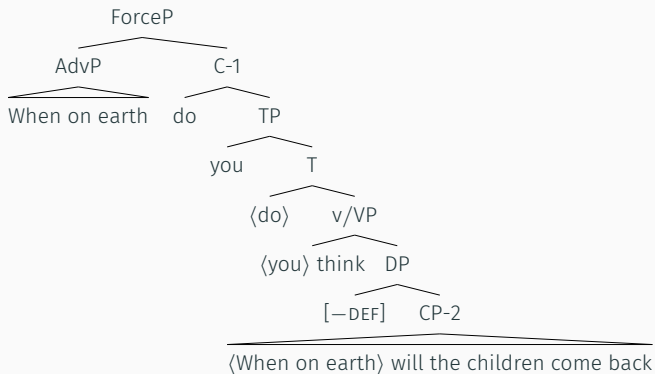
\* [<sub>ForceP</sub> Wohin [<sub>TopP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> was [<sub>CP-2</sub> <wohin> ist er gegangen]] [<sub>C-1</sub> glaubst du <DP>]]]?

- A *wh*-scope marker (*was*) extends the scope of the *wh*-chain in CP-2 beyond the clausal boundaries that this chain figures (cf, DDA; IDA; and variants).
- This means that in the (literal) absence of a scope marker, the *wh*-element from CP-2 must move in order to acquire matrix scope.
- The V1-pattern then which lacks a scope marker does not admit the FINAL order due to the obligatoriness of *wh*-movement (which sharply contrasts with the *was*-pattern).

# Word order in UEwhQs ix

- The SPLIT order is obligatory:

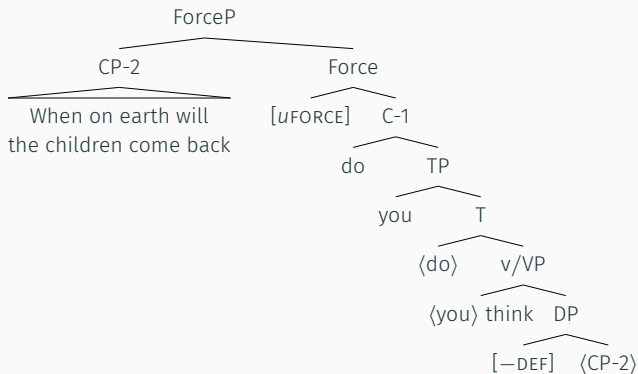
(25)





- The INITIAL variant is optional, due to clausal pied-piping:

(26)



- Notice that  $D_{[-DEF]}$  does not constitute an island to *wh*-extraction:

(27) a. ??Which man did you discover [ $_{DP}$  the poem about ⟨which man⟩]?

b. Which man did you discover [ $_{DP}$  a poem about ⟨which man⟩]

(modelled on Szabolcsi's 2006: 483, (22) & (23))

## Condition C reconstruction in UEwhQs i

- Based on the results of an online acceptability judgement task, Bruening and Khalaf (2017) propose that the generalization in (28) captures the distribution of Condition C reconstruction in general (see Adger et al. 2017 for similar results and reasoning):

### (28) RECONSTRUCTION FOR BIDDING CONDITION C

Where a phrase XP with head X occupies the head of an A'-chain:

- a. If X is a predicate, only X and the head Y of its complement reconstruct;
- b. If X is an argument, only X reconstructs.

(Bruening and Khalaf 2017: 11, (26))

- The V1-pattern of UEwhQs provides independent empirical support to (28):

- (29) a. \* $[_{XP}$  How afraid  $[_{YP}$  of John<sub>i</sub>]] are you does he<sub>i</sub> think \_\_\_?  
b.  $[_{XP}$  What  $[_{YP}$  did John<sub>i</sub> buy]] did he<sub>i</sub> say \_\_\_?  
c. \* $[_{XP}$  Which girl<sub>i</sub>] saw a unicorn did she<sub>i</sub> say \_\_\_?

# Summary of analysis i

- UEwhQs are predicated upon the subordination strategy of *wh*-scope marking, and yield two patterns: *was* vs. V1.
- *Was*-pattern:
  - Lacking [<sub>WH</sub>], *was* does not l-select CP-2 and does not type CP-1;
  - *Was* obligatorily moves to TopicP for reasons of interpretation;
  - The *wh*-element heading CP-2 agrees with matrix Force;
  - Optional *wh*-movement from [Spec,CP-2] to [Spec,ForceP], parasitically followed by clausal pied-piping, yields three possible arrangements: INITIAL; SPLIT; FINAL;
  - Association of CP-2 with matrix Force assigns interpretational and prosodic prominence (“main” clause effect) to CP-2 despite syntactic subordination.

- V1-pattern:
  - Absence of a *wh*-scope marker renders *wh*-movement from [Spec,CP-2] to [Spec,ForceP] compulsory; hence, the SPLIT order, and the ungrammaticality of the FINAL one;
  - Clausal pied-piping makes available the INITIAL variant;
  - Reconstruction C effects provide independent empirical support to an accumulating body of experimental studies and render the subordination strategy to UE*wh*Qs the only viable approach.

# Conclusions

- Completing a picture that has long remained incomplete,  $D_{[-DEF]}$  may mediate the association between a predicate with a clausal complement.
- The predicate is proposition-selecting and the complement is a typical *wh*-question.
- Despite being embedded, the *wh*-question is not l-selected; hence, UE*wh*Q.
- UE*wh*Qs fall under *wh*-scope marking and may be of (at least) two types: *was* (German; English) and V1 (English).
- Both types of UE*wh*Qs are unified under the subordination strategy of *wh*-scope marking, which extends to typical *wh*-questions.

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# Thank you!



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Subordination with(out) l-selection

## Wh-scope marking vs. UEwhQ i

- Typical *wh*-scope marking features the exact opposite cluster of properties from (the *was*-pattern of) UEwhQs (Reis 2000):

– CP-2 does not manifest T-to-C raising (Verb-final):

(30) Was glaubst du, wohin er gegangen ist?

what believe you where-to he gone is

“Where do you think that he went?” (Reis 2000: 374, (45))

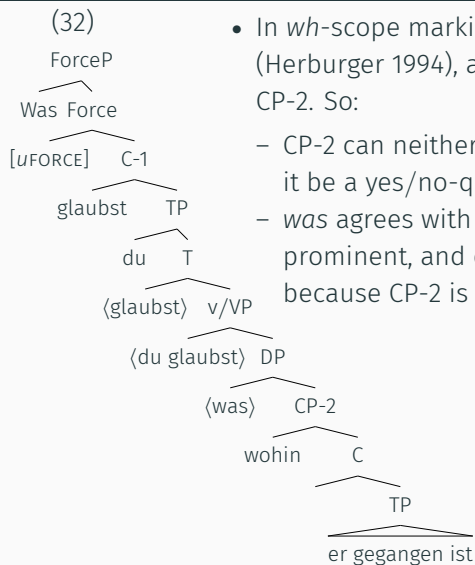
- CP-2 may not be a yes/no-question:

(31) \*Was glaubst du, ob er nach Paderborn gegangen ist?  
what believe you whether he to Paderborn gone is

(Reis 2000: 374, (46))

- Only the FINAL order is possible: CP-2 must linearly follow CP-1;
- CP-1 is interpretationally and prosodically prominent.

## Wh-scope marking vs. UEwhQ iii



- In *wh*-scope marking, *was* comes with [WH] (Herburger 1994), and, unlike in UEwhQs, I-selects CP-2. So:
  - CP-2 can neither feature T-to-C fronting, nor can it be a yes/no-question;
  - *was* agrees with Force; hence, CP-1 becomes prominent, and only the FINAL order is available, because CP-2 is not associated with Force.