

## **Why ‘why’? Towards a new typology of wh-expressions**

Michał B. Paradowski (University of Warsaw)

### **ABSTRACT:**

The purpose of the paper is to account for the exceptional behaviour of the wh-expression ‘why’ in relation to other wh-phrases across languages. I commence by demonstrating the special status of the phrase with regard to anti-superiority, island and blocking effects in wh-in-situ languages such as Japanese and Korean. An explanation that has been offered to account for the phenomena (Hong 2002), which distinguish ‘why’ from its wh-peers, puts forward an analysis of wh-phrases in terms of their feature composition, where wh-expressions are treated as polarity items. Under this approach, wh-phrases in wh-in-situ languages have no inherent quantificational force; hence, the link between them and C seems to involve Binding rather than Agree. ‘Why’, however, acts in an exceptional way in that it does carry an inherent interrogative reading. Thus, the link between C and this expression in wh-in-situ languages would be achieved by Match and Agree, as is the case with languages such as English.

I take the results as a starting point for the assumption that the apparent exceptionality of the wh-phrase ‘why’ is not restricted to Asian languages only, but is, in fact, a more universal feature. Namely, I propose that whereas most other wh-expressions can differ cross-linguistically with respect to whether they carry no inherent quantificational force and must therefore be treated as polarity items, ‘why’ universally, invariably and cross-linguistically is inherently interrogative. I give supporting data from Polish, Russian, and German, and suggest that the analysis offered for non-fronting languages can be extrapolated to Slavic, Balto-Slavic and Germanic languages as well. I then attempt to explain why it is ‘why’ and only ‘why’ that displays the special feature composition, first demonstrating that (in contrast with other wh-expressions) it cannot be easily replaced with an indefinite proform or a universal quantifier, and then giving an account that summons the Canonical Structural Representation (CSR) of constituents used as answers to various wh-questions. I finally venture a proposal that wh-constituents may be assigned a ‘deeper’ compositional structure, which may bear on their syntactic behaviour and perhaps even their landing sites when the phrases (or their features) undergo movement. In contrast with its wh-

peers, a question containing the word 'why' is usually answered using a CP. We might therefore posit that some feature inside the CP (perhaps a remnant of T inside the IP) may bear on the behaviour of 'why'. This might also explain the difference observed by Wierzbicka (1988) between sentences such as 'How to do it?' and 'Why do it?'

I conclude by attempting to show if and how the analysis drawn may bear on the behaviour of the word 'dlaczego' in Polish. Finally, I also indicate how the feature-analysis of wh-expressions and their according differentiation depending on whether the words are subject to Binding or Match and Agree can suitably be represented in the HPSG framework.

#### References:

- Aoun, Joseph & Yen-hui Audrey Li. 1989. Constituency and Scope. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20: 141–172.
- Aoun, Joseph & Yen-hui Audrey Li. 1993. *Syntax of Scope*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Aoun, Joseph & Yen-hui Audrey Li. 1993b. Wh-elements in situ: Syntax or LF? *Linguistic Inquiry* 24:199–238.
- Aoun, Joseph & Yen-hui Audrey Li. 1993c. On some differences between Chinese and Japanese Wh-elements. *Linguistic Inquiry* 24: 365–72.
- Aoun, Joseph, & Yen-Hui Audrey Li. 2003. *Essays on the Representational and Derivational Nature of Grammar: the diversity of wh-constructions*. MIT Press.
- Aoun, Joseph, Norbert Hornstein, & Dominique Sportiche. 1981. Some aspects of wide scope quantification. *Journal of Liguistic Research* 1(3): 69–95.
- Baek, Judy Yoo-Kyung. 1995. Scrambling and anti-superiority in Korean. In *MIT working papers in linguistics* 27: Papers on minimalist syntax, 11–39, MITWPL, Department of Linguistics and Philosophy, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Baker, C. L. 1970. Notes on the description of English questions: The role of an abstract question morpheme. *Foundations of Language* 6:197–219.
- Beck, Sigrid. 1996. Quantified structures as barriers for LF-movement. *Natural Language Semantics* 4:1–56.
- Beck, Sigrid & Shin-Sook Kim. 1997. On wh- and Operator Scope in Korean. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 6(4): 339–384.

- Bhattacharya, Tanmoy. 1999. Tuck-in: XP Movement to multiple specifiers in DPs. Talk given at University College London.
- Boeckx, Cedric. 2003. Symmetries and asymmetries in multiple checking. In Boeckx, Cedric and Kleanthes K. Grohmann (eds.). *Multiple Wh-Fronting*: 17–26.
- Bolinger, D. 1978. Asking more than one thing at a time. In H. Hiz (ed.) *Questions*. Dordrecht: D. Reidel.
- Bošković, Željko. 1997. On certain violations of the Superiority Condition, Agro, and economy of derivation. *Journal of Linguistics* 33:227–254.
- Bošković, Željko. 1997b. Fronting Wh-phrases in Serbo-Croatian. In Martina Lindseth, and Steven Franks, eds. *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics: The Indiana Meeting*. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publications, 67–86.
- Bošković, Željko. 1997c. Superiority Effects with Multiple Wh-fronting in Serbo-Croatian. *Lingua* 102:1–20.
- Bošković, Željko. 1998. Wh-phrases and wh-movement in Slavic. Ms., University of Connecticut, Storrs.
- Bošković, Željko. 1998b. On the Interpretation of Multiple Questions. In Janet Fodor, Samuel Jay Keyser & Amy Brand, eds. *A Celebration; Essays for Noam Chomsky's 70th Birthday*. [available online at <http://cognet.mit.edu/Books/celebration>]. Also in *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 1: 1–15.
- Bošković, Željko. In press b (1998). Multiple wh-fronting and economy of derivation. In *Proceedings of the West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics* 16: 49–63. Stanford, Calif.: CSLI Publications.
- Bošković, Željko. 1999. 'On multiple feature checking: Multiple wh-fronting and multiple head-movement.' In *Working Minimalism*, S. Epstein and N. Hornstein (eds.):159–87. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Bošković, Željko. 2002. On multiple Wh-fronting. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33:351–83.
- Bošković Željko & Daiko Takahashi. 1998. Scrambling and last resort. *Linguistic Inquiry* 29:347–366.
- Calabrese, Andrea. 1984. Multiple questions and focus in Italian. In Wim de Geest & Yvan Putseys, eds. *Sentential Complementation*. Dordrecht: Foris, 67–74.
- Calabrese, Andrea. 1992. Some remarks on focus and logical structure in Italian. *Harvard Working Papers in Linguistics* 1:91–127.

- Cheng, Lisa Lai-Shen. 1991. On the typology of wh-questions. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Cheng, Lisa Lai-Shen. 1997. On the Typology of WH-questions. New York: Garland Press.
- Cheng, Lisa Lai-Shen. 1997b. "Partial" wh-movement. In UCI working papers in linguistics 3, 27–50, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Irvine.
- Cho, Eun. 1998. A-bar phrase structure in Korean and anti-superiority effect. Ms. Cornell University.
- Choe, J.W. 1984. LF WH-movement: A case of pied piping? Ms., University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1973. Conditions on transformations. In *A Festschrift for Morris Halle*, ed. Stephen R. Anderson and Paul Kiparsky. New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston. 232–286.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1986. *Barriers*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1993. A minimalist program for linguistic theory. In *The View from Building 20: Essays in linguistics in honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, ed. Kenneth Hale and Samuel Jay Keyser, 1–52. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. [Also published in *The Minimalist Program*, 167–217, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press (1995).]
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1995b. Categories and transformations. Chapter 4 of *The Minimalist Program*, 219–394. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1998. Minimalist Inquiries: the Framework. MITWPL 15.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1999. Derivation by Phase. MITWPL 18.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In *Step by step*, ed. Roger Martin, David Michaels, & Juan Uriagereka, 89–155. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001a=To appear) Derivation by phase. In *Ken Hale: A life in language*, ed. Michael Kenstowicz :1–52. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. (2001=2001b) Beyond explanatory adequacy. Ms., MITWPL 20.
- Chomsky, Noam, & Howard Lasnik. 1993. The theory of principles and parameters. In *Syntax: An international handbook of contemporary research*, ed. Joachim Jacobs, Arnim von Stechow, Wolfgang Sternefeld, and Theo Vennemann, 506–569. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. [Also published in *The Minimalist Program*, 13–127. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press (1995).]

- Chung, D.-H. 1996. On the Representation and Licensing of Q and Q-dependents. PhD Dissertation. USC.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1990. Types of A'-Dependencies. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Citko, Barbara & Kleanthes K. Grohmann. 2000. A New Argument in Favour of a Syntactic Focus Projection. Paper presented at the Focus Workshop of GLOW 23, University of Deusto, Bilbao. April 19, 2000
- Citko, Barbara & Kleanthes K. Grohmann. 2001. The non-uniqueness of multiple Wh-fronting: German = Bulgarian. In Steven Franks, Tracy Holloway King & Michael Yadroff, eds. *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics: The Bloomington Meeting, 2000*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 117–36.
- Citko, Barbara. 1998. On Multiple WH Movement in Slavic. In Željko Bošković, Steven Franks and William Snyder, eds. *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics: The Connecticut Meeting*. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publications, 97–114.
- Comorovski, Ileana. 1989. Discourse and the syntax of multiple constituent questions. Doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
- Comorovski, Ileana. 1996. *Interrogative Phrases and the Syntax-Semantics Interface*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Cooper, R. 1983. *Quantification and Syntactic Theory*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Dayal, Veneeta. 1996. Locality in WH quantification, questions and relative clauses in Hindi. *SLAP* 62. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Dayal, Veneeta. 2003. Multiple Wh questions. In *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, eds. M. Everaert and H. van Riemsdijk.
- Deguchi, Masanori, and Yoshihisa Kitagawa. 2002. Prosody and Wh-questions. In Masako Hirotani, ed. *Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society* 32: 73–92.
- Dornisch, Eve. 1995. Discourse-linking and multiple wh-questions in Polish. In Gussmann, E. (ed.) *Licensing in Syntax and Phonology*. PASE Studies and Monographs vol. 1. Lublin: Folium:71–86.
- Engdahl, E. 1986. *Constituent Questions*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Epstein, Samuel David. 1998. Overt scope marking and covert verb-second. *Linguistic Inquiry* 29 (2): 181–227.
- Freidin, Robert & J. R. Vergnaud. 2001. 'Exquisite Connections: Some Remarks on the Evolution of Linguistic Theory' *Lingua* 111: 639–666.

- Garrett, Edward. 1996. Wh-in-situ and the syntax of distributivity. In *Syntax at sunset: UCLA working papers in linguistics*, 129–145. Linguistics Department, UCLA, Los Angeles, Calif.
- Grewendorf, Günther. 2001. Multiple wh-fronting. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32 (1): 87–122.
- Groat, Erich & John O’Neil. 1996. Spell-out at the LF interface. In *Minimalist ideas*, ed. Werner Abraham, Samuel David Epstein, Höskuldur Thráinsson, and Jan-Wouter Zwart, 113–39. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Grohmann, Kleanthes K. 2000. Prolific peripheries: A radical view from the left. Doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park.
- Grohmann, Kleanthes K. 2002. Multiple Wh-fronting and the left periphery: German = Bulgarian + Italian. *GUWPTL* 2, Fall 2002:83–115.
- Hagstrom, Paul. 1998. *Decomposing Questions*. Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge.
- Heejeong Ko. 2002. On the origin of 'why-in-situ'. heejeong@mit.edu Workshop on wh-movement, University of Leiden.
- Heim, Irene. 1982. The semantics of definite and indefinite Noun Phrases. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Published in 1988, New York: Garland.
- Hiraiwa, K. 2000. Multiple Agree and the Defective Intervention Constraint. Ms., MIT.
- Hong, Sun-Ho. 2002a. On Island Constraints in Korean. Ms., (A version of this paper was presented at ICKL XIII in University of Oslo).
- Hornstein, Norbert. 1995. *Logical Form. From GB to Minimalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hornstein, Norbert. 1998. Movement and chains. *Syntax* 1:99–127.
- Hornstein, Norbert. 1999. Movement and control. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30:69–96.
- Huang, Cheng-Teh James. 1982. Logical relations in Chinese and the theory of grammar. Doctoral dissertation. MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Ishihara, Shinichiro. 2000. "Scrambling and Its Interaction with Stress and Focus," MIT Working Papers in Linguistics: Proceedings of Twelfth Student Conference in Linguistics (SCIL 12).
- Jackendoff, Ray. 1972. *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Jeong, Y. 2002. Basque multiple wh-fronting and iterative superiority. Ms., University of Maryland, College Park.

- Kamp, H. 1981. A theory of truth and discourse representation. In J. Groenendijk et al. (eds.), *Formal Methods in the Study of Language*. Amsterdam: Institute Mathematical Center.
- Kardela, H. 1986. Wh-movement in English and Polish: Theoretical implications. *Rozprawy Wydziału Humanistycznego* vol. XLI: rozprawy habilitacyjne. Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie Skłodowskiej, Wydział humanistyczny.
- Karttunen, L. 1977. The syntax and semantics of questions. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 1: 1–44.
- Katz, Jerrold J. & Paul M. Postal. 1964. *An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Description*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Kim, S.-W. 1991. Chain scope and quantification structure. Doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University.
- Kim, A.-R. 2000. Korean Wh-phrases void of operator. *Japanese/Korean Linguistics* 9: 311–324.
- É. Kiss, Katalin. 1993. Wh-movement and specificity. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 11:85–120.
- É. Kiss, Katalin. 1994. Sentence structure and word order. In *Syntax and semantics 27: The syntactic structure of Hungarian*, ed. Ferene Kiefer and Katalin É. Kiss, 1–90. San Diego, Calif.: Academic Press.
- Kitahara, Hisatsugu. 1993. Wh-movement and specificity. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 11 (1): 85–120.
- Kitahara, Hisatsugu. 1997. *Elementary Operations and Optimal Derivations*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Kuroda, S.-Y. 1965. *Generative Grammatical Studies in the Japanese Language*. PhD Dissertation. MIT.
- Lasnik, Howard. 1995c. A note on pseudogapping. In *MIT working papers in linguistics 27: Papers on minimalist syntax*, 143–163. MITWPL, Department of Linguistics and Philosophy, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Lasnik, Howard, and Mamoru Saito. 1982. *Move ? : Conditions on its Application and Output*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Lasnik, Howard, and Mamoru Saito. 1984. On the nature of proper government. *Linguistic Inquiry* 15: 235–289.
- Lewis, David. 1975. Adverbs of quantification. In Edward Keenan, ed. *Formal Semantics of Natural Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3–15.

- McCloskey, J. 1979. *Transformational Grammar and Model Theoretical Semantics*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Mahajan, A. 1990. *The A/A-bar distinction and movement theory*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Miyagawa, Shigeru. 1998. *Wh-chains and quantifier induced barriers*. Ms. MIT.
- Murasugi, Keiko. 1991. *Noun phrases in Japanese and English: A study in syntax, learnability, and acquisition*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut, Storrs.
- Murasugi, Keiko. 1992. Locative/temporal vs. manner/reason phrases. In *Papers in English linguistics and literature*, 153–170. Department of English Literature, Kinjo Gakuin University.
- Murasugi, Keiko & Mamoru Saito. 1993. Quasi-adjuncts as sentential arguments. In *Proceedings of the Western Conference on Linguistics 5*, 251–264. Department of Linguistics, California State University at Fresno.
- Nishigauchi, Taisuke. 1986. *Quantification in syntax*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Nishigauchi, Taisuke. 1990. *Quantification in the Theory of Grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Press.
- Ouhalla, Jamal. 1996. Remarks on the binding properties of wh-pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27:676–707.
- Pesetsky, David. 1987. Wh-in-situ: Movement and unselective binding. In *The Representation of (In)Definiteness*, ed. Eric J. Reuland & Alice G. B. ter Meulen, 98–129. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Pesetsky, David. 2000. *Phrasal Movement and Its Kin*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Pollock, Jean-Yves. 1989. Verb movement, Universal Grammar, and the structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20:365–424.
- Raghibdoust, Shahla. 1994. Multiple wh-fronting in Persian. In *Cahiers linguistiques d'Ottawa* 21, 27–58. Department of Linguistics, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ont.
- Reinhart, Tanya. 1981. A second Comp position. In A. Belletti et al., eds. *Theory of Markedness in Generative Grammar*, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa.
- Reinhart, Tanya. 1993. Wh-in-situ in the framework of the Minimalist Program. Lecture given at the Utrecht Linguistics Colloquium.
- Reinhart, Tanya. 1997. Quantifier scope: How labor is divided between QR and Choice Functions. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 20: 335–97.



- Reinhart, Tanya. 1998. Wh-in-situ in the framework of the minimalist program. *Natural Language Semantics* 6 (1):29–56.
- Richards, Norvin W. 1997. What moves where when in which language? Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Richards, Norvin W. 1998. The Principle of Minimal Compliance. *Linguistic Inquiry* 29: 599–629.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1990. *Relativized Minimality*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1992. Argument/adjunct (a)symmetries. In *NELS 22*, 365–81. GLSA, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1999. On the position “Int(errogative)” in the left periphery of the clause. Ms. Università di Siena.
- Rudin, Catherine. 1985. Multiple WH movement and the Superiority Condition. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, Minneapolis.
- Rudin, Catherine. 1988. On multiple questions and multiple Wh fronting. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 6:445–501.
- Selkirk, Elizabeth and Koichi Tateishi. 1988. "Constraints on Minor Phrase Formation in Japanese," Papers from the Twenty-fourth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, University of Chicago: 316–336.
- Soh, Hooi Ling. 2001. On the intervention effect: some notes from Chinese. Ms. Univ. of Minnesota, Twin Cities.
- Stepanov, Arthur. 1998. On wh- movement in Russian. In Pius Tamayi and Kiyomi Kusumoto, eds. *Proceedings of NELS 28*, 453–67. GLSA, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- Stjepanović, Sandra. 1995. Short Distance Movement of Wh-Phrases in Serbo-Croatian Matrix Clauses. Manuscript, University of Connecticut, Storrs.
- Takahashi, Daiko. 1993. "Movement of Wh-Phrases in Japanese," *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 11/4: 655–678.
- Tanaka, Hidekazu. 1997. Invisible movement in sika-nai and the linear crossing constraint. *Journal of East Asian Languages* 6:143–78.
- Toman, J. 1981. Aspects of multiple wh-movement in Polish and Czech. In May, R. and J. Koster (eds.): *Levels of Syntactic Representation*. Dordrecht: Foris, 293–302.
- Tsai, W.-T. 1994. On Economizing the Theory of A-bar Dependencies, Ph.D. Dissertation. MIT.

- Tsai, W.-T. 1994b. On nominal islands and LF extraction in Chinese. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 12: 121–75.
- Tsimpli, I. M. & A. Roussou. 1996. Negation and polarity items in modern Greek. *Linguistic Review* 13:49–81.
- Wachowicz, Krystyna. 1974. On the Syntax and Semantics of Multiple Questions. Doctoral dissertation, University of Texas, Austin.
- Watanabe, Akira. 1991. Wh-in-situ, subjacency, and chain formation. Ms., MIT.
- Watanabe, Akira. 1992b. Wh-in-situ, subjacency, and chain formation. MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics 2. MITWPL, Department of Linguistics and Philosophy, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- Watanabe, Akira. 1992. Subjacency and S-structure movement of wh-in-situ. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 1/3: 255–291.
- Watanabe, Akira. 2000. Absorption: Interpretability and feature strength. Ms. University of Tokyo.