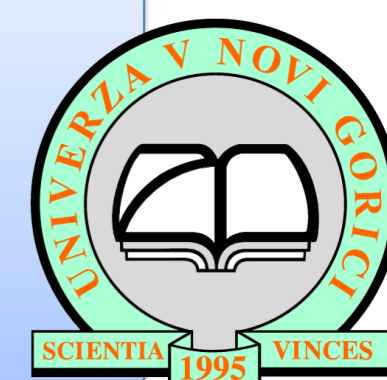# On some discourse particles that can survive sluicing

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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 tiemand uitgenodeigd.*   B: *Ja? Wie (*heeft)?*   Dut.

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

(4) A: *Špela je kupila nekaj nekomu.*   B: *Kaj (*je) komu?*   Slo.
    Š.   aux bought something someone   what aux who
    'Špela bought something to someone. What to 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 druzga *(še)?*
    Peter aux saw Janez.   Who else   PTCL
    'Peter saw someone. Who else?'
   b.   B: *Koga druzga 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?'

- 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?*

Discourse particles and other topics and foci in *wh*-questions in Slov. behave similarly, e.g. a *wh*-phrase needs to precede non-*wh*-material in *wh*-questions.

(13) a. *Nekdo nekoga sovraži. Kdo že koga?*   b. #*Že kdo koga?*
     somebody someone hates   who že who
     'Somebody hates someone? Please tell me again, who whom?'

(14) a. *Koga je PETER komu predstavil?*   b. #*PETER je koga komu predstavil?*
     who aux Peter who introduce
     'Who did Peter introduce to who?'

These discourse particles appear in the extended left periphery in the sense of Rizzi (1997).

Assuming (only) the IP gets deleted in sluicing, *wh*-phrases in a sluice have to move higher than IP, to the left periphery, and whatever is in the left periphery can survive sluicing.

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

(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?'

How can we accunt for this non-operator material in COMP?

ŠE: a bit like English 'else' – but really different (6a); 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.
Opposite 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/*ŽE
       '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 ŽE/*PA
       'I know I saw somebody. I'm trying to remember who.'
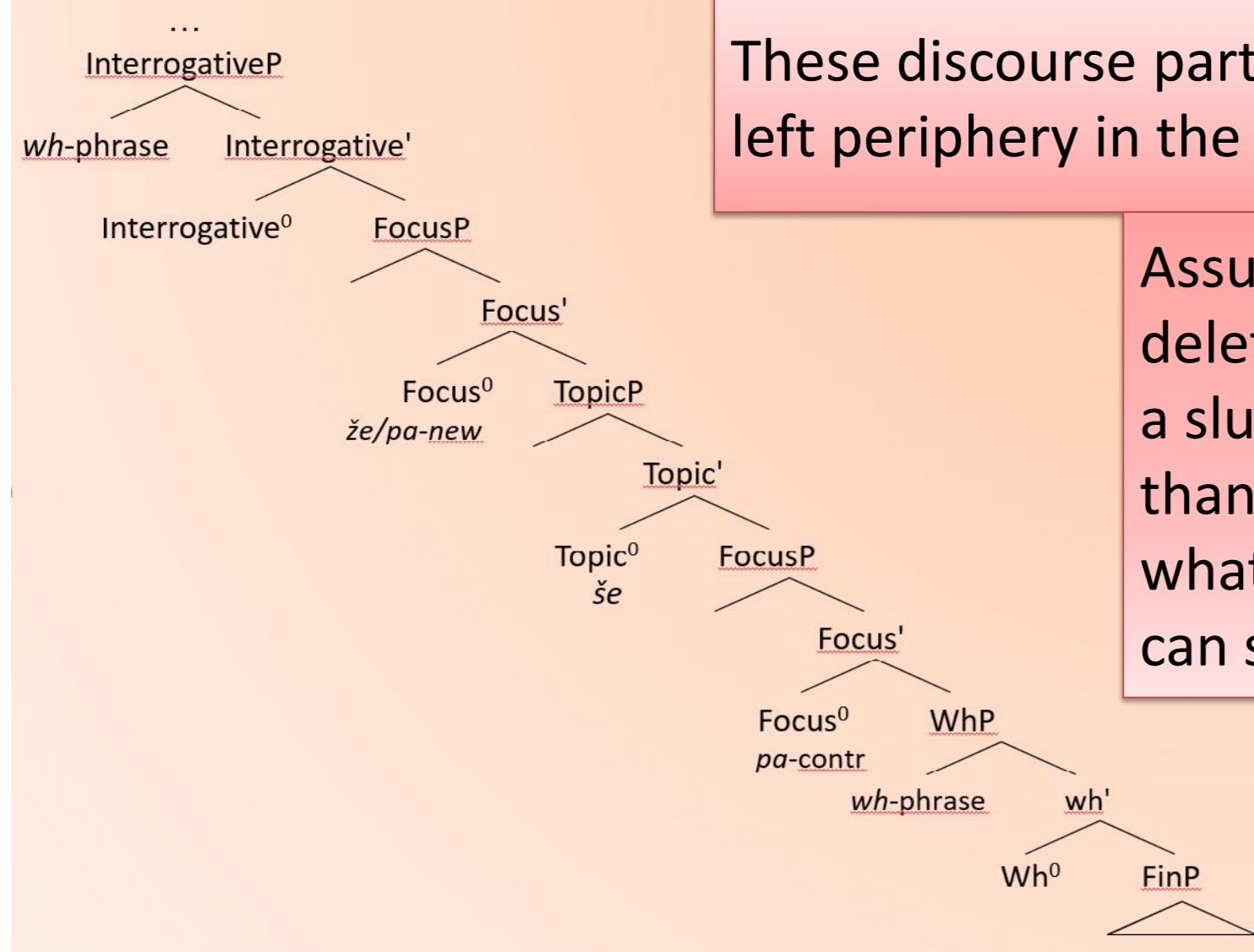
These discourse particles can be stacked

a. *Koga že še pogrešam?*   **že > še**
   who ŽE 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.
   še > pa-contr.

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.

These particles appear in a fixed order:
že/pa-new > še > pa-contr.

Restated generalization:
single *wh*-fronting: only the material in the InterrogativeP will survive sluicing

multiple *wh*-fronting: any material in the left periphery of a (multiple) *wh*-question can survive sluicing

Prediction 1: Other multiple wh-fronting languages (like Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian) should behave the same.

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

Prediction 2: Just as discourse particles can survive sluicing, so can the Topic or Focus Phrases from the specifiers of the same projections.

(18) Vem, kdo ne mara Jakata, ampak ne vem, kdo TONETA.
     know who not like Jaka.GEN but not know who Tone.GEN
     'I know who doesn't like Jaka, but I don't know who <doesn't like> TONE'

References: Van Craenenbroeck, J. and A.Lipták. 2006. The crosslinguistic syntax of sluicing: Evidence from Hungarian relatives. *Syntax* 9.3. 248-274. Golden, M. & M. Milojević Sheppard. 2000. Slovene pronominal clitics. In Beukema & den Dikken. *Clitic phenomena in European languages.* J. Benjamins. 191-208. Merchant, J. 2001, *The Syntax of Silence: Sluicing, Islands, and the Theory of Ellipsis.* Oxford: OUP. Mišmaš, P. 2015. 2015. On the optionality of multiple *wh*-fronting in a multiple *wh*-fronting language. PhD Thesis: UNG. Rizzi, L. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. *Elements of grammar.* Springer Netherlands. 281-337.