

Multiple WH-movement in Czech

Research on multiple constituent questions in Slavic has traditionally been focused mainly on South Slavic (Bulgarian and Serbian/Croatian, starting from Rudin 1988, cf. Richards 1997, Boškovic 1998, and Pesetsky 1998 for recent theoretical proposals), with extensions into Russian (Stepanov 1998) and Polish (Citko 1998). Czech has basically been taken to conform to the following characteristics: (A) one *wh*-phrase is fronted to CP-Spec, the others are adjoined lower, as evident from clitic placement to second position, splitting the *wh*-sequence (cf. (1)), (B) there are no superiority effects (cf. (2)). While this is certainly adequate for most cases, there is one – as yet neglected – type of multiple *wh*-construction in Czech in which (i) more than one *wh*-phrase is fronted to a peripheral position above the clitic cluster (cf. (3)), (ii) superiority-like effects hold strictly (cf. (3')), (iii) the cluster of *wh*-phrases is compact and cannot be split by intervening material (cf. (3'')), (iv) The construction shows a certain semantic peculiarity: It excludes a pair-list (distributive) reading and requires an answer which chooses a single pair of referents from a set given in the context. In many cases, but not necessarily, this results in a contrastive single-pair reading, fixing the direction of a reversible relation (cf. (4)).

At first sight, it seems that Czech has an option of forming *wh*-questions of the Bulgarian type, fronting all *wh*-phrases to CP-Spec and respecting a strict ordering among them. However, this does not fit property (iv): Bulgarian *wh*-questions require pair-list answers (cf. Boškovic 1998, 1999), but Czech questions of this type do not even allow them. Furthermore, introducing multiple CP-Specifiers for Czech would cause a number of unwanted side effects: One would e. g. wrongly expect the possibility of *wh*-island violations, and superiority effects in general (see Richards 1997 for more differences between (what he calls) CP- and IP-absorption languages). Another (new) piece of evidence comes from long double *wh*-extractions (s. (5)). Although they are clearly less than perfect, the best variant seems to be the one with a fixed internal ordering, no clitics intervening, and a single-pair reading. (Czech differs from Serbian/Croatian in the latter two respects.) For all these reasons, I argue that apparent multiple *wh*-movement to CP-Spec in Czech should be treated differently.

I propose to derive the construction in (3)-(4) via the assumption that the *wh*-phrases cluster together in syntax and then undergo movement to CP-Spec as one element. *Wh*-Cluster formation may proceed along the lines of Grewendorf (2001); with respect to this process, Czech seems to behave optionally like Bulgarian, showing superiority effects. As far as the possible readings are concerned, we rely on the model developed by Hagstrom (1998) and applied to Slavic languages by Boškovic (1999), mainly for reasons of comparability. Hagstrom (1998) assumes that *wh*-phrases denote sets of entities, from which a choice function selects values. Question formation involves quantification over these choice functions; the choice function variable (Q) is syntactically moved to CP. In his analysis of German, Hagstrom (1998) assumes that the Q-element may be stranded in this language, leading ultimately to a single-pair reading despite the fact that one *wh*-phrase raises. We only need one extra stipulation in order to derive the contrasts mentioned above: Let Q in Czech be stranded whenever the *wh*-phrases cluster together. Note that later movement of Q does not change the semantics.

In the final part of the paper, I discuss how Czech multiple *wh*-constructions, including the one presented here, fit into the general taxonomy of Slavic *wh*-movement.

- (1) *Kdo (ho) kde (*ho) videl je nejasné.* (Toman 1981, 298)
 who him-CL where him-CL saw is unclear
 'Who saw him where is unclear.'
- (2) *Kdo kdy koho / koho kdy kdo / kdy kdo koho pozval, nevím.* (Rudin 1988)
 who when whom whom when who when who whom invited not-know_{1.sg}
 'Who saw whom when, I don't know.'

Authentic examples (3)-(4):

(from the Czech National Corpus)

- (3) *Jiste už tušíte, kdo koho si vezme na poslední, čtvrté svatbe.*
 sure already guess_{2.pl} who whom REFL-DAT take at last fourth wedding
 [Hugh Grant (Charles) a Andie MacDowellová (Carrie).]
 'You probably already guess who is going to marry whom at the last, fourth
 wedding. Hugh Grant (Charles) and Andie Mac Dowell (Carrie).'
- (3') * *Jiste už tušíte, koho kdo si vezme na poslední, čtvrté svatbe.*
- (3'') * *Jiste už tušíte, kdo ted' koho si vezme na poslední, čtvrté svatbe.*
 sure already guess_{2.pl} who now whom REFL-DAT take at last fourth wedding
- (4) *[Některé druhy zvířat [...] se k cloveku pridaly dobrovolne a [...]]*
 some species animals-GEN.PL REFL to man joined voluntarily and
není jasné, kdo koho si vlastne ochocil, [...]
 is-not clear who whom REFL-DAT actually tamed
 'Some animal species joined people voluntarily and it is not clear, who actually
 tamed whom.'
- (5) *Kdo komu bys myslel, že se nakonec omluvil?*
 who to-whom AUX-SUBJ thought that REFL-AKK in-the-end apologized
 'Who would you think in the end apologized to whom?' (Lenertová, *in press*)

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