WH-SCOPE MARKING IN SYRIAN ARABIC: AN INDIRECT DEPENDENCY

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Abstract

This paper discusses wh-scope marking in Syrian Arabic and approaches to wh-scope marking. It is argued that Syrian Arabic employs the wh-scope marking strategy for questioning out of embedded questions. The dependency between the wh-scope marker and the embedded clause is indirect. The wh-scope marker is base generated in A-position and moves to Spec of the matrix clause. The embedded clause is an unselected complement of the verb. This analysis supports Dayal's (2000) proposal that a unified theory of wh-scope marking cross-linguistically can be reconciled under the indirect-dependency analysis.

1. Introduction

Syrian Arabic (SA) employs long wh-movement for questioning out of embedded questions. Wh-scope marking or partial wh-movement can also be employed as an alternative strategy, as illustrated in (1):

(1) a. maʕ miin fkaar-ti-ni   knt   ʕam iħk-i?
    with who thought-2SG.F.SU-1SG.OBJ   was.1SG   PROG speaking
    'Who did you think I was talking to?'

  b. šu   fkkar-ty   maʕ miin knt   ʕam   iħk-i?
    what thought-2SG.F.SU with who was.1SG PROG   speaking
    'What did you think? Who was I talking to?'

In the long extraction question (1a), the wh-phrase *miin* 'who' undergoes long movement to Spec of the matrix clause. In the partial wh-movement question (1b), the wh-phrase raises to Spec of the embedded clause. The scope is marked by another wh-phrase *šu* 'what' in Spec of the matrix clause.

Based on the following evidence, it can be argued that sentences like (1b) are real instances of wh-scope marking, rather than a sequence of two independent sentences, each involving full wh-movement: wh-scope marking constructions in Syrian can occur in embedded contexts, as in (2):

(2) a. sual-ek   šw raʔy-w   min raħ yntʕer b-l-akhirma   kan
    question-your what opinion-his who will win   with-the-end not was
    fi daʕi   il-w.
    in reason   for-it
    'Your question about what he thinks who will win at the end was not appropriate.'

  b. ma   tʔul-i-l-u   šw ʔal-et-l-ek   mama min
    not   say-2SG.F.SU-to-3SG.M.OBJ what said.3SG.F.SU-to-2SG.F.OBJ mom   who
    jayeh   la-ʕanna bukra?
    coming to-ours   tomorrow
    'Don't tell him what mom told you about who is visiting us tomorrow.'

Another piece of evidence comes from the fact that a pronoun in the embedded clause can be interpreted as a bound pronoun while its antecedent is in the first clause (see (3)). This entails that the two wh-clauses cannot be separate sentences. The pronoun *w* must be c-commanded by the antecedent *kl waħed* 'every one'.

(3) šw   fakkar   kl-waħed   addesh   raħ   yTlaʕ-l-w?
     what thought every-one how.much   will   get-to-3SG.M
     'How much does every one think he will get?'

Wh-scope marking is discussed in the literature in terms of two main theories: *the direct dpendency* and the *indirect dependency*. It is argued that German is best interpreted in terms of a direct dependency analysis (Riemsdijk 1983; McDaniel 1989), while Hindi is best interpreted in terms of an indirect dependency (Dayal 1994, 2000; Beck & Berman 2000). Horvath (1997, 2000) argues that wh-scope marking varies cross-linguistically, thus each language requires a different interpretation.

In this paper, I argue that wh-scope marking in Syrian Arabic manifests an indirect dependency between the wh-scope marker and the embedded clause. The wh-scope marker is a theta-marked argument of the matrix verb base generated in the direct object position. I argue following Felser (2001) that wh-scope marking in SA manifests a predication relation between the wh-scope marker and the embedded wh-clause. However, this can be regarded as an identificational relation. The wh-clause provides an identification or definition of the wh-scope marker.

2. Properties of wh-scope marking in Syrian Arabic

Wh-scope marking in SA manifests properties of wh-scope marking constructions. I present some of these properties following Dayal (1994):

A. Any wh-phrase can be associated with the wh-scope marker, as in (4):

(4) a. šw   fkkart   wen   raʔset   maria?
       what thought.2SG.M   where danced   Maria
       'What did you think? Where did Maria dance?'

    b. šw   fkkart   aymat raʔset   maria?
       what thought.2GS.M   when   danced Maria
       'What did you think? When did Maria dance?'

    c. šw   fkkart   leš   raʔset   maria?
       what thought.2SG.M   why   danced   Maria
       'What did you think? Why did Maria dance?'

    d. šw   fkkart   kif   raʔset   maria?
       what thought.2SG.M   how   danced   Maria
       'What did you think? How did Maria dance?'

B. SA allows embedded yes/no questions in scope marking constructions.

(5) a. šw   al-l-ek   Iyad   bd-w   yji?
       what said.3SG.M.SU-to-2SG.F.OBJ Iyad   want-3SG.M   come
       'What did Iyad say? Is he coming?'

b. šw fkkar-ti   ʕam iħk-i   la-ħaly?
   what thought-2SG.F PROG speaking-1SG to-myself
   'Did you think I am talking to myself?'

Yes/ no questions in Syrian are marked by intonation only. They are not marked by any of the common question formation mechanisms, such as inversion or question particles that is wh-phrase equivalent.

C. Wh-scope marking can occur with multiple embedded wh-phrases associated with the scope marker. Multiple wh-questions in SA are allowed in discourse-linked contexts. A coordinative head appears before adverbial wh-phrases, as illustrated in (6):

(6) a. šw fkkar-ty   aymat raħ basem w la-wen?
       what thought-2SG.F   when left Basem and to-where

   b. šw fkkar-ty   min štara   šw?
      what thught-2SG.F who bought what
      'What did you think? Who bought what?'

D. An embedded wh-phrase can take scope across an indefinite number of wh-scope markers. However, in SA, it is not a requirement that the scope marker be iterated in every clause higher than the embedded wh-phrase. Sentences with only the matrix scope marker, as in (7a) and (78a), are even preferred to setneces with an iterated one, as in (7b) and (7b).

(7) a. šw btetwakʔ-i   bykun   fakkar bassel maʕ min muna kan-et
       what expect-2SG.F be.3SG.M thought Bassel with whom Muna was-3SG.F
       ʕam tħki?
       PROG talking
       Lit. 'What do you believe? What did Bassel think? Who was Mary talking to?'

   b. ?šw btetwakʔ-i   šw bykun   fakkar   bassel maʕ min   Muna
      what expect-2SG.F what be.3SG.M thought Bassel with whom Muna
      kan-et   ʕam tħki?
      was.3SG.F PROG talking

(8) a. šw fkkar-ty   Ali ʔal kif bdna   nruħ?
       what thought-2SG.F Ali said how will.1PL go
       'How did you think Ali said we will go?'

   b. ?šw fkkar-ty   šw ʔal Ali kif bdna   nruȟ?
      what thought-2SG.F what said Ali how will.1PL go

This has also been pointed out by Beck & Berman (2000). Some speakers of German accept sentences without an iterated wh-scope marker whereas for others an iterated one is preferred. Beck & Berman explain this by assuming that for those speakers who do not require iteration of the wh-scope marker in every clause, the wh-scope marker raises successive cyclically.

E. The complement of the wh-scope marker must be of the interrogative type, whereas the verb must be of the type that requires a [-wh] complement (see Dayal 1994).

As (9) illustrates, a verb which requires a [+WH] complement like *saʔal* 'ask' is not acceptable in this construction:

(9) a. *šw sʔal-ti-a   maʕ min kan-et   maria ʕam trʔos?
       what asked-2SG.F.SU-3SG.F.OBJ with who was-2SG.F Maria PROG dancing

    b. šw ʔal-ek   šw ħaket Dima?
       what told.3SG.M-2SG what talked Dima

F. Wh-scope marking constructions originating in the complement of factive predicates are grammatical in SA, contrary to the case with full wh-movement questions (compare sentences (a) with sentences (b)):

(10) a. šw ʕrft   min staʔjar l-maħal?
       what knew.2SG.M who hired the-shop
       Lit. What did you know who will hire the shop?

    b. *min ʕrft   staʔjar l-maħal?
       Who knew.2SG.M hired the-shop

(11) a. šw ktashaft   min shaf Iyad?
       what discovered.2SG.M who saw Iyad
       'What did you find out? Who did Iyad see?'

    b. ??Min ktashaf-ty   inn-w   Iyad shaf?
       Who discovered-2SG.F that-3SG.M Iyad saw

(12) a. ʕa   šwndm-ti   kif ħkke-ty-a?
       on-what regretted-2SG.F how talked-2SG.F.SU-3SG.F.OBJ

    b. *kif ndm-ti   inn-ek   ħkke-ty-a?
       how regretted-2SG.F that-2SG.F talked-2SG.F.SU-3SG.F.OBJ

(13) a. šw ktashaf-ti   kif Sar   l-ħadeth?
       what discovered-2SG.F how happened the-accident
       'What did you find out? How did the accident happen?'

    b. *kif ktashf-ty   Sar   l-ħadeth?
       how discovered-2SG.F happened the-accident

Contrary to what one may predict for non-referential wh-phrases, of which weak islands obstruct antecedent-government, non-referential wh-phrases originating within the complement of a factive island in scope marking questions are acceptable.

G. Wh-scope marking across negative islands is ungrammatical, as well as full wh-extraction (see sentences (a) and (b)) respectively:

(14) a. *šw ma fkkart   kif raħ yjw?
       what not thought.2SG.M how will come.3PL

b.*kif ma fkkart   inn-w   raħ   yjw?
  how not thought.2SG.M   that.3SG.M   will come.3PL

(15) a.*šw   ma fkkart   maʕ   miin Deema kan-et   ʕam   tħki?
     what not thought.2SG.M   with whom Deema was-3SG.F PROG speaking

   b. *maʕ   miin ma fkkart   inn-w   Deema   kan-et   ʕam   tħki?
      with   who not thought.2sg.m that-3SG.M Deema   was-3SG.F   PROG speaking

A closer examination shows that some cases of scope marking fail to show negative island effects even with non-referential wh-phrases (see examples (16a, b)). In these examples, scope marking constructions depart from full wh-movement questions.

(16) a. b-šw   ma kan yʕtref   kif   fataħ   l-bab?
        with-what not was admit.3SG.M how   opened the-door
        'What did he not admit? How did he open the door?'

   b. *kif ma kan yʕterf   inn-w   fataħ   l-bab?
      how not was admit.3SG.M that-3SG.M opened.3SG.M   the-door

This contradictory behaviour of scope marking constructions originating within negative islands seems to result from the type of matrix predicate, i.e. verbs like *yʕtref* 'admit vs. verbs like *yʔul* 'say', *yfakker* 'think'. This has also been pointed out by Horvath (1997). A similar behaviour appears in Hungarian scope marking constructions. Horvath argues that the variation with the acceptability is induced by the D-linked vs. non-D-linked status of the propositional complement of the matrix verb. Verbs like *reveal, deny, notice,* and *permit*, are of the type that takes D-linked interpretation, whereas verbs like *say, hear* and *feel*, are of the latter type. The effect of negative islands does not appear with D-linked predicates. It appears with the non-D-linked type of verbs.

To sum up, wh-scope marking in Syrian manifests properties of wh-scope marking. The most significant features of these are: SA allows embedded yes/no questions in wh-scope marking constructions. Wh-scope marking across negative islands is not acceptable with non D-linked predicates; however, it is acceptable with D-linked ones. Wh-scope marking across factive islands is possible, contrary to the case with long extraction questions. Iteration of the scope marker in every clause preceding the embedded clause is not obligatory.

3. Approaches to wh-scope marking

3.1. The direct vs. indirect dependency

The main approaches to scope marking are the *direct dependency* analysis and the *indirect dependency*. The main claim of the direct dependency approach is that scope marking is a variant of extraction structures. Based on facts from German wh-scope marking, McDaniel (1989), following Riemsdijk (1983) argues that the dependency between the wh-scope marker and the embedded wh-phrase is direct. The scope marker is an expletive wh-expression base generated in Spec of matrix CP. It forms a chain with the wh-expression in the embedded CP and its trace, as illustrated in (17):

(17) a. Mit wem$_i$ glaubst du   t$_i$ dass Maria t$_i$ gesprochen hat.
        with whom think   you   that Maria   spoken   has

b. Was$_i$ glaubst du mit wem$_i$ Maria t$_i$ gesprochen hat.
   what think you with whom Maria spoken has

<div align="right">(Dayal 1994: 143)</div>

The scope marker is an expletive that is semantically empty. It is base generated in SpecCP in languages that require S-structure wh-movement. Expletives must be eliminated and replaced at LF by a semantically interpreted expression, thus, at LF, the wh-scope marker is replaced by the contentful wh-phrase resulting in an interpretation similar to that of the corresponding long wh-movement question.

According to the indirect dependency approach scope marking and extraction structures are two distinct constructions. They give rise to structural differences, as is the case under negation in German. Whereas full wh-extraction is grammatical across negative islands, as in (18a), wh-scope marking is not possible, as in (18b):

(18) a. Mit wem glaubst du nicht, dass Maria gesprochen hat?
        With whom think you not that Maria spoken has

   b. *Was glaubst du nicht, mit were Maria gesprochen hat?
       what think you not with whom Maria spoken has
      'Who don't you think Mafia has spoken to?'

<div align="right">(Dayal 1994: 145)</div>

Based on facts from Hindi, Dayal argues that the wh-scope marker is generated in argument position. Hindi is an SOV language. The wh-phrase raises from an in-situ position to SpecCP at LF (see examples (19a, b)):
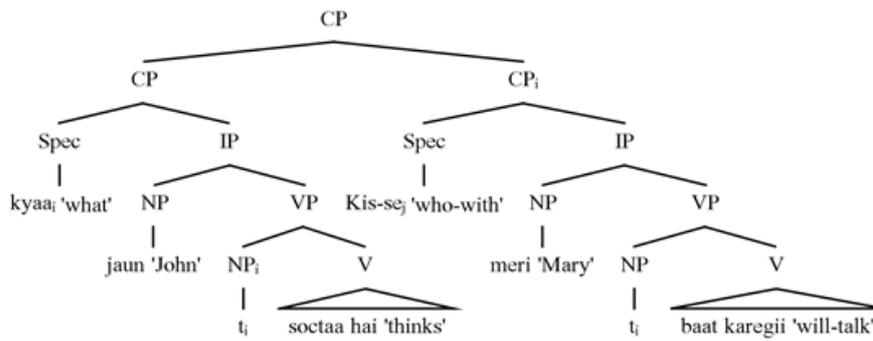
(19) a. jaun (yeh) jaantaa hai ki meri kis-se baat karegii.
        John this knows that Mary who-with will-talk
        'John knows (this) who Mary will talk to.'

   b. Kyaa$_i$ jaunt$_i$ soctaa hai [kis-se$_i$ meri t$_j$ baat karegii]$_i$
      what John thinks who-with Mary will-talk
      'With who John thinks Mary will talk?'

<div align="right">(Dayal 1994: 150)</div>

In sentences like (19a), the expletive *yeh* 'this' is in direct object position, and is coindexed with the complement of the embedded phrase containing the contentful wh-phrase. In analogy with sentences like (19a), Dayal argues that the scope marker in Hindi, *kyaa* 'what', in wh-scope marking questions like (19b), originates in object position, and is coindexed with the complement CP. At LF, It moves from the in-situ position to SpecCP, as illustrated in (20):

(20)

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                              CP
                 ┌────────────┴────────────┐
                CP                         CPᵢ
          ┌──────┴──────┐           ┌───────┴───────┐
        Spec           IP          Spec             IP
          │        ┌────┴────┐       │          ┌────┴────┐
     kyaaᵢ 'what' NP        VP   Kis-seⱼ 'who-with' NP     VP
                   │     ┌───┴───┐                  │    ┌──┴──┐
              jaun 'John' NPᵢ    V    meri 'Mary'  NP    V
                          │    ┌──┴──┐              │  ┌──┴──┐
                          tᵢ  soctaa hai 'thinks'   tᵢ baat karegii 'will-talk'
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3.2. Cross linguistic variation

Based on facts from wh-scope marking in Hungarian, Horvath (1997, 2000) argues that in languages like Hungarian, the scope-marker is an expletive base-generated in a non-theta A-position. The embedded CP originates in the argument position of the matrix verb. It raises at LF to adjoin to the expletive wh-scope marker in matrix CP, as in (21b).

(21) a. Mit   gondolsz, hogy kit   latott   J ános?
        what-ACC think-2SG   that who-ACC saw-3SG   John-NOM
         'Who do you think that John saw?'

                                                               (Horvath 1997: 510)

    b. [CP [CP hogy kit   l átott   J ános]   mit   [C gondolsz   t CP]]
            that   who-ACC saw-3SG John-NOM what-ACC   think-2SG

This can be supported by evidence from the case system in Hungarian. The case attested on the scope marker is determined by the grammatical relation that the embedded clause has with respect to the predicate in the matrix clause. The wh-scope marker bears an accusative case only when the complement clause is a direct object argument of the matrix predicate, as illustrated in (22).The agreement appearing in the intermediate clause is an indication that *mit* 'what' must have been in that clause before it has moved to the matrix clause.

(22)   Mitᵢ   mondt ál   [hogytᵢ tudnak/   *tudj ák,
       what.ACC said.2SG.INDEF.DO that   know.3PL.INDEF.DO/ *know.3PL.DEF.DO
       hogy melyik   fiut   szereted t]]?
       that like.2SG.DEF.DO which boy.ACC
       'Which boy did you say that they know that you like?'

Horvath argues that languages manifest different properties in terms of wh-scope marking cross-linguistically, thus they require different analyses. However, Dayal (2000) argues that scope marking is a universal phenomenon. Assuming that languages differ with their syntactic rather than semantic realizations of wh-scope marking, the different characteristics can be reconciled under an indirect dependency analysis with a variety of approaches.

3. Approaches to wh-scope marking in Syrian Arabic
3.3. An indirect dependency

Properties of wh-scope marking in SA suggest that there is no direct dependency between the wh-scope marker and the embedded wh-phrase. The fact that a yes/no question can be embedded in a wh-scope marking question shows that the wh-scope marker and the embedded wh-phrase do not form a wh-chain, as illustrated in sentence (5). Another piece of evidence that supports this result is the fact that embedded questions with more than one wh-expression can occur in the embedded clause, as in (6). It is argued in Dayal (1994) that these questions raise a problem for the direct dependency between the scope marker and the embedded wh-phrase. The wh-chain would have one head and two tails. However, this is not a problem for the indirect dependency approach. Each wh-expression can be interpreted at its LF position.

The other argument against the direct dependency analysis follows from the contrastive behaviour of wh-scope marking constructions and extraction questions involving factive predicates, as in (10-13), and negative islands with D-linked verbs, as in (16). In these examples, wh-scope marking questions depart from full wh-movement questions.

From what has been discussed, it can be concluded that wh-scope marking in SA is not isomorphic to extraction structures, and the dependency between the wh-scope marker and the embedded wh-clause is indirect.

3.4. Split constituents

Another analysis of wh-scope marking suggests that the wh-scope marker and the embedded question form a DP constituent in the underlying syntactic structure but split in the course of the derivation, the wh-scope marker undergoing wh-movement to SpecCP. This would be similar to the *was-für* split construction in German illustrated in (23) (see Herburger 1994, Bruening 2004, Leu 2008):

(23) a. [Was für ein Buch] hast du   gelesen?
      What for a   book   have you read
      'What kind of/which book did you read?'

   b. [Was] hast du   [für ein Buch] gelesen?
       what have you for a   book   read

The wh-scope marker would be the head D, whose sister is the embedded CP, which provides restriction for the wh-scope marker, as illustrated in (24):

(24)   [$_{CP}$ what$_i$ [$_{TP}$ you [$_{VP}$ say [$_{DP}$ t$_i$ [$_{CP}$ who$_j$ [you saw t$_j$]]]]]]

The head would separate from the restricting CP and move to the matrix CP. The wh-word and the CP would originate in the same position, as one complement to the matrix verb, which becomes a split constituent due to movement of its head, the wh-scope marker. It cannot actually be movement of a head in the X-bar sense, though, since the movement does not have the properties of head-movement but of A-bar movement. Instead it would be movement of a 'maximal wh-word', a counterpart of *what*, which functions as a determiner of a clausal complement[1].

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[1] Bruening (2004) argues against this objection (see Bruening 2004: 284).

Whatever the best analysis is of *was-für* split, this seems to be a rare phenomenon. There are cases reported in the literature of determiners or quantifiers splitting from their complement, but the most common ones move the complement stranding the determiner/quantifier. This is the case with quantifier stranding (or quantifier float) (Sportiche 1988).

In SA, split DP constituents are not attested at all. A determiner or a quantifier cannot appear separately from its NP restriction. There is nothing corresponding to *was-für* split. There is not even quantifier stranding. One kind of split constituent that we do see, in many languages is with extraposed relatives. (25a) derives from the underlying structure (25b).

(25) a. Everything is true that she told me.
    b. [IP is true [DP everything that she told me]]

Even this split is not possible in SA (see (26)):

(26) a. kl   lli   ħaket-w   mazbut.
      every that said.3SG.F-it true
      'Everything that she said is true'

    b. mazbut kl   illi   ħaket-w.
      true   every that said.3SG.F-it
      Intended: true everything that she said.

    c. *kl   mazbut lli   ħaket-w.
      every true   that said.3SG.F-it
      Intended: everything is true that she said.

Note that it is possible to move the relative clause along with the head, as in (26b) in SA. This suggests that, if it were true that the wh-scope marking construction is derived by splitting a DP consisting of a determiner and a restrictive clause, we should expect movement of the entire DP, as an option. This is not possible in SA, or in any language with wh-scope marking, as far as I know (see (27)):

(27)   *šu   maʕ miin akl-et   ħaneen btzn-i?
       what with who ate-3SG.F Haneen think-2SG.F
       Intended: *What with whom ate Haneen you think?

As can be seen, there is little reason to think that wh-scope marking in SA arises from a split DP constituent. Instead, the wh-scope marker and the embedded CP are distinct constituents.

3.5. The predication analysis
3.5.1. The wh-scope marker as an argument

According to the standard analysis of wh-scope marking, the wh-scope marker is an expletive base generated in Spec of matrix CP (Riemsdijk 1983, McDaniel 1989). However, it is argued in Dayal (1994) that the wh-scope marker is an expletive base-generated in matrix object position. The wh-scope marker *was* in German is the [+wh] counterpart of the CP expletive *es* 'it' in structures like (28). This assumption is supported by the observation that was never co-occurs with [-wh] CP-expletives.

(28) a. **Es** wird behauptet [CP dass Maria Mel Gibson getroffen hat]
it is said that Maria Mel Gibson met has
'They are saying that Maria has met Mel Gibson.'

b. **Was** wird (***es**) behauptet [CP **wen** Maria getroffen hat]?
what is it said whom Maria met has
'Who are they saying Maria has met?'

In line with Rothstein's (1995) claim that true object expletives do not exist, expletives can only originate in subject positions since they get licensed through syntactic predication rather than θ-marking. Felser (2001) argues that the wh-scope marker *was* is not an expletive but an internal argument of the matrix verb. It is excluded from positions reserved for true expletives. It cannot substitute for the expletive *es* 'it' in sentences like (29):

(29) a. Er findet [SC es überraschend] [dass Maria Hans noch liebt]
he considers it surprising that Maria Hans still loves
'He considers it surprising that Maria still loves Hans.'

b. *Was$_i$ findet er [SC t$_i$ überraschend] [wen$_k$ Maria t$_k$ noch liebt]?
what considers he surprising whom Maria still loves

A similar point can be made about the wh-scope marker in SA, even though the facts are a bit more complicated. SA has a counterpart of the German expletive, but constructed with a complementizer, as shown in (30):

(30) ilt-l-ek inn-w$_i$ [Deena ma raħ tʲ-i l-yom]$_i$
told.1SG.SU-to-2SG.F.OBJ that-3SG.M Deena not will come-3SG.F the-today
'I told you that Deena is not going to come today.'

The complementizer inn- also co-occurs with referential pronominal clitics, as in (31).

(31) a. baʔref inn-ek zʔlaneh.
know.1SG that-you upset
'I know that you are upset.'

b. baʔref inn-a ma raħ tʲi.
know.1SG that-her not will come
'I know that she is not going to come.'

This complementizer is employed in Standard Arabic in the form of ʔanna, as in (32). It introduces both finite and non-finite clauses, and assigns accusative case to the following noun or pronoun (See Aoun et al 2010: 17; Mohammad 2000: 108). When not immediately followed by a lexical subject, as is the case in (32), it is followed by an expletive, an accusative clitic bearing default masculine singular form.

(32) a. Qultu ʔinna-hw wasala l-ʔ-wlaad-u [Standard Arabic]
said.1SG that-it arrived.3SG.M the-children-NOM
'I said that the boys arrived.'

(30) Has quite a different structure, though. The clitic element *-w* does not substitute for a subject, or take the subject as associate; the embedded clause has an initial lexical subject. Instead, I assume, the clitic is a clausal expletive, in that sense similar to *es* in (28a). It is coindexed with the clause *Deena ma raħ tji lyom* 'Deena will not come today'. The underlying structure is [DP-w [CP inn-IP]], and the surface morpheme order is derived by incorporation of the complementizer in the nominal head *-w*.

The wh-scope marker *šu* can still co-occur with the expletive in sentences like (33). This shows that the wh-scope marker does not originate in the same position of the expletive.

(33) Šu fkkart   Ɂnn-w   miin maria btħb?
      what thought.2SG.M that-3SG.M who Maria love
      'Who did you think that Maria loves?'

This result does not entail that the wh-scope marker is base generated in Spec of the matrix CP. *Šu* is a propositional proform as in *šu fkkart?* 'What did you think?'. It can be the direct object of the matrix verb and is capable of carrying the role of Theme. This, I claim, is the case in (33).

Another piece of evidence is that the wh-scope marking strategy is unavailable when the complement of V is a complex DP, as in (34),

(34) *šu fkkart   fkra maʕ miin Deema kan-et   ʕam tħk-i?
      what thought.2SG.M idea with whom Deema was-3SG.F PROG speaking
      Intended: 'Who did you have an idea that Deema was talking to?'

This can be understood if *šu* 'what' in the scope-marking construction is an argument of the verb base generated and receiving a theta-role in the direct object position. If so, (34) violates the theta-criterion.

Following from this discussion, it can be concluded that the wh-scope marker is not an expletive base generated in Spec of the matrix CP, nor an expletive in construction with an embedded clause, but an argument of the matrix verb.
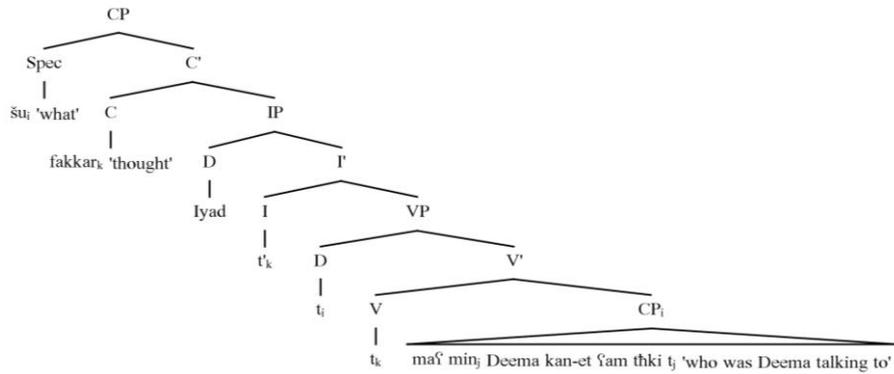
3.6. Secondary predication

Following Felser's (2001), I propose that wh-scope marking constructions in SA can best be understood in terms of a predication relation between the wh-scope marker and the embedded wh-clause, referred to by Felser (2001) as a case of secondary predication. The wh-scope marker is an object pronoun that originates in Spec of VP where it is assigned the θ-role of Theme. It moves to Spec of matrix CP to check its interrogative feature.

The embedded wh-clause, therefore, is not assigned a thematic role by the verb, but is an 'unselected complement' of the verb. This is the basis for the relation between the wh-scope marker and the wh-clause.

(35) $šu_i$ fakkar Iyad [maʕ min Deema kan-et   ʕam tħki$]_i$?
      what thought Iyad with whom Deema was-3SG.FPROG speaking
      'What did Iyad think? Who was Deema talking to?'

(36)

```
                        CP
              ┌─────────┴─────────┐
            Spec                  C'
             │            ┌───────┴───────┐
         šuᵢ 'what'       C               IP
                     fakkarₖ 'thought'  ┌──┴────┐
                                        D       I'
                                        │    ┌──┴──────┐
                                      Iyad   I         VP
                                             │     ┌───┴───┐
                                            t'ₖ    D       V'
                                                   │    ┌──┴──────┐
                                                  tᵢ    V         CPⱼ
                                                        │
                                                       tₖ   maʕ minⱼ Deema kan-et ʕam tħki tⱼ 'who was Deema talking to'
```
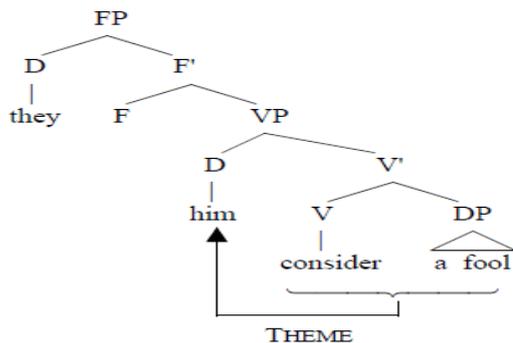
The wh-scope marker *šw* 'what' originates in Spec of VP where it is assigned the θ-role of Theme. It raises to Spec of matrix CP. The verb *fakkar* 'thought' takes the CP *maʕ min Deema kanet ʕam tħki* 'with whom Deema was speaking' as its unselected complement (see Felser 2001).

Felser (2001) likens this analysis to the relation between *him* and a *fool* in the small clause construction *They consider him a fool*, but analysed as in Williams (1997) as made up, underlyingly, of a complex predicate [consider a fool] assigning an object role to him.

(37)

```
              FP
        ┌─────┴─────┐
        D           F'
        │      ┌────┴────┐
       they    F         VP
                    ┌─────┴─────┐
                    D           V'
                    │       ┌───┴───┐
                   him      V       DP
                            │
                         consider  a fool

                       └──────┘
                         THEME
```

In this structure, *a fool* would be an unselected complement of *consider*, and the resulting interpretation is that *him* and *a fool* enter a predication relation.

According to this analysis, there is no direct dependency between the scope marker and the wh-phrase in the embedded clause. There is no LF replacement of the wh-scope marker by the embedded CP; rather they are in subject-predicate relation. If the wh-scope marker undergoes wh-movement to Spec of CP, this explains the fact that wh-scope marking is incompatible with islands. And contrary to the case in Hungarian, there would be no movement at LF in SA, where the embedded CP moves along with the island to adjoin the wh-scope marker causing no violation of movement out of the island.

This analysis is also compatible with the fact that wh-scope marking constructions in SA allow embedded yes/no questions. Since the wh-scope marker and the embedded clause form separate chains (they are related by predication, not by movement), an embedded yes/no question does not lead to any violation.

The fact that the embedded clause is a question seems to satisfy the requirement that the associate of the wh-scope marker has to be a [+WH] interrogative, as is argued in Dayal (1994). The acceptability of an embedded yes/no question shows that the [+WH] associate has to be an interrogative but not a wh-question necessarily.

As regards clauses without copies of the wh-scope marker in multiple embedded clauses, in such sentences, the wh-scope marker undergoes long wh-movement from the intermediate clause to Spec of the matrix clause.

While it is not intuitively obvious that the relation between *šw* 'what' and the *wh-clause* in (35) is the same as the relation between *him* and a *fool* in (37), it does seem that we can regard it as a form of identificational relation (Higgins 1973), comparable to the relation between the two terms in (38):

(38)   That person is our leader.

The wh-clause provides identification or definition of the otherwise completely underspecified wh-pronoun *šw*. I will discuss this further in a future research.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that Syrian Arabic makes use of the wh-scope marking strategy as an alternative to long movement questions for questioning out of embedded questions. I argued that the dependency between the wh-scope marker and the embedded wh-phrase is indirect. The wh-scope marker and the embedded clause do not form a constituent at either the underlying structure or at LF. The wh-scope marker originates in the direct object position of the matrix verb and raises to Spec of matrix CP. Following Felser (2000), I have argued that the embedded clause is an unselected predicate of the verb.

The properties of wh-scope marking in SA are best interpreted in terms of an identificational relation, in which the embedded clause provides identification of the wh-scope marker. This analysis builds into Dayal's (2000) conclusion that the different varieties of wh-scope marking constructions cross-linguistically cn be reconciled under a unified approach, the indirect dependency.

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