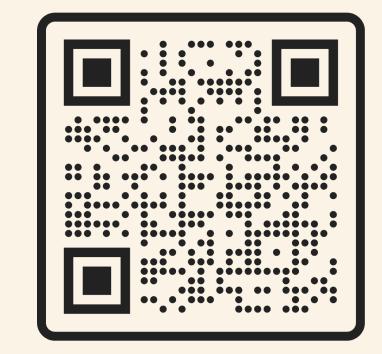


# Repair by sluicing:

## A feature-based account



bit.ly/sluicing-CLS59

#### BCS GENITIVE OF QUANTIFICATION

#### Non-GQ under sluicing

#### (1)a. STRUCTURAL CASE

Vidio je nekoga, AUX.3SG someone.ACC but not l.know

<del>[je vidio].</del> koga who.NOM who.**ACC** /

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

#### **b.** INHERENT CASE

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

<del>[se približila].</del> /\*koga kome who.acc / who.nom who.**DAT** 

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

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

#### (2)a. STRUCTURAL CASE

Koliko vidio? žiraf-a je 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?

Približila se **jedn-om lav-u**, 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... SYNTACTIC IDENTITY \* se približila. REFL approached PASSIVE približ-eno. (od nje). AUX.3SG approach-PASS by her to bilo. CLEFT AUX.3SG that was

 $\Rightarrow$  (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.'

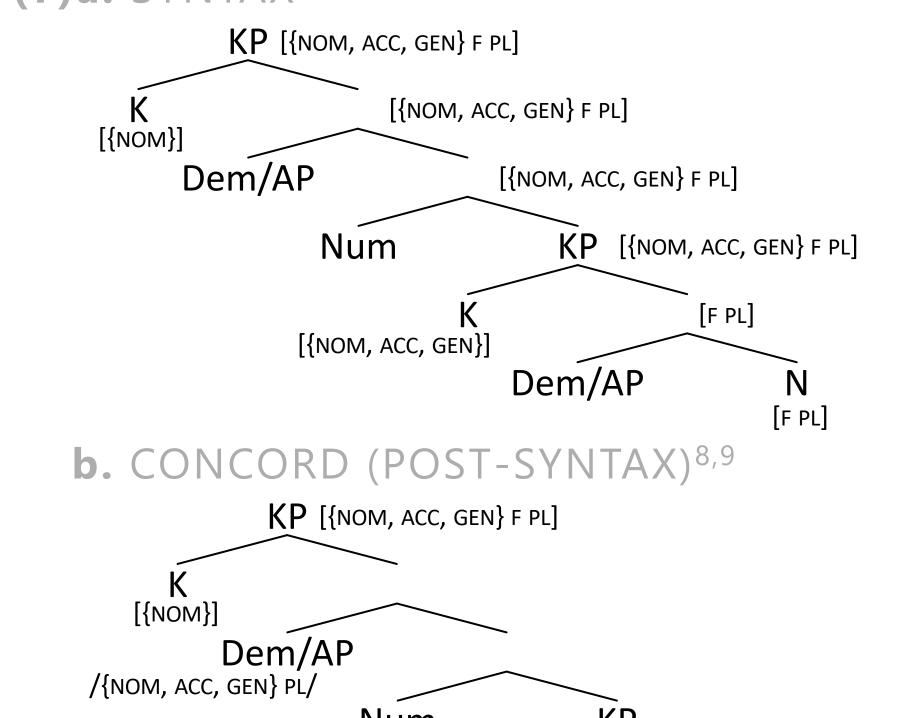
- ⇒ If inherent case cannot be morphologically realized, then IICF suggests it doesn't have to be?
- ⇒ Why are (3a) and (4) ungrammatical?

#### INSIGHT FROM CONCORD

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

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



[{NOM, ACC, GEN}]

/{NOM, ACC, GEN} PL

## **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.'

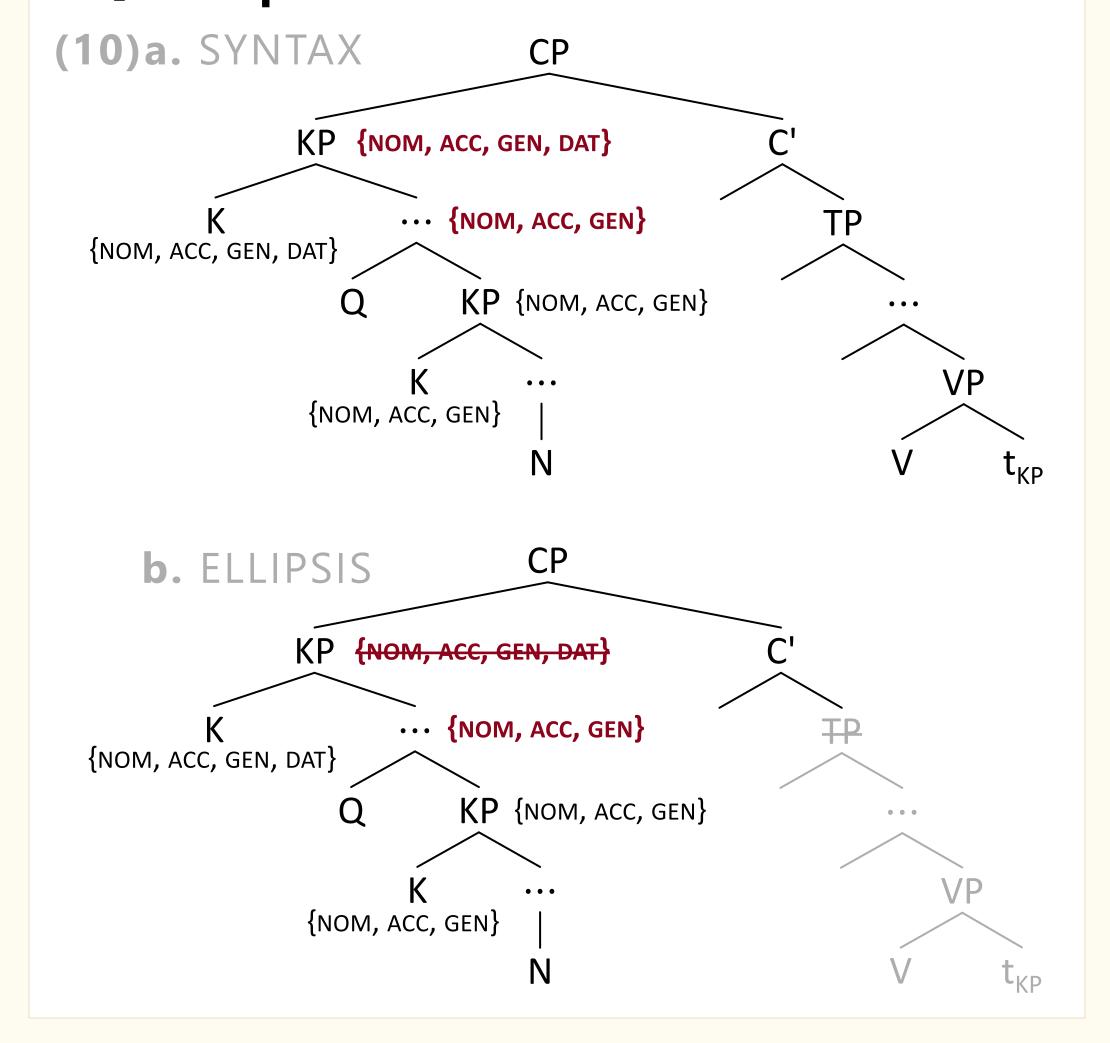
#### (9) CASE CLASH \*KP [{NOM, ACC, GEN, DAT} F PL] [{NOM, ACC, GEN} F PL] [{NOM, ACC, GEN, DAT}] Dem/AP /{NOM, ACC, GEN} PL/ Num [{NOM, ACC, GEN}] Dem/AP /{NOM, ACC, GEN} F PL/ /{NOM, ACC, GEN} PL/

#### REPAIR BY SLUICING

### Working hypotheses

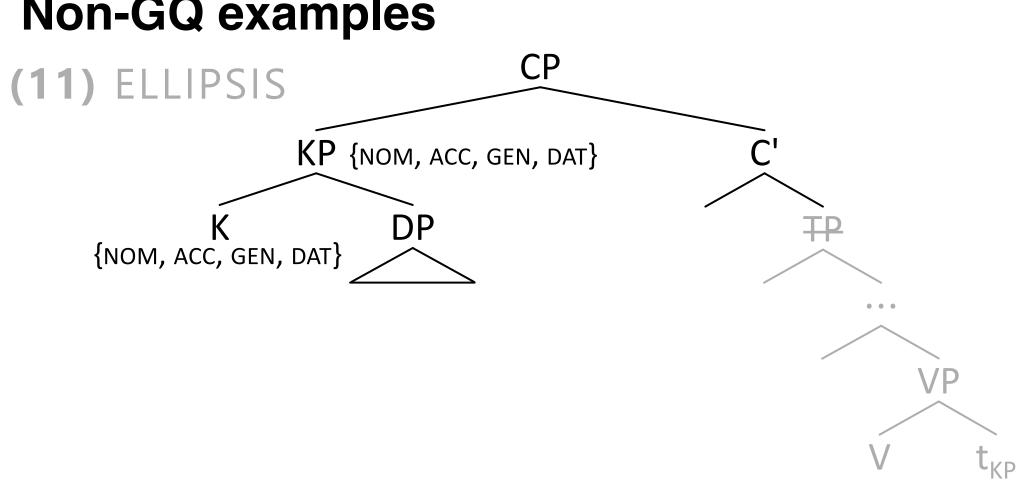
- a. Case licensed on a lower copy of movement is also present on higher copies.
- b. If a case licenser is elided, the case features inherited by any elements preserved by movement may be deleted as well.
- c. All noun phrases must realize case.

## **GQ** examples



## REPAIR BY SLUICING (cont.)

#### Non-GQ examples



#### SUPPORT FROM VP-ELLIPSIS

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

Selected references: [1] Stjepanović, S. 2012. Two cases of violation repair under sluicing. In J. Merchant & A. Simpson (eds.), Sluicing: Cross-linguistic perspectives, 68–82. OUP. [2] Grabovac, A. 2019. Genitive of quantification constructions in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian: A feature-based account. MA thesis, UCL. [3] Abels, K. 2017. On the interaction of P-stranding and sluicing in Bulgarian. In O. Mueller-Reichau & M. Guhl (eds.), Aspects of Slavic linguistics: Formal grammar, lexicon, and communication, 1–28. De Gruyter. [4] Lasnik, H. 2001. When can you save a structure by destroying it? In M. Kim & U. Strauss (eds.), Proceedings of NELS31, vol. 2, 301–20. GLSA. [5] Merchant, J. 2001. The syntax of silence: Sluicing, islands, and the theory of ellipsis. OUP. [6] Sailor, C. & C.T. Schütze. 2014. Is there repair by ellipsis? Ms., UCLA. [7] Grabovac, A. 2022. Maximizing the concord domain: Concord as spellout in Slavic. PhD diss., UCLA. [7] Grabovac, A. 2022. Maximizing the concord domain: Concord as spellout in Slavic. PhD diss., UCLA. [8] Norris, M. 2014. A Theory of Nominal Concord as spellout in Slavic. PhD diss., UCLA. [9] Ackema, P. & A. Neeleman. 2020. Unifying nominal and verbal inflection: Agreement and feature realization. In A. Alexiadou & H. Borer (eds.), Nominalization: 50 Years on from Chomsky's Remarks, 29–52. OUP. [10] Nykiel, J., J.-B. Kim, & R. Sim. 2023. Case-matching effects under clausal ellipsis and the cue-based theory of sentence processing. J. Linguistics 59: 327–60.

/{NOM, ACC, GEN} F PL/