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The structure and interpretation of *Non-Matching Split Interrogatives* in Spanish
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The goal of this paper is to analyze the properties of (a special type of) *split interrogative* (SI) constructions in Spanish. SIs are wh-questions followed by a phrase that constitutes a possible answer, the *tag*. The overall structure is interpreted as a yes/no question (as in *what did John bring, a book?*). In standard cases, the tag matches the (case and thematic) features of the wh-element. Nevertheless, in (spoken Peninsular) Spanish what we will call *Non-matching Split Interrogatives* (NMSI) are also possible. In this cases, the wh-element and the XP in the tag may not match; instead, it is the dummy (neuter) *qué* “what” that heads the wh-clause. We will study these cases and propose a (biclausal) analysis involving an ellipsis process similar to the one taking place in fragments (Merchant 2004). To support this hypothesis, we will center our attention in a property: in NMIS there is a form-meaning mismatch that, to our knowledge, has gone unnoticed both in theoretical and descriptive studies.

1. Split Interrogatives

Split interrogatives contain a wh-question part and a tag that, in a still intuitive sense, provides a possible answer to the wh-question. The whole structure is interpreted as a yes/no question, which seeks to confirm the identity between the wh-operator and the tag. I provide some Spanish examples in (1b-g)

- (1) a. ¿Qué quiere el niño, un helado?
What does the kid want, an ice cream?
b. ¿Dónde lo pusiste, en la mesa?
Where did you put it, on the table?
c. ¿Adónde te fuiste, a tu casa?
Where did you go, home?
d. ¿Cómo/con qué lo has resuelto, con la calculadora?
How/with what did you solve it, with a calculator?
e. ¿A quién se lo dijiste, a tu jefe?
To whom did you tell (about it), to your boss?

In the examples in (1), the tag is a correlate of the wh-phrase, with same case and thematic role. We will call these sentences *Matching Split Interrogatives* (MIS). There are essentially two main alternative approaches for MIS: on the one hand, authors like Camacho (2002) propose a monoclausal structure where the tag and the wh-element form a constituent. The representation for (1a) would be like (2), adapted from (Camacho 2002:162), where *qué* is an interrogative operator.¹

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¹ It is not clear if Camachos’s approach applies to MSI like (1) or could also extend to non-matching constructions that will be studied in this work, since all his examples involve direct objects that, as we will see, take the wh-form *qué* and no indication about intonation or interpretation is provided.

- (2) [C qué_i quiere el niño [DP₁ hi] [DP un helado]]]

On the other hand, authors like Arregi (2010) propose a biclausal analysis whence the two parts of the MSI are independently generated. The tag is the result of ellipsis in an interrogative (a yes/no question) with focus fronting to C, followed by deletion of the TP complement at PF. The licensing antecedent for ellipsis is the wh-element. We take the representation from Arregi (2010: 542):

- (3) wh-phrase_i C_{Q,wh} . . . t_i] [CP₂ tag_j C_Q {TP . . . t_j . . . }]
-

One of the reasons for a biclausal analysis has to do with prosody. The two parts of a split interrogative have the intonation contour of two separate questions: the wh-part has an initial pitch rise associated to the wh-word, followed by a gradual descent and ends with a sentence-final fall, whereas the tag has the intonation contour of a non-wh-question (final high tone).² In our view, the most important argument to support the biclausal analysis is that the non-focal part does not have to be elided:

- (4) a. ¿Qué quiere el niño, un helado quiere el niño?
 What does the child want, an ice cream the child wants?
 b. ¿Qué le vas a decir, que no puedes ni verlo le vas a decir?
 What are you going to tell him, that you cannot stand him you are going to tell him?

Another reason for the biclausal analysis for the structures in (1) is that there are connectivity effects between the tag and the Wh-clause. Of special relevance to us is the fact that *Case-matching-effects* are obtained: in (1) the tags and the wh-elements have the same case marking (and are introduced by the same P if they are PPs).

The fact that will be the center of this paper is that, together with matching structures as those in (1), in (Peninsular) Spanish split interrogatives may show a mismatch between the wh-element and the phrase in the tag. This fact has received little attention in theoretical and descriptive studies, although it is completely productive. We will call these constructions *Non Matching Split Interrogatives* (NMSI). They will be described in the next section.

2. Non Matching Split Interrogatives.

2.1. Properties

NMSI are not headed by a complex wh-element, corresponding to the focused phrase in the tag, but by the dummy form *qué* (“what”). We provide some examples in (5), taken from real oral speech:³

- (5) a. ¿Qué lo pusiste, en la mesa y se rompió? (cf.(1b))

² Nevertheless, there seems to be dialectal variation with respect to the intonation pattern of these sentences (López Cortina 2009).

³ All sentences in (5), and those marked as ‘Spont.’ throughout the paper, come from oral spontaneous Madrid speech and have been collected by the author.

- Lit. what did you put it, on the table (and it broke)?
- b. ¿Qué lo has resuelto, con una calculadora? (cf.(1c))
Lit. what did you solve it, with a calculator?
- c. ¿Qué te fuiste, a tu casa? (cf.(1d))
Lit. what did you go, home?
- d. ¿Qué se lo dijiste, a tu jefe? (cf. (1e))
Lit. what did you tell about it, to your boss?
- e. ¿Qué se lo explicaste, después de clase?
Lit. What did you explain it to her, after class? (Spont., Madrid)

A property shared by both NMSI and MSI is that they cannot be embedded: they are both root phenomena, involving the complete left periphery. They do not satisfy selectional properties of interrogative verbs:

- (6) a. Te preguntó adónde ibas / si ibas a casa.
He asked you were you were going / if you were going home
- b. *Te preguntó a dónde ibas, a casa.
You he-asked where you.were.going, home
- c. *Te preguntó qué ibas, a casa.
You he-asked what you.were.going, home

In addition, both in NMIS and MSI the *wh*-element can be preceded by left dislocated material, as seen in (7). It thus seems that both the complex *wh*-element in MSI and the neuter *qué* in NMSI occupy the position where *wh*-elements appear in the left periphery (SpecFocP).

- (7) a. Juan ¿qué/adónde va, a casa?
Juan what/where he-goes, home
- b. Tú ¿qué/cómo lo resuelves, con calculadora?
You, what/how you-solve it, with a calculator
- c. Tú ¿qué eres, el jefe? (Spont., Madrid)
You what are.you, the boss
What about you, are you the boss?

Despite these similarities, Arregi suggests that NMSI have a different analysis. We will show that, in fact, there are both phonetic (intonational) and interpretive differences between NMSI and MSI as well as other crucial properties that call for two different approaches.⁴

As for intonation, López Cortina (2009) describes a rising final tone in the first part of the interrogative in MSI as opposed to a lowering one for NMSI. He also claims that while a NMSI “is about its second part, with the first part presenting a context assumed to be true”, in MSI there are two juxtaposed questions, and the *wh*-clause “poses a question and then narrows its range by adding a second, more specific one”. Irurtzun (2017), who studies similar cases in Basque, shows that NMSI have a particular reading, which the author dubs “evidential”, in the sense that it has a confirmational interpretation (for which the speaker has direct or inferential evidence). We will get into

⁴ An anonymous reviewer asks if in cases where the *wh*-word is *qué*, is it possible to distinguish between MSI and NMSI. The answer to this question is precisely that intonation and, crucially, interpretation are different.

details below. In what follows, we will describe the different approaches to this phenomenon.

2.2. The structure of NMSI. Monoclausal analyses

In general, the (few) authors who have analyzed NMSI coincide in defending a monoclausal structure. Contreras & Roca (2007) (C&R) analyze NMSI in Catalan and argue that the non-matching *wh*-element and the focus form a kind of *BIG DP*, similar to the one proposed for clitic doubling (Uriagereka 1995). The fact that *qué* is analyzed as a clitic explains, according to the authors, an important property of NMSI, namely, that nothing (including negation) can intervene between the *wh*-element and the verb. The same is true for Spanish:⁵

- (8) a. *¿Qué, **según Pedro**, iremos, al cine?
 Lit. What, according to Peter, will we go, to the movies?
 b. *¿Qué **no** lo hiciste, con las manos?
 Lit. What not didn't you do it, with your hands?

The mentioned authors propose a representation like (9), where a BigXP contains both the interrogative particle *qué* and the clefted element, the tag:



The phrase in the right node moves to SpecFocP, while *qué* cliticizes to IP and checks *wh*-features in ForceP. For a Catalan sentence like (10a) C&R propose a structure like (10b) and a complex derivation, with various steps, sketched in (10c):

- (10) a. Què anirem, al cine?
 Lit. what shall we go, to the movies?
 b. [_{IP} I [anirem [_{BigXP} [qué] [al cine]]]]
 c. [_{ForceP} què_i Force⁰ [_{GroundP} [_{IP} t_i [_{VP} anirem [_{BigXP} t_i t_j]]]_k Ground⁰[_{FocP} [al cine]_j Foc⁰ t_k]]]

C&R propose a *Ground Phrase* between ForceP and FocP, in line with Munaro & Pollock 2005, who state that this phrase contains given information in interrogative sentences. I will not get into technical details of this complex derivation. The central idea is that *qué* is generated in a doubling construction, inside a monoclausal structure, and is further moved to SpecForceP, in the left periphery. GroundP accounts for the required interpretation.

Lorenzo (1994-95) also proposes a monoclausal analysis of NMSI. In this case, *qué* is considered an expletive, merged at the specifier of the clause. This expletive determines the scope of the tag, which appears as an adjunct.

Irurtzun (2017) also proposes a monoclausal analysis for Basque NMSI, in this case with a predicative small clause (a Relator Phrase, in the sense of den Dikken 2006)

⁵ In this respect, they do not seem to contrast with MSI. The equivalent structures with matching *dónde* “where” and *cómo* “how” are equally out.

containing a wh-variable with default morphology, *zer* (‘what’) and a tag containing the “answer”, which behaves as the focus. We reproduce below Irurtzun’s structure:

- (11) [RelP Wh [Rel’ Rel Answer]]

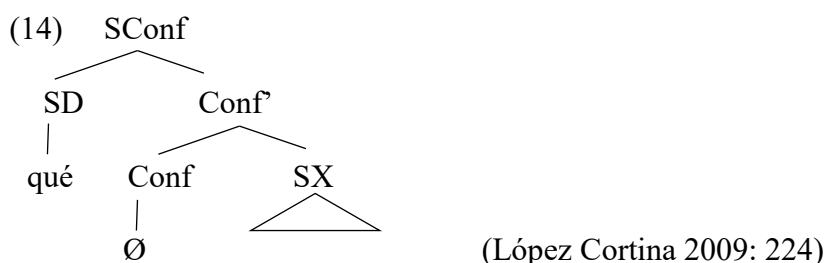
An important issue is that this predicative structure gives rise to a *confirmational interpretation*, since the wh-variable coincides with the potential focus. In particular, a relation is established between the interpretation of NMSI and that of clefts. Irurtzun provides the following example, with the corresponding interpretation.

- (12) Zer zatoz, bihar?
 what you.come tomorrow
 Is it tomorrow that you are coming?

In the Spanish equivalent constructions this interpretation is also obtained. In contrast with (13a), which can be paraphrased as in (13a’), (13b) is interpreted as in (13b’).

- (13) a. ¿Cómo lo resolviste, con calculadora?
 How did you solve it, with a calculator?
 a’. ¿Cómo lo resolviste, lo resolviste con calculadora?
 How did you solve it, did you solve it with a calculator?
 b. ¿Qué lo resolviste, con calculadora?
 Lit. What did you solve it, with a calculator?
 b’. ¿Fue con calculadora como lo resolviste, (verdad)?
 Was it with a calculator that you solved it, (right)?

The last approach I will mention is López Cortina’s (2009), who also proposes a monoclausal analysis, in this case with a “doubling” structure. This author claims that *qué* in NMSI is generated in the specifier of an Extended Projection (Grimshaw 2005), which he dubs *Confirmation Phrase*.⁶ This projection introduces the notion of “need for confirmation” associated to a [+wh] feature which causes wh-movement and accounts for the particular interpretation obtained in NMSI. Confirmation Phrase (headed by a null “confirmation marker”) dominates the node that ends up being the “proposed answer”, the tag:



We will adopt some aspects of the preceding approaches. Nevertheless, we will show that there are arguments that support a biclausal analysis, with ellipsis, for NMSI (parallel to the one proposed by Arregi for MSI). The most important one, we will contend, has to do with interpretation.

⁶ According LC, this fact explains the adjunct-like behavior of *qué*, which seems to be sensitive to strong islands.

3. A biclausal analysis for NMSI. Ellipsis and “extended” reading

3.1. *Properties of NMSI*

A very important property that distinguishes NMSI from MSI is that, in the former, the focused constituent (the tag) is always obligatory:

- (15) a. *¿Qué vas? (vs. ¿Dónde vas?)
Lit. what are you going? (vs. where are you going?)
b. *¿Qué lo has resuelto? (vs. ¿Cómo lo has resuelto?)
Lit. what did you solve it? (vs. how did you solve it?)
c. *¿Qué lo pusiste? (vs. ¿Dónde lo pusiste?)
Lit. what did you put it? (vs. where did you put it?)
d. *¿Qué se lo dijiste? (vs. ¿A quién se lo dijiste?)
Lit. what did you tell about it? (vs. whom did you tell about it?)

In our view, what this contrast suggests is that, even if NMSI seems to involve two clauses, there must be a (selectional) relation between them (i.e., they are not independent). Other differences between NMSI and MSI indicate that the former deserve a different analysis. In particular, it seems that NMSI involve a special projection, related to discourse (be it Predicative, Speech Act or other) containing the focalized element. At the same time, there are reasons to believe that (as in MSI) the tag may initially be clausal and that an ellipsis process of all non-focal material has applied. We will try to combine these two apparently contradictory facts.

The first argument that supports the biclausal status of NMSI is that, as was the case for MSI (see above), they allow the complete clause to appear in the tag, that is, the tag does not have to be restricted to the focused XP:

- (16) a. ¿Qué vas a ir ahora, a casa a dormir vas a ir?
Lit. what are you going now, home to sleep are you going?
b. ¿Qué lo resolviste, con una calculadora lo resolviste?
Lit. what did you solved it, with a calculator you solved it?
c. ¿Qué se lo vas a contar, al jefe se lo vas a contar?
Lit. what are you going to tell about it, the boss are you going to tell about it?

Another important piece of evidence is that, together with argument and adjunct XPs, the tag in split interrogatives can contain the predicate or the whole sentence. In these cases, the main wh-sentence contains a proform with the verb *hacer* “to do”, or *pasar* “to happen”. Crucially, in these cases the wh-element heading the interrogative is always the neuter form *qué*. See the following standard Spanish examples:

- (17) a. ¿Qué hiciste, irte a tu casa?
What did you do, go home?
b. ¿Qué pasó, que se puso a llover?
What happened, it started to rain?
c. ¿Qué pasa, (que) te sientes incómoda?
What happens/What’s wrong, you are feeling uncomfortable?

3.2. The interpretation of NMSI

(18) a. ¿Qué te fuiste, a tu casa? = (17a)
 ‘What happened/ What did you do, you went home?’
 b. ¿Qué se puso, a llover? = (17b)
 ‘What happened/what was it, it started to rain?’
 d. ¿Qué te sientes, incómoda? = (17d)
 ‘What’s wrong, you feel uncomfortable?’

(19) a. ¿Y qué te tienes que quitar toda la ropa?
Lit. And what do you have to take off, all your clothes?
'And what's wrong/what happens, you have to take off all your clothes?'
b. Tienes dos hijos: ¿qué te vas a hacer ahora cargo, de un tercero?
Lit. You have two children, what are you going to get in charge, of a third one?
'You have two children, what's next, get in charge of the third?'
(Spont., Madrid)

(20) a. ¿Qué le trajiste, un regalo o [la llevaste a cenar]?
Lit. What did you bring him, a present or you took her out for dinner?
b. ¿Qué cuesta, un riñón o [se puede pagar]?

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- Lit. What does it cost, a kidney or can one pay for it?
- c. ¿Qué está, lloviendo o [(es que) no tienes ganas de salir]?
- Lit. What is it, raining or is it that you don't feel like going out?
- d. ¿Qué lo has resuelto, con calculadora o [(es que) te has vuelto inteligente]?
- Lit. What did you solve it, with a calculator or (is it that) you turned intelligent?

Given that the members of a coordination or disjunction have to be categorially (and semantically) equivalent, we take the existence of sentences like (20) to show that the element in the tag does not correspond to the focused XP, but it can be a higher (dominating) constituent.

Our proposal is the tag in NMSI is the result of an ellipsis process. In addition, as is the case for ellipsis in general (Merchant 2004), a process of reconstruction takes place at LF so that the tag is interpreted as clausal and, consequently, as a wide focus structure. The representation I propose for NMSI is the following:

$$(21) \quad [_{CP} [Qu\acute{e}]_i \dots [_{IP} I \dots [_{FP} t_i [F' \emptyset [_{CP} tag_j [_{IP} \dots [_{F'} I [_{VP} \dots t_j]]]]]]]]]$$

In (21) there is a node containing both the neuter *qué* and the tag. We propose that this dominating node is related to discourse and contains (as a head) a focus marker. I will label this node as FP/SpeechP and claim that it is the correlate of the discourse projections proposed by monoclausal analysis.

Before going further into our proposal, I would like to recall that, as mentioned above, the interpretation of NMSI is similar to the one obtained in pseudocleft structures. In Fernández-Soriano (2009) it is shown that in the same variety of Spanish there is a type of (non-matching) pseudocleft with the same formal and interpretive properties just described for NMSI. I would like to put forward this idea and develop an analogous analysis.

3.3. Non matching pseudocleft constructions and “extended” interpretation

The similarities between (oral Peninsular) Spanish non-matching pseudoclefts and NMSI are both formal and interpretive. As for the formal part, there is no (case) matching between the relative pronoun in the (subject) clause and the clefted element (the contrastive focus): instead of the complex relative required in the standard construction, the neuter preform *lo que* (lit. “the what”) appears. As for the semantic properties, the interpretation of the clefted (focused) constituent after the copula can “extend” to the whole predicate or the whole clause:

- (22) a. Lo que no puedes prorrumpir es en sollozos. (TVE1/03-09-2006)
- Lit. The that you cannot burst is into tears
- ‘What you cannot do /what is not acceptable is that you burst into tears’
- b. Lo que se puso es a llover.
- Lit. The that it started is to rain
- ‘What happened is that it started to rain’
- c. Context: After a helicopter accident a journalist asked the president of the Spanish government (M. Rajoy) if he was scared of flying:
- Miedo no, lo que no he vuelto a montar es en un avión pequeño.
- Lit. Fear not, the that I have not got again is in a small plane

‘Not really scared, but (what happens/the truth is that) I have not got into a small plane since then’. (M. Rajoy. Telecinco News, 2008)

In Fernández-Soriano (2009) we analyze this fact as a case of covert contrastive focus extension.⁸ For the focus to propagate, a process of reconstruction (similar to the one proposed for ellipsis contexts) must take place. Based on Kiss (1998) approach, the structure of (22a) would be (23).

(23) [CP/IP [CP_j Lo que no puedes prorrumpir [I' t_i e_{sk} [FP [PP **en sollozos**_i t_k [CP ... t_j]]]]]]

The hypothesis I would like to put forward is that NMSI have a similar underlying structure. In the next section, we will give support to the proposed reconstruction process which explains the obtained interpretation just described.

4. Reconstruction: Constraints on movement and idioms

It has been pointed out that NMSI are more restricted than MSI with respect to constraints on movement. Thus, operators such as negation and wh-elements seem to intervene between the main sentence and the tag,⁹ as shown by the following sentences (ungrammatical with the intended interpretation).

- (24) a. ¿A quién sabes cuándo visitaron, a Pedro?
To whom do you know when they visited, Pedro?
b. *¿Qué sabes cuándo visitaron, a Pedro?
- (25) a. ¿Adónde no quería ir Juan, a la playa?
Where didn't John want to go, to the beach?
b. *¿Qué no quería ir Juan, a la playa?

We contend that this fact is expected since the required reconstruction process after ellipsis is blocked.

But maybe the most important piece of evidence in favor of reconstruction is that NMSI may involve elements that cannot be affected by movement processes, such as idioms. Structures in (26), where the phrases in the tags are stranded form idioms, are perfectly acceptable in the described dialect:

- (26) a. ¿Qué metiste, la pata?
What did you put in, the paw?
'What happened, you put the foot on your mouth?'
b. ¿Qué cuesta, un riñón?
What does it cost, a kidney?
'What's wrong, is it too expensive?'
c. ¿Qué lo has mandado, a la mierda? (Spont., Madrid)
What did you send him, to the shit?
'What did you do, send him to hell?'
d. Y yo ¿qué me chupo, el dedo? (Spont., Madrid)
What do I suck, my finger?

⁸ It is usually assumed that it is informative/neuter focus that propagates. See Zubizarreta (1998).

⁹ López Cortina (2009), for example, claims that this is due to *qué* adjunction to CP.

‘What do you think, do you think I am dumb?’ (‘What am I, dumb?’)¹⁰

The only possible reading of these sentences is the “extended” one, where the tag is interpreted as (the predicate or) or the whole clause containing the idiom. Again, the equivalent structures with matching *wh*-elements are impossible, as expected. Our claim is that reconstruction of the idiom at LF would explain the possibility above.¹¹ These data may be seen as instantiating so called Repair Effects, which are directly related to reconstruction (see Merchant 2004 for other Repair cases in Japanese).

Our claim is that in NMSI there is an ellipsis process. According to Merchant (2004), ellipsis is licensed by the presence of an *E* feature in some heads, allowing its complement to be erased in PF. In our case, we suppose that the relevant *E* feature is in FP/CP. The reconstruction process that takes place at LF is necessary to satisfy *e*-givenness and *F*-closure. The former states that only constituents that have a salient antecedent in discourse can undergo ellipsis; the latter requires that the antecedent of the elided constituent contain only thematic material. In the next section, we will show that the tag is a fragment answer to the main *wh*-question. Fragment answers have been claimed to undergo a process of reconstruction (Merchant 2004) and this is, we will contend, what happens in NMSI.

5. Ellipsis. NMSI and fragment answers

Merchant (2004) defines fragment answers as “non-sentential utterances with propositional meaning and the force of assertions”. His proposal is that the fragment moves to a clause-peripheral position, FP (identified with Rizzi’s FocusP), and then ellipsis of the clause itself applies. The head *F* contains the *E* feature that triggers non-pronunciation of TP. Examples in (27), from Merchant (2004), include the corresponding “complete” structure:¹²

- (27) a. What does Bush want to do to Iraq?
- Attack it. (Bush wants to attack it.)
b. What’s left for me to eat?
- Some turkey. (There’s some turkey.) (Merchant 2004: 673)

¹⁰ The idioms involved in these sentences are the following:

- (i) Meter la pata = to put the foot on one’s mouth
Costar un riñón = to be unaffordable
Mandar a alguien a la mierda = to send someone to hell
Chuparse el dedo = to be dumb/childish.

¹¹ It is interesting to note that if the idiom contains a ditransitive construction, the two objects cannot be separated, being one of them part of the tag:

- (i) a. *¿Qué le pides peras, al olmo? (¿Qué le pides, peras al olmo?)
What do you ask pears to the elm (What is it, you’re asking for something impossible?)
b. *¿Qué le diste con la puerta, en las narices? (¿Qué le diste, con la puerta en las narices?)
What did you hit him with the door, on the nose (What happened, you threw him away?)
c. *¿Qué tenía un as, en la manga? (¿Qué tenía, un as en la manga?)
What did he have an ace in the sleeve (what was it, he had an ace up his sleeve?)

All the structures above are acceptable if the complex object as a whole is moved, leaving the verb (which is also part of the idiom) behind.

¹² See also Van Craenenbroeck (2010), among others.

The fragments cases like (27) show grammatical dependencies/connectivity effects identical to those of the fragment's correlate in a non-elliptical sentential structure. We will show that the tag in NMSI has all these properties: it is an XP with the force of a full (yes/no) question, where the relevant fragment moves to the left periphery and the non-focal IP is elided. Crucially, Merchant shows that fragment answers (as ellipsis processes in general) undergo a reconstruction process. We claim that, in LF, NMSI's tags also contain a (reconstructed) full clause.

In fact, like fragment answers with ellipsis, NMSI show connectivity effects for binding and scope. Arregi (2010) describes these phenomena for MSI, where the tag behaves as if it were inside the wh-clause with respect to Binding Conditions. The following examples show that NMSI structures share this property:¹³

- (28) a. ¿Qué está hablando Juan, consigo mismo?
Lit. What is John talking to, himself?
b. ¿Y qué llevaba cada una, a su hijo?
Lit. And what was each one carrying, her child?
c. ¿Qué pro_i se queda, en casa de Juan_{*i/j}?
Lit. What is he staying, at Juan's house?

In addition, as fragment answers, NMSI are sensitive to islands. According to Merchant, island sensitivity is due to the impossibility of the required reconstruction process to take place. We can see that this is exactly what happens with split interrogatives:

- (29) a. *¿Qué te arriesgaste para que salvaran, a tu padre?
what REF you.risk for that they.save, to your father
b. *¿Qué te gustaba el candidato que citara, a Chomsky?
what REF you.like the candidate who quoted, to Chomsky?

With respect to negation, NMSI contrast with MSI, in the sense that only the former shows sensitivity to negation:

- (30) *¿Qué no se lo diste, a Juan? (vs. ¿A quién no se lo diste, a Juan?)
what not CLCL you.give, to Juan?

The only apparent exception to connectivity effects is (lack of) case matching between the wh-element and the tag. Merchant (2004) deals with similar cases in

¹³ It is important to point out that, in NMSI the corresponding structure without ellipsis of non-focal material in the tag is impossible (i). This was noted by Arregi (2010) for matching split interrogatives, and Merchant (2004) shows that it also happens with fragment answers, and provides examples like (ii) from (American) English:

- (i) a. *¿A CASA, (has dicho que) vas?
Home you-said that you-are-going
b. *¿CON UNA CALCULADORA, lo has resuelto?
With a calculator it you.have solved
c. *¿A TU JEFE, se lo vas a decir?
To your boss it you.are going to tell
(ii) a. -What has John done?
-Broken the vase.
b. *BROKEN THE VASE, John has.

According to the author, "there are constraints that can be satisfied by non-pronunciation".

Japanese for focused DP's in cleft-like structures and shows that these are also subject to ellipsis. In what follows, we will formalize the proposal for NMSI.

6. Ellipsis in (Right) Dislocation Structures

Let us first consider *Contrastive Left-Dislocation* (CLD), studied by Ott (2014). CLD is found in most Germanic languages and differ from regular CLLD in that the left dislocated element typically has the pragmatic function of a contrastive topic or a focus. As Ott shows, what appears in initial position in these structures is a remnant of clausal ellipsis. In (31) we provide an example and the proposed structure, where the dislocated phrase has A'-moved to the edge of CP₁, enabling constituent deletion of the remainder of the clause. So, in the mapping to phonetic form, the material to the right of the fronted XP in CP₁ is deleted. Like NMSP, CLD is a root phenomenon. Ott (2014) does not argue for (or against) the option of a structural connection between the two clauses.¹⁴

- (31) Den Peter, den habe ich gesehen (Ott 2014: 270)
 Peter, him have I seen
 [CP₁ [den Peter]_i [~~habe ich t_i gesehen~~]] [CP₂ den_k habe ich t_k gesehen]

In Ott & de Vries (2014) a “Movement cum deletion” approach is also proposed for Right dislocation. In this case, ellipsis occurs in CP₂:¹⁵

- (32) Ich habe ihn gestern noch gesehen, den Peter.
 I have him yesterday still seen the Peter
 ‘I saw Peter just yesterday.’
 [CP₁ Ich habe ihn gestern noch gesehen] [CP₂ [den Peter]_i [~~habe ich gestern noch t_i gesehen~~]]

I would like to propose a similar analysis for NMSI, with the difference that I contend that, as has been shown, there is a dependence relation between the main wh-clause and the clause containing the dislocated XP.¹⁶ The proposed structure for (33a) would be like (33b).

- (33) a. ¿Qué has visto, a tu padre?
 Lit. What have you seen, your father?
 b. [Qué has visto [FP [a tu padre]_i [~~has visto t_i~~]]]

As we said above, a sentence like (33) is interpreted with the wh-element (*qué*) scoping over FP, although it is only the fronted focus that is spelled out after ellipsis.

¹⁴ Although he mentions that “there seems to be little evidence for d[islocated]XP and host clause forming a single-rooted syntactic object” (Ott 2014: 281).

¹⁵ Truckenbrodt (2012) also argues that right dislocated XP are remnants of ellipsis.

¹⁶ One anonymous reviewer suggests the contrast in (i) between matching (ia) and non-matching (ib) split questions, and points out that this may constitute further evidence that the structure of matching questions can correspond to a sequence of individual clauses, whereas the in non-matching ones there is a dependency relation, such as the one represented in (21).

(i) a. Pregunta que a donde fuiste, que si a casa (reported indirect questions)
 b. *Pregunta que qué fuiste, que si a casa

This is a consequence of a reconstruction process of the elided material into FP. We would like to mention that the same reasoning based on “covert reconstruction” into ellipsis sites is used by Den Dikken, Meinunger & Wilder (2000) and by Kluck (2011) to account for connectivity effects in (certain types of) pseudoclefts and sentence amalgams, respectively.

In the next section, we will deal with the obligatory choice of the neuter wh element *qué* and relate it to similar interrogative structures with so called *Scope Markers*.

7. The non-matching property. The neuter *qué* and Scope Markers

In this section, we will address the “formal mismatch” shown by NMSI, that is, the presence of the dummy (neuter) form *que*, instead of the complex wh-phrase that would correspond to the XP in the tag, as the only possible wh-operator. First of all, let us remind that *que* is the operator scoping over predicates and clauses, so what NMSI show is a sentential wh-operator in the main clause binding a phrasal (DP/PP) element in the tag. Crucially, the tag is interpreted as clausal. In order to account for this fact, I will consider so called *Scope Marker Constructions* (SMC), found in German, Hungarian and Hindi, among other languages (see Horvath 2000 and references therein). SMC can be described as complex interrogative constructions, where a “minimal” wh-word (equivalent to *what*) appears in the main clause (the SM), while a complex wh-element heads the embedded structure. (34) is an example, with the corresponding interpretation:

- (34) **Was** denkt sie [wen_i [Fritz eingeladen hat ti]]?
 What thinks she whom_{ACC} Fritz invited has
 ‘What do you think? who has Fritz invited?’ (from Lutz, Müller & von Stechow 2000: 5)

We will claim that NMSI are parallel to SMC like (34). In both cases we find a biclausal structure, with movement of a constituent to the left periphery of the embedded clause, while in the root clause an operator appears which does not match the features of this moved constituent but is a dummy wh-operator, with *sentential scope*.

In what has been called ‘indirect dependency’ approach to SMC, which we will adopt, the wh-scope marker in the root clause is an ordinary wh-argument that quantifies over propositions rather than over individuals (that is, the quantifier equivalent to *what* binds a propositional variable).¹⁷ As the glosses indicate, SM constructions are interpreted as *sequences of questions*. The relevant semantic devices for the interpretation of these constructions are claimed to be independently needed. In particular, the second sentence is interpreted as a restriction of the wh-object yielding a question denotation (Dayal 1994). Our proposal is that this analysis can account for the presence of neuter *qué* in NMSI. As proposed for SMS (Dayal 1994) the wide scope interpretation obtains as a result of the integration of the denotation of a full question (the second clause of the sequence) into the *qué*-clause as the restriction of the existential quantifier, binding a propositional variable. So the scope marker is a correlate of the CP. As for the dependency relation between the two clauses. Dayal

¹⁷ Alternatively, a semantically inert A-bar expletive element, rather than an instance of the normal (contentful) wh-quantifier has been proposed for these structures in so called “direct dependency approach”. See Lutz, Müller & von Stechow (2000) for discussion.

(1994) proposes two distinct hierarchical positions of the subordinate CP, depending on the language type: IP-adjoined position vs. complement position. We claim that IP adjunction is the best analysis for NMSI.

For what we have seen in the previous description, there are (at least) two differences between the two constructions under study. The first one is that, instead of a wh-question, NMSI involve yes/no questions. For this reason, a (non –matching) dislocated/focalized phrase, as opposed to wh-phrase, appears in Spec FP. Nevertheless, as Horvath (2000) shows, this possibility does exist for SMC in some languages, like Hindi. According to authors like Brandner (2000), this is due to the fact that in Hindi the wh-element appearing in the main clause in SMC serves as a typer for yes/no questions. This is supported by the fact that this element marks simple yes/no questions. The possible answers for NMSI give values for the yes/no question, and not for the wh-element in CP1. Dayal 2009 claims that, “in doing so, they embed the proposition corresponding to CP2 as the complement of the verb in CP1”. In Spanish, in fact, we have structures like the ones in (35), which are yes/no questions (as show by the tag in parenthesis), with only the scope marker and the tag (with ellipsis):

- (35) ¿Qué, vas para casa (, no)?
 Lit. What, you are going home (aren’t you)?
 ¿Qué, quieres más (, eh)?¹⁸
 Lit. What, you want some more, (hey)?
 ¿Qué, trabajando (, verdad)?
 Lit. What, working (, right)?
 ¿Qué, con hambre (, no)?
 Lit. What, with hunger/hungry (aren’t you)?

The other difference is that, as we saw, in NMSI a process of ellipsis of non-focal material takes place, followed by reconstruction, which we claimed to account for their unexpected properties. Since Scope Marker Constructions do not involve ellipsis (and reconstruction), one does not expect “extended” interpretations.

Conclusions

The goal of this paper was to account for *Non-matching* Split Interrogatives of (spoken Peninsular) Spanish, where the dummy (neuter) *qué* “what”, instead of a matching wh-word, heads the matrix clause. In so doing we have analyzed a property which has gone unnoticed in previous studies: in NMIS there is also a form-meaning mismatch whence the tag, despite the fact that it is formed by a DP/PP, is interpreted as clausal. NMSI also have the unexpected property of allowing idioms to be affected by a syntactic (movement) operation. We proposed a biclausal analysis involving an ellipsis process similar to the one taking place in fragments (Merchant 2004), followed by

¹⁸ In Catalan it is a well-known fact that a form the particle *que* (different form the wh-pronoun) marks yes/no questions:

- (i) Que en vols mes?
 That CL you.want more
 Would you like son more? (is it that you want some more?)
 Que tanqueu ara?
 That you.close now
 Are you closing?

reconstruction. This accounts for the apparent “extension” in the interpretation of the tag. As for the syntactic analysis, we propose NMSI to instantiate cases of Scope Marker Constructions involving yes/questions. This accounts for the obligatory presence of the neuter wh-form.

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