

## Multiple and conjoined Wh-words in Czech

The aim of this paper is to compare the syntax and the semantics of three types of questions which contain two (or more) wh-words in Czech : *multiple questions*, *questions with coordination of type 1*, and *questions with coordination of type 2*. In *multiple Q(uestion)s*, all wh-words are (and must normally be) placed at the beginning of the interrogative clause, see (1). In *Qs with coordination of type 1*, wh-words are conjoined by the conjunction a ('and') and they also appear at the beginning of the clause, see (2a). The coordination in (2a) is rather particular, since the conjuncts represent constituents with different functions in the clause; such coordinations are in general not possible, as shown in (2b) (see Dik 1997 for English). Finally, in *Qs with coordination of type 2*, one or more wh-words appear at the beginning of the clause, and another wh-word appears at the very end of the clause, introduced by the conjunction a ('and'), see (3).

The paper is organized in three parts.

In the first part, I show that *multiple Qs* and *Qs with coordination* do not have the same semantic and syntactic properties : (i) they do not receive the same reading (pair list reading for *multiple Qs*, single pair reading for *Qs with coordination*), (ii) their grammaticality depends on argumental properties of the present wh-words (*multiple Qs*, for instance, are ungrammatical with two wh-adjuncts, see (4)), and (iii) they differ with respect to their constituency (the possibility for a clitic or a complementizer to intervene between multiple wh-words, but not between conjoined wh-words indicates that multiple wh-words form independent constituents, while conjoined wh-words in *Qs with coordination of type 1* form a single constituent, see (5)).

Given these three properties, I claim in the rest of the paper that *multiple Qs* and *Qs with coordination* have different syntactic structures and I propose an analysis for each of them.

As for *multiple Qs*, I argue, in the second part of the paper, that they have the same syntactic derivation as simple questions. I show that each wh-word either occupies a specific position in the left periphery of the clause (following Rizzi's (1997) split-CP hypothesis) or adjoins to TP (following Rudin 1988). This explains that clitics and complementizers can intervene between the wh-words, as we have seen in (5). Since *multiple Qs* trigger pair list answers, I claim that quantified wh-words ('who', 'what', 'where', 'when') occupy the specifiers of *Distributive Phrase* and *Share Phrase* (according to Beghelli & Stowell (1997)), the first one having scope, i.e. quantifying over the other one. On the other hand, non-quantified wh-words ('why', 'how') cannot enter a relation with a quantified wh-word; therefore, *multiple Qs* as in (4a) are out, see (6).

In the last part of the paper, I argue (against Bánrėti 1992) that, from the semantic point of view, only *Qs with coordination of type 2* involve a clausal coordination.

As for *Qs with coordination of type 1*, I argue that conjoined wh-words form a single constituent, a *Conjunction Phrase* (following Johannessen 1998, Lipták 2001), which occupies a single syntactic position in the left periphery of the interrogative clause, see (7). This accounts for single pair reading of these questions. Moreover, since conjoined wh-words must be stressed in the way focussed constituents are, I claim the position they occupy is the specifier of a *Focus Phrase*. In order to assure correct variable binding in these questions, I propose the *wh-Conjunction Phrase* be derived by feature movement (following Chomsky 2000 and Camacho 2003).

Finally, I suggest that *Qs with coordination of type 2* be better analyzed as 'split' coordinations (in terms of Koster 2001) than as clausal coordinations with ellipsis / sluicing (Wesche 1995).

## Examples

- (1) Kdo koho (kdy) (kam) pozval (\*kdy) (\*kam) ? (multiple Q)  
who-NOM who-ACC when where invited-3SG when where
- (2) a. Kdo (kde) a kdy to našel ? (Q with coord. of type 1)  
who (where) and when it found-3SG  
b. Našel to Petr minulý týden (\*a) v knihovně.  
found-3SG it Peter last week (and) in library
- (3) (Kdo) koho viděl a kde ? (Q with coord. of type 2)  
who-NOM who-ACC saw-3SG and where
- (4) a. \*Kdy jak skončila válka v Bosně ?  
when how finished-3SG war in Bosnia  
b. Kdy (a jak) skončila válka v Bosně (a jak)?  
when and how finished-3SG war in Bosnia and how
- (5) a. Komu (že) (jsi) co (že) (jsi) řekl ?  
who-DAT COMP CL:AUX-2SG what-NOM said-3SG = 'What did he/you say to whom ?'  
b. Komu (\*že) (\*jsi) a co (že) (jsi) řekl ?  
who-DAT COMP CL:AUX-2SG and what-ACC COMP CL:AUX-2SG said-3SG
- (6) a. [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>DistP</sub> kdo [<sub>ShareP</sub> kdy [<sub>TP</sub> ... přišel...]]]] ?  
who when came-3SG  
b. [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>DistP</sub> kdy [<sub>ShareP</sub> jak [<sub>TP</sub> ... skončila válka...]]]] ?  
when how finished-3SG war
- (7) [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>ConjP</sub> Wh<sub>1</sub> (Wh<sub>2</sub>) [<sub>Conj</sub> and Wh<sub>3</sub>]] [<sub>TP</sub> ...]] ?

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