

COORDINATED QUESTIONS IN SLAVIC AND BEYOND

INTRODUCTION. In this talk we discuss coordinated multiple wh-questions, illustrated in (1) for Russian, which we refer to as **Q&Qs**, from a cross-linguistic perspective. Proposed analyses of Q&Qs fall into two broad classes: those that propose a bi-clausal structure for Q&Qs (2) (Banreti, 1992, Browne 1972, Gracanin-Yukse 2007, Whitman 2002), and those that propose a mono-clausal structure of Q&Qs (3) (Gribanova 2008, Kazenin 2001, Skrabalova 2006, Zhang 2007, Zoerner 1995, among others).

PROPOSAL. We argue that it is wrong to claim that Q&Qs are always bi-clausal, or to claim that they are always mono-clausal. We propose instead that there is no unique universal analysis available for Q&Qs. Rather, the derivations and structures of Q&Qs vary not only cross-linguistically, but may also vary within a single language. In addition, we propose that a Q&Q may in principle be a reflection of three, not only two, different structures, shown in (4). In (4a), the Q&Q consists of two single questions, which *share* everything but the wh-phrases (Gracanin-Yukse 2007). This structure accounts, for example, for the fact shown in (5) that a Q&Q in which one of the wh-phrases is the direct object cannot contain an obligatorily transitive verb. Such a verb would require the presence of an object in the second conjunct, which does not contain it. (4b) is the mono-clausal analysis (Gribanova 2008; Merchant 2008): the Q&Q is derived through multiple wh-movement (*mwm*) of both wh-phrases from a single clause to the left periphery of that clause, where they are conjoined. Since in (4b) wh-phrases are clause-mates, in languages in which Q&Qs are derived through this mono-clausal strategy, the contrast observed in (5) does not hold, as shown in (6). Further, this structure captures the fact that in many languages that allow *mwm*, Q&Qs are subject to the same ordering requirements as their non-conjoined counterparts (stacked wh-questions). This is shown in (7) and (8) for Bulgarian. Finally, there are languages, such as Romanian, where the contrast in (5)/(6) does not obtain, indicating that the two wh-phrases are part of the same clause (9), but the wh-phrases in a Q&Q are not subject to superiority, in contrast to wh-phrases in stacked multiple questions ([10] vs. [11]). We explain this by appealing to the structure in (4c), where the wh-phrases originate in the same vP, and subsequently move to the specifier positions of two different C's (Citko, 2008).

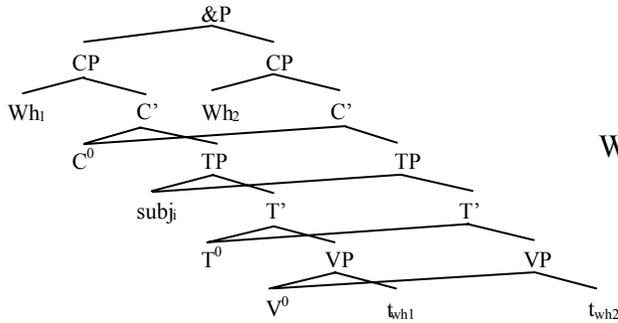
TYPOLOGY OF Q&QS. The availability of (a) particular option(s) in any single language depends on whether the language allows *mwm* and whether it allows *pro*-drop. Table 1 shows the possible combinations of the two parameters' settings, and the predicted typology of Q&Qs based on their values.

CONCLUSION. By positing a three-way distinction in the structure of Q&Qs, we are able not only to capture the variation that exists between truly bi-clausal and truly mono-clausal analyses of Q&Qs, but also to account for a puzzling lack of correlation between the apparent mono-clausal structure of Q&Qs, and the absence of superiority effects observed in some languages.

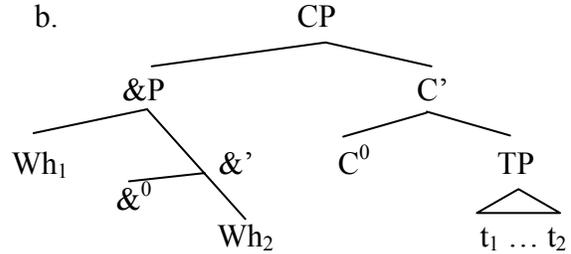
Russian

1. Kto i začem prixodil?
who and what.for came
'Who and what for came?'
2. [_{&P} [_{CP} WH_i [_{TP} ... t_i ...]] and [_{CP} WH_j [_{TP} ... t_j ...]]]
3. [[_{CP} [_{&P} WH_i and WH_j] [_{TP} ... t_i ... t_j ...]]]

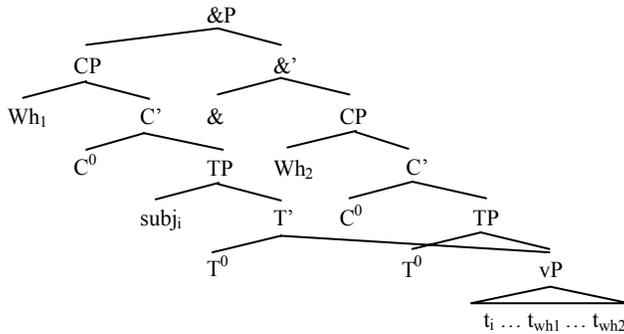
4. a.



b.



c.



5. a. What and where did you sing?
 b. *What and where did you buy?

Croatian

6. a. Što i gdje pjevaš?
 what and where sing.2sg
 'What and where do you sing?'
 b. Što i gdje popravljaš?
 what and where fix.2sg
 'What and where do you fix?'

Bulgarian

7. a. Koj koga ste si hodi v Bulgaria?
 who when will REFL. go in Bulgaria
 'Who is going to Bulgaria when?'
 b. *Koga koj ste si hodi v Bulgaira?

Bulgarian

8. a. Koj i koga ste si hodi v Bulgaria?
 who and when will REFL. go in Bulgaria
 'Who and when is going to Bulgaria?'
 b. *Koga i koj ste si hodi v Bulgaria?

Romanian

9. Cine si ce ti a spus?
 who and what to-you has told
 'Who told you something and what was it?'

Romanian

10. Ce si cine ti a spus?
 what and who to-you has told
 'Who told you something and what was it?'

Romanian

11. a. Ce cine a vazut?
 who what has seen
 'Who saw what?'
 b. *Cine ce a vazut?
 what who has seen

Table 1	Parameter		Language	Structure of Q&Qs
	Pro-drop	<i>mwm</i>		
Parameter value	+	-	Spanish	(4a) (4c) *(4b)
	+	+	Slavic languages	(4a), (4b), (4c)
	-	-	English	(4a) *(4b) *(4c)
	-	+	?	(4a), (4b) *(4c)