

Much ado about *was*: Why German directly depends on indirect dependency

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This paper sets out to challenge the widely held assumption that the Direct Dependency Approach (DDA) is the most suitable analysis for the *was-w*-construction¹ in German (1) (Lutz et al. 2000). It presents a clear case in favour of the Indirect Dependency Approach (IDA) (Dayal 1996, 2000), based on hitherto unrecognised syntactic and semantic evidence about the nature and position of the scope marker *was* as an ordinary *wh*-argument base-generated in direct object position. The syntactic implications of this proposal will be shown to derive in a straightforward manner.

1. Introduction

1.1. The was-w-construction

The *was-w*-construction can be observed in many unrelated languages, such as German, Hindi, Hungarian, Iraqi Arabic, Romany, and Malagasy amongst others. However, for the purpose of this paper it suffices to focus on German and Hindi exclusively since these languages highlight and exemplify the constraints typical of the construction together with its possible diachronic development (cf. section 5).

The *was-w*-construction typically consists of two interrogative clauses. The *wh*-element in CP-1 is an unmarked *wh*-phrase usually used to question over propositions, e.g. *was* in German (1), *kyaa* in Hindi (2) while the *wh*-element in CP-2 may be any ordinary *wh*-phrase. Possible answers to the question always specify values for the embedded *wh*-phrase, e.g. *Miró thought that Picasso had painted 'Il Guernica'* (cf. (4a)).

¹ The *was-w*-construction is also known in the literature as Partial *wh*-movement or Scope Marking Construction. Since both terms presuppose a particular type of analysis, the neutral term *was-w*-construction will be used for the German variant.

- (1) [CP-1 **Was** glaubte Miró *t* [CP-2 **welches Bild** Picasso *t* gemalt
 what believed M. *t* which picture Picasso *t* painted
 hatte]]?
 had
 ‘Which picture did Miró think Picasso had painted?’
- (2) [CP-1 jaun **kyaa** soctaa hai [CP-2 ki merii **kis-se** baat
 John what think-PR that Mary who-INS talk
 karegii]]?
 do-F
 ‘Who does John think Mary will talk to?’

1.2. Constraints on the construction

1.2.1. Licensing verbs

Licensing verbs belong to the class of bridge verbs, i.e. they allow long extraction (3) and take a [-wh] clausal complement (4a, b).²

- (3) [CP[+wh] **Welches Bild** glaubte Miró, [CP[-wh] *t* dass Picasso *t*
 which picture believed Miró that Picasso
 gemalt hatte]]?
 painted had
 ‘Which picture did Miró think Picasso had painted?’
- (4)a. Miró glaubte [CP[-wh] dass Picasso ‘Il Guernica’ gemalt
 Miró believed that Picasso ‘Il Guernica’ painted
 hatte.
 had.
 ‘Miró thought Picasso had painted ‘Il Guernica’.’
- b. *Miró glaubte [CP[+wh] **wann** Picasso ‘Il Guernica’ gemalt
 Miró believed when Picasso ‘Il Guernica’ painted
 hatte.
 had.

1.2.2. Multiple embedding

Multiple clauses may be embedded as long as every clause above the real *wh*-phrase contains a scope marker:

² Consider that following the DDA which renders (1) and (3) mere surface-structural variants of each other (cf. section 3), it comes as a surprise that the was-w-construction is not in violation of the *wh-Criterion* (Rizzi 1990).

- (5) **Was** meint Peter, **was** Karl glaubt, . . . , welche Note Matthias bekommen hat].
 what means Peter what Karl believes which grade Matthias got has
 ‘Which grade does Peter think, does Karl believe, . . . , that Matthias got?’

- (6) raam-ne **kyaa** socaa ki ravii-ne **kyaa** kahaa ki
 Ram-ERG kyaa thought that Ravi-ERG kyaa said that
 kon sa aadmii aayaa thaa
 which man came
 Intended as: ‘Which man did Ram think that Ravi say_came?’

This locality requirement is stricter in Hindi since a number of German speakers also allow intervention of a complementiser in the embedded clause (7) (Höhle, 1996, [5c]). A possible analysis suggests that the scope marker is not base-generated in SpecCP (as assumed in the DDA, cf. section 3) but that it is extracted from the direct object position in the embedded clause.

- (7) %Was glaubst du, **dass** Karl *t* meint, wen wir gewählt haben?
 what believe you that Karl thinks whom we elected have
 ‘Whom do you think we have elected?’

1.2.3. Negation

Negation in the matrix clause is ungrammatical:

- (8) *Was glaubt Martin **nicht**, wen Bea geküsst hat?
 what believes Martin not whom Bea kissed has
 (9) ***koi bhii nahii** kyaa soctaa he ki kon aayegaa
 no one kyaa thinks be-PRES that who come-FUT
 Lit. ‘Who does no one think will come?’

1.2.4. Incompatibility with sentential expletives

The scope marker cannot co-occur with a sentential expletive (*es*, *yah*) in the same clause, suggesting that they may be in complementary distribution.

- (10) Was glaubst du (***es**), welchen Film er gesehen hat?
 what believe you (*it) which film he seen has
 ‘Which film do you think he has seen?’

- (11) ***siitaa-ne yah** kyaa socaa ki ravii-ne kis-ko dek-haa
 Sita-ERG it kyaa thought that Ravi-ERGwho saw
 Lit. ‘Who did Sita think it that Ravi saw?’

(Mahajan, 1996:8)

2. The Direct Dependency Approach

In the DDA, the scope marker *was* is an expletive base-generated in matrix SpecCP as a ‘place-holder’ for the true *wh*-phrase in CP-2, thus establishing a direct relationship between the two. The embedded *wh*-phrase has only partly moved to a [-wh] SpecCP position and is licensed in the overt syntax by forming a *wh*-chain with the scope marker, thereby circumventing the violation of the *wh*-Criterion. At LF, the *wh*-phrase moves to matrix SpecCP to replace the scope marker (cf. 13), hence full and partial *wh*-movement constructions (12b, 12a, respectively) are only overt syntactic variants with the same LF interpretation. The DDA is the most widely advocated analysis for German (Stechow & Sternefeld 1988, McDaniel 1989, Sabel 1998, Beck & Berman 2000).

- (12)a. $[_{CP [+wh]} \text{ Was glaubte Miró } [_{CP [-wh]} \text{ welches Bild Picasso } t \text{ gemalt hatte}]]?$
 what believed Miró which picture Picasso
 painted had
 ‘Which picture did Miró think Picasso had painted?’
- b. $[_{CP [+wh]} \text{ Welches Bild glaubte Miró, } [_{CP [-wh]} t \text{ dass Picasso } t \text{ gemalt hatte}]]?$
 which picture believed Miró that Picasso
 painted had
 ‘Which picture did Miró think Picasso had painted?’
- (13) $[_{CP-1} \text{ Wen } \dots [_{CP-2} t \dots t \dots]]$

2.1. Problems with the DDA

2.1.1. *yes/no* questions

Although at first sight the DDA derives the properties of the German *was-w*-construction correctly, it runs into problems on a cross-linguistic basis. The strongest empirical evidence comes from *yes/no* questions which are available in Hindi and Hungarian, amongst other languages, but excluded in German. In Hindi, CP-2 can be a simple *yes/no* question lacking a *wh*-phrase (14a). This implies that there is no element to replace the expletive scope marker at LF. Instead, possible answers show that the entire proposition in CP-2 becomes the focus of the question, i.e. the possibility of Anu coming is expressed (14b) but not the alternative of what Ravi said (14c).

- (14)a. [_{CP-1} Ravi-ne kyaa kahaa [_{CP-2} ki anu aayegii yaa
Ravi-ERG what say-P that Anu come-F or
nahiiN]]?
not
‘What did Ravi say, will Anu come or not?’
- b. [_{CP-1} Ravi-ne kahaa [_{CP-2} ki anu (nahiiN) ayegii]]
Ravi-ERG say-P that Anu (not) come-F
‘Ravi said that Anu will (not) come.’
- c. # [_{CP-1} Ravi-ne (nahiiN) kahaa [_{CP-2} ki anu aayegii ya
Ravi-ERG (not) say-P that Anu come-F or
nahiiN]]
not
‘Ravi said/didn’t say whether Anu will come.’

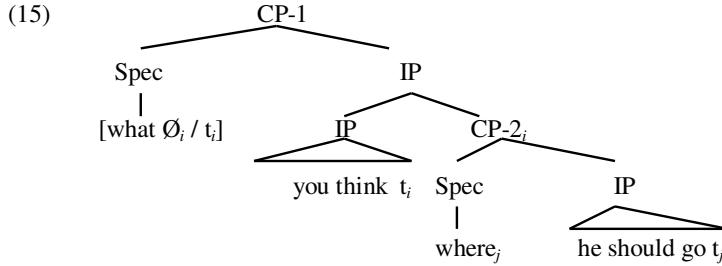
3. Proposal and claims

Beyond the problem of cross-linguistic adequacy, it will be shown that the *was-w*-construction and *wh*-extraction construction exhibit different semantic behaviour, hence they cannot be analysed as syntactic variants with the same LF representation. Based on this evidence, it is claimed that the scope marker *was* is no expletive but a true *wh*-phrase which is base-generated in direct object position of the matrix clause. In addition, it functions as a quantifier over the proposition of the embedded clause. It will be shown that the syntactic structure of indirect subordination (Dayal 2000) can easily be adapted to suit the German *was-w*-construction as in (15).

3.1 The Indirect Dependency Approach

Originally proposed by Dayal (1996, 2000) for the scope marking construction in Hindi, the syntactic analysis of Indirect Subordination translates to the *was-w*-construction without difficulty. As shown in (15), the scope marker *was* is an ordinary *wh*-argument which is base-generated in direct object position. Together with CP-2 it forms a complex argument. Unlike in the DDA, no direct relationship or chain is established, instead the two *wh*-phrases form local dependencies in the overt syntax. The scope marker *was* moves to SpecCP while CP-2 including the second *wh*-phrase is extraposed and adjoined in subordinate position to IP. It is coindexed with the restriction on the scope marker. At LF, CP-2 moves into the position of the restrictor as an instance of replacement or reconstruction, yielding an LF structure like (16). In this way, the scope marker is able to quantify over the proposition in CP2 whose

semantic content in turn restricts the scope marker. An important consequence is that the embedded *wh*-phrase never gets matrix scope.



(16) [CP-1 was [CP-2 wen_j Maria t_j mag]_i [IP meint Peter t_i]]

3.2. Problems with the IDA

3.2.1. *yes/no* questions

Ironically enough, the same empirical evidence which ruled out the DDA as a suitable cross-linguistic analysis also objects against adapting the IDA to German. As already noted above, the German *was-w*-construction lacks the option of *yes/no* questions, a fact which is easily explained in terms of the DDA due to the absence of a true *wh*-phrase:

(17) *Was denkt Peter, ob Maria Klaus liebt?
 what thinks Peter whether Maria Klaus loves

Since in the IDA the entire proposition of the embedded clause restricts to the scope marker, the ungrammaticality in (16) is unexpected and unexplained. A possible solution to solve this problem has been suggested by Reis (2000). She notes that in Hindi, matrix and embedded questions (*wh*- or *yes/no*) have the same syntactic structure since the (purely grammatical) subordinator *ki* is optional (cf. (2), (13a)). In German, however, a shift from V2 to V-final word order in embedded clauses has taken place, together with the additional insertion of the obligatory complementiser *ob* in *yes/no* questions, a conjunction bearing independent lexical meaning. Considering a possible process of grammaticalisation from two independent clauses in juxtaposition (Sequential Scope Marking, cf. section 6), this further insertion of the lexical element *ob* may be an additional operation which is not tolerated and renders the construction ungrammatical.

4. Evidence

This section presents a battery of tests which clearly evidence the semantic differences between the *was-w*-construction and *wh*-extraction construction in German. On the basis of this evidence it is shown that the IDA proves the only suitable analysis for German since the DDA could not derive the semantic alternatives.

4.1. Pragmatic context restrictions

The examples in (18) show that *was* clearly has argument status which is similarly restricted by the pragmatic context scenarios in both (18a) and (18b). While in the former, the restriction is derived by discourse, in the latter the proposition in the embedded clause serves the restricting purpose. The possible answer (18c) to both examples confirms the proposal.

- (18)a. [Lance Armstrong wird die Tour de France gewinnen.] Was meinst du (dazu)?
 [Lance Armstrong will the Tour de France win] what mean you (to that)
- b. Was meinst du, wer die Tour de France gewinnen wird?
 what mean you who the Tour de France win will
 ‘Who do you think will win the Tour de France?’
- c. Ich meine, dass Lance Armstrong die Tour de France
 I mean that Lance Armstrong the Tour de France
 gewinnen wird.
 win will
 ‘I think that Lance Armstrong will win the Tour de France.’

4.2. Complex predicates

Turning to complex predicates, it can be observed that long *wh*-extraction is possible (19a) while the *was-w*-construction is ruled out (19b). This difference in grammaticality clearly confirms the matrix direct object position as base-position for the scope marker. (19b) is ungrammatical since this position is blocked by the presence of the direct object while in (19a), the *wh*-phrase is extracted from the embedded clause, hence the object does not interfere. In a DDA analysis, (19b) should not be problematic.

- (19)a. *Wen* hat Peter so'n Gefühl, *t* dass man *t* fragen könnte.
 whom has Peter such a feeling that one ask could
 ‘Who does Peter feel we could ask?’
- b. **Was* hat Peter *t* so'n Gefühl, *wen* man fragen könnte.
 what has Peter *t* such a feeling whom one ask could

4.3. Passive

A further argument can be drawn from passive constructions. First, the simple embedded passive construction (20a) shows the base-position of *was*, i.e. the direct object position of the embedded clause. Second, (20b) evidence that the *was* in this passive construction can function as a scope marker since it can be further restricted by an additional clausal complement. Finally, the ungrammaticality of (20c) proves the semantic difference of the *wh*-extraction structure, since *wo* cannot have wide scope here. Obviously, this result is unexpected in the DDA.

- (20)a. Es ist mir egal, *was* *t* über mich *t* behauptet wird.
 it is me equal what about me claimed gets
 b. Es ist mir egal, *was* *t* über mich *t* behauptet wird,
 it is me equal what about me claimed gets
 wo ich gestern war.
 where I yesterday was
 ‘I don’t care what people say about me (where I was yesterday).’
 c. *Es ist mir egal, wo über mich behauptet wird, dass
 it is me equal where about me claimed gets that
 ich gestern war.
 I yesterday was

4.4. Asymmetries in embedded contexts

In ordinary embedded contexts, a semantic difference similar to the one in passives is observed. The *was-w*-construction is grammatical (21a) while *wh*-extraction from the lower clausal complement is not (21b). Again, this clearly indicates that *was* and the *wh*-phrase must be base-generated as well as remain in their local clauses, respectively, in order to maintain the appropriate scope relations.

- (21)a. Ich habe gar nicht mitgekriegt, *was* Peter *t* gemeint hat,
 I have PT not with-got what Peter meant has
 wo er gestern war.
 where he yesterday was
 ‘I didn’t get what Peter mumbled where he was yesterday.’
 b. *Ich habe gar nicht mitgekriegt, wo Peter gemeint hat,
 I have PT not with-got where Peter meant has
 dass er gestern *t* war.
 that he yesterday was

4.5. Scope ambiguities

Further scope ambiguities have also been noted by Reis (2000) who presents the following examples.

- (22)a. Was glaubt/sagt/suggestiert sie, wo Fox populärer ist als
 what believes/says/suggests she where Fox popular-eris than
 er ist?
 he is
- b. Wo glaubt/sagt/suggestiert sie, dass Fox populärer ist als
 where believes/says/suggests she that Fox popular-eris than
 er ist?
 he is
 ‘Where does she think Fox is more popular than he is?’

The *was-w*-construction (22a) only has an inconsistent reading, i.e. *For which place x, in her belief world is Fox more popular at x than Fox is popular at x?* The *wh*-phrase in the embedded clause is thus only given narrow scope. On the contrary, the *wh*-extraction structure (22b) allows both an inconsistent as well as a consistent reading, i.e. *For which place x, in her belief world is Fox more popular at x in the real world?* Again, if the *was-w*-construction had an equal LF-interpretation, it should allow both readings as well.

4.6. *De re and de dicto readings*

Another semantic difference between the *was-w*-construction and the *wh*-extraction structure is expressed by the different distribution of *de re* and *de dicto* readings in the two constructions (Herburger 1994).

- (23)a. Was glaubt der Georg, wen die Rosa geküsst hat?
 what believes the Georg whom the Rosa kissed has
- (23)b. Wen glaubt der Georg, dass die Rosa geküsst hat?
 whom believes the Georg that the Rosa kissed has
 ‘Who does Georg think Rosa has kissed?’

In the *was-w*-construction (23a), the proposition in the embedded clause can only be understood *de re*, i.e. the fact that Rosa has kissed somebody is part of the speakers beliefs, not just Georg’s alone. Herburger paraphrases (23a) as something like *Rosa has kissed somebody, who does Georg think it was?* Turning to the *wh*-extraction structure (23b), note that in addition to the *de re* reading, the *de dicto* reading is equally available, i.e. the proposition in the embedded clause is only part of Georg’s mind set. This observation clearly sets the two constructions semantically apart.

As a preliminary conclusion from the examples in 4.3 to 4.6. it can be stated that the constructions in question are semantically similar, however, they are by

no means synonymous. Therefore they cannot simply be analysed as syntactic variants of each other but are independent strategies which demand different syntactic treatment.

4.7. Prepositions with dependent interrogative complements

Examples of prepositions with dependent interrogative complements can be assimilated to the *was-w*-construction as they show similar constraints. In German, prepositions selecting a direct CP complement cannot stand alone but must be constructed with *da* (24), or *wo* in interrogative contexts (25), i.e. they are base-generated together as a complex argument in direct object position. However, as the (b) examples show, these expletive elements can be separately fronted to SpecCP, leaving the preposition as an indication of their trace.

- (24)a. Ich habe damit gerechnet, dass es morgen regnen wird.
 I have there-with reckoned that it tomorrow rain will.
- b. Da habe ich (*t*) mit gerechnet, dass es morgen regnen wird.
 there have I with reckoned that it tomorrow rain will.
 ‘I expected that it would rain tomorrow.’
- (25)a. *Wovon* hast du *t* gesprochen, wen du treffen willst?
 where-of have you spoken whom you meet want
- b. *Wo* hast du (*t*) *von* gesprochen, wen du treffen willst?
 where have you of spoken whom you meet want
 ‘Who did you think you wanted to meet?’
- c. *An wen hast du gedacht, dass du treffen wolltest?
 on whom have you thought that you meet wanted

Assuming that *wo* is the counterpart of *was* in constructions with prepositions, the examples in (25) present strong evidence in favour of base-generating the scope marker in direct object position. The *wh*-extraction structure (25c) is ungrammatical since the preposition is left stranded as the long-extracted *wh*-phrase cannot be linked with it.

4.8. Multiple embedded *wh*-phrases

The *was-w*-construction can also be formed with more than one than one *wh*-phrase in the embedded clause (26a). As values for both *wh*-phrases are specified (26b), it must be concluded that indeed the entire proposition restricts the scope marker as proposed in the IDA. Obviously, the replacement and chain-formation strategy of the DDA cannot handle more than one embedded *wh*-phrase.

- (26)a. Was meint Anna, wann Katrin in welcher Stadt gewohnt hat?
 what means Anna when Katrin in which city lived has
 ‘What does Anna think when Katrin lived in which city?’
- b. Anna meint dass Katrin 1996 in Stuttgart gewohnt hat.
 Anna means that Katrin 1996 in Stuttgart lived has
 ‘Anna thinks that Katrin lived in Stuttgart in 1996.’

4.9. Resumptive pronouns

Finally, a very interesting contribution concerning the semantic and syntactic difference between the *was-w*-construction and the *wh*-extraction structure comes from examples using resumptive pronouns. These are the *was-w*-construction (27a), the copy construction³ (27b), and two instances of the *wh*-extraction structure (27c, d). In (27a), only the resumptive pronoun which relates to the proposition restricting the scope marker may be used, again indicating that a *wh*-chain formation approach is not correct. Interestingly, (27b) exhibits the reverse in that the resumptive pronoun can only be related to the person denoted by the *wh*-phrase, hence suggesting that the copy construction must be analysed on a par with the *wh*-extraction structure. Finally, the *wh*-extraction structure itself allows both possibilities. However, if *was* in (27a) were a mere placeholder for *wen*, as assumed in the DDA, then this should be reflected in the choice of the resumptive pronoun, as is shown in the copy construction.

- (27)a. Was Hans sagt, wen er verdächtigt, **das/*den** habe ich
 what Hans says whom he suspects that/*him have I
 überprüft.
 evaluated
 ‘I checked what Hans says as to whom he suspects.’
- b. Wen Hans sagt, wen er verdächtigt, ***das/den** habe ich
 Whom Hans says whom he suspects *that/whom have I
 überprüft.
 evaluated
 ‘I checked the person who Hans says he suspects.’

³ The copy construction uses a copy of the true *wh*-phrase instead of the scope marker. Opinions differ as to whether the copy construction is a variant of the *was-w*-construction or the *wh*-extraction structure, as it shares constraints with both. For a detailed discussion, see Höhle (2000).

- c. *Wen* Hans sagt, dass er verdächtigt, **das** habe ich
 whom Hans says that he suspects that have I
 überprüft.
 evaluated
 'I checked what Hans says as to whom he suspects.'
- d. *Wen* Hans sagt, dass er verdächtigt, **den** habe ich
 whom Hans says that he suspects him have I
 überprüft.
 evaluated
 'I checked the person who Hans says he suspects.'

4.10. Conclusion

The above evidence clearly suggests that *was* is a *wh*-argument which needs to be base-generated in direct object position. The distinct semantic behaviour of the *was-w*-construction and *was*-extraction structure calls for separate syntactic analyses. It has been shown that the syntactic structure of Indirect Subordination is particularly suitable, also on a cross-linguistic basis.

5. The diachronic perspective

Recall that the equivalent of the *was-w*-construction is available only in a number of by-and-large unrelated languages where it furthermore displays different constraints, e.g. the availability of *yes/no* questions discussed above. However, in recent research (Dayal 2000, Reis 2000) the interesting suggestion has been made that the construction in question may have developed from the diachronically unified source of sequential scope marking which is universally available and from where it developed into different strategies.

5.1. Sequential Scope Marking

The examples below (Dayal 2000:28,29) testify that a similar kind of scope marking construction is also available in English. Although it consists of a sequence of two independent sentences, it shares many constraints with the *was-w*-construction. In (28a), the proposition in the second clause restricts the scope marker in the first clause. This reading is confirmed by the *yes/no* question in (29) since the possible answers only specify values for the second clause. (28b) shows that multiple embedded *wh*-phrases are allowed. (28c) shows that multiple sequencing is also possible. (28d) is ungrammatical since the sequential scope marking construction is also only licensed by bridge verbs. Finally, (28e) shows that negation is incompatible with the construction.

- (28) a. What do you think? Who is coming tonight?
 b. What do you think? Who will go where?
 c. What do you think? What did he say? Who should go?
 d. *What did she ask? Who is coming?
 e. *What don't you think? Who is coming?
- (29) What did she say? Will Mary come?
 - Yes, she said that Mary will come.
 - No, she said that Mary won't come.

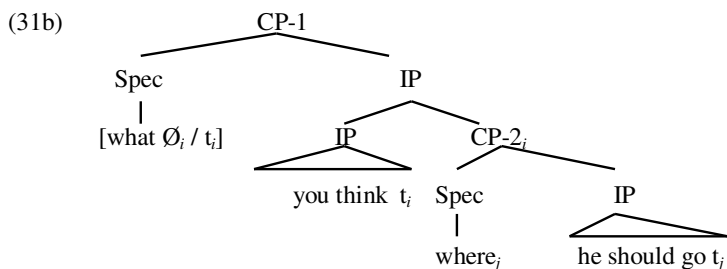
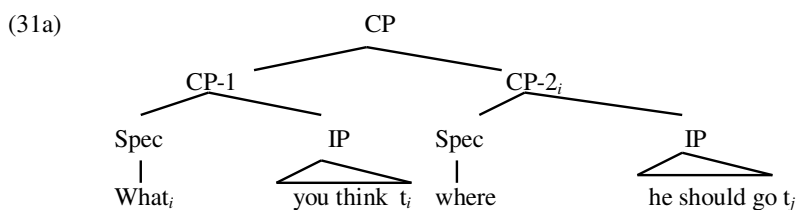
5.2. Diachronic Development

The sequential scope marking construction in German is shown in (30a) (Reis 2000). It is characterised by placing emphasis on the addressee followed by falling intonation and a break. Now Reis makes the interesting suggestion that the *was-w*-construction (30c) may have developed from the sequential scope marking construction via a state of so-called 'integrated *was*-parenthetical constructions' (30b) which have lost the intonation break but retained the verb-second structure in the embedded clause. *Was*-parentheticals share many constraints with both the scope marking constructions and the *wh*-extraction structure, hence they are assumed to reflect an intermediate state of a possible grammaticalisation process. The verb-final structure of the *was-w*-construction is thus seen as a further step which assimilates it to other embedded clauses, however, the semantics has remained the same.

- (30)a. Was glaubst DU(\): Wen wird Peter zum Geburtstag
 what believe you whom will Peter to birthday
 einladen?
 invite
- b. Was glaubst du, wen **wird** Peter zum Geburtstag
 what believe you whom will Peter to birthday
 einladen?
 invite
- c. Was glaubst du, wen Peter zum Geburtstag einladen
 what believe you whom Peter to birthday invite
wird?
 will
 'Who do you think Peter will invite to his birthday?'

The two syntactic models below (Dayal 2000) are used to reflect the different scope marking constructions accordingly. It is important that they yield the same semantic interpretation; this is achieved by co-indexing CP-2 with the scope marker in the matrix clause. (31a), showing simple juxtaposition of two CPs adjoined at CP-level, represents the sequential scope marking structure as well as the *was*-parenthetical construction. It has already been

shown in section 3.1, that besides Hindi, (31b) (= 15 above) is the suitable model for the *was-w*-construction in German. It must be noted that this proposal differs from Dayal's as she suggests a third syntactic structure for the *was-w*-construction in which the scope marker is base-generated in SpecCP (like in the DDA) in order to circumvent the problem of superiority facts in German.⁴ The discussion in this paper has presented numerous examples evidencing the fact that the scope marker can only be base-generated in direct object position. It has been shown that the syntactic structure of indirect subordination is adaptable to German.⁵



6. Conclusion

The evidence presented in this paper has shown that (1) the *was-w*-construction and the *wh*-extraction structure, though semantically similar, exhibit different semantic behaviour in many contexts, and (2) the scope marker *was* must be base-generated as an ordinary *wh*-argument in direct object position of the matrix clause. It was concluded that the *was-w*-construction is an independent strategy which is best analysed by the IDA, using the syntactic structure of indirect dependency. Moreover, the possible diachronic development from the universally available construction of sequential scope marking was sketched out. This attempt to unify scope marking constructions across languages invites further research.

⁴ Due to limited space the relevant superiority facts are not discussed here. The reader is referred to Dayal (2000).

⁵ Note at this point that a similar and very appealing proposal is also advocated by Fanselow & Mahajan (2000). The scope marker is base-generated in matrix direct object position, however, it is not a *wh*-argument but clearly assigned expletive status.

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