

When splitting the wh-cluster in Bulgarian is possible?

In this paper I discuss a dialectal variation in Bulgarian (BG), a multiple wh-fronting (MWF) language, concerning the separability of the wh-cluster. According to Rudin (1988), fronted wh-phrases form a syntactic constituent (1). Let's call this *dialect A*. Boškovic (1998) notes in passing some speaker variation. Lambova (2000) discusses in detail a dialect which allows intervening lexical material. I will refer to the latter as *dialect B*. The variation does not seem to be geographical. Interestingly, Lambova claims that the split is only possible after the first wh-phrase and never further down in the cluster (2).

Boškovic, who follows Rudin on the constituency issue, argues convincingly that MWF in BG is an epiphenomenon consisting of the familiar wh-movement for one wh-phrase and focus movement for the rest. For him, both movements land in SpecCP since C is also the focus licenser in that language. However, he cannot account for *dialect B*. Lambova proposes a modification of his account: focus movement targets a projection immediately below C, ΔP , where all fronted wh-phrases cluster initially, and only the highest one undergoes further movement to SpecCP (3). She, in turn, cannot capture *dialect A*. Topicalization in wh-questions adds support for the proposed modification. Lambova shows that the wh-cluster is impossible to split in the presence of a topic, even for *dialect B* speakers (4). She proposes that topics are adjoined to ΔP , and while the highest wh-phrase still moves to SpecCP to check the strong [+wh] feature of C, intonation considerations force the pronunciation of the cluster below the topic (5).

Now, speakers of both dialects don't disagree on wh-questions with topics. Assuming each of the above analyses is relevant only to a particular dialect necessitates the logical conclusion that topics for the speakers of *dialect A* are adjoined above the fronted wh-phrases, i.e. to CP. I will argue for another possibility: rather than positing different attachments for topics, dialectal variation is structural and it hinges on the mechanism of adjunction.

Lambova assumes that fronted wh-phrases right-adjoin to each other in Spec ΔP . Since only one wh-phrase suffices to satisfy the inadequacy of C, she proposes that the wh-phrase whose segment is highest excorporates in the sense of Roberts (1991) extending the notion from heads to adjoined structures in general. Lambova appeals to Watanabe's (1993) theory of Economy to ensure that for the configuration in (6) excorporation is obligatory since carrying less material is more economical. However, there is a glitch. The structure she assumes, following Rudin, is as in (7a). If what excorporates is the wh-phrase whose segment is highest, she is forced to excorporate a segment, not a category (cf. Chomsky, 1986).

Unlike substitution, adjunction never really expands the tree, i.e. it is an exception to the Extension Condition (Chomsky 1993). The structure in (7a) is consistent with the classical definition of adjunction. Metaphorically speaking, this kind of adjunction "grows" upwards—first wh_2 adjoins to wh_1 which creates the higher segment of wh_1 , and then wh_3 adjoins to that segment. The three segments of wh_1 belong to the same element. Excorporation should plausibly be targeting all segments, i.e. it should be impossible for this structure. Suppose adjunction can also "grow" downwards as in (7b)—first wh_2 will adjoin to wh_1 , which creates the lower segment of wh_1 , and then wh_3 will adjoin to wh_2 creating a lower segment of wh_2 . Now excorporating the wh-phrase whose segment is highest is possible, as the operation will target both segments of wh_1 . Notice that it will not be possible to excorporate either wh_2 or wh_3 . Segment excorporation is not at stake, rather they are not close enough for Attract.

I am essentially restating Richards' (1998) "tucking-in" proposal developed for multiple specifiers with respect to adjunction. He argues that in the case of multiple movements to the same position the feature-based notions of cyclicity along with a certain conception of Shortest Move predict that paths will cross rather than nest, i.e. the second moved element should "tuck-in" below the first. More importantly, he claims "tucking in" is just an option, possibly preferable. In other words, the Extension Condition version of cyclicity will allow substitution to still expand the tree via nesting paths. I claim adjunction operates in the same way, i.e. both structures in (7) are possible.

As a consequence, Lambova's analysis can be modified to capture the noted dialectal variation. All wh-phrases will undergo first focus movement to Spec ΔP with two options creating the adjunction structure as in (7a) for *dialect A* and as in (7b) for *dialect B*. Assuming excorporation is obligatory and affects only whole categories, it will apply in *dialect B* but not in *dialect A*. Now in order to satisfy the inadequacy of C, *dialect A* will move the whole cluster to SpecCP (which is essentially what Boškovic claims). *Dialect B* will employ excorporation as Lambova suggests. Still topics will always adjoin to DP and in both dialects the wh-cluster will be pronounced below the topic for intonation reasons. Nothing will be able to split the wh-cluster (formed by any of the two kinds of adjunction) in the presence of a topic.

There is supporting evidence for my proposal. Speakers of *dialect B* reject multiple sluicing (8). I assume that sluicing is wh-movement plus the deletion of the complement of C. In other words, *dialect B* patterns together with English (9) for which there is no doubt that only one wh-phrase is in SpecCP. That is evidence for excorporation. However, multiple sluicing is acceptable to speakers who resist breaking the wh-cluster (*dialect A*). I take this as evidence that the whole cluster moves to SpecCP in this dialect. As a result I conclude that with my modification Lambova's analysis of MWF in BG wins over Boškovic's as it has a broader empirical coverage.

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Data

(1) **Koj** (*...) **kakvo** e kupil?
 who what Aux.PRES.3P.SG bought
 "Who bought what?" (dialect A)

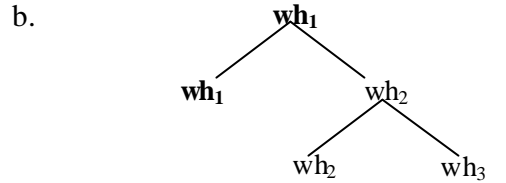
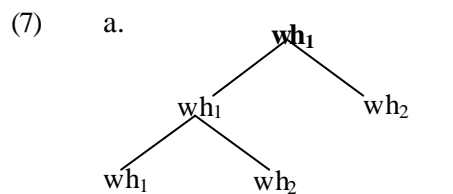
(2) a. **Koj** kazvaš, **kakvo koga** e kupil?
 who you-are-saying what when Aux.PRES.3P.SG bought
 b. ***Koj kakvo**, kazvaš, **koga** e kupil? (dialect B)

(3) [CP **koj** C ... [DP ~~koj~~ **kakvo** (*...) **koga** e kupil?] = (2a)

(4) ***Vcera** **koj**, kazvaš, **kakvo** e kupil?
 yesterday (top) who you-are-saying what Aux.PRES.3P.SG bought
 "As for yesterday, who you're saying bought what?"

(5) [CP **koj** C ... [DP vcera [DP **koj** (*...) **kakvo** e kupil]]] = (4)

(6) X [Y + Z_i] t_i ? X + Y_k [t_k + Z_i]
 +F +F



(8) (*)Njakoj e razljial nešto, no ne znam **koj kakvo**.
 someone Aux.PRES.3P.SG spilled something but not know-PRES.1P.SG who what

(9) a. Njakoj e razljial nešto, no ne znam **koj/kakvo**.
 b. Someone has spilled something but I-don't know **who/what**.