

## Russian echo questions

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Like other Slavic languages, Russian has multiple wh-fronting (MWF). Unlike Bulgarian (1), it doesn't show Superiority effects (2) and allows intervening material between fronted wh-phrases (3) (Rudin 1988, Stepanov 1998, Bošković 2002). It has been proposed that the absence of Superiority effects is due to the absence of wh-movement proper, i.e. wh-phrases in all Slavic languages but Bulgarian undergo focus movement (Stjepanović 1999, Bošković 2002).

Russian has MWF in echo questions (4). Significantly, Russian echo questions with multiple wh-phrases don't pattern with questions with true question semantics. They are sensitive to Superiority (5), which is unexpected in light of the hypothesis (Stjepanović 1999, Bošković 2002) suggesting a connection between the absence of Superiority effects and focus movement, as echo questions should not involve true wh-movement but they still exhibit Superiority effects. Unlike Bulgarian, which shows Superiority effects and disallows intervening material, Russian echo questions allow intervening material between fronted wh-phrases (8). This is unexpected under Rudin's (1988) analysis, where Superiority effects and impenetrability of fronted wh-phrases are correlated.

A more detailed examination of Russian echo questions reveals two types of echo questions that are similar to the ones described by Wachowicz (1974): questions asking for repetition to clarify missing information (6, Type A) and questions expressing surprise (7, Type B). Both are sensitive to Superiority. In Type A (6), fronted wh-phrases are pronounced together with a neutral (non-contrastive) intonation, whereas in Type B (7) fronted wh-words are not pronounced as a single unit – there is a pause between them. The first wh-phrase is pronounced with neutral intonation while the second one is uttered with contrastive intonation. Another difference between the two types of echo questions has to do with impenetrability of the sequence of fronted wh-phrases in Type A (9) and penetrability of fronted wh-words in Type B (8).

I show that fronted wh-phrases in the two types of echo questions have different interpretation. To demonstrate this, I use a test suggested by Pesetsky (1987), assuming that topic wh-phrases cannot combine with aggressively non-D-linked elements like 'what the hell' (see Reglero 2003). In Type A questions, wh-phrases cannot combine with 'what the hell' (10), whereas in Type B questions the first wh-phrase cannot combine with such elements, while the second wh-phrase can (11). Based on this, I argue that in Type A questions both wh-phrases have topic interpretation, whereas in Type B questions the first wh-phrase is a topic and the second one a focus. I argue that wh-phrases move to Dis(course)P in both types of echo questions, and propose to combine Rudin's (1988) adjunction analysis and Koizumi's (1994) multiple Spec analysis. I argue topic and focus wh-phrases form separate Specs of DisP (see Lambova 2004). If there are two wh-phrases in either the topic or the focus Spec, the second wh-phrase right adjoins to the first wh-phrase within the Spec in question. Following Rudin, an adjoined wh-cluster, which forms a constituent, cannot be separated by other material. However, intervening material is allowed in between different Specs of DisP. Since in Type A questions all wh-phrases are topics, hence located in a single Spec, intervening material is not allowed. Since in Type B questions the wh-phrases are in different Specs (one in the topic, and the other one in the focus Spec) intervening material is allowed. I will also show that Superiority effects in Russian echo questions can be accounted for by appealing to the Attract 1F/ Attract All-F mechanism of Bošković (1999).

## Data

- (1) a. Koj kogo vižda? (Bulgarian)  
Who-nom whom-acc sees  
b. \*Kogo koj vižda?  
Whom who sees  
c. \*Koj prŭv kogo vižda?  
Who first whom sees
- (2) a. Kto kogo videl? (Russian)  
Who whom saw  
b. Kogo kto videl?  
Whom who saw
- (3) Kto pervym kogo udaril?  
Who first whom hit
- (4) a. *Kto kogo videl?* (echo wh-phrases are given in italics)  
Who whom saw  
b. \**Kto videl kogo?*  
Who saw whom
- (5) a. *Kto čto videl?* S > > DO  
who what saw  
b. \**Čto kto videl?* \*DO > > S  
what who saw
- (6) [*Kto čto*] kupil? [ \_ \_ ] Type A  
Who what bought
- (7) [*Kto*] || [*čto*] kupil? [ \_ ] || [ / ] Type B  
Who what bought
- (8) a. [*Kto*] strastno [*kogo*] tseloval?  
Who passionately whom kissed  
b. [*Kto*] [*kogo*] strastno tseloval?  
Who whom passionately kissed
- (9) a. \**[Kto očevidno kogo]* ljubit?  
Who evidently whom loves  
b. [*Kto kogo*] očevidno ljubit?  
Who whom evidently loves
- (10) a. \**[Kto k čortu čto]* videl?  
Who to devil what saw  
b. \**[Kto čto]* k čortu videl?  
Who what to devil saw
- (11) a. \**[Čto]* k čortu ty [*komu*] kupil?  
What to hell you whom bought  
b. ?*[Čto]* ty [*komu*] k čortu kupil?