

On the syntax of multiple sluicing
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Three properties of multiple sluicing emerge in a cross linguistic perspective: The remnants of multiple sluicing are clause-mates (1a–b); the correlates of the sluicing remnants can be inside of an island (1c); there is a surfeit of superiority-like effects compared to non-elliptical questions (2).

(1) German

- a. Jeder Student hat ein Buch gelesen, aber ich weiss nicht mehr wer
 every student has a book read, but I know no longer who
 welches.
 which
 Every student read a book, but I can remember which student which book.
- b. *Vor jedem Vorfall hat ein Student behauptet, dass Maria mit einem
 before each incident had a student claimed that Maria with a
 Professor geredet hatte, aber ich weiss nicht welcher Student mit welchem
 professor talked had but I know not which student with which
 Professor
 professor
- c. Ich kenne einen Lehrer, der jedem Kind ein Geschenk gegeben hat,
 I know a teacher who every.DAT child a.ACC present given has
 aber ich weiss nicht genau welchem Kind welches Geschenk.
 but I know not exactly which.DAT child which.ACC present.
 I know a teacher who gave a present to each child, but I can't remember
 which present to which child.

(2) Dutch (A. Neeleman, P. Ackema, p.c.)

Ik weet dat een paar meisjes je een paar boeken gegeven hebben, maar
 I know that a few girls you a few books given have, but
 ik vraag me af {welk meisje welk boek | welk meisje je welk boek
 I ask me prt which girl which book which girl you which book
 gegeven heeft | *welk boek welk meisje | welk boek je welk meisje
 given has which book which girl | which book you which girl
 gegeven heeft}
 given has

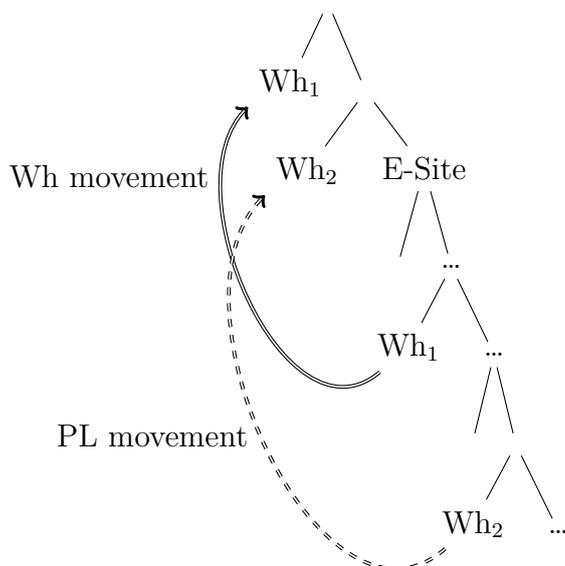
These properties do not fall out from the two simplest theories of ellipsis, namely those positing no syntactic structure at the ellipsis site and those positing syntactic structure at the ellipsis site which is identical to the antecedent, as the latter requires ellipsis to repair locality violations.

The generalizations find their place under an approach to ellipsis where the ellipsis site is structurally occupied by a semantically suitable antecedent which may be a paraphrase of the antecedent (Merchant 2001). (Such approaches are plagued by the too-many-paraphrases problem (see Abels to appear), an issue that will not be resolved here.) Under such an approach, an account of the clausemateness condition and the superiority-like effects becomes possible but requires the additional assumption that multiple questions may involve a covert, clause-bound movement step at LF which is, furthermore, sensitive to superiority configurations, dubbed P(air)L(ist) movement here. Such an ap-

proach is mandated independently by results reported in Pesetsky 2000 for the superiority sensitivity of PL movement, and Cheng and Demirdache 2010; Elliott 2015; Kotek 2015 for the clause-boundedness of PL movement.

It follows then that the only viable structure for multiple sluicing is the one given in (3), where both wh-traces originate in the same clause. All other configurations either violate the clause-mateness condition on PL movement or give rise to a superiority configuration.

(3)



Interestingly, this approach to multiple sluicing restricts the space of analysis for the interpretation of multiple questions, putting tight constraints, in particular, on the role of covert movement and alternative percolation in the system.

References

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