

ON MULTIPLE SLUICING AND WH-COORDINATION OF UNLIKES IN RUSSIAN

Background. Russian has two constructions that look like multiple sluicing, in one construction (MS) multiple *wh*-phrases in a remnant appear next to each other without anything in between, in another construction (WhC) the *wh*-phrases are separated by a conjunction *i* ‘and’ (or a long pause in case of the asyndetic conjunction). The baseline examples are as follows:

(1) MS. *Ja slyšal, [čto neskolko čelovek vyigrali neskolko prizov], no ja ne pomnju kto čto*
 I heard that some people won some prizes, but I not recall who what
 lit. ‘I heard that some people won some prizes, but I don’t recall who (won) what’

WhC. *Ja slyšal, [čto kto-to vyigral čto-to], no ja ne pomnju, kto i čto*
 I heard that someone won something but I not recall who and what
 lit. ‘I heard that someone won something, but I don’t recall who and what’

Proposal #1. In this talk I argue that WhC should be analyzed on par with the single sluicing (TP-ellipsis, the only remnant is located in Spec CP), while MS is a genuine multiple sluicing (the remnant spans over several positions in the CP area). I show that the properties of WhC are shared by the single sluicing, while MS demonstrates the effects known from the multiple *wh*-fronting questions (Grebnyova 2009 i.a.) and VP-ellipsis (Gribanova 2013).

I introduce three new observations showing that WhC and MS differ with respect to their ability to ameliorate islands, the sensitivity to the clause-mate condition for *wh*-phrases, and the superiority effect. (2) shows that WhC, but not MS, is insensitive to the island boundary (CNPC, relative clause), exactly like the single sluicing (Ross 1969 et al.).

(2) WhC. *Petya uvidel človeka, [RC kotoryj komu-to o čem-to rasskazyval], no on nikak ne mog ponjat, komu i o čem*
 Petya saw man who someone.DAT about something.ABL was.telling, but he
 no.way not be.able to.understand who.DAT and about what.ABL
 lit. ‘Petya saw the man who was telling something to somebody, but there was no way he could understand what and to whom’

MS. [?]* *Na ulice Petya uvidel človeka, [RC kotoryj včera rasskazyval každomu gostu ob odnoj iz kartin], no on nikak ne mog vspomnit komu o kakoj*
 on street Petya saw man who yesterday was.telling every.DAT guest.DAT
 about one.ABL of pictures.GEN but he no.way not be.able to.recall who.DAT about what.ABL
 lit. ‘At the street Petya saw the man who yesterday had told every guest about one of the pictures, but there was no way he could recall to whom about what picture’

In (3) WhC allows *wh*-phrases from different finite clauses to appear together as parts of the same remnant, violating one of the strongest generalizations about multiple sluicing (see Abels & Dayal 2017), MS obeys it. Note that the same clause-mate restriction is at work in multiple *wh*-questions (4).

(3) WhC. *Mne kažetsa, kto-to predlagal pape odnogo iz malčikov [CP čtoby roditeli organizovali kakuju-to igru dla detej], no ja ne pomnu kto i kakuju igru*
 I.DAT seems someone suggested father.DAT one.GEN of boys.GEN that parents
 organize some game for children but I not remember who and what
 lit. ‘I believe someone suggested to the father of one of the boys that parents could organize some game, but I cannot recall who and what game’

MS. * *Neskolko čelovek predlagali pape odnogo iz malčikov [CP čtoby roditeli organizovali odnu iz popularnyx igr dla detej], no ja ne pomnu, kto kakuju igru*
 some people suggested father.DAT one.GEN of boys.GEN that parents organize
 one of popular games for children but I not remember who what game
 lit. ‘Some people suggested to the father of one of the boys that parents could organize one of the popular games, but I do not remember who what game’

(4) a. * *Ja sprosila, kto kuda e skazal [čtoby Petya složil produkty e]*
 I asked who where said that Petya put.down groceries
 lit. ‘I asked who where said that Petya could put groceries’
 ‘I asked who said that Petya could put groceries where?’

- b. *Ja sprosila, čto kuda mama skazala [čtoby Petya složil e e]*
 I asked what where mother told that Petya put.down
 'I asked what did the mother say that Petya could put where?'

Finally, some speakers of Russian have the superiority effect in multiple *wh*-questions, but only in embedded clauses, cf. (5) and (6). They report the same contrast in MS in (7) with respect to the initial position of the *wh*-phrases inside the sluice and their correlates in the antecedent. WhC has no superiority effect in Russian, see Kazenin (2002), Gribanova (2009).

- (5) a. *kto čto kupil*
 who what bought
 'Who bought what?'
 b. *čto kto kupil*
 what who bought
- (6) a. *Ja sprosila, kto čto kupil*
 I asked who what bought
 'I asked who bought what?'
 b. **Ja sprosila, čto kto kupil*
 I asked what who bought
- (7) a. *Druzja prinesli zakuski, no ja zabył, { kto čto , čto kto }*
 friends brought snacks but I forgot who what what who
 lit. 'The friends brought some snacks, but I forgot who what'
 b. *Maša skazala, čto družja prinesli zakuski, no ja zabył, { kto čto, *čto kto }*
 Masha said that friends brought snacks but I forgot who what what who
 '(Masha said that) the friends brought some snacks, but I forgot who brought what'

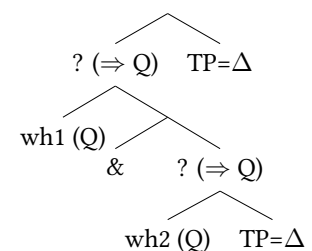
Proposal # 2 and the analysis of WhC. I propose to analyze WhC as a single &P of the form [wh1 [& [wh2 Δ=TP]]] located in Spec CP of the main clause. Both TP in the second conjunct and TP in the main clause are elided as a result of two applications of the single sluicing. This analysis captures the similarity between WhC and the single sluicing with respect to syntactic islands (both can escape them), it also predicts the lack of the clause-mate restrictions for *wh*-phrases, since this restriction applies only to the multiple sluicing. Finally, WhC is correctly predicted to show no superiority effect, since WhC does not involve separate *wh*-movements of *wh*-phrases within the same clause.

One significant potential problem for my analysis is that conjuncts in &P belong to different syntactic categories and thus should violate the Coordination of Likes Constraint (COLC, Chomsky 1957). My proposal is based on the fact that COLC has a small class of "exceptions" where both conjuncts belong to different categories, but share some prominent feature, cf. (8) featuring two Negative Polarity Items from different categories.

- (8) *Ja nikogo i nikuda ne posylal*
 I nobody and nowhere not sent
 'I didn't send anyone anywhere'

(Kazenin 2002: ex. 64)

I claim that this shared prominent feature functions as a label, this way COLC is satisfied with conjunctions of the form [Q & Q] and [Neg & Neg]. In order to avoid over-generation I propose the following restriction based on the timing of labeling (Chomsky 2013): the evaluation of COLC can only happen after both conjuncts are labeled. The following conditions has to be satisfied in order for a feature to function as a label: a feature has to be checked (i.e. Q cannot become a label in-situ, only after it moves to Spec CP) and this feature has to have a single source (i.e. Q can become a label only after TP including a probe for Q is elided). The sample derivation is shown in (9). The lower '?' can be turned into Q only after wh2 moves to Spec CP and TP is elided. The higher '?' becomes Q since now the same feature projects in both conjuncts. Finally, COLC is evaluated.



Analysis of MS. New empirical generalization about MS in Russian is that it patterns with the multiple *wh*-questions. For the structure of multiple *wh* I adopt the focus-based analysis from Stjepanović (2002) and Bošković (1998, 2002). Under this analysis, some *wh*-phrases are located below C. The properties of MS are captured with the relative height of the licensing head hosting the E-feature (Merchant 2001). In MS C is not a plausible host for the E-feature, so it attaches to the next available functional head in the TP area, resulting in the island sensitivity, similar to the VP-Ellipsis (Fox & Lasnik 2003i.a.).