

Squibs and Discussion

WH-DOUBLING: IMPLICATIONS FOR
THE SYNTAX OF WH-MOVEMENT
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Although appositive structures have received some attention in the literature (see, e.g., Fabb 1990, Espinal 1991, Lebeaux 1988), appositive questions that involve apparently doubled *wh*-words (see (1)) have not been systematically analyzed. In Spanish these structures show interesting syntactic and interpretive properties. In particular, although they involve a *wh*-word, they are interpreted as yes-no questions. Additionally, they involve locality constraints. I will argue that the *wh*-word in these structures is not a [+wh] operator; structurally, the lower CP is adjoined to the *wh*-trace, which explains the locality restrictions.

Compare the sentences in (1). Sentence (1a) involves a typical *wh*-extraction from an embedded object position. However, in (1b), which I will call *CP-doubling*, the *wh*-word cannot come from the embedded sentence, since there is an overt deictic element in the argument position it might have come from.

- (1) a. ¿Qué_i dices que compró t_i?
what say(2SG) that bought(3SG)
'What are you saying she/he bought?'
- b. ¿Qué dices, que compró eso?
what say(2SG) that bought(3SG) that
'What are you saying, that she/he bought that?'

There are two important differences between (1a) and (1b). First, (1a) is a true *wh*-question; the answer will be a DP interpreted as an object of *comprar* 'buy'. (1b), on the other hand, is a yes-no question. The other difference is the intonational curve. In (1a) the intonational pattern is that of a regular question: it starts with a high tone, descends to a mid tone around the complementizer *que*, and descends to a lower tone at the end of the question. (1b), on the other hand, has two separate curves: it starts with a high tone, descends immediately to a low tone at the end of the matrix verb *dices*, then moves to a mid tone at the complementizer and ends in a high tone. From the intonational point of view, (1b) looks like two separate questions: a *wh*-question *qué dices* and a yes-no question *que compró eso*. Both questions are gram-

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matical in Spanish, as seen in (2a) and (3a), with possible answers (2b) and (3b), respectively.¹

- (2) a. ¿Qué_i dices t_i?
 what say(2SG)
 ‘What are you saying?’
 b. Que compró eso.
 that bought(3SG) that
 ‘That she/he bought that.’
- (3) a. ¿Compró eso?
 bought(3SG) that
 ‘Did she/he really buy that?’
 b. Sí.
 yes
 ‘Yes.’

In (2a) the *wh*-word is coindexed with a trace that is the object of *decir* ‘say’. Since this verb allows DP or CP complements, an answer like (2b) is possible. However, if we go back to (1b), although two questions seem to be involved, the second question (the yes-no question) is embedded within the first one. In this sense, they are not two independent CPs.

In addition to sentences like (1b), there are cases like (4), with the same intonational properties, where the doubled element is a DP, not a CP. I will call these cases *DP-doubling*. The answer to these is also yes or no.²

- (4) ¿Qué compraste, un libro? (answer = ‘yes’/‘no’)
 what bought(PAST.2SG) a book
 ‘What did you buy, a book?’

Examples like (1b) and (4) raise the question, where does the *wh*-word come from? The obvious answer is that the structure of (1b) involves a *wh*-word that moves from the complement of the matrix verb and that the second question is therefore a separate CP, as in (5).

¹ An anonymous reviewer suggests the *wh*-word may be an instance of a complementizer, as it is in parallel structures in Florentine. In (i), however, the *wh*-word is preceded by a prepositional phrase, suggesting it cannot be an X⁰ category.

- (i) ¿A qué te refieres, a que Juan llegó tarde?
 to what CL refer to that Juan arrived late
 ‘What do you refer to, to the fact that Juan arrived late?’

² Both (1b) and (4) differ from regular yes-no questions in not allowing the continuation *o no* ‘or not’, as illustrated in (i) and (ii). At this point I have no explanation for this contrast.

- (i) ¿Compraste un libro o no?
 bought(2SG) a book or not
 ‘Did you buy a book or not?’
 (ii) *¿Qué compraste, un libro o no?
 what bought(2SG) a book or not

(5) [_{CP} qué_i dices t_i] [_{CP} que compraste un libro]

However, these examples show locality effects, as I will argue shortly. If this is correct, there is a relationship between the *wh*-word and a position inside the second CP that cannot be accounted for using the representation in (5). In the following section I will present such evidence.

1 *Wh*-Doubling and Islands

Wh-doubling questions display locality effects, as seen in (6)–(7). (6a) illustrates that DP-doubling is ungrammatical in the context of a complex NP; (7a) shows the same thing for the CP-doubling cases.³ (6b–c) and (7b–c) show that extraction from a sentential subject is impossible with both DP- and CP-doubling.

- (6) a. *¿Qué_i te molesta el hecho de que
 what CL(2SG) bothers(3SG) the fact of that
 compró, un libro?
 bought(3SG) a book
 ‘What does it bother you the fact that bought, a book?’
- b. *¿Qué_i que comprara te molesta, un libro?
 what that bought(3SG.SUBJ) CL(2SG) bother a book
 ‘What that she/he bought bothers you, a book?’
- c. *¿Qué_i que comprara, un libro te molesta?
 what that bought(3SG.SUBJ) a book CL(2SG) bother
 ‘What that she/he bought, a book bothers you?’
- (7) a. *¿Qué_i te molesta el hecho de que
 what CL(2SG) bothers(3SG) the fact of that
 dijera, [que compró eso]_i?
 said(2SG.SUBJ) that bought(3SG) that
 ‘What that she/he said bothers you, that she/he bought that?’
- b. *¿Qué_i que dijera te molesta, [que
 what that said(2SG.SUBJ) CL(2SG) bothers(3SG) that
 compró eso]_i?
 bought(3SG) that
 ‘What that she/he said bothers you, that she/he bought that?’
- c. *¿Qué_i que dijera, [que compró eso]_i
 what that said(2SG.SUBJ) that bought(3SG) that
 te molesta?
 CL(2SG) bothers(3SG)
 ‘What that she/he said, that she/he bought that bothers you?’

³ Notice that the relevant, ungrammatical interpretation of (7b) is the one in which *qué* doubles *que comprara eso* ‘that she/he bought that’. The sentence is grammatical if the *wh*-word doubles *el hecho de que comprara eso* ‘the fact that she/he bought that’.

In this sense, CP- and DP-doubling contrast with in-situ questions (whether echo or true questions), which can appear in island configurations, as shown in (8).

- (8) a. ¿Te molesta el hecho de que compró
 CL(2SG) bothers(3SG) the fact of that bought(3SG)
 qué?
 what
 ‘The fact that she/he bought what bothers you?’
 b. ¿Que comprara qué te molesta?
 that bought(3SG.SUBJ) what CL(2SG) bothers(3SG)
 ‘That she/he bought what bothers you?’

To the extent that islands show movement effects, the examples in (6) and (7) argue that CP- and DP-doubling are cases of movement from the embedded clause.

On the other hand, the doubling *wh*-word does not satisfy the selectional restrictions of a verb such as *preguntarse* ‘wonder’, as shown in (9). In (9a) a true *wh*-word satisfies the selectional restrictions of the verb, but the doubling *wh*-word does not, as shown in (9b). A yes-no question, whether direct or indirect, patterns like a true *wh*-word (see (9c–d)).

- (9) a. Se preguntan qué_i compraste t_i.
 CL ask(3PL) what bought(2SG)
 ‘They wonder what you bought.’
 b. *Se preguntan qué compraste, ¿un libro?
 CL ask(3PL) what bought(2SG) a book
 c. Se preguntan ¿compraste un libro?
 CL ask(3PL) bought(2SG) a book
 ‘They wonder, “Did you buy a book?”’
 d. Se preguntan si compraste un libro.
 CL ask(3PL) whether bought(2SG) a book
 ‘They wonder whether you bought a book.’

The ungrammaticality of (9b) would follow if the *wh*-word is not a true [+wh] operator and therefore cannot satisfy the selectional restrictions of *preguntarse* ‘wonder’.⁴ This conclusion is supported by the grammaticality of (10), where *si* ‘whether’ does satisfy the requirements of the verb.

- (10) ¿Qué se preguntan, si compraste un libro?
 what CL ask(3PL) whether bought(2SG) a book
 ‘What do they wonder, whether you bought a book?’

There is an additional, theory-internal argument that the *wh*-word

⁴ There is a grammatical interpretation of (9b), which is different from the one relevant here. In (1b), for example, there is a presupposition that a book was bought, whereas in the grammatical interpretation of (9b), such an interpretation is unavailable.

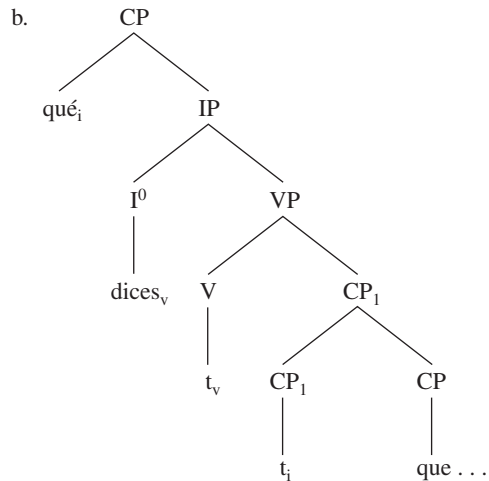
is not an operator. If it were, it would leave a variable, which would be an R-expression. Since it is coindexed with the doubled element, it should induce a Principle C violation of the binding theory.

To summarize the observations made so far, CP- and DP-doubling constructions have the interpretation of yes-no questions, but show diagnostics of *wh*-movement. Unlike echo questions, they show locality constraints. The operators in these constructions do not seem to be true [+wh] operators and therefore cannot fulfill [+wh] selectional restrictions.

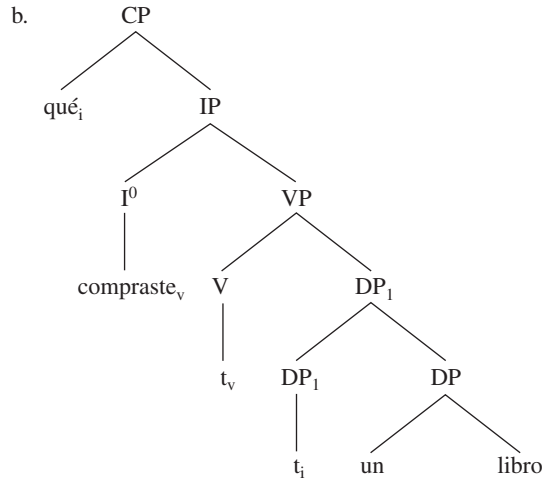
2 The Origin of the Doubling *Wh*

If the *wh*-word displays locality constraints, where does it originate? I have argued that there is no argumental position inside the lower CP from which it could originate. The intonation break between the main verb and the doubled element suggests this element may not be in argumental position, but is instead adjoined. Hence, I propose that the *wh*-trace has the CP adjoined to it. The structures of (1b) and (4) are illustrated in (11) and (12), respectively, omitting irrelevant details. In (11b) the CP *que compró eso* is adjoined to the trace of the internal argument of *dices*, and in (12b) the DP *un libro* is adjoined to the trace of the argument of *compraste*. Essentially, these structures represent *wh*-doubling (similar to instances of clitic doubling), and the doubled elements are adjoined. This would explain why doubling examples are subject to island effects: the ungrammaticality of (7b–c) parallels that of (13a–b).

- (11) a. ¿Qué dices, que compró eso?
 what say(2SG) that bought(3SG) that
 ‘What are you saying, that she/he bought that?’



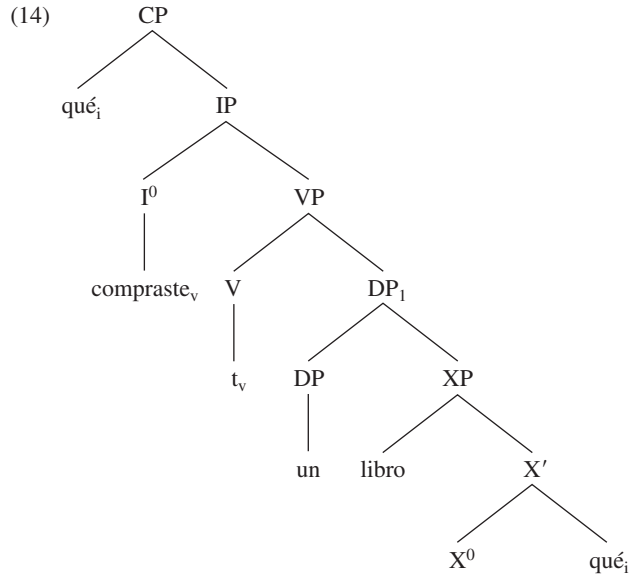
- (12) a. ¿Qué compraste, un libro?
 what bought(2SG) a book
 'What did you buy, a book?'



- (13) a. *¿Qué_i te molesta el hecho de que
 what CL(2SG) bothers(3SG) the fact of that
 dijera t_i?
 said(2SG.SUBJ)
- b. *¿Qué_i que dijera te molesta t_i?
 what that said(2SG.SUBJ) CL(2SG) bothers(3SG)

An alternative analysis suggested by an anonymous reviewer would be along lines proposed by Kayne (1994). The *wh*-word would be generated inside a complex DP/CP. In Kayne's system there is no adjunction, so the *wh*-phrase and the DP must be in a specifier or complement position. Given that there is no thematic relationship between them, the possibility that comes to mind is a predication relation in a small clause configuration. The structure would be something like (14) for (4). In this structure XP is a small clause projection, possibly CP; *libro* is in its specifier, and *qué* is the complement, with X⁰ null. Presumably, the *wh*-phrase would move from its complement position to the specifier of the highest CP. One of the questions this analysis raises is why no other cases of small clauses inside DP are possible in Spanish. A small clause complement such as the one illustrated in (15a) cannot be nominalized in the way the proposal just outlined would predict (see (15b)), although that verb *ver* 'see' does take DP complements, as shown in (15c). These contrasts suggest that the small clause analogy cannot be pursued very far.⁵

⁵ A slight variation on the analysis just sketched would be to claim that the relationship between the DP and the *wh*-word is not that of predication/small clause. In that case it would be necessary to explain precisely what type of relationship it is, since it does not seem to be thematic.



- (15) a. Eligieron a Juan presidente.
 elected to Juan president
 'They elected Juan president.'
- b. *Eligieron al Juan presidente.
 elected to-the Juan president
- c. Eligieron a Juan.
 elected to Juan
 'They elected Juan.'

3 Conclusions

The data I have presented suggest that what I have called *wh*-doubling involves adjunction structures in which a DP or CP is adjoined to the *wh*-word with which it is coindexed. I have argued that these *wh*-words are not operators, since they do not fulfill *wh*-selection restrictions or force Principle C violations. I have also noted that these structures are interpreted as yes-no questions, although with slightly different properties than ordinary yes-no questions (lack of 'or not' continuation, for example). The analysis leaves open the question of how a sequence with a *wh*-word can be interpreted as a yes-no question, and the related question of whether the lexical item *qué* has two different lexical representations (depending on its operator status).

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ADHERING FOCUS

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The Romanian data presented in this squib prompt the observation that movement to the preverbal Focus position is constrained by the availability of nominative Case checking in the left periphery of the clause. Since Focus targets a scope position within the T(ense) P(hrase) in Romanian, and this target is correlated with the possibility of preverbal subjects, I infer that the [focus] feature enters the grammar by merging with the head T only when the feature cluster in T contains tense and Case features. This approach is compatible with the hypothesis that functional heads are syncretic categories projecting multiple specifiers (Chomsky 1995, Zubizarreta 1998). The analysis also confirms earlier hypotheses on the parasitic nature of Focus, as proposed by Horvath (1995), among others, with respect to various languages.

1 Word Order and Preverbal Focus

Central to the present analysis is the free word order property of Romanian, where DP subjects check their Case features in either pre- or postverbal position (SV/VS), as in (1).

- (1) (Mulți copii) se adăpostiseră (mulți copii) în hol.
many kids REFL sheltered-3PL many kids in hallway
'Many kids had taken shelter in the hallway.'

In the context of (1), Topic constituents such as *în hol* 'in hallway' in (2) precede but cannot follow the preverbal subject.¹

- (2) În hol, mulți copii (*în hol) se adăpostiseră
in hallway many kids in hallway REFL sheltered-3PL
de ploaie.
of rain
'Many kids had taken shelter from the rain in the hallway.'

In this configuration constituents with Focus stress occur either pre- or postverbally, as in (3). Although both sentences in (3) receive a contrastive Focus reading, preverbal placement of the Focus constituent as in (3b) adds stylistic emphasis. When preverbal, as in (3b), the Focus constituent appears between subject and verb.²

¹ *Topic* as "old information," involving clitic left-dislocation (as in Cinque 1990).

² *Focus* as "new information," yielding contrastive or presentational readings.