What sluicing can do, what it can't and where
On the cross-linguistic syntax of ellipsis

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THE TWO MAIN GOALS OF THIS PAPER
1. **Diagnosing sluicing**: how can we determine what the defining characteristics of sluicing are in typologically unrelated languages?
2. **Sluicing as a diagnostic**: what can a typologically refined theory of sluicing tell us about the syntax of wh-movement?

MAIN GIST OF THE ANALYSIS
The characteristics of sluicing in a language L are determined by the characteristics of overt wh-movement in L.

PART ONE: DIAGNOSING SLUICING

1 The puzzle: a new type of ellipsis in Hungarian relatives

(1)   Kornél   AZT   A   LÁNYT hívta   meg, akit   ZOLTÁN.
       Kornél   that-A the   girl-A invited   PV   who-A   Zoltán
       'The girl who Kornél invited was the one who Zoltán did.'

→ relative deletion (RD) deletes a relative clause but for the relative pronoun and one more constituent

(2)   Kornél   AZT   A   LÁNYT hívta   meg, akit   ZOLTÁN
       Kornél   that-A the   girl-A invited   PV   who-A   Zoltán
       ~~hívott   meg~~.
       invited   PV
       'The girl who Kornél invited was the one who Zoltán did.'

→ **note:** RD—or anything like it—is completely unattested in Germanic or Romance:

(3)   a. * John invited the girl who Bill.   (English)
       b. * Jan heeft het meisje uitgenodigd dat Piet.   (Dutch)
       c. * Jean a invité la fille que Pierre.   (French)
       d. * Ho comprato ad Anna il libro che   a Maria (Italian)
              I bought   for Anna the book   that   for Maria

questions: -   Is RD *sui generis* (i.e. a new type of deletion) or can it be reduced to one of the already known ellipsis processes?
                  -    How can we tell? What are good diagnostics for detecting the various types of ellipsis?

2 Ruling out VP-ellipsis

basic idea of this section:
RD deletes a larger chunk of the clausal structure than merely VP (or a VP-related projection; for VP-ellipsis in Hungarian, see Bartos 2000). Hence, RD ≠ VPE.

→ **VPE does not delete auxiliaries, but RD does:**

RD
(4) Kornél   meg szokta hívni azt   a   lányt,   akit Zoltán.
     Kornél   PV   HABIT invite that-A the   girl   who-A Zoltán
     'Kornél usually invites the same girl that Zoltán does.'

VPE
(5) Kornél   meg szokta   hívni   azt a   lányt, akit
     Kornél   PV   HABIT   invite   that-A the   girl   who-A
     Zoltán   szokott.
     Zoltán   HABIT
     'Kornél usually invites the same girl that Zoltán does.'

→ **The VPE-remnant is the subject >< the RD-remnant can be any category:**

RD
(6) AZ   A FIÚ   hívta   meg Esztert, aki KATIT.
     that the boy   invited PV Eszter-A who Kati-A
     'The boy who invited Eszter was the one who invited Kati.'

(7) Péternek AZT   A   FOTÓT   mutattam meg,
     Péter-D that-A   the   photo-A   showed PV
     amit   ANNÁNAK.
     what-A   Anna-D
     'The photo I showed to Péter was the one that I showed to Anna.'

(8) AZT   A   FIÚT   hívtam meg, aki   Marival   lakik,
     that-A the boy-A   invited PV who   Mari-WITH   lives,
     s   nem AZT,   aki   OLGÁVAL.
     and   not that-A   who   Olga-WITH
     'It was the boy who lives with Mari that I invited and not the one who lives with Olga.'

VPE
(9) * John talked to Mary about the girl who to John did [*e*].

→ **VPE allows for adverbial modification, but RD does not:**

RD
(10) Kornél   fel szokta   hívni azt   a lányt,
      Kornél   PV HABIT   invite that-A the girl-A
      akit   Zoltán is   <??naponta >.
      who-A   Zoltán also   daily
      'Kornél usually invites the girl whom Zoltán invites daily.'

VPE
(11) Kornél   fel szokta hívni azt   a lányt,   akit   Zoltán
      Kornél   PV HABIT invite that-A the girl-A who-A   Zoltán
      is   < naponta> fel   szokott   < naponta>.
      also   daily   PV   HABIT   daily
      'Kornél usually invites the girl whom Zoltán invites daily.'

→ **With non-contrasting tenses, RD is preferred over VPE (cf. MAXELIDE):**

(12) Kornél AZT A LÁNYT hívta   meg, akit   Zoltán fog.
      Kornél that-A the girl-A invited PV   who-A Zoltán FUT
      'The girl who Kornél invited was the one who Zoltán will.'

(13) Kornél AZT A LÁNYT fogja   meghívni,
      Kornél that-A the girl-A FUT   PV-invite-INF
      akit   Zoltán (?? fog).
      who-A   Zoltán   FUT
      'The girl who Kornél will invite is the one who Zoltán will.'

(14) a.   They studied a language, but I don't know which [*e*].
      b. ?? They studied a language, but I don't know which they did [*e*].

<div align="right">(Merchant to appear)</div>

→ **VPE allows for strict and sloppy readings, but RD only for strict:**

(15) János szokott   mesélni   az anyjának arról   a   lányról,
      János HABIT   tell-INF   the mother-D that-ABOUT   the   girl-ABOUT
      akiről   Béla is   szokott.
      who-ABOUT   Béla also   HABIT
      'János usually tells his mother about the girl, whom Béla also tells
       about to János' mother.'
      'János usually tells his mother about the girl, whom Béla also tells
       about to Béla's mother.'

(16) János szokott   mesélni   az anyjának arról   a   lányról,
      János HABIT   tell-INF   the mother-D that-ABOUT   the girl-ABOUT
      akiről   Béla is.
      who-ABOUT   Béla also
      'János usually tells his mother about the girl, whom Béla also tells
       about to János' mother.'
      #'János usually tells his mother about the girl, whom Béla also tells
       about to Béla's mother.'

conclusion: Hungarian RD is not a instance of VPE

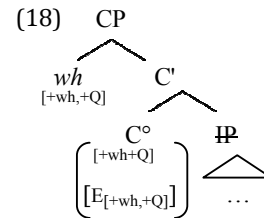## 3   An unexpected result: Hungarian RD = sluicing

→ section 2: RD involves clausal (i.e. TP-)deletion rather than VP-deletion →
  this means it is more like sluicing than like VPE

problem: Lobeck (1995:54-62) and Merchant (2001:54-61) claim that
                 sluicing only deletes the IP-complement of an interrogative wh-
                 complementizer, i.e. sluicing is restricted to wh-questions

question: to what extent is the restriction to wh-contexts a reliable
                 diagnostic of sluicing?

Merchant's (2001, 2004) implementation of the restriction: [E]
(17) a.   the syntax of [E]:   E$_{[u\text{wh}*, uQ*]}$
      b.   the phonology of [E]: $\varphi_{IP} \rightarrow \emptyset$ / E __
      c.   the semantics of [E]:   [[E]]= λp : e-GIVEN (p) [p]

(18)   CP
      / \
    wh   C'
  [+wh,+Q] / \
         C°   ~~IP~~
    ⎡[+wh+Q]⎤   △
    ⎣[E$_{[+wh,+Q]}$]⎦   …

→ the syntax of the [E]-feature (cf. (17)a) ensures that sluicing only targets
  the IP-complement of the null C° found in constituent questions

problem: *wh*-movement in Hungarian targets not specCP, but specFocP (= a
               focus position in the high middle field of the clause) (É. Kiss
               1987) >< [E] can only trigger ellipsis of the IP-complement of the
               C° found in constituent questions

prediction: English-style sluicing should be disallowed in Hungarian

yet:
(19) János meghívott   egy   lányt,   de   nem   tudom   kit.
      John invited   a   girl-A   but   not   I.know who-A
      'John invited a girl, but I don't know who.'

proposal: the behavior of *wh*-elements in simple constituent questions
                determines the syntactic properties of [E]

(20)　a.　the syntax of [E] in English:　　$E_{[uwh*,uQ*]}$
　　　b.　the syntax of [E] in Hungarian:　$E_{[uFoc*]}$

result:　English sluicing deletes the complement of (the highest) C°, while Hungarian sluicing deletes the complement of Foc°

(21)　**English**　　　　　**Hungarian**
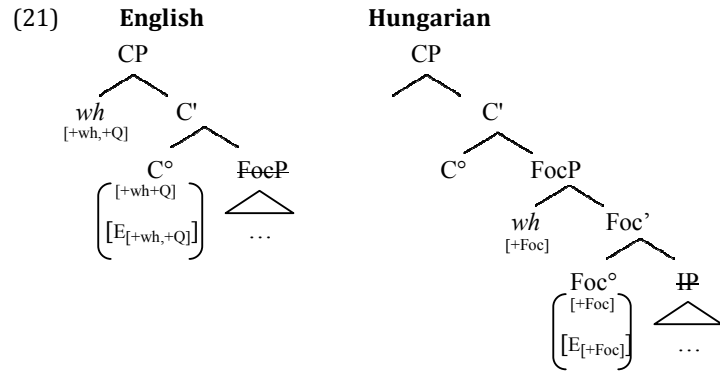
conclusion: by relativizing the content of the [E]-feature across languages, Hungarian relative deletion can successfully be analyzed as sluicing

(22)　…　CP
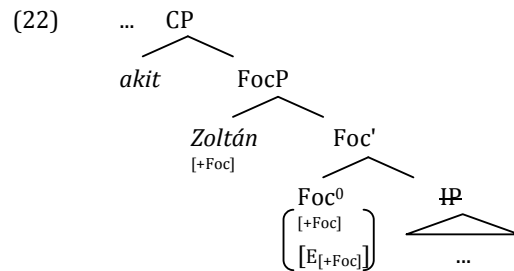
corollary:　the restriction to wh-phrases is no longer a reliable diagnostic for sluicing: the syntax of overt wh-movement in a language determines the syntactic properties of [E], which in turn determines what kind of remnants can occur in sluicing

4　Towards a cross-linguistic typology of sluicing

(23)　THE WH/SLUICING-CORRELATION
　　　The syntactic features that the [E]-feature has to check in a certain language are identical to the strong features a wh-phrase has to check in a regular constituent question in that language.

→　this predicts there should be —at least— three types of languages:

(24)　**Typology of wh-movement and sluicing constructions**

type of wh-movement	type of [E]-feature	sluicing with a wh-remnant (wh-sluicing)	sluicing with a focus remnant (focus sluicing)	sample language
movement to specCP	$E_{[uwh*,uQ*]}$	✓	*	English
movement to specFocP	$E_{[ufoc*]}$	✓	✓	Hungarian
wh-*in-situ*	/	*	*	Japanese

Type I: English

wh-sluicing
(25)　Someone read that book, but I don't know who.

focus sluicing
(26)　*　John fired someone and I think that Bill.

Type II: Hungarian

wh-sluicing

(27) Valaki　　olvasta　azt　　a könyvet,　de　　nem tudom　ki.
　　　someone　read　　that-A thebook-A　but　　not I.know　who
　　　'Someone read that book, but I don't know who.'

focus sluicing

(28) János kirugott valakit,　és　　azt　hiszem,　hogy Bélát.
　　　J.　fired　　someone and　it-A　I.think　that　Béla
　　　'János fired someone and I think it was Bill.'

Type III: Japanese

wh-sluicing

(29) Dareka-ga　　sono hon-o yon-da　ga, watashi-wa　dare ka
　　　someone$_{NOM}$ that book-A read-PAST but I-TOP　　　who C$_{Q}$°
　　　wakaranai.
　　　know.not
　　　'Someone read that book, but I don't know who.'

focus sluicing

(30) John-ga　dareka-o　　kubinisita　rasii　kedo, boku-wa Bill
　　　John$_{NOM}$ someone$_{ACC}$　fired　　　seem　but　I-TOP　Bill
　　　to　　omou.
　　　that$_{C°}$ think
　　　'It seems John fired someone and I think it was Bill.'

→ Merchant (1998:110): "Japanese 'sluicing' data (..) instantiate elliptical
　clefts and not sluicing of the English variety." (cf. also Fukaya and Hoji
　1999) → (29) is not derived as in (31), but rather as in (32):

(31) ... [$_{CP}$ dare$_i$ [$_{IP}$ ~~t$_i$　sono　hon-o　yon-da~~]　　ka]
　　　　　who　　　　　that　book-A　read-PAST　C$_{Q}$°
　　　'... who read that book.'

(32) ... [$_{CP}$ [$_{IP}$ pro　dare ~~da/de-aru~~]　　ka]
　　　　　　　who　be-PRES　　　C$_{Q}$°
　　　' ...who it is.'

5 Predictions of the analysis

5.1 Other left-peripheral material

→ if Hungarian sluicing does not delete the complement of the highest C°-
　head, other left-peripheral material (e.g. complementizers or topics)
　should be able to occur in between the matrix verb and the sluiced *wh*-
　phrase

(33) János meghívott　egy lányt,　de　　nem tudom　**hogy kit**.
　　　John invited　　a girl-A　but　not　I.know　that　who-A
　　　'John invited a girl, but I don't know who.'

(34) ?Tudom,　　hogy a diákok　és　　a tanárok　is　　meghívtak
　　　know-1SG　that　the students and　the teachers also　invited
　　　valakit,　de　　nem tudom,　**hogy a　diákok　kit**.
　　　someone,　but　not I.know　that the　students　whom
　　　'I know that the students and the teachers each invited someone, but I
　　　don't know who the students invited.'

5.2 Focus sluicing and multiple wh-movement languages

Bošković (2002):　in multiple wh-movement languages, only the first wh-
　　　　　　　　phrase moves to check a [wh]-feature. The others move
　　　　　　　　for a different reason, typically to check a [focus]-feature
　　　　　　　　(cf. also Stjepanović 2003).

→ if sluicing tracks the overt syntax of wh-questions, multiple wh-movement
　languages should be prime examples of Type II-languages, i.e. they should
　display focus sluicing:

Romanian (Hoyt & Theodorescu to appear)

(35) Am   aflat   că   cineva   a   plecat, dar   nu
      past.1SG learned that   someone   past.3SG left   but   no
      ştiu   dacă   Ion.
      know.1SG if   Ion
      'I found out that someone left, but I don't know if it was Ion.'

Russian (Grebenyova 2006)

(36) A: Ty   skazala čto   on budet uvažat'   Mašu?
         you   said   that   he will   respect   Maša-A
         'Did you say that he will respect Maša?'
      B: Net. Ja skazala   čto   IVANA.
         no   I said   that   Ivan-A
         'No. I said that (he will respect) IVAN.'

Polish (K. Migdalski p.c.)

(37) Wiedziałem, że   Janek kogoś   zaprosił ale   nie
      knew.I   that   Janek someone invited   but   not
      wiedziałem   że   Billa.
      knew.I   that   Bill-A
      'I knew Janek invited someone, but I didn't know that it was Bill.'

Czech (R. Šimík p.c.)

(38) Věděl jsem,   že   Honza někoho   pozval, ale
      knew aux.1SG   that   Honza someone-A   invited but
      nevěděl jsem, že   Martina.
      not.knew aux.1SG that Martina-A
      'I knew Honza invited someone, but I didn't know it was Martin.'

Serbo-Croatian (B. Arsenijević p.c., T. Milicev p.c., M. Marelj p.c.)

(39) Jovan je   pozvao   nekog.   Mislim da   je   Bila.
      Jovan aux   invited someone I.think that aux   Bil-A
      'Jovan invited someone. I think that it was Bill.'

PART TWO:　　　SLUICING AS A DIAGNOSTIC

6 Sluicing as a probe into the syntax of single wh-movement

prediction made by our account:
if a language has overt movement of wh-phrases to specFocP, it should also allow focus sluicing

case in point: Italian

Rizzi (1997), Stoyanova (2008): in Italian wh-movement targets specFocP

argument:　wh and focus are in complementary distribution

(40) * Che   cosa, A GIANNI hai   detto?
         what thing to Gianni have.2SG told
         INTENDED: 'What did you tell GIANNI?'

(41) * A GIANNI   che   cosa hai   detto?
         to Gianni what thing have.2SG told
         INTENDED: 'What did you tell GIANNI?'

Van Craenenbroeck (2006): Italian wh-movement targets specCP

argument: focus is always to the right of the complementizer *che*, while wh
(in doubly filled COMP filter violating dialects) is always to its left

(42) Credo <che> NANE <*che> i   gabia visto, no   Piero.
      I.think that Nane that   they have seen   not Piero
      'I think they have seen NANE, not Piero.' (Venetian, C. Poletto p.c.)

(43) Me domando<*che> chi   <che> Nane ga   visto al   marcà.
      me I.ask   that   who   that Nane has   seen at.the market
      'I wonder who Nane saw at the market.' (Venetian, C. Poletto p.c.)

testing the prediction:

(44) * Savevo   che   Nane   gaveva   invidà   qualcheduni ma   non
          knew.1SG that   N.   had   invited   someone   but   not
          so   Piero.
          know.1SG   Piero
          INTENDED: 'I knew that Nane had invited someone, but I didn't know
          it was Piero.'   (Venetian, C. Poletto p.c.)

result: the fact that Italian (and varieties of Italian) do not allow focus
               sluicing strongly suggests that wh-movement in this language
               doesn't target a focus position (*pace* Rizzi 1997, Stoyanova 2008)

7   Sluicing as a probe into the syntax of multiple wh-movement

central debate in the literature on multiple wh-movement:
can a [wh]-feature be checked more than once?

YES: Pesetsky (2000):   the [wh]-feature on C can undergo multiple
                             checking (cf. also Rudin 1988)
NO: Bošković (2002):   the [wh]-feature on C is universally checked at
                             most once; only focus movement (and in some
                             cases scrambling) can lead to multiple wh-fronting

prediction made by our account:
for a language to display focus sluicing, at least one wh-phrase must undergo
overt focus movement → focus sluicing can be used as a diagnostic for
distinguishing between the two theories

case in point: Bulgarian

Rudin (1988): all wh-phrases move to specCP to check a [wh]-feature

(45) $[_{CP}$ wh$_{<+wh>}$ wh$_{<+wh>}$ wh$_{<+wh>}$ C°$_{<+wh>}$ $[_{IP}$ …]]

Bošković (2002): all wh-phrases move to specCP; the first checks a [wh]-
                     feature, the rest a [focus]-feature

(46) $[_{CP}$ wh$_{<+wh>}$ wh$_{<+Foc>}$ wh$_{<+Foc>}$ C°$_{<+wh,+ Foc>}$ $[_{IP}$ …]]

Lambova (2001): there are two dialects of Bulgarian:
                    - in dialect A, all wh-phrases move to specCP; the first
                       checks a [wh]-feature, the rest a [focus]-feature
                    - in dialect B, one wh-phrase moves to specCP to check
                       a [wh]-feature, the others move to specFocP to check
                       a [focus]-feature

(47) a.   dialect A: $[_{CP}$ wh$_{<+wh>}$ wh$_{<+Foc>}$ wh$_{<+Foc>}$ C°$_{<+wh,Foc>}$ $[_{IP}$ …]]
      b.   dialect B: $[_{CP}$ wh$_{<+wh>}$ C°$_{<+wh >}$ $[_{FocP}$ wh$_{<+foc>}$ wh$_{<+Foc>}$ Foc°$_{<+Foc>…}$]]

test for distinguishing the two dialects: parenthetical intervention

dialect A
(48) * Koj,   kazvash,   kakvo   koga   e   kupil?
          who   you.say   what   when   aux   bought
          'Who bought what when, you say?'

dialect B
(49)   Koj,   kazvash,   kakvo   koga   e   kupil?
          who   you.say   what   when   aux   bought
          'Who bought what when, you say?'

predictions with respect to focus sluicing:
1. Rudin: all of Bulgarian should disallow focus sluicing ([E$_{u}$wh])
2. Bošković: all of Bulgarian should allow focus sluicing (two types of [E]: [E$_{u}$wh,(uFoc)] and [E$_{u}$Foc])
3. Lambova: all of Bulgarian should allow focus sluicing (two types of [E]: [E$_{u}$wh,(uFoc)] and [E$_{u}$Foc])

testing the predictions

dialect A: no focus sluicing
(50) * Znaeh che   Ivan e   pokanil njakoj,   no   ne   znaeh,
     knew that Ivan has invited someone but   not   knew
     che   Boris.
     that Boris
     INTENDED: 'I knew that Ivan has invited someone, but I didn't know that it was Boris.'

dialect B: focus sluicing is fine
(51)   Znaeh che   Ivan e   pokanil njakoj,   no   ne   znaeh,
     knew that Ivan has invited someone but   not   knew
     che   Boris.
     that Boris
     INTENDED: 'I knew that Ivan has invited someone, but I didn't know that it was Boris.'

results: -   in the dialect of Bulgarian that doesn't split up the cluster (dialect A) all wh-phrases move to specCP, and they all check a [wh]-feature (as claimed by Rudin)
-   in the dialect of Bulgarian that splits up the cluster, one wh-phrase checks a [wh]-feature in specCP, while the others check a [focus]-feature in specFocP (as argued for by Lambova)

conclusions: -   the distribution of focus sluicing within Bulgarian suggests that [wh]-features can be multiply checked
-   when the wh-phrases do not form a cluster, focus sluicing is always available

8 The broader picture: non-ellipsis as a diagnostic for ellipsis

our theory so far: the non-elliptical overt syntax of *wh*-phrases in a language *L* determines the sluicing options in *L*

question: is this more generally the case, i.e. is non-ellipsis always a reliable diagnostic for predicting the behavior of elliptical constructions?

→ no: sometimes they proceed in parallel, sometimes they don't

8.1   Multiple wh-sluicing

observation: all languages with multiple *wh*-movement in non-elliptical syntax allow for multiple *wh*-sluicing[1]

Bulgarian
(52)   Njakoj   e   razljal ne što,   no   ne   znam koj   kakvo.
     someone aux   spilled something but   not   know who   what
     'Someone spilled something, but I don't know who what.'

Romanian (Hoyt and Theodorescu to appear)
(53)   Ion   a   dat   cuiva   ceva,   si   vreau   sa
     Ion   aux   given someone something   and   I.want   SUBJ
     stiu   cui   ce.
     know   who-D   what
     'Ion has given something to someone, and I want to know what to whom.'

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[1] Though see Lambova (2002:59-60) for the claim that the splitting dialect of Bulgarian disallows multiple sluicing. Our informant from this dialect did not agree with this judgment, however. Clearly, more empriical research is needed.

Hungarian
(54) Tudom, hogy János adott mindenkinek   valamit,
       I.know that János gave everyone-D   something-A
       de   nem tudom, kinek   mit.
       but   not I.know who-D   what-A
       'I know that Ion has given something to someone, and I want to know
       what to whom.'

Serbo-Croatian (Stepanović 2003)
(55) Neko   je   vidio nekog,   ali ne   znam ko   koga.
       somebody   aux   seen somebody   but not know who   whom
       'Somebody saw someone, but I don't know who whom.'

Polish (Szczegelniak 2008)
(56) Jan napisał jakiś list   do jakiegoś ucznia   ale   nie   wiem
       Jan wrote some letter to some   student   but   not   know
       który   do którego
       which   to which
       'Jan wrote some letter to some student but I do know which to which
       student'

Russian (Grebenyova 2006)
(57) Każdyj   priglasil kogo-to na tanec, no   ja ne   pomnju
       everyone invited   someone to dance but   I   not   remember
       kto   kogo.
       who   whom
       'Everyone invited someone to a dance but I don't remember who
       invited whom.'

moreover: the readings found in multiple sluicing parallel those found in
multiple wh-fronting (see also Grebenyova 2006 for Russian)

multiple fronting in Hungarian can only have Multiple Pair reading:
(58) Ki   kinek   küldött egy üzenetet?
       who   who-D   said   a   message-A
       'Who sent a message to whom?' = 'Tell me about everyone who he/she
       sent a message to.'

wh-in-situ gives rise to Single Pair reading:
(59) Ki   küldött egy üzenetet   kinek?
       who sent   a   message-A   who-D
       'There was someone who sent a message to someone else.
       Who to whom?'

multiple sluicing is only compatible with the Multiple Pair scenario:
(60) * Valaki   hagyott egy üzenetet   valakinek.
          someone left   a   message-A   someone-D
          Nem tudom,   hogy ki   kinek.
          not I.know   that who   who-D
          'Someone left a message to someone. I don't know who to whom.'
(61)   Mindenki hagyott egy üzenetet   valakinek.
          everyone left   a   message-A   someone-D
          Nem tudom,   hogy ki   kinek.
          not I.know   that who   who-D
          'Everyone left a message to someone. I don't know which person to
          which person.'

conclusion: the possibility of having multiple sluicing in a language is
determined by its having multiple wh-fronting (see Lasnik
2006 for discussion of apparent counterexamples)

8.2   Multiple focus sluicing

observation₁: in Serbo-Croatian, Polish and Russian multiple focus fronting is allowed and so is multiple focus sluicing

Serbo-Croatian (B. Arsenijević p.c., Tanja Milicev p.c., M. Marijana p.c.)
(62)   Tu knjigu   Mariji   je   Jovan   dao.
       that book   Marija-D   aux   Jovan   given
       'Jovan gave THAT BOOK to MARIJA.'
(63)   Jovan je   dao   nesto   nekome,   i   mislim
       Jovan aux   given something   someone   and   think.I
       da   je   knjigu   Mariji.
       that aux   book   Marija-D

Polish (B. Citko, G. Korbecka p.c.)
(64)   Tamtą książkę   Marii   Jan   dał.
       that book-A   Maria-D   Jan   gave
       'Jan gave THAT BOOK to MARIA.'
(65) ? Jan   dał   coś   komuś   i   myślę,   że   książkę
       Jan   gave   something someone and   I.think that book
       Marii.
       Maria-D
       'Jan has given something to someone and I think that a BOOK to MARIA.'

→ once again, ellipsis (in this case multiple focus sluicing) patterns like non-ellipsis (multiple focus fronting)

observation₂: in Hungarian and Romanian multiple focus fronting is not allowed but multiple focus sluicing is

Hungarian
(66)   Q: What did János give to someone?
       A: * egy   könyvet   marinak   adott   János.
             a   book   Mari-D   gave   János
       intended: 'János gave a BOOK to MARI.'

(67)   János adott   valamit   valakinek,   és   azt   hiszem,
       János gave   something   someone-D   and   that   I.think
       hogy   egy   könyvet   marinak.
       that   a   book   Mari-D
       'János gave something to someone and I think he gave a BOOK to MARI.'

Romanian (C. Constantinescu, A. Fălăuş, Dafina Rațiu p.c.)
(68)   Q: Deci   Petre a   văzut-o   pe   Ilona?
             so   Petre has   seen-CL   ACC   Ilona
             'Did Peter see Ilona?'
       A: ?* Nu,   Ion   pe   Maria   a   văzut -o!
              no   Ion   ACC   Maria   has   seen-CL
              intended: 'No, ION saw MARIA.'

(69)   Nu   sunt   sigură cine   de ciné   s-a   îndrăgostit, dar
       not   am   sure   who   of whom   REFL-has   enamored   but
       bănuiesc   că   Ion   de Maria.
       I.suspect   that   Ion   of Maria
       'I am not sure who fell in love with whom, but I think that ION with MARIA.'

→ here, ellipsis (multiple focus sluicing) does *not* track non-ellipsis (multiple focus fronting) → these facts are very reminiscent of so-called 'ellipsis-induced repair effects': movement is fed by ellipsis (cf. Merchant 2008, Lasnik & Merchant 2004)

proposal: the reason why Hungarian and Romanian disallow multiple focus fronting is essentially phonological: nothing is allowed to intervene between a fronted focus and the finite verb → in case of multiple focus fronting, the right-most focus intervenes between V and the other foci

→ this is corroborated by the fact that even in single focus fronting Hungarian and Romanian require adjacency between the focused XP and the finite verb, while Serbo-Croatian, Russian and Polish do not:

Hungarian
(70) * Azt   hiszem, hogy PÉTERT   Mari {hívta meg/meghívta}.
         it-A   I.think   that   P-A   Mari invited PV/PV.invited
         INTENDED: 'I think that Mari invited PÉTER.'

Polish
(71)   Myślę,   że   PIOTRA   Maria   zaprosiła.
         I.think   that   Piotr-A   Maria   invited
         'I think that Maria invited PIOTR.'

→ in short, there is a correlation between the absence of multiple focus fronting and the adjacency requirement between a fronted focus and a verb:

| | multiple focus | | obligatory focus – verb adjacency |
	fronting	sluicing	
Hungarian	*	✓	yes
Romanian	*	✓	yes
Serbo-Croatian	✓	✓	no
Polish	✓	✓	no
Russian	✓	✓	no

Table 1: correlation between the absence of multiple focus fronting and focus-V adjacency

implementation:
- in all the languages mentioned in Table 1, multiple focus movement takes place in narrow syntax
- in Hungarian and Romanian the phonological restriction on fronted foci forces all but one of these movement chains to be spelled out at the foot (cf. Bošković 2002, Stjepanović 1999)

however: when ellipsis elides the finite verb, the phonological restriction is trivially satisfied, and multiple focus fronting is allowed

a sample derivation

option #1: no ellipsis, no multiple fronting
(72) * EGY   KÖNYVET MARINAK adott János.
         a   book   Mari-D   gave   János
         INTENDED: 'János gave a BOOK to MARI.'

narrow syntax
(73)   [FocP EGY KÖNYVET [FocP MARINAK [TP adott János EGY KÖNYVET MARINAK]]]

PF: deletion of higher copy
(74)   [FocP EGY KÖNYVET [FocP ~~MARINAK~~ [TP adott János ~~EGY KÖNYVET~~ MARINAK]]]

option #2: ellipsis feeds multiple fronting
(75)   (… és   azt   hiszem hogy) EGY   KÖNYVET MARINAK.
         and   it-A   I.think   that   a   book   Mari-D
         '… and I think that he gave a BOOK to MARI.'

narrow syntax
(76)   [FocP EGY KÖNYVET [FocP MARINAK [TP adott János EGY KÖNYVET MARINAK]]]

PF (I): TP-ellipsis
(77)   [FocP EGY KÖNYVET [FocP MARINAK ~~[TP adott János EGY KÖNYVET MARINAK]~~]]

PF (II): (trivial) deletion of lower copies
(78)   [FocP EGY KÖNYVET [FocP MARINAK ~~[TP adott János EGY KÖNYVET MARINAK]~~]]

9   Conclusions

1. The restriction of English sluicing to wh-questions is not a reliable test for diagnosing sluicing cross-linguistically.

2. The types of sluicing attested in a language L track the overt syntax of wh-movement in L.

3. As a result, sluicing can be used as a probe into the syntax of wh-movement.

4. Discrepancies between non-elliptical and elliptical syntax are due to the fact that ellipsis can repair certain (PF-)deficient configurations.

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