

Ordering preferences in Ukrainian multiple wh-fronting

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Introduction

Slavic languages are known for their multiple wh-fronting (MWF) constructions, whereby all wh-phrases can undergo fronting.

(1) **Serbo-Croatian** (Bošković 2002: 353)

- | | | | |
|----|---------|---------|---------|
| a. | *Ko | voli | koga? |
| | who.NOM | loves | who.ACC |
| b. | Ko | koga | voli? |
| | who.NOM | who.ACC | loves |
| c. | Koga | ko | voli? |
| | who.ACC | who.NOM | loves |
- ‘Who loves whom?’

Slavic languages differ in whether their multiple fronted wh-phrases have free or restricted order in short-distance matrix questions.

Introduction

(2) **Bulgarian** (Bošković 2002: 354)

- a. **Koj** **kogo** običa?
 who.NOM who.ACC loves
- b. * **Kogo** **koj** običa?
 who.ACC who.NOM loves
 ‘Who loves whom?’

MWF is thus subject to Superiority/locality effects in Bulgarian but not Serbo-Croatian.

MWF Typology

Superiority is one of several properties that Rudin (1988, 1996) uses to classify MWF languages into two groups: +MFS or –MFS (Multiply-Filled CP-Specifier).

See also Richards (1998, 2001): CP-absorption vs IP-absorption.

	+Multiply-Filled Specifier (Bulgarian, Romanian)	–Multiply-Filled Specifier (Serbo-Croatian, Polish, Czech, Russian)
Clitics can follow first <i>wh</i> -phrase	–	+
<i>Wh</i> -islands hold	–	+
Exhibits Superiority effects	+	–

MWF Typology

Bošković (1999, 2002): 3-way MWF typology based on Superiority, with consequences for the type of movement involved in wh-fronting

- Wh-movement must obey Superiority, while focus movement does not

	Type 1 +MFS (Bulgarian)	Type 2 -MFS (Serbo-Croatian)	Type 3 -MFS (Russian)
Exhibits Superiority effects in short-distance MWF	+	-	-
Exhibits Superiority effects in long-distance MWF	+	+	-

Ukrainian

What about Ukrainian? According to Rudin (1996), Ukrainian displays all of the properties of a –MFS language *except* Superiority: Ukrainian has a restricted order of fronted *wh*-phrases.

	+MFS (Bulgarian, Romanian)	–MFS (Serbo-Croatian, Polish, Czech, Russian)	Ukrainian
Clitics can follow first <i>wh</i> -phrase	–	+	+
<i>Wh</i> -islands hold	–	+	+
Exhibits Superiority effects (short-distance)	+	–	+

Ukrainian

What about Ukrainian? According to Rudin (1996), Ukrainian displays all of the properties of a –MFS language *except* Superiority: Ukrainian has a restricted order of fronted wh-phrases.

(3) **Ukrainian** (Rudin 1996: 117)

- a. Hto koho vdaryv?
 who.NOM who.ACC hit
- b. * Koho hto vdaryv?
 who.ACC who.NOM hit
 ‘Who hit whom?’

However, we will show that Ukrainian speakers exhibit inter-speaker variation in whether they accept Superiority-violating orders such as (3b).

Ukrainian

An additional complication: Inanimate *wh*-arguments appear not to be subject to Superiority.

(4) **Ukrainian** (Bashutski 2008: 99)

- a. **Hto** **ščo** kupyv?
 who.NOM what.ACC bought
- b. **Ščo** **hto** kupyv?
 what.ACC who.NOM bought
 ‘Who bought what?’

Goals of this talk

Research Question: Does Ukrainian exhibit ordering preferences in multiple wh-fronting constructions?

- Previous research on Superiority in Ukrainian MWF (Rudin 1996, Bashutski 2008) was quite limited: only tested a few construction types and does not provide details of their methodology

We examine the effects of different syntactic factors on ordering preferences in Ukrainian multiple wh-fronting constructions: Grammatical relation, animacy, case

- Method: Acceptability judgment task with declarative pair-list “primes”
- Our goals are primarily descriptive, but we aim to situate Ukrainian in the wider MWF typology

Ordering preferences in Ukrainian

Syntactic factors

Factors previously claimed to affect wh-phrase ordering in Slavic MWF constructions:

- **Grammatical relation**

Subjects are ordered first (Rudin 1996; Dornisch 1998 on Polish).

- **Case**

Nominative arguments are ordered first (Cheng 1991, Dornisch 1998 on Polish; Billings & Rudin 1996 on Bulgarian; Rudin 1996, Bashutski 2008).

Wh-prepositional phrases induce free word order (Billings & Rudin 1996, Krapova & Cinque 2008 on Bulgarian).

- **Animacy**

Animate arguments are ordered first (Billings & Rudin 1996 on Bulgarian).

Method

Acceptability rating task: 20 target MWF constructions with 3 arguments with 2 wh-phrases each, with the following format, presented in pseudo-randomized order:

- 2 declarative “prime” sentences providing a pair-list context
- Target MWF sentence, in Superiority-obeying or -violating order

Prompt: “Based on the context, how acceptable is this question?”

Responses: Good, bad, maybe

Target MWF sentences:

- Grammatical relation (Superiority): Subject, Indirect object, Direct object
- Case: NOM, ACC, DAT, GEN, with INSTR, for GEN
- Animacy: Animate (‘who’), Inanimate (‘what’)

Example item (IO, DO)

Primes: “Я показала Саші Бейонсе”
Ya pokazala Sashi Beyonce
1SG.F.showed S.DAT B.ACC
‘I showed Sasha Beyonce.’

“Я показала Ані Шакіру”
Ya pokazala Ani Shakiru
1SG.F.showed A.DAT S.ACC
‘I showed Anya Shakira.’

Superiority-obeying Target: (5) “Кому кого я показала?”
Komu koho ya pokazala
who-DAT who.ACC 1SG.F.showed
‘Who did I show to whom?’

Superiority-violating Target: (6) “Кого кому я показала?”
Koho komu ya pokazala
who.ACC who.DAT 1SG.F.showed
‘Who did I show to whom?’

Example item (S, PP-IO)

Primes: “Аня познайомила Сашу з Іваном”

Anya poznaomya Sashu z Ivanom
A.NOM F.SG.PST.introduce S.ACC with I.INSTR
‘Anya introduced Sasha to Ivan.’

“Катя познайомила Сашу з Наташею”

Katya poznaomya Sashu z Natasheyu
K.NOM F.SG.PST.introduce S.ACC with Natasha.INSTR
‘Katya introduced Sasha to Natasha.’

Example item (S, PP-IO)

Superiority-obeying Target:

(7) “Хто з ким познайомив сашу?”

Hto z kym posnayomyv Sashu
who.NOM with who.INSTR M.SG.PST.introduce S.ACC
‘Who introduced Sasha to whom?’

Superiority-violating Target:

(8) “З ким хто познайомив сашу?”

Z kym hto posnayomyv Sashu
with who.INSTR who.NOM M.SG.PST.introduce S.ACC
‘Who introduced Sasha to whom?’

Method

Participants

- 3 participants, with 2 additional participants
- All participants live in Western Ukraine, also speak Russian and English, and graduated from college
- Questionnaire was conducted in Ukrainian verbally over Zoom, with instructions given in English

Results

In examining the results, we found that participant responses exhibited two separate patterns, which we will call Ukrainian A and Ukrainian B.

- Ukrainian A: Exhibits Superiority effects
- Ukrainian B: Does not exhibit Superiority effects

Results

Grammatical relation (Superiority): Subject (S), Indirect object (IO), Direct object (DO)

		Ukrainian A	Ukrainian B
hto	koho	hto - koho ✓	hto - koho ✓
who.NOM	who.ACC	koho - hto ✗	koho - hto ✓
S	DO		
hto	čoho	hto - čoho ✓	hto - čoho ✓
who.NOM	what.GEN	čoho - hto ✗	čoho - hto ✓
S	DO		
komu	koho	komu - koho ✓	komu - koho ✓
who.DAT	who.ACC	koho - komu ✗	koho - komu ✓
IO	DO		

Results

Case: NOM, ACC, DAT, GEN, with INSTR, for GEN

Nominative is not always ordered first.

		Ukrainian A	Ukrainian B
ščo	koho	ščo - koho ✓	ščo - koho ✓
what.NOM	who.ACC	koho - ščo ✓	koho - ščo ✓
hto	z kym	hto - z kym ✓	hto - z kym ✓
who.NOM	with who.INSTR	z kym - hto ✓	z kym - hto ✓

Results

Case: NOM, ACC, DAT, GEN, with INSTR, for GEN

Wh-prepositional phrases induce free order.

		Ukrainian A	Ukrainian B
hto	z kym	hto - z kym ✓	hto - z kym ✓
who.NOM	with who.INSTR	z kym - hto ✓	z kym - hto ✓
koho	dlya čoho	koho - dlya čoho ✓	koho - dlya čoho ✓
who.ACC	for what.GEN	dlya čoho - koho ✓	dlya čoho - koho ✓

Results

Animacy: Animate ('who'), Inanimate ('what')

The lexical item ščo 'what.NOM/ACC' induces free order, not inanimates generally.

		Ukrainian A		Ukrainian B	
hto	ščo	hto - ščo	✓	hto - ščo	✓
who.NOM	what.ACC	ščo - hto	✓	ščo - hto	✓
ščo	koho	ščo - koho	✓	ščo - koho	✓
what.NOM	who.ACC	koho - ščo	✓	koho - ščo	✓
—					
hto	čoho	hto - čoho	✓	hto - čoho	✓
who.NOM	what.GEN	čoho - hto	✗	čoho - hto	✓

Results

Bulgarian is reported to be a Superiority-obeying MWF language. Like Ukrainian *ščo*, however, Bulgarian *kakvo* ‘what’ can also induce free word order in some contexts.

(9) **Bulgarian** (Billings & Rudin 1996: 38)

- a. **Kakvo** **kogo** e udarilo?
 what.NOM who.ACC hit
- b. **Kogo** **kakvo** e udarilo?
 who.ACC what.NOM hit
 ‘What hit whom?’

Results

	Ukrainian A	Ukrainian B
Free wh-PP order	+	+
Free ščo order	+	+
Exhibits Superiority	+	-

Discussion

We found evidence of two patterns wrt ordering in Ukrainian MWF

- Ukrainian A: Exhibits Superiority effects
- Ukrainian B: Does not exhibit Superiority effects

Wh-prepositional phrases induce free order, as does *ščo*.

- PPs often have free word order than DP arguments
- To be explored further: Why do Ukrainian *ščo* and Bulgarian *kakvo* induce free word order? (historically fused preposition?)

Discussion

Is this variation due to language contact?

All speakers also speak Russian, but based on the results, the evidence does not point to language contact as the reason for our pattern.

- The speakers have varying degrees of contact with Russian in their individual lives/language practice
- The speaker with the highest degree of Russian contact did not pattern with Ukrainian B, as we would expect if the pattern was a result of language contact

Ukrainian in the wider MWF typology

Ukrainian A looks like Bulgarian

Ukrainian B likely aligns with Serbo-Croatian, there is no evidence that Ukrainian B does not also exhibit Superiority in long-distance MWF.

	Type 1 (Bulgarian, Ukrainian A)	Type 2 (Serbo-Croatian, Ukrainian B?)	Type 3 (Russian)
Exhibits Superiority effects in short-distance MWF	+	–	–
Exhibits Superiority effects in long-distance MWF	+	+	–

Conclusions

- Varieties of Ukrainian differ in Superiority in short-distance MWF constructions and therefore belong to different Bošković types
- Rudin (1996): Ukrainian displays all of the properties of a –MFS language *except* Superiority
- Our results suggest that Superiority is orthogonal to +/-MFS classification
- If true, then Ukrainian would be a consistent –MFS language

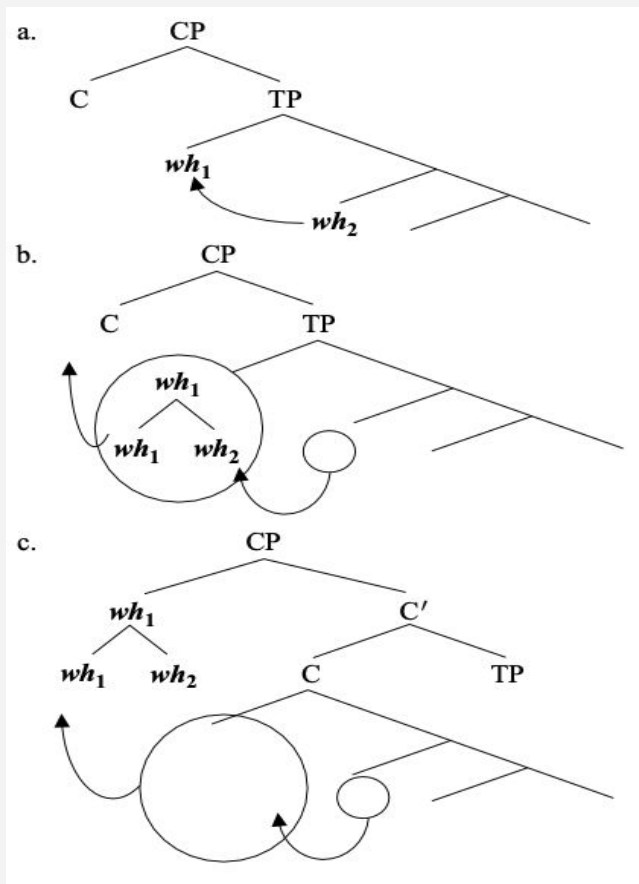
Next Steps:

- Recruit more participants
- In order to categorize Ukrainian B and look further into the status of Ukrainian A, we plan to investigate long-distance MWF
- Investigate the properties of ščo further

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(A) +Multiply-Filled Specifier



(B) -Multiply-Filled Specifier

