Split Questions, Extended Projections, and Dialect Variation

Jorge López-Cortina
Seton Hall University

1. Introduction[1]

Split questions, the type of interrogative construction discussed here, have been referred to as *interrogaciones compuestas* 'compound interrogatives' (Py, 1971), adjunct tags (Uriagereka, 1988), *anticipación expresiva mediante inserción de un pronombre interrogativo proléptico* 'expressive anticipation by insertion of a proleptic interrogative pronoun' (Vigara Tauste, 1992), qué *expletivo en preguntas dislocadas* 'expletive *qué* in dislocated questions' (Lorenzo González, 1994), Wh-doubling (Camacho, 2002), split interrogatives (López-Cortina, 2003, 2007) and split questions (Arregi, 2007). In spite of the growing number of mentions in the literature, a complete description and analysis are still pending.

The goals of this paper are, first, to take a step forward in the description of split questions, and second, to propose an analysis that accounts for their structure and constraints, particularly where they differ from regular wh-questions.

The methodology employed for data collection is described in section 2. Section 3 undertakes the description of split questions. Section 4 presents a new analysis of split questions based on extended projections. Section 5 discusses how data from different dialects can clarify the reasons for the variability in the presence of long distance movement, and proposes an analysis based on the movement of the answer tags. Section 6 closes the paper with some conclusions.

2. Data collection

Besides data from the works cited, this study presents data collected from Spanish speakers in the region of Asturias over several years through questionnaires and personal interviews. For lack of a better term, I refer to their dialect as Asturian Spanish, not to be confused with the Asturian language, also spoken by some of my informants. Additionally, I have interviewed several Spanish speakers from the Basque Country, Galicia, Madrid, and Catalonia. I have been able to identify two separate varieties in Asturias, of which one presents the same results as the other Spanish varieties, and the other presents more restrictions to split questions. Catalan presents notable internal variation, and for the purposes of this paper I use the thorough classification of the data from Contreras & Roca (in press). Héctor Campos has been of invaluable help to me in the description of his variety of Chilean Spanish through extensive interviews and discussion over the years. Two Ecuadorian colleagues have also responded to questionnaires and interviews. Thus, the Chilean and Ecuadorian data presented here are representative of the dialects spoken by the speakers interviewed, but in no way can they be generalized to the whole countries. Much additional research is needed to complete the picture of the usage of split questions.

During the process of data collection, it became clear that the intonation of split questions across the dialects studied is even more diverse than it is for regular wh-questions, and it appeared to be crucially relevant for their interpretation. Thus, further data collection is now in progress, and a detailed description of intonational facts will be left out of this paper.

---

3. Split questions

In this work, I will use the term *split question* to refer to a certain type of interrogative sentence that consists of two parts separated by intonation. The first part resembles a wh-question and the second part (or *tag*) presents a proposed answer to the question posed by the first part.

(1) a. What are you, crazy?
     b. What is he, your lawyer?
     c. What are you, looking for a raise?
     d. What are you, on a diet?
     e. What did you have, a food fight here?

Such questions appear at least in English, Asturian, Catalan, some Italian dialects, and a number of Spanish varieties (López-Cortina, 2007). Their characteristics vary from a dialect to another (Arregi, 2007; Camacho, 2002; Contreras & Roca, in press; López-Cortina, 2003; Py, 1971; Uriagereka, 1988). Here I will address the Spanish ones.

Split questions are different from wh-subextraction[2]: the wh-word in split questions is not a determiner of the tag on the right. The question in (2) does not mean 'What books did you buy?'. It is instead a question about whether what the person addressed bought was books or something else.

(2)   Qué compraste, libros?
         what bought2sg, books
         'Was it books you bought?'

The main difference between the first part of a split question and a regular wh-question is that, in some varieties, the wh-word is always *qué* 'what', regardless of the nature of the answer:

(3) a. Qué llegó   , Juan?
         what arrived3sg, Juan?
         'Was it Juan who arrived?'

     b. Qué vienes ,   el sábado?
         what come2sg, the Saturday?
         'Is it on Saturday that you are coming?'

     c. Qué vas , a Oviedo?
         what go2sg, to Oviedo?
         'Is it to Oviedo that you are going?'

The same questions are ungrammatical if a proposed answer tag is not present:

(4) a. Quién/*qué llegó?
         who / what arrived-3sg?

     b. Cuándo/*qué vienes?
         when / what come2sg?

     c. Dónde/*qué vas?
         where / what go2sg?

Some varieties of Ecuadorian and Chilean Spanish (Héctor Campos, p.c.) and of English (according to my informants) present a construction where the wh-word may remain *in situ*. Chilean

---

[2] The term *split question* has sometimes been used to refer to wh-subextraction, i.e. constructions where a wh-determiner moves without pied-piping its noun phrase. This construction is attested in Slavic languages and Latin, and under certain conditions in Romance (Solà & Gavarró, 2006). I adopt the term *split questions* here anyway in the belief that it is perhaps more appropriate to use it to describe constructions where the whole sentence, rather than just the wh-phrase, is split in two parts.

Spanish does not normally allow subjects to the right of the comma, but they appear to be more acceptable if the wh-word remains in situ (Héctor Campos, p.c.).

(5)   a.   Vas qué, en tren?   (Ecuadorian & Chilean Spanish)
              go2sg what, in train?
              'You go what, by train?'

          b.   %You are going what, by train?   (some varieties of American English)

          c.   *Qué llegó,   Juan?   (Chilean Spanish)
              what arrived3sg, Juan

          d.   ^{??}Llegó   qué, Juan?   (Chilean Spanish)
              arrived3sg what, Juan
              'Who arrived? Juan?'

The grammaticality of long extraction in these constructions varies from dialect to dialect (6a) (López-Cortina, 2007), while they are clearly impossible in embedded clauses, as shown in (6b). The presence of negation renders the construction ungrammatical (6c).

(6)   a.   [%] Qué dijiste   que venía ,   Juan?
              what said2sg that came3sg, Juan?
              'Was it John who you said was coming?'

          b.   * Dijiste   que qué venía ,   Juan?
              said2sg that   what came3sg, Juan?

          c.   *Qué no vienes,   el   sábado?
              what not you-come, the Saturday
              'Is it on Saturday when you aren't coming?'

In some cases the wh-word of an apparent split question is not *qué* but the one matching the possible answer.

(7)   a.   Quién llegó   a Oviedo ,   Juan?
              who   arrived3sg to Oviedo , Juan?
              'Who arrived to Oviedo? Was it Juan?'

          b.   Dónde llegó   Juan , a Oviedo ?
              where arrived3sg Juan , to Oviedo?
              'Where did Juan arrive? Was it Oviedo?'

          c.   La   tesis   cómo va, ¿bien?   (Vigara Tauste, 1992, p. 103)
              The dissertation how   goes good
              'How is your dissertation coming out? Good?'

Several differences between the meaning, intonation, and syntax of these constructions and those of split questions are apparent. In regards to meaning, a split question is about its second part, with the first part presenting a context assumed to be true. In contrast, a pair of juxtaposed questions poses a question and then narrows its range by adding a second, more specific one. As for intonation, Camacho (2002) and Arregi (2007) state that the cases they study (where the wh-word is the same it would be in the parallel regular wh-question) have the intonation of two juxtaposed independent questions. Split questions with *qué*, on the other hand, are associated to an intonational event different from the intonation of two separate questions. Some speakers can distinguish two different intonations of the question. If the intonation at the end of the first part of the question is ascending, the construction is interpreted to consist of two juxtaposed questions. If descending, it is interpreted like a full wh-word split question. This second interpretation is not available in Asturian Spanish, where the

split question intonation is only available for *qué* split questions.[3] In terms of syntax, the prohibition of negative split questions does not apply to full wh-word constructions. The constraints to long distance movement in full wh-word constructions are the same as in regular wh-questions, and differ from the constraints found in split questions. Long distance movement differences are discussed in more detail in section 5 of this work.

4. Extended projections: A new analysis of split questions

The analysis in López-Cortina (2003) postulates movement of *qué*. Another possible interpretation would be to take *qué* to be an expletive marking the scope of the dislocated possible answer (Lorenzo González, 1994). However, as shown above in (5), there are some dialects in which *qué* appears to have moved and some in which *qué* stays in situ. The occasional presence of *qué* in situ should be enough to rule out an interpretation as mere scope marker, if a common analysis is sought for both constructions.

In fact, the relationship between the two structures seems to present a clear parallel with regular wh-questions, where fronted wh-elements, in situ wh-elements, or both structures can be found, depending on the language or the dialect (see Jiménez, 1997 for a review of the literature on the issue and an analysis of Spanish).

If the position of *qué* follows from wh-movement, some restrictions to the construction should be expected, and they have in fact been noted in previous work. However, constraints on movement seem to be stronger in the case of split questions than they are in normal wh-movement, most clearly in dialects where no long extraction is allowed, but also in other dialects where long extraction does take place. Consider the examples (8c) and (9c) below. In both cases it can be shown that, in spite of having the same reference as an argument, *qué* does not behave like an argument, which could be extracted from a wh-island (8a)[4] or a complex NP (9a), but rather like an adjunct, which could not (8b and 9b, respectively). These facts are all immediately explained if we assume that *qué* is always an adjunct, independently of the status of the phrase it stands for. (For comparison, I repeat here Lorenzo González's (1994) subjacency example and Camacho's (2002) locality effects example in (8d) and (9d) respectively).

(8)   a.   A quién sabes   cuándo visitaron?
             to who   know2sg when   visited3pl
             'Who do you know when they visited (him)?'

       b.   * Dónde sabes   cuándo visitaron   a Pedro?
               where   know2sg when   visited3pl to Pedro
               'Where do you know when they visited Pedro?'

       c.   * Qué sabes   cuándo visitaron , a Pedro?
               what know2sg when   visited3pl to Pedro
               'Who do you know when they visited (him)? Pedro?'

       d.   * Qué te   empeñaste cuándo debíamos   alegrar, a Juan?
               what CL2sg insist2sg   when   should 1pl cheer-up , to Juan?
               'Whom did you insist when we were supposed to cheer up? Juan?'
               (Lorenzo González 1994)

---

[3] Note that, differently from standard Spanish, Asturian Spanish question intonation is not ascending (Canellada, 1944). There is a clear difference between intonational contours for split questions and pairs of juxtaposed questions, but it can not be described as an ascending/descending contrast. A detailed description of these intonations is left for further work.
[4] Compare this example with the classic one from Torrego (1984):

(i)   Quién no sabes   cuánto   pesa?
       who   not know2sg how-much weighs3sg
       'Who don't you know how much he weighs?'

(9)   a.   Con quién oíste   el rumor de que se   quiere   casar?
             with who heard2sg the rumor of that CL3sg want3sg to-marry
             'Whom did you hear the rumor that he wants to marry (her)?'

    b.   * Cuándo oíste   el rumor de que se   quiere   casar?
             when   heard2sg the rumor of that CL3sg want3sg to-marry
             'When did you hear the rumor that he wants to marry (then)?'

    c.   * Qué oíste   el rumor de que se   quiere   casar,   con Mónica?
             what heard2sg the rumor of that CL3sg want3sg to-marry with Mónica
             'Who did you hear the rumor that he wants to marry (her)? Mónica?'

    d.   * Qué te   molesta el hecho de que comprara , un libro?
             what CL2sg bothers the fact   of   that bought3sg, a book?
             'What does it bother you the fact that he bought, a book?'
             (Camacho 2002)

      The idea that *qué* is always an adjunct, rather than a copy of the argument or adjunct it stands for, would require that *qué* appears in the initial numeration, which would be expected within a minimalist framework. The *qué* would be adjoined to the answer and carry the wh feature, while the answer would only carry the feature associated to its own movement to the left periphery. The motivation for the doubling would be to enable the phrase to carry two different features: the one corresponding to a question and the one corresponding to an answer. This structure would be somewhat similar to the one proposed by Camacho (2002), which I copy here:
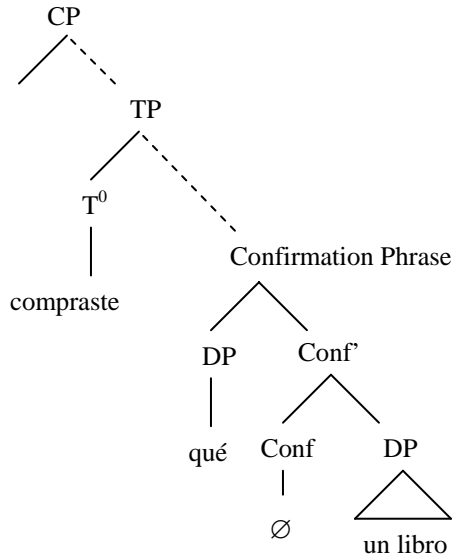
(10)   a.   Qué compraste, un libro?
             what bought2sg, a book?
             'What did you buy? A book?'

    b.

(Camacho, 2002)
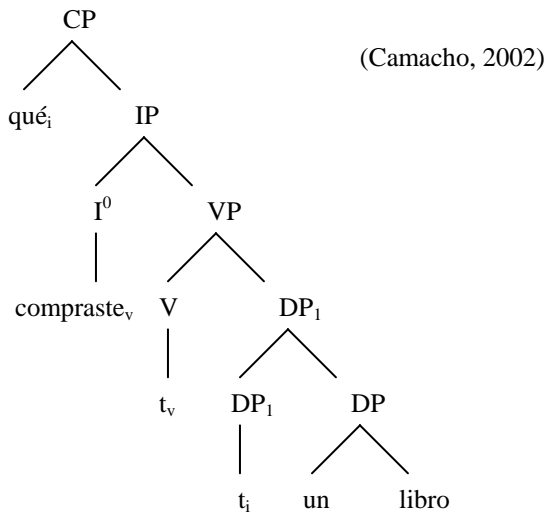
      As Camacho notes, adjunction structures like this one are incompatible with Kayne's Linear Correspondence Axiom (Kayne, 1994). In order to present a possible alternative within Kayne's framework, Camacho also sketches an analysis of *qué* as the complement of a small clause that would also include the answer as its specifier, but he points out some serious limitations of that approach. Here I will propose a different doubling structure that does not include adjunction. It is based on Grimshaw's Extended Projection concept (Grimshaw, 1991, 2005), where a whole functional projection acts as a functional extension of a lexical projection, and on Belletti's (2003) extended doubling. See the structure of the same sentence in (11).

(11) a.   Qué   compraste, un libro?
            what bought2sg, a   book?
            'What did you buy? A book?'

b.

```
                    CP
                   /  ⁀ ⁀
                      TP
                     /  ⁀ ⁀
                  T⁰        ⁀ ⁀
                   |      Confirmation Phrase
               compraste      /    \
                            DP      Conf'
                             |      /    \
                           qué   Conf    DP
                                  |      /  \
                                  ∅    un libro
```

I take *qué* to be in the Spec position of an extended projection, which would account for its adjunct-like behavior. This projection introduces the notion of need for confirmation, which is optionally associated to a [+wh] feature which will cause wh-movement, depending on the dialect. I call this phrase Confirmation Phrase (ConfP).

The semantic value introduced by ConfP is similar to that of Muysken's (1995) Non-Factual Phrase (NFP). Muysken proposes this phrase, whose head (in Quechua) would be the enclitic particle *–chu*, as part of a group of functional projections above IP whose combination accounts for the relationship between focus and negation in Quechua. The particle *–chu* appears both in interrogative and negative sentences, but is limited to main tense contexts and does not appear in wh-questions. Although there is no obvious syntactic parallel between Quechua NFP and the ConfP I am proposing, the conceptual link, however, is clear: Both Quechua *–chu* and the *qué* of Spanish split questions are particles that appear associated to negative or interrogative sentence types to express that a sentence (in the case of NFP) or a constituent (in the case of ConfP) have not been confirmed as factual.[5]

---

[5] The example provided in (11) illustrates the doubling for a DP. The same doubling takes place at least with CP, IP, vP, PP, and adverbs, as illustrated by the following questions:

(i)   Qué dices,   que compró   una boina?
        what say2sg that bought3sg a   beret
        'What are you saying, that he bought a beret?'
(ii)   Qué, compró   una boina?
        what bought3sg a   beret
        'What, he bought a beret?'
(iii)   Qué compró,   una boina ayer?
        what bought3sg a   beret yesterday
        'What did he buy, a beret yesterday?'
(iv)   Qué la   compró,   para el frío?
        what cl-DO bought3sg for   the cold
        'What did he buy it for? For the cold?'
(v)   Qué la   compró,   ayer?
        what cl-DO bought3sg yesterday
        'When did he buy it? Yesterday?'

In all these cases the Confirmation Phrase is proposed to be present right above the node that ends up being the proposed answer after the comma.

The head of ConfP is generally not pronounced in Spanish, although the interrogative marker *acaso* 'perhaps, perchance' seems to occupy that position in Chilean Spanish (12) (Héctor Campos, p.c.). Note how it is positioned before the intonational break and the proposed answer in (12a,b), and immediately following *qué* in split questions where the wh-word is left in situ (12c). The structure proposed for (12a) is presented in (12d). Besides the introduction of ConfP, his structure is similar to the one proposed in López-Cortina (2003). The other difference is that moves to AnsP, not FocP. The same structure, except for the wh-movement, would apply for (12c).

(12)　　a.　　Qué　compraste　acaso, un libro?
　　　　　　　what　bought2sg　*acaso* a　book?
　　　　　　　'What did you buy? Perhaps a book?'

　　　　b.　　Qué te　vas　　acaso, mañana?
　　　　　　　what CL go2sg　*acaso*　tomorrow?
　　　　　　　'When are you leaving? Perhaps tomorrow?'

　　　　c.　　Compraste qué　acaso, un libro?
　　　　　　　bought2sg　what　*acaso* a　book?
　　　　　　　'What did you buy? Perhaps a book?'

Acaso also serves as an interrogative marker in regular (13a) and embedded (13b,c,d) yes/no questions (Campos, 1993). In embedded questions in Chilean Spanish, *acaso* alternates with *si* 'if' as the element introducing the embedded clause (13b,c), but both can also appear simultaneously with *acaso* following *si* (13d).[6]

(13)　　a.　　Acaso conoces a María?　　　　　　　　　(Chilean Spanish)
　　　　　　　acaso　know2sg to María
　　　　　　　'Do you know María?'

　　　　b.　　Yo no sé　　　si conoce　　a María.　　　(Chilean Spanish)
　　　　　　　I　not know1sg if　know3sg to María
　　　　　　　'I don't know whether he knows María'

　　　　c.　　Yo no sé　　　acaso conoce　　a María.　　(Chilean Spanish)
　　　　　　　I　not know1sg *acaso* know3sg to María
　　　　　　　'I don't know whether he knows María'

　　　　d.　　Yo no sé　　　si acaso conoce　　a María.　(Chilean Spanish)
　　　　　　　I　not know1sg if　*acaso* know3sg to María
　　　　　　　'I don't know whether he knows María'

The meaning of *acaso* in standard Peninsular Spanish matches its association to a confirmation role in Chilean Spanish split questions. Consider the contrast between standard Peninsular Spanish (14a) and (14b). The question including *acaso* (14a) is not felicitous in neutral contexts, where (14b) would be uttered instead. Including *acaso* introduces the presupposition that either a *yes* or a *no* answer is expected by the person asking. An example where a negative answer is expected would be a situation where the person asking wants to point out that the person asked is acting or speaking as if he knew María, but he actually does not know her. Examples where a positive answer is expected would be situations where the person asked and María are acting as if they in fact had met before, and the person asking wishes to confirm this. According to my informants, the use of *acaso* with positive expectations has an archaic flavor in Peninsular Spanish, but it is very common in cases where the expected answer is negative.

---

[6] An anonymous reviewer points out that the use of *acaso* in the tag of a split question is possible in many dialects of Spanish (*Qué compraste, acaso un libro?* 'What did you buy? perhaps a book?'). That construction is not present in Asturian Spanish, where it would be interpreted as two juxtaposed questions rather than a split question. Such construction was not mentioned by my informants from Chile and Ecuador either. Undoubtedly, the dialectal variation regarding the uses of *acaso* is far from being satisfactorily described, and more research is needed.

(14)   a.   Acaso conoces a María?   (standard Peninsular Spanish)
               acaso know2sg to María
               'Do you happen to know María?'

      b.   Conoces a María?   (standard Peninsular Spanish)
               know2sg to María
               'Do you know María?'

      c.   Qué conoces, a María?   (Asturian Spanish)
               what know2sg to María
               'So you happen to know María?' or 'Who do you know? María?'

In Asturian Spanish, where *acaso* is not a commonly used word, split questions can be used to introduce this sort of confirmation value in the question. Thus, Asturian Spanish (14c) can be used with a meaning similar to standard Spanish (14a), with either a positive or a negative expectation. The link between the meaning introduced by *acaso* and that introduced by split questions is therefore clear. In Chilean Spanish, where *acaso* can serve to define an interrogative sentence type, as it does in the indirect polar question of (13c), it also appears in split questions, where it is associated to the same yes/no need-for-confirmation value (12).

5. Answer movement

Let us look now at the problem of long distance movement in split questions. Acceptability of long distance movement varies from dialect to dialect. I will present here the three patterns I have found, starting from the most constrained dialect, and summarize the differences between them in a chart in (19). Most of the speakers interviewed agree on the pattern presented in (15) to (17) below. These data show that long distance movement is not allowed. Similar constructions with pairs of juxtaposed questions (15b) (16b) (17b), do not present a problem, unless of course one of the juxtaposed questions is ungrammatical by its own merit (18b). Structures with the same word order, but where the intonational split indicates that the answer includes the embedded IP (16c) (and therefore there is no long distance movement), are also acceptable.

(15)   a.   *Qué crees   que compró,   un libro?
               what believe2sg that bought3sg a book
               'Do you think it is a book, what he bought?'

      b.   Qué crees   que compró?   Un libro?
               what believe2sg that bought3sg a book
               'What do you think he bought? A book?'

(16)   a.   *Qué dices que llega,   mañana?
               what say2sg that arrive3sg tomorrow
               'Are you saying it is tomorrow when he arrives?'

      b.   Cuándo dices que llega?   Mañana?
               when   say2sg that arrive3sg tomorrow
               'When are you saying he is arriving? Tomorrow?'

      c.   Qué dices , que llega   mañana?
               what say2sg that arrive3sg tomorrow
               'Are you saying he arrives tomorrow?'

(17)   a.   *Qué esperas   que llegue,   a las cuatro?
               what expect2sg that arrive3sg at the four
               'Are you expecting him to arrive at four?'

      b.   Cuándo esperas   que llegue? A las cuatro?
               when   expect2sg that arrive3sg at the four
               'When are you expecting him to arrive? At four?'

(18) a. *Qué lamentas que llegue,   a las cuatro?
          what regret2sg that arrive3sg at the four
           'Do you regret that it is at four when he arrives?'

      b. *Cuándo lamentas que llegue? A las cuatro?
           when   regret2sg that arrive3sg at the four
           'When do you regret that he arrives? At four?'

The pattern of the speakers that accept long distance movement in split questions does not correspond to that of regular wh-questions either. For them, (15a) and (16a) are grammatical, but (17a) and (18a) are not. This pattern appears in Catalan (Contreras & Roca, in press). Lastly, there is a third group of speakers (of a variety of Chilean Spanish; Héctor Campos, p.c.) whose speech appears to present no restrictions to long distance movement in split questions except for factive verbs like *lamentar* 'to regret'. The chart in (19) summarizes the differences between dialects:

(19)

	Dialect A some Asturian Spanish and other Peninsular Sp.		Dialect B some Asturian Spanish speakers, Catalan		Dialect C some Chilean Spanish	
	regular question	split question	regular question	split question	regular question	split question
decir, creer (non-factive verbs) argument	(15b) ✓	(15a) *	(15b) ✓	(15a) ✓	(15b) ✓	(15a) ✓
decir, creer (non-factive verbs) adjunct	(16b) ✓	(16a) *	(16b) ✓	(16a) ✓	(16b) ✓	(16a) ✓
esperar (irrealis verb) adjunct	(17b) ✓	(17a) *	(17b) ✓	(17a) *	(17b) ✓	(17a) ✓
molestar (factive verb) adjunct	(18b) *	(18a) *	(18b) *	(18a) *	(18b) *	(18a) *

The acceptability of split questions in the different dialects does not correlate with the moved element being an argument or an adjunct. There is no obvious correlation between the acceptability of regular questions and split questions either. This suggests that the variation between dialects is a result of lexical particularities of the verbs involved, and it is independent from wh-movement. There are, then, two issues here. One, what determines differences between dialects. These seem to run along the lines of familiar classifications of verbs. Differences between factive, non-factive, and irrealis verbs are well documented in the literature, from the classic analysis by Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1971) to the more recent one by Carlos de Cuba (2007).

The second issue is the lack of correlation between the behavior of regular wh-questions and split questions. The one element that is present in all split questions and no regular questions is the answer tag. Let us assume that the answer tag is actually placed in the left periphery and the rest of the sentence has moved past it via remnant movement (López-Cortina, 2003; Contreras & Roca, in press). It would then be possible that it is the long distance movement of the answer to the left periphery that is blocked, rather than the wh-movement of the *qué*. Consider the following structure for the sentence in (16a), repeated here:

(20) a. *Qué dices   que llega,   mañana?
          what say2sg that arrive3sg tomorrow
          'Are you saying it is tomorrow when he arrives?'

      b. [ForceP [AnsP [WhP [IP dices [ForceP que [AnsP [WhP [IP llega [ConfP qué mañana]]]]]]]]]]

The answer *mañana* would need to cross a whole intermediate left periphery in order to reach its final position in the leftmost Answer Phrase (a hypothetical projection targeted by answer movement). It is possible that answer movement is bound in Dialect A and unbound in Dialects B and C. The types of verbs that do not allow for extraction in Dialects B and C present consistently a greater obstacle to movement in other languages, so it is to be expected that they do the same here. The obstacle could consist of these verbs selecting sentence complements with a defective left periphery, where no AnsP would be available as an intermediate step for answer movement.

Alternatively, there might be no difference in the characteristics of answer movement between the dialects. In that case, Dialect A would have no verbs selecting complements with complete left peripheries, while Dialects A and B would have one or more types of verbs selecting them. In either case, the interesting observation is that the ungrammaticality of some split questions would not be due to constraints on wh-movement, but rather to constraints on the movement of the answer tag.

Further differences between regular questions and split questions are visible in the presence of negation. Split questions cannot be negative, at least in the dialects of my informants in Chile and in Asturias, Spain. The status of negation as a weak island is well known; it allows for movement of arguments but not adjuncts (Ross, 1983).

(21)   a.   Who don't you think that John talked to?

        b.   *Why don't you think that John talked to Mary?

In the case of split questions, however, it doesn't seem to matter whether the dislocated element is an argument or an adjunct, as seen in the ungrammatical examples in (22).

(22)   a.   *Qué no comes, cereales?
              what not eat2sg, cereals
              'What don't you eat, the cereal?'

        b.   *Qué no vienes,   el sábado?
              what not come2sg, the Saturday
              'When aren't you coming, on Saturday?'

        c.   *Qué no vienes,   porque te   lo pidió ella?
              what not come2sg, because to-you it asked she
              'Why aren't you coming, because she asked you not to?'

Note, however, that negation is a weak island. Short extraction over negation does not make a regular question ungrammatical, even in the case of adjuncts.

(23)   a.   Qué no comes?
              what not you-eat
              'What don't you eat?'

        b.   Cuándo no vienes?
              when not you-come
              'When aren't you coming?'

        c.   Por qué no vienes?
              for what not you-come
              'Why aren't you coming?'

Additionally, negative split questions are also ungrammatical in dialects where *qué* remains in situ.

(24)   a.   *No vienes   qué,   el sábado?
              not you-come what, the Saturday
              'When aren't you coming, on Saturday?'

        b.   *No trabajaste   qué, en tu   proyecto?
              not you-worked what, in your project
              'What didn't you work on, your project?'

From these facts it can not be concluded that the ungrammaticality of negative split questions derives from their blocking the movement of *qué*. There must be another factor at play, either syntactic or semantic. The structural difference between the ungrammatical questions in (22) and the grammatical ones in (23) is the presence of an answer in the former and its absence in the latter, so it seems possible that the ungrammaticality is caused by the movement of the answer, rather than the wh-movement of *qué*. That would also explain the ungrammaticality of the sentences without wh-movement in (24).

The incompatibility between negation and answer tags can thus be interpreted as further evidence that answer tags have in fact moved to the left periphery, thus supporting a remnant movement analysis of split questions.

6. Conclusions

The new data on split questions introduced in this work further clarifies the status of split questions as a different construction from regular wh-questions. The differences found include behavior with respect to wh-islands and complex NPs, which have been explained by assuming that the interrogative *qué* starts in an adjunct position in all cases. The presence of the adverb *acaso* in some varieties is linked to the confirmation value of split questions, and its position in the sentence appears to be compatible with the adjunct character attributed to *qué*.

Additional differences between split questions and regular wh-questions regarding long distance movement and the presence of negation have also been described. It has been shown that these differences can be explained within a remnant movement analysis of split questions, which would require a movement to the left periphery of the answer tag, independent of the wh-movement of *qué* and subject to different constraints.

The findings presented here suggest that future research should look for similar constraints on sentences including other types of interrogative tags, in order to verify to what extent a remnant movement analysis can extend to other tag constructions. Further research should also focus on the intonation of split questions and other tag constructions, as well as juxtaposed questions.

Given the fact that the consideration of a very limited sample of dialects has allowed the development of a new analysis, it seems likely that further refinements will be possible once a comprehensive description of a greater number of dialects is available.

References

Arregi, K. (2007). Syntax and semantics of split questions. In J. Camacho, N. Flores-Ferrán, L. Sánchez, V. Déprez, and M. J. Cabrera (Eds.) *Romance Linguistics 2006: Selected Papers from the 36th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL)*, (pp. 15-28). Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Belletti, A. (2003). *Extended doubling and the VP periphery*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Siena.

Camacho, J. (2002). Wh-Doubling: Implications for the Syntax of Wh-Movement. *Linguistic Inquiry, 33*, 157-164.

Campos, H. (1993). *De la oración simple a la oración compuesta: Curso superior de gramática española*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Canellada, M. J. (1944). *El bable de Cabranes*. Madrid: RFE.

Contreras, J. M. & Roca, F. (in press). Un tipus especial d'oracions interrogatives: les interrogatives escindides. *Caplletra*.

de Cuba, C. (2007). *On (non)factivity, clausal complementation and the CP-field.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stony Brook University.

Grimshaw, J. (1991). *Extended projection*.Unpublished manuscript, Brandeis University.

Grimshaw, J. (2005). *Words and structure*. Stanford, California: CLSI Publications.

Jiménez, M. L. (1997). *Semantic and pragmatic conditions on word order in Spanish.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University.

Kayne, R. S. (1994) *The antisymmetry of syntax*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Kiparsky, P. & Kiparsky, C. (1971). Fact. In D. D. Steinberg & L. A. Jakobovits (Eds.), *Semantics. An interdisciplinary reader in philosophy, linguistics and psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

López-Cortina, J. (2003). The structure of split interrogatives. In P. Kempchinsky & C.-E. Piñeros (Eds.), *Theory, practice, and acquisition* (pp. 140-155). Somerville, MA.: Cascadilla Press.

López-Cortina, J. (2007). *The Spanish left periphery: Questions and answers.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Georgetown University.

Lorenzo González, G. (1994). Qué expletivo en preguntas dislocadas. *Archivum Ovetensis*, XLIV-XLV, 423-446.

Muysken, P. (1995). Focus in Quechua. In K. É. Kiss (Ed.), *Discourse configurational languages* (pp. 375-393). New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Py, B. (1971). *La interrogación en el español hablado de Madrid*. Bruxelles: Aimav.

Solà, J. & Gavarró, A. (2006). Subextraction in Romance interrogatives. In J. Doetjes & P. González (Eds.), *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2004* (pp. 297-315). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Torrego, E. (1984). On inversion in Spanish and some of its effects. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 15, 103-129.

Uriagereka, J. (1988). *On government.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut.

Vigara Tauste, A. M. (1992). *Morfosintaxis del español coloquial*. Madrid: Gredos.

Selected Proceedings of the 11th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium

edited by Joseph Collentine, Maryellen García, Barbara Lafford, and Francisco Marcos Marín

Cascadilla Proceedings Project   Somerville, MA   2009

Ordering information

Orders for the library binding edition are handled by Cascadilla Press.
To place an order, go to www.lingref.com or contact:

Cascadilla Press, P.O. Box 440355, Somerville, MA 02144, USA
phone: 1-617-776-2370, fax: 1-617-776-2271, e-mail: sales@cascadilla.com

Web access and citation information

This entire proceedings can also be viewed on the web at www.lingref.com. Each paper has a unique document # which can be added to citations to facilitate access. The document # should not replace the full citation.

This paper can be cited as:

López-Cortina, Jorge. 2009. Split Questions, Extended Projections, and Dialect Variation. In *Selected Proceedings of the 11th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*, ed. Joseph Collentine et al., 219-230. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

or:

López-Cortina, Jorge. 2009. Split Questions, Extended Projections, and Dialect Variation. In *Selected Proceedings of the 11th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*, ed. Joseph Collentine et al., 219-230. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. www.lingref.com, document #2215.