P-Stranding in a language without P-Stranding? The case of Sluicing in Romanian

ALEXANDRU NICOLAE[1]

"Iorgu Iordan - Al. Rosetti" Institute of Linguistics
University of Bucharest

"What is […] clearly required in each fresh examination of sluicing in a language is a careful comparison of sluices with other patterns in the same language, in particular those relating to *wh*-movement, case, copulas, and cleft constructions"

(Bhattacharya and Simpson 2012: 190)

1. Aim and claim of the paper

- in Romanian, the *wh*-remnant in Sluicing may (1a) or may not (1b) pied-pipe along the associated preposition:

(1)   *Părinții   copilului   discutau   despre ceva*,
      parents.DEF   child.DEF.GEN   argued   about   something
   a.   *dar ea a   refuzat să   ne   spună **despre ce***
        but she has   refused SUBJ CL.DAT.1PL   tell   about what.ACC
   b.   *dar ea a   refuzat să   ne   spună **ce***
        but she has   refused SUBJ CL.DAT.1PL   tell   what.ACC
   'The child's parents were arguing about something but she refused to tell us what'

- the omission of the preposition is curios, as Romanian is a *Pied-Piping language*: the preposition associated with a *wh*-phrase must be displaced along with the *wh*-phrase in all the relevant environments (interrogatives, topicalization, relativization), as shown in (2):

(2)   a.   ***Despre   cine*$_i$ *ai*   *vorbit* t$_i$?   [Pied-Piping: OK]
        about   whom   (you)have   talk
        'Who did you talk about'
   b.   ***Cine**$_i$ *ai*   *vorbit **despre*** t$_i$?   [P-Stranding: ungrammatical]
        whom (you)have   talked about

- this distribution violates Merchant's (2001) *Form-Identity Generalization II*, which holds regardless of whether or not there is apparently an island interior to the ellipsis site:

(3)   *Form-identity generalization II: Preposition-Stranding*   (Merchant 2001: 92)
      A language L will allow preposition stranding under sluicing iff L allows preposition stranding under regular *wh*-movement.

- this form-identity generalization → robust across languages (see Merchant 2001: 92-107)

- **claim**: it will be shown that Romanian possesses a resumption strategy, dubbed here "Avoid P-Stranding", which indirectly feeds this paradoxical P-omission instance of Sluicing:

(4)　　**omul$_i$**　　**care$_i$**　*am*　　*vorbit* ***cu el$_i$***
　　　　man.DEF　　who　　(I)have　talked　to him
　　　　'the man to whom I talked'

- outline of the paper:
　　　　- section 2: main characteristics of P-omission sluicing
　　　　- section 3: our theoretical stand on the theory of ellipsis in general, and of sluicing in particular
　　　　- section 4: some important results Merchant and Simpson 2012
　　　　- section 5: analysis of the Avoid P-stranding strategy based on Rouveret (*mss.*)
　　　　- section 6: analysis of P-omission sluicing in Romanian
　　　　- section 7: conclusions

- a preliminary comment is in order: Hoyt and Teodorescu (2012) have shown that Sluicing in Romanian is an instance of TP deletion of the familiar type described by Merchant (2001) for English; the remnant *wh*-phrase typically moves from the ellipsis site to the CP specifier

2. P-omission in Romanian: main features. Why P-omission sluicing is not an instance of pseudo-sluicing

2.1. The range of remnants

- there are no restrictions on what can be a prepositionless remnant from the point of view of the dropped preposition; the omitted preposition can be lexical (5) or functional (6):

(5)　　*Ieri*　　*a*　　　　*fost*　　*la cineva,*
　　　　yesterday (he/she)has been　　at someone
　　　　a.　*dar nu îmi*　　　*amintesc*　　*exact* ***cine.***
　　　　　　but not CL.DAT.1SG　remember　　exactly who(m)
　　　　b.　*dar nu îmi*　　　*amintesc*　　*exact* ***la cine.***
　　　　　　but not CL.DAT.1SG　remember　　exactly at who(m)
　　　　'Yesterday he visited someone, but I don't remember who'

- in (6), PE is a functional preposition, devoid of lexical meaning, which participates in the differential object marking phenomenon; it assigns accusative to its complement:

(6)　　*Ai*　　　　　*rănit* <u>*pe*　　*cineva,*</u>
　　　　(you)have　　wounded PE　　someone
　　　　a.　*dar mi-e*　　　*greu să*　　*spun*　***cine***
　　　　　　but CL.DAT.1SG=is hard SUBJ　say　　who.ACC
　　　　b.　*dar mi-e*　　　*greu*　　*să*　　*spun*　***(pe)***　***cine***
　　　　　　but CL.DAT.1SG=is　hard　SUBJ　say　　PE　　who.ACC
　　　　'You wounded someone, but I find it hard to tell you who'

2.2. P-omission as pseudo-sluicing?

- given the general nominative/accusative syncretism of Romanian *wh*-phrases, one might be tempted to claim that P-omission sluicing (cf. (7)) in Romanian represents a case of pseudo-sluicing with the underlying structure of a inverted pseudo-cleft (cf. (8)), in which what gets deleted is the copula (or the copula + the comment of the pseudo-cleft) and what surfaces as the remnant is the cleft pivot; this may well be the case, as Romanian has pseudo-cleft structures (9c), (9d) (but no cleft structures (9b)):

(7) *Ieri*   *a*   *fost*   *la cineva,*
     yesterday   (he/she)has   been   at someone
     dar nu îmi   *amintesc*   *exact* ***cine***.
     but not CL.DAT.1SG   remember   exactly who(NOM/ACC)
     'Yesterday (s)he visited someone, but I don't exactly remember who'

(8) *Ieri*   *a*   *fost*   *la cineva,*
     yesterday   (he/she)has   been   at someone
     dar nu îmi   *amintesc*   *exact* ***cine*** ~~*este (cel la care a   fost)*~~.
     but not CL.DAT.1SG   remember   exactly who   is that at who (he/she)has   been
     'Yesterday (s)he visited someone, but I don't exactly remember who is the one (s)he visited'

(9) a.   *Ion a câştigat premiul.*
          John has won prize.DEF
          'John won the prize'
     b.   **E Ion că / care a câştigat premiul.*   [Cleft: *]
          is John that / who has won prize.DEF
     c.   *Cel care a câştigat premiul   e Ion.*   [Pseudo-cleft: OK]
          that who has won prize   is John
          'The one who won the prize is John'
     d.   *Ion e   cel care a câştigat premiul.*   [Inverted pseudo-cleft: OK]
          John is that who has won prize.DEF
          'John is the one who won the prize'

- there are a series of arguments which invalidate the hypothesis that P-omission sluicing is based on a inverted pseudo-cleft strategy:
     (A) the remnant displays case-connectivity effects: when the dropped preposition assigns dative or genitive, the remnant preserves its case:

(10) *A*   *reuşit*   *în*   *viaţă*   *datorită*   *cuiva,*
     (he)has succeeded   in   life   thanks to   someone(DAT)
     a.   *şi*   *nu*   *mă*   *abţin să*   *întreb* ***cui***
          and   not   CL.ACC.1SG   refrain SUBJ ask   who.DAT
     b.   *şi*   *nu*   *mă*   *abţin să*   *întreb* ***datorită***   ***cui***
          and   not   CL.ACC.1SG   refrain SUBJ ask   thanks to   who.DAT
     'He succeeded in life thanks to someone, and I can't help myself asking who'

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(11)   *A   luat   poziţie contra cuiva,*
          (he)has taken stand   against someone(GEN)
          a.   *dar n-aş   putea să-ţi   spun   exact **(a) cui**.*
                  but not=COND can   SUBJ=CL.DAT.2SG   tell   exactly who(GEN)
          b.   *dar n-aş   putea să-ţi   spun   exact **contra cui**.*
                  but not=COND can   SUBJ=CL.DAT.2SG   tell   exactly against who(GEN)
          'He took a stand against someone, but I couldn't tell you who'

- the remnant thus observes Merchant's (2001) first form-identity generalization

(12)   *Form-identity generalization I: Case-matching*   (Merchant 2001: 91)
          The sluiced *wh*-phrase must bear the case that it correlate bears.

- inverted pseudo-clefts are not possible with non-prepositional remnants in oblique cases (compare (10a) and (11a) above with their ungrammatical alleged pseudo-cleft structures given below); the pseudo-cleft pivot is strictly marked with the nominative:

(13)   **şi   nu mă   abţin   să   întreb **cui**   este (cel datorită căruia...)**
          and   not CL.ACC.1SG refrain SUBJ ask   who.DAT   is   that thanks to whom
(14)   ***dar   n-aş   putea să-ţi   spun**
          but   not=COND   can   SUBJ=CL.DAT.2SG   tell
          *exact   **(a) cui**   este   (cel contra căruia ...)*
          exactly who(GEN)   is   that against who(DAT)

       (B) the arguments provided in Merchant (2001: 117-128) to refute the idea that the ellipsis site in sluicing might be in fact a cleft, and not a structure parallel to the antecedent carry over to refuting the idea that Romanian (regular and P-omission) sluicing might be in fact an instance of pseudo-sluicing based on an inverted pseudo-cleft (the English examples below are due to Merchant 2001)
       (B₁) *wh*-adjuncts and implicit arguments are degraded as pivots of clefts in English, and as pivots of pseudo-clefts in Romanian; sluicing is however grammatical:

(15)   a.   *He fixed the car, but I don't know how (*it was).*
          b.   *El a   reparat maşina,   dar nu ştiu   cum (*era …).*
                  he has fixed   car.DEF,   but not (I)know how *(it)was
(16)   a.   *They served the guests, but I don't know what (*it was).*
          b.   *Au   dat   pâine, dar nu ştiu   cui   (*era ...).*
                  (they)have   given bread but not (I)know who.DAT   (it)was

       (B₂) prosody: the intonational contour associated with sluicing (i.e. the greatest pitch falls on the *wh*-phrase) is different from that associated with clefts in English and pseudo-clefts in Romanian (i.e. the pitch accent must fall on the copula)

(17)   *Someone gave me a valentine, but*
          a.   *I don't know WHO.*
          b.   *I don't know who it WAS.*
          c.   **I don't know WHO it was.*

(18) *Cineva*   *mi-a*   *dat*   *o*   *depeşă, însă*
someone   CL.DAT.1SG=has   given   a   letter, but

a. *nu*   *ştiu*   *CINE.*
not   (I)know   who

b. *nu*   *ştiu*   *cine*   *ERA.*
not   (I)know   who   (it)was

c. *?? nu ştiu*   *CINE era.*
not (I)know   who (it)was

(B₃) other tests: 'mention-some' modification, 'mention-all modification', etc. (cf. Merchant 2001) → apply in various degrees to distinguish instances of sluicing from clefts in English and (inverted) pseudo-clefts in Romanian

- **summary**:
- up to this point, it has been shown that P-omission sluicing does not represent and instance of deletion whose ellipsis site is an inverted pseudo-cleft structure → P-omission sluicing is not an instance of pseudo-sluicing
- the fact that in Romanian there is a strict case-matching requirement, and that the case-marking of a *wh*-phrase must correspond to the case of the inner antecedent clearly indicates that Romanian sluices are not derived from underlying inverted pseudo-clefts, and are instead instances of deletion of a clausal structure that appears to be isomorphic to the structure of the antecedent clause containing the correlate *wh*-phrase

2.3. Restrictions on P-omission in sluicing

(A) the presence of an **inner antecedent** (i.e. an indefinite phrases which representing the remnant *wh*-phase's correlate) in the anteceding discourse is obligatory (cf. the a-examples below):

(19) a. **Ieri*   *a*   *fost, dar nu*   *îmi*   *amintesc*   *exact* **cine.**
yesterday (he/she)has been but not CL.DAT.1SG   remember   exactly who

b. *Ieri*   *a*   *fost, dar nu*   *îmi*   *amintesc*   *exact* **la cine.**
yesterday (he/she)has been but not CL.DAT.1SG   remember   exactly at who

(20) a. ** A*   *luat*   *poziţie, dar n-aş*   *putea*   *să-ţi*   *spun **(a) cui.***
(he)has taken stand but not=COND   can   SUBJ=CL.DAT.2SG   tell who(GEN)

b. *A*   *luat*   *poziţie, dar n-aş*   *putea să-ţi*   *spun* **contra cui.**
(he)has taken stand but not=COND   can SUBJ=CL.DAT.2SG tell against who(GEN)

(21) a. **A*   *reuşit*   *în*   *viaţă*   *şi*   *mă*   *întreb* **cui**
(he)has succeeded   in   life   and   CL.ACC.1SG   ask   who.DAT

b. *A*   *reuşit*   *în viaţă şi*   *mă*   *întreb* **datorită cui**
(he)has succeeded   in life and   CL.ACC.1SG   ask   thanks to who.DAT

- suppressing the inner antecedent determines the obligatory realization of the preposition with the remnant *wh*-phrase (cf. the b-examples above)

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(B) P-omission is disallowed with *wh*-adverbial remnants; the relevant examples concern the indefinite adverbial of place *undeva* ('somewhere'), which seems to be the only indefinite adverbial which can be freely embedded in a PP[2]:

(22) *A   plecat de   undeva,*
      (he)has left   from   somewhere
      a.   *dar   nu   ştiu   exact **de   unde**.*
           but   not   (I)know   exactly from   where
      b.   **dar   nu   ştiu   exact **unde**.*[3](with the intended meaning "from where")
           but   not   (I)know exactly where
      'He departed from somewhere, but I don't exactly know where from'

- both these distributional restrictions are important in the assessment of the characteristics of the P-omission structure:

  (A) if the P-drop structure were base on a pseudo-cleft (which, as seen above, is not the case), infelicity of structures without the an inner antecedent would be mysterious, as overt pseudo-cleft structures that can be reconstructed (23b) (i.e. with a nominative/accusative *wh*-pivot) would be employed exactly when the inner antecedent is missing; compare the structures below:

(23) a.   **Ieri   a   fost, dar nu   îmi   amintesc   exact **cine**.*
           yesterday (he/she)has been but not   CL.DAT.1SG remember   exactly who
      b.   *Ieri   a   fost, dar nu   îmi   amintesc*
           yesterday (he/she)has been but not   CL.DAT.1SG remember
           *exact **cine** este   persoana   la care a   fost.*
           exactly who   is   person.DEF   at who (he)has been

  (B) the importance of the impossibility of dropping the preposition of a *wh*-adverb of place will be apparent in the section devoted to the analysis of P-drop in sluicing; it will be shown there that the Avoid P-Stranding strategy which feeds P-drop Sluicing in not available with prepositional *wh*-adverbs (see section **6.3.4** below)

3. Two sources for ellipsis in Universal Grammar

- *a long-noted intuition*: elliptical phenomena (properly delimited from the related phenomena of "pronominalization" and pro-form formation) roughly fall into *two distinct classes* (see, for example, the distinction between *deep* and *surface* anaphora in Hankamer and Sag 1976 or that between H+ / H~ ellipses in Chao 1988 among other proposals, e.g. Winkler 2006)

- **claim**: two distinct operations are involved in what appears to be a form of non-pronunciation:
  (A) multidominance
  (B) PF-deletion

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[2] Other attested combinations of prepositional indefinite *wh*-adverbs are attested, but they are idiomatic: for instance *de cândva* (lit. 'since some time') has the meaning "once, in the old times". Thus, these structures can no longer be used as a diagnostic for sluicing structures.
[3] Structure (b) is grammatical, but not with the intended meaning, i.e. to express the source ("from where"). Without the preposition, the sluice in (b) expresses the target of motion, not the source.

(A) Multidominant ellipses
- ellipses such as Gapping and Stripping are feed by *Parallel Merge* (Citko 2005), the source of multidominant structures

  - Parallel Merge combines the properties of Internal and External Merge: essentially, by Parallel Merge, a constituent (β) merges with a subpart (γ) of another constituent (α), which is the result of a previous Merge operation [i.e. Merge (α, γ) $\rightarrow$ {α, {α, γ}}]

  - the shared syntactic and interpretative properties of these types of ellipsis follow from the conditions on the application and linearization of multidominant structures (cf. Citko 2011)

(B) PF-deletion ellipses (licensed ellipses)
- ellipses such as VPE, Nominal Ellipsis, Modal Complement Ellipsis, and Sluicing are licensed by *a specific class of licensers* (which are subject to cross- and inter-linguistic variation)
- the ellipsis site is the outcome of a *phasal* deletion process which applies at the PF-interface (Merchant 2001) as an effect of a non-pronunciation instruction given in the syntax (Rouveret 2012)
- PF-deletion ellipses $\rightarrow$ systematically tied to the *properties of specific licensers*

  - *verbal ellipsis* is licensed by auxiliary/functional verbs in English, certain auxiliaries like *gwneud* 'do' in Welsh (Rouveret 2012), main verbs in European Portuguese (V-stranding VPE - cf. Goldberg 2005), the modal verbs *putea* ('can'), *vrea* ('want') in Romanian

  - what all these licensers have in common is the feature [+D(iscourse)-linking], which "is an instruction […] that says 'connect with a discourse topic' " (López 2000: 188)

- in a nutshell:

  (a) the important factor triggering ellipsis with PF-deletion ellipses is the presence of an element that gives the non-pronunciation instruction to the Phonological Component of the grammar

  (b) in its turn, the nature of the ellipsis site depends on the availability of certain patterns in targeted languages

- let us analyze these claims from the perspective of sluicing:

  (a) in all instances, sluicing is licensed by a *wh*-phrase or by an element with operator properties in the C(omp)-domain[4]

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[4] I remain agnostic as to whether interrogative ellipsis with non-*wh*-remnants (i) represents an instance of sluicing (as claimed in Hoyt and Teodorescu 2012), for two main reasons. First, with this type of ellipsis, well-attested in Romanian, the presence of an overt complementizer which precedes the remnant is obligatory, contrary to bona fide sluicing, which disallows the presence of an overt complementizer (iib). Second, sluicing is generally characterized as **embedded interrogative CP**, but this characterization is not entirely accurate: the embedded interrogative CP is a partial interrogative clause not a full interrogative (yes/no-) clause. By contrast, the examples with the use of which Hoyt and Teodorescu (2012) illustrate sluicing with lexical remnants are can be categorized as embedded full interrogative (yes/no) clause. The formal indication for this is that the surviving complementizer *dacă* ('if, whether') marks the embedding of yes-no clauses (GALR 2005, II: 34) (iia) (vs. (iib):
(i)   *A*   *venit cineva;*   *nu*   *ştiu*   ***dacă***   <u>*Ion.*</u>
    (he/she)has   come someone;   not   (I)know if   John
    'Someone came; I don't know if Ion came.'
(ii)   a.   *A*   *venit Ion?* $\rightarrow$ *Mă*   *întreabă*   ***dacă*** *Ion a venit.*
      (he/she)has   come Ion   CL.ACC.1SG (he/she)asks **if**   Ion has come.
      'Did Ion come?'   '(S)he is asking me if Ion came.'

(b) several recent studies have argued that what distinguishes sluicing (and sluicing-like constructions) is the presence of the licensing *wh*-phrase; the ellipsis site may have a different constituency, depending on the constituency properties of each language in turn:

- analyzing Modal Existential Constructions (MEC), Šimík (2012) shows that MECs feed sluicing, although the deletion site need not include a TP; what is crucial is the presence of the licensing *wh*-phrase

- Hoyt and Teodorescu (2012) (following a long tradition – Shimoyama 1995, Merchant 1998, Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2002) analyze Japanese sluicing as CP-ellipsis of a cleft construction

- Paul and Postdam (2012) analyze Malagasy sluicing as an instance of TP-ellipsis; however, based on the general properties of Malagasy, they show that the ellipsis site is not necessarily a structure derived via regular *wh*-movement, but rather via predicate fronting

- what further verifies the idea put forth above is that the ellipsis site need not be entirely parallel to / isomorphic with the antecedent:

- sluicing with missing inner antecedents:

(24)   *A   câştigat,   dar   nu   ştiu   exact   **ce.***
        (he)has won   but   not   (I)know exactly what
        'He won, but I don't know exactly what.'

- valency (voice) mismatch between the antecedent and the ellipsis site (see Merchant 2010a, for the claim that voice mismatches are disallowed with sluicing); the antecedent contains a passive form with an implicit argument, while the elided verb is in the active voice and both its arguments (the subject and the direct object) surface as remnants

(25)   *S-a   câştigat, dar nu   ştiu   **cine ce**   ~~a câştigat~~.*
        PASS-has   won   but not   (I)know who what   has won
        'It has been won, but I don't know exactly who won what.'

- with direct object *wh*-remnants, the ellipsis site contains a clitic, as clitic doubling is obligatory with direct object *wh*-phrases; by contrast, if the inner antecedent is an [-specific] [-definite] DP, it needn't be clitic doubled:

(26)   *A   văzut un băiat, dar nu ştiu   **pe care**$_i$ ~~l$_i$-a   văzut.~~*
        (he)has seen a boy,   but not (I)know PE which CL.ACC.3SG=has seen
        'He saw a boy, but I don't know which one'

➔ conclusion: the ellipsis site need not be entirely parallel to the antecedent; the crucial element in the licensing of ellipsis is the presence of the licensing *wh*-phrase

- summary:
- the defining characteristic of Sluicing is the presence of a licensing *wh*-phrase
- the exact nature of the ellipsis site depends on the properties of each language in turn; furthermore, the ellipsis site need not be fully isomorphic with its antecedent

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    b.   *Cine a   venit?* ➔ **Mă   întreabă* **dacă** *cine a venit.*
        who (he/she)hascome   CL.ACC.1SG (he/she)asks   **if**   who has come.
        'Who came?'

4. New results in the analysis of sluicing: Merchant and Simpson 2012

- Merchant and Simpson (eds.) (2012): *Sluicing. Cross-linguistic perspectives* (OUP) → besides the wealth of empirical data carefully accounted for, it contains two very general results with important consequences for the analysis of ellipsis in general, and of sluicing, in particular:

(A) **The strategy employed by a certain language to form sluicing constructions directly depends on the syntactic mechanisms available in the respective language**; as Merchant and Simpson (2012: 10) put is: "different underlying mechanisms may actually result in similar surface structures"
      - this point has been discussed at the end of the previous section
- a further argument to support this claim is that languages which derive sluices by the same mechanism (i.e. TP-deletion in English and Romanian) may differ as to the range of admissible remnants

- Romanian: a language with multiple *wh*-movement (27), with all *wh*-elements being able to move to the C-domain, observing Superiority (subject *wh*-phrase > object *wh*-phrase) → the availability of multiple *wh*-remnants (28a), also observing Superiority (cf. (28b))

(27)   ***Cine ce** precedă?*
       who what precedes
       'Who precedes what?'
(28)   a.   *Cineva   precedă   ceva,   dar nu ştiu   **cine ce**.*
           someone precedes   something   but not (I)know who what
           'Someone precedes something, but I don't know who precedes what'
      b.   **Cineva* precedă   ceva,   dar nu ştiu   **ce cine**.*
           someone precedes   something   but not (I)know what who

- by contrast, English multiple remnants are most often the not unacceptable (Hoyt and Teodorescu 2012: 86):

(29)   **John gave someone something, and I want to know* [**who what**].

- this is due to the fact that English disallows multiple *wh*-movement:

(30)   a.   ***Who** gave what?*
      b.   ***Who what** / **what who** gave?*

- ***result***:
      - deciding the underlying structure of an ellipsis site is **an empirical problem**
      - furthermore, as shown above in the discussion surrounding examples (24)-(26), it is not enough to decide what sluicing strategy a language adopts, but it is also necessary to inspect the characteristics of the remnants in order to establish the exact constituency of the ellipsis site (cf. (25) above, which illustrates an instance of voice mismatch in sluicing, hence an instance in which the antecedent and the ellipsis site are not isomorphic)

(B) **The implementation of the Split-CP hypothesis** (Rizzi 1997) in the analysis of sluicing (van Craenenbroeck 2012)

- the CP-split: $C_1 > C_2$

- two important claims in van Craenenbroeck 2012:
    (I) depending on where the sluiced *wh*-phrase resides, ***ellipsis can target different portions of structure***:
   - the low CP projection (CP_2) if the remnant resides in the higher C-layer (CP_1) (31a)
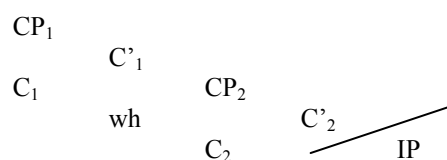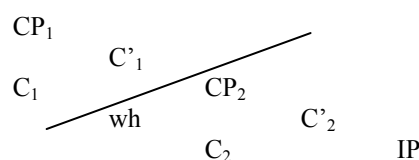   - the TP-domain if the remnant resides in the lower C-layer (CP_2) (31d) or has transited Spec,CP_2 on its way to Spec,CP_1 (31b)
        - a fourth logical possibility, with the *wh*-phrase in Spec,CP_2 and the deletion of CP_2 is not a well-formed configuration (31c)

(31)   a.   **wh in SpecCP$_1$, deletion of CP$_2$**   b.   **wh in SpecCP$_1$, deletion of IP**
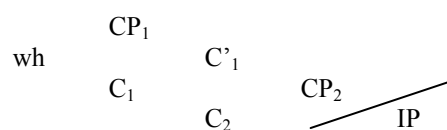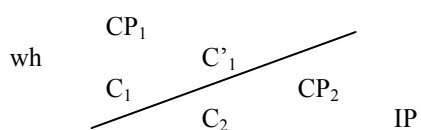
    c.   **wh in SpecCP$_2$, deletion of CP$_2$**   d.   **wh in SpecCP$_2$, deletion of IP**

(from van Craenenbroeck 2012: 41)

    - structures (31a), (31b), (31d) → all instantiated in different languages
    - the function of CP_1 is clause typing (Cheng 1991); CP_2 is the locus where variable/operator dependencies are created
    - notice again that deletion is parasitic on the presence of a licensing *wh*-phrase

    (II) there is an important ***difference between <u>simple wh-phrases</u> and <u>complex wh-phrases</u>***
    - the criterion to distinguish between simple (*which*) and complex *wh*-phrases (*which boy*): the presence of an overt nominal restriction
    - proposal:
        - simple *wh*-phases undergo movement from their IP-internal position to Spec,CP_1 through Spec,CP_2; the operator feature of C_2 and the clause-typing feature of C_1 are valued along the way
        - complex *wh*-phrases are base generated in Spec,CP_1; their clause-typing feature is valued in situ; there is empty operator movement from the IP-internal base position to which the complex *wh*-phase is related to Spec,CP_2 in order to value the operator feature of C_2
    - this hypothesis is defended through a wealth of empirical facts (van Craenenbroeck 2012: 41): the presence of two heads; the different status of simple and complex *wh*-phases with

respect to Superiority effects (se the difference between ungrammatical *What did who buy?* and grammatical/acceptable *What did which boy buy?*); the spell out of intermediate copies; various tests determine the presence of an empty operator

- ***result:*** even though it is **directly merged** in the topmost projection of the C-layer, a *wh*-phrase (i.a. a complex one in this case) can license ellipsis of its complement → Sluicing is not parasitic on movement, but on the presence of a licensing *wh*-phrase

5. Avoid P-Stranding in Romanian

5.1. On resumption

- recall the objective pursued in this paper: to determine mechanism that determines the omission of a preposition in a sluicing construction, which is surprising given that Romanian is a language that disallows P-stranding
- the main claim is that what underlies this phenomenon is a resumptive strategy applying in the ellipsis site
- this section: discuss the *Avoid P-Stranding* resumptive strategy available in Romanian

- intensive work on resumptive in GB and in the minimalist framework (Zaenen, Engdahl, Maling 1981, McCloskey 2005, Rouveret *mss.* among many others) has led to two very general results about the nature of this phenomenon:
    - resumption is not a theoretically uniform result
    - resumption is a last resort mechanism, which is available only if movement is not available

Rouveret (mss.) → the operation involved in establishing non-movement dependencies is Agree

- further assumptions:
    - Successive cyclicity effects → not an exclusive property of the structures derived by movement; Agree can also give rise to successive cyclicity effects
    - Agree applies by phase, in a cyclic fashion (observing the PIC[5])

5.2. Three ways to establish a resumptive strategy

- Rouveret (*mss.*) further shows that in a theory incorporating phasal Agree, there are three ways to establish an A'-dependency between the head of a relative clause and the relativization site:

Ways of establishing an A'-dependency
(32)   (i) via Movement, which is the combined effect of Agree + Move
        (ii) via Base-generation + Agree
        (iii) via Base-generation alone

- all three strategies are instantiated in Welsh

---

[5] The Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2000): "In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α, only H and its edge are accessible to such operations."

- the choice of a strategy over the other is determined by **locality constraints**

      - strategy (i) (movement / head-raising) applies when the term to be relativized is the subject or the object of a single clause structure → subjects and objects can reach the edge of a phase, and therefore can move further up → result: the "direct gap relatives"

      - strategy (ii) (base-generation + Agree) applies when the term to be relativized is the object of a preposition internal to vP → the object to be relativized is no accessible to relative C; however, cyclic Agree is not blocked → result: the resumptive construction

      - strategy (iii) (base-generation plus, presumably, simple anaphoric binding) applies when the relativization site is within an island → the gap is filled by an intrusive resumptive pronoun (RP)

A note on sluicing and resumption
- strategy (iii) → dubbed for English "intrusive resumption" (Chao and Sells 1983, Sells 1984)

(33)   Who$_i$ did the Brazilian team improve after he$_i$ started playing for them?

                                    (from Merchant 2001: 128)

- analyzing the possibility that sluicing may be based on a resumptive strategy in English, Merchant (2001) concludes that this is not a viable solution
- notice, however, that **Merchant's (2001) discussion is only centred around this particular resumptive strategy,** and his conclusions need not be taken to hold for strategy (ii) (i.e. base-generation + Agree) as well

5.3. Resumption in Romanian: Avoid P-stranding[6]

- only strategies (i) and (ii) are attested in Romanian
      - strategy (i) feeds the direct gap relatives

(34) a.   *omul   care __ a   venit*
               man.DEF   who   has   come
               'the man who came'
      b.   *omul   pe   care l-ai   văzut __*
               man.DEF PE   who CL.ACC.3SG=have seen
               'the man who you saw'

      - strategy (ii) gives rise to a **resumptive strategy** in headed relative clauses
- as discussed above, this strategy applies when locality considerations block ascension of material from the relativization site to the left periphery of the relative clause

---

[6] This strategy has been dubbed "(Rom.) lexicalizarea urmei" (*trace lexicalization* / *sounding the trace*) in the relevant literature (Gheorghe 2004). As will be shown in this paper, this strategy is not based on movement, but on a base-generation / external merge (cf. Rouveret *mss.*); hence, a label which resorts to the term "trace" is inappropriate.

***De*-relativization**

- *de*: an invariable relative pronoun, which cannot be embedded in a PP[7]
- relativization of subjects (35a) and objects (35b) does not trigger the insertion of an RP

(35) a. *omul$_j$*   *de*   *a venit*   *(*el$_j$)*
           man.DEF   who   has   come   he
           'the man who came'
   b. *omul*   *de l-ai văzut*
           man.DEF who CL.ACC.3SG=have seen
           'the man who you saw'

- by contrast, whenever the relativized constituent is embedded under a PP, the only strategy available is the insertion of an RP:

(36) a. *femeia$_i$*   *de*   *a*   *vorbit* **despre ea$_i$**
           woman.DEF   who   (he)has spoken about her
           'the woman he spoke about'
   b. *casa*   *aia mică$_i$*   *de-am*   *trăit* **în ea$_i$**
           house.DEF   that small   which=(I)have lived in it
           'that small house I lived in'
   c. *ciocanul$_i$*   *de*   *ai*   *bătut*   **cu**   **el$_i$**
           hammer.DEF   which (you)have   hammered   with   it
           'the hammer you have hammered with'

- **a disambiguation strategy:** in the appropriate agreement configurations, when the resumptive-pronoun PP is suppressed, what is understood as the relativized element is no longer a(n) (implicit) prepositional object, but the subject (compare (36a) with (37)):

(37) *femeia de*   *a*   *vorbit*
      woman who   (3rd)has   spoken
      'the woman who spoke'

- result: with *de*-relativization, resumption occurs as a last resort strategy to relativize a prepositional constituent

Other types of relativization: <u>care-relativization</u>
the more familiar *care*-relativization
- with relativized subjects: the same type of behaviour like in the case of *de*-relativization → strategy (i) applies, yielding a "direct gap relative"

(38) *femeia$_i$*   *care a*   *vorbit (*ea$_i$)*
      woman.DEF   who has   spoken (she)
      'the woman who spoke'

---

[7] It is not clear whether *de* is a relative pronoun or a relative complementizer; I will continue to consider it an invariable pronoun in line with the most recent traditional works on Romanian (Gheorghe 2013a).

- nota bene: since *care* is inherently definite, it participates in the differential object marking phenomenon when it is a direct object; the direct object is introduced by the functional preposition PE, and behaves like a bona fide prepositional object (see below)

- the situation is, however, different with prepositional objects; there are two distinct options, both well represented

(A) the *wh*-containing PP is fully relativized → strategy (i): "direct gap relative"

(39) *femeia **pe care** am văzut-o __*
      woman.DEF PE who (I)have seen-CL.ACC.3SG
      'the woman (who) I saw'
(40) a. *omul   **cu care**   am   vorbit __*
          man.DEF   with whom   (I)have spoken
          'the man I spoke to'
      b. *mândra   mea   **cu care**   m-am   iubit _* (folkloric text)
          sweetheart.DEF my   with whom CL.ACC.1SG=(I)have   loved
          'the sweetheart I made love with'
      c. *băiatul   **lângă care**   am   stat __ la petrecere*
          boy.DEF   next-to who   (I)have stayed at party
          'the boy I stayed next to at the party'

(B) only the *wh*-element gets relativized → apply strategy (ii): the resumptive construction → **Avoid-P Stranding**

(41) *femeia_i   care am   văzut-o   **pe ea_i***
      woman.DEF   who (I)have   seen-CL.ACC.3SG   PE her(RP)
      'the woman (who) I saw'
(42) a. *omul   care   am   vorbit **cu   el***
          man.DEF   who   (I)have spoken with   him(RP)
          'the man I spoke to'
      b. *mândra   mea   care   m-am   iubit **cu ea***
          sweetheart.DEF my   whom   CL.ACC.1SG=(I)have   loved with her(RP)
          'the sweetheart I made love with'
      c. *băiatul care am   stat   **lângă el**   la petrecere*
          boy.DEF who (I)have   stayed next-to him(RP)   at party
          'the boy I stayed next to at the party'

- this second situation: clearly a last resort mechanism (**Avoid P-Stranding**) → as soon as a non-prepositional *wh*-pronoun is merged, the structure is rescued by inserting an RP-containing PP; notice that suppressing this PP leads to ungrammaticality in the case of PPs other than direct objects (compare (42) with (43)):

(43) a. **omul   care   am   vorbit*
          man.DEF   who   (I)have spoken

	b.	*mândra	mea	care	m-am		iubit
		sweetheart.DEF my		whom	CL.ACC.1SG=(I)have		loved
	c.	*băiatul	care am	stat	la petrecere		
		boy.DEF who (I)have		stayed	at party		

- the direct object structure (41) need not be resumptively doubled in a PP; it is rescued by the presence in the RC of the direct object clitic (44), which signals the relativization of a prepositional direct object (note that clitic doubling is disallowed with non-prepositional direct objects)

(44)   *femeia*   *care am*   *văzut-**o***
       woman.DEF   who (I)have   seen-CL.ACC.3SG
       'the woman (who) I saw'

- from a technical perspective, the idea that Avoid P-Stranding is a last resort strategy can be stated as follows: the need to spell-out the RP is due to the fact that the syntactic objects which bear the corresponding phi-features are trapped within vP and have no access to its edge

- as strategy (i) ("direct gap relative") is a familiar relativization strategy, whose derivational underpinnings are well-known, it is necessary to briefly deal with the derivation of the resumptive structures (strategy (ii))

5.4. Deriving Avoid P-Stranding

- as announced, we will closely follow Rouveret's (*mss.*) analysis of this structure, which is based on Base-generation + Agree
- Rouveret's proposal will be recast in terms of the Split-CP hypothesis
- the derivation considered is that of an example like (42a) (repeated below), but holds for the entire array of Avoid P-Stranding cases

(42)   a.   *omul*   *care*   *am*   *vorbit* **cu**   **el**
             man.DEF   who   (I)have spoken with   him(RP)
             'the man I spoke to'

- several problems, each examined in turn:

5.4.1. What a RP is
- a decompositional view on pronouns stemming from Postal (1970) (see McCloskey 2005, Rouveret *mss.* for the implementation of this idea in deriving resumptive structures, and Freidin and Vergnaud 2001 for an explicit proposal)
     - an RP → a definite pronoun with a silent nominal restriction:

(45)   [DP [+def] phi ~~NP~~]   (*apud* Rouveret *mss.*)

5.4.2. How the resumptive strategy is established in narrow syntax
- by Agree, a relation is established between the active (uninterpretable) feature of the relative C and of the RP

- Agree is not subsequently followed by movement
(A) the first step is establishing an operator-variable relation between the C-domain and the resumption site

- an empty operator is merged in the C-domain
    - here, we differ from Rouveret (*mss.*) and follow van Craenenbroek (2012: 43)[8], by merging the empty operator in the lower C_2, the locus of establishing operator-variable dependencies
- the assumed structure of the relative C_2:

(46) C_2: [uOp], [$u$phi], [iRel] / [$i$mood]

    - Rouveret (*mss.*) initially proposes that C is endowed with an [iRel] feature, and subsequently, following Nissembaum (2000), proposes to replace this feature with a more motivated one, i.e. [$i$mood][9;10]
- the role of this feature is to ensure successive cyclicity → an "activation feature" (similar to Chomsky's P feature), which has to be active until the derivation reaches C-layer
- because of the PIC, the RP has no direct access to the CP periphery; thus, the relation between relative C_2 and the resumptive pronoun is mediated by the phasal head v, itself endowed with the relevant features for functioning as a probe
- assumption: an unvalued Op feature is also present on the resumptive pronoun; it has the role of establishing the operator-variable dependency with the left periphery C_2

(47)   (DP) C_2 T   v   [P   RP]
                $i$mood $u$mood $u$mood $u$mood
                $u$phi $i$phi
                uOp iOp

- notice that the [Op] feature need not be present on all intervening heads, as, on the one hand, the Activity condition is satisfied by the presence of the [mood] feature, and, on the other hand, there is no need to endow the T and v heads with any operator property, and hence, defective intervention effects are not induced
- a similar reasoning holds for not assuming that [$u$phi] features are present on v

---

[8] Roveret assumes that the empty Op is merged in Spec,CP, postulating a EPP feature of the relative C-head. Assuming, as in van Craenenbroeck (2012: 43), that operator-variable dependencies are established by the mediation of the lower C in split-CP constructions, we eliminate the need for an EPP feature on C.

[9] Rouveret operates this replacement on the basis of the empirical fact that the various complementizers and particles of languages like Irish systematically vary along the dimension [mood]. This intuition, that C is sensitive to the mood of the clause it heads, is correct, as noticed by (Martins 1994: 201), although it does not always morphologically manifest. Romanian Cs are clearly sensitive to the feature mood, as different complementizers are used to introduce indicative and subjunctive clauses (see Gheorghe 2013b).

[10] As Rouveret puts it "[mood] is also a property of the pronominal (and nominal) phrases which must be linked to the periphery; just as their being marked for [tense] allows nominal expressions to function as arguments in the inflectional domain (Pesetsky and Torrego, 2001), their being marked for [mood] allows them to be linked to the periphery and to participate in A'-relations." The presence of [mood] on resumptive pronouns is thus accounted for.

- a series of Agree relations are established in turn:
  - [*mood*] Agree between first RP and v; then between v and T, and finally between C_2 and T

- as can be observed, the PIC would prevent establishing an Agree relation between the [phi] and [Op] features in C and those of the RP → 2 solutions (Rouveret *mss.*):
  - either assume that assume that the [phi] and [Op] features are present on every head (not necessary, as insisted above)
  - or assume that, as long as a phasal Agree relation has been established (the [mood] Agree relations), it is not necessary for the [phi] and [Op] Agree relation to be phasal; this is done by extending Richards's (1997) Principle of Minimal Compliance to Agree chains (Rouveret *mss.*):

(48) **Principle of Minimal Compliance** (Richards 1997, apud Rouveret *mss.*)
  Once an instance of movement to β has obeyed a constraint on the distance between the source and the agent, other instances of movement to β need not obey this constraint.

  - this second solution seems to be more economical and does not violate any fundamental principle of grammar

- all the elements have their features valued:

(49)

C_2	T	v	[P	RP]
*i*mood [1]	*u*mood [1]	*u*mood [1]		*u*mood [1]
*u*phi [2]				*i*phi [2]
*u*Op [3]				*i*Op [3]

- more precisely, the [phi] and [Op] features of C_2 are now interpretable

(B) the second step is merging the *wh*-phrase in the specifier of the higher C-projection
  - assume now that the *wh*-element is merged in Spec,CP_1; it's lexical specification is [*u*phi], [*u*Op]; these features are valued via Agree with the features of C_2
  - the clause-typing feature (DP) of the *wh*-phase is also valued via Agree with the clause-typing feature of C

(C) finally, the RC adjoins the definite head (recall that Avoid P-Stranding is available for headed relative clauses)
  - there is agreement (or feature matching) between the head of the relative clause and the features of the *wh*-phrase in Spec,CP_1, ensuring a converging derivation, since the RC attaches as a modifier to the head

6. Analyzing P-omission sluicing in Romanian

6.1. Introduction

- recall our objective: to propose a viable explanation for the possibility to omit the preposition with sluicing remnants in Romanian; this behaviour is puzzling since Romanian is a language that does not allow preposition stranding
- the relevant explanation should cover examples like (1), (10), (11) (repeated below), with remnants in the accusative, dative and genitive case

(1)   *Părinţii   copilului   discutau   <u>despre ceva</u>,*
        parents.DEF   child.DEF.GEN argued   about   something
        a.   *dar ea a   refuzat să   ne   spună **despre ce***
                but she has   refused SUBJ   CL.DAT.1PL   tell   about what.ACC
        b.   *dar ea a   refuzat să   ne   spună **ce***
                but she has   refused SUBJ   CL.DAT.1PL   tell   what.ACC
        'The child's parents were arguing about something but she refused to tell us what'

(10)   *A   reuşit   în viaţă <u>datorită   cuiva</u>,*
        (he) succeeded in life   thanks to someone
        a.   *şi   nu mă   abţin să   întreb **cui***
                and not CL.ACC.1SG refrain SUBJ ask   who.DAT
        b.   *şi   nu mă   abţin să   întreb **datorită cui***
                and not CL.ACC.1SG refrain SUBJ ask   thanks to   who.DAT
        'He succeeded in life thanks to someone, and I can't help myself asking thanks to whom'

(11)   *A   luat   poziţie contra cuiva,*
        (he)has taken stand   against someone(GEN)
        a.   *dar n-aş   putea să-ţi   spun   exact **(a) cui**.*
                but not=COND can   SUBJ=CL.DAT.2SG   tell   exactly who(GEN)
        b.   *dar n-aş   putea să-ţi   spun   exact **contra cui**.*
                but not=COND can   SUBJ=CL.DAT.2SG   tell   exactly against who(GEN)
        'He took a stand against someone, but I couldn't tell you who'

- also, recall that in section 2 we have shown that analyzing instances of P-drop as being based on a inverted psedo-cleft ellipsis site is not a viable option → a narrow syntactic explanation is needed
- before dealing presenting our own proposal, it is necessary to briefly discuss Stjepanović's (2008, 2012) analysis of similar facts in Serbo-Croatian and to show that it does not properly account for the Romanian data
        - Stjepanović (2008, 2012) claims that the omission of the preposition in Serbo-Croatian, a non-P-stranding language as well, is a post-syntactic / PF process
        - furthermore, she claims that sluicing feeds P-drop, and that this phenomenon can be placed within the phenomena of elliptical repair discussed by Merchant (2010b) → in Class II: "An operation O (generally movement) that is *impossible* in non-elliptical contexts is found under ellipsis: ellipsis feeds O."

- it is unclear why and how a certain process applies in the post-syntactic component especially, since as acknowledged by the author (Stjepanović 2012: 75), even in the language in question, there are types of ellipsis in which Ps cannot be omitted: VPE, comparative ellipsis, gapping, sluicing under sprouting, multiple sluicing, contrast sluicing

- result: one has to find a more principled reason (preferably based on narrow syntactic considerations) to explain the omission of preposition with sluicing remnants
- finally, recall from the discussion in section **4** that deletion in sluicing is not necessarily dependent on movement; as shown by van Craenenbroeck (2012), complex *wh*-phrases directly merged in the C-domain may trigger deletion

6.2. Avoid P-Stranding with Sluicing

- claim: the prepositionless remnant establishes a relation with a resumptive pronoun selected by a preposition in the ellipsis site
- in the derivation of P-drop sluicing it is necessary to take into account the fact that the sluice, as well as its overt counterparts are embedded interrogative clauses; thus from the point of view of their relativization type, they are **headless relative clauses**, differing thus from the above analyzed pattern through the absence of the external head
  ➔ the implication for this phenomenon is that the last step of the process is different from step III in the derivation of resumptive RCs ➔ implications for case-connectivity and for the (extended) range of remnants in sluicing in opposition to Avoid P-stranding relatives

- consider the derivation of example (1b)

(1)　*Părinţii　　copilului　　discutau　　despre ceva*,
　　　parents.DEF　child.DEF.GEN　argued　　about　something
　　　b.　*dar ea a　　refuzat să　　ne　　　spună **ce***
　　　　　but she has　refused SUBJ　CL.DAT.1PL　tell　what.ACC

- we are interested in the structure of the prepositionless sluice

(A) the first step is establishing an operator-variable relation between the C-domain and the resumption site; this is done as in the case of Avoid P-Stranding above:
- we assume the existence of a PP-embedded RP in the ellipsis site
- a [$u$mood] feature is available on all the relevant heads, which ensures the Activity Condition
- the relevant C-head (C_2) is specified as [$i$mood], [$u$phi], [uOp] while the RP contains the same features with opposite values [$u$mood], [$i$phi], [iOp]

(50)　(DP)　C_2　　　　　T　　　　　v　　　　[P　RP]
　　　　　　$i$mood　　　$u$mood　　　$u$mood　　　　$u$mood
　　　　　　$u$phi　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　$i$phi
　　　　　　uOp　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　iOp

- Agree applies, ensuring that C_2 and the RP have their features valued

(51)   C$_2$ T   v   [P   RP]
        *i*mood [1]   *u*mood [1]   *u*mood [1]   *u*mood [1]
        *u*phi [2]   *i*phi [2]
        *u*Op [3]   *i*Op [3]

(B) the second step is merging the *wh*-phrase in the specifier of the higher C-projection
        - assume now that the *wh*-element is merged in Spec,CP$_1$; it's lexical specification is [*u*phi], [*u*Op]; these features are valued via Agree with the features of C$_2$
        - the clause-typing feature of the *wh*-phase is also valued via Agree with the clause-typing feature of C; the clause is marked as an embedded interrogative
        - by virtue of its inherent [D-linking] feature, the *wh*-phrase "looks for a suitable antecedent"[11] and is able to license deletion of its complement
        - from a relativization perspective, no other operation needs to apply since the sluiced clause is an embedded **headless** relative and, as is well documented (cf. Merchant 2001: 41-54), the sluiced *wh*-phrase does not enter a relation with the verb that embeds the sluice → contrasting thus with the headed relative clause, which is an adjunct of an external head

(C) the final step consists in attaching the sluiced clause to a verb that takes as its complement an embedded interrogative CP

6.3. Consequences

- four (apparently problematic) empirical issues have to be discussed before we conclude

6.3.1 Case-connectivity effects
- in resumptive relative clauses, the case of the *wh*-phrase is invariably nominative/accusative, although the RP to which it is related may be in an oblique case:

(52)   *omul   care   ai   luat o poziție contra lui*
        man   who(NOM/ACC) (you)have   taken a stand against he.GEN
        'the man you took a stand against'

- by contrast, the P-dropped sluice typically displays the case of its associated RP[12]:

(10)   *A   reuşit   în viață datorită   cuiva,*
        (he) succeeded in life   thanks to someone

---

[11] I do not apply Merchant's technical implementation of deletion for conceptual and empirical reasons: conceptually, the presence of an E-feature violates the Inclusiveness Condition, as it is not inherent in the featural a certain head / phrase and its insertion has to be stipulated; empirically, in a PF-deletion analysis of nominal ellipsis in Romanian (Cornilescu and Nicolae 2012), it has been shown that an the E-feature is superfluous and can be replaced by more motivated features (for nominal ellipsis, the feature [+anaphoric]).

[12] There seems to be variation in this respect: *wh*-phrases that appear both in headed and headless RCs appear with a default nominative / accusative form in P-drop sluicing, while *wh*-phrases that occur only in headless RCs displays the case assigned in the ellipsis site. This point needs further elaboration.

a. *și nu mă abțin să întreb **cui***
   and not CL.ACC.1SG refrain SUBJ ask who.DAT

- this may be taken to follow from the different status of sluices and of resumptive relative clauses: the sluiced clause is a headless relative clause and its *wh*-phrase need not enter a relation with an external head; thus, the its case-features, transmitted in the process of [phi]- and [Op]-Agree are not superseded by a further Agree dependency

6.3.2 The range of remnants
- there is a larger array of remnants in P-dropped sluicing than in resumptive RCs derived via Avoid P-Stranding; namely, all *wh*-elements that may occur in headless RCs are available with P-dropped sluices ➔ a natural explanation: the sluice is a headless interrogative clauses

6.3.3 The unavailability of an overt counterpart
- notice that it is impossible to utter the full clause corresponding to a P-dropped sluiced:

(53) *Părinții copilului discutau despre cineva,*
     parents.DEF child.DEF.GEN discussed about someone
     *dar ea a refuzat să ne spună **cine***
     but she has refused SUBJ CL.DAT.1PL tell what.ACC

(54) **Părinții copilului discutau despre cineva, dar ea a refuzat să*
     parents.DEF child.DEF.GEN discussed about someone but she has refused SUBJ
     *ne spună **cine**ᵢ părinții ei discutau despre el*ᵢ */ ea*ᵢ
     CL.DAT.1PL tell what.ACC parents.DEF her discussed about him/her

- this may be taken as the effect of the MaxElide constraint (Takahashi and Fox 2005, Merchant 2008, Hartman 2011) relativized to Agree relations (MaxElide is formulated as a restriction on traces)
- simply put, "**MaxElide** chooses the largest deletable constituent within a given domain of semantic parallelism, and its **effects are visible whenever a variable inside the elided constituent is bound from outside the elided constituent**" (Hartman 2011: 368)
- the configurations discussed (with the remnant *wh*-phrase merged in the higher C) the Op-variable relation is established via Agree, and the final variable-binding relation applies between the remnant *wh*-phrase and the Op-feature in lower C ➔ this creates the configuration that **enforces** the application of MaxElide

6.3.4 The impossibility to drop the preposition of an adjunct phrase
- recall example (22), which shows that the preposition heading a *wh*-adverb cannot be dropped

(22) *A plecat de undeva,*
     (he)has left from somewhere
     a. *dar nu știu exact **de unde**.*
        but not (I)know exactly from where
     b. **dar nu știu exact **unde**.* (with the intended meaning "from where")
        but not (I)know exactly where
     'He departed from somewhere, but I don't exactly know where from'

- this has a rather simple explanation: Avoid P-Stranding is unavailable with adjuncts

(55) a.   *locul*   *de*   *unde*   *a*   *venit* __
            place.DEF   from   where   (he)has come
            'the place where he came from'
      b.   **locul_i*   *unde_i*   *a*   *venit de acolo_i*
            place.DEF   where   (he)has come from there

- this is perhaps because adjuncts are islands both for Movement and for Agree

7. Conclusions

(A) Contrary to what is usually accepted in the bibliography (cf. Merchant 2001), the examination of P-omission sluicing in Romanian shows that a resumptive structure may also be present in the ellipsis site of a sluiced clause.
    This is not a surprising result since, as argued by various authors, resumption is not a unitary phenomenon.

(B) Romanian does not have a form of P-stranding under sluicing; the omission of the preposition with *wh*-remnants in sluicing is due to the existence in Romanian of an Avoid P-Stranding strategy whose mechanism indirectly feeds P-omission sluicing.
    Arguing that the omission of the preposition of sluicing remnants has a corresponding strategy in overt-head RC structures offers, after all, a more principled account for this phenomenon than Stjepanović's (2008, 2012) proposal that the preposition is dropped as the effect of a post-syntactic P-drop process.

(C) Reviewing the (Romanian) empirical data in connection with the phenomenon investigated here has also the side-effect of contributing to a more general characterization of sluicing; the following empirical and theoretical results have pointed out:
    - the exact nature of the isomorphism / parallelism relation is still to be formulated; phenomena such as missing inner antecedents, voice mismatch, and the disparity between clitic doubling in the ellipsis site and non-doubling in the antecedent raise questions as to how the Parallelism Condition should be formulated;
    - as argued by various authors in Merchant and Simpson (2012) and by the present paper, in order to license sluicing it is necessary that a *wh*-phrase be present in the C-domain; the *wh*-phrase may get in the C-domain via movement (the general case), via predicate fronting (Paul and Postdam 2012) or may be directly merged in the C-domain (complex *wh*-phrase in van Craenenbroeck 2012; remnants of P-omission sluicing in Romanian); thus, the relation between movement and deletion should be reconsidered;
    - furthermore, as discussed in section 4 (and in other various points in the paper), sluicing should not be blindly considered a form of TP-deletion; turning the tables, sluicing should be considered a form of deletion licensed by a *wh*-phrase, with the nature and constituency of the ellipsis site depending on the strategies available in each freshly examined language.

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