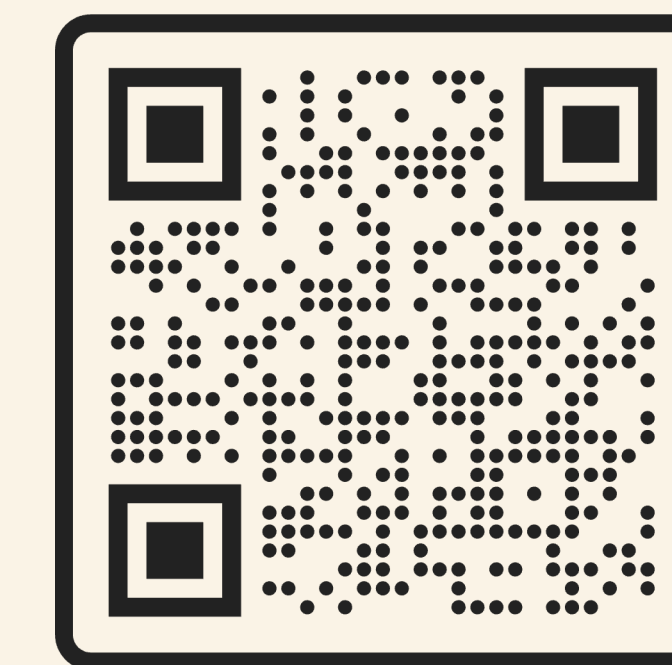


# Repair by sluicing: A feature-based account



bit.ly/sluicing-CLS59

## BCS GENITIVE OF QUANTIFICATION

### Non-GQ under sluicing

#### (1)a. STRUCTURAL CASE

Vidio je **nekoga**, ali ne znam  
saw AUX.3SG someone.ACC but not I.know

**koga** / \*tko [je vidio].  
who.ACC / who.NOM

'He saw someone, but I don't know who.'

#### b. INHERENT CASE

Približila se **nekome**, ali ne znam  
approached REFL someone.DAT but not I.know

**kome** / \*koga / \*tko [se približila].  
who.DAT / who.ACC / who.NOM

'She approached someone, but I don't know who.'

### GQ under sluicing<sup>1</sup>

#### (2)a. STRUCTURAL CASE

Koliko žiraf-a je vidio?  
how.many giraffes-GEN AUX.3SG saw  
'How many giraffes did he see?'

b. Vidio je **jedn-og lav-a**, ali ne  
saw AUX.3SG one-ACC lion-ACC but not  
znam **koliko žiraf-a**.  
I.know how.many giraffes-GEN

'He saw one lion, but I don't know how many giraffes.'

#### (3)a. INHERENT CASE

\*Koliko žiraf-a se približila?  
how.many giraffes-GEN REFL approached  
'How many giraffes did she approach?'

b. Približila se **jedn-om lav-u**, ali ne  
approached REFL one-DAT lion-DAT but not  
znam **koliko žiraf-a**.  
I.know how.many giraffes-GEN

'She approached one lion, but I don't know how many giraffes.'

### Problem: Case in GQ vs. non-GQ

Non-GQ examples: case connectivity suggests syntactic identity among antecedent and sluice

**but**

GQ examples lack a grammatical pre-sluice in inherent case contexts.<sup>2,3</sup>

## TESTING POSSIBLE PRE-SLUICES

(4) Približila se jednom lavu, ali ne znam koliko žirafa...

\*se približila. SYNTACTIC IDENTITY  
REFL approached

\*je približ-eno. (od nje). PASSIVE  
AUX.3SG approach-PASS by her

??je to bilo. CLEFT  
AUX.3SG that was

⇒ (3b) shows PF repair by ellipsis<sup>1,4,5,6</sup>

## INVERSE INHERENT CASE FILTER

"Inherent case must be morphologically realized, **if it can be**" (IICF—Stjepanović 2012:80)

Some support for the IICF:

#### (5) RUSSIAN

Oni pomogli studentk-e / kenguru.  
they helped student-DAT / kangaroo.Ø  
'They helped a student / a kangaroo.'

⇒ If inherent case cannot be morphologically realized, then IICF suggests it doesn't have to be?

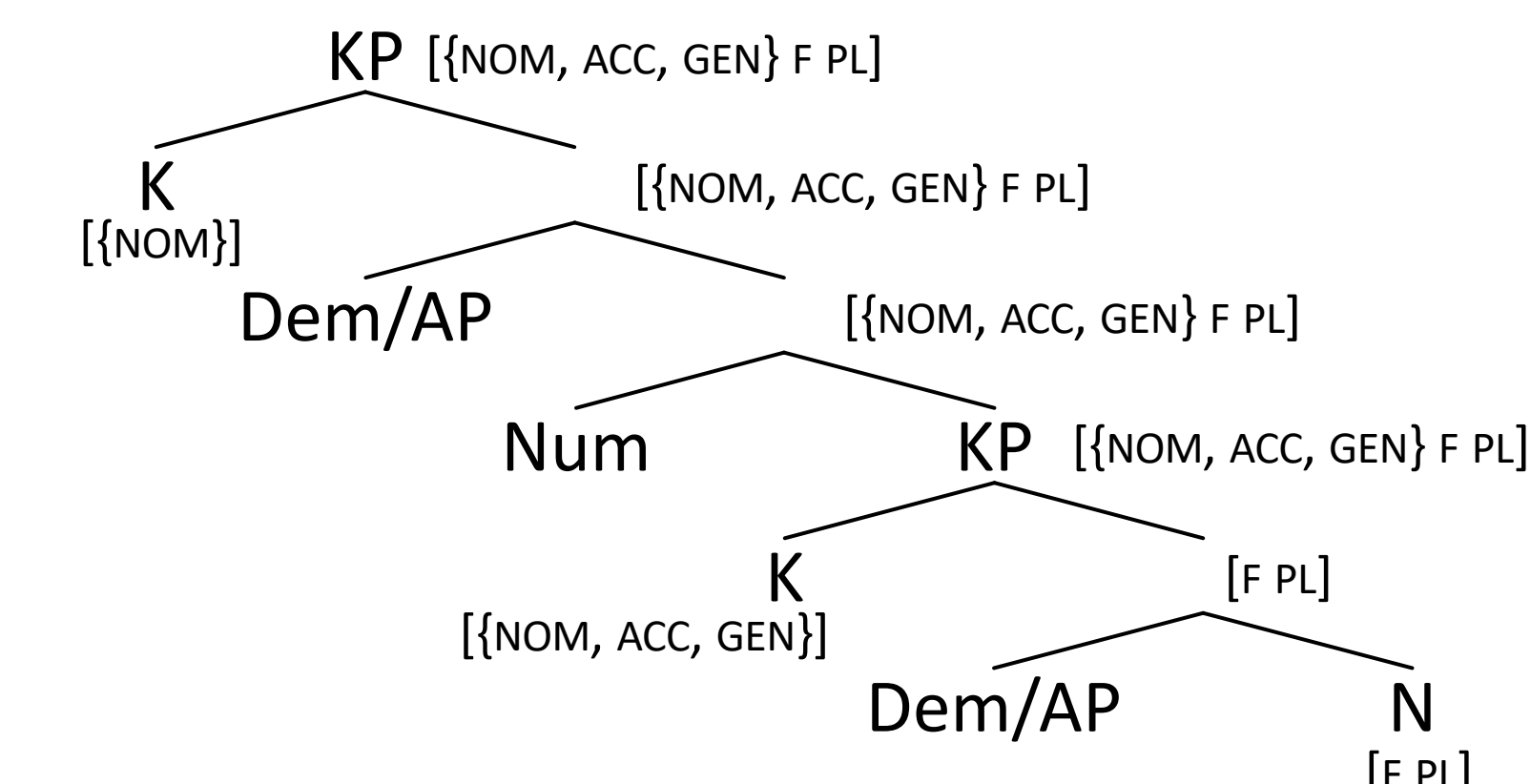
⇒ Why are (3a) and (4) ungrammatical?

## INSIGHT FROM CONCORD

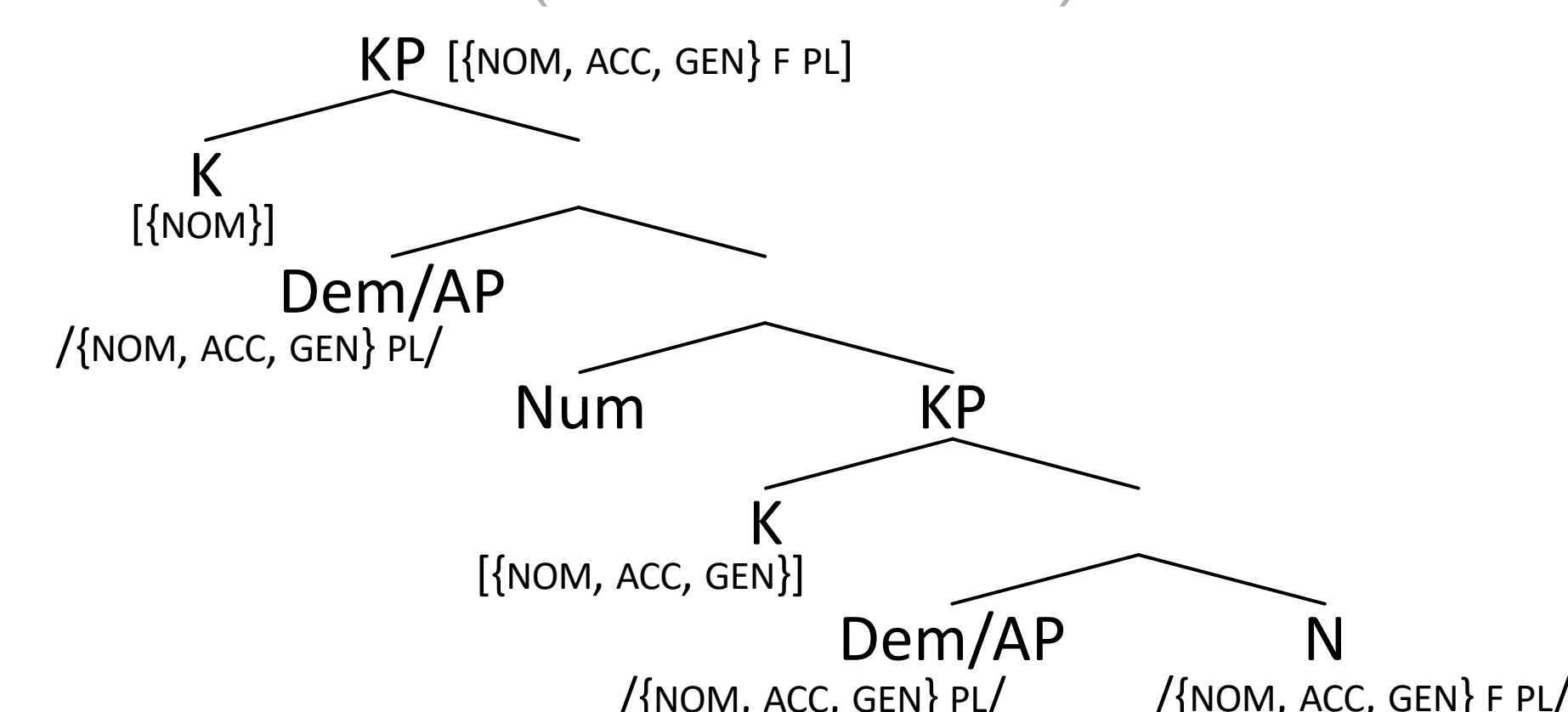
#### (6) BOSNIAN-CROATIAN-SERBIAN (BCS)

t-ih pet visok-ih žiraf-a  
that-GEN.PL five tall-GEN.PL giraffe-GEN.F.PL  
'those five tall giraffes'<sup>7</sup>

#### (7)a. SYNTAX



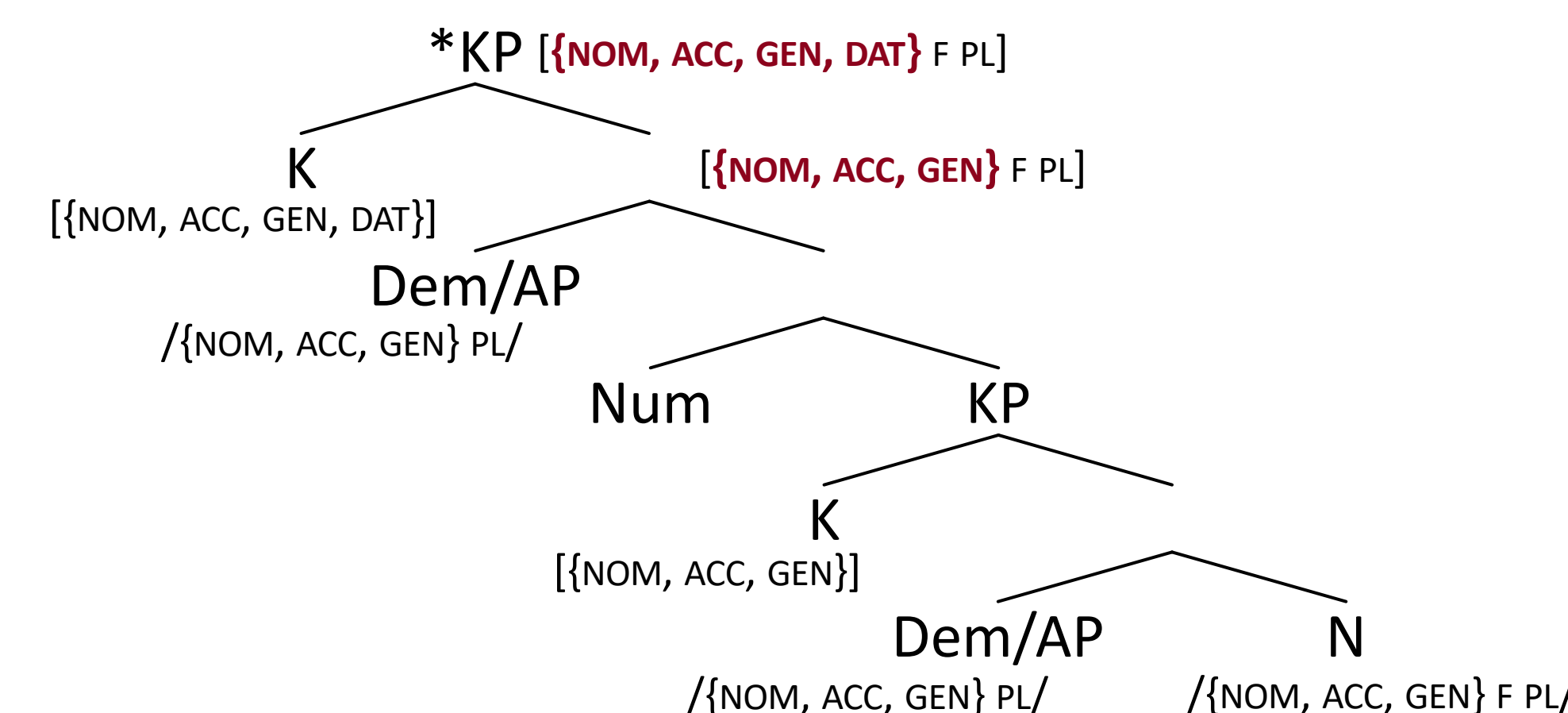
#### b. CONCORD (POST-SYNTAX)<sup>8,9</sup>



## INSIGHT FROM CONCORD (cont.)

(8) \*Približila se t-ih pet visok-ih  
approached REFL that-GEN.PL five tall-GEN.PL  
žiraf-a.  
giraffe-GEN.F.PL  
'She approached those five tall giraffes.'

#### (9) CASE CLASH



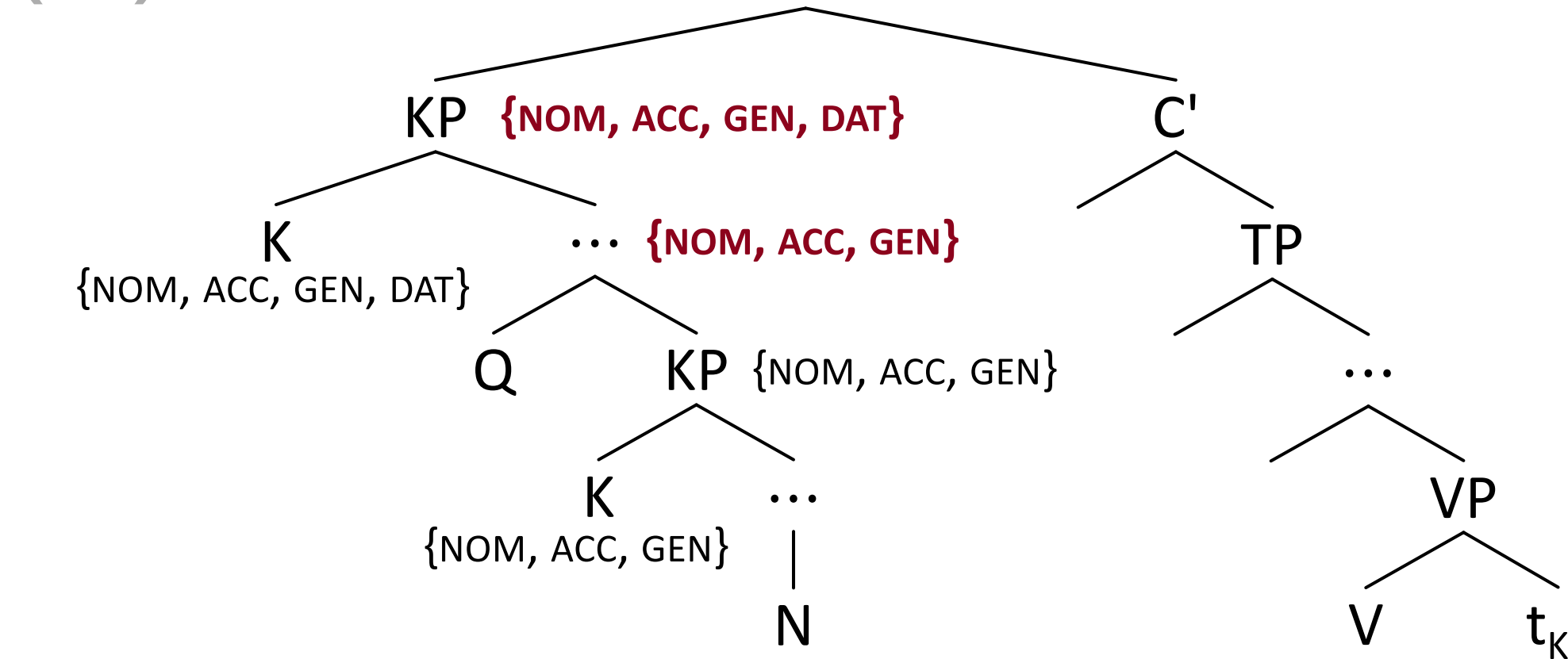
## REPAIR BY SLUICING

### Working hypotheses

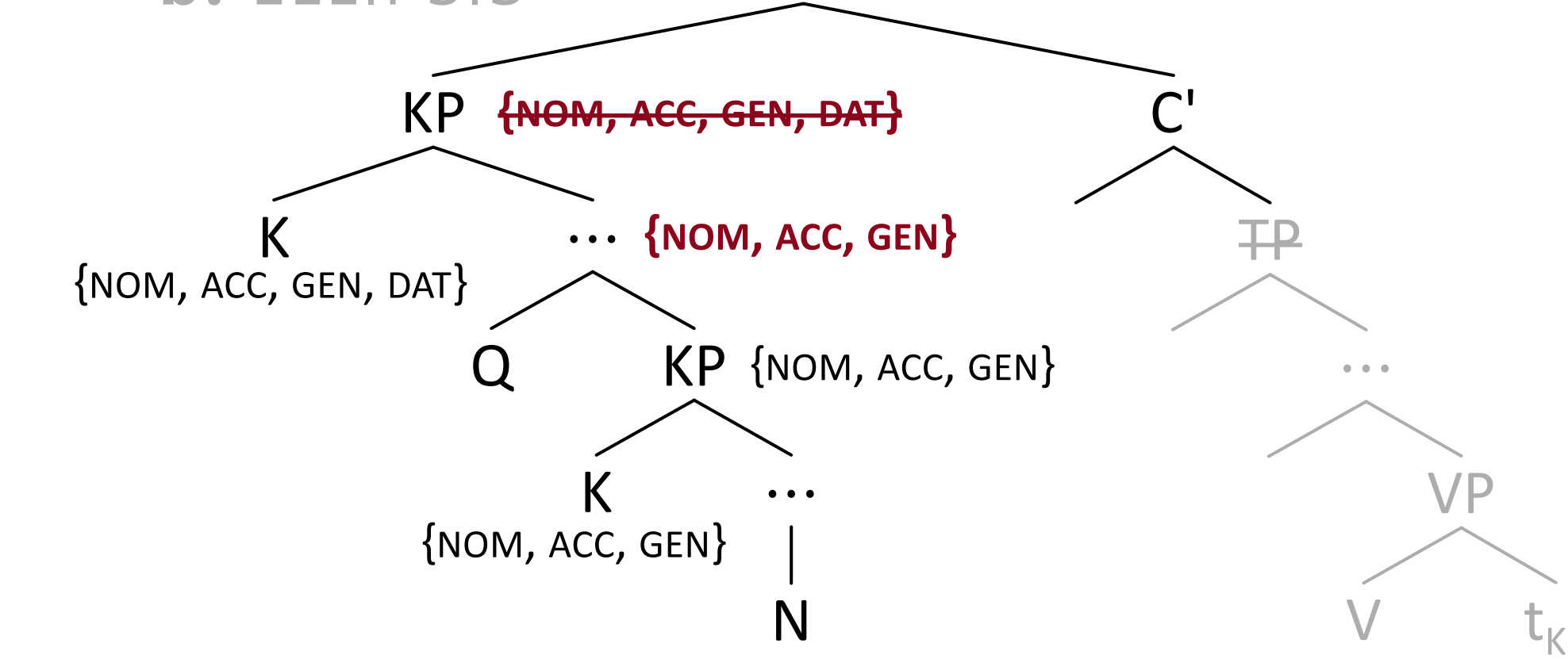
- Case licensed on a lower copy of movement is also present on higher copies.
- If a case licenser is elided, the case features inherited by any elements preserved by movement may be deleted as well.
- All noun phrases must realize case.

### GQ examples

#### (10)a. SYNTAX



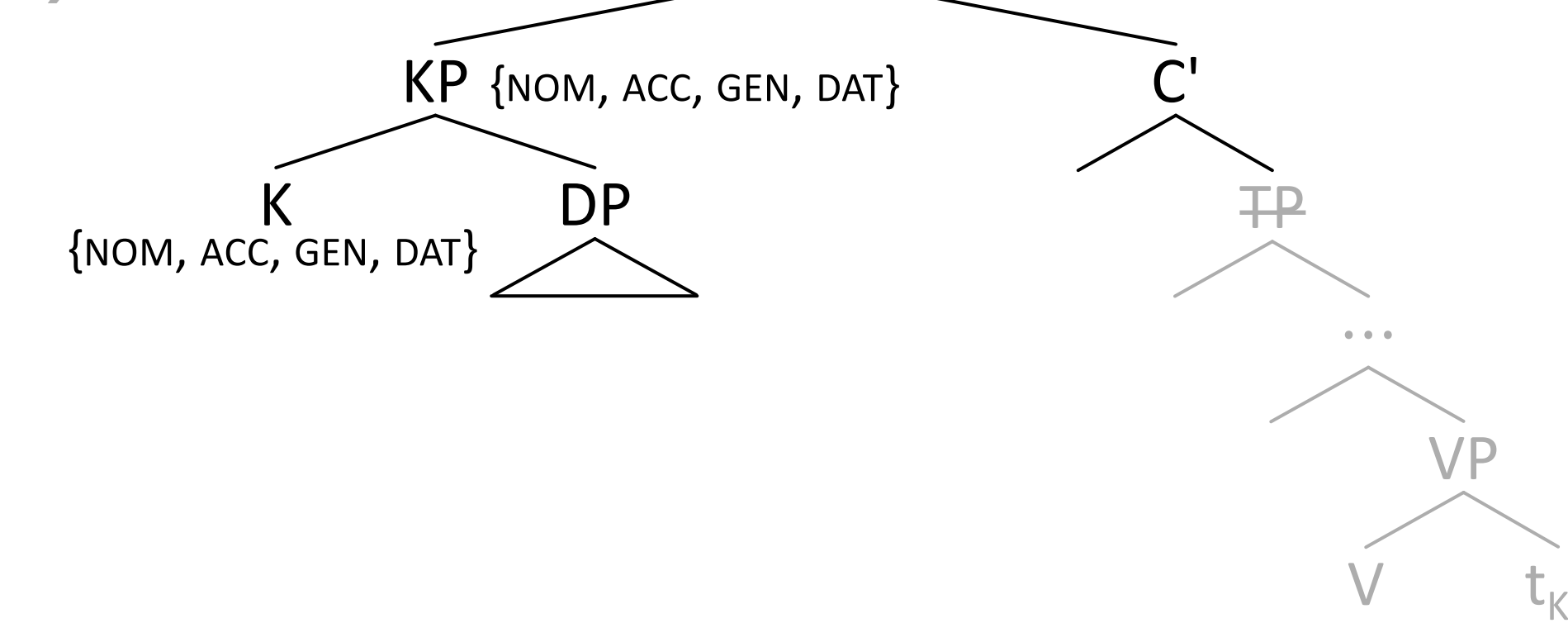
#### b. ELLIPSIS



## REPAIR BY SLUICING (cont.)

### Non-GQ examples

#### (11) ELLIPSIS



## SUPPORT FROM VP-ELLIPSIS

(12) Žena se približila jedn-om lav-u,  
woman REFL approached one-DAT lion-DAT  
ali ne znam koliko se lav-ova  
but not I.know how.many REFL lions-GEN  
djevojka (\*približila).  
girl approached

'The woman approached one lion, but I don't know how many lions the girl did.'

(13) Otac se ponosio jedn-im sin-om,  
father REFL took.pride one-INSTR son-INSTR  
ali ne znam koliko se sin-ova  
but not I.know how.many REFL sons-GEN  
djeda (\*ponosio).  
grandfather took.pride

'The father took pride in one son, but I don't know how many sons the grandfather did.'

## SUMMARY & NEXT STEPS

- Under concord as spellout, the derivation crashes if there are no available terminals to realize the dominating case
  - Case priority is determined by syntactic set relations
- Consistent with a PF analysis of ellipsis
  - No fully acceptable reconstruction → repair by ellipsis
- Consistent with the existence of syntactic structure at the ellipsis site but inconclusive as to the nature of the identity condition on ellipsis
- Next steps: extend the analysis to other examples of case mismatch under ellipsis (e.g., Korean)<sup>10</sup>