

*Another Account on Russian multiple wh-questions*

Although Russian and Bulgarian are taken to represent two different sub-types of multiple wh-fronting languages, a closer look reveals that the differences between the two are very shallow.

It has been argued (Bošković 1998, 2002; Stepanov, 1997) that Russian is a language with no overt movement to [Spec, CP], even a wh-in-situ language. I take issue with this claim and based on the fact that data as in (1) have been largely neglected I study Russian multiple wh-questions in detail, following the analysis introduced by Krapova and Cinque (2004) for Bulgarian.

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|--|--|---|
| 1. a. Kto kogo videl?<br><i>who whom saw</i> | b. Kto čto videl?<br><i>who what saw</i> | c. Kuda začem on hodil?<br><i>where why he went</i> |
| a'. ??Kogo kto videl?                        | b'. *Čto kto videl?                      | c'. *Začem kuda on hodil?                           |

Krapova and Cinque study the order of wh-adjuncts with respect to wh-objects and wh-subjects and reveal the following order:

Table 1.

D-linked wh-	Non-D-linked wh-phrases						
koj/koja/koe/koi (N) <i>(which)</i> (kogo) <i>(whom)</i> <i>(marked)</i> kakvo <sub>Sub/Obj</sub> <i>(marked)</i> kâde/koga	kogo <i>(whom)</i>	na kogo <i>(to whom)</i>	koga <i>(when)</i>	kâde <i>(where)</i>	kakvo <sub>Subj</sub> <i>(what)</i> kolko <sub>Subj N</sub> <i>(how many)</i>	kakvo <sub>Obj</sub> <i>(what)</i> (na) kolko <sub>ObjN</sub> <i>(to how many)</i>	kak <i>(how)</i>

Following their lead I study the order of Russian multiple wh-questions in two environments: embedded and matrix clauses. I conclude that Russian exhibits a superiority effect, while this is more evident in embedded clauses (Table 2) than in matrix ones (Table 3).

Table 2.

D-linked wh-		Non-D-linked wh-phrases							
[+h] subject	D- linked	[-h] subject	[+h] d.obj	[+h] ind.obj	[+h] ind.obj	[-h], uspec [h]d.obj	Adjunct	Uspec[h] ind.obj	Adj
kto <i>(who)</i>	kakoj kakaja <i>(which)</i>	čto <i>(what)</i>	kogo <i>(whom)</i>	komu <i>(whom)</i>	s kem <i>(with whom)</i>	skolko N <i>(how manyN)</i> čto <i>(what)</i>	gde <i>(where)</i> kuda <i>(where)</i>	p skolko N <i>(how manyN)</i>	kak <i>(how)</i>

Table 3.

D-linked wh-		Non-D-linked wh-		D-linked wh-		Non-D-linked wh-	
[+h] subject	D-linked subject	[-h] subject	Objects	D-linked obj	Adjunct	Adjunct (p)ind. obj	
kto <i>(who)</i>	kakoj/kakaja <i>(which)</i>	čto <i>(what)</i>	kogo <i>(whom)</i> komu <i>(whom)</i> skolkoN <i>(how manyN)</i> čto <i>(what)</i>	kakoj/kakaja <i>(which)</i>	gde <i>(where)</i> kogda <i>(where)</i>	kak <i>(who)</i> p skolkoN <i>(how manyN)</i>	

The data reveal (i) a hitherto unnoticed similarity with Bulgarian and (ii) a surprising matrix/embedded clause asymmetry.

- (i) - D-linked wh-phrases and ‘who’ are located higher than non-D-linked ones (different in Russian matrix questions).  
- [+human] wh-objects are higher than [-human] objects and adjuncts.  
- ‘how’ is the lowest wh-element.

The difference between two systems is the location of [-human], underspecified objects and adjuncts.

- (ii) The order in Russian embedded clauses seems to be stricter than in matrix ones.

More tentatively, I also propose to capture Superiority effects under a version of Rizzi's (1997) cartographic approach which distinguishes Focus/Topic within the C system. Russian data as in (2) show the possibility of positioning wh-elements higher than Topic which strongly suggests the presence of wh-movement in Russian (contra Bošković).

2. a. Kogda **Maša** komu zvonila?  
*when Masha whom called*  
b. \*Kogda **každyj rebenok** komu zvonil?  
*when every child whom called*

The paper concludes that Russian does exhibit superiority effects, making Russian look more like Bulgarian than commonly assumed.

#### References:

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