

## WH-IN-SITU IN GREEK

Christos Vlachos

University of Patras & UCY

### 1 The phenomenon

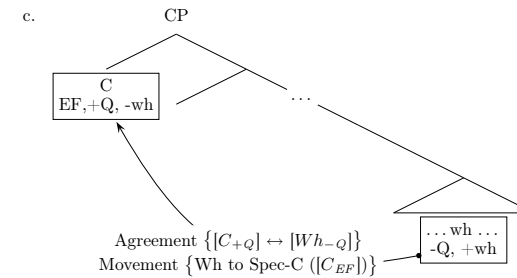
• Greek instantiates both (1a) and (b) (non-echo), where (b) cannot be attributed to a dialectal difference or subvariety (cf. Sinopoulou (2007); Vlachos (2008)):

- (1) a. Pjon pirovolise o astinomikos?  
Whom.Acc shot.3s the policeman.Nom
- b. O astinomikos pirovolise pjon?  
The policeman.Nom shot.3s whom.Acc  
intended for (a) and (b): ‘Who did the policeman shoot?’

### 2 How is (1a) derived?

- (2) a. Derivation = {(i) Lexicon → (ii) Numeration → (iii) Computational system → (iv) Spell-Out → (v) LF/PF filtering → (vi) Performance systems (C-I / S-M)}
- b. Suppose now we want to track down the route of the feature [Q]<sub>i</sub> from (i) → (vi) (of course, more features are involved, but the example is enough to illustrate the argument):
- Lexicon: [Q]<sub>i</sub> is *selected* with a *label* and a *sublabel*. Its *label* is *interpretable*. Its *sublabel* is *uninterpretable*; [Q]<sub>i</sub> has a [-F] property which must be turned to [+F].
  - Numeration: [Q<sub>i</sub>-F]<sub>i</sub> enters a feature bundle; it builds the lexical item *pjon* ‘who’.
  - Computational system: [*pjon*<sub>i</sub>-Q]<sub>i</sub> must find a way to make its [-F] to [+F]. It communicates with C, which has [+Q] (the interpretable *label*. C also has an EF, which means that *pjon* must travel bottom-up to be as close as possible to C.
  - Spell-Out: [Q]<sub>i</sub>, satisfied, is sent to LF/PF.
  - LF/PF: [Q]<sub>i</sub> *converges* and takes a LF representation ( $\llbracket pjon \rrbracket$ ) and a PF representation (/p j o n/).

vi. Performance systems: Now we can talk ...



### 3 Why is (1b) a problem?

- (3) The derivation of (1a) is obligatory. (1b) should not exist ⇒  
Since (1b) exists, it must be derived in the same way as (1a) ⇒  
Then (1a) and (1b) are identical ⇒  
But if (1a) and (1b) are identical, either (1a) or (1b) should not exist,  
under economy.

### 4 Are (1a) and (1b) identical?

#### 4.1 Main, embedded questions, clitics and weak crossover

- the wh-ex-situ adverb in (4) can take two answers (cf. (4a) and (b)).
- (4) Pos anikse tin porta o Nikos?  
How opened.3s the door.Acc the Nick.Nom  
‘How did Nick open the door?’
- Nevriasmenos  
‘With anger’
  - Me to klidhi  
‘With the key’
- the wh-in-situ counterpart in (5) can only take one answer (cf. (5a) and (b))<sup>1</sup>.
- (5) O Nikos anikse tin porta pos?  
The Nick.Nom opened.3s the door.Acc how  
intended (non-echo): ‘Nick opened the door how?’

<sup>1</sup>The # symbol indicates inappropriateness to context.

a. # Nevriasmenos  
'With anger'

b. Me to klidhi  
'With the key'

- (6): the wh-ex-situ phrase can be interpreted as the internal argument of either the matrix and or the embedded verb (cf. (6a) and (b)):

(6) Se pjon anakinose o Janis oti i Maria apokalipse to mistiko?  
To whom announced.3s the John.Nom that the Mary.Nom revealed.3s the secret.Acc  
'To whom did John announce that Mary revealed the secret?'

a. To anakinose ston dhiefthindi tu.  
It.cl announced.3s to-the senior manager his  
'He announced it to his senior manager'

b. Anakinose oti i Maria to apokalispe ston adagonisti tis eterias.  
Announced.3s that the Mary.Nom it.cl revealed to-the competitor of-the company  
'He announced that Mary revealed it to the competitor of the company'

- (7): the wh-in-situ counterpart (in the embedded clause) cannot be connected to the matrix verb (cf. (7a) and (b)):

(7) O Janis anakinose oti i Maria apokalipse to mistiko se pjon?  
The John.Nom announced.3s that the Mary.Nom revealed.3s the secret.Acc to whom  
intended (non-echo): 'John announced that Mary revealed the secret to whom?'

a. # To anakinose ston dhiefthindi tu.  
It.cl announced.3s to-the senior manager his  
'He announced it to his senior manager'

b. Anakinose oti i Maria to apokalispe ston adagonisti tis eterias.  
Announced.3s that the Mary.Nom it.cl revealed to-the competitor of-the company  
'He announced that Mary revealed it to the competitor of the company'

- (8): the wh-in-situ phrase (in the matrix clause) cannot be related to the embedded predicate (cf. (8a) and (b)):

(8) O Janis anakinose se pjon oti i Maria apokalipse to mistiko?  
The John.Nom announced.3s to whom that the Mary.Nom revealed.3s the secret.Acc  
intended (non-echo): 'John announced to whom that Mary revealed the secret?'

a. To anakinose ston dhiefthindi tu.  
It.cl announced.3s to-the senior manager his  
'He announced it to his senior manager'

b. # Anakinose oti i Maria to apokalispe ston adagonisti tis  
Announced.3s that the Mary.Nom it.cl revealed to-the competitor of-the  
eterias.  
company  
'He announced that Mary revealed it to the competitor of the company'

- (9a): the wh-ex-situ phrase can be simultaneously coreferential with both clitics (in the matrix and the embedded clause).

(9) a. Se pjus piites<sub>k</sub> tus<sub>k</sub> anakinosan (*t<sub>k</sub>*) oti tha tus<sub>k</sub> dhosun (*t<sub>k</sub>*) to proto  
To which poets them.cl announced.3pl that will them.cl give.3pl the first  
vravio?  
award.Acc  
intended reading: 'To which poets did they announce [to them] that they will give them  
the first award?'

- (9b): the wh-in-situ counterpart is ungrammatical<sup>2</sup>:

(9) b. \* Tus<sub>k</sub> anakinosan *t<sub>k</sub>* oti tha tus<sub>k</sub> dhosun *t<sub>k</sub>* to proto vravio  
Them.cl announced.3pl that will them.cl give.3pl the first award.Acc  
se pjus piites<sub>k</sub>?  
to which poets  
intended (non-echo) reading: '\* They announced [to them] that they will give them the  
first award to which poets?'

- (9c): the matrix clitic must take a different reference from the in-situ wh-phrase.

(9) c. Tus<sub>j</sub> anakinosan oti tha dhosun to proto vravio se pjus piites<sub>k</sub>?  
Them.cl announced.3pl that will give.3pl the first award.Acc to which poets  
intended (non-echo) reading: 'They announced [to them] that they will give the first  
award to which poets?'

- (10a): Falco (2007) and references cited there: Weak crossover effects can be circumvented by specific wh-phrases.

(10) a. Pjon ithopio tu theatru<sub>k</sub> thavase i mitera tu<sub>k</sub>?  
Which actor.Acc of theatre admired.3s the mother.Nom his  
'Which theatrical actor did his (= the theatrical actor's / someone else's) mother  
admire?'

- (10b): Weak Crossover effects cannot be circumvented by wh-in-situ words/phrases (specific or not). That is, there is no cross over.

(10) b. \* I mitera tu<sub>k</sub> thavase pjon ithopio tu theatru<sub>k</sub>?  
The mother his admired.3s which actor.Acc of theatre  
'Which theatrical actor did his (= someone else's) mother admire?'

#### 4.2 (Strong) Islands

- In-situ wh-words/phrases are immune to 'islandhood'<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup>The \* symbol indicates ungrammaticality.

<sup>3</sup>Island data are also discussed in Sinopoulou (2007).

- (11) • Subject DP:
- a. O nearos [ pu prokalese pjo atihima ] itan ksadherfos tu Jani?  
 The young-man that caused.3s which accident.Acc was.3s cousin of John  
 intended: ‘The young man x that caused which y, y an accident, was John’s cousin?’
- (11) • Object DP:
- b. Kseris ton nearo [ pu prokalese pjo atihima ]?  
 Know.3s the young-man that caused.3s which accident.Acc  
 intended: ‘You know the young man that caused which y, y an accident?’
- (11) • Clausal subject:
- c. [ To na oloklirosume ti ] ine aparetito ja na perasume tis eksetsis?  
 The prt complete.3pl what is necessary for prt pass the exams.Acc  
 intended: ‘To complete which x, x something, is necessary for us to pass the exams?’
- (11) • Adjunct clause:
- d. I Maria efije [ protu jirisi pjos ]?  
 The Mary.Nom left.3s before returns.3s who.Nom  
 intended: ‘Mary left before which x, x someone, returns?’
- (11) • Coordinate structure:
- e. O Nikos aghorase [ vivlia ke ti allo ]?  
 The Nick.Nom bought.3s books.Acc and what.Acc else  
 intended (non-echo): ‘Nick bought books and what else?’

## 5 Back to question (3)

- (3) (1a) and (1b) are not identical  $\Rightarrow$   
 (1b) exists as a different derivation  $\Rightarrow$   
 (1b) then cannot be derived in the same way as (1a).  
 Possibly, (1a) is obligatory inasmuch as it yields a different interpretation  
 than (1b). (1b) could be obligatory under the same logic.

## References

- Falco, Michelangelo. 2007. Weak Crossover, Specificity and LF Chains. In *Coreference, Modality and Focus*, ed. Luis Eguren and Olga Fernández Soriano, volume 111 of *Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today*, 19 – 44. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sinopoulou, Ourania. 2007. Απλές ερωτήσεις με ερωτηματική λέξη in situ: Η περίπτωση των Ελληνικών. Unpublished manuscript. Presented at: 8<sup>th</sup> International Meeting of Greek Linguistics, Ioannina.
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