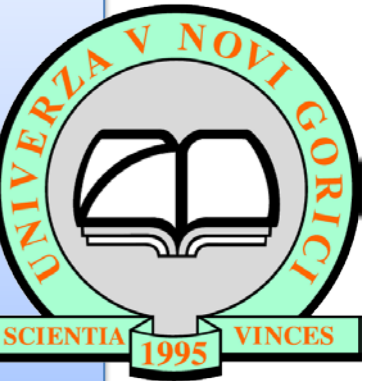


# A counter-example to Merchant's Sluicing-COMP generalization



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Merchant (2001) gives the generalization according to which, in sluicing, C is always null.

- 'operator' = 'syntactic *wh*-XP'
- "meant to include complementizers, verbs, clitics, agreement morphemes, and the like."

## Sluicing-COMP generalization (Merchant 2001, p. 62)

In sluicing, no non-operator material may appear in COMP.

- No T-to-C movement in sluicing:

- (1) A: *Max has invited someone.* B: *Really? Who (\*has)?* Engl.  
(2) A: *Max hat jemanden eingeladen.* B: *Echt? Wen (\*hat)?* Ger.  
(3) A: *Max heeft iemand uitgenodeigd.* B: *Ja? Wie (\*heeft)?* Dut.

- South Slavic 2nd position clitics are standardly put in C.

- (4) A: *Špela je kupila nekaj nekemu.* B: *Kaj (\*je) komu?* Slo.  
Š. aux bought something someone what aux who  
'Špela bought something to someone. What to who?'

In Slovenian some **discourse particles** can appear after the *wh*-word in sluicing constructions (from here on, examples in Slo.):

- (5) a. A: *Peter je videl nekoga.* B: *Koga pa <je videl>?*  
Peter aux saw someone. Who PTCL aux saw  
'Peter saw someone. Who?'
- b. A: *Peter je videl nekoga.* B: *Koga že <je videl>?*  
Peter aux saw someone. Who PTCL aux saw  
'Peter saw someone. Please tell me again, who?'
- c. A: *Peter je videl Janeza.* B: *Koga še <je videl>?*  
Peter aux saw Janez. Who PTCL aux saw  
'Peter saw someone. Who else?'
- d. A: *Peter je videl nekoga.* B: *Koga to <je videl>?*  
Peter aux saw someone. Who this aux saw  
'Peter saw someone. Who?'

These discourse particles *do not seem to be located inside the wh*-phrase:

- In simple questions they are located after the clitic cluster (clitics do not break syntactic constituents in Slovenian)

- (6) a. A: *Peter je videl Janeza.* B: *Koga družga \*(še)?*  
Peter aux saw Janez. Who else PTCL  
'Peter saw someone. Who else?'
- b. B: *Koga družga je še videl?*  
Who else aux PTCL see  
'Who else did he see?'
- c. *Koga je še videl Peter?* aux clitic > še  
Who aux PTCL see Peter  
'Who else did Peter see?'
- (7) a. *Koga je pa Peter videl?* aux clitic > pa  
who aux PTCL Peter see  
'Who it is that Peter saw?'
- b. *Koga je že Peter videl?* aux clitic > že  
'Please tell me again, who did Peter see?'
- c. *Koga je to Peter videl?* aux clitic > to  
'Who it is that Peter saw?'

- When *wh*-word stays in situ, these particles cannot follow it.

- (8) a. *Helena je pa včeraj koga tepla?*  
Helena aux PTCL yesterday who beat  
'Who did Helena yesterday beat?'
- b. *\*Helena je včeraj koga pa tepla?*
- (9) a. *Koga je še Peter včeraj komu predstavil?*  
who aux PTCL Peter yesterday who introduce  
'Who else did Peter yesterday introduce to who?'
- b. *\*Koga je Peter včeraj komu še predstavil?*

ŠE: a bit like English 'else' - expresses addition

PA: focus/topic marker

Contrastive Focus:

- (10) *Jaz bom gledal fuzbal, ti pa košarko.*  
I will watch soccer you PTCL basketball  
'While I will watch soccer, you'll be watching basketball.'

Topic:

- (11) *Janeza pa danes še nisem videl.*  
Janez PTCL today yet not see  
'as for Janez, I haven't seen him today yet.'

ŽE: a bit like English 'again' - marks a reprise question.

Oposite of focus, with *že* the answer is already given (mutually exclusive)

- (12) a. *Miha je na nekoga jezen, ampak ne vemo, na koga pa/\*že*  
Miha is on somebody mad but not know, on who PA-new/\*ZE  
'Miha is mad on somebody, but we don't know on who.'
- b. *Vem, da sem nekoga videl. Skušam se spomniti koga že/\*pa*  
know that is somebody see try refl remember who ZE/\*PA  
'I know I saw somebody. I'm trying to remember who.'

These discourse particles can be stacked - in a fixed word order.

- a. *Koga že še pogrešam? že > še*  
who ZE ŠE miss  
'Who else am I missing?'
- b. *# Koga še že pogrešam.*  
(Who else am I already missing?)
- c. *Kdo še pa podpira Jožeta?*  
Who ŠE PA-cont. support Jože  
'Who else does support Jože.'
- d. *Miha je na nekoga jezen, na koga pa pa ne vemo. pa-new > pa*  
Miha aux on somebody mad, on who PA -new PA not know  
'Miha is mad on somebody, but we don't know on who.'

Word order: **že/pa-new > še > pa-contr.**

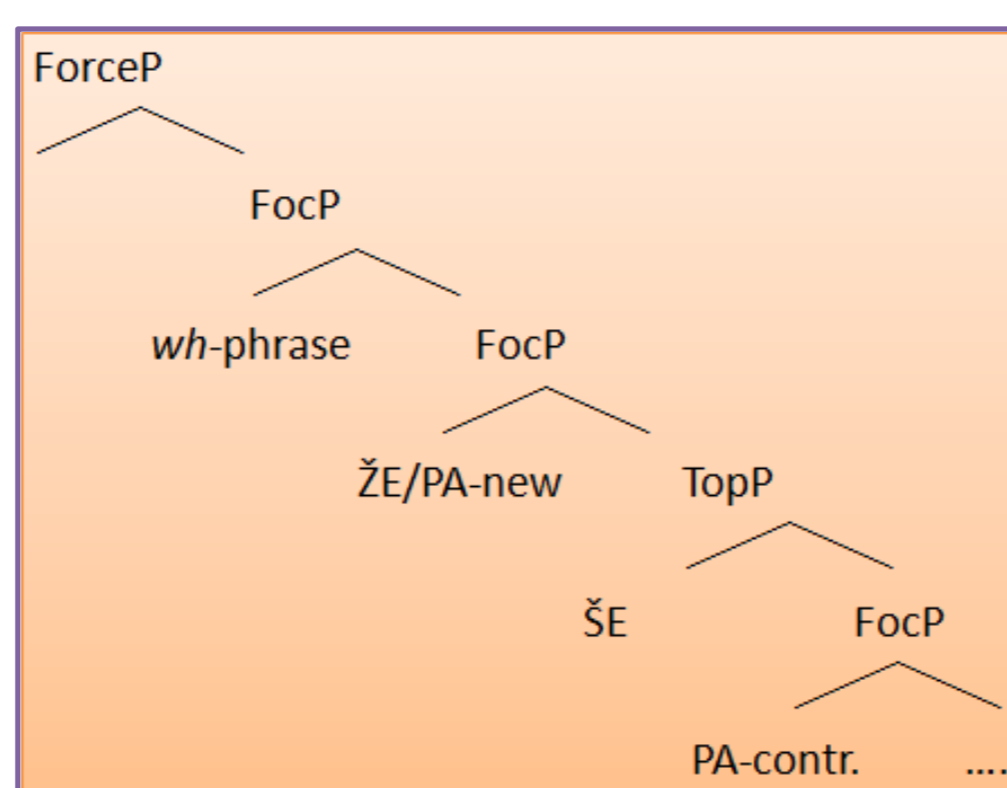
These particles are not ...

... operators, in our case *wh*-elements, since all *wh*-elements in Slovenian are composed with a morpheme *k-/č-* (in pronouns *kdo* 'who', *kaj* 'what', *česa* 'what-gen', in phrases *kateri x* 'which x'). But overt operators can be found in some languages (cf. Craenenbroeck and Lipták 2006 for Hungarian).

... in the *wh*-phrase. → **They should be in C.**

These particles come in a certain order → heads in the expanded left periphery?

Assuming the expanded left periphery of Rizzi (1997), we can put them in the structure like this:



Further questions:

- What gets deleted in sluicing? → IP
- How to link the generalization and the expanded left periphery?

**So how does sluicing work in Slovenian:**

Slovenian is a multiple *wh*-fronting language & has sluicing with multiple remnants. In multiple *wh*-questions particles typically follow the first and precede the 2nd *wh*-word.

- (14) *Kdo že koga sovraži?*  
who ZE who hates

Since only IP gets deleted in sluicing → both *wh*-phrases have to move higher, the first one to the higher FocP, the lower one to FinP.

**Prediction:** particles can also appear in *wh*-sluices of other multiple *wh*-fronting languages which also have sluicing with multiple remnants.

- (15) *Ko je to došao?*  
who aux this came  
'Who came?'
- (16) A: *Neko je došao.* B: *Ko to?*  
somebody aux came. who this  
'Somebody came.' 'Who?'
- (17) A: *Ivan je došao.* B: *Ko još?*  
Ivan aux came who else  
'Ivan came.' 'Who else?'

**Possibility/Conclusion**

Sluicing COMP-generalization holds only for single *wh*-fronting languages (e.g. English), where the single *wh*-word moves to FinP. Only the head of FinP should be silent.