

Coordinated questions vs. matching questions in Romanian

Romanian is a multiple WH-movement language, where all WHs must surface in a clause initial position (see Rudin 1991, Comorowski 1997). Fronted interrogatives in Romanian can appear with or without coordination (1a, 2a). In this talk I will first show that the properties of matching questions (without coordination) are both syntactically and semantically different from those of coordinated questions. Fronted WHs in Romanian matching questions are subject to strict ordering constraints (1a-b) whereas the order of coordinated interrogatives is free (2a-b). Moreover, matching questions like (1) only allow pair list readings, whereas coordinated questions like (2) allow both pair list readings and single pair readings. Following Hornstein (1995), Dayal (1996), Comorowski (1997) and extending proposals in Chierchia (1993) I will adopt an analysis of matching questions in terms of skolem functions. This analysis will account for both ordering restrictions and the lack of pair-list readings in Romanian matching questions. I will then analyze coordinated questions in Romanian as involving ellipsis. The analysis in terms of ellipsis will derive both their syntactic properties (the lack of ordering restrictions) and their semantic properties (the availability of both pair list and single pair interpretations).

I Matching questions

Assuming an analysis of multiple questions in terms of skolem functions I analyze ordering restrictions of WHs in Romanian matching questions as being constrained by the principle (governing the bound variable interpretation of a pronoun) responsible for WCO. Along the lines of Dayal's (1997), I assume that in a multiple question one WH must leave a complex functional trace containing a variable interpreted like a bound variable (see also Comorowski 1997). Crucially on this account, if one WH did not introduce a functional trace, there should be no ordering restrictions on the distribution of WHs in Romanian. Since this is not the case, we must conclude that multiple questions in Romanian always involve complex functional traces. This, in turn, entails that multiple questions in Romanian will not allow Single Pair (SP) readings. This conclusion is correct. Furthermore, in order to have a uniform analysis for (Superiority effects in) English and (Antisuperiority effects in) Romanian I crucially assume that overt syntax of multiple questions in Romanian tells us what the covert syntax of multiple questions is in English. The output of covert movement in English yields the scopal hierarchy that overt movement yields in Romanian. In this respect, I assume that covert movement is counter-cyclic - it *tucks-in* the WH *in situ* under the overtly fronted WH. This analysis explains both ordering restrictions and lack of single pair readings in Romanian matching questions.

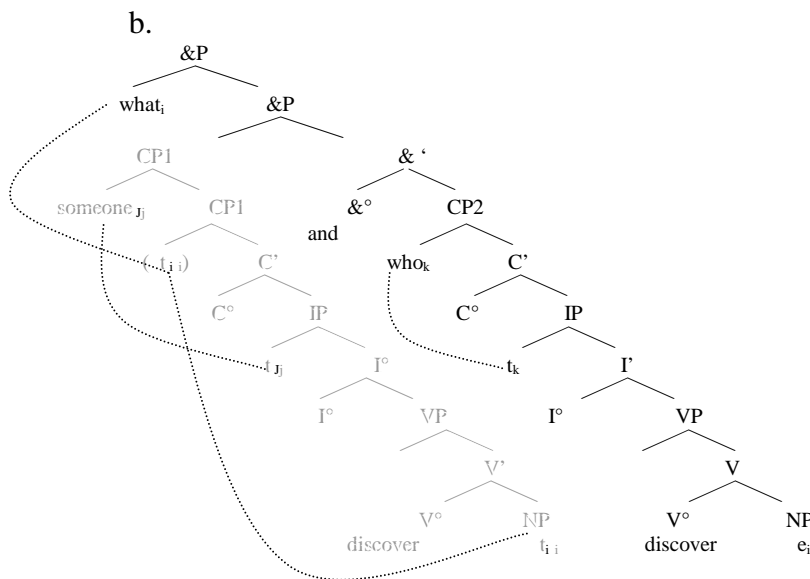
II Coordinated questions

The interpretation of a question coordinated like (2b) is a coordination of two questions, with the requirement that there be a semantic dependency between the object of the first conjunct and the object of the second conjunct (3). Based on this intuition, I propose that coordinated questions in Romanian like (2b) be derived from the conjunction of two CPs followed by the deletion of the first CP. On this account the source (before ellipsis) for the coordinated question in (2b) is (4).

Several questions arise at this stage. On the assumption that coordinated questions in Romanian are derived from the conjunction of two CPs, how do we account for the absence of the object argument of the verb "discover" in the second conjunct? I assume a variable standing for the object of the verb "discover" in the second conjunct. Furthermore, additional movement to a highest projection of the interrogative quantifier "what" ensures binding of the object variable in the second conjunct (5a-b). How do we ensure the dependence between the first conjunct and the second conjunct in the interpretation of the question in (2b)? Binding of the object variable by the quantifier "what" is what enables the dependency between the object of the first conjunct and the object of the second conjunct in the interpretation of the coordinated question in (2b). Why is the ellipsis of the first conjunct obligatory in Romanian? On this analysis, extraction out of a coordinate structure has taken place in (5). The obligatory ellipsis of the first conjunct follows then automatically as a repair strategy to void Coordinate Structure Constraints violation (Fox & Lasnik 2003).

On the assumption that coordinated questions involve coordination of two CP, the lack of ordering restrictions follows straightforwardly. Moreover the availability of both pair list and single pair interpretations in coordinated questions follow automatically from their semantics given in (5c).

1. a. Cine ce a cumpărat ? b.* Ce cine a cumpărat ?
 who what aux bought what who aux bought
 "Who bought what?"
2. a. Cine și ce a descoperit ? b. Ce și cine a cumpărat ?
 who and what aux discover what and who aux discover
 "Who discovered what?"
3. Interpretation of (2b): What did someone discover and who discovered that thing?
4. [$\&P$ [CP Ce_i [IP a descoperit t_i cineva]] [$\&^\circ$ și [CP cine $_j$ [IP a descoperit]]]]?
 What aux ddescoperit someone and who aux descoperit
5. a. [$\&P$ Ce_i [$\&P$ [CP (t_i) [IP a descoperit t_i cineva]] [$\&^\circ$ și [CP cine $_j$ [IP a descoperit e_i]]]]]?
 What aux ddescoperit someone and who aux descoperit



b. $\lambda p \exists x \exists y [\text{thing}(x) \wedge \text{human}(y) \wedge p = \wedge \text{discover}(y, x)]$

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