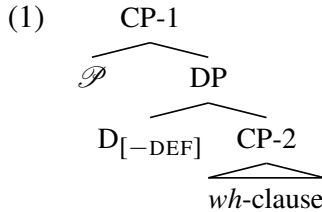


## Unselected Embedded *wh*-Questions: Extensions

**§1 Claim & Import(ance).** In this talk, I claim that a functional D-layer may mediate the association of a propositional-attitude ( $\mathcal{P}$ ) predicate (i.e., a predicate that may combine with a clausal complement only of the declarative type; e.g., *think*) with an interrogative *wh*-clause (CP-2), as in (1). The entire DP is the argument of  $\mathcal{P}$  (which resides in CP-1), while D dominates CP-2 and translates to an indefinite ([−DEF]) element, which ranges over the set of propositions discharged by CP-2, and yields the single proposition that is input to  $\mathcal{P}$ .



I show that CP-2 is embedded under D, but is not lexically selected (in the sense of Pesetsky 1982, 1991); hence, the term *Unselected Embedded wh-Questions* (UEwhQs), which extends the terms *Unselected Embedded Questions* of Adger and Quer (2001).

The theoretical import(ance) of this claim is that it completes a so far incomplete picture about clausal complementation: an early conjecture of the theory of Generative Grammar has been that clausal complements are dominated by a nominal shell (Chomsky 1955/1985; Rosenbaum 1967), which, in current terms, corresponds to a D-layer that may translate to either a definite element or a polarity item (Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1971; Adger and Quer 2001; Alrenga 2005; Arsenijević 2009; Kayne 2010; Roussou 2010; Takahashi 2010; Knyazev 2016). While “polarity” is a property belonging to “indefiniteness”, the conjecture in question does not extend to *prima facie* indefinite elements, which is a gap that the present claim seeks to fill in.

**§2 Facts & Analysis.** To support the claim in §1, I consider two *wh*-constructions, and show that they are variants of the same *wh*-scope marking strategy: a subordination strategy where a  $[[D\ CP]]$  denotation maps transparently to a  $[D\ CP]$  syntax. This extends Herburger’s (1994) subordination account of German *wh*-scope marking to typical *wh*-questions.

The two *wh*-constructions I consider are German *wh*-Integrated Parentheticals (*wh*-IPs; cf., (2a)) and English *wh*-slifting (cf., (2b)). In both cases, an interrogative *wh*-clause (CP-2) appears to be associated with the  $\mathcal{P}$ -predicate of CP-1 (*think/glaubst*).

(2) a. *Was* / VERB-INITIAL INTEGRATED PARENTHETICAL (*wh*-IP)

[CP-2 *Wo wohnt er jetzt*] [CP-1 (was) glaubst du]?  
 where lives he now what believe you

“Where do you think he lives now?”

(Reis 2000: 359, (2), (3))

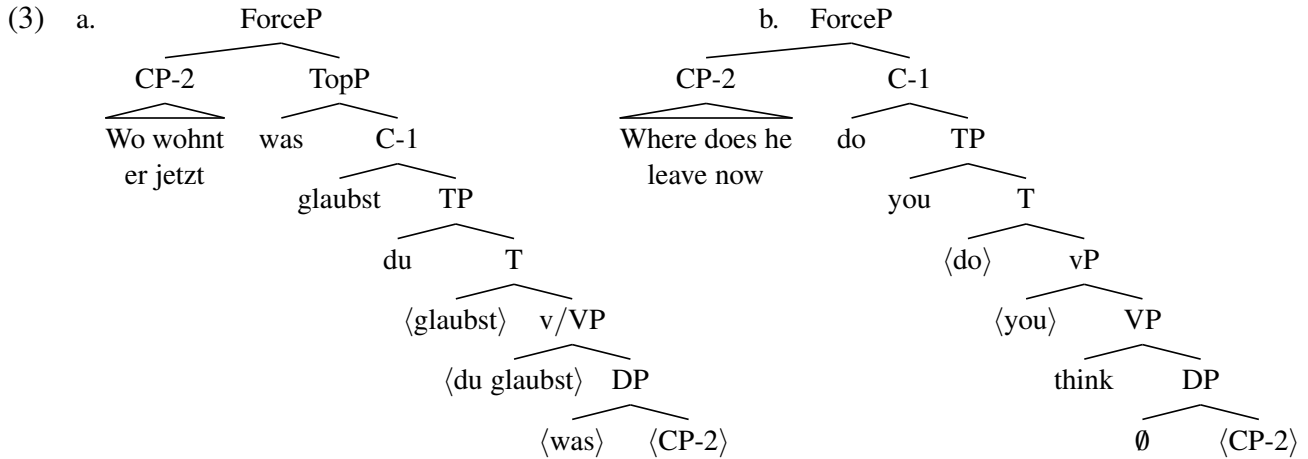
b. *Wh*-SLIFTING

[CP-2 *Where does he live now*] [CP-1 do you think]?

It is uncontroversial that *wh*-IPs are instances of *wh*-scope marking (Reis 2000, 2002). However, there is a debate as to whether *wh*-slifting is comparable to *wh*-scope marking of the German/Hindi sort (Kayne 1998; Lahiri 2002; Reis 2000, 2002; Stepanov and Stateva 2016), or not (Haddican et al. 2011, 2014). In this talk, I compare *wh*-IPs with *wh*-slifting—which is something that has never been done so far—and show that both constructions share the same empirical profile. This suggests not only that *wh*-slifting is indeed an instance of *wh*-scope marking, to the same extent that *wh*-IPs are, but also that *wh*-IPs and *wh*-slifting should fall under a unified treatment.

Empirical evidence from distribution, interpretation, and prosody, underpins a unified treatment in terms of *wh*-scope marking, where *wh*-IPs and *wh*-slifting are variants of the same subordination

strategy. This strategy gives rise to two patterns: a *was*-pattern, which is exemplified by *was*-IPs, and a V1-pattern, which is represented by *wh*-slifting (Verb-Initial IPs).



(3a) says that the DP-constituent that *was* forms with CP-2 is the argument of *glaubst*. As is evidence from facts about interpretation and prosody, *was* does not necessitate a *wh*-interrogative reading, while CP-1 carries no stress. This means that *was* does not surface in Force (which encodes the type of the clause; Chomsky 1995, among others), while lack of stress means that *was* is not in Focus either; hence, *was* projects in Topic. By moving to Topic, *was* translates at LF to a  $\exists$ -quantifier, which ranges over the propositions discharged by CP-2, and returns the single proposition that is input to *glaubst*. Crucially, facts from interpretation shows that CP-2 determines the meaning of the entire construction, including that of CP-1, despite the presence of *was*. This means, in turn, that the *wh*-element from CP-2 surfaces in the Force of CP-1, pied-piping the entire clause (*a la* Basque; Arregi 2003). Despite being embedded, CP-2 features T-to-C raising because it is not l(exically)-selected by *was* (extending McCloskey’s 2006 treatment of embedded T-to-C fronting in Irish English). Lack of l-selection by *was* is demonstrated by the fact that CP-2 may be either a *wh*- or a yes/no-question, which means that *was* does not target the *wh*-properties (feature) of C-2. All other things being equal, the V1-pattern in (3b) arises from the absence of a *wh*-scope marker (represented with  $\emptyset$ ) to extend the scope of the embedded *wh*-chain (CP-2) in the matrix domain (CP-1). Then, the only way for the *wh*-element to extend its scope to CP-1 is to move from the embedded CP-2 to the matrix ForceP (pied-piping the entire clause). In passing, notice that an indefinite D does not (typically) constitute an island for (*wh*-)movement (Szabolcsi 2006).

In elaborating on the proposed system, I will demonstrate how it accounts for other word order possibilities, as well as, for locality and reconstruction facts, also drawing from recent experimental results (Author & Co-authors 2017).

**§3 Consequences & Implications.** The analysis in §2 extends the familiar set of grammars that assume *wh*-scope marking (e.g., German/Hindi) to English. To the extent that derivations like (3) could generalize, *mutatis mutandis*, to typical “long-distance” *wh*-movement (Chomsky 1977), it would raise far-reaching implications worth considering, some of which pertain to: (i) the “trigger” for the intermediate landing site of long-distance *wh*-movement and “labelling” (Chomsky 2013, 2015); (ii) the property of some verbs being “bridges” to *wh*-extraction (Erteschik-Shir 1977); (iii) the difference between languages that permit *wh*-extraction out of finite clauses (e.g., English) and those that do not (e.g., Russian) (Ross 1967); (iv) the close link between embedded *that*-clauses and *wh*-clauses (Ross n.d.); and (v) the “optionality” of long-distance *wh*-in situ (Author 2012, 2014, 2017 ).

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