Section 6
More Sluicing Repairs

I. Multiple Sluicing

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

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

(562) 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)

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

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

(565) 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)

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

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

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

(569) 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?

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

(571) One of the students said that Mary spoke to one of the professors But I don't know which to which

(572) */✓ Ko sta misli da je Petar pojeo? who what thinks that is Petar eaten 'Who thinks that Petar ate what?' Serbo-Croatian

(573)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.'
John was talking, but I don't know about what
what about 'Swiping'
Merchant (2002); Ross (1969)

John was talking, but I don't know to who
who to

John was talking, but I don't know to who about what
who to about what

* who to what about
to who what about

Some students spoke yesterday to some professors
Which students spoke yesterday to which professors

* Some students said that Mary will speak yesterday to some professors
* Which students said that Mary will speak yesterday to which professors

Conjecture: In English apparent multiple Sluicing, only the first wh undergoes normal wh-fronting; the second undergoes extraposition (rightwards movement).

Who was talking yesterday to who
b Someone was talking (yesterday) to someone, but I don't know who to who

Who bought yesterday what
b Someone bought something, but I don't know who what

Rightwards movement is constrained by the Right Roof Constraint
Ross (1967).

Mary wanted to go until yesterday to the public lecture on transformational grammar
Some of the students wanted to go to some of the lectures, but I'm not sure which to which

* Mary wanted John to go until yesterday to the public lecture on transformational grammar
* Some of the students wanted John to go to some of the lectures, but I'm not sure which to which

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 (1995b), Lasnik (1999b), Lasnik (2001d). It remains an open question whether moving a normally non-movable item can be so remedied.

Big remaining question: Why can't Right Roof violations be repaired by ellipsis?
II. Swiping (Sluiced Wh-word Inversion with Preposition In Northern Germanic) Merchant (2002)

(594) Peter went to the movies, but I don’t know who with

(595) Ross analyzed these as deletion of a discontinuous portion of the structure.

(596) All existing alternatives (Kim (1997), Richards (1997), Merchant (2002), Craenenbroeck (2004), etc.) eschew this and have the PP move.

(597) Merchant is especially concerned to capture two major properties of Swiping.

(598) First, only very light wh's, X^0's, participate in the construction (the 'Minimality Condition'):

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acceptable</th>
<th>Unacceptable</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who</td>
<td>which</td>
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<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>which one</td>
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<td>when</td>
<td>which composer</td>
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<td>how rich</td>
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<td>how rich of a guy</td>
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<td>what town</td>
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<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
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(599) Second, Swiping only shows up under Sluicing (the 'Sluicing Condition'):

(600) *Peter went to the movies, but I don’t know who with he went to the movies

(601) Swiping involves head movement. The Minimality Condition falls out from Structure Preservation.

(602) The Sluicing Condition is more problematic. Merchant does show that to state it at all, head movement should be a PF operation (as also argued by Boeckx and Stjepanovic (2001) for other reasons). But as far as I can tell, the Condition itself doesn't actually follow.

(603) Proposed extension of Merchant's account, incorporating some aspects of that of Richards (1997):

(604) Given that head movement is a PF process, it cannot precede wh-movement.

(605) Movement leaves a copy (or copies). All but the highest copy usually must delete.

(606) This deletion is under strict identity: If one copy is altered and another is not, deletion fails. (Takahashi (1994)). Linearization thus fails.
... [with who] [he went to the movies [with who]]

... [who+with] [IP he went to the movies [with who]]

Deletion of [with who] fails, hence linearization does.

But if Sluicing takes place, [with who] is eliminated along with the entire IP, so the linearization problem is 'repaired by ellipsis'.

One remaining problem, discovered by Craenenbroeck (2004):

Mary is talking.
Who do you think to?

I'll have to leave that one for future research.