Sluicing in Romanian: IP-Ellipsis or Cleft-Reduction?*

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1 Introduction

Sluicing[1] is ellipsis of some sub-constituent within an embedded question, leaving one (or more) wh-words (or *remnants*) "floating" in the complement position of the main verb.

(1) **Cineva** mi-a   mâncat prăjiturile,
     *someone me-*AUX3S *eat   cookies-the*
     "Someone ate my cookies

     dar nu ştiu **cine** [~~mi-a~~   ~~mâncat prăjiturile~~].
     *but not know who   me-*AUX3S *ate   cookies-the*

     but I don't know who."

Sluicing in English has been widely analyzed as IP-ellipsis (Chung, et al (1995), Merchant 1998, 2000):

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[1]We use the term sluicing descriptively, without intending any particular analysis. To be more specific, we will refer to the English-type sluicing as IP-Ellipsis, and the Japanese-type as Cleft-Reduction.

(2) *English*

     a. Arabelle is getting married! Guess [CP to whom [IP ~~she is getting married~~]].

     b. Max is meeting Julia, but nobody knows [CP when [IP ~~he is meeting her~~]].

In contrast, sluicing in Japanese has been analyzed as ellipsis of the CP constituent of a cleft-construction (c.f. Shimoyama 1995; Merchant 1998, 2000; Hiraiwa & Ishihara 2002):

(3) [Bill-ga   **nanika-o**   nusunda rasii] kedo,
     *Bill-*NOM *something-*ACC *stole   seem   but*
     "It seems that Bill stole something,

     boku-wa [CP ~~Bill-ga~~   ~~nusunda rasii~~ ~~no~~] **nani-o**   ka (da) siranai.
     *I-*TOP   *Bill-*NOM *stole   seem* C *what-*ACC Q *is   know-not*

     but I don't know what."

At first blush, Romanian sluicing resembles Japanese sluicing more than it does English sluicing. This is because both Romanian and Japanese allow the following categories of constituents in the remnant of a sluice (Merchant 1998, 2000):

(4) a. multiple wh-remnants;

     b. semantically referential remnants;

     c. polarity-sensitive remnants;

     d. overt complementizers.

However, upon closer examination, we find that Romanian sluicing is fundamentally similar to English sluicing. This is for two reasons.

(5) a. Sluicing is island-insensitive in both Romanian and English;

     b. The difference in the number of remnants tolerated in the two languages can be explained by the availability of multiple wh-fronting in Romanian.

We argue the following:

(6) a. Romanian sluicing is a form of IP-ellipsis, as has been proposed for English

     b. Romanian has an articulate phrase-structure between the sluice and complementizer;

     c. Differences between sluicing in Romanian and English on the one hand, and similarities between sluices in Romanian and Japanese on the other, follow from these points.

1.1 Outline of talk

2 Romanian and Japanese

Romanian and Japanese sluices share several properties. These include the presence of *multiple wh-remnants*, as well as a variety of non-WH remnants, such as (2.1), *semantically referential remnants* (2.2.1), *polarity-sensitive remnants* (2.2.2), and *overt complementizers within the remnant* (2.3); (c.f. Shimoyama 1995, Merchant 1998, 2000):

2.1 Multiple WH-remnants

Romanian and Japanese sluicing both allow multiple remnants in the sluice:

(7) a. Ion a   dat **cuiva**   **ceva**,
         Ion AUX3S *give to-someone something*
         "John gave something to someone,

         şi   vreau să   ştiu   **cui**   **ce**.
         and want1S that know-SUBJ whom-DA what
         and I want to know what to whom""

     b. Taro-ga   **dareka-ni**   **nanika-o**   ageta rasii
         Taro-NOM someone-DAT something-ACC gave heard
         "I heard that Taro gave someone something,

         ga   boku-wa **dare-ni** **nani-o**   da ka wakara-nai.
         but I-TOP   who-DAT what-ACC that Q know-not
         but I don't know who [he gave] what.""

English sluicing does not[2]:

(8) ?? John gave **someone something**, and I want to know **who what**.

[2]It has been noted that the acceptability of multiple sluicing in English increases if the remnants are non-argumental: c.f. Richards (1997)

2.2 Non-WH remnants

Both Japanese and Romanian allow non-WH constituents as the remnants of sluices:

2.2.1 Referential constituents

Noun phrases and argumental PPs:

(9) a. Mi s-a   spus că   **cineva** s-a   întâlnit **cu** **cineva**,
         Me REFL-AUX3S tell that someone RELF-AUX3S meet   ACC someone
         "I was told that someone met with someone,...

         si mă   întreb dacă **Ion cu** **Maria**.
         and me-refl wonder if Ion with Maria
         and I wonder if John with Mary."

     b. John-ga   **dareka-o**   kubinisita rasii,
         John-NOM someone-ACC fired   seem
         "It seems that John fired someone,

         kedo boku-wa **Bill-o**   to   omou.
         but I-TOP   Bill-ACC that think
         and I think Bill."

Adverbial PPs:

(10) a. Da, am   aflat   şi eu că Ioana a   fugit **cu** **cineva**,
         Yes, AUX1S learned and I that Ioana AUX3S eloped with somebody
         "Yes, I've found out too that Ioana has eloped with somebody,

         dar n-aş   paria că **cu** **Radu**.
         but not-OPT1S bet   that with Radu
         but I wouldn't bet that with Radu."

     b. Akiko-ga   **dareka-to**   kakeochista to kiita kedo,
         Akiko-NOM someone-WITH eloped   C heard but
         "I heard that Akiko eloped with someone,

         Taroo-to   to-wa omowanakatta.
         Taroo-WITH C-TOP not-expected
         but I didn't expect Taroo."

Adverbs:

(11) a. Carmen vrea să-i   ia   masina,
         Carmen wants SUBJ-GENFS take degree
         "Carmen wants to buy herself a car,

si suspectez că [_Adv **repede**].
and suspect1S that   quickly

and I suspect [that] pretty soon."

b. Hanako-wa   kuruma-o kaiitagatte iru ,   **sugurida** da to   omou.
*Hanako-*TOP *car-*ACC *buy-want ASP soon is   C think*

"Hanako wants to buy a car, [and] I suspect that soon."

2.2.2 Polarity-sensitive remnants

Bare quantifiers:

(12) a. Ştiu   că profesorul   ajută **pe multă lume**,
know1S that professor-the help ACC *many   people*

"I know that the professor helps many people,

dar mă   întreb dacă **pe oricine oricând**.
*but me-*REFL *wonder if* ACC *anyone anytime*

but I wonder if he helps ANYone ANYtime."

b. Dareka-ga   kono-kurima-o nauseru to omou kedo, daredemo ka-wa wakaranai.
*someone-*NOM *this-car-*ACC *can-fix C think but   anyone Q-*TOP *think-not*

"Someone can fix your car, but I don't think [just] ANYbody."

Aggressively non-d-linked wh-words (c.f. Pesetsky 1987, Giannikadou & den Dikken 2002):

(13) a. **Cineva** mi-a   ascuns cheile   şi aş   vrea să ştiu   şi eu **cine**
someone me-aux3S hidden keys-the and opt1S want subj know1S and I who
dracu.
devil

"Someone hid my keys on me, and I'd like to know who the hell."

b. Minna-ga   awateteiru kedo, boku-wa **ittai nani-o**   ka sirainai.
*everyone-*NOM *panic   but I-*TOP *hell what-*ACC *Q know-not*

"Everyone is panicking, but I don't know why-the-hell."

2.3 Overt complementizers

Both Japanese and Romanian tolerate an overt complementizer in the remnant of the sluice:

2.3.1 Overt [+Q] complementizers

(14) a. Am   aflat   că **cineva** a   plecat,
AUX1S *learned that someone* AUX3S *left*

"I found out that someone left,

dar nu ştiu   **dacă Ion**.
*but not know*1S *if   Ion*

but I don't know if Ion."

b. John-ga **dareka-o**   kubinisita rasii kedo,
*John-*NOM *someone-*ACC *fired   seem but*

"It seems that John fired someone,

boku-wa **Bill** ka **dooka** siranai.
*I-*TOP   *Bill* Q *whether know-not*

but I don't know if Bill."

2.3.2 Overt [-Q] complementizers

(15) a. *Dan*: Cine crezi **că** a   câştigat premiul întâi?
Who think1S that AUX3S *won   first-the prize?*

"Who do you think [that] won first prize?"

Alex: Ştiam   **că** Anca.
know1S that Anca.

"I know [that] Anca [did]."

b. John-ga **dareka-o**   kubinisita rasii kedo,
*John-*NOM *someone-*ACC *fired   seem but,*

"It seems that John fired someone,

boku-wa **Bill to** omou.
*I-*TOP   *Bill that think*

and I think that (it was) Bill." (Merchant 1998)

The following tables summarizes which English, Romanian and Japanese complementizers license sluicing (shaded cells indicate feature sets which license sluicing):

(16) *English*:

	+Q	-Q
+WH	ø	relative-**that**, ø
-WH	**whether, if**	**that**

(17) *Romanian, Japanese*:

	+Q	-Q
+WH	ø	ø
-WH	**dacă** (R.), **ka dooka** (J.)	**că** (R), **to** (J.)

3 Similarities between Romanian and English sluicing

3.1 Island constraints

English and Romanian sluices both seem to violate island constraints: the dependency between the wh-remnant and the position it binds within the sluice crosses the boundary of a syntactic island. In contrast, remnants in Japanese sluices seem to respect islands.

3.1.1 Coordinate structure constraint

(18) a. He invited [Akiko and **someone else**],
but I don't know **who** (**else**) (*he invited [Akiko and t$_i$]).

b. Dan a   invitat-o   [pe   Anca si   **pe încă cineva**],
Dan AUX3S *invite-*CL*FS*   ACC *Anca and* ACC *other someone*
"Dan invited Anca and **someone else**,

banui   ca   **pe Elena** (* Dan a   invitat-o   [pe   Anca si   t$_i$]).
suspect1S that ACC *Elena*   *Dan* AUX3S *invite-*CL*FS*   ACC *Anca and*

I suspect that **Elena** (Dan invited and)."

3.1.2 Complex NP Constraint

(19) a. Jerry heard [$_{NP}$ a rumour that John burned **someone's** house down],
but I don't know **who** (*Jerry heard [$_{NP}$ a rumour that John burnt t$_i$ down])

b. Emil a   împrăştiat [$_{NP}$ zvonul   că   **cineva** a   dat foc casei   lui Ion],
Emil AUX3S *spread*   *rumor-the that someone* AUX3S *gave fire house-*DAT *to Ion*
"Emil spread the rumour that someones set John's house on fire,

şi   eu suspectez că   Gheorghe. (* Emil a   împrăştiat [$_{NP}$ zvonul   că   t$_i$])
and I   suspect   that George   *Emil* AUX3S *spread*   *rumor-the that*

but I don't know who."

c. * Taroo-ga   [Hanako-ga   **nanika-o**   katta   toyuu uwasa]-o   sinjiteiru ga,
*Taroo-*TOP *Hanako-*NOM *something-*ACC *bought* COMP *rumor* -ACC *heard*   *but,*
watashi-wa **nani** ka siranai.
*I-*TOP   *what* Q *know-not*

"Taroo believes the rumor that Hanako bought something, but I don't know what." (Merchant 1998)

3.1.3 Relative Clause Island

(20) a. Dan talked to a Romanian [who is married to **somebody** from Dallas],
but I don't know **who** (*Dan talked to a Romanian [who is married to t.]).

b. Dan a   vorbit cu   un român   [care e căsătorit **cu cineva** din   Dallas],
Dan AUX3S *talk   with a   românian   who is married   with someone from Dallas*
"Dan talked with a Romanian who is married to someone from Dallas,

dar nu mi-e clar daca cu   Radu (* Dan a   vorbit cu   un român   [care e
but not me-is clear if   with Radu   Dan AUX3S *talked with a   Romanian   which is*
căsătorit t$_i$]).
married

but it's not clear to me if Radu."

c. * John-ga   [dareka-ga   kaita   ]-o   sagisite iru rasii ga,
*John-*NOM   *someone-*NOM *painted* -ACC *looking for seem but*
"It seems that John is looking for a picture that somebody painted, but,

boku-wa dare-ga   ka siranai.
*I-*TOP   *who-*NOM Q *know-not*

I don't know who." (Shimoyama 1995)

3.1.4 Sentential subjects

(21) a. E posibil   [ca   Ion să   se   fi   întâlnit **cu cineva**],
is possible   that Ion SUBJ REFL *be-*SUBJ *met   with someone*
"It is possible that Ion met with someone,

dar n-as   paria că   cu   Mihai
*but not-*OPT*1S bet   that with Mihai*

but I wouldn't bet with Mihai

(?? e posibil   [ca   Ion să   se   fi   întâlnit t$_i$]).
is possible   that Ion SUBJ REFL *be-*SUBJ *met*

it is possible that Ion met with."

b. * [**Dareka-ga**   gan   kamoshirenai-koto]-ga Taroo-o   nayamasete iru
someone-nom *cancer may-have-fact*   -NOM *Taroo-*ACC *bother*   ASP
"The fact that someone might have cancer has been bothering Taroo,

sikasi watashi-wa **dare-ga** ka siranai.
but I-TOP who-NOM Q know-not

but I don't know who."

3.1.5 Adjunct islands

(22) a. John left the Smiths' house [because the host was gossiping about **some politician**],
but I don't know **which** (* John left the Smiths' house
[because the host was gossiping about t$_i$]).

b. Ion a plecat de la Popeşti...
Ion AUX3S left from the Popescus-poss...
"Ion left the Popescus' house

[deoarece gazda îl vorbea de rău **pe un politician**],
because host-the CLMS gossip-PAST ACC a politician

because the host was gossiping about some politician,

mi se pare că **pe Vadim** (* a plecat de la Popeşti
me REFL seem that ACC Vadim AUX3S leave from to Popestu-DAT.PL

it seems to me that Vadim."

[deoarece gazda îl vorbea de rău t$_i$]).
because host-the CLMS gossip-PAST

c. * Taroo-wa [**dareka-ga** gan kamoshirenai to-o kiita node] naita,
Taroo-TOP someone-NOM cancer may-have Q-ACC hear-PAST because cry-PAST

"Taroo cried because he heard that someone might have cancer,

sikashi boku-wa **dare-ga** ka siranai.
but I-TOP who-NOM Q know-not

but I don't know who."

4 Summary

The properties of sluicing in English, Romanian, and Japanese are summarized in the following table:

(23)

Sluices in...	Allow overt C^0	Multiple Wh-remnants	Aggressively non-D-linked wh-words	Non-wh remnants	Island sensitivity
English	no	no	no	no	no
Romanian	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
Japanese	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

5 The Syntax of Romanian Sluices

5.1 Previous analyses of sluicing

5.1.1 English sluice is IP-Ellipsis (Merchant 1998, 2000)

Merchant (2000) argues that English sluicing is IP-ellipsis. IP-ellipsis is subject to two licensing requirements: the E-GIVENNESS CONDITION, and sisterhood/government by a {[+WH, +Q]} complementizer:

(24) **The e-Givenness Condition**: An expression E counts as e-given iff E has a salient antecedent A and, module ∃-closure:

a. A entails the Focus Closure of E, and

b. E entails the focus closure of A.

(25) **IP-Ellipsis condition**: Ellipsis of IP is licensed by a {[+WH, +Q]} complementizer.

Merchant's analysis is therefore that English IP-ellipsis involves *syntactic* ellipsis under *semantic* identity with its antecedent.

5.1.2 Japanese sluicing as Cleft-reduction

Merchant (1998, 2000) and Haraiwa & Ishibani (2002) argue that Japanese sluicing is reduction of the presupposed CP-constituent of a cleft structure. Japanese clefts allow multiple pivots, so the analysis explains both the island sensitivity of Japanese sluices, as well as the availability of multiple remnants.

(26) Taroo-ga **dareka-ni nanika-o** ageta rasii ga
Taroo-NOM someone-DAT something-ACC gave heard but

"I heard that Taro gave someone something,

a. boku-wa [~~Taroo-ga~~ t$_i$ t$_j$ ~~ageta~~ ~~no~~] **dare-ni$_i$ nani-o$_j$** (da) ka siranai.
I-TOP Taroo-NOM gave-PAST C who-DAT what-ACC is Q know-not

I don't know who what." (SLUICE)

b. boku-wa [Taroo-ga t$_i$ t$_j$ ageta no] **dare-ni$_i$ nani-o$_j$** (da) ka siranai.
I-TOP Taroo-NOM gave-PAST C who-DAT what-ACC is Q know-not

I don't know who what it was that he gave." (CLEFT)

(27) John-ga **dareka-o** kubinisita rasii kedo,
John-NOM someone-ACC fired heard but

"I heard that John fired someone, and

a. boku-wa [~~John-ga~~ t_i ~~kuninisita no~~] **Bill-o$_i$** (da) to omou.
   I-TOP John-NOM fired C Bill-ACC is that think
   I think that Bill." (SLUICE)

b. boku-wa [John-ga t_i kuninisita no] **Bill-o$_i$** (da) to omou.
   I-TOP John-NOM fired C Bill-ACC is that think
   I think that it was Bill that John fired." (CLEFT)

5.2 Romanian sluices?

Given that Romanian sluices share properties with both Japanese and English sluices, which analysis might apply?

5.2.1 Cleft reduction

Romanian does not have clefts with multiple pivots. In fact, it may not have clefts at all (c.f. Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, Merchant 2000).

(28) a. Nu ştiu **cine** a fost de a bătut-o pe Maria, dar e rănită.
     not know1S who AUX3S was of AUX3S beat-CLFS ACC Maria but IS3S hurt
     "I don't know who it was who beat Maria, but she is hurt."

   b. *Nu ştiu **cine pe cine** a fost de a bătut, dar cineva e rănit.
     not know1S who ACC who AUX3S was of AUX3S beat but someone IS3S hurt
     "I don't know who whom it was who beat, but someone is hurt."

Therefore, the cleft-reduction analysis cannot account for the apparent similarities between Romanian and Japanese. Therefore, an English-type analyses is more promising.

6 Towards an IP-Ellipsis Analysis

An IP-ellipsis analysis of Romanian sluicing would have to answer the following questions:

(29) How do Romanian sluices allow multiple remnants?

(30) How do we know that the ellided constituent is really an IP?

(31) Why do Romanian sluices tolerate. . .
   a. multiple wh-remnants;
   b. semantically referential remnants;
   c. polarity-sensitive remnants;

(32) d. overt complementizers.

(32) What are the syntactic licensing conditions on IP-ellipsis?

(33) What are the semantic licensing conditions on IP-ellipsis?

6.1 Multiple wh-fronting

The availability of multiple remnants in Romanian sluices makes sense, given that Romanian requires all wh-words to fronted in (non-echo) questions (c.f. Comorovski 1994; Dobrovie-Sorin 1994; Alboiu 2000):

(34) a. **Cine pe cine** a văzut?
     who ACC who AUX3S saw
     "Who saw whom?"

   b. * **Cine** a văzut **pe cine**?
     who AUX3S saw ACC who
     "Same."

(35) a. **Cine cui ce** a dat?
     who who-DAT what AUX3S gave
     "Who gave what to whom?"

   b. * **Cine** a dat **cui ce**?
     who AUX3S gave who-DAT what
     "Same."

The availability of multiple wh-remnants and the lack of island effects in Romanian could be explained if Romanian sluices involve IP-ellipsis like English.

6.2 Evidence for IP-ellipsis

There are two pieces of evidence that the sluiced constituent is an IP. First, the sluice contains a tense operator distinct from the tense operator in the matrix clause:

(36) a. **Cineva** mi-a mâncat prăjiturile,
     someone me-AUX3S eat cookies-the
     "Someone ate my cookies

     dar nu ştiu **cine** [~~mi-a~~ ~~mâncat prăjiturile~~].
     but not know who me-AUX3S ate cookies-the

     but I don't know who."

   b. I not [PRES know [who [PAST eat my cookies]]]

Second, a WH-remnant can be assigned nominative case within the sluice:

(37) Carmen mi-a   spus că **cineva** a   văzut-o   pe Anca, dar nu ştiu   **cine**$_i$ [
Carmen CL1S-AUX3S *said that someone* AUX3S *seen*-CL3FS ACC *Anca but not know1S who*
t$_i$ a   văzut-o   ]
AUX3S *seen*-CL3FS
"Carmen told me that someone saw Anca, but I don't know who."

The presence of a tense operator, as well as a nominative case-assigning or -checking feature are characteristics of a tensed I^0 or T^0. Therefore, the presence of these properties in a Romanian sluice indicates that the sluiced constituent consists of an IP.

IP
ma întreb CP
dacă Ion$_i$ **[cu Maria]**$_i$ IP
~~s-a întâlnit~~ t$_i$ t$_j$
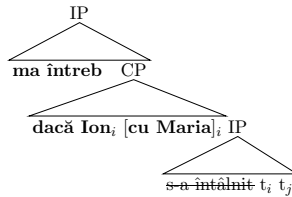
6.3   The structure of the remnant domain and the left periphery

6.3.1   Distribution of non-wh-constituents

Constituents from a variety of categories can be topicalized in Romanian. These include NPs, PPs, and d-linked WH-phrases (Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, 1994; Cornilescu 2000; Alboiu 1999, 2000):

6.3.2   Distribution of polarity-sensitive constituents

In root clauses, the position immediately to the left of the tensed verb is filled by focused constituents, non-d-linked wh-words, and polarity sensitive expressions (such as negative polarity items, free choice polarity items, and aggressively non-d-linked wh-words).

Expressions in this position must be immediately adjacent to the verb (Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, Alboiu 2000):

(38) a. **Cine a**   vazut-o   pe Maria ieri?
      who AUX3S *seen*-CL3FS ACC *Maria yesterday*
      "Who saw Maria yesterday?"

13

  b. Pe Maria **cine a**   văzut-o   ieri?
      ACC *Maria who* AUX3S *seen*-CL3FS *yesterday*
      "Maria, who saw her yesterday?"

  c. *Pe Maria **cine** ieri   a   văzut-o?
      ACC *Maria who yesterday* AUX3S *seen*-CL3FS
      "Same."

  d. * **Cine** pe Maria **a**   văzut-o   ieri?
      who ACC *Maria* AUX3S *seen*-CL3FS *yesterday*
      "Same."

More than one expression belonging to one of the categories can appear this position,

(39) a. **Cine ce**   a   mâncat
      who what AUX3S *ate*
      "Who ate what?" (Multiple Wh-words)

  b. **Nimeni cu nimic** nu te va   ajuta.
      nobody with nothing not you FUT3S *help*
      "Nobody is going to help you with anything."

  c. **Cineva ceva**   va   găsi de făcut.
      somebody something FUT3S *find of done*
      "Somebody is will find something to do." (Alboiu 1999)

The different categories are in complementary distribution with one another in this position (Alboiu 2000):

(40) a. * **Pe cine nimeni** n-a   vrut să   vadă
      ACC *who nobody not*-AUX3S *want* SUBJ *see*
      "Who did nobody want to see?"

  b. * **Cineva pe cine** vroia   să   lovească
      someone ACC *who want*PAST3S SUBJ *hit3S*
      "Who did somebody want to hit?"

  c. * **Unde MARIA** trebuie să   stea   (şi nu Ion)
      where Maria must3S SUBJ *stay3S and not Ion*
      "Where is it that MARY has to stay (rather than John)?"

  d. * **MARIA cu nimic** nu m-a   deranjat.
      Maria with nothing not me-AUX3S *bother*
      "It was MARIA that didn't bother me with anything." (Alboiu 1999)

14

This indicates that there is a syntactic position which can be occupied by more than one constituent immediately to the left of the tensed verb, and that this position is open to several classes of expressions which are polarity-sensitive or associated with semantic focus.

Expressions in these categories cannot be topicalized. Argumental topics are clitic doubled (Dobrovie-Sorin 1990, 1994; Albiou 1999, 2000), while non-referential arguments cannot be:

(41)   a.   **Pe nimeni** n-am văzut la petrecere.
     ACC *nobody not-AUX1S saw at party-the*
     "I didn't see anybody at the party."

  b.   * **Pe nimeni** nu l-am văzut la petrecere.
     ACC *nobody not* CL3MS-AUX1S *seen at party-the*
     "Same."

(42)   a.   **Pe cine dracu**-a sărutat Maria?
     ACC *who devil* AUX3S *kissed Maria*
     "Who the hell did Mary kiss."

  b.   * **Pe cine dracu** l-a sărutat Maria?
     ACC *who devil* CL3MS-AUX *kissed Mary*
     "Same."

(43)   a.   Lui Ionescu, **nimeni niciodată**, nu i-a vorbit aşa.
     DAT Ionescu nobody never not cl3MS-aux3S spoke such
     "Ionescu, nobody ever spoke to him in such a manner."

  b.   Lui Ionescu, **niciodată**, **nimeni** nu i-a vorbit aşa.
     DAT Ionescu never nobody not cl3MS-aux3S spoke such
     "Same."

  c.   * **Nimeni** lui Ionescu **niciodată** nu i-a vorbit aşa.
     nobody DAT Ionescu never not cl3MS-aux3S spoke such
     "Same."

This set of constituents must be in a cluster adjacent to the verb, cannot be topicalized, and occur in the remnant of a sluice. Therefore, the position which they occupy must be in the remnant of this sluice.

(44)   ... dar mă întreb dacă **pe oricine oricând** [~~s-a~~ ~~întâlnit~~]
     but me-refl wonder if acc anyone anytime refl-aux3S meet
     "... but I wonder if anyone anytime."
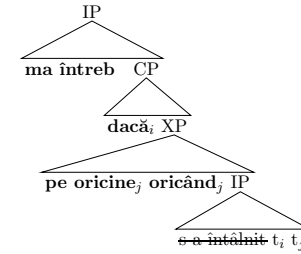
7   Summary

The similarities between Romanian and Japanese sluices are accidental. An IP-ellipsis analysis of Romanian sluicing (along the lines proposed by Merchant 1998, 2000) accounts immediately for the availability of multiple wh-remnants as well as their island insensitivity.

However, Romanian sluicing sets itself apart from English sluicing with a number of properties, including the presence of non-wh-remants of various kinds, as well as overt, non wh-complementizers.

These properties follow from the presence of a richer structure in the left periphery of embedded clauses in this language: Romanian allows more constituents to precede the IP in an indirect question than English does. As a consequence, IP-ellipsis leaves a larger class of remnants in Romanian.

7.1   Questions for further research

(45)   a.   Is IP-ellipsis licensed indirectly by the head of C, or by another syntactic position?

  b.   What structure is found in the left periphery of the Romanian clause?

  c.   If the semantics of sluicing is associated with the semantics of focus (c.f. Romero 1997, 1998; Merchant 2000), then how does focus marking in Romanian differ from focus marking in English?

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