

Why is Integrated Parenthetical integrated?

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1. Introduction

Sentences like (1a) are usually analyzed as WH Scope Marking (WSM) constructions. As far as I know, Stepanov (2000) first acknowledged in the generative literature that Slavic languages like Polish and Russian have WSM constructions:

- (1) a. Kak vy думаете, кого любит Иван?
how you think whom loves John
'Who do you think John loves?'
- b. Ja dumaju čto Ivan любит Марию.
I think that John loves Mary
'I think that John loves Mary.'

The crucial property of this construction: it includes two *wh*-phrases, but supplying the answer for just one *wh*-phrase is sufficient. The *wh*-phrase appearing in the upper position does not have to be answered. It just marks the scope of the *wh*-phrase in the embedded clause.

Thus (1b) is an appropriate answer for (1a), in which the *wh*-phrase *kak* in the matrix clause is considered to be some kind of an expletive, just functioning to mark the scope for the other *wh*-phrase *kogo*. This is why it is called a WSM construction.

Gelderen (2001), contra Stepanov (2000), argues that sentences like (2) are “real” WSM constructions in Russian,¹ even though they involve only one contentful *wh*-phrase and lack an overt *Wh*-Scope Marker, like Malay or Bahasa Indonesia. She argues that interrogatives with an overt *Wh*-Scope Marker like (1a) and (3) should be analyzed as Integrated Parenthetical Constructions (IPCs).

- (2) Ty думаешь кого я видел?
you think who I see-PAST
'Who do you think I saw?'
- (3) Kak ty думаешь кого я видел?
how you think who I see-PAST
'Who do you think I saw?'

The existence of IPCs in addition to WSM constructions has been claimed by Reis (2000), based on data from German.

- (4) Was glaubst du, wo wohnt er jetzt?
what believe you where lives he now
'Where do you believe that he lives now?'
- (5) Was glaubst du, wo er jetzt wohnt?
what believe you where he now lives
'Where do you believe that he lives now?'

¹ It might be more appropriate to call these constructions Partial *Wh*-Movement constructions since they involve no overt *Wh*-Scope Marker.

Examples in (4) and (5) look similar on the surface. The only difference between the two sentences is the position of the verb in the embedded clause. The IPC is accompanied by the verb second in the apparently embedded clause, as in (4), while in the case of WSM constructions in (5), there is no verb movement in the embedded clause.

Gelderen's extension of this distinction to Russian data is based on the fact that the sentence in (3) with an overt scope marker shares certain properties with the IPCs in German, which we will see closely in Section 2.

Although the issue that Gelderen has raised is important in itself,² the present discussion is confined to the proper analysis of the example in (3); that is, the instantiation of IPCs in Russian, and to answering the title question: why are integrated parentheticals integrated?

The goals of this squib are, first of all, to add data from Japanese to the discussion of IPCs and to provide a proper analysis for all instantiations of IPCs. The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 summarizes three differences between IPCs and WSM constructions. Section 3 illustrates the existence of IPCs in Japanese. Section 4 shows that assumption of internally complex *wh*-phrases gives a unified explanation to properties of IPCs. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Three Differences between IPCs and WSM constructions

The first property is that IPCs do not allow the presence of an overt declarative complementizer.

- (6) Kak ty думаеш (* chto) kogo ja videla?
how you think (that) who I see-PAST
'Who do you think I saw?'
- (7) Ty думаеш (chto) kogo ja videla?
you think (that) who I see-PAST
'Who do you think I saw?'

In Russian, when an overt *wh*-scope marker exists in the matrix clause, the declarative complementizer cannot appear in the embedded clause. On the other hand, without an overt scope marker, the complementizer can appear.³

The second property is that IPCs allow a preposing of the apparently embedded interrogative clause, while it is not allowed in WSM constructions. In this respect, Russian and German behave in a similar fashion.

- (8) [Kogo ja videla], [kak ty думаеш]?
who I see-PAST how you think
'Who do you think I saw?'

² I have argued in Fukutomi (2009) that there are two types of WSM constructions in Russian in a completely different context from Gelderen (2001).

³ It is self-evident that IPCs in German cannot be compatible with a declarative complementizer, since they involve the Verb Second and the Verb Second does not co-occur with a declarative complementizer.

- (9) * [chto kogo ja videla] [ty думаеш]?
 that who I see-PAST you think
 ‘Who do you think I saw?’

In (8) the embedded clause is preposed with an overt *wh*-phrase in the matrix clause, while the embedded clause cannot be preposed without an overt *wh*-phrase in the matrix, as in (9).

In the case of German, the apparently embedded clause of IPCs, where the verb movement is involved, can be preposed. On the other hand, the embedded clause of WSM constructions cannot be preposed. This is shown by the contrast between (10) and (11):

- (10) [Wird er morgen kommen], [was glaubst du]?
 will he tomorrow come what believe you
 ‘Will he come tomorrow, do you think?’
 (11) * [Wo er jetzt wohnt] [was glaubst du]?
 where he now lives, what believe you
 ‘Where do you believe that he lives now?’

The last property that differentiates IPCs and WSM constructions is the iterativity of the embedded clauses. When an overt scope marker appears, the embedded clause cannot be iterated (12), while without an overt scope marker, the embedded clause can be iterated, as in (13):

- (12) * Kak ty думаеш [(kak) Ivan skazal [kogo ja videla]]?
 how you think how Ivan said who I see-PAST
 ‘Who do you think Ivan said I saw?’
 (13) Ty думаеш [Ivan skazal [chto kogo ja videla]]?
 you think Ivan said that who I see-PAST
 ‘Who do you think Ivan said I saw?’

The same is true for German. In the case of IPCs, the iteration of embedded clauses cannot be allowed, as in (14), though embedded clauses in WSM constructions can be iterated, as in (15):

- (14) * Was glaubst sie [er meint [erird er morgen tun]]?
 what believes she he thinks will he tomorrow do
 ‘What does she believe he thinks he will do tomorrow?’
 (15) Was glaubst du, [was sie sagt, [wieviel das kostet]]?
 what believe you what she says how much this costs
 ‘How much do you believe that she says that this cost?’

These complete the basic properties of IPCs in Russian and German. Let us now take a look at examples in Japanese and argue for the existence of IPCs in the language.

3. IPCs in Japanese

In Japanese, the scope of a *wh*-phrase is usually determined by a c-commanding clause-final particle. In (16) the particle *no* attaches on the matrix verb and yields a matrix question reading.

- (16) Anata-wa [John-ga dare-o aisiteiru to] omotteiru no?
 you-TOP John-NOM who-ACC loves COMP think Q
 ‘Who do you think that John loves?’

In addition to this standard long-distance *wh*-question, Japanese has another question-forming strategy that shares the basic properties of IPCs in Russian and German.

- (17) Anata-wa [John-ga dare-o aisiteiru ka] doo omotteiru no?
 you-TOP John-NOM who-ACC loves Q how think Q
 ‘Who do you think that John loves?’

The sentence in (17) consists of two clauses, each containing a *wh*-phrase; *doo*, literally meaning ‘how’ in the matrix clause, and *dare*, meaning ‘who’ in the embedded clause. A characteristic of this type of questions is that its felicitous answer involves supplying the value for the embedded *wh*-phrase in the same way as Russian and German.

Three Properties of IPCs

Interestingly this type of construction in Japanese shows exactly the same properties as Russian and German IPCs. First, although the verb *omou* ‘think’ cannot take a question complement, the sentence in (17) requires a question as an embedded clause. In fact, if the embedded complementizer is changed into a declarative one *-to*, the sentence is degraded, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (18) and (19)⁴:

- (18) *Anata-wa [John-ga dare-o aisiteiru to] doo omotteiru no?
 you-TOP John-NOM who-ACC love COMP how think Q
 ‘Who do you think that John loves?’
 (19) *Anata-wa [John-ga dare-o aisiteiru ka to] doo omotteiru no?
 you-TOP John-NOM who-ACC love Q COMP how think Q
 ‘Who do you think that John loves?’

As for the preposability of the embedded clause, Japanese shows the mirror image of Russian and German because of its rigid SVO character. Thus in (20) where the matrix clause contains an overt *wh*-phrase, the embedded clause can be post-posed:

- (20) Anata-wa doo omotteiru no, [John-ga dare-o aisiteiru ka]
 you-TOP how think Q John-NOM who-ACC love Q
 ‘Who do you think that John loves?’

In the case of standard long-distance *wh*-questions in which there is no overt *wh*-scope marker, the post-posing of the embedded clause is not allowed, as shown in (21):

⁴ The sentence in (19) is an example where the declarative complementizer is added to the embedded clause instead of substituting the question marker.

- (21) *Anata-wa omotteiru no, [John-ga dare-o aisiteiru to]
you-TOP think Q John-NOM who-ACC love COMP
‘Who do you think that John loves?’

With respect to the last property of the ban on iterative embedded clauses, Japanese does not allow the iteration of *wh*-scope markers, as in (22):

- (22) *Anata-wa [[John-ga dare-o aisiteiru ka] Mary-ga doo itta ka] doo
you-TOP John-NOM who-ACC loves Q Mary-NOM how said Q how
omotteiru no?
think Q
‘Who do you think Mary said John loves?’

The discussions above lead to the conclusion that Japanese has IPCs like Russian and German.

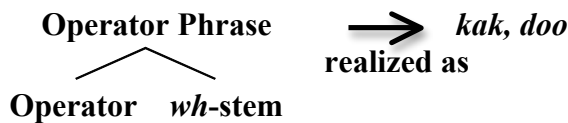
4. A Proposal: an Internally Complex *Wh*-phrase

Now we turn to the question of why these three languages have IPCs in common. We propose here that in addition to simpler *wh*-phrases, these languages have the internally complex *wh*-phrases depicted in (23):

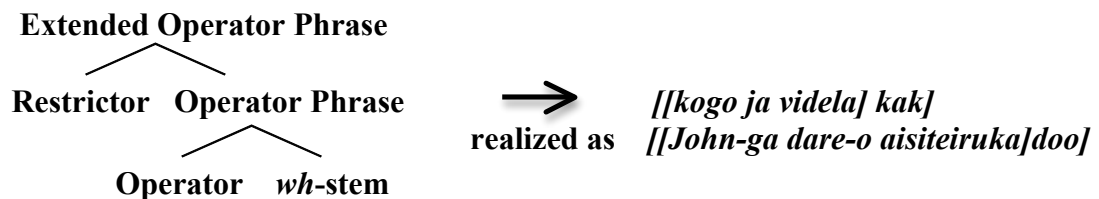
- (23) [_{DP} [Restrictor ...] [_{OpP} Operator [*wh*-stem]]]

Crucial assumption is that in all three languages *wh*-phrases lack their own inherent quantificational force. Thus they come out of the lexicon underspecified and attain their quantificational force in the syntax.

The complete derivations are proceeding as follows. First an abstract *wh*-stem and a quantificational operator are merged and form an operator phrase. Phonologically, the resulting phrase is realized as a simple *wh*-phrase, *kak* in Russian and *doo* in Japanese. Semantically, it corresponds to a set of possible answers, as proposed by Hamblin (1973).



In addition to this simple derivation, further derivation is allowed in Russian, German, and Japanese; that is, a restrictor and an operator phrase are merged, forming the extended operator phrase.



In the case of IPCs, an apparent embedded clause functions as a restrictor, which limits the domain of possible answers represented by an operator phrase. This also provides the answer for the title question. What is actually integrated in IPCs are the *wh*-scope marker and the embedded question clause.

With this proposal in mind, we now go back to the three properties of IPCs.

The first property is now reconsidered as semantic incompatibility. The presence of a declarative complementizer is not semantically compatible with the notion of alternatives represented by a *wh*-operator phrase. Thus they cannot be merged.

The second property is reanalyzed as a large-scale pied-piping; to take (8) as an example, *[[kogo ja videla] kak]* moves to the sentence initial position as one *wh*-phrase with a rich internal structure. Supporting evidence for the large-scale pied-piping analysis comes from the fact that finite declarative clause cannot be preposed in Russian as in (24). If the embedded questions are analyzed as a clause, we cannot explain why they can be preposed.

- (24) ??[(Chto) on zavtra pridet] ja dumajut.
(that) he tomorrow come-FUT I think
'I think he will come tomorrow.'

Our analysis gives an explanation to the difference. In the case of IPCs, the element preposed is not a clause, but a large-scale *wh*-phrase preposed to the sentence initial position.

The final and third property comes from the locality between the *wh*-operator and the associated interrogative clause. When the embedded clauses are iterated, a *wh*-stem with an operator affixed is not locally merged with the associated interrogative clause, thus resulting in a locality violation.

5. Concluding Remarks

Summarizing, we have first argue that Japanese has corresponding constructions to Integrated Parenthetical Constructions in Russian and German. By proposing the existence of internally complex *wh*-phrase in these languages, we can give a unified analysis to Integrated Parenthetical Constructions in Russian, German, and Japanese.

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