

## Divide et Impera – Separating Operators from their Variables

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University of Connecticut, 2011

This dissertation investigates the role of lexical decomposition in several syntactic and semantic issues. Two phenomena in particular are discussed: Wh in situ in Wh-Movement languages and the behavior of *even* in English and Brazilian Portuguese. For the first phenomenon, I propose that separating Wh-phrases into two parts that can move independently from one another can explain crosslinguistic differences between, among others, French and Brazilian Portuguese with respect to the syntactic contexts that allow for Wh in situ. I also investigate different strategies for establishing syntactic covert relations and argue that Agree and Unselective Binding are the two strategies that are needed to explain Wh in situ in Brazilian Portuguese. Next, I look at the same phenomenon from a semantic/pragmatic point of view and conclude that, in a Wh-Movement language like Brazilian Portuguese, Wh in situ is only possible when the speaker assumes that the presupposition of the question is part of the Common Ground. I also discuss some crosslinguistic variation in this respect. I then move to a semantic phenomenon, i.e. the behavior of *even* in English and Brazilian Portuguese. More specifically, I investigate the behavior of *even* under a predicate like *glad*. I show that in this case a lexical-decomposition analysis is not necessary or enough to explain the facts adequately. On the other hand, I propose that the distribution of stressed *any* can be accounted for if we assume that it can be decomposed into *any* itself and a silent *even*.



Divide et Impera – Separating Operators from their Variables

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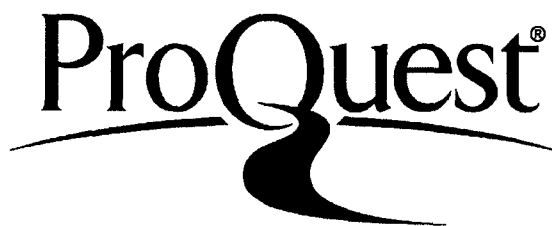
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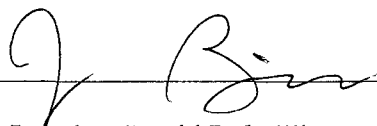
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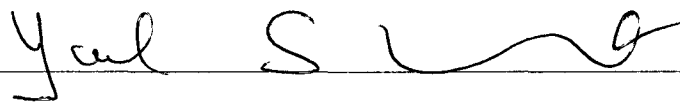
Divide et Impera – Separating Operators from their Variables

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# **Chapter 1**

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## **1. Introduction**

### **1.1. Lexical Decomposition**

Sometimes a word that looks like a single unit can in fact be decomposed into smaller parts, not all of which need to have phonological content. This is what is usually called lexical decomposition. In what follows, I will give two examples of analyses that count on this strategy. The first one involves English verbal morphology and the second one involves decomposing the word *kill* into *cause* and *die*. We will see that while the former phenomenon is satisfactorily explained using a lexical decomposition analysis, the latter one is not.

Consider the sentences in (1). In the affirmative sentence, (1)a, we can see that the future form of the verb *sleep* is composed of the inflectional head *will* plus the verb *sleep*. In (1)b, we see that *will* and *sleep* do not need to be adjacent and negation can intervene between the two items. In (1)c, we see that *will* can actually move independently from *sleep* to form a question.

- (1)    a. John **will sleep**.  
       b. John **will not sleep**.  
       c. **Will**<sub>i</sub> John t<sub>i</sub> **sleep**?

In his analysis, Chomsky (1957) shows that all verb forms in English can be decomposed into an inflectional head and the verb itself, even when at first glance a verb form seems to be a single unit. Take as an example the form *walked* in (2)a. Chomsky proposes that it can be decomposed into an abstract [PAST] morpheme and the bare verb *walk*, as in (2)b.

- (2)    a. John **walked**.  
       b. John [ [PAST] **walk** ]

Evidence for this decomposition comes from the negative and interrogative forms of (2)a, shown in (3)a and (3)b respectively. As we can see, just as in the case of the sentences with *will* above, the past morpheme can exist independently from the verb *sleep*. The only difference is that in this case the phonological rules of the language require an auxiliary verb, *do*, to support the past affix.

- (3) a. John [PAST] not **walk**. → John **did** not **walk**.  
 b. [PAST]<sub>i</sub> John t<sub>i</sub> **walk**? → **Did** John **walk**.

In the case of *walked*, we can clearly see in the morphology that there is a verb plus a tense affix. Nevertheless, there are forms in which the morphology is not so transparent, as in the present form of *walk* in (4).

- (4) You **walk** every day.

It is not obvious that *walk* in (4) is in fact a present affix plus the bare verb. However, once again when we look at the negative and interrogative forms, we can clearly see that a separate present affix exists and manifests itself with the support of *do*.

- (5) a. You [PRESENT] not walk every day. → You **do** not **walk** every day.  
 b. [PRESENT]<sub>i</sub> you t<sub>i</sub> walk every day? → **Do** you **walk** every day?

Even an irregular form like *went* is in fact a past affix plus the bare form of the verb *go*. The past affix then attaches to the bare form and the resulting form is pronounced as *went*.

- (6) John [ [PAST] go ] home. → John **went** home.

The negative and interrogative sentences further support this analysis, since there we can see the past affix and the verb being pronounced as two

separate elements when an intervener like negation or the subject stands between them.

- (7)    a. You [PAST] not **go** home.                    →    You **did** not **go** home.  
       b. [PAST] you **go** to home?                    →    **Did** you **go** home?

One more kind of evidence for the decomposition analysis of English verbal morphology comes from VP ellipsis. As we can see in (8), when the verb is deleted, the inflection is left behind, with *do*-support applying in the case of (8)b and (8)c.

- (8)    a. John **will walk** and Mary **will walk** too.  
       b. John [[PAST] **walk**] and Mary [[PAST] **walk**] too. → John **walked** and Mary **did** too.  
       c. John [[PRES] **walk**] and Mary [[PRES] **walk**] too → John **walks** and Mary **does** too.

This very brief summary of Chomsky's (1957) analysis is an example of a case in which decomposing a word into two parts and being able to separate these parts is an important tool of human language. Furthermore, not all such decomposition is visible in pronunciation as in the case of (4) and (6). Because one of the parts is not phonetically realized, the evidence for decomposition must come from the syntactic behavior of the resulting elements.

It is not always the case, however, that a decomposition analysis will account for the facts appropriately. An example comes from the Generative

Semantics movement: decomposing *kill* into *cause* + *die*, making (9)a equivalent to (9)b.

- (9) a. John killed Mary.
- b. John caused Mary to die.

Nonetheless, this analysis has been challenged on several fronts. As an illustration, I will show two of the arguments in Fodor (1970). First of all, he uses *do so* substitution (p. 431). Whereas both sentences in (10) are acceptable, their supposed correspondents in (11) are not.

- (10) a. John caused Mary to die and it surprised me that he did so.
  - b. John caused Mary to die and it surprised me that she did so.
- 
- (11) a. John killed Mary and it surprised me that he did so.
  - b. \*John killed Mary and it surprised me that she did so.

In (10), *did so* can stand in place of either “caused Mary to die” or just “die”. In other words, what surprised me in (10)a is that John caused Mary to die, while in (10)b what surprised me is the fact that Mary died. In (11), however, we see that *did so* can only replace “caused Mary to die”. If in fact *kill* were composed of *cause* and *die*, we would expect (11)b to be possible just as (10)b is.

Fodor also notes the examples in (12) (p. 433) as evidence against deriving *kill* from *cause* + *die*. In (12)a, we see that one can cause an event by acting at a time different from the time of the event. Once again, if we could

decompose *kill* as *cause* + *die*, the sentence in (12)b should be acceptable, just as (12)a is.

- (12) a. John caused Bill to die on Sunday by stabbing him on Saturday.  
b. \*John killed Bill on Sunday by stabbing him on Saturday.

In short, Fodor concludes that in spite of the similarity in meaning, *kill* cannot be decomposed as *cause* + *die*.

Once again, this has been a very simplified view of the issue, aimed just at showing that lexical decomposition is not always the best answer.

## 1.2. Overview of the Dissertation

This dissertation will deal with two possible instances of lexical decomposition: Wh in situ in Wh-movement languages and the behavior of *even* in English. It will attempt to show that while the former can be successfully explained by lexically decomposing Wh-phrases, decomposing *even*, which has been proposed in the literature, is not a good solution to explain its behavior under certain predicates.

Languages are typically divided into three main groups with respect to where Wh-phrases are positioned in questions: some obligatorily front one Wh-phrase (Wh-Movement languages), some obligatorily front all Wh-phrases



(Multiple-Wh-Fronting Languages), and others do not front any Wh-phrase (Wh-in-situ languages). An example of each is given below.

(13) One Wh-phrase moves

- |  |         |
|--|---------|
| a. Who saw what?                             | English |
| b. Wer hat was gesehen?<br>who has what seen | German  |

(14) All Wh-phrases move

- |   |                |
|---|----------------|
| a. Ko je koga vidio?<br>who is whom seen  | Serbo-Croatian |
| b. Koj kogo e vidjal?<br>who whom is seen | Bulgarian      |

(15) Wh-phrases do not move

- |  |          |
|--|----------|
| a. John-wa dare-ni nani-o ageta ka<br>John-top who-dat what-acc gave Q<br>‘What did John give to whom?’                              | Japanese |
| b. ni du guo [NP [CP Lisi zai nali xie de] shu]<br>you read-ASP Lisi at where write DE book<br>‘You read the book Lisi wrote where?’ | Chinese  |

Among Wh-movement languages, there are some that can also, in some cases, leave the Wh-phrase in situ, i.e. not moved. One example of that is French, as in the example below.

- (16) a. Qu' a-t-il acheté?                      French  
           what has-he bought  
       b. Il a acheté quoi?  
           he has bought what

Besides French, Brazilian Portuguese is another example of an apparently optional Wh-movement language, as exemplified in (17).

- (17) a. O que ele comprou?                      Brazilian Portuguese  
           what he bought  
       b. Ele comprou o quê?  
           he bought what  
       'What did he buy?'

What makes such languages particularly intriguing is that they do not simply combine the Wh-movement and the Wh-in-situ strategies. The latter is heavily restricted, syntactically as well as semantically/pragmatically.

French has syntactic restrictions on the use of Wh in situ that are very much like more general restrictions on movement as pointed out, among others, by Chang (1997), Bošković (1998), and Cheng & Rooryck (2000). For example, the authors show that Wh in situ in French is not possible in embedded clauses, as in (45).

- (18) \* Jean crois que Marie a vu qui                      French  
       Jean believes that Marie has seen who?  
       'Who does Jean believe that Marie saw?'

What is more, French Wh in situ is sensitive to islands and other interveners, such as quantifiers and negation, as the ungrammatical sentences in (11) and (20) show respectively.

(19) a. \*Tous les étudiants ont rencontré qui? (Chang 1997:17)  
 all the students have met who  
 ‘Who did all the students meet?’

(20) a. \*Il n’a pas rencontré qui? (Chang 1997:19)  
 he neg-has not met who  
 ‘Who didn’t he meet?’

Brazilian Portuguese (BP), on the other hand, does not show these movement-like restrictions, as can be seen in (21) - (23).

(21) O João acredita que a Maria viu quem? BP  
 the João believes that the Maria saw who?  
 ‘Who does Jean believe that Marie saw?’

(22) Todos os alunos encontraram quem? BP  
 all the students met who  
 ‘Who did all the students meet?’

(23) Ele não encontrou quem? BP  
 he not met who  
 ‘Who didn’t he meet?’

In this dissertation, I will try to capture some of the properties of Wh in situ in French and Brazilian Portuguese via lexical decomposition. In a nutshell, the Wh-phrase will be broken down into two parts that can move independently.

There are also semantic and pragmatic restrictions on the use of Wh in situ in Wh-movement languages. For example, Pires & Taylor (2007) show that the sentence in (24) is not possible out of the blue.

- (24) #Você comeu o quê de almoço hoje?  
you ate what of lunch today  
'#You ate what for lunch today?'

Now consider the following context: there are two officemates, Paulo and Pedro, who have their lunch break at the same time and always eat together. One day, they decide not to go out together. Pedro gets back to the office first, and when Paulo arrives, it is felicitous for Pedro to use (24) as the first utterance in a conversation taking place right after the two officemates meet. The question with the Wh in situ can sound even better if, for example, Paulo arrives with a big stain on his shirt and Pedro adds a possible answer to his own question with a rising intonation, as in (25).

- (25) Você comeu o quê de almoço hoje? Tinta?  
You ate what of lunch today ink  
'What did you eat for lunch today? Ink?'

These restrictions are not the same in all languages. Take the case of Spanish, which is another Wh-movement language that allows for the Wh to stay in situ in certain contexts. According to Jimenez (1997), a Wh-in-situ question in Spanish is only acceptable if it asks about a variable taken from a set whose members belong to a domain previously established in the discourse. For

example, in (26) (Jimenez 1997:42), there is a shopping list that Speaker 2 uses as a reference set to ask either (26) b1 or (26) b2 felicitously.

- (26) a. Speaker 1: Fuimos a la tienda a comprar huevos, leche y café.  
went-we to the store to buy eggs milk and coffee  
Mi madre compró los huevos.  
my mother bought the eggs  
'We went to the store to buy eggs, milk, and coffee. My mother bought the eggs.'
- b. Speaker 2: 1. ¿Y tu padre compró qué?  
and your father bought what  
'And what did your father buy?'
2. ¿y qué compró tu padre?  
and what bought your father  
'And what did your father buy?'
- c. Speaker 1: Mi padre compró la leche. Yo me encargué del café.  
My father bought the milk I took care of the coffee  
'My father bought the milk. I took care of the coffee.'

On the other hand, the same is not true in (27) (Jiménez 1997:43). Without the shopping list in the background, it is not felicitous to ask (27)b2.

- (27) a. Speaker 1: Mi padre, mi madre y yo fuimos a la tienda a comprar.  
my father my mother and I went to the store to buy  
'My father, my mother and I, we went grocery shopping.'
- b. Speaker 2: 1. ¿Que compró tu padre?  
what bought your father

2. #¿ Tu padre, compró qué?  
 your father bought what  
 ‘What did your father buy?’

c. Speaker 1: Mi padre compró pescado.  
 my father bought fish

In BP, however, (27)b2 is acceptable, suggesting that there is no requirement that the answer be part of a domain previously established in the discourse. See (28) for the relevant examples.

(28) a. Speaker 1: Meu pai, minha mãe e eu fomos ao  
 mercado.  
 my father my mother and I went to-the market  
 ‘My father, my mother and I, we went grocery shopping.’

b. Speaker 2: 1. O que o teu pai comprou?  
 what the your father bought

2. O teu pai comprou o quê?  
 the your father bought what  
 ‘What did your father buy?’

c. Speaker 1: Meu pai comprou peixe.  
 my father bought fish  
 ‘My father bought some fish.’

Another potential case of decomposition that I will work on relates to the use of *even*. Consider the sentences in (29). In (29)a, speakers agree that *these tickets* are presupposed to be bad (i.e. low in a scale of the quality of tickets), while in (29)b, they are presupposed to be good (i.e., high in a scale of the quality of tickets). This contrast raises the question of why *even* can denote different ends of the scale in (29)a and (29)b.

- (29) a. I'm glad I got **even** these tickets. → low-scalarity *even*  
 b. I'm sorry I got **even** these tickets. → high-scalarity *even*

In some languages, like German, Italian, and Dutch, there are two correspondents to *even*, one for the low-scale version of *even* and one for its high-scale version. For example, Dutch has *zelfs* and *zelfs/ook maar* (Rullmann (1997), Hoeksema & Rullmann (2001)), German has *sogar* and *auch nur* (von Stechow (1991), Kurschner (1993), Heim & Lahiri (2002)), Italian has *addirittura* and *anche solo* (Guerzoni (2002, 2005)). Below are examples from Italian and Dutch. Note that in (31) and (34) *anche solo* and *ook maar* can only be interpreted as indicating low scalarity.

- (30) Sono contento di aver preso **anche solo** questi (brutti) biglietti.  
 I-am happy of have gotten also only these bad tickets  
 'I'm glad I got even these (bad) tickets.'
- (31) \* Mi dispiace di aver preso **anche solo** questi (eccellenti) biglietti.  
 me displeases of have gotten also only these excellent tickets  
 'I'm sorry I got even these (excellent) tickets.'
- (32) Mi dispiace di aver preso **addirittura** questi (eccellenti) biglietti.  
 me displeases of have gotten even these excellent tickets  
 'I'm sorry I got even these (excellent) tickets.'
- (33) ik ben blij dat we die kaartjes **zelfs/ook maar** hebben gekregen  
 I am glad that we these tickets even/also only have gotten  
 'I'm glad we got even these tickets.'
- (34) \* het spijt me dat we die kaartjes **zelfs/ook maar** hebben  
 gekregen  
 it spites me that we these tickets even/also only have gotten  
 'I'm sorry we got even these tickets.'

- (35) het spijt me dat we die kaartjes **zelfs** hebben gekregen  
it spites me that we these tickets even have gotten  
'I'm sorry we got even these tickets.'

These data could lead one to analyze low-scalarity *even* as an element that can be decomposed into two parts. However, I will show that decomposing *even* does not help in accounting for the facts of English. Instead, I will propose, following Rullmann (1997), that the existence presupposition of *even* is not needed.

### 1.3. Organization

In Chapter 2, I propose a system that can account for the syntactic behavior of Wh in situ in languages like French, BP, and Chinese. First of all, I maintain the basis of Bošković's (1998) analysis for French, according to which a null complementizer is added in LF. In addition, I follow, among others, Watanabe (1992), Aoun and Li (1993a,b), Hagstrom (1998), Mathieu (2002), Beck (2006), and Cable (2007) in assuming that the Wh-phrase needs a Q operator to be licensed and that this operator can move. I assume that the Q operator exists independently from the complementizer C. The syntactic differences between French and BP are a reflex of two distinct ways of dealing with this two-part phrase. In French, Q and Wh are generated as a constituent and Q moves to check features against the relevant complementizer C; the reason for



movement-like restrictions is that there is actual movement happening. In turn, Brazilian Portuguese can base-generate the Q operator in its target position near C and as a result can unselectively bind the Wh-phrase. Therefore, there are no movement-like restrictions.

In Chapter 3, I will investigate the semantic and pragmatic restrictions on Wh in situ in Wh-movement languages. I will first group Wh-in-situ questions based on their function, concluding that they can be placed into two major groups, namely *information-seeking* and *non-information-seeking* Wh-in-situ questions. Afterward, I will look more closely at the contexts in which Wh-in-situ questions are not acceptable in BP and present the proposal in Pires & Taylor (2007) to account for that. I will then show that although Pires & Taylor's approach makes some correct predictions, it undergenerates in some cases. I suggest that although Pires & Taylor are correct in using the Common Ground as a felicity condition for Wh-in-situ questions, what needs to be in the Common Ground is not the possible answers, but the presupposition of the non-Wh part of the question itself. As for non-information-seeking questions, what needs to be accommodated in the Common Ground is the actual intention of the speaker, such as being sarcastic or making fun of the interlocutor. Differently from Wh-in-situ questions, in moved-Wh questions the presupposition of the question needs to be known by the speaker, but does not need to be in the Common Ground. I will conclude by noting some crosslinguistic differences among several optional Wh-movement languages, namely French, Spanish, and English.

In Chapter 4, I will demonstrate that existing accounts of the behavior of *even* cannot provide a consistent explanation of why different predicates, like *surprised*, *sorry*, and *glad*, need different scope properties when used with *even*. In this chapter, however, my conclusion will be that decomposing *even*, based on Guerzoni (2005), does not account for the empirical facts. In order to solve the problem, based on Rullmann (1997), I will not consider the existence requirement of *even* as a presupposition, but in fact a conventional but not truth-conditional implicature. This assumption, together with the scope theory of *even* (cf. Wilkinson (1996)), can take care of the meaning of *even* under *glad* without the need for decomposing *even*.

Because each chapter is quite independent from one another, each one will have its own concluding section, where I will not only summarize the chapter but also point out remaining issues and directions for future research.

## Chapter 2

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### 2. Syntactic Considerations Regarding Wh in Situ

#### 2.1. Introduction

Crosslinguistically, Wh-questions can be grouped into four general categories, depending on where the Wh-word is at PF<sup>1</sup>: one Wh moves, all Wh's move, the Wh's do not move, or the Wh optionally moves. Below are examples of all four kinds.

(1) One Wh moves

a. Who saw what?

English

---

<sup>1</sup> This is of course a very simplified picture, for convenience of presentation only. Languages that pronounce all Wh's at the top of the tree, for example, do not necessarily move all these Wh's to the same projection. See Bošković (2000) and Stjepanović (1998, 1999a, b), among others.

- b. Wer hat was gesehen?                      German  
       who has what seen
- (2) All Wh's move
- a. Ko je koga vidio?                      Serbo-Croatian  
       who is whom seen
- b. Koi kogo e vidjal?                      Bulgarian  
       who whom is seen
- (3) Wh's do not move
- a. John-wa dare-ni nani-o ageta ka                      Japanese  
       John-top who-DAT what-ACC gave Q  
       'What did John give to whom?'
- b. ni du guo [NP [CP Lisi zai nali xie de] shu]                      Chinese  
       you read-ASP Lisi at where write DE book  
       'You read the book Lisi wrote where?'
- (4) Wh's optionally move
- a. Qu' a-t-il donné à qui?                      French  
       what has-he given to whom  
       'What did he give to whom?'
- b. Il a donné quoi à qui?                      French  
       he has given what to whom
- c. O que ele deu pra quem?                      Brazilian Portuguese  
       what he gave to who
- d. Ele deu o quê pra quem?                      Brazilian Portuguese  
       he gave what to who
- e. Qué compró Juan?                      Spanish  
       what bought Juan
- f. Juan compró qué?                      Spanish  
       Juan bought what

In the fourth group, however, the optionality is not total. In this group, there are restrictions as to what environments license a moved or non-moved Wh. For the sake of a brief illustration, (5) and (6) below display some of these different restrictions in French, Spanish, and Brazilian Portuguese (BP). These examples show that those restrictions are not uniform in these languages.

(5) Long-distance questions

- |   |         |
|---|---------|
| a. *Jean et Pierre croient que Marie a vu qui?<br>John and Peter believe that Mary has seen who       | French  |
| b. Juan y Pedro creen que María ha visto a quién?<br>John and Peter believe that Mary has seen to who | Spanish |
| c. O João pensa que a Maria viu quem?<br>the John thinks that the Mary saw who                        | BP      |

(6) Sentence final requirement (SFR)

- |   |         |
|---|---------|
| a. *Tú invitaste a quién a tu fiesta?<br>you invited to who to your party                                       | Spanish |
| b. Tú invitaste a tu fiesta a quién?<br>you invited to your party to who<br>'Who did you invite to your party?' |         |
| c. Você convidou quem pra sua festa?<br>you invited who to your party   | BP      |
| d. *Você convidou pra sua festa quem?<br>you invited to your party who<br>'Who did you invite to your party?'   |         |
| e. Tu as invité quoi à ta fête?<br>you have invited who to your party   | French  |
| f. *Tu as invité à ta fête quoi?<br>you have invited to your party who<br>'Who did you invite to your party?'   |         |

In (5)a we can see one locality restriction of French, i.e. the Wh cannot stay in situ in an embedded clause, that Spanish and BP do not share. (6) shows that there are differences between Portuguese and Spanish as well. Spanish has the Sentence Final Requirement (SFR, see Uribe-Etxebarria (2002) and Reglero (2004)), which means that the Wh can only stay in situ if it is the last word in the sentence.<sup>2</sup> Portuguese and French, on the other hand, do not have such a requirement, and the Wh can stay in situ even if it is not the last word. Actually, forcing the SFR in these languages can cause unacceptable sentences, as in (6)d and (6)f.

In short, not all languages that have optional Wh-movement behave in the same way. In this sense, BP Wh in situ seems to be freer from restrictions than French or Spanish Wh in situ. In fact, this seems to put BP, when it comes to Wh in situ, very close to languages in which the Wh phrase always stays in situ, like Chinese. However, Chinese also has restrictions that do not show in BP, for example involving the presence of adjuncts in islands, as in the sentences in (7) and (8).<sup>3</sup> So BP is also freer than Chinese in this respect, which has not been noted before.

- (7) \*ni du guo [NP [CP Lisi weisheme xie de] shu]  
 you read-ASP Lisi why write DE book  
 ‘You read the book that Lisi wrote why?’

---

<sup>2</sup> In fact, the restriction says that the Wh must be the last element in its intonational phrase. See footnote 7.

<sup>3</sup> In both languages, *why* can be interpreted as reason or cause. These two different readings will create differences in acceptability in Chinese. I will explore this in sections 2 and 3.

- (8)    Você leu o livro que o Lisi escreveu por quê?  
      you read the book that the Lisi wrote why  
      ‘Why did you read the book that Lisi wrote?’ or  
      ‘Lisi wrote the book for reason x and you read the book. What is x?’

However, we will see below that there are some restrictions on BP Wh in situ that are not shared by Chinese.

In this chapter, I will investigate differences between Wh-in-situ questions in BP and other languages. After considering several approaches to covert relations, I conclude that Wh-in-situ questions in BP have a null complementizer that is inserted after Spell Out, as has been proposed by Bošković for French (1998, 2007). Differently from French, however, the Wh-phrase in situ in BP is licensed via Unselective Binding, similarly to what has been proposed for English multiple Wh-questions and Chinese questions in general (Reinhart (1995, 1998), Tsai (1994a, b), Stepanov & Tsai (2006)).

Furthermore, I argue that we need to decompose Wh-phrases into two parts: a silent operator Q and the Wh-word itself, which must not be non-adjacent at PF. The difference between French and BP Wh in situ is related to the nature of the Q operator that licenses the Wh: in French it is generated in the Wh-phrase and moves away, while in BP it is generated above C. What is responsible for the difference in locality between these two languages is that in French the Q selectively binds the Wh and is then subject to intervention effects, while in BP Q unselectively binds the Wh and is not affected by interveners. Therefore, in order

to explain the syntactic differences between BP and French Wh in situ, we need to decompose a Wh-phrase.

This chapter is organized as follows: first of all, I will give an overview of Wh in situ in French, Spanish, and Chinese, comparing them to BP. Section 3 examines different ways of establishing covert relations and how they have been used to account for the data that has been presented. It will be clear then that the proposals for other languages do not work for BP without additional assumptions. Then, in Section 4, I introduce my proposal for BP. Finally, Section 5 contains the conclusion and remaining issues.

## 2.2. Wh in Situ Across Languages

In this section, I will briefly present the characteristics of Wh in situ in French, Spanish, Chinese, and BP.<sup>4</sup> I will not give any analyses for the data presented here. This will be done later in Section 2.3.

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<sup>4</sup> Wh-in-situ questions in English are common in the case of multiple Wh-questions, like *Who bought what?*. There is some controversy regarding whether English allows true Wh-in-situ questions. It appears to allow them, but in very restricted contexts. See Chapter 3 for more on the contexts that allow for the use of Wh in situ in Wh-movement languages.



### 2.2.1. French

French speakers use Wh-in-situ questions in non-echo readings quite readily and in a wide variety of contexts. However, there are a series of syntactic restrictions on their use.

First of all, as noted in Bošković (1998), Wh in situ is not possible in embedded clauses, as in (9)a. (9)b shows that the sentence is fine if the Wh moves. Once one Wh has moved, it is acceptable to leave another Wh in situ, as in (9)c (from Bošković 1998).

- (9) a. \*[<sub>CP</sub> C Jean crois [<sub>CP</sub> **que** Marie a vu qui ] ]  
Jean believes that Marie has seen who?
- b. [<sub>CP</sub> Qui<sub>i</sub> C crois Jean [<sub>CP</sub> **que** Marie a vu t<sub>i</sub> ] ]  
who believes Jean that Marie has seen  
'Who does John believe that Mary has seen?'
- c. [<sub>CP</sub> Qui<sub>i</sub> C t<sub>i</sub> crois [<sub>CP</sub> **que** Marie a vu qui ] ]  
who believes that Marie has seen who  
'Who believes that Mary has seen who?'

As for indirect questions, the Wh-phrase must move to the Spec of the embedded C, it cannot stay in situ.

- (10) a. Pierre a demandé qui tu a vu  
Pierre has asked who you have seen
- b. \*Pierre a demandé tu a vu qui  
Pierre has asked you have seen who

Furthermore, quantifiers, negation, and modals also block Wh in situ with an non-echo reading, as in (11)-(13) (see Chang (1997), Bošković (1998), Cheng & Rooryck (2000)).

(11) a. \*Tous les étudiants ont rencontré qui? (Chang 1997:17)  
           all the students have met who  
           ‘Who did all the students meet?’

(12) a. \*Il n’a pas rencontré qui? (Chang 1997:19)  
           he neg-has not met who  
           ‘Who didn’t he meet?’

(13) a. \*Il peut rencontrer qui? (Cheng & Rooryck 2000:11)  
           he can meet who  
           ‘Who can he meet?’

Finally, in the dialects that have an overt C in questions, this overt C is only possible with a moved Wh-phrase. (14) displays the relevant contrast, from Bošković (1998).

(14) a. Qui **que** tu as vu?  
           who C you have seen  
       b. \***Que** tu a vu qui?  
           C you have seen who

### 2.2.2. Spanish<sup>5</sup>

According to Reglero (2004, 2007), although Wh-in-situ questions are possible with non-echo readings in Spanish, speakers do not consider these questions as natural as French speakers do.<sup>6</sup> Syntactically, Spanish has different restrictions from French. For example, Spanish allows for either a moved Wh or Wh in situ in embedded declaratives.

- (15) a. Juan y Pedro creen [<sub>CP</sub> que María ha visto a quién?]  
Juan and Pedro believe that Mary has seen to who  
b. A quién creen Juan y Pedro [<sub>CP</sub> que María ha visto?]  
to who believe Juan and Pedro that Maria has seen  
'Who do John and Peter believe that Mary saw?'

Spanish and French are similar when it comes to indirect questions, i.e., the Wh-phrase has to move to the Spec of the embedded interrogative C.

- (16) a. Juan ha preguntado [<sub>CP</sub> a quién<sub>i</sub> C María ha visto t<sub>i</sub>]  
Juan has asked to who Maria has seen  
'John asked who Mary saw.'  
b. \*Juan ha preguntado [<sub>CP</sub> C María ha visto a quién]

Another difference is that in Spanish negation does not block Wh in situ.

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<sup>5</sup> The Spanish examples are all from Reglero (2004).

<sup>6</sup> The examples given by Reglero (2004, 2007) usually contain y 'and' in the beginning, to indicate that they occur in contexts in which the contents of the question have already been alluded to (I do not include y in the examples in this chapter). For example, (15) would be felicitous after a speaker has mentioned that Ana believes that Maria has seen someone. I refer the reader to Reglero (2004, 2007) and also Chapter 3 for contextual restrictions on Spanish Wh in situ.

- (17) a. Juan no ha visto a quién?  
           Juan not has seen to who  
           ‘Who didn’t John see?’  
       b. A quién no ha Juan visto?

Additionally, according to Uribe-Etxebarria (2002) and Reglero (2004, 2007), Spanish Wh-in-situ sentences often display a non neutral order, due to the Sentence Final Requirement (SFR).<sup>7</sup> See (18) for examples (from Reglero 2004:17).

- (18) Sentence Final Requirement (SFR)  
       a. Yo invité a Maria a mi fiesta.  
           I invited to Mary to my party  
           ‘I invited Mary to my party.’  
       b. \* Tú invitaste a quién a tu fiesta?  
           you invited to who to your party  
       c. Tú invitaste a tu fiesta a quién?  
           you invited to your party to who  
           ‘Who did you invite to your party?’

### 2.2.3. Chinese

Chinese, which is a Wh-in-situ language, does not have the same restrictions as French. First of all, Chinese allows for the Wh to stay in situ in

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<sup>7</sup> In fact, it is possible for clause-mate phonological material to follow the Wh in situ in Spanish, but then there must be a pause between the Wh and the other material (Reglero (2004, 2007, Uribe-Etxebarria (2002)). This indicates that the Wh must actually be the last element in its intonational phrase, not the whole sentence. For ease of exposition, I will continue to say that wh-in-situ must be the last element in its sentence.

indirect questions, as in (19).<sup>8</sup> It is also possible in long-distance questions, as in (20).<sup>9</sup>

- (19) Geruisen wen Sala mai-le shenme?  
 Grissom ask Sarah buy-ASP what  
 ‘Grissom asked what Sarah bought’
- (20) Geruisen yiwei Casselin mai-le shenme?  
 Grissom think Catherine buy-ASP what  
 ‘What does Grissom think that Catherine bought?’

Let us now consider locality of Chinese Wh in situ more closely. First of all, Chinese Wh-in-situ questions involving arguments are allowed within islands, as in (21) (Aoun & Li 1993b: 202).

- (21) [CP<sub>1</sub> ta xiang-zhidao [CP<sub>2</sub> shei<sub>i</sub> shenme<sub>j</sub> [x<sub>i</sub> maile x<sub>j</sub>]]]  
 he wonder who what bought  
 ‘He wonders who bought what.’

On the other hand, adjuncts in islands are not permitted, as shown in (22), also from Aoun & Li (1993b):202.

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<sup>8</sup> I thank Pei-Jung Kuo (p.c.) for the data in (19) and (20).

<sup>9</sup> It is not possible to compare French and Chinese with relation to overt C, since there is no overt C in Chinese questions. In Japanese, which is also a Wh-in-situ language, it is possible to have an overt C with Wh in situ, as in (i). For more on Japanese, see section 2.4.3.4 below.

(i) Anata-ga dare-o mita ka (Bošković (2000))  
 you-NOM who-ACC saw C

- (22) \*<sub>[CP1 ta xiang-zhidao [<sub>CP2</sub> shei<sub>i</sub> weishenme<sub>j</sub> [<sub>x<sub>i</sub> x<sub>j</sub></sub> likaile]]]</sub>  
           he wonder                      who why                      left  
       ‘He wonders who left why.’

Not all adjuncts are the same, though. Huang (1982) points out an asymmetry between the adjuncts *where* and *when* on the one hand and *how* and *why* on the other hand. In particular, *where* and *when* are possible inside islands, as opposed to *how* and *why*. Huang (1982:529) shows that *when* and *where* can be interpreted outside a Wh-island, as in (23) and (24), and can be embedded within a complex NP, as in (25) and (26).

- (23) [ni xiang-zhidao [Lisi zai nali mai-le shenme]]?  
       you wonder              Lisi at where buy-ASP what  
       a. ‘What is the thing x such that you wonder where Lisi bought x?’  
       b. ‘Where is the place x such that you wonder what Lisi bought at x?’
- (24) [ni xiang-zhidao [Lisi (zai) shemeshihou mai-le shenme]]?  
       you wonder              Lisi (at) when buy-ASP what  
       a. ‘What is the thing x such that you wonder when Lisi bought x?’  
       b. ‘When is the time x such that you wonder what Lisi bought at x?’
- (25) [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>S</sub> ta zai nali pai] de dianying] zui hao?  
       he at where film DE movie most good  
       ‘Movies that he filmed where are the best?’
- (26) [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>S</sub> ta (zai) shemeshihou pai] de dianying] zui hao?  
       he (at) when film DE movie most good  
       ‘Movies that he filmed when are the best?’

In contrast, Huang (1982:527) shows that *why* and *how* are not possible inside a complex NP, as in (27) and (28).

- (27) \*<sub>[NP [S ta weishenme xie] de shu] zui youqu?</sub>  
           he why           write DE book most interesting  
           ‘Books that he wrote why are most interesting?’

- (28) \*<sub>[NP [S ta zenme xie] de shu] zui youqu?</sub>  
           he how       write DE book most interesting  
           ‘Books that he wrote how are the most interesting?’

Hsin (1997) also shows the same contrast and uses the examples in (29) to illustrate it.

- (29) a. ni du guo <sub>[NP [CP Lisi zai nali xie de] shu]</sub>  
           you read-ASP   Lisi at where write DE book  
           ‘You read the book Lisi wrote where?’  
       b. ni du guo <sub>[NP [CP Lisi shemeshihou xie de] shu]</sub>  
           you read-ASP   Lisi when           write DE book  
           ‘You read the book Lisi wrote when?’  
       c. \*ni du guo <sub>[NP [CP Lisi weisheme xie de] shu]</sub>  
           you read-ASP   Lisi why           write DE book  
           ‘You read the book that Lisi wrote why?’

I now turn to intervention effects between Wh-adjuncts and potential interveners such as modals and negation. Note first that, as pointed out by Stepanov & Tsai (2006), *zenme* ‘how’ in Chinese can have a method reading, a style reading, and a causal reading (like *how come* in English).

First of all, only causal *zenme* can occur higher than modal verbs and sentential adverbials, as in (30) and (31) (from Stepanov & Tsai 2006: 4-5).

- (30) Akiu *zenme* hui/bixu/neng/keyi/yinggai zou?  
Akiu how will/must/can/may/should leave  
a. #By what means will/must/can/may/should Akiu leave?  
b. #With what style will/must/can/may/should Akiu leave?  
c. 'Why would/must/can/may/should Akiu leave?'  
.
- (31) Akiu *zenme* zongshi/changchang/henshao xi che?  
Akiu how always/often/seldom wash car  
a. #By what means does Akiu always/often/seldom wash the car?  
b. #With what style does Akiu always/often/seldom wash the car?  
c. 'Why does Akiu always/often/seldom wash the car?'

Modal verbs and sentential adverbials in turn can occur higher than *zenme*, but the reading can only be method, not style or causal, as in (32) and (33) (also from Stepanov & Tsai 2006: 4-5).

- (32) Akiu hui/bixu/neng/keyi/yinggai *zenme* zou?  
Akiu will/must/can/may/should how leave  
a. 'By what means will/must/can/may/should Akiu leave?'  
b. #With what style will/must/can/may/should Akiu leave?  
c. #Why will/must/can/may/should Akiu leave?
- (33) Akiu zongshi/changchang/henshao *zenme* xi che?  
Akiu always/often/seldom how wash car  
a. 'By what means does Akiu always/often/seldom wash the car?'  
b. #With what style does Akiu always/often/seldom wash the car?'  
c. #Why does Akiu always/often/seldom wash the car?'



Next, consider (34) (Stepanov & Tsai 2006: 6-7), where *zenme* is higher than negation. The only reading available is again causal.

- (34) Akiu zenme bu xi che?  
Akiu how not wash car  
a. # 'How doesn't Akiu wash the car?'  
b. 'Why doesn't Akiu wash the car?'

In turn, when negation is higher than *zenme*, as in (35) (Stepanov & Tsai 2006: 6-7), all readings are out.

- (35) \*Akiu bu zenme xi che?  
Akiu not how wash car  
'\* By what means doesn't Akiu wash the car?'  
'\*With what style doesn't Akiu wash the car?'  
'\*Why doesn't Akiu wash the car?'

The third group of data presented by Stepanov & Tsai shows that, rather surprisingly, the presence of certain aspect markers and the choice of predicates also make a difference. As we can tell from (36)-(38) (Stepanov & Tsai 2006: 8), manner *zenme* does not get along with certain aspects in Chinese. Namely, all these questions are causal, not method or style.

- (36) Akiu zenme zai-shuijiao?  
Akiu how sleeping  
a. # 'How is Akiu sleeping?'  
b. 'Why is Akiu sleeping?'

- (37) Akiu zenme chuan-zhe tuoxie?  
 Akiu how wearing slipper  
 a. #'How is Akiu wearing slipper?'  
 b. 'Why is Akiu wearing slipper?'
- (38) Akiu zenme qu-guo meiguo?  
 Akiu how go-Exp America  
 a. #'How has Akiu been to America?'  
 b. 'Why has Akiu been to America?'

In short, there are intervention effects in Chinese that need to be explained.

#### 2.2.4. Brazilian Portuguese (BP)

I now turn to BP. Like in French and unlike in Spanish, Wh-in-situ questions in BP are considered natural in non-echo readings and can occur in a wide range of contexts. On the other hand, there are many syntactic differences between French and BP.

First of all, in matrix clauses, like French, BP allows for the Wh to stay in situ. Examples are given in (39) and (40).

- (39) a. Tu a vu qui?                      French  
       you have seen who  
       b. Qui as-tu vu?  
       who have-you seen

- (40) a. Você viu quem? BP  
           you saw who  
       b. Quem você viu?  
           who you saw

With verbs that select an interrogative C, the *wh* must obligatorily move to the Spec of the embedded CP in both languages. In neither language can the *wh* stay in situ, as the contrasts in (41) and (42) show.

- (41) a. Pierre a demandé qui tu a vu French  
           Pierre has asked who you have seen  
       b. \*Pierre a demandé tu a vu qui  
           Pierre has asked you have seen who

- (42) a. O Pedro perguntou quem você viu BP  
           the Pedro asked who you saw  
       b. \*O Pedro perguntou você viu quem  
           the Pedro asked you saw who

Furthermore, in both BP and some dialects of French, it is possible to have an overt C, which I highlighted in (43) and (44), in questions. However, this overt C is not possible when the Wh remains in situ.

- (43) a. Qui **que** tu as vu? French  
           who C you have seen  
       b. \***Que** tu a vu qui?  
           C you have seen who

- (44) a. Quem **que** você viu? BP  
           who C you saw

- b. \***Que** você viu quem?  
       C    you   saw who

As for clauses embedded under a non-interrogative verb, (45) and (46) show that Portuguese and French differ when it comes to long distance Wh in situ.

- |      |   |        |
|------|---|--------|
| (45) | * Jean   crois       que Marie a   vu   qui<br>Jean   believes that Marie has seen who? | French |
| (46) | O    João acredita que a   Maria viu quem?<br>the João believes that the Maria saw who? | BP     |

Another difference between BP and French has to do with non-C interveners, like negation, quantifiers, and modals. While, as shown above, in French Wh in situ is not possible in these contexts, it is allowed in BP. This is illustrated in (47)-(49) below.

- |      |  |        |
|------|--|--------|
| (47) | a. * Tous les étudiants ont   recontré qui?<br>all   the students   have met       who                               | French |
|      | b. Todos os alunos encontraram quem?<br>all   the students met               who<br>‘Who did all the students meet?’ | BP     |
| (48) | a. * Il   n’a       pas recontré qui?<br>he neg-has not met       who  | French |
|      | b. Ele não encontrou quem?<br>he not met       who<br>‘Who didn’t he meet?’  | BP     |

- (49) a. \* Il peut rencontrer qui? French  
           he can meet who  
       b. Ele pode encontrar quem? BP  
           he can meet who  
           ‘Who can he meet?’

Let us compare BP to Spanish now. Recall that Spanish has a Sentence Final Requirement (SFR) for Wh-in-situ questions, i.e., the Wh-phrase must be the last item in its intonational phrase. BP, on the other hand, does not exhibit the SFR. Actually, the Spanish order is impossible in this language, as the sentences in (50) show (cf. Spanish (18) above).

- (50) a. Eu convidei a Maria pra minha festa. BP  
           I invited the Mary to my party  
           ‘I invited Mary to my party.’  
       b. Você convidou quem pra sua festa?  
           you invited who to your party  
       c. \* Você convidou pra sua festa quem?  
           you invited to your party who  
           ‘Who did you invite to your party?’

As for Chinese, BP differs from it concerning Wh-adjuncts inside islands. Recall that Chinese has a difference between *where* and *when* on the one hand and *how* and *why* on the other hand. In BP, there is no difference in judgment between sentences with *where*, *when*, and *why*: they can all stay in situ inside an island, as in (51) (see below for *how*).

- (51) a. Você leu o livro que o Lisi escreveu (a)onde?  
           you read the book that the Lisi wrote where  
           ‘You read the book the Lisi wrote where?’

- b. Você leu o livro que o Lisi escreveu quando?  
you read the book that the Lisi wrote when  
‘You read the book that Lisi wrote when?’
- c. Você leu o livro que o Lisi escreveu por quê?  
you read the book that the Lisi wrote why  
‘You read the book that Lisi wrote why?’

As for Tsai’s (1996) and Stepanov & Tsai’s (2006) observations concerning *zenme* ‘how’ in Chinese, BP is also different. First of all, *como* ‘how’ does not have a reason reading. However, like its Chinese counterpart, it is ambiguous between a method and a style reading. Differently from Chinese, however, wherever *como* is in the sentence, both readings are always available. (52)-(55) show that whether sentential adverbials and modal verbs occur higher or lower than *como*, both method and style readings are still possible.

- (52) Como (que) o Akiu tomou banho aqui?  
how that the Akiu took bath here  
‘By what means did Akiu have a bath here?’  
‘With what style did Akiu have a bath here?’
- (53) O Akiu tomou banho aqui como?  
the Akiu took bath here how  
‘By what means did Akiu have a bath here?’  
‘With what style did Akiu have a bath here?’
- (54) Como (que) o Akiu vai/deve/pode sair?  
how that the Akiu will/must/may leave  
‘By what means will/must/may Akiu leave?’  
‘With what style will/must/may Akiu leave?’

- (55) O Akiu vai/deve/pode sair como?  
 the Akiu will/must/may leave how  
 ‘By what means will/must/may Akiu leave?’  
 ‘With what style will/must/may Akiu leave?’

In Chinese, when *zenme* scopes over negation, the only reading available is causal. In BP, however, both the method and style readings are available.

- (56) Akiu zenme bu xi che?  
 Akiu how not wash car  
 a. # 'How doesn't Akiu wash the car?'  
 b. 'Why doesn't Akiu wash the car?'  
 (57) Como (que) o Akiu não lavou o cachorro (ainda)?  
 how that the Akiu not washed the dog yet  
 ‘By what means has Akiu not washed the dog (yet)?’  
 ‘With what style has Akiu not washed the dog (yet)?’

When negation scopes over *zenme*, as in (58), even the method reading is out. In BP, however, both the method and style readings are still available in this context, as in (59).

- (58) \* Akiu bu zenme xi che?  
 Akiu not how wash car  
 '\* How doesn't Akiu wash the car?'  
 (59) O Akiu (ainda) não lavou o cachorro como?  
 the Akiu still not washed the dog how  
 ‘By what means has Akiu not washed the dog (yet)?’  
 ‘With what style has Akiu not washed the dog (yet)?’

Even within islands, *como* ‘how’ can have both a method and manner reading. For example, the question in (60) can be answered with a method (instrument) or manner, as in (61).

- (60) O Pedro chamou a polícia depois que o João bateu na Maria  
como?  
the Pedro called the police after that the Joao hit on-the Maria  
how  
‘Peter called the police after John hit Maria in what way?’

- (61) A1: Com a vassoura  
with the broom  
A2: Com violência / violentamente.  
with violence / violently

When, on the other hand, there is overt movement of the Wh, the sentence is completely unacceptable, as shown in (62).

- (62) \*Como o Pedro chamou a polícia depois que o João bateu na Maria?  
how the Pedro call the police after that the Joao hit on-the Maria



### 2.2.5. Interim Summary

In this section, I have shown similarities and differences concerning Wh in situ in BP and other languages. In order to satisfy explanatory adequacy, an analysis of BP Wh-in-situ must account for these similarities and differences.

First of all, the absence of the Sentence Final Requirement makes BP apparently very different from Spanish. As for French and Chinese, the main difference has to do with locality, more specifically, elements that block the licensing of the Wh in situ.

In section 2.4, I will propose a way to account for the behavior of Wh-in-situ questions in BP that can also accommodate the contrasts with the languages discussed above. Before that, I will introduce different ways of establishing covert relations and how they have been used to account for Wh-in-situ questions in French, Spanish, and Chinese.

## 2.3. Establishing covert relations

For many years, especially after Huang's (1982) seminal work, it was assumed that all Wh-phrases had to move, either overtly, like in English, or covertly, like in Chinese. This also held for quantifiers, which were assumed to need to obligatorily move in order to establish the scope relations perceived by

native speakers. In short, all Wh-elements and quantifiers must have moved by LF.

In the Minimalist Program, several alternatives to LF Movement have been proposed in order to account for covert dependencies. In what follows, I will introduce some of these alternatives and show how they have been used to account for Wh-in-situ questions in different languages.

### 2.3.1. Move F

Chomsky (1995), based on economy considerations, proposed that what moves in the LF component is not the whole phrase or head, but only the features that need to be checked. This covert feature movement is described by Chomsky as an instance of head movement, which means that its locality is more restricted than phrasal movement.

Bošković (1998) combines the Move-F analysis with an LF C-insertion hypothesis. He proposes that in French Wh-in-situ constructions there is a phonologically null C with a strong Wh-feature that is introduced in LF. In order for the C to be inserted in LF, it must not have phonological content (only phonologically null elements can be introduced in LF) and the insertion must be at the top of the tree (following the Extension Condition). Because this C has a strong feature, the Wh-phrase must move to check it as soon as it is introduced in

the structure.<sup>10</sup> Below is a more detailed presentation of the French data this analysis accounts for.

First of all, let us see what happens when C is not phonologically null. If C is overt, it must be inserted before Spell-Out, and, since it has a strong Wh-feature, the Wh must move overtly to check it as soon as it appears. (63) displays the relevant contrast. (63)b is unacceptable because the strong feature of *que* remains unchecked.

- (63) a. Qui **que** tu as vu?  
          who C you have seen  
      b. \***Que** tu a vu qui?  
          C you have seen who

In accordance with the Extension Condition, the null C must be inserted at the top of the tree. In this respect, Bošković presents the contrast in (64) involving embedded interrogatives, in which the interrogative C is in the embedded clause. In (64)a, the Wh moved to check C's strong feature before the matrix clause was present. In other words, C was inserted before Spell Out. In (64)b, the Wh does not move and the sentence is unacceptable. If it were possible to insert C in LF, we would expect the sentence to be fine. Bošković therefore assumes that the LF C-insertion derivation is blocked here because lexical insertion must expand the structure.

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<sup>10</sup> Recall that for Chomsky (1995), strong uninterpretable features are the ones that have to be checked and therefore eliminated as soon as they enter the structure (as opposed to weak features, which can wait until later in the derivation to be checked).

- (64) a. Pierre a demandé [<sub>CP</sub> C qui tu a vu t ]  
           Pierre has asked                   who you have seen  
       b. \* Pierre a demandé [<sub>CP</sub> C tu a vu qui]  
           Pierre has asked                   you have seen who

Once the C is inserted, its features need to be checked. Bošković argues that this is done via Move F. Because Move F is an instance of head movement, Relativized Minimality blocks it from crossing other heads of the same kind. This explains why Wh in situ is not possible in embedded declarative clauses: the embedded C, an A'-head, blocks A'-head movement of the Wh. In particular, in (65)a the head C (*que*), an A' head, has a blocking effect on feature movement of the Wh-phrase to the matrix C so that the strong feature of the null C remains unchecked. The sentence is fine if the Wh moves, as in (65)b. In this case, we are dealing with phrasal movement, so intervening heads do not matter. Once the strong feature of the null C is checked, it is acceptable to leave another Wh in situ, as in (65)c. Bošković argues that in (65)c matrix *qui* undergoes movement to C and checks C's strong +wh feature. As a result, there is no need for the embedded *qui* to undergo feature movement to C, in contrast to (65)a.

- (65) a. \*[<sub>CP</sub> C Jean crois [<sub>CP</sub> **que** Marie a vu qui  
           Jean believes   that Marie has seen who?  
       b. [<sub>CP</sub> Qui<sub>i</sub> C crois   Jean [<sub>CP</sub> **que** Marie a vu t<sub>i</sub>  
           who believes Jean   that Marie has seen  
           'Who does John believe that Mary has seen?'  
       c. Qui<sub>i</sub> t<sub>i</sub> crois   que Marie a vu qui  
           who believes that Marie has seen who  
           'Who believes that Mary has seen who?'

Furthermore, like C, other A'-heads, like negation, also block LF Wh-movement, as in (66).

- (66) a. ?\* Jean ne mange **pas** quoi?  
           Jean neg eats neg what  
       b. Qu'est-ce que Jean ne mange **pas**?  
           what that Jean neg eat not

In short, Bošković's (1998) analysis of French has two components: first, he shows that LF-C insertion is necessary; then, he shows what happens once the C has been inserted: he argues that C's features are checked via Move F. I will now apply the same reasoning to BP.

First of all, for detecting if LF-C insertion took place, Bošković (1998) uses two kinds of constructions: indirect questions, as in (67) and (68), and the presence of an overt C, as in (69) and (70).

- (67) a. Pierre a demandé [<sub>CP</sub> C qui tu a vu t ]                   French  
           Pierre has asked who you have seen  
       b. \* Pierre a demandé [<sub>CP</sub> C tu a vu qui]  
           Pierre has asked you have seen who

- (68) a. O Pedro perguntou quem você viu                           BP  
           the Pedro asked who you saw  
       b. \* O Pedro perguntou você viu quem  
           the Pedro asked you saw who

- (69) a. Qui **que** tu as vu?  
           who C you have seen                                   French  
       b. \* **Que** tu a vu qui?  
           C you have seen who

- (70) a. Quem **que** você viu? BP  
           who C you saw  
       b. \* **Que** você viu quem?  
           C you saw who

BP then behaves exactly like French in the relevant respects. This means that like French, BP Wh in situ can be analyzed as involving LF C insertion.

As for what happens once the C has been inserted, we will notice some differences in terms of locality. For example, whereas Wh in situ is not possible in an embedded declarative clause in French, it is allowed in BP. Recall that to Bošković (1998) this shows that there is movement of the Wh in French. (71)b, then, suggests that in BP there is no movement of the Wh, or at least not the same kind of movement as in French.

- (71) a. \*Jean et Pierre croient que Marie a vu qui? French  
           John and Peter believe that Mary has seen who  
       b. O João pensa que a Maria viu quem? BP  
           the John thinks that the Mary saw who

In sum, BP is like French when it comes to LF C-insertion, but differs from it in terms of locality. If there is a covert relation involved in Wh-movement in BP, it cannot be treated in terms of Move F.

### 2.3.2. Timing of Transfer to Spell Out

Nissenbaum (2000) adopts a one-cycle syntax, which does not assume a separate LF component. In this system, we get overt movement if the structure is sent to Spell Out after the movement takes place. Nissenbaum's approach to covert dependencies is to assume that overt movement does take place, but the structure is sent to Spell Out before it happens. Therefore, the structure that reaches PF has the moved element still in its original position. In other words, overt and covert movement take place in the same cycle; they only differ in the timing of transfer to Spell Out: transfer taking place after movement results in apparently overt movement, and before movement in apparently covert movement. This system then predicts that overt and covert movement should have the exact same locality. However, this analysis cannot be applied to BP.

Consider the questions in (72) and (73). Both involve an adjunct-Wh and an adjunct clause, which is an island. In (72), the Wh *como* 'how' can modify either *saiu* 'left' or *consertou* 'fixed'. Thus both answers 1 and 2 are adequate. However, in (73), where *como* moves to the specifier of the higher CP, the Wh can only modify the main clause. In other words, it cannot be extracted from inside the adjunct clause.

- (72) Q: O Pedro saiu depois que a Maria consertou o carro **como**?  
the Pedro left after that the Maria fixed the car how  
'Peter left after Mary fixed the car in what way?'  
A1: Ele saiu com pressa.  
he left with hurry  
'He left in a hurry.'

A2: Ela substitui a parte com defeito.  
she replaced the part with damage  
'She replaced the damaged part.'

(73) Q: **Como** o Pedro saiu depois que a Maria consertou o carro?  
how the Pedro left after that the Maria fixed the car  
'Peter left after Mary fixed the car in what way?'

A1: Ele saiu com pressa.  
he left with hurry  
'He left in a hurry.'

A2: \*Ela substitui a parte com defeito.  
she replaced the part with damage  
'She replaced the damaged part.'

If (72) and (73) involved the same kind of movement, and the difference between them were only the timing of transfer to Spell Out, we would expect both of them to have the same locality restrictions, which is not the case. Therefore, this approach will not be able to account for Wh in situ in BP. In fact, it cannot be applied to French either, since we would then lose the locality difference between (65)a and (65)b.

### 2.3.3. Pronunciation of lower copies

An approach for covert dependencies related to Nissenbaum's (2000) is to assume that there is overt movement, but the lower copy is pronounced instead of the higher one (see, for example, Bobaljik (1995), Bobaljik (2002), Brody (1995), Groat & O'Neil (1996), Pesetsky (1998)). Pronunciation of lower copies is often



argued to be motivated strictly by PF considerations, i.e., when pronouncing the higher copy would cause PF violations. For evidence, see Abels (2001), Bobaljik (2002), Bošković (2001, 2002b), Bošković & Nunes (2007), Franks (1998), Hiramatsu (2000), Lambova (2002, 2004), Landau (2003), Nunes (1995, 2004), Pesetsky (1998), Reglero (2004, 2007), Stjepanović (1999b, 2003).

As mentioned above, this is the approach taken by Reglero (2004, 2007) to account for Wh in situ in Spanish. According to her, in Spanish, the lower copy of the Wh is pronounced for focus reasons. As observed by Uribe-Etxebarria (2002), Spanish Wh-in-situ questions have a non-neutral order. Following Stjepanović (1999b, 2003), Reglero uses the Nuclear Stress Rule and Focus Prominence Rule of Zubizarreta (1998) to propose that, when the Wh is focalized, the lower copy of the Wh must be pronounced in Spanish in order for main stress to be assigned.

As I have shown in (18), repeated in (74), (Reglero 2004:17) points out that the neutral order of a Spanish sentence, (74)a, is ungrammatical in a Wh-in-situ question, as in (74)b. In her analysis, she provides evidence that the higher copy of *a Maria / a quien* is outside the VP in (74)a and (74)c, and the lower copy is inside VP. The lower copy must be pronounced in (74)c so that *a quien*, which is a +FOCUS element, can be assigned the most prominent stress (cf. Zubizarreta (1998)).

- |      |                                   |         |
|------|-----------------------------------|---------|
| (74) | Sentence Final Requirement (SFR)  | Spanish |
|      | a. Yo invité a Maria a mi fiesta. |         |
|      | I invited to Mary to my party     |         |
|      | ‘I invited Mary to my party.’     |         |

- b. \* Tú invitaste a quién a tu fiesta?  
you invited to who to your party
- c. Tú invistaste a tu fiesta a quién?  
you invited to your party to who  
'Who did you invite to your party?'

The main problem with using a pronunciation of lower copies approach to BP Wh in situ is the same as mentioned above for the timing of transfer to Spell Out approach: we would expect that, since movement takes place in exactly the same way in both moved-Wh and Wh-in-situ questions, the two would exhibit the same locality issues. As I have shown, this is not the case.

Furthermore, Reglero's lower copy pronunciation analysis of Spanish exactly as it is in BP Wh-in-situ questions would result in the non neutral order of Spanish, i.e., BP would be subject to the SFR. However, as shown in (50) and repeated in (75), BP uses the same order for neutral statements and Wh-in-situ questions, and changing this order to have the Wh at the end results in ungrammaticality.

- (75) a. Eu convidei a Maria pra minha festa. BP  
I invited the Mary to my party  
'I invited Mary to my party.'
- b. Você convidou quem pra sua festa?  
you invited who to your party
- c. \* Você convidou pra sua festa quem?  
you invited to your party who  
'Who did you invite to your party?'

Reglero's analysis, however, should not be applied as it is to BP, because focus seems to work differently in BP than in Spanish; the focalized element does

not have to be the most deeply embedded one in BP. This is exemplified by (76), which differs from Spanish, where the subject, when focalized, must be postverbal.

- (76) Q: Quem comeu o bolo?  
           Who ate the cake  
       A1: A Maria comeu.  
           the Maria ate  
       A2: \*Comeu a Maria.  
           ate the Maria  
           ‘Maria ate it.’

- (77) Q: Quién comió la torta?  
           Who ate the cake  
       A1: # Maria la comió.  
           Maria it ate  
       A2: La comió Maria.  
           it ate Maria  
           ‘Maria ate it.’

Because of this, pronouncing the Wh in its focus position (which is the result of Reglero’s system) would not necessarily require pronunciation of a lower copy of the Wh in BP.

#### 2.3.4. Agree

Chomsky (2000, 2001) proposes that there is no such thing as LF movement, and covert relations are established through the operation Agree between a probe and a goal. According to Chomsky, Agree, like Move, is

restricted by the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), which dictates that a probe cannot agree with a goal that is inside another phase (unless it is at the edge of this phase; see Chomsky (2000, 2001) for details).

One of the conclusions of Bošković (1998) is that covert A'-movement is more restricted than overt A'-movement, contra Huang (1982). Using Agree instead of covert movement, this amounts to saying that Agree involving A'-dependencies is more local than Move involving A'-dependencies. In Bošković (2007b), however, the author gives strong evidence that while Move is subject to the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), Agree is not.<sup>11</sup> Although these two conclusions seem contradictory, Bošković (2007b) shows that it is possible to keep the LF C insertion analysis in more recent Minimalist framework.

Recall that Bošković's (1998) conclusion that covert movement (Agree in the current framework) is more restricted than overt movement (Move) was based on French, which allows the Wh to stay in situ in a matrix sentence as in (78)a, but not in an embedded one like (78)b, even when the overt-Wh-movement version of the same sentence is possible as in (78)c.

- (78) a. Marie a vu qui?  
           Marie has seen who  
           'Who did Marie see?'  
       b. \* Jean et Pierre croient que Marie a vu qui?  
           Jean and Pierre believe that Marie has seen who  
       c. Qui Jean et Pierre croient-ils que Marie a vu?

---

<sup>11</sup> This claim is controversial, though (see also Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2005)).

Bošković (2007a) proposes that in (78)b, the matrix C, the embedded C, and the Wh-phrase are all specified for the Wh-feature. Although the specifications may be different (+, -, or unvalued), what matters in his analysis is that what is involved is the same kind of feature, here a Wh-feature, regardless of its value (see also Boeckx & Jeong (2004)). What happens in (78)b is a Relativized-Minimality kind of effect, which he calls Agree Closest: the matrix C cannot establish an Agree relation with the embedded clause Wh-phrase, due to the intervening embedded complementizer, which is specified for the Wh-feature. Again, although the embedded complementizer's feature is -Wh, it is still a Wh-feature, and this is enough for intervention effects to occur.

When it comes to moved elements, like the Wh-phrase in (78)c, let me first briefly summarize Bošković's (2007b) approach to successive-cyclic movement. In his system, what drives movement is an uninterpretable feature in the moving element, and not in the target. According to him, having an uninterpretable feature forces an element to become a probe in order to look for a goal that can check this feature (see also Epstein & Seely (2006), Abels (2003), and Boeckx (2003a, 2006)). One crucial element in his analysis is that there is no feature checking going on in intermediate positions, which is also argued for in Boeckx (2003b) and Bošković (2005, 2007b).

Back to (78)c, Bošković (2007a,b) proposes that the Wh-phrase moves to the embedded SpecCP, crossing the embedded C, in order to escape the phase that is sent to Spell-Out, i.e. the complement of the phase head C (if it does not, its uninterpretable feature would remain unchecked). No intervention effects arise,

since this is done at the point when the matrix C is not even present in the structure. Because successive cyclic movement is independent of the final target of movement and does not involve feature checking with intermediate heads, the Wh-phrase can skip the embedded C without any intervention effect arising.

Bošković's (2007a) conclusion is then that although in principle we would expect Agree to be less local than Move since only the latter is subject to the PIC, in practice this is often not the case because of successive cyclic movement, which enables Move to skip potential interveners that do affect Agree.<sup>12</sup> In this sense, once there is Relativized Minimality, or Agree Closest, the PIC very often becomes redundant for Agree (see Bošković (2007b)).

Although Bošković's (2007b) updated analysis of French Wh in situ accounts for the locality issues involving an intervening C, recall that there are other interveners in French, like quantifiers, negation, and modals. The relevant examples are in (11)-(13), repeated below as (79)-(81).

- (79) a. \* Tous les étudiantes ont rencontré qui?  
           all the students have met who  
           'Who did all the students meet?'

- (80) a. \* Il n'a pas rencontré qui?  
           he neg-has not met who  
           'Who didn't he meet?'

- (81) a. \* Il peut rencontrer qui?  
           he can meet who  
           'Who can he meet?'

---

<sup>12</sup> In other words, Relativized Minimality effects are then "stronger" with Agree than with Move.

In Bošković's (1998) Move F analysis, these interveners would be considered to be A'-heads, so they would block A'-movement. However, in order to make these examples conform to Bošković's updated analysis, we would have to say that the quantifier *tous*, negation *pas*, and the modal *peut* all have a wh feature as well, which seems implausible. One possibility suggested by Željko Bošković (p.c.) is that the relevant feature is some kind of operator feature.

Recall, however, that in any case BP does not have these locality effects, so it needs an analysis that is different from French. If French Wh in situ should be treated in terms of Agree, BP then needs a different approach.

### 2.3.5. Unselective Binding

Recall that among Chinese Wh-adjuncts there is a contrast between *where* and *when* on the one hand and *how* and *why* on the other. The relevant examples are repeated below.

- (82) [NP [S ta zai nali pai] de dianying] zui hao?  
           he at where film DE movie most good  
           'Movies that he filmed where are the best?'

- (83) [NP [S ta (zai) shemeshihou pai] de dianying] zui hao?  
           he (at) when film DE movie most good  
           'Movies that he filmed when are the best?'

- (84) \*<sub>[NP [S ta weishenme xie] de shu] zui youqu?</sub>  
           he why               write DE book most interesting  
           ‘Books that he wrote why are most interesting?’
- (85) \*<sub>[NP [S ta zenme xie] de shu] zui youqu?</sub>  
           he how       write DE book most interesting  
           ‘Books that he wrote how are the most interesting?’

According to Huang, the reason for this contrast is that *when* and *where* contain NPs in Chinese. He shows (p. 530) that *nali* ‘where’ is always preceded by the preposition *zai* and that *shemeshihou* ‘when’ literally means ‘what time’. The presence of an NP is relevant to Huang because it makes *where* and *when* look like *who* and *what*. This will also be relevant for Unselective Binding, as I show below.

Aoun & Li (1993a), Reinhart (1995, 1998, 2006), and Tsai (1994b, 1998), among others, have convincingly shown that, contra Huang (1982), covert movement is not a requirement for licensing Chinese Wh in situ. They show that analyzing Chinese Wh in situ as not moving has greater empirical coverage. Their proposal is that the mechanism that is needed is Unselective Binding.

According to Reinhart’s (1998) Unselective Binding analysis, Wh in situ is an indefinite that introduces a choice function which ranges over a variable of semantic type  $\langle e \rangle$ . This function applies to the LF representation of a sentence, which means that restrictions on movement, like islands, are not relevant for it. Besides, because the function applies unselectively, all type  $\langle e \rangle$  variables can be



bound. Recall that in Chinese Wh-adverbials cannot be licensed when embedded within an island. Reinhart claims that this is because adverbials do not introduce a type  $\langle e \rangle$  variable, and so cannot be unselectively bound. Because of that, Wh-adverbials must be licensed within a CP. In other words, Wh-adverbials have to move and that is why they are sensitive to islands. Reinhart (1995, 1998, 2006) presents the following contrast<sup>13</sup> between sentences containing *how* and *what way* to support her Unselective Binding approach.

- (86) a. \*Who fainted after you behaved how?  
 b. Who fainted after you behaved what way?

In both sentences, *how* and *what way* cannot move from inside the adjunct island, since this would yield a locality violation. They need then to be licensed by Unselective Binding. The reason for the contrast according to Reinhart is that in (86)b the Wh *what way* contains a nominal element, which means it can introduce a type  $\langle e \rangle$  variable, and hence can be Unselectively Bound, whereas *how* in (86)a does not contain a nominal element, so do not introduce a type  $\langle e \rangle$  variable and hence cannot be Unselectively Bound. Similar sentences to (86) in BP are in (87).

- (87) a. Quem desmaiou depois que você se comportou como?  
           who fainted after that you REFL behaved how  
 b. Quem desmaiou depois que você se comportou de que jeito?  
           who fainted after that you REFL behaved of what way

---

<sup>13</sup> Jonathan Bobaljik (p.c.) pointed out that not all speakers see a contrast here. Although this is a potential problem for Reinhart's analysis, I will leave this issue aside here.

There is no difference in acceptance between (87)a and b. *Como* and *de que jeito* cannot move from inside the island, which means that they would need to be licensed by Unselective Binding. I will return to this below.

Tsai's (1995, 1998) and Stepanov & Tsai's (2006) approach is very similar to Reinhart's, except that they have a categorial rather than semantic criterion for Unselective Binding to apply. They claim that there are advantages to using a categorial rather than a semantic criterion, but in fact for the most part the two approaches give the same results. According to them, Whs containing a nominal element can introduce a variable that can be subject to Unselective Binding, whereas Wh adverbs are operators and thus cannot be unselectively bound. This explanation accounts for why not all Wh-adjuncts behave the same way when it comes to licensing: some of them contain a nominal element. We have seen earlier that Chinese has some intervention effects for licensing Wh in situ in the case of *why* and *how*. Tsai (1994b), Hsin (1997), and Stepanov & Tsai (2006) agree that these intervention effects appear when Unselective Binding is blocked because the Wh does not have a nominal element.

One last point about Unselective Binding is that it is necessary in French as well for the licensing of multiple-Wh-questions. For example, Bošković (1998) argues that in (88), the Wh that stays in situ, namely *qui*, has to be licensed via Unselective Binding. This is the reason why (88) differs from (65)a, repeated in (89): while *qui* in (88) can be unselectively bound, since the wh-feature of C is

checked by the higher *qui*, the *qui* in (89) must undergo feature checking with the matrix C.

(88) [CP Qui<sub>i</sub> C t<sub>i</sub> crois [CP **que** Marie a vu qui  
           who believes that Marie has seen who  
           ‘Who believes that Mary has seen who?’

(89) \*[CP C Jean crois [CP **que** Marie a vu qui  
           Jean believes that Marie has seen who?

### 2.3.6. Interim Summary

In this section, I showed that Wh in situ in BP seems to require a different analysis from Spanish, but bears some similarities to Chinese and French. First of all, like French, BP shows signs of LF-C insertion. What differs is that French has locality effects that are absent from BP. This makes BP similar to Chinese in this sense, but it seems that the former is even freer than the latter with respect to locality.

If we take Wh in situ in BP to be licensed as in Chinese, i.e. via Unselective Binding, one question remains: why is it that in BP all adjuncts seem to be able to undergo Unselectively Binding? If we, on the other hand, take BP Wh in situ to be licensed like in French, i.e., via Agree, the question is then why there is no Agree Closest violation like in French, or, in other words, why BP allows long-distance Wh in situ in contrast to French.

The main difference between Agree and Unselective Binding is that while Agree is a syntactic feature-checking relation with syntactic restrictions, Unselective Binding is an interpretation mechanism and is not subject to syntactic intervention effects.

In the next section, I will outline an analysis that can account for the facts of BP and also predict the differences between this language and Chinese and French.

## **2.4. Where does BP stand?**

### **2.4.1. Wh-Phrases and Focused Phrases**

Beck (2006) investigates intervening effects that focusing elements have in sentences containing Wh in situ crosslinguistically. She proposes that Wh-questions are interpreted by the same mechanism as focus. Broadly, the main aspect that they have in common is that they both introduce a set of alternatives. Following Kim (2002), she presents the following observation (p.5).

- (90) A quantificational or focusing element may not intervene<sup>14</sup> between a Wh-phrase and its licensing complementizer.

---

<sup>14</sup> Beck (2006) defines intervention in terms of c-command and provides the following list of possible interveners (p.3): *only, even, also, not, (almost) every, no, most, few* (and other nominal quantifiers), *always, often, never* (and other adverbial quantifiers)

Furthermore, Beck follows Rooth (1985, 1992) in taking focused phrases to have the following twofold contribution: 1) their ordinary semantic<sup>15</sup> value and 2) a set of alternatives of the same type. Wh-phrases in her view, on the other hand, make no ordinary semantic contribution; they only contribute a set of alternatives. In other words, they affect the focus-semantic interpretation, but have no ordinary semantic interpretation. In order for Wh-phrases to be able to occur in expressions that have a well-defined ordinary semantic value, they must be “rescued” by a question operator. The structure of a question like *Who left*, for Beck (2006:12) is in (91). An example of an alternative set is in (92)a. A more general set of propositions is in (92)b, given more formally in (92)c.

(91) [Q [who left] ]

- (92) a. {that John left, that Bill left, that Arnelie left, ...}  
 b. {that x left | x is an individual}  
 c.  $\lambda p \exists x [p = \lambda w. x \text{ left in } w]$

For focused phrases not containing a Wh, Beck uses Rooth’s  $\sim$  operator, which is another focus-sensitive operator that evaluates the focus on an XP. Differently from the Q operator, though, the  $\sim$  operator considers focus semantics and ordinary semantics as well. According to Beck (2006:13) “in order to derive the semantics of ‘Only John left’, we need to consider both the proposition that John left, and alternative propositions ‘that x left’ for alternatives x to John.”

---

<sup>15</sup> The ordinary-semantic value of a constituent is the same interpretation it would have were it not focused, as opposed to its focus-semantic value, which is the value assigned to a distinguished variable by a variable assignment function.

Let us now put together focus phrases and Wh-in-situ questions. Beck (2006:16) gives the structure of (93)a in (93)b. Because the Wh-phrase's ordinary semantic interpretation is undefined, the interpretation of IP1 is also undefined. IP2 will also be undefined, and the focus operator  $\sim$  neutralizes the focus semantic value of the phrase. Because the Wh-phrase only had a focus semantic value, IP2 is left with no well-defined meaning. This will also be true for IP3, and the Q operator will have nothing to evaluate. Therefore, a Wh-phrase must have as its first c-commanding operator a Q operator, otherwise it will be uninterpretable.

- (93) a. \*Only JOHN saw who?  
 b.  $[_{CP} Q_2 [_{IP3} \text{only}_C [_{IP2} \sim_C [_{IP1} \text{John}_{F1} \text{saw who}_2]]]]]$

In her article, Beck includes examples of intervention effects with Wh in situ in Korean, Malayalam, Hindi, Japanese, Mandarin, Turkish, French, German, Dutch, Passamaquoddy, and Thai.

Finally, Beck extends her analysis to account for multiple foci, NPI licensing, and alternative questions. She shows that the same intervention effects seem to hold in these contexts.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> One potential caveat of Beck's analysis is that not all languages display the same intervention effects. She acknowledges this and says that crosslinguistic variation concerns "(i) the syntactic circumstances under which intervention effects arise, (ii) the set of problematic interveners, and (iii) the wh-phrases that are sensitive to interveners" (p.8). BP is one of the languages in which Wh in situ is not sensitive to interveners. I will talk more about this later in this chapter. A thorough analysis of what counts as an intervener in which language is beyond the scope of this paper. What will be relevant for me is Beck's conclusion that in many languages quantificational or focusing elements are not allowed to intervene between a Wh-phrase and its licenser.

## 2.4.2. Moved vs. In Situ

In his discussion of French, Mathieu (2004) argues that there is a difference between a moved and an in-situ Wh question related to scope interactions. He proposes a split DP-structure in Wh-in-situ questions: an operator (Op) is separated from its semantic restriction, i.e., the Wh-phrase. (94) shows Mathieu's (2004:1112) structure of a Wh-in-situ question in French.

- (94) [SpecCP Op<sub>i</sub> Tu a lu t<sub>i</sub> quoi]?  
          you have read what

As evidence for his approach, Mathieu mentions one case in which the Wh-phrase is split overtly in French is in *combien de* constructions. He shows that Wh-in-situ questions in French have the same scope effects as split *combien de* constructions, whereas moved-Wh questions behave similarly to non split *combien de* questions.

The first scope effect Mathieu (2004:1109) shows is the ambiguity in (95), originally noted in de Swart (1992):391. He reports that (95)a is not ambiguous, it can only have a pair-list reading. He claims that this is so because even though the Wh moves, the indefinite it is associated with, *de livres*, stays in situ. In turn, (95)b is ambiguous between a pair-list reading (“for all persons, how many books has each one read”) and an individual reading (“how many books are such that everyone read them”).

- (95) a. Combien<sub>i</sub> ont-ils tous lu t<sub>i</sub> de livres?  
           how many have-they all read of books  
       b. Combien de livres<sub>i</sub> ont-ils tous lus t<sub>i</sub>?  
           how many of books have-they all read  
           ‘How many books have you read?’

Similar scope effects happen in Wh-in-situ questions. First of all, according to Mathieu’s judgments, (96)a, with the Wh in situ, has no wide scope reading for the Wh-phrase. He adds that “although it is not so easy to get a pair-list interpretation, it is not completely ruled out. (...) On the other hand, [(96)b] is typically associated with a specific/individual reading” (p. 1110).<sup>17</sup>

- (96) a. Ils ont tous fait quoi?  
           they have all done what  
       b. Qu<sub>i</sub>’est-ce que ils ont tous fait t<sub>i</sub>?  
           what-is-it that they have all done  
           ‘What have they all done?’

Recall that negation blocks Wh in situ in French. Likewise, it also blocks split *combien de*-phrases. In (97)a and b we can see that splitting *combien* from *de livres* results in ungrammaticality, just like when the full phrase is left in situ. In contrast, moving the whole phrase, as in (97)c, rescues the structure.

- (97) a. \* Combien<sub>i</sub> n’as-tu pas lu t<sub>i</sub> de livres?  
           how-many NEG-have-you not read of books

---

<sup>17</sup> Chang (1997), Cheng & Rooryck (2000), and Beck (2006) completely rule out Wh-in-situ questions with quantifiers. Mathieu reports that it is not easy to get the pair-list interpretation, but it is not completely ruled out. My interpretation of Mathieu’s claim is that although the sentence is not good, you can still force a pair-list interpretation on it, but not an individual reading. That is, what is important is the difference between these two readings, wherein one is worse than the other.



- b. \* Tu n'as pas lu combien de livres?  
       you NEG-have not read how-many of books  
 c. Combien de livres<sub>i</sub> n'as tu pas lu?  
       how-many of books NEG-have you not read  
 'How many books haven't you read?'

Let us now check if Mathieu's observations on scope interaction apply to BP. First consider (98), which is the BP correspondent of French (96). Recall that Mathieu reports that in French, when the Wh-phrase is in situ a pair-list reading (if any at all) is preferred, while an individual reading is preferred with a moved Wh. In BP, however, there is no scope difference between a moved and an in-situ Wh-phrase: both sentences in (98) are equally ambiguous between a pair-list and an individual reading.

- (98) a. Eles todos fizeram o quê?  
       they all did what  
       b. O que eles todos fizeram?  
           what they all did  
       'What did they all do?'

Besides, recall that the Wh can stay in situ in BP in the presence of negation. The BP sentences corresponding to (96) are in (100).

- (99) a. Quantos livros você não comprou?  
       how-many books you not bought  
       b. Você não comprou quantos livros?  
           you not bought how-many books

One last comparison to make concerns the use of *combien de* in French and its correspondent in BP, *quantos*. Contrary to its French counterpart, it is not possible to split Wh-phrases that contain *quantos*, as shown in (100) and (101).

- |       |  |        |
|-------|--|--------|
| (100) | a. Combien as-tu lu de livres?<br>how-many have-you read of books<br>b. Combien de livres as-tu lu?<br>how-many of books have-you read<br>'How many books did you read?' | French |
| (101) | a. *Quantos você leu (de) livros?<br>how-many you read of books<br>b. Quantos livros você leu?<br>how-many books you read<br>'How many books did you read?'              | BP     |

In short, these differences between BP and French with regards to the behavior of *combien*-questions and Wh-in-situ questions may suggest that although in French a Wh-phrase can be split, in BP it cannot.<sup>18</sup> In the next section I will show how this affects the behavior of Wh-in-situ questions in the two languages.

---

<sup>18</sup> No correlation has been shown crosslinguistically in the literature between the availability of a *how many*-NP split and Wh-in-situ behaviors like the ones in French and BP. In fact, Jonathan Bobaljik (p.c.) points out German and Canadian French as two languages that seem to lack this correlation altogether. This is, therefore, not a strong correlation, but a suggestion that there might be a correlation.

### 2.4.3. French and BP

I will now combine the proposals made by Bošković (1998, 2007b), Beck (2006), and Mathieu (2004) in order to account for the differences between BP and French. Recall that in Section 3 I showed that whereas both languages seemed to have a null C inserted after Spell Out in the cases of Wh in situ, French has some locality constraints that are not present in BP.

First of all, I will follow, among others, Watanabe (1992), Aoun & Li (1993a), Mathieu (2004), and Beck (2006) in assuming that the Wh-phrase needs a Q operator to be licensed and that this operator can move.

When considering a movement alternative to her proposal, Beck (2006:48) says: “Hagstrom (1998) is something of an exception in that his syntactic analysis in which Q itself moves (not a Wh-phrase), can potentially be combined with my proposals on interpretation and intervention. An anonymous reviewer and Elke Kasimir (p.c.) suggest to me that the movement of Q may be related to how Q gets its binder indices, and indeed to the fact that Q is selective. I see the appeal of tying selectivity to an existing formal connection (and reserving unselectivity for cases where there is no such formal connection).” In other words, when Q moves from the Wh and both are coindexed, Q selectively binds the Wh, which means that if there is an X between Q and Wh that could potentially be bound by Q, then the Wh will not be bound. If Q does not move, which means it is generated directly in its target position, it can unselectively bind as many elements as it needs to, which means that an X between Q and Wh will not block the binding.

Based on Beck's suggestion, I will assume that the relationship between Q and the Wh-phrase can be implemented in one of the two ways in (102). First of all, in (102)a, Q is part of the Wh-phrase and is moved out of it; as a result, it will selectively bind the Wh. In (102)b, Q is generated on top of C and can unselectively bind all the Whs in the sentence.<sup>19</sup>

- (102) a. [<sub>CP</sub> Q<sub>i</sub> C ... [t<sub>i</sub> Wh] ]  
       b. [<sub>CP</sub> Q C ... [Wh] ]

I will assume then that French Wh-phrases are as in (102)a. In other words, I assume that the Q/Wh split is achieved through movement. On the other hand, I assume (102)b for BP Wh-phrases, for which I assume that Q does not move away from the Wh part.

I will also assume with Bošković (1998) that C can be inserted overtly or covertly, which will be responsible respectively for moved and in-situ Wh-questions. Finally, following Bošković (2007b), I assume that [Q Wh] can optionally have an uninterpretable feature, which I will just call uF for convenience, that drives Wh-movement.<sup>20</sup>

In the following subsections, I will consider the results of the potential scenarios in (103) and which combinations can consistently account for the observed differences between French and BP Wh in situ.

---

<sup>19</sup> I will not be concerned here with the exact internal structure of the Wh-phrase. One approach is given by Boeckx (2000b), who suggests that a Wh-phrase is a DP with Q being the determiner.

<sup>20</sup> This is the reanalysis in Bošković (2005)'s system of the strong +wh feature of C. In other words, this could be a property of languages that were previously considered to have a strong +wh feature in C. This would hold for English, French, and BP, though not for Chinese. See Bošković (2007b) regarding Chinese.

- (103) 1. Q moves out of the Wh-phase
- a) C inserted overtly
    - Q has uF
    - Q has no uF
  - b) C inserted in LF
    - Q has uF
    - Q has no uF
2. Q generated outside of the Wh-phase
- a) C inserted overtly
    - Q has uF
    - Q has no uF
  - b) C inserted in LF
    - Q has uF
    - Q has no uF

I will use the approach in Bošković (2007b) to Wh-movement, presented in section 2.3.4 and briefly summarized here. When an element X has an uninterpretable feature uF, it must become a probe to eliminate this uF. In order to become a probe, X must move. What drives movement is this uF property of the moving element, not the EPP property of the target (i.e. the “I-need-a-Spec”-property), which is in fact eliminated in Bošković’s system.<sup>21</sup> If X does not move by the time its phase is sent to Spell Out, the structure will crash. If there is no feature that X can probe, X moves to the edge of its phase so that it can escape it and look for a checker in another phase. Crucially, when X moves to the edge of its phase just in order to escape from the phase, no feature checking takes place. As a result, X still has uF and continues moving. One more assumption I will share with Bošković is that interrogative C always has an uninterpretable feature in all languages.

---

<sup>21</sup> So, movement is never target-driven in Bošković’s system. As we will see below, Agree is always target-driven.

In the derivations, I will use English glosses for ease of exposition, but the sentences should be taken to be their correspondents in French and BP.

### 2.4.3.1. French

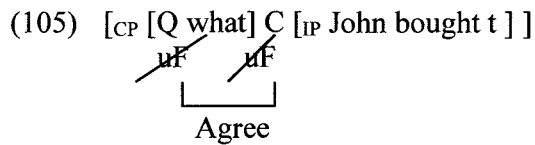
Recall that I argued that in French the Q is generated in the Wh-phrase. I will first consider the derivation where Q has  $uF^{22}$  and C is inserted overtly. This derivation will be relevant for both French and BP, but let us look at French first. In (104)a, Q has the uninterpretable  $uF$ , and therefore needs to move. For ease of exposition, I will ignore  $vP$  as a phase. In (104)b, still in overt syntax, C is inserted and also has  $uF$ . Q's  $uF$  now can be eliminated after movement to Spec CP.

- (104) a. [<sub>IP</sub> John bought [Q what] ] ]  
          uF  
  
       b. [<sub>CP</sub> C [<sub>IP</sub> John bought [Q what] ] ]  
          uF                                  uF

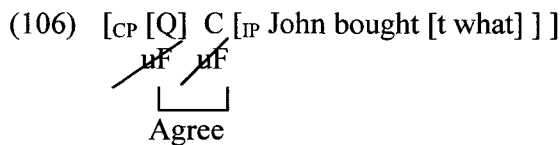
There are two possibilities for Q to check its uF: it can move by itself or the whole Wh-phrase can move. Let us first consider what happens when the whole Wh-phrase moves. In (105), we can see that [Q what] probes C and the uFs

<sup>22</sup> For ease of exposition, I will assume that the uF is in Q.

are eliminated as a result.<sup>23</sup> In LF, Q can bind the Wh since nothing intervenes between them.<sup>24</sup>



Another possibility is that Q moves alone, as in (106). As before, the uFs can be eliminated and Q can bind the Wh.



So far, the system allows for Q to move alone or for the whole Wh-phrase to move. The former can derive (107)a and the latter, (107)b, since the Wh-phrase itself does not move although C is inserted overtly.<sup>25</sup>

- (107) a. Qui as-tu vu? French  
           who have-you seen  
       b. Tu a vu qui?  
           you have seen who  
           ‘Who did you see?’

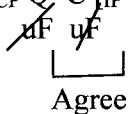
<sup>23</sup> Note that Bošković’s system, which does not involve feature valuation, allows feature checking between two uninterpretable features. Note also that this option needs to be allowed even in a system with valuation, as has been argued for in Bošković (to appear).

<sup>24</sup> The C is in the same domain as Q, hence it does not count as an intervener (see Chomsky (1995)).

<sup>25</sup> This could also derive the corresponding sentences in BP. However, as I have argued above, Q is not generated inside the Wh in BP. I will consider BP in the next subsection.

Suppose that we extend the structure in (106) and make it an indirect question, as in (108). Because all uFs have been eliminated, the prediction is that (108) should be good.

(108) Peter asked [<sub>CP</sub> Q C [<sub>IP</sub> John [<sub>VP</sub> bought [what] ] ]



The diagram shows the structure of (108) with the following elements:
 

- A bracketed structure: [<sub>CP</sub> Q C [<sub>IP</sub> John [<sub>VP</sub> bought [what] ] ]
- Below the Q and C nodes, there are two 'uF' labels.
- A bracket connects the two 'uF' labels.
- Below this bracket is the word 'Agree'.

However, (109) shows that (108) is not possible in French. This is undesirable.

(109) \*Peter a demandé Jean a acheté quoi?

Therefore, based on empirical evidence, we can see that when C is inserted overtly in French, the [Q Wh] must move together. I will make the assumption that, at PF, Q cannot be separated from the Wh. At this point, this is a stipulation for French, but we will see that it also holds for BP.

Let us now consider what happens if C is inserted overtly and the Q has no uF. In (110)b, C enters the structure with uF. Q has no uF, so it does not move. In (111) we see that there is nothing in [Spec, CP] that probes C. If C acts as a probe, it will find no appropriate goal. Therefore, uF cannot be eliminated and this structure will crash.



- (110) a. [<sub>IP</sub> John bought [Q what] ] ]  
           b. [<sub>CP</sub> C [<sub>IP</sub> John bought [Q what] ] ]  
                   uF

- (111) [<sub>CP</sub> C [<sub>IP</sub> John bought [Q what] ] ]  
           uF  
           └───────────────────. ???  
                   Agree

So far, then, we can conclude for French that when C is inserted overtly, Q needs to have a uF and the whole Wh-phrase, not Q alone, must move.

I will now turn to the derivations involving LF C-insertion.<sup>26</sup> Before Spell Out, we have (112), with Q having uF. Q or the Wh-phrase must move, but so far there is no landing site that will allow uF to be eliminated.

- (112) [<sub>IP</sub> John bought [Q what] ]  
                   uF

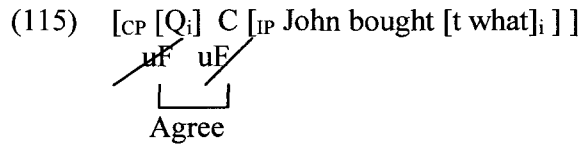
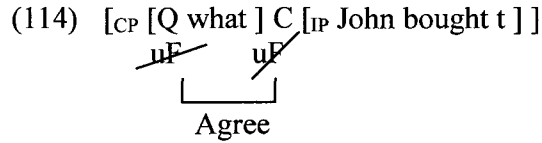
In LF, C is inserted and the uF of [Q what] can be checked after movement to probe C.

- (113) [<sub>CP</sub> C [<sub>IP</sub> John bought [Q what] ] ]  
           uF                                  uF

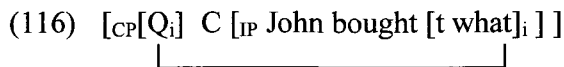
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<sup>26</sup> I am updating Bošković's (1998) system, which assumed strong features of the target to be the driving force for movement (under the "virus" approach to strong features), by adopting the assumption that an uninterpretable feature must be checked as soon as possible. Here, checking uF overtly is not possible, since there is no C yet. When the C is inserted overtly, it is possible, hence the checking must take place overtly in that case.

Once again, there are two ways of checking uF: Q can move alone or the whole Wh-phrase can move. In the latter case, we have (114), and in the former, (115).

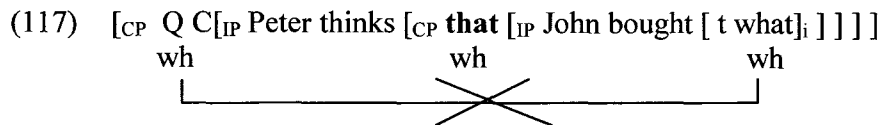


I will assume that in principle Q can be separated from the Wh-phrase in LF. Given economy conditions, i.e. the preference to carry as little material as possible under movement (Chomsky (1995), Bošković (2004), Stateva (2002)), the option of Q moving alone should be preferred. Let us then continue on this assumption and see what the predictions are. (116) shows that Q can bind the Wh, since there are no interveners.



According to Beck's (2006) suggestion discussed above, I am assuming that because Q moves out of the Wh-phrase, it selectively binds the Wh. Therefore, in order for this binding to take place, there can be no interveners

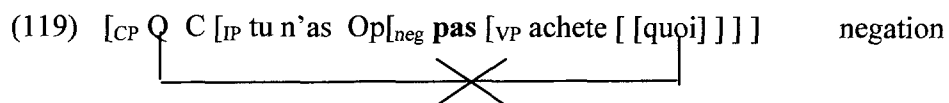
between them. On that assumption, we would expect that a Wh element between Q and the Wh will block the binding of the Wh by Q, as in (117).



This prediction is borne out in French, as we can see by the impossibility of (118).

- (118) \*Peter croit  $[_{CP} \text{que Jean a acheté quoi?}]$   
 Peter believes that Jean has bought what  
 ‘What does Peter think that John bought?’

If the restriction in (117) applies for French, we would expect other intervening effects as well. Recall that Beck observes that operators and quantifiers cannot intervene between Q and the Wh that it selectively binds. (119)-(121), none of which are possible in French, show that this prediction is borne out.<sup>27</sup>



<sup>27</sup> Beck does not mention if modals are interveners in any language. Considering modals to be quantifiers over possible worlds (cf. Heim & Kratzer (1998)), it is reasonable to assume that they behave like other quantifiers, i.e. that they should be interveners as well.



several languages. It is, then, blocked in French for independent reasons (see Bošković 2007b). Giving uF only to *what* would force it to move over *who*, yielding a Superiority violation (see Bošković 2007b for discussion of how the option is ruled out in his system). So the only possibility is for *who* to have uF, as in (125).

(124) [ [Q who] bought [Q what] ]

(125) [<sub>CP</sub> C [Q who] bought [Q what] ]  
           uF

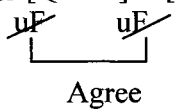
If the C is inserted before Spell Out, we have (126). If it is inserted in LF, we have (127). In both cases, uF of Q and C are eliminated, and both Qs can selectively bind their Whs.

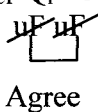
(126) [<sub>CP</sub> [Q who] C t bought [Q what] ]  
           ~~uF~~      ~~uF~~  
           └────────┘  
           Agree

(127) [<sub>CP</sub> Q<sub>i</sub> C [t who]<sub>i</sub> t bought [Q what] ]  
           ~~uF~~ ~~uF~~  
           └───┘  
           Agree

One prediction that can be made here for French is that in the case of multiple Whs, interveners like negation will not in fact intervene between Q and

Wh for either *who* or *what*, and so it should be possible to have negation in (128) or (129).

(128) [CP [Q who] C [not bought [Q what] ] ]  


(129) [CP Q<sub>i</sub> C [t who]<sub>i</sub> t [not bought [Q what] ] ]  


This prediction is in fact borne out in French, since (130) is acceptable, as noted in Bošković (1998).

(130) Qui n'a pas acheté quoi?  
 who NEG-has not bought what

Let me summarize my conclusions for French up to this point. For the system presented so far, a moved-Wh question is generated under the conditions in (131), whereas a Wh-in-situ question has the conditions in (132).

(131) Moved Wh  
 - C is inserted before Spell Out  
 - Q has uF  
 - at PF, Q and Wh must not be non-adjacent  
 - Q selectively binds the Wh

- (132) Wh in situ
- C inserted in LF
  - Q has uF
  - Q moves alone
  - Q selectively binds the Wh

#### 2.4.3.2. Brazilian Portuguese

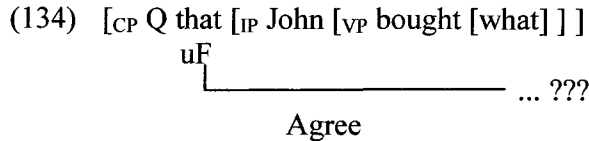
I am assuming here that in BP Q does not move from [Q Wh]; instead, it is inserted on top of C. Let us first consider the possibility of the Wh having uF and C being inserted before Spell Out. In (133)a, *what* has uF. In (133)b, C is inserted and *what* can move to Spec CP to be a probe. From there, it undergoes feature checking with C and their uFs are eliminated. Because Q did not move from inside the Wh-phrase, it does not have to selectively bind a Wh. It is, then, an unselective binder. (133)c illustrates Q licensing *what* in LF via Unselective Binding (UB).

- (133) a. [<sub>IP</sub> John [<sub>VP</sub> bought [what] ] ]  
uF

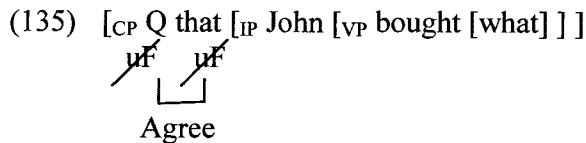
- b. [<sub>CP</sub> [what] C [<sub>IP</sub> John [<sub>VP</sub> bought t ] ]
- uF uF
- Agree

- c.  $[_{CP} Q \text{ [what]} \text{ } C [_{IP} \text{ John } [_{VP} \text{ bought } t ] ]]$   
 UB

If the Wh has no uF and does not move, C's uF will not be checked. We can see this clearly when the C has phonological content, which means it is inserted before LF.<sup>28</sup>



Assuming the overtly inserted Q also has a uF, the uF of C can be checked, as in (135). In this case, I will use the same assumption I made for French: Q and the Wh cannot be separated at PF. French and BP then do not differ in the relevant respect.



In short, there is no way the system can generate a good sentence when C is inserted overtly and the Wh is left in situ in BP. This is a desirable result, as the ungrammaticality of (136)a in BP shows. In (136)b, *o que* 'what' has uF and therefore moves, allowing C's uF to be eliminated and Q to be adjacent to *o que*.

<sup>28</sup> Note that I assume that if either a Wh-phrase or Q is present in the structure (regardless of their feature specification), since they are potential checkers, the uF of C has to be deleted at this point (i.e. the as-soon-as-possible requirement on checking a uF is then satisfied).



- b. [<sub>CP</sub> Q [o que] que [<sub>IP</sub> o João comprou t] ]?  
           what    C           the João bought

Another case is when there is phonological material inserted above the C, which means that this C was inserted overtly. Although the uFs can be checked, once again Q will be separated from the Wh at PF. As a result, just like in French, the system predicts that indirect questions are not allowed with Wh in situ in BP, which is confirmed by (137).

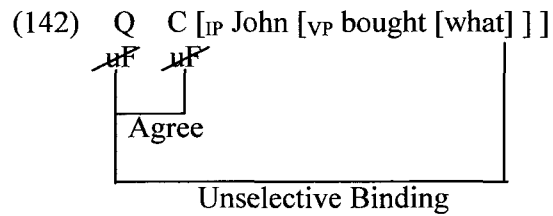
- (137) Peter asked [<sub>CP</sub> Q C [<sub>IP</sub> John [<sub>VP</sub> bought [what] ] ]
- ~~uP~~   ~~uF~~  
 └───┘  
 Agree

- (138) \* O Pedro perguntou [<sub>CP</sub> C o João comprou o quê]?  
the Pedro asked the João bought what

Therefore, when C is inserted before Spell Out, the Wh must move, and it is the presence of uF in the Wh that will force this movement.

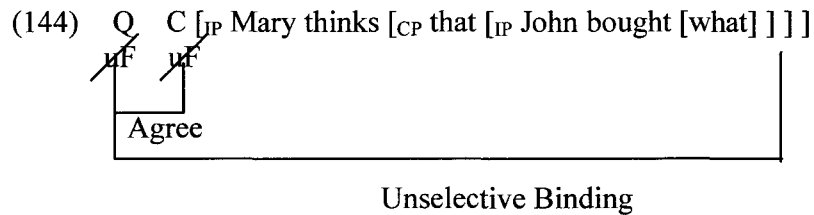
Next, let us look at LF C-insertion. First, consider the case of Wh having uF. Before Spell Out, we have (139). In LF, C with uF is inserted in (140)a. (140)b shows *what* moving so that it can be a probe. In (140), Q enters the structure and unselectively binds *what*.





In long distance questions, we have (143) before Spell Out and (144) in LF. Q and C can Agree, and Q can unselectively bind *what*. Because binding is unselective, intervening Wh-elements do not block the binding.

(143) [IP Mary thinks [CP that [IP John bought [what] ] ] ]

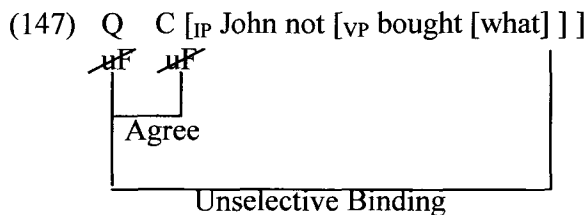


The predicted structures in (144) corresponds to (145) in BP.

(145) A Maria acha que o João comprou o quê?  
 the Maria thinks that the João bought what  
 ‘What does Mary think that John bought?’

Likewise, elements with focus operators in the sense of Beck (2006), like negation, are not interveners in BP, as in (146). As an illustration, the structure of (146)b is sketched in (147).

- (146) a. Você não comprou o quê?  
           you not bought what  
       b. Todos os alunos compraram o quê?  
           all the students bought what  
       c. Ele pode comprar o quê?  
           he can buy what



In short, the empirical facts of BP can be accounted for in a system that has Q inserted separately from the Wh-phrase. (148) below lists the conditions for moved Wh in BP and (149) for Wh in situ.<sup>29</sup>

- (148) Moved Wh in BP
- Q generated separately from the Wh-phrase
  - C inserted before Spell Out
  - Wh-phrase has uF
  - Q unselectively binds the Wh
  - at PF, Q and Wh must not be non-adjacent

- (149) Wh in situ in BP
- Q generated separately from the Wh-phrase
  - C and Q inserted in LF
  - Wh-phrase has no uF
  - Q unselectively binds the Wh

<sup>29</sup> As far as I can tell, we could also assume that Q and the Wh can be generated either separately or together in BP, although Q would not be able to move away from the Wh in this language with uF always located on the Q (not the Wh).

Nevertheless, one serious problem remains for BP. Recall that the mechanism of Unselective Binding requires that for an operator like Q to bind a Wh, a nominal element is necessary. Argumental Wh-phrases clearly have a nominal, but this is not as clear in BP adverbials. However, because Wh-adverbials are possible inside islands in BP, showing no signs of movement at all, Unselective Binding is the only option for them to be licensed.

In the case of *por que* ‘why’, its morphology explicitly displays a nominal element. Literally, *por que* can be translated as ‘for what’, with *que* ‘what’ being clearly nominal. In the case of *como* ‘how’, on the other hand, things are not so clear. Although *como* comes from Latin *quo modo* ‘what way’, which contains a nominal, the morphology is not transparent at all and children acquiring the language probably do not have access to it.

One speculation, suggested by Željko Bošković (p.c.) is that *como* might have been reanalyzed as *com* + *o* ‘with the’. The morphology is very transparent in this case and most answers to questions involving *como* are answered using “with x”. In this case, the determiner *o* could be the nominal element. More research is needed in this sense, though, before a more compelling explanation can be provided.

### 2.4.3.3. Chinese

The possibilities presented in (103) can be used to account for Chinese Wh in situ as well. Recall that locality of Chinese Wh in situ is more similar to BP than to French. For example, Wh in situ is possible in long-distance questions, as I showed in (20), repeated in (150).

- (150) Geruisen yiwei Casselin mai-le shenme?  
Grissom think Catherine buy-ASP what  
'What does Grissom think that Catherine bought?'

However, Chinese is different from BP in that it allows the Wh to stay in situ in indirect questions, as in (19), repeated in (151).

- (151) Geruisen wen Sala mai-le sheme?  
Grissom ask Sarah buy-ASP what  
'Grissom asked what Sarah bought'

Recall that in order to rule out a sentence like (151) in French and BP, I needed the stipulation that Q cannot be non-adjacent to the Wh at PF. The possibility of (151) in Chinese suggests that this stipulation is not needed in this language. The other structure that needed this PF restriction in order to be accounted for was the one with the overt C. This is, however, not testable in Chinese, since it lacks an overt C. Anyway, since I assume that the relevant Q-Wh restriction does not apply in Chinese, we can then always insert C and Q overtly,

including in indirect questions, with the elements in question checking their uFs against each other.

The system which accounts for the behavior of Wh in situ in Chinese, then, is summarized in (152).<sup>30</sup>

- (152) Wh in situ in Chinese
- Q generated separately from the Wh-phrase
  - Wh-phrase has no uF
  - Q unselectively binds the Wh
  - no PF restriction on the adjacency of Q and Wh

#### **2.4.3.4. Japanese**

Although both Japanese and Chinese are considered Wh-in-situ languages, they also display sharp differences. Still, the possibilities in (103) can account for the behavior of Wh in situ in this language.

First of all, locality in Japanese Wh-in-situ constructions is similar to BP and Chinese. For example, Watanabe (2003) shows that argument Wh in situ can be found in Complex NPs, as shown in the examples in (153) (p. 520).

- (153) a. [Taroo-ga nani-o te-ni ireta koto]-o sonnani okotteiru no?  
Taro-NOM what-ACC obtained fact -ACC so much be-angry Q  
'What are you so angry about the fact that Taro obtained *it*?'

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<sup>30</sup> There would be other options available in Chinese too, but this set of properties will generate all the grammatical Wh-in-situ examples.

- b. Kare-wa [dare-ga kaita hon] -o yonde-iru no?  
 he-TOP who-NOM wrote book -ACC read-PROG Q  
 ‘Who is he reading a book that *t* wrote?’

Likewise, Wh in situ is possible in Japanese long-distance questions, making it similar to BP and Chinese, and unlike French.<sup>31</sup>

- (154) John-wa [Mary-ga nani-o katta to] omotteita no  
 John-TOP Mary-NOM what-ACC bought C thought Q  
 ‘What did John think that Mary bought?’

Also similarly to Chinese, but differently from BP, Lasnik & Saito (1984) observed that adjunct Wh in situ in Japanese cannot occur in islands. The examples in (155) are from Watanabe (2003: 521).

- (155) a. [Taroo-ga naze sore-o te-ni ireta koto] -o sonnani okotteiru no?  
 Taro-NOM why it-ACC obtained fact -ACC so much be-angry Q  
 ‘Why are you so angry about the fact that Taro obtained it?’  
 b. Kare-wa [John-ga naze kaita hon] -o yonde-iru no?  
 he-TOP John-NOM why wrote book -ACC read-PROG Q  
 ‘Who is he reading a book that *t* wrote?’

Another similarity between Japanese and Chinese that makes them different from BP is the possibility of the Wh to stay in situ in indirect questions, as in (156).

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<sup>31</sup> I thank Koichi Otake p.c. for the Japanese examples in (154), (157), and (156).



- (156) John-wa [Mary-ga nani-o katta ka] kiita  
 John-TOP Mary-NOM bought what-ACC Q asked  
 ‘John asked what Mary bought.’

Once again, just like in Chinese, Japanese does not need the stipulation that Q cannot be non-adjacent to the Wh at PF, hence the possibility of (156). The possibility of (151) in Chinese suggests that this stipulation is not needed in this language. Recall that the other structure that needed this PF restriction, the presence of an overt C in matrix questions, could not be tested in Chinese due to the nonexistence of an overt C in this language. Japanese, on the other hand, does have an overtly inserted Q, as we can see in (157).

- (157) John-wa nani-o katta no?  
 John-TOP what-ACC bought Q  
 ‘What did John buy?’

Therefore, in Japanese, just like in Chinese, we can always insert C and Q overtly and they can both check their uFs against each other.

In short, based on the possibilities presented in (103), the system that can account for Wh-in-situ questions in Japanese is similar to the one in Chinese and is summarized in (158).

- (158) Wh in situ in Chinese
- Q generated separately from the Wh-phrase
  - Wh-phrase has no uF
  - Q unselectively binds the Wh
  - no PF restriction on the adjacency of Q and Wh

## 2.5. Chapter 2 Conclusions

In this chapter, I examined the behavior of Wh in situ in BP, comparing it to Wh in situ in Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, and French. Let me summarize what the conclusions for each language were.

Reglero (2004) accounts for Spanish Wh in situ. In her analysis, Wh in situ happens when pronouncing the lower copy of a moved Wh-phrase which is [+focus] is the only way for this phrase to be assigned main stress in PF. As for Chinese, Wh in situ is licensed via Unselective Binding, as in Tsai (1994b, 1998), Reinhart (1995, 1998), and Stepanov & Tsai (2006), among others.

As for French Wh in situ, I adopted Bošković's (2007b) analysis with two additional assumptions: that French Wh-phrases have a Q operator that can have an uninterpretable feature and move separately from the Wh; and there is a PF requirement that Q and Wh be adjacent, so Q can never be separated from the Wh at PF. I repeat (159) and (160), which summarize the characteristics of Wh-questions in French.

- (159) Moved Wh in French
- C is inserted before Spell Out
  - Q has uF
  - Q and Wh must not be non-adjacent at PF
  - Q selectively binds the Wh

- (160) Wh in situ in French
- C inserted in LF
  - Q has uF
  - Q moves alone
  - Q selectively binds the Wh

BP, which at first sight did not seem to fit into any previous analysis, can be explained using Bošković's (2007b) analysis for French plus the following assumptions: Q is inserted separately from the Wh and, as in French, Q must be adjacent to the Wh at PF. I repeat in (161) and (162) below the characteristics of moved Wh and Wh in situ in BP.

- (161) Moved Wh in BP
- Q generated separately from the Wh-phrase
  - C inserted before Spell Out
  - Wh-phrase has uF
  - Q unselectively binds the Wh
  - Q and Wh must not be non-adjacent at PF

- (162) Wh in situ in BP
- Q generated separately from the Wh-phrase
  - C and Q inserted in LF
  - Wh-phrase has no uF
  - Q unselectively binds the Wh

Finally, Chinese and Japanese need the set of assumptions repeated in (163). The locality restrictions observed in these languages are the ones imposed by the mechanism of Unselective Binding as proposed in Watanabe (1992, 2003), Aoun & Li (1993a, b), Tsai (1994b, 1998), Reinhart (1995, 1998), Stepanov & Tsai (2006, 2008), among others.

- (163) Wh in situ in Japanese and Chinese
- Q generated separately from the Wh-phrase
  - Wh-phrase has no uF
  - Q unselectively binds the Wh
  - no PF restriction on the adjacency of Q and Wh

## **Chapter 3**

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### **3. Felicity Conditions for Wh in Situ in Brazilian Portuguese**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

Semantic/pragmatic licensing conditions for Wh in situ in Wh-movement languages can be elusive. There is a lot of divergence in judgments, even for the same speaker. Furthermore, the context turns out to be quite important. In other words, once the context is changed and the presuppositions are accommodated, an a priori inappropriate sentence can often become acceptable. This makes it very difficult to elicit judgments from native speakers.

Syntactic accounts like the one presented in Chapter 2 are not meant to account for which contexts allow a Wh-Movement language to make use of Wh in situ. In this chapter I will investigate Brazilian Portuguese cases in which a

question with a Wh in situ is fine from the syntactic point of view, but is inappropriate in a given context. To illustrate, Pires & Taylor 2007 point out that after greeting a friend at work it would be really strange to ask (1) out of the blue in Brazilian Portuguese.

- (1) # Você comeu o quê de almoço hoje?  
you ate what of lunch today  
'#You ate what for lunch today?'

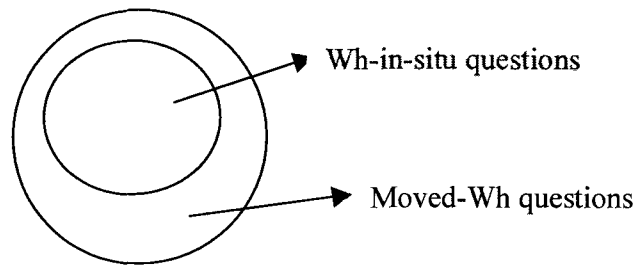
Nevertheless, consider the following context: there are two officemates, Paulo and Pedro, who have their lunch break at the same time and always eat together. One day, they decide not to go out together. Pedro gets back to the office first, and when Paulo arrives, it is felicitous for Pedro to use (1) as the first utterance in a conversation taking place right after the two officemates meet. The question with the Wh in situ can sound even better if, for example, Paulo arrives with a big stain on his shirt and Pedro adds a possible answer to his own question with rising intonation, as in (2).

- (2) Você comeu o quê de almoço hoje? Tinta?  
You ate what of lunch today ink  
'What did you eat for lunch today? Ink?'

There is an asymmetry when we compare sentences with a moved Wh and with Wh in situ: it is always possible to replace a Wh-in-situ question with its moved-Wh version, but not always vice versa. In other words, a moved-Wh question is possible in all the (pragmatic) contexts that license Wh-in-situ

questions and in the ones that do not. We can see this as a superset/subset relation, with the contexts that allow for Wh-in-situ questions being a subset of the contexts that allow for moved-Wh ones, as in the diagram in (3).<sup>32</sup>

(3) Sets of contexts that license:



In this chapter, I will first draw a distinction between the behavior of clefts and Wh-in-situ questions, showing that they are not to be analyzed the same way. Next, I will group Wh-in-situ questions based on their function, concluding that they can be placed into two major groups, namely *information-seeking* and *non-information-seeking* Wh-in-situ questions. Afterward, I will look more closely at the contexts in which Wh-in-situ questions are not acceptable in BP and present the proposal in Pires & Taylor (2007) to account for that. I will then show that although Pires & Taylor's approach makes some correct predictions, it undergenerates in some cases. The following step will be to come up with a better

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<sup>32</sup> However, some extra material might have to be added to a moved-Wh question to have the same meaning as a Wh-in-situ question. For example, if an attorney in a trial asks (i), a corresponding moved-Wh question would need extra information to convey some more specific intentions (here a judgmental interpretation) of the in-situ question, such as the information in (ii) or a facial expression.

(i) And you did that why?

(ii) I know I won't approve of your reason, but I want to know: why did you do that?

descriptive generalization of the felicity conditions for Wh in situ in BP. I propose that the speaker of the Wh-in-situ question must assume that the presupposition of that question is in the Common Ground. Finally, I will discuss several crosslinguistic differences in some Wh-movement languages that also allow for Wh-in-situ, namely Spanish, French, and English.

This chapter relies mostly on natural-occurring examples, based on a small corpus for BP (about 200,000 words)<sup>33</sup> and a few sentences collected from dialogues from TV shows in English.<sup>34</sup>

### **3.2. Wh-in-situ vs. cleft questions**

It has been claimed in the literature (see, among others, Boeckx (1999, 2000b) and Zubizarreta (2002, 2003) for French and Kato (2004) for BP) that Wh-in-situ questions like the one in (4)a behave very similarly to cleft questions like the one in (4)b and therefore could be analyzed in a similar manner, as opposed to the moved-Wh question in (4)c. In this section, I will follow Mathieu (2004) and Hamlaoui (2011), among others, in questioning this relationship in French and BP. In the following sections I will consider Wh in situ to be a completely different phenomenon from cleft questions.

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<sup>33</sup> See Appendix 1 for a compilation of the excerpts from this corpus that contain Wh-in-situ questions.

<sup>34</sup> See Appendix 2 for the list of dialogues containing Wh-in-situ questions in English.



- (4) a. Pierre a parlé à qui?  
 Pierre has talked to who  
 ‘Who has Pierre talked to?’
- b. C’est à qui que Pierre a parlé?  
 it is to who that Pierre has talked  
 ‘Who is it that Pierre talked to?’
- c. A qui est-ce que Pierre a parlé? / A qui Pierre a-t-il parlé?  
 to who is it that Pierre has talked to who Pierre has talked  
 ‘Who has Pierre talked to?’

Zubizarreta (2002, 2003) follows Boeckx (1999, 2000b) and identifies three central properties of Wh-in-situ that makes this construction similar to clefts: exhaustivity, intervention effects, and locality. I agree with them in terms of intervention effects and locality, which have been dealt with in the previous chapter. However, Wh in situ and clefts behave very differently in terms of exhaustivity, which makes them semantically different.

### 3.2.1. Exhaustivity

The property of exhaustivity that has been associated with cleft questions like (4)b (see for example Horn (1981) and Vallduví (1990)) means that these kinds of questions require exhaustive answers. An exhaustive answer is defined in Cable (2008) as in (5) (p. 7).

- (5) Exhaustive answer  
An ‘exhaustive answer’ to a wh-question Q is a true answer to Q which entails all the other true answers to Q.

Another way of defining the exhaustivity of a question is by saying that if one answer to that question is true, then no other answer can be. Cable (2008: 7) suggests the following example: imagine that it is true that Dave ate sandwiches and ice-cream and nothing else. If someone asks the question in (6), all the answers in (7) are possible. However, only (7)c is an exhaustive answer, since it entails both (7)a and (7)b and Dave ate nothing other than ice-cream and sandwiches. Also, (7)a and (7)b are not considered exhaustive because if (7)a is true, (7)b can also be true and vice-versa.

- (6) What did Dave eat?

- (7) a. Dave ate ice-cream.  
b. Dave ate sandwiches.  
c. Dave ate ice-cream and sandwiches.

One of the reasons why clefts have been associated with Wh in situ is the observation (Zubizarreta (2002:2)) that a cleft sentence like (10) is a good minimal answer to a Wh-in-situ question like (4)a, repeated in (8), but sounds unnatural to many speakers as an answer to a moved-Wh question like (4)c, repeated in (9).

- (8) Pierre a parlé à qui?  
 Pierre has talked to whom  
 ‘Who has Pierre talked to?’
- (9) A qui est-ce que Pierre a parlé? / A qui Pierre a-t-il parlé?  
 to whom is-it that Pierre has talked / to whom Pierre has talked
- (10) C’est à Marie que Pierre a parlé.  
 it-is to Marie that Pierre has talked  
 ‘It is to Marie that Pierre has talked.’

Zubizarreta (2002:2) claims that this is because (10) “is perceived as providing information that goes beyond that which is requested by the question”, i.e. that Pierre talked to Marie only. (10) sounds more natural as an answer to (8) because the Wh-in-situ question itself has the property of exhaustivity.

One indication of the exhaustivity of a question is the possibility of answering it felicitously with words with *nothing* or *no one*. For example, let us consider once again the questions in (4)b and (4)c (Zubizarreta 2002: 1), repeated in (11)a and (11)b. While (12) is an adequate response to (11)b, it cannot felicitously answer (11)a.

- (11) a. C’est à qui que Pierre a parlé?  
 it is to who that Pierre has talked  
 ‘Who is it that Pierre talked to?’
- b. A qui est-ce que Pierre a parlé? / A qui Pierre a-t-il parlé?  
 to who is it that Pierre has talked to who Pierre has talked  
 ‘Who has Pierre talked to?’
- (12) Pierre n’ a parlé à personne.  
 Pierre NEG has talked to no one  
 ‘Pierre has talked to no one.’

Another indication of exhaustivity according to Zubizarreta is the impossibility of adding continuations that suggest addition, such as *and also*, *for example* or *among others*. She shows (p. 2) that some speakers consider it strange to add *et aussi* ‘and also’ to a cleft sentence, as illustrated in the contrast in (13).

- (13) a. C’est à Marie que Pierre a parlé. (??) Et aussi à Paul.  
           It is to Marie that Pierre has talked and also to Paul  
           ‘It is to Marie that Pierre talked. (??) And also to Paul.’  
       b. Pierre a parlé à Marie. Et aussi à Paul.  
           Pierre has talked to Marie and also to Paul  
           ‘Pierre talked to Marie. And also to Paul.’

In the next section, I will show that these indications of exhaustivity are missing in Wh-in-situ questions in at least some dialects of French and in BP.

### 3.2.2. Wh in situ and exhaustivity

As mentioned above, some authors have likened Wh-in-situ questions in Wh-Movement languages to cleft questions for semantic purposes, the main claim being exhaustivity. In this section I will investigate the different indicators of exhaustivity and verify if they apply to Wh in situ, in particular in BP.

First of all, in BP (14) and (15) can be felicitously answered by (16), in contrast to the data presented in (8)-(10) above.

- (14) Pierre falou com quem?  
 Pierre talked with whom  
 ‘Who has Pierre talked to?’
- (15) Com quem o Pierre falou?  
 with whom the Pierre talked
- (16) Foi com a Marie que o Pierre falou.  
 Was with the Marie that the Pierre talked  
 ‘It is to Marie that Pierre has talked.’

In addition, recall that according to Zubizarreta (2002, 2003), the impossibility of answering a question felicitously with words with *nothing* or *no one* points to exhaustivity. When it comes to Wh in situ in French, there is divergence in judgments. For example, Chang (1997), Boeckx (1999), Boeckx (2000b), and Zubizarreta (2002, 2003) consider those kinds of negative answers impossible in Wh-in-situ contexts, as shown above in (11)-(12). This has been contested by authors such as Starke (2002), Mathieu (2004), and Hamlaoui (2011).<sup>35</sup> For example, Mathieu (2004: 1100) presents (17) and (18) as acceptable in his dialect.

- (17) A: Tu fais quois dans la vie?  
 you do what in the life  
 ‘What do you do for a living?’

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<sup>35</sup> There might be a dialectal variation here. While Chang (1997), Boeckx (1999), Boeckx (2000b), and Zubizarreta (2002, 2003) do not specify what dialect of French they refer to, Mathieu (2004: 1091) refers to the variety that he is describing as “spoken French, as used in France” and Hamlaoui (2011) clearly indicates that she is discussing the Francilian dialect, which is the colloquial French spoken in Paris and surrounding areas (Ile-de-France). Also, Girard-Bond (2008) reports that with non-rising intonation, Wh-in-situ questions can be answered with a negative word like *rien* ‘nothing’ or *personne* ‘no one’ in Canadian French.

B: Rien. Je suis au chômage.  
Nothing I am at unemployment  
'Nothing. I am unemployed.'

(18) A: Tu veux manger quoi ce soir?  
you want to eat what this evening  
'What do you want to eat tonight?'

B: Rien. J'ai pas faim.  
Nothing I-have not hunger  
'Nothing. I am not hungry.'

Likewise, in BP negative answers are not banned for Wh in situ. In (19), answering A's question with *ninguém* 'no one' is a little unexpected, but perfectly acceptable.

(19) A: O Pedro falou com quem?  
the Pedro talked with whom  
'Who did Pedro talk to?'

B: (O Pedro não falou) com ninguém  
the Pedro not talked with no one  
'Pierre didn't talk to anyone.'

Finally, one last indication of exhaustivity according to Zubizarreta is the impossibility of adding continuations that suggest addition, such as *and also*, *for example* or *among others*. In BP, these additions are compatible with Wh in situ, in both questions and answers, as shown in (20) and (21).

- (20) A: O Pedro falou com quem?  
           the Pedro talked with whom  
           ‘Who did Pedro talk to?’
- B: O Pedro falou com a Maria. E também com o Paulo.  
           the Pedro talked with the Maria and also with the Paulo  
           ‘Pedro talked to Maria. And also to Paulo.’
- (21) O Pedro convidou quem, por exemplo?  
       the Pedro invited who for example  
       ‘Who did Pedro invite, for example?’

Because of these discrepancies, I will not be analyzing Wh in situ on a par with cleft questions in BP. As for French, for the moment the dialectal variations in judgment do not allow for a conclusive relationship. I will discuss French again in section 3.8.2.

### **3.3. Kinds of Wh-in-situ questions**

Wh-in-situ questions tend to be regarded as mostly echo questions, being generally grouped together with other echo utterances, such as questions with a moved Wh with rising intonation and declarative questions. On the other hand, some more comprehensive grammar books of the English language, such as Quirk et al. (1985) and Huddleston & Pullum (2002), point out that they are not just echoes. Quirk et al. (1985: 817) state this in a footnote in their section on Wh-

questions that in-situ questions are “associated with interviews and interrogations” and “are to be distinguished from echo questions.” Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 873) suggest that Wh-in-situ questions generally appear “only in contexts of sustained questioning, such as quizzes and interrogations by legal counsel, police, and so on.” They add that the aim in these questions is “to elicit new information, not a repetition or clarification of what had just been said.” However, mentions to these kinds of questions are very brief even in these two works.

In this section, I will describe the contexts that allow Wh-in-situ questions and classify them into groups. I will first present Pires & Taylor’s classification and then argue for a slightly different model, based on a continuum instead of groups. Both my grouping and the one in Pires & Taylor apply to both English and BP, so examples will be in either language.

Pires & Taylor divide Wh-in-situ questions into four groups: [+specific] Qs, expect-Qs, ref-Qs, and questions licensed by context. In what follows, I will define each group and present the examples used by the authors. P&T do not use glosses, they just offer a translation of each sentence. I will preserve their original formatting in the examples.

First, [+specific]Qs request more specific information about something mentioned immediately prior. They are somewhat similar to echo-questions, but different regarding intonation and focal stress. P&T’s example (p. 3) is in (22).



- (22) a. A: I made desserts  
 b. B: You made [what kind of desserts]?  
 c. B: *Você fez [que tipo de sobremesa]?*  
 d. B: *[Que tipo de sobremesa]<sub>i</sub> você fez e<sub>i</sub>? (overt wh-movement)*

Expect-Qs are used when further questioning for new information is expected, as in legal questioning. An example in English and BP is given in (23), also from P&T.

- (23) a. B. Attorney: Tell me what happened on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2005 at 4 pm.  
 B.: *Você pode dizer o que aconteceu no dia 1o de Janeiro de 2005, às 4 da tarde.*  
 A. Defendant : I was driving along Andrews Avenue.  
                   *Eu estava dirigindo na Avenida dos Andradas.*  
 b. B. Attorney : And you were driving which direction?  
 B. : E você estava dirigindo em que direção?  
 A. Defendant : I was headed south, towards the library.  
 A. : *Eu estava indo para o sul, na direção da biblioteca.*  
 B. Attorney : And the police officer said you were travelling about how fast?  
 B. : *E o policial disse que você estava dirigindo a que velocidade?*

Ref-Qs ask for a paraphrase or repetition of an immediately prior antecedent (cf. Wachowicz (1974), Ginzburg & Sag (2001)). They are, however, asking for more information. Ref-Qs are different from [+specific]Qs in the sense that they do not request more specific information, but instead ask the interlocutor to paraphrase the previous statement. In (24), Speaker B understood the question, but needs Speaker A to rephrase (cf. Echo questions below).<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> In fact, the difference between Ref Qs and [+specific] Qs is not quite clear to me in P&T's text. This is my interpretation of it.

- (24) a. A: I did not sell those strange pictures  
       *A: Eu não vendi aquelas pinturas estranhas.*  
       b. B: You didn't sell what strange pictures?  
       *c. B: Você não vendeu que pinturas estranhas?*  
       *d. [Que pinturas estranhas]<sub>i</sub> você não vendeu?*  
       e. B: You didn't sell what strange pictures?

Finally, P&T mention that some questions are licensed by extra-linguistic context, as in their example in (25).

- (25) a. B sees his friend reading something (extra-linguistic common ground)  
       b. B: You're reading what?  
       *c. B: Você (es)tá lendo o quê?*  
       *d. [O que]<sub>i</sub> você está lendo e<sub>i</sub>?*

Because this chapter is about the usage of Wh in situ, it does not really matter if the context is linguistic or extra-linguistic. Thus, differently from P&T, I will not consider extra-linguistic context as a separate group. Instead, I assume that for all kinds of questions, the context can be linguistic or extra-linguistic. Thus the question in (25) could be classified as a [+specific] Q.

Instead of thinking of classes or groups, I suggest thinking of a continuum of Wh-in-situ questions. On one end are questions that are fairly neutral requests for information, with no other pragmatic intention from the speaker. On the other end are questions that do not require information at all; instead the speaker has intentions other than obtaining information when uttering them, e.g. making judgments, being sarcastic, and so on. These two ends are actually idealizations, and questions will lean toward one of them instead of falling under one exact heading.

With this continuum in mind, instead of using P&T's classification I will separate Wh-in-situ questions based on which end of the continuum they are closer to. First of all, tending to the neutral end I will put [+specific]Qs, Expect Qs, and Ref Qs together in a group that I will call *information-seeking Wh-in-situ questions*. Some types of echo questions are also included in this category. What they have in common is that their main pragmatic function is an actual request for information.<sup>37</sup>

The advantage of classifying Wh-in-situ questions using a continuum instead of headings is that it is easier to place questions that are information-seeking, but also have an added meaning. For example, in P&T's Expect Qs, one could argue that the intention of the questioner is not just to seek the information contained in the answer, but also to use it as a prompt to further a narrative or to elicit more information that is not the answer to the question itself.

Closer to the other end of the continuum are questions that I will call *indirect-speech-act Wh-in-situ questions*. In this group, I am including rhetorical Qs, sarcastic Qs, and some kinds of echo Qs. Below are the descriptions and examples of these classes. What they have in common is that the intention of the speaker that utters them is not necessarily to obtain information, but to contribute some other kind of meaning, like surprise, annoyance, judgment etc.

Rhetorical Qs are the ones that are either answered by the speaker himself or that have no answer (cf. Pope (1976)), either because the speaker does not know the answer, or because it is not known to anyone. A speaker that uses this

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<sup>37</sup> Note that a request for information might not be the only intention of the question, but it is the main one. Although there might be characteristics of indirect speech acts in information-seeking questions, they still lean towards the more neutral end of the continuum.

kind of question is in fact asserting something and is not seeking information.

Note that the speaker answers his own question in (26) and the Wh-in-situ question in (27), which is an ad for a website, does not expect an answer.

- (26) E no fim, se você tiver que operar, vai operar com quem?  
and in-the end if you have to operate will operate with whom

Com um médico.  
with a doctor

‘And in the end if you need surgery, who do you want to perform it? A doctor.’

- (27) Você se amarra em esporte?  
you REFL tie in sport  
‘Are you a sports fan?’

Gosta de estar bem informado?  
like of be well informed  
‘Do you like to be well informed?’

Adora um bom entretenimento?  
adore a good entertainment  
‘Do you love good entertainment?’

**Tá esperando o quê?**  
are waiting what  
‘What are you waiting for?’

Clique e assine a globo.com, você só tem a ganhar.  
click and subscribe the globo.com you only have to win  
‘Click and subscribe to globo.com, you will always be a winner.’

Sarcastic Qs are intended to show the interlocutor is being judgmental. They do not usually seek information, and even when they do, this is not the main purpose of the question. For example, in (28), Speaker B’s main intention is to

say that there is no place to sit in the auditorium, so they cannot get in. B is expressing a judgment that A's suggestion is ridiculous, since there is no space to sit. B is probably not expecting an answer from A, or is expressing that the he or she will not be happy with the expected possible answers.

- (28) *A and B enter a completely full auditorium*  
A: Come on, let's get in.  
B: Right, and we're going to sit where?

So-called echo questions can mean different things for different authors. Usually, they are discarded in discussions of Wh in situ, since they seem to be acceptable in places where other kinds of Wh-in-situ questions are not possible. Here, I am calling Echo Qs the Wh-in-situ questions that have a higher pitch than usual Wh-questions and can be divided into at least two groups.<sup>38</sup> The first group encompasses questions that express speaker's surprise or shock at some previous assertion. Questions in the second group are used to ask the interlocutor to repeat certain information that the speaker has not heard well. For example, the question in (29) can be used for both purposes, i.e., express surprise and request for repetition. One reading conveys that Speaker B is shocked at the fact that Leia would rather kiss a wookiee. Note that in this case Speaker A is not expected to answer the question, which makes it an indirect-speech-act question.

- (29) A: Leia would just as soon kiss a wookiee.  
B: She'd just as soon kiss what?

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<sup>38</sup> For further description of echo questions, see Huddleston & Pullum (2002), Wachowicz (1974), and Pope (1976).

Another interpretation of the question in (29) is that it is in fact information-seeking and elicits an answer, as in (30). In this case, Speaker B either did not understand the question or does not know what a wookiee is.

- (30) A: Leia would just as soon kiss a wookiee.  
B: She'd just as soon kiss what?  
A: A wookiee, you know, a furry creature from the planet Kashyyyk.

The existence of different kinds of echo questions is in fact a crosslinguistic fact. For example, in Serbo-Croatian, echo questions like the one in (31) (from Bošković (2002a)) are possible without Wh movement only in the surprise reading; in the request-for-repetition reading, movement is obligatory and (31) is unacceptable.

- (31) Ona je poljubila KOGA?  
she is kissed who  
'She kissed WHO?'

Furthermore, there are cases in which a context might fit two categories, as in (32), which has a question that is rhetorical and also sarcastic.

- (32) A is talking to B and C interrupts  
A: Tá contente, tá contente, bebê, que vai ganhar um carro novo?  
are happy are happy baby, that willl win a car new  
'Are you happy, are you happy, baby, that you will get a new car?'  
C: Eu não tô acreditando, eu não tô escutando isso, eu não tô. O  
I not am believing I not am hearing this, I not am the

Zeca vai ganhar um carro novo por quê? Porque ele vai mal na  
Zeca will win a car new why because he goes badly in

escola, é isso?  
school, is this?

'I can't believe I'm hearing this, I can't. Zeca will get a new car why?  
Because he does badly in school.'

### 3.4. Restrictions to Wh in situ in BP

Below I will show examples from BP, including moved-Wh questions, which are not felicitous if the Wh is left in situ. As mentioned above, Wh-in-situ questions are not usually good when used out of the blue. In (33), from P&T and repeated from (1), B's question cannot usually be expressed with a Wh-in-situ question. In (34), only in (a) can the moved-Wh questions highlighted be expressed in the context given in (34) with a Wh in situ; (35) shows the less acceptable sentences in the context.

- (33) # Você comeu o quê de almoço hoje?  
you ate what of lunch today  
'#You ate what for lunch today?'

- (34) A: Uma LAN house? (a) **O que que você estava fazendo numa LAN house?**  
a LAN house? what that you were doing in-a LAN house?  
'A LAN house? What were you doing in an internet cafe?'

B: Mamadi, eu fui fazer uma pesquisa.

Mamadi, I went make a research  
'Mamadi, I was doing some research.'

A: Chanti, nós temos computador aqui.

Chanti we have computer here

**(b) Por que não faz aqui a sua pesquisa?**

why not make here the your research

'Chanti, we have a computer here. Why don't you do your research here?'

A: Todos os meus amigos foram pra lá!

all the my friends went to there

'All my friends went there.'

B: **(c) E por que você não traz os seus colegas pra cá?**

and why you don't bring the your colleagues to here

'And why don't you bring your colleagues here?'

Quem lhe está impedindo de trazer os seus coleguinhas pra

who you is barring of bring the your little-colleagues for

estudar aqui em casa?

study here in house

'Who's stopping you from bringing your colleagues to study here at home?'

C: Quem eram aqueles meninos que estavam com você, Chanti?

who were those boys that were with you Chanti

'Who were those boys that were with you, Chanti?'

B: Eram da minha sala, Amitap, eu já disse.

Were from-the my room Amitap I already said

'I've told you, Amitap, they were classmates.'

C: Chanti, Chanti! **(d) Que que seu pai vai dizer**

Chanti Chanti what that your father will say

**de uma coisa dessas?**

of a thing of-these

'Chanti, Chanti! What will your father say about such a thing?'

(35) a. Uma LAN house? Você estava fazendo o quê numa LAN house?

a LAN house you were doing what in-a LAN house

'An internet cafe? What were you doing in an internet cafe?'



- b. # Não faz aqui a sua pesquisa por quê?  
 not do here the your research why  
 ‘Why don’t you do your research here?’
- c. # E você não traz os seus colegas pra cá por quê?  
 and you not bring the your colleagues to here why  
 ‘And why don’t you bring your colleagues here?’
- d. # Seu pai vai dizer o quê de uma coisa dessas?  
 your father will say what of one thing of-these  
 ‘What will your father say of a thing like that?’

What is different about (35)a is that it is the speaker’s knowledge about the content of the question. The speaker knows the girl was at an internet cafe, and was doing something there. In (35)b, doing the research at home had not been mentioned or implied; it is mentioned for the first time in the question. The same is true about (35)c and d: bringing the colleagues home and what he father will say are first mentioned in the question itself.

This knowledge can come from the context, as in (36). Here Speaker A sees Speaker B packing, and infers that she is going travelling.

- (36) [A starts talking to B and sees B packing]  
 A: Tônia, tô indo almoçar. Que que é isso? Vai pra onde?  
 Tônia am going have-lunch what that is this will.go to where  
 ‘Tônia, I’m leaving for lunch. What’s going on? Where are you going?’
- B: Búzios. [city near Rio]

We will look at this characteristic, i.e. speaker’s knowledge of the presupposition of the questions, in more detail in the following sections and try to formulate a generalization.

### 3.4.1. Wh in situ and Common Ground - Pires & Taylor (2007)

In their syntactic account of Wh in situ, Pires & Taylor (2007) rely on the concept of Common Ground (Stalnaker (1973), Stalnaker (2002)) to restrict the contexts in which Wh in situ is allowed in BP and English. They claim that for a wh-in-situ question to be acceptable, the possible answers to that question must be expected (by the speaker) to be part of the Common Ground. Their proposal is that English and BP wh in situ have a specific kind of [+Wh, +Q] complementizer that does not trigger wh-movement. In the following paragraphs I will provide some more details of Pires & Taylor's account.

P&T define Common Ground as “information that was previously given in the discourse or in the extralinguistic context (9), and which is shared (or assumed by the speaker to be shared) by speaker and hearer.” (p. 5) Since their approach is syntactic in nature, they do not discuss the status of Common Ground in detail. In what follows, I will show what some of Stalnaker's views of Common Ground are and how they could be used to explain the felicity of Wh-in-situ questions.

The spirit of their proposal for the syntax of Wh in situ is similar to chapter 2, in the sense that it captures the general idea that the lack of intervention effects is due to the lack of movement. Semantically, however, their proposal is not presented in detail. As mentioned above, they propose that for a Wh-in-situ

question to be possible in English and Brazilian Portuguese, the set of possible answers to it must be part of the Common Ground. According to this proposal, then, when a speaker asks a question using Wh in situ, he or she has a possible set of answers in mind. However, (37) and (38), both from a Brazilian soap opera, strongly suggest that the speaker had no idea at all of what a possible answer could be, so it is unlikely that the set of possible answers was in the Common Ground. Still, the Wh-in-situ questions are acceptable.

- (37) Daughter: Ah, mãe, não vou lá não!  
 Ah mother not will.go there no  
 ‘No, mom, I’m not going there!’

Mother: Mas não vai por quê?  
 But not will why  
 ‘But why not?’

Daughter: Que mico!  
 What little-monkey  
 ‘What an embarrassment!’

- (38) [A starts talking to B and sees B packing]  
 A: Tônia, tô indo almoçar. Que que é isso? Vai pra onde?  
 Tônia am going have-lunch what that is this will.go to where  
 ‘Tônia, I’m leaving for lunch. What’s going on? Where are you going?’

B: Búzios. [city near Rio]

In (37) the mother’s question was a genuine information-seeking question. What the Wh in situ seems to be signaling is some kind of judgment on the part of the mother: she might not know what the reason is, but she knows she will

disapprove.<sup>39</sup> Also in (38), it does not look like there was any set of possible answers in the Common Ground.

This is even more pronounced in the case of clear indirect-speech-act Wh-in-situ questions, which most of the time do not even expect an answer. For example, in rhetorical questions like (39), the speaker answers his or her own questions, exactly because he or she does not expect the answer to be in the Common Ground at all. In (40), there is no expected answer at all. It is a question used in BP when you want to express that you have no other option.

- (39) Quando você vai comprar uma droga na farmácia,  
when you go buy a drug in-the pharmacy  
  
você espera o quê? Que aquele medicamento tenha sido aprovado...  
you expect what that that medication has been approved...  
'When you buy a drug in the pharmacy, you expect what? That that  
medication has been approved...'

- (40) Eu vou fazer o quê?  
I will do what  
'What can I do?'

It is therefore not clear if P&T's pragmatic account for licensing Wh-in-situ questions in BP can be used for pure information-seeking questions. On the contrary, it seems to exclude these kinds of questions altogether. Before I present my proposal, let us first look at the concepts of Common Ground and accommodation in more detail.

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<sup>39</sup> (37) seems to be a case that stands in between information-seeking and indirect-speech-act questions.

## 3.5. Some theoretical background

### 3.5.1. What is Common Ground?

The definition of Common Ground is not always precise in the literature. The concept is usually associated with Stalnaker (1973), Stalnaker (1974), Stalnaker (1978), Stalnaker (2002)). Simons (2003) points out that Stalnaker uses the concept of Common Ground quite loosely and only as part of the definition of a presupposition. According to Stalnaker, “To presuppose something is to take it for granted, or at least to act as if one takes it for granted, as background information – as *common ground* among the participants in the conversation.” (2002:701)

It is possible to express presuppositions in a truth-value intensional semantics. I will follow von Stechow (2008), according to whom the common ground “describes a set of worlds, the context set, which are those worlds in which all of the propositions in the common ground are true”. This context set could be the real world.

### 3.5.2. Accommodation

During the course of a conversation, there will be times when there are clashes between the speaker's and addressee's beliefs about what presuppositions are part of the Common Ground. In spite of these clashes, the conversation can still go on smoothly. Let us use one of Stalnaker's examples. Imagine that Alice says (41) to Bob, who does not know that she has a sister (Stalnaker 2002: 709).

(41) I have to pick up my sister at the airport.

If Bob does not know that Alice has a sister, then (41) should be infelicitous, since the presupposition of the existence of a sister is not part of the Common Ground. However, the sentence is acceptable in this context and Bob has now learned that Alice has a sister. This is because both the speaker and the addressee can count on the process of *accommodation* (cf. von Stechow (2008), Stalnaker (2002), among others). In this section I will explain this process in some more detail.

For accommodation to take place, we need to assume that Common Ground is a dynamic concept that can be updated as needed. According to von Stechow (2008:139), "Sentences asserted in a conversation are meant to update the common ground of that conversation."

For updates to be possible, we need to adopt a semantics based on context-change potentials (CCPs, see Heim (1982), for example), according to which

sentences are partial functions from contexts to contexts, and the presuppositional content, not the truth value, is the definedness condition (see also Gunlogson (2001, 2002) for how this applies to declarative questions). In this view, the Common Ground is the information that needs to satisfy the presuppositional requirements of an asserted sentence and guarantee that that sentence can be defined. What we have here is a link between Semantics and Pragmatics: the Common Ground can only be updated if it satisfies the presuppositions encoded in the Semantics. Back to the sentence in (41), its semantics impose the presupposition that Alice has a sister. Before Alice uttered (41), Alice's sister's existence was not part of the Common Ground. After the utterance of (41), if Bob assumes that Alice is being cooperative, he will understand that for that sentence to be felicitous Alice must have a sister, so he will add this information to the Common Ground. In other words, accommodation guarantees that the Common Ground can be adjusted so that new presuppositions can be added.

A more informal definition of accommodation, by von Stechow (2008:141), is that it is a process "by which the participants in a conversation quietly and without fuss adjust the common ground so as to satisfy the requirements of a sentence that was asserted by a participant in good standing."

One of the issues in determining the contexts in which Wh-in-situ questions are felicitous is to find out what kind of accommodation is required by the listener. This is because the speaker's decision to keep a Wh-phrase in situ is communicating more than the wish to acquire information. First of all, this listener has to decide if the question was seeking information or not. In the latter

case, what needs accommodation is what the speaker is implying, i.e. surprise, sarcasm, etc.

### 3.6. When are Wh-in-situ questions good?

I suggest that although Pires & Taylor are correct in using the Common Ground as a felicity condition for Wh-in-situ questions, what needs to be in the Common Ground is not the possible answers, but the presupposition of the non-Wh portion of the question itself. For example, in (42), what needs to be in the Common Ground is that there is an idea that grew.

- (42) Em primeiro lugar, essa ideia cresceu aonde?  
in first place this idea grew where  
'First of all, where does this idea come from?'

As for indirect-speech-act questions, what needs to be accommodated is the actual intention of the speaker, such as being sarcastic or making fun of the interlocutor.

Let us look once again at the examples in (37) and (38), repeated below in (43) and (44).

- (43) Daughter: Ah, mãe, não vou lá não!  
ah mother not will go there no  
'No, mom, I'm not going there!'



Mother: Mas não vai por quê?  
but not will why  
'But why not?'

Daughter: Que mico!  
what little-monkey  
'What an embarrassment!'

(44) [A starts talking to B and sees B packing]

A: Tônia, tô indo almoçar. Que que é isso? Vai pra onde?  
Tônia am going have-lunch what that is this will.go to where  
'Tônia, I'm leaving for lunch. What's going on? Where are you going?'

B: Búzios. [city near Rio]

Recall that these two examples were a problem for Pires & Taylor's suggestion that the set of possible answers must be in the Common Ground. Under the current approach, what needs to be in the Common Ground is that the daughter is not going somewhere in (43) and that B is going to travel in (44).

### 3.7. Wh-in-situ vs. moved-Wh questions

Differently from Wh-in-situ questions, in moved-Wh questions the presupposition of the question needs to be known by the speaker, but does not need to be in the Common Ground. Here are a few more examples of contexts in which the use of Wh in situ is questionable. First of all, a dialog as in (45), though possible, would be extremely unusual.

- (45) A: Você vai votar em quem?  
           you will vote in who  
 B: ? Tem eleição?!  
           have election  
 ‘A: Who are you voting for?’  
 ‘B: There’s an election?!’

In (45), the speaker assumed that the presupposition of the question, i.e. that there is an upcoming election and that B will vote for someone, was in the Common Ground. What makes B’s answer unexpected is that it is negating the presupposition that he or she is voting for someone, since B did not even know that there was an upcoming election. This is also why any answer that denies the presupposition of the question is unexpected, as in (46).<sup>40</sup>

- (46) A: Você comprou o quê?  
           you bought what  
 B: ? Nada.  
           nothing  
 ‘A: What did you buy?’  
 ‘Nothing.’

Both dialogs in (45) and (46) would be perfectly acceptable if the question has a moved Wh-phrase, as shown in (47) and (48).

- (47) A: Em quem você vai votar?  
           in who you will vote  
           ‘Who are you voting for?’  
 B: Tem eleição?!  
           have election  
           ‘There’s an election?!’

---

<sup>40</sup> As mentioned in section 3.2, negative answers such as the ones in (46) are unexpected in BP, but not impossible.

- (48) A: O que você comprou?  
           what you bought  
           ‘What did you buy?’  
       B: Nada.  
           nothing  
           ‘Nothing.’

The dialog in (50)<sup>41</sup> illustrates an interesting contrast. When B first asks A about going to the shop, he or she uses a Wh in situ, expecting an answer specifying what was bought. After A’s negative answer, B’s next question has a moved Wh. When B asked his or her first question, A’s buying something was a presupposition that B had and not necessarily part of the Common Ground.

- (49) A: Vou pro Magazine Luiza!  
           will-go to-the Magazine Luiza [name of a shop]  
           ‘I’m going to Magazine Luiza.’  
       B: Vai comprar o quê?  
           will buy what  
           ‘What are you going to buy?’  
       A: Nada!  
           nothing  
           ‘Nothing.’  
       A: Então por que vai lá?  
           so why will-go there  
           ‘So why are you going there?’  
       B: Porque tô triste.  
           because am sad  
           ‘Because I’m sad.’  
       A: E daí?  
           and of-there  
           ‘So what?’  
       B: Na propaganda diz: vem ser feliz!  
           in-the ad says come be happy  
           ‘The ad says, “Come be happy!”’

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<sup>41</sup> This dialog was posted on the site Facebook as a report on a previous conversation.

One issue that might come up in relation to the dialogues in (45) and (46) is that in both cases B should be able to accommodate the presupposition of the question, and there should be no strangeness at all. Recall that accommodation is what allows for a sentence like (41), repeated in (50) below, to be felicitous even if the interlocutor does not know that the speaker has a sister: upon hearing (50), the interlocutor will conclude that the speaker has a sister and accommodate that presupposition into the Common Ground.

(50) I have to pick up my sister at the airport.

If we think about accommodation, it seems like Wh-in-situ questions should be possible in any context at all and the interlocutor should always be able to accommodate them. I claim that when Speaker A uttered the questions in (45) and (46), he or she did assume that the presupposition of that question was in the Common Ground, and that is why he or she was able to utter it in the first place. Accommodation does eventually happen, and that is why the result in (45) and (46) is not total infelicity, but rather strangeness.

### 3.8. Some crosslinguistic variation

In section 1, I presented a classification system for contexts that license Wh-in-situ questions in Wh-movement languages. These groups apparently exist in BP, French, English, and Spanish. However, each language has other restrictions as well, except for BP, which seems to be more permissive than the other languages.

#### 3.8.1. Spanish

According to Jimenez (1997), a Wh-in-situ question in Spanish is only acceptable if it asks about a variable taken from a set whose members belong to a domain previously established in the discourse. For example, in (51) (Jimenez 1997:42), there is a shopping list that Speaker 2 uses as a reference set to ask either (51)b1 or (51)b2 felicitously.

- (51) a. Speaker 1: Fuimos a la tienda a comprar huevos, leche y  
café.  
went-we to the store to buy eggs milk and  
coffee  
Mi madre compró los huevos.  
my mother bought the eggs  
'We went to the store to buy eggs, milk, and coffee. My  
mother bought the eggs.'
- b. Speaker 2: 1. ¿Y tu padre compró qué?  
and your father bought what  
'And what did your father buy?'

2. ¿y qué compró tu padre?  
 and what bought your father  
 ‘And what did your father buy?’

c. Speaker 1: Mi padre compró la leche. Yo me encargué del café.  
 My father bought the milk I took care of the coffee  
 ‘My father bought the milk. I took care of the coffee.’

On the other hand, the same is not true in (52) (Jiménez 1997:43). Without the shopping list in the background, it is not felicitous to ask (52)b2.<sup>42</sup>

- (52) a. Speaker 1: Mi padre, mi madre y yo fuimos a la tienda a comprar.  
 my father my mother and I went to the store to buy  
 ‘My father, my mother and I, we went grocery shopping.’
- b. Speaker 2: 1. ¿Que compró tu padre?  
 what bought your father  
 2. #¿ Tu padre, compró qué?  
 your father bought what  
 ‘What did your father buy?’
- c. Speaker 1: Mi padre compró pescado.  
 my father bought some fish

BP is more permissive in this sense, since (52)b2 is acceptable. In other words, there is no requirement that the answer be part of a domain previously established in the discourse. See (53) for the relevant examples.

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<sup>42</sup> Also, cf. P&T, who describe a similar idea in terms of common ground.

- (53) a. Speaker 1: Meu pai, minha mãe e eu fomos ao mercado.  
                   my father my mother and I went to-the market  
                   Eu comprei leite.  
                   I bought milk.  
                   ‘My father, my mother and I, we went grocery shopping. I  
                   bought milk.’
- b. Speaker 2: 1. E o que o teu pai comprou?  
                             and what the your father bought
2. E o teu pai comprou o quê?  
                               and the your father bought what  
                               ‘What did your father buy?’
- c. Speaker 1: Meu pai comprou peixe.  
                             my father bought fish  
                             ‘My father bought some fish.’

In BP, all that is necessary is that Speaker 2 assume that the presupposition of his or her question, i.e. that the father bought something, be in the Common Ground. There is no need for the answer to be part of a domain previously established in the discourse.

### 3.8.2. French

As mentioned in section 3.2, one restriction on the use of Wh in situ that seems to be specific to French is the claim in Boeckx (1999), Boeckx (2000a), and Zubizarreta (2002), among others, that Wh in situ in this language, like cleft constructions, has the property of exhaustivity. However, in the same section I

argued that in BP and at least some dialects of French Wh in situ and clefts are different constructions and do not behave the same way.

Zubizarreta (2002:3) concludes that, in the dialect of French she is investigating, the Wh-in-situ construction is a case of contrastive focus, which is associated with the property of exhaustivity, whereas the moved-Wh construction is a case of informational focus, which is not associated with exhaustivity. If Zubizarreta is right, we would have to conclude that in BP and some dialects of French both moved and Wh-in-situ questions are cases of informational and not contrastive focus. This is a desired conclusion in the case of information-seeking Wh-in-situ questions. However, more work is needed in teasing apart the behavior of Wh in situ in the different varieties of French.

### 3.8.3. English

English has been considered by some authors (e.g. Pesetsky (1987)) to only allow Wh in situ in multiple-Wh contexts. Others have questioned this assertion and shown that though restricted, Wh-in-situ questions are possible in English in single-Wh sentences (see Huddleston & Pullum (2002), Pires & Taylor 2007, Quirk et al. (1985), Reglero (2004), among others). I line up with the latter authors and suggest further that the conditions for the appropriacy of these constructions are indeed very similar to the ones in BP presented above. Let us



start with an example of a true information-seeking Wh-in-situ question in English, shown in (54).<sup>43</sup>

- (54) A doctor is talking to two patients. Patient A is sick, but B isn't. They ate dinner together. Patient A thinks what he has is food poisoning.  
Doctor to A: What did you eat at the restaurant?  
A: The tuna salad.  
Doctor to B: And you ate what?

In their paper, Pires & Taylor (2007) in fact always give parallel examples in English and BP, and the judgments are mostly the same for both languages. They discuss one case, however, in which the two languages differ. According to them, it involves *which*, as in (55).

- (55) a. B: (out of the blue): *Anna, você está assistindo qual programa na TV essa semana?*  
b. B: (out of the blue): #Anna, you're watching which program on TV this week?

P&T assume that, in English, the use of *which* is not enough to establish the Common Ground, so previous discourse is needed. In BP, on the other hand, *which* is enough to establish the Common Ground and the question in (55) is acceptable.

Although P&T focus on *which*-phrases, there are differences between English and BP involving other Wh-phrases. For example, let us look again at the dialogue in (36), repeated below in (56).

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<sup>43</sup> I thank Jonathan Bobaljik (p.c.) for this example.

- (56) [A starts talking to B and sees B packing]  
 A: Tônia, tô indo almoçar. Que que é isso? Vai pra onde?  
 Tônia am going have-lunch what that is this will.go to where  
 ‘Tônia, I’m leaving for lunch. What’s going on? Where are you going?’  
 B: Búzios. [city near Rio]

The Wh-in-situ question in this dialogue would not be felicitous in English, as shown in (57).

- (57) [A starts talking to B and sees B packing]  
 A: Tonia, I’m leaving for lunch. What’s going on? #You are going where?

The impossibility of (57) might suggest that English needs more context to license a Wh-in-situ question. However, this is not entirely accurate. In a collection of occurrences of Wh-in-situ questions from television shows<sup>44</sup>, there were cases in which this kind of question was the opening utterance in an interrogation, with no previous discourse, as is the case with the question in (58).

- (58) Detective: You’ve been going out with Madison for how long?

It looks like in this case the detective decided to use the Wh-in-situ strategy in his first question with the intent of emphasizing to the possible perpetrator that he, the detective, knows about the affair with Madison. It is as if communicating knowledge of the romance is more important than actually finding

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<sup>44</sup> See Appendix for the whole list of examples collected from TV shows.

out how long it has been happening. The listener, in turn, by hearing the Wh-in-situ question instead of a moved-Wh one, has to accommodate the fact that the detective is communicating more than that he wants an answer to a question.

I suggest that the main difference between English and BP is that Wh-in-situ questions in BP are equally distributed between the two ends of the continuum, i.e., information-seeking questions and indirect-speech-act questions, while in English they tend more towards the indirect-speech-act side, so there is always more to accommodate. This is of course just a preliminary conclusion, and more data analysis would be required to test its actual validity.

### **3.9. Chapter 3 Conclusions and Unresolved Issues**

In this chapter, I have tried to achieve a better understanding of the semantics and pragmatics of Wh-in-situ questions, mainly in BP. There are two main conclusions. First of all, that the use of a Wh-in-situ question in a Wh-movement language requires accommodation, in the sense of Stalnaker. Second, that the key to the conditions for the felicitous use of Wh in situ in a Wh-movement language lies not on the possible answers, but on the proposition contained in the question itself. One other conclusion from this chapter is that

different languages have different contextual requirements for the possibility of Wh-in-situ questions.

Yet, many questions remain that will have to be left for future work. Here is one of them. We have seen that different languages have slightly different pragmatic conditions for the acceptance of Wh-in-situ questions. So, in the Wh-movement languages that allow for Wh in situ, is there any independent property that can predict the exact conditions for the appropriacy of Wh-in-situ questions in each language? It may be related to how word order affects focus, for example.

Another similar problem with this chapter is that although I was able to make a descriptive generalization, this generalization is not accounted for in a principled way. There is nothing in this chapter that makes a correlation between the semantic/pragmatic properties of Wh-in-situ questions in BP and their syntactic behavior presented in Chapter 2. For now, this is a door that I will have to leave open for future work.

Unfortunately, the work in this chapter counted on a relatively small set of occurrences. What needs to be done in future research is to look at a more massive corpus for natural occurrences of Wh-in-situ questions in all the languages considered here in order to reach more precise generalizations. Based on these generalizations, hypotheses can be made and more examples can be constructed to test them, hopefully leading to a principled account that relates the syntactic and semantic/pragmatic restrictions on these constructions.

## Chapter 4

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### 4. Decomposing *Even*?

#### 4.1. Introduction

Consider the sentences in (1). In (1)a, we can conclude that *Battlefield Earth* is a bad movie, whereas in (1)b we can conclude that *Forrest Gump* is a good movie. If we think of a scale going from very bad movies at the low end to very good ones at the high end, *Battlefield Earth* would be at the bottom and *Forrest Gump* would be at the top.

- (1)    a. I like movies. I like **even** *Battlefield Earth*.  
      b. I hate movies. I don't like **even** *Forrest Gump*.

In English, the same word *even* can be used with either end of the scale. In some languages, like Brazilian Portuguese (BP), *even* corresponds to two different words, as shown in (2).

- (2) a. Eu gosto de filmes. Eu gosto **até** de *Campo de Batalha Terra*.  
I like of movies I like even of field of battle earth  
'I like movies. I even liked *Battlefield Earth*.'
- b. Eu não gosto de filmes. Eu não gosto **nem** de *Forrest Gump*.  
I not like of movies I not like even of Forrest Gump  
'I don't like movies. I don't like even *Forrest Gump*.'

What we see in (2) is that in BP when referring to the low end of the scale – in this case the bad movie – we use the word *até*, which usually means 'until', and when referring to the high end – the good movie – we use *nem*. Another generalization is that in BP the word *até* is used in affirmative contexts and the word *nem* in negative ones.

Now consider the sentences in (3). In (3)a, *these tickets* are presupposed to be bad, while in (3)b, they are presupposed to be good. This contrast raises the question of why *even* can denote different ends of the scale in a and b.

- (3) a. I'm glad I got **even** these tickets.  
b. I'm sorry I got **even** these tickets.

In BP, the correspondents to both sentences in (3) would use the word *até* denoting both ends of the scale. In this case, using *nem* for the high end of the scale is not possible.

- (4) a. Eu estou contente de ter conseguido **até** esses ingressos.  
       I am glad of have gotten even these tickets  
       'I'm glad I got even these tickets.'  
       b. Eu me arrependo de ter conseguido **até** esses ingressos.  
       I REFL regret of have gotten even these tickets  
       'I'm sorry I got even these tickets.'  
       c. \*Eu me arrependo de ter conseguido **nem** esses ingressos.

Consider now the contrast in (5). Here, we can see that while the negative polarity item (NPI) *any* is not licensed by *glad*, the stressed version of *any* is fine in the same context.

- (5) a. \*I'm glad we got any tickets.  
       b. I'm glad we got ANY tickets!

BP has the same contrast when we express the idea in (5)b. The word *qualquer* is roughly similar to free-choice *any*. When *qualquer* is unstressed, the sentence is unacceptable, but it becomes fine if *qualquer* is stressed.

- (6) a. \* Eu estou contente de termos conseguido qualquer ingresso.  
       I am glad of have gotten any ticket  
       b. Eu estou contente de termos conseguido QUALQUER ingresso.  
       I am glad of have gotten any ticket

The question that is raised here concerns the difference between stressed and unstressed *any/qualquer*. Besides, the sentences in (5)b and (6)b have a similar meaning to the ones in (3)a and (4)a. This begs another question: is there

any relation between the meaning and licensing conditions of *even/até* and those of stressed *any/qualquer*?

Finally, consider the contrasts in (7). Here we can see that not all predicates license stressed *any/qualquer*.

- (7) a. I'm glad we got ANY tickets!  
b. #I said we got ANY tickets!
- (8) a. Eu estou contente de termos conseguido QUALQUER ingresso!  
I am glad of have gotten any ticket  
'I'm glad we got ANY tickets!'  
b. #Eu disse que conseguimos QUALQUER ingresso!  
I said that got any ticket  
'#I said we got ANY tickets!'

The question here, then, is what kinds of predicates license stressed *any* or *qualquer*.

Let me now summarize the issues that have been raised so far:

- (9) a. Why can *even* and *até* denote different ends of the scale in (3) and (4)?  
b. What is the relation between the meaning and licensing conditions of *even/até* and those of stressed *any/qualquer*?  
c. What kinds of predicates license stressed *any/qualquer*?

In this chapter, I will investigate the questions in (9). I will first focus on question (9)a, by looking at some approaches to *even* in English and other languages and showing that none of them addresses all of the questions adequately. I will then use Guerzoni's (2002, 2004, 2006) decomposition analysis



for the German and Italian correspondents of *even* and apply it to *even* in English and *até* in BP. After that, I will investigate questions (9)b and (9)c.

The core of my proposal is that the ambiguity between both ends of the scale present in *even* in English and *até* in BP cannot result from decomposing these items into two parts that can scope over one another. This makes *even* and *até* look different from their correspondents *auch nur* in German and *anche solo* in Italian, which consist of two separate lexical items. I will show next that although it is undesirable to decompose *even*, it can exist as a silent operator and account for the similarity of stressed *any/qualquer* and *even/até*. I will also propose a way to account for the difference between predicates that license or do not license stressed *any/qualquer*, based on the kind of presuppositions these predicates have.

## 4.2. The Meaning of *even*

Since Karttunen & Peters (1979), it has been standardly accepted in the literature that *even* evokes an alternative set based on the focused element.<sup>45</sup> For example, the sentence in (10) evokes the alternative set in (11).

(10) I read even [<sub>F</sub> the fine print]

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<sup>45</sup> See Rooth (1985, 1992, 1996) for more on focus-evoking alternatives.

- (11) {I read the title, I read all the sections, I read the footnotes, I read the fine print}

*Even* does not affect the truth conditions of the sentence, but it carries two presuppositions<sup>46</sup>: existence and scalarity. For the sentence in (10), the presuppositions are as shown in (12).

- (12) Existence: There is something else other than the fine print that I read.  
 Scalarity: The fine print is the least likely thing in the alternative set for me to have read.

In more formal terms, we can represent the meaning of *even* as in (13),<sup>47</sup> where *S* is a scale or ranking of *x* and relevant alternatives to *x*.

- (13) [[*even*]](*S*)(*p*) is defined iff  
 (i)  $\exists y \in S$  such that  $y \neq x$  and  $p(y)$  Existence  
 (ii)  $\forall y \in S$ ,  $p(y)$  is more likely than  $p(x)$  Scalarity  
 If defined, then  
 [[*even*]](*S*)(*p*) =  $p(x)$

Before moving on, a caveat is in order regarding the denotation of *even* given in (13). Note that in (13)(ii) I defined the scalarity presupposition in terms of likelihood. Although this is the most common approach in the literature (as in the references in note 47), scalarity can be defined using a scale based on pragmatic entailments (e.g., Fauconnier (1975), Kay (1990)) or organized

<sup>46</sup> In fact, Karttunen & Peters (1979) consider the non-truth-conditional parts of the meaning of *even* to be conventional implicatures, not presuppositions. There is some debate in the literature on the status of conventional implicatures vs. presuppositions. For an overview of the evolution of the notion of presupposition, see Beaver (1996). This difference, however, will have no bearing on the aspects discussed in this chapter, so I will continue calling the non-truth-conditional elements presuppositions.

<sup>47</sup> For variations on the meaning of *even*, see Horn (1969), Karttunen & Peters (1979), Wilkinson (1996), Guerzoni (2003), Giannakidou (2007), among others, and references therein.

according to other contextually salient ordering dimensions. Rullmann (1997) uses the example in (14), based on discussion by Horn (1972), to illustrate the difficulties in defining scales.

- (14) A: Is Claire an [<sub>F</sub> assistant] professor?  
B: No, she's even an [<sub>F</sub> associate] professor.

Rullman points out that in (14), it is not necessarily the case that being an associate professor is more likely than being an assistant professor, nor that the former entails the latter.

I would also like to point out that considering *even* to be the end-point of a scale, of likelihood or something else, is also a point of contention. Consider the sentences in (15) (a and b are from Kay 1990:89 and c is from Rullman 1997:45). In (15)a, the semi-finals is probably not Mary's ultimate goal. Likewise, the lieutenant colonels in (15)b are not the least likely people to be making decisions, and nothing in (15)c suggests that three children is the upper limit on the number of children a person can have.

- (15) a. Not only did Mary win her first round match, she even made it to the semi-finals.  
b. The administration was so bewildered that they even had lieutenant colonels making major policy decisions.  
c. Ed has two children and Fred even has three.

In short, the meaning of *even* presented in (13) is a simplification and not the most adequate denotation of the word. However, for the purposes of this

chapter, i.e. testing whether a decomposition hypothesis can explain the meaning of English *even*, this simplification will suffice.

### 4.3. Ambiguities – The Scope Theory

Consider the sentences in (16) and (17), both of which are similarly ambiguous.

- (16) O João está surpreso que o Pedro goste [<sub>F</sub> até da Mary].  
the João is surprised that the Pedro likes even of-the Mary  
'João is surprised that Pedro likes even Mary.'

- (17) John is surprised that Peter likes [<sub>F</sub> even Mary].

The two possible meanings of both (16) and (17) are summarized in (18) below.

- (18) a. Mary is a very unpleasant person, but Peter likes everyone.  
b. Mary is a likeable person, but Peter doesn't like too many people.

This ambiguity can be accounted for if we assume that it is due to two possible scope configurations. This is the scope theory of *even* (see Karttunen & Peters (1979), Wilkinson (1996), Guerzoni (2003)).

The main claim of the scope theory is that *even* can have scope over the

embedded clause only or over the whole sentence. For the sentence in (17) above, for example, the two possible readings are summarized in (19) below, which is unfavorable to Mary, and (20) below, which is favorable to Mary.

- (19) Reading in a:  
John is surprised that [[even Mary]<sub>i</sub> Peter likes t<sub>i</sub>]  
Presuppositions:  
Existential: There is someone else other than Mary that Peter likes  
Scalar: Mary is the least likely person for Peter to like
- (20) Reading in b:  
[even Mary]<sub>i</sub> John is surprised that [Peter likes]<sub>i</sub>  
Presuppositions:  
Existential: There is someone else other than Mary that John is surprised  
that Peter likes  
Scalar: Mary is the least likely person for John to be surprised that Peter  
likes favorable to Mary

#### 4.4. Glad and Sorry with Even

Let us now consider the sentence in (21).

- (21) I got even these tickets.

The existence presupposition of (21) is that there are other tickets that I got and the scalar presupposition is that these tickets are the least likely ones for me to get. Usually, the least likely tickets to get are good tickets.

Considering that the phrase *even these tickets* in (21) refers to good tickets, let us now embed (21) under *sorry*, as in the sentence in (22). The use of *even* in (22) applied to *these tickets* results in the interpretation that the tickets are good, and the meaning of the sentence is that I'm sorry in spite of the tickets being good. In other words, it would be unlikely for me to be sorry for getting good tickets.

(22) I'm sorry I got even these tickets.

However, interpreting the same phrase *even these tickets* as meaning that the tickets are good will give us bad results in (23). Intuitively, (23) means that the tickets are *not* good, but I am glad anyway. This means that *even these tickets* should refer to bad tickets, but this is not what we concluded the meaning of the phrase was.

(23) I'm glad I got even these tickets.

We have to explain, then, how it is that the same phrase *even these tickets* can have two opposite meanings, namely good tickets or bad tickets, in these two sentences.

#### 4.4.1. The lexical ambiguity theory

A possible way to account for the ambiguity of *even* in an embedded clause was suggested by Rooth (1985), who proposed that this ambiguity is due to a lexical ambiguity of *even*.

(24) John is surprised that Peter likes [<sub>F</sub> even Mary].

Rooth noticed that the kinds of sentences in which *even* can have a second reading coincide with the kinds of sentences in which negative polarity items (NPIs) are licensed. For example, if we replace *even Mary* with the NPI *anyone* in (25), the only possible reading is the one that corresponds to the wide scope reading of (25), i.e., that Peter doesn't usually like anyone and John is surprised that this time he does like someone.

(25) John is surprised that Peter likes [<sub>F</sub> anyone].

Rooth's proposal then is that aside from usual *even* there is also *even<sub>NPI</sub>*, which is an NPI-like lexical item that is responsible for the second reading (what would be the wide-scope reading in the scope theory). This *even<sub>NPI</sub>* has the semantics much like the usual *even*, except that its second argument is negated in the calculation of presuppositions: a proposition is less likely to be true than another proposition if and only if the negation of the former is more likely to be true than the negation of the latter. So the second reading of (25) comes from the

use of *even*<sub>NPI</sub>, which contributes the scalar presupposition that Mary is the least likely person not to be liked by Bill.

The main problem that has been raised about the lexical ambiguity theory is that it has to postulate a new lexical item that might not be necessary at all. It is more desirable to have a theory that can account for the behavior of *even* based on other already existing properties of the language instead of having to stipulate a different lexical item.

Before looking at the implications of using *even*<sub>NPI</sub>, let us briefly go over some characteristics of NPIs in general, in particular the so-called strong NPIs.

#### **4.4.1.1. Strawson-Downward Entailment**

Let us first consider what contexts license the use of NPIs. As argued by Ladusaw (1980), NPIs like *any* and *ever* need a downward entailing context to be licensed. The notion of downward entailment used by Ladusaw, however, predicted that some NPIs would not be licensed in certain contexts where they in fact are licensed, like adversatives (e.g. *be surprised*, *be amazed*, *be sorry*) and under *only* (see also Linebarger (1980)). von Stechow (1990) then argued that in fact we need a notion of entailment that in order to check the truth value of a sentence will check if the truth values of its inferences are preserved under the assumption that the presuppositions of premises and conclusion are satisfied. He dubs this notion Strawson-downward entailment (SDE). Let us take a closer look at SDE.



The definition given by von Fintel is in (26), and (27) shows why we can say that *Only John ate vegetables for breakfast* Strawson-entails *Only John ate kale for breakfast*.

- (26) Strawson Downward Entailingness  
A function  $f$  of type  $\langle \sigma, \gamma \rangle$  is Strawson-DE iff for all  $x, y$  of type  $\sigma$  such that  $x \rightarrow y$  and  $f(x)$  is defined:  $f(y) \rightarrow f(x)$
- (27) Kale is a vegetable.  
John ate kale for breakfast.  
Only John ate vegetables for breakfast.  
 $\therefore$  Only John ate kale for breakfast.

The predicate *to be sorry* is SDE, as shown in (28). We would then expect it to license NPIs, as it in fact does, as shown in (29).

- (28) An iBook is a computer.  
John bought an iBook.  
I'm sorry that John bought a computer.  
 $\therefore$  I'm sorry that John bought an iBook.
- (29) I'm sorry he bought anything.

If we try to do the same thing with the predicate *to be glad*, on the other hand, we can see that it is not SDE, since the conclusion in (30) is not necessarily true. Imagine the following context: John's wife wants a computer, but she is a PC user and does not like Apple computers. Therefore, she is not glad that John bought an iBook, even though an iBook is a computer.

- (30) An iBook is a computer.  
John bought an iBook.  
I'm glad that John bought a computer.  
??? I'm glad that John bought an iBook.

In this section, whenever I refer to downward entailing predicates I am assuming von Fintel's notion of Strawson downward entailment.

#### 4.4.2. Advantages of the lexical ambiguity theory

Rullmann (1997), following Rooth (1985) and von Stechow (1991), claims that the scope theory has problems concerning general restrictions on scope. For example, differently from other focus particles, *even* can scope over negation. Rullman illustrates this with *only*, as in (31)-(33).

- (31) a. John didn't even invite [F Bill].  
b. John even didn't invite [F Bill].
- (32) a. John didn't only invite [F Bill].  
b. John only didn't invite [F Bill].
- (33) a. John didn't usually invite [F Bill].  
b. John usually didn't invite [F Bill].

Whereas (31)a is equivalent to (31)b, with *even* taking scope over negation, (32)a and (33)a are not equivalent to their counterparts in (32)b and (33)b. This makes the behavior of *even* different from that of other adverbs, like *only* and *usually*.

Rullmann further points out that the wide scope theory violates some general restrictions on scope assignment. For example, (34) is ambiguous: it can presuppose that *Syntactic Structures* is a book which linguists are likely to read, or the opposite, that it is unlikely that linguistics read the book.

(34) They hired no linguist who had even read [F *Syntactic Structures*].

According to the scope theory, the second reading is achieved when *even* remains in the scope of the determiner at LF. As for the first reading, the scope theory must allow *even* to scope out of the NP it is contained in, so that at LF it gets wide scope over *no*. Rullmann proposes the paraphrase in (35).

(35) They even hired no linguist who had read [F *Syntactic Structures*].

In this case, *even* should be allowed to scope out of the relative clause, which is not allowed with other elements that allow for wide scope, like *each*. (36)a cannot have the meaning in (36)b.

- (36) a. They hired no linguist who had read each of Chomsky's books.  
b. Each of Chomsky's books is such that they hired no linguist who had read it.

In short, the main problem with the scope theory, then, is that the movement of *even* seems to be a phenomenon on its own, different from other focus-related movements.

Another argument for the lexical ambiguity theory is that, crosslinguistically, there are usually at least two different lexical items corresponding to *even*, each with its own distribution and none of which creates the ambiguities common to *even*. For example, Dutch has *zelfs* and *zelfs/ooks maar* (Rullmann (1997), Hoeksema & Rullmann (2001)), German has *sogar* and *auch nur* (von Stechow (1991), Kurschner (1993), Heim & Lahiri (2002)), Italian has *addirittura* and *anche solo* (Guerzoni (2002, 2005)), suggesting that these languages also have different lexical items corresponding to *even* and *even*<sub>NPI</sub>. However, this does not have to be the case. Guerzoni (2002) points out in all these languages the NPI correspondents to *even* are composed of an element corresponding to *also* and one corresponding to *only*, and so their NPI behavior could be derived compositionally from the meaning of these two words.

Finally, Rullmann (1997) points out that English also has an NPI which is similar to *even*<sub>NPI</sub>, i.e., *so much as* (as first suggested by Heim (1984)).

- (37) a. \*He so much as looked at me.  
b. He didn't so much as look at me.

He argues that the wide scope theory would have to ascribe to NPI forms like *so much as* properties which seem to conflict with each other: on the one hand, being NPIs, they have to appear in the scope of an NPI trigger in the surface

syntactic structure; on the other hand, they must take scope over this trigger in the semantics. This conflict does not arise with other PPIs, which necessarily take scope over negation in surface structure and semantics, and do not need an NPI trigger to be grammatical. Again, by decomposing *even* it would seem that we could circumvent this conflict by allowing the *nur*-component to move separately from *even*.

#### 4.4.3. NPI-like behavior

It is undeniable that there is some link between low scalarity *even* and NPIs, and this is one of the strongest appeals of the lexical ambiguity theory.

In the scope theory, Rullmann points out that although *even* is not constrained by island conditions, it IS constrained in certain ways in which wide scope is usually not restricted. The example given by Rullmann is the lack of ambiguity in the a-sentences in (38) and (39), which shows that moving *even* from the relative clause to the matrix should be blocked in the case of non-DE determiners like *a* and *the*.

- (38) a. They hired a linguist who had even read [F Syntactic Structures].  
       b. They even hired a linguist who had read [<sub>F</sub> *Syntactic Structures*].
- (39) a. They hired the linguist who had even read [F Syntactic Structures].  
       b. They even hired the linguist who had read [<sub>F</sub> *Syntactic Structures*].

The scope theory, then, would have to say that *even* can take scope over a c-commanding determiner iff that determiner is DE. This would not be enough, however, to explain the contrast in (40).

- (40) a. They didn't hire any linguist who had ever talked to Chomsky.  
b. \*They didn't hire the linguist who had ever talked to Chomsky..

Rullmann argues that on the NPI theory, the nonambiguity of (40)a would have the same explanation as the ungrammaticality of (40)b. In the scope theory, we would need a restriction like “*even* can take wide scope over a c-commanding operator O iff O is DE and the path between *even* and O does not include any DE or nonmonotone elements.” Rullmann (1997)). This generalization looks like the conditions on the licensing of NPIs (Ladusaw (1980), Linebarger (1980), among others), but is different from constraints on other scope-bearing elements. As Rullman (1997: 50) puts it: “Although it may be possible to come up with an adequate description of the behavior of *even* in terms of scope, such a description would group it with the wrong set of phenomena, and thereby miss important generalizations.”

In the case of *glad*, the lexical theory predicts that the *even* in question is the NPI-*even*, so our *glad* sentence would have the structure in (41).

- (41) I am glad [[*even*<sub>n</sub> these tickets]<sub>i</sub> [we got t<sub>i</sub>]]

The existence presupposition is that there are some other tickets that we did not get, and the scalar presupposition is that, of the relevant tickets, these are the most likely for us to get. This is the interpretation we want.

Schwarz (2000), however, questions if the LF in (41) is well-formed, since sentences embedded under *glad* do not in general host negative polarity items. In other words, why can *glad* license NPI-*even* but not other NPIs? One possible explanation suggested by Schwarz is to rely on the difference between strong and weak NPIs. (42), with an intonationally prominent *any*, is acceptable.

(42) I'm glad we got ANY tickets. (intonationally prominent)

Ladusaw (1980) only describes weak NPIs, and maybe only these are required to be in the scope of an entailment reversing function. NPI-*even* then would be a strong NPI and could be licensed under *glad*. In this case, we need a clear account of the distribution of strong NPIs, which Schwarz claims is not available. For example, he mentions that to Krifka (1995), stressed ANY is required to appear in the scope of an implicit operator whose meaning closely resembles that of *even*. This would then reduce the lexical ambiguity theory to a version of the scope theory.

I suggest that we look at this problem from another point of view and ask the question: What if the NPIs licensed under *glad* are not really NPIs? Guerzoni (2006) suggests that the NPI-like behavior of *anche solo* or *auch nur* is a consequence of the fact that the *also* and the *only* parts have to be separated to

avoid a presupposition clash. Let us look at her example in (43), whose LF is sketched in (44).

- (43) Nessuno ha salutato anche solo<sub>2</sub> Maria  
 no one has greeted also only Maria  
 ‘No one greeted even Maria.’

- (44) [anche [nessuno<sub>1</sub> [ [solo<sub>2</sub> [t<sub>1</sub> ha salutato [ [Maria]<sub>f</sub> ]<sub>d</sub> ]]]]]

The presence of *nessuno* between *anche* and *solo* causes the presupposition of *solo* to be negated, so *anche* applied to the rest of the sentence will cause no presupposition clash. Therefore, *anche solo* or *auch nur* are not really NPIs. It so happens that NPI licensors are appropriate to avoid the presupposition clash between the *auch* and *nur* elements in Italian and German, but it is not only NPI licensors that can do that.

One example of a non-NPI licensor that can license *auch nur* is the case of *glad*. Recall that the correspondent to (45) in Italian is (46), with *anche solo*.

- (45) I'm glad we got even these tickets.

- (46) Sono contento di aver preso anche solo questi (brutti) biglietti.  
 I-am happy of have gotten also only these bad tickets  
 ‘I'm glad I got even these (bad) tickets.’

In short, the lexical ambiguity theory is not a better alternative than the scope theory. I will revisit the scope theory in the next section.



#### 4.4.4. The Scope Theory

In the scope-ambiguity theory, the sentence in (23) would have the structure in (47).

- (47) [even these tickets]<sub>1</sub> I am glad we got t<sub>1</sub>

The presuppositions resulting from the use of *even* in this sentence are listed in (48).

- (48) a. scalar: These tickets are the least likely for me to be glad we got  
b. existence: there are tickets other than these that I am glad we got

Note that the existence presupposition in (48) contradicts native speakers' intuitions, and this is a potential problem for the scope theory. Given that the presuppositions of *even* have matched speakers' intuition in cases other than *glad*, Wilkinson (1996) proposes that the inaccuracy of (48) is caused not by *even*, but by *glad*, which is typically considered a factive predicate. Her proposed solution is to eliminate the factive presupposition of *glad*, which would result in *glad* having the same meaning of *want*. According to Wilkinson, the resulting presuppositions are the ones in (49).

- (49) Existence presupposition: there is something other than these tickets that I wanted us to get

Scalar presupposition: these tickets are the least likely for me to have wanted us to get

The idea of equating *glad* to *want* had already been put forth by Kadmon & Landman (1993) as a way to deal with the puzzle of *even* scoping under *glad*. (50) shows Kadmon & Landman's definition of *want*.

- (50)  $[[wants_i]]^{f,g}(p)(\alpha)(w) = \text{True iff } \forall w' \in \max_{g(\alpha,w)}(f_i(\alpha,w)): w' \in p$   
'Among the worlds  $f(\alpha,w)$ , the ones that maximally correspond to  $\alpha$ 's preferences in  $w$  are all  $p$ -worlds.'

However, it is not obvious that *glad* is equivalent to *want*. First of all, it is possible to be glad with something you did not in principle want. If the meanings of *glad* and *want* are the same, a sentence like (51) would be contradictory.

- (51) I didn't want a dog, but I was glad we got one.

Even worse would be the case in (52). If *glad* has the same meaning as *want*, (52)a would have the same meaning of (52)b, which is counter-intuitive.

- (52) a. I want to live in New York and I'm glad I live in New York.  
b. I want to live in New York and I want to live in New York.

Schwarz also points out the sentence in (53) as problematic.

(53) I am glad they even READ the paper.

He points out that the predicted scalar presupposition is that reading is the least likely thing I want them to do with the paper. I want them to read and understand the paper. But they can't understand the paper if they don't read it first. Reading will be involved in all other actions I want them to do with the paper.<sup>48</sup>

#### 4.4.5. More on *Glad*

As has been pointed out by Kadmon & Landman (1993), Wilkinson (1996), and Schwarz (2000), the sentence in (54) means that the tickets we got are bad.

(54) I'm glad we got even these tickets.

This reading does not seem to arise from standard *even* scoping within the embedded clause. Both the scope theory and the lexical theory run into trouble in accounting for the meaning of *even* under *glad*.

As mentioned in section 4.3 the scope theory would assume the LF sketched in (55).

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<sup>48</sup> Actually, this would not be a problem if the word *only* were added to the sentence, as in (i).  
(i) I'm glad they even ONLY READ the paper.

(55) [even these tickets]<sub>1</sub> I am glad we got t<sub>1</sub>

The presuppositions that arise from this structure are:

- scalar: These tickets are the least likely for me to be glad we got
- existence: there are tickets other than these that I am glad we got

The scalar presupposition is accurate, but not the existence presupposition.

There are no tickets other than these that I am glad we got.

Wilkinson (1996) defends the scope theory by suggesting that the factive presupposition triggered by *glad* is to be factored out in the calculation of the presupposition triggered by *even*. Subtracting the factive presupposition from the denotation of *glad* yields, according to her, precisely the denotation of *want*. The existence presupposition would then be that there is something other than these tickets that I wanted us to get, and the scalar presupposition is that these tickets are the least likely for me to have wanted us to get. This is the reading we want.

However, as mentioned in section 4.2, Schwarz (2000) argues that her analysis depends on properties that cannot account for all cases of *even* under *glad*. Recall his example in (53), repeated in (56) in an interpretation conveying that reading the paper is the least they should have done. But obviously it would have been more desirable if they had both read and understood the paper.

(56) I am glad they even READ the paper.

In Wilkinson's account, this should be due to the scalar presupposition that reading the paper is the least likely thing for me to want them to do – I am less likely to want them to read the paper than to want them to read and understand the paper. Schwarz claims that this is logically inconsistent: a proposition cannot be more likely to be true than another proposition that entails it. The entailment relation would be the one in (57). For *read and understand* to be true, *read* must be true. Therefore, *read* must be more likely than *read and understand*.

(57) read and understand  $\rightarrow$  read

Wilkinson's proposal would result in the scalar presupposition that "the paper" is the least likely thing for me to want them to read, which is not an adequate meaning of (56).

#### 4.4.6. Interim Conclusion

All in all, it looks like the problems with using the scope theory for the meaning of *even* is that sometimes it is not clear what exactly *even* is scoping over and why. The different scope possibilities do a great job explaining some ambiguities, but the existence of these possibilities sometimes makes wrong predictions. More precisely, it is not clear if both of its presuppositions, existence

and scalarity, always apply to whatever is under its scope. It would be undesirable, however, to stipulate that sometimes only existence applies and sometimes only scalarity does.

In the next section, I will attempt, based on Guerzoni (2002, 2004, 2005), to see if that dubious character of *even* arises because *even* does not consist of a single atomic lexical item, but can in fact be broken into two parts that can take different parts of a sentence under their scope.

## 4.5. Even Only

### 4.5.1. Introduction

One of the claims in favor of the scope theory (Karttunen & Peters (1979), Wilkinson (1996), Lahiri (1998), Guerzoni (2002, 2004, 2005)) is that it makes use of a mechanism, scope ambiguity, which is independently needed in semantic theory. Guerzoni (2002) points out that although *even* in English or *até* in BP look like a single lexical item, their correspondents in some languages consist of two lexical items, like *auch nur* in German and *anche solo* in Italian. Her approach to deal with elements like *auch nur* and *anche solo* is to allow *auch* and *anche* to move independently from *nur* and *solo*.

In this section, I will present Guerzoni's approach and see if it can account for the data that has been presented in this paper.

#### 4.5.2. Crosslinguistic variation and the scope theory

Guerzoni (2002, 2004, 2005) shows how the existence of different lexical items for different meanings of *even* is not a good argument in favor of the lexical theory. Recall that in languages like German, Dutch, and Italian, the correspondent to the lexical theory's *even*<sub>NPI</sub> is composed of a word meaning *only* and another meaning *also*. According to the lexical theory, *only* and *also* should be considered a single lexical item with the meaning of *even*<sub>NPI</sub>. Guerzoni points out that it is not a mere coincidence that in different languages these items have the same components, and proposes a way of treating these components compositionally.

For convenience, I will only refer to German *auch nur*, but its properties should be extended to Dutch *selfz maar* and Italian *anche solo*. In a nutshell, her proposal is that the *only* in these expressions, which I will refer to simply as *nur*, is what is really ambiguous. More specifically, it is unspecified as to which part of it is the presupposition and which is the assertion. The properties of *auch nur* are then derived by the interaction of *nur* (with one of the two possible specifications) and *auch*.

The exclusivity of *nur* and the additivity of *auch* are incompatible, so a sentence containing both would in principle always results in a contradiction. However, in negative or DE contexts, this clash can be resolved under the

assumption that *auch* in *auch nur* can outscope the DE expressions. This, according to Guerzoni, is what makes *auch nur* look like an NPI.

Guerzoni proposes further that the *nur* in *auch nur* has a different specification from regular *nur*, which occurs alone: exclusivity and factivity are swapped as for which one is asserted and which is presupposed. She calls this “swapped *nur*” *nur*<sub>2</sub>. The meanings of *nur* and *nur*<sub>2</sub> (Guerzoni 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006) are given in (58) and (59). Note that the main difference between them is which of exclusivity and factivity is asserted and which is presupposed.

- (58)  $[[nur_1]]^w(S)(p)$  is defined iff  
 (i)  $p(w) = 1$  Factivity  
 (ii)  $p$  is LOW on  $S$  Scalarity  
 If defined,  
 $[[nur_1]]^w(S)(p) = 1$  iff  $\forall q \in S [q >_s p \rightarrow q(w) = 0]$  Exclusivity
- (59)  $[[nur_2]]^w(S)(p)$  is defined iff  
 (i)  $\forall q \in S [q >_s p \rightarrow q(w) = 0]$  Exclusivity  
 (ii)  $p$  is LOW on  $S$  Scalarity  
 If defined,  
 $[[nur_2]]^w(S)(p) = 1$  iff  $p(w) = 1$  Factivity

(60)a has two potential LFs, shown in (60)b and (60)c. However, the sentence only has one meaning. Let us see how Guerzoni accounts for that.

- (60) a. Niemand hat auch  $[nur [die Marie]_f]$  getroffen.  
           no one has also only the Mary met  
 b. LF1:  $[niemand_1 [auch [nur [t_1 \text{ hat } [[die Marie]_f]_f \text{ getroffen}]]]]$   
 c. LF2:  $[auch [niemand_1 [[nur [t_1 \text{ hat } [[die Marie]_f]_f \text{ getroffen}]]]]]$



LF1, just like the affirmative sentences, will always be infelicitous no matter which *nur*, the regular one or *nur*<sub>2</sub>, is used. As for LF2, *nur*<sub>2</sub> will result in compatible presuppositions and assertions.

- (61) For every assignment function g:
- a. Presupposition of *nur*<sub>2</sub>: there is no person y different from Mary such that g(1) greeted y
  - b. Presupposition of *auch*: g(1) greeted someone different from Mary
  - c. Resulting presuppositions: g(1) didn't greet anybody different from Mary  
  &  
  g(1) greeted somebody different from Mary

Assuming Heim's (1988) theory of presupposition projection, the presupposition at the top node is that everyone didn't greet anybody other than Mary and greeted somebody different from Mary. This is contradictory, and that is why LF1 is bad.

As for LF2, the assertion and presuppositions are as in (62).

- (62) a. Assertion: Nobody met Mary  
b. Presupposition of *auch*: There is someone different from Mary that nobody greeted  
c. Presupposition of *nur*<sub>2</sub>: There is no x different from Mary such that g(1) greeted x  
d. Presupposition of *nur*<sub>2</sub> at the top node: Somebody greeted no one different from Mary

The presuppositions at the top of the tree are in (63).

- (63) a. There is someone different from Mary that nobody greeted and someone greeted nobody different from Mary.

- b. Nobody greeted anybody different from Mary and there is someone different from Mary that nobody greeted. <--> Nobody greeted anybody different from Mary.

Guerzoni also mentions one of Rullmann's (1997) objections to the scope theory. Rullman says that, in the scope theory, items like *auch nur* have to appear in the scope of an NPI trigger in the surface syntactic structure, but must take scope over it in semantics, unlike other NPIs. She replies to this objection by saying that in her analysis *nur* scopes under negation, and the presence of *auch* requires a scale reversal operator for it to outscope, in order to resolve a conflict in presuppositions; so *auch* and *nur* must take opposite scope with respect to a DE expression because of their meanings and there is no need for specific stipulations.

#### 4.5.3. How about English *even* and BP *até*?

We have seen how Guerzoni's analysis explains the behavior of *auch nur* and related expressions in Italian and Dutch. Can the same analysis be used for English *even*? First of all we have to compare *even* to *auch nur* and see how they relate. Consider (64) and (65), adapted from Guerzoni (2006).

- (64) a. If you **even** have one child, you can get child support.  
 b. **Até** se você tiver (só) um filho, você pode conseguir pensão familiar.  
 c. Si tu as **même** un (seul) enfant, tu peux avoir des allocations familiales.  
 d. Se hai **anche solo** UN figlio, ti danno i sussidi familiari.  
 e. Wenn du **auch nur** 1 Kind hast, wird dir die Kinderbeihilfe.

- (65)
- a. If you **even** have TEN children, you are refused child support
  - b. **Até** se você tiver DEZ filhos, você não consegue pensão familiar.
  - b. Si tu as **même** DIX enfants, tu ne peux pas avoir des allocations familiales
  - c. \*Se hai **anche solo** DIECI figli, ti rifiutano i sussidi familiari
  - d.\*Wenn du **auch nur** 10 Kinder hast, wird dir die Kinderbeihilfe verweigert

According to Guerzoni, these examples show that although *even*, *até*, and *même* can be interpreted as either low or high scalar, *auch nur* and *anche solo* have a low scalar requirement. This explains the contrast in (65). The presupposition of the *even*, *até*, and *même* in (65) is spelled out in (66), and that of *anche solo* and *auch nur* is spelled out in (67).

- (66) Scalar presupposition of wide scope *even*, *até*, and *même*:  
 For any contextually relevant  $n \in \mathbb{N}$ , the likelihood of being refused child support with  $n$  children exceeds the likelihood of being refused child support with 10 children.  
 The more children one has the more likely it is to receive child support.
- (67) Presupposition of narrow scope *anche solo* and *auch nur*  
 Exclusivity: There is no contextually relevant  $n > 10$  such that you have  $n$  children  
 Scalarity: For any contextually relevant  $n$ , the likelihood of having 10 children exceeds the likelihood of having  $n$  children (where  $n < 10$ , due to the exclusive presupposition) -----> WRONG!

The low scalarity requirement of *anche solo* and *auch nur* goes hand in hand with their NPI-like effects. It is very tempting then, to relate *anche solo* and *auch nur* to the NPI-like *even*.

#### 4.5.4. English *even*

Recall that the sentence repeated in (68) was a problem for the scope and the lexical ambiguity theory.

- (68) I'm glad we got even [these tickets]<sub>F</sub>

In (68), *these tickets* has a low scalar meaning, i.e., these tickets are low on a scale of quality of tickets. Look at similar sentences in (69)-(71) (Italian) and (72)-(74) (Dutch).

- (69) Sono contento di aver preso anche solo questi (brutti) biglietti.  
I-am happy of have gotten also only these bad tickets  
'I'm glad I got even these (bad) tickets.'
- (70) \* Mi dispiace di aver preso anche solo questi (eccellenti) biglietti.  
me displeases of have gotten also only these excellent tickets  
'I'm sorry I got even these (excellent) tickets.'
- (71) Mi dispiace di aver preso addirittura questi (eccellenti) biglietti.  
me displeases of have gotten even these excellent tickets  
'I'm sorry I got even these (excellent) tickets.'
- (72) ik ben blij dat we die kaartjes zelfs/ook maar hebben gekregen  
I am glad that we these tickets even/also only have gotten  
'I'm glad we got even these tickets.'

- (73) \* het spijt me dat we die kaartjes zelfs/ook maar hebben gekregen  
 it spites me that we these tickets even/also only have gotten  
 ‘I’m sorry we got even these tickets.’
- (74) het spijt me dat we die kaartjes zelfs hebben gekregen  
 it spites me that we these tickets even have gotten  
 ‘I’m sorry we got even these tickets.’

What we can observe in these examples is that in the cases where the tickets are good, the *auch nur*<sub>2</sub> version of *even* is possible, whereas when the tickets are bad only the regular *even* is possible.

Extending this generalization to English, we can look at (68) in a similar way: when *even* makes the tickets good, we have some kind of *auch nur*, whereas when they are bad, we would have regular *even*.

If English is in any way like German or Italian, such a sentence would require some kind of *nur* meaning. Recall Schwarz’s sentence in (53), repeated below as (75). He used this sentence as an argument against Wilkinson’s (1996) treatment of *glad* as *want*.

- (75) I am glad they even READ the paper.

Using Wilkinson’s proposal, the meaning of (75) would roughly be that I am less likely to want them to read the paper than to want them to read and understand the paper, for example. His objection is that this is making a proposition (I want them to read the paper) less likely to be true than a proposition (I want them to read and understand the paper) that entails it, which is logically

inconsistent. This objection, by the way, would hold even if *glad* did not have the same meaning as *want*; the sentence *I am less likely to be glad that they read the paper than to be glad that they read and understood the paper* has the same entailment relations between *reading and understanding the paper* and *reading the paper*.

On the other hand, this entailment relation does not exist if we consider that *read the paper* means **only read the paper** and nothing else. This would give us a scale of preferences along the lines of (76), where the symbol < simply means “less preferable than”.

(76) only read < read + understand < read + understand + present < ...

If we use the scale in (76), then *read and understand* does not entail *only read*; on the contrary, both actions are contradictory. In short, for (75) to be interpreted, we need to consider that *read* means “read and nothing else”. The intuition here is that together with *read* there is something that ensures it is the only action that happens and nothing else. The low scalarity of English *even* and BP *até* could come from a hidden *nur*-like element. Thus (68), the bad-ticket sentence, would have four potential LFs, with the scope relations indicated in (77).

(77) 1. glad > even with *nur*<sub>1</sub>  
 2. glad > even with *nur*<sub>2</sub>  
 3. even > glad with *nur*<sub>1</sub>  
 4. even > glad with *nur*<sub>2</sub>

Based on Guerzoni (2006), I will use the definitions of *nur*<sub>1</sub> and *nur*<sub>2</sub> in (78) and (79) for the hidden element that could come with low-scalarity *even* and *até*.

- (78)  $[[nur_1]]^w(S)(p)$  is defined iff  
 (i)  $p(w) = 1$  Factivity  
 (ii)  $p$  is LOW on  $S$  Scalarity  
 If defined,  
 $[[nur_1]]^w(S)(p) = 1$  iff  $\forall q \in S [q \succ_s p \rightarrow q(w)=0]$  Exclusivity

- (79)  $[[nur_2]]^w(S)(p)$  is defined iff  
 (i)  $\forall q \in S [q \succ_s p \rightarrow q(w)=0]$  Exclusivity  
 (ii)  $p$  is LOW on  $S$  Scalarity  
 If defined,  
 $[[nur_2]]^w(S)(p) = 1$  iff  $p(w) = 1$  Factivity

The context  $C$  generates a ranking  $S$  along a contextually salient ordering dimension.

The definitions of *even* and *glad* that I will be assuming will be the ones in (80) and (81).

- (80)  $[[even]](S)(p)$  is defined iff  
 (i)  $\exists y \in S$  such that  $y \neq x$  and  $p(y)$   
 (ii)  $\forall y \in S$ ,  $p(y)$  is more likely than  $p(x)$   
 If defined, then  
 $[[even]](S)(p) = p(x)$

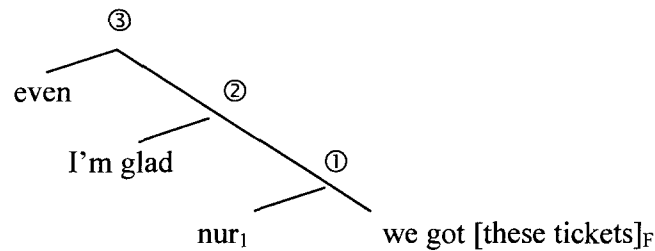
- (81)  $[[glad]](p)(x)$  is defined iff  $p = 1$   
 If defined,  $[[glad]](p)(x) = 1$  iff  $x$  is satisfied with  $p$

Let us now then look at the four possible LFs for (68), considering the scale in (82), based on the quality of the tickets.

(82) S: we got these tickets  $<_{\text{quality}}$  tickets kind A  $<_{\text{quality}}$  tickets kind B ...

First of all, any LF that has *even* and *nur* together, as in (77)1 and 2, is a contradiction, since their presuppositions clash. Therefore, I will only consider the LFs that separate them, i.e. the cases in (77)3 and 4, which I will henceforth call LF1 and LF2 for convenience.

**LF1: *even* > *glad* with *nur*<sub>1</sub>**



At point 1, we have:

(83)  $[[\text{nur}_1]]^w(S)([[\text{we got these tickets}]]) = [\lambda x : \text{we got these tickets and getting these tickets is low on } S . \forall q \in S [q >_s \text{ getting these tickets} \rightarrow q(w)=0]]$

We have then the presuppositions in (84) and the assertion in (85).



- (84) a) We got these tickets  
b) These tickets rank low on the scale of quality of tickets
- (85) We didn't get any tickets y better than these.

At point 2, we have:

- (86)  $[[\text{glad}]]([\text{nur}_1 \text{ we got these tickets}])(x) = [\lambda x : \text{we got these tickets and these tickets rank low . } x \text{ is satisfied that we didn't get any tickets } y \text{ better than these}]$

Assuming that all presuppositions survive at point 2, we have the set of presuppositions in (87) and the assertion in (88).

- (87) a) It is true that we got these tickets  
b) It is true that these tickets rank low on the scale  
c) It is true that we didn't get any tickets y better than these
- (88) I am satisfied that we didn't get any tickets y better than these.

So far there have been no conflicts. Then at node 3, once again assuming that all presuppositions survive, we have:

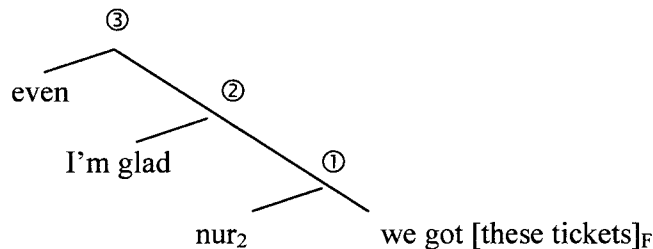
- (89)  $[[\text{even}]](S)([\text{I'm satisfied that we didn't get any tickets } ])] = [\lambda x : \exists y \in S \text{ such that } y \neq x \text{ and I'm satisfied we didn't get any tickets } y \text{ better than these and } \forall y \in S, \text{ being satisfied we didn't get tickets } y \text{ is more likely than being satisfied we didn't get these tickets . I'm satisfied we didn't get tickets } y]$

The resulting set of presuppositions then is in (90) and the assertion is in (91).

- (90)
- a) from the presuppositions of  $nur_1$ : we got these tickets
  - b) from the presuppositions of  $nur_1$ : these tickets rank low on S
  - c) from the presuppositions of *glad*: a and b are true, and it is true that we didn't get any tickets y better than these tickets
  - d) from *even*: There are tickets y different from these tickets such that I'm satisfied we didn't get y
  - e) from *even*: Being satisfied we didn't get tickets y is more likely than being satisfied we didn't get these tickets
- (91) I am satisfied that we got these low-ranking tickets and that we didn't get any tickets y better than these.

Here we have a wrong presupposition in (90)d, which means that node 3 is undefined.

***LF2: even > glad with nur2***



At point 1, we have:

- (92)  $[[\text{nur}_2]]^w(S)([[\text{we got these tickets}]])) = [\lambda x : \forall q \in S [q >_s \text{we got these tickets} \rightarrow q(w)=0] \text{ and getting these tickets is low on } S . \text{ we got these tickets in } w]$

So, in other words, at point 1 the presuppositions and assertion are as in

(93) and (94).

- (93) a) We didn't get any tickets y better than these tickets.  
b) These tickets that we got are low on the scale.  
(94) We got these tickets.

At point 2, we have:

- (95)  $[[\text{glad}]]([[\text{we only got these tickets}]])(x) = [\lambda x : \text{it is true that we nur}_2 \text{ got these tickets} . \text{ I am satisfied with the fact that we only got these tickets}]$

Assuming that all presuppositions survive, at point 2 the set of presuppositions and assertion is as in (96) and (97).

- (96) a) From nur<sub>2</sub> and glad: It is true that we didn't get any tickets y better than these tickets  
b) From nur<sub>2</sub> and glad: It is true that these tickets are low on the scale  
c) From nur<sub>2</sub> and glad: It is true that we got these tickets  
(97) Assertion: I am satisfied that we got these tickets

At point 3, we have:

- (98)  $[[\text{even}]](S)([[\text{I'm glad we } \text{nur}_2 \text{ got these tickets}]])) = [\lambda x : \exists y \in S \text{ such that } y \neq \text{these tickets and I'm glad we got these tickets} . \forall y \in S, \text{being glad we got tickets } y \text{ is more likely than being glad we got these tickets}]$

Assuming once again that all presuppositions survive, the set of presuppositions and assertion at point 3 is as in (99) and (100).

- (99) a) from the presuppositions of  $\text{nur}_2$ : We didn't get any tickets  $y$  better than these tickets  
 b) from the presuppositions of  $\text{nur}_2$ : These tickets are low on the scale  
 c) from the presuppositions of  $\text{glad}$ : a and b are true and it is true that we got these tickets  
 d) from  $\text{even}$ : There are tickets  $y$  different from these such that I'm satisfied we got  $y$   
 e) from  $\text{even}$ : Getting tickets  $y$  is more likely to satisfy me than getting these tickets

- (100) I'm satisfied that we got these tickets.

As with LF1, LF2 also has a problem: there is a contradiction between presuppositions (99)a and d.

In short, all potential LFs have some problem. Recall that the scope theory had the same problem in accounting for the cases with *glad*, i.e., the existence presupposition was not met. Separating *even* into *even* itself plus a hidden *nur* did not solve out problem, and in fact seems to have the worst characteristics of both the scope and the lexical ambiguity theory: the existence presupposition is still violated and we are forced to create a separate  $\text{nur}_2$  that might not be necessary. The question that remains is if we really want to decompose *even*, since the issue with the existence presupposition of *even* has not been solved.

What needs to be done now is to delve deeper into the presuppositions of *even* that were causing clashes and see if we really need them. In the next section, I will present Rullman's (1997) considerations on the existence presupposition of *even*.

#### 4.5.5. The Existence Presupposition of *Even*

Rullmann (1997) looks at the existence presupposition of *even* and concludes that it is not an independent presupposition, but arises indirectly as a pragmatic entailment of the scalar presupposition of *even* combined with the assertion expressed by the sentence in which *even* occurs.

Sentences (101) and (102) are some of the examples that Rullmann considers problematic for the assumption that *even* has an existential presupposition.

(101) I am sorry I even [<sub>F</sub> opened] the book.

(102) A: Is Claire an [<sub>F</sub> assistant] professor?  
B: No, she's even an [<sub>F</sub> associate] professor.

In (101), the existence presupposition would predict that I did more with the book than just open it. However, the sentence would also be appropriate if all I did with the book was just open it, and the existence presupposition would rule this out. In (102), the existence presupposition would make the wrong predictions.

It would predict that Claire has other positions than associate professor, which is not what the sentence means.

Let us look at (103) to see how Rullman gets the existence presupposition.

(103) Mary even invited [F Bill].

Suppose that the contextually salient alternative propositions are the following:

(104) {Mary invited John, Mary invited Sue, Mary invited Bill, Mary invited Jane}

In (103), the speaker asserts that Mary invited Bill and that inviting Bill is the least likely of the alternative propositions. Based on this, Rullmann claims that the speaker will probably be inclined to conclude that the more likely propositions in the set of alternatives will also be true, because of the assumption that if *p* is less likely than *q* and *p* is true, then *q* is probably also true. It is not necessarily true, since sometimes unlikely propositions are true while likely ones are not. Rullmann's proposal is then that *even* can only be used if the speaker intends the hearer to draw a scalar inference. He considers it a conventional but non-truthconditional aspect of the meaning of *even*. Therefore, when the speaker uses (103), this not only presupposes that the assertion "Mary invited Bill" is the least likely of the alternative propositions, but also leads the hearer to conclude that the other more likely alternatives are also true. Thus, instead of assigning an

existential presupposition to *even*, this presupposition can be derived from the combination of the assertion and the scalar presupposition.

Imagine that the sentence in (101) evokes the alternative set in (105).

(105) {I opened the book, I read the book, I photocopied the book, I memorized the book}.

The scalar presupposition of *even* places “I opened the book” as the most likely alternative. Due to the factive nature of *to be sorry*, the sentence presupposes that “I opened the book” is true. However, from the fact that a proposition *p* is true we cannot conclude anything about propositions that are less likely than *p*. Thus, from the truth of “I opened the book” we cannot conclude anything about the truth of other propositions about things I did with the book. This is how Rullman explains the absence of the existential presupposition in (101), the fact that the proposition expressed by the complement clause is at the same time presupposed to be true (from the factivity of *sorry*) and more likely than all alternative propositions (from the scalar presupposition of *even*).

In the case of (102), the alternatives are mutually exclusive and there is no entailment relation between them, not even a pragmatic one. Neither “Claire is an associate professor” nor “Claire is a full professor” can be inferred from the assertion “Claire is an associate professor” in combination with the scalar presupposition of the sentence. Therefore, no existential presupposition arises, and we get the expected result.

#### 4.5.6. Back to glad

Based on Rullmann's arguments in the previous section, I will not consider the existence requirement of *even* a presupposition, but in fact a conventional but not truth-conditional implicature. This given, we can look again at the option of not decomposing *even*, and using either the scope theory or the lexical ambiguity theory to account for the cases of *even* under *sorry* and *glad*. First of all, let us review the facts.

Let us look again at the sentence in (17), repeated below in (106), with its two possible meanings summarized in (107).

(106) John is surprised that Peter likes [<sub>F</sub> even Mary].

- (107) a. Mary is a very unpleasant person, but Peter likes everyone.  
b. Mary is a likeable person, but Peter doesn't like too many people.

According to the scope theory, this ambiguity can be accounted for if we assume that it is due to two possible scope configurations, summarized in (108) and (109). Note now that I am not considering the existence presupposition anymore, just the scalar one.

- (108) Reading in a:  
John is surprised that [[even Mary]<sub>i</sub> Peter likes t<sub>i</sub>]  
Presuppositions:



Scalar: Mary is the least likely person for Peter to like

(109) Reading in b:

[even Mary]<sub>i</sub> John is surprised that [Peter likes]<sub>i</sub>

Presuppositions:

Scalar: Mary is the least likely person for John to be surprised that Peter likes (favorable to Mary)

Let us see again how that applies to *sorry* and *glad*. Consider the sentence in (22), repeated in (110).

(110) I'm sorry I got even these tickets.

Even though (110) is not really ambiguous, it could have two structures sketched in (111), with the corresponding scalar presuppositions in (112).

- (111) a. I'm sorry I got [even these tickets]  
b. [even these tickets] I'm sorry I got

- (112) a. These are the least likely tickets for me to get  
b. These are the least likely tickets for me to be sorry I got

If we consider that good tickets are harder to get and thus are the least likely to be obtained, both of the interpretations in (112) seem to correspond to intuitions about the meaning of (110), so *even* could be interpreted either in the lower or higher positions.

Let us now see if the same is true about *glad*. Consider (23), repeated in (113).

(113) I'm glad I got even these tickets

The two possible structures of (113) are sketched in (114), with the corresponding presuppositions in (115).

- (114) a. I'm glad I got [even these tickets]  
b. [even these tickets] I'm glad I got
- (115) a. These are the least likely tickets for me to get  
b. These are the least likely tickets for me to be glad I got

However, presupposition (115)a does not sound right when we compare it to (112)a. In (110), we infer that the tickets are good, whereas in (113) we infer that the tickets are bad. Therefore, apparently (112)a and (115)a should not have the same meaning.

In short, then, both scope options work with *sorry*, but only one works with *glad*, namely with *even* scoping over *glad*. We need somehow to exclude the possibility of *even* scoping under *glad* in the cases under consideration.

My suggestion is that this has to do with pragmatics. In (115)a, the tickets are the least likely for me to get, which means that they are probably good, and I am glad I got them. The result here is that there is no element of surprise: it is completely expected that I am glad about getting tickets that are good. In all other cases, (111)a, (111)b, and (115)b, there is an element of surprise, i.e. the low probability of being glad that you got bad tickets conflicts with being glad about getting them anyway, the low probability of getting good tickets conflicts with being sorry that you got them, and the low probability of being sorry that you got good tickets conflicts with being sorry that you got them anyway. The word *even* is what allows for these conflicts. If there is no conflict, and thus no element of

surprise, the use of *even* is redundant and therefore violates a Gricean conversation maxim. In short, it is not the semantics of *even* that is disallowing the low reading, but the pragmatics of the whole sentence.

#### 4.5.7. Interim Conclusion

We have seen that applying a Guerzoni-like analysis to English low-scale *even* does not solve the problems it was intended to solve. I have shown that the solution is twofold: first of all, we need to assume with Rullman (1997) that the existence presupposition associated with *even* does not come from the presuppositions of *even* itself, but from pragmatic inferences. Next, we have seen that the scope theory as in Wilkinson (1996) is enough to account for the cases of *even* with *glad* and *sorry*, since the only case in which it seems to fail can also be attributed to pragmatic considerations.

### 4.6. Stressed *any* and a silent *even*

Consider now the contrast in (116), which shows that although *glad* does not license the NPI *any*, it does license stressed *any*.

- (116) a. \*I'm glad we got any tickets.  
b. I'm glad we got ANY tickets.

If we consider that stressed *any* carries a low scalarity presupposition, i.e. that *any tickets* means *even these bad tickets*, we can assume that sentences containing stressed *any* also contain a hidden *even*. Thus, stressed *any*, differently from regular *any*, is not really an NPI, but looks like one in some cases due to the presence of an unpronounced *even*.

This idea is in fact not new, and can be first attributed to Heim (1984), who pointed out that English has a low-scalarity *even*, i.e. *as much as*, as in her classical example reproduced in (117).

- (117) Any restaurant that charges as much as a dime for iceberg lettuce ought to be closed down.

However, having a hidden *even* or an operator like the ScalAssert of Krifka (1995) cannot be the whole story. Consider the contrast in (118), which shows that while stressed *any* is possible under *glad*, it is not possible under *said*.

- (118) a. I'm glad we got ANY tickets.  
b. \*I said we got ANY tickets.

The chart in (119) shows a list of predicates that do or do not license stressed *any*.

(119) that we got ANY tickets.

A - √	B - *
I'm glad	I said
I'm sorry	I heard
I resent the fact	I assure you
I'm sad	It's likely
I regret	It's true
It makes me laugh	I believe
It's amazing/I'm amazed	I think
It's surprising/I'm surprised	I suspect
	I bet
	I realized

The first difference between the two columns apparently has to do with some opinion held by the speaker in relation to the embedded clause. The predicates in column B indicate different levels of belief in relation to the embedded clause, or simply report its contents. They do not, however, express any opinion.

Considering that stressed *any* contains some *even* element, the interpretation of this *even* in the predicates in column A as top or bottom of a certain scale (e.g. the case of good or bad tickets with *sorry* and *glad*) depends on the specific predicate that is used, combined with the unlikelihood contributed by *even*. For example, when used with *even*, *glad* expresses unlikely satisfaction, *sorry*, *resent*, *regret* expresses unlikely dissatisfaction, *makes me laugh* expresses unlikely despise, and so on.

When *even* is used with the predicates in column B, however, there is no flexibility as to what end of the scale is being referred to: they always pick the top of the scale only. Look at sentences in (120) involving some of these predicates

and *even*. All of them have the same presupposition concerning the tickets: that it is unlikely that we got these tickets, which usually means that the tickets are desirable in some way (they might be good or have a good price), so they sell out fast.

- (120) a. I said he got even these tickets.  
b. I heard we got even these tickets.  
c. I assure you we got even these tickets.  
d. It's likely we got even these tickets.  
e. It's true we got even these tickets.

At this point, I cannot offer a thorough analysis of the difference between columns A and B. My main point is to show that there is a relation between stressed *any* and *even*. I will, though, hint at a possible explanation.

Another property that is related to the difference between columns A and B has to do with the observation reported in Simons (2007), following Urmson (1952), that some embedding verbs allow for a parenthetical use, which means that it is the content of the embedded clause which has main point status. Simons gives (121) as an example.

- (121) A: Why didn't Louise come to the meeting yesterday?  
B: I heard that she's out of town.

The answer to A's question is the main point of B's utterance, and this main point is in the embedded clause, while the main verb is used parenthetically, in the semantic sense. She also notes that these semantically parenthetical uses of verbs

are related to the possibility of their being used as a syntactic parenthetical, as illustrated in (122).

- (122) a. Louise, I hear(d), is out of town.  
b. Louise is out of town, I hear(d).

If we take this possible syntactic parenthetical use to test which verbs are semantically parenthetical, we get a sharp contrast between column A and column B verbs, as shown in (123) and (124): while column B verbs can be used parenthetically, column A ones sound odd in this use.

- (123) Column A verbs  
a. ??John, I'm glad, got even these tickets.  
b. ??John, it's surprising, got even these tickets.  
c. ??John, I regret, got even these tickets.  
d. ??John, it makes me laugh, got even these tickets.  
e. ??John, I'm amazed, got even these tickets.

- (124) Column B verbs  
a. John, I said, got even these tickets.  
b. John, I heard, got even these tickets.  
c. John, I assure you, got even these tickets.  
d. John, it's likely, got even these tickets.  
e. John, it's true, got even these tickets.

Simons further points out that even though some of the verbs which have parenthetical uses are standardly classed as presuppositional, they do not show presuppositional properties when used parenthetically.

She also reports the claim by Hooper (1975) that semi-factives (a class originally identified by Karttunen (1971)) are assertives, which is another way of saying that they have parenthetical uses in which their complements constitute the main point of the utterance. Hooper notes that the parenthetical use of semi-factives constitutes a problem for the assumption that these predicates are presuppositional, for what is presupposed cannot also be asserted. Simons main claim, then, is that when the main clause predicate is used parenthetically, the complement clause is not presupposed.

## **4.7. Chapter 4 Conclusions and Unresolved Issues**

First of all, I would like to go back to the questions I posed in section 1, repeated below.

- (125) a. Why can *even* denote different ends of the scale in (3)a and b?  
b. What is the difference between stressed and unstressed *any*?  
c. What is the relation between the meaning and licensing conditions of *even* and those of stressed *any*?  
d. What kinds of predicates license stressed *any*?

What I have proposed for question (125)a is that low scalarity *even* can be explained by the scope theory of *even* with some added pragmatic considerations,



and there is no need to decompose it as in languages that have a separate, two-element low-scalar version of *even*.

As for (125)b and c, I have suggested that stressed *any* has the same meaning of low scale *even*, and therefore the licensing conditions for both should be related, as they actually are. This strongly suggests the presence of a silent *even* in sentences containing stressed *any*.

Related to (125)b and c is question (125)d. Although, I have not exploited this matter in detail, I have suggested that the licensing of stressed *any* has to do with predicates that carry the main point of a sentence, as opposed to predicates that have parenthetical use and whose embedded sentences carry the main point. For the moment, I have no account of why this should be the case.

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## **Appendix 1**

### **Compilation of dialogues containing Wh-in-situ questions in Brazilian Portuguese**

Online ad at globo.com

Você se amarra em esporte?  
you refl tie in sport  
'Are you a sports fan?'

Gosta de estar bem informado?  
like of be well informed  
'Do you like being well informed?'

Adora um bom entretenimento?  
love a good entertainment  
'Do you love good entertainment?'

**Tá esperando o quê?**  
**is waiting what**  
**'What are you waiting for?'**

Clique e assine a globo.com, você só tem a ganhar.  
click and subscribe the globo.com you only have to win  
'Click and subscribe to globo.com, there's no way to lose.'

\*\*\*\*\*

A: Ele... ele já se casou?  
he... he already REFL married  
'Has he already married?'

B: Ah, eu não sei, não perguntei, né Duda. Olha, vamos ser práticas?  
ah I not know not asked is-not Duda look let's be practical

Vamos vender essa jóia e comprar um carro pra você?  
let's sell this jewel and buy a car for you

É do que você tá precisando. Ah, vai guardar pra quê?  
is of-the what you are needing ah will keep for what

Pra ficar olhando, lembrando, velando essa perda.  
to stay looking remembering mourning this loss

Se você quiser virar essa página da tua vida, vende essa jóia.  
if you want turn this page of-the your life sell this jewel

‘Oh, I don’t know, I didn’t ask, Duda. Listen, let’s be practical.’ Let’s sell this jewel and buy a car for you. That’s what you need. What will you keep it for? To keep looking, remembering, mourning this loss. If you want to turn this page of your life, sell this jewel.’

\*\*\*\*\*

A: É que na verdade eu não vou ensaiar na tua casa, não,  
Ademir,  
is that in-the truth I not will rehearse in-the your house not  
Ademir

olha, eu não vou ser falsa de te dizer que na verdade eu fiquei  
look I not will be false of you say that in-the truth I stayed

eu fiquei com medo foi daquele teu irmão lá.  
I stayed with fear was of-that your brother there

‘Actually, I’m not going to rehearse in your house, Ademir. Listen, I will be honest and tell you that in fact I was afraid of your brother.’

B: **Medo por quê?** O Maico nunca fez mal pra ninguém.  
**fear why** the Maico never did bad to nobody  
‘Why afraid? Maico never harmed anyone.’

\*\*\*\*\*

[on the phone]  
Alô! Quem? É o Yap. **Quer falar com quem?**  
hello who is the Yap **want speak with whom**

Com... ah... pois não. Com prazer. Momento, por favor. É pro  
senhor.  
with ah because no with pleasure moment please is for-the mister

‘Hello! Who? It’s Yap. Who do you want to speak to? With... ah... OK. With pleasure. Just a moment, please. It’s for you.’

\*\*\*\*\*

A: Maninha!  
little-sister

‘Little sister!’

B: Qualé, padrão, tá pegando um bico, é?  
what-is standard is catching a beak is  
‘So, are you going out?’

B: Vou encontrar a Tônia.  
will meet the Tonia  
‘I’ll meet Tonia.’

C: Vai aonde? Que que eu escutei, você vai aonde?  
will-go where what that I heard you will-go where  
‘Will go where? What have I heard, you’re going where?’

\*\*\*\*\*

A: Mas papai, o Fontes...  
but dad the Fontes  
‘But dad, Fontes...’

B: O que que tem o Fontes, o que que tem o Fontes?  
what that has the Fontes, what that has the Fontes

Só porque você conheceu ele quando era rapazinho? **Você pensa o quê?**  
only because you knew him when were boy **you think**  
**what**

Ele continua sendo o que é. Você conhece ele tanto assim?  
he keeps being what is you know him much like-this

‘What about Fontes, what about Fontes? Just because you met him when you were a boy? You think what? He is still the same. Do you know him that much?’

\*\*\*\*\*

A: Hoje em dia, a agressividade do Ramiro, a ambição  
desenfreada que ele  
today in day the aggression of-the Ramiro the ambition without-  
stop that he

faz com tudo, é muito mais interessante pros negócios do  
que o

does with everything is much more interesting for-the businesses  
than that the

meu estilo pé- de- boi, pacífico.  
my style foot of ox peaceful

‘These days, Ramiro’s aggression, the unstoppable ambition he puts in  
everything, is much more interesting for business than my low-profile,  
peaceful style.’

**B: Daí cê vai largar a sociedade e vai fazer o quê, cara?**  
**then you will let-go the society and will do what man**  
‘Then you will quit the partnership and do what, man?’

**A: Viver, Murilo. Viver!**  
**Live Murilo live**  
‘Live, Murilo, live!’

\*\*\*\*\*

**A: Pois é, o Ramiro teve aqui, parece que agora a reconciliação**  
**deles é**  
because is the Ramiro was here seems that now the reconciliation of-  
them is

pra valer mesmo. Ai, Yvone, graças a Deus! Nossa, eu fico pensando,  
for-real really oh Yvone thank to God Our I keep thinking

será que o Raul tá voltando ao normal, meu Deus?  
will-be that the Raul is returning to-the normal my God

‘Right, Ramiro was here, it seems that now their reconciliation is for real. Oh,  
Yvone, thank God! My, I keep thinking, wondering if Raul is getting back to  
normal, my God.’

**B: Mas reconciliação como? A briga era por causa do tal dinheiro,**  
**não era?**  
**but reconciliation how** the fight was for cause of-the said money  
not was  
‘But reconciliation how? Their fight was because of that money, wasn’t it?’

\*\*\*\*\*

**A: Foi só um beijo, Leinha, pára!**

was just one kiss Leinha stop  
'It was just a kiss, Leinha, stop it!'

B: Assim que começa.  
like-this that starts  
'That's how it starts.'

A: **Começa o quê? Começa o quê?** Quer parar de me encher?  
**starts what starts what** want stop of me fill

Pára de me encher, por favor!  
stop of me fill please

'That's how what starts? That's how what starts? Why don't you stop bugging me? Stop bugging me, please!'

\*\*\*\*\*

[cell phone rings]

A: Alô. Da casa do senhor Cadore, sim.  
hello of-the house of-the mister Cadore yes

É a esposa do seu Raul Cadore.  
is the wife of-the mister Raul Cadore

Delegado? Alguma novidade? Outro interrogatório? **Confrontou com**  
**quem?**  
deputy any news another questioning **confronted with**  
**who**

'Hello. It's Mr. Cadore's house, yes. It's Mr. Raul Cadore's wife. Deputy?  
Any news? Another questioning? He confronted who?'

B: Que foi?  
what was  
'What is it?'

A: Não, eu entendi, entendi. Então pode deixar que eu digo pra ele.  
no I understood understood so leave stay that I tell to him  
'No, I got it, I got it. So I'll definitely tell him.'

\*\*\*\*\*

A: Olhe, seu Cadore, eu fui levar o chá pro seu Raul  
look Mr. Cadore I went take the tea for-the mr. Raul

e vi ele puxando a Zinha assim pra ele.  
and saw him pulling the Zinha like-this for him

‘Listen, Mr. Cadore, I went to take tea to Mr. Raul and saw him pulling Zinha like this toward him.’

**B: Puxando o quê?**  
**pulling what**  
‘Pulling what?’

A: É, puxando a Zinha assim, como quem fosse beijar.  
is pulling the Zinha like-this like who would kiss  
‘Yes, pulling Zinha like this, as if to kiss her.’

\*\*\*\*\*

A: Baldi, o senhor também precisa conversar com Chanti.  
Baldi the mister also need talk with Chanti

Ela está se desviando de nós, Baldi.  
she is refl deviating from us Baldi  
‘Baldi, you also need to talk to Chanti. She is deviating from us, Baldi.’

B: Hare, hare, o que que está acontecendo com a nossa Índia?  
my my what that is happening with the our India

Durante anos e anos nós fomos dominados pela Inglaterra  
for years and years we were dominated by England

e não nos perdemos de nossos costumes. Não. E agora que somos  
and not REFL lost of our customs no and now that are

independentes esses **firangis estrangeiros conseguem o quê?**  
independent **these foreign foreigners manage what**

Conseguem congelar as cabeças dos nossos homens!  
manege freeze the heads of-the our men

‘My, oh my, what is happening to our India? For years and years we were dominated by England and didn’t get lost from our customs. No. And now that we are independent, these foreigners get what? Get to freeze our men’s heads!’

\*\*\*\*\*

A: Tônia, tô indo almoçar. Que que é isso? **Vai pra onde?**  
Tonia am going have-lunch what that is this **will-go to where**  
'Tonia, I'm leaving for lunch. What is this? Where are you going?'

B: Búzios.  
Buzios  
'Buzios.'

A: Vai o quê?  
will-go what  
'Going where?'

B: Vou passar o dia em Búzios, Murilo, dá licença.  
will spend the day in Buzios Murilo give license  
'I will spend the day in Buzios, Murilo, excuse me.'

A: Pra Búzios? Com quem que vai pra Búzios?  
to Buzios with who that will-go to Buzios  
'To Buzios? With whom are you going to Buzios?'

B: Uma pessoa.  
one person  
'A person.'

A: Que pessoa, Tônia?  
what person Tonia  
'What person, Tonia?'

B: Murilo, eu vou. Não adianta cê falar, porque eu vou.  
Murilo I will-go no works you talk because I will-go  
'Murilo, I'm going, there's no use you telling, because I'm going.'

A: Tá bom, **vai com quem, Tônia,**  
is good **will-go with who Tonia**  
você nunca foi pra Búzios e agora de repente quer ir pra  
Búzios.  
you never went to Buzios and now of sudden wants go to  
Buzios

'OK, you are going with whom, Tonia, you've never been to Buzios and now suddenly you want to go to Buzios.'

(...)

A: Tônia, peraí,        peraí.        Tônia, peraí,        peraí,        pera.  
Tonia wait-there wait-there Tonia wait-there wait-there wait

**Vai        com quem pra Búzios? Vai ficar onde em Búzios?**  
**will-go with whom to Buzios will stay where in Buzios**

‘Tonia, wait, wait. Tonia, wait, wait, wait. You’re going with whom to Buzios? You will stay where in Buzios?’

B: Carona.  
ride  
‘Ride.’

\*\*\*\*\*

A: Cadê        o Tarso?  
Where-is the Tarso  
‘Where’s Tarso?’

B: Saiu.  
left  
‘Left.’

A: Pra onde?  
to where  
‘Where?’

B: Sei        lá,        foi        camelar por aí.  
know there went camel for there  
‘I don’t know, he went “cameling” out there.’

A: Foi        ca... foi        pra onde?  
**went ca... went to where**  
‘Went ca... went where?’

B: Foi        pra Búzios, seu Ramiro, com        uma garota.  
went to Buzios mr. Ramiro with one girl  
‘Went to Buzios, Mr. Ramiro, with a girl.’

\*\*\*\*\*

A: Vai, Camila, vai, minha filha,        pega um táxi e        vai.



go Camila go my daughter get a taxi and go  
'Go, Camila, go, my daughter, get a taxi and go.'

B: Ah, mãe, não vou lá não!  
ah mother not go there no  
'Oh, mom, I'm not going!'

A: **Mas não vai por quê?**  
**but not will-go for what**  
'But you're not going why?'

B: Que mico!  
what little-monkey  
'What an embarrassment!'

\*\*\*\*\*

Eu tento ser um pai moderno, mas é difícil ser um pai moderno  
I try be a father modern but is difficult be a father modern

na Índia de hoje. Hare, que que a gente pode fazer?  
in-the India of today my what that the people can do

**Você coloca uma filha num universidade, veja, pra fazer o quê?**  
**you put a daughter in-a university see for do what**

Daqui a pouco já começa a se sentir uma firangi estrangeira.  
of-here to little already starts to refl feel a foreign foreigner

'I try to be a modern father, but it's difficult to be a modern father in today's  
India. My, what can one do? You enroll a daughter in a university, see, to do  
what? In a short time she starts to feel like a foreigner.'

\*\*\*\*\*

Em sua fala inicial, o senhor mencionou, deu como fato, que teria crescido  
in your talk initial the mr. mentioned gave like fact that would-have grown

a idéia de que haveria uma causalidade no sentido inverso àqueles  
the idea of that would-be a causality in-the direction inverse to-those

do tradicional que se considera, e daí saltou para a  
afirmação  
of-the traditional that refl consider and from-there jumped to the  
affirmation

de que isso abriria a porta para a entrada de Deus.  
of that this would-open the door for the entrance of God

A minha pergunta se divide em duas.  
the my question refl divides in two

Em primeiro lugar, **essa idéia cresceu aonde?**  
in first place **this idea grew where**

Quem, além do senhor, defende esse tipo de visão de mundo?  
who besides the mr. defends this type of vision of world

E... dois, o porque Deus entrou aí nessa equação?  
and two the why God entered there in-this equation

‘In your initial talk you mentioned, took it as a fact, that the idea would have grown that there would be a causality in the inverse direction of those of what is traditionally considered, and then jumped to the affirmation that this would open the door to God. My question is divided in two. First of all, where did this idea grow? Who, besides you, defends this world view? And two, why did God enter this equation?’

\*\*\*\*\*

A humanidade passou por um processo muito longo, muito duro,  
the humanity passed for a process very long very hard

para conseguir, digamos, não eliminar Deus da Ciência, mas pelo  
menos  
to manage let's-say not eliminate God from-the science but for least

reduzir um pouco seu papel, esse processo foi longo e lento.  
reduce a little his role this process was long and slow

Para concluir, como o senhor acredita poder convencer os cientistas  
to conclude how the mr. believes be-able-to convince the scientists

desse seu projeto, depois de tanto esforço para conseguir criar uma  
noção  
of-this your project after of so-much effort to manage create a  
notion

de objetividade, de realidade, de realismo, com todos os exageros  
of objectivity of reality of realism with all the exaggerations

em alguns momentos, mas convencer esses homens depois de tanto  
esforço?  
in some moments but convince these men after of so-much effort

**O senhor imagina conseguir isso usando que gênero de recursos?**  
**the mr. imagines manage this using what kind of resources**

‘Humanity has been through a very long, very hard process to manage to, say, not eliminate God from science but at least reduce his role a little, this process was long and slow. To conclude, how do you believe you can convince scientists of this project of yours, after so much effort to create a notion of objectivity, of reality, of realism, with all the exaggerations at some moments, but convince these men after so much effort? You imagine being able to get that using what kinds of resources?’

\*\*\*\*\*

Porque, por mais que eu escreva matérias no jornal, eu tenho plena  
because for more that I write articles in-the newspaper I have  
complete

consciência de que estou atingindo um número muito pequeno de pessoas.  
awareness of that am reaching a number very small of people

**A grande maioria das pessoas hoje no mundo digital vai fazer  
o quê**  
**the great majority of-the people today in-the world digital will do what**

**se desejar aprender sobre os transgênicos?**  
**if desires learn about the transgenics**

Ela não vai comprar o Estadão na banca, ela vai entrar na  
internet  
she not will buy the Estadao in-the newsstand, she will enter in-the  
internet

e é lá que ela vai buscar as informações.  
and is there that she will search the information

‘Because, even if I write articles for the newspaper, I am aware that I am reaching a very small number of people. The great majority of people in the digital world will do what if they want to learn about transgenics? They won’t go buy the Estadao [name of a newspaper] in the newsstand, they will go on the internet and it is there that they will look for information.’

\*\*\*\*\*

Você vai ao médico e ele fala:  
you go to-the doctor and he says

“ Olha, você vai ter que operar, você está com um problema na vesícula”,  
look you will have that operate you are with a problem in-the gall-bladder

você pode perguntar para mais quatro médicos,  
you can ask to more four doctors

não vai perguntar para um não-médico.  
not will ask to a non-doctor

**E no fim, se você tiver que operar, vai operar com quem?**  
**And in-the end if you have to operate will operate with who**

Com um médico.  
with a doctor

‘You go to the doctor and he says, “Listen, you will have to have surgery, you have a gall-bladder problem”, you can ask four more doctors, you won’t ask a non-doctor. And in the end, if you have to have surgery, you will do it with whom? With a doctor. So you deep down believe in the specific knowledge of this person, who advised you, for you to get better.’

\*\*\*\*\*

Tem que ser científico, não pode dizer “ ah, mas pode dar”, mas não dá.  
has that be scientific not can say ah but can give but not gives

**Fazer o quê?**  
**do what**

‘If you can prove later that it didn’t do anything, it didn’t do anything. It has to be scientific, you can’t say,”oh, but it can cause it”, but doesn’t. What can you do?’

\*\*\*\*\*

Quando estou escrevendo uma matéria sobre transgênicos,  
when am writing an article about transgenics

a primeira pergunta que todo mundo tem é:

the first question that everybody has is

“ Pô, faz mal, não faz mal, está provado, não está provado?”.  
man does bad not does bad is proven not is proven

O que eu coloco?  
what I put

**Quando você vai comprar uma droga na farmácia, você espera  
o quê?**  
**when you go buy a drug in-the pharmacy you expect  
what**

Que aquele medicamento tenha sido aprovado pelo FDA,  
that that drug has been approved by-the FDA

nos Estados Unidos, pela Anvisa, no Brasil, ...  
in-the States United, by-the Anvisa, in-the Brazil

‘When I am writing an article about transgenics, the first question everyone has is,”but is it bad for you, is it not, is it proven, is it not proven?”. What do I say? When you go buy a drug in the pharmacy, you expect what? That that drug has been approved by the FDA in the United States, by the Anvisa, in Brazil, ...’

\*\*\*\*\*

Agora eu queria fazer uma pergunta para o Colli:  
now I wanted make a question to the Colli

que tipo de pesquisas a CTNBio recebe?  
what kind of researches the CTNBio receives

Quando ela julga uma proposta de uma empresa comercial,  
when it judges a proposal of a company commercial

**ela se baseia em que pesquisas?**  
**it refl bases in what researches**

‘Now I’d like to ask a question to Colli: what kind of research does CTNBio receive? When it judges a proposal from a commercial company, it bases itself on what research?’

\*\*\*\*\*

Então a única coisa que eu quero é que o senhor entenda

so the only thing that I want is that the mister understand

o que um cientista está falando, só isso.

what a scientist is saying just that

Se é a favor ou contra é a mesma coisa que ser corinthiano ou  
palmeirense,

if is in favor or against is the same thing that be corinthiano or  
palmeirense

eu sou corinthiano (risos). **Eu vou fazer o quê?**

I am corinthiano (laughter) **I will do what**

‘So the only thing that I want is that you understand what a scientist is saying, just that. If he is in favor or against is the same thing as rooting for Corinthians or Palmeiras [two Brazilian soccer teams]. I support Corinthians (laughter), what can I do?’

\*\*\*\*\*

A: Oi.

hi

‘Hi.’

B: Doutor Maciel, é o Rubem.

doctor Maciel, is the Rubem

‘Doctor Maciel, it’s Rubem.’

A: Tudo bom?

all good

‘How are you?’

B: Tudo bom! Tô aqui pra nós completarmos a documentação.

all good am here for us complete the documentation

‘Fine. I’m here for us to complete the documentation.’

A: **Tá onde?**

**are where**

‘Where are you?’

B: Aqui no flat.

here in-the flat

‘Here in the apartment.’

A: Tá, tô chegando aí.

OK am arriving there  
'OK, I'll be there soon.'

B: Aguardo, obrigado.  
wait thank you  
'I'll be waiting, thank you.'

\*\*\*\*\*

Porque ali era onde abatia,  
because there was where slaughtered

por isso que tem o nome de Matadouro aqui,  
for this that has the name of Slaughterhouse here

era onde abatia os gados.  
was where slaughtered the cattle

**Esse abatimento se dava através de que?**  
this slaughter refl gave through of what

As pessoas, fazendeiros, que tinham boi, tinham açougue, como existia  
the people farmers who had ox had butcher-shop as existed

ainda muitos açougueiros no mercado que abatia o boi aqui no  
still many butchers in-the market that slaughtered the ox here in-the

matadouro, trazia o boi.  
slaughterhouse brought the ox

'Because it was there that the slaughter happened, that's why they called it  
Slaughterhouse here, it was where the cattle was slaughtered. This slaughter  
happened in what way? The people, farmers, who had cattle, who had butcher  
shops, as there were still many butchers in the market that had their cattle  
slaughtered here in the slaughterhouse, brought the cattle.'

\*\*\*\*\*

R: E aquilo me marcou, me marcou muito, mas graças a Deus,  
and that me marked me marked much but thanks to God

to viva até hoje. Não morri nem de boi nem de cachorro  
am alive until today not dies neither of ox nor of dog

'And that was remarkable, very remarkable, but thank God, I'm still alive. I  
didn't die from the ox or the dog.'

E: E isso também você tinha qual idade, essa história do cachorro?  
and this also you had which age this story of-the dog  
'And this also you were how old, the the dog?

R: Do cachorro eu era menor ainda, eu tinha sete anos.  
of-the dog I was smaller still I had seven years

Do boi, da vaca, eu já estava maiorzinha.  
of-the ox of-the cow I already was little-bigger

'Of the dog I was younger still, I was seven. Of the ox, the cow, I was already a little older.'

\*\*\*\*\*

R: Depois, acho que conseguiram matar, que disseram que deram tiro nela,  
after think that managed kill that said that gave shot in-her

mataram a tiro.  
killed by shooting

Tudo isso aqui nessa comunidade.  
all this here in-this community

'Afterwards, I think they managed to kill it, for they said they shot it, they shot it dead. All this here in this community.'

E: E nisso você tinha também qual idade?  
and in-this you had also which age  
'And then you were also how old?'

R: Aí eu já tinha uns onze anos.  
then I already had some eleven years  
'Then I was already around eleven.'

\*\*\*\*\*

R: Aí nessa época minha avó já dava mais um pouquinho  
then in-this time my grandmother already gave more a little



de liberdade, porque quando...  
of freedom because when

‘Then at this time my grandmother already gave us a little more freedom,  
because when...’

**E: Essa época era qual idade que você tinha?**  
**this time was what age that you had**  
‘At this time you were how old?’

R: Daí eu já estava com uns 13 anos, mais ou menos, 13, 14 anos.  
then I already was with some 13 years more or less 13 14 years  
‘Then I was already around thirteen, more or less, thirteen, fourteen years  
old.’

\*\*\*\*\*

R: Parava lá na destilaria e aí praticamente eu ia a pé  
stopped there in-the distillery and then practically I went by foot

porque eu não andava de bicicleta. Não sabia andar de bicicleta, né?  
because I not walked of bicycle not knew walk of bicycle not-is

Eu ia daqui à fábrica de tecido à pé,  
I would-go from-here to-the factory of fabric by foot

que hoje em dia é onde é o Banerj.  
that today in day is where is the Banerj.

‘I stopped there in the distillery and then I practically walked because I didn’t  
ride a bicycle. I didn’t know how to ride a bike. I would go from here to the  
fabric mill on foot, where today Banerj is.’

**E: E a destilaria era aonde?**  
**and the distillery was where**  
‘And the distillery was where?’

R: É aqui a Síntese, onde hoje em dia é a Síntese, ...  
is here the Sintese where today in day is the Sintese

‘It was where today Sintese is.’

\*\*\*\*\*

R: Eu estava ali fora, eu presenciei assim, se eu não estivesse não  
I was there out I witnessed like if I not had-been not

daria pra presenciar, que a coisa foi tão rápida, a pressão  
would-give to witness that the thing was so fast the pressure

foi tão forte que ela voou igualzinho uma nave. Ela foi,  
was so strong that she flew just-like a spaceship she went

depois quando ela voltou, ela caiu, aonde ela caiu ela enterrou.  
after when she returned she fell where she fell she dug

‘I was outside, I witnessed it, if I hadn’t been out I wouldn’t have witnessed it,  
it was so fast, the pressure was so strong that she flew up like a spaceship. She  
went up, then when she came down, she fell, and where she fell she dug in a  
hole.’

E: **Você tinha qual idade?**  
**you had which age**  
‘And you were how old?’

\*\*\*\*\*

R: No caso ele não matava boi, nem solava, né?  
in-the case he not killed ox nor skinned not-is

Solar é tirar do... como é que se diz? Da pele, do couro.  
skin is take of-the how is that refl say of-the skin of-the leather

**Aí, nessa época, quando ele era criança,**  
**then at-this time when he was child**

**ele ia lá pra quê?**  
**he would-go there for what**

Os pais dele também sempre foram daqui,  
the parents of-his also always were from-here

pegar aquela comida pra cozinhar pra porco.  
get that food to cook for pork

‘He was raised there, learned the profession, at the time, when he was a child. In this case, he didn’t slaughter cattle, nor skinned. Skinning is to take... how do you say? The skin, the leather. Then, at this time, when he was a child, he would go there for what? His parents used to always come here, to get that food to cook for pork.’

\*\*\*\*\*

Então tinha uns currais por aqui, né?  
so had some corrals for here not-is

**Eram aonde os currais do matadouro?**  
**were where the corrals of-the slaughterhouse**

‘So there were some corrals around here, weren’t there? Where were the corrals of the slaughterhouse?’

\*\*\*\*\*

Aqui atrás não tinha essa rua que tem que hoje em dia  
here behind not had this street that has that today in day

até se fala Goiabal, né?  
even REFL say Goiabal not-is

**Aí os bois vinham, como? De trem de vagão ou carreta.**  
**then the oxen came how of train of wagon or truck**

Vinha mais de trem, porque o trem era econômico.  
came more of train because the train was economical

‘Here there wasn’t this street that there is that nowadays is called Goiabal, right? Then the cattle came how? By train or truck. They came by train more often, because the train was economical.’

\*\*\*\*\*

R: Que a gente tá falando, ce tem noção do que é um dique,  
that the people are talking you have notion of-the what is a dam

muita gente não tem, que ele é estreitinho, é o que?  
many people not have that it is very-narrow is what

**É isso aqui, é o que...**  
**is this here is what**

‘We are talking, do you have any idea what a dam is, many people don’t, that it is very narrow, it’s what? It’s this wide, it’s what...’

E: Um metro?  
one meter  
‘One meter?’

R: Não. É.... trinta centímetros...  
no is thirty centimeters  
‘No. It’s thirty centimeters.’

\*\*\*\*\*

Porque eu já caí no dique, né? Já caí.  
because I already fell in-the dam not-is already fell

**Caí de que forma?**  
**fell of what way**

Distraída, andando assim, olhando e tal, quando eu olhei...!  
distracted walking this-way looking and such when I looked

‘Because I’ve fallen in the dam once. I have. How did I fall? Distracted, walking like this, watching and stuff, when I looked!’

\*\*\*\*\*

Então a fartura da carne favorecia os outros alimentos  
so the abundance of-the meat favored the other foods

que não tinha. **Supria, porque, supria por quê?**  
that not had **supplied why supplied why**

Poderia fazer... A carne é forte, né?  
could make the meat is strong not-is

‘So the abundance of meat favored the other foods that we lacked. It supplied it, why, supplied why? It could make... Meat is strong, isn’t it?’

\*\*\*\*\*

Mas existia assim, essa facilidade de ter bastante carne e eu acho  
but existed like this easiness of have a-lot-of meat and I think

que isso aí ajudava com que as pessoas não passasse tanta necessidade,  
that this there helped with that the people not passed such necessity

ou até mesmo falta de alimentação.  
or even same lack of feeding

**Porque além disso aí, existia também o quê?**  
**because besides of-this there existed also what**

A matança do suíno, do porco.  
the slaughter of-the swine of-the pig

‘But there was this easiness of having a lot of meat and I think that this helped people not want so much, or even with the lack of food. Because besides this, there was also what? The slaughter of swine, pigs.’

\*\*\*\*\*

Voltando um pouquinho aqui na coisa da sua avó porque  
returning a little here in-the thing of-the your grandmother because

eu, uma coisa que eu tinha muita vontade de saber, **ela aprendeu esse**  
I one thing that I had much wish of know **she learned this**

**trabalho dela de parteira e de rezadeira,**  
**work of-hers of midwife and of prayer,**

**mas especialmente de parteira com quem?**  
**but especially of midwife with whom**

Como ela aprendeu?  
how she learned

‘Going back to your grandmother because I, one thing I really wanted to know, she learned this job of hers of midwife and prayer with whom? How did she learn?’

\*\*\*\*\*

R: Porque naquela época também a cesárea era até muito difícil  
because at-that time also the c-section was even very difficult

até mesmo no hospital, né? Então...  
even same in-the hospital not-is so

‘Because at that time c-sections were difficult even in the hospital. So...’

E: E quando precisava de hospital aqui ou pra parto ou pra  
and when needed of hospital here or for birth or for

qualquer motivo, vocês iam pra onde?  
any motive you would-go to where

‘And when you needed a hospital here either for birth or for any other reason,  
you would go where?’

\*\*\*\*\*

R: Eu lembro que eu cheguei a estudar um pouco no Quinze  
I remember that I arrived to study a little in-the Fifteen

de Novembro. Foi como eu te falei, que teve uma escola, depois  
of November was how I you told that had a school then

parou, né?  
stopped not-is

‘I remember that I got to study for a while at the Fifteenth of November. It  
was as I told you, there was a school, then it stopped.’

E: Isso em que ano? No Quinze de Novembro você tinha qual idade?  
this in what year in-the Fifteen of November you had which age  
‘This in what year? At the Fifteenth of November you were how old?’

R: Ah, eu tava... uns dez anos.  
ah I was some ten years  
‘Ah, around 10 years old.’

\*\*\*\*\*

R: ... antigamente, ainda tinha a mata da viúva né?  
in-the-old-days still had the woods of-the widow not-is

Que era uma mata imensa, mata linda, meu Deus do céu!  
that was a woods huge woods beautiful, my God of-the heaven

Hoje em dia eu penso assim: gente como é que acabaram

today in day I think like people how is that finished

com aquela mata?  
with that woods

‘In the old days there was still the widow woods, which was these huge,  
beautiful woods, my God, these days I think, oh my how have they killed  
those woods.’

**E: Era aonde a mata da viúva?**  
**was where the woods of-the widow**  
‘Where was the widow woods?’

\*\*\*\*\*

E1: O nome completo da senhora.  
the name complete of-the mrs.  
‘Your full name?’

A: Anicéa Nogueira Pinto  
Anicea Nogueira Pinto  
‘Anicea Nogueira Pinto.’

E1: Qual a filiação da senhora? Seus pais?  
which the filiation of-the mrs. your parents  
‘What are your parents’ names?’

A: Herculano Barreto, o nome do meu pai,  
Herculano Barreto, the name of-the my father

e minha mãe, Antonia Manhães Nogueira.  
and my mother Antonia Manhaes Nogueira

‘Herculano Barreto is the name of my father and my mother is Antonia  
Manhaes Nogueira.’

**E1: A senhora nasceu em qual dia, em qual lugar?**  
**the mrs. was-born in which day, in which place**  
‘You were born in what day, what place?’

A: 19 de março de 1928 no interior do município de Campos,  
19 of March of 1928 in-the interior of-the city of Campos

numa localidade chamada Pitangueiras,  
in-a locality called Pitangueiras,

in-the proximities of Santo Amaro  
nas proximidades de Santo Amaro.

‘March 19, 1928, in the middle of the city of Campos, a place called  
Pitangueiras, near Santo Amaro.’

\*\*\*\*\*

A: Então tive que trabalhar, junto com a minha mãe  
so had to work together with the my mother

para segurar a barra, né?  
for hold the hem not-is

‘So I had to work, together with my mother to make ends meet.’

E1: A **senhora trabalhou em quê?**  
**the mrs. worked in what**  
‘You worked in what?’

A: Ah, trabalhei em muita coisa.  
ah worked in many things  
‘Ah, I worked in many places.’

\*\*\*\*\*

E1: A **senhora quando veio de Olhos d’Água,**  
**the mrs. when came from Olhos d’Água**

com onze anos, onze, doze anos  
with eleven years eleven twelve years

‘When you came from Olhos d’Água, when you were eleven, maybe  
twelve...’

A: É, onze, doze.  
is eleven twelve  
‘Yes, eleven, twelve.’



E1: A **senhora morou aonde, aqui em Campos?**  
**the mrs. lived where here in Campos**

**Veio morar aonde?**  
**came live where**

‘You live where, here in Campos? You came live where?’

A: Eu vim morar com a minha mãe e meu irmão, nós três.  
I came live with the my mother and my brother we three  
‘I came live with my mother and my brother, the three of us.’

\*\*\*\*\*

A: É, tinha que descer, tinha que descer. Uma ventania!  
is had that go-down had that go-down a wind

Viação São Joaquim, parece que era São Joaquim.  
bus Sao Joaquim seems that was Sao Joaquim

Menino, você precisa ver!  
boy you have see

‘Right, you had to go down, you had to go down. So much wind! Sao Joaquim Bus, I think it was Sao Joaquim. Boy, you gotta see it!’

E1: **Isso foi em que ano?**  
**this was in what year**  
‘This was in what year?’

A: Hein?  
what  
‘What?’

E1: **Isso foi em que ano?**  
**this was in what year**  
‘This was in what year?’

A: Agora eu vou lembrar? Isso faz o quê?  
now I will remember **this makes what**

Faz uns oitos anos, mais ou menos.  
makes some eight years more or less

Meu marido têm cinco anos que morreu e ele estava vivo ainda.  
my husband has five years that died and he was alive still

Ele chegou a ir lá. Mas que ano!  
he arrived to go there but what year

‘Now am I going to remember it? This has been how long? It’s been eight years, more or less. My husband has been dead for five years and he was alive then. He got to go there. What a year!’

\*\*\*\*\*

E2: A senhora me desculpa.  
the mrs. me forgive.

Porque houve um problema, eu estava lendo aqui nos seus  
Because had a problem, I was reading here in-the your

escritos, que tinha um prédio que era, que tinha sido  
writings that had a building that was that had been

designado em portaria para essa escola, não é isso?  
designated in decree for this school not is this

‘Pardon me. Because there was a problem, I was reading here in your writings that there was a building that was, that had been designated by decree to this school, isn’t it?’

A: Só que não, não deu certo.  
only that no not gave right

E eu não também entrei no mérito da questão não.  
and I not also enter in-the merit of-the question no

‘But it didn’t, didn’t work. And I didn’t get into the heart of the question.’

E2: **Esse prédio era onde?**  
**this building was where**  
‘This building was where?’

A: Ali na Praça Barão de Itaoca, aqui na Rua São Pedro,  
there in-the Square Barao de Itaoca, here in-the street Sao Pedro

onde hoje é a APOE. Aquilo ali primitivamente foi designado  
where today is the APOE that there primitively was designated

para a Escola Municipal Francisco de Assis.  
for the school municipal Francisco de Assis

‘There at the Barao de Itaoca square, here on the Sao Pedro street, where  
today is the APOR. That was initially designated for the Francisco de Assis  
municipal school.’

\*\*\*\*\*

O poder público, pode dar, sim, começar, e eu entrar, colaborando.  
the power public can give yes start and I enter collaborating

**É em benefício do quê? Do bem comum!**  
**is in benefit of what of-the good common**

‘The public power can definitely start, and I can enter to help. It’s in benefit of  
what? Of the common good!’

\*\*\*\*\*

Quando eu via uma porta abaixada, assim, um lugar, fechada,  
when I saw a door lowered like-this a place closed

eu chegava e perguntava “Isso aí é o quê aí do lado?”  
I arrived and asked this there is what there at-the side

Aí a pessoa dizia: “Não, isso aí é uma lojinha de não sei  
then the person said no this there is a little-shop of not know

quê, não sei quem.”  
what not know who

‘When I saw a lowered door, like this, a closed place, I would go there and  
ask,”this there is what, next door?”. Then the person would say,”No, this there is  
a small shop of I-don’t-know-what, belongs to I-don’t-know-who.’

\*\*\*\*\*

Vi aquela casa assim e perguntei a um senhor que estava numa

saw that house like-this and asked to a mr. that was in-a

barraquinha: “ Ô moço, essa casa aí, é o quê isso aí?”  
little-tent hey sir this house there is what this there

“ Ah, isso aí é de Seu Altino.”  
ah, this there is of Mr. Altino

‘I saw that house like this and asked to a man that was in a kiosk,  
“Hey, sir, this house there, is what, this?” “Ah, this belongs to Mr. Altino.”’

\*\*\*\*\*

Aí, ela viu, ela foi comigo, ela viu como é que estava  
then she saw she went with-me she saw how is that was

“ Ih, como é que pode Dona Anicea?” Eu disse: “Como é que pode?  
oh how is that can Mrs. Anicea I said how is that can

A gente tem que fazer o quê? Tem que higienizar.”  
the people have to do what have to sanitize

‘Then she saw it, she went with me, she saw what it was like.’ Oh, how can this  
be, Mrs. Anicea?’ I said, “How can this be? We have to do what? Have to  
sanitize.”’

\*\*\*\*\*

Então eu disse: “Não, mas se eu vou ficar aqui, nós vamos!”  
so I said no but if I will stay here we are

Agora a gente vai lutar para quê? Para melhorar!  
now the people will fight for what to improve

Um dia depois do outro é um dia de melhoramentos,  
one day after of-the other is a day of improvements

se a gente quiser lutar, se quiser batalhar.  
if the people want fight, if want battle

‘So I said, “No, but if I’m going to stay here, we are!” Now if are going to fight  
for what? To improve! One day after another is a day of improvements, if we can  
fight, if we can battle.’

\*\*\*\*\*

A: Nasci em Campos, na Rua Saldanha Marinho,  
was-born in Campos in-the street Saldanha Marinho

atrás do Samdu, hoje, ali nós temos ali o Samdu,  
behind of-the Samdu today there we have there the Samdu

ali atrás, em 10 de junho de 1919.  
there behind in 10 of June of 1919

‘I was born in Campos, on Saldanha Marinho street, behind the Samdu, what  
today is the Samdu, there behind, on June 10 1919.’

E: **E a senhora ficou ali, na Rua Saldanha Marinho,**  
**and the mrs. stayed there on-the street Saldanha Marinho**

**até qual idade?**  
**until which age**

‘And you stayed there, on Saldanha Marinho street, until what age?’

A: Na Rua Saldanha Marinho, eu nasci ali e dali,  
on-the street Saldanha Marinho I was-born there and from-there

a gente mudava muito.  
the people moved much

‘On Saldanha Marinho street, I was born there and from there we moved a  
lot.’

\*\*\*\*\*

Inclusive, hoje, um senhor que lê as coisas que eu escrevo  
including today one mr. that reads the things that I write

“ Ah, Dona Antônia, só teve uma coisa que a senhora escreveu  
ah mrs. Antonia only had one thing that the mrs. wrote

que eu não gostei.”  
that I not liked

Eu falei: “**Foi o quê?**” porque eu botei assim: o perfil do  
I said **was what** because I put like-this the profile of-the

candidato a prefeito de Campos, entre outras coisa,  
candidate to mayor of Campos among other things

how that he must be what he must do  
como que ele deve ser, o que ele deve fazer.

‘Actually, today, a man that reads the things that I write said, “Oh, Mrs. Antonia, there was only one thing that you wrote that I didn’t like.” I said, “What was it?”, because I wrote about the profile of the candidate to mayor of Campos, among other things, how he must be, what he must do.’

\*\*\*\*\*

Para você ver, eu, quando eu fiz o curso no CCAA,  
for you see I when I did the course in-the CCAA

quando eu fiz o curso no CCAA, animada, muito preocupada com  
when I did the course in-the CCAA animated very worried with

nota. **Preocupada com nota por quê?** Vaidade? Não.  
grade **worried with grade why** vanity no

Se eu estudo, eu tenho que tirar uma nota de acordo,  
if I study I have to take a grade of accordance

porque senão minha cabeça não está me ajudando.  
because if-not my head not is me helping

‘So you can see, when I took the course at the CCAA, when I took the course, excited, very worried about my grade. Worried about my grade why? Vanity? No. If I study, I have to get a grade in accordance, otherwise my head is not helping me.

\*\*\*\*\*

A senhora falou de várias, tentando ver se a gente consegue  
the mrs. talked of various trying to-see if the people can

explorar mais essa história dos moradores ali, a senhora falou  
explore more this story of-the inhabitants there the mrs. talked

de várias chácaras. **Essas chácaras eram o quê?**  
of various farms **these farms were what**

De moradores, de trabalhadores de lá, de marchantes?  
of inhabitants of workers of there of marchers

‘You talked about several, trying to see if we can explore more this story of the inhabitants there, you talked about several farms. These farms were what? Of inhabitants, of workers, of passers-by?’

\*\*\*\*\*

E: Aos açougueiros. Mas que aí moravam, já começaram  
to-the butchers but that there lived already started

a se estruturar por ali.  
to REFL structure for there

‘To the butchers. But the ones that lived there, they started settling there.’

A: Não, morar não, não moravam ali, não  
no live no not lived there no  
‘No, not live there.’

E: A senhora mudou de lá em que ano mais ou menos?  
the mrs. moved from there in what year more or less  
‘You moved from there in what year more or less?’

A: Eu mudei de lá eu tinha 39 anos. Eu estou com 86,  
I moved of there I had 39 years I am with 86

you faz a conta.  
you do the count

‘When I moved from there I was 39 years old. Now I am 86, add it up.’

\*\*\*\*\*

A: E toda essa papelada ia para Secretaria de Saúde.  
and all this paperwork would-go to Secretary of Health  
‘And all this paperwork would go to the Ministry of Health.’

E: E isso saía o quê? Uma vez por ano?  
and this left what one time per year  
‘And this came out how often? Once a year?’

A: Quê uma vez por ano! Era toda semana.

that one time per year was all week  
'Not once a year! Every week.'

\*\*\*\*\*

S: A fábrica de sabão era na rua Vinte e um, de Seu Amilar...  
the factory of soap was on-the street twenty-one, of mr. Amilar  
'The soap factory was on Twenty-One street, of mr. Amilar...

E: Vinte e um de abril.  
twenty and one of April  
'Twenty-first of April.'

S: Vinte e um de abril.  
Twenty and one of April.  
'Twenty first of April.'

E: Na sua casa eram quantos filhos?  
**in-the your house were how many kids**  
'In your house there were how many kids?'

S: São três irmãs e eu.  
are three sisters and I  
'Three sisters and I.'

E: Quando o seu pai faleceu você tinha quantos anos?  
**when the your father died you had how-many years**  
'When your father died you were how old?'

S: Quando o meu pai faleceu eu tinha vinte e um anos.  
when the my father died I had twenty and one years  
'When my father died I was twenty-one years old.'

\*\*\*\*\*

S: E o nome desse bloco era "Os magnatas", saiu cinquenta pessoas,  
and the name of-this block was the millionaires left fifty people

vinte e cinco meninas e vinte e cinco rapazes.  
twenty and five girls and twenty and five boys

'And the name of this Carnival group was "The Millionaires", we were fifty in  
total, twenty-five girls and twenty-five boys.'

E: "Os magnatas". Isso em que ano?



the millionaires **this in what year**

“‘The millionaires.’ This in what year?’

S: Foi nos anos de 1958 mais ou menos, quase sessenta.

was in-the years of 1958 more or less almost sixty

‘It was in the year of nineteen fifty-eight more or less, almost sixty.’

\*\*\*\*\*

Estávamos falando agora há pouco do matadouro e como que  
were talking now had little of-the slaughterhouse and how that

muita gente que trabalhava no matadouro, morava na  
many people that worked in-the slaughterhouse lived in-the

comunidade. O matadouro, **ele parou de funcionar em que época?**  
community the slaughterhouse it **stopped of work in what time**

‘We were talking a while ago about the slaughterhouse and of how many people that worked in the slaughterhouse lived in the community. The slaughterhouse, it stopped working around what year?’

\*\*\*\*\*

S: Então foi aonde eu, nesse período tive que procurar um serviço pra mim.

so was where I in-this period had that seek a service for me

‘So that’s when, at that time, I had to look for a job for myself.’

E: **Aí você já estava com quantos anos?**

**then you already was with how-many years**

‘Then you were how old already?’

S: Com vinte e um anos.

with twenty and one years

‘Twenty-one years old.’

E: **Foi trabalhar de quê?**

**went work of what**

‘You got a job as what?’

S: **Aí um amigo meu, Francisco de Sousa Pinto, que era funcionário**

**then a friend mine Francisco de Sousa Pinto that was worker**

**da companhia açucareira, Usina Barcelos, no setor agrícola,**

**of-the company sugary Usina Barcelos in-the sector agricultural**

em Martins Lages, me convidou para fazer um teste,  
in Martins Lages me invited for make a test

tava havendo um teste e eu fui.  
was having a test and I went

‘Then a friend of mine, Francisco de Sousa Pinto, who was a worker for the sugar company, Usina Barcelos, in the agricultural sector, in Martins Lages, invited me to do take a test, there was a test going on and I went there.’

\*\*\*\*\*

S: E nesse teste eu fiz e fui aprovado. Foi em 1965.  
and in-this test I did and was approved was in 1965

Eu lembro até hoje o início meu no trabalho.  
I remember until today the beginning mine in-the job

Foi em oito de junho de 1965 e saí aposentado de lá.  
was in eight of June of 1965 and left retired of there

‘And I did this test and was approved. It was in 1965. I remember until today the beginning of my work. It was on June eighth 1965 and I just left when I retired.’

**E: Trabalhando como?**

**working how**  
‘Working as what?’

S: Eu comecei a trabalhar como auxiliar de escritório,  
I started to work how auxiliary of office

depois fui promovido a sub-encarregado de departamento pessoal.  
then was promoted to sub-in-charge of department personal

‘I started to work as an office assistant then was promoted to sub-manager of the personnel department.’

\*\*\*\*\*

S: Quer dizer, ela não tinha ônus, não recebia ônus, naquela época  
want say she not had bonus not received bonus at-that time

eles recebiam, era tipo uma gratificação, né?  
they received was like a gratification not-is

‘I mean, she had no bonus, she didn’t get a bonus, at that time they received something like a tip.’

E: **E era quem que pagava a gratificação?**  
**and was who that paid the gratification**  
‘And it was who that paid the tip?’

S: Era o Estado.  
was the state  
‘It was the state.’

\*\*\*\*\*

E: O colégio tá novinho, muito bonito.  
the school is little-new very beautiful  
‘The school is brand new, very beautiful.’

S: Lindo, muito maravilhoso.  
pretty very wonderful  
‘It’s pretty, really wonderful.’

E: **Mas antes, estava como?**  
**but before was how**  
‘But before, it was how?’

S: Hein?  
what  
‘What?’

E: Antes desse daí.  
before of-this there  
‘Before this one.’

\*\*\*\*\*

Hoje vai ter essa reunião aí com coisa e eu vou cobrar  
today will have this meeting there with thing and I will charge

dele, não no sentido político pra ceder na política porque  
of-him not in-the sense political to concede in-the politics because

é crime, mas dá um toque no vereador pra dar um `toque

is crime but give a touch in-the city-representative for give a touch

lá na promoção social pra liberar pra associação ficar de pé  
there in-the promotion social to liberate for association stay of foot

perante o povo, porque nós não estamos de pé,  
before the people because we not are of foot

**eu me sinto sabe como?** Aleijado.  
**I REFL feel know how** crippled

‘Today there will be this meeting with that guy and I will ask him, not in the political sense because to concede in politics is a crime, but give a hint to the city representative to give a hint there to the people in social promotion to free for the association to get on its feet before the people, because we are not on our feet, I feel you know how? Crippled.’

\*\*\*\*\*

S: Tem aqui do lado tem o Taubaté que até hoje ainda existe, né?  
have here at-the side have the Taubate that until today still exists no-is  
‘There is here next-door the Taubate that still exists.’

**G: Aqui do lado é aonde?**  
**here at-the side is where**  
‘Here next-door is where?’

S: Taubaté, aqui no Parque Califórnia... o Taubaté funciona até hoje.  
Taubate here in-the Parque California... the Taubate works until today  
‘Taubate, here in Parque California... Taubate is still open.’

\*\*\*\*\*

S: Foi uma festa muito bonita que a adolescência acatou  
was a party very beautiful that the adolescence received

de cheio essa festa.  
of full this party

‘It was a very beautiful party that the teenagers received really well.’

**G: A festa foi aonde?**  
**the party was where**  
‘The party was where?’

S: No Clube Recreativo Flamenguinho, na Lapa.  
in-the Clube Recreativo Flamenguinho, in-the Lapa  
'At the Clube Recreativo Flamenguinho, in Lapa.'

\*\*\*\*\*

S: Então ele foi convidado a vir a Campos, tá ouvindo?  
so he was invited to come to Campos are hearing

Numa festa no... Que foi realizada no Campestre Boliche, que era...  
in-a party in-the that was realized in-the Campestre Bowling that was

'So he was invited to come to Campos, got it? To a party in the... that took  
place at Campestre Bowling, that was...'

**G: O Campestre Boliche era aonde?**  
**the Campestre Bowling was where**  
'Campestre Bowling was where?'

S: Na... onde era a Remac hoje em dia, na esquina da rua Sete,  
in-the where was the Remac today in day in-the corner of-the street Seven

na travessia da linha ali, na antiga linha.  
in-the crossing of-the line there in-the old line

'Where Remarc is nowadays, on the corner of Seven street, at the crossing of  
the line, of the old line.'

\*\*\*\*\*

G: Você usou um termo aí, favela e depois colocou comunidade.  
you used a term there slum and then put community

O que você acha desse termo favela?  
what you think of-this term slum

'You used a word there, slum, then you said community. What do you think  
of the word slum?'

S: Acho chocante...  
find shocking  
'I find it shocking.'

G: E pra usar pra comunidade do matadouro?  
and to use for community of-the slaughterhouse  
'How about using community of the slaughterhouse?'

S: Eu acho que isso tem que ser comunidade porque  
I think that this has to be community because

todos são seres humanos, né?  
all are being humans not-is

'I think it has to be community because everyone is a human being, right?'

G: Mas chocante por quê?  
but shocking why  
'But shocking why?'

S: Eu não gosto desse negócio de favela.  
I not like of-this thing of slum  
'I don't like this slum thing.'

\*\*\*\*\*

S: Quer dizer, é mais íntimo, mais familiar, entendeu?  
want say is more intimate more familiar understood  
'I mean, it's more intimate, more familiar, right?'

G: Agressivo por quê?  
aggressive why

Porque esse é um problema que a gente tem quando vai falar...  
because this is a problem that the people have when go talk...

'Aggressive why? Because this is a problem that we have when we talk...'

\*\*\*\*\*

O que nós afirmamos é que nós fizemos um banco de dados.  
what we affirm is that we made a bank of data

Para o quê? Para as contas tipo B.  
for what for the accounts type B

**Privilegiando o quê em primeiro lugar?**  
**privileging what in first place**

Em primeiro lugar, nós privilegiamos as nossas contas.  
in first place we privilege the our accounts

**Nós informatizamos todas as nossas contas e fizemos o quê?**  
**we informatized all the our accounts and did what**

Colocamos, nesse modelo, cartão corporativo.  
put in-this model card corporate

‘What we affirm is that we made a data bank. For what? For type-B accounts.  
Privileging what in the first place? In the first place we privilege our accounts.  
We computerized all our accounts and did what? We put, in this model, corporate  
cards.’

\*\*\*\*\*

Em que pese o governo, portanto, não ter o menor interesse  
in what weighs the government therefore not have the least interest

em vazá-las, nem tampouco em fazer um suposto dossiê para usar  
in leak-them nor either in make a supposed document to use

para chantagear quem quer que seja.  
to blackmail who wants that be

**Eu vou chantagear com o quê? Com o público e notório?**  
**I will blackmail with what with the public and notorious**

**Nós vamos intimidar com o quê? Com o público e notório?**  
**we will intimidate with what with the public and notorious**

‘As far as the government is concerned, then, there isn’t the least interest in  
leaking them, nor in making a supposed document to use to blackmail whoever it  
is. I will blackmail with what? With what is publicly available? We will  
intimidate with what? With what is publicly available?’

\*\*\*\*\*

O Brasil quase quebrou duas vezes.  
the Brazil almost broke two times

**Nós estamos com uma certa solidez por quê?**

**we are with a certain solidity why**

Porque nós temos um conjunto de fatores acontecendo no Brasil,  
because we have a set of factors happening in-the Brazil

que eu acho importante: nós temos quase 200 bilhões de dólares  
which I think important we have almost 200 billions of dollars

em reservas e isso nos dá uma tranqüilidade;  
in reserves and this gives us a tranquility

‘Brazil almost went bankrupt twice. We now have a certain solidity why?  
Because we have a set of factors happening in Brazil, which I think are important:  
we have almost 200 billion dollars in reserves and this gives us a certain peace.’

\*\*\*\*\*

Nós queremos levar o médico de família para dentro da escola, e isso foi  
we want take the doctor of family to inside the school and this was

impedido. Obviamente que eu vou fazer. **Vou fazer por quê?**  
impeded obviously that I will do **I-will do why**

Porque eu acho que a economia vai crescer, eu acho que as pessoas  
because I think that the economy will grow I think that the people

vão ganhar mais dinheiro e, portanto, vão pagar mais imposto.  
will earn more money and therefore will pay more tax

‘We want to take the family doctor to the school, and this was barred. Obviously I  
will do it. I will do it why? Because I think that the economy will grow, I think  
that people will make more money and therefore will pay more taxes.’

\*\*\*\*\*

Presidente, com a aprovação que o senhor está, aliás  
president with the approval that the mr. is by-the-way

crescendo a cada dia o índice de popularidade. Nem na minha  
growing at each day the index of popularity not-even in-the my

casa eu consigo vencer essa popularidade que o senhor tem.  
house I can win this popularity that the mr. has

**Isso significa o quê?**  
**this means what**



Maior responsabilidade social, maior responsabilidade como essa, por  
bigger responsibility social bigger responsibility like this for

exemplo, aqui em Santa Catarina, de ação imediata do governo  
example here in Santa Catarina of action immediate of-the government

numa catástrofe como essa, maior responsabilidade com o  
in-a catastrophe like this more responsibility with the

povo brasileiro?  
people Brazilian

‘President, with the approval rate you have, which by the way has been  
increasing. Not even in my house can I beat this popularity you have. This means  
what? More social responsibility like this, for example, here in Santa Catarina, of  
immediate government action in a catastrophe like this, more responsibility  
towards the Brazilian people?’

\*\*\*\*\*

P: O Ronaldo, inegavelmente, prestou serviços importantes ao Brasil.  
the Ronaldo undeniably rendered services important to-the Brazil

Ele está com 32 anos, obviamente (incompreensível) idade  
he is with 32 years obviously (incomprehensible) age

que é um pouco avançada.  
that is a bit advanced

‘Ronaldo, undeniably rendered important services to Brazil. He is 32 years old  
now, obviously (incomprehensible) age that is a bit too old.’

**J: Mas você fez gol até com que idade?**  
**but you made goal until with what age**  
**‘But you scored goals until you were how old?’**

P: Veja, eu fiz gol até os 26 anos, quando eu joguei (incompreensível).  
look I made goal until the 26 years when I played (incomprehensible).  
‘Look, I scored goals until I was 26, when I played (incomprehensible).’

\*\*\*\*\*

AJ: Eu já dei muita palestra, mas agora eu tô diminuindo

I already gave many lecture but now I am diminishing

porque você cansa muito, viaja muito, uma loucura.  
because you tire much travel much a madness

‘I’ve already given many lectures, but now I’m slowing down because you get too tired, you travel too much, it’s madness.’

**JS: Mas chegou a fazer quantas num mês?**  
**but arrived to make how many in-a month**  
**‘But you got to do how many in a month?’**

AJ: Ah, eu já cheguei a fazer umas seis, sete num mês, pesado.  
ah I already arrived to do some six seven in-a month heavy

Tem gente que vive disso, é impressionante.  
have people that live of-this is impressive

‘Ah, I’ve got to do around six, seven in a month, heavy. There are people who live off that, it’s impressive.’

\*\*\*\*\*

A: É, Melissa, mas como o papai veio aqui só pra isso, ai!  
is Melissa but how the daddy came here just for this ouch  
‘Yes, Melissa, but since daddy just came here for that, ouch!’

B: Escuta aqui, Ramiro. Teu pai não tem o que fazer.  
listen here Ramiro your father not has what to-do

**Então faz o quê?** Fica inventando historinha.  
**so does what** keeps inventing little-story

Imagina, quando ele quis assumir a sua cadeira lá  
imagine when he wanted assume the your chair there

na empresa, você não disse que ele era caduco?  
in-the company you not said that he was crazy

‘Listen, Ramiro. You father has nothing to do. So he does what? Invents little stories. Imagine, when he wanted to take your post there in the company, didn’t you say he was crazy?’

\*\*\*\*\*

A: O senhor aceita tomar um vinho?  
the mr. accepts take a wine  
'Would you like some wine?'

B: Um vinho é sempre bem-vindo!  
a wine is always welcome  
'Wine is always welcome!'

C: Eu vou... vou sair, tá.  
I will will leave is  
'I'm, I'm leaving, OK?'

B: Vai pra onde, Tônia?  
will go where Tonia  
'You're going where, Tonia?'

C: Ah, eu vou... na Berê.  
ah I go in-the Bere  
'Ah, I'm going to Bere's.'

\*\*\*\*\*

A: Vai sair fugido? Muito tosco, Tarso!  
will leave escaped very unfinished Tarso  
'You will run away? Very bad, Tarso!'

B: Cê quer que eu faça o quê?  
you want that I do what  
'You want me to do what?'

A: Bota o rap, menino! Fala que não vai ficar e não fica! Alôoo!  
put the rap boy say that not will stay and not stay hello  
'Open up, man! Say you won't stay and don't stay! Hellooo!'

\*\*\*\*\*

A: Não é uma carta pra ela receber,  
not is a letter to her receive

é uma dessas cartas que a gente escreve pra não mandar,  
is one of-these letters that the people write for not send

mas que mais tarde pode ser encontrada, no seu computador,  
but that more late can be found in-the your computer

pela Julinha, qualquer pessoa menos eu, claro.  
by-the Julinha any person minus me, clear

‘It’s not a letter for her to receive, it’s one of these letters that we write not to send, but that later can be found, in your computer, by Julinha, anyone but me, of course.’

**B: Mas... dizendo o quê?**

but... saying what  
‘But saying what?’

**A: Vai ser um grande desabafo. Você vai morrer de um ataque cardíaco.**

will be a great exhaling you will die of a attack hearty  
‘It will be a big confession. You will die of a heart attack.’

\*\*\*\*\*

Post on Facebook,

**A: Vou pro Magazine Luiza!**

will-go to-the Magazine Luiza [name of a shop]  
‘I’m going to Magazine Luiza.’

**B: Vai comprar o quê?**

will buy what  
‘What are you going to buy?’

**A: Nada!**

nothing  
‘Nothing.’

**A: Então por que vai lá?**

so why will-go there  
‘So why are you going there?’

**B: Porque tô triste.**

because am sad  
‘Because I’m sad.’

**A: E daí?**

and of-there  
‘So what?’

**B: Na propaganda diz: vem ser feliz!**

in-the ad says come be happy  
‘The ad says, “Come be happy!”’

## **Appendix 2**

### **Compilation of dialogues containing Wh-in-situ questions in English**

BBC Radio Documentary Archive - Nuclear Detectives - 2/12/2007

A: [examining some device] It's a black instrument with an orange nozzle in the front and a screen, which will show me what?

B: Well, in the present mode the screen will show you the intensity of the radiation.

(...)

A: [after being shown how the device works] **And this is now available to border guards where?**

B: This is fairly typical equipment delivered to border guards, to border police in a number of countries by the IAEA, by the European Commission, by other support programs.

\*\*\*\*\*

CSI - Law of Gravity - 02/08/2007

Guy: Permit me to say that the seasonal behaviors of the Walden Plant Swamp mosquito was an incredibly stimulating seminar.

**Grissom: And you know this how?**

Guy: I took your course online. It's free to alumni.

\*\*\*\*\*

Judge Hatchett

**You two met how?**

\*\*\*\*\*

Judge Alex

**You cranked up the car and it ran for how long?**

**You agreed to sell her the car for 1500 and she was gonna pay you when?**

**You take her car why, you didn't think it was running properly?**

\*\*\*\*\*

Judge Mathis

**Your counterclaim for 1000 is for what?**

\*\*\*\*\*

Law & Order, Season 8, Episode 5

**Briscoe: OK, so, it's the middle of the night and we're all here because of what? Food poisoning?**

\*\*\*\*\*

Law & Order Special Victims Unit, Season 10, episode 14

Stabler: They're talking about the Moroni family, and one girl, Stephanie, who can be a witness.

Chief: Right now, she's a reluctant witness, nothing more.

Stabler: She's doing some guy she just picked up in a bar, she'd be reluctant.

Benson: That family, it has gone through more than their share.

**Chief: All right, you left a note at her apartment when?**

\*\*\*\*\*

CSI New York – Season 4, Episode 13

beginning of scene

**Detective: You've been going out with Madison for how long?**

\*\*\*\*\*

Judge Hatchett

Judge: How much did you pay for the car?

Def.: 800 dollars.

**Judge: And you've spent how much on it since then?**

Def.: 1500 dollars.

\*\*\*\*\*

Law & Order Season10, episode 18

McCoy: She was with Callister, she admitted it to him.

Carmichael: Valerie Grace never left the city. And Joe Callister was snowed in in Buffalo that night.

**DA: You know this how?**

Carmichael: Hotel charges on Callister's credit card. I even checked with the hotel and the airlines.

\*\*\*\*\*

Law & Order, Season 10, Episode 19

Green: We're sorry to intrude, we just need a few minutes to run some things down with you.

Mr. Graham: Of course.

**Briscoe: The last time you saw your wife was when?**

Mr. Graham: Yesterday morning before she went to class.

Briscoe: She was a graduate student? (rising)

Mr. Graham: In the sociology department.

\*\*\*\*\*

Law & Order, Season 10, episode 23

Briscoe: What do you suspect?

Doctor: She was poisoned, by her own hand or someone else's.

**Briscoe: And you know this how?**

Doctor: Fresh needle mark on her left buttock.

\*\*\*\*\*

Law & Order, Season 10, episode 23

Ms. Carmichael: Apparently a single large dose can cause severe, irreversible Parkinson's.

DA: Didn't Joan Moore start having symptoms months ago?

Ms. Carmichael: At lower dosage MPTP can induce less severe symptoms.

**DA: So this girl poisoned her mother how?**

Ms. Carmichael: My best guess: she knew about her parents' little "hobby" and contaminated their stash of insulin.

\*\*\*\*\*

CSI, Season 2, episode 2

Grissom: So she was crushed to death?

Coroner: She was crushed post mortem.

**Grissom: And you know this how?**

\*\*\*\*\*

Law & Order Special Victims Unit, Season 3, Episode 17

Munch: No leads on his whereabouts.

Tutuola: Girlfriend hasn't heard from him for two days. So he knows we like him for this.

Munch: Luck he's still in town.

**Chief: And you know this how?**

Munch: He has a half dozen e-mail accounts, all under fictitious names, he uses/ public computers in coffee shops and bookstores up and down Broadway.



\*\*\*\*\*

Law & Order Special Victims Unit, Season 5, Episode 14

Guy: Of course not, I know the law. And if you knew anything about our religion you would know that our believers could never do this.

Olivia: And what makes you so sure?

Guy: The child was found near a lake.

**Olivia: And that proves what?**

Guy: The lake is ruled by Iemanja, she's an orixa, the African to a saint, and she's the mother and protector of all children. Killing a child in her name would be blasphemous.

\*\*\*\*\*

NCIS Season 6, Episode 1

Agent 2: Standard operating procedure. It's in the agent's manual. Section 35, subsection 2, clause z, seizure of evidence.

Agent 1: You're making that up.

**Agent 3: This matters why?**

Agent 1: They were seized four months ago.

Agent 2: He failed to report to duty, makes perfect sense.

Agent 3: Who seized them?

Agent 2: Us.

\*\*\*\*\*

The Daily Show With John Stewart, 02/03/2009

**You grew up where?**

\*\*\*\*\*

L&O Criminal Intent, Season 6, Episode 6

Police interrogation  
**And you met her where?**

DA to detective  
**In this case connects how?**

\*\*\*\*\*

The Daily Show with Jon Stewart, 03/03/2009

Interview with Sandra Day O'Connor.

JS: Tell me about this Civics website. **You've been away now from the court  
for how long?**

SDO: Three years.

JS: Three years.

SDO: Uh-huh.

JS: And what was the thought process behind getting involved in the web, in the  
civics website...?

\*\*\*\*\*

Law & Order Special Victims Unit, Season 2, Episode 14

*Interrogation, not in court*

ADA: Who made the plan?

Perp: Bates. It was all Bates.

**Cap.: And you hooked up with him how?**

Perp: He said I could make a thousand bucks each time I freelanced.

ADA: And so you became a permanent employee?

Perp: I have a kid who's gonna go to college in a few years. So... the cash would  
have been a big help.

\*\*\*\*\*

Bones, Season 1, Episode 11

Man: Carl Decker is not only a disgruntled employee, he's a... what's the term?

Woman: As a lawyer, the legal term is nuts, and a pain in the ass.

Man: Oppositional defiance disorder and paranoia is what I read.

Woman: Like I said, nuts and a pain in the ass.

**Booth: Read where? The paranoia. You read that where?**

*Woman slides file to Booth.*

Booth: Did Carl Decker investigate it?

Woman: He's making extremely damaging allegations against the company

Man: False allegations.

\*\*\*\*\*

CSI, Season 8, Episode 10

*Interrogation, first question*

**You went home with Doctor X why?**

\*\*\*\*\*

Law & Order, Season 10, Episode 6

*Interrogation, first question*

**You've been arrested how many times, Mr. Sable?**

\*\*\*\*\*

Law & Order, Season 3, Episode 5

Det 1: Fire bricks. They never got an ID. This ain't a pro. Our friends in silk suits weight them so they never come up.

**Det.2: Which leads us where?**

Det 1: Those green cards, one of them had to be bought.

Det 2: And at least one of those kids is not old enough to go to high school.

Chief: So call Social Welfare. You got nothing specific. **They'll get there in what?** A month? Maybe they're underage, maybe they're illegal. Maybes will not get you a warrant.

\*\*\*\*\*

Caprica, Pilot Episode

A: Who is to say her soul wasn't copied too?

B: You can't copy a soul!

A: **And you would know that how?** Hm? How can you prove or disprove that idea?

\*\*\*\*\*

The Colbert Report, 01/21/2010

Stephen Colbert and John Farmer

JF: That's actually a fascinating story. It was actually not Secretary Mineta, which the government claimed afterwards, who made that decision, it was Ben Sliney, who was the National Operations Manager in Herndon that day.

**SC: And Herndon is what?**

JF: It's the... it's the national operations center for the FAA, they coordinate the different regional centers.

\*\*\*\*\*

The Daily Show with John Stewart, 03/08/ 2010

John Stewart and Harry Markopolos

JS: In 2000, your boss asked you to look into this Madoff fund, because it was so successful he wanted to see, "is there anything we could do to, to replicate that.

HM: That's right.

**JS: And you took a look at his numbers and found what and how quickly?**

HM: It took 5 minutes with the strategy description.