

Guess what (Sluicing can do)

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I. Sluicing: The Phenomenon and Classic Analysis (Ross (1969))

- (1) Mary hired someone, but I don't know who [~~Mary hired~~]
 - (2) Bill thought that Mary hired someone, but I don't know who [~~Bill thought that Mary hired~~]
 - (3) Sluicing looks (and means) like WH-movement followed by deletion of the residual sentence.
 - (4) A breakdown in the parallelism. Sluicing 'repairs' island violations, as first observed by Ross (who judges the Sluicing examples improved, though still mildly degraded; most speakers regard them as fully acceptable):
 - (5) I believe that he bit someone, but they don't know who (I believe that he bit)
 - (6a) *I believe the claim that he bit someone, but they don't know who I believe the claim that he bit [Complex NP Constraint, noun complement]
b(??)I believe the claim that he bit someone, but they don't know who
 - (7a) *Irv and someone were dancing together, but I don't know who Irv and were dancing together [Coordinate Structure Constraint]
b(??)Irv and someone were dancing together, but I don't know who
 - (8a) *She kissed a man who bit one of my friends, but Tom doesn't realize which one of my friends she kissed a man who bit [Complex NP Constraint, relative clause]
b(??)She kissed a man who bit one of my friends, but Tom doesn't realize which one of my friends
 - (9a) *That he'll hire someone is possible, but I won't divulge who that he'll hire is possible [Sentential Subject Constraint]
b (??)That he'll hire someone is possible, but I won't divulge who
- All above from Ross (1969)
- (10) Possible account (based on Chomsky (1972):
 - (11) The improvement created by Sluicing suggests that a Subjacency (island) violation places a * at some specific place in the structure, perhaps on the constituent constituting the island. Deletion of (a constituent containing) the island then eliminates the *.

II. Alternatives Not Requiring Repair?

A.

- (12) They want to hire someone who speaks a Balkan language, but I don't know which (Balkan language) [_{IP} ~~she should speak t~~] [Merchant (2001). See also Baker and Brame (1972)]
- (13) They hired someone who speaks a Balkan language –
Guess which [~~she speaks t~~]

BUT

- (14) Noone had a student who worked on a certain Balkan language, but I can't remember which Balkan language

B.

- (15) Someone just left - guess who it was 'Pseudosluicing' (something like clefting)
- (16) Irv and someone were dancing together, but I don't know who it was
- (17) However, Merchant (2001) argues convincingly that Pseudosluicing cannot provide a general analysis for the Sluicing phenomenon.
- (18) In German, PPs can be 'survivors' of Sluicing, but can't be pivots of clefts:
- (19) *Mit wem war es, daß er gesprochen hat?
with who was it that he spoken has
- (20) Er hat mit jemandem gesprochen - rate mal mit wem!
He has with someone spoken - guess PRT with who
- (21) Further, crucially, PPs can be survivors even in island contexts.
- (22) Anke wird sich ärgern, wenn Peter mit einem der Lehrer
Anke will REFL upset if Peter with one of the teachers
spricht, aber ich weiß nicht mehr, *(mit) welchem.
speaks but I know not more with which
'Anke will get upset if Peter talks to with one of his teachers, but I don't remember which.'
- (23) Romanian seems to have no cleft constructions at all, but still has Sluicing.
- (24) *E Ion {ce/care} a câştigat premiul întâi
is Ion that/who has won prize.the first
'It's Ion that won first prize.'
- (25) *E Ion pe care (l-) am întâlnit ieri
is Ion ACC who him- have.1sg met yesterday
'It's Ion who I met yesterday'
- (26) Cine-va a câştigat premiul întâi – ghici cine!
someone has won prize.the first guess who
'Someone won first prize – guess who!'

III. Still More Evidence that Sluicing Does Involve Movement Parallel to Non-Sluiced Examples

(Based on Merchant (2001), developing observations and ideas of Ross (1969))

(27) 'Case matching': In overtly Case inflected languages (such as German), the Case of the remnant is just what the Case of the fronted WH expression would have been in the non-elliptical form, and this is even true in the island violation configurations.

(28) Er will jemandem schmeicheln, aber sie wissen nicht,
he wants someone.DAT flatter but they know not
*wer / *wen / wem
who.NOM who.ACC who.DAT

'He wants to flatter someone, but they don't know who.'

Merchant, p.107

(29) Sie will jemanden finden, der einem der Gefangenen
she wants someone find who one.DAT of the prisoners
geholfen hat, aber ich weiss nicht
helped has but I know not
*welcher / *welchen / welchem
which.NOM which.ACC which.DAT

'She wants to find someone who helped one of the prisoners, but I don't know which.'

Merchant, p.109

(30) And preposition stranding: In languages that allow P-stranding (such as English), the remnant can be the bare object of a preposition; in languages that don't (such as Greek) it can't and this is even true in the island violation configurations.

(31) Peter was talking with someone, but I don't know who

Merchant, p.111

(32) Peter's mom will get angry if he talks with someone from his class, but I don't remember who

(33) I Anna milise me kapjon, alla dhe ksero *(me) pjon
the Anna spoke with someone but not I.know with who

(34) I mitera tou Giannis tha thimosi an milisi me kapjon
the mom of Giannis FUT get.angry if he.talks with someone
apo tin taksi tou, alla dhe thimame *(me) pjon
from the class his but not I.remember with who

'Giannis's mom will get angry if he talks with someone from his class, but I don't remember who.'

- (35) Thus, the difference between Sluiced and non-Sluiced examples with respect to island obedience cannot be traced to different sorts of underlying structures. Rather, the island violations must somehow be repaired by Sluicing.

IV. Multiple Sluicing

- (36) Not surprisingly, in languages with multiple wh-fronting (such as Bulgarian), multiple Sluicing (Sluicing with multiple survivors) is possible:

- (37) Njakoj vidja njakogo, no ne znam koj kogo [vidja]
 someone saw someone but not I-know who whom (saw) Bulgarian
 Richards (1997)

- (38) Neko je vidio nekog, ali ne znam ko koga [je vidio]
 someone is seen someone but not I-know who whom (is seen) Serbo-Croatian
 Stjepanovic (2003)

- (39) Surprisingly, at least some multiple Sluicing is allowed in at least some **non-** multiple wh-fronting languages:

- (40) I know that in each instance one of the girls got something from one of the boys.
 ?But which from which Bolinger (1978)

- (41) I know that in each instance one of the girls got something from one of the boys.
 ?But they didn't tell me which from which Nishigauchi (1998)

- (42) *They didn't tell me which from which got something

- (43) ?One of the students spoke to one of the professors, but I don't know which to which

- (44) *One of the students spoke to one of the professors, but I don't know which to which spoke

- (45) Is this, as suggested by Richards (1997) and by Merchant (2001), another instance of 'repair by ellipsis', this time where a normally impossible movement is rendered permissible by deletion of a portion of the structure containing the origin site of the illicitly moving item?

- (46) Which one of the professors did the students say that Mary spoke to

- (47) One of the students said that Mary spoke to one of the professors

*But I don't know which to which

- (48) */✓ Ko sta misli da je Petar pojeo?
 who what thinks that is Petar eaten

'Who thinks that Petar ate what?'

Serbo-Croatian

- (49)a Neko misli da je Ivan nesto pojeo.
 someone thinks that is Ivan something eaten
 'Someone thinks that Ivan ate something.'
 b */? Pitam se ko sta.
 Ask self who what
 'I wonder who what.'
- (50) John was talking, but I don't know about what
 what about 'Swiping' Merchant (2002); Ross (1969)
- (51) John was talking, but I don't know to who
 who to
- (52) John was talking, but I don't know to who about what
- (53) who to about what
- (54)* who to what about
- (55)* to who what about cf. Richards (1997)
- (56) Some students spoke yesterday to some professors
- (57) Which students spoke yesterday to which professors
- (58) *Some students said that Mary will speak yesterday to some professors
- (59) *Which students said that Mary will speak yesterday to which professors
- (60) Conjecture: In English apparent multiple Sluicing, only the first *wh* undergoes normal *wh*-
 fronting; the second undergoes extraposition (rightwards movement).
- (61) Rightwards movement is constrained by the Right Roof Constraint Ross (1967).
- (62) ?Mary wanted to go until yesterday to the public lecture on transformational grammar
- (63) ?Some of the students wanted to go to some of the lectures, but I'm not sure which to
 which
- (64) *Mary wanted John to go until yesterday to the public lecture on transformational grammar
- (65) *Some of the students wanted John to go to some of the lectures, but I'm not sure which to
 which
- (66) There is clear evidence that deletion can repair island violations. There is also evidence
 that deletion can repair a derivation where a normally obligatory movement fails to take
 place. Lasnik (1995), Lasnik (1999), Lasnik (2000). It remains an open question whether
 moving a normally non-movable item can be so remedied.

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