

Echo-wh-questions in Turaif Dialect of Arabic (TA)

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Abstract

In this paper, I investigate echo-wh-questions in Turaif dialect of Arabic (TA). The paper reveals some novel facts concerning the syntax of echo-wh-questions in TA. In TA, the wh-word in echo-wh questions appears in the left periphery of the clause higher than the wh-word of non-echo-wh-questions; which is strange if we take into account the results of other studies done on echo questions in languages like English, Spanish, and Russian among other languages where it is claimed that the echo-wh-word always appears in situ inside the Utterance headed by a C(=C_{EQ}) that takes the U as its complement where the CP of the utterance is being frozen), Sobin ((1978, 1992, 2009 ,2010) among others) and the echo-wh-word is being bound by the superior C_{EQ}. Being exempted from locality restriction, island constraints, Ross (1967), and the issue of scope as well as being exempted from superiority effect, I argue that wh-word in those echo-wh-questions is base generated in its surface position in the left periphery of the clause in the Echo Phrase (EP). I argue, under the Minimalist Approach Chomsky (1993, 1995, 2000) that the wh-word in the echo-wh-questions is directly merged in the Echo Phrase (EP) since merging is more economical than move. However, I conclude this paper by hypothesizing that there exists a speculative stage in which the wh-word is split into two items a wh-word (wh) and a resumptive pronoun (RP), (wh+RP); I assume the wh-word directly merges to check the EP in the left periphery of the clause and the resumptive pronoun merges to check the phi-features on the verb. The contribution of the paper lies in the fact that it investigates echo questions in a dialect that is, to my knowledge, heretofore uninvestigated; and adds to our understanding of the syntax of echo questions.

Key words: CP frozen, Island constraints, Scope, Superiority Effect, Base generated, Echo Phrase (EP), Split and Resumptive pronoun.

1. Introduction

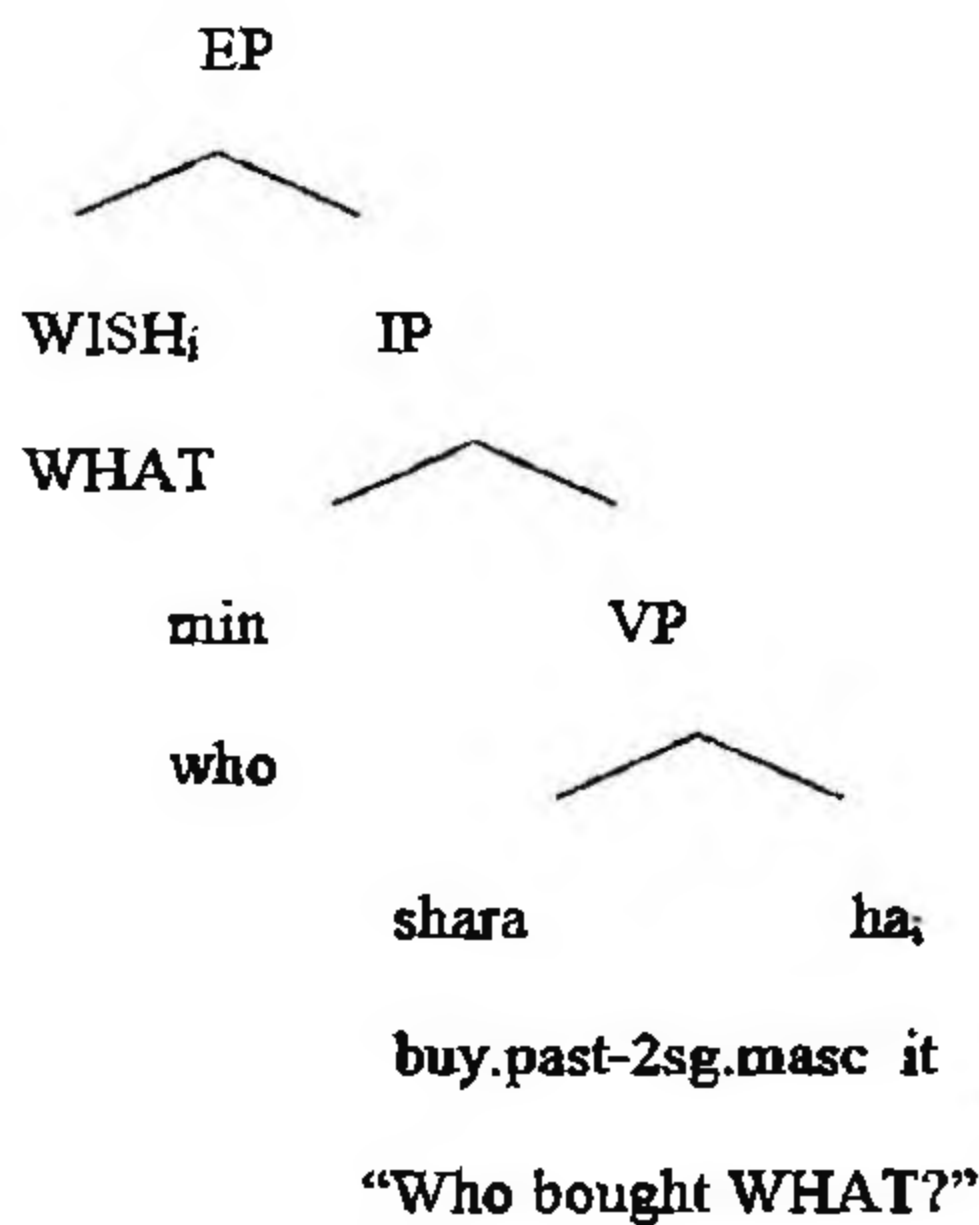
In this paper, I investigate echo-wh-questions in Turaif dialect of Arabic (TA). The paper reveals some novel facts concerning the syntax of echo-wh-questions

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in TA. What first makes TA echo-wh-questions interesting, as the example below shows, is that fact that the wh-word in those questions appears in the left periphery of the clause higher than the wh-word of non-echo-wh-questions.

WISH_i min shara-ha_i?
 WHAT who buy-2sg.masc-it
 “Who bought WHAT?”

In this paper, I will argue that the echo-wh-question should be analyzed as the following tree shows:



From the tree in (2), we see that the echo-wh-word *wish* “what” appears in the Echo Phrase (EP) in the left periphery of the clause, co-indexed with the resumptive in the object position. Being exempted from locality restriction, island constraints, Ross (1967) and Cinque (1990), and the issue of scope as well as being exempted from superiority effect, I argue that wh-word in those echo-wh-questions is base generated in its surface position in the left periphery of the clause in the Echo Phrase (EP). I argue, under the Minimalist Approach Chomsky (1993, 1995, 2000) that the wh-word in the echo-wh-questions is directly merged in the Echo Phrase (EP) since merging is more economical than move. However, I conclude this paper by hypothesizing a model of grammar in which there exists a speculative stage in which the wh-word is split into two items a wh-word (wh) and a resumptive pronoun (RP), (wh+RP); I assume the wh-word directly merges to check the EP in the left periphery of the clause and the resumptive pronoun merges to check the phi-features on the verb. The contribution of the paper lies in the fact that it investigates echo questions in a dialect that is, to my knowledge, heretofore uninvestigated; and adds to our understanding of the syntax of echo questions.

The organization of the paper is as follows: the next subsection, 2. pinpoints some syntactic facts about the structure of the clause in Turaif dialect. Section 3. presents the structure of echo-wh-questions in TA. Section 4. goes over some of the findings of studies done on echo-wh-questions in languages like English. In section 5, I discuss the syntactic properties of the echo-wh-questions in TA; echo-wh-questions and islands and the issue of scope as well as superiority effect, pieces of evidence of a non-movement analysis of echo-wh-question, are discussed under this section; it will be shown that the wh-word of the echo-wh-question is base generated and never moved from inside the clause. Section 6 concludes the paper by proposing a model of grammar of the syntax and outlining descriptive and theoretical conclusions and remaining puzzles.

2. Clause Structure in Turaif dialect

2. 1. Word Orders

The data being investigated here is all from Turaif Arabic (TA), a dialect spoken in northern border region of Saudi Arabia. The dialect has three word orders VSO, SVO and VOS.

(3) a. *shara* *ali al-sayyara* **VSO**

buy.past.2sg.masc. Ali the-car

“Ali bought the car.”

b. *ali shara* *al-sayyara* **SVO**

Ali buy.past.2sg.masc. the-car

“Ali bought the car.”

c. **SHARA** **AL-SAYYARA, ali** **VOS**

buy.past.2sg.masc. the-car Ali

“As for Ali, he BOUGHT A CAR.”

In (3a and 3b), we see that the subject *Ali* can appear before or after the verb. Informally, if everything in (3a and 3b) are produced with the same pitch, they are both neutral informative statements; nothing is being focused or topicalized. In other words intonation plays a role in the interpretation of the clauses in TA. However, in (3c), when the subject *Ali* appears at the end of the clause, the verb and the object *shara al-sayyar* “bought a car” is always focused whereas the

subject *Ali* is a topic. Moreover, the subject of the SVO order can receive higher pitch:

- (4) a. ALI shara al-sayyara SVO
 ALI buy.past.2sg.masc. the-car
 “ALI bought the car.”
- b. ali, shara al-sayyara SVO
 Ali, buy.past.2sg.masc. the-car
 “**As for Ali, he bought the car.**”

In (4a), we see that *Ali* has higher pitch than the rest of the sentence. In this case, the subject is interpreted as focused. Moreover, in (4b), the subject of the SVO order also receives high pitch but not as high as the pitch on the focused subject and a short pause after the subject *Ali* is used; in this case, the subject *Ali* is interpreted as a topic. Next section shows subject verb agreement in TA.

2. 1. Subject Verb Agreement

As in other dialects of Arabic, Turaif Arabic has full agreement between the subject and the verb whether the subject appears pre-verbally or post-verbally.

- a. shaf-*(aw) al-rijal as-sayyara
 see.past-3pl.masc. the-men the-car.masc.sg
 “The men saw the car.”
- a. al-rijal shaf-*(aw) as-sayyara
 the-men see.past the-car.masc.sg
 “The men saw the car.”

We see that in (5a and 5b) where the plural subject *al-rijal* “the men” precedes or follows the verb, the verb bears the 3pl.masc-agreement clitic in the form of *-u* and. In other words, in Turaif Arabic, there is full agreement between the subject and the verb in VSO and SVO orders. Now, the next section presents the data under investigation and shows us how echo-wh-questions are formed in Turaif dialect.

3. Echo-wh-questions in TA

As in English and other languages, out of a declarative sentence, echo-wh-questions in TA can be formed in two ways; either the echo-wh-word appears in situ or it appears in the left periphery of the clause; in both cases the echo-wh-word receives high pitch:

- a. shara ali al-sayyara

buy.past.2sg.masc. Ali the-car
 “Ali bought the car.”

b. shara ali WISH?
 buy.past.2sg.masc. Ali WHAT
 “Ali bought WHAT?”

c. WISH shara ali?
 WHAT buy.past.2sg.masc. Ali
 “What Ali bought?”

In (6a), we have a declarative sentence. We see in (6b) that the echo-wh-word with high pitch *wish* “what” is left in situ in the object position whereas in (6c) it appears in the left periphery of the clause. There is no interpretation difference between the two.

Moreover, echo-wh-questions in TA can be formed out of non-echo-wh-questions:

a. min shara al-sayyara?
 who buy.past.2sg.masc. the-car
 “Who bought the car?”

b. min shara WISH?
 who buy.past.2sg.masc. WHAT
 “Who bought What?”

c. WISH min shara -h?
 WHAT who buy.past.2sg.masc. it
 “Who bought WHAT?”

In (7a), we have a nonecho-wh-question. We see that in (7b), the echo-wh-word *wish* “what” is left in situ in the object position whereas in (7c) it appears in the left periphery of the nonecho-wh-question. In the latter, a resumptive pronoun *-h* “him” appears in the object position. It is the echo-wh-question in (7c) which I am investigating in this paper. I will argue that those echo-wh-questions are base generated in the left periphery of the clause in the Echo Phrase (EP) to check the echo feature. Before doing that, in the next section, I go over what has been said about the echo-wh-questions in English language.

4. Previous Studies done on Echo-wh-questions

The syntactic properties of echo questions in English and other languages have been investigated in a number of studies among those Ginzburg and Sag (2001), Artstein (2002) and Chernova (2012). One of the novel works done on echo-wh-question and out of a declarative utterance, Sobin (1978, 1990, 2009 and 2010) analyzes echo-wh-questions into two types, pseudo echo questions and syntactic echo questions. In the former, the wh-word appears in the left periphery of the clause whereas in the later it appears inside the clause using Sobin’s term the “Utterance”.

- (8) a. U: [CP- WH [IP Mary dated Beethoven]].
 b. E: [CP Who did [IP Mary date]]? Pseudo EQ
 c. E: [CP - WH [IP Mary dated who]]? Syntactic EQ

According to Sobin, the CP layer of declarative sentence in (8a) contains only a simple complementizer. (8b) is a pseudo-echo-wh-question and has an echo or surprise intonation; it involves a normal question. In (8c), it has echo or surprise intonation and a simple CP layer which contains only –WH complementizer; it is this simple CP configuration that is frozen or echoed.

Sobin adds that pseudo-echo-wh-questions cannot be formed out of a non-declarative utterance (yes/no questions); they can only be formed out of declarative utterance; also is not possible any syntactic which does not match the (classic) comp structure of the utterance; as (9) below shows.

- a. U: [CP [C Did [IP Mary meet Mozart at the party]]?
 (+WH)
 b.U: *[CP Who Did [IP Mary meet at the party]]?
 (+WH)
 c.U: *[CP –WH [IP Mary meet who at the party]]?
 d.U: [CP [C Did] [IP Mary meet who at the party]]?
 (+WH)

(9a) shows non-declarative, yes/no, question. We notice that (9b) is not possible as a pseudo echo-wh-question in English because it is out of non-declarative utterance; as for (9b and c), fail as syntactic echo-wh-questions because none of them matches the Comp structure of (9a), a simple interrogative C filled with did and an empty Spec,CP. As for (9d), it is grammatical because it matches the Comp structure of (9a). Sobin adds that this fact is striking taken into account that in a non-echo-wh-question the structure is not acceptable unless the wh-word move to Spec of CP.

Moreover, non-echo questions show superiority violation:

- a. * What did who eat at the party?
 b. Who ate what at the party?

In (10a and 10b), we notice that the order in which the wh-word what to the left of the wh-word who renders the question ungrammatical. This is not true for echo-wh-questions:

- (11) a. U: [CP What did [IP Jack the Ripper eat the party]]?
 b. U: [CP What did [IP who eat the party]]?
 c. U: *[CP Who [IP ate what the party]]?

As we notice in (11b) although wh-word what is to the left of the wh-word who, the echo-wh-question is still grammatical. The fact is accounted for if we take into account the idea of Comp-freezing, Sobin claims.

In addition to the idea that the CP layer of the echo-wh-question is frozen in the utterance being echoed, Sobin argues that syntactic echo question is bound by a b-binder which binds all and any echo-wh-words.

(12) a. E: [CP Qi [CP -WH [IP Mary dated whoi]]?

Syntactic EQ

b. U: [CP Qi [CP Did] [IP Mary meet whoi at the party]]?

c. U: [CP Qi [CP What_{tj} did [IP whoi eat _{tj} the party]]?

We notice that in (12a, 12b and 12c) there are two CPs at the left periphery of the clause, an always active echo-CP since all the three are echo-wh-questions where the Q b-binds all the wh-echo-words and a CP where the non-echo-wh items are bound in case there is any.

To sum up, using Sobin's words:

1. There is a double-CP-structure analysis of syntactic echo-questions.

[CPEQ [CP C Wh-PEQ]]

2. The CP of the syntactic echo questions is always frozen copy of the utterance CP.

3. There is b-binder that scope binds all wh-echo words inside the utterance.

4. Only in pseudo-echo-wh-questions, the echo-wh-word appears to the left of the clause; in this case, the echo-wh-word is assumed to move from a position inside the utterance leaving behind a syntactic gap.

Given all what Sobin proposes, I argue that it is not always that the syntactic echo-wh-questions appear inside the clause, the utterance; and not all base generated echo-wh-words are bound by a b-binder; that is to say, they can appear in the left periphery of the clause and are base generated there to check echo feature on Echo Phrase. In the next section, I provide pieces of evidence for my argument of a base generation nature of the wh-word of the echo-wh-questions in TA.

5. Nonmovement Analysis of the Echo-Wh-Questions

In this section, I will provide three pieces of evidence for a nonmovement analysis of the echo-wh-questions with the resumptive pronoun; their sensitivity to islands, the issue of scope and the superiority effects. Next subsection discusses the sensitivity of echo-wh-questions to islands.

5.1. Echo -Wh- Questions and Island Constraints

In this section, as the first supporting piece of evidence for my argument, I will show that the echo-wh-questions are insensitive to island constraints; and in order

to do so, I need to compare the behavior of nonecho-wh-questions to island and compare it to the behavior of the echo-wh-questions.

5. 1. 1. Strong Island Constraint

5. 1. 1. A. Nonecho-Wh-Questions and Strong Island Constraint

As in English, fronted nonecho-wh-questions in TA are sensitive to strong island. Consider the following:

(13) a. rih-t [island qabl ma al-rayis yshoof ali]
 go.past-2sg.masc before the-head see.past.3sg.mascu Ali

“I went before the head saw Ali.”

b. *min_i [DP rih-t [island qabl ma al-rayis yshoof t_i]]?
 who go.past-2sg.masc before the-head see.past.3sg.mascu

“*Who did you go before the head saw?”

c. *min_i [DP rih-t [island qabl ma al-rayis yshoof-ih_i]]?
 Who go.past-2sg.masc before the-head see.past.3sg.mascu-him

“*Who did you go before the head saw?”

d. [DP rih-t [island qabl ma al-rayis yshoof min]]?
 go.past-2sg.masc before the-head see.past.3sg.mascu who

“*You went before the head saw who?”

(13a) shows an adjunct before-clause. From (13b) we see that fronted nonecho-wh-question is sensitive to the adjunct island. We see that the use of the resumptive pronoun in (13c) does not save the structure. Only in situ nonecho-wh-word in (13d) is grammatical. Now, let us see how sensitive or insensitive the echo-wh-questions are to strong island.

5. 1. 1. B. Echo-wh-questions and Strong Island

Echo-wh-questions with the resumptive pronoun are not sensitive to strong island. Consider the following:

(14) a. *MIN_i [DP rih-t [island qabl ma al-rayis yshoof t_i]]? (High Pitch)

who go.past-2sg.masc before the-head see.past.3sg.mascu

“*Who did you go before the head saw?”

b. MIN_i [DP rih-t [island qabl ma al-rayis yshoof-ih_i]]?

WHO go.past-2sg.masc before the-head see.past.3sg.mascu-him

“*WHO did you go before the head saw?”

c. [DP rih-t [island qabl ma al-rayis yshoof MIN]]?

go.past-2sg.masc before the-head see.past.3sg.mascu WHO

“You went before the head saw WHO?”

(14a), compared to the nonecho-wh-questions in (13b) above, shows that the echo-wh-questions are sensitive to strong island. However, compared to the nonecho-wh-questions in (13c), echo-wh-questions with resumptive pronoun in (14b) is grammatical. Moreover, as in nonecho-wh-question in (13d), echo-wh-question with in situ wh-word in (14b) is also grammatical. This shows that the wh-word in both the echo/nonecho-wh-questions with in situ wh-words and the echo-wh-question with the resumptive pronoun are base generated and not moved from inside the clause. Consider next wh-questions with the wh-island clause.

5. 1. 2. Wh-Island Clause

5. 1. 2. A. Nonecho-Wh-Questions and Wh-Island Constraint

As in English, fronted nonecho-wh-questions in TA are sensitive to wh-island. Consider the following:

(15) a. **widak** **tʃariff** [~~island~~ **athaa** **al-rayis** **shaaf** **ali**]
 want.pres.2sg.mascu to know.2sg.mascu whether the-head see.past.3sg.msacu Ali
 "You want to know whether the head saw Ali."

b. ***min widak** **tʃariff** [~~island~~ **athaa** **al-rayis** **shaaf** **t**]
 who want.pres.2sg.mascu to know.2sg.mascu whether the-head see.past.3sg.msacu
 "*Who did you want to know whether the head saw?."

c. ***min_i widak** **tʃariff** [~~island~~ **athaa** **al-rayis** **shaaf-ih_i?**]
 who want.pres.2sg.mascu to know.2sg.mascu whether the-head see.past.3sg.msa-him
 "*Who did you want to know whether the head saw?"

d. **widak** **tʃariff** [~~island~~ **athaa** **al-rayis** **shaaf** **min**]
 want.pres.2sg.mascu to know.2sg.mascu whether the-head see.past.3sg.msacu who
 "*You want to know whether the head saw what?"

(15a) shows an wh-island clause. From (15b) we see that fronted nonecho-wh-question is sensitive to the wh-island. Again, we see that the use of the resumptive pronoun in (15c) does not save the structure. Only in situ nonecho-wh-word in (15d) is grammatical. Now, let us see how sensitive or insensitive the echo-wh-questions are to wh-island.

5. 1. 2. B. Echo-wh-questions and Strong Island

Echo-wh-questions with the resumptive pronoun are insensitive to strong island. Consider the following:

(16) a. *MIN_i widak

tʃariff

[ʔiland athaa al-rayis shaaf-ʔi?

WHO want.pres.2sg.mascu to know.2sg.mascu whether the-head see.past.3sg.msa

“*Who do you want to know whether the head saw?”

b. MIN_i widak

tʃariff

[ʔiland athaa al-rayis shaaf-ihʔ?

WHO want.pres.2sg.mascu to know.2sg.mascu whether the-head see.past.3sg.msa-him

“*Who do you want to know whether the head saw?”

c. widak

tʃariff

[ʔiland athaa al-rayis shaaf

MIN]

want.pres.2sg.mascu to know.2sg.mascu whether the-head see.past.3sg.mscu WHO

“You want to know whether the head saw WHO?”

(16a), compared to the nonecho-wh-questions in (15b) above, shows that the echo-wh-questions are sensitive to wh-island. However, compared to the nonecho-wh-questions in (15c), echo-wh-questions with resumptive pronoun in (16b) is grammatical. Moreover, as in nonecho-wh-question in (15d), echo-wh-question with in situ wh-word in (16b) is also grammatical. Again, this emphasizes that the wh-words in both the echo/nonecho-wh-questions with in situ wh-words and the echo-wh-questions with the resumptive pronoun are base generated and not moved from inside the clause. Consider next the wh-questions and a Complex Noun Phrase:

5. 1. 3. A. Nonecho-wh-questions and Complex Noun Phrase

As in English, fronted nonecho-wh-questions in TA are sensitive to complex noun phrase. Consider the following:

17. a. Saddaq ali maquulat in khalid shaaf- al-rayis.
believe.past.3sg.masc. Ali the saying that Khalid see.past.3sg.mascu to the-head

“Ali believed the saying that Khalid saw the head.”

b. *min_i[DP saddaq ali maquulat in khalid shaaf t_i]?
who believe.past.3sg.masc. Ali the saying that Khalid see.past.3sg.mascu

“*Who did Ali believe the saying that Khalid saw?”

c. *min_i[DP saddaq ali maquulat in khalid shaaf-ih_i]?
who believe.past.3sg.masc. Ali the saying that Khalid see.past.3sg.mascu him

“*Who did Ali believe the saying that Khalid saw?”

d. Saddaq ali maquulat in khalid shaaf- min?
believe.past.3sg.masc. Ali the saying that Khalid see.past.3sg.mascu to who

“*Ali believed the saying that Khalid saw who?”

(17a) shows a clause with a complex noun phrase. From (17b) we see that fronted nonecho-wh-question is sensitive to the complex noun phrase. Again, we see that the use of the resumptive pronoun in (17c) does not save the structure. Only in situ nonecho-wh-word in (17d) is grammatical. Now, let us see how sensitive or insensitive the echo-wh-questions are to complex noun phrase.

5. 1. 3. B. Echo-wh-questions and Complex Noun Phrase

Echo-wh-questions with the resumptive pronoun are insensitive to complex noun phrase. Consider the following:

18. a. *MIN_i[DP saddaq ali maquulat in khalid shaaf-t_i]?
 who believe.past.3sg.masc. Ali the saying that Khalid see.past.3sg.mascu him

“*Who did Ali believe the saying that Khalid saw?”

- b. MIN_i[DP saddaq ali maquulat in khalid shaaf-ih_i]?
 who believe.past.3sg.masc. Ali the saying that Khalid see.past.3sg.mascu him

“*Who did Ali believe the saying that Khalid saw?”

- c. Saddaq ali maquulat in khalid shaaf- MIN?
 believe.past.3sg.masc. Ali the saying that Khalid see.past.3sg.mascu to WHO

“Ali believed the saying that Khalid saw WHO?”

From (18a), as in nonecho-wh-questions in (17b) above, we see that fronted echo-wh-question is sensitive to Complex Noun Phrase. However, compared to (17c), we see that the use of the resumptive pronoun in (18b) does save the structure. From that, one concludes that the wh-words in (18b) is not moved from inside of the island. In other words, it is base generated outside the wh-questions. Again, this emphasizes that the wh-words in both the in-situ echo/nonecho-wh-questions with in situ wh-words and the echo-wh-questions with the resumptive pronoun are base generated and not moved from inside the clause. Consider next the wh-questions and a Coordinate Structure Constraint.

5. 1. 4. A. Nonecho-wh-questions and Coordinate Structure Constraint

As in English, fronted nonecho-wh-questions in TA are sensitive to coordinate structure constraint. Consider the following:

- (19). a. shaaf ali [island khalid w saad].
 see.past.3sg.masc Ali Khalid and Saad
 “Ali saw Khalid and Saad.”

- b. *min_i shaaf t_i ali hu w saad]]]?
 who see.past.3sg.masc Ali he and Saad
 “*Who did Ali see and Saad?”

- c. *min_i shaaf-ih_i ali hu w saad]]]?
 who see.past.3sg.masc him Ali he and Saad

“*Who did Ali see and Saad?”

d. shaaf ali [_{island} min w saad]?
 see.past.3sg.masc Ali who and Saad
 “*Ali saw who and Saad?”

In(19a), we have a clause with a coordinate structure. From (19b), we see that fronted nonecho-wh-question is sensitive to coordinate structure constraint. We see that the use of the resumptive pronoun in (19c) does not save the structure. Only in situ nonecho-wh-word in (19d) is grammatical. Now, let see echo-wh-questions and coordinate structure constraint.

5. 1. 4. B. Echo-wh-questions and Coordinate Structure Constraint

Echo-wh-questions with resumptive pronoun are insensitive to coordinate structure constraint. Consider the following:

(20). a. *MIN_i shaaf-t_i ali hu w saad]]?
 WHO see.past.3sg.masc Ali he and Saad
 “*Who did Ali see and Saad?”

b. MIN_i shaaf-ih_i ali hu w saad]]?
 WHO see.past.3sg.masc him Ali he and Saad
 “*Who did Ali see and Saad?”

b. shaaf ali [_{island} MIN w saad]?
 see.past.3sg.masc Ali who and Saad
 “Ali saw WHO and Saad?”

From (20a), as in nonecho-wh-questions in (19b) above, we see that fronted echo-wh-question is sensitive to coordinate structure constraint. However, compared to (19c), we see that the use of the resumptive pronoun in (20a) save the structure. Again, from that, one concludes that the wh-words in (20a) is not moved from inside of the island. In other words, it is base generated outside the wh-questions. Again, this emphasizes that the wh-words in both the in-situ echo/nonecho-wh-questions with in situ wh-words and the echo-wh-questions with the resumptive pronoun are base generated and not moved from inside the clause. Consider next the wh-questions and a Sentential Subject Constraint.

5. 1. 5. A. Nonecho-wh-questions and Sentential Subject Constraint

As in English, fronted nonecho-wh-questions in TA are sensitive to sentential subject constraint. Consider the following:

21. a. [_{island} muqaabalat ali l-khalid] dhayiq saad.
 meeting Ali to-the-Khalid upset.past.3sg.mascu Saad
 “Ali’s meeting khalid upset Saad.”

b. *min_i [_{island} muqaabalat ali l t_i] dhayiq saad?

who meeting Ali to upset.past.3sg.mascu Saad
 “*Who did Ali’s meeting upset Saad?”

c. *min_i [_{island} muqaabalat ali l-ih_i] dhayiq saad?
 who meeting Ali to-him upset.past.3sg.mascu Saad
 “*Who did Ali’s meeting upset Saad?”

d. [_{island} muqaabalat ali l-min] dhayiq saad?
 meeting Ali to-the-who upset.past.3sg.mascu Saad
 “*Ali’s meeting who upset Saad?”

(21a) shows a clause with a sentential subject. From (21b), we see that fronted nonecho-wh-question is sensitive to sentential subject constraint. We see that the use of the resumptive pronoun in (21c) does not save the structure. Only in situ nonecho-wh-word in (21d) is grammatical. On the other hand, in the following, we will see that the echo-wh-questions with the resumptive pronoun are insensitive to sentential subject constraint.

5. 1. 5. B. Echo-wh-questions and Sentential Subject Constraint

Echo-wh-questions with the resumptive pronoun are insensitive to sentential subject constraint. Consider the following:

(22) a. *MIN_i [~~island~~ muqaabalat ali l-t_i] dhayiq saad?
 WHO meeting Ali to- upset.past.3sg.mascu Saad
 “*Who did Ali’s meeting upset Saad?”

b. MIN_i [_{island} muqaabalat ali l-ih_i] dhayiq saad?
 WHO meeting Ali to-him upset.past.3sg.mascu Saad
 “*Who did Ali’s meeting upset Saad?”

c. [~~island~~ muqaabalat ali l-MIN] dhayiq saad.
 meeting Ali to-the-who upset.past.3sg.mascu Saad
 “Ali’s meeting WHO upsets Saad.”

From (22a), we see that fronted echo-wh-question is sensitive to sentential subject constraint. We see that the use of the resumptive pronoun in (22b) saves

the structure. Again, when (21c) and (21d) are compared to the echo-wh-questions in (22b) and (22c), one concludes that the wh-word in (22b) is not moved from inside of the island. In other words, it is base generated outside the wh-construction. Again, this emphasizes that the wh-words in both the echo/nonecho-wh-question with in situ wh-words and the echo-wh-questions with the resumptive pronoun are base generated and not moved from inside the clause. If they were moved from within the clause, there would be no explanation of what is going on.

In this subsection, using different island constraints, I have shown that, compared to the fronted nonecho-wh-word, the echo-wh-questions with the wh-word in the left periphery of the clause and a resumptive pronoun surfacing inside the clause, like the in-situ wh-word, is insensitive to island. I conclude that in this echo-wh-question both the echo-wh-word and the resumptive pronoun are base generated in their surface position; that is to say, the wh-word in this construction is never moved from inside the clause.

In the next subsections, investigating the issue of scope and the superiority effects, I will show that, compared to the wh-word in the in-situ wh-questions, the wh-word in the echo-wh-questions with the resumptive pronoun is base generated in the clause initial position and never moved from inside the clause.

5. 2. Echo-Wh-Questions and the Issue of Scope

My second piece of evidence of my analysis of the echo wh questions with the resumptive pronoun as base generated in the left periphery of the clause comes from the difference in scope interpretation between the in-situ wh-word and echo-wh-word with resumptive. See the following two English sentences:

- (23). a. Everyone liked one of these car.
b. What did everyone like?

In (23a and 23b), both individual and distributive readings are available; everyone scopes over one of these cars and one of these cars scopes over everyone. In (23b), the movement of the wh-word to the left periphery of the clause does not prevent the quantifier from scoping over the wh-word; both interpretations are available. The same finding turns to be true for the fronted wh-word in TA. See the following two questions:

- (24). a. *kill waahid shaaf sayareteen.*
every one see.past.3sg.mas two cars
“Everyone saw two cars.”
b. *wish_i kill waahid shaaf t_i?*
what every one see.past.3sg.mas
“What did everyone see?”

In (24a and 24b), both interpretations, individual and distributive readings, are available; *kill waahid* “everyone” scopes over *sayareteen* “two cars” and

sayarteen “two cars” scopes over *kill waahid* “everyone”. In (24b), the movement of the wh-word *wish* “what” to the left periphery of the clause does not prevent the quantifier *kill waahid* “everyone” from scoping over the wh-word; both interpretations are available. Now, let us examine echo-wh-constructions.

- (25). a. *kill waahid shaaf WISH?*
 every one see.past.3sg.mas what
 “What did everyone see?”
- b. *WISH_i kill waahid shaaf-ih_i?*
 WHAT every one see.past.3sg.mas-him
 “What did everyone see?”

In (25a), where the wh-item stays in situ, the question has individual and distributive readings; in this question *kill waahid* “everyone” scopes over the wh-word *wish* “what” and the wh-word *wish* “what” scopes over *kill waahid* “everyone”. On contrast, in (25b), where the wh-item appears in the left periphery of the clause with the resumptive pronoun inside the clause, there is only one reading available in which the wh-word *wish* “what” scopes over *kill waahid* “everyone”. The same finding turns to be true for items appear in the left periphery of the clause in TA.

- (26). a. *kill waahid shaaf sayarteen*
 every one see.past.3sg.mas two cars
 “Everyone saw two cars.”
- b. *sayarteen_i kill waahid shaaf-hum_i.*
 two cars every one see.past.3sg.mas-them
 “Two cars, everyone saw them.”

In (26a), where the noun *sayarteen* “two cars” stays in situ, the sentence has individual and distributive readings; in this question *kill waahid* “everyone” scopes over *sayarteen* “two cars” and *sayarteen* “two cars” scopes over *kill waahid* “everyone”. On contrast, in (26b), where *sayarteen* “two cars” appears in the left periphery of the clause with the resumptive pronoun *hum* “them” inside the clause, there is only one reading available in which *sayarteen* “two cars” scopes over *kill waahid* “everyone”. The similarities between the two echo-wh-constructions, in (25a) and (25b) and the two statements in (26a) and (26b) supports my analysis of the wh-word with the resumptive pronoun. the wh-word in echo-wh-construction is not moved from inside the clause; it is base generated in that position. Consider next my last piece of evidence, the echo-wh-questions and superiority effects.

5.3. Echo-wh-questions and Superiority Effects

Superiority effects provide another support for my analysis of the echo-wh-questions with resumptive pronouns. English shows superiority effects:

- (27). a. Who_i t_i bought what?
b. *What_y who_i t_i bought t_y?

In the grammatical wh-question in (27a), we see the trace of the moved wh-item *who* c-commands the wh-item in the object position *what*. Compared to (27a), in the ungrammatical wh-construction in (27b), the trace of the moved wh-item *who* c-commands the trace of the moved wh-item *what*. As in English, TA nonecho-wh-questions with fronted wh-words and a gap induce superiority effects.

- (28). a. Ali shaaf sayara.
Ali see.past.3sg.mas a car
“Ali saw a car.”
b. min_i t_i shaaf wish?
who see.past.3sg.mas what
“Who saw what?”
c. *wish_y min_i t_i shaaf t_y?
what who see.past.3sg.mas
“*What who saw?”

We see that in (28b), the trace of the moved wh-item *min* “who” c-commands the wh-word *wish* “what”; in the ungrammatical nonecho-wh-construction in (28c), compared to (28b), the trace of the moved wh-word *min* “who” c-commands the trace of the moved wh-word *wish* “what”. Now, let us investigate the sensitivity of echo-wh-questions with resumptive pronouns to superiority effect.

- (29). a. WISH_y min_i t_i shaaf-ih_y?
WHAT who see.past.3sg.mas –it
“*What did who see?”

In (29), we see that despite the fact that the object wh-item *wish* “what” precedes the subject wh-word *min* “who”, that is to say, the trace of the subject wh-word *min* “who” c-commands the resumptive pronoun *ih* “him” in the object position; the wh-construction is still grammatical.. The grammaticality of this echo-wh-construction is not surprising if we assume that the object wh-word *wish* “what” is base generated in its surface position and not moved from inside the question. In this subsection, I have shown that in TA, just like English, superiority effects arise whenever the subject wh-item in the left periphery of the clause c-commands the trace of the moved wh-item in the object position. The lack of superiority effects in echo-wh-questions with the resumptive pronoun is not surprising. It follows from my analysis of this construction. In other words, the

grammaticality of echo-wh-questions with the object wh-word preceding the subject wh-item is explained if we assume that object wh-word in those echo-wh-constructions are base generated and never moved from inside the clause.

In a nutshell, showing that the wh-word in the echo-wh-questions with the resumptive pronoun is base generated in its surface position in the left periphery of the clause, and for economy consideration. I conclude by hypothesizing that wh-word in this wh-construction is split into two separate syntactic elements, a echo-wh-word and a resumptive pronoun in a speculative stage right before the syntax. In this stage, I assume that the echo-wh-word checks the echo feature in the left periphery of the clause and the resumptive pronoun takes care of checking the D features on the verb.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have investigated the echo-wh-questions with resumptive pronouns in Turaif dialect of Arabic (TA); and I have shown, first, that, it is not always the case that the echo-wh-word appears inside the utterance lower than the wh-word of the nonecho-wh-questions as Sobin assumes; the wh-word of the echo-wh-question also appears in the left periphery of the clause. As supporting pieces of evidence of my argument, I have shown this echo-wh-question is insensitive to islands. Second, through studying scope and superiority effect, I have shown that the echo-wh-word in this echo-wh-construction is base generated. With this finding in mind, and for economical consideration, I have hypothesized that there exists a stage in which the wh-word in this echo-wh-construction is split into two separate syntactic elements, a wh-item and a resumptive pronoun; it is a stage right before the syntax. In this speculative stage, I have assumed that the wh-word checks the echo feature in the left periphery of the clause and the resumptive pronoun takes care of checking the D features on the verb. I admit that, at this stage, there are a number of questions are still unanswered. The first question that someone might ask is what the consequences of this stage on the syntax are. Then, could this proposal be extended to constructions with resumptive pronouns in which the resumptive pronouns are originally assumed to be as a saving device for surmounting syntactic violations, ECP, and resumptive pronouns appear in relative clause Kroch (1982), Shlonsky (1992), Sharvit (1999) and Aoun, Choueiri and Hornstein (2001) among others. These questions and more will be dealt with in my future work.

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